

A Grammar of Kusaal

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. Although I had the benefit of some coaching in the language by SB (see Sources), there were no written instructional materials of any kind available to me at the time I first arrived. (I would have been saved a good deal of trouble, though denied some pleasure of discovery, if I had then seen David Spratt's introductory sketch and vocabulary.) Accordingly I embarked on the wholly new adventure of trying to work out the structure of an entirely unfamiliar language essentially by myself from scratch, armed with a longstanding interest in language but very little in the way of prior helpful skills and experience.

Through enthusiasm, perseverance and the help of some very tolerant and patient informants, along with a good deal of exposure to the language in the course of my work, I did eventually acquire enough competence to be able to function in the highly stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I also became fascinated by the language and delighted by the order and beauty which underlie a surface which initially seemed chaotic. I hope that this work will convey a little of that beauty.

No linguist will fail to recognise that the account below is the work of an amateur. Whatever it has produced which is of value is a testimony to the intelligence of my informants, who also had perfectly good day jobs in which they proved themselves some of the best colleagues I have ever worked with.

When I lived in Ghana, there were very few linguistic works available on Kusaal. Happily, the situation has changed; in the References section I list numerous works by Urs Niggli on the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso, and more encouragingly still, accounts of aspects of Toende Kusaal by Hasiyatu Abubakari, and a complete grammar of Agolle Kusaal by Agoswin Musah, both speakers themselves.

Particularly useful accounts of other Western Oti-Volta languages have been Knut Olawsky's study of Dagbani and Adams Bodom's grammar of Dagaare. I have also gleaned many helpful ideas from the Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), a valuable guide to the kinds of question it is helpful to ask about the syntax even of languages very different from English.

My brief description of the Kusaasi people themselves in my Introduction is merely a short list of points I found especially interesting, and not even the beginning of an adequate account of a deep and intricate culture. It is much to be hoped that Kusaasi culture finds worthy investigators who can portray it as it deserves. Until then I would recommend Ernst Haaf's "Die Kusase" (see References.) Haaf was a doctor in Bawku Presbyterian Hospital from 1959 to 1962; he was still remembered with affection thirty years later. The work concentrates especially on Kusaasi traditional medicine, but contains a great deal of other interesting material.

I am grateful to Dr Tony Naden, who sportingly put up with being visited out of the blue in his home in northern Ghana and showed me hospitality worthy of Africa, while giving me a number of helpful pointers; I was also helped by several individuals working for the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal. It goes without saying that none of these people is responsible for the errors in my work. I am particularly grateful to Brian McLemore, Executive Director of Global Translation Services at Bible League International and to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation for permission to cite verses from the Kusaal Bible versions.

More generally, I am grateful to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, an organisation working in often difficult circumstances with tenacity and wisdom; and to the excellent Christoffelblindenmission, by whom I was seconded to Ghana; they did not mean to sponsor the writing of a grammar, but I am sure they will not mind that they did so as a happy side-effect.

This grammar began as an attempt to understand Kusaal morphophonemics. It grew into areas where I was even less sure-footed, and I am very conscious of its deficiencies. In the course of working up my old notes after many years many questions have occurred to me which I lacked the experience to ask when I had daily contact with Kusaal speakers. If my description provokes others to ask some of those questions or to offer better analyses of Kusaal grammar, I will be very happy, and I welcome feedback and suggestions.

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Abbreviations

AdvP	adverbial phrase
agt	agent noun
BNY	<i>Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela</i>
C	consonant
cb	combining form
CGEL	Cambridge Grammar of the English Language
DK	informant
dp	discontinuous past
ger	gerund
H	High toneme
ILK	<i>An Introduction to Learning Kusaal</i>
imp	imperative
ipfv	imperfective
irreg	irregular
KB	Kusaal Bible of 2016
KED	<i>A Short Kusaal-English Dictionary</i>
KKY	<i>Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ</i>
KSS	<i>Kusaal Solima ne Siilima</i>
KT	informant
L	Low toneme
LF	Long Form
M	Mid toneme
NP	noun phrase
NT	Kusaal New Testament, 1976 and 1996
pfv	perfective
pl	plural
SB	informant
SF	Short Form
sg	singular
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase
WK	informant
1sg 2pl ...	first person singular, second person plural etc

Abbreviations for books of the Bible are fairly standard and should occasion no difficulty. Citations are from the 2016 version unless stated otherwise.

Interlinear glossing

ABSTR	abstract	<u>8.2</u>
ADV	adverbial	
AN	animate gender	<u>12.3</u>
CAT	clause catenator (underlyingly <i>n</i>)	<u>19</u>
CNTR	contrastive (personal pronouns)	<u>24.6</u>
COP	copula <i>àḡñ^a</i>	<u>16.12.2</u>
CQ	content question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
DEM	demonstrative pronoun (discourse)	<u>12.4.2</u>
DEMST	demonstrative pronoun (spatio-temporal)	
DP	discontinuous-past marker <i>n^ε</i>	<u>16.3.2</u>
EXIST	existence/location verb <i>bè</i>	<u>16.12.1</u>
FOC	focus particle <i>nē'</i>	<u>24.1.2</u>
GER	gerund	<u>8.1.1</u>
IDEO	ideophone	<u>14</u>
IMP	independent imperative verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IN	inanimate gender	<u>12.3</u>
INDF	indefinite pronoun	<u>12.4.3</u>
IPFV	imperfective verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IRR	positive irrealis mood marker	<u>16.4</u>
LOC	locative postposition (<i>nī' ~ n^ε</i>)	<u>13.3</u>
NEG	negative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
NEG.BE	negative verb to and COP and EXIST	<u>16.5</u>
NEG.HAVE	(another use of the same verb)	
NEG.IMP	negative imperative marker	<u>16.4</u>
NEG.IND	negative indicative marker	
NEG.IRR	negative irrealis marker	
NEG.KNOW	negative verb <i>zī'</i>	<u>16.5</u>
NEG.LET	negative verb <i>mīt</i>	
NULL	semantically empty NP head <i>sōb^a</i>	<u>12.4.7</u>
NUM	number prefix <i>à- b-à- ñ- b-ò-</i>	<u>10.2</u>
NZ	nominaliser (underlyingly <i>ñ</i>)	<u>21</u>
PERS	personifier particle (<i>à-</i> or <i>ñ-</i>)	<u>12.6</u>
PFV	independent-perfective marker <i>yā</i>	<u>16.6.2</u>
PL	plural	<u>12.2</u>
PQ	polar question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
REL	relative pronoun	<u>21.2.2</u>
SG	singular	<u>12.2</u>
TNS	tense marker	<u>16.3.1</u>
VOC	vocative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>

Personal pronouns:	<u>12.4.1</u>
1SG 1PL	1st sg/pl
2SG 2PL	2nd sg/pl
3AN 3IN	3rd sg animate/inanimate
3PL	3rd pl
2PL.SUB	postposed 2nd pl Subject
.OB	object (pronouns)

The linker particle *kà* is conventionally glossed "and" throughout, though this very often does not reflect the true meaning in context 17.2; similarly *yà'* 20.1 is glossed "if" in all cases. The empty particle *nē* which follows objects of comparison which lack the article 15 is glossed "like."

Mass nouns are not specified as SG or PL in the glossing; similarly, single-aspect verbs 7.2 are not labelled for aspect. The perfective of dual-aspect verbs is also unlabelled.

In glossing, \emptyset represents words with no surface segmental representation at all, which are detectable only from tonal and segmental effects on preceding words. Prosodic clitics 4.1 are represented by $=\emptyset$, and liaison 4.2 is marked by $_$.

Bound words which the traditional orthography writes solid with their hosts, as if they were word fragments, are in both the working orthography of this grammar and in glossing joined to their hosts by hyphens: these comprise the combining forms of nouns and adjectives, the personifier particle *À-/Ñ-*, and the liaison words *n^ε LOC n^ε DP y^a 2PL.SUB* along with the LF of ^o 3AN.OB 3.1.

Polysyllabic words ending in a vowel symbol before a hyphen are always followed by liaison, so the $_$ symbol is omitted: *pōvɔv-n* "inside", not *pōvɔv- $_$ n*.

Transcription conventions

Phonetic transcriptions are generally broad, ignoring all allophony not immediately under discussion. Starred forms are used *ad hoc* to illustrate morphophonemic rules, and do not represent a uniform underlying level of language.

For Agolle Kusaal orthography see 2. Symbols have approximately their IPA values, but long vowels are written with double symbols, *e ɪ* both represent [ɪ], *o ʊ* both represent [ʊ], *ñ* and ' mark nasalisation and glottalisation of adjacent vowels respectively, *y* stands for [j], and *kp gb* stand for [k̟p] [g̟b]. The symbol *i* is written with the dot below when it carries a tone mark, e.g. *bīig* "child" [bi:g]. *This* colour is reserved for words and word fragments in the working orthography of the grammar; it is not used for Kusaal in the orthography of written sources.

Hausa words are cited as in Jaggar 2001, except that long vowels are written with double letters rather than macrons. High tone is unmarked, low tone is marked with a grave, and a circumflex represents falling tone. Kano forms are given, although the actual source of the loanwords in Kusaal is the *Gaanancii* lingua franca.

Mooré words are cited as in Niggli 2016, and Nawdm as in Babakima 2013. For Moba, I follow Kantchoa 2005, except that I write *y* for [j].

Arabic transcriptions use IPA symbols, except that *y* is used for [j]; classical forms are cited, but without case endings and omitting the *t* of *ta:ʔ marbu:tʰa*.

Words from other languages are cited as given in the sources. Where these give tones separately, I have instead written them on the words themselves, using acute for H, grave for L, and macron for mid tone.

Francophone sources use *ɪ* *ʊ* for IPA *ɪ* *ʊ*, as do Urs Niggli's works in English and the working orthography of this grammar.

Internal and external hyperlinks appear like [this](#).

Sources

The analyses adopted in this grammar are entirely original, except for the most basic aspects of the tonal system, where I was much helped initially by David Spratt's brief "Introduction to Learning Kusaal." The phonology and morphology are based on elicitation work with four informants. With great reluctance I have omitted their names, as I am not currently able to confirm that they would be happy to be identified. I am very grateful to all of them. If any would like to see his name included in its rightful place of honour, I would be delighted to comply. I identify them in the grammar by these abbreviations (which are not the initials of the informants' names):

WK	from Koka	KT	from Tempane
DK	from Kukpariga	SB	from Bawku

The treatment of phrase-level syntax is largely based on work with these informants both in elicitation and in exploring puzzling constructions I had encountered while attempting to communicate at work. All four are first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal, and have essentially first-language level competence in English. All are male, and were then around forty years old. I noted examples of conversation from many speakers, but recorded few examples of the usage of younger speakers specifically; I did notice a few comments about the incorrect grammar of the young from my informants (surely a cultural universal.) I found no evidence of significant differences between the speech of men and women but made no systematic enquiries on this point. My informants showed a number of minor speech differences from one another, which were probably dialectal, but I have not explored the question of subdialects within Agolle Kusaal.

My materials drawn from conversation were limited as to genre. More informal settings would have rounded out the picture in many respects. For example, features like ideophones are sparsely represented in my data, and this has probably led to underestimation of their importance in the language as a whole.

At that time, I had little understanding of syntactic issues at clause or higher level. I compensated as far as I could by private study of written materials, above all the 1976 New Testament version, storing up problems to discuss later with my teachers. In revising the work twenty years later I have had the advantage of access to digitised versions of the 1996 New Testament and the complete Bible version of 2016, which has enabled me to improve my analyses of Kusaal syntax substantially in several areas. I have also drawn on the collection of stories and proverbs *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*, and to a small extent on other literacy materials. I owe a great debt to the many dedicated individuals involved in Bible translation and literacy work under the auspices of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), without whom these materials would not exist.

The Bible versions are generally regarded by Kusaal speakers as good and idiomatic Kusaal. The 1996 revision adapted most foreign names to accord more closely with ordinary Kusaal spelling. Many changes were made to improve accuracy and clarity; strikingly, all instances of the previously very common indirect speech construction were replaced by direct speech. The 2016 Kusaal Bible makes significant orthographic changes. There is evidence of some minor changes in the language itself over this forty-year period, but most divergences between the spelling of older sources and the speech of my informants in the 1990's are attributable simply to orthographic convention; the audio version of the 1996 NT consistently agrees with my informants in such cases.

There is no standard or prestige form of Agolle Kusaal, and as a natural consequence the language is not entirely uniform in any of the Bible versions.

Except for a few examples from David Spratt's *Introduction to Learning Kusaal*, written sources are cited in their original orthography, with a transliteration into the working orthography of this grammar. The tone marking is supplied by me; it was checked against the audio New Testament version in those few cases where a tonal point is at issue, but in other cases should be regarded as illustrating the tonal principles described elsewhere, not as evidence for their validity.

The following texts are cited; where not otherwise specified, they were published by the Tamale offices of GILLBT (the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation):

Wina'am Gbauŋ
Wínà'am Gbáũŋ

Kusaal Bible
 1976 NT © World Home Bible League
 1996 NT © The Bible League/GILLBT
 available as [Audio and searchable text](#)
 2016 Complete Bible © GILLBT
 available as an [Android application](#)

Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela
Bũn-kóñbìd nē Nfīs né bà yēlá

"Animals and birds and their affairs"
 Matthew M. Abokiba

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima
Kūsâal Sólímà nē Sfilímà

"Kusaal Stories and Proverbs"
 Samuel Akon, Joe Anabah

Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ
Kūsâas Kúøb nē Yīr yēlá Gbàũŋ

"A book on Kusaasi farming and housing"
 William A. Sandow, Joseph A.H.Anaba

Other studies of Kusaal

The pioneers of Kusaal grammatical study were David and Nancy Spratt. David Spratt's forty-two page "Introduction to Learning Kusaal" contains a useful sketch of the basic tone system. His short dictionary has also been helpful.

More recently, grammatical and lexical studies of the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso have been produced by Urs Niggli, who has also done considerable work with Kasem and Farefare, and edited a useful dictionary of Mooré. The language differs significantly from the Agolle dialect described here, and I have not borrowed from his grammatical analyses, but his Toende dictionary has been an excellent resource for comparative material.

Tony Naden is working on a dictionary of Agolle Kusaal based on written sources, which is much the most extensive lexicographic work so far.

There have been several publications on aspects of Kusaal grammar by Hasiyatu Abubakari, a Toende Kusaal speaker currently conducting postgraduate studies in linguistics at the University of Vienna. She has plans to publish more, including further studies of the phonological structure of the language, including the tonal system, and the difficult area of focus particles.

Anthony Agoswin Musah, a native speaker of Agolle Kusaal, has written a full grammar of Agolle Kusaal as his PhD thesis at the Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, which is available as Musah 2018.

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Kusaasi people

Upper East Region of Ghana (adapted from [Macab5387](#)):



Kusaal is the language of the Kusaasi, the majority ethnic group of the far northeast of Ghana, east of the Red Volta and north of the Gambaga Escarpment; the local major town is Bawku. There are also many Kusaasi settlements in the neighbouring part of Burkina Faso south of Zabré, and a few in Togo. The White Volta separates this predominantly Kusaasi territory into **Toende** (French *Tondé*, Kusaal *Tùen* "West", shaded dark grey above) and **Agolle** (Kusaal *Àgòl* "Upper", light grey.)

The land is mostly open savanna with scattered trees. The population density is fairly high for northern Ghana, and much former woodland has been turned over to cultivation; tracts survive especially along the White Volta where settlements are few because of the river blindness (onchocerciasis) endemic there until recent times.

Most Kusaasi are cultivators, living in widely scattered compounds, each the domain of one family head with his wives, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Cattle-raising is common but is mostly the preserve of Fulbe and Mossi. A single rainy season lasts unpredictably from May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with rice to a lesser extent. Millet is used for the staple porridge *sā'ab*, called "TZ" /ti:'zed/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zaafii*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional millet beer, *dāam*, called "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*) in English.

Wīn ñyé kà sīn.

God:sg see and be.silent.

"God sees and is silent."

Everyday religious practice is concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called *wīn*. A *wīn* resides in a *bōgvr*, an object such as a stone or horn, but it is the *wīn* that is spiritually significant, not its place of attachment. A central figure is the *bā'a* "diviner", who seeks guidance for a client by casting lots.

A human being is understood as having four components: *ñin-gbīñ* "body"; *ñyò-vōr* "life" as opposed to death, possessed by all living animals; *wīn* (in this sense) "genius, spirit, a person's own spiritual self"; and *kìkīris*, protective spirits (called "fairies" in local English.) Men have three *kìkīris*, women a fourth, because of the dangers of childbirth. (Throughout the cultural zone, three is a man's number, and four is a woman's.) There are wild *kìkīris* in the bush which are hostile and try to lead travellers astray. *Sīg* "life force", used for "spirit" in Christian materials, is in traditional belief identified with a person's tutelary *kìkīris*.

The key term *wīn* has yet further senses, overlapping with the European concepts of fate or destiny: *wīn-tōcg*, literally "bitterness of *wīn*" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular *sīgir* "guardian spirit" which is often the *wīn* of an ancestor; the word *bōgvr* may also mean "a *wīn* inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's *sīgir*.

Sōñb "witches" exist in the traditional world view; though they cause harm, their condition can be involuntary. As in European tradition, those accused are often marginalised or older women. The Mamprussi king, whose role imbues him with great spiritual power, is safe from witches and takes them in formal marriage so that they may avoid persecution. My Ghanaian colleagues once organised a visit to an entire village of such witches in order to operate on their cataracts.

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi normally cite Kusaal personal and place names without apocope 3.2: *À-Wīn* from *Wīdi-ñyá'an* will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga." Similarly "Kusaasi" for *Kōsâas*, "Bawku" for *Bòk* etc. "Woriyanga" also shows a Mampruli rather than Kusaal form for the initial combining form "horse": Mampruli *wuri-*, Kusaal *wìd-*. This reflects the origin of the convention in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations of the area. A parallel development took place earlier in Mamprussi country when the British arrived with Dagomba guides: thus "Gambaga" (Dagbani *Gambaya*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa* (Naden.)

However, this transposition convention has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology, morphology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is also sometimes seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name *À-Dōk*, and the language name "Kusaal" *Kōsâal* itself.

1.2 The Kusaal language

1.2.1 Status

As of 1995 there were about 250,000 speakers of Kusaal, a number which has since increased very substantially.

Written materials are few, apart from the Bible translation, which is far and away the most extensive written work in Kusaal. Few people were proficient in reading or writing the language in the 1990's. Though Kusaal is thus not used in the domain of Western-style education and technical activity, it is nevertheless the language of all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, most of whom are monolingual, and is also an areal lingua franca, used in particular by the many Bisa people who are found in the villages and in Bawku.

Of the major lingua francas of Ghana, Hausa is the most important locally. It is the main source of identifiable loanwords in Kusaal. In the 1990's few people outside Bawku knew Twi/Fante or English. Perhaps 5-10% of patients attending our clinics in Bawku at that time could communicate in English well enough for the purposes of medical consultation; the majority were most comfortable with Kusaal, with Hausa and Mooré about equal in second place, in both cases often as vehicular languages.

1.2.2 Dialects

There is no standard dialect of Kusaal; every district has local peculiarities and my informants show numerous small differences in speech. Bawku itself is a multiethnic trading centre around a Muslim quarter or "zongo" (Hausa *zangòo* "camping ground") where the main common language is Hausa.

The major dialect division is between Agolle and Toende. Numerous isoglosses coincide to produce a sharp discontinuity between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably attributable to depopulation near the White Volta because of the river blindness prevalent until recent times.

My informants reported little difficulty communicating with Toende speakers, but they are sophisticated multilinguals who may not be altogether typical, and it is also possible that Agolle speakers find Toende Kusaal easier than vice versa. Berthelette 2001 studied the comprehension of Agolle Kusaal by Burkina Faso Toende speakers: of thirteen respondents, ten reported that they understood the Ghanaian Toende of Zebilla "very well", one "somewhat well" and two "a little", whereas with Agolle, eight said that they understood it "a little", two "somewhat well" and only three "well." Recorded text tests administered to Burkina Faso Toende speakers showed scores of 93% for Ghanaian Toende versus 80.5% for Agolle, but Ghanaian Toende speakers achieved 94.5% with Agolle, presumably reflecting their greater exposure to the dialect. The paper also reports that Toende speakers feel their own dialect is "purer", which may affect judgments of comprehensibility.

Berthelette reports a rate of apparent lexical cognates of 84%.

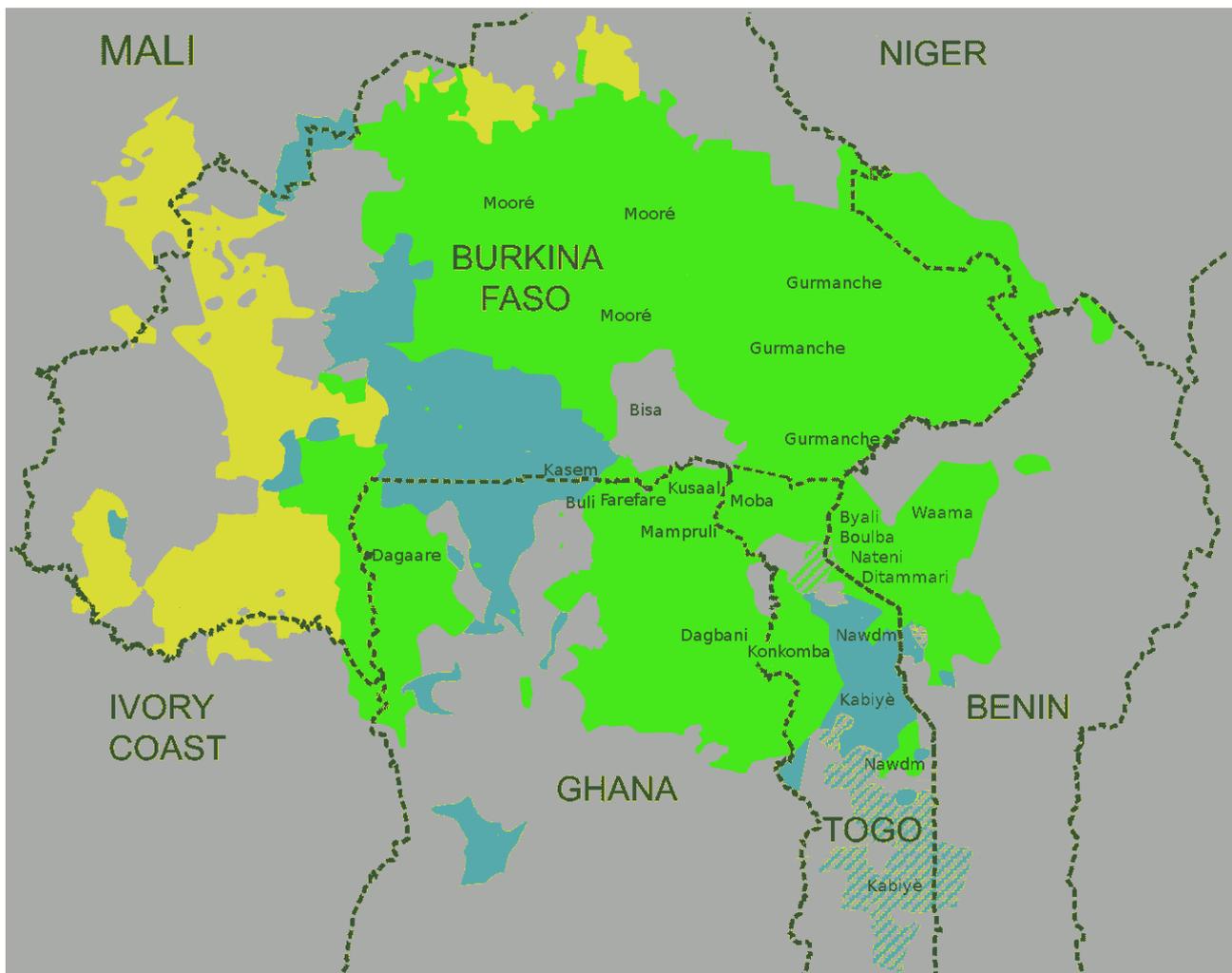
Agolle and Toende Kusaasi agree that they constitute a single ethnic group, and that they speak dialects of a single language. Nevertheless, the differences are great enough to justify separate grammatical treatment for the two major dialects.

By "Kusaal" I will mean "Agolle Kusaal" by default below; I do not intend by this to imply that Agolle speech is the sole standard form of the language.

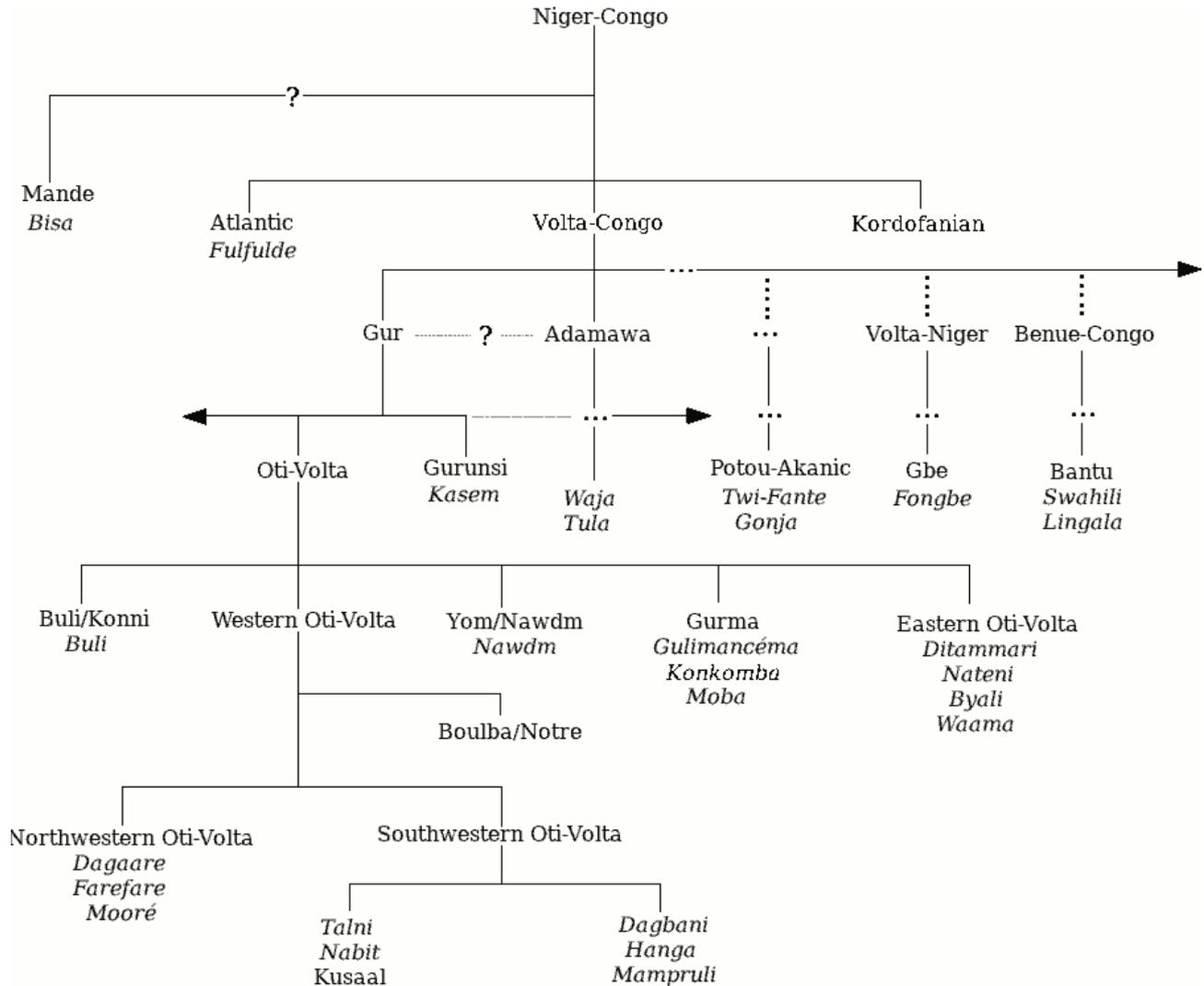
1.2.3 Related languages

Kusaal belongs to the **Gur** or **Voltaic** language family within the huge and diverse **Niger-Congo** phylum.

The Gur Languages (adapted from Davius):



Green: Oti-Volta; blue: Gurunsi; yellow: other Gur.



The chart above shows relationships between some of the languages mentioned below. Subclassifications are very often uncertain; in particular, the relationship between Gur and Adamawa is unclear. Mande may well not belong with Niger-Congo at all. The inclusion of Kordofanian and Atlantic in Niger-Congo is a long-range hypothesis: striking typological similarities with Volta-Congo do not prove genetic unity. For West Africa and beyond as a *Sprachbund* see Güldemann 2007.

However, there is unequivocal evidence for Volta-Congo as a genetic group. Basic lexical items recur frequently: compare Kusaal *b̄iig* "child", *d̄i* "eat", *n̄u* "drink", *kp̄i* "die", *t̄iig* "tree", *àt̄án̄* "three", *t̄òb̄or* "ear" with their Fongbe equivalents *ví*, *d̄ù*, *n̄ù*, *kú*, *át̄ín*, *àt̄òn*, *tó*. Guthrie's Proto-Bantu reconstructions parallel all except "child": *d̄í-* "eat", *n̄ú-* "drink", *kú-* "die", *-t̄í* "tree", *-t̄át̄ò* "three", *-t̄ó* "ear", and his Proto-Bantu *tóm-* "send" corresponds to Kusaal *t̄òm*. The Potou-Akanic language group, which includes Twi/Fante and Gonja, here shows a regular sound correspondence *t ~ s*: Twi *es̄á* "three", *as̄ò* "ear", *soma* "send", Gonja *à-sá* "three", *kò-sówé* "ear."

The most salient morphological feature of Niger-Congo is the presence of noun class systems, with frequent matches of form and meaning among Volta-Congo branches. Thus the Kusaal human-plural noun *suffix* *-ba* seen in *nīdīb* "people", plural of *nīd*, matches the Gonja human-plural *prefix* in *bá-sà* "people", plural of *é-sà*, and the *ba* of Lingala *bato* "people", plural of *moto*. Particular sg/pl *pairings* of affixes recur; for example, the suffixes *rɛ|aa* seen in Kusaal *t̀̀b̀̀v̀̀r* "ear", pl *t̀̀b̀̀ba* are cognate to the Bantu prefix pair 5/6 (Nurse and Phillipson, p104.) Lingala has the cognate of *t̀̀b̀̀v̀̀r* in this very class: *litói* "ear", pl *matói*. The affixes of other Volta-Congo languages correspond to the Bantu pronominal/verbal agreement prefixes rather than noun class prefixes; for Proto-Bantu 5/6 these are sg *lɪ*, pl *gá* (*ibid.* p149.)

Similarities also appear in verbal derivation by suffixes, usually called "verbal extensions", as in Bantu, where such processes are often very productive. However, form and function can be difficult to correlate, and some processes may even be areal phenomena, found also in Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan (Hyman 2007.)

With some lower-level groupings detailed comparative work has achieved much already. High-level comparative work is generally at an early stage; see, however, Gabriel Manessy on Gur, and especially the publications of John Stewart on Potou-Akanic and its relationships with Bantu and Atlantic.

At the lowest level Kusaal belongs to Manessy's **Western Oti-Volta** family. Except in Boulba, Proto-Oti-Volta **c *j* have become *s z*; verbal inflection is simple, almost all inflecting verbs using the bare stem for perfective aspect and adding a suffix **-da* for imperfective; some noun classes have been lost, with words referring to trees transferred to the *ga|se* class (Buli *t̀̀ib* "tree", Kusaal *t̀̀ig*, Mooré *t̀̀igá*); and there is much distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *k̀̀'om* "water", Mooré *k̀̀óm*, vs Moba *ǹ̀m̀̀*, Buli *nyám*, Nawdm *nyáálm̀̀*, Nateni *néēma*. The Boulba/Notre language of Benin is an outlier: it shares distinctive lexicon (*k̀̀òá* "water"), but has devoiced **g → k*, **gb → kw*, **z → c̄ç*, reflecting areal features shared with Eastern Oti-Volta, and it has not participated in the loss of noun classes, e.g. *t̀̀eb̀̀* "tree."

Western Oti-Volta is roughly as diverse as Romance. Claims of mutual intelligibility often reflect underappreciation of the fact that many local people are competent users of more than one distinct language.

Apart from Boulba, the group is subdivided into Northwestern and Southwestern. Northwestern Oti-Volta includes Mooré, Safaliba, the dialect continuum Dagaare-Waale-Birifor, and Farefare-Gurenne-Ninkare. Mooré and Farefare share innovations absent in Dagaare. Southwestern Oti-Volta includes Kusaal, Nabit, Talni, Mampruli, Dagbani, Hanga, Kamara and some smaller languages; a distinctive Southwestern feature is the imperative inflection **-ma*.

Mampruli, Dagbani, Hanga and the smaller languages form a clear subgroup. Among other innovations, they show a great simplification of the vowel system, along with lowering of short **e* to *a* and the development of contrastive palatalised velars.

Kusaal probably forms a subgroup with Nabit and Talni, spoken in the adjacent Nabdam and Talensi districts. Tony Naden's Nabit data closely resemble Toende Kusaal; Giffen 2015 notes that Talni speakers understand Nabit to some extent.

Nabit, Talni, and Kusaal have lost inherited final short vowels in citation forms. Naden's materials suggest that Nabit and Talni, like Kusaal, retain the final vowel at the end of questions and negated clauses (Toende materials from Niggli):

Nabit	<i>La bi'imε.</i>	"It is ripe."
Toende	<i>La bi'i me.</i>	
Nabit	<i>La na bu biige.</i>	"It is not yet ripe."
Toende	<i>La nan bu bi'ige.</i>	
Talni	<i>Bunpək dɔɣam pu bəkəra, buraɔ dɔɣam m bəkət.</i>	
Toende	<i>Bvpək dɔɣim bu bəkira, buraɔ dɔɣim bəkɪt.</i>	
	"A woman's kindred is not divided, a man's kindred is divided."	

Other groups within the **Oti-Volta** family can readily be seen to be related.

Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta: Kröger 1992 shows numerous obvious cognates in vocabulary and parallels in nominal morphology. Buli verbs do not inflect for aspect. Proto-Oti-Volta *s *z *c *j are preserved unchanged.

The Gurma languages are much less close. Gulimancéma and Konkomba typically show nouns with both class prefixes and class suffixes, and all the languages have complex and unpredictable verb aspect flexion, making the imperfective by changing stem tones and/or adding or dropping several different suffixes.

Both Buli and Gurma have three-tone systems. Of the three Western Oti-Volta Tone Patterns 3.8, Pattern H corresponds to Buli *high* tone, but Gurma *low*; Pattern A to Buli mid and Gurma high, and Pattern L to Buli low and Gurma mid:

Kusaal	Buli	Moba	
<i>wáaf</i>	<i>wáab</i>	<i>wààùg</i>	"snake"
<i>mᵃᵃg</i>	<i>mūub</i>	<i>móóùg</i>	"grass"
<i>tìg</i>	<i>tìib</i>	<i>tīg̃</i>	"tree"

It is Gurma which is conservative: cf Proto-Bantu *-nùà* "mouth", Fongbe *ònú* = Kusaal *nᵃᵃr* (Pattern H) versus Proto-Bantu *-tó* "ear", Fongbe *tó* = Kusaal *tᵃᵃvr*.

Nawdm aligns tonally with Western Oti-Volta and Buli: *wáàg̃b* "snake", *móógú* "grass", *tìb̃* "tree." Nawdm has shifted *p → f, *s → h, *c → s, and *z → j. It preserves Proto-Oti-Volta *r 3.4, and often has *h* [ʔ] where Western Oti-Volta shows vowel glottalisation. Most verbs use a stem form as perfective and add *-a* for imperfective, but there are several other patterns, such as perfective *-ra* versus imperfective *-l*.

Nawdm shows much less lexical similarity to Western Oti-Volta than Buli does, but there are some notable parallels in verb flexion and derivation.

Sambiéni 2005 provides considerable detail on the Eastern Oti-Volta languages. He assumes Manessy's Eastern Oti-Volta as a valid subgroup, but this subgrouping is partly based on initial consonant changes which are areal, and shared with Boulba.

The verbal systems of Ditammari and Nateni are similar, broadly resembling Gurma. Both languages also align with Gurma in showing L tones corresponding to Pattern H. Ditammari shows nouns with both class prefixes and class suffixes.

Byali verbs mostly oppose perfective *-sə* to imperfective *-u*. Byali usually shows mid tones in cognates of Kusaal Pattern H words.

Waama shows high tones in words corresponding to Western Oti-Volta Pattern H. A group of verbs with stems ending in vowels or alveolars opposes perfective *-i* to imperfective *-u*, but most verbs use the bare stem as perfective and add *-ri -di* or *-ti* for the imperfective. Of roughly 400 vocabulary items compared by Sambiéni, 55 Waama words are not cognate to those of the other languages; the figures for the other languages are all under 20. Some have cognates in Western Oti-Volta and Buli, e.g. Waama *wōmmā* "entendre", Kusaal *wòm*, Boulba *wàmú*, Buli *wom*; Waama *cáárō* "forgeron", Kusaal *sāḡñ*; Waama *yété* "maison", Kusaal *yīr*, Boulba *yere*, Buli *yéí*.

There is much less similarity between Oti-Volta as a whole and the other major branch of Gur, the **Gurunsi** languages, which include Kasem and Kabiye among many others. Oti-Volta and Gurunsi may be coordinate members of a continuum including at least some Adamawa subgroups: Kleinewillinghöfer 1996 references studies suggesting that the Adamawa languages Waja and Tula are closer to Gurunsi than to Oti-Volta. Manessy takes Koromfe as a third branch of "Central Gur" alongside Oti-Volta and Gurunsi. He classified some languages as Gur on the basis of very scanty documentation; when adequate descriptions appear, such classifications may need to be revisited. The Senufo group was previously regarded as a branch of Gur, largely on the basis of having noun class suffixes rather than prefixes; it is now usually held to constitute a distinct branch of Volta-Congo.

1.2.4 Grammatical sketch

Kusaal is in most respects a typical Western Oti-Volta language. It is chiefly distinctive in having undergone **apocope** of word-final short vowels even in citation forms, a feature shared with Nabit and Talni. Thus where Mooré has the citation form *gígemde* "lion", the cognate Kusaal word normally appears in the **Short Form** (SF) *gbīgim*. This is not a simple historical matter, however: the Kusaal final vowel is still present in certain contexts. It reappears clause-finally when the clause contains a negation, ends a question, or is used as a vocative: the final word then appears as a **Long Form** (LF):

Lì à nē gbīgim. "It's a lion."
3IN COP FOC lion:SG.

Lì k̄ā' gbīgimnε=∅. "It's not a lion."
3IN NEG.BE lion:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē gbìgìmnεε=∅. "Is it a lion?"
3IN COP FOC lion:SG=PQ.

As here, after apocope any final consonant cluster drops the second consonant.

This appearance of surface untruncated forms rather than truncated is regarded as being triggered by following **prosodic clitics**, which have no segmental form of their own but show their presence by this effect on the preceding word form. There are four prosodic clitics: negative NEG, vocative VOC, polar-question PQ and content-question CQ, with different effects on preceding vowel length and tone. In interlinear glossing they are represented by =∅, as above.

In citing word forms, superscripts are used to write the parts of words which are dropped everywhere except before prosodic clitics and liaison: *gbīgim*^{NE} "lion", *bīg*^a "child", *k̄k̄*^a "chair", *d̄k̄*^{∅/} "pot."

The phonology of Kusaal is significantly complicated by apocope. For example, apocope deletes segments responsible for rounding and fronting effects on preceding vowels, and renders those effects contrastive. This creates diphthongs, along with emic contrasts among epenthetic vowels. Thus the LF *v̄iugó* "owl" has *iu* for *ii* because of the rounding effect of the suffix vowel. After apocope, the diphthong *iu* in *v̄iug* contrasts with the vowel of *v̄iid* "owls", shortened from *v̄iidé*. Similarly, *āāñdiga* "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel *ɪ*, and appears as *āāñdig* after apocope, whereas *gàadvgo* "passing" has rounding to *ɔ* before the flexion *-go*, and after apocope this becomes contrastive in the SF *gàadvg*.

Liaison words cause a preceding word to appear as a LF modified by the loss of all original vowel quality contrasts in final non-root vowels. All non-contrastive personal pronouns fall into this category, for example:

M̄ p̄v̄ b̄ócdā=∅. "I don't want to."
1SG NEG.IND want=NEG. LF *b̄ócdā* preceding negative clitic.

M̄ b̄ócdī_bá. "I love them."
1SG want 3PL.OB. Modified LF *b̄ócdī* before liaison.

M̄ p̄v̄ z̄ábē=∅. "I haven't fought."
1SG NEG.IND fight=NEG. LF *z̄ábē* preceding negative clitic.

M̄ zábī *ḿbá.* "I've fought them."
 1SG fight 3PL.OB. Modified LF *zábī* before liaison.

In interlinear glossing, liaison is marked by *ḿ*, as above.

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form *CV* to a single consonant. Thus with *bòɔd*^a "wants, loves" and *f*^o "you (sg)":

M̄ p̄ *bòɔdī* *fó=∅.* "I don't love you."
 1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB=NEG. LF *f*^o of the pronoun "you (sg)"

M̄ *bòɔdī* *f.* "I love you."
 1SG want 2SG.OB. SF *f* of the pronoun "you (sg)"

The locative postposition *n*^ε is another such word. It is conventionally written solid with the preceding host word, but hyphenated to it in this grammar:

Lì k̄á' *k̄ka=∅.* "It's not a chair."
 3IN NEG.BE chair:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄á' *k̄kí-né=∅.* "It's not in a chair."
 3IN NEG.BE chair:SG-LOC=NEG.

k̄kí-n "in a chair"
 chair:SG-LOC

Lì k̄á' *d̄k̄s=∅.* "It's not a pot."
 3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄á' *d̄k̄í-nē=∅.* "It's not in a pot."
 3IN NEG.BE pot:SG-LOC=NEG.

d̄k̄í-n "in a pot"
 pot:SG-LOC

The object pronoun ^o "him/her" has the LF *o* [ɔ], which is deleted entirely by apocope, producing a SF which is segmentally *zero*. Its presence is still shown by the replacement of the preceding host-word-final vowel mora by [ɔ], always written *o*.

Compare the forms with *f*^o "you (sg)" with the forms with ^o "him/her":

\dot{M} $p\bar{u}$ $b\acute{o}d\bar{i}$ $f\acute{o}=\emptyset$.	"I don't love you."	
1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB=NEG.		
\dot{M} $b\acute{o}d\bar{i}$ f .	"I love you"	
1SG want 2SG.OB.		
\dot{M} $p\bar{u}$ $b\acute{o}d\acute{o}$ $-o=\emptyset$.	"I don't love him/her."	[ɱpobɔ:dɔ:]
1SG NEG.IND want-3AN.OB=NEG.	LF <i>o</i> of the pronoun "him/her"	
\dot{M} $b\acute{o}d\bar{o}$ \emptyset .	"I love him/her."	[ɱbɔ:dɔ]
1SG want 3AN.OB.	SF \emptyset of the pronoun "him/her"	

A liaison word form ^{ya} of the 2pl *subject* pronoun follows imperative verb forms. It similarly loses its entire segmental form in the SF, because *y* left word-final by apocope is completely deleted unless preceded by a back vowel:

$G\grave{o}s\bar{i}m!$	"Look!"
Look:IMP!	
$G\grave{o}s\bar{i}m\bar{i}$ $\emptyset!$	"Look ye!" by apocope from $g\grave{o}s\bar{i}m\bar{i}$ - $y\acute{a}$
Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!	

Liaison words are not all bound to the left. *Right*-bound non-contrastive personal pronouns cause inhibition of apocope in the *preceding* word, as do the personifier particle \grave{a} - and all words beginning with certain prefixes.

Two liaison-word particles which have the underlying form *n* also frequently lose their own segmental form entirely. As with *o* "him/her", their presence is then apparent only from the modified LF of the preceding word and from tone.

\grave{m} $z\bar{u}g\acute{u}$ \emptyset $z\grave{a}b\grave{i}d$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $z\acute{u}g$	"because my head hurts" (nominaliser- \grave{n})
1SG head:SG NZ fight:IPFV ART upon	
\dot{M} $z\bar{u}g\bar{v}$ \emptyset $z\acute{a}b\grave{i}d$.	"My head hurts." (catenator- <i>n</i>)
1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV.	

Kusaal has contrastive vowel glottalisation.

Vowel **breaking** has caused earlier ε \circ $\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $\circ\circ$ (preserved as such in the Toende dialect) to become $\grave{i}a$ $\grave{u}a$ $i\theta$ $u\theta$, realised as written but patterning throughout as phonemic *monophthongs*. Kusaal has also developed many phonemic diphthongs from fusion of vowels after deletion of intervocalic **g* and from final fronting and rounding effects left contrastive by apocope, as mentioned above.

The **tone system** resembles the locally common terracing two-tone type in structure, but the original H toneme has become mid (M), displaced by a new H derived from original HL on a single mora. The tone-bearing unit is now the syllable. Acute, macron and grave mark H, M and L respectively. *CVVC* syllables may also have a circumflex (X) toneme, derived from HL on a single syllable. Macron and grave marks apply not only to the syllable on which they are placed, but to all following syllables within the same word up to another tone mark; the next toneme after an acute or circumflex is marked normally.

There is a frequent tone overlay marking verb phrases in main clauses, and pervasive external tone sandhi.

Open-class word stems are built around a root consisting of a short or long vowel, preceded by at most one consonant, and followed by consonants separated by epenthetic high vowels, or forming very limited sets of two-member clusters, e.g. *dī'əsídìb* "receivers", *bāḡıdīb* "wise men", *gbīgımne* "lion" LF.

The only consonant clusters possible within stems following the root are *kk tt pp ḡḡ nn mm ll mn*, of which *kk tt pp ḡḡ* are written and usually realised as single. Clusters cannot occur word-initially or finally, except for final *mm*.

Many nominal stems have a **prefix** before the root, taking the forms *CV-* or *CVn-*, less often *CVlın-* or *CVsın-*, e.g. *pīpīrɨg* "desert." Such stems may thus contain *nC* clusters between prefix and root: *dīndēog* "chameleon."

Other word-internal clusters are confined to loanwords.

Flexional **suffixes**, like prefixes, have only a three-way vowel contrast *a/i/v*. Suffix vowels are lost by apocope in SFs; when they are retained before prosodic clitics, *i v* appear lowered to *ε ɔ*. Clusters of two consonants occur freely across word division (including within compounds) due to apocope of word-final short vowels.

Most common **particles** are short bound words, like the postposed article *lā* "the", and the preverbal tense marker *dāa* "before yesterday."

Flexion is entirely by suffixing, as is all productive stem derivation. Noun prefixes do not usually have identifiable meanings, but prefixes derived from older flexions occur in some quantifiers and adverbs.

Kusaal flexional morphology is underlyingly straightforward, but with some morphophonemic complications; these words all belong to the same *ga|se* noun class:

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	<i>bōvs</i>	"goats"
<i>sàbùa</i>	"lover"	<i>sàbùəs</i>	"lovers"
<i>nūa</i>	"hen"	<i>nōvs</i>	"hens"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	<i>kōgvs</i>	"chairs"
<i>zàk</i>	"compound"	<i>zà'as</i>	"compounds"
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	<i>dà'as</i>	"markets"
<i>bòḡ</i>	"donkey"	<i>bòmıs</i>	"donkeys"
<i>tēḡ</i>	"land"	<i>tēḡñs</i>	"lands"

Noun flexion marks singular and plural by suffixes which come in matched pairs, allowing a division of all nouns into seven noun classes with relatively few exceptions, other than those transparently explicable for phonological reasons. As with most such systems, the classes show a partial correlation with meaning. The bare stem is itself an important part of the paradigm, because (as is typical for Oti-Volta languages) it is extensively used as the first element in **compound** formation, which is a highly productive process. Among other things it is the normal way for a head noun to combine with an adjective or dependent pronoun:

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>pìəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>bò-pìəliɡ</i>	"white goat"
<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>sī'a</i>	"another"	→ <i>bò-sī'a</i>	"another goat"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>pìəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>kòg-pìəliɡ</i>	"white chair"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>kàŋā</i>	"this"	→ <i>kòg-kàŋā</i>	"this chair"

In most Gur languages the noun classes form a grammatical gender system, with pronoun and adjective agreement. Like most Western Oti-Volta languages, Kusaal has abandoned grammatical gender in favour of a natural animate/inanimate opposition. Noun classes remain central to noun morphology.

Kusaal makes no grammatical distinction between male and female.

A characteristic feature of Western Oti-Volta is a striking simplification of **verb flexion**, with just one "conjugation" of prototypical dual-aspect verbs, using the bare stem for perfective aspect and marking the imperfective with a single suffix *-da*. There are few real irregularities, though unobvious consonant changes and vowel deletions again complicate the surface picture:

<i>kō</i>	pfv	<i>kōvd</i>	ipfv	"kill"
<i>ñyē</i>	pfv	<i>ñyēt</i>	ipfv	"see"
<i>vōl</i>	pfv	<i>vōn</i>	ipfv	"swallow"

Dual-aspect verbs also have an imperative flexion *-ma*, appearing only in positive polarity when the verb has independency-marking tone overlay (see below.)

Single-aspect verbs typically express body positions, relationships, or predicative adjectival senses. They have only a single finite form, which always has imperfective aspect; as a lexical matter, they can be dynamic or stative:

Ò d̄iɡi nē. "She's lying down."
3AN be.lying.down FOC.

Ò m̄òr búŋ. "She has a donkey."
3AN have donkey.SG.

Ò gìm. "She's short."
3AN be.short.

There are two verbs "to be": *bè* "exist, be in a place" and *àɛñ* "be something/somewhat." *Àɛñ* is usually followed by the focus particle *nē* whenever syntactically permitted, and then loses both the final *ɛ* and the nasalisation:

Ò à nē bīg. "He's a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

The two "be" verbs share a common negative-verb counterpart *kā'e* "not be", which usually appears as *kā'* clause-medially:

Ò kā' bīga=∅. "He's not a child."
3AN NEG.BE child:SG=NEG.

Kusaal is well-provided with word-level derivational processes. For example, regular deverbal gerunds, agent nouns and instrument nouns can be made freely from most verb types: *kōvb* "killing", *kōvd* "killer", *kōvdíŋ* "killing implement."

Compound formation, besides being the regular way of adding adjectives to nouns, is common in NP formation generally; there are many set expressions, but compounds of all kinds can be created freely: e.g. *gbìgim-kōvd* "lion-killer."

Syntactically, Kusaal is strictly SVO, with indirect objects preceding direct:

Ì tís dū'atà bōŋ lā.
1SG give doctor:SG donkey:SG ART.
"I've given Doctor the donkey."

As seen above, an adjective follows its noun and forms a compound with it. There are two native prepositions, *nē* "with" and *wōv* "like" (*nē* also links NPs and some AdvPs in the sense "and", but *kà* is "and" when linking VPs and clauses.)

In other respects Kusaal prefers head-final structures, with possessors, for example, always preceding their heads:

̀n bīg "my child"
dāy lā bīg "the man's child"

Adverbs often appear as postpositions preceded by NP dependents, as with *zūg* "head" used adverbially in *téeb̀l lā zūg* "onto the table."

The liaison word n^{ε} mentioned above is a very general locative postposition. It is hyphenated to the preceding word, and in its SF is reduced to n :

$m\grave{u}'ar\bar{i}-n$ "in a lake" ($m\grave{u}'ar\varepsilon$ "lake", LF)
lake:SG-LOC

The verb is preceded by particles expressing tense, mood and polarity. There is no agreement with any noun phrase, whether for person or number.

$Gb\bar{i}g\bar{i}m\ l\bar{a}\ s\acute{a}\ k\grave{u}\ b\acute{u}m\grave{i}s\ \ l\bar{a}.$
Lion:SG ART TNS kill donkey:PL ART.
"The lion killed the donkeys yesterday."

$Gb\bar{i}g\bar{i}m\ l\bar{a}\ d\bar{a}a\ p\bar{u}\ \ k\bar{u}\ b\acute{u}\eta\ \ l\acute{a}a=\emptyset.$
Lion:PL ART TNS NEG.IND kill donkey:SG ART=NEG.
"The lions didn't kill the donkey."

The focus particle $n\bar{\varepsilon}$ may focus VPs or VP constituents (as after $\grave{a}\eta\check{n}$ "be something" above), but if no unbound words intervene between the verb and $n\bar{\varepsilon}$ and the verb meaning permits, it instead has an *aspectual* sense, limiting the reference of the VP to "at the time referred to in particular":

$N\bar{i}d\bar{i}b\ \ k\bar{p}\check{i}d.$ "People die."
Person:PL die:IPFV.

$N\bar{i}d\bar{i}b\ \ k\bar{p}\check{i}d\ n\bar{\varepsilon}.$ "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

The Kusaal VP is specifically marked for the *absence* of subordination. Main and content clauses have **independency marking** of the first VP, primarily marked by a tone overlay and by the tone sandhi of subject pronouns. The overlay is absent in negative polarity or irrealis mood and with various preverbal particles; marking itself is absent after the clause-linker $k\grave{a}$ even in *coordinating* function, as in narrative:

$\grave{O}\ z\grave{a}b\ d\acute{u}'at\grave{a}.$ "He's fought the doctor."
3AN fight doctor:SG.

$\grave{O}\ g\grave{o}s\ d\acute{u}'at\grave{a}.$ "He's looked at the doctor."
3AN look.at doctor:SG.

with the verbs $z\grave{a}b\ g\grave{o}s$ showing identical tones because of the overlay; contrast

Kà ò záb d'atà. "And he fought the doctor."
And 3AN fight doctor:SG.

Kà ò gōs d'atà. "And he looked at the doctor."
And 3AN look.at doctor:SG.

When the verb itself has the tone overlay, clause-final perfectives are followed by the particle *yā*, and imperatives of inflecting verbs take the flexion *-ma*:

Dā gōs d'atā=∅! "Don't look at the doctor!"
NEG.IMP look.at doctor:SG=NEG!

but *Gòsim d'atà!* "Look at the doctor!"
Look.at:IMP doctor:SG!

Main clauses frequently have time or circumstance adjuncts preceding the subject; conditional clauses, with *yà'* "if" after their own subjects, appear here:

Fò yá' bōd, m ná tīs f búŋ.
2SG if want, 1SG IRR give 2SG.OB donkey:SG.
"If you want, I'll give you a donkey."

Kusaal does not have canonical serial verbs, but clause subordination by **catenation** creates very similar structures with the same-subject catenator particle *n*; in this example *tīs* "give" is used simply as means of adding an indirect object:

M dāa kûes bōŋv ∅ tīs d'atà.
1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
"I sold a donkey to Doctor."

Clause catenation can introduce a different subject by using *kà* instead of *n*; one use is adnominal, with a meaning like a non-restrictive relative clause:

Lì à nē gbīgim lá kà m ñyēt.
3IN COP FOC lion:SG ART and 1SG see:IPFV.
"It's the lion I see."

A second type of subordination is **nominalisation** by insertion of the nominaliser particle *ñ* (frequently realised as segmental *∅*) after the subject:

gb̄igim lá_ø k̄ō b̄óŋ "the lion having killed the donkey"
 lion:SG ART NZ kill donkey:SG ART

One type of relative clause is internally-headed:

[*Paul ñ s̄ōb gb̄àŋ-s̄'ā n t̄is Efesus d̄im l̄ā*]_ø *ñwá*.
 Paul NZ write letter-INDF.IN CAT give Ephesus one.PL ART CAT this.
 "This is [the letter Paul wrote to the Ephesians]." (NT heading)

Here *gb̄àŋ-s̄'ā* is *gb̄àŋ* "book" compounded with the dependent pronoun *s̄'ā* which marks it as antecedent, and the bracketed sequence is the relative clause.

Kusaal has also developed an antecedent-initial relative clause type where the nominaliser has fused with a preceding demonstrative to form a relative pronoun:

d̄àŋ-k̄ànì p̄ŋ'ā kp̄í l̄ā "the man whose wife has died"
 man-REL.SG wife:SG die ART

A third type of subordinate clause uses the initial linker particles *yē* or *kà* in **complementisation**. Purpose clauses are of this type:

M̄ ná t̄i_ f t̄im yé f̄ò n̄if d̄ā z̄ábē=ø.
 1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine that 2SG eye:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.
 "I'll give you medicine so your eye won't hurt."

Content clauses are formally identical to main clauses, and have independency marking, but with personal pronouns altered as in indirect speech. They are used for reporting speech and after verbs expressing communication or thought. Most are introduced by *yē* "that." There are logophoric uses of contrastive personal pronouns:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir, ka po'a la ye on pu lem bood ye o sid la di po'a ya'ase.

D̄āŋ d̄á b̄è_ø m̄ōrí_ò p̄ŋ'à-ȳimmír, k̄à p̄ŋ'ā l̄ā yē
 Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that
ōn p̄w l̄ém b̄òod yé ò s̄id l̄ā dí p̄ŋ'ā yá'asē=ø.
 3AN.CNTR NEG.IND again want that 3AN husband:SG ART take wife:SG again=NEG.

"There was a man who had only one wife. [And] the wife said that **she** did not want her husband to take another wife." KSS p26

Clefting constructions are based on catenation. By ellipsis they produce structures using *n* for focussing subjects and *kà* for foregrounding other elements:

M̄ zūgv_ø zábìd. "My head is hurting."
 1SG head CAT fight:IPFV. (Reply to "Where is the pain?")

Gbīgím kà m̄ dāa ñyē. "It was a lion that I saw."
 Lion:SG and 1SG TNS see.

Although there is no syntactic movement rule for interrogative words, they are frequently preposed using *kà*, and focussing with *n* is compulsory for *ànò'òn* "who?" as subject even though it remains *in situ* before the verb.

Fù bôod bó=ø? "What do you want?"
 2SG want what=CQ?

Bó kà fù ñyētá=ø? "What can you see?"
 What and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

Ànò'ònì_ø k̄v búbŋ lā=ø?
 Who CAT kill donkey:SG ART=CQ?
 "Who has killed the donkey?"

Preposing with *kà* is often simply due to ordering constraints and then has no foregrounding implication.

Kusaal narrative links clause after clause with *kà*, omitting tense marking so long as the action is preceding in sequence, but including it when there are descriptive passages or "flashbacks":

Apuzotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa. Ka daar yinni ka biig la ne o saam zin'i sonsid. Ka biig la ti yel o saam ye ...

À-Pv-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bīg mà'aa.

PERS-NEG.IND-fear:IPFV-thing:SG TNS COP FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only.

Kà dāar yīnní kà bīg lā né ò sàam zīñ'i_ø sōñsíd.

And day:SG one and child:SG ART with 3AN father:SG sit CAT converse:IPFV.

Kà bīg lā tí yèl ò sàam yē ...

And child:SG ART after say 3AN father:SG that...

"Fears-nothing was his father's only son. [And] one day the son and father were sitting talking. [And] then the son said to his father ..." KSS p35

The past-tense marker *dà* occurs only in the first clause. The second *kà* is preposing the time expression *dāar yīnní* in a foregrounding construction, while the first and third are carrying on the narrative.

2 Sound system

All segments constitute **morae**, except for consonants immediately followed by vowels within the same word; other consonants represent non-vocalic morae. Written *k p t η* between vowels represent *kk pp tt ηη*, so that e.g. *sú'əη* "rabbit" has three morae, while the corresponding Long Form *sú'əηà* has four.

All vocalic morae form **syllables**, except for final morae of long and "overlong" (three-mora) vowels/diphthongs. Overlong vowel sequences are disyllabic, dividing after the first mora: Long Form *nū-áa* "hen." Syllables may be light (C)V or heavy (C)VV~(C)VC~(C)VVC. Of these, (C)VVC syllables are superheavy. A CV syllable is superlight if it is not word-initial, word-final or root-initial, and is preceded by another CV syllable which is not itself superlight, as with the bolded syllables in the Long Forms *dī'əsí**dtb**à* "receivers", *sī'gísí**dtb**à* "lowerers", *mò**l**ífo* "gazelle."

2.1 Consonants

The following symbols are used for consonant phonemes, with *kp gb* as digraphs; values resemble the corresponding IPA symbols, except as noted below.

<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>kp</i>		
<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>gb</i>		
<i>η</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>			
	<i>s</i>			<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>
	<i>z</i>			<i>v</i>	
	<i>l</i>				
	<i>r</i>		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>

kp gb z v are only found prefix- or root-initially, and *w* only root-initially. Syllable-final *y w* are replaced by the glides *i/ε* and *u* respectively 3.6.

η does not occur prefix- or root-initially. Phonemic *h* occurs only syllable-initially in loanwords, but these include the very common *hālí* "as far as."

Root syllables with no initial consonant are optionally realised with initial [ʔ]: *úvn*^{nɛ} "dry season" [ʔv:n]~ [v:n]; this is not regarded as a consonant phoneme.

k t p represent [k^h] [t^h] [p^h] prefix- or root-initially, [k] [t] [p] elsewhere. Except after prefixes, word-internal *k t p η* represent /kk/ /tt/ /pp/ /ηη/, but they are only *realised* as geminates in very slow speech. Word-final *g d b* are partly devoiced, but still contrast with *k t p*.

Toende Kusaal word-final *g d b* normally become *k t p*, but *g b* (not *d*) remain at the end of verb perfectives and cbs; there are minimal pairs like *ya'ab* "mould pots" versus *ya'ap* "potter." Apocope in Toende thus occurs in two steps, with the round for right-bound words and perfectives *following* word-final stop devoicing.

k g ŋ are palatalised before front vowels, for some speakers even becoming palatal stops or affricates. They may represent palatal stops or affricates in loans:

<i>tóklàe</i>	"torch"	← English "torchlight"
<i>sógìà</i>	"soldier"	(probably via Hausa <i>sojà</i>)

Velars are labialised before rounded vowels.

Before *a* and *ɔ* velars are pronounced further back, even as uvulars: *kòbɪgā* [qʷɔbɪgɑ] "hundred."

t d n s z l r represent alveolars in general, but *s z* are often dental, or even interdental; *l* is never velarised. Before *u*, *s* and *z* are sometimes heard as [ʃ] [ʒ].

s is often realised as [h] word-internally; it can represent *h* in loanwords:

<i>Àláasìd (dâar)</i>	"Sunday"	← Hausa <i>Lahàdì</i> (← Arabic)
<i>Dàsmáanì</i>	ʃAbdu-r-Raĥma:n(i)	(personal name)
or <i>Dàhamáanì</i>		

d represents [d], and *r* represents [r], except after an epenthetic vowel, where it is [l]. However, there is no contrast prefix- or root-initially, where [d] appears by default, but often [r] phrase-internally after vowels (always so within compounds):

<i>nō-dāvɔ</i> [nɔraʊɔ]	"cock"	<i>nā'-dâad</i> [n̄ara:d]	"oxen"
vs <i>wìd-dāvɔ</i> [wɪd:aʊɔ]	"stallion"		

d and *r* contrast elsewhere, though in rapid speech *d* can still resemble [r]:

<i>èñdɪɔ</i>	"unplug"	<i>ēñrɪɔ</i>	"shift along"
<i>mōd</i>	"swell"	<i>mōr</i>	"have"
<i>yàad</i>	"graves"	<i>yāar</i>	"scatter"
<i>zàbɪd</i>	"fight" (ipfv)	<i>zàbɪr</i>	"fight" (gerund)

Word-initially, *d* will be written throughout, but following traditional orthography, root-initial *r* is generally used after prefix vowels: *tīrâan* "neighbour", *àrazàk* "riches", *àrazánà* "heaven", *àrakóñ'* "one."

Within Western Oti-Volta only Mooré and Agolle Kusaal contrast *r* and *d*. Agolle *r* corresponds to Dagbani *l* but *r* elsewhere: Mampruli *yaarim*, Dagbani *yalim* = *yàarɪm* "salt"; Mampruli *tubri*, Dagbani *tibili* = *tòbɪr* "ear"; Mampruli *mari*, Dagbani *mali* = *mōr* "have." Postvocalic Agolle/Mooré *d* correspond to *r* elsewhere: Mampruli/Dagbani *mɔri* = *mōd* "swell"; Mampruli *moori*, Dagbani *mɔri* = *mōɔd* "grass."

n is syllabic when representing various particles, and as the number prefix; it assimilates to the position of articulation of a following consonant.

m is syllabic when standing alone as the 1st sg pronoun "I, my"; it does *not* assimilate to a following consonant.

The sequence *-mi* preceding liaison can absorb the vowel to become *-m*:

<i>Gòsimī m!</i>	"Look at me!"
<i>Gòsīm.</i>	"Look at me!" vs <i>Gòsim!</i> "Look!"
<i>Gòsimí fò nû'ug!</i>	"Look at your hand!"
<i>Gòsím fò nû'ug!</i>	<i>id</i>

kp gb represent [k̄p] [ḡb]; *kp* is unaspirated. They occur only before unrounded vowels, and in reduplication-prefixes for some speakers: *kpòkpàrig* or *kùkpàrig* "palm tree." Labialised velars might be analysed as allophones of *kp gb* rather than *k g*; cf *kūm* "death" beside *kpì* "die"; *kōbɪr* "bone", Moba *kpáblì*; *kpàkōr* "tortoise", Dagbani *kpàkpílí*.

In loanwords *kp gb* represent Hausa labialised velars:

<i>bákpàɛ</i>	"week"	← Hausa <i>bakwàì</i> "seven"
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y w are [j] [w] respectively. They are strongly nasalised before nasalised vowels, and are then written *ñy ñw* with no nasalisation marking on the vowel:

<i>ñyē</i>	[j̃ɛ]	"see"	<i>ñwāɔɔ</i>	[w̃ãɔɔ]	"moon"
<i>ñwè'</i>	[w̃ɛ̃]	"beat"			

ñy ñw reflect earlier initial *ɲ ŋ̄m* respectively, cf Dagbani *nyá* "see", *ɲmariga* "moon", *ɲme* "beat." Some Toende speakers retain initial [ɲ] [ŋ̄m]. Kusaal initial nasalised vowels reflect earlier initial *ɲ*: Dagbani *ɲubi*, Kusaal *ɔ̃nb* "chew."

2.2 Vowels

The vowel system displays marked **positional prominence**. Diphthongs, glottalisation, emic nasalisation and full quality contrasts appear only in roots 3.3.

Agolle Kusaal has a nine-vowel system. Seven of these are written by default as *a ɛ ɔ i u ɪ v*, respectively [a] [ɛ] [ɔ] [i] [u] [ɪ] [ʊ]; the corresponding long vowels contrast with short vowels in length, but not quality, and are written by doubling the vowel symbol: *bāa* [ba:] "dog." *Mà'aa* "only" has a unique overlong monophthong. The vowel *ɪ* is more central after velars and labials, and *v* is slightly fronted after alveolars and *y*; *u* is fronted after alveolars: *zūg* "head" [zyg].

Lax *ɪ v* do not appear after *m* or *n* in roots or prefixes. Distinctions of short *i/ɪ* and *u/v* have a very low functional load even in roots. The allophony [ɪ]~[i] and [ʊ]~[u] in epenthetic and prefix vowels 3.3 is ignored, only *ɪ v* being used in writing.

The two remaining vowels are the **broken vowels** *ia ua*; the corresponding long vowels are *iə uə*. Though realised [i̥a] [u̥a] [iə] [uə] as written, they pattern throughout as *monophthongs*, and will be referred to as such below.

<i>tjàk</i>	[t̥ɹak]	"change"	<i>pṽāk</i>	[p̥ɹak]	"female"
<i>kṽà'</i>	[k̥p̥i̥a]	"shape wood"	<i>kjà</i>	[k̥i̥a]	"cut"
<i>p̥ìəliḡ</i>	[pi̥əliḡ]	"white"	<i>bū'əs</i>	[bu̥əs]	"ask"

Before *y* word-internally, *ia ua* are realised [i̥i] [u̥i] and written *ie ue*.

<i>bṽēyá</i>	[bi̥ija]	"elder siblings"	<i>sṽēyá</i>	[s̥u̥ija]	"roads"
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Word-final *iə uə* only occur by monophthongisation in external sandhi 4.2 4.3.

Nasalised *iñ uñ* (including after *m n*) occur only before underlying **g*, and in the ipfv of fusion verbs by analogy 3.7. Elsewhere they have fallen together with *εñ ɔñ*: cf *n̄ɔr* "times", Mooré *náooré*, *n̄ɔr* "mouth", Mooré *nóorè*.

Short *ia ua* have just two origins. Apocope 3.2 shortens final *iə uə* to *ia ua*:

<i>kjà</i>	SF of <i>kjà</i>	"cut"	<i>kṽā</i>	SF of <i>kūa</i>	"hoe"
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Elsewhere, *ia ua* replace *ε ɔ* before *k* and before underlying **g*, which is deleted with vowel fusion 3.7. *B̀̀k* "pit" (vs *bṽ̀̀k* "split") is due to the change **ṽakkv* → *ɔkkv*, while *tēk* "pull" (vs *tjàk* "change") is due to shortening of a long vowel before an original plosive cluster **tεεkkɪ*; presumably *n̄k* "pick up" is from **nɔɔkkɪ*.

Toende Kusaal preserves the equivalents of the broken vowels as phonetic monophthongs, more open than the vowels corresponding to *ε ɔ εε ɔɔ*: Toende *sēēs* = *sīəs* "waists" vs *pē'ēs* = *pē'ēs* "sheep (pl)"; Toende *b'ɔs* = *bū'əs* "ask" vs *tōom* = *tōom* "depart." Proto-Kusaal preserved further contrasts: Mooré *oo* corresponds to *ɔɔ/uə*, but Mooré *ao* to *ɔɔ/ɔɔ*: Mooré *bàoda*, Toende *b̀̀̀t*, Agolle *b̀̀̀d*, "want, wish."

Non-glottalised long vowels are shortened word-internally before *k t p* and *y*:

<i>gàad</i>	"pass" pfv	<i>gàt</i>	"pass" ipfv
<i>tēεḡ</i>	"drag"	<i>tēk</i>	"pull" (<i>*tεεkkɪ</i>)
<i>t̄ɔḡ</i>	"bitter"	<i>t̄ḡ</i>	"be bitter" (<i>*t̄ɔɔya</i>)

The process also applies in loanwords: *àt̄iṽuk* "sea" ← Hausa *tèeku*, *k̀̀t̀̀v̀̀* "court."

Short *i u* sometimes appear for expected *ii uu*. *Sũñf* "heart" has a short *uñ* which is uniquely due neither to apocope nor shortening before *y*; *n̄if* "eye" has a short vowel before **nC* → *C*; *b̀̀g̀̀úm* "fire" has the tonemes expected for **b̀̀ug̀̀úm*; Hausa *duuniyàa* "world" and *tiilàs* "necessity" have become *dũniya* and *t̄l̀̀ás*.

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols other than *ia ua ie ue iə uə* represent phonemic **diphthongs**. After a vowel symbol *e* represents [ɪ], *i* is [i̥] (found only after *u*), and *u* represents [ʊ]:

<i>sōḡñ</i>	[sõɪ̥]	"witch"	<i>mùḡ</i>	[mũi̥]	"rice"
<i>dāḡ</i>	[daʊ̥]	"man"	<i>bḡāḡñk</i>	[bḡãʊ̥k]	"shoulder"

Unlike *y w*, *e i u* do not form syllable boundaries. Final *-V_e -V_i -V_u* are glottalised before pause like short vowels (see below.) Initial *ya* contrasts with *ia* in tenseness and timing: *ḡā* "seek" and *yā* "houses" contrast as [ɪa] ~ [ja], not [ʔja] ~ [ja].

The symbol *e* is used for [ɪ] as a non-initial element of a diphthong, except after *ε*, and *o* is used for [ʊ] as a non-initial element of a diphthong, except after *a*.

Diphthongs may be short, long, or overlong. Overlong diphthongs are realised as *disyllabic* with syllable division after the first mora. The only length contrasts in identical environments are *avḡ/aḡv* and word-final *ae/aḡ*. Rounding diphthongs occur only word-finally and before velars, fronting diphthongs word-finally and before *y*.

Primary diphthongs arise from word-final **Vw *Vy* 3.4 and from fusion, fronting and rounding 3.7 3.6. All also occur nasalised, and if not short, glottalised; those written glottalised below *only* occur glottalised.

	<i>ia</i> [ia]	<i>iaa</i> [ia:]
	<i>ḡa'a</i> [ɪḡa:]	
	<i>ua</i> [ua]	<i>uaa</i> [ua:]
	<i>v'a</i> [ʊḡa]	
<i>aḡ</i> [aɪ̥]	<i>ae</i> [aɪ]	<i>aeē</i> [aɪ:]
	<i>ie</i> [iɪ]	<i>ieē</i> [iɪ:]
<i>ḡḡ</i> [ɔɪ̥]	<i>ḡ'e</i> [ɔɪ̥]	
<i>uḡ</i> [uɪ̥]	<i>ui</i> [ui]	
	<i>ue</i> [uɪ]	<i>ueē</i> [uɪ:]
<i>vḡ</i> [ʊɪ̥]	<i>v'e</i> [ʊɪ̥]	
<i>aḡ</i> [aʊ̥]	<i>av</i> [aʊ]	
<i>εḡ</i> [εʊ̥]	<i>eo</i> [εʊ]	
<i>ḡaḡ</i> [ɪaʊ̥]		
<i>uḡ</i> [iʊ̥]	<i>iu</i> [iu]	
	<i>io</i> [iʊ]	

The diphthongs *v'a vñ'a* appear as *ḡaa ḡñ'aa* respectively when LF-final. Long diphthongs become overlong before the polar-question prosodic clitic 4.1.

Secondary diphthongs are created by *replacement* of final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] [ʊ] before liaison words 4.2: ^o [ʊ] "him/her" replaces any preceding vowel mora by [ʊ], never [u], and the postposed 2pl subject ^{ya} replaces any preceding vowel mora by [ɪ], never [i]. Any of *a e o i v i u* may precede:

<i>zūó-o</i>	[zuɔ:]	"steal him"	Long Form	3.2
<i>zúo</i>	[zuɔ]	"steal him"	Short Form	
<i>bēiyá</i>	[bɛɪja]	"be ye!"	Long Form	
<i>bēi</i>	[bɛɪ]	"be ye!"	Short Form	

The symbol *o* represents [ʊ] in the 3sg pronoun *o*, and the mora preceding it in liaison: thus *dāvog* [daʊg] "male", but e.g.

<i>ò bīig</i>	[ɔbi:g]	"her child"	<i>zúo</i>	[zuɔ]	"steal him"
<i>dà'o</i>	[dɑɔ]	"bought for him"	<i>āño</i>	[ãõ]	"be him/her"

Nasalisation is marked by a following *ñ*, but if the vowel or diphthong is also glottalised, *ñ* precedes the ' mark, and after initial *y* or *w*, *ñ* precedes the *y* or *w*:

<i>tēēñs</i>	[tɛ̃:s]	"lands"	<i>áñsìb</i>	[ãsɪb]	"mother's brother"
<i>gēñ</i>	[gɛ̃]	"get tired"	<i>gēñ'</i>	[gɛ̃ʔ]	"get angry"
<i>gēñ'ed</i>	[gɛ̃:d]	"get angry" ipfv	<i>ñwām</i>	[wãm]	"calabash"

The *ñ* also precedes *o* [ʊ] before the 3sg pronoun: *āño* [ãõ] "be him/her."

Nasalisation is **automatic** on long vowels after *m n*: *mèed* "build" ipfv [mɛ̃:d].

Short *iñ uñ* are laxer than oral *i u*, but there are no short **iñ *uñ*. They nearly always arise from apocope 3.2 of *iiñ uuñ*, as in *sīñf* "bee" cb *sīñ-*, *zùuñg* "vulture", cb *zùñ-*; the only exception is *sūñf* "heart" (pl *sūñyá*), written *svnf* in KB.

Nasalled *iəñ uəñ* occur only in fusion verbs 3.7.

Contrastive nasalisation is often the legacy of lost initial **ŋ *ɲ *ŋm*, or arises before underlying **ns *nf*, as do all cases of *uñ vñ*: *píiñf* "genet", pl *pīiní*; *zú'vñf* "dawadawa seed", pl *zō'vñí*; *tèŋ-zùvñs* "foreign lands", sg *tèŋ-zùŋ*.

Glottalisation does not affect vowel quality. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel symbol (including *u*) other than *ɨ*:

	<i>dà'</i>	[dɑ]	"buy"	<i>dà'a</i>	[dɑ:]	"market"
	<i>kù'əm</i>	[kʊəm]	"water"	<i>pʊ'ā</i>	[pʊɑ]	"woman"
but	<i>dī'ā</i>	[dɪɑ]	"get dirty"			

Glottalisation may be realised as creakiness or as [ʔ] after the first vocalic mora, but is in any case a vowel feature. Flapping of *d* occurs after *V'* and *V* alike, and ' is never treated as beginning a syllable. Glottalisation arising from deletion of **g* after *a ĩa ʉa* 3.7 is phonetically identical.

Word-final short vowels and diphthongs ending statements and commands, but not questions, become glottalised; for example *dāʉ* "man" is realised [daʉ]/[daʉʔ], and *gēñ* "get tired" falls together with *gēñ'* "get angry."

Farefare, Nabit and Talni also preserve vowel glottalisation: *yō'vr* "name", Farefare *yó'úréré*; *kù'əm* "water", Talni *kwoʔm*; *kpá'vŋ* "guinea fowl", Nabit *kpa'uŋ*; *nō-ñyâ'aŋ* "hen", Nabit *nɔnya'aŋ*. Nawdm has *h* [ʔ] in many cognate words, e.g. *mtáħ'* "three" = Kusaal *ntáñ'*; *núħú* "arm, hand" = *nû'ug*.

Glottalised short vowels nearly all arise by apocope 3.2. Besides *kā'ę* "not be" (← **kagi*) all other cases precede *m* or *ŋ* in closed syllables, e.g. *kpè'ŋ* "strengthen", *lā'ŋ* "set alight", *nī'm* "meat", *kō'm* "hunger", *sò'ŋā* "well", *sò'm* "goodness" (but only *sòŋ* pl *sòma* "good.") The vowels are traditionally written long: *sv'vŋa* etc.

Only Agolle Kusaal shows this phenomenon, and only some informants. It probably arose from gemination of *m ŋ*; KB has 385 examples of *an svm* to 47 of *an sv'vm* *àñ sóm* "is good", but 30 of *ka' svm* to 40 of *ka' sv'vm* *kā' súmm* "is not good."

Yām~yā'am is probably a conflation of once-distinct *yām* "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárrm*) and *yā'am* "gall bladder" (Farefare *yá'ám*, Buli *yáam*, Nawdm *ráħm*.)

2.3 Stress

Stress falls on the root syllables of free words, but it is subject to complex sandhi phenomena which have yet to be properly investigated. It is probably never contrastive; *sābíl* "black" and *Sā-bīl* "Zebilla", for example, seem to be homophones, and some roots have been reinterpreted as prefixes: *dītóŋ* "right hand" is derived from *dì* "eat", but also appears as *dàtìŋ*, while *bōtŋ* "cup" is an instrument noun from *bòd* "plant seeds", but has the plural *bōtŋs*, by reanalysis as prefix *bō* + *tŋ*.

Stress affects the realisation of the H toneme, but the relevant phenomena can be described by reference to syllable weight alone.

2.4 Tone

Tone is mostly distinctive as a syntactic marker, but lexical minimal pairs are not uncommon, e.g. *bōk* "weaken", *bòk* "cast lots"; *gāŋ* "choose", *gàŋ* "step over"; *kōk* "chair", *kòk* "ghost"; *pīd* "get bloated", *pìd* "put on a hat, shoes, ring."

The tone-bearing unit is the syllable 2. Every syllable carries a toneme, except for superlight syllables and catenator-*n*, which are toneless, and realised by extension of the toneme of the preceding syllable to cover both. Overlong diphthongs are disyllabic, with syllable division following the first mora, and thus carry two tonemes, as in the Long Form *nūáa* "hen."

There are four tonemes: High (H), marked with an acute: *gél* "egg"; Mid (M), marked with a macron: *bāŋ* "ring"; Low (L), marked with a grave: *bòk* "pit"; and Circumflex (X), marked with a circumflex: *nû'ug* "hand." The circumflex toneme can only appear on a superheavy CVVC syllable; when such a syllable becomes open, H toneme replaces X. Words like *nû'ug* "hand" and *náaf* "cow" thus fall together tonally in their Long Forms 3.2 *nú'ugò* and *náafò*.

Kusaal M toneme corresponds to H in the other Western Oti-Volta languages. H and X tonemes are secondary. M syllables become H before a following L; after a preceding M or by the M-spreading external tone sandhi 4.4.3 superheavy L syllables become X and other L syllables become H.

M toneme is always realised as a level tone; L and H are level except before pause, where they are realised as falling tones, beginning at their usual pitch. X is realised as a falling tone from H to L pitch within the syllable; it differs from H on a superheavy syllable before pause, where the pitch fall occurs on the second mora: contrast *mān sām* "my father", *mān sáam* "my guests."

Macrons and graves apply not only to the syllable they are written on, but to all following unmarked tone-bearing syllables until the next tone mark or until the end of the word, e.g. *bēogv-n* for *bēogv̄-n* "morning", *àñrma* for *àñrmà* "boats." After an acute or circumflex, however, the next tone-bearing syllable is explicitly marked: *bōn-bóòdìr* "desirable thing." After a prefix, a tone mark is written on the root even if the toneme is identical: *zīnzāuŋ* "bat", *kòkpàrɪg* "palm tree."

When *i* carries a tone mark the dot is written below, as in *bīg* "child."

A CV syllable is **superlight** if it is a word-internal non-root syllable and is preceded by another CV syllable which is not itself superlight, working from left to right. Superlight syllables are toneless, and realised with the toneme of the preceding syllable extending over them:

*Bà kã' dī'əsí**ḍ**ibā=∅.* "They are not receivers."
3PL NEG.BE receiver:PL=NEG.

*Lì kã' mól**ɪ**fō=∅.* "It's not a gazelle."
3IN NEG.BE gazelle:SG=NEG.

vs *Ò p̄v zábì**̣** fō=∅.* "He didn't fight you."
3AN NEG.IND fight 2SG.OB=NEG.

Ka ya p̄v siakida. "But you did not agree." (Lk 13:34)
*Kà yà p̄v s**í**ákìdā=∅.* (*k* = /kk/)
And 2PL NEG.IND agree:IPFV=NEG.

H and X tonemes are in certain contexts realised with a preceding downstep, lowering the initial pitch to the level of the last preceding M toneme; the relationship to following tonemes is unaffected. Without an intervening pause,

HH	→	H↓H
HX	→	H↓X
MH	→	M↓H if the next syllable is superheavy CVVC or if the next syllable precedes pause and is not L

Downsteps, normally unwritten, are marked with ↓ in the examples below. Downstep between HH and HX:

Kà m̀ gōs gél lā bēogv-n.

And 1SG look.at egg:SG ART morning-LOC.

"And I looked at the egg in the morning."

but *M̀ gós ↓gél lā bēogv-n.*

1SG look.at egg:SG ART morning-LOC.

"I looked at the egg in the morning."

Kà m̀ gōs náaf lā bēogv-n.

And 1SG look.at donkey:SG ART morning-LOC.

"And I looked at the cow in the morning."

but *M̀ gós ↓náaf lā bēogv-n.*

1SG look.at cow:SG ART morning-LOC.

"I looked at the cow in the morning."

Kà m̀ gōs nû'ug lā bēogv-n.

And 1SG look.at hand:SG ART morning-LOC.

"And I looked at the hand in the morning."

but *M̀ gós ↓nû'ug lā bēogv-n.*

1SG look.at hand:SG ART morning-LOC.

"I looked at the hand in the morning."

MH → M↓H before a superheavy CVVC syllable:

Lì k̄ā' pú-kòǝñrē=∅. "It's not a widow."
3IN NEG.BE widow:SG=NEG.

but *Lì à nē ↓pú-kòǝñr lā.* "It's the widow."
3IN COP FOC widow:SG ART.

Bīig lā sá mē yīr lā.
Child:SG ART TNS build house:SG ART.
"The child built the house yesterday."

but *Bīig lā ↓sá mēɛd yīr lā.*
Child:SG ART TNS build:IPFV house:SG ART.
"The child was building the house yesterday."

Mān bú-sùŋ k̄ā'e=∅. "My good goat isn't there."
1SG.CNTR goat-good:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

and *Mān kúkōr k̄ā'e=∅.* "My voice isn't there."
1SG.CNTR voice:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

but *Mān ↓bú-pìəl k̄ā'e=∅.* "My white goat isn't there."
1SG.CNTR goat-white:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

MH → M↓H when the next syllable is followed by pause, and is not L:

Kà m̄ gōs ↓búŋ lā. "And I looked at the donkey."
And 1SG look.at donkey:SG ART.

Yō↓góm k̄ā'e=∅. "There's no camel."
Camel:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Lì à nē ↓náaf lā. "It's the cow."
3IN COP FOC COW:SG ART.

Ò p̄w yādi ↓gídā=∅. "He isn't scattering."
3AN NEG.IND scatter:IPFV=NEG.

Lì k̄ā' bī-↓púŋā=∅. "It's not a girl."
3IN NEG.BE child-girl:SG=NEG.

Ò p̄v ñyē ↓sú'vgā=∅. "She didn't find a knife."
3AN NEG.IND see knife:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄ā' ñyī ↓ríf̄=∅. "It's not an egusi seed."
3IN NEG.BE egusi:SG=NEG.

but Kà ì ḡs búŋ l̄ā bēogv-n.
And 1SG look.at donkey:SG ART morning-LOC.
"And I looked at the donkey in the morning." (*l̄ā* not prepausal)

Yūgóm l̄ā k̄ā'e=∅. "The camel's not there."
Camel:SG ART NEG.BE=NEG. (*l̄ā* not prepausal)

Lì à nē d̄óg l̄ā. "It's the hut." (MX not MH)
3IN COP FOC hut:SG ART.

Ànó'òní ∅ yādi ḡídà=∅? "Who is scattering?" (L after H)
Who CAT scatter:IPFV=CQ?

Lì k̄ā' bī-p̄úŋàa=∅? "Isn't it a girl?" (L after H)
3IN NEG.BE child-girl:SG=PQ?

Ànó'òní ∅ ñyē sú'vgà=∅? "Who found a knife?" (L after H)
Who CAT see knife:SG=CQ.

Ò p̄v d̄úgèè=∅=∅? "Didn't she cook?" (L after H)
3AN NEG.IND COOK=NEG=PQ.

Ò p̄v ñyē mólíf̄=∅. "She didn't find a gazelle."
3AN NEG.IND see gazelle:SG=NEG.
(Superlight *-l-* intervenes before the prepausal syllable *-f̄*.)

2.5 Traditional orthography

Tone is unmarked. For word division see 3.1. KSS uses *ng* for *ŋ*.

Before 2016, *e o* were used for *ɛ ɔ*, *i* for *i* and *ɪ*, and *u* for *u* and *ʊ*; *e o* were sometimes also used for *ɪ ʊ* as root vowels. KB has the same basic conventions as this grammar but uses *i* for both [i] and [ɪ]: *tiig t̄iig* "tree", *biig b̄iig* "child."

Word-final short *-ɪ* after *m n* is usually written *ɛ* in KB; so always with the relative pronouns *onɛ kanɛ linɛ banɛ*, and with *anɔ'ɔnɛ* "who?" before liaison.

KB has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ* "go" pfv, *ken* "go" ipfv for *yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn*, and *on oŋa* for the pronouns *ōn/ón/òn òŋā*, probably reflecting actual variants with [ɪ] [ʊ]: cf Toende *tīŋ* "land" versus *meŋ mēŋ* "self" (Mampruli *tiŋŋa, maŋŋa*.)

After *a* or *ɔ* epenthetic *ɪ* is often written *e*: *sanrega s̄arigá* "prison."

ie is used for *iə* and *ie*, but the contrast is marginal 4.3.

uo is used for *uə* and *uo*, but traditional orthography always separates the vowel symbols in the latter case: *bu'os b̄ū'əs* "ask", *zu o z̄úo* "steal him."

KB writes *-ue* as *-uoe* and *-ve* as *-voe* (similarly when nasalised and/or glottalised): *duoe d̄ūe* "raise, rise", *sv'oe s̄v'e* "own."

The diphthong *io* [iɔ] is written *io* in the 1976 NT but *ieu* later: thus *kpi'oy* "strong" is *kpi'oy* in the 1976 NT, *kpi'euy* in the 1996 NT and KB.

Traditional orthography uses *e i u* for *ɛ ɪ ʊ*. The contrast *ae/aɛ* is expressed by writing *aae* (or *aaɛ*) for *ae*, e.g. *paae p̄āe* "reach." The contrast *av/ay* is unmarked. KB writes *au* or *av* consistently in each word, but not marking length: *yavɔ ȳavɔ* "grave", but *na'araug n̄ā-d̄āvɔ* "ox"; *dau d̄āu* "man" but *tavn t̄āvũ* "sibling of opposite sex." However, ambiguity is only possible before *ŋ*: *gbauŋ gb̄āuŋ* "skin", *mangaun m̄àngávŋ* "crab." The symbols *ia ua* are used for both *ɪa ʊa* and *ia ua*: *kia k̄ià* "cut", but *sia s̄iā* "waist"; *kua k̄uā* "hoe", but *sabua s̄àbùa* "lover." The conventions for marking glottalisation disambiguate *kpia' k̄pià'* "carve wood", *kpi'a k̄pi'a* "neighbour."

Before 2016, *ɥ'a v'a* were usually written *o'a*, but sometimes *u'a*, like *u'a* [ʊa]. All are now written *u'a*: *po'a/pu'a p̄u'ā* "woman", *po'ab/pu'ab p̄v'ab* "women."

Long Forms 3.2 corresponding to Short Forms where final *-y* becomes *-ɛ* are written with *-ey-*: *vveya v̄v̄yá*, Long Form of *v̄v̄ɛ* "be alive." Older NT versions also write *b̄v̄n-v̄v̄yà* "living things" as *bunvoeya*, but KB has *bvnvuya*.

y is omitted in *dunia d̄ūniya* "world", *laafia láafiya*.

KB writes *bieya bj̄ēyá* "elder same-sex siblings", but *suoya s̄uēyá* "roads", *zuoya z̄uēya* "hills" etc; older sources have *sueya, zueya*.

For nasalisation, plain *n* is used for *ñ*, e.g. *tɛɛns t̄ɛɛñs* "lands", *gen' ḡɛñ'* "get angry", *gen'ɛd ḡɛñ'ɛd* "get angry" (ipfv), *nwam ñwām* "calabash."

When *n* would be word-final without even a following glottalisation mark, the orthography formerly wrote *nn* to mark nasalisation, but the 2016 system has unfortunately adopted an ambiguous single *n*: *gaan* (old: *gaann*) *ḡāañ* [gã:] "ebony tree" versus *daan* (old: *daan*) *d̄āan* [da:n] "owner."

3 Word structure

Open word classes comprise verbs and nominals. Nominals are subdivided into nouns and adjectives, along with closed subclasses of quantifiers, adverbs, and pronominals. Ideophones are a distinct group. All other words are "particles."

Segmental rules apply in the order: consonant assimilation/epenthetic vowel insertion [3.5](#), vowel fronting/rounding [3.6](#), *g-deletion/vowel fusion [3.7](#), apocope [3.2](#). Tone Patterns allocate tonemes prior to all deletions of segments [3.8.1](#).

3.1 Word boundaries

Free words fulfil the concept of "word" expressed in Bloomfield 1926: "A minimum free form is a word. A word is thus a form which may be uttered alone (with meaning) but cannot be analysed into parts that may (all of them) be uttered alone (with meaning.)" Many bound forms are also best regarded as words. Nouns and adjectives have regular "combining forms" (cbs), used exclusively as the initial members of compounds: cbs may appear as dependents, but more often as NP heads before adjectives and even demonstratives: *tì-kàṅā* "this tree." There are no consistent phonological differences between cbs and free words, and compounds may incorporate unbound words: [*ānzúrɪfà nē sālɪma lá'-*]*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker." Cbs are thus best regarded as bound *words*, not word fragments.

Word status for other bound forms depends on distinguishing them from affixes. Bound personal pronouns and many particles resemble free-word affixes segmentally, but clearly differ in tonal behaviour from affixes, and show no tendencies to fusion with hosts other than those also seen between free words.

As stress allocation does not distinguish between bound and free words as such, I will reserve the term "clitic" for prosodic clitics [4.1](#), and will elsewhere use the non-committal labels "left-bound" and "right-bound."

Boundness is distinct from the syntactic feature of *dependency*. Most open-class words are neither bound nor intrinsically dependent, and most particles are both bound and intrinsically dependent. However, combining forms, though always bound, may be dependents or heads, and bound personal pronouns are *never* dependent: Kusaal has no possessive pronouns.

In this grammar nominals with prefixes, loanwords, and unanalysable stems are written solid, but combining forms are hyphenated to the following word:

<i>b̀̀rkìn</i>	"honest person"	<i>kp̀̀kp̀̀r̀̀g</i>	"palm tree"
<i>z̄̀m-gb̀̀n'ad</i>	"fisherman"	<i>b̀̀-̀̀p̀̀l̀̀g</i>	"white goat"
<i>b̀̀-k̀̀ṅā</i>	"this goat"	<i>b̀̀-̀̀p̀̀l̀̀-k̀̀ṅā</i>	"this white goat"

Older texts write *-eya* after consonants: *gaadeya* etc.

A word-final syllable before a prosodic clitic is often mistaken for a segmentally homophonous particle in older materials, and occasionally even in KB:

Amaa fɔ anɛ ninsaal ka ka' win nɛ.

Àmáa fò á nē nīn-sâal kà kâ' wīnné=∅.

But 2SG COP FOC person-smooth:SG and NEG.BE god:SG=NEG.

"But you are a human being and not a god." (Ezekiel 28:2)

Arezana nɛ dunia gaadɔg pɔ tɔi yaa

Àrazánà nē dūniya gáadòg pō tōyá=∅.

Heaven with world passing NEG.IND be.difficult=NEG.

"The passing of heaven and earth is not difficult" (Lk 16:17)

3.2 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can potentially stand clause finally has two surface forms, which differ in nearly all cases, the **Long Form** (LF) and the **Short Form** (SF.)

For example, "child" usually appears as the SF *bīg*:

Ò dāa ñyē bīg.

"She saw a child."

3AN TNS see child:SG.

bīg lā nū'ug

"the child's hand"

child:SG ART hand:SG

Among other cases described below, a LF is found in the final word of clauses with a **negation** (negative particle or negative verb), of **questions**, both content and polar, and of clauses used as **vocatives**. Thus the LF *bīga* is seen in

Ò dāa pō ñyē bīga=∅. "He/she did not see a child."

3AN TNS NEG.IND see child:SG=NEG.

Ànó'ɔnì ∅ dāa ñyē bīgà=∅?

Who CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?

"Who saw a child?"

M̄ bīga=∅!

"My child!"

1SG child:SG=VOC!

The SF is derivable from the LF by **apocope**. The term "apocope" will be used exclusively for this process below.

A final long vowel is shortened and a final short vowel is deleted.
Final diphthongs shorten by one mora.

Subsequently

Word-final consonant clusters drop the second consonant

(*kk tt pp ηη* become *k t p η* but are written single in any case [2.1](#))

Word-final *y* becomes *ɛ* after back vowels and zero elsewhere

The shortening changes of final diphthongs induced by apocope are

<i>ia</i>	→ <i>ᵢa</i>	<i>ua</i>	→ <i>ᵤa</i>	<i>ᵢa'a</i>	→ <i>ᵢa'</i>	<i>ᵤ'aa</i>	→ <i>ᵤ'a</i>
<i>ae</i>	→ <i>aɛ</i>	<i>av</i>	→ <i>aᵥ</i>	<i>ui</i>	→ <i>uᵢ</i>		
<i>Vaa</i>	→ <i>Va</i>	<i>Vee</i>	→ <i>Ve</i>	<i>Vvv</i>	→ <i>Vv</i>		

Identical changes occur with nasalised and/or glottalised diphthongs.

Apocope is described as a single rule, but comparative and internal evidence shows that loss of quality contrasts preceded complete deletion of word-final vowels clause-medially, which was itself distinct from the clause-final apocope characteristic of Kusaal, Nabit and Talni. In Toende Kusaal, apocope still involves two steps [2.1](#).

Examples:

Lì à nē kōk. "It's a chair."
3IN COP FOC chair:SG.

Kōk lā bódìg yā. "The chair has got lost."
Chair:SG ART get.lost PFV.

Lì kā' kōka=∅. "It's not a chair."
3IN NEG.BE chair:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē kókàa=∅? "Is it a chair?"
3IN COP FOC chair:SG=PQ?

Ánó'ónì ∅ ñyē kókà=∅? "Who saw a chair?"
Who CAT see chair:SG=CQ?

Similarly, with the same frames (also using *ò* 3AN "he/she", *bà* 3PL "they"):

<i>Lì à nē dōk.</i>	"It's a cooking pot."
<i>Dōk lā bódìg yā.</i>	"The pot's got lost."
<i>Lì kā' dōkó. /kk/</i>	"It's not a pot."
<i>Lì à nē dōkó?</i>	"Is it a pot?"
<i>Ànó'òní ñyē dōkó?</i>	"Who saw a pot?"
<i>Lì à nē gbīgim.</i>	"It's a lion."
<i>Lì kā' gbīgimne.</i>	"It's not a lion."
<i>Lì à nē gbígimne?</i>	"Is it a lion?"
<i>Ànó'òní ñyē gbígimne?</i>	"Who saw a lion?"
<i>Lì à nē yáarìm.</i>	"It's salt."
<i>Lì kā' yáarìmm.</i>	"It's not salt."
<i>Lì à nē yáarìmm?</i>	"Is it salt?"
<i>Ànó'òní ñyē yáarìmm?</i>	"Who saw salt?"
<i>Bà à nē gbīgima.</i>	"They're lions."
<i>Bà kā' gbīgimaa.</i>	"They're not lions."
<i>Bà à nē gbígimàa?</i>	"Are they lions?"
<i>Ànó'òní ñyē gbígimàa?</i>	"Who saw lions?"
<i>Ò à nē dāy.</i>	"He's a man."
<i>Ò kā' dāv.</i>	"He's not a man."
<i>Ò à nē dāv?</i>	"Is he a man?"
<i>Ànó'òní ñyē dāv?</i>	"Who saw a man?"
<i>Kà ò sjàk.</i>	"And he agreed."
And 3AN agree.	
<i>Ò p̄ sjàkē=∅.</i>	"He didn't agree."
3AN NEG.IND agree=NEG.	
<i>Kà ò dīgì.</i>	"And she's lying down."
<i>Ò p̄ dīgìyá.</i>	"She isn't lying down."
<i>Kà ò v̄y.</i>	"And she's alive."
<i>Ò p̄ v̄yá.</i>	"She's not alive."
<i>Kà ò kjà.</i>	"And she cut (it)."
<i>Ò p̄ kjà.</i>	"She hasn't cut (it)."

Kà ò pāe.

"And he reached (it)."

Ò pō pāée.

"He hasn't reached (it)."

The appearance of clause-final LFs is triggered by following **prosodic clitics**, which have no segmental form themselves 4.1. LFs occur clause-medially before **liaison words** 4.2, and as the *citation* forms of **apocope-blocked** words. The exact shape of a LF differs in these different contexts. Length and quality of final vowels may be altered or neutralised, and final tonemes altered. For convenience, the LF preceding the negative prosodic clitic will be taken as basic segmentally. It shows underlying final short *-i -v* as *-ε -ɔ*, **-mv *-mɪ* as *-mm -mm* and *-iə -uə* as *-ia -ua* 4.1.

The LF is historically primary, but it can usually be predicted from the SF given the aspect of a verb or the natural gender of a noun, and in several cases historically expected LFs have been replaced by different forms corresponding to the same SFs. Apocope often does *not* lead to loss of contrasts despite deleting the segments which conditioned them, and working in reverse, such features can predict LFs from SFs; even words completely deleted by apocope remain recognisable from effects on preceding words. Some SFs are too short to show a tonal difference between Pattern H and all-M Pattern A, as with *kōk* "chair" and *dōk* "pot" above, but Tone Patterns are suprasegmental stem features 3.8.

Nevertheless, it is simplest to regard LFs as synchronically primary. With SFs ending in consonants the LF may end in *a ε* or *ɔ*; SF-final *m n* or *l* may or may not be geminated; *-m* may become *-mn-* instead of *-mm-*. Even before liaison, where vowel quality is neutralised, the same issues arise with consonants:

ka ban ka kikirbe'ednam daamne ba daa nye laafiya
kà bàn kà kìkīr-bē'ed-nàm dâamnī *bá dāa ñyē láafiya*
 and REL.PL and fairy-bad-PL trouble:IPFV 3PL.OB TNS see health
 "And people who were afflicted by evil spirits became well."
 (Lk 6:18, 1976; KB: *ka banε ka kikiris daamidi ba daa nye laafi*)

The default LF ending corresponding to SFs ending in a consonant is *-ε*. Thus with loans like *tīlās* "necessity", LF *tīlāsè* from Hausa *tiilàs id*, and in e.g.

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wusa, sɔ' kae gat Joon nε [sic 3.1].
Pō'abí *ø dɔ' à sīəba lā wōsa, sō' kā'e* *ø gát Joonε=ø*.
 Woman:PL NZ bear INDF.PL ART all, INDFAN NEG.BE CAT pass:IPFV John=NEG.
 "Of all those born of women, none surpasses John." (Lk 7: 28)

All SFs ending in vowels other than long monophthongs, front vowels or fronting diphthongs have LFs obtainable simply by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong, as do most but not all SFs ending in fronting diphthongs or front vowels:

<i>zò</i>	LF <i>zòɔ</i>	"run"	<i>kūgá</i>	LF <i>kūgáa</i>	"stones"
<i>sīa</i>	LF <i>sīaa</i>	"waist"	<i>sàbùà</i>	LF <i>sàbùaa</i>	"girlfriend"
<i>kɔ̀jà'</i>	LF <i>kɔ̀j'a</i>	"carve wood"	<i>dāy</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>	"man"
<i>wìdɪ</i>	LF <i>wìdɪ</i>	"horses"	<i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"
<i>n̄e</i>	LF <i>n̄ee</i>	"appear"	<i>dūe</i>	LF <i>dūée</i>	"raise/rise"

A marginal exception to predictability is the fact that SFs ending in *ja'* *u'ā* may have LFs in *ja'a* *u'aa* instead of *i'a* *u'a* (see below.)

Some SFs ending in fronting diphthongs or front vowels have LFs in *-ya*. In two nouns this appears as a variant: *sāeñ* "blacksmith", LF *sāeñ* or *sāñya* and *sōeñ* "witch", LF *sōeñ* or *sōñya*. All other LFs in *-ya* occur in single-aspect verbs 7.2, where LF *-ya* corresponds to all vowel-final SFs except in a few bare root forms:

<i>dīgɪ</i>	LF <i>dīgɪyá</i>	"be lying"	<i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"
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Before liaison, even these verbs follow the *general* rule 4.2.

Words in isolation will be cited in **superscript notation**, writing forms with the portion of the LF which does not appear in the SF as a following superscript.

<i>bīg^a</i>	"child"	<i>kōk^a</i>	"chair"
<i>dōk^ɔ/</i>	"pot"	<i>sjàk^ɛ</i>	"agree"
<i>gbīgɪm^{nɛ}</i>	"lion"	<i>yàarɪm^m</i>	"salt"
<i>dīg^{ya}/</i>	"be lying down"	<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"

When there is no superscript (other than /, see below) written after a SF ending in a vowel, the LF is segmentally the same but with prolongation of any final vowel except a *long monophthong* 4.1:

<i>gbīgɪma</i>	"lions"	SF <i>gbīgɪma</i>	LF <i>gbīgɪmaa</i>
<i>mòli</i>	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòli</i>	LF <i>mòli</i>
<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	SF <i>gòñ</i>	LF <i>gòɔñ</i>
<i>dī'e'</i>	"receive"	SF <i>dī'e</i>	LF <i>dī'ée</i>
<i>nūa'</i>	"hen"	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>
<i>kjà</i>	"cut"	SF <i>kjà</i>	LF <i>kjà</i>
<i>kɔ̀ā</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kɔ̀ā</i>	LF <i>kūa</i>
<i>dāy</i>	"man"	SF <i>dāy</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>
<i>sāeñ</i>	"blacksmith"	SF <i>sāeñ</i>	LF <i>sāeñ</i>
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	SF <i>dà'a</i>	LF <i>dà'a</i>
<i>ànì</i>	"eight"	SF <i>ànì</i>	LF <i>ànì</i>

Words ending in LF *ja'a u'aa* are written with superscript ^a to distinguish them from words ending in LF *i'a u'a*:

	<i>kpj̄à'</i>	"shape wood"	SF <i>kpj̄à'</i>	LF <i>kpj̄'a</i>
but	<i>dj̄ā'^a</i>	"get dirty"	SF <i>dj̄ā'</i>	LF <i>dj̄ā'a</i>
	<i>kɥā</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kɥā</i>	LF <i>kūa</i>
but	<i>pɥā'^a</i>	"woman"	SF <i>pɥā'</i>	LF

So are words with LFs in *-ya* where the SFs changes the word-final *-y* to *-ε*:

<i>vōε'^a</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>vōε</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>
<i>tōε'^a</i>	"be bitter"	SF <i>tōε</i>	LF <i>tōyá</i>

A few cases must be written out separately, e.g. *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot."

Intrinsic **LF-final tonemes** are L whenever the last stem toneme is L or H, but may be either M or H after stem-final M; superscript notation takes M as the default, writing / after forms with LF-final H: *dōk^o* "pot", LF *dōkó*; *nūa^l* "hen", LF *nūáa*.

Words where X in the SF has to become H in the LF are written with SF tonemes: *nū'ug^o* "hand" LF *nú'ugò*; so are words with a toneless superlight syllable in the LF corresponding to a L closed final syllable in the SF: *nóbìr^ε* "foot", LF *nóbìrè*, *dī'əsídìb^a* "receivers," LF *dī'əsídìbà*. The convention that macrons and graves apply to all following unmarked syllables means that no special notation is needed for the corresponding changes in words like *wābvog^o* "elephant" or *dìgur^ε* "dwarf."

Apocope-blocked words use LFs as *citation* forms. They lack the lowering of postconsonantal final *ɪ v* to *ε ɔ* seen before prosodic clitics, but do change final *-mv* to *-mm*. Final L tonemes are changed to M. Secondary LFs are created before prosodic clitics by prolonging short final vowels; except in Pattern A words 3.8, final M then becomes H. Apocope-blocking is seen with some nouns ending in *-ɪ* or *-v*, as a derivational feature in adverbs and quantifiers, as a downtoning measure with adjectives, and in many words with only one underlying mora, including pronouns.

<i>būudɪ</i>	"tribe"	<i>bèdvogv̄^l</i>	"a lot"
<i>sùŋā^l</i>	"well"	<i>yā^l</i>	"houses"

Blocked words which do not end in a short vowel add *-nε* for the secondary LF: *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot"; *mà'aa* SF *mà'anε* LF "only"; *gòllīmm* SF *gòllīmmnε* LF "only"; *kòtāa^{nε}* "at all." The LF of *ñyāe^{nε}* "brightly, clearly" is similarly *ñyāené* [jãñě]. Cf *mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause-finally (all sources) *mèn^ε* "also, too."

3.3 Roots, stems and flexions

Word structure is based on (C)V(C) or (C)VV(C) **roots**. All vowels may occur in roots. Root-final consonants may only be *b d g l m n s r*.

Stems are derived from roots by adding up to three of the **derivational suffixes** *b d g l m n s r*. Only *d l m* can follow another suffix. Nominal stems may also have derivational **prefixes** *V CV CVN CVsɪN* or *CVɪN*, where *N* is a nasal homorganic with the following consonant and *ɪ* is an epenthetic vowel: *tītā'ar* "big", *bòmbàrig* "ant", *sīlinsīuñg* "spider." A few stems have two prefixes.

A stem may constitute a word by itself, or may add a single **flexional suffix** of the form (C)V(V) or *-mm* [m:].

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** *a ɪ v aa ɪ v v*. Most bound words of the form (C)V(V) have the same vowel restrictions, though the various particles *nē* show *ɛ* for *ɪ*. Prosodic clitics 4.1 cause short LF-final *ɪ v* to be lowered to *ɛ ɔ*, here realised [e] [o]; short *ɪ v* remain as such only before apocope-blocking 3.2.

Prefix *ɪ v* are realised [i] [u] when the first vowel mora of the root is *i* or *u*; as this is non-contrastive, the orthography uses *ɪ v* throughout. Thus *tītā'ar* [tɪt̪ɑ:r] "big", *kòkōr* [kòkɔr] "voice", but *kìkīrig* [kikirig] "fairy", *sìsì'əm* [sɪsɪəm] "wind", *sīlinsīuñg* [silinsĩũg] "spider", *vòhinvùñl* [vulɪŋvũ:l] "mason wasp", *dòndùug* [dundu:g] "cobra" (KB *dunduug*.) Only [i] [u] occur after *m* or *n*: *nìn-tāa* [ninta:] "co-wife."

As affix vowels, short *ɪ* and *v* contrast only after velars and word-initially: *ɪ* is the default after alveolars, and *v* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars, but prefixes show *v* rather than *ɪ* before root *u/v/ɔ* (*dòndùug* "cobra") and *ɪ* instead of *v* before *i/ɪ/ɛ* (*kpīkpīn* "merchant.") In flexions *-mm* appears in place of **-mv*; *ɪ* appears after labial consonants only by analogy in pfv LFs like *zàβε* "fight." Velars followed by affix-vowel *v* could be analysed as labiovelars, with 3sg *ò* ← **ηmò*.

Before vowel-initial flexions CVV root-stems become CVy or CVd 3.4.

No consonant clusters appear word-initially or finally except final *-mm*: *pāmm* "a lot." Few clusters are permitted within words. Homorganic nasal + C may occur where noun prefixes attach to a root or to another noun prefix: *kòndòŋ*^a "jackal", *gòmpòzēr*^{ɛ/} "duck", *dànkòŋ* [daŋkɔŋ] "measles." Except in loanwords, the only other word-internal clusters permitted are *kk tt pp ηη nn mm ll mn*, of which *kk tt pp ηη* are written *k t p η*, and realised single except in very slow speech.

All other pairs of consonants arising in word formation either assimilate to a permissible cluster or single consonant, or insert an epenthetic vowel:

Stem	<i>nób-</i> "leg"	+ sg <i>-ri</i>	→	LF <i>nóbirè</i>	SF <i>nóbir</i>
	<i>dūm-</i> "knee"	+ sg <i>-ri</i>	→	LF <i>dūmne</i>	SF <i>dūm</i>

The cluster *mn* is unstable. All informants have *mm* in the LFs of dual-aspect verb ipfvs like *kàrimma* "read", but a few examples of the original *mn* occur in NT:

ka ba li' ba toba ka pu wum na [sic 3.1]

kà bà lí bà tòba kà p̄ wóm̄nā=∅.

And 3PL block 3PL ear:PL and NEG.IND hear:IMPF=NEG.

"they have blocked their ears and do not hear" (Mt 13:15, 1996)

Informants differ with regard to the LF sg forms of *re|aa* class *m*-stems; thus SB has *gb̄igimne* "lion", *dūmne* "knee" whereas WK has *gb̄igimme*, *dūmme*.

The LF sg forms of agent nouns of *m*-stem verbs also vary:

m naan ku aan Kiristo tumtum na [sic 3.1].

m̄ nāan kú āa-n Kiristo túm-tūmna=∅.

1SG then NEG.IRR COP-DP Christ work-worker:SG=NEG.

"I would not have been Christ's servant." (Gal 1:10, 1996; KB *tumtumma*)

Agent noun plurals usually show *mn*, as in *tòm-tōmnib* "servants", but habitual adjectives from *m*-stem verbs show *mm* before epenthetic vowels: *bōn-tūmmìr* "useful thing" (pl *tōmna* for some), *bò-sāñ'ammir* "goat for destruction" WK.

All examples of *mna* and *mne* in KB cross word division by the criteria of this grammar, but *mni* is usual in plurals like *tumtummnib* *tòm-tōmnib* "servants."

The default **epenthetic vowel** is *ɪ*. Before LF *-gɔ -ŋɔ* it becomes *ʊ*, remaining *ʊ* in the SF 3.6.

	SF <i>āaṅdɪg</i>	LF <i>āaṅdɪga</i>	"black plum tree"
but	SF <i>gàadvɔg</i>	LF <i>gàadvɔgɔ</i>	"(sur)passing"
pl	SF <i>mālɪma</i>	LF <i>mālɪmaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	SF <i>mālʊŋ</i>	LF <i>mālʊŋɔ</i>	"sacrifice"

Epenthetic vowels are also rounded to *ʊ* when *preceded* by a short rounded root vowel with intervening *g* (but not *ŋ* or *k*):

<i>gb̄igim</i> [ḡbigim]	"lion"	<i>yōgóm</i> [jogom]	"camel"
<i>dōgvɔd</i> [dogvɔd]	"cooking pots"	<i>dōgvɔdíɓ</i> [dogvɔɪɓ]	"people who cook"

With other consonants rounding varies between sources. It is contrastive only before velars, where it can lead to reinterpretation of *-ga* as *-gɔ*. WK has rounding with intervening *b m* or *l*, and with intervening *mm* even after unrounded vowels: *nóbìr* "leg" but *nōbvɔg* "grow", *kōlvɔg* "river", *yàmmvɔg* "slave."

After a single consonant preceded by short root *i* or *u*, epenthetic *ɪ* *ʊ* are realised [i] [u] respectively; this is not contrastive and is ignored in the orthography:

<i>tìsɪd</i>	[tɪsɪd]	"gives"	<i>sīgɪd</i>	[sɪgɪd]	"lowers"
<i>bōgʊr</i>	[bɔgʊr]	"spirit's dwelling"	<i>kūgʊr</i>	[kugʊr]	"stone"

Epenthetic vowels show two distinct levels of prominence. The weaker is seen in **superlight** CV syllables. A CV syllable is superlight if it is a word-internal non-root syllable and is preceded by another CV syllable which is not itself superlight, working from left to right. Bolded syllables are thus superlight in the LFs *dī'əsíd**ɪ**bà* "receivers", *sīg**ɪ**síd**ɪ**bà* "lowerers", *mò**l**ɪfɔ* "gazelle", but in *yū**g**ʊdɪrɛ* "hedgehog" only the second syllable is superlight, and in *yū**u**gɪrɛ* "delaying" and *nō**k**írɛ* "picking up" (*k* = /kk/) there are no superlight syllables. With marginal exceptions after -Vr-, superlight syllables do not carry tonemes, and they show no vowel quality contrasts even in surface forms. They are structurally analogous to the second morae of long vowels or diphthongs. Epenthetic *ɪ* *ʊ* in syllables which are not superlight (typically in third stem morae, disregarding prefixes) have the same prominence as affix vowels.

Diphthongs result from deletion of postvocalic **g* with vowel fusion and from changes of vowel morae before *-*ya* *-*gʊ* *-*kkʊ* *-*ŋŋʊ*. Apocope removes conditioning factors, rendering diphthongs contrastive, just as with the epenthetic vowels above:

	SF <i>vīd</i>	LF <i>vīdɛ</i>	"owls"
but	SF <i>vīug</i>	LF <i>vīugó</i>	"owl"

3.4 Root alternations

Most roots ending in a vowel show a long vowel before all flexional and derivational suffixes: *kō* "kill" ipfv *kōvd^{a/}*. Others have a short vowel throughout: *zūg^{ɔ/}* "head" pl *zūt^{ɛ/}*, *zā^{l/}* "millet", *mùj* "rice", *kī^{l/}* "millet."

Some roots end in a vowel showing length alternations. All glottalised types are underlyingly *CVg 3.7. In flexion, non-glottalised types show long vowels before -*ga* -*gɔ* and short elsewhere, with following **d* → *tt* **b* → *pp* (but not **m* → *mm* or **l* → *ll*):

<i>dāv^{ɔ/}</i>	"male"	cf <i>dāp^a</i>	"men"
<i>bīg^a</i>	"child"	cf <i>bī^a</i>	"little"
<i>dòɔg^{ɔ/}</i>	"hut"	pl <i>dòt^ɛ</i>	
<i>fūug^{ɔ/}</i>	"clothing"	pl <i>fūt^{ɛ/}</i>	
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	ipfv <i>ñyēt^{a/}</i>	imp <i>ñyèm^a</i>
<i>kē</i>	"allow"	ipfv <i>kēt^{a/}</i>	imp <i>kèl^a</i>
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	ipfv <i>dīt^a</i>	imp <i>dìm^a</i>

<i>yī</i>	"emerge"	ipfv <i>yīt^{a/}</i>	imp <i>yīm^a</i>
<i>zò</i>	"run"	ipfv <i>zòt^a</i>	imp <i>zòm^a</i>
<i>dō</i>	"rise"	ipfv <i>dōt^{a/}</i>	imp <i>dòm^a</i>
<i>lù</i> or <i>lì</i>	"fall"	ipfv <i>lùt^a</i> or <i>lìt^a</i>	imp <i>lùm^a</i> or <i>lìm^a</i>

VV before sg *-ga* or *-gɔ* may be introduced into the pl, optionally or always:

<i>dāvɔ^ɔ</i>	"male"	pl <i>dāad^ɛ</i>	
<i>bīg^a</i>	"child"	pl <i>bīs^ɛ</i>	
<i>pōɔɔ^{ɔ/}</i>	"field"	pl <i>pōɔd^{ɛ/}</i>	or <i>pōt^{ɛ/}</i>
<i>dòɔɔ^ɔ</i>	"hut"	pl <i>dòɔd^ɛ</i>	or <i>dòt^ɛ</i>
<i>fūug^{ɔ/}</i>	"clothing"	pl <i>fūud^{ɛ/}</i>	or <i>fūt^{ɛ/}</i>

Before derivational suffixes the vowel is usually long:

<i>dīs^ɛ</i>	"feed"	<i>dī</i>	"eat"
<i>dàalm^m</i>	"masculinity"	<i>dāp^a</i>	"men"
<i>vō'vɔ^{ɛ/}</i>	"come alive"	<i>vōr^{ɛ/}</i>	"alive"
<i>yīs^{ɛ/}</i>	"make go/come out"	<i>yī</i>	"emerge"

Exceptions are *yīs^ɛ* beside *yīs^{ɛ/}*; *gōs^ɛ* "look", ipfv *gōt^{a/}* or *gōsɪd^{a/}*, imp *gòm^a* or *gòsɪm^a*; and *tīs^ɛ* "give" ipfv *tìt^a* or *tìsɪd^a*.

Gerunds in *-bɔ* always show long vowels: *dīb^ɔ* "food", *ñyēeb^{ɔ/}* "seeing"; so do all regular gerunds in *-rɛ*: *nō-lōr^ɛ* "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), *fū-yēer^ɛ* "shirt-wearing", but WK has *nā'-lōr^ɛ* "place for tying up cows", *wìd-lōr^{ɛ/}* "place for tying up horses."

Historically, such roots probably ended in a consonant preserved before vowel-initial suffixes, assimilated before homorganic consonants, or deleted with vowel fusion. There is evidence for *CVw and *wb → pp in *dāy* "man" (Mooré *ráoa*) pl *dāp^a*; *tāyñ'* "sib of opposite sex" pl *tāñp^{a/}*; *tòñ* "shoot" (Mooré *tǎo*) *tāñp^ɔ* "war."

Kusaal CVV roots with CVt- allomorphs typically have Mooré cognates with fronting diphthongs or front vowels: e.g. Mooré *zòe* "run" *lù* "fall", ipfvs *zòeta*, *lùita*, versus *kú* "kill", ipfv *kúvdà*. Mooré shows much less levelling in such cases. Sporadic monophthongisation of *Vy explains *lù* ~ *lì* "fall", and contrasts like Kusaal *dòɔɔ^ɔ*, Mampruli *duu*, Mooré *ròogó* vs Hanga *dì*, Farefare *dèegò*, Dagaare *dìe* "hut, room."

Nawdm cognates show Vr: *tè'εg^a* "baobab", Mooré *tòεεgá*, Nawdm *tòd'* pl *tòrá* (where Nawdm *rr → d); *dèεg^a* "warthog", Mooré *rèoogó* (← *rèégó), pl *reto*, Nawdm *dòd'* pl *dòrá*. Nawdm r continues Proto-Oti-Volta *r (perhaps [r]); in Proto-Western-Oti-Volta *single* *r became *y root-initially, after short root vowels, and word-internally before *a; otherwise Agolle Kusaal and Mooré continue r as a distinct phoneme, but in the other languages it falls together with the reflexes of either *d or *l 2.1.

	Kusaal	Nawdm	
*r	(<i>ṅ</i>)yí'	(<i>m</i>)réh	"two"
	dèɛg ^a	dòrá (pl)	"warthog"
	zì'e ^{va}	jehra	"be standing"
	yàarim ^m	yáarm	"salt"
	nɔ̄r ^{ɛ/}	nóór	"mouth"
	tùbvr ^ɛ	tóbr	"ear"
*rr	mɔ̄r ^{a/}	madá (<i>d</i> ← <i>rr</i>)	"have"
	yīr ^{ɛ/}		"house"
*d	mɔ̄d ^ɛ	mɔd	"swell"
*t	mɔ̄d ^ɛ	móót	"grass"

When not the reflex of *rr, Agolle *r* after a short root vowel is due to analogy or borrowing. Thus *kpàr*^ɛ "lock" (= Dagbani *kpari*, not **kpali*) probably has *r* from an obsolete **kpàr*^a ← **kparr* ← **kpadra* "be locked", cf *gùl*^ɛ "suspend", *gùl*^{la} "be suspended", and the irregular correspondences in Mampruli *nyariηηu*, Dagbani *ηariη*, Toende *āarùη*, Agolle *āñrvη*^ɔ "boat" suggest borrowing. The change **rr* → *r* itself leads to remodelling: cf the gerunds *pōñrib*^ɔ *tēñrib*^ɔ of *pōñr*^a "be near", *tēñr*^a "recall."

Buli has *r* for **rr* but *y/i/ø* for single **r*: *yérí* "house", *tara* "have" (= *tār*^{a/}), *ngà-yè* "two", *tūik* "baobab", *dùok* "warthog", *dòk* "hut", *nóai* "mouth." Moba has *l* throughout: *ńlé* "two", *ńlòdòb* "six" (= *nyúeb*), *lōón* "close" (= *yò*), *tūbl* "ear", *tōōlg* "baobab", *dōōlg* "pig." Byali has *dyā* "two", *tēēbū* "baobab", *dūgē* "warthog", *nūī* "mouth", and Waama *yēní* "two", *tōōribū* "baobab", *dōribū* "warthog", *nórē* "mouth."

The roots of *sāḡñ*^a "blacksmith" and *sōḡñ*^a "witch" show no CVt- allomorphs (cf Mooré *sāado* "smithing", *sōodo* "witchcraft"), and were perhaps originally *CVñ.

Before the noun class plural suffix *-aa*, unglottalised CVV-stems insert *-y-*, with shortening of long vowels, with *iə uə* becoming *je ue* [iɪ] [uɪ], found solely in this context. Historically, this may represent analogical introduction of the **r* of the sg suffix before pl *-aa*; the regular Nawdm pattern is *nóór* "mouth" pl *nóórá*.

<i>gāñr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"ebony fruit"	pl <i>gāñyá</i> (short sg vowel from pl)
<i>bàlàar</i> ^ɛ	"stick, club"	pl <i>bàlàya</i>
<i>kùkōr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"voice"	pl <i>kùkōyá</i> (*CVy- root)
<i>nɔ̄r</i> ^{ɛ/}	"mouth"	pl <i>nōyá</i>
<i>zūvr</i> ^ɛ	"tail"	pl <i>zūya</i>
<i>bīər</i> ^{ɛ/}	"elder same-sex sib"	pl <i>bīēyá</i>
<i>zūər</i> ^ɛ	"hill"	pl <i>zūēya</i>

However, CVV root-stems change to CVd- before -aa:

<i>tītā'ar^ε</i>	"big"	pl <i>tītāda</i>
<i>pòñ'or^ε</i>	"cripple"	pl <i>pòñda</i>
<i>yū'vr^{ε/}</i>	"name"	pl <i>yūdá</i>
<i>yū'er^ε</i>	"penis"	pl <i>yūāda</i>

These may be original *CVd-stems, with *Vdr → V'Vr after short root vowels and cb based on the sg. Current forms with CVd- before sg *rε* would be levelled on the pl (pl remodelled on sg would look like a cb); many such words are commoner in the pl, e.g. *kpēñdir^{ε/}* "cheek." Deverbal nouns are remodelled on finite forms, and adjectives level stems across classes. *Pu'à-sādir^{ε/}* "young woman" had former *a|ba* agreement: cf Mooré *pòg-sádà id*. Languages without glottalisation treat these stems exactly like CVV-, but the rules for *all* CVV-stems before -aa differ across subgroups.

Stems in *-ag- *-iag- *-uag- 3.7 may inflect as CVC- stems, or may show analogical forms with -d-:

<i>bà'ar^ε</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)	pl <i>bà'a</i> or <i>bàda</i>
<i>sjà'ar^ε</i>	"forest"	pl <i>sjà'a</i>
<i>mù'ar^ε</i>	"reservoir, dam"	pl <i>mù'àa</i> or <i>mù'ada</i>

A derivational change *rg → dg appears in

	<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>lōdir^{ε/}</i>	"untie"
cf	<i>lōe</i>	"tie" (Mooré)	<i>lōdgè</i> (or <i>lókè</i>)	"untie" (Mooré)
	<i>pō</i>	"divide"	<i>pōdir^{ε/}</i>	"divide"
cf	<i>púi</i>	"divide" (Mooré)		
	<i>bò</i>	"get lost" (Toende)	<i>bòdir^ε</i>	"lose, get lost":
	<i>yāar^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	<i>yādir^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"

*CVw roots become glottalised before derivational *g and *s, probably reflecting another historical consonant cluster change; thus *yè* "dress oneself", *yèεg^ε* "undress oneself", *dì* "eat", *dìs^ε* "feed", but

	<i>kò</i>	"break" intrans	<i>kò'og^ε</i>	"break" trans/intrans
	<i>pò'od^a</i>	"be few"	<i>pò'og^ε</i>	"diminish"
	<i>vōg^{a/}</i>	"be alive"	<i>vō'vg^{ε/}</i>	"make, come alive"
cf	<i>vopa</i>	"live things" (Farefare)	<i>vō'vs^{ε/}</i>	"breathe, rest"
	<i>kò'olúŋ^o</i>	"broken"	<i>kò'os^ε</i>	"break several times"
	<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'os^ε</i>	"hunt"

Other sporadic *CVV~CVC* alternations are also probably relics of root-final consonant lenitions and deletions. Thus, *CVw~CVb* alternations appear in

<i>nō</i>	"tread"	<i>nōbá</i>	"feet"
cf <i>nao</i>	"tread" (Mooré)		
<i>sōōñr^ε</i>	"liver"	<i>sōbri</i>	"liver" (Mampruli)
<i>sāoore</i>	"liver" (Mooré)	<i>sabili</i>	"liver" (Dagbani)

There are few *CVb-* stems in the *rɛ|aa* noun class. *Nóbìr^ε* "foot" has introduced *-b-* from the plural (Toende sg *nō'ōt*) and *tùbur^ε* "ear" may have done so.

Apparent *CVV~CVg* alternations appear in *wìid^a* "draw water" ipfv beside *wìk^ε* pfv (← **wiggì*) and *vī'* "uproot", *vīk^{ε/} id* (← **viggì*).

Some *CVC* roots have *CVVC* allomorphs. Alternation may appear in derivation:

<i>tūoma</i>	"work" noun	<i>tùm^m</i>	"work" verb
<i>yéon</i>	"one"	<i>yīun^{o/}</i>	"single"
<i>kāal^{ε/}</i>	"count"	<i>kāl^{lε/}</i>	"number"
<i>tūulóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl^{la/}</i>	"be hot"

CVC is invariable before derivational suffixes other than *-lim-* "-ness" and the *-y-* of stative verbs; thus *sáannim^m* "strangerhood", *kpī'əm^{ma/}* "be strong", but

<i>màal^ε</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālv^o</i>	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìəhg^a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlg^ε</i>	"whiten"
<i>kpī'on^o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'η^ε</i>	"strengthen"
<i>lìəb^ε</i>	"become"	<i>lèb^ε</i>	"turn over"
<i>tūulóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūlg^{ε/}</i>	"heat"
<i>yāar^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	<i>yād^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"
<i>dēēη^a</i>	"first"	<i>dèη^ε</i>	"go first"
<i>pìəb^ε</i>	"blow" (flute)	<i>pèb^ε</i>	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul^ε</i>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlg^ε</i>	"swing" transitive

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

<i>zìη^a</i> (← * <i>ziimga</i>)	<i>zīmí</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>náaf^o</i> (← * <i>naagfv</i>)	<i>nīgí</i>	<i>nā'-</i> (← * <i>nag-</i>)	"cow"
<i>wáaf^o</i> (← * <i>waagfv</i>)	<i>wīgí</i>	<i>wā'-</i> (← * <i>wag-</i>)	"snake"
<i>pīim^{m/}</i>	<i>pīmá</i>		"arrow"
<i>yùum^{mε}</i>	<i>yùma</i>		"year"

3.5 Consonant clusters

The changes described below precede deletion of postvocalic **g*.

Except between a prefix and a root, adjacent consonants within a word either assimilate to *kk pp tt ηη mm nn ll mn* or insert an epenthetic vowel (*ɪ* by default.)

This table shows the treatment of possible pairs, with *ə* representing the insertion of an epenthetic vowel. There are gaps where combinations are unattested.

1↓ 2→	<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ə</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>			<i>r</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>[mm]</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ə</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>ηη</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>mm</i>		<i>mn</i>	<i>[:s]</i>	<i>nn</i>		<i>mm</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>ηη</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>nn</i>	<i>~s</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>~f</i>	<i>nn</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>ə</i>	
<i>s</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>			<i>s</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ll</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ll</i>

The unusual change *ld* → *nd* (→ *nn*) is found throughout Western Oti-Volta.

The change *bm* → *mm* only occurs after a short root vowel, whereas *ms* → *~s* never occurs after a short root vowel, and is optional elsewhere.

**ns*, and **ms* when it assimilates, become *s* with nasalisation of a preceding root vowel, and lengthening of a preceding short root vowel:

<i>tēŋ^a</i>	"land"	pl	<i>tēēñs^ε</i>	← * <i>tɛnsɪ</i>
<i>kòlŋ^a</i>	"door"	pl	<i>kòlɪs^ε</i>	← * <i>kɔlɪnsɪ</i>

For the pl *bōtɪs^ε* of *bōtɪŋ^a* "cup" see 2.3.

**nf* becomes *f* with nasalisation of a preceding root vowel, but there is no lengthening of a short preceding root vowel in the only case which occurs:

<i>nīf^ɔ</i>	"eye"	pl	<i>nīnɪ</i>
<i>píɪñf^ɔ</i>	"genet"	pl	<i>pīnɪ</i>

**ss* inserts an epenthetic vowel in the pl *pūsɪs^{εl}* of *pūsɪg^{al}* "tamarind." All other plurals in *-sɪs^ε* in my materials are for *-*sɪnsɪ*. **Pūs^{εl}* would appear to show no ending in SF; substitution of a flexion from a different noun class is inhibited by the strong association of tree names with the *ga|sɛ* class and of fruits with *rɛ|aa* and *gɔ|dɛ*.

The word *ñwām*^{mε} WK "calabash" has **mr* → *nn* for some speakers (*ñwān*^{nε} SB), and the pl may be remodelled on the sg: *ñwāna* (Lk 11:39, 1976) *ñwāma* SB WK; cf 1976 NT *kobkennib* = *kòñb-kīmmib*^a ← **kòb-kīmdɪba* "herdsmen."

Derivation precedes flexion in consonant cluster formation.

Stem-final *kk pp tt ηη mn nn* never assimilate further; *mm* assimilates only with *mmm* → *mm* in imperatives. Thus e.g. *kōt*^{ε/} "slaughter", ipfv *kōtɪd*^a; *dām*^m "shake", ipfv *dāmmɪd*^a ipfv, gerund *dāmmvɔ*^ɔ but imperative *dām*^{ma}.

However, stem-final *ll r(r)* assimilate the initial of the noun class suffix *-rε*: *kòg-dēl*^{ε/} "chair for leaning on." This assimilation has led to the sg SF forms of agent nouns from single-aspect verbs in *ll r(r)* being reinterpreted as *rε|aa* class 5.3.1.

Stem-internal *nn* and *mm* become single *n* and *m* after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels. *Pībin*^{nε} pl *pībina* "covering" has single *-n-* for my informants, but the Mooré cognate has *-nd-*: *pìbɪndgà* "lid, cover." The Mooré equivalent of the assume-stance derivational suffix *-n-* 9.1.1 is *-nd-*: *zĩndi* = *zìñ'in*^ε "sit down"; *vábende* = *vàbin*^ε "lie prone"; *tàbende* "get stuck to" cf Kusaal *tàb*^ε *id*. The corresponding Nawdm suffix is *-nt-*: *jehra* ipfv = *zì'e*^{yá} "be standing, *jehnt* pfv = *zì'ən*^ε "stand up." Simplification of *mm* to single *m* appears in single-aspect verbs 9.1.2.1.

In verb flexion and gerund formation *single m n* may be followed by unexpected epenthesis as a strategy to avoid ambiguous SFs.

Regular *n*-stem verbs never assimilate **nm* in imperatives. They always assimilate **nd* → *nn* in the ipfv after short root vowels, but nowhere else; this may reflect the origin of derivational *n* from **nn*.

<i>bùn</i> ^ε	<i>bùn</i> ^{na}	<i>bùnɪm</i> ^a	"reap"
<i>dìgɪn</i> ^ε	<i>dìgɪnd</i> ^a	<i>dìgɪnm</i> ^a	"lie down"
<i>gò'ɔn</i> ^ε	<i>gò'ɔnd</i> ^a	<i>gò'ɔnm</i> ^a	"extend neck"

N-stem gerunds never show assimilation: *būnɪb*^ɔ, *dìgɪnvɔ*^ɔ.

M-stems always assimilate in the imperative. They regularly assimilate in the ipfv whenever an epenthetic vowel would have been left in a superlight syllable in the LF, although NT/KB occasionally has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity:

<i>wòm</i> ^m	<i>wòm</i> ^{ma}	<i>wòm</i> ^{ma}	"hear"
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but *ka nan kpɛn wòmɪd yɛ m bæɛ li pɔvɔgɪn nannanna la.*

kà nán kpèn wòmɪd yé m bæɛ li pɔvɔgɪn-n nānná-nā lā.

and still still hear:IPFV that 1SG EXIST 3IN inside:SG-LOC now ART.

"and are still hearing that I am in it now." (Phil 1:30)

When an epenthetic vowel would not be in a superlight syllable in the LF of gerunds or imperfectives, either assimilation or epenthesis is possible:

<i>tōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>tōm</i> ^{ma} / <i>tōmíd</i> ^a	<i>tōm</i> ^{ma}	"depart"
<i>kàrim</i> ^m	<i>kàrim</i> ^m / <i>kàrimíd</i> ^a	<i>kàrim</i> ^{ma}	"read"

The corresponding gerunds are *tōŋ*^o/*tōmúg*^o and *kàrvŋ*^o/*kàrimvŋ*^o.

Epenthesis is clearly motivated by the avoidance of ambiguity for WK and DK, who use assimilated forms exclusively as LFs and before the focus particle *nē*[/]:

<i>M̄ pō kárìmmā.</i>	"I'm not reading."
<i>M̄ kárìm nē.</i>	"I'm reading."
<i>Kà bà kárìmíd.</i>	"And they were reading."
<i>Kà bà kárìm.</i>	only "And they read."

Examples for assimilation versus epenthetic vowel insertion:

* <i>gg</i> → <i>kk</i>	<i>gìk</i> ^a	"dumb" sg	<i>gìgìs</i> ^ε pl
	cf <i>kōlìg</i> ^a	"river" sg	<i>kōlìs</i> ^ε pl
* <i>dd</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>bòt</i> ^a	"plant" ipfv	<i>bòd</i> ^ε pfv
	cf <i>dōgvd</i> ^{a/}	"cook" ipfv	<i>dōg</i> ^ε pfv
* <i>bb</i> → <i>pp</i>	<i>sōp</i> ^{o/}	"writing" ger	<i>sōb</i> ^ε pfv
	cf <i>kpārìb</i> ^o	"locking" ger	<i>kpàr</i> ^ε pfv
* <i>ld</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>kòn</i> ^{nε}	"bags" pl	<i>kòlvŋ</i> ^o sg
	cf <i>zūòbíd</i> ^ε	"hairs" pl	<i>zūòbúg</i> ^o sg
* <i>mg</i> → <i>ŋŋ</i>	<i>bòŋ</i> ^a	"donkey" sg	<i>bòmìs</i> ^ε pl
* <i>ng</i> → <i>ŋŋ</i>	<i>gbàvŋ</i> ^o	"book" sg	<i>gbàna</i> pl
	cf <i>ñwādìg</i> ^{a/}	"month" sg	<i>ñwādìs</i> ^{ε/} pl
* <i>nr</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>tān</i> ^{nε}	"earth" sg	<i>tāna</i> pl
* <i>mr</i> → <i>mn</i>	<i>dūm</i> ^{nε}	"knee" sg	<i>dūma</i> pl
* <i>lr</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>gél</i> ^{lε}	"egg" sg	<i>gēlá</i> pl
* <i>rr</i> → <i>r</i>	<i>kòkpàr</i> ^ε	"palm fruit" sg	<i>kòkpàra</i> pl
	cf <i>dìgìr</i> ^ε	"dwarf" sg	<i>dìga</i> pl
* <i>nb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>sám</i> ^{ma}	"strangers" pl	<i>sāna</i> ^{a/} sg
	cf <i>nìdìb</i> ^{a/}	"people" pl	<i>nìd</i> ^{a/} sg
* <i>mb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>kīm</i> ^{m^o}	"shepherding" ger	<i>kìm</i> ^m pfv
	cf <i>kādìb</i> ^o	"driving off" ger	<i>kàd</i> ^ε pfv
* <i>ll</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>Bùl</i> ^{lε}	"Buli"	<i>Bùlìs</i> ^ε "Bulsa"
* <i>rl</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ε/}	"Bisa language"	<i>Bāris</i> ^{ε/} "Bisa people"
* <i>ml</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nε/}	"Dagbani"	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/} "Dagomba"
* <i>nl</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Gōrìn</i> ^{nε}	"Farefare"	<i>Gōrìs</i> ^ε "Farefare people"

3.6 Vowel changes before *-ya *-gv *-kkv *-ηηv

The changes described below apply after consonant-cluster assimilation/epenthetic-vowel insertion and before deletion of *g after vowels.

When -y- would become syllable-closing after a short back vowel as a result of apocope, it is changed to *e*, producing a short fronting diphthong:

SF <i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>tōe</i>	LF <i>tōyá</i>	"be bitter"
SF <i>sāeñ</i>	LF <i>sāñya</i>	"smith"	SF <i>sōeñ</i>	LF <i>sōñya</i>	"witch"

Vowels are subject to fronting in the LF before *y* and to rounding before a following rounded vowel if a velar intervenes; these changes *remain* in the SF.

Before LF *y*, long vowels undergo fronting of a back second mora to *e* [ɪ]:

<i>sōñ'e^{ya/}</i>	← *sō'ōya	"be better than"
<i>sō'e^{ya/}</i>	← *sō'vya	"own" (cf <i>sō'vlím^m</i> "property")

Short unrounded root vowels become diphthongs in *u* before LF *ηηv *kkv:

<i>gbà<u>u</u>η^o</i>	← *gb ^a ηηv	"book"	pl <i>gbàna</i>
<i>lā<u>u</u>k^o</i>	← *l ^a kkv	"goods item"	pl <i>lā'ad^ε</i>
<i>yī<u>u</u>η^{o/}</i>	← *y ⁱ ηηv	"single"	pl <i>yīná</i>

Short tense *i* does not diphthongise in *nìn-gbīη^{o/}* "body."

Short *ia* becomes *iau*, but short *ua* becomes *ɔ*: **uakkv* → *ɔkkv*

<i>bīā<u>u</u>ñk^o</i>	← *bī ^a kkv	"shoulder"	pl <i>bīāñ'ad^ε</i>
<i>bòk^o</i>	← *b ^u akkv	"pit"	pl <i>bò'ad^ε</i>

Unrounded second morae of long vowels become [ɔ] before LF *gv *ηηv:

<i>dāv<u>g</u>^o</i>	← *d ^a agv	"log"	pl <i>dàad^ε</i>
<i>fēñ'og^{o/}</i>	← *fē'ēgv	"ulcer"	pl <i>fēñ'ed^{ε/}</i>

The second mora of the long vowel *ii* becomes tense *u*, giving *iu*; this contrasts with the second mora of the long vowel *iə*, which becomes [ɔ], giving *io* [iɔ]:

	<i>vī<u>u</u>g^{o/}</i>	← *vīgv	"owl"	pl <i>vīd^{ε/}</i>
but	<i>dābīog^o</i>	← *d ^a bīəgv	"coward"	pl <i>dābīəd^ε</i>
	<i>kpī'or^o</i>	← *kpī'əηηv	"strong"	pl <i>kpī'əma</i>

No parallel case with *uu/uv* occurs, because of the rule **uəgv* → *ɔɔgv*:

Sà'dàbòɔg^ɔ ← **Sa'dabuəgv* "place of the Sarabose *Sà'dàbùəs*^ɛ clan"
lām-fôɔg^ɔ ← **lam-fuəgv* "toothless" (*lām*^{mɛ/} "gum", *fùe* "extract")

Pl vowels are remodelled on the sg: *lām-fôɔd*^ɛ "toothless." The only stem in final *uə* in the *gɔ|dɛ* class is the formally-plural *zùəd*^ɛ "friendship", where there is no sg with *gɔ*. The only *gɔ|dɛ* stems in *iə* are *dàb̄iɔg*^ɔ "coward", *kɔ̄'oiŋ*^ɔ "strong", and *piŋ*^ɔ (? tones) "bald", and there is stem alternation before *ga|sɛ* and *gɔ|dɛ* suffixes in

b̄'á *b̄'əs*^ɛ *b̄'á-* "bad"
b̄'əɔg^ɔ *b̄'əd*^ɛ *b̄'ə-*

B̄'əm^m "enemy" shows the same root with derivational **m*. The alternation suggests a rule **iəgv* → *ɛvɔgv*, parallel to **uəgv* → *ɔɔgv*, with the pl vowels again remodelled on the sg. The broken vowel of *dàb̄iɔg*^ɔ "coward" is perhaps carried over from an obsolete **dàb̄iəm*^m "coward" (= Mooré *ràb̄éɛmà*.)

The **epenthetic vowel** *i* is rounded to *v* before LF **-gv* **-ŋv*:

āāndiɔg^a ← **āādiɔga* "black plum tree"
 but *gàadvɔg*^ɔ ← **gaadiɔgv* "(sur)passing" (gerund)
 pl *mālɪma* ← **malɪmaa* "sacrifices"
 but *mālvɔg*^ɔ ← **malɪŋv* "sacrifice"

3.7 Consonant deletion and vowel fusion

The vowel changes described below apply after diphthongisation by fronting and rounding but before apocope. They are late historically: Haaf 1967 still has e.g. *baga* for *bā'a* "diviner" and *winbagr* for *wīn-bâ'ar* "altar."

Underlying ***g is deleted after *a ɪa ɪa aň ɪaň ɪaň*** before any vowel, affix or epenthetic, with fusion resulting in glottalised long vowels and diphthongs:

**agV* → *a'a* **aňgV* → *aň'a*
**ɪagV* → *ɪa'a* **ɪaňgV* → *ɪaň'a*
**ɪaɔgV* → *v'a* (word-final *ɪ'aa*) **ɪaňɔgV* → *vň'a* (word-final *ɪň'aa*)

ɪa'a v'a ɪaň'a vň'a contrast with *i'a u'a iň'a uň'a*, except when shortened by apocope.

This rule applies later than the assimilation **gg* → *kk* 3.5; thus

	<i>pḷāñ</i> ^{1a}	"speak" pfv	<i>pḷāñ'ad</i> ^{a/}	ipfv	
	<i>pḷā</i> ^a	"woman"	<i>pḷā'ab</i> ^a	pl	(<i>a ba</i> class)
but	<i>zàk</i> ^a	"compound"	<i>zà'as</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>ga sε</i> class)
	<i>lāyuk</i> ^o	"item of goods"	<i>lā'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>gɔ dε</i> class)
	<i>pḷàḷñk</i> ^o	"word"	<i>pḷàñ'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>gɔ dε</i> class)
	<i>pḷāk</i> ^a	"female" (adj)	<i>pḷā'as</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>ga sε</i> class)
	<i>bàk</i> ^o	"pit"	<i>bà'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>gɔ dε</i> class)

g is deleted after *aa iə uə and their glottalised counterparts (but not after *av εo io ɔɔ* resulting from rounding before *gv.) When an affix vowel follows the *g, fusion creates overlong diphthongs (similarly with the glottalised vowels):

<i>*aaga</i>	→ <i>aa</i> <u>4.1</u>	<i>*aagɪ</i>	→ <i>aee</i>
<i>*iəga</i>	→ <i>iaa</i>	<i>*iəgɪ</i>	→ <i>iee</i>
<i>*uəga</i>	→ <i>uaa</i>	<i>*uəgɪ</i>	→ <i>uee</i>

The diphthongs *iaa uaa* arise from deletion of the *g in *ga|sε* class singulars:

<i>bāa</i>	← <i>*baaga</i>	"dog"	pl <i>bāas</i> ^ε
<i>sāa</i>	← <i>*siəga</i>	"waist"	pl <i>sāəs</i> ^ε
<i>sàbùa</i>	← <i>*sabuəga</i>	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs</i> ^ε

The diphthongs *aee iee uee* appear in dual-aspect "fusion" verbs with stems in **Caag *Ciəg *Cuəg* and their glottalised counterparts:

<i>pāe</i> ^l	← <i>*paagɪ</i>	"reach"
<i>kḷi'e</i>	← <i>*kḷi'əgɪ</i>	"approach" cf <i>kḷi'əs</i> ^ε "neighbours"
<i>dūe</i> ^l	← <i>*duəgɪ</i>	"raise, rise"

Original open nasalised **ēē *ōō* only undergo vowel breaking 2.2 before *g, elsewhere falling together with the reflexes of former close **ēē *ōō* as *εēñ ɔōñ*: breaking occurs in all contexts where *g would suffer deletion and nowhere else.

Alternations arise in nouns and adjectives in the *ga|sε* class between SF-final *iañ uañ* and word-internal *εēñ ɔōñ* before a consonant, and in derivation between fusion verb forms from *-gɪ, ending in SF *ieñ ueñ*, and cognate forms with *εēñ ɔōñ*:

<i>zḷi'na</i>	"red" <i>ga sε</i> class sg	<i>zēñ'εs</i> ^ε	"red" <i>ga sε</i> class pl
		<i>zēñ'og</i> ^o	"red" <i>gɔ dε</i> class sg <u>3.6</u>
<i>dùañ</i>	"dawadawa" sg	<i>dòòñs</i> ^ε	"dawadawa" pl
<i>Mùa</i>	"Mossi person"	<i>Mòòs</i> ^ε	"Mossi people"
		<i>Mòòg</i> ^o	"Mossi country"

<i>n̄jɛ</i>	"appear"	<i>n̄ɛɛl^ɛ</i>	"reveal"
<i>ñyũ'e/</i>	"set alight"	<i>ñyɔ̄'ɔs^{ɛ/}</i>	"smoke" (noun)
<i>sũeñ/</i>	"anoint"	<i>sɔ̄ñ</i>	"rub"
<i>sũñ'e/</i>	"become better" WK	<i>sɔ̄ñ'e^{ya/}</i>	"be better than" (← *sɔ̄'ɔya)

When *aa aañ iə uə* precede a **g* which is *not* followed by an affix vowel, the only trace of **g* is the disturbance of toneme allocation in Tone Pattern H 3.8.1.

<i>náaf^ɔ</i>	← * <i>naagfv</i>	"cow" pl <i>n̄ĩgí</i>
<i>d̄i'əɛ^ɛ</i>	← * <i>d̄i'əgrɪ</i>	"receiving" (<i>d̄i'e/</i> "receive" ← * <i>d̄i'əgrɪ</i>)
<i>vúəɛ^ɛ</i>	← * <i>vuəgrɪ</i>	"fruit of red kapok"

However, broken *iəñ uəñ* appear instead of *ɛɛñ ɔɔñ*:

	<i>n̄ɛɛɛ^ɛ</i>		"empty" (← "clear")
but	<i>n̄jəɛ^ɛ</i>	← * <i>n̄ĩəgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>n̄jɛ</i> "appear"
	<i>pɔ̄ñ'ɔl^{ɛ/}</i>		"cause to rot"
but	<i>púñ'əɛ^ɛ</i>	← * <i>pũ'əgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pũñ'e/</i> "rot"

Tones show that the imperfective of fusion verbs has no underlying **g*, and older forms in texts reflect this by keeping *ɛɛñ ɔɔñ*, e.g. *pon'od* from *pũñ'e/*. Later texts, and all my informants, consistently introduce *iəñ uəñ* into imperfectives and imperatives by analogy: *pun'od pũñ'əd^{a/}*.

3.8 Tone Patterns

The distribution of tonemes on an open-class word, prior to any effects of external tone sandhi or tone overlay, is specified by a **Tone Pattern**, a suprasegmental feature of the word *stem* which allocates individual tonemes to all tone-bearing units of each complete word belonging to the flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes. Nominals show only three basic distinct Patterns (H, L and A), and verbs only two (H and A.)

Pattern H	initial H or MH	
Pattern L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer <i>m</i> -stems)	
Pattern A	(for "alternating")	
	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl all-L in cb
	verbs:	all-M in irrealis all-L in other moods

Any tonemes after H are L.

Allocation precedes apocope and all synchronic rules which delete segments. Later loss of segments may result in unexpected distributions of tonemes.

Superlight syllables 2 are toneless. If a superlight LF syllable becomes closed in the SF, it must acquire a toneme: this is M after a preceding M syllable, and L otherwise, e.g. LF *kūgvré* SF *kūgvɔr* (i.e. *kūgv̄ɔr*) "stone", LF *nóbɪrè* SF *nóbɪr* "foot."

A single flexional paradigm only shows more than one Tone Pattern in the case of agent nouns which drop derivational *-d-* in the sg and cb.

Analogous Patterns appear throughout Western Oti-Volta, with Pattern A alternating all-H/all-L. Pattern A has been taken as tonally unmarked, realised all-L by default but changed to all-H either by copying of a suffix H toneme (Akanlig-Pare and Kenstowicz 2002) or when a form is stressed (Olawsky 1999, Anttila and Bodomo 1996.) However, stressed verb forms are often all-L, and the Kusaal evidence also supports tone-copying: unlike almost all other open-class words, all-L Pattern A forms are not followed by M spreading and show L before liaison, apart from verb imperfectives, which probably originated as Pattern L derivatives. Derivational suffixes may change Pattern A forms to Pattern L and *vice versa*, which is difficult to reconcile with an analysis of Pattern A as intrinsically toneless; it may simply be intrinsically all-L, whereas Pattern L has an underlying non-initial M toneme usually deleted by internal tone sandhi but responsible for the H seen in longer *m*-stems.

For descriptive purposes it is sufficient simply to show Tone Patterns in terms of the resulting surface toneme distributions, and to classify derivational suffixes by the Patterns they produce; this is the approach adopted below.

3.8.1 Nouns and adjectives

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cb 5.1. Cbs are always affected by apocope.

Noun prefixes 10 are ignored in counting stem syllables below. Prefixes are L or M: L prefixes do not affect the rest of the tone pattern, while M prefixes only affect cbs, which always have H/X after the prefix.

Cbs from CV-stems sometimes behave tonally like prefixes:

<i>p̄v-kp̄aad^{a/}</i>	<i>p̄v-kp̄aadíb^a</i>	<i>p̄v-kp̄á-</i>	"farmer" <u>10.1</u>
<i>z̄ūg-k̄ōgvɔr^{ε/}</i>	<i>z̄ūg-k̄ōga</i>	<i>z̄ūg-k̄óg-</i>	"pillow" <u>5.2</u>
<i>k̄ā-w̄ēnnɪr^{ε/}</i>	<i>k̄ā-w̄ēnna</i>	<i>k̄ā-w̄én-</i>	"corn"

Pattern H displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the LF, but otherwise has the initial tonemes MH; note that the H toneme falls on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the LF. Any tonemes following H are L. Cbs are allocated tonemes as if the final syllable were open.

<i>vōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>vōyá</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>yīr^{ε/}</i>	<i>yā[/]</i>	<i>yī-</i>	"house"
<i>fūug^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>fūud^{ε/}</i>	<i>fū-</i>	"shirt, clothes"
<i>dōk^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>dōgvd^{ε/}</i>	<i>dōg-</i>	"cooking pot"
<i>nīd^{a/}</i>	<i>nīdɪb^{a/}</i>	<i>nīn-</i>	"person"
<i>kūgvr^{ε/}</i>	<i>kūgá</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>gōt^{a/}</i>	<i>gōtɪb^a /tt/</i>	<i>gōt-</i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>sābɪlɪg^a</i>	<i>sābɪlɪs^ε</i>	<i>sābɪl-</i>	"black"
<i>sābɪl^{lε}</i>	<i>sābɪlá</i>		
<i>yōgúm^{mε}</i>	<i>yōgvmá</i>	<i>yōgvm-</i>	"camel"
<i>dī'əs^{a/}</i>	<i>dī'əsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>dī'əs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>sūgvríd^a</i>	<i>sūgvrídɪb^a</i>	<i>sūgvríd-</i>	"forgiver, forbearer"
<i>kō'alɪŋ^a</i>	<i>kō'alɪs^ε</i>	<i>kō'alɪŋ-</i>	traditional smock
<i>sú'əŋ^a /ŋŋ/</i>	<i>sū'əmɪs^ε</i>	<i>sū'əŋ-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	<i>sáam^{ma}</i>	<i>sāan-</i>	"stranger, guest"
<i>sáannɪm^m</i>			"strangerhood"

H appears on the last syllable of LFs ending in root vowels followed by *mm* or in overlong diphthongs, while the corresponding SFs have M toneme:

<i>nūa[/]</i>	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>	"hen"
<i>vōm^{m/}</i>	SF <i>vōm</i>	LF <i>vómm</i>	"life"
<i>dāam^{m/}</i>	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>	"millet beer"

Loss of underlying segments may shift the H toneme to the left.

H may appear on a *superlight* syllable if it is preceded by *r* derived from **rr*:

<i>ñyīríf^ɔ</i>	<i>ñyīrí</i>	"egusi seed"
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Many words have a long root vowel followed by a segment which has been deleted either by reduction of a consonant cluster to a single consonant 3.5 or by deletion of **g* 3.7. The first syllable still behaves as superheavy and carries H:

<i>nīis^ε</i>	← <i>*niinsɪ</i>	(beside <i>nīimɪs^ε</i>)	"birds" (sg <i>nīiŋ^a /ŋŋ/</i>)
<i>píiñf^ɔ</i>	← <i>*pɪɪnfɔ</i>	(pl <i>pīɪnɪ</i>)	"genet"
<i>wáaf^ɔ</i>	← <i>*waagfɔ</i>	(pl <i>wīigɪ</i>)	"snake"
<i>yáab^a</i>	← <i>*yaagba</i>		"grandparent"
<i>vúər^ε</i>	← <i>*vuəgrɪ</i>		"fruit of red kapok"
<i>náar^ε</i>	← <i>*naagrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>nāe[/]</i>	"finishing"
<i>dī'ər^ε</i>	← <i>*dɪ'əgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>dī'e[/]</i>	"getting"
<i>pún'ər^ε</i>	← <i>*pũ'ǽgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pūñ'e[/]</i>	"rotting"

A few root-stems show a different irregularity: in sg/pl forms with consonant-initial flexions, the initial syllable carries X if it is superheavy and H otherwise. As usual, syllables after H carry L whenever they are not superlight. Forms with vowel-initial suffixes and cbs are regular.

<i>nû'ug</i> ^ɔ	<i>nû'us</i> ^ε	<i>nū'</i> -	"hand, arm"
<i>à-gâvñg</i> ^ɔ	<i>à-gâaňd</i> ^ε	<i>à-gāñ-</i>	"pied crow"
<i>gbêɛňm</i> ^m		<i>gbēñ-</i>	"sleep"
<i>nóbìr</i> ^ε	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"foot, leg"
<i>gél</i> ^{lε}	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>kísùg</i> ^ɔ	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo" (adj)
<i>áňsìb</i> ^a	<i>áňs-nám</i> ^a	<i>áňs-</i>	"mother's brother"

So too the gerunds *sóňsìg*^a "talking", *gósìg*^a "looking", *kìkíròg*^ɔ "hurrying."

The superheavy X syllables only occur in the SFs: corresponding LF's have open initial syllables with H: LF *nú'ug*^ɔ "hand", tonally identical to the LF *wáafò* "snake."

Some of these words have probably lost a segment: *s r* can represent older *ss rr*, and cf Mooré *gǎoobgó* "pied crow." *Nú'ug*^ɔ "hand" has added further class suffixes to old *ɔ|ε* class forms: cf Nawdm *núhú* pl *níhí*. *Nóbìr*^ε "leg" is remodelled segmentally on the basis of the plural: cf Toende sg *nō'ōt* pl *nōba*.

Examples for Pattern H with prefixes:

<i>dàyūug</i> ^{ɔ/l}	<i>dàyūud</i> ^{ε/l}	<i>dàyū-</i>	"rat"
<i>Bùsáŋ</i> ^a	<i>Bùsáaňs</i> ^ε	<i>Bùsāŋ-</i>	"Bisa person"
<i>zīnzāμŋ</i> ^{ɔ/l}	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzáμŋ-</i>	"bat"
<i>gōmpōzēr</i> ^{ε/l}	<i>gōmpōzēyá</i>	<i>gōmpōzēr-</i>	"duck"
<i>pīpīrīg</i> ^{a/l}	<i>pīpīrīs</i> ^{ε/l}	<i>pīpīr-</i>	"desert"
<i>tīntōňrīg</i> ^a	<i>tīntōňrīs</i> ^ε	<i>tīntōňr-</i>	"mole" (<i>r</i> ← * <i>rr</i>)

Pattern L shows L on all syllables, except with *m*-stems:

<i>sù'vg</i> ^a	<i>sù'vs</i> ^ε	<i>sù'</i> -	"knife"
<i>zàk</i> ^a	<i>zà'as</i> ^ε	<i>zà'</i> -	"dwelling-compound"
<i>mòli</i> ^ɔ	<i>mòli</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>pùgvdi</i> ^b	<i>pùgvd-nàm</i> ^a	<i>pùgvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>sàal</i> ^a	<i>sàalib</i> ^a	<i>sàal-</i>	"human"
<i>nòŋid</i> ^a			"lover"
<i>bòòdim</i> ^m			"will"
<i>zòtim</i> ^m			"fear"
<i>dàalim</i> ^m			"maleness"

M-stems show H on the syllable before the *m* unless this is either a root syllable or follows a light root syllable. Any tonemes after H are L.

	<i>sàam</i> ^{ma}	<i>sàam-nàm</i> ^a	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
	<i>mèeη</i> ^a	<i>mèemis</i> ^ε	<i>mèeη-</i>	"turtle"
	<i>àñrvη</i> ^o	<i>àñrīma</i>	<i>àñrvη-</i>	"boat"
	<i>kàrvη</i> ^o or <i>kàrīmvγ</i> ^o			"reading" (gerund)
	<i>yàlvη</i> ^o	<i>yàlīma</i>	<i>yàlvη-</i>	"wide"
	<i>zìlīm</i> ^{mε}	<i>zìlīma</i>	<i>zìlīm-</i>	"tongue"
But	<i>sīlīη</i> ^a	<i>sīlīmīs</i> ^ε or <i>sīlīs</i> ^ε	<i>sīlīη-</i>	"proverb"
	<i>zàańsúη</i> ^o	<i>zàańsímà</i>	<i>zàańsúη-</i>	"dream"
	<i>nòηlīm</i> ^m		<i>nòηlīm-</i>	"love"
	<i>sòηlīm-tāa</i>			"co-helper" <u>9.2.1.4</u>
	<i>dàalīm</i> ^m	<i>dàalīmīs</i> ^ε	<i>dàalīm-</i>	"male sex organs"
	<i>bì'isīm</i> ^m			"milk"

Tonally exceptional forms are *bùgúm*^m cb *bùgúm-* or *bùgōm-* "fire", *tàdīmīs*^ε "weakness", *bùdīmīs*^ε "confusion."

Pattern L with prefixes:

<i>kòkpàrīg</i> ^a	<i>kòkpàrīs</i> ^ε	<i>kòkpàr-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>sāmán</i> ^{nε}	<i>sāmánà</i>	<i>sāmán-</i>	"courtyard"

Pattern A shows M throughout in sg/pl forms and L throughout in the cb.

<i>bōvγ</i> ^a	<i>bōvs</i> ^ε	<i>bò-</i>	"goat"
<i>tān</i> ^{nε}	<i>tāna</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	"earth"
<i>sīd</i> ^a	<i>sīdīb</i> ^a	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>pṽ'ā</i> ^a	<i>pṽ'ab</i> ^a	<i>pṽ'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>sā'ab</i> ^o	no pl	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge"
<i>gbīgīm</i> ^{nε}	<i>gbīgīma</i>	<i>gbīgīm-</i>	"lion"
<i>ńwāaη</i> ^a	<i>ńwāamīs</i> ^ε	<i>ńwāaη-</i>	"monkey"
<i>mēed</i> ^a	<i>mēedīb</i> ^a	<i>mēed-</i>	"builder"
<i>sīākīd</i> ^a	<i>sīākīdīb</i> ^a	<i>sīākīd-</i>	"believer"
<i>bōtīη</i> ^a	<i>bōtīs</i> ^ε	<i>bōtīη-</i>	"cup"
<i>mēedīη</i> ^a	<i>mēedīs</i> ^ε	<i>mēedīη-</i>	"building tool"

When derived from Pattern A verbs, agent nouns which have *-d-* only in the plural have Pattern L sg and Pattern A pl (the cb is in any case all-L) 3.8.4:

<i>pù'us^a</i>	<i>pù'usidib^a</i>	<i>pù'us-</i>	"worshipper"
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Pattern A all-M LFs become all-L before the interrogative clitics [4.4.1](#).

Certain Pattern A words show **LF-final H** instead of M before negative prosodic clitics, but not liaison words. For WK this occurs with LFs of more than two syllables not ending in a long vowel or *-a*, and disyllabic LFs in *-mmV* or *-mm*. Some speakers allow H optionally before the interrogative prosodic clitics.

<i>yūgvdir^{ε/}</i>	<i>yūgvda</i>	<i>yùgvd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>bāŋid^a</i>	<i>bāŋidib^{a/}</i>	<i>bàŋid-</i>	"wise man"
<i>kpārɪdɪŋ^a</i>	<i>kpārɪdɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>kpàrɪdɪŋ-</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>gbīgɪm^{mε/}</i>	<i>gbīgɪma</i>	<i>gbìgɪm-</i>	"lion"
<i>zɔɔm^{mε/}</i>	<i>zɔɔma</i>	<i>zòom-</i>	"fugitive"
<i>tādɪm^{m/}</i>	<i>tādɪmɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>tàdɪm-</i>	"weak person"

Lì à nē gbīgɪmméé?

"Is it a lion?" WK only; rejected by DK

Lì à nē gbígɪmméé?

"Is it a lion?" both WK and DK

Pattern A with prefixes:

<i>dàkīŋ^a</i>	<i>dàkīs^ε</i>	<i>dàkì-</i>	"sib-in-law via wife"
<i>fūfūm^{mε}</i>	<i>fūfūma</i>	<i>fūfúm-</i>	"envy; stye"

3.8.2 Verbs

Pattern L has merged with A in verbs, probably through the regular falling together of most perfectives (which resemble nominal cbs structurally) and by the development of imperfectives from *derived* stems [3.8.4](#). Further levelling has extended to all but a few gerunds.

Dual-aspect verbs have three finite forms [7.1](#) but the *ma*-imperative is found only with tone overlay [16.6.2](#). Perfective and imperfective will be cited below, in that order. Single-aspect verbs have just one finite form, which is imperfective.

Pattern H, as in nominals, displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the LF, but otherwise shows the initial tonemes MH, with H falling on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the LF. Any tonemes following H are L. Unlike nominals, verbs show no anomalies due to deletion of segments.

2-mora-stem perfectives show M(M) before the negative clitic, becoming L(L) before interrogative clitics. However, they show final H before liaison-word pronouns:

<i>Ò p̄ dōgε.</i>	"She didn't cook."
<i>Ò p̄ dógèε?</i>	"Didn't she cook?"
<i>Kà ò dōgí lī</i>	"And she cooked it."

Examples for Pattern H:

<i>ñyē</i>	<i>ñyēt^a/</i>	"see"
<i>kō</i>	<i>kōvd^a/</i>	"kill"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	<i>dōgvd^a/</i>	"cook"
<i>kūl^ε</i>	<i>kūn^{na}/</i>	"go home"
<i>yādīg^ε/</i>	<i>yādīgíd^a</i>	"scatter"
<i>mōɔl^ε/</i>	<i>móɔn^{na}</i>	"proclaim"
<i>dīgɪl^ε/</i>	<i>dīgín^{na}</i>	"lay down"
<i>nōk^ε/</i> /kk/	<i>nōkíd^a</i> /kk/	"take"
<i>lāŋím^m</i> /ŋŋ/	<i>lāŋím^{ma}</i> /ŋŋ/	"wander searching"
	<i>vōg^a/</i>	"be alive"
	<i>dīgɪ^{ya}/</i>	"be lying down"
	<i>tī'i^{ya}/</i>	"be leaning" (objects)
	<i>zāñ^{la}/</i>	"be holding"

As with nominals, H appears on the last LF syllable when it ends in a root vowel before *-mm* or in an overlong diphthong, while the corresponding SF has M:

<i>tōɔm^m/</i>	SF <i>tōɔm</i>	LF <i>tóɔmm</i>	"disappear"
<i>pāe[/]</i>	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"

For the tonemes of stative verbs like *kpī'əm^{ma}* "be strong" see 9.1.2.1.

Fusion verbs show no sign of *g in the imperfective tonally, or in agent nouns:

<i>pāe[/]</i>	<i>pāad^a/</i>	"reach"
<i>dī'e[/]</i>	<i>dī'əd^a/</i>	"get"
<i>pūñ'e[/]</i>	<i>pūñ'əd^a/</i>	"rot" WK

Contrast the corresponding gerunds: *páar^ε* *dī'ər^ε* *púñ'ər^ε*.

Pattern A shows all tonemes L in indicative and imperative, all M in irrealis.

<i>bòd^ε</i>	<i>bòt^a</i>	"plant"
<i>dì</i>	<i>dìt^a</i>	"eat"
<i>mè</i>	<i>mèəd^a</i>	"build"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	<i>zàbid^a</i>	"fight, hurt"
<i>bùəl^ε</i>	<i>bùən^{na}</i>	"call"

<i>bòdɪg^ɛ</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪd^a</i>	"get lost, lose"
<i>nìŋ^ɛ</i>	<i>nìŋɪd^a</i>	"do"
<i>màal^ɛ</i>	<i>màan^{na}</i>	"sacrifice"
<i>dìgɪn^ɛ</i>	<i>dìgɪnɪd^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>wàŋɪm^m</i>	<i>wàŋɪm^{ma}</i>	"waste away"
<i>sìilɪm^m</i>	<i>sìilɪm^{ma}</i>	"cite proverbs"
<i>zàaŋsɪm^m</i>	<i>zàaŋsɪm^{ma}</i>	"dream"
	<i>tàbɪ^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"
	<i>vèn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"

As with nominal Pattern A, the last LF toneme in the irrealis is M:

<i>Ò nà bōdɪg.</i>	"He'll get lost."
<i>Ò nà vèn.</i>	"She'll be beautiful."
<i>Ò kù zābɛ.</i>	"She won't fight."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɛ.</i>	"He won't get lost."
<i>Ò nà bōdɪgɛɛ?</i>	"Will she get lost?" <u>4.1</u>
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪdɔ.</i>	"She won't be getting lost."
<i>Ò kù bŭənnɔ.</i>	"She won't be calling."
<i>Ò nà bōdɪgɪ m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪ má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪdɪ má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò kù zābɪdɪ-né.</i>	"He wouldn't have been fighting."
<i>Ò kù sīilɪmm.</i>	"She won't cite proverbs" WK
<i>Ò nà zāb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He'll fight the chief."

The LF before the bound pronoun ^o can show final M or H (all WK):

<i>Ò kù zābó-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."
or <i>Ò kù zābo-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."

3.8.3 Other word classes

Quantifiers, adverbs and particles with the segmental structure of nouns have similar tonal structures; they may also show apocope-blocking 3.2. For the tonemes of bound liaison words see 4.4.2. Left-bound particles with SF CV which are *not* liaison words carry M or L; M changes to H in the LF CVV. Tonally unique is independent-perfective *yā* 16.6.2, which remains M before the negative prosodic clitic and becomes L before the interrogative clitics 4.1:

	<i>Lì b̀̀d̀ıg nē.</i>	"It's lost." (focus- <i>nē</i> [/])
	<i>Lì b̀̀d̀ıg néε?</i>	"Is it lost?"
but	<i>Lì b̀̀d̀ıg yā.</i>	"It's got lost."
	<i>Lì b̀̀d̀ıg yàa?</i>	"Has it got lost?"

3.8.4 Derivation

Root tone patterns can be deduced from the tone patterns of words with stems lacking any derivational suffix, and by comparing patterns in derived stems.

It is exceptional for forms derived from H roots to show L or A Patterns, or vice versa, but this does occur regularly in derivation of assume-stance verbs [9.1.1](#).

Gīḡilím^m "shortness", from the Pattern A adjective *gīḡ*^a "short", possibly represents a five-mora-stem Pattern A toneme allocation (but cf *gīḡńlím*^m *id.*)

Pattern H roots which show irregular tonemes in root-stem nominal forms are regular in all derived forms and in cognate verbs:

<i>áńsìb</i> ^a	"maternal uncle"	<i>āńśıḡ</i> ^a	"sister's child"
<i>ḱı̀s̀̀v̀̀g</i> ^o	"hateful"	<i>ḱı̀s̀̀</i> ^{a/}	"hate"
<i>ǵ́s̀̀ı̀g</i> ^a	"looking"	<i>ǵ́s̀̀</i> ^ε	"look"

After L or A roots derivational suffixes differ in tonal behaviour, some producing Pattern L nominal stems and others Pattern A. The Pattern is determined by the *last* derivational suffix, unless this is **m* as a second suffix, or **y* as a formant of stative verbs. Pattern A roots can give rise to Pattern L, and *vice versa*:

<i>b̄ıḡ</i> ^a	"child"	<i>b̄ıḡlím</i> ^m	"childhood" (-l-)
<i>nà'ab</i> ^a	"chief"	<i>nā'am</i> ^m	"chiefship" (-m-)

When added to L or A roots the derivational suffixes *b g l s* always produce Pattern L nominals, while *d m* may produce either Pattern L or Pattern A. The suffix *n* may produce Pattern A when it is derived from **nd* **ld* [3.5](#).

All regular gerunds have predictable Tone Patterns:

from Pattern H verbs:		Pattern H
from Pattern A verbs:	from 2-mora-stem perfectives:	Pattern A
	from all others:	Pattern L

<i>d̄v̄g</i> ^ε	"cook"	→	<i>d̄v̄gub</i> ^{o/}
<i>n̄v̄k</i> ^{ε/}	"take"	→	<i>n̄v̄kír</i> ^ε
<i>d̄ıḡıl</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	→	<i>d̄ıḡılúg</i> ^o
<i>m̄</i> ^ε	"build"	→	<i>m̄εeb</i> ^o

<i>s̀̀η^ε</i>	"help"	→	<i>s̀̀ηι^ε</i>
<i>d̀̀gɪn^ε</i>	"lie down"	→	<i>d̀̀gɪnvɔ^ɔ</i>
<i>z̀̀aãsim^m</i>	"dream"	→	<i>z̀̀aãsú^ɔ</i>

Gerunds derived with **d* from Pattern A verbs are likewise Pattern L: *b̀̀ɔɔdɪm^m* "will", *m̀̀ɛɛdɪm-t̃aa* "fellow-builder." This Pattern-L-deriving **d* is probably historically identifiable with the *d* preceding the original ipfv *-a* in dual-aspect verbs before extensive levelling produced a unitary flexional suffix *-da*. This accounts for the fact that Pattern L and A dynamic imperfectives have merged, and that they show behaviour resembling nominal Pattern L, with no change to all-M despite the fact that they are followed by M spreading and show final M tonemes before liaison.

In dynamic single-aspect verbs, the **y* of the ending *-ya* behaves tonally like dual-aspect **d*. Stative verbs derived with **y* keep the Tone Pattern of the nominal, but their Patterns have been reanalysed in terms of those of dynamic verbs.

Deverbal agent nouns, instrument nouns and deverbal adjectives also have predictable Tone Patterns:

from Pattern H verbs		Pattern H
from Pattern A verbs:	containing derivational <i>-d-</i>	Pattern A
	otherwise	Pattern L

The suffix **d* in these formations is Pattern-A-deriving: *b̀̀ɔɔdɪ^ε* "desirable", *m̀̀ɛɛdɪ^ɔ* "building implement." Stems where this **d* is absent (not just assimilated into a cluster as *-mn-* or *-nn-*) are Pattern L, with a change of Tone Pattern possible even within a single noun paradigm.

4 External sandhi

External sandhi includes segmental contact phenomena, tone sandhi, and complete or partial suppression of apocope.

Sandhi after right-bound words differs from that after unbound forms, even before left-bound words. Perfectives behave as if right-bound in tone sandhi and in final stop devoicing in Toende Kusaal 2.1; verbs monophthongise final fronting diphthongs phrase-internally like *cbs*, and unlike singulars even before the article: *sàñ-kàṅā* "this blacksmith" but *sāṅñ lā* "the blacksmith."

4.1 Prosodic clitics

Prosodic clitics have no segmental form, but cause a preceding word to appear as a Long Form, completely suppressing apocope. Mooré has clause-final *yé* after negative VPs, and vocative and interrogative clitics are common in West Africa; for clitic-like elements cross-linguistically which lack segmental form see Spencer and Luís 2012: 5.5.1 on Tongan "definitive accent." The concept of prosodic clitics as *words* is also useful in describing complex clause structures.

All four prosodic clitics cause lowering of short LF-final *ɪ ʊ* to *ɛ ɔ* respectively, which are realised slightly closer in this case than as root vowels.

Before prosodic clitics, and in forms with apocope-blocking, final *-mɪ* and *-mʊ* become *-mm* whenever the *m* is not geminated. The final *m* was presumably once syllabic, but currently *-mm* is non-tone-bearing [m:]. Word-final *iə uə* diphthongise to *ia ua* before prosodic clitics: pfv LF *k̄ɪa* "cut" vs ipfv *k̄ɪəd*, pfv LF *k̄ūa* "hoe" vs ipfv *k̄ūəd*. None of these changes occur before liaison.

Overlong monophthongs, unlike diphthongs, are not permitted before prosodic clitics; they reduce to long. This results in words which have segmentally or even tonally identical SF and LF, as for example:

	<i>s̄ā</i>	"waist"	SF <i>s̄ā</i>	LF <i>s̄āa</i>	← * <i>siəga</i>
but	<i>b̄ā</i>	"dog"	SF <i>b̄ā</i>	LF <i>b̄ā</i>	← * <i>baaga</i>
	<i>k̄v̄</i> + °	"kill him/her"	SF <i>k̄v̄o</i>	LF <i>k̄v̄o[-o]</i>	both [k̄v̄:]

The **negative prosodic clitic** appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb 16.5. Superscript notation represents LFs as they appear before the negative prosodic clitic segmentally, with lowering of short final *ɪ ʊ* to *ɛ ɔ*; long final *ɪ ʊ* are not lowered:

Lì k̄ā' nóbɪr̄ē=∅. "It's not a leg (*nóbɪr̄^ɛ*)."
 3IN NEG.BE leg:SG=NEG.

Lì kā' dōkó=∅. "It's not a pot (*dōk^o*)."
 3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.

Bà kā' mólī=∅. "They are not gazelles (*mólī*)."
 3PL NEG.BE gazelle:PL=NEG.

LFs of the same form appear with some single-word clause adjuncts. Thus, in KB, written *bεogv* always precedes liaison, while the clause adjunct is always *bεogv*; the apocope-blocked *bèdvǔv̄* "a lot" is always written *bεdegv*, but KB always writes *bɔzugv bō zúgv̄* "because", *dinzugv ðìn zúgv̄* "therefore", *alazugv àlá zúgv̄* "therefore."

bɔzugv ba zi' onε tvmi m la naa.
bō zúgv̄, bà zī' ónì tòmí m lā náa=∅.
 because 3PL NEG.KNOW REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither=NEG.
 "Because they do not know him who sent me here." (Jn 15:21)

Fù ná kūl bēog. "You'll go home tomorrow."
 2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

but *Bēogó fù ná kūl.* "You're going home tomorrow." SB
 Tomorrow 2SG IRR go.home.

Occasional examples of such LFs are seen ending *yà*'-clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor buude, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.
Kìkīrīg yá' mōr bōvde, fōn tísò ∅ kà ò lēbig ò mōgv-n.
 Fairy:SG if have innocence, 2SG.CNTR give 3AN.OB and 3AN return 3AN grass:SG-LOC.
 "When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." KSS p38
 (Give the devil his due.)

The **vocative prosodic clitic** ends a vocative clause. It has similar segmental effects to the negative clitic.

M̄ b̄iisε=∅! "My children!"
 1SG child:PL=VOC!

Pu'aa, bɔ ka fv kaasida?
Pu'āa=∅, bó kà fù kāasídà=∅?
 Woman:SG=VOC, what and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?
 "Woman, why are you crying?" (Jn 20:13)

dau one an yadda niḡida

dāy ́ónì àñ yàddā-níḡìdā=∅

man:SG REL.SG COP faith-doer:SG=VOC

"You man, who are a believer!" (1 Cor 7:16)

The two **interrogative prosodic clitics** end questions. Final vowel length distinctions are neutralised to short in content questions, long in polar questions. This results in a five-way *a e ɔ i u* contrast in final vowels by quality alone:

Ànó'ònì ∅ ñyē nóbìrè=∅? "Who saw a leg (*nóbìr^ɛ*)?"
Who CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

Lì à nē nóbìrèè=∅? "Is it a leg?"
3IN COP FOC leg:SG=PQ?

Ànó'ònì ñyē kúkà? "Who saw a chair (*kūk^a*)?"
Lì à nē kúkà? "Is it a chair?"

Ànó'ònì ñyē dōkó? "Who saw a pot (*dōk^ɔ?*"
Lì à nē dōkó? "Is it a pot?"

Ànó'ònì ñyē mólì? "Who saw gazelles (*mólì*)?"
Ànó'ònì ñyē bédvǔ? "Who saw a lot (*bédvǔ^ɔ?*"

4.2 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final affix vowel, but with loss of quality contrasts. This vowel is not epenthetic and occurs where epenthesis does not: contrast the gerund *dūm^{mɔ}* from **dumbv* "biting" with *dūmī bā* "bite them." Words which have not undergone apocope, such as the clause linker particles *kà* and *yē*, do not change before liaison.

Left-bound liaison words are always preceded by liaison. The locative particle *n^ɛ* [13.3](#) attaches directly after nominal sg or pl forms; discontinuous-past *n^ɛ* [16.3.2](#) and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun ^{ya} [18.3](#) attach directly after verb forms. In this grammar, these words are hyphenated to the preceding host word, except when ^{ya} is deleted by apocope. The bound object pronouns *m^a f^ɔ o lɪ tɪ ya ba* [12.4.1](#) attach directly to a verb word or after *n^ɛ* or ^{ya}. Except for ^o, they are written separate.

Liaison words which are either right-bound or free comprise all the right-bound personal pronouns *m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ ỳ à b̀*, the personifier particle *à/ǹ* 12.6, *ànô'ɔn^ɛ* "who?" 12.4.4, nominaliser-*ǹ* 21, catenator-*n* 19, and all words with the number prefixes *à b̀ b̀* or the manner-adverb prefix *à* 10.2. Liaison is only invariable before pronouns preceded by a verb within a VP, but older texts show liaison more widely.

T̀ì g̀òs̀í_ b̀à b̀ìis. "We looked at their children."
 1PL look.at 3PL child:PL. (Liaison before *b̀à* "their")

When the LF preceding liaison ends in a short vowel it becomes *ɪ*. For some speakers, this *ɪ* becomes *ʊ* after *g* preceded by a rounded root vowel. LF-final *-mm* behaves as *-mɪ*; *-iə -uə* remain as such, not becoming *-ia -ua*. LFs ending in an overlong vowel sequence reduce to long, and fronting diphthongs are simplified to monophthongs. Certain liaison words then induce further quality changes in the preceding LF, as discussed below.

Examples of the basic liaison changes:

<i>k̄ōk^a</i>	"chair"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>k̄ōkɪ-n^ɛ/</i>
<i>d̄ōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"pot"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>d̄ōkí-n^ɛ</i>
<i>b̀òɔd^a</i>	"want"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>b̀òɔdī tɪ</i>
<i>p̄ōɔg^{ɔ/}</i>	"field"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>p̄ōɔgú-n^ɛ</i>
<i>ỳàv̄g^ɔ</i>	"grave"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>ỳàv̄gū-n^ɛ/</i>
<i>t̀òm^m</i>	"send"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>t̀òmɪ tī/</i>
<i>d̄āam^{m/}</i>	"beer"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>d̄āamí-n^ɛ</i>
<i>k̀ù'ə̄m^m</i>	"water"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>k̀ù'ə̄mī-n^ɛ/</i>

K̀à b̀à ñȳé m. "And they saw me." (*ñȳé* "see")
K̀à b̀à k̀j̄ə l̄i. "And they cut it." (*k̀j̄ə* "cut")

<i>d̀à'a</i>	"market"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>d̀ā'a-n^ɛ/</i>
<i>p̄āe/</i>	"reach"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>p̄āa tī/</i>
<i>p̄īe/</i>	"wash"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>p̄íə tī/</i>
<i>d̄ūe/</i>	"raise"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>d̄úə tī/</i>

Single-aspect verbs with LFs ending in *-ya* make forms analogous to those of fusion verb perfectives. They drop *-ya*, monophthongise diphthongs and prolong preceding short vowels:

<i>s̄ū'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"	+ <i>lɪ</i>	"it"	→	<i>s̄ú'v̄ l̄i/</i>
<i>v̄ūe^{a/}</i>	"live"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	dp	→	<i>v̄ūv̄-n^ɛ/</i>

Mane a o. "I am he." (Jn 18:5, 1976)
Māni ◌ ◊ *áño* ◌ ◊. (*àɛñ*^a "be")
 1SG.CNTR CAT COP 3AN.OB.

Before *y*^a the preceding mora becomes lax [ɪ]; after front root vowels the effect thus differs from that preceding *ya* or word-internal *y*:

SF	<i>gòsimī</i> ◌ ◊	"look ye!"	Traditional: <i>gosimi</i>
LF	<i>gòsimī</i> ◌ <i>yá</i>	<u>18.3</u>	Traditional: <i>gosimiya</i>
	<i>kū</i>	"kill"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>kūe</i> [kɔɪ] LF <i>kūe-yá</i>
	<i>kɪ̀à</i>	"cut"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>kɪ̀e</i> [kiɪ] LF <i>kɪ̀e-yá</i>
	<i>pāe</i> [/]	"reach"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>pāe</i> LF <i>pāe-yá</i>
	<i>pīe</i> [/]	"wash"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>pīe</i> LF <i>pīe-yá</i>
	<i>dūe</i> [/]	"raise"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>dūe</i> LF <i>dūe-yá</i>
but	<i>bè</i>	"be"	+ <i>ya</i> → SF <i>bēɪ</i> [bɛɪ] LF <i>bēɪ-yá</i>

Nominaliser-*n* 21 combines with a preceding pronoun subject to produce a special set of pronouns 12.4.1, but for my informants it is segmental zero in all other contexts, with pre-liaison M tonemes changed to H. Older texts frequently show *n* and/or liaison, but *n* is nearly always omitted after words with SFs ending in nasal consonants. In KB, *n* (without liaison) occurs mostly after foreign proper names.

After pause, catenator-*n* 19 is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Elsewhere, WK has liaison before segmental zero:

Kà ò zóo ◌ ◊ *kēŋ nā.* "And he came running"
 And 3AN run CAT come hither.

Bōo ◌ ◊ *lá=ø?* "What's that?"
 What CAT that=CQ?

After a final vowel which is not a free word root vowel, WK has a consonantal nasal, assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Almost all instances of *n* in KB similarly appear after words with apocope-blocking, or after foreign names; the particle is usually segmental zero, with preceding liaison. Older sources again often show *n* and/or liaison, with *n* rare after words with SFs ending in nasal consonants.

Realisations with neither *n* nor liaison also occur, particularly after "auxiliary" verbs. This is most frequent in NT/KB after words ending in *-m -n -l* or in vowels.

Texts confirm that both nominaliser-*n* and catenator-*n* are preceded by liaison, with LF geminate consonants kept before the affix vowel:

ya zuobid wɔsa kalli an si'em
yà zūəbíð wōsa kállì ∅ àñ sī'əm
 2PL hair:PL all number:SG NZ COP INDF.ADV
 "how much the number of all your hairs is" (Lk 12:7)

tuum kanε ka m tummi tisid Wina'am la.
tùum-kànɪ kà m túmmī ∅ tísìð Wínà'am lā
 work-REL.SG and 1SG work:IPFV CAT give:IPFV God ART
 "The work which I do for God" (Rom 15:17)

Particularly in written materials, the quality of the final vowel mora before liaison words beginning with *à-* is not predictable from the phonology alone.

Before *ànó'ɔn*^ε "who?", the manner-adverb prefix *à-* and the personifier-particle allomorph *à-* the LF-final vowel is *ɪ*, or *ʊ* after a velar preceded by a rounded vowel:

Ò nìḡí àlá.
 3AN do ADV:thus "She did thus."
 (contrast *àlá* "how many?" below)

yeli Abaa "said to Dog" KSS p20
yèlɪ À-Bāa
 say PERS-dog:SG

Fusion verbs [7.1](#) show forms in final *e* [ɪ] in these cases, instead of the monophthongs *aa iə uə* usual before another word in the VP [4.3](#):

... [n] loo Abaa zuur "... tying Dog's tail" [12.6](#) KSS p20
... n lóɔ À-Bāa zúvɪ
 ...CAT tie PERS-dog:SG tail:SG

but *ka ba gban'e Adayuug* "and they seized Rat" KSS p20
kà bà gbáñ'e À-Dàyūug
 and 3PL seize PERS-rat:SG

However, *àḡñ*^a "be something" always appears as *àañ*, not *àèñ*.

Ka fɔ aan anɔ'ɔnε? "And who are you?" (Jn 1:19)
Kà fɔ àañ ànó'ɔnè=∅?
 And 2SG COP who=CQ?

Before the number prefix *a-* the pre-liaison vowel is instead *-a*:

M̄ mór nē b̄isá _◌ *àtáñ'*. "I have three children."
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.

Pèédá _◌ *àlá=ø?* "How many baskets?"
basket:PL NUM:how.many=CQ? (contrast *àlá* "thus" above)

Informants usually contract *-á à-* to *á-* and *-í à-* to *-á-* or *-í-*:

Nū'-b̄ib̄is *álá* *kà f̄v̄ ñyētá=ø?*
hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
"How many fingers do you see?"

Gòsimí lá! or *Gòsim álá!* "Keep on looking!"

The number prefix *a-* originated as **ɲa-* 10.2, but prefix-initial **ɲ* disappeared early throughout Western Oti-Volta. The personifier particle and the manner-adverb prefix originally began with consonants which, though now also deleted, persisted long enough for consonant-initial sandhi to be preserved (cf French "*H aspiré*.")

WK and DK round the LF-final vowel before *ò* "his/her", though all written sources show *-i* (*-ɪ*):

Bà gòsú _◌ *ò b̄iḡ.* "They've looked at her child."
3PL look:at 3AN child:SG.

The pronoun ^{ya} becomes *-ní-* before liaison. The pronoun was historically **ɲa*, regularly becoming **yã* with subsequent loss of nasalisation; when *-a* is deleted by apocope, *y* is also deleted. Before a liaison word, *-a* was not deleted but became *ɪ*, before which *ɲ* became *n-*. (Cf also *n̄iḡ^ɛ* "do" = Toende Kusaal *ẽḡ*, locative *n^ɛ ~ n̄i'* = Toende *-ɪ*, *n̄iḡ* "appear" = Toende *yẽe*, *n̄iḡ^a* "body" = Mooré *yĩnga*.)

Dā d̄õllɪ _◌ *yá=ø!* "Follow ye not!"
NEG.IMP follow 2PL.SUB=NEG!

Dì'əmī _◌ *ø!* "Receive ye!"
receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dì'əmī-ní _◌ *bā!* "Receive ye them!"
receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB

Dì'əmī-nó _◌ *ø!* "Receive ye her!"
receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB.

Biise, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.

Bīise=∅, sjàkımī-ní yà dō'adib nóyà.

Child:PL=VOC, agree:IMP-2PL.SUB 2PL parent:PL mouth:PL.

"Children, obey your parents." (Eph 6:1)

Dì'əmī-ní àlá!

"Keep ye on receiving!"

receive:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

(Realised *Dì'əmī-ní lá!* or *dī'əmī-n àlá!*)

4.3 Segmental contact

The initial consonant and emic nasalisation of the deictic particle *ñwà* "this" are lost when it appears as a dependent after a word ending in a consonant:

	<i>bīs ñwá</i>	"these children"	[bi:sa]
	<i>zàam ñwá</i>	"this evening"	[za:ma]
but	<i>pɔ'ā ñwá</i>	"this woman"	[pɔʷɑwã]

The initial *l* of the definite article *lā'* assimilates totally to a preceding word-final *-r*, and [r:] simplifies to [r]:

<i>yīr lā</i>	"the house"	[jira]
<i>pò-kòŋr lā</i>	"the widow"	[pukɔ̃:ra]

Toende Kusaal shows this assimilation after all final consonants (Niggli 2012). The 1976 NT occasionally shows forms like *nidiba* for *nīdib lā* "the people."

Initial *n* of focus-*nē'* often assimilates completely to a preceding word-final *d t n r l m* in normal rapid speech. Subsequently [r:] becomes [r] and [d:] becomes [d]:

<i>Bà kpìid nē.</i>	"They're dying."	[ba k̄pi:dɛ]
<i>M̄ zót nē.</i>	"I'm afraid."	[m̄ zɔt:ɛ]
<i>M̄ mór nē bīisá àyí'.</i>	"I have two children with me."	[m̄ mɔɛ bi:sa:jɪ]
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	"It's full."	[lɪ pɛ:l:ɛ]
<i>Lì sàñ'am nē.</i>	"It's spoilt."	[lɪ sã:m:ɛ]

Final nasal consonants of right-bound words and noun prefixes assimilate to the place of articulation of a following consonant, as does syllabic *ñ* but *not m̄*:

<i>dànkòŋ</i>	"measles"	[daŋkɔŋ]
<i>nīn-bámmā</i>	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
<i>nàm zī'</i>	"still not know"	[nanzɪ]

	<i>Ñ-Bīl</i>	Mbillah (personal name)	[ɱbil]
but	<i>Ṁ nóŋī</i> <i>f.</i>	"I love you."	[ɱnɔŋɪf]

Final nasals of prefixes are written *m* before *p b m*, and *m* everywhere else. Within phrases, word-final short vowels denasalise before initial *n* or *m*:

<i>àwá nā</i>	"like this here" (<i>àñwá</i> "like this")
<i>kē nā</i>	"come hither" (<i>kēñ</i> "come")

Some right-bound *CVñ*- elements lose nasalisation even when the following consonant is not a nasal. Thus with compounds of *sūñf*^{o/} "heart" like *sū-málsim*^m "joy", *sūñ-kpī'oy*^o "boldness", *sūñ-pēen*^{ne} "anger" the 1996 NT and older sources write *sumalism sukpi'oy/sukpi'euy supeen*, reflecting the bleaching and phonological simplification which has created noun prefixes from some original cbs 10.1. KB restores the nasalisation in writing: *svnkpi'euy* "boldness", *svnpēen* "anger."

With *àeñ*^a "be something/somehow" there is loss of nasalisation before the focus particle *nē'* (for the loss of the *e* see below):

	<i>Ṁ á nē dāy.</i>	"I'm a man."
but	<i>Lì àñ súŋā.</i>	"It's fine."

Older written materials write *àñ* directly before a complement as *a* not *ann*, but KB consistently has *an* [ã] whenever the form is not followed by *nē'*.

Cbs, and verb forms which are not VP-final, may not end in fronting diphthongs unless the next word begins with *y*; diphthongs are replaced by corresponding monophthongs: *aɛ* → *a*; *oɛ* → *o*; *uɛ* → *u*; *ae* → *aa*; *ue* → *uu*; *ie* → *iə*; *ue* → *uə*. Thus *sāeñ lā* "the blacksmith", but *sàñ-kàŋā* "this blacksmith" and e.g.

<i>Ò sò'v lór.</i>	"She owns a lorry." (<i>sō'e</i> ^{ya/} "own")
<i>Lì àñ súŋā.</i>	"It's good." (<i>àeñ</i> ^a "be something")
<i>Dúə wēlá?</i>	"[You] arose how?" <u>25</u> (<i>dūe</i> [/] "arise")

Ti ya'a vve, ti vve tis Zugsob la.

Tì yá' vṵe, tì vó nē ∅ tís Zūg-sób lā.

1PL if be.alive, 1PL be.alive FOC CAT give head-NULL.AN ART.

"If we live, we live to the Lord." (Rom 14:8): (*vṵe*^{a/} "be alive")

Èñrɪgɪm ∅ pāa d'atà.

Shift.along:IMP CAT reach doctor:SG.

"Shift along up to the doctor." (*pāe*[/] "reach")

Dāy lā kā' dóogv̄-n lāa=∅.

Man:SG ART NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART=NEG.

"The man's not in the room." (*kā'* before a complement, in the same VP)

but *Dāy kā'ę dóogv̄-n lāa=∅.*

Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART=NEG.

"There's no man in the room." (*kā'ę* before an adjunct)

Fronting loss is regular in my informants' speech and in the audio version of the NT, but older written materials very frequently still write diphthongs:

voen = *vōv-n* "would live" (Gal 3:21, 1996)

Kristo da faaen ti = *Kristo dá fāañ tí* "Christ saved us." (Gal 5:1)

Àęñ^a "be something" is always *aa* or *aan* before liaison; the rarity of phrase-final *àęñ* inhibits the introduction of analogical spellings. *Fāeñ'* "save" is perhaps written *faaenn* etc to distinguish the forms from *fāñ* "rob"; the 1996 NT has two instances of the certainly spurious imperative *faaenm*. (Cf 11.1 on *faangid* "saviour.") Clearcut errors like *Noḡilim pu naae da* (1 Cor 13:8, 1996 NT) for KB *Nōḡilim pv naada* "Love does not come to an end" confirm that the orthographic tradition has written diphthongs for undoubted monophthongs.

4.4 Tone sandhi

External tone sandhi follows apocope and the tone overlay of independency marking 16.6.1. M dropping and the tone changes induced by interrogative prosodic clitics apply before other external tone sandhi rules, which then apply left to right.

4.4.1 Before prosodic clitics

Before the negative prosodic clitic, LF-final L syllables are changed to M.

<i>mòli</i>	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòli</i>	LF <i>mòlī</i>
<i>yàarim^m</i>	"salt"	SF <i>yàarim</i>	LF <i>yàarīmm</i>
<i>tìum^m</i>	"medicine"	SF <i>tìum</i>	LF <i>tīumm</i>

This applies later than external tone sandhi induced by preceding words:

	<i>Lì ká' ò tīumm.</i>	"It's not her medicine (<i>tìum^m</i>)."
but	<i>Lì kā' tīumm.</i>	"It's not medicine."
	<i>Lì ká' bà dā'a.</i>	"It's not their market (<i>dà'a</i>)."
but	<i>Lì kā' dá'a.</i>	"It's not a market."

4.4.2 Before liaison

Left-bound liaison words themselves carry H toneme after host-final M toneme and M after L or H. M on a long vowel becomes H before prosodic clitics, and M becomes H before interrogative clitics.

<i>Kà m̀ zábì bā.</i>	"And I've fought them."
<i>Kà m̀ p̄ zábì f̄.</i>	"And I didn't fight you."
<i>M̀ zábì b́.</i>	"I've fought them."
<i>M̀ p̄ b́óóḍī f̄.</i>	"I don't love you."
<i>M̀ p̄ b́óóḍī b́áa.</i>	"I don't love them."
<i>Kà m̀ p̄ zábì b́áa.</i>	"And I didn't fight them."
<i>Àn'òṅì kúv b́á?</i>	"Who has killed them?" SF <i>kúv bā</i>

The locative particle n^ε has the same tonal effects on the preceding word as the negative prosodic clitic, changing final L to M:

	<i>p̄óóḡ^{o/}</i>	"field"	+ n^ε	→ <i>p̄óóḡú-n^ε</i>	
	<i>b̄īḡ^a</i>	"child"	+ n^ε	→ <i>b̄īḡí-n^ε/</i>	WK
but	<i>m̀ò'ar^ε</i>	"dam, lake"	+ n^ε	→ <i>m̀ò'arī-n^ε/</i>	
	<i>ỳàad^ε</i>	"graves"	+ n^ε	→ <i>ỳàadī-n^ε/</i>	WK
	<i>k̀òvḍí^b</i>	"killers"	+ n^ε	→ <i>k̀òvḍíbī-n^ε/</i>	WK

Discontinuous-past n^ε and 2pl y^a always impose M on the preceding syllable:

	<i>d̄vḡ^ε</i>	"cook"	+ n^ε	→ <i>d̄vḡv-n^ε/</i>
	<i>b̀òḍíḡ^ε</i>	"lose"	+ n^ε	→ <i>b̀òḍíḡī-n^ε/</i>
	<i>ỳādíḡ^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ n^ε	→ <i>ỳādíḡí-n^ε/</i>
ipfv	<i>k̀òvḍ^{a/}</i>	"kill"	+ n^ε	→ <i>k̀òvḍí-n^ε/</i>
ipfv	<i>ỳādíḡí^d</i>	"scatter"	+ n^ε	→ <i>ỳādíḡídī-n^ε/</i>

Dā d̄òllí_ $yá$ =ø! "Follow ye not!"
NEG.IMP follow 2PL.SUB=NEG!

Indicative perfective forms without the independency-marking tone overlay change LF-final M → H before bound object pronouns; final L and H are not affected:

<i>b̀òḍíḡ^ε</i>	"lose"	+ m^a	"me"	→ <i>b̀òḍíḡí m^a</i>
<i>d̄ì</i>	"eat"	+ l	"it"	→ <i>d̄ì $l̄$/</i>
<i>ỳādíḡ^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ m^a	"me"	→ <i>ỳādíḡí m^a</i>

but	<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	+ <i>li</i>	"it"	→ <i>dōgí lí'</i>	
	<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>gōsó</i>	LF <i>gōsó-o</i>
	<i>kō</i>	"kill"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>kóv m^a</i>	

Pattern H fusion verb perfectives behave exactly like CVV-stems:

<i>pāe'</i>	"reach"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>páa m^a</i>
<i>dī'e'</i>	"get"	+ <i>ba</i>	"them"	→ <i>dī'ə bā'</i>

After all other verb forms, including all imperfective forms and all forms with independency-marking tone overlay 16.6.1, object pronouns change LF-final L to M:

<i>zàbíd^a</i>	"fights"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>zàbídī m^a'</i>
<i>zàbíd^a</i>	"fights"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>zàbídō</i> LF <i>zàbídó-o</i>
<i>dīt^a</i>	"eats"	+ <i>li</i>	"it"	→ <i>dītī lí</i>
<i>yādígíd^a</i>	"scatters"	+ <i>ba</i>	"them"	→ <i>yādígídī bá</i>
<i>yādígíd^a</i>	"scatters"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>yādígídō</i> LF <i>yādígídó-o</i>
<i>kōvd^a'</i>	"kills"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>kōvdí m^a'</i>
<i>kōvd^a'</i>	"kills"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>kōvdó</i> LF <i>kōvdó-o</i>

With independency-marking:

<i>bòdíg^ε</i>	"lose"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>bòdígī m^a'</i>
<i>bòdíg^ε</i>	"lose"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>bòdígō</i> LF <i>bòdígó-o</i>
<i>yādíg^ε'</i>	"scatter"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>yàdígī m^a'</i>
<i>yādíg^ε'</i>	"scatter"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>yàdígō</i> LF <i>yàdígó-o</i>

Word-final *ō* becomes *ó-o* before prosodic clitics, and *ò* becomes *ō-o* before the negative clitic, as expected:

<i>Kà bà zábò.</i>	"And they fought him."
<i>Kà bà pō zábō-o.</i>	"And they didn't fight him."

SF-final H corresponds to LF-final MH if the LF ends in an overlong diphthong:

<i>Kà bà ñyéó.</i>	"And they saw her."
<i>Kà bà pō ñyēó-o.</i>	"And they didn't see her."

Irrealis forms of Pattern A verbs have M before liaison; final *o-o* can be H or M:

<i>Ò nà bōdigi m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò kù bōdigi má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò nà bōdigi bá.</i>	"She will lose them."
<i>Ò kù bōdigi báa.</i>	"She won't lose them."
<i>Ò kù bōdigidi má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò kù zābidi má.</i>	"He won't be fighting me."
<i>Ò kù zābó-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."
or <i>Ò kù zābo-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."

Toneme changes induced by liaison words *follow* external tone sandhi induced by words before the host; thus *dà'a* "market" + *n^ε* "at" → *dā'a-n^ε*; *mè* "build" + *n^ε* dp → *mēε-n^ε*; *kù* "kill" [*kū* with independency marking] + *m^a* "me" → *kūv m^a*; but

<i>Ò bè né dā'a-n.</i>	"She is at market"
<i>Dāy lā mēε-n.</i>	"The man built (earlier today.)"
<i>Dāy lā kōv m.</i>	"The man has killed me."

However, the toneme on the liaison word itself is the same as it would have been *without* the toneme changes induced by preceding words:

<i>Ò kūv bá.</i>	"She has killed them."
<i>Dāy lā kōv bá.</i>	"The man has killed them."

Except for catenator-*n*, which is toneless, all liaison words which are not left-bound begin with a fixed-L toneme 4.4.3. Preceding M becomes H; noun LFs ending in a short vowel show final H.

<i>Kà bà dìtī</i> _⌋ <i>bá.</i>	"And they were eating them."
And 3PL eat:PFV 3PL.OB.	(ipfv without independency marking)

but *Kà bà dìtī* _⌋ *bà dīb.* "And they were eating their food." (ML → HL)
And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food.

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
bàni nà yēl Zūg-sóbí bà tōvmá _⌋ *àn sī'em lā*
REL.PL IRR say head-NULL.AN 3PL deed:PL NZ COP INDF.ADV ART
"Those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are." (Heb 13:17, 1996)

Before the fixed-L 4.4.3 of nominaliser-*n* final M likewise becomes H. Except after subject pronouns, this is often the only sign of the presence of the particle:

Dāy lā záb nâ'ab lā. "The man has fought the chief."
 man:SG ART fight chief:SG ART

but *dāy lá_ø zàb nâ'ab lā* "the man having fought the chief"
 man:SG ART NZ fight chief:SG ART

Before catenator-*n* the final toneme of a modified LF is M after M toneme and L otherwise. M spreading follows whenever the *preceding* word would induce it:

amaa o kena ye o tum tisi ba
àmáà ò kē nā yé ò túm_ø tìsì_bā
 but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give 3PL.OB
 "but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M nók s'vǵò_ø kǵá nīm lā.
 1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.
 "I cut the meat with a knife."

4.4.3 M spreading

With no intervening pause, most words cause an initial L toneme in a following word to change to X toneme on superheavy syllables and H on others, unless the L toneme is "fixed", when any preceding M becomes H instead 2.4. M spreading follows

all words ending in M toneme
 all words *not* bound to the right
 except for verb perfectives (unless ending in M)
 noun or adjective plurals ending in -*á* or -*í*
 certain forms affected by M dropping 4.4.4
 bound subject pronouns

Catenator-*n* is transparent to M spreading 4.4.2.

Independency marking affects M spreading after subject pronouns, VP particles and verb forms 16.6.1. M spreading does not follow clause adjuncts. Its occurrence is otherwise unaffected by clause structure:

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā búŋ. "They gave the chief a donkey (*bùŋ*^a)."
 3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

Bà ñwè' nâ'ab lā sùŋā. "They beat the chief well (*sùŋā*^l)."
 3PL beat chief:SG ART good:ADV.

Absent M spreading after nominal plurals in *-á* or *-í*:

Ṃ ḍiɡa lú yā. "My dwarfs have fallen down."
1SG dwarf:PL fall PFV.

but *Ṃ yōɡvmá lù yā.* "My camels have fallen down."
1SG camel:PL fall PFV.

Absent M spreading after perfectives without independency-marking tone overlay, not ending in M:

Kà ṃ ɡōs nâ'ab lā. "And I've looked at (*ɡōs*^ε) the chief."

Kà ò ɡōs nâ'ab lā. "And he's looked at the chief."

but *Kà ṃ záb nâ'ab lā.* "And I've fought (*záb*^ε) the chief (*nâ'ab*^a)."

Kà ò záb nâ'ab lā. "And he's fought the chief."

Certain words carry an initial/sole L toneme which is never subject to M spreading. These **fixed-L** words comprise all liaison words not bound to the left except for catenator-*n*, which is toneless, along with the linker particle *kà* "and":

right-bound pronouns	<i>ṃ f̣ù ò ḷì ṭì yà bà</i>
personifier particle	<i>à-/ṇ-</i>
pronoun "who?"	<i>àṇô'ɔṇ^ε</i>
nominaliser (all forms)	<i>ṇ</i>
words with number or manner-adverb prefixes	<i>à- bà- ḅò-</i>
linker particle	<i>kà</i>

Initial *à-* in loanwords may be treated as fixed-L by analogy.

If there is no intervening pause, a preceding M toneme must become H:

Bà ḳòṿḍī ḅá. "They kill them."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL.OB.

but *Bà ḳòṿḍī ḅà ḅōvs.* "They kill their goats."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

Lì à ṇé à-ḍàaḷóŋ. "It's a stork"
3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.

Ò gòsī bá bédvǭ. "She looked at them a lot." (*ba* object)
 Ò gòsí bà bédvǭ. "She looked at a lot of them." (*bà* possessive)

ba diib n yit na'ateŋ la na zug
 bà **dúb** ò yīt ná'-tēŋ lā nā zúg
 3PL food NZ emerge:IPFV king-land:SG ART hither upon
 "because their food came from the king's land" (Acts 12:20, 1996)

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'aŋ n ti paae ya tuona la.
 wūv **sáa** ∅ nāani jáñk yà ñyá'aŋ n tí páe yà tùəna lā
 like rain:SG NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT after reach 2PL before.ADV ART
 "like when lightning leaps from East to West" (Mt 24:27, 1996)

Fixed-L syllables *are* changed to M before the negative prosodic clitic [4.4.1](#);
 thus *né tì* "with us" but

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.
 Àmáa ò pū lāl né tī=∅.
 But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL=NEG.
 "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

After words ending in M, this sandhi is straightforwardly recognisable as tone spreading. Right-bound pronouns have fixed-L tonemes for my informants even when followed by M spreading, but ILK and Niggli's materials show M, which can be taken as having given rise to *floating* M tonemes in current Agolle. M spreading after SFs ending in H or L can be attributed to floating tonemes delinked by apocope, but in this case M spreading is synchronically mostly determined by syntactic role and by analogy, and prior tonal behaviour persists even after remodelling by *addition* of segments. Words with identical L-final sg and cb, like *mà* "mother", *zùà* "friend", *dú'atà* "doctor", *lànnig* "squirrel" show M spreading after sg but not cb, and unlike perfectives, the bare-stem imperfectives *bè* and *nòŋ* are followed by M spreading.

4.4.4 M dropping

M dropping takes place exclusively within NPs and AdvPs. It occurs after any free form as a predependent, with the exception of the contrastive personal pronouns (like *mān* "my"); it also occurs after any cb ending in M toneme, whether as dependent or head. Historically, M dropping may have arisen by dissimilation of adjacent M tonemes to ML, analogous to Meeussens's Rule (Nurse and Phillipson p65); it is seen after M-final words and after free predependents which mostly originally had M flexions, as shown by M spreading.

M dropping affects only the one following word, which may be a cb.
 Pattern H or A words without prefixes change all tonemes to L.
 M prefixes change to L; the rest of the stem is unaffected.
 Pattern L words and words with L prefixes are completely unaffected.

M dropping applies before M spreading; in the majority of cases the preceding word also induces M spreading, and the new initial L becomes X or H.

M dropping also precedes tonal changes induced by following liaison words:

dāy lā pɔɔgū-n "in the man's field (*pɔɔg*^{ɔ/})"
 like *dāy lā dɔɔgū-n* "in the man's hut (*dɔɔg*^ɔ)"

Examples with a cb as head:

<i>bù-pìəlìg</i> ^a	"white goat"	<i>bù-pāalìg</i> ^a	"new goat"
<i>bī-púŋ-pìəlìg</i> ^a	"white girl"	<i>bī-púŋ-pāalìg</i> ^a	"new girl"
<i>nɔ-pìəlìg</i> ^a	"white hen"	<i>nɔ-pāalìg</i> ^a	"new hen"

With a cb as dependent (*nɔɔr*^{ɛ/} "mouth", *dī'əs*^{a/} "receiver" pl *dī'əsídìb*^a):

nɔ-dī'əs^a "chief's interpreter" pl *nɔ-dī'əsídìb*^a

There is no M dropping after personal pronouns:

<i>m̄ bīg</i>	"my child"	<i>m̄ tìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān bīg</i>	"my child"	<i>mān tìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān yōgóm</i>	"my camel"	<i>mān gbìgim</i>	"my lion"

M dropping after words which do not also induce M spreading:

m̄ bīēyá bīs "my elder same-sex siblings' children (*bīs*^ɛ)"
m̄ bīēyá fūud "my elder same-sex siblings' clothes (*fūud*^{ɛ/})"

M dropping after free NPs also followed by M spreading:

<i>dāy bīg</i>	"a man's child"	<i>nà'ab bīg</i>	"a chief's child"
<i>dāy lā yógòm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>dāy lā gbìgim</i>	"the man's lion"

Unlike M spreading, M dropping occurs only *within* NPs and AdvPs; there is thus a tonal minimal pair between

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā b̄ig. "They've given (it) to the chief's child."
 3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (M dropping applied to *b̄ig*^a "child")

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā b̄ig. "They've given the chief a child."
 3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (No M dropping applied to *b̄ig*^a)

It occurs regardless of the meaning or role of the preceding dependent:

m̄ɔɔɔv-n wábùg lā "the wild (in-the-bush) elephant (*wābvug*^{ɔ/})"

M dropping follows cb heads, but never uncompounded heads:

	<i>kūg-yínnì</i>	"one stone" with <i>yínnì</i> as adjective <u>12.5.1</u>
but	<i>kūgv̄r yīnnì</i>	"one stone"
	<i>wābvug lā</i>	"the elephant"
	<i>wābɪs p̄iiga</i>	"ten elephants"

The final element of a compound induces following M spreading in accordance with the usual rules 4.4.3 regardless of whether it has been subject to M dropping:

<i>b̄ù-wōk</i>	"tall goat"	<i>n̄ɔ-wók</i>	"tall hen"
<i>b̄ù-wōk-p̄iə̀lìg</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>b̄ù-wōk-p̄aalìg</i>	"tall new goat"
<i>n̄ɔ-wók-p̄iə̀lìg</i>	"tall white hen"	<i>n̄ɔ-wók-p̄aalìg</i>	"tall new hen"
<i>b̄ù-wōk d̄iɪb</i>	"tall goat's food (<i>d̄iɪb</i> ^ɔ)"	<i>n̄ɔ-wók d̄iɪb</i>	"tall hen's food"

A word of less than three syllables affected by M dropping and M spreading after a free predependent is not itself followed by M spreading. Thus, using the frames "the man's (*dāy lā*) X has got lost (*b̄òdìg yā*)" and "my elder same-sex siblings' (*m̄ b̄iēyá*) X has got lost":

Pattern H and A nouns, affected by M dropping:

<i>wābvug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wábùg b̄òdìg yā.</i>
<i>p̄ɔɔg</i> ^{ɔ/}	"field"	<i>Dāy lā p̄ɔɔg b̄òdìg yā.</i>
<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ b̄òdìg yā.</i>
<i>p̄ɔv</i> ^a	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā p̄ɔv b̄òdìg yā.</i>

but	<i>wābvug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"elephant"	<i>M̄ b̄iēyá wābvug b̄òdìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>M̄ b̄iēyá bāŋ b̄òdìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgv̄dɪr</i> ^ɛ	"hedgehog"	<i>M̄ b̄iēyá yūgv̄dɪr b̄òdìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgv̄dɪr</i> ^ɛ	"hedgehog"	<i>Dāy lā yūgv̄dɪr b̄òdìg yā.</i>	three syllables

Contrast Pattern L nouns, which are not subject to M dropping:

<i>b̀̀n̄</i> ^a	"donkey"	<i>Dāy lā b́́n̄ b́́d̄ìg yā.</i>
<i>àñrv̄n̄</i> ^o	"boat"	<i>Dāy lā àñrv̄n̄ b́́d̄ìg yā.</i>
<i>d̀̀c̄g</i> ^o	"house"	<i>Dāy lā d̀̀c̄g b́́d̄ìg yā.</i>

Those Pattern H nouns which have an irregular intrinsic initial H or X toneme seem unchanged after M dropping and spreading, and by analogy have unchanged following tone sandhi; words like *náaf*^o "cow" fluctuate:

<i>à-gâv̄n̄g</i> ^o	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gâv̄n̄g b́́d̄ìg yā.</i>
<i>náaf</i> ^o	"cow"	<i>Dāy lā nâaf b́́d̄ìg yā</i> or <i>Dāy lā nâaf b̀̀d̄ìg yā.</i>

M dropping applies sequentially, reflecting the substructure of NPs and AdvPs. When M dropping affects the first component of an existing compound, the second component retains any previous M dropping and spreading effects:

	<i>dāy lā b́́-p̄̀l̄ìg</i>	"the man's white goat (<i>b̀̀-p̄̀l̄ìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā b́́-p̄̀al̄ìg</i>	"the man's new goat (<i>b̀̀-p̄̀al̄ìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā n̄́́-p̄̀l̄ìg</i>	"the man's white hen (<i>n̄́́-p̄̀l̄ìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā n̄́́-p̄̀al̄ìg</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>n̄́́-p̄̀al̄ìg</i>)"
but	<i>d̄̀v̄g-k̄̀n̄ā</i>	"this pot" (<i>d̄̀vk̄̀</i> ^o / cb <i>d̄̀v̄g</i> - "pot")
	<i>[sāl̄ma d̄̀vg-]k̄̀n̄ā</i>	"this [golden pot]"

The order of applications of M dropping may also be revealed by the absence of M spreading after some words affected by M dropping:

<i>[fūug d̀̀c̄g]</i>	"tent" (<i>fūug</i> ^o / "cloth", <i>d̀̀c̄g</i> ^o "house")
<i>p̀̀'vs̄vg [fūug d̀̀c̄g]</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>p̀̀'vs̄vg</i> ^o "worship")

but *Lì k̄̀ā' [[[dāy lā b̄̀ìg] b̄̀̀ər] n̄́́af] z̀̀vr̄ē.*
 "It's not the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail." WK
 (*b̄̀ìg*^a "child" *b̄̀̀ər*^{el} "elder sib of same sex" *náaf*^o "cow" *z̀̀vr̄ē*^ε "tail")

5 Noun flexion

5.1 Noun classes

Nouns inflect for singular and plural by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the bare stem is used as a combining form (cb) in composition with a following nominal. This is a frequent occurrence, as it is the regular method of construing a noun with a following dependent adjective or demonstrative. The cb is always subject to apocope, as it can never appear clause-finally or before liaison. Archaisms like *nwadibil* (Mt 2:2, 1996) for *ñwād-bīl*^a "star" (KB *nwadbil*) suggest that consonant-final cbs once ended in an epenthetic vowel.

In the paradigms, noun forms are cited as sg, pl and cb in order.

Each noun class suffix has a basic singular, plural or non-count meaning. Count nouns pair a singular and a plural suffix. Five pairings account for the majority of count nouns: these are labelled using Long Forms of the suffixes, as the *a|ba*, *ga|se*, *gɔ|dɛ*, *rɛ|aa* and *fɔ|u* **noun classes**. Two unpaired non-count suffixes *bɔ mm* form two more noun classes mostly containing mass nouns.

The noun classes were once grammatical genders, with separate 3rd person pronouns and agreement of adjectives and numerals. Kusaal, like Dagbani and Mooré, now has only a natural gender system opposing persons and non-persons, with pronouns based respectively on the original *a|ba* and *rɛ|aa* classes. A few isolated remnants of agreement will be pointed out as they occur.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class if the regular form would be rendered ambiguous by consonant cluster assimilation and/or apocope. This has become regular with class *gɔ|dɛ* stems ending in *m n* following a short vowel, which always use the plural suffix *-aa* instead of *-dɛ*, as do all gerunds with sg *gɔ*. Mampruli and Dagbani also show *-a* for the plural of *m n* stems in this class (cf Mampruli *gbəŋŋu* "skin", pl *gbana*), so this suppletion is probably driven by the fact that cluster assimilation would cause the expected plural to resemble a *rɛ|aa* sg. Suppletion does not take place in Mooré or Farefare, where the *gɔ|dɛ* pl suffix has a rounded vowel, unlike the *rɛ|aa* sg: cf Mooré *gǎongò* "skin" pl *gǎndo*.

Adjectives avoid potentially ambiguous suffixes altogether 6.

In two cases, the sg LF has adopted the form proper to a different class suffix that would have produced the same SF: rounded vowels before *-ga* may result in LFs ending in *-ɔ*, as in *nû'ug*^ɔ "hand", and *a|ba* stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show LF *-ɛ* with *l* and *n* geminated, as if the suffix were *rɛ*, e.g. *Bìn*^{nɛ} "Moba person."

Two subclasses are semantically motivated: a subclass of *a|ba* referring to older/important people uses *ba* as the *singular* suffix, and names of languages belong to a subclass of *rɛ|aa* with the singular suffix *lɛ*.

The classes are thus as follows:

<i>a ba</i> <i>ba</i> (sg)	<i>sīd</i> ^a <i>nà'ab</i> ^a	<i>sīdɪb</i> ^a <i>nà'-nàm</i> ^a	<i>sìd-</i> <i>nà'-</i>	"husband" "chief"
<i>ga sɛ</i>	<i>būvg</i> ^a	<i>būvs</i> ^ɛ	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>gɔ dɛ</i>	<i>dòɔg</i> ^ɔ <i>bū'əsúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòɔd</i> ^ɛ <i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>dò-</i> <i>bū'əs-</i>	"hut" "question"
<i>rɛ aa</i> <i>lɛ</i>	<i>nōɔr</i> ^{ɛ/} <i>Kūsâal</i> ^ɛ	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth" "Kusaal"
<i>fɔ u</i>	<i>mòlɪf</i> ^ɔ	<i>mòlɪ</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bɔ</i>	<i>sā'ab</i> ^ɔ		<i>sà'-</i>	"porridge"
<i>mm</i>	<i>tìm</i> ^m		<i>tì-</i>	"medicine"

Stems in *m* with long root vowels in the *a|ba* class avoid the plural suffix *ba*; some *ga|sɛ* class nouns with human reference have alternative plurals with *ba*; countable nouns in the *mm* class form plurals with *-aa* or *-sɛ* or *nàm*^a; and the small *fɔ|u* class has some members with *fɔ|u* suffixes in only one number. The sg suffix *la* is found only in the irregular adjective *bīl*^a "little."

Few other cases of irregular sg/pl pairing occur; examples are

<i>pē'og</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>pē'ɛs</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>pē'-</i>	"sheep"
<i>gbè'og</i> ^ɔ	<i>gbè'ɛd</i> ^ɛ <i>gbèda</i>	<i>gbè'-</i>	"forehead"
<i>bīāyñk</i> ^ɔ	<i>bīāñ'ad</i> ^ɛ WK <i>bīāñ'ada</i> SB	<i>bīāñ'-</i>	"shoulder"

A few nouns end in *-ɪ* or *-v* with apocope-blocking 3.2:

<i>būudɪ</i>	<i>būud-</i>	"tribe"
<i>nà'asɪ</i>		"honour"
<i>kābɪrɪ</i>		"entry permission"
<i>sūgvɪrú</i>		"forbearance"

They are probably loans from related languages without apocope, like *kīibú* "soap" from Mampruli. Cognates of *būudɪ* show that *-ɪ* represents the *dɛ* pl suffix: Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*. *Nà'asɪ* may be *sɛ* pl. *Kābɪrɪ* and *sūgvɪrú* may be *rɛ* sg, with *kābɪr*^{ɛ/} "ask for admission" and *sūgvɪr*^{ɛ/} "forbear" as back-formations.

As with almost all noun class systems, there are correlations between class membership and meaning, though there are frequent exceptions. These associations can be exploited to change the significance of a stem 8.2.

The *a|ba* class has exclusively human-reference membership, though many nouns referring to people belong to other classes. A subclass of nouns for elders and other important people uses plural *ba* as singular.

The *ga|se* class has general membership but includes the great majority of tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Ethnic group names mostly belong to *a|ba* or *ga|se*; the place inhabited by the group has sg *-gɔ*.

The *gɔ|dɛ* and *rɛ|aa* classes are the default non-human countable classes. They include all nouns naming fruits, and about four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference nouns in *gɔ|dɛ* are pejorative: *bālērvɔ*^{ɔ/} "ugly person", *dàb̄iog*^ɔ "coward", *zōlvɔ*^{ɔ/} "fool." Some originally *a|ba* nouns have been reallocated to *rɛ|aa* for phonological reasons e.g. *b̄īər*^{ɛ/} "elder same-sex sibling."

The *lɛ* subclass includes all names of languages.

The small *fɔ|ɪ* class includes two groups: animals, and small round things. It contains all names of seeds. No *fɔ|ɪ* noun refers to people.

The *bɔ* class has only three members known to me that are not gerunds: *sā'ab*^ɔ "millet porridge, TZ", *tāñp*^ɔ "war" and *kī'ib*^{ɔ/} "soap."

The *mm* class includes names of liquids and substances and abstract nouns. There are few count nouns, and none referring to people or animals. Names of liquids are all *mm* or *bɔ* or formally plural.

The class membership of regular deverbal nouns is predictable.

The sg SF is usually enough to identify the noun class, given whether the word has human reference. Vacillation between classes and the assignment of loanwords to classes confirm that speakers do use such criteria to determine class membership.

Nouns with sg SFs ending in long monophthongs or in unrounded vowels followed by velars all belong to *ga|se* except for *bā'a* "traditional diviner" and *nàyīg*^a "thief", both *a|ba*. Those ending in rounding diphthongs before velars all belong to *gɔ|dɛ*; those in rounded monophthongs before velars are *gɔ|dɛ* or *ga|se*.

Human-reference nouns in SF *-m* are *a|ba*, some of the *ba*-sg type, like *sām*^{ma} "father"; exceptional is *zōm*^{mɛ} "fugitive" (*rɛ|aa*). Human-reference nouns ending in a long vowel before *r* are *rɛ|aa*. All remaining human-reference nouns are *a|ba*.

All nouns in SF *-f* belong to *fɔ|ɪ*.

Underived mass nouns in *-m* belong to *mm*, and in *-b* or *-p* to the *bɔ* class.

Non-human-reference count nouns ending in *l n r* belong to *rɛ|aa*, as do those ending in *m* apart from a few *mm*-class count nouns like *pūum*^{m/} "flower." *P̄īm*^{m/} "arrow" is a relic of a "long thin things" *ɔ|ɛ* class, lost in Western Oti-Volta.

5.2 Remodelled combining forms

For levelling between sg and pl forms see [3.4](#) [3.6](#).

Combining forms, lacking a flexional suffix and always subject to apocope, would be often reduced by the usual rules to ambiguous forms. Often the expected cb is replaced by a form which is segmentally **but not tonally** that of the singular.

<i>nīf</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>nīn</i> ^í	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>zīñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'ɛs</i> ^ɛ	<i>zīāñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>wōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wā'ad</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall" (adjective)
<i>tāñp</i> ^ɔ		<i>tāñp-</i>	"war"
<i>zūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zūt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>zū-</i> or <i>zūg-</i>	"head"

Mooré and Toende show *zu-* consistently in cases where Agolle has *zūg-*: Mooré *zusoaba*, Toende *zùsóp*, Agolle *zūg-sób*^a "boss"; Mooré *zúkúká*, Toende *zúkúk*, Agolle *zūg-kōgvr*^ɛ "pillow." *Zūg-sób*^a "Lord" is very frequently read *Zū-sób*^a in the audio version of the NT. The cb *zūg-* sometimes behaves tonally like a noun prefix [3.8.1](#).

Head-first compounds are formed with complete freedom, which leads to a greater tendency to levelling of cbs than in modifier-first compounds. Thus the cb of *nīf*^{ɔ/} "eye" is *nīn-* as dependent but *nīf-* as head: *nīn-dáa* "face", *nīn-tám*^m "tears", *nīn-gótis*^ɛ "spectacles" but *nīf-káñā* "this eye." *Gbàuy*^ɔ "letter, book" now has the cb *gbàuy-*, but the dependent cb *gbàn-* still occurred in the 1976 NT *gbanmi'id gbàn-mī'id* "scribe" ("book-knower"), KB *gbaumī'id*.

With *m* and *n* stems, remodelled forms are now regular:

<i>zīnzāuy</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzáyuy-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrvy</i> ^ɔ	<i>àñrīma</i>	<i>àñrvy-</i>	"boat"

So too with *CV-*stems in the *rɛ|aa* class:

<i>gbēr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
<i>kòkōr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>kòkōyá</i>	<i>kòkōr-</i>	"voice"
		(but <i>kòkō-títā'ar</i>	"loud voice" NT)

The cb may be remodelled after the *plural* if there is no sg extant, or if the plural has a distinct specialised meaning:

no sg	<i>kī</i> [/]	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"
<i>lā'af</i> ^ɔ	<i>līgıdı</i>	<i>lā'-</i> or <i>līg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cbs:

<i>dāy</i>	<i>dāp^a</i>	<i>dāy-</i> sg <i>dāp-</i> pl	"man, male person"
<i>tāyñ[/]</i>	<i>tāñp^{a/}</i>	<i>tāyñ-</i> sg <i>tāñp-</i> pl	"sib of opposite sex"

Disambiguation is clearly involved with some longer remodelled cbs:

<i>kòlv^o</i>	<i>kòn^{nɛ}</i>	<i>kòlv-</i>	"bag"
<i>lànnig^a</i>	<i>lànnis^ɛ</i>	<i>lànnig-</i>	"squirrel"
<i>kòlv-kàḡā</i>	"this bag"	cf cb <i>kòl-</i> from	<i>kòlv^a</i> "river"
<i>lànnig-pìəli^g</i>	"white squirrel"	cf cb <i>là-</i> from	<i>lān^{nɛ}</i> "testicle"

Remodelling of cbs after sg/pl forms never affects tones, revealing that cases where a sg/pl seems to precede an adjective or dependent pronoun in fact show cbs: *dāy-sòḡ* "good man", vs sg *dāy* "man"; *dāp-sòma* "good men", vs pl *dāp* "men."

Traditionally, remodelled cbs are written as separate words, and as there is no tone marking this may lead to ambiguity: e.g. *yamug bipuḡ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *yammug-bī-púḡ* "slave girl" not *yammug bī-púḡ* "slave's girl" 12.8.1.2.

5.3 Paradigms

By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel. Complications arise from consonant assimilation, rounding before *-gɔ -kɔ -ḡɔ*, deletion of **g* after *aa iə uə aañ ɛñ ɔñ*, and with CVV-stems before *a, u* and *aa*.

5.3.1 a|ba

Most stems ending in consonants straightforwardly show *-a* in the sg:

<i>sīd^a</i>	<i>sīdib^a</i>	<i>sīd-</i>	"husband"
<i>nīd^{a/}</i>	<i>nīdib^{a/}</i>	<i>nīn-</i> irreg	"person"
<i>sàal^a</i>	<i>sàalib^a</i>	<i>sàal-</i>	"human being"
<i>kpāad^{a/}</i>	<i>kpāadib^a</i>	<i>kpāad-</i>	"farmer"
<i>kōvd^{a/}</i>	<i>kōvdib^a</i>	<i>kōvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>kpīkpīn^{na/}</i>	<i>kpīkpīnib^a</i>	<i>kpīkpīn-</i>	"merchant"
<i>yōvm-yô'vm^{na}</i>	<i>yōvm-yô'vminib^a</i>	<i>yōvm-yô'vm-</i>	"singer"
<i>bī-pīt^{a/}</i>	<i>bī-pītib^a</i>	<i>bī-pīt-</i>	"younger child"
<i>wād-tís^a</i>	<i>wād-tísib^a</i>	<i>wād-tís-</i>	"lawgiver" NT
<i>zà'-nō-gúr^a</i>	<i>zà'-nō-gúrìb^a</i>	<i>zà'-nō-gúr-</i>	"gatekeeper" NT

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in *s* regularly drop the *d* formant in sg and cb, which can result in "tonal heteroclites" 3.8.1. Many also have *nām^a* plurals.

<i>kùəs</i> ^a	<i>kūəsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>dì'əs</i> ^a	<i>dī'əsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>dì'əs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>tò'as-tò'as</i> ^a	<i>tò'as-tō'asɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>tò'as-tò'as-</i>	"talker"
<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{a/}	<i>sīgɪsídɪb</i> ^a	<i>sīgɪs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dìs</i> ^a	<i>dìs-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dìs-</i>	"glutton"

The same behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs too:

<i>sòs</i> ^a	<i>sōsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tìs</i> ^a	<i>tīsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>tìs-</i>	"giver" WK
<i>kīs</i> ^{a/} or <i>kīsɪd</i> ^{a/}	<i>kīsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kīsɪd-</i> (only)	"hater"

These may be original 3-mora stem verbs with **ss* → *s*. There are also

<i>zàb-zàb</i> ^a	<i>zàb-zàb-nàm</i> ^a	<i>zàb-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
	<i>zàb-zābɪdɪb</i> ^a		
<i>gbān-záb</i> ^a	<i>gbān-záb-nàm</i> ^a	<i>gbān-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>ñwī-ték</i> ^a	<i>ñwī-tékɪdɪb</i> ^a		"rope-puller"

Exceptionally, consonant assimilation of **md* does not appear in the plural in

<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'am</i> ^{ma}	<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'amɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'am-</i>	"adulterer"
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Stems in *VVn-* undergo consonant assimilation in the pl: **nb* → *mm*:

<i>sāan</i> ^{a/}	<i>sáam</i> ^{ma}	<i>sāan-</i>	"guest, stranger"
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Stems in *VVm-* have sg *-mm* instead of *-ma*. The assimilation **mb* → *mm* would cause SF sg and pl to coincide segmentally; plurals in *-sɛ* or *nàm*^a appear instead:

<i>kpī'im</i> ^{m/}	<i>kpī'imís</i> ^ɛ	<i>kpī'im-</i>	"dead person, corpse"
<i>zū'əm</i> ^{m/}	<i>zū'amís</i> ^ɛ	<i>zū'əm-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tādɪm</i> ^{m/}	<i>tādɪmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>tādɪm-</i>	"weak person"
	<i>tādɪm-nàm</i> ^a		

WK accepted *-ba* pl forms as LFs but not SFs in the two words

<i>kpēēñm</i> ^m	<i>kpēēñmma</i> LF only		
	<i>kpēēñm-nàm</i> ^a	<i>kpēēñm-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'əm</i> ^m	<i>bī'əmma</i> LF only		
	<i>bī'əm-nàm</i> ^a	<i>bī'əm-</i>	"enemy"

Stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show sg LF *-lle -nne -re*, with the SFs reinterpreted as the outcome of adding *-re* instead of *-a*. Sg LF-final *-ε* is never seen with *ba*-plural words in cases where the stem final would *not* assimilate sg *-re* 3.5.

The assimilation **nb* → *mm* takes place in the plural:

<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān-</i>	"Dagomba person"
<i>Bìn</i> ^{ne}	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn-</i>	"Moba person"
<i>Kòtān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Kòtām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Kòtān-</i>	member of EW's clan
<i>Mōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Móom</i> ^{ma} <i>irreg</i>	<i>Mōr-</i>	"Muslim"

Agent nouns from single-aspect verbs with stems in *-ll* or *-r(r)* not only show alternative *-ε* LF sg forms but also have analogical plurals in *-aa* alongside *-ba*.

	<i>ñyà'an-dòl</i> ^{la}	<i>ñyà'an-dòll</i> ^{ba}	<i>ñyà'an-dòl-</i>	"disciple" NT
	<i>ñyā'an-dól</i> ^{le}	<i>ñyā'an-dóllà</i>	<i>ñyā'an-dól-</i>	<i>id</i> WK
	<i>gbàn-zāñl</i> ^{la/}	<i>gbàn-zāñll</i> ^{ba}	<i>gbàn-zāñl-</i>	"book-carrier" KT WK
	<i>bù-zāñl</i> ^{la/}	<i>bù-zāñll</i> ^{ba}	<i>bù-zāñl-</i>	"goat-carrier" WK
or	<i>bù-zāñl</i> ^{le/}	<i>bù-zāñllá</i>		
	<i>gbàn-mōr</i> ^{a/}	<i>gbàn-mōr</i> ^{iba}	<i>gbàn-mōr-</i>	"book-owner" DK
	<i>gbàn-tār</i> ^{a/}	<i>gbàn-tār</i> ^{iba}	<i>gbàn-tār-</i>	<i>id</i> DK
	<i>bù-mōr</i> ^{a/}	<i>bù-mōr</i> ^{iba}	<i>bù-mōr-</i>	"goat-owner" WK
or	<i>bù-mōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bù-mōrá</i>		

There is no single rule for the sg form with stems ending in vowels.

Four nouns end in diphthongs in the sg:

<i>dāu</i>		<i>dāp</i> ^a	<i>dàu-</i> , <i>dàp-</i> 3.4	"man"
<i>tāuñ</i> [/]		<i>tānp</i> ^{a/}	<i>tāuñ-</i> , <i>tānp-</i>	"sib of opposite sex"
<i>sāeñ</i>	WK	<i>sāańb</i> ^a	<i>sāñ-</i>	"blacksmith"
<i>sāeñ</i> ^a	DK			
<i>sōeñ</i>	WK	<i>sōońb</i> ^a	<i>sòñ-</i>	"witch"
<i>sōeñ</i> ^a	DK			

*CVg-stems appear in

<i>pṽ'ā</i> ^a ← <i>*pṽaga</i>	<i>pṽ'ab</i> ^a	<i>pṽ'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>bā'a</i> ← <i>*baga</i>	<i>bā'ab</i> ^a	<i>bà'-</i>	"traditional diviner"

Note the irregular long SF vowel of *bā'a*.

Sg final *-v* is dropped in the cb and pl in

<i>pītú</i>	<i>pītíb^a</i>	<i>pīt-</i>	"younger sibling of same sex"
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Sàam-pīt^a "father's younger brother" and *bì-pīt^a* "younger child" are regular. Some CVV stems introduce *-d-* in the sg and in the pl or cb:

<i>wìd^a</i>	<i>wìb^a</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"hunter"
<i>sōñ'ɔd^a/</i>	<i>sōñ'ɔb^a/</i>	<i>sōñ'ɔd-</i>	"someone better than"
<i>p̄-kpāad^a/</i>	<i>p̄-kpāadíb^a</i>	<i>p̄-kpá-</i>	"farmer"

Other CVV stems have become *re|aa* class, accounting for human-reference nouns in *re|aa* like *p̄-kòǎr^ε* "widow", *dà-kòǎr^ε* "bachelor", *b̄j̄er^ε/* "elder same-sex sib", *p̄ñ'ɔr^ε* "cripple", *ñyē'er^ε/* "next-younger sib." Related languages, including Toende Kusaal, may keep pl *-ba*: Toende *pókóót* pl *pókōp* "widow", *dákóót* pl *dakōp* "bachelor", but sg *yē'et* pl *yēra* "next-younger sib."

A subclass referring to older/important people has *-ba* for sg, with pl *nàm^a* 5.4:

<i>nà'ab^a</i>	<i>nà'-nàm^a</i>	<i>nà'-</i>	"chief"
<i>yáab^a</i> (* <i>yaagba</i>)	<i>yāa-nám^a</i>	<i>yāa-</i>	"grandparent"
<i>p̄gvdib^a</i>	<i>p̄gvd-nàm^a</i>	<i>p̄gvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>áñsib^a</i>	<i>āñs-nám^a</i>	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"
<i>sàam^{ma}</i> (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>sàam-nàm^a</i>	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
<i>d̄j̄em^{ma}</i> (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>d̄j̄em-nàm^a</i>	<i>d̄j̄em-</i>	"man's parent-in-law"
<i>d̄yáam^{ma}</i> (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>d̄yāam-nám^a</i>	<i>d̄yāam-</i>	"woman's parent-in-law"

5.3.2 *ga|sε*

Straightforward examples include:

<i>b̄vsg^a</i>	<i>b̄vs^ε</i>	<i>b̄-</i>	"goat"
<i>ñwādıg^a/</i>	<i>ñwādıs^ε/</i>	<i>ñwād-</i>	"moon, month"
<i>āañdıg^a</i>	<i>āañdıs^ε</i>	<i>āañd-</i>	"Vitex doniana"
<i>b̄-d̄ıbıg^a</i>	<i>b̄-d̄ıbıs^ε</i>	<i>b̄-d̄ıb-</i>	"male kid"
<i>k̄p̄ııbıg^a</i>	<i>k̄p̄ııbıs^ε</i>	<i>k̄p̄ııb-</i>	"orphan"
<i>yàmmıg^a</i>	<i>yàmmıs^ε</i>	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
<i>k̄lıg^a</i>	<i>k̄lıs^ε</i>	<i>k̄l-</i>	"river"
<i>k̄p̄òkp̄àrıg^a</i>	<i>k̄p̄òkp̄àrıs^ε</i>	<i>k̄p̄òkp̄àr-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>p̄ūsıg^a/</i>	<i>p̄ūsıs^ε/</i>	<i>p̄ūs-</i>	"tamarind"
<i>z̄ɔɔg^a</i>	<i>z̄ɔɔs^ε</i>		"run, race"

Root-stems in *Caa Ciə Cuə* delete the **g* of the sg suffix *-ga* 3.7:

<i>bāa</i>	<i>bāas</i> ^ε	<i>bà-</i>	"dog"
<i>sāa</i>	<i>sās</i> ^ε	<i>sà-</i>	"waist"
<i>sàbùa</i>	<i>sàbùos</i> ^ε	<i>sàbùà-</i>	"lover, girlfriend"

Nasal *iañ uañ* here alternates with *εεñ ɔɔñ*:

<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>zìàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>nū'-íñ'a</i>	<i>nū'-éñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>nū'-éñ'-</i>	"fingernail"
<i>nūa</i> ^l	<i>nɔɔs</i> ^{ε/l}	<i>nɔ-</i>	"hen"

Stems in **CVg-* display consonant assimilation in the sg via **gg* → *kk*:

<i>gìk</i> ^a	<i>gìgis</i> ^ε	<i>gìg-</i>	"dumb person"
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**Cag-* **Cɿag-* **Cuag-* delete **g* when there is no assimilation 3.7:

<i>zàk</i> ^a	<i>zàas</i> ^ε	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>pūāk</i> ^a	<i>pūas</i> ^ε	<i>pū'à-</i>	"female" (adjective)

Stems in *-m-* and *-n-* show **mg* → *ηη* and **ng* → *ηη* in the sg, with cbs remodelled on the sg. In the pl **ns* → *ɿs* 3.5, but **ms* never assimilates in 2-mora stems, and need not do in longer stems. No 3- or 4-mora *n-*stems occur in this class.

<i>tēη</i> ^a	<i>tēēñs</i> ^ε	<i>tèη-</i>	"land"
<i>pàη</i> ^a	<i>pàañs</i> ^ε	<i>pàη-</i>	"power"
<i>bùη</i> ^a	<i>bùmıs</i> ^ε	<i>bùη-</i>	"donkey"
<i>nāη</i> ^a	<i>nāmıs</i> ^ε	<i>nàη-</i>	"scorpion"
<i>sú'əη</i> ^a	<i>sū'əmıs</i> ^ε	<i>sū'əη-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>níη</i> ^a	<i>nııs</i> ^ε	<i>nııη-</i>	"bird"
	<i>nıımıs</i> ^ε		
<i>kòlη</i> ^a	<i>kòlıs</i> ^ε	<i>kòlη-</i>	"door"
	<i>kòlımıs</i> ^ε		
<i>kō'alıη</i> ^a	<i>kō'alıs</i> ^ε	<i>kō'alıη-</i>	sleeveless traditional smock
	<i>kō'alımıs</i> ^ε		
<i>mēedıη</i> ^a	<i>mēedıs</i> ^ε	<i>mēedıη-</i>	"building tool"
	<i>mēedımıs</i> ^ε		
<i>p̄əsıη</i> ^a	<i>p̄əsıs</i> ^ε	<i>p̄əsıη-</i>	"sponge for washing"
	<i>p̄əsımıs</i> ^ε		

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>bīig</i> ^a	<i>bīis</i> ^ε	<i>bī-</i> or <i>bī-</i>	"child"
<i>bèriŋ</i> ^a	<i>bèriŋis</i> ^ε		a plant used for fibre
<i>tàmpūa</i>	<i>tàmpōs</i> ^ε	<i>tàmpò-</i>	"housefly" DK (no <i>ñ</i>)
<i>bōtiŋ</i> ^a	<i>bōtis</i> ^ε 2.3	<i>bòtiŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>sāŋá</i>	<i>sānsá</i> /ns/	<i>sān-</i>	"time"

These human-reference nouns have alternative plurals with the suffix *-ba*:

<i>dāsāŋ</i> ^a	<i>dāsām</i> ^{ma} or <i>dāsāñs</i> ^ε	<i>dàsàŋ-</i>	"young man"
<i>Yàaŋ</i> ^a	<i>Yàam</i> ^{ma} or <i>Yàamis</i> ^ε / <i>Yàañs</i> ^ε	<i>Yàaŋ-</i>	"Yanga, Yansi person"
<i>Sà'dàbùa</i>	<i>Sà'dàbùəb</i> ^a or <i>Sà'dàbùəs</i> ^ε		clan name

Several *sε*-plural stems with rounded root vowels or epenthetic vowels rounded after *m* have sg *gɔ* for the expected *ga*. WK avoids this with human-reference nouns.

<i>kūug</i> ^a / <i>kūug</i> ^ɔ	<i>kūs</i> ^ε	<i>kū-</i>	"mouse"
<i>sù'vɔg</i> ^a / <i>sù'vɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>sù'vs</i> ^ε	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>nū'ug</i> ^ɔ	<i>nū'us</i> ^ε	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand"
<i>zùnzòŋ</i> ^a / <i>zùnzòŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zùnzòŋs</i> ^ε	<i>zùnzòŋ-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tèŋ-zùŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>tèŋ-zùvñs</i> ^ε		"foreign land"
	but <i>pìàñ'-zùna</i>		"foreign language"
<i>yù'vɔŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yù'vmís</i> ^ε	<i>yù'vɔŋ-</i>	"night"
<i>zùuñg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zùuñs</i> ^ε or <i>zùuñd</i> ^ε	<i>zùñ-</i>	"vulture"
<i>yàmmvɔg</i> ^a WK	<i>yàmmis</i> ^ε	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
or <i>yàmmvɔg</i> ^ɔ			

Compare Mampruli *nuuwa* pl *nuusi* "hand", *suuwa* pl *suusi* "knife", *kuuwa* pl *kuusi* "mouse", *zuuwa* pl *zuusi* "vulture" (but *yuŋŋu* pl *yunsi* "night.")

Some original *gɔ|dε* nouns have substituted pl *-sε* for *-dε* instead of *-aa* 5.3.3:

	<i>à-dàalúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>à-dàalís</i> ^ε WK <i>à-dàalímìs</i> ^ε	<i>à-dàalúŋ-</i>	"stork"
	<i>sí'uŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>sī'imís</i> ^ε	<i>sī'uŋ-</i>	a kind of big dish
cf	<i>dìsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>dìsís</i> ^ε <i>dìsímà</i>	<i>dìsúŋ-</i>	"spoon"

Two words of this type drop *-s-* from the stem in the plural:

<i>wīlísúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>wīlímís</i> ^ε	<i>wīlísúŋ-</i>	a kind of snail
<i>yālísúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yālímís</i> ^ε	<i>yālísúŋ-</i>	"quail"

5.3.3 *gɔ|dε*

All stems in *m n* after a short vowel, and all gerunds, use pl *aa* instead of *dε*.

Before the sg *-gɔ -kɔ -ŋɔ* stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic vowels to *u* and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels 3.6.

<i>dāvŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàad</i> ^ε	<i>dà-</i>	"piece of wood"
<i>vāvñŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vāaňd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vāň-</i>	"leaf"
<i>fēň'og</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>fēň'ed</i> ^{ε/}	<i>fēň'-</i>	"ulcer"
<i>dàbīog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàbīəd</i> ^ε	<i>dàbīà-</i>	"coward"
<i>vīug</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vīid</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vī-</i>	"owl"
<i>mōog</i> ^ɔ	<i>mōod</i> ^ε	<i>mò-</i>	"grass, bush"
<i>dòndùug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòndùud</i> ^ε	<i>dòndù-</i>	"cobra"
	<i>zùəd</i> ^ε		"friendship"
<i>wābvŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wābıd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>wāb-</i>	"elephant"
<i>zūəbúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zūəbíd</i> ^ε	<i>zūəb-</i>	"(human head) hair"
<i>bālērŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>bālērıd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
	or <i>bālērıs</i> ^{ε/}		
<i>bēsuv</i> ^ɔ	<i>bēsıd</i> ^ε	<i>bès-</i>	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have plurals of the form *CVt*^ε 3.4:

<i>dòog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòod</i> ^ε or <i>dòt</i> ^ε	<i>dò-</i>	"hut, room; clan"
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So too *pōog*^{ɔ/} "farm, field", *fūug*^{ɔ/} "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

<i>zūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zūt</i> ^{ε/}	<i>zū-</i> or <i>zūg-</i>	"head"
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**Cag-* **Cıag-* **Cıag-* stems 3.7 show sg *-k*^ɔ, and *ıa* becomes *ɔ* before *-k*^ɔ 3.6:

<i>lāuk</i> ^ɔ	<i>lā'ad</i> ^ε	<i>lā'-</i>	"(item of) goods"
<i>bıāıňk</i> ^ɔ	<i>bıāň'ad</i> ^ε	WK <i>bıāň'-</i>	"shoulder"
	<i>bıāň'ada</i>	SB	
<i>lòk</i> ^ɔ	<i>lò'ad</i> ^ε	<i>lò'à-</i>	"quiver (for arrows)"

Stems in *CVd* show *-t-* in the pl 3.5 via **dd* → *tt*:

<i>ùdvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>ùt</i> ^ε	<i>ùd-</i>	"(piece of) chaff"
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Stems in *CVg* develop *kk* in the singular via **gg* → *kk*:

<i>dōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>dōgvd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>dōg-</i>	"cooking pot"
	<i>dōgvb dót</i> ^ε		"cooking pots" SB

Stems in *l* develop the cluster *nn* in the pl via **ld* → *nn*:

<i>zōlvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zōn</i> ^{nε/}	<i>zōl-</i>	"fool"
<i>sìlvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>sìn</i> ^{nε} or <i>sìls</i> ^ε	<i>sìl-</i>	"hawk"

The only *m n* stems making plurals with *-dε* are *CVVC* root-stems:

<i>làngávŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>làngāamá</i> or <i>làngáam</i> ^{mε}	<i>làngāvŋ-</i>	"crab"
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So too *màngávŋ*^{ɔ/} "crab", the plural-only *sūñ-pêen*^{nε} "anger" and perhaps the placename *Těmpáan*^{nε} "Tempane", if the second element is from *pāalíg*^a "new."

All stems in *n m* following a short vowel use the plural suffix *aa* instead of *dε*. They show **mg* → *ŋŋ* and **ng* → *ŋŋ* in the sg, with cbs remodelled on the sg.

<i>gbàŋŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>gbàna</i>	<i>gbàn-</i> or <i>gbàŋŋ-</i>	"letter, book"
<i>zīnzāŋŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzāŋŋ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrvŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>àñrīma</i>	<i>àñrvŋ-</i>	"boat"
<i>mālŋŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>mālīma</i>	<i>mālŋŋ-</i>	"sacrifice"

The expected *u*-glide is absent in the sg and cb of

<i>nìn-gbīŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>nìn-gbīná</i>	<i>nìn-gbīŋ-</i>	"body"
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This may represent the influence of the alternate sg form *nìn-gbīn*^{nε/}.

All regular gerunds of 3-mora- and 4-mora-stem dual-aspect verbs belong to this noun class except for those with stems ending in velars and fusion verbs, which have the singular suffix *re* 8.1.1. Only stems in *-s-* and *-sīm-* have plurals, always with *-aa*:

<i>bū'əsúg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaňsúŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zàaňsíma</i>	<i>zàaňsúŋ-</i>	"dream"

Gerunds of 3-mora *n*-stem verbs never assimilate **ng* → *ηη*, and gerunds of 3-mora *m*-stems only assimilate **mg* → *ηη* optionally: thus *dìgıvğ*^ɔ "lying down", *sùnnvğ*^ɔ "bowing the head", *zìñ'invğ*^ɔ "sitting down", *tóvğ*^ɔ or *tōvğ*^ɔ "departing", *sàñ'vğ*^ɔ or *sàñ'amvğ*^ɔ "destroying", *kàrvğ*^ɔ or *kàrımvğ*^ɔ "reading."

The place name *Dènvğ*^ɔ "Denugu" (?? *Dènnvğ*^ɔ) also fails to assimilate **ng*.

5.3.4 *rε|aa*

Straightforward examples include:

<i>kūgvɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>kūgá</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>dìgıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>dìga</i>	<i>dìg-</i>	"dwarf"
<i>bàlàŋıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>bàlàŋa</i>	<i>bàlàŋ-</i>	"hat"
<i>yūgvɾıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>yūgvɾda</i>	<i>yùgvɾ-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>pı'á-sādıɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>pı'á-sādá</i>	<i>pı'á-sād-</i>	"young woman"
<i>nóbıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"leg"
<i>lībıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>lība</i>	<i>līb-</i>	"twin"
<i>sāngúnnıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>sāngúnnà</i>	<i>sāngún-</i>	"millipede"
<i>bı'ısıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>bı'isa</i>	<i>bı'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>sūmmıɾ</i> ^ε	<i>sūmma</i>	<i>sùm-</i>	"groundnut"

CVV- and CV'V-stems (for the allomorphs before pl -*aa* see 3.4):

<i>bı̄ɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bı̄yá</i>	<i>bı̄á-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zūɾ</i> ^ε	<i>zı̄yá</i>	<i>zı̄á-</i>	"hill"
<i>nōvɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zōvɾ</i> ^ε	<i>zōyá</i>	<i>zō-</i>	"tail"
<i>tītá'ar</i> ^ε	<i>tītáda</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big" (adjective)
<i>ñyē'ıɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ñyēdá</i>	<i>ñyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòñ'vɾ</i> ^ε	<i>pòñda</i>	<i>pòñ'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yō'vɾ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>yōdá</i>	<i>yō'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū'ɾ</i> ^ε	<i>yūáda</i>	<i>yù'ɾ-</i> 5.2	"penis"

Stems in **Cag-* **Cıag-* **Cıag-* 3.7 may have forms made by analogy with original CV'V-stems, instead of or alongside forms with vowel fusion:

<i>bà'ar</i> ^ε	<i>bà'a</i> or <i>bàda</i>	<i>bà'-</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
<i>ñyā'ar</i> ^ε	<i>ñyā'a</i>	<i>ñyà'-</i>	"root" (← * <i>ıεg-</i>)
<i>sıà'ar</i> ^ε	<i>sıà'a</i>	<i>sıà'-</i>	"forest"

<i>bjāñ'ar^ε/</i>	<i>bjāñ'a</i>	<i>bjāñ'-</i>	"wet mud, riverbed"
<i>m̀v'ar^ε</i>	<i>m̀v'aa</i>	<i>m̀v'à-</i>	"reservoir, dam"
	or <i>m̀v'ada</i>		
<i>zànk̀v'ar^ε</i>	<i>zànk̀v'aa</i>	<i>zànk̀v'à-</i>	"jackal"
	or <i>zànk̀v'ada</i>		
<i>k̀v̀nd̀v'ar^ε</i>	<i>k̀v̀nd̀v'aa</i>	<i>k̀v̀nd̀v'à-</i>	"barren woman"
	or <i>k̀v̀nd̀v'ada</i>		

So too, even in a case where the glottalisation is not derived from *g:

<i>k̀i-dà'ar^ε</i>	<i>k̀i-dà'ada</i> WK		"bought-in millet"
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Stems in deleted *g after a long vowel include fusion verb gerunds 7.1 like *gbáñ'ar^ε* (*gbāñ'e'* "grab"), *dí'ar^ε* (*dī'e'* "get"), *dúar^ε* (*dūe'* "rise") and also

<i>vúar^ε</i>	<i>vūáa</i>	<i>vūø-</i>	"fruit of red kapok"
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Some root-stems show CV with a short vowel before *r^ε*, with cb CVr- 5.2:

<i>gbēr^ε/</i>	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
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Similarly *k̀v̀k̀v̀r^ε/* "voice" *kpàk̀v̀r^ε/* "tortoise" *gāñr^ε/* "ebony fruit" *g̀v̀m̀p̀v̀z̀v̀r^ε/* "duck" *ñỳv̀v̀r^ε/* "life".

2-mora stem verbs make gerunds in *-r^ε* instead of *-bv* after a noun cb: *ǹv̀-ł̀v̀v̀r^ε* "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), *fū-yêr^ε* "shirt-wearing"; vowel shortening appears in *nā'-lór^ε* "area in compound for tying up cows" and *wìd-l̄v̀r^ε* "area for tying up horses."

Stems in *m n l r* undergo consonant assimilation in the sg: **rr* → *r*, **lr* → *ll*, **nr* → *nn*, **mr* → *mn*; on the instability of the cluster *mn* see 3.3.

<i>k̀v̀kp̀v̀r^ε</i>	<i>k̀v̀kp̀v̀ra</i>	<i>k̀v̀kp̀v̀r-</i>	"palm fruit"
<i>kpān^{nε}</i>	<i>kpāna</i>	<i>kpān-</i>	"spear"
<i>má'an^{nε}</i>	<i>mā'aná</i>	<i>mā'an-</i>	"okra"
<i>p̄ib̄in^{nε}</i>	<i>p̄ib̄ina</i>	<i>p̄ib̄in-</i>	"covering"
<i>dūm^{nε}</i>	<i>dūma</i>	<i>dūm-</i>	"knee"
<i>z̀v̀v̀m^{nε}</i>	<i>z̀v̀v̀ma</i>	<i>z̀v̀v̀m-</i>	"fugitive"
<i>ỳv̀v̀m^{nε}</i>	<i>ỳv̀v̀ma</i>	<i>ỳv̀v̀m-</i>	"year" 3.4
<i>gb̄iḡim^{nε}</i>	<i>gb̄iḡima</i>	<i>gb̄iḡim-</i>	"lion"
<i>gél^{lε}</i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>íil^{lε}</i>	<i>īilá</i>	<i>īil-</i>	"horn"

With unusual sandhi in the sg, and presumably analogical levelling

<i>ñwān</i> ^{nɛ} SB	<i>ñwāna</i> NT	<i>ñwàn-/ñwàm-</i>	"calabash"
<i>ñwām</i> ^{mɛ} WK	<i>ñwāma</i> SB WK NT		

An exceptional suppletive plural, segmentally and tonally, is seen in

<i>dāar</i> ^ɛ	<i>dābá</i>	<i>dà-</i>	"day"
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These two words probably have 1-mora stems:

[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	<i>zā</i> [/]	<i>zā-</i>	"millet"
<i>yīr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>yā</i> [/]	<i>yī-</i>	"house"

Language names 26.4 have the suffix *-lɛ* after stems ending in a root vowel:

Language		Speakers	
<i>Kūsāal</i> ^ɛ	Kusaal	<i>Kūsāas</i> ^ɛ	Kusaasi
<i>Mòɔl</i> ^ɛ	Mooré	<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ɛ	Mossi
<i>Zàngbèɛl</i> ^ɛ	Hausa	<i>Zàngbèɛd</i> ^ɛ	Hausa
<i>Nàsāal</i> ^ɛ	English/French	<i>Nàsàa-nàm</i> ^a	Europeans

Stems in *-r-* show the distinctive assimilation **rl* → *tt* 3.5, but other stems ending in a consonant show forms indistinguishable those with the flexion *rɛ*:

<i>Yāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	Yarsi	<i>Yāris</i> ^{ɛ/}	Yarsi
<i>Bāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	Bisa	<i>Bāris</i> ^{ɛ/}	Bisa
<i>Nàbır</i> ^ɛ	Nabit	<i>Nàbıdıb</i> ^a	Nabdema
<i>Tùənnır</i> ^ɛ	Toende Kusaal	<i>Tùən</i> ^{nɛ}	Toende area
<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nɛ/}	Dagbani	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìn</i> ^{nɛ}	Moba	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	Moba
<i>Yàan</i> ^{nɛ}	Yansi	<i>Yàańs</i> ^ɛ	Yansi
<i>Gūrín</i> ^{nɛ}	Farefare	<i>Gūrıs</i> ^ɛ	Farefare
<i>Tàlın</i> ^{nɛ}	Talni	<i>Tàlıs</i> ^ɛ	Tallensi
<i>Bùl</i> ^{lɛ}	Buli	<i>Bùlıs</i> ^ɛ	Bulsa
<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lɛ}	Agolle Kusaal	<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lɛ}	Agolle area

Unexpected epenthesis occurs in:

<i>Kàmbònır</i> ^ɛ	Twi	<i>Kàmbòmıs</i> ^ɛ	Ashanti
<i>Ñwāmpūrıl</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mampruli	<i>Ñwāmpūrıs</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mamprussi

5.3.5 *fɔ|u*

<i>mòlɪʔ</i>	<i>mòli</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bīlɪʔ</i>	<i>bīlí</i>	<i>bīl-</i>	"seed"
<i>ñyírɪʔ</i>	<i>ñyírí</i>	<i>ñyír-</i>	"egusi"
<i>zūrɪʔ</i>	<i>zūrí</i>	<i>zūr-</i>	"dawadawa seed"
<i>bōn-búvdɪʔ</i>			"plant"
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	<i>mùj</i>	<i>mùj-</i>	"rice"

The plural *-u* causes umlaut of the stem vowels *aa iə eɛ* to *ii*.

<i>náafʔ</i> (* <i>naagfv</i>)	<i>nīgí</i>	<i>nā'-</i> <u>3.4</u>	"cow"
<i>wáafʔ</i> (* <i>waagfv</i>)	<i>wīgí</i>	<i>wā'-</i>	"snake"
[Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>]	<i>kī'</i>	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"

Stems in *-n-* show consonant assimilation in the sg with **nf* → *ɸf* 3.5:

<i>nīʔ'</i>	<i>nīnɪ</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīʔ-</i>	"eye"
<i>píʔnʔ</i>	<i>pīnɪ</i>	<i>pīn-</i>	"genet"
<i>kíʔnʔ</i>	<i>kīnɪ</i>		"millet seed"
<i>zúʔvʔnʔ</i>	<i>zūʔvʔnɪ</i>		"dawadawa seed"
<i>míʔnʔ</i>	<i>mīnɪ</i>		"okra seed"

Sg *míʔnʔ* is remodelled after the umlauted pl: cf *má'an*^{ne} "okra."

In two words stem *-d-* is lost in the sg:

<i>wìʔʔ</i>	<i>wìdɪ</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"horse"
<i>lāʔʔ</i>	<i>līgɪdɪ</i>	<i>lā'-</i> or <i>līg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words only have *fɔ|u* class suffixes in one number:

<i>zīɪŋ^a</i>	<i>zīmí</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>wālɪg^a</i>	<i>wālɪs^ε</i> or <i>wālí sic</i>	<i>wàl-</i>	a kind of gazelle
<i>sībɪg^{a/}</i>	<i>sībí</i>	<i>sīb-</i>	a kind of termite
<i>sīiñʔ^{a/}</i> or <i>sīiñg^{a/}</i>	<i>sīiñs^{ε/}</i>	<i>sīñ-</i>	"bee"
<i>sūñʔ^{a/}</i> or <i>sūuñr^{ε/}</i>	<i>sūñyá</i>	<i>sūñ-</i>	"heart"
<i>kpáʔvŋ^ɔ</i>	<i>kpī'iní</i>	<i>kpā'-</i> <i>irreg</i>	"guinea fowl"

Pīini "gift" reflects a class obsolete in Western Oti-Volta, with *aa* umlauted to *ii* by the flexion *u*: cf Moba *pāāb* "gift", pl *pāānî*. It is used as sg, with cb *pīin-*.

5.3.6 *bo*

Only three *bo* class nouns have been found which are not gerunds:

<i>sā'ab</i> ^o	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge, TZ"
<i>tāñp</i> ^o	<i>tāñp-</i>	"war" <u>3.4</u>
<i>kī'ib</i> ^o		"soap"

All regular gerunds from 2-mora-stem dual-aspect verbs belong here 8.1.1: stems in *b* show *-p-* via **bb* → *pp*: *sōp*^o from *sōb*^ε "write", *lōp*^o from *lōb*^ε "throw stones at", and stems in *m* show **mb* → *mm*: *kīm*^{mo} from *kīm*^m "tend a flock/herd", *wōm*^{mo} from *wòm*^m "hear." Stems in *n* do not assimilate, however: *būnib*^o from *bùn*^ε "reap."

Yīs^ε "make go/come out" has the expected gerund *yīsib*^o; the alternate form *yīs*^{ε/} has *yīsib*^o, the only 3-mora stem in the *bo* class.

5.3.7 *mm*

Most words in this class are mass nouns. Straightforward forms include:

<i>dāam</i> ^{m/}	<i>dā-</i>	"millet beer, pito"
<i>mèlɨɨm</i> ^m		"dew"
<i>kōdɨm</i> ^m		"olden days"
<i>dū'uním</i> ^m	<i>dū'un-</i>	"urine"
<i>dàalɨm</i> ^m		"masculinity"
<i>yàarɨm</i> ^m	<i>yàar-</i>	"salt"
<i>zāańsím</i> ^m	<i>zāańs-</i>	"soup"

M-stems can be identified from cbs in *m*, pls in *-ma* or *-mɨs*^ε, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L 3.8.1.

<i>vōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>vōm-</i>	"life"	
<i>kūm</i> ^m	<i>kùm-</i>	"death"	
<i>zōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>zōm-</i>	"flour"	
<i>bùgúm</i> ^m	<i>bùgúm-</i> or <i>bùgōm-</i>	"fire"	
<i>yā'am</i> ^{m/}	<i>yā'am-</i>	"gall; gall bladder"	
<i>pūum</i> ^{m/}	<i>pūum-</i>	"flowers, flora"	
<i>bì'isím</i> ^m		"milk"	
<i>dàalím</i> ^m	<i>dàalím</i> ^ε	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
<i>pīim</i> ^{m/}	<i>pīimá</i>	<i>pīim-</i>	"arrow" <u>3.4</u>

Pīim^{m/} "arrow" is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" *o|ε* class, preserved in e.g. the Gurma languages and Nawdm: cf Nawdm *fíímú* "arrow", plural *fíímí*.

5.4 *Nàm* plurals

Nàm^a is not a suffix, but a NP head, with a predependent noun appearing as cb for count nouns (*kpēēñm*^m pl *kpēēñm-nàm*^a "elder") and as sg or pl for mass nouns (*sā'ab nám*^a "portions of porridge", *bùgóm nám*^a "fires, lights.")

Nàm^a is used with loanwords, pronouns [12.4](#), quantifiers [12.5](#), plurals with singular meaning and mass nouns with count meaning [12.2](#), and with forms with the personifier particle [12.6](#). It is also used to avoid ambiguous regular plurals, with nouns using *-ba* as sg [5.3.1](#), and to pluralise the bare-root sg forms of

<i>mà</i>	<i>mà nám</i> ^a (tone <i>sic</i> , as if uncompounded)	<i>mà-</i>	"mother"
<i>bā</i> [/]	<i>bā'-nám</i> ^a	<i>bā'-</i>	"father"
<i>zụà</i>	<i>zụà-nàm</i> ^a	<i>zụà-</i>	"friend"

5.5 Loanwords

Loanwords [11.1](#) adopt noun classes by analogy or make *nàm*^a plurals:

<i>ga sɛ: àrazàk</i> ^a	<i>àrazà'as</i> ^ɛ	<i>àrazà'-</i>	"riches"
<i>màlīāk</i> ^{a/}	<i>màlīā'as</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>màlīā'-</i>	"angel" DK
<i>gɔ dɛ: gādv</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>gāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>gād-</i>	"bed"
<i>lòmbò'ɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>lòmbò'ɔd</i> ^ɛ	<i>lòmbò'-</i>	"garden"
<i>rɛ aa: lór</i> ^ɛ	<i>lóyà</i> or <i>lóɔm</i> ^{ma}	<i>lór-</i>	"car, lorry" (cf <i>Mōr</i> ^ɛ)
<i>àlópìr</i> ^ɛ	<i>àlópìya</i>		"aeroplane" SB
<i>wādɪr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>wādá</i>	<i>wād-</i>	pl "customs, law"
<i>gādv</i>	<i>gādv-nám</i> ^a	<i>gādv-</i>	"bed" WK
<i>kèèkè</i>	<i>kèèkè-nàm</i> ^a	<i>kèèkè-</i>	"bicycle"
<i>dāká</i>	<i>dāká-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dāká-</i>	"box"
<i>téèbùl</i> ^ɛ	<i>téèbùl-nàm</i> ^a	<i>téèbùl-</i>	"table"
<i>Nàsāara</i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsàa(r)-</i>	"European" 26.4

Loanwords ending in L or H toneme distinguish sg from cb by the fact that M spreading only follows the sg, conforming to the usual rule [4.4.3](#):

<i>dú'atà nâ'ab</i>	"a doctor's chief"
<i>dú'atà-nâ'ab</i>	"a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief"

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cb on the analogy of Kusaal nouns with M toneme noun prefixes [3.8.1](#): *dūnyā* "world", *dūnyā-kàṅā* "this world."

6 Adjective flexion

Unlike nouns, most Kusaal adjectives show suffixes from more than one noun class. This reflects the prehistory of the language, in which noun classes triggered agreement and adjectives took the suffix of the head noun, which preceded as a combining form, effectively infixing the adjective stem between the noun stem and its suffix. Like most Western Oti-Volta languages, Kusaal has lost the agreement system, but adjectives commonly remain extant with suffixes from more than one class, now usually in free variation. Thus from *būvg*^a "goat":

<i>bù-pìəlɪg</i> ^a	<i>bù-pìəlɪs</i> ^ε	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>ga sɛ</i>)	"white goat"
<i>bù-pìəl</i> ^{lε}	<i>bù-pìəla</i>	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>rɛ aa</i>)	<i>id</i>

A few traces of agreement remain, accounting for all cases with *mm* 12.8.1. There is also some preference for *ga|sɛ* suffixes for human reference: *nīn-sábilis*^ε "Africans", where *nīn-sábilà* is accepted by informants but is much less common, and *Zuà-wìis*^ε "Red Zoose" (clan), where the adjective does not normally use pl *sɛ*. The suffixes *a|ba* and *fɔ|u* appear only in set expressions; *bo* never occurs at all.

WK claims a meaning difference in intensity in gradable adjectives with sg suffixes of different classes, consistently ranking them *ga rɛ gɔ* in decreasing order, so that *fū-pìəlɪg* "white shirt" is whiter than *fū-pìəl id*. However, DK specifically denied any difference of meaning.

Class suffixes are avoided when their combination with stem finals would give rise to unclear or ambiguous SFs. The availability of alternatives from three classes permits avoidance much more freely than with nouns. A further major constraint is that only two adjectives show suffixes from both the *ga|sɛ* and *gɔ|dɛ* classes:

<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'ɛs</i> ^ε	<i>zèñ'-</i>	"red"
<i>zèñ'og</i> ^o	<i>zèñ'ɛd</i> ^ε or <i>zèñda</i>		
<i>bī'a</i>	<i>bī'əs</i> ^ε	<i>bìà'-</i>	"bad"
<i>bē'og</i> ^o	<i>bē'ɛd</i> ^ε	<i>bè'-</i>	
also <i>bē'ɛd</i> ^ε sg	<i>bè'ɛd-nàm</i> ^a pl		

Other adjectives are *either ga-* or *gɔ-* type, along with *rɛ|aa* class suffixes; this probably reflects simplification of the old agreement system prior to its complete abandonment. Adjectives of the *ga* type include:

<i>wàbɪg</i> ^a	<i>wàbɪs</i> ^ε	<i>wàb-</i>	"lame"
<i>wàbɪr</i> ^ε	<i>wàba</i>		

<i>vènnig</i> ^a	<i>vènnis</i> ^ε	<i>vèn-</i>	"beautiful"
<i>vènnur</i> ^ε rare	<i>vèнна</i>		
<i>vèñllig</i> ^a	<i>vèñllis</i> ^ε		"beautiful"
	<i>vèñlla</i>		
<i>sābílīg</i> ^a	<i>sābílís</i> ^ε	<i>sābíl-</i>	"black"
<i>sābíl</i> ^{lε}	<i>sābílá</i>		

Similar are *wēnnur*^ε "resembling" *pāalīg*^a "new" *záal*^{lε} "empty" *bāañlīg*^a "slim" *pìəlīg*^a "white."

Sg *rε* is not used with *ga*-type stems in *m n*:

<i>dēēḡ</i> ^a	<i>dēēñs</i> ^ε	<i>dēēḡ-</i>	"first"
	<i>dēēmīs</i> ^ε		
	<i>dēēna</i>		

Pl *sε* is not used with 2-mora stems in *m n*, or with any stems in *s d*:

<i>gīḡ</i> ^a	<i>gīma</i>	<i>gīḡ-</i>	"short"
<i>bōgvsíg</i> ^a		<i>bōgvs-</i>	"soft"
<i>bōgvsír</i> ^ε	<i>bōgvsá</i>		
<i>pòɔdīg</i> ^a		<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"
<i>pòɔdir</i> ^ε	<i>pòɔda</i>		

Similarly *mā'asír*^ε "cold, wet" *mālsír*^ε "sweet" *tēbúsír*^ε "heavy" *lābúsír*^ε "wide."

Adjectives of the *gɔ*-type only show pl *dε* in a few 2-mora stems ending in vowels or plosives:

<i>nèog</i> ^ɔ	<i>nèed</i> ^ε	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>nèer</i> ^ε	<i>nèya</i>		
<i>wìug</i> ^ɔ	<i>wìid</i> ^ε	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wìir</i> ^ε	<i>wìya</i>		
<i>wōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wā'ad</i> ^{ε/}	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>wā'ar</i> ^{ε/} rare	<i>wá'a</i>		

<i>kōdvog</i> ^o	<i>kōt</i> ^ε rare	<i>kūd-</i>	"old"
<i>kōdir</i> ^ε	<i>kōda</i>		
<i>bēdvog</i> ^o		<i>bēd-</i>	"great"
<i>bēdir</i> ^ε rare	<i>bēda</i>		
<i>tītā'vog</i> ^o rare	<i>tītāda</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big"
<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ε			

Adjectives of the *go*-type with stems in *l m n r s* do not use *re*, and accordingly end up with sg *go* pl *aa* only:

<i>sòη</i> ^o	<i>sòma</i>	<i>sòη-</i>	"good"
<i>kīsòg</i> ^o	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo"
<i>dà-zēmmóg</i> ^o	<i>dà-zēmmá</i>	<i>dà-zēm-</i>	"equal piece of wood"
<i>tōvlóg</i> ^o	<i>tōvlá</i>	<i>tōvl-</i>	"hot"
<i>lāllóg</i> ^o	<i>lāllá</i>	<i>lāl-</i>	"distant"
<i>mì'isog</i> ^o	<i>mì'isa</i>	<i>mì'is-</i>	"sour"
<i>wàuxog</i> ^o	<i>wàna</i>	<i>wàux-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpì'og</i> ^o	<i>kpì'əma</i>	<i>kpì'og-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlvog</i> ^o	<i>zùlɪma</i>	<i>zùlv-</i>	"deep"
<i>yī-póñròg</i> ^o	<i>yī-póñrà</i>		"nearby house"

Similarly *yàlvog*^o "wide" *ñyālóg*^o "wonderful" *yēl-náròη*^o "necessary thing."

Deverbal adjectives 9.2.1.2 of the **resultative** type derived with **-lum-* belong here. KT (but not WK) also has forms without *-m-* in both sg and pl:

<i>kpìilóg</i> ^o	<i>kpìilímà</i>	<i>kpìilóg-</i>	"dead"	WK
<i>nḡn-kpìilòg</i> ^o	<i>nḡn-kpìilìma</i>		"dead person"	KT
<i>gēēñlóg</i> ^o	<i>gēēñlímà</i>	<i>gēēñlóg-</i>	"tired"	WK
<i>nḡn-gēēñlòg</i> ^o	<i>nḡn-gēēñlìma</i>		"tired person"	KT
<i>pè'elóg</i> ^o	<i>pè'elímà</i>	<i>pè'elóg-</i>	"full"	WK KT
	<i>dōg-pé'elà</i>		"full pots"	KT

Deverbal adjectives of the **habitual** type are derived with *d*, but the *d* is often assimilated or dropped, so not all habitual adjectives are *d*-stems. They are *ga*-type for WK, but *go*-type for KT. In either case, the pl suffix is always *aa*, as expected:

<i>kōvdír</i> ^ε	<i>kōvdá</i>	<i>kōvd-</i>	"murderous;
<i>kōvdíg</i> ^a WK			liable to be killed"
<i>kōvdóg</i> ^o KT			

<i>tōmmur</i> ^ε	<i>tōmma</i> WK <i>tōmna</i> KT	<i>tòm-</i>	"working, helpful"
<i>sīnnír</i> ^ε rare	<i>sīnná</i>	<i>sīn-</i>	"silent"
<i>sīnníg</i> ^a			
<i>mōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>mōrá</i>	<i>mōr-</i>	"having"
<i>kòg-dēl</i> ^{lε/}	<i>kòg-dēllá</i>		"chair for leaning on"

Stems in *g k η* do not use the sg suffixes *ga gɔ*:

<i>bōn-tólgìr</i> ^ε	<i>bōn-tólgà</i>		"heating thing"
<i>ñwī-tékìr</i> ^ε	<i>ñwī-tékà</i>	<i>ñwī-ték-</i>	"pulling-rope"
<i>bōn-súgìr</i> ^ε	<i>bōn-súgà</i>		"helpful thing"

Adjectives derived from 4-mora stem verbs in *-m* in KT's speech take *ga* or *gɔ* sg and *aa* pl; they may drop the *-m-* in the plural:

<i>nīn-pú'alìg</i> ^a	<i>nīn-pú'alìma</i>	"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záaṅsùg</i> ^ɔ	<i>nīn-záaṅsà</i>	"dreamy person"

Some adjectives simply belong to a single noun class even though this cannot be accounted for by the stem-suffix incompatibilities outlined above:

<i>vōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vōyá</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>dāvog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dāad</i> ^ε	<i>dà-</i>	"male"
<i>tōɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>tōɔd</i> ^ε	<i>tò-</i>	"bitter"
<i>pūāk</i> ^a	<i>pō'as</i> ^ε	<i>pū'à-</i>	"female" (human)
<i>ñyá'aṅ</i> ^a	<i>ñyá'as</i> ^ε	<i>ñyā'aṅ-</i>	"female" (animal)
	or <i>ñyā'amís</i> ^ε		
<i>ñyèesíg</i> ^a	<i>ñyèensís</i> ^ε	<i>ñyèesíg-</i>	"self-confident"

and similarly *vèñllíg*^a "beautiful" *māhsíg*^a "pleasant" *lāllíg*^a "distant."

<i>bīl</i> ^a	<i>bībīs</i> ^ε	<i>bìl-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"little"
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The sg flexion *-la* is found more widely in other Western Oti-Volta languages, where it has a diminutive sense: thus Farefare *níílá* "chick", *pìl̀l̀à* "lamb", *bùdíblá* "boy", *púglá* "girl", *kíílá* "young guinea fowl"; Mooré *bìrìblá* "boy", *bìpúglá* "girl", *bùllá* "kid." The plural stem *bib-* is reduplicated.

7 Verb flexion

Though written solid with the verb in traditional orthography, discontinuous-past n^{ε} [16.3.2](#) and the 2pl subject y^a [18.3](#) are not flexions but bound liaison words.

7.1 Dual-aspect

Some 90% of verbs are dynamic [16.2](#) **dual-aspect** verbs, using the stem form for perfective aspect and adding *-da* for imperfective. Synchronically, *-da* is simply a flexion, but historically this probably represents thoroughgoing levelling of a formation with a *derivational* suffix **d* preceding the same imperfective flexion *-a* as appears in single-aspect verbs. A suffix *-ma* marks imperative mood whenever the verb carries the independency-marking tone overlay [16.6.2](#).

Perfective, imperfective and *-ma* imperative are cited in order.

Straightforward examples include:

<i>kō</i>	<i>kōvd^{a/}</i>	<i>kòvm^a</i>	"kill"
<i>kpěñ'</i>	<i>kpěñ'ed^a</i>	<i>kpěñ'em^a</i>	"enter"
<i>kìà</i>	<i>kìəd^a</i>	<i>kìəm^a</i>	"cut"
<i>kṽā</i>	<i>kūəd^{a/}</i>	<i>kùəm^a</i>	"hoe"
<i>gòñ</i>	<i>gòñd^a</i>	<i>gòñm^a</i>	"hunt"
<i>dṽg^ε</i>	<i>dṽgvd^{a/}</i>	<i>dùgv^am^a</i>	"cook"
<i>yùug^ε</i>	<i>yùugd^a</i>	<i>yùug^am^a</i>	"delay, get late"
<i>yādıg^{ε/}</i>	<i>yādıgıd^a</i>	<i>yādıgı^am^a</i>	"scatter"
<i>pıāñ'^a</i>	<i>pıāñ'ad^{a/}</i>	<i>pıāñ'am^a</i>	"speak; praise"
<i>dṽ'á^a</i>	<i>dṽ'ad^a</i>	<i>dṽ'am^a</i>	"bear, beget"
<i>nōk^{ε/}</i>	<i>nōkíd^a</i>	<i>nòkım^a</i>	"take"
<i>gāη^{ε/}</i>	<i>gāηıd^a</i>	<i>gāηım^a</i>	"choose"
<i>kpàr^ε</i>	<i>kpàrıd^a</i>	<i>kpàrı^am^a</i>	"lock"
<i>sūgv^{ε/}</i>	<i>sūgvrıd^a</i>	<i>sùgvrı^am^a</i>	"forgive"
<i>bàs^ε</i>	<i>bàsıd^a</i>	<i>bàsı^am^a</i>	"go/send away"
<i>sıgıs^{ε/}</i>	<i>sıgısıd^a</i>	<i>sıgısı^am^a</i>	"lower"
<i>kōt^{ε/}</i>	<i>kōtíd^a</i>	<i>kòtı^am^a</i>	"slaughter"

Some root-stems ending in a vowel show a CV- allomorph in both imperfective and imperative, with *-t-* for *-d-* [3.4](#):

<i>dì</i>	<i>dıt^a</i>	<i>dım^a</i>	"eat"
<i>ñyē</i>	<i>ñyēt^{a/}</i>	<i>ñyèm^a</i>	"see"

and likewise *lì/lù* "fall", *dṽ* "go up", *yī* "go/come out", *zò* "run, fear."

Stems in *-d-* show *-t-* in the ipfv via **dd* → *tt*:

<i>bòd</i> ^ε	<i>bòt</i> ^a	<i>bòdım</i> ^a	"plant"
<i>gàad</i> ^ε	<i>gàt</i> ^a <u>2.2</u>	<i>gàadım</i> ^a	"pass, surpass"

Stems in *l* generate a cluster in the ipfv via **ld* → *nn* 3.5:

<i>vòl</i> ^ε	<i>vòn</i> ^{na/}	<i>vòlım</i> ^a	"swallow"
<i>màal</i> ^ε	<i>màan</i> ^{na}	<i>màalım</i> ^a	"make; sacrifice"
<i>dīgıl</i> ^{ε/}	<i>dīgín</i> ^{na}	<i>dīgılım</i> ^a	"lay down"

Only 2-mora *b*-stems assimilate **bm* → *mm*:

<i>lèb</i> ^ε	<i>lèbıd</i> ^a	<i>lèm</i> ^{ma}	"return"
<i>sòb</i> ^ε	<i>sòbıd</i> ^{a/}	<i>sòm</i> ^{ma}	"write"
<i>lìəb</i> ^ε	<i>lìəbıd</i> ^a	<i>lìəbım</i> ^a	"become"
<i>ēēñb</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ēēñbıd</i> ^a	<i>ēēñbım</i> ^a	"lay a foundation"

Only 2-mora *n*-stems show **nd* → *nn*; only *kēŋ*^{ε/} (below) shows **nm* → *mm*:

<i>bùn</i> ^ε	<i>bùn</i> ^{na}	<i>bùnım</i> ^a	"reap"
<i>mōn</i> ^ε	<i>mōn</i> ^{na/}	<i>mònım</i> ^a	"make porridge"
<i>gò'ɔn</i> ^ε	<i>gò'ɔnıd</i> ^a	<i>gò'ɔnım</i> ^a	"extend neck"
<i>dìgın</i> ^ε	<i>dìgınıd</i> ^a	<i>dìgınım</i> ^a	"lie down"

The *nn*-stem *sùn*^ε does not assimilate at all:

<i>sùn</i> ^{ne}	<i>sùnnıd</i> ^a	<i>sùnnım</i> ^a	"bow head"
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4-mora *m*-stems always assimilate **md* → *mn*, *mm*, while 3-mora *m*-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, but the NT/KB sometimes have unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity 3.5.

<i>sìlım</i> ^m	<i>sìlım</i> ^{ma}	<i>sìlım</i> ^{ma}	"quote proverbs"
<i>lāŋım</i> ^m	<i>lāŋım</i> ^{ma}	<i>lāŋım</i> ^{ma}	"wander searching"
<i>kàrım</i> ^m	<i>kàrım</i> ^{m/kàrımıd^a}	<i>kàrım</i> ^{ma}	"read"
<i>tōɔm</i> ^{m/}	<i>tōɔm</i> ^{ma/tōɔmıd^a}	<i>tōɔm</i> ^{ma}	"depart"
<i>tòm</i> ^m	<i>tòm</i> ^{ma}	<i>tòm</i> ^{ma}	"work"

Like *tòm*^m are *wòm*^m "hear", *kìm*^m "tend a flock or herd", *dùm*^m "bite."

Stems in *-mm-* only assimilate in the imperative:

<i>tàm^m</i>	<i>tàmmɪd^a</i>	<i>tàm^{ma}</i>	"forget"
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Like *tàm^m* are *zàm^m* "cheat, betray", *dàm^m* "shake", *lèm^m* "sip, taste"; the cognate Mooré verbs have *-mb-*: *zǎmbe* "cheat", *rǎmbe* "stir", *lèmbé* "taste".

Fusion verbs show deleted **g* after *aa iə uə aañ eñ ɔñ* 3.7. **G*-deletion appears only in the perfective and gerund; elsewhere **g* is absent, not deleted (for the tonal implications see 3.8.2.) For the perfective forms before liaison see see 4.2.

<i>fāeñ^l</i>	<i>fāañd^a</i>	<i>fàañm^a</i>	"save"
<i>dī'e^l</i>	<i>dī'əd^a</i>	<i>dì'əm^a</i>	"get, receive"
<i>dūe^l</i>	<i>dūəd^a</i>	<i>dùəm^a</i>	"rise, raise"
<i>pūñ'e^l</i>	<i>pūñ'əd^a</i>	<i>pùñ'əm^a</i>	"rot" WK

Irregular dual-aspect verbs are few. Only two are irregular in the actual flexional suffixes taken:

<i>kē</i>	<i>kēt^a</i>	<i>kəl^a</i>	"let, allow"
<i>kēñ</i>	<i>kēn^a</i>	<i>kəm^a</i>	"come"

All others show a derivational suffix in the perfective which is dropped in the imperfective. This suggests a survival of older patterns: outside the Western group, Oti-Volta languages often drop perfective suffixes when forming imperfectives. Nawdm has a regular conjugation which drops pfv *g* in the ipfv, e.g. *jehl̩g* pfv "poser verticalement", *jehl̩a* ipfv.

<i>w̩k^ɛ</i>	<i>w̩id^a</i> 3.4	<i>w̩kɪm^a</i>	"fetch water"
<i>ǰāñk^ɛ</i>	<i>ǰāñ'ad^a</i>	<i>ǰāñkɪm^a</i>	"leap, fly"
<i>g̩lɪg^ɛ</i>	<i>g̩n^{na}</i>	<i>g̩lɪgɪm^a</i>	"go around"
<i>kēŋ^ɛ</i>	<i>kēn^{na}</i>	<i>kəm^a</i>	"go"
<i>y̩l^ɛ</i>	<i>y̩t^a</i>	<i>y̩lɪm^a</i>	"say"
<i>g̩s^ɛ</i>	<i>g̩sɪd^a</i>	<i>g̩sɪm^a</i>	"look"
	or <i>g̩t^a</i>	<i>g̩m^a</i>	
<i>t̩s^ɛ</i>	<i>t̩sɪd^a</i>	<i>t̩sɪm^a</i>	"give"
	or <i>t̩t^a</i>		

A perfective *t̩* may appear before bound object pronouns, e.g. *t̩ f* "give you."

7.2 Single-aspect

The remaining 10% of verbs are **single-aspect**, with just one finite form, which is always imperfective. Each single-aspect verb is either **dynamic**, behaving like the imperfective of a dual-aspect verb, or **stative** 16.2; transitive stative verbs typically express relationships, while intransitives have predicative adjectival meanings.

Morphologically, there are three major groups of single-aspect verbs; the morphological division correlates only to a limited extent with meaning.

Six stative single-aspect verbs consist of bare stems alone:

<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>zī'</i>	"not know"
<i>bè</i>	"be somewhere, exist"	<i>kā'ɛ</i>	"not be" (← * <i>kagɪ</i>)
<i>tūñ'e</i>	"be able" 19.1	<i>nòŋ^ɛ</i>	"love"

Uniquely among single-aspect verbs, *nòŋ^ɛ* has a *ma*-imperative *nòŋum^a*, used when the verb word carries the tone overlay of independency marking. Unlike perfectives, these forms are never followed by particle *yā* 16.6.2. The Pattern A verbs *bè* and *nòŋ^ɛ* have M tone before liaison-word pronouns and are followed by M spreading even when not subject to the tone overlay of independency marking 4.4.3.

	<i>M nóŋ.</i>	"I love him." (e.g. in reply to a question)
not	* <i>M nóŋ yā</i>	specifically stated to be impossible by WK

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noŋ zaba.

Mìt kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm á ónì nòŋ zábāa=∅.

NEG.LETIMP and head-NULL.AN work-worker:SG COP REL.AN love conflict:PL=NEG.

"Let not a servant of the Lord be someone who loves fights." (2 Tim 2:24, 1996)

Kà ò nóŋī f. "And she loves you."

The agent noun *nòŋɪd^a* has Pattern L instead of the expected A:

Ò nòŋɪd kã'e. "There's nobody who loves him." WK

The majority of single-aspect verbs have the suffix **-ya*. Nawdm has many imperfective-only verbs of parallel structure, like *jehra* ipfv "*être debout*" = Kusaal *zì'e^{y^a}*, where Nawdm *r* and Kusaal *y* both represent Proto-Oti-Volta **r*. With only one aspect, these verbs have not undergone the extensive levelling which has made dual-aspect *-da* into a unitary flexion. In particular, when **y* has assimilated to a preceding root-final consonant, resulting in *nn mm ll* or *r(r)*, the cluster is carried over into deverbal nominals, or introduced by analogy into cognate adjectives even when the

adjectives are primary. The cluster *nn* then behaves exactly like *nn* derived from **nd*, but *ll r(r)* are subject to further assimilation just like single *l r* 3.5.

Dynamic verbs with unassimilated *y* mostly express **stances**:

<i>īgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be kneeling"	<i>dīgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"
<i>vābi</i> ^{ya/}	"be prone"	<i>làbi</i> ^{ya}	"crouch in hiding"
<i>tàbi</i> ^{ya}	"be stuck to"	<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	"be standing still"
<i>zìñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>tī'i</i> ^{ya/}	"be leaning (object)"
<i>gō'e</i> ^{ya/} WK	"have neck extended"	<i>wà'e</i> ^{ya}	"travel to"

Statives include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>àgñ^a</i>	"be something/somehow"		
<i>sō'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than"
<i>tōg^{a/}</i>	"be bitter"	<i>vōg^{a/}</i>	"be alive"

Stance verbs with unassimilated *y* have derived inchoative and causative dual-aspect verbs in *n* and *l* 9.1.1. They make perfective gerunds, and have agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns with the formant *d* like dual-aspect verbs. Some informants inflect these verbs with the ipfv suffix *-da* to express *habitual* meaning; others use the ipfv of the derived assume-stance verb instead:

	<i>Ò zìñ'i nē.</i>	"She's sitting down." WK KT
	<i>Ò pō zìñ'idā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	<i>Ò pō zìñ'inìdā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	<i>Ò vābi nē.</i>	"He's lying prone."
	<i>Ò pō vābídá.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	<i>Ò pō vābìnìdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	<i>Ò dīgi nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
	<i>Ò pō dīgídá.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	<i>Lì zì'ə nē.</i>	"It's standing up."
	<i>Lì pō zì'ədā.</i>	"It (a defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	<i>Lì tī'i nē.</i>	"It's leaning against something."
	<i>Lì tī'id.</i>	"It can be leant against something." WK
	<i>Lì pō tī'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning against something."
	<i>Lì pō tī'idá.</i>	"It's not for leaning against something." WK

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* include stance verbs and others:

<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning (person)"
<i>gùl</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>gōl</i> ^{la/} KT	"have neck extended"
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"carry in one's hands"
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"guard"	<i>tēñr</i> ^a	"remember"
<i>sūr</i> ^a	"have head bowed"	<i>gōr</i> ^{a/} DK	"have neck extended"

They make imperfective gerunds; in these and in agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns, the stem is in *nn mm ll r(r)* and *d* is omitted. Similarly, they do not have distinct continuous, habitual or inchoative forms.

Stative verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* again include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>vēn</i> ^{na}	"be beautiful"
<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"	<i>kpī'əm</i> ^{ma/}	"be strong"
<i>kpēēñm</i> ^{ma/}	"be older than"	<i>zùlm</i> ^{ma}	"be deep"
<i>sùm</i> ^{ma}	"be good"	<i>gīm</i> ^{ma/}	"be short"
<i>yàlm</i> ^{ma}	"be wide"	<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal to"
<i>tàdm</i> ^{ma}	"be weak"	<i>wā'am</i> ^{ma/}	"be long, tall"
<i>vēñl</i> ^{la}	"be beautiful"	<i>lāl</i> ^{la/}	"be far from"
<i>tōl</i> ^{la/}	"be hot"	<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>dūr</i> ^a	"be many"
<i>kār</i> ^a	"be few"	<i>nār</i> ^{a/}	"be necessary"
<i>pòñr</i> ^a	"be near to"		

M-stems show single *m* in most sources after after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels 3.5.

A number of stative verbs end in *-sa*:

<i>mì'is</i> ^a	"be sour"	<i>bōgvs</i> ^{a/}	"be soft"
<i>mā'as</i> ^{a/}	"be cool"	<i>tēbıs</i> ^{a/}	"be heavy"
<i>mālıs</i> ^{a/}	"be sweet"	<i>lābıs</i> ^{a/}	"be wide"
<i>ñyèes</i> ^a	"be self-confident"	<i>kīs</i> ^{a/}	"hate"

The *s* of these forms is a derivational suffix producing stative forms.

There is one intransitive stative verb in *-da*: *pòçd*^a "be few, small."

Some dual-aspect-verb imperfective forms have become independent stative verbs, e.g. *bòçd*^a "want, like" (*bò* "seek"), *zòt*^a "fear" (*zò* "run.")

8 Stem conversion

8.1 Nouns from verbs

8.1.1 Perfective gerunds

Almost all verbs other than intransitive statives can form a **gerund**, a derived abstract noun which expresses the process, event or state described by the verb.

Gerunds from dual-aspect and many dynamic single-aspect verbs are formed by adding noun class suffixes to the verb stem. For gerund Tone Patterns see [3.8.4](#).

Gerunds may be used as abstract *count* nouns describing particular instances of the activity of the verb, and may then have plurals [12.2](#).

Dual-aspect verbs form gerunds by adding the following class suffixes to the stem. 3-mora stems ending in underlying **g* replace the *-gɔ* suffix with *-rɛ*.

2-mora stems	<i>-bɔ</i> but <i>-rɛ</i> as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in * <i>g</i>	
[surface <i>-g^ɛ -k^ɛ -ŋ^ɛ -ae -ie -ue</i>]	<i>-rɛ</i>
all others	<i>-gɔ</i>

<i>kū</i>	"kill"	<i>kūvb^ɔ</i>
<i>dūg^ɛ</i>	"cook"	<i>dūgvb^ɔ</i>
<i>dū'á^a</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dū'ab^ɔ</i>
<i>kād^ɛ</i>	"drive away"	<i>kādɪb^ɔ</i>
<i>pìl^ɛ</i>	"cover"	<i>pìlb^ɔ</i>
<i>kpàr^ɛ</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārɪb^ɔ</i>
<i>bàs^ɛ</i>	"abandon, go away"	<i>bàsɪb^ɔ</i>
<i>sōb^ɛ</i>	"write"	<i>sōp^ɔ</i>
<i>lōb^ɛ</i>	"throw stones at"	<i>lōp^ɔ</i>
<i>kìm^m</i>	"tend a flock/herd"	<i>kīm^{mɔ}</i>
<i>wùm^m</i>	"hear"	<i>wūm^{mɔ}</i>

2-mora *n*-stems do not assimilate **nb* → *mm*: *bùn^ɛ* "reap", gerund *būnɪb^ɔ*.

<i>yùug^ɛ</i>	"delay"	<i>yùugvr^ɛ</i>
<i>nōk^ɛ</i>	"take"	<i>nōkír^ɛ</i>
<i>nìŋ^ɛ</i>	"doing"	<i>nìŋɪr^ɛ</i>
<i>gbāñ'e'</i>	"grab"	<i>gbāñ'ar^ɛ</i>
<i>dī'e'</i>	"get"	<i>dī'ər^ɛ</i>
<i>dūe'</i>	"rise"	<i>dúər^ɛ</i>

<i>gàad</i> ^ε	"(sur)pass"	<i>gàadv</i> ^ɔ
<i>l̥əb</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>l̥əbv</i> ^ɔ
<i>d̥igil</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	<i>d̥igilúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>yāar</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yāarúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>s̥igis</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"	<i>s̥igisúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>dám</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dámmv</i> ^ɔ (and thus with all <i>mm</i> -stems)

3-mora *n*-stems never assimilate **ng* → *ηη*:

<i>d̥igin</i> ^ε	"lie down"	<i>d̥iginv</i> ^ɔ
<i>z̥iñ'in</i> ^ε	"sit down"	<i>z̥iñ'inv</i> ^ɔ

3-mora *m*-stems assimilate **mg* → *ηη* optionally:

<i>t̥ɔm</i> ^{m/}	"depart, disappear"	<i>t̥ɔv</i> ^ɔ	or <i>t̥ɔmúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>s̥añ'am</i> ^m	"destroy"	<i>s̥añ'v</i> ^ɔ	or <i>s̥añ'amv</i> ^ɔ
<i>k̥arim</i> ^m	"read"	<i>k̥ariv</i> ^ɔ	or <i>k̥arimv</i> ^ɔ

4-mora stems in *-sim -lim* follow the rule and use *-gv* (always assimilating), but stems in **-gim* drop the *-m-* and use *-rε*:

<i>s̥ilim</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>s̥ilúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>z̥aansim</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>z̥aansúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>w̥aηim</i> ^m	"waste away"	<i>w̥aηir</i> ^ε
<i>l̥aηim</i> ^m	"wander"	<i>l̥aηir</i> ^ε
<i>z̥akim</i> ^m	"itch"	<i>z̥akir</i> ^ε

2-mora stems regularly use *-rε* instead of *-bv* in compounds:

<i>p̥u'à-d̥iur</i> ^ε	"marriage"	<i>n̥iñ-k̥ôvr</i> ^ε	"murder"
<i>d̥ā-n̥ûur</i> ^ε	"beer-drinking"	<i>m̥ò-p̥i̥l</i> ^{lε}	"grass roof"
<i>f̥ū-y̥êr</i> ^ε	"shirt-wearing" WK		

Irregular gerunds are rare with stems of three or four morae. A few are formally plural 12.2, and *y̥iis*^{ε/} "make go/come out" has *y̥iisib*^ɔ. Most irregular 2-mora stem verbs have regular gerunds, e.g. *t̥is*^ε "give" → *t̥isib*^ɔ, *k̥ē* "let" → *k̥ēvb*^ɔ, *g̥ùl*^ε "suspend" → *g̥ùlib*^ɔ. However, almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs in KED use suffixes other than *bv*; many of these have stems ending in *m* or *b*. Most irregular gerunds are tonally regular, but forms with *-gv* from Pattern A verbs are Pattern L unless variants with *ga* or *sε* show that the word is *ga|sε* with LF remodelling 5.3.2.

<i>lì</i>	"fall"	<i>līg^a</i>
<i>zī</i>	"carry on head"	<i>zīd^{ε/}</i>
<i>bēñ'</i>	"fall ill"	<i>bēñ'εs^ε</i>
<i>kēñ</i>	"come"	<i>kēñ^{nε/}</i>
<i>zò</i>	"run"	<i>zūa</i> also <i>zōɔg^ɔ</i>
<i>vū</i>	"make noise"	<i>vūug^{ɔ/}</i>
<i>pīāñ'^{ta}</i>	"speak"	<i>pīàñk^ɔ</i>
<i>bòd^ε</i>	"plant"	<i>bōdɪg^a</i> also <i>bōdvug^ɔ</i>
<i>yèl^ε</i>	"say, tell"	<i>yèlvug^ɔ</i> (cf Mooré <i>yèele</i>)
<i>kūl^ε</i>	"go home"	<i>kūlɪg^{a/}</i> also <i>kūlvug^{ɔ/}</i>
<i>tāñs^ε</i>	"shout"	<i>tāñsvug^ɔ</i>
<i>sōñs^ε</i>	"converse"	<i>sōñsìg^a</i>
<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	<i>gōsìg^a</i>
<i>sòs^ε</i>	"pray, beg"	<i>sōsɪg^a</i>
<i>kīr^ε</i>	"hurry"	<i>kìkíròg^ɔ</i> or <i>kīrɪb^{ɔ/}</i>
<i>lèb^ε</i>	"return"	<i>lēbɪg^a</i>
<i>tèb^ε</i>	"carry in both hands"	<i>tēbɪg^a</i>
<i>kāñb^ε</i>	"scorch"	<i>kāñbɪr^ε</i>
<i>òñb^ε</i>	"chew"	<i>òñbɪr^ε</i>
<i>lūb^ε</i>	"buck"	<i>lūbɪr^{ε/}</i>
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbɪr^ε</i>
<i>tèñb^ε</i>	"tremble"	<i>tèñbvug^ɔ</i>
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tūvma</i>
<i>tòm^m</i>	"send"	<i>tìtōmɪs^ε</i>
<i>wòm^m</i>	"hear"	<i>wōm^{mɔ}</i> or <i>wòmmvug^ɔ</i> <u>9.2.1.4</u>

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *-ya* where the *y* is not assimilated form perfective gerunds from the root using various noun classes:

<i>zīñ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'ig^a</i> also "place", regular <i>ga sε</i> class
<i>zī'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zī'a</i> KED <i>zī'əg^a</i> (very irreg <u>3.7</u>) DK KT
<i>dīgɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dīk^{a/}</i> KT <i>dīgɪr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>īgɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īk^{a/}</i> KT <i>īgɪr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>vābɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vāp^{ɔ/}</i> KT <i>vābɪr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>tī'i^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning"	<i>tī'ib^{ɔ/}</i> (of an object)

Gùl^{la} "be hanging" uses *gūlib^ɔ*, from the cognate dual-aspect verb *gùl^ε*, and the stative *pōñr^a* "be near" has *pōñrɪb^ɔ*, probably from an otherwise unused dual-aspect **pòñd^ε* with *r* for *d* by analogy. Stative *kīs^{a/}* "hate" has the gerund *kīsùg^ɔ*.

Other single-aspect verbs have imperfective gerunds 9.2.1.4.

8.1.2 Concrete nouns

When there is a perfective gerund with regular noun class membership, other nouns with the same stem but different class suffixes have **concrete** senses, such as the product of the action, instrument used, or place at which the action occurs.

<i>ēēñbír^ε</i>	"(physical) foundation"	<i>ēēñbúg^o</i>	"laying a foundation"
<i>dōk^{o/}</i>	"cooking pot"	<i>dōgub^{o/}</i>	"cooking"
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	<i>dā'ab^o</i>	"buying"
<i>kōk^a</i>	"chair"	<i>kōgub^o</i>	"resting on something"
<i>zūg-kōgur^ε</i>	"pillow"		
<i>sūāk^{a/}</i>	"hiding place"	<i>sū'ab^{o/}</i>	"hiding"
<i>sōbír^{ε/}</i>	"piece of writing"	<i>sōp^{o/}</i>	"writing, orthography"
<i>kūt^ε</i>	"iron, nail"	<i>kūdub^o</i>	"working iron"
<i>kùəsim^m</i>	"merchandise"	<i>kùəsv^o</i>	"selling"
<i>pèbısim^m</i>	"wind"	<i>pèbısv^o</i>	"blowing of the wind; wind"

Vābır^{ε/} lābır^{ε/} dīgır^{ε/} ĩgır^{ε/}, used by WK as gerunds, are used by KT as concrete nouns meaning "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds *vāp^{o/}* etc.

From *pībı^ε* "cover", *zāñbı^ε* "tattoo", *māal^ε* "sacrifice" are derived

<i>pībın^{nε}</i>	<i>pībına</i>	<i>pībın-</i>	"covering"
<i>zāñbın^{nε}</i>	<i>zāñbına</i>	<i>zāñbın-</i>	"tattoo" (NT "sign")
<i>māan^{nε}</i>	<i>māana</i>	<i>māan-</i>	"sacrifice"

The *-n* in these words is simplified from **nn* 3.5. Toende and Mooré have Pattern L instead of A: *zābín*, *māan*. The **nn* may represent **ld*, with **d* in instrument-noun sense: cf *tūədır^ε* "mortar", from *tųà* "grind in a mortar."

It is exceptional for regularly formed gerunds to acquire concrete meaning, but a clearcut example is *dīub^o* "food."

8.2 Nominals from nominals

The partial association of noun class and meaning 5.1 can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem. Examples include the names of ethnic groups, which belong to the *a|ba* or *ga|se* classes, their languages, which belong to the *-le* subclass of *re|aa* 5.3.4 and the associated place, which has the suffix *-gɔ* 26.4. Another case of sg *-gɔ* deriving an associated place name is *wèed^a* "hunter", *wèog^o* "deep bush."

Names of trees are almost all *ga|se* class, and their fruits *re|aa* or *gɔ|de* 26.5.

Note also *sīiñf^{o/}* "bee", *sīiñd^{ε/}* "honey."

The strong association of the *mm* class with abstracts can be used to convert adjective stems to abstract nouns. These nouns somewhat resemble gerunds, and can

9 Derivation by suffixes

In 3.3 all roots are stated to be *CV(V)(C)*, implying that any stem consonant not immediately following the root vowel is not part of the root, and neither is any consonant following a *long* root vowel unless the root shows *CVC~CVVC* allomorphy.

All such stem consonants will be called "derivational suffixes." Very productive suffixing processes derive agent nouns, adjectives and instrument nouns from verbs, and several less systematic processes derive nominals from other nominals. Stem comparison can identify many suffixes deriving verbs from roots, though correlations of suffix and meaning are only partial. For Tone Patterns in derivation see 3.8.4.

Derivational suffixes are *g s n l d m*, along with *b* and *r* in just a handful of words; *n* may represent historical **ld* 3.5. *G s n b r* never follow another suffix, and *l* follows another suffix only as part of the combination *lm*. *D* is very productive in the formation of deverbal nominals; it often deletes a preceding suffix or is itself deleted.

No stem has more than three derivational suffixes, or more than five morae apart from prefixes. All four-mora verb stems have *m* as the second suffix, and all five-mora stems are formed with *lm*.

9.1 Verbs

All verb derivation is by suffixes, probably always added to roots. Clear meanings are often seen, but there is no straightforward match with form.

Possible verb shapes are very constrained. Only two, three and four-mora stems occur. All four-mora stems end in *m*, and in dual-aspect verbs *CVVCm* only occurs as *CVV* root + *sim* or *lm*, never *CVVC* root + *m*.

9.1.1 From verbs

-n- derives dual-aspect **assume-stance** verbs from stance verbs, which also have corresponding derivatives in *-l* for "make assume the stance"; all the *-n* verbs are Pattern A regardless, but the *-l* verbs have the same Pattern as the base stance verb.

Nawdm has exactly parallel formations, e.g. *jehra* ipfv "être debout", *jehnt* pfv "se mettre debout", *jehlg* pfv, *jehla* ipfv "poser verticalement".

Some stance verbs correspond instead to a simplex dual-aspect verb for "assume the stance", and *dēl*^{la/} "be leaning" (of a person) has the idiosyncratic assume-stance derivative *dēlim*^m. Some *-n* and *-l* derivatives lack a corresponding stance verb: thus "be perching" is expressed with the resultative perfective of *zùe*:

Nḥiṅ lā zùe nē.

Bird:SG ART perch FOC.

"The bird is perching." KT

Stance verb		Assume-stance	Make-assume-stance
<i>dīgɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dìgɪn^ε</i>	<i>dīgɪl^{ε/}</i>
<i>vābɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vàbɪn^ε</i>	<i>vābɪl^{ε/}</i>
<i>īgɪ^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>ìgɪn^ε</i>	<i>īgɪl^{ε/}</i>
<i>làbɪ^{ya}</i>	"be crouching hidden"	<i>làbɪn^ε</i>	<i>làbɪl^ε</i>
<i>zìñ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'in^ε</i>	<i>zìñ'il^ε</i>
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zì'ən^ε</i>	<i>zì'əl^ε</i>
<i>tī'i^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning" (of thing)	<i>tì'in^ε</i>	<i>tī'il^{ε/}</i>
<i>gō'e^{ya/}</i>	"be looking up" WK	<i>gò'ɔn^ε</i>	
<i>sùr^a</i>	"have bowed head"	<i>sùn^{nε}</i>	<i>sùn^{nε} sic</i>
-	"cover oneself"	<i>lìgɪn^ε</i>	<i>lìgɪl^ε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>zùən^ε</i>	<i>zùəl^ε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>yà'an^ε</i>	<i>yà'al^ε</i>
<i>gòl^{la}</i>	"be suspended"	<i>gòl^ε</i>	<i>gòl^ε</i>
<i>tàbɪ^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàb^ε</i>	<i>tàbɪl^ε</i>

-l- derives causatives from nominals and from verbs expressing states or positions:

<i>ñyá'an^a</i>	"behind"	<i>ñyā'al^{ε/}</i>	"leave behind"
<i>gēog^ɔ</i>	"space between legs"	<i>gēl^{ε/}</i>	"put between legs" Tones sic
<i>līk^a</i>	"darkness"	<i>lìgɪl^ε</i>	"cover up"
<i>bāñ'</i>	"ride"	<i>bāñ'al^{ε/}</i>	"put on a horse/bicycle etc"
<i>gū'</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'ul^{ε/}</i>	"set someone on guard"
<i>yè</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèl^ε</i>	"dress another person"
<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool"	<i>mā'al^{ε/}</i>	"make cool"
<i>pūñ'e'</i>	"rot"	<i>pōñ'ɔl^{ε/}</i>	"cause to rot"
<i>nìe</i>	"appear"	<i>nèl^ε</i>	"reveal"
<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"	<i>mā'al^{ε/}</i>	"make cool, wet"
<i>wō'vɔg^{ε/}</i>	"get wet"	<i>wō'vl^{ε/}</i>	"make wet"
?also <i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbɪl^ε</i>	"cause to fight"
<i>dɥ'à^a</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dò'al^ε</i>	"make interest (of a loan)"

-s- derives causatives from dynamic verbs for the most part:

<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'εs^ε</i>	"make enter"
<i>nìe</i>	"appear"	<i>nès^ε</i>	"reveal"
<i>yī</i>	"go/come out"	<i>yīs^{ε/}</i> or <i>yīs^ε</i>	"make go/come out"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dīs^ε</i>	"feed"
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūl^{ε/}</i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlg^{ε/}</i>
<i>sīg^ε</i>	"go down"	<i>sīgɪs^{ε/}</i>	"lower"

<i>lèb</i> ^ε	"return"	<i>lèbis</i> ^ε	"make return; answer"
<i>mụ'à</i> ^a	"suck" (of a baby)	<i>mù'as</i> ^ε	"give to suck"
[Mooré <i>tá</i>	"arrive"]	<i>tā'as</i> ^{ε/}	"help to travel, walk"
<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal"	<i>zēmis</i> ^{ε/}	"make equal"
<i>kpiig</i> ^ε	"go out (fire)"	<i>kpiis</i> ^ε	"quench"

-s- may have a pluractional sense:

<i>kò</i>	"break"	<i>kò'ɔs</i> ^ε	"break several times"
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'ɔs</i> ^ε	"hunt"
<i>pìəb</i> ^ε	"blow (flute etc)"	<i>pèbis</i> ^ε	"blow (wind)"
<i>làbi</i> ^{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	<i>làbis</i> ^ε	"walk stealthily"
<i>vōə</i> ^{a/}	"be alive"	<i>vō'vs</i> ^{ε/}	"breathe, rest"
<i>ĩāñk</i> ^{ε/}	"fly, jump"	<i>ĩāñ'as</i> ^{ε/}	"leap, jump repeatedly"
<i>yā'e</i> [/]	"open mouth"	<i>yā'as</i> ^{ε/}	"open repeatedly" WK
<i>dī'e</i> [/]	"receive"	<i>dī'əs</i> ^{ε/}	"receive (many things)"
<i>gū'</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'us</i> ^{ε/}	"watch out; guard (many)"

-g- attached to dynamic roots implies reversal:

<i>yè</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèg</i> ^ε	"undress oneself"
<i>pìd</i> ^ε	"put (hat etc) on"	<i>pìdig</i> ^ε	"take (hat etc) off"
<i>pìl</i> ^ε	"cover"	<i>pìlg</i> ^ε	"uncover"
<i>lō</i>	"tie up"	<i>lōdig</i> ^{ε/}	"untie"
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yò'ɔg</i> ^ε	"open"
<i>èñd</i> ^ε	"block up"	<i>èñdig</i> ^ε	"unblock"
<i>yà'al</i> ^ε	"hang up"	<i>yàk</i> ^ε	"unhang"
<i>pà'al</i> ^ε	"put on top"	<i>pàk</i> ^ε	"take off top"
<i>pìbul</i> ^ε	"cover up"	<i>pìbig</i> ^ε	"uncover"
<i>tàbi</i> ^{ya}	"be stuck to"	<i>tàbig</i> ^ε	"unstick, get unstuck"
<i>là'as</i> ^ε	"gather together"	<i>lāk</i> ^{ε/}	"open" (eye, book); tone <i>sic</i>
		cf <i>lákè</i>	(Mooré) "un-stick together"
?also <i>lìəb</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>lèbig</i> ^ε	"turn over"
<i>fāñ</i>	"rob, snatch"	<i>fāēñ</i> [/]	"save" ?? for "snatch back"

Reversive -g- is peculiar to the Western group within Oti-Volta; elsewhere alveolar suffixes appear: Moba *lōōñ* "close" *lōōđ* "open", Byali *byá* "close" *byēró* "open", Nawdm *riw* pfv "close" *rawd*g pfv *rawda* ipfv "open." Proto-Bantu had -ɔl- and -ɔk-; an alveolar variant may have been lost in Western Oti-Volta because of the adoption of -da as the regular dynamic imperfective flexion.

-g- also forms a few causatives:

<i>dɔ̄l^{la/}</i>	"accompany"	<i>dɔ̄lɪg^{ε/}</i>	"make accompany"
<i>gɔ̄r^{a/}</i>	"look up" DK	<i>gɔ̄dɪg^{ε/}</i>	"make look up" DK
<i>tɛ̄ñr^a</i>	"remember"	<i>tɛ̄ñ</i>	"bring to mind, remind"
<i>yùul^ε</i>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlɪg^ε</i>	"swing" transitive
<i>kò</i>	"break" intransitive	<i>kò'ɔg^ε</i>	"break" ambitransitive
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlɪg^{ε/}</i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlɪs^{ε/}</i>

-g- occurs with no clear meaning in

<i>sɔ̄ñ</i>	"rub"	<i>sūeñ[/]</i>	"anoint"
<i>nɔ̄b^ε</i>	"get fat"	<i>nɔ̄bɪg^{ε/}</i>	"grow" (child, plant)
<i>nā</i>	"join"	<i>nāe[/]</i>	"finish"; compare Hausa <i>gamàa</i> "join, finish"

-d- appears with a pluractional sense in *kɔ̄dɪg^{ε/}* "slaughter one animal", *kɔ̄t^{ε/}* "slaughter several animals." This is perhaps historically connected with the **d* of the ipfv suffix *-*da*, by way of the distinctively habitual sense seen in stance verbs [7.2](#).

-m- derives some preverbs [16.8](#):

	<i>lèb^ε</i>	"return"	<i>lèm</i>	"again"
cf	<i>là'as^ε</i>	"gather together"	<i>là'am</i>	"together"
	<i>dèŋ^ε</i>	"go first"	<i>dèŋɪm</i>	"first"
cf	<i>maliɡ</i>	(Toende) "do again"	<i>màlɪɡɪm</i>	"again"

It has no obvious meaning in *kòñsɪm^m* "cough" = *kòñs^ε id.*

-r- appears in

<i>kāab^{ε/}</i>	"offer, invite"	<i>kābir^{ε/}</i>	"ask for admission"
		cf <i>kábɪs</i>	Toende <i>id</i>
[no simplex]		<i>sūɡvr^{ε/}</i>	"forbear, be patient with"

Both words appear frequently in pan-regional set formulae [25](#) and may well be loanwords. They may be back-formations from the nouns *kābirí* and *sūɡvró*, where *rɪ/rv* possibly originated in the equivalent of *rɛ|aa* class singular flexions [5.1](#).

9.1.2 From nominals

9.1.2.1 Single aspect

Intransitive stative verbs are mostly derived from adjectives or human-reference nouns. Some transitive stative verbs are also denominal.

Many stative verbs are formed with *-ya*, like dynamic single-aspect verbs. Even when the adjective is primary, it may show segmental remodelling on the verbal forms with **y*. *S*-stems show no sign of **y* synchronically, and *m*-stems have lost gemination except after short root vowels for many speakers.

This **y* formant differs in tonal behaviour from **y* and **d* in dynamic verbs 3.8.4. Primary nominals thus show a characteristic Tone Pattern correspondence with the verbs: Pattern L nominals correspond to Pattern A verbs but Pattern H and Pattern A both correspond to Pattern H verbs. Historically, the all-M pattern of verbs corresponding to Pattern A nominals was also Pattern A, and this is still reflected in the tonemes of e.g. *kpī'əm*^{ma/} "be strong" *kpēēñm*^{ma/} "be older than", but the LF-final toneme is now always H; similarly, the original Pattern L type now changes to all-M in the irrealis mood just like dynamic Pattern A verbs.

L	<i>vènnig</i> ^a	"beautiful"	<i>vèn</i> ^{na}	"be beautiful"
	<i>vèñllig</i> ^a	"beautiful"	<i>vèñl</i> ^{la}	"be beautiful"
	<i>zùlvŋ</i> ^o	"deep"	<i>zùlm</i> ^{ma}	"be deep"
	<i>pòodig</i> ^a	"small"	<i>pòod</i> ^a	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isvŋ</i> ^o	"sour"	<i>mì'is</i> ^a	"be sour"
	<i>sùŋ</i> ^o	"good"	<i>sùm</i> ^{ma}	"be good"
	<i>yàlvŋ</i> ^o	"wide"	<i>yàlm</i> ^{ma}	"be wide"
H	<i>bōgvsír</i> ^ε	"soft"	<i>bōgvs</i> ^{a/}	"be soft"
	<i>vōr</i> ^{ε/}	"alive"	<i>vōg</i> ^{a/}	"be alive"
	<i>mā'asír</i> ^ε	"cool"	<i>mā'as</i> ^{a/}	"be cool"
	<i>tēbvsír</i> ^ε	"heavy"	<i>tēbvs</i> ^{a/}	"be heavy"
	<i>mālvvsír</i> ^ε	"sweet"	<i>mālvvs</i> ^{a/}	"be sweet"
	<i>lābvsír</i> ^ε	"wide"	<i>lābvs</i> ^{a/}	"be wide"
	<i>zēm̄múg</i> ^o	"equal"	<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal to"
	<i>lāllúg</i> ^o	"far"	<i>lāl</i> ^{la/}	"be far from"
A	<i>tōvg</i> ^o	"bitter"	<i>tōg</i> ^{a/}	"be bitter"
	<i>gīŋ</i> ^a	"short"	<i>gīm</i> ^{ma/}	"be short"
	<i>kpī'ovŋ</i> ^o	"strong"	<i>kpī'əm</i> ^{ma/}	"be strong"
	<i>kpēēñm</i> ^m	"elder"	<i>kpēēñm</i> ^{ma/}	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnir</i> ^ε	"resembling"	<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"

More complex stem changes occur in

<i>tōvlóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tōl^{la/}</i>	"be hot"
<i>ñyèesi^aŋ</i>	"self-confident"	<i>ñyèes^a</i>	"be self-confident"
<i>wōk^{o/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am^{a/}</i>	"be long, tall"

9.1.2.2 Dual aspect

-g- attached to nominal/adjectival roots has the meaning "make/become ...":

<i>ñyō'os^{ε/}</i>	"smoke"	<i>ñyū'e[/]</i>	"set alight"
<i>ñwīg^{a/}</i>	"rope"	<i>ñwīg^{ε/}</i>	"make a rope"
<i>tādım^{m/}</i>	"weak person"	<i>tādıg^ε</i>	"become weak"
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>zūø^ε</i>	"hill"	<i>zùe</i>	"get higher, more"
<i>À-Tūl^{lε}</i>	"Breech-Delivered" 26.2	<i>tùlıg^ε</i>	"invert"
<i>mā'asír^ε</i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e[/]</i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>būgvsír^ε</i>	"soft"	<i>būk^{ε/}</i>	"soften"
<i>tēbısír^ε</i>	"heavy"	<i>tēbıg^{ε/}</i>	"get/make heavy"
<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīŋ^ε</i>	"scrimp"
<i>kpī'oŋ^o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ^ε</i>	"strengthen"
<i>vōr^{ε/}</i>	"alive"	<i>vō'vg^{ε/}</i>	"make/come alive"
<i>pòcdıg^a</i>	"few"	<i>pò'cg^ε</i>	"diminish, belittle"
<i>pèłıg^a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlıg^ε</i>	"whiten"
<i>sābılıg^a</i>	"black"	<i>sōbıg^{ε/}</i>	"blacken"
<i>nīŋ-múa</i>	"concentration"	<i>mù'e</i>	"redden, become intense"
<i>kōdvog^o</i>	"old"	<i>kòdıg^ε</i>	"shrink up, dry out, age"
<i>sòŋ^o</i>	"good"	<i>sòŋ^ε</i>	"help"
<i>tōvlóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tōlıg^{ε/}</i>	"heat up"
<i>mì'ısvog^o</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'ıg^ε</i>	"turn sour"
<i>zùlvog^o</i>	"deep"	<i>zùlıg^ε</i>	"deepen"
<i>lāllóg^o</i>	"far"	<i>lālıg^{ε/}</i>	"get to be far, make far"
<i>màuk^o</i>	"crumpled up"	<i>màk^ε</i>	"crumple up"
<i>dēeŋ^a</i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ^ε</i>	"precede"
<i>nèer^ε</i>	"clear, empty"	<i>nè</i>	"appear"
<i>sōñ'e^{ya/}</i>	"be better than"	<i>sūñ'e[/]</i>	"become better than" WK

With the addition of **-m** as a second derivational suffix:

<i>wàuŋ^o</i>	"wasted"	<i>wàŋım^m</i>	"waste away"
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-lum- derives verbs from noun roots, meaning "act as ..." or "make/become ...":

<i>p̄y'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>pò'alim^m</i>	"cook"
<i>pòñ'ɔr^ε</i>	"cripple"	<i>pòñ'ɔlim^m</i>	"cripple, get crippled"
<i>gìk^a</i>	"dumb"	<i>gìgɨlim^m</i>	"become dumb"
<i>wàbɨr^ε</i>	"lame"	<i>wàbɨlim^m</i>	"make, go lame"
<i>gō'vs^ε</i>	"semi-ripe things"	<i>gò'vlim^m</i>	"become semi-ripe"
<i>bōgvɔ^a</i>	"client of diviner"	<i>bògvlim^m</i>	"cast lots"
		cf <i>bòk^ε</i>	"cast lots"

Miscellaneous denominal dual-aspect verbs formed with *s m b* are seen in

<i>zɨà</i>	"friend"	<i>zùəs^ε</i>	"befriend"
<i>nēɛr^{ε/}</i>	"millstone"	<i>nēɛm^{m/}</i>	"grind with a millstone"
<i>yā'ad^ε</i>	"clay"	<i>yà'ab^ε</i>	"mould clay"
cf <i>yàge</i>	(Mooré) "make pottery"		

9.2 Nominals

9.2.1 From verbs

The derivational processes described below are very productive; agent noun formation in particular is almost flexional in its regularity and generality. Deverbal noun and adjective formation shows more analogical levelling than derivational processes elsewhere, in keeping with the strong tendency to regularity and transparency in verb morphology. For the Tone Patterns see [3.8.4](#).

9.2.1.1 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be freely made from almost all verbs which can be used in direct commands. Informants readily supply isolated forms, but in practice they usually occur as second elements of compounds. All are *a|ba* class, but those derived from *ll-* or *r(r)-*stem single-aspect verbs also show *rɛ|aa* forms [5.3.1](#). Despite their regularity of formation, agent nouns often develop specialised meanings. As with English derivatives in "-er", "agent nouns" may be created from verbs whose subject is not in fact an agent, including even stative verbs if usable in direct commands.

The formant of agent nouns and habitual adjectives is *-d*, probably historically related to the *-d-* of the imperfective flexion *-da*, though it has different tonal effects. Derivational *-d* shows much less regularity in its mode of attachment than ipfv *-da*; agent nouns are more regular than habitual adjectives. There is a tendency to limit stem length, causing deletion of either *-d* itself or the suffix preceding it. Absence or presence of *-d* affects the Tone Pattern [3.8.4](#).

Most dual-aspect verbs have an agent noun with sg segmentally identical to the ipfv. If there are alternate forms, the less "regular" form appears as the agent noun.

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mēɛd^a</i>	"builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dīt^a</i>	"eater"
<i>gōs^ɛ</i>	"look"	<i>gōt^{a/}</i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>dōg^ɛ</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvɔd^{a/}</i>	"cook"
<i>dɔ'á^a</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dō'ad^a</i>	"elder relation"
<i>kàd^ɛ</i>	"drive away"	<i>saríyà-kāt^a</i>	"judge"
<i>sōb^ɛ</i>	"write"	<i>sōbɔd^{a/}</i>	"writer"
<i>bùn^ɛ</i>	"reap"	<i>būn^{na}</i>	"reaper"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tòm-tōm^{na}</i>	"worker"
<i>kpàr^ɛ</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārɔd^a</i>	"lock-er"
<i>gbīs^ɛ</i>	"sleep"	<i>gbīsɔd^{a/}</i>	"sleeper"
<i>sìàk^ɛ</i>	"believe"	<i>sìākɔd^a</i>	"believer"
<i>jàñk^{ɛ/}</i>	"jump, fly"	<i>jàñ'ad^{a/}</i>	"flier"
<i>sòŋ^ɛ</i>	"help"	<i>sōŋɔd^a</i>	"helper"
<i>kēŋ^{ɛ/}</i>	"go"	<i>kēn^{na/}</i>	"traveller"
<i>gàad^ɛ</i>	"pass"	<i>tùøŋ-gāt^a</i>	"leader"
<i>màal^ɛ</i>	"sacrifice"	<i>màal-māan^{na}</i>	"sacrificer"
<i>pà'al^ɛ</i>	"teach"	<i>pā'an^{na}</i>	"teacher"
<i>sūgvɔr^{ɛ/}</i>	"forbear"	<i>sūgvɔrɔd^a</i>	"forgiver"
<i>yō'vm^{m/}</i>	"sing"	<i>yōvm-yō'vm^{na}</i>	"singer"
		pl <i>yōvm-yō'vmnɔb^a</i>	
<i>sàñ'am^m</i>	"spoil"	<i>pɔ'á-sāñ'am^{na}</i>	"adulterer"
		pl <i>pɔ'á-sāñ'amɔdɔb^a</i>	

Pattern H fusion verbs, which delete the H toneme of the stem in the imperfective 3.8.2, show the same form for the agent noun:

<i>nāe[/]</i>	"finish"	<i>nāad^{a/}</i>	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
<i>ñwà'e</i>	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'ad^a</i>	"woodcutter"
<i>gbāñ'e[/]</i>	"catch"	<i>zīm-gbāñ'ad^a</i>	"fisherman"
<i>fāeñ[/]</i>	"save"	<i>fāañ^{a/}</i>	"saviour" WK <u>11</u>
<i>dī'e[/]</i>	"receive"	<i>dī'əd^{a/}</i>	"receiver"

3-mora stems in *-s* consistently drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"	<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{a/}	"lowerer"
		pl <i>sīgɪsídɪb</i> ^a	
<i>kùəθ</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>kùəθ</i> ^a	"seller"
		pl <i>kùəθɪdɪb</i> ^a	
<i>pò'ʊs</i> ^ε	"worship"	<i>pò'ʊs</i> ^a	"worshipper"
		pl <i>pò'ʊsɪdɪb</i> ^a	
<i>tò'as</i> ^ε	"talk"	<i>tò'as-tò'as</i> ^a	"talker"
		pl <i>tò'as-tò'asɪdɪb</i> ^a	
<i>dī'əs</i> ^{ε/}	"receive"	<i>nō-dī'əs</i> ^a	"chief's spokesman"
		pl <i>nō-dī'əsɪdɪb</i> ^a	("linguist")

Some 2-mora stems also irregularly drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>zàb</i> ^ε	"fight"	<i>zàb-zàb</i> ^a	"warrior"
		<i>gbān-záb</i> ^a	"leather-worker"
<i>tìs</i> ^ε	"give"	<i>tìs</i> ^a	"giver"
<i>sòs</i> ^ε	"beg"	<i>sòs</i> ^a	"beggar"

Stems in *-mm-* form reduplicated agent nouns with *nàm*^a plurals:

<i>dàm</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dàm-dàm</i> ^{ma}	"shaker"
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The *nn-*stem *sùn*^{nε} "bow the head" has an agent noun stem in *-nn-*, but the tonemes show retention of the *-d-* formant:

<i>sùn</i> ^{nε}	"bow head"	<i>sūn</i> ^{na}	"deep thinker, close observer" WK
		pl <i>sūnnɪb</i> ^a	
		cb <i>sùn-</i>	(cf ipfv <i>sùnnɪd</i> ^a)

Agent nouns can only be formed from 3-mora verb stems in *-*g-* if the **g* is either deleted or assimilated with the root final consonant as *-k-* or *-ŋ-*:

<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yāt</i> ^{a/}	(a participant in a housebuilding ritual)
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Various irregular formations in my materials include:

<i>tēk</i> ^{ε/}	"pull"	<i>ñwī-ték</i> ^a	"rope-puller"
		pl <i>ñwī-tékɪdɪb</i> ^a	
<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"	<i>nòŋɪd</i> ^a	"lover"; tones irreg
<i>tì'əb</i> ^ε	"heal"	<i>tì'əb</i> ^a	"healer"; tones irreg

For 4-mora stems: KT has no agent nouns; WK drops the stem-final *m*.

<i>s̄ilim^m</i>	"cite proverbs"	<i>s̄in^{na}</i>	"speaker of proverbs"
		pl <i>s̄innib^a</i>	
<i>p̄ò'alim^m</i>	"harm"	<i>p̄ò'an^{na}</i>	"harmer"
<i>zàaṅsim^m</i>	"dream"	<i>zàaṅs^a</i>	"dreamer"
		pl <i>zàaṅsidib^a</i>	

Single-aspect verbs with unassimilated *y*, and the bare-stem type, add *-d-*:

<i>z̄iṅ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting down"	<i>z̄iṅ'id^a</i>	"sitter"
<i>z̄i'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing still"	<i>z̄i'əd^a</i>	"stander"
<i>m̄i'</i>	"know"	<i>m̄i'id^{a/}</i>	"knower"
		<i>gbàn-m̄i'id^{a/}</i>	"scribe" NT
<i>z̄i'</i>	"not know"	<i>z̄i'id^{a/}</i>	"ignorant person"
<i>s̄ū'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"	<i>s̄ū'vd^{a/}</i>	"owner"
<i>s̄ōñ'e^{ya/}</i>	"be better than"	<i>s̄ōñ'ɔd^{a/}</i> pl <i>s̄ōñ'ɔb^{a/}</i> 5.3.1	
<i>d̄īgi^{ya/}</i>	"be lying down"	<i>d̄īgid^{a/}</i>	"lier-down"
<i>īgi^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgid^{a/}</i>	"kneeler"
<i>vābi^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vābid^{a/}</i>	"lier prone"
<i>làbi^{ya}</i>	"be crouching"	<i>làbid^a</i>	"croucher in hiding"
<i>àḡṅ^a</i>	"be something"	<i>āaṅd^a</i>	"someone who continually is something" <i>sic</i> WK

Stems in *nn ll r(r)* drop *-d* throughout. Those in *ll r(r)* may use *rɛ|aa* class suffixes, coinciding in form with habitual adjectives [5.3.1](#).

<i>s̄in^{na/}</i>	"be silent"	<i>n̄in-s̄in^{na}</i>	"silent person"
<i>n̄ēn^{na/}</i>	"envy"	<i>n̄in-n̄én^{na}</i>	"envious person"
<i>d̄ōl^{la/}</i>	"be with"	<i>ñyà'an-d̄òl^{la}</i>	"disciple" (irreg. tone)
		or <i>ñyà'an-d̄òl^{lɛ}</i>	
<i>zāñl^{la/}</i>	"be holding"	<i>n̄ō-zāñl^{la}</i>	"holder of hens"
		or <i>n̄ō-zāñl^{lɛ}</i>	
<i>d̄ēl^{la/}</i>	"be leaning"	<i>n̄in-d̄él^{la}</i>	"person prone to lean"
<i>m̄ōr^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>b̄ò-m̄ōr^{a/}</i>	"owner of goats"
		or <i>b̄ò-m̄ōr^{ɛ/}</i>	
<i>tār^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>b̄ò-tār^{a/}</i>	"owner of goats"
		or <i>b̄ò-tār^{ɛ/}</i>	

The simplification to single *s r* leads to analogical formations with *-d-* in

<i>kīs^{a/}</i>	"hate"	<i>kīs^{a/}</i> or <i>kīsɪd^{a/}</i>	"hater"
<i>tēñr^a</i>	"remember"	<i>tēñrɪd^a</i>	"rememberer"
<i>gūr^{a/}</i>	"be on guard"	<i>gūrɪd^{a/}</i>	"guard"
		<i>zà'-nō-gúr^a</i>	"gatekeeper"

9.2.1.2 Adjectives

Habitual deverbal adjectives in principle have the same stem as the agent noun, but drop the *-d* formant more readily, probably because they are not made as freely and are correspondingly not as far along the axis from derivational to flexional.

The sense may be active or passive, essentially "habitually connected with the verbal action", like the range of meaning of an English gerund as a noun premodifier. A past passive sense is unusual, though examples occur: *sūm-dúgvdà* "cooked groundnuts" WK, *zīḡdvɔgida* = *zīḡ-dúgvdà* "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *nī'im dvɔgida* = *nīm-dúgvdà* "meat for cooking" (1 Samuel 2:15.)

Without a preceding cb, these adjective forms have the same meaning as agent nouns: *kōvdír^ε* pl *kōvdá* "killer" = *kōvd^{a/}* pl *kōvdíb^a*. After a cb the meanings differ: *pṛ'à-kōvd^{a/}* "woman-killer, killer of women" vs *pṛ'à-kōvdír^ε* "woman killer, murderous woman." Accordingly, deverbal adjectives will be cited with a preceding cb.

With dual-aspect verbs, 2-mora stems all retain the **d*:

<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	<i>pṛ'à-gōñdír^ε</i>	"prostitute"
<i>là'</i>	"laugh"	<i>pṛ'à-lā'adír^ε</i>	"woman prone to laughter/ woman to be laughed at"
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	<i>bōn-ñyétír^ε</i>	"visible object"
<i>kṽā</i>	"hoe"	<i>nā'-dá-kūədír^ε</i>	"ox for ploughing"
<i>yè</i>	"don clothes"	<i>fū-yéədír^ε</i>	"shirt for wearing" WK
		<i>fū-yéədùg^o</i>	KT
<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kōvdím^m</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>dṽ'à^a</i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tèḡ-dṽ'adɪg^a</i>	"native land"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>sūm-dúgvdà</i>	"cooked groundnuts" WK
<i>sīg^ε</i>	"descend"	<i>yī-sígɪdír^ε</i>	"lodging-house"
<i>sṽ'à^a</i>	"hide"	<i>yēl-sṽ'adír^ε</i>	"confidential matter"
<i>òñb^ε</i>	"chew"	<i>bōn-òñbɪdà</i>	"solid food"
<i>bùn^ε</i>	"reap"	<i>bōn-búnnír^ε</i>	"thing for reaping"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>bōn-tómmír^ε</i>	"useful thing"
<i>vōl^ε</i>	"swallow"	<i>tì-vōnním^m</i>	"oral medication"
<i>gbīs^ε</i>	"sleep"	<i>pṛ'à-gbīsɪdír^ε</i>	"woman always sleeping"

3-mora stems in **g* drop *-d* unless **g* is deleted in the imperfective:

<i>gīlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"go around"	<i>ɸɸ'à-gīnníg</i> ^a	"prostitute"
<i>sūeñ'</i>	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóóñdìm</i> ^m	"anointing oil"
<i>tūlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"heat up"	<i>bōn-túlɪgìr</i> ^ε	"heater, thing for heating"
<i>pèlɪg</i> ^ε	"whiten"	<i>bōn-pélɪgìr</i> ^ε	"whitening thing, whitener"
<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>bōn-yátìr</i> ^ε	"scattering thing" (cf <i>yāt</i> ^{a/})
<i>īāñk</i> ^{ε/}	"fly, jump"	<i>bōn-īāñ'adìr</i> ^ε	"flying creature"
<i>pàk</i> ^ε	"surprise"	<i>yēl-pákìr</i> ^ε	"disaster"
<i>tēk</i> ^{ε/}	"pull"	<i>ñwī-tékìr</i> ^ε	"rope for pulling with"
<i>kēŋ</i> ^{ε/}	"go"	<i>bōn-kēnnìr</i> ^ε	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ε	"help"	<i>bōn-súŋìr</i> ^ε	"helpful thing"
<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"	<i>bì-nòŋìr</i> ^ε	"beloved child"

3-mora stems in *-m* retain the *-d*, forming the consonant cluster *-mm-*:

<i>sàñ'am</i> ^m	"destroy"	<i>bò-sāñ'ammìr</i> ^ε	"scapegoat" WK
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3-mora stems in *-s* all drop the *-d*:

<i>pèlɪs</i> ^ε	"sharpen"	<i>bōn-pélɪsìr</i> ^ε	"sharpening thing"
<i>kùø</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>bōn-kúø</i> ^ε	"item for sale"

4-mora stems (all from KT) drop *-d* (whereas agent nouns drop stem-final *-m*):

<i>sìlɪm</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>bōn-sìlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"thing relating to proverbs"
<i>pù'alɪm</i> ^m	"harm"	<i>nīn-pù'alíŋ</i> ^a	"harmful person"
		<i>ɸɸ'à-pù'alíŋ</i> ^a	"harmful woman"
<i>zàańsɪm</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>nīn-záańsùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dreamy person"
		<i>ɸɸ'à-zàańsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dreamy woman"

Dynamic single-aspect verbs show the same stem as the agent noun:

<i>dīgɪ</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying"	<i>bòŋ-dīgɪdír</i> ^ε	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābɪ</i> ^{ya/}	"be prone"	<i>bòŋ-vābɪdír</i> ^ε	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>zīñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>kūg-zīñ'idìr</i> ^ε	"stone for sitting on"
<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"be holding"	<i>nō-zāñl</i> ^{lε}	"hen for holding"
<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dēl</i> ^{lε}	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kùg-dēl</i> ^{lε/}	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gùl</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>bōn-gùl</i> ^{lε}	"thing for suspending"

Resultative deverbal adjectives are only derived from verbs which can use the perfective form in a resultative sense [16.2.2](#); it is not clear how productive the formation is. Almost all such verbs are either intransitive or patientive ambitransitive [16.9.1](#), and the adjectives are not passive participles, but express resulting states. There are no resultative adjectives from stance-verb roots meaning e.g. "seated", "standing" or from passives, like "eaten." The formant *-lim-* either deletes a preceding derivational suffix or is added only to roots; for the flexion see [6](#).

<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpìilóη^o</i>	"dead"
<i>gēñ</i>	"get tired"	<i>gēēñlóη^o</i>	"tired"
<i>pè'el^ε</i>	"fill"	<i>pè'elóη^o</i>	"full"
<i>kò</i>	"break"	<i>kòólóη^o</i>	"broken"
<i>yè</i>	"wear"	<i>yèelóη^o</i>	"worn" (of a shirt)
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yòólóη^o</i>	"closed"
<i>pò'alim^m</i>	"harm"	<i>pò'alóη^o</i>	"damaged"
<i>àèñ</i>	"tear"	<i>àañlóη^o</i>	"torn"

9.2.1.3 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding *-m* to habitual-adjective stems in *d t* or *s*. All are *ga|sε*. The meanings may overlap with those of agent nouns.

<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>kōvdíη^a</i>	"thing for killing with"
<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>sìà-lōódíη^a</i>	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvdíη^a</i>	"cooking utensil"
<i>sōb^ε</i>	"write"	<i>sōbdíη^a</i>	"writing implement"
<i>kpàr^ε</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārídíη^a</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>ñwà'e</i>	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'adíη^a</i>	"axe"
<i>pīe^l</i>	"wash self"	<i>pīēdíη^a</i>	"thing for washing oneself"
<i>sù</i>	"bathe"	<i>sōvdíη^a</i>	"sponge"
<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	<i>nīn-gótíη^a</i>	"mirror"; <i>nīn-gótis^ε</i> "glasses"
<i>bòd^ε</i>	"plant"	<i>bōtíη^a</i> 2.3	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
<i>pīə^{ε/l}</i>	"clean"	<i>pīəsíη^a</i>	"cleaning implement"
<i>kùə^ε</i>	"sell"	<i>kūəsíη^a</i>	"professional salesperson"
<i>dā'e^l</i>	"push"	<i>dā'adíη^a</i>	"pusher (person or thing)"
<i>zīñ'í^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'idíη^a</i>	"thing for sitting on"

9.2.1.4 Imperfective gerunds

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *-ya* without assimilation of the *y* make perfective gerunds, as do a few others [8.1.1](#). Other single-aspect verbs which make gerunds add *-lim-* after root vowels and *-m-* after *nn ll r(r)*; the forms are *mm*-class.

<i>sū'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"	<i>sū'vlím^m</i>	cf <i>so'olimkan</i> Mt 12:25, 1996
<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>mī'ilím^m</i>	
<i>zī'</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'ilím^m</i>	
<i>àeñ^a</i>	"be something"	<i>àañlím^m</i>	
<i>bè</i>	"be somewhere"	<i>bèlím^m</i>	<i>sic</i>
<i>kā'e</i>	"not be"	<i>kā'alím^m</i>	
<i>wēn^{na/}</i>	"resemble"	<i>wēnním^m</i>	[tones show this is <i>deverbal</i>]
<i>sīn^{na/}</i>	"be silent"	<i>sīnním^m</i>	
<i>nēn^{na/}</i>	"envy"	<i>nēnním^m</i>	
<i>dōl^{la/}</i>	"accompany"	<i>dōllím^m</i>	
<i>zāñl^{la/}</i>	"hold in hand"	<i>zāñllím^m</i>	
<i>dēl^{la/}</i>	"be leaning"	<i>dēllúg^o</i> or <i>dēllím^m</i>	
<i>mōr^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>mōrím^m</i>	
<i>tār^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>tārím^m</i>	
<i>nār^{a/}</i>	"be necessary"	<i>nārím^m</i>	
<i>gūr^{a/}</i>	"guard"	<i>gūrím^m</i>	

These forms obey the tonal rules for gerund formation [3.8.4](#). The non-initial H toneme in Pattern L confirms that they are *m*-stems [3.8.1](#).

Stative verbs derived from imperfectives of dual-aspect verbs [16.2.3](#) also form imperfective gerunds; the tonemes show that these are not *m*-stems:

<i>bòòdím^m</i>	"will" (Pattern L, unlike <i>bòòdír^ε</i> "desirable")
<i>gòòñdím^m</i>	"wandering" (<i>gòñ</i> "hunt")
<i>zòtím^m</i>	"fear" [<i>M zót nē</i> "I'm afraid."]

The gerund *wummvug* of *wòm^m* "hear" (written *wumug* before 2016, but read with *-mm-* in the 1996 audio NT) perhaps represents **wumdvg^o*. A number of deverbal abstract nouns from 3-mora verb stems in *-s-* are probably imperfective gerund forms with dropping of *-d-* as in agent nouns and deverbal adjectives.

<i>pò'vs^ε</i>	"greet, thank"	<i>pò'vsím^m</i>	"worship"
		or <i>pò'vsug^o</i>	
<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>nīn-kúvsì^m</i>	"murderousness"
<i>yōlīs^{ε/}</i>	"untie"	<i>yōlísím^m</i>	"freedom"

Unequivocal imperfective gerund forms with *-m-* derived from almost all agentive verbs occur as predependents of the bound noun

-tāa *-tāas^ε* *-tā-* or *-tā-* "companion in ..."

For dynamic single-aspect verbs with stems in *-ll -nn -r(r)*, and all stative verbs with deverbal gerunds, the forms are identical to the usual imperfective gerunds:

<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>mī'ilím-tāa</i>	"partner in knowledge"
<i>zī'</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'ilím-tāa</i>	"partner in ignorance"
<i>bè</i>	"exist"	<i>bèlím-tāa</i>	"partner in existence" WK
<i>dōl^{la/}</i>	"be with"	<i>dōllím-tāa</i>	"fellow-companion"

For the irregular stative verb *nòŋ^ε* WK has two forms with different nuances:

<i>nòŋ^ε</i>	"love"	<i>nòŋilím-tāa</i>	"fellow liker"
		or <i>nòŋidím-tāa</i>	"fellow lover"

Dual-aspect verbs add *-m-* to the habitual adjective stem, but with *gerund* Tone Patterns:

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mèedím-tāa</i>	"fellow-builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìtím-tāa</i>	"messmate"
<i>pō</i>	"share"	<i>pōvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-sharer"
<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'edím-tāa</i>	"fellow-resident"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbidím-tāa</i>	"opponent"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-cook"
<i>fāñ</i>	"snatch"	<i>fāañdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-robber"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tòmím-tāa</i>	"co-worker"
<i>pò'vs^ε</i>	"worship"	<i>pò'vsím-tāa</i>	"fellow-worshipper"
<i>dìs^ε</i>	"feed"	<i>dìsím-tāa</i>	"fellow-feeder"
<i>sòŋ^ε</i>	"help"	<i>sòŋím-tāa</i>	"fellow-helper"
		or <i>sòŋidím-tāa</i>	
<i>sjàk^ε</i>	"agree"	<i>sjàkím-tāa</i>	"fellow in agreement"

Stance verbs may use *-dím-* or *-lím-* or *-nim-*; *-lím-* and *-nim-* forms may really belong to the derived assume-stance/make-assume-stance verbs [9.1.1](#):

<i>īgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be kneeling"	<i>īgilím-tāa</i>	"fellow-kneeler"
		or <i>īgidím-tāa</i>	"fellow-kneeler" WK
<i>zìñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'ilím-tāa</i>	"fellow-sitter"
		or <i>zìñ'idím-tāa</i>	"fellow-sitter" WK
<i>vābi</i> ^{ya/}	"lie prone"	<i>vābilím-tāa</i>	"fellow lier-prone"
		or <i>vābidím-tāa</i>	"fellow lier-prone" WK
<i>làbi</i> ^{ya}	"be crouched"	<i>làbilím-tāa</i>	"fellow croucher in hiding"
<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	"be stood"	<i>zì'əlím-tāa</i>	"fellow-stander"
		or <i>zì'ədím-tāa</i>	"fellow-stander" WK
<i>dīgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying"	<i>dīgilím-tāa</i>	"fellow-lier"
		or <i>dīgíním-tāa</i>	"fellow-lier" WK

9.2.1.5 Others

-s- appears in a few concrete nouns derived from verbs:

<i>dīgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"	<i>dīgísá</i>	"lairs"
<i>dṽ</i>	"go up"	<i>dṽsá</i>	"steps"

-m- derives nouns from verbal roots in

<i>zò</i>	"run"	<i>zòom</i> ^{mε}	"refugee"
<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpì'im</i> ^{m/}	"corpse"

-d- appears as an instrument noun formant instead of the usual *-dím-* in

<i>tɹà</i>	"grind in a mortar"	<i>tūədɹ</i> ^ε	"mortar"
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See also on *pībín*^{nε} "covering" etc, where the *n* may represent **ld* 8.1.2.

-b- derives nouns from verbal roots in

<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpìibɹ</i> ^a	"orphan"
<i>dà'</i>	"buy"	<i>dà'abɹ</i> ^ε	"slave"

Lūbɹ^ε "twin" may be a similar formation from Proto-Oti-Volta **ri* "two" with an aberrant reflex of **r*; cf Buli *yībīk id*.

9.2.2 From nominals

-s- and **-l-** form adjectives from adjectival roots:

<i>mā'e^l</i>	"cool down"	<i>mā'asír^ε</i>	"cold, wet"
<i>būk^{εl}</i>	"weaken"	<i>bōgvśír^ε</i>	"soft"
<i>tēbvḡ^{εl}</i>	"get heavy"	<i>tēbvśír^ε</i>	"heavy"
<i>mì'ig^ε</i>	"get sour"	<i>mì'isvḡ^o</i>	"sour"
<i>sōb^ε</i>	"get dark"	<i>sābılıḡ^a</i>	"black"

-d- features in a number of nouns with no evident derivational meaning, such as *yūgvdir^ε* "hedgehog", *lā'af^o* "cowrie" pl *līḡidi* "money", *pògvdiḡ^a* "father's sister." It can form abstract nouns from human-reference words (examples from KB, Naden):

<i>pu'à-sādir^{εl}</i>	"young woman"	<i>pu'asatim</i>	"girlhood, virginity"
<i>bōn-kúdvḡ^o</i>	"old man"	<i>bvḡkvttim</i>	"old age"
<i>ḡedvḡ</i>	"fool"	<i>ḡetim</i>	"folly"
<i>pò-kòvñr^ε</i>	"widow"	<i>pvkōntim</i>	"widowhood"
<i>bā'-bḡig^a</i>	"brother"	<i>ba'abiidvḡ</i>	"brotherhood"

-m- appears in both concrete nouns, mostly with human reference, and abstracts:

<i>bḡ'a</i>	"bad"	<i>bḡ'ə^m</i>	"enemy"
<i>tàdvḡ^ε</i>	"become weak"	<i>tādım^{m/}</i>	"weak person"
<i>āñsìb^a</i>	"mother's brother"	<i>āñsìḡ^a</i>	"sister's child"
<i>yáab^a</i>	"grandparent"	<i>yáaḡ^a</i>	"grandchild"
<i>vúθ^ε</i>	"red kapok fruit"	<i>vúθḡ^a</i>	"red kapok"
<i>bḡ'isır^ε</i>	"breast"	<i>bḡ'isım^m</i>	"milk"
<i>nà'ab^a</i>	"chief"	<i>nā'am^m</i>	"chiefship"
<i>zōlvḡ^{o/}</i>	"fool"	<i>zōlımıs^ε</i>	"foolishness"

Abstract *-mıs^ε* forms seem always to have H toneme; cf *bùdımıs^ε* "confusion", where, however, the *-m-* is part of the verb stem *bùdım^m* "get confused"; cf also

<i>tādım^{m/}</i>	"weak person"	<i>tàdımıs^ε</i>	"weakness"
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Added to existing adjectival stems, *-m-* produces no change of meaning:

<i>ñyèes^a</i>	"be self-confident"	<i>ñyèesìḡ^a</i>	"self-confident"
<i>vèñllıḡ^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèñllíḡ^a</i>	"beautiful"
<i>mālısıḡ^a</i>	"pleasant"	<i>mālısìḡ^a</i>	"pleasant"

<i>lāllóg^ɔ</i>	"distant"	<i>lāllíŋ^a</i>	"distant"
<i>nār^{a/}</i>	"be necessary"	<i>nàrvŋ^ɔ</i>	"necessary"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am^{a/}</i>	"be long, tall"

-*m*- is seen in a good many unanalysable 3-mora nominal stems, such as the nouns *yōgúm^{nɛ}* "camel" (ultimately from Berber), *gbīgim^{nɛ}* "lion", *zìlim^{mɛ}* "tongue", *àñrvŋ^ɔ* "boat", and the adjectives *zùlvŋ^ɔ* "deep", *ñyālóŋ^ɔ* "wonderful", *yàlvŋ^ɔ* "wide."

-*l*- and -*lum*- derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. The suffix -*lim*- is the only derivational suffix before which *CVVC* roots do not become *CVC*, and it can follow a preceding derivational suffix, creating five-mora stems. The stems of these abstract nouns are not themselves used as adjectives.

<i>dāy</i>	"man"	<i>dàalim^m</i>	"masculinity"
<i>py'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>pò'alim^m</i>	"femininity"
<i>bīig^a</i>	"child"	<i>bīilim^m</i>	"childhood"
<i>tītā'al^{lɛ}</i>	"proud person"	<i>tītā'alim^m</i>	"pride"
<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīñlím^m</i>	"shortness"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'alím^m</i>	"tallness"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	"guest, stranger"	<i>sáannim^m</i>	"strangerhood"
<i>tīrāan^a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>tīrāannim^m</i>	"neighbourliness"
<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīŋilím^m</i>	"shortness"

<i>gùngōm^{mε}</i>	"kapok material" (<i>gòm^{mε}</i> "kapok fruit")
<i>zùnzòᶓ^a</i>	"blind" (<i>zū'əm^{m/}</i> "go/make blind")
<i>pòm̄pōᶓᶓ^o</i>	"housefly" (<i>tàmpūa id</i>)

An even more complex type follows the reduplicated CV with *-sin* or *-lin*:

<i>kpìsinkpìl^{lε}</i>	"fist"	<i>tàsintàl^{lε}</i>	"palm of hand"
<i>sīlinsīuᶓᶓ^o</i>	"spider"	<i>sīlinsīuᶓᶓ^o</i>	"ghost"
<i>zīlinzìᶓᶓ^o</i>	"unknown" cf <i>zī'</i> "not know"		
<i>vòlinvùuᶓᶓ^{lε}</i>	"mason wasp"		
<i>wàsinswàl^{lε}</i>	parasitic gall on trees ("mistletoe" in local English)		
<i>nēsinnēᶓᶓ^o</i>	"envious person" cf <i>nēn^{na/}</i> "envy" WK others "centipede" = WK <i>nà'-nēsinnēᶓᶓ^o</i>		

Prefixes may also be of the form *Ca(n)*, where *C* is *d b n m l s* or *z*.

<i>dàyūᶓᶓ^o</i>	"rat"	<i>dàwān^{nε/}</i>	"pigeon"
<i>dàtìuᶓᶓ^o</i>	"right hand"	<i>dàgòbìᶓᶓ^a</i>	"left hand"
<i>dànkòᶓᶓ^o</i>	"measles"	<i>dàwàlìᶓᶓ^a</i>	"humid season"
<i>dàyáam^{ma}</i>	"woman's parent-in-law"		
<i>dātāa</i>	"enemy" cf <i>nìn-tāa</i> "co-wife", Ghanaian "rival"		
<i>dàmà'a</i>	"liar" cf <i>mà'</i> "lie"		
<i>dàkīᶓᶓ^a</i>	"sibling-in-law via wife"		
<i>dādúk^o</i>	a kind of large pot, cf <i>dōk^o</i> "pot"		
<i>bàlàᶓᶓr^ε</i>	"hat"	<i>bàlàar^ε</i>	"stick, staff"
<i>bānāa</i>	traditional smock		
<i>bālērᶓᶓᶓ^o</i>	"ugly" cf <i>lēr^ε</i> "get ugly"		
<i>bàyēᶓᶓᶓ^o</i>	"betrayal of secrets" cf <i>yēēs^{ε/}</i> "betray a secret"		
<i>nānzū'us^{ε/}</i>	"pepper"	<i>màngávᶓᶓᶓ^o</i>	"crab"
<i>làngávᶓᶓᶓ^o</i>	"crab"		
<i>sākáròᶓᶓ^o</i>	"fox"	<i>sàbùa</i>	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>sāmán^{nε}</i>	"courtyard"	<i>sāngónnìr^ε</i>	"millipede"
<i>zànkù'ar^ε</i>	"jackal"	<i>Zàngbèᶓᶓᶓ^o</i>	"Hausa person"

Nàyīᶓᶓᶓ^a "thief" is written *na'ayiᶓᶓᶓ* in NT/KB as if with the cb *nā'*- "cow", but it has L toneme initially and the vowel is definitely not glottalised (WK); nor is the sense limited to "cattle thief." It is an *a|ba* class *g*-stem: pl *nàyīᶓᶓᶓ-nàm^a*; cf *nàyīᶓᶓᶓᶓ^m* "thievery." There is an analogical *ga|se* pl *nàyīᶓᶓᶓ^ε*. The Farefare cognate is *nàyìᶓᶓᶓ^a*, pl *nayigba* or *nayigsi*; Dagbani has *nayìᶓᶓᶓ* pl *nayìᶓᶓᶓ* and also *tayìᶓᶓᶓ*.

Some prefixes are connected with the verb negative particles *p̄v̄ k̄v̄*:

<i>k̀̀nd̀̀v̀̀ar</i> ^ε	"barren woman"; cf <i>d̄u'̀̀à</i> ^a "bear, beget"
<i>n̄̄n-p̄̄v̄̄-n̄̄n</i> ^{na/}	"disrespectful person"; cf <i>n̄̄n</i> ^ε "love, respect"
<i>t̀̀v̀̀b-p̄̄v̄̄-ẁ̀v̀̀mn̄̀̀b</i> ^a	"deaf people" (Rom 11:7) cf <i>t̀̀v̀̀v̄̄r</i> ^ε "ear", <i>ẁ̀v̀̀m</i> ^m "hear."

However, most cases show no identifiable negative meaning:

<i>k̀̀nd̀̀v̀̀ŋ</i> ^a	"jackal"	<i>ḡ̄v̄̄mp̄̄v̄̄z̄̄r</i> ^{ε/}	"duck"
<i>d̄̄amp̄̄v̄̄s̄̄ar</i> ^ε	"stick"	<i>b̄̄an-k̄̄v̄̄s̄̄él</i> ^{lε}	"lizard"

Some original cbs have become partly bleached of their original meaning and/or simplified phonologically, and then detached from their regular paradigms after being ousted by new cbs based on analogy with sg forms 5.2.

N̄̄n- "body" is accepted by WK as cb of *n̄̄ŋ*^a *n̄̄is*^ε [= Mooré *ȳ́ngá*] but the word is rare; it appears in *n̄̄n-t̄̄aa* "co-wife" and *n̄̄n-gb̄̄ŋ*^{o/} "human skin; body."

D̀̀à- "man" has been replaced as regular cb by forms segmentally remodelled on sg and pl *d̀̀àv̄̄-*, *d̀̀àp̄̄-*, but *d̀̀à*- is seen in *d̀̀à-p̄̄aal*^{a/} "son, boy" (*p̄̄aalíg* "new") and *d̀̀à-k̀̀v̀̀v̄̄r*^ε "son, bachelor" (cf *àrak̄̄ŋ*ⁿ "one.")

P̀̀v̄̄- "woman" (cf *p̄̄v̄̄ā*^a "woman" cb *p̄̄v̄̄'̀̀à*-) appears in *p̀̀v̄̄-k̀̀v̀̀v̄̄r*^ε "widow"; cf Mooré *p̀̀v̄̄gk̄̄v̄̄r*^ε "widow" along with *p̀̀v̄̄gs̄̄ádà* "young woman" = Kusaal *p̄̄v̄̄'̀̀à-s̄̄ád̄̄r*^{ε/}.

P̄̄v̄̄- "farm" (cf *p̄̄v̄̄v̄̄g*^{o/} "field, farm", pl *p̄̄v̄̄t*^{ε/}, cb *p̄̄v̄̄-*, Mooré *p̄̄v̄̄gò* pl *p̄̄v̄̄tò*) appears in *p̄̄v̄̄-kp̄̄aad*^{a/} "farmer" (= *kp̄̄aad*^{a/} *id*); tonally, it behaves as a M prefix 3.8.1.

Ǹ̀à'- "chief"(?) appears before a number of nouns signifying animals and insects: *ǹ̀à-z̀̀v̄̄m*^{mε} "locust", *ǹ̀à-d̀̀àw̄̄an*^{nε/} "pigeon" (= *d̀̀àw̄̄an*^{nε/}) and WK's *ǹ̀à-n̄̄s̄̄inn̄̄ēog*^{o/} "centipede" (*n̄̄s̄̄inn̄̄ēog*^{o/} "envious person" WK; others: "centipede.")

The cb perhaps relates to traditional folklore; cf *à-k̄̄v̄̄ra-d̄̄ŋ̄̄m*^{ma} "praying mantis" ("hyena's parent-in-law") and animal and bird names which incorporate the personifier particle, like *à-d̀̀àal̄̄v̄̄ŋ*^o "stork", *à-ḡ̄av̄̄ŋ*^o "pied crow", *à-m̄̄ús*^ε "cat."

10.2 Quantifiers and adverbs

Unlike noun prefixes, prefixes with quantifiers and adverbs have identifiable meanings. All such prefixed forms are liaison words [4.2](#).

All forms of the numbers 2 to 9 begin with a number prefix [12.5.1](#). The number prefixes are fossilised noun class agreement flexions. With the collapse of grammatical gender, the *a|ba* class agreement pronouns *ò bà* were generalised for animate gender and the *rɛ|aa* class singular pronoun *lì* was adopted for inanimate. In Dagbani, where there has been a similar change, the old plural pronoun *ɲa* is still found in older materials for inanimate plural (Olawsky 1999.) The *à-* of numbers used as quantifiers like *àyí'* "two", *àtáñ'* "three" etc used as quantifiers represents original **ɲa-*. This same *à-* is also seen in *àlá* "how many?" contrasting with *àlá* "thus", which has manner-adverb *à-*.

The expected corresponding number prefix *bà-* is not now found after nouns with animate gender, but is still preserved after personal pronouns: *tì bàtáñ'* "we three", *yà bàyópòɛ* "you seven", *bà bàyí'* "they two."

The form of the number words 2-9 used for counting represents the old *mm* class agreement, in the "abstract" sense of *mm* [5.1](#): thus *ntáñ'* "three", *nnāas* "four", *nnū* "five." Nawdm, which preserves class agreement for numbers (*nídbá bàtáñ* "three people") uses the agreement prefix for its cognate *m*-class for counting: *mtáñ* "three" *mnàà* "four" *mnù* "five" etc (Fiedler 2012.)

The number prefix *bù-* appears in various adverbial number words; it probably represents either an old *bo* or *mm* class agreement.

<i>àb̀̀yí'</i>	"twice"	<i>àb̀̀táñ'</i>	"three times"
<i>àb̀̀nāasí</i>	"four times"	<i>b̀̀p̄iga</i>	"ten times"
<i>n̄́orím b̀̀táñ'</i>	"three times"		

Several manner-adverbs have a prefix *à-* along with apocope-blocking [13.4](#). It is followed by M spreading. It differs from the number prefix in that it does *not* cause a preceding LF-final vowel to appear as *-a* [4.2](#).

<i>àmḗɲá</i>	"truly"	<i>àsīda</i>	"truly"
<i>àní̀ɲà</i>	"promptly"		

The same prefix is also seen in a number of proadverbs and in the locative *àgól^{lɛ}* "upwards."

11 Unsegmentable complex stems

Numerous words in Kusaal (including the very name of the language, *Kōsâal*^ε) have stems which are more complex structurally than the ordinary unprefixated type but are simply unanalysable units. Tonally, they usually resemble forms with noun prefixes, but examples occur with an initial H toneme, like *gbáñyà'a* "lazy person", cf Dagbani *gbinyaɣli* "laziness." Segmentally, they may contain unusual consonant clusters. Most are identifiable as loanwords, but by no means all. Many names of ethnic groups and clans fall into this category, such as *Kōsâas*^ε "Kusaasi", *Ñwāmpūris*^{ε/} "Mamprussi", *Kòtām*^{ma/} the name of WK's clan.

11.1 Loanwords

Nouns form by far the largest group of identifiable loanwords. They are often fitted into the noun class system by analogy 5.5. The initial *à-* of loanwords like *àrazánà* "heaven" and *àrazàk*^a "riches" is usually treated tonally as fixed-L 4.4.3.

Most identifiable loanwords come from **Hausa**, the largest African language after Arabic by number of first-language speakers, used by millions more as a lingua franca in the savanna zone of West Africa. Although there are many ethnic *Hàusàawaa* in the Kusaasi area, especially in Bawku, the language which has influenced Kusaal is the *Gaanancii* lingua franca; though mutually intelligible with Kano Hausa, *Gaanancii* among other differences lacks not only grammatical but even natural gender, uses [z] for [d̥ʒ], monophthongises diphthongs, and drops the distinction between glottalic consonants and their plain counterparts.

Nouns borrowed from Hausa often deviate from typical Kusaal noun structure. Examples include *dāká* "box", Hausa *àdakàa* (ultimately from Portuguese *arca*); *gādv* "bed", Hausa *gadoo*; *kèkèkè* "bicycle", Hausa *kèkèkè*; *bákpàè* "week", from Hausa *bakwàì* "seven", also used for "week" in *Gaanancii*.

Identifiable verb loanwords are much less common. They are subject to the usual constraints on verb shapes 9.1, e.g. *dàam*^m "disturb, trouble", Hausa *dàamaa*; *bùg*^ε "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*, literally "get thoroughly beaten", a Hausa idiom.

Several function words are loans, probably from Hausa: *àsée* "except", Hausa *sai*; *kōv* "or", Hausa *koo*; *báa* "not a...", Hausa *bâa*.

Loanwords with Hausa counterparts did not necessarily originate in Hausa, itself a great borrower. Some appear in many languages of the region, e.g. *hālì* "until", Hausa *har*, Kikara Songhay *hàlì*, possibly from Arabic *hatta*: (Heath 2005.) With *làbi*^{ya} "be crouching behind something", Hausa *labèè* "crouch behind something to eavesdrop", Kikara Songhay *lá:bú* "hide behind or under something", the match of form and meaning is striking; if *làbi*^{ya} is a loan, its single-aspect flexion and dual-aspect derivatives are probably due to the analogy of *vābi*^{ya/} "be lying prone."

Wide geographical distribution need not rule out Hausa origin or transmission, however: loans from Hausa have travelled far in West Africa, with an entry point into Songhay via the Zarma and Kaado languages of Niger.

Arabic loans are frequent throughout the languages of the Sahel and Savanna; thus, among many others: Kusaal *láafiya*, Hausa *laafiyàa*, Mooré *làafi*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàlà:fíyà* "health", Arabic *ʔal-ʕa:fiya* "the wellness"; Kusaal *àrazàk*^a, Hausa *arzikii*, Mooré *àrzéká* "riches", Kikara Songhay *ʔàrzúkù* "good luck", Arabic *ʔar-rizq* "the livelihood" pl *ʔarza:q*; *àrazánà* "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannàa*, Mooré *àrzǎnà*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàljánnà* "heaven, paradise", Arabic *ʔal-janna* "the garden, paradise"; Kusaal *yàddā*^l "assent", Hausa *yàrda* (verb) "consent", Kikara Songhay *yárrè* "consent", probably from the Arabic *yardʕa:*, 3sg masculine ipfv of *radʕiya* "be satisfied"; Kusaal *Tàláatà*, Hausa *Tàlaatàa*, Arabic *ʔaθ-θala:θa:ʔ* "Tuesday."

Arabic words have mostly entered Kusaal via Hausa, but some Kusaal forms more closely resemble **Mooré**. Many Mossi live in the Kusaasi area, and many Kusaasi speak Mooré well; they often attribute local or individual peculiarities of Kusaal speech to Mooré influence. Arabic words have reached Mooré from several other West African languages widely used by Muslims, including Dyula and the Songhay languages. Thus *màlìāk*^{a/l} "angel" (*malek* in NT versions prior to 2016) is derived from the Arabic *malʔak*; the vocalism suggests transmission via Mooré *màlékà*. The forms clearly do not match Hausa *màlaa'ikàa*, which is from the Arabic plural *mala:ʔika*. Similarly, *Sūtáanà* "Satan" matches Mooré *Sutáana* rather than Hausa *shàidân*, which is a learned borrowing of the Arabic *ʕaytʕa:n*.

Christian missionary work among the Kusaasi began in Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso) and used Mooré materials, leading to borrowing and calquing. *Wínnà'am*^m (WK) *Wínà'am*^m (*Wina'am* NT/KB) is "God" in Christian materials, though the Creator of traditional religion often appears simply as *Wīn*^{ne/} in proverbs etc. *Wínnà'am* looks like a compound of *wīn*^{ne/} "god" and the stem of *nà'ab*^a "chief" or *nā'am*^m "chieftaincy", but the tones would then have been **Wīn-nâ'am*, and the prevalence of *Wínà'am* with single *n* confirms that the form is not a synchronic compound. Direct borrowing of Mooré *Wěnnàám* would not account for the glottalised *a'a*, and the immediate source is probably **Toende Kusaal**. Niggli has *Wínā'am*, with a tonal fall like Agolle *Wínà'am*, and single *n*, reflecting the loss of consonant gemination in Toende everywhere except before LF affix vowels.

Faangid "saviour" (NT/KB) is read [fã:gʷid] by my informants; preservation of *g* in this position 3.7 is exceptional, the only other cases in my data being *faangir* "salvation" and the gerund *zī'əg*^a of *zī'e*^{ya} "be standing" used by DK KT instead of *zī'a*. The agent noun of *fāe*^l "save", *fāañd*^{a/l}, was avoided as identical to the agent noun of *fāñ* "rob, snatch", NT/KB *faand* "robber"; WK confirmed that *fāañd*^{a/l} has *both* meanings in his idiolect. *Faangid* is probably another loan from Toende Kusaal, which often retains **g* in this position: *Õ bu paage* "Il n'est pas arrivé." Niggli has both *fāagt* and *fāat* for "saviour", with *fāat* also glossed as "robber."

Wìnà'am fāaṅgíd fāaṅgír appear in the actual speech of many Agolle Kusaasi, and are used in this grammar in transliterating Bible verses. Older NT versions also used the Toende forms *aaruṅ* (Toende *āaròṅ*) for *àṅrvṅ* "boat", and *malek* (Toende *màlék*, Mooré *màlékà*) for *màliāk* "angel", but KB has *anrvṅ* and *maliak* throughout, matching the usage of my informants and of the audio 1996 version.

A clear **Mampruli** loanword is WK's *kīibú* cb *kīib-* "soap", which he uses instead of Kusaal *kī'ib^{o/}*. The length and quality of the vowels identify the source as Mampruli *kyiibu*: contrast Farefare *kí'ibó*, Dagbani *chibo*. Other words with singulars ending in *-i* or *-v* also probably originated as loans from Mampruli or Mooré 5.1.

Loanwords of **Songhay** origin include *bùrkìn^a* "honest person", Mooré *bùrkíná* "free, noble", Dagbani *bilchina* "free, not slave", cf Kikara Songhay *bòrkīn* "noble (caste)" and *bàuyv*, used only in *kpèñ' bàuyv* "get circumcised" (*kpèñ'* "enter"), Mooré *kě bǎongó id*, cf Kikara Songhay *bàṅgù* "pool, spring", *à húrò bǎṅgù* "he entered the pool", i.e. "he was circumcised."

Loans from **Twi/Fante** ("Akan"), the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include *kōdú* "banana", Twi *kwadu*; *sāafi* (?tones) "lock, key", Twi *safē* "key" (from Portuguese *chave*); *būryá* "Christmas", Twi *bronya* (itself of unclear origin.)

English loanwords sufficiently naturalised to be used by speakers unfamiliar with English have often undergone considerable changes: *àlópìr^ε* "aeroplane", perhaps a back-formation from [alɔpɪɾɪn] taken as a locative *àlópìrī-n^{el/}*; *dú'atà* "doctor" (cf Dagbani *dóyté id*); *tóklàe* "torch" ("torchlight"); *lór^ε* "car, lorry" (often borrowed even in Francophone Africa: cf Mooré *lorè*, Nawdm *lòór*); *pɔɔtim* (Jeremiah 20:10) "complain about officially" ("report.")

English stress may be represented by a H toneme which remains fixed throughout the paradigm: *lòyà* "cars", not **lōyá*.

Several words of English origin have probably been transmitted via Hausa: *kótò* "court", Hausa *kootù*; *sógià^a* "soldier", Hausa *sojà*; *téebvìl^ε* "table", Hausa *teebùr*; *wādá* "law", Hausa *oodà*, from English "order", with Kusaal sg *wādir^{el/}* cb *wād-* created by back-formation.

A clear **French** loan in Agolle Kusaal is *làmpō* (i.e. *l'impôt*) "tax", as in *làmpō-dī'əs^a* "tax gatherer." This word is widespread in northern Ghana (Dagbani *lampoo*), reflecting extensive French influence in the region prior to the British annexation. Another word probably derived from French is *kàsēt^{al/}* "witness, testimony", Mooré *kàsétò* "testimony, proof", as in *kàsét sébrè* "receipt" ("evidence writing.") The ultimate origin is probably French *cachet* in the sense "seal (of authenticity)", with *-t-* perhaps introduced from the corresponding verb: *il cachète* "he seals." Mooré and Farefare *kàsétò* have only the abstract sense "testimony"; the adaptation as an *a|ba* class human-reference noun "witness" seems to be a Kusaal innovation enabled by the dropping of the final vowel.

There are naturally many more French loans in the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso (Niggl 2014.)

12 Noun phrases

12.1 Structure

A nominal phrase may be either a noun phrase (NP) or an adverbial phrase (AdvP.) A noun phrase has a noun, pronoun or quantifier as head. If present, the **article** *lā'* occurs last in a NP. (For the sole exception, see [16.11](#).)

Unbound dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as NP heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed in English by genitives or NP complements with "of", e.g.

<i>dāy lā bûtìŋ</i>	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
<i>sālīma bûtìŋ</i>	"a gold cup" ("cup of gold")

Predependents with specific or countable-generic reference are **determiners** (answering "which?"), as are the article, dependent pronouns, quantifiers or AdvPs following the NP head; other dependents are **modifiers** (answering "what kind of?")

Relative clauses [21.2](#) are also NPs.

Compounding is pervasive in NP structure where most languages use uncompounded constructions. Kusaal compounds fall into two basic types, depending on whether the combining form is head or dependent. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	<i>bò-ṛìəlɪg</i>	"white goat"
<i>bò-kàŋā</i>	"this goat"	<i>bò-ṛìəl-kàŋā</i>	"this white goat"

Compounds with non-referential cbs as *dependents* are also common:

<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs <i>nà'ab lā wíəf zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse's tail"

Regardless of which element precedes, the last stem shows the noun class suffixes which mark number for the head. Preceding stems appear as combining forms, typically bare stems which have undergone apocope, though analogical remodelling is common, and regular with some stem types [5.2](#). Compounding is so productive that the cb is a regular part of noun and adjective flexion [5.1](#).

For the tone sandhi rules which affect the component following the combining form see [4.4.3](#) [4.4.4](#). They are not sensitive to whether the cb is head or dependent.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound, where the binding of the new element is weaker than that within the existing compound:

<i>[bù-pìəl-]kàṅā</i>	"this [white goat]"
<i>[nīn-wók-]pìəlīg</i>	"white [tall person]"
<i>[zà'-nō-]pìəlīg</i>	"white gate" ("white [compound-mouth])"

A compound may appear as generic argument to a following deverbal noun:

<i>[zà'-nō-]gúr</i>	"gate-keeper"
<i>[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàṅā</i>	"this [gate-keeper]"

Noun-adjective compounds can be used as bahuvrihi adjectives [12.8.1.1](#):

<i>nīf-ñyáuk</i>	"one eye"
<i>bù-[nīf-ñyáuk]</i>	"[one-eyed] goat"
<i>nōb-wók</i>	"long leg"
<i>kùg-[nōb-wók]</i>	"[long-legged] stool"

Bahuvrihis can appear as complements of *àḡñ^a* "be something":

Kùg-kàṅā á nē nōb-wók. "This chair is long-legged." WK
Chair-DEMST.SG COP FOC leg-long:SG.

Compounds may contain uncompounded elements within their structure.

Predependent NPs as modifiers [12.7.2](#) bind tighter than the link between cb generic arguments and deverbal nouns:

<i>ānzúrifà nē sālīma lâ'ad</i>	"silver and gold goods"
<i>[ānzúrifà lá'-]māan</i>	"silversmith" ("[silver goods]-maker")
<i>[ānzúrifà nē sālīma lá'-]māan</i>	"silver- and goldsmith"

Otherwise, cbs are bound tighter to following than preceding words, except that determiners of all kinds have the loosest binding:

<i>[sālīma bútìṅ-]kàṅā</i>	"this [gold cup]"
<i>[[sālīma lá'-]māan-]kàṅā</i>	"this [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>ò [[sālīma lá'-]māan]</i>	"her [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>sālīma [zá'-nōɔr]</i>	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth])"
<i>zūgú-n [níf-gbáun]</i>	"upper eyelid" ("upper [eye-skin])"

Adjective cbs can only be used before another adjective or a dependent pronoun, so when a noun-adjective compound is used as a generic argument it must adopt a sg or pl form:

[*fū-zéñdà*] *kùə̀s* "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
 not **fū-zéñ'-kùə̀s*

Coordination is characteristically a feature of NPs, but also found in AdvPs.

The particles for "or" are *bēε* or *kūv*. Here the two are synonymous; the only place where they consistently have different senses is in the formation of polar questions. Both, like English "or", are by default taken as exclusive "or" but admit the inclusive interpretation "or both." This can be spelt out explicitly:

Bīg lā kūv dāy lā kúv bà wōsa
 child:SG ART OR man:SG ART OR 3PL all
 "The man, or the child, or both" WK

The particle for "and" for NPs and AdvPs is *nē*. This *nē* is fundamentally the same word as the preposition "with"; the linker adjuncts *bēε* and *kūv* can be used in a parallel way. *Nē* links nominal words and phrases, but no clauses other than (previously nominalised) *ñ*-clauses. It is not possible to omit coordinating particles in a series of three or more items, or to use *nē* to join two words with the same referent:

À-Wīn né À-Bōgvr né À-Nà'ab "Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dú'atà nē nà'ab "a doctor and a chief"
 (necessarily two different people)

Coordinated heads may not share determiners:

m ba'abiis nε m saamnama
ñ bā'-bīis né ñ sàam-nàmā=∅
 1SG father-child:PL with 1SG father-PL=VOC
 "my siblings and [my] fathers!" (Acts 7:2)

pū'ā lā nē dāy lā "the woman and the man"
 woman:SG ART with man:SG ART

An exception is *yīgá* "firstly" used as a predependent for "first" [12.7.3](#):

yīiga saŋgbauŋ ne teŋgbauŋ ne atɛuk
yīigá sàŋ-gbàuŋ nē téŋ-gbàuŋ né àtìuk
 firstly heaven-skin:SG with earth-skin:SG with sea:SG
 "the former heaven and earth and sea" (Rev 21:1)

Coordinated heads may share modifiers:

Kūsâal sôlímà nē sīlímà "Kusaasi stories and proverbs"
 Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

Kūsâas kûøb nē yīr "Kusaasi agriculture and housing"
 Kusaasi:PL hoeing with house:SG

sālīma bûtīs nē díísímà "gold cups and spoons"
 gold cup:PL with spoon:PL ("all of them gold", KT)

However, KT WK both agreed that *sālīma lâ'ad nē bûtīs* must mean "gold goods and [not gold] cups", WK offering the correction

sālīma lâ'ad né ò bûtīs "gold goods and (gold) cups" WK
 gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

where *ò* refers to *sālīma*. (See [12.3](#) on the unexpected gender of the pronoun.) The difference from *sālīma bûtīs nē díísímà* (above) is probably that "cups" are a subtype of "goods", impairing the parallel between the coordinated units and making it less natural to supply the ellipsis than in *sālīma bûtīs nē [sālīma] díísímà* "gold cups and [gold] spoons" (I am grateful to Tony Naden for this suggestion.)

Coordinated heads may even occur before an adjective:

Ka m nye saŋgbauŋ ne teŋgbaung paal.
Kà ì ñyē sáŋ-gbàuŋ- nē téŋ-gbàuŋ-páal
 And 1SG see heaven-skin- with earth-skin-new:SG.
 "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth." (Rev 21:1)

However, cbs as *dependents* may not be coordinated:

*[*bēŋíd nē kī*] *kûøs* not possible for "seller of *bēŋíd nē kī*"
 (beanleaf-and-millet, a conceptual unity
 like "fish and chips", "lox and bagels.")

Dependent NPs or AdvPs can naturally include coordinated components:

o nya'andolib pii ne yi "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

ò ñyà'an-dòllib pīi nē yí'
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two

dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "Doctor's and the chief's cars"

doctor:SG with chief:SG ART car:PL

sālima nē ānzúrfà lâ'ad "gold and silver goods"

gold with silver item:PL

The last two examples are ambiguous; they can also be construed as ellipsis of the first of two identical heads within a coordination of two dependent-head NPs:

dú'atà (lóyà) nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "[Doctor's cars] and [the chief's cars]"

sālima (lâ'ad) nē ānzúrfà lâ'ad "[gold goods] and [silver goods]"

vs *[dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā] lóyà* "the cars of [Doctor-and-the-chief]"

[sālima nē ānzúrfà] lâ'ad "[gold-and-silver] goods"

This is impossible if the ellipsed element would have been a cb: an elliptical reading of *ānzúrfà nē sālima lá'-māan* "silver- and goldsmith" would have to mean "a smith made of silver and a smith made of gold."

NPs can also be combined by **apposition**. For apposition of locatives see [13.3](#); for relative clauses see [21.2](#).

NPs may precede personal names in apposition:

na'ab Agrippa "King Agrippa." (Acts 25:13)

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì pō nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pū'á Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG.IND must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias=NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4, 1996)

... lebis ye, eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.

... ∅ lēbis yē, ēēñ, ò zuà À-Sībīgı n kābiríd.

...CAT reply that, Yes, 3AN friend:SG PERS-termite:SG CAT ask.admission:IPFV.

"...replying that, Yes, it was his friend Termite asking for admission." KSS p12

The fact that the personifier-particle allomorph *à-* is not omitted in these cases shows that the relationship is not dependent-head [12.6](#).

Personal pronouns in apposition use free forms 24.6:

Man Paul [...] *pʋ'ʋsidi ya*. "I, Paul ... greet you." (2 Thess 3:17)

Mān Paul [...] *pú'ʋsìdī yá*.

1SG Paul greet:IPFV 2PL.OB.

Apposition is to be distinguished from cases where a preceding head has no combining form, as with quantifiers, or coordinated structures, and also from cases of segmental remodelling of cbs 5.2. The 1996 NT regularly replaces the initial cb of a number of compounds in the 1976 NT with a form written like a singular:

Nonaar Paal for *Nonapaal* *Nō-ná-páal* "New Testament"

Siig Suŋ for *Sisuŋ* *Sì-sùŋ* "Holy Spirit"

In the audio version *Siig Suŋ* is read *Sìig-sùŋ* (*Sìig-sùŋ* with M spreading) or *Sì-sùŋ*, not **Sìig-sùŋ*; cf *lànnig-kàŋā* "this squirrel", *dàp-bàmmā* "these men."

12.2 Number

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. Agreement is confined to pronouns. However, in a compound of a noun with a following adjective or dependent pronoun, the *dependent* inflects to show the number of the head 12.8.

Count nouns distinguish sg/pl, unlike **mass** nouns, which characteristically refer to liquids, substances or abstractions. Count nouns may be abstract:

<i>zōɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zōɔs</i> ^ɛ		"race"
<i>bū'əsúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaŋsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zàaŋsímə</i>	<i>zàaŋsúŋ-</i>	"dream"

The count/mass distinction affects the choice of quantifiers 12.5, the form of plurals with *nám*^a 5.4, and the meaning of NPs as predependents 12.7.2.

Typical underived mass nouns belong to the *bɔ* and *mm* noun classes, but gerunds of 3-mora-stem verbs regularly show sg *rɛ* or *gɔ*, and a number of words referring to uncountables or abstracts are formally plural, but construed as singular:

<i>bāñ'as</i> ^ɛ	<i>bàñ'-</i>	"disease"
<i>ñyō'ɔs</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>ñyō'-</i>	"smoke"
<i>tàdɪmís</i> ^ɛ		"weakness"
<i>zōlɪmís</i> ^ɛ		"foolishness"
<i>mēt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>mēt-</i>	"pus"
<i>kūt</i> ^ɛ	<i>kūt-</i>	"iron"

<i>zùød^ε</i>		"friendship"
<i>bõvd^ε</i>		"innocence"
<i>sĩĩnd^{ε/}</i>		"honey"
<i>nĩn-põvd^ε</i>		"pus"
<i>wāad^{ε/}</i>		"cold weather"
<i>sũñ-pêen^{nε}</i>		"anger"
<i>ku'à-nũud^{ε/}</i>		"thirst"
<i>sālɪma</i>	<i>sàlɪm-</i>	"gold"
<i>sìda</i>	<i>sìd-</i>	"truth"

Kūt^ε is also "nail"; the original sg *kũdvg^o* appears in the name *À-Kũdvg^o* 26.2. So too with a number of irregularly formed deverbal abstract nouns:

<i>gēēñmís^ε</i>	"madness"	←	<i>gēēñm^{m/}</i>	"madden, go mad"
<i>bùdɪmís^ε</i>	"confusion"	←	<i>bùdɪm^m</i>	"confuse"
<i>tìtõmís^ε</i>	"sending"	←	<i>tùm^m</i>	"send"
<i>zĩd^{ε/}</i>	"carrying on head"	←	<i>zĩ</i>	"carry on head"
<i>vũud^{ε/}</i>	"noise"	←	<i>vũ</i>	"make a noise"
<i>kēn^{nε/}</i>	"arrival"	←	<i>kēñ</i>	"come"
<i>pĩàñ'ad^ε</i>	"speech"	←	<i>pĩāñ'^a</i>	"speak" (irreg. tones)
[sg <i>pĩàũñk^o</i>	"word"]			
<i>dì'əma</i>	"festival"	←	<i>dì'əm^m</i>	"play, not be serious"
<i>tõvma</i>	"work"	←	<i>tùm^m</i>	"work"
[sg <i>tõvm^{mε}</i>	"deed"]			
<i>tēñ'esá</i>	"thought"	cf	<i>tēñ'esá yĩnní</i>	"one thought"

A single object may be referred to by a plural naming its components:

	<i>dà-põvdá</i>	<i>dà-põvdá nàm^a</i>	"cross"
cf	<i>dà-põvdír^ε</i>	<i>dà-põvdá</i>	"cross-piece"

A Kusaal plural may just happen to correspond to an English mass noun:

<i>lāyuk^o</i>	<i>lā'ad^ε</i>	<i>là'-</i>	"piece of goods"
<i>lā'af^o</i>	<i>līgɪdɪ</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Mass nouns can be used in count senses: *dāam nám* "beers."

Some count nouns can have mass senses:

<i>fūug dõɔg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut): <i>fūug</i> "item of clothing, shirt"
<i>dàad bún-nám</i>	"wooden things": <i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood"

12.3 Gender

Gender is marked only in pronouns. It is natural, distinguishing **animate** from **inanimate**. Not only human beings, but also supernatural beings, "fairies" and the like have "animate" gender. Without a context, my informants all rejected

*Ò à nē náaf. attempted "It is a cow."
3AN COP FOC COW:SG.

Nevertheless, written sources often use animate pronouns for higher animals:

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zùlvη na paae o salibir.

Kà wìəf yá' sīgí_ lî nî, lî zùlvη ná pāe ò sàlibir.

And horse:SG if descend 3IN LOC, 3IN depth IRR reach 3AN bridle:SG.

"If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." (Rev 14:20)

In stories where animals speak, they are naturally assigned animate gender.

When body parts are represented as speaking in this NT passage, they have animate gender:

Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' ningbiη la nii," lin kv nyaηi ke ka o ka' ningbiη la nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlì-n yē, Mán kā' nū'ug lā zúg, m kā' nìη-gbìη lā

Leg:SG if say-DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.BE hand:SG ART upon, 1SG NEG.BE body-skin:SG ART

ní=ø, līn kú ñyāηi_ø ké kà ò kā' nìη-gbìη lā ní=ø.

LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR prevail CAT cause and 3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG ART LOC=NEG.

"If a leg said, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not in the body', that could not cause it not to be in the body." (1 Cor 12:15)

Trees, animate in the traditional world view, may have animate gender:

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.

Tìg wélà bīgìsìd ón àñ sī'em.

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IPFV 3AN:NZ COP INDF.ADV.

"The fruit of a tree shows what ["how"] it is." (Mt 12:33, 1976)

Babies may be counted as animate or inanimate gender:

Ò/Lì à nē bí-līa. "He/she/it is a baby."

3AN/3IN COP FOC child-baby:SG.

The relevant distinction is thus whether the referent is being regarded as a "person"; if first or second person pronouns might apply, the gender is "animate."

A specific human/non-human distinction appears in morphology, in that the *a|ba* noun class has exclusively human reference. Elsewhere, such distinctions are essentially lexical, as with *nīn-* "person" vs *būn-* "thing" as dummy cbs with adjectives. The availability of human-reference nouns as adjectives [12.8.1.2](#) reflects the fact that nouns referring to people are descriptive, labels for roles, or unique identifiers.

The current gender system distinguishes animate/inanimate in the singular with no distinction in the plural. In older sources like the 1976 NT (as in older Dagbani) inanimate pronoun forms used as heads, like demonstrative *nē'*, are used indifferently for sg or pl, occasionally with *nām*^a plurals to avoid ambiguity. However, even the 1976 NT always uses the animate plurals *bāmmā'* *bān*^ε *sīəba* of the *dependent* pronouns for inanimate, and my informants use the animate plural forms of all pronouns freely for both genders both as dependents and heads:

Bà à nē kūgá. "They are stones."
3PL COP FOC stone:PL.

In unselfconscious utterances animate pronouns often appear for inanimate; speakers correct the gender to inanimate if their attention is drawn to it.

Nīf-káŋā, ōn sǎñ'am nē.
Eye-DEMST.SG, 3AN.CNTR spoil FOC.
"This eye, it's spoilt." KT (Overheard)

Ḃ pō ñyēó-o=∅. "I can't find it [a stethoscope]" (Overheard)
1SG NEG.IND see-3AN.OB=NEG.

sāhma lâ'ad né ò bōtus "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK
gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

The dummy subject pronoun "it" is always *lì*, never *ò*.

The inanimate sg pronoun subject *lì* is not changed to animate *ò* to agree with an animate complement of *àŋñ*^a "be something":

Li anε Zugsoɓ la. "It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)
Lì à nē Zūg-sóɓ lā.
3IN COP FOC head-NULL.AN ART.

12.4 Pronouns

12.4.1 Personal

		Right-bound	Left-bound	Free	Subject+ <i>n̄</i>
Sg	1st	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m^a</i>	<i>mān</i> SF <i>mánè</i> LF	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>f̄v̄</i>	<i>f^o</i>	<i>fōn</i> SF <i>fúnè</i> LF	<i>fún</i>
	3rd an	<i>ò</i> [ɔ]	<i>°</i> [ɔ]	<i>ōn^ε</i>	<i>ón</i>
	3rd inan	<i>lì</i> or <i>dì</i>	<i>lì</i>	<i>līn^ε</i> or <i>dīn^ε</i>	<i>lín</i> or <i>dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>tì</i>	<i>tì</i>	<i>tīnám^a</i>	<i>tīnámì</i> ∅
	2nd	<i>yà</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yānám^a</i>	<i>yānámì</i> ∅
	3rd	<i>bà</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bān^ε</i>	<i>bán</i>

"an" = animate, "inan" = inanimate.

Mām also occurs for 1sg in any role. The bound forms are non-contrastive; they are all liaison words 4.2. Left-bound pronouns are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. Personal pronouns are never dependent: in e.g. *m̄ b̄iḡ* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is *this NP* which is the predependent of *b̄iḡ* "child", exactly like *nà'ab lā* "the chief" in *nà'ab lā b̄iḡ* "the chief's child." There are no possessive pronouns.

The "+*n̄*" forms are used as subjects in *n̄*-clauses 21. The 2pl subject has a form *y^a* used *after* imperatives 18.3 with the allomorph *-ní-* before liaison.

Free forms may be used for cbs before relative pronouns:

Fv̄n kanε buoli fv̄ mεḡ ... "You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
Fōn-kánì bùèlì f̄v̄ mēḡ ...
 2SG-REL.SG call 2SG self ...

Toende Kusaal has *ũ* for *ò* (probably ← **ḡmv*) and *tv̄n nam* for *tīnám yānám*.

There are no inclusive/exclusive distinctions and no honorific uses of plural for singular or 3rd person for 2nd.

2sg is used in proverbs for a generic "one":

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.

Bùḡ yá' bòòd yé ò lūbú f, f̄v̄ p̄v̄ ñyētí ò tùbāa=∅.

Donkey:SG if want that 3AN throw.off 2SG.OB, 2SG NEG.IND see:IPFV 3AN ear:PL=NEG.

"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." KSS p44

("Where there's a will, there's a way.")

3pl is used as a non-specific "they" for turning passive constructions actively:

Bà yòḍḍī f sùḡàa=ø?

3PL pay:IPFV 2SG.OB good:ADV=PQ?

"Are you well paid?" "Do they [never mentioned] pay you well?" SB

This construction has become grammaticalised so far that in *n*-catenation, the object can be construed as the grammatical subject 19.1, e.g.

Diib wōsa nari ba di.

"All foods may be eaten." (Rom 14:20)

Dīib wōsa nárì ø bà dí.

Food all must CAT 3PL eat.

There are formal means of distinguishing different third persons by the use of pronoun ellipsis 17.2.2 and logophoric use of the free pronouns 22.2.

12.4.2 Demonstrative

	Animate sg	Inanimate sg		Plural
Long	<i>òḡā'</i>	<i>lìnā'</i>	far	<i>bàmmā'</i>
Short	<i>òn^ε</i>	<i>lìn^ε</i>	far	<i>bàn^ε</i>
Long		<i>nē'ḡá</i>	near	
Short		<i>nē'</i>	near	<i>nē'-nám^a</i> NT
Long	<i>kàḡā'</i>	<i>kàḡā'</i>		
Short	<i>kàn^ε</i>	<i>kàn^ε</i>		

Note the tone difference between *òn^ε lìn^ε bàn^ε* and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used as the basis of relative pronouns 21.2.2, for discourse deixis, and for interrogative "which?":

Fvne an dau kan la!

"You are that man!" (2 Samuel 12:7)

Fōni ø áñ dáy-kàn lā! [i.e. in the story just related.]

2SG.CNTR CAT COP man-DEM.SG ART!

Lìn^ε?

"Which one?"

Nīf-kánè?

"Which eye?"

Nīn-kánè?

"Which person?"

The "long" series are used for spatio-temporal deixis. They do not distinguish near and far except with sg inanimate heads; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with *lā'* and "this" by a following *ñwà* (cf French *là* and *ci*.) This use of *lā'* as deictic is enabled by the fact that demonstratives automatically make the NP definite 12.8.5.

<i>sān-káṅā</i>	"at this/that time"
<i>dàṅ-kàṅā sām</i>	"this/that man's father"
<i>dàṅ-kàṅā lā sām</i>	"that man's father"
<i>dàṅ-kàṅā ñwá sām</i>	"this man's father"

Òṅā' lìnā' nē'ṅá nē' appear only as NP heads, and *òñ^ε lìn^ε* cannot follow a cb; however, *bàmmā' bān^ε* can be used either uncompounded or after a cb.

Kàn^ε kàṅā' are only used as dependent pronouns, and if the head is a noun or noun-adjective compound it must be a cb (sometimes remodelled on the sg.) *Kàn^ε* may also follow a free personal pronoun, and *àrakóñ'* "one", but no other quantifiers. NT avoids *kàṅā' kàn^ε* for animate gender.

<i>dú'atà lā lór-kàṅā</i>	"this car of the doctor's"
<i>bò-kàṅā lā</i>	"that goat"
<i>nō-pîl-kàṅā</i>	"this white hen"
<i>fōn-kánì bùèl ...</i>	"you who call ..."

12.4.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
<i>sō'</i>	<i>sī'əl^a</i>	<i>sīəba</i> (unlotted vowel)
<i>sī'a</i>	<i>sī'a</i>	

Sō' sī'əl^a sīəba may be used as heads or dependents, and may follow cbs: *sī'a* can only follow cbs, as a dependent. For NT WK, but not KT, *sī'a* is much commoner than *sī'əl^a* used as a dependent. WK feels that for people *sī'a* is pejorative; NT occasionally has *sō'* for inanimate: *tèṅ-sō'* "a certain land." For indefinite pronouns in relative clauses see 21.2.1.

The sense is "some, someone, something", "a certain", indefinite but *specific*:

<i>yà bì-sō'</i>	"a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDF.AN	

The meaning is often "another, a different" (cf Hausa *wani*, Jaggar p314.)

Mεeri one an Magdalen ne Meeri so'

Meeri ónì àñ Magdalen nē Meeri sō'

Mary REL.AN COP Magdalen with Mary INDF.AN

"Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

Winnig m̄or o meη venlim, ka nwadig me m̄or venlim si'a.

W̄innig m̄or ò mēη véñllim kà ñwād̄ig mé m̄or véñllim-s̄i'a.

Sun:SG have 3AN self beauty and moon:SG also have beauty-INDF.IN.

"The sun has its own beauty and the moon, another beauty." (1 Cor 15:41)

M̄ ná tī f tí-s̄i'a.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine-INDF.IN.

"I'll give you a different medicine." WK

Indefinite pronouns can be used to introduce new information:

D̄āy-s̄o' d̄āa bé ...

"There was a certain man ..."

Man-INDF.AN TNS EXIST ...

but this is likely to mean "There was another man ..."; "Once there was a man ..." is usually *D̄āy d̄āa bé ...*

S̄o'/s̄i'el mé-k̄ama means "anyone, anything, everyone, everything":

O niηid si'el mekama sv'vηa.

Ò niηid s̄i'el mé-k̄ama súηā.

3AN do:IPFV INDF.IN also-whatever good:ADV.

"He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)

In negative clauses the indefinites mean "(not) ... anything", "(not) ... anybody":

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.

Kà s̄o' k̄od̄im kú lēm ñyéε lī yá'asā=∅.

And INDF.AN ever NEG.IRR again see 3IN.OB again=NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

S̄o' k̄ā'e=∅.

"There's nobody there."

INDF.AN NEG.BE=NEG.

M̄ p̄ō yél s̄i'ela=∅.

"I didn't say anything."

1SG NEG.IND say INDF.IN=NEG.

12.4.4 Interrogative

Animate

ànḡ'ɔn^ɛ

"who?"

Inanimate

bō

"what?"

Plurals with *nàm^a* may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought. *Bō kím̄m* "what exactly?" with the ideophone *kím̄m* is common in KB.

The initial *à-* of *ànḡ'ɔn^ɛ* behaves like the manner-adverb prefix in liaison 4.2:

... *keŋ tisi anḡ'ɔnɛ?*

"to go to whom?" (1 Samuel 6:20)

... *kēŋ ∅ tísì ∅ ànḡ'ɔnè=∅?*

... go CAT give who=CQ?

Bō can be used after a cb as a dependent interrogative "what?":

nā'-bó

"what cow?" WK DK

(*náaf bó* can only mean "What, of a cow's?")

bò-bō

"what goat?"

dā-bó

"what beer?"

The compound *bò-būudɪ* "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

nā'-bó-būudɪ

"what kind of cow?"

dā-bó-būudɪ

"what kind of beer?"

Fò á nē bó-būudɪ=∅?

"What ethnic group do you belong to?"

2SG COP FOC what-sort=CQ?

Bò- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of ...?"

Fò túm bó-tòvma=∅?

"What kind of work do you do?"

2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

Bo yir ka ya na me' n tis mane?

Bò-yír kà yà ná mē n tís mánè=∅?

What-house:SG and 2PL IRR build CAT give 1SG.CNTR=CQ?

"What kind of house will you build for me?" (Acts 7:49, 1996)

12.4.5 Reciprocal

Tāaba "one another" appears as *tāab* clause-medially for some speakers. It can be used after a cb, meaning "fellow-": *ò tò̄m-tò̄m-tāaba* "his fellow-workers."

Sò̄ṣimī ∅ *tāaba.* "Help one another."
Help:IMP 2PL.SUB each.other.

Tì yūug nē tāaba. "It's been a long time." KT
1PL delay with each.other.

Bà d̀̀l nē tāaba. "They went together." (*d̀̀l*^{la/} "accompany")
3PL follow with each.other.

12.4.6 Reflexive

Mē̄ṣ^{a/} "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl: *m̄ mē̄ṣ* "myself", *yà mē̄ṣ* "yourselves."

nà'ab lā mē̄ṣ "the chief himself"
chief:SG ART self

Bà ñýéε ∅ *bà mē̄ṣ.* "They've seen for themselves."
3PL see 3PL self.

"Self" forms must be used for complements referring to the clause subject:

M̄ ñwé'ε ∅ *m mē̄ṣ.* "I hit myself."
1SG hit 1SG self. not **M̄ ñwé'ε m* or **M̄ ñwé'ε m̄n.*

Kusaal uses a pronoun possessor with body parts acted on by their owner, e.g.

Ba p̄v piesidi ba nu'us w̄v̄v lín nar si'em la ka ditta.

Bà p̄v p̄īəsídí ∅ *bà nú'us w̄v̄v lín nār s̄i'əm lá kà dítā=∅.*

3PL NEG.IND clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3IN:NZ be.right INDEF.ADV ART and eat:IPFV=NEG.

"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." (Mt 15:1)

Where ordinary pronouns would be permissible, using *mē̄ṣ* implies contrast:

M̄ píə ∅ *m̄ mē̄ṣ nú'us.* "I washed my own hands."
1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

F̀v̀ mēη k̄v̄v b̄l̄-l̄aa=ø? "Yourself or the baby?"
 2SG self or child-baby:SG=CQ? ("Which of you needs the doctor?")

See also [12.8.3](#) on *amēηá* "really, truly" as a modifier "genuine, real"; cf the adjective *mēηír̄^ε* seen in *yēl-mēηír̄^ε* "truth" ("genuine matter.")

12.4.7 Dummy head

S̄b^a is a dummy head for a preceding NP or AdvP dependent; it specifies number and gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate	sg	<i>s̄b^a</i>	pl	<i>d̄im^a</i>
Inanimate	sg/pl	<i>d̄in^{nε}</i>		

NP predependent constructions have their usual meanings [12.7.2](#):

<i>mān d̄in^{nε}</i>	"my one, mine"
<i>À-W̄in d̄im</i>	"Awini's family"

F̄v̄n p̄iāñ'ad nē t̄inám d̄in.

2SG.CNTR speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CNTR NULL.IN.

("We can't speak your language but ...") "You're speaking ours."

<i>p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̄im s̄b^a</i>	
pl <i>p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̄im d̄im^a</i>	"holy person" (<i>p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̄im^m</i> "holiness")
<i>d̄ūnyā ní d̄in^{nε}</i>	"earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)
<i>B̀òk d̄im</i>	"Bawku people"
<i>ȳīgá s̄b^a</i>	"first (person)" beside <i>ȳīg-s̄b^a</i> <i>id</i>

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

<i>ȳī-s̄b^a</i>	pl <i>ȳī-s̄b-nàm^a</i>	"householder"	(<i>ȳī^ε</i> "house")
<i>ȳī-d̄im^a</i>		"members of the household"	
<i>n̄īf-s̄b^a</i>		"miser"	(<i>n̄īf^o</i> "eye")
<i>t̄āñp-s̄b^a</i>		"warrior"	(<i>t̄āñp^o</i> "war")
<i>z̄ūg-s̄b^a</i>	pl <i>z̄ūg-s̄b-nàm^a</i>	"boss" NT "Lord"	(<i>z̄ūg^o</i> "head")

Ò s̄b^a/v̄n s̄b^a mean "the person we were just talking about."

12.5 Quantifiers

Formally, quantifiers resemble noun sg or pl forms, frequently with apocope-blocking 3.2; most number words are also preceded by number prefixes.

Quantifiers are **count** or **mass** 12.2, but the distinction is only of significance if the quantified noun is mass type, in which case a count quantifier is ungrammatical; with count nouns either type of quantifier is acceptable:

	<i>nīdīb bédvḡō</i>	"a lot of people"
	<i>nīdīb bábīgā</i>	"many people"
	<i>kù'əm bédvḡō</i>	"a lot of water"
not	* <i>kù'əm bábīgā</i>	*"many water"

Mass quantifiers are

<i>bédvḡō'</i>	"a lot"	<i>pāmm</i> LF <i>pāmné</i>	"a lot"
<i>fīñ</i>	"a little (liquid)"	<i>bī'əlá</i>	"a little"
<i>wōv</i>	"all"	<i>wōsa</i>	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers are

<i>bábīgā'</i>	"many"	<i>kàlīgā'</i>	"few"
<i>fāñ</i>	"every"	<i>zāñ'a</i>	"every"

Kàm^a "every" occurs by itself as a quantifier and also before others:

sāḡá kám = sāḡá kám zāñ'a "all the time"

Quantifiers appear typically as determiners in NPs 12.8.2, but like pronouns they may also be heads of NPs; they can pluralise with *nám*^a:

<i>Pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bédvḡō ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bédvḡō lā ké nā.</i>	"The crowd came"
<i>Àyí' ké nā.</i>	"Two came."
<i>Àyí' lā ké nā.</i>	"The two came."
<i>màlīāk-nám túsà pīḡa nám</i>	"tens of thousands of angels"

A quantifier head after a dependent NP is a **partitive** construction 12.7.2.

Quantifier heads may be followed by dependent pronouns; as quantifiers have no combining forms, there is no compounding:

*Ka ti ye ti nye diib yaani moogin nwa diis nidib **bedego bama** nwa?*

Kà tì yé tì ñyē dīib yáa ní mōogv-n ñwá

And 1PL that 1PL find food where LOC grass:SG-LOC this

∅ dūs nīdīb bédvǵō bām̄mā ñwá=∅?

CAT feed person:PL many DEMST.PL this=CQ?

"Where are we going to find food in this wilderness to feed this crowd of people?" (Mt 15:33, 1996: KB *nimbama nwa wvsa* "all these people")

12.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as **quantifiers** take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i>	10	<i>pīga</i>	100	<i>kòbǵā</i>
2	<i>àyí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí</i> [pisi]	200	<i>kòbǵí</i> [kòbisi]
3	<i>àtáñ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táñ'</i>	300	<i>kòbǵis táñ'</i>
4	<i>ànāasí</i>	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i>	400	<i>kòbǵis nāasí</i>
5	<i>ànū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū</i>	500	<i>kòbǵis nū</i>
6	<i>àyúèbò</i>	60	<i>pīs yúèbò</i>	600	<i>kòbǵis yúèbò</i>
7	<i>àyópòè</i>	70	<i>pīs yópòè</i>	700	<i>kòbǵis yópòè</i>
8	<i>ànǵi</i>	80	<i>pīs nǵi</i>	800	<i>kòbǵis nǵi</i>
9	<i>àwāè</i>	90	<i>pīs wāè</i>	900	<i>kòbǵis wāè</i>

The quantified noun is normally plural, except with *yīnní*, but may be singular with units of measure: *yōlvǵá àtáñ'* "¢600 [cedis]."

The forms for 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 100 show apocope-blocking; the forms for 20 and 200 are not apocope-blocked but are combinations with the stem of *àyí'*.

Kòbǵā irregularly has identical LF and SF.

"Thousand" is a regular *re|aa* class noun, *tūsir^{ε/}*: *tūsá àtáñ'* "3000." "Half" is *pō-súk^a* pl *pō-súǵs^ε*. Other numbers are formed with *nē* "with, and":

kòbǵis táñ' nē pīs yúèbò nē nū "three hundred and sixty-five"

11 to 19 have the special contracted forms *pīi nē yīnní*, *pīi nē yí'*, *pīi nē táñ'* ... *pīi nē wāè* (or *pīi nā yīnní*, *pīi nā yí'* ...)

The prefix *à-* is omitted after *nē* "with", and sometimes also after focus-*nē'*:

Lì à nē nāasí. / *Lì à né ànāasí.* "They're four."

The forms *àyǵā' àtǵā'* mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M̄ mór b̄īsá àtáñ' "I have three children."
 1SG have child:PL NUM:three. is true, though misleading

but *M̄ mór b̄īsá àtāḡā* "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after *nē* "and", as in *p̄ī nē ȳḡā* "twelve exactly."
 They are exceptional in not permitting focus with the particle *nē'* 24.1.2.

Ȳinní can also be construed with a preceding noun cb:

kūg-ȳinní "one stone" (M dropping 4.4.4)
 cf *kūḡvr ȳinní* "one stone" (no M dropping)

Dà-p̄īḡa is "ten days"; *p̄īḡa* is not otherwise used after cbs.

After personal pronouns the number prefix is *bà-* instead of *à-*: *tì bàtáñ'* "we three", *yà bàyópòḡ* "you seven", *bà bàyí'* "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in **counting**, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix *ḡ-* instead of *à-*:

1	<i>yéḡ</i> or <i>àrakóñ'</i>	6	<i>ḡyûḡb</i>
2	<i>ḡyí'</i>	7	<i>ḡpòḡ</i> [tone sic]
3	<i>ḡtáñ'</i>	8	<i>ḡñí</i>
4	<i>ḡnāas</i>	9	<i>ḡwāḡ</i>
5	<i>ḡnū</i>		continuing <i>p̄īḡa</i> , <i>p̄ī nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

Àrakóñ' can also be used as a quantifier: *bóvḡ àrakóñ'* "one goat."

The form *kōñ'ḡkō* appears as a postposition: *m̄ kōñ'ḡkō* "by myself."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' nāmá àyí' á nē nāasí.
 NUM:two PL NUM:two COP FOC four.
 "Two twos are four."

The only **ordinal** adjective, as in *sōb-dēḡ* "first census" (Lk 2:2, 1976) is

dēḡ^a *dēḡñs*^ε *dēḡ-* "first"
 or *dēḡm̄s*^ε or *dēḡna*

"First" can also be expressed by *ȳīḡá* "firstly" as a predependent:

līnē da an yīiga dabisir

līni ◡ ∅ *dá àñ yīigá dábısr.*

3IN.CNTR CAT TNS COP firstly day:SG.

"That was the first day." (Genesis 1:5)

Other ordinal expressions can be created using *pàas*^ε or *pè'es*^ε "add up to":

dàü-kàni pè'esa ◡ *àyí' lā*

man-REL.SG add.up.to NUM:two ART

"the second man" ("man who has added up to two")

līni pàasa ◡ *àtáñ' lā* "the third one"

REL.IN add.up.to NUM:three ART

Another construction uses numbers as predependents before *dāan*^a "owner of ..."; such phrases are then themselves used either as NP heads or as determiners:

àyí' dāan lā "the second one"

bōvǵá àtáñ' dāan lā "the third goat"

Yīigá dāan may be used for "first." In "*Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*" p35 ordinal forms used in counting "first, second, third ..." appear without apocope-blocking: *atan'-daan ... ka anaas-daan ... ka nu-daan ... ka yuob-daan ... ka poi-daan ... ka nii-daan ... ka wai-daan ... ka piig-daan*, but my informants use ordinary quantifier forms.

Note the adjective

yīmmír^ε *yīmmá* *yīm-* "single, alone"

as in *bì-yīmmír* "only child", *wāb-yīmmír* "solitary elephant."

There are two words meaning "one of a pair": *ñyàuk*[∅] pl *ñyà'ad*^ε is only used for eyes, while *yīuŋ*^{∅/} pl *yīná* is used for other normally paired body parts: *nōb-yīuŋ* "one leg", *nū'-yīuŋ* "one hand", *nīf-ñyàuk* "one eye", *tòb-yīuŋ* "one ear."

Multiplicatives (answering *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?") are expressed

yīmmó "straight away, at once"

àbòyí' "twice"

àbòtáñ' "three times"

àbònāasí "four times"

and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīga* "ten times."

This *à-* is not the number prefix but the manner-adverb formant, and a LF-final vowel before it is *-ɪ*; the attachment to 2-9 only is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nɔ̄ɔrá àlá* "how many times?" have forms of the pattern

	<i>nɔ̄ɔr yīnní</i>	"once"
	<i>nɔ̄ɔrá àtáń'</i>	"three times"
or	<i>nɔ̄ɔríṃ b̀táń'</i>	"three times" NT

This *nɔ̄ɔr* is not "mouth" (= Mooré *nóorè*) but corresponds to Mooré *náooré* "times", homophonous with Mooré *náooré* "leg"; cf Toende Kusaal *nɔ̄'ɔt* = Agolle *nóbir* "leg". Original *ɔɔ* and *oo* fell together when nasalised 2.2. For the semantics cf Hausa *sàu ukù* "three times" *sau* "foot(print)." Niggli's dictionary gives Toende *nó'ɔt* (tone *sic*) in the sense "fois" and even has *nɔba ayi* beside *nó'ɔt ayi* "deux fois."

Distributives ("two by two" etc) are reduplicated forms without apocope-blocking; there is no M dropping on the second part except with 10, 100, 1000:

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>p̄ī p̄īg</i>	100	<i>k̀̀bɪg k̀̀bɪg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>p̄īsí p̄īsí</i>	200	<i>k̀̀bɪsí k̀̀bɪsí</i> or <i>k̀̀bɪs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtáń' táń'</i>	30	<i>p̄īs táń' táń'</i>	300	<i>k̀̀bɪs táń' táń'</i>
4	<i>ànāas nāas</i>	40	<i>p̄īs nāas nāas</i>		<i>etc</i>
5	<i>ànū nū</i>	50	<i>p̄īs nū nū</i>	1000	<i>tūsɪr tūsɪr</i>
6	<i>àyûəb yûəb</i>	60	<i>p̄īs yûəb yûəb</i>		
7	<i>àyóp̀̀d̀̀ɛ p̀̀ɛ</i>	70	<i>p̄īs yóp̀̀d̀̀ɛ p̀̀ɛ</i>		
8	<i>àn̄í n̄í</i>	80	<i>p̄īs n̄í n̄í</i>		
9	<i>àwāɛ wāɛ</i>	90	<i>p̄īs wāɛ wāɛ</i>		

Intermediate numbers are made by replacing the last part of the usual quantifier phrase with a distributive: *p̄īs nū n̄ē nāas nāas* "by fifty-fours."

The distributives can have a preceding NP as a dependent:

dābá àyóp̀̀d̀̀ɛ p̀̀ɛ "weekly" ("by sevens of days")

12.5.2 Proquantifiers

Quantifiers have corresponding proforms; the *à-* is the *number* prefix, and induces preceding LF-final *-a* not *-ɪ* 4.2.

Demonstrative	Indefinite	Interrogative
<i>àlá</i>	<i>s̄í'əṃ^m</i>	<i>àlá</i>
"so much/many"	"some amount"	"how much/many?"

12.6 Personifier particle

Indigenous Kusaasi personal names 26.2 are always preceded by the personifier particle, which appears as *À-* by default, but *Ñ-* before adjective stems, where *Ñ-* is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the point of articulation of a following consonant. The particle is a liaison word; the *À-* allomorph, like the manner-adverb prefix *à-*, is preceded by word-final *-ɪ*, not *-a* as with the number prefix.

Personal names do not take adjectives or the article, but may occur with other determiners. *À-* is deleted after a predependent, but *Ñ-* remains.

Personal names can pluralise with *nàm*^a; such plurals can mean e.g. "more than one person called Awini"; Niggli's Toende Kusaal dictionary also gives the *cum suis* meaning: *Awɪnnam*: "Awin and his people. *Awinne et consort (les Awinne).*"

<i>À-Wɪn</i>	"Awini"
<i>tì Wɪn</i>	"our Awini"
<i>M̄ Wɪn</i>	"my Awini"
<i>À-Wɪn-káŋā</i>	"this Awini"
<i>À-Wɪn nám</i>	"Awinis"
<i>Ñ-Dāvɔg</i>	"Ndago"
<i>tì Ñ-Dāvɔg</i>	"our Ndago"

Although the Kusaal Bible versions (unlike the Mooré Bible) use foreign names without the particle, *À-* normally appears before them in speech:

<i>À-Mūusa</i>	"Moses"
<i>À-Yīisa</i>	"Jesus"
<i>À-Sīmōɔn</i>	"Simon"

NT has some personifications of abstractions: *À-Sàñ'vɔŋ* "Destruction."

In stories where animals are characters, animal names take *À-*:

<i>À-Bāa</i>	"Mr Dog"
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Some animal and bird names incorporate the personifier particle as part of the common noun, with no implication of personification, e.g. *à-dàalóŋ*^o "stork", *à-gāvŋg*^o "pied crow", *à-kōra-dīəm*^{ma} "praying mantis", *à-mús*^ε "cat." Thus

<i>à-dàalóŋ</i>	"a stork"
<i>m̄/mān</i> <i>dáalóŋ</i>	"my stork"
1SG/1SG.CNTR stork:SG	

dāy lā dáalóŋ "the man's stork"
man:SG ART stork:SG

Lì à né à-dàalóŋ. "It's a stork"
3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.

M ñyé à-dàalóŋ. "I've seen a stork."
1SG see PERS-stork:SG.

The *à-* allomorph is not elided after a predependent but is *replaced* by it, as shown by the M spreading affecting the stem. The fact that *à-* thus effectively fills a predependent slot may reflect a historical origin in an indefinite third-person pronoun "someone", perhaps related to the Mooré 3sg pronoun *yě~a*.

A further similarity with personal pronouns appears when *verb phrases* are nominalised by the personifier particle, which then takes the place of a subject pronoun in the sense "someone who ..." This is particularly common in proverbs.

Atvm sɔ' "Siloam" (Jn 9:7)
À-tòm sɔ' ("Someone sent someone")
PERS-send INDF.AN

Apu-kpen'-baŋv dim
À-pṽ kpéñ' bàŋv dím
PERS-NEG.IND enter circumcision NULL.PL
"the Uncircumcised" (Eph 2:11)

À-dāa yél kā' t̄imm=∅.
PERS-TNS say NEG.HAVE medicine=NEG.
"Did-say has no remedy." (No use crying over spilt milk.)

À-ñyē nē nīf sóñ'ɔ̄ À-wòm t̄òba.
PERS-see with eye:SG be.better.than PERS-hear ear:PL
"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

À-Kīdɪgɪ̄ ∅ Bū'os "Crossed over and asked"
PERS-CROSS CAT ask (name of the constellation Orion.)

Apozotyel "Doesn't-fear-trouble", character in KSS p35.
À-Pṽ-zót-yēl
PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG

À- as predependent of a clause subject means "someone whose ...":

Bà kèn né À-nà kúv̀m̄ nūa yír, kà bà pō kén
 3PL go:IPFV FOC PERS-IRR kill 1SG chicken:SG house:SG and 3PL NEG.IND go:IPFV
À-nōs bé yírē=∅.
 PERS-chicken:PL EXIST house:SG=NEG.

"They go to Will-kill-my-chicken's house, but not to Got-chickens' house."
 ("The rich are not always hospitable.") [*Nōs bé.* "There are chickens."]

Nominalisations with *à-* can pluralise with *nàm*^a:

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpîid né kà téñbìd.
 PERS-NEG.KNOW CAT die PL die:IPFV FOC and tremble:IPFV.

"Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Proverb)
 (i.e. "It's a storm in a teacup.")

12.7 Dependents before the head

The head of a NP may be preceded by a dependent. Only one is permitted, but the resulting NP may itself recursively serve as the head of a NP with yet another predependent. Specific predependents precede generic, with cbs last:

Wínà'am [pú'vsùg [fûug dōg]]
 "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see [4.4.4](#).

12.7.1 Combining forms

A combining form as a predependent is always generic and non-referential. Compounds with a predependent cb can be freely created, but resemble the compounds seen in other languages more closely than those with cb heads preceding adjectives and dependent pronouns. Specialised lexical meanings often occur with dependent cbs, rarely with head cbs before adjectives and never before pronouns.

If the head is a deverbal noun, it may be preceded by a combining form representing an **argument**, with count or mass meaning:

dā-nûur^ε "beer-drinking" *gēl-kûes*^a "egg-seller"

With **agent nouns** from transitive verbs the cb usually represents an object. Agent nouns from intransitives may have an AdvP or indirect object cb complement. These compounds can be freely coined, and their meanings are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions. Examples:

<i>n̄n-k̄v̄d^a</i>	"murderer"	<i>b̄v̄-k̄v̄d^{a/}</i>	"goat-killer"
<i>n̄v̄-k̄v̄d^a</i>	"hen-killer"	<i>p̄v̄'à-k̄v̄d^{a/}</i>	"woman-killer"
<i>n̄v̄-zāñ^{lε}</i>	"holder of hens"	<i>w̄d-k̄v̄s^a</i>	"horse-seller"
<i>b̄v̄-k̄v̄s^a</i>	"goat-seller"	<i>s̄l̄m-k̄v̄s^a</i>	"gold-seller"
<i>d̄ā-n̄v̄d^a</i>	"beer-drinker"	<i>d̄ā-k̄j̄d^a</i>	"wood-cutter"
<i>z̄īm-gbāñ'ad^a</i>	"fisherman" ("fish-catcher")		
<i>n̄v̄-d̄j̄'əs^a</i>	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
<i>t̄ān-m̄ēd^a</i>	"builder" (<i>t̄ān^{nε}</i> "earth")		
<i>l̄āmp̄v̄-d̄j̄'əs^a</i>	"tax collector" (French <i>l'impôt</i>)		
<i>gb̄ān-m̄j̄'id^{a/}</i>	"scribe" NT ("book-knower")		
<i>p̄v̄'à-sāñ'am^{ma}</i>	"adulterer" ("woman-spoiler")		
<i>z̄à'-n̄v̄-ḡur^a</i>	"gate-keeper" (<i>z̄à'-n̄v̄j̄r^{ε/}</i> "gate")		
<i>k̄v̄ñb-k̄īm^{na}</i>	"herdsman" (<i>k̄v̄ñb-</i> cb of <i>b̄v̄n-k̄v̄ñb̄v̄g^o</i> "animal")		
<i>b̄v̄l-s̄j̄ḡid^{a/}</i>	"well-diver" (<i>b̄v̄l^a</i> "well")		
<i>t̄v̄v̄n-ḡāt^a</i>	"leader" (<i>Ò ḡād t̄v̄v̄n</i> "He's gone ahead")		
<i>ñȳà'an-d̄v̄l^{la}</i>	"disciple" (<i>ñȳà'an^a</i> "behind", <i>d̄v̄l^{la/}</i> "accompany")		
<i>p̄v̄'à-l̄ā'ad^a</i>	"laugher at women" WK (<i>Ò l̄ā'ad p̄v̄'ab</i> "He laughs at women")		

My informants freely create and cite agent nouns in isolation, but it is unusual in practice for agent nouns to appear "bare"; in my materials only *b̄āñj̄d^a* "wise man", *s̄j̄āk̄id^a* "believer", *s̄v̄ñj̄d^a* "helper", *f̄āāñd^{a/}* "robber", "Saviour" occur often. With monosyllabic agent nouns there is often a preceding cognate cb, sometimes an object, but often apparently just a reduplication of the agent noun stem:

<i>m̄āal-m̄āan^{na}</i>	"sacrificer"	<i>z̄ī-z̄j̄id^a</i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>t̄v̄'as-t̄v̄'as^a</i>	"talker"	<i>z̄āb-z̄āb^a</i>	"warrior" (tone <i>sic</i>)
<i>z̄v̄t-z̄v̄t^a</i>	"racer, athlete"	<i>t̄v̄m-t̄v̄m^{na}</i>	"worker"

Cbs occur before deverbal **instrument nouns** in object or adverb senses:

<i>s̄j̄à-l̄v̄v̄d̄j̄^a</i>	"belt" (waist-tying thing)
<i>n̄ñ-ḡv̄t̄j̄^a</i>	"mirror" (eye-looking thing)
<i>n̄ñ-ḡv̄t̄is^ε</i>	"spectacles"

If the head is a **gerund**, a predependent cb may represent a subject or complement. Gerunds in *-bo* here replace the suffix with *-re* 8.1.1.

If the underlying verb is transitive, a predependent cb cannot be a subject. It is most often an object:

<i>fū-yêr^ε</i>	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)
<i>pu'â-dîr^ε</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ô dî pu'â</i> "He's married a wife")
<i>nîñ-kôv^ε</i>	"murder"
<i>dā-nûr^ε</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>Sāmán-pjêr^ε</i>	traditional New Year ("Courtyard Cleaning")
<i>bùgúm-tôñr^ε</i>	Fire Festival ("Fire Throwing")
<i>nô-lôv^ε</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>nô-pôv^ε</i>	"oath" (<i>pô</i> "swear")
<i>nô-nâar^ε</i>	"covenant" (<i>nâ</i> "join")
<i>nîñ-bâal-zôv^ε</i>	"pity" (<i>Ô zôtô nîñ-bâalîg</i> . "He has pity on him")

It may represent an AdvP:

<i>mò-pîl^{lε}</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vô'vgír^ε</i>	"resurrection" (<i>Ô vô'vg kûmî-n</i> . "He revived from death.")

Cbs as subjects are seen only with gerunds from intransitive or patientive ambitransitive verbs:

<i>nôb-kôv^ε</i>	"breaking a leg" (<i>kô</i> is intransitive)
<i>nû'-módîr^ε</i>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>wîñ-lîir^ε</i>	"sunset" (<i>Wîñnîg lí yâ</i> . "The sun has set/fallen.")
<i>sûñ-sân'vη^o</i>	"sorrow" (<i>Ā sūñf sâñ'am nē</i> . "My heart is spoilt")
<i>sûñ-pêen^{nε}</i>	"anger" (<i>Ā sūñf pélîg nē</i> . "My heart is white.")

A dependent cb before a deadjectival abstract noun may have a sense much like an argument, corresponding to the subject of a related verb:

<i>pò-pjêlîm^m</i>	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
<i>sûñ-kpî'ong^o</i>	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
<i>sûñ-má'asîm^m</i>	"joy" ("heart-coolness": <i>Ā sūñf má'e yâ</i> . "I'm joyful.")
<i>nîñ-tôllîm^m</i>	"fever" ("body-heat")
<i>wîñ-tôvg^o</i>	"ill fortune" ("fate-bitterness")

Before heads which are neither deverbal nor abstract nouns, a dependent cb has a very general quasi-adjectival sense. Such compounds are especially liable to develop specialised lexical meanings.

<i>bì-fūug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
<i>wìd-zṽvr</i> ^ɛ	"horsetail"
<i>wāb-mócgṽ-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants" WK
<i>zà'-nṽor</i> ^{ɛ/}	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
<i>mà-bīig</i> ^a	"sibling" ("child by [same] mother")
<i>bā'-bīig</i> ^a	"half-sibling" ("child by [same] father")
<i>tèη-bīig</i> ^a	"native" ("child of a country")
<i>nàsàa-sìlvṽ</i> ^ɔ	"aeroplane" (European hawk) ILK

WK has *náaf-bì'isím*^m "cow's milk", *bṽvg-bì'isím*^m "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound.

12.7.2 Noun phrases

Complete NPs as predependents play a role analogous to English genitives and NP complements with "of" (CGEL pp467ff, 441.) The range of meanings is similarly very wide, and dependent on the semantics of both head and dependent. Indefinite non-count predependent NPs function as modifiers, and definite and/or count NPs as determiners. Personal pronouns never function as determiners themselves, but they often head predependent NPs which do 3.1.

Definite predependents do not automatically make a NP head definite 12.8.5.

For *mēη*^{a/} "self" and *sṽb*^a as heads after predependents see 12.4.6 12.4.7.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun or a quantifier, the construction with a predependent is **partitive**:

<i>nīn-sīəbà</i>	"certain people"	<i>sīəba</i>	dependent
<i>yà sṽ'</i>	"some one among you"	<i>sṽ'</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb lā sīəbà</i>	"certain of the people"	<i>sīəba</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb sīəbà</i>	"certain ones among people"	<i>sīəba</i>	head
<i>nīdɪbá àyí'</i>	"two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdɪbá àyí' lā</i>	"the two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdɪb lá àyí'</i>	"two of the people"	<i>àyí'</i>	head

The sense is also partitive if the head is a relative clause with an indefinite pronoun as relative:

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fvn gaη sɔ'

Pà'alimī tí nīdibá_ àyí' ñwá fún gāη sɔ'

Teach:IMP 1PL.OB person:PL NUM:two this 2SG:NZ choose INDFAN

"Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" (Acts 1:24)

A partitive sense is not possible with other head types: e.g. *nīdib lā gígìs* must mean "the dumb ones *belonging* to the people", not "among the people" (WK.)

Abstract indefinite NPs as predependents ascribe a quality to the head:

<i>nā'am kúk</i>	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
<i>nā'am sù'v̀l̀im</i>	"kingdom" ("chieftaincy possession")
<i>p̀v̀sv̀g d̀ɔ̀ɔ̀g</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>t̀ɔ̀l̀gír b̀ún</i>	"heater" ("heating thing" = <i>b̀v̀n-t̀ɔ̀l̀gír</i> ^ε)
<i>d̀v̀gv̀b d̀út</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>l̀īgídı t̀v̀mà</i>	"expensive work" (<i>l̀īgídı</i> "money")

There are sometimes alternate forms with cbs:

	<i>t̀āñp-s̀v̀b</i>	"warrior"	(<i>t̀āñp</i> ^ɔ "war")
	<i>p̀v̀-ɾ̀ìəl-s̀v̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Rom 3:10, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-ɾ̀ìəlım s̀v̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Mt 10:41, 1996)
	<i>p̀v̀-ɾ̀ìəl-t̀v̀v̀ma</i>	"holy actions"	(Rom 6:13, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-ɾ̀ìəlım t̀v̀v̀mà</i>	"holy actions"	(Mt 5:10, 1996)

Language names may appear as abstract nouns describing an ethnic group:

<i>K̀v̀s̀aal ỳr nē k̀v̀v̀b</i>	"Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
<i>Ǹas̀aal búgúm</i>	"electricity" ("European fire")

Concrete indefinite mass NPs as predependents express the material of which the head consists.

<i>s̀ālımá b̀v̀t̀ìη</i>	"golden cup"
<i>s̀ālımá nē ānzúrıfà lâ'ad</i>	"gold and silver goods"

Count nouns may appear here in mass senses 12.2:

<i>f̀v̀v̀g d̀ɔ̀ɔ̀g</i>	"tent" (cloth hut)
<i>d̀àad b̀ún-nám</i>	"wooden things" (<i>d̀àv̀g</i> ^ɔ "piece of wood")

NP predependents of this type can be antecedents of anaphoric pronouns:

sālīma lâ'ad né ò bōtus "gold goods and [gold] cups" WK 12.1

This is never the case with dependent cbs, as in *sālīm-kùès* "gold-seller", *dā-nūud* "beer-drinker"; on non-referential NPs as antecedents in English see e.g. CGEL pp400ff, and p1458; the restriction of anaphora to the same clause implied on p400 is not valid in English in the case of *generic* non-referential NPs.

The cb first element of *kù'à-ñwīg* "current" ("aquatic rope") suggests that the construction with unbound concrete mass predependents is limited to the specific sense "made of ...", so that **kù'əm ñwīg* would be "rope made of water."

With count and/or definite heads, meanings include kin relations, body parts, and ownership:

<i>m̄ bīg</i>	"my child"
<i>dāy lā bīg</i>	"the man's child"
<i>dāy lā bīər bīg nāaf zōvr</i>	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
<i>Kōsāas wádà</i>	"customs of the Kusaasi"

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bē'og yīr nà sāñ'am.

Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.

"The house of a wicked person will be destroyed." (Proverbs 14:11)

A contrast with a non-referential predependent cb:

<i>nà'ab lā wīəf zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)

Dāan^a "owner of ..." (*nām*^a pl) always has a predependent NP; this may represent a concrete possession, or if it is adverbial or has an abstract sense, it may ascribe a quality (as with Hausa *mài*, or Arabic *đu*):

<i>lór dāan</i>	"car owner"
<i>bōvg dāan</i>	"goat owner"
<i>kù'əm dāan</i>	"water owner"
<i>tīəg dāan</i>	"bearded man" Hausa <i>mài geemùu</i>
<i>dāam dāan</i>	"beer owner"
<i>pōvg lā dāan</i>	"the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40)

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zhè-wōk dāan pō gāṅìd búgóm̄m=∅.

Tail-long:SG owner:SG NEG.IND step.over:IPFV fire=NEG.

Proverb: "One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire."

(If you have family commitments you shouldn't take risks.) KSS p38

pò-p̄èl̄im dāan

"holy person"

bōgv̄sīgā dāan

"softly-softly sort of person" WK

See [12.5.1](#) on the use of *dāan*^a with numbers to make ordinal expressions.

A cb predependent appears before *dāan*^a in a few set expressions:

yī-dāan

"householder" = *yī-sób* (Hausa *mài gidaa*)

tèṅ-dāan

(literally "land-owner"): traditional earth-priest

Before gerunds and other abstract nouns describing events or processes, NP predependents refer to *subjects*. Such constructions are themselves most often used as subjects or with postpositions.

Dāu lā kúlòg dāa mālisí m.

Man:SG ART go.home:GER TNS be.sweet 1SG.OB.

"The man's return home pleased me."

Generic-object cbs, adjunct AdvPs and VP-final particles may appear:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la

yà àntu'á-mōrím kótò ní nē tāaba lā

2PL case-have:GER court:SG LOC with each.other ART

"your going to law with each other in court" (1 Cor 6:7, 1976)

Ninsaal Biig la lēbv̄g la na

Nīn-sāal Bīg lā lēbv̄g lā nā

Person-smooth:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither

"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

12.7.3 Adverbial phrases

Predependent AdvPs may not be proadverbs. Most are locative, or phrases with the postposition *yēlá* "about", or depend on the specialised head *dāan*^a 12.7.2.

<i>dūniya ní n̄n-gb̄īŋ</i>	"earthly body"
<i>kōlv̄gv-n n̄ó-d̄âv̄g</i>	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
<i>Bòk dí̄m</i>	"Bawku people"
<i>dàgòb̄ig ní̄f</i>	"left eye"
<i>zūḡú-n ní̄f-gb̄á̄ūŋ</i>	"upper eyelid"
<i>tē̄ŋi-n ní̄f-gb̄á̄ūŋ</i>	"lower eyelid"

Ba da m̄ar m̄ōogin bun̄k̄onbid n̄e ba buudi, yin bun̄k̄onbid n̄e ba buudi ...

Bà dà m̄àr m̄ōogv-n b̄ún-k̄óñb̄ìd n̄é bà b̄ūud̄i, ȳn b̄ún-k̄óñb̄ìd

3PL TNS have bush:SG-LOC thing-hair:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC thing-hair:PL
n̄é bà b̄ūud̄i...

and 3PL kind ...

"They took wild animals with their kind, tame animals with their kind ..."

(Gen 7:14)

Kūs̄âas k̄û̄eb n̄ē ȳr ȳl̄à gb̄à̄ūŋ "A book about Kusaasi houses and agriculture"

d̄à̄u-k̄à̄ŋā l̄ā ȳl̄à gb̄à̄ūŋ "a book about that man" WK

Ȳiḡá "firstly" appears as a predependent meaning "first" 12.5.1.

12.8 Dependents after the head

Dependents follow a head noun in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun or AdvP, article or *n̄wà* "this." All except adjectives are determiners.

Adjectives and dependent pronouns follow a head noun which is itself reduced to a combining form, while the dependent inflects to show the number of the head. Compounds with cb heads are formed absolutely freely with completely transparent meanings, making the cb a standard part of noun and adjective paradigms. Cbs as heads are the most liable to segmental remodelling 5.2.

Compounds with dependent pronouns naturally cannot be lexicalised, but compounds with adjectives can develop specialised lexical meanings.

Quantifiers do not have combining forms and cannot be followed by the dependent-only demonstrative forms *kàn^ε k̄à̄ŋā'*.

For WK and DK, a noun before a dependent pronoun must appear as a cb, but SB often produced forms with cbs segmentally remodelled after sg or even pl forms.

12.8.1 Adjectives

Adjectives follow a head cb. They do not themselves normally appear as heads, but a subset of adjectives lacking corresponding stative verbs may be used as heads of predicative complements 16.9.2. Generally, compounds with *n̄n-* "person" or *b̄n-* "thing" are used instead: *n̄n-sùŋ*^ɔ "good person", *b̄n-vúr*^ɛ "living thing" etc. *B̄n*^{nɛ/} can make a regular *rɛ|aa* class plural *b̄ná* or pluralise with *nám*^a:

B̄n-námá *àlá* *kà f̄v̄ ñyētá=ø?*
 Thing-PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
 "How many things do you see?" SB

B̄n also occurs with abstract and AdvP predependents:

t̄v̄lígír b̄n^{nɛ} "heating thing, heater" = *b̄n-t̄v̄lígír*^ɛ
kù'əmī-n b̄n^{nɛ} "water creature"

Deverbal adjective forms with no preceding cb are synonymous with agent nouns, so the presence of *b̄n-* distinguishes different meanings in e.g. *b̄n-kúvd̄ír*^ɛ "thing to do with killing" versus *k̄v̄vd̄ír*^ɛ "killer."

Note the idioms

b̄n-gíŋ^a "short chap" (informal, humorous)
b̄n-kúvd̄g^ɔ "old man" (the normal expression)

The combination noun + adjective is almost invariably rendered with noun cb before the adjective, which inflects as sg pl or cb on behalf of the head noun:

<i>b̄v̄v̄g</i> ^a	"goat"	<i>b̄v̄v̄s</i> ^ɛ	"goats"
<i>b̄v̄-p̄ìlìg</i> ^a	"white goat"	<i>b̄v̄-p̄ìlìs</i> ^ɛ	"white goats"
<i>b̄v̄-sùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"good goat"	<i>b̄v̄-sùma</i>	"good goats"
<i>n̄ā'</i>	"hen"	<i>n̄ōs</i> ^{ɛ/}	"hens"
<i>n̄ō-p̄ìlìg</i> ^a	"white hen"	<i>n̄ō-p̄ìlìs</i> ^ɛ	"white hens"
<i>n̄ō-sùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"good hen"	<i>n̄ō-sùmà</i>	"good hens"

Another adjective or a dependent pronoun can follow a first adjective cb:

n̄n-wók-p̄ìlìg^a "white tall person"
n̄ō-p̄ìlìl-kàŋā' "this white hen"

However, a noun + adjective compound cannot form a cb to be used as the generic complement of a deverbal noun; a sg/pl form is used instead:

fū-zéñdà kùès^a "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth" (not **fū-zéñ'-kùès^a*)

i.e. adjective cbs may only precede other adjectives or dependent pronouns.

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings:

nū'-bīl^a "finger" ("small hand")
tì-sābílím^m a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
gòñ'-sābílíg^a Haaf *gosabliga* "Acacia hockii" ("black thorn")

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system; the dependents do not regularly appear with the class suffixes seen in

là'-bīəlíf^o "small coin" NT (*lā'af^o* "cowrie", *bī'ələ́* "a little")
dà-sī'ər^ε "some day, perhaps" (*dāar^ε* "day", *sī'a* "some")
dàbıs-sī'ər^ε "some day" (*dàbısır^ε* "day")
yēl-súm^{mε} "blessing" (*yēl^{lε/}* "matter", *sùŋ^o* "good")
pū'à-pāal^{a/} "bride" (*pū'ā^a* "wife", *pāalíg^a* "new")
dà-pāal^{a/} "young man, son" (*dāy^u* "man")

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, *m^m* class nouns require adjectives in *-m^m*, as does *bōn* "thing" in abstract (but not concrete) senses:

dā-paalím^m "new millet beer"; WK does not accept **dā-paal*, **dā-paalìg*.
tì-sābílím^m "black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
tì-vōnním^m "oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kōvdím^m "poison" ("killing medicine")
kpāñ-sóóñdím^m "anointing oil" (*kpāañm^{m/}* "oil, grease")
bōn-bóóđím^m "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1: *nòŋlím^m* "love")
but *bōn-bóóđìr^ε* "desirable thing" (BNY p17: a sheep)
bōn-ñyétím^m "the visible world"
but *bōn-ñyétìr^ε* "a visible object"

Adjectives may show apocope-blocking [3.2](#) as a downtoner. Only singular forms seem to be possible. (All examples KT):

<i>Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā.</i>	"It's a whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā lā.</i>	"It's the whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē w̄iug.</i>	"It's red."
<i>Lì à nē w̄iugō.</i>	"It's reddish."
<i>fū-w̄iugō lā</i>	"the reddish shirt"
<i>Lì à nē tītā'arɪ.</i>	"It's biggish."

12.8.1.1 Bahuvrihis

The combination noun + adjective may be used as a bahuvrihi adjective itself:

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kp̄ilóŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>B̄iŋ lā á nē nū'-kp̄ilóŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bí-[nū'-kp̄ilóŋ].</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."
<i>kòg-nōb-wók^o</i>	"long-legged stool"
<i>kòg-nōb-wâ'ad^ε</i>	"long-legged stools"
<i>zūg-máyuk^o pl zūg-mâ'ad^ε</i>	"crushed-headed"
<i>zò-wōk^{o/}</i>	"long-tailed"
<i>nōb-gíŋ^a</i>	"short-legged"
<i>zū-péelòg^o pl zū-péelà</i>	"bald"; cf <i>Dau sɔ' zug ya'a pie</i>
	"If a man has gone bald" (Leviticus 13:40)
<i>lām-fōog^o pl lām-fōod^ε</i>	"toothless" (<i>lām^{mε/}</i> "gum", <i>fūe</i> "draw out")

The two adjectives "one of a pair" [12.5.1](#) are often used in bahuvrihis: *n̄j̄f-ñyáyuk^o* "one eye", *bà-n̄j̄f-ñyáyuk^o* "one-eyed dog"; *tòb-yīuŋ^{o/}* "one ear" *bì-tòb-yīná* "one-eared children."

The construction is not modification of an adjective by a cb. In cases like *bì-nū'-kp̄ilóŋ^o* "child with a withered hand" the adjective is modifying the cb immediately preceding it, not *vice versa*: it is not possible to say **bì-nū'-kp̄im^m*. The adjective may even be plural despite singular reference of the whole compound:

	<i>bì-tòb-kp̄ida</i>	"deaf child" (<i>tòb^ε</i> "ear", <i>kp̄i</i> "die")
pl	<i>bì-tòb-kp̄ida nám^a, bì-tòb-kp̄ids^ε</i>	
	<i>bì-tòb-līd^ε</i>	"child/children with blocked ears"
		(<i>lī</i> "block up")

12.8.1.2 Nouns as adjectives

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives modifying other human-reference nouns. This is particularly common with *a|ba* class words:

	<i>bì-sāan</i> ^{a/} or <i>bì-sáaŋ</i> ^a	"stranger-child"
[only	<i>bù-sáaŋ</i> ^a	"stranger goat"]
	<i>bì-kpī'im</i> ^{m/} or <i>bì-kpìilóŋ</i> ^o	"dead child"
[only	<i>bù-kpìilóŋ</i> ^o	"dead goat"]
	<i>bì-dāu</i> or <i>bì-dāvŋ</i> ^o	"male child"
[only	<i>bù-dāvŋ</i> ^o	"male goat"]
	<i>bì-pu'ā</i> ^a or <i>bì-puāk</i> ^a	"female child"
	<i>bì-zū'om</i> ^{m/} or <i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"

The same behaviour is also seen with some agent nouns:

	<i>pu'à-zàaŋs</i> ^a	"dreamy woman" KT
	<i>nīn-nén</i> ^{na}	"envious person"
	<i>bì-sīn</i> ^{na/} or <i>bì-sīnníg</i> ^a	"silent child"
only	<i>bù-sīnníg</i> ^a or <i>bù-sīnnóŋ</i> ^o	"silent goat"

However, WK usually reports a contrast between agent nouns/deverbal adjectives with head-second compounds in *a|ba* class and head-first compounds in *ga|se* or *re|aa* class, even with derivatives of intransitive verbs:

	<i>pu'à-kūvdíg</i> ^a	"murderous woman, murderess"
	<i>pu'à-kūvd</i> ^{a/}	only "killer of women"
	<i>pu'à-lā'adíg</i> ^a	"woman given to laughing"
	<i>pu'à-lā'ad</i> ^a	"laugher at women"

Nouns of any class expressing bodily defects can be used adjectivally:

	<i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"
	<i>bì-gìk</i> ^a	"dumb child"
	<i>bì-wàbir</i> ^ε	"lame child"
	<i>bì-bālērvŋ</i> ^o	"ugly child"
	<i>bì-pòñ'or</i> ^ε	"crippled child"

Other examples, which are effectively appositional, include:

<i>nàsàa-bīig^a</i>	"European child"
<i>yàmmυg-bī-pύη^a</i>	"girl slave" (<i>yamug bipuη</i> Acts 16:16, 1976 <u>5.2</u>)
<i>yàm-bī-pύη^a</i>	"girl slave" WK
(vs <i>yàmmυg bī-pύη^a</i>)	"slave's girl"
<i>bī-pύη-yàmmυg^a</i>	"slave girl"
<i>nà'-bīig^a</i> or <i>bì-nà'ab^a</i>	"prince"
<i>dàυ-bīig^a</i> or <i>bì-dāυ</i>	"male child"

12.8.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers as determiners follow the head, except for *yīigá* "firstly." A head can appear as a cb only with *yīnní* "one" and in a few fixed expressions like *dà-pīiga* "ten days"; elsewhere, quantifiers are not subject to M dropping: *kūg-yīnní* "one stone" but *kūgvr yīnní* "one stone."

Quantifiers precede dependent pronouns and *lā'* "the, that", *ñwà* "this":

<i>bυnama atan' nwa</i>	"these three things" (1 Cor 13:13)
<i>bōn-námá_àtáñ' ñwá</i>	
thing-PL NUM:three this	

Quantifiers as determiners can be coordinated: this is the mechanism for the creation of numbers other than simple digits, tens or hundreds:

<i>o nya'andolib pii ne yi</i>
<i>ò ñyà'an-dòllib pīi nē yí'</i>
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two
"his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

12.8.3 Adverbial phrases

When an abstract noun with a verbal sense has a preceding NP dependent as subject, complement or adjunct AdvPs may follow the head, including prepositional phrases, which are not found elsewhere as NP dependents, and also VP-final particles. This is therefore best regarded as a clause nominalisation process. Other uses of AdvPs as NP dependents after the head are marginal. *Àmēḡá* "really, truly" occurs in the meaning "genuine, real":

<i>Ōn sōb á nē dúb'atà àmēḡá lā.</i>
3AN.CNTR NULL.AN COP FOC doctor:SG ADV:real:ADV ART
"That one's the real doctor."

With *ñwādis yōvm lā púvgō-n* "months in the year" (SB) and *wābug mōcgv-n lā* "the elephant in the bush" (WK), I have not recorded the full contexts, possibly e.g. *M̄ dāa ñyē wābug mōcgv-n lā* "I saw an elephant in the bush." The 1976 NT has

Lina ane labasuŋ Jesus Christ Wina'am Biig la yela.

Lìnā á nē lábà-sòŋ Jesus Christ Wínà'am bìig lā yélà.

DEMST.IN COP FOC news-good:SG Jesus Christ God child:SG ART about.

"This is the good news about Jesus Christ, God's Son." (Mk 1:1)

but the 1996 revision recasts this as

Lina ane Yesu Kiristo one a Wina'am Biig la labasuŋ.

Lìnā á nē Yesu Kiristo ónì à Wínà'am bìig lā lábà-sòŋ.

DEMST.IN COP FOC Yesu Kiristo REL.AN COP God child:SG ART news-good:SG.

12.8.4 Pronouns

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns may be used as determiners following a noun cb as NP head, or a noun cb as NP head followed by an adjective cb; they follow quantifiers without compounding:

<i>bīig^a</i>	"child"	<i>bì-kàŋā'</i>	"this child"
<i>bì-sō'</i>	"a certain child"	<i>bì-sòŋ-kàŋā'</i>	"this good child"
<i>bì-kàŋε?</i>	"which child?"	<i>bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

yeltōd ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la

yēl-tōd àyópòε bánì kà màlīāk-námá àyópòε mōr lā

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rev 15:8)

12.8.5 *Lā* and *ñwà*

Lā' and *ñwà* are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." Although *ñwà* always retains this sense, *lā'* in the great majority of its occurrences is weakened to a **definite article**. It retains its deictic sense in opposition to *ñwà* in identificational clauses [18.4](#) and after demonstratives [12.4.2](#).

Unlike *lā'*, *ñwà* can stand alone as a NP:

Ñwà á nē bìig.

"This is a child." WK; tones *sic*.

This COP FOC child:SG.

Lā' and *ñwà* stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for the marginal case where a VP-final particle occurs in a *ñ*-clause, when it may follow the article attached to the clause 16.11.

As article, *lā'* corresponds in many cases to English "the", marking referents as specific and already established. However, unlike "the", *lā'* is not typically used for "familiar background" references:

W̄innuḡ l̄i yā. "The sun has set."
Sun:SG fall PFV.

It is not used with pronouns, or with proper names of people or places: *mān* "me", *À-W̄in* "Awini", *B̄òk* "Bawku." Nor is it used with abstract mass nouns:

N̄oḡilim p̄v naada. "Love does not come to an end." (1 Cor 13:8)
N̄oḡilim p̄v n̄āadá=∅.
Love NEG.IND finish:IPFV=NEG.

Lā' is not used in vocatives, contrasting with *ñwà*, which often is:

B̄iḡa=∅! "Child!"
Child:SG=VOC!

B̄iḡis ñwá! "Children!" [bi:sa]

There is no indefinite article: a NP with no *lā'* is indefinite if it could have taken *lā'* in the sense of the article. When a NP of a type which can take the article appears without it, the sense may be non-referential. This is the case, for example, with negative-bound nouns, and with the complement of *àḡñ^a* "be something" when used ascriptively:

M̄ b̄iḡ k̄ā'e=∅. "I've no child" WK
1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Ò à n̄ē b̄iḡ. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

An indefinite NP is only likely to have a *specific* sense in the context of an explicit introductory presentational statement 24.5:

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāu dá bè_ø mōrí_ò bī-díbiŋ

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

Outside such contexts, an indefinite NP is usually *generic*; unlike English "the", *lā'* is not used with a generic sense:

Tvmtvm pv gat o zugdaana.

Tvm-tvm p̄v gát ò zūg-dáanā=ø.

Work-worker:SG NEG.IND pass:IPFV 3AN head-owner:SG=NEG.

"The servant does not surpass his master." (Jn 15:20)

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélàa_ø bìgisid lín àñ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IPFV 3IN:NZ COP tree-INDEF.IN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." (Mt 12:33)

Kusaas ye ...

"The Kusaasi say ..." KSS p16
drawing the moral of a story.

A predependent NP ending in *lā'* makes the following head definite, and the head does not itself take the article:

nà'ab lā bìig

"the chief's child"

not **nà'ab lā bìig lā*

Only predependents *with the article* and demonstrative pronouns automatically make their heads definite; predependent personal pronouns or proper names do not:

Wínà'am málīāk

"an angel of God"

Wínà'am málīāk lā

"the angel of God"

m̄ bìig

"my child" (at first mention)

m̄ bìig lā

"my child" (previously mentioned)

Contrast the common idiom at first introduction of a possessed referent, where *lā'* is absent, with cases where the referent has already been introduced:

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāu dá bẹ̀̄ ∅ mōrị́̄ ò bī-díbị̄ng

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sidi paae yɔma ayɔpɔi ka o sid la kpi.

Ón dāa ǎñ pu'á-sādɪr lá kà ò kùl sɪdɪ̣̄ ∅ pāe

3AN:NZ TNS COP woman-nulliparous:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

yómà àyópòɛ kà ò sīd lā kpí.

year:PL NUM:seven and 3AN husband:SG ART die.

"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her husband died." (Lk 2:36)

Note also the contrast of meaning produced by the article in

M̄ bīg k̄e=∅.

"I've no child" WK

1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

M̄ bīg lā k̄e=∅.

"My child's not there" WK

1SG child:SG ART NEG.BE=NEG.

Certain words consistently lack the article after a pronoun possessor even if they are specific old information. This may be a question of uniqueness within a particular context; examples are *bā'* and *sàam*^{ma} "father."

For an unambiguously indefinite specific meaning like "some, another", indefinite pronouns are used:

Nā'-sìbà óñbìd nē mōɔd. "Some cows are eating grass."

Cow INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

An indefinite pronoun is necessary to make the head indefinite after a predependent with the article:

nà'ab lā b́-s̄'

"a child of the chief's"

chief:SG ART child INDF.AN

13 Adverbial phrases

13.1 Forms and functions

Many AdvPs represent adverbial *uses* of NPs. Other kinds of AdvP have fewer structural possibilities than NPs; for example, only specialised *postpositions* have NP predependents, and many adverbs do not conform to the structure of ordinary nouns.

Absolute clauses are AdvPs 21.1, as are several relative clause types.

As with NPs, coordination of AdvPs uses the particle *nē*:

Bēogv-n nē zāam kà fò ná nīḡ tí-kàḡā.

Morning-LOC with evening and 2SG IRR do medicine-DEMST.SG.

"You'll use this medicine morning and evening." [Time]

Nyalima na be winnigin ne nwadigin ne nwadbibisin.

Ñyālmá nà bē wínnìḡī-n nē ñwāḡíḡ-n nē ñwād-bíḡīsī-n.

Wonder:PL IRR EXIST sun:SG-LOC with moon:SG-LOC with moon-small:PL-LOC.

"There will be wonders in the sun, moon and stars." (Lk 21:25) [Place]

For manner-AdvP coordination see on *sī'əm*-clauses 21.2.1.

The prototypical use of AdvPs is as VP adjuncts. For AdvPs as dependents in NPs see 12.7.3; time/circumstance AdvPs may appear as postlinker adjuncts 17.2.1.

AdvPs also occur as verb arguments. AdvP subjects are most often seen with *àḡñ^a* "be something/somehow," but occur with other verbs too, especially statives.

Yīḡ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yīḡ véñl kà pōvgv-n kā' sūmm=∅.

Outside be.beautiful and inside:SG-LOC NEG.BE good:ABSTR=NEG.

"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3, 1996)

Kristo da kpīi ti yela la ke ka ti baḡ nḡilim an si'em.

Kristo ∅ dà kpīi tì yēlá lā ké kà tì báḡ nḡilim ∅ àñ sī'əm.

Christ NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

(absolute clause AdvP as subject)

In *Sḡḡā bé* "OK it is" (WK), *sḡḡā* used metalinguistically: "the word *sḡḡā*."

Verbs with appropriate meanings frequently take locative AdvPs as complements, rather than as adjuncts 16.9.3.

The verb *àḡñ^a* "be something/somehow" typically has a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement rather than an adjective as NP head 16.12.2:

<i>Lì à nē zāalím.</i>	"It's empty."
<i>Lì à nē bōgvsígā.</i>	"It's soft."
<i>Lì à súnā.</i>	"It's good."

Kusaal characteristically uses manner proadverbs as predicative complements in place of pronouns with abstract reference. i.e. the language says "be/do *how*" rather than "be/do *what*."

<i>Dā nìḡ òlāa=ø!</i>	"Don't do that!" ("thus")
NEG.IMP do ADV:thus=NEG.	

<i>Fv wvm ban yet si'em laa?</i>	
<i>Fò wóm bán yèt sī'əm láa=ø?</i>	
2SG hear:IPFV 3PL:NZ say:IPFV INDEF.ADV ART=PQ?	
"Do you hear what they are saying?" (Mt 21:16)	

Relative clauses with the proform *sī'əm*^m "somehow" as head are accordingly used after verbs of cognition, reporting and perception, to express the subordinate interrogative sense "say [etc] what ..." 21.2.1.

For the idiom "X *nìḡ wēlá ...?*" "how can X ...?" see 19.1.

13.2 Time/circumstance

AdvPs expressing **time** 26.7 may be instantiated by proadverbs 13.6 or by structurally distinctive time adverbs such as *zīnā* "today", *sù'əs*^a "yesterday", *dūnnā* "this year." *Bēog*^o "tomorrow" has the form of a noun but cannot inflect or take dependents; *dāar*^ε "day after tomorrow/day before yesterday" is in the same category but happens to be homophonous with the noun *dāar*^ε "day."

Other time AdvPs are simply NPs with temporal meanings, and no special marking. They may consist of single nouns, such as *yú'vḡ*^o "night", *úvn*^{ne} "dry season", *nīntāḡ*^{a/} "heat of the day", but such nouns inflect and may occur with dependents.

Absolute clauses 21.1 are frequently used to express time.

No formal distinction is made between points in time and periods of time:

<i>Fò ná kūl bēog.</i>	"You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.	

<i>Tì kpélìm ànīnā dábı̀sà bı́'èlà.</i>	
1PL remain ADV:there day:PL few.	
"We stayed there a few days."	

13.3 Place

Locative AdvPs consist of Kusaasi place names, specialised locative adverbs, or NPs followed by postpositions. The core locative postposition is the particle $n\bar{i}/\sim n^{\varepsilon}$. Some postpositions are themselves followed by n^{ε} ; many postpositions are converted nouns. Nouns other than place names cannot otherwise be used alone as locatives.

Besides locative proforms, specialised locative adverbs include $y\grave{i}\eta^a$ "outside", $d\grave{a}t\grave{i}\eta\eta^{\circ}$ or $d\grave{i}t\acute{o}\eta^{\circ}$ "right(hand)", $d\grave{a}g\grave{o}b\eta g^a$ "left", $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l^{l\varepsilon}$ or $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l\acute{a}$ "upwards", $l\grave{a}l\acute{l}\acute{i}$ "far off" (perhaps from $l\grave{a}l\ n\acute{i}$.)

The locative particle takes the form $n\bar{i}/$ after words ending in a short vowel in SF, after pronouns and after loanwords, and the liaison-word form n^{ε} elsewhere:

$m\grave{o}'ar\bar{i}-n$	"in a lake"	$y\bar{o}d\acute{a}\ n\grave{i}$	"among names"
$\grave{m}\ n\bar{i}$	"in me"	$m\bar{a}n\ n\bar{i}$	"in me"

$l\grave{a}'asv\grave{g}\ d\acute{o}d\acute{i}n\ n\varepsilon\ suoya\ n\bar{i}$
 $l\grave{a}'asv\grave{g}\ d\acute{o}d\bar{i}-n\ n\bar{\varepsilon}\ s\grave{u}\acute{e}y\acute{a}\ n\bar{i}$
 assembly:SG house:PL-LOC with road:PL LOC
 "in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

$Y\bar{i}r^{\varepsilon/}$ "house" has the exceptional sg and pl locative forms $y\grave{i}n^{n\varepsilon}$ $y\acute{a}a-n^{\varepsilon}$ which have the particular nuance "home", as in the parting formula

$P\grave{o}'v\bar{s}i\bar{m}\ y\grave{i}n.$ "Greet (those) at home." i.e. "Goodbye."

The article $l\bar{a}/$ may precede or follow the locative particle, as may quantifiers:

$m\grave{o}'ar\bar{i}-n\ l\bar{a}$ or $m\grave{o}'ar\ l\bar{a}\ n\bar{i}$ "in the lake"

$m\ g\bar{b}ana\ n\bar{i}\ wusa$ "in all my letters" (2 Thess 3:17, 1996)
 $\grave{m}\ g\bar{b}\grave{a}na\ n\bar{i}\ w\bar{o}sa$
 1SG letter:PL LOC all

The meaning is completely non-specific location: "at, in, to, from." The locative particle is attached to nouns which are not place names whenever they are used as complements of verbs expressing motion or location:

$Kem\ Siloam\ buligini\ pie\ f\bar{v}\ nini.$
 $K\grave{e}m\ Siloam\ b\acute{u}lv\bar{g}\bar{v}-n\bar{i}\ _{}_{\emptyset}\ p\acute{i}\bar{\theta}\ _{}_{\emptyset}\ f\bar{v}\ n\bar{i}n\acute{i}.$
 Go:IMP Siloam well:SG-LOC CAT wash 2SG eye:PL.
 "Go to the well of Siloam and wash your eyes." (Jn 9:7)

Ka Svntaana kpen' Judas [...] svnfvn.

Kà Svtáanà kpéñ' Judas [...] súñfī-n.

And Satan enter Judas [...] heart:SG-LOC.

"Satan entered Judas' heart." (Lk 22:3)

Ka Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ye...

Kà Paillet lélm yī nīdībī-n lā nā yá'asì_ø yéli_ bā yē...

And Pilate again emerge person:PL-LOC ART hither again CAT say 3PL.OB that ...

"Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." (Jn 19:4)

ILK has e.g.

Ò bèle dâ'a-n.

"He's at market."

Ò bèle sīá'arī-n.

"He's at the bush."

Ò bèle pōogú-n.

"He's at the farm."

Ò bèle yīn.

"He's at home."

Ò bèle mōogv-n.

"He's in the grasslands."

Ò bèle kōlīgī-n

"He's at the stream."

Ò bèle tōvmmī-n.

"He's at work."

More precise meanings are expressed with postpositions [13.5](#).

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take the locative particle; however, they often have a locative proform in apposition, particularly to express rest at a place, as opposed to movement:

Ò bèle Bók.

"He's at Bawku." ILK

Ò bèle Tēmpáan.

"He's at Tempane." ILK

Ò kēη Bók.

"He's gone to Bawku."

M ná kēη Bók.

"I'm going to Bawku."

Fò yūug Bók kpēlāa?

"Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Fò yūug Bókàa? SB

(rejected by WK as "Mooré")

For my informants, foreign place names share the syntactic behaviour of Kusaasi place names, but (especially in the sense of rest at a place) NT often uses *nī* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tēηī-n* "in Jerusalem-land."

The locative particle also appears in some *time* expressions: *bēog*^o "tomorrow", *bēogv-n*^{el} "morning", *yīīgī-n*^ε "at first" *sān-sī'ə-n lā* "at one time, once..."

Proforms used as locative heads of relative clauses are intrinsically locative:

Onε ken likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ōni kēn līki-n zī' ón kēn sī'əla=∅.

REL.AN go:IPFV darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.IN=NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know where he is going." (Jn 12:35)

ka mōri fv keη zin'ikanε ka fv pv bōōda.

kà mōrí_ fù_ ∅ kēη zīñ'-kàni kà fù pō bōōdā=∅.

and have 2SG.OB CAT go place-REL.SG and 2SG NEG.IND want=NEG.

"and take you where you do not want." (Jn 21:18)

Reason-why AdvPs are constructed by a metaphorical extension of the sense of the postposition *zūg* "upon"; similarly for proforms:

àlá zùg[∅] "therefore" *bō zúg[∅]* "why?"
dìn zúg[∅] "therefore"

13.4 Manner

Various NP types can be used as manner AdvPs. AdvPs of manner may be proforms, and there are several morphologically distinctive manner-adverb formations; like specialised time adverbs, specialised manner-adverbs do not take dependents. They often show apocope-blocking 3.2; some have the manner-adverb prefix *à-* 10.2 or are derived from adjective stems with the suffixes *mm* or *-ga* 8.2. Others include *pāalú* "openly" and *ñyāe*^{nε/} "brightly, clearly."

Ñyāe^{nε/} appears as complement of *àgēn*^a "be something" and as an adjunct:

Wina'am a su'um nyain. "God is light." (1 Jn 1:5, 1996)

Wínà'am áñ sóm ñyāe.

God COP good:ABSTR brightly.

... ke ka ti lieb nyain. "... make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)

... ké kà tì līəb ñyāe.

... cause and 1PL become brightly.

Ka li sid nie nyain. "And there truly was light." (Genesis 1:3)

Kà lì síd nìe ñyāe.

And 3IN truly appear brightly.

The spelling *nyain* appears for *ñyāe* "brightly" even in texts prior to 2016, where *nyainn* or *nyai* might have been expected. The 1992 audio NT renders it [jãĩ].

A number of manner-adverbs are formed by reduplication of roots:

nà'anā' "easily" *kōñ'okō* "solely, by oneself"
tò'otō' "straight away"

Reduplication of nouns or numbers [12.5.1](#) creates distributive manner-AdvPs:

zīñ'ig zīñ'ig "place by place" *dàbısr dàbısr* "day by day"

Reduplication of manner-adverbs themselves is intensifying:

àmēḡá mēḡá "very truly"
àsídà sídà "very truly"

M wóm Kōsâal bī'elá. "I know Kusaal a little."
 1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

M̄ wóm bī'el bī'el. "I understand a very little."
 1SG hear:IPFV little little.

Relative clauses with *sī'am^m* "somehow" are common as AdvPs [21.2.1](#).

Manner-adverbs resemble generic mass nouns in their syntactic behaviour in several respects. Even count nouns in generic senses may be encountered as AdvPs:

M̄ kéḡ nōbá. "I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to
 1SG go leg:PL. *M̄ kéḡ nē nōbá*, using *nē* "with."

A prepositional phrase with *nē* parallels a count plural used adverbially in

À-ñyē nē nīf sōñ'oc̣ *À-wòm tūba.*
 PERS-see with eye:SG be.better.than PERS-hear ear:PL.
 "Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

Mass quantifiers, like abstract mass nouns, are frequently used adverbially:

Ò tòm bédvḡō. "She's worked a lot."
Ò tòm pāmm. "She's worked a lot."

Wōsa "all" readily switches from quantifying an object to adverbial use:

Bà ḡòsī tí wōsa. "They've looked at us all." WK
 3PL look.at 1PL.OB all. (for: *Bà ḡòsí tì wōsa.* 3PL look.at 1PL all.)

This is not a universal property of quantifiers:

Bà gòsī tí bédvǭ.

"They've looked at us a lot." WK

Bà gòsī tì bédvǭ.

"They've looked at a lot of us." WK

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" [12.5.1](#); other count quantifiers sometimes appear similarly as adverbs:

Bà gòsī tí bábǭgā.

"They've looked at us many times." WK

Bà gòsī tì bábǭgā.

"They've looked at many of us." WK

13.5 Postpositions

Postpositions are adverbs with predependents; some also occur without. Most postpositions are literally or metaphorically locative. Postpositions may not be coordinated, but their predependents may:

tinam nε fvn svvginε?

"[what is there] between us and you?" (Mt 8:29)

tīnám nē fvn súvgō-né=∅?

1PL with 2SG between-LOC=CQ?

Many postpositions represent special uses of ordinary nouns. Some are AdvPs which include the locative particle.

Zūg[∅] "onto" (*zūg[∅]* "head"):

Ò òìgìl gbáṽṽ lā téébòl lā zúg.

3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.

"She's put the book on the table."

Zūg[∅] is frequently used metaphorically to express a **reason** "because of ..."; reason AdvPs often occur preposed with *kà* or as postlinker adjuncts:

bō-zúgò?

"why?"

dāṽ lā zúg

"on account of the man"

Pian'akane ka m pian' tisi ya la zug, ya anε nyain.

Pìǎñ'-kànì kà ò pìǎñ' ∅ tísì yā lā zúg, yà á nē ñyāe.

Word-REL.SG and 1SG speak CAT give 2PL.OB ART upon, 2PL COP FOC brightly.

"Because of the words I have spoken to you, you are clean." (Jn 15:3)

The set expression *sāa zúg*^o is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka kvkɔr yi saazug na ...

Kà k̀̀k̀ɔr yī sāa zúg nā ...

And voice:SG emerge rain:SG onto hither

"And a voice came from heaven..." (Jn 12:28)

Zūg-n^ε "on":

téeb̀̀l̄ lā zúḡ-n "on the table"

Tēhír^ε "under" (*tēh*^a "ground"; with no predependent *G̀̀sım tēhír!* "Look down!"):

téeb̀̀l̄ lā tēhír "under the table"

P̀̀vugv-n^{ε/} "inside" (*p̀̀vug*^a "belly, inside"):

Dāy lā bé nē d́-kàhā lā p̀̀vuḡ-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut."

ñwādis ỳ̀vum lā p̀̀vuḡ-n "months in the year" (metaphorical locative)

Bābá "beside" (pl of *bābir*^{ε/} "sphere of activity"):

̀̀n nōbá b̀̀ba "beside my feet"

S̀̀s̀̀vuḡ-n^{ε/} "between" (replaced by *s̀̀vuḡ-n*^{ε/} in KB):

t̄́nám nē f̄́n s̀̀s̀̀vuḡ-n "between us and you"

T̀̀t̄́en^{nε} "in front of" (with no predependent *G̀̀sım t̀̀t̄́en!* "Look to the front!"):

dāká lā t̀̀t̄́en "in front of the box"

G̀̀b̀̀n^{nε} "at the bottom of" (*g̀̀b̀̀n*^{nε} "buttock"):

zūər lā g̀̀b̀̀n "at the foot of the mountain"

Ñyá'aŋ^a "behind; after (time)" (*ñyá'aŋ*^a "back", *li ñyá'aŋ*^a "afterwards"):

Nē'ŋá ñyá'aŋ kà ò kūl. "After this she went home."
DEMST.IN after and 3AN go.home.

Sā'an^{ε/} "into/in the presence of", "in the opinion of", "chez":

Wínà'am sâ'an "in the sight of God"

Fò ná dī'e tūm pū'á-bàmmā lā sâ'an.
2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEMST.PL ART among.
"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

Yēlá "about, concerning" (pl of *yēl*^{lε/} "matter, affair"):

Bà yèlō ∅ mān yēlá wōsa.
3PL say 3AN.OB 1SG.CNTR about all.
"They told him all about me."

Kōñ'okō (cf *àrakóñ'* "one" in counting) is used as in *m kōñ'okō* "by myself."

13.6 Proadverbs

	Demonstrative		Indefinite		Interrogative
Place	<i>kpē</i>	"here"	<i>zīñ'-sī'a</i>	<i>yáa ní</i>	"where?"
	<i>kpēlá</i>	"there"	"somewhere"	<i>yáa</i>	"whither
	<i>àní</i>	"there"			/whence?"
	<i>ànínā'</i>	"there"			
Time	<i>nānná</i>	"now"	<i>sān-sī'a</i>	<i>sān-kán</i> ^ε	"when?"
	<i>nānná-nā'</i>	"now"	"sometime"	<i>būn-dâar</i> ^ε	"which day?"
	<i>sān-kán</i> ^ε	"then"		<i>bò-wìn</i> ^{nε}	"what time of day?"
Manner	<i>añwá</i>	"like this"	<i>sī'əm</i> ^m	<i>wēlá</i>	"how?"
	<i>àwá nā'</i>	"like this"	"somehow"		
	<i>àlá</i>	"like that"			

The indefinites are used in relative clauses 21.2.1.

The *à-* of the "manner" forms is preceded by the LF-final vowel -i 4.2.

Proforms expressing reason are formed with the postposition *zūg*^{o/}: *àlá zùg*^o "because of that", *bōzúg*^o "why?" (cf *bō zúg*^o "because" 17.2.1.)

14 Ideophones

Adjectives cannot themselves take adverbs as modifiers. In e.g.

Lì à nē pǐlǐg pāmm. "It's very white"

the adverb *pāmm* goes with the copula verb rather than the adjective; it is not possible to say **fū-pǐlǐg pāmm lā* for "the very white shirt."

However, an adjective in any role may be immediately followed by an intensifying ideophone, as may the derived stative verbs. As is common cross-linguistically, ideophones often display unusual phonological features. Such ideophones are specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding stative verbs.

<i>Lì à nē pǐlǐg fáss fáss.</i>	"It's very white."	
<i>Lì à nē sǎbǐlǐg zǐm zǐm.</i>	"It's deep black."	
<i>Lì à nē zǐn'a wǐm wǐm.</i>	"It's deep red."	
<i>Lì à nē fū-zǐn'a wǐm wǐm.</i>	"It's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ n̄yé fū-zǐn'a wǐm wǐm.</i>	"I've seen a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Fū-zǐn'a wǐm wǐm bé.</i>	"There's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ bōod fū-zǐn'a wǐm wǐm lā.</i>	"I want the deep red shirt."	WK

<i>Ò à nē wōk tólǐlǐ.</i>	"She's very tall."
<i>Ò à nē gǐŋ tǐrǐgà.</i>	"She's very short."
<i>Ò wà'am tólǐlǐ.</i>	"She's very tall."
<i>Ò gǐm nē tǐrǐgà.</i>	"She's very short."

Not all adjectives, or even all gradable adjectives, have associated ideophones; thus WK has only the adverb *pāmm* in

<i>Lì à sǔŋā pāmm.</i>	"It's very good."
<i>Lì à nē bē'ed pāmm.</i>	"It's very bad."
<i>Lì zùlǐm pāmm.</i>	"It's very deep."
<i>Lì mà'as pāmm.</i>	"It's very damp."

Most dynamic verbs likewise are not associated with ideophones:

<i>Ò tòm pāmm.</i>	"She's worked hard."
<i>Ò tòm hǎlí.</i>	"She's worked hard." 24.7
<i>Ò zò pāmm.</i>	"She's run a lot."
<i>Ò zò hǎlí.</i>	"She's run a lot."

However, many verbs can be followed by words which are again stereotyped and often show phonological features not found in the regular vocabulary. These are often more obviously onomatopoeic than the ideophones which intensify adjectives, and are not generally uniquely associated with particular verbs:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb. "He [a rabbit] is running lollop-lollop." WK

Similarly, the stance verb *zì'e^{ya}* "be standing" and its dual-aspect derivatives are often followed by *sāpɪ* "straight" (LF *sappinε* KB), but the word is found also after other verbs.

ka ku nyāŋe due o meŋi zi'e sappi.
kà kú ñyāŋi_ø dúe ò mēŋi_ø zì'e sāpɪ.
 and NEG.IRR prevail CAT rise 3AN self CAT stand IDEO
 "and was not able to rise and stand straight." (Lk 13:11, 1996)

maalim suoraug sappi mōogin la
màalɪm sūā-dāvɔg sāpɪ mōogv-n lā
 make:IMP road-male:SG IDEO grass:SG-LOC ART
 "Make straight the high road in the wilderness" (Isaiah 40:3)

Ideophones of this type resemble manner adverbs syntactically, and similarly can be preposed with *kà* (Abubakari 2017.) There is perhaps some overlap of categories: see on *ñyāe^{ne/}* "brightly", for example [13.4](#).

A third type of ideophone overlaps with emphatics [24.7](#): so, for example *kímm* in *Bō kímm* "what exactly?" [12.4.4](#).

15 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases function as VP adjuncts or complements. They cannot be direct components of noun phrases. Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated. *Nē* "with" only takes NPs or AdvPs (including *ñ*-clauses) as complements, but the other prepositions also appear as clause adjuncts 17.2.1.

Nē is "with" in both accompanying and instrumental senses. *Nē* "and", coordinating NPs and AdvPs, is fundamentally the same word.

Some speakers only use free pronoun forms after *nē*, but WK and SB have

<i>ní m^a</i>	<i>ní tī'</i> or <i>né tì</i>
<i>ní f^o</i>	<i>ní yā'</i> or <i>né yà</i>
<i>nó</i> [nõ] LF <i>nó-o</i> [nõ:]	<i>ní bā'</i> or <i>né bà</i>
<i>ní lī'</i> or <i>né lì</i>	

Written *ne o* is usually read [nõ] in the audio NT.

Examples for *nē*:

Lìgíním fù nīf né fù nū'ug.

Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

Bà kèη nē nōbá.

"They've gone on foot." WK

3PL go with leg:PL.

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tō'as nē Wīnné=∅.

Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG:IMP talk with God:SG=NEG.

"Eat with God, don't talk with God."

(Proverb: Be grateful for God's generosity and don't complain.)

Kulim ne sumbugvsum.

"Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)

Kùlīm nē sùmbōgvśím.

Go.home:IMP with peace.

[Bárikà né fù] kēn kēn.

[Blessing with 2SG] arrival arrival.

"Welcome!" (based on a greeting template 25)

M géñ' né fù.

"I'm angry with you." SB

1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

Là'am nē "together with" derives from a *n*-catenation construction 19.1:

...*mōr ya'am yinne la'am nē tēn'esa yinne.*

... *mōr yā'am yīnní là'am nē tēñ'esá yīnní.*

... have sense one together with thought one.

"... had one mind together with one thought." (Acts 4:32)

Wōv means "like." With pronoun complements WK has

wōv mān LF *mánè*

wóv tì

wōv fōn LF *fónè*

wóv yà

wōv ōn^ε

wóv bà

wóv lì

WK permits phrases introduced by *wōv* to be preposed with *kà* 24.3, but rejects this construction for *nē* + NP:

Wōv búŋ né kà ò zót.

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"Like a donkey, he runs."

but **Né m nū'ug kà m sī'is.*

With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

is not possible for "With my hand, I touched it."

The complement is often a *sī'əm* relative clause 21.2.1:

Ò zòt wōv búŋ ò zòt sī'əm lā.

3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG NZ run:IPFV INDF.ADV ART.

"He runs like a donkey runs."

Wēn^{na/} "resemble" takes as complement a prepositional phrase introduced by *wōv* or *nē*. A complement of *wēn wōv*, *wēn nē* or of *wōv* alone is followed by an empty particle *nē* whenever it does not have the article *lā'*, even if it is a pronoun, or is specific, though not if it is a number (in which case, the meaning is "about"):

wōv mān nē

"like me"

wōv búŋ nē

"like a donkey"

wōv tūsá àyí'

"about 2000"

Alazugɔ mɔri ya'am wɔv wiigi nɛ...

Àlá zùgɔ, mɔrī_∅ yā'am wɔv wīgí nē...

Therefore, have 2PL.SUB sense like snake:PL like...

"Therefore, be wise as serpents ..." (Mt 10:16)

Àséé is "except for." Pronoun complements appear as free forms.

àsée Wínà'am

"except for God" (calquing Twi *gye Nyame*)

Hālí means "up to and including." Pronoun complements are free forms.

O daa pɔn anɛ ninkvɔd hali pin'ilvɔn sa.

Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kvɔd hālí pīñ'ilógv̄-n sá.

3AN TNS previously COP FOC person-killer:SG even beginning:SG-LOC since.

"He was a murderer from the beginning." (Jn 8:44)

Hālí can also appear as a prelinker adjunct and as an emphatic 24.7. As emphatic "even" preceding *nē* or *là'am nē* "(together) with" and a *n*-clause complement, it produces the meaning "despite, even though, even as":

Hali la'am nɛ on daa an yɛlsɔm wɔsa daan la, o da lieb nɔŋdaan...

Hālí là'am nē ón dāa áñ yēl-súm wɔsa dāan lā,

Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS COP matter-goodness all owner:SG ART,

ò dà lịəb nɔŋ-dāan...

3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG...

"Despite his having possessed every blessing, he became poor..." (2 Cor 8:9)

Zugsɔb yel ye, Hali nɛ man vɔe nwa...

Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālí nē mán vōɛ ñwá ...

head-NULLAN say that even with 1SG:NZ be.alive this ...

"The Lord says: Even as I live .." (Rom 14:11)

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li

hālí nē mán dāa sōbī_∅ tísì_ yā sī'əm lā

even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART

̀m dāa p̄ sōbī_ī ...

1SG TNS NEG.IND write 3IN.OB ...

"Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

16 Verb phrases

16.1 Structure

The core of the verb phrase is a verb word along with bound particles which, together with verb flexion, mark tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Some verb complements are left-bound liaison words; remaining complements and adjuncts follow in that order, after which VP-final particles may occur.

The VP is subject to independency marking. This is primarily a tone overlay, but there are associated segmental features: the particle *yā* after phrase-final perfective forms and the dual-aspect verb imperative flexion *-ma* appear only when the tone overlay is present.

The system separates tense, marked by preverbal particles, from aspect, marked by verb flexion and postverbal *nē'*. As is common cross-linguistically, future reference is marked by *mood*. Negative markers vary with mood. Mood itself is marked primarily by such preverbal particles, but the flexion *-ma* of dual-aspect verbs is a portmanteau marker of imperative mood, positive polarity and independency.

The VP shows no agreement. Apparent number agreement in imperatives is actually due to the incorporation of the postposed 2nd pl subject pronoun ^{ya}.

Bound VP particles occur in a fixed order:

	T1	T2	Mood	Preverb		LW1	LW2	
<i>lèε</i>	<i>dàa</i>	<i>nàm</i>	∅ ↔ <i>p̄v</i>	<i>pòn</i>	VERB	<i>n^ε</i>	<i>m^a</i>	<i>nē'</i>
	<i>sàa</i>	<i>ñyēε(tɪ)</i>	∅ ↔ <i>dā</i>	<i>lèm</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>f^o</i>	
	∅		<i>nà</i> ↔ <i>kù</i>	<i>tì</i>			o	
	<i>pà'</i>			<i>kpèlm</i>			<i>li</i>	
	<i>sà</i>			<i>là'am</i>			<i>ti</i>	
	<i>dāa</i>			<i>dèηim</i>			<i>ya</i>	
	<i>dà</i>			...			<i>ba</i>	

∅ marks slots where the absence of a particle can be contrastive.

T1, T2 are slots for tense particles; LW1 for the liaison words *n^ε* 16.3.2 ^{ya} 18.3; LW2 for bound personal pronouns as (direct or indirect) objects, which unlike all other complements *precede* aspect-marking *nē'* 16.2.1. Only one bound object pronoun may occur; cf *n*-catenation using *tis^ε* "give" 19.1.

The particles in the column "Mood" also mark polarity: positive ↔ negative.

For *lèε* "but" see 16.7.

Tone Pattern A verbs have all-M tones in the irrealis mood 3.8.2.

16.2 Aspect

The basic aspect distinction is **perfective** versus **imperfective**. Dual-aspect verbs distinguish aspects by flexion: the unmarked stem form is perfective, the suffix **-da* forms the imperfective, and a form with **-ma* is used for imperative when the verb word itself carries the independency-marking tone overlay [16.6.2](#). Single-aspect verbs have a single form which is always imperfective.

The terms **dynamic** and **stative** are used in this description as labels for verb classes, not aspects. Dynamic verbs can be morphologically dual-aspect or single-aspect. They typically express occurrences, but can also express states: the imperfective form of a dynamic verb can have habitual/propensity meaning, which can be regarded either as expressing multiple occurrences or as a state, describing the character of the subject, and the perfective of dynamic verbs which express a change of state in the subject can express the resulting state itself. Stative verbs are all single-aspect. By default, they express persistent/abiding states.

16.2.1 Aspectual *nḗ*

Following a verb word with no free words intervening, the VP focus particle *nḗ* [24.1.2](#) by default marks a contrast with another time at which the situation expressed by the verb did not obtain; the meaning might be paraphrased "at the time referred to in particular." When *nḗ* is used in this way, the time referred to is not coextensive with the time of the situation (CGEL pp125 ff); in the terminology of Klein 2013, there is a "topic-time contrast." With imperfective aspect, this happens when the time referred to is strictly contained within the time of the situation: the meaning is similar to the English "progressive", and is similarly not freely used with verbs which by default express abiding states. With perfectives expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and aspectual use of *nḗ* is not possible; however, *resultative* perfectives express a state resulting from the action of the verb, and because this state is not present prior to the action, there is invariably a topic-time contrast. Accordingly, aspectual *nḗ* after a perfective form marks it as resultative; conversely, if a perfective verb form does not express a change of state in the subject, any following *nḗ* cannot be aspectual.

Nḗ may not be used at all in certain syntactic contexts, and may not appear a second time in an aspectual sense if it is already present focussing a constituent. Furthermore, *nḗ* can only be interpreted aspectually if no free words intervene between the particle and the verb, and the VP has positive polarity and indicative mood. When aspectual senses are not excluded by the meaning of the verb itself, the relevant aspect distinctions still occur, but are formally unmarked:

Ò kùəsídī_bá nḗ. "She's selling them."
 3AN sell:IPFV 3PL.OB FOC.

Ò *kùəsɪd nē sūmma lā*. "She is selling the groundnuts."

3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

but Ò *kùəsɪd sūmma lā nē*. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."

3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. (VP focussed: "They're not free.")

Ò *zàbɪd*. "He fights."

3AN fight:IPFV.

Ò *zàbɪd nē*. "He's fighting."

3AN fight:IPFV FOC.

but Ò *p̄ zàbɪdā=∅*. "He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."

3AN NEG.IND fight:IPFV=NEG.

Nē' cannot have aspectual meaning in **generic** statements. These are usually recognisable by the fact that they have indefinite subjects without determiners (or pronouns referring to such subjects) and are not presentational [24.5](#):

Nīgí òñbɪd nē mɔɔd. Bà nùud nē kù'əm.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.

"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat? and drink?")

Nē' is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: *G̀sɪm!* "Look!" B: *M̀ g̀sɪd!* "I'm looking!"

A: *F̀ò g̀sɪd nē?* "Are you looking?" B: *M̀ g̀sɪd!* "I'm looking!"

16.2.2 Perfective

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. It is not incompatible with a present tense interpretation, often corresponding to the English "simple present", which is likewise unmarked over against the progressive form. It is the usual aspect found with the irrealis mood to express future events, and in *yà'*-clauses [20.2](#). Nevertheless, even without tense marking, the perfective often has an implication of completion, in contrast with the imperfective.

The perfective frequently does occur without tense marking, either explicit or implicit from context [16.3.4](#). With most verbs this simply expresses a completed event or process with the time unspecified, creating the implication that the event is still currently relevant; the sense resembles the English "present perfect":

Sāa dāa nī.

Rain TNS rain.

"It rained." (before yesterday.)

but *Sāa nī yā.*

Rain rain PFV.

"It has rained."

The time is unspecified: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert." (WK)

Perfective appears with present meaning with events and processes which can be conceptualised as being coextensive with the moment of utterance:

Ò yèl yē ...

3AN say that ...

"He says" (translating for the foreign doctor)

Performatives naturally fall into this category:

Ì pò'vs yā.

1SG greet PFV.

"Thankyou", "I thank you."

(cf Hausa *Naa goodèe*)

Ì sjàk yā.

1SG agree PFV.

"I agree."

Verbs of perception and cognition (often corresponding to English "stative" verbs that do not use the progressive present) frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

Ì ñyé nū'-bìbìsá àtán'.

1SG see hand-small:PL NUM:three.

"I can see three fingers."

Ì tēñ'es kà ...

1SG think and ...

"I think that ..."

With verbs which express a change of state in the subject the perfective may express the resulting state; such resultative perfectives are followed by aspectual *nē'* whenever syntactically permissible, because there is always a topic-time contrast with the situation preceding the action of the verb:

Lì bòdìg yā .

3IN lose PFV.

"It's got lost."

M̄ dá' nē búŋ.
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG.

"I've bought a *donkey*."
("What have you bought?"; focussed object)

Assume-stance verbs do not express a change of state in the subject, because stance verbs are not stative in Kusaal. Accordingly, the perfective of an assume-stance verb cannot accept a resultative reading:

Ò òḡin nē.
3AN lie.down FOC.

"He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."

In catenation and in absolute clauses, the choice of perfective over imperfective implies that the event is complete. Consequently, in catenation the order of VPs when the first has perfective aspect is iconic, with constituent order constrained to follow event order [19](#). Thus while English might say: "Two men stood with them, dressed in white", Kusaal must have

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupielā zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_ àyí' yé fū-píə̀lā_ ø zì'e bà sā'an.

And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

In contrast, an imperfective may be followed by a perfective:

Ñwāḍisá_ àtāñ' kà fò ná mōr bīg lā n kē nā.

Month NUM:three and 2SG IRR have child:SG ART CAT come hither.

"Bring the child here in three months." ("having the child, come here.")

With absolute clauses as adjuncts, the temporal relationship to the main clause is determined by aspect, with perfective in the absolute clause implying priority and imperfective simultaneity [21.1](#). In the same way, narrative generally features series of tense-unmarked perfectives describing events strictly in order [16.3.4](#).

Perfectives may appear in general statements such as proverbs, which in such cases should probably be regarded as mini-anecdotes:

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.

Kòkòma dá zàb tāabá à-sōñ'e bī'ə̀lá yèla.

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-better.than slightly about.

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

16.2.3 Imperfective

Without aspectual *nē'*, the imperfective of dynamic verbs is "habitual", expressing multiple occurrences, or a propensity of the subject to the achievement, accomplishment or activity expressed by the verb:

Nīdɪb kp̄ɪd. "People die."
Person:PL die:IPFV.

Nīgí òñbɪd mōɔd. "Cows eat grass."
Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

M̄ zɪñ'i. "I sit."
1SG be.sitting.

With aspectual *nē'*, the imperfective of dynamic verbs has a meaning analogous to the English "progressive."

Nā'-sɪəbà óñbɪd nē mōɔd. "Some cows are eating grass."
Cow-INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

M̄ zɪñ'i nē. "I'm sitting."
1SG be.sitting FOC.

With verbs describing events the sense is often "time-limited habitual":

Nīdɪb kp̄ɪd nē. "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Patientive ambitransitive verbs expressing changes of state can be used in progressive senses:

M̄ yōɔd nē kúlɪŋ lā. "I'm closing the door."
1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

Kúlɪŋ lā yōɔd nē. "The door is closing."
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

Lì mà'ad nē. "It is getting cool." (*mā'e'* "get cool")
3IN get.cool:IPFV FOC.

However, passives [16.9.1.1](#) cannot be used with progressive meaning:

Dāam lā nūud. "The beer gets drunk." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV.

Dāam nūud zīnā. "Beer gets drunk today." WK
Beer drink:IPFV today.

but *Dāam lā nūud nē.* Only "The beer is for *drinking*." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not for throwing away."); Focus on the verb:
not "The beer is being drunk."

**Dāam nūud nē* was rejected by WK altogether, probably because without a context the subject was interpreted as generic.

Stative single-aspect verbs express persistent or abiding states; accordingly they do not normally display topic-time contrasts or take aspectual *nē*':

Ò gìm. "She's short."
3AN be.short.

Ì mór pū'ā. "I have a wife."
1SG have wife:SG.

With stative verbs, the default interpretation of following *nē*' is therefore as focussing the VP or a VP constituent:

Ò gìm nē. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

Ì mór nē pū'ā. "I have a woman."
1SG have FOC woman:SG. (not "wife": implies an irregular liaison, WK)

However, if there is an explicit time reference in the clause itself (even just a tense marker) it can constrain the meaning to a temporary state, limited to a particular time period, with a contrast between the time referred to and other times when the state was not in effect. [This requirement for an explicit time marker in the same clause may reflect acceptability judgments based on short isolated clauses.]

Lì vèn nē. "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)
3IN be.beautiful FOC.

but *Nānnánā, lì vèn nē.* "Just now, it's beautiful."
 Now, 3IN be.beautiful FOC.

Lì dāa vén nē. "It was beautiful." WK: "I gave you a cup, and
 3IN TNS be.beautiful FOC. it was OK then, but now you've spoiled it."

Sān-kán lā, lì dāa zúlìm nē.
 Time-DEM.SG ART, 3IN TNS be.deep FOC.
 "At that time, it was deep."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē. "The lake was deep."
 Lake:SG ART TNS be.deep FOC. (Implying, "Now it's shallow." WK)

If the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē'* [24.1.2](#), *nē'* must be aspectual even if the verb is stative and there no explicit time marker:

M̄ mór b̄īsá_ àtáṅā.
 1SG have child:PL NUM:three.exactly.
 "I've got exactly three children."

but *M̄ mór nē b̄īsá_ àtáṅā.*
 1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.exactly.
 "I've got exactly three children just now." DK: "You're on a school trip, talking about how many children everyone has brought."

Lì dāa áñ sùṅā. "It was good." WK
 3IN TNS COP good:ADV.

Lì dāa á nē sùṅā. "At the time, it was good." WK
 3IN TNS COP FOC good:ADV.

Lì à nē sùṅā. "It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)
 3IN COP FOC good:ADV.

Emphatics [24.7](#) do not reject focus with *nē'*:

b̄ozuḡo o ane f̄v̄ biiḡ m̄en.
b̄ō z̄úḡó ò à né f̄v̄ b̄iiḡ m̄én.
 Because 3AN COP FOC 2SG child:SG also.
 "Because he is your child too." (Genesis 21:13)

16.3 Tense

16.3.1 Tense particles

Tense particles come first in the VP, preceded only by *lèε* "but." They are mutually exclusive:

<i>dàa</i>	"day after tomorrow"
<i>sàa</i>	"tomorrow"
\emptyset	present, or implicit (see below)
<i>pà'</i>	"earlier today"
<i>sà</i>	"yesterday"
<i>dāa</i>	before yesterday
<i>dà</i>	before the time marked by <i>dāa</i>

These particles (including \emptyset) may be followed immediately in the tense slot by either of the two auxiliary tense particles *nàm* "still/yet" or *ñyēε (tí)* "habitually."

The day begins at sunrise:

<i>F̀ò sá gb̀ìs wēlá=∅?</i>	"How did you sleep yesterday?" i.e. "last night"
2SG TNS sleep how=CQ?	

Future tense markers normally require irrealis mood, but imperative is possible if a main clause has been ellipited before a subordinate clause of purpose:

<i>Ò sáa zàb nà'ab lā.</i>	"Let him fight the chief tomorrow."
3AN TNS fight chief:SG ART.	

Dāa means "before yesterday" but can be used freely for even remote past. The NT has numerous parallel passages where the same events are narrated in one passage with *dāa* and in another with *dà*, but when both markers occur, *dà* always expresses time prior to *dāa*. (For other "pluperfects", cf tense marking in content clauses [22.2](#), and in *̀n*-clauses within narrative [16.3.4](#).)

Nàm means "still" or with a negative "yet":

<i>T̀um lā nám bèε=∅?</i>	"Is there any medicine left?"
Medicine ART still EXIST=PQ?	("Does the medicine still exist?")

dunia nam pu pin'il la

dūniyá_∅ nàm pō pīñ'il lā

world:SG NZ still NEG.IND begin ART

"before the world began" (Mt 25:34) ("The world having not yet begun.")

M̄ nám zī'_ ∅ ñyē gbīgumne=∅.

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB (see [19.1](#) on *n*-catenation idioms)

Ñyēε or *ñyēε tí* (KT *ēēñ tí*, NT *nyii ti*, KB *εenti*) means "habitually." The main verb is imperfective.

Ò ñyēε zábìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually fight:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to fight the chief." WK

Ò ñyēε gōsìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually look.at:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to look at the chief." WK

Ò dāa ñyēε zábìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN TNS usually fight:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He was accustomed to fight the chief." WK

Ò ēēñ tí zàbìd nē nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually fight:IPFV FOC chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to fight the chief." KT

Ò ēēñ tí zìñ'i kpēlá.

3AN usually be.sitting there.

"She's accustomed to sit there." KT

Ò ēēñ tí dīgi kpēlá.

3AN usually be.lying there.

"She's accustomed to lie there." KT

Ti εenti pu sobid dine ka ya na karim ka kv nyaṅi gban'e li gbinne.

Tì ēēñ tí pō sōbìd dínì kà yà ná kārím kà kú ñyāṅi_∅

1PL usually NEG.IND write:IPFV REL.IN and 2PL IRR read and NEG.IRR prevail CAT

gbáñ'e lì gbìnnē=∅.

grab 3IN base:SG=NEG.

"We do not write what you will read and not be able to grasp the meaning of."

(2 Cor 1:13)

16.3.2 Discontinuous past

My informants use the **discontinuous-past** marker n^{ε} to make an earlier-today past with indicative meaning:

M̄ ʒñbīdī-n sūmma. "I was eating groundnuts."
1SG chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

This implies "and now I'm not", a sort of anti-current-relevance. Such a "discontinuous" past is proposed for many languages (especially in West Africa) in Plungian and van der Auwera 2006; n^{ε} fulfils their criteria for a typical discontinuous past well. They note (5.2) that such markers often acquire attenuative, hypothetical or counterfactual senses, which are much the commonest roles of n^{ε} in Kusaal [20.1](#).

16.3.3 Periphrastic futures

Kusaal does not use tense-unmarked indicative imperfectives for immediate future (like English "I'm going home.") Note the use of the *perfective* in

M̄ kúl yā. equivalent in usage to "I'm going home now."
1SG go.home PFV. Perfective as an instantaneous present [16.2.2](#)

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to ...":

(a) *bòɔd*^a "want" + gerund. The subject need not be animate; the construction is only possible with gerunds from dynamic verbs.

T̄iɔg lā bôɔd l̄iɔg. "The tree is about to fall."
Tree:SG ART want fall:GER.

Yv'vɔɔ bôɔd gaadvɔg, ka b̄eog bôɔd nier.

Yú'vɔɔ bôɔd gáadvòg kà b̄eog bôɔd n̄iəɔ.

Night want pass:GER and morning want appear:GER.

"The night is about to pass and tomorrow is about to appear." (Rom 13:12)

(b) subject + *yē*-purpose clause; the subject must be animate. (Cf also [22.2](#).)

M̄ yé m̄ k̄uā sūmma. "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

M̄ yé m̄ k̄iá n̄im. "I'm going to cut meat"
1SG that 1SG cut meat:SG.

16.3.4 Implicit tense and narrative

Tense markers are frequently absent. As a basic principle, explicit marking is not needed when the time reference is recoverable from the linguistic context, but the occurrence of tense markers is not arbitrary, and contrasts with \emptyset may occur.

Real-world context does not in itself licence omission of tense markers. If there is no other time-referring element in the clause, the absence of any tense particle is meaningful. By default, it simply means that the tense is present, whether the aspect is imperfective or perfective:

Nīdɪb kp̄ɪd nē. "People are dying."
 Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Nīdɪb kp̄ɪd. "People die."
 Person:PL die:IPFV.

Ò m̀̀r p̄'ā. "He has a wife."
 3AN have wife:SG.

Ò kp̄ɪ yā. "She's died." ("present perfect")
 3AN die PFV.

In isolation, it is not possible to interpret such expressions as referring to the past (see below on informal narrative.)

Tense-markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with $-n^{\epsilon}$ as today-past, or with another time reference in the clause itself, like a time adverb:

F̀̀v sáa nà k̄l. "You'll go home tomorrow."
 2SG TNS IRR go.home.

or *F̀̀v sáa nà k̄l bēog.*
 2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.

or *F̀̀v nà k̄l bēog.*
 2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

cf *F̀̀v ná k̄l.* "You will go home."
 2SG IRR go.home (today, tomorrow, next week ...)

M̄ pá' òñbɪdī-n sūmma. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
 1SG TNS chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

or *M̄ óñbɪdī-n sūmma.*
 1SG chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

M̄ sá zàb nâ'ab lā sū'əs. "I fought the chief yesterday."

1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

or *M̄ záb nâ'ab lā sū'əs.*

1SG fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

Systematic meaningful omission of past tense markers occurs in **narrative**.

In KB/NT narrative, main clauses which do not contain an explicit time expression show tense marking much more often than not, *unless* they are introduced by *kà*; the first 12 chapters of Acts in the 1996 version show over five times as many tense-marked as unmarked forms. On the other hand, clauses introduced by *kà* only have tense marking to signal that they disrupt the narrative flow, as with flashbacks or descriptive passages. KB/NT narrative varies in the proportion of tense-marked clauses without *kà* to unmarked clauses with *kà*; the Balaam's Donkey narrative [27.1](#) shows a higher proportion of tense-marked clauses without *kà* than typical NT narrative, for example. However, throughout KB, narrative favours long sequences of coordinated *kà*-clauses with perfective aspect without tense marking, narrating the sequence of events in order. Here *kà* itself corresponds to *zero* in English.

Less formal sources like the Three Murderers text [27.2](#) drop tense-marking in clauses *without kà* within narrative much more often than the Bible versions. In view of the consistency of the tense marking principles of KB/NT, narrative clauses of this kind are probably analogous to the "historic present" of English informal conversational narration (CGEL p130); significantly, *kpē* "here" and spatio-temporal deictics like *kàŋā* "this" are also common in such texts.

In any case, tense-marking must be absent in clauses introduced by *kà* which are carrying the narrative forward, and conversely, disruptions in narrative flow must normally be tense-marked (with exceptions as noted below.)

Presented with isolated *kà*-clauses with perfective aspect and no tense marking, my informants always interpreted them as expressing events, rejecting any aspectual interpretation of the particle *nē*' in favour of constituent focus; but with tense marking, *nē*' was, as usual, taken as aspectual by default:

Lì bòdìg nē.

3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

Kà ì bódìg nē.

And 3IN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as contradicting "someone hid it" i.e. as contrastive focus

Bà kùdìg nē.

3PL get.old FOC.

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nē.
And 3PL get.old FOC.

"And they're old." Rejected by WK; accepted by DK with the gloss "You're saying they're old when he promised to give you new ones", i.e. as contrastive focus

But *Kà ì dāa bódìg nē.*
And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kúdìg nē.
Kà bà dāa kúdìg nē.

etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

Thus, both with and without *kà*, tense-marking signals disruption of the narrative flow:

Ka Yesu daa an yoma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keη malvη la wv ban εenti niηid si'em la. Ka malvη la dabisa naae la, ka ba lebidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teηin ka o ba' ne o ma pv baη ye o kpelim yaa. Ba daa ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teη dim la, ka keη ...

Kà Yesu ∅ dāa áñ yómà pī né àyí' lā, kà bà kēη málvη
And Jesus NZ TNS COP year:PL ten with NUM:two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG
lā wv bān ēēñ tí niηid sī'əm lā. Kà málvη lā dábisa ∅
ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV INDEADV ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL NZ
nāe lā, kà bà lébidi ∅ kūn. Kà Yesu kpélìm Jerusalem
finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem
tēñī-n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū bāη yé ò kpèlìm
land:SG-LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain
yāa=∅. Bà dāa tēñ'es yé ò dòl né bà tēñ-dìm lā, kà kēη...
PFV=NEG. 3PL TNS think that 3AN accompany FOC 3PL land-person.PL ART, and go...
"When Jesus **was** twelve years old, they went to Jerusalem to sacrifice as they were accustomed to. When the days of sacrifice were over, they were going home, but Jesus remained behind in Jerusalem, and his father and mother didn't realise that he had stayed. They **thought** that he was accompanying their fellow-countrymen. And they went ..." (Lk 2:42-44)

Note the "aside" *O ma da ane Uria po'a* in the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1.1ff 1996, which has dozens of clauses of the pattern *kà X dya'á Y* "and X begat Y":

*Ka Jese du'a na'ab David. Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma **da** ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a Rehoboam.*

Kà Jese dṽ'á nâ'ab David. Kà David dṽ'á Solomon. Ò mà
 And Jesse beget king:SG David. And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG
dá à nē Uria pṽ'á. Kà Solomon dṽ'á Rehoboam...
 TNS COP FOC Uriah wife:SG. And Solomon beget Rehoboam...

"And Jesse begat King David. And David begat Solomon. His mother **was** Uriah's wife. And Solomon begat Rehoboam..." (Mt 1:6-7, 1996)

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff 1996 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam **da** ane Y* "and X's father **was** Y."

Disruptions in narrative flow normally *must* be tense-marked, but very long series of coordinated "asides" do sometimes drop tense marking; in KB the genealogy in Luke shows *ka X saam da ane Y* at the beginning of paragraphs in the text, but *ka X saam an Y* otherwise.

Tense-unmarked dynamic-verb imperfectives can appear without aspectual *nē'* in narrative to express several instances of an event:

*Ka on kpən' la, o yeli ba ye [...]. Ka ba **la'ad** o.*

Kà ón kpèñ' lā, ò yèlì_bā yē [...]. Kà bà lá'adō_ ø.

And 3AN:NZ enter ART, 3AN say 3PL.OB that ... and 3PL laugh:IPFV 3AN.OB.

"After he came in, he said to them [...]. But they **laughed** at him." (Mk 5:39-40)

N̄-clauses normally mark tense independently, but within narrative they mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

Ńn dāa ñyēt súṅā ón dāa áñ bí-līa lāa=ø?

3AN.CNTR TNS see:IPFV good:ADV 3AN:NZ TNS COP child-baby:SG ART=PQ?

"Did he see well when he was a baby?"

but *Ka Pita yv'vn tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la ye ...*

Kà Pita yv̄'vn tjeñ Yesu n sà yèl sī'əl lā yē ...

And Peter then remember Jesus NZ TNS say INDEF.IN ART that ...

"And Peter then remembered what Jesus had said the day before..." (Mt 26:75)

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with *kà* [24.3](#), regardless of whether tense marking appears in the absolute clause (132/136 cases in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14, 1976.) After absolute clauses as postlinker adjuncts [17.2.1](#), tense marking in main clauses follows the usual principles for narrative, with absolute clauses agreeing with their main clauses in tense-marking (69/78 cases.)

Nē is perhaps marking constituent focus in

Ka ban ken la, Jesus g̃bisid ne.

Kà b̃án k̃ēn l̃ā, Jesus gb̃isid ñē.

And 3PL:NZ go:IMPF ART, Jesus sleep:IPFV FOC.

"As they were travelling, Jesus was sleeping." (Lk 8:22-23, 1976)

KB *ka gb̃em z̃eg Yesu ka o gb̃isid.* "sleep overcame Jesus and he slept."

If *nē* were aspectual, one would have expected tense marking.

Tense marking is not affected by clause adjuncts other than time expressions or by the "resumptive" *yē* of indirect speech 22.2.1; cf:

Amaa ba da zot o ne dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andol la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n m̃or o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō ∅ ñē dábīēm, b̃án dà p̃w níŋò ∅

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV 3AN.OB FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND do 3AN.OB

yáddā yé ò s̃ìd à ñē ñyá'an-d̃òl l̃ā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas

faith that 3AN truly COP FOC after-follower:SG ART upon. But and Barnabas

záŋ Saul n m̃or̃ ∅ ∅ k̃ēŋ ...

take Saul CAT have 3AN.OB CAT go ...

"But they were afraid of him, because they did not believe that he was really a disciple. But Barnabas brought Saul ..." (Acts 9:26-27)

A tense-marked interruption in the narrative flow may itself contain clauses coordinated with *kà*; the tense marker of the first such clause is not repeated, but the following *kà*-clauses are not carrying on the narrative and can thus have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet da ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa me kudigne.

Bà dà p̃w m̃or b̃iiga=∅, b̃ōzúgō Elizabet dá à ñē

3PL TNS NEG.IND have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS COP FOC

kúndv'ar kà bà bàyí' l̃ā w̃ōsa mé k̃òd̃ig ñē.

barren.woman:SG and 3PL NUM:two ART all also get.old FOC.

"They had no child, because Elizabeth was barren and they were both old."

(Lk 1:7, 1996; no *ne* in the KB *ka babayi' la wusa me kudig hali.*)

16.4 Mood

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. The distinction among them is in itself quite straightforward, but the *marking* of mood involves portmanteau morphs which also express polarity, and in the case of the imperative, independency as well.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It uses the negative particle *p̄v*. It is used for statements and questions about the present and past, and timeless events and states. It can express the immediate future in periphrastic constructions. It is the only mood which permits the use of the particle *nē* with aspectual meaning.

Imperative mood is negated by *dā*. With dual-aspect verbs carrying the independency-marking tone overlay it shows a special inflection *-ma* 16.6.2 but otherwise the verb word coincides in form with the indicative.

Ò vòl t̄im kà ò nób̄ir p̄v zábē=∅.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IND fight=NEG.
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

Ò vòl t̄im kà ò nób̄ir dā zábē=∅.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

The *-ma* imperative of dual-aspect verbs is perfective by default:

Kòñs̄im! "Cough!"

Imperatives without independency-marking tone overlay make perfective/imperfective distinctions in the usual way by verb flexion:

Dā kóñs̄ē=∅! "Don't cough!" (To a patient who has coughed during an eye operation with local anaesthetic)
 NEG.IMP cough=NEG!

Dā kóñs̄idā=∅! "Don't cough!" (Explaining before the operation what to avoid throughout)
 NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG!

See 18.3 on the postposed 2pl pronoun ^{ya} in commands to several people.

The particle *nē* cannot appear in its aspectual sense with the imperative, but *àlá* "thus" after imperatives imposes continuous/progressive meaning:

D̄im! "Eat!"
D̄imí àlá! "Carry on eating!"

Informants contract *-í-à-* either to *-í-* or to *-á-*: [dɪmɪla] [dɪmala].

Dìmī-ní _◡ *àlá!* "Keep ye on eating!" [dɪmɪɪla] [dɪmɪmala]
Eat:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Single-aspect verbs used as imperatives frequently add *àlá*:

Zì'é àlá! text *zi'ela* "Be still!" (Jesus to the storm, Mk 4:39, 1976)

Dìgī-ní _◡ *àlá!* "Keep (ye) on lying down." [dɪgɪɪla] [dɪgɪmala]
Be.lying.down-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Āa-ní _◡ *àlá bāañlím!* "Be (ye) quiet!"
COP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

Bēi-ní _◡ *àlá ànínā!* "Be ye there!"
EXIST-2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there!

Imperative mood is used in direct commands and prohibitions and in purpose clauses. Imperative mood follows another imperative in catenation.

Gòsɪmī _◡ *ø!* "Look ye!"
Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dā gōsɛ=ø! "Don't look!"
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Kèl kà ò gōs! "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!

Kèm nā n gōs! "Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Dòllī-ní _◡ *m!* "Follow ye me!"
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!

Mòr nīn-báalìg! "Have pity!"
Have eye-pity!

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions and has the preverbal mood markers *nà* (positive) *kù* (negative.) Tone Pattern A verbs show a tone perturbation to all-M tonemes 3.8.2. The irrealis distinguishes aspects by verb flexion like the indicative, but aspectual *nē̄* cannot occur. Perfective aspect occurs much more often than imperfective. Irrealis mood with past tense markers is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past: see 20.4 for its use in conditionals.

16.5 Polarity

VP negation markers combine this function with mood marking. They appear after tense markers but before preverbs. They induce the appearance of a clause final negative prosodic clitic 4.1. Aspectual *nē̄* is incompatible with negative polarity.

Indicative mood is negated by *p̄v* (for some speakers *b̄v*, as in Toende Kusaal.) Imperative is negated by *dā*; conversely, forms which are negated by *dā* are imperative. Irrealis is negated by *kù*, which *replaces* the positive irrealis marker *nà*.

Ò zàb nâ'ab lā. "He's fought the chief."
3AN fight chief:SG ART.

Ò p̄v záb nâ'ab lāa=∅. "He hasn't fought the chief."
3AN NEG.IND fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Zàm nâ'ab lā! "Fight the chief!"
Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!

Dā záb nâ'ab lāa=∅! "Don't fight the chief!"
NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!

Ò nà zāb nâ'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief."
3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅. "He won't fight the chief."
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Three **negative verbs** are equivalent to negative particle + verb. They do not carry the independency tone overlay 16.6.1. Negative clitics appear as usual.

Kā'ε "not be, not have" appears as *kā'* before a complement 4.3. It is the negative to both "be" verbs, *àεñ^a* "be something/somehow" and *bè* "be somewhere, exist" and also to *mōr^a* "have." **P̄v bé* is not found, but *p̄v mōr* is quite common; *p̄v áεñ* is rare but can be found in contrastive contexts.

Dāy lā kā' ná'abā=∅. "The man isn't a chief."
 Man:SG ART NEG.BE chief:SG=NEG.

Dāy lā kā' bīga=∅. "The man hasn't got a child."
 Man:SG ART NEG.HAVE child:SG=NEG.

Pu'ā lā mór bīg, àmáa dāy lā kā'e=∅.
 Woman:SG ART have child:SG but man:SG ART NEG.HAVE=NEG.
 "The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

Dāy lā kā'e=∅. "The man isn't there."
 Man:SG ART NEG.BE=NEG.

Dāy kā'ẹ́ dógō-n lāa=∅. "There's no man in the room."
 Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART=NEG.

Dāy lā kā' dógō-n lāa=∅. "The man is not in the room."
 Man:SG ART NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART=NEG.

Kā'ẹ́ has a clause-final variant *kà'asige* (always LF):

Ò bīg kà'asìgē=∅. "She has no child."
 3AN child NEG.EXIST=NEG.

Mìt "see that it doesn't happen that ..." 19.2 is always imperative. In this sense, the postposed 2pl subject ^{ya} does not occur, even in address to several people.

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mìt kà yà māl yà tùm-sùma nīdīb tūen yé bà gōsε=∅.
 NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL do 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL before that 3PL look.at =NEG.
 "See that you don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look at you." (Mt 6:1, 1996)

KB uses *mid* with no clitic: *Mid ka ya maali ya tvm soma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.*
Mìt appears with a NP object and no negative clitic in the sense "beware of ...":

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

Mìtī ∅ zīrī nò-dí'əsīdīb bānī kēnnī yà sā'an nā lā.
 Beware 2PL.SUB lie mouth-receiver:PL REL.PL come:IPFV 2PL among hither ART.
 "Beware of false prophets who come among you." (Mt 7:15, 1996)

Zī' "not know" normally replaces negative particle + *mī'*. A clause-final LF *zi'isige* also appears in KB, NT (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

B̀̀η-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēη tóllā=∅.

Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.

"He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot." (Proverb)

Mī' does occur with negative particles:

M biig Solomon anē dasaη , ka p̄v mi' w̄v̄v lín nar si'em.

M̄ b̄iig Solomon á nē dá-sāη, kà p̄v mī'

1SG child:SG Solomon FOC COP young.man:SG, and NEG.IND know

w̄v̄v lín nār s̄i'əmm=∅.

how 3IN:NZ be.proper INDE.ADV=NEG.

"My son Solomon is young, and does not know how things ought to be."

(1 Chronicles 22:5)

16.6 Independency marking

The VP of a main clause or content clause is marked as independent. The marking is absent in all subordinate clause types other than content clauses. It is also absent in all clauses introduced by *kà* other than content clauses, regardless of whether they are subordinate or coordinate. The markers are primarily tonal, but there are associated segmental manifestations.

16.6.1 Tonal

The **independency-marking tone overlay** is manifested only on VPs with positive polarity and indicative or imperative mood. It affects only the *first* word in the VP capable of carrying it: first the preverbal particle *lèε* "but", next any preverb, then the verb itself. Preverbal particles which have intrinsic M tonemes (past tense marker *dāa*, auxiliary tense marker *ñyēε*) not only remain M themselves but also prevent the overlay from applying to any subsequent words.

The overlay otherwise changes all tonemes in the affected word to L if they were not L already. Affected words, regardless of their intrinsic tones, are always followed by M spreading, and show M toneme on the final syllable before liaison (changed as usual to H before liaison words beginning with a fixed-L toneme [4.4.3](#).)

Examples of tone overlay manifesting independency marking in main clauses (with *zàb^ε* "fight", *gōs^ε* "look at", *nà'ab^a* "chief"):

<i>Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's fought the chief."
<i>Ò gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's looked at the chief."
<i>Ò sà zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He fought the chief yesterday."
<i>Ò sà gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He looked at the chief yesterday."

In contrast, the intrinsic tones appear after *kà*, with preverbal particles having intrinsic M tonemes, with negative polarity, and in subordinate clauses:

<i>Kà ò záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's looked at the chief."
<i>Ò dāa záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't fight the chief."
<i>Ò dāa gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't look at the chief."
<i>Ò p̄ záb nâ'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't fought the chief."
<i>Ò p̄ gòs nâ'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't looked at the chief."
<i>Ò yá' zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"If he fights the chief."
<i>Ò yá' gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"If he looks at the chief."
<i>Ón zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He having fought the chief"
<i>Ón gòs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He having looked at the chief."

Content clauses have independency marking 22.2:

Bà yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.
 3PL say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.
 "They say he's fought the chief."

Examples for the final M before liaison, using the verbs *bòdɪg^ɛ* "lose", *yādɪg^{ɛl}* "scatter" and the pronouns *m^a* "me" *ba* "them":

Intrinsic tones:	<i>bòdɪgɪ m^a</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i> ipfv	<i>bòdɪgɪ bā'</i>
	<i>yādɪgɪ m^a</i>	<i>yādɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i> ipfv	<i>yādɪgɪ bā'</i>
With overlay:	<i>bòdɪgī m^{a/}</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i>	<i>bòdɪgī bá</i>
	<i>yàdɪgī m^{a/}</i>	<i>yàdɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i>	<i>yàgɪdī bá</i>

Before a liaison word with initial fixed-L toneme, M must change to H 4.4.3:

Bà kòvdī́ bá. "They kill them."
 3PL kill:IPFV 3PL.OB.

vs *Bà kòvdí́ bà bōvs.* "They kill their goats."
 3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

Bà gòsō ∅. "They looked at her."
3PL look.at 3AN.OB.

vs *Bà gòsú* ò *bīg*. "They looked at her child."
3PL look.at 3AN child:SG.

M spreading after bound personal pronoun subjects is affected by independency marking. Bound pronoun subjects are normally followed by M spreading despite their own fixed L tonemes: however, the *third* persons *ò lì bà* are never followed by M spreading when the following VP has independency marking.

Thus, with no independency marking after coordinating *kà*:

Kà m záb nà'ab lā. "And I've fought the chief."
Kà ò záb nà'ab lā. "And he's fought the chief."

but *M záb* nà'ab lā. "I've fought the chief."
Ò zàb nà'ab lā. "He's fought the chief."

The first and second person pronouns *are* followed by M spreading unless the VP has independency marking *and* they are immediately preceded by *yē* "that" [22.2](#):

Ò tēñ'es kà ò *zàb* nà'ab lā. "He thinks he's fought the chief." WK
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

Ò tēñ'es kà *m záb* nà'ab lā. "He thinks I've fought the chief."
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

but *Ò yèl yé* ò *zàb* nà'ab lā. "He says he's fought the chief."
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

and *Ò yèl yé m zàb* nà'ab lā. "He says I've fought the chief."
3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

Absence of M spreading after bound subject pronouns is independent of tone overlay and is still seen when tone overlay is absent, e.g. when the VP has irrealis mood, or there is a preverbal particle carrying a M toneme:

Ò kù zāb nà'ab lāa=∅. "He will not fight the chief."
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò *lèɛ dāa zāb nà'ab lā.* "But he did fight the chief."
 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

Ò *yèl yé m nà zāb nā'ab lā.* "He says I'll fight the chief."
 3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.

16.6.2 Segmental

There are two segmental features of independency marking. They occur when and *only* when the verb word itself has undergone *tone* overlay. Verbs which have intrinsic L tonemes have unchanged stem tonemes after overlay, but these segmental features and the following M spreading reveal its presence.

The particle *yā* follows any perfective verb form carrying the tone overlay which would otherwise be phrase-final. Texts write *ya* solid with the verb; prior to 2016 it usually appears as *-eya* after consonants. *Yā* may be connected historically with the perfective flexion *-ra* of one conjugation of Nawdm verbs. Phrase constituents can only follow *yā* by right dislocation [24.4](#). Examples:

Ò *zàb yā.* "She's fought."
 3AN fight PFV.

Ò *gòs yā.* "She's looked."
 3AN look PFV.

Ò *sà zàb yā.* "She fought (yesterday)."
 3AN TNS fight PFV.

Sāa nị yā. "It has rained."
 Rain:SG rain PFV.

Ì *tēñ'es kà lì lù yā.* "I think it's fallen down." (content clause)
 1SG think and 3IN fall PFV.

But Ò *zàbī m.* "He's fought me." (not final)
 3AN fight 1SG.OB.

Ò *gòsī m.* "He's looked at me." (not final)
 3AN look.at 1SG.OB.

Sāa dāa nị. "It rained." (M preverbal particle)
 Rain:SG TNS rain.

<i>Ò dāa záb.</i> 3AN TNS fight.	"He fought." (M preverbal particle)
<i>Ò nà zāb.</i> 3AN IRR fight.	"She'll fight." (irrealis)
<i>Kà ò záb.</i> And 3AN fight.	"And he fought." (no independency marking)
<i>Kà ò gōs.</i> And 3AN look.	"And he looked." (no independency marking)
<i>Ò p̄v zābē=∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND fight=NEG.	"He's not fought." (negative)
<i>Ò p̄v gōsε=∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND look=NEG.	"He's not looked." (negative)
<i>Ò gīm.</i>	"She's short." (stative)
<i>Ò m̄i'.</i>	"She knows." (stative)
<i>Ò nòŋ.</i>	"She loves him." (stative)

Before interrogative prosodic clitics the toneme of *yā* becomes L, not H:

<i>Lì b̄d̄iḡ yā.</i> 3IN get.lost PFV.	"It's got lost."
<i>Lì b̄d̄iḡ yàa=∅?</i> 3IN get.lost PFV=PQ?	"Has it got lost?"

The flexion -*ma* 7.1 marks imperatives of dual-aspect verbs whenever they carrying the independency-marking tone overlay:

<i>Gòsim!</i>	"Look!" (or <i>Gòsīm!</i> with the vowel absorbed 2)
<i>Gòsimī m!</i> Look:IMP 1SG.OB!	"Look at me!"
<i>Gòsimí f̄v nū'ug!</i> Look:IMP 2SG hand:SG!	"Look at your hand!" (or <i>Gòsīm f̄v nū'ug!</i> with the vowel absorbed)

Dì'əmī ◡ *ø!* "Receive ye!"
Receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dì'əmī-ní ◡ *bā!* "Receive ye them!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB!

Dì'əmī-nó ◡ *ø!* "Receive ye her!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB!

Dì'əmī-ní ◡ *àlá!* "Keep ye on receiving!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

But *Dā* *gōsε=ø!* "Don't look!" (negative)
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Kèl *kà* *ò* *gōs!* "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!
(No independency marking: subordinate)

Kèm *nā* *n* *gōs!* "Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!
(No independency marking: subordinate)

Dòllī-ní ◡ *m!* "Follow ye me!" (single-aspect verb)
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!

16.7 *Lèε* "but"

Lèε "but" precedes even tense particles, but like a preverb, and unlike a post-subject particle, it prevents the independency-marking tone overlay from falling on the verb, and is then itself followed by M spreading:

Kà *ò* *lèε* *dāa* *záb* *nà'ab* *lā.*
And 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.
"But he fought the chief."

Bà *lèε* *záb* *nà'ab* *lā.* "But they've fought the chief." WK
3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

Kà *bà* *lèε* *zàb* *nà'ab* *lā.* "But they've fought the chief." WK
And 3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

Lèè záb nà'ab lā! "But fight the chief!" WK
But fight chief:SG ART!

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.
Kà mān pīāñ'ad lā léε kò gāade=∅.
And 1SG.CNTR speech ART but NEG.IRR pass=NEG.
"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35, 1996)

NT has the *ma*-imperative, suggesting tone overlay on the verb, in

Lee iemini o na'am so'olim la...
Lèè ìəmī-ní_ ò nā'am sù'vlim lā...
But seek:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN kingship possession ART...
"But seek ye his kingdom ..." (Lk 12:31, 1976)

WK does not accept this; he corrected e.g. **Lèè gósìm nà'ab lā!* to

Lèè gōs nā'ab lā! "But look at the chief!"
But look.at chief:SG ART.

16.8 Preverbs

Preverbs follow all other preverbal particles. All carry the independency-marking tone overlay in place of the following main verb (cf *lèε* "but" 16.7.)

Pòn "previously, already":

Ò pòn záb nà'ab lā. "He's already fought the chief."
3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò pún zàb nà'ab lā.
And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.
"And he's already fought the chief."

Lèm "again" (cf *lèb^ε* "return"):

Ì nīf léμ zábìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
1SG eye:SG again fight FOC.

Kà ò léμ zàb nà'ab lā. "And he's fought the chief again."
And 3AN again fight chief:SG ART.

Ò p̄v lēm zàb nà'ab lāa=∅.

3AN NEG.IND again fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"He hasn't fought the chief again."

Ò nà lēm zàb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."

3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.

Kà s̄v' kūdīm kú lēm ñyées_lī yá'asā=∅.

And INDEF.AN ever NEG.IRR again see 3IN.OB again=NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

Kpèlim is "still" before an ipfv, but "immediately afterwards" before a pfv. It occurs also as a main verb "remain, still be." KB has the reduced form *kpèn*.

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

"Immediately he went blind."

Kà ò kpèlim zū'om. (Acts 13:11, 1996: KB *Ka o kpèn zu'om.*)

And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpèn vve.

m̄ bīg Josef nán kpèn v̄v̄e.

1SG child:SG Joseph still still be.alive.

"My child Joseph is still alive." (Genesis 45:28)

Là'am "together" (cf *là'as^ε* "gather"); as a main verb *là'am^m* is "associate with."

ka nidib wvsa da la'am kpi ne o.

kà ñīdīb w̄vsa dá là'am kpì né ò.

and person:PL all TNS together die with 3AN.

"so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

Dènim "beforehand" (cf *dèη^ε* "go, do first": *m̄ déñī f* "I've got there before you"; *dèη^ε* is used with the same meaning in *n*-catenation 19.1.)

Pin'ilvgn sa ka Pian'ad la da pvn deñim be.

Pīñ'ilógō-n sá kà Pīàñ'ad lā dá pòn dèñim bē.

Beginning:SG-LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already beforehand EXIST.

"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

Màligim "again" (cf Toende Kusaal *malig* "do again"):

Amaa man pian'ad la kv maligim gaade.

Àmáa mán p̄iãñ'ad lā kú mālīgim gáadē=∅.

But 1SG.CNTR speech ART NEG.IRR again pass=NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

Tì "after" occurs often in *n*-catenation; for *hālì tì pāa ...* "up until" see [17.2.1](#). If the next VP is perfective, *tì* corresponds instead to English "before."

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"Until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)

hālì kà Herod tí kpì.

Until and Herod after die.

Kèm_∅ tí ñyē d'atà.

"Go to see the doctor." SB

Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Beogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

Bēogú_∅ tì ñìəd lā kà bà gâad!

Morning NZ after appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.

"Before morning appears they have passed!" (Isaiah 17:14)

16.9 Complements

"Complement" will be used below to describe all verb core arguments other than the subject. Complements may be NPs, AdvPs, prepositional phrases or clauses.

Verbs vary in the kind of complement they take and in whether the complements are obligatory; "obligatory" complements need not in fact be explicitly present, but when they are absent, the gap functions as an anaphoric pronoun.

NP and AdvP complements can be classified as direct and indirect objects, as predicative complements, or as locative complements.

16.9.1 Transitivity and objects

Indirect objects precede direct, and objects precede other complements. A bound pronoun before a noun object therefore cannot be the direct object:

M̄ dāa tísì_ lī nā'ab lā. "I gave the chief to it." *sic*

1SG TNS give 3IN.OB chief:SG ART.

There is otherwise no formal difference between direct and indirect objects. Transitive verbs vary in whether they require a direct object/complement:

da ku nidaa, da zuuda

dā k̄v nīdá=∅, dā zūudá=∅ ...

NEG.IMP kill person:SG=NEG, NEG.IMP steal:IPFV=NEG ...

"Do not kill [a person] ... do not steal ..." (Lk 18:20, 1996)

Obligatorily transitive verbs may appear without any expressed object, but in such cases the meaning is necessarily **anaphoric**:

Ò p̄v zám̄m=∅.

"She didn't cheat him/her."

3AN NEG.IND cheat=NEG.

Transitive single-aspect verbs which do not take locative complements are all obligatory transitives. Thus with *àgě̃^a* "be something/somehow":

Mānı̄ ∅ áñ dúb'atà kà f̄v̄n m̄én ágě̃.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CNTR also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

For null anaphora for preposed objects see [24.3](#); in adnominal *kà*-catenation, see [19.2](#). In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

Q. *Fù mór gbā̄v̄v̄ lāa=∅?* "Do you have the letter?"

2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?

A. *Ēgě̃, m̄ mór.* "Yes, I have it."

Yes, 1SG have.

Q. *Fù bódódó-o=∅?* "Do you love her?"

2SG want-3AN.OB=PQ?

A. *Áyìı, m̄ p̄v bódódā=∅.* "No, I don't love her."

No, 1SG NEG.IND want=NEG.

Agentive ambitransitive verbs appear with and without objects, with no change in the role of the subject, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

banε zuud nidibi gban'ad

bànı̄ zūud nīdībı̄ ∅ gbāñ'ad

REL.PL steal:IPFV person:PL CAT seize:IPFV

"those who steal people by force" (1 Tim 1:10)

one daa zuud "he who used to steal" (Eph 4:28)
òni dāa zūud
 REL.AN TNS steal:IPFV

Some verbs, both obligatory transitives and not, only take objects of a very limited type, often expressed with a noun formed from the same stem:

Fò tùm bó-tùvma=ø? "What work do you do?"
 2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

Ka ya ninkvda zaansim zaansima.
Kà yà nīn-kúdà zàañsim záañsímà.
 And 2PL person-old:PL dream:IPFV dream:PL.
 "And your old people dream dreams." (Acts 2:17)

Patientive ambitransitive verbs can appear transitively with an expressed object, but if there is no object they are normally interpreted as intransitive, with the object of the transitive appearing as the subject. Examples include *yò* "close", *nāe* "finish", *zàmɪs*^ε "learn/teach", *nāmɪs*^{ε/} "suffer/make suffer", *bòdɪg*^ε "lose, get lost", *bàs*^ε "go/send away", *dūe* "raise/rise", *mā'e* "get cool."

Many, though not all, patientive ambitransitive verbs express a change of state and can use the perfective form in a resultative sense [16.2.2](#):

Ṁ náa t̄vma lā. "I've finished the work."
 1SG finish work ART.

T̄vma lā náa nē. "The work is finished."
 Work ART finish FOC.

Almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc:

Ò d̀̀g̀̀ m. "He cooked (for) me."
 3AN cook 1SG.OB.

Lì m̀̀s̄̀ m. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
 3IN be.sweet 1SG.OB.

Áláaf̀̀ b́́e b́́. "They are well." ("Health exists for them.")
 Health EXIST 3PL.OB.

Ditransitive verbs *require* an indirect object, which cannot be ellipted unless any direct object is too, with a necessarily anaphoric sense; *tìs*^ε "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like *dìus*^ε "feed", *nūlvs*^{ε/} "give to drink."

- M̄ tís nâ'ab lā dāká.* "I've given the chief a box."
1SG give chief:SG ART box:SG.
- M̄ tís nâ'ab lā.* "I've given it to the chief."
1SG give chief:SG ART.
- M̄ tísō_∅ dāká.* "I've given him a box." Not **M̄ tís dāká.*
1SG give 3AN.OB box:SG.
- Dā tísò_∅ sī'əla=∅.* "Don't give her anything!"
NEG.IMP give 3AN.OB INDEF.IN=NEG.
- Dā tísē=∅!* "Don't give it to her!"
NEG.IMP give=NEG.
- M̄ tís yā.* "I've given it to him."
1SG give PFV.

Certain verbs take a fixed direct object as a set idiom after an indirect object which expresses the functional object, e.g. *kàd* X *sàríyà* "judge X", *mōr* X *nīn-báalìg* or *zò* X *nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìj* X *yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *zò* X *dàbīəm* "fear X", *sìàk* X *nōr* "obey X", *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* "make an agreement with X."

- Bà zòtō_∅ dábīəm.* "They are afraid of him."
3PL feel:IPFV 3AN.OB fear.

Wina'am na kad nidib poten'esua'ada saria.
Wínà'am ná kād nīdīb pú-tèñ'-sū'adá sàríyà.
God IRR drive person:PL inside-mind-secret:PL judgment.
"God will judge people's secret thoughts." (Rom 2:16, 1996)

- Bà nìjō_∅ yàddā.* "They believed her."
3PL do 3AN.OB assent.

Ò ñwè' nâ'ab lā nū'ug. "He made an agreement with the king."
3AN strike king:SG ART hand:SG.

16.9.1.1 Passives

For passive meaning expressed by an empty *bà* "they" as subject see [12.4.1](#).

Transitive verbs expressing a change of state are usually patientive ambitransitives. Obligatory transitives or agentive ambitransitives can be used *passively* with no formal change. The original agent may not then be expressed.

Ṃ nú dāam lā. "I've drunk the beer."
1SG drink beer ART.

Dāam lā nú yā. "The beer has got drunk."
Beer ART drink PFV.

Indirect objects cannot become passive subjects:

Nà'ab lā tís yā. *only* "The chief was given [to someone]."
Chief:SG ART give PFV.

Imperfective passives can only appear with habitual/propensity meanings. Stative verbs accordingly cannot make passives.

Sōb^ε "write" (cf *sōb*^ε "make/go dark") is patientive ambitransitive and can form a resultative; the ipfv *sōbìd*^{al} only accepts intransitive use along with an AdvP:

Gbàṁṁ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Gbàna sóbìd zīnā. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṁṁ lā sóbìd súnā. "The letter is writing well (i.e. easily)." WK
Letter:SG ART write:IPFV good:ADV.

16.9.1.2 Middle use of intransitives

The assume-stance verbs [9.1.1](#) are used transitively for parts of one's own body more often than the make-assume-stance series:

Lìgíním f̀v̀ nīf nē f̀v̀ nū'ug.
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.
"Cover your eye with your hand."

Dìgíním̀ f̀v̀ nù'ug. "Put your hand down."
Lie.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Similarly *nìe* "appear" is usually intransitive, corresponding to transitive *nèel^ε* "reveal", but *nìe* is much more frequent than *nèel^ε* before *ò mēŋ^{a/}* "him/herself" etc.

Ka o nie o mēŋ Jemes san'an ...
Kà ò nìe ò mēŋ Jemes sâ'an ...
And 3AN appear 3AN self James among ...
And he revealed himself to James (1 Cor 15:7)

16.9.2 Predicative complements

Predicative complements may or may not be required, in the sense of omission implying anaphora. As in English, they can be "depictive" or "resultative"; in Kusaal this falls out naturally from the stative or dynamic nature of the verb:

Kel ka m liebi f̀v̀ t̀v̀m̀t̀v̀m̀ yinne.
Kèl kà m̀ lìə̀b̀ì̀ f̀v̀ t̀v̀m̀-̀t̀v̀m̀ yīnní.
Cause:IMP and 1SG become 2SG work-worker:SG one.
"Make me [become] one of your servants" (Lk 15:19); dynamic *lìə̀b̀^ε*

M̀ á né f̀v̀ t̀v̀m̀-̀t̀v̀m̀. "I am your servant."; stative *àgñ^a*
1SG COP FOC 2SG work-worker:SG.

For *kà*-catenations as resultative predicates see [19.2](#).

Adjectives may appear as NP heads so long as the NP is a predicative complement. This is most frequent with *àgñ^a* "be something" [16.12.2](#), but is seen also with other verbs:

Lì à nē p̀íə̀l̀ìg. "It's white, a white one."
Lì à nē p̀íə̀l̀ìg f́áss. "It's very white."
Bà à nē p̀íə̀l̀à. "They're white."

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asεε ka m leb zin'a.
Mām á nē p̀íə̀l̀òg àmáa m̀ yá' pāe búgúmī-n,
1SG COP FOC white:SG but 1SG if reach fire-LOC,
àsée kà m̀ léb zìñ'a.
except and 1SG become red:SG.

"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] (BNY p16)

si'el zie sabili wuu nidne.

sī'əl zī'e sābīllì ∅ wōv nīd nē.

INDEF.IN stand black:SG CAT like person:SG like.

"something stood, black like a person." KSS p16

Most adjectives do not permit this. All examples in my materials involve adjectives without corresponding stative verbs. More often, compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *bōn-* "thing" + adjective are used instead. Even adjectives which may appear without a noun head cannot do so before a dependent pronoun; thus only

Lì à nē bōn-p̄l-kàṅā.

"It is this white one."

Some transitive verbs may have a predicative complement after the direct object. With verbs are used in the relevant senses, this complement is compulsory.

The verb *pòd^ε* "name, dub" has as first object a NP with the head *yō'vr^ε* "name", and the name itself as second object; this may be introduced by *yē* "that."

Ka fv na pvd o yv'vr ye Yesu.

Kà fù ná púd ò yō'vr yē Yesu.

And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

Ka o pvd biig la yv'vr Yesu.

Kà ò púd bīig lā yō'vr Yesu.

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

Bùel^ε "call, call out, summon" can be used in the ipfv with an object expressing the person and the name as a complement, again often introduced by *yē*:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la

òn kà bà bùon yē Pita lā

REL.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

"who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)

It is often used as a passive with *yō'vr^ε* "name" as the subject:

dau sɔ' ka o yv'vr buon Joon.

dàv-só' kà ò yō'vr bùon Joon.

man-INDF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.

"a man [habitually] called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal^ε "make" is used with object and resultative predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meη nintita'ar.

Kà ò mâal ò mēη nīn-títā'ar.

And 3AN make 3AN self person-great:SG.

"He made himself out to be a great man." (Acts 8:9. 1976)

16.9.3 Locatives

Locative AdvPs occur as complements after verbs of position and movement. Some verbs *require* a locative complement, and its absence is anaphoric.

M̄ yí Bòk.
1SG emerge Bawku.

"I left Bawku."

M̄ yí yā.
1SG emerge PFV.

"I've left [there]."

No single-aspect verb or dual-aspect verb derived from a stance verb requires a locative; nor does *kēη*^{ε/} "go/walk." No verb requires a locative second complement.

Ò pō tūñ'e_ ∅ kēnná=∅.
3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.
"She can't walk."

but *Ò kēη Bók.*
3AN go Bawku.

"She's gone to Bawku."

Ò dīgīn yā.
3AN lie.down PFV.

"He's lain down."

but *Dīgīnim kpē!*
Lie.down:IMP here!

"Lie down here!"

Ò dīgīl gbáyū lā.
3AN lay.down book:SG ART.

"She's put the book down."

but *Ò dīgīl gbáyū lā téebòl lā zúg.*
3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.

"She's put the book on the table."

Àláafù béo ∅. "He's well." ("Health exists for him.")
Health EXIST 3AN.OB. Indirect object but no complement.

but *Dāy lā bé nē dó-kàṅā lā púvḡ-n.*
Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST:SG ART inside:SG-LOC.
"The man is inside that hut."

16.9.4 Prepositional phrases

Wēn^{na/} "resemble" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē* or *wōv* 15.

Ka o nindaa wenne nintaṅ ne.
Kà ò n̄n-dáa wēn nē n̄ntāṅ nē.
And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.
"His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996)

Lāl^{la/} "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē*:

Amaa o pv lal ne tii.
Àmáa ò p̄v lāl né t̄i=∅.
But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL=NEG.
"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

Dōl^{la/} "accompany" with the preposition *nē* means "be in accordance with":

Li dōlne lin sōb Wina'am gbaṅṅv̄n si'em la ye ...
Lì dōl nē lín sōb Wínà'am gbáṅṅv̄-n s̄'əm lā yē ...
3IN follow with 3IN:NZ write God book:SG-LOC INDEF.ADV ART that ...
"This is in accordance with what is written in God's book ..." (1 Cor 2:16)

The preposition *nē* can be distinguished from focus-*nē*[/] 24.1.2 by contexts where focus is prohibited. *Yī* "emerge" does not take a prepositional phrase:

M̄ yī nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

but *Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala"
Meeri ónì yī Magdala (Mk 16:9, 1996)
Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

16.9.5 Clauses

Kē "let" and *mīt* in the sense "let not" always take a *kà*-catenation. *Nār^{a/}* "be obliged to" and *bòòd^a* in the sense "want to" take purpose clauses, and the meaning is anaphoric if it is absent. *Gūr^{a/}* in the sense "wait for (an event)" takes a NP headed by a gerund or a purpose-clause. *Àęñ^a* "be something/somehow", uniquely flexible in its variety of argument types, may also take a content-clause complement.

Verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception have as complement a content clause, a relative clause with *sī'əm*, or a postpositional AdvP with *yēlá* "about." Most such verbs have an anaphoric sense without such an object.

16.10 Adjuncts

Adjuncts, typically AdvPs, occur as the last element in the VP. Several VP adjuncts may occur together. Clause-final adjuncts are always taken as VP adjuncts in this grammar; clause-level adjuncts precede the subject [17.2.1](#).

Bà dīt nē sā'ab dó-kàṅā lā púvḡ-n.
 3PL eat:IPFV FOC porridge hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.
 "They're eating porridge in that hut."

16.11 Verb-phrase-final particles

For the independent-perfective marker *yā* see [16.6.2](#).

The particles *nā'* "hither" and *sà* "hence; ago" follow any complements. The verb *kēñ* "come" is invariably used with *nā'*; the imperative SF *kèm*, which coincides for *kēñ* "come" and *kēṅ^{ε/}* "go", is always disambiguated by the fact that it is followed by *nā'* or *sà* respectively: *kèm nā'* "come" *kèm sá!* "go!"

M mór kú'əm ná=ø? "Shall I bring water?" SB
 1SG have water hither=PQ?

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?"

Fò yí yáa ní ná=ø?
 2SG emerge where LOC hither=CQ?
 "Where have you come from?" WK

Sà is often used temporally, for "since" or "ago":

Fu na baŋ li nya'aŋ sa.

F̀̀ ñá báŋ ò ñyá'aŋ sá.

2SG IRR realise 3IN behind since.

"You will come to understand afterwards." (Jn 13:7, 1976)

Lazarus p̀̀n b̀̀e yavgv̀̀n la daba anaasi sa.

Lazarus p̀̀n b̀̀e yávgv̀̀n-lā dābá_ànāasí sà.

Lazarus previously EXIST grave:SG-LOC ART day:PL NUM:four since.

"Lazarus had already been in the grave four days." (Jn 11:17)

The particles are VP-final, not clause-final:

K̀̀m nā n gv̀̀s. "Come and look!" SB

Come:IMP hither CAT look.

Man ya'a p̀̀v k̀̀eɛn na tu'asini ba ...

Mān yá' p̀̀v k̀̀eɛ-n nā_ ∅ tú'asī-ní_ bā...

1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB...

"If I had not come to talk to them ..." (Jn 15:22)

Nā' and *sà* often follow any article *lā'* ending an *ñ*-clause containing them; closely parallel constructions may show either *nā lā* or *lā nā*:

ñwāɗɗ-gánì k̀̀eɛn nā lā

month REL.SG come:IPFV hither ART

"next month" SB

dunia kanɛ ken la na

dūnɪyá-kànì k̀̀eɛn lā nā

world-REL.SG come:IPFV ART hither

"the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)

ti tvm onɛ tvm man na la t̃ṽma.

tì tvm ònì t̀̀m mān nā lā t̃ṽma

1PL work REL.AN send 1SG.CNTR hither ART work

"Let us do the work of him who sent me." (Jn 9:4)

M diib anɛ ye m tvm onɛ t̃ṽmì m la na b̃óɗ̀dìm naae.

M̃ dīb á nē yé m̃ tvm ònì t̃ṽmì_m lā nā b̃óɗ̀dìm_∅ nāe.

1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither will CAT finish.

My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely. (Jn 4:34)

VP-final particles can also follow the *gerund* of a verb which is associated with such a particle, and again may follow the associated article:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out." (Lk 1:21)

Ninsaal Biig la lebvog la na

Nīn-sāal Bīig lā lébvòg lā nā

Person-smooth:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither

"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

16.12 Verbs "to be"

16.12.1 Existence and location

Bè means "exist"; with a focussed or foregrounded locative, it means "be located in a place":

Wínà'am bé.

God EXIST.

"God exists." (Calque of the West African Pidgin *God dey*, implying "It'll all work out.")

Àláafò béo_ø.

Health EXIST 3AN.OB.

"She's well." ("Health exists for her.")

Wāad bé.

Cold.weather EXIST.

"It's cold."

Mam bene moogin.

Mām bé nē mōogv-n.

1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p8

Moogin ka mam be.

Mōogv-n kà mām bé.

Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p10

Dāu lā bé nē dó-kàṅā lā púvgv-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST:SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut." (Reply to "Where is that man?")

Dàù-sō' bé dó-kàṅā lā púvḡ-n.

Man-INDFAN EXIST hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"There's a certain man in that hut."

For the corresponding negative *kā'ẹ* see 16.5; **p̄ bé* is not used.

Bè plays a role analogous to a "passive" to *m̄r*^a/ "have" in constructions like:

M̄ b̄iḡ bé.

"I have a child." Equivalent to *M̄ m̄r b̄iḡ*.

1SG child:SG EXIST.

M̄ b̄iḡ kā'e=∅.

"I have no child." Equivalent to *M̄ kā' b̄iḡa*.

1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Bè can be used in direct commands:

Béε ànṅā.

"Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB

EXIST ADV:there.

Bēi-ní àlá ànṅā.

"Be ye there!" [bɛ:nala anina]

EXIST-2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there.

16.12.2 Copula

The copula verb is *àḡñ*^a. On the loss of *ẹ* and nasalisation see 4.3.

Ò à nē b̄iḡ.

"She is a child."

3AN COP FOC child:SG.

but *Māni ∅ áñ d'atà kà f̄n m̄n áḡñ.*

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CNTR also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

The usual negative is *kā'ẹ*, but *p̄ áḡñ* does occur, e.g. in expressing contrasts:

M̄ kā' d'atā=∅.

"I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG=NEG.

Māni ∅ áñ d'atà àmáa f̄n p̄ áñyā=∅.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG but 2SG.CNTR NEG.IND COP=NEG.

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Àɛñ^a can be used in direct commands:

Āa-ní _┘ *àlá* *bāañlím!* "Be (ye) quiet!"
COP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

The sense may be ascriptive or specifying (cf CGEL p266.) If it is **ascriptive**, the complement is non-referring, and normally focussed with *nē* if permitted 24.1.2:

Ò *à* *nē* *bīig.* "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

In **specifying** constructions the subject usually has *n*-focus 24.1.1:

Mane an kɔnbkem svɛ la.
Māni _┘ *∅* *áñ kóñb-kìim-sòɲ* *lā.*
1SG.CNTR CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.
"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

Mane a o. "I am he." (Jn 18:5, 1976)
Māni _┘ *∅* *áño* _┘ *∅.*
1SG.CNTR CAT COP 3AN.OB.

Nɔbibisi a mam disuɲ.
N5-bībīsì _┘ *∅* *áñ mām dí-sòɲ.*
Hen-small:PL CAT COP 1SG.CNTR food-good:SG.
"Chicks are my favourite food." BNY p13

When the complement of *àɛñ^a* is definite, the construction is usually specifying, with the subject in focus:

M̄ *á* *nē* *dú'atà.* "I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")
1SG COP FOC doctor:SG. Ascriptive.

but *Māni* _┘ *∅* *áñ dú'atà* *lā.* "I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")
1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG ART. Specifying.

However, definite complements may be in focus as "pragmatically non-recoverable" because of their internal structure or other factors 24.1.2.

Àɛñ^a allows a wide range of different types of NP as arguments. It can take an AdvP of any type as subject 13.1:

Zīná à nē dá'a. "Today [time] is market."
 Today COP FOC market:SG.

Yīŋ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.
Yīŋ véñl kà pōvgv-n kâ' súmm=∅.
 Outside be.beautiful and inside:SG-LOC NEG.BE good:ABSTR=NEG.
 "Outside is beautiful but inside [place] is not good." (Acts 23:3, 1996)

Man noŋi ya si'em la ane bedego.
Mán nòŋi yā sī'em lā á nē bédvgv̄.
 1SG:NZ love 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART COP FOC much.
 "How much I love you [manner], is a lot." (2 Cor 7:3, 1976)

Àgñ^a takes a predicative complement. Some adjectives can appear as NP heads as predicative complements after *àgñ^a* and other verbs [16.9.2](#), but typically *àgñ^a* has a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement instead. In any case, such constructions are ascriptive, and use *nē'* where syntactically permissible:

Mam ane sabilig, la'am ne wala m venl hali.
Mām á nē sābilíg, là'am nē wālá m̄ véñl hālí.
 1SG COP FOC black:SG, together with how 1SG be.beautiful so.far.
 "I am dark, although I am very beautiful." (Song of Songs 1:5)

Lì à nē ná'anā. "It's easy."
 3IN COP FOC easily.

Lì à nē bōgvśígā. "It's soft."
 3IN COP FOC soft:ADV.

Lì à nē zāalím. "It's empty."
 3IN COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

Lì àñ súŋā. "It's good." [24.1.2](#)
 3IN COP good:ADV.

Absolute clauses and even content clauses may be complements of *àgñ^a*:

M diib ane ye m tvm one tvmi m la na bōdīm naae.
M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ tvm òni tvm̄ m̄ lā nā bōdīm̄ ∅ nāe.
 1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither will CAT finish.
 "My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." (Jn 4:34)

17 Clauses

Typical clauses consist of a subject NP followed by a VP. Clause-linker particles and clause adjuncts may precede the subject position; post-subject particles may intervene between NP and VP.

17.1 Clause types

Criteria for describing a clause as main or subordinate do not always neatly align. Independency marking of VPs 16.6 in principle marks a clause as non-subordinate, but main clauses are downranked to subordinate content clauses without internal alteration, and **main clauses preceded by *coordinating kà* "and" lack independency marking**. *Kà* was perhaps once always subordinating; its coordinating role is characteristic especially of narrative, and cross-linguistically, non-initial narrative clauses are often formally subordinate. There are three types of clause subordination: nominalisation, catenation, and complementisation.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main <u>18</u>	main without <i>kà</i>	main with initial <i>kà</i>
complementised <u>22</u>	<i>yē/kà</i> content	<i>yē/kà</i> purpose
catenated <u>19</u>		<i>n/kà</i> catenation
nominalised		<i>ñ</i> absolute/relative <u>21</u> <i>yà'</i> conditional <u>20</u>

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands. Only main and content clauses may lack VPs.

Complementised clauses are introduced by *yē* "that", less often *kà*. Purpose clauses lack independency marking, have VPs with imperative mood, and show tense marking only if the main clause is ellipted; content clauses are downranked main clauses, with independency marking and the full range of main clause structures:

M̄ p̄ b̄ôd̄ yé f̄ù kēη Bók̄=∅.

1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG go Bawku=NEG.

"I don't want you to go to Bawku."

Ka o ba' ne o ma pu baη ye o kpelim yaa.

Kà ò bā' né ò mà p̄ báj yé ò kpèlim yāa=∅.

and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain PFV=NEG.

"His father and mother did not realise that he had remained." (Lk 2:43)

Catenated clauses introduced by *n* lack their own subjects and resemble serial verb constructions in many ways; those introduced by *kà* have their own subjects. Catenated clauses lack independency and tense marking. They are part of their main clauses for focus purposes, and the main clause is often semantically subordinate.

Clauses marked by the post-subject particles *ñ* and *yà'* are nominalised. They have independent tense-marking. Like other AdvPs and NPs, *ñ*-clauses are coordinated with *nē*, not *kà*:

... *pa'ali ba* [*on daa nye Zugsəb la suorin, ka o pian' tis o si'em*],
nē [*Saul n mōl Yesu yela nē sɔŋkpi'euŋ Damaskus teŋin si'em.*]
 ... *pá'alì* *bā* *ón* *dāa ñyē* *Zūg-sób* *lā sūərí-n,* *kà* *ò*
 ... teach 3PL.OB 3AN:NZ TNS see head-NULL.AN ART road:SG-LOC and 3AN
pìǎñ' *ø* *tísò* *ø* *sī'əm,* *nē* *Saul n mōl* *Yesu yélà*
 speak CAT give 3AN.OB INDF.ADV with Saul NZ proclaim Jesus about
nē *sūñ-kpì'oŋ* *Damaskus téŋī-n* *sī'əm.*
 with heart-strength Damascus land:SG-LOC INDF.ADV
 "informing them how he had seen the Lord on the road and He had spoken to
 him, and how Saul had preached boldly about Jesus in Damascus." (Acts 9:27)

A clause must be subordinate if it precedes clause-final elements belonging to the preceding clause, such as negative prosodic clitics:

ka pɔ nar ka ba buolim ye Tɔmtɔmma.
kà pɔ nár kà bà búəlì *m* *yē* *Tóm-tōmma=ø.*
 and NEG.IND must and 3PL call 1SG.OB that work-worker:SG=NEG.
 "and I ought not to be called an apostle" (1 Cor 15:9)

Structures can be obscured by dislocation 24.4. Even a catenated clause after *kē* "cause" is unexpectedly placed after the VP-final perfective marker *yā* in

Amaa Wina'am keya ka ya an nɔɔr yinne nɛ Yesu Kristo.
Àmáa Wínà'am ké yá kà yà áñ nɔɔr yīnní nē Yesu Kristo.
 But God cause PFV and 2PL COP mouth:SG one with Jesus Christ.
 "But God has caused you to be in agreement with Jesus Christ." (1 Cor 1:30)

Any subordinate clause type can be embedded, potentially recursively, in any other, but catenated clauses cannot follow complementised clauses at the same level. A catenated clause embedded in a content clause in a purpose clause:

M pɔ bɔɔd [ye fɔ ti yeɪ beog daar [ye fɔne ke [ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.]]]

M̄ p̄ɔ b̄ɔɔd ȳé f̄ɔ tí ȳèl b̄ēog d̄āar ȳē

1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG after say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that

f̄ɔnɪ ∅ ké kà mām Abram l̄iəb b̄ɔn-m̄ɔrā=∅.

2SG.CNTR CAT cause and 1SG Abram become thing-haver:SG=NEG.

"I do not want you afterwards some day saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich." (Gen 14:23)

A content clause within an absolute nominalised clause:

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug

bán mī' yē bīig lā kpí nē lā zúg

3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART upon

"because they knew that the child was dead" (Lk 8:53)

A *n*-catenated clause within a relative nominalised clause:

[Paul n sob gbaun si'a [n tis Efesus dim la]] nwa.

Paul ñ sōb gbáun-sī'a n tís Efesus díim lā ∅ ñwá.

Paul NZ write book-INDEF.IN CAT give Ephesus NULL.PL ART CAT this.

"This is the letter Paul wrote to the Ephesians." (1996 NT heading)

17.2 Structure

Except in special circumstances, clauses require a subject NP, which is followed by a VP, with any post-subject particles intervening.

The **clause-linker particles** *kà* "and" and *yē* "that" are placed before the subject (which may itself be ellipited after *kà*.) Clause-level adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position before the subject.

Yē is invariably subordinating, but *kà* may be coordinating or subordinating: it appears in a great variety of constructions and meanings.

Kusaal is strictly SVO; deviations not achieved by preposing always represent dislocation. Indirect objects precede direct, and objects precede other complements. VP adjuncts follow complements.

Emphatics [24.7](#) are clause-level particles associated with top-level NPs/AdvPs.

Main clauses and content clauses have similar structures. Both display independency marking on the first VP, unless preceded by coordinating *kà* [16.6](#), and they have structural possibilities not permitted to other clauses, including lacking VPs altogether.

17.2.1 Clause adjuncts

Clause-level adjuncts precede the subject position. They fall into three groups: prelinker adjuncts, linker adjuncts and postlinker adjuncts, which respectively precede, occupy, or follow the clause linker position. English conjunctions largely correspond to clause linkers, prelinker adjuncts and linker adjuncts.

Linker adjuncts do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>kōv</i>	"or"	<i>bēε</i>	"or"
<i>dìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"	<i>lìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"
<i>àlá zùgō</i>	"thus"	<i>bō zúgō</i>	"because"

Bō zúgō is stigmatised as a calque in ILK, but is in fact freely used in KB:

Ya pvn mi' ne'εηa, bōzugo li daa maalne ya san'an.

Yà pún mī' nē'ηá, bō zúgō lì dāa mâal né yà sã'an.

2PL already know DEMST.IN, because 3IN TNS make FOC 2PL among.

"You already know this, because it was done in your presence." (Acts 2:22)

It may also appear after an absolute clause, like the postposition *zūg^o* alone.

Prelinker adjuncts precede any linkers. *Hālī àséε* are also prepositions [15](#).

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>hālī</i>	"until"
<i>àséε</i>	"unless"	<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"

KB has no examples of *kà àmáa* to 365 of *àmáa kà*, one of *kà àséε* to 247 of *àséε kà* and 436 examples of *hālī kà* but none of *kà hālī* as a clause adjunct. Prelinker adjuncts also precede *yē*, both as linker and "resumptive" *yē* [22.2.1](#). Thus

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yel ye ...

Kà sī̄əba lá'o_ø. Àmáa kà sī̄əba yél yē ...

And INDEF.PL laugh 3AN.OB. But and INDEF.PL say that...

"Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

Wina'am daa pv gañi ti ye ti tum dian'ad tvvma, amaa ye ti be nyain.

Wínà'am dāa pō gāñí_ tī yé tì tùm dīā'ad túvmà=ø,

God TNS NEG.IND choose 1PL.OB that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

àmáa yé tì bé ñyāe.

but that 1PL EXIST brightly.

"God did not choose us so that we would do the work of impurity, but so that we would be in cleanliness." (1 Thess 4:7)

Postlinker adjuncts follow any clause-linker particle or other clause adjunct but precede all other clause constituents, including preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bo ka m lem lood noor ya'ase?

Àmáa ón sādígím kpí lā, bó kà m̀ lém

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again

lōod nōor yá'asè=∅=∅?

tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=NEG=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

Some constituents occur *exclusively* as postlinker adjuncts: *yà'*-clauses "if/when ..." 20.1, *sādígím*-clauses 21.1, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'ērē* "perhaps." *Yà'*-clauses and *sādígím*-clauses can only appear after main clauses by dislocation.

In addition, AdvPs referring to time, circumstance or reason may be either be used as postlinker adjuncts or as VP adjuncts. All VP adjunct AdvPs, including those referring to place or manner as well, may be placed before the clause subject by preposing with *kà* 24.3. This means that AdvPs referring to time, circumstance or reason can potentially occur before the subject alone, preceded by *kà*, followed by *kà*, or both preceded and followed by *kà*, whereas other types of AdvP *must* be followed by *kà* when they appear before the subject. Thus

Nānná-ná m̀ á nē nā'ab. "Now I am a chief."

Now-hither 1SG COP FOC chief:SG.

is grammatical, but **Mōogú-n mām bé* was corrected by WK to

Mōogú-n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

Any AdvPs or clauses expressing time, circumstances, or reason may appear as postlinker adjuncts, including absolute clauses, *dìn zúg* "therefore" *lìn zúg* "therefore", *lì ñyá'aŋ* "afterwards", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as things stand", *àsīda* "truly."

In KB *nannanna nānná-nā'* "now" appears without preceding or following *kà* much more often than not (394/437 cases) and is thus usually a clause adjunct. WK requires *kà* after *kà nānná-nā'*, showing that that for him *nānná-nā'* is a *prelinker* adjunct but can be a preposed VP adjunct; this rule is not followed in KB.

Kà nānná-ná kà m̀ áñ nā'ab. "And now I am a chief."

And now-hither and 1SG COP chief:SG. Rejected by WK without the second *kà*

Dìn zúg and *lìn zúg* "therefore" without final *-o* appear very often before *kà* (177/371 cases), i.e. as preposed VP adjuncts. Constructions without *kà* probably arose by original VP-only *dìn zúg* and *lìn zúg* encroaching on the function of the corresponding linker adjuncts *dìn zúgō* and *lìn zúgō*.

Bō zúg without *-o* appears in KB only as preposed *bō zúg kà ...?* "why ...?"

Bōzug ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Haggai 1:9)

Bō zúg kà lì áañ àlá=ø?

What on and 3IN COP thus=CQ?

Hālì can be a prelinker adjunct before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.

Tì ñwá'a_lì hālì_ø pāe Nofa.

1PL strike 3IN.OB until CAT reach Nophah.

"We struck them as far as Nophah." (Numbers 21:30)

Clause adjuncts are otherwise found only in main and content clauses. The position of the negative clitic shows that the *kà*-clauses are not subordinate in e.g.

O p̄v yēed fuugō, hali ka li yuug.

Ò p̄v yēed fūugó=ø, hālì kà lì yūug.

3AN NEG.IND wear:IPFV shirt:SG=NEG, even and 3IN take.long.

"He had not worn clothes for a long time." (Lk 8:27)

M kv basif ka f̄v keŋε aseε ka f̄v niŋi m zug bareka.

Ḿ kú bāsí_f kà f̄v kēŋé=ø àséε kà f̄v níŋì_ḿ zūg bārìkà.

1SG NEG.IRR leave 2SG.OB and 2SG go=NEG unless and 2SG do 1SG head:SG blessing.

"I will not let you go unless you bless me." (Genesis 32:26)

Wōv "like" 15 appears as a linker adjunct before content clauses:

ka tuumbe'ed ku len so'e ti wuu ti aa li yamugo.

kà t̄v̄m-bē'ed kú lēm s̄v̄_tī wōv t̄i áañ_lì yàmmv̄gō=ø.

and work-bad:PL NEG.IRR again own 1PL.OB like 1PL COP 3IN slave:SG=NEG.

"and that sin will not again own us as if we were its slave." (Rom 6:6, 1996)

M pian'adi tisidi ya w̄v̄v ya anε m biis nε.

Ḿ p̄iáñ'adī_ø t̄isidī_ yá w̄v̄v yà á né ḿ b̄iis nē.

1SG speak:IPFV CAT give:IPFV 2PL.OB like 2PL COP FOC 1SG child:PL like.

"I talk to you as if you were my children." (2 Cor 6:13)

17.2.2 Subjects

Kusaal is not a pro-drop language. A dummy subject pronoun *lì* (never *ò*) is required in impersonal constructions:

Lì t̀̀l. "It [weather] is hot."
3IN be.hot.

Lì àñ s̀́ngā. "It's good."
3IN COP good:ADV. Contrast Mooré *yaa s̀́ama*, with no pronoun.

Lì ǹ̀r k̀̀à f̀̀v̀̀ k̀̀ul. "It's necessary for you to go home."
3IN must and 2SG go.home.

Zi'isige 16.5 appears without a subject as "unknownst" at KSS p16.
Lì may be omitted in *ỳ̀à'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan kv yeline ya ye ...
Ỳ̀à' k̀̀ā'a-ní_àlá, m̀̀ ǹ̀āan k̀̀ú ỳ̀ēli-ní_ỳ̀ā ỳ̀ē ...
If NEG.BE-DP ADV:thus, 1SG then NEG.IRR say-DP 2PL.OB that...
"If it were not so, I would not have told you that ..." (Jn 14:2)

See [18.3](#) for omission and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are regularly ellipted after *k̀̀à* when they would have the same reference as the subject of the preceding clause, except when *k̀̀à* introduces a content clause; M spreading still follows *k̀̀à*. As *k̀̀à*-catenation typically involves a change of subject, this is characteristic of coordination, where a retained pronoun after *k̀̀à* usually signals a change of subject. Conversations may be reported *K̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ... k̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ...* with each *ò* marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust [12.4.1](#)) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness, though it cannot override number:

P̀̀ỳ̀ā l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à k̀̀ēη B̀̀ók.
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

P̀̀ỳ̀āb l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à b̀̀à k̀̀ēη B̀̀ók.
Woman:PL ART buy box:SG and 3PL go Bawku.
"The women bought a box and they went to Bawku." WK
(Possible, though unusual, with "they" referring to "the women.")

but *Pu'ā lā dá' dāká kà ò kēη Bók.*
 Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

The pronoun after *kà* may be ellipted as referring to the subject of a preceding preposed absolute clause:

Ban wòm ne'εηa la ka sin.

Bán wòm nē'ηá lá kà sīn.

3PL:NZ hear DEMST.IN ART and be.silent.

"After they heard this they fell silent." (Acts 11:18)

Elsewhere, absence of subject pronouns is due to *informal* ellipsis, "corrected" when informants' attention is drawn to it. M spreading after pronouns again remains:

Náe yàa=∅?

"[Have you] finished?"

Finish PFV=PQ?

17.2.3 Post-subject particles

For *yà'* "if" 20.1; nominaliser-*ñ* 21; *sāduḡim* "since" 21.1; *nāan(ɪ)* 20.1.

Sìd "truly":

Ò sìd dāa á nē nâ'ab.

"Truly, he was a chief." WK

3AN truly TNS COP FOC chief:SG.

Kōlīm or *kōdīm* "always" (← Hausa) is most often found with negatives:

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.

Kà sō' kōdīm kú lēm ñyée_lī yá'asā=∅.

And INDEFAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3IN.OB again=NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

Ñyāan or *nāan* "next, afterwards":

Ka Yesu tans ne kvkɔtita'ar ka nyaan kpi.

Kà Yesu táñs nē kúkō-títā'ar kà ñyāan kpí.

And Jesus shout with voice-great:SG and next die.

"Jesus cried out with a loud voice and then died." (Mt 27:50)

Pà' tì "perhaps":

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la bεε?
Ōni ∅ pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bée=∅?
 3AN.CNTR CAT perhaps COP Christ ART OR=PQ?
 "Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

Yō'vn "then, next"

Manoa yō'vn da baη ye o anε Zugsoḃ maliak.
Manoa yō'vn dá bàη yé ò à nē Zūg-sób máliāk.
 Manoa then TNS realise that 3AN COP FOC head-NULL.AN angel:SG.
 "Then Manoa realised that he was an angel of the Lord." (Judges 13:12)

17.3 Ellipsis

Informal ellipsis is liable to be declared incorrect by speakers if their attention is drawn to it; it does not affect meaning. Ellipsis of subject pronouns can become standardised in greetings or proverbs. Systematic ellipsis occurs after *kà* (above), with VP complements [16.9.1](#), in implicit tense marking [16.3.4](#), and in replies to questions [16.2.1](#). Ellipsis may be used to avoid repetition of identical constituents in coordination within NPs [12.1](#), or of clauses, e.g.

Dāy lā ñyé bī-díbiη kōv bī-póηàa=∅?
 Man:SG ART see child-boy:SG or child-girl:SG=PQ?
 "Did the man see a boy or a girl?"

Some cases are formalised, e.g. *yèl* before *yē* [22.2](#), questions with *kúv* or *bée* [18.2](#), indirect commands [22.1](#) [22.2.1](#), preposing and *n*-focus [24.3](#) [24.1.1](#), and *hālí* as an intensifier [24.7](#).

Unlike phrase-level bound words, clause-level bound words may be left standing alone after ellipsis:

Wina'am tísíd ... ka mε tísíd ...
Wínà'am tísìd ... kà mé tísíd ...
 God give:IPVF ... and also give:IPVF ...
 "God gives ... and [God] also gives ..." (1 Cor 15:38); emphatic *mè* [24.7](#)

but *Gòsım bīg lā!* "Look (sg) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP child:SG ART!

Gòsımī ∅ bīg lā! "Look (pl) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP 2PL.SUB child:SG ART!

Dā gōs bīg lāa=∅! "Don't (sg) look at the child!"
 NEG.IMP look child:SG ART=NEG!

Dā gōsī ∅ bīg lāa=∅!
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB child:SG ART=NEG!
 "Don't (pl) look down!"

Dā gōsε=∅! "Don't (sg) look."
 NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Dā gōsī yā=∅! "Don't (pl) look."
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB=NEG!

2sg/2pl subject pronouns are not changed after *yà'*-clauses:

Fv ya'a m̄r pu'a, fvn da m̄ɔd ye fv bas oo.
Fv̀ yá' m̄r p̄'ā, fvn dā m̄ɔd yé f̀v̀ básō-o=∅.
 2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon-3AN.OB=NEG.
 "If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

They also remain in quoted direct commands within indirect speech [22.2.1](#), even when the addressee is the same as in the original utterance:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to them: Look down!" WK

Ò yèl yé f̀v̀ gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2SG look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you SG: Look down!"

Ò yèl yé yà gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you PL: Look down!"

Some speakers still keep postposed ^{ya} after the verb even when there is a pronoun subject before it; such speakers also repeat ^{ya} in catenated clauses.

Ò yèl yé bà gòsimī_ø tēŋi-n.

3AN say that 3PL look:IMP 2PL.SUB ground:SG-LOC.

"He said to them: Look down!"

Kèmī_ø nā n gōsi_ø!

Come:IMP 2PL.SUB hither CAT look 2PL.SUB!

"Come (ye) and look!" (WK *Kèmī nā n gōs!*)

Direct commands which consist only of a verb, or a verb with a following postposed subject pronoun, occasionally end in a Long Form like that preceding a negative prosodic clitic:

Gòsimā!

"Look!"

Gòsimīyá!

"Look! (plural)"

18.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses have the form NP + catenator-*n* + deictic particle or *wà nā* "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

K̀̀l̀̀ŋi_ø lā.

Door:SG CAT that.

"That is a door."

K̀̀l̀̀ŋi_ø wá nā.

Door:SG CAT this hither.

"This here is a door."

Bēogv_ø lā.

Tomorrow CAT that.

"See you tomorrow" ("That's tomorrow.")

Bō_ø lá=ø?

What CAT that=CQ?

"What's that?"

Ñwāamis_ø ñwá!

Monkey:PL CAT this!

"Monkeys!" [w̃ã:misa]

(Said by a passenger in my car, on suddenly catching sight of some.)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anɔʼon nwaɑ yisid nidib tɔvmbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔʼon_ø ñwáɑ_ø yīsɪd nīdɪb tɔvmb-ɛ'edi_ø básɪdà=ø?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Yɛl bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am kɛ ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bóɔ_ø ñwá kà Wínà'am kɛ kà lì páa_ tì=ø?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN arrive 1PL.OB=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Identificational clauses can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bɔɔ nwa?

Yà níŋìd bóɔ_ø ñwá=ø?

2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?

"What is this you are doing?" (Nehemiah 2:19)

Fv maal bɔɔ la tis mam?

Fv màal bóɔ_ø lā_ø tís màm=ø?

2SG make what CAT that CAT give me=CQ?

"What is this that you have done to me?" (Numbers 23:11)

Lìɑ clauses have the form X + *lìɑ*, meaning "where is X?" Although I often heard *lìɑ* in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, no examples appear in the 1996 or 2016 Bible versions.

Fv mà lā lìɑ=ø? "Where is your mother?"

2SG mother:SG ART be.where=CQ? (WK to a child in the outpatient clinic.)

Ka awai la dia [sic]? "But where are the nine?" (Lk 17:17, 1976)

Kà àwāɛ lā lìɑ=ø?

And NUM:nine ART be.where=CQ?

Vocative clauses usually either precede a main clause, or stand alone. They take the form of NPs followed by the vocative prosodic clitic [4.1](#):

M pɔ'ā né m bīisɛ=ø!

1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL=VOC!

"My wife and my children!"

M̄ d̄iəmmā=∅, bó kà f̄v̄ kúə̀sìdà=∅?
 1SG parent.in.law:SG=VOC, what and 2SG sell:IPFV=CQ?
 "Madam, what are you selling?"

Vocatives do not take the article *lā'*, but often end in *ñwà* "this":

<i>B̄iis ñwá!</i>	"Children!"	[bi:sa]
<i>P̄y'ā ñwá!</i>	"Woman!"	[p̄ȳāwã]
<i>Zōn ñwá</i>	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]

Some **particles** occur characteristically as complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic; others are widely shared among local languages.

<i>Tò.</i>	"OK." (= Hausa <i>tôo</i>)
<i>Báp.</i>	"Wallop!"
<i>Ñfá!</i>	"Well done!"

"Yes" is *ēɛñ*; "No" is *áyì*. As in many languages, the reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

<i>Lì nàa n̄éɛ=∅?</i>	"Is it finished?"
3IN finish FOC=PQ?	

<i>Ēɛñ.</i>	"Yes."
<i>Áyì.</i>	"No"

<i>Lì p̄ n̄āéé=∅=∅?</i>	"Isn't it finished?"
3IN NEG.IND finish=NEG=PQ?	

<i>Ēɛñ.</i>	"No."
<i>Áyì.</i>	"Yes."

19 Catenated clauses

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs, each introduced by catenator-*n*; for the realisation of this particle see 4.2. Complements, VP adjuncts, and even other clauses introduced by *kà* may be incorporated within such chains.

Amaa ka Zugsob malek daa keŋ n yo'og sarega doog za'anoor la yu'uŋ kan, n more ba n yiis yiŋ.

Àmáa kà Zūg-sób máliāk dāa kēŋ n yô'og sārɪgá dōɔg

But and head-NULL.AN angel:SG TNS go CAT open prison:SG house:SG

zá'-nɔɔr lā yō'vŋ-kán, n mōrí bā n yīs yíŋ.

compound-mouth:SG ART night-DEM.SG, CAT have 3PL.OB CAT extract outside.

"But an angel of the Lord came and opened the gate of the prison **that night** and took them outside ..." (Acts 5:19, 1996)

Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Parisee nid ka o yu'ur buon Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela, ka lem a yu'ur daan nidib sa'an.

Kà dàu-sō' dūe n zī'e lá'asùg lā nīdɪb sísvòvgū-n, n áñ

And man-INDEF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among-LOC, CAT COP

Parisee níd kà ò yō'vr būen Gamaliel, n áñ ónì pà'an

Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT COP REL.AN teach:IPFV

Wínà'am wádà lā yélà, kà lém àñ yō'vr dāan nīdɪb sâ'an.

God law ART about, and again COP name:SG owner:SG person:PL among.

"A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee **called Gamaliel**, a teacher of God's law and also reputable among the people." (Acts 5:34, 1976)

Toende Kusaal (like Dagaare, Bodomo 1997) has *zero* throughout corresponding to catenator-*n*, but most other Western Oti-Volta languages show *n*, at least in slow speech. In languages with the zero realisation, these structures have usually been regarded as serial verb constructions, and many uses of catenation are indeed closely parallel to uncontroversial serial verb constructions in other languages. For example, substitution of *kà* for catenator-*n* makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with *n*-catenation:

Ì zání ò m nú'ugò ø sī'is dāká lā.

1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I touched the box with my hand."

?? *M záhí m̀ nù'ug kà sī'is dāká lā.*

"I picked up my hand and touched the box."

M̄ dāa kûes b̀h̄v̄ ∅ tís d́'atà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? *M̄ dāa kûes b̀h̄ kà tís d́'atà.*

"I sold a donkey and gave it to the doctor."

However, *n*-catenation shows much greater flexibility than typical serial verb constructions, and in particular VPs can be catenated to verbless clauses [18.4](#):

Anɔ'ɔn nwaɑ yisid nidib tɔvmbɛ'edi basida?

Ánɔ'ɔn ∅ ñwáɑ ∅ yīsíd nīdīb t́v̄m-bē'edí ∅ básídà=∅?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Catenator-*n* thus attaches a VP to the preceding clause, not VP. In fact, the catenated VP itself will be considered to be a *clause*, which shares its subject with the main clause. This analysis is supported by the existence of clearly parallel catenation constructions using *kà* in place of catenator-*n* [19.2](#). Catenation is a closer relationship than complementisation; mood and aspect are mostly determined by the first VP, and the catenation behaves as one unit with regard to focus [24.1.2](#).

There are similarities with "catenative" constructions in English. CGEL pp1176ff reanalyses many traditional auxiliary verbs as taking non-finite clauses (with or without their own subjects) as "catenative complements." There is evidence for catenator-*n* originating as a non-finite marker. Olawsky describes the Dagbani structure *n+verb* as an "infinitive", presumably meaning that it is used as the citation form, though he gives no examples of usage. Both Niggli and Zongo describe the same construction in Mooré as an *infinitif*, and Canu, who calls it the "*état neutre*" (p272), confirms that it is used in citation and in one-word answers to questions (p175) and in constructions like *ēm dátā ndī* "je *désire manger*."

Normally only the first VP carries tense and polarity particles, which apply to the entire catenation, but (especially in *n*-catenation) each retains discontinuous-past *n^E*, and while initial irrealis mood marking applies to the whole chain, a VP following an indicative may be in the irrealis, in which case it will be marked itself. The preverb *tì* is often found with non-initial VPs in *n*-catenation.

Catenation seems always to involve semantic subordination. However, it may be the *first* component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have characteristic "auxiliary" roles in catenation, preceding or following the "main" verb depending on their own semantics. Moreover, the order of events, if they are not simultaneous, must always be mirrored in the order of the VPs 16.2.2.

N-catenations are sometimes attached to the *object* of *ñyē* "see, find"; I have no examples of this construction with other verbs.

ka na nye Ninsaal Biig la n kenna ne o na'am.

kà ná ñyē Nīn-sāal Bīig lā n kēn nā né ò nā'am.

and IRR see person-smooth:SG child:SG ART CAT come:IPFV hither with 3AN kingdom.

"...will see the Son of Man coming with his kingdom."

(Mt 16:28, 1996: *lā* not *lá*)

19.1 N-catenation

Common *n*-catenation patterns with verbs without specialised roles are

(a) main VP + imperfective VP expressing accompanying events:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud...

Kà Nīn-sāal Bīig kēn nā_ ∅ dīt kà nūud ...

And person-smooth:SG child:SG come:IPFV hither CAT eat:IPFV and drink:IPFV...

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking ..." (Mt 11:19)

(b) perfective VP expressing prior event + main VP

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_àyí' yé fū-píə̀lā_ ∅ zì'e bà sā'an.

And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

(c) main VP + perfective VP in irrealis or imperative mood, expressing purpose. The preverb *tì* is commonly seen in the second VP.

Amaa m pv mār antu'a zugv o yela na sōbi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ p̄v mār ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_ ∅ nà sōbı_ ∅ tıs

But 1SG NEG.IND have case:SG upon 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give

ná'-tītā'ar lāa=∅.

king-great:SG ART=NEG.

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kèm ∅ *tí* *ñyē* *dú'atà*. "Go and see the doctor."
Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba ...

Mān *yá' pɔ* *kēɛ-n* *nā* ∅ *tú'asī-ní* *bā*...

1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB...

"If I had not come to talk to them ..." (Jn 15:22): Note DP on both verbs.

(d) *Hālí* "until" can precede *n*-catenated clauses as a prelinker adjunct 17.2.1.

Catenated VPs can be coordinated with *kà* "and":

ka keŋ ... n ian'asid ka pian'ad n du'osid Wina'am yu'ur su'uŋa.

kà *kēŋ* ... *n* *ĩāñ'asíd* *kà* *piāñ'ad* *n* *dū'osíd* *Wínà'am* *yû'ur* *súŋā*.

and go ... CAT leap:IPFV and praise:IPFV CAT elevate:IPFV God name:SG good:ADV.

"and went ... leaping and praising the name of God greatly." (Acts 3:8, 1996)

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógìà-sò' *kā'e* *n* *túm* *kà* *yōod* *ò* *mēŋá=∅*.

Soldier-INDEF.AN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

Certain verbs have characteristic specialised meanings in *n*-catenation. Dual-aspect verbs agree in aspect with the main VP verb.

The following *precede* the (semantically) main VP:

Bè "exist, be somewhere" + *ànínā* "there" + imperfective "be in the process of ..."

Ò *bè* *ànínā* *n* *ñwê'ed* *bīg* *lā*.

3AN EXIST ADV: there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.

"He's currently beating the child."

Àgñ^a "be something/somehow" can be used in clefting 24.2:

Li ane o sidi sv'oe li.

Lì á *né* *ò* *sīdɪ* ∅ *sú'v* *lī*.

3IN COP FOC 3AN husband:SG CAT own 3IN.OB.

"It's her husband who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

Mī "know" and *zī* "not know": *nàm mī* *n* + perfective "always have X-ed", *nàm zī* *n* + perfective "never have X-ed":

Makir bane buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

Mākír bānu būudi pāadí_ yā lā nám mī' _ø pāe sīəba mén.

Testing REL.PL sort reach:IPFV 2PL.OB ART still know CAT reach INDEF.PL also.

"Trials of the kind that have reached you have always reached others too."

(1 Cor 10:13)

M̄ nám zī' _ø ñyē gbīgimne=ø.

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

Zàŋ^ε and *nōk*^{ε/} "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M̄ nók s'vugò_ø kjá nīm lā.

1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

"I cut the meat with a knife."

M̄ záŋí_ m̄ nú'ugò_ø sī'is dāká lā.

1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I touched the box with my hand."

Mōr^{a/} "have" + object "bringing" with motion verbs:

Dābá_àyópòğ kà fù mōró_ø_ø kē nā.

Day:PL NUM:seven and 2SG have 3AN.OB CAT come hither.

"Bring her here in a week." WK

Dōl^{la/} "accompany in subordinate role, attend"

Bà dōllō_ø_ø kēŋ Bók. "They went to Bawku with him."

3PL follow 3AN.OB CAT go Bawku.

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba ...

Kà Pita pīñ'il_ø pá'alì_bā ...

And Peter begin CAT teach 3PL.OB ...

"Peter began to tell them." (Acts 11:4)

Tì déŋì_ø tísò_ø lór.

1PL precede CAT give 3AN.OB car.

"We previously gave him a car." (*dēŋ*^ε "do/go first")

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en la'asvɔ la svugin ...

Kà dàu-sɔ' dūe_∅ zɪ'ən là'asvɔ lā súbvǔ-n ...

And man-INDEFAN rise CAT stand.up assembly ART among-LOC ...

"And a man (having risen) stood up in the synagogue ..." (Acts 5:34)

Kēñ "come" and *kēŋ*^{ε/} "go" can be used similarly as initiators:

M kēŋi_∅ pīə nū'us. "I went and washed my hands."

1SG go CAT wash hand:PL.

Su'ā^a "conceal" is used in this construction for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baŋidib la ...

Kà Nà'ab Herod sù'ā_∅ bûəl bāŋidib lā ...

And king:SG Herod conceal CAT call understander:PL ART...

"Herod secretly called for the wise men ..." (Mt 2:7)

Niŋ wālá literally "do how?" is used in catenation for "how can ...?" (see also [19.2](#)):

Ninsaal na niŋ wala an pɔpiel Wina'am tuonne? Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pɔ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Niŋ-saal ná niŋ wālá_∅ àñ pú-pìəl Wínà'am tûønnè=∅?

Person-smooth:SG IRR do how CAT COP inside-white:SG God before=CQ?

Niŋ-saal biig nà niŋ wālá_∅ pō mɔr taal

Person-smooth:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG.IND have fault:SG

Wínà'am tûønnè=∅?

God before=CQ?

"How can a human being be pure before God? How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" (Job 25:4)

Ñyāŋ^{ε/} means "overcome" as a main verb; as an auxiliary it means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

Ka m nyaŋ dunia. "I have overcome the world." (Jn 16:33)

Kà m ñyāŋ dūnyā.

And 1SG overcome world:SG.

M pō ñyāŋi_∅ záb nà'ab lāa=∅.

1SG NEG.IND prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I wasn't able to fight the chief."

Unlike English "can", *ñyāŋ*^{ε/} expresses events and not states. Thus, to express present ability or inability, the auxiliary is in the irrealis mood; if the main verb is imperfective the auxiliary is imperfective too.

M̄ kú ñyāŋ_ε záb nà'ab lāa=∅.

1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I can't fight the chief." ("I won't succeed in fighting the chief.")

wad line nyaŋedin ketin ka nidib voen

wād-línì ñyāŋídī-n_ε ∅ kētí-n kà nīdīb vōv-n

law-REL.IN prevail:IPFV-DP CAT cause:IPFV-DP and person:PL be.alive-DP.

"a law which could make people live." (Gal 3:21, 1996)

Tūñ'e means "be able"; it is a stative single-aspect verb. As a main verb:

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paŋi na tun'e si'em

bà dāa tís kà lì zēmísì_ε bà pàŋi_ε ∅ nà tūñ'e sī'em

3PL TNS give and 3IN become.equal 3PL strength NZ IRR be.able INDF.ADV

"They gave as much as their strength would permit" (2 Cor 8:3)

Because of its stative meaning, when *tūñ'e* is used as a *n*-catenation auxiliary both indicative and irrealis moods can express present ability or inability.

ka li kv tun'e su'a.

kà lì kú tūñ'e_ε ∅ sū'āa=∅.

and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide=NEG.

"which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la ne ti.

Yà ná tūñ'e_ε ∅ zīñ'i tēŋi-n lā né tì.

2PL IRR be.able CAT be.sitting land:SG-LOC ART with 1PL.

"You can dwell in the land with us." (Genesis 34:10)

Fv tun'e nyet si'ela?

Fv tūñ'e_ε ∅ ñyēt sī'əlāa=∅?

2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.IN=PQ?

"Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)

O pv tun'e pian'ada.

Ò p̄v tũñ'e_ ∅ p̄iãñ'adá=∅.

3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

"He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)

With *ñyāŋ*^{el} as the main verb in the sense "overcome":

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaŋe ba meŋa.

bō zúgō bà kò tũñ'e_ ∅ ñyāŋí_ bà mēŋá=∅.

because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT control 3PL self=NEG.

"because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5, 1996)

The following verbs *follow* the main VP:

Tis^ε "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning may have nothing to do with "giving", and is simply a way of adding an indirect object. This can be used to put an indirect object after a direct, or to have both direct and indirect bound pronoun objects.

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suŋ.

Fù p̄v má' n t̄is n̄ĩn-sáalā=∅, àmáa fù má'

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give person-smooth:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

n t̄is n̄ē W̄inà'am S̄í-s̄òŋ.

CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have not lied to a human being; rather, you have lied to God's Holy Spirit." (Acts 5:4, 1996)

Ì d̄āa k̄ūes b̄òŋv_ ∅ t̄is d̄ú'at̄a.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

Gàad^ε "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

Isaac kárìm_ ∅ gát John.

Isaac read:IPFV CAT pass:IPFV John.

"Isaac reads better than John." SB

À-W̄ĩn ḡím_ ∅ gát À-B̄v̄ḡv̄r.

PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

Fv sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?
Fò síd nòŋ mām_ø gát bámmáa=ø?
 2SG truly love 1SG CAT pass:IPFV DEMST.PL=PQ?
 "Do you really love me more than these?" (Jn 21:15)

Gàlis^ε "get to be too much" (*Sāa gális yā* "There's too much rain"):

Ò dì n gális. "She's eaten too much."
 3AN eat CAT exceed.

Dā kárìm gbánà_ø gálisidā=ø.
 NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV=NEG.
 "Don't read books too much."

Bàs^ε "send/go away" is used for "away, off, out":

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tvumbɛ'edi basida?
Ànɔ'ɔn_ø ñwáa_ø yīsíd nīdīb t̄vum-bē'edi_ø básidà=ø?
 Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?
 "Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

"Ending" verbs naturally follow the main VP:

Ò dù_ø nāe. "He's finished eating."
 3AN eat CAT finish.

Ò dù_ø tīg. "She's eaten to satiety."
 3AN eat CAT get.sated.

Verbs of motion occur in *n*-catenation with meanings like local prepositions e.g.

Ò kàt kíkīr-bē'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdīb.
 3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.
 "He drives evil spirits out of people."

Ĕñrīgim_ø páa_m. "Shift along up to me." (*pāe*^l "reach")
 Shift.along:IMP CAT reach 1SG.OB.

Wēn^{na/} "be like" is very common in *n*-catenation. It takes a prepositional phrase with *wōv* "like" or *nē* "with" as complement. Any object without the article *lā*^l, even a pronoun or proper name, is followed by a meaningless *nē*. As a main verb:

Ka o nindaa wenne nintay ne.

Kà ò n̄n-dáa wēn nē n̄ntāy nē.

And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.

"His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996: KB *Ka o nindaa nwene winnig ne*)

Wēn nē and *wēn wōv* behave as unitary prepositions to the extent that *wēn* + preposition + complement can be preposed with *kà*, or dislocated as in

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niṅid si'em la.

Dā ló yà n̄n-dáasē=∅, wēn nē f̄ōsúg díim lá_∅

NEG.IMP tie 2PL eye-face:PL=NEG, resemble with puff:GER NULL.PL ART NZ

n̄ṅid s̄'əm lā.

do:IPFV INDE.ADV ART.

"Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16, 1976)

Là'am^m "together" is also found as a preverb 16.8 and in the compound preposition *là'am nē* "together with" 15. As a main verb it means "associate with":

... ye labasuṅ moolug la ket ka buudi wusa la'amid ne taaba pudugid Wina'am piini.

... yē lábà-sùṅ m̄ólùg lā kēt kà b̄uudı w̄sa lá'amìd

... that news-good:SG proclamation ART cause:IPFV and tribe all gather:IPFV

nē tāaba_∅ p̄ōd̄ıḡid W̄nà'am p̄ìnì.

with each.other CAT share:IPFV God gift.

"...that the proclamation of the good news is making every tribe gather with one another to share God's gifts." (Eph 3:6, 1996)

Yà'as^ε or *yà'as*^a "again" is rarely preceded by liaison (never in KB) and has now effectively simply become an adverb; it is even preposable with *kà* 24.3. ILK glosses it "repeat", but I have no examples as a main verb.

ka m lem yeti ya'as ... "and I say again ..." (Gal 1:9, 1996)

kà m̄ lém yèti_∅ yâ'as

and 1SG again say:IPFV CAT again

Ya'as ka m gos ... "Again I looked ..." (Rev 5:11, 1976)

Yà'as kà m̄ gōs ...

Again and 1SG look ...

19.2 *Kà*-catenation

Certain constructions with a clause introduced by *kà* have clear affinities with catenation using *n*. They never have alternate forms with the linker *yē*. With few exceptions, they either have different subject from the preceding clause or differ in polarity. They resemble *n*-catenation in that they have the aspect and mood of the preceding VP.

Kē "let, leave off" is used with *kà*-catenation in the sense "let, cause that." The subject of the catenation cannot be the same as the main clause subject (in the whole KB, the only counterexample is Titus 2:7 *kēl ka fū mēη an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them", where the pronoun *fū* is formally a predependent.) The mood of the catenation matches the VP containing *kē*, though imperative often replaces irrealis mood.

Li da ke ka ba pū nyāηi kuv o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pū ñyāηi ∅ kúo ∅=∅.

3IN TNS cause and 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT kill 3AN.OB=NEG.

"This caused them not to be able to kill him." (2 Kings 11:2)

Ba kuvdim niηidi lin ye li ke ka ba da nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisvη laa.

Bà kōdīm niηìdī lí yé lì ké kà bà dā ñyē Kristo kúm

3PL ever do:IPFV 3IN.OB that 3IN cause and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death

dà-pōvdír námisùg láa=∅.

wood-cross:SG suffering ART=NEG.

"They have always been doing this so that they will not experience the suffering of the cross of the death of Christ." (Gal 6:12)

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dīni ∅ ná ké kà bà dā kpi'ilímm=∅.

3IN.CNTR CAT IRR cause and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Genesis 6:20)

After *kēs-n kà*, with discontinuous-past *n^ε*, the catenated clause generally had *n^ε* in the 1976 Bible, but this is no longer invariable. Aspect usually matches:

Ka li ane wada la ket ka tvvmbē'ed nyet paη.

Kà lì à né wādá lā ∅ kēt kà tvvmbē'ed ñyēt páη.

And 3IN COP FOC law ART CAT cause:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which makes sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

The irregular imperative *kèl*^a, followed by a *kà*-clause with imperative mood, creates a way of expressing commands to third or first persons:

Kèl kà ò gōs tēŋi-n.

Cause:IMP and 3AN look ground:SG-LOC.

"Let him look down."

Dā ké kà dàb̄ōm b́éε=∅!

NEG.IMP cause and fear EXIST=NEG.

"Don't be afraid." ("Let fear not exist.")

Kèl [or *Kèlí* ∅] *kà tì p̄'vs Wínà'am.*

Cause:IMP cause:IMP 2PL.SUB and 1PL greet God.

"Let us praise God."

Kèl kà ... is often ellipited informally, leaving the lack of independency marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̄ gōs nīf lā.

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"I've looked at the eye."

Independency marked: tone overlay on *gōs*

but *M̄ gōs nīf lā.*

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic)

No tone overlay on *gōs*

M̄ díginèε=∅?

1SG lie.down=PQ?

"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic)

No independency imperative *-ma*

Ò záb nà'ab lā.

3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He should fight the chief."

M spreading after *ò*, not *záb* 16.6.1

M̄it is a defective verb used only in the imperative 16.5. Much its most common use is with *kà*-catenation as "see that it doesn't happen that ...". In this sense it never appears with the postposed 2pl subject ^y^a, suggesting that it is impersonal.

Mid ka ya maali ya tvum svma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.

M̄it kà yà máali yà tvum-svma n̄idib t̄uon yé bà gōs.

NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL make 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look.at.

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look." (Mt 6:1)

X *n̄iŋ wēlá n...?* "how can X ...?" has an impersonal variant using a dummy subject in the main clause and the effective subject in *kà*-catenation.

Li niη wala ka o an David yaaηa?

Lì nìη wēlá kà ò áñ David yâaηà=∅?

3IN do how and 3AN COP David descendant:SG=CQ?

"How can he be David's descendant?" (Mt 22:45)

Where there is no change of subject, *n*-catenation is overwhelmingly more common, but a few cases of the personal type do appear with *kà*:

M na niη wala ka nye faangire?

M̄ ná nìη wēlá kà ñyē fāaňgírè=∅?

1SG IRR do how and find salvation=CQ?

"How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)

Kà usually replaces *n* when there is a change of polarity in catenation:

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāy dāa zīñ'i Lystra ní kà p̄v tũñ'e ∅ kēnná=∅.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8, 1996)

Ka Joon kena lōd nōr ka p̄v nuud daam

Kà Joon kē nā ∅ lōd nōr kà p̄v nūud dáamm=∅.

And John come hither CAT tie:IPFV mouth:SG and NEG.IND drink:IPFV beer=NEG.

"John came, fasting and not drinking beer." (Mt 11:18)

Change from positive to negative can nevertheless occur with *n*:

Ya sieba be kpela kv kp̄i ...

Yà s̄əba bé kpēlá ∅ k̄v kp̄i=∅ ...

2PL INDF.PL EXIST here CAT NEG.IRR die=NEG ...

There are some of you here who will not die ..." (Lk 9:27)

An **adnominal** *kà*-catenated clause follows, usually directly, a NP anchor other than the main clause subject, and contains a pronoun referring to it, which is ellipted if it is an object 16.9.1. The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

Anina ka o nye dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.

Āníná kà ò ñyē dāy kà ò yv'vr būon Aneas.

ADV:there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

Li ane ya taaba bane pv'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāaba bání pv'usid Wínà'am kà lì nár

3IN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3IN must

kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 2PL drive judgment.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

If the main clause is a verbless identificational clause [18.4](#), the NP of the main clause can be the anchor:

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bóɔ ∅ ñwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa tì=∅?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN arrive 1PL.OB=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Adnominal *kà*-catenation underlies *kà*-clefting and preposing.

The subject of the catenated clause does not normally refer to the anchor; if it does, the *kà*-catenation is a resultative predicate [16.9.2](#):

...ka la'am maan gígis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

...kà lâ'am màn gígìs kà bà wóm kà pīāñ'ad.

...and together make:IPFV dumb:PL and 3PL hear:IPFV and speak:IPFV.

"...and even makes the dumb hear and speak." (Mk 7:37, 1976)

With *ñyē* "see", this construction has the predicative sense "see as":

M̄ dāa ñyē dāy lá kà ò áñ nā'ab.

1SG TNS see man:SG ART and 3AN COP chief:SG.

"I saw the man as a chief." KT: not possible as "who was a chief"

M̄ dāa p̄ ñyē dāy lá kà ò áñ nā'abā=∅.

1SG TNS NEG.IND see man:SG ART and 3AN COP chief:SG=NEG.

"I didn't see the man as a chief." KT

As expected, KT rejected constructions with tense marking in the *kà*-catenation. He also rejected focus-*nē* in the catenated clause:

**M̄ dāa p̄ ñyē dāy lá kà ò á nē nā'abā=∅.*

1SG TNS NEG.IND see man:SG ART and 3AN COP FOC chief:SG=NEG.

20 Conditional clauses

20.1 Structure

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause as postlinker adjunct, after any other adjuncts. The main clause can be of any type, including a command or a question.

F̀̀ yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà f̀̀ ñyētá=ø?
 2SG if look here, what and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
 "If you look here, what do you see?"

Yà'-clauses cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause:

Ka ligidi la ya'a p̀̀'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà līgidi lā yá' p̀̀'ɔg, m̀̀ yá' tì lèb nā, m̀̀ ná yóɔ_f.
 And money ART if get.small, 1SG if then return hither, 1SG IRR pay 2SG.OB.
 "If the money runs short, when I return I will repay you." (Lk 10:35)

The main clause must have an unellipted subject. Direct commands keep a subject pronoun in place; some speakers require a free pronoun form in such cases:

F̀̀ yá' a m̄r pu'a, f̀̀n da m̄ɔd ye f̀̀ bas oo.
F̀̀ yá' m̄r pu'ā, f̀̀n dā m̄ɔd yé f̀̀ básō-o=ø.
 2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon-3AN.OB=NEG.
 "If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

Yà'-clauses can appear clause-finally because of dislocation due to weight:

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaḡaa.
Dìn-zúg lì nāan áñ sóm bà yá' p̄ d̄v'a-n dáy-kàḡáa=ø.
 Thus 3IN then COP good:ABSTR 3PL if NEG.IND bear-DP man-DEMST.SG=NEG.
 "So it would have been better for that man not to have been born."
 (Mk 14:21, 1996)

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

F̀̀ yá' a na d̀̀llimi keḡ, m na keḡ.
F̀̀ yá' nà d̀̀llí mī_ø kēḡ, m̀̀ ná kēḡ.
 2SG if IRR accompany 1SG CAT go, 1SG IRR go.
 "If you will go with me, I will go." (Judges 4:8)

M ya'a pv keŋe, Svŋid la kv keen ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' p̄v kēŋé=∅, svŋid lā kú kēēñ_ yà nī náa=∅.

1SG if NEG.IND go=NEG, helper:SG ART NEG.IRR come 2PL LOC hither=NEG.

"If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." (Jn 16:7)

The **discontinuous-past marker** n^{ε} 16.3.2, beside tense, is used to express *modal remoteness* (cf English preterite in non-temporal usage, CGEL pp148ff.) It then expresses a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; if it is accompanied by post-subject *nāan(ɪ)*, the sense is contrary-to-fact. It can attach to any verb form apart from imperatives. In catenation, n^{ε} in the first VP is usually repeated in all. It appears most often in *yà'*-clauses, but can occur both with and without *nāan(ɪ)* elsewhere:

Man bōōdin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bēe yaname naan aan tvvliga.

Mān bōōdī-n nē yānámì_∅ nāan āa-n m̄a'asígā bēe

1SG.CNTR want-DP that 2PL NZ then COP-DP cold:ADV or

yānámì_∅ nāan āa-n t̄vvlígā.

2PL NZ then COP-DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

Post-subject *nāan(ɪ)* "in that case, matters being so" is distinct from *ñyāan* "next, then" (← *ñyá'ay*^a "behind"), but before 2016 *ñyāan* often appears as *nāan*. Thus, in parallel NT passages:

Fu na ki'is noor atan' ye, fu zi' ma, ka noraug nyaan kaas.

Fù ná kī'is nór atáñ' yé fù zí'ì_ mā=∅,

2SG IRR deny occasion:SG NUM:three that 2SG NEG.KNOW 1SG.OB=NEG,

kà nō-dāv̄g ñyāan kās.

and hen-male:SG next cry.

"You will thrice deny you know me before the cock crows." (Mt 26:75, 1996)

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [KB nyaan] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'is mān nór atáñ' kà nō-dāv̄g

2SG IRR deny 1SG.CNTR occasion:SG NUM:three and hen-male:SG

nāan kās nór àyí'.

next cry occasion:SG NUM:two.

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." (Mk 14:30, 1996)

Nāan(ɪ) originates from the verb *nāan*^{el} "be there", which typically appears as an auxiliary with its own locative complement before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ka nwadbibis na naan agola lit tejin na.

Kà ñwā́d-bí́bìs ná nāan àgólà_ ∅ lít tēḡi-n nā.

And moon-small:PL IRR be.there ADV:above CAT fall:IPFV ground:SG-LOC hither.

"And the stars [being] above will fall to earth." (Mk 13:25)

Fv ya'a sid anε Wina'am Biig fon naanim dapuudir la zugv sig na.

Fvò yá' sùd à nē Wínà'am Bîig, fōn náanìm dá-pvòdíṛ lā

2SG if truly COP FOC God child:SG, 2SG.CNTR be.there:IMP wood-cross:SG ART

zùgv_∅ sīg nā.

upon CAT descend hither.

"If you are truly the Son of God, come down here from the cross." (Mt 27:40)

I will omit CAT in interlinear glossing after *nāani*.

In subordinate clauses KB usually simply has irrealis *nà* where older versions had *nāan*. Modal *nāan(ɪ)* most often appears in conditional main clauses; in other main clauses *nāan* without *n^ε* often represents *ñyāan*, as above.

Nāan(ɪ) without *n^ε* is often effectively equivalent to *yà'* "if/when."

Li an sv̄m ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àñ sùm yē dāy yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yéla_∅ gād ...

3IN COP good that man:SG one then die person:PL ART about CAT pass ...

"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." (Jn 11:50)

Fun naani tum be'ed ka ba sigis uf ne kpisiḡkpil ka fu sin ka mor suguru, li su'um a bo?

Fún nāani túm bē'ed kà bà sīgísú_ f nē kpísìḡkpìl

2SG:NZ then do bad and 3PL put.down 2SG.OB with fist:SG

kà fù sìn kà mōr sūguru, lì sòm àñ bó=∅?

and 2SG be.silent and have forbearance, 3IN good:ABSTR COP what=CQ?

"If you do evil and they down you with fists and you are silent and forbear, what is the good of it?" (1 Pet 2:20, 1996)

Noḡir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòḡir lém kā'e_∅ gād nīdí_ ∅ nāan kpí ò zùà-nàm zúgō=∅.

Love again NEG.BE CAT pass person:SG NZ then die 3AN friend-PL upon=NEG.

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." (Jn 15:13, 1996)

Ba wenne zunzoḡ naani ve'ed zunzoḡ ne.

Bà wēn nē zúnzòḡ_ ∅ nāani vē'ed zúnzòḡ nē.

3PL resemble with blind.person:SG NZ then lead:IPFV blind.person:SG like.

"They are like when a blind person leads a blind person." (Mt 15:14, 1996)

Nāan(ɪ) with n^{ε} expresses contrary-to-fact, as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaɲin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sò'm kà fù dāa nāan záɲí-n m̀ līgídí n sū'a-n bánkì ní.

3IN be.good and 2SG TNS then take-DP 1SG money CAT hide-DP bank:SG LOC.

"You should have put my money in the bank." (Mt 25:27, 1976)

Yà' nāan(ɪ) means "if only":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keɲ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sɪákì ∅ kēɲ ∅ ñyēɛ-n

1SG head-owner:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see-DP

nó-d̄ɪ'əs lá ∅ bɛ Samaria lā!

mouth-transmitter:SG ART CAT EXIST Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kings 5:3)

20.2 Open

Conditional clauses without discontinuous-past n^{ε} or *nāan(ɪ)* express "if", and also "when" with a main clause with present or future reference (cf Hausa *idan*, Jaggar p608.) With main clauses with past reference, *yà'* is only used for conditionals; for the meaning "when", absolute clauses are used [21.1](#).

Nid ya'a tɔm tɔɔma, o di'ed yɔɔd.

Nīd yá' tòm tōɔma, ò d̄i'əd yōɔd.

Person:SG if work:IPFV work, 3AN receive:IPFV pay.

"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'vg kumine, alaa ti labasvɛ la mɔɔlvɛ la ane zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà p̄ vū'vg kūmɪ-né=∅, àlāa tì làba-sv̄ɛ

And Christ if TNS NEG.IND come.alive death-LOC=NEG, ADV:thus 1PL news-good:SG

lā mɔɔlv̄ɛ lā á nē zāalím.

ART proclamation ART COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

Fù yá' sɪàk, tì ná d̄īgílí f.

2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay.down 2SG.OB.

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed [i.e. admit you to hospital.]"

Bεog ya'a nie fɔ na wɔm o pian'ad.

Bēog yá' n̄e, fò ná wóm ò p̄àǎ'ad.

Tomorrow if appear, 2SG IRR hear 3AN speech.

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." (Acts 25:22)

20.3 Hypothetical

If discontinuous-past n^{ε} occurs in the $yà'$ -clause and the main clause has irrealis mood without $nāan(i)$, the meaning is hypothetical. In the 1976 NT the main clause also has n^{ε} , but not in later versions. KB sometimes uses constructions identical to open conditionals with irrealis in the main clause in this meaning.

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.

W̄iɛf yá' s̄ígí-n l̄i n̄i, l̄i zùlvɔŋ ná páa-n ò sàlɪbr.

Horse:SG if descend-DP 3IN LOC, 3IN depth IRR reach-DP 3AN bridle:SG.

"If a horse went down in it, its depth would reach its bridle." (Rev 14:20, 1976)

KB: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluŋ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niŋgbij nii, lin ku nyanjin keen ka o ka' niŋgbij nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlī-n yē, ón p̄w áǎ n̄u'ug lā zúg,

Leg:SG if say-DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.IND COP hand:SG ART upon,

ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄īŋ ní=∅, l̄in kú ñyāŋi-n ∅

3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish-DP CAT

k̄éε-n k̄à ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄īŋ ní=∅.

cause-DP and 3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG LOC=NEG.

"If the leg said, because it is not a hand, it is not in the body, that would not cause it not to be in the body." (1 Cor 12:15, 1976)

KB: *Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋbij la nii," lin ku nyanji ke ka o ka' niŋbij la nii.*

20.4 Contrary-to-fact

If the main clause has $nāan(i)$, there is a contrary-to-fact implication. Both main and $yà'$ -clause have discontinuous-past n^{ε} :

Man ya'a pɔ kɛen na tu'asini ba, ba naan kv mɔrin taale.

Mān yá' p̄w k̄éε-n n̄ā ∅ tú'asī-ní_bā, bà nāan kú

1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB, 3PL then NEG.IRR

m̄ɔri-n tâallē=∅.

have-DP fault:SG=NEG.

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." (Jn 15:22)

M ya'a mōrin sv'v̄gv m nu'ugin m naan kv̄vnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōri-n sv'v̄gò-m̄ nú'ugī-n, m̄ nāan kv̄v-ní-f nānná-nā.

1SG if have-DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG-LOC, 1SG then kill-DP 2SG now.

"If I'd had a sword in my hand, I'd have killed you right now." (Numbers 22:29)

Ba ya'a daa mi'ine li, ba naan kv̄ kpa'an Zugsob one an na'atita'ar la dapuudir zugō.

Bà yá' dāa mī'i-ní-lī, bà nāan kú kpā'a-n Zūg-sób ónì

3PL if TNS know-DP 3IN.OB, 3PL then NEG.IRR fasten-DP head-NUL.LAN REL:AN

añ ná'-tītā'ar lā dá-p̄v̄vdá zùgō=∅.

COP king-great:SG ART wood-cross:PL upon=NEG.

"If they had known it, they would not have fastened the Lord, who was a great king, to a cross." (1 Cor 2:8)

Contrary-to-fact conditions in the past are also sometimes marked with irrealis mood along with past tense markers in the main clause; WK specifically confirmed that the sense of this combination is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past.

Bōzugō Josua ya'a da tisini ba v̄v'v̄sv̄m zin'ig, Wina'am da kv̄ lem pian' dabis-si'a yēla ya'ase.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tīsī-ní-bā v̄v'v̄sīm zīñ'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give-DP 3PL.OB resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm pīāñ' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē=∅.

again speak day-INDEF.IN about again=NEG.

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of a certain day." (Heb 4:8)

Without a *yà'*-clause:

Ò dāa ná zāb nā'ab lā.

3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"He would have fought the chief (but didn't.)" WK

21 Ñ-clauses

Kusaal transforms complete clauses into AdvPs or NPs by inserting the post-subject particle *ñ* (for the realisation, see 4.2.) The *ñ* by itself is a nominaliser, which turns the original clause "X" into an "absolute" clause signifying "it being the fact that X." *Ñ*-clauses also form the basis of Kusaal relative clauses, though in the commonest type the nominaliser has fused with a preceding demonstrative pronoun to create what is synchronically simply a relative pronoun.

Ñ-clauses have independent tense marking (but relative to the *narrative* timeline within narrative 16.3.4.) Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

Yaname na m̄r sam si'a anε ye ya n̄ŋ taaba.

Yānámì ∅ nà m̄r sām-sī'a á nē yé yà n̄ŋ tāaba.

2PL NZ IRR have debt-INDF.IN COP FOC that 2PL love each.other.

"The debt which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8)

Ñ-clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative pronouns are often preposed with *kà*. Contrastive pronouns can be subjects of *ñ*-clauses:

wuu mane a si'em la.

"as I am." (1 Cor 7:7, 1996)

w̄v mánì ∅ àñ sī'əm lā.

like 1SG.CNTR NZ COP INDF.ADV ART.

Dependents of *ñ*-clauses may only be articles or predependent NPs, but *ñ*-clauses can themselves be predependents.

Absolute *ñ*-clauses normally take the article *lā'*. After relative clauses *lā'* has its usual function; clauses without *lā'* are usually indefinite but specific.

Ńn s̄b á nē dáŷ-kànì sà kē nā sū'əs lā.

3AN.CNTR NULL.AN COP FOC man-REL.SG TNS come hither yesterday ART.

"That one's the man who came yesterday."

Dàp-bànì b̄òd yé bà ñyéε_f ké nā.

Man-REL.PL want that 3PL see 2SG.OB come hither.

"Some men who want to see you have come."

onε du'a nε Siig

"someone born of the Spirit" (Jn 3:8)

òní dŷ'à nē Sīig

REL.AN bear with spirit:SG

one tvmi m la na "he who sent me hither" (Mk 9:37)
òni tòmi_m lā nā (òni = REL.AN; contrast ón 3SG:NZ)
 REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither

The article is not repeated a second time after an ñ-clause which ends in a NP with *lā'*. If the clause contains the VP-final particles *nā'* "hither" or *sà* "hence", these may follow an article belonging to the ñ-clause 16.11.

If a ñ-clause has a negative VP, the negative prosodic clitic is dropped unless the ñ-clause lacks *lā'* and is itself clause-final in the superordinate clause 23.

21.1 Absolute clauses

Ñ-clauses without relative pronouns or indefinite pronouns used as relatives are **absolute clauses**, meaning "it being the fact that ...":

Dāy lā dāa záb nà'ab lā.
 Man:SG ART TNS fight chief:SG ART.
 "The man has fought the chief."

dāy lá_ø dāa záb nà'ab lā
 Man:SG ART NZ TNS fight chief:SG ART
 "the man having fought the chief"

The most characteristic use of absolute clauses is as AdvPs of time or circumstance. They are the usual way of expressing past "when", used as postlinker adjuncts 17.2.1 or as VP adjuncts, generally preposed with *kà* 24.3. As Kusaal is stricter than English in requiring constituent order to reflect event order, the VP-final adjunct position is usually confined to cases where the absolute clause expresses a state of affairs rather than a single event:

Õn dāa ñyēt súṅā, ón dāa áñ bí-lā lāa=ø?
 3AN.CNTR TNS see:IPFV good:ADV, 3AN:NZ TNS COP child-baby:SG ART=PQ?
 "Did she see well when she was a baby?"

Tense markers in an absolute clause are the same as in the main clause; the main clause markers may be omitted if the absolute clause precedes. It is thus not possible to manipulate the time relationship with tense particles; instead, this is determined by aspect, with a perfective in the absolute clause implying a prior event and imperfective a simultaneous one, setting the temporal scene for the main clause.

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeli ba ...

Kà bán dīt lā, Yesu yéì bā ...

And 3PL:NZ eat:IPFV ART, Jesus say 3PL.OB

"As they were eating, Jesus said to them ..." (Mt 26:21)

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meḡ ...

Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk nīe ò mēḡ ...

And 3PL:NZ emerge ART and head-NULAN angel:SG appear 3AN self

"After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself ..." (Mt 2:13, 1996)

Like other AdvPs, absolute clauses have limited uses as verb arguments 13.1:

Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la ane

mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka me pu diti ba ki la.

Dìni ké kà m áñ s̄aal-b̄iis z̄uá lā á nē mán

REL.SG cause and 1SG COP smooth-child:PL friend:SG ART COP FOC 1SG:NZ

p̄w s̄añ'amìdí b̄a lā'ad kà mé p̄w d̄ítí b̄a k̄ī l̄aa=∅.

NEG.IND spoil:IPFV 3PL goods:PL and also NEG.IND eat:IPFV 3PL millet ART=NEG.

"What makes me a friend of human beings is

that I don't spoil their property or eat their millet." BNY p20

Verbs of perception or communication take content clauses or relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as objects, never absolute clauses.

Absolute clauses with *sādīgim* "since, because" immediately following nominaliser-*n̄* occur as postlinker adjuncts expressing "reason why":

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'ase?

Àmáa ón s̄adīgim kpí lā, bó kà m lém

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again

l̄ɔɔd n̄ɔɔr yá'asè=∅=∅?

tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=NEG=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

Tiname sagidim aan o biis la, ti da ten'es ...

Tīnámì ∅ s̄adīgim áañ ò b̄iis lā, tì dā tēñ'es ...

1PL NZ since COP 3AN child:PL ART, 1PL NEG.IMP think ...

"Since we are his children, we should not think ..." (Acts 17:29)

For absolute clauses with post-subject *nāan(i)* see 20.1.

Absolute clauses occur after *hālī nē* or *hālī là'am nē* "although, even as" 15, and *hālī n tì pāa ...* "up until the time when ..." 17.2.1.

Before the postposition *zūg*^{o/} "on account of", or *bō zūgō* "because", absolute clauses form reason-why AdvPs used as adjuncts:

Ban mōr dēŋ la zug, ba kv di'e baa.

Bán mōr dēŋ lā zūg, bà kò dī'ə baa=∅.

3PL:NZ have wound:SG ART upon, 3PL NEG.IRR receive 3PL.OB=NEG.

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." (Leviticus 22:25)

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zūg kà pōlīs gbáñ'a_m.

1SG:NZ strike man:SG ART upon and police seize 1SG.OB.

"The police arrested me because I struck the man." ILK

It is commoner for causation to be simply implied by an absolute clause as postlinker adjunct or preposed VP adjunct, or just by coordination with *kà*.

Yēlá "concerning" appears after absolute clauses in NT section headings, and absolute clauses alone are used as picture captions:

Jesus n kpen' Jerusalem la yela

Jesus ñ kpèñ' Jerusalem lā yéla

Jesus NZ enter Jerusalem ART about

"[about] Jesus entering into Jerusalem."

Ban meed yir

"A house being built"

Bán mèed yīr

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

21.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are of two structural types: those which use relative pronouns, and those which use indefinite pronouns in the role of relatives. The relative clause subject is followed by *ñ* in the indefinite-pronoun type; diachronically, the unitary relative pronouns have arisen from fusion of a clause-initial short demonstrative pronoun with a following *ñ*.

In either case, the pronoun may be a head, as clause antecedent, or a dependent after a *cb* which is the clause antecedent. Relative clauses are restrictive when the pronouns are compounded with a *cb*, but need not be so otherwise.

Written materials avoid *kane kàni* as a relative for human reference (invariably so after proper names), substituting *one òni*, which cannot be preceded by a *cb*; the resulting construction is appositional (note, incidentally, that this example is unequivocally non-restrictive):

o sid one da be ne o la

ò sīd ónì dà bè né ò lā

3AN husband:SG REL.AN TNS EXIST with 3AN ART

"her husband, who was there with her" (Genesis 3:6)

Uncompounded pronouns are obviously necessary with heads that lack cbs or have a coordinate structure:

kokor kaṅa lini *yi arazana ni la na*

kòkōr-káṅā línì yí àrazánà ní lā nā

VOICE-DEMST.SG REL.IN emerge sky:SG LOC ART hither

"this voice which came from heaven" (2 Pet 1:18, 1976)

nimbane yuda sōb Pēbil la gbaṅṅon line an nyɔvupaal dim gbaṅṅ la

nīn-báni yōdá sōb PĒ'-bīl lā gbáṅṅō-n línì

person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.IN

añ ñyó-vō-paal díim gbáṅṅ lā

COP breath-alive-new:SG NULL.PL book:SG ART

"those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of those with new life" (Rev 21:27)

Mam Paul ne Timoti banε *an Yesu Kristo tɔmtɔmnib la*

Mām Paul nē Timoti bání àñ Yesu Kristo tóm-tōmníb lā

1SG.CNTR Paul with Timothy REL.PL COP Jesus Christ work-worker:PL ART

"I, Paul, and Timothy, the servants of Jesus Christ" (Phil 1:1)

A relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun may contain indefinite pronouns with their normal meaning, and a relative clause with an indefinite pronoun as relative may contain other indefinite pronouns in their normal function so long as they precede the pronoun with relative meaning. Short demonstrative pronouns are never relatives when non-initial, and long demonstratives are never relatives at all:

Wina'am one gaad si'el wɔsa la

Wínà'am ónì gàad sī'əl wōsa lā

God REL.AN pass INDF.IN all ART

"God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wɔv baṅi gban'ad si'el si'em la

wōv bāṅí ø gbāñ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā

like trap:SG NZ seize:IPFV INDF.IN INDF.ADV ART

"like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

*O pa'al nē'enam nyain tis sō' wōsa on vū'vūg nin**kan** kumin la zug.*

Ò pà'al nē'-nám ñyāe ∅ tís sō' wōsa ón vū'vūg nīn-kán

3AN show DEM.IN-PL clearly CAT give INDEF.AN all 3AN:NZ revive person-DEM.SG

kūmī-n lā zúg.

death-LOC ART upon.

"He has shown this clearly to everyone because he has raised that person from death." (Acts 17:31)

*o na tvm tvumnyalima gaad dau **kaŋa** tvm si'el laa?*

ò nà tvm tvm-ñyālmá ∅ gād dāu-kāŋá ∅ tvm sī'el láa=∅?

3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT pass man-DEMST.SG NZ work INDEF.IN ART=PQ?

"Will he do miracles greater than this man has?" (Jn 7:31)

21.2.1 With indefinite pronouns

Relative clauses using indefinite pronouns as relatives are **internally headed**. The pronoun may be a head, as clause antecedent, or a dependent after a cb which is then the clause antecedent; in either case it remains *in situ* within the relative clause.

*Wina'am nodi'esidib n daa yel **si'el** n sob Wina'am gbaunin la, ane ameŋa.*

Wínà'am nó-dī'əsīdīb n dāa yél sī'el n sōb

God mouth-receiver:PL NZ TNS say INDEF.IN CAT write

Wínà'am gbáunīn lā á né àmēŋá.

God book:SG-LOC ART COP FOC truly.

"What God's prophets said and wrote in God's book is true." (Mt 26:56, 1996)

The indefinite pronoun need not follow the verb directly:

... fvn yelim fvn niŋ li si'el.

... fvn yélīm fvn nīŋ lī sī'el.

... 2SG.CNTR say:IMP 2SG:NZ do 3IN.OB INDEF.IN.

"... that you say where you have put it." (Jn 20:15)

The antecedent of a relative clause using an indefinite pronoun cannot be the subject in the relative clause. It is either a verb object or complement, or adverbial, or a predependent in such a constituent. It may belong to a subordinate clause within the relative clause. The fact that the pronoun may be a predependent or appear in a subordinate clause proves that these constructions are internally headed; elements following the pronoun cannot simply be taken as dependents of the relative clause.

If the indefinite pronoun is not compounded with a preceding cb and is not part of an AdvP, it normally retains a specific-indefinite sense (the main exception in KB is a sequence in Rev 2-3 of *man nyε sɔ' la* "the one I saw.")

Ka ban tum sɔ' la kv gaad onε tum o la.

Kà b́án tùm sɔ́' lā kú gāad ónì tùm_o ∅ ĺáa=∅.

And 3PL:NZ send INDF.AN ART NEG.IRR surpass REL.AN send 3AN.OB ART=NEG.

"**One** who was sent does not surpass the one who sent him." (Jn 13:16)

M na tisif fvn bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.

M̄ ná tísif fún b̀ɔɔd sɪ'əl w̄sá.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

"I will give you **anything** you want." (Mk 6:23)

Very often either the relative clause is the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception, or the pronoun is the complement of such a verb within the relative clause (or both.) Relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as relatives are strongly preferred in clauses corresponding to English "subordinate interrogative clauses" (CGEL pp1070ff, pp972ff.) Such cases account for most relative clauses with uncompounded indefinite pronouns in KB. (For example, 20/33 examples of relative clause with *sɔ'* in the 1996 NT are of this type.)

m na pa'ali ya on nwene sɔ'.

m̄ ná pā'alí yá ón wēn nē sɔ́'.

1SG IRR teach 2PL.OB 3AN:NZ resemble with INDF.AN.

"I will teach you **what** he is like." (Lk 6:47)

M mi' fvn an sɔ'.

"I know **who** you are." (Lk 4:34)

M̄ mɪ' fún àñ sɔ́'.

1SG know 2SG:NZ COP INDF.AN.

David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.

David dá tùm sɔ́' yé ò bũ'osi ∅ b́áŋ pũ'á ĺá ∅ àñ sɔ́'.

David TNS send INDF.AN that 3AN ask CAT discover woman:SG ART NZ COP INDF.AN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out **who** the woman was." (2 Samuel 11:3)

ya na baŋ man yel ye m an sɔ' la.

yà ná b́áŋ mán yèl yé m̄ àñ sɔ́' ĺá.

2PL IRR understand 1SG:NZ say that 1SG COP INDF.AN ART.

"you will understand **who** I say that I am." (Jn 8:28)

Gosim ye fɔ na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bunnɛɛ?

Gòsɪm yé fò ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá_ø àñ sɔ' búnnɛɛ=ø?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL NZ COP INDEFAN thing:SG=PQ?

"Can you look and find out **whose** property these things are?" (Genesis 38:25)

Alaa mam me kv yeli ya mam nye nɔɔr la sɔ' san'ane.

Àláa mām mé kù yēli_yá mán ñyē nɔɔr lā sɔ' sá'anē=ø.

Thus 1SG.CNTR also NEG.IRR say 2PL.OB 1SG:NZ see mouth:SG ART INDEFAN among=NEG.

"Thus I too will not tell you from **whom** I derived the authority." (Mt 21:27)

M na tɔmi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya

Ì ná tōmí_̀m Bá' zì'èl nɔɔr sɔ' yéla_ø tísì_yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG NZ stand mouth:SG INDEFAN about CAT give 2PL.OB.

"I will send **whom** my Father made a promise about to you." (Lk 24:49)

... baŋi ba yaaname an sieba

... báŋì_̀ bà yāa-námì_̀ø àñ sī̀ba

... understand 3PL ancestor-PL NZ COP INDEF.PL

"... discover **who** their ancestors were." (Ezra 2:61)

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.

Ì mī' mán gāŋ sī̀ba lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDEF.PL ART.

"I know **those** whom I have chosen." (Jn 13:18)

Man mi' si'el nan ane bi'ela.

Mán mī' sī̀'èl nān á nē bī̀'elá.

1SG:NZ know INDEF.IN now COP FOC small.ADV.

"**What** I know now is small." (1 Cor 13:12)

Ón yèl sī̀'èl lā ká' sídāa=ø.

3AN:NZ say INDEF.IN ART NEG.BE truth=NEG.

"**What** he says is not true" SB

Kem yeli Joon yaname wɔm ka nye si'el.

Kēm_ø yēli_ø Joon yānámì_ø wòm kà ñyē sī̀'èl.

Go:IMP CAT say 2PL.SUB John 2PL NZ hear and see INDEF.IN.

"Go and tell John **what** you have heard and seen." (Mt 11:4)

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ sī'əl lā gbínnèε=ø?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.IN ART meaning:SG=CQ?

"Do you understand the meaning of **what** I have done?" (Jn 13:12)

Most occurrences of *sī'əl*^a in the 1996 NT are as relatives. 75/130 cases in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John show *sī'əl*^a, the entire relative clause, or both as the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception. Of the remaining 55 examples, in 33 *sī'əl*^a consistently has an abstract uncountable meaning, shading into "whatever", often with *wōsa* "all"; in the other 22 *sī'əl*^a has the locative meaning "where, whither"; neither the pronoun nor the clause have the locative particle.

Bozugo ya araza'ase be si'el la, ya potenda me bene anina.

Bō zúgó yà àrazà'así ø bè sī'əl lā, yà pù-tèñda mé bè né àní nā.

Because 2PL treasure NZ EXIST INDF.IN ART, 2PL mind:PL too EXIST FOC there.

"For **where** your treasure is, your mind is too." (Mt 6:21, 1996)

One keŋ likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ōni kēŋ līkī-n zī' ón kēn sī'əla=ø.

REL.AN go darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.IN=NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know **where** he is going." (Jn 12:35, 1996)

Sī'əm^m is the corresponding indefinite adverbial form "somehow." As Kusaal frequently uses manner-adverbs as predicative complements, relative clauses with *sī'əm* are common as objects of verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ n̄ŋilim an si'em.

Kristo ø dà kp̄ii tì yēlá lā ké kà tì báŋ n̄ŋilim ø àñ sī'əm.

Christ NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

The article *lā'* has its usual function with *sī'əm*-relative clauses:

M̄ m̄í' mán nà n̄ŋ sī'əm. "I know what to do."

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

M̄ m̄í' mán nà n̄ŋ sī'əm lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV ART.

"I know what I'm to do" (WK: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

In the 1976 NT almost all relative clauses with *sī'əm* and past tense marking have *lā'*; 75% lacking *lā'* have irrealis mood. Cf the two standing expressions

ón bòod sī'əm "as he wishes"
3AN:NZ want INDF.ADV

lín àñ sī'əm lā "as things are"
3IN:NZ COP INDF.ADV ART

Yèl'^ε "say, tell" tends to take a *sī'əm*-relative clause with *lā* in its sense of "say, tell how something is" and without *lā* in the sense "say how to do something":

Bà yèlō_ø bán nịη sī'əm lā.
3PL say 3AN.OB 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV ART
"They told him what they'd done"

Bà nà yēl_f fún nà nịη sī'əm.
3PL IRR tell 2SG.OB 2SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.
"They'll tell you what to do."

Pà'al'^ε "teach, inform" nevertheless takes a relative clause object without *lā*:

Bà pà'alō_ø bán nịη sī'əm.
3PL inform 3AN.OB 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV.
"They informed him of what they'd done."

Gàad'^ε "pass, surpass" is used with a *sī'əm*-clause for comparing actions:

Mam tum bedegv gaad ban tum si'em la.
Mām túm bédvḡ_ø gâad bán tùm sī'əm lā.
1SG.CNTR work much CAT pass 3PL:NZ work INDF.ADV ART
"I've worked much harder than (how) they have." (2 Cor 11:23)

Gbāñ'e' "catch" is used with a *sī'əm*-clause for "decide what to do":

M gbāñ'e mán nà nịη sī'əm.
1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.
"I've decided what to do."

With verbs of doing, a *sī'əm*-relative clause can be a manner-adverb:

Bà n̄ìḡ ón yèlì b̄ā s̄ī'əm l̄ā.

3PL do 3AN:NZ tell 3PL.OB INDF.ADV ART.

"They did as he'd told them."

S̄ī'əm-relative clauses occur often as objects of *w̄ōv* "like", *wēn*^{na/} "resemble"

...ka ya na ke ka nidib d̄əl man w̄ōv z̄iḡgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

...kà yà ná ké kà n̄ìḡb̄ d̄əl m̄ān w̄ōv z̄iḡ-gbāñ'adìb_∅

...and 3PL IRR cause and person:PL follow 1SG.CNTR like fish-catcher:PL NZ

gbāñ'ad z̄īmí s̄ī'əm l̄ā.

catch:IPFV fish:PL INDF.ADV ART

"... you will make people follow me like fishermen catch fish." (Mt 4:19)

Hālí (là'am) nē "although" can take a *s̄ī'əm*-clause for "despite how..." 15.

Relative clauses with an indefinite pronoun dependent on a preceding cb are uncommon compared with preposed relative pronouns. KB has only a few cases with *s̄ō'* or *s̄ī'əba*; *s̄ī'a* is commoner, but mostly follows cbs expressing place or time. Indefinite pronouns used as relatives after cbs are not confined to specific indefinite meanings or complements of verbs of cognition, reporting, or perception.

*F̄un b̄òd̄ ye f̄v kv **dau s̄ō'** la ya'a kpi...*

F̄ún b̄òd̄ yé f̄v̄ k̄v̄ dáḡ-s̄ō' l̄ā yá' kpi...

2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDF.AN ART if die...

"If the man **whom** you are seeking to kill dies ..." (2 Samuel 17:3)

*Nidib la da wum Yesu n tum **tuum sieba** ...*

N̄ìḡb̄ l̄ā dá w̄òm Yesu n t̄òm t̄òm-s̄ī'əba ...

Person:PL ART TNS hear Jesus NZ work work-INDF.PL ...

"The people heard of the deeds that Jesus had performed..." (Mk 3:7, 1996)

*Ban da kv **ninsieba** da ka' bi'elaa.*

Bán dà k̄v̄ n̄īn-s̄ī'əbà dá k̄ā' b̄ī'əlāa=∅.

3PL:NZ TNS kill person-INDF.PL TNS NEG.BE few=NEG.

"Those they had killed were not few." (1 Samuel 4:10)

*Kem tv'vs Samaria na'abi t̄vm **ninsieba** la na ...*

Kēm_∅ t̄v'vs Samaria ná'abí_∅ t̄òm n̄īn-s̄ī'əbà l̄ā n̄ā ...

Go:IMP CAT meet Samaria king:SG NZ send person-INDF.PL ART hither ...

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria ..." (2 Kings 1:3)

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélà ∅ b̄igisid lín àñ tí-s̄i'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IMPF 3IN:NZ COP tree-INDF.IN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows **what tree** it is." (Mt 12:33)

Ka bugum dit teḡ tita'asi'a la nyô'os dvt ne agol saḡa dine ka' benne.

Kà bùgúm ∅ dīt téḡ-títá'-s̄i'a lā ñyô'os dvt né

And fire NZ eat:IPFV land-big-INDF.IN ART smoke ascend:IPFV FOC

àgól s̄aḡá d̄inī k̄ā' b̄enne=∅.

ADV:upwards time:SG REL.IN NEG.HAVE end:SG=NEG.

"The smoke of the great city which fire consumes goes up eternally." (Rev 19:3)
referring to *Babilon teḡ tita'ar la* "the great city of Babylon" (Rev 18:21)

Nannanna, yaname daa sōb gbaḡ si'a la ka m sōbidi lebisidi ya.

Nānná-nā, yānámì ∅ dāa sōb gbáḡ-s̄i'a lá kà

Now, 2PL NZ TNS write letter-INDF.IN ART and

ḡ sōbidi ∅ lébisidī yá.

1SG write:IPFV CAT answer:IPFV 2PL.OB.

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1)

Paul n sob gbaḡ si'a n tis Efesus dim la

Paul ñ sōb gbáḡ-s̄i'a n tís Efesus díḡ lā

Paul NZ write letter- INDF.IN CAT give Ephesus NULL.PL ART

"**the letter** which Paul wrote to the Ephesians" (NT heading)

42/56 of relative *s̄i'a* in the 1996 NT follow cbs referring to times or places:

M Zugsoḡa, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.

ḡ Zūḡ-sóbā=∅, tì zī' fún kēn z̄iñ'-s̄i'a lāa=∅.

1SG Head-NULL.AN=VOC, 1PL NEG.KNOW 2SG:NZ go:IPFV place-INDF.IN ART=NEG.

"My Lord, we don't know where you are going." (Jn 14:5, 1996)

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni.

Kà bùgúm ñje ón bè d̄ó-s̄i'a lā ní.

And fire appear 3SG:NZ EXIST room-INDF.IN ART LOC.

"And fire illuminated the room where he was." (Acts 12:7, 1996)

Abraham da nan kae' saḡsi'a la, ka man pun be.

Abraham dá nām k̄ā'ḡ s̄ān-s̄i'a lā, kà mān pún bè.

Abraham TNS still NEG.BE time-INDF.IN ART, and 1SG.CNTR already EXIST.

"When Abraham still did not exist, I already existed." (Jn 8:58, 1996)

Indefinite pronouns as relatives may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

ka fɔn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la, fɔn ya'am o nɔɔr ...

kà fún gbāñ'e zīŋ-sí'a yīgá lā, fɔn yâ'am ò nɔɔr ...

and 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDEF.IN firstly ART, 2SG.CNTR open:IMP 3AN mouth:SG

"and the first fish you catch, open its mouth..." (Mt 17:27)

but *Paul n sob gbaun yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.*

Paul ñ sɔb gbáun yīgá dāan n tís Korint díim lā_∅ ñwá.

Paul NZ write letter:SG firstly owner:SG CAT give Corinth one.PL ART CAT this.

"This is **the first letter** which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (NT heading)

21.2.2 With relative pronouns

The commonest type of relative clause begins with a relative pronoun as NP or NP predependent. In origin, these pronouns are short demonstrative pronouns followed by ñ. When the head is the subject of the relative clause, this produces the forms *ɔni kàni òni bànì* (always written *one kanε line banε* in KB) where the final *-i* is due to liaison before the nominaliser, which is itself invariably realised ∅ in this case.

M ñyé dáu-kàni_∅ zàb nà'ab lā.

1SG see man-DEM.SG NZ fight chief:SG ART

"I saw the man who fought the chief."

When the pronoun is not itself the subject of the relative clause one might expect the ñ to be absent and the pronoun to have the normal SF form. This indeed the case for WK, and commonly in the older NT versions too:

bàn kà nà'ab lā záb lā "those whom the chief fought" WK

DEM.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

yikan ka mam Paul be la

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā

house-DEM.SG and 1SG.CNTR Paul EXIST ART

"the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

on buudi ka Jew dim kis

òn būudí kà Jew díim kīs

DEM.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.PL hate

"whose tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

However, frequently even in older written materials, and almost invariably in KB, the pre-liaison forms are generalised to these cases too; rarely, the nominaliser may be inserted after the relative clause subject as well.

gbauŋ kanɛ ka dau la sɔb la
 for *gbàùŋ-kàn kà dā̀u lā sɔ̀b lā*
 letter-DEM.SG and man:SG ART write ART
 "the letter which the man has written"

dau kanɛ yadda niŋiri pɔ zu'oe
dà̀u-kànı̀ yà̀ddā-nı̀ŋı̀rı̀ ɔ̄ p̄ ́zú'e
 man-DEM.SG assent-doing:SG NZ NEG.IND become.great
 "a man whose faith is not great..." (Mt 14:31)

It is thus best to regard *ɔ̀nı̀ kànı̀ lı̀nı̀ b̄anı̀* synchronically as subordinating relative pronouns rather than demonstrative + nominaliser combinations. Where the historically expected *ɔ̀n kàn lı̀n b̄an* appear as heads of relative clauses they will elsewhere be regarded as allomorphs of the relative pronouns in that context:

M̄ n̄yɛ́ dá̀u-kànı̀ zà̀b nà'ab lā.
 1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART
 "I saw the man who fought the chief."

b̄anı̀ kà nà'ab lā zà̀b lā "those whom the chief fought."
 REL.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

Toende Kusaal shows the same development (nominaliser-*n̄* is *ne* in Toende):

N sa nye buraa kanne da da'a gbana la.
 "I saw the man who bought the book." (Abubakari 2011)

N sa nye buraa kanne ka Ayi da nye la.
 "I saw the man that Ayi saw." *ibid*

If the antecedent is the subject within a relative clause, or a predependent of the subject, a relative pronoun must be used:

b̄anı̀ zà̀b nà'ab lā "those who fought the chief"
 REL.PL fight chief:SG ART

M̄ ñyé dáu-kàni zàb nà'ab lā.

1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART

"I saw **the man who** fought the chief."

nimbanε yuda sōb Pēbil la gbauḡon line an nyōvupaal dim gbauḡ la

n̄n-báni yōdá sōb Pē'-b̄l lā gbáḡḡ-n línì

person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.IN

àn ñyó-v̄-paal dím gbáḡḡ lā

COP breath-alive-new:SG NULL.PL book:SG ART

"**those whose** names are written in the Lamb's book of new life" (Rev 21:27)

A relative pronoun can also relativise a complement or adjunct, or antecedent extracted from a prepositional phrase or subordinate clause. The antecedent is preposed with *kà* with a resumptive pronoun in any gap left by extraction, for an indirect object, or occasionally for a human-reference direct object. There is no foregrounding sense. Such constructions are commoner than indefinite pronouns as relatives, except with clauses used adverbially or of "subordinate interrogative" type.

Gbauḡ kane ka Jerusalem kpeenmnam daa sob la nwa.

Gbàḡḡ-kàni kà Jerusalem kp̄ēñm-nàm dāa sōb lā ∅ ñwá.

Letter-REL.SG and Jerusalem elder-PL TNS write ART CAT this.

"This is the letter that the elders of Jerusalem wrote." (Acts 15:23, 1996)

m antu'a line [1996 lin] *ka ba m̄or na*

m̄ àntù'a lìnì kà bà m̄or nā

1SG case REL.IN and 3PL have hither

"the charge they are bringing against me" (Acts 25:11)

yeltōod ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi m̄or la

yēl-tōod àyōpōḡ bání kà màlīāk-námá ∅ àyōpōḡ m̄or lā

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rev 15:8)

niḡkanε [1996 niḡkan] *ka ba gban'e o la*

n̄n-káni kà bà gbán'o ∅ lā

person-REL.SG and 3PL seize 3AN.OB ART

"a person **whom** they have seized" (Acts 25:16) (human VP object)

B̄rā-s̄' dāa bé àñnā, òn kà m̄an nē òn dāa tóm lā.

Man-INDFAN TNS EXIST ADV:there, REL.AN and 1SG with 3AN TNS work:IPFV ART.

"There was a man there **whom** I used to work **with**." ILK

Onε ka ba tis **o** ka li zu'oe, ba mε m̄or p̄uten'er ye o na lεbis linε zu'oe.

Ònι kà bà tíςò_∅ kà lì zú'e, bà m̄è m̄òr
REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have
p̄ú-t̄ēñ'er yé ò nà lēbis línì zù'e.

inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.IN become.much.

"**Whom** they have given much **to**, they expect he will return much." (Lk 12:48)

nimbane ka ya ten'es ye **ba** anε tuongatib la

n̄ñ-bánì kà yà tēñ'es yé bà à nē t̄uon-gātíb lā
person-REL.PL and 2PL think that 3PL COP FOC ahead-passer:PL ART

"those **whom** you consider to be leaders" (Gal 2:6)

linε [1996 lin] ka Kristo b̄ōd ye ti pian' la

l̄inι kà Kristo b̄ōd yé t̄ì p̄iāñ' lā

REL.IN and Christ want that 1PL speak ART

"**what** Christ wishes us to say" (2 Cor 12:19)

If the antecedent is a predependent in an NP which is not the subject, that entire NP is preposed, but obviously no resumptive pronoun is needed:

Samaritan nid (**on** buudi ka Jew dim kis)

Samaritan n̄id, òn b̄ūdí kà Jew d̄ím k̄is

Samaritan person:SG REL.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.PL hate

"a Samaritan, **whose** tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

bikane [1996 biig kan] p̄vug ka o m̄or la

b̄ì-kànι p̄vug kà ò m̄òr lā

child-REL.SG belly:SG and 3AN have ART

"the child **which** she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

Relative clauses with locative reference do not take the locative *n̄i*':

yikan ka mam Paul be la yidaan

ȳi-kán kà mām Paul bé lā ȳi-dāan

house-REL.SG and 1SG.CNTR Paul EXIST ART house-owner:SG

"the owner of the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

22 Complementised clauses

Complementised clauses are usually introduced by the clause linker *yē*. They also appear with *kà*, but much less often, and never exclusively; constructions which only permit *kà* and never *yē* must be coordination or catenation. Complementised clauses follow any catenated clauses. They can be coordinated with *kà*:

ka lin ane ye fu kv maali ti be'ede nwenε tiname daa pv maalif be'ed si'em la asee sv'vm ma'aa, ka ye fu yim ne sumbvgvsvm la.

kà līn á nē yé fù kò māalí_tì bē'ed_t_∅ wēn nē

and 3IN.CNTR COP FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make 1PL bad CAT resemble with

tīnámì_∅ dāa p̄ māalì_f bē'ed s̄'əm lá àséε s̄m má'aa,

1PL NZ TNS NEG.IND make 2SG.OB bad INDF.ADV ART except good only

kà yé fù yīm nē súmbvgvśím lā.

and that 2SG emerge:IMP with peace ART.

"Which is that you will not do us harm, as we did not do you harm but only good, and that you will depart in peace." (Genesis 26:29)

22.1 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have imperative mood. As there is no *-ma* flexion, the mood is apparent only in the use of *dā* as the negation particle. The term "purpose clause" is convenient but such clauses are also used as complements of verbs expressing necessity and permission, and the meaning is sometimes attenuated from "so that" to merely "until."

Purpose clauses may be VP adjuncts:

Bà tìsō_∅ kú'əm yé ò nū.

3PL give 3AN.OB water that 3AN drink.

"They gave him water to drink. ("So that he might drink it.")

Ì ná tī_f tīm yé fù nīf dā zábē=∅.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine that 2SG eye:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.

"I'll give you medicine so your eye won't hurt."

Ò vùl tīm kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.

3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.

"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

Ka ba gban'e ba kpen'es sanrega ni ye beog nie.

Kà bà gbáń'a_bā_ø kpēń'es sārīgá nì yē bēog nīe.

And 3PL seize 3PL.OB CAT put.in prison:SG LOC that morning appear.

"They seized them and put them in prison until tomorrow came." (Acts 4:3)

Purpose clauses can be coordinated without repetition of *yē*:

Ṁ bōɔd yē dāy lā kēŋ dâ'a-n, kà pū'ā lā dōg dīb.

1SG want that man:SG ART go market:SG-LOC, and woman:SG ART cook food.

"I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." WK

Purpose clauses appear as complements of particular verbs, e.g *bōɔd*^a "want"; or *yēl*^ε "tell." Negative raising occurs with *bōɔd*^a but not with *yēl*^ε.

Ṁ bōɔd yé ò kūl. "I want her to go home."

1SG want that 3AN go.home.

Ṁ pū bōɔd yé ñ kūlε=ø.

1SG NEG.IND want that 1SG go.home=NEG.

"I don't want [me] to go home."

Ṁ yēlī_f yé fò dā kūlε=ø.

1SG tell 2SG.OB that 2SG NEG.IMP go.home=NEG.

"I've told you not to go home."

The verb *gūr*^{a/} "be on guard, watch, wait for" in the sense of "waiting for an event" may take as complement either a NP headed by gerund, or a purpose clause introduced by *yē*, again with an attenuated sense:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out." (Lk 1:21)

... gur ye pu'a la du'a ka o ɔnb biig la.

... gūr yē pū'ā lā dū'á kà ò ɔńb bīig lā.

...watch that woman:SG ART bear and 3AN eat child:SG ART.

"...waiting for the woman to give birth so he could devour her child." (Rev 12:4)

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of **necessity** or **permission** such as *nār^a* "be obliged to" (negated "be obliged not to"); *mōr sūer* "be allowed to"; *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary":

Fù pō nār yé fù nīη àláa=∅.
2SG NEG.IND must that 2SG do ADV:thus=NEG.
"You're not allowed to do that."

Lì nār yé/kà fù kūl. "You must go home."
3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

In KB there are 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 of *nar ka*.

Yà mōr sūer yé yà kūl. "You may go home."
2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

Sūer bé yé/kà tì kūl. "We may go home."
Way:SG EXIST that/and 1PL go.home. (" There's a way that we go home.")

Li ane tilas ye m keη Jerusalem.
Lì à nē tīlās yé m kēη Jerusalem.
3IN COP FOC necessity that 1SG go Jerusalem.
"I must go to Jerusalem." (Mt 16:21, 1996)

Li ane tilas ka m niηid ala.
Lì à nē tīlās kà m nīηid àlá.
3IN COP FOC necessity and 1SG do:IPFV ADV:thus.
"I must do that." (1 Cor 9:16, 1996); there are no examples with *kà* in KB

Nār^a is occasionally used in a personal construction "deserve that":

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba
bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv_bā
3PL NUM:two ART must that 3PL kill 3PL.OB
"both of them must be killed" (Leviticus 20:12)

Anō'one nar ka na nyaηi lak titabir la ...
Ánó'ònì_∅ nār kà ná ñyāηì_∅ lāk tītābır lā ...?
Who CAT must and IRR prevail CAT unstick glue ART ...?
"Who is worthy to open the seal ...?" (Rev 5:2)

22.2 Content clauses

Complementised clauses with independency marking 16.6 on the VP are content clauses. They are downranked main clauses, and show all the structural features possible for main clauses. They occur very frequently representing passages of indirect speech, but are also found much more generally after verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception, such as *yèl*^ε "say", *wòm*^m "hear", *ñyē* "see", *tēñ'es*^{ε/} "think", *mī* "know", *zī* "not know", *bàŋ*^ε "come to know", *pà'al*^ε "teach, show", *kàrim*^m "read", *sjàk*^ε "agree." Various main-clause features appear in e.g.

ban mi' ye biig la kpine la zug

bán mī' yē bīig lā kpí nē lā zúg

3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART upon

"because they knew that the child was dead" (Lk 8:53): focus-*nē*'

Bòŋ-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēŋ tóllā=∅.

Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.

"The donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot."

Tone overlay: *Tēŋ tól.* "The ground is hot." cf *tōl*^{la/} "be hot"

Fvne siak ye fv ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fv na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?

Fvni_ ∅ sják yé fù yá' tì ká'ε, ò nà zīñ'iní_ fù nā'am

2SG.CNTR CAT agree that 2SG if after NEG.BE, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy

gbáŋ lā zúgɔɔ=∅?

skin:SG ART upon=PQ?

"Did you agree that when you are no more, he will sit on your throne?"

(1 Kings 1:24): *yá'*-clause postlinker adjunct

Absolute clauses 21.1 cannot be used as objects of such verbs, but another possibility apart from content clauses is NP + *yēlá* "about" 13.5.

Except in indirect speech (see below), content clauses are usually declarative. There are exceptions, possibly characteristic of verbs of opinion and judgment:

Ya tenes ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?

Yà tēñ'es kà m áañ ànɔ'ɔnɛ=∅?

2PL think and 1SG COP who=CQ?

"Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25)

WK usually has *yē* before content clauses, but prefers *kà* after *tēñ'es*^{ε/} "think." KB has 219 examples of *tenes ye* to 31 of *tenes ka* and shows *kà* after other verbs too:

Ya pvn wvm ka ba da yel ye...

Yà pún wòm kà bà dá yèl yē ...

2PL previously hear and 3PL TNS say that...

"You previously heard that they had said ..." (Mt 5:43)

Kà + content clause is the only context where *kà* is followed by independency marking, and where *kà* does not delete a following subject pronoun with the same reference as the preceding subject:

Ṁ tēñ'es kà m̀ lú yā. "I think I've fallen" WK

1SG think and 1SG fall PFV.

There are a few examples in KB of *nε* for *yε yē* "that" (cf Mampruli *ni id*):

Man bōōdin nε yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvvliga.

Mān bóōdī-n nē yānámì ∅ nāan āa-n mā'asígā bēε

1SG.CNTR want-DP that 2PL NZ then COP-DP cold:ADV or

yānámì ∅ nāan āa-n tvvligā.

2PL NZ then COP-DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

The verb *yèl* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

Ka Zugsoḅ la ye ... "And the Lord said: ..." (Genesis 18:28)

Kà Zūg-sóḅ lā yē ...

And head-NUL.LAN ART that ...

Pronouns are changed throughout in the content clause to reflect its setting, on the same basis as in English "indirect speech." The free 3rd person pronouns have **logophoric** sense. In contexts where bound pronouns could have occurred instead (i.e. where they are contrastive) they replace 1st persons of the original utterance:

Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.

Festus táñs Paul yé ò gèēñm nē ... kà Paul lébìs

Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē òn pō gèēñmm=∅.

that 3AN.CNTR NEG.IND go.mad=NEG.

"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." (Acts 26:24-25, 1976)

Bound 3rd persons may also have this sense, but the free pronouns are much commoner as subjects. Thus "He₁ said he₁ would kill them." is usually

Ò yèl yē ɔn ná kúv bā.
 3AN say that 3AN.CNTR IRR kill 3PL.OB.

It is possible to say *Ò yèl yé ò nà kúv bā*, but this is much more likely to mean "He₁ said he₂ would kill them."

Tense and mood marking is always the same as in the equivalent main clause. Pluperfect and future-in-the-past meanings may result:

Ò dāa yél yé bà dāa kūl.
 3AN TNS say that 3PL TNS go.home.
 "She said that they had gone home."

Tì dāa tēñ'es yé ò nà zāb nā'ab lā.
 1PL TNS think that 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.
 "We thought he was going to fight the chief."

22.2.1 Reported speech

After a speech-verb *yē* may introduce the words of the speech itself, unaltered except for "resumptive" *yē* at intervals (see below.) This is uncommon in older texts, and in the 1976 NT is mostly confined to utterances of Jesus. Usually the original speech is downranked to a content clause or series of coordinated content clauses, with personal pronouns altered throughout as in English indirect speech, and free personal pronouns used logophorically. All other features of the original main clauses, including tense marking and independency marking, are unchanged. Such passages of indirect speech may be kept up for very long stretches; the 1976 NT version has examples extending over several pages. Later Bible versions consistently replace all indirect speech with direct.

Indirect speech may include questions and commands:

Ka Peter bu'os o ye, Ananias, ye bo ka o ke ka Sutaana kpen' o suunrin...
Kà Peter bŭ'əsó ø yē Ananias, yē bó kà ò ké kà Sŭtáanà
 And Peter ask 3AN.OB that Ananias, that what and 3AN cause and Satan
kpèñ' ò sūuñrí-n ... ?
 enter 3AN heart:SG-LOC ... ?
 "Peter asked him: Ananias, why did you let Satan enter your heart ...?"
 (Acts 5:3, 1976)

In indirect commands the usual deletion of a 2nd sg subject and change of 2pl subject to postposed *y^a* does not occur, even if the addressee is the same as in the original utterance and the pronoun remains 2nd person. Some speakers keep the postposed *y^a* after the verb even when there is a preceding pronoun subject.

Indirect speech is an alternative to catenation with *kē* 19.2 for expressing third/first person commands; main clause and linker may again be ellipited informally:

[*M̄ yél yé*] *ò gòsim tēŋi-n.*
 1SG say that 3AN look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "[I said] she should look down."

[*M̄ tēñ'es kà*] *tì pú'vsim Wínà'am.*
 1SG think and 1PL greet:IMP God.
 "[I think] we should praise God."

A main clause with no VP can also appear in indirect speech:

Ò yèl yē Báp. "She said *Bap!*"
 3AN say that Bap.

Pronouns are changed even within a vocative:

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
o nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.
Kà m̄ wóm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yī áràzánà ní nā yē,
 And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that
ò nīdibá=∅, yé bà yīmī ∅ tēŋ lā ní nā.
 3AN person:PL=VOC, that 3PL emerge:IMP 2PL.SUB land:SG ART LOC hither.
 "And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying
 'My people, come out of the land!'" (Rev 18:4, 1976)

Passages of direct or indirect speech longer than two or three clauses insert **resumptive yē** at intervals of roughly every third clause, after any prelinker adjuncts but before clause-linker *kà*:

amaa ye ba yaanam da pu bood ye ba siak o noore
àmáa yé bà yāa-nám dá pū bōod yé bà sjàkò ∅ nōoré=∅.
 but that 3PL ancestor-PL TNS NEG.IND want that 3PL agree 3AN.OB mouth:SG=NEG
 "But their ancestors did not want to obey him" (Acts 7:39, 1976)

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòod yé ò kpélìim sārìgá nì.

That and Paul say that 3AN want that 3AN remain prison:SG LOC.

"But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison...(Acts 25:21, 1976)

Amaa **ye ka** on yeli ba ye ...

Àmáa yé kà òn yé̀lì_bā yē...

But that and 3AN.CNTR say 3PL.OB that...

"But he [the speaker] had said to them ..." (Acts 25:16, 1976)

Alazug **ye ka** on ke ka ba mor o ba sa'an na ...

Àlá zùg yé kà òn ké kà bà mōró_ø bà sā'an nā ...

Thus that and 3AN.CNTR let and 3PL have 3AN.OB 3PL before hither...

"So he [the speaker] had made them bring him [Paul] into their presence..."

(Acts 25:26, 1976)

Resumptive *yē* may be placed between a postlinker adjunct and the subject, or between a vocative and the following clause:

Ka nanana **ye** o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin...

Kà nānná-nā yé ò niŋī_bá Wínà'am né ò pò-pìèlìim

And now-hither that 3AN do 3PL.OB God with 3AN inside-whiteness

pì_āñ'ad lā nú'usī-n...

speech ART hand:PL-LOC...

"And now he committed them to God and the words of his holiness.."

(Acts 20:32, 1976)

O zuanam ne o saamnama, **ye** ba kelisim.

Ò zùà-nàm né ò sàam-nàmā=ø, yé bà kèlìsìim!

3AN friend-PL with 3AN father-PL=VOC that 3PL listen:IMP!

"His friends and his fathers should listen." (Acts 7:2, 1976)

23 Negation

Negation is marked in the VP 16.5, inducing a clause-final negative clitic 4.1. The negative prosodic clitic follows all subordinate clauses:

Ti pu bōod ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bōōd yē dáu-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā=∅.

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG=NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

I have no unequivocal examples of negative clitics preceding subordinate clauses to exclude them from the scope of negation. Thus the adjunct *yē*-clause has probably been dislocated in:

Nidib be ka pu tum si'ela ye ba a popielim dim...

Nīdīb bē kà pō túm sī'ēla=∅ yē bà áñ pú-pīēlim díim

person:PL EXIST and NEG.IND work:IPFV INDEF.IN=NEG that 3PL COP holiness NULL.PL.

"There are people who haven't done anything that they become blessed"

(Rom 4:5, 1976); revised completely in the 1996 version.

Here the *kà*-clause can be taken as coordinate, carrying on the narrative:

Ka li pu yuugε ka o pu'a me kena.

Kà lì pō yúugē=∅, kà ò pū'ā mé kē nā.

And 3IN NEG.IND delay=NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7)

Negative clitics are omitted after *ñ*-clauses containing a negative unless they both lack articles and are clause-final within the main clause, and likewise with VPs nominalised by the personifier particle:

Nñn-báni pō dít ná kpī.

Person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV IRR die.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

M ñyé nñn-báni pō dītā=∅.

1SG see person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV=NEG.

"I've seen some people who don't eat." WK

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

À-Pv̄-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa.

PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG TNS COP FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only

"Fears-nothing was his father's only child." KSS p35

Clauses with *yà'* "if" keep their own negative clitics:

Ba ya'a pv̄ niḡ si'ela, o pv̄'vsim dōḡ la na lieb zaalim.

Bà yá' p̄v̄ níḡ sī'ēla=∅, ò p̄v̄'vsim dōḡ lā ná līḡb zāalím.

3PL if NEG.IND do INDF.IN=NEG 3AN worship house:SG ART IRR become empty:ABSTR.

"If they don't do anything, her temple will become of no account." (Acts 19:27)

Negative raising takes place with complement clauses after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì p̄v̄ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīḡ p̄v̄'á Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG.IND must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias=NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4, 1996)

Ti pv̄ bōḡd ye dau kaḡa aan ti na'aba.

Tì p̄v̄ bōḡd yē dáḡ-kàḡā áañ tì nà'abā=∅.

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG=NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

mam pv̄ ten'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.

Mām p̄v̄ tēñ'es yé ò nà kēlígí ḡm p̄iàñ'adē=∅.

1SG NEG.IND think that 3AN IRR listen 1SG word:PL=NEG.

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." (Job 9:16)

vs *linzug ka ti baḡ ye o pv̄ yi Wina'am san'an naa.*

Lìn-zúḡ kà tì báḡ yé ò p̄v̄ yī Wínà'am sà'an náa=∅.

Therefore and 1PL realise that 3AN NEG.IND emerge God with hither=NEG.

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." (Jn 9:16)

ka o lēε pv̄ baḡ ye li anε onε.

kà ò léε p̄v̄ báḡ yé lì à nē ḡnε=∅.

And 3AN but NEG.IND realise that 3IN COP FOC 3AN.CNTR=NEG.

"but she didn't realise it was him." (Jn 20:14)

Constituent negation can be achieved by clefting, using *Lì k̄a' X k̄a/n ...* "It's not X that ..." or X *ká'ḡ k̄a/n ...* "There's no X that ...", or with relative clauses:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meḡa.

Sógià-sō' k̄a'e n tóm k̄a yōōd ò mēḡá=∅.

Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

Di len ka' fvn yel si'el la zug, ka ti niḡ o yadda.

Lì lēm k̄a' fún yèl sī'el lā zúg k̄a tì niḡò ∅ yáddáa=∅.

3IN again NEG.BE 2SG:NZ say INDF.IN ART upon and 1PL do 3AN.OB assent=NEG.

"It is no longer because of what you said that we believe in him." (Jn 4:42)

... ka zan'as bane ka' Kristo nidib la svḡir.

... k̄a zāñ'as bānì k̄a' Kristo níḡìb lā sḡḡìr.

... and refuse REL.PL NEG.BE Christ person:PL ART help:GER.

"... and refused the help of non-Christians." (3 Jn 1:7)

The AdvP *báa bī'elá* "not at all" and the NP postdependent *báa yīnní* "not one" (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") are used along with negative VPs:

Da tvmi si'el baa bi'elaa.

Dā tvmī ∅ sī'el báa bī'eláa=∅.

NEG.IMP work 2PL.SUB INDF.IN at.all=NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Leviticus 23:31)

Amaa ba pv nyaḡi nye line tu'al baa yinne.

Ámáa bà p̄v ñyāḡi ∅ ñyē línì tò'al báa yīnní.

But 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT find REL.IN condemn [NEG] not one.

"But they couldn't find anything condemning, not one thing." (Mt 26:60)

Ka nid baa yinne pv yel ye ...

K̄a nīd báa yīnní p̄v yél yē ...

and person:SG not one NEG.IND say that ...

"Not one person said ..." (Acts 4:32)

Fv du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yv'vr buon alaa.

F̄v d̄v'adib báa yīnní k̄a'e k̄a ò yv'vr búen àláa=∅.

2SG relative:PL not one NEG.BE and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV ADV:thus=NEG.

"Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)

24 Information packaging

24.1 Focus

According to Lambrecht 1994: "[Focus] is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes the utterance into an assertion." A further distinction will be made between **ordinary** and **contrastive focus**. Main clauses without any special syntactic marking of focus have ordinary focus on the predicate by default.

Focus is distinct from **foregrounding**, the usual function of it-clefting in English; foregrounded elements need not be focussed (CGEL p1424.)

24.1.1 Subjects

In subject focussing the subject stands first, with the rest of the clause introduced by catenator-*n*. The clause lacks independency marking but has independent tense marking. The construction presumably arose by ellipsis from *n*-clefting [24.2](#), but the meaning is *focus* rather than foregrounding:

Wáafv̄ ∅ *dúmō* ∅. "A snake bit him." WK
Snake:SG CAT bite 3AN.OB.

would be a felicitous reply to "What's happened?" as well as "Did a dog bite him?"

Focus-*nē*' in all its roles is excluded from clauses which are *n*-focussed, with the corresponding VP aspect distinctions present but unmarked:

Ṁ zūgv ∅ *zábìd*. "My head is hurting."
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV. (Reply to "Where is the pain?")

cf *Ṁ zūg lā pú'alìm nē*. "My head is hurting."
1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC. (Reply to "What's the matter with you?")

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always *n*-focussed:

Ànó'òní ∅ *kābírídà=∅?*
Who CAT ask.for.entry:IPFV=CQ?
"Who is asking permission to enter?"

As clauses containing interrogative pronouns may not contain focus-*nē*', this is most readily explained by taking interrogative pronouns as intrinsically focussed, though this is only syntactically manifested when they are subjects.

M̄ yī nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

but *Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala"
Meeri ónì yī Magdala (Mk 16:9, 1996)
Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

Focus-*nē'* can occur in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m bôod ye fù nyenē bûud.
Pìàñ'am kà m̄ bôod yé fù ñyē nē bûud.
Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.
"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Job 33:32)

Content questions:

Bó kà fù kúmmà=∅? "Why are you crying/do you cry?"
What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?

Fù nị̀nìd b́=∅? "What are you doing/do you do?"
2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?

Fù wá'e yáa=∅? "Where are you going/do you go?"
2SG go where=CQ?

Bùgóm lā yít yáa ní ná=∅?
Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
"Where is the light coming from?" SB

M̄ á nē dāy. "I am a man."
1SG COP FOC man:SG.

but *Mām áñ b́=∅?* "What am I?"
1SG.CNTR COP what=CQ?

Fù áañ_ànó'ónè=∅? "Who are you?"
2SG COP who=CQ?

Fù bôod b́=∅? "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?

Ò à nē bāāñlím. "She is quiet."
3AN COP FOC quiet:ABSTR.

Lì à nē bōgvśīgā. "It's soft."
3IN COP FOC soft:ADV.

While such complements are characteristically indefinite, this is not invariable; the non-recoverability may instead lie in the internal structure of the complement:

Ka bumbvuda banε lu gɔn'ɔs svugin la anε banε wvm pian'ad la ...

Kà bōn-búvdà bànì lù gòñ'ɔs súvgō-n lā á nē

And thing-planting:PL REL.PL fall thorn:PL among-LOC ART COP FOC

bánì wòm pìàñ'ad lā ...

REL.PL hear speech ART ...

"And the seeds which fell among thorns are those who heard the word ..."

(Lk 8:14, explaining the meaning of the parable)

Biis la diemid nε dua gbinin. Ba zamisid nε bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Bīis lā dī'əmìd nē dúañ gbínnī-n. Bà zàmísid nē

Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG-LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

būla wâ'ab. Bà à né À-Pām bīis.

shoot:PL dance:SG. 3PL COP FOC PERS-Apam child:PL.

"The children are playing under a dawadawa tree. They are learning the dance of the young shoots. They are Apam's children." KKY p6

(The *relationship* between Apam and the children is new information.)

In this context proper names are not referential:

O yv'vr na anε Joon. "His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)

Ò yv'vr ná ā nē Joon.

3AN name:SG IRR COP FOC John.

Focus under the scope of a negative is again usually **contrastive**:

Ì kā' dúb'atāa=∅. "I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG=NEG.

Ì kā' nē dúb'atāa=∅. "I'm not a *doctor*." ("I'm a nurse.")

1SG NEG.BE FOC doctor:SG=NEG.

Focus on a **locative complement** typically involves either a place name or a definite predependent with a postposition. The fact that a referent is at a known place is new information.

Dāy lā bé nē dó-kàṅā lā púvǵv̄-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut." (Reply to "Where is that man?")

Mam bene moogin.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p8

Mām bé nē mōvǵv̄-n.

1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

Ṁ yí nē Bók.

"I come from Bawku." SB

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Yadda niḡir yitnε labaar la wǵmmvǵ ni.

Yàddā-niḡir yít nē lābāar lā wómmvǵ ní.

Assent-doing emerge:IPFV FOC news ART hearing LOC.

"Faith comes from hearing the news." (Rom 10:17)

Contrast the existential use of *bè*, where the locative is an adjunct:

Dàṁ-sō' bé dó-kàṅā lā púvǵv̄-n.

Man-INDFAN EXIST hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG LOC.

"There is a certain man in that hut."

There are few examples of *nē'*-focus on an adjunct in my data; one is

Tì díit sā'ab nē zāam. "We eat millet porridge *in the evening*."

1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening. ("When do you eat porridge?")

Focus on the entire VP, which uses VP-final *nē'*, is always contrastive, because non-contrastive focus on the VP is the default. It may occur in statements, polar questions and direct commands. Aspectual interpretation must be impossible. Aspectual sense ruled out by the position of *nē'*:

Ò kùəsɪd sūmma lā nē. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."

3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. ("They're not free.")

Aspectual sense ruled out by mood:

Gòsım nē. "Look!" ("Don't touch." WK)
Look:IMP FOC.

Stative verbs without an explicit time indicator:

Ò gìm nē. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

M bódī f nē. "I really *love* you." WK
1SG want 2SG.OB FOC.

Imperfective passives:

Dāam lā nūud nē. "The beer is for *drinking*."
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not washing with!")

Lì mà'an nē. "It gets *cooled*." (ipfv of *mā'al*^ε "make cool")
3IN get.cool:IPFV FOC. ("Not heated!")

Dāká lā zǎñl nē. "The box gets carried *in the hands*."
Box:SG ART carry.in.hands FOC. ("Not on your head.")

Dāká lā z̄id nē. "The box is for carrying *on the head*."
Box:SG ART carry.on.head:IPFV FOC. ("Not carrying in the hands.")

Perfectives which cannot be interpreted as resultative:

Ò dīgıl nē. "He's *laid it down*." ("I thought he'd pick it up.")
3AN lay.down FOC.

Kà lì bódìg nē. "It's *lost*."
And 3IN get.lost FOC. Contradicting "someone hid it." [16.3.4](#)

Ò dīgın nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
3AN lie.down FOC. WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ən nē. "She's *pregnant*." (Not "She has stood still.")
3AN stand.still FOC. An idiomatic use.

24.2 Clefting

Clefting uses a main clause like *Lì à nē* "It is ..." or a verbless identificational clause 18.4 followed by a *n*-catenation when it is the subject of the catenated clause which appears in the main clause, adnominal *kà*-catenation otherwise. The sense resembles English "it-clefting" (CGEL p1416), *foregrounding* the clefted element and *backgrounding* the rest, with an implicature of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Ka dau me pu sv'oe o meη ningbinaa. Li anε o pu'a sv'oe li.

Kà dāy mé pō sú'v ò mēη nīn-gbīnāa=∅.

And man:SG also NEG.IND own 3AN self body-skin:PL=NEG.

Lì á né ò pu'ā_∅ sú'v_lī.

3IN COP FOC 3AN wife CAT OWN 3IN.OB.

"And a husband, too, does not own his own body. It is his wife who owns it."

(1 Cor 7:4)

Anō'on nwaa yisid nidib tvumbe'edi basida?

Ànō'on_∅ ñwáa_∅ yīsīd nīdīb tūvm-bē'edi_∅ básīdà=∅?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Ōni_∅ lá kà fò dāa ñyēt.

3AN.CNTR CAT that and 2SG TNS see:IPFV.

"This is he whom you saw." WK

Bōō_∅ lá kà ò ñyētá=∅?

What CAT that and 1SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"What is that that I can see?"

With *kà*, the foregrounded element may be extracted from a subordinate clause or prepositional phrase; direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap:

Li anε ya taaba banε pu'vsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāaba bānī pū'vsīd Wīnà'am kà lī nár

3IN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3IN must

kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 2PL drive judgment.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

24.3 Preposing

A preposed clause element is followed a *kà*-catenation with independent tense marking. Preposed elements cannot be clause subjects. Unlike the formally similar *n*-focus, the default meaning is *foregrounding*, not focus, and the construction is compatible both with *n*-focus and with focus-*nē*':

Aσεε line an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.

Àséε línì àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m ná tūñ'e ∅ nίη.

Only REL.IN COP bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.

"It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew dim la yela.

Dìn-zúg kà mām Paul n bé sārīgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg yānám

That-upon and 1SG.CNTR Paul CAT EXIST prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ upon 2PL.CNTR

búud-bànì kā' Jew díim lā yéla.

tribe-REL.PL NEG.BE JEW NULL.PL ART about.

"Therefore, I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you whose tribe is not Jewish." (Eph 3:1, 1996)

Bī'əl bī'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē.

Little little and river:SG get.full FOC.

"Little by little, and a river is full." (Proverb)

There is no syntactic movement rule for interrogative pronouns/proforms:

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=∅?

Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?

"Where is the light coming from?" SB

However, preposing of objects containing interrogative pronouns is common; if they are extracted from prepositional phrases, resumptive pronouns are used.

Bɔ ka ti na niηε?

"What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)

Bó kà tì ná nìηε=∅?

What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

Nū'-bībísá ∅ alá kà fù ñyētá=∅?

Hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"How many fingers can you see?" SB

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sɔnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?

Kà ànɔ'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súñf dá pɛlɪg né bà

And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL

yòma p̄is nāasí lá=∅?

year:PL forty ART=CQ?

"And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

Preposing is *required* for *bɔ* in the sense "why?":

Bó kà fù kúmmà?

"Why are you crying?"

cf **Fù kúm bó?*

*"What are you crying?"

Bó kà... is much the most frequent way of rendering "Why?"

Complements of single-aspect verbs usually remain *in situ*, perhaps necessarily so in the case of *àɛñ*^a "be something":

Niŋgbɪŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?

nɪn-gbɪŋ bɔ-būudí kà bà ná tī mɔrá=∅?

Body-skin:SG what-sort and 3PL IRR afterwards have=CQ?

"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

but *Fù bɔɔd bó=∅?*

"What do you want?"

2SG want what=CQ?

Mām áñ bó=∅?

"What am I?"

1SG.CNTR COP what=CQ?

Kà fù áañ_àno'ɔnè=∅?

"Then who are you?"

And 2SG COP who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed; there is probably a contrast between foregrounding by preposing and focussing with *nɛ'*:

Ñwādɪsá_àtáñ' kà fù ná lēb nā.

Month:PL NUM:three and 2SG IRR return hither.

"You're to come back in three months." (Instructions, not a reply.)

Tì díť sā'ab nē zāam.

1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.

"We eat millet porridge in the evening." ("When do you eat porridge?")

The only structure other than a NP (including *ñ*-clauses) or AdvP that I have found preposed is *wōv* "like" + object:

Wōv búŋ né kà ò zót.

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"It's like a donkey that he runs."

**Né ñ nū'ug kà ñ sī'is.*

*With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

attempted for "With my hand, I touched it."

Preposing has **no implication of foregrounding** in relative clauses [21.2.2](#), with manner, place and reason adjuncts (which may *only* precede the subject by preposing), and when absolute clauses in adjuncts precede the main clause because of the requirement for constituent order to parallel event order [21.1](#):

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà pōhs gbáñ'a_m.

1SG:NZ hit man:SG ART upon and police seize 1SG.OB.

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." ILK

24.4 Dislocation

A clause element placed after a distinctively phrase-final verb form has been dislocated. Manner-adverbs are thereby intensified:

Ya yidigya bēdegv.

"You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)

Yà yídìg yā bēdv̄gō.

2PL go.astray PFV much.

Ḿ pō'vs yā bēdv̄gō.

"Thank you very much."

1SG greet PFV much.

Non-pronoun objects can be dislocated; the sense is "against expectation":

Ò dà' yā múj.

"She's bought rice." ("of all things!")

3AN buy PFV rice.

vs *Ò dà' nē múj.*

"She's bought rice." ("What did she buy?")

3AN buy FOC rice.

Lì à nē múj kà ò dá'. "It's rice that she's bought." ("not millet.")
 3IN COP FOC rice and 3AN buy.

On right-dislocation of *yà'*-clauses see [20.1](#); of other clauses, [17.1](#).

Left-dislocation of objects and complements may occur on the basis of **weight**, without preposing *kà* or foregrounding. A resumptive pronoun must appear.

Wilkane bæ m ni ka pv wanna, m Ba' nwaadi li ne [sic: 1996 n] basid.

Wìl-kàni bæε_̀m ní kà p̄ wénnā=∅,

Branch-REL.SG EXIST 1SG LOC and NEG.IND bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.

m̄ Bā' ñwá'adī_̀lí n básìd.

1SG father:SG cut:IPFV 3IN.OB CAT throw.out:IPFV.

"A branch which is in me and does not bear fruit, my father cuts it out."
 (Jn 15:2)

Onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mε m̄r p̄ten'er ye o na lēbis line zu'oe.

̀̀ni kà bà tísò_̀∅ kà lì zú'e, bà m̄ m̄r

REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have

p̄-tēñ'er yé ò nà lēbis línì zù'e.

inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.IN become.much.

"Whom they have given much to, they expect he will return much." (Lk 12:48)

24.5 Presentational constructions

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs; here, absence of *lā'* implies *indefinite specific* reference, not generic [12.8.5](#). Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers are possible but not required.

Bè "be somewhere/exist" is frequent in presentational clauses, often with a following *n*-catenation or adnominal *kà*-catenation [19](#).

Farisee dim nid yinne da bæ

Farisee dí m̄ n̄d̄ yīnní dà bè ...

Pharisee NULL.PL person:SG one TNS EXIST ...

"There was one man of the Pharisees ..." (Jn 3:1)

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men." KSS p16

Dāpá_̀àtáñ' n dá bè.

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS EXIST.

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir

Dāu dá bè_ø mōrí_ò pū'à-yīmmír

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG

"There was a man who had one wife." KSS p26

Pu'a sɔ' da be mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.

Kà pū'à-sɔ' dá bè_ø mór ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló_ø.

And woman-INDEFAN TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-girl:SG and fairy:SG follow 3AN.OB.

"There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." (Mk 7:25)

Other verbs expressing location can introduce the subject as a new topic, and verbs of finding, seeing etc can introduce their objects in a similar way.

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāu dāa zīñ'i Lystra ní kà pū tūñ'e_ø kēnná=ø.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8, 1996)

Anina ka o nye dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò ñyē dāu kà ò yv'vr būen Aneas.

ADV: there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

24.6 Free personal pronouns

Only free pronoun forms are possible in isolation, apposition, coordination, before relative pronouns, and (for some speakers) with 2nd persons before direct commands after a *yà'*-clause [20](#):

Mánè?

"Me?"

mān Paul

"I, Paul"

tīnám nē fōn

"us and you"

fōn-kánì ...

"you, who ..."

Where a bound pronoun is permitted, the choice of a free pronoun implies *contrast*. For the special case of **logophoric** use see [22.2](#).

Focussed pronouns must be contrastive, and contrastive pronouns are normally focussed if syntactically permissible:

Mane an kɔnbkem svŋ la.

Mān_ø áñ kóñb-kìim-sòŋ lā.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.

"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

24.7 Emphatics

I have borrowed the term "emphatic" from Jeffrey Heath's Songhay grammars (Heath pp202ff.) Emphatics relate NPs or AdvPs to the discourse context. They follow top-level NPs/AdvPs, except for *hālí*, which precedes.

mè DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause finally (all sources) *mèn*^ε "also, too." The particle may follow *kà* + ellipted subject pronoun 17.3.

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn.

bɔ́ zúgɔ̀ ò à né fò bīig mén.

Because 3AN COP FOC 2SG child:SG also.

"Because he is your child too." (Genesis 21:13)

O pu'a mɛ kena.

"His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)

Ò pɸ'ā mé kè nā.

3AN wife:SG also come hither.

nɔɔ "just, exactly"

dàa-kàn lā nɔɔ

"that very day"

Fɔ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.

Fò yá' mɔr yā'am, fɔn nɔɔ ná dí_ lì mālísím.

2SG if have sense, 2SG.CNTR exactly IRR eat 3IN joy.

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Proverbs 9:12)

mà'aa (LF *mà'anɛ*) "only"

Aɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ɛd ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àɛɛ línì àñ bē'ɛd má'aa kà m ná tūñ'e_ ø níŋ.

Only REL.IN COP bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.

"It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

gùllimm (LF *gùllimnɛ*) "only"

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?

Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllimnɛ=ø=ø?

3IN NEG.BE FOC God only=NEG=PQ?

"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kòtāa^{NE} "at all":

Áyù kòtāa.

"Not at all."

hālī can be used as an emphatic, preceding a NP or AdvP with the meaning "even":

Hali tũmbē'ed dim niŋid ala.

Hālī tũm-bē'ed díim niŋid àlá.

Even deed-bad:PL NULL.PL do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)

Before a manner-adverb it means "very"; the adverb itself may be ellipted.

Lì tòḡ hālī [bédvḡ]. "It's very difficult."

3IN be.bitter until much.

Hālī can be preposed with **kà**:

Hali ka nidib mōr ban'adnam na.

Hālī kà nīdīb mōr bāñ'ad-nām nā.

Even and person:PL have sick.person-PL hither.

"People even brought the sick" (Acts 5:15)

Hālī bāa is also used for "even" before a NP:

Hali baa lampōdi'esidib me niŋid ala.

Hālī bāa làmpō-dī'ēsīdīb mé niŋid àlá.

Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man kv basi fɔ.

Hālī bāa bàmmā wūsa yá' nà zó kà básì f,

Even DEMST.PL all if IRR run and abandon 2SG.OB,

mān kú bāsì fó=∅.

1SG.CNTR NEG.IRR abandon 2SG.OB=NEG.

"If even they all run away and leave you, I will not leave you." (Mt 26:33)

(c) Prayers. Reply *Àmí!* "Amen!"*Wīn ná lēbisi f nē láafiya.*

"Safe journey!" literally "[I pray that] God will bring you back in health."

Wīn ná sōhi f.

"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Wīn ná tā'así f.

"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

(d) Statements of fact and commands. Reply *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate.*Bēogv lā.*

"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")

Àtínì dáarì lā.

"See you on Monday."

Gbìsim sùhā.

"Sleep well."

Kpèlīmī sóm.

"Remain well"; Goodbye, to those remaining.

Pò'usim yín.

"Greet (those) at home"; Goodbye, to leaver.

Reply *Tò* "OK", or *Bà nà wōm* "They will hear."

(e) Miscellaneous formulae

M pò'us yā [bédvugō]."Thankyou [very much]." Reply *Tò*, or *Pò'usvug kā'e*. "No thanks [needed]."*Gáafàra.*

"Sorry." Like Ghanaian English "sorry", may be just an expression of sympathy.

*Kābır kábırí!*Formula asking admission to a dwelling. Twi *agoo* is also used. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is at home.)*Dìm sūgvró.*

"Please forgive me."

M bélim nē.

"I beg you." Not "please"; Kusaasi etiquette needs no spoken equivalent of "please."

X lábāar á wēlá?"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is *Dīub má'āa*. "Only food." i.e. "good."*M mōr kú'om náa?*"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is *Kù'om á sóm*. ("Water is good.")*Wīn yél sídà.*

"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth"; WK explained: "If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you."

Fò wóm Kūsáalèè?

"Do you understand ['hear'] Kusaal?"

Ēēñ, m wóm.

"Yes, I do."

Áyiti, m pō wómmā.

"No, I don't."

26 Selected lexical fields

26.1 Kinship terms

Pervading the whole system is the importance of birth order among same-sex siblings, and its irrelevance between siblings of opposite sex. Many basic terms do not in themselves distinguish sex. Seniority goes by family branch, so I am senior to you if my parent is senior to your parent of the same sex, regardless of our own ages. Seniority among wives is determined by marriage order and is also independent of actual age. Age, as opposed to seniority, is in itself of little significance and many people do not know their own ages exactly.

My	father	is my	<i>sàam</i> ^{ma} or less formally <i>bā'</i>
	father's elder brother		<i>sàam-kpēēñm</i> ^m
	father's younger brother		<i>sàam-pīt</i> ^{a/}
	father's sister		<i>pògvɔɪb</i> ^a

My	mother	is my	<i>mà</i>
	mother's elder sister		
	or senior co-wife		<i>mà-kpēēñm</i> ^m
	mother's younger sister		
	or junior co-wife		<i>mà-bīl</i> ^a or <i>mà-pīt</i> ^{a/}
	mother's co-wives	are my	<i>mà nám</i> ^a
	mother's brother	is my	<i>áñsìb</i> ^a

I am my mother's brother's *āñsíŋ*^a; to all the other relatives above I am *bīg*^a "child" or specifically *dà-kòòñr*^ε "son" or *pɥ'à-yùà* "daughter." Although the Kusaasi are not matrilineal, the mother's brother is felt to be a particularly close relation with a traditionally benevolent role towards his sister's child.

There are no special terms for aunts or uncles by marriage.

My	grandparent	is my	<i>yáab</i> ^a (♂ <i>yāa-dáɥ</i> , ♀ <i>yāa-pɥ'á</i> ^a)
	grandchild		<i>yáaŋ</i> ^a

These words are also used for ancestor/descendant.

My	elder sibling of my own sex	is my	<i>bīər</i> ^{ε/}
	younger sibling of my own sex	is my	<i>pītó</i>
	sibling of opposite sex	is my	<i>tāuñ'</i>

These words are also used for cousins, with seniority, as always, going by family branch.

My wife	is my	<i>yī-pu'á</i> ^a or simply <i>pu'ā</i> ^a
wife's parent		<i>dìəm</i> ^{ma} (♂ <i>dìəm-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dìəm-puāk</i> ^a)
wife's sibling		<i>dàkīg</i> ^a (♂ <i>dàkī-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dàkī-puāk</i> ^a)

Dìəm^{ma} is also used in polite address to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age to oneself but not old enough to be called *m̄ mà* "my mother" or *m̄ bā* "my father." Parents-in-law are greatly respected, but with siblings-in-law there is a traditional reciprocal joking relationship; certain whole ethnic groups are said to bear this relationship to each other, called "playmate" in local English. At *Bùgóm-tōwñr*^ε, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's brothers-in-law.

I am my wife's parents' *bīg*^a "child" and my wife's siblings' *dàkīg*^a.

My husband	is my	<i>sīd</i> ^a
husband's parent		<i>dàyám</i> ^{ma} (♂ <i>dàyām-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dàyām-puāk</i> ^a)
husband's elder brother		<i>sìd-kpēñm</i> ^m
husband's younger brother		<i>sìd-bīl</i> ^a
husband's sister		<i>sìd-puāk</i> ^a

I am my husband's parents' *bīg*^a "child"; all my husband's siblings (of both sexes) call me *pu'ā*^a "wife."

My co-wife is my *n̄n-tāa*, "rival" in Ghanaian English. In traditional stories the role of the "wicked stepmother" in European folklore is assumed by one of the father's other wives.

Two men married to sisters are *dàkī-tùes*^ε; two women married to brothers are *n̄n-tāas*^ε, "co-wives." "Fiancée" is *pu'à-ēlīŋ*^a.

26.2 Personal names

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi personal naming practices.

Personal names are preceded by the personifier particle, *À-* by default but *Ñ-* before adjective stems, where *Ñ-* is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the point of articulation of a following consonant. Most names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs, or even clauses.

On Kusaal personal names in English-language contexts see [1.1](#).

The Kusaasi do not use surnames traditionally. Christians use English (or French) baptismal names in speaking European languages, and in official contexts use their Kusaal personal names as "surnames."

Many names allude to a guardian spirit (*sīgır^{ε/}*) assigned to a newborn child through the father's consultation with a diviner (*bā'a*); this may be the *wīn^{ne/}* 1.1 of an ancestor, or of a spiritually powerful tree:

<i>À-Wīn^{ne/}</i>	Awini	person with a <i>sīgır^{ε/}</i> from father's family
<i>À-Bōgvr^ε</i>	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgır^{ε/}</i> from mother's family
<i>À-Tūg^a</i>	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgır^{ε/}</i>
<i>À-Kūdvg^o</i>	Akudugu	"piece of iron" (sc. as a marker on a tree- <i>sīgır^{ε/}</i>); displaced as a common noun by the pl-as-sg <i>kūt^ε</i>

A younger sibling of *À-Wīn^{ne/}* with the same *sīgır^{ε/}* is called *À-Wīn-bīl^a* "Awimbillah", of *À-Kūdvg^o*, *À-Kūd-bīl^a* "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern *À-Wīn-puāk^a* "Awimpoaka."

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

<i>À-Nà'ab^a</i>	Anaba	"chief" but in the sense "afterbirth" (because a chief leaves his house after his retainers): sole survivor of twins
<i>À-Fūug^{o/}</i>	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
<i>À-Tūl^{le}</i>	Atuli	(<i>tūlg^ε</i> "invert"): breech-delivered child

A whole clause is seen as a birth-circumstance personal name in

<i>À-Tūm bódìg yā</i>	"The medicine has got lost."
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Many names relate to customs intended to break a cycle of stillbirths. One such custom is the apotropaic practice of throwing away the dead child or just burying it in a pot; the next surviving child may then be called e.g.

<i>À-Tāmpōvr^ε</i>	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
<i>À-Dōk^{o/}</i>	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like *Jambeedu* "Fulani", or

<i>À-Sāan^{a/}</i>	Asana	"guest, stranger"
<i>À-Sāan-dú</i>	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāy</i> "man"
<i>À-Zàngbèog^o</i>	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
<i>À-Nàsà-puāk^a</i>	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

Names based on adjectives:

<i>Ñ-Dāvɔ</i> ^ɔ	Ndago	"male"
<i>Ñ-Puāk</i> ^a	Mpoaka	"female"
<i>Ñ-Bīl</i> ^a	Mbillah	"little"

Muslims often use day-of-the-week names depending on birth. The system does not cover all weekdays; examples are *À-Tínì* "Girl born on Monday", *À-Tàláatà* "Girl born on Tuesday", *Àrzúmà* "Boy born on Friday", *À-Síbì* "Boy born on Saturday."

Muslims also have formal Arabic names, sometimes adapted into Kusaal, like *Dàhamáanì/Dàsmáanì* *ʔAbdu-r-Raḥma:n*. KKY p6 has the interesting girl's name *Amoryam*, ? Arabic *Maryam* "Mary", interpreted as *À-Mōr Yām* "Has Common Sense."

26.3 Places

For Kusaal place names in English-language contexts see 1.1.

This section has been improved by consultation with John Turl, who maintains an extensive website dedicated to Ghanaian toponymy (see References.)

Many Kusaal place names have transparent meanings.

Place names include:

<i>Bòk</i> ^ɔ	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
<i>Kōk</i> ^{a/}	Koka	"mahogany tree"
<i>Kòkparìg</i> ^a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
<i>Tèmpáan</i> ^{ne}	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
<i>Mṽ'à-nōɔr</i> ^{ε/}	Mogonori	"lakeside" ("lake-mouth")
<i>Bàs-yōn</i> ^{ne/}	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ?reason for name
<i>Kūgvr</i> ^{ε/}	Kugri	"stone"
<i>Bōgvr</i> ^ε	Bugri	<i>bōgvr</i> ^ε , object housing a <i>wīn</i> ^{ne/}
<i>Wìdì-ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a	Woriyanga	archaic for <i>wìd-ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a "mare"
<i>Bì-nà'ab</i> ^a	Binaba	"prince"
<i>Gàaru</i>	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "wall around a town or compound"
<i>Wìid-nà'ab</i> ^a	Widinaba	"chief of the clan <i>Wìid</i> ^a "
<i>Pūsìg</i> ^{a/}	Pusiga	"tamarind"
<i>Tīl</i> ^{ε/}	Tilli	"tree trunk" cf Toende Kusaal <i>tīl id</i> (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
<i>Dènvɔ</i> ^ɔ	Denugu	No known meaning
<i>Pùlìma Kù'om</i> ^m	Pulimakom	"water by <i>pùlìma</i> (grass sp)"

<i>Wīdāan</i> ^a	Widana	for <i>Wīd-dāan</i> ^a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's <i>nō-dī'əs</i> ^a "linguist."
<i>Mī'isig</i> ^a	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission", i.e. of the Assemblies of God; perhaps influenced by <i>mī'isug</i> ^o "baptism"
<i>Sā-bīl</i> ^a	Zebilla	"small grass"?
<i>Sā-píə̀lìg</i> ^a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertia Doka</i> "
<i>Kòl-tā'amís</i> ^ε	Kultamse	"dog almonds"

The meanings for "Sapeliga" and "Kultamse" are based on a 1935 agricultural report which lists for the Farefare/Nabit area *sapelaga* "*Isobertia doka*", *ta-anga* "*Butyrospermum parkii*" (Kusaal *tá'aŋ*^a), and *kulta-anga* "*Andira inermis*" (p.c. Turl.)

WK thought that the *sā-* of *Sā-bīl*^a and *Sā-píə̀lìg*^a was a plant used in making brooms. No **sā/* occurs in my data (only *sāa* "rain"), but Farefare *sáagá* is "a kind of grass used for making brooms", and Blench 2006 identifies Mampruli/Dagbani *saa* as *Sporobolus subglobosus* A. Chev, used for binding in making mats and traps.

For *Kòlvug*^o "Kulungungu", Turl cites a Bisa-speaking informant who suggests Bisa *Kuurgongu*, "Crooked Sheanut Tree."

<i>Àgól</i> ^{lε}	Agolle	cf <i>àgól</i> ^{lε} "upwards"
<i>Tùən</i> ^{nε}	Toende	cf <i>tùən</i> ^{nε} "in front", "West"
<i>Bārvog</i> ^{o/}	North	"Bisa country"
<i>Ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a	East	"behind"
<i>Zūēya</i>	South	"hills", i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment
<i>Tùən</i> ^{nε}	West	"in front"

The forms above were given by WK; KB has *ya-dagəbvog* *yà dàgə̀bìg*^a ("your left hand") for "south" and *ya-datiuŋ* *yà dàtìuŋ*^o ("your right hand") for "north," along with *ya-nya'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Words referring to ethnic groups and clans create place names by adding the suffix *-gə* to the stem. These need not refer to established political entities or permanent settlements: *Kv̀tāuŋ*^{o/} "any place inhabited by the clan Kotamba"; *Kūsāvg*^o "Kusaasiland"; *Mòvg*^o "Mossi country."

Places outside *Kūsāvg*^o generally do not have Kusaal names (an exception is *Sānkāaŋs*^ε "Sankanse" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Ankara* is usual. Toende has *Wa'arvk* for "Ouagadougou", but I could not elicit any Agolle equivalent; Mooré *Waogdgo* apparently does not have a transparent meaning.

There seems to be no Agolle Kusaal proper name for the White Volta river, which is simply *kōlvog*^a "river"; presumably this is because it is the only real river within *Kūsāvg*^o.

26.4 Ethnic groups and clans

The great majority of ethnic group names are *ga|se* or *a|ba*. The corresponding languages belong to the *le* subgroup of *re|aa*, and the place inhabited has sg *gɔ*.

Ethnic group (pl)	Language	Place	
<i>Kūsâas</i> ^ε	<i>Kūsâal</i> ^ε	<i>Kūsâvg</i> ^ɔ	Kusaasi
<i>Ñwāmpūris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūrl</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūrvɔ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Mamprussi
<i>Bāris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bārvɔ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Bisa
<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Mòɔl</i> ^ε	<i>Mòɔg</i> ^ɔ	Mossi
<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Dàgbāḡḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn</i> ^{ne}	<i>Bìḡḡ</i> ^ɔ	Moba
<i>Sìḡḡis</i> ^ε	<i>Sìḡḡil</i> ^ε	<i>Sìḡḡug</i> ^ɔ	Fulbe
<i>Yàañs</i> ^ε	<i>Yàan</i> ^{ne}		Yansi
<i>Gōrís</i> ^ε	<i>Gōrín</i> ^{ne}		Farefare
<i>Yāris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Yāt</i> ^{ε/}		Yarsi
<i>Zàngbèed</i> ^ε	<i>Zàngbèel</i> ^ε		Hausa
<i>Bùls</i> ^ε	<i>Bùl</i> ^{le}		Bulsa
<i>Tàls</i> ^ε	<i>Tàln</i> ^{ne}		Tallensi
<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪr</i> ^ε		Nabdema
<i>Bòsâañs</i> ^ε	<i>Bòsâañl</i> ^ε		Bisa
<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsàal</i> ^ε		European
<i>Kàmbòmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>Kàmbònɪr</i> ^ε		Ashanti

Bāris^{ε/} means "Bisa", not just Bareka; *Bìm*^{ma} is "Moba", not just Bemba (WK.)

Note *Tùen*^{ne} "Toende area", *Tùennɪr*^ε "Toende dialect of Kusaal", *Àgòl*^{le} "Agolle area", *Àgòl*^{le} "Agolle dialect of Kusaal": *Ò pjàñ'ad Àgòl*. "She speaks Agolle Kusaal."

Kusaasi clan names include, among many others:

Clan (pl)	Place	WK's clan
<i>Kòtām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Kòtāḡḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	WK's clan
<i>Zùø</i> ^ε		
<i>Wḡid-nam</i> ^a	<i>Wḡidvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪdvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Gòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Gòɔg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Sà'dàbùø</i> ^ε - <i>bùøb</i> ^a	<i>Sà'dàbòɔg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Nà'dàm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Nà'daḡḡ</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Gòm-dìm</i> ^a	<i>Gòm</i> ^{me}	

Subclans of *Zùø*^ε include *Zyà-sābílís*^ε "Black Zoose" and *Zyà-wḡib*^a or *Zyà-wḡis*^ε "Red Zoose." Clan *Nàbɪdɪb*^a is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema" (WK.)

26.5 Trees and fruits

Tree names are almost all *ga|se* class, like *tùg^a* "tree"; their fruits belong to classes *re|aa* or *gɔ|de*.

Tree	Fruit	
<i>āañdɪg^a</i>	<i>āañdɪr^ε</i>	Vitex doniana
<i>dùañ</i>	<i>dòǝǱg^ɔ</i>	dawadawa
<i>gāañ[/]</i>	<i>gāñr^{ε/}</i>	Nigerian ebony
<i>gùŋ^a</i>	<i>gùm^{mε}</i>	kapok
<i>kìkàŋ^a</i>	<i>kìkàm^{mε}</i>	fig tree
<i>kpòkpàrɪg^a</i>	<i>kpòkpàr^ε</i>	palm
<i>lɪ'əŋ^a</i>	<i>lɪ'əm^{mε}</i>	Ximenia americana
<i>pūsɪg^{a/}</i>	<i>pūsɪr^{ε/}</i>	tamarind
<i>sīsɪbìg^a</i>	<i>sīsɪbìr^ε</i>	neem
<i>tá'aŋ^a</i>	<i>tá'am^{mε}</i>	shea butter
<i>tè'εg^a</i>	<i>tè'og^ɔ</i>	baobab
<i>vúəŋ^a</i>	<i>vúər^ε</i>	red kapok

The stems for "red kapok" and its fruit are slightly different: tree **vuəgm-* fruit **vuəg-*

26.6 Colours

Kusaal, like many local languages, has a basic three-colour system: *zèñ'og^ɔ* "red", for all reddish shades, *sābílíg^a* "black" for all darker shades, and *pɪəɪɪg^a* "white" for all lighter shades. *Wɪug^ɔ* is synonymous with *zèñ'og^ɔ*. Kusaal has many other standard expressions for colour (e.g. *wōv támpōvr nē* "like ash", i.e. "grey"), often with parallels in other West African languages: "three-colour" means that any colour can be allocated to one of only three terms, not that only three colour terms exist.

26.7 Time

The day begins at sunrise. Answers to *bò-wìn^{nε}* "what time of day?" may be

<i>bēogv-n^{ε/}</i>	"morning"	<i>bèkèkèǝŋg^ɔ</i>	"very early morning"
<i>zàam^m</i>	"evening"	<i>àsùbá</i>	"dawn" (← Arabic)
<i>wìn-līr^ε</i>	"sunset"	<i>yú'vŋ^ɔ</i>	"night"
<i>wìn-kòǝñr^ε</i>	"sunset"	<i>nīntāŋ^{a/}</i>	"heat of the day"

Wìn^{nε} "time of day" (cf *wìnnɪg^a* "sun") always has a predependent.

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: *kérɪfà àtáñ'* "three o'clock" = *karfèè ukù*.

The deictic particle *ñwà* "this" is commonly attached to time words, e.g. *zàam ñwá* [za:ma] "this evening", *yú'vŋ ñwá* [yʊ:ŋ:a] "tonight."

Answers to *bōn-dâar*^ε "which day?" may be

<i>zīnā</i>	"today"	<i>sù'əs</i> ^a	"yesterday"
<i>bēog</i> ^o	"tomorrow"	<i>dāar</i> ^ε	"day after tomorrow/ day before yesterday"

Weekday names are of Arabic origin. Many older speakers count in days, not weeks; the traditional "week" is a three day market cycle, differing from village to village and carrying on regardless of any weekdays or festivals.

<i>Àláasìd dâar</i> ^ε	"Sunday"	<i>Àtínì dâar</i> ^ε	"Monday"
<i>Àtáláatà dâar</i> ^ε	"Tuesday"	<i>Àlárìbà dâar</i> ^ε	"Wednesday"
<i>Àlámìsì dâar</i> ^ε	"Thursday"	<i>À(r)zúmà dâar</i> ^ε	"Friday"
<i>Àsíbitì dâar</i> ^ε	"Saturday"		

Dâar^ε "day" is "twenty-four hour period" (*nīntāŋ* "day as opposed to night") and is used with predependents to specify a particular day; the word *dàbìsɪr*^ε is also used for "day" in counting periods of time, occurring usually in the plural:

<i>Dābá àyópàḡ dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back in a week."
<i>Dābá àyópàḡ kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back for a week."
<i>Àláasìd dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back on Sunday."
<i>Tì kpélìm ànīnā dábìsà bī'əlá.</i>	"We stayed there a few days."

Longer periods of time:

<i>dābá àyópàḡ</i>	"week"	<i>bákpàḡ</i>	"week"
<i>ñwādɪg</i> ^{a/}	"moon, month"		
<i>sēoŋg</i> ^o	"rainy season"	<i>úvn</i> ^{nε}	"dry season"
<i>sāpál</i> ^{lε}	"Harmattan"	<i>dàwàlɪg</i> ^a	"hot humid time just before the rains"
<i>yòvm</i> ^{mε}	"year"	<i>dūnná</i>	"this year"

Ñwād-kánì gàad lā "last month", *ñwād-kánì kēn nā lā* "next month."

"Time" in general is *sāŋá* pl *sānsá* cb *sān*-:

<i>sān-kánè?</i>	"when?"	<i>sān-kán lā</i>	"at that time"
<i>sāŋá kám</i>	"all the time"	<i>sāŋá bèdvgū</i>	"a long time"
<i>sānsá bèdvgū</i>	"many times"	<i>sāŋá bī'əlá</i>	"for/in a short time"

27 Texts

27.1 Balaam's Donkey

Numbers 22:21-35, KB.

Balaam da duoe beogun lɔɔ o buɲɔ dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keɲ. Amaa Wina'am sunf da duoe nɛ on keɲ la, ka Zugsɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geɲ o. Balaam da ban'adne o buɲ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Buɲ la da nye Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe su'ugv zanl o nu'ugin, ka o buɲi kpen' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ɔd buɲ la ye o lɛb suor pɔvɔ.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lɔmbɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zaɲguoma ayi' beɲ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teɲsɔk la. Buɲ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zaɲguom la urig Balaam nɔbir. Ka o lɛm bu' o ya'as.

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikane ka sɔ' kv nyaɲi fɛndig datiuɲ bɛɛ dagɔbɔga. Buɲ la da lɛn nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wɔsa teɲin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔb buɲ la nɛ o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka buɲ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fɔ bu'ɔm nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da lɛbis o ye, "Fɔ mɔrim nɛ maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kvɔnif nannanna." Buɲ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'anɛ fɔ meɲ buɲ onɛ ka fɔ ban'ad saɲa wɔsa ti paae zinaa? Fɔ nam mi' nye ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?" Ka o lɛbis ye, "Ayei!"

Ka Zugsɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nye maliak la zi'e suor la teɲsɔk ka fuoe su'ugv zanl. Ka o igin ka vanbin teɲin. Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fɔ bu' buɲ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giɲif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'ɔm m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buɲ la nyɛɛm ka yuk. Buɲ la ya'a pɔ yukine, anwaa m kvɔnif ka basin buɲ la." Balaam da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tɔm taal, m pa'a pɔ baɲ ye fɔ zi'ene suorin la ye fɔ geɲi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pɔ malisi fɔ m na lɛbi kul." Ka maliak la lɛbisi yɛl Balaam ye, "Dɔl nidib la keɲ, amaa yɛlim nɛ man ye fɔ yɛl si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keɲ.

Balaam dá dùè bēogv-n_ ∅ lɔɔ_ò b̀̀hɲv_ ∅ d̄l Moab

Balaam TNS rise morning-LOC CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT accompany Moab

ná'-yī-kpém lā_ ∅ kɛɲ.

chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey and went with the courtiers of the king of Moab."

Àmáa Wínà'am súñf dà dùè nē ón kēη lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Head-NULL.AN angel:SG
kīdigi_ø zī'ən sūer lā zúg yé ò gīηó_ø.

meet CAT stand road:SG ART upon that 3AN obstruct 3AN.OB.

"But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him."

Balaam dá bàñ'ad né ò b̀̀η, kà ò yàmmis àyí' dōlló_ø.

Balaam TNS ride:IPFV FOC 3AN donkey:SG, and 3AN slave:PL NUM:two accompany 3AN.OB.

"Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him."

B̀̀η lā dá ñyè Zūg-sób máliāk lá kà ò zī'e sūer lā zúg
 Donkey:SG ART TNS see Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART and 3AN be.standing road:SG ART upon
kà fúe s̀̀'vug_ø zánl ò nú'ugī-n, kà ò búηì_ø kpèñ'
 and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand 3AN hand:SG-LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter
mōog_ø gāad.

grass:SG CAT pass.

"The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on."

Kà Balaam pīñ'ili_ø b̀̀'vd búη lā yé ò léb sūer p̀̀vug.

And Balaam begin CAT beat:IPFV donkey:SG ART that 3AN return road:SG inside.

"Balaam started beating the donkey to make it return to the road."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá t̀̀lɪs_ø zī'ən l̀̀mb̀̀'ɔd àyí' bánì kà bà mé
 Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL NUM:two REL.PL and 3PL build
zànguèma àyí'_ø bēη, kà s̀̀ā-báañlìg béε_̀̀lì t̀̀η-s̀̀k lā.

wall:PL NUM:two CAT demarcate, and road-narrow:SG EXIST 3IN middle:SG ART.

"The angel of the Lord then stood where dividing walls had been built between two orchards and there was a narrow path between them."

B̀̀η lá ñ dà ñyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà m̀̀e_ø làbɪn

Donkey:SG ART NZ TNS see Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind

zànguèm lā_ø ūrɪg Balaam nóbìr. Kà ò lé́m bú'o_ø yá'as.

wall:SG ART CAT scrape Balaam leg:SG. And 3AN again beat 3AN.OB again.

"When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it squeezed against the wall and scraped Balaam's leg. And he beat it again."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá lèm vūrigi ∅ tōhs ∅ zī'en tūen
 Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand in.front
zīñ'-kàni kà sō' kú ñyāni ∅ fēñdɪg dātɪuŋ bēε dágòbɪgā=∅.
 place-REL.SG and INDF.AN NEG.IRR prevail CAT turn right or left=NEG.

"Then the angel of the Lord moved along to stand in front of a place where nobody could turn to the right or the left."

Bòŋ lá ∅ dà lèm ñyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà dīgɪn nē
 Donkey:SG ART NZ TNS again see Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie.down with
Balaam wōsa tēŋi-n, kà Balaam súñf dūe hālí kà ò vōb
 Balaam all ground:SG-LOC, and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike
búŋ lā né ò dànsàar.
 donkey:SG ART with 3AN staff:SG.

"When the donkey again saw the angel of the Lord, it lay down along with Balaam on the ground, and Balaam was so angry he beat the donkey with his staff."

Kà Zūg-sób ké kà bōŋ lā yá'e ò nōori ∅ piāñ' Balaam yē,
 And Head-NULL.AN let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
Bō kimm kà m máalì f kà lì ké kà fò bú'v m nōor átáñ' sá=∅?
 what IDEO and 1SG make 2SG and 3IN let and 2SG beat 1SG time:SG NUM:three hence=CQ?
 "Then the Lord caused the donkey to open its mouth to speak to Balaam: 'Just what have I done to you to make you beat me these three times?'"

Balaam dá lèbɪsō ∅ yē, Fò mórī m nē ∅ mâan ∅ gálím! M̄ yá'
 Balaam TNS reply 3AN.OB that, 2SG have 1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
mōri-n s'ú'vǵò m nú'ugī-n, m nāan kōv-ní f nānná-nā.
 have-DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG-LOC, 1SG then kill-DP 2SG now.
 "Balaam replied: 'You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you right now.'"

Bòŋ lā dá lèbɪs Balaam yē, Mān ká' né fò mēŋ búŋ ónì kà
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CNTR NEG.BE FOC 2SG self donkey:SG REL.AN and
fò bāñ'ad sāŋá wōsa ∅ tí pāe zīnāa=∅=∅? Fò nám mī' ∅ ñyé kà
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT after reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and
m̄ mâal añwá ∅ tísì fò=∅? Kà ò lèbɪs yē, Áyì!
 1SG make thus CAT give 2SG=CQ? And 3AN reply that No.

"The donkey replied to Balaam: 'Am I not your own donkey that you have always been riding up until today? Have you ever known me to behave like this to you?' He replied, 'No.'"

27.2 Three Murderers

From *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima* p16. The story is clearly related to Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*; the fable is familiar throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, and is probably ultimately derived from a Buddhist *Jātaka* story. (Hamel and Merrill 1991.)

The style is much less formal than in the passage from KB above.

NING KUUDIBA ATAN'

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [sic] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [sic] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [sic] kpe, ka on kiak [sic] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

N̄n-kúvdìbá àtáń'.

"Three murderers."

Person-kill:AGT:PL NUM:three.

Dāpá àtáń' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kānda súnā.

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS EXIST. 3PL TNS COP FOC man-tough:PL well.

"There were once three men. They were really tough men."

Kà dāar yinní kà bà lá'asì ∅ zīñ'inì ∅ gbāñ'e yé bà dūem ∅ iā bódàalim
 And day:SG one and 3PL gather CAT sit CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT seek courage
lâ'ad n gīnni ∅ kō nīdɪb má'aa kà dā lém tòm sī'əla=∅.
 goods:PL CAT roam:IPFV CAT kill person:PL only and NEG.IMP again work INDF.IN=NEG.
 "One day they sat down to meet and decided to go and find some weaponry and go
 round looking to kill people so as never to have to work again."

Bà sīd dùe ∅ iā sū'us nē zāñ'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with
lū'ad, nē kpāna nē mālì súḡā n pīñ'ilì ∅ gīnni ∅ iəd
 quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV
nīdɪb yé bà yá' ñyē sō' bān kō.
 person:PL that 3PL if find INDF.AN 3PL.CNTR kill.

"So indeed they went and sought lots of swords, bludgeons, bows, arrows, quivers,
 spears and guns and began looking round for people to find someone to kill."

Bà gīlígì ∅ alá nē ñwādisá ∅ átáñ' nē dábɪsà ∅ átáñ'. Bà pō ñyē
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG.IND find
nīdɪ ∅ ná kōv=∅. Kà kpélìm mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn.
 person:SG CAT IRR kill=NEG. And remain have go:GER with go:GER with go:GER
 "They went round like this for three months and three days and didn't find a person
 to kill. They carried on walking and walking and walking."

Dābá ∅ ànū dāar bà ñyē nē lālì sà kà sī'əl zī'e sābìllì ∅
 Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT
wōv nīd nē, kà bà kpēēñm lā yé bà kēm ∅ kúo ∅, yé ò sōb
 like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill 3AN.OB, that 3AN NULL.AN
yá' pòn túñ'e kà mōr nē láyuk-sī'a wōsa, bà nà ñyāḡi ∅ kúo ∅.
 if already be.able and have FOC item-INDF.IN all, 3PL IRR prevail CAT kill 3AN.OB.
 "On the fifth day they saw something standing in the distance, black like a human
 being, and the eldest of them said that they should go and kill him; when he himself
 was ready and had every piece of equipment, they would be able to kill him."

Kà òḡā gīḡɪd kpē, kà òḡā gīḡɪd kpē, bà tì kēḡ ∅
 And DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, and DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL after go CAT
pāe ∅ ñyé kà lì kā' nīdá=∅, kà á nē bōtú kà līgɪdɪ pē'el
 reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.BE person:SG=NEG, and COP FOC sack:SG and money fill
mà'aa má'aa má.
 only only IDEO.

"And this one blocked this way, and that one blocked that way, but after they got
 there they saw that it wasn't a person but a bag chock full of money."

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā ñwá, tì yé tì níḡ līgídí ñwá wālá=∅?
 And 3PL say, So.then, and now this, 1PL that after do money this how=CQ?
 "They said: 'Well, now! What are we going to do with this money?'"

Kà bà yē, bà nà pōdīg nē. Àmáa bà yé ò nár kà bà yīs līgídí lā n
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
kēḡ ∅ dá' dāam ∅ ná nū yīgá kà ñyāan pōdīg līgídí lā.
 go CAT buy beer CAT IRR drink firstly and next share money ART.
 "And they said they'd share it. But first they said they should take some money out to
 buy beer to drink, and then share out the money."

Kà yīs līgídí lā bī'elá yē bīg lā kēm ∅ dá' yōvr ná kà bà nū.
 And extract money ART little that child:SG ART go:IMP CAT buy jug:SG hither and 3PL drink.
 "And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so
 they could drink."

Bīg lá ∅ kēn lā, ò tēñ'esid nē ón nà níḡ sī'əm ∅ kō bánì kpèlím
 Child:SG ART NZ go:IPFV ART, 3AN think:IPFV FOC 3AN:NZ IRR do INDEF.ADV CAT kill REL.PL remain
àní nā lā, kà váe līgídí lā wōsa wōsa n sō'e, ò yèlí ∅ mēḡ yē,
 there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT OWN, 3AN say 3AN self that,
ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kōvdím n lós dāamí-n lā
 3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer-LOC ART
n pāe ∅ tí ∅ bá kà bà nū ∅ kpí kà ò sō'e līgídí lā wōsa.
 CAT reach CAT give 3PL.OB and 3PL drink CAT die and 3AN own money ART all.
 "As the youngest was travelling, he was thinking how he might kill those who stayed
 in that place and take absolutely all of the money as his own; he said to himself that
 he would buy the beer, and look for a poison to put into the beer and go and give it to
 them to drink and die so he'd possess all of the money."

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kōvdím n lós.
 And truly buy beer ART, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse.
 "And indeed he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it."

Zī'isígē=∅, kà bà bàyí' lá ∅ kpèlím lā mé gbāñ'e nē yé bà kō
 NEG.KNOW=NEG, and 3PL NUM:TWO ART NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill
bīg lā ∅ kēḡ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sō'e līgídí lā.
 child:SG ART NZ go beer ART buy:GER ART, and also own money ART.
 "Unbeknownst, the two who had stayed behind had also decided to kill the youth who
 had gone to buy the beer and themselves keep the money."

B̄iḡ lá n m̄ōr dāam lā_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òḡā k̄já kpē,
 Child:SG ART NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEMSTAN cut here,
kà ̄ōn k̄já kpē, n k̄jó_∅ ∅ k̄v, kà ȳ'v̄n záj dāam lā_∅
 and 3AN.CNTR cut here, CAT cut 3AN.OB CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT
nū wán wán, lì p̄v yúugē=∅, kà bà w̄ōsa w̄ōsa mé kpélìm kpì
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG.IND delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die
zìñ-kàn lā n̄óo kà bà s̄ō' s̄ō' p̄v ñyāḡ_∅ p̄ām lā'af lā
 place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDEFAN INDEFAN NEG.IND prevail CAT receive cowry:SG ART
báa ȳīnní_∅ m̄ōr_∅ k̄l̄í_∅ bà yáa-nē=∅.
 not.one CAT have CAT go.home 3PL house:PL-LOC=NEG.

"When the youth arrived back with the beer, this one cut him here and that one cut him there, cutting him to death, and they then picked up the beer and drank it in gulps; before long both of them died immediately in the exact same place, and none of them was able to take even a single coin home."

Dìn kà K̄ōsāas yé f̄v yá' tēñ'es b̄ēē t̄óm b̄ē'ed yé f̄v t̄ísì_
 3IN.CNTR and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give
f̄v t̄īrāan, f̄v m̄āanní_∅ f̄v m̄ēḡ yá'as lā.
 2SG neighbour:SG, 2SG make:IPFV 2SG self again ART.

"That's why the Kusaasi say: if you think or do evil toward your neighbour, you're doing it to yourself in return."

27.3 Proverbs

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima pp38ff.; other proverbs appear in the grammar above.

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'øm káadi_∅ lébìs né m̄ gēogv-n.

Water bail:IPFV CAT return FOC 1SG between.legs:SG-LOC.

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs." (Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'øm zót nē b̄iāñ'ar zúg.

Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG upon.

"Water runs on mud." (i.e. what's in it for me?)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asid nē zūorì-n.

Stone:PL gather:IPFV FOC hill:SG-LOC.

"Stones build up on a hill." (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À-wiāk sēoňg zī' sínnē=∅.

PERS-hatch rainy.season NEG.KNOW hawk:PL=NEG.

"One hatched in the rainy season doesn't know about hawks." (Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pō ñyē sāa kóvbō=∅, kà ñyē sāa ñiib.

NEG.IND see rain threaten:GER=NEG, and see rain rain:GER.

"Didn't see the rain coming, but did see the rain." (Wise after the event.)

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà pō nōkíd nā'-bínnì ∅ lōbígíd náafō=∅.

3PL NEG.IND take:IPFV cow-dung:SG CAT throw.at:IPFV cow:SG=NEG.

"They don't take cow dung and throw it at the cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zū'om yá' yé ò nà lōbug, bàŋim kà ò nò nē kūgir.

Blind.person:SG if that 3AN IRR throw.at, realise:IMP and 3AN stand.on FOC stone:SG.

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Nong daan fuug tigidne gum ka li po tigid ki'ibo.

Nōŋ-dāan fūug tígíd nē gúm, kà lì pō tígíd kī'ibó=∅.

Poverty-owner:SG shirt:SG sate:IPFV FOC cotton, and 3IN NEG.IND sate:IPFV soap=NEG.

"A poor man's shirt has a lot of material but not a lot of soap." (Waste not, want not.)

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Bālērvug ∅ zī' yé ò à bālērvóg=∅, kà tādīm mī' yé ò à tādīm.

Ugly:SG CAT NEG.KNOW that 3AN COP ugly:SG=NEG, and poor:SG know that 3AN COP poor:SG.

"The ugly man doesn't know he's ugly, but the poor man knows he's poor."

(i.e. self-delusion about poverty is not possible.)

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bōod támpìiňg sīiňd, fù pō lém zòt líəŋ dāug ñyōogo=∅.

2SG if want rock:SG honey, 2SG NEG.IND again run:IPFV axe:SG wood:SG sympathy=NEG.

"If you want honey out of a stone, you don't feel sorry for the axeshaft."

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.

Mōodi ∅ píliŋ kà yū'ada bē.

Grass:PL CAT strip.off and rafter:PL EXIST.

"The thatch has come off but the rafters remain." (Where there's life there's hope.)

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.

Bù-dìbɪg kúnɲí ̀ ò bā' yír nē nōb-kôog dâar.

Goat-young.male:SG go.home:IPFV 3AN father:SG house:SG with leg-break:GER day:SG.

"The kid goes back to his father's house on the day he breaks his leg."

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree.

À-dī'e bōvd pō zɪŋ'i ná'-yīrɛ=ø.

PERS-receive innocence NEG.IND be.sitting chief-house:SG=NEG.

"He who has been declared innocent doesn't hang around the courthouse."

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

Bà yē bālērvog, kà fù yē zūg-máuk.

3PL that ugly:SG, and 2SG that head-crumpled:SG.

"They say 'ugly' and you say 'funnyface.'" (Six of one, half a dozen of the other.)

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.

Bùŋ-dāvug pō kāasídí ̀ ò tīrâan tɛŋī-nɛ=ø.

Donkey-male:SG NEG.IND cry.out:IPFV 3AN neighbour:SG land:SG-LOC=NEG.

"The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory."

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

Kpēɛŋm á nē tē'eg, ò tigid nē bálàya.

Elder:SG COP FOC baobab:SG, 3AN satɛ:IPFV FOC stick:PL.

"An elder is like a baobab - no shortage of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

A proverb related to me by KT:

Sāan-súnj á nē yī-dâan áŋsìb.

Stranger-good:SG COP FOC house-owner:SG mother's.brother:SG.

"A good guest is a householder's uncle."

KT explained: Entertaining a guest gives the householder a reason to bring out all his best food and drink and enjoy himself. (The mother's brother is traditionally a generous benefactor to his sister's child.)

28 Vocabulary

Words are ordered by Short Forms. Vowel glottalisation and the distinctions *n/ñ*, *ə/e/ɛ/ε*, *i/ɪ/j*, *o/o/ɔ* and *u/v/ʉ* are ignored in the ordering; *ŋ* follows *n*.

The abbreviations *n adj adv ideo q sv dv* stand respectively for noun, adjective, adverb, ideophone, quantifier, single-aspect verb and dual-aspect verb.

Nouns are listed under the sg. Adjectives are listed under the *ga|sɛ* class form if extant; if not, *gɔ|dɛ* or *rɛ|aa*. Dual-aspect verbs are listed under the perfective; other forms are listed only if irregular. Regular deverbal nominals are not listed. Compounds are not listed if they are regularly formed and have transparent meanings. Those that *are* listed are included under the entry for the first element.

Personal and place names are not listed: see [26.2](#) [26.3](#) for examples.

Binomial names of plants are mostly taken from Haaf (see References); he checked the identifications carefully with botanical experts.

Arabic words have probably all been transmitted via other languages.

A

à- personifier particle (default allomorph) [12.6](#)

āañdɪg^a pl *āañdɪs^ɛ* cb *àañd-* n. black plum tree, *Vitex doniana*

āañdɪr^ɛ pl *āañda* n. black plum fruit

àañs^ɛ dv. tear

àb̀̀lá q. adv. how many-fold?

àb̀̀yɪ́' àb̀̀táñ' àb̀̀nāasí q. adv. twice, three times etc

à-d̀̀aalóŋ^ɔ pl *à-d̀̀aalís^ɛ* *à-d̀̀aalímìs^ɛ* cb *à-d̀̀aalóŋ-* n. stork [12.6](#)

àɛñ^a ger *àañlím^m* sv. be something/somehow [16.12.2](#) [4.3](#)

àeñ dv. get torn; resultative adj *àañlóŋ^ɔ* torn

à-g̀̀âvñg^ɔ pl *à-g̀̀âañd^ɛ* cb *à-g̀̀āñ-* n. pied crow [12.6](#)

àg̀̀ól^{lɛ} *àg̀̀ólá* adv. upwards

Àg̀̀òl^{lɛ} n. Agolle district of Kusaasi territory; n. Agolle Kusaal dialect

à-k̀̀ōra-d̀̀îəm^{ma} pl *à-k̀̀ōra-d̀̀îəm-nàm^a* n. praying mantis [12.6](#)

àlá adv. thus

àlá q. so many; how many?

àláaf̀̀v̀̀ n. health; in greetings [25](#); cf *láaf̀̀ɪya* ← Arabic *ʔal-ʕa:fiya*

Àláas̀̀ìd̀̀ d̀̀âar^ɛ n. Sunday ← Arabic

Àlà̀̀m̀̀ìs̀̀ì d̀̀âar^ɛ n. Thursday ← Arabic

Àlà̀̀r̀̀b̀̀à d̀̀âar^ɛ n. Wednesday ← Arabic

àlá z̀̀ùg^ɔ therefore [17.2.1](#)

àl̀̀óp̀̀r̀̀ɛ pl *àl̀̀óp̀̀ɪya* n. aeroplane ← English

àmáa but [17.2.1](#) ← Hausa ← Arabic

àmēŋá adv. really, truly

àmí amen ← Arabic *ʔa:mi:n*; in replies to greetings 25
à-mús^ε pl *à-mús-nám^a* n. cat 12.6; cf Hausa *mussàa id*
ànāasí q. four
àní adv. there
àní q. eight
àní nā^l adv. there
àníḡà adv. promptly
ànô'ôn^ε who? 12.4.4
àñrvḡ^o pl *àñrma* cb *àñrvḡ-* n. boat (written *aarvḡ* in the 1976/1996 NT)
āñs^ε dv. pluck (leaves)
āñsìb^a pl *āñs-nám^a* cb *āñs-* n. mother's brother
āñsḡ^{ε/l} dv. break at an angle
āñsḡ^a pl *āñsís^ε* cb *āñsḡ-* n. (man's) sister's child
àntù'a pl *àntù'əs^ε* cb *àntv'à-* n. lawsuit
ànū q. five
àñwá adv. like this
ānzúrfà n. silver ← Hausa *azùrfaa*
àrakóñ' q. one
àrazàk^a pl *àrazà's^ε* cb *àrazà'-* generally pl: n. wealth, riches ← Arabic *ʔar-rizq*
àrazánà n. heaven ← Arabic *ʔal-janna*
Àrzúmà dâar^ε n. Friday ← Arabic
àsée except, unless 15 17.2.1 ← Hausa *sai*
Àsḡbitì dâar^ε n. Saturday ← Arabic
àsīda adv. truly
àsùbá n. dawn ← Arabic *ʔas^ε-s^εaba:ħ*
àtáñ' q. three
Àtáláatà dâar^ε n. Tuesday ← Arabic
àtáḡā^l q. three exactly
Àtínì dâar^ε n. Monday ← Arabic
àtḡk^o n. sea ← Hausa *tèeku*
àwánā^l adv. like this
àwāḡ q. nine
àyí' q. two
áyì no 18.4
àyíḡā^l q. two exactly
àyópòḡ q. seven
àyúəbù q. six

B

- bà* they, their (*right-bound*); *ba* them (*left-bound*) 12.4.1
- bā'* pl *bā'-nám^a* cb *bā'*- n. father 5.4
- bāa* pl *bāas^ε* cb *bà-* n. dog
- báa* (← Hausa *bâa* "not exist") in constituent negation 23
- bā'a* pl *bā'ab^a* cb *bà'*- n. traditional diviner; *bà'-kòlv^o* pl *bà'-kòn^{ne}* cb *bà'-kòl-* n. diviner's bag
- bā'a* pl *bā'as^ε* cb *bà'*- n. peg to hang things on
- bà'an^{ne}* pl *bà'ana* cb *bà'an-* n. stocks (punishment)
- bàañlíg^a* pl *bàañlis^ε* adj. narrow, slender
- bāañlíg^a* adj. quiet
- bāañlím^m* adv. quietly
- bà'ar^ε* pl *bàda* *bà'a* cb *bà'*- n. idol
- bābá* beside *postposition* 13.5; cf *bābir^{εl}* sphere of activity
- bàbıgā'* q. many
- bákpàę* n. week ← Hausa *bakwài* "seven"
- bàlàar^ε* pl *bàlàyà* cb *bàlà-* n. stick, staff, club
- bàlàņır^ε* pl *bàlàņà* cb *bàlàņ-* n. hat
- bālērv^o* pl *bālērıd^{εl}* *bālēris^{εl}* cb *bālér-* n. ugly person; cf *lēr^ε* get ugly
- bàmmā'* these, those *demonstrative* 12.4.2
- bàn^ε* these, those *demonstrative* 12.4.2
- bán* they (*subject of ñ-clause*); *bān^ε* they, them (*contrastive*) 12.4.1
- bāñ'* dv. ride
- bānāa* pl *bānāas^ε* cb *bànà-* (*tone sic in my materials*) n. traditional "fugu" smock
- bāñ'ad^a* pl *bāñ'ad-nām^a* n. ill person
- bāñ'al^{εl}* dv. make to ride (horse, bicycle)
- bāñ'as^ε* cb *bāñ'*- n. pl as sg disease
- bàn-dāv^o* pl *bàn-dāad^ε* cb *bàn-dà-* n. crocodile
- bān-kúsél^{le}* pl *bān-kúsēlá* cb *bān-kúsēl-* n. lizard
- bāņ^a* pl *bāaņs^ε* cb *bàņ-* n. ring, chain, fetter
- bàņ^a* n. agama lizard
- bàņ^ε* dv. come to know
- báp* wallop!
- Bārv^a* pl *Bāris^{εl}* cb *Bār-* n. Bisa person (not only the Bareka, WK)
- bárikà* n. blessing; in greetings 25 ← Arabic *baraka*
- Bārv^o* n. Bisa country; North 26.3
- bàs^ε* dv. go away; abandon; throw out
- Bāt^{εl}* n. Bisa language
- bàtáñ'* q. three (*after a personal pronoun*)
- bàųv* n. found only as in *Ò kpèñ' báųv*. He was circumcised. ← Songhay "pool"
- bàyēog^o* betrayer of secrets (cf *yēes^{εl}*)

- bàyí'* *q.* two (after a personal pronoun)
bàyópòḡ *q.* seven (after a personal pronoun)
bè ger bēlím^m (sic) *sv.* exist; be in a place 16.12.1
bēdɪg^{el} *dv.* go rotten
bèdvog^o bēdɪr^e *pl bēda cb bēd-* *adj.* great
bèdvogū' *q.* much, a lot
bēε or 17.2.1 18.2
bèkèkèoñg^o or *bèkèoñg^o* *n.* very early morning
bèlɪm^m *dv.* beg
bèlɪs^e *dv.* comfort
bēn^{ne} *pl bēna cb bèn-* *n.* end
bēñ' *ger bēñ'es^e* *dv.* fall ill
bēñsɪg^e *dv.* serve soup
bèŋ^e *dv.* mark out a boundary
bēŋíd^e *cb bēŋ-* *n. pl* bean leaves, *Vigna unguiculata*; *bēŋíd nē kī'* *n.* beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack
bēŋír^e *pl bēŋá cb bēŋ-* *n.* brown bean
bēog^o *n.* tomorrow 17.2.1; *Kà bēog nje kà ...* The next day ...
bē'og^o bī'a *pl bē'ed^e bī'əs^e* *cb bē'- bīà'-* *adj.* bad
bēogv-n^{el} *n.* morning
bèrɪŋ^a *pl bèrɪgɪs^e* *sic n.* a plant used for fibre (KED), *Hibiscus cannabinus*
bērɪga *cb bèrɪg-* *pl* leaves of *bèrɪŋ* used for soup (KED)
bēsog^o *pl bēsɪd^e* *cb bēs-* *n.* a kind of wide-mouthed pot
bīāñ'ar^{el} *pl bīāñ'adá bīāñ'a* *cb bīāñ'-* *n.* wet mud, black mud; riverbed
bīāyũñk^o *pl bīāñ'ad^e* *cb bīāñ'-* *n.* shoulder
bīól^{le} *pl bīólá* *adj.* naked
bīəl^e *dv.* accompany
bī'ólá *q.* a little; *bī'əl bī'əl* *q. and adv.* a very little; little by little
bī'əm^m *pl bī'əm-nàm^a bī'əmma* LF *cb bī'əm-* *n.* enemy
bīən^{ne} *pl bīəna* *cb bīən-* *n.* shin
bīər^{el} *pl bīēyá* *cb bīā-* *n.* elder sibling of the same sex
bī'əs^e *dv.* doubt
bīgɪs^e *dv.* show, teach
bīīg^a *pl bīīs^e* *cb bī- bī-* *n.* child; *bī-díbìŋ^a* *n.* boy; *bī-līa* *n.* baby; *bī-nà'ab^a* *n.* prince;
bī-pīt^a *pl bī-pītí^a* *cb bī-pīt-* *n.* father's younger brother; *bī-púŋ^a* *n.* girl
bī'ig^e *dv.* ripen, become pregnant
bīilíf^o *pl bīilí* *cb bīil-* *n.* seed
bīilím^m *n.* childhood
bīum^m *cb bī-* *n.* soup, stew
bī'isím^m *n.* milk (human or animal)
bī'isɪr^e *pl bī'isa* *cb bī'is-* *n.* woman's breast

bīl^a *pl bībīs*^ε *cb bīl-* or *bī-* *adj.* little, small

bīlīg^ε *dv.* roll (*transitive*)

bīlum^m *dv.* roll (*intransitive*)

bìmbìm^{mε} *pl bìmbìma* *cb bìmbìm-* *n.* altar NT (KED: mound or pillar of earth)

Bìn^{nε} *pl Bìm*^{ma} *cb Bìn-* *n.* Moba, Bimoba person (not only Bemba, WK)

Bìn^{nε} *n.* Moba language

bīn^{nε} *n.* excrement

Bìṽṽ^ḡ *n.* Moba country

bò *dv.* seek; *bòòd*^a *ipfv* used for: want, like, love (sexual, romantic); *ipfv ger* *bòòdım*^m will 9.2.1.4

bō *cb bō-* what? why? 12.4.4; *bō-būudi* what sort of ..?; *bō-zúgō* because 17.2.1, why? 13.6; *bō-wìn*^{nε} what time of day?; *bō kimm* "exactly what?"

bòbīg^ε *dv.* wrap round, tie round

bòdīg^ε *dv.* lose, become lost

bòdòbòdò *n.* bread (? ultimately ← English)

bòk^ḡ *pl b'ad*^ε *cb b'á-* *n.* pit

bōsır^ε *pl bōsa* *cb bōs-* *n.* puff adder

bōtv *n.* sack

bō' *dv.* beat

b'ak^ε *dv.* split

b'ar^ε *pl b'áa* *cb b'á-* *n.* hole

bō'ar^{ε/} *pl b'áa* *cb b'á-* *n.* skin bottle

bùd^ε *ger b'udīg*^a *b'udvḡ*^ḡ *dv.* plant seeds

bùdàalım^m *n.* manhood, courage

b'udım^m *dv.* get confused

b'udımís^ε *n.* confusion

b'ue *dv.* pour out

b'ug^ε *dv.* get drunk; cf Hausa *b'ugu id*

bōgvd^a *n.* client of a *bā'a* traditional diviner

b'ogulım^m *dv.* cast lots

bōgvr^ε *pl bōga* *cb b'og-* *n.* dwelling-place of a *wīn*^{nε} localised spirit; also a *wīn*^{nε/} as a *sīgr*^{ε/} 26.2 inherited from one's mother's family

b'ugúm^m *cb b'ugōm-* *b'ugúm-* *n.* fire; *B'ugúm-tōñr*^ε *n.* Fire Festival

bōgvś^{a/} *sv.* be soft

bōgvśíg^a *bōgvśír*^ε *pl bōgvśá* *cb bōgvś-* *adj.* soft, weak

bōgvśígā[/] *adv.* softly

bōgvśım^m *n.* softness, weakness

bōk^{ε/} *dv.* weaken

b'ok^ε *dv.* cast lots

b'ul^ε *dv.* germinate, ooze

b'ul^{lε} *pl b'ula* *n.* shoot, sprout

bùl^ε *dv.* astonish

Bùl^{lε} *n.* Buli language

Bùlɪg^a *pl* *Bùlɪs*^ε *cb* *Bùl-* *n.* Balsa person

bùlɪg^a *pl* *bùlɪs*^ε *cb* *bùl-* *n.* well, pond

bùmbàrɪg^a *pl* *bùmbàrɪs*^ε *cb* *bùmbàr-* *n.* ant

bùn^ε *dv.* reap, harvest

bōn^{ne/} *pl* *bōná* *bōn-nám*^a *cb* *bōn-* *n.* thing (concrete or abstract); *bōn-búvdɪf*^o *n.*

plant; *bōn-gíj*^a *n.* short chap (informal, joking); *bōn-kóñbòg*^o *pl* *bōn-kóñbìd*^ε

cb *kóñb-* (*sic*) *n.* animal; *bōn-kúvdòg*^o *n.* old man

bōn-dâar^ε which day? 13.6

bòŋ^a *pl* *bòmɪs*^ε *cb* *bòŋ-* *n.* donkey

bòŋ^ε *dv.* take a short cut

bùø^l *dv.* call, summon; *Ò yō'vr búøŋ* X. She is called X. 16.9.2

bùø^ε *pl* *bùèya* *cb* *bùà-* *n.* grain store, silo

bū'ø^s *dv.* ask; *ger* *bū'ø*^{súg}^o *n.* question; *bu'oskaŋa* this question (Jn 18:34)

bò-pīiga *q. adv.* ten times

bōráa *n.* man, male adult (in ILK, but characteristically *Toende* Kusaal; see *dāu*)

bōrɪyá *n.* Christmas ← Twi/Fante *bronya*

bòrkìn^a *pl* *bòrkìn-nám*^a *cb* *bòrkìn-* *n.* free person; honourable person ← Songhay

Bòsâañ^l *n.* Bisa language

Bòsáj^a *pl* *Bòsâañs*^ε *cb* *Bòsāj-* *n.* Bisa person

bōtɪj^a *pl* *bōtɪs*^ε 3.5; *cb* *bòtɪj-* *n.* cup (*in general; originally "seed-planting [cup]"*)

bōvd^ε *n. pl as sg* innocence

būudɪ *cb* *bùud-* *n.* kind, sort, ethnic group

bōvg^a *pl* *bōvs*^ε *cb* *bò-* *n.* goat; *bò-dìbɪg*^a *n.* male kid

D

dà before two days ago, *tense particle* 16.3.1

dā not with imperative mood 16.5

dàa day after tomorrow, *tense particle* 16.3.1

dāa before yesterday, *tense particle* 16.3.1

dà' *dv.* buy

dà'a *pl* *dà'as*^ε *cb* *dà'-* *n.* market

dà'abɪ^ε *n.* slave

dàalɪm^m *n.* masculinity

dàalɪm^m *pl* *dàalɪmɪs*^ε *n.* male organs

dāam^{m/} *cb* *dā-* *n.* millet beer, "pito"; *dā-nûur*^ε *n.* beer-drinking; *dā-bɪn*^{ne} *cb* *dā-bɪn-* *n.*

beer residue; NT yeast (cf *bɪn*^{ne})

dāam^m *dv.* disturb, trouble (cf Hausa *dāamaa id*)

dāan^a *pl* *dāan-nám*^a *cb* *dāan-* *n.* owner of ... 12.7.2

dāar^ε *pl* *dābá* *cb* *dà-* *n.* day (24-hour period); *dà-pīiga* *n.* ten days

dāa-sí'ērē perhaps 17.2.1

dàbīəm^m tone sic n. fear

dàbīog^o pl *dàbīəd^ε* cb *dàbìà-* n. coward

dàbısrı^ε pl *dàbısa* cb *dàbıs-* n. day (as one of several)

dādúk^o n. a kind of large pot

dā'e^l dv. push; blow (of wind)

Dàgâad^a pl *Dàgâadìb^a* *Dàgâad-nàm^a* cb *Dàgâad-* n. Dagaaba person (L prefix sic)

Dàgbān^{ne/} pl *Dàgbām^{ma/}* cb *Dàgbān-* n. Dagomba person

Dàgbān^{ne/} n. Dagbani language

Dàgbāuŋ^{o/} n. Dagomba country, Dagbon

dàgòbıg^a n. left-hand; (yà) *dàgòbıg^a* South KB 26.3

dāká pl *dāká-nàm^a* cb *dāká-* n. box ← Hausa *àdakàa*

dàkīg^a pl *dàkīis^ε* cb *dàkì-* n. wife's sibling; *dàkì-dāu* n. wife's brother; *dàkì-puāk^a* n.

wife's sister; *dàkì-tùu* n. wife's sister's husband

dà-kòõnr^ε pl *dà-kòñya* cb *dà-kòñ-* n. unmarried son 26.1

dàm^m ipfv *dàmmıd^a* dv. shake

dàmà'a n. liar cf *mà'*

dàmà'am^m n. lie, untruth, lying

dàmà'ar^ε n. lie, untruth

dāmpōsāar^ε n. stick

dānkòŋ^o n. measles

dānsàar^ε n. staff, club

dà-pāal^{a/} n. young man, son

dà-sāŋ^a pl *dà-sāāñs^ε* *dà-sām^{ma}* cb *dà-sàŋ-* n. young man

dà-tāa pl *dà-tāas^ε* cb *dà-tà-* n. enemy

dàtiuŋ^o n. right-hand; (yà) *dàtiuŋ^o* North KB 26.3

dāu pl *dāp^a* cb *dāu-* *dāp-* 5.2 n. man (as opposed to woman)

dāvug^o pl *dāad^ε* cb *dà-* n. piece of wood, log; pl also: wood (material); *dà-kīəd^a* n.

wood-cutter; *dà-kpī'əd^a* n. carpenter; *dà-pōvdír^ε* n. cross-piece, pl *dà-pōvdá* n.

used as sg cross NT

dāvug^o pl *dāad^ε* cb *dà-* adj. male

dàwàlıg^a n. hot humid season before the rains

dàwān^{ne/} pl *dàwāná* cb *dàwān-* n. pigeon

dàyāam^{ma} pl *dàyāam-nám^a* cb *dàyāam-* n. husband's parent; *dàyāam-dāu* n. husband's

father; *dàyāam-puák^a* n. husband's mother

dàyūug^{o/} pl *dàyūud^{ε/}* cb *dàyū-* n. rat

dèbır^ε pl *dèba* n. mat, pallet, bed

dèeg^a pl *dèes^ε* n. warthog

dēeŋ^a pl *dēeñs^ε* *dēemıs^ε* *dēena* cb *dēeŋ-* q. first

dēl^{la/} ger *dēllóg^o* *dēllım^m* sv. be leaning on something (of a person)

dēlım^m dv. begin to lean on something (of a person)

dēŋ^a pl *dēmɪs*^ε cb *dèŋ-* n. accidental bruise; defect

dèŋ^ε dv. go, do first

dèŋum beforehand, preverb 16.8

dì it, its (*right-bound*) 12.4.1 = *lì*

dì ipfv *dìt*^a imp *dìm*^a dv. eat, receive; ger *dīb*^o n. food; *Ò dì pū'ā*. He's married a wife. *Ò dì ñyán*. She's ashamed.

djā^{'a} dv. get dirty

djā'ad^{εl} n. dirt

djē^{'e} dv. receive, get

djəm^{ma} pl *djəm-nàm*^a cb *djəm-* n. wife's parent; also in polite address to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age than oneself; *djəm-dāu* n. wife's father; *djəm-puāk*^a n. wife's mother

dj'əm^m dv. play, not be serious

dj'əma n. festival

dj'əs^{εl} dv. receive (many things)

dīg^{'ya}/ ger *dīk*^{'a}/ KT *dīgur*^{εl} WK sv. be lying down

dīgusá n. pl lairs

dīgul^{εl} dv. lay down

dìgɪn^ε dv. lie down

dìgɪr^ε pl *dìga* cb *dìg-* n. dwarf

dìus^ε dv. feed; agt *dìus*^a n. glutton

dìusúŋ^o pl *dìsímà* *dìsís*^ε cb *dìusúŋ-* n. spoon

dìm^a dummy head pronoun, animate pl; *dìn*^{ne} inanimate sg 12.4.7

dín it (*subject of ñ-clause*) 12.4.1

dīn^ε it (*contrastive*) 12.4.1 = *līn*^ε

dìndēog^o/ pl *dìndēed*^{εl} cb *dìndē-* n. chameleon

dìndìus^a n. glutton

dìn zúg^o therefore 13.6

dìtúŋ^o n. right-hand (see *dàtìuŋ*^o)

dì-zōrvog^o/ pl *dì-zōrá* cb *dì-zōr-* n. crumb

dōl^{la}/ ger *dōllím*^m sv. accompany in a subordinate role; *Ànó'oni dōllí fò?* Who has come with you? (to an elderly patient.) *Bà dōl nē tāaba*. They went together.

dōlhg^{εl} dv. make accompany, send along with

dōhs^{εl} dv. investigate, trace

dōñlhg^{εl} dv. stretch oneself

dòñ'os^ε dv. water plants

dòog^o pl *dòod*^ε *dòt*^ε cb *dò-* n. house, hut; clan; *dòog bìg*^a n. housecat

dòoŋg^o pl *dòoñd*^ε cb *dòñ-* n. dawadawa fruit

dō ipfv *dōt*^{'a}/ imp *dòm*^a dv. go up

dū'd^a dv. bear, give birth, beget; agt *dū'ad*^a n. elder relation

dù'al^ε dv. make interest (of a loan)

dō'am^m *n.* birth

dùañ *pl* *dòwñs*^ε *cb* *dòñ-* *n.* dawadawa *Parkia clappertoniana* [*biglobosa*]

dú'atà *n.* doctor ← English

dūe^l *dv.* raise, rise

dōg^ε *dv.* cook

dōk^o/*pl* *dōgv*^{el} *cb* *dōg-* *n.* cooking pot; *dōg-pé'elà* *n.* full pots; *dōgvb* *dút* cooking pots

dùm^m *dv.* bite

dūm^{mε} *dūm*^{nε} *pl* *dūma* *cb* *dùm-* *n.* knee

dòndùug^o *pl* *dòndùud*^ε *cb* *dòndù-* *n.* cobra

dūniya *cb* *dūniyá-* 5.5 *n.* world ← Arabic *dunya*:

dūnná *adv.* this year

dūη^a *pl* *dūmɪs*^ε *cb* *dùη-* *n.* mosquito

dūø^{el} *pl* *dūēyá* *cb* *dūā-* *n.* stick

dū'ø^s/*dv.* lift up, honour

dūr^a *sv.* be many

dū'un^{el} *dv.* pass water (*ger* recorded as *dū'unóg*^o)

dū'uním^m *cb* *dū'un-* *n.* urine

dōvsá *n. pl.* steps

E

ēēñ *yes* 18.4

ēēñ or *ēēñ tí* see *ñyēē*, *ñyēē tí* habitually *auxiliary tense marker* 16.3.1

ēēñb^{el} *dv.* lay a foundation

ēēñbír^ε *n.* foundation 8.1.2

èñbɪs^ε *dv.* scratch

èñd^ε *dv.* block up, plug up

èñdɪg^ε *dv.* unblock, unplug

èñrɪg^{el} *dv.* shift along (e.g. a bench)

F

f^o *you sg (left-bound)* 12.4.1

fāañ *q.* every

fāēñ^l *dv.* save; *agt* *fāañd*^{al} *fāañgíd*^a *n.* saviour 11.1

fāñ *dv.* grab, rob

fáss *ideo.* for *pìəli*^a white

fēεg^{el} *dv.* (of food) get old, cold

fēñdɪg^{el} *dv.* turn round (*tone uncertain*)

fēñ'og^o/*pl* *fēñ'ed*^{el} *cb* *fēñ'-* *n.* ulcer

fìəb^ε *dv.* beat

fì'ig^ε *dv.* cut off

fīñ *q.* a little (liquid)

fitlá n. lamp ← Hausa *fītilàa*; in KB adapted to the *re|aa* class: *sg fitir pl fita fṵṵs^{el}* dv. blow, puff (wind); *ger fṵṵsúg^o* n. hypocrisy NT
fṵ you, your *sg (right-bound)* 12.4.1
fṵe dv. draw out
fṵfṵm^{mε} pl *fṵfṵma* cb *fṵfṵm-* n. envy; stye (believed to result from envy)
fún you *sg (as subject of ñ-clause)*; *fṵn* SF *fúnè* LF you *sg (contrastive)* 12.4.1
fūug^o pl *fūud^{el}* *fūt^{el}* cb *fū-* n. shirt, clothing; *pl also*: cloth

G

gàad^ε dv. pass, surpass 19.1
gáafàra sorry formula 25 (Hausa *gaafaràa*, ultimately ← Arabic)
gà'al^ε dv. button up
gà'am^m dv. grind teeth
gāañ^l pl *gāañs^{el}* cb *gāñ-* n. Nigerian ebony *Diospyros mespilliformis*
gàas^ε dv. pass by
gādv gādv^o pl *gādv-nám^a* *gāt^{el}* cb *gād- gādv-* n. bed ← Hausa *gadoo*
gàlm^m dv. joke
gàls^ε dv. exceed, get to be too much
gāñr^{el} pl *gāñyá* cb *gāñr-* n. fruit of Nigerian ebony
gàṅ^ε dv. step over
gāṅ^{el} dv. choose
gbāñ'e^l dv. catch
gbāñyà'a n. lazy person 11
gbāñyà'am^m n. laziness; 1976 NT *gonya'am*
gbàṅ^o pl *gbàna* cb *gbàn- gbàṅ-* n. book WK
gbāṅ^o pl *gbāná* cb *gbān- gbāṅ-* n. animal skin WK; animal skin, book DK
gbêñm^m cb *gbēñ-* n. sleep
gbè'og^o pl *gbè'ed^ε* *gbèda* cb *gbè'-* n. forehead; shore of a lake
gbēr^{el} pl *gbēyá* cb *gbēr-* n. thigh
gbīgim^{nε} pl *gbīgima* cb *gbìgim-* n. lion
gbìn^{nε} pl *gbìna* cb *gbìn-* n. buttock; base (e.g. of a mountain); *postposition* 13.5
gbìn-vòṵñr^ε n. anus
gbīs^ε dv. sleep
gēel^{el} dv. place between one's legs (Pattern H)
gēñm^m dv. go mad, madden
gēñmís^ε n. *pl as sg* madness
gēñṅ^a pl *gēñmís^ε* n. madman
gél^{le} pl *gēlá* cb *gēl-* n. egg
gēñ dv. get tired; *resultative adj* *gēñlúṅ^o* tired
gēñ' dv. get angry
gēog^o n. place between one's legs (Pattern A *sic*)

- gīñlím^m* n. shortness
gìk^a pl *gìgɪs^ɛ* cb *gìg-* n. dumb person
gìgɪlɪm^m dv. become dumb
gīlɪg^{ɛl} ipfv *gīn^{na/}* dv. go around 7.1
gīm^{ma/} sv. be short
gīŋ^a pl *gīma* cb *gīŋ-* adj. short
gīŋ^ɛ dv. scrimp
gīŋ^{ɛl} dv. surround, intercept, obstruct
gīŋa adv. shortly
gīŋɪlím^m n. shortness
gōdɪg^{ɛl} *gò'ɔn^ɛ* dv. look up
gōl^{la/} *gōr^{a/}* *gō'e^{ya/}* sv. be looking up
gòñ dv. hunt; ipfv *gòñd^a* wander, ger *gòñdɪm^m* wandering 9.2.1.4
Gòɔg^a pl *Gòɔs^ɛ* n. clan name
Gòɔg^ɔ n. place of the *Gòɔs^ɛ* Goosi clan
gò'ɔn^ɛ dv. look up
gōr^{a/} sv. be looking up
gōs^ɛ ipfv *gōsɪd^{a/}* *gōt^{a/}* imp *gòsɪm^a* *gòm^a* ger *gòsìg^a* dv. look; agt *gōt^{a/}* n. seer, prophet
gū' dv. guard, protect
gùl^ɛ ipfv *gùn^{na}* dv. suspend
gùl^{la} ger *gùlɪb^ɔ* sv. be suspended
gùllimm SF *gùllimne* LF only; *emphatic* 24.7
gùm^{me} pl *gùma* n. kapok fruit; also thread WK
Gùm^{me} n. place of the clan *Gùm-dìm^a*
gūmpōzēr^{ɛl} pl *gūmpōzēyá* cb *gūmpōzér-* n. duck
gùñ'a pl *gòñ'ɔs^ɛ* cb *gòñ'-* n. thorn; Acacia; *gòñ'-sābílíg^a* Acacia hockii
gùngōm^{me} n. kapok material
gùŋ^a pl *gùmɪs^ɛ* cb *gùŋ-* n. kapok tree *Ceiba pentandra*
gūr^{a/} ger *gūrím^m* sv. be on guard, watch for 22.1
Gūrín^{ne} n. Farefare language
Gūríŋ^a pl *Gūrís^ɛ* n. Farefare person
gū'ul^{ɛl} dv. put on guard
gù'vlɪm^m dv. become half-ripe
gùvr^ɛ pl *gùya* cb *gù-* n. upland; bank of river
gōvr^ɛ pl *gōya* cb *gù-* n. ridge of back
gū'us^{ɛl} dv. take care, watch out
gō'vs^ɛ n. pl half-ripe fruit

H

hālí until, up to and as far as, even 15 17.2.1 19 24.7; ? ← Arabic *ħatta*;
hālí baa even

I

īā dv. seek

īāñ'as^{ε/} dv. leap

īāñk^{ε/} ger *īāñ'ad^{al/}* agt *īāñ'ad^{al/}* dv. leap, fly 7.1

īgī^{ya/} ger *īk^{al/}* KT *īgīr^{ε/}* WK sv. be kneeling

īgīl^{ε/} dv. make to kneel

īgīn^ε dv. kneel down

īl^{lε} pl *īlā* cb *īl-* n. horn

īsir^ε pl *īsa* cb *īs-* n. scar

īsīg^ε dv. get up early

K

kà and, that 17.2

kā dv. bail (water)

kāab^{ε/} dv. offer, invite

kāal^{ε/} dv. count

kāas^{ε/} dv. cry out, weep; (cock) crow

kà'asige LF only; sv. not exist 16.5

kābīg^{ε/} dv. ladle out (liquid)

kābir^{ε/} ger *kābirí* dv. call out asking for admission 25

kàd^ε dv. drive away; *kàd sàríyà* dv. judge 16.9.1; agt *sàríyà-kāt^a* n. judge NT

kā'ε ger *kā'alím^m* sv. not exist, not be, not have 16.5 4.3

kāl^{lε/} pl *kālā* cb *kāl-* n. number

kàhgā^l q. few

kām^a q. every

Kàmbùnir^ε n. Twi language

Kàmbùnā^a pl *Kàmbòmī^ε* cb *Kàmbùñ-* n. Ashanti person

kàn^ε this, that demonstrative 12.4.2

kāñb^ε ger *kāñbir^ε* dv. scorch

kāñdv^o adj. fat, tough (person)

kāñā^l this, that demonstrative 12.4.2

kār^a sv. be few

kàrim^m dv. read

kàsēt^{al/} n. witness; testimony (Mooré *kàsétò* "proof, testimony"; probably ultimately

← French *cachet*; pl *kàsētīb^a* witnesses)

kē ipfv *kēt^{al/}* imp *kèl^a* dv. let, cause to ... 7.1 19.2

kèèkè pl *kèèkè-nām^a* cb *kèèkè-* n. bicycle ← Hausa *kèèkè*

kèes^ε dv. say farewell to

kèlīg^ε or *kèlīs^ε* dv. listen

kēñ ipfv *kēn*^{al} imp *kèm*^a ger *kēn*^{ne/} dv. come 7.1; always with *nā* 16.11; *kēn kēn* welcome! 25

kēŋ^{el} ipfv *kēn*^{na/} imp *kèm*^a (disambiguated with *sà* 16.11) dv. go; walk 7.1; agt *kēn*^{na/} n. traveller

kérifà or *kárfà* ← Hausa *karfèe*; in telling time, e.g. *kérifà àtáñ'* three o'clock

kī' cb *kī-* *kā-* n. cereal, millet; *kì-dà'ar*^ε pl *kì-dà'ada* n. purchased millet; *kā-* *wēnnir*^ε pl *kā-wēnna* cb *kā-wén-* n. corn

kìà dv. cut

kīdīg^{el} dv. cross over, meet; *À-Kīdīgi Bū'os* n. the constellation Orion

kī'ib^{o/} n. soap; WK has instead the Mampruli loan *kībú* cb *kīb-*

kīñf^o pl *kīnī* n. millet seed

kìs^ε dv. listen

kī'is^{el} dv. deny

kìkàm^{me} pl *kìkàma* n. fig

kìkàŋ^a *kìnkàŋ*^a pl *kìkàmis*^ε cb *kìkàŋ-* n. fig tree *Ficus capensis*

kìkīrīg^{al} pl *kìkīris*^{el} cb *kìkīr-* n. "fairy" in local English; protective spiritual beings associated with a person (three for a man, four for a woman because of the dangers of childbirth.) Wild *kìkīris*^{el} hostile to man live in the bush: "Their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers." WK; *kìkīr-bé'ed*^ε n. NT evil spirit, demon (KB just uses *kìkīrīg*^{al})

kīlīm^{m/} dv. become, change into

kìm^m dv. tend flock, herd; agt *kòñb-kīm*^{na} n. herdsman, shepherd

kīr^ε ger *kìkírùg*^o *kīrib*^o dv. hurry, tremble

kīs^{al} ger *kìsùg*^o agt *kīs*^{al} *kīsīd*^{al} sv. hate

kìsùg^o adj. hateful, taboo

kò dv. get broken, break (intransitive); resultative adj *kòólúŋ*^o broken

kòbīgā (SF and LF identical) q. one hundred; *kòbīsí* two hundred

kōbīr^ε pl *kōba* cb *kòb-* n. bone

kōdīg^{el} dv. slaughter (one animal) by cutting its throat

kōdú n. banana ← Twi *kwadu*

kòl^ε dv. put something around the neck

kòlibīr^ε pl *kòliba* n. bottle

kōlīg^a pl *kōlis*^ε cb *kòl-* n. river; *kōlvu-n nó-dāvūg*^o n. crayfish

kòlvūg^o pl *kòn*^{ne} cb *kòlvūg-* 5.2 n. sack, bag

kōm^{m/} cb *kōm-* n. hunger

kōñbvūg^o pl *kōñbūd*^ε cb *kòñb-* (also used as cb of *bōn-kòñbùg*^o animal) n. animal hair or human body hair; cf *zūəbūg*^o; *kòñb-kīm*^{na} pl *kòñb-kīmmīb*^a n. shepherd, herdsman

kōñ'okō adv. alone, by oneself

kòñs^ε dv. cough

kòñsīm^m dv. cough

- kò'og*^ε *dv.* break (*transitive or intransitive*)
kò'os^ε *dv.* break several times
kōt^{ε/} *dv.* slaughter (several animals) by cutting their throats
kòtāa^{ne} at all; *emphatic* 24.7
kótò *n.* lawcourt ← English, probably via Hausa
kpà'a *pl kpà'a-nàm*^a *n.* rich person
kpāad^{a/} *pl kpāadíb*^a *cb kpāad-* *n.* farmer, cultivator
kpà'am^m *n.* riches
kpāañm^{m/} *cb kpāñ-* *n.* grease, ointment; *kpāñ-sóñ'odim*^m *n.* anointing oil
kpàkūr^{ε/} *pl kpàkūyá* *cb kpàkūr-* *n.* tortoise
kpān^{ne} *pl kpāna* *cb kpān-* *n.* spear
kpàñdɪr^ε *pl kpàñda* *cb kpàñd-* *n.* baboon
kpàr^ε *dv.* lock
kpār-kêoňg^ɔ *pl kpār-kêeñd*^ε *cb kpār-kéñ-* *n.* rag
kpá'vŋ^ɔ *pl kpī'iní* *cb kpā'-* *n.* guinea fowl
kpē *adv.* here
kpēeñm^m *pl kpēeñm-nàm*^a *cb kpēeñm-* *n.* elder
kpēeñm^{ma/} *sv.* be older than
kpēlá *adv.* here
kpèlim still; immediately after, *preverb* 16.8
kpèlim^m *dv.* remain
kpèn *reduced form of the preverb kpèlim*
kpēñ' *dv.* enter
kpēñdɪr^{ε/} *pl kpēñdá* *cb kpēñd-* *n.* cheek
kpēñ'es^ε *dv.* make enter
kpè'ŋ^ε *dv.* strengthen
kpēoňg^ɔ *n.* seniority
kpì *dv.* die; *resultative adj kpìlúg*^ɔ dead
kpì'a *pl kpì'əs*^ε *cb kpì'à'-* *n.* neighbour
kpì'à' *dv.* shape wood with axe etc
kpì'e *dv.* approach
kpī'əm^{ma/} *sv.* be strong, hard
kpìibɪg^a *pl kpìibɪs*^ε *cb kpìib-* *n.* orphan
kpìig^ε *dv.* go out (fire)
kpī'ilím^m *dv.* finish, come to an end
kpī'im^{m/} *pl kpī'imís*^ε *cb kpī'im-* *n.* dead person, corpse
kpìis^ε *dv.* quench (fire)
kpīkpīn^{na/} *pl kpīkpīnníb*^a *cb kpīkpín-* *n.* merchant
kpī'oŋ^ɔ *pl kpī'əma* *cb kpì'oŋ-* *adj.* strong, hard
kpìsɪnkpìl^{lε} *pl kpìsɪnkpìla* *cb kpìsɪnkpìl-* *n.* fist
kpìsvkpìl^{lε} *n.* fist

- kpòkpàr^ε* pl *kpòkpàra* n. palm tree fruit
kpòkpàrɪg^a pl *kpòkpàris^ε* cb *kpòkpàr-* n. palm tree (*Borassus akeassii/aethiopum*)
kpòkpàɹɔ^ɔ pl *kpòkpàma* cb *kpòkpàɹɔ-* n. arm, wing
kò not; negates irrealis mood 16.5
kō dv. kill (= Mooré *kú*)
kō dv. gather, threaten (of rain): *Sāa kú yā*. It looks like rain (= Mooré *kú*)
kuā dv. hoe, farm
kō'alíɲ^a pl *kō'alímìs^ε* *kō'alís^ε* cb *kō'alíɲ-* n. sleeveless traditional smock
kùd^ε dv. work iron
kòdɪg^ε dv. shrivel up, dry out, age
kōdɪm^m n. the olden days; also for *kōlɪm* qv
kōdɔg^ɔ *kōdɪr^ε* pl *kōda* *kōt^ε* cb *kòd-* adj. old
kūdɔg^ɔ pl *kūt^ε* (used as sg 12.2) cb *kùt-* n. iron, nail; sg only in names 26.2
kūgv^{ε/} pl *kūgá* cb *kūg-* n. stone
kōk^a pl *kōgvs^ε* cb *kòg-* n. chair
kòk^a n. ghost
kōk^{al/} n. mahogany tree, *Khaya senegalensis*; cf Hausa *kuukàa*
kòkò^{mε} pl *kòkòma* cb *kòkòm-* n. leper
kòkōr^{ε/} pl *kòkōyá* cb *kòkōr-* n. voice
kòkpàrɪg^a see *kpòkpàrɪg^a* id
kūl^ε ger *kūlɪg^{al/}* dv. return home; transitive marry (woman subject, man object)
kōlɪm always, post-subject particle 17.2.3
kòlɪɲ^a pl *kòlɪmìs^ε* *kòlìs^ε* cb *kòlɪɲ-* n. door
kòm^m dv. cry, weep
kūm^m cb *kùm-* n. death; *kùm-vō'vǵír^ε* n. resurrection NT
kòndò'ar^ε pl *kòndò'ada* cb *kòndɔ'à-* n. barren woman
kòndòɲ^a pl *kòndòmìs^ε* *kòndòna* n. jackal, hyena
kù'øm^m cb *ku'à-* n. water; *ku'à-nūud^{ε/}* n. thirst; *ku'à-ñwīg^{al/}* pl *ku'à-ñwīis^{ε/}* n.
 current in a river
kùø^ε dv. sell
kòrkōr^{ε/} pl *kòrkōyá* cb *kòrkōr-* n. pig
Kōsáa pl *Kōsáas^ε* cb *Kōsá-* n. Kusaasi person
Kōsáal^ε n. Kusaal language
Kōsávg^ɔ n. Kusaasi country
Kòtān^{nε/} pl *Kòtām^{ma/}* cb *Kòtān-* n. member of WK's clan
Kòtāɹɔ^{ɔ/} n. country of clan *Kòtām^{ma/}* Kutamba
kōv or 17.2 18.2 ← Hausa *koo*
kūug^{al/} *kūug^{ɔ/}* pl *kūus^{ε/}* cb *kū-* n. mouse
kòvl^ε dv. get drunk

L

lā' definite article 12.8.5

là' dv. laugh

lā'af^o n. cowrie; pl *līgidi* n. cowries, money; cb *līg- là'-*; *là'-bīəlíf*^o n. small coin

láafiya n. health ← Arabic *ʔal-ʔa:fiya*; replaced by *laafe láafi* in 1996 NT and KB

là'am together, preverb 16.8

là'am^m dv. associate with; together with 19.1

là'as^ε dv. gather together (transitive); *Bà là'as tāaba* They gathered together.

làbāar^ε cb *làbà-* n. news ← Arabic *ʔal-ʔaxba:r*

làbi^{ya} sv. be crouching, hiding behind something (cf Hausa *labèe* "crouch behind something to eavesdrop" 11.1)

làbu^ε dv. make crouch behind something

*làbu*ⁿ dv. crouch behind something

làbı^ε dv. walk stealthily

làbı^a sv. be wide

làbısíg^a *làbısır*^ε pl *làbısá* cb *làbı*^{s-} adj. wide

làbısım^m n. width

lāk^ε dv. open (eye, book)

lāl^{la} sv. be distant

lālīg^ε dv. get to be far, make far

lālíl adv. far off

lālín^a pl *lālís*^ε cb *lālín-* adj. distant

lállóg^o pl *lállá* cb *lāl-* adj. distant

lām^{mε}/ pl *lámá* cb *lām-* n. gum (of tooth); *lām-fôog*^o pl *lām-fôod*^ε adj. toothless

làmpō-dī'əs^a n. tax collector 11 ← French *l'impôt*

lān^{nε} pl *lāna* cb *lān-* n. testicle

làngávŋ^o pl *làngáam*^{mε} *làngāamá* cb *làngāvŋ-* n. crab (cf *màngávŋ*^o id)

lànnıg^a pl *lànnı*^s cb *lànnıg-* 5.2 n. squirrel

lā'ŋ^ε dv. set alight

lāŋım^m dv. wander around searching

lāuk^o pl *lā'ad*^ε cb *là'-* n. item of goods pl goods

là'vŋ^o pl *là'ama* n. fishing net

lèb^ε ger *lēbıg*^a dv. return (intrans)

lèbıg^ε dv. turn over; return

lèbı^s dv. answer; send back; divorce (wife)

lèε but, VP particle 16.7

lèm again, preverb 16.8

lèm^m ipfv *lèmmıd*^a dv. sip, taste

lēr^ε dv. get ugly

lì it, its (right-bound); *li* it (left-bound) 12.4.1

lì ipfv *lità*^a imp *lìm*^a ger *līg*^a dv. fall

- lī* *dv.* block up
līa where is ...? 18.4
līdɪg^ε *dv.* turn a shirt WK
līdɪg^ε *dv.* astonish, be amazed
līəb^ε *dv.* become
lī'əl^ε *dv.* approach, come near
lī'əm^{mε} *pl* *lī'əmá* *n.* fruit of yellow plum tree
lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís^ε* *cb* *lī'əŋ-* *n.* axe
lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís^ε* *n.* yellow plum tree, *Ximenia americana*
līg^ε *dv.* patch
līgɪ^ε *dv.* cover
līgɪn^ε *dv.* cover oneself
lībɪr^ε *pl* *lība* *cb* *līb-* *n.* twin
līk^a *pl* *līgɪs^ε* *n.* darkness
līlāalɪŋ^a *pl* *līlāalís^ε* *līlāalímís^ε* *cb* *līlāalɪŋ-* *n.* swallow
lín it (subject of *n*-clause); *līn^ε* it (contrastive) 12.4.1
lìn^ε that demonstrative 12.4.2
líná that demonstrative 12.4.2
lī *dv.* tie
līb^ε or *lībɪg^{ε/}* *dv.* throw stones at
lībɪdɪg^a *pl* *lībɪdís^ε* *n.* water drawing vessel
lōdɪg^{a/} *pl* *lōdɪs^{ε/}* *cb* *lōd-* *n.* corner; *lōdɪgín kúg-súŋ^o* cornerstone NT
lōdɪg^{ε/} *dv.* untie
lòk^o *pl* *lò'ad^ε* *cb* *lɔ'á-* *n.* quiver (for arrows)
lòmbò'ɔg^o *pl* *lòmbò'ɔd^ε* *cb* *lòmbò'-* *n.* garden ← Hausa *làmbuu*
lōŋ^a *pl* *lōmɪs^ε* *cb* *lòŋ-* *n.* a kind of frog
lō'ŋ^{ε/} *dv.* go across river, road etc
lór^ε *pl* *lóyà lóɔm^{ma}* *cb* *lór-* *n.* car, lorry ← English
lòs^ε *dv.* dip, immerse in liquid
lù *ipfv* *lùt^a* *imp* *lùm^a* *dv.* fall
lūb^ε *ger* *lūbɪr^{ε/}* *dv.* buck, kick, struggle, throw off rider
lūg^ε *dv.* swim
lūgɔr^ε *n.* organ, member

M

- m̀* I, my (*right-bound*); *m^a* me (*left-bound*) 12.4.1
mà *cb* *mà-* *n.* mother; *pl* *mà nám^a* (*tone sic*) mother's sisters/co-wives; *mà-bīg^a* *n.* sibling with same mother; *mà-bīl^a* *n.* mother's younger sister or junior co-wife; *mà-kpēēñm^m* *n.* mother's elder sister or senior co-wife; *mà-pīt^{a/}* *n.* mother's younger sister
mà' *dv.* lie, deceive

mà'aa SF *mà'ane* LF only; *emphatic* 24.7

màal^ε *dv.* prepare, sacrifice; *agt* *màal-māan*^{na} *n.* sacrificer; priest NT; traditionally just a worker who conducts the actual slaying for the *tèŋ-dāan*^a earth-priest

mā'al^{ε/} *dv.* make cool, wet

māan^{ne} *pl* *māana* *cb* *māan-* *n.* sacrifice 8.1.2

má'an^{ne} *pl* *mā'aná* *cb* *mā'an-* *n.* okra

mā'as^{a/} *sv.* be cool, wet

mā'asíg^a *mā'asír*^ε *pl* *mā'asá* *cb* *mā'as-* *adj.* cool, wet

mā'asígā' *adv.* coolly

mā'asím^m *n.* coolness, wetness

mādıg^{ε/} *dv.* overflow, abound

mā'e' *dv.* cool down

màk^ε *dv.* crumple up

māk^{ε/} *dv.* measure, judge

màlīāk^{a/} *pl* *màlīā'as*^{ε/} *màlīāk-nám*^a *cb* *màlīā'-* *n.* angel ← Arabic *malʔak*;
written *malek* in NT versions before 2016

màlıf^o *pl* *màlı* *n.* gun, rifle (ultimately ← Arabic)

màlıgım again; *preverb* 16.8

mālıs^{a/} *sv.* be sweet, pleasant

mālısíg^a *mālısír*^ε *pl* *mālısá* *cb* *mālıs-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant

mālısím^m *n.* sweetness

mālısıŋ^a *pl* *mālısıs*^ε *cb* *mālısıŋ-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant

mālvŋ^o *pl* *mālıma* *cb* *mālvŋ-* *n.* sacrifice

mām I, me 12.4.1

mán I (as subject of *ŋ*-clause); *mān* SF *mánè* LF I, me (contrastive) 12.4.1

màngávŋ^o *pl* *màngáam*^{mε} *màngāamá* *cb* *màngāvŋ-* *n.* crab (cf *làngávŋ*^o *id*)

màık^o *pl* *mà'ad*^ε *adj.* crumpled up

mè *dv.* build

mè mèn^ε too, also; *emphatic* 24.7; *mè-kàma* -soever 12.4.3

mēd^ε *dv.* mash up

mèeŋ^a *pl* *mèemıs*^ε *cb* *mèeŋ-* *n.* turtle

mèlıgım^m *n.* dew

mēŋ^{a/} self 12.4.6

mēŋír^ε *adj.* genuine

mēt^{ε/} *cb* *mēt-* *n.* *pl* as *sg* *pus*

mī' *ger* *mī'ilım*^m *sv.* know; *agt* *gbàn-mī'id*^{a/} *n.* scribe ("book-knower") NT

mịe *dv.* squeeze(?) 27.1; *uncertain meaning and tones*

míf^o *pl* *mīiní* *n.* okra seed

mị'ig^ε *dv.* become sour

mị'is^a *sv.* be sour

mị'isvŋ^o *pl* *mị'isa* *cb* *mị'is-* *adj.* sour

mīlɪg^{ε/} *dv.* get dirty
mīmīlím^m *mīmīlíg*^o *n.* sweetness
mīt see that it doesn't happen that... 16.5; *always mid in KB*
mō *dv.* strive, struggle
mōd^ε *dv.* swell
mōdɪg^{ε/} *dv.* be patient, endure
mòlɪ^o *pl* *mòlɪ* *cb* *mòl-* *n.* gazelle
mōn^ε *dv.* grind millet to make *sā'ab*^o porridge
mōŋ^{ε/} *dv.* refuse to lend
mōɔg^o *pl* *mōɔd*^ε *cb* *mò-* *n.* grass, "bush"; *mò-pīl*^{lε} *n.* grass thatch
Mòɔg^o *n.* Mossi realm; *Mòɔg Nâ'ab*^a *n.* the Moro Naba, King of the Mossi
mōɔl^{ε/} *dv.* proclaim; *agt* *mōɔl-môɔn*^{na} *n.* proclaimer
Mòɔl^ε *n.* Mooré language
Mōr^{ε/} *pl* *Móɔm*^{ma} *cb* *Mōr-* *n.* Muslim
mōr^{a/} *ger* *mōrím*^m *sv.* have, possess; *mōr nā* bring 16.11
Mùà *pl* *Mòɔs*^ε *cb* *Mò-* *n.* Mossi person
mɥ'à^a *dv.* suck (of a baby)
mɥ'àk^a *pl* *mò'as*^ε *cb* *mɥ'à-* *n.* maggot
mò'ar^ε *pl* *mɥ'àà* *mò'ada* *cb* *mɥ'à-* *n.* dam; reservoir
mò'as^ε *dv.* give (to baby) to suck
mù'e *dv.* redden; catch fire/ignite; become intense, severe
mùj *cb* *mùj-* *n.* *pl as sg* rice
mùl^ε *dv.* itch
mùm^m *dv.* bury

N

̀n *clause nominaliser particle* 21
n *clause catenator particle* 19
̀n- *personifier particle (allomorph used before an adjective)* 12.6
n^ε *discontinuous-past marker* 16.3.2
n^ε *nī* *locative particle* 13.3
nà *positive irrealis mood marker* 16.4
nā *hither; VP-final particle* 16.11
nā *dv.* join
náa *reply to greetings invoking blessings* 25
nà'ab^a *pl* *nà'-nàm*^a *cb* *nà'-* *n.* chief, king; *nà'-bīg*^a *n.* prince/princess; *nà'-yīr*^{ε/} *n.* palace; *nà'-yī-kpém*^{ma} *n.* *pl* king/chief's retainers
náf^o *pl* *nīgí* *cb* *nā'-* *n.* cow; *nā'-lór*^ε *n.* place in compound for tying up cows;
nā'-dāv^o *pl* *nā'-dâad*^ε *cb* *nā'-dá-* *n.* ox; *nā'-dá-kūədír*^ε *n.* ox for ploughing
nàam^m *dv.* happen
nā'am^m *cb* *nà'am-* *n.* chieftaincy, kingdom

- nāan* next, afterwards = *ñyāan*
nāan or *nāani* then, in that case, being thus/there 20.1
nà'anā' adv. easily
nà'as^ε dv. honour; *ger* *nà'asi* n. honour
Nàbıd^a pl *Nàbıdıb^a* cb *Nàbıd-* n. Nabdema person
Nàbıdv^o n. Nabdema country
Nàbır^ε n. Nabit language
Nà'dàm^{ma} n. clan name
Nà'dàıı^o n. place of clan Nadamba
nà'-dàwān^{ne/} n. pigeon KED (= *dàwān^{ne/}*)
nāe' dv. finish
nàm still, yet; *auxiliary tense particle* 16.3.1
nàm^a pluraliser 5.4
nāmı^{ε/} dv. persecute, suffer
nān^ε dv. love, respect, appreciate
nà'-nēsınnēog^{o/} n. centipede WK
nānná adv. now
nānná-nā' adv. now
nānzū'us^{ε/} n. pepper tones uncertain
nāη^a pl *nāmı^ε* cb *nàη-* n. scorpion
nār^{a/} *ger* *nārım^m* sv. be obliged to; impersonal: to be necessary; *with following purpose clause* 22.1; *negated*: be obliged not to
nàrvı^o pl *nàrıma* cb *nàrvıη-* adj. necessary
Nàsāal^ε n. English/French language
Nàsāara pl *Nàsàa-nàm^a* *Nàsàar-nàm^a* cb *Nàsàa-* *Nàsàar-* n. European person
 ← Arabic *Nas^a:ra*: "Christians"; *Nàsàa-bīg^a* n. European child
nàyıg^a pl *nàyıg-nàm^a* *nàyıis^ε* n. thief
nàyıgım^m n. thievery
nà'-zòm^{mε} n. locust
nē preposition: with 15; *linking NPs and AdvPs*: and 12.1
nē uncommon variant of *yē* that 22.2 (cf Mampruli *ni id*)
nē' focus particle 24.1.2; *aspectual marker* 16.2.1
nē' meaningless particle after objects of *wūv* and *wēn^{na/}* 15
nē' this (pronoun) 12.4.2
nèel^ε dv. reveal
nèem^m adv. for free
nēem^{m/} dv. grind with a millstone
nēer^{ε/} n. millstone
nèes^ε dv. reveal
nèesım^m n. light
nēm-nêer^ε pl *nēm-néyà* n. someone who grinds

nēn^{na/} *ger nēnním*^m sv. envy

nē'ηά this (pronoun) 12.4.2

nèog^o *nèer*^e pl *nèed*^e *nèya* cb *nè-* adj. empty

nēsinnēog^{o/} pl *nēsinnēed*^{e/} cb *nēsinné-* n. envious person WK; *others*: centipede
ηfά! Well done! 18.4

nī' locative particle 13.3 see *n*^e

nì dv. rain

nīd^{a/} pl *nīdīb*^{a/} cb *nīn-* n. person; *nīn-sāal*^a pl *nīn-sāalīb*^a cb *nīn-sāal-* n. human being;
nīnpōnān^{na/} pl *nīnpōnānnīb*^a cb *nīnpōnán-* n. disrespectful person; *nīn-*
sábilìs^e n. Africans

nìe dv. appear, reveal

nīf^{o/} pl *nīnì* cb *nīn-* *nīf-* n. eye; *nīf-gbáyū*^o n. eyelid; *nīf-sób*^a n. miser; *nīf-ñyáyuk*^o adj.
one-eyed 12.8.1.1; *nīn-dáa* pl *nīn-dâas*^e cb *nīn-dá-* n. face; *nīn-gótìη*^a n.
mirror pl *nīn-gótìs*^e n. spectacles, glasses; *nīn-kúgvđìg*^a pl *nīn-kúgvđìs*^e n.
eyebrow; *nīn-tâ'am*^m n. tear(s); *nīn-múa* n. concentration ("eye-redness");
m̄ nīnì m̄'u e nē ... I'm concentrating on ... (KB "zealous for ...")

nīη^a pl *nīmís*^e *nīis*^e cb *nīiη-* n. bird

nīm^{ne/} *nī'm*^{ne/} pl *nīmá* cb *nīm-* n. meat

nīn-báalìg^a n. pity; *nīn-bâal-zōr*^e n. pity; *Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg*. He has pity on him.

nīη^a pl *nīis*^e cb *nīη-* *nīn-* n. body (uncommon); *nīn-tōllím*^m n. fever; *nīn-tāa* pl *nīn-*
tāas^e cb *nīn-tà-* n. co-wife (Ghanaian English: "rival"); husband's brother's wife;
nīn-gbīη^{o/} pl *nīn-gbīnā* cb *nīn-gbīη-* n. body (pl often as sg); *nīn-gòr*^e n. neck

nīn-pôvd^e n. pl as sg pus

nīntāη^{a/} pl *nīntāañs*^{e/} cb *nīntáy-* n. heat of the day, early afternoon

nīη^e dv. do

n lā that is ... 18.4

ñnāas q. four, in counting

ññì q. eight, in counting

ññū q. five, in counting

n ñwà this is ...; *n ñwà nā* this here is ... 18.4

nō dv. tread

nōb^e dv. get fat

nōbìg^{e/} dv. grow (e.g. child, plant)

nóbìr^e pl *nōbá* cb *nōb-* n. leg, foot; *nōb-bíl*^a n. toe; *nōb-yíη*^o adj. one-legged
12.8.1.1; *nōb-ìñ'a* n. toenail; *nōb-púmpàη*^o n. foot

nōk^{e/} dv. pick up, take up

nòη^e agt *nòηìd*^a (irregularly Pattern L) sv. love (family, spiritual); irregularly has
the *ma*-imperative form *nòηim*^a 7.2

nōη^{o/} cb *nōη-* n. poverty; *nōη-dâan*^a n. poor person

nòηulím^m n. love

nōw exactly, just; emphatic 24.7

nɔɔr^{el} pl *nɔ́yá* cb *nɔ́-* n. mouth; command, message, opinion; *nɔ́-dí'əs*^a n. "linguist", a councillor who speaks on a chief's behalf on all official occasions (not only in the region of the old Mossi-Dagomba states 1.1: "linguist" in Ghana typically refers to an Akan chief's herald and spokesman, the *okyeame*); *Wínà'am nɔ́-dí'əs*^a ("God's linguist") prophet NT/KB; *nɔ́-lɔ́ɔr*^e n. fasting ("mouth-tying", as throughout West Africa); *nɔ́-náar*^e n. covenant; *nɔ́-pɔ́ɔr*^e n. oath; *nɔ́-gbáɔŋ*^o pl *nɔ́-gbánà* n. lip

nɔɔr^{el} *nɔ́ɔrím*^m times 12.5.1

ɲpòɛ q. seven, in counting

ɲtáñ' q. three, in counting

nū dv. drink

nūa' pl *nɔ́ɔs*^{el} cb *nɔ́-* n. hen; *nɔ́-dávu*^o n. cock; *nɔ́-ñyá'aŋ*^a n. (specifically female) hen; *Nɔ́-ñyá'aŋ-né-ò-Bīis* the Pleiades

nūlu^{el} dv. make drink

nūls^{el} dv. make drink

nū'ug^o pl *nū'us*^e cb *nū'-* n. hand, arm; *nū'-bíl*^a pl *nū'-bíbìs*^e n. finger; *nū'-dáv*^o n. thumb; *nū'-yíuŋ*^o adj. one-armed 12.8.1.1; *nū'-íñ'a* pl *nū'-éñ'es*^e cb *nū'-éñ'*- n. fingernail; *nū'-wêñ'ed*^a n. mediator

ñwà this 12.8.5

ñwā' dv. smash, break up

ñwāaŋ^a pl *ñwāamɪs*^e cb *ñwāaŋ-* n. monkey

ñwādíg^{al} pl *ñwādɪs*^{el} cb *ñwād-* n. moon, month; *ñwād-bíl*^a pl *ñwād-bíbìs*^e n. star; *Ñwād-dár*^e n. Venus

ñwà'e dv. cut wood

ñwā'e' dv. strike, break

ñwāɛ q. nine, in counting

ñwām^{me} *ñwān*^{ne} pl *ñwāma* *ñwāna* cb *ñwām-* *ñwān-* n. calabash

Ñwāmpūri^{al} pl *Ñwāmpūris*^{el} cb *Ñwāmpūr-* n. Mamprussi person

Ñwāmpūri^{el} n. Mampruli language

Ñwāmpūr^o n. Mamprussi country

ñwè' dv. beat; *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* make an agreement with X; *ñwè'* *ñyɔ'ɔg* boast

ñwīig^{al} pl *ñwīis*^{el} cb *ñwī-* n. rope; *ñwī-ték*^a pl *ñwī-tékìdɪb*^a cb *ñwī-ték-* n. rope-puller; *ñwī-tékìr*^e pl *ñwī-tékà* n. rope for pulling

ñwīig^{el} dv. make a rope

ñyā'al^{el} dv. leave behind

ñyāan next, afterwards; *post-subject particle* 17.2.3

ñyá'aŋ^a pl *ñyá'as*^e *ñyā'amís*^e cb *ñyā'aŋ-* adj. female (animal)

ñyá'aŋ^a behind, *postposition* 13.5; East 26.3; *ñyà'an-dòl*^{la} *ñyà'an-dòl*^{le} pl *ñyà'an-dòlla* *ñyà'an-dòllɪb*^a cb *ñyà'an-dòl-* n. disciple NT; *tones unexpected*, *Pattern L*

ñyā'ar^e pl *ñyā'a* cb *ñyā'-* n. root

ñyāe^{ne} adv. in the light, brightly, clearly

ñyālúŋ^o pl ñyālmá cb ñyālvŋ- adj. wonderful
 ñyàn^{ne} n. shame; Ò dì ñyán. He's ashamed.
 ñyāŋ^{el} dv. overcome 19.1
 ñyàuk^o pl ñyà'ad^e adj. only (eye) 12.8.1.1
 ñyē ipfv ñyēt^{al} imp ñyèm^a dv. see, find; ñyē láaftya get well
 ñyēε, ñyēε tí habitually, auxiliary tense marker 16.3.1
 ñyē'er^{el} pl ñyēdá cb ñyē'- n. next-younger sibling
 ñyèεs^a sv. be self-confident
 ñyèεsım^m n. self-confidence
 ñyèεsíŋ^a pl ñyèεsíε cb ñyèεsíŋ- adj. self-confident
 ñyèεsíŋā' adv. self-confidently
 ñyí' q. two, in counting
 ñyīn^{ne} pl ñyīná cb ñyīn- n. tooth
 ñyīrír^o pl ñyīrí n. a kind of edible seed, egusi: *Colocynthis citrullus*
 ñyōɔd^e n. intestines
 ñyō'og^o n. chest
 ñyōɔg^o n. sympathy: Ò zòtō ñyōɔg. She sympathises with him.
 ñyōɔr^e pl ñyōya cb ñyò- n. nose; breath; ñyò-vōr^{el} pl ñyò-vōyá cb ñyò-vōr- n. life;
 ñyò-vōr-paal^{le} n. new life NT
 ñyō'os^{el} n. smoke
 ñyūōb q. six, in counting
 ñyūur^{el} pl ñyūyá cb ñyū- n. yam

O

ò [ɔ] he, she, his, her (right-bound); ° LF [ɔ] him, her (left-bound) 12.4.1
 ón he, she (subject of ñ-clause); òn^e he, she (contrastive) 12.4.1
 òn^e this, that (animate sg demonstrative) 12.4.2
 òñb^e ger òñbır^e dv. chew
 òŋā' this, that (animate sg demonstrative) 12.4.2
 òɔs^{el} dv. warm oneself; Ò òɔsıd nē búgúm lā. She's warming herself at the fire.

P

pà' earlier today, tense particle 16.3.1
 pà'al^e dv. teach, inform; agt pā'an^{na} pl pā'annıb^a cb pà'an- n. teacher
 pà'al^e dv. put on top of something
 pāalíg^a pāal^{le} pl pāalís^e pāalá cb pāal- adj. new
 pāalím^m adv. recently
 pāalú adv. openly
 pàañlúŋ^o pl pàañlímìs^e n. spider's web
 pàam^m dv. receive a gift
 pàas^e dv. add up to, amount to

pāe' *dv.* reach

pàk^ε *dv.* surprise

pàk^ε *dv.* take off from the top

pāmm SF *pāmné* LF *q.* much, a lot

pàñ'alım^m *dv.* dedicate

pàñsıg^ε *dv.* lack

pàη^a pl *pàaňs^ε* cb *pàη-* n. power

pà' tì perhaps; *post-subject particle* [17.2.3](#)

pèbıs^ε *dv.* blow (of wind)

pèbısm^m *pèbısv^o* n. wind

pè'el^ε *dv.* fill; *resultative adj* *pè'elúv^o* full

pεelv^o in *zū-péelv^o* bald [12.8.1.1](#); cf *pie* "go bald" (Leviticus 13:40), Mooré *pěoogè*

pè'es^ε *dv.* add up to, amount to

pèlv^ε *dv.* whiten, go white

pèlıs^ε *dv.* sharpen

pèn^{nε} n. vagina

pē'η^{ε/} *dv.* borrow; knock over WK

pèog^o pl *pèed^ε* cb *pè-* n. basket

pē'og^{o/} pl *pē'es^{ε/}* cb *pē'-* n. sheep; *pē'-sá'a* n. ewe lamb

pēsıg^{ε/} *dv.* sacrifice

pīā *dv.* dig up

pīāň^a *dv.* speak, praise; *ger* *pīāuňk^o* n. word pl *pīāň'ad^ε* language cb *pīāň'-*;

pīāň'-zòna n. foreign language

pìbv^ε *dv.* uncover

pìbv^ε *dv.* cover up

pībv^{nε} pl *pībvna* cb *pībv-* n. covering [8.1.2](#)

pìd^ε *dv.* put on (hat, shoes, rings); *clothing item as object; with indirect object* put (hat, shoes, rings) on someone else

pīd^ε *dv.* get bloated

pìdv^ε *dv.* take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pīe' *dv.* wash (part of one's own body)

pìəb^ε *dv.* blow (e.g. flute)

pìəlv^a *pìəlv^ε* pl *pìəlv* *pìəlv^ε* cb *pìəlv-* *adj.* white

pìəlv^m n. whiteness

pìəsv^ε *dv.* fool someone

pīəsv^{ε/} *dv.* wash

pīiga *q.* ten

pīm^{m/} pl *pīmá* cb *pīm-* n. arrow

píuň^o pl *pīuńí* cb *pīuń-* n. genet

pīińı cb *pīiń-* pl as sg (?) n. gift

pìl^ε *dv.* cover

pìlg^ε *dv.* uncover

pīñ'il^{ε/} *dv.* begin

pīpīrig^{al/} *pl* *pīpīris*^{ε/} *cb* *pīpír-* *n.* desert

pīsí *q.* twenty

pītú *pl* *pītíb*^a *cb* *pīt-* *n.* younger sibling of the same sex

pō *dv.* swear

pòñd^ε *dv.* crouch down

pōñ'ol^{ε/} *dv.* cause to rot

pòñ'olim^m *dv.* cripple, get crippled

pòñ'or^ε *pl* *pòñda* *cb* *pòñ'-* *n.* cripple

pòñr^a *ger* *pòñrub*^o *sv.* be near

pòcd^a *sv.* be few, small

pòcdig^a *pòcdir*^ε *pl* *pòcda* *cb* *pòcd-* *adj.* few, small

pòcdim^m *n.* fewness

pōcg^{o/} *pl* *pōcd*^{ε/} *pōt*^{ε/} *cb* *pō-* *n.* field, farm

pò'og^ε *dv.* diminish, belittle

pōor^{ε/} *n.* "slogan" of a clan, part of its traditional genealogy WK; ← *pō* swear (cf

Farefare *pote*, *pore* "nom de famille, nom par lequel on jure", also "oath")

pō *not:* negates indicative mood 16.5

pō *dv.* divide

pū'ā^a *pl* *pū'ab*^a *cb* *pū'ā-* *n.* woman, wife; *Ò dī pū'ā.* He's married a wife; *pū'ā-dīr*^ε *n.*

marriage; *pū'ā-ēlīg*^a *n.* fiancée; *pū'ā-gīnnīg*^a, *pū'ā-gōōñdir*^ε *n.* prostitute;

pū'ā-ñyá'an^a *pl* *pū'ā-ñyá'as*^ε *n.* old woman; *pū'ā-pāal*^{al/} *n.* bride; *pū'ā-sādīr*^{ε/} *n.*

young woman; *pū'ā-sāñ'am*^{na} *n.* adulterer; *pū'ā-yùu* *n.* daughter

pūāk^a *pl* *pū'as*^ε *adj.* female (human only)

pò'alim^m *dv.* cook

pò'alim^m *dv.* harm, damage; *resultative adj* *pò'alúŋ*^o damaged

pò'alim^m *n.* femininity

pò'alím^m *pl* *pò'alímìs*^ε *cb* *pò'alím-* *n.* female sex organs

pòd^ε *dv.* name

pōdig^{ε/} *dv.* divide, share out

pògvdīb^a *pl* *pògvd-nàm*^a *cb* *pògvd-* *n.* father's sister

pò-kòōñr^ε *pl* *pò-kòñya* *cb* *pò-kòñ-* *n.* widow

pō-kpāad^{al/} *pl* *pō-kpāadīb*^a *cb* *irreg* *pō-kpá-* *n.* farmer

pùlma *n.* a species of grass, *Imperata cylindrica*

pòmpōcg^o *n.* housefly

pòn previously, already; *preverb* 16.8

pūñ'e^l *dv.* rot

pūsīg^{al/} *pl* *pūsīs*^{ε/} *cb* *pūs-* *n.* tamarind

pūsīr^{ε/} *pl* *pūsá* *n.* tamarind fruit

pō-súk^a *pl* *pō-súgùs*^ε *n.* half 12.5.1

põt^{ε/} *n. pl as sg* contents of stomach WK

pūum^{m/} *cb pūum-* *n.* flowers

pōvg^a *cb pò-* *n.* inside, belly; *Pu'ā lā mór pōvg* The woman is pregnant; *pōvgv-n^{ε/}* inside 13.5; *pò-pìəlim^m* *n.* holiness; *pò-tèñ'er^ε* *pl pò-tèñda* *cb pò-tèñ'-* mind

pōvr^{ε/} *n.* stomach

pò'vs^ε *dv.* greet, worship, thank; *ger pò'vsim^m* *n.* worship; *ger pò'vsug^o* *n.* thanks; *pò'vsug dōog^o* NT temple

S

sà yesterday, tense particle 16.3.1

sà hence, ago, VP-final particle 16.11

sā' *dv.* be in distress

sàa tomorrow, tense particle 16.3.1

sā *pl sās^ε* *cb sà-* *n.* rain; sky; as subject of *īāñk^{ε/}* "leap": lightning; *sā dīndēog^{o/}* rainbow ("rain chameleon"); *sā zúg^o* *n.* sky 13.5

sā'ab^o *cb sà'-* *n.* millet porridge, "TZ", the staple food of the Kusaasi

sāafi (?tones) *n.* lock, key ← Twi *safē*

sàal^a *pl sàalib^a* *cb sàal-* *n.* human (perhaps ← "hairless" cf *būn-kóñbòg^o*); *sàal-bīg^a* *pl sàal-bīis^ε* *n.* human being

sàalīgā' *adv.* smoothly

sàam^{ma} *pl sàam-nàm^a* *cb sàam-* *n.* father; *sàam-kpēēñm^m* *n.* father's elder brother; *sàam-pīt^{a/}* *pl sàam-pītí^a* *cb sàam-pīt-* *n.* father's younger brother

sāam^{m/} *dv.* mash, crumble

sā'an^{ε/} in the presence of, in the opinion of; *postposition* 13.5

sāan^{a/} *pl sām^{ma}* *cb sāan-* *n.* guest, stranger

sáannim^m *n.* strangerhood

sàbēog^o *pl sàbēed^ε* *cb sàbè-* *n.* wind, storm

sābilíg^a *sābil^{le}* *pl sābilís^ε* *sābilá* *cb sābil-* *adj.* black

sàbùa *pl sàbùes^ε* *cb sàbùà-* *n.* lover, girlfriend

Sà'dàbòog^o *n.* place of the clan Sarabose

Sà'dàbùa *pl Sà'dàbùes^ε* *Sà'dàbùeb^a* *n.* clan name

sādīgim since, because 21.1

sāeñ or *sāeñ^a* *pl sāañ^a* *cb sàñ-* *n.* blacksmith

sākáròg^o *pl sākárìd^ε* *cb sākár-* *n.* fox

sàlibir^ε *n.* bridle

sālīma *cb sālīm-* *n. pl as sg* gold; *sālīm-kùes^a* *n.* gold merchant

sām^{nε/} *pl sāmá* *cb sām-* *n.* debt; *sām-kpâ'as^a* *n.* household servant

sāmán^{nε} *pl sāmánà* *cb sāmán-* *n.* open space in front of a *zàk^a* compound;

Sāmán-pìə^ε *n.* traditional New Year ceremony

sàñ'am^m *dv.* spoil, get spoiled, get broken; destroy

sāngúnnìr^ε *pl sāngúnnà* *cb sāngún-* *n.* millipede

sāṅá pl *sānsá* cb *sān-* n. time 26.7 5.3.2; *sān-kán*^ε adv. then; when?

sān-sî'ə-n lā adv. at one time, once ... 17.2.1

sàṅ-gbàṅ^ɔ n. sky, heaven; cf *sāa*

sāpál^{lε} n. Harmattan part of the dry season *úvn*^{nε}

sāpɪ ideo. straight

sārɪgá n. prison ← Hausa *sarkàa* "chain"

sàrɪyà or *sèrɪyà* n. law ← Arabic *fari:fa*; *sàrɪyà-kāt*^a n. judge NT

sāvɔ^ɔ pl *sāad*^{ε/} cb *sā-* n. broom, brush

sàvk^ɔ pl *sà'ad*^ε n. mote of dust

sávɔ^ɔ n. hospitality

sè ipfv *sèɛd*^a dv. transplant

sēōṅ^ɔ n. rainy season

sì dv. skin, flay

sī'a some, any (sg) 12.4.3

sīa pl *sīəs*^ε cb *sìà-* n. waist; *sìà-lōɔdíṅ*^a n. belt ("waist-tying-thing"); *sìà-nīf*^ɔ/n. kidney

sīā'al^{ε/} dv. get to be enough

sìà'ar^ε pl *sìà'a* cb *sìà'-* n. forest (WK), wilderness

sìàk^ε dv. agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*)

sìāk^{ε/} dv. suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)

sībɪg^{a/} pl *sībí* cb *sīb-* n. a kind of termite

sìd truly, post-subject particle 17.2.3

sìda pl *sìd-* n. pl as sg truth

sìd^a pl *sìdɪb*^a cb *sìd-* n. husband; *sìd-bīl*^a n. husband's younger brother;

sìd-kpēēṅm^m n. husband's elder brother; *sìd-puāk*^a n. husband's sister

sīe[/] dv. descend, be humbled

sīəba some(ones), any (ones) 12.4.3

sī'ə^a something, anything 12.4.3

sī'əm^m somehow, anyhow 12.4.3 13.6

sīg^ε dv. descend

sīgɪr^{ε/} n. guardian spirit, typically but not invariably the *wīn*^{nε/} of an ancestor 26.2

sīgɪs^{ε/} dv. lower

sīgɪsír^ε pl *sīgɪsá* n. stopping-place

sīg^a pl *sīs*^ε cb *sì-* n. shade, personal spirit (KED); used in NT for "spirit"; in

traditional belief rather *Lebenskraft* (Haaf) "vital energy", closely associated

with a person's tutelary *kìkīris*^{ε/} (qv); *Sì-sòṅ*^ɔ n. Holy Spirit NT; cf Buli *chík*

sīg^a pl *sīs*^ε n. African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*; cf Buli *sīik*

sīlɪm^m dv. cite proverbs

sīlɪṅ^a *sīlɪṅ*^ɔ pl *sīlɪs*^ε *sīlɪmìs*^ε *sīlɪmà* cb *sīlɪṅ-* n. proverb

sīiṅd^{ε/} n. honey

sīiṅf^ɔ *sīiṅg*^{a/} pl *sīiṅs*^{ε/} cb *sīṅ-* n. bee

sī'is^{ε/} dv. touch

- sīlinsŕug*^o *pl sīlinsŕis*^ε *n.* ghost
sīlinsŕuňg^o *pl sīlinsŕiňd*^ε *n.* spider
sìlvog^o *pl sìn*^{ne} *sìlis*^ε *cb sıl-* *n.* hawk
sım^m *dv.* sink in a liquid
Sìmŕig^a *pl Sìmŕis*^ε *cb Sìmŕi-* *n.* Fulbe person, Fulani
Sìmŕil^ε *n.* Fulfulde language
Sìmŕug^o *n.* place of the Fulbe
sŕn^{na/} *ger sŕnnım*^m *sv.* be silent
sŕnsáañ *n.* a kind of tiny ant
sŕŕ^a *pl sŕiňs*^ε *cb sŕŕ-* *n.* a kind of very big pot
sŕ'ŕ^{ε/} *dv.* begin
sŕsŕbŕg^a *pl sŕsŕbŕs*^ε *cb sŕsŕb-* *n.* neem tree *Azadirachta indica*
sŕsŕbŕr^ε *pl sŕsŕbà* *n.* fruit of neem tree
sŕsŕ'əm^m *n.* wind, storm
sŕsŕvgŕ-n^{ε/} between, *postposition* [13.5](#) KB *svvgvn*
sŕ'uŕg^o *pl sŕ'imís*^ε *cb sŕ'uŕ-* *n.* a kind of large dish
sŕ' some(one), any(one), *animate sg* [12.4.3](#)
sŕb^a *dummy head pronoun, animate sg* [12.4.7](#)
sŕb^ε *dv.* go/make dark; usually write; *sŕbur*^{ε/} *n.* piece of writing
sŕbŕg^{ε/} *dv.* blacken
sŕŕeň or *sŕŕeň*^a *pl sŕŕeňb*^a *cb sŕeň-* *n.* witch
sŕgŕà^a *n.* soldier ← English
sŕlvŕg^o *pl sŕlŕmá* *n.* story
sŕeň *dv.* rub
sŕeň'e^{ya/} *sv.* be better than; *agt sŕeň'ŕd*^{a/} *pl sŕeň'ŕb*^{a/} *cb sŕeň'ŕd-*
sŕnnur^ε *pl sŕnna* *cb sŕn-* *n.* courtyard dividing wall
sŕeňs^ε *ger sŕeňsŕg*^a *dv.* converse, talk with
sŕŕeňg^o *n.* witchcraft
sŕŕeňr^ε *pl sŕeňya* *cb sŕeň-* *n.* liver
sŕs^ε *ger sŕsŕg*^a *dv.* ask; *agt sŕs*^a *n.* beggar
sŕ *dv.* take a bath
sŕ'ā^a *dv.* do secretly, hide
sŕāk^{a/} *n.* hiding place
sŕeň' *dv.* anoint
sŕ'e^{ya/} *sv.* own; *ger sŕ'ulım*^m *n.* property, country, realm
sŕgvr^{ε/} *dv.* show forbearance, be patient with; *sŕgvró* *n.* forbearance
sŕm^m *n.* goodness; well
sŕm^{ma} *sv.* be good
sŕmbŕgvsım^m *n.* peace
sŕmmŕr^ε *pl sŕmma* *cb sŕm-* *n.* groundnuts; *sŕm-dŕgvdà* *n.* cooked groundnuts

sùn^{ne} ger sùnɲɪ^e or sùnɲvɔ^o dv. bow one's head; *agt sūn^{na} n.* ("someone who goes about with bowed head") deep thinker, close observer WK

sūñ'e^l dv. become better than

sūñf^o/ sūñr^e/ pl sūñyá cb sūñ- n. heart; *sūñ-kpɪ'oŋ^o n.* boldness 12.7.1;

sūñ-má'asim^m n. joy (*M sūñf má'e yā.* "My heart has cooled"= I'm joyful);

sūñ-málisim^m cb sūñ-mális- n. joy; *sūñ-pɛɛn^{ne} n.* anger (*M sūñf pɛ̀lìg nē.* "My heart is whitened"= I'm angry); *sūñ-sân'vŋ^o n.* sorrow (*M sūñf sâñ'am nē.*

"My heart is spoilt" = I'm sad)

sùŋ^e dv. help

sùŋ^o sùm^{me} pl sùma cb sùŋ- adj. good

sùŋā^l adv. well, much

sú'oŋ^a pl sū'omís^e cb sū'oŋ- n. rabbit

sūo^e/ pl sūyá cb sūā- n. road; permission in *sūo bé, mōr sūo* 22.1

sù'o^a n. yesterday

sù'o^e dv. trick

sù^a sv. have one's head bowed

sùsòm^{me} n. grasshopper

Sūtáanà n. Satan

sōvɔ^e/ dv. wither (leaves) WK

sù'vɔ^a sù'vɔ^o pl sù'vs^e cb sù'- n. knife

T

tāa tāas^e fellow- as second part of compound 9.2.1.4

tāaba tāab each other 12.4.5

tā'adɪ^e pl tā'ada cb tà'ad- n. sandal

tàal^{le} pl tàala cb tàal- n. fault, sin

tá'am^{me} pl tā'amá n. shea tree fruit

tá'aŋ^a pl tā'amís^e cb tā'aŋ- n. shea butter tree *Butyrospermum parkii*

tā'as^e/ dv. help someone to walk; in *greetings* 25

tàb^e dv. get stuck to

tàbɪ^{ya} sv. be stuck to

tàbɪg^e dv. get unstuck from

tàbɪ^e dv. stick to (*transitive*)

tàdɪg^e n. become weak

tādɪm^m/ pl tàdɪm-nàm^a cb tàdɪm- n. weak person

tàdɪmís^e n. weakness

Tàln^{ne} n. Talni language

Tàlŋ^a pl Tàlɪs^e cb Tàlŋ- n. Tallensi person

tàm^m ipfv tàmɲɪ^a dv. forget

tàmpɪiŋ^a n. rock

tàmpūa pl tàmpōɔs^e cb tàmpò- n. housefly 5.3.2

- tàmpōvr^ε cb tàmpò-* n. ashpit, rubbish tip
tān^{ne} pl tāna cb tàn- n. earth; *tàn-mēd^a* n. builder
tāñp^o n. war; *tāñp-sōb^a* n. warrior
tāñs^ε ger tāñsv^o dv. shout; *Wìnnig táñsìd nē.* The sun is shining.
tār^{al} ger tārím^m sv. have; more typical of Toende Kusaal; NT/KB always *mōr^{al}*
tàsintàl^{lε} n. palm of hand
tàtál^{lε} n. palm of hand
tāuñ^l pl tāñp^{al} cb tāuñ- tāñp- n. sibling of opposite sex
tèb^ε ger tēbıg^a dv. carry in both hands
tēbıg^{εl} dv. get heavy
tēbıs^{al} sv. be heavy
tēbısıg^a tēbısır^ε pl tēbısá cb tēbıs- adj. heavy
tēbısım^m n. heaviness
téebòl^ε pl téebòl-nàm^a n. table ← English
tēeg^{εl} dv. drag, draw; *tēeg X túbvur* punish X
tè'eg^a pl tès'ε^ε cb tè'- n. baobab *Adansonia digitata*
tēk^{εl} dv. pull
tēñb^ε ger tēñbv^o dv. tremble, struggle
tēñ'εs^ε dv. remind
tēñ'εs^{εl} dv. think; *ger tēñ'εsá* n. thought
tēñ^a ger tēñrıb^o sv. remember
tēη^a pl tēēñs^ε cb tēη- n. land; *tēη-bīig^a* n. native; *tēη-dāan^a* n. traditional earth-
 priest; *tēη-dū'adıg^a* n. native land; *tēη-gbàıη^o* n. earth, land; *tēη-pōbv^o pl*
tēη-pōvd^{εl} cb tēη-pō- n. village, town; *tēη-zòv^o pl tēη-zòvñs^ε* n. foreign country;
tēη-sūk^a n. centre
tēηı-n^{εl} or tēηır^ε downward; as postposition under 13.5
tèog^o pl téd^ε n. nest
tè'og^o pl téd'ε^ε n. baobab fruit
tì we, our (right-bound); *tı* us (left-bound) 12.4.1
tì preverb conveying completion or purpose 16.8
tjà'al^ε dv. come next
tjàk^ε dv. change
tı'əb^ε dv. prepare, get ready; heal in this sense perhaps influenced by
 Arabic *t'ıbb* "medicinal art"; *tı'əb^a* n. healer
tıēñ dv. inform WK (KED remember)
tıēñ dv. stretch out
tıēη^a pl tıēmıs^ε cb tıēη- n. beard; *tıēη-gōvr^ε* n. chin
tıg^ε dv. become sated, have too much/many; *ger tıgır^{εl}* n. glut
tıı^{ya} ger tııb^o sv. be leaning (object)
tıg^a pl tııs^ε cb tı- n. tree; *tı-dāv^o pl tı-dāad^ε cb tı-dà-* n. bow (for arrows)
tııl^{εl} dv. lean something

tùm^m *cb* *tì-* *n.* medicine; *tì-kōvdím^m* *n.* poison (killing-medicine); *tì-sābílím^m* *n.* "black medicine" (a particular traditional remedy); *tì-vōnním^m* *n.* oral medication

tì'in^ε *dv.* begin to lean

tīlās^ε *n.* necessity ← Hausa *tiilàs* 22.1

tīlg^ε *dv.* survive, be saved

tīnám^a *we, us (contrastive)*; *tīnámì* *we (subject of ñ-clause)* 12.4.1

tīntōñríg^a *pl* *tīntōñrís^ε* *cb* *tītóñr-* *n.* mole (animal)

tìp^a *pl* *tìp-nàm^a* *cb* *tìp-* *n.* healer (see *tī'əb^a* *id*)

tīrâan^a *pl* *tīrâan-nàm^a* *cb* *tīrâan-* *n.* neighbour, peer

tīrâannì^m *n.* neighbourliness

tīrigà *ideo. for* *gīŋ^a* *short*

tìs^ε *ipfv* *tìsid^a* *tìt^a* *agt* *tìs^a* *dv.* give; also *tì* before bound pronouns: *tì f* gave you

tītā'al^{le} *n.* proud person

tītā'alim^m *n.* pride

tītā'am^m *n.* multitude

tītā'vg^o *tītā'ar^ε* *pl* *tītāda* *cb* *tītá'-* *adj.* big, great

tò OK 18.4 (= Hausa *tôo*)

tòd^ε *dv.* give to the poor, share

tōg^{a/} *sv.* be bitter, difficult

tóklàe *n.* torch ← English "torchlight"

tólib *ideo.*

tōlis^{ε/} *dv.* do next, advance, carry on

tólìlì *ideo. for* *wōk^{o/}* *tall*

tòñ *dv.* shoot

tòñ'ws^ε *dv.* hunt

tōg^o *pl* *tōd^ε* *cb* *tò-* *adj.* bitter, difficult

tōm^{m/} *dv.* depart, disappear

tò'otō' *adv.* straight away

tùà *dv.* grind in a mortar; *tùà-bīl^a* *n.* pestle

tù'à^a *dv.* speak, plead in court

tù'al^ε *dv.* condemn in court

tù'as^ε *dv.* talk

tùbvr^ε *pl* *tùba* *cb* *tùb-* *n.* ear; *tùb-kpìr^ε* *n.* half of jaw; *tùb-yīuŋ^{o/}* *adj.* one-eared 12.8.1.1

tōl^{la/} *sv.* be hot

tùhg^ε *dv.* invert

tōhg^{ε/} *dv.* heat up

tùm^m *dv.* work; *ger* *tōvm^{mε}* *n.* deed *pl* *tōvma* *n.* deeds; work *cb* *tùvm-*; *tùvm-bē'ed^ε* *n.* bad deeds; *tùvm-bē'ed-dím^a* *n.* sinners NT; *agt* *tùm-tūm^{na}* *n.* worker

tùm^m *ger* *tītūmìs^ε* *dv.* send; compare Hausa *àikaa* "send", *aikàtaa* "work"

tūñ'e *sv.* be able 19.1

tūødɪ^ε *pl tūøda* *cb tūød-* *n.* mortar
tūøn^{ne} *in front; as postposition 13.5; West (KB yà tūøna) 26.3; tūøn-gāt*^a *n.* leader
Tūøn^{ne} *n.* Toende, western part of Kusaasiland
Tūønnɪ^ε *n.* Toende dialect of Kusaal
tūsɪ^{ε/} *n.* thousand 12.5.1
tūtūl^{le} *n.* upside-down thing, *cf tūlɪg*^ε
tōvlígā[/] *adv.* hotly
tōvlóg^o *pl tōvlá* *cb tōvl-* *adj.* hot
tō'vs^{ε/} *dv.* meet

U

ùdvg^o *pl ùt*^ε *cb ùd-* *n.* (piece of) chaff
ūgvs^{ε/} *dv.* bring up a child
ùk^ε *dv.* vomit
ūk^ε *dv.* bloat
ùm^m *dv.* close eyes
ūrɪg^{ε/} *dv.* scrape
úvn^{ne} *n.* dry season

V

vābɪ^{ya/} *ger vāp*^{o/} *KT vābɪ*^{ε/} *WK sv.* be lying prone
vābɪ^{ε/} *dv.* make lie prone
vàbɪn^ε *dv.* lie prone
vàe *dv.* gather up
vāvñg^{o/} *pl vāañd*^{ε/} *cb vāñ-* *n.* leaf
*vē*ⁱ *dv.* lead
vē'εg^{ε/} *dv.* drag
vèn^{na} *or vèñl*^{la} *sv.* be beautiful
vèñllɪg^a *pl vèñllɪs*^ε *vèñlla* *cb vèñl-* *adj.* beautiful
vèñllɪg^a *pl vèñllɪs*^ε *cb vèñllɪg-* *adj.* beautiful
vènnɪg^a *vènnɪ*^ε *pl vènnɪs*^ε *vèнна* *cb vèn-* *adj.* beautiful
vènnɪm^m *n.* beauty
*vī*ⁱ *dv.* uproot
vīk^{ε/} *dv.* uproot
vīug^{o/} *pl vīid*^{ε/} *cb vī-* *n.* owl
vōb^{ε/} *dv.* thrash (*tones uncertain*)
vū *ger vūug*^{o/} *dv.* make a noise; *vūud*^{ε/} *n.* noise
vōg^{a/} *sv.* be alive
vōl^ε *dv.* swallow
vòlɪnvùuñl^{le} *n.* mason wasp
vōm^{m/} *cb vōm-* *n.* life; *vōm-paal*^{le} *n.* new life

vúəŋ^a pl *vūəmís*^ε n. red kapok *Bombax buonopozense*

vúə^ε pl *vūáa* cb *vūə*- n. fruit of red kapok

vūr^{ε/} pl *vōyá* cb *vūr*- adj. alive

vūriŋ^{ε/} dv. shift along, move over (*tones uncertain*)

vū'vug^{ε/} dv. come, make alive

vū'us^{ε/} dv. breathe, rest

vū'usím^m n. resting

W

wā' dv. dance

wāad^{ε/} n. cold weather

wáaf^o pl *wīgí* cb *wā*'- n. snake

wāal^{ε/} dv. sow, scatter seed

wā'alím^m n. length

wā'am^{a/} sv. be long, tall

wàbɪg^a *wàbɪ*^ε pl *wàbɪs*^ε *wàba* cb *wàb*- n. lame person

wàbɪlɪm^m dv. make, go lame

wābvog^{o/} pl *wābɪd*^{ε/} cb *wāb*- n. elephant

wādɪr^{ε/} pl *wādá* cb *wād*- n. law (← English "order" via Hausa) plural as sg: law

wād-tís^a n. lawgiver NT

wà'e^{ya} sv. be travelling

wāliŋ^a pl *wālɪs*^ε *wālí* (*tone sic*) cb *wāl*- n. a kind of gazelle

wàŋɪm^m dv. waste away

wàsɪnwàl^{lε} n. a parasitic gall on trees, called "mistletoe" in local English

wàɯŋ^o pl *wàna* cb *wàɯŋ*- adj. wasted, thin

wèɛd^a see *wìd*^a

wēɛl^{ε/} dv. be left unsold (KED) but see *wēog*^{o/}

wēl^ε dv. bear fruit

wēl^{lε/} pl *wēlá* cb *wēl*- n. fruit

wēlá or *wālá* how? 13.6; *nìŋ wēlá n/kà* how can ...? 19.1

wēn^{na/} sv. resemble; in KB *wēn nē* appears as *nwɛnɛ*; ger *wēnním*^m

wēnnɪr^ε adj. resembling (*Pattern A, specifically confirmed with WK*)

wèog^o n. deep bush

wēog^{o/} pl *wēɛd*^{ε/} n. cheap thing sold in abundance WK

wīāk^{ε/} dv. hatch (from an egg)

wìdɪg^ε dv. scatter

wìəf^o pl *wìdɪ* cb *wìd*- n. horse; *wìd-lōr*^{ε/} n. place for tying up horses in a compound;

wìd-dāvog^o n. stallion; *wìd-ñyá'aŋ*^a n. mare; *wìd-zūv*^ε n. horsetail

wìd^a or *wèɛd*^a pl *wìb*^a cb *wìd*- n. hunter

Wìid^a pl *Wìid-nàm*^a cb *Wìid*- n. member of the clan Wiid

Wìidvug^o n. place of the clan Wiid

wīg^{a/} n. whistle

wìum^m n. sickness, disease ("worse than *bāñ'as*^ε" WK)

wìk^ε ipfv wìd^a dv. fetch water 7.1

wìl^{lε} pl wìla cb wìl- n. branch

wīlsúŋ^o pl wīlmís^ε cb wīlsúŋ- n. a kind of snail 5.3.2

wīm *ideo.* for zìñ'a red

wīn^{nε/} pl wīná cb wīn- n. God; god; spiritual double, *genius*; destiny; wīn-tōŋ^o
n. misfortune

Wínà'am^m n. God 11.1

wìnnig^a cb wìn- n. sun; talent; wìn-līr^ε n. sunset; wìn-kòŋñ^ε n. sunset

wìug^o wìr^ε pl wìya wìd^ε cb wì- *adj.* red

wōk^{o/} wā'ar^{ε/} pl wá'a wā'ad^{ε/} cb wōk- wā'- *adj.* long, tall

wòm^m dv. hear; understand (a language); smell

wōsa *q.* all

wōv *q.* all

wōv like, resembling 15

wō'vŋ^{ε/} dv. get wet

wō'vl^{ε/} dv. make wet

Y

yà you, your pl (*right-bound*); ya you pl (*left-bound*) 12.4.1

y^a you pl, *left-bound subject after imperative* 4.2 12.4.1 18.3

yā independent-perfective particle 16.6.2

yà' if, when 20

yáa *adv.* whither?

yáab^a pl yāa-nám^a cb yāa- n. grandparent, ancestor; yāa-dáu n. grandfather;
yāa-pū'á^a n. grandmother

yà'ab^ε dv. mould clay

yā'ad^ε cb yà'- n. clay

yà'al^ε dv. hang up; make perch (bird)

yà'an^ε dv. perch (of a bird)

Yàan^{nε} n. Yansi language (apparently Mooré now)

yáa ní *adv.* where?

yáaŋ^a pl irr yáas^ε (*consistently without nasalisation*) cb yāaŋ- n. grandchild,
descendant 26.1

Yàaŋ^a pl Yàam^{ma} Yàamis^ε Yàas^ε cb Yàaŋ- n. Yansi person

yāar^{ε/} dv. scatter

yàarim^m cb yàar- n. salt

yà'as^a yà'as^ε again 19.1

yā'as^{ε/} dv. open repeatedly

- yàddā* or *yàdā* *n.* faith, trust 16.9.1 ← Hausa *yàrda*; probably ← Arabic *yardʿa*;;
yàddā-níjìr^ε *n.* belief
yādi^{εl} *dv.* scatter; *agt* *yāt*^{al} *irreg. agt:* participant in a housebuilding ritual
yā'e^l *dv.* widen, open (mouth)
yàk^ε *dv.* unhang, unhook
yàlɪm^{ma} *sv.* be wide
yāɪɪm^{m/} *pl* *yāɪɪm-nám*^a *n.* worthless person
yāɪsúŋ^o *pl* *yāɪmís*^ε *cb* *yāɪsúŋ-* *n.* quail 5.3.2
yàlvŋ^o *pl* *yàɪɪma* *cb* *yàlvŋ-* *adj.* wide
yām^{me} *pl* *yàma* *cb* *yàm-* *n.* hay WK
yām^{m/} *cb* *yām-* *n.* gall; gall bladder; common sense. WK *yā'am*^{m/}; probably originally
two distinct words 2.2
yàmmɪg^a *yàmmv*^g *yàmmv*^o *pl* *yàmmis*^ε *cb* *yàm-* *n.* slave
yānám^a *you* *pl* (*contrastive*); *yānámì* *you* *pl* (*subject of ñ-clause*) 12.4.1
Yāri^g *pl* *Yāris*^{εl} *cb* *Yār-* *n.* Yarsi person; also called Kantonsi; said to have been
originally of Manding/Dyula origin
Yāt^{εl} *n.* Yarsi language (no longer Dyula/Bambara, but a Western Oti-Volta language)
yàv^o *pl* *yàad*^ε *n.* grave, tomb
yē *that* 22; *be about to ...* 16.3.3
yè *dv.* dress oneself; *resultative adj* *yèlúŋ*^o *worn* (e.g. of a shirt)
yèεg^ε *dv.* undress oneself
yèεl^ε *dv.* dress someone
yēεs^{εl} *dv.* betray a secret
yèl^ε *ipfv* *yèt*^a *ger* *yèlv*^o *dv.* say, tell
yēl^{lel} *pl* *yēlá* (*as postposition: about* 13.5) *cb* *yēl-* *n.* matter, affair; *yēl-méjìr*^ε
n. truth; *yēl-náròŋ*^o *n.* necessity; *yēl-pákìr*^ε *n.* disaster; *yēl-sú'adìr*^ε
n. confidential matter; *yēl-súm*^{me} *n.* blessing
yējím^m *dv.* oscillate (like waves)
yèog^o *pl* *yèed*^ε *n.* bird's crop; person displaced from family (KED)
yéon *q.* one, *in counting*
yī *ipfv* *yīt*^{al} *imp* *yim*^a *dv.* go, come out
yìdɪ^ε *dv.* go astray
yīdɪ^{εl} *dv.* untie
yìə^ε *n.* jaw
yīgá *q.* firstly; former 12.1; *yīg-sób*^a *n.* first person 12.4.7
yīs^{εl} *ger* *yīsíb*^o *dv.* make go/come out, extract
yīmmír^ε *pl* *yīmmá* *cb* *yīm-* *adj.* solitary, lone 12.5.1
yīmmú *q.* *adv.* straight away, at once
yīnní *q.* one
yìŋ^a *adv.* outside

- yīr*^{ε/} pl *yā*[/] cb *yī-* n. house; *yī-dâan*^a n. householder; *yī-sób*^a pl *yī-sób-nàm*^a n. householder; *yī-dím*^a n. members of the household; *yī-póñrùg*^o pl *yī-póñrà* n. neighbouring house; *yī-sígídìr*^ε n. lodging-house; *yín*^{ne} at home pl *yáa-n*^ε
- yīs*^ε dv. make go/come out, extract
- yīṁṁ*^{o/} pl *yīná* adj. single- 12.8.1.1
- yò* dv. close; resultative adj *yòólùṅ*^o closed
- yō*ⁿvv. pay; ger *yōd*^{ε/} n. pay
- yōl̩s*^{ε/} dv. untie
- yōl̩sím*^m n. freedom
- yōlv̩g*^{o/} pl *yōn*^{ne/} cb *yōl-* n. sack, moneybag; (like Hausa *jàkaa*) ₦100, ₵200 (cedis)
- yò'og*^ε dv. open
- yòor*^ε pl *yòya* cb *yò-* n. soldier ant
- yùà* dv. bleed; also fornicate WK
- yù'ad̩r*^ε pl *yù'ada* n. rafter
- yùb̩g*^a pl *yùb̩s*^ε cb *yùb-* n. small bottle-like pot
- yūgv̩d̩r*^ε pl *yūgv̩da* cb *yūgv̩d-* n. hedgehog
- yōgúm*^{me} *yōgúm*^{ne} pl *yōgv̩má* cb *yōgv̩m-* n. camel
- yùl̩g*^ε dv. swing (transitive)
- yūñ'e*[/] dv. set alight
- yū'ør*^ε pl *yūāda* cb *yū'ør-* n. penis
- yūug*^ε dv. get to be a long time, delay; *Tì yūug nē tāaba*. It's long since we met.
- yūul*^ε dv. swing (intransitive)
- yō'vm*^{m/} dv. sing; agt *yōvm-yō'vm*^{na} pl *yōvm-yō'vmn̩b*^a n. singer
- yō'vm*^{ne} pl *yō'vmá* cb *yō'vm-* or *yōvm-* n. song
- yōvm*^{me} pl *yōma* cb *yōvm-* n. year; *yōvm-pāalíg*^a n. new year
- yō'vn* then, next 17.2.3
- yō'vṅ*^o pl *yō'vmís*^ε cb *yō'vṅ-* n. night
- yō'vr*^{ε/} pl *yōdá* cb *yō'-* n. name
- yōvr*^ε pl *yōya* cb *yò-* n. water pot

Z

- zā*[/] cb *zā-* n. millet
- zāalíg*^a *záal*^{le} pl *zāalís*^ε *zāalá* cb *zāal-* adj. empty
- zāalím*^m adv. emptily
- zāam*^m cb *zà-* n. evening; *zà-sìsōb̩r*^{ε/} n. evening
- zàñ'an*^{ne} pl *zàñ'ana* n. metal hammer, iron-tipped weapon, bludgeon
- zāañs̩m*^m dv. dream
- zāañs̩m*^m cb *zāañs-* n. soup; soup in general, not "fish soup" despite Mampruli *zaasim* "fish"; cf Toende *zāasím* "meat soup" (Niggli)
- zāañs̩ṅ*^o pl *zāañs̩mà* cb *zāañs̩ṅ-* n. dream

- zàb^ε ger zàbɪr^ε dv.* fight; hurt (of body part); *agt zàb-zàb^a n.* warrior;
agt gbān-záb^a n. leather-beater, leather-worker
zàbɪl^ε dv. cause to fight
zàk^a pl zà'as^ε cb zà'- n. compound; *zà'-nōɔr^{ε/} n.* gate; *zà'-nō-gúr^a n.* gatekeeper
zàkɪm^m dv. itch
zàlɪŋ^a pl zàlɪmɪs^ε cb zàlɪŋ- n. electric eel
zàm^m ipfv zàmmɪd^a dv. cheat; *agt zàm-zām^{na} n.* cheat
zàmɪs^ε dv. learn, teach
zāñ'a q. every
zāñ'as^ε dv. refuse
zāñbɪl^ε dv. tattoo, mark skin
zāñbɪn^{ne} pl zāñbɪna cb zāñbɪn- n. tattoo; NT sign 8.1.2
Zàngbèèl^ε n. Hausa language
Zàngbèèog^o pl Zàngbèèed^ε n. Hausa person
zàngùøm^{me} pl zàngùøma cb zàngùøm- n. wall
zànkù'ar^ε pl zànkù'àa zànkù'ada cb zànkù'à- n. jackal
zāñ^{la/} ger zāñlím^m sv. be holding, carrying in hands
zāñ^{lε} n. umbilicus
zàŋ^ε dv. pick up, take up
zēm^{ma/} ger zēmmúg^o sv. be equal
zēmɪs^{ε/} dv. make equal
zēmmúg^o pl zēmmá cb zēm- adj. equal
zī ger zīid^{ε/} dv. carry on one's head; *agt zī-zīid^a n.* carrier on the head
zī' ger zī'ilím^m sv. not know 16.5; *agt zī'id^{a/} n.* ignorant person
zì'e^{ya} ger zī'a KED; DK KT zī'əg^a (exceptional phonology 11 8.1.1) sv. be standing
zì'əl^ε dv. make to stand; *zì'əl nōɔr^{ε/} promise, command; with n tìs X: promise to X*
zì'ən^ε dv. stand still; *Ò zì'ən nē.* She's pregnant.
zīim^{m/} cb zī- n. blood
zīŋ^a pl zīmí cb zīm- n. fish; *zīm-gbāñ'ad^a n.* fisherman
zìlɪm^{me} pl zìlɪma cb zìlɪm- n. tongue
zīlɪnzīog^o adj. unknown
zīm ideo. for sābílíg^a black
zīná today
zīñ'a zēñ'ug^o pl zēñ'ed^ε zēñ'es^ε zēñda cb zēñ'- adj. red
zīñ'^{ya} sv. be sitting; *ger zīñ'ig^a pl zīñ'is^ε cb zīñ- (also place)*
zīñ'il^ε dv. make sit, seat
zīñ'in^ε dv. sit down
zīnzāuŋ^{o/} pl zīnzānā cb zīnzáuŋ- n. bat
zīrí n. lie, untruth
zò ipfv zòt^a imp zòm^a dv. run; fear; experience emotion; *ger zūa zōog^o run;*
ipfv ger zòtɪm^m fear 9.2.1.4 Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him

- zōl*^ε *dv.* castrate
zōlimís^ε *n.* foolishness
zōlvǵ^{ɔ/} *pl* *zōn*^{ne/} *cb* *zōl-* *n.* fool
zōm^{m/} *cb* *zōm-* *n.* flour
zōom^{me} *zōom*^{ne} *pl* *zōoma* *cb* *zōom-* *n.* refugee, fugitive
zōrvǵ^{a/} *n.* small child WK
zōrvǵ^{ɔ/} *pl* *zōrá* *n.* piece
zū *dv.* steal
zùà *pl* *zùà-nàm*^a *cb* *zùà-* *n.* friend
Zùà *pl* *Zùø*^ε *n.* member of clan Zoose; *subclans* *pl* *Zùà-wìis*^{ε/}-*wìib*^a, *pl* *Zùà-sābulís*^ε
zù'e *dv.* get higher, more
zùe *dv.* perch, get on top (? variant of *zù'e*)
zūǵ^{ɔ/} *pl* *zūt*^{ε/} *cb* *zūǵ-* *zū-* 5.2 *n.* head; as postposition 13.5; *zūǵú-n*^ε is also used as a postposition; *zūǵ-dâan*^a *n.* boss, master (replaces *zūǵ-sób*^a in KB for meanings other than "the Lord"); *zūǵ-kōgvr*^ε *pl* *zūǵ-kōga* *cb* *zūǵ-kúǵ-* *n.* pillow; *zūǵ-mávk*^ɔ *pl* *zūǵ-mâ'ad*^ε *adj.* crushed-headed 12.8.1.1; *zūǵ-sób*^a *n.* boss; NT Lord; *zū-péelǵ*^ɔ *pl* *zū-péelà* *adj.* bald 12.8.1.1; *zū-pìbìǵ*^a *n.* hat
zùlvǵ^ε *dv.* deepen
zùlvǵ^{ma} *sv.* be deep
zùlvǵ^ɔ *pl* *zùlvǵ* *cb* *zùlvǵ-* *adj.* deep
zùlvǵ^ɔ *n.* depth
zùnzòǵ^a *zùnzòǵ*^ɔ *pl* *zùnzòǵñs*^ε *cb* *zùnzòǵ-* *n.* blind person
zūøbúǵ^ɔ *pl* *zūøbíd*^ε *cb* *zūøb-* *n.* hair (of human head); see *kōñbvǵ*^ɔ
zùød^ε *n.* friendship
zùøl^ε *dv.* make to perch
zū'øm^{m/} *pl* *zū'ømís*^ε *cb* *zū'øm-* *n.* blind person
zū'øm^{m/} *dv.* go blind, make blind
zùø^ε *dv.* begin to perch
zūø^ε *pl* *zūēya* *cb* *zùà-* *n.* hill
zùø^ε *dv.* befriend
zūríf^ɔ *pl* *zūrí* *cb* *zūr-* *n.* dawadawa seed
zú'vñf^ɔ *pl* *zú'vñí* *n.* dawadawa seed
zùuñǵ^ɔ *pl* *zùuñs*^ε *zùuñd*^ε *cb* *zùñ-* *n.* vulture
zōvr^ε *pl* *zōya* *cb* *zò-* *n.* tail; *zò-wōk*^{ɔ/} *adj.* long-tailed 12.8.1.1