

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), which I recommend to all readers who wish to acquire a more profound insight into the language. Other advances include a useful dictionary of Agolle Kusaal edited by Tony Naden, and several works on the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso from Urs Niggli, including an extensive dictionary.

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

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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

I am particularly grateful to Brian McLemore, Executive Director of Global Translation Services at Bible League International, and to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation for permission to cite the Kusaal Bible versions.

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

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Abbreviations

Adj	adjective	C	consonant
CIF	compound-initial form	CQ	content question
Dem	demonstrative	DP	discontinuous past
Foc	focus	Gd	gerund
H	high tone	Ideo	ideophone
Idf	indefinite	Imp	imperative
Ipf	imperfective	Irr	irrealis
L	low tone	LF	long form
M	mid tone	ND	non-dependent
Ng	negative	NP	noun phrase
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		

The symbol is used to join enclitics to hosts in the Kusaal orthography of this grammar; when it is followed by a space or by punctuation, the enclitic is segmentally zero, but is labelled in the interlinear glosses after the corresponding = symbol.

The undertie symbol is used to mark liaison §4.4 before words other than enclitics.

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.

The following additional conventions are adopted in interlinear glosses:

Bound/free pronouns and short/long demonstratives are not distinguished.

Dem Idf Ø add A/I/P for animate/inanimate/plural: DemA IdfP etc.

The singular of (pro)nominals is unlabelled, except in the case of 1S 2S.

The perfective of 2Vbs and imperfective of 1Vbs are unlabelled; verbs are only labelled for mood in the case of 2Vb imperatives with non-dependent marking.

Some set phrases are glossed by single words.

Sources

David Spratt's work has been helpful on Kusaal phonology, above all on tone, where I found his *Introduction* invaluable when I was first learning what to listen for, having no previous experience with tone languages.

Otherwise, all analyses below are my own. The works of Hasiyatu Abubakari and Anthony Agoswin Musah were not yet available when I lived in Ghana, and my own studies were far advanced independently before I discovered them. I have since found much of great interest in their publications, but not of a kind which lent itself readily to incorporation in the approach to which I was already committed; there also seems to be value in adhering to my own solutions, as providing an alternative perspective on the complexity evident in Kusaal, as in all natural languages. No single investigator can ever hope to exhaust all the treasures of a language, and there is surely room for many complementary viewpoints.

The morphophonemics and basic syntax here are based on discussion and elicitation with four first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal: W from Koka, K from Tempene, 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.) They showed minor differences of speech from one another, which were probably dialectal rather than simply matters of idiolect, but I have made no study of dialect variation within Agolle Kusaal. I noticed no systematic differences between the speech of men and women.

D and (especially) W were adept at teasing out the precise nuances implied by the use of one construction over another with a closely similar meaning, and in imagining scenarios in which some unobvious locution would be the natural way of putting things. I was very fortunate in having their help.

The description of higher-level syntax largely 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.)

The Bible translations are referenced as follows:

- B Wina'am Gbaun (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.

The three other sources published by GLLBT which are cited are

- G1 Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yɛla. 1989. Abokiba, Matthew M.
(A short book of quizzes about various animals and birds.)
- G2 Kusaal Solima ne Siilima. 1981. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah.
(A relatively long collection of stories and proverbs.)
- G3 Kusaas Kuob nɛ Yir yela Gbauŋ. 1988. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah.
(A short text about a Kusaasi farming family.)

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

It will be seen below that the example sentences in the syntax sections are greatly skewed toward the Bible translations: this seemed appropriate in view of the fact that the intended meaning of the Kusaal text is generally not in much doubt. The Bible translations are regarded by speakers as idiomatic and natural, but clearly there are issues with analyses which depend heavily on translated materials, especially translations in a relatively formal style. I have endeavoured to redress the balance a little with my selection of texts in §14.

Transcription conventions

Kusaal 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 and Dagbani 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.

Words from other languages are cited as they appear in their sources, which can be found in the References and Bibliography section.

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. The White Volta separates the western “Toende” part of this region from the eastern “Agolle.” There are also many Kusaasi settlements in the neighbouring part of Burkina Faso, west of the White Volta and south of Zabré, and a few in Togo, north of Pusiga.



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 zaafii*, ‘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, notably prohibitions against eating particular animals. The Kusaasi originally had no chiefs; in matters of land use the local leader is the *tèn-daan* ‘earth-priest’, taken as the heir of the original first settler. Before the British and French invasions, this whole region was dominated by the Mossi-Dagomba kingdoms, founded around the thirteenth century by invaders said to come from east of Lake Chad. These conquerors created hereditary chieftaincies; however, their subjects everywhere continued to provide the earth-priests. Gbewa, their first king, ruled from Pusiga, where he is said to have been swallowed by the earth; in his sons’ time, internal strife and attacks by the Kusaasi and Bisa led to the capital being relocated south across the Gambaga escarpment to what is now 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 *banaa* smock, usually called a “fugu shirt” in English; this characteristically northern garment was popularised in the south of Ghana by President Rawlings.

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

Dìm ne Wɩn, da tû'as ne Wɩnné_.

eat.ND-Imp with God Ng.Imp talk with God=Ng

‘Eat with God, don’t talk with God.’

Wɩn nyé kà sin.

God see and be.silent

‘God sees and is silent.’

Everyday life is instead concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called *wɔn*. A *wɔn* resides in a *bugɔr*, 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 *nyɔ-vɔr* 'life', *wɔn* (here 'spiritual individuality') and *kikiris*, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three *kikiris*, 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 *kikiris* 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 *kikiris*. Most people have a *sigur* 'guardian spirit', which is often the *wɔn* of an ancestor; *bugɔr* may also mean "a *sigur* inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's *sigur*. *Sɔɔɔ* 'witches' are supposed to do harm by stealing a person's *sug*; they are somewhat more like traditional European vampires than witches, and their condition is not thought to be always voluntary.

Trees are animate in the traditional worldview: the *wɔn* of a tree can be a person's *sigur*, and a tree can be a witch.

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, used, for example, by the many local Bisa people, whose Mande language is rarely learned by others. My first Kusaal New Testament was a gift from a local Mamprussi colleague who spoke Kusaal and did not know Mampruli.

Kusaal written materials remain few, however, apart from the Bible translation, which is much the most extensive written work in the language so far.

There is a sharp dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably reflecting 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, though all written materials from Burkina Faso are in the Toende dialect. My language consultants reported that they understood Toende dialect without significant difficulty, but the position may be asymmetrical, with Toende Kusaasi finding Agolle Kusaal harder than vice versa. Berthelette 2001 reports that Ghanaian Toende speakers find Agolle dialect significantly easier than Burkinabé Toende speakers do, presumably due to greater exposure. Interestingly, he also reports that Toende speakers consider their dialect "purer" than Agolle Kusaal.

For an outline of the differences between the dialects see §1.3.2.

1.2 Related languages

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.

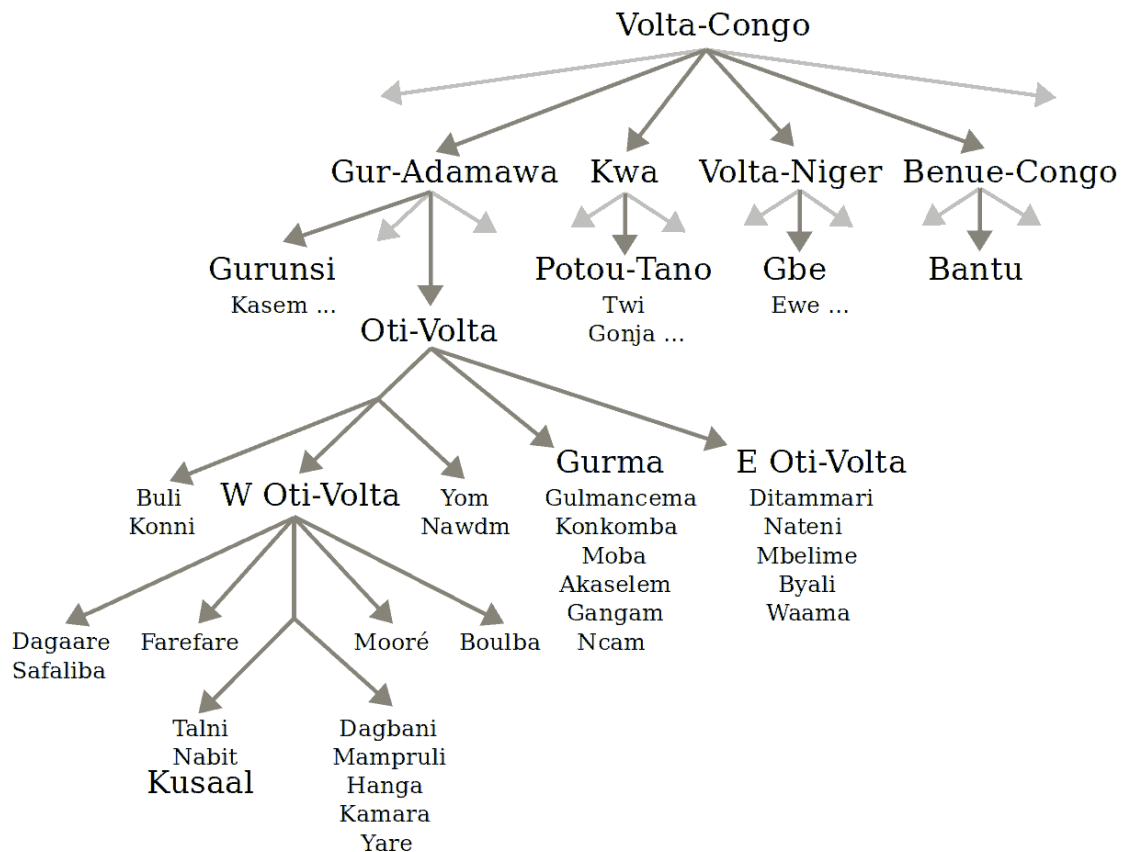
The Oti-Volta languages (Western Oti-Volta yellow, others blue)



Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni

Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

Oti-Volta forms part of the “Gur” (French “voltaïque”) family, which also includes at least the Gurunsi languages, along with Koromfe, Miyobe and Baatonum, but not more peripheral groups (like Senufo) that were previously included. Scholars associated with Adams Bodomo have used the term “Mabia” (cf Dagaare *mábié* ‘relative’) both for Western Oti-Volta, and for higher-order groupings (Bodomo 1994.) Gur is in turn part of the great Volta-Congo family, which extends from Mali and Côte d’Ivoire to South Africa, and notably includes the vast Bantu subgroup:



Volta-Congo is usually held to be part of a “Niger-Congo” phylum; however, the evidence for a relationship between Volta-Congo and other parts of this grouping is often tenuous (particularly so with Mande.) Although the current consensus is that the “Atlantic” languages, at least, are genetically related to Volta-Congo, Atlantic is itself extremely diverse internally. Wilson 1989 cites lexicostatistical work suggesting that the branches of Atlantic are as remote from one another and as isolated within Niger-Congo as Ijoid, and Merrill 2018 states that “the Northern Atlantic languages are remarkably distinct from each other. Whatever genetic relationships exist between these groups must be extremely distant - perhaps more distant than can be satisfactorily recovered by the tools of comparative linguistics.”

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

1.3 Grammatical overview

Long vowels are written double; ' marks glottalisation, ⁿ nasalisation; e ɛ both represent [ɪ], o ɔ both [ʊ]; y is [j].

Word roots have the form (C)VV or (C)V(V)C. Stems may add up to three derivational suffixes C; full words end with a flexion (C)V(V). Nominal stems may have a prefix (C)V(n) CVsn or CVln. 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; all other clusters are broken up by epenthetic vowels.

Syllables carry high (H), mid (M, unmarked) or low (L) tone; CVVC syllables may carry a high-low (X) tone. Tone sandhi is extensive. 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. Several distinct 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 ne gbugum.

3I be Foc lion

‘It’s a lion.’

Lì ka' gbugumne_.

3I Ng.be lion=Ng

‘It’s not a lion.’

This appearance of LFs is due to “prosodic enclitics.” The symbol _ is used to join hosts to enclitics; if a space or punctuation mark follows, as here, the enclitic is segmentally zero. “Liaison words”, which include most personal pronouns, also cause preceding words to appear as LFs, but with loss of final vowel quality contrasts:

M̀ pu duxe_.

1S Ng cook=Ng

‘I haven’t cooked.’

M̀ dúgɛ_bá.

1S cook=3P

‘I’ve cooked them.’

M̀ pu dɔllá_.

1S Ng accompany=Ng

‘I don’t go along.’

M̀ dɔllɛ_bá.

1S accompany=3P

‘I go with them.’

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** in commands has a zero SF preceded by **-t**: **Gòsìm_t!** '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 **ñ**)
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		mɔ̀li	'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 **bùmìs** 'donkey', and **zʊʊr** Pl **zʊya** 'tail' the same as **yʊ'ʊr** Pl **yudá** 'name.'

Adjectives regularly form compounds §9.1 with preceding noun heads; very unusually from a cross-linguistic standpoint, so too do dependent demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. Head-final compounds are also common. The first element of a compound takes the suffix ε : after apocope, the resulting “compound-initial form” resembles a bare stem. The final element inflects for the number of the head:

b̀-tita'ar	'big goat'	b̀-titada	'big goats'
z̀-tita'ar	'big tail'	z̀-titada	'big tails'
m̀l-tita'ar	'big kob'	m̀l-titada	'big kobs'
b̀-kàŋa	'this goat'	b̀-bàmma	'these goats'
z̀-kàŋa	'this tail'	z̀-bàmma	'these tails'
m̀l-kàŋa	'this kob'	m̀l-bàmma	'these kobs'
b̀-kvud	'goat-killer'	b̀-kvudɓ	'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	kvud	'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 (**mɔr** '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 **kvud** Pl **kvudɓ** '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 distinction in the plural. The third-person bound subject pronouns are thus **ò** 'he/she', **lì** 'it', **bà** 'they.'

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

Certain nouns function as postpositions: **téɛb̀l̃ la z̃ug** '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.

T̃i sá t̃is̃_f bυυg la.

1P Tns give=2S goat the

'We gave you the goat yesterday.'

T̃i sá pu t̃is̃_f bυυg láa_.

1P Tns Ng give=2S goat the=Ng

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

T̃i ná t̃is̃_f bυυg la.

1P Irr give=2S goat the

'We'll give you the goat.'

T̃i kú t̃is̃_f bυυg láa_.

1P Ng.Irr give=2S goat the=Ng

'We won't give you the goat.'

There are two 'be' verbs: **bè** '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'**:

M̃ bυυg bé.

1S goat exist

'I have a goat.'

L̃i à ne bυυg.

3I be Foc goat

'It's a goat.'

L̃i ka' bυuga_.

3I Ng.be goat=Ng

'It's not a goat.'

M̃ bυυg ka'e_.

1S goat Ng.exist=Ng

'I don't have a goat.'

dau lá_ ʔye buug la
man the=Nz see goat the

‘the man having seen the goat’

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

dàɸ-kànì_ dà' buug la
man-Dem=Nz buy goat the

‘the man who has bought a goat’

dàɸ-kàn búugù_ bòdìg la
man-Dem goat=Nz get.lost the

‘the man whose goat got lost’

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

‘the goat that you’ve seen’

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

‘the goat that you’ve seen’

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

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

‘I want you to buy a goat.’

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

‘I think that you’ve bought a goat.’

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

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

‘He says he’s bought the goat.’

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

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

‘And I saw that the man was short.’

1.3.1 Changes over recent decades

Changes in Agolle Kusaal can be seen even over the period since the 1976 New Testament translation was published, and in many cases the language of literacy materials published in the 1980's agrees with the 1976 Bible over against the later versions. David Spratt's *Introduction to Learning Kusaal* is undated, but also aligns with the earlier materials in several respects. In some cases, the differences may be simply the result of changing orthographic practices; this seems likely, for example, in the case of verb forms as written before enclitics §2.4; other differences may reflect different dialects within Agolle Kusaal. Some, however, must reflect actual language change over this period.

There has been some simplification of the system of external sandhi over this period. Earlier materials much more often show liaison §4.4 before words which are not enclitic than later texts: compare e.g.

Pu'a sɔ' da be mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.

Pɔ̀à'-sɔ' dá bè_ mɔ́r ò bi-púŋ kà kìkirig dɔ́lló_.

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 B3

with Ka pɔ'a so' da be more o bipuŋ ka kikirig dol o. (B2)

Kà pɔ̀à'-sɔ' dá bè_ mɔ́rí_ ò bi-púŋ kà kìkirig dɔ́lló_.

The speech of my own language consultants in the 1990's largely followed the later pattern, with e.g. pèɛd àtáⁿ rather than pèɛdá_ àtáⁿ 'three baskets.'

On the other hand, both the nominaliser particle ñ and the clause linker n appear written as n much more often in older than more recent texts, where n is common only after proper names of foreign origin. Thus e.g.

Po'asadire n da be n a yiwiaa

Pɔ̀à'-sadrɪ_ n dá bè_ n áⁿ yi-wíá.

woman-nulliparous + Tns exist + be unmarried.woman

'There was a young woman who was unmarried' G2 p32

My consultants did not have [n] as a realisation of either of these particles, and the usual realisation of the nominaliser, when not fused with a preceding personal pronoun, was as segmental zero, but with the sandhi effect of its Fixed L tone §4.2 still in evidence.

Another systematic difference in sandhi between older and more recent texts is in the writing of the ND-Pf particle *ya* §10.5. This is written solid with the preceding verb in all periods, but in B1/2 it is preceded by *e* (for *ɔ*) after a consonant, e.g.

bozugo lik la gaadeya B2	'because the darkness has passed'
bɔzugo lik la gaadya B3	1 Jn 2:8
bɔ zúgɔ lik la gâad ya	
because darkness the pass ND-Pf	

My consultants did not have this vowel before *ya*. The particle was presumably a liaison enclitic previously; comparative evidence, along with its tonal behaviour, shows that it has developed from an older flexional suffix (Eddyshaw 2024 3.5.11.)

A few forms in older texts show what is probably an epenthetic vowel after CIFs which end in plosives §5.1.2, e.g. nwadibil for *ⁿwad-bíla* 'star'; cf the place name *Wìdì-ⁿyá'anjá* 'Woriyanga' beside *wìd-ⁿyá'anjá* 'mare.'

The preverbal adjunct *kpèlim* 'immediately', 'still' §10.4.3 has become *kpèn* in later texts; my consultants used the uncontracted form.

Spratt's *Introduction* generally marks tones in a way which is consistent with the speech of my consultants. However, bound personal pronoun subjects are written with mid tone, not low, in all cases where they are followed by Initial Raising §4.2, presumably reflecting the older state of affairs; this is consistent with the general rules for tone raising. Spratt's work also suggests that TP H nominal forms ending in a short vowel, like *kugá* 'stones' and *pítú* 'younger same-sex sibling' were formerly H...L: he writes *kúga*, *pítu* etc. If the current final H tone is the result of later tone spreading, it would account for the absence of raising after Pls ending in *á* or *í*.

A change in progress is the creation of relative pronouns from demonstrative heads followed by nominaliser *n̄* §11.9.2; contrast B2 *lin ka Kiristo bood ye ti pian' la* 'what Christ wants us to say' 2 Cor 12:19 with B3 **linɛ** *ka Kristo bood ye ti pian' la*. W did not use such forms, but they are occasionally found in older sources.

A minor change between B1/2 and B3 appears with catenative clauses after *mìtá* (mid B3) 'let not' §11.5.4, where B3 has no final negative clitic.

The replacement of content clauses in reported speech by direct speech in B2/B3 §11.6.1 probably reflects an editorial decision, rather than a language change.

Haaf 1967 contains many Kusaal words and phrases, in a transcription similar to the 1976 Bible, but with no marking of nasalisation, glottalisation or (usually) vowel length. The language resembles that of older texts, but some transcriptions suggest that the loss of **g* after open vowels §3.2.3 was still a change in progress, e.g. *diegim* for *dì'em* 'receive!', *bagr* for *bà'ar* 'idol' but *poa* for *pua'* 'woman.'

1.3.2 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] [ŋ̃m] where Agolle has initial ^{ny} ^w. 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 ɔʷɔs, 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 ɔʷ, this represents an original Common Kusaal *aw: cf Toende ɔʷɔt, Agolle **bɔʷɔd** ‘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: b̃ɲɲ ‘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 §3.2.3 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 (pɔʷxa ‘wife’), but as in Agolle Kusaal the outcome is now simply glottalisation: pɔʷ'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 dɔʷɔ ‘cook’ (Agolle **lèb**, **pùd**, **dɔʷg**.)

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 **d̄it ne**.

Morphology differs little between Agolle and Toende, except as a consequence of the phonological differences. Minor differences appear in the syntax of relative clauses §11.9.2, 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’, tɲɲ ‘go’, and the free pronouns tun ‘we’, nam ‘you’ Pl. Particles can show significantly divergent phonological developments: Agolle nominaliser **n̄** corresponds to Toende ne, linker **n** to zero, irrealis **nà** to ne, negative **pɔ** to bu, the locative enclitic **n** to ɿ, and focus **nɛ** to me phrase-finally, but ne elsewhere. Nasalisation is preserved in Toende ɔ̃ ‘he/she’ (Agolle ɔ̃), and the 3rd person Sg inanimate pronoun is la (Agolle **l̄**.)

2 Sound system

2.1 Consonants

For phonotactics see §3.2.

Symbols have IPA values except where noted.

The consonant inventory is as follows:

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

As a phoneme, **h** appears only in loanwords, though such loans include the extremely common word **halí** ‘until’; [h] is, however, a common allophone of **s**.

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** in Agolle Kusaal.

Velar stops are labialised before rounded vowels, backed before back vowels, and fronted before front vowels, for some speakers even to palatal affricates; they may represent [tʃ dʒ] in loans: **tók-làe** ‘torch(light)’, **sóǵjà** ‘soldier.’

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

t d n s z l r are usually alveolar, but **s z** may be dental or interdental; **l** is never velarised. Non-initial **s** is often realised [h], and may represent this sound in loans: **Àláasìd** ‘Sunday’, Hausa *Lahàdii*, **Dàsmáanì** a man’s personal name, ultimately from Arabic ‘*Abdu-r-Raḥmān*. 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 represent syllabic nasals when they are the sole constituents of written words which are not enclitic.

y is [j]; ^ɲw ^ɲy represent nasalised [w̃ j̃].

2.2 Vowels

The term “vowel” will be used for both monophthongs and diphthongs. There are seven short monophthongs **a** **ɛ** **i** **ɪ** [ɪ] **ɔ** **u** **ʊ** [ʊ], and corresponding long vowels written with double letters. Non-root final **ɛ** **ɔ** are somewhat less open. After alveolars/palatals, **ɪ** **ʊ** **u** are slightly more front. In 3A pronouns [ʊ] is written **o**. In **ye** ‘that’, **teŋ** ‘land’, **keŋ** ‘go’, **ken** Ipf **kèm** ND-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 **ɪ̣** **ʊ̣** are laxer and longer than **y** **w**. Non-initial **e** **ɛ** **o** in diphthongs represent [ɪ ɪ̣ ʊ̣].

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

					ɪ̣a	ʊ̣a		
					ia	ua	ɪ̣a'a	ʊ̣a'a
					iaa	uaa		
aɛ̣	ɛ̣ɪ̣			ɔɛ̣	ʊ̣ɪ̣	ʊ̣ɛ̣	ɪ̣e	
ae				ɔe	ui	ue	ie	ue
								ʊ̣a'e
aee							iee	uee
aʊ̣	ɛʊ̣		ʊ̣				ɪ̣aʊ̣	ʊ̣o
au	ɛo	iu					io	uo

Word- and phrase-internally before consonants other than **y**, **ie** **uo** are [iə uə] and **ʊ̣a'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: **dʊ̣à'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: **pu'ab** ‘women’, **pu'a** ‘woman.’ **Mà'àa** ‘only’ has a unique overlong monophthong. Except in questions, word-final short root vowels glottalise before pause: **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’, **sò'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'ed** ‘get angry’; **gɛ^n** ‘get tired’; **tɛɛ^n's** ‘lands’; **bɪ̣aʊ̣^nk** ‘shoulder.’

Vowels of epenthetic origin vary in prominence depending on their position within the word. Non-root vowels are usually realised like root vowels, but in a non-final open syllable after an open root syllable with a short vowel (i.e. in a non-final open second mora, ignoring prefixes in the counting) they are reduced to schwa-like vowels with no quality contrasts:

bèdòg	[bɛdɔg]	'great'	bèdògu	[bɛdəgɔ]	'much'
wabug	[wabug]	'elephant'	wabugó	[wabəgɔ]	LF §3.1
wabídé	[wabɪd]	'elephants'	wabídé	[wabədɛ]	LF
pèbìsùg	[pɛbəsɔg]	'wind'	pèbìsùgò	[pɛbəsɔgɔ]	LF

The same reduction is seen also in the relatively uncommon case of a vowel in a non-final open syllable after an unreduced third-mora vowel (i.e. in a non-final open fourth mora, ignoring prefixes in the counting):

di'esídìb	[dʲɛsɪdɪb]	'receivers'	di'esídìbà	[dʲɛsɪdɛba]	LF
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Vowels in all these positions also lose independent tone §2.3.

Parallel to this, root diphthongs monophthongise in an open syllable §3.2.3:

dàug	[daug]	'log'	dàugò	[da:gɔ]	LF
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The orthography used in this grammar ignores these losses of quality contrasts; they are occasionally reflected in the standard orthography of texts §2.4, though usually only in forms which are not LFs, e.g. bɛdegɔ for bèdògu 'much.'

2.3 Stress and tone

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

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

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

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 kpɛlá. 'I've seen the cow there.'
 M̂ ɲyé ʰnú'ug la kpɛlá. '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.'
 Daɥ la ʰsá mɛɛd yir la. 'The man was building the house.'
 Daɥ 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 kpɛlá. '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 nɛ mólì. 'They are kobs.'
 Bà ka' ʰmólìi_. 'They aren't kobs.'
 Ò à nɛ ʰpúkòɔ^{nr}. 'She's a widow.' (pu is a prefix)
 Ò ka' púkòɔ^{nr}ɛ_. 'She's not a widow.'
 Ò pu yaɗi^gída_. 'He isn't scattering.'
 Bó kà ò yaɗi^gída_? 'What's he scattering?'

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

Bà ka' di'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' ʰdágòb̀ìga_. 'It's not the left.' (stressed: **da** is a prefix)
 Bà pu sɪák̀ìda_. 'They don't agree.' (CVCCV: k = /kk/)

2.4 Orthography

Texts differ in orthography from this grammar in several respects.

Tone is not marked, and the symbols and are not used.

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 ηη ηκ. 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 bēdūgυ '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 aυ can be written either au or av. B3 writes ɔoe υoe uoe ɔi ieu for ɔe ue ue ɔe io: ɔɔn'oe 'be better than', ɔi 'be bitter', kpi'euy 'strong.' B1/2 write uey for ʉoy: zueya 'hills.' For the nasalisation marker ̃ a simple n is written: gɔn g̃n 'wander', tɛɛns tɛɛ̃s 'lands', tɛn'ɛs tɛ̃n'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, ̃wɛn '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 written after CIFs §5.1.2 before vowels: bun-ian'ada bun-ǰá'adà 'flying creatures.' Most CIFs spelt identically to Sgs are written as separate words: dau kaŋa dâʉ-kàŋa 'this man.' Otherwise, CIFs are written solid with following words: bikaŋa bi-kàŋa 'this child.' In B2, Sgs are often written in place of CIFs, though the audio version has the expected CIF: thus always Siig Sunj 'Holy Spirit' for Si-sùŋ.

Hyphens are consistently written in the phrases used for points of the compass §9.3: ya-nya'aŋ 'East' ("behind you Pl.") They are used to join the elements of personalisations with the pronoun à §9.2.1 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: ayɔɔɔi-pɔi 'by sevens' §9.5.1, zɔra-zɔra 'into shreds' §10.7.2.1, lasa-lasa 'speckled' (predicative ideophone §7.3.)

The locative enclitic **n**, the discontinuous-past marker **n**, and the enclitic 2P subject pronoun §4.4 are written solid with their hosts:

ku'omin	kù'om <u>n</u>	'in water'
gɔsimiya	gòsì <u>m_yá_</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>m</u>	'you accompany me'
	m dɔllif	m dɔll <u>f</u>	'I accompany you'
but	fu pɔ dɔlli ma	fù pɔ dɔll <u>ma</u>	'you don't accompany me'
	m pɔ dɔlli fɔ	m pɔ dɔll <u>fɔ</u>	'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_o_</u>	'you don't accompany her'
fu nyɛ o	fù ^{ny} yé <u>o_</u>	'you've seen her'
fu pɔ nyɛ oo	fù pɔ ^{ny} yé <u>ó_o_</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 ND-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 §12.1.1: o pian'adnɛ 'he is talking.' This sometimes happens with focus-**nɛ** in other roles, and even with **nɛ** 'with': B3 always writes nwnɛ ⁿwɛn **nɛ** 'resemble.' **Na** 'hither' is written solid with all forms of **keⁿ** 'come': kena **ke na** 'has come' etc.

Always written solid are alazug 'thus', bɔɔzug 'why/because', linzug/dinzug 'therefore', saazug 'up above', yu'ɔŋa yú'ɔŋ ⁿwá 'tonight.' Personaliser à §9.2.1 is written solid with the following word if 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 adnominal, adverbial, or predicative §7.

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 §9.1. 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 in the Kusaal orthography used here; when it is followed by a space or a punctuation mark, this signifies 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.’) The undertie symbol *_* marks liaison before words other than enclitics.

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_n</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 yáarìm.</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		wıdı	'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 **iaa uaa**: thus **kjà** LF **kì'a** 'cut', **zùà** LF **zù'a**. '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'
duk _ı ´		dukó	'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		gbıgımne	'lion'

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

kuk _a	LF	kuka	‘chair’
sia		siaa	‘waist’
daʊ		daʊ	‘man’
duk _ɔ ´		dukó	‘pot’
viid´		viidé	‘owls’
nua´		nuáa	‘hen’
taʊ ⁿ ´		táʊ 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 $Vm\varepsilon \rightarrow Vmm$; other final $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ } \text{u } \text{ɔ}$ (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 $LM \rightarrow LH$: **bèdògu´** ‘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'àa		mà'anè	‘only’
kímm		kímmnè	‘exactly, firmly’

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 may add up to three derivational suffixes **b d g l m n** or **s**, with many constraints on their possible combinations. 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 **} i } u** or **u**.

3.2.1 Roots

Root-initial glottal vowels only appear as the result of loss of **g** by §3.2.3 Set 1. Root-initial **a** **ɛ** or **ɔ** are always nasal, all other vowels oral; this restriction applies before any Set 1 vowel changes: thus **jaⁿk'** Ipf **jaⁿ'ada'** 'leap', from the root ***ɛⁿg**.

Many CVV roots derive historically from CVC, which can lead to unexpected changes in derivation and flexion.

In particular, many roots were formerly *CV**y**, where the ***y** is of the same origin as in the separative-reversive suffix §6.2.1 (Eddyshaw 2024, 2.3.5.) In Kusaal, this consonant has disappeared, usually with prolongation of the preceding vowel, but in Mooré it is preserved as *e* or *i* after back root vowels. It formerly combined with following alveolars to create a consonant cluster, accounting for verb Ipf forms like **zò** 'run', Ipf **zòt_a** beside e.g. **nu** 'drink', Ipf **nuuda'**; cf Mooré *zòe* 'run', Ipf *zòeta*. Verbs of this type carry over the short vowel into the ND-Imp form: **zòm_a** 'run!' In Kusaal, most such verbs have been assimilated to the regular type, and now prolong the root vowel before the usual Ipf suffix **-d_a**: thus e.g. **lo** 'tie up', Ipf **lo^oda'**, beside Mooré *lòe*, Ipf *loeta*.

There are a few cases of consonant assimilation of root-final ***y** in noun flexion, e.g. **wìd-lór'** 'place for tying up horses', **na'-lór'** 'place for tying up cows', **kòkór'** 'voice' (cf Mooré *kòεεgá* 'voice'.) Cf also Mooré *rèoogó* 'warthog', Pl *reto*.

A different process is involved with a few nouns which show short root vowels before some class suffixes, e.g.

zug_ɔ'	'head'	zut'	'heads'
dòɔg_ɔ	'hut'	dòt	'huts' (also dòɔd)
yir'	'house'	ya'	'houses'

These nouns had originally monomoraic stems *CV-. As they illustrate, regularised forms are frequent: in Kusaal, **zug_ɔ'** is the sole example with a short root vowel before a class suffix beginning with a velar, and in Farefare that too has been regularised as *zúugó* (Pl *zuto*.) Suffix-initial **d** → **t**, as seen above.

Such forms are confined to nominal flexion: throughout Western Oti-Volta, originally monomoraic verb stems, like **kpi** 'die', show Ipf forms with long vowels: **kpiida_a**, with the exception only of **dì** 'eat' (Kusaal Ipf **dìt_a**.)

It is unclear if the stems were originally monomoraic or of the form *CVw- in

daṽ	'man'	dap _a	'men'
taṽ ⁿ	'opposite-sex sibling'	ta ⁿ pa ^ʔ	'opposite-sex siblings'

Mooré *raopa* 'men' and *tãopa* 'opposite-sex siblings' suggest *CVw-stems, but a monomoraic origin would be more consistent with the short root vowels in *puḱɔ̄ntim* 'widowhood' and Toende *dakõtvm* 'celibacy'; although Agolle Kusaal has regularised *puḱɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿr* 'widow', Pl *puḱɔ̄ⁿyà* and *dàḱɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿr* 'bachelor, widower', Pl *dàḱɔ̄ⁿyà*, Toende Kusaal (like Mooré) preserves the older flexion: *puḱōot*, Pl *puḱōp* and *dakōot*, Pl *dakōp*. If these stems were monomoraic, the *ṽ* of *daṽ* and *taṽⁿ* originated from an older Sg suffix *-wa, and the suffix-initial change *b* → *p* is parallel to *d* → *t*.

Historical sandhi between lost root-final consonants and derivational suffixes can lead to synchronically unexpected forms: thus, with the verb-deriving suffix *g*:

	è ⁿ d	'block up'	è ⁿ dìg	'unblock'
but	ɔ	'tie'	ɔdìg ^ʔ	'untie'
	yò	'close'	yò'ɔg	'open'
	tè	'pull'	tèk	'pull'

CV(V)- roots show a predictable insertion of epenthetic consonants before the Pl noun-class suffix *aa*.

Root-final modal vowels insert *y*, before which long vowels become short, but there is no fronting (contrast §3.2.3 Set 3): *nɔɔ^ʔ* 'mouth', Pl *nɔyá*. Here *ie* *uo* shorten to *je* *yo*: *zuor* 'hill', Pl *zuyoya*.

Root-final glottal vowels, on the other hand, shorten the vowel, drop glottalisation, and insert *d*:

puḱɔ̄ ⁿ ɔ ^ʔ	'cripple'	puḱɔ̄ ⁿ dà	'cripples'
yu'ɔ ^ʔ	'name'	yudá	'names'
yu'or	'penis'	yudoda	'penises'

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

CVC roots may have CVVC allomorphs, e.g. *kal^ʔ* 'number', *kaal^ʔ* 'count'; here *CɛC* corresponds to *CieC*: *lèbìg* 'turn', *lièb* 'become.' A former derivational **y* has often been lost after CVVC allomorphs §3.2.2; historical stem-suffix sandhi changes have also produced a few nouns with CVC/CVVC root alternations in flexion.

Set 2: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

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

gg → k		dd → t		bb → p
gìk_a	*gugga	'dumb'		gìgìs Pl
bòt_a	*budda	'plant' Ip		bòd Pf
ɔɔɔ́	*ɔɔbbɔ	'writing' Gd		ɔɔɔ 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		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 §2.4.)

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

Ip	tɔɔm_{ma}/tɔɔmíd_a	Gd	tɔɔŋɔ/tɔɔmúɔɔ	'depart (tɔɔm)'
	kàrìm_{ma}/kàrìmíd_a		kàrùŋɔ/kàrìmùɔɔ	'read (kàrìm)'

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	bùn_{na}	Gd	bunibɔ	'reap (bùn)'
	dìgìníd_a		dìgìnùɔɔ	'lie down (dìgìn)'
	gò'ɔníd_a		gò'ɔnùɔɔ	'extend neck (gò'ɔn)'

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

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

ld → nn

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

df/nf → f

wìefɔ	*wiedfɔ	'horse'	wìdì Pl
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 _{ma}	*lɛbma	'return!' Imp	lèb Pf
liè _{ma}	*liebma	'become!' Imp	lièb Pf

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

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.

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

In normal speech this change is not seen in open syllables: $L\grave{i}\ ka' d\acute{a}ug_\omega$ /lik\grave{a}da:g\omega/ 'It's not a log.' This is a low-level sandhi phenomenon §2.2.

Epenthetic $\iota \rightarrow \upsilon$ after a short rounded root V + g : $yug\acute{u}m_n$ 'camel', Pl $yug\acute{u}m\acute{a}$. 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 ND-Imp is always subject to tone overlay; 1Vbs have only one finite form.

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

sú'ŋ _a (sú'ŋà)	su'omís	su'ŋ- (su'omé)	'hare'
saan _a ' (saaná)	sáam _{ma}	saan-	'stranger'
gɔt _a '	gɔtí _b	gɔt-	'seer'
sabíl _l (sabíllè)	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** ***di'egre** 'getting', **pú'or** ***pu'ogre** 'rotting.'

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

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

So too **à gâuⁿg_ɔ** 'pied crow', **gbêɛⁿm** 'sleep', **áⁿsì_b** 'mother's brother', **kísùg_ɔ** 'hateful', and the gerunds **sóⁿsìg_a** 'talking', **gósìg_a** 'looking', **kìkírùg_ɔ** 'hurrying.'

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

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

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

Verbal TP H is otherwise as in nominals, except that *r* never behaves as CC, and fusion-verb Ipfs (and their agent nouns) and 1Vbs always have initial M, not H:

<i>nyε</i>	<i>nyεt_a'</i>	'see'
<i>dug</i>	<i>dugud_a'</i>	'cook'
<i>yadig'</i>	<i>yadigíd_a</i>	'scatter'
<i>mɔɔl'</i>	<i>mɔɔn_{na}</i>	'proclaim'
<i>dɪgɪl'</i>	<i>dɪgín_{na}</i>	'lay down'
<i>nɔk'</i>	<i>nɔkíd_a</i>	'take'
<i>laŋím</i>	<i>laŋím_{ma}</i>	'wander searching'
<i>kir</i>	<i>kirid_a'</i>	'hurry, tremble'
<i>pae'</i>	<i>paad_a'</i>	'reach'
	<i>dɪgɪya'</i>	'lie down'
	<i>kpi'em_{ma}'</i>	'be strong'

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

<i>bɔɔg_a</i>	<i>bɔɔs</i>	<i>bù-</i>	'goat'
<i>tan_n</i>	<i>tana</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	'earth'
<i>pɔa'</i>	<i>pɔ'ab_a</i>	<i>pɔà'-</i>	'woman'
<i>gbɪgɪm_n</i>	<i>gbɪgɪma</i>	<i>gbìgìm-</i>	'lion'
<i>mεεd_a</i>	<i>mεεdɪb_a</i>	<i>mèεd-</i>	'builder'
<i>sɔakɪd_a</i>	<i>sɔakɪdɪb_a</i>	<i>sɔàkìd-</i>	'believer'
<i>mεεdɪŋ_a</i>	<i>mεεdɪs</i>	<i>mèεdìŋ-</i>	'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	<i>yugudɪré</i>	Pl	<i>yugudaa</i>	'hedgehog'
	<i>waŋa</i>		<i>waamɪsé</i>	'monkey'
	<i>baŋɪda</i>		<i>baŋɪdɪbá</i>	'wise man'
	<i>kpaɪdɪŋa</i>		<i>kpaɪdɪsé</i>	'thing for locking'
	<i>gbɪgɪmmé</i>		<i>gbɪgɪmaa</i>	'lion'
	<i>zɔɔmmé</i>		<i>zɔɔmaa</i>	'fugitive'
	<i>tadɪmm</i>		<i>tadɪmɪsé</i>	'weak person'

W (not D) permits this before interrogative enclitics as an alternative:
Lì à nε gbɪgɪmméε/gbìgìmmèε_? '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 unprefix stem; after L prefixes, this is simply identical to an unprefix stem TP, but after M prefixes, root L → X/H, and in CIFs M → X/H too:

TP H	<i>gumpuzér'</i>	<i>gumpuzeyá</i>	<i>gumpuzér-</i>	'duck'
	<i>pipiríg_a</i>	<i>pipirís</i>	<i>pipír-</i>	'desert'
TP A	<i>fufum_n</i>	<i>fufuma</i>	<i>fufúm-</i>	'envy; sty'
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^ssìg_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. zìlím_n ‘tongue’, bòòdím ‘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. dɛɛŋ_a ‘first’, dɛ̀ŋ ‘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’
	kɔ̀ɛɛ ⁿ m	‘elder’	kɔ̀ɛɛ ⁿ m _a ’	‘be older than’

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

gɛog _ɔ	‘space between legs’	gɛɛl’	‘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'	mɛɛb _ɔ	'building'
	kàd	'drive away'	kadɪb _ɔ	'driving away'
but	sùŋ	'help'	sùŋɪr	'helping'
	kùos	'sell'	kùosùg _ɔ	'selling'
	zàa ⁿ sìm	'dream'	zàa ⁿ sùŋ _ɔ	'dream' (noun)
	b̀̀	'seek' (b̀̀ɔd _a 'want')	b̀̀ɔdìm	'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 §3.2.3)
	b̀̀	'seek' (b̀̀ɔd _a 'want')	b̀̀ɔdɪr	'desirable'
but	kpi	'die'	kpiilú _ɔ	'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 *gélì* ‘egg.’ One or two nouns have prefixes with an intrinsic H tone, e.g. *gbá'yà'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 §8.1 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 *tilàs*; *kèèkè* ‘bicycle’ from Hausa *kèèkee*. Loans beginning with H tone have been assimilated to the pattern of nouns with H prefixes: thus *bákpàè* ‘week’ from Hausa *bakwài* ‘seven’ resembles *gbá'yà'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 *gélì* 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

Much of the complexity of external sandhi is a consequence of apocope §3.1. From a comparative standpoint, this is transparently a process whereby the final vowel morae of words were deleted in most contexts, including citation. This need not imply a synchronic analysis with underlying forms modelled on the historic full forms, but in practice this proves to be much the simplest way of presenting the data.

Underlying CV pronouns and particles become simply C by apocope, e.g.

Ṁ pu dɔllí_f_.

1S Ng accompany=2S=Ng

‘I don’t go with you.’

Ṁ dɔllí_f.

1S accompany=2S

‘I go with you.’

More problematic are pronouns and particles of the form V, which become zero by apocope, though still identifiable by external sandhi changes to preceding words prior to this apocope, as with the rounding of preceding word-final *ɪ* to *o* seen in

Ṁ pu dɔlló_o_.

1S Ng accompany=3A=Ng

‘I don’t go with him/her.’

Ṁ dɔllo_.

1S accompany=3A

‘I go with him/her.’

However, once again, adopting such a synchronic analysis is justified by the resulting simplification of the description.

The most controversial extension of this principle is to posit particles which never have any segmental form at all, and are apparent solely in their sandhi effects on preceding words. This analysis is adopted in this grammar for “prosodic enclitics”, which inhibit the usual apocope of preceding words entirely. In practical terms, this means, for example, that it is only necessary to posit a single “negative enclitic”, with no allomorphs: the very different realisations of its effects are attributed, not to the clitic itself, but to the resurfacing of the full underlying forms of the preceding words. Clitics with no segmental form are not unprecedented in the literature: see, for example, the discussion of the Tongan “definitive accent” in Spencer and Luís 2012 pp132ff, which is based largely on Tongan data from Churchwood 1953 pp6ff.

“Liaison” words also inhibit apocope of preceding words, but with loss of their final vowel quality contrasts; liaison words are all either intrinsically unstressed particles or pronouns of the form (C)V, or begin with unstressed prefixes.

Beside this partial or complete suppression of apocope, external sandhi also includes segmental contact and tone sandhi.

In rule ordering, apocope and tone overlay precede all tone sandhi; among the tone sandhi changes, 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 **àɛⁿ** ‘be’ and **kaɛ** ‘not be’:

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

Manɔ_ á ⁿ dú'atà kà fun mén áɛ 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**’:

M á ne dú'atà.		‘I’m a doctor.’
1S be Foc doctor		

Initial C is often lost in focus-**ne**’ §12.1 after **d t r l m** and in **ʷà** ‘this’ after any consonant. Final [l m n] of the preceding word are geminated:

ỳɔ̀ɔ̀d ne	[jɔ:dɛ]	‘is closing’
z̀ɔ̀t ne	[zɔ:tɛ]	‘is running’
kp̀à̀r ne	[kpa:rɛ]	‘is locked’
d̀ɔ̀l ne	[dɔ:l:ɛ]	‘is accompanying’
z̀à̀m ne	[zam:ɛ]	‘is cheating’
z̀ɔ̀n ʷá_!	[zɔn:a]	‘fools!’ (as a vocative §11.4.5)

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

Ò niɲ_ àlá.	[niɲ:ala]/[niɲ:ɪla]	‘She’s done this.’
Pèédá_ àlá_?	[pɛ:dala]	‘How many baskets?’
Bà g̀ò̀s̀_ 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 ND tone overlay §10.5, 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.

	M̂ ʷé' búŋ la.	'I've hit (ʷè') the donkey (bùŋa).'
but	M̂ daa ʷé' bùŋ la.	'I hit the donkey.' (no ND tone overlay after daa)
	M̂ dígà bódìŋ ya.	'My dwarfs have got lost (bòdìŋ).'
but	M̂ yugumá bódìŋ ya.	'My camels have got lost.'

By default, all subject pronouns are also followed by raising, but in clauses with ND marking, raising is always absent after ò ì bà, and absent after m̂ fù tì yà when directly preceded by ye 'that' §10.5. Spratt'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 ellipsed §11.1.

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 (bùŋa).'
3P Tns give chief the donkey	

Fixed L tone appears on the pronouns m̂ fù ò ì 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_ ʷε 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: daŋ la pócɔŋ_n 'in the man's field (pócɔŋ'). It may change H on CVVC to X by analogy: daŋ la nâaf 'the man's cow (náaf).'

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

Quantifiers are thus liable to M-drop as heads of partitive constructions §9.7, but not as dependents, except after CIFs ending in M tone: *ligidi piiga* 'ten coins' but *ligidi la píigà* 'ten of the coins'; *kugur yinní* or *kug-yínnì* 'one stone.'

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

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

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

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

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

Prosodic enclitics have a zero segmental form, but cause preceding words to appear as LFs.

Final $Vm\varepsilon \rightarrow Vmm$, and three-mora monophthongs reduce to two. Any resulting monosyllabic TP H LFs carry H: $\text{tɔɔm}'$ LF tɔɔmm 'disappear', gaa^n' LF gáa^n 'ebony.'

The **negative** enclitic ends clauses containing a negated/negative verb §10.3 §10.6. It changes LF-final L syllables to M; this rule applies after initial raising.

$\text{Lì ka}' \text{ dukó}_-$ 'It's not a pot (duk_3').'

3I Ng.be pot=Ng

$\text{Lì ka}' \text{ nóbìr}_-$ 'It's not a leg (nóbìr).'

$\text{Bà ka}' \text{ mólìi}_-$ 'They are not kobs (mòlì).'

$\text{Lì ka}' \text{ yàarimm}_-$ 'It's not salt (yàarìm).'

$\text{Lì ká}' \text{ ò tumm}_-$ 'It's not her medicine (tùm).'

$\text{Lì ká}' \text{ bà da'a}_-$ 'It's not their market (dà'a).'

but $\text{Lì ka}' \text{ tùm}_-$ 'It's not medicine.'

$\text{Lì ka}' \text{ dá'a}_-$ 'It's not a market.'

Similar LFs may end clause adjuncts §11.1, even sometimes $\text{yà}'$ -clauses:

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

$\text{Kìkirig yá}' \text{ mɔr buude}$, fun tísò_- $\text{kà ò lébìg ò mɔɔgu}_n$.

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.' §14.3

Commands consisting of a verb alone or verb + 2P2 sometimes end in LFs of this kind: $\text{gòsìma}'$ 'look!', $\text{gòsìm}_yá'$ 'look (Pl)!'; so too the greeting $\text{ne só}^n\text{sìga}'$ §13.

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

$\text{M pɔa}' \text{ né m biise}_!$ 'My wife and my children!'

1S wife with 1S child.Pl=Voc

The two **interrogative** enclitics end questions.

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

$\text{Lì à ne nóbìrèè}_?$ 'Is it a leg (nóbìr)?'

3I be Foc leg=PQ

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

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

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

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔyéé_ bà biigà_?	'Who has seen their child (biigà)?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye bíigà_?	'Who's seen a child?'
Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ ʔye zùóyà_?	'Who's seen hills (zùoya)?'
Fù b̀ɔ̀ɔ̀d b́_?	'What (b̀ɔ̀ɔ̀) do you want?'
Ò ɔ̀ d̀úgèè_?	'Hasn't she cooked (d̀úg)?'
Ẹ ná b̀d̀ìgèè_?	'Will I get lost?'
	(Ẹ ná b̀ɔ̀d̀ìg 'I will get lost.')

4.4 Liaison

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

Left-bound liaison words will be called **liaison enclitics**: this group comprises locative *n*, nominaliser *̀n*, discontinuous-past *n*, 2P2 *ya*, and the object pronouns *m_a f_o l_i t_i y_a b_a*, along with *la' ̀wà w`ana'* when used as focusing deictics §12.3; these are always preceded by liaison. Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns *m̀ f̀ù ò l̀l̀ t̀l̀ y`à b`à à* and all words with prefixed *à*; before these words, liaison is only consistent after verbs, after 2P2 *ya*, and before numeral-prefix *à*. Linker *n* is usually realised as zero with preceding liaison, and is then written as an enclitic.

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

kuk _a	'chair'	+ n 'at' →	kuk _ɩ _n
duk _ɔ '	'pot'		duk _ɪ _n
ɔɔɔg _ɔ '	'field'		ɔɔɔg _ó _n
gbàùŋɔ	'book'		gbàùŋɔ_n
dà'a	'market'		da'a_n
kù'om	'water'		kù'om _ɩ _n
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'ɔ_n
vuε _{ya} '	'live'		vuɔ_n

Tì gó sí_ bà biis.

1P look 3P child.Pl

'We've looked at their children.'

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

Nominaliser *n̄* fuses with preceding pronouns §9.2; 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

chief the=Nz look.at donkey the

'the chief having looked at the donkey'

ya zuobid wusa kalli an si'em

yà zuobíd wusa kállí_ àⁿ si'em

2P hair.Pl all number=Nz be how

'what the number of all your hairs is'

Lk 12:7

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_.

snake=+ bite=3A

'A snake has bitten him.' W

Kà ò zóɔ_ ke na.

and 3A run=+ come hither

'And he came running.'

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

Kà m̀ bási_ba.	'And I left them.'
Kà m̀ pu bási_báa_.	'And I didn't leave them.'
Ànó'ẁnì_ 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 bási _d ó_o
yadígí _d	'scatter'		yadígído_	LF yadígí _d ó_o
nyε	'see'		nyé _o _	LF nyé _o ó_o

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

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

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

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

Focusing deictics are preceded by similar LFs to linker n.

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

Kà bà dítí_ bà dub.	'And they were eating their food.'
and 3P eat.Ipf 3P food	

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la	
bà _n ì_ 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 §9.1.

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’
$f\omega ii$	$m\omega\omega l\omega f_\omega$	$m\omega\omega li$	$m\omega\omega-$	‘kob’
$b\omega $	$sa'ab_\omega$		$s\acute{a}-$	‘porridge’
$m\epsilon $	$daam'$		$da-$	‘beer’

Every other pairing will be 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 $d\epsilon$: $gb\omega\omega\omega_\omega'$ 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 §9.2.1; 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 §10.7.2.1. 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 §8.1.

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 **ɔ̀kɔ̀op** ‘widow’, beside Agolle **ɔ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀r** Pl **ɔ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀yà**.) 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’, **dìem_{ma}** ‘man’s parent-in-law’, **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.

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 :

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

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

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

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

$w\text{ɛ}l\text{ɛ}l_a$	$w\text{ɛ}l\text{ɛ}l_b_a$	$w\text{ɛ}l\text{ɛ}l-$	'hunter'
$s\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'_b_a'$	$s\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}'-$	'someone better'
$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}_a'$	$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}a\text{d}\text{ɛ}b_a$	$p\text{u}k\text{p}\text{a}-$	'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 pa'	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'
kpùkpàrìg _a	kpùkpàrìs	kpùkpàr-	'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'	νωσ'	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'
kùlŋ _a	kùlìs/kùlìmìs	kùlŋ-	'door'
mεεdŋ _a	mεεdìs/mεεdumìs	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	zùnzùɔ ⁿ s	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 dàalùg _ɔ	à dàalís/dàalímìs	à dàalùg-	'stork'
sí'ug _ɔ	si'imís	si'ug-	kind of big dish
dùsùg _ɔ	dùsís/dùsímà	dùsùg-	'spoon'

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

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

Irregular nouns:

biig _a	biis	bi-/bì-	'child'
bùtùg _a	bùtùs	bùtùg-	'cup'
pɛ'og _ɔ '	pɛ'ɛs'	pɛ'-	'sheep'
saŋá	sansá	san-	'time'
wlìsùg _ɔ	wlìmís	wlìsùg-	kind of snail
yalìsùg _ɔ	yalímís	yalìsùg-	'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	dàbjà-	'coward'
viug _ɔ '	viid'	vi-	'owl'
mɔɔg _ɔ	mɔɔd	mɔ-	'grass, bush'
wabug _ɔ '	wabɪd'	wab-	'elephant'
balɛrug _ɔ '	balɛɪd'/balɛɪs'	balér-	'ugly person'
bɛsug _ɔ	bɛsɪd	bɛs-	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:

duk _ɔ ´	dugud´	dug-	‘cooking pot’
laɣk _ɔ	la'ad	là'-	‘item of goods’
bjaɣ ^h k _ɔ	bja ^h 'ad/bja ^h 'ada	bjà ^h '-	‘shoulder’
lɔk _ɔ	lù'ad	lɣà'-	‘quiver (for arrows)’

dd → t; ld → nn:

ùdùg _ɔ	ùt	ùd-	‘piece of chaff’
zɔlɔg _ɔ ´	zɔn _n ´	zɔl-	‘fool’
sìlòg _ɔ	sì _n /sìlìs	sìl-	‘hawk’

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

làŋgáɔ _ɔ	làŋgáam _n or làŋgaamá		‘crab’
gbàɣ _ɔ	gbànà	gbàɣ _ɔ -/gbàn-	‘book’
zɔnzàɣ _ɔ ´	zɔnzaná	zɔnzáɣ _ɔ -	‘bat’
à ^h rù _ɔ	à ^h rìmà	à ^h rù _ɔ -	‘boat’
nìn-gbi _ɔ ´	-gbiná	-gbi _ɔ -	‘body’

The place name Dènùg_ɔ ‘Denugu’ does not assimilate ng.

Many gerunds belong to this set; they assimilate mg optionally, ng never: sà^hɔ_ɔ/sà^h'amòg_ɔ ‘destroying’, kà^hò_ɔ/kà^h'mòg_ɔ ‘reading’, dìgì_ɔ ‘lying down’, sùnnòg_ɔ ‘bowing the head.’ Any Pls take aa:

bu'osúg _ɔ	bu'osá	bu'os-	‘question’
zàa ^h súg _ɔ	zàa ^h símà	zàa ^h súg _ɔ -	‘dream’

rɛ|aa

kugur´	kugá	kug-	‘stone’
yugudɪr	yuguda	yùgùd-	‘hedgehog’
nɔ̀bìr	nɔ̀bá	nɔ̀b-	‘leg’
bì ^h 'isìr	bì ^h 'isà	bì ^h 'is-	‘woman’s breast’
bàlànɪr	bàlànà	bàlànɪ-	‘hat’
sàŋgún _n ìr	sàŋgún _n à	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´	ḅ̣eyá	ḅ̣a-	‘elder same-sex sib’
zuor	ẓ̣o _y a	ẓ̣à-	‘hill’
ncɔr´	ncɔyá	ncɔ-	‘mouth’
nyε'εr´	nyεdá	nyε'-	‘next-younger sibling’
yu'or	ỵ̣o _d a	ỵ̣ù'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	ṃ̣yà'a/ṃ̣ù'adà	ṃ̣yà'-	‘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 *re*, as do stems in *ll* (but not *mm nn*):

dum _n	duma	dùm-	‘knee’
kpan _n	kpana	kpàn-	‘spear’
gél _l	gélá	gél-	‘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 *le*. Forms are identical to those with Sg *re*, except for stems in final vowels and in *r* (where *rl* → *t*):

Kusâal	‘Kusaal’	Kusâas	‘Kusaasi’
Bat´	‘Bisa language’	Bar _s ´	‘Bisa people’

fɔ|ii

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

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

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

df/nf → f:

wìef _ɔ	wìdì	wìd-	'horse'
la'af _ɔ	ligidi	là'-/lìg-	'cowrie' Pl 'money'
nif _ɔ '	niní	nin-/nif-	'eye'
píuf _ɔ	piiní	pùn-	'genet'
	piini	pìin-	'gift' (used as Sg)

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

zíig _a	zimí	zim-	'fish'
walɔg _a	walɔ/walí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	'oribi'
sibig _a '	sibí	sib-	kind of termite
sii ⁿ f _ɔ '/sii ⁿ g _a '	sii ⁿ s'	si ⁿ -	'bee'
su ⁿ f _ɔ '/suu ⁿ r'	su ⁿ yá	su ⁿ -	'heart'
kpá ⁿ ɔŋ _ɔ	kpi ⁿ iní	kpa ⁿ '- <i>sic</i>	'guineafowl'

bɔ|

sa'ab _ɔ		sà'-	'millet porridge'
kt'ib _ɔ '			'soap'
ta ⁿ p _ɔ		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: **sɔp_ɔ'** 'writing', **wom_{mɔ}** 'hearing', **bunib_ɔ** 'reaping.'

The only 3-mora stem is **yiisíb_ɔ**, the gerund of **yiis'** 'make emerge.'

mɛ|

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

CV-stems like **vum´** CIF **vum-** ‘life’ are indistinguishable from **m-**stems. Otherwise, **m-**stems are identifiable from their flexion or their 4-mora-stem tones:

puum´		puum-	‘flowers’
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	‘male sex organs’
piim´	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 §9.8.2. 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 ⁿ '-	‘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 **se**; **sm**-stems do not use **aa**:

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

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

Zòη_ɔ Pl **zòuⁿs/zòhà** 'foreign' has Sg **gɔ** for **ga** due to its rounded root vowel.

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

Gɔ-type adjectives include:

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

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

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

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

So too **pòⁿròg_ɔ** 'near', **mì'isòg_ɔ** 'sour', **zemmúg_ɔ** 'equal', **tsυlúg_ɔ** 'hot', **lallúg_ɔ** 'far', **yàlòη_ɔ** 'wide', **ⁿyalúη_ɔ** 'wonderful', **narúη_ɔ** 'necessary', **zu-péelòg_ɔ** 'bald' and all Pf verbal adjectives in **lm**, which also have variant forms without **m** for **K** (not **W**):

kpiilúη _ɔ /kpiilòg _ɔ	kpiilímà	kpiilúη-	'dead'
gεε ⁿ lúη _ɔ /gεε ⁿ lúg _ɔ	gεε ⁿ límà	gεε ⁿ lúη-	'tired'
pè'elúη _ɔ	pè'elà/pè'elímà	pè'elúη-	'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	pʊ'as	pɔà'-	'female' (human)
ⁿyá'aŋ _a	ⁿyá'as/ⁿya'amís	ⁿya'aŋ-	'female' (animal)
daugɔ	daad	dà-	'male'
tɔɔgɔ	tɔɔd	tò-	'bitter'
lam-fɔ̀ɔgɔ	lam-fɔ̀ɔd		'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 *pìl̀l̀à* 'lamb', *bùdìblá* '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 ND tone overlay §10.5; 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'
$k\upsilon a$ LF kua	$ku\upsilon da'$	$k\grave{u}m_a$	'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'
$p\grave{i}\grave{a}n'$	$p\grave{i}\grave{a}n'\epsilon da'$	$p\grave{i}\grave{a}n'\epsilon m_a$	'speak; praise'
$d\upsilon\grave{a}'$	$d\grave{u}'\epsilon da$	$d\grave{u}'\epsilon m_a$	'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'
$ko\grave{t}'$	$ko\grave{t}\grave{i} da$	$ko\grave{t}\grave{i} m_a$	'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'
$ny\epsilon$	$ny\epsilon t_a'$	$ny\epsilon m_a$	'see'

Likewise $ny\epsilon$ 'see', $li/l\grave{u}$ 'fall', du 'go up', yi 'go/come out', $z\grave{o}$ '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'
$d\grave{i}g\upsilon l'$	$d\grave{i}g\upsilon n_{na}$	$d\grave{i}g\upsilon l\grave{i}m_a$	'lay down'

B3 has some variant Ipf's like *satid* from $s\grave{a}d$ 'slip.' A 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'
sɔb	sɔbìd _a '	sòm _{ma}	'write'
lièb	lièbìd _a	lièbìm _a	'become'
εε ⁿ b'	εε ⁿ bìd _a	èε ⁿ bìm _a	'lay a foundation'

nd → nn with 2-mora stems only:

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

All m-stems show assimilation in the ND-Imp.

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

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

Like tùm are wùm 'hear', kùm 'herd animals', dùm 'bite'; like lèm are tàm 'forget', zàm 'cheat', dà m 'shake'; cf Mooré lèmbè 'taste', zãmbe 'cheat', rãmbe 'stir.'

W and D use optionally unassimilated Ipfs only to avoid ambiguity with Pfs, i.e. with SFs not followed by focus-ne' §12.1.1; 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 kárì m ne.	'I'm reading.'
Kà bà kárì m ìd.	'And they were reading.'
Kà bà kárì m.	'And they read.' (necessarily Pf)

Tuumbè'ed dim san'an ka be'ed tumid.

Tùum-be'ed dí m sâⁿ'an kà be'ed tú m ìd.

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** §3.2.3, with tonal effects in gerunds §3.3.

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

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

Irregular 2Vbs are few.

Some 2Vbs drop monactional **g** §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 **ve'eg´** to only 6 of **ve'** ‘lead, pull’ and 2 instances of Imp **ve'egìma** to none of **ve'em_a**, but only 2 of Ipf **ve'egída** to 9 of **ve'eda´**.

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

yèl	yèta	yèlìma	‘say’
gɔs	gɔsida´/gɔta´	gòsìma/gòma	‘look’
tìs	tìsida/tìta	tìsìma	‘give’

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

Keⁿ ‘come’ has identical Ipf and ND-Imp to **keḡ´** ‘go’, but is always followed by **na´** ‘hither’ §10.6: **Kèma na!** ‘Come here!’, **Kèma sá!** ‘Go away!’

Only one 2Vb has an irregular flexional suffix: an exceptional ND-Imp suffix appears in

ke	ket _a ´	kèla	‘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.' ND-Pf *ya* never follows: *M nòŋ* '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 ND-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' §10.3.1 (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 *ⁿwennir* '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 §3.2.3, 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_{ly}'</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_{ly}'</i>	'be kneeling'	<i>làbì_{ly}</i>	'be crouched hiding'
<i>sɛb_{ly}'</i>	'be squatting'	<i>sùr_a</i>	'have the head bowed'
<i>tàbì_{ly}</i>	'be stuck to'	<i>tì'i_{ya}'</i>	'be leaning (thing)'
<i>vab_{ly}'</i>	'be lying prone'	<i>zì'e_{ya}</i>	'be standing'
<i>zì'n'i_{ya}</i>	'be sitting'		

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

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

Ò dìgì 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'iyá)
Ò pɔ zí'n'ida_.	‘She doesn’t sit down’ W
Ò pɔ zí'n'inìda_.	‘She doesn’t sit down’ K
Ò vàbì nɛ.	‘He’s lying prone.’ (vabiyá´)
Ò pɔ vabídá_.	‘He doesn’t lie prone.’ W
Ò pɔ vábìnìda_.	‘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'iyá´)
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:

dɔlɪá´	‘go/come with’	gurá´	‘guard, watch for’
kisá´	‘hate’	mɔrá´	‘have’
nèjya	‘be awake’	sɔ'n'eyá´	‘be better than’
su'eya´	‘own’	tará´	‘have’
tè'rá	‘remember’	wà'eya	‘travel’
za'nɪá´	‘have in the hand’		

Tu'n'eyá´ ‘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'oyǎa ‘but was not able’ Lk 19:3.

The copula verb àɛ̃ⁿya 'be something/somehow' can be used in direct commands §10.3 and can form the agent noun aaⁿda '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 §10.7.1; 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'	la _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 §10.7.1.

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 la	'be thin'	bugu _a '	'be soft'
dù _a	'be many'	gim _{ma} '	'be short'
kà _a	'be few'	kpi'em _a '	'be strong, hard'
labi _a '	'be wide'	ma'as _a '	'be cool, wet'
malu _a '	'be sweet, pleasant'	mì'is _a	'be sour'
pòɔda	'be few'	sùm _{ma}	'be good'
tɛbi _a '	'be heavy'	tɔ̃ɛ _{ya} '	'be bitter, difficult'
tu _a '	'be hot'	vè ⁿ la	'be beautiful'
vuɛ _{ya} '	'be alive, live'	wa'am _a '	'be long, tall'
yàlì _{ma}	'be wide'	nyèɛ _a	'be bold'
zùlì _{ma}	'be deep'		

There are no adjectives corresponding to dù_a 'be many' or kà_a 'be few.'

6 Derivation

6.1 Nominals

The associations of class sets with meaning can be exploited by using stems in different class sets, e.g. *siiⁿf_ɔ* ‘bee’, *siiⁿd* ‘honey’; *wèéd_a* ‘hunter’, *wèog_ɔ* ‘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>dù^ɔs</i>	<i>dù^ɔg_ɔ</i>	<i>dù^ɔd</i>	‘dawadawa’
<i>gaaⁿ</i>	<i>gaaⁿs</i>	<i>gaⁿr</i>	<i>gaⁿyá</i>	‘African ebony’
<i>gù_a</i>	<i>gù_ms</i>	<i>gù_m</i>	<i>gù_mà</i>	‘true kapok’
<i>kìkà_a</i>	<i>kìkà_ms</i>	<i>kìkà_m</i>	<i>kìkà_mà</i>	‘Cape fig tree’
<i>kpòkpà_{rì}g_a</i>	<i>kpòkpà_{rì}s</i>	<i>kpòkpà_r</i>	<i>kpòkpà_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^ag_a</i>	<i>ta^amís</i>	<i>tá^am_n</i>	<i>ta^amá</i>	‘shea’
<i>tè^ag_a</i>	<i>tè^as</i>	<i>tè^aog_ɔ</i>	<i>tè^aed</i>	‘baobab’
<i>vúog_a</i>	<i>vuomís</i>	<i>vúor</i>	<i>vuáa</i>	‘red kapok’

Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §9.3.

Adjectives may form abstract nouns in *mɛ|*:

<i>vum</i>	‘life’	from	<i>vur</i>	‘alive’
<i>sùm</i>	‘goodness’		<i>sù_ɔ</i>	‘good’
<i>pò_ɔdìm</i>	‘scarcity’		<i>pò_ɔdìg_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>tɛbúsím</i>	‘weight’		<i>tɛbúsír</i>	‘heavy’
<i>ma^aasím</i>	‘coolness, damp’		<i>ma^aasír</i>	‘cool, damp’
<i>malsím</i>	‘sweetness’		<i>malsír</i>	‘sweet’
<i>labúsím</i>	‘width’		<i>labúsír</i>	‘wide’
<i>pielìm</i>	‘brightness’		<i>pielìg_a</i>	‘white’
<i>títa^am</i>	‘multitude’		<i>títa^aar</i>	‘big’
<i>ⁿyèèsìm</i>	‘confidence’		<i>ⁿyèèsìg_a</i>	‘bold’

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

lallúgɔ	'distance'	from	lallúgɔ	'distant'
zemmúgɔ	'equality'		zemmúgɔ	'equal'
kpi'ɔŋɔ	'hardness'		kpi'ɔŋɔ	'hard'
yàlèŋɔ	'width'		yàlèŋɔ	'wide'
mì'isùgɔ	'sourness'		mì'isùgɔ	'sour'
tɔɔgɔ	'bitterness'		tɔɔgɔ	'bitter'
zùlèŋɔ	'depth'		zùlèŋɔ	'deep'
tuulúgɔ	'heat'		tuulúgɔ	'hot'

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

gbá'yà'am	'laziness'	from	gbá'yà'a	'idle person'
dàmà'am	'deception'		dàmà'a	'liar'
tita'alim	'pride'		tita'alɪ	'proud person'
sáɔŋɔ	'hospitality'		saan _a '	'guest'
kpeɔ'ŋɔ	'eldership'		kpeɛ'm	'elder'
sɔɔ'gɔ	'witchcraft'		sɔɛ' _{ya}	'witch'

Adjective stems may form nouns used as adverbials of manner §10.7.2.1 with the class suffix -m|, or with the apocope-blocked §3.1 suffix -ga:

zaalim	'in vain'	from	záalɪ	'empty'
kudim	'of old'		kudugɔ	'old'
paalim	'recently'		paaliga	'new'
nɛɛm	'for nothing, free'		nɛɛr	'empty'
sùŋa'	'well'	from	sùŋɔ	'good'
m'asíga'	'coolly'		m'asír	'cool'
tuulíga'	'hotly'		tuulúgɔ	'hot'
giŋa	'shortly'		giŋa	'short'
bugusíga'	'softly'		bugusír	'soft'
sàalíŋa'	'smoothly'		sàaliga	'smooth'
'yɛɛsíŋa'	'confidently'		'yɛɛsíŋa	'bold'

Nominal stems may also be derived from other nominal stems by adding the derivational suffixes d m s l or lm; many stems in d or m are synchronically unanalysable, however (e.g. yugudɪr 'hedgehog', gbɪgum_n 'lion.')

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

dataadug	'enmity'	from	dàtaa	'enemy'
pu'asatim	'girlhood'		puà'-sadir'	'nulliparous young woman'
bunkuttim	'old age'		bun-kúdòg _ɔ	'old man'
pukòntim	'widowhood'		pùkòòr	'widow'

m is identifiable as derivational after roots 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'
zòlmís	'foolishness'		zòlòg _ɔ '	'fool'

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

mal ^s íŋ _a	'sweet'	cf	mal ^s íg _a	'sweet'
narúŋ _ɔ	'needful'		nar _a '	'be needed'
wa'am _a '	'be long'		wòk _ɔ '	'long'

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

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

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns from noun and adjective stems, e.g.

biilím	'childhood'	from	biig _a	'child'
pù'alím	'womanhood'		puà'	'woman'
dàalím	'manhood'		daɔ	'man'
sáannìm	'strangerhood'		saan _a '	'stranger'
turâannìm	'peerhood'		turâan _a	'peer'
wa'alím	'tallness'		wòk _ɔ '	'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 §9.6 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 **ɔ**, 3-mora stems in **g k ŋ ae ie ue** (i.e. in *g) add **ɛ**, all others **ɔ**:

kʊɔɔɔ ´	‘kill (kʊ)’	dʊgʊɔɔ ´	‘cook (dʊg)’
dʊʼabɔ	‘bear, beget (dʊʼà)’	kadɔɔ	‘drive off (kàd)’
pilibɔ	‘cover (pil)’	kparɔɔ	‘lock (kpàr)’
basɔɔ	‘go/send away (bàs)’	lɔpɔ ´	‘throw stones at (lɔb)’
kʊm_mɔ	‘herd animals (kì m)’	bunibɔ	‘reap (bùn)’
yùugɔ	‘delay (yùug)’	nɔkír	‘take (nɔk)’
nìŋɔ	‘do (nìŋ)’	gbáʼar	‘grab (gbaʼe)’
díʼer	‘get (díʼe)’	dúor	‘rise (due)’
gàadùgɔ	‘pass (gàad)’	lièbùgɔ	‘become (lièb)’
dɔgɔlùgɔ	‘lay down (dɔgɔl)’	yaarùgɔ	‘scatter (yaar)’
sigisùgɔ	‘lower (sigis)’	dàmmùgɔ	‘shake (dàm)’ (mm-stem)
dìgìnùgɔ	‘lie down (dìgì n)’	zìʼinùgɔ	‘sit down (zìʼin)’
tɔɔŋɔ	‘depart (tɔɔm)’	kàrùgɔ	‘read (kàrì m)’

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

sìilùgɔ	‘cite proverbs (sìilì m)’	zàaʼsùgɔ	‘dream (zàaʼsì m)’
wàŋɔ	‘waste away (wàŋì m)’	zàkír	‘itch (zàkì m)’

In compounds, 2-mora stems use Sg **ɛ**, e.g. **pɔʼà-dur** ‘marriage’, **nin-kùur** ‘murder’, **da-nùur** ‘beer-drinking’, **mò-pilɔ** ‘grass roof.’

Few 3- or 4-mora-stems form gerunds irregularly, but over 20% of 2-mora stems use Sg **ga ɔ** or **ɛ**, e.g. **liig_a** ‘fall (**li**)’, **tèʼnbùgɔ** ‘tremble (**tèʼnb**)’, **ɔʼbɔ** ‘chew (**ɔʼb**)’; a few are also tonally irregular, e.g. **tàʼsùgɔ** ‘shout (**tàʼs**)’, **sɔʼsìg_a** ‘converse (**sɔʼs.**)’ A few 2Vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **tìtʊmɔ** ‘send (**tòm**)’, **bɛʼɛs** ‘fall ill (**bèʼn**)’, **ken_n** ‘come (**kɛʼn**)’, **ziid** ‘carry on the head (**zi**).’ Irregular gerunds are noted in §15.

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

zìʼig_a	‘sit (zìʼi ya)’	tiʼibɔ ´	‘lean (tiʼi ya)’
ziʼeg_a/ziʼa	‘stand (zìʼe ya)’ K/W	dɔk_aʼ/dɔgɔr ´	‘lie down (dɔgɔ ya)’ K/W
ik_aʼ/igir ´	‘kneel (igi ya)’ K/W	vapɔ ´/vabur	‘lie prone (vab ya)’ K/W

Ziʼeg_a is phonologically aberrant §3.2.3. **Tèʼr_a** ‘remember’, **pòʼr_a** ‘be near’ have **tɛʼrɔɔ** **pòʼrɔɔ**; **kis_a** ‘hate’ forms **kísùgɔ**.

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

àa ⁿ lím	'be (àɛ ⁿ ya)'	bèlím	'exist (bè)'
ka'alím	'not be (kaɛ)'	nòŋlím	'love (nòŋ)'
mi'ilím	'know (mi)'	su'ulím	'own (su'e _{ya} ')
zu'ulím	'not know (zɪ)'	dellím	'lean (dɛl _{la} ')
dɔllím	'go with (dɔl _{la} ')	tullím	'be hot (tul _{la} ')
nenním	'envy (nɛn _{na} ')	sinním	'be silent (sin _{na} ')
ⁿ wenním <i>sic</i>	'be like (ⁿ wɛn _{na} ')	za ⁿ llím	'hold in hand (za ⁿ l _{la} ')
gurím	'guard (gur _a ')	mɔrím	'have (mɔr _a ')
tarím	'have (tar _a ')	narím	'be necessary (nar _a ')

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

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

dì	'eat'	dítim-taa	'messmate'
kpè ⁿ	'enter'	kpè ⁿ édím-	'co-resident'
zàb	'fight'	zàbídím-	'opponent'
tòm	'work'	tòmmím-	'co-worker'
pù'us	'worship'	pù'usím-	'co-worshipper'
sjàk	'agree'	sjàkím-	'partner in agreement'

Similarly *mèédím-* (*mè* 'build'), *pυυdím-* (*pυ* 'share'), *faaⁿdím-* (*faⁿ* 'rob'), *duɔgudím-* (*duɔg* 'cook'), *dùsím-* (*dùs* 'feed.') *Sùŋ* 'help' forms both *sùŋím-* and *sùŋídím-*.

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

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

Similarly *zu'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 *duɔg_{ly}a* 'lie down', W has *duɔgúlím-* and also *dìgùŋím-*, presumably from *dìgùŋ*. With *nòŋ* 'love', W contrasts *nòŋlím-taa* 'fellow-liker' with *nòŋídím-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 *bòɔdìm* 'will', *gòɔⁿdìm* 'wandering', *zòtìm* 'fear', *yɔl_sím* 'freedom', *nin-kúusìm* 'murder', *pù'usìm* 'worship', *wùmmùg_ɔ* 'hearing.'

Gerunds are abstract; depending on verb meaning, they can be mass or count, cf $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{g}_2$ Pl $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{s}$ 'run, race' (zw 'run'), $\text{bu}'\text{os}\text{u}\text{g}_2$ Pl $\text{bu}'\text{os}\text{a}$ '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'), $\text{d}\text{w}\text{k}_2$ 'pot' (dwg 'cook'), $\text{s}\text{y}\text{a}\text{k}_a'$ 'hiding place' (sya 'hide.'). Usually such nouns do not take regular gerund class suffixes; exceptions are $\text{d}\text{u}\text{b}_2$ 'food' (di 'eat'), $\text{z}\text{i}''\text{i}\text{g}_a$ 'place' ($\text{z}\text{i}''\text{i}\text{y}_a$ 'sit.'). K has $\text{d}\text{i}\text{g}\text{r}'$ 'lying place', Gd $\text{d}\text{i}\text{k}_a'$ ($\text{d}\text{i}\text{g}\text{y}_a'$ 'lie'), $\text{i}\text{g}\text{r}'$ 'kneeling place', Gd $\text{i}\text{k}_a'$ ($\text{i}\text{g}\text{i}\text{y}_a'$ 'kneel') and $\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 'lying-prone place', Gd $\text{v}\text{a}\text{p}_2$ ($\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{y}_a'$ 'lie prone'), but W uses $\text{d}\text{i}\text{g}\text{r}'$ $\text{i}\text{g}\text{r}'$ $\text{v}\text{a}\text{b}\text{r}'$ 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 the suffix d ; a tendency to limit stem length may cause deletion of preceding suffixes or d itself (affecting tone patterns §3.3.1.) Agent nouns belong to a|ba . They often develop specialised meanings. A few agent-like nouns are formed with m , e.g. $\text{z}\text{w}\text{c}\text{m}_n$ 'refugee', $\text{k}\text{p}\text{r}'\text{u}\text{m}$ '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:

$\text{m}\text{e}\text{e}\text{d}_a$	'builder (me)'	$\text{d}\text{i}\text{t}_a$	'eater (di)'
$\text{d}\text{w}\text{g}\text{u}\text{d}_a'$	'cook (dwg)'	$\text{d}\text{u}'\text{a}\text{d}_a$	'relative' ($\text{d}\text{u}'\text{a}$ 'bear/beget')
$\text{t}\text{u}\text{on-gat}_a$	'leader' ($\text{g}\text{a}\text{ad}$ 'pass')	$\text{s}\text{w}\text{b}\text{d}_a'$	'writer (swb)'
$\text{k}\text{p}\text{ar}\text{d}_a$	'lock-er ($\text{k}\text{p}\text{ar}$)'	$\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}\text{i}\text{d}_a$	'forgiver ($\text{s}\text{u}\text{g}\text{ur}$)'
$\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}\text{i}\text{d}_a'$	'sleeper ($\text{g}\text{b}\text{is}$)'	$\text{g}\text{w}\text{t}_a'$	'seer, prophet' (gws 'look')
$\text{p}\text{a}'\text{a}\text{n}_{na}$	'teacher ($\text{p}\text{a}'\text{al}$)'	$\text{t}\text{u}\text{m-tu}\text{m}_{na}$	'worker (tum)'
$\text{y}\text{u}\text{u}\text{m-y}\text{u}'\text{u}\text{m}_{na}$	'singer ($\text{y}\text{u}'\text{u}\text{m}$)'	$\text{b}\text{u}\text{n}_{na}$	'reaper (bun)'

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

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

$\text{k}\text{u}\text{os}_a$	'seller ($\text{k}\text{u}\text{os}$)'	$\text{t}\text{i}\text{s}_a$	'giver (tis)'
$\text{s}\text{w}\text{s}_a$	'beggar (sws)'	$\text{z}\text{a}\text{b-z}\text{a}\text{b}_a$	'fighter (zab)'

Stems in mm drop d and have only $\text{n}\text{a}\text{m}_a$ Pls ($\text{d}\text{a}\text{m-d}\text{a}\text{m}_{ma}$ 'shaker'), but the tone pattern of $\text{s}\text{u}\text{n}_{na}$ 'deep thinker' W from $\text{s}\text{u}\text{n}_n$ '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>pù'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>di^gud_a'</i>	'lier-down (<i>di^guya'</i>)'	<i>igid_a'</i>	'kneeler (<i>igiya'</i>)'
<i>vabud_a'</i>	'lier prone (<i>vabuya'</i>)'	<i>labud_a</i>	'croucher in hiding (<i>làb^lya'</i>)'
<i>nò^ŋid_a</i>	'lover (<i>nò^ŋ)'</i> tones <i>sic</i>	<i>aaⁿd_a</i>	'one who is a ... (<i>àⁿya'</i>)' W
<i>nin-dé^ll_a</i>	'leaner (<i>dél^a'</i>)'	<i>bù-zan^ll_a'</i>	'goat-holder (<i>zan^ll_a'</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>tèⁿra'</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-zan^ll* Pl *bù-zan^{ll}l_a*.

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

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

<i>puà'-la'adr</i>	'laughing/laughable woman (<i>là'</i>)'
<i>bun-ⁿyétìr</i>	'visible object (<i>ⁿyɛ'</i>)'
<i>na'-dá-kuodír</i>	'ox for ploughing (<i>kya</i> LF <i>kua</i>)'
<i>fu-yéédìr/-yéédùg_ɔ</i>	'shirt for wearing (<i>yè'</i>)' W/K
<i>tì-kuodím</i>	'poison' (<i>ku</i> 'kill')
<i>tè^ŋ-du'adig_a</i>	'native land' (<i>duà'</i> 'bear/beget')
<i>yi-sígìdìr</i>	'lodging-house' (<i>sig</i> 'descend')
<i>yɛl-sú'adr</i>	'confidential matter' (<i>sya'</i> 'hide')
<i>bun-^ɔbìdà</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>vol</i> 'swallow')
<i>puà'-gbisidír</i>	'woman always sleeping (<i>gbis</i>)'

bùŋ-kennír	‘donkey that doesn’t sit still’ (kenʹ ‘go’)
puà'-ginníga	‘prostitute’ (giligʹ ‘go round’)
kpa-sóɔ'dim	‘anointing oil (sue ⁿ)’
bun-yátìr	‘scattering thing (yadugʹ)’
bun-ǰá ⁿ adìr	‘flying creature (ǰa ⁿ kʹ)’
bù-sa ⁿ ammur	‘scapegoat’ W (sà ⁿ am ‘destroy’)
bun-pélìsìr	‘sharpening thing (pèlìs)’
bun-kúosìr	‘item for sale (kùos)’
bùŋ-digudír	‘donkey that lies down a lot (diguyaʹ)’
bùŋ-vabudír	‘donkey that always lies prone (vabuyaʹ)’
kug-zí ⁿ idír	‘stone for sitting on (zì ⁿ iyá)’
nɔ-zá ⁿ lì	‘hen for holding in hands (za ⁿ lìá)’
kùg-delìʹ	‘chair for leaning on (delìá)’
bun-gúlì	‘thing for suspending (gùlìá)’

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

bun-pélìgìr	‘thing for whitening (pèlìg)’
bun-túlìgìr	‘thing for heating (tulìgʹ)’
yei-pákìr	‘disaster’ (pàk ‘surprise’)
ⁿ wi-tékìr	‘pulling-rope (tekʹ)’
bun-sùŋìr	‘helpful thing (sùŋ)’
bì-nòŋìr	‘beloved child (nòŋ)’
puà'-pù ⁿ alìŋa	‘harmful woman (pù ⁿ alìm)’
bun-síilùŋɔ	‘thing relating to citing proverbs (síilìm)’
puà'-zàa ⁿ sùŋɔ	‘dreamy woman (zàa ⁿ sìm)’

Perfective verbal adjectives are stative, and can only be formed from verbs which can use the Pf with stative meaning §10.1. Derivational *lm* is added to roots; some speakers have forms in *l* alone.

àa ⁿ lùŋɔ	‘torn (àe ⁿ)’	gɛɛ ⁿ lùŋɔ	‘tired (gɛ ⁿ)’
kòɔlùŋɔ	‘broken (kò)’	kpiilùŋɔ	‘dead (kpi)’
pè ⁿ elùŋɔ	‘full (pè ⁿ el)’	pù ⁿ alùŋɔ	‘damaged (pù ⁿ alìm)’
yèelùŋɔ	‘worn [shirt] (yè)’	yòɔlùŋɔ	‘closed (yò)’

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>ⁿwa'adɪŋ_a</i>	'axe' (<i>ⁿwà'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>piɛdɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for washing oneself (<i>pie</i> ')
<i>nin-gótɪŋ_a</i>	'mirror' (<i>gɔs</i> 'look'); <i>nin-gótɪs</i> 'glasses'
<i>kuosɪŋ_a</i>	'salesperson (<i>kùos</i> ')
<i>piesɪŋ_a</i>	'cleaning implement (<i>pies</i> ')
<i>zi'ⁿidɪŋ_a</i>	'thing for sitting on (<i>zì'ⁿi_{ya}</i> ')

A few show *s* or *d* alone: *dɪgɪsɔ́gɔ* 'bed' (*dɪgɪ_{ya}* 'lie'), *dʊsɪr* 'step' (*dʊ* 'rise'), *tuodɪr* 'mortar' (*tɔ̀à* LF *tùà* 'pound.'). Here *ld* becomes single *n*: *pibin_n* 'covering (*pìbil* ' (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>silinsûⁿgɔ</i>	'spider'	<i>vùlìnvùuⁿlɪ</i>	'mason wasp'
<i>zɪlnzî'ogɔ</i>	'unknown'	<i>tàsìntàlɪ</i>	'palm of hand'
<i>wàsìnwàlɪ</i>	'tree gall'	<i>nesɪnnɛogɔ</i>	'centipede'

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

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

kìŋkàŋ _a	'fig'	tùntù ⁿ 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'nyà'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' (*dù'à* '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-kúsélì* 'lizard', *kùndùŋ_a* 'hyena.'

Other prefixes derive from CIFs. *Dà* 'man' appears in *dàpaal_a'* 'young man' and *dàkòò'r* 'bachelor, widower.' *Pù* 'woman' is seen in *pùkòò'r* 'widow.' *Pu* in *pukpaad_a'* 'farmer' is related to *pu_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 §9.5.1.

The initial syllables of loanwords §8.1 are often reinterpreted as unusual prefixes, as in e.g. *màljak_a'* 'angel', Arabic *mal'ak*; *anzúrìfà* 'silver', Hausa *azùrfaa*; *bákpàε* 'week', Hausa *bakwài*; *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. *Wampurìs'* '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 §3.2.3) after adjective or quality 1Vb roots derives patientive ambitransitive 2Vbs expressing a **change of state** §10.7.1, 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’
tuɪg´	‘heat up’		tuɪ _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)’
ga ⁿ dɪg´	‘respond’	ga ⁿ dɪs´	‘respond repeatedly’
jà ⁿ k´	‘fly, jump’	jà ⁿ as´	‘jump repeatedly’
ya'e´	‘open mouth’	ya'as´	‘open repeatedly’ W

The proto-Oti-Volta **separative-reversive** suffix meant “away, off, apart.” It was found in verbs of separating, breaking, pouring, cleaning etc, and had reversive sense after roots which express bringing about temporary states. In Western Oti-Volta the suffix first became *y and was then reduced to zero (Eddyshaw 2024, 3.3.1.2.) In its reversive sense, it was usually followed by either monactional **g** or pluractional **s**, which are now left alone as apparent reversive suffixes. For pragmatic reasons reversives tend to be monactional, so **g** appears here more often than **s**:

	ɛ̀ndìg	‘unblock’	cf	ɛ̀nd	‘block up’
	lɔ̀dìg´	‘untie’		lɔ̀	‘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/sù ⁿ ɔ̀s	‘take off (wrap etc)’		sù ⁿ	‘put on around waist’
	yàk/yà'as	‘unhang’		yà'al	‘hang up’
	yèɛg/yèɛs	‘undress oneself’		yè	‘dress oneself’
	yò'ɔ̀g/yò'ɔ̀s	‘open’		yò	‘close’ (yò'ɔ̀lɔ̀ɔ̀s ‘closed’)

The reason for the glottalisation in sùⁿe/sùⁿɔ̀s ‘take off’ and yò'ɔ̀g/yò'ɔ̀s ‘open’ is unclear. Glottalisation also appears in derivatives which are not reversive, e.g.

	vɔ̀'ug´	‘make/come alive’	cf	vɔ̀ɛya´	‘be alive’
	vɔ̀'us´	‘breathe’			
	kò'ɔ̀g	‘break’ (monactional)		kò	‘break’ (kò'ɔ̀lɔ̀ɔ̀s ‘broken’)
	kò'ɔ̀s	‘break’ (pluractional)			
	pò'ɔ̀g	‘diminish, belittle’		pò'ɔ̀d _a	‘be few’
	tò'ɔ̀s	‘hunt’		tò ⁿ	‘shoot’

All examples but vɔ̀'ug´ and vɔ̀'us´ have the vowel ɔ̀; moreover, Agolle Kusaal has no Cɔ̀ɔ̀g 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 bòt ‘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.

Mooré has many verb pairs contrasting monactional *CVC*g*- with pluractional *CVC*s*-, but also many with monactional *CVC*g*- beside pluractional *CVVC-. The root-final consonant is then always one of the set *d l b*, never *g s r*; the verbs involved express separating, breaking, pouring, cleaning etc, along with reversives:

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>zíilè</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>yābge</i>	<i>yāabe</i>	'force apart, splay'
<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>pìlgi</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' beside *yòde* 'knot' show that the reversive suffix was neither *g* nor *s*. They also show that the roots were CVC, not CVVC; lengthening of root vowels took place before *d l* or *b* followed by a stem-final separative-reversive suffix §3.2.2. The same process accounts for many Kusaal CVVC-stem verbs, but in *CVV*g*- and *CVV*s*-stems the final consonant is always derivational.

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**:

bòdɪs	‘lead astray’	cf	bòdɪg	‘get lost’
dɪs	‘feed’		dì	‘eat’
kpèⁿʼɛs	‘make enter’		kpèⁿʼ	‘enter’
kpɛmɪs´	‘encourage’		kpiʼem _a ´	‘be strong’
kpìis	‘quench (fire)’		kpìig	‘go out (fire)’
lèbɪs	‘send back; answer’		lèb	‘return’
mùʼas	‘give suck to’		mɯàʼ	‘suckle’
nèɛs	‘reveal’		nìe	‘appear’
sigis´	‘lower’		sig	‘go down’
yìis´/yis	‘make go/come out’		yi	‘go/come out’
zùos	‘befriend’		zɯà LF zùa	‘friend’

l is the usual causative suffix, however:

gɛɛl´	‘put between legs’	cf	gɛogɔ	‘space between legs’ TP <i>sic</i>
maʼal´	‘make cool, wet’		maʼe´	‘get cool, wet’
ⁿyaʼal´	‘leave behind’		ⁿyáʼaŋ _a	‘behind’
pɔⁿʼɔl´	‘cause to rot’		puⁿʼe´	‘rot’
wuʼɔl´	‘make wet’		wuʼɔg´	‘get wet’
baⁿʼal´	‘put on horse/bicycle’		baⁿʼ	‘ride’
guʼul´	‘entrust with’		guʼ	‘guard’
nèɛl	‘reveal’		nìe	‘appear’
yèɛl	‘dress someone’		yè	‘dress oneself’
zàbɪl	‘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 **dɪtɔ** ‘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'
gò'e _{ya} '	'look up' W	gò'ɔn	
dɪg _{ya} '	'lie down'	dìgìn	dɪgɪ'
ig _{ya} '	'kneel'	ìgìn	igil'
làb _{ya}	'crouch in hiding'	làbìn	làbìl
vab _{ya} '	'lie prone'	vàbìn	vabɪ'
sùr _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 §10.4.3 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 ^s ìm	'cough'	kò ^s	'cough'

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

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

gìgìlìm	'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>tυα_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</i>	‘strong’
	<i>krεε‘m_a</i> ´	‘be older than’		<i>krεε‘m</i>	‘elder’
	<i>‘wεn_{na}</i> ´	‘be like’		<i>‘wεnnιr</i>	‘resembling’
TP L	<i>pυα_d_a</i>	‘be few, small’		<i>pυα_d_ι_g_a</i>	‘small’
	<i>mι‘is_a</i>	‘be sour’		<i>mι‘isυ_g</i>	‘sour’
	<i>sυ_m_{ma}</i>	‘be good’		<i>sυ_η</i>	‘good’
	<i>yα_l_{im}_a</i>	‘be wide’		<i>yα_l_υ</i>	‘wide’
	<i>zυ_l_{im}_a</i>	‘be deep’		<i>zυ_l_υ</i>	‘deep’
	<i>vε‘l_{la}</i>	‘be beautiful’		<i>vε‘l_l_ι_g_a</i>	‘beautiful’
	<i>vε_n_{na}</i>	‘be beautiful’		<i>vε_n_ν_ι_g_a</i>	‘beautiful’

In a few cases there are also segmental stem changes:

<i>wa‘am_a</i> ´	‘be long, tall’	cf	<i>wα_k</i> ´	‘long, tall’
<i>tυ_l_{la}</i> ´	‘be hot’		<i>tυ_l_υ_g</i>	‘hot’
<i>bα‘l_{la}</i>	‘be thin’		<i>bαα‘l_l_ι_g_a</i>	‘thin’
<i>‘yεε_s_a</i>	‘be bold’		<i>‘yεε_s_ι_g_a</i>	‘bold’

The pair *gεo_g* ‘space between the legs’ and *gεε_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 Ideophones

“Ideophone” is a term that has been defined in many different ways. The name was first popularised by C M Doke in his 1935 study *Bantu linguistic terminology*: his definition (cited from Abubakari 2017) runs

A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity.

This is a useful starting point for Kusaal: in particular, most ideophones are not onomatopoeic, or even recognisably iconic, and even those which represent actual sounds are conventionalised and would not automatically convey the sound represented to a non-speaker of Kusaal. Doke’s subclassification into predicates, qualificatives and adverbs is appropriate for Kusaal, in which ideophones fall into distinct adnominal, adverbial and predicative groups syntactically. Newman 2000 Chapter 35 Section 2 makes a similar distinction among Hausa ideophones between specifiers/intensifiers, adverbials and nominals (mostly as predicates.)

The question naturally arises whether “ideophone” is a useful category in Kusaal grammar at all. One feature common to all three syntactic groups is that many (though not all) members of the group break usual phonotactic constraints, and/or have internal structures which deviate from the root and stem structure of other open word classes. Many show complete or partial reduplication, and/or apocope-blocking §3.1 (though these features are also found in some words which are not classified as ideophones in this grammar.)

Furthermore, such phonologically or structurally unusual forms appear in characteristic syntactic niches, making it justifiable to include words which do resemble ordinary nominals or verbs formally in the same category as those which do not. Thus, *all* words which can follow an adjective with intensifying function can reasonably be classified as ideophones, as can all words which appear exclusively as predicative objects. The dividing lines are less clear with adverbials, and especially unclear with those adnominal ideophones which follow complete NPs: in this case several particles classified as ideophones here might alternatively be regarded as focusing modifiers §12.2.

Ideophones can be borrowed: the predicative ideophone *kasi* ‘clean, pure’ is a loan from Mampruli §8.1; the intensifier for “white”, *fáss/fát*, bears no resemblance to the Kusaal adjective *pièlìg_a* ‘white’, but resembles the corresponding Hausa ideophone *fat*, itself clearly connected with Hausa *farii* ‘white’; the predicative ideophone *bir bir* ‘deep black’ is unrelated to *sabulìg_a* ‘black’, but resembles several regional words for ‘black’, such as Waama *biti* ‘blacken’ and Dendi *bí* ‘black.’

Phonosemantic characteristics are not confined to ideophones: verbs meaning “roll” in Oti-Volta languages, for example, typically resemble Kusaal *bìlìm*, even in languages where the sound correspondence is irregular historically, as with Gulmancema *bílíní* ‘roll.’

7.1 Adnominal

Adnominal ideophones include adjective intensifiers §9.8.2, which follow adjectives or quality 1Vbs. Each is specific to a particular adjective and any corresponding verb. (All examples from W.)

Lì à nɛ píɛ̀lɛ̀g fáss fáss.	‘It’s very white.’
3I be Foc white Ideo	
Lì à nɛ sabulíg zím zím.	‘It’s deep black.’
3I be Foc black Ideo	
Lì à nɛ zín'a wím wím.	‘It’s deep red.’
3I be Foc red Ideo	
M̂ nyé fu-zín'a wím wím.	‘I’ve seen a deep red shirt.’
1S see shirt-red Ideo	
Fu-zín'a wím wím bé.	‘There’s a deep red shirt.’
shirt-red Ideo exist	
M̂ b̂ɔɔd fu-zín'a wím wím la.	‘I want the deep red shirt.’
1S want.Ipf shirt-red Ideo the	
Ò wà'am tɔ̀lɔ̀lɔ̀lɔ̀.	‘She’s very tall.’
3A be.tall Ideo	
Ò gìm nɛ tírigà.	‘She’s very short.’
3A be.short Foc Ideo	

An intensifier ideophone follows a human-reference *noun* in

nɔ̀ŋdaan tapiif	‘dirt-poor person’ Is 14:30
nɔ̀ŋ-dâan tapûf	
poverty-owner Ideo	

Kímm LF **kímmnè** 'exactly' follows NPs containing an interrogative pronoun:

Bɔ kimm ka fu bɔɔda? 'What exactly do you want?' Est 5:6

Bɔ **kímm** **kà fù bɔɔdà_?**

what exactly and 2S want.Ipf=CQ

Ka bɔzug kimm ka fu zuu m wina?

Kà bɔ zúg kímm kà fù zúu_ m wíná_?

and what on exactly and 2S steal 1S god.Pl=CQ

'Just why have you stolen my gods?' Gn 31:30

Taal bɔ kimm ka m tum?

'What sin, exactly, have I committed?'

Tàal-bɔ kímm kà m túmm_?

Gn 31:36

fault-what exactly and 1S work=PQ

Fu aan anɔ'ɔn kimm nɛ?

'Exactly who are you?' Jn 1:22

Fù áa'_ ànɔ'ɔn kímmnè?

2S be who exactly=CQ

amaa læɛ yɛlimi m taali an si'el kimm

àmáa læɛ yèlì_mí_ m tàallí_ à' si'el kímm

but but say=1S 1S fault=Nz be Idfl exactly

'but tell me exactly what my sin is.' Jb 10:2

[a "subordinate interrogative" relative clause §11.9.2]

After other NPs, **ɔɔ** and **yɔm** appear for 'exactly':

li sum ye ba ɔnbi li wusa daakan la ɔɔ

lì sùmm yé bà ɔ'nbì_lì wusa dáa-kàn la ɔɔ

3I be.good that 3P chew=3I all day-Dem the exactly

'it is good that it all be eaten that very day' Lv 7:16

ka li dɔl nɛ li suor nɛ li zi'ela wusa an si'em ɔɔ.

kà lì dɔl né lì suor né lì zì'elà wusa_ á' si'em ɔɔ.

and 3I accompany with 3I road with 3I stand.up.Gd.Pl all=Nz be how exactly

'So it accords with all its rules and regulations exactly.' Nm 9:3

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

Fù yá' mɔr ya'am, fun ɔɔ 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

Ξεν, Na'aba, ala yim. 'Yes, King, exactly so.' Dn 3:24
 Ξεⁿ, Nà'aba_, àlá yim.
 yes king=Voc thus exactly

Ka wiim la bas o anina yim. 'And the disease left him on the spot.'
 Kà wìum la básò_ ànína yim. Lk 5:13
 and disease the leave=3A there exactly

Maalim wuu mam pa'alif zuor la zug si'em la yim.
 Màalim wuu mán pa'àlì_f zuor la zúg si'em la yim.
 do.ND-Imp like 1S.Nz teach=2S hill the on how the exactly
 'Do exactly as I taught you on the mountain.' Ex 27:8

Unlike the focusing modifier *mè/mèn* 'also' §12.2, *mà'aa* LF *mà'anè* and *gùllimm* LF *gùllimnè* 'only' always follow their NPs directly, and can also be regarded as adnominal ideophones of this kind:

Zina ma'aa ka m wum. 'Only today have I heard it.' Gn 21:26
 Zíná má'aa kà m wúm.
 today only and 1S hear

Li ka'anè Wina'am gullim ne? 'Is it not God alone?' Lk 5:21
 Lì ka' ne Wínà'am gùllimnè__?
 3I Ng.be Foc God only=Ng=PQ

7.2 Adverbial

Adverbial ideophones are used as manner adverbials §10.7.2.1. They are usually completely reduplicated, sometimes more than once, e.g. *tat tat* 'continually', *bap bap* 'hurriedly', *bur bur* 'in pieces':

ka mɔr o tat-tat ne man ti mɔr o paae m ma yin na
 kà mɔró_ tat tat ne man_ tí mɔró_ páe m mà yín na
 and have=3A on.and.on with 1S=+ next have=3A=+ reach 1S mother home hither
 'and held on to him until I brought him to my mother's house' Sg 3:4

Ka o va' bap-bap kpen' igin Paul ne Silas tuon ka kirid ne dabiem.
 Kà ò va bap-bap_ kpéⁿ_ ìgìn Paul ne Silas tûon kà kirid ne dábiem.
 and 3A hasten hurriedly=+ enter=+ kneel Paul with Silas before and tremble.Ipf with fear
 'He rushed in and knelt before Paul and Silas, trembling in fear.' Acts 16:29

Ya ƙƙƙ pian'ad ƙε ka m ƙƙba ƙƙd bur-bur!

Yà ƙƙƙ pjàⁿ'ad ƙè ƙà m ƙƙⁿba ƙƙd bur bur!

2P mouth word.Pl let and 1S bone.Pl break.Ipf in.pieces

'The words you speak make my bones break into pieces.' Jb 19:2

All recognisably iconic ideophones appear to be adverbial, e.g.

Ò zòt ne tólìb tólìb.

'It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop.' W

3A run.Ipf Foc lollop

ka saa ian'adi tansid panr-panr

ƙà saa jáⁿadi_ táⁿsìd páⁿr pàⁿr

and sky jump.Ipf=+ shout.Ipf crack crack

'and there were lightning and cracks of thunder' Ez 1:4

ka m wum ka li dammid nwɔnr-nwɔnr

ƙà m wúm ƙà lì dámmìd ⁿwɔⁿr ⁿwɔⁿr

and 1S hear and 3I shake.Ipf rattle rattle

'and I heard it shaking, rattling' Ez 37:7

Newman 2000 Ch 35 2.3.2 notes that Hausa ideophones of adverbial type can appear as head nouns; some Kusaal ideophones characteristically used adverbially also have such possibilities: thus, *paalú* is most commonly an adverbial, e.g.

Amaa m daa pa'ali ya paalu ne ya yaan

Àmáa m daa pá'alì_ ya paalú né yà yáa_n

but 1S Tns teach=2P openly with 2P house.Pl=at

'But I taught you openly in your homes' Acts 20:20

However, it is also found as a noun meaning 'space', often 'owned land', e.g.

Paalu kanε be ya-dagɔbug la anε Efirm din

Paalú-ƙàni_ bè yà-dàgòbùg la á ne Efirm dín

openly-Dem=Nz exist 2P left.hand the be Foc Ephraim ØI

'The land to the south is Ephraim's.' Jo 17:10

Adverbials of all kinds in Kusaal may be used as NP heads, including as verb subjects §10.7.2, but this particular example should perhaps be considered as a derivational conversion.

7.3 Predicative

Predicative ideophones appear as predicative objects §10.7.1.

There is some overlap with adverbial ideophones, but the meanings of predicative ideophones are typically quasi-adjectival; the verbs in question are most often either inceptive/factitive change-of-state verbs, or àɛ̃ⁿya ‘be something.’ Such ideophones are reminiscent of English adjectives like “asleep”, which are found only in predicative use, never as modifiers (cf CGEL pp553ff.) Examples include e.g.

Ka si'el bɛ bugum la tɛŋsukɔ nyɛɛn pil-pil

Kà si'el bé búgúm la tɛŋ-sukɔ_ⁿɛɛn pil pil

and Idfl exist fire the centre=+ shine.Ipf bright

‘And there was something in the middle of the fire shining bright’ Ez 1:4

ka li kɔdig bar-bar.

‘and it dried right out.’ Jb 6:17

kà lì kúdíg bar bar.

and 3I dry.up bone.dry

ka ba vaand sɔbig bir-bir.

‘and their leaves become deep green.’

kà bà vaaⁿd sɔbig bir bir.

[literally, “deep black” §15] Ps 92:14

and 3P leaf.Pl blacken deep.black

ka li lɛbi ma'ae yirr.

‘and [the waves] became quiet again’

kà lì lébì_ ma'e yirr.

Mt 8:26

and 3I return=+ cool.down gentle

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la

‘make the highway straight in the bush’

màalim sɔa-dâug sapt mɔɔgɔ_n la Is 40:3

make.ND-Imp road-male straight grass=at the

ke ka ti lieb nyain.

‘make us light.’ 1 Jn 1:7

ké kà tì lieb ⁿyae.

let and 1P become bright

n paae o sid yir na ka onsir a borrrr.

n páe ò sud yír ná kà ɔⁿsɪr á bórrrr.

+ reach 3A husband house hither and sweat be dripping

‘reaching her husband’s house in all of a sweat.’ §14.2

Kímm (see above) also appears as a predicative ideophone 'firm':

Gban'ami fu meŋ kimm wuu dau ne
Gbàⁿ'amí_ fù meŋ kímm wuu dau ne
 hold.ND-Imp 2S self firm like man like
 'Hold yourself firm like a man' Jb 40:7

Predicative ideophones are common objects of **àɛⁿya** 'be something/somehow':

Aa_ní_ àlá baaⁿlímm! 'Be (Pl) quiet!'
 be=2P2 thus quiet

Lì à ne ná'ana. 'It's easy.'
 3I be Foc easy

Most predicative ideophones can also appear after other verbs, e.g.

Dìgìnìm baaⁿlímm! 'Lie still!' D
 lie.down.ND-Imp quiet (to a patient during a cataract operation)

amaa one mɔr pɔten'er la nyeti banjir na'ana.
àmáa ònì_ mɔr pú-tèⁿ'er la ⁿyet ne bájìr ná'ana.
 but DemA=Nz have mind the find.Ipf Foc understand.Gd easy
 'but an intelligent person finds understanding easy.' Prv 14:6

However, there are a few predicative ideophones which seem only to appear after **àɛⁿya**. These include

gammurí	'rigid'
límm	'dark'
kasi	'clean, pure'

Thus, **àɛⁿya** is required in

ka tien o meŋi an gammire. 'and stretches himself rigid' Mk 9:18
kà tíeⁿ ò meŋi_ áⁿ gammurí.
 and stretch 3A self=+ be rigid

Similarly, Jb 40:21 has duoe **an** limm 'has risen up to conceal.'

8 Language contact and lexicon

8.1 Loanwords

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

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

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

All-M loans may change final M → H in CIFs: *duniyá-kàɲa'* '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 <i>bùgu</i>
dàam	'disturb, trouble'	Hausa <i>dàamaa</i>
báa	'not even' §12.2	Hausa <i>bâa</i> 'not exist'
àmáa	'but'	Hausa <i>ammaa</i>
kuv	'or'	Hausa <i>koo</i>
tò	'OK'	Hausa <i>tò</i>

Other loans not traceable beyond Hausa at present include

àtèy _{kɔ}	'sea'	Hausa <i>tèeku</i>
à mús	'cat'	Hausa <i>mussàa</i>
bákpàɛ	'week'	Hausa <i>bakwài</i> 'seven'
gadu	'bed'	Hausa <i>gadoo</i>
kèekè	'bicycle'	Hausa <i>kèekee</i> 'bicycle, machine'
kòlìbìr	'bottle'	Hausa <i>kwalabaa</i>
girima	'importance, prestige'	Hausa <i>girmaa</i>
tilás	'necessity'	Hausa <i>tiilàs</i>
karfá	'o'clock'	Hausa <i>karfèe</i> 'iron' (beaten as a gong)

Many loans are ultimately from Arabic. Most have come to Kusaal through Hausa, but some have been transmitted via Songhay or Dyula, often reaching Kusaal through Mooré. Examples of Arabic loanwords include

yàdda´	‘trust’	Arabic <i>yarḍá</i> ‘he is satisfied’, via Hausa <i>yàrdaa</i> ‘agreement’
gáafàrà	‘sorry!’	Arabic uncertain; via Hausa <i>gaafaràa</i>
fítulá	‘lamp’	Arabic <i>fatīlah</i> ‘wick’ via Hausa <i>fítilàa</i> ‘lamp’
màljaká´	‘angel’	Arabic <i>mal’ak</i> via Mooré <i>màlékà</i>
sàl̀b̀ir	‘bridle’	Arabic <i>salabah</i> via Mooré <i>salbre</i> Pl <i>salba</i>
Sutáanà	‘Satan’	Arabic <i>shayṭān</i> via Mooré <i>Sutāana</i> .
kìbar´	‘news item’	Arabic <i>khavar</i> via Mooré <i>kìbarè</i> (cf Dyula <i>kìbàriya</i>)
gefá	‘pocket’	Arabic <i>jayb</i> (cf Mooré <i>gífò</i> , Dyula <i>júfá</i>)
àràzánà	‘heaven, sky’	Arabic <i>al-jannah</i> ‘the garden, paradise’
àmí	‘amen’	Arabic <i>āmīn</i>
àràzàkà	‘riches’	Arabic <i>arzāq</i>
àsùbá	‘dawn’	Arabic <i>al-ṣubḥah</i>
bárikà	‘blessing’	Arabic <i>barakah</i>
duniya	‘world’	Arabic <i>dunyā</i>
láafiyà/láafi	‘health’	Arabic <i>al-āfiyah</i>
làbaar	‘news’	Arabic <i>al-akḥbār</i>
màl̀f̀	‘gun’	Arabic <i>midfa´</i>
sàriyà	‘law’	Arabic <i>sharī´ah</i>
sarigá	‘prison’	Arabic <i>sāriqah</i> ‘fetter’

The names of the days of the week §9.3 also come from Arabic.

Loanwords have also been drawn from other Western Oti-Volta languages.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence.

Mɔr´ ‘Muslim’ Pl **Móɔm_{ma}** borrows Mooré **Móre** 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 **kyiibu**, for Kusaal **ki´t̀b̀**; the predicative ideophone **kasi** ‘clean’ is from Mampruli **kasi**.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal §1.3.2, and some Mooré loans were transmitted to Agolle Kusaal via Toende. *Wínà'am* 'God' (Mooré *Wěnnàám*) reflects Toende *Wina'am*: both the tonal structure and the single *n* are irregular in Agolle Kusaal (*W* has *Wínnà'am*.) *Faaⁿgída* 'saviour' borrows Toende *fāagt*: *g* is regularly lost in this context in Agolle §3.2.3. *Màljak_a* 'angel' is written in the Toende form *malek* in B1/2, which also have Toende *aaruŋ* for *àⁿrùŋ* 'boat.'

Other African languages have also contributed to Kusaal vocabulary.

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

Bùrikìn_a 'noble' and *bàŋgù* 'circumcision' come from Songhay: cf Tondi Songway Kiini *bòrkĩn* 'noble', *bàŋgù* 'circumcision.' Both Songhay words have been widely borrowed in West Africa.

Berber is the ultimate source of a number of words which are widespread in West African languages; of these, Kusaal has *anzúrifà* '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-lxəm.

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

Loans from European languages are comparatively few.

Loanwords from English can be much altered: *àlɔpìr* 'aeroplane'; *dú'atà* 'doctor'; *tók-làe* 'torch' ("torchlight"); *pɔ̀ɔ̀tìm* 'denounce to the authorities' ("report.") Some have been transmitted via Hausa, like *wadá* 'law' ("order"), Hausa *oodàa*. *Terúkú* 'cart' is ultimately from "truck"; the word has spread far, cf Mooré *térékò*, and even Humburi Senni and Dendi *tórkò*. Further examples appear in the newspaper article given in §14.6: *ma'antuoka* 'motor car' (probably via Mampruli *mantuuka*); *kurpotto* 'stove' ("coal pot", via Mampruli *kurupootu*); *gaas* 'gas'; *latirisiti* 'electricity.'

French loans include *làmpɔ́* 'tax' from *l'impôt*. The Toende dialect of Burkina Faso naturally has more French loans than the Kusaal spoken in Ghana.

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.)

8.2 Calques and phono-semantic matching

Loanwords involve borrowing of both form and meaning. Another kind of borrowing is calque formation, the extension of the semantic range of an existing word under the influence of a foreign word. It can be difficult to identify this process with any certainty, but there are likely examples in Kusaal.

Ti'eb 'prepare' has acquired the additional sense 'heal' from Arabic *ṭibb* 'medical art.'

Gbaɣɔ́ 'skin' is used for 'written thing, book'; however, parchment books have never been common in West Africa. The 'book' sense is probably a calque of Arabic *ṣafḥah* 'sheet, written page', which is derived from a root meaning 'flatten'; like its cognates elsewhere in Oti-Volta, gbaɣɔ́ is applied to flattish surfaces in general, as in tèn-gbaɣɔ́ 'land area, terrain', sàŋ-gbaɣɔ́ 'cloud, sky.'

The Bible translations show numerous calques; e.g. sug_a 'life force' for 'spirit', wɛn_n 'spiritual essence' for 'pagan god', nɔ-dî'es_a 'chief's spokesman, "linguist"', for 'prophet', bà'a-kòlòg daan 'owner of divination equipment' for 'witch', kikir-bê'ed 'evil "fairy"' for 'demon' (in B3 replaced by kikirig_a, without the adjective.)

A more complex example of "phono-semantic matching" (Zuckermann 2004), appears with sɔb 'write', sɔbur 'specimen of writing.' The verb is homophonous with sɔb 'get dark', which is cognate with sɔbig 'blacken' and sabúg_a 'black.' Writing with ink can be envisaged as 'blackening', but such a metaphor seems to be unknown elsewhere in West Africa. Mooré has sébrè 'book, leaflet, paper, written document', but no verb *sébe 'write', and Mooré *sobe/sobge* means only 'turn black, blacken.' In fact, sébrè is a loanword from Dyula sébé 'paper, letter, book, document, talisman or amulet containing Arabic writing, to write', itself from Arabic *ṣafḥah* 'page.' The Mooré Sg sébrè is back-formation from Pl sébà, as with Mooré *salbre* Pl *salba* 'bit, bridle' from Arabic *salabah*.

The semantic extension of Kusaal sɔb and Mampruli *sɔbi* 'get dark' to 'write' probably reflects Dagbani influence. Mampruli/Dagbani non-final short *e has become a: thus, Dagbani *sabili* and Mampruli *sabri* 'Muslim writing, amulet' both correspond regularly to Mooré sébrè. Dagbani, which frequently unrounds root vowels before *b* or *m*, has *sabgi* 'blacken', making a reanalysis of *sabili* 'amulet' as derived from 'darken' natural. This seems to be a more likely pathway than a borrowing of Mooré sébrè as Kusaal sɔbur with subsequent back-formation of the verb sɔb 'write.'

The boundary between borrowing of form and borrowing of meaning can also be blurred by folk etymology and partial remodelling, as with lɔmbò'ɔg_ɔ 'garden', a loan via Hausa *làmbuu* from Songhay (Humburi Senni *làmbò* 'enclosed vegetable garden'), adapted by analogy with Kusaal bò'ɔg_ɔ 'swamp, ricefield.'

9 Noun phrases

9.1 Structure

A noun phrase (NP) is headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; see §11.9 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’, *salma 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 §10.7.2.

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:

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>salma zá'-nɔɔr</i>	‘golden gate’
but	<i>salma bútiŋ-kàn</i>	‘this gold cup’
	<i>salma lá'-maan</i>	‘goldsmith’ (‘[gold item]-maker’)
	<i>salma lá'-màan-kàn</i>	‘this goldsmith’
	<i>ò salma lá'-maan</i>	‘her goldsmith’
	<i>anzúrìfà nɛ salma 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 §9.2.)

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 §9.5.1.

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 §9.3, *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'n'd* 'honey', *saluma* 'gold.'

9.2 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 wíef yá' sigí_ lì nɪ, lì zùlùŋ ná páe ò sàlibìr.

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.'

Tìg 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' yèlɪ_n ye [...], lɪn kú ʔnyanjɪ_ ké kà ò ka' nín-gbiŋ la ní_.

leg if say=DP that DemI Ng.Irr prevail=+ let and 3A Ng.exist body the at=Ng

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

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

Nif-káŋa, on sâⁿ'am nɛ.

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

eye-Dem 3A spoil Foc

M̂ pu ʔyɛ́_ó_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 *li*:

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+ <i>n</i> §11.9
1S	<i>m̃</i>	<i>m_a</i>	man/mam	<i>mán</i>
2S	<i>fù</i>	<i>f_ɔ</i>	fun	<i>fún</i>
3A	<i>ò</i>	<i>o</i>	on	<i>ón</i>
3I	<i>lì/dì</i>	<i>li</i>	lin/din	<i>lín/dín</i>
1P	<i>tì</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tinám_a</i>	<i>tinámì_~</i>
2P	<i>yà</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yanám_a</i>	<i>yanámì_~</i>
3P	<i>bà</i>	<i>ba</i>	ban	<i>bán</i>

2P2 *ya* is used as 2P subject after imperatives §11.4.3.

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:

<i>Mànè_~?</i>	'Me?'
<i>tinám nɛ fun</i>	'us and you'
<i>man Paul</i>	'I, Paul'

<i>Fun kanɛ buoli fu mɛŋ ...</i>	'You who call yourself ...' Rom 2:17
<i>Fun-kánì_~ bùolì_~ fù mɛŋ ...</i>	
2S-Dem=Nz call 2S self	

<i>Manɛ an kɔnbkem sɔŋ la.</i>	'I am the good shepherd.' Jn 10:11
<i>Man_~ áⁿ kɔⁿb-kì^m-sò^ŋ la.</i>	
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 §11.6.

There are no honorific usages. 2S is used for a generic 'one':

<i>Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.</i>	
<i>Bùŋ yá' bòɔd yé ò lubí_f, fù pɔ nyetì_~ ò túbáa_~.</i>	
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.' §14.3	

An invariable Sg *on* may follow subject NPs, X *on* meaning 'for X's part':

<i>Ba ya'a basi ti, tinam on vuɛ</i>	'If they spare us, we'll be alive' 2 Kgs 7:4
<i>Bà yá' bàsì_~ti, tinám on vuɛ</i>	
3P if let.go=1P 1P 3A be.alive	

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	
Dàv-sɔ' daa bé	'There was a certain/another man'
man-IdfA Tns exist	
na'asɔ' lɛm bé	'there is another king' Acts 17:7
nà'-sɔ' lém bé	
king-IdfA again exist	
M ná tɿ_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 niŋìd si'el mé-kàmà sú'ŋa.	
3A do.Ipf Idfl whatever well	
Sɔ' ka'e_.	'There's nobody there.'
IdfA Ng.exist=Ng	
M̄ pu yél si'ela_.	'I haven't said anything.'
1S Ng say Idfl=Ng	
o bisɔ' ku zin'in David na'am gbaŋ la zug bæ di na'am Juda teŋɛ.	
ò bì-sɔ' kú zi'n'in David nâ'am gbáŋ la zúg bæ dí na'am Juda téŋɿ_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 meaning 'what sort of?', and the compound **b̀-̀buudi** 'what kind of?' can itself follow a CIF:

F̀ á tùm b́-t̀umà_?

'What sort of work do you do?' S

2S work.Ipf what-work.Gd.Pl=CQ

Bɔ sɔ̀nsig ka ya sɔ̀nsid nɛ taaba?

'What are you discussing together?'

B̀-̀s̀'̀sìg kà yà s̀'̀sìd nɛ táabà_?

Lk 24:17

what-talk.Gd and 2P talk.Ipf with each.other=CQ

F̀ á nɛ b́-b̀uudì_?

'What ethnic group do you belong to?'

2S be Foc what-sort=CQ

Na'-b́-b̀uudì_?

'what kind of cow?'

Da-b́-b̀uudì_?

'what kind of beer?'

Kímm 'firmly' after (usually interrogative) pronouns means 'exactly' §7.1.

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.'

Sùḡiml_ taaba. 'Help one another.'
help.ND-Imp=2P2 each.other

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

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

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

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

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

F̀̀ men kuv bí-liàa_? 'Yourself or the baby?' ('Which of you needs the doctor?'; overheard)
2S self or baby=CQ

An object identical to the subject must take reflexive form:

M 'wέ'ε_ m̀̀ men. 'I hit myself.'
1S hit 1S self

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

Ba pu piesidi ba nu'us wub lin nar si'em la ka ditte.

Bà pu piesídí_ bà nù'us wub 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 sob pu'us kaḡa ne m men nu'ug.

Mam Paul n sob p̀̀'us-kàḡa né m̀̀ men nù'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', $p̩̀-̩̀è̩l̩̀m sɔb$ 'upright person' ($p̩̀-̩̀è̩l̩̀m$ '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 $yi-sɔb-ǹ̩m_a$ 'householder' ($yiŕ$ 'house'); $yi-d̩m_a$ 'household members'; $nif-sɔb_a$ 'miser' ($nif_ɔ́$ 'eye'); $t̩̀ǹ̩p-sɔb_a$ 'warrior' ($ta^n p_ɔ́$ 'war'); $zug-sɔb_a$ Pl $zug-sɔb-ǹ̩m_a$ 'boss', 'Lord' B ($zug_ɔ́$ 'head.')

9.2.1 Personaliser pronoun

The personaliser pronoun $à$ precedes all Kusaasi personal names, with the allomorph $ǹ̩$ before adjectives §9.3. Some animal and bird names always follow $à$, with no implication of personification, e.g. $à dàalúŋ$ 'stork', $à mús$ 'cat.' Except when it takes the form $ǹ̩$, 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 $ǹ̩m_a$. As with nominalisations with $ǹ̩$ §11.9, 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 ND-Pf death	

Clause personalisation is common in proverbs §14.3:

À daa yél ka' tūmm_ 'Did-say is no remedy.'

Pz Tns say Ng.be medicine=Ng

À nyε ne nif só'n'ɔ_ à wòm tùbà. 'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears'

Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

À zɪ_ kpí nàm kpīid né kà té'n'bìd.

Pz Ng.know=+ die Pl die.Ipf Foc and struggle.Ipf

'Don't-know-death are dying with a struggle.'

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.

Bà wà'e né à nà kúu_ òn nua yír, kà bà pu wá'e à nɔɔs bé yíre_.

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.'

9.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: à Wɪn from Wíndì-'nyá'anjá introduces himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kusâas, "Bawku" for Bòk, 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 Wínnà'am 'God' (W Wínnà'am) and Sútáanà 'Satan' do not. Animal names take à in fables: à Baa 'Dog'; cf Asan'auj à Sà'n'ɔɔ 'Abaddon' B. Before adjectives, à becomes fixed-L ò: ò Daug 'Ndago' ("male"), ò Pɔak 'Mpoaka' ("female"), ò Bil 'Mbillah' ("little.")

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

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners: à Wɪn-káɲa 'this Awini', tì Wɪn 'our Awini'; tì ò 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>t̄ug_a</i> 'tree'
à Kudug	'Akudugu'	<i>kudug_ɔ</i> '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-pɔ̀ák* 'Awimpoaka' (*pɔ̀ák_a* 'female.')

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ethnic group Sg/Pl	Language	Place	
Barɪg _a '	Barɪs'	Bat'	Barug _ɔ ' 'Bisa'
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìɸ _n 'Moba'
Bùlìg _a	Bùlìs	Bùlì	'Bulsa'
Bùsáŋ _a	Bùsâa ⁿ s	Bùsâa ⁿ l	'Bisa'
Dàgâad _a	Dàgâadìb _a		'Dagaaba'
Dàgban _n '	Dàgbam _{ma} '	Dàgban _n '	Dàgbaɸ _n ' '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 Wampurig _a '	ⁿ Wampurìs'	ⁿ Wampurìl'	ⁿ Wampurug _ɔ ' 'Mamprussi'
Sìmiig _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 pjàⁿad Àgòlì**. 'She speaks Agolle.'

Clan Sg/Pl	Place		
Gòɔg _a	Gòɔs	Gòɔg _ɔ	
	Gùm-dìm _a	Gùm _n	
Kùtan _n	Kùtam _{ma} '	Kùtaɸ _n '	W's clan
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdùg _ɔ	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob _a	Sà'-dàbòɔg _ɔ	
	Nà'-dàm _{ma}	Nà'-dàɸ _n	
Wiid _a	Wiid-nàm _a	Wiidùg _ɔ	
Zùa	Zùos	'Zoose'	

Subclans: **Zùà-sabùlìs** '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 wun _n "
Dènùg _ɔ	'Denugu'	cf Mooré réongo 'cattle enclosure'
Gàarù	'Garu'	Hausa gàaruu 'town/compound wall'
Kòl-ta'amís	'Kultamse'	"Andira inermis trees"
Kugur'	'Kugri'	"stone"
Kuk _a '	'Koka'	"mahogany tree"
Kùkparìg _a	'Kokpariga'	"palm tree"
Kùlùgúg _ɔ	'Kulungungu'	Bisa kuurgongu '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 sáagá (kind of grass)
Sa-píèllìg _a	'Sapeliga'	" <i>Isobertinia doka</i> tree"
Tèmpáan _n	'Tempane'	"new villages"
Tìllì'	'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', Zuyoya '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 Sanjkâa^s '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': Áláasid Sunday', Àtínì 'Monday', Àtáláatà 'Tuesday', Àlárìbà 'Wednesday', Àlàmiisì 'Thursday', Àrúzmà/Àzúmà 'Friday', Àsíbitì 'Saturday.' The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

9.4 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 ⁿ m	father's elder brother
sàam-pit _a ´	father's younger brother
pùgùdìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpεε ⁿ m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil _a or mà-pit _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
á ⁿ sìb _a	mother's brother
biig _a (♂ dàkòò ^r , ♀ pɔ̀à'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
a ⁿ 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 ⁿ 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-tòò^r, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

9.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are either mass or count: mass quantifiers include **bédògu** 'a lot', **pamm** LF **pamné** 'a lot', **fiiⁿ** 'a little (liquid)', **bi'elá** 'a little', **wuu** 'all', **wusa** 'all'; count quantifiers include **bàbìga** 'many', **kàlìga** 'few', **faaⁿ** 'every', **zaⁿa** 'every', **kàm_a** 'every', **kàm zaⁿa** 'every' and numerals. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: **nidib bédògu** or **nidib bábìga** 'a lot of/many people'; **kù'om bédògu** 'a lot of water'; but not ***kù'om bábìga**.

Quantifiers are typically postdependents, but may be heads (with **nàm_a** Pls.) After dependent NPs, they are partitive. Dependent pronouns may follow quantifiers.

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

9.5.1 Numerals

The numeral quantifiers are

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

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

The prefix **à** is the original agreement flexion for **re|aa** Pl. It is omitted after **ne** 'with', and sometimes also after focus-**ne'**. **Bà** replaces **à** after personal pronouns: **tì bàtá'** 'we three', **yà bàyópòḡ** 'you seven', **bà bàyí** 'they two.' 'Two' and 'three' also possess the special focused forms **àyíḡa' àtáḡa'** §12.1.

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

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 waḡ** 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 **ḡ** (the old agreement for **me|**) instead of **à**:

1 **yéonḡ** or **àdàkó'**

6 **ḡyúob**

2 **ḡyí**

7 **ḡpòḡ sic**

3 **ḡtá'**

8 **ḡnḡi**

4 **ḡnaas**

9 **ḡwaḡ**

5 **ḡnu**

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 **dεεḡ_a** 'first.'

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

linε da an yiiga dabisir

'That was the first day.' Gn 1:5

linε_ 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':

dàḡ-kànì_ pè'esà_ àyí la

'the second man'

man-Dem=Nz come.to two the

lìnì_ pàasà_ àtá' 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', àbùtá' '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 kɔkrá_ àlá 'how many times?' may be e.g. kɔkr yunní 'once', kɔkrá_ àtá' or kɔkrím bùtá' 'three times' etc. This kɔkr is not 'mouth', but corresponds to Toende kɔ'ɔt 'leg', as in Toende kɔ'ɔt/kɔba 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	pii pîig	100	kòbìg kóbìg
2	àyí yí	20	pisí pisí	200	kòbìsí kóbìsí or kòbìs yí yí
3	àtá' tá'	30	pis tá' tá'	300	kòbìs tá' tá'
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	àwae wae	90	pis wae wae		

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

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

9.6 Gerunds

Gerunds can be formed from nearly all verbs §6.1.1; they are nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. They may be pluralisable if the meaning of the verb permits, e.g. bu'osúgɔ́ 'asking, question', bu'osá 'questions.' They may take predependent NPs, usually in the sense of subjects, occasionally objects, and/or CIFs, which may represent objects, adverbials or non-agential intransitive subjects §9.7. Unlike the case in e.g. Hausa, they are not integrated into the verbal system, although some verbs take NPs headed by gerunds as complements in specialised senses.

Gerunds as complements may have purpose or prospective senses, e.g. with *kej* 'go' (usually with locative *n/nl*) §10.7.2.4, *gura* 'wait for', *zà'as* 'refuse':

Ya zan'as pu'ab la koub nεε? 'Did you refuse to kill the women?'
Yà z'à'as pu'ab la kôub nεε_? Nm 31:15
 2P refuse woman.Pl the kill.Gd Foc=PQ

Bòɔda 'want' with a gerund object has an immediate-future sense §10.2.

Bè 'exist' takes a gerund complement with locative *n/nl* as 'be already at ...'

Wεug naaf ya'a da gban'e fu ba', fu ya'a nyε yɔɔrε fu bεnε zuaa ni.
Wèog nâaf yà' dà gba'e fù ba', fù yá' nyε yóóré fù bé nε zua ní.
 bush cow if Tns seize 2S father 2S if see soldier.termite 2S exist Foc run.Gd at
 'If a bush cow caught your father, when you see a soldier-termite you're
 already running away.' (from Naden's dictionary,)

Compare *bè* before catenative clauses §11.5.3.

Ke 'let, leave' may take a gerund object in the sense 'leave off':

Kei vuud. 'Leave off the noise' Mk 10:48
Kèl vuud. (i.e. "Be quiet.")
 leave.ND-Imp make.noise.Gd

Nìj 'do' can take a gerund as object:

ka due ning zua 'got up and ran' §14.2
kà due_ níj zua
 and rise=+ do run

Mi in the sense 'know' can take a gerund: *mi' tɔɔ'b* 'know how to shoot.'

9.7 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 §9.7.1.

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'alìmì_ nidibá_ àyí "wá fún gaŋ sɔ'.

teach.ND-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.' §14.3

So too e.g. *daam dâan* 'beer owner', *tiej dâan* 'bearded man', *ɔɔŋ la dâan* 'the owner of the field' Mt 21:40, *pù-pièlìm 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 *tèj-daan_a* 'traditional earth-priest'; cf also *anaas-daan* 'owner of four [horns]', *poi-daan* 'owner of seven' G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a counting numeral, with or without the prefix *à*. Numerals precede *daan_a* as ordinals §9.5.1.

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 zⁿâ'as pu'ab la kûub nɛɛ_?

2P refuse woman.Pl the kill.Gd Foc=PQ

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

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

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
 yà àntɔ̀à'-mɔ̀rím 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-kùud_a</i>	'goat-killer'
<i>bù-zaⁿl_i</i>	'goat-holder'	<i>bù-kùos_a</i>	'goat-seller'
<i>sàlìm-kùos_a</i>	'gold-seller'	<i>da-nùud_a</i>	'beer-drinker'
<i>zim-gbâⁿ'ad_a</i>	'fisher'	<i>tàn-mɛɛd_a</i>	'builder'
<i>làmpɔ̀-dí'es_a</i>	'tax collector'	<i>kòⁿb-kim_{na}</i>	'herder, shepherd'
<i>zàⁿ-nɔ̀-gúr_a</i>	'gatekeeper'	<i>bùl-sigid_a</i>	'well-diver'
<i>nɔ̀-dí'es_a</i>	'chief's spokesman' ("command-receiver")		
<i>puàⁿ'-saⁿ'am_{ma}</i>	'adulterer' ("wife-spoiler")		
<i>ⁿya'an-dól_{la}</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-lɔ̀dɔ̀d_{la}</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 dî pɔ̀a' 'he's married a wife')
nin-bâa ⁿ -zɔɔr	'pity' (ò zòto _n nin-bâa ⁿ lìg 'she has pity on him')
mò-pilɿ	'grass roof' ("covering with grass")
kùm-vu'ugír	'resurrection' (ò vù'ug kumɿ_n 'he revived from death')
nu'-móðìr	'swelling of the hand'
wìn-liir	'sunset'
su ⁿ -sâ ⁿ 'ɔŋɔ	'sorrow' (m̄ su ⁿ f sâ ⁿ 'am nɛ 'my heart is spoilt')

Deadjectival abstracts after CIFs behave as if derived from bahuvrihis §9.8.2:

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

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

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

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

person-bad house Irr spoil

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

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

zà'-ncɔr'	'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** §9.2, abstract predependents appear as indefinite free forms, and so also do predependents expressing materials:

na'am kúk	'throne' ("chieftaincy chair")
pù'usùg dɔ́ɔg	'temple' ("worship house")
tuɪgír bún	'heater' ("heating thing")
duɔub dút	'cooking pots'
ligidi túumà	'expensive work' (ligidi 'money')
salma bútiŋ	'golden cup'
salma ne anzúriḞà lâ'ad	'gold and silver goods'
fuug dɔ́ɔg	'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 §9.5.1.

Place NPs may be predependents:

duniya ní nìn-gbiŋ	'earthly body'
kɔɪgɪ_n nó-dâug	'crayfish' ("in-the-river cock")
kù'omɪ_n bún	'water creature'
zugú_n/teŋɪ_n níḞ-gbáɔŋ	'upper/lower eyelid'
mɔɔɔgɔ_n/yín bún-kó ⁿ bìd	'wild/tame animals'
Bòk díḞ	'Bawku people'
dàgòbìg níḞ	'left eye'

Buligin zìŋ zì' kɔɪgɪn yélaa.

Bùlìgɪ_n zîŋ zì' kɔɪgɪ_n yélaa_.

pool=at fish Ng.know river=at about=Ng

'A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river.' §14.3

So may NPs with **yéla** 'about':

Kusâas kûob ne yir yéla gbàɔŋ	'a book about Kusaasi farming and housing'
dàɔ-kàŋa la yéla gbàɔŋ	'a book about that man' W

9.7.1 Postpositions

Postpositions are NP heads which take predeterminer NPs. Apart from the locative particle §10.7.2.3, they are either nominals, or NPs containing the locative particle. Most have place-adverbial meaning, but some show metaphorical extensions of meaning to time or reason: thus the locative particle appears in the time expressions *bεogυ_n* 'morning', *yiigí_n* 'at first' *san-sí'e_n la* 'at one time, once', and *zugɔ́* 'onto' is often used metaphorically as 'on account of' §10.7.2.4.

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

9.8 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.

9.8.1 Adverbials, quantifiers and appositives

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependent subjects may be followed by adverbials §9.7. 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 púugυ_n

'months in the year' S

moon.Pl year the inside=at

wabug mɔɔgυ_n la

'the elephant in the bush' W

elephant grass=at the

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

Appositives may be personal names or dependent determiners. Appositive dependent determiners *must* appear after heads like quantifiers which cannot form CIFs: *yeltɔɔd atan' bama* 'these three plagues' Rev 9:18. Appositive relative clauses may also appear after other heads; unlike other relative clauses, they need not be interpreted as restrictive §11.9.2. Appositives follow any dependent pronouns:

dau kaŋa one ka Wina'am Siig bæε o ni
 dàυ-kàŋa ónì_ kà Wínà'am Sìυg bæε_ ò nu
 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 Sibigυ n kabıríd. G2 p12
 yes 3A friend Pz termite + ask.entry.Ipf

9.8.2 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 pɥá'-'ya'aŋ-kúd-kàŋa 'I, this old woman'
 Gn 18:12.

However, noun-adjective compounds cannot form CIFs for deverbal noun generic complements §9.7; 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 §10.7.1; 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 *nám_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-túlíŋr*
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'n'-sabílíg_a ‘*Acacia hockii*’ (“black thorn”)
bun-gíŋ_a ‘short fellow’ (jocular)
bun-kúddùg_ɔ ‘old man’ (the standard expression)

The adjective *bil_a* ‘small’ seems never simply to express small size, but either ‘junior, younger’ (cf kinship terms §9.4, personal names §9.3 and e.g. *bà-bil_a* ‘puppy’ beside *baa* ‘dog’) or lexicalised meanings like “smaller constituent part”, as in *nu'-bíl_a* ‘finger’ beside *nù'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' (yelì 'affair', sùŋ _ɔ 'good')
pɔ̀à'-paal _a '	'bride' (pɔ̀a' 'wife', paalìg _a '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 _l or *da-páalìg _a
tì-sabulim	'black medicine', a specific traditional remedy
tì-vonnim	'oral medication' ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kɔ̀ɔ̀dim	'poison' ("killing medicine")
kpa ⁿ -sɔ̀ɔ̀dìm	'anointing oil' (kpa ⁿ m' 'oil, grease')
bun-bɔ̀ɔ̀dìm	'desirable thing' (of nòŋìlìm '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 nɛ wíug.	'It's red.'
Lì à nɛ wíugɔ.	'It's reddish.'
fu-wíugu la	'the reddish shirt'
Lì à nɛ fu-píelìga.	'It's a whitish shirt.'
Lì à nɛ fu-píelìga la.	'It's the whitish shirt.'
Lì à nɛ tita'aru.	'It's biggish.'

Adjectives and their derived 1Vbs may be immediately followed by adnominal ideophones with intensifying meaning; each is specific to a particular adjective along with any corresponding quality verb §7.1:

Lì à nɛ píelìg fáss fáss.	'It's very white.'
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Not even all gradable adjectives/quality verbs have such intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. sùŋ_ɔ 'good', bɛ'ɛd 'bad', zùlùŋ_ɔ 'deep', ma'asìg_a 'damp.'

An adnominal intensifier ideophone occurs with a human-reference *noun* in **nɔŋ-dâan tapîf** 'dirt-poor person.'

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à nε nu'-kpíílúŋ.	'It's a dead hand.'
Biig la á nε nu'-kpíílúŋ.	'The child is dead-handed.'
Ò à nε bí-nu'-kpíílúŋ.	'He's a dead-handed child.'
kùg-kɔb-wók _ɔ	'long-legged stool'
Kùg-kàŋa á nε kɔb-wók.	'This stool is long-legged.' W
kɔb-gíŋ _a	'short-legged'
zug-máɥk _ɔ	'crushed-headed'
zù-wɔk _ɔ '	'long-tailed'
zu-péɛlùg _ɔ	'bald'
pù-pìel _l	'righteous'
tùb-yɥŋ _ɔ '	'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.

bì-tùb-kpida	'deaf child'
bì-tùb-kpida nám _a or bì-tùb-kpidis	'deaf children'
bì-tùb-lud	'child/children with blocked ears'

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

bì-daɥ/dàɥ-biig _a	'male child'
bì-pɥa'	'female child'
bì-kpɥ'um	'dead child'
bì-gìk _a	'dumb child'
bì-wàbìr	'lame child'
bì-balerug _ɔ '	'ugly child'
bì-nà'ab _a /nà'-biig _a	'prince/princess'
nàsàa-biig _a	'European child'
bi-púŋ-yàmmùg _a /yàm-bi-púŋ _a	'slave girl'

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

9.8.3 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 §12.3; *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 §10.6. 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 ND-Pf

'The sun has set.'

Heads before demonstratives are definite; here, following deictic particles distinguish far from near §9.2.

Definite predependents do not automatically make a head definite. After definite predependents without *la'*, such as proper names or personal pronouns, heads take *la'* as usual to mark referents as already established:

M̀ biig bé.

1S child exist

'I have a child.' W

M̀ biig ka'e_.

1S child Ng.exist=Ng

'I've no child.' W

M̀ biig la ka'e_.

1S child the Ng.exist=Ng

'My child's not there.' W

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dau 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 àyɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ 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

However, after predependents with *la'*, heads do not take another *la'* in the sense of a definite article (if *la'* does appear, it is deictic.) Heads without *la'* here may be indefinite or definite: *nà'ab la bìig* 'a/the child of the chief.' Indefinite meanings are less common, but possible, e.g.

Ba tun'e kul ban bɔɔɔɔ sɔ' wusa, o sɔɔb ya'a aan ba saam dɔɔɔg la nid.

Bà tùⁿ'e_ kul bán bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ sɔ' wusa, ò sɔɔb yá' àaⁿ_ bà sàam dɔ̀ɔ̀g la níɔ̀.

3P be.able=+ marry 3P.Nz want IdfA all 3A ØA if be 3P father hut the person

'They can marry whoever they want, if he belongs to their father's clan.'

Nm 36:6

NPs without *la'* are indefinite if they could have taken *la'* in the meaning of a definite article, but indefinite pronouns are used to mark the *specific* indefinite sense 'some/another':

Na'-síebà ɔ́ⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔɔɔ.

cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl

'Some cows are eating grass.'

nà'ab la bí-sɔ'

chief the child-IdfA

'a certain child of the chief's'

Entities new to discourse may be introduced by NPs with or without indefinite pronouns §12.5. Otherwise, indefinite NPs without indefinite pronouns are generic or non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns or objects of *àɛⁿya* 'be something' used ascriptively:

Ò nòⁿɔ̀ɔ̀d ka'e_.

3A lover Ng.exist=Ng

'Nobody loves him.' W

Ò à nɛ bìig.

3A be Foc child

'She is a child.'

10 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 §12.1.

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.

10.1 Aspect

2Vbs mark Pf/Ipf aspect by flexion §5.3.1; 1Vbs are Ipf.

Tense focus §12.1.1 interacts with the interpretation of the aspects.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, it implies priority to the main clause §11.9.1; in catenation, Pfs must follow event order §11.5; 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 ND-Pf

‘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 wóm ya kúu_?

2S hear ND-Pf or=PQ

‘Do you understand?’

M sják ya.

1S agree ND-Pf

‘I agree.’

M kúl ya.

1S go.home ND-Pf

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

M nyé nu'-bíbìsá_ àtá'.

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 §12.1. 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 k̀̀d̀d̀g 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 s̀̀b̀ìg 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 z̀̀b̀̀ taabá à s̀̀ẁ̀'è bi'elá ỳ̀l̀̀à.

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

‘Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better.’ §14.3

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 òⁿb̀̀ìd ne m̀̀ẁ̀d.

cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl

‘Some cows are eating grass.’

M̀ z̀̀íⁿ'i.

‘I sit.’

M̀ z̀̀íⁿ'i ne.

‘I’m sitting.’

K̀̀l̀̀ìg la ỳ̀ẁ̀d.

‘The door closes.’ (i.e. can be closed)

K̀̀l̀̀ìg la ỳ̀ẁ̀d ne.

‘The door is closing.’

Nidib kp̀̀ìd ne.

‘People are dying.’

M̀ m̀́r p̀̀ya'.

‘I have a wife.’

With quality or relationship verbs, and in Ipf middle constructions, 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 §12.1.1.

10.2 Tense

For **tense focus** see §12.1.1.

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_?

2S Tns sleep how=CQ

'How did you sleep last night?'

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 §11.7, especially if the main clause is ellipted §11.4.6.

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

M̄ ɔ̀bìdɔ_n summa.

1S chew.Ipf=DP groundnut.Pl

'I was eating groundnuts.' W

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 §11.4.4.

10.3 Mood and negation

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. Mood-marking particles also express polarity. Imperative marking involves a flexion which also marks ND. Negative polarity induces a clause-final negative enclitic §4.3 §10.6. Only VPs can be negated; constituent negation requires subordinate clauses, e.g. *banε ka' Kristo nidib la sunjir* '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 §10.2.

Ò pu ⁿwé' bòn lóa_. '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 ND tone overlay take the flexion *ma*; positive imperative and indicative forms are otherwise identical. Even 1Vbs appear in direct commands: *Vbe!* 'Live!' Ez 16:6. See §11.4.3 on 2P2 *ya*.

ⁿWè'em búη la! 'Hit the donkey!'
hit.ND-Imp donkey the

Da ⁿwé' bòn lóa_! 'Don't hit the donkey!'
Ng.Imp hit donkey the=Ng

Yèlìmo_ yé ò da gɔsε_. 'Tell him not to look.'
say.ND-Imp=3A that 3A Ng.Imp look=Ng

Kèm na_ gɔs! 'Come and look!'
come.ND-Imp hither=+ look

Kòⁿsìm! 'Cough!'

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

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

Dòllε_ní_m! 'Come (Pl) with me!'

Béε_ 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>Dìgì_ní_ àlá!</i>	'Keep on (Pl) lying down.'
<i>Aa_ní_ àlá baa'ímm!</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 tì zámmò_.</i>	
DemA=Nz Tns Irr next betray=3A	

10.3.1 Negative verbs

Kaε' (variant LF *kà'asìgε*) replaces negative *indicative pu + bε* 'exist' always, *pu + àεⁿya* '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 aⁿ 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.' §14.3

but e.g. *ka o sid la pu mii* 'but her husband did not know' §14.2.

Mìt_a (B3 mid) is a defective imperative-only 1Vb. Before a catenative it means 'let not ...' §11.5.4; 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 zírì 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

10.4 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*.

10.4.1 Before tense markers

sadgím 'since' §11.9.1

ⁿyaan/naan 'next, afterwards'

naan 'in that case' §11.4.4

pà' tì 'perhaps'

sìd 'truly'

yu'un 'next'

lɛɛ 'but'

Ò sìd daa á nɛ nâ'ab.

'Truly, he was a chief.' W

3A truly Tns be Foc chief

Josua yu'un da kudigya.

'Then Joshua grew old.' Jo 13:1

Josua yu'un dá kòdìg ya.

Joshua then Tns grow.old ND-Pf

Ka Zugscɔb sunf nyaan yu'un ma'ae.

'Then the Lord's anger subsided.'

Kà Zug-sób súnf ⁿyaan yu'un ma'e.

Jo 7:26

and Lord heart next then cool

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 piâⁿ'ad la léε kù gaade_.

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.ND-Imp=2P2 God blessing

10.4.2 Between tense and mood markers

kùlìm/kudìm 'just, only' (positive polarity); 'never' (only with negatives)

nyεε/εεⁿ (tí) 'habitually' (nyiiti B1/2)

pùn 'before, already' nàm 'still' (with a negative. 'yet')

ka fu yuma kudim ku naae. 'your years will never end' Ps 102:27

kà fù yumà kudìm kù naae_.

and 2S year.Pl never Ng.Irr finish=Ng

Kudim tisimi mam pu'asadir la 'Just give me the young woman'

Kudìm tísìmi_ mam puá'-sadir la Gn 34:12

only give.ND-Imp=2P2 1S young.woman the

Hor dim la me da εenti be Seir. 'The Horites too used to live in Seir.'

Hor díim la mé dá εεⁿ tí bè Seir. Dt 2:12

Hor ØP the also Tns habit exist Seir

Tìim la nám bèε_? 'Is there any medicine left?'

medicine the still exist=PQ

ba nam pu kuu fo 'they haven't killed you yet' §14.2

bà nàm pu kúu_fù_

3P still Ng kill=2S=Ng

Pin'ilugun sa ka Pian'ad la da pun denjim be.

Piⁿ'ilúgu_n sá kà Piâⁿ'ad la dá pùn dèjìim bè.

begin.Gd=at hence and word the Tns already before exist

'In the beginning, the Word already existed.' Jn 1:1

10.4.3 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_ tí nìed lá kà bà gâad! Is 17:14

morning=Nz next appear.Ipf the and 3P pass

Kè̀m_ tí 'nyε dú'atà.

'Go and see Doctor.' S

go.ND-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

M̄ nif lé̀m zá̀bì̀d ne.

'My eye is hurting again.'

1S eye again fight.Ipf Foc

M̄ 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 gaadε.

Àmáa man pîâ'ad la kú malìgim gáadε_.

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 kpélì̀m 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

m̄ biig Josef nám kpè̀n vuε.

1S child Joseph still still live

but	Da ɠɔsɛ_!	'Don't look!'
	Ng.Imp look=Ng	
	Kèl kà ò ɠɔs!	'Let her look!'
	let.ND-Imp and 3A look	
	Dòllɛ 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 ND-Pf	
	Ò dà ɠòs ya.	'He looked.'
	3A Tns look ND-Pf	
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 ND marking)
	Ò ɠòsɛ_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 ND marking, raising is absent after **ò lì bà** always, and absent after **m̀ f̀ t̀ ỳ** 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 gɔs.	'He'll look.'
but	Ì nà gɔs.	'I'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ 'ɛs yé ò nà gɔs.	'He thinks he'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ 'ɛs kà ò nà gɔs.	'He thinks he'll look.'
	Ò tè ⁿ 'ɛs yé m nà gɔs.	'He thinks I'll look.'
but	Ò tè ⁿ 'ɛs kà m nà gɔs.	'He thinks I'll look.'

10.6 Final particles

ND-Pf *ya* §10.5, *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 ND-Pf and Ammon ØP kill=3A 'You have made the Ammonites kill him.' 2 Sm 12:9

Kèm na_ gɔs!
come.ND-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'*:

ⁿwadɪg-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 lεbug 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.
 Mɔr_a´ 'have' with na´ means 'bring.'

The negative enclitic §4.3 §10.3 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 ì 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 §11.9.

10.7 Complements and adjuncts

The order of arguments after the verb is: indirect object, direct object, adjunct NPs, object/adjunct clauses. For gerunds as VP complements see §9.6; for catenative clauses as objects of e.g. ⁿye 'see', ke 'let', mit_a 'don't let', see §11.5.4; for purpose clauses as objects of verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or as adjuncts see §11.7; for content clauses as complements, see §11.6; for relative clauses with si'em, absolute clauses, or adverbials with ye_lá as objects of verbs of cognition and communication, see §11.9.2, §11.9.1 and §9.7.1 respectively.

10.7.1 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, òm 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', *bòdùg* '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.ND-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.ND-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 §12.1.1:

Daam la nú ya. 'The beer has got drunk.'
 beer the drink ND-Pf

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

Gbàùḡ la sóbìd sùḡa. 'The letter writes easily.' W
 letter the write.Ipf well

Gbànà 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 níjè àláa! 'Don't do that!'
Ng.Imp do thus=Ng

Indirect objects expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò dògυ_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
lìnè_ màal dáp àyí bánè_ kà kìkiris 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.

M 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.'

m 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' tɛɛgì_ fù tùbìr fun da ké kà lì zábì_fɔ_.

so God if pull 2S ear 2S Ng.Imp let and 3I hurt=2S=Ng

'so if God punishes you don't let it hurt you.' Jb 5:17

Here *tɛɛg* 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' §12.1):

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' §9.8.2:

Bà à ne píelà. 'They're white.' W
 3P be Foc white.Pl

Mam anɛ pielug amaa m ya'a paaɛ bugumin asɛɛ ka m lɛb zin'a.
 Mam á ne píelòg àmáa m yá' pae búgúmɩ_n, àsɛɛ kà m lɛb zì'a.
 1S be Foc white but 1S if reach fire=at except and 1S turn red
 'I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red.' [a crayfish] G1 p16

Lì à ne bugúsíga. 'It's soft.'
 3I be Foc softly

Lì à ne zaalím. 'It's empty.'
 3I be Foc emptiness

Lì àⁿ súga. 'It's good.'
 3I be well
 (see §12.1 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 §7.3 appear as predicative objects:

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 sɔpi mɔɔgu_n la Is 40:3
 make.ND-Imp road-male straight grass=at the

kɛ ka ti lieb nyain. 'make us light.' 1 Jn 1:7
 ké kà tì lieb 'yae.
 let and 1P become bright

10.7.2 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 §11.9.2. 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:

Sòŋa 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 made us get health’

ò pù'alóŋ la zúgù_ ké kà tì pâam láafi Is 53:5

3A damage the on=+ let and 1P receive health

10.7.2.1 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. Manner adverbials also include adverbial ideophones §7.2.

As with numerals §9.5.1, reduplication is distributive with ordinary nouns: *ziⁿ'ig ziⁿ'ig* ‘place by place’, *dàbìsìr dàbìsìr* ‘day by day’:

ka la'as banɛ kpi la digil duur-duur

kà lâ'as bànì_ kpi la_ dɪgɪl duur duur

and gather DemP=Nz die the=+ lay heap heap

‘and will heap up dead bodies’ Ps 110:6

With manner nouns and with mass quantifiers, reduplication is intensifying: *àsídà sídà/àmɛŋá mɛŋá* ‘very truly’; *bi'el bi'el* ‘very little.’

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

M kɛŋ nɔbá. 'I went on foot.' S; W **ne nɔbá** (ne 'with')
1S go leg.Pl

À nyɛ ne nif sɔ́'ɔ̀ à wòm túbà. 'Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears.'
Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl (Seeing is believing.)

Numerals have specific forms for 'so many times' §9.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adverbials:

Ò tùm bédùgu/pamm. 'She's worked a lot.'

Bà gòsɪ tí bábìga. 'They've looked at us many times.' W
cf **Bà gòsɪ̀ tì bábìga.** 'They've looked at many of us.' W

Mass quantifiers may float from within an object or a place adverbial to a later adjunct position:

Bà gòsɪ̀ tí wusa. 'They've looked at us all.' W
3P look=1P all

ka bæɛ m kɔnba ni wusa 'and is in all my bones' Jer 20:9
kà béɛ̀ òm kɔnba ní wusa
and exist 1S bone.Pl at all

10.7.2.2 Time

Some time adverbials are single words which cannot take dependents. (CGEL p564 regards such words as "pronouns.") Examples include

nannánna'	'now'	ziná	'today'
sù'os_a	'yesterday'	bɛog_ɔ	'tomorrow'
dunná	'this year'	daar	'two days off/ago'
yà'as/yà'as_a	'again'	tò'ɔ̀ɔ̀'	'straight away'

Some time adverbs are fixed expressions like

bɛog sá/bɛog daar 'in future' **bè-kìkèong_ɔ** 'very early morning'

However, most are simply NPs expressing times, e.g.

zàam ⁿwá 'this evening' yú'ubɔ ⁿwá 'tonight'

ⁿwad-kánì_ gàad la 'last month'
moon-Dem=Nz pass the

ⁿwad-kánì_ ken na la 'next month'
moon-Dem=Nz come.Ipf hither the

The irregular noun *sanjá* 'time' appear in time adverbials like

san-kánè_?	'when?'	san-kán la	'at that time'
sanjá kám	'at all times'	sanjá bèdùgu	'a long time'
sansá bèdùgu	'many times'	sanjá bi'elá	'for/in a short time'

The locative particle §10.7.2.3 appears in some time expressions:

bεogu_n	'morning'	yiigí_n	'at first'
san-sí'e_n la	'at one time, once'		

*Win*_n 'time of day' always takes a predeterminer. Note the idioms

yùum à ⁿ wá/à ⁿ wána wín	'this time next year'
dáar à ⁿ wá/à ⁿ wána wín	'this time the day after tomorrow.'

"Day" as in "twenty-four hour period" is *dàbìsìr*; however, *daar* is used instead in NPs used adverbially as time adjuncts, e.g.

Dabiskan la na anε sunpεεn **dabisir**, sunsa'aj ne endug na bεε li **daar**.
Dàbìs-kàn la ná a ne suⁿ-pêen dábìsìr, suⁿ-sâ'aj ne éⁿdùg ná bέε_ lì daar.

day-Dem the Irr be Foc anger day sorrow with anguish Irr exist 3I day

'That day will be a day of anger; there will be sorrow and anguish on that day.'

Zep 1:15 (the antecedent of *lì* is *dàbìs-kàn*)

In this meaning, *daar* always takes either a predeterminer or a following quantifier: *nɔb-kôog daar* nobkoog daar 'the day a leg is broken' §14.3.

The use of **daar** distinguishes points in time from spans of time:

Tì daa kpélim ànína dabá àyópòḗ. 'We stayed there a week.'
 1P Tns remain there day.Pl seven

Dabá àyópòḗ 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'

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.'

The names of the weekdays §9.3 always take **daar**: **Àláasìd dâar** 'Sunday.'

When it appears with neither a predeterminer nor a quantifier, **daar** is an adverbial meaning 'two days off/ago':

daar zaam on kidig o bɔn'ɔgɔn la na
daar zâam on kídìgò_ bɔn'ɔgɔ_n la na
 day evening 3A meet=3A swamp=at the hither

'in the evening the day after tomorrow he should come and meet him in the valley' (from Naden's dictionary)

Karufá 'o'clock' precedes a number word to express clock times:

karufá àtáⁿ 'three o'clock.'

10.7.2.3 Place

Place adverbials may be pronouns like **kpɛ** 'here', specialised words like **yìŋ_a** 'outside', **dàgòbìg_a** 'left', **àgólì/àgólá** 'upwards', **lallí** 'far off', Kusaal place names, or NPs headed by postpositions. No verb always requires a place-adverbial object:

Dàv-ɔ' bé kpɛlá. 'There's a man here.'
 man-IdfA exist here

but **Wínà'am bé.** 'God is there.' (i.e. "It'll all work out.")
 God exist

along with e.g. **Waad bé** 'It's cold' ("cold exists") and the common greeting **Àláafù bé** 'There is health' §13.

So too with e.g.

Ka o paae zin'igin la.

'And he reached the place.' Lk 22:40

Kà ò pae zi^{n'}igɪ_n la.

and 3A reach place=at the

but li saŋa sid paae ya.

'Its time has surely arrived.' Ps 102:13

lì saŋá sɪd pàè ya.

3I time truly arrive ND-Pf

Many place adverbials are formed with the **locative particle**, which has the form **nu'** after pronouns (*m̀ nu/man nu* 'in me'), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in the SF, but enclitic **n** elsewhere:

la'asug dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni

'in synagogues and in streets' Mt 6:2

là'asùg dɔɔdɪ_n nɛ sɯoyá nì

gather.Gd house.Pl=at with road.Pl at

It may precede or follow *la'*: *m̀'arɪ_n la* or *m̀'ar la ní* 'in the lake.'

The locative particle follows all nouns used as heads of place NPs other than proper names of places and some postpositions.

Ka Paillet lɛn yi nidibin la na

'Pilate came out to the people again'

Kà Paillet lém yi nidibí_n la na

Jn 19:4

and Pilate again exit person.Pl=at the hither

Ò bè dâ'a_n.

'He's at market.'

Ò bè kɔɪɪɪ_n.

'He's at the stream.'

Ò bè tuumɪ_n.

'He's at work.'

Yir' 'house' has the exceptional locatives *yín_n* Pl *yáa_n* 'at home.'

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take *nu' ~ n*, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók.

'He's in Bawku.'

Ẁ ná keŋ Bók.

'I'll go to Bawku.'

Fù yûug Bók kpɛláa_?

'Have you been long in Bawku (here)?'

Speakers treat foreign place names similarly, but B often uses *nu'* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tɛŋɪ_n* "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

Most postpositions §9.7.1 have place-adverb meanings. In most cases they are not followed by the locative particle. Postpositions include:

Babá 'beside' (Pl of **babr'** 'sphere of activity'):

m̀ nɔ́bá bàbà 'beside my feet'
1S leg.Pl beside

Gbìn_n 'at the bottom of' (**gbìn_n** 'buttock'):

zuor la gbín 'below the hill'
hill the bottom

Kɔ́' / kɔ́'kɔ́ 'by ... self' (**àdàkó'** 'one'):

m̀ kɔ́' 'by myself'
1S alone

nyá'anjá 'behind, after' (**nyá'anjá** 'back'):

lì nyá'anj 'afterward'
3I behind

ne'εnjá nyá'anj 'afterward'
DemI behind

Puug_n 'inside' (**puuga** 'belly'):

wadɪs yôum la púug_n 'months in the year'
moon.Pl year the belly=at

dò-kànjá la púug_n 'inside that hut'
hut-Dem the belly=at

Saⁿ'an' 'in the presence, in the opinion of, *chez*':

Wínà'am sâⁿ'an 'in the sight of God'

Fù ná di'e tùm pɔ́'á'-bàmma la sâⁿ'an.

2S Irr get medicine woman-DemP the by

'You'll get the medicine from where those women are.'

10.7.2.4 Reason

Place adverbials are used metaphorically to express reason: thus **zug** 'onto' is used for 'because of'. In this meaning, it often follows an absolute clause §11.9.1.

Faanmim fu nɔŋilim la zug. 'Save me because of your love.' Ps 6:4
Fàa'mí_m fù nòŋìlím la zúg.
 save.ND-Imp=1S 2S love the on

o suunr da san'am on maal ninsaal la zug.
ò suu'r dá sà'n'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

Adverbials with **zug** can be subjects of **ke** 'let' §11.5.4:

Dunia dim la zi' Wina'am la zugɔ ke ka ba zi' tii.
Duniya dí_m lá_ zi' Wínà'am la zúgò_ ké kà bà zí'tí_.
 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

Bɔ zúg 'for what reason, why?' has become a clause adjunct §11.1 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 sù'm yé ò dɔllí_tí_ keŋ zábìrú_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 **onɛ keŋ zabir la** 'he who went to fight' 1 Sm 30:24
ònì_ keŋ zábìr la
 DemA=Nz go fight.Gd the

biig la keng daam la da'ab la 'the boy who went to buy the beer'
biig lá_ keŋ daam la dà'ab la §14.1
 child the=Nz go beer the buy.Gd the

10.7.3 Prepositional phrases

The prepositions are **ne** 'with', **wuu** 'like', and the loanwords **àsée** '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 §11.8.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Personal pronouns as objects of prepositions may take unbound forms, or they may be formally identical with the otherwise right-bound pronouns:

wuu fun ne 'like you'

wúu fù ne 'like you'

Ne either takes unbound forms or adopts the form **ní** before enclitics identical with verb object 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_lí 'with it'

Ne is 'with' in both 'using' and 'accompanying' senses:

Lìgìním_ fù nif né fù nú'ug.

'Cover your eye with your hand.'

cover.ND-Imp 2S eye with 2S hand

Bà kèng ne nóbá.

'They've gone on foot.' W

3P go with leg.Pl

Kulim ne sumbugusum.

'Go home in peace.' Mk 5:34

Kùlìm ne suⁿ-bógòsìm.

go.home.ND-Imp with peace

Dìm ne Wìn, da tû'as ne Wìnné_.

eat.ND-Imp with God Ng.Imp talk with God=Ng

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

M gèⁿ né fù.

'I'm angry with you.' S

1S get.angry with 2S

Ne 'and' coordinating NPs §9.1 is historically the same word. Synchronically, anaphoric pronouns referring to NPs coordinated with **ne** are plural:

On ne o pu'a-eliḡ Mēeri keḡ ye ba sɔbi **ba** yuda.

On **né** ò puà'-elíḡ Mēeri kēḡ yé bà sɔbí_ bà yudá.

3A with 3A fiancée Mary go that 3P write 3P name.Pl

'He and his fiancée Mary went to write their names.' Lk 2:5

However, *constructio ad sensum* is common with pronouns.

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

ka li dɔlne o tuma

'according to his deeds' Ez 18:30

kà lì dɔl **né** ò tuma

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

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.

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

Àmáa ò pu lal **né** tu_.

but 3A Ng be.far with 1P=Ng

Fu nar ne fun na kpi.

'You deserve to die.' Jgs 2:26

Fù nár ne fún nà kpi.

2S need with 2S.Nz Irr die

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

halí ne ziná

'until today'

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

la'am ne on da zi' on keḡ teḡ si'a la

là'am ne ón dà zì' ón keḡ téḡ-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

Halí là'am ne before an absolute clause means 'even though' §12.2:

hali la'am ne on zi' la

'even though he does not know' Lv 5:3

halí là'am ne ón zì' la

even together with 3A.Nz Ng.know the

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 búη 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
m̀̀rɩ_ ya'am wuu wiigí ne
 have=2P2 sense like snake.Pl like

Ò z̀̀t wuu búὴ̀ z̀̀t 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 nwe ne danuud ne. 'I am like a beer-drinker.' Jer 23:9
M ⁿwén ne da-núud ne.
 1S be.like with beer-drinker like

W permits adjuncts introduced by **wuu** to be preposed with **kà**:

Wuu búη né kà ò z̀̀t. 'Like a donkey, he runs.'
 like donkey like and 3A run.Ipf

This is not grammatical with adjuncts introduced by **ne** 'with.'

As prepositions, **halí** means 'up until, as far as', and **àséé** 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 asee Wina'am gullim.
Sɔ' kae'_ áⁿ sɔ'm àséé Wínà'am gúllimm.
 IdfA Ng.be=+ be goodness except God only
 'There is none who is good except God alone.' Mk 10:18

11 Clauses

11.1 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.

3I be.hot

'It [weather] is hot.'

̀̀ àⁿ s̀̀́.

3I be well

'Things are good.'

̀̀ nà^r kà f̀̀ kul.

3I must and 2S go.home

'You must go home.'

Dummy-subject *̀̀* is often omitted before *ka'* 'not be' §12.3 and in *yà'*-clauses:

Yà'a ka'anε alaa

Yà' ka'a_ní_ àláa_

if Ng.be=DP thus=Ng

'If it had not been so' Jn 14:2

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

See §11.4.3 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 §11.5.4. 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 §9.2):

P̀̀ya' la dá' daká kà keŋ Bók.

woman the buy box and go Bawku

'The woman has bought a box and gone to Bawku.' W

but *P̀̀ya' la dá' daká kà ò keŋ Bók.*

woman the buy box and 3A go Bawku

'The woman has bought a box and **it** has gone to Bawku.' W

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause, 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 §11.4.1.1.)

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 ND-Pf=PQ	

The **coordinating particles** *κυυ/βεε* 'or', *àmáa* 'but' §11.3 and **prepositions** subordinating unnominalised clauses §11.8 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 §11.9.1, *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* §12.4, 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 §11.4.4 and *sadígím*-clauses §11.9.1 appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §12.4. *Daa-sí'er(ε)* 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 §11.7.

Clause adjuncts can appear as LFs §4.3 (never followed by *kà*) in the case of *βεογο* 'tomorrow', *àlá mènε* 'likewise', *dìn/lìn zúγο* 'therefore' and *àlá zúγο* 'thus.' The corresponding SFs appear as VP adverbials, and are often preposed with *kà*. *Bo zúγο* as a clause adjunct is 'because', whereas *bo zúgo kà* means 'why?' *Dìn/lìn zúgo*, *àlá zúgo*, *bo zúgo* and *àlá mèn* can be *subjects* of *ké kà* 'cause that' §11.5.4.

11.2 Clause types

Summary of basic clause types and their structural possibilities:

	ND 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 §12.1; on preposing, see §12.4.

ND marking is absent in main and content clauses after coordinating kà §10.5.

Subject ellipsis does not occur in catenatives used as verb objects §11.5.4.

Tense marking in catenative clauses is limited to cases where the main clause is non-salient informationally (or ellipted) and itself lacks tense marking §11.5.1.

Where clause types other than main clauses or content clauses appear as questions or commands, a preceding main clause has been ellipted §11.4.6.

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 §10.6. Main clauses show ND marking §10.5 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 §11.4.1.1.

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 ND 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 ND marking.

Subordinate clauses may also be introduced by prepositions §11.8.

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 §11.4.4.

Subordinate clauses freely appear as components of other subordinate clauses:

Ka Yesu yu'ʊn ban ye si'el wusa naae ya la ka yeI ye

Kà Yesu_ yu'ʊn báj ye si'el wusa náe ya lá kà yéI ye

and Jesus.Nz then realise that IdfI all finish ND-Pf 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 yeI beog daar ye fune ke ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.

M̄ pu b̄ɔɔd yé fù tí yèI 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 suɲid Elaja la be kpela.

Elasia ónì_ àⁿ Safat b̄iig kà daa súɲid Elaja la bé kpéla.

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 kɔlɔg la yela ka Yesu yet o ye o da'am la'abane ka ba bɔɔd malɔɲ diib dabisir la yela, bee o suɲim nɔɲdim la.

Kà sieba teⁿ'es ye Judas ñ dà mɔrí_ bà ligidi kólòg la yéla kà Yesu yéto_ yé

and IdfP think that Judas Nz Tns have 3P money bag the about and Jesus say.Ipf=3A that

ò dà'am lá'-bànì_ kà bà b̄ɔɔd malɔɲ d̄iib dàbìsìr la yéla,

3A buy.ND-Imp goods-DemP=Nz and 3P want sacrifice eat.Gd day the about

béé ò sùɲim nɔɲ-dím la.

or 3A help.ND-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)

11.3 Clause coordination

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

On ka' sida sɔba, ne on tum tumbɛ'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'ɛdɛ nwɛnɛ tinamɛ daa pu maalif bɛ'ɛd 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'ɛdɛ_ ^wɛn ne tinámì_ daa pu máalì_f bɛ'ɛd

and 3I be Foc that 2S Ng.Irr make=1P bad=+ resemble with 1P=Nz Tns Ng make=S bad

si'em lá àséé sùm má'aa, kà ye fù yím ne su^búgùsùm la.

how the except good only and that 2S exit.ND-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 meḡa.

Sóḡjà-sɔ' kaɛ' n tùm kà yɔɔd ò meḡá_.

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 ND 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 gumme.

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

Bà pu tùm bɛɛ ^wiid gúmme_.

3P Ng work.Ipf or spin.Ipf thread=Ng

yeli ya zambina bɛɛ ye o na pa'al tumnyalima

yèlì_ya za^buna 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 ND 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 kṑí 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

11.4 Main

Main clauses show ND 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' §10.4.1, *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.

11.4.1 Statements

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

11.4.1.1 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. §14.1 §14.2) 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 dí^m tènɛ_n la, kà dapá_ àyí bání_ 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 yáadu_n naa_ tu'usó_ . Bán dà tɔɛ hálí la zúg
 fairy.Pl accompany=3P=+ exit grave.Pl=at hither=+ meet=3A 3P.Nz Tns be.bitter until the on
kà nidib dá zòt dábiem ne bán nà dɔllí_ ànína_ gát. Kà bà táⁿs ye,
 and person.Pl Tns fear.Ipf fear with 3P.Nz 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 anε nya'andɔl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòto_ ne dábiem, bán dà pu níŋò_ yádda yé ò sìd
 but 3P Tns fear.Ipf=3A Foc fear 3P.Nz Tns Ng do=3A trust that 3A truly
à ne ⁿya'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 Uriah's wife. Solomon begat ...'

In contrast, the genealogy in Lk 3:23ff B2 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of **ka X saam da ane Y** 'X's father was Y.' Long series of coordinated "asides" may drop tense marking: in this passage B3 only has tense marking at the beginning of paragraphs.

As tense marking is affected by whether clauses are introduced by **kà**, this 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 §12.1.1, 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 3P Tns get.old Foc	'And they were old.'
	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 3I Tns get.lost Foc	'And it was lost.'
	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 ND marking after coordinating *kà* §10.5 suggests that *kà* was once always subordinating. Clauses continuing a narrative thread have been analysed as "cosubordinate" in some languages (Ross 2021, 3.1.3), and they have subordinate features in many others, 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), Miya (Schuh 1998 pp 162, 165-166) and Meskwaki (Goddard 2023 p412); cf also the use of *nɛ* 'with' for 'and' with NPs §9.1. Kusaal narrative clauses are not subordinate synchronically (cf 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 yiigá 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' §14.1

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_ , bɔ zúgɔ Elizabet dá à nɛ kúndù'ar

3P Tns Ng have child=Ng because Elizabeth Tns be Foc barren.woman

kà bà bàyí la wúsà mè kúdìg nɛ.

and 3P two the all also get.old Foc

'They had no child, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old.' Lk 1:7 B2

Within a series of clauses continuing a narrative, subordinate clauses (including nominalised clauses) mark tense relative to the timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la

kà dau támmì_ ò pɔa' lá_ sà yèlò_ si'el la

and man forget 3A wife the=Nz Tns say=3A Idfl the

'but the man forgot what his wife had told him the previous day' §14.2

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

Ban bôɔd yé bà sáa dì Kum Máljak Gáadùg málòŋ dīib 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 §11.9.1 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 nyɛɛ o la, ba da zaŋ o taaba pistan' tis o.

Bán dà nyéɔ_ 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 ànína.

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 sâ'n'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* §12.4, 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 bæɛ ani nuud daam la, ka Na'ab la maligim yeɪ Esta ye,
 Bán dà bæɛ_ àní_ nuud daam la, kà Nà'ab la maligim yéɪ 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 Zugsoɔb la gaad,
 Kà bán dà sɔ'n'si_ nae la, kà Zug-sóɔb la gâad,
 and 3PNz Tns converse=+ finish the and Lord the pass
 'When they had finished conversing, the Lord went away,' Gn 18:33

This reflects the quasi-coordinating nature of the preposing construction with absolute clauses, also seen in the dropping of subject pronouns after the preposing *kà* when they refer the subject of a preposed absolute clause §11.1, as in e.g.

On da paae David san'an na la ka igin teŋin na'as o.
 Ón dà pae David sâ'n'an na la, kà ígìn teŋi_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

11.4.2 Questions

Content questions (except *liá* clauses §11.4.5) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §4.3. Focus-*nɛ'* cannot appear. There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focused §12.1, and non-subjects are often preposed §12.4. Preposing is obligatory with *bo* and *bo zúg* as 'why?'

Fù bôɔɔd bó_? 'What do you want?'
 2S want.Ipf what=CQ

Daɣ la 'nyéɛ_ ànó'ɔnè_? 'Whom has the man seen?'
 man the see who=CQ

Bɔɔ_ máalè_?

what=+ make=CQ

'What has happened?'

Fù áa^_ ànô'ɔn bíígà_?

2S be who child=CQ

'Whose child are you?'

Ànó'ɔnì_ ^nyé_?

who=+ see=CQ

'Who has seen?'

Ànô'ɔn kà daɔ 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 *ne'* permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by *kúu_?* 'or?' (expecting agreement), or by *béé_?* 'or?' (expecting disagreement):

Daɔ la ^nyé bíígàa_?

man the see child=PQ

'Has the man seen a child?'

M á ne 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 béé_?

man the see child or=PQ

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

11.4.3 Commands

For indirect commands, see §11.7 §11.6. 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.ND-Imp child the

‘Look (Sg) at the child!’

Gùsìm_ɿ biig la!

look.ND-Imp=2P2 child the

‘Look (Pl) at the child!’

Da gɔs biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look child the=Ng

‘Don’t (Sg) look at the child!’

Da gɔs_ɿ biig láa_!

Ng.Imp look=2P2 child the=Ng

‘Don’t (Pl) look at the child!’

Da gɔsɛ_!

Ng.Imp look=Ng

‘Don’t (Sg) look.’

Da gɔs_ɿ yá_!

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 nû'ug

and agree that 2S press.ND-Imp hand

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

Kèmi_ na_ gɔsɪ_!

'Come (Pl) and look!'

come.ND-Imp=2P2 hither=+ look=2P2

(Kèmi_ na_ gɔsɪ! W)

Ò yèl yé bà gòsìmi_ tenɪ_n.

'He said to them: Look down!'

3A say that 3P look.ND-Imp=2P2 ground=at

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.ND-Imp

Gɔsimiya, nidib la wusa dɔl o nɛ!

Gòsìmi_yá, nidib la wúsà d̀llo_ nɛ!

look.ND-Imp=2P2 person.Pl the all accompany=3A Foc

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

11.4.4 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 §12.4.

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 yóɔ_f.
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 dáy-kàŋáa_.
so 3I then be goodness 3P if Ng bear=DP man-Dem=Ng
'So it would have been better for him not to have been born.' Mk 14:21 B2

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

Fu ya'a na dɔllimi keŋ, m na keŋ. 'If you will go with me, I will go.' Jgs 4:8
Fù yá' nà dɔllí_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** §10.2 can attach to any verb form except imperatives; it is usually repeated in following catenative clauses. Here it expresses modal remoteness (CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; with the preverbal adjunct **naan** the sense is contrary-to-fact. This **naan** 'in that case' is distinct from **naayan** 'next, then' (though **naan** often appears for **naayan** in older texts) and from the 2Vb **naan** 'starting at ... do' §11.5.3.

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 §11.9.1.

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
mɔɔlùg 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 di'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_ kéɛ_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 ò ni, ò zùlùŋ ná páa_n ò sàl̀bìr.

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.

M̐ yá' mɔri_n sú'ugò_ m̐ nú'ugi_n, m̐ naan kɔu_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 tisi_ní_ba vu'usím zî'n'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!

M̐ zug-dâan la yá' naan sɔ́ákì_ keŋ_ nyɛɛ_n nɔ-dí'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 du'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 nida!
 return.ND-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 pu naée__?** 'isn't it finished?' may be **εεⁿ** 'no' or **áyù** 'yes.'

11.4.6 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.

In informal speech main clauses are often omitted in **indirect commands**; the initial clause-linking particle of the subordinate clause is usually also ellipited. Thus with **kèl kà** 'let' before a catenative §11.5.4, **m̄/fù b̄wɔd ye** 'I/you want that' before a purpose clause §11.7, or **m̄ t̄êⁿes ye** 'I think that' before a content clause §11.6:

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

Ò sáa ⁿwè' b̄n̄ 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.ND-Imp ground=at content

T̄ì p̄ú'sìm Wínà'am. 'We should praise God.'
 1P praise.ND-Imp God content

Lì à ne 'it is' is omitted before a NP with a **focusing deictic** §12.3. 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 ne Wínà'am níd ònì_ kɪ'is Zug-sóɓ piâ'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 *Zaansuŋ soɓ la nwana kenna!* 'Here is the dreamer coming!'

Zàaⁿsúŋ 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* §12.1 and the foregrounding of other NPs with *kà* §12.4 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.

11.5 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 kûos bùŋù_ 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 dàɣ-sɔ' due n zí'e lá'asùg la nidib sísbùɣu_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 yel ye 'You have promised, saying ...' 1 Kgs 8:25
 Fù zî'el nɔɔr_ yél ye
 3S set.up mouth=+ say that

Kà can coordinate clauses, including *n*-clauses §11.3. 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 pɔ̀à'-sɔ' daa bæ_ 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_ 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 he'd taken home.' §14.2

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 léɛm ^{ny}ε 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 ^{ny}ε '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 ^{ny}ε dáɔ kà ò áⁿ ná'ab.

'I saw a man who was a chief.'

1S Tns see man tand 3A be chief

M̃ daa pu ^{ny}ε 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 ^{ny}ε dau lá kà ò áⁿ ná'ab.

'I saw the man as a chief.'

1S Tns see man the and 3A be chief

M̃ daa pu ^{ny}ε 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 §11.5.4.

Before the non-specific subject *bà* 'they', *n* may occur instead of *kà* §9.2.

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 §11.5.3, *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 §12.1 and tense §11.5.1; 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 §11.5.3. 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_ dít kà nuud
 and human child the come hither=+ eat.Ipf and drink.Ipf
 'And the Son of Man came eating and drinking' Mt 11:19

but Ka dapa ayi' ye 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

11.5.1 Tense marking

The clauses within a catenation agree in tense. Tense focus marking with *ne'* in the main clause applies to the whole catenation §11.5.4. 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'n'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'n'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 tuoma, ka li ya'a ka' ziim ti yii.

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

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 §12.4 and *n*-focus §12.1, where the original catenative expresses tense freely; see also on ellipsis of main clauses §11.4.6 and on presentational constructions §12.5.

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' §10.1.

Catenatives are not used to express sequences of events (cf §11.4.1.1.) 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'-sadr la zɔɔ_ kulɔ_ 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 ND marking §10.5.) 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*.

11.5.2 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 kíkirisɔ_ 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 dɔɔgɔ_n la mén.

and 3A pass=+ enter Rachel hut=at the also

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

Ò dìl_ tìg.

3A eat=+ get.sated

'She's eaten to satiety.'

Ò dìl_ gálìs.

3A eat=+ exceed

'She's eaten too much.'

Ò dìl_ nae.

3A eat=+ finish

'She's finished eating.'

Catenatives with àɛⁿya 'be' are predicative:

ka o ya'am tiaki an sù'um.

kà ò ya'am tjàkì_ àⁿ sù'm.

and 3A sense change=+ be goodness

'and his mind changed for the better.'

Mk 5:15

Gàad 'pass, surpass' is used in comparisons, e.g.

Fu sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?

Fù síd nòŋ mam_ gát bámmáa_?

2S truly love 1S=+ pass.Ipf DemP=PQ

'Do you really love me more than these?'

Jn 21:15

À Wɪn gím_ gát à Bɔgɔr.

Pz Awini be.short=+ pass.Ipf Pz Abugri

'Awini is shorter than Abugri.' S

Gu'ŋ' 'fail, do in vain' is used for 'in vain':

Ka ba mak ye ba lɛbis o gu'ŋ.

Kà bà mak yé bà lɛ̀bìso__ gu'ŋ.

and 3P measure that 3P answer=3A=+ do.in.vain

'They tried in vain to answer him.'

Lk 14:6

Tìs 'give' is used for 'to, for'; the meaning need not imply any giving:

M̄ daa kùos b̀h̀ǹd̀_ tìs dú'atà.

1S Tns sell donkey=+ give doctor

'I sold a donkey to Doctor.'

O anɛ nimbɛ'og hali ka sɔ' ku nyanɔi pian' tis o.

Ò à nɛ nin-bê'og halí kà sɔ' kú 'nyanɔ_ pja'n'_ tiso_o_.

3A be Foc person-bad until and IdfA Ng.Irr prevail=+ speak=+ give=3A=Ng

'He's such a bad person that nobody can speak to him.' 1 Sm 25:17

ⁿWen_{na} 'be like' is used for 'like, resembling':

kem tɔ'ɔtɔ na nwenε mɔlif
 kɛm tɔ'ɔtɔ na_ ⁿwɛn nɛ mɔlif
 come.ND-imp immediately hither=+ be.like with kob
 'come immediately, like a gazelle' Sg 8:14

Ka ba mɛɛ li **ka** li nwenε dɔbama la.
 Kà bà mɛɛ_lí kà lì ⁿwɛn nɛ dɔ-bàmma la.
 and 3P build=3I and 3I be.like with room-DemP the
 'And they built it like those rooms.' 1 Kgs 7:8

ⁿWen nɛ X can be preposed or dislocated; an alternative analysis could be subject ellipsis, as with **zɪ** 'not know' as 'unbeknownst' §11.1:

Nwenε fun yɛl si'em la, fu mɛ kɪ lɛn nyɛɛ ma!
ⁿWɛn nɛ fún yɛl si'em la, fù mɛ 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

11.5.3 Specialised verbs before catenatives

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

Bɛɛ_ ànína 'exist there' with an Ipf catenative means 'be in the process of':

Ò bɛɛ_ ànína n ⁿwɛ'ɛd biig la. 'He's currently beating the child.'
 3A exist there + beat.Ipf child the

Bɔ̀ɔ̀d_a 'want to' usually takes a purpose clause with **ye** §11.7, but may take a following catenative (cf also **bɔ̀ɔ̀d_a** + gerund 'be about to' §10.2):

Mam pɪ bɔ̀ɔ̀di basi fɔ. 'I do not want to leave you.' Dt 15:16
 Mam pɪ bɔ̀ɔ̀dì_ básì_fɔ_.
 1S Ng want.Ipf=+ leave=2S=Ng

Gɔsim on bɔ̀ɔ̀di niŋ si'em nyɛɛm taal!
 Gòsìm ón bɔ̀ɔ̀dì_ níŋ si'em_ ⁿyɛɛ_ òn tàal!
 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

Ծօլ_la' 'accompany', mօր_a' 'have' before motion verbs mean 'go with', 'bring':

Բà dօլլօ__ keյ Bօկ. 'They've gone to Bawku with her.'

3P accompany=3A=+ go Bawku

Dabá àyօpօքè kà fօ mօրօ__ ke na. 'Bring her here in a week.' W

day.Pl seven and 2S have=3A=+ come hither

Ծօլս' 'follow, trace, accord with' takes a path as its object rather than a person (also e.g. X nօbà 'X's track.') It is often metaphorical, as in 'follow an order.'

Suօօօ ka fu na dօլիսէ?

'What method will you follow?'

Տյա-բօ kà fօ nà dօլիսէ_?

1 Kgs 22:22

path-what and 2S Irr follow=CQ

M dօլիսիdօ o wada la wusa

'I follow all his law' 2 Sm 22:23

Մը dօլիսիdօ օ wadá la wusa

1S follow.Ipf 3A law the all

ka շօօ dօլիս շաղցօմ la.

'and ran alongside the wall.' Jl 2:9

kà շօօ_ dօլիս շաղցօմ la.

and run=+ follow wall the

Ban da kaali dօլիսի ba za'as la

'those counted by their families'

Բան dà kaal_ dօլիսի_ bà zà'as la Nm 4:36

3P.Nz Tns count=+ follow 3P compound.Pl the

Ծօլս (n yi) X ու/սա'n'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 էenti pu dօլիսիdօ տինամ սան'անէ փան'ադա?

Օ էէn տի pu dօլիսիdօ տինամ սան'ան_ փան'ադա_?

3A habit Ng follow.Ipf 1P by=+ speak.Ipf=PQ

'Hasn't he also spoken through us?' Nm 12:2

Zugsօօօ la da dօլիսօօ ոճի'եսիdիբին տիս ոճօր կաղա.

Zug-sօօօ la dá dօլիսօօ օ ոճ-դի'եսիdիբի_n_ տիս ոճօր-կաղա.

Lord the Tns follow 3A linguist.Pl=at=+ give mouth-Dem

'The Lord gave this command through his prophets' 2 Chr 29:25

bɔzɔgɔ Zugɔɔb la da dɔlis o ni **ka** Aram dim paam nyanjir.

bɔ zúgɔ Zug-só**b** la dá d̀̀l̀is̀ ò ní kà Aram dí**m** p̄**â**am ^{nyanjir.}

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 Zugɔɔb la pu pian' dɔlisi yi man san'anɛ!

à**l**á Zug-só**b** la pu p̄j̄a^{n'} d̀̀l̀is̀_ yi man sa^{n'}an**é**!

thus Lord the Ng speak=+ follow=+ exit 1S by=Ng

'then the Lord has not spoken by me!' 1 Kgs 22:28

Lè**b** 'return' before a catenation can mean 'again':

ka li lɛbi an wuu o niŋgbina la an si'em la.

kà lì l**é**b̀_ àⁿ wú**u** ò niŋ-g**bin**á l**á**_ àⁿ si'em la.

and 3I return=+ be like 3A body.Pl the=Nz be how the

'and it was again like his body was.' Ex 4:7

Mi' 'know': **nàm mi'/zɔ'** before Pf catenatives mean 'have always/have never':

M̄ **nám** zɔ'_ ^{nyɛ} gbɔgɔm**ɛ**_ '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-bà**n**̀_ buudi paad**í**_ya la nám mi'_ pae sieba m**én**.

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 naanɛ o buŋ la zugɔ sig la

Kà p̄**u**' l**á**_ dà naan**í**_ ò bù**ŋ** la zúg**ò**_ 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 w**el**á 'do how?' here means 'how can?':

Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pu mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?

Nin-s**â**al b**i**ig nà niŋ w**el**á_ pu m**ɔ**r t**â**al W**í**nà'am t**u**onn**è**__?

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

Sya' 'hide' is used for 'secretly':

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baŋidib la 'Herod secretly summoned the wise men'
 Kà Nà'ab Herod sya'_ bùol baŋidib la Mt 2:7
 and king Herod hide=+ call knower.Pl the

Tuⁿ'eya' 'be able' expresses ability, and is common in catenatives:

ba paŋi na tun'e si'em 'as their strength permitted' 2 Cor 8:3
 bà pàŋì_ nà tuⁿ'e si'em
 3P strength=NZ Irr be.able how

ka li ku tun'e su'a. 'which cannot be hidden' Mt 5:14
 kà lì kú tuⁿ'e_ sya'a_
 and 3I Ng.Irr be.able=+ hide=Ng

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

O pu tun'e pian'ada. 'He could not speak.' Lk 1:22
 Ò pu tuⁿ'e_ pjaⁿ'adá_
 3A Ng be.able=+ speak.Ipf=Ng

ⁿYanŋ' 'overcome' here means 'prevail in.' Main and catenative clauses agree in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

M pu ⁿyanŋ'_ wé' bònŋ láa_. 'I wasn't able to hit the donkey.'
 1S Ng prevail=+ hit donkey the=Ng

M̀ kú ʔyaŋɩ_ ʔwé' bòn lása_ 'I can't hit the donkey.'
 1S Ng.Irr prevail=+ hit donkey the=Ng

wada line nyanjidi ket ka nidib vœ
 wadá lìnì_ ʔyanjìdì_ 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

Zàŋ and nɔk' 'pick up, take' here mean 'using' (a literal instrument):

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

M̀ zánjì_ m̀ nú'ugò_ sù'is daká la. 'I touched the box with my hand.'
 1S pick.up 1S hand=+ touch box the

Verbs of beginning often precede semantically-main catenatives:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba 'Peter began to tell them' Acts 11:4
 Kà Pita pi'n'ìl_ pá'alì_ba
 and Peter begin=+ teach=3P

Tì déŋì_ tísò_ lór. 'We've previously given him a car.'
 1P precede=+ give=3A car

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en 'A man got up and stood' Acts 5:34
 Kà dàv-sɔ' due_ zî'en
 and man-IdfA rise=+ stand.up

Zì 'not know' is used for 'unknowingly' (without a subject, 'unbeknownst'):

Ka sɔ' ya'a zi' **ka** tòm ... 'If anyone unwittingly does ...' Lv 5:17
 Kà sɔ' yá' zì' kà tòm ...
 and IdfA if Ng.know and work

Kà beog níe kà is common in B narrative for 'next day':

Ka beog nie **ka** ti keŋ Niapolis teŋin 'Next day we went to Neapolis'
 Kà beog níe kà tì keŋ Niapolis téŋɩ_n Acts 16:11
 and morning wake and 1P go Neapolis land=at

Lì pu yúuge_ kà means 'not much later ...':

Ka li pu yuuge **ka** o pu'a me kena. 'Not much later, his wife came too.'

Kà lì pu yúuge_, kà ò p̣a' mé ke na. Acts 5:7

and 3I Ng delay=Ng and 3A wife also come hither

Similarly with e.g.

Ka li niŋ bi'ela **ka** o tiak o ya'am ka keŋ.

Kà lì níŋ bi'elá kà ò ṭjá k ò yá'am kà keŋ.

and 3I do a.little and 3A change 3A mind and go

'A little later, he changed his mind and went' Mt 21:29

11.5.4 Catenatives as objects

Certain verbs take a *kà*-catenative object. The "real" object is probably a phonologically unrealised "fact/thing" NP serving as the anchor for the *kà*-catenative; cf Heath 1999 p282f for a similar proposal with the Koyra Chiini complementiser *kaa*.

Evidence for this can be seen in catenative clauses following *nyε* 'see', which always takes a catenative rather than a content clause in the sense 'see that', even when literal seeing is not implied, as also does *gɔs* 'look' in the sense 'see that':

Ka Noa yis diŋe ligil anruŋ la ka nyε ka teŋ la wusa kuɗig.

Kà Noa yis díni_ ligil à'rùŋ lá kà nyé kà teŋ la wúsà kùɗig.

and Noah extract DemI=Nz cover boat the and see and land the all dry.up

'Noah uncovered the ark and saw that the ground was dry.' Gn 8:13 (no *ya*)

Bɔzugɔ, o da nyε ka Sela bi', 'For she saw Shelah was grown'

Bɔ zúgɔ, ò dà nyè kà Sela bí', Gn 38:14 (no ND-Pf *ya*)

because 3A Tns see and Shelah mature

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

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 ne Jakob pu du'ad biis la

Rakel ñ dà nyé kà on ne Jakob pu dū'ad biis la

Rachel Nz Tns see and 3A with Jakob Ng bear child.Pl the

'When Rachel saw that she and Jacob were not having any children' Gn 30:1

ka m gɔs ka zaŋguom la mɔr vɔɔr. 'and I saw that there the wall had a hole.'
 kà m̀ gós kà zàŋgùom la mɔr vɔɔr. Ez 8:7
 and 1S look and wall the have hole

(In cases of literal seeing, **nyɛ** also takes absolute clauses as objects §11.9.1.)

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 nyɛ 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 nyɛ ka m zi'e Nail kɔldaug la nɔɔrin
 M zàaⁿsúŋ la púugú_n kà m̀ nyé kà m̀ zí'e Nail kól-daug la nóɔr_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'erɛɛ ti na ti nyɛ ka ti zabid nɛ Wina'am.
 Daa-sí'erɛɛ, tì ná ti nyé kà tì zábìd nɛ 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, but after **nyɛ** only **kà** appears, never **ye**, and all other subordinate **kà**-clause types without alternatives with **ye** are catenatives. The main clause and catenative agree in tense, as with **n**-catenatives and adnominal **kà**-catenatives §11.5.1. It is thus reasonable to take these clauses as 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 **nyɛ**, but only in cases where it expresses a direct physical perception of sound, e.g.

Gɔsima, m wòm ka fu saam yɛli fu bier Esau ye
 Gòsìma, m̀ wóm kà fù sàam yéìl_ fù bier Esau ye
 look.ND-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 nwɛnɛ zaba la
 Kà Josua_ wóm kà nidib la mâan túkpíidúg kà lì ⁿwɛn nɛ zábà la
 and Joshua=Nz hear and person.Pl the make.Ipf tumult and 3I be.like with fight.Gd.Pl the
 'When Joshua heard people making a commotion like a fight' Ex 32:17

Fu ku wum ka ba pian'ad bæ yɛt si'ela

Fù kú wúm kà bà pja'n'ad bæ yét si'ela_

2S Ng.Irr hear and 3P speak.Ipf or say.Ipf Idfl=Ng

'You will not hear them speaking or saying anything.' Ps 19:3

Ka m li tejin ka wum ka kukɔr buolim ye

Kà m lí tejí_n kà wúm kà kùkɔr 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 wum ye diib bæ Egypt tejin

M wúm ye diib bæ Egypt téjɪ_n

1S hear that food exist Egypt land=at

'I have heard that there is food in Egypt.'

Gn 42:2

on wum ye Lazarus ka' laafi la,

ón wòm ye Lazarus ka' láafi la,

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

'when he heard that Lazarus was sick'

Jn 11:6

Like **nyɛ**, **wòm** may also take an absolute clause as object §11.9.1.

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

Kɛl vuud.

Kèl vuud.

leave.ND-Imp make.noise.Gd

'Leave off the noise' Mk 10:48

(i.e. "Be quiet.")

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 fu mɛŋ an zanbinɛ tisi ba ka li yii fu tuum suma ni.

Kèl kà fù mɛŋ á^n za^binnɪ_ tísì_bá kà lì yíí_ fù tùm-sùmà ní.

let.ND-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 anε wada la ket ka tuumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lî à né wadá la_ kέt kà tùum-bε'ed 'nyet 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

Manε an Wina'am ke ka fu pu du'a biise?

Manε_ áⁿ Wínà'am_ kέt kà fù pu dụá' bìisè_?

1S=+ be God=+ let and 2S Ng bear child.Pl=PQ

'Am I God, to have not let you bear children?' Gn 30:2

Li da ke ka ba pu nyaŋi kuv o.

'This prevented him from being killed.'

Lì dà kè kà bà pu 'nyaŋi_ kúo_.

2 Kgs 11:2

3I Tns let and 3P Ng prevail=+ kill=3A=Ng

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

'which will stop them dying out.' Gn 6:20

Dini_ ná kέ kà bà da kpi'ulímm_.

3I=+ Irr let and 3P Ng.Imp finish=Ng

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

Kèlì_ kà tì pò'us Wínà'am.

'Let us praise God.' (or **Kèl kà ...**)

let.ND-Imp=2P2 and 1P greet God

Da kέ kà dàbiem béε_!

'Don't be afraid.'

Ng.Imp let and fear exist=Ng

Kèl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving lack of ND marking as the only sign that the clause is a command §11.4.6.

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §12.1) of **ke**:

Ka bɔzugɔ ke ka fu tumim na?

'Why have you sent me here?' Ex 5:22

Kà bɔ zúgò_ kέ kà fù túmì_m ná_?

and why=+ let and 2S send=1S hither=CQ

Pf **ke** with a catenative object can take tense-focus **ne'**, despite not expressing a subject state change §10.1, as the tense focus extends over the whole catenation:

M sunsa'aŋ la keke ka m nini sɔbid

M suⁿ-sâⁿ'aŋ la kέ né kà m ní_ sɔbíd

1S sorrow the let Foc and 1S eye.Pl darken.Ipf

'My sorrow is making my eyes dark' Jb 17:7

o κενε ka m βε likin 'he has made me dwell in darkness'
 ò kè né kà ìm bé liki_n Ps 143:3
 3A let Foc and 1S exist darkness=at

Fu zamis galisug la κενε ka fu γεεm.
 Fù zàmìs-gàlìsùg la ké né kà fù γεε^m.
 2S learn.Gd-exceed.Gd the let Foc and 2S go.mad
 'Your excessive learning has made you mad.' (Fù γεε^m νε. 'You're mad.')

Acts 22:4

The imperative-only 1Vb *mìt_a* (mid B3) + catenative §10.3.1 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-sùmà 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 lebis βεε tiaki li 'He may not take it back or change it.'
 Ò míd kà ò lébìs βεε tjàkì_lì 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' §10.3.1; it then takes 2P2 *ya* as usual.

The standing expression *Wìn ná yis* 'God forbid' can be used alone; when it takes a clause after it in B, this is always introduced with *kà*, suggesting a catenative rather than a purpose clause; thus e.g.

Win na yis ka tinam ki'is Zugsoɓ la
 Wìn ná yis kà tɪnám kɪ'ɪs Zug-sóɓ la
 god Irr extract and 1P deny Lord the
 'God forbid that we should deny the Lord' Jo 22:29

11.6 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 **ND marking** and show the same range of structures as main clauses; tense and mood are marked relative to the main clause. They follow verbs of cognition or communication like *mi* 'know', *pà'al* 'teach', *tìs nɔɔr* 'order', *sòs* 'request', *yèl* 'say', *wòm* in the sense 'hear how something is', *tɛn'ɛs* 'think', *sjàk* in the sense 'agree with a fact' (constructions of direct physical perception take catenatives instead §11.5.4):

ya ku siak ye li sid niŋyaa. 'You will not believe it's really happened.'
yà kú sjàk yé lì sùd niŋ yaa_. Hb 1:5
 2P Ng.Irr agree that 3I truly do ND-Pf=Ng

yanam banjim ka li san'auŋ li'el ya.
yanám bánjìm kà lì sà'n'ɔŋ lí'el ya.
 2P know.ND-Imp and 3I spoil.Gd approach ND-Pf
 'know that its destruction is near.' Lk 21:20

ka David tis nɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.
kà David tís nɔɔr yé bà nyù'om bádà la nɛ búgúm.
 and David give mouth that 3P burn.ND-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 nɛ la zúg Lk 8:53: focus-nɛ'
 3P.Nz know that child the die Foc the on

Funɛ siak ye fu ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fu na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?
Funɛ_ sják yé fù yá' tì kaɛ', ò nà zin'iní_ fù na'am gbáũŋ 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

Àɛⁿya 'be' can also take a content clause complement:

M diib anɛ ye m tum onɛ tumi m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̄ diib á nɛ 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 tɛn'ɛs ye o na kɛligi m pian'adɛ.

Mam pu tɛn'ɛs yé ò nà kɛligí_ m̄ pià'n'adɛ_.

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 lɛɛ pu ban ye li anɛ onɛ.

'but she didn't realise it was him.'

kà ò lɛɛ pu bán yé lì à nɛ onɛ_.

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 kuub nɛɛ? 'Did you refuse to kill the women?' Nm 31:15 §9.7, but

ka o zan'as ye ba ku keŋɛ.

'and he refused to let them go.' Ex 9:7

kà ò zâ'n'as yé bà kú_ keŋɛ_.

and 3A refuse that 3P Ng.Irr go=Ng

Gɔs 'look' takes a catenative-clause object in the sense 'see that' §11.5.4, but for 'see whether', it takes an interrogative content clause:

Ka Noa da len tum dawan ye o gɔs ye ku'om la kpien yaa?

Kà Noa dá lè̄m tùm dàwan yé ò gɔs ye kù'om la kpíeⁿ yàa_?

and Noah Tns again send pigeon that 3A look that water the dry.up ND-Pf=PQ

'And Noah again sent a dove to see if the water had dried up.' Gn 8:8

Guri ka ti gɔs ye Elaja na kena sigis oo.

Gùrí_ kà tì gɔs ye Elaja ná ke na_ sigisó_o_.

wait=2P2 and 1P look that Elijah Irr come hither=+ lower=3A=PQ

'Wait and let's see if Elijah will come to take him down.' Mk 15:36

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-máɔk. §14.3

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 gèε'm ne ... kà Paul lébìs ye on pu géε'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.

Daɔ dá bè_ mɔrí_ ò pɔà'-yimmír, kà pɔa' la ye on pu lémm bɔɔd

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

yé ò síd la dí pɔa' 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.' §14.2

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 ellipted §11.4.6.

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

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

1S Ng say that 2P beg.ND-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.ND-Imp idol.Pl the with fire

'and David ordered them to burn the idols with fire.' 1 Chr 14:12

Wada la ku yel nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wadá la kú yel nid yé ò da níŋ bàmmáa_.

law the Ng.Irr say person that 3A Ng.Imp do DemP=Ng

'The law will not tell a person not to do these things.' Gal 5:23

Ò gòsìm teŋc_n.

'She should look down.'

3A look.ND-Imp ground=at

11.6.1 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 yél yé ò bɔɔd yé ò kpélìm sargá 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 yélì_ba ...

Acts 25:16 B1

but that and 3A say=3P

Ka nanana ye o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin

Kà nannánna yé ò niŋc_bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pìelìm pîâ'n'ad la nú'usuc_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

Alazug ye ka on ke ka ba mor o ba sa'an na

Àlá zùg yé kà on ké kà bà mɔrɔ_ 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

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
o nidiba, ye ba yimi teŋ la ni na.

Kà m wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yi áràzánà ní na ye,

and 1S hear God voice and 3I exit heaven at hither that

ò nidibá_, yé bà yìmi_ teŋ la ní na.

3A person.Pl=Voc that 3P exit.ND-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

In B2/3, speech verbs simply take *ye* followed by direct quotation, though resumptive *ye* may still be inserted.

11.7 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 dáu-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'εŋa niŋε ye ti da ti'e ti meŋ panga.

Ne'εŋa 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'εŋa ye nid ku nyanji du'us o meŋ Wina'am tuonne

Ò niŋ ne'εŋa ye nid kú ⁿyanji_ dú'us 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*:

M bôwd ye daɣ la keŋ dâ'a_n, kà pɣa' la dɔg dɔb.

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 *bôwd_a* 'want'; or simply expectation, as after *gur_a'* 'watch for/wait until':

Lì nàr yé/kà fù kul.

3I must that/and 2S go.home

'You must go home.'

Tì mór suor yé tì kul.

1P have way that 1P go.home

or *Suor bé yé/kà tì kul.*

way exist that/and 1P go.home

'We may go home.'

Li ane tilas ka m niŋid ala.

Lì à ne tilás kà m níŋid àlá.

3I be Foc necessity and 1S do.Ipf thus

'I must do that.' 1 Cor 9:16 B2

gur ye pu'a la du'a

gur ye pɣa' la dɣá'

watch that woman the bear

'waiting for the woman to give birth'

Rv 12:4

Nar_a' is sometimes found in a personal construction 'deserve that':

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba

bà bàyí la nár yé bà kúv_ba

3P two the must that 3P kill=3P

'both of them must be killed' Lv 20:12

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 yîib na.

person.Pl the Tns watch Zechariah exit.Gd hither

'The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out.' Lk 1:21

M ku basif ka fu keŋe asee ka fu niŋi m zug bareka.

Ì kú basí_f kà fù keŋé_ àséé kà fù níŋì_ ìm zug bári_kà.

1S Ng.Irr leave=2S and 2S go=Ng unless and 2S do 1S head blessing

'I will not let you go unless you bless me.' Gn 32:26

As a preposed or clause adjunct, àséé means 'necessarily':

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

Nannánna, tùm kà bà mɔró_ na, kà àséé ò kpí!

now send.ND-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 keŋ Jerusalem

kà ò gbaⁿ'e yé àséé kà ò keŋ Jerusalem

and 3A seize that unless and 3A go Jerusalem

'and he made up his mind that he had 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

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_lì halí_ paae Nofa.

Nm 21:30

1P strike=3I until=+ reach Nophah

Ala ka ba aen hali ti paae zina.

'Thus they are up until today.' Jo 9:27

Àlá kà bà áeⁿ halí_ tí paae ziná.

thus and 3P be until=+ then reach today

Zugsɔb la da ke ka kùkɔm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.

Zug-sɔb la dá kè kà kùkò^m bân'as gbaⁿ'e Nâ'ab la, halí kà ò tí kpì.

Lord the Tns let and leper disease seize king the until and 3A next die

'The Lord made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life.' 2 Kgs 15:5

Before a clause without linkers, halí is not a subordinator but a focusing modifier §12.2.

11.9 Nominalised

Clauses can be nominalised by inserting *n̄* §4.4 (Toende Kusaal ne) after the subject. (See also §9.2.1 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-bánì_ pu díit ná kpi. 'People who don't eat will die.' W
 person-DemP=Nz Ng eat.Ipf Irr die

but M̄ nyé nin-bánì_ pu díita_. 'I've seen people who don't eat.' W
 1S see person-DemP=Nz Ng eat.Ipf=Ng

11.9.1 Absolute

Clauses with *n̄* with no head-marking pronouns are absolute clauses. They are usually given/implicit information, and usually followed by the article *la´*, though *ⁿwà* is found instead in some circumstances. Most often, they are time adverbials, expressing past 'when.' Preposed with *kà* §12.4, they can behave as if *coordinate* with the main clause with regard to tense marking §11.4.1.1 and pronoun subjects §11.1.

Pf in the absolute clause implies a prior event, Ipf simultaneous:

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ
 Kà bán yi la, kà Zug-sób máljak níe ò meŋ
 and 3PNz exit the and Lord angel appear 3A self
 'After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself' Mt 2:13 B2

On daa nyet súŋa, ón daa áⁿ bí-lia láa_
 3A Tns see.Ipf well 3A.Nz Tns be baby the=PQ
 'Did she see well when she was a baby?' W

Ka ban díit la, Yesu yeli ba ... 'As they were eating, Jesus told them ...'
 Kà bán díit la, Yesu yéll_ba ... Mt 26:21
 and 3PNz eat.Ipf the Jesus say=3P

Absolute clauses referring to events simultaneous with the following clause may take *ⁿwà* rather than *la´*:

ka ban pum zin' nwa ba pu tum si'ela

kà b́án p̀òn zì'ni ⁿwá bà pu túm si'ela_,

and 3PNz still be.sitting this 3P Ng work.Ipf Idfl=Ng

'and with them still sitting there, they were not doing anything.' §14.2

Ye o gosim ka on kudim zi'e nwa ba na kuu o.

Yé ò gòsìṁ kà ón kudim zí'e ⁿwá bà nà kuo_.

that 3A look.ND-Imp that 3A.Nz just be.standing this 3P Irr kill=3A

'Look, while he was just standing there, they were going to kill him.' §14.2

(Reported speech, cf §11.6.1.)

Absolute clauses may also be subjects or objects:

Diibi da ka' la ke ka kò'om la maligim paasid

Duúbi_ dà ka' la ké kà kò'm la málgìṁ 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 anε mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad

ka mε pu diti ba ki la.

Dìni_ ké kà m áⁿ s̀aal-biis zúá la á ne mán pu sá'̀amìd̀i_ 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 *ⁿye* 'see' and *wòm* 'hear':

ka len wum fun basi fu ba' ne fu ma ne fu tej ka kena zin'in ne nimbanε ka' fu buudii.

kà léṁ wòm fún bàsì_ fù ba' né fù mà né fù téṅ kà ke na_

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

zì'n'in ne 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_ kenj 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' §14.1

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 zúmí_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

Zaansuḡin la ka m nyε man zi'e Susa tempuugin

Zàa"súḡu_n lá kà m nyε mán zì'e Susa téḡ-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 nú'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 §10.7.3:

bɔzugɔ m ku maal si'ela hali ne fun na ti paae anina.

bɔ zúgɔ m kú maal si'ela_ halí ne fún nà tí paae ànína.

because 1S Ng.Irr do Idfl=Nz until 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 **zug** 'because of' §10.7.2.4:

o suunr da san'am on maal ninsaala la zug.

ò suuⁿr dá sàⁿ'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 **yelá** 'about' in section headings:

Ban meed yir

'A house being built' B2

Bán mèed yir

3P.Nz build.Ipf house

Paul n be Malta la yela

'Paul on Malta' B3

Paul n bè Malta la yéla

Paul Nz exist Malta the about

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

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sadigim áⁿ Naazir níd, on míd kà ò dí ...

3A if since be Nazirite person 3A beware and 3A eat

'Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ...' Nm 6:4

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem kɔɔd kɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ón sadigim kɔ́i la, bó kà ñ lém kɔɔd kɔɔr 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

11.9.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with **ñ** 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 are often preposed with **kà** §12.4, while remaining internal; in such cases the **ñ** is lost.

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 of relative clauses:

a Nikodēm, so'one daa tɪŋ a Yeesu ni yu'ɔŋa

Pz Nicodemus IdfA.Nz Tns go Pz Jesus at night.the

'Nicodemus, who had gone to Jesus by night' Jn 19:39

This is not the case in Agolle Kusaal:

Nikodemus, onɛ da keŋ Yesu san'an yu'ɔŋ la.

Nikodemus, ònì dà keŋ Yesu sâ'n'an yú'ɔŋ la.

Nicodemus DemA=Nz Tns go Jesus by night the

In older sources (and for W), ò only follows clause subjects, but in B3 it follows all head-marking demonstratives, even in subject predependents and preposed heads:

O bikanɛ da paas ayi' la

'His second child' 2 Sm 3:3

Ò bì-kànì_ dà pàas àyí la

3A child-Dem=Nz Tns total two the

pu'a kanɛ biigi vɔɛ la

'the woman whose child was alive'

pu'à'-kànì_ biigí_ vɔɛ la

1 Kgs 3:26

woman-Dem=Nz child=Nz live the

Thus, ònì_ kànì_ bànì_ have now effectively simply become relative pronouns. These forms may even precede other constituents of the subject NP:

bunvɔya banɛ wɔsa ken teŋin la.

'all living things which go on the land'

bun-vúyà bánì_ wɔsa ken teŋ_n la. Gn 1:28

thing-live.Pl DemP=Nz all go.Ipf ground=at the

Ka niŋgbij kanɛ mɛ kpiid na gaad

'And also the body which dies will pass'

Kà niŋ-gbij-kànì_ mɛ kpiid ná gaad 1 Cor 15:53

and body-Dem=Nz also die.Ipf Irr pass

Demonstratives are not relatives when not part of the first constituent, and ordinary indefinites may follow demonstrative or precede indefinite heads:

on vu'ɔg ninkan kumin la zug

ón vu'ɔg nin-kán kum_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_ gba^n'ad si'el si'em la Lk 21:35
 like trap=Nz seize.Ipf Idfl how the

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fun gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la 'the first fish you catch' Mt 17:27
 fún gba^n'e ziiŋ-sí'a yiigá la
 2S.Nz catch fish-Idf firstly the

but Paul n sob gbaun yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul ñ sob gbáun yiigá daan n tìs Korint díim la_ ^wá.

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 for animate direct objects, and for heads extracted from NPs or prepositional phrases:

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vu'ug o kumin la
 pu'à-kànì_ bíig kà Elasia dá vu'ug kumì_n la
 woman-Dem=Nz child and Elisha Tns revive death=at the
 'the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead' 2 Kgs 8:5

bikanε puug ka o mɔr la 'the child which she is pregnant with'
 bì-kànì_ pûug kà ò mɔr la ('whose pregnancy she has') Mt 1:20
 child-Dem=Nz belly and 3A have the

one ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe 'one they have given much to' Lk 12:48
 ònì_ kà bà tíso_ kà lì zú'e
 DemA=Nz and 3P give=3A and 3I abound

Búraa sō dāa bē ànīa òn kà mān néōn dāa túm lā.
 Bùdà-sɔ' daa bé ànína, òn kà man nε on daa túm la.

man-IdfA Tns exist there DemA and 1S with 3A Tns work.Ipf the

'There was a man there whom I used to work with.' Spratt, *Introduction* p40

Heads can be extracted from subordinate clauses:

ninkanε ka Na'ab Aretus κε ka o su'oe Damaskus la
 nin-kánì_ kà nà'ab Aretus ké kà ò su'e Damaskus la

person-Dem=Nz and king Aretus let and 3A own Damascus the

'the person whom King Aretus had caused to possess Damascus' 2 Cor 11:32

nimbanε ka ya ten'εs ye ba anε tuongatib la
 nin-bánì_ kà yà ten'εs yé bà à nε tûon-gatib la

person-DemP=Nz and 2P think that 3P be Foc leader.Pl the

'those whom you consider to be leaders' Gal 2:6

linε ka Kristo bôod ye ti pian' la 'what Christ wants us to say' 2 Cor 12:19
 lìnì_ kà Kristo bôod yé tì pja^n la (B2 lin ka Kiristo bood ye ti pian' la)

DemI=Nz and Christ want.Ipf that 1P speak the

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_ dya' sieba la wúsà Lk 7:28

woman.Pl=Nz bear IdfP the all

M na tisif fun bôod si'el wusa. 'I will give you anything you want.'
 M ná tɪsɪ_f fún bôod si'el wusa. Mk 6:23

1S Irr give=2S 2S.Nz want.Ipf IdfI all

David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi ban pu'a la an sɔ'.
 David dá tùm sɔ' yé ò bu'osɪ_bán pɔ'a 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

Gôsım ye fu na ban la'abama an sɔ' bunnεε?
 Gòsım yé fù ná ban lá'-bàmmá_ à^n sɔ' búnnεε_?

look.ND-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 gan sieba la. 'I know those whom I have chosen.'
 M mí' mán gan sieba la. Jn 13:18

1S know 1S.Nz choose IdfP the

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ si'el la gbínnèè_?

2P understand 1S.Nz do Idfl the meaning=CQ

'Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?' Jn 13:12

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tìig wélà_ bìgìsìd lín àⁿ tí-si'a.

tree fruit.Pl=+ show.Ipf 3I.Nz be tree-Idf

'It is the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is.' Mt 12:33

M na tumi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔɔ sɔ' yela la tisi ya.

M ná tumí_ m Bá'_ zì'el nɔɔɔ sɔ' yéla_ tísì_ya.

1S Irr send 1S father=Nz stand mouth IdfA about=+ give=2P

'I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you.' Lk 24:49

Ón yèl si'el la ka' sídaa_.

'What he says is not true' S

3A.Nz say Idfl the Ng.be truth=Ng

Preposing is usual for specific objects of other verbs, but is not mandatory:

Gbaŋ kanε ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàŋ-kanì_ kà bà dá sɔbì_ tísì_ba la_ⁿwá.

letter-Dem=Nz and 3P Tns write=+ give=3P the=this

'This is the letter that they wrote to them.' Acts 15:23

bàn kà nà'ab la ⁿwé' la

'those whom the chief hit' W

DemP and chief the hit the

niŋkanε ka ba gban'e o la

'a person whom they have seized'

nin-kánì_ kà bà gbáⁿ'o_ la

Acts 25:16

person-Dem=Nz and 3P seize=3A the

but Fun bɔɔɔd ye fɔ ku dau sɔ' la ya'a kpi 'If the man you want to kill dies'

Fún bòòòd yé fù ku dáú-sɔ' la yá' kpi 2 Sm 17:3

2S.Nz want.Ipf that 2S kill man-IdfA the if die

Wiedsabila la tεεd tereko si'a la lebidi ya-datiuŋ baba

Wìd-sabulá lá_ tèèd tɛrìkú-si'a la lébìdí_ yà dàtìuŋ bábà

horse-black.Pl the=Nz pull.Ipf cart-Idf the turn.Ipf 2P right beside

'The chariot pulled by black horses is turning to the northern region.' Zec 6:6

Kem tu'us Samaria na'abi tum ninsieba la na

Kèm_ tu'us Samaria ná'abì_ tùm nin-síebà la na

go.ND-Imp=+ meet Samaria king=Nz send person-IdfP the hither

'Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria' 2 Kgs 1:3

Nannanna, yaname daa sɔb gbauŋ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.

Nannánna, yanámì_ daa sɔb gbáũŋ-si'a lá kà m sɔbidi_ lɛbìsidi_yá.

now 2P=Nz Tns write letter-Idf the and 1S write.Ipf=+ reply.Ipf=2P

'Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about.' 1 Cor 7:1

On gaŋ dau sɔ' la o na ke ka o keen o tuon na.

Ón gaŋ dáũ-sɔ' la, ò nà ké kà ò kéε^n_ ò tuon na.

3A.Nz choose man-IdfA the 3A Irr let and 3A come 3A before hither

'The man he has chosen, he will make come before him.' Nm 16:5

Adverbials are not usually preposed; most exceptions involve place NPs.

Si'el_a is often 'where'; in B2, 75% of CIFs before *si'a* express time or place. Locative *n/nu'* does not follow heads, but may follow entire clauses to express rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la

'the house where I, Paul, am'

yi-kán kà mam Paul bé la

Rom 16:23 B1

house-Dem and 1S Paul exist the

ka mɔri fu keŋ zin'ikane ka fu pu bɔɔda.

kà mɔrí_fù_ keŋ zín'-kànì_ kà fù pu bɔɔda_.

and have=2S=+ go place-Dem=Nz and 2S Ng want.Ipf=Ng

'and take you where you do not want.' Jn 21:18

M diemaa, li ya'a anε funε zaŋ o ningbiŋ la, fun yelim fun niŋ li si'el

M diemma_, lì yá' à nε funε_ zán_ ò nìn-gbiŋ la, fun yélim_m fún niŋì_l_ si'el

1S in.law=Voc 3I if be Foc 2S=+ take 3A body the, 2S say.ND-Imp=1S 2S.Nz do=3I IdfI

'Sir, if it was you that took his body, tell me where you have put it.' Jn 20:15

winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la

wìnnìgì_ yit si'el halí_ tì pae ón lùt si'el la

sun=Nz exit.Ipf IdfI until=+ next reach 3A.Nz fall.Ipf IdfI the

'where the sun rises to where the sun sets' Ps 65:8

M Zugɔɔba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.

M̃ Zug-sóba_, tì zì' fún ken zín'-si'a láa_.

1S Lord=Voc 1P Ng.know 2S.Nz go.Ipf place-Idf the=Ng

'My Lord, we don't know where you are going.' Jn 14:5

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni. 'Fire lit up the room where he was.'

Kà bùgúm níe ón bè dós-si'a la ní. Acts 12:7 B2

and fire appear 3A.Nz exist room-Idf the at

Abraham da nan kae san'si'a la, ka man pun be.

Abraham_ dà nàm kaɛ' san-sí'a la kà man pún bè.

Abraham=Nz Tns still Ng.exist time-Idf the and 1S already exist

'Before Abraham existed, I already existed.' Jn 8:58

Si'em 'somehow' is common as 'how' or as abstract 'what'; it is never preposed. A following article **la'** marks old information, as usual:

M̃ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em.

1S know 1S.Nz Irr do how

'I know what to do.'

M̃ mí' mán nà niŋ si'em la.

1S know 1S.Nz Irr do how the

'I know what I'm to do.' (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yeɬ_f fún nà niŋ si'em.

3P Irr tell=2S 2S.Nz Irr do how

'They'll tell you what to do.'

Bà yeɬo_ bán niŋ si'em la.

3P say=3A 3P.Nz do how the

'They told him what they'd done.'

M̃ gbá'n'e mán nà niŋ si'em.

1S seize 1S.Nz Irr do how

'I've decided what to do.'

So too **ón bɔ̀ɔd si'em** 'as he may wish' versus **lín à^n si'em la** 'as things are.'

Là'am nɛ or **halí nɛ** with a **si'em** clause means 'although' §10.7.3.

Si'em clauses may follow **gàad** 'surpass' to compare actions:

Mam tum bɛdegu gaad ban tum si'em la.

Mam túm bédùgu_ gâad bán tùm si'em la.

1S work much=+ pass 3P.Nz work how the

'I've worked much harder than they have.' 2 Cor 11:23

They often occur as objects of wuu 'like', ⁿwɛn_{na} 'be like':

ka ya na κε ka nidib dɔl man wuu ziingba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.
 kà yà ná ké kà nidib dɔl man wuu zim-gbá'n'adìbí_ gba'n'ad zimí si'em la.
 and 2P Irr let and person.Pl accompany 1S like fisher.Pl=Nz catch.Ipf fish.Pl how the
 'you will make people follow me like fishers catch fish.' Mt 4:19

Ala ka Wina'am da maal ninsaal nwɛnɛ o mɛɲi an si'em la.
 Àlá kà Wínà'am dá màal nin-sâal ⁿwɛn né ò mɛɲí_ àn si'em la.
 thus and God Tns make human.being be.like with 3A self=Nz be how the
 'Thus God created a human being resembling how he was himself.' Gn 1:27

Relative clauses with uncompounded heads are often used as appositives §9.8.1. 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 bɛ nɛ mɔɔgin linɛ kpi'e Sinai zuor la
 ò dà bè nɛ mɔɔgu_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

yɛltɔɔd ayɔɔɔci banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔɔɔci mɔɔr la
 yɛl-tɔɔd àyɔɔpɔ̀ɛ bání_ kà màlɪak-námá_ àyɔɔpɔ̀ɛ mɔɔr la
 matter-bitter.Pl seven DemP=Nz and angel-Pl seven have the
 'the seven plagues which the seven angels have' Rv 15:8

Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zugsoɔb pian'ad la
 Wínà'am níd ònì_ kí'is Zug-sóɔb pɪâ'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 bɛ nɛ o la
 ò sɪd ónì_ dà bè nó_ la
 3A husband DemA=Nz Tns exist with=3A the
 'her husband [the only other human being], who was there with her' Gn 3:6

12 Information packaging

12.1 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 ND marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafù_ dúmo_.

snake=+ bite=3A

'A snake has bitten him.' W

(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always *n*-focused:

Ànó'wò_ kaburídà_?

who=+ ask.entry.Ipf=CQ

'Who is asking permission to enter?'

Anó'wò yaangi aan o?

Ànô'wò 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 §12.1.1; 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:

M̂ zugu_ zábìd.

1S head=+ fight.Ipf

'My head is hurting/hurts.'

(Where is the pain?)

M̂ yí ne Bók.

1S exit Foc Bawku

'I come from Bawku.' S

but Meeri one yi Magdala

Meeri ónì_ yi Magdala

Mary DemA=Nz exit Magdala

'Mary who came from Magdala'

Mk 16:9 B2

Bùgúm la yít yáa ní ná_? 'Where is the light coming from?' S
 fire the exit.Ipf where at hither=CQ

M á nε biig. 'I am a child.'
 mán àⁿ biig la zúg 'because I'm a child'
 M áaⁿ_ ànó'ɔnè? 'Who am I?'

Fù bôɔd nε bó_? must be taken as 'what do you want it *with*?' W.
 Purpose clauses allow nε', and it may appear (once) in a catenation:

Pian'am ka m bôɔd ye fu nyεnε buud.
 Pìà'am kà m bôɔd yé fù nyε nε buud.
 speak.ND-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 nε Biig la
 àmáa ò bàs sáryà-kadib la_ tís nε 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

Nε' is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. M gósìd! 'I'm looking!' in response to Fù gósìd nées_? '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 Suη.
 Fù pu má' n tís nin-sáala_, àmáa fù má' n tís nε Wínà'am Sí-sùη.
 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 anε Joon. 'His name will be John.' Lk 1:60
 Ò yu'ur ná a nε Joon.
 3A name Irr be Foc John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba anε Apam biis. 'They are children of Apam's.' 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.

1S exit Foc Bawku

'I come from Bawku.' S

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

Dà̀y-sɔ' bé dɔ́-kà̀ŋa la pú̀ygu_n.

man-IdfA exist hut-Dem the inside

'There is a man in that hut.'

but **Ò bè nɛ dɔ́-kà̀ŋa la pú̀ygu_n.**

3A exist Foc hut-Dem the inside

'He is inside that hut.' (Where is he?)

Mam bene moogin.

Mam bé nɛ mɔ̀ɔgu_n.

1S exist Foc grass=at

'I'm in the bush.' G1 p8

The object of àɛ́ⁿya '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 bugusíga.

'It's soft.'

M̂ á nɛ dú'atà.

'I'm a doctor.' (What do you do?)

Manɔ́ áⁿ dú'atà la.

'I'm the doctor.' (Which is the doctor?)

Manɔ́ áⁿ dú'atà àmáa fun pu áɛ́ⁿya_.

1S=+ be doctor but 2S Ng be=Ng

'I'm a doctor but you aren't.'

Nɔ̀bibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nɔ̀-bí̀bìsì_ áⁿ mam dí-sùŋ.

hen-small.Pl=+ be 1S food-good

'Chicks are my favourite food.' G1 p13

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

M̂ ka' dú'ataa_.

'I'm not a doctor.'

M̂ ka' nɛ dú'ataa_.

'I'm not a *doctor*.' (I'm a nurse.)

12.1.1 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

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

Nɛ' may appear after *kɛ* 'let' by "raising" from following catenatives §11.5.4. Tense-unmarked Pfs in narrative cannot be interpreted as stative §11.4.1.1. As stances are not states in Kusaal, stance inceptives cannot form stative Pfs:

Ò dìgìn 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 §10.7.1 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.)

M̄ 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 n̄ud nɛ.
beer the drink.Ipf Foc

'The beer is for drinking.'
(Not washing; not "is being drunk"; cf *Daam la n̄ud*
'The beer gets drunk.' W)

On the other hand, nɛ' marks a temporary state in

Nannáanna, lì vèn nɛ.
now 3I be.beautiful Foc

'Just now, it's beautiful.'

Lì daa vén nɛ.
3I Tns be.beautiful Foc

'It *was* beautiful.' W: "I gave you a cup;
it was OK then, but now you've spoilt it."

Mù'ar la daa zúlìm nɛ.
lake the Tns be.deep Foc

'The lake *was* deep.'
(Now it's shallow. W)

Lì daa á nɛ súŋa.
3I Tns be Foc well

'At the time, it was good.' W
(Lì daa á' n̄ súŋa. 'It was good.' W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with tense focus:

Na'-síebà ʒ'̀bìd nɛ m̄k̄k̄ la.
cow-IdfP chew.Ipf Foc grass.Pl the

'Some cows are eating the grass.'

but Niigí ʒ'̀bìd nɛ m̄k̄k̄.
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-kadib 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."

12.2 Focusing modifiers

Focusing modifiers relate constituents to the discourse context. ("Focus" here refers to the scope of the modifier, CGEL p589.)

The words *kímm* LF *kímmnè* 'exactly', *ɔɔ* 'exactly', *yim* 'exactly', *mà'aa* LF *mà'anè* 'only' and *gùllumm* LF *gùllimnè* 'only', which have English equivalents treated as focusing modifiers in CGEL, always directly follow the focused NP, and are treated as adnominal ideophones above §7.1.

mè, W *mèn*; clause-finally *mèn* 'also, too', usually follows the focused NP:

O pu'a me kena.

Ò pɔa' mé ké na.

3A wife also come hither

'His wife also came.' Acts 5:7

ɔɔzugɔ o ane fu biig men.

ɔɔ zúgɔ ò à né fù biig mén.

because 3A be Foc 2S child also

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

However, it need not follow its NP directly:

Di'em nu, ka ke ka m tisi fu yugoma la ka ba nu men.

Di'em_ nu, kà ké kà m̀ tísì_ fù yugomá la kà bà nu mén.

receive.ND-Imp=+ drink and let and 1S give 2S camel.Pl the and 3P drink also

'Take and drink, and let me water your camels too.' Gn 24:14

It may focus subject pronouns ellipted after **kà** or catenating **n**, and it may even follow **n** when that particle is used to focus the subject:

Manε maal Israel, ka με aan ya na'ab.

Man_ mâal Israel, kà mé áa^n_ yà nà'ab.

1S=+ make Israel and also be 2P king

'I created Israel, and am also your king.' Is 43:15

O pitu la yu'ori με da buon Joktan.

Ò pitú la yu'ori_ mé dá b̀on Joktan.

3A sib the name=+ also Tns call.Ipf Joktan

'Also his younger brother's name was Joktan.' Gn 10:25

All other focusing modifiers are loanwords.

k̀t̀aa LF **k̀t̀aanè** 'at all' precedes the negative enclitic or follows **áyù** 'no.'

ba ku len surji ya k̀taaa ne.

bà k̀̀ lɛm s̀rjì_ ya k̀t̀aanɛ_.

3P Ng.Irr again help=2P at.all

'They will not help you again at all.' Mi 1:11

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'or buon alaa.

Fù du'adib báa yinní ká'ɛ̀ kà ò yu'or b̀on àláa_.

2S relative.Pl even one Ng.exist and 3A name call.Ipf thus=Ng

'Not one of your relatives is called that.' Lk 1:61

halí ‘as far as’ §10.7.3 is a focusing modifier before NPs or clauses not expressing time or place. Before manner nouns it means ‘very’; the noun itself is often ellipted:

Lì t̩ɛ halí [béðògɔ]. ‘It’s very difficult.’
 3I be.bitter until [much]

Halí nɛ and **halí là'am nɛ** mean ‘even’ before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am nɛ on zi' la ‘even though he does not know’ Lv 5:3
 halí là'am nɛ ón zɪ' la
 even together with 3A.Nz Ng.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li ...
 halí nɛ mán daa sɔbɪ_ tísì_ya si'em la, m̩ daa pɔ sɔbɪ_lɪ ...
 even with 1S.Nz Tns write=+ give=2P how the 1S Tns Ng write=3I
 ‘Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ...’ 2 Cor 7:12

Hali nɛ man vuɛ nwa ... ‘Even as I live ...’ Rom 14:11
 Halí nɛ mán vuɛ n'wá ...
 even with 1S.Nz live this

Before an unnominalised clause with no linker, **halí** or **halí báa** means ‘even’; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adjunct like a **yà'**-clause.

Hali tɔʊmbɛ'ɛd dim niŋid ala. ‘Even sinners do that.’ Lk 6:33
 Halí t̩ʊm-bɛ'ɛd díɪm níŋìd àlá.
 even work.Gd-bad.Pl ØP do.Ipf thus

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tɔ'usif.
 Halí ò bè suorɪ_ ken na yé ò tɔ'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 kɔ basi fɔ.
 Halí báa bàmma wusa yá' nà zó kà básì_f, man kú basɪ_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

12.3 Focusing deictics

When used as liaison enclitics §4.4, *la'*, *ⁿwà* and *wàna'* are not simple deictics §9.8.3 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 §11.9.2 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:

Zaansuη sɔb la nwana kenna! 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
 Zàaⁿsúη sób la_wána kén na! Gn 37:19
 dream ØA the=this.here come.Ipf hither

Fu maal bɔɔ la tis mam? 'What is this that you have done to me?'
 Fù mâal bɔɔ_la_ tís màm_? Nm 23:11
 2S make what=that=+ give 1S=CQ

Hibiru dim la nwa yu'un yit vɔnt banɛ ka ba daa su'a la ni na yu'us.
 Hibiru díṃ la_ⁿwá yu'un yít vɔⁿt bánì_ kà bà daa sɔa' la ní na yu'us.
 Hebrew ØP the=this then exit.Ipf hole.Pl DemP=Nz and 3P Tns hide the at hither again
 'So here are the Hebrews coming out again from the holes they had hidden in.'
 1 Sm 14:11

Li anɛ onɛ la. 'It's him who's there.' Acts 12:15
 Lì à nɛ on_l_a.
 3I be Foc 3A=that

Li anɛ Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zugɔb pian'ad la, la.
 Lì à nɛ Wínà'am níd ònì_ kú'is Zug-sób piâⁿ'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_ⁿwáa_?

3I Ng.be Joseph child the=this=Ng=PQ

The dummy subject pronoun *lì* is often ellipted before *ka'* 'not be' §11.1:

Ka' kùlìṅlì_láa_. 'That is not a door.'

Ng.be door=that=Ng

Zugsɔba, ka' man daa pɔn bɛ yin ka yɛl si'em la nwaa?

Zug-sɔba, ka' mán daa pún bɛ́ yín kà yél si'em la_ⁿwáa_?

Lord=Voc Ng.be 1S.Nz Tns already exist at.home and say how the=this=Ng=PQ

'Lord, isn't this what I said when I was still at home?' Jon 4:2

Ka' nimbanɛ ka fɔ la'ad la nwaa?

Ka' nin-bánì_ kà fù lá'ad la_ⁿwáa_?

Ng.be person-DemP=Nz and 2S laugh.Ipf the=this=Ng=PQ

'Aren't these the people who you were laughing at?' Jgs 9:38

In positive polarity, all of the preceding *lì à nɛ* is normally ellipted §11.4.6:

Kùlìṅlì_wána. 'This here is a door.'

door=this.here

Bɔɔ_lá_? 'What's that?'

what=that=CQ

(Often used for 'What is the matter?')

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tɔumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ⁿwáa_yisid nidib t̄ɔum-be'edi_ básìdà_?

who=this=+ expel.Ipf person.Pl work.Gd-bad.Pl=+ reject.Ipf=CQ

'Who is this who drives people's sins out?' Lk 7:49

Onl_lá kà fù daa nyɛt.

'This is he whom you were seeing.' W

3A=that and 2S Tns see.Ipf

The construction *à bɔ-X_la/ⁿwá* means 'what kind of X is that/this?'

Abɔ pa'alugu nwa?

'What kind of teaching is this?' Lk 4:36

À bɔ-pà'alùgù_ⁿwá_?

Pz what-teach.Gd=this=CQ

12.4 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 §11.9.2.

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 kɔɪɪg pɛ̀'el nɛ. 'Little by little, a river is full.' §14.3
 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 yéɪà.
 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.

Àséɛ 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 fɔ 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'nf 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 dí't 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 §11.9.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán nwè dâu lâ zûg kà pòlis gbá' m̄.
Mán 'nwè' dâṅ la zúg kà pòlis 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-kàni_ bɛɛ_ m ní kà pu wénna_, m Ba' n'wá'adi_ lí n básìd.

branch-Dem=Nz exist 1S at and Ng fruit.Ipf=Ng 1S father cut.Ipf=3I + reject.Ipf

'A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts out.' Jn 15:2 B2

Onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mɛ mɔr pɔtɛn'er ye o na lɛbis linɛ zu'oe.

Òni_ kà bà tíso_ kà lì zú'e, bà mɛ mɔr pú-tɛn'er yé ò nà lɛbis líni_ zù'e.

DemA=Nz and 3P give=3A and 3I abound, 3P also have mind that 3A Irr return DemI=Nz abound

'Whom they have given much to, they expect he will return much.' Lk 12:48

A heavy indirect object is right-dislocated to follow the object in

Mam Paul ... tisid gboŋ kaŋa Wina'am nidib bane a sida dim ka a yinni ne
Jesus Christ Efesus teŋin la.

Mam Paul ... tísid gbáŋŋ-kàŋa Wínà'am níðìb bàni_ àⁿ sídà dí^m

1S Paul give.Ipf book-Dem God person.Pl DemP=Nz be truth ØP

kà áⁿ yinní nɛ 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. §11.4.4.)

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:

M̄ pù'us ya bédògɔ.

1S greet ND-Pf much

'Thank you very much.'

Ya yidigya bɛdegɔ.

Yà yídìg ya bédògɔ.

2P go.astray ND-Pf much

'You are very much mistaken.' Mk 12:27

Ò dà' ya múj.

3A buy ND-Pf rice.Pl

'She's bought rice.' (Of all things!)

cf Ò dà' nɛ múj.

3A buy Foc rice.Pl

'She's bought rice.' (What did she buy?)

Clefting involves a clause *lì à nε X* 'it is X' (generally reduced to X alone if X contains a focusing deictic §12.3) followed by a catenative clause with *n* or *kà* by the usual rules §11.5. 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 zabkaṅaa. 'It is not you who will fight this battle.'

Lì ka' yanámì nà zab záb-kàṅáa_. 2 Chr 29:17

3I Ng.be 2P=+ Irr fight fight.Gd-Dem=Ng

Li anε o pu'a sù'oe li. 'It is his wife who owns it.' 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á né ò pua' sù'ò_ l_.

3I be Foc 3A wife=+ own=3I

Anò'òn nwaa yisid nidib tuumbε'edi basida?

Ànò'òn_ nwáa_ yisid nidib tûm-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

Βοῶ_ lá_ kà m̄ nyetá_?

'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'n'e_ mɔr_ 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.' §14.2

The preposed element may be extracted from a subordinate clause:

Li anε ya taaba banε pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà taaba bánì_ pù'usìd Wínà'am kà lì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

3I be Foc 2P fellow DemP=Nz greet.Ipf God and 3I must and 2P drive judgment

'It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge.' 1 Cor 5:12

12.5 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 §9.8.3. 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 §11.5:

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.

'There was a man who had one wife.'

Daɣ dá bè_ mɔ́r_ ò puà'-yimmír. §14.2

man Tns exist=+ have 3A wife-single

Dapá_ àtáⁿ n dá bè.

'There were once three men.'

man.Pl three + Tns exist

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 §9.8.3.

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 daɣ daa zín'i Listra ní kà pu tuⁿ'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'ɔr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyɛ dáɣ kà ò yu'ɔr 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 §12.4 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 §11.5. 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 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

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 §11.1 or of the entire main clause along with the linker particle introducing the catenative §11.4.6. 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 §11.5.1, 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 §12.3.

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 Zaansuɔ sɔb la nwana kenna! 'Here is the dreamer coming!'
 Zàaⁿsúɔ sɔb la_wána kén na! Gn 37:19
 dream ØA the=this.here come.Ipf hither

13 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wẹlá_?

sleep how=CQ

‘How did you sleep?’ (First morning greeting.)

Dúe wẹlá_?

arise how=CQ

‘How did you get up?’ (First morning greeting.)

Nintaŋ áⁿ wẹlá_?

daytime be how=CQ

‘How is the day/afternoon?’

Yú'uh̄ áⁿ wẹlá_?

night be how=CQ

‘How is the evening?’

Fù yi-dímà_?

2S house-ØP=CQ

‘... your household?’

Nìn-gbiná_?

body=CQ

‘... body?’ (i.e. “How are you?”)

Pua' ne bíisè_?

wife and child.PI=CQ

‘... wife and children?’

and so on, often at some length. Replies may be e.g.

Àláafù bé.

health exist

‘There is health.’ (Also used as a greeting.)

Àláafù béo_.

health exist=3A

... for him/her.

Àláafù béε_bá.

health exist=3P

... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern **Bárikà né fù/yà ...** ‘Blessing with your ...’ with the introductory words usually ellipited; 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 sùⁿsìga.

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-sùḡ.

with 2S Christmas-good

‘Merry Christmas.’

Né fù yùum-paalḡ.

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 sùḡa.

sleep.ND-Imp well

‘Sleep well.’

Kpèlìm_ sùm.

remain.ND-Imp=2P2 well

‘Remain well’; “Goodbye”, to those remaining.

Pù’usìm yín.

greet.ND-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'us ya [bédùgɔ].

1S greet ND-Pf [much]

'Thank you [very much].' Reply **T̀ò**, or **P̀ù'usòg 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.ND-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 wúmma_.

no 3A Ng hear.Ipf=Ng

‘No, she doesn’t.’

Ò wòm ya kúu_?

3A hear ND-Pf or=PQ

‘Does she understand?’ (what was just said)

Èèⁿ, ò wòm ya.

yes 3A hear ND-Pf

‘Yes, she does.’

Áyì, ò pɔ wumm.

no 3A Ng hear=Ng

‘No, she doesn’t.’

14 Texts

14.1 Three Murderers

(Ning Kuudiba Atan': a tale from 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 si'em ku bane kpelim anniga la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak kpe, ka on kiak kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Dapá_ àtá' n dá bè. Bà dà à ñe dáp-ka'nda sù'ña. Kà daar yunní kà bà lá'asì_ zín'inì_ man.Pl three + Tns exist 3P Tns be Foc man-tough.Pl well and day one and 3P gather=+ sit=+ gban'e yé bà dûom_ ò ja búdáalim lâ'ad n ginnì_ kuud nidib má'aa kà da grab that 3P rise.ND-Imp=+ seek courage goods.Pl + roam.Ipf=+ kill.Ipf person.Pl only and Ng.Imp lém tùm si'ela_. Bà sùd dùè_ ò ja sù'us ñe zán'anà ñe tí-daad ñe piemá ñe lô'ad again work IdfI=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'ílt_ ginnì_ ied nidib yé bà yá' ñye sò' 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 nè 'wadísa_ àtá' nè dábìsà_ àtá'. Bà pu 'ye nidí_ ná kuu_. Kà kpèlìm
 3P go.round thus with month.Pl three with day.Pl three 3P Ng find person=+ Irr kill=Ng and remain
 mɔr ken nè ken nè ken. Dabá ànu dâar bà 'ye nè lallí sà kà si'el zí'e sabíllì_
 have go.Gd with go.Gd with go.Gd day.Pl five day 3P see with far hence and IdfI stand black=+
 wuu nid nè, kà bà kpeɛ'm la yé bà kém_ kúo_, yé ò sob yá' pòn tú'e kà mɔr nè
 like person like and 3P elder the that 3P go.ND-Imp=+ kill=3A that 3A ØA if already be.able and have Foc
 láúk-si'a wusa, bà nà 'yanɔ_ kúo_. Kà òɔa ɔɔɔd kpe, kà òɔa ɔɔɔd 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 nè bɔtú kà ligidi pé'el mà'aa má'aa má.
 3P next go=+ reach=+ see and 3I Ng.be person=Ng and be Foc sack and money fill only only only
 Kà bà ye Àtò, kà nannánna 'wá, tì yé tì niɔ ligidi 'wá walá? Kà bà ye, bà nà pudɔg nè.
 and 3P say so and now this 1P that 1P do money this how=CQ and 3P say 3P Irr share Foc
 Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yis ligidi la n ken_ dá' daam_ ná nu yiigá kà 'yaan pudɔg
 but 3P that 3I must and 3P extract money the + go=+ buy beer=+ Irr drink firstly and next share
 ligidi la. Kà yis ligidi la bi'elá ye biig la kém_ dá' yuur ná kà bà nu.
 money the and extract money the a.little that messenger the go.ND-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 tèn'èsìd nè ón nà niɔ 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 mɛɔ ye, ò nà da' nè daam, kà bó tì-kvudím
 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-kvudím 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'isíge_, kà bà bàyí lá_ kpèlìm 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 ò mɔɔ 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'un záj 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 kpélìm 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_ mɔɔ_ 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 beɛ túm be'ed yé fù tísi_ fù tɪrâan,

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.'

14.2 Man and Wife

(Dau ne o Po'ayimmir: G2 pp26-30. Several ideophones are left untransliterated.)

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, zi'isige ka o po'a ane son'e. Ka o sid la pu mii. Ka soonb me pe'el tengin la, ka tengina'ab la me a son'e, hali ka o kpi'aa one kpi'o la me a son'e. Ka o kpi'aa la mood ye o gban'e dau la ka o po'a la bang ka zangi o sid la siigi kpen'es zong mo-pil-nyu'ung zugu n su'a aninga, ka o kpi'aa la bang ka zi' on na ning si'em paamoo, po'a la bela zug. Ka po'a la bood ye kenge o ba yir, ka sa'ali o sid la ye, o mit ka o ti kae daasi'ere ka o piligi o zong la ye ba pilima, ka dau la siak ye, eenn.

Ka beog nie ka po'a la kengi o ba' yir, o kpi'a la yina nye ka po'a kenge o ba'a yir ka kee o sid ka o zo tolibiga n kenge o kpi'a la yir la pu'us o, ka o bu'os o ye, o beogun kibar a bo? Ka o ye si'e-siel kae, ye on kene na ye o gos on gbis si'em, ka yelsi'a kae, ka o ye, alaafi me be o. Ka ba zin'ini sonsi sons bi'ela sa, ka dau la ye, M zua, ye o zong la on gos la, ye o pil o ka li yuug hali, ye o kel ka ba piligi li nannanna ka lebi pil, ka ban pum zin' nwa ba pu tum si'ela, ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la, ka ye, fa, fa, fa, ye o kulim faanm yak na.

Ka dau kpelim do o zong la zugu n aans tat-tat-tat-tat, ti paae dau la siig la n be si'el la, n gban'e suu o ben-biigin. Dau la suu o benign naae la, o due ne agolla gosi o yin kii, ka ma'aa siak ye, yooi. Ye ba buon o ne yin sa. Ka kpellim naam zong la zug n zuligi sig na ye o kpi'a la kel ka o kuli kiis ka leb na ka ba piligi naae ka nyaan pili lebis.

Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul. On paae la, o more kpen' ne su'a su'unga ka zo tolib, tolib n lebi paae ma yel dau la, ye ba mon ne sa'ab ye on kul na di, ye li ane buol yaalis ka on zi' ka kul, ye o kem na ka ba gosi piligi naae ka pil to'oto. Ka ba sid piligi naae ka lebisi pil ya'as, ka o ken kul.

On lebi kul la, o kpelin mor ne siig la to'oto n gaadi tisi ba na'ab la. Ka na'ab la ye o modigim, ka li ti sobi sudig ka nidib pamm gbis ka ba mor o n keng titugir one zue pamm ka be nyeeti la'asi nidibi kuud la ni, ka be kena la'asi ku o pudig.

Dau la gban'e po'a la sid la, on bee o ba'a yir la sa, o nye li ne, ka mak ye o zin'ini gu'ung, ka due ning zua pira, n mor nyas, nyas, nyas, n paae o sid yir na ka onsir a borrrr.

O paae na n pu'usi o sid ne agola, agola, ka buos o ye, o daa yel o ye bo? Ye ka awala, ka o kae ka o ledigi aand zong la ka o kai? Ye o gosim ka on kudim zi'e nwa ba na kuu o. Ye on po'a nwa ken na, o ane son'e, ka pu boodne ye ku nida, ye o kpi'a la me ane son'e ka pigu ka li yuma lal, ka one nong o ka zangi o siig la su'a, ka man yeluf ka fu zan'as ka ning si'ema, fu siig la, ba gban'e li zina, ba nam pu kuu fo, amaa, yu'unga, ba lee na kuuf, nidib ya'a ti bood gbeem sanga la. Ka o sid la gbin yo'og, ka o kaas ye, M ba yooo. Ka po'a la yeli o sid la ye o na kpe'engi o meng ka ona, a dau kpe'engi o meng, ka ti mo, ka Win ya'a sung, ti nam on nyang. Ka dau kan'ad ye, o ba' be, ka kpi'im be, ka buga be, ye ba sungim o ka o da kpii.

Dini a po'a bu'os ye, o mi toonb su'unga ka ku nyesigee? Ka o lebis ye eenn. Ka o yel o ye o boom tiraug ne piima su'unga, ka ba ya'a ti dii naae, o na dollo ka ba keng su'a ka gur ba ka ba ti kena ye ba kuu ba la, ka o pa'al ka o toonn ba na'ab la ku, ka o ya'a toon nyesig, o sid na kpi, ba ku bas o. Ka o sid la ti'eb ka di wala-wala sa, ka o po'a la dol o ka ba sid keng su'a. Ka li sanga paae ka ba yu'un ia'ad tii-tii paana, ka dau la modig ka ba yu'un ti bood ye ba kuu o la, ka o po'a la parig o, ka o kpelim toonn ba na'ab la mut, ka ba wusa iank zig zig ka basi o sid la, ban ianki naae la, ba keng kuub zin'igin la nye ne, Abang-kusol daugo digi, po'a la die su'ugu o sid la sa'an n kensi-kens nwiis la ka ba yu'un lebi kul. Ka po'a la paae sa'ali o sid, ye o zom yu'unga keng kateng, ka beog me nie ka ba bena, ka ya'a ka'a alaa, na'ab la saa na isigi kena n gos o, ka lebi kpi, o me ya'a gos o ka leb, o me na kpi. Ka dau la due yu'ung la zo.

Ka beog sid nie, ka na'ab la kena bu'os dau la yela, ka o po'a la ye, on wienn daba atan' nwa zina, ka o nam pu kule. On leb na, li pu yuuge, ka ba tum na ye na'abi kpi. Ka li ning bi'ela ka po'a me kan'asi o biis wusa ne ba la'ad n beenn o sid kateng la.

Ti mi ye, po'a ane po'a. Ka pu sum ye o bang dau gbin wusaa, amaa yalim men boodim daar be.

Kà bà zín'inì_ sɔ́nsɔ́ sɔ́ns bi'elá sá, kà daɣ la ye, M̄ zɔ́a_, yé ò zɔŋ la
 and 3P sit.down=+ talk=+ talk a.little hence, and man the that, 1S friend_Voc, that 3A entrance.hut the
 ón gɔs la, yé ò píìò_ kà lì yúug halí, yé ò kèl kà bà píìgì_lɔ
 3A.Nz look.at the that he thatch=3A and 3I get,to.be.long until, that 3A let.ND-Imp and 3P uncover=3I
 nannáná kà lébì_ píì, kà bán pòn zì'i n'wá bà pu túm si'ela_,
 now and return=+ thatch and 3PNz still be.sitting this 3P Ng work.Ipf IdFI=Ng
 kà daɣ támmì_ ò pɔ́a' lá_ sà yèlò_ si'el la, kà ye, fá, fá, fá, yé ò kùlìm_
 and man forget 3A wife the=Nz Tns say=3A IdFI the and that well.done that he go.home.ND-Imp=+
 fáeⁿ m̄ yak na.

'They sat down to chat a little, and the man said, My friend, when I look at your entrance hut, it's a very long time since you thatched it. We should strip its thatch now and rethatch it, and here we are still sitting not doing anything. The man forgot what his wife had said to him the previous day and said, Great! come in and save me some trouble.'

Kà daɣ kpélim dú ò zɔŋ la zúgò_ n àaⁿs tat tat tat tat_,
 and man immediately go.up 3A entrance.hit the on + tear on.and.on=+
 tí pae daɣ la s̄tɔ́ lá ò b̄e si'el la, n gbaⁿ'e_ s̄úu_ ò b̄èn-biigì_n.
 next reach man the life.force the Nz exist IdFI the + seize=+ insert 3A penis.sheath-child=at
 Daɣ lá_ s̄úu_ ò b̄ènnìgì_n_ nae la, ò dùè né àgɔ́lá_ gɔ́sì_ ò yín k̄í,
 man the=Nz insert 3A penis.sheath-at=+ finish the 3A rise Foc upward=+ look.at 3A home intently
 kà má'a_ s̄jàk ye, Yooi. Yé bà bùonno_ n̄e yín sá. Kà kpélim naan
 and lie=+ respond that yo that 3P call.Ipf=3A Foc home hence and immediately starting.at
 zɔŋ la zúg n zúligì_ sig na_ yé ò kpì'a la kél kà ò kùlì_
 entrance.hut the on + swoop=+ descend hither=+ that 3A neighbour the let.ND-Imp and 3A go.home=+
 k̄ìs kà léb ná kà bà píìgì_ nae, kà n'yaan píì_ lèbìs.
 listen and return hither and 3P uncover=+ finish and then thatch=+ return

'And the man immediately went up on top of the entrance hut and stripped the thatch on and on until he got to where the man's life-force was, and he stuffed it into his jockstrap. Once he'd done that, he rose up and looked intently at his own house, and feigningly replied "Yo" to a call, saying he was being called from home. He swooped down from on top of the entrance hut, and asked his neighbour to let him go home to listen, saying he'd come back and they'd finish stripping, then rethatch.'

Ò pàe na n pú'usì_ ò síd né àgɔlá àgɔlá kà bu'osó_ ye, ò daa yéìò_ ye bó_?
 3A reach hither + greet 3A husband with loud loud and ask=3A that 3A Tns say=3A that what=CQ
 Yé kà à'wála, kà ò káe kà ò lɛdɪgɪ_ âa'd zɔŋ lá kà ò káèè_?
 that and thus and 3A inspect and 3A replace=+ tear.Ipf entrance.hut the and 3A inspect=PQ
 Yé ò gòsìm kà ón kudɪm zí'e 'n'wá bà nà kuo_. Ye on pɔa'_ 'n'wá_ ken na,
 that 3A look.ND-Imp and 3A.Nz just be.standing this 3P Irr kill=3A that 3A wife=this=+ come.Ipf hither
 ò à ne sɔɛ^n, kà pu bôɔd ne ye ku nidá, yé ò kpì'a la mé á ne sɔɛ^n kà pigu
 3A be Foc witch and Ng want.Ipf Foc that kill person=Ng that 3A neighbour the also be Foc witch and ??
 kà lì yùmà lal, kà ònì nòŋó_ kà zánì_ ò sug la_ sɔa', kà mán yèìl_ f kà
 and 3I year.Pl be.distant and DemA=Nz want=3A and take 3A life.force the=+hide and 1S.Nz say=2S and
 fù zân'as kà níŋ si'em la, fù sug la, bà gba'a_lí ziná, bà nàm pu kúu_f_, àmáa,
 2S refuse and do how the 2S life.force the 3P seize=3I today 3P still Ng kill=2S=Ng but
 yú 'uŋ 'n'wá, bà lèe nà kúu_f, nidib yá' tì bôɔd gbêe^m sánà la. Kà ò síd la
 night this 3P but Irr kill=2S person.Pl if next want.Ipf sleep time the and 3A husband the
 gbín yò'ɔg kà ò kaas ye Mbayooo. Kà pɔa' la yéìl_ ò síd la yé ò nà
 meaning open and 3A cry.out that woe.is.me and wife the say 3A husband the that 3A Irr
 kpɛ'ŋí_ ò meŋ kà òŋá_ à' dau_ kpɛ'ŋí_ ò meŋ, kà tì mɔ, kà Wɪn yá' sùŋ, tɪnám
 strengthen 3A self and DemA=Nz be man=+ strengthen 3A self and 1P strive and God if help 1P
 on 'nyan. Kà dau ka'n'ad ye ò ba' bé, kà kpt'um bé, kà buga bé, yé bà
 on.part prevail and man invoke.Ipf that 3A father exist and dead.Pl exist and shrine.Pl exist that 3P
 sùŋimó_ kà ò da kpíi_.
 help.ND-Imp=3A and 3A Ng.Imp die=Ng

help.ND-Imp=3A and 3A Ng.Imp die=Ng

'She arrived and greeted her husband very loudly, asking him, What did I say to you? This, that you inspect the entrance hut for replacement and stripping, and you inspected it? Look, with you just standing around, they're going to kill you. I, your wife who's come here, am a witch, but I don't want to kill anyone. Your neighbour is a witch too, for years, and wants you and has hidden away your life force; as I told you not to do something but you did it, your life-force, they seized it today, they still haven't killed you but tonight they're going to kill you at the time when people are wanting to sleep. And her husband understood, and cried at Woe is me! The wife said to her husband to pull himself together: If you're a man and pull yourself together, and we fight, and God helps us, we will prevail. And the man prayed, saying that he had a father, and ancestors, and shrines, and they must help him not to die.'

Kà beog síd nìe, kà nà'ab la ke na_ bu'os day la yélà, kà ò p̣ya' la ye,
 and tomorrow truly appear and chief the come hither=+ ask man the about and 3A wife the that
 ón ʷwìe dabá àtáʷ ʷwá ziná, kà ò nám pu kulɛ_. Ón lèb na, lì pu yúuge_,
 3A.Nz travel day.Pl three this today and 3A still Ng go.home=Ng 3A.Nz return hither 3I Ng get.to.be.long=Ng
 kà bà túm na ye ná'abì_ kpì. Kà lì níj bi'elá kà p̣ya' mé ka'n'así_ ò biis wusa
 and 3P send hither that chief=+ die and 3I do a.little and wife also gather,up 3A child.Pl all
 né bà la'ad n beʷɛ_ ò síd káteŋ la.
 with 3P goods.Pl + pursue 3A husband far.away the

'The next day did come, and the chief came to ask about the man. His wife said that he had been on a trip for three days today and had not yet come home. After he returned, not much later a message came that the chief had died. And not long afterwards, the wife, too, gathered together her children and their property and went after her husband far away.'

Tì mí' ye, p̣ya' á ne p̣ya'. Kà pu súm yé ò bán̄ day gbín wusáa_, àmáa
 1P know that wife be Foc wife and Ng be.good that 3A find.out man meaning all=Ng but
 yalɪm mén bóɔdɪm d̄aar bè.
 fool also need day exist

'We know that a wife is a wife. And it's not good for her to discover all a man's reasons. But there is a time that even a fool is needed.'

14.3 Proverbs

Kusaal proverbs often have a riddle-like quality, and their application may not always be evident from the literal meaning: their appropriate application is a valued skill. (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 m̄ geogo_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 b̄ja'n'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 zuorɪ_n. (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)
 stone.Pl gather.Ipf Foc hill=at

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À wjak sɛŋʒi' zɪ' sɪnnɛ_.

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. (Wise after the event.)

Ng see rain threaten.Gd=Ng and see rain rain.Gd

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

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

À di'e buud pu zɪ'ni 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.

Mɔɔdi_ 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 balɛrug, 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 nɛ nɔb-kɔɔg 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 tɛŋɪ_né_.

donkey-male Ng cry.out.Ipf 3A peer land=at=Ng.

'The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory.'

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà 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.

Kpɛɛm á nɛ tɛ'ɛg, ò tìgìd nɛ 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.ND-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 tadim.

Balɛrɪgu_ zɪ' yé ò àⁿ balɛrɪgɔ́_, kà tadɪm mi' yé ò àⁿ tadɪm.

ugly=+ Ng.know that 3A be ugly=Ng and weak know that 3A be weak

'The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak.'

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bɔɔd támpììng sîiⁿd, fù pɔ lɛm zòt líɛŋ dâug ⁿyɔɔgɔ́_.

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 axeshaft 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 ⁿyɛtí_ ò tùbaa_.

donkey if want.Ipf that 3A throw.off=2S 2S Ng see.Ipf 3A ear.Pl=Ng

'If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears.'

(Where there's a will, there's a way.)

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wɔk dâan pɔ gáŋìd búgúmm_.

tail-long owner Ng step.over.Ipf fire=Ng

'One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire.' (Avoid risks if you have a family.)

From Naden's dictionary:

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e ꞑꞑꞑ.

baas ká'e_ kà ʳwaamis di'e ꞑꞑꞑ.

dog.Pl Ng.exist=Ng and monkey.Pl receive farm.

'There are no dogs and monkeys have got the farm.' (When the cat's away ...)

One kunt mi zugub.

Ònì_ kùt mi' zugub.

DemA=Nz work.iron.Ipf know blow.bellows.Gd.

'A smith 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' tîmm_.

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 tùbà.

Pz see with eye surpass Pz hear ear.Pl

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

(Seeing is believing.)

À zì'_ kpí nàm kpîid 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.)

Ón dà nyε Yesu kà ò bé lallí la, kà ò zóó_ ken_ ígìn ò tòn kà tá'ns ye,

3A.Nz Tns see Jesus and 3A exist far the and 3A run=+ go=+ kneel 3A before and shout that

"Yesu, Wínà'am ónì_ ka' turâan la Bííga, bɔ_ bé man né fù sùugu_né_?

Jesus God DemA=Nz Ng.have peer the child=Voc what=+ exist 1S with 2S between=CQ

Wínà'am sô'm zùg, m̀ béliṃ 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, yìṃ dáɔ-kàṅa sâ'n'an na." Nε'εṅa ké kà ò yéì_ àlá. Kà Yesu bu'osó_ ye,

fairy=Voc exit.ND-Imp man-Dem by hither DemI let and 3A do thus and Jesus ask=3A that

"Fù yu'uré_?" Kà daɔ la lébìs ye, "M̀ yu'uru_ b̀on 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 béliṃ Yesu nε nin-múa yé ò da kád kíkiris la_ yis tén-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 bédùgɔ dá bè zuor la bábàa_ dìt kà bà kal á^n wuɔ tusá àyí. Kà

pig-Pl much Tns exist hill the beside=+ eat.Ipf and 3P number be like thousand.Pl two and

kíkiris la béliṃò_ ye, "Kèl kà tì ken_ kpé^n kùkur-nám la ní." Kà ò sják kà kíkiris la

fairy.Pl the beg=3A that let.ND-Imp and 1P go=+ enter pig-Pl the at and 3A agree and fairy.Pl the

yi daɔ la ní_ kpé^n kùkur-nám_n la. Kà bà wusa zóó_ sig beoṅí_n kà kù'om dí_ba.

exit man the at=+ enter pig-Pl=at the and 3P all run=+ descend lake=at and water eat=3P

'There were many pigs grazing beside the hill, about two thousand in number. And the demons begged him: "Let us go into the pigs." He agreed for the demons to leave the man and enter the pigs. And they all ran down into the lake and were drowned.'

Dàp-bànì_ dà gur kùkur-nám la dá zòó_ ken_ tén-puugú_n nε tén-kpemisi_n_ t̀'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_ ken_ 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 dàɔ-kànì_ kà kíkiris daa dɔlló_ la zí'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 tjàkì_ à^n sô'm. Kà dàbiem kpé^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.'

14.5 Balaam's Ass

(Numbers 22:21-35, B3.)

Balaam da duoe beogun ɔɔ o buɔɔ dɔɔ Moab na'ayikpɛm la keɔ. Amaa Wina'am sunf da duoe ne on keɔ la, ka Zugsoɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geɔ o. Balaam da ban'adne o buɔ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔɔ o. Buɔ la da nye Zugsoɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe su'ugu zani o nu'ugin, ka o buɔi kpen' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ud buɔ la ye o leɔ suor puɔɔ.

Zugsoɔb maliak la da tɔɔlisi zi'en lombɔn'ɔɔ ayi' bane ka ba me' zanguoma ayi' beɔ, ka suobaanlig beɔ li teɔsɔk la. Buɔ la n da nye Zugsoɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zanguom la urig Balaam nɔɔbir. Ka o lem bu' o ya'as.

Zugsoɔb maliak la da len vurigi tɔɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikane ka sɔ' ku nyanɔi fendig datiuɔ beɔ dagɔɔbuga. Buɔ la da len nye Zugsoɔb maliak la, o da digin ne Balaam wusa teɔjin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔɔ buɔ la ne o dansaar. Ka Zugsoɔb ke ka buɔ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li ke ka fu bu'um nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da leɔbis o ye, "Fu mɔɔrim ne maan galim! M ya'a mɔɔrin su'ugu m nu'ugin m naan kuɔnif nannanna." Buɔ la da leɔbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'ane fu meɔ buɔ one ka fu ban'ad saɔa wusa ti paae zinaa? Fu nam mi' nye ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?" Ka o leɔbis ye, "Ayei!"

Ka Zugsoɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nye maliak la zi'e suor la teɔsɔk ka fuoe su'ugu zani. Ka o igin ka vanbin teɔjin. Zugsoɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fu bu' buɔ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giɔif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'um m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buɔ la nyeem ka yuk. Buɔ la ya'a pu yukine, anwaa m kuɔnif ka basin buɔ la." Balaam da leɔbisi yeɔ Zugsoɔb maliak la ye, "M tum taal, m pa'a pu baɔ ye fu zi'ene suorin la ye fu geɔi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pu malisi fɔ m na leɔbi kul." Ka maliak la leɔbisi yeɔ Balaam ye, "Dɔɔl nidib la keɔ, amaa yeɔlim ne man ye fu yeɔ si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔɔ Balak na'ayikpɛm la keɔ.

Balaam dá dùè beogun_n_ ɔɔ_ ò bùhù_ dɔɔ Moab ná'-yi-kpém la_ keɔ.

Balaam Tns rise morning=+ tie 3A donkey=+ accompany Moab courtier.Pl the=+ go

'Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey and went with the courtiers of the king of Moab.'

Àmáa Wínà'am súnf dà dùè ne ón keɔ la, kà Zug-sóɔb máɔɔk kidigɔ_ zí'en

but God heart Tns rise with 3A.Nz go the, and Lord angel meet=+ stand

suor la zúg yé ò gɔhó_.

road the on that 3A obstruct=3A

'But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him.'

Balaam dá bàⁿ'ad né ò bòn, kà ò yàmmìs àyí dǎlló_.

Balaam Tns ride.Ipf Foc 3A donkey, and 3A slave.Pl two accompany=3A

'Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him.'

Bòn la dá ⁿyè Zug-sób máljak lá kà ò zí'e suor la zúg kà fúe sù'ugù_ zàⁿl ò nú'ugù_n,
donkey the Tns see Lord angel the and 3A stand road the on and draw knife=+ hold 3A hand=at
kà ò búgì_ kpèⁿ' mǎwǎgù_ gâad.

and 3A cut.across=+ enter grass=+ pass

'The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on.'

Kà Balaam piⁿ'ilù_ bu[']ud búg la yé ò léb suor pòug.

and Balaam begin=+ beat.Ipf donkey the that 3A return road inside

'Balaam started beating the donkey to make it return to the road.'

Zūg-sób máljak la dá tǎlìsì_ zí'en lǒmbòⁿ'ɔd àyí bánì_ kà bà mé zàngùomà àyí_ béj,
Lord angel the Tns do.next=+ stand orchard.Pl two DemP=NZ and 3P build wall.Pl two=+ divide
kà sɔa-báaⁿlìg béé_ lì tèn-suk la.

and road-narrow exist 3I middle the

'The angel of the Lord then stood where dividing walls had been built between two orchards and there was a narrow path between them.'

Bòn lá ò dà ⁿyè Zug-sób máljak la, ò dà miè_ làbìn zàngùom la_
donkey the Nz Tns see Lord angel the 3A Tns evade=+ hide.behind wall the=+
urig Balaam nóbìr. Kà ò lé^m bú'o__ yâ'as.

scrape Balaam leg and 3A again beat=3A=+ again.

'When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it ducked against the wall and scraped Balaam's leg. And he beat it again.'

Zug-sób máljak la dá lè^m vurigù_ tǎlìs_ zí'en tòn zíⁿ'-kànì_ kà sɔ' kú ⁿyanù_
Lord angel the Tns again shift.along=+ do.next=+ stand front place-Dem=Nz and IdfA Ng.Irr prevail=+
fèⁿdìg dátìyù_ bɛɛ dágòbìga_.

turn right or left=Ng

'Then the angel of the Lord moved along to stand in front of a place where nobody could turn to the right or the left.'

Bùṅ lá_ dà lèṃ ᵐye Zug-sób máljak la, ò dà dìgìn ne Balaam wusa tenj_n,
 donkey the=NZ Tns again see Lord angel the 3A Tns lie.down with Balaam all ground=at
 kà Balaam súᵐf due halí kà ò vɔb búṅ la né ò dànsàar.

and Balaam heart rise until and 3A strike donkey the with 3A staff

'When the donkey again saw the angel of the Lord, it lay down along with Balaam too, and Balaam was so angry he beat the donkey with his staff.'

Kà Zug-sób ké kà bùṅ la yá'e ò nɔɔr_ pjaᵐ' Balaam ye,

and Lord let and donkey the open 3A mouth=+ speak Balaam that

"Bɔ kimm kà ᵐn máalì_f kà lì ké kà fù bú'v_m nɔɔr átáᵐ' sá_?"

what exactly and 1S make=2S and 3I let and 2S beat=1S time three hence=CQ?

'Then the Lord made the donkey open its mouth to speak to Balaam: "Just what have I done to you to make you beat me three times now?"'

Balaam dá lèbìso_ ye, "Fù mórì_m ne_ mâan gálìᵐ! ᵐM yá' mɔrì_n sú'vḡ_

Balaam Tns reply=3A that, 2S have=1S Foc=+ make.Ipf=+ joke.Ipf 1S if have=DP knife

ᵐn nú'ugì_n, ᵐn naan kuv_ní_f nannánna."

1S hand=at 1S then kill=DP=2S now

'Balaam replied: "You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you now."'

Bùṅ la dá lèbìs Balaam ye, "Man ka' né fù meṅ búṅ ónì_ kà fù baᵐ'ad sanjá wusa_

donkey the Tns reply Balaam that 1S Ng.be Foc 2S self donkey DemA=Nz and 2S ride.Ipf time all=+

tí pae zináa_? Fù nám mi'_ ᵐyé kà ᵐn mâal àᵐwá_ tísi_fò_?"

next reach today=Ng=PQ? 2S already know=+ see and 1S make thus=+ give=2S=PQ

Kà ò lèbìs ye, "Áyì!"

and 3A reply that no

'The donkey replied to Balaam: "Am I not your own donkey that you have always been riding up until today? Have you ever known me to behave like this to you?" He replied, "No."'

Kà Zug-sób yò'vḡ Balaam níᵐn kà ò ᵐye máljak lá_ zì'e suor la ténj-sòk,

and Lord open Balaam eye.Pl and 3A see angel the=Nz stand road the centre

kà fúe sù'vḡ_ zaᵐl. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tenj_n.

and draw knife=+ hold and 3A kneel.down and lie.prone ground=at

'Then the Lord opened Balaam's eyes so he could see the angel standing in the middle of the road with a drawn sword in his hand, and he knelt and lay face down.'

Zug-sób máljak la dá bù'oso_ ye, "Bó kà fù bu' búḡ la nɔɔr átá' sá_?

Lord angel the Tns ask=3A that what and 2S beat donkey the time three hence=CQ

M ké na yé m̄ gɔ́ɔ́_f bɔ zúɔɔ ken la ka' sóm m̄ niní nū_.

1S come hither that 1S obstruct=2S because going the Ng.be goodness 1S eye.Pl at=Ng

Nɔɔr átá' kà bùḡ la ʔyéε_m kà yuk. Bùḡ la yá' pu yukl_ní_ à'wáa_

time three and donkey the see=1S and deviate donkey the if Ng deviate=DP thus=Ng

m̄ kuv_ní_f kà básl_n búḡ la."

1S kill=DP=2S and release=DP donkey the

'The angel of the Lord asked him: "Why have you beaten the donkey these three times? I came here to obstruct you because your journey is not good in my eyes. Three times the donkey saw me and turned aside. If the donkey had not turned aside, I would have killed you and spared the donkey."

Balaam dá lèbìsì_ yél Zug-sób máljak la ye, "M túm tâal, m̄ pá' pu bán

Balaam Tns reply=+ say Lord angel the that 1S work fault 1S Tns Ng realise

yé fù zí'e ne suorí_n la yé fù gɔ́ɔ́_ma_.

that 2S stand Foc road=at the that 2S obstruct=1S=Ng

Nannáanna, lì yá' pu malísí_fɔ_ m̄ ná lɛbɛ_ kul."

now 3I if Ng be.pleasing=2S=Ng 1S Irr return=+ go.home

'Balaam replied to the angel of the Lord: "I have transgressed. I did not realise that you were standing in the road to obstruct me. Now, if it is not pleasing to you, I will return home."

Kà màljak la lèbìsì_ yèl Balaam ye, "Dòl nidib la_ keḡ,

and angel the reply=+ say Balaam that accompany person.Pl the=+ go

àmáa yèlím ne mán yé fù yél si'el má'aa."

but say.ND-Imp Foc 1S.Nz that 2S say Idfl only

'But the angel replied to Balaam: "Go with the people, but say only what I tell you."

Kà Balaam dɔl Balak ná'-yi-kpém la_ keḡ.

and Balaam accompany Balak courtier.Pl=+ the=+ go

'So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers.'

14.6 Power and Fuel Conservation

This is an article from the newspaper *Tampana*, published in 1992 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* §1.3.2.

The following loanwords are left untransliterated: *ikku* ‘power’, Hausa *iikòò*; *baneka* ‘powered grinding machine’, Hausa *mài nikàà* ‘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. Ligidid 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 dugid ne li, li pu ziesida, li me tebis. Fu tun'e dug ne li fu doogun. Fu tun'e paam li n da' ziig wusa teŋ poogen. Da'am yinne ka da sa'amid buntuguda.

Pàṅ ne bun-túgùdà bjàⁿkìr

power with firewood economise.Gd

'Power and fuel conservation'

Fù mí' pánj_ àⁿ sí'elàa? Tì mí' ye pánj á ne gírìm-kànì_ nà ⁿyaṅ_ túm tuuma,
 2S know power=Nz be Idfl=PQ 1P know that power be Foc importance-Dem=Nz Irr prevail=+ work work.Gd.Pl
 àmáa pàṅ mé lém m̀r gbín yinní yâ'as, ⁿwen wuu bun-túgùdà_ m̀r ikku-kànì_ nà
 but power also again have bottom one again resemble like firewood=+ have force-Dem=Nz Irr
ⁿyaṅ_ dug dub, bee kpaam-kànì_ kà ma'antuoka ne baneka_ nú kà ⁿyaṅ_ túm.
 prevail=+ cook food or oil-Dem=Nz and motorcar with grinder=Nz drink and prevail=+ work
 Pàṅ-kàṅa búudì yá' kaḗ' tuuma mé ka'e_. Tì b̀d̀d pánj_ tì vum púgu_n daar wusa.
 power-Dem kind if Ng.be work.Gd.Pl also Ng.be=Ng 1P want power 1P life inside=at day all
 Àmáa l̀ nàr kà tì ǹk pánj-kànì_ kà tì m̀r la_ túm ne yam, kà da m̀r_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 bélim 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 bee latirisiti mé á ne pánj wuu búgúm túb̀l̀g ne; wìnnìg bee péb̀sìim

European-fire or electricity also be Foc power like fire heat like sun or wind

ne búgúm d̀aad mè á ne pánj kà m̀r ikku_ ná tum si'el.

with fire log.Pl also be Foc power and have force=+ Irr work Idfl

'"European fire" or "electricity", is also power, like the heat of a fire; sun or wind and firewood are also power and have the energy to do something.'

Tɪnámì_ mi' si'el tì yaa-nám sâ'n'an á ne yé tì dúg dá'n'añ-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 nɔ̀bɪg, nannánna tì tú'n'e_ dug
 happen=+ come hither world change ND-Pf and human sense also grow now 1P be.able=+ cook
 ne násàar-bùgúm bæe gaas. Dugub ne dà'n'añ-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 kíkán'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'yo'ɔs la_ tu'n'e_ sâ'n'am niní. Tèn'ésím_ fù niní_ yùod ne
 DemI=Nz also add be Foc smoke the=+ be.able=+ spoil eye.Pl think.ND-Imp 2S eye.Pl=Nz flow.Ipf with
 kù'om si'em fù yá' dugud dá'n'añ-vu'ad zúg. n'yo'ɔs la mé kèt né kà fù pu tu'n'e_
 water how 2S if cook.Ipf hearth.stone.Pl on smoke the also let.Ipf Foc and 2S Ng be.able=+
 vu'usída_ bɔ zúgɔ pè̀bìsìm ka'e_, kà mé lèm sɔ̀bɪgíd zán̄gùom n'yo'ɔs ne vugulím.
 breathe.Ipf=Ng because wind Ng.be=Ng and also again blacken.Ipf wall Ideo with soot
 Lì mè pu vé'ni niní nu_. Lì mè bɔ̀ɔd yé fù ɛɛ́n tɪ màa'ì_lɪ n mé kà táa_lɪ ne bun-bón
 3I also Ng be.beautiful eye.Pl at=Ng 3I also want.Ipf that 2S habit make=3I + build and plaster=3I with plaster
 kà lì nâam_ vé'ni. Bùgúm zî'uh mè kèt né kà dà'n'añ 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 yúugìd halí bɔ zúgɔ b̀gùúm 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'abɪ_n. Saana mé
 pot the bottom=Ng money much also enter.Ipf log.Pl or charcoal.Pl buy.Gd=at charcoal.Pl also
 dít tɔ̀'ɔtɔ̀ kà lì pu yúugìda_ bɔ zúgɔ pè̀bìsìm 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 not all the heat of the fire gets to the bottom of
 the pot. A lot of money also goes into the buying of wood or charcoal. Charcoal also
 burns quickly and doesn't last long, because the air hits the fire all the time.'

Àmáa dàⁿañ-vu'ad bæe kurpotto-paalíg yí na. Lì pu ⁿwen wuu latirisiti
 but hearth.stone.Pl or stove-new come.out hither 3I Ng resemble like electricity
 bæe gaas si'em la_. Lì yu'ur á ne AHIBENSO. Ahibenso kurpotto la lígìdì
 or gas how the=Ng 3I name be Foc Ahibenso Ahibenso stove the money
 pu zú'ee_, kà mé pu dít dâad bæe saana bédùgu_, bo zúgu bà máalì_lì né kà lì
 Ng get.higher=Ng and also Ng eat.Ipf log.Pl or charcoal.Pl much=Ng because 3P make=3I Foc and 3I
 túⁿ'e_ gu'ud búgúm túlòg la kà mé kèt kà saana la pu dítì_ naad
 be.able=+ watch.Ipf fire heat the and also let.Ipf and charcoal.Pl the Ng eat.Ipf=+ finish.Ipf
 sansá wusa_. Duib dúgùb lì zug pu yúugìd kà mé lè^m pu tɔɛyá_. Fù yá' dugud ní_lì,
 time.Pl all=Ng food cook.Gd 3I on Ng take.long.Ipf and also again Ng be.bitter=Ng 2S if cook.Ipf with=3I
 lì pu zíesìda_, lì mè tèbìs. Fù túⁿ'e_ dug ní_lì fù dòogu_n. Fù túⁿ'e_ pâam_lì n dá'
 3I Ng wobble.Ipf=Ng 3I also be.heavy 2S be.able=+ cook with=3I 2S hut=at 2S be.able=+ obtain=3I + buy
 zìⁿ'ig wusa tén-puugú_n. Dà'am yunní kà da sáⁿ'amìd bun-túgùdà_.
 place all town=at buy.ND-Imp one and Ng.Imp spoil.Ipf firewood=Ng

'But a new fireplace or stove has come out. It's not like electricity or gas. It's called
 "Ahibenso." The Ahibenso stove is not expensive, and it doesn't use much wood or
 charcoal, because it's been made so it can regulate the fire temperature and ensure
 that the charcoal is not always completely burnt up. Cooking food on it doesn't take
 long and is also not difficult. When you're cooking with it, it doesn't wobble: it's
 stable. You can cook with it in your room. You can obtain it for purchase everywhere
 in town. Buy one and don't waste firewood!'

15 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' ⁿ and the distinctions ε/e υ/i ɔ/o ʊ/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 §10.7.2. 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 §9.3 for proper names, and §9.5.1 for numerals with the prefixes à ù bà bù.

A

à Pn personaliser §9.2.1;

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

dàalúŋ, dàalís/dàalímìs dàalúŋ- stork;

gâuⁿg, gâaⁿd 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

àaⁿs 2Vb tear

àbùlá Qf how many-fold?

àɛⁿya 1Vb be something/somehow

àeⁿ 2Vb get torn

àgólí/àgólá upwards; loudly

àlá Pn thus; Qf so many; how many?

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

àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (English)

àmáa Pt but §11.1 (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

aⁿs 2Vb pluck leaves

àséɛ Pt except for §10.7.3

áⁿsìb_a -nám_a aⁿs- mother's brother §9.4

àsɪda truly

aⁿsɪg' 2Vb break at an angle

aⁿsíŋa aⁿsís aⁿsɪŋ- man's sister's child

§9.4

àsùbá dawn (Arabic *al-ṣubḥah*)

àtèpɔk, sea (Hausa *tèeku*)

àⁿwá/awána' Pn like this

áyù Pt no §11.4.5

B

bà/ba Pn 3P

ba' -nám_a ba'- father

baⁿ 2Vb ride

baa baas bà- dog

báa Pt not even §12.2

(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 §10.7.2.3
bàbìgá' Qf many
bákpàè week (Hausa *bakwàì* 'seven')
bàⁿl_a 1Vb be thin
bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club
bàlànrìr bàlàngà bàlànrì- hat
balerug₃' balerud'/baleris' balér-
 ugly person
bàmma' Pn these
bàn Pn these; **bán** Pn 3P+n; **ban** 3P
ban_n bana **bàn-** fetter
banaa banaas bàlà- "fugu" smock
bàn-daug₃ **bàn-daad bàlà-dà-** crocodile
ban-kúsélì ban-kúselá ban-kúsel- skink
 also à **ban-kúsólì**
ban_a **baaⁿs bànrì-** ring, chain, fetter
bànrì_a agama lizard
bànrì 2Vb come to know
bap pap Ideo hurriedly
bar bar Ideo bone-dry
bàrìkà blessing (Arabic *barakah*)
bàs 2Vb go away; abandon; throw out
bàurhù in **kpèⁿ' bàurhù** get circumcised
 (Songhay)
bàyerog₃' betrayer of secrets
bè 1Vb exist, be somewhere
bèⁿ' Gd **bèⁿ'es** 2Vb fall ill
bèⁿ' 2Vb follow after someone
bèdìg' 2Vb rot
bèdùg₃ Adj great
bèdùgu' Qf much, a lot
bèè Pt or; in questions §11.4.2
bèlìm 2Vb beg
bèlìs 2Vb comfort
bènrì **bèna bènrì-** end
bènnìg_a penis sheath, jockstrap
bènrì 2Vb mark out boundary
bènrìd bènrì- cowpea leaves; **bènrìd nè ki**
 leaf-and-millet (a traditional snack)
bènrìr bènrìá bènrì- cowpea
bè'og₃ Adj bad
bèog₃ tomorrow; **bè-kèⁿog₃/bè-kìkèⁿog₃**
 dawn; **bèogu_n** morning; **bèog sá/bèog**
daar in future; **bèog níe kà** next day ...
bèon₃ **bèena bèon₃-** pool, lake
bèrìrì_a **bèrìrìs** kenaf
bèrìrìga bèrìrìg- kenaf leaves
bèⁿsìg 2Vb serve soup
bèsu₃ **bèsid bès-** kind of wide-mouth pot
bì' 2Vb ripen, mature
bì'a see **bè'og₃**
bì^aar' **bì^a'a bì^a'-** mud, riverbed
bì^ank' 2Vb economise with, keep aside
bì^aurⁿk₃ **bì^a'ad bì^a'-** shoulder
bìelì Adj naked
bìel 2Vb accompany
bì'elá Qf a little;
bì'el bì'el Qf little by little; a very little
bìelíf₃ **bìilì bìel-/bìil-** seed
bì'em -nà_m **bì'em-** enemy
bìen_n **bìena bìen-** shin
bìer' **bìeyá bìa-** elder same-sex sib §9.4
bì'es 2Vb doubt
bìgìs 2Vb show, teach
bìig_a **bìis bì-/bì-** child; **bì-dìlì_n** **bìig_a** boy;
bì-pù_n **bìig_a** girl; **bì-lia** baby; **bì-nà'ab_a**
 prince(ss); **bì-pit_a'** younger child;
tùm bìig send a messenger
bì'ug 2Vb ripen, get pregnant
bìilìm childhood
bùm' **bì-** soup, stew
bìⁿ'isìm milk
bìⁿ'isìr bìⁿ'isà bìⁿ'is- woman's breast
bìl_a Adj little
bìlìg 2Vb roll (transitive)
bìlìm 2Vb roll (intransitive)
bìmbìm_n **bìmbìrà bìmbìm-** mound,
 pillar of earth; altar B
bìnrì excrement
bìr bìr Ideo deep (black)

bɔ̀ bɔ̀- Pn what? why? §9.2; bɔ̀ zúgɔ̀ why;
 because §11.1
 bɔ̀ 2Vb seek, Ipf bɔ̀ɔ̀d_a want;
 bɔ̀ɔ̀dɪm will, desire, necessity
 bɔ̀bɔ̀g 2Vb wrap round
 bɔ̀dɪg 2Vb lose, get lost
 bɔ̀dɪs 2Vb lead astray
 bɔ̀dɔ̀bɔ̀dɔ̀ bread
 bɔ̀kɔ̀ bɔ̀'ad bɔ̀à'- pit
 bɔ̀n'ɔ̀gɔ̀ swamp; ricefield
 bɔ̀rrr Ideo dripping (of sweat)
 bɔ̀sr bɔ̀sa bɔ̀s- puff adder
 bɔ̀tu sack (Twi)
 bu' 2Vb beat
 buàk 2Vb split
 bu'ar buà'a buà'- hole
 bu'ar' buà'a buà'- skin bottle
 bɔ̀d Gd bɔ̀dɪg_a/bɔ̀dɔ̀gɔ̀ 2Vb sow seeds
 bɔ̀daa bɔ̀daas man, male person
 (a Toende Kusaal form)
 bɔ̀dàalɪm manhood, courage
 bɔ̀dɪm Gd bɔ̀dɪmɪs 2Vb get confused
 bu'e 2Vb pour out
 bɔ̀g 2Vb get drunk (Hausa *bùgu*)
 bugud_a client of a diviner
 bɔ̀gùlɪm 2Vb cast lots
 bugur buga bɔ̀g- abode of a wɪn_n';
 wɪn_n' from mother's kin as sɔ̀gɪr'
 bɔ̀gúm bɔ̀gum-/bɔ̀gúm- fire;
 Bɔ̀gúm-tɔ̀ɔ̀r Fire Festival
 bugus_a' 1Vb be soft
 bugusíg_a Adj soft, weak;
 bugusíga' softly; bugusím softness
 buk' 2Vb weaken
 bɔ̀k 2Vb cast lots
 bɔ̀l 2Vb germinate, ooze
 bul_l bula sprout
 bɔ̀l 2Vb astonish
 bɔ̀líg_a bɔ̀lɪs bɔ̀l- well, pond
 bɔ̀mbàríg_a bɔ̀mbàrɪs bɔ̀mbàr- ant

bun_n' -nám_a/buná bun- thing;
 -bón_n plaster (wall); -gíg_a short fellow;
 -kón'bùgɔ̀ -kón'bìd -kón'b- animal;
 -kúdùgɔ̀ -kút old man; -mór_a rich person;
 -túgùdà firewood, kindling
 bɔ̀n 2Vb reap, harvest
 bun-dâar Pn which day?
 bɔ̀ŋ_a bɔ̀mɪs bɔ̀ŋ- donkey
 bɔ̀ŋ 2Vb take a short cut
 bɔ̀ol 2Vb call, summon
 bɔ̀or buòyà buà- grain store
 bu'os' 2Vb ask; Gd bu'osúgɔ̀ question
 bɔ̀'os 2Vb pour out (many containers)
 bur bur Ideo in pieces, to pieces
 bɔ̀rìkìn_a -nám_a bɔ̀rìkìn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
 burɪyá Christmas (Twi)
 butɪŋ_a butɪs bɔ̀tìŋ- cup
 buud innocence
 buudi bɔ̀ud- kind, sort, ethnic group
 buug_a buus bɔ̀- goat; -dìbìg_a male kid

D

dà Pt before two days ago §10.2
 da Pt not (imperative negative) §10.3
 dà' 2Vb buy
 dàa Pt day after tomorrow §10.2
 daa Pt before yesterday §10.2
 dà'a dà'as dà'- market
 dà'abìr slave
 dàalɪm masculinity
 dàalɪm dàalɪmɪs male organs
 daam' da- millet beer, "pito";
 -bín_n beer residue; yeast B
 dàam 2Vb disturb (Hausa *dàamaa*)
 daan_a -nám_a dàan- (always with a
 predependent §9.7) owner of ...
 dàⁿ'aŋ_a dàⁿ'amɪs dàⁿ'aŋ- hearth
 -vɪaɔ̀ⁿk_a -vɪaⁿ'ad hearth-stone
 -vu'ad hearth-stones, fireplace
 daar daba dà- day, date §10.7.2.2

- daar two days ago/hence
 daa-sî'er perhaps §11.1
 dàbiem fear
 dàbiog₃ dàbied dàbjà- coward
 dàbìsìr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period
 dadúk₃ kind of large pot
 da'e´ 2Vb push; (wind) blow
 dàgòbìg_a left; south B
 daká -nàm_a daká- box (Hausa *àdakàa*)
 dàkiig_a dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
 husband §9.4
 dàkòòr dàkònyà dàkòn- unmarried son,
 bachelor, widower
 dàmm (-mm-) 2Vb shake
 dàmmà'a liar; dàmmà'am/dàmmà'ar lie
 dampusaar/dànsàar staff, club
 dàŋkòŋ₃ measles
 dàpaal_a´ young man, son
 dàsaŋ_a dàsaan^s/dàsamm_a dàsàŋ-
 young man
 dàtaa dàtaas dàtā- enemy
 dàtìŋ₃ right-hand; north B
 daɔ dap_a dàɔ- (Pl head dàp-) adult male
 daug₃ Adj male
 dàug₃ dàad dà- log; -kpi'ed_a carpenter;
 -puudr -puuda cross B
 dàwàlìg_a hot humid season before rains
 dàwan_n´ dàwaná dàwan- pigeon
 dàyáamm_a -nám_a dàyaam-
 husband's parent §9.4
 dàyuug₃´ dàyuud´ dàyu- rat
 dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
 dèeg_a dèes dè- warthog
 dèeŋ_a Adj first
 dèl_la´ 1Vb be leaning (of a person)
 dèlìm 2Vb start leaning (of a person)
 dèŋ_a dèmìs dèŋ- accidental bruise; defect
 dèŋ 2Vb go/do first §11.5.3
 dèŋìm Pt beforehand §10.4.3
 dì Pn 3I
 dì Ipf dìt_a Imp dìm_a 2Vb eat, get; Gd
 dub₃ food; ò dì pua' 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
 dì'em 2Vb play, not be serious;
 Gd dì'emà festival
 diem_{ma} -nàm_a diem- wife's parent §9.4
 di'es´ 2Vb receive (many things)
 dɔgɔya´ 1Vb lie down
 dɔgɔl´ 2Vb lay down
 dɔgɔn 2Vb lie down
 dɔgɔr dɔgà dɔg- dwarf
 dɔgɔsúg₃ bed; (Pl) lair
 dɔs 2Vb feed; dɔs_a glutton
 dɔsúŋ₃ dɔsímà/dɔsís dɔsúŋ- spoon
 dìm_a dìn_n Pn (dummy head)
 dín dìn see lín lìn
 dɔndɔog₃´ dɔndɔed´ dɔndɔ- chameleon
 dɔndɔs_a glutton
 dɔtúŋ₃ right-hand
 dɔ-zɔrug₃´ dɔ-zɔrá dɔ-zɔr- crumb
 dɔl_la´ 1Vb accompany
 dɔlɔg´ 2Vb make accompany, send with
 dɔlɔg´ 2Vb stretch oneself
 dɔlɔs´ 2Vb follow, trace §11.5.3
 dɔɔg₃ dɔɔd/dɔt dɔ- house, hut; clan;
 dɔɔg bìig_a housecat
 dɔɔng₃ dɔɔnd dɔn- dawadawa fruit
 -bùsùlìm dawadawa powder
 dɔn'ɔs 2Vb water plants
 du Ipf dut_a´ Imp dùm_a 2Vb go up
 dya' 2Vb bear/beget; du'ad_a relative
 dùaⁿ dɔɔn^s dɔn- dawadawa tree
 dù'al 2Vb (of a loan) accrue interest
 du'am birth
 dú'atà doctor (English)
 due´ 2Vb raise, rise
 dug 2Vb cook

duk₃´ dugud´ dug- cooking pot;
 dugub dút cooking pots
 dùm 2Vb bite
 dum_n duma dùm- knee
 dùndùug₃ dùndùud dùndù- cobra
 duniya duniyá- world (Arabic *dunyā*)
 dunná this year
 duŋ_a dumis dùŋ- mosquito
 duor´ dūoyá dūa- stick
 dùr_a 1Vb be many
 du'un´ 2Vb pass water
 du'uním du'un- urine
 duur dūya dù- heap
 du'us´ 2Vb lift up, honour
 duusír step

E

èⁿbìs 2Vb scratch
 èⁿd 2Vb plug up
 èⁿdìg 2Vb unplug
 èⁿdùg₃ anger, anguish
 εεⁿ Pt yes §11.4.5
 εεⁿ/εεⁿ tí Pt habitually §10.4.2
 εεⁿb´ 2Vb lay a foundation
 εεⁿbír (physical) foundation
 εⁿrig´ 2Vb shift along on buttocks

F

f₃ Pn 2S
 faⁿ/faeⁿ´ 2Vb grab, rob; save
 fae X yak save X trouble
 faaⁿ Qf every
 faaⁿgíd_a saviour (Toende loan)
 faaⁿgír salvation (Toende loan)
 fáss Ideo for pièlìg_a white
 fεⁿdìg´ 2Vb turn round
 fεεg´ 2Vb (food) get old, cold
 fεⁿ'og₃´ fεⁿ'ed´ fεⁿ'- ulcer
 fīaⁿk₃´ fīaⁿ'ad´ one-eyed person
 fieb 2Vb beat
 fiiⁿ Qf a little (liquid)

fi'ig 2Vb cut off
 fitilá 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)
 fuug₃´ fuud´/fut´ fu- clothing; cloth

G

gaaⁿ´ gaa^{ns}´ gaⁿ- African ebony,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gàad Ip^f 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
 gaⁿdìg´/gaⁿdìs´ 2Vb answer
 gadu´ -nám_a gadu- or gadug₃´ gat´ gad-
 bed (Hausa *gadoo*)
 ga'e´ 2Vb unbutton
 gəlìm 2Vb joke
 gəlìs 2Vb become excessive §11.5.2
 gammurí Ideo rigid
 gàŋ 2Vb step over
 gaŋ´ 2Vb choose
 gaⁿr´ gaⁿyá gaⁿr- ebony fruit
 gbaⁿ'e´ 2Vb catch, grab; decide, plan
 gbáⁿyà'a idle person
 gbáⁿyà'am laziness
 gbaⁿŋ₃´ gbaná gban-/gbaⁿŋ- animal skin;
 book (TP L, W); gbàⁿŋ-mi'id_a´ B scribe
 gbεⁿ 2Vb stay the night
 gbêεⁿm gbεⁿ- sleep
 gbè'og₃ gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead
 gbèog₃ lakeshore
 gber´ gbeyá gber- thigh
 gbigum_n gbiguma gbìgìm- lion

gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (of hill) foot; meaning; below; -vɔɔⁿr anus
 gbis 2Vb sleep
 gɛⁿ 2Vb get tired
 gɛⁿ 2Vb get angry
 gɛⁿɔɔɔ^ɔ 2Vb mix up, mix with
 gɛɛɛ^ɛ 2Vb place between the legs (TP H)
 gɛɛⁿm^ɔ Gd gɛɛⁿmís 2Vb go/send mad
 gɛɛⁿɛⁿg^a gɛɛⁿmís madman
 gɛfá pocket (ultimately Arabic *jayb*)
 gɛlɪ gɛlá gɛl- egg
 gɛog_ɔ place between the legs (TP A)
 gɛ̀g̀l̀m 2Vb go dumb
 gɛ̀l̀m shortness
 gɛ̀k_a gɛ̀g̀s gɛ̀g- dumb person
 gɛ̀lɪg^ɔ Ip^f gɛ̀l_{na}^ɔ 2Vb go around
 gɛ̀m_{ma}^ɔ 1Vb be short
 gɛ̀ŋ 2Vb scrimp
 gɛ̀ŋ^ɔ 2Vb surround, intercept, obstruct
 gɛ̀ŋ_a Adj short
 gɛ̀ŋ_a shortly
 gɛ̀rɪm_a importance, prestige
 (Hausa *girmaa*)
 gɛ̀ɔⁿ 2Vb hunt; Ip^f gɛ̀ɔⁿd_a wander,
 Gd gɛ̀ɔⁿd̀m
 gɛ̀ɔɔɔ^ɔ 2Vb look up
 gɛ̀ɔ^ɔe_{ya}^ɔ W gɛ̀ɔ_{la}^ɔ K 1Vb look up
 gɛ̀ɔ^ɔɔⁿ 2Vb look up
 gɛ̀ɔ_a^ɔ D 1Vb look up
 gɛ̀ɔ^ɔ Ip^f gɛ̀ɔ^ɔd_a^ɔ/gɛ̀ɔ_a^ɔ Imp gɛ̀ɔ̀s̀m_a/gɛ̀m_a
 Gd gɛ̀ɔ̀s̀g_a 2Vb look; gɛ̀ɔ_a^ɔ seer;
 gɛ̀ɔ̀s̀ kà see that §11.5.4;
 gɛ̀ɔ̀s̀ ye see whether §11.6
 gu' 2Vb guard, take care of
 gùⁿ'a gùⁿ'ɔ^s gùⁿ'- thorn; acacia;
 -sablíg_a *Acacia hockii*
 gùl 2Vb hang; gùl_a 1Vb hang
 gùllum LF gùllmnè Ideo only §7.1
 gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread W
 gumpuzér' gumpuzeyá gumpuzér- duck
 gùŋ_a gùm̀s̀ gùŋ- kapok, *Ceiba pentandra*

gu'ŋ^ɔ 2Vb fail, do in vain §11.5.2
 gùŋgum_n kapok material
 gur_a^ɔ 1Vb guard, watch for
 gu'ul^ɔ 2Vb entrust with
 gù'ulim 2Vb get half-ripe
 gùɔɔ gùyà gù- upland; riverbank
 guɔɔ guya gù- ridge of the back
 gu'us^ɔ 2Vb take care, watch out
 gu'us half-ripe fruits

H

halí Pt even, until §10.7.3

I

ɪa LF ia 2Vb seek
 ɪaⁿas^ɔ 2Vb leap
 ɪaⁿk^ɔ Ip^f ɪaⁿad_a^ɔ 2Vb leap, fly
 ɪgɪyá^ɔ 1Vb kneel
 ɪgil^ɔ 2Vb make kneel
 ɪgìn 2Vb kneel down
 ɪlɪ ulá ul- horn
 isir isa is- scar
 isìg 2Vb get up early

K

kà Pt and, that §11.1
 ka 2Vb bail water
 ka' (before an object) see kaɛ'
 kaⁿ 2Vb invoke (spirits etc)
 kaab^ɔ 2Vb offer, invite
 kaal^ɔ 2Vb count
 kaas^ɔ 2Vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)
 kaⁿas^ɔ 2Vb gather and bring
 kà'asìgɛ alternative LF of kaɛ'
 kàⁿb Gd kaⁿbɔɔ 2Vb scorch
 kabɔg^ɔ 2Vb ladle out
 kabɔ^ɔ Gd kabɔrɔɔ 2Vb ask admission §13
 kàd 2Vb drive off; kàd sàríyà 2Vb judge
 kaⁿɔɔg_ɔ Adj (person) fat, tough
 kaɛ' 1Vb not exist/be/have
 kàe 2Vb visit, go and look at

- kalí' kalá kal- number
 kàlìga' Qf few
 kàm_a Qf every
 kàn Pn this/that
 kàŋa' Pn this/that
 kàr_a 1Vb be few
 karúfá/kerúfá o'clock §10.7.2.2
 (Hausa *karfèe*)
 kàrìm 2Vb read
 kàset_a' testimony; kàsetí_a witnesses
 kasí Ideo clean, pure, holy (Mampruli);
 Sùg Kasí B3 Holy Spirit
 kàteng_a far away
 kε Ipf ket_a' Imp kèl_a 2Vb let §11.5.4
 kεⁿ Ipf ken_{na}' Imp kè_m_a Gd ken_n' 2Vb
 come; ken ken welcome!
 kèèkè -nà_m_a kèèkè- bicycle
 (Hausa *kèeke*)
 kèès 2Vb bid farewell to
 kèlìg/kèlìs 2Vb listen
 keŋ' Ipf ken_{na}' Imp kè_m_a 2Vb go, walk;
 ken_{na}' traveller
 kè^{ns} break, cut apart
 kjà' LF kì'a 2Vb cut
 kibar' kibayá (item of) news
 (Mooré *kìbàrè*, from Dyula *kìbàrìya*,
 from Arabic *khabar*)
 kidig' 2Vb cross over, meet;
 à Kidigì_ Bu'os Orion
 kief₃' kì' ki-/ka- millet;
 ka-wennur ka-wenna ka-wén- corn
 kí Ideo intently (seeing, looking)
 kí'tb₃' soap; instead of this, W uses
 kiibú kiib- (from Mampruli)
 kí_s 2Vb listen
 kí'ts' 2Vb deny
 kìkaⁿ'ar' kìkán'a millet stalk
 kìkàm_n kìkàmà fig
 kìkàŋ_a kìkàmìs kìkàŋ- 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
 kímm LF kímmnè Ideo firm; exactly §7.1
 kìŋkàŋ_a (etc) = kìkàŋ_a
 kir Gd kìkírùg₃/kìrib₃' 2Vb hurry, tremble
 kis_a' 1Vb hate; kis_a'/kìsid_a' hater
 kìsùg₃ Adj hateful, tabu
 kò 2Vb break (intransitive)
 kòⁿ/kòⁿɔkò by oneself
 kòbìga (LF = SF) Qf hundred §9.5.1
 kòⁿbir kòⁿba kòⁿb- bone
 kòⁿbug₃ kòⁿbud kòⁿb- animal hair;
 human body hair (cf *zuobúg₃*);
 -kì_m_{na} -kì_m_m_{ba} animal herder
 kòdug' 2Vb cut throat (monactional)
 kòdú banana (Twi)
 kòl 2Vb put around someone's neck
 kòlìbìr kòlìbà bottle (Hausa *kwalabaa*)
 kòlìg_a kòlìs kòlì- river;
 kòlìgì_n nò-dâug₃ crayfish
 kòlùg₃ kò_n kòlùg- sack, bag
 kò'm' kò_m- hunger
 kò'ɔg 2Vb break
 kò'ɔs 2Vb break several times
 kò^{ns}/kò^{ns}ì_m 2Vb cough
 kòt' 2Vb cut throat
 kòtàa LF kòtànè Pt at all (Twi)
 kòtù (law)court (English)
 kpà' 2Vb nail, fasten
 kpaⁿ'a' kpaⁿ'-nám rich person
 kpaad_a' kpaadì_{ba} kpaad- farmer
 kpaⁿ'am' riches
 kpaam' kpa- grease, ointment
 kpa'ar kpada peg, tent peg
 kpàⁿdùr kpàⁿdà kpàⁿd- baboon
 kpàkur' kpàkuyá kpàkur- tortoise
 kpan_n kpana kpàn- spear
 kpàr 2Vb lock
 kpar-ké^{ng}₃ kpar-kénd kpar-kéⁿ- rag
 kpáⁿ'uŋ₃ kpiⁿ'iní kpaⁿ'- guineafowl
 kpe Pn here

- kpèⁿ 2Vb enter
 kpèⁿdɪr´ kpèⁿdá kpèⁿd- cheek
 kpèⁿm -nà_m kpèⁿm- elder
 kpèⁿm_a´ 1Vb be older than
 kpèⁿes 2Vb make enter
 kpelá Pn here
 kpèlìm 2Vb remain
 kpèlìm Pt still; immediately after §10.4.3
 kpemɪs´ 2Vb encourage, strengthen
 kpèn Pt = kpèlìm
 kpè'ŋ 2Vb strengthen
 kpɛo'ŋɔ seniority
 kpì 2Vb die
 kpì'a kpì'es kpjà'- neighbour
 kpjà' LF kpì'a 2Vb whittle
 kpìeⁿ´ 2Vb dry up
 kpì'e 2Vb approach
 kpì'em_a´ 1Vb be strong, hard
 kpì_bg_a kpì_bs kpì_b- 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'oŋɔ Adj strong, hard
 kpìsìŋkpìlì kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìlì- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlì
 kpùkpàr kpùkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpùkpàrìg_a kpùkpàrìs kpùkpàr- palm tree
 kpùkpàrɔŋɔ kpùkpàrà kpùkpàrɔŋ- arm,
 wing
 kù Pt not (irrealis negative) §10.3
 ku 2Vb kill (Mooré kú); (rain) threaten
 (Mooré kú): saa kú ya it looks like rain
 kya LF kua 2Vb hoe, farm
 ku'alíj_a ku'alís/ku'alímìs ku'alíj-
 kind of smock
 kùd 2Vb work iron
 kùdìg 2Vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kudum/kulum Pt just, only; (with a
 negative) never §10.4.2
 kudum the old days
 kudug_ɔ Adj old
 kudug_ɔ kut kùt- (Pl as Sg) iron, nail
 kugur´ kugá kug- stone
 kuk_a kugus kùg- chair
 kùk_a ghost
 kuk_a´ African mahogany
 kùkòm_n kùkòmà kùkòm- leper
 kùkɔr´ kùkɔyá kùkɔ-/kùkɔr- voice
 kùkpàrìg_a see kpùkpàrìg_a
 kukun_n´ kukuná kukún- hill, bank
 kùkur´ kùkuyá kùkur- pig
 kul Gd kulig_a´ 2Vb return home;
 take as husband
 kùlìg_a kùlìs/kùlìmìs kùlìg- door
 kùm 2Vb weep
 kum kùm- death
 kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndyà'-
 barren woman
 kùndòg_a kùndòmìs/kùndònà hyena
 kù'om kyà'- water; -nuud´ thirst;
 -ⁿwiig_a´ current
 kùos 2Vb sell
 kuv Pt or §11.4.2 (Hausa *koo*)
 kuug_a´/kuug_ɔ´ kuus´ ku- mouse
 kùul 2Vb get drunk
 kuus´ 2Vb settle (a lawsuit)
- ℒ
 la´ Pt the §9.8.3
 là' 2Vb laugh
 laa laas là- dish, bowl
 la'af_ɔ ligidi lìg-/là'- cowrie; (Pl) money;
 là'-bielíf_ɔ small coin
 láafiyà/láafi health (Arabic *al-‘āfiyah*)
 là'am 2Vb associate; Pt together §10.4.3
 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
 labısa´ 1Vb be wide
 labı́sıg_a Adj wide; labı́sım width
 lak´ 2Vb open (eye, book)
 lalıa´ 1Vb be distant
 lalıg´ 2Vb get/make far
 lallı far off
 lallı́g_a/lallúg₅ Adj distant
 lam_n´ lamá lam- gum (of a tooth);
 -fı́c₅ Adj toothless
 làmpc´ làmpc- tax (French *l'impôt*)
 lan_n lana làn- testicle
 lànnıg_a lànnıs lànnıg- squirrel
 la'η´ 2Vb set alight
 làngáıg₅ làngáam_n/lànggaamá lànggaıg-
 crab
 lanım 2Vb wander round searching
 làsà làsà Ideo speckled
 laıg₅ la'ad là'- goods item
 là'ıg₅ là'amà fishing net
 lèb Gd lèbıg_a 2Vb return (intransitive);
 (in catenations) do again §11.5.3
 lèbıg 2Vb turn over; return
 lèbıs 2Vb answer; return; divorce (wife)
 lèdıg´ 2Vb replace
 lèε Pt but §10.4.1
 lèm Pt again §10.4.3
 lèm (-mm-) 2Vb sip, taste
 lεr 2Vb get ugly
 lı/lı Pn 3I
 lı Ipıf lıt_a Imp lım_a Gd liıg_a 2Vb fall
 lı 2Vb block up
 lıa Pt where is? §11.4.5
 lıdıg 2Vb turn (a shirt, W)
 lıdıg 2Vb astonish, be amazed
 lıeb 2Vb become
 lı'el 2Vb approach
 lı'em_n lı'emá fruit of yellow plum tree
 lıeıg_a liemıs lieıg- axe
 lı'eıg_a lı'emıs yellow plum tree,
Ximenia americana

lıg 2Vb patch
 lıgıl 2Vb cover
 lıgın 2Vb cover oneself
 lıbur lıba lıb- twin
 lık_a lıgis darkness
 lılaalıg_a lılaalıs/lılaalımıs lılaalıg- swallow
 lımm Ideo dark, dim
 lın Pn 3I+ı; lıı 3I
 lın Pn that; lıná Pn that
 lı 2Vb tie
 lıb/lıbıg´ 2Vb throw stones at
 lıbıdıg_a lıbıdıs water-drawing vessel
 lıdıg_a lıdıs´ lıd- corner
 lıdıg´ 2Vb untie
 lık₅ lı'ad lıà'- quiver (for arrows)
 lımbbı'ıg₅ lımbbı'ıd lımbbı'- garden
 (Hausa *lambu*)
 lıg_a lımıs lıg- kind of frog
 lı'ıg´ 2Vb go across a river or road
 lır lıyà/lıım_{ma} lır- car, lorry
 lıs 2Vb dip in liquid
 lı Ipıf lıt_a Imp lım_a 2Vb fall
 lıb Gd lıbir´ 2Vb throw down
 lıg 2Vb swim
 lıgıır flank, side

ℳ

m/m_a Pn 1S
 mà mà- mother; Pl mà nám §9.4
 mà' 2Vb lie, deceive
 mà'àa LF mà'anè Ideo only §7.1
 màal 2Vb make, sacrifice; màal-maan_{na}
 servant who conducts slayings for a
 tęg-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'asıg_a cool, wet; ma'asıgá´ coolly;
 ma'asım coolness
 madıg´ 2Vb overflow, abound

ma'e´ 2Vb cool down
 màk 2Vb crumple
 mak´ 2Vb measure, judge;
 mak ye ... try (in vain) to ... §11.7
 màlǰak_a màlǰak-nám_a/màlǰa'as´ màlǰa'-
 angel (Arabic *mal'ak*)
 màlǰǵ màlǰ gun, rifle (Arabic *midfa'*)
 màlǰìm Pt again §10.4.3
 malǵ_a´ 1Vb be sweet, pleasant
 malǵíg_a/malǵín_a Adj sweet, pleasant;
 malǵím sweetness
 malǵǵ malǵma màlǵǵ- custom; sacrifice
 mam Pn 1S
 mán Pn 1S+ǵ; man 1S
 màǵǵǵǵ = làǵǵǵǵ
 màǵkǵ Adj crumpled
 mǵ 2Vb build
 mǵ/mǵn Pt also §12.2; mǵ-kàmà -soever
 mǵd 2Vb mash up
 mǵǵǵ_a mǵǵmǵ mǵǵǵ- turtle
 mǵlǵìm dew
 mǵǵ_a´ Pn self; mǵǵír Adj genuine
 mǵt´ mǵt- pus
 mi' 1Vb know
 mǵe 2Vb turn aside, evade
 míifǵ miiní okra seed
 mǵ'ig 2Vb get sour
 mǵ'is_a 1Vb be sour; mǵ'isùǵ_ǵ Adj sour
 milig´ 2Vb get dirty
 mìmiilǵm/mìmiilǵǵ_ǵ sweetness
 mìt_a 1Vb Imp beware; let not §11.5.4
 mǵ 2Vb strive, struggle
 mǵd 2Vb swell
 mǵdǵ´ 2Vb be patient, endure
 mǵlǵǵ mǵlǵ mǵlǵ- kob
 mǵǵ 2Vb grind millet to make sa'ab_ǵ
 mǵǵ´ 2Vb refuse to lend
 mǵǵǵ_ǵ mǵǵd mǵ- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; -pilǵ thatch; -pil-"yù'ǵǵ_ǵ
 top/centre of a thatched roof

mǵǵǵ´ 2Vb proclaim;
 mǵǵǵ-mǵǵǵ_{na} proclaimer
 mǵǵ_a´ 1Vb have; mǵǵ na bring
 mǵǵà' 2Vb suckle
 mǵǵàk_a mǵ'as mǵǵà'- maggot
 mǵ'ar mǵǵà'a mǵǵà'- lake, reservoir
 mǵ'as 2Vb give suck to
 mǵ'e 2Vb redden; ignite; intensify
 mǵǵùs 2Vb compel, force, press
 mǵǵ mǵǵ- rice
 mǵl 2Vb itch
 mǵm 2Vb bury

ǵ

n Pt (linker) §11.5 §12.1
 n Pt (past) §10.2 §11.4.4
 n Pn 2P2: see ya
 n/nǵ´ Pt (locative) §10.7.2.3
 ñ Pt (nominaliser) §11.9
 nà Pt (irrealis) §10.3
 na´ Pt hither §10.6
 na 2Vb join
 nà'- (cf Mampruli *na'ari* 'wilderness')
 appears with some nouns for animals:
 -dàwan_n´ pigeon;
 -nǵsǵnǵǵǵǵ´ centipede W;
 -zòm_n locust
 náa Pt (reply to blessings) §13
 nà'ab_a -nàm_a nà'- chief, king;
 -biig_a prince/princess; -yir´ court;
 -yi-kpém_{ma} courtiers
 náafǵ niigí na'- cow
 nàm 2Vb happen
 na'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom
 naan next, afterwards §10.4.1
 naan Pt in that case §10.4.1 §11.4.4
 naan´ 2Vb starting from ... do §11.5.3
 nà'ana´ Ideo easy
 nà'as Gd nà'asì 2Vb honour
 nae´ 2Vb finish
 nàm Pt still, yet §10.4.2

nàm_a (pluraliser) §5.1.1
 namıs´ 2Vb persecute, suffer
 nan_{na}´ 1Vb respect
 nannánna´ Pn now
 nànzv'us´ pepper (tones uncertain)
 naŋ_a namıs nàŋ- scorpion
 nar_a´ 1Vb need, deserve
 narúŋ_ɔ Adj necessary
 nàyiig_a nàyiig-nàm_a/nàyiis thief
 (na'ayiig B); nàyiigum thievery
 nε Pt with §10.7.3; linking NPs: and
 nε´ Pt (focus) §12.1
 nε' Pn this
 nèel 2Vb reveal
 nèem for free
 nεem´ 2Vb grind with millstone
 nεer´ millstone
 nèes 2Vb reveal
 nèesim light
 nèj_{ya} 1Vb be awake
 nεm-nèer nεm-néyà grinder
 nen_{na}´ 1Vb envy; nin-nén_{na} envier
 nε'εŋa Pn this
 nèer Adj empty
 nεsinnεog_ɔ´ nεsinnεed´ nεsinné-
 centipede; envious person W
 ñfá! Pt well done! §11.4.5
 nı´ Pt (locative) §10.7.2.3
 nì 2Vb rain
 nid_a´ nidib_a´ nin- person; -punan_{na}´
 -punanníb_a -punán- disrespectful
 person; -sâal_a human being
 nè 2Vb appear, reveal; waken
 nif_ɔ´ niní nif-/nin- eye; nif-gbáŋ_ɔ eyelid;
 nif-sób_a miser; nin-báaⁿlìg_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; ñ niní mù'e nε
 I'm intent; nin-tâ'm tears
 níŋ_a niimís/níis niŋ- bird

ni'm_n´ nimá nim- meat
 nin-pôvd pus
 nintaŋ_a´ nintaaⁿs´ nintán- heat of the day
 niŋ_a niis niŋ- body; -gbiŋ_ɔ´ -gbiná -gbiŋ-
 body (Pl as Sg); -gòɔr neck;
 -taa -taas -tà- co-wife §9.4;
 -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;
 -íaⁿ toenail; -púmpàŋ_ɔ foot
 nɔk´ 2Vb pick up, take up
 nòŋ Imp nòŋim_a 1Vb love; nòŋid_a lover
 nɔŋ_ɔ´ nɔŋ- poverty; -dâan_a pauper
 nɔɔ Ideo exactly §7.1
 nɔɔ´ nɔyá nɔ- mouth; command;
 (of a river) bank (not 'mouth');
 -d'íes_a chief's spokesman ("linguist");
 prophet B; -gbáŋ_ɔ lip; -lòɔr fasting;
 -nâar promise; -pòɔr oath
 nɔɔ´/nɔɔrím times §9.5.1
 nu 2Vb drink
 nua´ nɔɔs´ nɔ- hen; -dâug_ɔ cock;
 Nɔ-ⁿyâ'aŋ né ò Biis Pleiades
 nulig´/nulis´ 2Vb make drink
 nû'ug_ɔ nû'us nu'- hand, arm; -bíl_a finger;
 -dâug_ɔ thumb; -íaⁿ -êεⁿs- -éⁿ-
 fingernail; -wêⁿ'ed_a mediator

O

ò/o Pn 3A
 òⁿb Gd ɔⁿbur 2Vb chew
 ón Pn 3A+ñ; on 3A; X on for X's part
 òn Pn this/that
 òŋa´ Pn this/that
 òɔⁿr òⁿyà Adj barren (woman, animal)
 ɔⁿsır (tones uncertain) sweat

P

- pà' Pt earlier today §10.2
 pà'al 2Vb teach, inform; pa'an_{na} teacher
 pà'al 2Vb put on top
 paalí_a Adj new; paalím recently
 pàⁿ'alím 2Vb dedicate
 paalú open space
 pàaⁿlú_ɔ pàaⁿlímìs spiderweb
 pàam 2Vb receive gift
 pàas 2Vb add up to §9.5.1
 pae' 2Vb arrive; reach
 pàk 2Vb surprise; take from top
 pamm LF pamné Qf much, a lot
 pà_a pàaⁿs pà_ɲ- power
 pàⁿr pàⁿr Ideo crack!
 pà_rìg 2Vb bump, thump
 pàⁿsìg 2Vb lack
 pà' tì Pt perhaps §10.4.1
 pèbìs 2Vb blow; pèbìsìm/pèbìsùg_ɔ wind
 pè'el 2Vb fill
 pè'es 2Vb add up to §9.5.1
 pèlìg 2Vb whiten, go white
 pèlìs 2Vb sharpen
 pèn_n vagina
 pè'ɲ' 2Vb borrow; knock over W
 pèog_ɔ pèed pè- basket
 pè'og_ɔ pè'es' pè'- sheep; -sá'a ewe lamb
 pèsìg' 2Vb sacrifice
 pɔ̃a LF pia 2Vb dig up
 pɔ̃aⁿ 2Vb speak, praise; Gd pɔ̃àⁿɔ̃_ɔ
 pɔ̃àⁿ'ad pɔ̃àⁿ'- word, (Pl) language
 (Gd tones irregular)
 pìbìg 2Vb uncover
 pìbìl 2Vb cover up
 pìbì_n pìbìna pìbì_n- cover, lid
 pìd 2Vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on (self
 or another)
 pìd 2Vb get bloated
 pìdìg 2Vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)
 pié' 2Vb wash (own body)
 pìeb 2Vb blow (flute etc)
- pìelìg_a Adj white (cf zìⁿ'a);
 pìelìm whiteness
 pìes 2Vb fool someone
 pies' 2Vb wash
 pí_fɔ̃ piiní pùn- genet
 piiga Qf ten
 piⁿ'il' 2Vb begin
 piim' piemá sic pim- arrow
 piini piin- gift
 pìl 2Vb cover
 pil pil Ideo clean, bright
 pìlìg 2Vb uncover
 pipirí_a pipirís pipír- desert
 pir 2Vb choke
 písí Qf twenty
 pitú pití_a pit- younger same-sex sibling
 (Sg pit_a' after CIFs) §9.4
 ɔ̃ 2Vb swear; ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃' "oath name" of a
 clan (part of its genealogy)
 pòⁿd 2Vb crouch down
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃_a 1Vb be few, small
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃dì_a Adj few, small; ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃dì_m fewness
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃' ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃'/ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃' ɔ̃ɔ̃- field, farm
 ɔ̃ɔ̃'ɔ̃g 2Vb diminish, belittle
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'ɔ̃' 2Vb make rot
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'ɔ̃lì_m 2Vb cripple, get crippled
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'ɔ̃r ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿdà ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'- cripple
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿr_a 1Vb be near
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿrù_g Adj near
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ Pt not (indicative negative) §10.3
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ 2Vb divide
 ɔ̃ɔ̃a' ɔ̃ɔ̃'ab_a ɔ̃ɔ̃à'- woman, wife; -elì_a
 fiancée (cf Farefare élé 'take as one's
 husband');
 -ginní_a/-gɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿdì_r prostitute;
 -paal_a' bride; -sadr' nulliparous young
 woman; -saⁿ'am_{na} adulterer; -nyá'a_{ɲa}
 -nyá'as old woman; -yù_a daughter
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ak_a Adj (human) female
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'alì_m 2Vb harm
 ɔ̃ɔ̃ⁿ'alì_m femininity

pù'alím pù'alímìs pù'alím- female organs
 pùd 2Vb name
 pùdìg' 2Vb share out
 puⁿ'e' 2Vb rot
 pùgùdìb_a -nàm_a pùgùd- father's sister
 pùkòò'r pùkòò'yà pùkòò'- widow
 pukpaad_a' pukpaadìb_a pukpá- farmer
 pùlìmà cogongrass
 pùmpɔɔg_ɔ housefly
 pùn Pt previously, already §10.4.2
 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; -pièlì upright person;
 -pièlìm virtue; -tèn'er -tèn'dà -tèn'-
 thought, B mind;
 puug_u_n inside §10.7.2.3;
 mɔɔr puug be pregnant
 puur' stomach
 pù'us 2Vb greet, worship, thank; Gd
 pù'usìm worship; Gd pù'usùg_ɔ thanks

S

sà Pt yesterday §10.2
 sà Pt hence, ago §10.6
 sa' 2Vb be in distress
 sàa Pt tomorrow §10.2
 saa saas sà- rain, sky; (subject of jàⁿk')
 lightning; saa díndεog rainbow;
 saa zúg up above; sky
 sa'ab_ɔ sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 saafu lock, key (Twi)
 sàal_a sàalìb_a sàal- human; -biig_a human
 sà'al 2Vb advise, counsel
 sàalìŋa' smoothly
 sàam_{ma} -nàm_a sàam- father §9.4
 sà'am 2Vb spoil, break
 saam' 2Vb mash, crumble
 sa'an' in the presence/opinion of

saan_a' sàam_{ma} saan- guest, stranger
 saan_n saana sàan- charcoal
 sàannìm strangerhood
 sàaŋ_a Adj strange
 sabulìg_a Adj black (cf zìⁿ'a)
 sàbùà sàbùos sàbùà- lover, girlfriend
 sàd/sàdìg 2Vb slip
 sadìgìm Pt since, because §10.4.1 §11.9.1
 saeⁿ/saeⁿ_{ya} saaⁿb_a sàⁿ- blacksmith
 sakárùg_ɔ sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)
 sàlìbìr bridle (Arabic *salabah*)
 salìma sàlìm- gold
 sam_n' samá sam- debt; -kpà'as_a servant
 samán_n samánà samán- yard before zàk_a;
 Samán-píer traditional New Year
 saŋá sansá san- time §10.7.2.2
 sàŋ-gbàùŋ_ɔ cloud, sky
 saŋgúnìr saŋgúnà saŋgún- millipede
 sapálì Harmattan part of úun_n
 sapu LF sapu/sapiné Ideo straight
 sarìgá 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
 sàuŋ_ɔ hospitality
 sè 2Vb transplant
 sèⁿ 2Vb sew
 sebi_{ya}' 1Vb squat
 seoⁿg_ɔ rainy season
 sì 2Vb flay
 si' 2Vb stain, dye
 si'a Pn Sg some, any
 sia sies sjà- waist; -lɔɔdíŋ_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; acknowledge a greeting;
 ò pu sjákì_ fù nɔɔré_
 he has not obeyed you

- sjak' 2Vb suffice
 sibig_a' sibí sib- kind of termite
 sid_a sid_b sid- husband §9.4
 sìd Pt truly §10.4.1
 sìdà sìd- truth
 sie' 2Vb descend, be humbled
 sieba Pn some, any; si'el_a something, anything; si'em somehow, anyhow
 sig 2Vb descend
 sugur' guardian spirit
 sigis' 2Vb lower
 sigisír sigisá lodging-place
 sii'd' honey
 sii'f₃'/sii'ng_a' sii'ns' siⁿ- bee
 sug_a sus sì- vital energy, spirit B (= Buli *chiik*)
 sug_a sus sì- African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa* (= Buli *sīik*)
 siilim 2Vb cite proverbs; siil_{ng}_a/siil_{ng}₃ siilís/siilímìs/siilímà siilíng- proverb
 su'ts' 2Vb touch
 silinsíug₃ silinsíis ghost
 silinsíug₃ silinsíind spider
 sìlòg₃ sìn_n/sìlìs sìl- hawk
 sìm 2Vb sink in liquid
 sin_{na}' 1Vb be silent
 sunsáaⁿ kind of tiny ant
 su_{ng}_a su^{ns} sìng- kind of very big pot
 su'ng' 2Vb begin
 sisíbig_a sisíbìs sisíb- neem
 sisíbir sisíbà neem fruit
 sìsì'em wind, storm
 sìsòm_n grasshopper
 sìsòug₃_n/sòug₃_n between
 sí'ug₃ si'imís si'ug- kind of big dish
 sw' Pn some(one), any(one)
 swⁿ 2Vb rub
 swⁿ 2Vb put on around waist
 sw_a Pn (dummy head)
 sw 2Vb darken; write
 swig' 2Vb blacken
 swur' swb- piece of writing
 swⁿ/sw^{ng}_a swⁿb_a swⁿ- witch
 sw'e_{ya}' 1Vb be better than; sw'wd_a' sw'wb_a' sw'wd- surpasser
 swgìà_a soldier (English)
 swl_{ng}₃' swlmá story
 swn_{ur} swnna swⁿ- yard-dividing wall
 swⁿg₃ witchcraft
 swⁿr sw^{ng}_a swⁿ- liver
 swⁿr sw^{ng}_a swⁿ- cane rat
 swⁿsw 2Vb take off from around waist
 sws Gd sws_{ng}_a 2Vb ask; sws_a beggar
 sw^{ns} Gd sw^{ng}_a 2Vb converse, talk with
 sw 2Vb take bath
 sw 2Vb put into a narrow container (e.g. arrows in a quiver)
 swa' 2Vb hide; swak_a' hiding place
 swdìg 2Vb get to be middle (of night); yú't_{ng} tí swb_ swdìg until midnight
 sw'e_{ya}' 1Vb own; sw'ulím property, realm
 sueⁿ 2Vb anoint
 suⁿe' 2Vb become better than
 swⁿe 2Vb take off from around waist
 swⁿf₃'/suu^r' su^{ng}_a suⁿ- heart; -búgùsìm peace; -kpí'og₃ boldness; -málìsìm/-má'asìm -málìs- joy; m suⁿf má'e ya I'm joyful; -péén_n anger; m suⁿf pélig nE I'm angry; -sâⁿ'og₃ sorrow; -sâⁿ'an_a sorrow
 sugur' Gd sugurú 2Vb show forbearance
 sw'm goodness; well
 swm_{ma} 1Vb be good
 summur summa sw^m- groundnut
 swⁿ_n Gd swⁿnìr/swⁿnnòg₃ 2Vb bow head; sw_{na} close observer W
 sw_{ng} 2Vb help
 sw_{ng} Adj good; sw'ng_a' well; very much
 sú'og_a su'omís su'og- hare
 suor' suoyá swa- road; permission §11.7 -dâug₃ -dâad highway
 sw'os_a yesterday

sù'os 2Vb trick

sùr_a 1Vb have head bowed

suvug´ 2Vb (leaves) wither W

sù'ug_a/sù'ug_o sù'us sù'- knife

T

taa taas fellow- §6.1.1

taab/taaba Pn each other

ta'adɪr ta'ada tà'ad- sandal

tàalɪ tàalà tàal- fault, sin

tá'am_n ta'amá shea nut

tá'ar_a ta'amís ta'ar- shea tree

ta'as´ 2Vb help to walk

tàb 2Vb get stuck to; tàbìy_a 1Vb be stuck

tàbìg 2Vb get unstuck from

tàbìl 2Vb stick to (transitive)

tàdìg 2Vb weaken

tadim -nàm_a tàdìm- weakling

tàdìmís weakness

táe plaster (a wall)

tàm (-mm-) 2Vb forget

tàmpìi'g_a rock

tàmpuɹr tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip

tan_n tana tàn- earth; -mɛɛd_a builder

ta'p_o war; tà'p-sɔb_a warrior

tapɪf Ideo in: nɔŋ-dâan tapɪf dirt-poor person

tar_a´ 1Vb have

tà'ns Gd tà'sùg_o 2Vb shout; (sun) shine

tàsìntàlɪ/tàtəlɪ palm of hand

tat tat Ideo continually, on and on

taɹn´ ta'p_a´ taɹn- (Pl head ta'p-)

opposite-sex sibling §9.4

tè 2Vb pull

tèb Gd tɛbɪg_a 2Vb carry in both hands

tè'nb Gd tè'nbùg_o 2Vb struggle

tɛbɪg´ 2Vb get heavy

tɛbɪs_a´ 1Vb be heavy

tɛbɪsíg_a Adj heavy; tɛbɪsím weight

téébùl téébùl-nàm_a table (English)

tèeg/tèk 2Vb pull; tèeg X tòbìr punish X

tè'eg_a tè'es tè'- baobab

tè'ns 2Vb remind

tɛ'ns´ 2Vb think; Gd tɛ'nsá thought

ten_a tɛ'ns tèn- land; -biig_a native;

-daan_a earth-priest; -du'adɪg_a

native land; -gbàɹŋ_o land;

-kpeŋ_a -kpɛmɪs -kpèn- village;

-puug_o´ -puud´ -pu- village; -suk_a centre;

tenɹ_n/tenír down; under §10.7.2.3

tèog_o tèed nest

tè'og_o tè'ed baobab fruit

tè'r_a 1Vb remember

teríkú cart, B chariot (English "truck")

tì/tɪ Pn 1P

tì Pt next, then §10.4.3

tjà'al 2Vb come next

tjàk 2Vb change

tì'e 2Vb rely on

tì'eⁿ 2Vb remember; W inform; stretch

tì'eb 2Vb get ready; (Arabic *tibb*

'medicine') heal; ti'eb_a healer

tien_a tiemís tien- beard; -guɹr chin

tɪg 2Vb have in excess; Gd tɪgɹ´ glut

ti'iy_a´ 1Vb be leaning (of a thing)

tùg_a tùs tì- tree; -daug_o -daad -dà- bow

ti'il´ 2Vb lean (of a thing)

tùm tì- medicine; -kuudím poison;

-sabulím kind of traditional remedy

tì'in 2Vb (thing) start leaning

tik´ 2Vb press; tik nù'ug sign

(e.g. a document)

tilás necessity (Hausa *tiilàs*) §11.7

tùlg 2Vb survive, be saved

tinám_a Pn 1P

tintɔ'ríg_a tintɔ'rís tintɔ'r- mole

tìp_a -nàm_a tìp- healer

turâan_a -nàm_a turâan- peer;

turâannìm companionship

tírìgà Ideo for giŋ_a short

tìs/tì_ Ipɹ tìsìd_a/tìt_a 2Vb give; tìs_a giver

tita'alɪ proud person; tita'alum pride

tita'ar Adj big; tita'am multitude
 tò Pt OK §11.4.5 (Hausa tòo)
 tòⁿ 2Vb shoot
 tòd 2Vb give to the poor, share
 tɔɣya' 1Vb be bitter, difficult
 tók-làe torch (English "torchlight")
 tólìb Ideo lolloping; also tólìbìga
 tólìlìlì Ideo for wɔkɔ' tall
 tɔlɔ' 2Vb do next, advance, carry on
 §11.5.3
 tɔɔɔ Adj bitter, difficult
 tɔɔm' 2Vb depart, disappear
 tò'ɔs 2Vb hunt
 tò'tɔ' straight away
 tɔà LF tùa 2Vb pound in a mortar;
 tɔà-bil_a pestle
 tɔà' 2Vb plead in court
 tɔa'e_{ya}' 1Vb be near
 tò'al 2Vb condemn in court
 tò'as 2Vb talk; tò'as-tò'as_a talker
 tòbìr tòbà tòb- ear; -kpir half of jaw
 tòkpuɔɔɔ tumult
 tu'e_{ya}' 1Vb be able §11.5.3
 tul_a' 1Vb be hot
 tulɔ' 2Vb heat up
 tùlìg 2Vb invert
 tùm 2Vb work; Gd tum_n tuma tùm-
 deed, (Pl) work; tùm-tum_{na} worker
 tùm Gd tùmɔs 2Vb send
 tuodɔr tuoda tùod- mortar
 tùm_n in front; west; tùm-gat_a leader
 tusir' thousand
 tutúgìr tutúgà thicket
 tùtulì upside-down thing
 tuulíga' hotly; tuulúgɔ Adj hot
 tu'us' 2Vb meet

U

ùdùgɔ 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/uríg'/uris' 2Vb scrape
 úum_n dry season
 uus' 2Vb (person) get warm

V

va 2Vb hurry
 vab_{ya}' 1Vb lie prone
 vabl' 2Vb make lie prone
 vabìn 2Vb lie prone
 vae 2Vb gather up
 vau'gɔ' vaa'd' vaⁿ- leaf
 ve'/ve'eg' 2Vb lead, pull
 vè'li_a 1Vb be beautiful; vè'li_{ga}/vè'li_{ga}
 Adj beautiful; vè'llim beauty
 vèn_{na} 1Vb be beautiful; vènnìg_a/vènnìg_a
 Adj beautiful; vènnim beauty
 viig' 2Vb postpone, reschedule
 vik' 2Vb uproot
 viugɔ' viid' vi- owl
 vɔⁿ 2Vb uproot, pluck out
 vɔb 2Vb thrash
 vɔ'ndugɔ' vɔ'nt' hole in the ground, lair
 vɔɔ'r vɔ'ya hole
 vu Gd vuugɔ' 2Vb make noise;
 vuud' noise
 vueⁿ 2Vb uproot, pluck out
 vuɣya' 1Vb live
 vugulim soot
 vul 2Vb swallow
 vùlìnvùu'li mason wasp
 vum' vum- life
 vúog_a vuomís red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok
 vur' Adj alive
 vuríg' 2Vb move off, shift away
 vu'ug' 2Vb come/make alive
 vu'us' Gd vu'usím 2Vb breathe, rest

W

- wa' 2Vb dance
 ʷà Pt this §9.8.3; wàna' this here
 ʷa' 2Vb smash up
 waad' cold weather
 wáaf₃ wiigí wa'- snake
 waal' 2Vb sow
 wa'alím length
 wa'am_a' 1Vb be long, tall
 ʷaan_a ʷaam_{is} ʷàan_ɔ- monkey
 wàbìg_a Adj lame
 wàbìlím 2Vb make, go lame
 wabug₃' wabid' wab- elephant
 wadá wad- (English "order") law
 ʷadig_a' ʷadis' ʷad- moon, month;
 -bíl_a star; ʷad-dár Venus
 wà'e_{ya} 1Vb travel
 ʷà'e 2Vb cut wood
 ʷa'e' 2Vb strike, break
 walig_a wals/walí wàl- oribi
 walím mist, heat, steam
 ʷam_n ʷama ʷàm- calabash;
 also ʷan_n wana ʷàn-
 wàḡìm 2Vb waste away
 wàsìnwàl_l kind of gall on trees
 (local English "mistletoe")
 wàḡḡ₃ Adj wasted, thin
 ʷè' 2Vb beat; ʷè' X nù'ug plead with X;
 ʷè' ʷyɔ'ɔg boast
 wɛɛl' 2Vb remain unsold
 wɛl 2Vb bear fruit; wɛl_l' wɛlá wɛl- fruit
 wɛlá/walá Pn how? nìḡ wɛlá n/kà §11.5.3
 ʷɛn_{na}' 1Vb be like §10.7.3
 ʷɛnnur Adj resembling (TP A, W)
 wèog₃ deep bush
 wɛog₃' wɛɛd' cheap thing widely sold W
 ʷi 2Vb spin (thread)
 wjak' 2Vb hatch
 wìdìg 2Vb scatter
 ʷiè 2Vb go on a journey, go away
 wìef₃ wìdì wìd- horse
 wìd_a/wèɛd_a wìb_a wìd- hunter
 wiig_a' whistle
 ʷwiig_a' ʷwiis' ʷwi- rope
 ʷwiig' 2Vb make rope
 wìm disease ("worse than ba'as" W)
 wìk Ip_f wìd_a 2Vb fetch water
 wìl_l wìlà wìl- branch
 wìl_{is}úḡ₃ wìl_{im}ís wìl_{is}úḡ_ɔ- kind of snail
 wím Ideo for zì'á red
 wìn_n' wìná wìn- spiritual essence; God;
 -tòḡ₃ misfortune
 Wìn ná yís kà ... God forbid that ...
 wìnnìg_a wìn- sun; -liir sunset;
 -kòḡ_ɔ afternoon
 wìug₃ Adj red (synonymous with zì'á)
 wòk₃' Adj long, tall
 ʷò'ʷr ʷò'ʷr Ideo rattle!
 wòm Gd wòm_{mɔ}/wòm_mḡ₃ 2Vb hear;
 smell; feel; understand (speech)
 wusa/wuu Qf all
 wuu Pt like §10.7.3
 wu'ug' 2Vb get wet
 wu'ul' 2Vb make wet

Y

- yà/ya Pn 2P
 ya Pn 2P2 (2P subject after Imp)
 ya Pt (ND-Pf) §10.5
 yà' Pt if, when §11.4.4;
 yà' naan if only; yà' pùn even if
 yáa Pn whither? yáa ní where?
 ya'a opportunity, chance, free time
 yáab_a -ná_m_a yaa- grandparent §9.4
 yà'ab 2Vb mould clay
 ya'ad yà'- clay
 yà'al 2Vb hang up; make perch
 ʷya'al' 2Vb leave behind
 yaalig_a Adj futile, pointless
 yà'an 2Vb perch
 ʷyaan Pt next §10.4.1
 yáan_a yáas yaan_ɔ- grandchild, descendant

- ʳyáʳaŋ_a Adj (animal) female
 ʳyáʳaŋ_a behind; east; ʳyaʳan-dól_l_a/dól_l
 ʳyaʳan-dóllà/dóll_l_a ʳyaʳan-dól- disciple
 yaar´ 2Vb scatter
 ʳyaʳar ʳyaʳa ʳyàʳ- root
 yàarìm yàar- salt
 yàʳas/yàʳas_a again
 yàʳas 2Vb take down something hanging,
 e.g. clothes from a line (Naden)
 yaʳas´ 2Vb open repeatedly
 yàda/yàdda trust (Hausa yàrdaa)
 yadig´ 2Vb scatter; yat_a´ participant
 in a housebuilding ritual
 yaʳe´ 2Vb widen, (mouth) open
 ʳyae LF ʳyaené Ideo bright, clear
 yàk 2Vb unhang, unhook
 yàlìg 2Vb widen
 yàlìm_a 1Vb be wide
 yalim yàlìm-nàm_a worthless person
 yalísúŋ₅ yalímís yalísúŋ- quail
 yàlùŋ₅ Adj wide
 ʳyalúŋ₅ Adj wonderful
 yam_n yama yàm- hay
 yam´/yaʳam´ W yam- bile; gall bladder;
 common sense, intelligence;
 ìm yam kpêʳʳé_í I've set my heart on it
 ìm yam kpêʳʳé'_ I've fallen in love with
 her;
 ìm yam jíʳk ya I'm terrified
 yàmmùg_a/yàmmùg₅ yàmmìs yàm- slave
 ʳyàn_n shame
 yanám_a Pn 2P
 ʳyag´ 2Vb overcome; succeed in §11.5.3
 yàug₅ yàad grave, tomb
 ye Pt that §11.1
 yè 2Vb dress oneself
 ʳye Ipf ʳyèʳ_a´ Imp ʳyèʳ_m_a 2Vb see, find;
 ʳye láafyà get well
 ʳyèè/ʳyèè tí Pt habitually §10.4.2
 yèèg 2Vb undress oneself
 yèèl 2Vb dress someone
 ʳyèèl´ 2Vb shine
 ʳyèʳ_e´ ʳyèdá ʳyèʳ- next-younger sibling
 yèèʳ´ 2Vb betray secret
 yèèʳ 2Vb undress oneself
 ʳyèèʳ_a 1Vb be bold; ʳyèèʳìm boldness
 ʳyèèʳìŋ_a Adj bold; ʳyèèʳìŋ_a´ boldly
 yèlì´ yèlá yèl- affair; (Pl, as postposition)
 about; -mèŋìr truth; -pákìr disaster;
 -súm_n blessing
 yèl Ipf yèʳ_a Gd yèlùg₅ 2Vb say, tell
 yèlìg´ 2Vb winnow
 yèŋìm 2Vb undulate
 yèog₅ yèèd weed, straggler,
 person displaced from their family
 yèog₅ yèèd bird's crop
 yéon Qf one (in counting)
 ʳyèʳìg´ 2Vb miss (a target)
 yi Ipf yit_a´ Imp yim_a 2Vb go/come out
 yidìg 2Vb go astray
 yidìg´ 2Vb untie
 yier jaw
 yiigá Qf firstly; yiig-sób_a first person
 yis´ Gd yisíb₅ 2Vb make go/come out
 yim Ideo at once; exactly §7.1
 yimmír Adj unique, sole
 yimmú Qf straight away, at once
 ʳyin_n´ ʳyiná ʳyin- tooth
 yinní Qf one
 yìŋ_a outside
 yir´ ya´ yi- (Pl head ya-) house;
 -dâan_a/sób_a -sób-nàm_a householder;
 -díŋ_a members of a household;
 -púá' wife; -wía -wíes unmarried woman;
 yín_n at home, Pl yáa_n
 ʳyiríf₅ ʳyirí egusi seed
 yirr Ideo gentle, quiet
 yis 2Vb make go/come out
 yurŋ₅´ Adj single (of pair)
 yù 2Vb close
 yu 2Vb pay; Gd yuud´ pay
 yulìs´ 2Vb untie

yכּוּלְסִים freedom
 yכּוּטְגֻץ yכּוּכְנִי yכּוּ- sack; £100, 200 cedis
 ״yכּוּכּ intestines
 yכּוּבִּי 2Vb open
 ״yכּוּכְגֻץ chest
 ״yכּוּכְגֻץ sympathy: ם zòto_ ״yכּוּכּ
 she sympathises with him
 yכּוּכְרִי yכּוּיָא yכּוּ- soldier termite; termite hill
 ״yכּוּכְרִי ״yכּוּכְיָא ״yכּוּ- nose; -vur' -vuyá -vur- life
 ״yכּוּכְכּ smoke
 yכּוּא LF yכּוּא 2Vb bleed; fornicate W;
 flow (of tears)
 yכּוּ'adur yכּוּ'ada rafter
 yכּוּבִּיגֻא yכּוּבִּי yכּוּ- kind of small
 bottle-like pot
 ״yכּוּ'e' 2Vb set alight
 yכּוּגּוּדּוּר yכּוּגּוּדָא yכּוּגּוּדּוּ- hedgehog
 yכּוּגּוּמִן yכּוּגּוּמָא yכּוּגּוּמ- camel
 yכּוּכ' 2Vb turn aside
 yכּוּלִיג 2Vb swing (transitive)
 yכּוּ'or yכּוּodá yכּוּ'or- penis
 yכּוּוג 2Vb get to be a long time, delay
 yכּוּול 2Vb swing (intransitive)
 yכּוּ'um' 2Vb sing; yכּוּum-yכּוּ'um_{na} singer
 yכּוּ'um_n yכּוּ'umá yכּוּ'um-/yכּוּum- song
 yכּוּum_n yכּוּmà yכּוּum- year
 yכּוּ'un Pt then, next §10.4.1
 yכּוּ'utj yכּוּ'umís yכּוּ'utj- night
 yכּוּ'ur' yכּוּdá yכּוּ'- name
 yכּוּur yכּוּyá yכּוּ- water pot
 ״yכּוּur' ״yכּוּyá ״yכּוּ- yam
 ״yכּוּ'ur ״yכּוּdà (Sg also ״yכּוּ'utj) navel
 yכּוּ'usá' now again, from now on

Z

za' za- millet
 za'a Qf every
 záal Adj empty; zaalím emptily
 zàam zà- evening; -sìscbur' evening
 zà'an_n zà'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zà'as 2Vb refuse

zàa'sim 2Vb dream; Gd zàa'súj
 zàa'simà zàa'súj- 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'bu_{na} zà'bìn- tattoo; sign B
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; -nכּוּכ' gate
 zàkìm 2Vb itch
 za'li_a' 1Vb have in the hand
 zà'li umbilicus
 zà'li_a zà'limìs zà'li_j- electric catfish,
Malapterurus electricus
 zàm (-mm-) 2Vb cheat;
 zàm-zam_{na} cheater
 zàmìs 2Vb learn, teach
 zàj 2Vb pick up
 zàjgùom_n zàjgùomà zàjgùom- wall
 zàjkù'ar zàjkù'à'a zàjkù'à'- hyena
 zem_{ma}' 1Vb be equal
 zemìs' 2Vb make equal
 zemmúg₅ Adj equal
 zè'og₅ see zì'a
 zi Gd ziid' 2Vb carry on head;
 zi-ziid_a carrier on head
 zi' 1Vb not know
 zì'a Adj red: zì'a and wìug₅ cover all
 reddish shades, sabúlg_a all darker, and
 pìelìg_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 mכּכּ 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 nכּכּ' promise
 zì'en 2Vb stand; ם zì'en ne she's pregnant
 zien_a ziemìs threshing-floor

- zì'es 2Vb wobble (? tone and meaning;
 cf Mooré zèese 'jump up and down')
 zì'iy_a 1Vb sit; zì'ig_a zì'is zì'- place
 zì'il 2Vb make sit
 zuum' zì- blood
 zì'in 2Vb sit down
 zíig_a zimí zim- fish; -gbâ'ad_a fisher
 zì'isíge alternative LF of zì'
 zìlim_n zìlimà zìlim- tongue
 zìlínzì'og₅ Adj unknown
 zím Ideo for sabúlg_a black
 ziná today
 zìnzax₅' zìnzáná zìnzax₅- bat
 zìrì untruth, lie
 zì'it₅ charcoal (= Mooré zèoongó)
 zò Ipf zòt_a Imp zòm_a 2Vb run; show an
 emotion; Gd zua/zax₅ Pl zax run;
 Gd zòtìm fear; zò dábiem fear §10.7.1;
 ò zax_bá nin-báa'lig she pitied them
 zòl 2Vb castrate
 zòlmís foolishness
 zòl₅' zòln' zòl- fool
 zòm' zòm- flour
 zòg₅ zòna entrance hut of compound, hall
 zòm_n zòma zòm- refugee, fugitive
 zòrg_a' small child W
 zòrg₅' 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 §10.7.2.3;
 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-péélùg₅ Adj bald;
 zu-píbìg_a hat; zugú_n on
 zùg 2Vb work bellows
 zùlig 2Vb deepen; descend, swoop down
 zùlim_a 1Vb be deep
 zùlùg₅ Adj deep; zùlùg₅ depth
 zùn_n civet
 zùnzòg_a/zùnzòg₅ zùnzòc'ns zùnzòg-
 blind person
 zùg₅ Adj foreign
 zuobúg₅ zuobíd zuob- (human head) hair
 zùod friendship
 zùol 2Vb make to perch
 zu'om' zu'omís zu'om- blind person
 zu'om' 2Vb go/make blind
 zùon 2Vb start perching
 zuor zùoya zùà- hill
 zùos 2Vb befriend W
 zuríf₅ zurí zur- dawadawa seed
 zù'uf₅ zù'uní dawadawa seed
 zùu'g₅ zùu's/zùu'd zù'- vulture
 zùur zùya zù- tail

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