Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

David Eddyshaw

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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. No instructional or descriptive materials were available, but with the benefit of some coaching from S (see page v), and with much exposure to the language at work, I eventually learnt to cope in the stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I discovered order and beauty underlying a surface which had once seemed chaotic; I hope to convey a little of that beauty below.

When I lived in Ghana, little linguistic work on Kusaal had yet been published. Happily, the situation has now changed greatly, with the work of Urs Niggli and Hasiyatu Abubakari on Toende Kusaal, and the appearance of a full grammar of Agolle Kusaal by Anthony Agoswin Musah.

This work would not have been possible without four intelligent and patient language consultants. With great reluctance, I have not named them, as I cannot now confirm that they would wish to be identified. I am most grateful to all four.

I am grateful to Dr Tony Naden, who showed me hospitality worthy of Africa when I turned up out of the blue at his home in northern Ghana, and also gave me a number of helpful pointers. I was much helped by the staff of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

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 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 side-effect.

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Abbreviations

C	consonant	cif	compound-initial form
ger	gerund	H	high tone
imp	imperative	intr	intransitive
ipf	imperfective	L	low tone
lf	long form	M	mid tone
m/c	main/content	NP	noun phrase
pf	perfective	pl	plural
sf	short form	sg	singular
tp	tone pattern	tr	transitive
V	vowel mora	VP	verb phrase
X	circumflex tone	1s 2p ...	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc
1vb	one-aspect verb	2pS	2p subject after verb
2vb	two-aspect verb	3a 3i	3rd sg animate, inanimate

IMP IPF PL are capitalised in interlinear glosses.
Abbreviations only used in glossing are

CQ	content question	DEM	demonstrative
DP	discontinuous past	FOC	focus
IDF	indefinite	IR	irrealis
NG	negative	NZ	nominaliser
PQ	polar question	PZ	personaliser
TNS	tense	VOC	vocative
Ø	dummy head pronoun	+	catenator

DEM IDF Ø add lowercase a/i/p to mark animate/inanimate/plural: DEMa IDFp etc.
Only 1s 2s are labelled as sg: other (pro)nominals are sg unless marked as pl or
compound-initial. Some compounds and set phrases are glossed like single words.
Perfective and indicative are unlabelled, and 1vbs are not marked for aspect.
The symbol · follows long forms §4.1; whenever it is immediately followed by
punctuation or a space, the next word is segmentally zero, but labelled in glossing.
This same symbol · (not =) is used to join enclitics to hosts.

The subscripts after citation forms are explained in §3.
Abbreviations for sources and language consultants are given on page v.

Sources

David Spratt's work has been helpful on Kusaal phonology; otherwise, all analyses below are my own. The morphophonemics and basic syntax are based on discussion and elicitation with four first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal: W from Koka, K from Tempane, D from Kukpariga, and S from Bawku. All spoke English well. All were male, and were then about forty; they occasionally commented on the incorrect grammar of the young (surely a cultural universal.) I noticed no systematic differences between the speech of men and women.

The description of higher-level syntax reflects my study of Bible versions and literacy materials produced by the dedicated work over many years of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT):

B   *Wina'am Gbauŋ* (Kusaal Bible.)
B1   1976. World Home Bible League.
B2   1996. The Bible League/GILLBT. Text/audio at www.bible.is
B3   2016. GILLBT. Android application.

G1   *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yɛla.* 1989. Abokiba, Matthew M.
G2   *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima.* 1981. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah.
G3   *Kusaas Kuob nɛ Yir yela Gbauŋ.* 1988. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah.

These sources are cited as written, with a transliteration.

Bible references use the shorter forms from the Chicago Manual of Style; citations are from B3 by default.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

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 main local 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 the western "Toende" part of this region from the eastern "Agolle."

The land is mostly open savanna with scattered trees. Much former woodland is now turned over to farming; tracts survive especially along the White Volta, where settlements are few because of the river blindness endemic 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 Fulani and Mossi. The single rainy season lasts from about May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with some rice. Millet is used for the staple porridge, "TZ" in local English (Hausa *tuwon zafi*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional beer, "pito" (Hausa *fito*.)

Kusaasi belong to local exogamous patrilineal clans (I was once told: "The first thing a young man looking for a wife needs to do is to get a bicycle.") A Kusaasi person knows his or her clan, and often its pɔɔr "slogan" (part of its lineage), but clan names are not used as surnames. Clans have distinctive customs, such as prohibitions against eating particular animals. The Kusaasi originally had no chiefs; in religious matters the local leading man is the tὲŋ-daan "earth-priest", taken as the heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the Mossi-Dagomba states dominated the region, kingdoms founded around the thirteenth century by invaders said to be from east of Lake Chad, who set up hereditary chiefs among subjects who still provided the earth-priests. Gbewa, the first king, ruled from Pusiga, where he is said to have been swallowed by the earth; in his sons' time the capital was relocated south, to Mamprussi territory. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this Mamprussi state. The Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku.

Many Mamprussi in the Bawku area speak Kusaal, not Mampruli; my first Kusaal New Testament was a gift from a Mamprussi colleague.

The Kusaasi are part of a widespread culture encompassing neighbouring peoples like the Mossi, Farefare, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Bulsa. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba and Mossi, including the long-sleeved smock called a "fugu shirt" in English.

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional animist outlook. The Creator, Wʋn "God", is invoked in greetings and proverbs; but proverbs also say

Dìm   nɛ Wʋn, da   tʋ̂'as nɛ Wʋnnɛ́·.   "Eat with God, don't talk with God."
eat.IMP with God NG.IMP talk   with God·NG

Wʋn ⁿyɛ́ kà sin.   "God sees and is silent."
God   see and be.silent

Everyday life is instead concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called wʋn. A wʋn resides in a bʋgʋr, an object such as a stone or horn. A central figure is the ba'a "diviner", who seeks guidance for a client by casting lots.

A human being consists of a body along with ⁿyɔ̀-vʋr "life", wʋn (here "spiritual individuality") and kìkiris, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three kìkiris, women four, because of the dangers of childbirth (throughout the cultural zone, three is the man's number, four the woman's.) There are wild kìkiris in the bush which try to lead travellers astray; their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers (W.) Sʋ̀g "life force" is identified with a person's tutelary kìkiris; witches cause harm by stealing it. Most people have a sɪgɪr "guardian spirit", which is often the wʋn of an ancestor; bʋgʋr may also mean "a sɪgɪr inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's sɪgɪr.

In 1995 there were about 250,000 Kusaal speakers; the number has since grown substantially. Kusaal is used for all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and also serves as an areal lingua franca for the many local Bisa people.

There is a sharp dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably due to depopulation near the White Volta from river blindness. My consultants understood Toende speakers well, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; moreover, Agolle speakers may find Toende Kusaal easier than vice versa. Berthelette reports that Ghanaian Toende speakers understand Agolle Kusaal significantly better than Burkina Faso Toende speakers do, presumably reflecting greater exposure. He gives the proportion of apparent lexical cognates between the dialects as 84%.

Written materials remain few, apart from the Bible translation into Agolle Kusaal, which is much the most extensive written work in the language.

Hausa is the most widespread lingua franca in the region; it is the main source of loanwords in Kusaal. In the 1990's few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. About 10% of patients attending our clinics in Bawku could speak English well enough for medical consultation; the majority were most comfortable with Kusaal, with Hausa and Mooré about equal in second place.

1.2 Related languages

Kusaal belongs to the Western branch of the Oti-Volta language family.
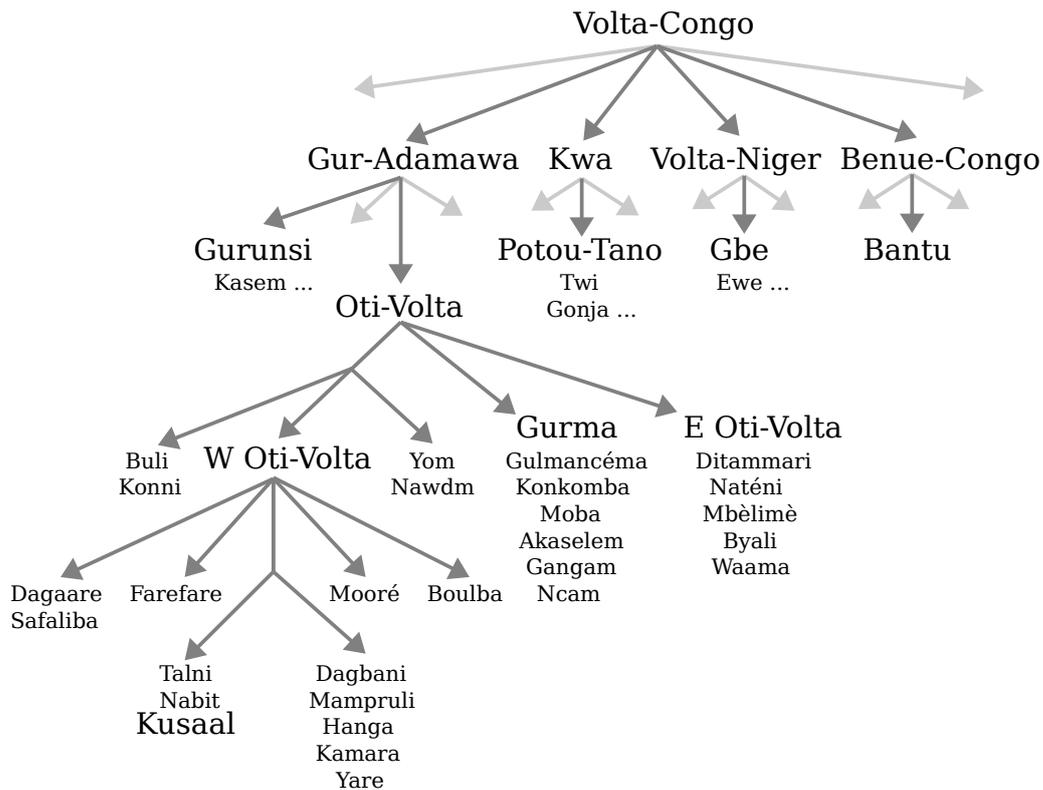
Western Oti-Volta is about as diverse as Romance. Buli/Konni, Yom/Nawdm and Western Oti-Volta share phonological innovations, show parallels in verb morphology, and are relatively close lexically. Eastern Oti-Volta is very diverse internally.

The Oti-Volta languages
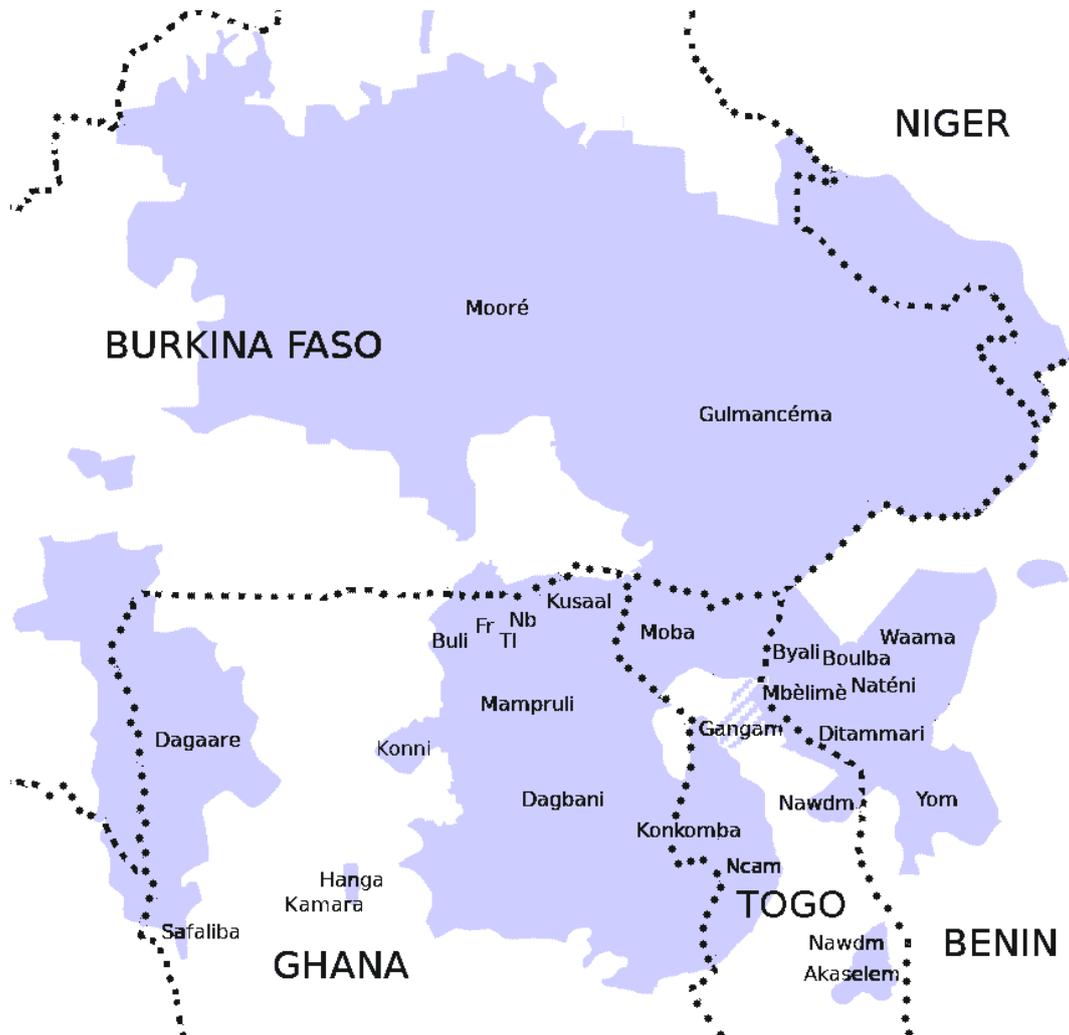
Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni
Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

1.3 <u>Grammatical sketch</u>

Most symbols have IPA values; y kp gb are [j] [k͡p] [g͡b]; long vowels are written double; ⁿ marks nasalisation, ' glottalisation; e ι both represent [ɪ], o ʋ [ʊ].

The full range of vowels occurs only in roots. Prefixes have short vowels; elsewhere only short/long a ι i ʋ u appear; ι ʋ -> ɛ ɔ before prosodic enclitics (below.) No CC clusters occur word-initially, and only mm finally. Prefixes may end in nasals (dùndùug "cobra"); the only other word-internal clusters are kk tt pp ŋŋ (all written single) nn mm ll mn, all other CC pairs inserting epenthetic ι i ʋ or u.

The tone-bearing unit is the syllable; tone is high, low, circumflex (high-low) or mid (not marked.) Tone sandhi across words is frequent.

Apocope §3 deletes word-final short vowels in most contexts, including citation; any final consonant clusters then drop the second consonant. The cognate of Mampruli *gbigimni* "lion" thus normally appears as the "short form" (sf) gbɪgɪm. However, when a clause contains a negation, ends a question, or is used as a vocative, the last word preserves its final vowel and appears as a "long form" (lf):

    Lì à nɛ gbɪgɪm.   "It's a lion."
    3i be FOC lion

    Lì ka' gbɪgɪmnɛ·.   "It's not a lion."
    3i NG.be lion·NG

The appearance of lfs is here triggered by "prosodic enclitics", which lack any segmental form, but show their presence by this effect on preceding words. The symbol · is written after lfs (separated from the lf, unless the next word is an enclitic.) Whenever · is followed by a space or punctuation mark, this shows that the word which induced the preceding lf has no segmental form of its own, as above.

"Liaison words" also cause a preceding word to appear as a lf, but modified by the loss of all original vowel quality contrasts in final non-root vowels. Not all liaison words are enclitic. The group includes all bound personal pronouns:

    M̀ pʊ dʊgɛ·.   "I haven't cooked."
    1s NG cook·NG

    M̀ dʊ́gɪ·bá.   "I've cooked them."
    1s   cook·3p

    M̀ pʊ dɔllá·.   "I don't go along."
    1s NG follow·NG

    M̀ dɔ́llɪ·bá.   "I go with them."
    1s follow·3p

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to C:

    M̀ pʊ dɔllí·fɔ·.   "I don't go with you."
    1s   NG follow·2s·NG

    M̀ dɔ́llɪ·f.   "I go with you."
    1s   follow·2s

Before the liaison word o "him/her", any lf-final vowel mora becomes o; the sf of o itself is segmental zero, but the vowel change persists:

M̀ pʊ dɔlló·o·.   "I don't go with him/her."
1s NG follow·3a·NG

M̀ dɔ́llo·.   "I go with him/her."
1s follow·3a

2p-subject ya after imperatives has a zero sf preceded by ɪ: Gɔ̀sìmɪ·! "Look ye!"
Two liaison words of the underlying form n also often surface as zero:

m̀ zugʊ́· zàbìd la zúg   "because my head hurts" (nominaliser ǹ)
1s head·NZ fight.IPF the on

M̀ zugʊ · zábìd.   "My head hurts." (linker n)
1s head   + fight.IPF

By deleting segments causing rounding/fronting effects on preceding vowels, apocope creates new vowel contrasts. Thus lf viugɔ́ "owl" has iu for ii because of the suffix vowel; the diphthong of sf viug contrasts with the vowel of viid "owls."

All flexion and productive derivation is by suffixing. Flexion is basically fairly simple, but with morphophonemic complications.

Noun flexion involves five different sg/pl suffix pairs (e.g bʊʊg "goat", pl bʊʊs; kʊk "chair", pl kʊgʊs; but nɔɔr "mouth", pl nɔyá; nɔ́bìr "leg", pl nɔbá) and two unpaired non-count suffixes. Most unexpected sg/pl pairings can be explained phonologically. The stem is itself a key part of the paradigm, because adjectives and demonstratives regularly compound with preceding head nouns:

kʊk   "chair"   + pìelìg   "white"   -> kʊ̀g-pìelìg   "white chair"
bʊʊg   "goat"   + pìelìg   "white"   -> bʊ̀-pìelìg   "white goat"

Head-final compounds like bʊ̀-kʊʊd "goat-killer" are also freely created.
Two-aspect verbs suffix -ɛ for pf aspect, -da for ipf, -ma for imperative.
Morphophonemic complications appear: kʊ "kill", ipf kʊʊd, but vʊl "swallow", ipf vʊn.
One-aspect verbs only have an ipf; they typically express stances (dɪgɪ "lie"), relationships (mɔr "have") or predicative adjectival senses (gim "be short.")

Gerunds and agent nouns can be regularly derived from almost all verbs: kʊʊb "killing", kʊʊd "killer"; there are many other common derivational processes.

Noun-class-based gender has been replaced by an animate/inanimate system. The article la follows its noun; possessors precede: m̀ bʋʋg "my goat", daʋ̰ la bûʋg "the man's goat." Prepositions include nɛ "with", wʋʋ "like"; nɛ links NPs as "and." Liaison-enclitic n is the most general locative postposition: bʋʋsɩ·n la "to the goats." Certain nouns function as postpositions: tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l la zúg "onto the table" (zug "head.")

Kusaal is SVO; indirect objects precede direct. Particles expressing tense, mood and polarity precede the verb; there is no agreement for person or number.

> Tì sá tìsɩ·f bʋʋg la.   "We gave you the goat yesterday."
> 1p TNS give·2s goat   the

There are two "be" verbs: bɛ̀ "exist" and àḛⁿ "be something"; the negative of both is ka'(ḛ). Àḛⁿ is usually followed by the focus particle nɛ, and then becomes à:

> Lì à nɛ bʋʋg.   "It's a goat."
> 3i be FOC goat

If the verb meaning permits and no free words intervene, nɛ after a verb has a *temporal* sense, limiting the reference to "at the particular time in question":

> Bʋʋs kpîid nɛ.   "Goats are dying."
> goat.PL die.IPF FOC

Main and content clauses show a VP tone overlay and altered subject-pronoun tone sandhi. Overlay is absent in the negative or irrealis, after the tense marker daa, and in clauses following *coordinating* kà. Narrative joins clause after clause with kà, omitting tense marking as well so long as the action is proceeding in sequence:

> Ò dà gɔ̀s bʋʋg la.   "He looked at the goat."
> 3a TNS look goat   the

> Kà ò gɔs bʋʋg la.   "And he looked at the goat."
> and 3a look goat   the

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

> Gɔ̀sɩ̀m bʋʋg la!   "Look at the goat!"
> look.IMP goat   the

Clauses frequently have time/circumstance adverbials preceding the subject; conditional protases (with yà' "if" after their own subjects) appear in this position:

Fʋ̀ yá' bɔ̀ɔd, m̀ ná tɪsɪ·f bʋʋg.   "If you want, I'll give you a goat."
2s   if   want   1s IR give·2s goat

Clause catenation with n creates structures resembling serial verbs, but with greater flexibility. A different subject is introduced by using kà instead of n:

M̀ kûos bʋʋgʋ · tísì·f.   "I've sold a goat to you."
1s sell   goat   + give·2s

Lì à nɛ bʋʋg lá kà m̀ ⁿyɛt.   "It's the goat that I see."
3i be FOC goat   the and 1s see.IPF

Catenation underlies clefting. Clefting with ellipse of the main clause leaves n focusing subjects and kà foregrounding other elements. Interrogative pronouns may be preposed using kà; as subjects, they *must* be focused with n:

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ́ɛ·bá·?   "Who has seen them?"
who   + see·3p·CQ

Clauses are nominalised with ǹ (often zero segmentally) after the subject:

daʋ̯ lá·   ⁿyɛ bʋʋg la   "the man having seen the goat"
man the·NZ see goat   the

Relative clauses are headed internally by demonstrative or indefinite pronouns:

dàʋ̯-kàn búʋgʋ̀· bɔ̀dìg la   "the man whose goat got lost"
man-DEM   goat·NZ   get.lost the

fʋ́n ⁿyɛ bʋ́-si'a yiigá la   "the first goat that you see"
2s.NZ see goat-IDF firstly   the

Purpose and content clauses begin with yɛ "that" (less often, kà); in content clauses, contrastive personal pronouns are logophoric:

Ò yɛ̀l yɛ ɔn gɔ́s bʋʋg la.   "He says he's looked at the goat."
3a say that 3a look goat   the

2 Sound system

For phonotactics see §4.2. Symbols have IPA values except as noted below.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory comprises

k	g	ŋ			h		
t	d	n	l	r	s	z	
		ⁿy	y				
p	b	m			f	v	
kp	gb	ⁿw	w				

Vowel-initial root syllables are optionally realised with an initial glottal stop.

h as a distinct phoneme only appears syllable-initially in loanwords.

kp gb represent [k͡p] [g͡b].

k t p (but not kp) are aspirated word- or root-initially. Except after prefixes, all written word-internal k t p ŋ represent geminates, but these are realised as single in normal rapid speech. Final g d b are partly devoiced, but still contrast with k t p.

ŋ cannot be word-initial.

k g are backed before back vowels, particularly ɔ. They are fronted before front vowels, for some speakers even to palatal stops or affricates, and may represent palatals in loans: tɔ́klàe "torch(light)", sɔ́gi̧à "soldier." Before rounded vowels they are labialised, and here do not contrast with kp gb, which appear only before unrounded root vowels and in reduplication-prefixes; kp gb represent labialised velars in loans: bákpàȩ "week", Hausa *bakwai*.

t d n s z l r are usually alveolars, but s z may be dental or interdental; l is never velarised. Word-internal s is often realised [h], and it may represent *h* in loans: Àláasìd "Sunday", Hausa *Lahadi*. Before u, z is often noticeably retracted.

r may be realised as a voiced alveolar or retroflex flap or approximant; after epenthetic vowels it may be retroflex lateral. It does not appear root- or word-initially, but d is often realised like r after prefixes or right-bound words ending in vowels.

m n are syllabic when standing alone as non-enclitic words.

y is [j]; ⁿw ⁿy are nasalised.

2.2 <u>Vowels</u>

The term "vowel" will be used for both monophthongs and diphthongs. Symbols marked ˳ represent vowel sounds which do not constitute morae. Word-initial i̥ u̥ are laxer and longer than y w.

There are seven short monophthongs, a ɛ i ɩ ɔ u ʋ; ɩ ʋ represent IPA [ɪ] [ʊ].

Seven corresponding long monophthongs are written with double symbols.

As non-initial components of diphthongs, [ɪ] is written e except after ɛ, [ʊ] as o except after a, and [i̥] as e̥ except after ɛ u. [ʊ] is also written o in the 3a pronoun ò and in the mora preceding the 3a enclitic: kisó· "hate him."

ɩ ʋ u are slightly fronted after alveolars and y. Non-root final ɛ ɔ are [e] [o].

Diphthongs may be short, long or overlong. The primary diphthongs are

							i̥a	u̥a		
							ia	ua	i̥a'a	u̥a'a
							iaa	uaa		
ae̥	εi̥			ɔe̥	ui̥	ʋe̥	i̥e	u̥e		
ae				ɔe	ui	ʋe	ie	ue		u̥a'e
aee							iee	uee		
aʋ̥	εʋ̥		ɩʋ̥				i̥aʋ̥	u̥o		
aʋ	εo	iu					io	uo		

Other diphthongs arise when the 2pS and 3a enclitic pronouns §5.4 replace the last mora of a preceding long vowel with [ɪ] or [ʊ]: du̥à'o· "beget him."

Before consonants other than y, both word-internally and before enclitics, ie uo are realised [iə] [uɵ] and u̥a'a becomes ʋ'a.

Vowels may be contrastively nasalised and/or glottalised.

Nasalisation is automatic after nasal consonants, except on short vowels *before* nasals. Elsewhere, it is marked by ⁿ, preceding ' (and ·) but following all other vowel symbols: gɛⁿ' pf gɛⁿ'ɛd ipf "get angry"; gɛⁿ "get tired"; tɛɛⁿs "lands"; bi̥aʋ̥ⁿk "shoulder."

Glottalisation is realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first/only mora. It is marked with ' after that mora: dà'a "market", dà' "buy"; kpì'a "neighbour", kpi̥à' "whittle"; pʋ'ab "women", pu̥a' "woman." Mà'àa "only" has a unique overlong monophthong. Except in questions, word-final short root vowels are glottalised before pause: gɛⁿ "tire" falls together with gɛⁿ' "anger."

All short glottal vowels which are not the result of apocope precede ŋ or m in closed syllables: la'ŋ "set alight", sʋ̀'ŋa "well", sʋ̀'m "goodness", ni'm "meat." Not all speakers have glottalisation here, and it is absent in Toende Kusaal and Farefare cognates. Yam "sense" (Farefare *yɛm*) and ya'am "gall" (Farefare *ya'am*) have fallen together as yam/ya'am.

2.3 <u>Syllables and tones</u>

Syllables have the form (C)V(V)(C); except after prefixes, word-internal k t p ŋ represent CC. (C)VVV sequences are disyllabic, dividing (C)V-VV.

Stress falls on the first/only vowel mora of the roots of free words. Within phrases, any syllable which is not CVVC loses stress before an immediately following stressed syllable, working right to left.

With the syllable as tone-bearing unit, there are four tones (strictly, tonemes): high (H), mid (M), low (L) and circumflex (X), as in gél "egg", kʋk "chair" (unmarked), kʋ̀k "ghost", nû'ug "hand." Only CVVC syllables carry X. Enclitics of the form C close a syllable: kà bà kî'e·m "and they cut me." (C)VVV bears two tones: nuáa "hen" MH.

Kusaal M corresponds to H of other Western Oti-Volta languages. Kusaal H and X are secondary: without intervening pause, ML always becomes HL or MX/MH by tone sandhi; all other instances of H precede former L lost by diachronic changes.

M 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 from first to second mora, differing from prepausal H on CVVC, where the fall is within the second mora: contrast man sâam "my father", man sáam "my guests."

HL on (C)VCV, where the second V is not word-final or a root vowel, is realised as H extending over both syllables, as in

Bà ka' di'esídìba·.	"They are not receivers."
Lì ka' mólìfɔ·.	"It's not a gazelle."

but not in

Ò pʋ básì·fɔ·.	"He hasn't left you." (word-final)
Lì ka' dágɔ̀bìga·.	"It's not left." (root vowel)
Kà yà pʋ sị̀ákìda·.	"But you did not agree."
	(CVCCV-: k represents CC)

After H, the initial pitch of H and X is downstepped to the level of M:

M̀ gós ꜜnáaf la kpɛlá.	"I looked at the cow there."
M̀ gós ꜜnû'ug la kpɛlá.	"I looked at the hand there."

H (not X) is downstepped after M if the *next* syllable is CVVC:

Lì à nɛ ꜜpʋ́kɔ̀ɔⁿr la.	"It's the widow."
Lì ka' pʋ́kɔ̀ɔⁿrɛ·.	"It's not a widow."

Man ꜜbʋ́-bɛ'og ka'e·.	"My bad goat isn't there."
Man bʋ́-wɔk ka'e·.	"My tall goat isn't there."

Biig la ꜜsá mɛ̀ɛd yir la.	"The child was building the house."
Biig la sá mɛ̀ yir la.	"The child built the house."

H is also downstepped after M if the next syllable carries M and is prepausal:

Kà m̀ gɔs ꜜnáaf la.	"And I looked at the cow."
Kà m̀ gɔs náaf la kpɛlá.	"And I looked at the cow there."

Yʋꜜgʋ́m ka'e·.	"There's no camel."
Yʋgʋ́m la ka'e·.	"The camel's not there."

Bà ka' ꜜmólii·.	"They aren't gazelles."
Lì ka' mólìfɔ·.	"It's not a gazelle."
Bà à nɛ mólì.	"They are gazelles."

Lì ka' bi-ꜜpʋ́ŋa·.	"It's not a girl."
Lì ka' bi-pʋ́ŋàa·?	"Isn't it a girl?"

Ò pʋ yadɪꜜgída·.	"He isn't scattering."
Ànɔ́'ɔnì yadɪgídà·?	"Who is scattering?"

As downstepping is predictable, it will not be marked elsewhere.

2.4 Orthography

The orthography of texts differs somewhat from that used in this grammar. Tone is not marked.

Intervocalic *k t p* may be doubled; *ll mm nn* may be written single. G2 uses *ng ng nk* for ŋ ŋg ŋk. After prefixes or cifs ending in vowels, d is written *r*: *na'araug* na'-dâʋg "ox." Final ɩya in loans is written *ia*: *dunia* duniya "world."

Before B3, *e o i u* represented ɛ/e ɔ/o ɩ/i ʋ/u respectively; *e o* were sometimes also used for root ɩ ʋ. B3 has the same basic conventions as this grammar, but with *i* for both i and ɩ: *biig* biig "child", *tiig* tìɩg "tree." Final ɩ after nasals is often written *ɛ*, epenthetic ɩ ʋ sometimes *e*: *bareka* bárɩ̀kà "blessing", *bɛdegʋ* bɛ̀dʋ̀gʋ "much." B3 has *e o* for ɛ ɔ in *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ/ken* "go", and the pronouns *on oŋa*. B3 uses *uoe* for ue, *voe* for ʋe, *ieu* for io, *uoy* for u̯ey and *ɔi* for ɔe̯: *duoe* due "raise", *sʋ'oe* sʋ'e "own", *kpi'euŋ* kpi'oŋ "strong", *suoya* su̯eyá "roads", *tɔi* tɔe̯ "be bitter."

e̯ i̯ u̯ ʋ̯ are written *e i u v*. Long ae is written *aae/aaɛ*: *paae* pae "reach." Short *ia'* is distinguished from long *i'a*, but u̯a'/ʋ'a/u'a are all written *u'a*; exceptions in B1/2 are *po'a* pu̯a' "woman", pl *po'ab* pʋ'ab, *mo'ar* mʋ̀'ar "lake." Both au̯ and aʋ can be written *au* or *av*. Stems before lf §3 *-ya* are written like sfs: *tɔiya* tɔyá "be bitter."

ⁿ is written *n*: *tavn* taʋ̯ⁿ "opposite-sex sibling", *tɛɛns* tɛɛⁿs "lands", *tɛn'ɛs* tɛⁿ'ɛs "think", *nyin* ⁿyin "tooth." Before B3, *nn* was used word-finally (*taunn*), though à ⁿ "be" was simply *a*. ⁿYae "brightly" is written *nyain*.

Short glottal vowels are written long, unless they are word-final in verbs: *ya'a* yà' "if" but *da'* dà' "buy." Many free words of the form CV are written as if glottalised: *ya'* ya "houses." Ka'e̯ "not be" is written *kae* in B3, *kae'* earlier.

Final nasals in right-bound words are often shown assimilated to following consonants: *bʋmmɔr* bʋn-mɔ́r "rich person." Diphthong changes before liaison §5.4 are often ignored, but older texts note verb-final monophthongisation §5.1 more often than the standard orthography does: *paa na* pae na "arrive."

The symbol · is not used.

Many bound words §4.1 are written solid with adjacent words. Cifs §6.1 are joined to following words unless they resemble sgs: *bʋkaŋa* bʋ̀-kàŋa "this goat" but *dau kaŋa* dàʋ̯-kàŋa "this man." B2 often writes cifs like sgs, e.g. *Siig Suŋ* "Holy Spirit" (audio Sì-Sʋ̀ŋ.) Most pronouns are written separate, but vowelless *m* "me" and *f* "you" are joined to the preceding word in B3; previously, *m* was written separate, and the mora before *f* was separated and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

Fu dolli m.	Fʋ̀ dɔ́llɩ·m.	"You follow me." (*dɔllim* B3)
M dol uf.	M̀ dɔ́llɩ·f.	"I follow you." (*dɔllif* B3)
M gban'e uf.	M̀ gbâⁿ'a·f.	"I've seized you." (*gban'af* B3)

The enclitic pronoun "him/her" §5.4 has a zero sf §3, but rounds the preceding vowel mora to o, which is taken for the pronoun itself and written separately:

Fʋ dɔl o.	Fʋ̀ dɔ́llo·.	"You follow her."
Fʋ pʋ dɔl oo.	Fʋ̀ pʋ dɔlló·o·.	"You don't follow her."
Fʋ nyɛ o.	Fʋ̀ ⁿyɛ́o·.	"You've seen her."

Locative n, discontinuous-past n and the 2pS pronoun are always joined to the preceding word: *ku'ominɛ* kù'omɪ·nɛ́ lf "in water."

Focus-nɛ and m/c-pf ya are joined to preceding verbs:

Ba anɛ zɔn.	Bà à nɛ zɔn.	"They are fools." Jer 5:4
o gaadya.	ò gàad ya.	"he has gone." 2 Sm 3:24

Older texts write -*ya* as -*eya* after consonants: *gaadeya*.

Nɛ "with" is joined to preceding wɛn "be like" (in B3, as *nwɛnɛ*) and na "hither" to preceding kɛⁿ "come": *kenna* kɛn na ipf.

Personaliser à §9.2 is joined to the following word.

Bɔ zúg(ɔ) "why/because", dìn/lìn zúg(ɔ) "therefore" and àlá zúg(ɔ) "thus" are written solid: *bɔzug* etc.

A word-final syllable before a prosodic enclitic §5.3 is often mistaken for a separate particle in older materials, and occasionally even in B3:

Amaa fʋ anɛ ninsaal ka ka' win nɛ   "But you are a human being, not a god"
Àmáa fʋ̀ á nɛ nin-sâal kà ka'   wɪnnɛ́·   Ez 28:2
but   2s be FOC human   and NG.be god·NG

3 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can stand clause-finally has two surface forms, which differ in nearly all cases, the "short form" (sf) and the "long form" (lf.)

For example, "child" usually appears as sf biig, but at the end of clauses with negative VPs, questions (content or polar), or vocatives, it appears as the lf biiga:

Ò daa ⁿyɛ biig.   "She saw a child."
3a TNS see child

biig la nû'ug   "the child's hand"
child the hand

Ò daa pʋ ⁿyɛ biiga·.   "He/she did not see a child."
3a TNS NG see child.NG

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · daa ⁿyɛ bíigà·?   "Who saw a child?"
who   + TNS see child·CQ

M̀ biiga·!   "My child!"
1s   child·VOC

Sfs will be regarded as derived synchronically from lfs by apocope, though most lfs can be predicted from the sfs and flexion of lexemes, and some have been remodelled by analogy. Apocope reflects several distinct historical processes.

The rule for apocope is:

Final long vowels drop the last mora; special cases are
ae -> ae̯   aʋ -> aʋ̯   ui -> ui̯   ia -> i̯a   ua -> u̯a

Final short vowels are deleted; then
        final consonant clusters drop the second consonant
        final y becomes zero after ɪ/e/i and e̯/i̯ otherwise

Examples:

Lì à nɛ dʊk.   "It's a cooking pot."
3i be FOC pot

Dʊk la bódìg ya.   "The pot has got lost."
pot   the get.lost m/c

Lì ka'   dʊkɔ́·.   "It's not a pot."
3i NG.be pot·NG

Lì à nɛ dʊkɔ́ɔ·?   "Is it a pot?"
3i be FOC pot·PQ

Lì à nɛ kʊk.   "It's a chair."   Lì ka' kʊka·.   "It's not a chair."
Lì à nɛ gbɪgɪm.   "It's a lion."   Lì ka' gbɪgɪmnɛ·.   "It's not a lion."
Lì à nɛ yáarìm.   "It's salt."   Lì ka' yáarɪmm·.   "It's not salt."
Lì à nɛ daʊ̥.   "It's a man."   Lì ka' daʊ·.   "It's not a man."
Bà à nɛ gbɪgɪma.   "They're lions."   Bà ka' gbɪgɪmaa·.   "They're not lions."

Kà ò sɪ̥ák.   "And he agreed."
and 3a agree

Ò pʊ sɪ̥ákɛ·.   "He hasn't agreed."
3a NG agree·NG

Kà ò dɪgɪ.   "And she's lying down."   Ò pʊ dɪgɪyá·.   "She isn't lying down."
Kà ò vʊę.   "And she's alive."   Ò pʊ vʊyá·.   "She's not alive."
Kà ò pae.   "And he arrived."   Ò pʊ paée·.   "He hasn't arrived."

The appearance of clause-final lfs is triggered by following prosodic enclitics §5.3, which lack segmental form themselves; somewhat modified, lfs also appear before liaison words §5.4. Citation forms will reflect lfs as seen before prosodic enclitics, but without certain tonal alterations and the change of final mɛ -> mm.
The default lf ending corresponding to sfs ending in consonants is ɛ; cf

sɔ' kae gat Joon nɛ   "There is none greater than John."
sɔ' ka'e   · gát   Joonɛ·   Lk 7:28
IDFa NG.exist + pass.IPF John·NG

Most sfs ending in vowels have lfs obtainable by prolonging them; long monophthongs do not change. However, most 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in -ya; for D (but not W) so do sɔę̆ⁿ "witch" and saę̆ⁿ "blacksmith."

All right-bound words (including cifs §6.1) are regarded as sfs. Except where sfs and lfs are specified separately, all other single words or compounds will be cited henceforward as sfs followed by <u>subscripts</u> (and a possible tone mark) showing how to arrive at the corresponding lfs.

No subscript appears for lfs obtainable by repeating the sf-final vowel symbol or removing ˛ from it, or by leaving a long monophthong unaltered:

gbɪgɪma	lf	gbɪgɪmaa	"lions"
mɔ̀lì		mɔ̀lìi	"gazelles"
pae´		paée	"reach"
dɪ̧a'		dɪ̧a'a	"get dirty"
pṵa'		pṵa'a	"woman"
daʋ̧		daʋ	"man"
dà'a		dà'a	"market"

Lfs where ia ua become sf ɪ̧a ṵa are specified separately, as the subscript notation would imply lfs in ɪ̧aa ṵaa: thus kɪ̧à' "cut" lf kì'a, zṵà "friend" lf zùa.

Otherwise, the material deleted by apocope is written as a subscript, but with lf-final -ɛ implied as the default:

biig$_a$	lf	biiga	"child"
dʋk$_ɔ$´		dʋkɔ́	"pot"
dɪgɪ$_{ya}$´		dɪgɪyá	"be lying down"
sɪ̧àk		sɪ̧àkɛ̀	"agree"
yàarìm		yàarìmɛ̀	"salt"
gbɪgɪm$_n$		gbɪgɪmnɛ	"lion"

Words with lfs in -ya where sf-final y becomes ę̧ are written with $_{ya}$:

vʋę̧$_{ya}$´	lf	vʋyá	"live"
saę̆ⁿ$_{ya}$		saⁿya	"smith"

Lf-final syllables carry L, unless the last sf tone is M, in which case the last lf syllable carries either M or H. M is taken as the default, with a following ´ mark signifying that H is to be imposed instead:

kʋk$_a$	lf	kʋka	"chair"
sia		siaa	"waist"
daʋ̥		daʋ	"man"
dʋk$_ɔ$´		dʋkɔ́	"pot"
viid´		viidɛ́	"owls"
nua´		nuáa	"hen"
taʋ̥^{n}´		táʋ^n	"opposite-sex sibling"

X on a CVVC syllable in the sf becomes H if the syllable is open in the lf:

nû'ug$_ɔ$	lf	nú'ugɔ̀	"hand"

<u>Apocope-blocking</u> is a feature of a few nouns, of many quantifiers, ideophones and particles, and of downtoned adjectives.

Apocope-blocked sfs do not show apocope. Final ɛ ɔ -> ɩ ʋ (i u after i ii u uu), but mɛ -> mm; except on long vowels, final L -> M. Forms ending in short vowels create lfs by prolonging the vowel, with final M -> H unless M precedes:

buudi	lf	buudii	"tribe"
bɛ̀dʋ̀gʋ´		bɛ̀dʋ̀gʋ́ʋ	"a lot"

The rest add -nɛ̀ (nɛ́ after M); their lfs are specified separately:

pamm	lf	pamnɛ́	"a lot"
mà'àa		mà'anɛ̀	"only"
gʋ̀llɪmm		gʋ̀llɪ̀mnɛ̀	"only"
^{n}yae		^{n}yaenɛ́	"brightly"
kɔ̀tàa		kɔ̀tàanɛ̀	"at all"

4 Word structure

The open word classes are verbs, nouns and adjectives; closed classes are pronouns, quantifiers, ideophones and particles. Nouns and adjectives are grouped together as nominals. Particular noun and pronoun subtypes are used adverbially. Ideophones may be adjective intensifiers, expressive adverbials, or predicatives.

Many quantifiers and particles resemble nominals in form, often with apocope-blocking. Bound pronouns and many particles resemble full-word affixes segmentally. Ideophones often deviate from normal word structure and may even violate the usual phonological constraints, e.g. tólìlìlì, intensifier for "tall", fáss, intensifier for "white."

4.1 Bound and free words

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. Bound words need not be dependent: personal pronouns always head NPs, and compound-initial forms (cifs) are heads before adjectives and demonstratives: tì-kàŋa´ "this tree." (Conversely, free forms may appear within compounds §9.1.) In this grammar, cifs are hyphenated to the next word: thus zim-gbâⁿ'ada "fisher", bʊ̀-pìel-kàŋa´ "this white goat."

 The only bound forms which differ systematically from both free words and affixes phonologically are prosodic enclitics §5.3 and liaison enclitics §5.4; the term "clitic" will be reserved for these alone.

In phrases and sentences, the symbol · will be written at the beginning of any word which has caused the preceding word to appear as a lf. If this is an enclitic, it is written solid with the preceding word, joined by the · mark; otherwise, a space precedes the · symbol. When · is *followed* by a space or punctuation mark, it signifies that the next word lacks any segmental form: it is either a prosodic enclitic, or a liaison word with a zero sf, like 3a "her" in fʊ̀ ⁿyɛ́o· "you've seen her."

4.2 Segmental structure

Open-class words have (C)V(V)(C) roots; V(V) is a monophthong, ie or uo, possibly glottalised and/or nasalised, and any final C must be b d g l m n s or r. Stems add up to three of the derivational suffixes b d g l m n or s; only d l m may follow other suffixes. Full words end with a flexion (C)V(V); C is b d g l m n s r y or f and V(V) is a ɛ ɔ aa or ii. All flexions of the form V are dropped after root vowels. In nominal stems the root may be prefixed by (C)V(N) CVsN or CVlN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root initial.

Morphophonemic rules, followed by apocope, alter vowel qualities and leave the only word-internal CC clusters as nn mm ll mn and geminate k t p ŋ, along with NC after prefixes. All others insert epenthetic ɪ i ʊ or u.

4.2.1 Root allomorphy

A few words have CV roots, e.g. zug$_ɔ$´ pl zut´ "head", yir´ "house", vʊr´ "alive", bil$_a$ "little."

Root diphthongs other than ie uo appear in sɔẹⁿ "witch", saẹⁿ "blacksmith", ka'ẹ "not be", daʊ̹ "man", taʊ̹ⁿ´ "opposite-sex sibling"; before consonants, these become long monophthongs: sɔɔⁿg$_ɔ$ "witchcraft." Historically, they derive from Vy/Vw. Prior to monophthongisation, wb -> p: thus dap$_a$ *dawba "men." Many roots were originally CVɹ, monophthongising similarly before consonants, and also in 2vb pfs. Prior to monophthongisation, ɹd -> t, ɹr -> r: thus

dɔ̀ɔg$_ɔ$	"hut"	dɔ̀t	"huts"
liig$_a$	"fall" ger	lìt$_a$	"fall" ipf
gaaⁿs´	"ebony trees"	gaⁿr´	"ebony fruit"

In nouns, analogical pls like dɔ̀ɔd "huts" are common. 2vbs carry over the short vowel into the imperative. Most 2vbs formerly of this kind have been regularised. There are no CV-stem gerunds, though W has wìd-lɔr´ "place to tie horses", na'-lɔ́r "place to tie cows." CVɹ -> CVd before derivational g: lɔ "tie", lɔdɪg´ "untie"; pʊ "divide", pʊdɪg´ "share out."

Cɔɔ and Cʊ glottalise before derivational g s: yɔ̀ɔlʊ́ŋ$_ɔ$ "closed", yɔ̀'ɔg "open"; vʊr´ "alive", vʊ'ʊg´ "revive", vʊ'ʊs´ "breathe."

Before pl aa, root-final modal CV(V) -> CVy; Cie Cuo -> Cị̈ey Cụ̈ey:

gaⁿr´	"ebony fruit"	pl	gaⁿyá
bàlàar	"stick, club"		bàlàyà
kʊ̀kɔr´	"voice"		kʊ̀kɔyá
nɔɔr´	"mouth"		nɔyá
bier´	"elder same-sex sibling"		bị̈eyá
zuor	"hill"		zụ̈eya

Glottal CV'V -> CVd; Cu'o -> Cụ̈od:

tɪta'ar	"big"	tɪtada
pɔ̀ⁿ'ɔr	"cripple"	pɔ̀ⁿdà
yʊ'ʊr´	"name"	yʊdá
yu'or	"penis"	yụ̈oda

Underlying CVg stems may show d by analogy: mʊ̀'ar "lake" pl mụ̈à'a/mʊ̀'adà.

Some roots alternate CVC/CVVC. A few alternations appear in flexion, e.g. piim´ "arrow" pl pimá. More appear in derivation, e.g. kaal´ "count", kalı´ "number"; tʋʋmn "deed", tʋ̀m "work" (2vb); tʋʋlúgɔ "hot", tʋlla´ "be hot." CVC must appear before all derivational suffixes except noun-deriving l, e.g. màal "sacrifice" 2vb, malιma "sacrifices" pl; dεεna "first" pl, dὲŋ "precede"; tʋʋlúgɔ "hot", tʋlιg´ "heat." CieC -> CεC: kpi'ema "strong" pl, kpὲ'ŋ "strengthen"; lìeb "become", lὲbìg "turn."

In a few cases CVV + derivational C -> CVC: yiis´/yis "extract." CVVg -> CVk: wìk "draw water" (ipf wìida); tεεg´/tεk´ "pull" shows ε for the expected ia before k.

4.2.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

<u>Set 1</u>: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.
εg ɔg -> iag uag.
Single g is then deleted after a ia ua, producing a'a ia'a ua'a; any following vowel is absorbed. Nasal vowels behave identically.

zà'as	*zagsε	"compounds"	zàka sg	*zagga	
pi̠àⁿ'ad	*pεⁿgdε	"words"	pi̠àʋⁿkɔ sg	*pεⁿggɔ	
pʋ'as	*pɔgsε	"female" pl	pu̠aka sg	*pɔgga	
pi̠aⁿ'	*pεⁿgε	"speak"			

g is deleted after aa ie uo unless it precedes ɔ. Glottal and/or nasal vowels behave identically. Here, when a vowel follows, fusion creates overlong vowels:

aaga -> aaa	iega -> iaa	uoga -> uaa
aagε -> aee	iegε -> iee	uogε -> uee

baa	*baaga	"dog"	baas pl	
sia	*siega	"waist"	sies pl	
sàbùa	*sabuoga	"lover"	sàbùos pl	

pae´	*paagε	"reach"	páar ger	*paagrε
kpì'e	*kpi'egε	"approach"	kpì'er ger	*kpi'egrε
due´	*duogε	"raise, rise"	dúor ger	*duogrε

Set 2: ie^n uo^n -> ɛɛ^n ɔɔ^n (glottal likewise):

zὲ^n'ɛs	"red" pl	zì^n'a sg	
dɔ̀ɔ^{n}s	"dawadawas"	dùa^n sg	
Mɔ̀ɔl	"Mooré"	Mùa	"Mossi person"
sɔ^n'ɔd$_a$´	"outdoer"	su^n'e´	"improve"
sɔ^n	"rub"	sue^n´	"anoint"

This rule is blocked in fusion-verb flexion and deverbal nominal formation: nìe "appear" ger nìer; pu^n'e´ "rot" ger pú^n'or.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

Except after prefixes, CC within a word assimilates to k p t ŋ mm nn ll mn r s f or inserts epenthetic ι. This table shows the outcomes; blanks represent epenthesis, and dashes mark unattested pairs.

	-g	-d	-b	-m	-n	-r	-s	-l	-f	-y
g-	k								-	
d-		t			-			-	f	r
b-			p	mm				-		
m-	ŋ	mn	mm	mm	-	mn		nn	-	mm
n-	ŋ	nn	mm		-	nn	^{n}s	nn	f	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g.

gìk$_a$	*gɪgga	"dumb"	gìgìs pl	
bʊ̀t$_a$	*bʊdda	"plant" ipf	bʊ̀d pf	
sɔp$_ɔ$´	*sɔbbɔ	"writing" ger	sɔb pf	
dum$_n$	*dumrɛ	"knee"	duma pl	
tan$_n$	*tanrɛ	"earth"	tana pl	
gέl$_l$	*gɛlrɛ	"egg"	gɛlá pl	
kun$_{na}$´	*kulda	"go home" ipf	kul pf	
zɔn$_n$´	*zɔldɛ	"fools"	zɔlʊg$_ɔ$´ sg	

Batˊ   *Barlɛ   "Bisa language"   Barɪsˊ "Bisa people"

wìefɔ   *wiedfɔ   "horse"   wìdì pl
píɩfɔ   *pʋɩnfɔ   "genet"   piiní pl

bʋ̀ŋa   *bʋmga   "donkey"   bʋ̀mìs pl
kɪmmɔ   *kɪmbɔ   "shepherding" ger   kìm pf

ns -> s with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

sg tɛŋa   pl tɛɛⁿs *tɛnsɛ   "land"
    kʋ̀lìŋa   kʋ̀lìs *kʋlɪnsɛ   "door"

ms often becomes ns in flexion, and is then subject to assimilation. Most root-stems block this change for clarity, but elsewhere free variation is usual.

mn has largely become mm. B1/2 has a few ipfs in *mn*: *daamne ba* Lk 6:18 B1 dàamnɪ·bá "trouble them", *wum na* Mt 13:15 B2 wʋ̀mna "hear." Some speakers keep mn in noun lfs (gbɪgɪmnɛ S "lion", gbɪgɪmmɛ W) but word-internal mnɪ appears only in agent nouns: tʋ̀m-tʋmnɪba "servants", but bʋn-túmmìr "useful thing" pl -tʋmna S.

bm -> mm after short root vowels only.

In ipfs and gerunds of 3-mora stems, md -> mm and mg -> ŋ are optional:

ipf wʋ̀mma   ger wʋmmɔ   "hear (wʋ̀m)"
     tɔ́ommaa/tɔɔmída   tɔ́oŋɔ/tɔɔmúgɔ   "depart (tɔɔmˊ)"
     kàrìmma/kàrìmìda   kàrʋ̀ŋɔ/kàrìmʋ̀gɔ   "read (kàrìm)"

W and D avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfs only as lfs or before focus-nɛˊ. B3 sometimes uses 2-mora-stem ipfs like *wʋmid* Phil 1:30.

In ipfs, nd -> nn only after short root vowels; in gerunds, nC never assimilates.

ipf bʋ̀nna   ger bunibɔ   "reap (bʋ̀n)"
     dìgɪnìda   dìgɪnʋ̀gɔ   "lie down (dìgɪn)"
     gɔ̀'ɔnìda   gɔ̀'ɔnʋ̀gɔ   "extend neck (gɔ̀'ɔn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with mmm -> mm and llr -> ll: dàm "shake", ipf dàmmìda, imp dàmma; kʋ̀g-dɛllá "chairs for leaning", sg kʋ̀g-dɛlₗˊ.

Derivational n represents earlier nn: vàbìn "lie prone", Mooré *vabende*; pibinn pl pibina "covering", Mooré *pibindga* "lid."

Set 4: vowel quality changes.

Before y, long vowels change second-mora a ɔ ʊ to e [ɪ], u to i: sɔⁿ'eya "outdo" (sɔⁿ'ɔda´ "outdoer"); tṵa'eya´ *tɔgya "be near."

Before gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ, short root a i̯a ɛ ɪ -> Vʋ̯, u̯a -> ɔ; i is unaffected. Long vowels change second-mora a ɛ e ɪ to [ʊ], i to u.

bi̯aʊ̯ⁿkɔ	"shoulder"	pl	bi̯aⁿ'ad
yɪʋ̯ŋɔ´	"single"		yɪná
bɔ̀kɔ	"pit"		bʋ̀'ad
dàʋgɔ	"log"		dàad
fɛⁿ'ogɔ´	"ulcer"		fɛⁿ'ɛd´
kpi'oŋɔ	"strong"		kpi'ema
viugɔ´	"owl"		viid´

The epenthetic vowel is ɪ by default, but ʋ before gɔ/ŋɔ, or after a short rounded root V + g: wabʋgɔ´ "elephant", pl wabɪd´; malʋŋɔ "sacrifice", pl malɪma; yʋgʊ́mn "camel", pl yʋgʋmá. After open root or prefix syllables with short i u, epenthetic ɪ ʋ are replaced by i u: nulis´ "make to drink", kugur´ "stone."

Final ie uo -> ia ua (glottal likewise):

ki̯à' lf kì'a	"cut"	ipf	kì'eda	
ku̯a lf kua	"hoe"		kuoda´	

4.3 Tone patterns

The tones of an open-class word, prior to external tone sandhi or overlay, are specified by a tone pattern (tp), a suprasegmental stem feature which allocates tones to the syllables of each complete word belonging to the flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes.

Nominals show only three basic tps (H, L and A), and verbs only two (H and A.) Allocation precedes all rules which delete segments, including apocope.

tp H	initial H, MH or MMH			
tp L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer m-stems)			
tp A	(Alternating)	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl	all-L in cif
		verbs:	all-M after nà/kʋ̀	all-L otherwise

Any tones after H are L. All L flexional suffixes other than pf/cif ɛ carried M historically; the original tone appears before locative n and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M-spread seen after the corresponding sfs.

4.3.1 Nominals

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cif §6.1. Cifs are allocated tones prior to
apocope of final ε. Many cifs are remodelled after sgs, but the tones are unchanged.
Prefixes are L(L) or M(M). L prefixes do not alter tps; after M prefixes, root L -> X/H,
and in cifs M -> X/H too. In some compounds CV-stem cifs behave like prefixes:

zug-kʊgʊr	zug-kʊga	zug-kʊ́g-	"pillow"
ka-wɛnnɪr	ka-wɛnna	ka-wɛ́n-	"corn"

Tp H lfs begin with

    H if the first syllable is CVVC
    MMH if the first two syllables of three or more are (C)VCV
    MH otherwise

Any tones after H are L.
Examples (bracketed forms are lfs; word-internal k t p ŋ represent CC):

sú'oŋₐ (sú'oŋà)	su'omís	su'oŋ- (su'omɛ́)	"hare"
saanₐ´ (saaná)	sáamₘₐ	saan-	"stranger"
gɔtₐ´	gɔtíbₐ	gɔt-	"seer"
sabílₗ (sabíllè)	sabɪlá	sabɪl- (sabɪlɛ́)	"black"
sabɪlígₐ	sabɪlís		"black"
dʊkɔ´	dʊgʊd´ (dʊgʊdɛ́)	dʊg-	"pot"
kugur´ (kugurɛ́)	kugá	kug-	"stone"
di'esₐ´	di'esídìbₐ	di'es-	"receiver"

Monosyllabic lfs carry H, with sf M: ya´ "houses", lf yáa; see also §5.3.
Lfs ending in overlong vowels carry MH, with sf M: nua´ "hen", lf nuáa.

Some words have a long root vowel followed by a nasal lost before s or f, or by
deleted g; the first syllable still behaves as CVVC:

níiŋₐ	níis	*niinsɛ	niiŋ-	"bird"
píɪfɔ	*pɪɪnfɔ	piiní	pɪɪn-	"genet"
wáafɔ	*waagfɔ	wiigí	wa'-	"snake"

Likewise all tp H fusion-verb gerunds: náar *naagrɛ "finishing", dí'er *di'egrɛ
"getting", púⁿ'or *puⁿ'ogrɛ "rotting."

A few root-stems show initial X on CVVC syllables, H otherwise, except with -a pls and cifs:

nû'ug$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$	nû'us	nu'-	"hand, arm"
nɔ́bɪ̀r	nɔbá	nɔb-	"foot, leg"
gɛ́l$_{\mathrm{l}}$	gɛlá	gɛl-	"egg"

So too à gâʊ$^{\mathrm{n}}$g$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ "pied crow", gbɛ̂ɛ$^{\mathrm{n}}$m "sleep", á$^{\mathrm{n}}$sɪ̀b$_{\mathrm{a}}$ "mother's brother", kísùg$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ "hateful", and the gerunds sɔ́$^{\mathrm{n}}$sìg$_{\mathrm{a}}$ "talking", gɔ́sìg$_{\mathrm{a}}$ "looking", kìkírùg$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$ "hurrying."

Except in loans and 2vb derivatives, r behaves as CC after short root vowels:

$^{\mathrm{n}}$yiríf$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$	$^{\mathrm{n}}$yirí		"egusi seed"

With prefixes:

dàyuug$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$´	dàyuud´	dàyu-	"rat"
Bùsáŋ$_{\mathrm{a}}$	Bùsâa$^{\mathrm{n}}$s	Bùsaŋ-	"Bisa person"
zɪnzaʊ̯ŋ$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$´	zɪnzaná	zɪnzáʊ̯ŋ-	"bat"
gʊmpʊzɛr´	gʊmpʊzɛyá	gʊmpʊzɛ́r-	"duck"
pipirig$_{\mathrm{a}}$´	pipiris´	pipír-	"desert"
tɪntɔ$^{\mathrm{n}}$ríg$_{\mathrm{a}}$	tɪntɔ$^{\mathrm{n}}$rís	tɪntɔ́$^{\mathrm{n}}$r-	"mole"

Tp L has L on all syllables, except for m-stems of more than three morae, which show H on the last stem syllable. Any tones after H are L.

sʊ̀'ʊg$_{\mathrm{a}}$	sʊ̀'ʊs	sʊ̀'-	"knife"
zàk$_{\mathrm{a}}$	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mɔ̀lìf$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
pʊ̀gʊ̀dìb$_{\mathrm{a}}$	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-nàm$_{\mathrm{a}}$	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-	"father's sister"
sàal$_{\mathrm{a}}$	sàalìb$_{\mathrm{a}}$	sàal-	"human"
mɛ̀ɛŋ$_{\mathrm{a}}$	mɛ̀ɛmìs	mɛ̀ɛŋ-	"turtle"
à$^{\mathrm{n}}$rʊ̀ŋ$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$	à$^{\mathrm{n}}$rìmà	à$^{\mathrm{n}}$rʊ̀ŋ-	"boat"
zìlìm$_{\mathrm{n}}$	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nɔ̀ŋìd$_{\mathrm{a}}$			"lover"
sìilíŋ$_{\mathrm{a}}$	sìilí(mì)s	sìilíŋ-	"proverb"
zàa$^{\mathrm{n}}$súŋ$_{\mathrm{ɔ}}$	zàa$^{\mathrm{n}}$símà	zàa$^{\mathrm{n}}$súŋ-	"dream"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
nɔ̀ŋìlím		nɔ̀ŋìlím-	"love"

Note bùgúm bùgúm-/bùgum- "fire", tàdìmís "weakness", bùdìmís "confusion."

With prefixes:

kùkpàrìg$_a$	kùkpàrìs	kùkpàr-	"palm tree"
samán$_n$	samánà	samán-	"courtyard"

Tp A shows M throughout in sg/pl forms and L throughout in the cif.

bʊʊg$_a$	bʊʊs	bʊ̀-	"goat"
tan$_n$	tana	tàn-	"earth"
sɪd$_a$	sɪdɪb$_a$	sìd-	"husband"
pʊ̯a'	pʊ'ab$_a$	pʊ̯à'-	"woman"
gbɪgɪm$_n$	gbɪgɪma	gbìgìm-	"lion"
mɛɛd$_a$	mɛɛdɪb$_a$	mɛ̀ɛd-	"builder"
sɪ̯akɪd$_a$	sɪ̯akɪdɪb$_a$	sɪ̯àkɪ̀d-	"believer"
mɛɛdɪŋ$_a$	mɛɛdɪs	mɛ̀ɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

Agent nouns from tp A verbs which drop d in the sg/cif have tp L sgs:
pʊ̀'ʊs$_a$ "worshipper" pl pʊ'ʊsɪdɪb$_a$.

Before the negative enclitic, W and D have final H (not M) when a nominal lf ends in a long or epenthetic vowel followed by CVCV, mCV or mm:

sg		pl		
	yugudɪrɛ́		yugudaa	"hedgehog"
	ⁿwaaŋa		ⁿwaamɪsɛ́	"monkey"
	baŋɪda		baŋɪdɪbá	"wise man"
	kparɪdɪŋa		kparɪdɪsɛ́	"thing for locking"
	gbɪgɪmmɛ́		gbɪgɪmaa	"lion"
	zɔɔmmɛ́		zɔɔmaa	"fugitive"
	tadímm		tadɪmɪsɛ́	"weak person"

W (not D) permits this before interrogative enclitics as an alternative:
Lì à nɛ gbɪgɪmmɛ́ɛ/gbígìmmɛ̀ɛ·? "Is it a lion?"

With prefixes:

dàkiig$_a$	dàkiis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fʊfʊm$_n$	fʊfʊma	fʊfʊ́m-	"envy; stye"

4.3.2 Verbs

2vb pf and ipf forms with be cited in order; the m/c-imp is always subject to tone overlay. 1vbs have only one finite form.

Tp H 2-mora-stem pfs are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative enclitics. They show final H only before enclitic pronouns:

Ò pʋ dʋgɛ·.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pʋ dúgɛ̀ɛ·?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dʋgí·lɪ.	"And she cooked it."

Tp H is otherwise as in nominals, but fusion-verb ipfs (and agent nouns) have initial M, not H, and r never behaves as CC in 2vb stems.

ⁿyɛ	ⁿyɛt$_a$´	"see"
dʋg	dʋgʋd$_a$´	"cook"
kul	kun$_{na}$´	"go home"
yadɪg´	yadɪgíd$_a$	"scatter"
mɔɔl´	mɔ́ɔn$_{na}$	"proclaim"
dɪgɪl´	dɪgín$_{na}$	"lay down"
nɔk´	nɔkíd$_a$	"take"
laŋím	laŋím$_{ma}$	"wander searching"
pae´	paad$_a$´	"reach"
	dɪgɪ$_{ya}$´	"lie down"

Tp A has all tones M if directly preceded by the irrealis markers nà/kʋ̀, and all L everywhere else.

mɛ̀	mɛ̀ɛd$_a$	"build"
bʋ̀d	bʋ̀t$_a$	"plant"
zàb	zàbìd$_a$	"fight, hurt"
bùol	bùon$_{na}$	"call"
bɔ̀dìg	bɔ̀dìgìd$_a$	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋìd$_a$	"do"
zàaⁿsìm	zàaⁿsìm$_{ma}$	"dream"
	tàbì$_{ya}$	"be stuck to"

Ò nà bɔdɪg.	"She'll get lost."
Ò kʋ̀ bɔdɪgɪda·.	"She won't be getting lost."

4.3.3 Derivation

Root-stem words reveal the tps of the roots themselves.

Tp H roots have H derivatives, with the sole exception of verbs derived with n, which are all tp A §7.4. Thus with all deverbal nominals: dʊg "cook", ger dʊgʊbɔ´, agent noun dʊgʊdₐ´, instrument dʊgʊdíŋₐ. Irregular tp H corresponds to regular tp H elsewhere: áⁿsìbₐ "maternal uncle", aⁿsíŋₐ "sister's child"; gɔ́sìgₐ ger of gɔs "look."

Tp L/A roots have L/A derivatives. Nominal tp A stems which are not deverbal must be either root-stems, or derived with d or m alone; thus

	nà'abₐ	"chief"	na'am	"chieftaincy" (m-stem)
but	biigₐ	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"

Tp A verb gerunds are tp A if their stems have two morae, and tp L otherwise:

mɛɛbɔ	"building"	sʊ̀ŋìr	"help"
kùosʊ̀gɔ	"selling"	zàaⁿsʊ́ŋɔ	"dream"
bɔ̀ɔdìm	"will"	mɛ̀ɛdím-taa	"fellow-builder"

Tp A verb agent nouns and deverbal adjectives are tp A if they contain the suffix d (even assimilated, as in mn or nn), and tp L otherwise; the tp changes even between sg and pl if d is dropped in the sg alone.

sʊŋɩdₐ	"helper"	kpìilʊ́ŋɔ	"dead"
bɔɔdɩr	"desirable"		
kùosₐ	"seller"	kuosɩdɩbₐ	"sellers"

Tp A verb instrument nouns are all tp A: mɛɛdɩŋₐ "building tool", kuosɩŋₐ "salesperson."

5 <u>External sandhi</u>

Sandhi includes segmental contact, tone sandhi, and suppression of apocope. Apocope and tone overlay precede all tone sandhi; M-drop and changes before interrogative enclitics precede M-spread, which precedes all other tone sandhi.

5.1 <u>Segmental contact</u>

Within VPs, verb-final ie ue are realised [iə] [uɵ] and other Ve -> VV, Ve̞ -> V, unless y follows; this is only noted orthographically with àe̞^{n} "be" and ka'e̞ "not be":

Dúe wɛlá·?	"(You) arose [duɵ] how?" (greeting)
Ò pàe na.	"She has arrived [pa:]."
Ò sʊ̀'e lɔ́r.	"She owns [sʊ̞:] a car."
Manɪ · á^n dʊ́'atà kà fʊn mɛ́n áe̞^{n}.	"I'm a doctor and you are too." W
1s + be doctor and 2s also be	

Within phrases, final short vowels denasalise before word-initial nasals; this is only noted orthographically with kɛ̀ na "come hither" and à^n "be" before focus-nɛ´:

Ṁ á nɛ dʊ́'atà.	"I'm a doctor."
1s be FOC doctor	

Within phrases, initial C is lost in la´ "the" after r, in focus-nɛ´ after d t n r l m, and in ^{n}wà "this" after any C, with [n l m] geminated:

yir la	[jiɾa]	"the house"
yɔ̀ɔd nɛ	[jɔ:dɛ]	"is closing"
dìt nɛ	[dɪtɛ]	"is eating"
pɔ̀^{n}r nɛ	[pɔ̃ɾɛ]	"is near"
pɛ̀'ɛl nɛ	[pɛ̞:l:ɛ]	"is full"
zàm nɛ	[zam:ɛ]	"is cheating"
zɔn ^{n}wá·!	[zɔn:a]	"fools!"

Final nasal consonants of right-bound words adopt the place of articulation of following C, as does syllabic n, but not syllabic m.

Across liaison, a ·a is usually rendered [a], ɪ ·a [a] or [ɪ], and ɪ ·o [ʊ:].

5.2 <u>Word-initial tone changes</u>

After most word types, <u>M-spread</u> changes a following word-initial L to X on CVVC syllables, H otherwise, unless the L is "fixed" (see below.) It follows all

subject pronouns
words ending in M tone
words not bound to the right   except   pfs ending in L or H
                                        pls ending in -á or -í
                                        some forms with M-drop (below)

M/c marking §10.5 affects M-spread.

M-spread does not occur across pause. It does not follow clause adverbials, but otherwise crosses phrase boundaries:

Bà tìs nâ'ab la búŋ.   "They've given the chief a donkey."
3p give chief   the donkey   (bùŋₐ "donkey")

M-spread is absent after pfs without m/c tone overlay which do not end in M, and after nominal pls in -á or -í:

        Kà m̀ gɔs búŋ la.   "And I've looked at the donkey."
but   Kà m̀ ⁿwɛ́' bùŋ la.   "And I've hit the donkey."
        M̀ dìgà bódìg ya.   "My dwarfs have got lost."
but   M̀ yʊgʊmá bɔ̀dìg ya.   "My camels have got lost."

The pronouns m̀ fʊ̀ ò lì tì yà bà à, linker kà, all forms of nominaliser ǹ (including segmental zero), all prefixes à- and all number prefixes have a <u>fixed L</u> tone not subject to M-spread. With no intervening pause, M becomes H before fixed L:

Ka dau la nye Yesu la   "When the man saw Jesus" Lk 8:28 B2
Kà daʊ̯ lá·   ⁿyɛ Yesu la
and man the·NZ see Jesus the

All words followed by M-spread once ended in M. (ML -> MH, MX or HL §2.3.) Bound subject pronouns bore M (Spratt); H/L-final sg/pl sfs had a final M delinked by apocope. However, M-spread is now grammaticalised: cifs remodelled on sgs §6.1 are not followed by M-spread if they end in H/L: lànnìg-kàn "that squirrel."

<u>M-drop</u> applies to words with initial M tone within NPs.

After all free predependents except personal pronouns, and after all cifs ending in M tone, whether dependents or heads:

unprefixed words with initial M change all tones to L;

M prefixes change to L, but the rest of the stem is unaffected.

M-drop affects only the one following word (which may be a cif.)

M-drop applies before M-spread; as the preceding word usually also induces M-spread, the new initial L becomes X/H; initial H on long vowels may become X by analogy: daʋ̯ la nâaf "the man's cow (náaf$_\mathrm{ɔ}$)." M-drop precedes tone changes due to liaison: daʋ̯ la póɔgʋ·n "in the man's field (pɔɔg$_\mathrm{ɔ}$´)."

Examples:

bʋ̀-paalíg$_\mathrm{a}$	"new goat"	nɔ-páalìg$_\mathrm{a}$	"new hen"
bʋ̀-kʋʋd$_\mathrm{a}$´	"goat-killer"	nɔ-kʋ̂ʋd$_\mathrm{a}$	"hen-killer"
nà'-biig$_\mathrm{a}$	"prince/princess"	nà'ab bîig	"a king's child"
man yʋgúm	"my camel"	man gbɪgɪm	"my lion"
daʋ̯ la yúgʋ̀m	"the man's camel"	daʋ̯ la gbígɪ̀m	"the man's lion"
m̀ bi̯eyá yʋ̀gʋ̀m	"my sibs' camel"	m̀ bi̯eyá gbìgɪ̀m	"my sibs' lion"
mɔɔgʋ·n yúgʋ̀m	"a wild camel"		

M-drop never follows free heads: kug-yínnì "one stone", but kugur yɪnní "one stone", kugur la "the stone", kugá piiga "ten stones." It occurs only within NPs:

	Bà tìs nâ'ab la bîig.	"They've given it to the chief's child."
but	Bà tìs nâ'ab la biig.	"They've given the chief a child."

Mono- and disyllabic words affected by both M-drop and M-spread after a free predependent are not followed by M-spread:

Daʋ̯ la báŋ bɔ̀dìg ya.   "The man's ring (baŋ$_\mathrm{a}$) has got lost."
man   the ring   get.lost m/c

Daʋ̯ la yúgʋ̀m bɔ̀dìg ya.   "The man's camel (yʋgúm$_\mathrm{n}$) has got lost."

but   M̀ bi̯eyá bàŋ bódìg ya.   "My sibs' ring ..." (no M-spread)
      M̀ bi̯eyá yʋ̀gʋ̀m bódìg ya.   "My sibs' camel ..." (no M-spread)
      Daʋ̯ la sʋ̂'ʋg bódìg ya.   "The man's knife (sʋ̀'ʋg$_\mathrm{a}$) ..." (no M-drop)
      Daʋ̯ la yúgʋ̀dìr bódìg ya.   "The man's hedgehog (yugudɪr) ..."
                                   (three syllables)

M-spread/M-drop after compounds follow the ordinary rules (with dɩɩbɔ "food"):

bʊ̀-wɔk dîɩb	"tall goat's food"	nɔ-wɔ́k dîɩb	"tall hen's food"
bʊ̀-wɔk-píelìga	"tall white goat"	nɔ-wɔ́k-pìelìga	"tall white hen"
bʊ̀-wɔk-páalìga	"tall new goat"	nɔ-wɔ́k-paalíga	"tall new hen"

M-drop applies sequentially. Words already affected by M-drop do not alter, and the occurrence of M-spread reflects the sequence of applications:

daʋ̯ la nɔ́-páalìg	"the man's new hen (nɔ-páalìga)"
fuug dôɔg	"tent" (fuugɔ´ "cloth", dɔ̀ɔgɔ "hut")
pʊ̀'ʋsʊ̀g fûug dôɔg	"tabernacle" (pʊ̀'ʋsʊ̀gɔ "worship")
daʋ̯ la bîig bìer nâaf zʊ̀ʋr	"the man's child's sib's cow's tail" W
	(biiga, bier´, náafɔ, zʊʋr)

5.3 Prosodic enclitics

Prosodic enclitics lack segmental form (cf Spencer and Luís pp132ff on such clitics elsewhere.) They cause preceding words to appear as lfs; final mɛ -> mm [prior to mnɛ -> mmɛ] and three-mora monophthongs reduce to two. Any resulting monosyllabic tp H lfs carry H:

vʊm´	"life"	lf	vʊ́mm	
daam´	"beer"		dáamm	
tɔɔm´	"disappear"		tɔ́ɔmm	
kʊ́o [kʊ:]	"kill her"		kʊ́o	*kʊo·o
gaaⁿ´	"ebony"		gáaⁿ	*gaaⁿga

The <u>negative</u> enclitic ends VPs containing a negated/negative verb §10.3 §10.7. It changes lf-final L syllables to M; this rule applies after M-spread.

	Lì ka' dʊkɔ́·.	"It's not a pot (dʊkɔ´)."
	3i NG.be pot·NG	
	Lì ka' nɔ́bìrɛ·.	"It's not a leg (nɔ́bìr)."
	Bà ka' mɔ́lii·.	"They are not gazelles (mɔ̀lì)."
	Lì ka' yàarɩmm·.	"It's not salt (yàarìm)."
	Lì ká' ò tɩɩmm·.	"It's not her medicine (tɩ̀ɩm)."
	Lì ká' bà da'a·.	"It's not their market (dà'a)."
but	Lì ka' tîɩmm·.	"It's not medicine."
	Lì ka' dá'a·.	"It's not a market."

Similar lfs appear in clause adverbials like bɔ zúgɔ "because", daa-sí'erɛ "perhaps", and sometimes at the end of yà'-clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor buude, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.
Kìkirig yá' mɔr bʋʋdɛ, fʋn tísò· kà ò lɛ́bìg ò mɔɔgʋ·n.
fairy   if   have innocence 2s give·3a and 3a return 3a grass·at
"When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." G2 p38

Commands consisting of a verb alone or verb + 2pS sometimes end in lfs of this kind: gòsìma! "look!", gòsìmɪ·yá! "look (pl)!"; so too the greeting nɛ sɔ́ⁿsìga! §13.
     The <u>vocative</u> enclitic ends vocative clauses. It changes lf-final L to M.
It sometimes imposes a falling intonation on final M.

M̀ pṵa' nɛ́ m̀ biisɛ·!   "My wife and my children!"
1s   wife with 1s child.PL·VOC

The two <u>interrogative</u> enclitics end questions.
Before the polar-question enclitic, lf-final short vowels are lengthened.

Bà à nɛ mɔ́lìi·?   "Are they gazelles (mɔ̀lì)?"
3p be FOC gazelle.PL·PQ

Lì à nɛ nɔ́bìrɛ̀ɛ·?   "Is it a leg (nɔ́bìr)?"

Before the content-question enclitic, lfs ending in long vowels or in -mɛ adopt the segmental form of the sf:

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ nɔ́bìrɛ̀·?   "Who's seen a leg?"
who   + see leg·CQ

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ sʋ́'ʋgà·?   "Who's seen a knife (sʋ̀'ʋga)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ dʋkɔ́·?   "Who's seen a pot (dʋkɔ́)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ mɔ́lì·?   "Who's seen gazelles?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ́·?   "Who has seen?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ bɛ́dʋgʋ́·?   "Who's seen a lot (bɛ̀dʋgʋ́)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · wʋ́m·?   "Who has heard (wʋ̀m)?"

All questions have final *falling* intonation and end with a L or H tone. If all tones of the lf before an interrogative enclitic are M, all of them become L. This rule applies before M-spread, to which the new L tones are now subject.

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ́ bà bìigà·?	"Who has seen their child (biigₐ)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ bíigà·?	"Who's seen a child?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ zu̠éyà·?	"Who's seen hills (zu̠eya)?"
Fʋ̀ bôɔd bɔ́·?	"What (bɔ) do you want?"
Ò pʋ dúgɛ̀ɛ·?	"Hasn't she cooked (dʋg)?"
M̀ ná bɔ̀dìgɛ̀ɛ·?	"Will I get lost?"
	(M̀ ná bɔdɪg "I will get lost.")

5.4 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final lf vowel, but with loss of its quality and length contrasts.

Left-bound liaison words are <u>liaison enclitics</u>. They comprise locative n, nominaliser ǹ, discontinuous-past n, 2pS ya and the object personal pronouns mₐ fɔ o lɪ tɪ ya ba; they are always preceded by liaison. Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns m̀ fʋ̀ ò lì tì yà bà à, linker n, and all words with prefixed à; liaison is usual before n and number-prefix à, but is otherwise only common after verbs and after 2pS ya.

Before liaison lf-final non-root short vowels become ɪ, which many speakers round to ʋ after f or a rounded vowel + g/ŋ. Final -ya is dropped; then final ia -> ie, ua/ue -> uo, and all other final Ve/V -> VV:

kʋkₐ	"chair"	+ n "at" ->	kʋkɪ·n
dʋkɔ´	"pot"		dʋkí·n
pɔɔgɔ´	"field"		pɔɔgʋ́·n
gbàʋ̠ŋɔ	"book"		gbàʋ̠ŋʋ·n
dà'a	"market"		da'a·n
kù'om	"water"		kù'omɪ·n
ⁿyɛ	"see"	+ n past ->	ⁿyɛɛ·n
i̠a lf ia	"seek"		ie·n
gbaⁿ'e´	"seize"		gbaⁿ'a·n
pie´	"wash"		pie·n
due´	"raise"		duo·n
sʋ'eya´	"own"		sʋ'ʋ·n
vʋe̠ya´	"live"		vʋʋ·n

Tì gɔ́sí ·bà biis.	"We've looked at their children."
1p look 3p child.PL	

Before non-enclitics or enclitic m, final mɩ may become m, with its tone shifted to the preceding syllable:

| Gɔ̀sɩ̀mɩ́ ·fʋ̀ nû'uɡ! | Gɔ̀sɩ́m ·fʋ̀ nû'uɡ! | "Look at your hand!" |
| Gɔ̀sɩ̀mɩ·m! | Gɔ̀sɩm·m! | "Look at me!" |

Nominaliser n̄ fuses with preceding subject pronouns §9.2; the change M -> H before its fixed L tone is the only sign of its presence elsewhere for my consultants:

daʋ̀ lá· ⁿwɛ̀' bʋ̀ŋ la   "the man having hit the donkey"
man the·NZ hit donkey the

Texts may show *n*, especially after proper names, and/or liaison:

ya zuobid wʋsa kalli an si'em   "the number of all your hairs" Lk 12:7
yà zuobíd wʋsa kallí·   àⁿ si'em
2p hair.PL   all   number·NZ be how

After pause, linker n appears as n. After proper nouns, W B3 show zero or n; after final m n ŋ, zero; after apocope-blocked words or pls in -a or -ɩ, zero or liaison alone; elsewhere, liaison alone. Older texts may write *n* in any context.

Wáafʋ̀ · dúmo·.   "A snake has bitten him." W
snake   + bite·3a

Kà ò zɔ́ɔ · kɛŋ na.   "And he came running"
and 3a run + come hither

Mam tʋmmi tisid anɔ'ɔnɛ?   "Who am I working for?" Eccl 4:8
Mam túmmì · tísɩ̀d ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀?
1s   work.IPF + give.IPF who·CQ

Some liaison words induce further quality changes in lf-final vowels.
Before 2p object ya, any back second morae of long vowels are fronted, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

Kà bà ɡbáⁿ'e·ya.	"And they seized (ɡbaⁿ'e´) you."
Kà bà kúe·ya.	"And they killed (kʋ) you."
Kà bà zúi·ya.	"And they stole (zu) you."

The pronouns $_o$ "him/her" and 2pS $_{ya}$ lose their entire segmental form in their sfs. Both completely override the vowel quality of the pre-liaison mora, creating secondary diphthongs.

The mora before $_o$ becomes o [ʊ] (fusing with the lf of the pronoun as o·o [ʊ:]), while the mora before $_{ya}$ becomes [ɪ]:

bɔ̀ɔd$_a$	"want"	+ $_o$ 3a ->	bɔ̀ɔdo·	lf bɔ̀ɔdó·o
tʊ̀m	"send"		tʊ̀mò·	lf tʊ̀mò·o
dì	"eat"		dìo·	lf dìò·o
i̯a lf ia	"seek"		í'o·	lf i'ó·o
zu	"steal"		zúo·	lf zuó·o
àe̯^{n}$_{ya}$	"be"		ao^n·	lf àó^n·o
pae´	"reach"		páo·	lf paó·o
pie´	"wash"		pío·	lf pió·o
due´	"raise"		dúo·	lf duó·o
zu	"steal"	+ $_{ya}$ 2pS ->	zue·	lf zue·yá
bɛ̀	"be"		bɛɪ·	lf bɛɪ·yá

$_{ya}$ itself becomes ní (from *ɲɪ) before liaison:

Dì'emɪ·!   "Receive (pl)!"
receive.IMP·2pS

Dì'emɪ·ní·ba!   "Receive (pl) them!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3p

Dì'emɪ·nó·!   "Receive (pl) her!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3a

nɔŋimini ya pu'ab   "love (pl) your wives" Col 3:19
nɔ̀ŋìmɪ·ní ·yà pʊ'ab
love.IMP·2pS   2p   woman.PL

Number-prefix à- changes preceding lf-final short vowels to -a, but in all other cases lfs before à are the same as lfs before consonant-initial liaison words:

Ṁ mɔ́r nɛ biisá ·àtá^n'.   "I have three children."
1s   have FOC child.PL three

Pɛ̀ɛdá ·àlá·?   "How many baskets?"
basket.PL how.many·CQ

but   Ò nìŋí ·àlá.   "She has done thus."
       3a do   thus

       Fʋ̀ áaⁿ ·ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀?   "Who are you?"
       2s   be   who·CQ

       yeli Abaa   "said to Dog" G2 p20
       yɛ̀lì ·à Baa
       say   PZ dog

Tone changes induced by liaison words apply after M-spread.
Locative n changes any preceding lf-final L to M:

poog_ɔ´   "field"   + n "at" ->   pɔɔgʋ́·n
biig_a   "child"   biigɪ·n
yàad   "graves"   yàadɪ·n
kʋʋdíb_a   "killers"   kʋʋdíbɪ·n

Past n and 2pS _{ya} change any preceding lf-final L or *non-root* H to M:

dʋg   "cook"   + n past ->   dʋgʋ·n
mɛ̀   "build"   mɛɛ·n
bɔ̀dìg   "lose"   bɔ̀dìgɪ·n
yadɪg´   "scatter"   yadɪgɪ·n
kʋʋd_a´   "kill" ipf   kʋʋdɪ·n
dɔl_{la}´   "go with"   + _{ya} 2pS -> dɔllɪ·   lf dɔllɪ·yá

After pfs without m/c marking and not preceded by irrealis nà/kʋ̀, bound object
pronouns change any preceding lf-final M to H:

bɔ̀dìg   "lose"   + ba 3p ->   bɔ̀dìgì·ba
dì   "eat"   dìɪ·ba
yadɪg´   "scatter"   yadɪgí·ba
dʋg   "cook"   dʋgí·ba
kʋ   "kill"   kʋ́ʋ·ba
pae´   "reach"   páa·ba
bàs   "abandon"   + _o 3a ->   bàsò·
gɔs   "look"   gɔsó·

In all other cases, bound object pronouns change any preceding lf-final L to M. Thus with ipfs:

kʋʋd_a´	"kill"	+ m_a 1s ->	kʋʋdí·m
bàsìd_a	"leave"		bàsìdɪ·m
yadɪgíd_a	"scatter"		yadɪgídɪ·m
nɔ̀ŋ	"love"		nɔ̀ŋɪ·m
kʋʋd_a´	"kill"	+ _o 3a ->	kʋʋdó·
bàsìd_a	"leave"		bàsìdo·
yadɪgíd_a	"scatter"		yadɪgído·

After m/c marking (which first changes all tones to L §10.5):

Ò bɔ̀dìgɪ·m.	"He's lost me."
Ò bɔ̀dìgo·.	"He's lost her."
Ò yàdìgɪ·bá.	"He's scattered them."
Ò kʋʋ·bá.	"She has killed them."

Enclitics constituting a syllable carry M after L/H and H after M:

pɔɔg_ɔ´	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pɔɔgʋ́·n	lf pɔɔgʋ́·nɛ
yàad	"graves"		yàadɪ·n	lf yàadɪ·né
kʋʋd_a´	"kill"	+ m_a 1s ->	kʋʋdí·m	lf kʋʋdí·ma
bàsìd_a	"leave"		bàsìdɪ·m	lf bàsìdɪ·má
yadɪgíd_a	"scatter"	+ ba 3p ->	yadɪgídɪ·bá

However, they carry H, not M, after a L root vowel which would have changed to M before the enclitic if it had not already been changed to H by M-spread:

| Ò ká' bà da'a·nɛ́·. | "She is not at their market (dà'a)." |
| Ò ka' dá'a·nɛ́·. | "She is not at market." |

Enclitics bearing M on the sf change it to H on the lf:

Kà m̀ básì·ba.	"And I left them."
Kà m̀ pʋ básì·báa·.	"And I didn't leave them."
Kà m̀ kʋ́ʋ·ba.	"And I killed them."
Ànɔ́'ɔnì kʋ́ʋ·bá·?	"Who's killed them?"

Lf o "him/her" is tonally null, but -ò· -> -o·o before the negative enclitic by the usual rule, and -o· -> -ó·o before all prosodic enclitics. Final overlong vowels are assigned tones like -VCVV, so sf H corresponds to lf MH.

bàsìd$_a$	"leave"	+ $_o$ 3a ->	bàsìdo·	lf bàsìdó·o
yadɩgíd$_a$	"scatter"		yadɩgído·	lf yadɩgídó·o
bɔ̀ɔd$_a$	"want"		bɔ̀ɔdo·	lf bɔ̀ɔdó·o
ⁿyɛ	"see"		ⁿyɛ́o·	lf ⁿyɛ́ó·o

Ò nà baso·.   "He will leave her."
Ò kʋ̀ basó·o·.   "He won't leave her."

Linker n is toneless. A preceding lf-final tone is M after M, L otherwise. M-spread follows n whenever the sf of the preceding word would induce it:

amaa o kena ye o tʋm tisi ba   "but he came to serve them" Mt 20:28
àmáa ò kɛ na   yɛ́ ò túm · tìsì·ba
but   3a come hither that 3a work + give·3p

M̀ nɔ́k sʋ́'ʋgʋ̀ · kɩ̯á' nim la.   "I've cut the meat with a knife."
1s take knife   + cut meat the

All other liaison words begin with a fixed L tone, before which M becomes H. Before nominaliser ǹ no other tone change occurs; before the non-enclitics, final tones are as before enclitic object pronouns or the locative particle, but with H for M:

Kà bà dìtɩ̠́ ·bà dʋ̀ɩb.   "And they were eating their food."
and 3p eat.IPF 3p   food

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
bànì·   nà yɛl Zug-sóbɩ̠́ ·bà tʋʋmá·   àⁿ si'em la
DEMp·NZ IR say Lord   3p deed.PL·NZ be how   the
"those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are" Heb 13:17 B2

6 Flexion

6.1 Nouns

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem appears with the suffix ɛ as a compound-initial form (cif) before other nominals §9.1. Cifs undergo apocope, but after non-nasal consonants, ɛ was formerly retained as ɪ; older texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for ⁿwad-bíl$_a$ "star."

Forms will be cited in the order sg, pl, cif.

The sg|pl suffix pairs a|ba ga|sɛ gɔ|dɛ rɛ|aa fɔ|ii form five classes accounting for most count nouns; unpaired bɔ| mɛ| form two more classes, mostly of mass nouns:

a|ba	sɪd$_a$	sɪdɪb$_a$	sìd-	"husband"
ga|sɛ	bʊʊg$_a$	bʊʊs	bʊ̀-	"goat"
gɔ|dɛ	viug$_ɔ$´	viid´	vi-	"owl"
rɛ|aa	nɔɔr´	nɔyá	nɔ-	"mouth"
fɔ|ii	mɔ̀lìf$_ɔ$	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
bɔ|	sa'ab$_ɔ$		sà'-	"porridge"
mɛ|	daam´		da-	"beer"

Seven nouns referring to older/important people use ba as sg: nà'ab$_a$ "chief", pl nà'-nàm$_a$. Language names use lɛ instead of sg rɛ: Mɔ̀ɔl "Mooré."

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class to avoid ambiguity. This has become regular with gɔ|dɛ stems ending in m n, which form their pls in aa (gbaʋŋ$_ɔ$´ pl gbaná "animal skin"), as do all gerunds in gɔ.

Sg gɔ often replaces ga after rounded vowels (nû'ug$_ɔ$ pl nû'us "hand"), and sg rɛ often replaces a after stems in short V + l n r (Bìn$_n$ pl Bìm$_{ma}$ "Moba person.")

a|ba m-stems take pl sɛ or use nàm$_a$; some human-reference ga|sɛ nouns also take pl ba; countable mɛ| nouns use pl aa or sɛ or use nàm$_a$; the small fɔ|ii class includes words with fɔ|ii suffixes in only one number; a few remaining irregular pairings mostly involve replacement of pl dɛ by other suffixes.

The word nàm$_a$ follows count cifs/mass sgs to make pls: kpὲɛⁿm-nàm$_a$ "elders", daam nám$_a$ "beers." It pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pls used as sg, mass nouns in count senses, and NPs with à §9.2; it is used to avoid ambiguous pls, and in

mà	mà nám$_a$ *sic*	mà-	"mother"
ba'´	ba'-nám$_a$	ba'-	"father"
zu̯à lf zùa	zu̯à-nàm$_a$	zu̯à-	"friend"

Stems ending in a short root vowel in the sg §4.2.1 and stems ending in m/n regularly show cifs segmentally (not tonally) remodelled on the sg:

zug$_ɔ$´	zut´	zug-	"head"
kʊ̀kɔr´	kʊ̀kɔyá	kʊ̀kɔr-	"voice"
taⁿp$_ɔ$		tàⁿp-	"war"
gbav̰ŋ$_ɔ$´	gbaná	gbav̰ŋ-	"animal skin"

Remodelling is not invariable (*kʊkɔtita'ar* "great voice" Jn 7:28), particularly with cifs as dependents: gban-záb$_a$ "leatherworker."

Remodelled cifs are also used to avoid ambiguity, e.g. kɔ̀lʊ̀g$_ɔ$ "sack", cif kɔ̀lʊ̀g- (kɔlɪg$_a$ "river", cif kɔ̀l-); lànnìg$_a$ "squirrel", cif lànnìg- (lan$_n$ "testicle", cif làn-.)

Two nouns distinguish sg and pl cifs as heads (e.g. dàp-sʊ̀mà "good men"):

dav̰	dap$_a$	dàv̰-	sg	dàp-	pl	"man"
tav̰ⁿ´	taⁿp$_a$´	tav̰ⁿ-	sg	taⁿp-	pl	"opposite-sex sib"

The cif of la'af$_ɔ$ "cowry", pl ligidi "money" may be là'- or lìg-.

The sg sf is usually enough to identify the noun class, given whether the word has human reference. Loanwords may pluralise with nàm$_a$, but are often fitted into noun classes by analogy instead:

màlḭak$_a$´	màlḭa'as´	màlḭa'-	"angel": Arabic *mal'ak*
gadʊg$_ɔ$´	gat´	gad-	"bed": Hausa *gado*
lɔ́r	lɔ́yà/lɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$	lɔ́r-	"lorry"
màlìf$_ɔ$	màlì		"gun": Arabic *midfaʿ*

Loans ending in L or H show M-spread after sg, but not cif: dʊ́'atà nâ'ab "a doctor's chief", but dʊ́'atà-nà'ab "a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief."

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cif on the analogy of nouns with M prefixes: duniya "world", duniyá-kàŋa "this world."

Apocope-blocking is seen in many manner nouns §10.6.2. A few other apocope-blocked nouns may be loans from related languages without apocope §8.

Pronouns, adjectives and numerals once agreed by noun class, but gender is now simply animate or inanimate; the 3rd person pronouns continue the old a|ba and sg rɛ pronouns.

There is some correlation between class and meaning.

a|ba nouns all refer to people.

ga|sɛ has general membership but includes most tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Most nouns referring to people belong to a|ba or ga|sɛ.

gɔ|dɛ and rɛ|aa are the default non-human countable classes. They include all names of fruits, and four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference gɔ|dɛ nouns are pejorative. Stems referring to people may use sg gɔ for the place where they live. Most human-reference rɛ|aa nouns have been transferred from a|ba for phonological reasons. All language names take sg lɛ.

fɔ|ii comprises animals, along with small round things (including all seeds.)

bɔ| has only three members that are not gerunds: sa'ab$_\math{ɔ}$ "millet porridge", ta$^\math{n}$p$_\math{ɔ}$ "war" and kɪ'ɪb$_\math{ɔ}$´ "soap."

mɛ| contains nouns referring to liquids, substances and abstractions, and a few inanimate count nouns.

Regular deverbal nouns have predictable class membership.

Paradigms

Stems form cifs with the suffix ɛ. By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel; complications arise from root allomorphy, deletion of g, vowel and consonant assimilation, and rounding §4.2.

a|ba

Stem-final m n assimilate before pl ba: mb/nb -> mm. Most nouns show sg -a:

sɪd$_\mathrm{a}$	sɪdɪb$_\mathrm{a}$	sìd-	"husband"
nid$_\mathrm{a}$´	nidib$_\mathrm{a}$´	nin- *sic*	"person"
kʊʊd$_\mathrm{a}$´	kʊʊdíb$_\mathrm{a}$	kʊʊd-	"killer"
sàal$_\mathrm{a}$	sàalìb$_\mathrm{a}$	sàal-	"human being"
saan$_\mathrm{a}$´	sáam$_\mathrm{ma}$	saan-	"guest, stranger"
yʊʊm-yʊ̂'ʊm$_\mathrm{na}$	-yʊ̂'ʊmnìb$_\mathrm{a}$	-yʊ̂'ʊm-	"singer"
pu̯à'-sa$^\mathrm{n}$'am$_\mathrm{ma}$	-sa$^\mathrm{n}$'amɪdɪb$_\mathrm{a}$ *sic*	-sà$^\mathrm{n}$'am-	"adulterer"
pa'an$_\mathrm{na}$	pa'annɪb$_\mathrm{a}$	pà'an-	"teacher"
gbàn-za$^\mathrm{n}$l$_\mathrm{la}$´	-za$^\mathrm{n}$llíb$_\mathrm{a}$	-za$^\mathrm{n}$l-	"book-carrier" K W
gbàn-tar$_\mathrm{a}$´	-taríb$_\mathrm{a}$	-tar-	"book-owner" D
zà'-nɔ-gúr$_\mathrm{a}$	-gúrìb$_\mathrm{a}$	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"

Agent nouns from mm-stem 2vbs like dàm "shake" only have nàm$_\mathrm{a}$ pls.

Agent nouns from 3-mora s-stems drop d in sg and cif, as do those from a few other verbs; many have nàm$_a$ pls. A few d-stems drop d in pl or cif only.

kùos$_a$	kuosɪdɪb$_a$	kùos-	"seller"
sigis$_a$´	sigisídìb$_a$	sigis-	"lowerer"
dììs$_a$	dììs-nàm$_a$	dììs-	"glutton"
sòs$_a$	sɔsɪdɪb$_a$	sòs-	"beggar"
tìs$_a$	tɪsɪdɪb$_a$	tìs-	"giver" W
kis(id)$_a$´	kisidíb$_a$	kisid-	"hater"
zàb-zàb$_a$	-zabɪdɪb$_a$	-zàb-	"warrior"
gban-záb$_a$	-záb-nàm$_a$	-záb-	"leatherbeater"
ⁿwi-tɛ́k$_a$	-tɛ́kìdìb$_a$		"rope-puller"
wììd$_a$	wììb$_a$	wììd-	"hunter"
sɔⁿ'ɔd$_a$´	sɔⁿ'ɔb$_a$´	sɔⁿ'ɔd-	"someone better"
pʊkpaad$_a$´	pʊkpaadíb$_a$	pʊkpá-	"farmer"

Stems in single m have sg -mɛ and pls with sɛ or nàm$_a$:

zu'om´	zu'omís	zu'om-	"blind person"
kpɛɛⁿm	kpɛ̀ɛⁿm-nàm$_a$	kpɛ̀ɛⁿm-	"elder"
bi'em	bì'em-nàm$_a$	bì'em-	"enemy"

For kpɛɛⁿm bi'em, W also has the lf-only pls kpɛɛⁿmma bi'emma.
CVn-stems show sg lf -nnɛ, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg rɛ.

Dàgban$_n$´	Dàgbam$_{ma}$´	Dàgban-	"Dagomba person"

Cf agent nouns in rɛ|aa from 1vb ll/r-stems §7.2.2. Some former CVV-stems have become rɛ|aa, e.g. pòkɔ̀ɔⁿr "widow"; cognates in related languages retain pl ba.
    Seven nouns end in a vowel in the sg sf:

pṳa'	pʊ'ab$_a$	pṳà'-	"woman"
ba'a	ba'ab$_a$	bà'a-	"diviner"
sae̤ⁿ(ya)	saaⁿb$_a$	sàⁿ- *sic*	"blacksmith"
sɔe̤ⁿ(ya)	sɔɔⁿb$_a$	sɔ̀ⁿ- *sic*	"witch"
da̤ʋ	dap$_a$	dà̤ʋ-, dàp-	"man"
ta̤ʋⁿ´	taⁿp$_a$´	ta̤ʋⁿ-, taⁿp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pitʊ́	pitíb$_a$	pit-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds, -pit$_a$´ replaces pitʊ́: bì-pit$_a$´ "younger child."

Seven nouns have ba in the sg, with nàm$_a$ pls:

nà'ab$_a$	nà'-nàm$_a$	nà'-	"chief"
yáab$_a$ *yaag-	yaa-nám$_a$	yaa-	"grandparent"
pʊ̀gʊ̀dìb$_a$	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-nàm$_a$	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-	"father's sister"
á^{n}sìb$_a$	a^{n}s-nám$_a$	a^{n}s-	"mother's brother"
sàam$_{ma}$	sàam-nàm$_a$	sàam-	"father"
dìem$_{ma}$	dìem-nàm$_a$	dìem-	"man's parent-in-law"
dàyáam$_{ma}$	dàyaam-nám$_a$	dàyaam-	"woman's *id*"

ga|sɛ

dɛ̀ɛg$_a$	dɛ̀ɛs	dɛ̀-	"warthog"
^{n}wadɪg$_a$´	^{n}wadɪs´	^{n}wad-	"moon, month"
bʊ̀-dìbìg$_a$	-dìbìs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kɔlɪg$_a$	kɔlɪs	kɔ̀l-	"river"
kpʊ̀kpàrìg$_a$	kpʊ̀kpàrìs	kpʊ̀kpàr-	"palm tree"
pusig$_a$´	pusis´	pus-	"tamarind"

After aa ie uo, g is deleted, with V fusion; sg ia^n ua^n correspond to pl ɛɛ^{n}s ɔɔ^{n}s:

baa	baas	bà-	"dog"
sia	sies	si̯à-	"waist"
sàbùa	sàbùos	sàbu̯à-	"lover, girlfriend"
nu'-í^n'a	-ɛ̂^{n}'ɛs	-ɛ́^{n}'-	"fingernail"
nua´	nɔɔs´	nɔ-	"hen"

After a i̯a u̯a, g is deleted and the vowel is glottalised.
After short root vowels gg -> k; elsewhere, gg is replaced by ŋ:

gìk$_a$	gìgìs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk$_a$	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
bɛ̀rìŋ$_a$	bɛ̀rìgìs		"kenaf"
yáaŋ$_a$	yáas *yaagsɛ	yaaŋ-	"grandchild"

Naden has *kariŋ* pl *karigis* "nit, head louse." Vúoŋ$_a$ "red kapok" has acquired the pl vuomís by analogy; cf vúor *vuogrɛ "red kapok fruit."

mg/ng -> ŋ; except in a few root-stems, ms -> ns optionally or always, followed by ns -> s with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

bʋ̀ŋ$_a$	bʋ̀mɩ̀s	bʋ̀ŋ-	"donkey"
naŋ$_a$	namɩs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'oŋ$_a$	su'omɩ́s	su'oŋ-	"hare"
tɛŋ$_a$	tɛɛ^{n}s	tɛ̀ŋ-	"land"
pàŋ$_a$	pàa^{n}s	pàŋ-	"power"
níiŋ$_a$	níis/niimɩ́s	niiŋ-	"bird"
kʋ̀lìŋ$_a$	kʋ̀lì(mì)s	kʋ̀lìŋ-	"door"
piesíŋ$_a$	piesí(mì)s	piesíŋ-	"sponge"
mɛɛdɩŋ$_a$	mɛɛdɩ(mɩ)s	mɛ̀ɛdɩ̀ŋ-	"building tool"

Some root-stems with rounded root vowels show sg gɔ for ga:

kuug$_{a/ɔ}$´	kuus´	ku-	"mouse"
sʋ̀'ʋg$_{a/ɔ}$	sʋ̀'ʋs	sʋ̀'-	"knife"
nû'ug$_ɔ$	nû'us	nu'-	"hand"
zʋ̀nzɔ̀ŋ$_{a/ɔ}$	zʋ̀nzɔɔ^{n}s	zʋ̀nzɔ̀ŋ-	"blind person"
yʋ́'ʋŋ$_ɔ$	yʋ'ʋmɩ́s	yʋ'ʋŋ-	"night"
zùu^{n}g$_ɔ$	zùu^{n}s/zùu^{n}d	zù^n-	"vulture"

For unclear reasons, so does pɛ'og$_ɔ$´ "sheep", pl pɛ'ɛs´, cif pɛ'-.
Some original gɔ|dɛ m-stems show sɛ rather than aa in place of pl dɛ:

yàmmʋ̀g$_{a/ɔ}$	yàmmɩ̀s	yàm-	"slave"
à dàalʋ́ŋ$_ɔ$	à dàalí(mì)s	à dàalʋ́ŋ-	"stork"
sí'uŋ$_ɔ$	si'imɩ́s	si'uŋ-	kind of big dish
dɩ̀ɩsʋ́ŋ$_ɔ$	dɩ̀ɩsís/dɩ̀ɩsímà	dɩ̀ɩsʋ́ŋ-	"spoon"

Some human-reference nouns have alternative pls with ba:

dàsaŋ$_a$	dàsam$_{ma}$/dàsaa^{n}s	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùa	-dàbùob$_a$/-dàbùos		clan name
Yàaŋ$_a$	Yàam$_{ma}$	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàamɩ̀s/Yàa^{n}s		

Irregular in various ways are:

biig$_a$	biis	bi-/bì-	"child"
bʊtɪŋ$_a$	bʊtɪɪs	bʊ̀tìŋ-	"cup"
saŋá	sansá	san-	"time"
wɪlɪsʊ́ŋ$_ɔ$	wɪlɪmís	wɪlɪsʊ́ŋ-	kind of snail
yalɪsʊ́ŋ$_ɔ$	yalɪmís	yalɪsʊ́ŋ-	"quail"

gɔ|dɛ

Before gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic ɪ to ʊ and rounding final morae of root vowels.

dàʊg$_ɔ$	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fɛⁿ'og$_ɔ$´	fɛⁿ'ɛd´	fɛⁿ'-	"ulcer"
gbɛ̀'og$_ɔ$	gbɛ̀'ɛd/gbɛ̀dà	gbɛ̀'-	"forehead"
dàbiog$_ɔ$	dàbied	dàbi̯à-	"coward"
viug$_ɔ$´	viid´	vi-	"owl"
mɔɔg$_ɔ$	mɔɔd	mɔ̀-	"grass, bush"
wabʊg$_ɔ$´	wabɪd´	wab-	"elephant"
balɛrʊg$_ɔ$´	balɛrɪd´/balɛrɪs´	balɛ́r-	"ugly person"
bɛsʊg$_ɔ$	bɛsɪd	bɛ̀s-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dɔ̀ɔg$_ɔ$	dɔ̀ɔd/dɔ̀t	dɔ̀-	"hut"

So too pɔɔg$_ɔ$´ "farm, field", fuug$_ɔ$´ "clothing, shirt." Exceptionally, the sg has a short vowel in zug$_ɔ$´ "head", pl zut´, cif zu(g)-.
gg -> k and u̯akɔ -> ɔkɔ; g is deleted after a i̯a u̯a:

dʊk$_ɔ$´	dʊgʊd´	dʊg-	"cooking pot"
laʊ̯k$_ɔ$	la'ad	là'-	"item of goods"
bi̯aʊ̯ⁿk$_ɔ$	bi̯aⁿ'ad(a)	bi̯à ⁿ-	"shoulder"
lɔ̀k$_ɔ$	lʊ̀'ad	lu̯à'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

dd -> t; ld -> nn:

ùdug$_ɔ$	ùt	ùd-	"piece of chaff"
zɔlʊg$_ɔ$´	zɔn$_n$´	zɔl-	"fool"
sìlʊ̀g$_ɔ$	sìn$_n$/sìlìs	sìl-	"hawk"

mg/ng -> ŋ; m/n-stems use aa instead of dɛ, except in *yammid* "slavery" and làŋgáʊŋɔ (or màŋgáʊŋɔ) "crab", pl làŋgaamá or làŋgáam$_n$.

gbàʊ̤ŋɔ	gbànà	gbàʊ̤ŋ-/gbàn-	"book"
zɪnzaʊ̤ŋɔ´	zɪnzaná	zɪnzáʊ̤ŋ-	"bat"
à^{n}rʊ̀ŋɔ	à^{n}rìmà	à^{n}rʊ̀ŋ-	"boat"
nìn-gbiŋɔ´	-gbiná	-gbiŋ-	"body"

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate ng -> ŋ, and m-stems optionally resist mg -> ŋ: thus dìgìnʊ̀gɔ "lying down", sùnnʊ̀gɔ "bowing the head", sà^n'ʊŋɔ/sà^n'amʊ̀gɔ "destroying", kàrʊ̀ŋɔ/kàrìmʊ̀gɔ "reading." All pls take aa:

bu'osʊ́gɔ	bu'osá	bu'os-	"question"
zàa^{n}sʊ́ŋɔ	zàa^{n}símà	zàa^{n}sʊ́ŋ-	"dream"

The place name Dènʊ̀gɔ "Denugu" also fails to assimilate ng.

rɛ|aa

kugur´	kugá	kug-	"stone"
yugudɪr	yuguda	yùgùd-	"hedgehog"
nɔ́bìr	nɔbá	nɔb-	"leg"
bì^n'isìr	bì^n'isà	bì^n'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlàŋìr	bàlàŋà	bàlàŋ-	"hat"
saŋgʊ́nnìr	saŋgʊ́nnà	saŋgʊ́n-	"millipede"
summɪr	summa	sùm-	"groundnut"

CV(V)-stems make pl CVya if the vowel is modal, CVda if glottal §4.2.1:

gbɛr´	gbɛyá	gbɛr-	"thigh"
bier´	bi̤eyá	bi̤a-	"elder same-sex sib"
zuor	zṳeya	zṳà-	"hill"
nɔɔr´	nɔyá	nɔ-	"mouth"
zʊʊr	zʊya	zʊ̀-	"tail"
^{n}yɛ'ɛr´	^{n}yɛdá	^{n}yɛ'-	"next-younger sibling"
pɔ̀^{n}'ɔr	pɔ̀^{n}dà	pɔ̀^{n}'-	"cripple"
yʊ'ʊr´	yʊdá	yʊ'-	"name"
yu'or	yṳoda	yù'or-	"penis"

Stems in *ag *ɛg *ɔg may make analogical forms in -d-:

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare *bagrɛ*)
si̯à'ar	si̯à'a/si̯à'adà	si̯à'-	"forest"
mʋ̀'ar	mu̯à'a/mʋ̀'adà	mu̯à'-	"lake"

Stems with deleted g after a long vowel include fusion-verb gerunds like gbáⁿ'ar from gbaⁿ'e´ "grab", and also

vúor	vuáa	vuo-	"fruit of red kapok"

Stems in m n l r assimilate the r of sg rɛ, as do stems in ll (unlike mm nn):

dum$_n$	duma	dùm-	"knee"
yʋ̀ʋm$_n$	yʋ̀mà	yʋ̀ʋm-	"year" §4.2.1
kpan$_n$	kpana	kpàn-	"spear"
gɛ́l$_l$	gɛlá	gɛl-	"egg"
kʋ̀kpàr	kʋ̀kpàrà	kʋ̀kpàr-	"palm fruit"
bʋ̀-zaⁿl$_l$´	-zaⁿllá	-zaⁿl-	"goat-carrier" W

Irregular nouns:

daar	daba	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli *zari*)	za´	za-	"millet"
yir´	ya´	yi-	"house"
Mɔr´	Mɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$	Mɔr-	"Muslim"

Language names use the suffix lɛ. All forms are just the same as with sg rɛ, except for stems in final vowels and in r (where rl -> t):

Kʋsâal	Kusaal	Kʋsâas	Kusaasi
Bat´	Bisa language	Barɪs´	Bisa people

<u>fɔ|ii</u>

Before pl ii unrounded stem vowels become i(i).

Several nouns show CVC/CVVC root alternations §4.2.1.

kief$_ɔ$´	ki´	ki-/ka-	"millet"
(Mooré *muiifu*)	mùị̀	mùị̀-	"rice"
náaf$_ɔ$ *naagfɔ	niigí	na'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf$_ɔ$ *waagfɔ	wiigí	wa'- *wag-	"snake"
bielíf$_ɔ$	biilí	biel-/biil-	"seed"
mɔ̀lìf$_ɔ$	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
ⁿyiríf$_ɔ$	ⁿyirí	ⁿyir-	"egusi"

df/nf -> f:

wìef$_ɔ$	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
la'af$_ɔ$	ligidi	là'-/lìg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
nif$_ɔ$´	niní	nin-/nif-	"eye"
píɩf$_ɔ$	piiní	pɩɩn-	"genet"

Piini "gift" is used as a sg, with cif pìin-.

Some words have fɔ|ii suffixes in only one number:

zíiŋ$_a$	zimí	zim-	"fish"
walɩg$_a$	walɩs/walí *sic*	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sibig$_a$´	sibí	sib-	kind of termite
siiⁿf$_ɔ$´/siiⁿg$_a$´	siiⁿs´	siⁿ-	"bee"
suⁿf$_ɔ$´/suuⁿr´	suⁿyá	suⁿ-	"heart"
kpáⁿʋŋ$_ɔ$	kpiⁿ'iní	kpaⁿ'- *sic*	"guineafowl"

<u>bɔ|</u>

sa'ab$_ɔ$		sà'-	"millet porridge"
kɩ'ɩb$_ɔ$´			"soap"
taⁿp$_ɔ$		tàⁿp-	"war"

All regular 2-mora-stem 2vb gerunds belong here §7.2.1; bb -> p, mb -> mm, but nb does not assimilate: sɔp$_ɔ$´ "writing", wʋm$_{mɔ}$ "hearing", bunib$_ɔ$ "reaping."

The only 3-mora stem is yiisíb$_ɔ$, the gerund of yiis´ "make emerge."

<u>mɛ|</u>

daam´		da-	"millet beer"
mɛlìgìm			"dew"
du'uním		du'un-	"urine"
dàalìm			"masculinity"
yàarìm		yàar-	"salt"
zaaⁿsím		zaaⁿs-	"soup"

CV-stems like vʊm´ cif vʊm- "life" are indistinguishable from m-stems. Otherwise, m-stems are identifiable from their flexion or their 4-mora-stem tones:

puum´		puum-	"flowers"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
piim´	pimá	pim-	"arrow" §4.2.1

Piim´ is a remnant of an old ɔ|ɛ class.

6.2 <u>Adjectives</u>

Historically, adjectives took the class suffix of the head noun, which preceded in stem form. Though agreement is now lost, many adjectives still show suffixes from different classes, with no difference of meaning: "white shirt" may be fu-píelìgₐ or fu-pîel_l. For W, gradable adjectives with sg ga rɛ gɔ successively imply less intensity, so that fu-píelìgₐ is "whiter" than fu-pîel_l, but D specifically denied any difference.

fɔ|ii and bɔ| never appear with adjectives, and all cases of a|ba and mɛ| are relics of agreement §9.7.1. Other suffixes are avoided with stems where unclear or ambiguous sfs would result, often leading to single-class adjectives.

Only two underived multi-class adjectives show both ga|sɛ and gɔ|dɛ suffixes:

zìⁿ'a/zɛ̀ⁿ'ogₒ	zɛ̀ⁿ'ɛs/zɛ̀ⁿ'ɛd	zi̯àⁿ'-/zɛ̀ⁿ'-	"red"
	or zɛ̀ⁿdà		
bi'a/bɛ'ogₒ	bi'es/bɛ'ɛd	bi̯à'-/bɛ̀'-	"bad"
or bɛ'ɛd	or bɛ̀'ɛd-nàmₐ		

Other multi-class adjectives take rɛ|aa and either ga|sɛ or gɔ|dɛ but not both. Ga-type adjectives include:

wàbìgₐ/wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vɛ̀nnìgₐ/vɛ̀nnìr	vɛ̀nnìs/vɛ̀nnà	vɛ̀n-	"beautiful"
sabɩlígₐ/sabíl_l	sabɩlís/sabɩlá	sabɩl-	"black"

Like sabɪlíg_a are paalíg_a "new", bàaⁿlìg_a "slim", pìelìg_a "white." Vɛ̀ⁿllìg_a
"beautiful" does not use sg rɛ; wɛnnɪr "resembling", záalᵢ "empty" do not use ga.

Stems in m n do not use rɛ; stems in s d do not use sɛ; sm-stems do not use aa:

dɛɛŋ_a	dɛɛⁿs/dɛɛmɪs	dɛ̀ɛŋ-	"first"
or	dɛɛna		
giŋ_a	gima	gìŋ-	"short"
bʊgʊsíg_a/bʊgʊsír	bʊgʊsá	bʊgʊs-	"soft"
pɔ̀ɔdìg_a/pɔ̀ɔdìr	pɔ̀ɔdà	pɔ̀ɔd-	"few, small"
ⁿyɛ̀ɛsíŋ_a	ⁿyɛ̀ɛnsís	ⁿyɛ̀ɛsíŋ-	"bold"

Like bʊgʊsír are ma'asír "cool", malɪsír "sweet", tɛbɪsír "heavy", labɪsír "wide";
like ⁿyɛ̀ɛsíŋ_a are vɛ̀ⁿllíŋ_a "beautiful", malɪsíŋ_a "pleasant", lallíŋ_a "distant."

Zʊ̀ŋ_ɔ pl zʊ̀ʊⁿs/zʊ̀nà "foreign" has sg gɔ for ga due to its rounded root vowel.

Pl sɛ is often preferred to aa for human reference, e.g. nin-sábɪlɪ̀s "Africans."

Gɔ-type adjectives do not use pl dɛ, except for a few 2-mora stems:

nɛ̀og_ɔ/nɛ̀ɛr	nɛ̀ɛd/nɛ̀yà	nɛ̀-	"empty"
wìug_ɔ/wìir	wìid/wìyà	wì-	"red"
wɔk_ɔ´/wa'ar´	wa'ad´/wá'a	wa'-/wɔk-	"long, tall"
kʊdʊg_ɔ/kʊdɪr	kʊt/kʊda	kʊ̀d-	"old"
but	bɛ̀dʊg_ɔ/bɛ̀dìr	bɛ̀dà	bɛ̀d-	"great"
tɪta'ʊg_ɔ/tɪta'ar	tɪtada	tɪtá'-	"big"

Vʊr´ "alive" pl vʊyá cif vʊr- has pl vʊt´ in predicative uses. Zʊ̤à-wìis "Red Zoose
clan" shows an exceptional pl sɛ.

Stems in l m n r s do not use rɛ:

sʊ̀ŋ_ɔ	sʊ̀mà	sʊ̀ŋ-	"good"
yʊʊŋ_ɔ´	yɪná		"single (of pair)"
kísùg_ɔ	kisá	kis-	"hateful"
wàʊ̤ŋ_ɔ	wànà	wàʊ̤ŋ-	"wasted, thin"
kpi'oŋ_ɔ	kpi'ema	kpì'oŋ-	"hard, strong"
zùlùŋ_ɔ	zùlìmà	zùlùŋ-	"deep"

So too pɔ̀ⁿrʊ̀g_ɔ "near", mì'isʊ̀g_ɔ "sour", zɛmmúg_ɔ "equal", tʊʊlúg_ɔ "hot", lallúg_ɔ
"far", yàlʊ̀ŋ_ɔ "wide", ⁿyalúŋ_ɔ "wonderful", narúŋ_ɔ "necessary", zu-pɛ́ɛlʊ̀g_ɔ "bald" and all
pf deverbal adjectives in lm.

Pf deverbal adjectives have variant forms without m for K (not W):

kpìilúŋɔ/kpìilùgɔ	kpìilímà	kpìilúŋ-	"dead"
gɛɛⁿlúŋɔ/gɛɛⁿlúgɔ	gɛɛⁿlímà	gɛɛⁿlúŋ-	"tired"
pɛ̀'ɛlúŋɔ	pɛ̀'ɛl(ím)à	pɛ̀'ɛlúŋ-	"full"

Ipf deverbal adjectives are ga-type for W, gɔ-type for K; pl is always aa. Stems in g k ŋ ll mm r are simply rɛ|aa.

	kʋʋdír	kʋʋdá	kʋʋd-	"murderous;
or	kʋʋdíga/kʋʋdúgɔ			liable to be killed"
	sinnír/sinníga	sinná	sin-	"silent"
	bʋn-túlìgìr	-túlìgà		"heating thing"
	ⁿwi-tɛ́kìr	-tɛ́kà	-tɛ́k-	"pulling-rope"
	bʋn-súŋìr	-súŋà		"helpful thing"
	tʋmmɪr	tʋmma/tʋmna	tʋ̀m-	"working, helpful"
	kʋ̀g-dɛll´	-dɛllá		"chair for leaning on"

Ipf adjectives from 4-mora m-stems take sg ga or gɔ (never rɛ), pl aa; they may drop m in the pl: nin-pʋ́'alìŋa pl nin-pʋ́'alìmà "harmful person"; nin-záaⁿsʋ̀ŋɔ pl nin-záaⁿsà "dreamy person."

A few adjectives are single-class without any morphophonological explanation:

pʋ̲aka	pʋ'as	pʋ̲à'-	"female" (human)
ⁿyá'aŋa	ⁿyá'as/ⁿya'amís	ⁿya'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
daʋgɔ	daad	dà-	"male"
tɔɔgɔ	tɔɔd	tɔ̀-	"bitter"
lam-fɔ́ɔgɔ	lam-fɔ̂ɔd		"toothless"
màʋ̲kɔ	mà'ad		"crumpled up"
ⁿyàʋ̲kɔ	ⁿyà'ad		"single (of eyes)"
bíell	bielá		"naked"
yɪmmír	yɪmmá	yɪm-	"unique, sole"

An old diminutive-class sg la appears in

bila	bibis	bì(l)-	"little"

6.3 Verbs

Two-aspect verbs (2vbs) are the great majority; the flexions are pf ε, ipf da. 2vbs carrying the m/c tone overlay show the flexion ma in the imperative §10.5.

Pf, ipf, m/c-imp will be cited in order. Straightforward examples are

gɔ̀^{n}	gɔ̀ɔ^{n}d$_a$	gɔ̀ɔ^{n}m$_a$	"hunt"
ki̯à' lf kì'a	kì'ed$_a$	kì'em$_a$	"cut"
pi̯a^n'	pi̯a^n'ad$_a$´	pi̯à^n'am$_a$	"speak; praise"
yadıg´	yadıgíd$_a$	yàdìgìm$_a$	"scatter"
nɔk´	nɔkíd$_a$	nɔ̀kìm$_a$	"take"
gaŋ´	gaŋíd$_a$	gàŋìm$_a$	"choose"
kpàr	kpàrìd$_a$	kpàrìm$_a$	"lock"
sigis´	sigisíd$_a$	sìgìsìm$_a$	"lower"

Some stems ending in root vowels show CV allomorphs in ipf/imp, with t for d:

dì	dìt$_a$	dìm$_a$	"eat"

Likewise ^{n}yε "see", lì/lù "fall", dʋ "go up", yi "go/come out", zɔ̀ "run." dd -> t; ld -> nn:

bʋ̀d	bʋ̀t$_a$	bʋ̀dìm$_a$	"plant"
gàad	gàt$_a$ *sic*	gàadìm$_a$	"pass"
vʋl	vʋn$_{na}$´	vʋ̀lìm$_a$	"swallow"
dıgıl´	dıgín$_{na}$	dìgìlìm$_a$	"lay down"

In B3, d-stems may have variant ipfs in *-tid*, e.g. *satid* Is 19:14 (*sad* "slip.") A new pf *kɔt* "slaughter" has been extracted from *kɔtid* (Mampruli pf *kɔri*, ipf *kɔtti*.) bm -> mm with 2-mora stems only:

lὲb	lὲbìd$_a$	lὲm$_{ma}$	"return"
lìeb	lìebìd$_a$	lìebìm$_a$	"become"

nd -> nn with 2-mora stems only:

bùn	bùn$_{na}$	bùnìm$_a$	"reap"
gɔ̀'ɔn	gɔ̀'ɔnìd$_a$	gɔ̀'ɔnìm$_a$	"extend neck"
dìgìn	dìgìnìd$_a$	dìgìnìm$_a$	"lie down"
sùn$_n$	sùnnìd$_a$	sùnnìm$_a$	"bow head"

md -> mm is optional with 3-mora stems, and in B3, sometimes 2-mora; it does not occur with mm-stems:

tùm	tùm$_{ma}$	tùm$_{ma}$	"work"
kàrìm	kàrìm$_{ma}$/kàrìmìd$_a$	kàrìm$_{ma}$	"read"
tɔɔm´	tɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$/tɔɔmíd$_a$	tɔ̀ɔm$_{ma}$	"depart"
lɛ̀m	lɛ̀mmìd$_a$	lɛ̀m$_{ma}$	"sip, taste"
sìilìm	sìilìm$_{ma}$	sìilìm$_{ma}$	"cite proverbs"

Like tùm are wòm "hear", kìm "herd animals", dùm "bite"; like lɛ̀m are tàm "forget", zàm "cheat", dàm "shake."

Fusion verbs delete g after aa ie uo §4.2.2. Tonal effects of the g appear in gerunds §4.3.1, but not in ipfs, agent nouns, or pfs before liaison.

fae^n´	faa^{n}d$_a$´	fàa^{n}m$_a$	"save"
di'e´	di'ed$_a$´	dì'em$_a$	"get, receive"
pu^n'e´	pu^n'od$_a$´	pù^n'om$_a$	"rot" W

A few 2vbs drop derivational g in the ipf:

wìk	wìid$_a$	wìkìm$_a$	"fetch water" §4.2.1
i̯a^{n}k´	i̯a^n'ad$_a$´	i̯à^{n}kìm$_a$	"leap, fly"
gilig´	gin$_{na}$´	gìlìgìm$_a$	"go around"
kɛŋ´	kɛn$_{na}$´	kɛ̀m$_a$ *sic*	"go"

Similarly, B1 shows ipf *pon'od* from pu^n'e´ "rot."
Other stem-final consonants drop in the ipf in

yɛ̀l	yɛ̀t$_a$	yɛ̀lìm$_a$	"say"
gɔs	gɔsìd$_a$´/gɔt$_a$´	gɔ̀(sì)m$_a$	"look"
tìs/tì·	tìsìd$_a$/tìt$_a$	tìsìm$_a$	"give"

Only two 2vbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

kɛ	kɛt$_a$´	kɛ̀l$_a$	"let, allow"
kɛ^n	kɛn$_a$´	kɛ̀m$_a$	"come"

One-aspect verbs (1vbs) have a single finite form, which is ipf. Most transitive 1vbs express relationships. Quality verbs have predicative adjectival meanings; most are deadjectival §7.3. Other 1vbs express stances or bodily activities.

Six 1vbs have the flexion ɛ: mi' "know", zɪ' "not know", bɛ̀ "exist", ka'ę "not be", tuⁿ'e "be able", nɔ̀ŋ "love." M/c-pf ya never follows and tone sandhi is ipf §5.2:

Ka dau daa be yaadin	"There was a man among the graves"
Kà daṵ daa bɛ́ yá͟adɪ·n	Mk 5:2 B2
and man TNS exist grave.PL·at	

Nɔ̀ŋ is the only 1vb with a m/c-imp: nɔ̀ŋìm_a. The agent noun nɔ̀ŋìd_a is tp L despite the d (Mooré *noanga*.)

Bɔ̀ɔd_a "want" comes from the ipf of the 2vb bɔ̀ "seek."

Most 1vbs have the flexion ya, e.g. àę̀ⁿ_ya "be something", tɔę_ya´ "be bitter", dɪgɪ_ya´ "lie down", vabɪ_ya´ "lie prone." Long vowels undergo second-mora fronting before ya, e.g. wà'e_ya "travel", sɔⁿ'e_ya´ "be better than." There is assimilation of dy -> r, ly -> ll, my -> mm, ny -> nn, sy -> s, e.g. mɔr_a´ "have", dɛl_la´ "(person) lean", sὺm_ma "be good", nɛn_na´ "envy", kis_a´ "hate." Any consonant assimilations are carried over into deverbal nominals, and derivational d is dropped. 3-mora stems take a, e.g. pɔ̀ɔd_a "be few", kpi'em_a´ "be strong", zùlìm_a "be deep", ma'as_a´ "be cool." W doubles stem-final m by analogy, with no tone change: lf kpi'emmá "be strong."

"Stance" 1vbs with unassimilated y have stem gerunds and deverbal nominals with d like 2vbs. Some speakers inflect these verbs with the suffix -da for the "propensity" ipf sense, while others use the derived inchoative 2vbs in n §7.4:

Ò zìⁿ'i nɛ.	"She's sitting down." (zìⁿ'i_ya)
Ò pʋ zíⁿ'ida/zíⁿ'inìda·.	"She doesn't sit down" W/K
Ò vàbì nɛ.	"He's lying prone."
Ò pʋ vabɪdá/vábìnìda·.	"He doesn't lie prone." W/K
Ò dìgì nɛ.	"She's lying down."
Ò pʋ dɪgɪdá·.	"She doesn't lie down" W
Lì zì'e nɛ.	"It's standing up." (zì'e_ya)
Lì pʋ zí'eda·.	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." W
Lì tì'i nɛ.	"It's leaning." (ti'i_ya´)
Lì tì'id.	"It can be leant." W
Lì pʋ ti'iyá·.	"It's not leaning."
Lì pʋ ti'idá·.	"It's not for leaning." W

7 Derivation

Derivation may be by stem conversion or by the addition of a derivational suffix b d g l m n or s. Nominal stems may add a further d or m or the combination lm; verb stems, only a further m. Kabırˊ "ask entry", sugurˊ "forbear" are back-formations from kabırí sugurú, rather than derived with r. For tps in derivation see §4.3.3.

7.1 Nominals from nominals

Associations of class and meaning can be exploited by using stems in different noun classes, e.g. siiⁿfɔˊ "bee", siiⁿdˊ "honey"; wɛ̀ɛdₐ "hunter", wɛ̀ogɔ "deep bush." Most tree names are ga|sɛ, their fruits rɛ|aa or gɔ|dɛ, e.g. aaⁿdɪgₐ "black plum tree", aaⁿdɪr "black plum"; gaaⁿˊ "ebony", gaⁿrˊ "ebony fruit"; tɛ̀'ɛgₐ "baobab", tɛ̀'ogɔ "baobab fruit." Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §9.3.

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in mɛ| or (especially if the adjective uses sg gɔ) with sg gɔ, e.g. vʊmˊ "life" (vʊrˊ "live"), pìelìm "brightness" (pìelìgₐ "white"), malısím "sweetness", tıta'am "multitude" (tıta'ar "great"); lallúgɔ "far/distance", kpi'oŋɔ "hard/hardness", yàlʊ̀ŋɔ "wide/width", mì'isʊ̀gɔ "sour/sourness", tɔɔgɔ "bitter/bitterness." Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts: gbáⁿyà'am "laziness" (gbáⁿyà'a "lazy person"), dàmà'am "deceit" (dàmà'a "liar"), tıta'alım "pride" (tıta'alӏ "proud person"); sávŋɔ "hospitality" (saanₐˊ "guest"), kpɛoⁿŋɔ "eldership" (kpɛɛⁿm "elder"), sɔɔⁿgɔ "witchcraft" (sɔe̯ⁿya "witch.")

Adjective stems form manner nouns in mɛ| or with apocope-blocked sg ga, e.g. zaalím "in vain", kʊdım "of old", paalím "recently", nɛ̀ɛm "for free" (nɛ̀ɛr "empty"); sʊ̀ŋaˊ "well", ma'asígaˊ "coolly", tʊʊlígaˊ "hotly", giŋa "shortly", bʊgʊsígaˊ "softly", sàalíŋaˊ "smoothly", ⁿyɛ̀ɛsíŋaˊ "boldly."

Nominals may be derived from nominals with derivational d m s or l(m). d is unanalysable in yugudır "hedgehog", ligidi "money", pʊ̀gʊ̀dìbₐ "father's sister." It can derive abstract from human-reference nouns, e.g. *dataadim/dataadʊg* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bʊnkʊttim* "old age"; *pʊkɔntim* "widowhood" may be analogical.

m is unanalysable in yʊgúmₙ "camel" (of Berber origin), gbıgımₙ "lion", zìlìmₙ "tongue", à̀ⁿrʊ̀ŋɔ "boat." It is often added to stems of adjectives/quality verbs with no change in sense, as with e.g. malısígₐ/malısíŋₐ "sweet", kp̀ìilʊ̀gɔ/kp̀ìilúŋɔ "dead" K, narúŋɔ "necessary" (narₐˊ "be needed"), ⁿyɛ̀ɛsíŋₐ "bold" (ⁿyɛ̀ɛsₐ "be bold"), wa'amₐˊ "be long" (wɔkɔˊ "long.") It is identifiable as derivational in aⁿsíŋₐ "sister's child" (áⁿsìbₐ "mother's brother"), bi'em "enemy" (bi'a "bad"), bìⁿ'isím "milk" (bìⁿ'isìr "breast"), na'am "chieftaincy" (nà'abₐ "chief"), zɔlımís "foolishness" (zɔlʊgɔˊ "fool.")

Several basic adjective stems show the suffixes m or s added to roots which are probably originally adjectival, e.g. zùlùŋɔ "deep", yàlὺŋɔ "wide", bʊgʊsír "soft", ma'asír "cool", mì'isὺgɔ "sour."

l and lm derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives; lm is unique in permitting preceding CVVC root allomorphs. These stems are not used as adjectives. Examples include bìilím "childhood" (biigₐ "child"), dàalìm "masculinity" (daʋ̥ "man"), pὺ'alìm "femininity" (pʋ̥a' "woman"), sáannìm "strangerhood" (saanₐ´ "stranger"), tɩrâannìm "companionship" (tɩrâanₐ "peer"), wa'alím "tallness" (wɔkɔ´ "long, tall.")

7.2 Nominals from verbs

7.2.1 Gerunds

Nearly all verbs form gerunds: nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. 2vbs form gerunds by adding class suffixes to the verb stem: 2-mora stems add bɔ, 3-mora stems in g k ŋ ae ie ue (i.e. in *g) add rɛ, all others gɔ:

kʊʊbɔ´	"kill (kʊ)"	dʊgʊbɔ´	"cook (dʊg)"
dʊ'abɔ	"bear, beget (dʋ̥à')"	kadɩbɔ	"drive off (kàd)"
pilibɔ	"cover (pìl)"	kparɩbɔ	"lock (kpàr)"
basɩbɔ	"go/send away (bàs)"	lɔpɔ´	"throw stones at (lɔb)"
kɩmₘɔ	"herd animals (kìm)"	bunibɔ	"reap (bùn)"
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nɔkír	"take (nɔk´)"
nìŋìr	"doing (nìŋ)"	gbáⁿar	"grab (gbaⁿe´)"
dí'er	"get (di'e´)"	dúor	"rise (due´)"
gàadὺgɔ	"pass (gàad)"	lìebὺgɔ	"become (lìeb)"
dɩgɩlúgɔ	"lay down (dɩgɩl´)"	yaarúgɔ	"scatter (yaar´)"
sigisúgɔ	"lower (sigis´)"	dàmmὺgɔ	"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)
dìgìnὺgɔ	"lie down (dìgìn)"	zìⁿ'inὺgɔ	"sit down (zìⁿ'in)"
tɔ́ɔŋɔ	"depart (tɔɔm´)"	kàrὺŋɔ	"read (kàrìm)"

4-mora stems in sm lm use sg gɔ, but stems in gm km ŋm drop m and use sg rɛ:

sìilúŋɔ	"cite proverbs (sìilìm)"	zàaⁿsúŋɔ	"dream (zàaⁿsìm)"
wàŋìr	"waste away (wàŋìm)"	zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use sg rɛ, e.g. pʋ̥à'-dɩɩr "marriage", nin-kûʋr "murder", da-nûur "beer-drinking", mɔ̀-pilₗ "grass roof."

Few 3- or 4-mora-stems form gerunds irregularly, but over 20% of 2-mora stems use sg ga gɔ or rɛ, e.g liig$_a$ "fall (lì)", tɛ̀^{n}bʋ̀g$_ɔ$"tremble (tɛ̀^{n}b)", ɔ^{n}bɪr "chew (ɔ̀^{n}b)"; a few are also tonally irregular, e.g. tà^{n}sʋ̀g$_ɔ$ "shout (tà^{n}s)", só^{n}sìg$_a$ "converse (sɔ^{n}s.)" A few 2vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. tìtʋmɪs "send (tʋ̀m)", bɛ^n'ɛs "fall ill (bɛ̀^{n})", kɛn$_n$´ "come (kɛ^n)", ziid´ "carry on the head (zi)." Irregular gerunds are noted in §15.

Stance verbs with unassimilated y form root gerunds in various noun classes:

zi^n'ig$_a$	"sit (zì^n'i$_{ya}$)"	ti'ib$_ɔ$´	"lean (ti'i$_{ya}$´)"
zi'eg$_a$/zi'a	"stand (zì'e$_{ya}$)" K/W	dɪk$_a$´/dɪgɪr´	"lie down (dɪgɪ$_{ya}$´)" K/W
ik$_a$´/igir´	"kneel (igi$_{ya}$´)" K/W	vap$_ɔ$´/vabɪr´	"lie prone (vabɪ$_{ya}$´)" K/W

Zi'eg$_a$ is phonologically aberrant §4.2.2. The 1vbs tɛ̀^{n}r$_a$ "remember", pɔ̀^{n}r$_a$ "be near" have tɛ^{n}rɪb$_ɔ$ pɔ^{n}rɪb$_ɔ$ by analogy with 2vbs; kis$_a$´ "hate" forms kísùg$_ɔ$.
Other 1vbs suffix lm (m after ll nn r) to form m-stem gerunds in mɛ|:

àa^{n}lím	"be (àe̱^{n}$_{ya}$)"	bɛ̀lím	"exist (bɛ̀)"
ka'alím	"not be (ka'e̱)"	nɔ̀ŋìlím	"love (nɔ̀ŋ)"
mi'ilím	"know (mi')"	sʋ'ʋlím	"own (sʋ'e$_{ya}$´)"
zɪ'ɪlím	"not know (zɪ')"	dɛllím	"lean (dɛl$_{la}$´)"; also dɛllúg$_ɔ$
dɔllím	"go with (dɔl$_{la}$´)"	tʋllím	"be hot (tʋl$_{la}$´)"
nɛnním	"envy (nɛn$_{na}$´)"	sinním	"be silent (sin$_{na}$´)"
wɛnním *sic*	"be like (wɛn$_{na}$´)"	za^{n}llím	"hold in hand (za^{n}l$_{la}$´)"
gurím	"guard (gur$_a$´)"	mɔrím	"have (mɔr$_a$´)"
tarím	"have (tar$_a$´)"	narím	"be necessary (nar$_a$´)"

-taa "companion in ..." follows a m-stem gerund cif.
2vbs here add m to the ipf verbal adjective stem, but with gerund tones:

dì	"eat"	dìtím-taa	"messmate"
kpɛ̀^{n}'	"enter"	kpɛ̀^{n}'ɛdím-	"co-resident"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìdím-	"opponent"
tʋ̀m	"work"	tʋ̀mmím-	"co-worker"
pʋ̀'ʋs	"worship"	pʋ̀'ʋsím-	"co-worshipper"
sʋ̀ŋ	"help"	sʋ̀ŋ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
si̱àk	"agree"	si̱àkím-	"partner in agreement"

Similarly mɛ̀ɛdím- (mɛ̀ "build"), pʋʋdím- (pʋ "share"), faa^{n}dím- (fa^n "rob"), dʋgʋdím- (dʋg "cook"), dììsím- (dììs "feed.")

1vbs with m-stem gerunds use them here:

bɛ̀	"exist"	bɛ̀lím-taa	"partner in existence" W
mi'	"know"	mi'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"

Similarly zɪˈɪlím-taa "partner in ignorance", dɔllím-taa "fellow-companion."
For stance verbs, W has forms in both -lm- and -dm-: thus both zìˈelím-taa and zìˈedím-taa "fellow-stander" from zìˈe_ya; similarly zìⁿˈilím-/zìⁿˈidím- (zìⁿˈi_ya "sit"), vabɪlím-/vabɪdím- (vabɪ_ya´ "lie prone"), igilím-/igidím- (igi_ya´ "kneel"), though only làbìlím- (làbì_ya "crouch in hiding.") For dɪgɪ_ya´ "lie down", W has dɪgɪlím- and also dìgìním-, presumably from dìgìn. With nɔ̀ŋ "love", W contrasts nɔ̀ŋìlím-taa "fellow-liker" with nɔ̀ŋìdím-taa "fellow-lover."

Some abstract nouns are formed from 2vb ipfs; here s-stems drop d. These are not m-stems, and if tp L, they have no stem-final H. Most belong to mɛ|. They include bɔ̀ɔdìm "will", gɔ̀ɔⁿdìm "wandering", zɔ̀tìm "fear", yɔlɪsím "freedom", nin-kúʋsìm "murder", pʋ̀ˈʋsìm "worship", wʋ̀mmʋ̀gɔ "hearing."

Gerunds are abstract, but derived concrete senses appear in dɪɪbɔ "food", ziⁿˈig_a "place"; for K, vabɪr´ labɪr´ dɪgɪr´ igir´ mean "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds vapɔ´ etc. Verb stems with different class suffixes from gerunds may refer to products of actions, instruments, or places where actions occur, e.g. dʋkɔ´ "pot" (dʋg "cook"), dàˈa "market" (dà' "buy"), kut "iron, nail" (kùd "work iron"), sɔbɪr´ "piece of writing" (sɔb "write"), su̱ak_a´ "hiding place" (su̱a' "hide"), ɛɛⁿbír "(physical) foundation" (ɛɛⁿb´ "lay a foundation"), kùosìm "merchandise" (kùos "sell"), pɛ̀bìsìm "wind" (pɛ̀bìs "blow.")

7.2.2 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be made from nearly all verbs (agentive or not) usable in direct commands. They are derived with d; a tendency to limit stem length may cause deletion of preceding suffixes or d itself (affecting tps §4.3.3.) They belong to a|ba. Agent nouns often develop specialised meanings. A few agent-like nouns are formed with m, e.g. zɔɔm_n "refugee", kpɪˈɪm "corpse."
Most 2vbs have an agent noun with sg segmentally identical to the ipf; if there are alternate forms, the less regular appears in the agent noun:

mɛɛd_a	"builder (mɛ̀)"	dɪt_a	"eater (dì)"
dʋgʋd_a´	"cook (dʋg)"	dʋˈad_a	"relative" (du̱à' "bear/beget")
tùon-gat_a	"leader" (gàad "pass")	sɔbɪd_a´	"writer (sɔb)"
kparɪd_a	"lock-er (kpàr)"	suguríd_a	"forgiver (sugur´)"

gbisid$_a$´	"sleeper (gbis)"	gɔt$_a$´	"seer, prophet" (gɔs "look")
pa'an$_{na}$	"teacher (pà'al)"	tʋ̀m-tʋm$_{na}$	"worker (tʋ̀m)"
yʋʋm-yʋ̂'ʋm$_{na}$	"singer (yʋ'ʋm´)"	bun$_{na}$	"reaper (bùn)"

3-mora stems in underlying g only form agent nouns if the g is assimilated or deleted; tp H fusion-verb agent nouns show initial M like ipfs (not gerunds.)

ⁿwa'ad$_a$	"woodcutter (ⁿwà'e)"	naad$_a$´	"persister" W (nae´ "finish")
di'ed$_a$´	"receiver (di'e´)"	sʋŋid$_a$	"helper (sʋ̀ŋ)"
sịakɪd$_a$	"believer (sịàk)"	ⁿwi-tɛ́k$_a$	"rope-puller (tɛk´)"
kɛn$_{na}$´	"traveller (kɛŋ´)"	ịaⁿ'ad$_a$´	"flier (ịaⁿk´)"
yat$_a$´	"scatterer (yadɪg´)": used of a participant in a housebuilding ritual		

3-mora stems in s always drop d in sg and cif, as do a few 2-mora stems:

kùos$_a$	"seller (kùos)"	tìs$_a$	"giver (tìs)"
sɔ̀s$_a$	"beggar (sɔ̀s)"	zàb-zàb$_a$	"fighter (zàb)"

Stems in mm drop d and have only nàm$_a$ pls (dàm-dàm$_{ma}$ "shaker"), but the tp of sun$_{na}$ "deep thinker" W from sùn$_n$ "bow the head" shows nd -> nn.

For 4-mora stems K has no agent nouns; W drops m and proceeds as usual:

pʋ'an$_{na}$	"harmer (pʋ̀'alìm)"	siin$_{na}$	"proverb-citer (sìilìm)"
zàaⁿs$_a$	"dreamer (zàaⁿsìm)"		

1vbs add d, except after ll nn and sometimes r s:

mi'id$_a$´	"knower (mi')"	zɪ'ɪd$_a$´	"ignorant person (zɪ')"
sɔⁿ'ɔd$_a$´	"outdoer (sɔⁿ'e$_{ya}$´)"	sʋ'ʋd$_a$´	"owner (sʋ'e$_{ya}$´)"
ziⁿ'id$_a$	"sitter (zìⁿ'i$_{ya}$)"	zi'ed$_a$	"stander (zì'e$_{ya}$)"
dɪgɪd$_a$´	"lier-down (dɪgɪ$_{ya}$´)"	igid$_a$´	"kneeler (igi$_{ya}$´)"
vabɪd$_a$´	"lier prone (vabɪ$_{ya}$´)"	labɪd$_a$	"croucher in hiding (làbɪ$_{ya}$)"
nɔ̀ŋìd$_a$	"lover (nɔ̀ŋ)" tp *sic*	nin-dɛ́l$_{la}$	"one prone to lean (dɛl$_{la}$´)"
ⁿya'an-dɔ́l$_{la}$	"disciple (dɔl$_{la}$´)"	bʋ̀-zaⁿl$_{la}$´	"goat-holder (zaⁿl$_{la}$´)"
nin-nɛ́n$_{na}$	"envier (nɛn$_{na}$´)"	nin-sín$_{na}$	"silent person (sin$_{na}$´)"
bʋ̀-mɔr$_a$´	"goat-owner (mɔr$_a$´)" W	gur(id)$_a$´	"guard (gur$_a$´)"
tɛⁿrɪd$_a$	"rememberer (tɛ̀ⁿr$_a$)"	kis(id)$_a$´	"hater (kis$_a$´)"
aaⁿd$_a$	"one who *is* something (àẹ̀ⁿ$_{ya}$)" W		

Stems in ll/r have variant forms in rɛ|aa, e.g. bʋ̀-zaⁿl$_l$ pl bʋ̀-zaⁿllá.

7.2.3 Verbal adjectives

Imperfective verbal adjectives form their stems like agent nouns, but drop d more readily. Uncompounded, they are synonymous with agent nouns: kʋʋdír "killer." As adjectives, they mean "habitually connected with the verbal action, actively or passively"; past passive senses can also occur: sum-dʋ́gʋ̀dà "cooked groundnuts" W, ki-dá'adà "bought millet" W, *ziiŋdʋgida* "cooked fish" Lk 24:42.

Most verbs show the same stem as in the agent noun sg/cif:

pʋ̯à'-la'adɪr	"laughing/laughable woman (là')"
bʋn-ⁿyɛ́tìr	"visible object (ⁿyɛ)"
na'-dá-kuodír	"ox for ploughing (kʋ̯a lf kua)"
fu-yɛ́ɛdìr/-yɛ́ɛdʋ̀gɔ	"shirt for wearing (yɛ̀)" W/K
tì-kʋʋdím	"poison" (kʋ "kill")
tɛ̀ŋ-dʋ'adɪgₐ	"native land" (dʋ̯à' "bear/beget")
yi-síɡìdìr	"lodging-house" (sig "descend")
yɛl-sʋ́'adìr	"confidential matter" (sʋ̯a' "hide")
bʋn-ɔ́ⁿbìdà	"solid food" (ɔ̀ⁿb "chew")
bʋn-búnnìr	"thing for reaping (bùn)"
bʋn-tʋ́mmìr	"useful thing" (tʋ̀m "work")
tì-vʋnním	"oral medication" (vʋl "swallow")
pʋ̯à'-gbisidír	"woman always sleeping (gbis)"
bʋ̀ŋ-kɛnnír	"donkey that doesn't sit still" (kɛŋ´"go")
pʋ̯à'-ginníɡₐ	"prostitute (gilig´ "go round")"
kpa-sɔ́ɔⁿdìm	"anointing oil (sueⁿ´)"
bʋn-yátìr	"scattering thing (yadɪg´)"
bʋn-i̯áⁿ'adìr	"flying creature (i̯aⁿk´)"
bʋ̀-saⁿ'ammɪr	"scapegoat" W (sàⁿ'am "destroy")
bʋn-pɛ́lìsìr	"sharpening thing (pɛlìs)"
bʋn-kúosìr	"item for sale (kùos)"
bʋ̀ŋ-dɪgɪdír	"donkey that lies down a lot (dɪgɪ_ya´)"
bʋ̀ŋ-vabɪdír	"donkey that always lies prone (vabɪ_ya´)"
kug-zíⁿ'idìr	"stone for sitting on (zìⁿ'i_ya)"
nɔ-záⁿlₗ	"hen for holding in hands (zaⁿlₗₐ´)"
kùg-dɛlₗ´	"chair for leaning on (dɛlₗₐ´)"
bʋn-gʋ́lₗ	"thing for suspending (gʋ̀lₗₐ)"

3-mora stems in g k ŋ and all 4-mora stems drop d:

bʋn-pélìgìr	"thing for whitening (pὲlìg)"
bʋn-túlìgìr	"thing for heating (tʋlɩg´)"
yɛl-pákìr	"disaster" (pàk "surprise")
ⁿwi-tɛ́kìr	"pulling-rope (tɛk´)"
bʋn-súŋìr	"helpful thing (sὸŋ)"
bì-nɔ̀ŋìr	"beloved child (nɔ̀ŋ)"
pṳà'-pὺ'alíŋₐ	"harmful woman (pὺ'alìm)"
bʋn-síilúŋɔ	"thing relating to citing proverbs (sìilìm)"
pṳà'-zàaⁿsúŋɔ	"dreamy woman (zàaⁿsìm)"

Perfective verbal adjectives are stative, and are formed only from verbs with stative pfs. The formant lm is added to roots; some speakers have forms in l alone.

àaⁿlúŋɔ	"torn (àeⁿ)"	gɛɛⁿlúŋɔ	"tired (gɛⁿ)"
kɔ̀olúŋɔ	"broken (kɔ̀)"	kpìilúŋɔ	"dead (kpì)"
pὲ'ɛlúŋɔ	"full (pὲ'ɛl)"	pὺ'alúŋɔ	"damaged (pὺ'alìm)"
yὲɛlúŋɔ	"worn [shirt] (yὲ)"	yɔ̀olúŋɔ	"closed (yɔ̀)"

7.2.4 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding m to ipf verbal adjective stems in d t or s; all are ga|sɛ. Some can have agent-noun meanings.

sḭà-lɔɔdíŋₐ	"belt" (lɔ "tie")
sʋʋdɩŋₐ	"sponge" (sὺ "bathe")
da'adíŋₐ	"pusher (da'e´)" (person or thing)
ⁿwa'adɩŋₐ	"axe" (ⁿwà'e "cut wood")
sɔbɩdíŋₐ	"writing implement (sɔb)"
bʋtɩŋₐ	"cup" (bὺd "plant": originally "seed cup")
kparɩdɩŋₐ	"thing for locking (kpàr)"
piedíŋₐ	"thing for washing oneself (pie´)"
nin-gótìŋₐ	"mirror" (gɔs "look"); nin-gótìs "glasses"
kuosɩŋₐ	"salesperson (kùos)"
piesíŋₐ	"cleaning implement (pies´)"
ziⁿ'idɩŋₐ	"thing for sitting on (zìⁿ'iya)"

A few are derived with s or d alone, e.g. dɩgɩsúgɔ "bed" (dɩgɩya´ "lie"), dʋʋsír "step" (dʋ "go up"), tuodɩr "mortar" (tṳà lf tùa "grind.") Here ld -> n: maann "sacrifice (màal)", pibinn "covering (pìbìl)", zaⁿbɩnn "tattoo (zàⁿbìl)."

7.3 <u>Verbs from nominals</u>

Quality verbs are formed by adding the flexion (y)a to adjectival or human-reference stems. Nominal tp A is reanalysed as verbal tp H, with lf-final H, not M; tp L is mapped to verbal tp A (hence all-M after nà/kʊ̀: Ò nà vɛn "She'll be beautiful.") A few pairs also show segmental stem changes.

tp H	vʊr´	"alive"	vʊe̞$_{ya}$´	"live"
	bʊgʊsír	"soft"	bʊgʊs$_a$´	"be soft"
	zɛmmʊ́g$_ɔ$	"equal"	zɛm$_{ma}$´	"be equal to"
	lallʊ́g$_ɔ$	"far"	lal$_{la}$´	"be far from"
	wɔk$_ɔ$´	"long, tall"	wa'am$_a$´	"be long, tall"
	tʊʊlʊ́g$_ɔ$	"hot"	tʊl$_{la}$´	"be hot"
tp A	tɔɔg$_ɔ$	"bitter"	tɔe̞$_{ya}$´	"be bitter"
	giŋ$_a$	"short"	gim$_{ma}$´	"be short"
	kpi'oŋ$_ɔ$	"strong"	kpi'em$_a$´	"be strong"
	kpɛɛ^{n}m	"elder"	kpɛɛ^{n}m$_a$´	"be older than"
	wɛnnɪr	"resembling"	wɛn$_{na}$´	"be like"
tp L	pɔ̀ɔdìg$_a$	"small"	pɔ̀ɔd$_a$	"be few, small"
	mì'isʊ̀g$_ɔ$	"sour"	mì'is$_a$	"be sour"
	sʊ̀ŋ$_ɔ$	"good"	sʊ̀m$_{ma}$	"be good"
	zùlùŋ$_ɔ$	"deep"	zùlìm$_a$	"be deep"
	vɛ̀nnìg$_a$	"beautiful"	vɛ̀n$_{na}$	"be beautiful"
	^{n}yɛ̀ɛsíŋ$_a$	"bold"	^{n}yɛ̀ɛs$_a$	"be bold"

2vbs may be derived from nominal roots with the derivational suffixes g l or lm. g and lm derive inchoative patientive ambitransitives:

bʊgʊsír	"soft"	bʊk´	"soften"
dɛɛŋ$_a$	"first"	dɛ̀ŋ	"precede"
kpì'a	"neighbour"	kpì'e	"approach"
kpi'oŋ$_ɔ$	"strong"	kpɛ̀'ŋ	"strengthen"
kʊdʊg$_ɔ$	"old"	kʊ̀dìg	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
lallʊ́g$_ɔ$	"far"	lalɪg´	"become/make far"
ma'asír	"cool, wet"	ma'e´	"get cool, wet"
màʊk$_ɔ$	"crumpled up"	màk	"crumple up"
mì'isʊ̀g$_ɔ$	"sour"	mì'ig	"turn sour"
^{n}yɔ'ɔs´	"smoke"	^{n}yu'e´	"set alight"
pìelìg$_a$	"white"	pɛ̀lìg	"whiten"
pɔ̀ɔdìg$_a$	"few"	pɔ̀'ɔg	"diminish, belittle"
tadɪm	"weak person"	tàdìg	"become weak"

tɛbɪsír	"heavy"	tɛbɪg´	"get/make heavy"
tùtulḷ	"upside-down thing"	tùlìg	"invert"
tʋʋlúgɔ	"hot"	tʋlɪg´	"heat up"
vʋr´	"alive"	vʋ'ʋg´	"make/come alive"
wàʋ̯ŋɔ	"wasted"	wàŋìm	"waste away" (gm)
ⁿwiigₐ´	"rope"	ⁿwiig´	"make a rope"
zùlùŋɔ	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"
gìkₐ	"dumb"	gìgìlìm	"become dumb"
gʋ'ʋs	"semi-ripe things"	gʋ̀'ʋlìm	"become semi-ripe"
pɔ̀ⁿ'ɔr	"cripple"	pɔ̀ⁿ'ɔlìm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbìlìm	"make, go lame"

l derives transitive inchoatives:

gɛogɔ	"space between legs"	gɛɛl´	"put between legs" tp H *sic*
likₐ	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
ma'e´	"get cool, wet"	ma'al´	"make cool, wet"
ⁿyá'aŋₐ	"behind"	ⁿya'al´	"leave behind"
puⁿ'e´	"rot"	pɔⁿ'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wʋ'ʋg´	"get wet"	wʋ'ʋl´	"make wet"

Other suffixes appear in yà'ab "mould clay" (ya'ad "clay"), zùos "befriend"
(zʋ̯à lf zùa "friend"), nɛɛm´ "grind with a millstone" (nɛɛr´ "millstone.")

7.4 Verbs from verbs

Verbs may be derived from verbal roots with the derivational suffixes g l n s.
g with 2vb roots expressing the achievement of temporary states is reversive; with
1vb roots expressing states it is inchoative; elsewhere, it is causative:

ɛ̀ⁿd	"block up"	ɛ̀ⁿdìg	"unblock"
lɔ	"tie up"	lɔdɪg´	"untie"
pà'al	"put on top"	pàk	"take from top"
pìbìl	"cover up"	pìbìg	"uncover"
pìd	"put (hat etc) on"	pìdìg	"take (hat etc) off"
pìl	"cover"	pìlìg	"uncover"
tàb	"get stuck to"	tàbìg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yɛ̀	"dress oneself"	yɛ̀ɛg	"undress oneself"
yɔ̀	"close"	yɔ̀'ɔg	"open"

nɛ̀i_{ya}	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
sɔ^n'e_{ya}´	"be better than"	su^n'e´	"become better than" W
dɔl_{la}´	"go with"	dɔlɪg´	"make accompany"
gɔr_{a}´	"look up" D	gɔdɪg´	"make look up" D
kɔ̀	"break" intr	kɔ̀'ɔg	"break" tr
nu	"drink"	nulig´	"make drink"
yùul	"swing" intr	yùlìg	"swing" tr

l is causative:

ba^n'	"ride"	ba^n'al´	"put on a horse/bicycle"
gu'	"guard"	gu'ul´	"set someone on guard"
nìe	"appear"	nɛ̀ɛl	"reveal"
yɛ̀	"dress oneself"	yɛ̀ɛl	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìl	"make fight"

n derives inchoative 2vbs from stance verbs, with causatives in l. All the inchoatives are tp A, but the causatives have the same tp as the 1vb. Some n/l pairs lack 1vbs.

		Inchoative	Causative
zì'e_{ya}	"stand"	zì'en	zì'el
zì^n'i_{ya}	"sit"	zì^n'in	zì^n'il
ti'i_{ya}´	"(thing) lean"	tì'in	ti'il´
gɔ'e_{ya}´	"look up" W	gɔ̀'ɔn	
dɪgɪ_{ya}´	"lie down"	dìgìn	dɪgɪl´
igi_{ya}´	"kneel"	ìgìn	igil´
làbì_{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vabɪ_{ya}´	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vabɪl´
sùr_{a}	"bow head"	sùn_{n}	sùn_{n} *sic*
	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	"perch"	zùon	zùol
	"perch"	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2vb as inchoative: gὺl_{la} "hang", gὺl "start hanging/hang up", tàbì_{ya} "be stuck to" with tàb "get stuck to", beside tàbìl "stick to." Dɛl_{la}´ "(person) lean" has the inchoative derivative dɛ̀lìm.

s is causative or pluractional:

àeⁿ	"get torn"	àaⁿs	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìɩs	"feed"
kpɛ̀ⁿ'	"enter"	kpɛ̀ⁿɛs	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lɛ̀b	"return"	lɛ̀bìs	"send back; answer"
mu̜à'	"suckle"	mʋ̀'as	"give suck to"
nìe	"appear"	nɛ̀ɛs	"reveal"
nu	"drink"	nulis´	"make drink"
sig	"go down"	sigis´	"lower"
yi	"go/come out"	yiis´/yis	"make go/come out"
zɛmₘₐ´	"be equal"	zɛmɩs´	"make equal"
di'e´	"receive"	di'es´	"receive (many things)"
i̜aⁿk´	"fly, jump"	i̜aⁿ'as´	"jump repeatedly"
kɔ̀	"break"	kɔ̀'ɔs	"break several times"
ya'e´	"open mouth"	ya'as´	"open repeatedly" W

7.5 Prefixes

Prefixes precede many nominal-stem roots. Most have no identifiable meaning, though they are common in certain semantic fields (e.g. insects.) They have the form CV(N) CVsN or CVlN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial, with an epenthetic vowel after s/l. No prefix begins with y or ⁿy. For tones see §4.3.1.

CVsN/CVlN prefixes copy root-initial CV (one mora, without glottalisation or contrastive nasalisation):

silinsîuⁿgɔ	"spider"	vùlìnvùuⁿlļ	"mason wasp"
zɩlɩnzîogɔ	"unknown"	tàsìntàlļ	"palm of hand"
wàsìnwàlļ	"tree gall"	nɛsɩnnɛogɔ´	"centipede"

So do CV(N) prefixes with high vowels, but here a ɛ -> ɩ, ɔ -> ʋ. After t/s, ɩ i replace ʋ u; after labials/labiovelars, a ɛ -> ʋ. N is required if C is a voiced obstruent.

kìkàŋₐ	"fig tree"	kùkɔr´	"voice"
kpʋ̀kpàrìgₐ	"palm tree"	kpikpinₙₐ´	"merchant"
tɩta'ar	"big"	pipirigₐ´	"desert"
sìsì'em	"wind"	fʋfʋmₙ	"envy; stye"
lìlaalíŋₐ	"swallow"	mìmiilím	"sweetness"

kìŋkàŋ$_a$	"fig"	tɪntɔⁿríg$_a$	"mole"
sɪnsáaⁿ	kind of tiny ant	dìndɛog$_ɔ$´	"chameleon"
dùndùug$_ɔ$	"cobra"	bìmbìm$_n$	"altar"
bùmbàrìg$_a$	"ant"	gùŋgʋm$_n$	"kapok material"
zɪnzaʋŋ$_ɔ$´	"bat"	zùnzòŋ$_a$	"blind"

Unexpected vowels appear in *silinsauk* "sugar ant", tàtàl$_l$ "palm of hand", kpàkʋr´ "tortoise."

Ca(N) prefixes usually begin with d b s or z:

dàkiig$_a$	"wife's sibling"	dàyuug$_ɔ$´	"rat"
dàgòbìg$_a$	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dadʋ́k$_ɔ$	kind of large pot	dàŋkòŋ$_ɔ$	"measles"
balɛrʋg$_ɔ$´	"ugly"	sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"
samán$_n$	"courtyard"	saŋgʋ́nnìr	"millipede"
zàŋkʋ'ar	"hyena"	zàŋgùom$_n$	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in e.g. làŋgávʋŋ$_ɔ$/màŋgávʋŋ$_ɔ$ "crab", nàyiig$_a$ "thief", gbáⁿyà'a "lazy person" (with a H prefix), and especially in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: ⁿWampuris´ "Mamprussi." Some stems have two prefixes.

Some pʋ/kù(N) prefixes derive from negative VP particles, as in kùndù'ar "barren woman" (dʋ̀à' "bear"); nin-pʋnan$_{na}$´ "disrespectful person" (nan "respect"); tùb-pʋwúmnìb$_a$ "deaf people" (wùm "hear"), but most have no evident meaning: gʋmpʋzɛr´ "duck", ban-kʋ́sɛ́l$_l$ "lizard", kùndùŋ$_a$ "hyena."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. Dà- "man" appears in dàpaal$_a$´ "young man" and dàkɔ̀ɔⁿr "bachelor." Pʋ̀- "woman" is seen in pʋ̀kɔ̀ɔⁿr "widow" (= Mooré *pʋgkõore*, where *pʋg-* is the regular cif of *paga* "woman.") Pʋ- in pʋkpaad$_a$´ "farmer" is related to pɔɔg$_ɔ$´ "farm"; it behaves as a prefix tonally.

Some manner nouns show the prefix à followed by M-spread: àmɛŋá "truly", àsɪda "truly", àníŋa "promptly."

Number prefixes are fossilised flexions §9.5.1.

8 Loanwords

Most loanwords are nouns; they are often structurally atypical, whereas borrowed verbs obey the usual constraints on verb form. Several particles are regional words of unclear ultimate origin, e.g. halí "even", àsɛ́ɛ "except."

Most loans come from Hausa. These include even verbs and particles, e.g. dàam "disturb", Hausa *dama*; bʋ̀g "get drunk", Hausa *bugu*; kʋʋ "or", Hausa *ko*; báa "not even", Hausa *ba*. Many are ultimately from Arabic, e.g. àràzánà "heaven" (*al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"), yàdda´ "trust" (*yarḍá* "he is satisfied") and the names of the days of the week §9.3.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence. Arabic loans via Mooré include màli̯ak_a´ "angel", sàlìbìr "bridle", Sʋtáanà "Satan." Mɔr´ "Muslim", pl Mɔ́ɔm_ma, borrows Mooré *More*, pl *Moeemba*. Some apocope-blocked nouns may be Mooré or Mampruli loans, e.g. kabɩrí "permission to enter", Mooré *kabre* "excuse"; buudi cif bùud- "tribe", Mooré *buudu* (sg *buugu*); sugurú "forbearance", Mooré *sugri*. W uses kiibú "soap", from Mampruli *kyiibu*.
Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. Wínà'am "God" reflects Toende *Wɩna'am*; faaⁿgíd_a "saviour" borrows Toende *fãagɩt*. B1/2 write Toende *aaruŋ malek* for àⁿrʋ̀ŋ_ɔ "boat", màli̯ak_a´ "angel."

Loans from Twi include kɔdú "banana", Twi *kwadu*; saafɩ "key", Twi *safẽ* (from Portuguese *chave*); bʋrɩyá "Christmas", Twi *buro-onyã*.
English loanwords can be much altered: àlópìr "aeroplane"; dʋ́'atà "doctor"; tóklàe "torch" ("torchlight"); *pɔɔtim* "complain about officially" ("report.") Some have been transmitted via Hausa, like wadá "law" ("order"), Hausa *oda*. H tones standing for English stress may remain fixed throughout: lór "car, lorry", pl lóyà.
French loans include làmpɔ´ "tax" from *l'impôt*.
Bùrìkìn_a "noble" and bàʋ̯ŋʋ̀ "circumcision" come from Songhay.

9 <u>Noun phrases</u>

9.1 <u>Structure and categories</u>

A noun phrase (NP) may be headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; for nominalised clauses see §11.4. Free 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. daʋ la bútìŋ "the man's cup", salıma bútìŋ "a gold cup" ("cup of gold.") Predependents with specific or countable reference are determiners (answering "which?"), others modifiers ("what kind of?") The head may be followed (in order) by adjectives, quantifiers, dependent pronouns, appositives, and the article; all but adjectives and some appositives are determiners.

Particular NP subtypes (including pronouns) fulfil adverbial roles §10.6.2.

<u>Compounding</u> is pervasive in NP structure where most languages use uncompounded constructions. Noun heads regularly compound with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

bʋʋg$_a$	"goat"	bʋ̀-pìelìg$_a$	"white goat"
bʋ̀-kàŋaˊ	"this goat"		

Compounds with non-referential cifs as dependents are also common:

bʋ̀-zʋʋr	"goat-tail"	bʋ̀-kʋʋd$_a$ˊ	"goat-killer"

Whether the cif is head or dependent, the final noun class suffix marks the number of the head; tone sandhi is the same for both kinds of compound.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound:

bʋ̀-pìel-kàŋaˊ	"this white goat"
bʋ̀-pìel-wɔkɔˊ	"long white goat"
zà'-nɔ-píelìg$_a$	"white gate" ("white compound-mouth")

A compound may appear as generic argument to a following deverbal noun, and noun-adjective compounds can be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

zà'-nɔ-gúr$_a$	"gatekeeper"
zà'-nɔ-gúr-kàŋaˊ	"this gatekeeper"
bʋ̀-nɔb-wɔ́kɔ	"long-legged goat"

Modifiers, including free modifiers, bind tighter to their heads than deverbal nouns to generic arguments; determiners bind looser than either. This means that compounds may contain free constituents, even coordinated constituents:

salɩma zá'-nɔɔr	"golden gate"

but	salɩma bʊ́tìŋ-kàŋa	"this gold cup"
	salɩma lá'-maan	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
	salɩma lá'-màan-kàŋa	"this goldsmith"
	ò salɩma lá'-maan	"her goldsmith"
	anzúrìfà nɛ salɩma lá'-maan	"[[silver and gold] item]-maker"

Coordination of NPs (including nominalised clauses) uses nɛ "with" for "and." Nɛ cannot be omitted in lists, and does not join two words with the same referent:

À Wɩn nɛ́ à Bʊgʊr nɛ́ à Nà'ab	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dʊ́'atà nɛ nâ'ab	"a doctor and a chief" (two people)

"Or" is bɛɛ or kʊʊ. By default the meaning is exclusive, but the inclusive interpretation "or both" is possible:

biig la kʊʊ daʊ̯ la kʊ́ʊ bà wʊsa	"the child, or the man, or both" W
child the or man the or 3p all	

Cifs cannot be coordinated. *Saŋgbauŋ nɛ teŋgbauŋ paal* "a new heaven and earth" Rv 21:1 probably reflects a confusion between homophonous cifs and sgs; contrast *arezana paal nɛ dunia paal* "a new heaven and a new earth" Is 65:17.

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

pu'ab nɛ biis la	"the women and children" Gn 33:5
pʊ'ab nɛ biis la	
woman.PL with child.PL the	

Midian teŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis	"the Midianites' women and children"
Midian tɛ́ŋ dìm la pʊ̂'ab nɛ biis	Nm 31:9
Midian land Øp the woman.PL with child.PL	

salɩma bʊ́tìɩs nɛ dìɩsímà	"gold [cups and spoons]"
gold cup.PL with spoon.PL	("all of them gold", K)

However, if the components are not parallel, the dependent is taken with the nearest alone. Thus in salıma lâ'ad nɛ bʋtııs, "cups" is a subtype of "goods"; K and W agreed that it must mean "[gold goods] and cups." For "gold [goods and cups]", W offered salıma lâ'ad nɛ́ ò bʋtııs (for the gender of ò, see below.)

Coordinated dependents are often interpreted as if the head was repeated:

| dʋ́'atà nɛ nâ'ab la lɔ́yà | "Doctor's car(s) and the chief's car(s)" |
| doctor with chief   the car.PL | (but possibly cars owned in common) |

| anzúrìfà nɛ salıma lá'-maan | "maker of silver goods and gold goods" |
| silver   with gold   item-maker | (but possibly items made of both) |

For coordination of number words see §9.5.1.

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. In a compound of a noun cif with a following adjective or pronoun, the dependent inflects to show the number of the head; otherwise, agreement is confined to pronouns.

Count nouns distinguish sg/pl; mass nouns take sg agreement. Quantifier choice, nàm$_a$ pl forms, and predependent uses are affected by this distinction, which is fundamentally semantic: count nouns may appear in mass senses and vice versa, e.g. ligidi "cowries/money", pi̱àn'ad "words/speech", dàad bún "wooden thing", daam nám "beers", tɛn'ɛsá yınní "one thought." Except in names §9.3, kut "iron" has displaced sg kudug$_ɔ$ "iron nail." Formally, bɔ| and most mɛ| nouns are mass; gerunds belong to various classes §7.2.1; many mass nouns have pl class suffixes, e.g. ban'as "disease", waad´ "cold", siind´ "honey", sun-pɛ̂ɛn$_n$ "anger", salıma "gold."

Gender is marked only in pronouns. Thinking/speaking entities, human beings, higher animals, and (traditionally) trees are animate, the rest inanimate:

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulʋŋ na paae o salibir.
Kà wìef yá' sigí ·lì nı, lì zùlùŋ ná páe ò sàlìbìr.
and horse if   descend 3i at 3i depth   IR reach 3a bridle
"If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." Rv 14:20

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.	"The fruit of a tree shows what it is."
Tìıg wɛ́là bìgìsìd ɔ́n à^n si'em.	Mt 12:33 B1
tree fruit.PL show.IPF 3a.NZ be how	

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔbir ya'a yɛlin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋgbiŋ la nii," lin kʋ nyaŋi kɛ
  ka o ka' niŋgbiŋ la nii.

Nɔ́bìr yá' yɛ̀lι·n ye, Mán ka'   nû'ug la zúg, m̀ ka'   nín-gbiŋ la níι·,
leg   if   say·DP that 1s.NZ NG.be hand   the on   1s NG.exist body   the at·NG

lιn   kʋ́   ⁿyaŋι · kɛ́ kà ò ka'   nín-gbiŋ la níι·.
DEMi NG.IR prevail + let and 3a NG.exist body   the at·NG

"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

There is no gender distinction in the plural: bà à nɛ kugá "they are stones."
In older sources inanimate pronoun heads (but not dependents) can be used as pl.
In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

Nif-káŋa, ɔn sâⁿ'am nɛ.   "This eye, it's spoilt." K (overheard)
eye-DEM   3a spoil   FOC

M̀ pʋ ⁿyɛó·o·.   "I can't find it [stethoscope]" (overheard)
1s NG see·3a·NG

salιma lâ'ad   nɛ́ ò bʋtιιs   "gold stuff and (gold) cups" W
gold   item.PL with 3a cup.PL

The non-anaphoric dummy-subject pronoun "it" is always lì, never ò:

O anɛ m pu'a.   "She is my wife." Gn 26:7
Ò à nɛ́ m̀ pṵa'.
3a be FOC 1s woman

but   Li anɛ Zugsɔb la.   "It is the Lord." Jn 21:7
      Lì à nɛ Zug-sɔ́b la.
      3i be FOC Lord   the

9.2 <u>Pronouns</u>

<u>Personal</u> pronouns:

	Bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ǹ §11.4
1s	m̀	m$_a$	man	mán
2s	fʋ̀	f$_ɔ$	fʋn	fʋ́n
3a	ò	o	ɔn	ɔ́n
3i	lì/dì	lɪ	lɪn/dɪn	lín/dín
1p	tì	tɪ	tɪnám$_a$	tɪnámì
2p	yà	ya	yanám$_a$	yanámì
3p	bà	ba	ban	bán

Mam is an alternative free 1s. 2pS $_{ya}$ is used as subject after imperatives.

All bound forms are liaison words §5.4. The enclitics appear as complements of verbs or of nɛ "with." In isolation, in coordination, before dependents, or when focused, only free forms can occur:

Mànɛ̀·?	"Me?"
tɪnám nɛ fʋn	"us and you"
man Paul	"I, Paul"

Fʋn kanɛ buoli fʋ mɛŋ ...   "You who call yourself ..." Rom 2:17
Fʋn-kánì· bùolì ·fʋ̀ mɛŋ ...
2s-DEM·NZ   call   2s   self

Manɛ an kɔnbkem sʋŋ la.   "I am the good shepherd." Jn 10:11
Manɪ · á^n kɔ́^{n}b-kìm-sʋ̀ŋ la.
1s   + be shepherd-good   the

In positions where bound forms are possible, free forms express contrast; a special case is their logophoric use in content clauses §11.6.

There are no honorific usages.

2s is used for a generic "one":

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.
Bʋ̀ŋ yá' bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́ ò lubí·f,   fʋ̀ pʋ ^{n}yɛtí ·ò tʋ̀baa·.
donkey if   want   that 3a throw.off·2s 2s NG see.IPF 3a ear.PL·NG
"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." G2 p44
(Where there's a will, there's a way.)

3p is used as a non-specific "they" for turning passive constructions actively:

Bà yɔ̀ɔdɪ·f sʊ́ŋáa·?   "Are you well paid?" S
3p   pay.IPF·2s well·PQ

The construction has become grammaticalised to the extent that in catenation the object can be treated as the grammatical subject:

Diib wʊsa nari ba di.   "All foods may be eaten." Rom 14:20
Dɪɪb wʊsa nárì · bà dí.
food   all   must + 3p eat

Demonstrative pronouns:

		Animate		Inanimate sg	Pl
Head	Long	ɔ̀ŋa´	far	lìna´	bàmma´
			near	nɛ'ɛŋa	
	Short	ɔ̀n	far	lìn	bàn
			near	nɛ'	
Dependent	Long	kàŋa´		kàŋa´	bàmma´
	Short	kàn		kàn	bàn

		Time	Manner	Place
Adverbial	far	san-kán	àlá	kpɛ
	near	nanná(-na´)	àⁿwá(-na´)	kpɛlá or àní(-na´)

Nɛ'ɛŋa nɛ' can form the specifically inanimate pls nɛ'ɛŋa-námₐ nὲ'-nàmₐ. Note the tone difference between ɔ̀n lìn bàn and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative "which?", and in heads of relative clauses:

Fʊnɛ an dau kan la!   "You are that man!" 2 Sm 12:7
Fʊnɪ · áⁿ dáʊ̯-kàn la!   (in the story just related.)
2s   + be man-DEM the

Lìnὲ·?   "Which one?"
Nif-kánὲ·?   "Which eye?"
fʊn-kánì· bùol ...   "you who call ..."

"Long" demonstratives are used for spatio-temporal deixis. Inanimate heads have distinct forms for far and near, as do the time/manner/place series: kpɛ "here", kpɛlá "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with la´ and "this" by a following ⁿwà: dàʋ̰-kàŋa la "that man", dàʋ̰-kàŋa ⁿwá "this man."

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Pl
sɔ'	si'el$_a$	sieba (modal vowel)
si'a	si'a	

Time	Manner	Place
san-sí'a	si'em	zìⁿ'-si'a

Sɔ' si'el$_a$ sieba may be head or dependent, si'a dependent only; for W (not K) it is much commoner than si'el$_a$ as dependent. For W, using si'a for people is pejorative.

Except in relative clause heads, under a negation, or before mɛ̀-kàmà "-soever", the sense is specific "(a) certain, (a) different"; with negative VPs, "nobody, nothing":

yà bì-sɔ'   "a certain child of yours"

2p child-IDFa

Dàʋ̰-sɔ' daa bɛ́   "There was a certain/another man"

man-IDFa TNS exist

na'asɔ' lɛm bɛ   "there is another king" Acts 17:7
nà'-sɔ'   lɛ́m bɛ́

king-IDFa again exist

M̀ ná tɪ·f   tí-si'a.   "I'll give you a different medicine." W

1s   IR give·2s medicine-IDF

O niŋid si'el mɛkama sʋ'ʋŋa.   "He does everything well." Mk 7:37
Ò nìŋìd si'el mɛ́-kàmà sʋ́'ŋa.

3a do.IPF   IDFi   whatever   well

Sɔ' ka'e·.   "There's nobody there."

IDFa NG.exist·NG

M̀ pʋ yɛ́l si'ela·.   "I haven't said anything."

1s NG say IDFi·NG

<u>Interrogative</u> pronouns:

Animate		Inanimate	
ànɔ̂'ɔn	"who?"	bɔ	"what?"

Pls with nàm$_a$ may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

Time	Manner	Place	
san-kán	wɛlá	yáa	"whither/whence?"
		yáa ní	"where?"

Note also bɔ̀-wìn$_n$ "what time of day?" bʊn-dâar "which day?"
Àlá "how much/many?" has the number prefix à-, preceded by -a in liaison.
Bɔ can be used after a cif as a dependent interrogative "what?":

Na'-bɔ́·?	"what cow?" W D
	(Náaf bɔ́·? "What, of a cow's?" W)
Da-bɔ́·?	"what beer?"

The compound bɔ̀-buudi "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

Na'-bɔ́-bùudì·?	"what kind of cow?"
Da-bɔ́-bùudì·?	"what kind of beer?"

Fʊ̀ á nɛ bɔ́-bùudì·?   "What ethnic group do you belong to?"
2s   be FOC what-sort·CQ

Bɔ̀- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of?"

Fʊ̀ túm   bɔ́-tʊ̀ʊmà·?   "What kind of work do you do?" S
2s work.IPF what-work·CQ

Bɔ sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?
Bɔ̀-sɔ́ⁿsìg   kà yà sɔⁿsɪd   nɛ táabà·?
what-conversation and 2p converse.IPF with each.other·CQ
"What are you talking about to each other?" Lk 24:17

An ideophone kímm "firmly" appears in bɔ kímm "what exactly?", bɔ zúg kímm
"why exactly?"

The <u>personaliser</u> pronoun à precedes all Kusaasi personal names, with the allomorph ǹ before adjectives §9.3. Some animal and bird names always follow à, with no implication of personification, e.g. à dàalʊ́ŋɔ "stork", à mús "cat." Except when it takes the form ǹ, the pronoun is always omitted after predependents:

	Lì à nɛ́ à dàalʊ́ŋ.	"It's a stork."
but	m̀ dàalʊ́ŋ	"my stork"
	dau̯ la dáalʊ́ŋ	"the man's stork"

Before VPs, à nominalises, behaving as a subject pronoun "someone who ..."; as predependent to a clause subject, it may likewise nominalise, as "someone whose ..." Such nominalisations pluralise with nàm$_a$; as with nominalisations with ǹ §11.4, negative enclitics are dropped unless the nominalisation is itself clause-final.

À daa yɛ́l ka'   tĩ↗mm·.   "Did-say has no remedy."
PZ TNS say NG.have medicine·NG   (No use crying over spilt milk.)

À ⁿyɛ nɛ nif sɔ́ⁿ'ɔ ·à wʊ̀m tʊ̀bà.   "Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears"
PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear   ear.PL   (Seeing is believing.)

à Kidigι · bu'os   "Crossed over and asked"
PZ cross   + ask   (name of the constellation Orion)

À zι'   · kpí nàm kpîid nɛ́ kà tɛ́ⁿbìd.
PZ NG.know + die   PL   die.IPF FOC and struggle.IPF
"Don't-know-death are dying with a struggle." (Storm in a teacup.)

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.
Bà wà'a nɛ́ à nà kʊ́ʊ ·m̀ nua yír, kà bà pʊ wá'a à nɔɔs bɛ́   yírɛ·.
3p   go   FOC PZ IR   kill   1s hen house and 3p NG go   PZ hen.PL exist house·NG
"They go to Will-kill-my-hen's house, not to Has-hens' house." G2 p38
(The rich are not always hospitable.)

a-daar-paaeya kum   "a natural death" Nm 16:29
à daar páe ya kúm
PZ day   arrive m/c death

The <u>reciprocal</u> pronoun is taaba "one another" (clause-medially taab for some speakers.) After a cif it means "fellow-": ò tùm-tùm-taaba "his fellow-workers."

Sʋ̀ŋìmɪ·   taaba.   "Help one another."
help.IMP·2pS each.other

Tì yûug nɛ taaba.   "It's been a long time." K
1p   delay with each.other

Bà dɔ̀l   nɛ taaba.   "They go together."
3p   follow with each.other

The <u>reflexive</u> pronoun mɛŋ$_a$´ "self" (sg and pl) always has a predependent:

nà'ab la mɛ́ŋ   "the chief himself"
chief   the self

Bà ⁿyɛ́ɛ ·bà mɛŋ.   "They've seen for themselves."
3p   see   3p self

Fʋ̀ mɛŋ kʋʋ bí-lìàa·?   "Yourself or the baby?" ("Which of you
2s   self   or   baby·CQ   needs the doctor?"; overheard)

"Self" forms are obligatory for complements referring to clause subjects:

 M̀ ⁿwɛ́'ɛ ·m̀ mɛŋ.   "I hit myself."
1s   hit   1s self

When subjects act on parts of themselves, the objects take pronoun possessors, with the reflexive pronoun expressing contrast:

Ba pʋ piesidi ba nu'us wʋʋ lin nar si'em la ka ditta.
Bà pʋ piesídí ·bà nû'us wʋʋ lín   nar si'em lá kà díta·.
3p NG clean.IPF 3p hand.PL like   3i.NZ need how   the and eat.IPF·NG
"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." Mt 15:1

Mam Paul n sɔb pʋ'ʋs kaŋa nɛ m mɛŋ nu'ug.
Mam Paul n sɔb pô'ʋs-kàŋa nɛ́ m̀ mɛŋ nû'ug.
1s   Paul + write greeting-DEM with 1s self   hand
"I, Paul, have written this greeting with my own hand." Col 4:18

The <u>empty</u> pronoun sɔb$_a$ is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and gender but has no other semantic content.

Animate	sg	sɔb$_a$	pl	dìm$_a$
Inanimate	sg/pl	dìn$_n$		

Ò sɔb/ɔn sɔb mean "the last person mentioned."

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings, e.g. man dín "my one, mine", à Wɪn dím "Awini's family", pʊ̀-pìelìm sɔ́b "upright person" (pʊ̀-pìelìm "virtue"), duniya ní dìn "earthly one [body]" 1 Cor 15:44, Bɔ̀k dím "Bawku people", yiigá sɔb "first person" (also yiig-sɔ́b$_a$.) Cif predependents occur in set expressions: yi-sɔ́b$_a$ pl yi-sɔ́b-nàm$_a$ "householder" (yir´ "house"); yi-dím$_a$ "household members"; nif-sɔ́b$_a$ "miser" (nif$_ɔ$´ "eye"); tà^{n}p-sɔb$_a$ "warrior" (ta^{n}p$_ɔ$ "war"); zug-sɔ́b$_a$ pl zug-sɔ́b-nàm$_a$ "boss", "Lord" B (zug$_ɔ$´ "head.")

9.3 <u>Proper names</u>

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: à Wɪn from Wìdì-^{n}yá'aŋ$_a$ will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kʊsâas, "Bawku" for Bɔ̀k$_ɔ$ etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the *Mampruli* cif *wuri-* "horse": the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. The pattern has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name à Dʊk, and "Kusaal" Kʊsâal itself.

Kusaasi <u>personal</u> names are NPs beginning with the personaliser pronoun à. Foreign names also take à (though not in B): à Muusa "Moses", à Yiisa "Jesus", à Simɔ̂ɔn "Simon", but Wínà'am "God" (W Wínnà'am) and Sʊtáanà "Satan" do not. Animal names take à in fables: à Baa "Mr Dog"; cf *Asan'auŋ* à Sà^n'ʋŋ "Abaddon" B. Before adjectives, à becomes fixed-L ǹ: ǹ Daʋg "Ndago" ("male"), ǹ Pu̯ak "Mpoaka" ("female"), ǹ Bil "Mbillah" ("little.")

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners: à Wɪn-káŋa "this Awini", tì Wɪn "our Awini"; tì ǹ Daʋg "our Ndago." They pluralise with nàm$_a$; à Wɪn-nám can mean "more than one Awini" or "Awini and his people."

Most Kusaasi names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs or clauses:

à Mɔr yam	Amɔryam	"has intelligence" (girl, G3 p6)
à Tì ʊm bódìg ya		"the medicine has got lost" (man)

Many names allude to a sɪgɪrˊ, a spiritual guardian assigned to a newborn after the father's consultation with a diviner; this may be the wɪnₙˊ "spiritual individuality" of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree (which may then be marked with an iron spike):

à Wɪn	Awini	person with a sɪgɪrˊ from father's side
à Bʊgʊr	Abugri	"sɪgɪrˊ from mother's family"
à Tìɪg	Atiga	"tree"
à Kudug	Akudugu	"iron nail"

A younger sibling of à Wɪn with the same sɪgɪrˊ may be called à Wɪn-bíl "Awimbillah" (bilₐ "little"), of à Kudug, à Kùd-bil "Akudibillah" etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à Wɪn-pu̯ák "Awimpoaka" (pu̯akₐ "female.")

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

à Nà'ab	Anaba	nà'abₐ "afterbirth" (chiefs leave after their retainers): sole survivor of twins
à Fuug	Afugu	"clothing": born with a caul
à Tul	Atuli	tulₗ "inversion": breech-delivered child
à Nàsà-pu̯ak	Anasapoaka	girl delivered by a European midwife

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à Tínì "Monday", à Tàláatà "Tuesday", Àrzúmà *sic* "Friday", à Síbì "Saturday."

Other names relate to apotropaic practices meant to break a cycle of stillbirths, such as discarding a dead child or burying it in a pot; the next surviving child may then be called e.g. à Tàmpʊʊr "Tampuri" ("ashpit") or à Dʊk "Aruk" ("pot.") Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

à Saan	Asana	"guest"
à Saan-dú	Sandow	"guest" + dau̯ "man"
à Zàŋgbɛog	Azangbego	"Hausa"

The Kusaasi did not use surnames traditionally. Speaking English or French, they use European or Muslim names and treat Kusaal personal names as surnames.
See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi naming practices.

The great majority of <u>ethnic group</u> and <u>clan</u> names are a|ba or ga|sɛ. The place inhabited by the group adds sg gɔ to the stem; <u>language</u> names add lɛ.

Such names include

Ethnic group sg/pl		Language	Place	
Barɩg$_a$´	Barɩs´	Bat´	Barʊg$_\mathfrak{o}$´	Bisa
Bìn$_n$	Bìm$_{ma}$	Bìn$_n$	Bìʋŋ$_\mathfrak{o}$	Moba
Bùlìg$_a$	Bùlìs	Bùl$_l$		Bulsa
Bùsáŋ$_a$	Bùsâⁿs	Bùsâⁿl		Bisa
Dàgâad$_a$	Dàgáadìb$_a$			Dagaaba
Dàgban$_n$´	Dàgbam$_{ma}$´	Dàgban$_n$´	Dàgbaʋŋ$_\mathfrak{o}$´	Dagomba
Gʊríŋ$_a$	Gʊrís	Gʊrín$_n$		Farefare
Kàmbʋŋ$_a$	Kàmbʋmìs	Kàmbʋnìr		Ashanti
Kʊsáa	Kʊsâas	Kʊsâal	Kʊsâʋg$_\mathfrak{o}$	Kusaasi
Mùa	Mɔ̀ɔs	Mɔ̀ɔl	Mɔ̀ɔg$_\mathfrak{o}$	Mossi
Nàbìd$_a$	Nàbìdìb$_a$	Nàbìr	Nàbìdʋg$_\mathfrak{o}$	Nabdema
ⁿWampurig$_a$´	ⁿWampuris´	ⁿWampuril´	ⁿWampurug$_\mathfrak{o}$´	Mamprussi
Sìmiig$_a$	Sìmiis	Sìmiil	Sìmiug$_\mathfrak{o}$	Fulani
Tàlìŋ$_a$	Tàlìs	Tàlìn$_n$		Tallensi
Yàaŋ$_a$	Yàaⁿs/Yàamìs	Yàan$_n$		Yansi
	or Yàam$_{ma}$			
Yarɩg$_a$´	Yarɩs´	Yat´		Yarsi
Zàŋgbèog$_\mathfrak{o}$	Zàŋgbèɛd	Zàŋgbèɛl		Hausa

Barɩs´ means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bìm$_{ma}$ "Moba", not just Bemba (W.)

Note also Mɔr´ pl Mɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$ "Muslim"; Nàsaara pl Nàsàa(r)-nàm$_a$ "European", Nàsaal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārá* "Christians"); Tùon$_n$ "Toende", Tùonnìr "Toende dialect", Àgɔ̀l$_l$ "Agolle"/"Agolle dialect": Ò pi̯àⁿad Àgɔ̀l. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl			Place	
Gɔ̀ɔg$_a$	Gɔ̀ɔs		Gɔ̀ɔg$_\mathfrak{o}$	
	Gùm-dìm$_a$		Gùm$_n$	
Kùtan$_n$	Kùtam$_{ma}$´		Kùtaʋŋ$_\mathfrak{o}$´	W's clan
Nàbìd$_a$	Nàbìdìb$_a$		Nàbìdʋg$_\mathfrak{o}$	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob$_a$		Sà'-dàbɔ̀og$_\mathfrak{o}$	
	Nà'-dàm$_{ma}$		Nà'-dàʋŋ$_\mathfrak{o}$	
Wìid$_a$	Wìid-nàm$_a$		Wìidʋg$_\mathfrak{o}$	
Zùa	Zùos			Zoose

Subclans: Zu̯à-sabɩlís "Black Zoose", Zu̯à-wìib$_a$/-wìis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbìdìb$_a$ is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema."

Place names are intrinsically locative. Most have transparent meanings, e.g.

Àgɔ̀l_l	Agolle	cf àgɔ́l_l "upwards"
Bàs-yɔn_n´	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? rationale
Bì-nà'ab_a	Binaba	"prince"
Bɔ̀k_ɔ	Bawku	"pit, depression"
Bʋgʋr	Bugri	"home of a wın_n´"
Dɛnùg_ɔ	Denugu	cf Mooré *reongo* "cattle enclosure"
Gàarʋ̀	Garu	Hausa *garu* "town/compound wall"
Kɔ̀l-ta'amís	Kultamse	"*Andira inermis*" pl
Kugur´	Kugri	"stone"
Kʋk_a´	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kʋ̀kpàrìg_a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kʋ̀lʋ̀gʋ́ŋ_ɔ	Kulungungu	Bisa *Kuurgongu* "crooked shea"
Mì'isìg_a	Missiga	English "mission"
Mu̞à'-nɔɔr´	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlìmà Kû'om	Pulimakom	"cogongrass water"
Pusig_a´	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sa-bíl_a	Zebilla	cf Farefare *saaga* (kind of grass)
Sa-píelìg_a	Sapeliga	"*Isoberlinia doka*"
Tɛ̀mpáan_n	Tempane	"new villages"
Til_l´	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùon_n	Toende	"West"
Wìdaan_a	Widana	wìd-daan_a "horse-owner"
		(title of a chief's "linguist")
Wìdì-ⁿyá'aŋ_a	Woriyanga	wìd-ⁿyá'aŋ_a "mare"
Wìid-nà'ab_a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wìid_a"

For "north, east, south, west", W has respectively Barʋg_ɔ´ "Bisa country", ⁿYá'aŋ_a "behind", Zu̞eya "hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùon_n "in front"; B3 has *ya-datiuŋ* "your right", *ya-nya'aŋ*, *ya-dagɔbʋg* "your left", *ya-tuona*.

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Saŋkâaⁿs "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) "Accra" is *Aŋkara*, from Twi.

The White Volta is simply kɔlʋg_a "river."

Proper names of times include names of festivals like Samán-píer (traditional) "New Year" and of weekdays, found always as predeterminers of daar "day": Àláasìd Sunday", Àtínì "Monday", Àtàláatà "Tuesday", Àlárìbà "Wednesday", Àlàmíisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbìtì "Saturday." The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

9.4 <u>Kinship terms</u>

Kinship terms usually occur with predeterminers, but this is not obligatory: *o da ka' saam bɛɛ maa* Est 2:7 "she had no father or mother." Several basic terms do not distinguish sex. Terms for same-sex siblings, but not opposite-sex, mark seniority. Among cousins, seniority follows parents' seniority; among wives, marriage order.

bier´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pitʊ́	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
taʊ̯ⁿ´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam$_{ma}$ (less formally, ba'´)	father
sàam-kpɛɛⁿm	father's elder brother
sàam-pit$_a$´	father's younger brother
pʊ̀gʊ̀dìb$_a$	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám$_a$ mother's co-wives)
mà-kpɛɛⁿm	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil$_a$ or mà-pit$_a$´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
áⁿsìb$_a$	mother's brother
biig$_a$ (m dàkɔ̀ɔⁿr, f pʊ̯à'-yùa)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
aⁿsíŋ$_a$	man's sister's child
yáab$_a$ (m yaa-dáʊ̯, f -pʊ̯á')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ$_a$	grandchild/descendant
pʊ̯à'-ɛlíŋ$_a$	fiancée
yi-pʊ̯á' or pʊ̯a'	wife; brother's wife
dìem$_{ma}$ (m dìem-daʊ̯, f -pʊ̯ak$_a$)	wife's parent
dàkiig$_a$ (m dàkì-daʊ̯, f -pʊ̯ak$_a$)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùa	wife's sister's husband
sɪd$_a$	husband
dàyáam$_{ma}$ (m dàyaam-dáʊ̯, f -pʊ̯ák$_a$)	husband's parent
sìd-kpɛɛⁿm	husband's elder brother
sìd-bil$_a$	husband's younger brother
sìd-pʊ̯ak$_a$	husband's sister
nìn-taa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

Dìem$_{ma}$ is used in polite address by a person of either sex to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age.

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at Bùgúm-tɔɔⁿr, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

9.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are either mass or count: mass quantifiers include bɛdʋgʋ´ "a lot", pamm lf pamnɛ́ "a lot", fiiⁿ "a little (liquid)", bi'elá "a little", wʋʋ "all", wʋsa "all"; count quantifiers include bàbìga´ "many", kàlìga´ "few", faaⁿ "every", zaⁿ'a "every", kàm$_a$ "every", kàm zaⁿ'a "every" and the number words. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: nidib bɛ́dʋgʋ or nidib bábìga "a lot of/many people"; kù'om bɛ́dʋgʋ "a lot of water"; but not *kù'om bábìga.

Quantifiers are typically postdependents, but may be heads (with nàm$_a$ pls.) After dependent NPs, they are partitive. Dependent pronouns may follow quantifiers.

Bɛdʋgʋ/pamm kɛ́ na.	"Many came."
Bɛdʋgʋ la kɛ́ na.	"The crowd came."
Àyí' kɛ́ na.	"Two came."
Àyí' la kɛ́ na.	"The two came."
nidib lá àyí'	"two of the people"
màli̩ak-nám túsà piiga nám	"tens of thousands of angels"
nidib bedego bama nwa	"this crowd of people" Mt 15:33 B2
nidib bɛ́dʋgʋ bámma ⁿwá	
person.PL much DEMp this	

9.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	yɪnní	10	piiga	100	kɔ̀bìga (lf identical)
2	àyí'	20	pisí	200	kɔ̀bìsí
3	àtáⁿ'	30	pis táⁿ'	300	kɔ̀bìs táⁿ'
4	ànaasí	40	pis naasí	400	kɔ̀bìs naasí
5	ànu	50	pis nu		etc
6	àyúobʋ̀	60	pis yúobʋ̀		
7	àyɔ́pɔ̀e̩	70	pis yɔ́pɔ̀e̩		
8	àníi	80	pis níi		
9	àwae̩	90	pis wae̩		

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before yɪnní, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: yɔlʋgá ·àtáⁿ' "600 cedis." Yɪnní can also be construed with a preceding cif: kug-yínnì "one stone" vs kugur yɪnní "one stone." Pii(ga) and pis(í) may follow cif dà- "day" (written *dab* in B3): *dabpii nɛ ayɔpɔi daar* "on the seventeenth day" Gn 7:11.

"Thousand" is tusir´: tusá àtáⁿ' "3000." "Half" is pʊ-sʊ́kₐ pl pʊ-sʊ́gʊ̀s. Intermediate numbers use nɛ "with", e.g. kɔ̀bɪ̀s táⁿ' nɛ pis yúobʊ̀ nɛ nu "365." 11 to 19 have the contracted forms pii nɛ yɪnní, pii nɛ yí', pii nɛ táⁿ' ... pii nɛ waẹ or pii na yɪnní, pii na yí' ..., e.g.

o nya'andɔlib pii nɛ yi   "his twelve disciples" Mt 26:20
ò ⁿya'an-dɔ́llìb pii nɛ yí'
3a disciple.PL   ten with two

Àyíŋa´, àtáŋa´ mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children, it is true (if misleading) to say M̀ mɔ́r biisá ·àtáⁿ' "I have three children", but not true to say M̀ mɔ́r biisá ·àtáŋa. These forms also appear after nɛ: pii nɛ yíŋa "twelve exactly." They do not permit focus with nɛ´ §12.1.

The prefix à- is omitted after nɛ "with", and sometimes also after focus-nɛ´:

Lì à nɛ naasí./Lì à né ànaasí.   "They're four."

This à- is the original agreement flexion for rɛ|aa pl. Animate-gender bà- is preserved after personal pronouns: tì bàtáⁿ' "we three", yà bàyɔ́pɔ̀ẹ "you seven", bà bàyí' "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix ǹ- (the old agreement for mɛ|) instead of à-:

1	yɛ́oŋ or àràkɔ́ⁿ'	6	ǹyûob
2	ǹyí'	7	ǹpɔ̀ẹ *sic*
3	ǹtáⁿ'	8	ǹníi
4	ǹnaas	9	ǹwaẹ
5	ǹnu		continuing piiga, pii nɛ yí' as with quantifiers

Àràkɔ́ⁿ' can also be used as a quantifier: búʊg àràkɔ́ⁿ' "one goat."
In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' námá ·àyí' á nɛ naasí.   "Two twos are four."
two   PL   two   be FOC four

The only ordinal adjective is dɛɛŋₐ "first."
"First" can also be expressed by yiigá "firstly" as a predependent:

linɛ da an yiiga dabisir   "That was the first day." Gn 1:5
lɪnɪ · dá àⁿ yiigá dábìsìr.
3i   + TNS be firstly day

Numbers as predependents of daan_a "owner" produce ordinals: àyí' dâan la "the second one", bʊʊgá ·àtá^n dâan la "the third goat"; "first" is yiigá dâan. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use relative clauses with pàas/pɛ̀'ɛs "amount to":

> dàʊ̯-kànì·   pɛ̀'ɛsà ·àyí' la   "the second man"
> man-DEM·NZ   come.to two   the

> lìnì·   pàasà ·àtá^n la   "the third one"
> DEMi·NZ come.to three the

Multiplicatives answer àbʊ̀lá? "how many-fold?" They are yɪmmʊ́ "straight away, at once", àbʊ̀yí' "twice", àbʊ̀tá^n "three times", àbʊ̀naasí "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to bʊ̀piiga "ten times." The prefix bʊ̀- is the old bɔ| agreement; à- is the manner-noun formant, preceded by -ɪ in liaison, so its attachment to 2-9 alone is analogical.

Answers to nɔɔrá ·àlá "how many times?" may be e.g. nɔɔr yɪnní "once", nɔɔrá ·àtá^n or nɔɔrím bʊ̀tá^n "three times" etc. This nɔɔr is not "mouth", but corresponds to Toende *nɔ'ɔt* "leg": *nɔ'ɔt ayi/nɔba ayi* "twice."

Distributives ("two by two" etc) are NPs formed by reduplication:

1	yɪn yɪn	10	pii pîig	100	kɔ̀bìg kóbìg
2	àyí' yí'	20	pisí pisí	200	kɔ̀bìsí kóbìsí or kɔ̀bìs yí' yí'
3	àtá^n tá^n	30	pis tá^n tá^n	300	kɔ̀bìs tá^n tá^n
4	ànaas naas	40	pis naas naas		etc
5	ànu nu	50	pis nu nu	1000	tusir tusir
6	àyûob yûob	60	pis yûob yûob		
7	àyɔ́pɔ̀ę pɔ́ę	70	pis yɔ́pɔ̀ę pɔ́ę		
8	àníi níi	80	pis níi níi		
9	àwaę waę	90	pis waę waę		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern pis nu nɛ naas naas "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: dabá àyɔ́pɔ̀ę pɔ́ę "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": ^{n}yàʊ̯k₍ pl ^{n}yà'ad is only used for eyes, while yɪʊ̯ŋ₍´ pl yɪná is used for other paired body parts: nif-^{n}yáʊ̯k "one eye", nɔb-yíʊ̯ŋ "one leg", nu'-yíʊ̯ŋ "one hand", tʊ̀b-yɪʊ̯ŋ "one ear."

The adjective yɪmmír pl yɪmmá cif yɪm- means "solitary, unique."

9.6 <u>Predependents</u>

      NPs may be preceded, recursively, by dependent NPs; on tone sandhi, see §5.2.
Predependents resemble English genitives and complements with "of", with a similar
wide range of meanings, dependent on the nature of both head and dependent.
Cif predependents are non-referential, functioning as modifiers or as generic
arguments to deverbal nouns; free indefinite mass predependents are modifiers;
other free NPs are determiners. Determiners precede modifiers, with cifs last:

     Wínà'am pʊ́'ʊsʊ̀g fûug dɔ̂ɔg   "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

     Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions.
     For postpositions see §10.6.2.
     If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier,
or a relative clause, the predependent construction is partitive. Thus nin-síebà
"certain people", nidibá ·àyí' (la) "(the) two people", but

     yà sɔ'   "some one among you"
     nidib la síebà   "certain of the people"
     nidib lá àyí'   "two of the people"

     Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fʊn gaŋ sɔ'.
     Pà'alìmɪ·tí nidibá ·àyí' ⁿwá fún   gaŋ sɔ'.
     teach.IMP·1p person.PL two   this   2s.NZ choose IDFa
     "Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" Acts 1:24

     Partitive senses are not possible with other head types: e.g. nidib la gígìs must
mean "the dumb ones belonging to the people", not "among the people" (W.)

     Daan$_a$ "owner" (pl dàan-nàm$_a$) always follows a NP representing a possession
or a quality:

     Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.
     Zʊ̀-wɔk dâan pʊ gáŋìd   búgúmm·.
     tail-long   owner NG step.over.IPF fire·NG
     "One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire." G2 p38
     (Don't run risks if you have family commitments.)

     So too e.g. daam dâan "beer owner", tìeŋ dâan "bearded man", pɔɔg la dâan
"the owner of the field" Mt 21:40, pʊ̀-pìelìm dâan "upright person"; here even manner
nouns can be predeterminers: bʊgʊsíga dâan "softly-softly sort of person" W.

Daan_a follows a cif in a few set expressions, e.g. yi-dâan_a/yi-sɔ́b_a "householder" and tɛ̀ŋ-daan_a "traditional earth-priest"; cf also *(a)naas-daan* "owner of four [horns]", *poi-daan* "owner of seven [horns]" G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a number used in counting, with or without a prefixed a-.

Quantifier-form numbers precede daan_a to make ordinals §9.5.1.

Before gerunds, free dependents represent subjects; generic-argument cifs may precede the head, and VP adverbials and final particles may follow:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
yà àntṳà'-mɔrím kɔ́tʋ̀ ní nɛ taaba   la
2p case-having   court   at with each.other the
"your going to law with each other in court" 1 Cor 6:7 B1

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.
Nidib   la daa gur Zakaria yîib na.
person.PL the TNS watch Zechariah exit hither
"The people were watching for Zechariah to come out." Lk 1:21

Deverbal nouns may follow cifs representing generic arguments or adverbials. Noun-adjective compounds as arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. fu-zɛ́ⁿdà kùos "dyed-cloth seller."

With agent nouns the cif usually represents an object if the verb is transitive, but other complement types and adverbials also appear. Such compounds are freely coined and are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions.

nin-kûʋd_a	"murderer"	bʋ̀-kʋʋd_a´	"goat-killer"
bʋ̀-zaⁿl_l´	"goat-holder"	bʋ̀-kùos_a	"goat-seller"
sàlìm-kùos_a	"gold-seller"	da-nûud_a	"beer-drinker"
zim-gbâⁿ'ad_a	"fisher"	tàn-mɛɛd_a	"builder"
làmpɔ-dî'es_a	"tax collector"	kɔ̀ⁿb-kɪm_{na}	"herder, shepherd"
zà'-nɔ-gúr_a	"gatekeeper"	bùl-sigid_a´	"well-diver"

nɔ-dî'es_a	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")
pṳà'-saⁿ'am_{ma}	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")
ⁿya'an-dɔ́l_{la}	"disciple" ("after-follower")
tùon-gat_a	"leader" ("in-front-passer")
pṳà'-la'ad_a	"laugher at women" (ò là'ad pʋ'ab "he laughs at women" W)

Consultants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; B has, among others, baŋɪd$_a$ "wise man", faa^{n}d$_a$´ "robber", pa'an$_{na}$ "teacher." However, a preceding cif is usual; it may be just a corresponding gerund:

màal-maan$_{na}$	"sacrificer"	zi-zîid$_a$	"carrier-on-head"
tʊ̀'as-tʊ̀'as$_a$	"talker"	zàb-zàb$_a$	"warrior"
zɔ̀t-zɔt$_a$	"racer, athlete"	tʊ̀m-tʊm$_{na}$	"worker"

Cifs occur before deverbal instrument nouns in object or adverbial senses:

si̯à-lɔɔdíŋ$_a$	"belt" ("waist-tier")
nin-gɔ́tìs	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

Cifs before gerunds may represent subjects if the verb can be intransitive; otherwise, they are objects or adverbials:

nu'-mɔ́dìr	"swelling of the hand"
wìn-liir	"sunset"
su^n-sâ^n'ʊŋ$_ɔ$	"sorrow" (m̀ su^{n}f sâ^n'am nɛ "my heart is spoilt")
da-nûur	"beer-drinking"
nɔ-lôɔr	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
fu-yêɛr	"shirt-wearing" (W, nonce-form)
pʊ̯à'-dɪɪr	"marriage" (ò dì pʊ̯a' "he's married a wife")
nin-bâa^{n}l-zɔɔr	"pity" (ò zɔ̀to· nin-báa^{n}lìg "she has pity on him")
mɔ̀-pil$_l$	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
kùm-vʊ'ʊgír	"resurrection" (ò vʊ̀'ʊg kumɪ·n "he revived from death")

Deadjectival abstracts after cifs behave as if derived from bahuvrihis §9.7.1:

pʊ̀-pìelìm	"virtue" (pʊ̀-pìel$_l$ "upright person")
su^n-kpî'oŋ$_ɔ$	"boldness" ("strong-heartedness")
wɪn-tɔ̂ɔg$_ɔ$	"ill fortune" ("bitter-fatedness")

With unspecialised heads, free definite and/or count predependents express kinship, body part membership, or ownership:

Nimbɛ'og yir na san'am.   "The house of the wicked will be destroyed."
Nin-bɛ̂'og yír nà sa^n'am.   Prv 14:11
person-bad   house IR spoil

m̀ biig	"my child"
dau̠ la bîig	"the man's child"
dau̠ la bîer bìig nâaf zʋ̀ʋr	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
dau̠ la wîef zʋ̂ʋr	"the man's horse's tail"
dʋ́'atà la lɔ́r-kàŋa	"this/that car of the doctor's"

Cif predependents are non-referential. With unspecialised heads, they have very general quasi-adjectival senses; idiosyncratic meanings often develop.

dau̠ la wíd-zʋʋr	"the man's horse-tail" (he may have no horse)
bì-fuugɔ´	"children's shirt" (suitable for children)
wab-mɔ́ɔgʋ·n	"in bush where there are elephants" W
zà'-nɔɔr´	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-biiga	"sibling" ("mother-child")
ba'-bîiga	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
tɛ̀ŋ-biiga	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlʋ̀gɔ	"aeroplane" ("European hawk")
nàsàar-bùgúm	"electricity" ("European fire")

Note W's exceptional náaf-bì^n'isím "cow's milk", bʋʋg-bí^n'isím "goat's milk."
Except with daana (above) and sɔba §9.2, abstract predependents appear as indefinite free forms:

na'am kʋ́k	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
pʋ̀'ʋsʋ̀g dôɔg	"temple" ("worship house")
tʋlɩgír bún	"heater" ("heating thing")
dʋgʋb dʋ́t	"cooking pots"
ligidi tʋ́ʋmà	"expensive work" (ligidi "money")

So do predependents expressing materials:

salɩma bʋ́tìŋ	"golden cup"
salɩma nɛ anzúrìfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fuug dôɔg	"tent" ("cloth hut")
dàad bún-nám	"wooden things" (dàad "pieces of wood")

Unlike cifs or abstracts, materials as predependents can be antecedents of pronouns: salɩma lâ'ad nɛ́ ò bʋtɩɩs "gold goods and [gold] cups" W. The construction is limited to this sense: kṳà'-^{n}wiiga´ "current", not *kù'om ^{n}wîig "rope made of water."
For yiigá "firstly" as a predependent see §9.5.1.

Place NPs may be predependents:

duniya ní nìn-gbiŋ	"earthly body"
kɔlıgɩ·n nɔ́-dâʋg	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
kù'omɩ·n bʋ́n	"water creature"
zugʋ́·n/tɛŋɩ·n níf-gbáʋ̥ŋ	"upper/lower eyelid"
mɔɔgʋ·n/yín bʋ́n-kɔ́ⁿbìd	"wild/tame animals"
Bɔ̀k dím	"Bawku people"
dàgɔ̀bìg níf	"left eye"

Buligin ziŋ zi' kɔligin yɛlaa.

Bùlìgɩ·n zîiŋ zɩ'   kɔlıgɩ·n yélaa·.

pool·at   fish NG.know river·at   about·NG

Proverb: "A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river." (Naden)

So may NPs with yɛlá "about":

Kʋsâas kûob nɛ yir yélà gbàʋ̥ŋ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàʋ̥-kàŋa la yélà gbàʋ̥ŋ	"a book about that man" W

9.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or ⁿwà "this." Before an adjective or dependent pronoun, a nominal is reduced to a cif and its number is marked by the dependent.

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependent subjects (above) may be followed by VP complements or adverbials. Adverbials as NP postdependents are otherwise doubtful. Ɔn sɔb á nɛ dʋ́'atà àmɛŋá la "That one's the real doctor" W contrasts with *Manɛ an vain tiig la amɛŋa* "I am the true vine" Jn 15:1 (*amɛŋa* as VP adverbial); ⁿwadɩs yûʋm la púʋgʋ·n "months in the year" S and wabʋg mɔɔgʋ·n la "elephant in the bush" W may not have been single constituent NPs in their original contexts.

Except for yiigá "firstly", <u>quantifiers</u> as determiners follow the head. Cif heads appear only before yɩnní "one" and with dà- "day" before numbers without prefixes.

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative <u>pronouns</u> appear as dependent determiners after a noun or noun-adjective compound cif, or after a quantifier:

biig_a	"child"	bì-kàŋa´	"this child"
bì-sɔ'	"a certain child"	bì-sʋ̀ŋ-kàŋa´	"this good child"
Bì-kànɛ̀·?	"Which child?"	Bì-bɔ́·?	"What child?"

yɛl-tɔ̂ɔd àtáⁿ' bámma	"these three plagues" Rev 9:18

Appositive postdependents may be relative clauses or personal names. Relative clauses must appear as appositives after heads which cannot form cifs, and may do so after those that could; appositive relative clauses, unlike others, need not be interpreted as restrictive. Appositives follow dependent pronouns: *dau kaŋa onɛ ka Wina'am Siig bɛɛ o ni* "this man in whom God's Spirit is" Gn 41:38.

Appositive personal names retain the pronoun à:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.	"Yes, it's his friend Termite asking entry."
Ɛɛⁿ, ò zu̯à à Sibigɪ ·n kabɪríd.	G2 p12
yes 3a friend PZ termite + ask.entry.IPF	

9.7.1 Adjectives

An adjective follows a cif head, and inflects as sg/pl/cif on behalf of the head, e.g. nua´ "hen", nɔɔs´ "hen"; nɔ-súŋɔ "good hen", nɔ-súmà "good hens"; nɔ-súŋ-kàŋa´ "this good hen."

Adjectives may only be heads in predicatives §10.6.1; even there, nin- "person" or bʋn- "thing" are usually supplied as heads. Adjective cifs can never be heads: "this good one" must be bʋn-súŋ-kàŋa. Ipf verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are equivalent to agent nouns: bʋn-kúʋdìr "thing to do with killing" but kʋʋdír "killer."

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. nu'-bílₐ "finger" ("small hand"); tì-sabɪlím a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); gɔ̀ⁿ'-sabɪlígₐ "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); bʋn-gíŋₐ "short fellow" (jocular); bʋn-kúdʋ̀gɔ "old man" (standard term.)

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system: the dependents in dàbìs-si'er "some day", yɛl-súmₙ "blessing" ("good matter"), pu̯à'-paalₐ´ "bride" ("new wife") do not usually occur with these class suffixes.

For W (not D) and in many texts, mɛ| nouns require adjectives in -mɛ: da-páalìm "new beer", tì-vʋnním "oral medication"; so too bʋnₙ when it means "abstract thing", e.g. bʋn-ⁿyɛ́tìm "visible world" versus bʋn-ⁿyɛ́tìr "visible object"; bʋn-bɔ́ɔdìm "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of nɔ̀ŋìlím "love.")

Adjective sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner (all K):

Lì à nɛ wîug.	"It's red."
Lì à nɛ wíugu.	"It's reddish."
fu-wíugu la	"the reddish shirt"
Lì à nɛ fu-píelìga.	"It's a whitish shirt."
Lì à nɛ fu-píelìga la.	"It's the whitish shirt."
Lì à nɛ tɪta'arɪ.	"It's biggish."

Adjectives and their derived 1vbs may be immediately followed by intensifier ideophones, specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding verbs (all W):

Lì à nɛ píelìg fáss fáss.	"It's very white."
Lì à nɛ sabʊlíg zím zím.	"It's deep black."
Lì à nɛ zíⁿʼa wím wím.	"It's deep red."
Ṁ ⁿyɛ́ fu-zíⁿʼa wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
Fu-zíⁿʼa wím wím bɛ́.	"There's a deep red shirt."
Ṁ bɔ̂ɔd fu-zíⁿʼa wím wím la.	"I want the deep red shirt."
Ò wàʼam tɔ́lìlìlì.	"She's very tall."
Ò gìm nɛ tírìgà.	"She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. sòŋɔ "good", bɛʼɛd "bad", zùlùŋɔ "deep", maʼasígₐ "damp."

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à nɛ nuʼ-kpíilúŋ.	"It's a dead hand."
Biig la á nɛ nuʼ-kpíilúŋ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à nɛ bí-nuʼ-kpíilúŋ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùg-nɔb-wɔ́kɔ	"long-legged stool"
Kùg-kàŋa á nɛ nɔb-wɔ́k.	"This stool is long-legged." W

Similarly nɔb-gíŋₐ "short-legged", zug-máʊ̯kɔ "crushed-headed", zʊ̀-wɔkɔ´ "long-tailed", zu-péɛlʊ̀gɔ "bald", pʊ̀-pìelⱡ "righteous" etc, and with "one of a pair" adjectives, as in bà-nif-ⁿyáʊ̯kɔ "one-eyed dog", bì-tʊ̀b-yɪná "one-eared children." The adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg: bì-tʊ̀b-kpida "deaf child" (pl bì-tʊ̀b-kpida námₐ/bì-tʊ̀b-kpidis); bì-tʊ̀b-lʊɪd "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives after human heads, e.g. bì-saanₐ´/bì-sáaŋₐ "strange child", but only bʊ̀-sáaŋₐ "strange goat." Similarly bì-daʊ̯ "male child", bì-pʊ̯aʼ "female child", bì-kpɪʼɪm "dead child", bì-zuʼom´ "blind child", bì-gìkₐ "dumb child", bì-wàbìr "lame child", bì-balɛrʊgɔ´ "ugly child", bì-pɔ̀ⁿʼɔr "crippled child", bì-nàʼabₐ or nàʼ-biigₐ "prince", dàʊ̯-biigₐ "male child", nàsàa-biigₐ "European child", bi-púŋ-yàmmʊ̀gₐ "slave girl", yàm-bi-púŋₐ "girl slave." Agent nouns cannot be used like this after cifs which could be taken as complements: bì-sinnₐ´ "silent child", pʊ̯àʼ-zàaⁿsₐ "woman prone to dreaming" K, but pʊ̯àʼ-kʊʊdₐ´ can only mean "killer of women", pʊ̯àʼ-laʼadₐ only "laugher at women" (W.)

9.7.2 <u>La and ⁿwà</u>

La´ and ⁿwà are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." They stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for VP-final particles in nominalised clauses, which may follow attached la´ §10.7.

Unlike la´, ⁿwà can stand alone as a NP:

ⁿWà á nɛ biig.   "This is a child." W; tones *sic*.

this   be FOC child

La´ remains deictic in identificational clauses, but elsewhere it is usually a definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. It is not used with "familiar background", proper names, abstract mass nouns, vocatives, NPs introduced by the personaliser à, or pronouns:

Wìnnìg lí ya.   "The sun has set."

sun   fall m/c

Nɔŋilim pʊ naada.   "Love does not come to an end."
Nɔ̀ŋìlím pʊ naadá·.   1 Cor 13:8

love   NG finish.IPF·NG

There is no indefinite article: a NP without la´ is indefinite if it could have taken la´ as an article. Indefinite NPs may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of àe̹ⁿ_ya "be something" used ascriptively:

Ò nɔ̀ŋìd ka'e·.   "Nobody loves him." W

3a lover   NG.exist·NG

Ò à nɛ biig.   "She is a child."

3a be FOC child

Indefinite NPs are specific in presentational statements §12.4; elsewhere, they are normally generic. Unlike "the", la´ is not used generically:

One kunt mi zugub.
Ɔ̀nì·   kùt   mi' zugub.

DEMa·NZ work.iron.IPF know bellows.working

Proverb: "The ironworker knows how to work the bellows." (Naden)

Indefinite pronouns mark an unambiguously specific "some/another":

Na'-síebà ɔ́ⁿbɪ̀d nɛ mɔɔd.   "Some cows are eating grass."
cow-IDFp   chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

Demonstrative pronouns make a preceding head definite, and any following la´
is deictic §9.2.

After a predependent NP with la´, a head is definite, with no article; if la´
follows, it is deictic. A dependent indefinite pronoun is needed to make such a head
indefinite: nà'ab la bîig "the chief's child", but nà'ab la bí-sɔ' "a child of the chief's."

Predependent personal pronouns and proper names do not make a following
head definite; la´ is needed as usual to mark referents as already established:

M̀ biig bɛ́.   "I have a child." W
1s child exist

M̀ biig ka'e·.   "I've no child" W
1s child NG.exist·NG

M̀ biig la ka'e·.   "My child's not there" W
1s child the NG.exist·NG

Dau da be mori o biribing   "Once there was a man who had a son"
Dau̯ dá bɛ̀   · mɔrí ·ò bi-díbɪ̀ŋ   G2 p35
man TNS exist + have   3a boy

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sidi paae yʋma ayɔpɔi ka o sid la kpi.
Ɔ́n   daa á̄ⁿ pu̯á'-sadɪr lá kà ò kul sɪdɪ   · pae yúmà àyɔ́pɔ̀ę̀ kà ò sɪd   la kpí.
3a.NZ TNS be   girl   the and 3a marry husband + reach year.PL seven   and 3a husband the die
"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her
husband died." Lk 2:36

10 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) consists of a verb with its right-bound particles and enclitics, followed in order by any free complements, adjuncts, or final particles. The focus particle nɛ´ may be inserted at various points after the verb and enclitics §12.1.

Tense markers precede mood markers before the verb; mood particles also mark polarity. The future is expressed by an irrealis *mood*. Absence of tense or mood markers is itself meaningful. A small set of "preverbal adjuncts" may appear before the verb in fixed positions among the tense/mood markers. Aspect is marked by verb flexion. The verb may be followed by the discontinuous-past enclitic n or 2pS ya, which precede any enclitic object pronoun; at most one enclitic object is allowed. There is no agreement: apparent number agreement in imperatives is due to 2pS ya.

The VP of main and content clauses carries m/c marking, which is primarily tonal, but also involves the particle ya after pfs and the 2vb imperative flexion ma.

10.1 Aspect

2vbs inflect for aspect, suffixing ɛ for perfective and da for imperfective (for the suffix ma see §10.5); 1vbs are ipf. The focus particle nɛ´ has temporal uses which interact with aspect, in effect marking pfs as stative and ipfs as progressive §12.1.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, it implies priority to the main clause §11.4.1; in catenation, pfs must follow event order §11.3; narrative uses pfs in series. However, pf is also the usual aspect for conditional protases and future events, and may be present tense; with most verbs this expresses a completed event or process with time unspecified, implying current relevance (a "present perfect"):

> Saa ní ya.   "It has rained." W: "Perhaps the grass is
> rain rain m/c   still wet, or I am explaining that the area
>   is not a desert." (Saa daa ní "It rained.")

It may express events regarded as coextensive with the moment of utterance, as with performatives or with verbs of cognition/perception:

> Fʋ̀ wʊ́m ya kʊ́ʋ·?   "Do you understand?"
> 2s   hear   m/c or·PQ

> M̀ sị̰ák ya.   "I agree."
> 1s agree m/c

> M̀ ⁿyɛ́ nu'-bíbìsá ·àtáⁿ'.   "I can see three fingers."
> 1s see finger.PL   three

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject can use pf to express the resulting state; temporal-focus nɛ´ follows if syntactically permitted. Most such verbs are intransitive, but verbs of dressing (for example) also imply a subject state change:

Lì bɔ̀dìg nɛ.   "It's lost."
3i lose   FOC   (Lì bɔ̀dìg ya "It's got lost.")

 M̀ yɛ́ nɛ fuug.   "I'm wearing a shirt."
1s don FOC shirt   (M̀ yɛ́ fuug "I've put a shirt on.")

Similarly ò kpì nɛ "he's dead"; m̀ gɛ́ⁿ nɛ "I'm tired"; bà kừdừg nɛ "they're old"; lì pɛ̀'ɛl nɛ "it's full"; lì yɔ̀ nɛ "it's closed"; m̀ búg nɛ "I'm drunk"; ò lɛ̀r nɛ "he's ugly" W; lì sɔ̀bìg nɛ "it's black" W, and likewise with many other verbs.

Pfs appear in proverbs expressed as mini-anecdotes:

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.
Kừkɔ̀mà dá zàb taabá   à sɔ̀ⁿ'e bi'elá yɛ̀là.
leper.PL   TNS fight each.other PZ surpass slightly about
"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." G2 p40

Imperfective may express a propensity, multiple events, a quality, or a relationship; with temporal focus §12.1 it may have a progressive sense, or express a propensity or multiple events over a limited time:

Niigí ɔ̀ⁿb̀d mɔɔd.   "Cows eat grass."
cow.PL chew.IPF grass.PL

Na'-síebà ɔ́ⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔd.   "Some cows are eating grass."
cow-IDFp   chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

M̀ zíⁿ'i.   "I sit."
M̀ zíⁿ'i nɛ.   "I'm sitting."
Kừlìŋ la yɔ̂ɔd.   "The door closes." (i.e. can be closed)
Kừlìŋ la yɔ̂ɔd nɛ.   "The door is closing."
Nidib kpîid.   "People die."
Nidib kpîid nɛ.   "People are dying."

M̀ mɔ́r pụa'.   "I have a wife."
1s have   wife

With quality or relationship verbs, and in ipf middle constructions §10.6.1, temporal focus implies a temporary state or propensity, and is only felicitous if the clause contains a time adverbial, or at least a past tense marker:

Mʋ̀'ar la zúlìm.   "The lake is deep."

lake   the be.deep

Mʋ̀'ar la daa zúlìm nɛ.   "The lake *was* deep." (Now it's shallow.)

lake   the TNS be.deep FOC

10.2 Tense

Mutually exclusive tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP.

dàa	day after tomorrow	sàa	tomorrow
Ø	present/implicit		
pà'	earlier today	sà	yesterday
daa	before yesterday	dà	before the time of daa

In addition, the discontinuous-past enclitic n can mark an earlier-today past:

M̀ ɔ́ⁿbìdɩ·n summa.   "I was eating groundnuts." W

1s chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

This implies "but now I'm not." Such "discontinuous" pasts often acquire a hypothetical or counterfactual sense (Plungian/van der Auwera), which is much the commonest use of the Kusaal form §11.2.3.

The day begins at sunrise:

Fʋ̀ sá gbìs wɛlá·?   "How did you sleep last night?"

2s   TNS sleep how·CQ

Dà denotes time prior to daa:

Ka Yesu daa keŋ Nazaret ban da ugus o teŋ si'a la.
Kà Yesu daa kɛŋ Nazaret bán dà ugusó· tɛ́ŋ-si'a la.

and Jesus TNS go   Nazareth 3p.NZ TNS raise·3a land-IDF the

"Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised." Lk 4:16 B2

However, daa can be used for even remote past. Parallel B passages may show
daa or dà, e.g. *O da/daa bodigne* Lk 15:24/32 B2 "He was lost." B1/2 uses *daa* for the
usual past marker in narrative, with *da* mostly for "pluperfects", parentheses,
background, and quoted parables or historical accounts (e.g. Acts 7:1-53 B2), but B3
and G2 use *da* as the default past marker.

Future tense markers occur only with the irrealis or in purpose clauses.
Indicative ipf is not used as a future. Note the performative pf in

Ṁ kúl   ya.   "I'm going home (now.)"
1s go.home m/c

However, there are two <u>periphrastic future</u> constructions for "to be about to":
bɔɔd$_a$ "want" + gerund, and subject (always animate) + purpose clause:

Yʊ'ʋŋ bɔɔd gaadʊg   "Night is about to pass" Rom 13:12
Yú'ʋŋ bɔ̂ɔd gáadʋ̀g
night   want   passing

Ṁ yɛ́   m̀ kụa summa.   "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
1s that 1s hoe   groundnut.PL

Tense markers are often absent, but their omission is not arbitrary. Outside of
already-established past contexts, indicative-mood clauses containing neither time
adverbials nor tense particles are interpreted as present, regardless of aspect:

Nidib kpîid.   "People die."
Ò mɔ̀r pụa'.   "He has a wife."
Ò kpì ya.   "She's died." ("present perfect")

Tense markers may be omitted with irrealis mood, past n, or time adverbials:

Fʊ̀ [sáa] nà kul.   "You'll go home (tomorrow.)"
2s   TNS   IR go.home

Ṁ [pá'] ɔ̀ⁿb̀ìdɪ·n summa.   "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
1s   TNS chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

Ṁ [sá] ⁿwɛ̀' búŋ la sû'os.   "I hit the donkey yesterday."
1s TNS   hit donkey the yesterday

Narrative favours long sequences of clauses coordinated with kà and lacking tense marking. In B narrative, main clauses without kà or time adverbials are usually tense-marked (> 80% in B2), though informal narrative (e.g. "Three Brigands" §14) lacks tense-marking in non-initial clauses without kà more often (cf English informal historic presents, CGEL p130.) On the other hand, clauses with kà contain tense markers only for scene-setting or for signalling disruptions in the narrative flow like flashbacks, asides or descriptions. Àmáa "but" §11.7 does not affect tense marking.

Ka ba paae mu'ar gbɛog linɛ an Gadara dim teŋin la, ka dapa ayi' banɛ ka kikiris dɔlli ba yi yaadin naa tʊ'ʊs o. Ban <u>da</u> tɔi hali la zug ka nidib <u>da</u> zɔt dabiem nɛ ban na dɔlli anina gat. Ka ba tans ye,

Kà bà pae mṑ'ar gbȇog lìnì·   àⁿ Gadara dím tὲŋı·n la, kà dapá ·àyí' bánì·   kà

and 3p reach lake   shore   DEMi·NZ be Gadara   Øp   land·at the and man.PL two DEMp·NZ and

kìkiris dɔllí·ba · yi   yáadı·n naa · tʊ'ʊsó·. Bán dà tɔ̧ȩ   halí la zúg

 fairy.PL follow·3p + exit grave.PL·at hither + meet·3a   3p.NZ TNS be.bitter until the on

kà nidib   dá zɔ̀t   dábiem nɛ bán nà dɔllí ·ànína · gát.   Kà bà táⁿs yɛ,

and person.PL TNS fear.IPF fear   with 3p.NZ IR follow there   + pass.IPF and 3p shout that

"They reached the lakeside at Gadara, and two men afflicted by demons came out from the tombs to meet him. They were so fierce that people feared to go past there. They shouted ..." Mt 8:28-29

Amaa ba <u>da</u> zɔt o nɛ dabiem, ban da pʊ niŋ o yadda ye o sid anɛ nya'andɔl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zɔ̀to·   nɛ dábiem, bán dà pʊ níŋò· yádda yɛ́ ò sìd

but   3p TNS fear.IPF·3a FOC fear   3p.NZ TNS NG do·3a   trust   that 3a truly

à nɛ ⁿya'an-dɔ́l la zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas záŋ Saul n mɔró· · kɛŋ ...

be FOC disciple   the on   but   and Barnabas   take Saul + have·3a + 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

Among dozens of clauses kà X dṳá' Y "X begat Y" in Matthew 1.1ff B2:

Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma <u>da</u> ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a ...

Kà David dṳá' Solomon. Ò mà   dá à nɛ Uria pṳá'. Kà Solomon dṳá' ...

and David   beget Solomon   3a mother TNS be FOC Uriah wife   and Solomon   beget

"David begat Solomon. His mother was Uriah's wife. Solomon begat ..."

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff B2 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam da ane Y* "X's father was Y." Long series of coordinated "asides" may drop tense marking: in this passage B3 only has tense marking at the beginning of paragraphs.

Isolated kà-clauses with pf aspect and no tense marking were always interpreted as expressing events by consultants, with focus-nɛ´ taken as constituent focus, never temporal §12.1; tense marking enabled temporal interpretations:

Lì bɔ̀dìg nɛ.   "It's lost."
3i get.lost FOC

Kà lì bódìg nɛ.   Rejected by W; explained by D as denying
and 3i get.lost FOC   "someone hid it"

Bà kʋ̀dìg nɛ.   "They're old."
3p get.old FOC

Kà bà kúdìg nɛ.   Rejected by W; D explained "You're
and 3p get.old FOC   saying they're old, when he promised to
                                                 give you new ones"

but   Kà lì daa bódìg nɛ.   "And it was lost."
       and 3i TNS get.lost FOC

Kà bà sá kʋ̀dìg nɛ.
Kà bà daa kúdìg nɛ.   both acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked ipfs can appear in narrative to express multiple events:

Ka ba la'ad o.   "But they laughed at him." Mk 5:40
Kà bà lá'ado·.
and 3p laugh.IPF·3a

Interruptions in the narrative may contain clauses coordinated with kà; tense marking is not repeated after the first, but such clauses can have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet da ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa
 me kudigne.
Bà dà pʋ mɔr biiga·, bɔ zúgɔ Elizabet dá à nɛ kúndʋ̀'ar
3p TNS NG have child·NG because   Elizabeth   TNS be FOC barren.woman
kà bà bàyí' la wʋsa mɛ́ kúdìg nɛ.
and 3p two   the all   also get.old FOC
"They had no child, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old." Lk 1:7 B2

Subordinate clauses within narrative mark tense relative to the timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la
kà daʊ̯ támmì ·ò pʉa' lá·   sà yɛ̀lò· si'el la
and man   forget   3a wife   the·NZ TNS say·3a IDFi the
"but the man forgot what his wife had told him the previous day" G2 p26

Ban bɔɔd ye ba saa di Kum Maliak Gaadʊg malʊŋ diib la.
Ban bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́ bà sáa dì Kum Máli̯ak Gáadʊ̀g málʊ̀ŋ dìɪb la.
3p   want   that 3p TNS eat death   angel   passing   custom   food the
"They wanted to eat the Passover meal the next day." Jn 18:28

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with kà §12.3, whether or not kà also precedes, or the absolute clause is tense-marked (97% in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14 B1.) With absolute-clause adverbials *after* kà, marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual rules for narrative (88%.)

10.3 Mood and negation

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. Mood-marking particles also express polarity. Imperative marking involves a flexion which also marks m/c. Negative polarity induces a VP-final negative enclitic §5.3 §10.7. Only VPs can be negated; constituent negation requires subordinate clauses, e.g. *banɛ ka' Kristo nidib la sʊŋir* "the help of non-Christians" 3 Jn 1:7.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It is negated by pʊ (S bʊ, as in Toende.) It is used for statements and questions about present, past and timeless events and states, and immediate future in periphrastic constructions §10.2.

Ò pʊ ⁿwɛ́' bʊ̀ŋ   láa·.   "He hasn't hit the donkey."
3a NG   hit   donkey the·NG

Imperative mood is negated by da. It is used in commands, prohibitions and purpose clauses, and after imperatives in catenation. 2vbs with m/c tone overlay take the flexion -ma, with pf sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked as usual. Even 1vbs appear in direct commands: *Vʋe!* Vʋ̀e̯! "Live!" Ez 16:6. See §11.2.2 on 2pS _ya_.

ⁿWɛ̀'ɛm bʊ́ŋ la!   "Hit the donkey!"
hit.IMP   donkey the

Da   ⁿwɛ́' bʊ̀ŋ láa·!   "Don't hit the donkey!"
NG.IMP hit donkey the·NG

Yɛ̀lìmo· yɛ́ ò da   gɔsɛ·.   "Tell him not to look."
say.IMP·3a that 3a NG.IMP look·NG

Kɛ̀m   na n gɔs!   "Come and look!"
come.IMP hither + look

Kɔ̀ⁿsìm!   "Cough!"

Da   kɔ́ⁿsɛ·!   "Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did
NG.IMP cough·NG   cough, during an eye operation)

Da   kɔ́ⁿsìda·!   "Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand
NG.IMP cough.IPF·NG   what to avoid throughout)

Dɔ̀llɩ·ní·m!   "Come (pl) with me!"
Bɛ́ɛ ·ànína!   "Be (i.e. stay) there!" S

Temporal nɛ´ cannot appear, but àlá "thus" here conveys a continuous sense:

Dìmí ·àlá!   "Carry on eating!"
Dìgɩ·ní ·àlá!   "Keep on (pl) lying down."

Aa·ní ·àlá baaⁿlím!   "Be (pl) quiet!"
be·2pS thus quietness

     Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers
nà (positive), kʊ̀ (negative), after which a directly following preverbal adjunct or tp A
verb changes all tones to M. Aspect is marked by verb flexion, but ipf is uncommon.
Irrealis with past tense markers may be contrary-to-fact or future-in-the-past.

Ò nà ⁿwɛ' búŋ la.   "He'll hit the donkey."
3a IR hit donkey the

Ò kʊ̀ ⁿwɛ' búŋ láa·.   "He won't hit the donkey."
3a NG.IR hit donkey the·NG

Ò daa ná ⁿwɛ' búŋ la.   "He would have hit the donkey."
3a TNS IR   hit donkey the   (but didn't, W)

onɛ da na ti zam o   "who was going to betray him" Jn 6:71
ɔ̀nì·   dà nà tɩ zámmò·.
DEMa·NZ TNS IR next betray·3a

<u>Negative verbs</u> replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.
Ka'ẹ (clause-final variant kà'asìg) replaces the indicative negative of bɛ̀ "exist" always, of àẹ̀ⁿya "be something" except in contrasts, and often also of mɔra´ "have."

Ò mɔ̀r biig, àmáa daʋ la ka'e·.   "She has a child but the man hasn't."
3a have child   but   man the NG.have·NG

Daʋ la ka'e·.   "The man isn't there."
man   the NG.exist·NG

Daʋ ka'ẹ   dɔ́ɔgʋ·n láa·.   "There's no man in the room."
man   NG.exist room·at   the·NG

Daʋ la ka'   dɔ́ɔgʋ·n láa·.   "The man is not in the room."
man the NG.exist room·at   the·NG

Ò biig ká'asìgɛ·.   "She has no child."
3a child NG.exist·NG

Zɩ' (clause-final variant zɩ'ɩsíg) "not know" usually replaces indicative pʋ mi':

Bʋ̀ŋ-baⁿ'ad zɩ'   yɛ tɛŋ   túlla·.
donkey-rider   NG.know that ground be.hot·NG
Proverb: "A donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot."

but   Ka o sid la pu mii.   "But her husband did not know." G2 p26
Kà ò sɩd   la pʋ mi'i·.
and 3a husband the NG know·NG

Mìt is a defective imperative-only 1vb. With a catenative complement it means "let not ..." §11.3; with a NP it means "beware", and is not a negative verb:

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.
Mìtɩ·   zɩrí nɔ̀-dí'esìdìb bánì·   kɛnní ·yà sa'an na   la.
beware·2pS lie   linguist.PL   DEMp·NZ come.IPF 2p among hither the
"Beware of false prophets who come among you." Mt 7:15 B2

10.4 Preverbal adjuncts

Preceding all tense/mood markers:

sadıgím "since" §11.4.1   ⁿyaan/naan "next, afterwards"
naan "in that case" §11.2.3   pà' tì "perhaps"
sìd "truly" (51 *sid da*, 5 *da sid* B3)   yʋ'ʋn "next" (80 *yʋ'ʋn da*, 4 *da yʋ'ʋn* B3)
lὲε "but" (15 *lεε da*, 1 *da lεε* B3)

Following tense markers but preceding mood:

nàm "still" (with negatives, "yet")   kʋlım/kʋdım "always"
ⁿyεε (tí) (εεⁿ tí K, *nyii ti* B1/2, *εεnti* B3) "habitually"

Following all tense/mood markers:

pʋ̀n "previously, already"   tì "next, then"
lὲm "again" (pʋ lέm+ipf "no more")   là'am "together"
dὲŋìm "beforehand"   màlìgìm "again"
kpὲlìm+pf "immediately", +ipf "still" (B3 kpὲn)

Examples:

Josua yʋ'ʋn da kʋdigya.   "Then Joshua grew old." Jo 13:1
Josua yʋ'ʋn dá kʋ̀dìg ya.
Joshua   then   TNS grow.old m/c

Ò sìd daa á nε nâ'ab.   "Truly, he was a chief." W
3a truly TNS be FOC chief

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.   "But my words will not pass away."
Kà man pi̯âⁿ'ad la lέε kʋ̀   gaadε·.   Mt 24:35 B2
and 1s   speech   the but NG.IR pass·NG

amaa lεε pʋ'ʋsimi Wina'am bareka   "but thank God" Eph 5:4
àmáa lὲε pʋ̀'ʋsìmı· Wínà'am bárìkà
but   but greet.IMP·2pS God   blessing

Ka Zugsɔb sʋnf nyaan yʋ'ʋn ma'ae.   "Then the Lord's anger subsided."
Kà Zug-sɔ́b súⁿf ⁿyaan yʋ'ʋn ma'e.   Jo 7:26
and Lord   heart next   then   cool

Onɛ pa'ati an Kristo la bɛɛ?   "Perhaps he is the Christ?" Jn 4:29
Ɔnɪ · pá' tì àⁿ Kristo la bɛ́ɛ·?
3a   + perhaps be Christ   the or·PQ

ba nam pu kuu fo   "they haven't killed you yet" G2 p28
bà nàm pʊ kʊ́ʊ·fɔ·
3p   still   NG kill·2s·NG

Tɪ̀ʊm   la nám bɛ̀ɛ·?   "Is there any medicine left?"
medicine the still   exist·PQ

Hor dim la mɛ da ɛɛnti bɛ Seir.   "The Horites too used to live in Seir."
Hor dím la mɛ́ dá ɛɛⁿ tí bɛ̀ Seir.   Dt 2:12
Hor   Øp   the also TNS habit   exist Seir

On nɛ o pu'a Prisila daa kʊdim nan yinɛ Room
Ɔn nɛ́ ò pʊa' Prisila daa kʊdɪm nám yi nɛ Room
3a   with 3a wife   Priscilla TNS   ever   still exit FOC Rome
"He and his wife Priscilla had just arrived from Rome" Acts 18:2

Ò pʊ̀n ⁿwɛ́' bʊ̀ŋ la.   "He's already hit the donkey."
3a already hit donkey the

hali ka Herod ti kpi.   "until Herod had died." Mt 2:15
halí kà Herod tí   kpì.
until   and Herod   next die

Bɛogʊ ti nied la ka ba gaad!   "Before morning comes they have gone!"
Bɛogʊ́·   tì   nìed   lá kà bà gâad!   Is 17:14
morning·NZ next appear.IPF the and 3p   pass

Kɛ̀m · tí ⁿyɛ dʊ́'atà.   "Go and see Doctor." S
go.IMP + next see doctor

M̀ nif lɛ́m zábɪ̀d   nɛ.   "My eye is hurting again."
1s eye again fight.IPF FOC

M̀ nif pʊ lɛ́m zàbɪ̀da·.   "My eye is not hurting any more."
1s eye   NG again fight.IPF·NG

Ò nà lɛm ⁿwɛ́' bʋ̀ŋ la.   "He'll hit the donkey again."

3a IR again hit   donkey the

ka nidib wʋsa da la'am kpi nɛ o.   "so all people died together with him."
kà nidib   wʋsa dá là'am kpì nó·.   2 Cor 5:14

and person.PL all   TNS together die with·3a

Pin'ilʋgʋn sa ka Pian'ad la da pʋn dɛŋim bɛ.
Piⁿ'ilúgʋ·n sá   kà Pi̯à ⁿ'ad la dá pʋ̀n dɛ̀ŋìm bɛ̀.

beginning·at hence and word   the TNS already before   exist
"In the beginning, the Word already existed." Jn 1:1

Amaa man pian'ad la kʋ maligim gaadɛ.
Àmáa man pi̯âⁿ'ad la kʋ́   malɩgɪm gáadɛ·.

but   1s   speech   the NG.IR again   pass·NG
"But my words will not pass away." Mt 24:35

Ka o kpelim zu'om.   "Immediately he went blind."
Kà ò kpɛ́lìm   zu'om.   Acts 13:11 B2

and 3a immediately go.blind

m biig Josef nan kpɛn vʋe.   "My child Joseph is still alive." Gn 45:28
m̀ biig Josef nám kpɛ̀n vʋe̯.

1s child Joseph still   still   live

10.5 Main/content marking

   The VP of a main or content clause has m/c marking. Marking is absent in all non-content subordinate clauses, and also in *main* clauses introduced by kà. Marking is by tone overlay on the verb (applying before M-spread), sometimes accompanied by segmental markers, and by subject-pronoun tone sandhi changes.

   Tone overlay does not appear in negative polarity or irrealis mood, or after the tense marker daa. Preverbal adjuncts which follow mood markers, like pʋ̀n "already" §10.4, carry the overlay in place of the verb; for W, so does lɛ̀ɛ "but" (Lɛ̀ɛ gɔs nâ'ab la! "But look at the chief!")
   Words with the overlay have all tones L, are followed by M-spread, and show final M before liaison (replaced by H before fixed L.)

Thus (with M-spread after m̀):

Ṁ ⁿwɛ́' búŋ la.   "I've hit (ⁿwɛ̀') the donkey (bʋ̀ŋₐ)."
Ṁ gɔ́s búŋ la.   "I've looked at (gɔs) the donkey."
Ṁ sá ⁿwɛ̀' búŋ la.   "I hit the donkey yesterday."
Ṁ sá gɔ̀s búŋ la.   "I looked at the donkey yesterday."

but   mán ⁿwɛ̀' bʋ̀ŋ la   "I having hit the donkey"
       mán gɔs búŋ la   "I having looked at the donkey"
       Kà m̀ gɔs búŋ la.   "And I looked at the donkey."
       Ṁ pʋ gɔs búŋ láa·.   "I haven't looked at the donkey."
       Ṁ daa gɔs búŋ la.   "I looked at the donkey."

       asee o paae man   "unless he comes to (pae´) me"
       àsɛ́ɛ ò pae man   Jn 14:6 B2
       unless 3a reach 1s

Overlay before liaison (bɔ̀dìg "lose", yadɪg´ "scatter", mₐ "me", ba "them"):

bɔ̀dìgɪ·m   bɔ̀dìgɪ·bá   bɔ̀dìgìdɪ·m   ipf
yàdìgɪ·m   yàdìgɪ·bá   yàdìgìdɪ·m   ipf

Ṁ bɔ́dìgɪ·bá.   "I've lost them."
Ṁ bɔ́dìgí ·bà bʋʋs.   "I've lost their goats."

Two segmental markers appear after verbs with tone overlay.
The flexion ma marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gɔ̀sìm!   "Look!"

Gɔ̀sìmɪ·ní·ba!   "Look (pl) at them!"
look.IMP·2pS·3p

but   Da   gɔsɛ·!   "Don't look!"
       NG.IMP look·NG

       Kɛ̀l   kà ò gɔs!   "Let her look!"
       let.IMP and 3a look

       Dɔ̀llɪ·ní·ba!   "Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)
       follow·2pS·3p

The particle ya follows any VP-final pf carrying the tone overlay:

Ṁ tɛ̂ⁿˈɛs kà ò gɔ̀s ya.   "I think she's looked."
1s   think   and 3a look m/c

but   Ò pʊ gɔsɛ·.   "He's not looked."
       Ò nà gɔs.   "She'll look."
       Ò daa gɔs.   "He looked."
       Kà ò gɔs.   "And he looked."
       Ò gɔ̀sɩ·m.   "He's looked at me." (not final)
       Ò gìm.   "She's short." (ipf)
       Ò nɔ̀ŋ.   "She loves [him.]" W (ipf)

Ya remains M before the negative enclitic, and becomes L (not H) before the
interrogative enclitics; this unique behaviour reflects its origin as a flexion.

Lì bɔ̀dìg yàa·?   "Has it got lost?"

All bound subject pronouns are normally followed by M-spread:

Kà ò ⁿwɛ́ˈ bʊ̀ŋ la.   "And he hit the donkey."

wuu ba ane Kiristo ne   "as if they were Christ" Eph 6:5 B2
wúʊ bà á nɛ Kiristo nɛ
like   3p be FOC Christ   like

However, in clauses with m/c marking, M-spread is absent after ò lì bà always,
and absent after ṁ fʊ̀ tì yà if and only if they are directly preceded by yɛ "that." These
tone sandhi changes apply independently of tone overlay, which is absent in these
examples with the irrealis mood:

       Ò nà gɔs.   "He'll look."
but   Ṁ ná gɔs.   "I'll look."

       Ò tɛ̀ⁿˈɛs yɛ́ ò nà gɔs.   "He thinks he'll look."
       Ò tɛ̀ⁿˈɛs kà ò nà gɔs.   "He thinks he'll look."

       Ò tɛ̀ⁿˈɛs yɛ́ ṁ nà gɔs.   "He thinks I'll look."
but   Ò tɛ̀ⁿˈɛs kà ṁ ná gɔs.   "He thinks I'll look."

10.6 <u>Complements and postverbal adjuncts</u>

The order of arguments after the verb is indirect object, direct object, other complement(s), adjunct(s). (Clause-level adverbials precede the subject.)

<u>Clauses</u> as VP arguments are discussed in §11. Relative clauses §11.4.2 can appear in any NP role; catenative clauses §11.3 as objects of kɛ "let", mìt "beware", ⁿyɛ "see", or as predicative adjuncts; purpose clauses §11.5 after verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or as adjuncts; content clauses §11.6, relative clauses with si'em and absolute clauses §11.4.1 as objects of verbs of cognition and communication (alongside adverbials with yɛlá §10.6.2.)

10.6.1 <u>Objects and predicatives</u>

Strictly transitive verbs (including causatives, and all transitive 1vbs) require a direct object: if none appears, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied, and an explicit generic object needs to be supplied to avoid this:

Q.	Fʊ̀ mɔ́r gbaʊ̯ŋ láa·?	"Do you have the letter?"
A.	Ɛ̃ɛⁿ, m̀ mɔ́r.	"Yes, I have it."

Mid ka ya kʊ nid.   "Do not kill." Ex 20:13
Mìt   kà yà kʊ nid.
beware and 2p kill person

Many verbs are ambitransitive. With patientive ambitransitives, like nae´ "finish", bɔ̀dìg "lose/get lost", transitive objects correspond to intransitive subjects. Most such verbs express state changes, and many are derived with -g. Agentive ambitransitives appear with and without objects, with no change in the subject role, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

kɛl ka ba nu ku'om   "let them drink water" Gn 29:7
kɛ̀l   kà bà nu kû'om
let.IMP and 3p drink water

Kɛlli ka ti di ka nu   "Let us eat and drink" 1 Cor 15:32
Kɛ̀lí·   kà tì dí kà nu
let.IMP·2pS and 1p eat and drink

Agentive ambitransitives also appear in <u>middle</u> constructions, with the direct object transferred to subject position and the agent suppressed; unlike intransitive patientive ambitransitives, these constructions cannot form progressive ipfs §12.1:

Daam la nú   ya.   "The beer has got drunk."
beer   the drink m/c

Gbàʊ̯ŋ la sɔ́b nɛ.   "The letter is written."
letter   the write FOC

Gbàʊ̯ŋ la sɔ́bìd súŋa.   "The letter writes easily." W
letter   the write.IPF well

Gbànà sɔ́bìd ziná.   "Letters are written today." W
letter.PL write.IPF today

Daam la nûud   nɛ   "The beer is for drinking."
beer   the drink.IPF FOC   (not "is being drunk." W)

Some intransitive verbs may appear with parts of the subject's body as objects:

Dìgìním ·fʊ̀ nû'ug.   "Put your hand down."
lie.IMP   2s   hand

Lìgìním ·fʊ̀ nif nɛ́ fʊ̀ nû'ug.   "Cover your eye with your hand."
cover.IMP   2s eye with 2s hand

Some verbs only take direct objects of very limited types, often nouns from the same stem, e.g. zàaⁿsìm záaⁿsímà "dream dreams" Acts 2:17 or

Fʊ̀ túm   bɔ́-tʊ̀ʊmà·?   "What work do you do?" S
2s   work.IPF what-work·CQ

Manner-pronoun objects often replace pronouns with abstract reference:

man tɛn'ɛs si'em la kʊ viigɛ.   "What I plan will not be put off."
mán tɛⁿ'ɛs si'em la kʊ́   viigɛ́·.   Is 14:24
1s.NZ think   how   the NG.IR put.off·NG

Da   níŋì ·àláa·!   "Don't do that!"
NG.IMP do   thus·NG

An <u>indirect object</u> expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò dʋ̀gʋ·m.   "He cooked (for) me." W
3a cook·1s

Lì màlìsɪ·m.   "I like it."
3i be.sweet·1s

Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́o·.   "She's well."
health   exist·3a

linɛ maal dap ayi' banɛ ka kikiris dɔlli ba la
lìnì·   màal dapá ·àyí' bánì·   kà kìkiris dɔllí·ba la
DEMi·NZ make man.PL two DEMp·NZ and fairy.PL follow·3p the
"what happened to the two men who had been afflicted by demons" Mt 8:33

Ò tìs biig la piini.   "She's given the child a gift."
3a give child the gift

Whenever two objects appear, the first is indirect. Omission of indirect objects does not imply anaphora, even with verbs like tìs "give" which characteristically take two objects: *onɛ tisid piini* "one who gives gifts" Prv 19:6.

Causatives derived from agentive ambitransitives are strictly transitive, with the original agent as indirect object:

Ò dà nùlìsɪ·bá   kû'om.   "She gave them water to drink."
3a TNS make.drink·3p water

In many idioms the logical object appears as an indirect object before a fixed direct object, e.g. kàd X sàríyà "judge X", nìŋ X yàdda "trust X", ⁿwɛ̀' X nû'ug "beg X", zɔ̀ X nin-báaⁿlìg "pity X", zɔ̀ X dàbiem "fear X":

Adonija zɔtif dabiem.   "Adonijah is afraid of you." 1 Kgs 1:51
Adonija zɔ́tɪ·f   dábiem.
Adonijah   run.IPF·2s fear

Da zɔt dabiem.   "Don't be afraid." Gn 15:1
Da   zɔ́t   dábíemm·.
NG.IMP run.IPF fear·NG

Some verbs require <u>predicative</u> complements, notably àę^{n}ya "be something" and its negative ka'ę (on the form of these verbs see §5.1; on focus-nɛ´ see §12.1.) Omission of such complements implies anaphora:

Manι · á^n dʋ'atà kà fʋn mɛ́n áę^n.   "I'm a doctor and you are too."

1s   + be doctor   and 2s   also be

Adjectives appear as heads only in predicatives:

Bà à nɛ píelà.   "They're white." W

Mam anɛ pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asɛɛ ka m lɛb zin'a.
Mam á nɛ píelʋg àmáa m̀ yá' pae búgúmι·n, àsɛ́ɛ kà m̀ lɛ́b zì^n'a.

1s   be FOC white   but   1s if   reach fire·at   except and 1s turn red

"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] G1 p16

However, àę^{n}ya prefers derived manner nouns or compounds with nin- "person" or bʋn- "thing" as complements:

Lὶ à nɛ bʋgʋsíga.   "It's soft."
Lὶ à nɛ zaalím.   "It's empty."
Lὶ à^n súŋa.   "It's good."
Dιιb á nɛ bʋn-súŋ.   "Food is a good thing." W

Quality verbs are often used instead: lὶ màlὶs "it's sweet." Sʋ̀m$_{ma}$ "be good" only appears in B before subordinate clauses ("be good that ..."), perhaps because the intrinsic focus of sʋ̀m/sʋ̀ŋa´ "well" §12.1 prevents focus on a following clause.

In some constructions predicative complements follow objects, e.g.

Ka o maal o meŋ nintita'ar.   "He made himself out to be a great man."
Kà ò mâal ò mɛŋ nin-títa'ar.   Acts 8:9 B1

and 3a make   3a self   person-big

"Naming" constructions with pʋ̀d "dub" or bùol "call" take the name, often preceded by yɛ, as complement, and as object the named entity, or yʋ'ʋr´ "name" with the named entity as possessor; here bùol also appears in middle constructions.

Ka fʋ na pʋd o yʋ'ʋr ye Yesu.   "And you will call him Jesus." Mt 1:21
Kà fʋ̀ ná pʋ́d ò yʋ'ʋr yɛ Yesu.

and 2s IR dub   3a name that Jesus

on ka ba buon ye Pita la   "who was called Peter" Mt 10:2
ɔ̀n   kà bà bûon yɛ Pita la
DEMa and 3p call.IPF that Peter the

dau sɔ' ka o yʋ'ʋr buon Joon.   "a man called John." Jn 1:6
dàʊ̪-sɔ́' kà ò yʋ'ʋr bûon Joon.
man-IDFa and 3a name call.IPF John

Predicative ideophones include sapɪ "straight", ⁿyae lf ⁿyaenɛ́ "brightly, clearly",
nà'ana´ "easily":

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la   "make the highway straight in the bush"
màalɪ̀m sʊa-dâʊg sapɪ   mɔɔgʊ·n la   Is 40:3
make.IMP road-male   straight grass·at   the

kɛ ka ti lieb nyain.   "make us light." 1 Jn 1:7
kɛ́ kà tì lîeb   ⁿyae.
let and 1p become brightly

Lì à nɛ ná'ana.   "It's easy."
3i be FOC easily

Predicative NPs also appear as adjuncts:

ba daa naan vɔlini ti vʋt   "they would have swallowed us alive"
bà daa naan vʊlɪ·ní·tɪ   vʋt   Ps 124:3
3p TNS   then   swallow·DP·1p alive.PL

Wina'am a su'um nyain.   "God is light." 1 Jn 1:5 B2
Wínà'am áⁿ sʋ́'m   ⁿyae.
God   be goodness brightly

10.6.2 Adverbials

Adverbials are nouns or NPs typically used as postverbal adjuncts of manner, time, circumstance, reason or place. Subtypes include specialised pronouns, pronoun-like nouns which cannot take dependents (CGEL p429), postpositions with predeterminers, and relative clauses §11.4.2 with adverbial heads.

Adverbials are not confined to postverbal adjunct roles, but occur as NP predependents, objects, predicatives and even subjects:

Sʊ̀ŋa bɛ́.   "OK it is." W
Well exist.

Ziná à nɛ dá'a.   "Today is market."
today be FOC market

Yiŋ venl   "Outside is beautiful" Acts 23:3 B2
Yìŋ   vɛ́ⁿl
outside be.beautiful

o pu'alʊŋ la zugʊ kɛ ka ti paam laafi
ò pʊ̀'alʊ́ŋ la zúgʊ̀ · kɛ́ kà tì pâam láafì
3a damage the on   + let and 1p receive health
"because of his damage we have gained health" Is 53:5

Manner adverbials include pronouns like wɛlá "how?" and manner nouns, which cannot take dependents. Some show apocope-blocking and/or prefixed à-; some derive from adjective stems with suffixed m or ga; tɔ̀'ɔtɔ́ "straight away" is a reduplicated root; yà'as(a) "again" originated as a 1vb in catenation (cf Gal 1:9 B2: *ka m lem yeti ya'as* "and I say again") but is now simply an adverbial: *Ya'as ka m gos* "Again I looked" Rv 5:11 B1.

Expressive ideophones are manner adverbials:

Ò zɔ̀t nɛ tɔ́lìb tɔ́lìb.   "It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop." W

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: ziⁿ'ig ziⁿ'ig "place by place", dàbìsìr dábìsìr "day by day", ànaas naas "four by four." Reduplication of manner nouns or mass quantifiers is intensifying: àsídà sídà or àmɛŋá mɛŋá "very truly"; bi'el bi'el "very little."

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

Ṁ kέŋ nɔbá.   "I went on foot." S; W nɛ nɔbá (nɛ "with")
1s go   leg.PL

À ⁿyɛ nɛ nif sɔ́ⁿˈɔ ·à wʋ̀m tʋ̀bà.   "Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears"
PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear ear.PL   (Seeing is believing.)

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" §9.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adverbials:

Ò tʋ̀m bέdʋ̀gʋ/pamm.   "She's worked a lot."
Bà gɔ̀sɪ·tí bábìga.   "They've looked at us many times." W
cf Bà gɔ̀sí ·tì bàbìga.   "They've looked at many of us." W

Mass quantifiers may float from within a VP complement or place adverbial to a later postverbal adjunct position:

Bà gɔ̀sɪ·tí wʋsa.   "They've looked at us all." W
3p   look·1p   all

ka bɛɛ m kɔnba ni wʋsa   "and is in all my bones" Jer 20:9
kà bέɛ ·ṁ kɔⁿba ní wʋsa
and exist 1s bone.PL at   all

Some time adverbials are single words which cannot take dependents; beside pronouns like nanná-na´ "now", these include e.g. ziná "today", sùˈos$_a$ "yesterday", bɛog$_ɔ$ "tomorrow", dunná "this year", daar (distinct from "day") "two days off/ago." Some are fixed expressions like bɛog sá or bɛog daar "in future", bɛogʋ·n "morning", bὲ-kìkὲoⁿg$_ɔ$ "very early morning." Most are simply NPs expressing times, e.g. zàam ⁿwá "this evening", yʋ́ˈʋŋ ⁿwá "tonight", ⁿwad-kánì· gàad la "last month", ⁿwad-kánì· kɛn na la "next month." With saŋá "time" (in general) are formed e.g. san-kánὲ·? "when?", san-kán la "at that time", san-sî'e·n la "at one time", saŋá kám "at all times", saŋá bὲdʋ̀gʋ "a long time", sansá bὲdʋ̀gʋ "many times", saŋá bi'elá "for/in a short time."

Daar "day/date" and wìn_n "time of day" always take determiners: *nobkoog daar* "the day a leg is broken" G2 p42. They distinguish points in time from spans of time:

> Dabá àyɔ́pɔ̀ɛ̣ dâar kà fʊ̀ ná lɛb na.   "You'll come back in a week."
> Tì daa kpɛ́lìm ànína dabá àyɔ́pɔ̀ɛ̣.   "We stayed there a week."

Set phrases include daar wʊsa/wʊʊ/mɛ́-kàmà "every day"; yʊ̀ʊm àⁿwá(-na) wín "this time next year", dáar àⁿwá(-na) wín "this time the day after tomorrow." Proper names of days always take daar: Àláasìd dâar "Sunday." The pl daba appears only before number-prefix à-, with the cif dà- (B3 *dab*) before pii(ga)/pis(í) "ten(s)." Dábìsìr "24-hour period" is also used with numbers.

Kárìfà "o'clock" precedes numbers: kárìfà ·àtáⁿ' "three o'clock."

Place adverbials may be pronouns like kpɛ "here", specialised words like yìŋ_a "outside", dàgɔ̀bìg_a "left", àgɔ́l_l/àgɔlá "upwards", lallí "far off", Kusaal place names, or NPs headed by postpositions. No verb requires a place adverbial as a complement:

> Dàʊ̣-sɔ' bɛ́ kpɛlá.   "There's a man here."
> man-IDFa exist here

> but   Wínà'am bɛ́.   "God is there." (i.e. "It'll all work out.")
> Waad bɛ́.   "It's cold." ("Cold exists.")
> Àláafʊ̀ bɛ́.   "There is health." (greeting)

> Ka o paae zin'igin la.   "And he reached the place." Lk 22:40
> Kà ò pae ziⁿ'igɪ·n la.
> and 3a reach place·at   the

> but   li saŋa sid paae ya.   "Its time has surely arrived." Ps 102:13
> lì saŋá sìd pàe ya.
> 3i time   truly arrive m/c

The core locative postposition has the form nɪ´ after pronouns (m̀ nɪ/man nɪ "in me"), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in sf, but enclitic n elsewhere:

> la'asʊg dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni   "in synagogues and in streets" Mt 6:2
> là'asʊ̀g dɔ́ɔdɪ·n   nɛ sʊ̣eyá nì
> gathering house.PL·at with road.PL at

It may precede or follow la´: mʊ̀'arɪ·n la or mʊ̀'ar la ní "in the lake."

The locative particle follows all nouns used as heads of place NPs other than proper names of places and some postpositions.

Ka Pailet lɛn yi nidibin la na   "Pilate came out to the people again"
Kà Pailet lɛ́m yi nidibí·n   la na   Jn 19:4
and Pilate   again exit person.PL·at the hither

Ò bɛ̀ dâ'a·n.   "He's at market."
Ò bɛ̀ kɔlıgı·n.   "He's at the stream."
Ò bɛ̀ tʋʋmmı·n.   "He's at work."

Yir´ "house" has the exceptional locatives yín_n pl yáa·n "at home."
The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: bɛog_ɔ "tomorrow", bɛogʋ·n "morning", yiigí·n "at first" san-sí'e·n la "at one time, once."
Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take nɩ´ ~ n, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bɛ̀ Bɔ́k.   "He's in Bawku."
Ḿ ná kɛŋ Bɔ́k.   "I'm going to Bawku."
Fʋ̀ yûug Bɔ́k kpɛláa·?   "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Speakers treat foreign places names similarly, but B often uses nɩ´ or paraphrases like Jerusalem tɛ́ŋɩ·n "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

All other postpositions are nouns used with predependents as adverbials; several are themselves followed by locative n. They include:

Babá "beside" (pl of babɩr´ "sphere of activity"): m̀ nɔbá bàbà "beside my feet."
Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (gbìn_n "buttock"): zuor la gbín "below the mountain."
Kɔ^n'(ɔkɔ) "by ... self" (àràkɔ́^{n}' "one"): m̀ kɔ^n' "by myself."
^{n}Yá'aŋ_a "behind, after" (^{n}yá'aŋ_a "back"): lì ^{n}yá'aŋ, nɛ'ɛŋa ^{n}yâ'aŋ "afterward."
Pʋʋgʋ·n "inside" (pʋ̀ʋg_a "belly"): yʋ̀ʋm la pʋ́ʋgʋ·n "[months] in the year",
        dɔ̀-kàŋa la pʋ́ʋgʋ·n "inside that hut."
Sa'an´ "in the presence/opinion of": Wínà'am sâ'an "in the sight of God", and

Fʋ̀ ná di'e tîım   pʋ̠á'-bàmma la sâ'an.
2s   IR   get medicine woman-DEMp   the among
"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

(Sì)sʋ̀ʋgʋ·n "between": tɩnám nɛ fʋn sʋ́ʋgʋ·n "between us and you."
Tɛŋír "under": Gɔ̀sìm tɛŋír! "Look down!"; tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l la tɛ́ŋìr "under the table."

Tùon_n "in front of": Gòsìm tûon! "Look forward!"; daká la tûon "before the box."
Zug_ɔ´ "onto" (zug_ɔ´ "head"):

Ò dìgìl gbáʋŋ la tɛ́ɛbʋl la zúg.   "She's put the book on the table."

3a lay   book   the table   the on

Saa zúg_ɔ "sky" is intrinsically locative:

Ka kʋkɔr yi saazug na   "And a voice came from the sky"
Kà kʋ̀kɔr yi saa zúg na   Jn 12:28

and voice   exit rain   on   hither

Zugʋ́·n "on": tɛ́ɛbʋl la zúgʋ·n "on the table."
Zug_ɔ´ is often used metaphorically as "on account of": bɔ zúgɔ̀? "why?";

Faanmim fʋ nɔŋilim la zug.   "Save me because of your love." Ps 6:4
Fàaⁿmí·m fʋ̀ nɔ̀ŋìlím la zúg.

save.IMP·1s 2s love   the on

Yɛlá "matters, affairs" forms complements of verbs of cognition, perception and
communication in the sense "about":

Bà yɛ̀lo· man yɛlá wʋsa.   "They told him all about me."

3p say·3a 1s   about all

10.6.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositions precede NP complements, including nominalised clauses. Except
for nɛ "with" (accompanying/instrumental), they may also introduce non-nominalised
clauses §11.7; àmáa "but" is only found in that role. Other prepositions are kʋʋ/bɛɛ
"or", wʋʋ "like", àsɛ́ɛ "except", halí "as far as", halí nɛ (with time NPs: halí nɛ ziná
"until today") and là'am nɛ "though" (with absolute clauses.) Personal pronouns as
complements take either free or non-enclitic bound forms: wʋʋ fʋn nɛ or wʋ́ʋ fʋ̀ nɛ
"like you." Nɛ either takes non-enclitic forms or uses the form ní before enclitics:
ní·m ní·f nó· ní·lɪ ní·tɪ ní·ya ní·ba.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Complements of wʋʋ without the article la´ are followed by an empty nɛ,
unless they are numbers (where the meaning is "about") or interrogative pronouns:
wʋʋ man nɛ "like me", wʋʋ búŋ nɛ "like a donkey", but wʋʋ tusá àyí' "about two
thousand", wʋʋ bɔ́·? "like what?"

Several verbs take prepositional-phrase complements, e.g. dɔl_{la}´ "go with" in the sense "accord with"; lal_{la}´ "be far from"; nar_a´ "need" in the sense "deserve":

Li dɔlnɛ lin sɔb Wina'am gbauŋʋn si'em la
Lì dɔ̀l   nɛ lín   sɔb Wínà'am gbáʋ̯ŋʋ·n si'em la
3i follow with 3i.NZ write God   book·at   how   the
"This accords with what is written in God's book" 1 Cor 2:16

Amaa o pʋ lal nɛ tii.   "But he is not far from us." Acts 17:27
Àmáa ò pʋ lal   nɛ́   tɪɪ·.
but   3a NG be.far with 1p·NG

Fʋ nar nɛ fʋn na kpi.   "You deserve to die." Jgs 2:26
Fʋ̀ nár nɛ fʋ́n   nà kpi.
2s   need with 2s.NZ IR die

Wɛn_{na}´ "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with nɛ or wʋʋ, with the complement followed by nɛ in the same circumstances as after wʋʋ:

M nwɛnɛ danuud nɛ.   "I am like a beer-drinker." Jer 23:9
M̀ wɛ́n   nɛ da-nûud nɛ.
1s be.like with beer-drinker like

Prepositional phrases often appear as postverbal adjuncts:

Lìgìním ·fʋ̀ nif nɛ́ fʋ̀ nû'ug.   "Cover your eye with your hand."
cover.IMP   2s   eye with 2s hand

Bà kɛ̀ŋ nɛ nɔbá.   "They've gone on foot." W
3p   go   with leg.PL

Dìm   nɛ Wɪn, da   tʋ̂'as nɛ Wɪnnɛ́·.   "Eat with God, don't talk with God."
eat.IMP with God   NG.IMP talk   with God·NG

Kulim nɛ sumbʋgʋsʋm.   "Go home in peace." Mk 5:34
Kùlìm   nɛ sun-búgʋ̀sìm.
go.home.IMP with peace

M̀ gɛ́n'   nɛ́ fʋ̀.   "I'm angry with you." S
1s get.angry with 2s

La'am nɛ on da zan'as la   "Although he refused" Gn 39:10

Là'am nɛ ón   dà zàⁿ'as la

together with 3a.NZ TNS refuse   the

mɔri ya'am wʊʊ wiigi nɛ   "be wise as serpents" Mt 10:16

mɔ̀rɩ· ya'am wʊʊ wiigí   nɛ

have·2pS sense   like   snake.PL like

Ò zɔ̀t   wʊʊ bʊ́ŋì·   zɔ̀t   si'em la.   "He runs like a donkey runs."

3a run.IPF like   donkey·NZ run.IPF how   the

O daa pʊn anɛ ninkʊʊd hali pin'ilʊgʊn sa.

Ò daa pʊ́n   à nɛ nin-kûʊd halí piⁿ'ilʊ́gʊ·n sá.

3a TNS previously be FOC person-killer even beginning·at   since

"He was a murderer from the beginning." Jn 8:44

asɛɛ yanamɛ na dɔlli ya pitʊ la na   "unless you bring your brother here"

àsɛ́ɛ yanámì nà dɔllí ·yà pitʊ́ la na   Gn 43:5

unless 2p.NZ   IR follow   2p   sib   the hither

W permits adjuncts introduced by wʊʊ (not nɛ) to be preposed with kà:

Wʊʊ bʊ́ŋ nɛ́ kà ò zɔ́t.   "Like a donkey, he runs."

like   donkey like and 3a run.IPF

10.7 Final particles

The negative enclitic §5.3 §10.3, m/c-pf ya §10.5, na´ "hither" and sà "hence, since" are the last constituents in VPs, other than certain subordinate clauses:

M̀ mɔ́r kû'om náa·?   "Shall I bring water?" S

1s have water   hither·PQ

Bùgúm la yít   yáa ní ná·?   "Where is the light coming from?" S

fire   the exit.IPF where at hither·CQ

O tʊmnɛ bɛogʊn sa.   "She's been working since morning."

Ò tʊ̀m   nɛ bɛogʊ·n sá.   Ru 2:7

3a work.IPF FOC morning   hence

The negative enclitic follows all subordinate clauses except those introduced by àsɛ́ɛ "unless" §11.7 and catenative clauses outside the scope of the negation:

 M̀ daa pʋ ⁿyɛ daʋ lá kà ò áⁿ ná'aba·.   "I didn't see the man as a chief." K

1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief·NG

but   Ka li pʋ yuugɛ ka o pu'a mɛ kena.   "Not much later, his wife came too."
       Kà lì pʋ yúugɛ·, kà ò pu̠a' mɛ́ kɛ na.   Acts 5:7

       and 3i NG delay·NG and 3a wife also come hither

Ya, na´ and sà precede all subordinate clauses which are not nominalised:

Fʋ kɛya ka Ammon dim kʋ o.   "You have made the Ammonites kill him."
Fʋ̀ kɛ́ yá kà Ammon dím kúo·.   2 Sm 12:9

2s let m/c and Ammon   Øp kill·3a

Kɛ̀m   na n gɔs!   "Come and look!" S
come.IMP hither + look

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
Kà zùuⁿd dá sig   na   yɛ́ bà dí ni'm la.

and vulture.PL TNS descend hither that 3p eat meat the
"Vultures came down to eat the meat." Gn 15:11

In nominalised clauses, na´ and sà precede or follow clause-final la´; they may also follow gerunds, where they similarly may precede or follow la´:

dunia kanɛ ken la na   "the world which is coming" Lk 20:35
duniyá-kànì· kɛn   la na

world-DEM·NZ   come.IPF the hither

ⁿwadɩg-kánì· kɛn   na   la   "next month" S
month-DEM·NZ   come.IPF hither the

Ninsaal Biig la lɛbʋg la na   "the return of the Son of Man" Mt 24:27
Nin-sâal Bîig la lɛ́bʋ̀g   la na

human   child the returning the hither

Kɛⁿ "come" is always used with na´; the identical m/c-imps of kɛⁿ "come" and kɛŋ´ "go" are distinguished by na´/sà: Kɛ̀m na! "Come here!", Kɛ̀m sá! "Go away!"

11 <u>Clauses</u>

11.1 <u>Structure and types</u>

Typical clauses consist of subject NP + VP. Deviations from SVO are preposing or dislocation. The subject position may be preceded, in order, by prepositions, clause linkers (kà, yɛ or n), adverbials, and/or preposed elements. Subjects are ellipted after n, and sometimes after kà. The nominalisers ǹ and yà' "if" follow the subject.

Most clause types require subjects. Impersonal constructions use lì:

Lì tʊ̀l.	"It [weather] is hot."
3i be.hot	

Lì àⁿ sʊ́ŋa.	"Things are good."
3i be well	

Lì nàr kà fʊ̀ kul.	"You must go home."
3i must and 2s go.home	

Lì may be omitted in yà'-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anɛ alaa	"If it had not been so" Jn 14:2
Yà' ka'a·ní ·àláa·	
if NG.be·DP thus·NG	

Without a subject, zɪ'/zɪ'ɪsíg "not know" means "unbeknownst."
See §11.2.2 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are ellipted after n. Pronouns referring to preceding subjects are ellipted after coordinating (not subordinating) kà, with M-spread after kà. In a reported dialogue kà ò yɛ́l ... kà ò yɛ́l ... each ò thus marks a switch of speaker; this implication of subject change can override gender and semantic appropriateness:

Pʊ̰a' la dá' daká kà kɛŋ Bɔ́k.
woman the buy box   and go   Bawku
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." W

but   Pʊ̰a' la dá' daká kà ò kɛŋ Bɔ́k.
woman the buy box   and 3a go   Bawku
"The woman bought a box and it went to Bawku." W

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wʊm nɛ'ɛŋa la ka sin.   "After they heard this they fell silent."
Bán wùm nɛ'ɛŋa lá kà sin.   Acts 11:18
3p.NZ hear   DEMi   the and be.silent

Other subject pronoun ellipsis is informal, and may be "corrected" if speakers' attention is drawn to it; however, it has become standardised in many greetings and proverbs. The meaning is unaffected. M-spread after ellipted pronouns remains:

Náe yàa·?   "[Have you] finished?"
finish m/c·PQ

Prepositions §10.6.3 may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers:

yɛli ya zanbina bɛɛ ye o na pa'al tʊʊmnyalima
   yélì·ya zaⁿbına bɛɛ yé ò nà pa'al tûʊm-ⁿyalımá
+ say·2p   sign.PL   or   that 3a IR show work-wonderful.PL
"telling you signs, or that he will show wonders" Dt 13:1

Prepositional clauses need not be subordinate: àmáa "but" (which never takes a NP complement) and kʊʊ/bɛɛ "or" may precede main clauses.

Clause adverbials follow prepositions or linkers but precede all other clause constituents, including preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
Àmáa ɔ́n   sadıgím kpí la, bɔ́ kà m̀ lɛ́m lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asɛ̀·?
but   3a.NZ since   die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again·CQ
"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" 2 Sm 12:23

Almost any time, circumstance or reason adverbial can be a clause adverbial, e.g. absolute clauses §11.4.1, lín à si'em la "as it is", lì ⁿyá'aŋ "afterward", as can àsıda (mɛ́nɛ) "truly" àlá mènɛ "likewise." All these may also be VP adverbials, and may be preposed with kà §12.3, and may thus end up preceding the subject alone, or with kà preceding, following, or both. Manner and place adverbials cannot be clause adverbials, and may thus only precede by kà-preposing:

Mɔɔgʊ́·n kà mam bɛ́.   "I'm in the bush."
grass·at   and 1s   exist   (W's correction of *Mɔɔgʊ́·n mam bɛ́)

Some clause adverbials do not occur as VP adverbials, like daa-sî'er "perhaps", which is "some day" when postverbal, and yà'- §11.2.3 and sadɪgím-clauses §11.4.1, which appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §12.3.

Some clause adverbials often appear as lfs like those preceding the negative enclitic §5.3, e.g. bɛogɔ "tomorrow", àlá mènɛ "likewise." Lfs never appear before kà, and in B they only follow kà in kà bɛogɔ "tomorrow" and kà daa-sí'erɛ "perhaps."

Dìn/lìn zúg(ɔ) "therefore", àlá zúg(ɔ) "thus", bɔ zúg(ɔ) "because" may only be VP adverbials if preposed with kà; if preposed, bɔ zúg is always interrogative: "why?" Bɔ zúgɔ (not bɔ zúg) can take a preceding absolute clause §11.4.1.These adverbials (and àlá mèn) may appear as subjects of kɛ́ kà "cause that" §11.3.

Àsɛ́ɛ "unless" appears as a clause adverbial in purpose clauses §11.5.

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands; they may also lack VPs. They show m/c marking §10.5 unless coordinating kà precedes.

Catenative clauses somewhat resemble serial-verb constructions. They follow n, replaced by kà if the subject or polarity changes; subjects are ellipted after n.

Clauses nominalised with post-subject yà' are conditional protases. Those nominalised with post-subject ǹ are absolute or relative clauses. Like all NPs, they are coordinated with nɛ; they may themselves contain subordinate clauses:

On ka' sida sɔba, nɛ on tʊʊmbɛ'ɛd sieba la zug
Ón   ka' sídà sóba·, nɛ ón   tʊ̀m tʊ̀ʊm-bɛ̀'ɛd-sieba la zúg
3a.NZ NG.be truth Øa·NG   with 3a.NZ work work-bad-IDFp   the on
"Because he is not truthful, and because of the sins he has done." Ez 18:24

ban mi' ye biig la kpinɛ la zug   "because they knew the child was dead"
bán mi' yɛ biig la kpí nɛ la zúg   Lk 8:53
3p.NZ know that child the die FOC the on

Content and purpose clauses follow yɛ "that", much less often kà. (Most subordinate kà-clauses are catenative; necessarily so, if yɛ cannot replace kà.)

Non-nominalised subordinate clause types vary in whether they precede or follow main VP negative enclitics §10.7. They can be nested or coordinated, or contain coordinated subclauses:

M pʊ bɔɔd ye fʊ ti yɛl bɛog daar ye fʊnɛ kɛ ka mam Abram lieb bʊmmɔra.
M̀ pʊ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́ fʊ̀ tí yɛ̀l bɛog daar yɛ fʊnɪ · kɛ́ kà mam Abram lîeb   bʊn-mɔ́ra·.
1s NG want   that 2s next say   in.future   that 2s   + let and 1s   Abram   become thing-haver·NG
"I do not want you in future saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich."
Gn 14:23

ka lin anɛ ye fʋ kʋ maali ti bɛ'ɛdɛ [...], ka ye fʋ yim nɛ sumbʋgʋsʋm la.

kà lɪn á nɛ yɛ́ fʋ̀ kʋ̀   maalɪ·tí bɛ'ɛdɪ · [...], kà yɛ́ fʋ̀ yím   nɛ suⁿ-búgʋ̀sɪ̀m la.

and 3i   be FOC that 2s NG.IR make·1p   bad   +   and that 2s exit.IMP with peace   the

"Which is that you will not do us harm [...] and will depart in peace." Gn 26:29

 M̀ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ daʋ̯ la kɛŋ dâ'a·n,   kà pʋ̯a' la dʋg dɪɪb.

1s   want that man the go   market·at and woman the cook food

"I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." W

11.2 <u>Main clauses</u>

Main clauses show m/c marking unless introduced by kà. They may be statements (the default), questions or commands; some lack VPs. Coordination is with kà "and", kʋʋ/bɛɛ "or"; with lɛ̀ɛ "but", or in narrative, kà corresponds to English zero.

11.2.1 <u>Questions</u>

<u>Content</u> questions (except lìa clauses §11.2.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §5.3. Focus-nɛ´ cannot appear. There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be n-focused §12.1, and non-subjects are often preposed §12.3. Preposing is obligatory with bɔ and bɔ zúg as "why?"

Fʋ̀ bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́·?   "What do you want?"

2s   want   what·CQ

Fʋ̀ bɔ̂ɔd línɛ̀·?   "Which do you want?"

2s   want   DEMi·CQ

Daʋ̯ la ⁿyɛ́ ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀·?   "Whom has the man seen?"

man the see who·CQ

Bɔɔ maalɛ?   "What has happened?" Lk 24:19
Bɔɔ · máalɛ̀·?

what + make·CQ

Fʋ̀ áaⁿ ·ànɔ̂'ɔn bíigà·?   "Whose child are you?"

2s   be   who   child·CQ

Anɔ'ɔnɛ nyɛ?   "Who has seen?" Is 29:15
Ànɔ́'ɔnì · ⁿyɛ́·?

who   + see·CQ

Ànɔ̂'ɔn kà daʋ̖ la ⁿyɛ́·?   "Whom has the man seen?"

who   and man the see·CQ

Bɔ́ kà fʋ̀ kúmmà·?   "Why are you crying?"

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

Polar questions have the form of normal statements (with nɛ´ permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by kúʋ·? "or?" (expecting agreement), or by bɛ́ɛ·? "or?" (expecting disagreement):

Daʋ̖ la ⁿyɛ́ bíigàa·?   "Has the man seen a child?"

man   the see child·PQ

M̀ á nɛ dáʋ̀ʋ·?   "Am I a man?"

1s be FOC man·PQ

Bà kʋ̀ʋd nɛ búʋsɛ̀ɛ·?   "Are they killing goats?"

3p   kill.IPF FOC goat.PL·PQ

Fʋ̀ pʋ wúmmàa··?   "Don't you understand?"

2s   NG hear.IPF·NG·PQ   (expects ɛɛⁿ, here "no")

Daʋ̖ la ⁿyɛ́ biig kúʋ·?   "Has the man seen a child?"

man   the see child or·PQ   (I expect so.)

Daʋ̖ la ⁿyɛ́ biig bɛ́ɛ·?   "Has the man seen a child?"

man the see child or·PQ   (I expect not.)

11.2.2 Commands

For indirect commands, see §11.5 §11.6. In direct commands, 2s pronouns are deleted, and 2p moves to immediately follow the verb as the liaison word ya:

Fʋ̀ gɔ́s biig la.   "You (sg) have looked at the child."

2s   look child the

Yà gɔ́s biig la.   "You (pl) have looked at the child."

2p look child the

but   Gòsɪ̀m biig la!   "Look (sg) at the child!"
      look.IMP child the

      Gòsìmɪ·   biig la!   "Look (pl) at the child!"
      look.IMP·2pS child the

      Da   gɔs biig láa·!   "Don't (sg) look at the child!"
      NG.IMP look child the·NG

      Da   gɔsɪ·   biig láa·!   "Don't (pl) look at the child!"
      NG.IMP look·2pS child the·NG

      Da   gɔsɛ·!   "Don't (sg) look."
      NG.IMP look·NG

      Da   gɔsɪ·yá·!   "Don't (pl) look."
      NG.IMP look·2pS·NG

2s/p subjects remain unchanged after clause adverbials and in content clauses:

Fʋ ya'a mɔr pu'a, fʋn da mɔɔd ye fʋ bas oo.
Fʋ̀ yá' mɔr pu̯a', fʋn da   mɔɔd   yɛ́ fʋ̀ báso·o·.
2s if   have wife   2s NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon·3a·NG
"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." 1 Cor 7:27

ka siak ye fʋ tikim nu'ug   "and agreed that you sign" Dn 6:7
kà si̯ák yɛ́ fʋ̀ tìkɪ̀m   nû'ug
and agree that 2s press.IMP hand

Some speakers add _{ya} redundantly in catenatives and quoted commands:

Kɛ̀mɪ·   na n gɔsɪ·!   "Come (pl) and look!"
come.IMP·2pS hither + look·2pS   (Kɛ̀mɪ· na n gɔs! W)

Ò yɛ̀l yɛ́ bà gòsìmɪ·   tɛŋɪ·n.   "He said to them: Look down!"
3a say that 3p look.IMP·2pS down

    Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed
subject pronoun occasionally end in a lf like that preceding a negative enclitic:

      Gòsìmɪ·yá!   "Look (pl)!"

11.2.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a yà'-clause protasis as a clause adverbial. The main clause can a statement, command or question. Protases cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause; they are occasionally dislocated to clause-final position, due to weight §12.3.

Fʋ yá' gɔs kpɛlá, bɔ́ kà fʋ̀ ⁿyɛtá·?   "If you look here, what do you see?" S

2s   if   look   here   what and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Ka ligidi la ya'a pɔ'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà ligidi la yá' pɔ̀'ɔg, m̀ yá' tì   lɛb   na,   m̀ ná yɔ́ɔ·f.

and money the if   get.small 1s if   next return hither 1s   IR   pay·2s
"If the money runs short, after I return I will repay you." Lk 10:35

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaŋaa.
Dìn zúg lì naan áⁿ sʋ́'m bà yá' pʋ dʋ̂'a·n dáʋ̯-kàŋáa·.

so   3i   then be goodness 3p if   NG bear·DP man-DEM·NG
"So it would have been better for him not to have been born." Mk 14:21 B2

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

Fʋ ya'a na dɔllimi keŋ, m na keŋ.   "If you will go with me, I will go." Jgs 4:8
Fʋ̀ yá' nà dɔllí·mı · keŋ, m̀ ná keŋ.

2s   if   IR follow·1s + go   1s IR go

M ya'a pʋ keŋɛ, Sʋŋid la kʋ kɛɛn ya ni naa.
M̀ yá' pʋ keŋɛ́·, sʋŋıd la kʋ́   kɛ́ɛⁿ ·yà nı náa·.

1s if   NG go·NG   helper the NG.IR come 2p at hither·NG
"If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." Jn 16:7

The main clause must have an unellipted subject. Direct commands keep a subject pronoun in place; some speakers require a free form:

Fʋ ya'a mɔr pu'a, fʋn da mɔɔd ye fʋ bas oo.
Fʋ̀ yá' mɔr pʋa', fʋn da   mɔɔd   yɛ́ fʋ̀ báso·o·.

2s   if   have wife   2s   NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon·3a·NG
"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." 1 Cor 7:27

The discontinuous-past enclitic n §10.2 can attach to any verb form except imperatives; it is usually repeated in following catenative clauses. Here it expresses modal remoteness (CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; with preverbal naan the sense is contrary-to-fact. This naan "in that case" is distinct from ⁿyaan "next, then" (though *naan* often appears for ⁿyaan in older texts) and from the 2vb naan "starting at ... do" §11.3.

Open conditional clauses contain neither n nor naan. If the main clause has present or future reference, the yà'-clause may correspond to either "if" or "when" in English, but past-reference "when" is expressed with absolute clauses §11.4.1.

Fʋ̀ yá' si̯àk, tì ná dɪgɪlí·f.   "If you agree, we'll put you to bed."

2s   if   agree   1p IR   lay·2s   (i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pʋ vʋ'ʋg kuminɛ, alaa ti labasʋŋ la mɔɔlʋg la anɛ zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà pʋ vʋ'ʋg kumɪ·nɛ́·, àláa ·tì làbà-sʋ̀ŋ la

and Christ   if   TNS NG   revive   death·at·NG   thus   1p   news-good   the

mɔ́ɔlʋ̀g   la á nɛ zaalím.

proclamation the be FOC emptiness

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." 1 Cor 15:14

Nid ya'a tʋm tʋʋma, o di'ed yɔɔd.   "If a person works, he gets pay."

Nid yá' tʋ̀m   tʋʋma, ò dì'ed   yɔɔd.   Rom 4:4

person if   work.IPF work   3a receive.IPF pay

Bɛog ya'a nie fʋ na wʋm o pian'ad.

Bɛog   yá' nìe,   fʋ̀ ná wʋ́m ò pi̯àⁿ'ad.

tomorrow if   appear 2s   IR   hear   3a speech

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." Acts 25:22

Hypothetical conditionals use n in both clauses, irrealis without naan in the main clause. B2/3 often use open conditionals instead.

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niŋgbiŋ nii, lin ku nyaŋin
 keen ka o ka' niŋgbiŋ nii.

Nɔ́bìr yá' yɛ̀lɪ·n yɛ, ɔ́n   pʋ áⁿ nû'ug la zúg, ò ka'   nín-gbiŋ níɪ·,

leg   if   say·DP   that 3a.NZ NG   be   hand   the on   3a NG.exist body   at·NG

lɪn   kʋ́   ⁿyaŋɪ·n   · kɛ́ɛ·n kà ò ka'   nín-gbiŋ níɪ·.

DEMi NG.IR accomplish·DP + let·DP and 3a NG.exist body   at·NG

"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 B1

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.

Wìef yá' sigí·n   lì nɪ, lì zùlùŋ ná páa·n ò sàlìbìr.

horse if descend·DP 3i at 3i depth IR reach·DP 3a bridle

"If a horse went down in it, its depth would reach its bridle." Rv 14:20 B1

Contrary-to-fact conditionals use n in both clauses, naan in the main clause:

Man ya'a pʊ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan kʊ mɔrin taalɛ.

Man yá' pʊ kɛɛ·n   na   · tʊ́'asɪ·ní·ba, bà naan kʊ́   mɔrɪ·n tâallɛ·.

1s   if NG come·DP hither + talk·DP·3p   3p   then NG.IR have·DP fault·NG

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." Jn 15:22

M ya'a mɔrin sʊ'ʊgʊ m nu'ugin m naan kʊʊnif nannanna.

Ḿ yá' mɔrɪ·n sʊ́'ʊgʊ̀ ·m̀ nú'ugɪ·n, m̀ naan kʊʊ·ní·f nanná-na.

1s if have·DP knife   1s hand·at   1s then   kill·DP·2s now

"If I'd had a sword in my hand, I'd have killed you right now." Nm 22:29

Past contrary-to-fact main clauses may instead use past-tense irrealis:

Bɔzugɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vʊ'ʊsʊm zin'ig, Wina'am da kʊ lɛm pian'
 dabis-si'a yɛla ya'asɛ.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tìsɪ·ní·ba vʊ'ʊsím zîⁿ'ig, Wínà'am dá kʊ̀   lɛm pi̯aⁿ'

because   Joshua if TNS give·DP·3p resting   place   God   TNS NG.IR again speak

dábìs-si'a yɛ́là yà'asɛ·.

day-IDF   about again·NG

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently
  have spoken of another day." Heb 4:8

Yà' naan means "if only", yà' pʊ̀n "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la bɛ Samaria la!

Ḿ zug-dâan la yá' naan si̯ákì · kɛŋ · ⁿyɛɛ·n nɔ́-dî'es lá·   bɛ̀ Samaria la!

1s master   the if   then   agree + go + see·DP linguist   the·NZ exist Samaria   the

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" 2 Kgs 5:3

Li ya'a pʊn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pʊ̀n du̯à', sáam   ná dɪì·lí.

3i if already bear   stranger.PL IR eat·3i

"Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." Hos 8.7

Modal n and naan also occur outside conditional clauses, though B3 often has nà for B1/2 naan, and in older texts naan often represents ⁿyaan "next, then" in clauses after coordinating kà:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan B3] kaas noor ayi.
Fʋ̀ ná kɩ'ìs man nɔ́ɔr àtáⁿ' kà nɔ-dâʋg ⁿyaan kaas nɔ́ɔr àyí'.
2s   IR   deny 1s   time three and cock   next   cry   time two
"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." Mk 14:30 B2

Bɔ̀ɔdɪ·n appears in main clauses as "might wish":

Man bɔɔdin nɛ yanamɛ naan aan ma'asiga bɛɛ yanamɛ naan aan tʋʋliga.
Man bɔ́ɔdɪ·n yɛ yanámì naan âa·n ma'asíga bɛɛ yanámì naan âa·n tʋʋlíga.
1s   want·DP that 2p.NZ   then be·DP coldly   or 2p.NZ   then be·DP hotly
"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." Rv 3:15

Naan may be effectively equivalent to yà' "if/when":

Li an sʋm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yɛla gaad ...
Lì àⁿ sʋ́m yɛ daʋ yɪnní naan kpí nidib   la yɛ́là · gàad ...
3i   be good that man   one   then   die person.PL the about + pass
"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." Jn 11:50

Noŋir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.
Nɔ̀ŋìr lɛ́m ka'e   · gâad nidí·   naan kpí ò zʋ̠à-nàm zúgɔ·.
love   again NG.exist + pass   person·NZ then   die 3a friend-PL   on·NG
"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." Jn 15:13 B2

Naan with n has the same contrary-to-fact sense as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaŋin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.
Lì sʋ̀'m kà fʋ̀ daa naan záŋí·n ·m̀ ligidi n sʋ'a·n báŋkì ní.
3i   be.good and 2s TNS   then   take·DP 1s   money + hide·DP bank   at
"You should have put my money in the bank." Mt 25:27 B1

11.2.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses consist of NP + linker n + deictic or wà na "this here";
catenative clauses often follow §11.3. The NP may be an interrogative pronoun;
à bɔ̀-X n la/ⁿwá means "what kind of X is that/this?", and bɔ n la/ⁿwá can be embedded
as a verb complement, meaning "what is that/this which ... ?":

Kʋ̀lìŋì · la.   "That is a door."
door   + that

Kʋ̀lìŋì · wá na.   "This here is a door."
door   + this hither

Bɔɔ · lá·?   "What's that?"
what + that·CQ

Abɔ pa'alʋgʋ nwa?   "What kind of teaching is this?" Lk 4:36
À bɔ̀-pà'alʋ̀gʋ̀ · ⁿwá·?
PZ what-teaching + this·CQ

Fʋ maal bɔɔ la tis mam?   "What is this that you have done to me?"
Fʋ̀ mâal bɔ́ɔ · la · tís màm·?   Nm 23:11
2s   make what + that + give 1s·CQ

Lìa clauses have the form X + lìa (*dia* B1), meaning "where is X?":

Fʋ̀ mà   la lía·?   "Where is your mother?" W (overheard)
2s   mother the be.where·CQ

Vocatives consist of NP + vocative enclitic §5.3, alone or beside a main clause:

Lɛm na, fʋn kanɛ an Sulam teŋ nida!
Lɛ̀m   na, fʋn-kánì· àⁿ Sulam tɛ́ŋ nìda·!
return.IMP hither 2s-DEM·NZ be Shulam land person·VOC
"Return, O Shulammite!" Sg 6:13

Ṁ dìemma·,   bɔ́ kà fʋ̀ kúosìdà·? "Madam, what are you selling?"
1s parent.in.law·VOC what and 2s sell.IPF·CQ

They do not take the article, but often end in ⁿwà "this": zɔn ⁿwá·! "fools!"

Some particles constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like
báp "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like tɔ̀ "OK", ǹfá "well done!"
"Yes" is ɛɛⁿ; "no" is áyìι. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus
the reply to lì pʊ naée··? "isn't it finished?" may be ɛɛⁿ "no" or áyìι "yes."

11.3 Catenation

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by n §5.4. These
structures have usually been taken for serial verb constructions, and there are
parallels; for example, substituting kà for n may block specialised verb uses. Thus

> Ṁ daa kûos bʊ̀ŋʊ̀ · tís dʊ́'atà.   "I sold a donkey to Doctor."
>
> 1s TNS sell   donkey + give doctor

with kà for n could only mean "... and gave it to Doctor." However, not only
complements, but adjuncts and even subordinate clauses may be incorporated within
such chains, and even verbless clauses may be followed by n + VP:

> Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Farisee nid ka o yu'ur buon
> Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela
>
> Kà dàʊ̯-sɔ' due n zí'e lá'asʊ̀g la nidib   sísʊ̀ʊgʊ·n, n áⁿ Farisee níd
>
> and man-IDFa rise   + stand gathering the person.PL among   + be Pharisee   person
>
> kà ò yʊ'ʊr bûon Gamaliel, n áⁿ ɔ́nì·   pà'an   Wínà'am wádà la yɛ́là
>
> and 3a name call.IPF Gamaliel   + be DEMa·NZ teach.IPF God   law   the about
>
> "A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee called Gamaliel, a teacher of
> God's law" Acts 5:34 B2

> Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tʊʊmbɛ'ɛdi basida?
>
> Ànɔ̂'ɔn · ⁿwáa · yisid   nidib   tûʊm-bɛ'ɛdɩ · básìdà·?
>
> who   + this   + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL   + reject.IPF·CQ
>
> "Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

It seems preferable to take n + VP as a catenative clause (CGEL pp1176ff),
with an elliptted subject coreferential with that of the preceding main clause.
By default, it functions as an attribute of the main clause subject, like a participle or
non-restrictive relative clause. Catenatives with àe̯ⁿya "be" can also be predicatives:

> kà ò ya'am tɪ̯ákì · àⁿ sɔ̂'m.   "and his mind changed for the better."
>
> and 3a sense   change + be goodness   Mk 5:15

Kà replaces n if the polarity changes:

Ka pu'a sɔ' daa bɛɛ anina bɛn'ɛd   "There was a woman there who was sick"
Kà pųà'-sɔ'   daa bɛ́ɛ ·ànína · bɛ̂ⁿ'ɛd   Mt 9:20
and woman-IDFa TNS exist there   + get.sick.IPF

but   Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
       Kà daų daa zíⁿ'i Listra ní kà pʋ tuⁿ'e · kɛnná·.
       and man TNS sit   Lystra at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG
       "There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." Acts 14:8 B2

       Occasional exceptions occur, e.g. *Ya sieba bɛ kpɛla kʋ kpii* "There are some of
you here who will not die" Lk 9:27.
       A catenative clause can also be attached to a main-clause NP other than the
subject. It then begins with kà, and contains a pronoun referring to its anchor; the
pronoun is omitted if it is a VP object. This kà is subordinating, not coordinating: see
on negative enclitic placement, §10.7.

       Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yʋ'ʋr buon Aneas.
       Àníná kà ò ⁿyɛ dáų kà ò yʋ'ʋr bûon Aneas.
       there   and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas
       "There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." Acts 9:33

       Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul.
       Zɪ',   kà daų la síɪgì   · lá kà ò gbaⁿ'e · mɔrɪ · kul.
       NG.know and man the life.force + that and 3a grab   + have + go.home
       "Unbeknownst, it was the man's life force he'd seized and taken home." G2 p26

       If the referring pronoun is the catenative subject, the meaning is predicative:

       M̀ daa pʋ ⁿyɛ daų lá kà ò áⁿ ná'aba·.   "I didn't see the man as a chief." K
       1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief·NG

       ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.
       kà lâ'am   màan   gígìs kà bà wúm   kà pįaⁿ'ad.
       and together make.IPF dumb.PL and 3p hear.IPF and speak.IPF
       "and also makes the dumb hear and speak." Mk 7:37 B1

       Before non-specific subject bà "they", n may occur instead of kà §9.2.
       Catenatives are coordinated with kà:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógi̱à-sɔ' ka'e   n túm   kà yɔɔd ò mɛŋá·.

soldier-IDFa NG.exist + work.IPF and pay.IPF 3a self·NG

"No soldier works and pays for himself." 1 Cor 9:7 B1

Catenations behave as single units for focus purposes. Aspects usually agree. The main clause carries the tense particles for all, but discontinuous-past n is usually repeated. Moods usually agree; initial irrealis marking applies to the whole chain, but after an indicative, an irrealis or imperative (often with tì §10.4) can express purpose:

Sɔ' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo.   "None had the power to overcome him."

Sɔ' dá ka'   páŋì · ná ⁿyaŋó·o·.   Mk 5:4

IDFa TNS NG.have power + IR   prevail·3a·NG

Kɛm · tí ⁿyɛ dʊ́'atà.   "Go and see Doctor."

go.IMP + next see doctor

Many verbs have specialised adverb- or preposition-like meanings when they appear in catenative clauses. Thus with verbs of movement or state change:

M na kad kikirisi yis nidibin   "I will drive demons out of people"

 M̀ ná kad kíkirisɪ · yis   nidibí·n   Lk 13:32

1s IR drive fairy.PL   + expel person.PL·at

halí n tì pae ziná   "right up until today"

until + then reach today

Ò dʊ̀ɪ · tɪg.   "She's eaten to satiety."

3a eat + get.sated

Similarly gàlɪ̀s "exceed"/"too much" and nae´ "finish"/"completely."
Gàad "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

À Wɪn gím   · gát   à Bʊgʊr.   "Awini is shorter than Abugri." S

PZ Awini be.short + pass.IPF PZ Abugri

Fʋ sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?   "Do you really love me more than these?"

Fʋ̀ síd nɔ̀ŋ mam · gát   bámmáa·?   Jn 21:15

2s truly love 1s   + pass.IPF DEMp·PQ

Tìs "give" is used here for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

M̀ daa kûos bùŋù · tís dú'atà.   "I sold a donkey to Doctor."

1s TNS   sell   donkey + give doctor

Before wɛn_{na}´ "be like", n is usually realised as zero, and the catenative can even be preposed with kà or dislocated:

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niŋid si'em la.

Da   ló yà nin-dáasɛ·, wɛn nɛ fɔɔsúg dím lá·   nìŋìd si'em la.

NG.IMP tie 2p face.PL·NG   be.like with puffing Øp the·NZ do.IPF how   the

"Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." Mt 6:16 B1

The main clause is often semantically subordinate. This may occur because pfs in catenation imply completion, and their ordering must reflect event order:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud

Kà Nin-sâal Bîig la kɛn   na · dít   kà nuud

and human   child the come.IPF hither + eat.IPF and drink.IPF

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking" Mt 11:19

but   Ka dapa ayi' yɛ fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dapá ·àyí' yɛ́ fu-píelà   · zì'e bà sa'an.

and man.PL two   don shirt-white.PL + stand 3p among

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." Acts 1:10

In addition, many verbs have specialised auxiliary senses in main clauses preceding semantically-main catenative clauses. (See also on clefting §12.3.)

Bɛ̀ ànína "exist there" with an ipf catenative means "be in the process of":

Ò bɛ̀ ànína n ⁿwɛ̂'ɛd biig la.   "He's currently beating the child."

3a exist there   + beat.IPF child the

Dɔl_{la}´ "accompany", mɔr_a´ "have" before motion verbs mean "go with", "bring":

Bà dòllo· · kɛŋ Bɔ́k.   "They've gone to Bawku with her."

3p   follow·3a + go   Bawku

Dabá àyɔ́pɔ̀ę̀ kà fù mɔró· · kɛ   na.   "Bring her here in a week." W

day.PL seven   and 2s have·3a + come hither

Mi' "know": nàm mi'/zı' before pf catenatives mean "have always/have never":

 M̀ nám zı'   · ⁿyɛ gbıgımnɛ·.   "I've never seen a lion." S
1s   still   NG.know + see   lion·NG

Makir banɛ buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba mɛn.
Makír-bànì· buudi paadí·ya la nám mi' · pae sieba mɛ́n.
Testing-DEMp·NZ sort   reach.IPF·2p the still   know + reach IDFp   also.
"The kind of trials coming to you have been familiar to others too." 1 Cor 10:13

Naan´ "starting from ... do" takes a place NP followed by a catenative:

Ka pu'a la da naanɛ o bʋŋ la zugʋ sig la
Kà pu̧a' lá·   dà naaní ·ò bʋ̀ŋ   la zúgʋ̀ · sig   la
and woman the·NZ TNS start.at 3a donkey the on   + descend the
"When the woman had got off her donkey" Jo 15:18

Nìŋ wɛlá "do how?" here means "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pʋ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?
Nin-sâal bîig nà niŋ wɛlá · pʋ mɔr tâal Wínà'am tûonnɛ̀··?
human   child IR do   how + NG have fault God   before·NG·CQ
"How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" Jb 25:4

An impersonal variant has the logical subject in a catenative clause with kà;
more rarely, kà replaces n in the personal construction.

Li niŋ wala ka o an David yaaŋa?   "How can he be David's descendant?"
Lì nìŋ wɛlá kà ò áⁿ David yâaŋà·?   Mt 22:45
3i do   how   and 3a be David   descendant·CQ

M na niŋ wala ka nyɛ faangirɛ?   "How can I find salvation?" Acts 16:30
M̀ ná niŋ wɛlá kà ⁿyɛ faaⁿgírɛ̀·?
1s IR do   how   and find salvation·CQ

ⁿYaŋ´ "overcome" here means "prevail in." Main and catenative clauses agree
in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

M̀ pʋ ⁿyaŋı · ⁿwɛ́' bʋ̀ŋ láa·.   "I wasn't able to hit the donkey."
1s NG prevail + hit   donkey the·NG

 M̀ kʊ́   ⁿyaŋɪ · ⁿwɛ́' bʊ̀ŋ láa·.   "I can't hit the donkey."

1s NG.IR prevail + hit   donkey the·NG

wada linɛ nyaŋidi kɛt ka nidib vʊe

wadá lìnì·   ⁿyaŋídì · kɛ́t   kà nidib   vʊe̯

law   DEMi·NZ prevail.IPF + let.IPF and person.PL live

"a law which can make people live" Gal 3:21

Su̯a' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baŋidib la

Kà Nà'ab Herod su̯a' · bûol baŋɪdɪb   la

and king   Herod   hide + call   understander.PL the

"Herod secretly called for the wise men" Mt 2:7

Tuⁿ'e "avail" (e.g. *ba paŋi na tun'e si'em* "as much as their strength allows"
2 Cor 8:3) is used in the indicative or irrealis to express present ability:

ka li kʊ tun'e su'a.   "which cannot be hidden" Mt 5:14

kà lì kʊ́   tuⁿ'e · su̯a'a·.

and 3i NG.IR be.able + hide·NG

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la nɛ ti.   "You can dwell in the land with us."

Yà ná tuⁿ'e · zíⁿ'i tɛŋɪ·n la nɛ́ tì.   Gn 34:10

2p   IR be.able + sit   land·at the with 1p

O pʊ tun'e pian'ada.   "He could not speak." Lk 1:22

Ò pʊ tuⁿ'e · pi̯aⁿ'adá·.

3a NG be.able + speak.IPF·NG

Zàŋ and nɔk´ "pick up, take" here mean "using" (a literal instrument):

M̀ nɔ́k sʊ́'ʊgʊ̀ · ki̯á' nim la.   "I've cut the meat with a knife."

1s take knife   + cut   meat the

"Beginning" verbs often precede semantically-main catenatives:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba   "Peter began to tell them" Acts 11:4

Kà Pita piⁿ'ilɪ · pá'alì·ba

and Peter begin   + teach·3p

Tì déŋì   · tísò· lɔ́r.   "We've previously given him a car."

1p precede + give·3a car

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en   "A man got up and stood" Acts 5:34

Kà dàʋ̞-sɔ' due · zî'en

and man-IDFa rise + stand.up

Zɩ' "not know" is "unknowingly" before catenatives (with kà due to polarity
change.) The construction also occurs without a subject: zí' kà "unbeknownst."

Ka sɔ' ya'a zi' ka tʋm ...   "If anyone unwittingly does ... "Lv 5:17

Kà sɔ' yá' zí'   kà túm ...

and IDFa if   NG.know and work

Certain verbs take catenative complements. Here there is no NP anchor, and
the linker is always kà.

Kɛ "let, leave" is "let, cause" before catenatives, always different-subject (in
kɛl ka fʋ mɛŋ an "let you yourself be" Ti 2:7, *fʋ* is formally predependent.) Imperative
may replace irrealis in the catenative.

Ka li anɛ wada la kɛt ka tʋʋmbɛ'ɛd nyɛt paŋ.

Kà lì à nɛ́ wadá la · kɛ́t   kà tʋ̀ʋm-bɛ'ɛd ⁿyɛt   páŋ.

and 3i be FOC law   the + let.IPF and deed-bad   see.IPF power

"It is the law which lets sin find power." 1 Cor 15:56

Li da kɛ ka ba pʋ nyaŋi kʋʋ o.   "This prevented him from being killed."

Lì dà kɛ̀ kà bà pʋ ⁿyaŋɩ · kúo··.   2 Kgs 11:2

3i TNS let and 3p NG prevail + kill·3a·NG

dinɛ na kɛ ka ba da kpi'ilim.   "which will stop them dying out." Gn 6:20

Dɩnɩ · ná kɛ́ kà bà da   kpɩ'ɩlímm·.

3i   + IR let and 3p NG.IMP finish·NG

Imperative kɛ̀l_a can be used for first/third person commands:

Kɛ̀lí·   kà tì pʋ̂'ʋs Wínà'am.   "Let us praise God." (or Kɛ̀l kà ...)

let.IMP·2pS and 1p greet   God

Da   kɛ́ kà dàbiem bɛ́ɛ·!   "Don't be afraid."

NG.IMP let and fear   exist·NG

Kɛl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving lack of m/c marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̀ gɔs nif la.   "Let me look at the eye." (overheard)

1s look eye the

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §12.1) of kɛ:

Ka bɔzugʋ kɛ ka fʋ tʋmim na?   "Why have you sent me here?" Ex 5:22

Kà bɔ zúgʋ̀ · kɛ́ kà fʋ̀ túmì·m ná·?

and why   + let and 2s send·1s   hither·CQ

The imperative-only 1vb mìt (*mid* B3) §10.3 means "let not" before catenatives; B3 omits the negative enclitic. 3rd person subjects occur, but 2s/p subjects are dropped, except after clause adverbials or in content clauses; 2pS ya is not used.

O mid ka o lɛbis bɛɛ tiaki li   "He may not take it back or change it."

Ò míd   kà ò lɛ́bìs bɛɛ tḭákì·lı   Lv 27:10

3a beware and 3a return or   change·3i

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mìt   kà yà mâal yà tʋ̀ʋm-sʋ̀mà nidib   tûon yɛ́ bà gɔsɛ·.

beware and 2p do   2p deed-good.PL person.PL front   that 3p look·NG

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they see." Mt 6:1 B2

With ⁿyɛ "see" and wʋ̀m "hear/smell/feel", direct perception of states of affairs is expressed with a catenative complement:

Ka Noa yis dinɛ ligil anrʋŋ la ka nyɛ ka teŋ la wʋsa kʋdig.

Kà Noa yis   dínì·   lìgìl àⁿrʋ̀ŋ lá kà ⁿyɛ́ kà tɛŋ la wʋsa kʋ́dìg.

and Noah extract DEMi·NZ cover boat   the and see and land the all   dry.up

"Noah uncovered the ark and saw that the ground was dry." Gn 8:13

 (not a content clause: no m/c-pf ya)

11.4 <u>Nominalised clauses</u>

Clauses can be nominalised with ǹ §5.4 after the subject, creating absolute or relative clauses. (See §9.2 for nominalisations with the personaliser à.)

Tense marking is independent, relative to narrative timelines. Focus particles may not be used, but relative clause heads are often preposed. The only possible postdependent is laˊ, omitted after another laˊ; VP-final particles may follow it. Negative enclitics are dropped if the clause takes laˊ or is not itself clause-final:

> Nin-bánì·   pʋ dít   ná kpi.   "People who don't eat will die." W
> person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF IR   die

> vs   Ǹ ⁿyɛ́ nin-bánì·   pʋ díta·.   "I've seen people who don't eat." W
>   1s   see person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF·NG

11.4.1 <u>Absolute</u>

Clauses with ǹ with no head-marking pronouns are absolute clauses. They are usually given/implied information, taking laˊ. Most often, they are time adverbials: this the usual construction for past "when." For tense marking see §10.2.

Pf in the absolute clause implies a prior event, ipf simultaneous:

> Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ
> Kà bán   yi la, kà Zug-sɔ́b máli̯ak níe ò mɛŋ
> and 3p.NZ exit the and Lord   angel   appear 3a self
> "After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself" Mt 2:13 B2

> Ɔn daa ⁿyɛt súŋa, ɔ́n   daa áⁿ bí-lia láa·?
> 3a   TNS see.IPF well   3a.NZ TNS be baby the·PQ
> "Did she see well when she was a baby?" W

> Ka ban dit la, Yesu yɛli ba ...   "As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."
> Kà bán dìt   la, Yesu yɛ́lì·ba ...   Mt 26:21
> and 3p.NZ eat.IPF the Jesus   say·3p

Absolute clauses may also be verb subjects or complements:

> Kristo da kpii ti yɛla la kɛ ka ti baŋ nɔŋilim an si'em.
> Kristo· dà kpìi ·tì yɛlá la kɛ́ kà tì báŋ nɔ̀ŋìlím· àⁿ si'em.
> Christ·NZ TNS die   1p about the let and 1p realise love·NZ   be   how
> "Christ having died for us makes us understand what love is like." 1 Jn 3:16

Dine kɛ ka m a saalbiis zua la anɛ mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad
ka mɛ pu diti ba ki la.

Dìnì·   kɛ́ kà m̀ áⁿ sâal-biis zṵá la   á nɛ mán pʋ sáⁿ'amìdí ·bà lá'ad

DEM·NZ let and 1s be human.PL friend the be FOC 1s.NZ NG spoil.IPF   3p   goods.PL

kà mɛ́ pʋ dítí ·bà ki   láa·.

and also NG eat.IPF 3p millet the·NG

"What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property
 or eating their millet." G1 p20

ⁿYɛ "see" may take an absolute-clause object in the sense of a relative clause
headed by the absolute-clause subject:

Ka m gat ka nyɛ fʋn digi fʋ ziimin la bilim.

Kà m̀ gát   kà ⁿyɛ fún dɪgí ·fʋ̀ zɪɪmí·n la · bílìm.

and 1s pass.IPF and see   2s.NZ lie   2s blood·at   the + roll

"I was passing and saw you rolling in your blood." Ez 16:6

Absolute clauses occur after prepositions §10.6.3 and before zugɔ´/bɔ zúgɔ
"because of":

Ban mɔr dɛŋ la zug, ba kʋ di'e baa.

Bán mɔr dɛŋ la zúg, bà kʋ̀   dí'e·báa·.

3p.NZ have wound the on   3p NG.IR receive·3p·NG

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." Lv 22:25

In B, they caption pictures and precede yɛlá "about" in section headings:
Ban meed yir "A house being built" B2; *Paul n bɛ Malta la yɛla* "Paul on Malta" B3.

Preverbal sadɪgím "because, since" appears only after yà' "if" or ǹ:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sadɪgím áⁿ Naazir níd, ɔn míd   kà ò dí ...

3a if   since   be Nazirite person 3a beware and 3a eat

"Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." Nm 6:4

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ɔ́n   sadɪgím kpí la, bɔ́ kà m̀ lɛ́m lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asɛ̀·?

but   3a.NZ since   die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again·CQ

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" 2 Sm 12:23

11.4.2 <u>Relative</u>

Relative clauses are nominalised with ǹ and internally headed by a pronoun or by a cif with a dependent pronoun. Any verb argument or NP possessor may be relativised, even from within a subordinate clause. Heads remain in situ, but are often preposed with kà §12.3. Clauses with preposing show no ǹ after their subjects.

Heads forming all or part of the subject or of a preposed element are marked with short demonstratives; all others are marked with indefinite pronouns.

In older sources (and for W), ǹ only follows clause subjects, but in B3 ǹ follows all head-marking demonstratives, even in subject predependents and preposed heads:

O bikanɛ da paas ayi' la   "His second child" 2 Sm 3:3
Ò bì-kànì·   dà pàas àyí' la
2s child-DEM·NZ TNS total   two   the

pu'a kanɛ biigi vʋe la   "the woman whose child was alive"
pu̧à'-kànì·   biigí·   vʋȩ la   1 Kgs 3:26
woman-DEM·NZ child·NZ live   the

Demonstratives are not relatives when not part of the first constituent, and ordinary indefinites may follow demonstrative or precede indefinite heads:

on vʋ'ʋg ninkan kumin la zug
ɔ́n   vʋ'ʋg nin-kán kumı·n la zúg
3a.NZ revive person-DEM death·at the on
"because he has raised that person from death" Acts 17:31

Wina'am onɛ gaad si'el wʋsa la   "God who surpasses everything."
Wínà'am ɔ́nì·   gàad si'el wʋsa la   Lk 1:35
God   DEMa·NZ pass IDFi all   the

wʋʋ baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la   "like a trap seizes something"
wʋʋ baŋí· gba^n'ad si'el si'em la   Lk 21:35
like   trap·NZ seize.IPF   IDFi   how   the

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fʋn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la   "the first fish you catch" Mt 17:27
fʋ́n gba^n'e ziŋ-sí'a yiigá la
2s.NZ catch   fish-IDF   firstly   the

but   Paul n sob gbauŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.
       Paul·ǹ sɔb gbáʋ̯ŋ yiigá dàan n tìs Korint dím la · ⁿwá.
       Paul·NZ write letter   firstly   owner + give Corinth   Øp   the + this
       "This is the first letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (B2 heading)

       NPs comprising/containing non-subject heads are often preposed with kà;
resumptive pronouns appear for indirect objects, occasionally animate direct objects,
and heads extracted from NPs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses.
       Preposing is usual for specific complements:

       Gbauŋ kanɛ ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.
       Gbàʋ̯ŋ-kànì· kà bà dá sɔbɪ · tísì·ba la · ⁿwá.
       letter-DEM·NZ   and 3p TNS write + give·3p   the + this
       "This is the letter that they wrote to them." Acts 15:23

       bàn kà nà'ab la ⁿwɛ́' la   "those whom the chief hit" W
       DEMp and chief   the hit   the

       niŋkanɛ   ka ba gban'e o la   "a person whom they have seized"
       nin-kánì·   kà bà gbáⁿ'o· la   Acts 25:16
       person-DEM·NZ and 3p seize·3a   the

       linɛ [lin B2] ka Kristo bɔɔd ye ti pian' la
       lìnì·   kà Kristo bôɔd yɛ́ tì pɪ̯aⁿ' la
       DEMi·NZ and Christ   want that 1p speak the
       "what Christ wishes us to say" 2 Cor 12:19

       pu'a kanɛ biig ka Elasia da vʊ'ʋg o kumin la
       pʊ̯à'-kànì·   bíig kà Elasia dá vʊ'ʋg kumɪ·n la
       woman-DEM·NZ child and Elisha   TNS revive death·at   the
       "the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" 2 Kgs 8:5

       bikanɛ pʊʋg ka o mɔr la   "the child which she is pregnant with"
       bì-kànì·   pûʋg kà ò mɔr la   ("whose belly she has") Mt 1:20
       child-DEM·NZ belly   and 3a have the

       onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe   "one they have given much to" Lk 12:48
       ɔnì·   kà bà tísò· kà lì zú'e
       DEMa·NZ and 3p give·3a and 3i abound

Bʋdà-sɔ' daa bɛ́ ànína, ɔ̀n   kà man nɛ ɔn daa tʋ́m   la.
man-IDFa TNS exist there   DEMa and 1s   with 3a TNS work.IPF the
"There was a man there whom I used to work with." Spratt

Preposing is not invariable, however:

Fʋn bɔɔd ye fʋ kʋ dau sɔ' la ya'a kpi
Fún bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́ fʋ̀ kʋ dáʋ̲-sɔ' la yá' kpì
2s.NZ want   that 2s kill man-IDFa the if   die
"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" 2 Sm 17:3

Kem tʋ'ʋs Samaria na'abi tʋm ninsieba la na
Kɛm · tʋ'ʋs Samaria ná'abì· tʋ̀m nin-síebà la na
go.IMP + meet   Samaria   king·NZ   send person-IDFp the hither
"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria" 2 Kgs 1:3

Nannanna, yanamɛ daa sɔb gbauŋ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.
Nanná-na, yanámì daa sɔb gbáʋ̲ŋ-si'a lá kà m̀ sɔbıdı · lɛ́bìsìdı·yá.
Now   2p.NZ   TNS write letter-IDF   the and 1s write.IPF + reply.IPF·2p
"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." 1 Cor 7:1

In particular, complements of verbs of cognition, perception or communication
representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070) are not usually preposed:

David da tʋm sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.
David dá tʋ̀m sɔ' yɛ́ ò bu'osı · báŋ   pʋ̲a' lá·   àⁿ sɔ'.
David   TNS send IDFa that 3a ask   + discover woman the·NZ be IDFa
"David sent someone to ask and find out who the woman was." 2 Sm 11:3

Gɔsim ye fʋ na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bʋnnɛɛ?
Gɔ̀sìm yɛ́ fʋ̀ ná baŋ   lá'-bàmmá· àⁿ sɔ' búnnɛ̀ɛ·?
look.IMP that 2s   IR understand item-DEMp·NZ be IDFa thing·PQ
"Can you look and find out whose property these things are?" Gn 38:25

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.   "I know those whom I have chosen."
M̀ mí' mán gaŋ sieba la.   Jn 13:18
1s know 1s.NZ choose IDFp   the

Ɔ́n   yɛ̀l si'el la ka'   sídaa·.   "What he says is not true" S
3a.NZ say IDFi the NG.be truth·NG

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnɛɛ?

Yà báŋ   mán nìŋ si'el la gbínnɛ̀ɛ·?

2p understand 1s.NZ do   IDFi the meaning·CQ

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" Jn 13:12

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tìɩg wɛ́là · bìgìsìd lín àⁿ tí-si'a.

tree   fruit.PL + show.IPF 3i.NZ be tree-IDF

"It is the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." Mt 12:33

M na tʋmi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yɛla la tisi ya.

M̀ ná tʋmí ·m̀ Bá'·   zì'el nɔɔr sɔ' yɛ́là · tísì·ya.

1s IR   send   1s father·NZ stand mouth IDFa about + give·2p

"I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you." Lk 24:49

Non-specific complements are not preposed:

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wʋsa   "all those whom women have borne"

Pʋ'abí·   dṳà' sieba la wʋsa   Lk 7:28

woman.PL·NZ bear   IDFp   the all

M na tisif fʋn bɔɔd si'el wʋsa.   "I will give you anything you want."

M̀ ná tɪsɪ·f fʋ́n   bɔ̀ɔd si'el wʋsa.   Mk 6:23

1s IR give·2s 2s.NZ want   IDFi   all

Adverbials are not usually preposed; most exceptions involve place NPs.
Si'el$_a$ is often "where"; in B2, 75% of cifs before si'a express time or place. Locative
n/nɪ´ does not follow heads, but may follow entire clauses to express rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la   "the house where I, Paul, am"

yi-kán   kà mam Paul bɛ́ la   Rom 16:23 B1

house-DEM and 1s   Paul   exist the

ka mɔri fʋ keŋ zin'ikanɛ ka fʋ pʋ bɔɔda.

kà mɔrí·fʋ̀ · keŋ zíⁿ'-kànì·   kà fʋ̀ pʋ bɔ́ɔda·.

and have·2s   + go   place-DEM·NZ and 2s NG want·NG

"and take you where you do not want." Jn 21:18

winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la
wìnnìgì· yit   si'el halí · tì   pae ón   lùt   si'el la
sun·NZ   exit.IPF IDFi   until + next reach 3a.NZ fall.IPF IDFi the
"where the sun rises to where the sun sets" Ps 65:8

M Zugsɔba, ti zi' fʊn ken zin'isi'a la.
Ḿ   Zug-sóba·, tì zɪ'   fún   kɛn   zíⁿ'-si'a láa·.
1s   Lord·VOC   1p NG.know 2s.NZ go.IPF place-IDF the·NG
"My Lord, we don't know where you are going." Jn 14:5

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni.
Kà bùgúm níe   ón   bɛ̀ dɔ́-si'a la ní.
and fire   appear 3a.NZ exist room-IDF the at
"And fire illuminated the room where he was." Acts 12:7 B2

Abraham da nan kae saŋsi'a la, ka man pʊn bɛ.
Abraham· dà nàm ka'ȩ   san-sí'a la kà man pún bɛ̀.
Abraham·NZ TNS still   NG.exist time-IDF the and 1s   already exist
"Before Abraham existed, I already existed." Jn 8:58

Si'em "somehow" (never preposed) is common as "how" or as abstract "what";
a following la´ marks old information, as usual:

Ḿ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em.   "I know what to do."
1s know 1s.NZ IR   do   how

Ḿ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em la.   "I know what I'm to do." (W: "You
1s know 1s.NZ IR do   how   the   explained the plan earlier; this is my
                                        reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yɛlɪ·f fún nà niŋ si'em.   "They'll tell you what to do."
3p IR tell·2s 2s.NZ IR do   how

Bà yɛ̀lo· bán nìŋ si'em la.   "They told him what they'd done."
3p say·3a 3p.NZ do how   the

Ḿ gbáⁿ'e mán nà niŋ si'em.   "I've decided what to do."
1s seize   1s.NZ IR do   how

So too ón bɔ̀ɔd si'em "as he may wish" versus lín àⁿ si'em la "as things are."
Là'am nɛ or halí nɛ with a si'em clause means "although" §10.6.3.

Si'em clauses may follow gàad "surpass" to compare actions:

Mam tʋm bɛdegʋ gaad ban tʋm si'em la.
Mam túm bɛ́dὺgʋ · gâad bán tὺm si'em la.

1s   work much   + pass 3p.NZ work how   the

"I've worked much harder than they have." 2 Cor 11:23

They often occur as objects of wʋʋ "like", wɛn_{na}´ "be like":

ka ya na kɛ ka nidib dɔl man wʋʋ ziiŋba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.
kà yà ná kɛ́ kà nidib   dɔl   man wʋʋ zim-gbáⁿ'adìbì· gbaⁿ'ad zimí si'em la.

and 2p IR let and person.PL follow 1s   like   fisher.PL·NZ   catch.IPF fish.PL how   the

"you will make people follow me like fishers catch fish." Mt 4:19

Relative clauses with uncompounded heads are often used as appositives §9.7.
This is the only possible construction after heads that cannot form cifs, and is also
common when the head has a predependent other than a personal pronoun:

o da bɛ nɛ mɔɔgin linɛ kpi'e Sinai zuor la
ò dà bɛ̀   nɛ mɔɔgʋ·n líní·   kpì'e Sinai zûor la

3a TNS exist FOC grass·at   DEMi·NZ get.near Sinai   hill   the

"he was in the desert near Mount Sinai" Acts 7:30

yɛltɔɔd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la
yɛl-tôɔd   àyɔ́pɔ̀ę̣ bánì·   kà màl̯i̯ak-námá ·àyɔ́pɔ̀ę̣ mɔr la

matter-bitter.PL seven   DEMp·NZ and angel-PL   seven   have the

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" Rv 15:8

Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zugsɔb pian'ad la
Wínà'am níd   ɔ̀nì·   kɪ'ɪs Zug-sɔ́b pi̯âⁿ'ad la

God   person DEMa·NZ deny Lord   word   the

"the man of God who refused the Lord's word" 1 Kgs 13:26

While non-appositive relative clauses are restrictive, the appositional
construction allows non-restrictive meanings:

o sid onɛ da bɛ nɛ o la
ò sɪd   ɔ́nì·   dà bɛ̀ nó· la

3a husband DEMa·NZ TNS exist with·3a the

"her husband [the only other human being], who was there with her" Gn 3:6

11.5 <u>Purpose clauses</u>

Purpose clauses follow yɛ, much less often kà (B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye*, 45 of *nar ka*.) Negative raising prevents mood from being apparent in purpose-clause complements, but adjuncts generally use negative da:

> Ti pʋ bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.
> Tì pʋ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ dáʋ̯-kàŋa áaⁿ ·tì nà'aba·.
> 1p NG want   that man-DEM   be   1p king·NG
> "We don't want this man to be our king." Lk 19:14

> Nɛ'ɛŋa niŋnɛ ye ti da ti'e ti mɛŋ panga.
> Nɛ'ɛŋa níŋ nɛ yɛ́ tì da   tí'e tì mɛŋ páŋa·.
> DEMi   do   FOC that 1p NG.IMP rely 1p self   power·NG
> "This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength." 2 Cor 1:9

Irrealis also occurs: *O niŋ nɛ'ɛŋa ye nid kʋ nyaŋi dʋ'ʋs o mɛŋ Wina'am tuonnɛ* "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like narₐ´ "be necessary" (in personal constructions, "need to"), mɔr suor "be allowed to", lì à nɛ tilás "it is necessary", verbs of intent like bɔɔdₐ "want", and verbs of expectation, like gurₐ´ "watch for", where the meaning may simply be "until":

> Lì nàr yɛ́/kà   fʋ̀ kul.   "You must go home."
> 3i   must that/and 2s go.home

> Fʋ̀ pʋ nar yɛ́ fʋ̀ kulɛ·.   "You must not go home."
> 2s   NG must that 2s go.home·NG

> babayi' la nar ye ba kʋʋ ba   "both of them must be killed" Lv 20:12
> bà bàyí' la nár yɛ́ bà kʋ́ʋ·ba
> 3p   two   the must that 3p kill·3p

> Yà mɔ́r suor yɛ́ yà kul.   "You may go home."
> 2p   have   way   that 2p go.home

> Suor bɛ́ yɛ́/kà tì kul.   "We may go home."
> way   exist that/and 1p go.home

gur ye pu'a la du'a   "waiting for the woman to give birth"
gur   yɛ pṵa' la dṵá'   Rv 12:4
watch that woman the bear

Main clause and yɛ may be ellipted:

Ṁ́ dígìnɛ̀ɛ·?   "Am I to lie down?" (overheard)
1s   lie·PQ

Ò sáa ⁿwɛ̀' bʋ̀ŋ la.   "Let him hit the donkey tomorrow."
3a TNS   hit   donkey the

As a preposed or clause adverbial, àsɛ́ɛ "unless" means "necessarily":

Nannanna tʋm ka ba mɔr o na, ka asɛɛ o kpi!
Nanná-na, tʋ̀m   kà bà mɔró· na,   kà àsɛ́ɛ ò kpí!
now   send.IMP and 3p have·3a hither and unless 3a die
"Now get him brought here so that he may certainly die!" 1 Sm 20: 31

ka o gban'e ye asɛɛ ka o keŋ Jerusalem
kà ò gbaⁿ'e yɛ́ àsɛ́ɛ kà ò kɛŋ Jerusalem
and 3a seize   that unless and 3a go   Jerusalem
"and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem." Lk 9:51

Asɛɛ ka fʋ kpi.   "You will surely die." 2 Kgs 1:4
Àsɛ́ɛ kà fʋ̀ kpí.
unless and 2s die

11.6 Content clauses

Content clauses are introduced by yɛ, much less often kà (B3 has 219 examples
of *tɛn'ɛs ye*, 31 of *tɛn'ɛs ka*.) They have m/c marking and show the same range of
structures as main clauses; tense and mood are marked relative to the main clause.
They follow verbs of cognition or communication like mi' "know", pà'al "teach",
tìs nɔɔr "order", sɔ̀s "request", yɛ̀l "say", wʋ̀m in the sense "hear how something is",
tɛⁿ'ɛs´ "think", sḭ̀àk "agree":

Ya tɛn'ɛs ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?   "Who do you think I am?" Acts 13:25
Yà têⁿ'ɛs kà m̀ áaⁿ ·ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀·?
2p think   and 1s be   who·CQ

Fʊnɛ siak ye fʊ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fʊ na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?

Fʊnɪ · sı̰ák yɛ́ fʊ̀ yá' tì ka'e·,   ò nà ziⁿ'iní ·fʊ̀ na'am gbáʊ̰ŋ la zúgɔ́ɔ·?

2s   + agree that 2s if next NG.exist·NG 3a IR sit   2s kingship skin   the on·PQ

"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?" 1 Kgs 1:24

Constructions of direct physical perception take catenatives instead §11.3. Content clauses may also follow àḛⁿya "be":

M diib anɛ ye m tʊm onɛ tʊmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̀ dɪɪb á nɛ yɛ́ m̀ túm ɔ̀nì·   tʊ̀mì·m la na   bɔ́ɔdìm · nae.

1s food be FOC that 1s work DEMa·NZ send·1s   the hither will   + finish

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." Jn 4:34

Negative raising takes place after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Mam pʊ tɛn'ɛs ye o na kɛligi m pian'adɛ.

Mam pʊ tɛⁿ'ɛs yɛ́ ò nà kɛlɪgí ·m̀ pı̰àⁿ'adɛ·.

1s   NG think   that 3a IR listen   1s word.PL·NG

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." Jb 9:16

but   linzug ka ti baŋ ye o pʊ yi Wina'am san'an naa.

       lìn zúg kà tì báŋ   yɛ́ ò pʊ yi Wínà'am sâ'an náa·.

       therefore and 1p realise that 3a NG exit God   with   hither·NG

       "Therefore we realise he has not come from God." Jn 9:16

       ka o lɛɛ pʊ baŋ ye li anɛ onɛ.   "but she didn't realise it was him."

       kà ò lɛ́ɛ pʊ báŋ yɛ́ lì à nɛ onɛ·.   Jn 20:14

       and 3a but NG realise that 3i be FOC 3a·NG

Verbs of refusal/denial take a negative clause with a positive sense:

       ka o zan'as ye ba kʊ keŋɛ.   "and he refused to let them go." Ex 9:7

       kà ò zâⁿ'as yɛ́ bà kʊ́   kɛŋɛ́·.

       and 3a refuse   that 3p NG.IR go·NG

Personal pronouns reflect the main clause context. Contrastive 3rd person pronouns are logophoric; particularly in subject roles, they often appear even where ambiguity is unlikely:

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.
kà Festus táⁿs Paul yɛ́ ò gɛ̀ɛⁿm nɛ ... kà Paul lɛ́bìs yɛ ɔn pʋ gɛ́ɛⁿmm·.
and Festus   shout Paul that 3a go.mad FOC   and Paul   reply that 3a NG go.mad·NG
"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...
 Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." Acts 26:24-25 B1

ka o ki'is ye on pʋ la'aa   "and she denied that she had laughed"
kà ò kɪ'ɪs yɛ ɔn pʋ lá'a·   Gn 18:15
and 3a deny   that 3a NG laugh·NG

Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2s/p pronouns remain unaltered before the verb.

M pʋ yɛl ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yɛlaa.
Ṁ pʋ yɛ́l yɛ́ yà sɔ̀sìm Wínà'am dɪn yɛláa·.
1s NG say that 2p beg.IMP God   3i   about·NG
"I don't say that you should pray to God about that." 1 Jn 5:16

ka David tis nɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.
kà David tís nɔɔr yɛ́ bà ⁿyù'om bádà la nɛ búgúm.
and David   give mouth that 3p   burn.IMP idol.PL the with fire
"and David ordered them to burn the idols with fire." 1 Chr 14:12

Wada la kʋ yɛl nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.
Wadá la kʋ́   yɛl nid yɛ́   ò da   níŋ bàmmáa·.
law   the NG.IR say person that 3a NG.IMP do   DEMp·NG
"The law will not tell a person not to do these things." Gal 5:23

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[Ṁ yɛ́l yɛ́] ò gɔ̀sìm tɛŋɪ·n.   "[I said] she should look down."
[Ṁ tɛ̂ⁿ'ɛs kà] tì pʋ́'ʋsìm Wínà'am.   "[I think] we should praise God."

In older texts, speech verbs take content clauses, with pronouns reflecting the main clause context (even within vocatives), logophoric use of contrastive forms, and tense marking relative to the main clause. B1 may continue this over several pages: long passages insert a resumptive yɛ immediately before clause-linking kà or the subject in about every third content clause:

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.
Yɛ́ kà Paul yɛ́l yɛ́ ò bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́ ò kpɛ́lìm sarɪgá nì.
that and Paul   say that 3a want that 3a remain   prison   at
"But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison." Acts 25:21 B1

Amaa ye ka on yeli ba ...   "But he had said to them …"
Àmáa yɛ́ kà ɔn yɛ́lì·ba ...   Acts 25:16 B1
but   that and 3a   say·3p

Ka nanana ye o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin
Kà nanná-na yɛ́ ò nìŋɪ·bá Wínà'am nɛ́ ò pʋ̀-pìelìm pi̯ậⁿ'ad la nú'usɪ·n
and now   that 3a do·3p   God   with 3a virtue   speech   the hand.PL·at
"And now he committed them to God and his holy word" Acts 20:32 B1

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
 o nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.
Kà m̀ wúm Wínà'am kúkɔ́r kà lì yi áràzánà ní na   yɛ,
and 1s hear   God   voice   and 3i exit heaven   at hither that
ò nidibá·,   yɛ́ bà yìmɪ·   tɛŋ la ní na.
3a person.PL·VOC that 3p exit.IMP·2pS land the at hither
"And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying
'My people, come out of the land!'" Rv 18:4 B1

In B2/3, speech verbs simply take yɛ followed by direct quotation, though resumptive yɛ may still be inserted.

Yɛ̀l "say" is frequently ellipted before yɛ:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.   "They say 'ugly', you say 'squashhead.'"
Bà yɛ balɛrʋg, kà fʋ̀ yɛ zug-máʋ̞k.   G2 p43 (Six of one …)
3p   that ugly   and 2s that head-crumpled

11.7 <u>Prepositional clauses</u>

All prepositions §10.6.3 other than nɛ "with" may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers; àmáa "but" is not used before NPs. Only àmáa and kʋʋ/bɛɛ "or" may precede main clauses:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yɛl ...   "Some mocked him, but others said ..."
Kà sieba lá'o·.   Àmáa kà sieba yél ...   Acts 17:32
and IDFp   laugh·3a but   and IDFp   say

Wʋʋ "like" does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wʋʋ ya anɛ m biis nɛ.
M̀ pi̯áⁿ'adɪ · tísɪdɪ·yá wʋ́ʋ yà á nɛ́ m̀ biis   nɛ.
1s   speak.IPF + give.IPF·2p like   2p be FOC 1s child.PL like
"I talk to you as if you were my children." 2 Cor 6:13

Àsɛ́ɛ appears alone or before kà in the meaning "unless":

Ti kʋ zin'inɛ asɛɛ o ti paae na.   "We will not stop until he arrives."
Tì kʋ́   zi'iⁿɛ́· àsɛ́ɛ ò tí   pae na.   1 Sm 16:11
1p NG.IR sit·NG   unless 3a then arrive hither

M kʋ basif ka fʋ keŋɛ asɛɛ ka fʋ niŋi m zug bareka.
M̀ kʋ́   basí·f kà fʋ̀ kɛŋɛ́· àsɛ́ɛ kà fʋ̀ níŋì ·m̀ zug bárìkà.
1s NG.IR leave·2s and 2s go·NG unless and 2s do   1s head blessing
"I will not let you go unless you bless me." Gn 32:26

Halí before n/kà means "until, up to":

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.   "We struck it as far as Nophah."
Tì ⁿwá'a·lɪ halí · pae Nofa.   Nm 21:30
1p strike·3i   until + reach Nophah

Zugsɔb la da kɛ ka kʋkɔm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.
Zug-sɔ́b la dá kɛ̀ kà kʋ̀kɔ̀m bâⁿ'as gbaⁿ'e Nâ'ab la, halí kà ò tí kpì.
Lord   the TNS let and leper   disease seize   king   the until and 3a next die
"The Lord made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life." 2Kgs 15:5

Before a clause without linkers, halí is a focusing modifier §12.2.

12 Information packaging

12.1 Focus

Informational focus marks addressee-new information (CGEL p1370), contrast, or both; the prototypical example of new information is that given in response to a content question. Clause predicates are new information by default, but focus on subjects or VP constituents is specifically marked. Focus is distinct from foregrounding, which is effected by clefting.

Subject focus inserts linker n after the subject. The clause lacks m/c marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafʊ̀ · dúmo·.	"A snake has bitten him." W
snake + bite·3a	(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always n-focused:

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · kabɪrídà·?	"Who is asking permission to enter?"
who + ask.entry.IPF·CQ	

Anɔ'ɔn yaangi aan o?	"Whose descendant is he?" Mt 22:42
Ànɔ̂'ɔn yâaŋì · àóⁿ·o·?	
who grandchild + be·3a·CQ	

VP focus uses the particle nɛ´. When nɛ´ follows a verb with no intervening free words, it usually marks *temporal* focus where possible (see below); otherwise, it precedes focused VP constituents, or follows the entire VP to focus the verb.

Nɛ´ cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike nɛ "with", it is limited to particular clause types, never precedes bound pronouns, and need not precede a NP. It cannot appear in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, or content questions:

Ànɔ́'ɔnì · dít sá'abɔ̀·?	"Who eats/is eating porridge?"
who + eat.IPF porridge·CQ	

M̀ zug la zábìd nɛ.	"My head is hurting."
1s head the fight.IPF FOC	(What's the matter with you?)

but	M̀ zugʊ · zábìd.	"My head is hurting/hurts."
	1s head + fight.IPF	(Where is the pain?)

Ṁ á nɛ biig.   "I am a child."
1s be FOC child

but   Ṁ áaⁿ ·ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀·?   "Who am I?"
1s   be   who·CQ

mán àⁿ biig la zúg   "because I'm a child"
1s.NZ be child the on

Ṁ yí nɛ Bɔ́k.   "I come from Bawku." S
1s exit FOC Bawku

but   Meeri one yi Magdala   "Mary who came from Magdala"
      Meeri ɔ́nì·   yi Magdala   Mk 16:9 B2
      Mary   DEMa·NZ exit Magdala

Bùgúm la yít   yáa ní ná·?   "Where is the light coming from?" S
fire   the exit.IPF where at hither·CQ

Fʊ̀ bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́·?   "What do you want?"
2s   want   what·CQ

Fʊ̀ bɔ̂ɔd nɛ bɔ́·?   "What do you want it with?" W
2s   want   with what·CQ

Purpose clauses allow nɛ´, and it may appear (once) in a catenation:

Pian'am ka m bɔɔd ye fʊ nyɛnɛ bʊʊd.
Pi̯àⁿ'am kà m̀ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́ fʊ̀ ⁿyɛ nɛ bʊʊd.
speak.IMP and 1s want that 2s see FOC innocence
"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." Jb 33:32

amaa o bas sariakadib la tis nɛ Biig la
àmáa ò bàs sáríyà-kadɪb la · tís nɛ Biig la
but   3a leave law-driving   the + give FOC child the
"but he has left the judging to the Son" Jn 5:22

Nɛ´ is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. Ṁ gɔ́sìd! "I'm looking!"
in response to Fʊ̀ gɔ́sìd nɛ́ɛ·? "Are you looking?" or Gɔ̀sìm! "Look!"

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, nɛ´ by default marks <u>temporal focus</u>, implying "at the time referred to *in particular*." With ipfs, the time referred to is then strictly contained within the time of the situation, as with English progressives (CGEL pp125ff); the construction is similarly not freely used with relationship or quality verbs. With pfs expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and temporal focus is not possible. However, pfs expressing a change of state in the subject may express the resulting state itself; as this state follows after the action, the time referred to and the time of the situation never coincide. Accordingly, temporal nɛ´ after a pf marks it as stative, and if a pf cannot express a subject state change, a following nɛ´ cannot be temporal.

If the VP is negative, or if nɛ´ is separated from the verb by free words or altogether excluded by the clause type, temporal focus is unmarked:

	Ò zàbìd.	"He fights."
	Ò zàbìd nɛ.	"He's fighting."
but	Ò pʋ zábìda·.	"He's not fighting/doesn't fight."

Ò kùosìdɪ·bá nɛ.   "She's selling them."
3a sell.IPF·3p   FOC

Ò kùosìd nɛ summa   la.   "She is selling the groundnuts."
3a sell.IPF FOC groundnut.PL the

but   Ò kùosìd summa   la nɛ.   "She *sells*/is *selling* the groundnuts."
      3a sell.IPF   groundnut.PL the FOC   (constituent focus: "They're not free.")

Bɔ́ kà ò kúosìdà·?
what and 3a sell.IPF·CQ

or   Ò kùosìd bɔ́·?   "What does she sell/is she selling?"
     3a do.IPF what·CQ

Potential ambiguity between temporal and constituent focus interpretations of nɛ´ is further reduced by the fact that many verb forms do not accept temporal focus.

The VP must be indicative, so e.g. Gɔ̀sìm nɛ! "Look!" (i.e. Don't touch! W) necessarily shows constituent focus.

Only pfs able to express a subject state change can be stative, so the focus must be on constituents in

 M̀ dá' nɛ bún̂.   "I've bought a *donkey*."
1s buy FOC donkey   (What have you bought?)

Ò dìɡìl nɛ.   "He's *laid it down*."
3a lay   FOC   (I thought he'd pick it up.)

Stances and body positions are not states in Kusaal; thus

Ò dìɡìn nɛ.   "He's *lain down*." D: "Someone calls at
3a lie   FOC   your house; he thinks you're out but I'm
                                               explaining that you've gone to bed."
                                               W: "You've said: the child looks filthy.
                                               I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'en nɛ.   "She's pregnant."
3a stand FOC   (idiomatic constituent focus)

Tense-unmarked pfs in narrative cannot accept temporal focus §10.2.
Relationship and quality verbs, and ipfs of verbs in the middle construction §10.6.1 do not accept progressive or multiple-event readings; here, temporal focus is only felicitous if the clause contains an explicit time reference (even just a past tense marker), implying a temporary state of affairs and contrasting the time referred to with other times. Focus is thus on constituents in e.g.

Lì vɛ̀n   nɛ.   "It's *beautiful*." (I did not expect that.)
3i be.beautiful FOC

M̀ mɔ́r nɛ pu̯a'.   "I have a woman."
1s have FOC woman   (implies an irregular liaison, W)

Daká la zá^{n}l   nɛ.   "The box gets carried in the *hands*."
box   the hand.carry FOC   (Not on the head.)

Daam la nûud   nɛ.   "The beer is for drinking." (Not washing;
beer   the drink.IPF FOC   not "is being drunk"; cf Daam la nûud
                                               "The beer gets drunk." W)

On the other hand, nɛˊ marks a temporary state in

Nannána, lì vèn   nɛ.   "Just now, it's beautiful."
now   3i be.beautiful FOC

Lì daa vɛ́n   nɛ.   "It *was* beautiful." W: "I gave you a cup;
3i TNS   be.beautiful FOC   it was OK then, but now you've spoilt it."

Mʋ̀'ar la daa zúlìm nɛ.   "The lake *was* deep."
lake   the TNS be.deep FOC   (Now it's shallow. W)

Lì daa á nɛ súŋa.   "At the time, it was good." W
3i   TNS   be FOC well   (Lì daa áⁿ súŋa. "It was good." W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

Na'-síebà ɔ́ⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔd la.   "Some cows are eating the grass."
cow-IDFp   chew.IPF FOC grass.PL the

but   Niigí ɔ̀ⁿbìd   nɛ mɔɔd. Bà nùud   nɛ kû'om.
       cow.PL chew.IPF FOC grass.PL 3p drink.IPF FOC water
       "Cows eat grass. They drink water." (What do cows eat and drink?)

NPs containing sʋ̀ŋaˊ/sʋ̀m "well", bɛ'ɛd "bad" or sìdà "truth" as manner nouns,
or the "two, three exactly" quantifiers àyíŋaˊ àtáŋaˊ, are not permitted targets of
focus with nɛˊ; a preceding nɛˊ must be temporal, and even relationship or quality
verbs with no clause time marking are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

Lì àⁿ súŋa/bɛ'ɛd.   "It's good/bad."
3i be   well   badness

o sariakadib a sum ne sida.   "His judgment is good and true."
ɔ̀ sàríyà-kadɪb áⁿ súm nɛ sídà.   Rv 19:2 B1
3a law-driving   be good with truth

but   Lì à nɛ súŋa.   "It's good." (Now; it wasn't before. W)
       3i be FOC well

M̀ mɔ́r nɛ biisá ·àtáŋa.   "I've got exactly three children just now."
1s have FOC child.PL three.exactly   D: "On a school trip, talking about how
                                               many children everyone has brought."

As old information, definite NPs are usually only focused contrastively, e.g.

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suŋ.
Fừ pʋ má' n tìs nin-sáala·, àmáa fừ má' n tís nɛ Wínà'am Sí-sừŋ.
2s NG lie + give human·NG   but   2s lie   + give FOC God   spirit-good
"You have lied not to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." Acts 5:4 B2

However, proper names may be new information when not referring:

O yʋ'ʋr na anɛ Joon.   "His name will be John." Lk 1:60
Ò yʋ'ʋr ná a nɛ Joon.
3a name   IR be FOC John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba anɛ Apam biis.   "They are Apam's children." G3 p6
Bà à nɛ́   à Pam bîis.   (Apam and the children have been
3p be FOC PZ Apam child.PL   mentioned, but not their relationship)

This is common with nominalised clauses as arguments.
Location at a known place may be new information:

Ǹ yí nɛ Bɔ́k.   "I come from Bawku." S
1s exit FOC Bawku

Bɛ̀ "exist" with a focused place adverbial means "be somewhere":

Dàʋ̱-sɔ' bɛ́ dɔ́-kàŋa la pʋ́ʋgʋ·n.   "There is a man in that hut."
man-IDFa exist hut-DEM   the inside

but   Ò bɛ̀   nɛ dɔ́-kàŋa la pʋ́ʋgʋ·n.   "He is inside that hut." (Where is he?)
3a exist FOC hut-DEM   the inside

Mam bene moogin.   "I'm in the bush." G1 p8
Mam bɛ́ nɛ mɔɔgʋ·n.   (= *Moogin ka mam bɛ* G1 p10)
1s   exist FOC grass·at

The complement of àęⁿya "be something" in ascriptive sense is typically new information and preceded by nɛ´ when syntactically permitted; in the specifying sense, the subject usually has n-focus instead:

Ò à nɛ baaⁿlím.   "She is quiet."

3a be FOC quietness

Lì à nɛ bʋgʋsíga.   "It's soft."

3i be FOC softly

Ṁ á nɛ dʋ́'atà.   "I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)

1s be FOC doctor

Manɪ · áⁿ dʋ́'atà la.   "I'm the doctor." (Which is the doctor?)

1s   + be doctor   the

Manɪ · áⁿ dʋ́'atà àmáa fʋn pʋ áⁿya·.   "I'm a doctor but you aren't."

1s   + be doctor   but   2s   NG be·NG

Nɔbibisi a mam disuŋ.   "Chicks are my favourite food." G1 p13
Nɔ-bíbìsì · áⁿ mam dí-sʋ̀ŋ.

hen-small.PL + be 1s   food-good

Focus on an argument under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

Ṁ ka' dʋ́'ataa·.   "I'm not a doctor."

1s NG.be doctor·NG

Ṁ ka'   nɛ dʋ́'ataa·.   "I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)

1s NG.be FOC doctor·NG

Ṁ pʋ dá' nɛ búŋa·.   "I haven't bought a *donkey*."

1s NG buy FOC donkey·NG   (I bought something else.)

12.2 Focusing modifiers

Focusing modifiers relate constituents to the discourse context. Most follow
top-level NPs. ("Focus" here refers to the scope of the modifier, CGEL p589.)

mɛ̀, W mɛ̀n; clause-finally mɛ̀n "also, too." It may focus an ellipted subject pronoun.

O pu'a mɛ kena.   "His wife also came." Acts 5:7
Ò pṵa' mɛ́ kɛ́ na.

3a wife   also come hither

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fʋ biig mɛn.   "Because he is your child too." Gn 21:13
bɔ zúgó ò à nɛ́ fʋ̀ biig mɛ́n.
because   3a be FOC 2s child also

Manɛ maal Israel, ka mɛ aan ya na'ab.
Manɪ · mâal Israel, kà mɛ́ áaⁿ ·yà nà'ab.
1s   + make Israel   and also be   2p king
"I created Israel, and am also your king." Is 43:15

nɔɔ "just, exactly": e.g. dàa-kàn la nɔɔ "that very day", and

Fʋ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fʋn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.
Fʋ̀ yá' mɔr ya'am, fʋn nɔɔ ná díɪ ·lì malɪsím.
2s   if   have sense   2s exactly IR eat 3i joy
"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." Prv 9:12

kòtàa lf kòtàanɛ̀ "at all" appears in Áyɪ̀ kòtàa. "Not at all."
mà'àa lf mà'anɛ̀ "only":

Zina ma'aa ka m wʋm.   "Only today have I heard it." Gn 21:26
Ziná má'àa kà m̀ wʋ́m.
today only   and 1s hear

gʋ̀llɪmm lf gʋ̀llìmnɛ̀ "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gʋllim nɛ?   "Is it not God alone?" Lk 5:21
Lì ka'   nɛ Wínà'am gʋ́llìmnɛ̀ɛ··?
3i NG.be FOC God   only·NG·PQ

báa with a negative VP means "even" in the adverbial báa bi'elá "(not) even a little"
and in the NP postdependent báa yɪnní "(not) even one":

Da tʋmi si'el baa bi'elaa.   "Do no work at all." Lv 23:31
Da   túmɪ·   si'el báa bi'eláa·.
NG.IMP work·2pS IDFi even slightly·NG

Fʋ du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yʋ'ʋr buon alaa.
Fʋ̀ dʋ'adɪb báa yɪnní ká'ę̀   kà ò yʋ'ʋr bûon àláa·.
2s   relative.PL even one   NG.exist and 3a name call.IPF thus·NG
"Not one of your relatives is called that." Lk 1:61

halí "as far as" §10.6.3 is a focusing modifier before NPs or clauses not expressing time or place. Before manner nouns it means "very"; the noun itself is often ellipted:

Lì tɔ̀ẹ̜   halí [bɛ́dʋ̀gʋ].   "It's very difficult."
3i be.bitter until   much

Halí (là'am) nɛ means "even" before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am nɛ on zi' la   "even though he does not know" Lv 5:3
halí là'am   nɛ ón   zɪ'   la
even together with 3a.NZ NG.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pʋ sɔbi li ...
halí nɛ mán daa sɔbɪ · tísì·ya si'em la, m̀ daa pʋ sɔbí·lɪ ...
even with 1s.NZ TNS write + give·2p how   the   1s TNS NG write·3i
"Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." 2 Cor 7:12

Hali nɛ man vʋe nwa ...   "Even as I live ..." Rom 14:11
Halí nɛ mán vʋẹ̜ ⁿwá ...
even with 1s.NZ live   this

Before a non-nominalised clause with no linker, halí (báa) means "even"; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adverbial like a yà'-clause.

Hali tʋʋmbɛ'ɛd dim niŋid ala.   "Even sinners do that." Lk 6:33
Halí tʋ̀ʋm-bɛ'ɛd dím níŋìd àlá.
even   deed-bad.PL   Øp   do.IPF thus

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tʋ'ʋsif.
Halí ò bɛ̀ suorɪ · kɛn   na yɛ́ ò tʋ'ʋsí·f.
even   3a exist road + come.IPF hither that 3a meet·2s
"He's even now on the way coming here to meet you." Ex 4:14

Hali baa bama wʋsa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man kʋ basi fɔ.
Halí báa bàmma wʋsa yá' nà zɔ́ kà básì·f, man kʋ́   basɪ·fɔ́·.
even   DEMp   all   if   IR run and leave·2s 1s   NG.IR leave·2s·NG
"Even if they all run away and leave you, I will not." Mt 26:33

12.3 Preposing, clefting and dislocation

NPs other than subjects may be foregrounded by preposing them before kà. Resumptive pronouns are used only for NPs extracted from prepositional phrases or direct objects from subordinate clauses. Tense marking and focus appear as usual.

Mid ka sɔ' digil ye bɛog ka o di.   "Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow."
Mìt   kà sɔ' dɪgɪl yɛ béog   kà ò dí.   Ex 16:19
beware and IDFa lay   that tomorrow and 3a eat

Bi'el bí'el kà kɔlɪg pê'ɛl nɛ.   "Little by little, a river is full." (Proverb)
little   little and river   fill   FOC

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew
 dim la yela.
Dìn zúg kà mam Paul n bɛ́ sarɪgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg
therefore   and 1s   Paul   + exist prison   at Jesus   Christ   on
yanám bûud-bànì·   ka' Jew dím la yɛ́là.
2p   tribe-DEMp·NZ NG.be Jew   Øp the about
"Thus I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you gentiles." Eph 3:1 B2

Complements of àe̞ⁿya "be" are not preposed: *Mam a bo?* "What am I?" G1 p4.
    NPs containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed; this is compulsory when bɔ is used in the meaning "why?"

Bɔ ka fʋ bɔɔda?   "What do you want?" Est 7:2
Bɔ́ kà fʋ̀ bɔ́ɔdà·?
what and 2s want·CQ

Nu'-bíbìsá ·àlá   kà fʋ̀ ⁿyɛtá·?   "How many fingers can you see?" S
finger.PL   how.many and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Niŋgbiŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?   "What kind of body will they have?"
Nìn-gbiŋ-bɔ́-buudí kà bà ná tɪ mɔrá·?   1 Cor 15:35
body-what-sort   and 3p IR next have·CQ

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sʋnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yʋma piisnaasi la?
Kà ànɔ̂'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am sú ⁿf dá pɛ̀lìg nɛ́ bà yʋ̀mà pis naasí lá·?
and who-PL   and God   heart TNS whiten with 3p   year.PL forty   the·CQ
"And who was God angry with for forty years?" Heb 3:17

Bɔ́ kà fʊ̀ kúmmà·?   "Why are you crying?"

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

Preposing without foregrounding is seen in relative clauses §11.4.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán ⁿwɛ̀' daʊ̱ la zúg kà pɔlɪs gbáⁿ'a·m.

1s.NZ hit   man the on   and police seize·1s

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." Spratt

Clefting involves a whole clause, either identificational or lì à nɛ NP "it is NP", followed by a catenative clause with n or kà by the usual rule §11.3. The complement of the first clause is foregrounded and focused, with an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness in statements. Resumptive pronoun usage is as with preposing.

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tʊʊmbɛ'ɛdi basida?

Ànɔ̂'ɔn · ⁿwáa · yisid   nidib   tʊ̂ʊm-bɛ'ɛdɪ · básìdà·?

who   + this   + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL   + reject.IPF·CQ

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

Bɔɔ · lá kà m̀ ⁿyɛtá·?   "What is that that I can see?"

what + that and 1s see.IPF·CQ

Li anɛ o pu'a sʊ'oe li.   "It is his wife who owns it." 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á nɛ́ ò pṳa' · sʊ́'ʊ·lɪ.

3i   be FOC 3a wife   + own·3i

Li anɛ ya taaba banɛ pʊ'ʊsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à nɛ́ yà taaba bánì·   pʊ̀'ʊsìd Wínà'am kà lì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

3i be FOC 2p fellow DEMp·NZ greet.IPF God   and 3i must and 2p drive law

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." 1 Cor 5:12

Dislocation to clause-initial position may occur with heavy complements; unlike preposing, dislocation does not use kà, and resumptive pronouns must be used:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wìl-kànì·   bɛ̀ɛ ·m̀ ní kà pʊ wɛ́nna·, m̀ Ba' ⁿwá'adɪ·lí n básìd.

branch-DEM·NZ exist 1s   at and NG fruit.IPF·NG 1s father cut.IPF·3i   + reject.IPF

"A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts out." Jn 15:2 B2

Heavy clause adverbials may dislocate rightwards §11.2.3. Right-dislocation is also recognisable when constituents (never pronouns) follow VP-final particles. Manner adverbials are intensified; otherwise, the sense is contrary to expectation:

M̀ pû'ʋs ya bɛ́dʋ̀gʋ.	"Thank you very much."
Ò dà' ya múi̯.	"She's bought rice." (Of all things!)
cf Ò dà' nɛ múi̯.	"She's bought rice." (What did she buy?)

12.4 Presentation

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs, which here have specific reference. Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers may be used. New entities may be subjects of location verbs, or objects of verbs of finding etc, often with a following catenative:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir.   "There was a man who had one wife."
Dau̯ dá bɛ̀ · mɔrí ·ò pu̯à'-yɩmmír.   G2 p26
man   TNS exist + have   3a wife-single

Dapa atan' n da be.   "There were once three men." G2 p16
Dapá ·àtáⁿ' n dá bɛ̀.
man.PL three + TNS exist

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dau̯ daa zíⁿ'i Listra ní kà pʋ tuⁿ'e · kɛnná·.
and man TNS sit   Lystra   at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG
"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." Acts 14:8 B2

Pu'a sɔ' da bɛ mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.
Pu̯à'-sɔ' dá bɛ̀ · mɔ́r ò bi-púŋ kà kìkirig dɔlló·.
woman-IDFa TNS exist + have 3a girl   and fairy   follow·3a
"There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." Mk 7:25

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yʋ'ʋr buon Aneas.
Àníná kà ò ⁿyɛ dáu̯ kà ò yʋ'ʋr bûon Aneas.
there   and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas
"There he found a man called Aeneas." Acts 9:33

13 <u>Formulae</u>

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wɛlá·?	"How did you sleep?" (First morning greeting.)
Dúe wɛlá·?	"How did you get up?" (First morning greeting.)
Nintaŋ áⁿ wɛlá·?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'ʋŋ áⁿ wɛlá·?	"How is the evening?"
Fʋ̀ yi-dímà·?	"... your household?"
Nìn-gbiná·?	"... body?" (i.e. "How are you?")
Pu̯a' nɛ bíisɛ̀·?	"... wife and children?"

and so on, often at length. Replies:

Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́.	"There is health." (Also used as a greeting.)
Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́o·.	... for him/her.
Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́ɛ·bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern Bárìkà nɛ́ fʋ̀/yà ... "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted; reply: Náa.

Kɛn kɛn.	"Welcome!"
Nɛ zâam zâam.	"Good evening."
Tʋʋma! or Tʋʋma tʋʋma!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nɛ sɔ́ⁿsìga.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own wın$_n$´.)
Nɛ́ fʋ̀ bʋrıyá-sʋ̀ŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Nɛ́ fʋ̀ yʋ̀ʋm-paalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands; reply Tɔ̀ "OK", or a similar agreement.

Bɛogʋ · la.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtínì dáarì · la.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm súŋa.	"Sleep well."
Kpɛ̀lìmı· súm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pʋ̀'ʋsìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply Tɔ̀, or Bà nà wʋm "They will hear."

Prayers; reply Àmí "Amen."

Wın ná lɛbısı·f nɛ láafɪyà.	"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wın ná ta'así·f.	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wın ná sʋŋı·f.	"God will help you." (usually expresses thanks)

Other formulae:

M̀ pʋ̂'ʋs ya [bɛ́dʋ̀gʋ].	"Thank you [very much]." Reply Tɔ̀, or Pʋ̀'ʋsʋ̀g ka'e·. "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.	"Sorry"; in apology, or just sympathy.
Kabır kabırí!	Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
Dìm sugurú.	"Forgive me."
M̀ bɛ́lìm nɛ.	"I beg you."
X lábaar áⁿ wɛlá·?	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is Dıʋb má'àa. "Only food." i.e. "good."
M̀ mɔr kû'om náa·?	"Shall I bring water?" First words to a guest. "No, thanks" is Kù'om áⁿ súm. ("Water is good.")
Wın yɛ́l sídà.	"Bless you!" ("God speaks truth": sneezing means someone elsewhere is praising you. W)
Fʋ̀ wʋ́m Kʋsáalɛ̀ɛ·?	"Do you understand Kusaal?"
Ɛɛⁿ, m̀ wʋ́m.	"Yes, I do."

14 <u>Texts</u>

<u>Three Brigands</u> (G2 p16)

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 si'em ku bane kpelim anniga 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 kpe, ka on kiak 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.

Dapá ·àtáⁿ' n dá bɛ̀. Bà dà à nɛ dáp-kaⁿda sʊ́'ŋa. Kà daar yɩnní kà bà lá'asɩ · zíⁿ'inì
man.PL three + TNS exist 3p TNS be FOC man-tough.PL well   and day   one   and 3p gather + sit

· gbaⁿ'e yɛ́ bà dûom ·   i̯a bʊ́dàalìm lâ'ad   n ginnɩ   ·kʊʊd nidib   má'àa kà da
+ grab   that 3p rise.IMP + seek courage   goods.PL + roam.IPF + kill.IPF person.PL only   and NG.IMP

lém tùm si'ela·. Bà sìd dùe · i̯a   sʊ̂'ʊs nɛ záⁿ'anà   nɛ tí-daad nɛ pimá   nɛ lʊ̂'ad
again work IDFi·NG 3p truly rise + seek knife.PL with bludgeon.PL with bow.PL   with arrow.PL with quiver.PL

nɛ kpana nɛ málì sʊ́'ŋa n pi ⁿ'ilɩ · ginnɩ   · ied   nidib   yɛ́ bà yá' ⁿyɛ sɔ' ban kʊ.
with spear.PL with gun.PL well   + begin + wander.IPF + seek.IPF person.PL that 3p if   find IDFa 3p   kill

"Once there were three men. They were real toughs. One day they met and decided to go and find weapons and go round just killing people so as never to have to work again. So they went looking for lots of swords, bludgeons, bows, arrows, quivers, spears and guns and began searching for people to find someone they could kill."

Bà gìlìgí ·àlá nɛ ⁿwadısá ·àtáⁿ' nɛ dábìsà ·àtáⁿ'. Bà pʊ ⁿyɛ nidı · ná kʊʊ·. Kà kpɛ́lìm
3p go.round thus with month.PL   three with day.PL   three   3p NG find person + IR kill·NG and remain

mɔr kɛn nɛ kɛn nɛ kɛn. Dabá ànu dâar bà ⁿyɛ nɛ lallí sà   kà si'el zí'e sabíllì
have going with going with going day.PL five   day 3p see with far hence and IDFi stand black

· wʊʊ nid   nɛ, kà bà kpɛɛⁿm la yɛ́ bà kɛ́m · kúo·, yɛ́ ò sɔb yá' pʊ̀n   túⁿ'e kà mɔr nɛ
+ like person like and 3p elder   the that 3p go.IMP + kill·3a that 3a Øa if already be.able and have FOC

láʋ̥k-si'a wʊsa, bà nà ⁿyaŋı · kúo·. Kà ɔ̀ŋa   giŋıd   kpɛ, kà ɔ̀ŋa giŋıd   kpɛ,
item-IDF   all   3p IR prevail + kill·3a and DEMa intercept.IPF there and DEMa intercept.IPF there

bà tì kɛŋ · pae ·ⁿyɛ́ kà lì ka'   nidá·,   kà á nɛ bɔtʊ́ kà ligidi pê'ɛl mà'àa má'àa má.
3p next go   + reach + see and 3i NG.be person·NG and be FOC sack and money fill   only   only   only

Kà bà yɛ Àtɔ̀, kà nanná-na ⁿwá, tì yɛ́ tì niŋ ligidi ⁿwá walá·? Kà bà yɛ, bà nà pʊdıg nɛ.
and 3p say so   and now   this 1p that 1p do   money this how·CQ and 3p say 3p IR share FOC

Àmáa bà yɛ́ lì nár kà bà yis   ligidi la n kɛŋ · dá' daam · ná nu yiigá kà ⁿyaan pʊdıg
but   3p that 3i must and 3p extract money the + go + buy beer   + IR drink firstly and next   share

ligidi la. Kà yis   ligidi la bi'elá yɛ biig la kɛ́m   · dá' yʊʊr ná kà bà nu.
money the   and extract money the little   that child the go.IMP + buy jug hither and 3p drink

"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. 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; even if he was capable and fully equipped, they would be able to kill him. And one blocked this way, and one blocked that way, but once they got there they saw that it wasn't a person but a bag full of money. They said: 'Well, now! What are we going to do with this money?' 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. And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Biig lá·   kɛn la, ò tɛ̀ⁿ'ɛsìd nɛ ɔ́n   nà niŋ si'em · kʊ bánì·   kpɛ̀lìm àní na la, kà váe
child   the·NZ go.IPF the 3a think.IPF FOC 3a.NZ IR do   how   + kill DEMp·NZ remain   there   the and gather

ligidi la wʊsa wʊsa n sʊ'e, ò yɛ̀lí ·ò mɛŋ yɛ, ò nà da' nɛ daam, kà bɔ́ tì-kʊʋdím
money the all   all   + own   3a say 3a self   that 3a IR buy FOC beer   and seek medicine-killing

n lɔ́s   daamí·n la n pae   · tíı·bá kà bà nuu · kpí kà ò sʊ'e ligidi la wʊsa.
+ immerse beer·at   the + reach + give·3p and 3p drink + die and 3a own   money the all

Kà síd dà' daam la, kà bɔ́ tì-kʊʋdím   n lɔ́s.
and truly buy beer   the and seek medicine-killing + immerse

"As the youngest was on his way, 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 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. And so he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it."

Zɩˈɩsígɛ·, kà bà bàyí' lá· kpɛlìm la mɛ́ gbaⁿ'e nɛ yɛ́ bà kʋ biig lá· kɛŋ
NG.know·NG and 3p two the·NZ remain the also grab FOC that 3p kill child the·NZ go

daam la dâ'ab la, kà mɛ́ sʋ'e ligidi la. Biig lá·ǹ mɔr daam la · pae na la,
beer the buying the and also own money the child the·NZ have beer the + reach hither the

kà ɔ̀ŋa ki̯á' kpɛ, kà ɔn ki̯á' kpɛ, n kí'o· · kʋ, kà yʋ'ʋn záŋ daam la · nu wán wán,
and DEMa cut here and 3a cut here + cut·3a + kill and then take beer the + drink glug glug

lì pʋ yúugɛ·, kà bà wʋsa wʋsa mɛ́ kpɛ́lìm kpì zìⁿ'-kàn la nɔ́ɔ kà bà sɔ' sɔ'
3i NG delay·NG and 3p all all also immediately die place-DEM the exactly and 3p IDFa IDFa

pʋ ⁿyaŋɪ · pâam la'af la báa yɪnní · mɔrɪ · kulí ·bà yáa·nɛ·.
NG prevail + receive cowry the not.one + have + go.home 3p house.PL·at·NG

"Unbeknownst, the two who stayed behind had also decided to kill the lad who went to buy the beer and keep the money themselves. When the lad arrived back with the beer, one cut him here and one cut him there, cutting him to death, and then they 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 Kʋsâas yɛ́ fʋ̀ yá' tɛⁿ'ɛs bɛɛ túm bɛ'ɛd yɛ́ fʋ̀ tísì ·fʋ̀ tɪrâan,
3i and Kusaasi.PL that 2s if think or act bad that 2s give 2s peer

fʋ̀ mâanní ·fʋ̀ mɛŋ yâ'as la.
2s make.IPF 2s self again the

"That's why the Kusaasi say: if you think or do evil toward your neighbour, you're doing it to yourself in return."

Proverbs (G2 pp38ff)

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.   "Water is bailed and returns between my legs."
Kù'om káadì · lɛ́bìs nɛ́ m̀ gɛogʋ·n.   (Charity begins at home.)
water bail.IPF + return FOC 1s between.legs·at

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.   "Water runs on mud."
Kù'om zɔ́t nɛ bi̯aⁿ'ar zúg.   (You scratch my back ...)
water run.IPF FOC riverbed on

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.   "Stones build up on a hill."
Kugá là'asìd nɛ zuorɪ·n.   (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)
stone.PL gather.IPF FOC hill·at

Awiak seung zi' senne.   "Hatched-in-the-rains doesn't know hawks."
À wi̯ak sɛoⁿg zɪ' sínnɛ·.   (Fool's paradise.)
PZ hatch rainy.season NG.know hawk.PL·NG

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.   "Didn't see the rain coming, did see the rain."

Pʋ ⁿyɛ saa kʋ́ʋbɔ·, kà ⁿyɛ saa nîib.   (Wise after the event.)

NG see rain threat·NG and see rain raining

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree.   "Declared-innocent doesn't loiter in the court."

À di'e   bʋʋd   pʋ zíⁿ'i ná'-yirɛ́·.   (Quit while you're ahead.)

PZ receive innocence NG sit   chief-house·NG

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.   "The thatch is off but the rafters remain."

Mɔɔdı · pílìg   kà yʋ'ada bɛ́.   (Where there's life there's hope.)

grass.PL + strip.off and rafter.PL exist

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà pʋ nɔkíd na'-bínnì · lɔbıgíd   náafɔ·.

3p NG take.IPF cow-dung   + throw.at.IPF cow·NG

"They don't throw dung at a cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

Kpɛɛⁿm á nɛ tɛ̂'ɛg, ò tìgìd   nɛ bálàyà.

elder   be FOC baobab 3a sate.IPF FOC stick.PL

"An elder is a baobab - plenty of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zu'om   yá' yɛ́ ò nà lɔbıg, bàŋìm   kà ò nɔ̀   nɛ kugur.

blind.person if   that 3a IR throw.at realise.IMP and 3a stand.on FOC stone

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Balɛrʋgʋ · zı'   yɛ́ ò àⁿ balɛrʋgɔ́·, kà tadım mi' yɛ́ ò àⁿ tadım.

ugly   + NG.know that 3a be ugly·NG   and weak   know that 3a be weak

"The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak."

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fʋ̀ yá' bɔɔd támpìiⁿg sîiⁿd, fʋ̀ pʋ lɛ́m zɔ̀t   líeŋ dâʋg ⁿyɔɔgɔ·.

2s if want rock   honey 2s NG again run.IPF axe wood sympathy·NG

"If you want honey out of a stone, you no longer pity the axeshaft."

Legion (Mk 5:1-15)

Ka Yesu nɛ o nya'andɔlib kena paae Gerasene teŋin, Galile mu'ar nya'aŋ. Ka
Yesu yi anrʋŋʋn la, ka dau onɛ ka kikiris dɔl o yi yaadin naa tʋ'ʋs o. Dau kaŋa daa bɛ
nɛ yaadin la, hali ka sɔ' kae na nyaŋi lɔɔ o nɛ banaa. Ba da ɛɛnti nɔknɛ bana lɔɔ o
nɔba nɛ o nu'us. Ka o kɛns nu'us bana la ka kɛnsi kɛns nɔba bana la bas. Sɔ' da kae
paŋi na nyaŋ oo. Nintaŋ nɛ yʋ'ʋŋ wʋsa o gɔɔndnɛ yaadin nɛ zuoya la ni ka mɔr kuga
nwaad o mɛŋ ka maan tʋkpiidʋg.

On da nyɛ Yesu ka o bɛ lalli la, ka o zɔɔ keŋ igin o tuon ka tans ye, "Yesu,
Wina'am onɛ ka' tiraan la Biiga, bɔ bɛ man nɛ fʋ sʋʋginɛ? Wina'am sʋ'ʋm zug, m
bɛlimnɛ, da namisi ma." Bɔzugɔ Yesu pʋn yɛl o ye, "Kikiriga yim dau kaŋa san'an na."
Nɛ'ɛŋa kɛ ka o yɛli ala. Ka Yesu bu'os o ye, "Fʋ yʋ'ʋrɛ?" Ka dau la lɛbis ye, "M yʋ'ʋri
buon Babiga, bɔzugɔ, ti galis nɛ." Ka o bɛllim Yesu nɛ nimmua ye o da kad kikiris la
yis teŋ kan la nii.

Kukurnam bɛdegʋ da bɛ zuor la babaa dit ka ba kal an wʋʋ tusa ayi'. Ka kikiris
la bɛllim o ye, "Kɛl ka ti keŋ kpɛn' kukurnam la ni." Ka o siak ka kikiris la yi dau la ni
kpɛn' kukurnamin la. Ka ba wʋsa zɔɔ sig bɛuŋin ka ku'om dii ba.

Dap banɛ da gur kukurnam la da zɔɔ keŋ tempʋʋgin nɛ temkpɛmisin tu'as linɛ
maal la wʋsa. Ka nidib yii keŋ ye ba gɔs linɛ maal. Ban da paae Yesu san'an la, ba nyɛ
ka dau kanɛ ka kikiris daa dɔl o la zin' anina, ka yɛ fuud ka o ya'am tiaki an sʋ'ʋm. Ka
dabiem kpɛn' ba.

Kà Yesu nɛ́ ò ⁿya'an-dɔ́llìb kɛ na   · pae Gerasene tɛ́ŋɩ·n, Galile mû'ar ⁿyà'aŋ.
and Jesus with 3a disciple.PL   come hither + reach Gerasene   land·at   Galilee lake   east
Kà Yesu yi áⁿrʋ̀ŋʋ·n la, kà daʋ ɔ́nì·   kà kìkiris dɔ́llo· · yi yáadɩ·n   naa · tʋ'ʋsó·.
and Jesus exit boat·at   the and man DEMa·NZ and fairy.PL follow·3a + exit grave.PL·at hither + meet·3a
Dàʋ̯-kàŋa daa bɛ́ nɛ yáadɩ·n   la, halí kà sɔ' ka'e   · ná ⁿyaŋɩ · lɔ́o· nɛ banaa·.
man-DEM   TNS exist FOC grave.PL·at the even and IDFa NG.exist + IR prevail + tie·3a with fetter.PL·NG
Bà dà ɛɛⁿ tí nɔk nɛ bana · lɔ́o ·ò nɔbá nɛ́ ò nû'us. Kà ò kɛ́ⁿs nû'us bánà la, kà kɛ́ⁿsì ·
3p TNS usually take FOC fetter.PL + tie   3a leg.PL with 3a hand.PL and 3a break hand.PL fetter.PL the and break +
kèⁿs nɔbá bànà la. Sɔ' dá ka'   páⁿì · ná ⁿyaŋó·o·. Nintaŋ nɛ yʋ́'ʋŋ wʋsa, ò gɔɔ́ⁿd
break leg.PL fetter.PL the IDFa TNS NG.have power + IR   prevail·3a·NG day   with night   all   3a roam.IPF
nɛ yáadɩ·n   nɛ zʋ̯eya la ní kà mɔr kugá · ⁿwá'ad ò mɛ́ŋ kà mâan   tʋ̀kpɩɩdʋg.
FOC grave.PL·at with hill.PL   the at and have stone.PL + strike   3a self   and make.IPF tumult
"Jesus and his disciples came to the land of the Gerasenes, east of Lake Galilee.
After Jesus left the boat, a man afflicted by demons came from the tombs to meet
him. This man had been among the tombs, until nobody was able to shackle him.
They would shackle his feet and hands, but he broke the hand fetters and shattered
the leg fetters. Nobody had the strength to overcome him. Day and night he roamed
among the tombs and hills cutting himself with stones and making a commotion."

Ɔn   dà ⁿyɛ Yesu kà ò bɛ́ lallí la, kà ò zɔ́ɔ · kɛŋ · ígìn ò tùon kà táⁿs yɛ,
3a.NZ TNS see Jesus and 3a exist far the and 3a run + go   + kneel 3a before and shout that

"Yesu, Wínà'am ɔ́nì·   ka'   tɪrâan la Bíiga,   bɔ · bɛ́ man nɛ́ fʊ̀ sʊ̀ʊgʊ·nɛ́·?
 Jesus   God   DEMa·NZ NG.have peer   the child·VOC what + exist 1s   with 2s between·CQ

Wínà'am sʊ̂'m   zùg, m̀ bɛ́lìm nɛ, da   namɪsí·ma·." Bɔ zúgɔ Yesu pún yélò· yɛ,
God   goodness on   1s beg   FOC NG.IMP persecute·1s·NG because   Jesu already say·3a that

"Kìkirigá, yìm   dáʋ̯-kàŋa sâ'an na." Nɛ'ɛŋa kɛ́ kà ò yɛ́lì ·àlá. Kà Yesu bu'osó· yɛ,
fairy·VOC   exit.IMP man-DEM among hither DEMi   let and 3a do   thus and Jesus ask·3a   that

"Fʊ̀ yʊ'ʋrɛ́·?" Kà daʋ̯ la lɛ́bìs yɛ, "M̀ yʊ'ʋrɪ · bûon Bábìga, bɔ zúgɔ, tì gálìs nɛ."
 2s name·CQ   and man the reply that 1s name + call.IPF many   because   1p exceed FOC

Kà ò bɛ́lìm Yesu nɛ nin-múa yɛ́ ò da   kád kìkiris la · yis   tɛ́ŋ-kàn la níɪ·.
and 3a beg   Jesus with earnestness that 3a NG.IMP drive fairy.PL the + expel land-DEM the at·NG

"When he saw Jesus far off, he ran and knelt before him and shouted:
'Jesus, Son of God who has no equal, what is there between me and you? By God's
goodness, I beg you not to torment me.' For Jesus had already said to him: 'Demon,
come out of that man'; that made him say this. And Jesus asked him: 'What is your
name?' The man replied, 'My name is Many, because we are a great many.' And he
begged Jesus earnestly not to drive the demons out of that country."

Kùkʋr-nám bɛ́dʊ̀gʊ dá bɛ̀ zuor la bábàa · dìt   kà bà kal   áⁿ wʋʋ tusá   àyí'. Kà
pig-PL   much   TNS exist hill the beside + eat.IPF and 3p number be like thousand.PL two   and

kìkiris la bɛ́lìmò· yɛ, "Kɛ̀l   kà tì kɛŋ · kpɛ́ⁿ' kùkʋr-nám la ní." Kà ò si̯ák kà kìkiris la
fairy.PL the beg·3a   that let.IMP and 1p go + enter pig-PL   the at   and 3a agree and fairy.PL the

yi daʋ̯ la ní · kpɛ̀ⁿ' kùkʋr-námɪ·n la. Kà bà wʋsa zɔ́ɔ · sig   bɛoŋí·n kà kù'om díɪ·ba.
exit man the at + enter   pig-PL·at   the and 3p all   run + descend lake·at   and water   eat·3p

"There were many pigs grazing beside the hill, about two thousand in number. And
the demons begged him: 'Let us go into the pigs.' He agreed for the demons to leave
the man and enter the pigs. And they all ran down into the lake and were drowned."

Dàp-bànì·   dà gur kúkʋr-nám la dá zɔ̀ɔ · kɛŋ tɛ́ŋ-pʋʋgú·n nɛ tɛ́ŋ-kpɛmɪsɪ·n · tʊ̂'as
man-DEMp·NZ TNS watch pig-PL   the TNS run + go   town·at   with village.PL·at   + talk

línì·   màal la wʋsa. Kà nidib   yii · kɛŋ yɛ́ bà gɔs línì·   màal. Bán dà pae
DEMi·NZ make the all   and person.PL exit + go   that 3p look DEMi·NZ make 3p.NZ TNS reach

Yesu sâ'an la, bà ⁿyɛ́ kà dàʋ̯-kànì· kà kìkiris daa dɔlló· la zíⁿ'i   àní-na, kà yɛ́ fuud,
Jesus among the 3p see and man-DEM·NZ and fairy.PL TNS follow·3a the be.sitting there   and don cloth.PL

kà ò ya'am ti̯ákì · àⁿ sʊ̂'m.   Kà dàbiem kpɛ́ⁿ'ɛ·ba.
and 3a sense change + be goodness and fear   enter·3p

"The men who had been guarding the pigs ran to the town and villages to tell all
about what had happened, and people came out to see what had happened. When
they came to where Jesus was, they saw the man who had been afflicted by demons
sitting there, clothed and with his mind put right, and they were afraid."

15 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' ⁿ and the distinctions ɛ/e/ẹ ɩ/i/ị ɔ/o ʋ/ʋ̣/u; ŋ follows n.
adj ideo pn pt q stand for adjective, ideophone, pronoun, particle, quantifier. Nouns are unlabelled; they are listed as sg (if used), pl and cif (followed by a hyphen.) For adverbial nouns/postpositions see §10.6.2. Adjectives are listed by one sg form only; for their flexion see §6.2. 2vbs are listed by pf, with ipf/imp and deverbal nominals only if irregular; deverbal nominals from 1vbs are given in §7.2. See §9.3 for proper names, and §9.5.1 for numbers with the prefixes à- bà- ǹ- (à)bʋ̀-.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa; k/o = kind of.

-A-

à *pn* (personaliser); found only after à:
  dàalúŋɔ dàalí(mì)s dàalúŋ- stork;
  gâʋⁿgɔ gâaⁿd gaⁿ- pied crow;
  kɔra-dîemₘₐ -dîem-nàmₐ mantis;
  mús mús-nàmₐ cat (Ha *mussa*)

à nɛ see àẹⁿyₐ

aaⁿdɩgₐ aaⁿdɩs àaⁿd- black plum tree,
  Vitex doniana

aaⁿdɩr aaⁿda black plum

àaⁿs 2vb tear

àbʋ̀lá *q* how many-fold?

àẹⁿyₐ 1vb be something

àeⁿ 2vb get torn

àgɔ́lɩ/àgɔlá upwards

àlá *pn* thus; *q* so many; how many?

àláafʋ̀ (in greetings) health (cf láafɩ̀yà)

àlɔ́pìr àlɔ́pìyà aeroplane (En)

àmáa *pt* but §11.1 (Ha *amma*)

àmɛŋá really, truly

àmí *pt* amen (Ar *āmīn*)

àní(-naˊ) *pn* there

àníŋa promptly

ànɔ̂'ɔn *pn* who?

àntù'a àntʋ̣à'- lawsuit

anzúrìfà silver (Ha *azurfa*)

àràzàkₐ àràzà'as àràzà'- (usually pl)
  riches (Ar pl *arzāq*)

àràzánà heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)

àⁿrʋ̀ŋɔ àⁿrìmà àⁿrʋ̀ŋ- boat

aⁿs 2vb pluck leaves

àsɛ́ɛ *pt* except for §10.6.3

áⁿsìbₐ aⁿs-námₐ aⁿs- mother's brother

àsɩda truly

aⁿsɩgˊ 2vb break at an angle

aⁿsíŋₐ aⁿsís aⁿsɩŋ- man's sister's child

àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)

àtɛ̀ʋ̣kɔ sea (Ha *teku*)

àⁿwá(-naˊ) *pn* like this

áyɩ̀ɩ *pt* no §11.2.4

-B-

bà/ba *pn* 3p

ba'ˊ ba'-námₐ ba'- father

baⁿ' 2vb ride

baa baas bà- dog

báa *pt* not even §12.2 (Ha *ba* "not be")

ba'a ba'abₐ bà'a- diviner; bà'a-kɔ̀lʋ̀gɔ
  diviner's bag

ba'a ba'as bà'- peg for hanging up

bàⁿadₐ bàⁿad-nàmₐ ill person

baⁿ'alˊ 2vb make ride (horse, bicycle)

bàaⁿlìgₐ *adj* thin

baaⁿlím quietly

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

baⁿas bàⁿ- disease

babá beside

bàbìgaˊ *q* many

bákpàẹ week (Ha *bakwai* "seven")

bàⁿl$_{la}$?1vb (lf uncertain) be thin

bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club

bàlàŋìr bàlàŋà bàlàŋ- hat

balɛrʊg$_{ɔ}$´ balɛrɪd´/balɛrɪs´ balɛ́r-
   ugly person (cf lɛr)

bàmma´ *pn* these

bàn *pn* these

bán *pn* 3p+ǹ; ban 3p (free)

ban$_{n}$ bana bàn- fetter

banaa banaas bànà- *sic* "fugu" smock

bàn-daʊg$_{ɔ}$ -daad -dà- crocodile

ban-kúsɛ́l$_{l}$ -kúsɛlá -kúsɛl- lizard

baŋ$_{a}$ baaⁿs bàŋ- ring, chain, fetter

bàŋ$_{a}$ agama lizard

bàŋ 2vb come to know

bárìkà blessing (Ar *barakah*)

bàs 2vb go away; abandon; throw out

(kpɛ̀ⁿ') bàʊ̯ŋʊ̀ get circumcised (Songhay)

bàyɛog$_{ɔ}$´ betrayer of secrets (cf yɛɛs´)

bɛ̀ 1vb exist; be somewhere

bɛ̀ⁿ' ger bɛⁿ'ɛs 2vb fall ill

bɛdɪg´ 2vb rot

bɛ̀dʊ̀g$_{ɔ}$ *adj* great; bɛ̀dʊ̀gʊ´ *q* much, a lot

bɛɛ *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1

bɛ̀lìm 2vb beg

bɛ̀lìs 2vb comfort

bɛn$_{n}$ bɛna bɛ̀n- end

bɛ̀ŋ 2vb mark out boundary

bɛŋíd bɛŋ- cowpea leaves; bɛŋíd nɛ ki´
   leaf-and-millet (traditional snack)

bɛŋír bɛŋá bɛŋ- cowpea

bɛ'og$_{ɔ}$ *adj* bad

bɛog$_{ɔ}$ tomorrow; bɛ̀-(kì)kɛ̀oⁿg$_{ɔ}$ dawn;
   bɛogʊ·n morning; bɛog sá/bɛog daar
   in future; bɛog níe kà next day …

bɛoŋ$_{ɔ}$ bɛɛna bɛ̀oŋ- pool, lake

bɛ̀rìŋ$_{a}$ bɛ̀rìgìs kenaf

bɛrɪga bɛ̀rɪg- kenaf leaves

bɛ̀ⁿsìg 2vb serve soup

bɛsʊg$_{ɔ}$ bɛsɪd bɛ̀s- k/o wide-mouthed pot

bi'a see bɛ'og$_{ɔ}$

bḭaⁿ'ar´ bḭáⁿ'a bḭaⁿ- wet mud, riverbed

bḭaʊ̯ⁿk$_{ɔ}$ bḭaⁿ'ad bḭàⁿ- shoulder

bíel$_{l}$ *adj* naked

bìel 2vb accompany

bi'elá *q* a little; bi'el bi'el *q* a very little;
   little by little

bielíf$_{ɔ}$ biilí biel-/biil- seed

bi'em bì'em-nàm$_{a}$ bì'em- enemy

bien$_{n}$ biena bìen- shin

bier´ bḭeyá bḭa- elder same-sex sibling

bì'es 2vb doubt

bìgìs 2vb show, teach

biig$_{a}$ biis bi-/bì- child; bi-díbìŋ$_{a}$ boy;
   bi-púŋ$_{a}$ girl; bì-lia baby; bì-nà'ab$_{a}$
   prince(ss); bì-pit$_{a}$´ younger child

bì'ig 2vb ripen, get pregnant

bìilím childhood

bɪɪm´ bɪ- soup, stew

bìⁿisím milk (human or animal)

bìⁿisìr bìⁿisà bìⁿis- woman's breast

bil$_{a}$ *adj* little

bìlìg 2vb roll tr; bìlìm 2vb roll intr

bìmbìm$_{n}$ bìmbìmà bìmbìm- mound,
   pillar of earth; altar B

bin$_{n}$ excrement

bɔ bɔ̀- *pn* what? why? §9.2; bɔ zúg$_{ɔ}$ why;
   because §11.1

bɔ̀ 2vb seek; bɔ̀ɔd$_{a}$ ipf want, ger bɔ̀ɔdìm

bɔ̀bìg 2vb wrap round, tie round

bɔ̀dìg 2vb lose, get lost

bɔ̀dɔ̀bɔ̀dɔ̀ bread

bɔ̀k$_{ɔ}$ bʊ̀'ad bṵà'- pit

bɔ̀ⁿɔg$_{ɔ}$ swamp; ricefield

bɔsɪr bɔsa bɔ̀s- puff adder

bɔtʊ sack

bʊ' 2vb beat

bṵàk 2vb split

bʊ̀'ar bṵà'a bṵà'- hole

bʊ'ar´ bṵá'a bṵa'- skin bottle

bʊ̀d ger bʊdɪg$_{a}$/bʊdʊg$_{ɔ}$ 2vb sow seeds

bʊ̀daa man; bʊ̀dàalìm manhood, courage

bùdìm ger bùdìmís 2vb get confused

bù'e 2vb pour out

bʋ̀g 2vb get drunk (Ha *bugu*)

bʋgʋdₐ client of diviner

bʋ̀gʋ̀lìm 2vb cast lots

bʋgʋr bʋga bʋ̀g- abode of a wɪnₙ´;
  wɪnₙ´ from mother's kin as sɪgɪr´

bùgúm bùgum-/bùgúm- fire;
  Bùgúm-tɔɔⁿr Fire Festival

bʋgʋsₐ´ 1vb be soft

bʋgʋsígₐ *adj* soft, weak;
  bʋgʋsíga´ softly; bʋgʋsím softness

bʋk´ 2vb weaken

bʋ̀k 2vb cast lots

bùl 2vb germinate, ooze

bulₗ bula sprout

bʋ̀l 2vb astonish

bùlìgₐ bùlìs bùl- well, pond

bùmbàrìgₐ bùmbàrìs bùmbàr- ant

bʋnₙ´ bʋn-námₐ/bʋná bʋn- thing;
  bʋn-gíŋₐ short fellow (informal);
  bʋn-kɔ́ⁿbʋ̀gɔ -kɔ́ⁿbìd kɔ̀ⁿb- *sic* animal;
  bʋn-kúdʋ̀gɔ -kút old man;
  bʋn-mɔ́r rich person

bùn 2vb reap, harvest

bʋn-dâar *pn* which day?

bʋ̀ŋₐ bùmìs bʋ̀ŋ- donkey

bùol 2vb call, summon

bùor bʋ̨èyà bʋ̨à- grain store

bu'os 2vb ask; ger bu'osúgɔ question

bùrìkìnₐ bùrìkìn-nàmₐ bùrìkìn- free,
  honourable person (Songhay)

bʋrɪyá Christmas (Twi)

bʋtɪŋₐ bʋtɪɪs bʋ̀tìŋ- cup

bʋʋd innocence

buudi bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group

bʋʋgₐ bʋʋs bʋ̀- goat; bʋ̀-dìbìgₐ male kid

-D-

dà *pt* before two days ago §10.2

da *pt* not (imp) §10.3

dà' 2vb buy

dàa *pt* day after tomorrow §10.2

daa *pt* before yesterday §10.2

dà'a dà'as dà'- market

dà'abìr slave

dàalìm masculinity

dàalím dàalímìs male organs

daam´ da- millet beer ("pito"); da-bínₙ
  beer residue; yeast B

dàam 2vb disturb, trouble (Ha *dama*)

daanₐ dàan-nàmₐ dàan- owner of ...

daar daba dà- day, date

daar two days ago/hence

daa-sî'er perhaps §11.1

dàbiem fear

dàbiogɔ dàbied dàbi̠à- coward

dàbìsìr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period

dadúkɔ k/o large pot

da'e´ 2vb push; (wind) blow

dàgɔ̀bìgₐ left; south B

daká daká-nàmₐ daká- box (Ha *adaka*)

dàkiigₐ dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
  husband §9.4

dàkɔɔ̀ⁿr dàkɔ̀ⁿyà dàkɔ̀ⁿ- unmarried son

dàm (-mm-) 2vb shake

dàmà'a liar; dàmà'am/dàmà'ar lie

dampʋsaar/dànsàar staff, club

dàŋkɔ̀ŋɔ measles

dàpaalₐ´ young man, son

dàsaŋₐ dàsaaⁿs/dàsammₐ dàsàŋ-
  young man

dàtaa dàtaas dàtà- enemy

dàtìʋ̠ŋɔ right-hand; north B

daʋ dapₐ dàʋ̠-/dàp- man

daʋgɔ *adj* male

dàʋgɔ dàad dà- piece of wood, log;
  dà-kpi'edₐ carpenter;
  dà-puudɪr -puuda cross B

dàwàlìg~a~ hot humid season before rains

dàwan~n~´ dàwaná dàwan- pigeon

dàyáam~ma~ dàyaam-nám~a~ dàyaam-
  husband's parent §9.4

dàyuug~ɔ~´ dàyuud´ dàyu- rat

dɛ̀bɪ̀r dɛ̀bà mat, pallet, bed

dɛ̀ɛg~a~ dɛ̀ɛs dɛ̀- warthog

dɛɛŋ~a~ dɛɛ^n^s/dɛɛmɪs/dɛɛna dɛ̀ɛŋ- *q* first

dɛl~la~´ 1vb (person) lean

dɛ̀lìm 2vb (person) start leaning

dɛŋ~a~ dɛmɪs dɛ̀ŋ- accidental bruise; defect

dɛ̀ŋ 2vb go/do first

dɛ̀ŋìm *pt* beforehand §10.4

dì *pn* 3i

dì ipf dìt~a~ imp dìm~a~ 2vb eat, get; ger
  dɪɪb~ɔ~ food; ò dì pṵa' he's taken a wife;
  ò dì ^n^yán she's ashamed

dḭa' 2vb get dirty

dḭa'ad´ dirt

di'e´ 2vb receive, get

dì'em 2vb play; ger dì'emà festival

dìem~ma~ dìem-nàm~a~ dìem- wife's parent
  §9.4

di'es´ 2vb receive (many things)

dɪgɪ~ya~´ 1vb lie down

dɪgɪl´ 2vb lay down

dìgìn 2vb lie down

dìgìr dìgà dìg- dwarf

dɪgɪsúg~ɔ~ bed; (pl) lair

dìɪs 2vb feed; dìɪs~a~ glutton

dìɪsúŋ~ɔ~ dìɪsímà/dìɪsís dìɪsúŋ- spoon

dìm~a~ dìn~n~ *pn* (dummy head)

dín dɪn see lín lɪn

dìndɛog~ɔ~´ dìndɛɛd´ dìndɛ- chameleon

dìndìɪs~a~ glutton

dìtúŋ~ɔ~ right-hand

dì-zɔrʊg~ɔ~´ -zɔrá -zɔr- crumb

dɔl~la~´ 1vb go/come with

dɔlɪg´ 2vb make accompany, send with

dɔ^n^lɪg´ 2vb stretch oneself

dɔlɪs´ 2vb investigate, trace

dɔ̀ɔg~ɔ~ dɔ̀ɔd/dɔ̀t dɔ̀- house, hut; clan;
  dɔ̀ɔg bîig~a~ housecat

dɔ̀ɔ^n^g~ɔ~ dɔ̀ɔ^n^d dɔ̀^n^- dawadawa fruit

dɔ̀^n^'ɔs 2vb water plants

dʊ ipf dʊt~a~´ imp dʊ̀m~a~ 2vb go up

dṵà' 2vb bear/beget; dʊ'ad~a~ relative

dùa^n^ dɔ̀ɔ^n^s dɔ̀^n^- dawadawa tree

dʊ̀'al 2vb (loan) make interest

dʊ'am birth

dʊ́'atà doctor (En)

due´ 2vb raise, rise

dʊg 2vb cook

dʊk~ɔ~´ dʊgʊd´ dʊg- cooking pot;
  dʊgʊb dʊ́t cooking pots

dùm 2vb bite

dum~n~ duma dùm- knee

dùndùug~ɔ~ dùndùud dùndù- cobra

duniya duniyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)

dunná this year

duŋ~a~ dumis dùŋ- mosquito

duor´ dṵeyá dṵa- stick

du'os´ 2vb lift up, honour

dùr~a~ 1vb be many

du'un´ 2vb pass water

du'uním du'un- urine

dʊʊsír step

                    -E-

ɛ̀^n^bìs 2vb scratch

ɛ̀^n^d 2vb block up, plug up

ɛ̀^n^dìg 2vb unblock, unplug

ɛɛ^n^ *pt* yes §11.2.4

ɛɛ^n^ (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4

ɛɛ^n^b´ 2vb lay foundation

ɛɛ^n^bír foundation

ɛ^n^rɪg´ 2vb shift along on buttocks

                    -F-

f~ɔ~ *pn* 2s

fa^n^/fae^n^´ 2vb grab, rob; save

faa^n^ *q* every

faa^n^gíd~a~ saviour (Toende)

faa^n^gír salvation (Toende)

fáss *ideo* for pìelìg$_a$ white

fɛ^{n}dɪg´ 2vb turn round

fɛɛg´ 2vb (food) get old, cold

fɛ^n'ogɔ fɛ^n'ɛd´ fɛ^n- ulcer

fìeb 2vb beat

fii^n *q* a little (liquid)

fì'ig 2vb cut off

fɪtlá lamp (Ha *fitila*); *fitir* pl *fita* B3

fɔɔs´ 2vb (wind) puff

fʋ̀ *pn* 2s

fùe 2vb draw out

fʋfʋm$_n$ fʋfʋma fʋfúm- envy; stye

fún *pn* 2s+ǹ; fʋn 2s (free)

fuugɔ´ fuud´/fut´ fu- clothing; cloth

-G-

gaa^n´ gaa^{n}s´ ga^n- (African) ebony
  Diospyros mespilliformis

gàad ipf gàt$_a$ 2vb (sur)pass

gáafàrà sorry! (Ha *gafara*, from Ar)

gà'al 2vb button up

gà'am 2vb grind teeth

gàas 2vb pass by

gadʋgɔ´ gat´ gad- bed (Ha *gado*);
  also gadʋ gadʋ-nám$_a$ gadʋ-

gàlìs 2vb become excessive

gàŋ 2vb step over

gaŋ´ 2vb choose

ga^{n}r´ ga^{n}yá ga^{n}r- ebony fruit

gba^{n}e´ 2vb catch, grab; decide, plan

gbá^{n}yà'a idle person; gbá^{n}yà'am laziness

gbaʋ̯ŋɔ´ gbaná gban-/gbaʋ̯ŋ- animal skin;
  book (tp L, W); gbàʋ̯ŋ-mi'id$_a$´ B scribe

gbɛ̂ɛ^{n}m gbɛ^n- sleep

gbɛ̀'ogɔ gbɛ̀'ɛd/gbɛ̀dà gbɛ̀'- forehead

gbɛ̀ogɔ lakeshore

gbɛr´ gbɛyá gbɛr- thigh

gbɪgɪm$_n$ gbɪgɪma gbìgìm- lion

gbìn$_n$ gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (hill) foot;
  meaning; below; gbìn-vɔ̀ɔ^{n}r anus

gbis 2vb sleep

gɛ^n 2vb get tired

gɛ^n' 2vb get angry

gɛɛl´ 2vb place between legs (tp H)

gɛɛ^{n}m´ ger gɛɛ^{n}mís 2vb go/send mad

géɛ^{n}ŋ$_a$ gɛɛ^{n}mís madman

gél$_l$ gɛlá gɛl- egg

gɛogɔ place between legs (tp A)

gìgìlìm 2vb go dumb

gii^{n}lím shortness (cf Mampruli *gyiiya*
  "short")

gìk$_a$ gìgìs gìg- dumb person

gilig´ ipf gin$_{na}$´ 2vb go around

gimm$_a$´ 1vb be short

gìŋ 2vb scrimp

giŋ´ 2vb surround, intercept, obstruct

giŋ$_a$ *adj* short; giŋa shortly

gɔ̀^{n} 2vb hunt; ipf gɔ̀ɔ^{n}d$_a$ wander,
  ger gɔ̀ɔ^{n}dìm

gɔdɪg´ 2vb look up

gɔ'e$_{ya}$´ W gɔl$_{la}$´ K 1vb be looking up

gɔ̀'ɔn 2vb look up

gɔr$_a$´ D 1vb be looking up

gɔs ipf gɔsɪd$_a$´/gɔt$_a$´ imp gɔ̀(sì)m$_a$
  ger gósìg$_a$ 2vb look; gɔt$_a$´ seer

gu' 2vb guard, protect

gù^{n}a gɔ̀^{n}ɔs gɔ̀^{n}- thorn; acacia;
  gɔ̀^{n}-sabɪlíg$_a$ *Acacia hockii*

gʋ̀l 2vb hang; gʋ̀l$_{la}$ 1vb hang

gʋ̀llɪmm lf gʋ̀llìmnɛ̀ *pt* only §12.2

gʋ̀m$_n$ gʋ̀mà kapok fruit; thread W

gʋmpʋzɛr´ gʋmpʋzɛyá gʋmpʋzér- duck

gʋ̀ŋ$_a$ gʋ̀mìs gʋ̀ŋ- kapok tree,
  Ceiba pentandra

gʋ̀ŋgʋm$_n$ kapok material

gur$_a$´ 1vb guard, watch for

gu'ul´ 2vb set on guard

gʋ̀'ʋlìm 2vb get half-ripe

gʋ̀r gʋ̀yà gʋ̀- upland; riverbank

gʋʋr gʋya gʋ̀- ridge of back

gu'us´ 2vb take care, watch out

gʋ'ʋs half-ripe fruits

<div style="columns:2">

-H-

halí *pt* even, until §10.6.3

-I-

i̱a lf ia 2vb seek

i̱a^n'as´ 2vb leap

i̱a^{n}k´ ipf i̱a^n'ad$_a$´ 2vb leap, fly

igi$_{ya}$´ 1vb kneel

igil´ 2vb make kneel

ìgìn 2vb kneel down

íɪl$_l$ ɪɪlá ɪɪl- horn

isir isa ìs- scar

ìsìg 2vb get up early

-K-

kà *pt* and, that §11.1

ka 2vb bail water

ka' (before complements) see ka'e̱

kaab´ 2vb offer, invite

kaal´ 2vb count

kaas´ 2vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)

kà'asìg 1vb not exist (clause-final only)

kà^{n}b ger ka^{n}bɪr 2vb scorch

kabɪg´ 2vb ladle out

kabɪr´ ger kabɪrí 2vb call for admission

kàd 2vb drive away; kàd sàríyà 2vb judge

ka^{n}dʊg$_ɔ$ *adj* (person) fat, tough

ka'e̱ 1vb not exist/be/have

kal$_l$´ kalá kal- number

kàlìga´ *q* few

kàm$_a$ *q* every

kàn *pn* this/that

kàŋa´ *pn* this/that

kàr$_a$ 1vb be few

kárìfà/kérìfà o'clock §10.6.2 (Ha *karfe*)

kàrìm 2vb read

kàsɛt$_a$´ witness; testimony (? French *cacheté* "sealed"); kàsɛtíb$_a$ witnesses

kɛ ipf kɛt$_a$´ imp kɛl$_a$ 2vb let, cause

kɛ^n ipf kɛn$_a$´ imp kɛm$_a$ ger kɛn$_n$´ 2vb come; kɛn kɛn welcome!

kɛɛkɛ kɛɛkɛ-nàm$_a$ kɛɛkɛ- bicycle (Ha)

kɛɛs 2vb bid farewell to

kɛlìg/kɛlìs 2vb listen

kɛŋ´ ipf kɛn$_{na}$´ imp kɛm$_a$ 2vb go, walk; kɛn$_{na}$´ traveller

kɛ̀^{n}s 2vb break

ki̱à' lf kì'a 2vb cut

kidig´ 2vb cross over, meet; à Kidigɪ · bu'os Orion

kief$_ɔ$´ ki´ ki-/ka- millet; ka-wɛnnɪr -wɛnna -wɛ́n- corn

kɪ'ɪb$_ɔ$´ soap; W kiibú kiib- (Mampruli)

kìɪs 2vb listen

kɪ'ɪs´ 2vb deny

kìkàm$_n$ kìkàmà fig

kì(ŋ)kàŋ$_a$ kìkàmìs kìkàŋ- (Cape) fig tree

kìkirig$_a$´ kìkiris´ kìkir- (local En "fairy") protective spirit; hostile bush spirit; demon B2/3 (kìkir-bɛ̂'ɛd B1)

kilim´ 2vb become, change into

kìm 2vb herd animals

kímm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly §9.2

kir ger kìkírùg$_ɔ$/kirib$_ɔ$ 2vb hurry, tremble

kis$_a$´ 1vb hate; kis(id)$_a$´ hater

kísùg$_ɔ$ *adj* hateful, tabu

kɔ̀ 2vb break intr

kɔ^n'(ɔkɔ) by oneself

kɔ̀bìga (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred §9.5.1

kɔ^{n}bɪr kɔ^{n}ba kɔ̀^{n}b- bone

kɔ^{n}bʊg$_ɔ$ kɔ^{n}bɪd kɔ̀^{n}b- animal hair; human body hair (cf zuobúg$_ɔ$); kɔ̀^{n}b-kɪm$_{na}$ -kɪmmɪb$_a$ animal herder

kɔdɪg´ 2vb cut throat

kɔdú banana (Twi)

kɔ̀l 2vb put around someone's neck

kɔ̀lìbìr kɔ̀lìbà bottle (Ha *kwalaba*)

kɔlɪg$_a$ kɔlɪs kɔ̀l- river; kɔlɪgɪ·n nó-dâʊg$_ɔ$ crayfish

kɔ̀lùg$_ɔ$ kɔ̀n$_n$ kɔ̀lùg- sack, bag

kɔ'm´ kɔm- hunger

kɔ̀'ɔg 2vb break

kɔ̀'ɔs 2vb break several times

kɔ̀^{n}s(ìm) 2vb cough

</div>

kòtàa lf kòtàanɛ̀ *pt* at all §12.2

kótʋ̀ lawcourt (En)

kpà' 2vb nail, fasten

kpà'a kpà'a-nàm$_a$ rich person

kpaad$_a$´ kpaadíb$_a$ kpaad- farmer

kpà'am riches

kpaam´ kpa- grease, ointment

kpà^{n}dìr kpà^{n}dà kpà^{n}d- baboon

kpàkʋr´ kpàkʋyá kpàkʋr- tortoise

kpan$_n$ kpana kpàn- spear

kpàr 2vb lock

kpar-kɛ̂o^{n}g$_ɔ$ -kɛ̂ɛ^{n}d -kɛ́^{n}- rag

kpá^n'ʋŋ$_ɔ$ kpi^n'iní kpa^n'- guineafowl

kpɛ *pn* here

kpɛ̀^{n}' 2vb enter

kpɛ^{n}dɪr´ kpɛ^{n}dá kpɛ^{n}d- cheek

kpɛɛ^{n}m kpɛ̀ɛ^{n}m-nàm$_a$ kpɛ̀ɛ^{n}m- elder

kpɛɛ^{n}m$_a$´ 1vb be older than

kpɛ̀^{n}'ɛs 2vb make enter

kpɛlá *pn* here

kpɛ̀lìm 2vb remain

kpɛ̀lìm *pt* still; immediately after §10.4

kpɛ̀n *pt* = kpɛ̀lìm

kpɛ̀'ŋ 2vb strengthen

kpɛo^{n}ŋ$_ɔ$ seniority

kpì 2vb die

kpì'a kpì'es kpi̯à'- neighbour

kpi̯à' lf kpì'a 2vb whittle

kpì'e 2vb approach

kpi'em$_a$´ 1vb be strong, hard

kpìɪbìg$_a$ kpìɪbìs kpìɪb- orphan

kpìig 2vb (fire) go out

kpɪ'ɪlím 2vb come to an end

kpɪ'ɪm kpɪ'ɪmɪs kpì'ɪm- corpse

kpìis 2vb quench

kpikpin$_{na}$´ kpikpinníb$_a$ kpikpín- merchant

kpi'oŋ$_ɔ$ *adj* strong, hard

kpìsìŋkpìl$_l$ kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist; also kpìsùkpìl$_l$

kpʋ̀kpàr kpʋ̀kpàrà palm tree fruit

kpʋ̀kpàrìg$_a$ kpʋ̀kpàrìs kpʋ̀kpàr- (Palmyra) palm

kpʋ̀kpàʋ̯ŋ$_ɔ$ kpʋ̀kpàmà kpʋ̀kpàʋ̯ŋ- arm, wing

kʋ̀ *pt* not (irrealis) §10.3

kʋ 2vb kill (Mooré *kʋ*); (rain) threaten (Mooré *kʋɪ*): saa kʋ́ ya it looks like rain

kṳa lf kua 2vb hoe, farm

kʋ'alíŋ$_a$ kʋ'alí(mì)s kʋ'alíŋ- k/o smock

kùd 2vb work iron

kʋ̀dìg 2vb shrivel up, dry out, age

kʋdɪm the old days; also for kʋlɪm

kʋdʋg$_ɔ$ *adj* old

kudug$_ɔ$ kut kùt- (pl as sg) iron, nail

kugur´ kugá kug- stone

kʋk$_a$ kʋgʋs kʋ̀g- chair

kʋ̀k$_a$ ghost

kʋk$_a$´ (African) mahogany

kʋ̀kɔ̀m$_n$ kʋ̀kɔ̀mà kʋ̀kɔ̀m- leper

kʋ̀kɔr´ kʋ̀kɔyá kʋ̀kɔ(r)- voice

kʋ̀kpàrìg$_a$ see kpʋ̀kpàrìg$_a$

kʋ̀kʋr´ kʋ̀kʋyá kʋ̀kʋr- pig

kul ger kulig$_a$´ 2vb return home; take as husband

kʋlɪm *pt* always §10.4

kʋ̀lìŋ$_a$ kʋ̀lì(mì)s kʋ̀lìŋ- door

kʋ̀m 2vb weep

kum kùm- death

kʋ̀ndʋ̀'ar kʋ̀ndʋ̀'adà kʋ̀ndṳà'- barren woman

kʋ̀ndʋ̀ŋ$_a$ kʋ̀ndʋ̀mìs/kʋ̀ndʋ̀nà hyena

kù'om kṳà'- water; kṳà'-nuud´ thirst; kṳà'-^{n}wiig$_a$´ current

kùos 2vb sell

kʋʋ *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1 (Ha *ko*)

kuug$_{a/ɔ}$´ kuus´ ku- mouse

kʋ̀ʋl 2vb get drunk

kʋʋs´ 2vb settle (legal judgment)

-L-

la´ *pt* the §9.7.2

là' 2vb laugh

la'af$_{ɔ}$ ligidi lìg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;
  là'-bielíf$_{ɔ}$ small coin

láafɩyà/láafɩ̀ health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)

là'am 2vb associate; *pt* together §10.4

là'as 2vb gather together tr

làbaar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)

làbɩ̀$_{ya}$ 1vb crouch behind something

làbɩ̀l 2vb make crouch

làbɩ̀n 2vb start crouching

làbɩ̀s 2vb walk stealthily

labɩs$_{a}$´ 1vb be wide

labɩsíg$_{a}$ *adj* wide; labɩsím width

lak´ 2vb open (eye, book)

lal$_{la}$´ 1vb be distant

lalɩg´ 2vb get to be far, make far

lallí far off

lallíŋ$_{a}$/lallúg$_{ɔ}$ *adj* distant

lam$_{n}$´ lamá lam- (tooth) gum;
  lam-fɔ̂ɔg$_{ɔ}$ *adj* toothless

làmpɔ´ làmpɔ- tax (French *l'impôt*)

lan$_{n}$ lana làn- testicle

lànnìg$_{a}$ lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

la'ŋ´ 2vb set alight

làŋgáʋŋ$_{ɔ}$ làŋgáam$_{n}$/làŋgaamá làŋgaʋŋ-
  crab

laŋím 2vb wander round searching

laʋ̧k$_{ɔ}$ la'ad là'- goods item

là'ʋŋ$_{ɔ}$ là'amà fishing net

lɛ̀b *ger* lɛbɩg$_{a}$ 2vb return intr

lɛ̀bɩ̀g 2vb turn over; return

lɛ̀bɩ̀s 2vb answer; return; divorce (wife)

lɛ̀ɛ *pt* but §10.4

lɛ̀m *pt* again §10.4

lɛ̀m (-mm-) 2vb sip, taste

lɛr 2vb get ugly

lì/lɩ *pn* 3i

lì *ipf* lɩ̀t$_{a}$ *imp* lɩ̀m$_{a}$ *ger* liig$_{a}$ 2vb fall

lɩ 2vb block up

lìa *pt* where is? §11.2.4

lìdìg 2vb turn (shirt) W

lìdìg 2vb astonish, be amazed

lìeb 2vb become

lì'el 2vb approach

lí'em$_{n}$ li'emá fruit of yellow plum tree

líeŋ$_{a}$ liemís lieŋ- axe

lí'eŋ$_{a}$ li'emís yellow plum tree,
  Ximenia americana

lìg 2vb patch

lìgɩ̀l 2vb cover; lìgɩ̀n 2vb cover oneself

lɩɩbɩr lɩɩba lìɩb- twin

lik$_{a}$ ligis darkness

lìlaalíŋ$_{a}$ lìlaalí(mì)s lìlaalíŋ- swallow

lín *pn* 3i+ǹ; lɩn 3i (free)

lìn *pn* that; lìná *pn* that

lɔ 2vb tie

lɔb/lɔbɩg´ 2vb throw stones at

lɔbɩdíg$_{a}$ lɔbɩdís water-drawing vessel

lɔdɩg$_{a}$´ lɔdɩs´ lɔd- corner

lɔdɩg´ 2vb untie

lòk$_{ɔ}$ lʋ̀'ad lʋ̧à'- (arrow) quiver

lòmbɔ̀ⁿ'ɔg$_{ɔ}$ lòmbɔ̀ⁿ'ɔd lòmbɔ̀ⁿ'- garden
  (Ha *lambu*)

lɔŋ$_{a}$ lɔmɩs lòŋ- k/o frog

lɔ'ŋ´ 2vb go across river, road

lór lóyà/lóɔm$_{ma}$ lór- car, lorry

lòs 2vb dip, immerse in liquid

lù *ipf* lʋ̀t$_{a}$ *imp* lʋ̀m$_{a}$ 2vb fall

lub *ger* lubir´ 2vb buck, throw off rider

lug 2vb swim

lʋgʋr organ, member

-M-

m̀/m$_{a}$ *pn* 1s

mà mà- mother; pl mà nám$_{a}$ *sic* §9.4

mà' 2vb lie, deceive

mà'àa *lf* mà'anɛ̀ *pt* only §12.2

màal 2vb make, sacrifice; màal-maan$_{na}$
  servant who conducts slayings for a
  tɛ̀ŋ-daan$_{a}$; priest B1/2 (*maanmaan* B3)

ma'al´ 2vb make cool, wet

maan$_n$ maana màan- sacrifice

má'an$_n$ ma'aná ma'an- okra

ma'as$_a$´ 1vb be cool, wet

ma'asíg$_a$ cool, wet; ma'asíga´ coolly; ma'asím coolness

madɪg´ 2vb overflow, abound

ma'e´ 2vb cool down

màk 2vb crumple up

mak´ 2vb measure, judge

màli̱ak$_a$´ màli̱ak-nám$_a$/màli̱a'as´ màli̱a'- angel (Ar *mal'ak*)

màlìf$_ɔ$ màlì gun, rifle (Ar *midfaʿ*)

màlìgìm *pt* again §10.4

malɪs$_a$´ 1vb be sweet, pleasant

malɪsíg$_a$/malɪsíŋ$_a$ *adj* sweet, pleasant; malɪsím sweetness

malʊŋ$_ɔ$ malɪma màlʊŋ- custom; sacrifice

mam *pn* 1s

mán *pn* 1s+ǹ; man 1s (free)

màŋgávʊŋ$_ɔ$ = làŋgávʊŋ$_ɔ$

màṳk$_ɔ$ *adj* crumpled up

mὲ 2vb build

mὲ(n) *pt* also §12.2; mὲ-kàmà -soever

mɛd 2vb mash up

mὲɛŋ$_a$ mὲɛmìs mὲɛŋ- turtle

mèlìgìm dew

mɛŋ$_a$´ *pn* self; mɛŋír *adj* genuine

mɛt´ mɛt- pus

mi' 1vb know

míif$_ɔ$ miiní okra seed

mì'ig 2vb get sour

mì'is$_a$ 1vb be sour; mì'isʊg$_ɔ$ *adj* sour

milig´ 2vb get dirty

mìmiilím/mìmiilúg$_ɔ$ sweetness

mìt 1vb imp-only: beware; do not let

mɔ 2vb strive, struggle

mɔd 2vb swell

mɔdɪg´ 2vb be patient, endure

mɔlìf$_ɔ$ mɔlì mɔl- gazelle

mɔn 2vb grind millet to make sa'ab$_ɔ$

mɔŋ´ 2vb refuse to lend

mɔɔg$_ɔ$ mɔɔd mɔ̀- grass; back-country, "bush"; mɔ̀-pil$_l$ grass thatch

mɔɔl´ 2vb proclaim; mɔɔl-môɔn$_{na}$ proclaimer

mɔr$_a$´ 1vb have; mɔr na bring

mṳà' 2vb suckle

mṳàk$_a$ mʊ̀as mṳà'- maggot

mʊ̀'ar mṳà'a mṳà'- lake, reservoir

mʊ̀'as 2vb give suck to

mù'e 2vb redden; ignite; intensify

mùi̱ mùi̱- rice

mùl 2vb itch

mùm 2vb bury

-N-

n *pt* (catenator) §11.3 §11.2.4

n *pt* (past) §10.2 §11.2.3

n *pn* 2pS: see $_{ya}$

n/nɪ´ *pt* (locative) §10.6.2

ǹ *pt* (nominaliser) §11.4

nà *pt* (irrealis) §10.3

na´ *pt* hither §10.7

na 2vb join

nà'- (cf Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness"):
  nà'-dàwan$_n$´ pigeon
  nà'-nɛsɪnnɛog$_ɔ$´ centipede W
  nà'-zɔ̀m$_n$ locust

náa *pt* (reply to blessings) §13

nà'ab$_a$ nà'-nàm$_a$ nà'- chief, king; nà'-biig$_a$ prince(ss); nà'-yir´ court

náaf$_ɔ$ niigí na'- cow

nàam 2vb happen

na'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom

naan next, afterwards §10.4

naan *pt* in that case §10.4 §11.2.3

naan´ 2vb starting from ... do §11.3

nà'ana´ *ideo* easily

nà'as *ger* nà'asì 2vb honour

nae´ 2vb finish

nàm *pt* still, yet §10.4

nàm$_a$ (pluraliser) §6.1

namɪs´ 2vb persecute, suffer

nan 2vb love, respect

nanná(-naˊ) *pn* now

nànzʋ'ʋsˊ pepper (? tones)

naŋₐ namıs nàŋ- scorpion

narₐˊ 1vb need, deserve

narʋ́ŋₒ *adj* necessary

nàyiigₐ nàyìig-nàmₐ/nàyiis thief
  (*na'ayiig* B); nàyiigım thievery

nɛ *pt* with §10.6.3; linking NPs: and

nɛˊ *pt* (focus) §12.1 §10.6.3

nɛ' *pn* this

nɛ̀ɛl 2vb reveal

nɛ̀ɛm for free

nɛɛmˊ 2vb grind with millstone

nɛɛrˊ millstone

nɛ̀ɛs 2vb reveal; nɛ̀ɛsìm light

nɛ̀i̯ya 1vb be awake

nɛm-nɛ̂ɛr -néyà grinder

nɛnₙₐˊ 1vb envy; nin-nɛ́nₙₐ envier

nɛ'ɛŋa *pn* this

nɛ̀ɛr *adj* empty

nɛsınnɛogₒˊ nɛsınnɛɛdˊ nɛsınnɛ́-
  centipede; envious person W

ǹfá! *pt* well done! §11.2.4

nıˊ *pt* (locative) §10.6.2

nì 2vb rain

nidₐˊ nidibₐˊ nin- person; nin-pʋnanₙₐˊ
  -pʋnanníbₐ -pʋnán- disrespectful
  person; nin-sâalₐ human being

nìe 2vb appear, reveal; waken

nifₒˊ niní nif-/nin- eye; nif-gbáʋ̯ŋₒ eyelid;
  nif-sɔ́bₐ miser; nin-báaⁿlìgₐ pity;
  nin-dáa -dâas -dá- face; nin-gɔ́tìŋₐ
  mirror; nin-gɔ́tìs spectacles;
  nin-kʋ́gʋ̀dìgₐ -kʋ́gʋ̀dìs eyebrow;
  nin-múa concentration; m̀ niní mù'e nɛ
  I'm intent; nin-tâ'm tears

níiŋₐ niimís/níis niiŋ- bird

ni'mₙˊ nimá nim- meat

nin-pʋ̂ʋd pus

nintaŋₐˊ nintaaⁿsˊ nintáŋ- heat of the day

niŋₐ niis nìŋ- body; nìn-gbiŋₒˊ -gbiná
  -gbiŋ- body (pl as sg); nìn-gɔ̀ɔr neck;
  nìn-taa -taas -tà- co-wife §9.4;
  nìn-tʋllím fever

nìŋ 2vb do

nɔ 2vb tread

nɔb 2vb get fat

nɔbıgˊ 2vb (child, plant) grow

nɔ́bìr nɔbá nɔb- leg, foot; nɔb-bílₐ toe;
  nɔb-íⁿa toenail; nɔb-púmpàʋ̯ŋₒ foot

nɔkˊ 2vb pick up, take up

nɔ̀ŋ imp nɔ̀ŋìmₐ 1vb love; nɔ̀ŋìdₐ *sic* lover

noŋₒˊ nɔŋ- poverty; nɔŋ-dâanₐ pauper

nɔɔ *pt* exactly, just §12.2

nɔɔrˊ nɔyá nɔ- mouth; command;
  nɔ-dî'esₐ chief's spokesman ("linguist");
  prophet B; nɔ-gbáʋ̯ŋₒ lip; nɔ-lôɔr
  fasting; nɔ-nâar promise; nɔ-pôɔr oath

nɔɔrˊ/nɔɔrím times §9.5.1

nu 2vb drink

nuaˊ nɔɔsˊ nɔ- hen; nɔ-dâʋgₒ cock;
  Nɔ-ⁿyâ'aŋ-né-ò-biis Pleiades

nuligˊ/nulisˊ 2vb make drink

nû'ugₒ nû'us nu'- hand, arm; nu'-bílₐ
  finger; nu'-dâʋgₒ thumb; nu'-íⁿa -ɛ̂ⁿ'ɛs-
  -ɛ́ⁿ'- fingernail; nu'-wɛ̂ⁿ'ɛdₐ mediator

-O-

ò/ₒ *pn* 3a

ɔ̀ⁿb ger ɔⁿbır 2vb chew

ɔ́n *pn* 3a+ǹ; ɔn 3a (free)

ɔ̀n *pn* this/that

ɔ̀ŋaˊ *pn* this/that

-P-

pà' *pt* earlier today §10.2

pà'al 2vb teach, inform; pa'anₙₐ teacher

pà'al 2vb put on top

paalígₐ *adj* new; paalím recently

pàⁿ'alìm 2vb dedicate

paalʋ́ open space

pàaⁿlʋ́ŋₒ pàaⁿlímìs spiderweb

pàam 2vb receive gift

pàas 2vb add up to, amount to

pae´ 2vb arrive; reach

pàk 2vb surprise; take from top

pamm lf pamnɛ́ *q* much, a lot

pàŋ$_a$ pàa^{n}s pàŋ- power

pà^{n}sìg 2vb lack

pà' tì *pt* perhaps §10.4

pɛbìs 2vb blow; pɛbìsìm/pɛbìsùg$_ɔ$ wind

pɛ̀'ɛl 2vb fill

pɛ̀'ɛs 2vb add up to, amount to

pɛlìg 2vb whiten, go white

pɛlìs 2vb sharpen

pɛn$_n$ vagina

pɛ'ŋ´ 2vb borrow; knock over W

pɛog$_ɔ$ pɛɛd pɛ̀- basket

pɛ'og$_ɔ$´ pɛ'ɛs´ pɛ'- sheep; pɛ'-sá'a ewe
  lamb

pɛsɪg´ 2vb sacrifice

pi̯a lf pia 2vb dig up

pi̯a^n' 2vb speak, praise; ger pi̯àʊ^{n}k$_ɔ$
  pi̯à^n'ad pi̯à^n'- word, (pl) language

pìbìg 2vb uncover

pìbìl 2vb cover up

pibin$_n$ pibina pìbìn- cover, lid

pìd 2vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on; (with
  indirect object) put hat etc on someone

pid 2vb get bloated

pìdìg 2vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pie´ 2vb wash (own body)

pìeb 2vb blow (flute etc)

pìelìg$_a$ *adj* white (cf zì^n'a);
  pìelìm whiteness

pìes 2vb fool someone

pies´ 2vb wash

píɪf$_ɔ$ piiní pɪɪn- genet

piiga *q* ten

pi^n'il´ 2vb begin

piim´ pimá pim- arrow

piini pìin- gift

pìl 2vb cover

pìlìg 2vb uncover

pipirig$_a$´ pipiris´ pipír- desert

pisí *q* twenty

pitʊ́ pitíb$_a$ pit- younger same-sex sibling
  (sg -pit$_a$´ after cifs)

pɔ 2vb swear

pɔ̀^{n}d 2vb crouch down

pɔ̀ɔd$_a$ 1vb be few, small

pɔ̀ɔdìg$_a$ *adj* few, small; pɔ̀ɔdìm fewness

pɔɔg$_ɔ$´ pɔɔd´/pɔt´ pɔ- field, farm

pɔ̀'ɔg 2vb diminish, belittle

pɔ^n'ɔl´ 2vb make rot

pɔ̀^{n}'ɔlìm 2vb cripple, get crippled

pɔ̀^{n}'ɔr pɔ̀^{n}dà pɔ̀^{n}'- cripple

pɔɔr´ "slogan", part of clan genealogy W

pɔ̀^{n}r$_a$ 1vb be near

pɔ̀^{n}rùg$_ɔ$ *adj* near

pʊ *pt* not (indicative) §10.3

pʊ 2vb divide

pṳa' pʊ'ab$_a$ pṳà'- woman, wife; pṳà'-ɛlíŋ$_a$
  fiancée; pṳà'-ginníg$_a$/-gɔɔ^{n}dɪr
  prostitute; pṳà'-paal$_a$´ bride;
  pṳà'-sadɪr´ nulliparous young woman;
  pṳà'-sa^n'am$_{na}$ adulterer; pṳà'-^{n}yá'aŋ$_a$
  -^{n}yá'as old woman; pṳà'-yùa daughter

pṳak$_a$ *adj* (human) female

pʊ̀'alìm 2vb harm, damage

pʊ̀'alìm femininity

pʊ̀'alím pʊ̀'alímìs pʊ̀'alím- female organs

pʊ̀d 2vb name

pʊdɪg´ 2vb divide, share out

pu^n'e´ 2vb rot

pʊ̀gʊ̀dìb$_a$ pʊ̀gʊ̀d-nàm$_a$ pʊ̀gʊ̀d- father's
  sister

pʊ̀kɔɔ^{n}r pʊ̀kɔ̀^{n}yà pʊ̀kɔ̀^{n}- widow

pʊkpaad$_a$´ pʊkpaadíb$_a$ pʊkpá- *sic* farmer

pùlìmà cogongrass

pòmpɔɔg$_ɔ$ housefly

pòn *pt* previously, already §10.4

pusig$_a$´ pusis´ pus- tamarind

pusir´ pusá tamarind fruit

pʊ-súk$_a$ -súgùs half

pʊt´ stomach contents

puum´ puum- flowers

pʊʊgₐ pʊ̀- belly; pʊ̀-pìelₗ upright person;
  pʊ̀-pìelìm virtue; pʊ̀-tɛ̀ⁿ'ɛr -tɛ̀ⁿdà -tɛ̀ⁿ'-
  mind; pʊʊgʊ·n inside; ò mɔ̀r pʊʊg
  she is pregnant

pʊʊr´ stomach

pʊ̀'ʊs 2vb greet, worship, thank; ger
  pʊ̀'ʊsìm worship; ger pʊ̀'ʊsʊ̀gɔ thanks

                    -S-

sà pt yesterday §10.3

sà pt hence, ago §10.7

sa' 2vb be in distress

sàa pt tomorrow §10.3

saa saas sà- rain, sky; (subject of i̯aⁿk´)
  lightning; saa díndɛog rainbow;
  saa zúg sky

sa'abɔ sà'- millet porridge ("TZ")

saafɪ lock, key (Twi)

sàalₐ sàalìbₐ sàal- human; sàal-biigₐ
  human being

sàalíŋa´ smoothly

sàamₘₐ sàam-nàmₐ sàam- father §9.4

sàⁿ'am 2vb spoil, break

saam´ 2vb mash, crumble

sa'an´ in the presence/opinion of

saanₐ´ sáamₘₐ saan- guest, stranger

sáannìm strangerhood

sáaŋₐ adj strange

sabɪlígₐ adj black (cf zìⁿ'a)

sàbùa sàbùos sàbu̯à- lover, girlfriend

sadɪgím pt since, because §10.4 §11.4.1

saɛ̯ⁿ₍ya₎ saaⁿbₐ sàⁿ- blacksmith

sakárʊgɔ sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)

sàlìbìr bridle (Ar salabah)

salɪma sàlìm- gold

samₙ´ samá sam- debt; sam-kpâ'asₐ
  household servant

samánₙ samánà samán- yard before zàkₐ;
  Samán-píer traditional New Year

saŋá sansá san- time §10.6.2

sàŋ-gbàu̯ŋɔ cloud, sky

saŋúnnìr saŋúnnà saŋún- millipede

sapálₗ Harmattan part of ʊ́ʊnₙ

sapɪ lf sapɪɪ/sapɪnɛ́ ideo straight

sarɪgá prison (Ar sāriqah "fetter")

sàríyà law (Ar sharī'ah); sàríyà-katₐ judge

saʊgɔ´ saad´ sa- broom, brush

sàʊkɔ sà'ad dust mote

sáʊŋɔ hospitality

sɛ̀ 2vb transplant

sɛbɪya´ 1vb squat

sɛoⁿgɔ rainy season

sì 2vb skin, flay

si'a pn sg some, any

sia sies si̯à- waist; si̯à-lɔɔdíŋₐ belt;
  si̯à-nifɔ´ kidney

si̯a'al´ 2vb get to be enough

si̯à'ar si̯à'a(dà) si̯à'- forest W; wilderness

si̯àk 2vb agree; ò pʊ si̯ákì ·fʊ̀ nɔɔrɛ́·
  he hasn't obeyed you

si̯ak´ 2vb suffice

sibigₐ´ sibí sib- k/o termite

sɪdₐ sɪdɪbₐ sìd- husband §9.4

sìd pt truly §10.4

sìdà sìd- truth

sie´ 2vb descend, be humbled

sieba pn some, any; si'elₐ something,
  anything; si'em somehow, anyhow

sig 2vb descend

sɪgɪr´ guardian spirit

sigis´ 2vb lower

sigisír sigisá lodging-place

siiⁿd´ honey

siiⁿfɔ´/siiⁿgₐ´ siiⁿs´ siⁿ- bee

sɪʊgₐ sɪʊs sì- vital energy, spirit B;
  African birch

sìilìm 2vb cite proverbs; sìilíŋₐ/sìilʊ́ŋɔ
  sìilí(mì)s/sìilímà sìilíŋ- proverb

sɪ'ɪs´ 2vb touch

silinsîugɔ silinsîis ghost

silinsîuⁿgɔ silinsîiⁿd spider

sìlừgɔ sìnn/sìlìs sìl- hawk

sìm 2vb sink in liquid

sinna´ 1vb be silent

sınsáaⁿ k/o tiny ant

sıŋa sııⁿs sìŋ- k/o very big pot

sı'ŋ´ 2vb begin

sisíbìga sisíbìs sisíb- neem

sisíbìr sisíbà neem fruit

sìsì'em wind, storm

sìsɔ̀mn grasshopper

(sì)sừgừ·n between

sí'uŋɔ si'imís si'uŋ- k/o big dish

sɔ' *pn* some(one), any(one)

sɔⁿ 2vb rub

sɔba *pn* (dummy head)

sɔb 2vb darken; write

sɔbıg´ 2vb blacken

sɔbır´ sɔb- piece of writing

sɔę̀ⁿ(ya) sɔɔⁿba sɔ̀ⁿ- witch

sɔⁿ'eya´ 1vb be better than; sɔⁿ'ɔda´
   sɔⁿ'ɔba´ sɔⁿ'ɔd- surpasser

sógi̠àa soldier (En)

sɔlừŋɔ´ sɔlımá story

sɔnnır sɔnna sòn- yard-dividing wall

sɔɔⁿgɔ witchcraft

sɔɔⁿr sɔⁿya sò̀ⁿ- liver; cane rat

sɔ̀s ger sɔsıga 2vb ask; sò̀sa beggar

sɔⁿs ger só̀ⁿsìga 2vb converse, talk with

sừ 2vb take bath

sụa' 2vb hide; sụaka´ hiding place

sừ'eya´ 1vb own; sừừlím property, realm

sueⁿ´ 2vb anoint

suⁿ'e´ 2vb become better than

suⁿfɔ´/suuⁿr´ suⁿyá suⁿ- heart; suⁿ-
   búgừsìm peace; suⁿ-kpî'oŋɔ boldness;
   suⁿ-málìsừm/-má'asừm -málìs- joy;
   m̀ suⁿf má'e ya I'm joyful; suⁿ-pê̂ɛnn
   anger; m̀ suⁿf pélìg nɛ I'm angry;
   suⁿ-sâⁿ'ừŋɔ sorrow

sugur´ ger sugurú 2vb show forbearance

sừ'm goodness; well

sừmma 1vb be good

summır summa sừm- groundnut

sừnn ger sừnnìr/sừnnừgɔ 2vb bow head;
   sunna close observer W

sừ̀ŋ 2vb help

sừ̀ŋɔ *adj* good; sừ̀'ŋa´ well; very much

sú'oŋa su'omís su'oŋ- hare

suor´ sụeyá sụa- road; permission

sừ'osa yesterday

sừ'os 2vb trick

sừra 1vb have head bowed

sừừg´ 2vb (leaves) wither W

sừ'ừga/ɔ sừ'ừs sừ'- knife

-T-

-taa -taas fellow- §7.2.1

taab(a) *pn* each other

ta'adır ta'ada tà'ad- sandal

tàalḷ tàalà tàal- fault, sin

tá'amn ta'amá shea nut

tá'aŋa ta'amís ta'aŋ- shea tree

ta'as´ 2vb help to walk

tàb 2vb get stuck to; tàbìya 1vb be stuck

tàbìg 2vb get unstuck from

tàbìl 2vb stick to tr

tàdìg 2vb weaken

tadım tàdìm-nàma tàdìm- weakling

tàdìmís weakness

tàm (-mm-) vb forget

tàmpìⁿga rock

tàmpừr tàmpừ- ashpit, rubbish tip

tann tana tàn- earth; tàn-mɛɛda builder

taⁿpɔ war; tà̀ⁿp-sɔba warrior

tara´ 1vb have

tà̀ⁿs ger tà̀ⁿsừgɔ 2vb shout; (sun) shine

tàsìntàlḷ/tàtàlḷ palm of hand

tau̠ⁿ´ taⁿpa´ tau̠ⁿ-/taⁿp- opposite-sex sib

tɛb ger tɛbıga 2vb carry in both hands

tɛ̀ⁿb ger tɛ̀ⁿbừgɔ 2vb struggle

tɛbıg´ 2vb get heavy

tɛbısa´ 1vb be heavy

tɛbısíga *adj* heavy; tɛbısím weight

téɛbʋl téɛbʋl-nàmₐ table (En)

tɛɛg´/tɛk´ 2vb drag, pull;
   tɛɛg X tʋ̀bìr punish X

tɛ̀'ɛgₐ tɛ̀'ɛs tɛ̀'- baobab

tɛ̀ⁿ'ɛs 2vb remind

tɛⁿ'ɛs´ 2vb think; ger tɛⁿ'ɛsá thought

tɛŋₐ tɛɛⁿs tɛ̀ŋ- land; tɛ̀ŋ-biigₐ native;
   tɛ̀ŋ-daanₐ earth-priest; tɛ̀ŋ-dʋ'adɪgₐ
   native land; tɛ̀ŋ-gbàʋ̯ŋ₂ land; tɛ̀ŋ-
   kpɛŋₐ -kpɛmɪs -kpɛ̀ŋ- village; tɛ̀ŋ-
   pʋʋg₂´ -pʋʋd´ -pʋ- village; tɛ̀ŋ-sʋkₐ
   centre; tɛŋɪ·n/tɛŋír down; under

tɛ̀og₂ tɛ̀ɛd nest

tɛ̀'og₂ tɛ̀'ɛd baobab fruit

tɛ̀ⁿrₐ 1vb remember

tì/tɪ pn 1p

tì pt next, then §10.4

tḭ̀à'al 2vb come next

tḭ̀àk 2vb change

tì'e 2vb rely on

tìeⁿ 2vb remember; W inform; stretch

tì'eb 2vb get ready; (Ar ṭibb "medical
   art") heal; ti'ebₐ healer

tìeŋₐ tìemìs tìeŋ- beard; tìeŋ-gʋʋr chin

tɪg 2vb have in excess; ger tɪgɪr´ glut

ti'iᵧₐ´ 1vb (thing) lean

tììgₐ tììs tì- tree; tì-daʋg₂ -daad -dà- bow

ti'il´ 2vb lean (thing)

tììm tì- medicine; tì-kʋʋdím poison;
   tì-sabɪlím k/o traditional remedy

tì'in 2vb (thing) start leaning

tik´ 2vb press; tik nû'ug sign

tilás necessity (Ha tilas)

tɪ̀lìg 2vb survive, be saved

tɪnámₐ pn 1p (free); tɪnámì 1p+ǹ

tɪntɔⁿrígₐ tɪntɔⁿrís tɪntóⁿr- mole

tìpₐ tìp-nàmₐ tìp- healer

tɪrâanₐ tɪrâan-nàmₐ tɪrâan- peer;
   tɪrâannìm companionship

tírìgà ideo for giŋₐ short

tìs/tì· ipf tìsìdₐ/tìtₐ 2vb give; tìsₐ giver

tɪta'alₗ proud person; tɪta'alɪm pride

tɪta'am multitude

tɪta'ar adj big

tɔ̀ pt OK §11.2.4 (Ha to)

tɔ̀ⁿ 2vb shoot

tɔ̀d 2vb give to the poor, share

tɔe̯ᵧₐ´ 1vb be bitter, difficult

tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")

tólìb ideo

tólìlìlì ideo for wɔk₂´ tall

tɔɔg₂ adj bitter, difficult

tɔɔm´ 2vb depart, disappear

tɔ̀ⁿ'ɔs 2vb hunt

tɔ̀'ɔtɔ´ straight away

tṵ̀à lf tùa 2vb grind in a mortar;
   tṵ̀à-bilₐ pestle

tṵ̀à' 2vb plead in court

tṵa'e̯ᵧₐ´ 1vb be near

tʋ̀'al 2vb condemn in court

tʋ̀'as 2vb talk; tʋ̀'as-tʋ̀'asₐ talker

tʋ̀bìr tʋ̀bà tʋ̀b- ear; tʋ̀b-kpìr half of jaw

tuⁿ'e 1vb control; be able

tʋ̀kpɪɪdʋg₂ tumult, shouting

tʋlₗₐ´ 1vb be hot

tʋlɪg´ 2vb heat up

tùlìg 2vb invert

tʋ̀m 2vb work; ger tʋʋmₙ tʋʋma tʋ̀ʋm-
   deed, (pl) work; tʋ̀m-tʋmₙₐ worker

tʋ̀m ger tìtʋmɪs 2vb send

tuodɪr tuoda tùod- mortar

tùonₙ in front; west; tùon-gatₐ leader

tusir´ thousand

tùtulₗ upside-down thing

tʋʋlíga´ hotly; tʋʋlúg₂ adj hot

tʋ'ʋs´ 2vb meet

-U-

ùdùg$_{ɔ}$ ùt ùd- piece of chaff
ugus´ 2vb bring up child
ʋ̀k 2vb lift up; vomit
uk 2vb bloat
ʋ̀m 2vb close eyes
ʋ́ʋn$_n$ dry season
ʋʋs´ 2vb (person) get warm

-V-

vabɪ$_{ya}$´ 1vb lie prone
vabɪl´ 2vb make lie prone
vàbɪ̀n 2vb lie prone
vàe 2vb gather up
vaʋ^{n}g$_{ɔ}$´ vaa^{n}d´ va^n- leaf
vɛ' 2vb lead
vɛ'ɛg´ 2vb drag
vɛ̀^{n}l$_{la}$ 1vb be beautiful; vɛ̀^{n}llìg$_a$/vɛ̀^{n}llíŋ$_a$
  adj beautiful; vɛ̀^{n}llìm beauty;
  also vɛ̀n$_{na}$ etc
vi'/vik´ 2vb uproot
viig´ 2vb postpone, reschedule
viug$_{ɔ}$´ viid´ vi- owl
vu ger vuug$_{ɔ}$´ 2vb make noise;
  vuud´ noise
vʋe̥$_{ya}$´ 1vb be alive
vʋl 2vb swallow
vùlìnvùu^{n}l$_l$ mason wasp
vʋm´ vʋm- life
vúoŋ$_a$ vuomís red kapok,
  Bombax buonopozense
vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok
vʋr´ *adj* alive
vʋ'ʋg´ 2vb come/make alive
vʋ'ʋs´ ger vʋ'ʋsím 2vb breathe, rest

-W-

wa' 2vb dance
^{n}wà *pt* this §9.7.2
^{n}wa' 2vb smash up
waad´ cold weather
wáaf$_{ɔ}$ wiigí wa'- snake
waal´ 2vb sow

wa'alím length
wa'am$_a$´ 1vb be long, tall
^{n}waaŋ$_a$ ^{n}waamɪs ^{n}wàaŋ- monkey
wàbìg$_a$ *adj* lame
wàbɪ̀lìm 2vb make, go lame
wabʋg$_{ɔ}$´ wabɪd´ wab- elephant
wadá wad- (En "order") law
^{n}wadɪg$_a$´ ^{n}wadɪs´ ^{n}wad- moon, month;
  ^{n}wad-bíl$_a$ star; ^{n}Wad-dár Venus
wà'e$_{ya}$ 1vb be travelling
^{n}wà'e 2vb cut wood
^{n}wa'e´ 2vb strike, break
walɪg$_a$ walɪs/walí *sic* wàl- k/o gazelle
^{n}wam$_n$ ^{n}wama ^{n}wàm- calabash;
  also ^{n}wan$_n$ etc
wàŋìm 2vb waste away
wàsìnwàl$_l$ k/o gall (local En "mistletoe")
wàʋŋ$_{ɔ}$ *adj* wasted, thin
^{n}wɛ̀' 2vb beat; ^{n}wɛ̀' X nû'ug plead with X;
  ^{n}wɛ̀' ^{n}yɔ'ɔg boast
wɛɛl´ 2vb be left unsold
wɛl 2vb bear fruit
wɛl$_l$´ wɛlá wɛl- fruit
wɛlá/walá *pn* how? nìŋ wɛlá n/kà §11.3
wɛn$_{na}$´ 1vb be like
wɛnnɪr *adj* resembling (tp A, W)
wèog$_{ɔ}$ deep bush
wɛog$_{ɔ}$´ wɛɛd´ cheap thing sold in
  abundance W
wi̥ak´ 2vb hatch
wìdìg 2vb scatter
wìef$_{ɔ}$ wìdì wìd- horse
wìɪd$_a$/wɛ̀ɛd$_a$ wìɪb$_a$ wìɪd- hunter
wiig$_a$´ whistle
^{n}wiig$_a$´ ^{n}wiis´ ^{n}wi- rope
^{n}wiig´ 2vb make rope
wìɪm disease ("worse than ba^n'as" W)
wìk ipf wìid$_a$ 2vb fetch water
wìl$_l$ wìlà wìl- branch
wɪlɪsúŋ$_{ɔ}$ wɪlɪmís wɪlɪsúŋ- k/o snail
wím *ideo* for zì^n'a red

wɪn$_n$´ wɪná wɪn- spiritual essence; god;
  God; wɪn-tɔ̂ɔg$_ɔ$ misfortune

wìnnìg$_a$ wìn- sun; wìn-liir/-kɔ̀ɔ^{n}r sunset

wìug$_ɔ$ *adj* red (synonymous with zì^n'a)

wɔk$_ɔ$´ *adj* long, tall

wʊm ger wʊm$_{mɔ}$/wʊ̀mmʊ̀g$_ɔ$ 2vb hear;
  smell; understand

wʊsa/wʊʊ *q* all

wʊʊ *pt* like, resembling §10.6.3

wʊ'ʊg´ 2vb get wet

wʊ'ʊl´ 2vb make wet

<center>-Y-</center>

yà/ya *pn* 2p

$_{ya}$ *pn* 2pS

ya *pt* (m/c-pf) §10.5

yà' *pt* if, when §11.2.3;
  yà' naan if only; yà' pòn even if

yáa *pn* whither? yáa ní where?

yáab$_a$ yaa-nám$_a$ yaa- grandparent §9.4

yà'ab 2vb mould clay; ya'ad yà'- clay

yà'al 2vb hang up; make perch

^{n}ya'al´ 2vb leave behind

yà'an 2vb perch

^{n}yaan *pt* next §10.4

yáaŋ$_a$ yáas yaaŋ- grandchild, descendant

^{n}yá'aŋ$_a$ *adj* (animal) female

^{n}yá'aŋ$_a$ behind; east; ^{n}ya'an-dól$_{la}$/-dól$_l$
  -dóllà/-dóllìb$_a$ -dól- disciple

yaar´ 2vb scatter

^{n}ya'ar ^{n}ya'a ^{n}yà'- root

yàarìm yàar- salt

yà'as$_{(a)}$ again

ya'as´ 2vb open repeatedly

yàd(d)a trust (Ha *yarda*)

yadɪg´ 2vb scatter; yat$_a$´ participant
  in a housebuilding ritual

ya'e´ 2vb widen, (mouth) open

^{n}yae lf ^{n}yaenɛ́ *ideo* brightly, clearly

yàk 2vb unhang, unhook

yàlìg 2vb widen

yàlìm$_a$ 1vb be wide

yalʊm´ yalʊm-nám$_a$ worthless person

yalɪsúŋ$_ɔ$ yalɪmís yalɪsúŋ- quail

yàlʊ̀ŋ$_ɔ$ *adj* wide

^{n}yalúŋ$_ɔ$ *adj* wonderful

yam$_n$ yama yàm- hay

yam´/ya'am´ W yam- gall (bladder); sense

yàmmʊ̀g$_{a/ɔ}$ yàmmìs yàm- slave

^{n}yàn$_n$ shame

yanám$_a$ *pn* 2p (free); yanámì 2p+ǹ

^{n}yaŋ´ 2vb overcome; succeed in

yàʊg$_ɔ$ yàad grave, tomb

^{n}yàʊ̯k$_ɔ$ *adj* single (of eyes)

yɛ *pt* that §11.1

yɛ̀ 2vb dress oneself

^{n}yɛ ipf ^{n}yɛt$_a$´ imp ^{n}yɛ̀m$_a$ 2vb see, find;
  ^{n}yɛ láafìyà get well

^{n}yɛɛ (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4

yɛ̀ɛg 2vb undress oneself

yɛ̀ɛl 2vb dress someone

^{n}yɛ'ɛr´ ^{n}yɛdá ^{n}yɛ'- next-younger sibling

yɛɛs´ 2vb betray secret

^{n}yɛ̀ɛs$_a$ 1vb be bold; ^{n}yɛ̀ɛsìm boldness

^{n}yɛ̀ɛsíŋ$_a$ *adj* bold; ^{n}yɛ̀ɛsíŋa´ boldly

yɛl$_l$´ yɛlá yɛl- matter, affair; (pl) about;
  yɛl-méŋìr truth; yɛl-pákìr disaster;
  yɛl-súm$_n$ blessing

yèl ipf yɛ̀t$_a$ ger yɛ̀lʊ̀g$_ɔ$ 2vb say, tell

yɛŋím 2vb undulate

yɛ̀og$_ɔ$ yɛ̀ɛd bird's crop; weed, straggler,
  person displaced from family

yɛ́oŋ *q* one (in counting)

yi ipf yit$_a$´ imp yìm$_a$ 2vb go/come out

yìdìg 2vb go astray

yidig´ 2vb untie

yìer jaw

yiigá *q* firstly; yiig-sób$_a$ first person

yiis´ ger yiisíb$_ɔ$ 2vb make go/come out

yɪmmír *adj* unique, sole

yɪmmú *q* straight away, at once

^{n}yin$_n$´ ^{n}yiná ^{n}yin- tooth

yɪnní *q* one

yìŋ$_a$ outside

yir´ ya´ yi- house; yi-dâan$_a$/-sɔ́b$_a$ -sɔ́b-nàm$_a$ householder; yi-dím$_a$ household members; yín$_n$ at home pl yáa·n

^{n}yiríf$_ɔ$ ^{n}yirí egusi seed

yis 2vb make go/come out

yʋ̨ŋ$_ɔ$´ adj single (of pair)

yɔ̀ 2vb close

yɔ 2vb pay; ger yɔɔd´ pay

yɔlɪs´ 2vb untie

yɔlɪsím freedom

yɔlʋg$_ɔ$´ yɔn$_n$´ yɔl- sack; £100, 200 cedis

^{n}yɔɔd intestines

yɔ̀'ɔg 2vb open

^{n}yɔ'ɔg$_ɔ$´ chest

^{n}yɔɔg$_ɔ$ sympathy: ò zɔ̀to· ^{n}yɔɔg she sympathises with him

yɔ̀ɔr yɔ̀yà yɔ̀- soldier ant

^{n}yɔɔr ^{n}yɔya ^{n}yɔ̀- nose, breath; ^{n}yɔ̀-vʋr´ -vʋyá -vʋr- life

^{n}yɔ'ɔs´ smoke

yʋ̨à lf yùa 2vb bleed; fornicate W

yʋ'adɪr yʋ'ada rafter

yùbìg$_a$ yùbìs yùb- k/o small bottle-like pot

^{n}yu'e´ 2vb set alight

yugudɪr yuguda yùgùd- hedgehog

yʋgʊ́m$_n$ yʋgʊmá yʋgʊm- camel

yùlìg 2vb swing tr

yu'or yʋ̨oda yù'or- penis

yùug 2vb get to be a long time, delay

yùul 2vb swing intr

yʋ'ʋm´ 2vb sing; yʋʋm-yʋ̂'ʋm$_{na}$ singer

yʋ́'ʋm$_n$ yʋ'ʋmá yʋ'ʋm-/yʋʋm- song

yʋ̀ʋm$_n$ yʋ̀mà yʋ̀ʋm- year

yʋ'ʋn pt then, next §10.4

yʋ́'ʋŋ$_ɔ$ yʋ'ʋmís yʋ'ʋŋ- night

yʋ'ʋr´ yʋdá yʋ'- name

yʋʋr yʋʋya yʋ̀- water pot

^{n}yuur´ ^{n}yuyá ^{n}yu- yam

-Z-

za´ za- millet

zaⁿ'a q every

záal$_l$ adj empty; zaalím emptily

zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsɔbɪr´ evening

zàⁿ'an$_n$ zàⁿ'anà hammer, bludgeon

zàⁿ'as 2vb refuse

zàaⁿsìm 2vb dream; ger zàaⁿsʋ́ŋ$_ɔ$ zàaⁿsímà zàaⁿsʋ́ŋ- dream

zaaⁿsím zaaⁿs- soup

zàb ger zàbìr 2vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb$_a$ warrior; gban-záb$_a$ leather-worker

zàbìl 2vb cause to fight

zàⁿbìl 2vb tattoo skin

zaⁿbɪn$_n$ zaⁿbɪna zàⁿbìn- tattoo; sign B

zàk$_a$ zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nɔɔr´ gate

zàkìm 2vb itch

zaⁿl$_{la}$´ 1vb have in the hand

zàⁿl$_l$ umbilicus

zàlìŋ$_a$ zàlìmìs zàlìŋ- electric eel

zàm (-mm-) 2vb cheat; zàm-zam$_{na}$ cheater

zàmìs 2vb learn, teach

zàŋ 2vb pick up

zàŋgùom$_n$ zàŋgùomà zàŋgùom- wall

zàŋkʋ̀'ar zàŋkʋ̨'a zàŋkʋ̨à'- hyena

zɛm$_{ma}$´ 1vb be equal

zɛmɪs´ 2vb make equal

zɛmmʋ́g$_ɔ$ adj equal

zɛ̀ⁿ'og$_ɔ$ see zìⁿ'a

zi ger ziid´ 2vb carry on head; zi-zîid$_a$ carrier on head

zɪ' 1vb not know

zìⁿ'a adj red: zìⁿ'a and wìug$_ɔ$ cover all reddish shades, sabɪlíg$_a$ all darker, and pìelìg$_a$ all lighter; other colour terms are of the type wʋʋ támpʋʋr nɛ "grey"

zì'e$_{ya}$ 1vb stand

zì'el 2vb make stand; zì'el nɔɔr´ promise

zì'en 2vb stand; ò zì'en nɛ she's pregnant

zìⁿ'i$_{ya}$ 1vb sit; ziⁿ'ig$_a$ ziⁿ'is zìⁿ'- place

zìⁿ'il 2vb make sit

zɩɩm´ zɩ- blood

zìⁿ'in 2vb sit down

zíiŋₐ zimí zim- fish; zim-gbâⁿ'adₐ fisher

zɩ'ɩsíg 1vb not know (clause-final only)

zìlìmₙ zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue

zɩlɩnzîogɔ *adj* unknown

zím *ideo* for sabɩlígₐ black

ziná today

zɩnzaʋŋɔ´ zɩnzaná zɩnzáʋŋ- bat

zɩrí untruth

zɔ̀ ipf zɔ̀tₐ imp zɔ̀mₐ 2vb run; fear;
   experience emotion; ger zua/zɔɔgɔ pl
   zɔɔs run; ger zɔ̀tìm fear

zɔl 2vb castrate

zɔlɩmís foolishness

zɔlʋgɔ´ zɔnₙ´ zɔl- fool

zɔm´ zɔm- flour

zɔɔmₙ zɔɔma zɔ̀ɔm- refugee, fugitive

zɔrɩgₐ´ small child W

zɔrʋgɔ´ zɔrá piece

zu 2vb steal

zṵà lf zùa zṵà-nàmₐ zṵà- friend

zù'e 2vb get higher, more

zùe 2vb perch, get on top

zugɔ´ zut´ zu(g)- head; onto, due to;
   zug-dâanₐ master; zug-kʋgʋr -kʋga
   -kúg- pillow; zug-sɔ́bₐ master (always
   "the Lord" in B3); zu-pɛ́ɛlʋ̀gɔ *adj* bald;
   zu-píbìgₐ hat; zugʋ́·n on

zùg 2vb work bellows

zùlìg 2vb deepen

zùlìmₐ 1vb be deep

zùlùŋɔ *adj* deep; zùlùŋɔ depth

zùnₙ civet

zʋ̀nzɔ̀ŋₐ/ɔ zʋ̀nzɔɔⁿs zʋ̀nzɔ̀ŋ- blind person

zʋ̀ŋɔ *adj* foreign

zuobúgɔ zuobíd zuob- (human head) hair

zùod friendship

zùol 2vb make to perch

zu'om´ zu'omís zu'om- blind person

zu'om´ 2vb go/make blind

zùon 2vb start perching

zuor zṵeya zṵà- hill

zùos 2vb befriend

zurífɔ zurí zur- dawadawa seed

zʋ́'ʋⁿfɔ zʋ'ʋní dawadawa seed

zùuⁿgɔ zùuⁿs/zùuⁿd zùⁿ- vulture

zʋʋr zʋya zʋ̀- tail