

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. No instructional or descriptive materials were available, but with some coaching from S (Sources, page vi), 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, very little linguistic work on Agolle Kusaal had been published. Happily, the situation has now changed greatly, with the work of Hasiyatu Abubakari and of Anthony Agoswin Musah (see References.) Though I have not drawn on their data or analyses in compiling this grammar, I recommend their publications to all readers who wish to acquire a more profound insight into the language. Other major advances include a very useful dictionary of Agolle Kusaal edited by Tony Naden, and several works on the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso from Urs Niggli, including an extensive dictionary.

This present 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.

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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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

Adj	adjective	C	consonant
CIF	compound-initial form	CQ	content question
Dem	demonstrative	DP	discontinuous past
Foc	focus	Gd	gerund
H	high tone	Ideo	ideophone
Idf	indefinite	Imp	imperative
Ipf	imperfective	Irr	irrealis
L	low tone	LF	long form
M	mid tone	Ng	negative
NP	noun phrase	NSb	non-subordinate
Nz	nominaliser	Pf	perfective
Pl	plural	Pn	pronoun
Pt	particle	PQ	polar question
Pz	personaliser	Qf	quantifier
SF	short form	Sg	singular
Tns	tense	TP	tone pattern
V	vowel mora	Voc	vocative
VP	verb phrase	X	circumflex tone
1S 2P ...	1st person Sg, 2nd Pl etc	1Vb	one-aspect verb
2P2	2P subject after verb	2Vb	two-aspect verb
3A 3I	3rd Sg animate, inanimate	Ø	dummy head pronoun
+	catenating linker		

In glosses, Dem Idf Ø add A/I/P to mark animate/inanimate/plural: DemA IdfP etc. The glosses do not distinguish bound/free pronouns or short/long demonstratives. Only 1S 2S are labelled as Sg: other (pro)nominals are Sg unless they are compound-initial or marked as Pl. Some set phrases are glossed by single words. Perfective and indicative are unlabelled, and 1Vbs are not marked for aspect. The symbol _ (not =) is used to join enclitics to hosts; when it is followed by a space or by punctuation, the enclitic is segmentally zero, but appears in the glossing.

The subscripts after citation forms are explained in §3.1.

The symbol | is used for labelling noun class sets §5.1.1.

Abbreviations for sources and language consultants are given on page vi.

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.

Bible references use Chicago Manual short forms; they are to B3 by default.

- 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.

One text is taken from the newspaper *Tampana*, published by NFED, the Non-Formal Education Division of the Ghanaian Ministry of Education.

Forms written in the orthography of this grammar appear in [this font](#).

Kusaal written sources are cited in this font, with a transcription below in glossed examples. Foreign proper names are untranscribed, as their pronunciation is very variable and does not reflect the spelling consistently. Toende Kusaal forms are from Niggli 2017 and from the New Testament version, which is available as the Android application "Kusaal BF", ©ANTBA 2023.

Mampruli data are drawn from Naden's dictionary, Mooré from Niggli 2016 and Farefare from Niggli 2013.

Hausa forms are from Newman 1977, but short vowels are written with single vowel symbols, long vowels with double. Syllables without tone marks bear high tone. In standard Hausa orthography tone and vowel length are unmarked.

Arabic words are transliterated using ALA-LC romanisation.

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 arable farmers, living in widely scattered compounds, each the domain of a family head with his wives, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Cattle-raising is common, but largely the preserve of Fulani and Mossi. A single rainy season lasts from about May to October. The staple crop is millet of various kinds, used to make the porridge called "TZ" ("tee-zed") in local English (Hausa *tuwon zaafi*, 'hot porridge'), and the traditional beer, "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*.)

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 "oath name" (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 matters of land use the local leader is the *tèŋ-daan* 'earth-priest', taken as the heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the region was dominated by the Mossi-Dagomba kingdoms, founded around the thirteenth century by invaders from east of Lake Chad, who created hereditary chiefs; their subjects continued to provide 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 (Iliasu 1971.) The Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the Bawku chieftaincy (see e.g. Lund 2003.)

In other respects, Kusaasi culture shares much with neighbouring peoples. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba, Farefare and Mossi, including the long-sleeved smock called a "fugu shirt" in English.

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional worldview. The Creator, **Wɩn**, is invoked in greetings and proverbs; but proverbs say

Dìm nɛ Wɩn, da tû'as nɛ Wɩnné_. 'Eat with God, don't talk with God.'
eat.Imp with God Ng.Imp talk with God_Ng

Wɩn nyé kà sin. 'God sees and is silent.'
God see and be.silent

Everyday life is instead concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called **wɩn**. A **wɩn** resides in a **bugur**, 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 **nyò-vur** 'life', **wɩn** (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.) **Sug** 'life force' is associated with a person's tutelary **kìkiris**; witches cause harm by stealing it. Most people have a **sgur** 'guardian spirit', which is often the **wɩn** of an ancestor; **bugur** may also mean "a **sgur** inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's **sgur**.

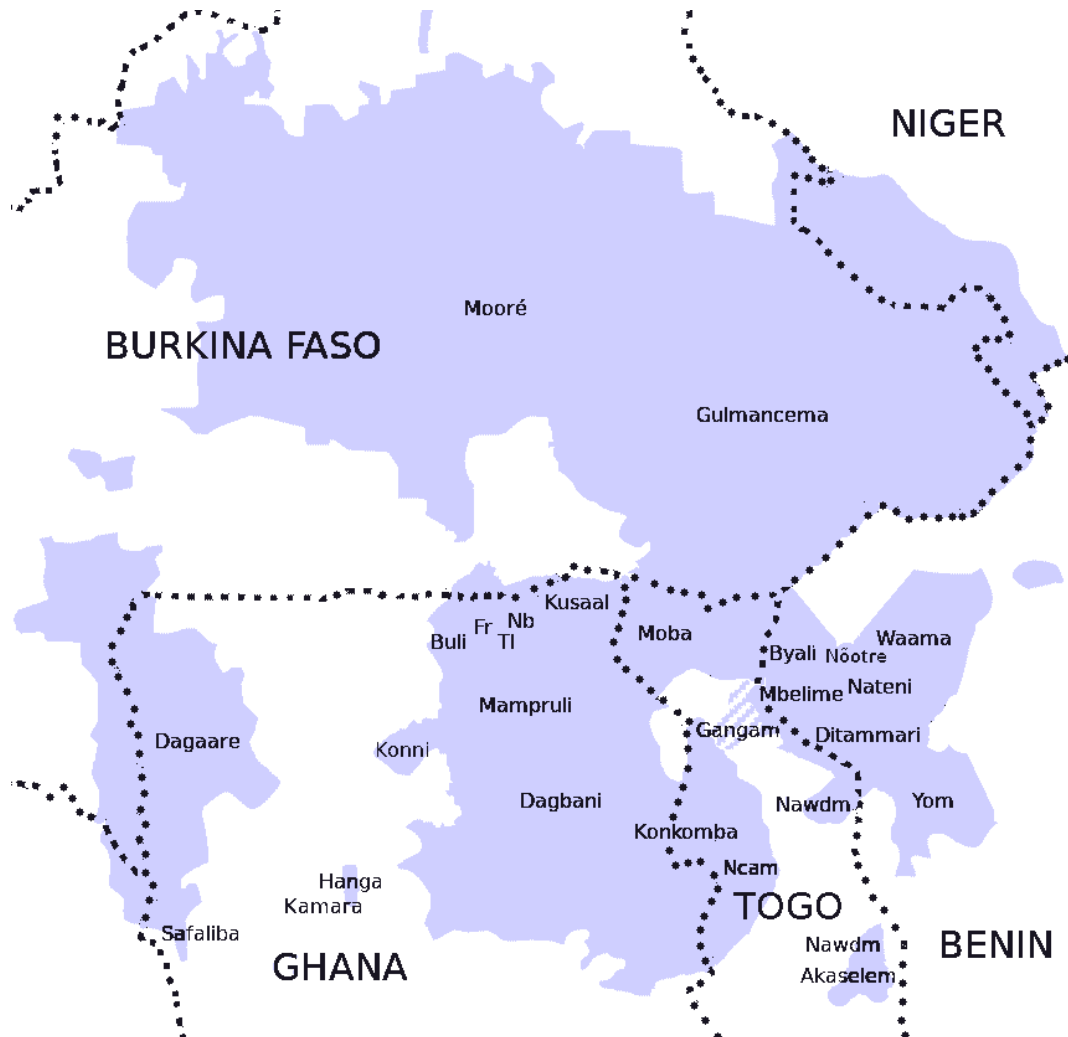
In the 1990's most patients attending our clinics in Bawku spoke Kusaal; about equal in second place were Hausa, the regional lingua franca, and Mooré, the major language of eastern Burkina Faso. Few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. There were then about 250,000 Kusaal speakers; the number has since grown substantially. Kusaal is used for all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and serves as an areal lingua franca. My first Kusaal New Testament was a gift from a local Mamprussi colleague who spoke Kusaal and did not know Mampruli.

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

There is a sharp dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably because of the depopulation near the White Volta caused by river blindness. This grammar deals with the Agolle dialect, which has more speakers and forms the basis of the written language in Ghana (written materials from Burkina Faso are in Toende dialect.) My language consultants understood Toende speakers without much difficulty; however, Agolle speakers may find Toende Kusaal easier than vice versa. Berthelette 2001 reports that Ghanaian Toende speakers understand Agolle Kusaal significantly better than Burkina Faso Toende speakers do, presumably due to greater exposure. He also reports that Toende speakers consider their dialect "purer" than Agolle Kusaal. For an outline of the differences between the dialects see §1.2.1.

Kusaal belongs to the Western subgroup of the Oti-Volta branch of Volta-Congo. Its closest relatives are its western neighbours Nabit and Talni, followed by the close-knit subgroup of Mampruli, Dagbani, Hanga, Kamara and Yare; less close are Mooré, the Farefare/Gurenne and Dagaare/Dagara dialect continua, Safaliba and Nöotre. Western Oti-Volta is about as diverse as Romance; within Oti-Volta, it is relatively close to Buli/Konni and Yom/Nawdm, with shared phonological innovations, parallels in verb morphology, and lexical similarities. More distant are the Gurma languages Gulmancema, Moba, Konkomba, Akaselem, Gangam and Ncam, and the internally diverse Eastern group of Ditammari, Nateni, Mbelime, Byali and Waama.

The Oti-Volta languages



Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni

Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

For further details on the language relationships of Kusaal see *Proto-Oti-Volta*, Eddyshaw 2024.

1.2 Grammatical overview

Long vowels are written double; ⁿ marks nasalisation, ^ʔ glottalisation; **e** **ɛ** both represent [ɪ], **o** **ɔ** both [ʊ]; **y** is [j]. The full range of vowels occurs only in roots. Within words, CC clusters are limited to intervocalic **nn mm ll mn**, nasal + C between prefix and root, and final **mm**.

Syllables carry high (H), mid (M, unmarked) or low (L) tone; CVVC syllables may carry a high-low (X) tone. Tone sandhi is extensive. ML always becomes either HL or MH unless pause intervenes. Most words which are not bound to the right cause initial L tone in a following unbound word to become H or X.

External sandhi is complex, and several words with no segmental form of their own are manifested only in the sandhi changes they induce in preceding words.

Apocope §3.1 usually deletes the final vowel mora of any word not bound to the right (with final CC → C), producing a "short form" (SF); but the last word heard in a negated clause, question or vocative retains its "long form" (LF):

Lì à nɛ gɓiɠum.

'It's a lion.'

3I be Foc lion

Lì ka' gɓiɠumne_.

'It's not a lion.'

3I Ng.be lion_Ng

This appearance of LFs is due to "prosodic enclitics." The symbol _ joins hosts to enclitics; when space or punctuation follows, as here, the enclitic is segmentally zero. (Kusaal has several enclitics of this kind.) "Liaison words", which include the bound forms of the personal pronouns, also cause preceding words to appear as LFs, but with loss of final quality contrasts in non-root vowels:

M̂ pu dʊgɛ_.

'I haven't cooked.'

1S Ng cook_Ng

M̂ dúgɛ_bá.

'I've cooked them.'

1S cook_3P

M̂ pu dɔllá_.

'I don't go along.'

1S Ng accompany_Ng

M̂ dɔllɛ_bá.

'I go with them.'

1S accompany_3P

Liaison words of the underlying form CV become C by apocope:

M̐ pu dɔllí_f_. 'I don't go with you.'
1S Ng accompany_2S_Ng

M̐ dɔll_f. 'I go with you.'
1S accompany_2S

Before **o** 'him/her', any LF-final vowel mora becomes **o**; the SF of **o** itself is segmental zero, but the vowel change persists:

M̐ pu dɔlló_o_. 'I don't go with him/her.'
1S Ng accompany_3A_Ng

M̐ dɔllo_. 'I go with him/her.'
1S accompany_3A

2P-subject **ya** after imperatives has a zero SF preceded by **ɪ**: **Gòsìm_!** 'Look ye!' Two liaison words of the underlying form **n** also often surface as zero:

m̐ zugú_ zàbìd la zúg 'because my head hurts' (nominaliser **n̐**)
1S head_Nz fight.Ipf the on

M̐ zugú_ zábìd. 'My head hurts.' (linker **n**)
1S head_+ fight.Ipf

All flexion and all regular derivation operate by suffixing; prefixes appear in nominals (e.g. **tta'ar** 'big'), but there are no systematic prefixing processes.

Noun flexion uses five distinct Sg/Pl suffix pairs and two non-count suffixes:

Sg	sɪd	Pl	sɪdɪb	'husband'
	bʊʊg		bʊʊs	'goat'
	viug		viid	'owl'
	zʊʊr		zʊya	'tail'
	m̀̀lìf		m̀̀lì	'kob'
	sa'ab			'porridge'
	daam			'beer'

Other suffix pairings are mostly explicable phonologically. The system is partly obscured by sound changes: e.g. **bʊʊg** Pl **bʊʊs** 'goat' has the same suffix pair as **b̀̀n̐** Pl **b̀̀m̀̀s** 'donkey', and **zʊʊr** Pl **zʊya** 'tail' the same as **yʊ'ʊr** Pl **yudá** 'name.'

Adjectives regularly form compounds §8.1 with preceding noun heads; very unusually from a cross-linguistic standpoint, so too do dependent demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. Head-final compounds are also common. The first element of a compound takes the suffix ε : after apocope, the resulting "compound-initial form" resembles a bare stem. The final element inflects for the number of the head:

b̀-tita'ar	'big goat'	b̀-titada	'big goats'
z̀-tita'ar	'big tail'	z̀-titada	'big tails'
m̀l-tita'ar	'big kob'	m̀l-titada	'big kobs'
b̀-kàŋa	'this goat'	b̀-bàmma	'these goats'
z̀-kàŋa	'this tail'	z̀-bàmma	'these tails'
m̀l-kàŋa	'this kob'	m̀l-bàmma	'these kobs'
b̀-kvud	'goat-killer'	b̀-kvudíb	'goat-killers'

The Sg/Pl suffixes once formed a gender system requiring agreement of adjectives, number words, and pronouns. Agreement has been abandoned in Kusaal, as in most Western Oti-Volta languages, but many traces remain in the morphology.

The great majority of verbs inflect for aspect. Such "two-aspect" verbs suffix ε for Pf aspect, **da** for Ipf, **ma** for imperative. Again, morphophonemic complications complicate the picture:

Pf	ku	Ipf	kvud	'kill'
	ɖug		ɖugvud	'cook'
	b̀d		b̀t	'sow'
	vul		vun	'swallow'

About sixty "one-aspect" verbs only have an Ipf; they typically express stances (**ɖug** 'lie'), relationships (**mɔr** 'have') or predicative adjectival senses (**gim** 'be short.')

Deverbal nominal formation is very productive and largely regular. Almost all verbs can form a gerund, expressing the action or state denoted by the verb, usually by simply adding a noun Sg suffix to the verb stem. Most verbs form an agent noun with the derivational suffix **d**, as with **kvud** Pl **kvudíb** 'killer' from **ku** 'kill'; once again, morphophonemic changes may obscure the patterns, as with e.g. **pa'an** Pl **pa'annib** 'teacher' from **pà'al** 'teach.' The same stem is used for deverbal adjectives.

Most pronouns distinguish animate/inanimate in the singular; there is no formal distinction in the plural. The third-person bound subject pronouns are thus **ò** 'he/she', **lì** 'it', **bà** 'they.'

There is a definite article **la**, which ends its noun phrase: **bυυg la** 'the goat.' Possessors precede: **m̄ bυυg** 'my goat', **ɗay la b̄υυg** 'the man's goat.' There are four basic prepositions, including **ne** 'with' and **wυυ** 'like.' **Ne** also links NPs as 'and.'

Certain nouns function as postpositions: **t̄ɛɛb̄ɔ̀l la z̄υg** 'onto the table' (**zug** 'head.')

In addition, there is a liaison-enclitic particle **n**, which has a very general locative sense 'to, at, in.' It may precede the article: **bυυsu_n la** 'to the goats.'

Kusaal is SVO; indirect objects precede direct. There is no special interrogative word order. Verbs show no agreement for person or number, but inflect to distinguish perfective and imperfective aspects. Particles expressing tense, mood and polarity precede the verb; the negative preverbal particles vary by mood. The moods are indicative, imperative and irrealis: irrealis usually expresses future time.

T̄i sá t̄is̄_f bυυg la.

1P Tns give_2S goat the

'We gave you the goat yesterday.'

T̄i sá pu t̄is̄_f bυυg láa_.

1P Tns Ng give_2S goat the_Ng

'We didn't give you the goat yesterday.'

T̄i ná t̄is̄_f bυυg la.

1P Irr give_2S goat the

'We'll give you the goat.'

T̄i kú t̄is̄_f bυυg láa_.

1P Ng.Irr give_2S goat the_Ng

'We won't give you the goat.'

There are two 'be' verbs: **b̄ɛ** 'exist' and **àɛⁿ** 'be something.' **Àɛⁿ** becomes **àⁿ** unless it is prepausal; in positive main clauses it is usually followed by the focus particle **ne**, and then becomes **à**. The negative indicative of both 'be' verbs is **ka'e/ka'**:

M̄ bυυg b̄ɛ.

1S goat exist

'I have a goat.'

L̄i à ne bυυg.

3I be Foc goat

'It's a goat.'

L̄i ka' bυuga_.

3I Ng.be goat_Ng

'It's not a goat.'

M̄ bυυg ka'e_.

1S goat Ng.exist_Ng

'I don't have a goat.'

If the verb meaning permits and no free words intervene, the focus particle **ne** after a verb has the temporal sense "at the particular time in question":

Ò gòsìd. 'He looks.'
3A look.Ipf

Ò gòsìd ne. 'He is looking.'
3A look.Ipf Foc

Otherwise, the particle focuses following VP constituents; if it is VP-final, it focuses the verb word itself:

Ì dá' ne buug. 'I've bought a *goat*.'
1S buy Foc goat
(in reply to 'What have you bought?')

Gòsìm ne! 'Look!' ("Don't touch!")
look.Imp 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 and overlay so long as the action is proceeding in sequence:

Ò dà gòs buug la. 'He looked at the goat.'
3A Tns look goat the

Kà ò gòs buug 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**:

Ò gòs ya. 'He's looked.'
Ò dà gòs ya. 'He looked.' (remote past)
but **Ò daa gòs.** 'He looked.' (before yesterday)

Gòsìm buug la! 'Look at the goat!'

but **Da gòs buug láa_!** 'Don't look at the goat!'
Ng.Imp look goat the_Ng

dau lá_ nyε buug la
man the_Nz see goat the

'the man having seen the goat'

Relative clauses are likewise nominalised with *ñ*, and are then headed internally by demonstrative or indefinite pronouns. If the head is the relative clause object, and is not generic, it is most often preposed with *kà*:

dàù-kànì_ dà' buug la
man-Dem.Nz buy goat the

'the man who has bought a goat'

dàù-kàn búugù_ bòdìg la
man-Dem goat_Nz get.lost the

'the man whose goat got lost'

fún nyε bú-si'a la
2S.Nz see goat-Idf the

'the goat that you've seen'

bù-kàn kà fù nyε la
goat-Dem and 2S see the

'the goat that you've seen'

Any NP can be relativised. Combinations of initial demonstratives with following *ñ* (like *kànì_* above) are now being reanalysed as relative pronouns. Purpose and content clauses begin with *ye* 'that' (less often, *kà*):

M̃ bôɔd yé fù dá' buug.
1S want.Ipf that 2S buy goat

'I want you to buy a goat.'

M̃ tɛⁿεs yé fù dà' buug.
1S think that 2S buy goat

'I think that you've bought a goat.'

In content clauses, contrastive 3rd person pronoun subjects can be logophoric:

Ò yèl ye on dá' buug la.
3A say that 3A buy goat the

'He says he's bought the goat.'

To express direct physical perception of how something is, catenatives are used rather than content clauses:

Kà m̃ nyé kà dau la gim.
and 1S see and man the be.short

'And I saw that the man was short.'

1.2.1 Toende Kusaal

The differences between Toende and Agolle Kusaal are mainly phonological.

Toende Kusaal has no r/d contrast: r appears after word-internal vowels, d elsewhere. Some Toende speakers preserve [ɲ] [ɲ̄m] where Agolle has initial ^hy ^hw. Toende may have y or zero before front nasal vowels where Agolle has shifted the original *ɲ to n, e.g. Toende ẽɲ, Agolle n̄ɲ 'do'; Toende yěe, Agolle n̄ie 'appear.'

The Toende vowel system preserves earlier open monophthongs where Agolle has ie uo: Toende sɛɛs, Agolle sies 'waists'; Toende bɔ'ɔs, Agolle bu'os 'ask.' In Agolle, the breaking of these vowels to diphthongs has left space for the corresponding long close vowels to become open: Toende pɛ'es, Agolle pɛ'ɛs 'sheep', Toende toom, Agolle tɔɔm 'disappear.' Where Toende and Agolle both show ɔɔ, this represents an original Common Kusaal *aw: cf Toende bɔɔt, Agolle bɔɔd 'want, wish', Mooré bàoda.

Like Agolle Kusaal, Toende has three basic tones, but with many differences in detail, particularly in tone sandhi.

Toende Kusaal does not denasalise short vowels before nasal consonants: b̃ɲ 'ring.' It has no short glottalised vowels in closed syllables. It permits geminate consonants only before final LF §3.1 vowels. Toende deletes *g after all unrounded long vowels word-finally; unlike Agolle §3.2.2 it otherwise retains *g after long open vowels, with lenition after close vowels: baa LF baaga 'dog', dook LF doogo 'hut' but bii LF biiya 'child.' Prost 1979 has x [χ] for *g after short open vowels (pɔxa 'wife'), but as in Agolle Kusaal the outcome is now simply glottalisation: pɔ'a.

Toende word-final g b r normally become k p t. In verb Pfs, however, final b is unchanged and final g is deleted: there are minimal pairs like ya'ab 'mould pots' versus ya'ap 'potter.' Pfs thus only undergo apocope *after* final stops have been devoiced; moreover, Pfs of the form CVgV keep their final vowels in the SF: thus leb 'return', put 'name' but dugu 'cook' (Agolle lèb, pùd, dug.)

Segmental sandhi differs in that the initial consonant of the article la is assimilated to all preceding consonants: niripa 'the people', Agolle nidib la. Similarly, the focus particle me/ne is assimilated to ẽ after all Ipfs: d̄tẽ 'is eating', Agolle d̄t̄ ne.

Morphology differs little between Agolle and Toende, except as a consequence of the phonological differences. Minor differences appear in the syntax of relative clauses §10.5.2, but otherwise the syntax of the two dialects seems to be identical.

Berthelette 2001 cites an estimate of lexical cognates between the two dialects of only 84%, but more recent and reliable lexical data suggest a figure of over 96%. However, there is some distinctively Toende vocabulary, like buraa 'man', tuna 'come', tuɲ 'go', and the free pronouns tun 'we', nam 'you' Pl. Particles can show significantly divergent phonological developments: Agolle nominaliser ñ corresponds to Toende ne, linker n to zero, irrealis n̄à to ne, negative pu to bu, the locative enclitic n to ɿ, and focus nɛ to me phrase-finally, but ne elsewhere. Nasalisation is preserved in Toende õ 'he/she' (Agolle ò), and the 3rd person Sg inanimate pronoun is la (Agolle lì.)

2 Sound system

2.1 Consonants and vowels

For phonotactics see §3.2. Symbols have IPA values except where noted.

The consonant inventory is

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

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

h appears only in loanwords.

k t p are aspirated word- or root-initially. Except after prefixes, written word-internal **k t p ŋ** represent geminates, but they are realised single in normal rapid speech; **ŋ** cannot be word-initial. Final **g d b** are partly devoiced, but still contrast with **k t p**. Velar stops are labialised before rounded vowels, backed before back vowels, and fronted before front vowels, for some speakers even to palatal affricates; they may represent [tʃ dʒ] in loans: **tók-làe** 'torch(light)', **sóǵjà** 'soldier.'

kp gb are labial-velar stops, found only before unrounded root vowels and in prefixes. They may represent labialised velars in loans: **bákpàe** 'week', Hausa *bakwàì*.

t d n s z l r are usually alveolar, but **s z** may be dental or interdental; **l** is never velarised. Word-internal **s** is often realised [h], and may represent this sound in loans: **Àláasìd** 'Sunday', Hausa *Lahàdii*. 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]; ^ɲw ^ɲy are nasalised.

The term "vowel" will be used for both monophthongs and diphthongs.

There are seven short monophthongs **a ɛ i ɪ** [ɪ] **ɔ u ʊ** [ʊ], and corresponding long vowels written with double letters. Non-root final **ɛ ɔ** are somewhat less open. After alveolars/palatals, **ɪ ʊ u** are slightly more front. In 3A pronouns [ʊ] is written **o**. In **ye** 'that', **teŋ** 'land', **keŋ** 'go', **ken** Ipf **kèm** NSb-Imp 'go/come', **ke na** 'come' and the pronouns **on òn ón òŋa** some speakers have [ɛ ɔ], others [ɪ ʊ].

Diphthongs may be short, long or overlong. Symbols marked _˘ represent vowel sounds which do not constitute morae; word-initial **ɪ̘ ʊ̘** are laxer and longer than **y w**. Non-initial **e ɛ̘ o** in diphthongs represent [ɪ̘ ʊ̘].

The primary diphthongs are

					ɨa	ɯa		
					ia	ua	ɨa'a	ɯa'a
					iaa	uaa		
aɛ	ɛɨ		ɔɛ	uɨ	ʊɛ	ɨe		
ae			ɔe	ui	ue	ie	ue	ɯa'e
aee					iee	uee		
aɯ	ɛɯ			ɯ	ɨaɯ	ɯo		
au	ɛo	iu			io	uo		

Word- and phrase-internally before consonants other than **y**, **ie** **uo** are [iə uə] and **ɯa'a** becomes **ʊ'a**. Secondary diphthongs occur in liaison §4.4, where all final vowel morae become [ɪ] before the 2P2 enclitic and [ʊ] before 3A; this [ʊ] is written **o** both within diphthongs and as a monophthong: **duà'o** 'beget him', **kisó** 'hate him.'

Root 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 ' but following all other vowel symbols: **gɛⁿ** Ipɸ **gɛⁿɛd** 'get angry'; **gɛⁿ** 'get tired'; **tɛɛⁿs** 'lands'; **bɨaɯⁿk** 'shoulder.'

Glottalisation is realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first/only mora. It is marked with ' after that mora: **pu'ab** 'women', **pu'a** 'woman.' **Mà'àa** 'only' has a unique overlong monophthong. Except in questions, word-final short root vowels glottalise before pause: **gɛⁿ** 'tire' falls together with **gɛⁿ** 'anger.'

All short glottal vowels not due to apocope precede **ŋ** or **m** in closed syllables: **la'ŋ** 'set alight', **sù'ŋa** 'well', **ni'm** 'meat.' Not all speakers have glottalisation here, and it is absent in Toende Kusaal and Farefare cognates. **Yam** 'sense' (Farefare *yém*) and **ya'am** 'gall' (Farefare *yá'am*) have fallen together as **yam/ya'am**.

2.2 Stress and tone

Syllables are (C)V(V)(C); except after prefixes, **k t p ŋ** represent CC word-internally. (C)VVV is disyllabic, dividing (C)V-VV.

All roots have underlying stress, but monosyllables other than CVVC lose their stress unless they are followed by pause. Nominal prefixes §6.1.2 are not stressed. Prosodic enclitics §4.3 shift the stress of a preceding word to its last syllable.

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', **dum** 'knee' (unmarked), **bòŋ** 'donkey', **nù'ug** 'hand.' Only CVVC syllables carry X. Enclitics of the form C close a syllable: **kà bà kí'e_m** 'and they cut me.' (C)VVV bears two tones: **nuáa** 'hen' MH.

M is always realised as a level tone; L and H are level except before pause, where they are realised as falling, starting at their usual pitch. X falls from H to L pitch over two morae; the fall in prepausal H on CVVC is within the second mora.

Downstep is predictable, and will only be marked in this section.

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

M̂ ʰyé ʰnáaf la kpéla. 'I've seen the cow there.'
 M̂ ʰyé ʰnú'ug la kpéla. 'I've seen the hand there.'

MH → M¹H before a stressed syllable, except at the end of questions.

Monosyllables only retain stress if they are CVVC or precede pause; thus

Man ʰbú-bɛ'og la bé. 'My bad goat is there.'
 Man bú-wɔk la bé. 'My long goat is there.'
 Daɹ la ʰsá mɛɛd yir la. 'The man was building the house.'
 Daɹ la sá mɛ yir la. 'The man built the house.'
 Kà m̂ ʰye ʰnáaf la. 'And I saw the cow.' (la stressed)
 Kà m̂ ʰye náaf la kpéla. 'And I saw the cow there.'

Prosodic enclitics shift the stress of a preceding word to the final syllable, but the interrogative intonation suppresses downstep insertion despite the stress shift:

Bà à ne móli. 'They are kobs.'
 Bà ka' ʰmólíi_. 'They aren't kobs.'
 Ò à ne ʰpúkòɔ^r. 'She's a widow.' (pu is a prefix)
 Ò ka' púkòɔ^rɛ_. 'She's not a widow.'
 Ò pu yaɔt^gída_. 'He isn't scattering.'
 Bó kà ò yaɔt^gída_? 'What's he scattering?'

HL on two (C)V syllables, where the second is neither word-final nor stressed, is realised as H extending over both. The unstressed second syllable always prevents the H from being downstepped after a preceding M:

Bà ka' di'esídɔba_. 'They are not receivers.'
 Lì ka' móli^fɔ_. 'It's not a kob.'

The conditions for this realisation are not met in e.g.

Ò pu básì^fɔ_. 'He hasn't left you.' (word-final)
 Lì ka' ʰdágòbìga_. 'It's not the left.' (stressed: da is a prefix)
 Bà pu sɔákìda_. 'They don't agree.' (CVCCV: k = /kk/)

2.3 Orthography

Texts differ in orthography from this grammar in several respects.

Tone is not marked.

Intervocalic k t p may be doubled (in accordance with the actual pronunciation in very deliberate speech); ll mm nn may be written single. G2 writes ng ng nk for η ηg ηk. After prefixes or CIFs ending in vowels, d is written r (again matching the pronunciation): na'araug na'-dâug 'ox.' Final iya in loans is written ia: dunia 'world.'

B3 uses i for ι; final ι after nasals is often written ε, epenthetic ι υ sometimes e: bareka 'blessing', bēdegυ bēdùgυ 'much.' Before B3, e o i u represented ε ɔ ι/i υ/u; e o were also used for e o in diphthongs, and oo often represented υυ. The mark ̣ is not used: long ae is written aae/aaε (paae pae 'reach'); ʉa'/ʉ'a are written u'a, except in B1/2 po'a pʉa' 'woman' Pl po'ab, mo'ar mù'ar 'lake'; both aʉ and aʉ can be written either au or av. B3 writes ɔoe ʉoe uoe ɔi ieu for ɔe ʉe ue ɔe io: ɔn'oe 'be better than', tɔi 'be bitter', kpi'eʉŋ 'strong.' B1/2 write uey for ʉoy: zueya 'hills.' For the nasalisation marker ̣ a simple n is written: gɔn g̣ṇ 'wander', tɛns tɛ̣ns 'lands', tɛn'ɛs tɛ̣ṇ'ɛs 'think', nyin ̣yin 'tooth'; there is thus potential ambiguity with n, most often word-finally. Before B3 nn was used for word-final ̣, but ạ̀ṇ 'be' was simply written as a. ̣yae 'bright' is written nyain; before B3, ̣wen 'be like' was written wen. Short glottal vowels are written long, except word-finally in unbound words. B3 often writes ' after modal word-final short root vowels in unbound words, but has kae for kae' 'not be.'

Sandhi contact changes §4.1 are often noted in writing: bummɔr bun-mór 'rich person', paa na pae na 'arrive.' On the other hand, diphthong changes in liaison §4.4 are often ignored in older texts.

Word division in texts differs in many ways from the usage of this grammar.

Hyphens are only written after CIFs §5.1.2 when they end in a vowel symbol and the following stem also begins with a vowel: pu'a-ɛliŋ pʉà'-ɛlíŋ 'fiancée.' Otherwise, CIFs are normally written solid with following words: bikaŋa bì-kàŋa 'this child'; however, CIFs which happen to be spelt identically to Sgs are generally written as separate words: dau kaŋa dàʉ-kàŋa 'this man.' A peculiarity of B2 orthography is that Sgs are often written in place of CIFs, though the audio version has the expected CIF: thus always Siig Suŋ 'Holy Spirit' for Sì-sùŋ.

Hyphens are consistently written in the phrases used for points of the compass §8.3: ya-nya'aŋ 'East' ("behind you Pl.") They are used to join the elements of personalisations with the pronoun à §8.2.1 when these do not consist of just one word after à: a-daar-paaeya kum à daar páe ya kúm 'a natural death.' Hyphens are also used to link the component words of distributives, adverbials and ideophones formed by reduplication: ayɔpɔi-pɔi 'by sevens' §8.5.1, zɔra-zɔra 'into shreds' §9.7.2.1, lasa-lasa 'speckled' (predicative ideophone §9.7.1.)

The symbol _ is not used. The locative enclitic **n**, the discontinuous-past marker **n**, and the enclitic 2P subject pronoun §4.4 are written solid with their hosts:

ku'omin	kù'om <u>n</u>	'in water'
gɔsimiya	gòsì <u>m</u> yá_	'look ye!' Gn 29:7 §4.3

Of the enclitic object pronouns, only non-syllabic **m** 'me', **f** 'you' Sg are written solid with their hosts; otherwise, host and pronoun are written separately:

	fu dɔllim	fù dɔll <u>m</u>	'you accompany me'
	m dɔllif	m dɔll <u>f</u>	'I accompany you'
but	fu pɔ dɔlli ma	fù pɔ dɔll <u>í</u> ma	'you don't accompany me'
	m pɔ dɔlli fɔ	m pɔ dɔll <u>í</u> fɔ	'I don't accompany you'

Before B3, **m** 'me' was also written separately (fu dɔlli m 'you accompany me'), while **f** was written **uf**, with the preceding word in citation form, liaison changes ignored: m dɔl uf 'I accompany you', m gban'e uf 'I've seized you' (B3 m gban'af.)

3A 'him/her' has a zero SF §3.1, but rounds the preceding vowel mora to **o**, which is taken for the pronoun itself and accordingly written as a separate word:

fu dɔl o	fù dɔll <u>o</u> _	'you accompany her'
fu pɔ dɔl oo	fù pɔ dɔll <u>ó</u> _o_	'you don't accompany her'
fu nyɛ o	fù ^{ny} yé <u>o</u> _	'you've seen her'
fu pɔ nyɛ oo	fù pɔ ^{ny} yé <u>ó</u> _o_	'you haven't seen her'

Focusing deictics are written separately: bɔɔ la? bɔɔ_lá_? 'what is that?'

Some particles which are not liaison enclitics are nevertheless joined to preceding verbs: so always NSb-Pf **ya**, which is written **eya** after consonants in B1/2:

li gaadya	lì gàad ya	'it has passed by' (B2 li gaadeya)
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Focus-**nɛ** is normally written solid with a preceding verb when it marks temporal focus §11.1: o pian'adnɛ 'he is talking.' This sometimes happens with focus-**nɛ** in other roles, and even with **nɛ** 'with': B3 always writes nwɛnɛ ⁿwɛn nɛ 'resemble.' **Na** 'hither' is written solid with all forms of **kɛ** 'come': kena **ke na** 'has come' etc.

Always written solid are alazug 'thus', bɔzug 'why/because', linzug/dinzug 'therefore', saazug 'up above.' Personaliser à §8.2.1 is written solid with the following word when this is the only element which is personalised.

Word-final syllables before prosodic enclitics §4.3 are sometimes mistaken for homophonous particles: ka pu wum na **kà pu wómna**_ 'and do not hear' Mt 13:15 B2, ka ka' win nɛ **kà ka' wínné**_ 'and are not a god' Ez 28:2.

3 Word structure

The open word classes are verbs, nouns, adjectives and ideophones; closed classes are pronouns, quantifiers 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. 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.'

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 §8.1. In this grammar, CIFs are hyphenated to the next word: *bù-kàn* 'this goat', *da-nûud* 'beer-drinker.'

The only bound forms which differ systematically from both free words and affixes phonologically are prosodic enclitics §4.3 and liaison enclitics §4.4; the term "clitic" will be reserved for these alone. The symbol *_* is used to join hosts to enclitics; when this is followed by a space or punctuation mark, it means that the enclitic lacks any segmental form, as with all prosodic enclitics and some liaison enclitic forms (e.g. 'her' in *fù nyéo_* 'you've seen her.')

3.1 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can stand clause-finally has two surface forms, which nearly always differ: the "short form" (SF) and the "long form" (LF.) The SF appears by default, but at the end of clauses with negative VPs, of questions, and of vocatives, the LF appears instead:

<i>duk la púugu_</i> pot the inside	'in the pot'	<i>Lì à ne duk.</i> 3I be Foc pot	'It's a pot.'
<i>Lì ka' dukó_.</i> 3I Ng.be pot_Ng	'It's not a pot.'	<i>Lì à ne dukó_?</i> 3I be Foc pot_PQ	'Is it a pot?'
<i>Lì à ne kuk.</i>	'It's a chair.'	<i>Lì ka' kuka_.</i>	'It's not a chair.'
<i>Lì à ne biig.</i>	'It's a child.'	<i>Lì ka' biiga_.</i>	'It's not a child.'
<i>Lì à ne gbugum.</i>	'It's a lion.'	<i>Lì ka' gbugumne_.</i>	'It's not a lion.'
<i>Lì à ne yáarim.</i>	'It's salt.'	<i>Lì ka' yáarimm_.</i>	'It's not salt.'
<i>Lì à ne day.</i>	'It's a man.'	<i>Lì ka' dau_.</i>	'It's not a man.'
<i>Bà à ne wídì.</i>	'They're horses.'	<i>Bà ka' wídii_.</i>	'They're not horses.'

Ò daa sják.	'He agreed.'	Ò daa pu sjáke_.	'He didn't agree.'
3A Tns agree		3A Tns Ng agree_Ng	
Ò daa dıgı.	'She lay.'	Ò daa pu dıgıyá_.	'She wasn't lying.'
Ò daa pae.	'He arrived.'	Ò daa pu paée_.	'He didn't arrive.'

This appearance of clause-final LFs is triggered by following prosodic enclitics §4.3, which lack segmental form themselves; somewhat modified, LFs also appear before liaison words §4.4.

SFs are derived from LFs by **apocope** of the last vowel mora; special cases are final **ae** → **aε**, **au** → **au**, **ui** → **ui**, **ia** → **ıa**, **ua** → **ıa**. SF-final consonant clusters then drop the second consonant, and final **y** drops after **/e/i/ε/ı/**.

All right-bound words are SFs. Henceforward, except where SFs and LFs are specified separately, all other words cited either in isolation or accompanied only by preceding CIFs §5.1.2 will be written as SFs, followed by **subscripts** showing how to produce the corresponding LFs, which are given as before the negative prosodic enclitic, but without the changes of tone or final **Vmε** → **Vmm**.

No subscript appears when the LF is obtainable by repeating the SF-final vowel symbol or removing **_** from it, or by leaving a long monophthong unaltered:

gbıgıma	LF	gbıgımaa	'lions'
wıdı		wıdı	'horses'
pae´		paée	'reach'
dıa´		dıa´a	'get dirty'
pıa´		pıa´a	'woman'
daı		daı	'man'
dà´a		dà´a	'market'

LFs where **ia ua** become SF **ıa ıa** are specified separately, as the subscript notation would imply LFs in **ıaa ıaa**: thus **kıà´** LF **kı´a** 'cut', **zıà´** LF **zıa**. 'friend.'

Otherwise, the material deleted by apocope is written as a subscript, but with LF-final **ε** implied as the default:

kuk _a	LF	kuka	'chair'
duk _ı ´		dukó	'pot'
sae ⁿ ya		sae ⁿ ya	'blacksmith' D (LF sae ⁿ W)
dıgıya´		dıgıyá	'be lying down'
sıàk		sıàkè	'agree'
yàarım		yàarımè	'salt'
gbıgım _n		gbıgımne	'lion'

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:

kuk _a	LF	kuka	'chair'
sia		siaa	'waist'
da _u		da _u	'man'
duk _ɔ ´		dukó	'pot'
viid´		viidé	'owls'
nua´		nuáa	'hen'
ta _u ´ ⁿ		tá _u ´ 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'ugò	'hand'
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Apocope-blocking appears in downtoned adjectives, a few nouns, and many quantifiers, ideophones and particles. The SFs lack apocope; final $Vm\epsilon \rightarrow Vmm$; other final $\epsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ } \text{u}$ (i u after root i u); $L \rightarrow M$ on final short vowels after L. Forms ending in short vowels make LFs by prolonging them, with final $LM \rightarrow LH$: bédògu´ 'much.' All others add nè (né after M), before which final $LM \rightarrow LL$, $mm \rightarrow m$, and $VVV \rightarrow VV$; these LFs will be specified separately, e.g.

˚yae	LF	˚yaené	'bright'
gòllimm		gòllimnè	'only'
mà'aa		mà'anè	'only'

3.2 Segmental structure

Full-word roots are CVV or CV(V)C, where initial C is optional, V(V) is a monophthong or ie/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 derivational suffixes b d g l m n or s, of which only d l m can follow other suffixes. Full words end with a flexion (C)V(V), where C is b d g l m n s r y or f and V(V) is a ε ɔ aa or ii. Flexions of the form V are dropped after root vowels. In nominal stems the root may be prefixed by (C)V(N) CVsN or CVIN, 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 ɿ i u or u.

3.2.1 Roots

A few CVV roots become CV before some flexions; suffix-initial **b** → **p**, **d** → **t**:

ᵏ	'tie'	wìd-lɔr´	'place to tie up horses' W
dàalim	'manhood'	dap _a	'men'
dòɔgɔ	'hut'	dòt	'huts'
dì	'eat'	dìt _a	'eat' Ipf

(CV SFs represent underlying CVV §3.1.)

Alternatives with CVV are common, e.g. **dòɔd** 'huts.' No cases occur with flexions with initial **s**; with initial **g**, the only example is **zugɔ** 'head' (Pl **zut**.) Verbs carry over Ipf CV into imperatives, but not gerunds: **dìm!** 'eat!' but **dubɔ** 'food.'

A few cases appear in derivation; here suffix-initial **g** → **k**:

yi	'emerge'	ysis	'extract'
tè	'pull'	tèk	'pull'

Many CVV roots derive historically from CVC, which can lead to unexpected changes in derivation, e.g. **ᵏ** 'tie' beside **ᵏdɔg** 'untie'; **yò** 'close' but **yò'ɔg** 'open.'

Before Pl **aa**, root-final modal vowels insert **y**, before which long vowels become short, but there is no fronting (contrast §3.2.2 Set 3): **ᵏɔr** 'mouth', Pl **ᵏɔyá**. Here **ie uo** shorten to **je ɥo**: **zuor** 'hill', Pl **zɥoya**. Glottal CV'V instead becomes CVd:

pò'ᵏr	'cripple'	pò'dà
yu'ɔr´	'name'	yudá
yu'or	'penis'	yɥoda

Underlying CVg stems may show **d** by analogy: **mù'ar** 'lake' Pl **mùà'a/mù'adà**.

Many roots alternate CVC/CVVC, occasionally in flexion, e.g. **piim** 'arrow', Pl **pimá**, but mostly in derivation, e.g. **kaal** 'count', **kal** 'number.' CVC is required before all verb-deriving suffixes: **tuulúgɔ** 'hot', **tuɔg** 'heat.' Here CieC corresponds to CɛC: **liɛb** 'become', **lèbìg** 'turn.'

3.2.2 Rules

Three sets of morphophonemic rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

$\varepsilon g \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ɔ} g \text{ } \text{ɔ} g$.

Single *g* is then deleted after *a ɔa ua*, producing *a'a ɔa'a ua'a*; any following vowel is absorbed. Nasal vowels behave identically.

<i>zà'as</i>	<i>*zagse</i>	'compounds'	<i>zàk_a Sg</i>	<i>*zagga</i>
<i>pjà'n'ad</i>	<i>*pɛ'ngde</i>	'words'	<i>pjà'ɔ'k_ɔ Sg</i>	<i>*pɛ'nggɔ</i>
<i>pu'as</i>	<i>*pɔgse</i>	'female' Pl	<i>puak_a Sg</i>	<i>*pɔgga</i>
<i>pja'n'</i>	<i>*pɛ'ngɛ</i>	'speak'		
<i>tɔa'e_{ya}'</i>	<i>*tɔgya</i>	'be near' (see Set 3)		

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

<i>aaga</i> → <i>aaa</i>	<i>iega</i> → <i>iaa</i>	<i>uoga</i> → <i>uaa</i>		
<i>aage</i> → <i>aee</i>	<i>iege</i> → <i>iee</i>	<i>uoge</i> → <i>uee</i>		
<i>baa</i>	<i>*baaga</i>	'dog'	<i>baas</i> Pl	
<i>sia</i>	<i>*siega</i>	'waist'	<i>sies</i> Pl	
<i>sàbùà</i>	<i>*sabuoga</i>	'lover'	<i>sàbùòs</i> Pl	
<i>pae'</i>	<i>*paage</i>	'reach'	<i>páar</i> Gd	<i>*paagre</i>
<i>kpi'e</i>	<i>*kpi'egɛ</i>	'approach'	<i>kpi'er</i> Gd	<i>*kpi'egrɛ</i>
<i>due'</i>	<i>*duoge</i>	'raise, rise'	<i>dúor</i> Gd	<i>*duogrɛ</i>

g is also deleted after $\varepsilon \varepsilon^n \text{ } \text{ɔ} \text{ } \text{ɔ}^n$ (but *not* oral $\varepsilon \varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \text{ } \text{ɔ}$) unless it precedes *ɔ*, with the same vowel outcomes as with *ieⁿ uoⁿ*. Glottal vowels again behave identically.

<i>zì'n'a</i>	<i>*zɛ'n'ɛga</i>	'red' Sg	<i>zè'n'ɛs</i> Pl	
<i>nìe</i>	<i>*nɛɛge</i>	'appear'	<i>nèɛl</i>	'reveal'
<i>nìer</i>	<i>*nɛɛgrɛ</i>	'appear' Gd		
<i>nìed_a</i>	<i>*nɛɛgda</i>	'appear' Ip _f §5.3.1		
<i>Mùà</i>	<i>*Mɔɔga</i>	'Mossi' Sg	<i>Mòɔl</i>	'Mooré'
<i>su'n'e'</i>	<i>*sɔ'n'ɔge</i>	'improve'	<i>sɔ'n'ɔd_a'</i>	'outdoer'

Set 2: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

Except after prefixes, CC → C₁C by default, but **mm ll nn** remain unchanged, **rr** → **r**, and several other consonant pairs assimilate:

gg → k

dd → t

bb → p

gìk_a

*gugga

'dumb'

gìgìs Pl

bùt_a

*budda

'plant' IpF

bùd Pf

sɔpɔ́

*sɔbbɔ

'writing' Gd

sɔb Pf

lr → ll

mr → mn S (mm W)

nr → nn

gél_l

*gɛlrɛ

'egg'

gɛlá Pl

dum_n

*dumrɛ

'knee'

duma Pl

tan_n

*tanrɛ

'earth'

tana Pl

mg → ŋ

md → mn/mm

mb → mm

bùŋ_a

*bumga

'donkey'

bùmìs Pl

wùm_{ma}

*wumda

'hear' IpF

wùm Pf

wum_{mɔ}

*wumbɔ

'hear' Gd

md has become **mm** throughout for W, and for S before all epenthetic vowels, except in agent noun Pls. Only **mm** appears in IpFs, except for a few survivals in B2, e.g. ka pu wum na 'and do not hear' Mt 13:15 (with incorrect word division §2.3.)

In IpFs and gerunds of 3-mora stems, **md** → **mm** and **mg** → **ŋ** are optional:

IpF tɔ́m_{ma}/tɔ́míd_a

Gd tɔ́ŋɔ́/tɔ́múɔ́

'depart (tɔ́m)'

kà̀rìm_{ma}/kà̀rìmíd_a

kà̀rìŋɔ́/kà̀rìmùɔ́

'read (kà̀rìm)'

W and D avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated IpFs only as LFs or before focus-**ne**'. B3 sometimes uses unassimilated 2-mora-stem IpFs.

ng → ŋ

nd → nn

nb → mm

nd → **nn** after short root vowels only; **nC** never assimilates in gerunds.

IpF bù_{na}Gd bunib_ɔ

'reap (bùn)'

dìgìnìd_a

dìgìnùɔ́

'lie down (dìgìn)'

gɔ́'ɔ̀nìd_a

gɔ́'ɔ̀nùɔ́

'extend neck (gɔ́'ɔ̀n)'

Vns → VV^{ns}; ms → s optionally after noun stems of more than two morae.

baa ^{ns}	*banse	'rings'	baŋ _a Sg
kòlìs/kòlìmìs		'doors'	kòlìŋ _a Sg

ld → nn

zɔŋ _n '	*zɔldɛ	'fools'	zɔlɔgɔ' Sg
kun _{na} '	*kulda	'go home' Ipf	kul Pf

df/nf → f

wìefɔ	*wiedfɔ	'horse'	wìdì Pl
pífɔ	*pufɔ	'genet'	piiní Pl

ml/nl → nn

rl → t

Bat'	*Barle	'Bisa language'	Barɔs'	'Bisa people'
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bm → mm after short root vowels only:

lè _m _{ma}	*lɛbma	'return!' Imp	lèb Pf
liè _b _{ma}	*liebma	'become!' Imp	lièb Pf

The only assimilations involving stem-final clusters are mmm → mm, llr → ll: dàm 'shake', Ipf dàm_md_a, Imp dàm_{ma}; kùg-dɛllá 'chairs for leaning', Sg kùg-dɛllí'.

Set 3: further vowel changes before apocope.

Final two-mora modal/glottal ie uo → ia ua:

kjà' LF k'ia	Ipf k'ied _a	'cut'
kya LF kua	kuod _a '	'hoe'

Before y, modal vowels shorten, with a ɛ ɔ u → aɛ ɛɪ ɔɛ uɛ (contrast §3.2.1), and all back second morae of glottal vowels become e. Nasal vowels behave like oral.

tɔɛ _{ya} '	*tɔya	'be bitter'	tɔɔgɔ	'bitter'
sɔ ⁿ 'ɛ _{ya} '	*sɔ ⁿ 'ɔya	'outdo'	sɔ ⁿ 'ɔd _a '	'outdoer'
tu ⁿ 'ɛ _{ya} '	*tu ⁿ 'ɔya	'be able'		
tɔ _a 'ɛ _{ya} '	*tɔgya	'be near' (see Set 1)		

Before $g\omega/k\omega/\eta\omega$, root $a\ \varepsilon\ ja\ \iota\ ya \rightarrow a\ \upsilon\ \varepsilon\ \dot{y}\ a\ \upsilon\ \omega$; $aa\ \varepsilon\varepsilon\ ie\ \iota\ ii \rightarrow a\ \upsilon\ \varepsilon\ \omega\ io\ \iota\ i\ \upsilon$; epenthetic $\iota \rightarrow \upsilon$. Root i is unaffected. Nasal/glottal vowels behave like oral/modal.

$bja\upsilon^n k_\omega$	Pl $bja^n ad$	'shoulder'
$y\upsilon\eta\omega'$	$y\upsilon n\acute{a}$	'single'
$b\dot{\omega}k_\omega$	$b\dot{\omega}'ad$	'pit'
$d\grave{a}\upsilon g_\omega$	$d\grave{a}ad$	'log'
$f\varepsilon^n \omega g_\omega'$	$f\varepsilon^n \varepsilon d'$	'ulcer'
$kpi' \omega \eta_\omega$	$kpi'ema$	'strong'
$viug_\omega'$	$viid'$	'owl'
$wabug_\omega'$	$wab\iota d'$	'elephant'
$mal\upsilon \eta_\omega$	$mal\upsilon ma$	'sacrifice'

In normal rapid speech this change is not seen in open syllables: $L\grave{i}\ ka' d\acute{a}\upsilon g_\omega$ /lik\grave{a}da:g\omega/ 'It's not a log.' This is probably a secondary sandhi development.

Epenthetic $\iota \rightarrow \upsilon$ after a short rounded root V + g : $yug\acute{u}m_n$ 'camel', Pl $yugum\acute{a}$. After root or prefix Ci/Cu, epenthetic $\iota\ \upsilon \rightarrow i\ \upsilon$: $nulis'$ 'make to drink', $kugur'$ 'stone.'

In $sa\varepsilon^n$ 'blacksmith', $s\varepsilon\varepsilon^n$ 'witch', $da\upsilon$ 'man' and $ta\upsilon^n$ 'opposite-sex sibling' the addition of the $a|ba$ Sg suffix produces exceptional short diphthongs.

3.3 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 three basic tone patterns (H, A and L), verbs two (H and A.) Tone allocation precedes apocope; any tones after H are L. The patterns are

TP H	H...	if the first syllable is (C)VVC	
	MMH...	if the first syllables are (C)VCVCV(V)	
	MH...	otherwise	
TP A	all-M	nominal Sg/Pl	verbs after $n\grave{a}/k\upsilon$
	all-L	nominal CIF	verbs elsewhere
TP L	all-L	Sg/Pl/CIF; non-initial H in longer stems	

Nominal examples are given as Sg, Pl, CIF §5.1.2. CIFs are allocated tones before apocope of final ε . Many CIFs are remodelled after Sgs, but the tones are unchanged. Verbal examples cite 2Vb Pf and 1pf forms in order; the NSb-imp is always subject to tone overlay; 1Vbs have only one finite form.

Nominal TP H (bracketed forms are LFs; word-internal **k t p ŋ** represent CC):

sú'ŋ _a (sú'ŋà)	su'omís	su'ŋ- (su'omé)	'hare'
saan _a ' (saaná)	sáam _{ma}	saan-	'stranger'
gɔt _a '	gɔtí _b	gɔt-	'seer'
sabíl _l (sabíllè)	sabílá	sabíl- (sabílé)	'black'
sabílí _g _a	sabílís		'black'
dʊk _ɔ '	dʊgʊd' (dʊgʊdé)	dʊg-	'pot'
kugur' (kuguré)	kugá	kug-	'stone'
dí'es _a '	dí'esídí _b	dí'es-	'receiver'

Monosyllabic LFs carry H, with SF M: **ya'** LF **yáa** 'houses.'

LFs ending in overlong vowels carry MH, with SF M: **nua'** LF **nuáa** 'hen.'

Some nominals 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:

níi _ŋ _a	nís	*niinse	nii _ŋ -	'bird'
pí _f *pu _n fɔ	piiní		pu _n -	'genet'
wá _f *wa _g fɔ	wiigí		wa'-	'snake'

Likewise all TP H fusion-verb gerunds: **náar** ***naagre** 'finishing', **dí'er** ***di'egre** 'getting', **pún'or** ***pu'ogre** 'rotting.'

A few root-stems show initial X on CVVC syllables, H otherwise, except with Pls in **aa** and CIFs:

nû'ug _ɔ	nû'us	nu'-	'hand'
nóbìr	nɔbá	nɔb-	'leg'
gél _l	gɛlá	gɛl-	'egg'

So too **à gâuⁿg_ɔ** 'pied crow', **gbêɛⁿm** 'sleep', **áⁿsì_b** 'mother's brother', **kísù_ɔ** 'hateful', and the gerunds **sóⁿsì_g** 'talking', **gósì_g** 'looking', **kìkírù_ɔ** 'hurrying.'

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

ⁿ yirí _ɔ	ⁿ yirí	'egusi seed'
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Verbal TP H 2-mora-stem Pfs are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative enclitics. They show final H only before enclitic pronouns:

Ò pu dʊgɛ_.	'She hasn't cooked.'
Ò pu dúgɛɛ_?	'Hasn't she cooked?'
Kà ò dʊgí _l .	'And she cooked it.'

Verbal 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.

<i>ⁿyε</i>	<i>ⁿyεt_a'</i>	'see'
<i>dʊg</i>	<i>dʊgʊd_a'</i>	'cook'
<i>yadɪg'</i>	<i>yadɪgíd_a</i>	'scatter'
<i>mɔɔl'</i>	<i>mɔɔn_{na}</i>	'proclaim'
<i>dɪgɪl'</i>	<i>dɪgín_{na}</i>	'lay down'
<i>nɔk'</i>	<i>nɔkíd_a</i>	'take'
<i>laŋím</i>	<i>laŋím_{ma}</i>	'wander searching'
<i>pæ'</i>	<i>pæd_a'</i>	'reach'
	<i>dɪgɪy_a'</i>	'lie down'

Nominal TP A shows M throughout in Sg/Pl forms and L throughout in the CIF.

<i>bʊʊg_a</i>	<i>bʊʊs</i>	<i>bù-</i>	'goat'
<i>tan_n</i>	<i>tana</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	'earth'
<i>pɥa'</i>	<i>pɥ'ab_a</i>	<i>pɥà'-</i>	'woman'
<i>gbɪgɪm_n</i>	<i>gbɪgɪma</i>	<i>gbìgìm-</i>	'lion'
<i>mɛɛd_a</i>	<i>mɛɛdɪb_a</i>	<i>mèɛd-</i>	'builder'
<i>sɪakíd_a</i>	<i>sɪakídɪb_a</i>	<i>sɪàkìd-</i>	'believer'
<i>mɛɛdɪŋ_a</i>	<i>mɛɛdɪs</i>	<i>mèɛdìŋ-</i>	'building tool'

Agent nouns from TP A verbs which drop *d* in the Sg/CIF have TP L Sgs:

ɔ̀p'ʊs_a 'worshipper' Pl *ɔ̀p'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	<i>yugudɪré</i>	Pl	<i>yugudaa</i>	'hedgehog'
	<i>ⁿwaŋɔ</i>		<i>ⁿwaamɪsé</i>	'monkey'
	<i>baŋɪda</i>		<i>baŋɪdɪbá</i>	'wise man'
	<i>kparɪdɪŋa</i>		<i>kparɪdɪsé</i>	'thing for locking'
	<i>gbɪgɪmmé</i>		<i>gbɪgɪmaa</i>	'lion'
	<i>zɔɔmmé</i>		<i>zɔɔmaa</i>	'fugitive'
	<i>tadɪmm</i>		<i>tadɪmɪsé</i>	'weak person'

W (not D) permits this before interrogative enclitics as an alternative:

Lì à nɛ gbɪgɪmméɛ/gbìgìmmèɛ_? 'Is it a lion?'

Verbal TP A is all-M directly after irrealis *nà/kù*, and all-L everywhere else.

<i>bòdìg</i>	<i>bòdìgìd_a</i>	'get lost, lose'
<i>zàaⁿsìm</i>	<i>zàaⁿsìmm_a</i>	'dream'

<i>Ò nà bòdìg.</i>	'She'll get lost.'
<i>Ò kù bòdìgìd_a.</i>	'She won't be getting lost.'
<i>Ò nà vèn.</i>	'She'll be beautiful (<i>vèn_{na}</i>).'

TP L is found only in nominals. All syllables carry L tone, except the second syllables of four-mora *m*-stems, which are H:

<i>zàk_a</i>	<i>zà'as</i>	<i>zà'-</i>	'compound'
<i>mòlìf_ɔ</i>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòlì-</i>	'kob'
<i>pùgùdìb_a</i>	<i>pùgùd-nàm_a</i>	<i>pùgùd-</i>	'father's sister'
<i>sàal_a</i>	<i>sàalìb_a</i>	<i>sàal-</i>	'human'
<i>mèεη_a</i>	<i>mèεmìs</i>	<i>mèεη-</i>	'turtle'
<i>zìlìm_n</i>	<i>zìlìmà</i>	<i>zìlìm-</i>	'tongue'
<i>nòηìd_a</i>			'lover'
<i>sìilìη_a</i>	<i>sìilìs/sìilìmìs</i>	<i>sìilìη-</i>	'proverb'
<i>zàaⁿsúη_ɔ</i>	<i>zàaⁿsímà</i>	<i>zàaⁿsúη-</i>	'dream'
<i>dàalìm</i>	<i>dàalìmìs</i>	<i>dàalìm-</i>	'male sex organs'

A non-initial H tone also appears in the words *bùgúm* *bùgúm-*/*bùgum-* 'fire', *tàdìmìs* 'weakness', *bùdìmìs* 'confusion' and *nòηìlìm* *nòηìlìm-* 'love.'

Prefixes are L(L) or M(M). L prefixes have no effect on stem tone patterns, but after M prefixes, root L → X/H, and in CIFs M → X/H too:

TP H	<i>gumpuzér'</i>	<i>gumpuzeyá</i>	<i>gumpuzér-</i>	'duck'
	<i>pipiríg_a</i>	<i>pipirís</i>	<i>pipír-</i>	'desert'
TP A	<i>fufum_n</i>	<i>fufuma</i>	<i>fufúm-</i>	'envy; stye'
TP L	<i>samán_n</i>	<i>samánà</i>	<i>samán-</i>	'courtyard'

In a few compounds CV-stem M-tone CIFs behave like prefixes:

<i>zug-kugur</i>	<i>zug-kuga</i>	<i>zug-kúg-</i>	'pillow'
<i>ka-wennur</i>	<i>ka-wenna</i>	<i>ka-wén-</i>	'corn'

3.3.1 Derivation

Root-stem words reveal root tone patterns. Irregular TP H corresponds to regular TP H elsewhere: áⁿsìb_a 'maternal uncle', aⁿsíŋ_a 'sister's child'; gó^sìg_a gerund of gɔs 'look.' Normally, TP H forms have H derivatives and TP L/A forms have L/A derivatives; thus always with deverbal nominals. However, all verbs derived with n are TP A, and TP A nominals give rise to TP H quality verbs §6.2.2.

TP A derivatives may be TP L and vice versa:

biig _a	'child'	bìilím	'childhood'
nà'ab _a	'chief'	na'am	'chieftaincy' (m-stem)

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

mεεb _ɔ	'building'	sùŋìr	'help'
kùosùg _ɔ	'selling'	zàa ⁿ súŋ _ɔ	'dream'
bòɔdìm	'will'	mÈédím-taa	'fellow-builder'

TP A verb agent nouns and verbal adjectives are TP A if they contain the suffix *d* (even assimilated in *mn/nn*), and TP L otherwise; the tone pattern changes between Sg and Pl if the *d* is dropped in the Sg/CIF.

sɔŋid _a	'helper'	kpiilúŋ _ɔ	'dead'
bòɔdir	'desirable'		
kùos _a	'seller'	kuosid _{tb} _a	'sellers'

TP A verb instrument nouns are TP A: mεédíŋ_a 'building tool', kuosíŋ_a 'seller.'

3.3.2 Historical changes

Historically, M tone represents original H, while a new H tone arose from H^l. The tone-bearing unit was formerly the mora; L on morae which lost their vowels became downstep. Other Western Oti-Volta languages preserve the earlier system. (Interestingly, Bisa, the Mande language bordering Kusaal to the north, has also developed three tones from an earlier two, but by a different path: Morris 2016.)

Long vowels thus formerly bore two tones: late rules have simplified LL → L, MM → M, LM → M and MH → H, while HM and HL have both become X (H in open syllables.) The internal and external tone sandhi phenomena described here and in §4 originally operated on single morae, but can be recast as rules operating on syllable tones synchronically, as has been done elsewhere in this grammar.

There has been extensive **word-internal tone sandhi** in Agolle Kusaal, mostly following similar rules to those which gave rise to word-initial tone raising §4.2.

ML sequences became MH: compare Kusaal LF *fuugó* with Mooré *fúugù* 'shirt.'

Where HL appears stem-internally, the H is normally itself the result either of the change of ML to MH, or of the external sandhi tone raising rule. There are, however, a few nouns which intrinsically began with H¹, still seen as such in cognates elsewhere in Western Oti-Volta; in Kusaal, this is now realised as X on CVVC syllables, M on CV syllables followed by CV with a vowel that is not epenthetic, and H otherwise §3.3 as with *nû'ug*, 'hand', *gélá* 'eggs', *nóbìr* 'leg' and *gélí* 'egg.' One or two nouns have prefixes with an intrinsic H tone, e.g. *gbá'nyà'a* 'lazy person.'

Non-root M tones which did not become H before downstep became L after a preceding L: thus e.g. **dìga* 'dwarfs' became *dìgà*. L prefixes have no effect on the tones of following roots: *dàkiig_a* 'wife's sibling'; similarly, root M is not subject to M-dropping after M prefixes, except in CIFs.

Most loanwords §7 were adopted early enough to have undergone the same tonal developments as inherited vocabulary: Kusaal has M for the H of the source language, L for L, and these tones were then subject to the same internal sandhi changes, e.g. *tilás* 'necessity' from Hausa *tiilàs*; *kèèkè* 'bicycle' from Hausa *kèèkee*. Loans beginning with H tone have been assimilated to the pattern of nouns with H prefixes: thus *bákpàḡ* 'week' from Hausa *bakwàì* 'seven' resembles *gbá'nyà'a* 'lazy person' (non-initial *kp* is also only possible after a prefix in Kusaal.)

English loans need not comply with the usual tone patterns; in particular, English main stress is represented by a H tone which remains H throughout the paradigm: contrast *lór* Pl *lóryà* 'lorry, car' with *gélí* Pl *gélá* 'egg.' However, English loans transmitted via Hausa conform to the usual rules, as with *wadá* 'law', borrowed from "order" via Hausa *oodàa*.

The change of stem-internal ML → MH is equivalent to the **H tone spreading** HL → HH¹ seen in many African languages (Marlo and Odden 2019.) Initial raising §4.2 in external tone sandhi is historically the same process, triggered by an original preceding H tone; many such tones have been deprived of segmental support by apocope §3.1, but may surface as M tones in liaison §4.4.1.

Meeussen's Rule HH → HL also operated: it fed H tone spreading, so the ultimate outcome was MH. This underlies the LF-final H of disyllabic TP H words, the change of M to H after M prefixes in CIFs, and the M-drop external tone sandhi.

4 External sandhi

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

4.1 Segmental contact

Within VPs, verb-final **ie ue** are realised [iə uə] and other **Ve** → VV, **Ve** → V, unless **y** follows; this is only noted orthographically with **àḗ** 'be' and **kaḗ** 'not be':

Dúe wɛlá_?	[duəwɛla]	'(You) arose how?' (greeting)
Ò pàe na.	[ɔpa:na]	'She has arrived.'

Manɿ_ á ⁿ dú'atà kà fun mɛ́n áḗ 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 **ke na** 'come' and **àⁿ** 'be' before focus-**nɛ́**':

M̃ á nɛ dú'atà.		'I'm a doctor.'
1S be Foc doctor		

Initial C is often lost in focus-**nɛ́** §11.1 after **d t r l m** and in **ˀwà** 'this' after any consonant. Final [l m n] of the preceding word are geminated:

ỳɔ̀ɔd nɛ	[jɔ:dɛ]	'is closing'
z̀ɔ̀t nɛ	[zɔ:tɛ]	'is running'
k̀p̀à̀r nɛ	[k̄p̄arɛ]	'is locked'
d̀ɔ̀l nɛ	[dɔ:lɛ]	'is accompanying'
z̀à̀m nɛ	[zam:ɛ]	'is cheating'
z̀ɔ̀n ˀwá_!	[zɔ:n:a]	'fools!' (as a vocative §10.3.4)

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], **ɿ a** as [a] or [ɿ], and **ɿ o** as [ɔ:].

Ò nìḡí àlá.	[niḡ:ala]/[niḡ:ɿla]	'She's done this.'
Pèédá àlá_?	[pɛ:dala]	'How many baskets?'
Bà g̀ò̀s̀í ò biig.	[gɔsɔ:bi:g]	'They've looked at her child.'

4.2 Word-initial tone changes

Initial raising changes a following word-initial L to X on CVVC syllables, and to H otherwise, unless the L is "fixed" (see below.) Raising follows all words ending in M tone, along with all words not bound to the right *except* TP A §3.3 verb Pfs without NSb tone overlay §9.5, nominal Pls ending in H tone *á* or *í*, and some noun forms which have been affected by M-drop (see below.) Thus e.g.

	<i>M</i> <i>ˈwé'</i> búŋ la.	'I've hit (<i>ˈwè'</i>) the donkey (<i>bòŋ_a</i>).'
but	<i>M</i> daa <i>ˈwé'</i> bòŋ la.	'I hit the donkey.' (no NSb tone overlay after <i>daa</i>)

	<i>M</i> ðìgà bóðìg ya.	'My dwarfs have got lost (<i>bòðìg</i>).'
but	<i>M</i> yuɣumá bòðìg ya.	'My camels have got lost.'

By default, all subject pronouns are also followed by raising, but in clauses with NSb marking, raising is always absent after *ò lì bà*, and absent after *m̀ fù tì yà* if they are directly preceded by *ye* 'that' §9.5. Spratt's *Introduction to Learning Kusaal* shows that personal pronouns followed by initial raising formerly carried M tone.

Initial raising does not occur across pause, and it does not follow clause adjuncts, but otherwise it crosses phrase boundaries:

<i>Bà daa tís nà'ab la búŋ.</i>	'They gave the chief a donkey (<i>bòŋ_a</i>).'
3P Tns give chief the donkey	

Fixed L tone appears on the pronouns *m̀ fù ò lì tì yà bà à*, linker *kà*, all forms of nominaliser *ñ* (including segmental zero), all *à* prefixes and all numeral prefixes. Fixed L is not subject to raising. Unless pause intervenes, a preceding M becomes H:

<i>nà'ab lá_ ˈye búŋ la</i>	'the chief having seen the donkey'
chief the_ N _z see donkey the	

M-drop applies only within NPs. After all free predependents except personal pronouns, and after all CIFs ending in M tone, whether dependent or head, unprefixes 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 just the following word (which may be a CIF.) It applies before initial raising, which usually turns the new initial L to X/H. It precedes tone changes due to liaison: *daɣ la pɔ́ɔɣu_n* 'in the man's field (*pɔ́ɔɣu_*).'
It may change H on CVVC to X by analogy: *daɣ la nâaf* 'the man's cow (*nâaf₃*).'

e.g.	man gbugum	'my lion'	daɥ la gbígìm	'the man's lion'
	man yugúm	'my camel'	daɥ la yúgùm	'the man's camel'
			mɔɔɔɔ_n yúgùm	'a wild camel'
			m̀ bɛyá yùgùm	'my sibs' camel'
	nà'-biig _a	'prince/princess'	nà'ab bîig	'a king's child'
	dàɥ-wɔk bîig	'tall man's child'	nin-wɔk bîig	'tall person's child'
	gbìgìm-kúud _a '	'lion-killer'	yugum-kúud _a	'camel-killer'
	sù'-paalíg _a	'new knife'	fu-paalíg _a	'new shirt'

Quantifiers are thus liable to M-drop as heads of partitive constructions §8.6, but not as dependents, except after CIFs ending in M tone: *ligidi piiga* 'ten coins' but *ligidi la píigà* 'ten of the coins'; *kugur yunní* or *kug-yínnì* 'one stone.'

There is no initial raising following monosyllabic or disyllabic words which are themselves affected by both M-drop and initial raising after a free predependent:

	Daɥ la bán b̀d̀ìg ya.	'The man's ring (ban _a) has got lost.'
	man the ring get.lost NSb	
	Daɥ la yúgùm b̀d̀ìg ya.	'The man's camel (yugúm _n) has got lost.'
but	M̀ bɛyá bàn b̀d̀ìg ya.	'My sibs' ring ...' (no initial raising)
	M̀ bɛyá yùgùm b̀d̀ìg ya.	'... camel ...' (no initial raising)
	Daɥ la sù'ug b̀d̀ìg ya.	'The man's knife (sù'ug _a) ...' (no M-drop)
	Daɥ la yúgùd̀ìr b̀d̀ìg ya.	'... hedgehog (yugud̀ìr) ...' (3 syllables)
	nin-wɔk bîig	'tall person's child' (CIF predependent)

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

fuug d̀ɔɔg	'tent' (fuug _ɔ ' 'cloth', d̀ɔɔg _ɔ 'hut')
p̀ù'usùg f̀uug d̀ɔɔg	'tabernacle' (p̀ù'usùg _ɔ 'worship')
daɥ la f̀u-paalíg	'the man's new shirt (fu-paalíg _a)'
daɥ la bîig b̀ìer nâaf z̀ur	'the man's child's sib's cow's tail' W (biig _a , b̀ìer', nâaf _ɔ , z̀ur)

Historically, initial raising reflects H tone spreading, and M-dropping an instance of Meeussen's Rule; both have word-internal analogues §3.3.2.

4.3 Prosodic enclitics

All prosodic enclitics have a zero segmental form (for such a clitic elsewhere, cf Churchwood 1953 pp6ff on the Tongan "definitive accent", discussed at length in Spencer and Luís 2012 pp132ff.) Prosodic enclitics cause preceding words to appear as LFs; final $Vm\epsilon \rightarrow Vmm$, and three-mora monophthongs reduce to two. Resulting monosyllabic TP H LFs carry H: $t\acute{o}m'$ LF $t\acute{o}mm$ 'disappear', gaa^n' LF $g\acute{a}a^n$ 'ebony.'

The **negative** enclitic ends clauses containing a negated/negative verb §9.3 §9.6. It changes LF-final L syllables to M; this rule applies after initial raising.

	$L\grave{i} ka' duk\acute{o}_-$	'It's not a pot ($duk\acute{o}$).''
	3I Ng.be pot_Ng	
	$L\grave{i} ka' n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r\epsilon_-$	'It's not a leg ($n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r$).'
	$B\grave{a} ka' m\acute{o}l\acute{i}i_-$	'They are not kobs ($m\acute{o}l\acute{i}$).'
	$L\grave{i} ka' y\grave{a}ar\acute{i}mm_-$	'It's not salt ($y\grave{a}ar\acute{i}m$).'
	$L\grave{i} k\acute{a}' \grave{o} tummm_-$	'It's not her medicine ($t\grave{i}um$).'
	$L\grave{i} k\acute{a}' b\grave{a} da'a_-$	'It's not their market ($d\grave{a}'a$).'
but	$L\grave{i} ka' t\grave{i}ummm_-$	'It's not medicine.'
	$L\grave{i} ka' d\acute{a}'a_-$	'It's not a market.'

Similar LFs may end clause adjuncts §10.1, even sometimes $y\grave{a}'$ -clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor **buude**, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.

$K\acute{i}k\acute{i}r\acute{i}g y\acute{a}' m\acute{o}r buude, fun t\acute{i}s\grave{o}_- k\grave{a} \grave{o} l\acute{e}b\grave{i}g \grave{o} m\acute{o}o\acute{g}u_n$.

fairy if have innocence 2S give_3A and 3A return 3A grass_at

'When a fairy is in the right, let it go back to the bush.' §13.2

Commands consisting of a verb alone or verb + 2P2 sometimes end in LFs of this kind: $g\grave{o}s\grave{i}ma!$ 'look!', $g\grave{o}s\grave{i}m\acute{u}_y\acute{a}!$ 'look (Pl)!'; so too the greeting $ne s\acute{o}'s\grave{i}ga!$ §12.

The **vocative** enclitic ends vocative clauses. It changes LF-final L to M. It sometimes imposes a falling intonation on final M.

	$M\grave{m} p\acute{u}a' n\acute{e} m\grave{m} biise_!$	'My wife and my children!'
	1S wife with 1S child.Pl_Voc	

The two **interrogative** enclitics end questions.

Before the polar-question enclitic, LF-final short vowels are lengthened:

	$L\grave{i} \grave{a} ne n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r\grave{e}\epsilon_?$	'Is it a leg ($n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r$)?'
	3I be Foc leg_PQ	

Before the content-question enclitic, LFs ending in long vowels or *me* adopt the segmental form of the SF:

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye nó̀bìrè_?	'Who's seen a leg?'
who_+ see leg_CQ	
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye sù'ʊgà_?	'Who's seen a knife (sù'ʊgà)?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye dukó_?	'Who's seen a pot (dukó)?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye mólì_?	'Who's seen kobs?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔyé_?	'Who has seen?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye bédògù_?	'Who's seen a lot (bédògù)?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ wùm_?	'Who has heard (wùm)?'

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 initial raising, to which the new L tones are now subject.

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔyé bà bìigà_?	'Who has seen their child (biigà)?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye bíigà_?	'Who's seen a child?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye zùóyà_?	'Who's seen hills (zùoyà)?'
Fù b̀ɔ̀ɔ̀d b́_?	'What (b̀) do you want?'
Ò ɔ̀ d́gèè_?	'Hasn't she cooked (dug)?'
Ẹ ná b̀d̀gèè_?	'Will I get lost?'
	(Ẹ ná b̀d̀gèè 'I will get lost.')

4.4 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 will be called **liaison enclitics**: this group comprises locative *n*, nominaliser *̀n*, discontinuous-past *n*, 2P2 *ya*, and the object pronouns *m_a f_o l_i t_i y_a b_a*, along with *la' ̀wà wàna'* when used as focusing deictics §11.3; these are always preceded by liaison. Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns *m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ ỳ à b̀ à à* and all words with prefixed *̀*; before these words, liaison is only consistent after verbs, after 2P2 *ya*, and before numeral-prefix *̀*. Linker *n* is usually realised as zero with preceding liaison, and is then written as an enclitic.

Before liaison LF-final non-root short vowels become *ɪ*, which many speakers round to *ʊ* after *f* or a rounded vowel + *g/ŋ*. Final *ya* is dropped; then final *ia/ie* → *ie*, *ua/ue* → *uo*, and all other final *Ve/V* → *VV*; fusion verbs §5.3.1 behave segmentally and tonally exactly like CVV-stems. Thus e.g.

kuk _a	'chair'	+ n 'at' →	kuk _ɩ _n
duk _ɔ '	'pot'		duk _ɪ _n
ɔɔɔg _ɔ '	'field'		ɔɔɔg _ó _n
gbàùŋɔ	'book'		gbàùŋɔ_n
dà'a	'market'		da'a_n
kù'om	'water'		kù'om _ɩ _n
nyɛ	'see'	+ n past →	nyɛɛ_n
ja LF ia	'seek'		ie_n
pie'	'wash'		pie_n
due'	'raise'		duo_n
gba ⁿ 'e'	'seize'		gba ⁿ 'a_n
su'e _{ya} '	'own'		su'v_n
vuɛ _{ya} '	'live'		vuɩ_n

Tì gó sí bà biis.

'We've looked at their children.'

1P look 3P child.PL

Before non-enclitics, or enclitic **m**, final **mɩ** may become **m**, its tone shifting to the preceding syllable: **Gòsím fù nù'ug!** 'Look at your hand!', **Gòsɩm_m!** 'Look at me!'

Nominaliser **ɲ** fuses with preceding pronouns §8.2; the change M → H before its fixed L tone is the only sign of its presence elsewhere for my consultants, but in texts liaison may precede, and/or it may appear as **n**, especially after proper nouns.

nà'ab lá_ gɔs búŋ la

'the chief having looked at the donkey'

chief the_Nz look.at donkey the

ya zuobid wusa kalli an si'em

'the number of all your hairs' Lk 12:7

yà zuobíd wusa kállí_ àⁿ si'em

2P hair.PL all number_Nz be how

Linker **n** appears as **n** after pause, and zero or **n** after proper nouns. Elsewhere it is realised as zero with preceding liaison; LFs ending in **m n ŋ** followed by non-root short V drop V, and LF-final VV is often shortened. Older texts often show **n** here too.

Wáafù_ dúmo_.

'A snake has bitten him.' W

snake_+ bite_3A

Kà ò zóɔ_ ke na.

'And he came running.'

and 3A run_+ come hither

Mam tummi tisid anɔʔɔnɛ? 'Who am I working for?' Eccl 4:8
 Mam túmmì_ tísìd ànɔʔɔnɛ_?
 1S work.Ipf_+ give.Ipf who_CQ

Some liaison words induce further quality changes in LF-final vowels.

Before the 2P object *ya*, any back second morae of long vowels are fronted, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

Kà bà gbá^n'e_ya. 'And they seized (*gba*^n'e´) you.'
 Kà bà kúe_ya. 'And they killed (*ku*) you.'
 Kà bà zúí_ya. 'And they stole (*zu*) you.'

3A *o* and 2P2 *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* [ɔ], fusing with the LF of the pronoun as *o_o* [ɔ:], while the mora before *ya* becomes [ɪ]:

b̀̀̀ɔda	'want'	+ o 3A →	b̀̀̀ɔdo_	LF b̀̀̀ɔdó_o
t̀̀̀m	'send'		t̀̀̀mò_	LF t̀̀̀mò_o
d̀̀̀	'eat'		d̀̀̀o_	LF d̀̀̀ò_o
̀̀̀a LF ia	'seek'		í_o_	LF ió_o
zu	'steal'		zú_o_	LF zuó_o
àɛ^n_ya	'be'		ao^n_	LF àó^n_o
pae´	'reach'		pá_o_	LF paó_o
pie´	'wash'		pí_o_	LF pió_o
due´	'raise'		dú_o_	LF duó_o
zu	'steal'	+ ya 2P2 →	zue_	LF zue_yá
bè	'be'		bɛi_	LF bɛi_yá

Overlong monophthongs reduce to two morae: SF/LF *kúo* 'kill her.'
ya itself (< *ɲa) becomes *ní* (< *ɲɪ) before liaison:

Dì'emɪ_! 'Receive (Pl)!'
 receive.Imp_2P2

Dì'emɪ_ní_ba! 'Receive (Pl) them!'
 receive.Imp_2P2_3P

Dì'emɪ_nó_! 'Receive (Pl) her!'
 receive.Imp_2P2_3A

ḡḡimini ya pu'ab

'love (Pl) your wives' Col 3:19

ḡḡḡimḡní yà pu'ab

love.Imp_2P2 2P woman.Pl

Numeral-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:

Ḡ ḡór ne biisá àtáⁿ.

'I have three children.'

1S have Foc child.Pl three

Pèédá àlá_?

'How many baskets?'

basket.Pl how.many_CQ

but Ò ḡḡí àlá.

'She has done thus.'

3A do thus

Fù áaⁿ àḡ'ḡḡè_?

'Who are you?'

2S be who_CQ

yeli Abaa

'said to Dog' G2 p20

yèlì à Baa

say Pz dog

4.4.1 Tone changes in liaison

Tone changes induced by liaison words apply after initial raising.

Locative n changes any preceding LF-final L to M:

ḡḡḡḡ [´]	'field'	+ n 'at' →	ḡḡḡḡ _n
biig _a	'child'		biig _n
yàad	'graves'		yàad _n
kuudí _a	'killers'		kuudí _n

Past n and 2P2 ya change any preceding LF-final L or *non-root* H to M:

dug	'cook'	+ n past →	dug _n
mè	'build'		mè _n
bòdìḡ	'lose'		bòdìḡ _n
yadìḡ [´]	'scatter'		yadìḡ _n
kuud _a [´]	'kill' Ip		kuud _n
dḡl _a [´]	'go with'	+ ya 2P2 →	dḡll _n LF dḡll _{yá}

Enclitics carrying M on the SF change it to H on the LF:

Kà m̀ básì_ba.	'And I left them.'
Kà m̀ pu básì_báa_.	'And I didn't leave them.'
Ànó'ẁnì_ básì_bá_?	'Who's left them?'

LF o 'him/her' is tonally null, but final ò_ → o_o before the negative enclitic, and final 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
yadígí _a	'scatter'		yadígído_	LF yadígídó_o
nyε	'see'		nyéo_	LF nyéó_o

Ò nà baso_.	'He will leave her.'
Ò kù basó_o_.	'He won't leave her.'

Linker n is toneless. A preceding LF-final tone is M after M, L otherwise. Initial raising follows n whenever the SF of the preceding word would induce it:

amaa o kena ye o tum tisi ba	'but he came to serve them' Mt 20:28
àmáa ò ke na yé ò túm_ tìsì_ba	
but 3A come hither that 3A work_+ give_3P	

M̀ nók sù'ugù_ kjà' nim la.	'I've cut the meat with a knife.'
1S take knife_+ cut meat the	

Focusing deictics are preceded by similar LFs to linker n.

All other liaison words begin with a fixed L tone, before which M becomes H. Before nominaliser ñ 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 dítí bà dúb.	'And they were eating their food.'
and 3P eat.Ipf 3P food	

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la	
bànì_ nà yel Zug-sóbí bà tuumá_ à ⁿ si'em la	
DemP_Nz Irr say Lord 3P work.Gd.Pl_Nz be how the	
'those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are' Heb 13:17 B2	

5 Flexion

5.1 Nouns

5.1.1 Noun class suffixes

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem appears with the suffix ϵ as a compound-initial form (CIF) before other nominals §8.1.

Forms will be cited in the order Sg, Pl, CIF.

In Bantu studies, Sg and Pl noun class affixes are regarded as marking distinct noun classes, and specific pairings of such classes are called "genders." This term is inappropriate in languages like Kusaal, where agreement has been abandoned and the groupings now play a purely morphological role, more like declensions. Accordingly, class suffix pairings will be called "class sets"; unpaired suffixes are regarded as forming sets by themselves. Sets are labelled using the symbol |, written either between a Sg and Pl suffix, or after an unpaired suffix.

The Sg|Pl pairs $a|ba$ $ga|s\epsilon$ $g\omega|d\epsilon$ $r\epsilon|aa$ $f\omega|ii$ form five class sets accounting for most count nouns; unpaired $b\omega|$ $m\epsilon|$ form two more sets, mostly of mass nouns:

$a ba$	$s\omega d_a$	$s\omega d\tau b_a$	$s\omega d-$	'husband'
$ga s\epsilon$	$b\omega\omega g_a$	$b\omega\omega s$	$b\omega-$	'goat'
$g\omega d\epsilon$	$viug_\omega'$	$viid'$	$vi-$	'owl'
$r\epsilon aa$	$n\omega\omega r'$	$n\omega\omega y\acute{a}$	$n\omega-$	'mouth'
$f\omega ii$	$m\omega\omega l\omega f_\omega$	$m\omega\omega li$	$m\omega l-$	'kob'
$b\omega $	$sa'ab_\omega$		$s\acute{a}-$	'porridge'
$m\epsilon $	$daam'$		$da-$	'beer'

Every other pairing is regarded as a variant of one of these seven sets.

- $a|ba$ Seven nouns referring to older/important people use ba as Sg: $n\acute{a}'ab_a$ 'chief.' After short V + l n r, $r\epsilon$ may replace Sg a: $B\omega n_n$ 'Moba person.' To avoid ambiguity, m-stems take Pl $s\epsilon$ instead of ba , or pluralise with $n\acute{a}m_a$ (see below.)
- $ga|s\epsilon$ Some human-reference $ga|s\epsilon$ nouns have variant Pls with ba ; after rounded vowels, ga often becomes $g\omega$: $n\acute{u}'ug_\omega$ Pl $n\acute{u}'us$ 'hand.'
- $g\omega|d\epsilon$ The Pl suffix $d\epsilon$ is prone to being replaced by other suffixes. CVm/CVn stems regularly substitute Pl aa for $d\epsilon$: $g\omega b\omega\omega\eta_\omega'$ Pl $g\omega ban\acute{a}$ 'skin.'
- $r\epsilon|aa$ Language names may use $l\epsilon$ instead of Sg $r\epsilon$: $M\omega\omega l$ 'Mooré.'
- $f\omega|ii$ Several nouns show $f\omega|ii$ suffixes in only one number.
- $m\epsilon|$ Countable $m\epsilon|$ nouns pluralise with aa or $s\epsilon$, or with $n\acute{a}m_a$.

The word **nàm_a** follows count CIFs/mass Sgs to make Pls: **kpèɛⁿm-nàm_a** 'elders', **daam nám** 'beers.' It pluralises loanwords, pronouns, quantifiers, Pls used as Sgs, mass nouns in count senses, and NPs with **à** §8.2.1; it is used to avoid ambiguous Pls, and in the three nouns

mà	mà nám sic	mà-	'mother'
ba'	ba'-nám_a	ba'-	'father'
zɔ̀à LF zùà	zɔ̀à-nàm_a	zɔ̀à-	'friend'

Apocope-blocking is seen in many manner nouns §9.7.2.1. A few other apocope-blocked nouns may be loans from related languages without apocope.

The Sg SF is usually enough to identify the class set, and hence to predict the correct Pl form, given whether the word has human reference. In cases where the class set is not clear from the Sg SF, there may be vacillation between class sets, suggesting that speakers actually do use these criteria to determine class set membership synchronically; this is supported by the fact that noun loanwords are usually fitted into the class sets by analogy §7.

Nouns with Sg SFs ending in long vowels, or in unrounded vowel morae followed by velars, belong to **ga|sɛ**; nouns ending in rounding diphthongs or rounded epenthetic vowels followed by velars belong to **gɔ̀|dɛ** (with Pl **aa** for **dɛ** with CVm/CVn stems.) However, nouns ending in a root rounded monophthong before a velar may belong to either **ga|sɛ** or **gɔ̀|dɛ**, and some vacillate between the two sets.

All nouns with Sg SFs ending in **f** belong to **fɔ̀|ii**.

Human-reference nouns otherwise default to **a|ba** (Sg **rɛ** after short V + **l n r**), except for stems ending in a long vowel, which have been transferred to **rɛ|aa** in Agolle Kusaal (here Toende preserves the Pl **ba**, e.g. **ɔ̀kɔ̀ot** Pl **ɔ̀kɔ̀p** 'widow', beside Agolle **ɔ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀r** Pl **ɔ̀kɔ̀yà**.) Exceptional are **nàyiig_a** 'thief' and **ba'a** 'diviner', which both belong to **a|ba**, and **zɔ̀m_n** 'fugitive', which is **rɛ|aa**. The **ba**-singular variant of **a|ba** accounts for most human-reference nouns with Sg SFs ending in **b**, and also for **sàam_{ma}** 'father', **diem_{ma}** 'man's parent-in-law' and **dàyáam_{ma}** 'woman's parent-in-law.'

2Vb gerunds with SFs ending in **m** belong to **ɔ̀|**; otherwise, mass nouns with SF final **-m** belong to **mɛ|**, and those with final **b** or **p** to **ɔ̀|**.

Names of languages belong to the **lɛ** Sg variant of **rɛ|aa**.

Non-human-reference count nouns with Sg SFs ending in **l n r** belong to **rɛ|aa**, as do those with Sg SFs ending in **m** apart from a few **mɛ|** nouns which have secondarily developed count senses, like **dàalím** 'male sex organs' ("masculinity"), and the noun **piim'** Pl **pimá** 'arrow', which is a relic of a lost "long thin things" set.

There is some correlation between class set and meaning:

a|ba nouns all refer to people. This set includes all agent nouns.

ga|sɛ has general membership, but includes the names of most trees, of many larger animals, and of tools (including deverbal instrument nouns.) Most nouns referring to people belong to either **a|ba** or **ga|sɛ**.

gɔ|dɛ and **rɛ|aa** are the default non-human countable class sets. They include all names of fruits, and four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference **gɔ|dɛ** nouns are pejorative, e.g. **zɔlɔgɔ** 'fool.' Stems referring to people may use Sg **gɔ** for the place where they live. Most human-reference **rɛ|aa** nouns are CVV-stems transferred from **a|ba** for phonological reasons. Language names may take Sg **lɛ**.

fɔ|ii comprises (i) animals and (ii) small round things, including all seeds.

bɔ| has only three underived members: **sa'abɔ** 'millet porridge', **ta'pɔ** 'war' and **kt'ibɔ** 'soap.' However, it contains many gerunds: gerunds are assigned the class suffixes **gɔ rɛ bɔ** or **mɛ** by set rules §6.1.1.

mɛ| nouns refer to liquids/substances or to abstractions (a few with secondary concrete senses.)

5.1.2 Compound-initial forms

CIFs are bound forms of full words §8.1. They often differ tonally from Sg/Pl forms, and have a suffix **ɛ** when tones are allocated, before apocope §3.3. Older texts may show epenthetic vowels after CIF final plosives, as in **nwadibil** **ˀwad-bíla** 'star.'

Remodelling of CIFs on the form of the Sg is common, particularly when they appear as heads rather than dependents; it never affects the tones. This has become the default for CV-stems and CVm/CVn stems:

zugɔ	zut	zug-	'head'
kùkɔr	kùkɔyá	kùkɔr-	'voice'
ta'pɔ		tà'p-	'war'
gbaɔŋɔ	gbaná	gbaɔŋ-	'animal skin'

Cf however **kùkɔtita**'ar 'great voice' Jn 7:28, **gbán-zábá** 'leatherworker.'

Remodelled CIFs are also used to avoid ambiguity, e.g. **kùlùgɔ** 'sack', CIF **kùlùg-** (**kɔlɔgá** 'river', CIF **kùl-**); **lànnìgá** 'squirrel', CIF **lànnìg-** (**lanɔ** 'testicle', CIF **lànn-**.)

Three nouns distinguish Sg from Pl CIFs as heads (e.g. **dàp-sùmà** 'good men'):

dap	dapá	dàp- , Pl head dàp-	'man'
taɔn	ta'pá	taɔn- , Pl head ta'p-	'opposite-sex sib'
yir	yá	yi- , Pl head ya-	'house'

The CIF of **la'afɔ** 'cowry', Pl **ligidi** 'money' may be **là-** or **lìg-**.

5.1.3 Class set paradigms

CIFs take the suffix ϵ . Class suffix addition may involve processes of consonant assimilation, deletion of g , and insertion, loss, or rounding of vowels §3.2.

a|ba

Stem-final m n assimilate with Pl ba : $mb/nb \rightarrow mm$. Most Sg LFs end in a :

$s\text{ɔ}d_a$	$s\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$s\text{ɔ}d-$	'husband'
$n\text{ɪ}d_a'$	$n\text{ɪ}d\text{ɪ}b_a'$	$n\text{ɪ}n-$ <i>sic</i>	'person'
$k\text{ɔ}d_a'$	$k\text{ɔ}d\text{ɪ}b_a'$	$k\text{ɔ}d-$	'killer'
$s\text{à}a\text{ɪ}a$	$s\text{à}a\text{ɪ}b_a$	$s\text{à}a\text{ɪ}-$	'human being'
$s\text{a}a_n a'$	$s\text{á}a\text{m}_{m\text{a}}$	$s\text{a}a\text{n}-$	'guest, stranger'
$y\text{ɔ}m\text{-}y\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}m_{n\text{a}}$	$-y\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}m\text{ɪ}b_a$	$-y\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}m-$	'singer'
$p\text{ɔ}'\text{à}\text{-}s\text{a}^n\text{a}m_{m\text{a}}$	$-s\text{a}^n\text{a}m\text{ɪ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-s\text{à}^n\text{a}m-$	'adulterer'
$p\text{a}'\text{a}n_{n\text{a}}$	$p\text{a}'\text{a}n\text{ɪ}b_a$	$p\text{à}'\text{a}n-$	'teacher'
$g\text{b}\text{à}n\text{-}z\text{a}^n\text{ɪ}a'$	$-z\text{a}^n\text{ɪ}b_a$	$-z\text{a}^n\text{ɪ}-$	'book-carrier' K W
$g\text{b}\text{à}n\text{-}t\text{a}r_a'$	$-t\text{a}r\text{ɪ}b_a$	$-t\text{a}r-$	'book-owner' D
$z\text{à}'\text{-}n\text{ɔ}\text{-}g\text{ú}r_a$	$-g\text{ú}r\text{ɪ}b_a$	$-g\text{ú}r-$	'gatekeeper'

Agent nouns from mm -stem 2Vbs like $d\text{à}m$ 'shake' only have $n\text{à}m_a$ Pls. Those from 3-mora s -stems drop d in Sg and CIF, as do those from a few other verbs; many have $n\text{à}m_a$ Pls as well or instead:

$k\text{ù}o\text{s}_a$	$k\text{u}o\text{s}\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$k\text{ù}o\text{s}-$	'seller'
$s\text{ɪ}g\text{ɪ}a'$	$s\text{ɪ}g\text{ɪ}d\text{ɪ}b_a$	$s\text{ɪ}g\text{ɪ}-$	'lowerer'
$d\text{ɪ}u\text{s}_a$	$d\text{ɪ}u\text{s}\text{-}n\text{à}m_a$	$d\text{ɪ}u\text{s}-$	'glutton'
$s\text{ɔ}\text{s}_a$	$s\text{ɔ}\text{s}\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$s\text{ɔ}\text{s}-$	'beggar'
$t\text{ɪ}a$	$t\text{ɪ}d\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$t\text{ɪ}a-$	'giver' W
$k\text{ɪ}a'$ / $k\text{ɪ}d\text{ɔ}a'$	$k\text{ɪ}d\text{ɪ}b_a$	$k\text{ɪ}d-$	'hater'
$z\text{à}b\text{-}z\text{à}b_a$	$-z\text{à}b\text{ɪ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-z\text{à}b-$	'warrior'
$g\text{b}\text{a}n\text{-}z\text{à}b_a$	$-z\text{à}b\text{-}n\text{à}m_a$	$-z\text{à}b-$	'leatherbeater'
$^n\text{w}\text{ɪ}\text{-}t\text{é}k_a$	$-t\text{é}k\text{ɪ}d\text{ɪ}b_a$		'rope-puller'

A few d -stems drop d in Pl or CIF only:

$w\text{ɪ}d_a$	$w\text{ɪ}b_a$	$w\text{ɪ}d-$	'hunter'
$s\text{ɔ}^n\text{'}\text{ɔ}d_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}^n\text{'}\text{ɔ}b_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}^n\text{'}\text{ɔ}d-$	'someone better'
$p\text{ɔ}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}_a'$	$p\text{ɔ}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}\text{ɪ}b_a$	$p\text{ɔ}k\text{p}\text{á}-$	'farmer'

Stems in single **m** have Sg LF-final **mɛ** and Pls with **sɛ** or **nàm_a**:

zu'om´	zu'omís	zu'om-	'blind person'
kpɛɛ ⁿ m	kpɛɛ ⁿ m-nàm _a	kpɛɛ ⁿ m-	'elder'
bi'em	bì'em-nàm _a	bì'em-	'enemy'

For **kpɛɛⁿm** and **bi'em**, W also has the LF-only Pls **kpɛɛⁿmma** and **bi'emma**.
CVn-stems show Sg LF final **nne**, the SFs having been reinterpreted as Sg **rɛ**.

Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn-	'Moba person'
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Cf agent nouns in **rɛ|aa** form 1Vb ll/r-stems §6.1.1. Some former CVV-stems have become **rɛ|aa**, e.g. **pùkòò^r** 'widow'; cognates in related languages retain Pl **ba**.
Seven nouns end in a vowel in the Sg SF:

pɹa'	pɹ'ab _a	pɹà'-	'woman'
ba'a	ba'ab _a	bà'a-	'diviner'
sae ⁿ /sae ⁿ _{ya}	saa ⁿ b _a	sà ⁿ -	'blacksmith'
sɔɛ ⁿ /sɔɛ ⁿ _{ya}	sɔɔ ⁿ b _a	sò ⁿ -	'witch'
daɹ	dap _a	dàɹ-, Pl head dáp-	'man'
taɹ ⁿ ´	ta ⁿ p _a ´	taɹ ⁿ -, Pl head ta ⁿ p-	'opposite-sex sibling'
pitú	pitíb _a	pit-	'junior same-sex sib'

In compounds, **-pit_a´** replaces **pitú**: **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'
pùgùdìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	'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'
diem _{ma}	diem-nàm _a	diem-	'parent-in-law of man'
dàyaam _{ma}	dàyaam-nám _a	dàyaam-	'... of woman'

ga|sɛ

dèɛg _a	dèɛs	dè-	'warthog'
ⁿ wadɪg _a ´	ⁿ wadɪs´	ⁿ wad-	'moon, month'
bù-dìbìg _a	-dìbìs	-dìb-	'male kid'
kɔɪg _a	kɔɪs	kɔɪ-	'river'
kpùkparìg _a	kpùkparìs	kpùkpar-	'palm tree'
pusig _a ´	pusis´	pus-	'tamarind'

After **aa ie uo**, **g** is deleted, with V fusion; Sg **iaⁿ uaⁿ** correspond to Pl **εεⁿs ɔɔⁿs**:

baa	baas	bà-	'dog'
sia	sies	sjà-	'waist'
sàbùa	sàbùos	sàbɔ̀à-	'lover, girlfriend'
nu'-í ⁿ 'a	-ê ⁿ 'εs	-é ⁿ '-	'fingernail'
nua´	νωκs´	νω-	'hen'

After **a ja ɔa**, **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'
bèrìŋ _a	bèrìgìs		'kenaf'
yáaŋ _a	yáas *yaagε	yaaŋ-	'grandchild'

Cf kariŋ Pl karigis 'head louse.' **Vúoŋ_a** 'red kapok' has Pl **vuomís** by analogy:
cf **vúor** ***vuogre** 'red kapok fruit.'

mg/ng → **ŋ**; **ns** → **s** with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels.

M-stems of more than two morae sometimes behave like **n**-stems.

bùŋ _a	bùmìs	bùŋ-	'donkey'
sú'oŋ _a	su'omís	su'oŋ-	'hare'
teŋ _a	tεε ⁿ s	tèŋ-	'land'
níŋ _a	níis/niimís	niŋ-	'bird'
kùlìŋ _a	kùlìs/kùlìmìs	kùlìŋ-	'door'
mεεdìŋ _a	mεεdìs/mεεdìmìs	mèεdìŋ-	'building tool'

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

kuug _a ´/kuugɔ´	kuus´	ku-	'mouse'
sù'ug _a /sù'ugɔ	sù'us	sù'-	'knife'
nù'ugɔ	nù'us	nu'-	'hand'
zùnzùŋ _a /zùnzùŋɔ	zùnzùɔs	zùnzùŋ-	'blind person'
yù'ugɔ	yù'umís	yù'ug-	'night'
zùu ⁿ gɔ	zùu ⁿ s/zùu ⁿ d	zù ⁿ -	'vulture'

Some original **gɔ|dε** **m**-stems show **sε** rather than **aa** in place of Pl **dε**:

yàmmùg _a or yàmmùg _ɔ	yàmmìs	yàm-	'slave'
à dàalúg _ɔ	à dàalís/dàalímìs	à dàalúg-	'stork'
sí'ug _ɔ	si'imís	si'ug-	kind of big dish
dùsúg _ɔ	dùsís/dùsímà	dùsúg-	'spoon'

Some human-reference nouns have alternative Pls with **ba**:

dàsaŋ _a	dàsam _{ma} /dàsaan ^s	dàsàŋ-	'young man'
Sà'-dàbùà	-dàbùob _a /-dàbùos		clan name
Yàaŋ _a	Yàam _{ma} /Yàamìs/Yàa ^s		'Yansi person'

Irregular nouns:

biig _a	biis	bi-/bì-	'child'
bùtŋ _a	bùtùs	bùtìŋ-	'cup'
pɛ'og _ɔ '	pɛ'ɛs'	pɛ'-	'sheep'
saŋá	sansá	san-	'time'
wlìsúg _ɔ	wlìmís	wlìsúg-	kind of snail
yalìsúg _ɔ	yalímís	yalìsúg-	'quail'

gɔ|dɛ

Before gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ stem-final vowel morae and epenthetic vowels are rounded:

dàug _ɔ	dàad	dà-	'piece of wood'
fɛ ⁿ 'og _ɔ '	fɛ ⁿ 'ɛd'	fɛ ⁿ '-	'ulcer'
gbè'og _ɔ	gbè'ɛd/gbèdà	gbè'-	'forehead'
dàbiog _ɔ	dàbied	dàbìà-	'coward'
viug _ɔ '	viid'	vi-	'owl'
mɔɔg _ɔ	mɔɔd	mò-	'grass, bush'
wabug _ɔ '	wabùd'	wab-	'elephant'
balɛrug _ɔ '	balɛrùd'/balɛrìs'	balér-	'ugly person'
bɛsug _ɔ	bɛsùd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have Pl CVt:

dòɔg _ɔ	dòɔd/dòt	dò-	'hut'
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So too pɔɔg_ɔ' 'farm, field', fuug_ɔ' 'clothing, shirt.' Exceptionally, the Sg has a short vowel too in zug_ɔ' 'head', Pl zut', CIF zu-/zug-.

gg → k and ɣakɔ → ɔkɔ; g is deleted after a ja ɣa:

dɔkɔ́	dugud́	dug-	'cooking pot'
laɣkɔ	la'ad	là'-	'item of goods'
bjaɣkɔ	bja'n'ad/bja'n'ada	bjà'n'-	'shoulder'
lɔkɔ	lù'ad	lɣà'-	'quiver (for arrows)'

dd → t; ld → nn:

ùdɔɣɔ	ùt	ùd-	'piece of chaff'
zɔɣɔ́	zɔnɔ́	zɔl-	'fool'
sìlɔɣɔ	sìnɔ/sìlìs	sìl-	'hawk'

mg/ng → ŋ; CVm/CVn-stems use Pl aa instead of dɛ:

làŋgáɣɔ	làŋgáam _n or làŋgaamá		'crab'
gbàɣɔ	gbàná	gbàɣɔ-/gbàn-	'book'
zɔnzàɣɔ́	zɔnzaná	zɔnzáɣɔ-	'bat'
à'n'òɣɔ	à'n'ìmà	à'n'òɣɔ-	'boat'
nìn-gbiɣɔ́	-gbiná	-gbiɣɔ-	'body'

The place name Dènòɣɔ 'Denugu' does not assimilate ng.

Many gerunds belong to this set; they assimilate mg optionally, ng never: sà'n'ɣɔ/sà'n'amòɣɔ 'destroying', kà'ròɣɔ/kà'rìmòɣɔ 'reading', dìgìnòɣɔ 'lying down', sùnnòɣɔ 'bowing the head.' Any Pls take aa:

bu'osúɣɔ	bu'osá	bu'os-	'question'
zàa'n'súɣɔ	zàa'n'símà	zàa'n'súɣɔ-	'dream'

rɛ|aa

kuguŕ	kugá	kug-	'stone'
yugudɪr	yuguda	yùgùd-	'hedgehog'
nóbìr	nɔbá	nɔb-	'leg'
bì'n'isìr	bì'n'isà	bì'n'is-	'woman's breast'
bàlànɪr	bàlànà	bàlànɪ-	'hat'
sàŋgúnɪr	sàŋgúnà	sàŋgún-	'millipede'
summɪr	summa	sùm-	'groundnut'

CV(V)-stems make Pl CV_{ya} if the vowel is modal, CV_{da} if glottal, and stems in *ag *εg *ɔg may make forms in **da** by analogy §3.2.1:

gber´	gbeyá	gber-	'thigh'
bier´	ḅeyá	ḅa-	'elder same-sex sib'
zuor	ẓuoya	ẓuà-	'hill'
ncɔr´	ncɔyá	ncɔ-	'mouth'
nyε´er´	nyεdá	nyε'-	'next-younger sibling'
yu'or	ỵuoda	ỵu'or-	'penis'
pɔ̀n'ɔr	pɔ̀n'dà	pɔ̀n'-	'cripple'
bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	'idol' (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
sjà'ar	sjà'a/sjà'adà	sjà'-	'forest'
mù'ar	ṃuà'a/ṃu'adà	ṃuà'-	'lake'

Stems with deleted **g** after a long vowel include fusion-verb gerunds like **gbá'ar** from **gbaⁿe´** 'grab', and **vúor** 'fruit of red kapok', Pl **vuáa**.

Stems in **m n l r** assimilate the **r** of Sg **re**, as do stems in **ll** (but not **mm nn**):

dum _n	duma	dùm-	'knee'
yùum _n	yùmà	yùum-	'year' §3.2.1
kpan _n	kpana	kpàn-	'spear'
gél _l	gɛlá	gɛl-	'egg'
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	'palm fruit'
bè-za ⁿ l _l ´	-za ⁿ llá	-za ⁿ l-	'goat-carrier' W

Irregular nouns:

daar	daba	dà-	'day'
[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	za´	za-	'millet'
yir´	ya´	yi-, Pl head ya-	'house'
Mɔr´	Móɔm _{ma}	Mɔr-	'Muslim'

Language names use the suffix **le**. Forms are identical to those with Sg **re**, except for stems in final vowels and in **r** (where **rl** → **t**):

Kusâal	'Kusaal'	Kusâas	'Kusaasi'
Bat´	'Bisa language'	Bar _s ´	'Bisa people'

fɔ̃|ii

Before Pl *ii* unrounded stem vowels become *i/ii*.

Several nouns show CVC/CVVC root alternations §3.2.1.

kief _{ɔ̃} '	ki'	ki-/ka-	'millet'
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	mùj̃	mùj̃-	'rice'
náaf _{ɔ̃}	niigí	na'-	'cow' §3.2.2 Set 1
wáaf _{ɔ̃}	wiigí	wa'-	'snake'
bielíf _{ɔ̃}	biilí	biel-/biil-	'seed'
mòlíf _{ɔ̃}	mòlì	mòl-	'kob'
nyiríf _{ɔ̃}	nyirí	nyir-	'egusi'

df/nf → f:

wìef _{ɔ̃}	wìdì	wìd-	'horse'
la'af _{ɔ̃}	ligidi	là'-/lìg-	'cowrie' Pl 'money'
nif _{ɔ̃} '	niní	nin-/nif-	'eye'
píuf _{ɔ̃}	piiní	pɔ̃n-	'genet'

Piini 'gift' is used as a Sg, with CIF *piin-*.

Some words have **fɔ̃|ii** suffixes in only one number:

zíŋ _a	zimí	zim-	'fish'
walŋ _a	walɔ̃/walí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	'oribi'
sibig _a '	sibí	sib-	kind of termite
sii ⁿ f _{ɔ̃} '/sii ⁿ g _a '	sii ⁿ s'	si ⁿ -	'bee'
su ⁿ f _{ɔ̃} '/suu ⁿ r'	su ⁿ yá	su ⁿ -	'heart'
kpá ⁿ ɔ̃ŋ _{ɔ̃}	kpí ⁿ iní	kpá ⁿ - <i>sic</i>	'guineafowl'

bɔ̃|

sa'ab _{ɔ̃}		sà'-	'millet porridge'
kt'ib _{ɔ̃} '			'soap'
ta ⁿ p _{ɔ̃}		tà ⁿ p-	'war'

All regular 2-mora-stem 2Vb gerunds belong here §6.1.1; **bb** → **p**, **mb** → **mm**, but **nb** does not assimilate: **sɔ̃p_{ɔ̃}'** 'writing', **wum_{mɔ̃}** 'hearing', **bunib_{ɔ̃}** 'reaping.'

The only 3-mora stem is **yiisí_{ɔ̃}**, the gerund of **yiis'** 'make emerge.'

mɛ|

daam´	da-	'millet beer'
mɛ̀lìgìm		'dew'
du'uním	du'un-	'urine'
dàalìm		'masculinity'
yàarìm	yàar-	'salt'
zaa ⁿ sím	zaa ⁿ s-	'soup'

CV-stems like **vum´** CIF **vum-** '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' §3.2.1

5.2 Adjectives

Historically, adjectives took the class suffix of the head noun, which preceded as a CIF. Though agreement is now lost, many adjectives still show suffixes from different class sets, with no difference of meaning: 'white shirt' may be **fu-píelìg_a** or **fu-píel_l**. For W, gradable adjectives with Sg **ga re go** successively imply less intensity, so that **pielìg_a** is "whiter" than **piel_l**, but D specifically denied any difference.

fɔ|ii and **bɔ|** never appear with adjectives; all cases of **a|ba** and **mɛ|** are relics of agreement §8.7.2. Other suffixes are avoided when unclear or ambiguous SFs would result, often leading to adjectives which belong to just one class set.

Only two underived adjectives show both **ga|sɛ** and **go|dɛ** suffixes:

zì ⁿ 'a/zè ⁿ 'og _ɔ	zè ⁿ 'ɛs/zè ⁿ 'ɛd or zè ⁿ 'dà	zì ⁿ '-/zè ⁿ '-	'red'
bi'a/bɛ'og _ɔ or bɛ'ɛd	bi'es/bɛ'ɛd or bè'ɛd-nàm _a	bì ⁿ '-/bè ⁿ '-	'bad'

Other multi-set adjectives take **re|aa** and either **ga|sɛ** or **go|dɛ** but not both. **Ga**-type adjectives include:

wàbìg _a /wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	'lame'
vènnìg _a /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	'beautiful'
sabùlìg _a /sabùlì	sabùlìs/sabùlá	sabul-	'black'

Like **sabùlìg_a** are **paalìg_a** 'new', **bàaⁿlìg_a** 'slim', **pielìg_a** 'white.' **Vèⁿlìg_a** 'beautiful' does not use Sg **re**; **wènnur** 'resembling', **záalì** 'empty' do not use **ga**.

Stems in **m n** do not use **rε**; stems in **s d** do not use **se**; **sm**-stems do not use **aa**:

dεεη _a	dεε ⁿ s/dεεmɪs or dεεna	dεεη-	'first'
gìη _a	gìma	gìη-	'short'
bυgυσίg _a /bυgυσίr	bυgυsá	bυgυs-	'soft'
pòɔdìg _a /pòɔdìr	pòɔdà	pòɔd-	'few, small'
ⁿ γέεσίη _a	ⁿ γέεnsís	ⁿ γέεσίη-	'bold'

Like **bυgυσίr** are **ma'asír** 'cool', **malúsír** 'sweet', **tebúsír** 'heavy', **labúsír** 'wide'; like ⁿγέεσίη_a are **vèⁿlíη_a** 'beautiful', **malúsíη_a** 'pleasant', **lallíη_a** 'distant.'

Zùη_ɔ Pl **zùsⁿs/zùnà** 'foreign' has Sg **gɔ** for **ga** due to its rounded root vowel.

Pl **se** is often preferred to **aa** for human reference, e.g. **nin-sábìlìs** 'Africans.'

Gɔ-type adjectives include:

nèog _ɔ /nèer	nèed/nèyà	nè-	'empty'
wìug _ɔ /wìir	wìid/wìyà	wì-	'red'
wɔk _ɔ /wa'ar'	wa'ad' /wá'a	wa'-/wɔk-	'long, tall'
kυdυg _ɔ /kυdìr	kυt/kυda	kυd-	'old'
bèdùg _ɔ /bèdìr	bèdà	bèd-	'great'
títa'υg _ɔ /títa'ar	títada	títá'-	'big'

Vur' 'alive' Pl **vuyá** CIF **vur-** has Pl **vut'** in predicative uses. The clan name **Zyà-wiis** 'Red Zoose' shows an exceptional Pl **se**.

Stems in **l m n r s** do not use **rε** or **dε**:

sùη _ɔ	sùmà	sùη-	'good'
γυη _ɔ '	γυνά		'single (of pair)'
kísυg _ɔ	kisá	kis-	'hateful'
wàυη _ɔ	wànà	wàυη-	'wasted, thin'
kpi'οη _ɔ	kpi'ema	kpi'οη-	'hard, strong'
zùlùη _ɔ	zùlimà	zùlùη-	'deep'

So too **pòⁿrùg_ɔ** 'near', **mìⁿisùg_ɔ** 'sour', **zεmmùg_ɔ** 'equal', **tuυlùg_ɔ** 'hot', **lallùg_ɔ** 'far', **yàlùη_ɔ** 'wide', **ⁿyalùη_ɔ** 'wonderful', **narùη_ɔ** 'necessary', **zu-péelùg_ɔ** 'bald' and all Pf verbal adjectives in **lm**, which also have variant forms without **m** for **K** (not **W**):

kpiilùη _ɔ /kpiilùg _ɔ	kpiilímà	kpiilùη-	'dead'
gεε ⁿ lùη _ɔ /gεε ⁿ lùg _ɔ	gεε ⁿ límà	gεε ⁿ lùη-	'tired'
pè ⁿ elùη _ɔ	pè ⁿ elà/pè ⁿ elímà	pè ⁿ elùη-	'full'

Ipf verbal adjectives are **ga**-type for W, **gɔ**-type for K; Pl is always **aa**. Stems in **g k ŋ ll mm r** are simply **ɾɛ|aa**.

	kʊdír	kʊdá	kʊd-	'murderous; liable to be killed'
or	kʊdíga/kʊdúgɔ			
	sinnír/sinníga	sinná	sin-	'silent'
	bun-túlìgír	-túlìgà		'heating thing'
	ⁿwi-tékír	-tékà	-ték-	'pulling-rope'
	bun-súgír	-súgà		'helpful thing'
	tummír	tumma/tumna	tòm-	'working, helpful'
	kòg-dɛlɪ´	-dɛllá		'chair for leaning on'

Ipf adjectives from 4-mora **m**-stems take Sg **ga** or **gɔ** (never **ɾɛ**), Pl **aa**; they may drop **m** in the Pl: **nin-pú'alìŋa** Pl **nin-pú'alìmà** 'harmful person'; **nin-záaⁿsùŋɔ** Pl **nin-záaⁿsà** 'dreamy person.'

Regardless of the stem form, some adjectives just belong to single class sets:

pɔak_a	pʊ'as	pɔà'-	'female' (human)
ⁿyá'aŋ_a	ⁿyá'as/ⁿya'amís	ⁿya'aŋ-	'female' (animal)
daugɔ	daad	dà-	'male'
tɔɔgɔ	tɔɔd	tò-	'bitter'
lam-fʊɔgɔ	lam-fʊɔd		'toothless'
màɔkɔ	mà'ad		'crumpled'
bíelɪ	bielá		'naked'
yummír	yummá	yum-	'unique, sole'

An old diminutive Sg class suffix **la** appears in

bil_a	bibis	bì-/bìl-	'little'
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The Pl stem is reduplicated. This **la** suffix is still found in Farefare and Mooré nouns, e.g. Farefare **pìlà** 'lamb', **bùdíblá** 'boy', **púglá** 'girl', **kíílá** 'young guinea fowl.'

5.3 Verbs

5.3.1 Two-aspect

Two-aspect verbs (2Vbs) are the great majority. Their flexions are Pf ϵ , Ipf da , and ma for imperative with NSb tone overlay §9.5; forms will be cited in that order. Straightforward examples are

ku	$ku\upsilon da'$	$k\grave{u}m_a$	'kill'
$kp\grave{e}n'$	$kp\grave{e}n'\epsilon da$	$kp\grave{e}n'\epsilon m_a$	'enter'
$k\grave{i}\grave{a}'$ LF $k\grave{i}'a$	$k\grave{i}'\epsilon da$	$k\grave{i}'\epsilon m_a$	'cut'
$k\grave{u}a$ LF kua	$ku\upsilon da'$	$k\grave{u}o m_a$	'hoe'
$g\grave{d}\grave{n}$	$g\grave{d}\grave{d}\grave{n} da$	$g\grave{d}\grave{d}\grave{n} m_a$	'hunt'
$d\upsilon g$	$d\upsilon g\upsilon da'$	$d\grave{u}g\grave{u} m_a$	'cook'
$y\grave{u}ug$	$y\grave{u}ug\grave{i} da$	$y\grave{u}ug\grave{i} m_a$	'delay, get late'
$yad\grave{i}g'$	$yad\grave{i}g\grave{i} da$	$yad\grave{i}g\grave{i} m_a$	'scatter'
$p\grave{i}a^n'$	$p\grave{i}a^n'ad_a'$	$p\grave{i}a^n'am_a$	'speak; praise'
$d\grave{u}\grave{a}'$	$d\grave{u}'ad_a$	$d\grave{u}'am_a$	'bear, beget'
$n\grave{o}k'$	$n\grave{o}k\grave{i} da$	$n\grave{o}k\grave{i} m_a$	'take'
$ga\grave{n}'$	$ga\grave{n}\grave{i} da$	$ga\grave{n}\grave{i} m_a$	'choose'
$kp\grave{a}r$	$kp\grave{a}r\grave{i} da$	$kp\grave{a}r\grave{i} m_a$	'lock'
$sugur'$	$sugur\grave{i} da$	$s\grave{u}g\grave{u}r\grave{i} m_a$	'forgive'
$b\grave{a}s$	$b\grave{a}s\grave{i} da$	$b\grave{a}s\grave{i} m_a$	'go/send away'
$sigis'$	$sigis\grave{i} da$	$s\grave{i}g\grave{i}s\grave{i} m_a$	'lower'
$ko\grave{t}'$	$ko\grave{t}\grave{i} da$	$k\grave{o}t\grave{i} m_a$	'slaughter'

Some CVV-stems have the Ipf CVt_a §3.2.1:

$d\grave{i}$	$d\grave{i}t_a$	$d\grave{i}m_a$	'eat'
$ny\epsilon$	$ny\epsilon t_a'$	$ny\grave{\epsilon} m_a$	'see'

Likewise $ny\epsilon$ 'see', $l\grave{i}/l\grave{u}$ 'fall', du 'go up', yi 'go/come out', $z\grave{d}$ 'run.'
 $dd \rightarrow t$; $ld \rightarrow nn$:

$b\grave{u}d$	$b\grave{u}t_a$	$b\grave{u}d\grave{i} m_a$	'plant'
$g\grave{a}ad$	$g\grave{a}t_a$ <i>sic</i>	$g\grave{a}ad\grave{i} m_a$	'pass'
$v\upsilon l$	$v\upsilon n_{na}'$	$v\grave{u}l\grave{i} m_a$	'swallow'
$d\grave{i}g\upsilon l'$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}n_{na}$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}l\grave{i} m_a$	'lay down'

B3 has some variant Ipf's like $satid$ from sad 'slip.' The new Pf $ko\grave{t}'$ 'slaughter' (see above) has been extracted from the Ipf $ko\grave{t}\grave{i} da$.

bm → mm with 2-mora stems only:

lèb	lèbìd _a	lèmm _{ma}	'return'
sɔb	sɔbìd _a '	sòm _{ma}	'write'
lièb	lièbìd _a	lièbìm _a	'become'
εε ⁿ b'	εε ⁿ bìd _a	èε ⁿ bìm _a	'lay a foundation'

nd → nn with 2-mora stems only:

bùn	bùn _{na}	bùnìm _a	'reap'
mɔn	mɔn _{na} '	mònìm _a	'make porridge'
gò'ɔn	gò'ɔnìd _a	gò'ɔnìm _a	'extend neck'
dìgìn	dìgìnìd _a	dìgìnìm _a	'lie down'
sùn _n	sùnnìd _a	sùnnìm _a	'bow head'

All m-stems show assimilation in the NSb-imperative.

md → mm is compulsory with 2- and 4-mora stems, but optional with 3-mora stems, apart from mm-stems, in which it does not occur:

tùm	tùm _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	'work'
lèm	lèmmìd _a	lèm _{ma}	'sip, taste'
kàrìm	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrìmìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	'read'
tɔm'	tɔm _{ma} /tɔmìd _a	tɔm _{ma}	'depart'
siiìm	siiìm _{ma}	siiìm _{ma}	'cite proverbs'
laɲím	laɲím _{ma}	laɲìm _{ma}	'wander in searching'

Like tùm are wùm 'hear', kùm 'herd animals', dùm 'bite'; like lèm are tàm 'forget', zàm 'cheat', dàmm 'shake'; cf Mooré lèmbè 'taste', zǎmbè 'cheat', rǎmbè 'stir.'

W and D use optionally unassimilated Ipfs only to avoid ambiguity with Pfs, i.e. with SFs not followed by nε' §11.1; B3 has a few unassimilated Ipfs even from 2-mora stems in contexts where the assimilated forms would be taken as Pfs:

M̄ pu kárìmma_.	'I'm not reading.'
M̄ kárìm nε.	'I'm reading.'
Kà bà kárìmìd.	'And they were reading.'
Kà bà kárìm.	'And they read.' (necessarily Pf)

Tuumbè'ed dim san'an ka bε'ed tumid.

Tùum-bε'ed dímm sâⁿ'an kà bε'ed túmìd.

work.Gd-bad.Pl ØP by and badness work.Ipf

'It is from evildoers that evil is carried out.' 1 Sm 24:13

Fusion verbs delete **g** after **aa ie uo** §3.2.2, with tonal effects in gerunds §3.3.

fae ⁿ ´	faa ⁿ da´	fàa ⁿ ma	'save'
di'e´	di'eda´	dì'em _a	'get, receive'
nìe	nìeda	nìem _a	'appear'
sue ⁿ ´	suo ⁿ da´	sùo ⁿ ma	'anoint'

In the Ipf tones there is no trace of a lost **g** mora, and before liaison enclitics the Pf forms similarly behave simply like CVV-stems §4.4. However, Ipf forms like **nìeda** 'appear' (not ***nèeda**), with the same vowel as in the gerund **nìer**, show that **g** was formerly present in these forms too, and verbs with other long vowels preceding **g** do not lose it in flexion. In most cases, at least, the tones of fusion verbs therefore reflect simplification by analogy following phonological deletion, rather than morphological dropping of **g** in flexion (but see below.)

Irregular 2Vbs are few.

Some 2Vbs drop monactional **g** in the Ipf:

wìk	wìida	wikìma	'fetch water' §3.2.1
jà ⁿ k´	jà ⁿ ada´	jà ⁿ kìma	'leap, fly'
gilig´	gin _{na} ´	gìligìma	'go around'
keḡ´	ken _{na} ´	kèma <i>sic</i>	'go'

Even when stems with monactional **g** and without it appear in both aspects, it is common for forms with the **g** to be favoured in Pf and Imp, and those without it in Ipf: thus B3 has 28 instances of Pf **vε'εg´** to only 6 of **vε'** 'lead, pull' and 2 instances of Imp **vè'εgìma** to none of **vè'εma**, but only 2 of Ipf **vε'εgída** to 9 of **vε'εda´**.

Other derivational suffixes are dropped in the Ipf in three verbs:

yèl	yèt _a	yèlìma	'say'
gɔs	gɔsida´/gɔta´	gòsìma/gòm _a	'look'
tìs	tìsida/tita	tìsìma	'give'

Tìs may adopt the form **tì** before liaison enclitic pronouns, e.g. **tì_f** 'give you.'

Kεⁿ 'come' has identical Ipf and NSb-Imp to **keḡ´** 'go', but is always followed by **na´** 'hither' §9.6: **Kèḡ na!** 'Come here!', **Kèḡ sá!** 'Go away!'

Only one 2Vb has an irregular flexional suffix: an exceptional NSb-imperative suffix appears in

ke	ket _a ´	kèl _a	'let, allow'
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5.3.2 One-aspect

One-aspect verbs (1Vbs) number about sixty; their sole finite form is Ipf. They are of several distinct types, but mostly express relationships, stances or bodily activities, or have predicative adjectival meanings.

Some 1Vbs resemble 2Vb Pfs or Ipfs in form.

Five have the flexion ϵ : *mi* 'know', *zi* 'not know', *bè* 'exist', *kaɛ* 'not be', *nòŋ* 'love.' NSb-Pf *ya* never follows: *M nóŋ* 'I love [her]' (in reply to a question) W. Tone sandhi is that of Ipfs, not Pfs §4.2: *kà ò bé Bók* 'and he's in Bawku (Bòk₃).' *Nòŋ* is the only 1Vb with a NSb-Imp: *nòŋim_a*. The agent noun *nòŋid_a* 'lover' is TP L, deviating from the rule for 2Vbs §3.3.1: Mooré *noanga* 'lover' shows that here Kusaal has introduced *d* by analogy. The verbs *kaɛ* and *zi* have the optional alternative LFs *kà'asìgɛ* and *zi'isìgɛ*.

Some 1Vbs resembling 2Vb Ipfs actually originated as 2Vbs where only the Ipf is in use, or where the Ipf has acquired a distinct meaning, as with *bòɔɔd_a* 'want', beside Pf *bò* 'seek.' Other 1Vbs resembling 2Vb Ipfs are *nan_{na}'* 'respect', *nɛn_{na}'* 'envy', *sin_{na}'* 'be silent' (*nd* → *nn*) and the imperative-only *mìt_a* 'do not let' §9.3.1 (CVVd → CVt §3.2.1; cf Mampruli *mira*.) However, 1Vbs ending in LF *da* or *na* do not, in general, behave like 2Vb Ipfs in derivation: thus *ⁿwɛn_{na}'* 'be like' and *pòɔɔd_a* 'be few' correspond to *ⁿwɛnnir* 'resembling' and *pòɔɔdìg_a* 'few' by the tone rules for derivation of quality verbs from adjectives §6.2.2, not adjectives from 2Vbs §3.3.1.

Most 1Vbs have finite forms ending in LF *a*, but are not formed with *da*.

A characteristic subgroup are the **stance verbs**, which have underlying final *ya*. Those with stems ending in vowels or *b g* show the flexion *ya*, before which back vowels diphthongise §3.2.2, while *ly* → *ll* and *ry* → *r*:

<i>dɛl_{la}'</i>	'be leaning (person)'	<i>dɪg_{ly}a'</i>	'be lying down'
<i>gɔ'e_{ya}'</i> W	'be looking up'	<i>gɔl_{la}'</i> K	'be looking up'
<i>gɔr_a'</i> D	'be looking up'	<i>gùl_{la}</i>	'be hanging'
<i>igi_{ya}'</i>	'be kneeling'	<i>làb_{ly}a</i>	'be crouched hiding'
<i>sɛb_{ly}a'</i>	'be squatting'	<i>sùr_a</i>	'have the head bowed'
<i>tàb_{ly}a</i>	'be stuck to'	<i>tì'i_{ya}'</i>	'be leaning (thing)'
<i>vab_{ly}a'</i>	'be lying prone'	<i>zì'e_{ya}</i>	'be standing'
<i>zì'n'i_{ya}</i>	'be sitting'		

Stance verbs form a distinctive group derivationally, with derived inceptives in *n* and causatives in *l* (or in a few cases, a corresponding root-stem 2Vb) §6.2.1; they also characteristically have agent nouns in *d* based on their roots §6.1.1.

In addition, some speakers can inflect stance verbs for the "propensity" IpF sense by substituting the suffix **da** for **ya**; in such cases, other speakers use the IpF forms of the derived inceptive 2Vbs in n §6.2.1. The formation is possible only with stance verbs where **y** has not been assimilated or lost in the LF, e.g.

Ò dǐgì nɛ.	'She's lying down.'
Ò pɔ dɪgɪdá_.	'She doesn't lie down' W
Ò zì'n'i nɛ.	'She's sitting down.' (zì'n'iya)
Ò pɔ zí'n'ida_.	'She doesn't sit down' W
Ò pɔ zí'n'inìda_.	'She doesn't sit down' K
Ò vǎbì nɛ.	'He's lying prone.' (vǎbɪya´)
Ò pɔ vabídá_.	'He doesn't lie prone.' W
Ò pɔ vǎbìnìda_.	'He doesn't lie prone.' K
Lì zì'e nɛ.	'It's standing up.' (zì'eya)
Lì pɔ zí'eda_.	'It (defective tripod) won't stand up.' W
Lì tì'i nɛ.	'It's leaning.' (tì'iya´)
Lì tì'id.	'It can be leant.' W
Lì pɔ ti'iyá_.	'It's not leaning.'
Lì pɔ ti'idá_.	'It's not for leaning.' W

Although they do not have "stance" meanings, a number of other 1Vbs have a similar structure to stance verbs and, like them, can also form agent nouns:

dɔlɪa´	'go/come with'	gura´	'guard, watch for'
kisa´	'hate'	mɔra´	'have'
nɛ̀jya	'be awake'	sɔn'eya´	'be better than'
su'eya´	'own'	tará´	'have'
tɛ̀ra	'remember'	wà'eya	'travel'
za'nɪa´	'have in the hand'		

Tu'n'eya´ 'be able' has no agent noun. The LF does not occur in my data, but Toende Kusaal has the LF of tǒ'e 'be able' in ka bu tǒ'oyãa 'but was not able' Lk 19:3.

The copula verb àɛ̃ⁿya 'be something/somehow' can be used in direct commands §9.3 and can form the agent noun aaⁿd_a 'one who is a ...' W. Thus, the stance-verb group overlaps with the subgroup of **relational verbs**, which includes all 1Vbs which take an obligatory complement §9.7.1; others are zɛm_{ma} 'be equal to' and nar_a 'need, deserve.' The relational group in turn overlaps with the group of quality verbs (see below), as with

kpeɛ ⁿ ma'	'be older than'	lal _a '	'be distant'
pò ⁿ ra	'be near'	tɔa'e _{ya} '	'be near to'

This is consistent with the fact that almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit or interest §9.7.1.

Quality verbs express predicative adjectival meanings; they do not form agent nouns and most have clear derivational relationships with adjectives §6.2.2. Most often, the 1Vb stem is identical to that of the corresponding adjective, but there are some exceptions; in addition l m n are geminated after short root vowels.

Quality verbs include

bà ⁿ l _a	'be thin'	bugu _a '	'be soft'
dù _{ra}	'be many'	gim _{ma} '	'be short'
kà _{ra}	'be few'	kpi'em _a '	'be strong, hard'
lab _{sa} '	'be wide'	ma'as _a '	'be cool, wet'
mal _{sa} '	'be sweet, pleasant'	mì'is _a	'be sour'
pò ^o d _a	'be few'	sùm _{ma}	'be good'
tɛb _{sa} '	'be heavy'	tɔɛ _{ya} '	'be bitter, difficult'
tul _a '	'be hot'	vè ⁿ l _a	'be beautiful'
vuɛ _{ya} '	'be alive, live'	wa'am _a '	'be long, tall'
yàl _{im} _a	'be wide'	nyèɛ _{sa}	'be bold'
zùl _{im} _a	'be deep'		

There are no adjectives corresponding to dù_{ra} 'be many' or kà_{ra} 'be few.'

Comparative evidence suggests that the y of tɔɛ_{ya} 'be bitter' and vuɛ_{ya} 'be alive, live' is of a different origin from the y seen in stance and relational verbs; it is perhaps comparable to the y which appears before the Pl suffix aa after root-final modal vowels, as with nɔɔ_r' 'mouth', Pl nɔyá §3.2.1.

6 Derivation

Derivation may be by stem conversion or by the addition of a derivational suffix **b d g l m n** or **s**. Stems of nominals may show a further **d m** or **lm**; of verbs, only **m**. For tone patterns in derivation see §3.3.1.

6.1 Nominals

The associations of class sets with meaning can be exploited by using stems in different class sets, e.g. *siiⁿf₅* 'bee', *siiⁿd* 'honey'; *wèéd_a* 'hunter', *wèog₅* 'deep bush.'

Most tree names are *ga|sɛ*, their fruits *rɛ|aa* or *gɔ|dɛ*:

Tree Sg	Tree Pl	Fruit Sg	Fruit Pl	
aa ⁿ d _{ga}	aa ⁿ d _s	aa ⁿ d _r	aa ⁿ da	' <i>Vitex doniana</i> '
dù ^a	dò ⁿ s	dò ⁿ g ₅	dò ⁿ d	'dawadawa'
gaa ⁿ ´	gaa ⁿ s´	ga ⁿ r´	ga ⁿ yá	'African ebony'
gù _{ga}	gùmìs	gùm _n	gùmà	'true kapok'
kìkà _{ga}	kìkàmìs	kìkàm _n	kìkàmà	'Cape fig tree'
kpòkpà _{rìga}	kpòkpà _{rìs}	kpòkpà _r	kpòkpà _r	'Palmyra palm'
pusig _a ´	pusis´	pusir´	pusá	'tamarind'
sisí _{bìga}	sisíbìs	sisíbìr	sisíbà	'neem'
tá _a ṅ _{ga}	ta _a ṁís	tá _a ṁ _n	ta _a ṁá	'shea'
tè _a ḗ _{ga}	tè _a ḗs	tè _a ḗ _{g₅}	tè _a ḗd	'baobab'
vú _{ga}	vuomís	vú _r	vuáa	'red kapok'

Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §8.3.

Adjectives form abstract nouns in *mɛ|* or (especially *gɔ*-type adjectives) Sg *gɔ*:

vom´	'life'	sùm	'goodness'
pò _d lìm	'scarcity'	vènnìm	'beauty'
vè ⁿ llìm	'beauty'	bugusím	'softness'
tɛbúsím	'weight'	ma _a asím	'coolness, damp'
malúsím	'sweetness'	labúsím	'width'
pièlìm	'brightness'	títa _a m	'multitude'
ⁿ yè _s lìm	'confidence'		
lallú _{g₅}	'distance'	zemmú _{g₅}	'equality'
kpi _a ṅ _{g₅}	'hardness'	yà _l ḗ _{g₅}	'width'
mì _a isò _{g₅}	'sourness'	tò _{g₅}	'bitterness'
zù _l ḗ _{g₅}	'depth'	tuulú _{g₅}	'heat'

Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts:

gbá ⁿ yà'am	'laziness'	from	gbá ⁿ yà'a	'idle person'
dàmà'am	'deception'		dàmà'a	'liar'
títa'alim	'pride'		títa'al _l	'proud person'
sáυη _ɔ	'hospitality'		saan _a '	'guest'
kpeo ⁿ η _ɔ	'eldership'		kpeε ⁿ m	'elder'
sɔɔ ⁿ g _ɔ	'witchcraft'		sɔε ⁿ ya	'witch'

Adjective stems form manner nouns with -mε or apocope-blocked -ga:

baa ⁿ lím	'quietly'	zaalím	'in vain'
kυdım	'of old'	paalím	'recently'
nèεm	'for nothing, free'		
sùηa'	'well'	m'asíga'	'coolly'
tuulíga'	'hotly'	gíηa	'shortly'
buγusíga'	'softly'	sàalíηa'	'smoothly'
ⁿ yèεsíηa'	'confidently'		

Nominals may be derived from nominals with derivational **d m s l** or **lm**; many stems in **d** or **m** are unanalysable, however (e.g. *yugudır* 'hedgehog', *gbıgım_n* 'lion.')

d can derive abstract from human-reference nouns, e.g. *dataadυg* 'enmity', *pu'asatım* 'girlhood', *bυnkuttım* 'old age', *puκɔntım* 'widowhood.'

m is identifiable as derivational in *bi'em* 'enemy' (*bi'a* 'bad'), *aⁿsíηa* 'sister's child' (*áⁿsìb_a* 'mother's brother'), *bìⁿ'isím* 'milk' (*bìⁿ'isìr* 'breast'), *na'am* 'chieftaincy' (*nà'ab_a* 'chief'), *zɔlımís* 'foolishness' (*zɔlυg_ɔ'* 'fool.'). It is often added to existing adjective stems, e.g. *malısíga/malısíηa* 'sweet', *narúη_ɔ* 'needful' (*nar_a'* 'be needed'), *wa'am_a'* 'be long' (*wɔk_ɔ'* 'long.')

s derives adjectives from some roots underlying state-change 2Vbs in **g** §6.2.1.

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns (but not adjectives) from nouns and adjectives, e.g. *biilím* 'childhood' (*biig_a* 'child'), *pù'alım* 'womanhood' (*pυa* 'woman'), *dàalım* 'manhood' (*day* 'man'), *sáannım* 'strangerhood' (*saan_a'* 'stranger'), *turâannım* 'peerhood' (*turâan_a* 'peer'), *wa'alım* 'tallness' (*wɔk_ɔ'* 'tall.')

6.1.1 Deverbal nominals

Deverbal nominal formation is very productive and largely regular.

Gerunds express the process, event or state described by the verb; almost all verbs can form them. 2Vbs do so by adding a noun class suffix to the verb stem: 2-mora stems add **ɓɔ**, 3-mora stems in **g k ŋ ae ie ue** (i.e. in *g) add **rɛ**, all others **gɔ**:

kɔɔɓɔ ´	'kill (kɔ)'	dugɔɓɔ ´	'cook (dug)'
du'abɔ	'bear, beget (duà)'	kadɔɓɔ	'drive off (kàd)'
pilibɔ	'cover (pil)'	kparɔɓɔ	'lock (kpàr)'
basɔɓɔ	'go/send away (bàs)'	lɔpɔ ´	'throw stones at (lɔb)'
kɔmmɔ	'herd animals (kɔm)'	bunibɔ	'reap (bùn)'
yùugɔr	'delay (yùug)'	nɔkɔr	'take (nɔk)´'
nɔ̀ɔ̀r	'do (nɔ̀)'	gbá'ar	'grab (gba'è)´'
dí'er	'get (di'e)´'	dúor	'rise (due)´'
gàadùgɔ	'pass (gàad)'	lièbùgɔ	'become (lièb)'
dɔ̀gɔ̀lùgɔ	'lay down (dɔ̀gɔ̀l)´'	yaarùgɔ	'scatter (yaar)´'
sigisùgɔ	'lower (sigis)´'	dàmmùgɔ	'shake (dàm)´' (mm-stem)
dɔ̀gɔ̀nùgɔ	'lie down (dɔ̀gɔ̀n)´'	zì'n'inùgɔ	'sit down (zì'n'in)´'
tɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ	'depart (tɔ̀ɔ̀m)´'	kàrùgɔ	'read (kàrɔm)´'

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

sìilùgɔ	'cite proverbs (sìilɔm)´'	zàa'sùgɔ	'dream (zàa'sɔm)´'
wà̀rɔ̀r	'waste away (wà̀rɔ̀m)´'	zàkɔr	'itch (zàkɔm)´'

In compounds, 2-mora stems use Sg **rɛ**, e.g. **puà'-dur** 'marriage', **nin-kôur** 'murder', **da-nôur** 'beer-drinking', **mò-pilɔ** '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 (li)', **tè'nbùgɔ** 'tremble (tè'nb)', **ɔ'nbur** 'chew (ɔ'nb)'; a few are also tonally irregular, e.g. **tà'sùgɔ** 'shout (tà's)', **sɔ'sìg_a** 'converse (sɔ's.)' A few 2Vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **tìtɔmɔs** 'send (tò'm)', **bè'ɛs** 'fall ill (bè'n)', **ken_n**´ 'come (kɛ'n)', **ziid**´ 'carry on the head (zi).' Irregular gerunds are noted in §14.

Stance verbs §5.3.2 in **ya** form gerunds with various class suffixes:

zì'n'ig_a	'sit (zì'n'iy_a)´'	tì'ibɔ ´	'lean (tì'iy_a)´'
zì'eg_a/zì'a	'stand (zì'e_y_a)´' K/W	dɔ̀k_a/`dɔ̀gɔ̀r ´	'lie down (dɔ̀gɔ̀l_y_a)´' K/W
ik_a/`igir ´	'kneel (igiy_a)´' K/W	vapɔ/`vabur ´	'lie prone (vabiy_a)´' K/W

Zì'eg_a is phonologically aberrant §3.2.2. **Tè'r_a** 'remember', **pò'r_a** 'be near' have **tɛ'nrɔɓɔ pɔ'nrɔɓɔ**; **kis_a**´ 'hate' forms **kísùgɔ**.

Other 1Vbs suffix **lm** (m after ll nn r) to form m-stem gerunds in **mɛ|**:

àa'ílím	'be (àɛ ⁿ ya)'	bèlím	'exist (bè)'
ka'alím	'not be (kaɛ)'	nòḡlím	'love (nòḡ)'
mi'ilím	'know (mi)'	su'ulím	'own (su'e _{ya} ´)'
zi'ulím	'not know (zi)'	dellím	'lean (dɛl _{la} ´)'; also dellúḡ
dollím	'go with (dɔl _{la} ´)'	tullím	'be hot (tul _{la} ´)'
nenním	'envy (nɛn _{na} ´)'	sinním	'be silent (sin _{na} ´)'
ⁿwenním sic	'be like (ⁿ wɛn _{na} ´)'	zaⁿllím	'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'
kpèⁿ	'enter'	kpèⁿédím-	'co-resident'
zàb	'fight'	zàbídím-	'opponent'
tòm	'work'	tòmím-	'co-worker'
pù'us	'worship'	pù'usím-	'co-worshipper'
sjàk	'agree'	sjàkím-	'partner in agreement'

Similarly **mèédím-** (mè 'build'), **pυdím-** (pυ 'share'), **faaⁿdím-** (faⁿ 'rob'), **duḡudím-** (duḡ 'cook'), **dùsím-** (dùs 'feed.') **Sòḡ** 'help' forms both **sòḡím-** and **sòḡídím-**.

1Vbs with m-stem gerunds use them here:

bè	'exist'	bèlím-taa	'partner in existence' W
mi'	'know'	mi'ilím-	'partner in knowledge'

Similarly **zi'ulím-taa** 'partner in ignorance', **dollím-taa** 'fellow-companion.'

For stance verbs, W has forms in both **-lm-** and **-dm-**: thus both **zì'elím-taa** and **zì'edím-taa** 'fellow-stander' from **zì'e_{ya}**; similarly **zìⁿ'ilím-/zìⁿ'idím-** (**zìⁿ'i_{ya}** 'sit'), **vabulím-/vabídím-** (**vab_{ly}a´** 'lie prone'), **igilím-/igidím-** (**igi_{ya}´** 'kneel'), though only **làbùlím-** (**làb_{ly}a** 'crouch in hiding.') For **dɪḡ_{ly}a´** 'lie down', W has **dɪḡulím-** and also **dɪḡùlím-**, presumably from **dɪḡùlìn**. With **nòḡ** 'love', W contrasts **nòḡlím-taa** 'fellow-liker' with **nòḡídím-taa** 'fellow-lover.'

Some abstract nouns are formed from 2Vb Ipf; **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 **bòḡdìm** 'will', **ḡḡòⁿdìm** 'wandering', **zòtìm** 'fear', **ḡḡulím** 'freedom', **nin-kúusìm** 'murder', **pù'usìm** 'worship', **wòm^mùḡ** 'hearing.'

Gerunds are abstract; depending on verb meaning, they can be mass or count, cf $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{g}_3$ Pl $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{s}$ 'run, race' (zw 'run'), $\text{bu}'\text{os}\text{ú}\text{g}_3$ Pl $\text{bu}'\text{os}\text{á}$ 'question' ($\text{bu}'\text{os}'$ 'ask.'). Where a noun and 2Vb share stems, the 2Vb is primary; nouns which are not gerunds refer to products, instruments, or sites of action: $\text{s}\text{c}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 'piece of writing' (scb 'write'), $\text{d}\text{v}\text{k}_3'$ 'pot' (dvg 'cook'), $\text{s}\text{y}\text{a}\text{k}_\text{a}'$ 'hiding place' (sya 'hide.'). Usually such nouns do not take regular gerund class suffixes; exceptions are $\text{d}\text{u}\text{b}_3$ 'food' ($\text{d}\text{ù}$ 'eat'), $\text{z}\text{i}''\text{i}\text{g}_\text{a}$ 'place' ($\text{z}\text{i}''\text{i}\text{y}_\text{a}$ 'sit.'). K has $\text{d}\text{u}\text{g}\text{r}'$ 'lying place', Gd $\text{d}\text{u}\text{k}_\text{a}'$ ($\text{d}\text{u}\text{g}\text{y}_\text{a}'$ 'lie'), $\text{i}\text{g}\text{ir}'$ 'kneeling place', Gd $\text{i}\text{k}_\text{a}'$ ($\text{i}\text{g}\text{i}\text{y}_\text{a}'$ 'kneel') and $\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 'lying-prone place', Gd $\text{v}\text{a}\text{p}_3'$ ($\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{y}_\text{a}'$ 'lie prone'), but W uses $\text{d}\text{u}\text{g}\text{r}'$ $\text{i}\text{g}\text{ir}'$ $\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{r}'$ as the gerunds (see above.)

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 tone patterns §3.3.1.) They belong to a|ba . Agent nouns often develop specialised meanings. A few agent-like nouns are formed with **m**, e.g. $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{m}_\text{n}$ 'refugee', $\text{k}\text{p}\text{u}'\text{m}$ '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:

$\text{m}\text{e}\text{e}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'builder ($\text{m}\text{è}$)'	$\text{d}\text{u}\text{t}_\text{a}$	'eater ($\text{d}\text{ù}$)'
$\text{d}\text{v}\text{g}\text{v}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'cook (dvg)'	$\text{d}\text{u}'\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'relative' ($\text{d}\text{u}'\text{à}$ 'bear/beget')
$\text{t}\text{ù}\text{on-gat}_\text{a}$	'leader' ($\text{g}\text{àad}$ 'pass')	$\text{s}\text{c}\text{b}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'writer (scb)'
$\text{k}\text{p}\text{ar}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'lock-er ($\text{k}\text{p}\text{àr}$)'	$\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}\text{í}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'forgiver ($\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}'$)'
$\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}\text{id}_\text{a}'$	'sleeper ($\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}$)'	$\text{g}\text{w}\text{t}_\text{a}'$	'seer, prophet' (gws 'look')
$\text{p}\text{a}'\text{an}_\text{na}$	'teacher ($\text{p}\text{à}'\text{al}$)'	$\text{t}\text{ù}\text{m-tu}\text{m}_\text{na}$	'worker ($\text{t}\text{ù}\text{m}$)'
$\text{y}\text{u}\text{u}\text{m-y}\text{ù}'\text{u}\text{m}_\text{na}$	'singer ($\text{y}\text{u}'\text{u}\text{m}'$)'	$\text{b}\text{u}\text{n}_\text{na}$	'reaper ($\text{b}\text{ù}\text{n}$)'

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 Ipf (not gerunds.)

$\text{w}\text{a}'\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'woodcutter ($\text{w}\text{à}'\text{e}$)'	$\text{n}\text{a}\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'persister' W ($\text{n}\text{a}\text{e}'$ 'finish')
$\text{d}\text{i}'\text{e}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'receiver ($\text{d}\text{i}'\text{e}'$)'	$\text{s}\text{u}\text{ŋ}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'helper ($\text{s}\text{ù}\text{ŋ}$)'
$\text{s}\text{j}\text{a}\text{k}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'believer ($\text{s}\text{j}\text{à}\text{k}$)'	$\text{w}\text{i-t}\text{é}\text{k}_\text{a}$	'rope-puller ($\text{t}\text{é}\text{k}'$)'
$\text{k}\text{e}\text{n}_\text{na}'$	'traveller ($\text{k}\text{e}\text{ŋ}'$)'	$\text{j}\text{a}''\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'flier ($\text{j}\text{a}''\text{k}'$)'

3-mora stems in **s** always drop **d** in Sg and CIF, as do a few 2-mora stems:

$\text{k}\text{ù}\text{os}_\text{a}$	'seller ($\text{k}\text{ù}\text{os}$)'	$\text{t}\text{ù}\text{s}_\text{a}$	'giver ($\text{t}\text{ù}\text{s}$)'
$\text{s}\text{ù}\text{s}_\text{a}$	'beggar ($\text{s}\text{ù}\text{s}$)'	$\text{z}\text{à}\text{b-z}\text{à}\text{b}_\text{a}$	'fighter ($\text{z}\text{à}\text{b}$)'

Stems in **mm** drop **d** and have only $\text{n}\text{à}\text{m}_\text{a}$ Pls ($\text{d}\text{à}\text{m-d}\text{à}\text{m}_\text{na}$ 'shaker'), but the tone pattern of $\text{s}\text{u}\text{n}_\text{na}$ 'deep thinker' W from $\text{s}\text{ù}\text{n}_\text{n}$ 'bow the head' shows $\text{nd} \rightarrow \text{nn}$.

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

<i>pu'an_{na}</i>	'harmer (<i>pu'alim</i>)'	<i>siin_{na}</i>	'proverb-citer (<i>siilim</i>)'
<i>zàaⁿs_a</i>	'dreamer (<i>zàaⁿsim</i>)'		

1Vbs drop *d* after *ll nn*, and sometimes after *r s*:

<i>mi'id_a'</i>	'knower (<i>mi</i>)'	<i>zi'ud_a'</i>	'ignorant person (<i>zi</i>)'
<i>soⁿ'ɔd_a'</i>	'outdoer (<i>soⁿ'eya'</i>)'	<i>su'ud_a'</i>	'owner (<i>su'eya'</i>)'
<i>ziⁿ'id_a</i>	'sitter (<i>ziⁿ'iya'</i>)'	<i>zi'ed_a</i>	'stander (<i>zi'eya'</i>)'
<i>diɣud_a'</i>	'lier-down (<i>diɣiya'</i>)'	<i>igid_a'</i>	'kneeler (<i>igiya'</i>)'
<i>vabud_a'</i>	'lier prone (<i>vab_{ly}a'</i>)'	<i>labud_a</i>	'croucher in hiding (<i>lab_{ly}a'</i>)'
<i>nòŋid_a</i>	'lover (<i>nòŋ</i>)' tones <i>sic</i>	<i>aaⁿd_a</i>	'one who is a ... (<i>àⁿya</i>)' W
<i>nin-dél_{la}</i>	'leaner (<i>dél_{la}'</i>)'	<i>bù-zaⁿl_{la}'</i>	'goat-holder (<i>zaⁿl_{la}'</i>)'
<i>nin-nén_{na}</i>	'envier (<i>nén_{na}'</i>)'	<i>nin-sín_{na}</i>	'silent person (<i>sin_{na}'</i>)'
<i>bù-mɔr_a'</i>	'goat-owner (<i>mɔr_a'</i>)' W	<i>gur_a'/gurid_a'</i>	'guard (<i>gur_a'</i>)'
<i>tɛⁿrid_a</i>	'rememberer (<i>tèⁿr_a'</i>)'	<i>kis_a'/kisid_a'</i>	'hater (<i>kis_a'</i>)'

Stems in *ll/r* have variant forms in *re|aa*, e.g. *bù-zaⁿl_l* Pl *bù-zaⁿllá*.

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

Most verbs show the same stem as in the agent noun Sg/CIF:

<i>puà'-la'adr</i>	'laughing/laughable woman (<i>là</i>)'
<i>bun-ⁿyétìr</i>	'visible object (<i>ⁿyɛ</i>)'
<i>na'-dá-kuodír</i>	'ox for ploughing (<i>kya</i> LF <i>kua</i>)'
<i>fu-yéɛdìr/-yéɛdùg_ɔ</i>	'shirt for wearing (<i>yè</i>)' W/K
<i>tì-kuodím</i>	'poison' (<i>ku</i> 'kill')
<i>tèŋ-du'adig_a</i>	'native land' (<i>duà</i> 'bear/beget')
<i>yi-sígìdìr</i>	'lodging-house' (<i>sig</i> 'descend')
<i>yɛl-sú'adr</i>	'confidential matter' (<i>sya</i> 'hide')
<i>bun-śⁿbìdà</i>	'solid food' (<i>śⁿb</i> 'chew')
<i>bun-búnnìr</i>	'thing for reaping (<i>bùn</i>)'
<i>bun-túmmìr</i> Pl - <i>túmnà</i> S	'useful thing' (<i>tòm</i> 'work')
<i>tì-vonním</i>	'oral medication' (<i>vol</i> 'swallow')
<i>puà'-gbisidír</i>	'woman always sleeping (<i>gbis</i>)'

b̀̀n-kennír	'donkey that doesn't sit still' (kɛŋ´ 'go')
ɸ̀̀à'-ginníga	'prostitute' (gilig´ 'go round')
kpa-sɔ́w`d̀̀m	'anointing oil (sue´n´)'
bun-yátìr	'scattering thing (yadug´)'
bun-ǰá`ad̀̀r	'flying creature (ǰa`k´)'
b̀̀-sa`ammur	'scapegoat' W (sà`am 'destroy')
bun-pélìs̀̀r	'sharpening thing (pè̀̀lis)'
bun-kúos̀̀r	'item for sale (k̀̀os)'
b̀̀n-digudír	'donkey that lies down a lot (diguya´)'
b̀̀n-vabudír	'donkey that always lies prone (vabuya´)'
kug-zí`id̀̀r	'stone for sitting on (zì`i`ya)'
nɔ́-zá`l̀̀	'hen for holding in hands (za`l̀̀a´)'
k̀̀g-dɛl̀̀´	'chair for leaning on (dɛl̀̀a´)'
bun-gúl̀̀	'thing for suspending (g̀̀l̀̀a)'

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

bun-pélìg̀̀r	'thing for whitening (pè̀̀lig)'
bun-túlìg̀̀r	'thing for heating (tulig´)'
yei-pák̀̀r	'disaster' (pàk 'surprise')
`wi-ték̀̀r	'pulling-rope (tek´)'
bun-sùŋ̀̀r	'helpful thing (s̀̀ŋ)'
b̀̀-nòŋ̀̀r	'beloved child (nòŋ)'
ɸ̀̀̀à'-p̀̀̀alíŋa	'harmful woman (p̀̀̀alim)'
bun-síilúŋ̀̀	'thing relating to citing proverbs (síilim)'
ɸ̀̀̀̀à'-zàa`núŋ̀̀	'dreamy woman (zàa`s̀̀im)'

Perfective verbal adjectives are stative, and can only be formed from verbs which can use the Pf with stative meaning §9.1. The formant *lm* is added to roots; some speakers have forms in *l* alone.

àa`núŋ̀̀	'torn (àe`n)'	gɛɛ`núŋ̀̀	'tired (gɛ`n)'
k̀̀ɔ́w`núŋ̀̀	'broken (k̀̀)'	k̀̀p̀̀ilúŋ̀̀	'dead (k̀̀p̀̀i)'
pè`elúŋ̀̀	'full (pè`el)'	p̀̀̀alúŋ̀̀	'damaged (p̀̀̀alim)'
yèelúŋ̀̀	'worn [shirt] (yè)'	ỳ̀ɔ́w`núŋ̀̀	'closed (ỳ̀)'

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.

<i>sjà-lɔɔdɪŋ_a</i>	'belt' (<i>lɔ</i> 'tie')
<i>sʊɔdɪŋ_a</i>	'sponge' (<i>sʊ</i> 'bathe')
<i>da'adɪŋ_a</i>	'pusher (<i>da'e'</i>)' (person or thing)
<i>ˀwa'adɪŋ_a</i>	'axe' (<i>ˀwà'e</i> 'cut wood')
<i>sɔɔbɪdɪŋ_a</i>	'writing implement (<i>sɔɔb</i>)'
<i>butɪŋ_a</i>	'cup' (originally "seed cup": <i>bùd</i> 'plant')
<i>kparɪdɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for locking (<i>kpàr</i>)'
<i>pieɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for washing oneself (<i>pie'</i>)'
<i>nin-gótɪŋ_a</i>	'mirror' (<i>gɔs</i> 'look'); <i>nin-gótɪs</i> 'glasses'
<i>kuosɪŋ_a</i>	'salesperson (<i>kùos</i>)'
<i>piesɪŋ_a</i>	'cleaning implement (<i>pies'</i>)'
<i>ziˀidɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for sitting on (<i>ziˀi_{ya}</i>)'

A few show *s* or *d* alone: *dɪgɪsɔgɔ* 'bed' (*dɪgɪ_{ya}'* 'lie'), *duvsír* 'step' (*du* 'rise'), *tuodɪr* 'mortar' (*tuà* LF *tùà* 'pound.'). Here *ld* becomes single *n*: *pibin_n* 'covering (*pibìl*)' (Mooré *pìbìndgà*), *maan_n* 'sacrifice (*màal*)', *zanbun_n* 'tattoo (*zànbìl*).'

6.1.2 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 CVIN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial, with an epenthetic vowel after *s/l*. No prefix begins with *y/ˀy*. For tones see §3.3.

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

<i>silinsûˀgɔ</i>	'spider'	<i>vùlìnvùuˀlɪ</i>	'mason wasp'
<i>zɪlnzîˀogɔ</i>	'unknown'	<i>tàsìntàlɪ</i>	'palm of hand'
<i>wàsìnwàlɪ</i>	'tree gall'	<i>nesɪnnɛogɔ'</i>	'centipede'

So do CV(N) prefixes, but here *a ɛ* → *ɪ*, *ɔ* → *ʊ*. After *t/s*, *ɪ i* replace *ʊ u*; after labials/labiovelars, *a ɛ* → *ʊ*. N is required if C is a voiced obstruent.

<i>kìkàŋ_a</i>	'fig tree'	<i>kùkɔr'</i>	'voice'
<i>kpùkpàrìg_a</i>	'palm tree'	<i>kpìkpin_{na}</i>	'merchant'
<i>tɪtɪ'ar</i>	'big'	<i>pipiríg_a</i>	'desert'
<i>sìsì'em</i>	'wind'	<i>fufum_n</i>	'envy; stye'
<i>lìlaalíg_a</i>	'swallow'	<i>mìmiilím</i>	'sweetness'

kìŋkàŋ _a	'fig'	tùntò ^o ríg _a	'mole'
sunsáa ⁿ	kind of tiny ant	dìndεog _ɔ ´	'chameleon'
dùndùug _ɔ	'cobra'	bìmbìm _n	'altar'
bùmbàrìg _a	'ant'	gùŋgum _n	'kapok material'
zúnzàug _ɔ ´	'bat'	zùnzòŋ _a	'blind'

Unexpected vowels appear in silinsauk 'sugar ant', *tàtəl* 'palm of hand', *kpàkur* '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'
dadú _ɔ	kind of large pot	dàŋkòŋ _ɔ	'measles'
balεrug _ɔ ´	'ugly'	sàbùa	'lover, girlfriend'
samán _n	'courtyard'	sangúnnìr	'millipede'
zàŋkù'ar	'hyena'	zàŋgùom _n	'wall'

Unusual initial consonants appear in e.g. *làŋgáug_ɔ/màŋgáug_ɔ* 'crab', *nàyiig_a* 'thief', *gbá'yà'a* 'lazy person' (with an irregular H tone prefix.)

Some **pu/kù(N)** prefixes derive from negative VP particles, as in *kùndù'ar* 'barren woman' (*dùà* 'bear'); *nin-punan_{na}´* 'disrespectful person' (*nan_{na}´* 'respect'); *tùb-puwómùnb_a* 'deaf people' (*wòm* 'hear'), but most have no evident meaning: *gumpuzεr´* 'duck', *ban-kúsél_l* 'lizard', *kùndòŋ_a* 'hyena.'

Other prefixes derive from CIFs. **Dà** 'man' appears in *dàpaal_a´* 'young man' and *dàkòò^r* 'bachelor.' **Pù** 'woman' is seen in *pùkòò^r* 'widow.' **Pu** in *pu_{kpaad_a}´* 'farmer' is related to *pu_ɔg_ɔ´* 'farm'; it behaves as a prefix tonally.

Some manner nouns have a prefix **à**, after which L tone becomes H: *àníj_a´* 'promptly', *àmεŋá/àsida* 'truly.'

Numeral prefixes are fossilised flexions §8.5.1.

The initial syllables of loanwords §7 are often reinterpreted as unusual prefixes, as in e.g. *màljak_a´* 'angel', Arabic *mal'ak*; *anzúrìfà* 'silver', Hausa *azùrfaa*; *bákpàε* 'week', Hausa *bakwàì*; *àràzàk_a* 'riches', Arabic *arzāq*.

Some stems have two prefixes; possibly they too originated as loans. Ethnic group and clan names often have unusual prefixes, e.g. *Wampuris´* 'Mamprussi'; here an origin as loanwords would be unsurprising.

6.2 Verbs

6.2.1 Two-aspect

2Vbs may be derived with the suffixes **g** (see §3.2.2) **s l n m** or **lm**.
g after nominal or quality 1Vb roots derives patientive ambitransitive 2Vbs expressing a change of state §9.7.1:

bυgυsír	'soft'	buk´	'soften'
dεεη _a	'first'	dεη	'precede'
kpi'a	'neighbour'	kpi'e	'approach'
kpi'on _ɔ	'strong'	kpe'η	'strengthen'
kudυg _ɔ	'old'	kudig	'shrink up, dry out, age'
lallug _ɔ	'far'	lalug´	'become/make far'
ma'asír	'cool, wet'	ma'e´	'get cool, wet'
màυk _ɔ	'crumpled'	màk	'crumple'
mì'isùg _ɔ	'sour'	mì'ig	'turn sour'
ˀyɔ'ɔs´	'smoke'	ˀyu'e´	'set alight'
pielig _a	'white'	pèlig	'whiten'
pòɔdìg _a	'few'	pò'ɔg	'diminish, belittle'
tadim	'weak person'	tàdìg	'become weak'
tebúsír	'heavy'	tebig´	'get/make heavy'
tùtulı	'upside-down thing'	tùlig	'invert'
tuslúg _ɔ	'hot'	tulug´	'heat up'
vur´	'alive'	vu'υg´	'make/come alive'
wàυη _ɔ	'wasted'	wàηim	'waste away' (gm)
ˀwiig _a ´	'rope'	ˀwiig´	'make a rope'
zùlùη _ɔ	'deep'	zùlig	'deepen'

g is otherwise monactional. With stance or relational 1Vb roots the effect is inceptive; with other roots, corresponding pluractionals are often derived with **s**.

nèjya	'be awake'	nè	'awaken'
sɔn'e _{ya} ´	'be better than'	su'n'e´	'become better than' W
gɔr _a ´	'be looking up' D	gɔdìg´	'look up' D
kò'ɔg	'break' (monactional)	kò'ɔs	'break several times'
di'e´	'receive'	di'es´	'receive (many things)'
ja ⁿ k´	'fly, jump'	ja ⁿ as´	'jump repeatedly'
ya'e´	'open mouth'	ya ⁿ as´	'open repeatedly' W
àe ⁿ	'tear'	àa ⁿ s	'tear repeatedly'

The inherited reversive suffix was lost as a result of historical sound changes (Eddyshaw 2024, 3.3.1.2.) It was regularly followed by either monactional **g** or pluractional **s**, which are now left as apparent reversive suffixes. As reversives tend naturally to be monactional, **g** appears here more often than **s**.

è ⁿ d	'block up'	è ⁿ dìg	'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/yà'as	'unhang'
yè	'dress oneself'	yèɛg/yèɛs	'undress oneself'
yḏ	'close'	yḏ'ɔg/yḏ'ɔs	'open'

s has a separate role deriving causatives:

dì	'eat'	dìs	'feed'
kpè ⁿ '	'enter'	kpè ⁿ 'ɛs	'make enter'
kpiig	'go out (fire)'	kpiis	'quench'
lèb	'return'	lèbìs	'send back; answer'
mɥà'	'suckle'	mù'as	'give suck to'
nìe	'appear'	nèɛs	'reveal'
sig	'go down'	sigis´	'lower'
yi	'go/come out'	yiis´/yis	'make go/come out'
zɛm _{ma} '	'be equal'	zɛmìs´	'make equal'
zɥà LF zùa	'friend'	zùos	'befriend'

l derives causatives from both nominal and verbal roots:

gɛog _ɔ	'space between legs'	gɛɛl´	'put between legs' TP H <i>sic</i>
lik _a	'darkness'	lìgìl	'cover up'
ma'e´	'get cool, wet'	ma'al´	'make cool, wet'
ˀyá'aŋ _a	'behind'	ˀya'al´	'leave behind'
pu ⁿ 'e´	'rot'	pɔ ⁿ 'ɔl´	'cause to rot'
wu'ug´	'get wet'	wu'ul´	'make wet'

ba ⁿ	'ride'	ba ⁿ 'al´	'put on horse/bicycle'
gu'	'guard'	gu'ul´	'set on guard'
nè	'appear'	nèel	'reveal'
yè	'dress oneself'	yèel	'dress someone'
zàb	'fight'	zàbìl	'make fight'
nu	'drink'	nulig´/nulis´	'make drink'

n derives inceptive 2Vbs from stance verbs §5.3.2, with causatives in l. 2Vbs derived with n are always TP A. Some n/l pairs appear which have no corresponding 1Vb.

		Inceptive	Causative
zì'eya	'stand'	zì'en	zì'el
zì ⁿ 'iya	'sit'	zì ⁿ 'in	zì ⁿ 'il
tì'ia´	'(thing) lean'	tì'in	tì'il´
gò'eya´	'look up' W	gò'ɔn	
dìg _{ya} ´	'lie down'	dìgìn	dìg _l ´
ig _{ya} ´	'kneel'	ìgìn	ig _l ´
làb _{ya}	'crouch in hiding'	làbìn	làbìl
vab _{ya} ´	'lie prone'	vàbìn	vab _l ´
sù _a	'bow head'	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	'cover oneself'	lìgìn	lìgìl
	'perch'	zùn	zùol
	'perch'	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2Vb as inceptive: gùl_a 'hang', gùl 'start hanging/hang up', tàb_{ya} 'be stuck to' with tàb 'get stuck to', beside tàbìl 'stick to.' Dèl_a´ '(person) lean' has the inceptive derivative dèlìm.

m has a middle/reciprocal meaning in a few verbs, e.g. là'am 'gather' (intransitive), cf là'as 'gather' (transitive), and in preverbal adjuncts §9.4.3 of verbal origin like lèm 'again', cf lèb 'return.' There are a few cases of a "bodily process" sense, e.g. kòⁿsìm (beside kòⁿs) 'cough.' The suffix also appears in nεem´ 'grind', cf nεer´ 'millstone.'

The combination lm derives state-change 2Vbs from nominal roots:

gìk _a	'dumb'	gìgìlìm	'become dumb'
g _u 'us	'semi-ripe things'	gù'ùlìm	'become semi-ripe'
pò ⁿ 'ɔr	'cripple'	pò ⁿ 'ɔlìm	'cripple, get crippled'
wàb _{ìr}	'lame'	wàbìlìm	'make, go lame'

An unusual derivational b appears in yà'ab 'mould clay', cf ya'ad 'clay.'

6.2.2 One-aspect

Quality verbs §5.3.2 add the flexion **a** to adjectival or human-reference stems. Nominal TP A becomes verbal TP H.

TP H	vɔr´	'alive'	vɔɛya´	'live'
	bɔɟsír	'soft'	bɔɟs _a ´	'be soft'
	ma'asír	'cool'	ma'as _a ´	'be cool'
	tɛbísír	'heavy'	tɛbís _a ´	'be heavy'
	malísír	'sweet'	malís _a ´	'be sweet'
	labísír	'wide'	labís _a ´	'be wide'
	zɛmmúɟɔ	'equal'	zɛm _{ma} ´	'be equal to'
	lallúɟɔ	'far'	lal _{la} ´	'be far from'
TP A	tɔɟɔ	'bitter'	tɔɛya´	'be bitter'
	ɟiŋ _a	'short'	ɟim _{ma} ´	'be short'
	kpi'ɔŋɔ	'strong'	kpi'em _a ´	'be strong'
	kɛɛ ⁿ m	'elder'	kɛɛ ⁿ m _a ´	'be older than'
	ⁿ wɛnnɪr	'resembling'	ⁿ wɛn _{na} ´	'be like'
TP L	pɔɔdìɟ _a	'small'	pɔɔd _a	'be few, small'
	mì'isùɟɔ	'sour'	mì'is _a	'be sour'
	sùɟɔ	'good'	sùm _{ma}	'be good'
	yàlùɟɔ	'wide'	yàlìm _a	'be wide'
	zùlùɟɔ	'deep'	zùlìm _a	'be deep'
	vè ⁿ lìɟ _a	'beautiful'	vè ⁿ l _{la}	'be beautiful'
	vènnìɟ _a	'beautiful'	vè _{na}	'be beautiful'

In a few cases there are also segmental stem changes:

wɔk _ɔ ´	'long, tall'	wa'am _a ´	'be long, tall'
tɔsɪlúɟɔ	'hot'	tɔl _{la} ´	'be hot'
bàa ⁿ lìɟ _a	'thin'	bà ⁿ l _{la}	'be thin'
ⁿ yèɛsíɟ _a	'bold'	ⁿ yèɛs _a	'be bold'

7 Loanwords

Most loanwords are nouns; they are often structurally atypical §6.1.2. They may pluralise with *nàm_a*, but are more often fitted into noun class sets by analogy:

màljak _a '	màlja'as'	màlja'-	'angel'	(Arabic <i>mal'ak</i>)
gadug _ɔ '	gat'	gad-	'bed'	(Hausa <i>gadoo</i>)
lór	láyà/lóɔm _{ma}	lór-	'lorry'	(English)
màlf _ɔ	màlì		'gun'	(Arabic <i>midfa'</i>)

Consonant-final foreign proper nouns add *ɛ* for the LF: Herodiase Mt 14:4 B2.

All-M loans may change final M → H in CIFs: *duniyá-kàŋa'* 'this world (*duniya*).'

Borrowed verbs obey the usual constraints on verb form.

Most loanwords were adopted early enough to have undergone the word-internal tone spreading processes characteristic of Agolle Kusaal §3.3.2. However, English loans (unless borrowed via Hausa, see below) are tonally unusual: in particular, H standing for English stress remains fixed throughout, as with *lór*.

Most identifiable loans came from Hausa in the first instance. They include even verbs and particles, e.g. *bùg* 'get drunk', Hausa *bùgu*; *dàam* 'disturb, trouble', Hausa *dàamaa*; *báa* 'not even', Hausa *bâa*; *àmáa* 'but', Hausa *ammaa*; *kuv* 'or', Hausa *koo*; *tò* 'OK', Hausa *tòo*. Loans not traceable beyond Hausa at present include *àtèy_ɔ* 'sea', Hausa *tèeku*; *à mús* 'cat', Hausa *mussàa*; *bákpàɛ* 'week', Hausa *bakwài* 'seven'; *gadu* 'bed', Hausa *gadoo*; *karfá* 'o'clock', Hausa *karfèe* 'iron' (from an iron bar beaten to mark the hours); *kèèkè* 'bicycle', Hausa *kèekee*; *kòlìbìr* 'bottle', Hausa *kwalabaa*; *girima* 'importance, prestige', Hausa *girmaa*; *tilás* 'necessity', Hausa *tiilàs*.

Many loans are ultimately from Arabic, e.g. *àràzánà* 'heaven, sky', Arabic *al-jannah* 'the garden, paradise'; *yàdda'* 'trust', Arabic *yaḍá* 'he is satisfied', via Hausa *yàrdaa* 'agreement'; *gáafàrà* 'sorry!', via Hausa *gaafaràa*; *kulum* 'always' §9.4.2, Arabic *kull yawm* 'every day' via Hausa *kullum* 'always'; *fítílá* 'lamp', Arabic *fatīlah* 'wick', via Hausa *fítilàa* 'lamp'; and the weekday names §8.3. Most have come to Kusaal through Hausa, but some have been transmitted via other languages used by Muslims in West Africa, and/or via Mooré. Other words of Arabic origin include *àmí* 'amen', Arabic *āmīn*; *àràzàk_a* 'riches', Arabic *arzāq*; *àsùbá* 'dawn', Arabic *al-ṣubḥah*; *bárikà* 'blessing', Arabic *barakah*; *duniya* 'world', Arabic *dunyā*; ; *láafiyà/láafì* 'health', Arabic *al-āfiyah*; *làbaar* 'news'. Arabic *al-akhbār*; *màlf_ɔ* 'gun', Arabic *midfa'*; *sàriyà* 'law', Arabic *sharī'ah*; *sarugá* 'prison', Arabic *sāriqah* 'fetter.' *Tì'eb* 'prepare' has acquired the additional sense 'heal' from Arabic *ṭibb* 'medical art.'

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence. Arabic loans via Mooré include *màljak_a* 'angel', Mooré *màlékà*, Arabic *mal'ak*; *sàlìbìr* 'bridle', Mooré *salbre* Pl *salba*, Arabic *salabah*; *Sutáanà* 'Satan', Mooré *Svtāana*.

Mɔr' 'Muslim' Pl *Mɔ́ɔm_{ma}* borrows Mooré *Mórè* Pl *Moeemba*. W has a Pl *lɔ́ɔm_{ma}* from *lɔr* 'car, lorry', formed by analogy with *Mɔr'*. Some apocope-blocked nouns may be Mooré or Mampruli loans, e.g. *buudi* 'tribe', Mooré Pl *búudu*; *kaburí* 'asking entry', Mooré *kábrè* 'excuse'; *sugurú* 'forbearance', Mooré *súgrì*; *kabur'* 'ask entry', *sugur'* 'forbear' are back-formations from the nouns. W uses *kiibú* 'soap', from Mampruli *kyiibu*, in place of the Kusaal *ki'ibɔ́*.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal §1.2.1, and some Mooré loans were transmitted to Agolle Kusaal via Toende. *Wínà'am* 'God' (Mooré *Wěnnàám*) reflects Toende *Wɪnà'am*: both the tonal structure and the single *n* are irregular in Agolle Kusaal (W has *Wínnà'am*.) *Faa'gíd_a* 'saviour' borrows Toende *fāagt*: *g* is regularly lost in this context in Agolle §3.2.2. *Màljak_a* 'angel' is written in the Toende form *malek* in B1/2, which also have Toende *aaruŋ* for *à'rùŋɔ* 'boat' (itself a loan: Dagbani *ɲariŋ* 'boat' would correspond to an Agolle **à'dùŋɔ*.)

Twi loans include *kɔdú* 'banana', Twi *kwadu*; *saafi* 'key', Twi *safě* (Portuguese *chave*); *buryá* 'Christmas', Twi *buro-onyã*; *kòtàa* LF *kòtàanè* 'at all', Twi *koraá*; *bɔtu* 'sack', Twi *bɔtɔ*.

Bùrikìna 'noble' and *bàɔŋù* 'circumcision' come from Songhay: cf Tondi Songway Kiini *bòrkɪn* 'noble', *bàŋgù* 'circumcision.' Both Songhay words have been widely borrowed in West Africa. *Lòm̀b̀ò'ɔgɔ* 'garden' is probably from Songhay (cf Humburi Senni *làmbò* 'enclosed vegetable garden') via Hausa *làmbuu*; it has been adapted by analogy with Kusaal *b̀ò'ɔgɔ* 'swamp, ricefield.'

Berber is the ultimate source of a number of words which are widespread in West African languages; of these, Kusaal has *anzúrìfà* 'silver', via Hausa *azùrfaa*, and *halí* 'even.' Kusaal *yugúm_n* 'camel' has cognates elsewhere in Western Oti-Volta, but the protoform probably derives from Berber, cf proto-Berber **a-lɣəm*.

Several Kusaal particles are regional words of unclear origin, e.g. *àsée* 'except.'

English loanwords can be much altered: *àlɔ̀pìr* 'aeroplane'; *dú'atà* 'doctor'; *tók-làe* 'torch' ("torchlight"); *pɔ́ɔ̀tìm* 'denounce to the authorities' ("report.") Some have been transmitted via Hausa, like *wadá* 'law' ("order"), Hausa *oodàa*.

French loans include *làmpɔ́* 'tax' from *l'impôt*.

Portuguese is the ultimate origin of some of the oldest European loanwords in West Africa; thus *saafi* 'key' from *chave*, *daká* 'box' from *arca* via Hausa *àdakàa*. Even *kùkur'/kùrkur'* 'pig' (Mampruli *kurikyuu*) is probably from Portuguese *porco*, via a chain of borrowing and remodelling; given that labial-velars do not contrast with velars before rounded vowels in Kusaal §2.1, cf Dagaare *póríkó*, Twi *prako* and Gã *kploko*, older *kproko* (Christaller 1881.)

8 Noun phrases

8.1 Structure

A noun phrase (NP) is headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; see §10.5 for nominalised clauses. Free dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed by English genitives or complements with "of", e.g. *daɣ la bótɪŋ* 'the man's cup', *saluma bótɪŋ* 'a gold cup' ('cup of gold.'). The head may be followed in order by adjectives, quantifiers, dependent pronouns, appositives, and the article. Particular NP subtypes (including pronouns) fulfil adverbial roles §9.7.2.

Compounds are sequences of nominals in which each but the last appears as a compound-initial form (CIF) §5.1.2: CIFs are not word fragments, but bound words. Compounding is predominantly postsyntactic (Shibatani and Kageyama 1988.) Noun heads regularly become CIFs before adjectives or dependent pronouns: *buvga* 'goat', *bù-pièlìg_a* 'white goat', *bù-kàn* 'this goat.' However, dependent CIFs are also common: *bù-zuvr* 'goat-tail', *bù-kuvd_a* 'goat-killer', *zà'-nɔɔr'* 'gate' ("compound-mouth.") In both types of compound, the final class suffix marks the number of the head, and the tone sandhi is identical. The final element of a compound becomes a CIF in turn before an adjective/dependent pronoun, or when the compound is a generic argument before a deverbal noun: *bù-pièl-wɔk_ɔ* 'long white goat', *bù-pièl-kàn* 'this white goat', *zà'-nɔ-pièlìg_a* 'white gate', *zà'-nɔ-gúr_a* 'gatekeeper.' Noun-adjective compounds may appear as bahuvrihi adjectives: *bù-nɔb-wɔk_ɔ* 'long-legged goat.'

Modifiers, including free NPs as premodifiers, bind tighter syntactically than generic arguments bind to deverbal nouns, while determiners bind loosest of all; thus CIFs can form immediate constituents with preceding unbound words:

	<i>saluma zá'-nɔɔr</i>	'golden gate'
but	<i>saluma bótɪŋ-kàn</i>	'this gold cup'
	<i>saluma lá'-maan</i>	'goldsmith' ('[gold item]-maker')
	<i>saluma lá'-màan-kàn</i>	'this goldsmith'
	<i>ò saluma lá'-maan</i>	'her goldsmith'
	<i>anzúrìfà nɛ saluma lá'-maan</i>	'[[silver and gold] item]-maker'

Coordination of NPs (including nominalised clauses) uses *nɛ* 'with' for 'and'; it cannot be omitted in lists, and does not join two words with the same referent. 'Or' is *bɛɛ* or *kuv*; by default the meaning is exclusive, but inclusive is possible.

<i>À Wɪn né à Bugur né à Nà'ab</i>	'Awini, Abugri and Anaba'
<i>dú'atà nɛ nâ'ab</i>	'a doctor and a chief' (two people)
<i>À Wɪn kúv à Bugur kúv bà wusa</i>	'Awini or Abugri or both of them'

CIFs are not coordinated. Ka m nye sangbaun̄ ne tengbaun̄ paal 'And I saw a new sky and a new earth' Rv 21:1 is probably an error: contrast the Toende version Ka mam yē agola paalk̄ ne tuj̄ paalk̄.

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

pu'ab ne biis la 'the women and children' Gn 33:5
 pu'ab ne biis la
 woman.Pl with child.Pl the

Midian teŋ dim la pu'ab ne biis 'the Midianites' women and children'
 Midian téŋ ðim la pō'ab ne biis Nm 31:9
 Midian land ØP the woman.Pl with child.Pl

salma bûtus ne dúsímà '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 *salma lâ'ad ne bûtus* '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 *salma lâ'ad né ò bûtus* (for the "animate" ò pronoun see §8.2.)

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

dú'atà ne nâ'ab la lóyà 'Doctor's car(s) and the chief's car(s)'
 doctor with chief the car.Pl (but possibly cars owned in common)

anzúrifà ne salma lá'-maan 'maker of silver goods and gold goods'
 silver with gold item-maker (but possibly items made of both)

For coordination of numerals see §8.5.1.

Number is a category of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers; agreement appears only in pronouns and adjectives.

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', *pjàn'ad* 'words/speech', *dàad bún* 'wooden thing', *daam nám* 'beers', *te'n'esá yunní* 'one thought.' Except in names §8.3, *kut* 'iron' has displaced Sg *kudug*₅ 'iron nail.' Formally, *bo*| and most *mε*| nouns are mass; gerunds take various Sg class suffixes §6.1.1; many mass nouns have Pl class suffixes, e.g. *ba'n'as* 'disease', *waad'* 'cold', *sii'd'* 'honey', *salma* 'gold.'

8.2 Pronouns

Most pronouns distinguish animate/inanimate in the singular (but not plural.) Thinking/speaking entities, human beings, higher animals, and (traditionally) trees are animate, the rest inanimate. The distinction is not lexical, but based on how the referent is regarded in context; examples of animate pronouns are

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulɔŋ na paae o salibir.

Kà wìef yá' sigí ìlì nì, ìlì zùlùŋ ná páe ò sàlìbìr.

and horse if descend 3I at 3I depth Irr 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.'

Tìŋ wélà bìgìsìd ón àⁿ si'em.

Mt 12:33 B1

tree fruit.Pl show.Ipf 3A.Nz be how

Nɔ̀bir ya'a yɛlin ye [...], lin ku nyanji ke ka o ka' ningbiŋ la nii.

Nó̀bìr yá' yèlì_n ye [...], lìn kú ⁿyanjì_ ké kà ò ka' nín-gbiŋ la ní_.

leg if say_DP that DemI Ng.Irr prevail_+ let and 3A Ng.exist body the at_Ng

'If a leg said [...] that could not cause it not to be in the body.' 1 Cor 12:15

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

Nif-káŋa, on sâⁿ'am nɛ.

'This eye, it's spoilt.' K (overheard)

eye-Dem 3A spoil Foc

M̂ pu ⁿyéó_o_.

'I can't find it [stethoscope]' (overheard)

1S Ng see_3A_Ng

salma lâ'ad né ò butus

'gold stuff and (gold) cups' W

gold item.Pl with 3A cup.Pl

However, the non-anaphoric dummy-subject pronoun 'it' is always **lì**:

O anɛ m pu'a.

'She is my wife.' Gn 26:7

Ò à né m̂ pu'a'.

3A be Foc 1S woman

but Li anɛ Zugsoɓ la.

'It is the Lord.' Jn 21:7

Lì à nɛ Zug-sóɓ la.

3I be Foc Lord the

Personal pronouns:

	Bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ñ §10.5
1S	ṁ	m _a	man/mam	mán
2S	fù	f _ɔ	fun	fún
3A	ò	o	on	ón
3I	lì/dì	li	lin/din	lín/dín
1P	tì	ti	tinám _a	tinámì _~
2P	yà	ya	yanám _a	yanámì _~
3P	bà	ba	ban	bán

2P2 *ya* is used as 2P subject after imperatives §10.3.2.

All bound forms are liaison words §4.4; the enclitics appear as objects.

In isolation, in coordination, before dependents, or when focused, only free forms can occur:

Mànè_~?

'Me?'

tinám nɛ fun

'us and you'

man Paul

'I, Paul'

Fun kanɛ buoli fu mɛŋ ...

'You who call yourself ...' Rom 2:17

Fun-kánì_~ bùòlì fù mɛŋ ...

2S-Dem_Nz call 2S self

Manɛ an kɔnbkem sɔŋ la.

'I am the good shepherd.' Jn 10:11

Man_~ áⁿ kɔⁿb-kì^m-sòⁿ la.

1S₊ be shepherd-good the

In positions where bound forms are possible, free forms express contrast; a special case is logophoric use in content clauses §10.7.

There are no honorific usages.

2S is used for a generic 'one':

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.

Bùŋ yá' bòòd yé ò lubí_~f, fù pɔ nyetí ò túbáa_~.

donkey if want.Ipf 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.' §13.2

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	zì' ⁿ -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 mè-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	
Dàɥ-sɔ' daa bé	'There was a certain/another man'
man-IdfA Tns exist	
na'asɔ' lɛm bɛ	'there is another king' Acts 17:7
nà'-sɔ' lém bé	
king-IdfA again exist	
M ná tɥ_f tí-si'a.	'I'll give you a different medicine.' W
1S Irr give_2S medicine-Idf	
O niŋid si'el mɛkama su'ɔŋa.	'He does everything well.' Mk 7:37
Ò niŋid si'el mé-kàmà sú'ŋa.	
3A do.Ipf Idfl whatever well	
Sɔ' ka'e_.	'There's nobody there.'
IdfA Ng.exist_Ng	
M pu yél si'ela_.	'I haven't said anything.'
1S Ng say Idfl_Ng	
o bisɔ' kɥ zin'in David na'am gbaɥŋ la zug bɛɛ di na'am Juda teŋiɛ.	
ò bì-sɔ' kú zin'in David nâ'am gbáɥŋ la zúg bɛɛ dí na'am Juda téŋɥ_né_.	
3A child-IdfA Ng.Irr sit.down David kingdom skin the on or eat kingdom Judah land_at_Ng	
'no child of his will sit on David's throne or reign in Judah.' Jer 22:30	

Interrogative pronouns:

Animate

àñ'ɔ̀n

'who?'

Inanimate

bɔ

'what?'

Pls with *nàm_a* may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

Time

san-kán

Manner

wɛlá

Place

yáa

'whither/whence?'

yáa ní

'where?'

Note also *b̀-̀wìn_n* 'what time of day?', *bun-dâar* 'which day?'

Àlá 'how much/many?' has the numeral prefix *à*, preceded by *a* in liaison.

Bɔ can be used after a CIF as a dependent interrogative 'what?':

Na'-b́_?

'what cow?' W D

(Náaf b́_? 'What, of a cow's?' W)

Da-b́_?

'what beer?'

B̀- can be used as a predependent: 'what sort of?'

F̀ túm b́-t̀umà_?

'What sort of work do you do?' S

2S work.Ipf what-work.Gd.Pl_CQ

Bɔ sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?

'What are you discussing together?'

B̀-̀ś'̀sìg kà yà sɔ'̀sìd nɛ táabà_?

Lk 24:17

what-talk.Gd and 2P talk.Ipf with each.other_CQ

B̀-̀buudi 'what kind of?' can follow CIFs:

Na'-b́-b̀uudì_?

'what kind of cow?'

Da-b́-b̀uudì_?

'what kind of beer?'

F̀ á nɛ b́-b̀uudì_?

'What ethnic group do you belong to?'

2S be Foc what-sort_CQ

Bɔ kím is 'what exactly?' and *bɔ zúg kím* 'why exactly?'

The **reciprocal** pronoun is **taaba** 'one another' (clause-medially **taab** for some speakers.) After a CIF it means 'fellow-': **ò tùm-tùm-taaba** 'his fellow-workers.'

Sòhìmi_ taaba. 'Help one another.'
help.Imp_2P2 each.other

Tì yûug ne taaba. 'It's been a long time.'
1P delay with each.other (sc. 'since we met') K

Bà d̀̀l ne taaba. 'They go together.'
3P accompany with each.other

The **reflexive** pronoun **men_a'** 'self' (Sg = Pl) always has a predependent:

nà'ab la mén 'the chief himself'
chief the self

Bà 'yée bà men. 'They've seen for themselves.'
3P see 3P self

F̀̀ men kuu bí-liàa_? 'Yourself or the baby?' ("Which of you needs the doctor?"; overheard)
2S self or baby_CQ

An object identical to the subject must take reflexive form:

M 'wé'ε m̀̀ men. 'I hit myself.'
1S hit 1S self

When subjects act on parts of themselves, the objects take pronoun possessors; here reflexives express contrast:

Ba pu piesidi ba nu'us wuu lin nar si'em la ka ditta.
Bà pu piesídí bà nú'us wuu 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 pu'us kaŋa ne m men nu'ug.
Mam Paul n sɔb p̀̀'us-kàŋa né m̀̀ men nú'ug.
1S Paul + write greet.Gd-Dem with 1S self hand
'I, Paul, have written this greeting with my own hand.' Col 4:18

The **empty** pronoun $sɔb_a$ is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and animacy but has no other semantic content.

Animate	Sg	$sɔb_a$	Pl	$d̩m_a$
Inanimate	Sg/Pl	$d̩n_n$		

Ò $sɔb/on sɔb$ mean 'the last person mentioned.'

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings, e.g. $man d̩n$ 'my one, mine', $à W̩n d̩m$ 'Awini's family', $p̩̀-ɲ̩̀ɛ̀l̩̀m sɔb$ 'upright person' ($p̩̀-ɲ̩̀ɛ̀l̩̀m$ 'virtue'), $duniya ń̩ d̩n$ 'earthly one [body]' 1 Cor 15:44, $B̩̀k d̩m$ 'Bawku people', $yiigá sɔb$ 'first person' (also $yiig-sɔb_a$.) CIF predependents occur in set expressions: $yi-sɔb_a$ Pl $yi-sɔb-nà_m_a$ 'householder' (yir' 'house'); $yi-d̩m_a$ 'household members'; $nif-sɔb_a$ 'miser' ($nif_ɔ́$ 'eye'); $tà^np-sɔb_a$ 'warrior' ($ta^np_ɔ́$ 'war'); $zug-sɔb_a$ Pl $zug-sɔb-nà_m_a$ 'boss', 'Lord' B ($zug_ɔ́$ 'head.')

8.2.1 Personaliser pronoun

The personaliser pronoun $à$ precedes all Kusaasi personal names, with the allomorph $̀n$ before adjectives §8.3. Some animal and bird names always follow $à$, with no implication of personification, e.g. $à dàalú_ɔ́$ 'stork', $à ḿ̩s$ 'cat.' Except when it takes the form $̀n$, the pronoun is always omitted after predependents:

	$L̩̀ à ń̩ à dàalú_ɔ́.$	'It's a stork.'
but	$̀n dàalú_ɔ́$	'my stork'
	$da_ɔ́ la dáalú_ɔ́$	'the man's stork'

Before VPs, $à$ personalises in the role of a subject pronoun 'someone who ...'; as predependent to a clause subject, as 'someone whose ...' Clause personalisations pluralise with $nà_m_a$. As with nominalisations with $̀n$ §10.5, negative enclitics are dropped unless the personalisation is itself clause-final.

$à Kidig̩_ bu'os$	'Crossed over and asked'
Pz cross_+ ask	(name of the constellation Orion)

$a-daar-paaeya kum$	'a natural death' Nm 16:29
$à daar páe ya ḱ̩m$	
Pz day arrive NSb death	

Clause personalisation is common in proverbs §13.2:

À daa yél ka' tūmm_. 'Did-say is no remedy.'
 Pz Tns say Ng.be medicine_Ng

À nyε ne nif só'ɔ à wòm tùbà. 'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears'
 Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

À zɪ'_ kpí nàm kpîid né kà té'bid. 'Don't-know-death are dying with a struggle.'
 Pz Ng.know_+ die Pl die.Ipf Foc and struggle.Ipf

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.
 Bà wà'e né à nà kúu m̄ nua yír, kà bà pu wá'e à nɔɔs bé yíε_.
 3P go Foc Pz Irr 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.'

8.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: à Wɪn from Wɪdì-'yá'anj̄a introduces himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kusâas, "Bawku" for Bòk̄, 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 Duk, and "Kusaal" Kusâal itself.

A parallel development had taken place earlier in the Mamprussi region itself when the British arrived with Dagomba guides, resulting in forms like "Gambaga" (Dagbani *Gambaya*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa*.

Kusaasi personal 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 Simôɔn 'Simon', but Wɪnà'am 'God' (W Wɪnnà'am) and Sɔtáanà 'Satan' do not. Animal names take à in fables: à Baa 'Dog'; cf Asan'auj̄ à Sà'ɔj̄ 'Abaddon' B. Before adjectives, à becomes fixed-L ñ: ñ Daug 'Ndago' ("male"), ñ Pɔak 'Mpoaka' ("female"), ñ Bil 'Mbillah' ("little.")

The Kusaasi did not use surnames traditionally. Speaking English or French, they use European or Muslim names and treat Kusaal personal names as surnames.

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners: à Wɪn-káɲa 'this Awini', tì Wɪn 'our Awini'; tì ñ Daug 'our Ndago.' They pluralise with nàm̄; à Wɪn-nám̄ 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	'Amoryam'	"has intelligence" (a girl, G3 p6)
à T̩um bód̩g ya	'Atimborigya'	"the medicine has got lost" (a man)

Many names allude to a *sigɔr'*, a spiritual guardian assigned to a newborn after the father's consultation with a diviner; this may be the *wɪn'* '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 <i>sigɔr'</i> from father's side
à Bugɔr	'Abugri'	<i>bugɔr</i> 'a <i>sigɔr'</i> from mother's family'
à T̩ug	'Atiga'	<i>t̩ug_a</i> 'tree'
à Kudug	'Akudugu'	<i>kudug_ɔ</i> 'iron'

A younger sibling of à *Wɪn* with the same *sigɔr'* may be called à *Wɪn-bíl* 'Awimbillah' (*bil_a* 'little'), of à *Kudug*, à *Kùd-bil* 'Akudibillah' etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à *Wɪn-pɔk* 'Awimpoaka' (*pɔk_a* 'female.')

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

à Nà'ab	'Anaba'	<i>nà'ab_a</i> 'afterbirth' (chiefs leave after their retainers): sole survivor of twins
à Fuug	'Afugu'	<i>fuug_ɔ'</i> 'clothing': born with a caul
à T̩ul	'Atuli'	<i>t̩ul_l</i> 'inversion': breech-delivered child
à Nàsà-pɔk	'Anasapoaka'	<i>nàsà-pɔk_a</i> 'European woman': girl delivered by a European midwife

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à *Tínì* (Monday), à *Tàláatà* (Tuesday), à *Àrúmà* (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 *Tàmpuur* 'Tampuri' ("ashpit") or à *Duk* 'Aruk' ("pot.") Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

à Saan	'Asana'	<i>saan_a'</i> 'guest'
à Saan-dú	'Sandow'	<i>saan_a'</i> 'guest' + <i>daɔ</i> 'man'
à Zàngbèog	'Azangbego'	<i>Zàngbèog_ɔ</i> 'Hausa person'

See Haaf 1967 pp87ff for a more detailed account of Kusaasi naming practices, and Abubakari et al 2024 for an extensive analysis with many more examples.

The great majority of ethnic group and clan names are **a|ba** or **ga|se**. The place inhabited by the group adds Sg **gɔ** to the stem; language names add **le**.

Ethnic group Sg/Pl	Language	Place		
Barɔ _a '	Barɔ _s '	Bat'	Barugɔ _s '	'Bisa'
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìɔ _n	'Moba'
Bùlìg _a	Bùlìs	Bùlì		'Bulsa'
Bùsáŋ _a	Bùsâa ⁿ s	Bùsâa ⁿ l		'Bisa'
Dàgâad _a	Dàgâadìb _a			'Dagaaba'
Dàgban _n '	Dàgbam _{ma} '	Dàgban _n '	Dàgbaɔ _n '	'Dagomba'
Guríŋ _a	Gurís	Gurín _n		'Farefare'
Kàmbùŋ _a	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr		'Ashanti'
Kusáa	Kusâas	Kusâal	Kusâugɔ _s	'Kusaasi'
Mùa	Mòɔs	Mòɔl	Mòɔgɔ _s	'Mossi'
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùgɔ _s	'Nabdema'
ⁿ Wampurig _a '	ⁿ Wampurìs'	ⁿ Wampurìl'	ⁿ Wampurugɔ _s '	'Mamprussi'
Sìmiig _a	Sìmiis	Sìmiil	Sìmiugɔ _s	'Fulani'
Tàlìŋ _a	Tàlìs	Tàlìn _n		'Tallensi'
Yàaŋ _a	Yàa ⁿ s/Yàamìs or Yàam _{ma}	Yàan _n		'Yansi'
Yarɔ _a '	Yarɔ _s '	Yat'		'Yarsi'
Zàŋgbèogɔ _s	Zàŋgbèed	Zàŋgbèel		'Hausa'

Barɔ_s' means 'Bisa', not just Bareka; Bìm_{ma} 'Moba', not just Bemba (W.)

Note also Mɔr' Pl Mòɔm_{ma} 'Muslim'; Nàsaara Pl Nàsàar-nàm_a/Nàsàa-nàm_a 'European', Nàsaal 'English' (Arabic *Naṣārā* 'Christians'); Tùon_n 'Toende', Tùonnìr 'Toende dialect', Àgòlì 'Agolle'/'Agolle dialect': Ò pjàⁿ'ad Àgòlì. 'She speaks Agolle.'

Clan Sg/Pl	Place		
Gòɔg _a	Gòɔs	Gòɔgɔ _s	
	Gùm-dìm _a	Gùm _n	
Kùtan _n	Kùtam _{ma} '	Kùtaɔ _n '	W's clan
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdùgɔ _s	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob _a	Sà'-dàbòɔgɔ _s	
	Nà'-dàm _{ma}	Nà'-dàɔ _n	
Wiid _a	Wiid-nàm _a	Wiidùgɔ _s	
Zùa	Zùos		'Zoose'

Subclans: Zùà-sablìs 'Black Zoose', Zùà-wiib_a/-wiis 'Red Zoose.' The clan Nàbìdìb_a is distinct from the Nabdema ethnic group.

Most place names have transparent meanings, e.g.

Àgòl _l	'Agolle'	cf àgól _l 'upwards'
Bàs-yɔn _n '	'Basyonde'	"abandon sacks" (explanation unknown)
Bì-nà'ab _a	'Binaba'	"prince"
Bòk _ɔ	'Bawku'	"pit"
Bugur	'Bugri'	"home of a wɛn _n '"
Dènùg _ɔ	'Denugu'	cf Mooré réongo 'cattle enclosure'
Gàarù	'Garu'	Hausa gàaruu 'town/compound wall'
Kòl-ta'amís	'Kultamse'	" <i>Andira inermis</i> " Pl
Kugur'	'Kugri'	"stone"
Kuk _a '	'Koka'	"mahogany tree"
Kùkparìg _a	'Kokpariga'	"palm tree"
Kùlùgúg _ɔ	'Kulungungu'	Bisa <i>kuurgongu</i> 'crooked shea'
Mì'isìg _a	'Missiga'	from English "mission"
Mùà'-nɔɔr'	'Mogonori'	"lakeside"
Pùlìmà Kù'om	'Pulimakom'	"cogongrass water"
Pusig _a '	'Pusiga'	"tamarind"
Sa-bíll _a	'Zebilla'	cf Farefare <i>sáagá</i> (kind of grass)
Sa-píèll _a	'Sapeliga'	" <i>Isobertia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan _n	'Tempane'	"new villages"
Tìll'	'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'an _a	'Woriyanga'	wìd-nyá'an _a 'mare'
Wìid-nà'ab _a	'Widinaba'	"chief of the Widnama clan"

For 'north, east, south, west', W has respectively Barug_ɔ' 'Bisa country', nyá'an_a 'behind', Zɔyoy_a 'hills' (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùon_n 'in front'; B3 has ya-datiuŋ 'your right', ya-nya'an, ya-dagɔbug 'your left', ya-tuona.

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Sanjkâ_ns 'Cinkansé' in Burkina Faso.) 'Accra' is Anƙara, from Twi.

The White Volta is simply kolg_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', Àtáláatà 'Tuesday', Àlárìbà 'Wednesday', Àlàmiisì 'Thursday', Àrúzmà/Àzúmà 'Friday', Àsìbitì 'Saturday.' The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

8.4 Kinship terms

Kinship terms usually occur with predeterminers, but this is not obligatory: o da ka' saam bæ 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
pitú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
taʉn´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam _{ma} (less formally, ba´´)	father
sàam-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	father's elder brother
sàam-pit _a ´	father's younger brother
pùgùdìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil _a or mà-pit _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
á ⁿ sìb _a	mother's brother
biig _a (♂ dàkòò ⁿ r, ♀ pɹà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
a ⁿ síŋ _a	man's sister's child
yáab _a (♂ yaa-dáʉ, ♀ -pɹá´)	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ _a	grandchild/descendant
pɹà'-éíŋ _a	fiancée
yi-pɹá´ or pɹa´	wife; brother's wife
dìem _{ma} (♂ dìem-daʉ, ♀ -pɹak _a)	wife's parent
dàkiig _a (♂ dàkì-daʉ, ♀ -pɹak _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sìd _a	husband
dàyaam _{ma} (♂ dàyaam-dáʉ, ♀ -pɹák _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	husband's elder brother
sìd-bil _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-pɹak _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-tòòⁿr, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

8.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are either mass or count: mass quantifiers include **bédògu** 'a lot', **pamm** LF **pamné** 'a lot', **fiiⁿ** 'a little (liquid)', **bi'elá** 'a little', **wuu** 'all', **wusa** 'all'; count quantifiers include **bàbìga** 'many', **kàlìga** 'few', **faaⁿ** 'every', **zaⁿa** 'every', **kàm_a** 'every', **kàm zaⁿa** 'every' and numerals. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: **nidib bédògu** or **nidib bábìga** 'a lot of/many people'; **kù'om bédògu** '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.

Bédògu/pamm ké na.	'Many have come.'
Bédògu la ké na.	'The crowd has come.'
Àyí ké na.	'Two have come.'
Àyí la ké na.	'The two have come.'
nidib lá àyí	'two of the people'
màl̩jak-nám túsà piiga nám	'tens of thousands of angels'
nidib bedego bama nwa	'this crowd of people' Mt 15:33 B2
nidib bédògu bamma ⁿwá	
person.Pl much DemP this	

8.5.1 Numerals

The numeral quantifiers are

1	yunní	10	piiga	100	kòbìga (LF identical)
2	àyí	20	pisí	200	kòbìsí
3	àtáⁿ	30	pis táⁿ	300	kòbìs táⁿ
4	ànaasí	40	pis naasí	400	kòbìs naasí
5	ànu	50	pis nu		etc
6	àyúobò	60	pis yúobò		
7	àyópòḗ	70	pis yópòḗ		
8	àníí	80	pis níí		
9	àwaḗ	90	pis waḗ		

NP heads precede, taking Sg forms before **yunní**, Pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for Pl with units of measure: **yɔlugá àtáⁿ** '600 cedis.' **Yunní** can also follow a CIF: **kug-yínnì** or **kugur yunní** 'one stone.' **Piiga/pii** and **pisí/pis** follow CIF **dà-** 'day' (B3 dab): **dabpii ne ayɔpɔi daar** 'on the 17th day' Gn 7:11.

The prefix **à** is the original agreement flexion for **re|aa** Pl. It is omitted after **ne** 'with', and sometimes also after focus-**ne'**. **Bà** replaces **à** after personal pronouns: **tì bàtá'** 'we three', **yà bàyópòè** 'you seven', **bà bàyí** 'they two.' 'Two' and 'three' also possess the special focused forms **àyíga' àtága'** §11.1.

'Thousand' is **tusir'**: **tusá àtá'** '3000.' 'Half' is **pu-súk_a** Pl **pu-sógùs**.

Intermediate numerals use **ne** 'with', e.g. **kòbìs tá'** **ne pis yúobò ne nu** '365.' 11 to 19 have the contracted forms **pii ne yunní**, **pii ne yí**, **pii ne tá'** ... **pii ne waè** or **pii na yunní**, **pii na yí** ..., e.g.

o nya'andɔlib pii ne yi 'his twelve disciples' Mt 26:20
ò nya'an-dóllìb pii ne yí
 3A disciple.Pl ten with two

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

1	yéon or àdàkó'	6	hnyûob
2	hnyí	7	hnpòè sic
3	hntá'	8	hnní
4	hnaas	9	hwaè
5	hnu		continuing piiga , pii ne yí as with quantifiers

Àdàkó' can also be used as a quantifier: **búug àdàkó'** 'one goat.'

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí námá àyí á ne naasí. 'Two twos are four.'
 two Pl two be Foc four

The only ordinal adjective is **dεεη_a** 'first.'

'First' can also be expressed by **yiigá** 'firstly' as a predependent:

line da an yiiga dabisir 'That was the first day.' Gn 1:5
lɪnɪ_ dá àⁿ yiigá dábìsìr.
 3I_+ Tns be firstly day

Numerals as predependents of **daan_a** 'owner' produce ordinals: **àyí dâan la** 'the second one', **bvugá àtá' dâan la** 'the third goat'; 'first' is **yiigá dâan**. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use relative clauses with **pàas/pè'es** 'amount to':

dàv-kànì_ pè'esà àyí la 'the second man'
 man-Dem_Nz come.to two the

lìnì_ pàasà àtáⁿ la

'the third one'

DemI_Nz come.to three the

Multiplicatives answer àbùlá? 'how many-fold?' They are yummú 'straight away, at once', àbùyí 'twice', àbùtáⁿ 'three times', àbùnaasí 'four times', and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to bùpiiga 'ten times.' The prefix bù is the old bɔ| agreement; à is the manner-noun prefix, preceded by ɪ in liaison, so its attachment to the numbers 2-9 alone is analogical.

Answers to nɔɔrá àlá 'how many times?' may be e.g. nɔɔr yunní 'once', nɔɔrá àtáⁿ or nɔɔrím bùtáⁿ 'three times' etc. This nɔɔr is not 'mouth', but corresponds to Toende nɔ'ɔt 'leg', as in Toende nɔ'ɔt/nɔba atã 'three times.' (This is a regional idiom: cf Hausa sau 'foot', sàu ukù 'three times.')

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

1	yɪn yɪn	10	pɪi pîig	100	kòbìg kóbìg
2	àyí yí	20	pisí pisí	200	kòbìsí kóbìsí or kòbìs yí yí
3	àtá ⁿ tá ⁿ	30	pis tá ⁿ tá ⁿ	300	kòbìs 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	àyópðẹ pðẹ	70	pis yópðẹ pðẹ		
8	àníí níí	80	pis níí níí		
9	àwaẹ waẹ	90	pis waẹ waẹ		

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

The adjective yɪɪŋɔ́ Pl yúná means 'one of a pair', e.g. nu'-yíɪŋɔ́ 'one hand'; yummír Pl yummá CIF yum- is 'solitary, unique.'

8.6 Predependents

NPs may be preceded, recursively, by dependent NPs; on tone sandhi, see §4.2. 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, CIFs coming last.

Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions.

For postpositions see §8.6.1.

If the head is an indefinite/interrogative pronoun, quantifier, or relative clause the construction is partitive; thus *nidib la síebà* 'certain of the people', *nidib lá àyí* 'two of the people', *yà sɔ'* 'someone among you' and e.g.

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fun gaŋ sɔ'.

Pà'alìmɔ_tí nidibá àyí ^wá 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.

Zù-wɔk dân pu gánìd búgúmm_.

tail-long owner Ng step.over.Ipf fire_Ng

'One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire.' §13.2

So too e.g. *daam dân* 'beer owner', *tienj dân* 'bearded man', *ɔɔɔ la dân* 'the owner of the field' Mt 21:40, *pù-pièlìm dân* 'upright person'; here even manner nouns can be predeterminers: *bugusíga dân* 'softly-softly sort of person' W.

Daan_a follows a CIF in a few set expressions, e.g. *yi-dân_a/yi-sób_a* 'householder' and *tèj-daan_a* 'traditional earth-priest'; cf also *anaas-daan* 'owner of four [horns]', *poi-daan* 'owner of seven' G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a counting numeral, with or without the prefix *à*. Numerals precede *daan_a* as ordinals §8.5.1.

Before gerunds, free dependents may represent subjects or objects:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yîib na.

person.Pl the Tns watch Zechariah exit.Gd hither

'The people were watching for Zechariah to come out.' Lk 1:21

Ya zan'as pu'ab la kùub nɛɛ?

Yà z^nâ'as pu'ab la kûub nɛɛ_?

2P refuse woman.Pl the kill.Gd Foc_PQ

'Did you refuse to kill the women?' Nm 31:15

Such gerunds may be preceded by generic-argument CIFs, and may be followed by VP adjuncts and final particles:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
 yà àntɔ̀à'-mɔ̀rím kótò ní nɛ taaba la

2P case-have.Gd court at with each.other the

'your going to law with each other in court' 1 Cor 6:7 B1

Deverbal nouns may follow CIFs representing generic arguments or adverbials. Noun-adjective compounds as arguments appear in Sg/Pl form, e.g. *fu-zéⁿdà kùos* 'dyed-cloth seller.'

Before agent nouns a CIF usually represents an object if the verb is transitive, but adverbials also appear. Such compounds are freely coined and are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions.

<i>nin-kùud_a</i>	'murderer'	<i>bù-kuud_a'</i>	'goat-killer'
<i>bù-zaⁿl_i'</i>	'goat-holder'	<i>bù-kùos_a</i>	'goat-seller'
<i>sàlìm-kùos_a</i>	'gold-seller'	<i>da-nùud_a</i>	'beer-drinker'
<i>zim-gbâⁿ'ad_a</i>	'fisher'	<i>tàn-mɛɛd_a</i>	'builder'
<i>làmpɔ̀-dí'es_a</i>	'tax collector'	<i>kòⁿb-kim_{na}</i>	'herder, shepherd'
<i>zàⁿ-nɔ̀-gúr_a</i>	'gatekeeper'	<i>bùl-sigid_a'</i>	'well-diver'
<i>nɔ̀-dí'es_a</i>	'chief's spokesman' ("command-receiver")		
<i>puàⁿ'-saⁿ'am_{ma}</i>	'adulterer' ("wife-spoiler")		
<i>'ya'an-dól_a</i>	'disciple' ("after-accompanier")		
<i>tùon-gat_a</i>	'leader' ("in-front-passer")		
<i>puàⁿ'-la'ad_a</i>	'laugher at women' (<i>ò là'ad pu'ab</i> 'he laughs at women' W)		

Consultants freely produce agent nouns in isolation, and B has, among others, *banjìd* 'wise man', *faand* 'robber', *pa'an* 'teacher.' However, a preceding CIF is usual; it may be just a corresponding gerund:

<i>màal-maan_{na}</i>	'sacrificer'	<i>zi-zíid_a</i>	'carrier-on-head'
<i>tù'as-tù'as_a</i>	'talker'	<i>zàb-zàb_a</i>	'warrior'
<i>zòt-zòt_a</i>	'racer, athlete'	<i>tùm-tum_{na}</i>	'worker'

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

<i>sjà-lɔ̀ɔ̀díŋ_a</i>	'belt' ("waist-tier")
<i>nin-gótìs</i>	'spectacles' ("eye-lookers")

CIFs before gerunds may be objects, adverbials or non-agential subjects:

da-nûur	'beer-drinking'
nɔ-lôɔr	'fasting' ("mouth-tying")
fu-yêɛr	'shirt-wearing' (W, nonce-form)
pɔ̀à'-dur	'marriage' (ò dì pɔ̀a' 'he's married a wife')
nin-bâa ⁿ -zɔɔr	'pity' (ò zòto _n nin-bâa ⁿ lìg 'she has pity on him')
mò-pilɪ	'grass roof' ("covering with grass")
kùm-vu'ugír	'resurrection' (ò vù'ug kum _n 'he revived from death')
nu'-móðìr	'swelling of the hand'
wìn-liir	'sunset'
su ⁿ -sâ ⁿ 'ɔŋɔ	'sorrow' (m̄ su ⁿ f sâ ⁿ 'am nɛ 'my heart is spoilt')

Deadjectival abstracts after CIFs behave as if derived from bahuvrihis §8.7.2:

pù-pièlìm	'virtue' (pù-pièlɪ 'upright person')
su ⁿ -kpî'ɔŋɔ	'boldness' ("strong-heartedness")
wɪn-tôɔgɔ	'ill fortune' ("bitter-fatedness")

With unspecialised heads, free definite and/or count predependents express kinship, body part membership, or ownership. Possessors may be generic.

m̄ biig	'my child'
daɔ la biig	'the man's child'
daɔ la bí-kàŋa	'this/that child of the man's'
daɔ la wíef zôur	'the man's horse's tail'
náaf bí ⁿ 'isím	'cow's milk' W
buug bí ⁿ 'isím	'goat's milk' W

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.	'The house of the wicked will be destroyed.'
Nin-bê'og yír nà sa ⁿ 'am.	Prv 14:11

person-bad house Irr spoil

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

daɔ la wíd-zuɔr	'the man's horse-tail' (he may have no horse)
bì-fuugɔ́	'children's shirt' (suitable for children)
wab-móɔgu _n	'in bush where there are elephants' W
nàsàa-sìlògɔ	'aeroplane' ("European hawk")
nàsàar-bùgúm	'electricity' ("European fire")

zà'-ncwɔ́	'gate' ("compound-mouth")
mà-biig _a	'sibling' ("mother-child")
ba'-bîig _a	'half-sibling' ("father-child")
tèn-biig _a	'native' ("country-child")

Except before **daan_a** and **scb_a** §8.2, abstract predependents appear as indefinite free forms, and so also do predependents expressing materials:

na'am kúk	'throne' ("chieftaincy chair")
pù'usùg dǔwɔg	'temple' ("worship house")
tuligír bún	'heater' ("heating thing")
duɔɔb dút	'cooking pots'
ligidi túumà	'expensive work' (ligidi 'money')
salma bútiŋ	'golden cup'
salma ne anzúriɔ̀fà lâ'ad	'gold and silver goods'
fuug dǔwɔg	'tent' ("cloth hut")
dàad bún-nám	'wooden things' (dàad 'pieces of wood')

Unlike CIFs or abstracts, materials as predependents can be antecedents of pronouns: **salma lâ'ad né ò butus** 'gold goods and [gold] cups' W. The construction is limited to this sense: **kyà'-ⁿwiig_a'** 'current', not ***kù'om ⁿwîig** 'rope made of water.'

For **yiigá** 'firstly' as a predependent see §8.5.1.

Place NPs may be predependents:

duniya ní nìn-gbiŋ	'earthly body'
kɔɔlɔɔ_n nó-dâug	'crayfish' ("in-the-river cock")
kù'omɔɔ_n bún	'water creature'
zugú_n/teŋɔɔ_n níɔ̀-gbáɔɔŋ	'upper/lower eyelid'
mɔɔwɔɔ_n/yín bún-kó ⁿ bìd	'wild/tame animals'
B̀̀k díɔ̀m	'Bawku people'
dàgòb̀̀g níɔ̀f	'left eye'

Buligin zɔŋ zi' kɔɔlɔɔgin yɛlaa.

B̀̀l̀̀igɔɔ_n z̀̀iŋ zɔ' kɔɔlɔɔ_n yɛlaa_.

pool_at fish Ng.know river_at about_Ng

'A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river.' §13.2

So may NPs with **yɛlá** 'about':

Kusâas kùob ne yir yɛlá gbàɔɔŋ	'a book about Kusaasi farming and housing'
dàɔɔ-kàŋa la yɛlá gbàɔɔŋ	'a book about that man' W

8.6.1 Postpositions

Postpositions are NP heads which take predeterminer NPs. Apart from the locative particle §9.7.2.3, they are either nominals, or NPs containing the locative particle. Most have place-adverbial meaning, but some show metaphorical extensions of meaning to time or reason: thus the locative particle appears in the time expressions *bεogυ_n* 'morning', *yiigí_n* 'at first' *san-sí'e_n la* 'at one time, once', and *zugɔ́* 'onto' is often used metaphorically as 'on account of' §9.7.2.4.

Yelá 'affairs' as a postposition means 'about'; it often forms objects of verbs of communication etc:

Bà yèlo_ man yelá wusa.

'They told him all about me.'

3P say_3A 1S about all

8.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or *ʷwà* 'this.' Before an adjective or dependent pronoun, a nominal is reduced to a CIF and its number is marked by the dependent.

8.7.1 Adverbials, quantifiers and appositives

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependent subjects may be followed by adverbials §8.6. Adverbials also appear as postdependents of other nouns, following all other postdependents apart from deictics or the article, e.g.

on sɔb á ne dú'atà àmɛɲá la

'that one's the real doctor' W

3A ØA be Foc doctor truly the

ʷwadɪs yûum la púɔgυ_n

'months in the year' S

moon.Pl year the inside_at

wabug mɔɔgυ_n la

'the elephant in the bush' W

elephant grass_at the

Except for *yiigá* 'firstly', quantifiers as determiners follow the head. CIF heads appear only before *yunní* 'one' and with *dà-* 'day' before numerals without prefixes.

Appositives may be personal names or dependent determiners. Appositive dependent determiners *must* appear after heads like quantifiers which cannot form CIFs: *yeltɔɔd atan' bama* 'these three plagues' Rev 9:18. Appositive relative clauses may also appear after other heads; unlike other relative clauses, they need not be interpreted as restrictive §10.5.2. Appositives follow any dependent pronouns:

dau kaŋa oŋe ka Wina'am Siig bæe o ni
 dàu-kàŋa ónì_ kà Wínà'am Sìg bæe ò ni
 man-Dem DemA_Nz and God spirit exist 3A at
 'this man in whom God's Spirit is' Gn 41:38

Appositive personal names retain the personifier pronoun à:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid. 'Yes, it's his friend Termite asking entry.'
 Εεⁿ, ò zùà à Sibigi n kabíríd. G2 p12
 yes 3A friend Pz termite + ask.entry.Ipf

8.7.2 Adjectives and dependent pronouns

Adjectives follow CIF heads, inflecting as Sg/Pl/CIF on behalf of their heads, and dependent demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns do the same:

buu _a	'goat'	buus	'goats'
bù-pìelìg _a	'white goat'	bù-pìelìs	'white goats'
bù-sùŋ _ɔ	'good goat'	bù-sùmà	'good goats'
bù-sɔ'	'some goat'	bù-sieba	'some goats'
bù-kànè_?	'which goat?'		
nid _a '	'person'	nidib _a '	'people'
nin-sùŋ _ɔ	'good person'	nin-sùmà	'good people'
nin-wók _ɔ	'tall person'	nin-wâ'ad	'tall people'
nin-só'	'some person'	nin-síebà	'some people'
nin-kàŋa'	'this person'	nin-bámma'	'these people'
nin-bó_?	'what person?'		

Another adjective or dependent pronoun can follow a first adjective CIF:

bù-pìel-kàŋa'	'this white goat'	bù-pìel-bámma'	'these white goats'
bù-sùŋ-kàŋa'	'this good goat'	bù-sùŋ-bámma'	'these good goats'
nin-wók-pìelìg _a	'white tall person'	nin-wók-pìelìs	'white tall people'

Cf mam pu'anya'aŋ kudkaŋa mam puá'-'ya'aŋ-kúd-kàŋa 'I, this old woman'
 Gn 18:12.

However, noun-adjective compounds cannot form CIFs for deverbal noun generic complements §8.6; here Sg/Pl forms appear instead:

fu-zéⁿdà kùos 'seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth' (not *fu-zéⁿ'-kùos_a)

Adjectives do not themselves normally appear as heads, but a subset of adjectives lacking corresponding stative verbs may be used as heads of predicative complements §9.7.1; even there, **nin-** 'person' (for human reference) or **bun-** 'thing' (for all non-human reference) are usually supplied as heads, and this is required elsewhere; thus **nin-súŋ** 'good person', **bun-vúr** 'living creature' etc and e.g.

Dub á ne bun-súŋ. 'Food is good.' W
 food be Foc thing-good

Bun_n' 'thing' can make a regular **re|aa** plural **buná** or pluralise with **nàm_a**:

Bun námá àlá kà fù nyetá_? 'How many things do you see?' S
 thing Pl how.many and 2S see.Ipf_CQ?

Bun_n' may also appear with abstract or adverbial predependents:

tulíŋr bún 'heating thing, heater' = **bun-tulíŋr**
kù'oml_n bún 'water creature'

Adjective CIFs cannot be heads: 'this good one' has to be **bun-súŋ-kàn**.

Ipf verbal adjective forms with no preceding CIF are synonymous with agent nouns §6.1.1, so the presence of **bun-** distinguishes different meanings in e.g.

bun-kúvdír 'thing to do with killing'
kúvdír 'killer'

Noun-adjective compounds can develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g.

tì-sabílím a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
gò'-sabílíg_a '*Acacia hockii*' ("black thorn")
bun-gíŋ_a 'short fellow' (jocular)
bun-kúddùg_ɔ 'old man' (the standard expression)

The adjective **bil_a** 'small' seems never simply to express small size, but either 'junior, younger' (cf kinship terms §8.4, personal names §8.3 and e.g. **bà-bil_a** 'puppy' beside **baa** 'dog') or lexicalised meanings like "smaller constituent part", as in **nu'-bíl_a** 'finger' beside **nû'ug_ɔ** 'hand.'

Some isolated set expressions show traces of the old agreement system; thus the dependents do not regularly appear with the class suffixes seen in e.g.

daa-sî'er	'perhaps' (daar 'day', si'a 'some')
dàbìs-si'er	'some day' (dàbìsìr 'day')
yel-súm _n	'blessing' (yelí 'affair', sùŋ _o 'good')
pɔ̀à'-paalá'	'bride' (pɔ̀a' 'wife', paalíg _a 'new')
dàpaalá'	'bachelor, son' (daɔ̀ 'man')

For W (not D) and in many texts, me| nouns require adjectives in me|, as does bun_n' 'thing' when used in an abstract sense:

da-páalim	'new beer'; W rejected *da-pâal _i or *da-páalíg _a
tì-sabílím	'black medicine', a specific traditional remedy
tì-vonním	'oral medication' ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kuvdím	'poison' ("killing medicine")
kpa ⁿ -sɔ̀ɔ̀dìm	'anointing oil' (kpa ⁿ m' 'oil, grease')
bun-bɔ̀ɔ̀dìm	'desirable thing' (of nòŋlím 'love' in 1 Cor 14:1)
but bun-bɔ̀ɔ̀dìr	"desirable thing" (G1 p17: of a sheep)
bun- ⁿ yétim	'the visible world'
but bun- ⁿ yétìr	'a visible object'

Adjective Sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner, both in attributive and predicative uses (all examples from K):

Lì à ne wíug.	'It's red.'
Lì à ne wíugɔ.	'It's reddish.'
fu-wíugu la	'the reddish shirt'
Lì à ne fu-píelìga.	'It's a whitish shirt.'
Lì à ne fu-píelìga la.	'It's the whitish shirt.'
Lì à ne tita'aru.	'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 ne píelìg fáss fáss.	'It's very white.'
Lì à ne sabulíg zím zím.	'It's deep black.'
Lì à ne zí ⁿ 'a wím wím.	'It's deep red.'
M̄ nyé fu-zí ⁿ 'a wím wím.	'I've seen a deep red shirt.'
Fu-zí ⁿ 'a wím wím bé.	'There's a deep red shirt.'
M̄ bɔ̀ɔ̀d fu-zí ⁿ 'a wím wím la.	'I want the deep red shirt.'
Ò wà'am tólìlì.	'She's very tall.'
Ò gìm ne tírìgà.	'She's very short.'

Not even all gradable adjectives/quality verbs have intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. *sùŋ* 'good', *be'ed* 'bad', *zùlùŋ* 'deep', *ma'asíga* 'damp.'

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

<i>Lì à ne nu'-kpíílóŋ.</i>	'It's a dead hand.'
<i>Biig la á ne nu'-kpíílóŋ.</i>	'The child is dead-handed.'
<i>Ò à ne bí-nu'-kpíílóŋ.</i>	'He's a dead-handed child.'
<i>kùg-kɔb-wók</i>	'long-legged stool'
<i>Kùg-kàŋa á ne kɔb-wók.</i>	'This stool is long-legged.' W
<i>kɔb-gíŋa</i>	'short-legged'
<i>zug-máuk</i>	'crushed-headed'
<i>zù-wók'</i>	'long-tailed'
<i>zu-péelùg</i>	'bald'
<i>pù-pìel</i>	'righteous'
<i>tùb-yùŋ'</i>	'one-eared'

The adjective has Pl form, in agreement with the noun immediately preceding it, rather than the Sg head of the whole NP, in e.g.

<i>bì-tùb-kpida</i>	'deaf child'
<i>bì-tùb-kpida nám_a or bì-tùb-kpidis</i>	'deaf children'
<i>bì-tùb-lud</i>	'child/children with blocked ears'

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives after human-reference heads: *bù-sáaŋa* 'strange goat', *bì-sáaŋa* 'strange child', but also *bì-sáaŋa* 'strange child.' Similarly with

<i>bì-daŋ/dàŋ-biig_a</i>	'male child'
<i>bì-pŋa'</i>	'female child'
<i>bì-kp'ɪm</i>	'dead child'
<i>bì-gìk_a</i>	'dumb child'
<i>bì-wàbìr</i>	'lame child'
<i>bì-balerug'</i>	'ugly child'
<i>bì-nà'ab_a/nà'-biig_a</i>	'prince/princess'
<i>nàsàa-biig_a</i>	'European child'
<i>bi-púŋ-yàmmòg_a/yàm-bi-púŋ_a</i>	'slave girl'

Agent nouns cannot be used like this after CIFs which could be construed as objects: *bì-sin_{na}'* 'silent child', *pùà'-zàa'_sa* 'woman prone to dreaming' K, but *pùà'-kuud_a'* can only mean 'killer of women', *pùà'-la'ad_a* only 'laugher at women' (W).

8.7.3 Deictics and the article

The deictic particles *la'* and *ⁿwà* mean 'that' and 'this.' In this use, they are not liaison enclitics, in contrast with the homophonous focusing deictics §11.3; *wàna'* 'this here' mostly appears as a focusing deictic.

The deictics are NP-final: they may be followed only by VP-final particles which form part of nominalised clauses §9.6. Unlike *la'*, *ⁿwà* can stand alone as a NP:

ⁿWà á ne biig.

this be Foc child

'This is a child.' W; tones *sic*.

La' is normally used as a definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. It is not used with proper names, pronouns, vocatives, NPs after personaliser *à*, abstractions, or familiar background entities:

Nɔŋilim pu naada.

Nòŋìlím pu naadá_.

love Ng finish.Ipf_Ng

'Love does not come to an end.'

1 Cor 13:8

Wìnnìg lí ya.

sun fall NSb

'The sun has set.'

Heads before demonstratives are definite; here, following deictic particles distinguish far from near §8.2.

Predependents with *la'* make heads definite unless an indefinite pronoun follows: *nà'ab la bìig* 'the chief's child'; after such heads, *la'* is deictic. However, personal pronouns or proper names as predependents do not make heads definite, and *la'* appears as usual to mark referents as already established:

Ṁ biig bé.

1S child exist

'I have a child.' W

Ṁ biig ka'e_.

1S child Ng.exist_Ng

'I've no child.' W

Ṁ biig la ka'e_.

1S child the Ng.exist_Ng

'My child's not there.' W

Dau da be mori o biribing

Daṽ dá bè_ mɔrí ò bi-díbiŋ

man Tns exist_+ have 3A boy

'Once there was a man who had a son'

G2 p35

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sisi paae yuma ayɔɔɔi ka o sid la kpi.

Ón daa áⁿ pɔ́á'-sadir lá kà ò kul sisi_ paae yúmà àyɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ kà ò sid la kpi.

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

NPs without *la'* are indefinite if they could have taken *la'* in the meaning of a definite article.

Indefinite pronouns mark the indefinite-specific sense 'some/another':

Na'-síebà ɔ̀b̀ìd ne mɔ̀ɔ̀d.

'Some cows are eating grass.'

cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl

They are also used to mark a head as indefinite after a predependent with *la'*:
nà'ab la bí-ɔ̀ 'a child of the chief's.'

Entities new to the discourse may be introduced by NPs with or without indefinite pronouns:

Pu'a ɔ̀ɔ̀ da be mɔ̀r o bipuɔ̀ ka kikirig dɔ̀l o.

Pɔ̀à'-ɔ̀ɔ̀ dá bɛ̀_ mɔ̀r ò bi-púɔ̀ kà kikirig dɔ̀lló_.

woman-IdfA Tns exist_+ have 3A girl and fairy accompany_3A

'There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil.' Mk 7:25

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir.

'There was a man who had one wife.'

Daɔ̀ dá bɛ̀_ mɔ̀rí ò pɔ̀à'-yimmír.

G2 p26

man Tns exist_+ have 3A wife-single

Indefinite NPs without indefinite pronouns are otherwise generic or non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns or the object of *àɛ̀ⁿya* 'be something' used ascriptively:

Ò nòɔ̀ɔ̀d ka'e_.

'Nobody loves him.' W

3A lover Ng.exist_Ng

Ò à ne biig.

'She is a child.'

3A be Foc child

9 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) consists of a verb with its right-bound particles and enclitics, followed by object NPs, adjunct NPs, object/adjunct clauses and final particles. Focus-*nε´* may be inserted at various points, after any enclitics §11.1.

Aspect is marked by verb flexion. Tense markers precede mood markers before the verb; mood markers vary with polarity. The irrealis mood expresses future time. Certain preverbal adjuncts may appear in fixed positions among tense/mood markers. There may be one enclitic object pronoun; if present, the discontinuous-past enclitic *n* and 2P2 *ya* precede object pronouns. Main and content clause VPs show distinctive tonal markers, a separate 2Vb imperative flexion and a particle *ya* after VP-final Pfs. Verbs show no agreement for person or number.

9.1 Aspect

2Vbs inflect for aspect, suffixing *ε* for perfective and *da* for imperfective (for the suffix *ma* see §9.5); 1Vbs are Ipf. The focus particle *nε´* has temporal uses which interact with aspect, in effect marking Pfs as stative and Ipfs as progressive §11.1.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, it implies priority to the main clause §10.5.1; in catenation, Pfs must follow event order §10.4; 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.

rain rain NSb

'It has rained.' W: "Perhaps the grass is 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:

Fù wúm ya kúu_?

2S hear NSb or_PQ

'Do you understand?'

M sjàk ya.

1S agree NSb

'I agree.'

M kúl ya.

1S go.home NSb

'I'm off home now.' (taking one's leave)

M nyé nu'-bíbìsá àtán'.

1S see finger.Pl three

'I can see three fingers.'

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject can use Pf to express the resulting state; temporal-focus *ne'* follows if syntactically permitted §11.1. Most such verbs are intransitive, but e.g. "dressing" verbs also imply subject state change:

Lì b̀̀d̀ìg ne.

3I lose Foc

'It's lost.'

(*Lì b̀̀d̀ìg ya* 'It's got lost.')

M̀ yé ne fuug.

1S don Foc shirt

'I'm wearing a shirt.'

(*M̀ yé fuug* 'I've put a shirt on.')

Similarly *ò kp̀ì ne* 'he's dead'; *m̀ géⁿ ne* 'I'm tired'; *b̀̀ k̀̀d̀̀òg ne* 'they're old'; *l̀̀ p̀̀è'el ne* 'it's full'; *l̀̀ ỳ̀ ne* 'it's closed'; *m̀ búg ne* 'I'm drunk'; *ò l̀̀èr ne* 'he's ugly' W; *l̀̀ s̀̀òb̀̀ìg ne* 'it's black' W, and likewise with many other verbs.

Pfs are used when proverbs take the form of mini-anecdotes:

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.

K̀̀k̀̀m̀̀à dá z̀̀àb taabá à s̀̀wⁿ'e bi'elá ỳ̀èl̀̀.

leper.Pl Tns fight each.other Pz surpass slightly about

'Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better.' §13.2

Imperfective may express a propensity, multiple events, a quality, or a relationship; with temporal focus §11.1 it may have a progressive sense, or express a propensity or multiple events over a limited time:

Niigí òⁿb̀̀ìd m̀̀ẁ̀d.

cow.Pl chew.Ipf grass.Pl

'Cows eat grass.'

Na'-síbà óⁿb̀̀ìd ne m̀̀ẁ̀d.

cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl

'Some cows are eating grass.'

M̀ ź'í'i.

'I sit.'

M̀ ź'í'i ne.

'I'm sitting.'

K̀̀l̀̀ìg la ỳ̀ẁ̀d.

'The door closes.' (i.e. can be closed)

K̀̀l̀̀ìg la ỳ̀ẁ̀d ne.

'The door is closing.'

Nidib kp̀̀ìd ne.

'People are dying.'

M̀ m̀́r p̀̀ya'.

'I have a wife.'

With quality or relationship verbs, and in Ipf middle constructions, 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 §11.1.

Amaa ba **da** zɔt o ne dabiem, ban **da** pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andɔl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòto_ ne dábiem, bán dà pu níŋò_ yádda yé ò sìd

but 3P Tns fear.Ipf_3A Foc fear 3P.Nz Tns Ng do_3A trust that 3A truly

à ne ʼya'an-dól la zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas zán Saul n mɔró__ keŋ ...

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 **dɔ́á'** Y 'X begat Y' in Mt 1.1ff B2:

Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma **da** ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a ...

Kà David **dɔ́á'** Solomon. Ò mà dá à ne Uria **pɔ́á'**. Kà Solomon **dɔ́á'** ...

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 Lk 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.

As tense marking is affected by whether clauses are introduced by **kà**, this not just a matter of discourse pragmatics. Moreover, consultants always take Pfs in isolated **kà**-clauses without tense marking as expressing events, with any focus-**ne'** as constituent focus, never temporal §11.1, but this limitation does not apply in clauses with tense marking, which show the same range of possibilities as clauses without **kà**:

Kà bà dá kùdìg ne.

and 3P Tns get.old Foc

'And they were old.'

Bà kùdìg ne.

'They're old.'

but **Kà bà kúdìg ne.**

D explained "You're saying they're old, when he promised to give you new ones"

Kà lì daa bódìg ne.

and 3I Tns get.lost Foc

'And it was lost.'

Lì bódìg ne.

'It's lost.'

but **Kà lì bódìg ne.**

Rejected by W; explained by D as denying "Someone hid it."

The absence of NSb marking after coordinating *kà* §9.5 suggests that *kà* was once always cosubordinating, though this is not the case synchronically §10.4; cf Evans 2007 on the conventionalised main-clause use of what appear to be formally subordinate clauses, and the use of *ne* 'with' for 'and' in coordinating NPs §8.1. Clauses continuing a narrative thread have cosubordinate features in many languages, including e.g. Fula (Arnott 1970 p326), Wolof (Robert 2010, 1.2.4), Lumun (Smits 2017 p652), Hausa (Jaggard 2001 p162) and the Algonquian language Meskwaki (Goddard 2023 p412.)

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 pu mɔr biiga_, bo zúɔ Elizabet dá à ne kúndù'ar
 3P Tns Ng have child_Ng because Elizabeth Tns be Foc barren.woman
kà bà bàyí la wúsà mè kúɗìg ne.
 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

Within a series of clauses continuing a narrative, subordinate clauses (including nominalised clauses) mark tense relative to the timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la
kà dau támmì ò pɔa' lá_ sà yèlò_ 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 Gaadug malɔŋ diib la.
Ban bɔɔd yé bà sáa dì Kum Máljak Gáadùg málòŋ òùb la.
 3P want.Ipf that 3P Tns eat death angel pass.Gd custom food the
 'They wanted to eat the Passover meal the next day.' Jn 18:28

Absolute-clause adjuncts §10.5.1 usually leave main-clause tense marking unaffected (88% in Mk, Lk, Acts 1-14 B1); less often, the absolute clause acts as a time adverbial, licensing dropping of tense marking in the main clause:

Ban da nyεε o la, ba da zaŋ o taaba pistan' tis o.

Bán dà ^{ny}é_ la, bà dà zàŋ ò taaba pis tá'_ tísò_.

3PNz Tns see_3A the 3P Tns take 3A each.other thirty_+ give_3A

'When they saw him, they brought thirty companions to him.' Jgs 14:11

Ka ban da paae Haran tempuugin la ba da zin'in anina.

Kà bán dà pae Haran tén-puugú_n la, bà dà zì'n in ànína.

and 3PNz Tns reach Haran town_at the 3P Tns sit.down there

'When they reached Haran, they stopped there.' Gn 11:31

but Ban da ku naaf la naae la, ba mɔr biig la ken Eli san'an na.

Bán dà ku náaf la_ nae la, bà mɔr biig la kɛ^n Eli sâ'n an na.

3PNz Tns kill cow the_+ finish the 3P have child the come Eli by hither

'When they had killed the cow, they brought the child to Eli.' 1 Sm 1:25

However, when adjunct absolute clauses are preposed with *kà* §11.4, that *kà* behaves as if it continues a narrative, and the main clause lacks tense marking whether or not *kà* also precedes the absolute clause (97% in Mk, Lk, Acts 1-14 B1):

Ban da bæε ani nuud daam la, ka Na'ab la maligim yel Esta ye,

Bán dà bæé àní_ nuud daam la, kà Nà'ab la maligim yél Esta ye,

3PNz Tns exist there_+ drink.Ipf beer the and king the again say Esther that

'As they were drinking wine, the king again said to Esther ...' Est 5:6

Ka ban da sɔnsi naae la ka Zugsoɔb la gaad,

Kà bán dà sɔ^nsi_ nae la, kà Zug-sóɔb la gâad,

and 3PNz Tns converse_+ finish the and Lord the pass

'When they had finished conversing, the Lord went away,' Gn 18:33

This reflects the quasi-coordinating nature of the preposing construction with absolute clauses, also seen in the dropping of subject pronouns after the preposing *kà* when they refer the subject of a preposed absolute clause §10.1, as in e.g.

On da paae David san'an na la ka igin tenjin na'as o.

Ón dà pae David sâ'n an na la, kà ígìn tenj_n_ ná'asò_.

3A.Nz Tns reach David by hither the and kneel.down ground_at_+ honour_3A

'When he reached David, he knelt down to honour him.' 2 Sm 1:2

9.3 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 NSb. Negative polarity induces a clause-final negative enclitic §4.3 §9.6. Only VPs can be negated; constituent negation requires subordinate clauses, e.g. *banε ka' Kristo nidib la sɔŋir* 'the help of non-Christians' 3 Jn 1:7.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It is negated by *pu* (S *bu*, as in Toende.) It is used for statements and questions about present, past and timeless events and states, and immediate future in periphrastic constructions §9.2.

Ò pu ⁿwé' bòn lása_. '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 NSb tone overlay take the flexion *ma*; positive imperative and indicative forms are otherwise identical. Even 1Vbs appear in direct commands: *Vue!* 'Live!' Ez 16:6. See §10.3.2 on 2P2 *ya*.

ⁿWè'em búŋ la! 'Hit the donkey!'
hit.Imp donkey the

Da ⁿwé' bòn lása_! 'Don't hit the donkey!'
Ng.Imp hit donkey the_Ng

Yèlìmo_ yé ò da gɔsε_. 'Tell him not to look.'
say.Imp_3A that 3A Ng.Imp look_Ng

Kèm na_ gɔs! 'Come and look!'
come.Imp hither_+ look

Kòⁿsìm! 'Cough!'

Da kóⁿsε_! 'Don't cough!' (D, to a patient who just did cough, during an eye operation)
Ng.Imp cough_Ng

Da kóⁿsìda_! 'Don't cough!' (D, before the operation, explaining what to avoid throughout)
Ng.Imp cough.Ipf_Ng

Dòllì ní_m! 'Come (Pl) with me!'

Bée ànína! 'Be (i.e. stay) there!' S

Temporal *ne'* cannot appear, but *àlá* 'thus' here conveys a continuous sense:

<i>Dìmí àlá!</i>	'Carry on eating!'
<i>Dìgi_ní àlá!</i>	'Keep on (Pl) lying down.'
<i>Aa_ní àlá baa'íímm!</i>	'Be (Pl) quiet!'

Irrealis mood expresses future *time*, using the markers *nà* (positive), *kù* (negative); any directly following preverbal adjunct or TP A verb changes all its tones to M. With past tense markers it may be contrary-to-fact or future-in-the-past.

<i>Ò nà 'wε' búŋ la.</i>	'He'll hit the donkey.'
3A Irr hit donkey the	

<i>Ò kù 'wε' búŋ láa_.</i>	'He won't hit the donkey.'
3A Ng.Irr hit donkey the_Ng	

<i>Ò daa ná 'wε' búŋ la.</i>	'He would have hit the donkey.'
3A Tns Irr hit donkey the	(but didn't, W)

<i>one da na ti zam o</i>	'who was going to betray him' Jn 6:71
<i>ònì_ dà nà ti zámmò_.</i>	
DemA_Nz Tns Irr next betray_3A	

9.3.1 Negative verbs

Kae' (variant LF *kà'asìgε*) replaces the *indicative* negative of *bè* 'exist' always, of *àεⁿya* 'be something' except in contrasts, and often also of *mɔra'* 'have.'

<i>Ò biig ká'asìgε/ka'e_.</i>	'She has no child.'
3A child Ng.exist_Ng	

<i>Ò daa ka' pa'anna_.</i>	'He was not a teacher.'
3A Tns Ng,be teacher_Ng	

<i>Ò mɔr biig, àmáa daŋ la ka'e_.</i>	'She has a child but the man hasn't.'
3A have child but man the Ng.have_Ng	

but	<i>Ka li ku an ninsaal mεεbɔ.</i>	'It will not be a human being's building.'
	<i>Kà lì kú aⁿ nin-sâal méεbɔ_.</i>	Mk 14:58
	and 3I Ng.Irr be human build.Gd_Ng	

Zi' (variant LF *zi'isíge*) 'not know' usually replaces the indicative *pu mi'*:

Bùŋ-ba^{n'}ad zi' ye tej túlla_.

donkey-rider Ng.know that ground be.hot_Ng

'A donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot.' §13.2

but e.g. *ka o sid la pu mii* 'but her husband did not know' G2 p26.

Mìt_a (B3 mid) is a defective imperative-only 1Vb. Before a catenative it means 'let not ...' §10.4.2; with a NP object it means 'beware', and is not a negative verb:

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

Mìt_a zírì nò-dí'esidìb bání_ kenní yà sa^{n'}an na la.

beware_2P2 lie linguist.Pl DemP_Nz come.Ipf 2P by hither the

'Beware of false prophets who come among you.' Mt 7:15 B2

9.4 Preverbal adjuncts

Preverbal adjuncts are right-bound preverbal particles which are not part of tense, mood or polarity marking but have various other adverbial or discourse-related meanings. They fall into three groups according to their position with respect to any tense or mood markers. There is some variation of position with tense markers: thus B3 has 51 cases of *sid da*, 5 of *da sid*; 80 *yù'un da*, 4 *da yù'un*; 15 *lɛɛ da*, 1 *da lɛɛ*.

9.4.1 Before tense markers

sadgím 'since' §10.5.1

naan 'in that case' §10.3.3

sìd 'truly'

lɛɛ 'but'

nyaan/naan 'next, afterwards'

pà' tì 'perhaps'

yù'un 'next'

Ò *sìd daa á nɛ nâ'ab*.

3A truly Tns be Foc chief

'Truly, he was a chief.' W

Josua *yù'un da kudigya*.

Josua *yù'un dá kòdìg ya*.

Joshua then Tns grow.old NSb

'Then Joshua grew old.' Jo 13:1

Ka *Zugsɔb sunf nyaan yù'un ma'ae*.

Kà Zug-sób sù'f nyaan yù'un ma'e.

and Lord heart next then cool

'Then the Lord's anger subsided.'

Jo 7:26

One pa'ati an Kristo la bæε? 'Perhaps he is the Christ?' Jn 4:29
 Oni_ pá' tí àⁿ Kristo la béε_?
 3A_+ perhaps be Christ the or_PQ

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade. 'But my words will not pass away.'
 Kà man piàⁿ'ad la léε kù gaade_. Mt 24:35 B2
 and 1S speech the but Ng.Irr pass_Ng

amaa léε pu'usimi Wina'am bareka 'but thank God' Eph 5:4
 àmáa léε pù'usìmi_ Wínà'am bárìkà
 but but greet.Imp_2P2 God blessing

9.4.2 Between tense and mood markers

kùlɪm/kudɪm	'always'	nàm	'still' (with negatives, 'yet')
ⁿyεε/εε ⁿ	'habitually'	ⁿyεε tí/εε ⁿ tí	'habitually' (nyii ti B1/2)
pù̀n	'previously, already'		

On ne o pu'a Prisila daa kudim nan yine Room
 On né ò pu'a' Prisila daa kudim nám yi ne 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

Tum la nám bæε_? 'Is there any medicine left?'
 medicine the still exist_PQ

ba nam pu kuu fo 'they haven't killed you yet' G2 p28
 bà nàm pu kúu_fɔ_
 3P still Ng kill_2S_Ng

Hor dim la me da εenti be Seir. 'The Horites too used to live in Seir.'
 Hor díɪm la mé dá εεⁿ tí bè Seir. Dt 2:12
 Hor ØP the also Tns habit exist Seir

Pin'ilugun sa ka Pian'ad la da pun deɲim be.
 Piⁿ'ilúgu_n sá kà Piàⁿ'ad la dá pù̀n dèɲìm bè.
 begin.Gd_at hence and word the Tns already before exist
 'In the beginning, the Word already existed.' Jn 1:1

Ò pù̀n ⁿwè' búɲ la. 'He's already hit the donkey.'
 3A already hit donkey the

9.4.3 After mood markers

tì	'next, then'	là'am	'together'
dè̀nì̀m	'beforehand'	mà̀lì̀gì̀m	'again'
lè̀m	'again' (pu lé̀m +Ipf 'no more')		
kpè̀lì̀m	+Pf 'immediately', +Ipf 'still' (B3 has kpè̀n)		

hali ka Herod ti kpi. 'until Herod had died.' Mt 2:15

halí kà Herod tí kpì.

until and Herod next die

Βεογου ti nied la ka ba gaad!

'Before morning comes they have gone!'

Βεογύ_ tì nìed lá kà bà gâad! Is 17:14

morning_Nz next appear.Ipf the and 3P pass

Kèm_ tí nyε dú'atà.

'Go and see Doctor.' S

go.Imp_+ next see doctor

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.

'so all people died together with him.'

kà nidib wusa dá là'am kpì nó_. 2 Cor 5:14

and person.Pl all Tns together die with_3A

Ì nif lé̀m zá̀bì̀d ne.

'My eye is hurting again.'

1S eye again fight.Ipf Foc

Ì nif pu lé̀m zá̀bì̀da_.

'My eye is not hurting any more.'

1S eye Ng again fight.Ipf_Ng

Amaa man pian'ad la ku maligim gaade.

Àmáa man pîâ'n'ad la kú malìgìm gáade_.

but 1S speech the Ng.Irr again pass_Ng

'But my words will not pass away.' Mt 24:35

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

'Immediately he went blind.'

Kà ò kpélìm zu'om.

Acts 13:11 B2

and 3A immediately go.blind

m biig Josef nan kpen vue.

'My child Joseph is still alive.' Gn 45:28

̀m biig Josef nám kpè̀n vuẹ.

1S child Joseph still still live

but	Da ɠɔsɛ_!	'Don't look!'
	Ng.Imp look_Ng	
	Kèl kà ò ɠɔs!	'Let her look!'
	let.Imp and 3A look	
	Dòllɩ ní_ba!	'Go (Pl) with them!' (1Vb)
	accompany _2P2_3P	
The particle ya follows any VP-final Pf carrying the tone overlay:		
	M tɛ^n'ɛs kà ò ɠòs ya.	'I think she's looked.'
	1S think and 3A look NSb	
	Ò dà ɠòs ya.	'He looked.'
	3A Tns look NSb	
but	Ò pɔ ɠɔsɛ_.	'He's not looked.' (Negative: no overlay)
	Ò nà ɠɔs.	'She'll look.' (Irrealis: no overlay)
	Ò daa ɠɔs.	'He looked.' (No overlay after daa)
	Kà ò ɠɔs.	'And he looked.' (No NSb marking)
	Ò ɠòsɩ_m.	'He's looked at me.' (Not final)
	Ò ɠìm.	'She's short.' (Ipf)
	Ò nòŋ.	'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 bòdìŋ yàa_? 'Has it got lost?'

Bound subject pronouns are normally followed by initial raising:

Kà ò ^wé' bònŋ la. 'And he hit the donkey.'
and 3A hit donkey the

wuu ba ane Kiristo ne 'as if they were Christ' Eph 6:5 B2
wúu bà á ne Kiristo ne
like 3P be Foc Christ like

However, in clauses with NSb marking, raising is absent after **ò lì bà** always, and absent after **m̀ f̀ t̀ yà** if and only if they are directly preceded by **ye** 'that.'

The subject-pronoun tone sandhi changes occur independently of tone overlay, as in these examples, where tone overlay is absent because of the VP irrealis mood:

	Ò nà ɠɔs.	'He'll look.'
but	Ì nà ɠɔs.	'I'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ ɛs yé ò nà ɠɔs.	'He thinks he'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ ɛs kà ò nà ɠɔs.	'He thinks he'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ ɛs yé ò nà ɠɔs.	'He thinks I'll look.'
but	Ò tè ⁿ ɛs kà ò nà ɠɔs.	'He thinks I'll look.'

9.6 Final particles

NSb-Pf *ya* §9.5, *na'* 'hither' and *sà* 'hence, since' are the last constituents in VPs, except for catenative clauses and unnominalised subordinate clauses:

Bùgúm la yít yáa ní ná_?
fire the exit.Ipf where at hither_CQ 'Where is the light coming from?' S

O tumne beogun sa.
Ò tùm ne beogun_n sá.
3A work.Ipf Foc morning hence 'She's been working since morning.' Ru 2:7

Fu keya ka Ammon dim ku o.
Fù ké yá kà Ammon dí m kúo_.
2S let NSb and Ammon ØP kill_3A 'You have made the Ammonites kill him.' 2 Sm 12:9

Kèm na_ ɠɔs!
come.Imp hither_+ look 'Come and look!'

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
Kà zùuⁿd dá sig na yé 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

Na' and *sà* within nominalised clauses may precede or follow an article *la'* attached to the clause; they also accompany gerunds, and may likewise follow *la'*:

ⁿwadɪɠ-kánì_ken na la 'next month' S
month-Dem_Nz come.Ipf hither the

dunia kanε ken la na 'the world which is coming' Lk 20:35
 duniyá-kànì_ken la na
 world-Dem_Nz come.Ipf the hither

Ninsaal Biig la læbug la na 'the return of the Son of Man' Mt 24:27
 Nin-sâal Bîig la lébùg la na
 human child the return.Gd the hither

For na´/sà distinguishing forms of keⁿ 'come' and keŋ´ 'go' see §5.3.1.
 Mɔrₐ´ 'have' with na´ means 'bring.'

The negative enclitic §4.3 §9.3 follows catenatives and subordinate clauses, except for catenatives or unnominalised subordinate clauses which are outside the scope of the negation:

M daa pu ʳye daʋ lá kà ò áⁿ ná'aba_. 'I didn't see the man as a chief.' K
 1S Tnd Ng see man the and 3A be chief_Ng

but Ka li pu yuuge ka o pu'a mε kena. 'Not much later, his wife came too.'
 Kà lì pu yúuge_, kà ò pʋa' mé ke na. Acts 5:7
 and 3I Ng delay_Ng and 3A wife also come hither

For dropping of the enclitic in nominalised clauses see §10.5.

9.7 Complements and adjuncts

The order of arguments after the verb is: indirect object NP, direct object NP, adjunct NPs, object/adjunct clauses. Clauses as VP arguments are discussed in §10. Relative clauses §10.5.2 appear in all NP roles; catenative clauses as objects of ke 'let', mîtₐ 'beware', ʳye 'see' §10.4.2, or predicative adjuncts; purpose clauses §10.6 as objects of verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or adjuncts; content clauses §10.7, relative clauses with si'em and absolute clauses §10.5.1 as objects of verbs of cognition and communication, beside adverbials with yelá §8.6.1.

9.7.1 Objects

Strictly transitive verbs (which include all causatives and relational verbs) require **direct objects**: if none appears, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied, and an explicit generic object needs to be supplied to avoid this:

Q. Fù mór gbaʋŋ láa_? 'Do you have the letter?'
 A. Εεⁿ, ìm mór. 'Yes, I have it.'

Mid ka ya ku nid. 'Do not kill.' Ex 20:13
 Mìt kà yà ku nid.
 beware and 2P kill person

Many verbs are ambitransitive. With patientive ambitransitives, like *nae'* 'finish', *bòdìg* 'lose/get lost', transitive objects become intransitive subjects, in an "anticausative alternation" (Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019, 6.2.1.) Most such verbs express state changes. 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
 kèl kà bà nu kù'om
 let.Imp and 3P drink water

Kelli ka ti di ka nu 'Let us eat and drink' 1 Cor 15:32
 Kèlì_ kà tì dí kà nu
 let.Imp_2P2 and 1P eat and drink

Agentive ambitransitives also appear in **middle constructions** (Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019, 6.3.1), with the direct object becoming subject and agent suppressed; unlike anticausatives, these constructions cannot form progressive Ipfs §11.1:

Daam la nú ya. 'The beer has got drunk.'
 beer the drink NSb

Gbàṛg la sób nɛ. 'The letter is written.'
 letter the write Foc

Gbàṛg la sóbìd súṅa. 'The letter writes easily.' W
 letter the write.Ipf well

Gbàṅà sóbìd ziná. 'Letters are written today.' W
 letter.Pl write.Ipf today

Daam la nùud nɛ. 'The beer is for drinking.'
 beer the drink.Ipf Foc (not "is being drunk." W)

Inceptives from stance verbs may take parts of the subject's body as objects:

Dìgìním fù nù'ug. 'Put your hand down.'
 Lìgìním fù nif né fù nù'ug. 'Cover your eye with your hand.'

Some verbs only take direct objects of very limited types, often nouns from the same stem, e.g. *zàaⁿsim zàaⁿsímà* 'dream dreams' Acts 2:17 or

Fù tùm bó-tùumà? 'What work do you do?' S
2S work.Ipf what-work.Gd.Pl_CQ

Manner-pronoun objects often replace pronouns with abstract reference:

man tɛn'es si'em la ku viigɛ. 'What I plan will not be put off.'
mán tɛn'es si'em la kú viigé. Is 14:24
1S.Nz think how the Ng.Irr put.off_Ng

Da níhì àláa! 'Don't do that!'
Ng.Imp do thus_Ng

Indirect objects expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò dògu_m. 'He cooked (for) me.' W
3A cook_1S

Lì màlìsɪ_m. 'I like it.'
3I be.sweet_1S

Àláafù béo_. 'She's well.'
health exist_3A

linɛ maal dap ayi' banɛ ka kikiris dɔlli ba la
lìnì_ màal dapá àyí bánì_ kà kikiris dɔllí_ba la
DemI_Nz make man.Pl two DemP_Nz and fairy.Pl accompany_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

Even with verbs like *tìs* 'give' which typically take an indirect object, omission does not imply anaphora: *onɛ tìsid piini* 'one who gives gifts' Prv 19:6. Causatives from agentive 2Vbs are strictly transitive, with the original agent as indirect object:

Ò dà nùlìsɪ_bá kù'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', *ⁿwè*' X *nù'ug* 'beg X', *zò* X *nin-báaⁿlìg* 'pity X', *zò* X *dàbiem* 'fear X':

M na kadif saria ka li dɔlli fu tuoma.

Ṃ ná kadɪ_f sáríyà kà lì dɔllí fù tuoma.

1S Irr drive_2S law and 3I accompany 2S work.Gd.Pl

'I will judge you by your deeds.' Ez 7:3

ba da niŋif yadda ka fu faaen ba.

'they trusted you and you saved them.'

bà dà niŋì_f yádda kà fù fáaⁿ_ba.

Ps 22:4

3P Tns do_2S trust and 2S save_3P

m na ke ka fu dataas la nwe'ef nu'ug. 'I'll make your enemies plead with you.'

ṁ ná ké kà fù dà-taas la ⁿwé'ε_f nú'ug. Jer 15:11

1S Irr let and 2S enemy.Pl the hit_2S hand

ka o zo biig la nimbaanlig

'and she pitied the child' Ex 2:6

kà ò zó biig la nin-báaⁿlìg

and 3A run child the pity

Adonija zɔtif dabiem.

'Adonijah is afraid of you.' 1 Kgs 1:51

Adonija zót_f dábiem.

Adonijah run.Ipf_2S fear

Da zɔt dabiem.

'Don't be afraid.' Gn 15:1

Da zót dábiemm_.

Ng.Imp run.Ipf fear_Ng

In standard orthography, which does not mark tone, such constructions are not distinguishable from idioms with a verb followed by a possessed fixed noun object, unless the indirect object or possessor is a 1S or 2S pronoun, as in e.g.

alazugo Wina'am ya'a tɛegi fu tubir fun da ke ka li zabi fɔ.

àlá zúgɔ Wínà'am yá' tɛègì fù tùbìr fun da ké kà lì zábì_fɔ.

so God if pull 2S ear 2S Ng.Imp let and 3I hurtt_2S_Ng

'so if God punishes you don't let it hurt you.' Jb 5:17

Here *tɛeg* X *tùbìr* means 'punish X'; the noun is always singular:

m na tɛegi ba tubir 'I will punish them' Ex 32:24.

Some verbs take **predicative objects**, notably àɛⁿya 'be something' and its negative kaɛ' (sandhi §4.1; with focus-ne' §11.1):

Manɩ_ áⁿ dú'atà kà fun mén áɛⁿ. 'I'm a doctor and you are too.'
 1S_+ be doctor and 2S also be

Adjectives can appear as heads only in predicatives, but only some adjectives may do so, and even predicatives are more often derived manner nouns or compounds of nin- 'person' or bun- 'thing' §8.7.2:

Bà à ne píelà. 'They're white.' W
 3P be Foc white.Pl

Mam anɛ pielug amaa m ya'a paaɛ bugumin asɛɛ ka m lɛb zin'a.
 Mam á ne píelòg àmáa m yá' pae búgúmɩ_n, àsɛɛ kà m lɛb zì'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

Lì à ne bugúsíga. 'It's soft.'
 3I be Foc softly

Lì à ne zaalím. 'It's empty.'
 3I be Foc emptiness

Lì àⁿ súga. 'It's good.'
 3I be well
 (see §11.1 for the absence of ne')

Dub á ne bun-súg. 'Food is a good thing.' W
 food be Foc thing-good

Quality verbs §5.3.2 are often used instead. In B, sùm_{ma} 'be good' appears only before content clauses ('be good that ...')

Predicatives often appear as adjuncts:

ba daa naan vɔlini ti vut 'they would have swallowed us alive'
 bà daa naan vɔlɩ_ní_tɩ vut Ps 124:3
 3P Tns then swallow_DP_1P alive.Pl

Some constructions show a direct object followed by a predicative, e.g.

Ka o maal o meŋ nintita'ar. 'He made himself out to be a great man.'
 Kà ò mâal ò meŋ nin-títa'ar. Acts 8:9 B1
 and 3A make 3A self person-big

Naming constructions with **pùd** 'dub' or **bùol** 'call' take the named entity, or **yu'ur'** 'name' with the named entity as possessor, as direct object, followed by the name itself, which is often preceded by **ye**:

Ka fu na pùd o yu'ur ye Yesu. 'And you will call him Jesus.' Mt 1:21
 Kà fù ná pùd ò yu'ur ye Yesu.
 and 2S Irr dub 3A name that Jesus

on ka ba buon ye Pita la 'who was called Peter' Mt 10:2
 òn kà bà bùon ye Pita la
 DemA and 3P call.Ipf that Peter the

dau sɔ' ka o yu'ur buon Joon. 'a man called John.' Jn 1:6
 dàu-sɔ' kà ò yu'ur bùon Joon. (middle construction)
 man-IdfA and 3A name call.Ipf John

Predicative ideophones include **baa'ímm** LF **baa'ímnè** 'quiet', **nà'ana'** 'easy', **sapu** 'straight', **ɲae** LF **ɲaené** 'bright':

Aa_ní àlá baa'ímm! 'Be (Pl) quiet!'
 be_2P2 thus quiet

Lì à nɛ ná'ana. 'It's easy.'
 3I be Foc easy

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la 'make the highway straight in the bush'
 màalim sɯa-dâug sapu mɔɔgu_n la Is 40:3
 make.Imp road-male straight grass_at the

ke ka ti lieb nyain. 'make us light.' 1 Jn 1:7
 ké kà tì lieb ɲae.
 let and 1P become bright

9.7.2 Adverbials

Adverbials are nouns or NPs typically used as VP adjuncts of manner, time, circumstance, place or reason. Subtypes include pronouns, pronoun-like nouns which cannot take dependents (CGEL p429), postpositions with predeterminers, and relative clauses §10.5.2. They may also occur as NP predependents, as objects (like an Gadara *dim tejin* 'which is at Gadara' Mt 8:28) and even as subjects:

Sùŋa bé.

well exist

'"OK" it is.' W

Ziná á ne dá'a.

today be Foc market

'Today is market.'

Yiŋ venl

Yiŋ véⁿ

outside be.beautiful

'The outside is beautiful' Acts 23:3 B2

o pu'alɔŋ la zugu ke ka ti paam laafi 'his harm has let us get health'

ò pù'alɔŋ la zúgù_ ké kà tì pâam láafi Is 53:5

3A damage the on_+ let and 1P receive health

9.7.2.1 Manner

Manner adverbials include pronouns like *welá* 'how?' and manner nouns, which cannot take dependents. Some manner nouns show apocope-blocking §3.1 and/or prefixed *à* §6.1.2; some derive from adjective stems with suffixed *m* or *ga* §6.1.

Expressive ideophones are manner adverbials:

Ò zòt ne tólib tólib.

'It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop.' W

As with numerals §8.5.1, reduplication is distributive with ordinary nouns: *ziⁿ'ig ziⁿ'ig* 'place by place', *dàbìsìr dábìsìr* 'day by day'; with manner nouns or mass quantifiers it intensifies: *àsídà sídà/àmɛŋá mɛŋá* 'very truly'; *bi'el bi'el* 'very little.'

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

M̄ kɛŋ nɔbá.

1S go leg.Pl

'I went on foot.' S; W *ne nɔbá* (*ne* 'with')

À ⁿye ne nif sɔⁿ'ɔ à wòm túbà.

Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears.'
(Seeing is believing.)

Numerals have specific forms for 'so many times' §8.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adverbials:

Ò tùm bédùgu/pamm.	'She's worked a lot.'
Bà gòsì_tí bábìga.	'They've looked at us many times.' W
cf Bà gòsí_tì bábìga.	'They've looked at many of us.' W

Mass quantifiers may float from within an object or a place adverbial to a later adjunct position:

Bà gòsì_tí wusa.	'They've looked at us all.' W
3P look_1P all	

ka bæ m kɔ̃nba ni wusa	'and is in all my bones' Jer 20:9
kà béé m̃ kɔ̃ ⁿ ba ní wusa	
and exist 1S bone.Pl at all	

9.7.2.2 Time

Some time adverbials are single words which cannot take dependents; beside pronouns (cf CGEL p564) like

nannánna´	'now'	ziná	'today'
sù'os _a	'yesterday'	bεog _ɔ	'tomorrow'
dunná	'this year'	daar	'two days off/ago'
yà'as/yà'as _a	'again'	tò'ɔtɔ´	'straight away'

Some are fixed expressions like

bεog sá/bεog daar	'in future'	bè-kìkèong _ɔ	'very early morning'
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Most are simply NPs expressing times, e.g.

zàam ⁿ wá	'this evening'	yú'ɔŋ ⁿ wá	'tonight'
ⁿ wad-kánì_gàad la		'last month'	
moon-Dem_Nz pass the			
ⁿ wad-kánì_ken na la		'next month'	
moon-Dem_Nz come.Ipf hither the			

The irregular noun *saŋá* 'time' appear in time adverbials like

<i>san-kánè_?</i>	'when?'	<i>san-kán la</i>	'at that time'
<i>saŋá kám</i>	'at all times'	<i>saŋá bèdògu</i>	'a long time'
<i>sansá bèdògu</i>	'many times'	<i>saŋá bi'elá</i>	'for/in a short time'

The locative particle §9.7.2.3 appears in some time expressions:

<i>bεogu_n</i>	'morning'	<i>yiiǵ_n</i>	'at first'
<i>san-sí'e_n la</i>	'at one time, once'		

Daar 'day/date' distinct from *daar* 'two days off/ago') and *wìŋ_n* 'time of day' always take determiners: *nɔb-kôɔg dâar* nobkoog daar 'the day a leg is broken' §13.2. Their use distinguishes points in time from spans of time:

Tì daa kpélìm ànína dabá àyóɔɔɔ. 'We stayed there a week.'
 1P Tns remain there day.Pl seven

Dabá àyóɔɔɔ dâar kà fù ná lɛb na. 'You'll come back in a week.'
 day.Pl seven day and 2S Irr return hither

daar wusa/wuu/mé-kàmà 'every day'
yùum à^wá/à^wána wín 'this time next year'
dáar à^wá/à^wána wín 'this time the day after tomorrow.'

Proper names of days of the week §8.3 always take *daar*: *Àláasìd dâar* 'Sunday.' The Pl *daba* 'days' appears only before the number prefix *à*; the CIF *dà-* (written *dab* in B3) is used before *piiga/pii* 'ten' and *pisí/pis* 'tens.' *Dàbìsìr* '24-hour period' is also used with numerals.

Karufá 'o'clock' precedes a number word to express clock times, e.g. *karufá àtá^n* 'three o'clock.'

9.7.2.3 Place

Place adverbials may be pronouns like *kpε* 'here', specialised words like *yìŋ_a* 'outside', *dàgòbìg_a* 'left', *àǵó|/àǵólá* 'upwards', *lallí* 'far off', Kusaal place names, or NPs headed by postpositions. No verb always requires a place-adverbial object:

Dà̀u-ɔ̀' bé kpelá. 'There's a man here.'
 man-IdfA exist here

but Wínà'am bé. 'God is there.' (i.e. "It'll all work out.")
 Waad bé. 'It's cold.' ("Cold exists.")
 Àláafù bé. 'There is health.' (greeting)

Ka o paae zin'igin la. 'And he reached the place.' Lk 22:40
 Kà ò pae zi''igɩ_n la.
 and 3A reach place_at the

but li saɲa sid paae ya. 'Its time has surely arrived.' Ps 102:13
 lì saɲá sìd pàe ya.
 3I time truly arrive NSb

Many place adverbials are formed with the **locative particle**, which has the form **ni** after pronouns (*m̀n ni/man ni* 'in me'), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in the SF, but enclitic **n** elsewhere:

la'asug dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni 'in synagogues and in streets' Mt 6:2
 là'asùg dɔɔɔɩ_n nɛ sɯoyá nì
 gather.Gd house.Pl_at with road.Pl at

It may precede or follow **la'**: *m̀'arɩ_n la* or *m̀'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 Pailɛt lɛn yi nidibin la na 'Pilate came out to the people again'
 Kà Pailɛt lém yi nidibí_n la na Jn 19:4
 and Pilate again exit person.Pl_at the hither

Ò bè dâ'a_n. 'He's at market.'
 Ò bè kɔɩɩɩ_n. 'He's at the stream.'
 Ò bè tuumɩ_n. 'He's at work.'

Yír' 'house' has the exceptional locatives *yín_n* Pl *yáa_n* 'at home.'

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take **ni** ~ **n**, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók. 'He's in Bawku.'
 M̀ ná keɲ Bók. 'I'm going to Bawku.'
 Fù yûug Bók kpeláa_? 'Have you been long in Bawku (here)?'

Speakers treat foreign place names similarly, but B often uses *nu'* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem téŋu_n* "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place. Most postpositions §8.6.1 have place-adverb meanings; they include

Babá 'beside' (Pl of *babur'* 'sphere of activity'): *m̀ nɔ́bá bàbà* 'beside my feet.'

Gbìn_n 'at the bottom of' (*gbìn_n* 'buttock'): *zuor la gbín* 'below the mountain.'

Kɔ́n'/kɔ́n'kɔ́ 'by ... self' (*àdàkɔ́n'* 'one'): *m̀ kɔ́n'* 'by myself.'

ⁿYá'aŋ_a 'behind, after' (*ⁿyá'aŋ_a* 'back'): *l̀ ⁿyá'aŋ, nɛ'ɛŋa ⁿyâ'aŋ* 'afterward.'

Puug_u_n 'inside' (*puug_a* 'belly'): *ỳuom la púug_u_n* '[months] in the year',

d̀-kaŋa la púug_u_n 'inside that hut.'

Saⁿ'an' 'in the presence/opinion of': *Wínà'am sâⁿ'an* 'in the sight of God', and

Fù ná di'e t̀um puá'-bàmma la sâⁿ'an.

2S Irr get medicine woman-DemP the by

'You'll get the medicine from where those women are.'

S̀uug_u_n/s̀is̀uug_u_n 'between': *tuám nɛ fun s̀uug_u_n* 'between us and you.'

Tɛŋír 'under': *G̀s̀im tɛŋír!* 'Look down!'; *téeb̀l la tɛŋír* 'under the table.'

T̀uon_n 'in front of': *G̀s̀im t̀uon!* 'Look forward!'; *daká la t̀uon* 'before the box.'

Zug_ɔ́' 'onto' (*zug_ɔ́'* 'head'): *téeb̀l la zúg* 'onto the table'; *zugú_u_n* is 'on':

téeb̀l la zúgu_u_n 'on the table.'

Saa zúg_ɔ́ 'up above' can mean 'sky': *saazug paal* 'a new heaven' 2 Pt 3:13.

9.7.2.4 Reason

Place adverbials are used metaphorically to express reason: thus *zug_ɔ́'* 'onto' is used for 'because of'. In this meaning, it often follows an absolute clause §10.5.1.

Faanmim fu nɔ́ŋilim la zug. 'Save me because of your love.' Ps 6:4

Fàaⁿmí_m f̀ ǹǹŋílím la zúg.

save.Imp_1S 2S love the on

Ban mɔ́r dɛŋ la zug, ba ku di'e baa.

Bán mɔ́r dɛŋ la zúg, bà kù dí'e_báa_.

3PNz have wound the on 3P Ng.Irr receive_3P_Ng

'Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted.' Lv 22:25

Bɔ́ zúg 'for what reason, why?' has become a clause adjunct §10.1 meaning 'because'; here Toende Kusaal uses a different postposition: *boyela* 'because.'

Keŋ 'go' may take a gerund as complement in the sense 'go in order to do something'; usually this complement has no locative particle:

O pu su'um ye o dɔlli ti keŋ zabirin la.

Ò pu sú'm yé ò dɔllí_tí_ keŋ zábìrì_n láa_.

3A Ng be.good that 3A accompany_1P_ + go fight.Gd_at the_Ng

'He's not suitable to go into the battle with us.' 1 Sm 29:9

but one keŋ zabir la

'he who went to fight' 1 Sm 30:24

ònì_ keŋ zábìr la

DemA_Nz go fight.Gd the

biig la keng daam la da'ab la

'the boy who went to buy the beer'

biig lá_ keŋ daam la dâ'ab la

§13.1

child the_Nz go beer the buy.Gd the

9.7.3 Prepositional phrases

The prepositions are **ne** 'with', **wɔɔ** 'like', and the loanwords **àséé** 'except' and **halí** 'as far as', along with some combinations of these words. They take NP objects, which may be nominalised clauses. Except for **ne**, which can only take NP objects, prepositions may also introduce unnominalised clauses as subordinators §10.8.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Personal pronouns as objects of prepositions adopt either free or non-enclitic bound forms:

wɔɔ fɔn ne 'like you'

wóɔ fù ne 'like you'

Ne either takes non-enclitic forms or adopts the form **ní**, which is followed by enclitic pronouns:

ní_m 'with me'

ní_tí 'with us'

ní_f 'with you Sg'

ní_ya 'with you Pl'

nó_ 'with him/her'

ní_ba 'with them'

ní_lɛ 'with it'

Ne is 'with' in both the sense 'using' and the sense 'accompanying':

Lìgìním fù nif né fù nû'ug.

'Cover your eye with your hand.'

cover.Imp 2S eye with 2S hand

Bà kèṅ nɛ nɔ́bá.

3P go with leg.Pl

'They've gone on foot.' W

Kulim nɛ sumbugusum.

Kùlìim nɛ suⁿ-búgùsìim.

go.home.Imp with peace

'Go home in peace.' Mk 5:34

Dìim nɛ Wɪn, da tû'as nɛ Wɪnné_.

eat.Imp with God Ng.Imp talk with God_Ng

'Eat with God, don't talk with God.'

M̄ gɛⁿ nɛ fù.

1S get.angry with 2S

'I'm angry with you.' S

Nɛ 'and' coordinating NPs §8.1 is historically the same word.

Some verbs take prepositional phrases with **nɛ** as objects, e.g. **dɔl_la'** 'go with' in the sense 'accord with'; **lal_la'** 'be far from'; **nar_a'** 'need' in the sense 'deserve':

ka li dɔlɛ o tuuma

kà lì dòl nɛ ò tuuma

and 3I accompany with 3A work.Gd.Pl

'according to his deeds' Ez 18:30

Amaa o pu lal nɛ tii.

Àmáa ò pu lal nɛ tu_.

but 3A Ng be.far with 1P_Ng

'But he is not far from us.' Acts 17:27

Fu nar nɛ fun na kpi.

Fù nár nɛ fún nà kpi.

2S need with 2S.Nz Irr die

'You deserve to die.' Jgs 2:26

The combination **halí nɛ** is used with time NPs:

halí nɛ ziná

'until today'

Là'am nɛ 'together with' means 'although' with absolute clauses:

la'am nɛ on da zi' on keṅ teṅ si'a la

là'am nɛ ón dà zì' ón keṅ téṅ-si'a la

together with 3A.Nz Tns Ng.know 3A.Nz go land-Idf the

'although he did not know what country he was going to' Heb 11:8

For **halí là'am nɛ** 'even though' see §11.2.

Objects of **wuu** 'like' which are not followed by the article **la'** are followed instead by an empty particle **ne**, unless they are numerals (where the meaning is 'about, approximately') or interrogative pronouns:

wuu man ne	'like me'
wuu búŋ ne	'like a donkey'
wuu tusá àyí	'about two thousand'
wuu bó_?	'like what?'

mɔri ya'am wuu wiigi ne	'be wise as serpents' Mt 10:16
mòrɔ_ ya'am wuu wiigí ne	
have_2P2 sense like snake.Pl like	

Ò zòt wuu búŋì_ zòt si'em la.	'He runs like a donkey runs.'
3A run.Ipf like donkey_Nz run.Ipf how the	

ⁿWen_{na'} 'be like' takes a prepositional phrase with **ne** or **wuu**; the object is followed by **ne** as after **wuu**:

M nwene danuud ne.	'I am like a beer-drinker.' Jer 23:9
M̃ ⁿwén ne da-núud ne.	
1S be.like with beer-drinker like	

W permits adjuncts introduced by **wuu** (but not **ne**) to be preposed with **kà**:

Wuu búŋ né kà ò zót.	'Like a donkey, he runs.'
like donkey like and 3A run.Ipf	

As prepositions, **halí** means 'up until, as far as', and **àsée** means 'except for':

O daa pun ane ninkuud hali pin'ilugun sa.	
Ò daa pún à ne nin-kúud halí piⁿ'ilúgu_n sá.	
3A Tns previously be Foc person-killer even begin.Gd_at since	
'He was a murderer from the beginning.' Jn 8:44	

Sɔ' kae an sɔ'um aseε Wina'am gullim.	
Sɔ' kae'_ áⁿ sɔ'm àsée Wínà'am góllimm.	
IdfA Ng.be_+ be goodness except God only	
'There is none who is good except God alone.' Mk 10:18	

10 Clauses

10.1 Structure

Typical clauses consist of subject NP + VP. Any deviation from SVO represents preposing or dislocation. Subjects may be preceded, in order, by prepositions, clause linkers (*kà*, *ye* or *n*), adverbials, and/or preposed elements. Subjects are ellipted after *n*, and sometimes after *kà*. The nominalisers *̀̀* and *yà* 'if' follow the subject.

Most clause types require subjects. Impersonal constructions use *̀̀*:

̀̀ t̀̀l. 'It [weather] is hot.'
3I be.hot

̀̀ àⁿ s̀̀ŋa. 'Things are good.'
3I be well

̀̀ nà^r kà f̀̀ kul. 'You must go home.'
3I must and 2S go.home

̀̀ may be omitted in *yà*'-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa 'If it had not been so' Jn 14:2
Yà' ka'a_ní àláa_
if Ng.be_DP thus_Ng

Without a subject, *zu* 'not know' means 'unbeknownst.'

Dummy-subject *̀̀* is also often omitted before *ka* 'not be' (see e.g. §11.3.)

See §10.3.2 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are ellipted after *n*. Pronouns referring to preceding subjects are very often ellipted after coordinating (*not* cosubordinating) *kà*, with initial raising after *kà*; in a reported dialogue *kà ò yél ... kà ò yél* each *ò* marks a switch of speaker. If no pause precedes *kà*, the implicature of subject change from lack of ellipsis can even override animacy marking (but this is tending to break down in any case §8.2):

P̀̀ya' la dá' daká kà keŋ Bók.
woman the buy box and go Bawku
'The woman has bought a box and gone to Bawku.' W

but *P̀̀ya' la dá' daká kà ò keŋ Bók.*
woman the buy box and 3A go Bawku
'The woman has bought a box and **it** has gone to Bawku.' W

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wum 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

(Cf the absence of tense marking after preposed absolute clauses §9.2.1.)

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. Initial raising after ellipted pronouns remains:

Náe yàa_? '[Have you] finished?'
 finish NSb_PQ

Prepositions §9.7.3 may precede unnominalised clauses, before any linkers:

yɛli ya zanbina bæɛ ye o na pa'al tɔumnyalima
 yèlì_ya za^buna bæɛ yé ò nà pa'al tòm-^yalimá
 say_2P sign.Pl or that 3A Irr show work.Gd-wonderful.Pl
 'telling you signs, or that he will show wonders' Dt 13:1

Prepositional clauses are subordinate.

Clause adjuncts follow prepositions or linkers but precede all other constituents, including preposed elements. They include the coordinating particles *kuu/bæɛ* 'or' and *àmáa* 'but':

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lɛm kɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
 Àmáa ón sadígím kprí la, bó kà m lém kɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asè_?
 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 adjunct, e.g. absolute clauses §10.5.1, *lín àn si'em la* 'as it is', *lì nyá'an* 'afterward', as can *àsida/àsida mén* 'truly', *àlá mèn* 'likewise.' All these may also be VP adjuncts, preposable with *kà* §11.4, and so may end up preceding the subject alone, or with *kà* preceding, following, or both. Manner and place adverbials cannot be clause adjuncts, and may thus only precede by *kà*-preposing:

Mɔɔgú_n kà mam bé. 'I'm in the bush.'
 grass_at and 1S exist (W's correction of *Mɔɔgú_n mam bé)

Some clause adjuncts do not occur as VP adjuncts; *yà'* §10.3.3 and *sadigím*-clauses §10.5.1 appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §11.4, and *daa-sí'er* 'perhaps' means 'some day' as a VP adjunct.

Clause adjuncts may appear as LFs §4.3, particularly *bεog* 'tomorrow', *àlá mèn* 'likewise', *daa-sí'er* 'perhaps' and forms with *zug*´. Used as VP adjuncts, *dìn/lìn zúg* 'therefore', *àlá zúg* 'thus', *bɔ zúg* 'because' *must* be preposed with *kà*; *bɔ zúg* is then interrogative 'why?' Along with *àlá mèn*, they can also be subjects of *ké kà* 'cause that' §10.4.2.

Àséé 'unless' appears as a clause adjunct in purpose clauses §10.6.

10.2 Coordination, subordination and cosubordination

Main clauses can be statements, questions or commands; they may lack VPs. For the position of main-clause VP-final particles in relation to any subordinate or catenative clauses see §9.6. Main clauses show NSb marking §9.5 unless coordinating *kà* precedes. Main clauses can also be coordinated with *bεε* 'or' or *àmáa* 'but.' A distinctive subtype of main-clause coordination with some resemblances to cosubordination appears in narrative §9.2.1.

Bεε 'or' can also coordinate clause constituents, including NPs §8.1 and even single verb words:

Ba pu tum bεε nwiid gumme. 'They do not work or spin.' Mt 6:28
 Bà pu túm bεε "wiid gúmme_.
 3P Ng work.Ipf or spin.Ipf thread_Ng

It is possible that in such cases a subject pronoun has been ellipted after *bεε*; cf CGEL p791, where it is pointed out that in English, a negative may have scope over a coordination if this involves gapping.

Subordinate clauses are either nominalised or unnominalised.

Clauses are nominalised by the post-subject particles *ñ* §4.4 or *yà'*. Clauses nominalised by *ñ* are either absolute clauses, usually used as adverbials, or relative clauses; like other NPs, they are coordinated with *ne* 'and' or *bεε* 'or':

On ka' sida sɔba, ne on tum tuumbe'ed sieba la zug
 Ón ka' sídà sɔba_, ne ón tùm tùm-bè'ed-sieba la zúg
 3A.Nz Ng.be truth ØA_Ng with 3A.Nz work work.Gd-bad-IdfP the on
 'Because he is untruthful, and because of the sins he has committed.' Ez 18:24

Clauses nominalised by *yà'* are protases of conditional clauses §10.3.3.

Unnominalised subordinate clauses are introduced by the linker particle **ye** 'that' (occasionally replaced by **kà**, with no other changes of the construction) or by prepositions §10.8. Content clauses follow **ye** 'that'; they differ from all other subordinate or catenative clauses in having the same range of structural possibilities as main clauses, and like main clauses they show NSb marking.

Purpose clauses also follow **ye** 'that', but they have either imperative or irrealis mood VPs and otherwise show a similar range of structures to nominalised clauses, and they always lack NSb marking. Unnominalised subordinate clauses are coordinated with **kà** 'and' or **bεε** 'or':

ka lin anε ye fu ku maali ti bε'εδε nwεnε tinameε daa pu maalif bε'εδ si'em la
aεεε sυ'um ma'aa, **ka ye** fu yim nε sumbuguεsum la.

kà lɪn á nε yé fù kù maali tí bε'εδɪ_ 'nwεn nε tɪnámì_ daa pu máalì_f bε'εδ

and 3I be Foc that 2S Ng.Irr make_1P bad_+ resemble with 1PNz Tns Ng make_2S bad

si'em lá àséε sòm má'aa, **kà yé fù yím nε** suⁿ-búgùsìm la.

how the except good only and that 2S exit.Imp with peace the

'Which is that you will not do us harm, as we did not do you harm but only good, and that you will depart in peace.' Gn 26:29

Cosubordination is the relationship involved in clause "catenation" §10.4. Cross-linguistically, cosubordination involves a closer semantic connection between clauses than subordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984 pp264ff.) Catenation with the particle **n** resembles verb serialisation, but has a much wider range of uses, and there is a complementary cosubordinating use of **kà** to introduce catenative clauses when their subjects (or polarity) differ from the main clause.

Catenative clauses are coordinated with **kà** 'and' or **bεε** 'or':

Sogia so' kae' n tum **ka** yood o meηa.

Sógià-sɔ' kaε' n túm **kà** yɔɔd ò meηá_.

soldier-IdfA Ng.exist + work.Ipf and pay.Ipf 3A self_Ng

'No soldier works and pays for himself.' 1 Cor 9:7 B1

Subordinate and catenative clauses may occur recursively as components of other subordinate or catenative clauses:

Ka Yesu yu'ʊn baη ye si'el wusa naae ya la ka yeI ye

Kà Yesu_ yu'ʊn báj ye si'el wusa náe ya **lá** **kà yél** ye

and Jesus.Nz then realise that IdfI all finish NSb the and say that

'Then when Jesus knew that everything was finished, he said ...' Jn 19:28

(content clause within a nominalised absolute clause)

ban mi' ye biig la kpine la zug 'because they knew the child was dead'
 bán mi' ye biig la kpí ne la zúg Lk 8:53 (content within absolute clause)
 3P.Nz know that child the die Foc the on

M pu bɔɔd ye fu ti yeɪ beog daar ye funε ke ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.
 M̄ pu b̄ɔɔd yé fù tí yeɪ beog daar ye fun_ ké kà mam Abram líeb bun-móra_.
 1S Ng want.Ipf 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 you made me, Abram, rich.' Gn 14:23
 (catenative clause within a content clause within a purpose clause)

Ka sieba ten'es ye Judas n da mɔri ba ligidi kɔɔɔg la yela ka Yesu yet o ye o da'am
 la'abane ka ba bɔɔd malɔɔ diib dabisir la yela, beε o suɔim nɔɔdim la.
 Kà sieba ten'es ye Judas ñ dà mɔrí bà ligidi kólòg la yéla kà Yesu yéto_ yé
 and IdfP think that Judas Nz Tns have 3P money bag the about and Jesus say.Ipf_3A that
 ò dà'am lá'-bànì_ kà bà b̄ɔɔd malɔɔ d̄iib dàb̄is̄ir la yéla,
 3A buy.ImP goods-DemP_Nz and 3P want sacrifice eat.Gd day the about
 béε ò sùɔim nɔɔ-dím la.

or 3A help.Imp poverty-ØP the

'Some thought that, as Judas had their moneybag, Jesus was telling him to buy
 what they wanted for the Passover meal or to help the poor.' Jn 13:29
 (coordinated content clauses within a content clause which also contains an
 embedded absolute clause as part of a reason-adverbial clause adjunct)

Elasia onε an Safat biig ka daa suɔid Elaja la be kpela.
 Elasia ónì_ àⁿ Safat b̄iig kà daa súɔid Elaja la bé kpelá.

Elisha DemA_Nz be Shaphat child and Tns help.Ipf Elijah the exist here

'Elisha, son of Shaphat, who used to help Elijah, is here.' 2 Kgs 3:11
 (a nominalised clause formed from two coordinated clauses)

10.3 Main

Main clauses show NSb marking unless introduced by *kà*. They may be statements (the default), questions or commands; some lack VPs. Coordination is with *kà* 'and', *kuu/bεε* 'or'; with *lèε* 'but', or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English zero.

10.3.1 Questions

Content questions (except *lià* clauses §10.3.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §4.3. Focus-*nε'* cannot appear. There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focused §11.1, and non-subjects are often preposed §11.4. Preposing is obligatory with *bɔ* and *bɔ zúg* as 'why?'

Fù bôwd b́?_?	'What do you want?'
2S want.Ipf what_CQ	
Fù bôwd línè_?	'Which do you want?'
2S want.Ipf DemI_CQ	
Daṽ la nyé ànô'wà_?	'Whom has the man seen?'
man the see who_CQ	
Bôw_ máalè_?	'What has happened?'
what_+ make_CQ	
Fù áa ⁿ ànô'wà bígà_?	'Whose child are you?'
2S be who child_CQ	
Ànô'wà_ nyé_?	'Who has seen?'
who_+ see_CQ	
Ànô'wà kà daṽ la nyé_?	'Whom has the man seen?'
who and man the see_CQ	
Fù yu'uré_?	'[What is] your name?'
2S name_CQ	
B́ kà fù kúmmà_?	'Why are you crying?'
what and 2S weep.Ipf_CQ	

Polar questions have the form of statements (with **ne'** permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by **kúu_?** 'or?' (expecting agreement), or by **béé_?** 'or?' (expecting disagreement):

Daṽ la nyé bígàa_?	'Has the man seen a child?'
man the see child_PQ	
M á ne dáùu_?	'Am I a man?'
1S be Foc man_PQ	
Bà kòud ne búusèè_?	'Are they killing goats?'
3P kill.Ipf Foc goat.Pl_PQ	

Fù pu wómmàa_?

2S Ng hear.Ipf_Ng_PQ

'Don't you understand?'
(expects εεⁿ, here "no")

Daṽ la ⁿyé biig kúu_?

man the see child or_PQ

'Has the man seen a child?'
(I expect so.)

Daṽ la ⁿyé biig béε_?

man the see child or_PQ

'Has the man seen a child?'
(I expect not.)

10.3.2 Commands

For indirect commands, see §10.6 §10.7. In direct commands, 2S pronouns are deleted, and 2P moves to follow the verb directly as the liaison word *ya*:

Fù gós biig la.

2S look child the

'You (Sg) have looked at the child.'

Yà gós biig la.

2P look child the

'You (Pl) have looked at the child.'

but Gòsìm biig la!

look.Imp child the

'Look (Sg) at the child!'

Gòsìm_l biig la!

look.Imp_2P2 child the

'Look (Pl) at the child!'

Da gɔs biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look child the_Ng

'Don't (Sg) look at the child!'

Da gɔs_l biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look_2P2 child the_Ng

'Don't (Pl) look at the child!'

Da gɔsε_!

Ng.Imp look_Ng

'Don't (Sg) look.'

Da gɔs_lyá_!

Ng.Imp look_2P2_Ng

'Don't (Pl) look.'

2S/P subjects remain unchanged after clause adjuncts and in content clauses:

Fu ya'a mɔr pu'a, fun da mɔɔd ye fu bas oo.

Fù yá' mɔr pua', fun da mɔɔd yé fù básò_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 fu tikim nu'ug

'and agreed that you sign' Dn 6:7

kà sják yé fù tìkìm nû'ug

and agree that 2S press.Imp hand

Some speakers add *ya* redundantly in catenatives and quoted commands:

Kèmi_ na_ gɔsɔ_!

come.Imp_2P2 hither_+ look_2P2

'Come (Pl) and look!'

(Kèmi_ na_ gɔsɔ! W)

Ò yèl yé bà gòsìmi_ tenj_n.

3A say that 3P look.Imp_2P2 down

'He said to them: Look down!'

Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed subject pronoun sometimes end in a LF like that preceding a negative enclitic:

Gɔsima!

'Look!' Gn 20:16

Gɔsimiya, nidib la wɔsa dɔl o nɛ!

Gòsìmi_yá, nidib la wúsà d̀llo_ nɛ!

look.Imp_2P2 person.Pl the all accompany_3A Foc

'Look!' All the people are following him!' Jn 12:19

10.3.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause protasis as a clause adjunct. The main clause can be 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 §11.4.

Fù yá' gɔs kpelá, b́ kà fù nyetá_?

2S if look here what and 2S see.Ipf_CQ

'If you look here, what do you see?' S

Ka ligidi la ya'a kɔ'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.

Kà ligidi la yá' pò'ɔg, m̀ yá' t̀ lèb na, m̀ ná yóɔf.

and money the if get.small 1S if next return hither 1S Irr 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 sù'm bà yá' pu dū'a_n dáy-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:

Fu ya'a na dɔllimi keŋ, m na keŋ. 'If you will go with me, I will go.' Jgs 4:8

Fù yá' nà dɔllí_mí_ keŋ, m ná keŋ.

2S if Irr accompany_1S_+ go 1S Irr go

M ya'a pu keŋε, Suŋid la ku kεen ya ni naa.

M yá' pu keŋé_, suŋid la kú kéeⁿ yà ni náa_.

1S if Ng go_Ng helper the Ng.Irr 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:

Fu ya'a mɔr pu'a, fun da mɔɔd ye fu bas oo.

Fù yá' mɔr pua', fun da mɔɔd yé fù 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* §9.2 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 the preverbal adjunct *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' §10.4.2.

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 §10.5.1.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dɔgúlí_f.

2S if agree 1P Irr lay_2S

'If you agree, we'll put you to bed.'

(i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'ug kumine, alaa ti labasuj la mɔɔɔɔg la ane zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà pu vu'ug kumi_né_, àlása tì làbà-sùj la

and Christ if Tns Ng revive death_at_Ng thus 1P news-good the

mɔɔɔɔg la á ne zaalím.

proclaim.Gd the be Foc emptiness

'If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty.' 1 Cor 15:14

Nid ya'a tum tuma, o di'ed yɔɔɔɔ. 'If a person works, he gets pay.'

Nid yá' tùm tuma, ò di'ed yɔɔɔɔ. Rom 4:4

person if work.Ipf work.Gd.Pl 3A receive.Ipf pay

Begog ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.

Begog yá' niè, fù ná wúm ò pjàⁿ'ad.

tomorrow if appear 2S Irr 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' ningbij nii, lin ku nyanjin

keen ka o ka' ningbij nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèl_n ye, ón pu áⁿ nú'ug la zúg, ò ka' nín-gbij ní_n,

leg if say_DP that 3A.Nz Ng be hand the on 3A Ng.exist body at_Ng

lín kú ⁿyanj_n kée_n kà ò ka' nín-gbij ní_n.

DemI Ng.Irr 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.

Wief yá' sigí_n lì ni, lì zùlùŋ ná páa_n ò sàlìbìr.

horse if descend_DP 3I at 3I depth Irr 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; past contrary-to-fact main clauses may instead use past-tense irrealis:

Man ya'a pu keen na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mɔɔɔɔn taale.

Man yá' pu kee_n na_ tú'asi_ní_ba, bà naan kú mɔɔɔɔn tâalle_n.

1S if Ng come_DP hither_ + talk_DP_3P 3P then Ng.Irr have_DP fault_Ng

'Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty.' Jn 15:22

M ya'a mɔɔrin sʊ'ʊgʊ m nu'ugin m naan kʊnɪf nannanna.

M̄ yá' mɔɔrɪ_n sʊ'ʊgʊ̀ m̄ nʊ'ugɪ_n, m̄ naan kʊɪ_nɪ_f nannánna.

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

Bɔzʊgɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vu'ʊsum zin'ig, Wina'am da kʊ lɛm pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'asɛ.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tɪsɪ_nɪ_ba vu'ʊsɪm zɪn'ig, Wɪnà'am dá kò lɛm pɪa'n'

because Joshua if Tns give_DP_3P rest.Gd place God Tns Ng.Irr again speak

dábɪs-si'a yɛ̀là 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' pòn 'even if':

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la bɛ Samaria la!

M̄ zug-dâan la yá' naan sɪákɪ_keŋ_ nyɛɛ_n nɔ-dɪ'es lá_ bɛ Samaria la!

1S master the if then agree_+ go_+ see_DP linguist the_Nz exist Samaria the

'If only my master would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!' 2 Kgs 5:3

Li ya'a pun du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pòn dʊà', sáam ná dɪ̀lɪ.

3I if already bear stranger.Pl Irr eat_3I

'Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it.' Hos 8.7

Modal *n* and *naan* also occur outside conditionals; *naan ... n* is contrary-to-fact.

Bɔ̀ɔdɪ_n appears in main clauses as 'might wish':

M naan bɔ̀ɔdɪn ye fʊ aannɛ m taun

M̄ naan bɔ̀ɔdɪ_n yé fù áa_n né m̄ taʊn

1S then want.Ipf_DP that 2S be_DP Foc 1S opposite-sex-sib

'I might have wished that you had been my brother.' Sg 8:1

Naan may be effectively equivalent to *yà'* 'if/when':

Li an sum ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yɛla gaad ...

Lì àn sʊm ye dau yɪnní naan kpí nidib la yɛ̀là_ 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

Nonjir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòṅìr léém kaɛ'_ gâad nidí_ naan kpí ò zụà-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

In older texts *naan* often represents *nyaan* 'next, then' in coordinated clauses:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan B3] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kí'ìs man nórɔr àtán' kà nɔ-dâug nyaan kaas nórɔr àyí.

2S Irr deny 1S time three and cock next cry time two

'You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice.' Mk 14:30 B2

10.3.4 Verbless

Ìia (dia B1; Mampruli *lee*) 'where is?' follows a NP subject:

Fù mà la lía_?

2S mother the be.where_CQ

'Where is your mother?' W (overheard)

Ka awai la dia?

Kà àwae la lía_?

and nine the be.where_CQ

'But where are the nine?' Lk 17:17 B1

Possibly *ìa* should be regarded as a highly defective *verb*; however, it never appears with any verbal particles.

Vocatives consist of NP + vocative enclitic §4.3, alone or beside a main clause:

M òdiemma_, bó kà fù kúosiðà_?

1S parent.in.law_Voc what and 2S sell.Ipf_CQ

'Madam, what are you selling?'

(to a stallholder)

Lɛm na, fun kanɛ an Sulam tɛŋ nida!

Lè̀m na, fun-kánì_ àⁿ Sulam tɛ̀ŋ nìda_!

return.Imp hither 2S-Dem_Nz be Shulam land person_Voc

'Return, O Shulammite!' Sg 6:13

Vocatives do not take the article, but often end in *wà* 'this': zɔn *wá_!* 'fools!'

Some **particles** constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like *báp* 'wallop!'; others common to many local languages, like *tò* 'OK', *ńfá* 'well done!' 'Yes' is *ɛɛⁿ*; 'no' is *áyù*. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus the reply to *lì pu naée_?* 'isn't it finished?' may be *ɛɛⁿ* 'no' or *áyù* 'yes.'

10.3.5 Ellipsis of main clauses

In certain cases, a main clause may be partly or entirely ellipated, leaving just a subordinate or catenative clause or a NP as a complete utterance.

It is common in informal speech to omit main clauses in **indirect commands**; the initial clause-linking particle of the (co)subordinate clause is usually also ellipated. Thus with *kèl kà* 'let' before a catenative §10.4.2, *m̄/fù bôcɔd ye* 'I/you want that' before a purpose clause §10.6, or *m̄ tēⁿ'es ye* 'I think that' before a content clause §10.7:

<p><i>M̄ gɔs nif la.</i> 1S look eye the</p>	<p>'Let me look at the eye.' (overheard) catenative</p>
<p><i>Ò sáa ⁿwè' bòn̄ la.</i> 3A Tns hit donkey the</p>	<p>'Let him hit the donkey tomorrow.' purpose</p>
<p><i>M̄ dígìnèè_?</i> 1S lie_PQ</p>	<p>'Am I to lie down?' (overheard) purpose</p>
<p><i>Ò gòsìm ten̄_n.</i> 3A look.Imp ground_at</p>	<p>'She should look down.' content</p>
<p><i>Tì pú'usìm Wínà'am.</i> 1P praise.Imp God</p>	<p>'We should praise God.' content</p>

Lì à ne 'it is' is omitted before a NP with a **focusing deictic** §11.3. Ellipsis is not invariable, but cases without ellipsis are unusual with positive polarity:

Li ane Wina'am nid one ki'is Zugsoɓ pian'ad la, la.

Lì à ne Wínà'am níd ònì_ kú'is Zug-sóɓ p̄jàⁿ'ad la_ la.

3I be Foc God person DemA_Nz refuse Lord word.Pl the_that

'This is the man of God who refused the Lord's word.' 1Kgs 13:26

but *Zaansuɗ soɓ la nwana kenna!* 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
Zàaⁿsúɗ sóɓ la_wána kén na! Gn 37:19
 dream ØA the_this.here come.Ipf hither

It is likely that both the focusing of clause subjects with *n* and the foregrounding of other NPs with *kà* §11.1 arose historically by a similar ellipsis of all but the last NP of a main clause, but these constructions are not elliptical synchronically. Similarly, Hausa focus constructions like *Yaarònkà mukà ganii* 'It was your boy that we saw' are argued to be monoclausal in Green 2007, 4.2.3.

The particle *kà* can coordinate clauses, including clauses which follow n §10.2. However, *kà*-clauses are very frequently *cosubordinate*, with functions clearly parallel or complementary to those of *n*-clauses: these too will be classified as catenatives.

For example, *kà* normally replaces *n* if the polarity changes:

Ka pu'a so' daa bæ anina bən'ed 'There was a woman there who was sick'
Kà pu'à'-so' daa bæ ànína_ bĕn'ed Mt 9:20
 and woman-IdfA Tns exist there_+ get.sick.Ipf

but Ka dau daa zin'i Lистра ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dau daa zín'i Lистра ní kà pu tu'n'e_ kenná_.
 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

Exceptions do occur (further undermining any analysis as verb serialisation):

ya sieba bæ kpela ku kpíi asé ba ti nyé Wina'am na'am la.
yà sieba bé kpelá_ kú kpíi_ àsé ba tí nyé Wínà'am nâ'am la.
 2P IdfP exist here_+ Ng.Irr die_Ng except 3P Next see God kingdom the
 'There are some of you here who will not die without seeing
 the kingdom of God.' Lk 9:27 (B2 ya sieba bæ kpela n ku kpíi)

However, the usual reason for replacing *n* with *kà* is a **change of subject**.

For example, a *kà*-catenative can be attached to a main-clause NP anchor other than the subject, again with a meaning like a non-restrictive relative clause. If the anchor is not the catenative clause object, a resumptive pronoun is used; if this pronoun is the catenative clause subject, the meaning is predicative:

Anina ka o nyé dau ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.
Àníná kà ò nyé dáu kà ò yu'ur 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.
Zi'_, kà dau la sígì_lá kà ò gba'n'e_ mórì_ kul.
 Ng.know_Ng and man the life.force_that and 3A grab_+ have_+ go.home
 'Unbeknownst, that was the man's life force he'd taken home.' G2 p26

M daa pu nyé dau lá kà ò á' n á'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 pja'n'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 the non-specific subject *bà* 'they', *n* may occur instead of *kà* §8.2.

Another example is the use of *kà*-catenatives after verbs of perception; here the subject usually differs from that of the main clause, but need not do so.

Fu ku wum ka ba pian'ad bæε yet si'ela
 Fù kú wúm kà bà pja'n'ad bæε yét si'ela_

2S Ng.Irr hear and 3P speak.Ipf or say.Ipf Idfl_Ng
 'You will not hear them speaking or saying anything.' Ps 19:3

Catenations behave as single units for focus §11.1. Aspects usually agree. Tense particles are never repeated, but discontinuous-past *n* usually is. Moods usually agree, but after an indicative, irrealis or imperative may 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_+ Irr prevail_3A_Ng

The main clause is often semantically subordinate (see §10.4.2). This can also occur because the ordering of Pfs in catenation must reflect event order:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud
 Kà Nin-sâal Bîig la ke na_ dít kà nuud
 and human child the come hither_+ eat.Ipf and drink.Ipf

'And the Son of Man came eating and drinking' Mt 11:19

but Ka dapa ayi' ye fupielà zi'e ba san'an.
 Kà dapá àyí yé fu-píelà_ zì'e bà sa'n'an.

and man.Pl two don shirt-white.Pl_+ stand 3P by
 'Two men dressed in white were standing with them.' Acts 1:10

Polarity need not agree across a catenation; see above, and also e.g.

Li pu yuuge ka Yesu tu'usi ba pu'usi ba.
 Lì pu yúuge_, kà Yesu tu'usí_ba_ pú'usì_ba.

3I Ng delay_Ng and Jesus meet_3P_+ greet_3P
 'Not much later, Jesus came to greet them.' Mt 28:9

The question arises whether *kà* in these constructions could not simply be regarded as coordinating. However, the negative enclitic induced by the negation of the preceding clause usually follows the catenative: this would be surprising for coordination without gapping (cf CGEL p791):

M̐ daa pu ʔye daṽ lá kà ò áʔ ná'aba_. 'I didn't see the man as a chief.' K
 1S Tns Ng see man the and 3A be chief_Ng

Moreover, *kà*-clauses used in ways parallel or complementary to clauses with *n* are consistently of the type analysed as cosubordinate in Foley and Van Valin 1984; significantly, this work also classifies the serial verb constructions of Yoruba and Twi as cosubordinate (p261.) The fact that with both types of catenative either the first or second clause may be *semantically* subordinate suggests a fundamental similarity, and itself suggests a relationship which is not simply subordinating.

In Role and Reference Grammar, for a nexus to be classified as cosubordinate there must be at least one compulsorily shared "operator" (Van Valin 2021 p248): as has been seen above, in Kusaal this cannot be aspect, mood or polarity. However, tense markers only ever appear in the initial clause, and apply to all subsequent catenatives. Foley and Van Valin 1984 (pp208ff) describe tense as cross-linguistically an operator at the level of the "periphery", consistent with an analysis of Kusaal catenation as a nexus of clauses rather than verbs or predicates.

This role for tense raises the question of the status of narrative *kà*-clauses without tense marking §9.2.1 (cf Ross 2021, 3.1.3), but these show systematic syntactic differences from catenatives. Catenations are single units for focus, but only temporal focus is restricted in narrative *kà*-clauses §11.1. Narrative *kà*-clauses may omit subject pronouns coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause (and *kà* directly followed by a tense marker is always coordinating), but in *kà*-catenatives subject pronouns are only ellipied immediately before negative preverbal particles:

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
 Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yis ligidi la n keŋ_ dá' daam_ ná nu yiigá kà ʔyaan `
 but 3P that 3I must and 3P extract money the + go_+ buy beer_+ Irr drink firstly and next
 pudig ligidi la. **Kà yis** ligidi la bi'elá
 share money the and extract money the a.little

'But they said they should take some money out to buy beer to drink first,
 and then share out the money. And they took out a little of the money' §13.1

but Haga da nyε **ka o mɔr** puug la 'when Hagar saw she was pregnant'
 Haga_ dà ʔyé kà ò mɔr puug la Gn 16:4
 Hagar_Nz Tns see and 3A have belly the

10.4.1 Specialised verbs in catenatives

In catenatives, many verbs have adverb- or preposition-like meanings. Thus often with verbs of movement or state change:

M na kad kikirisi yis nidibin 'I will drive demons out of people'
 M̀ ná kad kíkirisì_ yis nidibí_n Lk 13:32
 1S Irr drive fairy.Pl_+ expel person.Pl_at

Ka o gaadi kpɛn' Rakel dɔɔgin la mɛn.
 Kà ò gáadì_ kpɛ̀n' Rakel dɔ́ɔgì_n la mɛ́n.
 and 3A pass_+ enter Rachel hut_at the also
 'He went on into Rachel's tent too.' Gn 31:33

halí n tì pae ziná 'right up until today'
 until + then reach today

Ò dù_ tìg. 'She's eaten to satiety.'
 3A eat_+ get.sated

Ò dù_ gálìs. 'She's eaten too much.'
 3A eat_+ exceed

Ò dù_ nae. 'She's finished eating.'
 3A eat_+ finish

Gàad 'pass, surpass' is used in comparisons, e.g.

Fu sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa? 'Do you really love me more than these?'
 Fù síd nòŋ mam_ gát bámmáa_? Jn 21:15
 2S truly love 1S_+ pass.Ipf DemP_PQ

À Wɪn gím_ gát à Bɔgɔr. 'Awini is shorter than Abugri.' S
 Pz Awini be.short_+ pass.Ipf Pz Abugri

Tìs 'give' is used for 'to, for'; the meaning need not imply any giving:

M daa kùos bònù_ tís dú'atà. 'I sold a donkey to Doctor.'
 1S Tns sell donkey_+ give doctor

N ^{na} 'resembling' (where *n* is usually realised as zero) can even be preposed or dislocated like an adverbial:

Nwene fun yei si'em la, fu me ku len nyee ma!

^{na}Wen ne fun yei si'em la, fu me ku lem ^{ma}nyee!

be.like with 2S.Nz say how the 2S also Ng.Irr again see_1S_Ng

'As you have said, you too will not see me again!' Ex 10:29

10.4.2 Specialised verbs before catenatives

Many verbs have specialised auxiliary senses in main clauses preceding semantically-main catenative clauses. (See also on clefting §11.4.)

Bè ànína 'exist there' with an IpF catenative means 'be in the process of':

Ò bè ànína n ^{ed}wê biig la.

'He's currently beating the child.'

3A exist there + beat.Ipf child the

Bòḡḡa 'want to' usually takes a purpose clause with *ye* §10.6, but may take a following catenative (cf also *bòḡḡa* + gerund 'be about to' §9.2):

Mam pu bòḡḡi basi fɔ.

'I do not want to leave you.' Dt 15:16

Mam pu bóḡḡì_ básì_ fɔ_.

1S Ng want.Ipf_+ leave_2S_Ng

Gòsim on bòḡḡi niḡ si'em nyee taal!

Gòsìm ón bóḡḡì_ níḡ si'em_ ^mnyee_ taal!

look,Imp 3A.Nz want.Ipf_+ do how_+ find_1S fault

'Look how he is trying to find me at fault!' 2 Kgs 5:7

Dɔl_a 'accompany', mɔr_a 'have' before motion verbs mean 'go with', 'bring':

Bà d̀llo_ keḡ Bók.

'They've gone to Bawku with her.'

3P accompany_3A_+ go Bawku

Dabá àyóḡḡè kà f̀ mɔró_ ke na.

'Bring her here in a week.' W

day.Pl seven and 2S have_3A_+ come hither

Ɖɔɩs 'follow, trace, accord with' takes an object referring to a path rather than a person (also e.g. X **nɔ́bà** 'X's track.'). It is often metaphorical, as in 'follow an order.'

Suobɔ ka fu na ɔɩlisɛ?
Sɔ̀a-bɔ̀ kà fù ná ɔɩlisɛ_?
 path-what and 2S Irr follow_CQ 'What method will you follow?'
 1 Kgs 22:22

M ɔɩlisid o wada la wusa
M̀ ɔ̀ɩ̀sɩ̀d ò wadá la wusa
 1S follow.Ipf 3A law the all 'I follow all his law' 2 Sm 22:23

ka zɔɔ ɔɩlis zanguum la.
kà zɔɔ_ ɔɩlis zánguòm la.
 and run_+ follow wall the 'and ran alongside the wall.' J1 2:9

Ban da kaali ɔɩlisi ba za'as la
Bán dà kaalɩ_ ɔɩlisí bà zà'as la
 3P.Nz Tns count_+ follow 3P compound.Pl the 'those counted by their families'
 Nm 4:36

Ɖɔɩs (n yi) X **nɩ/saⁿ'an n ...** means 'by means of X', where X is a person; **kà** replaces **n** if the subject changes. The order of the clauses is sometimes reversed.

O ɛɛnti pu ɔɩlisid tinam san'anɛ pian'ada?
Ò ɛɛⁿ tí pu ɔɩlisíd tɩnám saⁿ'anɩ_ pɩ́aⁿ'adá_?
 3A habit Ng follow.Ipf 1P by_+ speak.Ipf_PQ
 'Hasn't he also spoken through us?' Nm 12:2

Zugsɔɔb la da ɔɩlis o nɔɔdi'esidibin tis nɔɔr káɲa.
Zug-sɔ́b la dá ɔ̀ɩ̀s ò nɔ́-dí'esìdìbɩ_n_ tís nɔ́ɔr-káɲa.
 Lord the Tns follow 3A linguist.Pl_at_+ give mouth-Dem
 'The Lord gave this command through his prophets' 2 Chr 29:25

bɔzugo Zugsɔɔb la da ɔɩlis o ni ka Aram dim paam nyanjir.
bɔ zúgo Zug-sɔ́b la dá ɔ̀ɩ̀s ò ní kà Aram díɩm páam ⁿ'yanjír.
 because Lord the Tns follow 3A at and Aram ØP obtain prevail.Gd
 'because the Lord had given the Aramaeans victory through him.' 2 Kgs 5:1

alaa Zugsɔɔb la pu pian' ɔɩlisi yi man san'anɛ!
àlá Zug-sɔ́b la pu pɩ́aⁿ'_ ɔɩlisɩ_ yi man saⁿ'ané_!
 thus Lord the Ng speak_+ follow_+ exit 1S by_Ng
 'then the Lord has not spoken by me!' 1 Kgs 22:28

Mi' 'know': *nám mi'/zi'* before Pf catenatives mean 'have always/have never':

M nám zi'_ nyε gbɪgumne_. 'I've never seen a lion.' S

1S still Ng.know_+ see lion_Ng

Makir bane buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

Makír-bànì_ buudi paadí_ ya la nám mi'_ pae sieba mén.

test.Gd-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 naane o buɲ la zugu sig la

Kà pu'a lá_ dà naaní ò bùɲ la zúgù_ 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

Niɲ welá 'do how?' here means 'how can?':

Ninsaal biig na niɲ wala pu mɔr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Nin-sâal biig nà niɲ welá_ pu mɔr tâal Wínà'am túonnè_?

human child Irr 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 niɲ wala ka o an David yaanɔ? 'How can he be David's descendant?'

Lì niɲ welá kà ò áⁿ David yâanà_? Mt 22:45

3I do how and 3A be David descendant_CQ

M na niɲ wala ka nyε faangire? 'How can I find salvation?' Acts 16:30

M ná niɲ welá kà nyε faaⁿgírè_?

1S Irr do how and find salvation_CQ

nyan' 'overcome' here means 'prevail in.' Main and catenative clauses agree in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

M pu nyan'_ wé' bùɲ láa_. 'I wasn't able to hit the donkey.'

1S Ng prevail_+ hit donkey the_Ng

M kú ⁿyaŋɥ_ ⁿwé' bòn̄ lása_. 'I can't hit the donkey.'

1S Ng.Irr prevail_+ hit donkey the_Ng

wada line nyan̄idi kɛt ka nidib vɔɛ
wadá lìnì_ ⁿyaŋídì_ kɛt kà nidib vɔɛ

law DemI_Nz prevail.Ipf_+ let.Ipf and person.Pl live

'a law which can make people live' Gal 3:21

Sɥa' 'hide' is used for 'secretly':

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol ban̄idib la 'Herod secretly summoned the wise men'

Kà Nà'ab Herod sɥa'_ bûol ban̄idib la Mt 2:7

and king Herod hide_+ call knower.Pl the

Tuⁿ'e_{ya} 'be able' is used in the indicative or irrealis to express present ability:

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paŋi na tun'e si'em
bà daa tís kà lì zemísì bà pàŋì_ nà tuⁿ'e si'em

3P Tns give and 3I become.equal 3P strength_NZ Irr be.able how

'They gave as much as their strength would permit.' 2 Cor 8:3

ka li kɔ tun'e su'a. 'which cannot be hidden' Mt 5:14

kà lì kú tuⁿ'e_ sɥa'a_.

and 3I Ng.Irr 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 teŋi_n la né tì. Gn 34:10

2P Irr be.able_+ sit land_at the with 1P

O pɔ tun'e pian'ada. 'He could not speak.' Lk 1:22

Ò pɔ tuⁿ'e_ pjaⁿ'adá_.

3A Ng be.able_+ speak.Ipf_Ng

Zàŋ and nɔk' 'pick up, take' here mean 'using' (a literal instrument):

M nók sù'ugù_ kjà' nim la. 'I've cut the meat with a knife.'

1S take knife_+ cut meat the

M zánjì m nù'ugù_ s'is daká la. 'I touched the box with my hand.'

1S pick.up 1S hand_+ touch box the

Verbs of beginning often precede semantically-main catenatives:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba 'Peter began to tell them' Acts 11:4
 Kà Pita pi^{n'}il_U pá'alì_ba
 and Peter begin_+ teach_3P

Tì déhì_ tíso_ lór. '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 dàɔ-sɔ' due_ zî'en
 and man-IdfA rise_+ stand.up

Zi' '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 tum ... 'If anyone unwittingly does ... ' Lv 5:17
 Kà sɔ' yá' zí' kà túm ...
 and IdfA if Ng.know and work

See above for *lì pu yúuge_ kà* 'not much later ...'
Kà beog níe kà is common in B narrative for 'next day':

Ka beog nie ka ti keɲ Niapolis teɲin 'Next day we went to Neapolis'
 Kà beog níe kà tì keɲ Niapolis téɲɔ_n Acts 16:11
 and morning wake and 1P go Neapolis land.at

Certain verbs have specialised uses before *kà*-catenatives specifically. The catenative usually has a different subject from the main clause, but this is not invariable.

Kɛ 'let, leave' is 'let, cause' before catenatives. If the catenative has the same subject as the main clause it takes the reflexive form with *meɲa'*:

Kɛl ka fù meɲ an zanbinne tisi ba ka li yii fù tuum suma ni.
 Kèl kà fù meɲ áⁿ zaⁿbun_{nɔ} tísi_bá kà lì yíi fù tuum-sùmà ní.
 let.Imp and 2S self be sign_+ give_3P and 3I exit 2S work.Gd-good.Pl at
 'Let yourself be an example to them by your good works.' Ti 2:7

The mood of the catenative after **ke** usually agrees with the main clause, but an imperative may follow an irrealis in the main clause.

Ka li anε wada la ket ka tumbε'ed nyet paη.

Kà lî à né wadá la_ kέt kà tùm-be'ed nyet páη.

and 3I be Foc law the_+ let.Ipf and work.Gd-bad see.Ipf power

'It is the law which lets sin find power.' 1 Cor 15:56

Li da ke ka ba pu nyaηi kuv o.

'This prevented him from being killed.'

Lì dà kè kà bà pu nyanη_ kúo__.

2 Kgs 11:2

3I Tns let and 3P Ng prevail_+ kill_3A_Ng

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

'which will stop them dying out.' Gn 6:20

Dinε_ ná kέ kà bà da kpi'úlimm_.

3I_+ Irr let and 3P Ng.Imp finish_Ng

Imperative **kèl_a** can be used for first/third person commands:

Kèlì_ kà tì pò'us Wínà'am.

'Let us praise God.' (or **Kèl kà ...**)

let.Imp_2P2 and 1P greet God

Da kέ kà dàbiem béε_!

'Don't be afraid.'

Ng.Imp let and fear exist_Ng

Kèl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving lack of NSb marking as the only sign that the clause is a command §10.3.5.

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §11.1) of **ke**:

Ka bɔzugɔ ke ka fu tumim na?

'Why have you sent me here?' Ex 5:22

Kà bɔ zúgò_ kέ kà fù túmì_m ná_?

and why_+ let and 2S send_1S hither_CQ

The imperative-only 1Vb **mìt_a** (mid B3) + catenative §9.3.1 means 'let not'; B3 omits the negative enclitic. 3rd person subjects occur, but 2S/P subjects are dropped, except after clause adjuncts or in content clauses; 2P2 **ya** is not used.

O mid ka o lεbis béε tiaki li

'He may not take it back or change it.'

Ò míd kà ò lébìs béε tjàkì_lì

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 tùum-sòmà nidib tûon yé bà gɔsɛ_.

beware and 2P do 2P work.Gd-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

After *nyɛ* 'see' and *wòm* 'hear/smell/feel', catenatives express direct perception of how something is:

Ka Noa yis dine ligil anruŋ la ka nye ka teŋ la wusa kuɗig.

Kà Noa yis díni_ ligil ànrùŋ lá kà nyé kà teŋ la wúsà kùdìg.

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

(no NSb-Pf *ya*, showing that the *kà*-clause is not a content clause)

Bɔzugɔ, o da nye ka Sela bi',

'For she saw Shelah was grown' Gn 38:14

Bɔ zúgɔ, ò dà nyè kà Sela bí,

(no NSb-Pf *ya*)

because 3A Tns see and Shelah mature

Amaa lin an si'em la, ti nam pu nye ka o su'oe si'el mekamaa.

Àmáa lín à si'em la, tì nám pu nyé kà ò su'e si'el mé-kàmaa_.

but 3I.Nz be how the 1P still Ng see and 3A own Idfl whatever_Ng

'But as things are, we do not yet see him owning everything.' Heb 2:8

Gɔsima, m wum ka fu saam yeli fu bier Esau ye

Gòsìma, m wúm kà fù sàam yélì fù bier Esau ye

look.Imp 1S hear and 2S father say 2S elder.sib Esau that

'Look, I've heard your father saying to your brother Esau that ...' Gn 27:6

Ka Josua wum ka nidib la maan tukpiidug ka li nwene zaba la

Kà Josua_ wúm kà nidib la mâan túkpíidug kà lì nwɛn nɛ zábà la

and Joshua_Nz hear and person.Pl the make.Ipf tumult and 3I be.like with fight.Gd.Pl the

'When Joshua heard people making a commotion like a fight' Ex 32:17

Fu ku wum ka ba pian'ad bæ yɛt si'ela

Fù kú wúm kà bà pja'ad bæ yét si'ela_

2S Ng.Irr hear and 3P speak.Ipf or say.Ipf Idfl_Ng

'You will not hear them speaking or saying anything.' Ps 19:3

Ka m li tenjin ka wum ka kukor buolim ye

Kà m lí tenj_n kà wúm kà kùkòr búolì_m ye

and 1S fall ground.at and hear and voice call_1S that

'I fell to the ground and heard a voice calling to me that ...' Acts 22:7

The subject of the catenative is not necessarily different from that of the main clause; a catenative subject pronoun referring to the main-clause subject is not ellipted:

Haga da nyε ka o mɔr puug la

'when Hagar saw she was pregnant'

Haga_ dà nyé kà ò mɔr puug la

Gn 16:4

Hagar_Nz Tns see and 3A have belly the

nyε 'see' takes a catenative rather than a content clause, even when literal seeing is not implied:

Rakel n da nyε ka on nε Jakob pu du'ad biis la

Rakel ñ dà nyé kà on nε Jakob pu dū'ad biis la

Rachel Nz Tns see and 3A with Jacob Ng bear child.Pl the

'When Rachel saw that she and Jacob were not having any children' Gn 30:1

However **wùm** 'hear' takes a content clause for the sense 'hear that something is the case':

Lin nya'aŋ ka Abraham wum ye o pitu Nahor pu'a Milika du'a biribis.

Lìn nyá'aŋ kà Abraham wúm yé ò pitú Nahor puá' Milika dụá' bi-díbìs.

DemI after and Abraham hear that 3A younger:sib Nahor wife Milcah bear boy.Pl

'Later, Abraham heard that his younger brother Nahor's wife Milcah had given birth to sons.' Gn 22:20

M wum ye diib be Egipt tenjin

'I have heard that there is food in Egypt.'

M wúm ye dɪb bé Egipt ténj_n

Gn 42:2

1S hear that food exist Egypt land_at

on wum ye Lazarus ka' laafi la,

'when he heard that Lazarus was sick'

ón wùm ye Lazarus ka' láafi la,

Jn 11:6

3A.Nz hear that Lazarus Ng.have health the

10.5 Nominalised

Clauses can be nominalised by inserting *n̄* §4.4 (Toende Kusaal ne) after the subject. (See also §8.2.1 for clause *personalisation* after *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 *la'*, omitted after another *la'*; VP-final particles may follow it. Negative enclitics are dropped if the clause takes *la'* or is not itself clause-final:

Nin-bánì_ pu dítt ná kpi. 'People who don't eat will die.' W
 person-DemP_Nz Ng eat.Ipf Irr die

but M̄ nyé nin-bánì_ pu díta_. 'I've seen people who don't eat.' W
 1S see person-DemP_Nz Ng eat.Ipf_Ng

10.5.1 Absolute

Clauses with *n̄* with no head-marking pronouns are absolute clauses. They are usually given/implicit information, taking *la'*. Most often, they are time adverbials, expressing past 'when.' Preposed with *kà* §11.4, they can behave as if *coordinate* with the main clause with regard to tense marking §9.2.1 and pronoun subjects §10.1.

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-sób máljak níe ò meŋ
 and 3PNz exit the and Lord angel appear 3A self
 'After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself' Mt 2:13 B2

On daa nyet súŋa, ón 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 yeli ba ... 'As they were eating, Jesus told them ...'
 Kà bán dít la, Yesu yéll_ba ... Mt 26:21
 and 3PNz eat.Ipf the Jesus say_3P

Absolute clauses may also be subjects or objects:

Diibi da ka' la ke ka kò'm la maligim paasid
 Dubí_ dà ka' la ké kà kò'm la máligim páasid
 food_Nz Tns Ng.exist the let and famine the again add.up
 'The lack of food made the famine greater again' Gn 47:13

Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la ane mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad
ka me pu diti ba ki la.

Dìni_ ké kà m áⁿ sâal-biis zuá la á ne mán pu sáⁿ'amídí bà lá'ad

DemI_Nz let and 1S be human.Pl friend the be Foc 1S.Nz Ng spoil.Ipf 3P goods.Pl

kà mé pu dtíi 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

An absolute clause used as an object sometimes has the sense of a relative clause headed by the subject of the absolute clause:

ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la

yé bà ku biig lá_ keŋ daam la dâ'ab la

that 3P kill child the_Nz go beer the buy.Gd the

'that they kill the lad who had gone to buy the beer' §13.1

Absolute clauses also appear after prepositions §9.7.3, and before the postposition *zug*₅ '§9.7.2.4 'because of.'

In B, they caption pictures and precede *yelá* 'about' in section headings:

Ban meed yir

'A house being built' B2

Bán mèed yir

3P.Nz build.Ipf house

Paul n be Malta la yela

'Paul on Malta' B3

Paul n bè Malta la yéla

Paul Nz exist Malta the about

The preverbal adjunct *sadigim* 'because, since' appears only after *yà* 'if' or *ni*:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sadigim áⁿ Naazir níd, on 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, bo ka m lem kwd kwr ya'ase?

Àmáa ón sadigim kpí la, bó kà m lé^m kwd kwr yá'asè_?

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

10.5.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with *̀n* 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* §11.4. Clauses with preposing show no *̀n* 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 Toende Kusaal, indefinites may be subjects: a Nikodem, so'one daa tuŋ a Yeesu ni yu'ɔŋa 'Nicodemus, who had come to Jesus by night' Jn 19:39; Agolle Nikodemus, onɛ da keŋ Yesu san'an yu'ɔŋ la.

In older sources (and for W), *̀n* only follows clause subjects, but in B3 it follows all head-marking demonstratives, even in subject predependents and preposed heads:

O bikane da paas ayi' la	'His second child' 2 Sm 3:3
Ò bì-kànì_ dà pàas àyí la	
3A child-Dem_Nz Tns total two the	

pu'a kanɛ biigi vɔɛ la	'the woman whose child was alive'
pu'à-kànì_ biigí_ vɔɛ la	1 Kgs 3:26
woman-Dem_Nz child_Nz live the	

Thus, *̀nì_ kànì_ bànì_* have now effectively simply become relative pronouns. These forms may even precede other constituents of the subject NP:

bunvuya banɛ wusa ken teŋin la.	
bun-vúyà bánì_ wusa ken teŋin la.	
thing-live.Pl DemP_Nz all go.Ipf ground_at the	
'all living things which go on the land' Gn 1:28	

Ka niŋgbij kanɛ mɛ kpiid na gaad	'And also the body which dies will pass'
Kà niŋ-gbij-kànì_ mɛ kpiid ná gaad	1 Cor 15:53
and body-Dem_Nz also die.Ipf Irr pass	

Demonstratives are not relatives when not part of the first constituent, and ordinary indefinites may follow demonstrative or precede indefinite heads:

on vu'ug ninkan kumin la zug	
ón vu'ug nin-kán kumin la zúg	
3A.Nz revive person-Dem death_at the on	
'because he has raised that person from death' Acts 17:31	

Wina'am one gaad si'el wusa la 'God who surpasses everything.'
 Wínà'am ónì_ gàad si'el wusa la Lk 1:35
 God DemA_Nz pass Idfl all the

wuu banj gban'ad si'el si'em la 'like a trap seizes something'
 wuu banj_ gba^n'ad si'el si'em la Lk 21:35
 like trap_Nz seize.Ipf Idfl how the

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fun gban'e ziiḡ si'a yiiga la 'the first fish you catch' Mt 17:27
 fún gba^n'e ziiḡ-sí'a yiigá la
 2S.Nz catch fish-Idf firstly the

but Paul n sob gbaunḡ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.
 Paul_ḡ sob gbaunḡ yiigá daan n tis Korint díḡm la_ḡwá.
 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.

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vu'ug o kumin la
 puà'-kànì_ bíig kà Elasia dá vu'ug kumi_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

bikanε puug ka o mɔr la 'the child which she is pregnant with'
 bì-kànì_ pûug kà ò mɔr la ("whose pregnancy she has") Mt 1:20
 child-Dem_Nz belly and 3A have the

one ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe 'one they have given much to' Lk 12:48
 ònì_ kà bà tíso_ kà lì zú'e
 DemA_Nz and 3P give_3A and 3I abound

Búraa sō dāa bē ànīa òn kà mān néōn dāa túm lā.
 Bùdà-sɔ' daa bé ànína, òn kà man nε on daa túm 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, *Introduction* p40

Non-specific objects are not preposed; nor, usually, are objects of verbs of cognition, perception or communication representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070):

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wusa 'all those whom women have borne'
 Pu'abí_ dùà' sieba la wúsà Lk 7:28
 woman.Pl_Nz bear IdfP the all

M na tisif fun bɔɔd si'el wusa. 'I will give you anything you want.'
 M ná tɪsɪ_f fún bɔɔd si'el wusa. Mk 6:23
 1S Irr give_2S 2S.Nz want.Ipf Idfi all

David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.
 David dá tùm sɔ' yé ò bu'osi_ báj pɔa' lá_ à^n 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 fu na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bunneɛ?
 Gòsìm yé fù ná baŋ lá'-bàmmá_ à^n sɔ' búnnèɛ?
 look.Imp that 2S Irr 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.'
 M mí' mán gaŋ sieba la. Jn 13:18
 1S know 1S.Nz choose IdfP the

Ón yèl 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 gbinnèɛ?
 Yà báj mán niŋ si'el la gbínnèɛ?
 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.
 Tìg wélà_ bìgìsìd lín à^n 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 tumi m Ba' zi'el ነጋር ም' yela la tisi ya.

ጠ ነጋር ም' ጠ ሳ' zì'el ነጋር ም' yélà_ tísì_ya.

1S Irr 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

Preposing is usual for specific objects of other verbs, but is not mandatory:

Gbauḡ kanε ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàḡḡ-kànì_ kà bà dá sɔbì_ tísì_ba la_ n'wá.

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 n'wé' la

'those whom the chief hit' W

DemP and chief the hit the

niḡkanε ka ba gban'e o la

'a person whom they have seized'

nin-kánì_ kà bà gbá'n'o_ la

Acts 25:16

person-Dem_Nz and 3P seize_3A the

linε ka Kristo bɔɔd ye ti pian' la

'what Christ wants us to say' 2 Cor 12:19

lìnì_ kà Kristo bɔɔd yé tì pjan' la

(B2 **lin ka** Kiristo bood ye ti pian' la)

DemI_Nz and Christ want.Ipf that 1P speak the

but Fun bɔɔd ye fu ku dau ም' la ya'a kpi 'If the man you want to kill dies'

Fún bɔɔd yé fù ku dáḡ-ም' la yá' kpi 2 Sm 17:3

2S.Nz want.Ipf that 2S kill man-IdfA the if die

Kem tu'us Samaria na'abi tum ninsieba la na

Kèm_ tu'us Samaria ná'abì_ tùm 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, yaname daa sɔb gbauḡ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.

Nannánna, yanámì_ daa sɔb gbáḡḡ-si'a lá kà m sɔbidi_ lɛbìsidi_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

On gaḡ dau ም' la o na ke ka o keen o tuon na.

Ón gaḡ dáḡ-ም' la, ò nà ké kà ò kée" ò tòn na.

3A.Nz choose man-IdfA the 3A Irr let and 3A come 3A before hither

'The man he has chosen, he will make come before him.' Nm 16:5

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/n'* 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 bé la Rom 16:23 B1
 house-Dem and 1S Paul exist the

ka mɔri fu keɲ zin'ikanɛ ka fu pu bɔɔda.
kà mɔrú fù keɲ zín'-kànì kà fù pu bɔɔda.
 and have_2S_+ go place-Dem_Nz and 2S Ng want.Ipf_Ng
 'and take you where you do not want.' Jn 21:18

M diemaa, li ya'a anɛ funɛ zaŋ o ningbiɲ la, fun yelim fun niɲ li si'el
M diemma, lì yá' à nɛ funɛ zán ò nìng-biɲ la, fun yélim_m fún nìni_lɛ si'el
 1S in.law_Voc 3I if be Foc 2S_+ take 3A body the, 2S say.Imp_1S 2S.Nz do_3I Idfl
 'Sir, if it was you that took his body, tell me where you have put it.' Jn 20:15

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 Idfl until_+ next reach 3A.Nz fall.Ipf Idfl the
 'where the sun rises to where the sun sets' Ps 65:8

M Zugsɔba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.
M Zug-sɔ́ba, tì zì' fún ken zín'-sì'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 bè dɔ́-sì'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 pun bɛ.
Abraham_ dà nàm kaɛ' san-sí'a la kà man pún bè.
 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' is common as 'how' or as abstract 'what'; it is never preposed. A following article **la'** marks old information, as usual:

M̐ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em.

1S know 1S.Nz Irr do how

'I know what to do.'

M̐ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em la.

1S know 1S.Nz Irr do how the

'I know what I'm to do.' (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yeɿ_f fún nà niŋ si'em.

3P Irr tell_2S 2S.Nz Irr do how

'They'll tell you what to do.'

Bà yèlo_ bán niŋ si'em la.

3P say_3A 3P.Nz do how the

'They told him what they'd done.'

M̐ gbá'e mán nà niŋ si'em.

1S seize 1S.Nz Irr do how

'I've decided what to do.'

So too **ón b̀òɔd si'em** 'as he may wish' versus **lín à^n si'em la** 'as things are.'

Là'am ne or **halí ne** with a **si'em** clause means 'although' §9.7.3.

Si'em clauses may follow **gàad** 'surpass' to compare actions:

Mam tum bedegũ gaad ban tum si'em la.

Mam túm bédùgũ_ gâad bán tùm 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 **wuɔ** 'like', **^wεn_ná'** 'be like':

ka ya na κε ka nidib dɔl man wuɔ ziingba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

kà yà ná ké kà nidib dɔl man wuɔ zim-gbá^n'adl̀b́_ gba^n'ad zimí si'em la.

and 2P Irr let and person.Pl accompany 1S like fisher.Pl_Nz catch.Ipf fish.Pl how the

'you will make people follow me like fishers catch fish.' Mt 4:19

Ala ka Wina'am da maal ninsaál nwεε o mεŋi an si'em la.

Àlá kà Wínà'am dá màal nin-sâal ^wεn né ò mεŋí_ à^n si'em la.

thus and God Tns make human.being be.like with 3A self_Nz be how the

'Thus God created a human being resembling how he was himself.' Gn 1:27

Relative clauses with uncompound heads are often used as appositives §8.7.1. 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 be ne mɔɔgin line kpi'e Sinai zuor la
 ò dà bè ne mɔɔgɔ_n línì_ 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

yeɪtɔɔd ayɔɔɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔɔɔi mɔɔr la
 yeɪ-tɔɔd àyɔɔɔɛ bání_ kà màliak-námá àyɔɔɔɛ mɔɔr 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 Zugsoɔb pian'ad la
 Wínà'am níd ònì_ kí'is Zug-sóɔb píà^n'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 be ne o la
 ò sɪd ónì_ dà bè 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

10.6 Purpose

Purpose clauses follow *ye*, much less often *kà* (B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye*, 45 of *nar ka*.) The mood is usually imperative, but irrealis also appears:

Ti pu bɔɔd ye dau kaɲa aan ti na'aba.
 Tì pu bɔɔd ye dáɔ-kàɲa áa^n tì nà'aba_.
 1P Ng want.Ipf that man-Dem be 1P king_Ng
 'We don't want this man to be our king.' Lk 19:14

Ne'ɛɲa niɲɲe ye ti da tí'e tí'e mɛɲ panga.
 Ne'ɛɲa níɲ ne yé tí'e tí'e mɛɲ páɲa_.
 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

O niŋ ne'ɛŋa ye nid kɔ nyanɔ du'ʊs o meŋ Wina'am tuonne

Ò niŋ ne'ɛŋa ye nid kú ⁿyanɔ_ du'osí ò meŋ Wínà'am tûonne_.

3A do DemI that person Ng.Irr prevail_ + raise 3A self God before_Ng

'He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God' 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose clauses may consist of subclauses coordinated with *kà*:

M bôɔd ye daɔ la keŋ dâ'a_n, kà pɔa' la dug dub.

1S want.Ipf 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

Purpose-clause objects may express necessity or permission, as after *nar_a'* 'be necessary/need', *mɔr suor* 'have permission', *lì à ne tilás* 'it is necessary'; intent, as after *bôɔda* 'want'; or simply expectation, as after *gur_a'* 'watch for/wait until':

Lì nàr yé/kà fù kul.

'You must go home.'

3I must that/and 2S go.home

Tì mór suor yé tì kul.

1P have way that 1P go.home

or Suor bé yé/kà tì kul.

'We may go home.'

way exist that/and 1P go.home

Li ane tilas ka m niŋid ala.

'I must do that.' 1 Cor 9:16 B2

Lì à ne tilás kà m níŋid àlá.

3I be Foc necessity and 1S do.Ipf thus

gur ye pu'a la du'a

'waiting for the woman to give birth'

gur ye pɔa' la dụá'

Rv 12:4

watch that woman the bear

Nar_a' is sometimes found in a personal construction 'deserve that':

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba

'both of them must be killed' Lv 20:12

bà bàyí la nár yé bà kúv_ba

3P two the must that 3P kill_3P

Gur_a' 'watch for/wait until' can also take a gerund as a complement:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yīib na.

person.Pl the Tns watch Zechariah exit.Gd hither

'The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out.' Lk 1:21

A main clause with **bòod ye** may be ellipted §10.3.5, e.g:

M dígìnèè_?

'Am I to lie down?' (overheard)

1S lie_PQ

Purpose clauses as objects show negative raising:

Fù pu nar yé fù kule_.

'You must not go home.'

2S Ng must that 2S go.home_Ng

M pu siak ye pu'ab pa'an dapa

M pu sják ye pu'ab pâ'an dapa_

1S Ng agree that woman.Pl teach.Ipf man.Pl_Ng

'I don't agree that a woman should teach men.' 1 Tm 2:12

Purpose clauses are also found as adjuncts, e.g.

Ò vùl tùm kà ò nóbìr da zábe_.

3A swallow medicine and 3A leg Ng.Imp fight_Ng

'She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt.' W

As a preposed or clause adjunct, **àsée** 'unless' means 'necessarily':

Nannanna tum ka ba mɔr o na, ka asee o kpi!

Nannánna, tùm kà bà mɔró_ na, kà àsée 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 asee ka o keɲ Jerusalem

kà ò gba'n'e yé àsée kà ò keɲ Jerusalem

and 3A seize that unless and 3A go Jerusalem

'and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem.' Lk 9:51

Asee ka fu kpi.

'You will surely die.' 2 Kgs 1:4

Àsée kà fù kpí.

unless and 2S die

10.7 Content

Content clauses are introduced by *ye*, much less often *kà* (B3 has 219 examples of *tɛn'ɛs ye*, 31 of *tɛn'ɛs ka*.) They have **NSb 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 kɔɔr* 'order', *sòs* 'request', *yèl* 'say', *wòm* in the sense 'hear how something is', *tɛn'ɛs'* 'think', *sjàk* in the sense 'agree with a fact':

M tɛn'ɛs kà m lú ya.

'I think I've fallen.' W

1S think and 1S fall NSb

yanam banjim ka li san'auŋ li'el ya. 'know that its destruction is near.'

yanám bánjìm kà lì sà'n'auŋ lí'el ya. Lk 21:20

2P know.Imp and 3I spoil.Gd approach NSb

ka David tìs kɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la ne bugum.

kà David tís kɔɔr yé bà nyù'om bádà la ne búgúm.

and David give mouth that 3P burn.Imp idol.Pl the with fire

'David ordered them to burn the idols with fire.' 1 Chr 14:12; command

Ya tɛnɛs ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?

'Who do you think I am?' Acts 13:25;

Yà tɛn'ɛs kà m áa^n ànɔ'ɔnɛ_?

question

2P think and 1S be who_CQ?

ban mi' ye biig la kpine la zug

'because they knew the child was dead'

bán mi' ye biig la kpí ne la zúg

Lk 8:53: focus-ne'

3P.Nz know that child the die Foc the on

Fuɛ siak ye fu ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fu na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?

Fuɛl_ sjàk yé fù yá' tì kaɛ', ò nà zi'n'íní fù na'am gbáɔŋ la zúgɔɔ_?

2S_+ agree that 2S if once Ng.be, 3A Irr sit 2S kingdom skin the on_PQ?

'Did you agree that when you are no more, he will sit on your throne?'

1 Kgs 1:24; *yá'*-clause postlinker adjunct

ya mi' ye ba daa namisi ti

'You know that we were persecuted'

yà' mí' yé bà daa namísí_tí

1 Thes 2:2; relative tense marking

2P know that 3P Tns persecute_1P

Constructions of direct physical perception take catenatives instead §10.4.2.

Àeⁿya 'be' can also take a content clause complement:

M diib anε ye m tum onε tumi m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̄ dub á ne yé m̄ túm ònì_ tùmì_m la na bɔɔd̄im_ nae.

1S food be Foc that 1S work DemA_Nz send_1S the hither want.Gd_+ 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 pu ten'εs ye o na keligi m pian'adε.

Mam pu ten'εs yé ò nà keligi m̄ p̄jà'n'adε_.

1S Ng think that 3A Irr listen 1S word.Pl_Ng

'I do not think that he will listen to my words.' Jb 9:16

but linzug ka ti ban ye o pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

l̄n zúg kà tì bán yé ò pu yi Wínà'am s̄an'an náa_.

therefore and 1P realise that 3A Ng exit God by hither_Ng

'Therefore we realise he has not come from God.' Jn 9:16

ka o lεε pu ban ye li anε onε.

'but she didn't realise it was him.'

kà ò léε pu bán yé l̄ à ne onε_.

Jn 20:14

and 3A but Ng realise that 3I be Foc 3A_Ng

Verbs of refusal or denial take a negative clause with a positive sense: thus Ya zan'as pu'ab la kuvb neε? 'Did you refuse to kill the women?' Nm 31:15 §8.6, but

ka o zan'as ye ba ku keŋε.

'and he refused to let them go.' Ex 9:7

kà ò z̄an'as yé bà kú keŋé_.

and 3A refuse that 3P Ng.Irr go_Ng

Yèl 'say' is frequently ellipted before ye:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

'They say "ugly", you say "squashhead."'

Bà ye balerug, kà fù ye zug-máuk.

§13.2

3P that ugly and 2S that head-crumpled

Personal pronouns within content clauses refer to the context of the main clause. If the main clause subject is 3rd person, a contrastive 3rd person pronoun subject in the content clause is logophoric:

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye **on** pu geem.

kà Festus tá^{ns} Paul yé ò gèε^{nm} ne ... kà Paul lébìs ye on pu géε^{nm}mm_.

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

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

Daυ dá bè_ mcrí ò pṽà'-yimmír, kà pṽa' la ye on pu lémm bòcd

man Tns exist_+ have 3A wife-single and wife the that 3A Ng again want.Ipf

yé ò síd la dí pṽa' yá'ase_.

that 3A husband the take wife again_Ng

'There was a man who had one wife. And the wife said that **she** did not want her husband to take another wife.' G2 p26

Sɔ' ya'a tɛn'ɛs ye **on** mi' si'el

'If anyone thinks **he** knows anything'

Sɔ' yá' tɛn'ɛs ye on mi' si'el

1 Cor 8:2

IdfA if think that 3A know Idfl

It is not compulsory to use contrastive pronouns in such cases, however.

Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2S/2P pronouns remain unaltered before the verb. The main clause may be ellipted §10.3.5.

M pu yel ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yelaa.

Ṁ pu yél yé yà sòsìm Wínà'am dìn yeláa_.

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 ne bugum.

kà David tís nɔɔr yé bà nyù'om bádà la ne 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 ku yel nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wadá la kú yel nid yé ò da níŋ bàmmáa_.

law the Ng.Irr say person that 3A Ng.Imp do DemP_Ng

'The law will not tell a person not to do these things.' Gal 5:23

Ò gòsìm teŋı_n.

'She should look down.'

3A look.Imp ground_at

10.7.1 Reported speech

In older texts, speech verbs take content clauses, with pronouns reflecting the main clause context (even within vocatives), logophoric use of contrastive 3rd person pronoun subjects, and tense marking relative to the main clause. B1 may continue this over several pages: long passages insert a resumptive *ye* 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.

Yé kà Paul yéi yé ò bòòd yé ò kpélìm sarugá nì.

that and Paul say that 3A want.Ipf 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 yé kà on yéì_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 nannánna yé ò niŋi_bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pièlìm piâ'ad la nú'usì_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 tej la ni na.

Kà m wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yi áràzánà ní na ye,

and 1S hear God voice and 3I exit heaven at hither that

ò nidibá_, yé bà yìmi_ tej la ní na.

3A person.Pl_Voc that 3P exit.Imp_2P2 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

Alazug ye ka on ke ka ba mor o ba sa'an na

Àlá zùg yé kà on ké kà bà móró_ bà sa'n'an na

thus that and 3A let and 3P have_3A 3P by hither

'So he [the speaker] had made them bring him [Paul] into their presence'

Acts 25:26 B1

In B2/3, speech verbs simply take *ye* followed by direct quotation, though resumptive *ye* may still be inserted.

10.8 Prepositional

All prepositions §9.7.3 other than *ne* 'with' may precede unnominalised clauses, before any linkers, thereby producing subordinate clauses.

Wuu 'like' does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wuu ya anε m biis nε.

Ì pǎ́á'adi_ tísìdi_ yá wúu yà á né m̄ biis nε.

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

Àséε appears alone or before *kà* in the meaning 'unless':

Ti ku zin'inε asεε o ti paae na. 'We will not stop until he arrives.'

Ì kú zi'n'iné_ àséε ò tí pae na. 1 Sm 16:11

1P Ng.Irr sit_Ng unless 3A then arrive hither

M ku basif ka fu keŋε asεε ka fu niŋi m zug bareka.

Ì kú basí_f kà fù keŋé_ àséε kà fù níŋì m̄ zug bári_kà.

1S Ng.Irr 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 a catenative means 'until, up to':

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa. 'We struck it as far as Nophah.'

Ì n'wá'a_lì halí_ pae Nofa. Nm 21:30

1P strike_3I until_+ reach Nophah

Zugsób la da ke ka kukòm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.

Zug-sób la dá kè kà kùkòm bân'as gba'n'e Nâ'ab la, halí kà ò tí kpi.

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.' 2 Kgs 15:5

Before a clause without linkers, *halí* is a focusing modifier §11.2.

Amáa 'but' is not a preposition, while *kuv/bεε* 'or' may coordinate NPs, predicates or clauses. Both *àmáa* and *kuv/bεε* 'or' may thus precede main clauses:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yeI ... 'Some mocked him, but others said ...'

Kà sieba lá'o_. Àmáa kà sieba yeI ... Acts 17:32

and IdfP laugh_3A but and IdfP say

11 Information packaging

11.1 Informational 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.

Subject focus inserts linker *n* after the subject. The clause lacks NSb marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafù_ dúmo_.

snake_+ bite_3A

'A snake has bitten him.' W
(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always *n*-focused:

Ànó'ónì_ kaburídà_?

who_+ ask.entry.Ipf_CQ

'Who is asking permission to enter?'

Anó'ón yaangi aan o?

Ànô'ón yâanjì_ àóⁿ_o_?

who grandchild_+ be_3A_CQ

'Whose descendant is he?' Mt 22:42

VP focus uses the particle *ne'*. When *ne'* 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. (Hyman and Watters 1984 discuss analogous phenomena in many African languages.)

Ne' cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike *ne* '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:

Ì zugù_ zábìd.

1S head_+ fight.Ipf

'My head is hurting/hurts.'
(Where is the pain?)

Ì yí ne Bók.

1S exit Foc Bawku

'I come from Bawku.' S

but Meeri one yi Magdala
Meeri ónì_ yi Magdala

Mary DemA_Nz exit Magdala

'Mary who came from Magdala'
Mk 16:9 B2

Bùgúm la yít yáa ní ná_? 'Where is the light coming from?' S
 fire the exit.Ipf where at hither_CQ

M á ne biig. 'I am a child.'
 mán àⁿ biig la zúg 'because I'm a child'
 M áaⁿ ànó'ónè_? 'Who am I?'

Fù bôwd ne bó_? must be taken as 'what do you want it *with*?' W.

Purpose clauses allow ne', and it may appear (once) in a catenation:

Pian'am ka m bôwd ye fu nyene buud.
 Pìà'am kà m bôwd yé fù 'ye ne buud.
 speak.Imp and 1S want.Ipf that 2S see Foc innocence
 'Speak, for I want you to be vindicated.' Jb 33:32

amaa o bas sariakadib la tis ne Biig la
 àmáa ò bàs sáryà-kadib la_ tís ne Biig la
 but 3A leave law-drive.Gd the_+ give Foc child the
 'but he has left the judging to the Son' Jn 5:22

Ne' is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. M gósìd! 'I'm looking!' in response to Fù gósìd néè_? 'Are you looking?' or Gòsìm! 'Look!'

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, ne' by default marks **temporal focus**, 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. (Güldemann 2003 suggests that progressive marking has often arisen from predicate focus cross-linguistically.) With event Pfs, time referred to and time of the situation coincide completely, and temporal focus is not possible. However, Pfs expressing a change of state in the subject may express the resulting state, which *follows* the action: here time referred to and time of the situation can never coincide. Temporal ne' after a Pf thus marks it as stative, and if a Pf cannot express a subject state change, any following ne' cannot be temporal.

If the VP is negative, or if ne' 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 ne. 'He's fighting.'
 but Ò pu zàbìda_. 'He's not fighting/doesn't fight.'

	Ò kùosìdɪ_bá nɛ.	'She's selling them.'
	Ò kùosìd nɛ summa la.	'She is selling the groundnuts.'
but	Ò kùosìd summa la nɛ.	'She <i>sells/is selling</i> the groundnuts.' (constituent focus: "They're not free.")
	Bó kà ò kúosìdà_?/Ò kùosìd bó_?	'What does she sell/is she selling?'

Potential ambiguity between temporal and constituent focus interpretations of *nɛ'* is reduced by the fact that many verb forms do not accept temporal focus. The VP must be indicative, so e.g. *Gòsìm 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

	M dá' nɛ búŋ.	'I've bought a <i>donkey</i> .'
	1S buy Foc donkey	(What have you bought?)
	Ò dìgìl nɛ.	'He's <i>laid it down</i> .'
	3A lay Foc	(I thought he'd pick it up.)

Stances and body positions are not states in Kusaal; thus

	Ò dìgìn nɛ.	'He's <i>lain down</i> .' D: "Someone calls at your house; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
	3A lie Foc	

Note the idiom *ò zì'en nɛ* 'she's pregnant.'

Tense-unmarked Pfs in narrative cannot accept temporal focus §9.2.1.

Relationship and quality verbs, and Ipfs of verbs in the middle construction §9.7.1 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 vèn nɛ.	'It's <i>beautiful</i> .' (I did not expect that.)
	3I be.beautiful Foc	
	M mór nɛ pɔa'.	'I have a woman.'
	1S have Foc woman	(implies an irregular liaison, W)
	Daká la zál' nɛ.	'The box gets carried in the <i>hands</i> .'
	box the hand.carry Foc	(Not on the head.)

Daam la nûud nɛ.

beer the drink.Ipf Foc

'The beer is for drinking.' (Not washing; not "is being drunk"; cf **Daam la nûud** 'The beer gets drunk.' W)

On the other hand, **nɛ'** marks a temporary state in

Nannánna, lì vèn nɛ.

now 3I be.beautiful Foc

'Just now, it's beautiful.'

Lì daa vén nɛ.

3I Tns be.beautiful Foc

'It *was* beautiful.' W: "I gave you a cup; it was OK then, but now you've spoilt it."

Mù'ar la daa zúlìm nɛ.

lake the Tns be.deep Foc

'The lake *was* deep.'
(Now it's shallow. W)

Lì daa á nɛ súja.

3I Tns be Foc well

'At the time, it was good.' W
(**Lì daa áⁿ súja.** 'It was good.' W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

Na'-síebà ʒⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔd la.

cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl the

'Some cows are eating the grass.'

but **Niigí ʒⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔd.**

cow.Pl chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl

'Cows eat grass.'
(What do cows eat?)

As manner nouns, **sùja'/sùm** 'well', **bɛ'ed** 'badly', **sìdà** 'truly' are intrinsically focused, as are the number forms **àyíja'** 'two', **àtája'** 'three.' Any **nɛ'** preceding a NP which contains them must be temporal, and even relationship or quality verbs without time marking in the clause are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

Lì àⁿ súja/bɛ'ed.

3I be well / badness

'It's good/bad.'

o sariakadib a sum ne sida.

ò sàríyà-kadtb áⁿ súm nɛ sídà.

3A law-drive.Gd be good with truth

'His judgment is good and true.'
Rv 19:2 B1

but **Lì à nɛ súja.**

3I be Foc well

'It's good.' (Now; it wasn't before. W)

Ì mór ne biisá àtája.

1S have Foc child.Pl three

'I've got *three* children just now.'

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 Sun.

Fù pu má' n tìs nin-sáala_, àmáa fù má' n tís ne Wínà'am Sí-sùŋ.

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

Proper names may be new information when not referring:

O yu'ur na ane Joon.

'His name will be John.' Lk 1:60

Ò yu'ur ná a ne Joon.

3A name Irr be Foc John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba ane Apam biis.

'They are Apam's children.' G3 p6

Bà à né 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:

Ì yí ne Bók.

'I come from Bawku.' S

1S exit Foc Bawku

Bè 'exist' with a focused place adverbial means 'be somewhere':

Dàù-sò' bé dó-kàŋa la púugu_n.

'There is a man in that hut.'

man-IdfA exist hut-Dem the inside

but Ò bè ne dó-kàŋa la púugu_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 bé ne mɔɔgu_n.

1S exist Foc grass_at

The object of àɛⁿya 'be ' in ascriptive sense is usually new information, focused with ne´ if possible, but in specifying, the subject is usually focused instead:

Ò à ne baa ⁿ límm.	'She is quiet.'
Lì à ne bugusíga.	'It's soft.'
M̃ á ne dú'atà.	'I'm a doctor.' (What do you do?)
Manɿ_ á ⁿ dú'atà la.	'I'm the doctor.' (Which is the doctor?)

Manɿ_ á ⁿ dú'atà àmáa fun pu áɛ ⁿ ya_.	'I'm a doctor but you aren't.'
1S_+ be doctor but 2S Ng be_Ng	

Nɔ́bibisi a mam disuŋ.	'Chicks are my favourite food.' G1 p13
Nɔ́-bíbiṣì_ á ⁿ mam dí-sùŋ.	
hen-small.Pl_+ be 1S food-good	

Focus on an argument under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̃ ka' dú'ataa_.	'I'm not a doctor.'
M̃ ka' ne dú'ataa_.	'I'm not a <i>doctor</i> .' (I'm a nurse.)

11.2 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.)

mè, W mèn; clause-finally mèn 'also, too.'

O pu'a me kena.	'His wife also came.' Acts 5:7
Ò pɿa' mé ké na.	
3A wife also come hither	

bɔ́zugɔ o ane fu biig men.	'Because he is your child too.' Gn 21:13
bɔ́ zúgɔ ò à né fù biig mén.	
because 3A be Foc 2S child also	

It may focus subject pronouns ellipted after kà or catenating n:

Manɛ maal Israel, ka me aan ya na'ab.	
Manɿ_ mâal Israel, kà mé áa ⁿ yà nà'ab.	
1S_+ make Israel and also be 2P king	
'I created Israel, and am also your king.' Is 43:15	

It may even follow *n* when that particle is used to focus the subject:

O pitu la yu'uri me da buon Joktan.

Ò pitú la yu'uru_ mé dá bùon Joktan.

3A sib the name_+ also Tns call.Ipf Joktan

'Also his younger brother's name was Joktan.' Gn 10:25

ኦኦ 'just, exactly': e.g. *dàa-kàn la ኦኦ* 'that very day', and

Fu ya'a mɔr ya'am, fun ኦኦ na dii li malisim.

Fù yá' mɔr ya'am, fun ኦኦ ná dí lè malisím.

2S if have sense 2S exactly Irr eat 3I joy

'If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it.' Prv 9:12

kòtāa LF *kòtāanè* 'at all' precedes the negative enclitic or follows *áyù* 'no.'

mà'aa LF *mà'anè* 'only':

Zina ma'aa ka m wum.

'Only today have I heard it.' Gn 21:26

Ziná má'aa kà m wúm.

today only and 1S hear

gòllumm LF *gòllimnè* 'only':

Li ka'ane Wina'am gullim ne?

'Is it not God alone?' Lk 5:21

Lì ka' ne Wínà'am gúllimnè__?

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 yinní* '(not) even one':

Da tumi si'el baa bi'elaa.

'Do no work at all.' Lv 23:31

Da túm_ si'el báa bi'eláa_.

Ng.Imp work_2P2 Idfl even slightly_Ng

Fu du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.

Fù du'adib báa yinní ká'ẹ kà ò yu'ur bùon 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' §9.7.3 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 t̩ɛ halí [béðògɔ]. 'It's very difficult.'
 3I be.bitter until [much]

Halí nɛ and **halí là'am nɛ** mean '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 zi' la
 even together with 3A.Nz Ng.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pu sɔbi li ...
 halí nɛ mán daa sɔbɩ_ tísì_ya si'em la, m daa pu sɔbɩ_lɩ ...
 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 vuɛ nwa ... 'Even as I live ...' Rom 14:11
 Halí nɛ mán vuɛ n'wá ...
 even with 1S.Nz live this

Before an unnominalised clause with no linker, **halí** or **halí báa** means 'even'; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adjunct like a **yà'**-clause.

Hali tuumbɛ'ɛd dim niɲid ala. 'Even sinners do that.' Lk 6:33
 Halí t̩um-bɛ'ɛd díɲm níɲìd àlá.
 even work.Gd-bad.Pl ØP do.Ipf thus

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tu'usif.
 Halí ò bè suorɩ_ken na yé ò tu'usí_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 wusa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man ku basi fɔ.
 Halí báa bàmma wusa yá' nà zɔ kà básì_f, man kú basɩ_fɔ_.
 even DemP all if Irr run and leave_2S 1S Ng.Irr leave_2S_Ng
 'Even if they all run away and leave you, I will not.' Mt 26:33

11.3 Focusing deictics

When used as liaison enclitics §4.4, *la'*, *ⁿwà* and *wàna'* are not simple deictics §8.7.3 but *focusing* deictics. (Historically, the focusing deictics were preceded by the particle *n*: here Mampruli has *nla ηηɔ* beside the simple deictics *la ηɔ*.) The meaning then resembles an internally headed relative clause §10.5.2 whose in-situ antecedent X is the NP before the enclitic, with a main clause 'That/this is (the) X [which] ...' Any preceding *lì à nɛ* 'it is' is normally ellipsed, leaving the deictics themselves as the apparent predicators, but this does not reflect the underlying structure, which is apparent from the corresponding negative forms, which begin with *lì ka'* 'it is not.' However, focus and predication are closely linked cross-linguistically (cf Green 2007 Chapter 5, É. Kiss 2006, and Maslova 2003 12.2.)

Examples for the focusing deictics:

Zaansuη sɔb la nwana kenna! 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
 Zàaⁿsúη sób la_wána kén na! Gn 37:19
 dream ØA the_this.here come.Ipf hither

Fu maal bɔɔ la tis mam? 'What is this that you have done to me?'
 Fù mâal bɔɔ_la_ tís mà̀m_? Nm 23:11
 2S make what_that_+ give 1S_CQ

Hibiru dim la nwa yu'un yit vɔnt banɛ ka ba daa su'a la ni na yu'us.
 Hibiru dí̀m la_ⁿwá yu'un yít vɔⁿt bánì_ kà bà daa sù'a la ní na yu'us.
 Hebrew ØP the_this then exit.Ipf hole.Pl DemP_Nz and 3P Tns hide the at hither again
 'So here are the Hebrews coming out again from the holes they had hidden in.'
 1 Sm 14:11

Li anɛ onɛ la. 'It's him who's there.' Acts 12:15
 Lì à nɛ on_̀la.
 3I be Foc 3A_that

Li anɛ Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zug-sɔb pian'ad la, la.
 Lì à nɛ Wínà'am níd ò̀nì_ kú'ɪs Zug-sób pjàⁿ'ad la_la.
 3I be Foc God person DemA_Nz refuse Lord word.Pl the_that
 'This is the man of God who refused the Lord's word.' 1Kgs 13:26

Li ka' suor la nwa. 'This is not the road.' 2 Kgs 6:19
 Lì ka' suor la_ⁿwá_.
 3I Ng.be road the_this_Ng

Li ka' Josef biig la nwaa? 'Isn't this Joseph's son?' Lk 4:22

Lì ka' Josef bìig la_ "wáa__?

3I Ng.be Joseph child the_this_Ng_PQ

The dummy subject pronoun *lì* is often ellipted before *ka'* 'not be' §10.1:

Ka' kùlìngì_láa_. 'That is not a door.'

Ng.be door_that_Ng

Zugsɔba, ka' man daa pɔn bɛ yin ka yɛl si'em la nwaa?

Zug-sɔba, ka' mán daa pún bè yín kà yél si'em la_ "wáa__?

Lord_Voc Ng.be 1S.Nz Tns already exist at.home and say how the_this_Ng_PQ

'Lord, isn't this what I said when I was still at home?' Jon 4:2

Ka' nimbanɛ ka fɔ la'ad la nwaa?

Ka' nin-bánì_ kà fù lâ'ad la_ "wáa__?

Ng.be person-DemP_Nz and 2S laugh.Ipf the_this_Ng_PQ

'Aren't these the people who you were laughing at?' Jgs 9:38

In positive polarity, all of the preceding *lì à nɛ* is normally ellipted §10.3.5:

Kùlìngì_wána. 'This here is a door.'

door_this.here

Bɔɔ_lá_? 'What's that?'

what_that_CQ

(Often used for 'What is the matter?')

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tɔumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ "wáa_ yisid nidib tɔum-bɛ'edi_ básìdà_?

who_this_+ expel.Ipf person.Pl work.Gd-bad.Pl_+ reject.Ipf_CQ

'Who is this who drives people's sins out?' Lk 7:49

Onl_lá kà fù daa "yɛt.

'This is he whom you were seeing.' W

3A_that and 2S Tns see.Ipf

The construction *à bɔ-X_la/"wá* means 'what kind of X is that/this?'

Abɔ pa'alugɔ nwa?

'What kind of teaching is this?' Lk 4:36

À bɔ-pà'alùgò_ "wá_?

Pz what-teach.Gd_this_CQ

11.4 Preposing, dislocation and clefting

NPs other than subjects may be foregrounded by **preposing** them before *kà*. Resumptive pronouns are used only for NPs extracted from prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses. Tense marking and focus appear as usual (for the difference between foregrounding and focus, cf CGEL pp1424ff.)

Mid ka sɔ' digil ye beog ka o di. 'Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow.'

Mìt kà sɔ' dɪgɪl ye béog kà ò dí. Ex 16:19

beware and IdfA lay that tomorrow and 3A eat

Bi'el bí'el kà kɔlɪg pɛ'el nɛ. 'Little by little, a river is full.' §13.2

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 bé sarɪgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg

therefore and 1S Paul + exist prison at Jesus Christ on

yanám bùud-bàni_ka' Jew díM la yélà.

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

Aσεε line an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àséé lìnì_ à^n be'ed má'aa kà m ná tu'e_ níŋ.

except DemI_Nz be bad only and 1S Irr be.able_+ do

'It's only that which is bad that I can do.' Rom 7:21

Objects of àɛⁿya 'be' are not preposed:

Mam a bo?

'What am I?' G1 p4

Mam á^n bó_?

1S be what_CQ

NPs containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed; this is compulsory when *bo* is used in the meaning 'why?'

Bɔ ka fu bɔɔda?

'What do you want?' Est 7:2

Bó kà fù bɔɔdà_?

what and 2S want.Ipf_CQ

Nu'-bíbìsá àlá kà fù 'yeta_? 'How many fingers can you see?' S
finger.Pl how.many and 2S see.Ipf_CQ

Ningbiṅ bɔ buudí ka ba na ti mɔra? 'What kind of body will they have?'
Nìn-gbiṅ-bɔ́-buudí kà bà ná ti mɔrá? 1 Cor 15:35
body-what-sort and 3P Irr next have_CQ

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sunf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?
Kà ànɔ'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súnf dá pèlìg nɛ bà yùmà 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 fù kúmmà_? 'Why are you crying?'
what and 2S weep.Ipf_CQ

Adjuncts are often preposed with **kà**; contrast foregrounding with **kà** and focusing with **nɛ'** in

Wadɪsá àtá'n' kà fù ná lɛb na. 'You're to come back in three months.'
month.Pl three and 2S Irr return hither W, overheard (directions to a patient)

Tì dítt sa'ab nɛ zâam. 'We eat millet porridge *in the evening*.'
1P eat.Ipf porridge Foc evening (Reply to 'When do you eat porridge?')

The only structure other than a NP (including nominalised clauses) that I have found preposed with **kà** is **wuu** 'like' with its object:

Wuu búṅ nɛ kà ò zót. 'It's like a donkey that he runs.' W
like donkey like and 3A run.Ipf

Preposing without foregrounding is seen in relative clauses §10.5.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán nwè dâu lā zûg kà pōlis gbá' m̄.
Mán 'nwè' dâṅ la zúg kà pɔlɪs gbá'n'a_m.
1S.Nz hit man the on and police seize_1S

'The police arrested me because I hit the man.' Spratt, *Introduction* p40

Dislocation to clause-initial position may occur with long NPs; 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.

Wíl-kàni_ bèè m ní kà pu wénna_, m Ba' n'wá'adi_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

Onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba με mωρ pωten'er ye o na lεbis line zu'oe.

Òni_ kà bà tíso_ kà lì zú'e, bà mē mōr pú-tēn'er yé ò nà lεbis líni_ zù'e.

DemA_Nz and 3P give_3A and 3I get.much, 3P also have mind that 3A Irr return DemI_Nz get.much

'Whom they have given much to, they expect he will return much.' Lk 12:48

A heavy indirect object is right-dislocated to follow the object in

Mam Paul ... tisid gboŋ kaŋa Wina'am nidib bane a sida dim ka a yinni ne
Jesus Christ Efesus teŋin la.

Mam Paul ... tísid gbáŋ-kàŋa Wínà'am níðìb bàni_ àn sídà díŋ

1S Paul give.Ipf book-Dem God person.Pl DemP_Nz be truth ØP

kà áⁿ yinní ne Jesus Christ Efesus téŋi_n la.

and be one with Jesus Christ Ephesus land_at the

'I, Paul ... give this letter to God's people who are truthful and one in Jesus Christ in Ephesus.' Eph 1:1 B1

Long clause adjuncts may also dislocate rightwards (see e.g. §10.3.3.)

Right-dislocation is also recognisable when constituents follow VP-final particles. Pronouns (even free pronouns) may not do so. Manner adverbials in such a position are intensified; otherwise, the sense is contrary to expectation:

M̄ p̄'us ya bédùgu.

1S greet NSb much

'Thank you very much.'

Ya yidigya bēdegū.

Yà yídìg ya bédùgu.

2P go.astray NSb much

'You are very much mistaken.' Mk 12:27

Ò dà' ya múj.

3A buy NSb rice.Pl

'She's bought rice.' (Of all things!)

cf Ò dà' ne múj.

3A buy Foc rice.Pl

'She's bought rice.' (What did she buy?)

Clefting involves a clause *lì à nɛ* X 'it is X' (generally reduced to X alone if X contains a focusing deictic §11.3) followed by a catenative clause with *n* or *kà* by the usual rules §10.4. The NP of the first clause is foregrounded and focused, with an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness. Resumptive pronoun usage is as with preposing.

Li ka' yaname na zab zabkaŋaa. 'It is not you who will fight this battle.'

Lì ka' yanámì nà zab záb-kàŋáa_. 2 Chr 29:17

3I Ng.be 2P_+ Irr fight fight.Gd-Dem_Ng

Li anɛ o pu'a sʊ'oe li. 'It is his wife who owns it.' 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á né ò pʊa' sʊ'ʊ_lɪ.

3I be Foc 3A wife_+ own_3I

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tuumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ʷáa_yisid nidib tûm-bɛ'edi_ básìdà_?

who_this_+ expel.Ipf person.Pl work.Gd-bad.Pl_+ reject.Ipf_CQ

'Who is this who drives people's sins out?' Lk 7:49

Ɓɔɔ_lá kà m̄ ʷyɛtá_?

'What is that that I can see?'

what_that and 1S see.Ipf_CQ

Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul.

Zi'_l_ kà dau la sígì_lá kà ò gba'ne_mɔrɪ_kul.

Ng.know_Ng and man the life.force_that and 3A grab_+ have_+ go.home

'Unbeknownst, that was the man's life force that he'd seized and taken home.' G2 p26

The preposed element may be extracted from a (co)subordinate clause:

Li anɛ ya taaba banɛ pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà taaba bánì_ pù'usìd 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 judgment

'It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge.' 1 Cor 5:12

12 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wẹlá_?

sleep how_CQ

'How did you sleep?' (First morning greeting.)

Dúe wẹlá_?

arise how_CQ

'How did you get up?' (First morning greeting.)

Nintaŋ áⁿ wẹlá_?

daytime be how_CQ

'How is the day/afternoon?'

Yú'uh̄ áⁿ wẹlá_?

night be how_CQ

'How is the evening?'

Fù yi-dímà_?

2S house-ØP_CQ

'... your household?'

Nìn-gbiná_?

body_CQ

'... body?' (i.e. "How are you?")

Pua' ne bíisè_?

wife and child.Pl_CQ

'... wife and children?'

and so on, often at some length. Replies may be e.g.

Àláafù bé.

health exist

'There is health.' (Also used as a greeting.)

Àláafù béo_.

health exist_3A

... for him/her.

Àláafù béε_bá.

health exist_3P

... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern **Bàrikà né fù/yà ...** 'Blessing with your ...' with the introductory words usually ellipted; reply: **Náa**.

Ken ken.

come.Gd come.Gd

'Welcome!'

Ne zâam zâam.

with evening evening

'Good evening.'

Tuuma! or Tuuma tuuma!

work.Gd.Pl

'(Blessing on) your work!'; the commonest daytime greeting.

Ne sù'sìga.

with converse.Gd

'(Blessing) on your conversation'; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (who is assumed to be conversing with his or her own **wl_n'**.)

Né fù buriyá-sùg.

with 2S Christmas-good

'Merry Christmas.'

Né fù yùum-paalíg.

with 2S year-new

'Happy New Year.'

Others are promises or commands; reply **Tò** 'OK', or a similar agreement.

Beogu_la.

tomorrow_that

'See you tomorrow!'

Àtínì dáarì_la.

Monday day_that

'See you on Monday.'

Gbìsìm sùga.

sleep.Imp well

'Sleep well.'

Kpèlìm_ sùm.

remain.Imp_2P2 well

'Remain well'; "Goodbye", to those remaining.

Pù'usìm yín.

greet.Imp house_at

'Greet (those) at home'; "Goodbye", to a leaver.
Reply **Tò**, or **Bà nà wum** 'They will hear.'

Prayers; reply **Àmí** 'Amen.'

Wɪn ná ɛbɪsɪ_f nɛ láafiyà.

God Irr return_2S with health

'Safe journey!' ("God will return you healthy.")

Wɪn ná ta'así_f.

God Irr help.walk_2S

'Safe journey!' ("God will help you travel.")

Wɪn ná sɔŋɪ_f.

God Irr help_2S

'God will help you.' (Used to express thanks)

Other formulae include:

M̀ pù'ɔs ya [bédùgɔ].

1S greet NSb [much]

'Thank you [very much].' Reply **T̀ò**, or
P̀ù'ɔsòg ka'e_ 'No thanks [needed].'

Gáafàrà.

'Sorry' (in apology or in sympathy.)

Kabɪr kabɪrí!

Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)

D̀im sugurú.

eat.Imp forbearance

'Forgive me.'

M̀ bé̀l̀im nɛ.

1S beg.Ipf Foc

'I beg you.' (Less used than English "please.")

X lábaar á^n wɛlá_?

X news be how_CQ

'What is the news of X?'

The standard initial reply is

Dub má'àa

food only

'Only food.' i.e. "good."

The traditional first words to a house guest are

M̀ mɔr kù'om náa_?

1S have water hither_PQ

'Shall I bring water?'

"No, thanks" is

Kù'om áⁿ sùm

water be well

'Water is good.'

The response to someone sneezing is

Wɪn yél sídà.

God say truth

'Bless you!' ('God speaks truth': sneezing means someone elsewhere is praising you. W)

Enquiries about understanding; note the use of **wòm** 'hear', and the aspects:

Ò wòm Kusaalèè_?

3A hear.Ipf Kusaal_PQ

'Does she understand Kusaal?'

Èèⁿ, ò wòm.

yes 3A hear.Ipf

'Yes, she does.'

Áyì, ò pɔ wómma_.

no 3A Ng hear.Ipf_Ng

'No, she doesn't.'

Ò wòm ya kúv_?

3A hear NSb or_PQ

'Does she understand?' (what was just said)

Èèⁿ, ò wòm ya.

yes 3A hear NSb

'Yes, she does.'

Áyì, ò pɔ wumm.

no 3A Ng hear_Ng

'No, she doesn't.'

13 Texts

13.1 Folk story: The Three Murderers

(G2 p16: cf also Hamel and Merrill 1991.)

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [*sic*] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [*sic*] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [*sic*] kpe, ka on kiak [*sic*] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Dapá àtá' n dá bè. Bà dà à ñe dáp-kaⁿda sù'ña. Kà daar yinní kà bà lá'asì_ zín'inì_

man.Pl three + Tns exist 3P Tns be Foc man-tough.Pl well and day one and 3P gather_+ sit_+

gban'e yé bà dûom_ ò ja búdáalim lâ'ad n ginnì_ kuud nidib má'aa 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 sùd dùè_ ò ja sù'us ñe zá'n'anà ñe tí-daad ñe píma ñe lù'ad

again work Idfl_Ng 3P truly rise_+ seek knife.Pl with bludgeon.Pl with bow.Pl with arrow.Pl with quiver.Pl

ñe kpana ñe máli sù'ña n pi'n'it_ ginnì_ ied nidib yé bà yá' nye sɔ' ban ku.

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 gìlígí àlá nè 'wadísa àtán' nè dábìsà àtán'. Bà pu 'nye nidu_ ná kuvu_. Kà kpèlìm
 3P go.round thus with month.Pl three with day.Pl three 3P Ng find person_+ Irr kill_Ng and remain
 mɔr ken nè ken nè ken. Dabá ànu dâar bà 'nye nè lallí sà kà si'el zí'e sabíllì_
 have go.Gd with go.Gd with go.Gd day.Pl five day 3P see with far hence and IdfI stand black_+
 wuu nid nè, kà bà kpeɛ'm la yé bà kém_ kúo_, yé ò sɔb yá' pòn tú'e kà mɔr nè
 like person like and 3P elder the that 3P go.Imp_+ kill_3A that 3A ØA if already be.able and have Foc
 láɔk-si'a wusa, bà nà 'yanɔ_ kúo_. Kà òɲa gɪɲɪd kpe, kà òɲa gɪɲɪd kpe,
 item-Idf all 3P Irr prevail_+ kill_3A and DemA intercept.Ipf there and DemA intercept.Ipf there
 bà tì ken_ pae_ 'nyé kà lì ka' nidá_, kà á nè bɔtú kà ligidi pé'el mà'aa má'aa má.
 3P next go_+ reach_+ see and 3I Ng.be person_Ng and be Foc sack and money fill only only only
 Kà bà ye Àtò, kà nannánna 'wá, tì yé tì niɲ ligidi 'wá walá? Kà bà ye, bà nà pudɔg nè.
 and 3P say so and now this 1P that 1P do money this how_CQ and 3P say 3P Irr share Foc
 Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yis ligidi la n ken_ dá' daam_ ná nu yiigá kà 'yaan pudɔg
 but 3P that 3I must and 3P extract money the + go_+ buy beer_+ Irr drink firstly and next share
 ligidi la. Kà yis ligidi la bi'elá ye biig la kém_ dá' yuur ná kà bà nu.

money the and extract money the a.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 they said they should take some money out to buy beer to drink first, 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_ ken la, ò tɛ'ɛsìd nè ón nà niɲ si'em_ ku bánì_ kpèlìm àní na la, kà vée
 child the_Nz go.Ipf the 3A think.Ipf Foc 3A.Nz Irr do how_+ kill DemP_Nz remain there the and gather
 ligidi la wúsà wusa n su'e, ò yèlí ò mɛɲ ye, ò nà da' nè daam, kà bó tì-kuvdíim
 money the all all + own 3A say 3A self that 3A Irr buy Foc beer and seek medicine-killing
 n lós daamí_n la n pae_ tí_bá kà bà nuu_ kpí kà ò su'e ligidi la wúsà.

+ immerse beer_at the + reach_+ give_3P and 3P drink_+ die and 3A own money the all

Kà síd dà' daam la, kà bó tì-kuvdíim n lós.

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 indeed he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it.'

Zi'ísíge_, kà bà bàyí lá_ kpèlím la mé gbaⁿ'e ne yé bà ku biig lá_ ken
 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 mé su'e ligidi la. Biig lá_ñ mɔr daam la_ pae na la,
 beer the buy.Gd the and also own money the child the_Nz have beer the_+ reach hither the
 kà òɲa kɔ́á' kpe, kà on kɔ́á' kpe, n kí'o__ ku, kà yu'ɔn zán daam la_ nu wán wán,
 and DemA cut here and 3A cut here + cut_3A_+ kill and then take beer the_+ drink Ideo Ideo
 lì pu yúuge_, kà bà wusa wusa mé kpélím kpi zìⁿ'-kàn la nɔ́w kà bà sɔ' sɔ'
 3I Ng delay_Ng and 3P all all also immediately die place-Dem the exactly and 3P IdfA IdfA
 pu ⁿyaŋ_ pãam la'af la báa yunní_ mɔr_ kulí bà yáa_ne_.

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 Kusâas yé fù yá' tɛⁿ'es bɛɛ tùm bɛ'ed yé fù tísi fù turâan,

3I and Kusaasi.Pl that 2S if think or act bad that 2S give 2S peer

fù mâanní fù meŋ 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.'

13.2 Proverbs

Kusaal proverbs often have a riddle-like quality, and their application may not always be evident from the literal meaning. (Cf Finnegan 2012, Chapter 14.)

From G2 pp38ff:

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun. 'Bailed water returns between my legs.'

Kù'om káadi_ lébìs né òn gɛogɔ_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 zót ne bjaⁿ'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 ne zuor_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 wjak sɛoŋg zɪ' sínne_. (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.'
 Pɔ ɲye saa kúubɔ_, kà ɲye saa niib. (Wise after the event.)

Ng see rain threaten.Gd_Ng and see rain rain.Gd

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree. 'Declared-innocent doesn't loiter in the court.'
 À di'e buud pɔ zín'i ná'-yiré_. (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.'
 Mɔɔdɪ_ pílig kà yu'ada bé. (Where there's life there's hope.)

grass.Pl_+ strip.off and rafter.Pl exist

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk. 'They say "ugly", you say "squashhead."
 Bà ye balerug, kà fù ye zug-máuk. (Six of one ...)

3P that ugly and 2S that head-crumpled

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.
 Bù-dìbìg kúnní ò ba' yír ne nɔb-kôɔg dâar.

kid go.home.Ipf 3A father house Foc leg-break.Gd day.

'The kid goes back to his father's house on the day he breaks his leg.'

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.
 Bùŋ-daug pɔ kaasídí ò tirâan tɛŋɪ_né_.

donkey-male Ng cry.out.Ipf 3A peer land_at_Ng.

'The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory.'

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.
 Bà pɔ nɔkíd na'-bínnì_ lɔbígíd 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.
 Kpɛɛm á ne tɛ'ɛg, ò tígìd ne bálàyà.

elder be Foc baobab 3A sate.Ipf with stick.Pl

'An elder is a baobab - he's fed up with sticks.' (Uneasy lies the head ...)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zu'om yá' yé ò nà lɔbɪg, bɑ̀ŋɪm kà ò nò nɛ kugur.

blind.person if that 3A Irr throw.at realise.Imp and 3A stand.on with 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.

Balɛrɪgu_ zɪ' yé ò àⁿ balɛrɪgɔ́_, kà tadɪm mi' yé ò àⁿ tadɪm.

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.

Fù yá' bɔɔd támpììng sîìnd, fù pɔ léɪm zòt líɛŋ dâug ñyɔɔgɔ́_.

2S if want.Ipf rock honey 2S Ng again run.Ipf axe wood sympathy_Ng

'If you want honey out of a stone, you don't pity the ax shaft any more.'

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.

Kùkòmà dá zàb taabá à sɔⁿ'e bi'elá yèlà.

leper.Pl Tns fight each.other Pz surpass slightly about

'Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better.'

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.

Bà wà'e né à nà kúu m̄ nua yír, kà bà pɔ wá'e à nɔɔs bé yíɛ_.

3P go Foc Pz Irr 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.'

(The rich are not always hospitable.)

Kikirig ya'a mor buude, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.

Kìkìrìg yá' mɔr buude, fun tísò_ kà ò lébìg ò mɔɔgɔ́_n.

fairy if have innocence 2S give_3A and 3A return 3A grass_at

'When a fairy is in the right, let it go back to the bush.' (Give the devil his due.)

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.

Bùŋ yá' bɔɔd yé ò lubí_f, fù pɔ ñyɛtí ò túbàa_.

donkey if want.Ipf 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.'

(Where there's a will, there's a way.)

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wɔk dâan pɔ gáŋìd búgúmm_.

tail-long owner Ng step.over.Ipf fire_Ng

'One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire.' (Avoid risks if you have a family.)

From Naden's dictionary:

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e ꞑꞑꞑ.

baas ká'e_ kà ⁿwaamis di'e ꞑꞑꞑ.

dog.Pl Ng.exist_Ng and monkey.Pl receive farm.

'There are no dogs and monkeys have got the farm.' (When the cat's away ...)

One kunt mi zugub.

Ònì_ kùt mi' zugub.

DemA_Nz work.iron.Ipf know blow.bellows.Gd.

'An ironworker knows how to work the bellows.'

Buligin zìḡ zi' kɔlìḡin yélaa.

Bùlìḡ_n zîḡ zì' kɔlìḡ_n yélaa_.

pool_at fish Ng.know river_at about_Ng

'A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river.'

Other proverbs:

Bi'el bí'el kà kɔlìḡ pē'el ne.

little little and river fill Foc

'Little by little, a river is full.' W

(Hausa *Dà yayyafii kòogii kàn cìka.*)

Bùḡ-baⁿ'ad zì' ye teḡ túlla_.

donkey-rider Ng.know that ground be.hot_Ng

'A donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot.' W

À daa yéì ka' t̃l̃mm_.

Pz Tns say Ng.be medicine_Ng

'Did-say is no remedy.' W

(No use crying over spilt milk.)

À ⁿyε ne nif sɔⁿ'ɔ à wòm t̃bà.

Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears' W

(Seeing is believing.)

À zì'_ kpí nàm kp̃id né kà t̃éⁿb̃d.

Pz Ng.know_+ die Pl die.Ipf Foc and struggle.Ipf

'Those who don't know death are dying with a struggle.' W (Storm in a teacup.)

Saan-súḡ á ne yi-dâan áⁿs̃ìb.

stranger-good be Foc house-owner maternal.uncle

'A good guest is a householder's uncle.' K

(Entertaining is an opportunity for a celebration.)

13.3 From the 2016 Bible: Mark 5:1-15

Ka Yesu ne o nya'andɔlib kena paae Gerasene tejin, Galile mu'ar nya'aŋ. Ka Yesu yi anrɔŋɔn la, ka dau one ka kikiris dɔl o yi yaadin naa tu'us o. Dau kaŋa daa be ne yaadin la, hali ka sɔ' kae na nyaŋi lɔɔ o ne banaa. Ba da ɛenti nɔkne bana lɔɔ o nɔba ne o nu'us. Ka o kens nu'us bana la ka kensi kens nɔba bana la bas. Sɔ' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo. Nintaŋ ne yu'ɔŋ wusa o gɔɔndne yaadin ne zuoya la ni ka mɔr kuga nwaad o meŋ ka maan tukpiidug.

On da nye Yesu ka o be lalli la, ka o zɔɔ keŋ igin o tuon ka tans ye, "Yesu, Wina'am one ka' tiraan la Biiga, bɔ be man ne fu sɔugine? Wina'am su'um zug, m belimne, da namisi ma." Bɔzugɔ Yesu pɔn yei o ye, "Kikiriga yim dau kaŋa san'an na." Ne'ɛŋa ke ka o yei ala. Ka Yesu bu'os o ye, "Fu yu'ɔre?" Ka dau la lebis ye, "M yu'ɔri buon Babiga, bɔzugɔ, ti galis ne." Ka o bellim Yesu ne nimmua ye o da kad kikiris la yis teŋ kan la nii.

Kukurnam bedegɔ da be zuor la babaa dit ka ba kal an wɔɔ tusa ayi'. Ka kikiris la bellim o ye, "Kei ka ti keŋ kpen' kukurnam la ni." Ka o siak ka kikiris la yi dau la ni kpen' kukurnamin la. Ka ba wusa zɔɔ sig beuŋin ka ku'om dii ba.

Dap bane da gur kukurnam la da zɔɔ keŋ tempɔugin ne temkpemisin tu'as line maal la wusa. Ka nidib yii keŋ ye ba gɔs line maal. Ban da paae Yesu san'an la, ba nye ka dau kane ka kikiris daa dɔl o la zin' anina, ka ye fuud ka o ya'am tiaki an su'um. Ka dabiem kpen' ba.

Kà Yesu né ò 'nya'an-dɔ́llìb ke na_ pae Gerasene téŋɔ_n, Galile mû'ar 'nyà'aŋ.

and Jesus with 3A disciple.Pl come hither_+ reach Gerasene land_at Galilee lake east

Kà Yesu yi ánròŋɔ_n la, kà dau ónì_ kà kikiris dóllo__ yi yáadi_n naa_ tu'usó_.

and Jesus exit boat_at the and man DemA_Nz and fairy.Pl accompany_3A_+ exit grave.Pl_at hither_+ meet_3A

Dàù-kàŋa daa bé ne yáadi_n la, halí kà sɔ' ka'e_ ná 'nyaŋɔ_ lóo_ ne banaa_.

man-Dem Tns exist Foc grave.Pl_at the even and IdFA Ng.exist_+ Irr prevail_+ tie_3A with fetter.Pl_Ng

Bà dà ɛɛ^n tí nɔk ne bana_ lɔɔ ò nɔbá né ò nú'us. Kà ò kén's nú'us bánà la, kà kén'sì_

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_+

kén's nɔbá bánà la. Sɔ' dá ka' páŋì_ ná 'yaŋó_o_. Nintaŋ ne yú'ɔŋ wusa, ò gɔɔ^n

break leg.Pl fetter.Pl the IdFA Tns Ng.have power_+ Irr prevail_3A_Ng day with night all 3A roam.Ipf

ne yáadi_n ne zuoya la ní kà mɔr kugá_ 'wá'ad ò méŋ kà mâan tùkpiidug.

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.'

Ón dà nyε Yesu kà ò bé lallí la, kà ò zóó_kenj_ígìn ò tòn kà tá's ye,
 3A.Nz Tns see Jesus and 3A exist far the and 3A run_+ go_+ kneel 3A before and shout that
 "Yesu, Wínà'am ónì_ ka' tṛâan la B́íga, bɔ_ bé man né fù sùugú_né_?
 Jesus God DemA_Nz Ng.have peer the child_Voc what_+ exist 1S with 2S between_CQ
 Wínà'am sô'm zùg, m̀ b́élm nε, da namísí_ma_." Bɔ zúgɔ Yesu pún yèlo_ ye,
 God goodness on 1S beg Foc Ng.Imp persecute_1S_Ng because Jesus already say_3A that
 "Kikirigá, yìm dáy-kàṅa sâ'n'an na." Nε'εṅa ké kà ò yéìl àlá. Kà Yesu bu'osó_ ye,
 fairy_Voc exit.Imp man-Dem by hither DemI let and 3A do thus and Jesus ask_3A that
 "Fù yu'uré_?" Kà dáy la lébìs ye, "M̀ yu'urì_ b́uon Bábìga, bɔ zúgɔ, tì gáìs nε."
 2S name_CQ and man the reply that 1S name_+ call.Ipf many because 1P exceed Foc
 Kà ò b́élm Yesu nε nin-múa yé ò da kád kíkiris la_ yis t́éṅ-kàn la ní_.
 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 too many." And he
 begged Jesus earnestly not to drive the demons out of that country.'

Kùkur-nám bédùgú dá bè zuor la bábàa_ dít kà bà kal á^n wuu tusá àyí. Kà
 pig-Pl much Tns exist hill the beside_+ eat.Ipf and 3P number be like thousand.Pl two and
 kíkiris la b́élmò_ ye, "Kèl kà tì kenj_ ḱpé^n kùkur-nám la ní." Kà ò sják kà kíkiris 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 dáy la ní_ ḱpè^n kùkur-nám_ n la. Kà bà wusa zóó_ sig bεonj_ n kà kù'om díu_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-bàni_ dà gur kùkur-nám la dá zóó_ kenj_ t́éṅ-puugú_ n nε t́éṅ-kpεmisi_ n_ t̀t'as
 man-DemP_Nz Tns watch pig-Pl the Tns run_+ go town_at with village.Pl_at_+ talk
 línì_ màal la wúsà. Kà nidib yii_ kenj_ yé 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'n'an la, bà nyé kà dáy-kànì_ kà kíkiris daa dɔlló_ la zín'i ànína, kà yé fuud,
 Jesus by the 3P see and man-Dem_Nz and fairy.Pl Tns accompany_3A the sit there and don cloth.Pl
 kà ò ya'am t́jáki_ à^n sô'm. Kà dàbiem ḱpé^n'ε_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.'

13.4 Newspaper article: Power and fuel conservation

This 1992 article is from the newspaper *Tampana*, published by NFED, the Non-Formal Education Division of the Ghanaian Ministry of Education. The Ahibenso stove mentioned in the article was a type of "improved cookstove" rolled out in the early 1990's; for the background see Adusah-Poku and Takeuchi 2019.

The spelling is frequently non-standard, and the language shows signs of influence from Toende Kusaal: note in particular the preservation of *g* after long open vowels and the consistent use of *ne* for the nominaliser particle *ñ* §1.2.1.

The following loanwords are left untransliterated: *ikku* 'power', Hausa *iikòo*; *baneka* 'powered grinding machine', Hausa *mài nikàa* 'grinder' (cf Toende *baneka*, Mampruli *manyeka*); *ma'antuoka* 'motor car' (cf Mampruli *mantuuka*); *kurpotto* 'stove' ("coal pot", cf Mampruli *kurupootu*); *gaas* 'gas'; *latirisiti* 'electricity.'

PAŋ NE BUNTUGUDA BIEKKIR

Fu mi' PAŋ ne a sielaa? Ti mi' ye paŋ ane girin kane na nyaje tum tuuma, amaa paŋ me lem mor gbin yinne ya'as, nwen wu buntuguda ne mor ikku kane na' nyaje dug diib, be kpaam kane ka ma'antuoka ne baneka ne nu ka nyaje tum. Paŋ kaja buudi ya'a kai tuuma me kai. Ti bood paŋe ti vom poogen daar wusa. Amaa li nar ka ti nok paŋ kane ka ti mor la tum ne yam ka da mori li n tum ya'abeilim tuuma.

Nasar bugum be latirisiti me ane paŋ wu bugum tuulug ne, winnik be pepsim ne bugum daad me ane paŋ ka mor ikku na tum siel.

Tinam ne mi siel ti yaanam saan ane ye ti dug da'aŋvuod zug ka kurpotto naam kena. Dunia tiakiya, ka saal biig yam me nobig, nananna ti tune dug ne nasar bugum be gaas. Dugub ne da'aŋvuod la mor yel gu'uda bedegu. Daad be kikan' ieb tuoi. Daad nwaab ket ne ka ba lubid tiisi naagid. Line me paas ane nyuos la tun'e sa'am nini. Ten'esim fu nini ne yuod ne kuom siem fu ya dugid da'aŋvuod zug. Nyuos la me ket ne ka fu pu tun'e vo'osida bozugo pepsim kai, ka me lem sobigid zanguom nyolu ne vugulum. Lime pu venl nini nii. Li me bood ye fu eti maali li nme ka taagi li ne bumbon ka li naam venl. Bugum zi'eoŋ me ket ne ka da'aŋ la ne dugud be laas wusa si' ne vugulum. Diib dugub me yuugid hali bozugo bugum walim la wusa pu paagid dug la gbin ne. Ligidi bedegu me kpen'ed daad be saana da'abin. Saana me did toto ka li pu yuugida bozugo pepsim nwe'ed bugum la ne sansa wusa.

Amaa da'aŋvuod bee kurpotto paalig yina. Li pu nwen wu latirisiti be gaas si'em la. Li yuur ane 'AHIBENSO'. Ahibenso kurpotto la ligidi pu zuoi, ka me pu dit daad be saana bedegu, bozugo ba maali li ne ka li tun'e gu'ud bugum tulug la ka me ket ka saana la put dit ti naagit sansa wusa. Diib dugub li zug pu yuugid ka me lem pu tuoi yaa. Fu yaa dugit ne li, li pu ziesida, li me tebis. Fu tun'e dug ne li fu doogun. Fu tun'e paam li n da' ziig wusa teŋ poogen. Da'am yinne ka da sa'amid buntuguda.

Pàṅ ne bun-túgùdà bjàⁿkìr

power with firewood economise.Gd

'Power and fuel conservation'

Fù mí' pánj_ àⁿ sí'elàa? Tì mí' ye pánj á ne gírìm-kànì_ nà ⁿyaṅi_ túm tsuma,
 2S know power_Nz be Idfl_PQ 1P know that power be Foc importance-Dem_Nz Irr prevail_+ work work.Gd.Pl
 àmáa pánj mé lém m̀r gbín yinní yâ'as, ⁿwen wuu bun-túgùdà_ m̀r ikku-kànì_ nà
 but power also again have bottom one again resemble like firewood_+ have force-Dem_Nz Irr
ⁿyaṅi_ dug duib, bæe kpaam-kànì_ kà ma'antuoka ne baneka_ nú kà ⁿyaṅi_ túm.
 prevail_+ cook food or oil-Dem_Nz and motorcar with grinder_Nz drink and prevail_+ work
 Pàṅ-kàṅa búudì yá' kaḗ' tsuma mé ka'e_. Tì b̀d̀d pánjì tì vum púbugu_n daar wusa.
 power-Dem kind if Ng.be work.Gd.Pl also Ng.be_Ng 1P want power 1P life inside_at day all
 Àmáa l̀ nàr kà tì ǹk pánj-kànì_ kà tì m̀r la_ túm ne yam, kà da m̀rì_l n túm
 but 3I must and 1P take power-Dem_Nz and 1P have the_+ work with sense and Ng.Imp have_3I + work
 ya'a bélím túmàa_.

opportunity be.Gd work.Gd.Pl_Ng

'Do you know what "power" is? We know that power is the authority to do things, but "power" has another meaning too, like firewood having the energy which can cook food, or like the oil which a motor vehicle or a powered grinder takes in to enable it to work. If this kind of power is lacking, so is work, too. We need power in our lives every day. But it is necessary for us to use the power that we have to work sensibly, and not to use it in a casual way.'

Nàsàar-bùgúm bæe latirisiti mé á ne pánj wuu búgúm túb̀l̀g ne; wìnnìg bæe péb̀sìim

European-fire or electricity also be Foc power like fire heat like sun or wind

ne búgúm d̀aad mè á ne pánj kà m̀r ikku_ ná tum si'el.

with fire log.Pl also be Foc power and have force_+ Irr work Idfl

""European fire" or "electricity", is also power, like the heat of a fire; sun or wind and firewood are also power and have the energy to do something.'

Tɪnámì_ mi' si'el tì yaa-nám sâ'n'an á ne yé tì dúg dá'n'aj-vu'ad zúg kà kurpotto
 1P.Nz know IdFI 1P ancestor-Pl by be Foc that 1P cook hearth.stone.Pl on and stove
 nâam_ ke na. Duniya tɪák ya, kà sàal-biig yám mè nɔbiig, nannánna tì tú'e_ dug
 happen_+ come hither world change NSb and human sense also grow now 1P be.able_+ cook
 ne násàar-bùgúm bæe gaas. Dugub ne dà'n'aj-vu'ad la mór yel-gú'udà bédògu.
 with electricity or gas cook.Gd with hearth.stone.Pl the have matter-watchful.Pl much
 Dàad bæe kíká'a îeb tòɔ. Dàad n'wâ'ab kèt né kà bà lubid túsì_ naad.
 log.Pl or stalk.Pl search.Gd be.difficult log.Pl break.Gd let.Ipf Foc and 3P knock.down tree.Pl_+ finish.Ipf
 Lìnì_ mè pàas á ne n'ɔ'ɔs la_ tu'e_ sâ'am niní. Tè'èsím fù niní_ yùod ne kù'om
 DemI_Nz also add be Foc smoke the_+ be.able_+ spoil eye.Pl think.Imp 2S eye.Pl flow.Ipf with water
 si'em fù yá' dugud dá'n'aj-vu'ad zúg. n'ɔ'ɔs la mé kèt né kà fù pu tu'e_ vu'usída_
 how 2S if cook.Ipf hearth.stone.Pl on smoke the also let.Ipf Foc and 2S Ng be.able_+ breathe.Ipf
 bɔ zúg pèbìsìm ka'e_, kà mé lèm sɔbiigid zánɔòm n'ɔ'ɔs ne vugulím.
 because wind Ng.be_Ng and also again blacken.Ipf wall Ideo with soot
 Lì mè pu vé'ni niní nu_. Lì mè bɔɔd yé fù ɛɛ' tɪ màaì_lɪ n mé kà táa_lɪ ne bun-bón
 3I also Ng be.beautiful eye.Pl at_Ng 3I also want.Ipf that 2S habit make_3I + build and plaster_3I with plaster
 kà lì nâam_ vé'ni. Bùgúm zî'ɔɔ mè kèt né kà dà'n'aj la ne dugud bæe laas wusa si'
 and 3I happen_+ be.beautiful fire intensity also let.Ipf Foc and hearth the with pot.Pl or dish.Pl all stain
 ne vugulím. Dɔb dúgùb mè yúugid halí bɔ zúg bùgúm wálìm la wúsà pu paad
 with soot food cook.Gd also take.long.Ipf very because fire steam the all Ng reach.Ipf
 duk la gbínne_. Ligidi bédògu mé kpê'ed dâad bæe saana dá'abɪ_n. Saana mé
 pot the bottom_Ng money much also enter.Ipf log.Pl or charcoal.Pl buy.Gd_at charcoal.Pl also
 dít tɔ'ɔtɔ kà lì pu yúugida_ bɔ zúg pèbìsìm n'wê'ed búgúm la ne sansá wusa.
 eat.Ipf suddenly and 3I Ng take.long_Ng because wind hit.Ipf fire the with time.Pl all
 'What we know from our forebears is that we cook in fireplaces, and the stove
 developed. The world has changed, and human knowledge has grown too: now we
 can cook with electricity or gas. Cooking in fireplaces has many issues requiring care.
 It is difficult to search for wood or millet stalks. Cutting logs leads to felling trees
 completely. An additional thing is the smoke that can damage the eyes. Think of how
 your eyes stream with water when you cook in fireplaces! The smoke also stops you
 from breathing because there is no air, and it also turns the wall completely black
 with soot. That is not pretty to look at; also it requires you to be always rebuilding it
 and covering it with plaster to look well. The intensity (?) of the fire also makes the
 hearth and the cooking-pots or dishes get stained with soot. The cooking of the food
 also takes a very long time, because the heat of all the fire doesn't get to the bottom
 of the pot. A lot of money also goes into the buying of wood or charcoal. Charcoal also
 burns quickly and doesn't last long, because the air hits the fire all the time.'

Àmáa d à n 'a n -v u 'a d b ɛɛ k u r p o t t o -p a a l ɔ ɔ y ı́ n a . L ı̀ p u 'w ɛ n w u u l a t i r i s i t i
 b u t h e a r t h . s t o n e . P l o r s t o v e - n e w c o m e . o u t h i t h e r 3 I N g r e s e m b l e l i k e e l e c t r i c i t y
 b ɛɛ g a a s s i ' e m l a _ . L ı̀ y u ' u r ́ a n ɛ A H I B E N S O . A h i b e n s o k u r p o t t o l a l ı ɔ g ı̀ d ı̀
 o r g a s h o w t h e _ N g 3 I n a m e b e F o c A h i b e n s o A h i b e n s o s t o v e t h e m o n e y
 p u z ́ u ' e e _ , k ́ a m ́ e p u d ı̀ t d ́ a a d b ɛɛ s a a n a b ́ e d ́ d ́ u ɔ _ , b ɔ z ́ u ɔ b ́ a m ́ a a l ı _ l ı n ́ e k ́ a l ı
 N g g e t . h i g h e r _ N g a n d a l s o N g e a t . I p f l o g . P l o r c h a r c o a l . P l m u c h _ N g b e c a u s e 3 P m a k e _ 3 I F o c a n d 3 I
 t ́ u ' e _ g u ' u d b ́ u ɔ g ́ u m t ́ u l ɔ ɔ g l a k ́ a m ́ e k ́ e t k ́ a s a a n a l a p u d ı̀ t ı _ n a a d
 b e . a b l e _ + w a t c h . I p f f i r e h e a t t h e a n d a l s o l e t . I p f a n d c h a r c o a l . P l t h e N g e a t . I p f _ + f i n i s h . I p f
 s a n s ́ a w u s a _ . D u b d ́ u ɔ g ́ ɔ b l ı z u ɔ p u y ́ u ɔ g ı̀ d k ́ a m ́ e l ́ e m p u t ɔ ɔ y ́ a _ . F ́ u y ́ a ' d u ɔ u d n ı _ l ı ,
 t i m e . P l a l l _ N g f o o d c o o k . G d 3 I o n N g t a k e . l o n ɔ g . I p f a n d a l s o a ɔ a i n N g b e . b i t t e r _ N g 2 S i f c o o k . I p f w i t h _ 3 I
 l ı p u z ́ i e s ı̀ d a _ , l ı m ́ e t ́ e b ı̀ s . F ́ u t ́ u ' e _ d u ɔ n ı _ l ı f ́ u d ́ ɔ ɔ ɔ u _ n . F ́ u t ́ u ' e _ p ́ a a m _ l ı n d ́ a '
 3 I N g w o b b l e . I p f _ N g 3 I a l s o b e . h e a v y 2 S b e . a b l e _ + c o o k w i t h _ 3 I 2 S h u t _ a t 2 S b e . a b l e _ + o b t a i n _ 3 I + b u y
 z i ' i ɔ g w u s a t ́ e n - p u u ɔ g ́ u _ n . D ́ a ' a m y ı n n ı k ́ a d a s ́ a ' a m ı̀ d b u n - t ́ u ɔ g ́ u d ́ a _ .
 p l a c e a l l t o w n _ a t b u y . I m p o n e a n d N g . I m p s p o i l . I p f f i r e w o o d _ N g
 ' B u t a n e w f i r e p l a c e o r s t o v e h a s c o m e o u t . I t ' s n o t l i k e e l e c t r i c i t y o r g a s . I t ' s c a l l e d
 " A h i b e n s o . " T h e A h i b e n s o s t o v e i s n o t e x p e n s i v e , a n d i t d o e s n ' t u s e m u c h w o o d o r
 c h a r c o a l , b e c a u s e i t ' s b e e n m a d e s o i t c a n r e g u l a t e t h e f i r e t e m p e r a t u r e a n d e n s u r e
 t h a t t h e c h a r c o a l i s n o t a l w a y s c o m p l e t e l y b u r n t u p . C o o k i n g f o o d o n i t d o e s n ' t t a k e
 l o n g a n d i s a l s o n o t d i f f i c u l t . W h e n y o u ' r e c o o k i n g w i t h i t , i t d o e s n ' t w o b b l e : i t ' s
 s t a b l e . Y o u c a n c o o k w i t h i t i n y o u r r o o m . Y o u c a n o b t a i n i t f o r p u r c h a s e e v e r y w h e r e
 i n t o w n . B u y o n e a n d d o n ' t w a s t e f i r e w o o d ! ' '

14 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' n̄ and the distinctions ε/e ι/i ɔ/o υ/u; η follows n.

Nouns are unlabelled, and listed as Sg (if used), Pl and CIF (followed by a hyphen.)

Subentries beginning with hyphens are to be taken with the CIF of the headword.

For adverbial nouns/postpositions see §9.7.2. Adjectives are listed by one Sg form

only; for their flexion see §5.2. 2Vbs are listed by Pf, with Ipf/Imp and deverbial

nominals only if irregular; deverbial nominals from 1Vbs are given in §6.1.1.

See §8.3 for proper names, and §8.5.1 for numerals with the prefixes à ñ bà bù.

-A-

à Pn personaliser §8.2.1;

nouns always preceded by à include:

dàalúŋ, dàalís/dàalímìs dàalúŋ- stork;

gâv'ŋ, gâa'd gaⁿ- pied crow;

kɔra-díem_{ma} kɔra-díem-nàm_a mantis;

mús mús-nàm_a cat (Hausa *mussàa*)

à nε see àεⁿya

aaⁿdɪg_a aaⁿdɪs àaⁿd- black plum tree,

Vitex doniana

aaⁿdɪr aaⁿda black plum

àaⁿs 2Vb tear

àbùlá Qf how many-fold?

àεⁿya 1Vb be something

àeⁿ 2Vb get torn

àgól/àgólá upwards

àlá Pn thus; Qf so many; how many?

àláafù (in greetings) health (cf *láafiyà*)

àlɔpír àlɔpìyà aeroplane (English)

àmáa Pt but §10.1 (Hausa *ammaa*)

àmεŋá really, truly

àmí Pt amen (Arabic *āmīn*)

àní/ànína[´] Pn there

àníŋa[´] promptly

ànɔ'ɔn Pn who?

àntù'a àntuà'- lawsuit

anzúrìfà silver (Hausa *azùrfaa*)

àràzàk_a àràzà'as àràzà'- (usually Pl)

riches (Arabic Pl *arzāq*)

àràzàná heaven (Arabic *al-jannah*)

àⁿrùŋ, àⁿrìmà àⁿrùŋ- boat

aⁿs 2Vb pluck leaves

àséε Pt except for §9.7.3

áⁿsìb_a -nám_a aⁿs- mother's brother

àsɪda truly

aⁿsɪg[´] 2Vb break at an angle

aⁿsíŋ_a aⁿsís aⁿsɪŋ- man's sister's child

àsùbá dawn (Arabic *al-ṣubḥah*)

àtèùk_ɔ sea (Hausa *tèeku*)

àⁿwá/awána[´] Pn like this

áyù Pt no §10.3.4

-B-

bà/ba Pn 3P

ba[´] -nám_a ba'- father

baⁿ 2Vb ride

baa baas bà- dog

báa Pt not even §11.2

(Hausa *bāa* 'not be')

ba'a ba'ab_a bà'a- diviner; -kòlòŋ_ɔ

diviner's bag

ba'a ba'as bà'- peg for hanging up

bàⁿ'ad_a bàⁿ'ad-nàm_a ill person

baⁿ'al[´] 2Vb make ride (horse, bicycle)

bàaⁿ'lìg_a Adj thin

baaⁿ'lìmm LF baaⁿ'lìmnè Ideo quiet

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

baⁿ'as bàⁿ'- disease

babá beside

bàbìgá[´] Qf many

- bákpàè** week (Hausa *bakwàì* 'seven')
bàⁿl_a 1Vb be thin
bàlàar **bàlàyà** **bàlà-** stick, club
bàlàṅìr **bàlàṅà** **bàlàṅ-** hat
balerug₅ **balerud** **baleris** **balér-**
 ugly person
bàmma **ʼ** Pn these
bàn Pn these
bán Pn 3P+**ṅ**; **ban** 3P
ban_n **bana** **bàn-** fetter
banaa **banaas** **bànà-** "fugu" smock
bàn-daug₅ **bàn-daad** **bàn-dà-** crocodile
ban-kúsélì **ban-kúselá** **ban-kúsel-** lizard
ban_a **baa^s** **bàṅ-** ring, chain, fetter
bàṅ_a agama lizard
bàṅ 2Vb come to know
bàṅkà blessing (Arabic *barakah*)
bàs 2Vb go away; abandon; throw out
 (kpèⁿ) **bàṅṅò** get circumcised (Songhay)
bàyeog₅ **ʼ** betrayer of secrets
bè 1Vb exist; be somewhere
bèⁿ Gd **bèⁿes** 2Vb fall ill
bèdìg **ʼ** 2Vb rot
bèdòg₅ Adj great
bèdògu **ʼ** Qf much, a lot
bèè Pt or; in questions §10.3.1
bèlìm 2Vb beg
bèlìs 2Vb comfort
bè_n **bèna** **bèn-** end
bèṅ 2Vb mark out boundary
bèṅíd **bèṅ-** cowpea leaves; **bèṅíd nè ki**
 leaf-and-millet (a traditional snack)
bèṅír **bèṅá** **bèṅ-** cowpea
bè'og₅ Adj bad
bèog₅ tomorrow; **bè-kèòⁿg₅**/**bè-kìkèòⁿg₅**
 dawn; **bèogu_n** morning; **bèog sá/bèog**
daar in future; **bèog níe kà** next day ...
bèoṅ₅ **bèena** **bèoṅ-** pool, lake
bèrìṅ_a **bèrìgìs** kenaf
bèruga **bèrìg-** kenaf leaves
bèⁿsìg 2Vb serve soup
bèsu_g **bèsd** **bès-** kind of wide-mouth pot
bì 2Vb ripen, mature
bì'a see **bè'og₅**
bì'a^r **bì'aⁿ** **bì'aⁿ**- mud, riverbed
bì'a^k **ʼ** 2Vb economise with, keep aside
bì'a^uk₅ **bì'aⁿad** **bì'aⁿ**- shoulder
bìelì Adj naked
bìel 2Vb accompany
bì'elá Qf a little;
bì'el **bì'el** Qf little by little; very little
bìelíf₅ **bìilì** **bìel-/bìil-** seed
bì'em **-nà_m** **bì'em-** enemy
bien_n **biena** **bìen-** shin
bier **ʼ** **bìeyá** **bì'a-** elder same-sex sibling
bì'es 2Vb doubt
bìgìs 2Vb show, teach
bìig_a **bìis** **bì-/bì-** child; **bì-dìbìṅ_a** boy;
bì-pùṅ_a girl; **bì-lia** baby; **bì-nà'ab_a**
 prince(ss); **bì-pit_a** **ʼ** younger child
bì'ig 2Vb ripen, get pregnant
bìilìm childhood
bùm **ʼ** **bì-** soup, stew
bìⁿisìm milk
bìⁿisìr **bìⁿisà** **bìⁿis-** woman's breast
bìl_a Adj little
bìlìg 2Vb roll (transitive)
bìlìm 2Vb roll (intransitive)
bìmbì_n **bìmbì_m** **bìmbì_m**- mound,
 pillar of earth; altar B
bì_n excrement
bò **bò-** Pn what? why? §8.2; **bò zúg₅** why;
 because §10.1
bò 2Vb seek, Ipf want; **bòcòdìm** will
bòbìg 2Vb wrap round
bòdìg 2Vb lose, get lost
bòdòbòdò bread
bòk₅ **bò'ad** **bù'à-** pit
bòⁿɔg₅ swamp; ricefield
bòsɪr **bòsa** **bòs-** puff adder
bòtu sack (Twi)
bù' 2Vb beat

- bùàk 2Vb split
 bù'ar bùà'a bùà'- hole
 bu'ar' bùá'a bùa'- skin bottle
 bùd Gd budìg_a/budug₅ 2Vb sow seeds
 bùdaa man; bùdàalim manhood, courage
 bùdim Gd bùdimís 2Vb get confused
 bù'e 2Vb pour out
 bùg 2Vb get drunk (Hausa *bùgu*)
 bugud_a client of diviner
 bùgùlim 2Vb cast lots
 bugur buga bùg- abode of a wun_n';
 wun_n' from mother's kin as sugr'
 bùgúm bùgum-/bùgúm- fire;
 Bùgúm-tɔɔ'r Fire Festival
 bugus_a' 1Vb be soft
 bugusíga Adj soft, weak;
 bugusíga' softly; bugusím softness
 buk' 2Vb weaken
 bùk 2Vb cast lots
 bùl 2Vb germinate, ooze
 bul_l bula sprout
 bùl 2Vb astonish
 bùlig_a bùlis bùl- well, pond
 bùmbàrig_a bùmbàris bùmbàr- ant
 bun_n' -nám_a/buná bun- thing;
 -bón_n plaster (for a wall);
 -gín_a short fellow (informal);
 -k'ònbùg₅ -k'ònbìd -k'ònb- animal;
 -kúdùg₅ -kút old man;
 -mór_a rich person
 -tùgùdà firewood, kindling
 bùn 2Vb reap, harvest
 bun-dâar Pn which day?
 bùŋ_a bùmìs bùŋ- donkey
 bùol 2Vb call, summon
 bùor bùòyà bùà- grain store
 bu'os' 2Vb ask; Gd bu'osúg₅ question
 bùrikìna -nám_a bùrikìn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
 buryá Christmas (Twi)
 butŋ_a butus bùtìŋ- cup
- buud innocence
 buudi bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group
 buug_a buus bù- goat; -dìbìg_a male kid
- D-
- dà Pt before two days ago §9.2
 da Pt not (imperative negative) §9.3
 dà' 2Vb buy
 dàa Pt day after tomorrow §9.2
 daa Pt before yesterday §9.2
 dà'a dà'as dà'- market
 dà'abìr slave
 dàalim masculinity
 dàalim dàalimìs male organs
 daam' da- millet beer, "pito";
 -bín_n beer residue; yeast B
 dàam 2Vb disturb (Hausa *dàamaa*)
 daan_a -nám_a dàan- owner of ...
 dà'n'añ_a dà'n'amìs dà'n'añ- hearth
 -vjàvⁿk_a -vjà'n'ad hearth-stone
 -vu'ad hearth-stones, fireplace
 daar daba dà- day, date
 daar two days ago/hence
 daa-sì'er perhaps §10.1
 dàbiem fear
 dàbiog₅ dàbied dàbjà- coward
 dàbìsìr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period
 dadúk₅ kind of large pot
 da'e' 2Vb push; (wind) blow
 dàgòbìg_a left; south B
 daká -nám_a daká- box (Hausa *àdakàa*)
 dàkiig_a dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
 husband §8.4
 dàkòɔ'r dàkò'nyà dàkò'n- unmarried son
 dàmm (-mm-) 2Vb shake
 dàmmà'a liar; dàmmà'am/dàmmà'ar lie
 dampusaar/dànsàar staff, club
 dàŋkòŋ₅ measles
 dàpaal_a' young man, son
 dàsaŋ_a dàsaa'n/s/dàsamm_a dàsàŋ-
 young man

- dàtaa dàtaas dàtà- enemy
dàtìùᵛ right-hand; north B
daᵛ dap_a dàᵛ- (Pl head dáp-) man
daug_ᵛ Adj male
dàug_ᵛ dàad dà- log; -kpi'ed_a carpenter;
-puudɪr -puuda cross B
dàwàlìg_a hot humid season before rains
dàwan_n´ dàwaná dàwan- pigeon
dàyáam_{ma} -nám_a dàyaam-
husband's parent §8.4
dàyuug_ᵛ dáyuuđ´ dáyu- rat
dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
dèeg_a dèes dè- warthog
dεεᵛ_a Adj first
dɛl_a´ 1Vb (person) lean
dèlìm 2Vb (person) start leaning
dεᵛ_a dεmɪs dèᵛ- accidental bruise; defect
dèᵛ 2Vb go/do first
dèᵛlìm Pt beforehand §9.4.3
dì Pn 3I
dì Ipf dít_a Imp dìm_a 2Vb eat, get; Gd
dub_ᵛ food; ò dì pɔ́a' he's taken a wife;
ò dì ʔyán she's ashamed
dǰa' 2Vb get dirty
dǰa'ad´ dirt
di'e´ 2Vb receive
dì'em 2Vb play; Gd dì'emà festival
dìem_{ma} -nàm_a dìem- wife's parent §8.4
di'es´ 2Vb receive (many things)
dɪg_ɪya´ 1Vb lie down
dɪg_ɪl´ 2Vb lay down
dìgìn 2Vb lie down
dìgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf
dɪg_ɪsúg_ᵛ bed; (Pl) lair
dìs 2Vb feed; dìs_a glutton
dìsúᵛ dìsímà/dìsís dìsúᵛ- spoon
dìm_a dìn_n Pn (dummy head)
dín dìn see lín lìn
dìndεog_ᵛ´ dìndεed´ dìndε- chameleon
dìndìs_a glutton
dìtúᵛ right-hand
- dì-zɔ́rug_ᵛ´ dì-zɔ́rá dì-zɔ́r- crumb
dɔ́l_a´ 1Vb accompany
dɔ́lɪg´ 2Vb make accompany, send with
dɔ́n'ɪg´ 2Vb stretch oneself
dɔ́lɪs´ 2Vb follow, trace §10.4.2
dòᵛg_ᵛ dòᵛd/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;
dòᵛg bîig_a housecat
dòᵛng_ᵛ dòᵛnd dòn- dawadawa fruit
dòn'ɔ́s 2Vb water plants
du Ipf dut_a´ Imp dùm_a 2Vb go up
dɔ́a' 2Vb bear/beget; du'ad_a relative
dù_aⁿ dòᵛn's dòn- dawadawa tree
dù'al 2Vb (loan) make interest
du'am birth
dú'atà doctor (English)
due´ 2Vb raise, rise
dug 2Vb cook
duk_ᵛ´ dugud´ dug- cooking pot;
dugub dút cooking pots
dùm 2Vb bite
dum_n duma dùm- knee
dùndùug_ᵛ dùndùud dùndù- cobra
duniya duniyá- world (Arabic *dunyā*)
dunná this year
duᵛ_a dumis dùᵛ- mosquito
duor´ dɔ́oyá dɔ́a- stick
du'os´ 2Vb lift up, honour
dùr_a 1Vb be many
du'un´ 2Vb pass water
du'uním du'un- urine
dɔ́sír step
- E-
- èⁿbìs 2Vb scratch
èⁿd 2Vb plug up
èⁿdìg 2Vb unplug
εεⁿ Pt yes §10.3.4
εεⁿ/εεⁿ tí Pt habitually §9.4.2
εεⁿb´ 2Vb lay foundation
εεⁿbír foundation
εⁿrɪg´ 2Vb shift along on buttocks

-F-

f₃ Pn 2S
 faⁿ/faeⁿ´ 2Vb grab, rob; save
 faaⁿ Qf every
 faaⁿgíd_a saviour (Toende)
 faaⁿgír salvation (Toende)
 fáss Ideo for píelìg_a white
 fεⁿdtg´ 2Vb turn round
 fεεg´ 2Vb (food) get old, cold
 fεⁿog₃´ fεⁿed´ fεⁿ- ulcer
 f̄aⁿuⁿk₃´ f̄aⁿad´ one-eyed person
 fieb 2Vb beat
 fiiⁿ Qf a little (liquid)
 fi'ig 2Vb cut off
 fitulá lamp (Arabic *fatīlah* 'wick')
 fɔɔs´ 2Vb (wind) puff
 fù Pn 2S
 fùe 2Vb draw out
 fufum_n fufuma fufúm- envy; stye
 fún Pn 2S+ñ; fun 2S
 fuug₃´ fuud´/fut´ fu- clothing; cloth

-G-

gaaⁿ´ gaaⁿs´ gaⁿ- African ebony,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gàad Ip̄f gàt_a 2Vb (sur)pass
 gáafàrà sorry!
 (Hausa *gaafarà*, from Arabic)
 gè'al 2Vb button up
 gè'am 2Vb grind teeth
 gèas 2Vb pass by
 gadu´ -nám_a gadu- or gadug₃´ gat´ gad-
 bed (Hausa *gadoo*)
 gèlìs 2Vb become excessive
 gèṅ 2Vb step over
 gaṅ´ 2Vb choose
 gaⁿr´ gaⁿyá gaⁿr- ebony fruit
 gbaⁿe´ 2Vb catch, grab; decide, plan
 gbáⁿyà'a idle person; gbáⁿyà'am laziness
 gbaⁿu₃´ gbaná gban-/gbaⁿuṅ- animal skin;
 book (TP L, W); gbàⁿuṅ-mi'id_a´ B scribe

gbêεⁿm gbεⁿ- sleep
 gbè'og₃ gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead
 gbèog₃ lakeshore
 gber´ gbeyá gber- thigh
 gbugum_n gbuguma gbìgim- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (hill) foot;
 meaning; below; -vɔɔⁿr anus
 gbis 2Vb sleep
 gεⁿ 2Vb get tired
 gεⁿ 2Vb get angry
 gεl´ 2Vb place between legs (TP H)
 gεεⁿm´ Gd gεεⁿmís 2Vb go/send mad
 gέέⁿη_a gεεⁿmís madman
 gé| gé|á gé|- egg
 γεog₃ place between legs (TP A)
 gègèlìm 2Vb go dumb
 giilím shortness
 gèk_a gègèlìs gèg- dumb person
 gilig´ Ip̄f gin_{na}´ 2Vb go around
 gim_{ma}´ 1Vb be short
 gèṅ 2Vb scrimp
 giṅ´ 2Vb surround, intercept, obstruct
 giṅ_a Adj short; giṅ_a shortly
 girima importance, prestige
 (Hausa *girmaa*)
 gèⁿ 2Vb hunt; Ip̄f gèⁿɔⁿd_a wander,
 Gd gèⁿɔⁿdìm
 gèɔɔg´ 2Vb look up
 gè'e_{ya}´ W gè|_a´ K 1Vb look up
 gè'ɔⁿ 2Vb look up
 gè'ɔ_a´ D 1Vb look up
 gè'ɔ₃ Ip̄f gè'ɔ₃d_a´/gè'ɔ_a´ Imp gè'ɔ₃dìm_a/gè'ɔ₃m_a
 Gd gè'ɔ₃dìg_a 2Vb look; gè'ɔ_a´ seer
 gu' 2Vb guard, take care of
 gèⁿ'a gèⁿ'ɔ₃ gèⁿ'- thorn; acacia;
 -sabulìg_a *Acacia hockii*
 gèl 2Vb hang; gèl_a 1Vb hang
 gèllimm LF gèllìmmè Pt only §11.2
 gè_m gè_mà kapok fruit; thread W
 gumpuzer´ gumpuzeyá gumpuzér- duck
 gèṅ_a gè_mìs gèṅ- kapok, *Ceiba pentandra*

- gùṅgum_n kapok material
 gur_a´ 1Vb guard, watch for
 gu'ul´ 2Vb set on guard
 gù'ulim 2Vb get half-ripe
 gùur gùyà gù- upland; riverbank
 guur guya gù- ridge of back
 gu'us´ 2Vb take care, watch out
 gu'us half-ripe fruits
- H-
- halí Pt even, until §9.7.3
- I-
- ða LF ia 2Vb seek
 ða'as´ 2Vb leap
 ða'k´ Ipf ða'ad_a´ 2Vb leap, fly
 igiya´ 1Vb kneel
 igil´ 2Vb make kneel
 ðgin 2Vb kneel down
 ulí ulá ul- horn
 isir isa is- scar
 isig 2Vb get up early
- K-
- kà Pt and, that §10.1
 ka 2Vb bail water
 ka' (before an object) see kaɛ'
 kaab´ 2Vb offer, invite
 kaal´ 2Vb count
 kaas´ 2Vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)
 kà'asìgɛ alternative LF of kaɛ'
 kà'nb Gd ka'nbur 2Vb scorch
 kabig´ 2Vb ladle out
 kabur´ Gd kaburí 2Vb call for admission
 kàd 2Vb drive off; kàd sàriyà 2Vb judge
 ka'ndug_ɔ Adj (person) fat, tough
 kaɛ' 1Vb not exist/be/have
 kalí´ kalá kal- number
 kàlìga´ Qf few
 kàm_a Qf every
 kàn Pn this/that
- kàṅa´ Pn this/that
 kà_a 1Vb be few
 karfá/kɛrfá o'clock §9.7.2.2
 (Hausa *karfèe*)
 kàrim 2Vb read
 kàset_a´ witness; testimony (? French *cacheté* 'sealed'); kàsetí_b_a witnesses
 kɛ Ipf ket_a´ Imp kèl_a 2Vb let §10.4.2
 kɛⁿ Ipf ken_{na}´ Imp kè_m_a Gd ken_n´ 2Vb
 come; ken ken welcome!
 kèkèkè -nàm_a kèkèkè- bicycle
 (Hausa *kèeke*)
 kèes 2Vb bid farewell to
 kèlìg/kèlìs 2Vb listen
 keṅ´ Ipf ken_{na}´ Imp kè_m_a 2Vb go, walk;
 ken_{na}´ traveller
 kè'ns break
 kjà' LF k'á 2Vb cut
 kidig´ 2Vb cross over, meet;
 à Kidig_l bu'os Orion
 kief_ɔ´ k'í ki-/ka- millet;
 ka-wennur ka-wenna ka-wén- corn
 ku'tb_ɔ´ soap; W kiibú kiib- (Mampruli)
 kùs 2Vb listen
 ku'ts´ 2Vb deny
 kàka'ar´ kàkán'a millet stalk
 kàkàm_n kàkàmà fig
 kàkàṅ_a kàkàmìs kàkàṅ- Cape fig tree
 kàkirig_a´ kàkiris´ kàkir- local English
 "fairy" §1.1; demon B2/3 (-bê'ed in B1)
 kilim´ 2Vb become, change into
 kìm 2Vb herd animals
 kímm Ideo firmly, fast; exactly §8.2
 kìṅkàṅ_a (etc) = kàkàṅ_a
 kir Gd kàkírùṅ_ɔ/kirib_ɔ 2Vb hurry, tremble
 kis_a´ 1Vb hate; kis_a´/kisid_a´ hater
 kísùṅ_ɔ Adj hateful, tabu
 kò 2Vb break (intransitive)
 kò'ni/kò'ni'kò by oneself
 kòbìga (LF = SF) Qf hundred §8.5.1
 kò'nbur kò'nbà kò'nb- bone

kɔⁿbɔgɔ kɔⁿbɔd kɔⁿb- animal hair;
 human body hair (cf *zuobúgɔ*);
 -kɔm_{na} -kɔmmɔb_a animal herder
 kɔdɔg´ 2Vb cut throat (monactional)
 kɔdú banana (Twi)
 kɔ̀ 2Vb put around someone's neck
 kɔ̀lɔ̀bɪr kɔ̀lɔ̀bà bottle (Hausa *kwalabaa*)
 kɔ̀lɔ̀g_a kɔ̀lɔ̀s kɔ̀l- river;
 kɔ̀lɔ̀gɪ_n nɔ́-dáugɔ crayfish
 kɔ̀lùgɔ kɔ̀n_n kɔ̀lùg- sack, bag
 kɔ́m´ kɔ́m- hunger
 kɔ̀wɔg 2Vb break
 kɔ̀wɔs 2Vb break several times
 kɔ̀ns/kɔ̀nsim 2Vb cough
 kɔ́t´ 2Vb cut throat
 kɔ̀tàa LF kɔ̀tàanè Pt at all (Twi)
 kɔ̀tɔ̀ lawcourt (English)
 kpà' 2Vb nail, fasten
 kpaⁿ'a´ kpaⁿ'-nám rich person
 kpaad_a´ kpaadɔ́b_a kpaad- farmer
 kpaⁿ'am´ riches
 kpaam´ kpa- grease, ointment
 kpàⁿdɪr kpàⁿdà kpàⁿd- baboon
 kpàkur´ kpàkuyá kpàkur- tortoise
 kpan_n kpana kpàn- spear
 kpàr 2Vb lock
 kpar-kêoⁿgɔ kpar-kêɛⁿd kpar-kéⁿ- rag
 kpáⁿɔgɔ kpiⁿ'iní kpaⁿ'- guineafowl
 kpɛ Pn here
 kpɛⁿ' 2Vb enter
 kpɛⁿdɪr´ kpɛⁿdá kpɛⁿd- cheek
 kpɛɛⁿm -nàm_a kpɛɛⁿm- elder
 kpɛɛⁿm_a´ 1Vb be older than
 kpɛⁿ'ɛs 2Vb make enter
 kpɛlá Pn here
 kpɛ̀lɪm 2Vb remain
 kpɛ̀lɪm Pt still; immediately after §9.4.3
 kpɛ̀n Pt = kpɛ̀lɪm
 kpɛ̀'ɲ 2Vb strengthen
 kpɛoⁿɲɔ seniority
 kpì 2Vb die

kpì'a kpì'es kpìà'- neighbour
 kpìà' LF kpì'a 2Vb whittle
 kpì'e 2Vb approach
 kpì'em_a´ 1Vb be strong, hard
 kpìɔ̀bìg_a kpìɔ̀bìs kpìɔ̀b- orphan
 kpìig 2Vb (fire) go out
 kpì'ulím 2Vb come to an end
 kpì'um kpì'umɔs kpì'um- corpse
 kpìis 2Vb quench
 kpìkpin_{na} kpìkpinɔ́b_a kpìkpin- merchant
 kpì'ɔgɔ Adj strong, hard
 kpìsìgkpìlɪ kpìsìgkpìlà kpìsìgkpìl- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlɪ
 kpùkpàr kpùkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpùkpàrìg_a kpùkpàrìs kpùkpàr- palm tree
 kpùkpàɔgɔ kpùkpàmà kpùkpàɔgɪ- arm,
 wing
 kù Pt not (irrealis negative) §9.3
 ku 2Vb kill (Mooré *kú*); (rain) threaten
 (Mooré *kú*): *saa kú ya* it looks like rain
 kya LF kua 2Vb hoe, farm
 ku'alíj_a ku'alís/ku'alímìs ku'alíj-
 kind of smock
 kùd 2Vb work iron
 kùdìg 2Vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kudɪm the old days; often for *kulɪm*
 kudugɔ Adj old
 kudugɔ kut kùt- (Pl as Sg) iron, nail
 kugur´ kugá kug- stone
 kuk_a kugus kùg- chair
 kùk_a ghost
 kuk_a´ African mahogany
 kùkò_m kùkò_m kùkò_m- leper
 kùkɔ́r´ kùkɔ́yá kùkɔ́-/kùkɔ́r- voice
 kùkpàrìg_a see kpùkpàrìg_a
 kùkur´ kùkuyá kùkur- pig
 kul Gd kulig_a´ 2Vb return home;
 take as husband
 kulɪm Pt always §9.4.2 (Hausa *kullum*)
 kùlìj_a kùlìs/kùlìmìs kùlìj- door
 kùm 2Vb weep

kum kùm- death

kòndù'ar kòndù'adà kòndyà'-

barren woman

kòndùṅ_a kòndùmìs/kòndùnà hyena

kù'om kùà'- water; -nuud' thirst;

-ⁿwiig_a' current

kùos 2Vb sell

kuv Pt or §10.3.1 (Hausa *koo*)

kuug_a'/kuug_ɔ' kuus' ku- mouse

kùul 2Vb get drunk

kuus' 2Vb settle (lawsuit)

-L-

la' Pt the §8.7.3

là' 2Vb laugh

laa laas là- dish, bowl

la'af_ɔ ligidi lig-/là'- cowrie; (Pl) money;

là'-bielíf_ɔ small coin

láafiyà/láafi health (Arabic *al-āfiyah*)

là'am 2Vb associate; Pt together §9.4.3

là'as 2Vb gather together (transitive)

làbaar làbà- news (Arabic *al-akhbār*)

làbì_{ya} 1Vb crouch in hiding

làbìl 2Vb make crouch

làbìn 2Vb crouch

làbìs 2Vb walk stealthily

labìs_a' 1Vb be wide

labìsíg_a Adj wide; labìsím width

lak' 2Vb open (eye, book)

lal_l_a' 1Vb be distant

lalíg' 2Vb get/make far

lallí far off

lallíṅ_a/lallúṅ_ɔ Adj distant

lam_n' lamá lam- (tooth) gum;

-f̄ɔṅ_ɔ Adj toothless

làmpɔ' làmpɔ- tax (French *l'impôt*)

lan_n lana làn- testicle

lànnìṅ_a lànnìs lànnìṅ- squirrel

la'ṅ' 2Vb set alight

làṅgáṅ_ɔ làṅgáam_n/làṅgáamá làṅgáṅ-
crab

laním 2Vb wander round searching

laṅ_ɔ la'ad là'- goods item

là'ṅ_ɔ là'amà fishing net

lèb Gd lèbíg_a 2Vb return (intransitive)

lèbìṅ 2Vb turn over; return

lèbìs 2Vb answer; return; divorce (wife)

lèε Pt but §9.4.1

lèm Pt again §9.4.3

lèm (-mm-) 2Vb sip, taste

lēr 2Vb get ugly

lì/lì Pn 3I

lì Ip_f līt_a Imp lìm_a Gd liig_a 2Vb fall

lì 2Vb block up

lìa Pt where is? §10.3.4

lìdìṅ 2Vb turn (shirt) W

lìdìṅ 2Vb astonish, be amazed

lìeb 2Vb become

lì'el 2Vb approach

lí'em_n li'emá fruit of yellow plum tree

liēṅ_a liemís liēṅ- axe

lí'ēṅ_a li'emís yellow plum tree,

Ximenia americana

liṅ 2Vb patch

liṅìl 2Vb cover; liṅìn 2Vb cover oneself

lubl_r luba lùb- twin

lik_a ligis darkness

lìlaalíṅ_a lilaalís/lilaalímìs lilaalíṅ- swallow

lín Pn 3I+_n; lun 3I

lìn Pn that; líná Pn that

lɔ 2Vb tie

lɔb/lɔbíg' 2Vb throw stones at

lɔbídíg_a lɔbídís water-drawing vessel

lɔdíg_a' lɔdís' lɔd- corner

lɔdíg' 2Vb untie

lòk_ɔ lù'ad lùà'- (arrow) quiver

lòm̀b̀ò'̀k̀ṅ̀ṅ̀ lòm̀b̀ò'̀k̀d̀ lòm̀b̀ò'̀- garden

(Hausa *làmbuu*)

lɔṅ_a lɔmìs lɔṅ- kind of frog

lɔ'ṅ' 2Vb go across river, road

lór lóyà/lócm_{ma} lór- car, lorry

lòs 2Vb dip in liquid

lù Ipf lùt_a Imp lùm_a 2Vb fall
 lub Gd lubir' 2Vb throw down
 lug 2Vb swim
 lugur flank, side

-M-

m/m_a Pn 1S
 mà mà- mother; Pl mà nám §8.4
 mà' 2Vb lie, deceive
 mà'àa LF mà'anè Pt only §11.2
 màal 2Vb make, sacrifice; màal-maan_{na}
 servant who conducts slayings for a
 tèn-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'asíga cool, wet; ma'asíga' coolly;
 ma'asím coolness
 madıg' 2Vb overflow, abound
 ma'e' 2Vb cool down
 màk 2Vb crumple
 mak' 2Vb measure, judge
 màljak_a' màljak-nám_a/màlja'as' màlja'-
 angel (Arabic *mal'ak*)
 màlǫf₅ màlì gun, rifle (Arabic *midfa'*)
 màlǫm Pt again §9.4.3
 malısa' 1Vb be sweet, pleasant
 malısíga/malısíja Adj sweet, pleasant;
 malısím sweetness
 malıŋ₅ malıma màlòŋ- custom; sacrifice
 mam Pn 1S
 mán Pn 1S+ն; man 1S
 màŋgáŋ₅ = làŋgáŋ₅
 màŋk₅ Adj crumpled
 mè 2Vb build
 mè/mèn Pt also §11.2; mè-kàmà -soever
 mɛd 2Vb mash up
 mɛɛŋ_a mɛɛmıs mɛɛŋ- turtle
 mɛlǫm dew
 mɛŋ_a' Pn self; mɛŋır Adj genuine

met' met- pus
 mi' 1Vb know
 míif₅ miiní okra seed
 mì'ig 2Vb get sour
 mì'is_a 1Vb be sour; mì'isùg₅ Adj sour
 milıg' 2Vb get dirty
 mìmiilım/mìmiilóg₅ sweetness
 mìt_a 1Vb Imp-only: beware; do not let
 mɔ 2Vb strive, struggle
 mɔd 2Vb swell
 mɔdıg' 2Vb be patient, endure
 mòlǫf₅ mòlì mòl- kob
 mɔn 2Vb grind millet to make sa'ab₅
 mɔŋ' 2Vb refuse to lend
 mɔŋg₅ mɔŋd mò- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; -pılı thatch
 mɔɔl' 2Vb proclaim;
 mɔɔl-mòɔn_{na} proclaimer
 mɔr_a' 1Vb have; mɔr na bring
 mɔà' 2Vb suckle
 mɔàk_a mò'as mɔà'- maggot
 mò'ar mɔà'a mɔà'- lake, reservoir
 mò'as 2Vb give suck to
 mù'e 2Vb redden; ignite; intensify
 mùj mùj- rice
 mùl 2Vb itch
 mùm 2Vb bury

-N-

n Pt (linker) §10.4 §11.1
 n Pt (past) §9.2 §10.3.3
 n Pn 2P2: see ya
 n/nı' Pt (locative) §9.7.2.3
 ò Pt (nominaliser) §10.5
 nà Pt (irrealis) §9.3
 na' Pt hither §9.6
 na 2Vb join
 nà- (cf Mampruli *na'ari* 'wilderness'):
 -dàwan_n' pigeon;
 -nɛsınnɛog₅' centipede W;
 -zòm_n locust

- náa** Pt (reply to blessings) §12
nà'ab_a -**nàm_a** **nà'**- chief, king;
 -**biig_a** prince(ss); -**yir'** court
náaf₃ **niigí na'**- cow
nàam 2Vb happen
na'am **nà'am**- chieftaincy, kingdom
naan next, afterwards §9.4.1
naan Pt in that case §9.4.1 §10.3.3
naan' 2Vb starting from ... do §10.4.2
nà'ana' Ideo easy
nà'as Gd **nà'asì** 2Vb honour
nae' 2Vb finish
nàm Pt still, yet §9.4.2
nàm_a (pluraliser) §5.1.1
namis' 2Vb persecute, suffer
nan_{na}' 1Vb respect
nannánna' Pn now
nànzv'us' pepper (tones uncertain)
naŋ_a **namis** **nàŋ**- scorpion
nar_a' 1Vb need, deserve
narúŋ₃ Adj necessary
nàyiig_a **nàyiig-nàm_a/nàyiis** thief
 (*na'ayii* B); **nàyiigum** thievery
nε Pt with §9.7.3; linking NPs: and
nε' Pt (focus) §11.1
nε' Pn this
nèel 2Vb reveal
nèem for free
nεem' 2Vb grind with millstone
nεer' millstone
nèes 2Vb reveal; **nèesim** light
nèj_{ya} 1Vb be awake
nεm-nêer **nεm-néyà** grinder
nεn_{na}' 1Vb envy; **nin-nén_{na}** envier
nε'εŋa Pn this
nèer Adj empty
nεsunnεog₃' **nεsunnεed'** **nεsunné-**
 centipede; envious person W
ñfá! Pt well done! §10.3.4
ni' Pt (locative) §9.7.2.3
nì 2Vb rain
nida' **nidiba'** **nin-** person; -**punan_{na}'**
 -**punanníba** -**punan-** disrespectful
 person; -**sâal_a** human being
nìe 2Vb appear, reveal; waken
nif₃' **niní nif-/nin-** eye; **nif-gbáũŋ₃** eyelid;
nif-sób_a miser; **nin-báa'lig_a** pity;
nin-dáa **nin-dâas** **nin-dá-** face;
nin-gótìŋ_a mirror; **nin-gótis** spectacles;
nin-kúgùdìŋ_a **nin-kúgùdìs** eyebrow;
nin-múa concentration; **m̄ niní mù'e nε**
 I'm intent; **nin-tâ'm** tears
níŋ_a **niimís/níis niŋ-** bird
ni'm_n' **nimá** **nim-** meat
nin-pôvd pus
nintaŋ_a' **nintaa'ns'** **nintáŋ-** heat of the day
niŋ_a **niis** **niŋ-** body; -**gbiŋ₃'** -**gbiná** -**gbiŋ-**
 body (Pl as Sg); -**g̀̀̀̀** neck;
 -**taa** -**taas** -**tà-** co-wife §8.4;
 -**tullím** fever
niŋ 2Vb do
nɔ 2Vb tread
nɔb 2Vb get fat
nɔbɔg' 2Vb (child, plant) grow
nóbìr **nɔbá** **nɔb-** leg, foot; -**bíla** toe;
 -**í'na** toenail; -**púmpàũŋ₃** foot
nɔk' 2Vb pick up, take up
nòŋ Imp **nòŋim_a** 1Vb love; **nòŋid_a** lover
nɔŋ₃' **nɔŋ-** poverty; -**dâana** pauper
nɔɔ Pt exactly, just §11.2
nɔɔr' **nɔyá** **nɔ-** mouth; command;
 -**dí'es_a** chief's spokesman ("linguist");
 prophet B; -**gbáũŋ₃** lip; -**l̀̀̀** fasting;
 -**nâar** promise; -**p̀̀̀** oath
nɔɔr'/nɔɔrím times §8.5.1
nu 2Vb drink
nua' **nɔɔɔ'** **nɔ-** hen; -**dâũŋ₃** cock;
 Nɔ-nyâ'aŋ **né** ò Biis Pleiades
nulig'/nulis' 2Vb make drink
nû'ug₃ **nû'us** **nu'**- hand, arm; -**bíla** finger;
 -**dâũŋ₃** thumb; -**í'na** -**é'is-** -**é'is-**
 fingernail; -**wê'éd_a** mediator

-O-

ò/o Pn 3A

ò'b Gd ኃ'bur 2Vb chew

ón Pn 3A+n̄; on 3A

òn Pn this/that

òŋa' Pn this/that

-P-

pà' Pt earlier today §9.2

pà'al 2Vb teach, inform; pa'an_{na} teacher

pà'al 2Vb put on top

paalí_a Adj new; paalím recently

pà'nalím 2Vb dedicate

paalú open space

pàa'íú_ጋ pàa'ílmìs spiderweb

pàam 2Vb receive gift

pàas 2Vb add up to

pae' 2Vb arrive; reach

pàk 2Vb surprise; take from top

pamm LF pamné Qf much, a lot

pàŋ_a pàa's pàŋ- power

pà'sìጋ 2Vb lack

pà' tì Pt perhaps §9.4.1

pèbìs 2Vb blow; pèbìsìጠ/pèbìsùጋ wind

pè'el 2Vb fill

pè'es 2Vb add up to, amount to

pèlìጋ 2Vb whiten, go white

pèlìs 2Vb sharpen

pèn_n vagina

pe'ŋ' 2Vb borrow; knock over W

pèog_ጋ pèed pè- basketpe'og_ጋ pe'es' pe'- sheep; -sá'a ewe lamb

pesìጋ' 2Vb sacrifice

pja LF pia 2Vb dig up

pjaⁿ 2Vb speak, praise; Gd pjàuⁿk_ጋpjàⁿ'ad pjàⁿ'- word, (Pl) language

(tones sic)

pibìጋ 2Vb uncover

pibìl 2Vb cover up

pibin_n pibina pibìn- cover, lid

pid 2Vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on (self or another)

pid 2Vb get bloated

pidìጋ 2Vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pie' 2Vb wash (own body)

pièb 2Vb blow (flute etc)

pièlìጋ_a Adj white (cf zìⁿ'a);

pièlìጠ whiteness

piès 2Vb fool someone

pies' 2Vb wash

piíf_ጋ piiní puiጠ- genet

piiga Qf ten

piⁿ'il' 2Vb begin

piim' píma pim- arrow

piini piin- gift

pil 2Vb cover

pilìጋ 2Vb uncover

pipiríጋ_a pipirís pipír- desert

pisí Qf twenty

pitú pití_b_a pit- younger same-sex sibling
(Sg pit_a' after CIFs)

pጋ 2Vb swear; pጋጋ' "oath name" of clan

pò'd 2Vb crouch down

pòጋ_d_a 1Vb be few, smallpòጋdìጋ_a Adj few, small; pòጋdìጠ fewness

pጋጋጋ' pጋጋጋ'/pጋጋ' pጋ- field, farm

pò'ጋጋ 2Vb diminish, belittle

pòⁿ'ጋጋ' 2Vb make rotpòⁿ'ጋጋìጠ 2Vb cripple, get crippledpòⁿ'ጋጋ pòⁿ'dà pòⁿ'- cripplepòⁿ'_a 1Vb be nearpòⁿ'rùጋ_ጋ Adj near

pጋ Pt not (indicative negative) §9.3

pጋ 2Vb divide

pጋ_a' pጋⁿ'ab_a pጋⁿ'- woman, wife; -elíጋ_afiancée; -ginníጋ_a/-gጋጋⁿ'd_{ur} prostitute;-paal_a' bride; -sad_{ur}' nulliparous youngwoman; -saⁿ'am_{na} adulterer; -ⁿya'aጋ_a-ⁿya'as old woman; -y_{ua} daughterpጋak_a Adj (human) female

pò'alìጠ 2Vb harm

- pù'alìm femininity
 pù'alím pù'alímìs pù'alím- female organs
 pùd 2Vb name
 pùdíg´ 2Vb share out
 puⁿe´ 2Vb rot
 pùgùdìb_a -nàm_a pùgùd- father's sister
 pùkòò^r pùkòⁿyà pùkòⁿ- widow
 pukpaad_a´ pukpaadìb_a pukpá- farmer
 pùlìmà cogongrass
 pùmpòòg_o housefly
 pùn Pt previously, already §9.4.2
 pusig_a´ pusis´ pus- tamarind
 pusir´ pusá tamarind fruit
 pu-súk_a pu-súgùs half
 put´ stomach contents
 puum´ puum- flowers
 puug_a pù- belly; -pìelì upright person;
 -pìelìm virtue; -tènⁿ´er -tènⁿdà -tènⁿ- mind;
 puug_o_n inside; mòr puug be pregnant
 puur´ stomach
 pù'us 2Vb greet, worship, thank; Gd
 pù'usìm worship; Gd pù'usùg_o thanks
- S-
- sà Pt yesterday §9.2
 sà Pt hence, ago §9.6
 sa' 2Vb be in distress
 sàa Pt tomorrow §9.2
 saa saas sà- rain, sky; (subject of jàⁿk´)
 lightning; saa díndεog rainbow;
 saa zúg up above; sky
 sa'ab_o sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 saafu lock, key (Twi)
 sàal_a sàalìb_a sàal- human; -biig_a human
 sàalìg_a´ smoothly
 sàam_{ma} -nàm_a sàam- father §8.4
 sàⁿ'am 2Vb spoil, break
 saam´ 2Vb mash, crumble
 saⁿ'an´ in the presence/opinion of
 saan_a´ sàam_{ma} saan- guest, stranger
 saan_n saana sàan- charcoal
- sáannìm strangerhood
 sáaŋ_a Adj strange
 sabulíg_a Adj black (cf zìⁿ'a)
 sàbùà sàbùos sàbùà- lover, girlfriend
 sadúgím Pt since, because §9.4.1 §10.5.1
 saeⁿ/saeⁿya saaⁿb_a sàⁿ- blacksmith
 sakárùg_o sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)
 sàlìbìr bridle (Arabic *salabah*)
 salìma sàlìm- gold
 sam_n´ samá sam- debt; -kpà'as_a servant
 samán_n samánà samán- yard before zàk_a;
 Samán-píer traditional New Year
 saŋá sansá san- time §9.7.2.2
 sàŋ-gbàùŋ_o cloud, sky
 saŋgúnnìr saŋgúnnà saŋgún- millipede
 sapálì Harmattan part of úun_n
 sapu LF sapu/sapiné Ideo straight
 sarígá prison (Arabic *sāriqah* 'fetter')
 sàríyà law (Arabic *sharī'ah*);
 sàríyà-kat_a judge
 saug_o´ saad´ sa- broom, brush
 sàuk_o sà'ad dust mote
 sáuŋ_o hospitality
 sè 2Vb transplant
 sèⁿ 2Vb sew
 sebiya´ 1Vb squat
 seoⁿg_o rainy season
 sè 2Vb flay
 si' 2Vb stain, dye
 si'a Pn Sg some, any
 sia sies sjà- waist; -lòòdíŋ_a belt;
 -nif_o´ kidney
 sjà'al´ 2Vb get to be enough
 sjà'ar sjà'a/sjà'adà sjà'- forest W;
 wilderness
 sjàk 2Vb agree; ò pu sjákì fù kòòré_
 he hasn't obeyed you
 sjak´ 2Vb suffice
 sibig_a´ sibí sib- kind of termite
 síd_a sídìb_a síd- husband §8.4
 síd Pt truly §9.4.1

sìdà sìd- truth
 sie´ 2Vb descend, be humbled
 sieba Pn some, any; si'el_a something,
 anything; si'em somehow, anyhow
 sig 2Vb descend
 sugur´ guardian spirit
 sigis´ 2Vb lower
 sigisír sigisá lodging-place
 sii'd´ honey
 sii'f₃/sii'ng_a´ sii's´ siⁿ- bee
 sug_a sus sì- vital energy, spirit B;
 African birch
 siilim 2Vb cite proverbs; siilíng_a/siilóng₃
 siilís/siilímís/siilímà siilíng- proverb
 su'ts´ 2Vb touch
 silinsíug₃ silinsíis ghost
 silinsíu'ng₃ silinsíi'd spider
 sìlòg₃ sìn_n/sìlís sìl- hawk
 sìm 2Vb sink in liquid
 sin_{na}´ 1Vb be silent
 sunsáaⁿ kind of tiny ant
 suŋ_a su's sìŋ- kind of very big pot
 su'ŋ´ 2Vb begin
 sisíbig_a sisíbìs sisíib- neem
 sisíbir sisíba neem fruit
 sìsì'em wind, storm
 sìsòm_n grasshopper
 sìsòvug₃_n/sòvug₃_n between
 sí'uf₃ si'imís si'uf- kind of big dish
 sɔ' Pn some(one), any(one)
 sɔⁿ 2Vb rub
 sɔb_a Pn (dummy head)
 sɔb 2Vb darken; write
 sɔbig´ 2Vb blacken
 sɔbr´ sɔb- piece of writing
 sɔɛⁿ/sɔɛⁿya sɔb_a sɔⁿ- witch
 sɔ'e_{ya}´ 1Vb be better than; sɔ'ɔd_a´
 sɔ'ɔb_a´ sɔ'ɔd- surpasser
 sɔgjà_a soldier (English)
 sɔkuf₃´ sɔkumá story
 sɔnnur sɔnna sɔn- yard-dividing wall

sɔɔ'ng₃ witchcraft
 sɔɔ'r sɔ'ya sɔⁿ- liver; cane rat
 sòs Gd sɔsɔg_a 2Vb ask; sòs_a beggar
 sɔ's Gd sɔ'sìg_a 2Vb converse, talk with
 sù 2Vb take bath
 su_a´ 2Vb hide; su_{ak}_a´ hiding place
 su'e_{ya}´ 1Vb own; su'ulím property, realm
 sueⁿ´ 2Vb anoint
 su'e´ 2Vb become better than
 su'f₃/suu'r´ su'yá suⁿ- heart;
 -búgùsìm peace; -kpí'uf₃ boldness;
 -málísìm/-má'asìm -málís- joy;
 ñ su'f má'e ya I'm joyful; -pêen_n anger;
 ñ su'f pélìg nɛ I'm angry;
 -sâ'uf₃ sorrow
 sugur´ Gd sugurú 2Vb show forbearance
 sù'm goodness; well
 sùm_{ma} 1Vb be good
 summur summa sùm- groundnut
 sùn_n Gd sùnnìr/sùnnòg₃ 2Vb bow head;
 sun_{na} close observer W
 sùŋ 2Vb help
 sùŋ₃ Adj good; sù'ŋa´ well; very much
 sú'uf_a su'omís su'uf- hare
 suor´ suoyá su_a- road; permission
 -dâug₃ -dâad highway
 sù'os_a yesterday
 sù'os 2Vb trick
 sù_a 1Vb have head bowed
 suug´ 2Vb (leaves) wither W
 sù'ug_a/sù'ug₃ sù'us sù'- knife

-T-

taa taas fellow- §6.1.1
 taab/taaba Pn each other
 ta'adur ta'ada tà'ad- sandal
 tàal_l tàalà tàal- fault, sin
 tá'am_n ta'amá shea nut
 tá'an_a ta'amís ta'an- shea tree
 ta'as´ 2Vb help to walk
 tàb 2Vb get stuck to; tàbì_{ya} 1Vb be stuck

- tà̀bìg 2Vb get unstuck from
 tà̀bìl 2Vb stick to (transitive)
 tà̀dìg 2Vb weaken
 tadim -nàm_a tà̀dim- weakling
 tà̀dimís weakness
 táe plaster (a wall)
 tà̀m (-mm-) 2Vb forget
 tà̀mpììng_a rock
 tà̀mpuur tà̀mpù- ashpit, rubbish tip
 tan_n tana tà̀n- earth; -mɛɛd_a builder
 taⁿ_ɔ war; tà̀n^p-sɔb_a warrior
 tar_a´ 1Vb have
 tà̀s Gd tà̀sùg_ɔ 2Vb shout; (sun) shine
 tà̀sìntàlì/tà̀tálì palm of hand
 taⁿ´ taⁿ_p´ taⁿ- (Pl head taⁿ-)
 opposite-sex sibling §8.4
 tè 2Vb pull
 tè̀b Gd tè̀bìg_a 2Vb carry in both hands
 tè̀n^b Gd tè̀n^bòg_ɔ 2Vb struggle
 tè̀bìg´ 2Vb get heavy
 tè̀bìs_a´ 1Vb be heavy
 tè̀bìsìg_a Adj heavy; tè̀bìsím weight
 tè̀ébùl tè̀ébùl-nàm_a table (English)
 tè̀eg/tè̀k 2Vb pull; tè̀eg X tò̀bìr punish X
 tè̀'eg_a tè̀'es tè̀'- baobab
 tè̀'es 2Vb remind
 tè̀'es´ 2Vb think; Gd tè̀'esá thought
 te_n_a teⁿs te_n- land; -biig_a native;
 -daan_a earth-priest; -du'adug_a
 native land; -gbàuy_ɔ land;
 -kpe_n_a -kpe^mis -kpe_n- village;
 -puug_ɔ´ -puud´ -pu- village; -suk_a centre;
 te_nl_n/te_nír down; under
 tè̀og_ɔ tè̀ed nest
 tè̀'og_ɔ tè̀'ed baobab fruit
 tè̀r_a 1Vb remember
 tì/tì Pn 1P
 tì Pt next, then §9.4.3
 tjà'al 2Vb come next
 tjàk 2Vb change
 tì'e 2Vb rely on
 tìeⁿ 2Vb remember; W inform; stretch
 tì'eb 2Vb get ready; (Arabic *ṭibb*
 'medicine') heal; tì'eb_a healer
 tiē_n_a tiēmìs tiē_n- beard; -guur chin
 tiē 2Vb have in excess; Gd tiē_r´ glut
 ti'iy_a´ 1Vb (thing) lean
 tiē_a tiē_s tì- tree; -daug_ɔ -daad -dà- bow
 ti'il´ 2Vb lean (thing)
 tiēm tì- medicine; -kuvdím poison;
 -sabulím kind of traditional remedy
 tì'in 2Vb (thing) start leaning
 tik´ 2Vb press; tik nù'ug sign
 (e.g. a document)
 tilás necessity (Hausa *tiilàs*)
 tiēg 2Vb survive, be saved
 tinám_a Pn 1P
 tintòⁿríg_a tintòⁿrí_s tintóⁿr- mole
 tìp_a -nàm_a tìp- healer
 tirâan_a -nàm_a tirâan- peer;
 tirâannim companionship
 tírigà Ideo for gi_n_a short
 tìs/tì_ Ip_f tìsìd_a/tìt_a 2Vb give; tìs_a giver
 tita'alì proud person; tita'alim pride
 tita'ar Adj big; tita'am multitude
 tò Pt OK §10.3.4 (Hausa *tò*)
 tòⁿ 2Vb shoot
 tòd 2Vb give to the poor, share
 tɔɛ_{ya}´ 1Vb be bitter, difficult
 tók-làe torch (English "torchlight")
 tólìb Ideo lolloping
 tólìlìlì Ideo for wɔk_ɔ´ tall
 tɔɔg_ɔ Adj bitter, difficult
 tɔɔm´ 2Vb depart, disappear
 tòⁿɔs 2Vb hunt
 tò'ɔt´ straight away
 tya LF tya 2Vb pound in a mortar;
 tya-bil_a pestle
 tya' 2Vb plead in court
 tya'e_{ya}´ 1Vb be near
 tya'al 2Vb condemn in court
 tya'as 2Vb talk; tya'as-tya'as_a talker

tùbìr tùbà tùb- ear; -kpìr half of jaw
 tùkpudug₃ tumult
 tuⁿ'e_{ya}' 1Vb be able
 tul_{la}' 1Vb be hot
 tulig' 2Vb heat up
 tùlìg 2Vb invert
 tùm 2Vb work; Gd t_{uum}_n t_{uma} tùm-
 deed, (Pl) work; tùm-t_{um}_{na} worker
 tùm Gd t_{itum}_{is} 2Vb send
 tuodir tuoda tùod- mortar
 tùon_n in front; west; tùon-gat_a leader
 tusir' thousand
 tùtul_i upside-down thing
 तुल_{iga}' hotly; तुल_{ug}₃ Adj hot
 तु'us' 2Vb meet

-U-

ùdùg₃ ùt ùd- piece of chaff
 ugus' 2Vb bring up child
 ùk 2Vb lift up; vomit
 uk 2Vb bloat
 ùm 2Vb close eyes
 úon_n dry season
 úus' 2Vb (person) get warm

-V-

vab_{ly}_a' 1Vb lie prone
 vab_l' 2Vb make lie prone
 vabìn 2Vb lie prone
 v_{àe} 2Vb gather up
 vaⁿg₃' vaaⁿd' vaⁿ- leaf
 ve'/ve'eg' 2Vb lead, pull
 vèⁿ_{la} 1Vb be beautiful; vèⁿ_{llìg}_a/vèⁿ_{llìg}_a
 Adj beautiful; vèⁿ_{llìm} beauty; also vèⁿ_{na}
 viig' 2Vb postpone, reschedule
 vik' 2Vb uproot
 viug₃' viid' vi- owl
 vⁿdg₃' vⁿt' hole in the ground, lair
 vu Gd vuug₃' 2Vb make noise;
 vuud' noise
 vu_e_{ya}' 1Vb live

vugulím soot
 vul 2Vb swallow
 vùlìnvùuⁿ_{li} mason wasp
 vom' vom- life
 vúon_a vuomís red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok
 vur' Adj alive
 vu'ug' 2Vb come/make alive
 vu'us' Gd vu'usím 2Vb breathe, rest

-W-

wa' 2Vb dance
ⁿwà Pt this §8.7.3; wàna' this here
ⁿwa' 2Vb smash up
 waad' cold weather
 wáaf₃ wiigí wa'- snake
 waal' 2Vb sow
 wa'alím length
 wa'am_a' 1Vb be long, tall
ⁿwaan_a ⁿwaamis ⁿwàan- monkey
 wabìg_a Adj lame
 wabùlìm 2Vb make, go lame
 wabug₃' wabud' wab- elephant
 wadá wad- (English "order") law
ⁿwadìg_a' ⁿwad_{is}' ⁿwad- moon, month;
 -bìl_a star; ⁿWad-dár Venus
 wà'e_{ya} 1Vb travel
ⁿwà'e 2Vb cut wood
ⁿwa'e' 2Vb strike, break
 wal_{ga} wal_{is}/walí wàl- oribi
 wal_m mist, heat, steam
ⁿwam_n ⁿwama ⁿwàm- calabash;
 also ⁿwan_n etc
 wànìm 2Vb waste away
 wàsìnwàl_i kind of gall on trees
 (local English "mistletoe")
 wàùg₃ Adj wasted, thin
ⁿwè' 2Vb beat; ⁿwè' X nù'ug plead with X;
ⁿwè' ⁿy₃cg boast
 wèel' 2Vb be left unsold

wɛl 2Vb bear fruit; wɛlɪ́ wɛlá wɛl- fruit
 wɛlá/walá Pn how? nìŋ wɛlá n/kà §10.4.2
 ʷɛn_{na} 1Vb be like §9.7.3
 ʷɛnnɪr Adj resembling (TP A, W)
 wɛog_ɔ deep bush
 wɛog_ɔ ʷɛɛd ʷ cheap thing widely sold W
 ʷi 2Vb spin (thread)
 wɪak 2Vb hatch
 wìdìg 2Vb scatter
 wìef_ɔ wìdì wìd- horse
 wìd_a/wèɛd_a wìb_a wìd- hunter
 wiig_a whistle
 ʷwiig_a ʷwiis ʷwi- rope
 ʷwiig 2Vb make rope
 wùm disease ("worse than baⁿ'as" W)
 wìk Ipɸ wìid_a 2Vb fetch water
 wìlɪ wìlà wìl- branch
 wìlɪsúŋ_ɔ wìlmís wìlɪsúŋ- kind of snail
 wím Ideo for zìⁿ'a red
 wìn_n ʷwíná wìn- spiritual essence; God;
 -t̩ɔŋ_ɔ misfortune
 wìnnìg_a wìn- sun; -liir sunset;
 -kòɔr afternoon
 wìug_ɔ Adj red (synonymous with zìⁿ'a)
 wɔk_ɔ Adj long, tall
 wòm Gd wòm_{mɔ}/wòm_mùg_ɔ 2Vb hear;
 smell; understand
 wusa/wuu Qɸ all
 wuu Pt like §9.7.3
 wu'ug 2Vb get wet
 wu'ul 2Vb make wet

-Y-

yà/ya Pn 2P
 ya Pn 2P2 (2P sibject after Imp)
 ya Pt (NSb-Pf) §9.5
 yà' Pt if, when §10.3.3;
 yà' naan if only; yà' pòn even if
 yáa Pn whither? yáa ní where?
 ya'a opportunity, chance, free time
 yáab_a -nám_a yaa- grandparent §8.4

yà'ab 2Vb mould clay; ya'ad yà'- clay
 yà'al 2Vb hang up; make perch
 ʷya'al 2Vb leave behind
 yà'an 2Vb perch
 ʷyaan Pt next §9.4.1
 yáaŋ_a yáas yaaŋ- grandchild, descendant
 ʷyá'aŋ_a Adj (animal) female
 ʷyá'aŋ_a behind; east; ʷya'an-dól_la/dól_l
 ʷya'an-dól_là/dól_lìb_a ʷya'an-dól- disciple
 yaar 2Vb scatter
 ʷya'ar ʷya'a ʷyà'- root
 yàarìm yàar- salt
 yà'as/yà'as_a again
 ya'as 2Vb open repeatedly
 yàda/yàdda trust (Hausa yàrdaa)
 yadìg 2Vb scatter; yat_a participant
 in a housebuilding ritual
 ya'e 2Vb widen, (mouth) open
 ʷyae LF ʷyaené Ideo bright, clear
 yàk 2Vb unhang, unhook
 yàlìg 2Vb widen
 yàlìm_a 1Vb be wide
 yalim ʷyalim-nám_a worthless person
 yalìsúŋ_ɔ yalìmís yalìsúŋ- quail
 yàlùŋ_ɔ Adj wide
 ʷyalùŋ_ɔ Adj wonderful
 yam_n yama yàm- hay
 yam ʷya'am W yam- bile; sense;
 m̩ yam kpêⁿ'ɛ_lí I've set my heart on it
 yàmmùg_a/yàmmùg_ɔ yàmmìs yàm- slave
 ʷyàn_n shame
 yanám_a Pn 2P
 ʷyaŋ 2Vb overcome; succeed in
 yàug_ɔ yàad grave, tomb
 ye Pt that §10.1
 yè 2Vb dress oneself
 ʷyɛ Ipɸ ʷyɛt_a Imp ʷyè_m_a 2Vb see, find;
 ʷyɛ láafyà get well
 ʷyɛɛ/ʷyɛɛ tí Pt habitually §9.4.2
 yèɛg 2Vb undress oneself
 yèɛl 2Vb dress someone

"ye'er' "yedá "ye'- next-younger sibling
 yees' 2Vb betray secret
 "yèes_a 1Vb be bold; "yèesìm boldness
 "yèesíŋ_a Adj bold; "yèesíŋa' boldly
 yei' yelá yei- affair; (Pl) about; -ménìr
 truth; -pákìr disaster; -súm_n blessing
 yèl Ipf yèta Gd yèlòg₃ 2Vb say, tell
 yeŋím 2Vb undulate
 yèog₃ yèed bird's crop; weed, straggler,
 person displaced from family
 yéon Qf one (in counting)
 yi Ipf yita' Imp yim_a 2Vb go/come out
 yidìg 2Vb go astray
 yidig' 2Vb untie
 yier jaw
 yiigá Qf firstly; yiig-sób_a first person
 yiis' Gd yiisíb₃ 2Vb make go/come out
 yim Ideo exactly; at once
 yimmír Adj unique, sole
 yimmú Qf straight away, at once
 "yin_n' "yina' "yin- tooth
 yinní Qf one
 yin_a outside
 yir' ya' yi- (Pl head ya-) house;
 -dâan_a/sób_a -sób-nàm_a householder;
 -díma members of a household;
 yín_n at home, Pl yáa_n
 "yiríf₃ "yirí egusi seed
 yis 2Vb make go/come out
 yuxŋ₃' Adj single (of pair)
 yò 2Vb close
 yɔ 2Vb pay; Gd yɔɔɔ' pay
 yɔɔs' 2Vb untie
 yɔɔsím freedom
 yɔɔg₃' yɔɔn' yɔɔ- sack; £100, 200 cedis
 "yɔɔɔ intestines
 yò'ɔg 2Vb open
 "yɔ'ɔg₃' chest
 "yɔɔg₃ sympathy: ò zòto_ "yɔɔg
 she sympathises with him
 yòɔr yòyà yò- soldier ant

"yɔɔɔ "yɔɔya "yò- nose; -vur' -vuyá -vur- life
 "yɔ'ɔs' smoke
 yuà LF yúa 2Vb bleed; fornicate W;
 flow (of tears)
 yu'adur yu'ada rafter
 yùbìg_a yùbìs yùb- kind of small
 bottle-like pot
 "yu'e' 2Vb set alight
 yugudur yuguda yùgùd- hedgehog
 yugúm_n yugumá yugum- camel
 yùlìg 2Vb swing (transitive)
 yu'or yuoda yù'or- penis
 yùug 2Vb get to be a long time, delay
 yùul 2Vb swing (intransitive)
 yu'um' 2Vb sing; yuum-yù'um_{na} singer
 yú'um_n yu'umá yu'um-/yuum- song
 yùm_n yùmà yùm- year
 yu'tn Pt then, next §9.4.1
 yú'tŋ₃ yu'tmís yu'tŋ- night
 yu'ur' yudá yu'- name
 yuur yuya yù- water pot
 "yuur' "yuyá "yu- yam
 yu'usa' now again, from now on

-Z-

za' za- millet
 za'a Qf every
 záal Adj empty; zaalím emptily
 zàam zà- evening; -sìsɔbur' evening
 zà'an_n zà'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zà'as 2Vb refuse
 zàa"sìm 2Vb dream; Gd zàa"súŋ₃
 zàa"símà zàa"súŋ- dream
 zaa"sím zaa"s- soup
 zàb Gd zàbìr 2Vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
 warrior; gban-záb_a leather-worker
 zàbìl 2Vb cause to fight
 zà"bìl 2Vb tattoo
 za"bun_n za"buna zà"bìn- tattoo; sign B
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; -nɔɔr' gate
 zàkìm 2Vb itch

- zaⁿl_a´ 1Vb have in the hand
 zàⁿl_i umbilicus
 zàⁿl_η_a zàⁿl_mis zàⁿl_η- electric eel
 zàm (-mm-) 2Vb cheat;
 zàm-zam_{na} cheater
 zàm_{is} 2Vb learn, teach
 zàⁿη 2Vb pick up
 zàng^uom_n zàng^uomà zàng^uom- wall
 zàⁿηkù'ar zàⁿηkùà'a zàⁿηkùà'- hyena
 zεm_{ma}´ 1Vb be equal
 zεm_{is}´ 2Vb make equal
 zεmmú_g Adj equal
 zèⁿ'og_g see zìⁿ'a
 zi Gd ziid´ 2Vb carry on head;
 zi-zîid_a carrier on head
 zìⁿ' 1Vb not know
 zìⁿ'a Adj red: zìⁿ'a and wîug_g cover all
 reddish shades, sabúⁿl_g_a all darker, and
 pièⁿl_g_a all lighter; other colour terms
 are of the type wuu támpuuv nε 'grey',
 literally 'like ash'; they may still be
 standardised fixed expressions
 zìⁿ'e_{ya} 1Vb stand
 zìⁿ'el 2Vb make stand; zìⁿ'el n_{ccr}´ promise
 zìⁿ'en 2Vb stand; ò zìⁿ'en nε she's pregnant
 zîe_η_a zîem_{is} threshing-floor
 zìⁿ'es 2Vb wobble (? tone and meaning;
 cf Mooré zèèse 'jump up and down')
 zìⁿ'i_{ya} 1Vb sit; zìⁿ'i_g_a zìⁿ'is zìⁿ'- place
 zìⁿ'il 2Vb make sit
 zîm´ zì- blood
 zìⁿ'in 2Vb sit down
 zîⁿη_a zimí zim- fish; -gbâⁿ'ad_a fisher
 zìⁿ'isí_gε alternative LF of zìⁿ'
 zìⁿl_m_n zìⁿl_mà zìⁿl_m- tongue
 zîⁿl_nzîⁿ'og_g Adj unknown
 zím Ideo for sabúⁿl_g_a black
 ziná today
 zîⁿzau_η_g´ zîⁿzaná zîⁿzáu_η- bat
 zurí untruth
 zìⁿ'u_η_g (tone and meaning uncertain;
 cf Mampruli zeeηηu 'spite')
 zò Ipⁿ zòt_a Imp zòm_a 2Vb run; fear;
 experience emotion; Gd zua/zau_g Pl
 zau_s run; Gd zòt_{im} fear
 zol 2Vb castrate
 zolum_{is} foolishness
 zolug_g´ zol_n´ zol- fool
 zom´ zom- flour
 zom_n zom_a zòm- refugee, fugitive
 zoru_g_a´ small child W
 zoru_g_g´ zorá piece
 zu 2Vb steal
 zùⁿà LF zùⁿa -nàm_a zùⁿà- friend
 zùⁿ'e 2Vb get higher, more
 zùⁿ'e 2Vb perch, get on top
 zug_g´ zut´ zu-/zug- head; onto, due to;
 zug-dâan_a master; zug-kugur zug-kuga
 zug-kú_g- pillow; zug-sób_a master B1/2
 (B3 Lord); zu-péⁿl_g_g Adj bald;
 zu-píⁿbì_g_a hat; zugú_n on
 zù_g 2Vb work bellows
 zùⁿl_g 2Vb deepen
 zùⁿl_m_a 1Vb be deep
 zùⁿl_η_g Adj deep; zùⁿl_η_g depth
 zùⁿl_n civet
 zùⁿnzò_η_a/zùⁿnzò_η_g zùⁿnzò_{cc}'s zùⁿnzò_η-
 blind person
 zù_η_g Adj foreign
 zuobú_g zuobíd zuob- (human head) hair
 zùod friendship
 zùol 2Vb make to perch
 zu'om´ zu'om_{is} zu'om- blind person
 zu'om´ 2Vb go/make blind
 zùon 2Vb start perching
 zuor zuoya zùⁿà- hill
 zùos 2Vb befriend
 zurí_g zurí zur- dawadawa seed
 zùⁿ'uⁿf_g zùⁿ'uⁿí dawadawa seed
 zùⁿ'uⁿg_g zùⁿ'uⁿs/zùⁿ'uⁿd zùⁿ'- vulture
 zuuv zuya zù- tail

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