

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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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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Swansea, 1st October 2024

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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 (Western Oti-Volta yellow, others blue)



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; ' marks glottalisation, ⁿ nasalisation; 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 gɓɪgɪm.

'It's a lion.'

3I be Foc lion

Lì ka' gɓɪgɪmnɛ_.

'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 dúgɪ_bá.

'I've cooked them.'

1S cook_3P

M̂ pu dɔllá_.

'I don't go along.'

1S Ng accompany_Ng

M̂ dɔllɪ_bá.

'I go with them.'

1S accompany_3P

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

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

M̃ dɔllí_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:

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

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

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

m̃ zugú_zàbìd la zúg 'because my head hurts' (nominaliser **ɲ**)
1S head_Nz fight.Ipf the on

M̃ 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'
	mɔ̀lɪf		mɔ̀lɪ	'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 **bòŋ** Pl **bùmɪs** '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-kuud	'goat-killer'	b̀-kuudɔ́b	'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, suffixing ε for Pf aspect, **da** for Ipf, **ma** for imperative. Again, morphophonemic changes may complicate the picture:

Pf	ku	Ipf	kuud	'kill'
	dug		dugud	'cook'
	b̀d		b̀t	'sow'
	vul		vun	'swallow'

About sixty verbs have only an Ipf form, which does not take the **da** suffix. Most express stances (**dug** 'lie'), relationships (**mɔ́r** 'have') or qualities (**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 **kuud** Pl **kuudɔ́b** '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', **l̀** 'it', **b̀** '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: **t̄ɛɛb̄ɔl la z̄ug** '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. 'We gave you the goat yesterday.'
1P Tns give_2S goat the

T̄i sá pu t̄is̄_f bυυg láa_. 'We didn't give you the goat yesterday.'
1P Tns Ng give_2S goat the_Ng

T̄i ná t̄is̄_f bυυg la. 'We'll give you the goat.'
1P Irr give_2S goat the

T̄i kú t̄is̄_f bυυg láa_. 'We won't give you the goat.'
1P Ng.Irr give_2S goat the_Ng

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. 'I have a goat.'
1S goat exist

L̄i à ne bυυg. 'It's a goat.'
3I be Foc goat

L̄i ka' bυuga_. 'It's not a goat.'
3I Ng.be goat_Ng

M̄ bυυg ka'e_. 'I don't have a goat.'
1S goat Ng.exist_Ng

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

Ò gòsìd. 'He looks.'
3A look.Ipf

Ò gòsìd nɛ. '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:

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

Gòsìm nɛ! '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

daᵛ lá_ ʰye buug la
man the_Nz see goat the

'the man having seen the goat'

Relative clauses are likewise nominalised with **ṛ**, 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**:

dàᵛ-kàṛì_ dà' buug la
man-Dem.Nz buy goat the

'the man who has bought a goat'

dàᵛ-kàṛ búbùᵛ_ bòḍṛᵛ la
man-Dem goat_Nz get.lost the

'the man whose goat got lost'

fún ʰye bú-sì'a la
2S.Nz see goat-Idf the

'the goat that you've seen'

bù-kàṛ kà fù ʰye la
goat-Dem and 2S see the

'the goat that you've seen'

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

Ṁ bōᵛḍ yé fù dá' buug.
1S want.Ipf that 2S buy goat

'I want you to buy a goat.'

Ṁ tēⁿ'es 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 yèì 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 Ṁ ʰyé kà daᵛ 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 yẽe, 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 n̄e.

Morphology differs little between Agolle and Toende, except as a consequence of the phonological differences. Minor differences appear in the syntax of relative clauses §10.9.2, 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 l̄.)

2 Sound system

2.1 Consonants and vowels

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

The consonant inventory is as follows (with **h** appearing only in loanwords):

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 roots are optionally realised with [ʔ] onset, but there is no /ʔ/ phoneme; the symbol ' represents vowel glottalisation, not a consonant (see below.)

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-làè** '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: **bákpàè** '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 ɔ u ʊ** [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 **ɪ ʊ** are laxer and longer than **y w**. Non-initial **e ɛ o** in diphthongs represent [ɪ ɪ ʊ].

The primary diphthongs are as follows (see below for '):

					ɨa	ɯa		
					ia	ua	ɨa'a	ɯa'a
					iaa	uaa		
aɛ̣	ɛ̣ɨ		ɔɛ̣	uɨ̣	ʊɛ̣	ɨe		
ae			ɔe	ui	ue	ie	ue	ɯa'e
aee					iee	uee		
aɯ̣	ɛɯ̣			ɯ̣	ɨaɯ̣	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 glottalised and/or nasalised.

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

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: *gɛ^n* Ipf *gɛ^n'ɛd* 'get angry'; *gɛ^n* 'get tired'; *tɛɛ^n_s* 'lands'; *bɨaɯ^n_k* 'shoulder.'

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), *bùŋ* 'donkey', *nû'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 ɲyé ʰnáaf la kpɛ́lá. 'I've seen the cow there.'
 M̂ ɲyé ʰnú'ug la kpɛ́lá. '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 ɲye ʰnáaf la. 'And I saw the cow.' (la stressed)
 Kà m̂ ɲye náaf la kpɛ́lá. '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 mólì. 'They are kobs.'
 Bà ka' ʰmólìi_. 'They aren't kobs.'
 Ò à ne ʰpúkòò^r. 'She's a widow.' (pu is a prefix)
 Ò ka' púkòò^rɛ_. 'She's not a widow.'
 Ò pu yadɪ'gída_. 'He isn't scattering.'
 Bó kà ò yadɪgída_? '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'esídɪba_. 'They are not receivers.'
 Lì ka' mólìfɔ_. '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 sɪákìda_. '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 mʉ'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'eʉ 'strong.' B1/2 write uey for ʉoy: zueya 'hills.' For the nasalisation marker ̣ a simple n is written: gɔn g̣n 'wander', tɛns tɛ̣ns 'lands', tɛn'ɛs tɛ̣n'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 àn '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-ɛliη pʉà'-ɛlíη 'fiancée.' Otherwise, CIFs are normally written solid with following words: bikaηa bì-kàηa 'this child'; however, CIFs which happen to be spelt identically to Sgs are generally written as separate words: dau kaηa dāʉ-kàηa '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 Suη 'Holy Spirit' for Sì-sùη.

Hyphens are consistently written in the phrases used for points of the compass §8.3: ya-nya'aη '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>l</u> n	'in water'
gɔsimiya	gòsì <u>m</u> yá <u> </u>	'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>l</u> m	'you accompany me'
	m dɔllif	m dɔll <u>l</u> f	'I accompany you'
but	fu pɔ dɔlli ma	fù pɔ dɔll <u>l</u> ma	'you don't accompany me'
	m pɔ dɔlli fɔ	m pɔ dɔll <u>l</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 <u> </u>	'you don't accompany her'
	fu nyɛ o	fù ^{ny} y <u>é</u> o <u> </u>	'you've seen her'
	fu pɔ nyɛ oo	fù pɔ ^{ny} y <u>é</u> ó <u>o</u> <u> </u>	'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 tense focus §11.1.1: 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**ⁿ '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** → **ia**, **ua** → **ua**. SF-final consonant clusters then drop the second consonant, and final **y** drops after **/e/i/ε/i**.

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		wıdii	'horses'
pae´		paée	'reach'
dja´		dja'a	'get dirty'
pua´		pua'a	'woman'
daı		daı	'man'
dà'a		dà'a	'market'

LFs where **ia ua** become SF **ia ua** are specified separately, as the subscript notation would imply LFs in **ıaa ıua**: thus **kjà** 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:

kuka	LF	kuka	'chair'
dukı´		dukı	'pot'
sae ⁿ ya		sae ⁿ ya	'blacksmith' D (LF sae ⁿ W)
dıgıya´		dıgıyá	'be lying down'
sjàk		sjàkè	'agree'
yàarım		yàarımè	'salt'
gbıgım _n		gbıgımε	'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 $\epsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ } \text{u } \text{ } \text{u}$ (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

Root-initial glottal vowels only appear as the result of loss of **g** by §3.2.2 Set 1. Root-initial **a** **ε** or **ɔ** are always nasal, all other vowels oral; this restriction applies before any Set 1 vowel changes: thus **jàⁿk´** Ipf **jàⁿad_a´** 'leap', from the root ***εⁿg**.

Many CVV roots derive historically from CVC, which can lead to unexpected changes in derivation and flexion. Thus with the verb-deriving suffix **g**:

	èⁿd	'block up'	èⁿdìg	'unblock'
but	ɔ	'tie'	ɔdìg´	'untie'
	yɔ̀	'close'	yɔ̀ɔg	'open'
	tè	'pull'	tèk	'pull'

A few CVV roots become CV before some flexions beginning with **b** or **d**, which then become **p t**:

daɥ	'man'	dap_a	'men'
dɔ̀ɔgɔ̀	'hut'	dɔ̀t	'huts'
dì	'eat'	dìt_a	'eat' Ipf

Regularised alternatives like **dɔ̀ɔd** 'huts' are common. Verbs with Ipf's like these carry the short vowel over into imperatives: **dìm!** 'eat!'

A few originally CV roots show other CV forms, e.g. **zugɔ̀´** 'head' Pl **zut´**.

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): **ncɔ̀r´** 'mouth', Pl **ncyá**. Here **ie uo** shorten to **je uo**: **zuor** 'hill', Pl **zyoya**. Glottal CV'V instead becomes CVd:

pɔ̀ⁿcr	'cripple'	pɔ̀ⁿdà
yɔ̀'br´	'name'	yudá
yu'or	'penis'	yɥoda

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

CVC roots may have CVVC allomorphs, e.g. **kalí´** 'number', **kaal´** 'count'; here **CεC** corresponds to **CieC**: **lèbìg** 'turn', **lièb** 'become.' A former derivational suffix has often been lost after CVVC allomorphs (cf §6.2.1 on Mooré pluractionals); they never appear before current verb-deriving suffixes. Historical stem-suffix sandhi changes have also produced a few nouns with CVC/CVVC root alternations in flexion.

3.2.2 Rules

Three sets of morphophonemic rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

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

Single *g* is then deleted after *a ja ua*, producing *a'a ja'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>ɔɔgse</i>	'female' Pl	<i>puak_a Sg</i>	* <i>ɔɔgga</i>
<i>pja'n'</i>	* <i>pɛ'ngɛ</i>	'speak'		
<i>tɔa'e_{ya}'</i>	* <i>ɔɔgya</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>pa'e'</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 $\varepsilon\varepsilon^n \text{ } \text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}^n$ (but *not* oral $\varepsilon\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}$) 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>ɔɔ'n'ɔge</i>	'improve'	<i>ɔɔ'n'ɔd_a'</i>	'outdoer'

Set 2: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

Except after prefixes, CC → C_iC 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' Ip _f		bùd Pf
ɔɔpɔ́	* ɔɔbbɔ	'writing' Gd		ɔɔb 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' Ip _f		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:

Ip _f	tɔ́ɔm_{ma}/tɔ́ɔmíd_a	Gd	tɔ́ɔŋɔ́/tɔ́ɔmúɔ́	'depart (tɔ́ɔmɔ́)'
	kà̀rìm_{ma}/kà̀rìmíd_a		kà̀rìŋɔ́/kà̀rìmùɔ́	'read (kà̀rìmɔ́)'

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

Ip _f	bùn_{na}	Gd	bunibɔ́	'reap (bùn)'
	dìgìnìd_a		dìgìnùɔ́	'lie down (dìgìn)'
	gɔ́'ɔ́nìd_a		gɔ́'ɔ́nùɔ́	'extend neck (gɔ́'ɔ́n)'

Vns → VVⁿs; ms → s optionally after noun stems of more than two morae.

baa ⁿ s	*banse	'rings'	baŋ _a Sg
kòlìs/kòlìmìs		'doors'	kòlìŋ _a Sg

ld → nn

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

df/nf → f

wìefɔ	*wiedfɔ	'horse'	wìdì Pl
nifɔ'	*ninfɔ	'eye'	niní 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'
$wabu g\omega'$	$wab\iota d'$	'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 : $yug\acute{\omega}m_n$ 'camel', Pl $yug\acute{\omega}m\acute{a}$. After root or prefix Ci/Cu, epenthetic $\iota\ \upsilon \rightarrow i\ \upsilon$: $nulis'$ 'make to drink', $kugur'$ 'stone.'

In $sa\varepsilon^n$ 'blacksmith', $s\omega\varepsilon^n$ '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-1pf 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)	sablá	sabl- (sablé)	'black'
sablíg _a	sablís		'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:

níiŋ _a	nís	*niinse	niiŋ-	'bird'
píuf _ɔ *puufɔ	piiní		puu-	'genet'
wáaf _ɔ *waagfɔ	wiigí		wa'-	'snake'

Likewise all TP H fusion-verb gerunds: **náar** ***naagre** 'finishing', **dí'er** ***dí'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 gâu'g_ɔ** 'pied crow', **gbêɛ'm** 'sleep', **á'sì_b** 'mother's brother', **kísù_ɔ** 'hateful', and the gerunds **só'sì_g** 'talking', **gósì_g** 'looking', **kìkírù_ɔ** 'hurrying.'

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

nyirí _ɔ	nyirí		'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, except that *r* never behaves as CC, and fusion-verb Ipfs (and their agent nouns) and 1Vbs always have initial M, not H:

ⁿ ye	ⁿ ye _a '	'see'
dug	dugud _a '	'cook'
yadig'	yadigíd _a	'scatter'
mɔɔl'	mɔɔn _{na}	'proclaim'
dɪgɪl'	dɪgín _{na}	'lay down'
nɔk'	nɔkíd _a	'take'
laŋím	laŋím _{ma}	'wander searching'
kir	kirid _a '	'hurry, tremble'
pae'	paad _a '	'reach'
	dɪgɪya'	'lie down'
	kpi'em _{ma} '	'be strong'

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

bɔɔg _a	bɔɔs	bù-	'goat'
tan _n	tana	tàn-	'earth'
pɔa'	pɔ'ab _a	pɔà'-	'woman'
gbɪgɪm _n	gbɪgɪma	gbìgìm-	'lion'
mɛɛd _a	mɛɛdɪb _a	mèɛd-	'builder'
sɔakɪd _a	sɔakɪdɪb _a	sɔàkìd-	'believer'
mɛɛdɪŋ _a	mɛɛdɪs	mèɛdìŋ-	'building tool'

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

pù'ɔs_a 'worshipper' Pl pɔ'ɔsɪdɪb_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	yugudɪré	Pl	yugudaa	'hedgehog'
	ⁿ waŋa		ⁿ waamɪsé	'monkey'
	baŋɪda		baŋɪdɪbá	'wise man'
	kparɪdɪŋa		kparɪdɪsé	'thing for locking'
	gbɪgɪmmé		gbɪgɪmaa	'lion'
	zɔɔmmé		zɔɔmaa	'fugitive'
	tadɪmm		tadɪmɪsé	'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). The remainder of the stem shows a TP like an unprefixated stem; after L prefixes, this is simply identical to an unprefixated stem TP, but after M prefixes, root L → X/H, and in CIFs M → X/H too:

TP H	<i>gumpuzer'</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. TP H forms normally have H derivatives and TP L/A forms have L/A derivatives.

Irregular TP H corresponds to regular H elsewhere: áⁿsìb_a 'maternal uncle', aⁿsíŋ_a 'sister's child'; gó^sìg_a Gd of gó^s 'look.'

TP A derivatives may be TP L and vice versa:

biig _a	'child'	bìilím	'childhood'
pɔ̀a'	'woman'	pù'alím	'femininity'
nà'ab _a	'chief'	na'am	'chieftaincy' (m-stem)

The only derivational suffixes that can produce TP A stems are **m** and **d**, and most nominals with these suffixes but no others are TP H or TP A, though a few are TP L, e.g. z̀ilím_n 'tongue', b̀òòdìm 'will.'

There are few examples of derivational suffixes altering a TP when nouns are derived from nominal roots/stems or verbs from verbal roots/stems.

The only systematic case with verb-verb derivation is that all verbs derived with the inceptive suffix **n** are TP A, regardless of the tone of the simplex §6.2.1, e.g.

làbìy _a	'be crouched in hiding'	làbìn	'start crouching in hiding'
vabìy _a '	'be lying prone'	vàbìn	'lie down prone'

Verbs derived from TP A or TP L nominal roots with the change-of-state suffix **g** are TP A, e.g. dεεŋ_a 'first', dèŋ 'precede'; however, while TP L nominals give rise to TP L quality verbs, TP H and TP A nominals both produce TP H quality verbs §6.2.2:

	mì'isòg _ɔ	'sour'	mì'is _a	'be sour'
	malɔ́sír	'sweet'	malɔ́s _a '	'be sweet'
but	giŋ _a	'short'	gim _{ma} '	'be short'
	kpeε ⁿ m	'elder'	kpeε ⁿ m _a '	'be older than'

Another case of a TP A nominal corresponding to a TP H verb is

gεog _ɔ	'space between legs'	gεɛl'	'put between legs'
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Systematic changes are seen when nominals are derived from verbs. Derivatives of TP H verbs are consistently TP H.

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

	mɛ̀	'build'	mɛɛbɔ̃	'building'
	kàd	'drive away'	kadɪbɔ̃	'driving away'
but	sùŋ	'help'	sùŋìr	'helping'
	kùos	'sell'	kùosùgɔ̃	'selling'
	zàa ⁿ sìm	'dream'	zàa ⁿ sùŋɔ̃	'dream' (noun)
	b̀	'seek' (b̀̀̀̀d _a 'want')	b̀̀̀̀dìm	'will'
	mɛ̀	'build'	mɛ̀ɛdìm-taa	'fellow-builder'

Agent nouns and verbal Adjs are TP A if they contain the suffix **d**, otherwise L:

	sùŋ	'help'	sùŋɪd _a	'helper'
	pà'al	'teach'	pa'an _{na}	'teacher' (ld → nn §3.2.2)
	b̀	'seek' (b̀̀̀̀d _a 'want')	b̀̀̀̀dìr	'desirable'
but	kpi	'die'	kpiilùŋɔ̃	'dead'

In agent nouns from TP A verbs where the **d** suffix is dropped in the Sg and CIF, the Sg is TP L and the Pl is TP A:

kùos _a	'seller'	kuosɪdɪb _a	'sellers'
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TP A verb instrument nouns are TP A:

mɛ̀	'build'	mɛ̀ɛdɪŋ _a	'building tool'
kùos	'sell'	kuosɪŋ _a	'seller'

3.3.2 Historical changes

Historically, M tone represents original H, while a new H tone arose from H¹. 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*₅ '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 *bákpàḂ* '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.'

Manɩ_ á ⁿ dú'atà kà fun mén 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-**ne'**:

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

Initial C is often lost in focus-**ne'** §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 ne	[jɔ:dɛ]	'is closing'
z̀ɔ̀t ne	[zɔ:tɛ]	'is running'
k̀p̀àr ne	[k̄p̄arɛ]	'is locked'
d̀ɔ̀l ne	[dɔ:l:ɛ]	'is accompanying'
z̀à̀m ne	[zam:ɛ]	'is cheating'
z̀ɔ̀n ˀwá_!	[zɔn:a]	'fools!' (as a vocative §10.4.5)

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

Ò nìḡí àlá.	[niḡ:ala]/[niḡ:ɪla]	'She's done this.'
P̀è̀ɛ̀dá àlá_?	[pɛ:dala]	'How many baskets?'
B̀à̀ 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.

	M ˈwé' búŋ la.	'I've hit (ˈwè') the donkey (bùŋ_a).'
but	M daa ˈwé' bùŋ la.	'I hit the donkey.' (no NSb tone overlay after daa)

	M dígà bódìg ya.	'My dwarfs have got lost (bòdìg).'
but	M yugumá bódìg 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 **m fù tì yà** if they are directly preceded by **ye** 'that' §9.5. Pratt's *Introduction to Learning Kusaal* shows that personal pronouns followed by initial raising formerly carried M tone. The linker **kà** is followed by raising if a following subject pronoun is ellipted §10.1.

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

Bà daa tís nà'ab la búŋ.	'They gave the chief a donkey (bùŋ_a).'
3P Tns give chief the donkey	

Fixed L tone appears on the pronouns **m 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:

nà'ab lá_ ˈnyε búŋ la	'the chief having seen the donkey'
chief the_Nz 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, unprefixed words with initial M change all tones to L; M prefixes change to L, but the rest of the stem is unaffected. M-drop affects 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: **daɥ la pócɔg_n** 'in the man's field (**pócɔg₅'**). It may change H on CVVC to X by analogy: **daɥ la nâaf** 'the man's cow (**nâaf₅**).'

e.g.	man gbugum	'my lion'	daɹ la gbígìṃ	'the man's lion'
	man yugúm	'my camel'	daɹ la yúgùṃ	'the man's camel'
			mɔɔɔɔ_n yúgùṃ	'a wild camel'
			ṃ̀ bɛyá yùgùṃ	'my sibs' camel'
	nà'-biig _a	'prince/princess'	nà'ab bîig	'a king's child'
	dàɹ-wɔk bîig	'tall man's child'	nin-wɔk bîig	'tall person's child'
	gbìgìṃ-kúud _a '	'lion-killer'	yugum-kúud _a	'camel-killer'
	sù'-paalìg _a	'new knife'	fu-paalìg _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:

	Daɹ la bán bɔ̀dìg ya.	'The man's ring (ban _a) has got lost.'
	man the ring get.lost NSb	
	Daɹ la yúgùṃ bɔ̀dìg ya.	'The man's camel (yugúm _n) has got lost.'
but	ṃ̀ bɛyá bàn bɔ̀dìg ya.	'My sibs' ring ...' (no initial raising)
	ṃ̀ bɛyá yùgùṃ bɔ̀dìg ya.	'... camel ...' (no initial raising)
	Daɹ la sù'ug bɔ̀dìg ya.	'The man's knife (sù'ug _a) ...' (no M-drop)
	Daɹ la yúgùṃ bɔ̀dìg ya.	'... hedgehog (yugudɹ) ...' (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 dɔ̀ɔg	'tent' (fuug _ɔ ' 'cloth', dɔ̀ɔg _ɔ 'hut')
pò'usùg fúug dɔ̀ɔg	'tabernacle' (pò'usùg _ɔ 'worship')
daɹ la fú-paalìg	'the man's new shirt (fu-paalìg _a)'
daɹ la bîig bier nâaf zùur	'the man's child's sib's cow's tail' W (biig _a , bier', nâaf _ɔ , zùur)

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: $t\omega m'$ LF $t\omega mm$ '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.

	Lì ka' dukó_.	'It's not a pot (duk ₃ ').'
	3I Ng.be pot_Ng	
	Lì ka' nóbìrè_.	'It's not a leg (nóbìr).'
	Bà ka' mólìi_.	'They are not kobs (mòlì).'
	Lì ka' yàarimm_.	'It's not salt (yàarim).'
	Lì ká' ò tumm_.	'It's not her medicine (tùm).'
	Lì ká' bà da'a_.	'It's not their market (dà'a).'
but	Lì ka' tùm_.	'It's not medicine.'
	Lì ka' dá'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.

Kìkirig yá' mɔr buude, fun tísò_ kà ò lébìg ò mɔɔgu_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!', $g\grave{o}s\grave{i}m\grave{y}\acute{a}!$ 'look (Pl)!'; so too the greeting $ne s\acute{o}^n\grave{s}iga!$ §12.

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

	M̃ pɣa' né m̃ 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:

	Lì à ne nóbìrèè_?	'Is it a leg (nóbìr)?'
	3I be Foc leg_PQ	

kuk _a	'chair'	+ n 'at' →	kuk _ɩ _n
duk _ɔ '	'pot'		duk _ɩ '_n
ɔɔɔg _ɔ '	'field'		ɔɔɔg _ɔ '_n
gbàùŋɔ	'book'		gbàùŋɔ_n
dà'a	'market'		da'a_n
kù'om	'water'		kù'om _ɩ _n
nyε	'see'	+ n past →	nyεε_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
vuε _{ya} '	'live'		vu _v _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

'what the number of all your hairs is'

yà zuobíd wusa kállí_ àⁿ si'em

Lk 12:7

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

ḿḿimini ya pu'ab

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

ḿḿìḿḿ_ḿí 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:

ḿ ḿór 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 ḿìḿí àlá.

'She has done thus.'

3A do thus

Fù áaⁿ ànó'ḿḿè_?

'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:

ḿḿḿḿḿ'	'field'	+ n 'at' →	ḿḿḿḿḿ_n
biig _a	'child'		biig _ḿ _n
yàad	'graves'		yàad _ḿ _n
kḿḿḿḿ _a	'killers'		kḿḿḿḿ _ḿ _n

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

dḿḿ	'cook'	+ n past →	dḿḿ _ḿ _n
mè	'build'		mèè _ḿ _n
bḿḿḿḿ	'lose'		bḿḿḿḿ _ḿ _n
yad _ḿ '	'scatter'		yad _ḿ _ḿ _n
kḿḿḿ _a '	'kill' Ip		kḿḿḿ _ḿ _n
dḿḿ _ḿ '	'go with'	+ ya 2P2 →	dḿḿ _ḿ _ LF dḿḿ _ḿ _ḿ ḿá

After Pfs without NSb or irrealis tone changes, bound object pronouns carry M (if constituting a syllable) and change any preceding LF-final M to H:

b̀̀d̀̀g	'lose'	+ ba 3P →	b̀̀d̀̀g̀_	ba
d̀̀	'eat'		d̀̀_	ba
yad̀̀g´	'scatter'	+ m _a 1S →	yad̀̀g̀_	m LF yad̀̀g̀_
dug	'cook'		dug̀_	m LF dug̀_
ku	'kill'		kú_	m LF kú_
pae´	'reach'		pá_	m LF pá_
b̀̀s	'abandon'	+ o 3A →	b̀̀s̀_	o
gɔs	'look'		gɔs̀_	o

In all other cases, bound object pronouns change preceding LF-final L to M. Thus with Ipfs (for the pronoun tones, see below):

kud _a ´	'kill'	+ m _a 1S →	kud̀_	m LF kud̀_
b̀̀s̀d _a	'leave'		b̀̀s̀d̀_	m LF b̀̀s̀d̀_
yad̀̀g̀d _a	'scatter'		yad̀̀g̀d̀_	m LF yad̀̀g̀d̀_
ǹ̀ŋ	'love'		ǹ̀ŋ_	m LF ǹ̀ŋ_
kud _a ´	'kill'	+ o 3A →	kud̀_	o
b̀̀s̀d _a	'leave'		b̀̀s̀d̀_	o
yad̀̀g̀d _a	'scatter'		yad̀̀g̀d̀_	o

After NSb marking (which first changes all tones to L §9.5):

Ò b̀̀d̀̀g̀_	'She's lost me.'
Ò b̀̀d̀̀g̀_	'She's lost him.'
Ò yàd̀̀g̀_	'She's scattered them.'
Ò kú_	'She has killed them.'

Except for object pronouns after Pfs without NSb or irrealis marking (see above), and for the irregular locative form yá_a_n 'at home' §9.7.2.3, enclitics constituting a syllable carry M after *non-root* H, and H otherwise:

ɔɔgɔ´	'field'	+ n 'at' →	ɔɔg̀_	n LF ɔɔg̀_
yàad	'graves'		yàad̀_	n LF yàad̀_

Ò ká' b̀̀ da'a_né_	'He is not at their market (dà'a).'
Ò ka' dá'a_né_	'He is not at market.'

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

Kà ìn bási_ba.	'And I left them.'
Kà ìn pu bási_báa_.	'And I didn't leave them.'
Ànó'wò_ bási_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'		nyé _o	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	

M 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:

$a ba$	$s\omega d_a$	$s\omega d\omega b_a$	$s\omega d-$	'husband'
$ga s\epsilon$	$b\omega s\omega g_a$	$b\omega s\omega s$	$b\omega-$	'goat'
$g\omega d\epsilon$	$viug_\omega'$	$viid'$	$vi-$	'owl'
$r\epsilon aa$	$n\omega\omega r'$	$n\omega y\acute{a}$	$n\omega-$	'mouth'
$f\omega ii$	$m\omega\omega lf_\omega$	$m\omega\omega li$	$m\omega\omega-$	'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 : $B\grave{i}n_n$ 'Moba person.' To avoid ambiguity, m-stems take Pl $s\epsilon$ instead of ba , or pluralise with $n\grave{a}m_a$ (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 $d\epsilon$: $gb\omega\omega r_\omega'$ Pl $gban\acute{a}$ '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 $n\grave{a}m_a$.

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'-nàm_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 **piemá** '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 CV_m/CV_n 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, **gban-záb_a** 'leatherworker.'

Remodelled CIFs are also used to avoid ambiguity, e.g. **k̀̀l̀̀gɔ** 'sack', CIF **k̀̀l̀̀g-** (**k̀̀l̀̀g_a** 'river', CIF **k̀̀l̀̀-**); **l̀̀anǹ̀g_a** 'squirrel', CIF **l̀̀anǹ̀g-** (**lan_n** 'testicle', CIF **l̀̀an-**.)

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

d̀̀ap	d̀̀ap_a	d̀̀ap- , Pl head d̀̀ap-	'man'
taɔ'p	ta'p_a	taɔ'p- , Pl head ta'p-	'opposite-sex sib'
yir	ya	yi- , Pl head ya-	'house'

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

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'
$n\text{ɔ}d_a'$	$n\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a'$	$n\text{ɔ}d-$	'person'
$k\text{ɔ}d_a'$	$k\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a'$	$k\text{ɔ}d-$	'killer'
$s\text{a}a\text{a}_a$	$s\text{a}a\text{a}b_a$	$s\text{a}a-$	'human being'
$s\text{a}a\text{a}_a'$	$s\text{a}a\text{a}m_{ma}$	$s\text{a}a-$	'guest, stranger'
$y\text{u}m\text{-}y\text{u}'\text{u}m_{na}$	$-y\text{u}'\text{u}m\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-y\text{u}'\text{u}m-$	'singer'
$p\text{u}'\text{a}\text{-}s\text{a}n'\text{a}m_{ma}$	$-s\text{a}n'\text{a}m\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-s\text{a}n'\text{a}m-$	'adulterer'
$p\text{a}'\text{a}n_{na}$	$p\text{a}'\text{a}n\text{ɔ}b_a$	$p\text{a}'\text{a}n-$	'teacher'
$g\text{b}\text{a}n\text{-}z\text{a}n'\text{ɔ}a'$	$-z\text{a}n'\text{ɔ}a\text{b}_a$	$-z\text{a}n'-$	'book-carrier' K W
$g\text{b}\text{a}n\text{-}t\text{a}r_a'$	$-t\text{a}r\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-t\text{a}r-$	'book-owner' D
$z\text{a}'\text{-}n\text{ɔ}\text{-}g\text{u}r_a$	$-g\text{u}r\text{ɔ}b_a$	$-g\text{u}r-$	'gatekeeper'

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

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

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

$w\text{ɔ}d_a$	$w\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a$	$w\text{ɔ}d-$	'hunter'
$s\text{ɔ}n'\text{ɔ}d_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}n'\text{ɔ}d\text{ɔ}b_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}n'\text{ɔ}d-$	'someone better'
$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}_a'$	$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}\text{ɔ}b_a$	$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}-$	'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'
sàbùà	sàbùos	sàbɹà-	'lover, girlfriend'
nu'-ía ⁿ	-êε ⁿ s	-é ⁿ -	'fingernail'
nua´	νωκs´	νω-	'hen'

After **a ja ɹa**, **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
dìsúg _ɔ	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúg-	'spoon'

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

dàsaŋ _a	dàsam _{ma} /dàsaan ^s	dàsàŋ-	'young man'
Sà'-dàbùa	-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	làŋgáamɔ 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´	ḅieyá	ḅia-	'elder same-sex sib'
zuor	ẓuoya	ẓuà-	'hill'
ncɔr´	ncɔyá	ncɔ-	'mouth'
nyε'εr´	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'n'ar** from **gba'n'e´** 'grab', and **vúor** 'fruit of red kapok', Pl **vuáa**.

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

dum _n	duma	dùm-	'knee'
kpan _n	kpana	kpàn-	'spear'
gél _l	gεlá	gεl-	'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'
yùum _n	yùmà	yùum-	'year'

Language names use the suffix **lε**. Forms are identical to those with Sg **rε**, 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/i**.

Historical stem-suffix sandhi changes have led to remodelling and to apparent CVC/CVVC root alternations in several nouns in this class set.

kief _{ɔ̃} ´	ki´	ki-/ka-	'millet'
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	mùj	mùj-	'rice'
míif _{ɔ̃}	miiní		'okra seed'
náaf _{ɔ̃}	niigí	na'-	'cow'
wáaf _{ɔ̃}	wiigí	wa'-	'snake'
bielíf _{ɔ̃}	biilí	biel-/biil-	'seed'
mòlìf _{ɔ̃}	mòlì	mòlì-	'kob'
nyiríf _{ɔ̃}	nyirí	nyir-	'egusi'

df/nf → f:

wìef _{ɔ̃}	wìdì	wìd-	'horse'
la'af _{ɔ̃}	ligidi	là'-/lig-	'cowrie' Pl 'money'
nif _{ɔ̃} ´	niní	nin-/nif-	'eye'
pít _{ɔ̃}	piiní	pùn-	'genet'
	piini	pìn-	'gift' (used as Sg)

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

zíig _a	zimí	zim-	'fish'
walɔ̃g _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} ´/su ⁿ r´	su ⁿ yá	su ⁿ -	'heart'
kpá ⁿ ɔ̃g _{ɔ̃}	kpi ⁿ iní	kpa 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', **wòm_mɔ̃** 'hearing', **bunib_{ɔ̃}** 'reaping.'

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

mɛ|

daam´	da-	'millet beer'
mɛ̀lìgìm		'dew'
du'uním	du'un-	'urine'
dàalím		'masculinity'
yàarím	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´	piemá <i>sic</i>	pim-	'arrow'

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 **gɔ|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'-'	'bad'

Other multi-set adjectives take **rɛ|aa** and either **ga|sɛ** or **gɔ|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 **rɛ**; **wènnur** 'resembling', **záalì** 'empty' do not use **ga**.

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

dεεη _a	dεε ^{ns} /dεεmɪs or dεεna	dεεη-	'first'
γιη _a	gima	γιη-	'short'
buguσί _a /buguσίr	bugusá	bugus-	'soft'
ρòòdìg _a /ρòòdìr	ρòòdà	ρòòd-	'few, small'
ⁿγέεσίη _a	ⁿγέεnsís	ⁿγέεσίη-	'bold'

Like **buguσίr** are **ma'asír** 'cool', **maluσίr** 'sweet', **tebuσίr** 'heavy', **labuσίr** 'wide'; like **ⁿγέεσίη_a** are **vèⁿlíη_a** 'beautiful', **maluσίη_a** 'pleasant', **lallíη_a** 'distant.'

Zùη_ɔ Pl **zùu^{ns}/zùhà** 'foreign' has Sg **gɔ** for **ga** due to its rounded root vowel.

Pl **σε** 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'
wàk _ɔ /wa'ar'	wa'ad' /wá'a	wa'-/wàk-	'long, tall'
kudug _ɔ /kudìr	kut/kuda	kùd-	'old'
bèdùg _ɔ /bèdìr	bèdà	bèd-	'great'
tita'ug _ɔ /tita'ar	titada	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 **σε**.

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

sùη _ɔ	sùmà	sùη-	'good'
yux _ɔ '	yuná		'single (of pair)'
kísug _ɔ	kisá	kis-	'hateful'
wàux _ɔ	wànà	wàux-	'wasted, thin'
kpi'og _ɔ	kpi'ema	kpi'og-	'hard, strong'
zùlùη _ɔ	zùlimà	zùlùη-	'deep'

So too **ρòⁿrùg_ɔ** 'near', **mìⁿisùg_ɔ** 'sour', **zemmùg_ɔ** 'equal', **tuulùg_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	kpiilimà	kpiilùη-	'dead'
gεε ⁿ lùη _ɔ /gεε ⁿ lùg _ɔ	gεε ⁿ límà	gεε ⁿ lùη-	'tired'
ρè ⁿ elùη _ɔ	ρè ⁿ elà/ρè ⁿ elímà	ρè 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 **ɾe|aa**.

kʊdír	kʊdá	kʊd-	'murderous;
or kʊdíga/kʊdúgɔ			liable to be killed'
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-dɛlɪ́	-dɛllá		'chair for leaning on'

Ipf adjectives from 4-mora **m**-stems take Sg **ga** or **gɔ** (never **ɾe**), 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	pɔ'as	pɔà'-	'female' (human)
ⁿyá'aŋ _a	ⁿyá'as/ⁿya'amís	ⁿya'aŋ-	'female' (animal)
daugɔ	daad	dà-	'male'
tɔɔgɔ	tɔɔd	tò-	'bitter'
lam-fɔɔgɔ	lam-fɔɔd		'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	lèm _{ma}	'return'
ɔɔb	ɔɔbìd _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'
mɔɔn	mɔɔn _{na} ´	mɔɔnìm _a	'make porridge'
gò'ɔɔn	gò'ɔɔnìd _a	gò'ɔɔnìm _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'
tɔɔm´	tɔɔm _{ma} /tɔɔmìd _a	tɔɔm _{ma}	'depart'
siiìm	siiìm _{ma}	siiìm _{ma}	'cite proverbs'
laŋím	laŋím _{ma}	laŋìm _{ma}	'wander in searching'

Like tùm are wùm 'hear', kùm 'herd animals', dùm 'bite'; like lèm are tàm 'forget', zàm 'cheat', dàm '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 focus-ne´ §11.1.1; 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 be'ed tumid.

Tùum-be'ed dímm sâⁿ'an kà be'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 ***nèèda**), 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** §6.2.1 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 *bòɔd_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 *nna* do not, in general, behave like 2Vb Ipfs in derivation: thus *ⁿwɛn_{na}'* 'be like' and *pòɔd_a* 'be few' correspond to *ⁿwɛnnr* 'resembling' and *pòɔdìg_a* 'few' by the tone rules for derivation of quality verbs from adjectives §6.2.2, not adjectives from 2Vbs §3.3.1.

All other 1Vbs have finite forms ending in underlying LF-final *ya*. Stems ending in back vowels show diphthongisation §3.2.2, and the consonant assimilations *ly* → *ll*, *my* → *mm*, *ny* → *nn*, *sy* → *s* and *ry* → *r* appear. Some speakers have LF-final *-ma* instead of *-mma* after long vowels and epenthetic vowels.

A characteristic subgroup are the **stance verbs**.

<i>dɛl_{la}'</i>	'be leaning (person)'	<i>dɪg_lya'</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>ig_iya'</i>	'be kneeling'	<i>làb_lya</i>	'be crouched hiding'
<i>sɛb_lya'</i>	'be squatting'	<i>sùr_a</i>	'have the head bowed'
<i>tàb_lya</i>	'be stuck to'	<i>tì'i_{ya}'</i>	'be leaning (thing)'
<i>vab_lya'</i>	'be lying prone'	<i>zì'e_{ya}</i>	'be standing'
<i>zìⁿ'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'
tɛ̀nrá	'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'	tɔ̃a'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.

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'	tɔ̃ɛ _{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.'

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	
<i>aaⁿdɪg_a</i>	<i>aaⁿdɪs</i>	<i>aaⁿdɪr</i>	<i>aaⁿda</i>	' <i>Vitex doniana</i> '
<i>dù^a</i>	<i>dòò^s</i>	<i>dòò^{g₅}</i>	<i>dòòⁿd</i>	'dawadawa'
<i>gaaⁿ</i>	<i>gaaⁿs</i>	<i>gaⁿr</i>	<i>gaⁿyá</i>	'African ebony'
<i>gù^{ŋ_a}</i>	<i>gùmìs</i>	<i>gùm_n</i>	<i>gùmà</i>	'true kapok'
<i>kìkà^{ŋ_a}</i>	<i>kìkàmìs</i>	<i>kìkàm_n</i>	<i>kìkàmà</i>	'Cape fig tree'
<i>kpòk^{pà}rìg_a</i>	<i>kpòk^{pà}rìs</i>	<i>kpòk^{pà}r</i>	<i>kpòk^{pà}rà</i>	'Palmyra palm'
<i>pusig^a</i>	<i>pusis</i>	<i>pusir</i>	<i>pusá</i>	'tamarind'
<i>sisìbìg_a</i>	<i>sisìbìs</i>	<i>sisìbìr</i>	<i>sisìbà</i>	'neem'
<i>tá^aŋ_a</i>	<i>ta^amís</i>	<i>tá^am_n</i>	<i>ta^aamá</i>	'shea'
<i>tè^ɛg_a</i>	<i>tè^ɛs</i>	<i>tè^ɛog₅</i>	<i>tè^ɛd</i>	'baobab'
<i>vú^oŋ_a</i>	<i>vuomís</i>	<i>vú^or</i>	<i>vuáa</i>	'red kapok'

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

Adjectives may form abstract nouns in *mɛ|*:

<i>vom</i>	'life'	from	<i>vor</i>	'alive'
<i>sùm</i>	'goodness'		<i>sù^{ŋ₅}</i>	'good'
<i>pòòdìm</i>	'scarcity'		<i>pòòdìg_a</i>	'few, small'
<i>vènnìm</i>	'beauty'		<i>vènnìg_a</i>	'beautiful'
<i>vèⁿlìm</i>	'beauty'		<i>vèⁿlìg_a</i>	'beautiful'
<i>bugusím</i>	'softness'		<i>bugusír</i>	'soft'
<i>tɛbísím</i>	'weight'		<i>tɛbísír</i>	'heavy'
<i>ma^aasím</i>	'coolness, damp'		<i>ma^aasír</i>	'cool, damp'
<i>malsím</i>	'sweetness'		<i>malsír</i>	'sweet'
<i>labísím</i>	'width'		<i>labísír</i>	'wide'
<i>pièlìm</i>	'brightness'		<i>pièlìg_a</i>	'white'
<i>títa^am</i>	'multitude'		<i>títa^aar</i>	'big'
<i>nyèèsìm</i>	'confidence'		<i>nyèèsìg_a</i>	'bold'

G_o-type adjectives §5.2, however, make abstract nouns in Sg g_o, coinciding in form with the Sg of the adjective:

lallúg _o	'distance'	from	lallúg _o	'distant'
zemmúg _o	'equality'		zemmúg _o	'equal'
kpi'ot _o	'hardness'		kpi'ot _o	'hard'
yàlòt _o	'width'		yàlòt _o	'wide'
mì'isòg _o	'sourness'		mì'isòg _o	'sour'
tɔɔg _o	'bitterness'		tɔɔg _o	'bitter'
zùlòt _o	'depth'		zùlòt _o	'deep'
tuulúg _o	'heat'		tuulúg _o	'hot'

Some human-reference nouns form similar abstract nouns in mɛ| or Sg g_o:

gbá'yà'am	'laziness'	from	gbá'yà'a	'idle person'
dàmà'am	'deception'		dàmà'a	'liar'
títa'alim	'pride'		títa'alɪ	'proud person'
sáut _o	'hospitality'		saan _a '	'guest'
kpeot _o	'eldership'		kpeem	'elder'
sɔɔ'g _o	'witchcraft'		sɔɛ'ya	'witch'

Adjective stems may form nouns used as adverbials of manner §9.7.2.1 with the class suffix -m|, or with the apocope-blocked §3.1 suffix -ga:

zaalím	'in vain'	from	záalɪ	'empty'
kudim	'of old'		kudug _o	'old'
paalím	'recently'		paalíg _a	'new'
nèem	'for nothing, free'		nèer	'empty'
sùŋa'	'well'	from	sùt _o	'good'
m'asíga'	'coolly'		m'asír	'cool'
tuulíga'	'hotly'		tuulúg _o	'hot'
gɪŋa	'shortly'		gɪŋ _a	'short'
bugusíga'	'softly'		bugusír	'soft'
sàalíŋa'	'smoothly'		sàalìg _a	'smooth'
'yèesíŋa'	'confidently'		'yèesíŋ _a	'bold'

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. **yugudɪr** 'hedgehog', **gbɪgɪm_n** 'lion.')

d can derive abstract from human-reference nouns, e.g. (all from Naden's dictionary):

dataadug	'enmity'	from	dàtaa	'enemy'
pu'asatim	'girlhood'		ɸɸà'-sadɪr'	'nulliparous young woman'
bunkuttim	'old age'		bɸn-kúdùgɔ	'old man'
ɸkɔntim	'widowhood'		ɸùkùɔ'r	'widow'

m is identifiable as derivational in e.g.

bi'em	'enemy'	cf	bi'a	'bad'
a ⁿ síŋ _a	'sister's child'		á ⁿ sìb _a	'mother's brother'
bì ⁿ 'isím	'milk'		bì ⁿ 'isìr	'breast'
na'am	'chieftaincy'		nà'ab _a	'chief'
zɔlmís	'foolishness'		zɔlɔgɔ'	'fool'

It is often added to existing adjective stems, e.g.

malísíŋ _a	'sweet'	cf	malísíg _a	'sweet'
narúgɔ	'needful'		nar _a '	'be needed'
wa'am _a '	'be long'		wɔkɔ'	'long'

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

bɔgusír	'soft'	cf	buk'	'soften'
ma'asír	'cool, wet'		ma'e'	'get cool, wet'
mì'isùgɔ	'sour'		mì'ig	'turn sour'
tɛbísír	'heavy'		tɛbíg'	'get/make heavy'

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives, e.g.

bìilím	'childhood'	from	biig _a	'child'
ɸù'alìm	'womanhood'		ɸɸa'	'woman'
dàalím	'manhood'		daɸ	'man'
sáannìm	'strangerhood'		saan _a '	'stranger'
tɪrâannìm	'peerhood'		tɪrâan _a	'peer'
wa'alím	'tallness'		wɔkɔ'	'tall'

These derived stems are only used as nouns, never as adjectives.

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 (du'à)'	kadɔɓɔ	'drive off (kàd)'
pilibɔ	'cover (pil)'	kparɔɓɔ	'lock (kpàr)'
basɔɓɔ	'go/send away (bàs)'	lɔpɔ ´	'throw stones at (lɔb)'
kɪm_{mɔ}	'herd animals (kìm)'	bunibɔ	'reap (bùn)'
yùugɪr	'delay (yùug)'	nɔkɪr	'take (nɔk´)'
nìŋɪr	'do (nìŋ)'	gbá'ar	'grab (gba'è´)'
dí'er	'get (di'e´)'	dúor	'rise (due´)'
gàadùgɔ	'pass (gàad)'	lièbùgɔ	'become (lièb)'
dɪgɪlùgɔ	'lay down (dɪgɪl´)'	yaarùgɔ	'scatter (yaar´)'
sigisùgɔ	'lower (sigis´)'	dàmmùgɔ	'shake (dàm)'
dìgìnùgɔ	'lie down (dìgìn)'	zì'n'inùgɔ	'sit down (zì'n'in)'
tɔɔŋɔ	'depart (tɔɔm´)'	kàrùŋɔ	'read (kàrìm)'

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

sìilùŋɔ	'cite proverbs (sìilìm)'	zàa'sùŋɔ	'dream (zàa'sìm)'
wàŋɪr	'waste away (wàŋìm)'	zàkìr	'itch (zàkìm)'

In compounds, 2-mora stems use Sg **rɛ**, e.g. **pu'à-dur** 'marriage', **nin-kôur** 'murder', **da-nôur** 'beer-drinking', **mò-pilɪ** 'grass roof.'

Few 3- or 4-mora-stems form gerunds irregularly, but over 20% of 2-mora stems use Sg **ga gɔ** or **rɛ**, e.g. **liig_a** 'fall (lì)', **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. **tìtùmɪs** 'send (tòm)', **bɛ'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'iya)'	ti'ibɔ ´	'lean (ti'iya´)'
zi'eg_a/zi'a	'stand (zì'e _{ya})' K/W	dɪk_a´/dɪgɪr´	'lie down (dɪgɪya´)' K/W
ik_a´/igir´	'kneel (igiy _a ´)' K/W	vapɔ´/vabur´	'lie prone (vabiy _a ´)' K/W

Zi'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|*:

<i>àa'ílím</i>	'be (<i>àɛⁿya</i>)'	<i>bèlím</i>	'exist (<i>bè</i>)'
<i>ka'alím</i>	'not be (<i>kaɛ</i>)'	<i>nòḡlím</i>	'love (<i>nòḡ</i>)'
<i>mi'ilím</i>	'know (<i>mi</i>)'	<i>su'ulím</i>	'own (<i>su'e_{ya}'</i>)'
<i>zi'ulím</i>	'not know (<i>zi</i>)'	<i>dellím</i>	'lean (<i>dɛl_{la}'</i>); also <i>dellúḡ</i>
<i>dɔllím</i>	'go with (<i>dɔl_{la}'</i>)'	<i>tullím</i>	'be hot (<i>tul_{la}'</i>)'
<i>nenním</i>	'envy (<i>nɛn_{na}'</i>)'	<i>sinním</i>	'be silent (<i>sin_{na}'</i>)'
<i>ⁿwenním sic</i>	'be like (<i>ⁿwɛn_{na}'</i>)'	<i>zaⁿllím</i>	'hold in hand (<i>zaⁿl_{la}'</i>)'
<i>gurím</i>	'guard (<i>gur_a'</i>)'	<i>mɔrím</i>	'have (<i>mɔr_a'</i>)'
<i>tarím</i>	'have (<i>tar_a'</i>)'	<i>narím</i>	'be necessary (<i>nar_a'</i>)'

-taa 'companion in ...' follows a *m*-stem gerund CIF.

2Vbs here add *m* to the Ipf verbal adjective stem, but with gerund tones:

<i>dì</i>	'eat'	<i>dìtím-taa</i>	'messmate'
<i>kpèⁿ</i>	'enter'	<i>kpèⁿédím-</i>	'co-resident'
<i>zàb</i>	'fight'	<i>zàbídím-</i>	'opponent'
<i>tòm</i>	'work'	<i>tòmím-</i>	'co-worker'
<i>pù'us</i>	'worship'	<i>pù'usím-</i>	'co-worshipper'
<i>sjàk</i>	'agree'	<i>sjàkím-</i>	'partner in agreement'

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

1Vbs with *m*-stem gerunds use them here:

<i>bè</i>	'exist'	<i>bèlím-taa</i>	'partner in existence' W
<i>mi</i>	'know'	<i>mi'ilím-</i>	'partner in knowledge'

Similarly *zi'ulím-taa* 'partner in ignorance', *dɔllím-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 *dɪḡùḡ*. 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', *ḡḡⁿdìm* 'wandering', *zòtìm* 'fear', *ḡḡlúsím* 'freedom', *nin-kú^sùm* 'murder', *pù'usùm* 'worship', *wòm^mḡḡ* '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: $\text{s}\text{w}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 'piece of writing' (swb 'write'), $\text{d}\text{w}\text{k}_3'$ 'pot' (dwg '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 $\text{d}\text{w}\text{b}_3$ 'food' (dw '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 $\text{d}\text{w}\text{g}\text{r}'$ 'lying place', Gd $\text{d}\text{w}\text{k}_\text{a}'$ ($\text{d}\text{w}\text{g}\text{y}_\text{a}'$ '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 $\text{d}\text{w}\text{g}\text{r}'$ $\text{i}\text{g}\text{ir}'$ $\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 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 $\text{a}|\text{b}\text{a}$. 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 (me)'	$\text{d}\text{w}\text{t}_\text{a}$	'eater (dw)'
$\text{d}\text{w}\text{g}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'cook (dwg)'	$\text{d}\text{w}'\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'relative' ($\text{d}\text{w}'\text{a}$ 'bear/beget')
$\text{t}\text{w}\text{on-gat}_\text{a}$	'leader' ($\text{g}\text{à}\text{ad}$ 'pass')	$\text{s}\text{w}\text{b}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'writer (swb)'
$\text{k}\text{p}\text{ar}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'lock-er ($\text{k}\text{p}\text{à}\text{r}$)'	$\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'forgiver ($\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}'$)'
$\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'sleeper ($\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}$)'	$\text{g}\text{w}\text{t}_\text{a}'$	'seer, prophet' (gwt 'look')
$\text{p}\text{a}'\text{an}_\text{na}$	'teacher ($\text{p}\text{à}'\text{al}$)'	$\text{t}\text{w}\text{m-tw}\text{m}_\text{na}$	'worker (twm)'
$\text{y}\text{w}\text{w}\text{m-y}\text{w}'\text{w}\text{m}_\text{na}$	'singer ($\text{y}\text{w}'\text{w}\text{m}'$)'	$\text{b}\text{u}\text{n}_\text{na}$	'reaper (bwn)'

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 ($\text{d}\text{i}'\text{e}'$)'	$\text{s}\text{w}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'helper (sww)'
$\text{s}\text{j}\text{a}\text{k}\text{w}\text{d}_\text{a}$	'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 ($\text{k}\text{e}\text{w}'$)'	$\text{j}\text{a}''\text{a}\text{d}_\text{a}'$	'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:

$\text{k}\text{w}\text{os}_\text{a}$	'seller ($\text{k}\text{w}\text{os}$)'	$\text{t}\text{w}\text{s}_\text{a}$	'giver (tws)'
$\text{s}\text{w}\text{s}_\text{a}$	'beggar (sws)'	$\text{z}\text{à}\text{b-z}\text{à}\text{b}_\text{a}$	'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 $\text{s}\text{w}\text{n}_\text{n}$ '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>aaⁿya'</i>)' W
<i>nin-déI_{la}</i>	'leaner (<i>déI_{la}'</i>)'	<i>bù-zaⁿI_{la}'</i>	'goat-holder (<i>zaⁿI_{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>tɛⁿr_a'</i>)'	<i>kis_a'/kisid_a'</i>	'hater (<i>kis_a'</i>)'

Stems in *ll/r* have variant forms in *rɛ|aa*, e.g. *bù-zaⁿI* 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>puàⁿ-la'adr</i>	'laughing/laughable woman (<i>là</i>)'
<i>bunⁿ-yétìr</i>	'visible object (<i>ⁿyɛ</i>)'
<i>naⁿ-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'adɪg_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-ɔⁿbìdà</i>	'solid food' (<i>ɔⁿb</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>vu</i> 'swallow')
<i>puàⁿ-gbisidír</i>	'woman always sleeping (<i>gbis</i>)'

b̀̀̀̀-kennír	'donkey that doesn't sit still' (kɛŋ´ 'go')
ɸ̀̀̀̀à'-ginníg _a	'prostitute' (gilig´ 'go round')
kpa-sɔ́ɔ́'dìm	'anointing oil (sue ⁿ ´)
bun-yátìr	'scattering thing (yadɔg´)
bun-ǰá ⁿ 'adìr	'flying creature (ǰa ⁿ k´)
b̀̀̀̀- <i>sa</i> ⁿ 'ammur	'scapegoat' W (sà ⁿ 'am 'destroy')
bun-pé̀̀̀̀sìr	'sharpening thing (pè̀̀̀̀sìs)
bun-kúòsìr	'item for sale (kùòs)
b̀̀̀̀̀- <i>d</i> igudír	'donkey that lies down a lot (digɪya´)
b̀̀̀̀̀- <i>v</i> abudír	'donkey that always lies prone (vabɪya´)
kug-zí ⁿ 'idír	'stone for sitting on (zì ⁿ 'iya)
nɔ́-zá ⁿ lì	'hen for holding in hands (zà ⁿ lìá´)
k̀̀̀̀g-dɛlì´	'chair for leaning on (dɛlìá´)
bun-gúlì	'thing for suspending (g̀̀̀̀lìá)

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

bun-pé̀̀̀̀̀gìr	'thing for whitening (pè̀̀̀̀̀gìg)
bun-túl̀̀̀̀̀gìr	'thing for heating (tul̀̀̀̀̀gì´)
yei-pákìr	'disaster' (pàk 'surprise')
ⁿ wi-té̀̀̀̀̀kìr	'pulling-rope (tɛk´)
bun-sù̀̀̀̀̀gìr	'helpful thing (s̀̀̀̀̀̀gì)
b̀̀̀̀̀̀- <i>n</i> ò̀̀̀̀̀gìr	'beloved child (nò̀̀̀̀̀gì)
ɸ̀̀̀̀̀̀à'- <i>p</i> ù̀̀̀̀̀̀alìg _a	'harmful woman (p̀̀̀̀̀̀̀àlìm)
bun-sí̀̀̀̀̀̀lìg _ɔ	'thing relating to citing proverbs (sì̀̀̀̀̀̀lìm)
ɸ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀à'- <i>z</i> àà ⁿ sù̀̀̀̀̀̀g _ɔ	'dreamy woman (zàà ⁿ sì̀̀̀̀̀̀m)

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.

àà ⁿ lùg _ɔ	'torn (à ⁿ)'	gɛɛ ⁿ lùg _ɔ	'tired (gɛ ⁿ)'
k̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ɔ̀̀̀̀̀̀lùg _ɔ	'broken (k̀̀̀̀̀̀̀)	kɸ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀lùg _ɔ	'dead (kɸ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀)
pè̀̀̀̀̀̀̀'ɛlùg _ɔ	'full (pè̀̀̀̀̀̀̀'ɛl)	p̀̀̀̀̀̀̀̀àlùg _ɔ	'damaged (p̀̀̀̀̀̀̀àlìm)
yè̀̀̀̀̀̀̀'ɛlùg _ɔ	'worn [shirt] (yè̀̀̀̀̀̀̀)	ỳ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ɔ̀̀̀̀̀̀lùg _ɔ	'closed (ỳ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀)

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-gótis</i> 'glasses'
<i>kuosɪŋ_a</i>	'salesperson (<i>kùos</i>)'
<i>piesɪŋ_a</i>	'cleaning implement (<i>pies'</i>)'
<i>zi'ɪdɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for sitting on (<i>zi'ɪya</i>)'

A few show *s* or *d* alone: *diɪsɔ́gɔ* 'bed' (*diɪɪya'* 'lie'), *duusír* '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/ny*. 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>zɪlnzɪˀogɔ</i>	'unknown'	<i>tàsɪntàlɪ</i>	'palm of hand'
<i>wàsɪnwàlɪ</i>	'tree gall'	<i>nɛsɪnnɛogɔ'</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>kpùkpàrìŋ_a</i>	'palm tree'	<i>kpìkpin_{na}</i>	'merchant'
<i>tɪtɪ'ar</i>	'big'	<i>pipiríŋ_a</i>	'desert'
<i>sìsì'em</i>	'wind'	<i>fufum_n</i>	'envy; stye'
<i>lìlaalíŋ_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. *làŋgáuh_ɔ/màŋgáuh_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: *àníŋa´* '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'; some may be loanwords, and in other cases the prefix may have originated as a CIF.

6.2 Verbs

6.2.1 Two-aspect

2Vbs may be derived with the suffixes **g s l n m** or **lm**.

g (see §3.2.2) after adjective or quality 1Vb roots derives patientive ambitransitive 2Vbs expressing a **change of state** §9.7.1, while with noun or other 1Vb roots it has **inceptive** or **factitive** senses:

buk´	'soften'	cf	bugus _a ´	'be soft'
dèŋ	'precede'		dεεŋ _a	'first'
gɔdɪg´	'look up' D		gɔr _a ´	'be looking up' D
kpi'e	'approach'		kpi'a	'neighbour'
kpè'ŋ	'strengthen'		kpi'em _a ´	'be strong'
kùdìg	'shrivel up, dry out, age'		kudug _ɔ	'old'
lalɪg´	'become/make far'		lal _l a´	'be far'
ma'e´	'get cool, wet'		ma'as _a ´	'be cool, wet'
màk	'crumple'		màɸk _ɔ	'crumpled'
mì'ig	'turn sour'		mì'is _a	'be sour'
nìe	'awaken'		nèj _{ya}	'be awake'
pèlìg	'whiten'		pìelìg _a	'white'
su'n'e´	'become better than' W		sɔ'n'e _{ya} ´	'be better than'
tàdìg	'become weak'		tadɪm	'weak person'
tɛbɪg´	'get/make heavy'		tɛbɪs _a ´	'be heavy'
tùlìg	'invert'		tùtul _ɪ	'upside-down thing'
tulɪg´	'heat up'		tul _l a´	'be hot'
wàŋìm	'waste away' (gm)		wàɸŋ _ɔ	'wasted'
ⁿwiig´	'make a rope'		ⁿwiig _a ´	'rope'
ⁿyu'e´	'set alight'		ⁿyɔ'ɔs´	'smoke'
zùlìg	'deepen'		zùlìm _a	'be deep'

g is otherwise **monactional**. Corresponding **pluractionals** are often derived with **s**.

àe ⁿ	'tear'	àa ⁿ s	'tear repeatedly'
bù'e	'pour out'	bù'os	'pour out (many containers)'
di'e´	'receive'	di'es´	'receive (many things)'
fùe	'pull out'	fùos	'pull out (many things)'
jà ⁿ k´	'fly, jump'	jà ⁿ as´	'jump repeatedly'
ya'e´	'open mouth'	ya'as´	'open repeatedly' W

The inherited Oti-Volta **reversive** suffix had a very broad sense of "away, off", and it was found not only as a reversive but in many verbs expressing separating, breaking, pouring, cleaning etc. It was lost through regular historical sound changes in Western Oti-Volta (Eddyshaw 2024, 3.3.1.2.) In the reversive sense, the suffix was usually followed by either monactional **g** or pluractional **s**, which are now left as apparent reversive suffixes. As, for pragmatic reasons, reversives naturally tend to be monactional, **g** appears more often than **s** in this role:

	è ⁿ dìg	'unblock'	cf	è ⁿ d	'block up'
	ɔdɔg´	'untie'		ɔ	'tie up'
	pàk	'take from top'		pà'al	'put on top'
	pìbìg	'uncover'		pìbìl	'cover up'
	pìdìg	'take (hat etc) off'		pìd	'put (hat etc) on'
	pìlìg	'uncover'		pìl	'cover'
	tàbìg	'unstick, get unstuck'		tàb	'get stuck to'
	ga'e´	'unbutton'		ga'	'hook onto, button up'
but	sù ⁿ 'e/sò ⁿ 'ɔs	'take off (wrap etc)'		sò ⁿ	'put on around waist'
	yàk/yà'as	'unhang'		yà'al	'hang up'
	yèɛg/yèɛs	'undress oneself'		yè	'dress oneself'
	yò'ɔg/yò'ɔs	'open'		yò	'close'

The reason for the glottalisation in sùⁿ'e/sòⁿ'ɔs 'take off' and yò'ɔg/yò'ɔs 'open' is unclear. Glottalisation also appears in derivatives which are not reversive, e.g.

	vɔ'ug´	'make/come alive'	cf	vɔɛya´	'be alive'
	vɔ'us´	'breathe'			
	kò'ɔg	'break' (monactional)		kò	'break'
	kò'ɔs	'break' (pluractional)			
	pò'ɔg	'diminish, belittle'		pò'ɔd _a	'be few'
	tò ⁿ 'ɔs	'hunt'		tò ⁿ	'shoot'

All examples but vɔ'ug´ and vɔ'us´ have the vowel ɔɔ; moreover, Agolle Kusaal has no Cɔɔg verbs with a modal vowel, and comparative evidence suggests that the vowel in these roots derives from *aw historically; contrast Toende Kusaal boos 'cause to get lost' from bòi 'get lost.' Farefare has no clear case of a glottal vowel in a derived form with a modal vowel in the simplex: thus monactional yó'ogé, pluractional yo'ose 'open', but also yò' 'close.'

Accordingly, glottalisation in derivation probably reflects sandhi between a former root-final consonant and the suffix.

Like Kusaal and Farefare, Mooré has many pairs of verbs where monactional *g* contrasts with pluractional *s*, but it also has many pairs with monactional CVC*g*-contrasting with pluractional *CVVC-. The root-final consonant in such cases can only be one of the set *d l b*, never *g s r*; once again the verbs involved typically express separating, breaking, pouring, cleaning etc:

Monactional	Pluractional	
<i>kõdge</i>	<i>kõode</i>	'scrape out a pot'
<i>gědge</i>	<i>gěede</i>	'mix up' (cf <i>gěde</i> 'mix up')
<i>kòdge</i>	<i>koode/kodse</i>	'cut throat of'
<i>mádge</i>	<i>maade</i>	'get wet' (cf <i>máde</i> 'get wet')
<i>súdgì</i>	<i>suudi/sudsi</i>	'pour water downwards'
<i>võdge</i>	<i>võode/võdse</i>	'carve into' (cf <i>võde</i> 'carve into')
<i>yèdge</i>	<i>yeeede</i>	'run down, trickle'
<i>wídgì</i>	<i>wiidi/widsi</i>	'wash one's face'
<i>bálgè</i>	<i>báalè</i>	'separate' (cf <i>báalè</i> 'separate')
<i>yélgè</i>	<i>yeele</i>	'winnow'
<i>zílgè</i>	<i>zílè</i>	'load' (causative of <i>zí</i> 'carry off')
<i>fèbge</i>	<i>feebe</i>	'flay'
<i>fěbgè</i>	<i>fěebe</i>	'seep away'
<i>kěbge</i>	<i>kěebe/kěbse</i>	'chop, cut up'
<i>yǎbge</i>	<i>yǎabe</i>	'force apart, splay'

There are also reversives of this pattern, e.g.

<i>gĩdgì</i>	<i>gĩidi/gĩdsi</i>	'untangle' (<i>gĩdì</i> 'tangle')
<i>lòdge</i>	<i>lòode</i>	'untie' (<i>lòe</i> 'tie')
<i>pìdgi</i>	<i>piidi</i>	'take shoes off' (<i>pìdì</i> 'put on shoes')
<i>yòdge</i>	<i>yòode</i>	'unknot' (<i>yòde</i> 'tie knot')
<i>yídgì</i>	<i>yiidi</i>	'unfasten'
<i>pilgi</i>	<i>pìili</i>	'uncover' (<i>pìili</i> 'cover')
<i>tùlgi</i>	<i>tuuli/tulsi</i>	'invert'
<i>vílgì</i>	<i>viili</i>	'uncoil' (<i>víli</i> 'coil up')
<i>lèbge</i>	<i>lèebe</i>	'turn upside down'

Forms like *yòode* 'unknot' (pluractional) beside *yòde* 'knot' clearly show that the actual reversive suffix is neither *g* nor *s*. Root vowels were lengthened before *d l* or *b* followed by a stem-final separative/reversive suffix.

A similar process may underlie many Kusaal CVVC-stem verbs, but in CVV*g* and CVV*s* stems the final consonant is probably always derivational in origin.

Other possible cases of an originally pluractional **s** are

zεmɪs´	'become equal'	cf	zεm _{ma} ´	'be equal'
gu'us´	'take care of'		gur _a ´	'guard, watch'
namɪs´	'suffer, torment'			

s also derives a few **causatives**:

dìs	'feed'	cf	dì	'eat'
kpè ⁿ εs	'make enter'		kpè ⁿ	'enter'
kpεmɪs´	'encourage'		kpi'em _a ´	'be strong'
kpìis	'quench (fire)'		kpìig	'go out (fire)'
lèbìs	'send back; answer'		lèb	'return'
mù'as	'give suck to'		mυà'	'suckle'
nèεs	'reveal'		nìe	'appear'
sigis´	'lower'		sig	'go down'
yìis´/yis	'make go/come out'		yi	'go/come out'
zùos	'befriend'		zυà LF zùa	'friend'

l is the usual causative suffix, however:

gεεl´	'put between legs'	cf	gεog _ɔ	'space between legs' TP <i>sic</i>
ma'al´	'make cool, wet'		ma'e´	'get cool, wet'
ˀya'al´	'leave behind'		ˀyá'aŋ _a	'behind'
pɔ ⁿ 'ɔl´	'cause to rot'		pu ⁿ 'e´	'rot'
wɔ'ɔl´	'make wet'		wɔ'ɔg´	'get wet'
ba ⁿ 'al´	'put on horse/bicycle'		ba ⁿ '	'ride'
gu'ul´	'entrust with'		gu'	'guard'
nèεl	'reveal'		nìe	'appear'
yèεl	'dress someone'		yè	'dress oneself'
zàbìl	'make fight'		zàb	'fight'

Nu 'drink' has the causative derivatives **nulig´** and **nulis´** 'make drink', with originally monactional and pluractional suffixes following the causative suffix. Toende Kusaal also has **dɪlɔ** 'feed (an animal.)'

n derives **inceptive** 2Vbs from stance verbs §5.3.2, with causatives in **l**. 2Vbs derived with **n** are always TP A. Historically, the suffix is simplified from **nn**, representing the earlier **nd** or **md** which are still seen in the Mooré cognates, e.g. *zĩ* 'be seated', *zĩndi* 'sit down'; *yĩgì* 'be kneeling', *yĩgìmdi* 'kneel down.'

		Inceptive	Causative
zì'e _{ya}	'stand'	zì'en	zì'el
zì'n ⁱ ya	'sit'	zì'n'in	zì'n'il
tì'i _{ya} ´	'(thing) lean'	tì'in	tì'il´
gɔ'e _{ya} ´	'look up' W	gɔ'ɔn	
dɪg _{ya} ´	'lie down'	dìgìn	dɪgɪ´
igi _{ya} ´	'kneel'	ìgìn	igil´
làb _{ya}	'crouch in hiding'	làbìn	làbìl
vab _{ya} ´	'lie prone'	vàbìn	vabɪ´
sù _a	'bow head'	sùn _n	sùn _n sic

Some n/l pairs have no corresponding 1Vb:

	'cover oneself'	lìgìn	lìgìl
	'perch'	zùon	zùol
	'perch'	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2Vb as inceptive:

gùl _a	'hang'	gùl	gùl
tàb _{ya}	'be stuck to'	tàb	tàbìl

Dɛl_a´ 'lean' (of a person) has the inceptive derivative dèlìm.

m has a **middle**/reciprocal meaning in a few verbs, and in preverbal adjuncts §9.4.3 of verbal origin; in a few words it has a "bodily process" sense:

là'am	'gather' (intransitive) cf	là'as	'gather' (transitive)
lèm	'again'	lèb	'return'
kò'sìm	'cough'	kò's	'cough'

The suffix also appears in nɛɛm´ 'grind', cf nɛɛr´ 'millstone.'

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

gìgùlìm	'become dumb'	cf	gìk _a	'dumb'
gù'ɔlìm	'become semi-ripe'		gu'ɔs	'semi-ripe things'
pò'n'ɔlìm	'cripple, get crippled'		pò'n'ɔr	'cripple'
wàbìlìm	'make, go lame'		wàbìr	'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 *ya* to adjectival or human-reference stems. Nominal TP A becomes verbal TP H.

TP H	<i>vυε_{ya}</i> ´	'live'	cf	<i>vυr</i> ´	'alive'
	<i>bugυ_a</i> ´	'be soft'		<i>bugυ_{sr}</i>	'soft'
	<i>ma'as_a</i> ´	'be cool'		<i>ma'as_{sr}</i>	'cool'
	<i>teβ_{is_a}</i> ´	'be heavy'		<i>teβ_{is_{sr}}</i>	'heavy'
	<i>mal_{is_a}</i> ´	'be sweet'		<i>mal_{is_{sr}}</i>	'sweet'
	<i>lab_{is_a}</i> ´	'be wide'		<i>lab_{is_{sr}}</i>	'wide'
	<i>zεm_{ma}</i> ´	'be equal to'		<i>zεmmύ_g</i>	'equal'
	<i>lal_{la}</i> ´	'be far from'		<i>zεmmύ_g</i>	'equal'
TP A	<i>tυε_{ya}</i> ´	'be bitter'		<i>tυg_g</i>	'bitter'
	<i>gim_{ma}</i> ´	'be short'		<i>gι_{η_a}</i>	'short'
	<i>kpi'em_a</i> ´	'be strong'		<i>kpi'o_{η_g}</i>	'strong'
	<i>krεε'na</i> ´	'be older than'		<i>krεε'm</i>	'elder'
	<i>ˀwεn_{na}</i> ´	'be like'		<i>ˀwεnnur</i>	'resembling'
TP L	<i>pυυd_a</i>	'be few, small'		<i>pυυd'ig_a</i>	'small'
	<i>mì'is_a</i>	'be sour'		<i>mì'isυ_g</i>	'sour'
	<i>sυ_{m_{ma}}</i>	'be good'		<i>sυ_{η_g}</i>	'good'
	<i>yàl_{m_a}</i>	'be wide'		<i>yàlυ_{η_g}</i>	'wide'
	<i>zυ_{l_{m_a}}</i>	'be deep'		<i>zυ_{lυ_{η_g}}</i>	'deep'
	<i>vè'li_a</i>	'be beautiful'		<i>vè'li_{ig_a}</i>	'beautiful'
	<i>vè_{n_a}</i>	'be beautiful'		<i>vènn'ig_a</i>	'beautiful'

In a few cases there are also segmental stem changes:

<i>wa'am_a</i> ´	'be long, tall'	cf	<i>wak_g</i> ´	'long, tall'
<i>tυ_{li_a}</i> ´	'be hot'		<i>tυυlύ_g</i>	'hot'
<i>bà'li_a</i>	'be thin'		<i>bàa'li_{ig_a}</i>	'thin'
<i>ˀyèε_{s_a}</i>	'be bold'		<i>ˀyèεσί_{η_a}</i>	'bold'

The pair *γεog_g* 'space between the legs' and *געε_l*´ 'put between the legs' show a similar correspondence between a TP A nominal and a TP H verb. However, 2Vb derivatives with *g* from TP A nominals are TP A (see above.)

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:

<i>màljak_a</i> ´	<i>màlja</i> 'as´	<i>màlja</i> '-	'angel'	(Arabic <i>mal'ak</i>)
<i>gadug_ɔ</i> ´	<i>gat</i> ´	<i>gad</i> '-	'bed'	(Hausa <i>gadoo</i>)
<i>lór</i>	<i>láyà/lóɔm_{ma}</i>	<i>lór</i> '-	'lorry'	(English)
<i>màlf_ɔ</i>	<i>màli</i>		'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); *kèkè* '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 *yardá* '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 *à mí* '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 *Móɔm_{ma}* borrows Mooré *Mórè* Pl *Moeemba*. W has a Pl *lóɔm_{ma}* from *lór* 'car, lorry', by analogy with *Mɔr'*. Some apocope-blocked nouns are 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 *kyibu*, for Kusaal *ku'ib_ɔ*'; the predicative ideophone *kasi* 'clean' is from Mampruli *kasi*.

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 *Wēnnàám*) reflects Toende *Wina'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'rùŋ_ɔ* 'boat' (itself a loan: Dagbani *ɲariŋ* 'boat' would correspond to an Agolle **à'dùŋ_ɔ*.)

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

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

Berber is the ultimate source of a number of words which are widespread in West African languages; of these, Kusaal has *anzùrifà* '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: *àlòpìr* 'aeroplane'; *dú'atà* 'doctor'; *tók-làe* 'torch' ("torchlight"); *póɔtìm* 'denounce to the authorities' ("report.") Some have been transmitted via Hausa, like *wadá* 'law' ("order"), Hausa *oodàa*.

French loans include *làmpɔ'* '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 *pórikó*, 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 §10.9 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 bútiŋ* 'the man's cup', *saluma bútiŋ* '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 bútiŋ-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

saluma bótus ne dísimà '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 *saluma lâ'ad ne bótus* '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 *saluma lâ'ad né ò bótus* (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 saluma 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', *saluma* '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 bigìsìd 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_n ké kà ò ka' nín-gbiŋ la ní_n.

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 §10.9
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 §10.4.3.

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 _~ á ⁿ kɔ ⁿ b-kì ^m -sò ^ŋ 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 §10.6.

There are no honorific usages.

2S is used for a generic 'one':

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

3P is used as a non-specific 'they' for turning passive constructions actively; in catenation the object can even be treated like a grammatical subject.

Bà yòòdu_f sùgáa_?

3P pay.Ipf_2S well_PQ

'Are you well paid?' S

Diib wusa nari ba di.

Duub wusa nári_ bà dí.

food all must_+ 3P eat

'All foods may be eaten.' Rom 14:20

Demonstrative pronouns:

		Animate		Inanimate Sg		Pl
Head	Long	òḡa´	far	lìna´	bàmma´	
			near	ne'εḡa		
	Short	òn	far	lìn	bàn	
			near	ne'		
Dependent	Long	kàḡa´		kàḡa´	bàmma´	
	Short	kàn		kàn	bàn	
Adverbial		Time	Manner	Place		
	far	san-kán	àlá	kpε		
	near	nannánna´	à´wá/à´wána´	kpεlá or àní/ànína´		

Ne'εḡa ne' can form the specifically inanimate Pls ne'εḡa-nám_a nè'-nàm_a.

Note the tone difference between òn lìn bàn and free 3rd person pronouns.

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

Fuε an dau kan la!

Fuḡi_ á´n dáḡ-kàn la!

2S_+ be man-Dem the

'You are that man!' 2 Sm 12:7

(in the story just related.)

Lìnè_?

Nif-kánè_?

fuḡ-káni_ bùol ...

'Which one?'

'Which eye?'

'you who call ...'

"Long" demonstratives are used for spatio-temporal deixis. Inanimate heads have distinct forms for far and near, as do the time/manner/place series: kpε 'here', kpεlá 'there'; elsewhere, 'that' can be specified by following the demonstrative with la´ and 'this' by a following ´wá: dàḡ-kàḡa la 'that man', dàḡ-kàḡa ´wá 'this man.'

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate Sg	Inanimate Sg	Pl
sɔ'	si'el _a	sieba (modal vowel)
si'a	si'a	
Time	Manner	Place
san-sí'a	si'em	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' kɔ zin'in David na'am gbaɯŋ la zug bɛɛ di na'am Juda teŋiɛ.	
ò bì-sɔ' kú zin'in David nâ'am gbáɯŋ 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-̀s̀'̀s̀ìg kà yà s̀'̀s̀ìd 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 **men̩a'** 'self' (Sg = Pl) always has a predependent:

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

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

F̀̀ men̩ kuu bí-lìàa_? '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:

M̩ 'wé'ε m̩ men̩. '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 men̩ nu'ug.
Mam Paul n sɔb p̩'us-kàŋa né m̩ men̩ n̩'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', $p̩̀-̀p̩̀è̩l̩̀m sɔb$ 'upright person' ($p̩̀-̀p̩̀è̩l̩̀m$ '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 $yi-sɔb-nàm_a$ 'householder' (yir' 'house'); $yi-d̩m_a$ 'household members'; $nif-sɔb_a$ 'miser' ($nif_ɔ́$ 'eye'); $tàⁿp-sɔb_a$ 'warrior' ($taⁿp_ɔ́$ 'war'); $zug-sɔb_a$ Pl $zug-sɔb-nàm_a$ 'boss', 'Lord' B ($zug_ɔ́$ 'head.')

8.2.1 Personaliser pronoun

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

	$L̩̀ à né à dàalúŋ.$	'It's a stork.'
but	$ǹ̩ dàalúŋ$	'my stork'
	$daɣ la dáalúŋ$	'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 $nàm_a$. As with nominalisations with $n̩$ §10.9, 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
$à daar páe ya kúm$	
Pz day arrive NSb death	

Clause personalisation is common in proverbs §13.2:

À daa yél ka' tûmm_. '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'ɑŋ_a introduces himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kusâas, "Bawku" for Bòk_ɔ etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the Mampruli CIF *wuri*- 'horse': the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. 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 *Gambaxa*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa*. The pattern has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is also occasionally seen, as in "Aruk" for the personal name à Duk, and in the language name "Kusaal" Kusâal itself.

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'auŋ à Sà'ɔŋ '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-káŋa 'this Awini', tì Wɪn 'our Awini'; tì ñ Daug 'our Ndago.' They pluralise with nàm_a; à Wɪn-nám can mean 'more than one Awini' or 'Awini and his people.'

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

à Mɔr yam	'Amoryam'	"has intelligence" (a girl, G3 p6)
à T̄um bódìg ya	'Atimborigya'	"the medicine has got lost" (a man)

Many names allude to a *sigur'*, 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>sigur'</i> from father's side
à Bugur	'Abugri'	<i>bugur</i> 'a <i>sigur'</i> from mother's family'
à T̄ug	'Atiga'	<i>t̄uga</i> 'tree'
à Kudug	'Akudugu'	<i>kudug</i> _ɔ 'iron'

A younger sibling of à *Wɪn* with the same *sigur'* 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-pɔ́ák* 'Awimpoaka' (*pɔ́ak*_a 'female.')

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

à Nà'ab	'Anaba'	<i>nà'ab</i> _a 'afterbirth' (chiefs leave after their retainers): sole survivor of twins
à Fuug	'Afugu'	<i>fuug</i> _ɔ ' 'clothing': born with a caul
à T̄ul	'Atuli'	<i>t̄ul</i> _l 'inversion': breech-delivered child
à Nàsà-pɔ́ak	'Anasapoaka'	<i>nàsà-pɔ́ak</i> _a '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</i> _a ' 'guest'
à Saan-dú	'Sandow'	<i>saan</i> _a ' 'guest' + <i>daɔ</i> 'man'
à Zàngbèog	'Azangbego'	<i>Zàngbèog</i> _ɔ '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	
Barɪg _a '	Barɪs'	Bat'	Barug _ɔ ' 'Bisa'
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìɸn _ɔ ' '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 '	Dàgbaɸn _ɔ ' 'Dagomba'
Guríŋ _a	Gurís	Gurín _n	'Farefare'
Kàmbùŋ _a	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr	'Ashanti'
Kusáa	Kusâas	Kusâal	Kusâug _ɔ ' 'Kusaasi'
Mùa	Mòɔs	Mòɔl	Mòɔg _ɔ ' 'Mossi'
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùg _ɔ ' 'Nabdema'
ⁿ Wampurìg _a '	ⁿ Wampurìs'	ⁿ Wampurìl'	ⁿ Wampurug _ɔ ' 'Mamprussi'
Sìmiìg _a	Sìmiis	Sìmiil	Sìmiug _ɔ ' 'Fulani'
Tàlìŋ _a	Tàlìs	Tàlìn _n	'Tallensi'
Yàaŋ _a	Yàa ⁿ s/Yàamìs or Yàam _{ma}	Yàan _n	'Yansi'
Yarɪg _a '	Yarɪs'	Yat'	'Yarsi'
Zàŋgbèog _ɔ	Zàŋgbèɛd	Zàŋgbèɛl	'Hausa'

Barɪs' 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	Gòɔg _ɔ	
	Gùm-dìm _a	Gùm _n	
Kùtan _n	Kùtam _{ma} '	Kùtaɸn _ɔ '	W's clan
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdùg _ɔ	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob _a	Sà'-dàbòɔg _ɔ	
	Nà'-dàm _{ma}	Nà'-dàɸn _ɔ	
Wiid _a	Wiid-nàm _a	Wiidùg _ɔ	
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> trees"
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>Isobertinia doka</i> tree"
Tèmpáan _n	'Tempane'	"new villages"
Till'	'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 Widinama 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', Àlámíisì '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
nyε'er´	immediately younger sibling
sàam _{ma} (less formally, ba'´)	father
sàam-kpεε'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-kpεε'm	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil _a or mà-pit _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
ánsìb _a	mother's brother
biig _a (♂ dàkòɔ'r, ♀ pɔ̀à'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
a'síŋ _a	man's sister's child
yáab _a (♂ yaa-dáʉ, ♀ -pɔ̀á')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ _a	grandchild/descendant
pɔ̀à'-elíŋ _a	fiancée
yi-pɔ̀á' or pɔ̀a'	wife; brother's wife
dìem _{ma} (♂ dìem-dáʉ, ♀ -pɔ̀ak _a)	wife's parent
dàkiig _a (♂ dàkì-dáʉ, ♀ -pɔ̀ak _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sɔ̀d _a	husband
dàyáam _{ma} (♂ dàyaam-dáʉ, ♀ -pɔ̀ák _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpεε'm	husband's elder brother
sìd-bil _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-pɔ̀ak _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-tɔ̀ɔ'r, 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.

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

8.5.1 Numerals

The numeral quantifiers are

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

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-sók_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	nyûob
2	nyí	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
lunl_ dá à' 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 dâan 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 dâan* 'beer owner', *tienj dâan* 'bearded man', *ɔɔɔ la dâan* 'the owner of the field' Mt 21:40, *pù-pièlɔm dâan* 'upright person'; here even manner nouns can be predeterminers: *bugusíga dâan* 'softly-softly sort of person' W.

Daan_a follows a CIF in a few set expressions, e.g. *yi-dâan_a/yi-sób_a* 'householder' and *tènj-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 àntùà'-mɔ́rím kótù 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>làmpɔ-dí'es_a</i>	'tax collector'	<i>kòⁿb-kim_{na}</i>	'herder, shepherd'
<i>zàⁿ-nɔ-gúr_a</i>	'gatekeeper'	<i>bùl-sigid_a'</i>	'well-diver'
<i>nɔ-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-lɔɔdín_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_ 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'-módìr	'swelling of the hand'
wìn-liir	'sunset'
su ⁿ -sâ ⁿ ɔɔɔ	'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'ɔɔɔ	'boldness' ("strong-heartedness")
wɪn-tôɔɔɔ	'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-fuug _ɔ '	'children's shirt' (suitable for children)
wab-móɔɔɔ _n	'in bush where there are elephants' W
nàsàa-sìlòg _ɔ	'aeroplane' ("European hawk")
nàsàar-bùgúm	'electricity' ("European fire")

zà'-ncwá'	'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 dǔwǔg	'temple' ("worship house")
tułigír bún	'heater' ("heating thing")
duḡuḡ dút	'cooking pots'
ligidi túumà	'expensive work' (ligidi 'money')
salma bútiḡ	'golden cup'
salma ne anzúriḡà lâ'ad	'gold and silver goods'
fuug dǔwǔg	'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: **kuà'-ⁿwiig_a'** 'current', not ***kù'om ⁿwiig** 'rope made of water.'

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

Place NPs may be predependents:

duniya ní nìn-gbiḡ	'earthly body'
kǔłig _n nó-dâug	'crayfish' ("in-the-river cock")
kù'om _n bún	'water creature'
zugú _n /teḡ _n níḡ-gbáḡḡ	'upper/lower eyelid'
mǔwǔg _n /yín bún-kó ⁿ bìd	'wild/tame animals'
Bàk díḡ	'Bawku people'
dàḡòbìḡ níḡ	'left eye'

Buligin zìḡ zi' kǔłigin yełaa.

Bùłig_n zîḡ zi' kǔłig_n yełaa_.

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 **yełá** 'about':

Kusâas kûob ne yir yełà gbàḡḡ	'a book about Kusaasi farming and housing'
dàḡ-kàḡa la yełà gbàḡḡ	'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 *bεoɔu_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 púɔɔu_n

'months in the year' S

moon.Pl year the inside_at

wabug mɔɔɔu_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 §10.9.2. Appositives follow any dependent pronouns:

dau kaŋa one ka Wina'am Siig bæε o ni
 dàυ-kàŋa ónì_ kà Wínà'am Sìγ bæε 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 zυà 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:

bυυg _a	'goat'	bυυs	'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 pɹá'-'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'-sabílíŋ_a '*Acacia hockii*' ("black thorn")
bun-gíŋ_a 'short fellow' (jocular)
bun-kúddùŋ_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'-paal _a '	'bride' (pɔ̀a' 'wife', paalíga 'new')
dàpaal _a '	'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-páalíga
tì-sabílím	'black medicine', a specific traditional remedy
tì-vonním	'oral medication' ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kuvdím	'poison' ("killing medicine")
kpa ⁿ -sɔ̀ɔ̀dìm	'anointing oil' (kpaam' '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 wîug.	'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'ari.	'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 zín'a wím wím.	'It's deep red.'
M̄ nyé fu-zín'a wím wím.	'I've seen a deep red shirt.'
Fu-zín'a wím wím bé.	'There's a deep red shirt.'
M̄ bôɔd fu-zín'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</i> or <i>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-pɔa'</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-balɛrɔg'</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'_s* '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-díbìŋ

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 ɔ̀' da be mɔ̀r o bipuɔ̀ ka kikirig dɔ̀l o.

Pɔ̀à'-ɔ̀' 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 nòhìd 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 mark Pf/Ipf aspect by flexion §5.3.1; 1Vbs are Ipf.

Tense focus §11.1.1 interacts with the interpretation of the aspects.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, it implies priority to the main clause §10.9.1; in catenation, Pfs must follow event order §10.5; 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; tense-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 s̀̀òb̀̀g 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 ỳ̀èlà.

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 tense focus, 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.'

K̀̀l̀̀ng la ỳ̀ẁ̀d.

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

K̀̀l̀̀ng 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, tense 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 §11.1.1.

9.2 Tense

For **tense focus** see §11.1.1.

Tense is expressed by mutually exclusive particles in the first slot of the VP:

dàa	day after tomorrow	sàa	tomorrow
∅	present/implicit		
pà'	earlier today	sà	yesterday
daa	before yesterday	dà	before the time of daa

The day begins at sunrise:

Fù sá gbìs wɛlá_?

'How did you sleep last night?'

2S Tns sleep how_CQ

Dà denotes time prior to daa:

Ka Yesu daa keŋ Nazaret ban da ugus o teŋ si'a la.

Kà Yesu daa keŋ Nazaret bán dà ugusó_ téŋ-si'a la.

and Jesus Tns go Nazareth 3PNz Tns raise_3A land-Idf the

'Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised.' Lk 4:16 B2

However, daa can be used for even remote past. Parallel B passages may show daa or dà, e.g. O da/daa bodigne Lk 15:24/32 B2 'He was lost.' B1/2 use daa for the usual past marker in narrative, with da mostly for "pluperfects", parentheses, background, and quoted parables or historical accounts (e.g. Acts 7:1-53 B2), but B3 and G2 use da as the default past marker.

Future tense markers do not appear with the indicative mood. They usually occur with the irrealis, but are also sometimes seen with the imperative in purpose clauses §10.7, especially if the main clause is ellipted §10.4.6.

The **discontinuous-past** enclitic n §4.4 marks "earlier today, but no longer":

M̄ ɔ̀bìdɔ_n summa.

'I was eating groundnuts.' W

1S chew.Ipf_DP groundnut.Pl

This implies "but now I'm not." Cross-linguistically, such "discontinuous pasts" frequently develop hypothetical or counterfactual meanings (Plungian/van der Auwera 2006), and this is much the commonest use of the particle in Kusaal §10.4.4.

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 ʷé' 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 §10.4.3 on 2P2 *ya*.

ʷè'εm búŋ la! 'Hit the donkey!'
hit.Imp donkey the

Da ʷé' bòn lása_! 'Don't hit the donkey!'
Ng.Imp hit donkey the_Ng

Yèlìmo_ yé ò da ɔsε_. 'Tell him not to look.'
say.Imp_3A that 3A Ng.Imp look_Ng

Kèm na_ ɔs! 'Come and look!'
come.Imp hither_+ look

Kò̀̀sìm! 'Cough!'

Da kó̀̀sε_! 'Don't cough!' (D, to a patient who just did cough, during an eye operation)
Ng.Imp cough_Ng

Da kó̀̀sìda_! 'Don't cough!' (D, before the operation, explaining what to avoid throughout)
Ng.Imp cough.Ipf_Ng

Dòllε_ní_m! 'Come (Pl) with me!'

Bée ànína! 'Be (i.e. stay) there!' S

Tense-focus *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 negative *indicative pu + bè* 'exist' always, *pu + àε'ya* 'be something' except in contrasts, and often also *pu + mɔr_a'* '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 built by a human being.'
	<i>Kà lì kú a^n nin-sâal méεbɔ_.</i>	Mk 14:58
	and 3I Ng.Irr be human build.Gd_Ng	

Zi' (variant LF *zi'isíge*) usually replaces indicative *pu + mi* 'know':

Bùŋ-baⁿ'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 ...' §10.5.4; 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 zírí nò-dí'esìdìb bání_ kenní yà saⁿ'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 *yu'un da*, 4 *da yu'un*; 15 *lɛɛ da*, 1 *da lɛɛ*.

9.4.1 Before tense markers

sadgím 'since' §10.9.1

naan 'in that case' §10.4.4

sìd 'truly'

lɛɛ 'but'

ⁿyaan/naan 'next, afterwards'

pà' tì 'perhaps'

yu'un 'next'

Ò *sìd daa á nɛ nâ'ab*.

3A truly Tns be Foc chief

'Truly, he was a chief.' W

Josua *yu'un da kudigya*.

Josua *yu'un dá kòdìg ya*.

Joshua then Tns grow.old NSb

'Then Joshua grew old.' Jo 13:1

Ka *Zugsɔb sunf nyaan yu'un ma'ae*.

Kà Zug-sób sù'f ⁿyaan yu'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')
 ʔyεε/εεⁿ 'habitually' ʔyεε tí/εεⁿ tí 'habitually' (nyii ti B1/2)
 pòn 'previously, already'

On nε o pu'a Prisila daa kudim nan yinε Room
 On né ò pu'a' Prisila daa kudim nám yi nε 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 mε da εenti bε 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 deŋim bæ.
 Piⁿ'ilúgu_n sá kà Piàⁿ'ad la dá pòn dèŋìm bæ.
 begin.Gd_at hence and word the Tns already before exist
 'In the beginning, the Word already existed.' Jn 1:1

Ò pòn ʔwè' búŋ 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 apart from 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
month-Dem_Nz come.Ipf hither the 'next month' S

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 subordinate clauses, other than unnominalised subordinate clauses which are outside the scope of the negation:

M daa pu ⁿye daɥ 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 pɥa' 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 §10.9.

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 §10.9.2 appear in all NP roles; catenative clauses as objects of e.g. ⁿye 'see', ke 'let', mìtₐ 'don't let' §10.5.4; purpose clauses §10.7 as objects of verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or adjuncts; content clauses §10.6, relative clauses with si'em and absolute clauses §10.9.1 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 gbaɥŋ láa_? 'Do you have the letter?'
 A. Εεⁿ, ìn 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 direct object becoming subject and agent suppressed; unlike anticausatives, these constructions cannot accept tense focus in the IpF §11.1.1:

Daam la nú ya. 'The beer has got drunk.'
 beer the drink NSb

Gbàṽg la sób nɛ. 'The letter is written.'
 letter the write Foc

Gbàṽg la sóbìd súṽa. 'The letter writes easily.' W
 letter the write.Ipf well

Gbàṽà 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 dògɔ_m. 'He cooked (for) me.' W
3A cook_1S

Lì màlɪsɪ_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 nùlɪsɪ_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'ɛ_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, àséɛ kà m lɛb zìⁿ'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', **ɲyae** LF **ɲyaené** 'bright' and **kasi** 'clean, pure, holy':

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 sɔa-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 ɲyae.
 let and 1P become bright

The Mampruli loanword **kasi** 'clean, pure, holy' is always construed as a predicative ideophone, except in the B3 set phrase **Sug Kasi** 'Holy Spirit.'

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 §10.9.2. 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 kéŋ 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 bàbìga.	'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 kɔ̃ba ni wusa	'and is in all my bones' Jer 20:9
kà béé m̃ kɔ̃ba 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 ʷá	'this evening'	yú'ɔŋ ʷá	'tonight'
ʷad-kánì_gàad la		'last month'	
moon-Dem_Nz pass the			
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 kpélim 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 *kpɛ* '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:

Dàɔ-sɔ' bɛ kpɛlá. 'There's a man here.'
 man-IdfA exist here

but	Wínà'am bé. Waad bé. Àláafù bé.	'God is there.' (i.e. "It'll all work out.") 'It's cold.' ("Cold exists.") 'There is health.' (greeting)
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	Ka o paae zin'igin la. Kà ò pae zi''igɪ_n la. and 3A reach place_at the	'And he reached the place.' Lk 22:40
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but	li saɲa sid paae ya. lì saɲá s̀id pàe ya. 3I time truly arrive NSb	'Its time has surely arrived.' Ps 102:13
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Many place adverbials are formed with the **locative particle**, which has the form *ni* after pronouns (*m̀ni/man ni* 'in me'), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in the SF, but enclitic *n* elsewhere:

	la'asug dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni là'asùg dɔɔdɪ_n nɛ sɹoyá nì gather.Gd house.Pl_at with road.Pl at	'in synagogues and in streets' Mt 6:2
--	--	---------------------------------------

It may precede or follow *la*: *m̀arɪ_n la* or *m̀ar 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 Paillet len yi nidibin la na Kà Paillet lém yi nidibí_n la na and Pilate again exit person.Pl_at the hither	'Pilate came out to the people again' Jn 19:4
--	--	--

	Ò bè dâ'a_n. Ò bè kɔɪɪɪ_n. Ò bè tuummɪ_n.	'He's at market.' 'He's at the stream.' '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. M̀ ná keɲ Bók. Fù yûug Bók kpeláa_?	'He's in Bawku.' 'I'm going to Bawku.' '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'; *zug_ú_n* is 'on':

téeb̀l la zúgu_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 §10.9.1.

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

Dunia dim la zi' Wina'am la zug_ɔ́ kɛ ka ba zi' tii.

Duniya dí_m lá_ zı' Wínà'am la zúg_ɔ́ kɛ kà bà zı' tı_tı_.

world ØP the_Nz Ng.know God the on_+ let and 3P Ng.know_1P_Ng

'It is because the world does not know God that it does not know us.' 1 Jn 3:1

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

òní_ keŋ zábìrì 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 kèn **ne** nóbá.

3P go with leg.Pl

'They've gone on foot.' W

Kulim **ne** sumbugusum.

Kùlim **ne** suⁿ-búgùsìm.

go.home.Imp with peace

'Go home in peace.' Mk 5:34

Dìm **ne** Wìn, da tû'as **ne** Wìnné_.

eat.Imp with God Ng.Imp talk with God_Ng

'Eat with God, don't talk with God.'

M̄ géⁿ **ne** fù.

1S get.angry with 2S

'I'm angry with you.' S

Ne 'and' coordinating NPs §8.1 is historically the same word.

Some verbs take prepositional phrases with **ne** as objects, e.g. **dɔl_a'** 'go with' in the sense 'accord with'; **lal_a'** 'be far from'; **nar_a'** 'need' in the sense 'deserve':

ka li **dɔlne** o tuma

kà lì dɔl **ne** ò tuma

and 3I accompany with 3A work.Gd.Pl

'according to his deeds' Ez 18:30

Amaa o pu **lal** **ne** tii.

Àmáa ò pu **lal** **ne** tu_.

but 3A Ng be.far with 1P_Ng

'But he is not far from us.' Acts 17:27

Fu **nar** **ne** fun na kpi.

Fù **nar** **ne** fún **na** kpi.

2S need with 2S.Nz Irr die

'You deserve to die.' Jgs 2:26

The combination **halí ne** is used with time NPs:

halí ne ziná

'until today'

Là'am ne 'together with' means 'although' with absolute clauses:

la'am **ne** on da zi' on keɲ teɲ si'a la

là'am **ne** ón **dà** zì' ón keɲ téɲ-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 ne** '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
Ì 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. The language is strictly SVO; deviations from this order always involve either preposing or dislocation. In order, before the subject slot, there may appear prepositions/coordinators, clause linkers (*kà*, *ye* or *n*), clause adjuncts, and then preposed elements. Subjects are ellipted after *n*, and sometimes after *kà*. Nominaliser particles (*̀̀* or *yà'*) follow subjects.

Most clause types require subjects. Impersonal constructions use a dummy *̀̀*:

̀̀ t̀̀. 'It [weather] is hot.'
3I be.hot

̀̀ àⁿ s̀̀. 'Things are good.'
3I be well

̀̀ nà^r kà f̀̀ kul. 'You must go home.'
3I must and 2S go.home

Dummy-subject *̀̀* is often omitted before *ka'* 'not be' §11.3 and 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

With an ellipted subject, *zi'* 'not know' means 'unbeknownst.'

See §10.4.3 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns referring to the preceding clause subject must be ellipted in catenative clauses unless the catenative is an object §10.5.4. They are usually ellipted after coordinating *kà* if no pause precedes it; in a dialogue *kà ò yél ... kà ò yél* each *ò* marks a switch of speaker. The implicature of subject change from lack of ellipsis can even override animacy marking (which is tending to break down in any case §8.2):

P̀̀' la dá' daká kà kej Bók.
woman the buy box and go Bawku
'The woman has bought a box and gone to Bawku.' W

but *P̀̀' la dá' daká kà ò kej 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, showing that this is subject pronoun ellipsis, not coordination of main-clause VPs:

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 §10.4.1.1.)

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	

The **coordinating particles** *κυυ/βεε* 'or', *àmáa* 'but' §10.3 and **prepositions** subordinating unnominalised clauses §10.8 precede all other clause elements.

Clause adjuncts follow coordinators, prepositions or linkers but precede all other constituents, including preposed elements.

Almost any time, circumstance or reason adverbial can be a clause adjunct, e.g. absolute clauses §10.9.1, *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 adverbials, 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 never appear as VP adverbials: *yà*'-clauses §10.4.4 and *sadígím*-clauses §10.9.1 appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §11.4. *Daa-sí'er(ɛ)* means 'perhaps' as a clause adjunct, but 'some day' as a VP adverbial. The preposition *àsée* 'unless' appears as a clause adjunct in purpose clauses §10.7.

Clause adjuncts can appear as LFs §4.3 (never followed by *kà*) in the case of *βεογο* 'tomorrow', *àlá mènɛ* 'likewise', *dìn/lìn zúgo* 'therefore' and *àlá zúgo* 'thus.' The corresponding SFs appear as VP adverbials, and are often preposed with *kà*. *Bɔ zúgo* as a clause adjunct is 'because', whereas *bɔ zúg kà* means 'why?' *Dìn/lìn zúg*, *àlá zúg*, *bɔ zúg* and *àlá mèn* can be *subjects* of *ké kà* 'cause that' §10.5.4.

10.2 Clause types

Summary of basic clause types and their structural possibilities:

	NSb marking	Subject ellipsis	Tense marking	Clause adjuncts	Verbless	Linking 'and'	Question/command
main	+/-	+	+	+	+	kà	+
narrative main	-	+	-	+	-	kà	-
catenative	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	kà	-
content	+/-	-	+	+	+	kà	+
purpose	-	-	+	-	-	kà	-
nominalised	-	-	+	-	-	nε	-

Prepositional clauses show the same patterns as purpose clauses.

For restrictions on focus marking see §11.1; on preposing, see §11.4.

NSb marking is absent in main and content clauses after coordinating kà §9.5.

Subject ellipsis does not occur in catenatives used as verb objects §10.5.4.

Tense marking in catenative clauses is limited to cases where the main clause is non-salient informationally (or ellipted) and itself lacks tense marking §10.5.1.

Where clause types other than main clauses or content clauses appear as questions or commands, a preceding main clause has been ellipted §10.4.6.

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 clauses see §9.6. Main clauses show NSb marking §9.5 unless coordinating kà precedes. Narrative features main clauses introduced by kà and lacking tense marking, which carry on a narrative thread; they have features suggesting a historical origin in subordinate clauses §10.4.1.1.

Subordinate clauses are either unnominalised or nominalised.

There are four unnominalised types.

Catenative clauses introduced by the particle n produce structures resembling verb serialisation, but with a wider range of use, and a complementary *subordinating* use of kà to introduce catenative clauses when their subjects or polarity differ from the main clause.

Content clauses follow ye 'that' (sometimes replaced by kà, with no other changes in construction.) They differ from all other subordinate clauses in having the same range of structural possibilities as main clauses, and in showing NSb marking.

Purpose clauses are also introduced by ye 'that' (much less often kà), 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.

Subordinate clauses may also be introduced by prepositions §10.8.

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. Clauses nominalised by *yà'* are protases of conditional clauses §10.4.4.

Subordinate clauses freely appear as components of other subordinate clauses:

Ka Yesu yu'ʊn baŋ ye si'el wusa naae ya la ka yeɪ ye
 Kà Yesu_ yu'ʊn bǎŋ ye si'el wusa náe ya lá kà yéɪ ye

and Jesus.Nz then realise that Idfɪ 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 fune ke ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.

M̄ pu b̄ɔɔd yé fù tí yéɪ beog daar ye fun_ ké kà mam Abram lieb 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)

Elasia one an Safat biig ka daa suŋid Elaja la be kpela.

Elasia ónì_ àⁿ Safat b̄iig kà daa súŋid 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

(nominalised clause formed from two coordinate clauses)

Ka sieba ten'es ye Judas n da mɔri ba ligidi kɔɔg la yela ka Yesu yet o ye o da'am
 la'abane ka ba bɔɔd malɔŋ diib dabisir la yela, bee o suŋim nɔŋdim la.

Kà sieba teⁿ'es ye Judas ñ dà mɔrí bà ligidi kóɔg 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'-bàni_ kà bà b̄ɔɔd malɔŋ d̄ɪb dàbìsìr la yéla,

3A buy.ImP goods-DemP_Nz and 3P want sacrifice eat.Gd day the about

béé ò s̄uŋim nɔŋ-d̄im 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

(coordinate content clauses within a content clause which also contains an embedded absolute clause as part of a reason-adverbial clause adjunct)

10.3 Clause coordination

In clause coordination, 'and' is **ne** with nominalised clauses, like other NPs:

On ka' sida sɔba, ne on tum tuumbɛ'ed sieba la zug

Ón ka' sídà sɔ́ba_, 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

Yà'-clauses cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause.

All other clause types express coordinating 'and' with the clause linker **kà**, after which the catenation linker **n** is dropped:

ka lin anɛ ye fu ku maali ti bɛ'edɛ nwɛnɛ tinamɛ daa pu maalif bɛ'ed si'em la
asɛɛ su'um ma'aa, **ka ye** fu yim ne sumbugusum la.

kà lin á ne yé fù kù maali_tí bɛ'edɛ_ ^wɛn ne tinámì_ daa pu máalì_f bɛ'ed

and 3I be Foc that 2S Ng.Irr make_1P bad_+ resemble with 1PNz Tns Ng make_2S bad

si'em lá àséɛ sùm má'aa, kà yé fù yím ne su^búgùsùm 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

Sogia so' kae' n tum **ka** yood o meɲa.

Sógià-sɔ' kaɛ' n tùm kà yood ò meɲá_.

soldier-IdfA Ng.exist + work.Ipf and pay.Ipf 3A self_Ng

'No soldier works and pays for himself.' 1 Cor 9:7 B1

After coordinating **kà**, all clauses lack NSb marking.

'Or' is expressed with the particles **bɛɛ** or **kuu**; in clause coordination, these particles precede all other clause elements. The linker **n** is dropped after **bɛɛ**.

Bɛɛ can link elements of almost any type:

Ba pu tum bɛɛ nwiid gumɛ.

'They do not work or spin.' Mt 6:28

Bà pu tùm bɛɛ ^wiid gúmɛ_.

3P Ng work.Ipf or spin.Ipf thread_Ng

yeli ya zanbina bɛɛ ye o na pa'al tumnyalima

yèlì_ya za^bina bɛɛ yé ò nà pa'al tùm-^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

'But' is expressed by *àmáa*. Unlike *kà* or prepositions as clause linkers, *àmáa* has no effect on NSb marking. It precedes all other clause elements:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yeI ... 'Some mocked him, but others said ...'
Kà sieba lá'o_ . Àmáa kà sieba yéI ... Acts 17:32
 and IdfP laugh_3A but and IdfP say

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem ɔɔɔ nɔɔɔ ya'asɛ?
Àmáa ón sadígím kǐí la, bɔ kà m lém ɔɔɔ nɔɔɔ yá'asɛ_?
 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

10.4 Main

Main clauses show NSb marking unless introduced by coordinating *kà*. They may be statements, questions or commands. The latter two clause types appear only as main or content clauses; when subordinate clauses are used as commands, a preceding main clause has been ellipited, along with the linker particle.

Main clauses may lack VPs: again, the only other clause type where this is possible are content clauses.

Coordination of main clauses is with *kà* 'and', *kυυ/bεε* 'or.' When the clause includes the preverbal adjunct *lɛɛ* 'but' §9.4.1, *kà* corresponds to English zero. Narrative clauses, both with and without tense marking, very frequently begin with *kà*, which generally also corresponds to zero in English.

10.4.1 Statements

Statements are the default main-clause type, and have no special marking over and above the NSb marking of all initial main and content clauses. A special case of statements are those found non-initially in narrative.

10.4.1.1 Narrative

Narrative favours long sequences of clauses coordinated with *kà* and lacking tense marking. In B narrative, main clauses without *kà* or time adverbials are usually tense-marked (> 80% in B2), but informal narrative (e.g. §13.1) lacks tense-marking in such clauses more often. On the other hand, clauses with *kà* contain tense markers only for scene-setting or for signalling disruptions in the narrative flow like flashbacks, asides or descriptions. *Àmáa* 'but' does not affect tense marking.

Ka ba paae mu'ar gbεog line an Gadara dim tejin la, ka dapa ayi' bane ka kikiris dɔlli ba yi yaadin naa tu'us o. Ban **da** tɔi hali la zug ka nidib **da** zɔt dabiem ne ban na dɔlli anina gat. Ka ba tans ye,

Kà bà pae mù'ar gbêog lìnì_ àⁿ Gadara **dím tènì_n la, kà dapá àyí bánì_ kà**
and 3P reach lake shore DemI_Nz be Gadara ØP land_at the and man.Pl two DemP_Nz and
kìkiris dɔllí_ba_ yi yáadì_n naa_ tu'usó_. **Bán dà tɔɛ halí la zúg**

fairy.Pl accompany_3P_+ exit grave.Pl_at hither_+ meet_3A 3PNz Tns be.bitter until the on

kà nidib dá zòt dábíem ne bán nà dɔllí ànína_ gát. **Kà bà táⁿs ye,**

and person.Pl Tns fear.Ipf fear with 3PNz Irr accompany there_+ pass.Ipf and 3P shout that

'They reached the lakeside at Gadara, and two men afflicted by demons came out from the tombs to meet him. They were so fierce that people feared to go past there. They shouted ...' Mt 8:28-29

Amaa ba **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 dábíem, bán dà pu níŋò_ yádda yé ò sìd

but 3P Tns fear.Ipf_3A Foc fear 3PNz Tns Ng do_3A trust that 3A truly

à ne ʸa'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 Uria's wife and Solomon beget

'David begat Solomon. His mother was Uria'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 is 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, not tense focus §11.1.1, 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 nɛ.	'And they were old.'
	and 3P Tns get.old Foc	
	Bà kùdìg nɛ.	'They're old.'
but	Kà bà kúdìg nɛ.	D explained "You're saying they're old, when he promised to give you new ones"
	Kà lì daa bóđìg nɛ.	'And it was lost.'
	and 3I Tns get.lost Foc	
	Lì bòđìg nɛ.	'It's lost.'
but	Kà lì bóđìg nɛ.	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 subordinating. Similar clauses continuing a narrative thread have been analysed as "cosubordinate" (Ross 2021, 3.1.3), and they have subordinate features in many languages, including e.g. Pana (Beyer 2006 4.8.3), Fula (Arnott 1970 p326), Wolof (Robert 2010, 1.2.4), Lumun (Smits 2017 p652), Hausa (Jaggar 2001 p162) and the Algonquian language Meskwaki (Goddard 2023 p412); cf the use of *nɛ* 'with' for 'and' with NPs §8.1. These clauses are not synchronically subordinate (Evans 2007); constituent focus is permitted (though not tense focus), clause adjuncts may be present, and subject pronouns referring to the subject of the preceding clause may be omitted in the same way as in tense-marked clauses:

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 ken_ dá' daam_ ná nu yigá kà 'nyaan

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

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 zúgo 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 kúdìg 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 tám̀m̀i ò p̀a' lá_ sà yèlò_ si'el la

and man forget 3A wife the_Nz Tns say_3A Idfl 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 b̀ɔ̀ɔd yé bà sáa dì Kum Máljak Gáadùg málòŋ d̀iib 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 §10.9.1 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 nyé_ o la, bà dà zàŋ ò taaba pis tá'_ tísò_.

3P.Nz 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 pae Haran tempuugin la ba da zin'in anina.

Kà bán dà pae Haran tɛŋ-puugú_n la, bà dà zì'in ànina.

and 3P.Nz 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 kɛn Eli san'an na.
 Bán dà ku náaf la_ nae la, bà mɔr biig la kɛⁿ Eli sâⁿ'an na.
 3P.Nz Tns kill cow the_+ finish the 3P have child the come Eli by hither
 'After 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 bæe ani nuud daam la, ka Na'ab la maligim yeI Esta ye,
 Bán dà bæé àní_ nuud daam la, kà Nà'ab la maligum yél Esta ye,
 3P.Nz 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 Zugɔɔb la gaad,
 Kà bán dà sɔⁿsɪ_ nae la, kà Zug-sób 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 teŋin na'as o.
 Ón dà pae David sâⁿ'an na la, kà ígìn teŋɪ_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

10.4.2 Questions

Content questions (except *liá* clauses §10.4.5) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §4.3. Focus-*ne'* 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 *bo* and *bo zúg* as 'why?'

Fù bôɔɔd bó_? 'What do you want?'
 2S want.Ipf what_CQ

Daɣ la ʰyé ànó'ɔnɛ_? 'Whom has the man seen?'
 man the see who_CQ

Bɔɔ_ málè_?

what_+ make_CQ

'What has happened?'

Fù áaⁿ ànô'ɔn bígà_?

2S be who child_CQ

'Whose child are you?'

Ànó'ɔnì_ ⁿyé_?

who_+ see_CQ

'Who has seen?'

Ànô'ɔn kà daɣ la ⁿyé_?

who and man the see_CQ

'Whom has the man seen?'

Fù yu'bré_?

2S name_CQ

'[What is] your name?'

Bó kà fù kúmmà_?

what and 2S weep.Ipf_CQ

'Why are you crying?'

For 'which?', the short demonstrative pronouns are used:

Fù bôɔd línè_?

2S want.Ipf DemI_CQ

'Which do you want?'

Lìnè_?

'Which one?'

Nif-kánè_?

'Which eye?'

Nin-kánè_?

'Which person?'

Note the short final LF vowels: these are content, not polar, questions.

Polar questions have the form of statements (with *nɛ́* permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by *kúu_?* 'or?' (expecting agreement), or by *béé_?* 'or?' (expecting disagreement):

Daɣ la ⁿyé bígàa_?

man the see child_PQ

'Has the man seen a child?'

M á nɛ dáùu_?

1S be Foc man_PQ

'Am I a man?'

Bà kùud ne búusèè_?

3P kill.Ipf Foc goat.Pl_PQ

'Are they killing goats?'

Fù pu wúmmàa_?

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 béè_?

man the see child or_PQ

'Has the man seen a child?'
(I expect not.)

10.4.3 Commands

For indirect commands, see §10.7 §10.6. In direct commands, 2S pronouns are deleted, and 2P moves to follow the verb directly as the liaison word *ya*:

Fù gús biig la.

2S look child the

'You (Sg) have looked at the child.'

Yà gús biig la.

2P look child the

'You (Pl) have looked at the child.'

but Gùsìm biig la!

look.Imp child the

'Look (Sg) at the child!'

Gùsìm_ϕ biig la!

look.Imp_2P2 child the

'Look (Pl) at the child!'

Da gús biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look child the_Ng

'Don't (Sg) look at the child!'

Da gús_ϕ biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look_2P2 child the_Ng

'Don't (Pl) look at the child!'

Da gúsε_!

Ng.Imp look_Ng

'Don't (Sg) look.'

Da gús_ϕyá_!

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 pɔa', 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

ka siak ye fu tikim nu'ug

'and agreed that you sign' Dn 6:7

kà sɪák yé fù tìkìm nù'ug

and agree that 2S press.Imp hand

Some speakers add *ya* redundantly in catenatives and quoted commands:

Kèmi_ na_ ɔɔsɪ_!

come.Imp_2P2 hither_+ look_2P2

'Come (Pl) and look!'

(Kèmi_ na_ ɔɔsɪ! W)

Ò yèl yé bà gòsìmi_ tenɪ_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

Gòsìma!

look.Imp

Gɔsimiya, nidib la wusa dɔl o nɛ!

Gòsìmi_yá, nidib la wúsà dɔllo_ nɛ!

look.Imp_2P2 person.Pl the all accompany_3A Foc

'Look!' All the people are following him!' Jn 12:19

10.4.4 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause protasis as a clause adjunct. 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, bó kà fù ʔyetá? 'If you look here, what do you see?' S
2S if look here what and 2S see.Ipf_CQ

Ka ligidi la ya'a pɔ'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà ligidi la yá' pò'ɔg, m̀ yá' tì 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'm̀ bà yá' pu dũ'a_n dáɔ-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_mɪ_ keŋ, m̀ ná keŋ.
2S if Irr accompany_1S_+ go 1S Irr go

M ya'a pu keŋɛ, Sɔŋid la kɔ kɛɛn ya ni naa.
M̀ yá' pu keŋé_, sɔŋid 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 pu'a, 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 **yaan** 'next, then' (though **naan** often appears for **yaan** in older texts) and from the 2Vb **naan** 'starting at ... do' §10.5.3.

Open conditional clauses contain neither **n** nor **naan**. If the main clause has present or future reference, the **yà'**-clause may correspond to either 'if' or 'when' in English, but past-reference 'when' is expressed with absolute clauses §10.9.1.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dıgı́f. 'If you agree, we'll put you to bed.'
2S if agree 1P Irr lay_2S (i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'ug kumine, alaa ti labasuŋ la mɔɔlug la anɛ zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà pu vu'ug kumi_né_, àláa tì làbà-sùŋ la
and Christ if Tns Ng revive death_at_Ng thus 1P news-good the
mɔɔlòg la á nɛ 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 tuuma, o di'ed yɔɔd. 'If a person works, they get pay.'

Nid yá' tùm tuuma, ò dì'ed yɔɔd. Rom 4:4

person if work.Ipf work.Gd.Pl 3A receive.Ipf pay

Bɛog ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.

Bɛog yá' niè, fù ná wúm ò pjà'n'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' yèlɛ_n ye, ón pu á^n nù'ug la zúg, ò ka' nín-gbij ní_.

leg if say_DP that 3A.Nz Ng be hand the on 3A Ng.exist body at_Ng

lun kú 'nyanɛ_n_ kéé_n kà ò ka' nín-gbij ní_.

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 sign 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 mɔrin taale.

Man yá' pu kee_n na_ tú'asi_ní_ba, bà naan kú mɔri_n tâalle_.

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 mɔrin su'ugɔ m nu'ugin m naan kɔunif nannanna.

M yá' mɔri_n sú'ugò m nú'ugi_n, m naan kuu_ní_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

Bɔzugɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vu'usum zin'ig, Wina'am da ku lem pian' dabis-si'a yela ya'ase.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tìsi_ní_ba vu'usím zî'ig, Wínà'am dá kù lem pja'n'

because Joshua if Tns give_DP_3P rest.Gd place God Tns Ng.Irr again speak

dábìs-si'a yélà yà'ase_.

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 be Samaria la!

M zug-dâan la yá' naan sjákì_ keŋ_ nyɛɛ_n nó-dî'es lá_ bè 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 dya'à, sáam ná du_lí.

3I if already bear stranger.Pl Irr eat_3I

'Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it.' Hos 8.7

Vocatives consist of NP + vocative enclitic §4.3, alone or beside a main clause:

M̄ diemma_, bó kà fù kúosìdà_? 'Madam, what are you selling?'
 1S parent.in.law_Voc what and 2S sell.Ipf_CQ (to a stallholder)

L̄m na, fun kanε an Sulam ten nida!
 L̄m na, fun-kánì_ àⁿ Sulam tén 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 ⁿwà 'this': zɔn ⁿwá_! 'fools!'

Some **particles** constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like báp 'wallop!'; others common to many local languages, like tò 'OK', ñfá 'well done!'

'Yes' is εεⁿ; 'no' is áyù. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus the reply to lì pù naée__? 'isn't it finished?' may be εεⁿ 'no' or áyù 'yes.'

10.4.6 Ellipsis of main clauses

In certain cases, a main clause may be partly or entirely ellipited, 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 subordinate clause is usually also ellipited. Thus with kèl kà 'let' before a catenative §10.5.4, m̄/fù bôɔd ye 'I/you want that' before a purpose clause §10.7, or m̄ t̄n̄'εs ye 'I think that' before a content clause §10.6:

M̄ gɔs nif la. 'Let me look at the eye.' (overheard)
 1S look eye the catenative

Ò sáa ⁿwè' bòn la. 'Let him hit the donkey tomorrow.'
 3A Tns hit donkey the purpose

M̄ dígìnèè_? 'Am I to lie down?' (overheard)
 1S lie_PQ purpose

Ò gòsìm tenj_n. 'She should look down.'
 3A look.Imp ground_at content

Tì pú'usìm Wínà'am. 'We should praise God.'
 1P praise.Imp God content

Lì à nε '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 anε Wina'am nid onε ki'is Zugsoɓ pian'ad la, la.

Lì à nε Wínà'am níd ònì_ kú'is Zug-sóɓ pɔ̀â'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* §11.1 and the foregrounding of other NPs with *kà* §11.4 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.

10.5 Catenative

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by *n* (see §4.4 for the various realisations of this particle.) There are many parallels with verb serialisation: for example, substituting *kà* for *n* may block specialised verb uses. Thus

M̄ daa kùos bùɗù_ tís dú'atà. 'I sold a donkey to Doctor.'

1S Tns sell donkey_+ give doctor

with *kà* for *n* means 'and gave it to Doctor.' By the criteria of Aikhenvald 2018 these are not serial verb constructions, as there is a linking particle, but these criteria have not been universally accepted, and the Toende Kusaal equivalent of *n* is in fact zero. However, adjuncts and even *kà*-clauses may appear before *n*, and negative preverbal particles may follow the linker:

Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Farisee nid ka o yu'ur buon

Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela

Kà dàɗ-ɗɔ' due n zí'e lá'asùg la nidib sísbùɗu_n, n áⁿ Farisee níd

and man-IdfA rise + stand gather.Gd the person.Pl among + be Pharisee person

kà ò yu'ur bùon Gamaliel, n áⁿ ónì_ pà'an Wínà'am wádà la yélà

and 3A name call.Ipf Gamaliel + be DemA_Nz teach.Ipf God law the about

'A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee called Gamaliel, a teacher of God's law' Acts 5:34 B2

ya sieba be kpela n ku kpil asee ba ti nye Wina'am na'am la.
 yà sieba bé kpelá n kú kpil_ àséé bà 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

Accordingly, it is preferable to take *n* + VP as a subordinate "catenative" clause (CGEL pp1176ff), with an ellipited subject coreferential with that of the preceding clause. Main and catenative clauses together constitute a "catenation."

By default, a catenative clause linked with *n* functions as an attribute of the main clause subject, like a participle or non-restrictive relative clause.

Fu zi'el nɔɔri yeɛ ye 'You have promised, saying ...' 1 Kgs 8:25
 Fù zî'el nɔɔr_ yéɛ ye
 3S set.up mouth_+ say that

Kà can coordinate clauses, including *n*-clauses §10.3. However, *kà*-clauses are very frequently subordinate, with functions clearly parallel or complementary to those of *n*-clauses: these too will be classified as catenatives. For example, although negative preverbal particles may follow *n* (as seen above), it is much more common for *kà* to replace *n* if the polarity changes:

Ka pu'a sɔ' daa bæ anina bɛn'ɛd 'There was a woman there who was sick'
 Kà puà'-sɔ' daa bæé ànína_ bɛn'ɛd Mt 9:20
 and woman-IdfA Tns exist there_+ get.sick.Ipf

but Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
 Kà dau daa zín'i Lystra 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

More often, the 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:

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ɔr buon Aneas.
 Àníná kà ò nyé dáu kà ò yu'ɔr búon 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_ mɔrì_ 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

Nɔnapaal la ka'ane wada ka ba sɔbe

Nɔ-ná-páal la ka' ne wadá kà bà sɔbe_

mouth-join.Gd-new the Ng,be Foc law and 3P write.Ng

'The new promise is not a law which has been written' 2 Cor 3:6

Ka one gur la len nye dau sɔ' ka o zɔti kenna ya'as.

Kà ònì_ gur la lé^m nye dáɔ-sɔ' kà ò zɔtì_ ken na yâ'as.

and DemA_Nz watch the again see man-IdfA and 3A run.Ipf_+ come.Ipf hither again

'The watchman again saw a man coming running.' 2 Sm 18:26

A catenative attached to the object of ^{nye} 'see' with its subject referring to the anchor may have a predicative sense, especially if the anchor is definite (all four examples, along with their translations, are from K):

M daa ^{nye} dáɔ kà ò áⁿ nâ'ab.

'I saw a man who was a chief.'

1S Tns see man tand 3A be chief

M̃ daa pu ^{nye} dáɔ kà ò áⁿ ná'aba_.

'I didn't see a man who was a chief.'

1S Tns Ng see man and 3A be chief_Ng

M daa ^{nye} dau lá kà ò áⁿ nâ'ab.

'I saw the man as a chief.'

1S Tns see man the and 3A be chief

M̃ daa pu ^{nye} dau lá kà ò áⁿ ná'aba_.

'I didn't see the man as a chief.'

1S Tns Ng see man the and 3A be chief_Ng

The 'seeing as' sense resembles the English "I saw the man being a chief."

A predicative sense is also seen in

ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

kà lâ'am màan gígìs kà bà wúm kà pjà'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

Here the catenative is probably functioning as a second, predicative object: cf

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

For catenatives as objects see further §10.5.4.

Before the non-specific subject *bà* 'they', *n* may occur instead of *kà* §8.2.

Other constructions also contain *kà*-clauses in parallel roles to *n*-clauses when there is a subject change. In the examples with specialised verbs in main clauses before catenatives §10.5.3, *kà* is bolded when it appears in constructions parallel to catenatives with *n* but involving subject change.

Negative scope, as marked by the position of the negative enclitic, usually extends over entire catenations even if there is no gapping; this is inconsistent with an interpretation as coordination (cf CGEL p791.)

Catenations are single units for focus §11.1 and tense §10.5.1; if the main clause has discontinuous-past *n*, it is usually repeated in catenatives. Polarity need not agree; moods usually agree, but after an indicative, an irrealis or imperative may express purpose:

Ka li pu yuuge ka o pu'a me kena. 'Not much later, his wife came too.'
 Kà li pu yúuge_, kà ò pɔa' mé ke na. Acts 5:7
 and 3I Ng delay_Ng and 3A wife also come hither

Sɔ' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo. 'None had the power to overcome him.'
 Sɔ' dá ka' páŋì_ ná "yaŋó_o_. Mk 5:4
 IdfA Tns Ng.have power_+ Irr prevail_3A_Ng

In catenations the main clause is often semantically subordinate §10.5.3. This sometimes occurs because the ordering of Pfs has to reflect event order:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud
 Kà Nin-sâal Bîig la ke na_ dítt 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 fupiela zi'e ba san'an.
 Kà dapá àyí yé fu-píelà_ zì'e bà sa"an.
 and man.Pl two don shirt-white.Pl_+ stand 3P by
 'Two men dressed in white were standing with them.' Acts 1:10

10.5.1 Tense marking

The clauses within a catenation agree in tense. Tense focus marking with *ne'* in the main clause applies to the whole catenation §10.5.4. Tense is marked only once; the marking is normally in the main clause, but it appears in the catenative instead when the main clause is semantically subordinate and near-empty, with a dummy subject or clause-adjunct subject, e.g.

Amaa li anε Solomon n **da** mε' yir la tis Wina'am.

Àmáa lì à ne Solomon n dá mè yir la_ tís Wínà'am.

but 3I be Foc Solomon + Tns build house the_+ give God

'But it is Solomon who built the house for God.' Acts 7:47

li ka' Moses n **da** tisi ya dikane yi arezana ni na laa

lì ka' Moses n dá tìsì_ya dí-kànì yí àràzánà ní na láa_

3I Ng.be Moses + Tns give_2P eat.Gd-Dem_Nz exit heaven at hither the_Ng

'It is not Moses who gave you the food which came from heaven.' Jn 6:32

Daasi'ere, line ke ka o **daa** yii fu san'an saja bi'ela la, anε ye fu len di'e o ya'as
ka o beε fu san'an saja wusa

Daa-sí'ere, lìnì_ ké kà ò daa yí fù sa'an sajá bi'elá la, à ne yé

perhaps DemI+ let and 3A Tns exit 2S by time a.little the be Foc that

fù lé m dí'o_ yâ'as kà ò béε fù sa'an sajá wusa

2S again receive_3A again and 3A exist 2S by time all

'Perhaps, what led to him leaving you for a short while was so that you could receive him back for all time' Phlm 1:15

Ala mεne ke ka yiiga nōnaar la **da** pu tum tuuma, ka li ya'a ka' ziim ti yii.

Àlá mènε_ ké kà yigá nó-nâar la dá pu tóm tuuma,

likewise+ let and firstly mouth-promise.Gd the Tns Ng work work.Gd.Pl

kà lì yá' ka' zum tí yí_.

and 3I if Ng.have blood then exit_Ng

'In the same way, the first promise had no effect unless blood was shed.'

Heb 9:18

Historically, constructions like these also underlie *kà*-preposing §11.4 and *n*-focus §11.1, where the original catenative expresses tense freely; see also on ellipsis of main clauses §10.4.6 and on presentational constructions §11.5.

Yè 'get dressed (in)' precedes zì'e 'be standing' to reflect event order in

Ka dapa ayi' yε fupiela 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

Nevertheless, the clauses have the same tense: the first pf is stative, just as in the present-tense *M yé ne fuug* 'I'm wearing a shirt' §9.1.

Catenatives are not used to express sequences of events (cf §10.4.1.1.) When they appear to do so, specialised verb senses or constructions are actually involved. For example, *yèl* is not an indicative but an imperative (expressing purpose) in

Ka pu'asadir la zɔɔ kuli yel o ma yidim line niŋ la wusa.

Kà pɔ̀à'-sadir la zɔɔ_ kuli_ yél ò mà yí-dím línì_ niŋ la wusa.

and girl the run_ + go.home_ + tell 3A mother house-ØP DemI_Nz do the all

'The girl ran home **to tell** her mother's family all that had happened.' Gn 24:28

Catenative clauses are formally subordinate (cf NSb marking §9.5.) However, the main clause is frequently semantically subordinate, and the clauses are often "cosubordinate" by the criteria of Foley and Van Valin 1984. In cosubordination, there must be at least one (Van Valin 2021) shared "operator"; in catenation, tense and focus are both shared. Foley and Van Valin make tense an operator at the level of the "periphery", consistent with Kusaal catenation being a nexus of *clauses*.

10.5.2 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'

M ná kad kíkirisɪ_ yis nidibí_n

Lk 13:32

1S Irr drive fairy.Pl_+ expel person.Pl_at

halí n tì pae ziná

'right up until today'

until + then reach today

Ka o gaadi kpen' Rakel dɔɔgin la mɛn.

Kà ò gáadì_ kpè'n' Rakel dɔɔgɪ_n la mɛn.

and 3A pass_+ enter Rachel hut_at the also

'He went on into Rachel's tent too.' Gn 31:33

Ò dìl_ tìg. 'She's eaten to satiety.'
3A eat_+ get.sated

Ò dìl_ gálìs. 'She's eaten too much.'
3A eat_+ exceed

Ò dìl_ nae. 'She's finished eating.'
3A eat_+ finish

Catenatives with àḗⁿya 'be' are predicative:

ka o ya'am tiaki an sù'um. 'and his mind changed for the better.'
kà ò ya'am tjàkì_ àⁿ sù'm. Mk 5:15
and 3A sense change_+ be goodness

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 Bugur. '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:

M̄ daa kùos bùŋhù_ tís dú'atà. 'I sold a donkey to Doctor.'
1S Tns sell donkey_+ give doctor

N ⁿwɛn nɛ X 'like X' (n realised as zero) can even be preposed or dislocated:

Nwɛnɛ fɔn yɛl si'em la, fu mɛ kɔ lɛn nyɛɛ ma!
ⁿWɛn nɛ fún yɛl si'em la, fù mé kú lɛm ⁿyɛɛ_ma_!
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

10.5.3 Specialised verbs before catenatives

Many verbs have "auxiliary" meanings in main clauses before catenatives.

Bè ànína 'exist there' with an IpF catenative means 'be in the process of':

Ò bè ànína n ʷê'ed biig la. 'He's currently beating the child.'
 3A exist there + beat.Ipf child the

Bòɔda 'want to' usually takes a purpose clause with **ye** §10.7, but may take a following catenative (cf also **bòɔda** + gerund 'be about to' §9.2):

Mam pu bɔɔdi basi fɔ. 'I do not want to leave you.' Dt 15:16
Mam pu bóɔdì_ básì_fɔ_.
 1S Ng want.Ipf_+ leave_2S_Ng

Gɔsim on bɔɔdi niŋ si'em nyεem taal!
Gòsìm ón bòɔdì_ níŋ si'em_ ʷyéε_m tâal!
 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

Dɔlɪa' 'accompany', **mɔɔrɔ'** 'have' before motion verbs mean 'go with', 'bring':

Bà dòllo__ kej Bók. 'They've gone to Bawku with her.'
 3P accompany_3A_+ go Bawku

Dabá àyóɔ̀ɔ̀ kà fù mɔɔró__ ke na. 'Bring her here in a week.' W
 day.Pl seven and 2S have_3A_+ come hither

Dɔlɪs' 'follow, trace, accord with' takes an object referring to a path rather than a person (also e.g. X **nóɔ̀bà** 'X's track.'). It is often metaphorical, as in 'follow an order.'

Suobɔ ka fu na dɔlɪsɛ? 'What method will you follow?'
Sɔ̀a-bó kà fù ná dɔlɪsɛ_? 1 Kgs 22:22
 path-what and 2S Irr follow_CQ

M dɔlɪsid o wada la wusa 'I follow all his law' 2 Sm 22:23
M̃ dólìsìd ò wadá la wusa
 1S follow.Ipf 3A law the all

ka zɔɔ dɔlis zɔŋguom la. 'and ran alongside the wall.' J1 2:9
 kà zɔɔ_ dɔlis zɔŋgùom la.
 and run_+ follow wall the

Ban da kaali dɔlisi ba za'as la 'those counted by their families'
 Bán dà kaalɔ_ dɔlɔsí bà zà'as la Nm 4:36
 3P.Nz Tns count_+ follow 3P compound.Pl the

Dɔlis (n yi) X nɪ/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 dɔlisid tinam san'anɛ pian'ada?
 Ò ɛɛⁿ tí pu dɔlɔsíɔ́d tɪnám saⁿ'anɔ_ pɪaⁿ'adá_?
 3A habit Ng follow.Ipf 1P by_+ speak.Ipf_PQ
 'Hasn't he also spoken through us?' Nm 12:2

Zugsɔɔb la da dɔlis o nɔdi'esidibin tis nɔɔr kaŋa.
 Zug-sɔ́b la dá dɔ̀lɔs ò nɔ-dí'esìdìbɪ_n_ tɪs nɔɔr-káŋa.
 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 dɔlis o ni ka Aram dim paam nyanjir.
 bɔ zúgo Zug-sɔ́b la dá dɔ̀lɔs ò ní kà Aram díɪm 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' dɔlisi yi man san'anɛ!
 àlá Zug-sɔ́b la pu pɪaⁿ'_ dɔlɔsɔ_ 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': nàm mi'/zɪ' before Pf catenatives mean 'have always/have never':

M̀ nàm zɪ'_ ⁿ'ye gbɪgɪmne_. 'I've never seen a lion.' S
 1S still Ng.know_+ see lion_Ng

Makir banɛ buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba mɛn.
 Makír-bàni_ buudi paadí_ya la nàm mi'_ paae 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 buŋ la zugu sig la
Kà pu'a lá_ dà naaní ò bòn 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

Nìŋ welá 'do how?' here means 'how can?':

Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pu mɔr taal Wina'am tuonne?
Nin-sâal biig nà niŋ welá_ pu mɔr tâal Wínà'am tûonnè__?
 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 niŋ wala **ka** o an David yaaŋa? 'How can he be David's descendant?'
Lì niŋ welá kà ò áⁿ David yâaŋà_? Mt 22:45
 3I do how and 3A be David descendant_CQ

M na niŋ wala **ka** nye faangire? 'How can I find salvation?' Acts 16:30
M ná niŋ welá kà nye 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_i_ wé' bòn láa_. 'I wasn't able to hit the donkey.'
 1S Ng prevail_+ hit donkey the_Ng

M kú nyan_i_ wé' bòn láa_. 'I can't hit the donkey.'
 1S Ng.Irr prevail_+ hit donkey the_Ng

wada line nyanidi ket ka nidib vœ
wadá lìnì_ nyanídì_ kèt kà nidib vœ
 law DemI_Nz prevail.Ipf_+ let.Ipf and person.Pl live
 'a law which can make people live' Gal 3:21

Sɔa' 'hide' is used for 'secretly':

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baɲidib la 'Herod secretly summoned the wise men'
Kà Nà'ab Herod sɔa'_ bûol baɲidib la Mt 2:7
 and king Herod hide_+ call knower.Pl the

Tuⁿ'eya' 'be able' is used in the indicative or irrealis to express present ability:

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paɲi na tun'e si'em
bà daa tís kà lì zemísì **bà pàɲì_** **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 ku tun'e su'a. 'which cannot be hidden' Mt 5:14
kà lì kú **tuⁿ'e_ sɔa'a_.**
 and 3I Ng.Irr be.able_+ hide_Ng

Ya na tun'e zin' teɲin la ne ti. 'You can dwell in the land with us.'
Yà ná tuⁿ'e_ zín'i teɲi_n la né tì. Gn 34:10
 2P Irr be.able_+ sit land_at the with 1P

O pu tun'e pian'ada. 'He could not speak.' Lk 1:22
Ò pu tuⁿ'e_ pɔaⁿ'adá_.
 3A Ng be.able_+ speak.Ipf_Ng

Zàɲ and **ɲɔk'** 'pick up, take' here mean 'using' (a literal instrument):

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

M̀ zánjì m̀ nú'ugù_ sɪ'ts 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 piⁿ'il_ pá'alì_ba
 and Peter begin_+ teach_3P

Tì déɲì_ tísò_ lór. 'We've previously given him a car.'
 1P precede_+ give_3A car

Amaa lin an si'em la, ti nam pu nyε ka o su'oe si'el mεkamaa.

Àmáa lín àⁿ 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

Rakel n da nyε ka on nε Jakob pu du'ad biis la

Rakel ò 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

(In cases of literal seeing, ^{nyε} also takes absolute clauses as objects §10.9.1.)

With catenatives as objects of ^{nyε}, the subject of the catenative may refer to the subject of the main clause, but in such cases it is not deleted, and the catenative is still introduced by ^{kà}, not ⁿ:

Haga da nyε ka o mɔr puug la

'When Hagar saw that she was pregnant'

Haga_ dà ^{nyé} kà ò mɔr puug la

Gn 16:4

Hagar_Nz Tns see and 3A have belly the

M zaansuŋ la puugin ka m nyε ka m zi'e Nail kɔldaug la nɔɔrin

M zàaⁿsúŋ la púugú_n kà m ^{nyé} kà m zí'e Nail kól-daug la nóɔrú_n

1S dream the inside_at and 1S see and 1S be.standing Nile river-male the mouth_at

'In my dream, I saw myself standing on the bank of the Nile' Gn 41:17

Daasi'erεε ti na ti nyε ka ti zabid nε Wina'am.

Daa-sí'erεε, tì ná tɪ ^{nyé} kà tì zábìd nε Wínà'am.

perhaps 1P Irr next see and 1P fight.Ipf with God

'Perhaps we will then find ourselves fighting with God.' Acts 5:39

This is unexpected for a catenative clause. However, ^{kà} is always used instead of ^{ye} after ^{nyε}, and all other subordinate clause types which do not have alternative forms introduced by ^{ye} are catenatives. The main clause and catenative agree in tense, as with ⁿ-catenatives and adnominal ^{kà}-catenatives §10.5.1. Accordingly, it is reasonable to regard these object clauses as also being catenatives, and their exceptional behaviour with respect to subject pronouns can be accounted for by supposing that they are underlyingly of the adnominal type, but with a preceding phonologically unrealised "fact/thing" NP serving as the anchor.

The verb **wòm** 'hear/smell/feel' behaves in a similar way to **nyε**, but only in cases where it expresses a direct physical perception of sound, e.g.

Gòsima, m wòm ka fù saam yéli fu bier Esau ye
Gòsìma, m wóm kà fù sàam yéìl 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 wòm ka nidib la maan tukpiidug ka li nwene zaba la
Kà Josua_ wóm kà nidib la mâan túkpuidúg kà ìl ^wen ne 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 wòm ka ba pian'ad bæε yet si'ela
Fù kú wóm kà bà pja^'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

Ka m li tejin ka wòm ka kukor buolim ye
Kà m lí tejì_n kà wóm 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

Wòm takes a content clause for the sense 'hear that something is the case':

M wòm ye diib bæ Egypt tejin	'I have heard that there is food in Egypt.'
M wóm ye diib bæ Egypt téjì_n	Gn 42:2

1S hear that food exist Egypt land_at

on wòm ye Lazarus ka' laafi la,	'when he heard that Lazarus was sick'
ón wòm ye Lazarus ka' láafi la,	Jn 11:6

3A.Nz hear that Lazarus Ng.have health the

Like **nyε**, **wòm** may also take an absolute clause as object §10.9.1.

Kε (irregular 2Vb §5.3.1) with a NP object means 'leave alone, leave off':

Kεi vuud.	'Leave off the noise' Mk 10:48
Kèl vuud.	(i.e. "Be quiet.")

leave.Imp make.noise.Gd

Much more often, it takes a *kà*-clause object, and then means 'let.' The catenative subject is not usually coreferential with the main clause subject, but cf

Kɛl ka fɔ mɛŋ an zanbinne tisi ba ka li yii fu tɔum suma ni.
Kɛl kà fò mɛŋ áⁿ zaⁿbɪnnɪ_ tísì_bá kà lì yíi fù tùum-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

This again suggests a phonologically unrealised anchor NP.

The mood of the catenative after *kɛ* usually agrees with the main clause, but imperative in the catenative may follow main-clause irrealis:

Ka li anɛ wada la kɛt ka tɔumbɛ'ed nyɛt paŋ.
Kà lì à né wadá la_ kɛt kà tùum-bɛ'ed nyɛt páŋ.
 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 kɛ ka ba pu nyaŋi kuv o. 'This prevented him from being killed.'
Lì dà kè kà bà pu nyangɪ_ kúo__. 2 Kgs 11:2
 3I Tns let and 3P Ng prevail_+ kill_3A_Ng

dine na kɛ ka ba da kpi'ilim. 'which will stop them dying out.' Gn 6:20
Dɪnɪ_ ná kɛ kà bà da kpi'úlɪmm__.
 3I_+ Irr let and 3P Ng.Imp finish_Ng

Imperative *kɛl*_a can be used for first/third person commands:

Kɛlɪ_ kà tì pò'us Wínà'am. 'Let us praise God.' (or *Kɛl kà ...*)
 let.Imp_2P2 and 1P greet God

Da kɛ kà dàbiem béɛ_! 'Don't be afraid.'
 Ng.Imp let and fear exist_Ng

Kɛl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving lack of NSb marking as the only sign that the clause is a command §10.4.6.

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §11.1) of *kɛ*:

Ka bɔzugɔ kɛ ka fu tumim na? 'Why have you sent me here?' Ex 5:22
Kà bɔ zúgò_ kɛ kà fù túmì_m ná_?
 and why_+ let and 2S send_1S hither_CQ

When Pf **kɛ** takes a catenative object, it can be followed by tense-focus **nɛ'**, even though **kɛ** does not in itself express a subject state change §9.1; this is because the tense focus extends over the whole catenation:

M sunsa'aŋ la kɛɛ ka m nini sɔbid
 M̄ suⁿ-sâⁿ'aŋ la kɛ́ nɛ́ kà m̄ niní sɔbíð
 1S sorrow the let Foc and 1S eye.Pl darken.Ipf
 'My sorrow is making my eyes dark' Jb 17:7

Fu zamis galisug la kɛɛ ka fu gɛɛm.
 Fù zàmìs-gàlìsùg la kɛ́ nɛ́ kà fù gɛɛ^m.
 2S learn.Gd-exceed.Gd the let Foc and 2S go.mad
 'Your excessive learning has made you mad.' (Fù gɛɛ^m nɛ. 'You're mad.')
 Acts 22:4

o kɛɛ ka m bɛ likin 'he has made me dwell in darkness'
 ò kɛ́ nɛ́ kà m̄ bɛ́ likì_n Ps 143:3
 3A let Foc and 1S exist darkness.at

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.

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.
 Mìt kà yà mâal yà tùum-sòmà nidib tùon 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

This suggests that in this use **mìt_a** is impersonal, but in content clauses and elsewhere where the subject remains before the verb, a pronoun of the appropriate person appears:

O mid ka o lɛbis bɛɛ tiaki li 'He may not take it back or change it.'
 Ò míð kà ò lɛbìs bɛɛ tjàkì_l Lv 27:10
 3A beware and 3A return or change_3I

A phonologically unrealised anchor may therefore precede **kà** in this case also. With a NP object, **mìt_a** means 'beware of' §9.3.1; it then takes 2P2 **ya** as usual.

10.6 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'ɔŋ 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-nɛ'

3P.Nz know that child the die Foc the on

Fɔnɛ siak ye fu ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fu na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?

Fɔnɛ_ sjàk yé fù yá' tì kaɛ', ò nà zi'n'iní 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 §10.5.4.

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 bɔɔdìm_ 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 pjà'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.

lìn zúg kà tì bán yé ò pu yi Wínà'am sâ'n'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 lì 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 zâ'n'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 (though their use is not compulsory):

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye **on** pu geem.

kà Festus tá'ns Paul yé ò gèè'm ne ... kà Paul lébìs ye on pu géè'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.

Daṷ dá bè_ mɔ́rí ò pɔ̀à'-yimmír, kà pɔ̀a' la ye on pu lémm bòɔd

man Tns exist_+ have 3A wife-single and wife the that 3A Ng again want.Ipf

yé ò síd la dí pɔ̀a' 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

Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2S/2P pronouns remain unaltered before the verb. The main clause may be ellipped §10.4.6.

M pu yeɪ ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yeɪaa.

M̃ pu yéɪ yé yà sòsìm Wínà'am dìn yeɪáa_.

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 yeɪ nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wadá la kú yeɪ 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 teŋɪ_n.

'She should look down.'

3A look.Imp ground_at

10.6.1 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 niñi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin

Kà nannánna yé ò niñi_bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pièlìm piâ'ad la nú'usù_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 áràzàná 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.

10.7 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, and future tense marking can occur:

Ti pu bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pu bɔɔd ye dáɥ-kàŋa áaⁿ 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'ɛŋa niŋɛ ye ti da ti'e ti meŋ panga.

Ne'ɛŋa níŋ ne yé tì da tí'e tì meŋ páŋa_.

DemI do Foc that 1P Ng.Imp rely 1P self power_Ng

'This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength.' 2 Cor 1:9

O niŋ ne'ɛŋa ye nid ku nyanji du'us o meŋ Wina'am tuonne

Ò niŋ ne'ɛŋa ye nid kú ⁿyanji_ du'usí 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.

Ban bɔɔd ye ba **saa** di Kum Maliak Gaadug maluŋ diib la.

Ban bɔɔd yé bà sáa dì Kum Máljak Gáadùg málùŋ dìib la.

3P want.Ipf that 3P Tns eat death angel pass.Gd custom food the

'As they wanted to eat the Passover meal the next day.' Jn 18:28

Purpose clauses may consist of subclauses coordinated with *kà*:

M̄ bɔɔd ye dau la keŋ dá'a_n, kà pɥa' 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 *bɔɔd_a* '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 niñid ala. 'I must do that.' 1 Cor 9:16 B2
Lì à ne tilás kà m níñìd 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 pu'a la du'á' 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 yíib 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 **bòòd ye** may be ellipted §10.4.6, 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 sjàk ye pu'ab pà'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 zàbe_.

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, àséé 'unless' means 'necessarily':

Nannanna tum ka ba mɔr o na, ka asee o kpi!

Nannáanna, tùm kà bà mɔró_ na, kà àséé 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 gbaⁿ'e yé àséé 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

Àséé kà fù kpí.

unless and 2S die

10.8 Prepositional

All prepositions §9.7.3 other than *ne* 'with' may be used as subordinators before unnominalised clauses, preceding any linkers.

Wuu 'like' does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wuu ya ane m biis ne.

M̀ pjàⁿ'adi_ tísìdì_ yá wúu yà á né m̀ biis ne.

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

Àséé appears alone or before *kà* in the meaning 'unless':

Ti ku zin'ine asee o ti paae na.

'We will not stop until he arrives.'

Tì kú zìⁿ'iné_ àséé ò tí pae na.

1 Sm 16:11

1P Ng.Irr sit_Ng unless 3A then arrive hither

M ku basif ka fu keŋε aσεε ka fu niŋi m zug bareka.
 M kú basí_f kà fù keŋé_ àσεέε kà fù níŋì ìm zug bárikkà.
 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.'
 Tì nwá'a_lɪ halí_ pae Nofa. Nm 21:30
 1P strike_3I until_+ reach Nophah

Ala ka ba aεn hali ti paae zina. 'Thus they are up until today.' Jo 9:27
 Àlá kà bà áεⁿ halí_ tì pae ziná.
 thus and 3P be until_+ then reach today

Zugsɔb la da κε ka kukɔm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.
 Zug-sób la dá kè kà kùkòm bân'as gbaⁿ'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 not a subordinator but a focusing modifier §11.2.

10.9 Nominalised

Clauses can be nominalised by inserting ñ §4.4 (Toende Kusaal ne) after the subject. (See also §8.2.1 for clause *personalisation* after à.)

Tense marking is independent, though 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-bání_ pu dítt ná kpi. 'People who don't eat will die.' W
 person-DemP_Nz Ng eat.Ipf Irr die

but M nyé nin-bání_ pu díta_. 'I've seen people who don't eat.' W
 1S see person-DemP_Nz Ng eat.Ipf_Ng

10.9.1 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 §10.4.1.1 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 máliak 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 yeŋi ba ...

'As they were eating, Jesus told them ...'

Kà bán dít la, Yesu yeŋì_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'om la maligim paasid

Duúbì_ dà ka' la ké kà kò'm la máliḡim páasìd

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 zúa la á ne mán pu sá'amìdí 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 dítí bà ki láa_.

and also Ng eat.Ipf 3P millet the_Ng

'What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property or eating their millet.' G1 p20

Absolute clauses may appear as objects of *nyε* 'see' and *wòm* 'hear':

ka len wum fun basi fu ba' nε fu ma nε fu teŋ ka kena zin'in nε nimbane ka' fu buudii.

kà lé̄m wòm fún bàsì fù ba' né fù mà né fù téŋ kà ke na_

and again hear 2S.Nz leave 2S father with 2S mother with 2S land and come hither_+

zî'n'in nε nin-bánì_ ká' fù buudii_.

sit.down with person-DemP_Nz Ng.be 2S kind_Ng

'and also heard that you left your father and mother and country and came to settle with a people who are not your own tribe.' Ru 2:11

An absolute clause used as an object may have 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

This is common with objects of *nyε* 'see', probably reflecting the fact that in seeing an event one also sees the participants (cf CGEL p1205):

Ka m gat ka nyε fun digi fu ziimin la bilim.

Kà m gát kà nyε fún digí fù ziumí_n la_ bílim.

and 1S pass.Ipf and see 2S_Nz be.lying 2S blood_at the_+ roll

'I was passing and saw you lying and rolling in your blood.' Ez 16:6

Mam nyε nidibi la'asi kenna.

Mam nyé nidibí_ là'asì_ken na.

1S see person.Pl_Nz gather_+ come.Ipf hither

'I see people coming in a group.' 2 Kgs 9:17

Zaansunjin la ka m nyε man zi'e Susa tempuugin

Zàa'súnjín lá kà m nyε mán zì'e Susa téŋ-puugú_n

dream_at the and 1S see 1S.Nz be.standing Susa town_at

'In the dream I saw myself standing in Susa' Dn 8:2

Nidib la nyε waaf la ga' o nu'ug la

Nidib lá_ nyε wáaf lá_ gá' ò nû'ug la

person.Pl the_Nz see snake the_Nz hook.into 3A hand the

'When the people saw the snake hanging from his hand' Acts 28:4

Absolute clauses also appear after prepositions §9.7.3:

bɔzugɔ m ku maal si'ela hali nɛ fun na ti paae anina.
 bɔ zúgɔ̀ m̀ kú maal si'ela_ halí nɛ fún nà tí páe ànína.
 because 1S Ng.Irr do Idfl_Ng unitl with 2S,Nz Irr next reach there
 'because I will not do anything until you arrive there.' Gn 19:22

They commonly appear before the postposition *zugɔ́* 'because of' §9.7.2.4:

o suunr da san'am on maal ninsaal la zug.
 ò suuʳ dá sàʳ'am ón màal nin-sâal la zúg.
 3A heart Tns spoil 3A.Nz make human the on
 'he was sad because he had created humanity.' Gn 6:6

In B, they caption pictures and precede *yélá* 'about' in section headings:

Ban meed yir 'A house being built' B2
 Bán m̀èed yir
 3P.Nz build.Ipf house

Paul n bɛ Malta la yɛla 'Paul on Malta' B3
 Paul n b̀è Malta la ỳélà
 Paul Nz exist Malta the about

The preverbal adjunct *sadigím* 'because, since' appears only after *yà* 'if' or *ñ*:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...
 Ò yá' sadigím áʳ Naazir níð, on míð kà ò dí ...
 3A if since be Nazirite person 3A beware and 3A eat
 'Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ...' Nm 6:4

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
 Àmáa ón sadigím kpí la, b́ kà m̀ lém lɔɔd 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

10.9.2 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'buŋa 'Nicodemus, who had come to Jesus by night' Jn 19:39; Agolle Nikodemus, one da keŋ Yesu san'an yu'buŋ 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 kane biigi vœ la	'the woman whose child was alive'
pu'à'-kànì_ biigí_ vœ 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 bane wusa ken teŋin la.	'all living things which go on the land'
bun-vúyà bánì_ wusa ken teŋi_n la.	Gn 1:28
thing-live.Pl DemP_Nz all go.Ipf ground_at the	

Ka niŋgbij kane me kpiid na gaad	'And also the body which dies will pass'
Kà niŋ-gbij-kànì_ mè 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 kumi_n la zúg	
3A.Nz revive person-Dem death_at the on	
'because he has raised that person from death' Acts 17:31	

Wina'am 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 baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la 'like a trap seizes something'
 wuu baŋí_ gbaⁿ'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 ziiŋ si'a yiiga la 'the first fish you catch' Mt 17:27
 fún gbaⁿ'e ziiŋ-sí'a yiigá la
 2S.Nz catch fish-Idf firstly the

but Paul n sob gbaunŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.
 Paul_ñ sob gbáunŋ yiigá dàan n tìs Korint dí^m la_ⁿwá.
 Paul_Nz write letter firstly owner + give Corinth ØP the_this
 'This is the first letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians.' (B2 heading)

NPs comprising/containing non-subject heads are often preposed with *kà*;
 resumptive pronouns appear for indirect objects, occasionally animate direct objects,
 and heads extracted from NPs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses.

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vu'ug o kumin la
 puà'-kànì_ bíig kà Elasia dá vu'ug kumí_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 tí^sò_ 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_bán 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 fù 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 gbinneɛ?
 Yà bán 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

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

yeitɔɔd ayɔɔɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔɔɔi mɔɔr la

yel-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 Zugɔɔb pian'ad la

Wínà'am níd ònì_ kí'is Zug-sɔɔb píâ'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 síd 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

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:

Àn'òṅì_ kaburídà_?

who_+ ask.entry.Ipf_CQ

'Who is asking permission to enter?'

An'òṅ yaangi aan o?

Àn'òṅ 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 tense focus where possible §11.1.1; otherwise, it precedes focused VP constituents, or follows the entire VP to focus the verb.

Ne' cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike *ne* 'with', it never precedes bound pronouns, and need not precede a NP. It cannot appear in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses (except in embedded content clauses), or content questions:

M̄ zugu_ zábìd.

1S head_+ fight.Ipf

'My head is hurting/hurts.'
(Where is the pain?)

M̄ yí ne Bók.

1S exit Foc Bawku

'I come from Bawku.' S

but Meeri one yi Magdala
Meeri óṅì_ 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 gósid! 'I'm looking!' in response to Fù gósid néé_? 'Are you looking?' or Gòsìm! 'Look!'
 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 Suḡ.
 Fù pu má' n tís nin-sáala_, àmáa fù má' n tís ne Wínà'am Sí-sùḡ.
 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 mentioned, but not their relationship)
 3P be Foc Pz Apam child.Pl

This is common with nominalised clauses as arguments.

Location at a known place may be new information:

M̂ yí nɛ Bók. 'I come from Bawku.' S

1S exit Foc Bawku

Bè 'exist' with a focused place adverbial means 'be somewhere':

Dà̀-̀sɔ́' bé dɔ́-kà̀ŋa la pú̀ɔ̀ɔ̀_n. 'There is a man in that hut.'

man-IdfA exist hut-Dem the inside

but **Ò bè nɛ dɔ́-kà̀ŋa la pú̀ɔ̀ɔ̀_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 nɛ mɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀_n.

1S exist Foc grass_at

The object of **à̀ɛ̀ⁿya** 'be ' in ascriptive sense is usually new information, focused with **nɛ́** if possible, but in specifying, the subject is usually focused instead:

Ò à nɛ baaⁿlímm. 'She is quiet.'

Lì à nɛ bugɔ́sígá. 'It's soft.'

M̂ á nɛ dɔ́'atà. 'I'm a doctor.' (What do you do?)

Manɔ́_ áⁿ dɔ́'atà la. 'I'm the doctor.' (Which is the doctor?)

Manɔ́_ áⁿ dɔ́'atà àmáa fun pu á̀ɛ̀ⁿya_. 'I'm a doctor but you aren't.'

1S_+ be doctor but 2S Ng be_Ng

Nɔ̀bibisi a mam disuŋ. 'Chicks are my favourite food.' G1 p13

Nɔ̀-bí̀bì̀sì_ áⁿ mam dí-sùŋ.

hen-small.Pl_+ be 1S food-good

Focus on an argument under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̂ ka' dɔ́'ataa_. 'I'm not a doctor.'

M̂ ka' nɛ dɔ́'ataa_. 'I'm not a *doctor*.' (I'm a nurse.)

11.1.1 Tense focus

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, *nɛ'* by default marks *tense 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 the English progressive aspect (CGEL pp125ff.) With event Pfs, the time referred to and the time of the situation coincide, and tense focus is not possible: thus with Pfs which cannot express a subject state change, *nɛ'* never focuses tense. With stative Pfs, however, because the state *follows* the verb action, tense focus regularly appears whenever the clause structure permits (see above.)

Güldemann 2003 shows that progressive marking has often arisen from predicate focus cross-linguistically, and Hyman and Watters 1984 discuss analogous phenomena in many African languages. However, despite the translation equivalents in English, tense focus is not structurally part of the aspect system in Kusaal: this is apparent from the fact that even in the imperfective aspect alone, the same construction also expresses temporal restrictions which cannot be considered progressive, such as propensities or states obtaining over a limited period. Moreover, tense-focus *nɛ'* is subject to just the same exclusions from clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses and content questions as constituent-focus *nɛ'*, and tense-focus and constituent-focus *nɛ'* cannot occur together in a single clause. Again, the effect of tense focus on the interpretation of imperfectives and perfectives is somewhat different, in a way which is difficult to subsume under a single aspectual label.

Some other Western Oti-Volta languages have two distinct particles corresponding to Kusaal focus-*nɛ'*. Thus, Mampruli has both *ni* and *la*; however, they do not differ in marking tense versus constituent focus, but purely in their position within the VP, with *ni* being VP-final and *la* appearing elsewhere:

<i>Ba diri ni.</i>	'They are eating.' (Kusaal <i>Bà dīt nɛ.</i>)
<i>Ba diri la sa'abu.</i>	'They are eating porridge.' (Kusaal <i>Bà dīt nɛ sa'ab.</i>)

If the VP is negative, or if *nɛ'* appears, but separated from the verb by free words, or if *nɛ'* is excluded by the clause type, there is no formal distinction between event and stative uses of the Pf or between habitual and progressive uses of the IpF:

<i>Ò zàbìd.</i> 3A fight.Ipf	'He fights.'
<i>Ò zàbìd nɛ.</i> 3A fight.Ipf Foc	'He's fighting.'

but	Ò pu zàbìda_.	'He's not fighting/doesn't fight.'
	3A Ng fight.Ipf_Ng	
	Ò kùosìdì_bá nɛ.	'She's selling them.'
	3A sell.Ipf_3P Foc	
	Ò kùosìd nɛ summa la.	'She is selling the groundnuts.'
	3A sell.Ipf Foc groundnut.Pl the	
but	Ò kùosìd summa la nɛ.	'She <i>sells/is selling</i> the groundnuts.'
	3A sell.Ipf groundnut.Pl the Foc	(constituent focus: "They're not free.")
	B́ kà ò kùosìdà_?	'What does she sell/is she selling?'
	what and 3A sell.Ipf_CQ	
	Ò kùosìd b́_?	'What does she sell/is she selling?'
	3A sell.Ipf what_CQ	

Ambiguity between tense and constituent focus is reduced by the fact that many verb forms cannot accept tense-focus marking. The VP must be indicative, so e.g. *Gòsìm nɛ!* 'Look!' (i.e. Don't touch! W) has constituent focus. Only Pfs able to express a subject state change can be stative, so the focus must be on constituents in

Ḿ dá' nɛ búŋ.	'I've bought a <i>donkey</i> .'
1S buy Foc donkey	(What have you bought?)
Ò dīgìl nɛ.	'He's <i>laid it down</i> .'
3A lay Foc	(I thought he'd pick it up.)

Nɛ' may appear after *kɛ* 'let' by "raising" from following catenatives §10.5.4. Tense-unmarked Pfs in narrative cannot be interpreted as stative §10.4.1.1. As stances are not states in Kusaal, stance inceptives cannot form stative Pfs:

Ò dīgìn nɛ.	'He's <i>lain down</i> .'
3A lie Foc	D: "Someone calls at your house; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."

Constituent focus is used idiomatically in *ò zì'en nɛ* 'she's pregnant.'

Relationship and quality verbs, and Ipfs of verbs in the middle construction §9.7.1 do not accept progressive or multiple-event readings (cf CGEL pp167ff on analogous limitations on the use of the English progressive aspect.) Here, tense 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.
3I be.beautiful Foc
'It's *beautiful*.' (I did not expect that.)

M̀ mór nɛ pɔa'.
1S have Foc woman
'I have a woman.'
(implies an irregular liaison, W)

Daká la zá' nɛ.
box the hand.carry Foc
'The box gets carried in the *hands*.'
(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."

M̀'ar la daa zúlì m nɛ.
lake the Tns be.deep Foc
'The lake *was* deep.'
(Now it's shallow. W)

Lì daa á nɛ súɔa.
3I Tns be Foc well
'At the time, it was good.' W
(Lì daa á' nɛ súɔa. 'It was good.' W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with tense focus:

Na'-síebà ʒ'̀bìd nɛ mɔɔd la.
cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl the
'Some cows are eating the grass.'

but Niigí ʒ'̀bìd nɛ mɔɔd.
cow.Pl chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl
'Cows eat grass.'
(What do cows eat?)

As manner nouns, *sùŋa'*/*sùm* 'well', *be'ed* 'badly', *sìdà* 'truly' are intrinsically focused, as are the number forms *àyíŋa'* 'two', *àtáŋa'* 'three.' When *ne'* precedes a NP containing them, it must be focusing tense, and even relationship or quality verbs without time marking in the clause are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

Lì àⁿ sùŋa/be'ed.

3I be well / badness

'It's good/bad.'

o sariakadib a sum ne sida.

ò sàríyà-kadɪb áⁿ sóm ne sídà.

3A law-drive.Gd be good with truth

'His judgment is good and true.'

Rv 19:2 B1

but *Lì à ne sùŋa.*

3I be Foc well

'It's good.' (Now; it wasn't before. W)

M̃ mór ne biisá àtáŋa.

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."

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.

Ò pɹa' mé ké na.

3A wife also come hither

'His wife also came.' Acts 5:7

bɔzugɔ o ane fu biig men.

bɔ zúgɔ ò à né fù biig mén.

because 3A be Foc 2S child also

'Because he is your child too.' Gn 21:13

It may focus subject pronouns ellipted after *kà* or catenating *n*:

Mane maal Israel, ka me aan ya na'ab.

Manɹ_ mâal Israel, kà mé áaⁿ 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

ƚƚ 'just, exactly': e.g. **dàa-kàn la ƚƚ** 'that very day', and

Fu ya'a mɔr ya'am, fun ƚƚ na dii li malisim.

Fù yá' mɔr ya'am, fun ƚƚ ná dí lì malísím.

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

k̀t̀àa LF **k̀t̀àanè** '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

g̀llimm LF **g̀llimnè** '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'ẹ̀ 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 t̀ə́ halí [béð̀òg]. '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 zì la
 even together with 3A.Nz Ng.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔ́bi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pu sɔ́bi li ...
 halí nɛ mán daa sɔ́bɛ_ tísì_ya si'em la, m daa pu sɔ́bɛ_lɛ ...
 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 ʷwá ...
 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 t̀òm-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 bɛ suorɛ_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 zó kà básì_f, man kú basɛ_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 §10.9.2 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 ellipted, 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:

Zaansuŋ sɔb la nwana kenna! 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
 Zàaⁿsúŋ sɔb 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'bn yit vɔnt banɛ ka ba daa su'a la ni na yu'us.
 Hibiru dí̀m la_ⁿwá yu'bn yít vɔnt bání_ 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 onɛ_la.
 3I be Foc 3A_that

Li anɛ Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zugsɔb pian'ad la, la.
 Lì à nɛ Wínà'am ní̀d ò̀nì_ kú'is Zug-sɔb pîâⁿ'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 pun bæ yin ka yel si'em la nwaa?

Zug-sóba, 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' nimbanε ka fu 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 nε* is normally ellipted §10.4.6:

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 tɔumbε'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ "wáa_ yisid nidib tɔum-bε'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

Onɔ_lá kà fù daa nyet. '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'alògò_ "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*. Preposing is only possible in main and content clauses, and in relative clauses, where it is frequently used to bring heads to the beginning of the clause §10.9.2.

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 bûud-bànì_ ka' Jew díɪm la yéìà.
 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

Aseɛ linɛ an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àséé lìnì_ àⁿ be'ed má'aa kà m ná tuⁿ'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 áⁿ 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 fù 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-bɔ-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 yuma piisnaasi la?
Kà ànɔ'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am sú'f 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

Bɔ 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

'Wadísá àtá' 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 §10.9.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán nwè dâu lā zûg kà pōlis gbá' m̄.
Mán 'nwè' dâṽ la zúg kà pōlis gbá'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 in main/content clauses; it does not use *kà*, and resumptive pronouns are compulsory:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wíl-kà̀nì_ bèè m̀ ní kà pu wénna_, m̀ Ba' ʷá'adì_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'εr ye o na λεbis line zu'oe.

Ònì_ kà bà tí̀sò_ kà lì zú'e, bà m̀ m̀r pú-tè^n'εr yé ò nà λεbis línì_ 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 ... tí̀sìd gbáŋ-kaŋa Wínà'am ní̀dìb bà̀nì_ à^n sí̀dà dí̀m

1S Paul give.Ipf book-Dem God person.Pl DemP_Nz be truth ØP

kà á^n 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. §10.4.4.)

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:

M̀ pù'us ya béd̀d̀gu.

1S greet NSb much

'Thank you very much.'

Ya yidigya bēdegū.

Yà yídìg ya béd̀d̀gu.

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 §10.5. 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 sɔ'oe li. 'It is his wife who owns it.' 1 Cor 7:4
Lì á né ò pɔa' sù'ɔ_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.
Zì'_ 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 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

11.5 Presentational constructions

A number of constructions are employed to introduce new entities into discourse. The NPs referring to the entities are, naturally, characteristically indefinite; in this context the absence of the article *la'* typically reflects an indefinite but specific rather than generic reference §8.7.3. The NP head may (but need not) be followed by an indefinite postdeterminer pronoun or postdetermining number.

The verb *bè* 'be somewhere/exist' is frequent in presentational clauses, often with a following catenative clause §10.5:

Pu'a sɔ' da bɛ mɔɾ o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.

Puà'-sɔ' dá bè_ mɔ́r ò bi-púŋ kà kìkirig dɔlló_.

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.

Dau dá bè_ mɔ́rì ò puà'-yimmír.

man Tns exist_+ have 3A wife-single

'There was a man who had one wife.'

G2 p26

Dapá àtá' n dá bè.

man.Pl three + Tns exist 3P

'There were once three men.'

The introduction of a second new entity as possessed by the first in the first two examples is a common pattern: it reflects the fact that pronoun possessors do not of themselves make a possessed noun definite in Kusaal §8.7.3.

Other verbs expressing location can introduce the subject as a new topic, and verbs of finding, seeing etc can introduce their objects in a similar way:

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dau daa zín'i Listra 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

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyɛ 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

Presentational constructions using catenatives resemble clefting constructions §11.4 in a number of respects. For example, a change of polarity from positive to negative with n-catenations is unusual: a kà-catenation is generally substituted §10.5. However, such a change does appear in e.g.

ya sieba be kpela n ku kpil asee ba ti nye Wina'am na'am la.
 yà sieba bé kpelá n kú kpil_ àséé bà tí nye 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

This probably reflects an information structure in which the catenative is more salient than the main clause, as also with clefting and analogous constructions, where the main clause is, for example, a colourless 'It is X' or 'It is not X.' Because of their low information content, such main clauses are often subject to ellipsis, either of a dummy subject pronoun §10.1 or of the entire main clause along with the linker particle introducing the catenative §10.4.6. In such constructions, the markers of tense and/or focus which usually appear in the main clause and are "inherited" by the catenative may be instead be transferred to the catenative clause itself §10.5.1, e.g.

Amaa li anε Solomon n da mε' yir la tis Wina'am.
 Àmáa lì à nε Solomon n dá mè yir la_ tís Wínà'am.
 but 3I be Foc Solomon + Tns build house the_+ give God
 'But it is Solomon who built the house for God.' Acts 7:47

Beside these presentational constructions which are typical of narrative, in everyday conversation new entities are often introduced using focusing deictics, often in clefted clauses, where again the main clause is very liable to ellipsis §11.3.

Li anε Wina'am nid onε ki'is Zugsoɓ pian'ad la, la.
 Lì à nε Wínà'am níd ònì_ kɪ'ɪs Zug-sóɓ piã'n'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 Zaansuɲ soɓ la nwana kenna! 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
 Zàaⁿsúɲ sóɓ la_wána kén na! Gn 37:19
 dream ØA the_this.here come.Ipf hither

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.)

Nintan ń wẹlá_?

daytime be how_CQ

'How is the day/afternoon?'

Yú'un ń 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 béé_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_ òa búdáalim lá'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 sìd dùè_ òa sù'us ñe zán'anà ñe tí-daad ñe piemá ñe lô'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'nìl_ 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 giligí àlá nε "wadísá àtán' nε dábìsà àtán'. Bà pu "ye nid_ ná kuv_. 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 nε ken nε ken. Dabá ànu dâar bà "ye nε 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 nε, kà bà kpeε"m la yé bà kém_ kúo_, yé ò scb yá' pòn tú"e kà mɔr nε
 like person like and 3P elder the that 3P go.Imp_+ kill_3A that 3A ØA if already be.able and have Foc
 láúk-si'a wusa, bà nà "yan_ kúo_. Kà òɲa giɲɪd kpe, kà òɲa giɲɪd kpe,
 item-Idf all 3P Irr prevail_+ kill_3A and DemA intercept.Ipf there and DemA intercept.Ipf there
 bà tì ken_ pae_ "yé kà lì ka' nidá_, kà á nε 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 pudɪg nε.
 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 pudɪg
 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 messenger 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 to send one of
 them so he could go and buy a jug so they could drink.'

Biig lá_ ken la, ò tɛ"εsìd nε ón nà niɲ si'em_ ku bánì_ kpèlìm àní na la, kà
 messenger the_Nz go.Ipf the 3A think.Ipf Foc 3A.Nz Irr do how_+ kill DemP_Nz remain there the and
 vée ligidi la wúsà wusa n su'e, ò yèlí ò mɛɲ ye, ò nà da' nε daam, kà bó tì-kuvdíɪm
 gather 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-kuvdíɪm n lós.
 and truly buy beer the and seek medicine-killing + immerse

'As the delegated one 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_ kpè̀lím la mé gbaⁿ'e ne yé bà ku biig lá_ keŋ
 Ng.know_Ng and 3P two the_Nz remain the also grab Foc that 3P kill messenger 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 messenger the_Nz have beer the_+ reach hither the
 kà òŋa kjà' kpe, kà on kjà' 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 kpé̀lím kpi zìⁿ'-kàn la nɔ́ 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 one who went to buy the beer and keep the money themselves. When he 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 bee túm be'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 geogu_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 zuoru_n. (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

stone.Pl gather.Ipf Foc hill_at

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À wjak sɛo^{ng} zɪ' sínne_.

Pz hatch rainy.season Ng.know hawk.Pl_Ng

'Hatched-in-the-rains doesn't know hawks.'

(Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pu ^{nyɛ} saa kúubɔ_, kà ^{nyɛ} saa níib.

Ng see rain threaten.Gd_Ng and see rain rain.Gd

'Didn't see the rain coming, did see the rain.'

(Wise after the event.)

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree.

À di'e buud pu zín'i ná'-yiré_.

Pz receive innocence Ng sit chief-house_Ng

'Declared-innocent doesn't loiter in the court.'

(Quit while you're ahead.)

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.

Mɔɔdɪ_ pílig kà yu'ada bé.

grass.Pl_+ strip.off and rafter.Pl exist

'The thatch is off but the rafters remain.'

(Where there's life there's hope.)

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

Bà ye balerug, kà fù ye zug-máuk.

3P that ugly and 2S that head-crumpled

'They say "ugly", you say "squashhead."'

(Six of one ...)

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 pu kaasídí ò tirâan tɛŋi_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 pu 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.

Kpɛɛ^m á ne tɛ'ɛg, ò tìgìd 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 támpì'ng sî'nd, fù pɔ léɪm zòt líɛŋ dâug ʔyɔɔgɔ́_.

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 ʔyɛtí 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 ꞖꞖꞖg.

baas ká'e_ kà ʳwaamɪs di'e ꞖꞖꞖg.

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 pè'el nɛ.

little little and river fill Foc

'Little by little, a river is full.' W

(Hausa *Dà yayyafii kòogii kàn cìka.*)

Bùḡ-baʳad 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' t̩ɪmm_.

Pz Tns say Ng.be medicine_Ng

'Did-say is no remedy.' W

(No use crying over spilt milk.)

À ʳye nɛ nif sɔʳ'ɔ à wòm t̩bà.

Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears' W

(Seeing is believing.)

À zì' kɔ́ nàm kɔ́id né kà téʳbìd.

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 nɛ yi-dâan áʳsìb.

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 teŋin, 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 ɔɔ o ne banaa. Ba da ɛenti nɔkne bana ɔɔ 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-dóllìb ke na_ pae Gerasene téŋɩ_n, Galile mú'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 óní_ 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 'nyaŋɩ_ 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_ lóɔ 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' páŋɩ_ ná 'nyaŋó_o_. Nintaŋ ne yú'ɔŋ wusa, ò gɔɔ'nɔ

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 óní_ ka' tɹâan 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 dáú-kàŋa sâ'n'an na." Nε'εŋa 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 daú la lébìs ye, "M̀ yu'urì_ b́uon Bábìga, bɔ zúgɔ, tì gálìs 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 t́ɛŋ-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 daú la ní_ ḱpè^n kùkur-nám_ n la. Kà bà wusa zóó_ sig bεoŋí_ 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 t́ɛŋ-puugú_ n nε t́ɛŋ-kpεmisi_ n_ t́ô'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 dàú-kàni_ kà kíkiris daa dóló_ 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'eon 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. Ligid 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-kà̀nì_ 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 m̀òr gbín yinní yâ'as, ⁿwen wuu bun-túgùdà_ m̀òr ikku-kà̀nì_ nà
 but power also again have bottom one again resemble like firewood_+ have force-Dem_Nz Irr
ⁿyaṅi_ dug duib, bæe kpaam-kà̀nì_ 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 b̀òd pánjì tì vum púogv_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-kà̀nì_ kà tì m̀òr la_ túm ne yam, kà da m̀òrì_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 túb̀lòg 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 m̀òr 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'n'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'n'e_ sâ'am niní. Tè'esím 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'n'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'nì niní nu_. Lì mè bɔɔd yé fù ɛɛ' tɪ màalì_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'nì. Bùgúm zî'ɔɔ mè kèt né kà dà'n'aj la ne dugud bæe laas wusa si'
 and 3I happen_+ be.beautiful fire charcoal also let.Ipf Foc and hearth the with pot.Pl or dish.Pl all stain
 ne vugulím. Dub dúgùb mè yúugid halí bɔ zúgù 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'n'ed dâad bæe saana dá'abì_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 zúgù 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 charcoal from 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.'

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;

certain nouns referring to animals are always preceded by à, e.g.

dàalúŋ, dàalís/dàalímìs dàalúŋ- stork;

gâuŋg, gâa'd gaⁿ- pied crow;

kɔra-díem_{ma} kɔra-díem-nàm_a mantis;

mús mús-nàm_a cat (Hausa *mussàa*)

à nɛ see àɛⁿya

aaⁿdɪg_a aaⁿdɪs àaⁿd- black plum tree,

Vitex doniana

aaⁿdɪr aaⁿda black plum

àa^s 2Vb tear

àbùlá Qf how many-fold?

àɛⁿya 1Vb be something/somehow

àeⁿ 2Vb get torn

àgólí/àgólá upwards

àlá Pn thus; Qf so many; how many?

àláafù (in greetings) health (cf *láafiyà*)

àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (English)

àmáa Pt but §10.1 (Hausa *ammaa*)

àmɛɲá really, truly

àmí Pt amen (Arabic *āmīn*)

àní/ànína' Pn there

àníŋa' promptly

ànô'ɔn Pn who?

àntù'a àntùà'- 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

a^s 2Vb pluck leaves

àséɛ Pt except for §9.7.3

áⁿsìb_a -nám_a a^s- mother's brother §8.4

àsɪda truly

aⁿsɪg' 2Vb break at an angle

aⁿsíŋa aⁿsís aⁿsɪŋ- man's sister's child

§8.4

àsùbá dawn (Arabic *al-ṣubḥah*)

àtèɔk, sea (Hausa *tèeku*)

àⁿwá/awána' Pn like this

áyù Pt no §10.4.5

-B-

bà/ba Pn 3P

ba' -nám_a ba'- father

baⁿ 2Vb ride

baa baas bà- dog

báa Pt not even §11.2

(Hausa *bâa* 'not be')

ba'a ba'ab_a bà'a- diviner; -kòlòg,

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)

bàaⁿlìg_a Adj thin

baaⁿlìmm LF baaⁿlìmnè Ideo quiet

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

baⁿ'as bàⁿ'- disease

- babur'** sphere of activity
babá beside §9.7.2.3
bàbìga' Qf many
bákpàɛ week (Hausa *bakwàì* 'seven')
bàⁿl_a 1Vb be thin
bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club
bàlànrìr bàlàngà bàlànr- hat
balɛrɔɔ, balɛrɪd'/balɛrɪs' balér-
 ugly person
bàmma' Pn these
bàn Pn these
bán Pn 3P+n; **ban** 3P
ban_n bana bàn- fetter
banaa banaas bànà- "fugu" smock
bàn-daug, bàn-daad bàn-dà- crocodile
ban-kúsélì ban-kúsélá ban-kúsél- lizard
ban_a baaⁿs bàn- ring, chain, fetter
bàn_a agama lizard
bàn 2Vb come to know
bárìkà blessing (Arabic *barakah*)
bàs 2Vb go away; abandon; throw out
 (kpèⁿ) **bàɔ̀ɔ̀** get circumcised (Songhay)
bàyεoɔɔ' betrayer of secrets
bè 1Vb exist, be somewhere
bèⁿ Gd **bèⁿ'ɛs** 2Vb fall ill
bɛdɪg' 2Vb rot
bèdùg, Adj great
bèdùgu' Qf much, a lot
bɛɛ Pt or; in questions §10.4.2
bèlìm 2Vb beg
bèlìs 2Vb comfort
bɛn_n bɛna bèn- end
bèŋ 2Vb mark out boundary
bɛŋíd bɛŋ- cowpea leaves; **bɛŋíd nɛ ki**
 leaf-and-millet (a traditional snack)
bɛŋír bɛŋá bɛŋ- cowpea
bɛ'og, Adj bad
bɛoɔɔ tomorrow; **bè-kèoⁿg, bè-kìkèoⁿg,**
 dawn; **bɛoɔɔ_n** morning; **bɛoɔɔ sá/bɛoɔɔ**
daar in future; **bɛoɔɔ níe kà** next day ...
bɛoŋ, bɛɛna bèoŋ- pool, lake
bèrìŋ_a bèrìgìs kenaf
bɛrìga bèrìg- kenaf leaves
bèⁿsìg 2Vb serve soup
bɛsug, bɛsɪd bès- kind of wide-mouth pot
bì' 2Vb ripen, mature
bi'a see **bɛ'og,**
bjàⁿ'ar' bjàⁿ'a bjàⁿ'- mud, riverbed
bjàⁿ'k' 2Vb economise with, keep aside
bjàⁿ'k, bjàⁿ'ad bjàⁿ'- shoulder
bíelì Adj naked
bìel 2Vb accompany
bi'elá Qf a little;
bi'el bi'el Qf little by little; a very little
bielíf, biilí biel-/biil- seed
bi'em -nà_m bì'em- enemy
bien_n biena bèn- shin
bier' bjejá bja- elder same-sex sib §8.4
bì'es 2Vb doubt
bìgìs 2Vb show, teach
biig_a biis bi-/bì- child; **bi-díbìŋ_a** boy;
bi-púŋ_a girl; **bì-lia** baby; **bì-nà'ab_a**
 prince(ss); **bì-pit_a'** younger child;
tùm biig send a messenger
bì'ug 2Vb ripen, get pregnant
bìilím childhood
bum' bɪ- soup, stew
bìⁿ'isím milk
bìⁿ'isr bìⁿ'isà bìⁿ'is- woman's breast
bil_a Adj little
bìlìg 2Vb roll (transitive)
bìlìm 2Vb roll (intransitive)
bìmbìm_n bìmbìmà bìmbìm- mound,
 pillar of earth; altar B
bin_n excrement
bɔ̀ bɔ̀- Pn what? why? §8.2; **bɔ̀ zúg,** why;
 because §10.1
bò 2Vb seek, Ipf want; **bòɔ̀dìm** will
bòbìg 2Vb wrap round
bòdìg 2Vb lose, get lost
bòdòbòdò bread
bòk, bù'ad buà'- pit

b̀̀n'ɔ̃gɔ swamp; ricefield
 b̀̀ɔsɪr b̀̀ɔsa b̀̀s- puff adder
 b̀̀ɔtu sack (Twi)
 bu' 2Vb beat
 bù̀àk 2Vb split
 bù̀'ar bù̀à'a bù̀à'- hole
 bu'ar' bù̀á'a bù̀a'- skin bottle
 b̀̀d Gd bù̀dɔ̃g_a/bù̀dɔ̃g_ɔ 2Vb sow seeds
 b̀̀daa b̀̀daas man, male person
 (a Toende Kusaal form)
 b̀̀dàalɪm manhood, courage
 b̀̀dɪm Gd b̀̀dɪmɪs 2Vb get confused
 bù̀'è 2Vb pour out
 b̀̀g 2Vb get drunk (Hausa *b̀̀gu*)
 bù̀gud_a client of a diviner
 b̀̀gùlɪm 2Vb cast lots
 bù̀gur bù̀ga b̀̀g- abode of a wɪn_n';
 wɪn_n' from mother's kin as sɪgr'
 b̀̀gúm b̀̀gum-/b̀̀gúm- fire;
 B̀̀gúm-ɔ̃ɔ'r Fire Festival
 bù̀gus_a' 1Vb be soft
 bù̀gusíg_a Adj soft, weak;
 bù̀gusíg_a' softly; bù̀gusím softness
 bù̀k' 2Vb weaken
 b̀̀k 2Vb cast lots
 bù̀l 2Vb germinate, ooze
 bù̀lɪ bula sprout
 bù̀l 2Vb astonish
 bù̀líg_a bù̀lɪs bù̀l- well, pond
 bù̀mbàrìg_a bù̀mbàrìs bù̀mbàr- ant
 bun_n' -nám_a/buná bun- thing;
 -b̀̀ɔn_n plaster (wall); -g̀̀íg_a short fellow;
 -k̀̀ɔ'̀̀b̀̀gɔ -k̀̀ɔ'̀̀b̀̀d -k̀̀ɔ'̀̀b- animal;
 -k̀̀úd̀̀gɔ -k̀̀út old man;
 -m̀̀ɔr_a rich person;
 -t̀̀úg̀̀ùdà firewood, kindling
 b̀̀n 2Vb reap, harvest
 bun-dâar Pn which day?
 bù̀ŋ_a bù̀mɪs bù̀ŋ- donkey
 bù̀ol 2Vb call, summon
 bù̀or bù̀òyà bù̀à- grain store

bu'os' 2Vb ask; Gd bu'osúg_ɔ question
 bù̀'os 2Vb pour out (many containers)
 bù̀rìkìn_a -nám_a bù̀rìkìn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
 bù̀rɪyá Christmas (Twi)
 bù̀tɪŋ_a bù̀tɪs bù̀tìŋ- cup
 buud innocence
 buudi buud- kind, sort, ethnic group
 buug_a buus bu- goat; -d̀̀ìb̀̀íg_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
 dàalɪm masculinity
 dàalɪm dàalɪmɪs male organs
 daam' da- millet beer, "pito";
 -b̀̀ín_n beer residue; yeast B
 dàam 2Vb disturb (Hausa *dàamaa*)
 daan_a -nám_a dàan- (always with a
 predependent §8.6) owner of ...
 dà'n'ang_a dà'n'amɪs dà'n'ang- hearth
 -v̀̀j̃aɔ'̀̀k_a -v̀̀j̃a'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
 dàbiog_ɔ dàbied dàbjà- coward
 dàbìsɪr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period
 dadúk_ɔ kind of large pot
 da'e' 2Vb push; (wind) blow
 dàg̀̀òb̀̀íg_a left; south B
 daká -nám_a daká- box (Hausa *àdakàa*)
 dàkiig_a dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
 husband §8.4
 dàk̀̀ɔ̀̀ɔ'r dàk̀̀ɔ̀̀nyà dàk̀̀ɔ̀̀n- unmarried son

- dàm (-mm-) 2Vb shake
 dàmà'a liar; dàmà'am/dàmà'ar lie
 dampusaar/dànsàar staff, club
 dàṅkòṅ, measles
 dàpaal_a' young man, son
 dàsaṅ_a dàsaa'n_s/dàsam_{ma} dàsàṅ-
 young man
 dàtaa dàtaas dàtā- enemy
 dàtìṅṅ, right-hand; north B
 daṽ dap_a dàṽ- (Pl head dāp-) adult male
 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' dàyuud' dàyu- rat
 dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
 dèeg_a dèes dè- warthog
 dɛɛṅ_a Adj first
 dɛl_la' 1Vb be leaning (of a person)
 dèlìm 2Vb start leaning (of a person)
 dɛṅ_a dɛmɪs dèṅ- accidental bruise; defect
 dèṅ 2Vb go/do first §10.5.3
 dèṅlìm Pt beforehand §9.4.3
 dì Pn 3I
 dì Ip_f dīt_a Imp dīm_a 2Vb eat, get; Gd
 dub_ᵛ food; ò dì pɔa' he's taken a wife;
 ò dì nyán she's ashamed
 ò dì na'am he's assumed a chieftaincy
 dja' 2Vb get dirty
 dja'ad' dirt
 di'e' 2Vb receive
 d'iem 2Vb play, not be serious;
 Gd d'iemà festival
 diem_{ma} -nám_a diem- wife's parent §8.4
 di'es' 2Vb receive (many things)
 dīg_lya' 1Vb lie down
 dīg_l' 2Vb lay down
 dīgìn 2Vb lie down
 dīgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf
 dīgɪsúg_ᵛ bed; (Pl) lair
 dīs 2Vb feed; dīs_a glutton
 dīsúṅᵛ, dīsímà/dīsís dīsúṅ- spoon
 dīm_a dìn_n Pn (dummy head)
 dín dìn see lín lìn
 dìndɛog_ᵛ' dìndɛed' dìndɛ- chameleon
 dìndīs_a glutton
 dītúṅᵛ, right-hand
 dī-zɔrɔg_ᵛ' dī-zɔrá dī-zɔr- crumb
 dɔl_la' 1Vb accompany
 dɔlɔg' 2Vb make accompany, send with
 dɔ'ɪlɔg' 2Vb stretch oneself
 dɔlɪs' 2Vb follow, trace §10.5.3
 dɔᵛg_ᵛ dɔᵛd/dòt dɔ- house, hut; clan;
 dɔᵛg bīg_a housecat
 dɔᵛg_ᵛ dɔᵛ'd dɔᵛ- dawadawa fruit
 -bùsùlìm dawadawa powder
 dɔᵛ'n'ɔs 2Vb water plants
 du Ip_f dut_a' Imp dùm_a 2Vb go up
 dɔyà' 2Vb bear/beget; du'ad_a relative
 dùa' dɔᵛ'n_s dɔᵛ- dawadawa tree
 dù'al 2Vb (of a loan) accrue 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
 duṅ_a dumis dùṅ- mosquito
 duor' dɔyoyá dɔy- stick
 dùr_a 1Vb be many
 du'un' 2Vb pass water
 du'uním du'un- urine
 du'us' 2Vb lift up, honour
 duusír step

-E-

èⁿbìs 2Vb scratch
 èⁿd 2Vb plug up
 èⁿdìg 2Vb unplug
 εεⁿ Pt yes §10.4.5
 εεⁿ/εεⁿ tí Pt habitually §9.4.2
 εεⁿb´ 2Vb lay a foundation
 εεⁿbír (physical) foundation
 εⁿriḡ´ 2Vb shift along on buttocks

-F-

f_ɔ Pn 2S
 faⁿ/faeⁿ´ 2Vb grab, rob; save
 faaⁿ Qf every
 faaⁿgíd_a saviour (Toende)
 faaⁿgír salvation (Toende)
 fáss Ideo for pièlìḡ_a white
 fεⁿdìḡ´ 2Vb turn round
 fεεḡ´ 2Vb (food) get old, cold
 fεⁿog_ɔ´ fεⁿed´ fεⁿ- ulcer
 fīaḡⁿk_ɔ´ fīaⁿad´ one-eyed person
 fieb 2Vb beat
 fiiⁿ Qf a little (liquid)
 fī'ig 2Vb cut off
 fītulá lamp (Arabic *fatīlah* 'wick');
 B has the forms fitir Pl fita
 fɔɔs´ 2Vb (wind) puff
 fù Pn 2S
 fùe 2Vb pull out
 fufum_n fufuma fufúm- envy; stye
 fún Pn 2S+ñ; fun 2S
 fùos 2Vb pull out (many things)
 fuug_ɔ´ fuud´/fut´ fu- clothing; cloth

-G-

gaaⁿ´ gaaⁿs´ gaⁿ- African ebony,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gàad Ipf gàt_a 2Vb (sur)pass
 gáafàrà sorry! (Hausa *gaafaràa*)
 ga'/ga'al´ 2Vb hook into, button up
 gà'am 2Vb grind teeth

gàas 2Vb pass by
 gadu´ -nám_a gadu- or gadug_ɔ´ gat´ gad-
 bed (Hausa *gadoo*)
 ga'e´ 2Vb unbutton
 gàlìs 2Vb become excessive §10.5.2
 gàn 2Vb step over
 ganḡ´ 2Vb choose
 gaⁿr´ gaⁿyá gaⁿr- ebony fruit
 gbaⁿ'e´ 2Vb catch, grab; decide, plan
 gbáⁿyà'a idle person
 gbáⁿyà'am laziness
 gbaḡḡ_ɔ´ gbaná gban-/gbaḡḡ- animal skin;
 book (TP L, W); gbàḡḡ-mi'id_a´ B scribe
 gbêεⁿm gbεⁿ- sleep
 gbè'og_ɔ gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead
 gbèog_ɔ lakeshore
 gber´ gbeyá gber- thigh
 gbugum_n gbuguma gbìḡim- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (of hill) foot;
 meaning; below; -vɔɔⁿr anus
 gbis 2Vb sleep
 geⁿ 2Vb get tired
 geⁿ 2Vb get angry
 gεel´ 2Vb place between the legs (TP H)
 gεεⁿm´ Gd gεεⁿmís 2Vb go/send mad
 gÉEⁿḡ_a gεεⁿmís madman
 gé|ḡelá gel- egg
 γεog_ɔ place between the legs (TP A)
 gìḡìlìm 2Vb go dumb
 giilím shortness
 gìk_a gìḡìs gìḡ- dumb person
 gilig´ Ipf gin_{na}´ 2Vb go around
 gim_{ma}´ 1Vb be short
 gìḡ 2Vb scrimp
 giḡ´ 2Vb surround, intercept, obstruct
 giḡ_a Adj short
 giḡ_a shortly
 girima importance, prestige
 (Hausa *girmaa*)
 ḡòⁿ 2Vb hunt; Ipf ḡòòⁿd_a wander,
 Gd ḡòòⁿdìm

- gɔɔɔɔ' 2Vb look up
 gɔ'e_{ya}' W gɔɔɔɔ' K 1Vb look up
 gɔ'ɔɔ 2Vb look up
 gɔr_a' D 1Vb look up
 gɔs Ipɔ gɔsɔɔ_a'/gɔt_a' Imp gɔ̀sì_m_a/gɔ̀m_a
 Gd gɔ̀sì_g_a 2Vb look; gɔt_a' seer
 gu' 2Vb guard, take care of
 gùⁿ'_a gòⁿ'_{ɔs} gòⁿ'- thorn; acacia;
 -sabú_l_g_a *Acacia hockii*
 gùl 2Vb hang; gùl_l_a 1Vb hang
 gùllimm LF gùllìmnè Pt only §11.2
 gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread W
 gumpuzer' gumpuzeyá gumpuzér- duck
 gù_η_a gùmìs gù_η- kapok, *Ceiba pentandra*
 gù_ηgum_n kapok material
 gur_a' 1Vb guard, watch for
 gu'ul' 2Vb entrust with
 gù'ùlì_m 2Vb get half-ripe
 gù_{ur} gùyà gù- upland; riverbank
 gù_{ur} gùyà gù- ridge of the 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
 ðaⁿ'_{as}' 2Vb leap
 ðaⁿ'_k' Ipɔ ðaⁿ'_{ad}_a' 2Vb leap, fly
 igi_{ya}' 1Vb kneel
 igil' 2Vb make kneel
 ðì_n 2Vb kneel down
 úl_l ulá ul- horn
 isir isa ðs- scar
 ðsì_g 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'asì_g_e alternative LF of kaɛ'
 kàⁿ'_b Gd kaⁿ'_{bur} 2Vb scorch
 kabug' 2Vb ladle out
 kabur' Gd kaburí 2Vb ask admission §12
 kàd 2Vb drive off; kàd sà_ríyà 2Vb judge
 kaⁿ'_{dug}_ɔ Adj (person) fat, tough
 kaɛ' 1Vb not exist/be/have
 kalí' kalá kal- number
 kà_lì_g_a' Qf few
 kà_m_a Qf every
 kà_n Pn this/that
 kà_η_a' Pn this/that
 kà_r_a 1Vb be few
 karí_f_a/kerí_f_a o'clock §9.7.2.2
 (Hausa *karfèe*)
 kà_rì_m 2Vb read
 kà_sɛ_t_a' witness; testimony (? French
 cacheté 'sealed'); kà_sɛ_t_í_b_a witnesses
 kasí Ideo clean, pure, holy (Mampruli);
 Sug Kasí B3 Holy Spirit
 ke Ipɔ ket_a' Imp kè_l_a 2Vb let §10.5.4
 keⁿ Ipɔ ken_{na}' Imp kè_m_a Gd ken_n' 2Vb
 come; ken ken welcome!
 kè_ɛkè -nà_m_a kè_ɛkè- bicycle
 (Hausa *kèeke*)
 kè_ɛs 2Vb bid farewell to
 kè_lì_g/kè_lì_s 2Vb listen
 ke_η' Ipɔ ken_{na}' Imp kè_m_a 2Vb go, walk;
 ken_{na}' traveller
 kèⁿ'_s break
 kjà' LF kì'a 2Vb cut
 kidig' 2Vb cross over, meet;
 à Kidig_l Bu'os Orion
 kief_ɔ' kì' ki-/ka- millet;
 ka-wennur ka-wenna ka-wén- corn
 kí'ub_ɔ' soap; instead of this, W uses
 kiibú kiib- (from Mampruli)
 kùs 2Vb listen

- kɪ'ɪs´ 2Vb deny
 kìkaⁿ'ar´ kìkàⁿ'a millet stalk
 kìkàm_n kìkàmà fig
 kìkà_a kìkàmìs kìkà_n- Cape fig tree
 kìkirig_a´ kìkiris´ kìkir- local English
 "fairy" §1.1; demon B2/3 (-bê'ed in B1)
 kilim´ 2Vb become, change into
 kìm 2Vb herd animals
 kím m Ideo firmly, fast; exactly §8.2
 kìṅkà_a (etc) = kìkà_a
 kir Gd kìkírù_ḡ/kìrìb_ḡ´ 2Vb hurry, tremble
 kis_a´ 1Vb hate; kis_a´/kisid_a´ hater
 kìsù_ḡ Adj hateful, tabu
 kò 2Vb break (intransitive)
 kɔⁿ'/kɔⁿ'ɔkɔ by oneself
 kòbìga (LF = SF) Qf hundred §8.5.1
 kɔⁿ'bur kɔⁿ'ba kòⁿ'b- bone
 kɔⁿ'bug_ḡ kɔⁿ'bid kòⁿ'b- animal hair;
 human body hair (cf zuobú_ḡ);
 -kum_{na} -kimmib_a animal herder
 kɔdìg´ 2Vb cut throat (monactional)
 kɔdú banana (Twi)
 kòl 2Vb put around someone's neck
 kòlìbìr kòlìbà bottle (Hausa *kwalabaa*)
 kɔl_a kɔlɪs kòl- river;
 kɔlɪg_l_n nɔ́-dâug_ḡ crayfish
 kòlù_ḡ kò_n kòlù_ḡ- sack, bag
 kɔ'm´ kɔm- hunger
 kò'ɔḡ 2Vb break
 kò'ɔs 2Vb break several times
 kò's/kò'sim 2Vb cough
 kɔt´ 2Vb cut throat
 kòtàa LF kòtànè Pt at all (Twi)
 kótù (law)court (English)
 kpà' 2Vb nail, fasten
 kpaⁿ'a´ kpaⁿ'-nám rich person
 kpaad_a´ kpaadìb_a kpaad- farmer
 kpaⁿ'am´ riches
 kpaam´ kpa- grease, ointment
 kpa'ar kpada peg, tent peg
 kpàⁿ'dìr kpàⁿ'dà kpàⁿ'd- baboon
 kpàkur´ kpàkuyá kpàkur- tortoise
 kpan_n kpana kpàn- spear
 kpàr 2Vb lock
 kpar-kêoⁿḡ kpar-kêéⁿd kpar-kéⁿ- rag
 kpáⁿ'uḡ kpiⁿ'iní kpaⁿ'- guineafowl
 kpe Pn here
 kpèⁿ 2Vb enter
 kpèⁿdìr´ kpèⁿdá kpèⁿd- cheek
 kpèⁿm -nàm_a kpèⁿm- elder
 kpèⁿm_a´ 1Vb be older than
 kpèⁿ'es 2Vb make enter
 kpelá Pn here
 kpèlìm 2Vb remain
 kpèlìm Pt still; immediately after §9.4.3
 kpemɪs´ 2Vb encourage, strengthen
 kpèn Pt = kpèlìm
 kpè'ḡ 2Vb strengthen
 kpeoⁿḡ seniority
 kpì 2Vb die
 kpì'a kpì'es kpì'à'- neighbour
 kpì'à' LF kpì'a 2Vb whittle
 kpì'e 2Vb approach
 kpì'em_a´ 1Vb be strong, hard
 kpì'ibìg_a kpì'ibìs kpì'ib- orphan
 kpìig 2Vb (fire) go out
 kpì'ulím 2Vb come to an end
 kpì'um kpì'umɪs kpì'um- corpse
 kpìis 2Vb quench
 kpìkpin_{na} kpìkpin_{nb} kpìkpin- merchant
 kpì'oḡ Adj strong, hard
 kpìsìḡkpìlì kpìsìḡkpìlà kpìsìḡkpìlì- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlì
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpòkpàrìg_a kpòkpàrìs kpòkpàr- palm tree
 kpòkpàrùḡ kpòkpàrà kpòkpàrùḡ- 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'alíŋ_a ku'alís/ku'alímìs ku'alíŋ-
 kind of smock
 kùd 2Vb work iron
 kùdìŋ 2Vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kuɗim the old days; often for kulim
 kuɗuŋ_ɔ Adj old
 kudug_ɔ kut kùt- (Pl as Sg) iron, nail
 kugur' kugá kug- stone
 ku_k_a kugus kùg- chair
 kùk_a ghost
 ku_k_a' African mahogany
 kùkòm_n kùkòmà kùkòm- leper
 kùkɔr' kùkɔyá kùkɔ-/kùkɔr- voice
 kùkparìŋ_a see kpùkparìŋ_a
 kùkur' kùkuyá kùkur- pig
 kul Gd kulig_a' 2Vb return home;
 take as husband
 kulim Pt always §9.4.2 (Hausa *kullum*)
 kùlìŋ_a kùlìs/kùlìmìs kùlìŋ- door
 kùm 2Vb weep
 kum kùm- death
 kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndyà'-
 barren woman
 kùndùŋ_a kùndùmìs/kùndùnà hyena
 kù'om kyà'- water; -nuud' thirst;
 -ⁿwiig_a' current
 kùos 2Vb sell
 kuv Pt or §10.4.2 (Hausa *koo*)
 kuug_a'/kuug_ɔ' kuus' ku- mouse
 kùul 2Vb get drunk
 kuus' 2Vb settle (a 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*)
 làbìy_a 1Vb crouch in hiding
 làbìl 2Vb make crouch
 làbìn 2Vb crouch
 làbìs 2Vb walk stealthily
 labìs_a' 1Vb be wide
 labìsìg_a Adj wide; labìsìm width
 lak' 2Vb open (eye, book)
 lalì_a' 1Vb be distant
 lalìg' 2Vb get/make far
 lallí far off
 lallìŋ_a/lallìg_ɔ Adj distant
 lam_n' lamá lam- gum (of a tooth);
 -fìɔg_ɔ Adj toothless
 làmpɔ' làmpɔ- tax (French *l'impôt*)
 lan_n lana làn- testicle
 lànnìg_a lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel
 la'ŋ' 2Vb set alight
 làngáuy_ɔ làngáam_n/làngaamá làngauy-
 crab
 làŋím 2Vb wander round searching
 laɣ_ɔ la'ad là'- goods item
 là'uy_ɔ là'amà fishing net
 lèb Gd lèbìg_a 2Vb return (intransitive)
 lèbìg 2Vb turn over; return
 lèbìs 2Vb answer; return; divorce (wife)
 lèè Pt but §9.4.1
 lèm Pt again §9.4.3
 lèm (-mm-) 2Vb sip, taste
 lèr 2Vb get ugly
 lì/lì Pn 3I
 lì Ipf lìt_a Imp lìm_a Gd liig_a 2Vb fall
 lì 2Vb block up
 lìà Pt where is? §10.4.5
 lìdìg 2Vb turn (a shirt, W)
 lìdìŋ 2Vb astonish, be amazed
 lièb 2Vb become
 lì'el 2Vb approach
 lí'em_n li'emá fruit of yellow plum tree
 lièŋ_a liemís lièŋ- axe

lí'eŋ_a li'emís yellow plum tree,

Ximenia americana

lìg 2Vb patch

lìgìl 2Vb cover

lìgìn 2Vb cover oneself

lùbur lùba lùb- twin

lik_a ligis darkness

lùlaalìŋ_a lùlaalís/lùlaalímìs lùlaalìŋ- swallow

lín Pn 3I+ñ; lun 3I

lìn Pn that; lìná Pn that

lɔ 2Vb tie

lɔb/lɔbɔg' 2Vb throw stones at

lɔbɔdìg_a lɔbɔdís water-drawing vessel

lɔdìg_a' lɔdís' lɔd- corner

lɔdìg' 2Vb untie

lòk_ɔ lù'ad lùà'- quiver (for arrows)

lòmbò'ncɔ_ɔ lòmbò'ncɔd lòmbò'ncɔ'- garden
(Hausa *làmbuu*)

lɔŋ_a lɔmɔs lòŋ- kind of frog

lɔ'ŋ' 2Vb go across a river or road

lór lóyà/lóɔm_{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

lɔgɔr 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
tèŋ-daan_a; priest B1/2 (*maanmaan* B3)

ma'al' 2Vb make cool, wet

maan_n maana màan- sacrifice

má'an_n ma'aná ma'an- okra

ma'as_a' 1Vb be cool, wet

ma'asíg_a cool, wet; ma'asíg_a' coolly;

ma'asím coolness

madìg' 2Vb overflow, abound

ma'e' 2Vb cool down

màk 2Vb crumple

mak' 2Vb measure, judge

màlìak_a' màlìak-nám_a/màlìja'as' màlìja'-
angel (Arabic *mal'ak*)

màlìf_ɔ màlì gun, rifle (Arabic *midfa'*)

màlìgìm Pt again §9.4.3

malis_a' 1Vb be sweet, pleasant

malisíg_a/malisín_a Adj sweet, pleasant;
malisím sweetness

malɔŋ_ɔ malɔma màlòŋ- custom; sacrifice

mam Pn 1S

mán Pn 1S+ñ; man 1S

màŋgáɔŋ_ɔ = làŋgáɔŋ_ɔ

màɔk_ɔ Adj crumpled

mè 2Vb build

mè/mèn Pt also §11.2; mè-kàmà -soever

mɛd 2Vb mash up

mèeŋ_a mèemìs mèeŋ- turtle

mèlìgìm dew

mɛŋ_a' Pn self; mɛŋír Adj genuine

met' met- pus

mi' 1Vb know

míif_ɔ miiní okra seed

mì'ig 2Vb get sour

mì'is_a 1Vb be sour; mì'isòg_ɔ Adj sour

milig' 2Vb get dirty

mìmiilím/mìmiilóg_ɔ sweetness

mìt_a 1Vb Imp beware; let not §10.5.4

mɔ 2Vb strive, struggle

mɔd 2Vb swell

mɔdìg' 2Vb be patient, endure

mòlìf_ɔ mòlì mòlì- kob

mɔn 2Vb grind millet to make sa'ab_ɔ

mɔŋ' 2Vb refuse to lend

mɔɔg_ɔ mɔɔd mò- grass; back-country,
"bush"; -pilì thatch

mɔɔl' 2Vb proclaim;

mɔɔl-mòɔn_{na} proclaimer

mɔr_a' 1Vb have; mɔr na bring

m̀̀à' 2Vb suckle
 m̀̀àk_a m̀̀'as m̀̀à'- maggot
 m̀̀'ar m̀̀à'a m̀̀à'- lake, reservoir
 m̀̀'as 2Vb give suck to
 m̀̀'è 2Vb redden; ignite; intensify
 m̀̀j m̀̀j- rice
 m̀̀l 2Vb itch
 m̀̀m 2Vb bury

 -N-
 n Pt (linker) §10.5 §11.1
 n Pt (past) §9.2 §10.4.4
 n Pn 2P2: see *ya*
 n/nú' Pt (locative) §9.7.2.3
 ñ Pt (nominaliser) §10.9
 nà Pt (irrealis) §9.3
 na' Pt hither §9.6
 na 2Vb join
 nà'- (cf Mampruli *na'ari* 'wilderness')
 appears with some nouns for animals:
 -dàwan_n' pigeon;
 -nesunneog_ɔ' centipede W;
 -zòm_n locust
 náa Pt (reply to blessings) §12
 nà'ab_a -nàm_a nà'- chief, king;
 -biig_a prince/princess; -yir' court;
 -yi-kpém_{ma} courtiers
 náaf_ɔ 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 §10.4.4
 naan' 2Vb starting from ... do §10.5.3
 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

nànzú'us' pepper (tones uncertain)
 naŋ_a namis nàŋ- scorpion
 nar_a' 1Vb need, deserve
 naróŋ_ɔ Adj necessary
 nàyiig_a nàyiig-nàm_a/nàyiis thief
 (na'ayiig B); nàyiigum thievery
 nɛ Pt with §9.7.3; linking NPs: and
 nɛ' Pt (focus) §11.1
 nɛ' Pn this
 nɛɛl 2Vb reveal
 nɛɛm for free
 nɛɛm' 2Vb grind with millstone
 nɛɛr' millstone
 nɛɛs 2Vb reveal; nɛɛsìm light
 nɛj_{ya} 1Vb be awake
 nɛm-nɛɛr nɛm-nɛyà grinder
 nɛn_{na}' 1Vb envy; nin-nɛn_{na} envier
 nɛ'ɛŋa Pn this
 nɛɛr Adj empty
 nesunneog_ɔ' nesunneed' nesunné-
 centipede; envious person W
 ñfá! Pt well done! §10.4.5
 nú' Pt (locative) §9.7.2.3
 nì 2Vb rain
 nid_a' nidib_a' nin- person; -punan_{na}'
 -punanníb_a -punán- disrespectful
 person; -sâal_a human being
 nìè 2Vb appear, reveal; waken
 nif_ɔ' niní nif-/nin- eye; nif-gbáɔŋ_ɔ eyelid;
 nif-sób_a miser; nin-báa'̀lìg_a pity;
 nin-dáa nin-dâas nin-dá- face;
 nin-gótìŋ_a mirror; nin-gótìs spectacles;
 nin-kúgùdìg_a nin-kúgùdìs eyebrow;
 nin-múa concentration; m̀̀ niní mù'e nɛ
 I'm intent; nin-tâ'm tears
 níŋ_a niimís/níis niŋ- bird
 ní'm_n' nimá nim- meat
 nin-pòud pus
 nintaŋ_a' nintaa's' nintánŋ- heat of the day

niŋ_a niis niŋ- body; -gbiŋ_ɔ´ -gbiná -gbiŋ-
body (Pl as Sg); -gòòr 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; -bíl_a toe;
-íáⁿ toenail; -púmpàùŋ_ɔ foot
nɔk´ 2Vb pick up, take up
nòŋ Imp nòŋìm_a 1Vb love; nòŋìd_a lover
nɔŋ_ɔ´ nɔŋ- poverty; -dâan_a pauper
nɔɔ Pt exactly, just §11.2
nɔɔr´ nɔyá nɔ- mouth; command;
(of a river) bank (not 'mouth');
-dí'es_a chief's spokesman ("linguist");
prophet B; -gbáùŋ_ɔ lip; -lòòr fasting;
-nâar promise; -pòòr oath
nɔɔr´/nɔɔrím times §8.5.1
nu 2Vb drink
nua´ nɔɔs´ nɔ- hen; -dâug_ɔ cock;
Nɔ-ⁿyâ'añ né ò Biis Pleiades
nuliŋ´/nulis´ 2Vb make drink
nû'ug_ɔ nû'us nu'- hand, arm; -bíl_a finger;
-dâug_ɔ thumb; -íáⁿ -êéⁿs- -éⁿ-
fingernail; -wêⁿ'ed_a mediator

-O-

ò/ò Pn 3A
òⁿb Gd ɔⁿbɔr 2Vb chew
ón Pn 3A+n; 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
paalíŋ_a Adj new; paalím recently
pàⁿ'alím 2Vb dedicate

paalú open space
pàⁿ'lúŋ_ɔ pàⁿ'límìs spiderweb
pàam 2Vb receive gift
pàas 2Vb add up to §8.5.1
pae´ 2Vb arrive; reach
pàk 2Vb surprise; take from top
pamm LF pamné Qf much, a lot
pàŋ_a pàⁿs pàŋ- power
pàⁿsìŋ 2Vb lack
pà' tì Pt perhaps §9.4.1
pèbìs 2Vb blow; pèbìsìm/pèbìsòŋ_ɔ wind
pè'ei 2Vb fill
pè'és 2Vb add up to §8.5.1
pèlìŋ 2Vb whiten, go white
pèlìs 2Vb sharpen
pèŋ_n vagina
pe'ŋ´ 2Vb borrow; knock over W
pèog_ɔ pèed pè- basket
pe'og_ɔ´ pe'és´ pe'- sheep; -sá'a ewe lamb
pesug´ 2Vb sacrifice
pjà LF pia 2Vb dig up
pjàⁿ 2Vb speak, praise; Gd pjàùⁿk_ɔ
pjàⁿ'ad pjàⁿ'- word, (Pl) language
(Gd tones irregular)
pìbìŋ 2Vb uncover
pìbìl 2Vb cover up
pìbin_n pìbina pìbìn- cover, lid
pìd 2Vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on (self
or another)
pid 2Vb get bloated
pìdìŋ 2Vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)
pie´ 2Vb wash (own body)
pièb 2Vb blow (flute etc)
pièlìŋ_a Adj white (cf zìⁿ'a);
pièlìm whiteness
piès 2Vb fool someone
pies´ 2Vb wash
pítŋ_ɔ piiní pùn- genet
piiga Qf ten
piⁿ'il´ 2Vb begin
piim´ piemá sic pim- arrow

- piini pìin- gift
 pìl 2Vb cover
 pìlìg 2Vb uncover
 pipirí_a pipirís pipír- desert
 pisí Qf twenty
 pitú pití_b_a pit- younger same-sex sibling
 (Sg pit_a´ after CIFs) §8.4
 כּוּ 2Vb swear; כּוּכּוּר´ "oath name" of a
 clan (part of its genealogy)
 pòⁿd 2Vb crouch down
 pòכּכּ_a 1Vb be few, small
 pòכּכּdìg_a Adj few, small; pòכּכּdìm fewness
 pòכּכּg´ pòכּכּd´/pòכּt´ כּכּ- field, farm
 pòכּ'g 2Vb diminish, belittle
 pòכּ'כּl´ 2Vb make rot
 pòכּ'כּlìm 2Vb cripple, get crippled
 pòכּ'כּr pòכּ'dà pòכּ'- cripple
 pòכּ'r_a 1Vb be near
 pòכּ'rùg₅ Adj near
 pu Pt not (indicative negative) §9.3
 pu 2Vb divide
 pu_a' pu'ab_a pu_a'- woman, wife; -éí_g_a
 fiancée (cf Farefare élé 'take as one's
 husband');
 -ginní_g_a/-gòכּ'ndìr prostitute;
 -paal_a´ bride; -sadìr´ nulliparous young
 woman; -sa'ám_{na} adulterer; -'yá'án_a
 -'yá'as old woman; -yù_a daughter
 pu_ak_a Adj (human) female
 pù'alìm 2Vb harm
 pù'alìm femininity
 pù'alím pù'alímìs pù'alím- female organs
 pùd 2Vb name
 pùdìg´ 2Vb share out
 puⁿ'e´ 2Vb rot
 pùgùdì_b_a -nám_a pùgùd- father's sister
 pùkòכּ'r pùkòכּ'yà pùkòכּ'- widow
 pukpaad_a´ pukpaadì_b_a pukpá- farmer
 pùlì_mà cogongrass
 pùmpòכּg₅ 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; -tèⁿ'er -tèⁿ'dà -tèⁿ'-
 thought, B mind;
 puug_u_n inside §9.7.2.3;
 mòr puug be pregnant
 puur´ stomach
 pù'us 2Vb greet, worship, thank; Gd
 pù'usìm worship; Gd pù'usùg₅ 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 jaⁿk´)
 lightning; saa díndεog rainbow;
 saa zúg up above; sky
 sa'ab₅ sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 saafi lock, key (Twi)
 sàal_a sàalì_b_a sàal- human; -biig_a human
 sàalí_g_a´ smoothly
 sàam_{ma} -nám_a sàam- father §8.4
 sàⁿ'am 2Vb spoil, break
 saam´ 2Vb mash, crumble
 saⁿ'an´ in the presence/opinion of
 saan_a´ sáam_{ma} saan- guest, stranger
 saan_n saana sàan- charcoal
 sáannìm strangerhood
 sáan_a Adj strange
 sabulí_g_a Adj black (cf zìⁿ'a)
 sàbù_a sàbùos sàbù_a- lover, girlfriend
 sadìgím Pt since, because §9.4.1 §10.9.1
 saεⁿ/saεⁿ_{ya} saaⁿ'_b_a sàⁿ- blacksmith
 sakárùg₅ sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)
 sàlì_bìr bridle (Arabic *salabah*)
 salì_ma sàlì_m- gold

- sam_n´ samá sam- debt; -kpâ'as_a servant
 samán_n samánà samán- yard before zàk_a;
 Samán-píer traditional New Year
 sanjá sansá san- time §9.7.2.2
 sàŋ-gbàùŋ_ɔ cloud, sky
 sanjgúnŋìr sanjgúnà sanjgún- millipede
 sapálì Harmattan part of úŋŋ_n
 sapì LF sapu/sapuné Ideo straight
 sarigá prison (Arabic *sāriqah* 'fetter')
 sàríyà law (Arabic *sharī'ah*);
 sàríyà-kat_a judge
 saug_ɔ´ saad´ sa- broom, brush
 sàuk_ɔ sà'ad dust mote
 sáùŋ_ɔ hospitality
 sè 2Vb transplant
 sèⁿ 2Vb sew
 sɛb_ɔya´ 1Vb squat
 sɛoⁿg_ɔ rainy season
 sè 2Vb flay
 si' 2Vb stain, dye
 si'a Pn Sg some, any
 sia sies sjà- waist; -kɔɔdìŋ_a belt;
 -nif_ɔ´ kidney
 sjà'al´ 2Vb get to be enough
 sjà'ar sjà'a/sjà'adà sjà'- forest W;
 wilderness
 sjàk 2Vb agree; ò pu sjàkì fù kɔɔré_
 he hasn't obeyed you
 sjak´ 2Vb suffice
 sibig_a´ sibí sib- kind of termite
 sɪd_a sɪdɪb_a sɪd- husband §8.4
 sɪd Pt truly §9.4.1
 sɪdà sɪd- truth
 sie´ 2Vb descend, be humbled
 sieba Pn some, any; si'el_a something,
 anything; si'em somehow, anyhow
 sig 2Vb descend
 sigur´ guardian spirit
 sigis´ 2Vb lower
 sigisír sigisá lodging-place
 sii'd´ honey
 sii'f_ɔ´/sii'ng_a´ sii'ns´ siⁿ- bee
 sug_a sus sɪ- vital energy, spirit B
 (= Buli *chiik*)
 sug_a sus sɪ- African birch,
Anogeissus leiocarpa (= Buli *sīik*)
 siilm 2Vb cite proverbs; siilŋ_a/siilúŋ_ɔ
 siilís/siilímìs/siilímà siilŋ- proverb
 st'is´ 2Vb touch
 silinsúg_ɔ silinsīs ghost
 silinsú'g_ɔ silinsí'nd spider
 sùlùg_ɔ sùŋ_n/sùlìs sùl- hawk
 sìm 2Vb sink in liquid
 sin_{na}´ 1Vb be silent
 sɪnsáⁿ kind of tiny ant
 sɪŋ_a suⁿs sùŋ- kind of very big pot
 sɪ'ŋ´ 2Vb begin
 sisíbìg_a sisíbìs sisífb- neem
 sisíbìr sisíbà neem fruit
 sɪsɪ'em wind, storm
 sɪsòm_n grasshopper
 sɪsòug_ɔ_n/sòug_ɔ_n between
 sí'ŋ_ɔ si'imís si'ŋ- kind of big dish
 sɔ' Pn some(one), any(one)
 sɔⁿ 2Vb rub
 sòⁿ 2Vb put on around waist
 sɔb_a Pn (dummy head)
 sɔb 2Vb darken; write
 sɔbɔg´ 2Vb blacken
 sɔbur´ sɔb- piece of writing
 sɔɛⁿ/sɔɛⁿya sɔɔb_a sòⁿ- witch
 sɔⁿ'e_{ya}´ 1Vb be better than; sɔⁿ'ɔd_a´
 sɔⁿ'ɔb_a´ sɔⁿ'ɔd- surpasser
 sɔgjà_a soldier (English)
 sɔlɔŋ_ɔ´ sɔlɔmá story
 sɔnɔr sɔnna sòⁿ- yard-dividing wall
 sɔɔng_ɔ witchcraft
 sɔɔr^r sɔɔya sòⁿ- liver
 sɔɔr^r sɔɔya sòⁿ- cane rat
 sòⁿ'ɔs 2Vb take off from around waist
 sòs Gd sɔsɔg_a 2Vb ask; sòs_a beggar
 sɔⁿs Gd sɔⁿsìg_a 2Vb converse, talk with

sù 2Vb take bath
 sɣa' 2Vb hide; sɣak_a' hiding place
 su'e_{ya}' 1Vb own; su'ulím property, realm
 sueⁿ' 2Vb anoint
 suⁿ'e' 2Vb become better than
 sùⁿ'e 2Vb take off from around waist
 suⁿf_ɔ'/suuⁿr' suⁿyá suⁿ- heart;
 -búgùsìm peace; -kpî'on_ɔ boldness;
 -málìsìm/-má'asìm -málìs- joy;
 m̀ suⁿf má'e ya I'm joyful; -péén_n anger;
 m̀ suⁿf pélìg nɛ I'm angry;
 -sâⁿ'u_ɔ sorrow
 sugur' Gd sugurú 2Vb show forbearance
 sù'm goodness; well
 sùm_{ma} 1Vb be good
 summɪr summa sùm- groundnut
 sù_n Gd sùnnìr/sùnnòg_ɔ 2Vb bow head;
 sun_{na} close observer W
 sù_ɔ 2Vb help
 sù_ɔ Adj good; sù'ɲa' well; very much
 sú'on_a su'omís su'on_ɔ- hare
 suor' suoyá sɣa- road; permission §10.7
 -dâu_ɔ -dâad highway
 sù'os_a yesterday
 sù'os 2Vb trick
 sù_r_a 1Vb have head bowed
 suug' 2Vb (leaves) wither W
 sù'ug_a/sù'ug_ɔ sù'us sù'- knife

-T-

taa taas fellow- §6.1.1
 taab/taaba Pn each other
 ta'adɪr 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_ɔ- shea tree
 ta'as' 2Vb help to walk
 tàb 2Vb get stuck to; tàbì_{ya} 1Vb be stuck
 tàbìg 2Vb get unstuck from
 tàbìl 2Vb stick to (transitive)
 tàdìg 2Vb weaken

tadɪm -nàm_a tàdìm- weakling
 tàdìmís weakness
 táe plaster (a wall)
 tà_m (-mm-) 2Vb forget
 tàmpìiⁿg_a rock
 tàmpuɪr tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip
 tan_n tana tàn- earth; -mɛɛd_a builder
 taⁿp_ɔ war; tàⁿp-sɔb_a warrior
 tar_a' 1Vb have
 tàⁿs Gd tàⁿsùg_ɔ 2Vb shout; (sun) shine
 tàsìntàl_l/tàtál_l palm of hand
 taɪⁿ' taⁿp_a' taɪⁿ- (Pl head taⁿp-)
 opposite-sex sibling §8.4
 tè 2Vb pull
 tèb Gd tèbìg_a 2Vb carry in both hands
 tèⁿb Gd tèⁿbùg_ɔ 2Vb struggle
 tèbìg' 2Vb get heavy
 tèbìs_a' 1Vb be heavy
 tèbìsìg_a Adj heavy; tèbìsìm weight
 téébùl téébùl-nàm_a table (English)
 tèɛg/tèk 2Vb pull; tèɛg X tùbìr punish X
 tè'eg_a tè'es tè'- baobab
 tèⁿ'ɛs 2Vb remind
 tèⁿ'ɛs' 2Vb think; Gd tèⁿ'ɛsá thought
 te_n_a tèɛⁿs tè_n- land; -biig_a native;
 -daan_a earth-priest; -du'adìg_a
 native land; -gbàu_ɔ land;
 -kpe_n_a -kpe_mìs -kpe_n- village;
 -puu_ɔ' -puud' -pu- village; -suk_a centre;
 te_n_l/te_nì_r down; under §9.7.2.3
 tèog_ɔ tèed nest
 tè'og_ɔ tè'ed baobab fruit
 tèⁿr_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
 tìⁿ 2Vb remember; W inform; stretch
 tì'eb 2Vb get ready; (Arabic *tìbb*
 'medicine') heal; tì'eb_a healer

tien_a tiemìs tien- beard; -g_{uur} chin
 tig 2Vb have in excess; Gd tigur' glut
 ti'ya' 1Vb be leaning (of a thing)
 tìg_a tìs tì- tree; -daug₃ -daad -dà- bow
 ti'il' 2Vb lean (of a thing)
 tùm tì- medicine; -k_{uud}ím poison;
 -sab_lím 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*) §10.7
 tìlìg 2Vb survive, be saved
 t_unám_a Pn 1P
 t_unt_uríg_a t_unt_urí_s t_unt_urí- mole
 tìp_a -nám_a tìp- healer
 turâan_a -nám_a turâan- peer;
 turâannìm companionship
 tíngà Ideo for g_{in}_a short
 tìs/tì_ Ipf tìsìd_a/tìt_a 2Vb give; tìs_a giver
 tìt_a'al_l proud person; tìt_a'al_um pride
 tìt_a'ar Adj big; tìt_a'am multitude
 tì Pt OK §10.4.5 (Hausa *tòo*)
 tìⁿ 2Vb shoot
 tìd 2Vb give to the poor, share
 t_uɛ_{ya}' 1Vb be bitter, difficult
 tók-làe torch (English "torchlight")
 tólìb Ideo lolloping
 tólìlìlì Ideo for w_ok₃' tall
 t_ul_s' 2Vb do next, advance, carry on
 §10.5.3
 t_uw₃ Adj bitter, difficult
 t_uw_m' 2Vb depart, disappear
 t_uí₃ 2Vb hunt
 t_u't_uí' straight away
 t_uà LF t_ua 2Vb pound in a mortar;
 t_uà-bil_a pestle
 t_uà' 2Vb plead in court
 t_ua'e_{ya}' 1Vb be near
 t_u'al 2Vb condemn in court
 t_u'as 2Vb talk; t_u'as-t_u'as_a talker
 t_ubìr t_ubà t_ub- ear; -k_{pi}r half of jaw

t_uk_{pu}dug₃ tumult
 tuⁿe_{ya}' 1Vb be able §10.5.3
 tul_l_a' 1Vb be hot
 tul_g' 2Vb heat up
 t_ulìg 2Vb invert
 tùm 2Vb work; Gd t_um_n t_uuma t_um-
 deed, (Pl) work; t_um-t_um_{na} worker
 tùm Gd t_ut_um_s 2Vb send
 tuod_r tuoda t_uod- mortar
 t_uon_n in front; west; t_uon-gat_a leader
 tusir' thousand
 t_utul_l upside-down thing
 t_uslìg_a' hotly; t_uslóg₃ Adj hot
 tu'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 (e.g. ùm niní)
 ur/urìg'/urìs' 2Vb scrape
 ú_un_n dry season
 uss' 2Vb (person) get warm

-V-

vab_l_{ya}' 1Vb lie prone
 vabl' 2Vb make lie prone
 v_abìn 2Vb lie prone
 v_ae 2Vb gather up
 vau_g' vaaⁿd' vaⁿ- leaf
 vε'/vε'εg' 2Vb lead, pull
 vèⁿl_l_a 1Vb be beautiful; vèⁿlìg_a/vèⁿlìg_a
 Adj beautiful; vèⁿlìm beauty
 vèⁿn_a 1Vb be beautiful; vèⁿnìg_a/vèⁿnìg_a
 Adj beautiful; vèⁿnm beauty
 viig' 2Vb postpone, reschedule
 vik' 2Vb uproot
 viug₃' viid' vi- owl
 v_o' 2Vb uproot, pluck out
 v_o'dug₃' v_o't' hole in the ground, lair

vu Gd vuug_ɔ´ 2Vb make noise;
 vuud´ noise
 vueⁿ´ 2Vb uproot, pluck out
 vuɛ_{ya}´ 1Vb live
 vugulím soot
 vul 2Vb swallow
 vùlìnvùuⁿlì mason wasp
 vum´ vum- life
 vúoŋ_a vuomís red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok
 vur´ Adj alive
 vurig´ 2Vb move off, shift away
 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
 wáaf_ɔ wiigí wa'- snake
 waal´ 2Vb sow
 wa'alím length
 wa'am_a´ 1Vb be long, tall
ⁿwaan_a ⁿwaamis ⁿwàanŋ- monkey
 wàbìg_a Adj lame
 wàbìlìm 2Vb make, go lame
 wabug_ɔ´ wabid´ wab- elephant
 wadá wad- (English "order") law
ⁿwadig_a´ ⁿwadis´ ⁿwad- moon, month;
 -bíl_a star; ⁿWad-dár Venus
 wà'e_{ya} 1Vb travel
ⁿwà'e 2Vb cut wood
ⁿwa'e´ 2Vb strike, break
 walig_a wals/walí wàl- oribi
 walim mist, heat, steam
ⁿwam_n ⁿwama ⁿwàm- calabash;
 also ⁿwan_n wana ⁿwàn-
 wànìm 2Vb waste away

wàsìnwàlì kind of gall on trees
 (local English "mistletoe")
 wàuŋ_ɔ Adj wasted, thin
ⁿwè' 2Vb beat; ⁿwè' X nù'ug plead with X;
ⁿwè' ⁿɔ'wɔg boast
 wɛɛl´ 2Vb remain unsold
 wel 2Vb bear fruit; welí´ welá wel- fruit
 welá/walá Pn how? nìŋ welá n/kà §10.5.3
ⁿwɛn_{na}´ 1Vb be like §9.7.3
ⁿwennir Adj resembling (TP A, W)
 wèog_ɔ deep bush
 wɛog_ɔ´ wɛɛd´ cheap thing widely sold W
ⁿwi 2Vb spin (thread)
 wjak´ 2Vb hatch
 wìdìg 2Vb scatter
 wìef_ɔ wìdì wìd- horse
 wìd_a/wèed_a wìb_a wìd- hunter
 wiig_a´ whistle
ⁿwiig_a´ ⁿwiis´ ⁿwi- rope
ⁿwiig´ 2Vb make rope
 wìm disease ("worse than baⁿ'as" W)
 wìk Ipf wìd_a 2Vb fetch water
 wìlì wìlà wìl- branch
 wìlìsúŋ_ɔ wìlímís wìlìsúŋ- kind of snail
 wím Ideo for zìⁿ'a red
 wìŋ_n´ wìná wìn- spiritual essence; God;
 -tɔ́wɔg_ɔ misfortune
 wìnnìg_a wìn- sun; -liir sunset;
 -kòwɔ afternoon
 wìug_ɔ Adj red (synonymous with zìⁿ'a)
 wɔk_ɔ´ Adj long, tall
 wòm Gd wum_{mɔ}/wòm_mùg_ɔ 2Vb hear;
 smell; feel; understand (speech)
 wusa/wuu Qf 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 subject after Imp)

ya Pt (NSb-Pf) §9.5

yà' Pt if, when §10.4.4;

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

ⁿya'al' 2Vb leave behind

yà'an 2Vb perch

ⁿyaan Pt next §9.4.1

yáaṅ_a yáas yaan- grandchild, descendantⁿyá'an_a Adj (animal) femaleⁿyá'an_a behind; east; ⁿya'an-dól_l_a/dól_lⁿya'an-dóllà/dóllìb_a ⁿya'an-dól- disciple

yaar' 2Vb scatter

ⁿya'ar ⁿya'a ⁿyà'- root

yàarìṁ yàar- salt

yà'as/yà'as_a again

yà'as 2Vb take down something hanging,

e.g. clothes from a line (Naden)

ya'as' 2Vb open repeatedly

yàda/yàdda trust (Hausa yàrdaa)

yadig' 2Vb scatter; yat_a' participant

in a housebuilding ritual

ya'e' 2Vb widen, (mouth) open

ⁿyae LF ⁿyaené Ideo bright, clear

yàk 2Vb unhang, unhook

yàlìg 2Vb widen

yàlìṁ_a 1Vb be wideyalìṁ' yalìṁ-nám_a worthless personyalìsúṅ_ᵅ yalìmís yalìsúṅ- quailyàlòṅ_ᵅ Adj wideⁿyalóṅ_ᵅ Adj wonderfulyam_n yama yàm- hayyam'/ya'am' W yam- bile; gall bladder;
common sense, intelligence;

ṁ yam kpê'n'ε_lí I've set my heart on it

ṁ yam kpê'n'o_ I've fallen in love with
her;

ṁ yam jà'k ya I'm terrified

yàmmùg_a/yàmmùg_ᵅ yàmmìs yàm- slaveⁿyàn_n shameyanám_a Pn 2P

ⁿyanṅ' 2Vb overcome; succeed in §10.5.3

yàug_ᵅ yàad grave, tomb

ye Pt that §10.1

yè 2Vb dress oneself

ⁿye IpF ⁿyeta' Imp ⁿyèṁ_a 2Vb see, find;

ⁿye láafiyà get well

ⁿyee/ⁿyee tí Pt habitually §9.4.2

yèeg 2Vb undress oneself

yèel 2Vb dress someone

ⁿye'er' ⁿyedá ⁿye'- next-younger sibling

yees' 2Vb betray secret

yèes 2Vb undress oneself

ⁿyèes_a 1Vb be bold; ⁿyèesìṁ boldnessⁿyèesìṅ_a Adj bold; ⁿyèesìṅ_a' boldly

yelì' yelá yel- affair; (Pl, as postposition)

about; -mèṅṛ truth; -pákìr disaster;

-súm_n blessingyèl IpF yèta' Gd yèlùg_ᵅ 2Vb say, tell

yelìg' 2Vb winnow

yeyìṁ 2Vb undulate

yèog_ᵅ yèed weed, straggler,

person displaced from their family

yèog_ᵅ yèed bird's crop

yéonṅ Qf one (in counting)

yi IpF yita' Imp yìṁ_a 2Vb go/come out

yìdìg 2Vb go astray

yidìg' 2Vb untie

yìer jaw

yiigá Qf firstly; yiig-sób_a first personyiis' Gd yiisìb_ᵅ 2Vb make go/come out

yim Ideo exactly; at once

yimmír Adj unique, sole

- yimmú Qf straight away, at once
 ʔyin_n ʔyina ʔyin- tooth
 yinní Qf one
 yìŋ_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
 ʔyiríf_ɔ ʔyirí egusi seed
 yis 2Vb make go/come out
 yuxŋɔ' Adj single (of pair)
 yò 2Vb close
 yɔ 2Vb pay; Gd yɔɔɔ' pay
 yɔɔs' 2Vb untie
 yɔɔsím freedom
 yɔɔgɔ' yɔɔn' yɔɔ- sack; £100, 200 cedis
 ʔyɔɔɔ intestines
 yò'gɔ 2Vb open
 ʔyɔ'gɔ' chest
 ʔyɔ'gɔ sympathy: ò zòto_ ʔyɔ'gɔ
 she sympathises with him
 yò'gɔ yò'yà yò- soldier ant
 ʔyɔ'gɔ ʔyɔ'ya ʔyò- nose; -vur' -vuyá -vur- life
 ʔyɔ'gɔ' smoke
 yuà LF yuà 2Vb bleed; fornicate W;
 flow (of tears)
 yu'adɪr yu'ada rafter
 yùbìg_a yùbìs yùb- kind of small
 bottle-like pot
 ʔyu'e' 2Vb set alight
 yugudɪr 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
 yù'um_n yu'umá yu'um-/yuum- song
 yùum_n yùmà yùum- year
 yu'un Pt then, next §9.4.1
 yù'uhɔ yu'umís yu'uhɔ- night
 yu'ur' yudá yu'- name
 yuur yuya yù- water pot
 ʔyuur' ʔyuyá ʔyu- yam
 yu'us_a' now again, from now on
 -Z-
 za' za- millet
 za'a Qf every
 záalɪ 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'súŋɔ
 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 conflict
 zà'bìl 2Vb tattoo
 za'bu_n za'buna zà'bìn- tattoo; sign B
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; -nɔɔr' gate
 zàkìm 2Vb itch
 za'li_a' 1Vb have in the hand
 zà'li umbilicus
 zàlìŋ_a zàlìmìs zàlìŋ- electric catfish,
Malapterurus electricus
 zàm (-mm-) 2Vb cheat;
 zàm-zam_{na} cheater
 zàmìs 2Vb learn, teach
 zàŋ 2Vb pick up
 zàŋgùom_n zàŋgùomà zàŋgùom- wall
 zàŋkù'ar zàŋkùà'a zàŋkùà'- hyena
 zεm_{ma}' 1Vb be equal
 zεmìs' 2Vb make equal
 zεmmúgɔ Adj equal
 zè'ogɔ see zì'a
 zi Gd ziid' 2Vb carry on head;
 zi-zìid_a carrier on head
 zì' 1Vb not know

zì'n'a Adj red: **zì'n'a** and **wìug₅** cover all reddish shades, **sabílìg_a** all darker, and **pièlìg_a** all lighter. Between them, these three terms cover all colours. However, other standard colour terms exist; they are of the type **wuu támpuur ne** 'grey', literally "like ash", **wuu mawd ne** 'green' ("like grass"), **wuu dón-bùulim ne** 'yellow' ("like dawadawa powder") etc

zì'e_{ya} 1Vb stand

zì'el 2Vb make stand; **zì'el nãã'** promise

zì'en 2Vb stand; **ò zì'en ne** she's pregnant

zien_a ziem_s threshing-floor

zì'es 2Vb wobble (? tone and meaning; cf Mooré *zèese* 'jump up and down')

zì'n'i_{ya} 1Vb sit; **zì'n'i_{ga} zì'n'is zì'n'**- place

zì'n'il 2Vb make sit

zum' zì- blood

zì'n'in 2Vb sit down

zì'ig_a zimí zim- fish; **-gbân'ad_a** fisher

zì'isíge alternative LF of **zì'**

zìlim_n zìlimà zìlim- tongue

zìlnzì'og₅ Adj unknown

zím Ideo for **sabílìg_a** black

ziná today

zìnzàug₅' zìnzaná zìnzàug₅- bat

zìrì untruth, lie

zì'ug₅ charcoal (= Mooré *zèoongó*)

zò Ip **zòt_a** Imp **zòm_a** 2Vb run; show an emotion; Gd **zua/zaw₅** Pl **zaw_s** run; Gd **zòtìm** fear; **zò dábiem** fear §9.7.1;

ò zaw₅ bá nin-báa'nìg she pitied them

zòl 2Vb castrate

zòlmís foolishness

zòug₅' zòn_n' zòl- fool

zòm' zòm- flour

zòom_n zòoma zòom- refugee, fugitive

zòrg_a' small child W

zòrug₅' zòrá piece

zu 2Vb steal

zùà LF **zùà -nàm_a zùà-** friend

zù'e 2Vb get higher, more

zùe 2Vb perch, get on top

zug₅' zut' zu-/zug- head;

onto, due to §9.7.2.3;

zug-dâan_a master; **zug-kugur zug-kuga**

zug-kúg- pillow; **zug-sób_a** master B1/2

(in B3, but not B1/2, reserved for "the Lord");

zu-péelòg₅ Adj bald;

zu-píbìg_a hat; **zugú_n** on

zùg 2Vb work bellows

zùlìg 2Vb deepen

zùlìm_a 1Vb be deep

zùlùg₅ Adj deep; **zùlùg₅** depth

zùn_n civet

zùnzòg_a/zùnzòg₅ zùnzòw_s zùnzòg₅-
blind person

zùg₅ Adj foreign

zuóbúg₅ zuóbíd zuob- (human head) hair

zùod friendship

zùol 2Vb make to perch

zu'om' zu'omís zu'om- blind person

zu'om' 2Vb go/make blind

zùon 2Vb start perching

zuor zùoya zùà- hill

zùos 2Vb befriend W

zuríf₅ zurí zur- dawadawa seed

zú'uf₅ zú'uní dawadawa seed

zùu_g zùu_s/zùu_d zù_n- vulture

zuv_r zuya zù- tail

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