

A Grammar of Kusaal

Agolle Dialect

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Contents

Preface.....	viii
Abbreviations.....	x
Interlinear glossing.....	xi
Transcription conventions.....	xii
Sources.....	xiii
Other studies of Kusaal.....	xv
References.....	xvi
1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi.....	1
1.1 The Kusaasi people.....	1
1.2 The Kusaal language.....	4
1.2.1 Status.....	4
1.2.2 Dialects.....	5
1.2.3 Related languages.....	6
1.2.4 Grammatical sketch.....	11
Morphophonemics.....	23
2 Preliminaries.....	23
2.1 Morae, syllables and stress.....	23
2.2 Free and bound words.....	23
2.3 Word division.....	24
3 Segments.....	27
3.1 Consonants.....	27
3.2 Vowels.....	30
3.2.1 Length.....	32
3.2.2 Breaking.....	32
3.2.3 Nasalisation.....	34
3.2.4 Glottalisation.....	34
3.2.5 Diphthongs.....	36
3.3 Traditional orthography.....	37
4 Tones.....	39
5 Word segmental structure.....	44
5.1 Apocope.....	44
5.1.1 Superscript notation.....	48
5.1.2 Predictability of Long Forms.....	49
5.1.3 Apocope-blocking.....	51
5.2 Roots, stems and flexions.....	52
5.3 Root alternations.....	55
5.3.1 CV~CVV~CVC.....	55
5.3.2 CVVC~CVC.....	59
5.4 Consonant cluster assimilation.....	60
5.5 Diphthongisation before *-ya *-gv *-kkv *-ηηv.....	64
5.6 Deletion of *g with vowel fusion.....	65

6	Word tonal structure.....	68
6.1	Tone Patterns.....	68
6.2	Nominals.....	70
6.2.1	Pattern H.....	70
6.2.1.1	Subpattern X.....	71
6.2.2	Pattern L.....	72
6.2.3	Pattern O.....	73
6.2.4	Prefixes.....	74
6.3	Verbs.....	75
6.3.1	Pattern H.....	75
6.3.2	Pattern LO.....	76
6.4	Particles.....	78
6.5	Tone in derivation.....	78
7	External sandhi.....	80
7.1	Prosodic clitics.....	80
7.1.1	Long Forms in clause adjuncts.....	82
7.2	Liaison.....	83
7.2.1	Vowel quality changes.....	86
7.2.2	The pronoun ^y a before liaison.....	89
7.3	Segmental contact.....	90
7.4	Tone sandhi.....	93
7.4.1	Before prosodic clitics.....	93
7.4.2	Before liaison.....	94
7.4.3	M spreading.....	98
7.4.4	M dropping.....	100
	Morphology.....	104
8	Noun flexion.....	104
8.1	Noun classes.....	104
8.2	Remodelled combining forms.....	107
8.3	Paradigms.....	108
8.3.1	a b ^a	108
8.3.2	g ^a s ^ε	112
8.3.3	g ^o d ^ε	114
8.3.4	r ^ε a ⁺	116
8.3.5	f ^o t ⁺	119
8.3.6	b ^o	120
8.3.7	m ^m	121
8.4	Nàm plurals.....	121
8.5	Nouns with apocope-blocking.....	122
8.6	Loanwords.....	123
9	Adjective flexion.....	124
10	Verb flexion.....	128
10.1	Dual-aspect.....	128
10.2	Single-aspect.....	131

11	Stem conversion.....	134
11.1	Nouns from verbs.....	134
11.1.1	Perfective gerunds.....	134
11.1.2	Concrete nouns.....	137
11.2	Nominals from nominals.....	138
12	Derivational suffixes.....	140
12.1	Verbs.....	140
12.1.1	Assume-stance verbs.....	141
12.1.2	Causatives.....	141
12.1.3	Reverse action.....	143
12.1.4	Plural action.....	143
12.1.5	Denominal verbs.....	144
12.1.5.1	Single aspect.....	144
12.1.5.2	Dual aspect.....	145
12.1.6	Miscellaneous cases.....	146
12.2	Nominals.....	147
12.2.1	From verbs.....	147
12.2.1.1	Agent nouns.....	147
12.2.1.2	Deverbal adjectives.....	151
12.2.1.2.1	Habitual.....	151
12.2.1.2.2	Resultative.....	153
12.2.1.3	Instrument nouns.....	153
12.2.1.4	Imperfective gerunds.....	154
12.2.1.5	Other deverbal nominals.....	156
12.2.2	From nominals.....	157
13	Prefixes.....	159
13.1	Nouns and adjectives.....	159
13.1.1	Reduplication-prefixes.....	160
13.1.2	<i>Da(n) ba(n) sa(n)</i>	161
13.1.3	<i>P̄v k̄(̄n)</i>	162
13.1.4	Stranded combining forms.....	162
13.2	Adverbs.....	163
13.3	Number words.....	163
14	Unsegmentable complex stems.....	165
14.1	Loanwords.....	165

Syntax.....	169
15 Noun phrases.....	169
15.1 Structure.....	169
15.2 Noun phrase categories.....	174
15.2.1 Number.....	174
15.2.2 Gender.....	176
15.2.3 Person.....	179
15.3 Pronouns.....	179
15.3.1 Personal.....	179
15.3.2 Demonstrative.....	180
15.3.3 Indefinite.....	181
15.3.4 Interrogative.....	183
15.3.5 Reciprocal.....	184
15.3.6 Reflexive.....	184
15.3.7 Dummy head <i>s̄b</i>	185
15.4 Quantifiers.....	186
15.4.1 Overview.....	186
15.4.2 Number words.....	187
15.4.2.1 Quantifiers.....	187
15.4.2.2 Counting forms.....	189
15.4.2.3 Adjectives and ordinals.....	189
15.4.2.4 Adverbs.....	190
15.4.3 Proquantifiers.....	191
15.5 Personifier particle.....	192
15.6 Dependents preceding the head.....	194
15.6.1 Combining forms.....	195
15.6.2 Noun phrases.....	198
15.6.3 Adverbial phrases.....	201
15.7 Dependents following the head.....	202
15.7.1 Adjectives.....	202
15.7.1.1 Class agreement.....	204
15.7.1.2 Downtoning.....	204
15.7.1.3 Bahuvrihis.....	205
15.7.1.4 Nouns as adjectives.....	206
15.7.2 Quantifiers.....	207
15.7.3 Adverbial phrases.....	207
15.7.4 Pronouns.....	208
15.7.5 Deictic particles <i>lā ñwà</i>	208
16 Adverbial phrases.....	212
16.1 Overview.....	212
16.2 Time and circumstance.....	212
16.3 Place.....	213
16.4 Manner.....	216
16.5 AdvPs as verb arguments.....	218
16.6 Postpositions.....	220
16.7 Proadverbs.....	222
17 Ideophones.....	223
18 Prepositions.....	225

19	Verb phrases.....	229
19.1	Structure.....	229
19.2	Aspect.....	230
19.2.1	Aspectual <i>nē</i>	230
19.2.2	Perfective.....	233
19.2.3	Imperfective.....	236
19.3	Tense.....	239
19.3.1	Tense particles.....	239
19.3.2	Auxiliary tense particles.....	239
19.3.3	Discontinuous past.....	241
19.3.4	Periphrastic future constructions.....	241
19.3.5	Implicit tense marking and narrative.....	242
19.4	Mood.....	247
19.5	Polarity.....	249
19.5.1	Negative verbs.....	250
19.6	Independency marking.....	251
19.6.1	Tonal Features.....	252
19.6.1.1	Tone overlay.....	252
19.6.1.2	Tone sandhi after subject pronouns.....	253
19.6.2	Segmental features.....	255
19.6.2.1	Perfective <i>yā</i>	255
19.6.2.2	Imperative <i>-m</i>	257
19.7	Other bound words in the VP.....	258
19.7.1	<i>Lēē</i> "but".....	258
19.7.2	Preverbs.....	259
19.7.3	Left-bound liaison words.....	261
19.8	Complements.....	261
19.8.1	Transitivity and objects.....	261
19.8.1.1	Passives.....	265
19.8.1.2	Middle use of intransitives.....	266
19.8.2	Predicative complements.....	266
19.8.3	Locatives.....	268
19.8.4	Prepositional phrases.....	269
19.8.5	Clauses.....	270
19.9	Adjuncts.....	271
19.10	Verb-phrase-final particles.....	271
19.11	Verbs "to be".....	273
19.11.1	<i>Bē</i> "be somewhere, exist".....	273
19.11.2	<i>Àḡñ</i> "be something/somehow".....	274

20	Clauses.....	277
20.1	Clause types.....	277
20.2	Structure.....	280
20.2.1	Clause adjuncts.....	280
20.2.2	Subjects.....	284
20.2.3	Post-subject particles.....	285
20.3	Ellipsis.....	286
21	Main clauses.....	287
21.1	Content questions.....	287
21.2	Polar questions.....	288
21.3	Commands.....	289
21.4	Verbless clauses.....	291
21.4.1	Identificational clauses.....	291
21.4.2	<i>Lia</i> -clauses.....	292
21.4.3	Vocatives.....	293
21.4.4	Particles as clauses.....	293
22	Catenated clauses.....	294
22.1	Overview.....	294
22.2	Auxiliary verbs in <i>n</i> -catenation.....	297
22.2.1	Preceding the main VP.....	297
22.2.2	Following the main VP.....	301
22.3	<i>Kà</i> -catenation.....	304
23	Conditional clauses.....	308
23.1	Overview.....	308
23.1.1	Discontinuous-past <i>n</i>	309
23.1.2	<i>Nāan(i)</i> "in that case".....	310
23.2	Open.....	312
23.3	Hypothetical.....	313
23.4	Contrary-to-fact.....	313
24	<i>Ñ</i> -clauses.....	315
24.1	Overview.....	315
24.2	Absolute clauses.....	316
24.3	Relative clauses.....	319
24.3.1	With indefinite pronouns.....	320
24.3.2	With relative pronouns.....	329
24.3.3	Uncompounded antecedents.....	333
25	Complementised clauses.....	335
25.1	Purpose clauses.....	335
25.2	Content clauses.....	338
25.2.1	Reported speech.....	340

26	Negation.....	343
27	Information packaging.....	347
27.1	Focus.....	347
27.1.1	With catenator- <i>n</i>	347
27.1.2	With <i>nē</i>	349
27.1.2.1	Restrictions.....	349
27.1.2.2	VP constituent focus.....	352
27.1.2.3	VP focus.....	355
27.2	Clefting and preposing with <i>kà</i>	357
27.3	Extraposition.....	360
27.4	Presentational constructions.....	362
27.5	Free personal pronouns.....	363
27.6	Emphatics.....	363
	Lexicon and texts.....	366
28	Greetings and other formulae.....	366
29	Selected lexical fields.....	369
29.1	Kinship terms.....	369
29.2	Personal names.....	370
29.3	Places.....	372
29.4	Ethnic groups and clans.....	375
29.5	Trees and fruits.....	376
29.6	Colours.....	377
29.7	Time.....	377
30	Texts.....	379
30.1	Balaam's Donkey.....	379
30.2	The Three Murderers.....	383
30.3	Proverbs.....	387
31	Vocabulary.....	391

Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Swansea, February 2019
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Abbreviations

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

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

Interlinear glossing

ABSTR	abstract	<u>8.1</u>
ADV	adverbial	<u>11.2</u>
AN	animate gender	<u>15.2.2</u>
CAT	clause catenator (underlyingly <i>n</i>)	<u>22.1</u>
CNTR	contrastive (personal pronouns)	<u>27.5</u>
COP	copula <i>àɛñ^a</i>	<u>19.11.2</u>
CQ	content question prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>
DEM	demonstrative pronoun (discourse)	<u>15.3.2</u>
DEMST	demonstrative pronoun (spatio-temporal)	
DP	discontinuous-past marker <i>n^ɛ</i>	<u>23.1.1</u>
EMPTY	semantically empty NP head <i>sɔb^a</i>	<u>15.3.7</u>
EXIST	existence/location verb <i>bè⁺</i>	<u>19.11.1</u>
FOC	focus particle <i>nē^{+/}</i>	<u>27.1.2</u>
GER	gerund	<u>11.1.1</u>
IDEO	ideophone	<u>17</u>
IMP	independent imperative verb form	<u>10.1</u>
INAN	inanimate gender	<u>15.2.2</u>
INDF	indefinite pronoun	<u>15.3.3</u>
IPFV	imperfective verb form	<u>10.1</u>
IRR	positive irrealis mood marker	<u>19.4</u>
LOC	locative postposition (<i>nī^{+/}</i> ~ <i>n^ɛ</i>)	<u>16.3</u>
NEG	negative prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>
NEG.BE	negative verb to and COP and EXIST	<u>19.5.1</u>
NEG.HAVE	(another use of the same verb)	
NEG.IMP	negative imperative marker	<u>19.4</u>
NEG.IND	negative indicative marker	
NEG.IRR	negative irrealis marker	
NEG.KNOW	negative verb <i>zī⁺</i>	<u>19.5.1</u>
NEG.LET	negative verb <i>mīt</i>	<u>19.5.1</u>
NUM	number prefix <i>à- b-à- ñ- b-ù-</i>	<u>13.3</u>
NZ	nominaliser (underlyingly <i>ñ</i>)	<u>24</u>
PERS	personifier particle (<i>à-</i> or <i>ñ-</i>)	<u>15.5</u>
PFV	independent-perfective marker <i>yā⁺</i>	<u>19.6.2.1</u>
PL	plural	<u>15.2.1</u>
PQ	polar question prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>
REL	relative pronoun	<u>24.3.2</u>
SG	singular	<u>15.2.1</u>
TNS	tense marker	<u>19.3.1</u>
VOC	vocative prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>

Personal pronouns:	<u>15.3.1</u>
1SG 1PL	1st sg/pl
2SG 2PL	2nd sg/pl
3AN 3INAN	3rd sg animate/inanimate
3PL	3rd pl
2PL.SUB	postposed 2nd pl Subject
.OB	object (pronouns)

The linker particle *kà* is conventionally glossed "and" throughout, though this very often does not reflect the true meaning in context 20.2; similarly *yà'* 23.1 is glossed "if" in all cases. The empty particle *nē* which follows objects of comparison which lack the article 18 is glossed "like."

Mass nouns are not specified as SG or PL in the glossing; similarly, single-aspect verbs 10.2 are not labelled for aspect. The perfective of dual-aspect verbs is also unlabelled.

In glossing, \emptyset represents words with no surface segmental representation at all, which are detectable only from tonal and segmental effects on preceding words. Prosodic clitics 7.1 are represented by $^+\emptyset$, and liaison 7.2 is marked by $_$.

Bound words which the traditional orthography writes solid with their hosts, as if they were word fragments, are in both the working orthography of this grammar and in glossing joined to their hosts by hyphens: these comprise the combining forms of nouns and adjectives, the personifier particle *À-/Ñ-*, and the liaison words *n^ε LOC n^ε DP y^a 2PL.SUB* along with the LF of $^{\circ}$ 3AN.OB 2.3.

Polysyllabic words ending in a vowel symbol before a hyphen are always followed by liaison, and as this is predictable, the $_$ symbol is then omitted: *pōvgv-n* "inside", not *pōvgv-n*.

Transcription conventions

For Agolle Kusaal orthography see 3.

Phonetic transcriptions are written in square brackets; they are generally broad, ignoring all allophony which is not immediately under discussion.

Starred forms representing the input of morphophonemic rules do not represent a single underlying form of the language but are given *ad hoc* to illustrate the particular rule in question.

Hausa words are cited as in Jaggar 2001, except that long vowels are written with double letters rather than macrons. High tone is unmarked, low tone is marked with a grave, and a circumflex represents falling tone. Kano forms are given, although the actual source of the loanwords in Kusaal is the *Gaanancii* lingua franca. Dialect variation in Hausa is surprisingly small, however, considering the wide area over which the language is spoken and its extensive use as a second language.

Mooré words are cited as in Niggli 2016, along with his tone marking: acute accents represent high tone, grave low; tone marks apply to all following unmarked morae, and a second acute after a first within a single word represents a downstepped H tone.

For Moba, I follow Kantchoa 2005; note that *j* represents [j].

For Nawdm, I use the orthography of Babakima 2013.

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

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

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

Words cited in foreign languages are written in *sans-serif italics*. *This* colour is reserved for words and word fragments in the working orthography of this grammar; it is not used for Kusaal in the orthography of written sources.

Internal and external hyperlinks appear like this.

Sources

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

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

The treatment of phrase-level syntax is largely based on work with these informants both in elicitation and in exploring puzzling constructions I had encountered while attempting to communicate at work. All four are first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal, and have essentially first-language level competence in English. All are male, and were then around forty years old. I noted examples of conversation from many speakers, but recorded few examples of the usage of younger speakers specifically; I did notice a few comments about the incorrect grammar of the young from my informants (surely a cultural universal.) I found no evidence of significant differences between the speech of men and women but made

no systematic enquiries on this point. My informants showed a number of minor speech differences from one another, which were probably dialectal, but I have not explored the question of subdialects within Agolle Kusaal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wina'am Gbauŋ
Wínà'am Gbáũŋ

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

Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela
Bŭn-kóŋbìd nē Níis né bà yēlá

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

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima
Kŭsâal Sólímà nē Síílímà

"Kusaal Stories and Proverbs"
Samuel Akon, Joe Anabah

Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ
Kŭsâas Kûøb nē Yīr yēlá Gbàũŋ

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

Other studies of Kusaal

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

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

Tony Naden is working on a dictionary of Agolle Kusaal, which is much the most extensive lexicographic work on the language so far. It is based on written sources and does not mark distinctions (such as tone) which are not reflected in the standard orthography.

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

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

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1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

1.1 The Kusaasi people

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



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

The name *Kūsâal* "Kusaal" and the name of the people *Kūsâas* "Kusaasi" are not transparent within the language itself. Some Kusaasi speculate about a derivation from Hausa *kusa* "near" but there seems to be no evidence for this beyond a chance similarity of sound. It is in fact the norm for local ethnic groups to have endonyms which have no known etymology; often, as in this case, these names have complex stems unlike most of the common vocabulary in structure.

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

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

The Kusaasi are divided into numerous patrilineal exogamous clans (*dɔɔg*, "hut") which tend to be associated with particular areas. (The clans being both exogamous and area-based, I was once told: "The first thing a young man looking for a wife needs to do is to get a bicycle.") A Kusaasi person knows his or her clan, and often its *pɔɔr* "slogan", part of its traditional lineage, but unlike the Mossi, the Kusaasi do not use clan names as surnames. Clans have their own distinctive customs (such as prohibitions against eating particular animals) but no administrative function; the Kusaasi originally had no chiefs. In religious matters the leading man of the area is the *tɛŋ-dāan* "earth-priest", taken to be the descendant and heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the dominant political structures in this region were the so-called Mossi-Dagomba states, the remarkably durable continuations and offshoots of polities founded, probably around the fourteenth century, by incoming conquerors traditionally held to be from the region of Lake Chad. The invaders created hereditary chiefdoms among previously acephalous peoples, who continued to provide the *tɛŋ-dāan-nām*. The founder of these kingdoms is called *Naa* [King] *Gbewaa* in Mampruli. His seat was at Pusiga (Kusaal *Pūsɪg*) in what is now Kusaasi territory; he is said to have been swallowed by the earth at that place. In his sons' time the capital was relocated south to the Mamprussi lands. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this centuries-old military-aristocratic Mamprussi state (Iliasu 1971.) Unlike their Mamprussi neighbours, the Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku. Both in colonial times and since independence, wider political issues have complicated the situation (Lund 2003.)

Ethnic group membership is patrilineal, and many Mamprussi in the Bawku area are in fact Kusaal-speaking. (It was one of my Mamprussi colleagues who first gave me a Kusaal New Testament; he himself could not speak Mampruli.)

The Kusaasi are part of a widespread culture which also encompasses neighbouring peoples like the Mossi, Farefare, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Bulsa. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba and Mossi, including the long-sleeved baggy *bānāa* smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (*fūug* "clothing"), popularised in southern Ghana by President Rawlings.

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional animist outlook. As of 1995, perhaps 5% of local people professed Christianity, a figure which includes many non-Kusaasi from the south; likewise, of some 5% Muslims, many belonged to other ethnic groups.

Traditional belief includes a creator God, *Wīn*, invoked in proverbs and greetings but remote from everyday life and not to be approached in prayer or worship. Characteristic proverbs say

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tō'as nē Wīnné +∅.

Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG NEG.

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

Wīn ñyé kà sīn.

God:SG see and be.silent.

"God sees and is silent."

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

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

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

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

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi normally cite Kusaal personal and place names without apocope 5.1: *À-Wīn* from *Wīdī-ñyá'anj* will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga." Similarly "Kusaasi" for *Kūsâas*, "Bawku" for *Bòk* etc.

"Woriyanga" also shows a Mampruli rather than Kusaal form for the initial combining form of "horse": Mampruli *wuri-* versus Kusaal *wìd-*. This reflects the origin of the convention in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations of the area. A parallel development took place earlier in Mamprussi country when the British arrived with Dagomba guides: thus "Gambaga" (Dagbani *Gambaya*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa* (Naden.)

Not all such forms can be explained as Mampruli. The place name "Widana", for example, resembles Kusaal *Wìdāan* rather than Mampruli *Wuddaana*, and the personal name "Awimpoaka" *À-Wīn-puák* even shows Agolle vowel breaking (Toende *Awĩnpɔka*.) The personal name "Akudugu" *À-Kūdvug* shows the postvocalic *-d-* characteristic of Agolle Kusaal rather than Mampruli. The place name *Tīl* "Tilli" corresponds to Toende Kusaal *tíl* and Farefare *tíllé* "tree trunk", but no cognate word appears in Naden's extensive dictionary of Mampruli. A convention which originated in transposition from Kusaal into Mampruli has thus been generalised by analogy.

Straightforward reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name *À-Dōk*, and the language name "Kusaal" *Kūsâal* itself.

1.2 The Kusaal language

1.2.1 Status

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

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

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

1.2.2 Dialects

There is no standard dialect of Kusaal; every district has local peculiarities and my informants show numerous small differences in speech. Bawku does not serve as a centre for the Kusaal language: as is typical for the zone, it is a multiethnic trading centre around a Muslim quarter or "zongo" (Hausa *zangòo* "camping ground, lodging place") where the main common language is Hausa.

The major dialect division is between Agolle and Toende. The differences are striking: Agolle vowel breaking [3.2.2](#) correlates with numerous other isoglosses, resulting in a sharp discontinuity between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably attributable to the depopulation of the border zone along the White Volta caused by the river blindness (onchocerciasis) prevalent in the region until quite recent times. The Mande Bisa language, spoken to the immediate north of Kusaal, is similarly divided into Lebri, to the west of the White Volta, and Barka, to the east.

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

Berthelette reports a rate of apparent lexical cognates between Toende and Agolle of 84%.

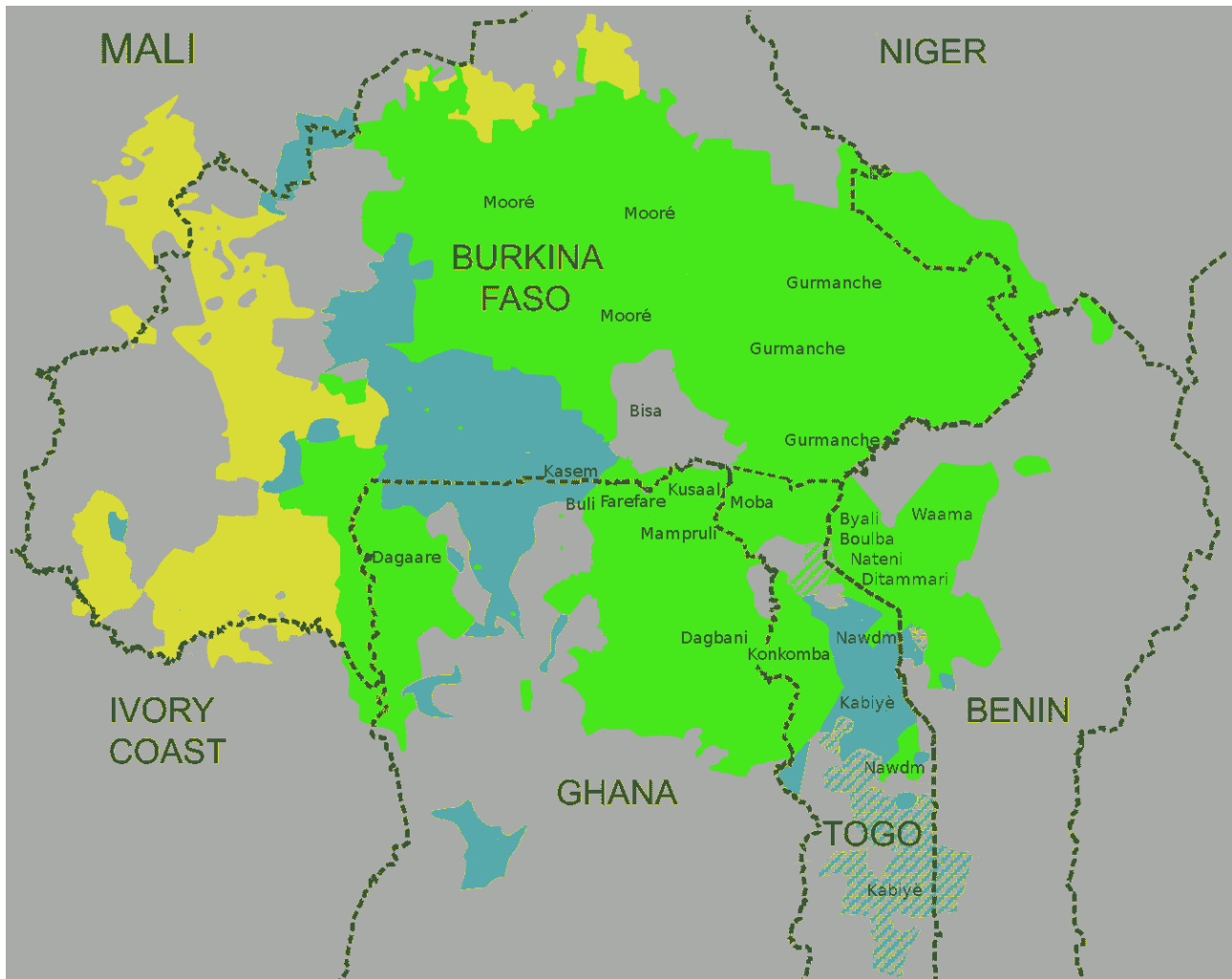
Agolle and Toende Kusaasi agree that they constitute a single ethnic group, and that they speak dialects of a single language; this is perhaps reinforced by a strong local tendency to equate language and ethnicity (note the language names formed from ethnonyms in [29.4](#).) Nevertheless, the differences are great enough to justify separate grammatical treatment for the two major dialects.

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

1.2.3 Related languages

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

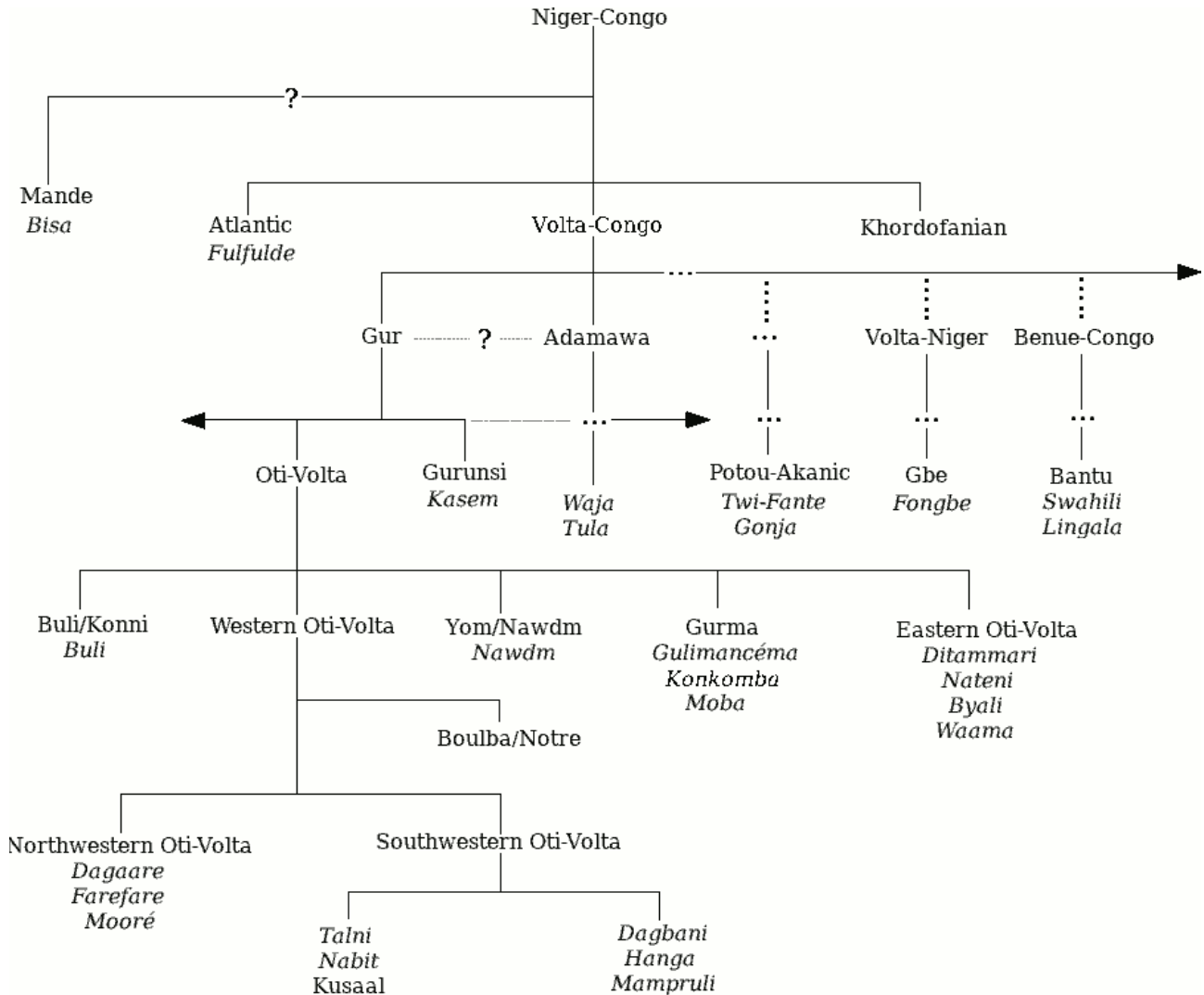
The Gur Languages (adapted from [Davies](#)):



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

The chart below shows relationships between some of the languages mentioned below. Subclassifications are very often uncertain; in particular, the relationship between Gur and Adamawa is unclear.

Mande is very divergent, and may well not belong with Niger-Congo at all. Even the inclusion of Kordofanian and Atlantic in Niger-Congo is a long-range hypothesis, rather than a well-established linguistic grouping like Indo-European. Striking typological similarities with core Niger-Congo do not prove genetic unity: for West Africa (and beyond) as a *Sprachbund* see especially Güldemann 2007.



However, there is unequivocal evidence for Volta-Congo as a genetic grouping. Basic lexical items recur frequently: compare Kusaal *bīg* "child", *dī* "eat", *nū* "drink", *kpi* "die", *tīg* "tree", *àtáñ'* "three", *tùbur* "ear" with their Fongbe equivalents *ví*, *dù*, *nù*, *kú*, *átín*, *àtòn*, *tó*. Guthrie's Proto-Bantu reconstructions parallel all except "child": *dí-* "eat", *-nú-* "drink", *kú-* "die", *-tí* "tree", *-tátò* "three", *-tǔ* "ear", and his Proto-Bantu *-tóm-* "send" corresponds to Kusaal *tùm*. The Potou-Akanic language group, which includes Twi/Fante and Gonja, here shows a regular sound correspondence *t* ~ *s*: Twi *esã* "three", *asõ* "ear", *soma* "send", Gonja *à-sá* "three", *kò-sówé* "ear."

The most salient morphological feature of Niger-Congo is the presence of noun class systems, with frequent congruences in both form and meaning among the Volta-Congo branches. Thus the Kusaal human-plural noun suffix *-b^a* seen in *nīdib* "people", plural of *nīd*, matches the Gonja human-plural prefix in *bá-sà* "people", plural of *é-sà*, and the *ba* of Lingala *bato* "people", plural of *moto*. Particular sg/pl pairings of noun class affixes recur throughout Volta-Congo; for example, the suffixes *r^e|a⁺* seen in Kusaal *tùbur* "ear", *tùba* "ears" are cognate to the Bantu prefix pair labelled 5/6 in the Bleek-Meinhof system (Nurse and Phillipson, p104.) Lingala has the cognate of

Kusaal *tùbbur* in this very class: *litói* "ear", plural *matói*. It is the Bantu pronominal and verbal concord prefixes which correspond to the affixes of other Volta-Congo languages, rather than the noun class prefixes themselves; the Proto-Bantu subject prefixes for 5/6 are sg *It*, pl *gá* (*ibid.* p149.)

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

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

At the lowest level Kusaal belongs to a family called **Western Oti-Volta** by Manessy. In the Western Oti-Volta languages of Ghana and Burkina Faso, Proto-Oti-Volta **c *ʃ* have become *s z*; there is a strikingly simple system of verbal inflection, with almost all inflecting verbs using the bare stem for perfective aspect and adding a suffix **-da* for imperfective; some noun classes have been lost, and words referring to trees have been transferred wholesale to the *g^a|s^ɛ* class (Buli *tìib* "tree", Kusaal *tìig*, Mooré *tìigá*); there is much distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *kù'əm* "water", Mooré *kòóm*, versus Moba *núm*, Buli *nyám*, Nawdm *nyáálrín*, Nateni *néēma* (cf Kusaal *nì* "rain.") The Boulba/Notre language of Benin is a Western Oti-Volta outlier: it shares distinctive Western Oti-Volta lexicon e.g. *kúà* "water", but it has devoiced **g → k*, **gb → kw*, **z → c̣*, reflecting an areal absence of *g gb z ʃ* seen also in Eastern Oti-Volta, and it has not participated in the loss of noun classes, e.g. *tìebò* "tree."

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

Apart from Boulba, the group is subdivided into Northwestern and Southwestern branches. Northwestern Oti-Volta includes Mooré, Safaliba, the dialect continuum Dagaare-Waale-Birifor, and Farefare-Gurenne-Ninkare. (I will gloss over some complex issues regarding the naming of the latter two languages and their speakers, referring to them simply as Dagaare and Farefare below.) Mooré and Farefare share several innovations not seen in Dagaare. Southwestern Oti-Volta includes Kusaal, Nabit, Talni, Mampruli, Dagbani, Hanga, Kamara and some smaller languages. A distinctive Southwestern feature is the imperative inflection **-ma*.

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

Kusaal itself probably constitutes a subgroup with Nabit and Talni, spoken respectively in the Nabdam and Talensi districts adjacent to Bawku West. Tony Naden's Nabit materials closely resemble Toende Kusaal. Giffen 2015 in her interesting discussion of the social and cultural setting implies that that Nabit has been swept up into the cultural and political orbit of the more distantly related Farefare; she also notes that Talni speakers understand Nabit to some extent.

Nabit, Talni, and Kusaal have lost inherited final short vowels in citation forms. Naden's materials suggest that Nabit and Talni, like Kusaal [5.1](#), retain the final vowel at the end of questions and negated clauses:

Nabit	<i>La bi'imε.</i>	"It is ripe"
Toende	<i>La bi'ɪ me.</i>	
Agolle	<i>Lì bì'ig nē.</i>	
	3INAN ripen FOC.	
Nabit	<i>La na bu biigε.</i>	"It is not yet ripe."
Toende	<i>La nan bu bi'ige.</i>	
Agolle	<i>Lì nàm pō b'igē +∅.</i>	
	3INAN still NEG.IND ripen NEG.	
Talni	<i>Bunɔk dɔɣam pu bɔkəra, buraa dɔɣam m bɔkət.</i>	
Toende	<i>Bunɔk dɔɣim bu bɔkɪra, buraa dɔɣim bɔkɪt.</i>	
Agolle	<i>[Pɥ'ā] dū'am pō buákìdā +∅, [dāɥ] dū'amì ∅ buákìd.</i>	
	Woman:SG kindred NEG.IND split:IPFV NEG, man:SG kindred CAT split:IPFV.	
	"A woman's kindred is not divided, a man's kindred is divided."	

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

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

The Gurma languages Gulimancéma, Konkomba, Moba etc are much less close. Gulimancéma and Konkomba typically show nouns with both class prefixes and class suffixes, and the languages have complex and unpredictable verb aspect flexion, making the imperfective by changing the stem tones, and/or dropping a derivational suffix from the perfective or adding one of several different imperfective suffixes.

Both Buli and Gurma have three-tone systems, and the three basic Western Oti-Volta Tone Patterns [6.1](#) can be systematically matched with them. However, Pattern H corresponds to Buli *high* tone, but (e.g) Moba *low*; Pattern O to Buli mid and Moba high, and Pattern L to Buli low and Moba mid:

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

It is the languages with H tone corresponding to Pattern H which have innovated: cf Proto-Bantu *-nùà* "mouth", Fongbe *ònù* = Kusaal *nɔɔr* (Pattern H) versus Proto-Bantu *-tó* "ear", Fongbe *tó* = Kusaal *tùbur* (Pattern L).

Nawdm aligns tonally with Western Oti-Volta and Buli: *wáàgǎb* "snake", *móógú* "grass", *tìib* "tree." Nawdm has shifted **p* → *f*, **s* → *h*, **c* → *s*, and **z* → *ʃ*. It preserves Proto-Oti-Volta **l* as *r* in all word positions 5.3.1, and often has *h* [ʔ] where Western Oti-Volta shows vowel glottalisation. Most verbs use a stem form as perfective and add *-a* for imperfective, but there are several other patterns, such as perfective *-ra* versus imperfective *-l*. Nawdm shows much less lexical similarity to Western Oti-Volta than Buli does, but there are some notable parallels in verb flexion and derivation.

Sambiéni 2005 provides considerable detail on the Eastern Oti-Volta languages Ditammari, Nateni, Byali and Waama. His analysis takes it as given that Manessy's Eastern Oti-Volta is a valid subgroup, but this subgrouping is partly based on initial consonant changes which are probably areal, and shared with Boulba/Notre.

The verbal systems of Ditammari and Nateni are fairly similar, with some verbs opposing a perfective ending *-a* to imperfective *-u* (*-i* after alveolars), and other verbs making the imperfective by changing the stem tones or dropping a derivational suffix from the perfective, as in Gurma. Both languages also align with Gurma in showing L tones corresponding to Pattern H. Ditammari resembles Gulimancéma and Konkomba in that nouns usually appear with noun class prefixes and suffixes together.

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

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

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

1.2.4 Grammatical sketch

Symbols have approximately their IPA values, except that long vowels are written with double symbols; *e* *ɪ* both represent [ɪ]; *o* *ʊ* both represent [ʊ]; *ñ* and ' mark nasalisation and glottalisation of adjacent vowels, respectively; *y* stands for [j]; and *kp gb* stand for [kp̚] [gb̚].

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

<i>Ò à nē bīig.</i> 3AN COP FOC child:SG.	"He/she's a child."
<i>Ò kã' bīiga +∅.</i> 3AN NEG.BE child:SG NEG.	"He/she is not a child."
<i>Ò à nē bíigàa +∅?</i> 3AN COP FOC child:SG PQ?	"Is he/she a child?"
<i>Ì bīiga +∅!</i> 1SG child:SG VOC!	"My child!"

Word-final consonant clusters resulting from apocope are reduced to the first consonant:

Lì k̄ā' gb̄ĩgm̄nɛ ^{+∅}. "It's not a lion."
 3INAN NEG.BE lion:SG NEG.

Lì à nē gb̄ĩgm̄. "It's a lion."
 3INAN COP FOC lion:SG.

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

In citing word forms, superscripts will be used to write the parts of words which are dropped everywhere except before prosodic clitics and liaison: *b̄ĩg*^a "child", *gb̄ĩgm̄*^{nɛ} "lion", *k̄ōk*^a "chair", *d̄ōk*^{ɔ/} "pot."

The phonology of Kusaal is significantly complicated by apocope. For example, apocope deletes segments responsible for rounding and fronting effects on preceding vowels, and renders those effects contrastive. This creates diphthongs, along with emic contrasts among epenthetic vowels. Thus the Long Form *v̄ĩuḡ* "owl" has *iu* for *ii* because of the rounding effect of the final vowel, to which the velar *-g-* is transparent. After apocope this becomes the Short Form *v̄ĩug* "owl": the diphthong *iu* itself now contrasts with the vowel of *v̄iid* "owls", shortened from *v̄iidé*. Similarly, *āāñd̄ĩga* "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel *ɪ* before the flexion, and appears as *āāñd̄ĩg* after apocope, whereas the gerund *ḡàadv̄g* "passing" has rounding of the vowel to *ʊ* before the flexion *-gɔ*, and after apocope this rounding itself becomes contrastive in the usual Short Form *ḡàadv̄g*.

Certain **liaison words** cause a preceding word to appear, not as the usual clause-medial Short Form, but as a Long Form modified by the loss of all original vowel quality contrasts in final non-root vowels. All non-contrastive personal pronouns fall into this category, for example:

M̄ p̄ū b̄ɔɔd̄ā ^{+∅}. "I don't want to."
 1SG NEG.IND want NEG. Long Form *b̄ɔɔd̄ā* preceding negative clitic.

M̄ b̄ɔɔd̄ĩ b̄á. "I love them."
 1SG want 3PL.OB. Modified Long Form *b̄ɔɔd̄ĩ* before liaison.

M̄ p̄ū zábē̄ +∅. "I haven't fought."
1SG NEG.IND fight NEG. Long Form *zábē̄* preceding negative clitic.

M̄ zábī *bá*. "I've fought them."
1SG fight 3PL.OB. Modified Long Form *zábī* before liaison.

With interlinear glossing, liaison is marked by , as above.

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

M̄ p̄ū bɔɔdī *f* +∅. "I don't love you."
1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB NEG. Long Form *f* of the pronoun "you (sg)"

M̄ bɔɔdī *f*. "I love you."
1SG want 2SG.OB. Short Form *f* of the pronoun "you (sg)"

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

Lì k̄ā' k̄ōka +∅. "It's not a chair."
3INAN NEG.BE chair:SG NEG.

Lì k̄ā' k̄ōki-né +∅. "It's not in a chair."
3INAN NEG.BE chair:SG-LOC NEG.

k̄ōki-n "in a chair"
chair:SG-LOC

Lì k̄ā' d̄ōkó +∅. "It's not a pot."
3INAN NEG.BE pot:SG NEG.

Lì k̄ā' d̄ōkí-nē +∅. "It's not in a pot."
3INAN NEG.BE pot:SG-LOC NEG.

d̄ōkí-n "in a pot"
pot:SG-LOC

The 3sg animate object pronoun ^o "him/her" has the Long Form *o* [ʊ] which is deleted entirely by apocope, producing a Short Form which is segmentally *zero*. Its presence is still shown by the replacement of the preceding host-word-final vowel mora by [ʊ], always written *·o* with a preceding raised point.

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

M̃ p̄ bɔ́ɔdī_f̄ ^{+∅.} "I don't love you."
1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB NEG.

M̃ bɔ́ɔdī_f. "I love you"
1SG want 2SG.OB.

M̃ p̄ bɔ́ɔd-ó-o ^{+∅.} "I don't love him/her." [ɱpɔbɔ:dɔ:]
1SG NEG.IND want-3AN.OB NEG. Long Form *o* of the pronoun "him/her"

M̃ bɔ́ɔd-ō_∅. "I love him/her." [ɱbɔ:dɔ]
1SG want 3AN.OB. Short Form *∅* of the pronoun "him/her"

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

Gòsim! "Look!"
Look:IMP!

Gòsimī_∅! "Look ye!" by apocope from *gòsimī-yá*
Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Liaison words are not all bound to the left. Personal pronoun subjects and predependents also cause inhibition of apocope in the *preceding* word, as does the personifier particle *à-* and all words beginning with certain derivational prefixes.

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

ṁ zūgú_∅ zàbɪd lā zúg "because my head hurts" (nominaliser-*n̄*)
1SG head:SG NZ fight:IPFV ART upon

M̃ zūgυ_∅ zábɪd. "My head hurts." (catenator-*n*)
1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV.

Liaison has caused considerable confusion in word division in the traditional orthography, and is largely responsible for the many cases where clause-medial words acquire a mysterious short-vowel "ending."

Kusaal shows contrastive vowel glottalisation.

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

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

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

Open-class word stems are built around a root consisting of a short or long vowel, preceded by at most one consonant, and followed by consonants separated by epenthetic high vowels, or forming very limited sets of two-member clusters.

<i>dī̄əsídìb</i>	"receivers"	<i>bā̄ŋɪdɪb</i>	"wise men"
<i>gbī̄gumnɛ</i>	"lion" (Long Form)		

The only consonant clusters possible within stems following the root are *kk tt pp ŋŋ nn mm ll mn*, of which *kk tt pp ŋŋ* are written and usually realised as single. Clusters cannot occur word-initially or finally, except for final *mm*, where there has been loss of earlier syllabicity in the second *m*.

Many nominal stems have a **prefix** before the root, taking the forms CV- or CVn-, less often CVln- or CVsln-, e.g. *pī̄pī̄rɪg* "desert." Nominals with prefixes may thus contain -nC- clusters at the junction between the prefix and the rest of the stem: *dī̄ndēog* "chameleon."

Other word-internal clusters are confined to loanwords.

Flexional **suffixes**, like prefixes, have only a three-way vowel contrast *a/i/u*. Suffix vowels are lost by apocope in the surface Short Forms; when they are retained before prosodic clitics, *i u* appear lowered to $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$. Clusters of two consonants occur freely across word division (including within compounds) due to apocope of word-final short vowels:

Gbī̄gum lā dāa kūvd b́ùŋ lā̄.

LION:SG ART TNS kill:IPFV donkey:SG ART.

"The lion (*gbī̄gum*^{nɛ}) was killing (*kūvd*^{a/}) the donkey (*b̀ùŋ*^a) ."

Most common **particles** are short bound words, like the postposed article *lā* and the preverbal tense marker *dāa* in this example.

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

Kusaal flexional morphology is underlyingly fairly straightforward, but with some morphophonemic complications. These words all belong to the same $g^a|s^e$ noun class, and are all regular:

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

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

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>piəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>bù-piəliɡ</i>	"white goat"
<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>sī'a</i>	"another"	→ <i>bù-sī'a</i>	"another goat"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>piəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>kùg-piəliɡ</i>	"white chair"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>kàŋā</i>	"this"	→ <i>kùg-kàŋā</i>	"this chair"

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

Like virtually all the local languages (including *Gaanancii* Hausa, and, disconcertingly for a British native speaker, even some local English) Kusaal makes no grammatical distinction between male and female. In the English translations I have used "he" or "she" randomly where the antecedent is unspecified.

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

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

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

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

<i>Ò dīgɪ</i>	<i>nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
3AN be.lying.down FOC.		
<i>Ò mər</i>	<i>búŋ.</i>	"She has a donkey."
3AN have donkey:SG.		
<i>Ò gìm.</i>		"She's short."
3AN be.short.		

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

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

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

<i>Ò kā'</i>	<i>bīg</i>	<i>+∅.</i>	"He's not a child."
3AN NEG.BE child:SG NEG.			

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

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

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

M̄ t̄is du'átà búŋ lā.

1SG give doctor:SG donkey:SG ART.

"I've given Doctor the donkey."

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

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

m̄ b̄iig

"my child"

dāy lā b̄iig

"the man's child"

Adverbs often appear as postpositions preceded by NP dependents:

t̄éɛb̄òl lā z̄ūg

"onto the table" (*z̄ūg* "head")

The liaison word *n^ɛ* mentioned above is a very general locative postposition. It is hyphenated to the preceding word, and in its Short Form is reduced to *n*:

m̄'arī-n

"in a lake" (*m̄'arē* "lake", Long Form)

lake:SG-LOC

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

Gb̄igim lā sá k̄ò búm̄is lā.

Lion:SG ART TNS kill donkey:PL ART.

"The lion killed the donkeys yesterday."

Gb̄igima lā dāa p̄ k̄ò búŋ lāa +∅.

Lion:PL ART TNS NEG.IND kill donkey:SG ART NEG.

"The lions didn't kill the donkey."

The focus particle *nē* may focus VPs or VP constituents (as after *àɛñ* "be something" above), but if no unbound words intervene between the verb and *nē* and

the verb meaning permits, it instead has an *aspectual* sense, limiting the reference of the VP to "at the time referred to in particular":

Nīdɪb kpīid. "People die."
Person:PL die:IPFV.

Nīdɪb kpīid nē. "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

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

Ò zàb dɹ'átà. "He's fought the doctor."
3AN fight doctor:SG.

Ò gòs dɹ'átà. "He's looked at the doctor."
3AN look.at doctor:SG.

with the verbs *zàb gòs* showing identical tones because of the overlay; contrast

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

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

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

Dā gōs dɹ'átā +∅! "Don't look at the doctor!"
NEG.IMP look.at doctor:SG NEG!

but *Gòsim dɹ'átà!* "Look at the doctor!"
Look.at:IMP doctor:SG!

dà̀y-kà̀nɪ pɹ'ā kpí lā "the man whose wife has died"
 man-REL.SG wife:SG die ART

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

M̄ ná tī f t̄im yé fù nīf dā zábē +∅.
 1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine that 2SG eye:SG NEG.IMP fight NEG.
 "I'll give you medicine so your eye won't hurt."

Content clauses are formally identical to main clauses, and likewise display independency marking, but have personal pronouns altered as in indirect speech. Content clauses are used for reporting speech and also very generally after verbs expressing communication or thought. Most often they are introduced by *yē* "that." There are logophoric uses of contrastive personal pronouns within content clauses.

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.

Dā̀y dá bē ∅ m̄rī̀ ò pɹ'ā-yīmmír, kà pɹ'ā lā yē
 Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that
ōn p̄ lém b̄̀ɔd yé ò sīd lā dí pɹ'ā yá'asē +∅.
 3AN.CNTR NEG.IND again want that 3AN husband:SG ART take wife:SG again NEG.

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

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

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

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

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

Fù b̄̀ɔd b̄ +∅? "What do you want?"
 2SG want what CQ?

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

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_ø kō búŋ lā +ø?
 Who CAT kill donkey:SG ART CQ?
 "Who has killed the donkey?"

Place and manner adjuncts may only precede the subject if preposed with *kà*:

Mɔ̀ɔ̀gú-n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush." BNY p10 (*kà* required)
 Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

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

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

À-Pō-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bīig mà'aa.

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

Kà dāar yīnní kà bīig lā né ò sàam zín'i_ø sōñsid.

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

Kà bīig lā tí yèl ò sàam yē ...

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

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

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

Morphophonemics

2 Preliminaries

2.1 Morae, syllables and stress

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

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

Stress falls on the root syllables of free words, but it is subject to complex sandhi phenomena which have yet to be properly investigated. It is probably never contrastive; *sābíl* "black" and *Sā-bíl* "Zebilla", for example, seem to be homophones, and some roots have been reinterpreted as prefixes:

<i>dítúŋ</i>	"right hand" ← <i>dì</i> ⁺ "eat"
<i>dàtìŋ</i>	"right hand"
<i>bōtìŋ</i>	"cup" (originally the instrument noun from <i>būd</i> "plant seeds")
pl <i>bōtus</i>	with reanalysis as prefix <i>bō</i> + <i>tìŋ</i>

Stress affects the realisation of the H toneme, but the relevant phenomena can be described by reference to syllable weight alone 4.

2.2 Free and bound words

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

Free words fulfil the concept of "word" expressed in Bloomfield 1926: "A minimum free form is a word. A word is thus a form which may be uttered alone (with meaning) but cannot be analysed into parts that may (all of them) be uttered alone (with meaning.)" However, nouns and adjectives possess regular "combining forms", found exclusively with following words as parts of compounds. Combining forms may appear as dependents, but are more often seen as NP heads before adjectives and even demonstratives: *tì-kàŋā* "this tree." Compounds may incorporate unbound

words: [*ānzúrɪfà nē sāluma lá'-*]*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker"; moreover, there is no consistent segmental phonological difference between combining forms and free words. Combining forms are accordingly bound *words*. Traditional orthography normally writes them as word fragments, but in this grammar they are hyphenated to the following element.

Many pronouns and particles are not only bound, but resemble free-word affixes segmentally. Again, some nominal combining forms in set expressions show phonological simplifications presumably connected with a consistent absence of stress, as do some preverbs. It is tempting to describe all such words as clitics, but Kusaal stress allocation probably does not distinguish between bound and free words. Accordingly, I use the non-committal terms "left-bound" and "right-bound" rather than "enclitic" and "proclitic" below, reserving "clitic" for prosodic clitics [7.1](#).

Bound morphemes marking tense, mood and polarity occur in a fixed order before the verb. As with bound pronouns, there is no phonological basis for regarding them as flexions, and to do so would simply complicate description to no purpose: I follow the orthographic tradition in writing them as separate words, and discuss them under VP syntax. However, all initial bound morphemes in nominal stems which are not themselves nominal combining forms are derivational prefixes synchronically, though historically some have arisen from combining forms or fossilised flexions.

Boundness is quite distinct from syntactic *dependency*, a feature not only of words but of phrases and clauses. Most open-class words are neither bound nor intrinsically dependent, and most particles are both bound and dependent. However, combining forms, though always bound, may be dependents or heads, and bound personal pronouns are *never* dependent: Kusaal has no possessive pronouns [15.3.1](#).

2.3 Word division

Nominals with prefixes, loanwords, and unanalysable stems are written solid, but nominal combining forms are hyphenated the the following word:

<i>bùrkìn</i>	"honest person"	<i>kpùkpàrig</i>	"palm tree"
<i>zīm-gbâñ'ad</i>	"fisherman"	<i>bù-pìəlig</i>	"white goat"
<i>bù-kàṅā</i>	"this goat"	<i>bù-pìəl-kàṅā</i>	"this white goat"

In the traditional orthography compounds are written as single words, except when a cb happens to have the same segmental form as the sg: *bukaṅa bù-kàṅā* "this goat", but *yamug bipuŋ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *yàmmuŋ-bī-púŋ* "slave girl."

Pronouns reduced to single consonants by apocope [5.1](#) are still written as independent words in the orthography of this grammar:

M̄ bɔ́dɪ̄ f. "I love you." [ɱbɔ:dɪf]
 1SG want 2SG.OB.

Traditional orthography writes pronouns as separate words when they have vowels of their own, as also with the object pronoun *m* "me" prior to 2016:

Fv bɔ́dɪ ti. "You love us." [fɔbɔ:dɪtɪ]
F̀̀ bɔ́dɪ̄ tɪ́.
 2SG want 1PL.OB.

Before 2016, the final mora before 2sg *f* was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun, creating spurious pronouns *if uf*, but KB writes both object pronouns *m f* solid with the preceding word:

1996 *M nye uf.* "I've seen you." [ɱjẽõf]
M̄ ñyɛ́o f.
 1SG see 2SG.OB.

1996 *Fu boodi m.* "You love me." [fɔbɔ:dɪm]
 2016 *Fv bɔ́dɪm.*
F̀̀ bɔ́dɪ̄ m.
 2SG want 1SG.OB.

1996 *M bood if.* "I love you." [ɱbɔ:dɪf]
 2016 *M bɔ́dɪf.*
M̄ bɔ́dɪ̄ f.
 1SG want 2SG.OB.

The liaison word 7.2 pronoun ^o [ɔ] "him/her" loses its entire segmental form by apocope, after causing the final vowel mora of the preceding word to become [ɔ]. This mora is traditionally mistaken for the pronoun itself and written separately; in this grammar it is written *·o*, and the form without apocope is written *·o-o*.

Fv bɔ́d o. "You love her." [fɔbɔ:dɔ]
F̀̀ bɔ́d·ȭ ∅.
 2SG want 3AN.OB.

Fv p̄v bɔ́d oo. "You don't love her." [fɔp̄vɔbɔ:dɔ:]
F̀̀ p̄v̄ bɔ́d·ó-o +∅.
 2SG NEG.IND want-3AN.OB NEG.

Fv nyε o. "You've seen her." [fojẽõ]
Fù ñyÉ·o_ ∅.
 2SG see 3AN.OB.

Fv pv nyε oo. "You've not seen her." [foɸjẽõ:]
Fù p̄ ñyĒ·ó-o +∅.
 2SG NEG.IND see-3AN.OB NEG.

Locative *nε* and discontinuous-past *nε* are reduced to *n* by apocope, and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun *ya* is reduced to zero. Traditionally they are written solid with the preceding word: *pvugun*, *bɔɔdin*. However, they follow flexional suffixes, and are preceded by liaison changes just like object pronouns; postposed *ya* is in complementary distribution with subject *yà*, and locative *nε* has an allomorph *nī* with a vowel after apocope; they behave differently from flexional suffixes tonally. They are thus words, not flexions; they are hyphenated to the preceding word in the working orthography: *p̄vugun-n* "inside", *b̄ɔɔdī-n* "might wish."

The personifier particle *à/ñ*, traditionally written solid with the following word, will also be hyphenated to its host, as it can be attached to entire phrases 15.5.

Traditional orthography always writes focus-*nĒ* solid with preceding *à* "be", and usually with other immediately preceding verb forms also; *nĒ* "with" is written solid with preceding *wĒn* "resemble" by analogy:

O anε biig. "He/she's a child."
Ò à nĒ bīig.
 3AN COP FOC child:SG.

Ka o nindaa wenne nintaŋ ne.
Kà ò nīn-dáa wĒn nĒ nīntāŋ nĒ.
 And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.
 "His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996)

In KB *wĒn nĒ* appears as *nwεnε*: *Ka o nindaa nwεnε winnig nε.*

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

Amaa fv anε ninsaal ka ka' win nε.
Àmáa fù á nĒ nīn-sâal kà kâ' wīnné +∅.
 But 2SG COP FOC person-smooth:SG and NEG.BE god:SG NEG.
 "But you are a human being and not a god." (Ezekiel 28:2)

3 Segments

3.1 Consonants

The following symbols are used, corresponding to the consonant phonemes of the language (with *kp gb* as digraphs):

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

Values resemble the corresponding IPA symbols, except as noted below.

t d n s z l r represent alveolars in general, but *s z* are often dental, or even interdental. Before the vowel *u*, *s* and *z* are sometimes heard as [ʃ] [ʒ].

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

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

or *Dàhamáanì*

h itself is marginal as a phoneme, occurring only syllable-initially in loanwords; however, these include the very common *hā́lì* "as far as."

r represents [r], except after an epenthetic vowel, where it is [ʀ]. It does not occur as a separate phoneme word- or root-initially.

d represents [d]. However, word-initial *d* is frequently realised as [r] phrase-internally after a word ending in a vowel, and invariably so within compounds:

<i>n̄s-dāvg</i> [n̄ɔraʊg]	"cock"	<i>nā'-dâad</i> [n̄a:ra:d]	"oxen"
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vs *wìd-dāvg* [wìd:aʊg] "stallion"

Word-initially, *d* will be written throughout. Some words are written with root-initial *r* after a prefix vowel, following traditional orthography: *tīrâan*^a "neighbour", *àrazàk*^a "riches", *àrazánà*⁺ "heaven", *àràkójñ'* "one." It is not clear whether *r* contrasts with *d* in this position.

In rapid speech non-initial *d* may also resemble [r], but *d* and *r* clearly contrast after root and epenthetic vowels in Agolle Kusaal:

m is syllabic when standing alone as the 1st sg pronoun "I, my." Unlike syllabic *n*, syllabic *m* does not assimilate its position of articulation to a following consonant.

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

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

m can form the unique word-final cluster *mm* [m:], as in *pāmm* "a lot." The second *m* was once syllabic, but is now consonantal, and cannot bear a toneme.

kp gb represent the labiovelar double closures [k̠p] [g̠b]; *kp* is not aspirated. They occur only word- and root-initially before unrounded vowels, and for some speakers in reduplication-prefixes like *kp̀̀kp̀̀arig* "palm tree" where others have *k̀̀kp̀̀arig* etc. Otherwise *kp gb* are in complementary distribution with labialised velars, which could be ascribed to these phonemes rather than the velars.

<i>kūm</i>	"death"	cf <i>kp̀̀</i>	"die"	
<i>kōba</i>	"bones"	cf Gulimancéma	<i>kp̀̀ábá</i>	<i>id</i>
<i>kp̀̀akūr</i>	"tortoise"	cf Dagbani	<i>kp̀̀akp̀̀íí</i>	<i>id</i>

In loanwords *kp gb* are used for the Hausa labialised velars *kw gw*:

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

<i>ñyē</i>	[j̃ɛ̃]	"see"	<i>ñwāɗɗ</i> [w̃ãɗɗ]	"moon"
<i>ñwè'</i>	[w̃ɛ̃]	"beat"		

ñy ñw reflect earlier initial *n ñm* respectively, cf Dagbani *nyá* "see", *ñmariga* "moon", *ñme* "beat." Some Toende speakers retain initial [n] [ñm]. Kusaal initial nasalised vowels reflect earlier initial *ŋ*: Dagbani *ñubi*, Kusaal *ññb* "chew."

w occurs only root-initially, i.e. word-initially and after prefixes: *wìəf* "horse", *dàwān* "pigeon"; however *y* occurs not only root-initially, but also medially before *a*: *yáan* "grandchild", *dàyūug* "rat", *nōyá* "mouths." Syllable-final *y w* are replaced by the glides *j/ɛ* and *ɹ* respectively 5.5.

3.2 Vowels

Agolle Kusaal has a basic seven-vowel system /a/ /ɛ/ /ɔ/ /i/ /u/ /ɪ/ /ʊ/, written by default as *a* *ɛ* *ɔ* *i* *u* *ɪ* *ʊ* respectively. Long vowels contrast with short vowels in length, but not quality. They are written by doubling the vowel symbol: *bāa* [ba:] "dog."

The allophony [ɪ]~[i] and [ʊ]~[u] in epenthetic and prefix vowels 5.2 is ignored, only *ɪ* *ʊ* being used. Written *e* *o* also represent [ɪ] [ʊ]; *e* is used for non-initial elements of diphthongs, except after *ɛ*, and *o* for non-initial elements of diphthongs, except after *a*. The symbol *o* also represents [ʊ] in the 3sg pronoun *o*, and in the mora preceding it in liaison, which is written *·o*; any nasalisation mark *ñ* precedes *·o*.

	<i>dīe</i>	[d̥iː]	"receive"	<i>pāe</i>	[paː]	"reach"
	<i>bēog</i>	[bɛʊg]	"tomorrow"	<i>kpīoŋ</i>	[k̥piːʊŋ]	"strong"
	<i>ò bīig</i>	[ɔbiːg]	"her child"	<i>zú·o</i>	[zuʊ]	"steal him"
	<i>dà'·o</i>	[d̥aːʊ]	"bought for him"	<i>āñ·o</i>	[ãõ]	"be him/her"
but	<i>bēi</i>	[bɛi]	"be ye!"	<i>dāuog</i>	[daʊg]	"male"

The vowel *ɪ* is more central after velars and labials, and *ʊ* is slightly more front after alveolars and *y*; *u* is noticeably fronted after alveolar consonants, which may then even be realised as palato-alveolars. This is particularly common with *z*: [ʒyɡ] for *zūg* "head."

The glide symbols *e* *j* both represent /j/, but in *uj* and in the monophthong *je* the realisation of *j* is as [j̥]. The symbol *ɥ* always represents [ɥ].

<i>sāeñ</i>	[sã̃ɪ]	"witch"	<i>mùj</i>	[mũ̃j]	"rice"
<i>gbàɥŋ</i>	[g̃baʊŋ]	"book"			

ja *ɥa* *iə* *uə* are *phonemic monophthongs* affected by vowel breaking 3.2.2 and realised as written: [ja] [ɥa] [iə] [uə]. Before *y* word-internally, *ja* *ɥa* are realised [j̥i] [ɥ̥i] and written *je* *ɥe*. The orthography of this grammar follows tradition in representing these segments according to their *phonetic* realisation, but the symbols are *digraphs* representing monophthongs; *ə* *e* are used only here.

<i>piəliɡ</i>	[piəliɡ]	"white"	<i>bū'əs</i>	[bũɐs]	"ask"
<i>tjàk</i>	[t̥ɣak]	"change"	<i>pɥāk</i>	[p̥ɥak]	"female"
<i>kpjà'</i>	[k̥p̥ɣaː]	"shape wood"	<i>kjà</i>	[k̥ɣa]	"cut"

All other sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols represent phonemic diphthongs.

The glides *e/j* *u* contrast with *y w* in not forming syllable boundaries or consonant clusters, either as components of the digraphs *ja* *ya* representing single short vowel phonemes, or as the final components of short diphthongs:

<i>bĭāyñk</i>	[bĭãŋk]	"shoulder"	<i>bųàk</i>	[bųak]	"split"
<i>dāy</i>	[daŋ]	"man"	<i>gbàŋŋ</i>	[g̃baŋŋ]	"book"
<i>sōeñ</i>	[sõŋ]	"blacksmith"	<i>mùj</i>	[mũj]	"rice"
<i>tōe</i>	[tõŋ]	"be bitter"			

Word-final *-Vē* *-Vĭ* *-Vų* behave exactly like word-final short root vowels in being followed by [ʔ] before pause in statements 3.2.4:

Ò à nē dāy. [ʋanɛdaŋʔ] "He is a man."

Word-initial *ya* [ja] contrasts with *ĭa* [ĭa] in the tenseness of the semivowel, and probably in timing features; the contrast is not [ʔja] ~ [ja].

<i>ĭā</i>	[ĭa]	"seek"	<i>yā</i>	[ja]	"houses"
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KB has *uak* "inundate", which would contrast segmentally with *wak* "be sleepless" (from Naden's dictionary.)

There are great differences in the range of vowel contrasts possible in different positions within a word. Correlation with stress is only partial, so this is a system of positional prominence. Diphthongs, glottalisation, emic nasalisation and the sevenfold quality contrast appear only in root vowels 5.2.

There are few minimal pairs for *i/u* *u/v* in short vowels, except when shortened by apocope 5.1 from *ii/uu* *uu/vv*, but examples are

<i>lìdɨg</i>	"astonish, be amazed"	<i>lìdɨg</i>	"turn a shirt" WK
<i>sībɨg</i>	antelope species KED	<i>sībɨg</i>	"termite"
<i>bùl</i>	"astonish"	<i>bùl</i>	"germinate"
<i>ùk</i>	"vomit"	<i>ùk</i>	"bloat"
<i>būn</i>	"thing"	<i>bùn</i>	"germinate" ipfv
<i>kūdɨg</i>	"old"	<i>kūdɨg</i>	"piece of iron"
<i>kūg-kájā</i>	"this mahogany tree"	<i>kūg-kájā</i>	"this stone"
<i>tūlɨg</i>	"heat up"	<i>tùlɨg</i>	"invert"

3.2.1 Length

Word-internal long vowels are shortened before *k t p*:

<i>gàad</i>	"pass" pfv	<i>gàt</i>	"pass" ipfv
<i>tēeg</i>	"drag, draw"	<i>tēk</i>	"pull" (* <i>tēekki</i>)
Hausa	<i>tèeku</i>	<i>àtìyuk</i>	"sea"
Hausa	<i>kootù</i> (← English)	<i>kótù</i>	"court"

On overlong diphthongs see 3.2.5. An overlong monophthong appears in *mà'aa* "only"; everywhere else, overlong monophthongs reduce to long 7.1.

Non-glottalised long vowels are shortened before word-internal *y 5.3.1.

Short *i u* may appear where long vowels might be expected. *Zūg* "head" is the sole case where non-glottalised CV~CVV roots show a short allomorph before *g (cf Farefare *zúugó id*); *sūñf* "heart" is the only instance of short *uñ* not attributable either to apocope or to shortening before *y*; *nīf* "eye" is the only case where **nC* → *C* after a root vowel which remains short; *bùgúm* "fire" has the tonemes that would be regular for **bùugúm*; *dūniya* "world" corresponds to Hausa *duuniyàa* and *tīlās* "necessity" to Hausa *tiilàs*. However, long *ii uu* occur in many words, and there seems to be no single regular shortening process involved.

3.2.2 Breaking

The sequences *iə uə*, realised with the corresponding IPA values, pattern throughout as long *monophthongs*, with *ja ɥa* as the corresponding short vowels. They may be nasalised or glottalised, and are subject to the fronting and rounding processes described below 5.5 just like phonetic monophthongs. They will be described as monophthongs throughout this grammar. All other sequences beginning with written *i u* are *diphthongs* both phonetically and phonemically.

Toende Kusaal preserves these vowels as *phonetic* monophthongs, more open than the Toende *close* vowels corresponding to Agolle vowels which have expanded into the phonetic space vacated by breaking to become *open* *ɛ ɔ ɛɛ ɔɔ*:

Toende	Agolle	
<i>sēēs</i>	<i>sīās</i>	"waists"
<i>pē'ēs</i>	<i>pē'ɛs</i>	"sheep" pl
<i>bó'ɔs</i>	<i>bū'əs</i>	"ask"
<i>tōom</i>	<i>tōɔm</i>	"depart, disappear"

Proto-Kusaal also preserved other contrasts, like Mooré; Kusaal *ɔɔ/uə* pairings correspond to Mooré *oo*, but Mooré *ao* corresponds to *ɔɔ/ɔɔ*: Toende *bòòt*, Agolle *bòòd*, Mooré *bàoda* "want, wish."

Long oral $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$ probably arose historically either from $*V_y \text{ } *V_w$ or as the result of levelling within nominal paradigms 5.5. Short $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$ do not contrast underlyingly with $\text{ja } \text{ɥa}$ (see below.)

$\text{ia } \text{ue}$ may only occur word-finally through loss of fronting in word-final $\text{ie } \text{ue}$ by phrase-internal sandhi 7.3:

$\text{píə } \text{tī}$	"wash us"	(pīe "wash")
$\text{dúə } \text{tī}$	"raise us"	(dūe "raise")

Word-final $\text{ia } \text{ue}$ diphthongise to $\text{ia } \text{ua}$ before prosodic clitics, but not liaison: thus the pfv Long Forms 5.1:

kìā	[kia] "cut"	cf kìəd	ipfv
kūā	[kua] "hoe"	cf kūəd	ipfv

Nasalised $\text{iañ } \text{ueñ}$ (including after $m \text{ } n$) occur only before underlying $*g$, and in the ipfv of fusion verbs by analogy 5.6. In all other contexts original $*\text{ěě } *'\text{ǔǔ}$ and $*\text{ěě } *'\text{ǔǔ}$ have fallen together as $\text{εəñ } \text{ɔəñ}$. They were distinct historically: cf nōɔr "times", Mooré náooré , nōɔr "mouth", Mooré nóorè .

The short vowels corresponding to $\text{ia } \text{ue}$ are $\text{ja } \text{ɥa}$ [ja] [ɥa].

These, too, pattern as simple vowels throughout: sjàk "agree" and bɥàk "split" do not violate the constraint that words begin with at most one consonant.

Short $\text{ja } \text{ɥa}$ have just two origins. Apocope 5.1 shortens final $\text{ia } \text{ue}$ to $\text{ja } \text{ɥa}$:

kjà	"cut"	SF of kìā
kɥā	"hoe"	SF of kūā

Elsewhere, $\text{ja } \text{ɥa}$ replace $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$ before k and before underlying $*g$, which is deleted, with vowel glottalisation and fusion 5.6. Bòk "pit" contrasting with bɥàk "split" is due to the rounding change $*\text{ɥakkv} \rightarrow \text{ɔkkv}$ 5.5, while tĕk "pull", contrasting with tjàk "change" is due to shortening of a long vowel before an original plosive cluster $*\text{tεεkk}$ 3.2.1. Presumably nōk "pick up" is similarly derived by shortening of $*\text{nɔɔkk}$; Toende Kusaal has nòk , with a variant form nɔ'ɔ (for $*\text{nɔ'ɔg}$.)

Short $\text{je } \text{ɥe}$ [jɛ] [ɥɛ] appear only in the context of $r^{\text{e}}|\text{a}^+$ class plurals of nominals with stems in ia and ue , where the stem vowel is shortened before -ya 5.3.1:

bīər	"elder same-sex sib"	pl bjēyá
sūər	"road"	pl sūēyá KB suoya

3.2.3 Nasalisation

Nasalisation is marked by *ñ* following an entire vowel or diphthong unless it is also glottalised, when the *ñ* precedes the ' mark; however, after initial *y* or *w* nasalisation is marked with *ñ* before the *y* or *w*:

<i>tēñs</i>	[tẽ:s]	"lands"	<i>áñsìb</i>	[ãsɪb]	"mother's brother"
<i>gēñ</i>	[gẽ]	"get tired"	<i>gēñ'</i>	[gẽ]	"get angry"
<i>gēñ'ed</i>	[gẽ:d]	"get angry" ipfv	<i>ñwām</i>	[wãm]	"calabash"

Contrastive nasalisation often represents originally automatic nasalisation after *ŋ *ɲ *ŋm̄, or arises before underlying *ns *nf 5.4.

Short *iñ uñ* are laxer than oral *i u*, but there are no contrasting short *iñ *uñ. In all but one case, short *iñ uñ* arise from apocope 5.1 of *iiñ uuñ*:

<i>sīñf</i>	"bee"	cb <i>sīñ-</i>
<i>zùuñg</i>	"vulture"	cb <i>zùñ-</i>

The only remaining case is *sūñf* "heart" (pl *sūñyá* cb *sūñ-*); KB writes *sunf*. Nasalisation is automatic on long vowels preceded by a nasal consonant:

<i>mēed</i>	"build" ipfv	[mẽ:d]
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Nasalised *iəñ uəñ* occur only in fusion verbs 5.6. Long *uiñ uuiñ* contrasting with *iiñ uuñ* appear exclusively from the change of *nf *ns to *f s* with nasalisation of the preceding vowel 5.4:

	<i>níŋ</i>	"bird"	
but	<i>píiñf</i>	"genet"	pl <i>pīni</i>
	<i>zùuñd</i>	"vultures"	
but	<i>zú'uñf</i>	"dawadawa seed"	pl <i>zō'uni</i>
	<i>tèŋ-zùuñs</i>	"foreign lands"	sg <i>tèŋ-zùŋ</i>

3.2.4 Glottalisation

Glottalisation is confined to root vowels of free words and cbs and the tense marker *pà'* "earlier today." It does not affect vowel quality. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel symbol (including *ɥ*) other than *j*:

	<i>dà'</i>	[d̥a]	"buy"	<i>dà'a</i>	[d̥a:]	"market"
	<i>kù'əm</i>	[k̥uəm]	"water"	<i>pɥ'ā</i>	[p̥ɥ̥a]	"woman"
but	<i>djā'</i>	[d̥j̥a]	"get dirty"			

Glottalisation may be realised as a creaky-voiced glottal approximant [ʔ] after the first vocalic mora, or the creakiness may be more widely spread within the vowel; but in either case it behaves as a vowel feature, not a consonant. The flap realisation of initial *d* 3.1 occurs after *V'* as well as after *V*.

Tonal considerations confirm that ' is not a consonant. Thus

Lì kā' mólɪf̃. "It's not a gazelle."

Lì kā' ↓nú'ug̃. "It's not a hand."

differ in whether the H toneme is realised with a preceding downstep, because the sequence *-li-* in *mólɪf̃* is a syllable, preventing the application of a rule which inserts downstep between M and H when the next syllable is prepausal, whereas the ' in *nú'ug̃* is not a consonant and does not begin a syllable 4.

Glottalisation which has arisen from deletion of **g* after *a ja ɥa* 5.6 does not differ phonetically from other types.

An unwritten [ʔ] follows short vowels and diphthongs ending statements and commands, but not questions. Phrase-final *dāɥ* "man", for example, is realised [daʔ]. Before this [ʔ], vowel glottalisation is lost:

Kà bà gēñ. "and they got tired" is homophonous with

Kà bà gēñ'. "and they got angry"

but *Bà gēñ nē.* "they're tired" differs in realisation from

Bà gēñ' nē. "they're angry"

There is nothing corresponding to Kusaal vowel glottalisation in Mooré, Dagaare, Mampruli, Hanga or Dagbani, but Farefare, Nabit and Talni share it: *yō'ur* "name", Farefare *yú'úré*; *kù'əm* "water", Talni *kwoʔm*; *kpá'ɔŋ* "guinea fowl", Nabit *kpa'ɔŋ*; *nō-ñyâ'aŋ* "hen", Nabit *nɔnya'aŋ*.

Nawdm, too, has [ʔ], written *h*, in many words with Kusaal cognates showing glottalised vowels, e.g. *mtáh'* "three" (in counting) = Kusaal *ntáñ'*; *núhú* "arm, hand" = *nú'ug*; *ráhín* "bile" = Kusaal *yā'am* (WK), Farefare *yá'am*.

Glottalised short vowels are almost all the result of apocope 5.1. Besides *kā'ɛ*⁺ "not be" (← **kagɪ*) all other cases precede *m* or *ŋ* in closed syllables in some words for some informants. The vowels are written as if long in KB.

kpè'ŋ "strengthen" *lā'ŋ* "set alight"

nī'm "meat" *kō'm* "hunger"

sù'ŋā "well" *sù'm* "goodness"

Sòŋ pl *sùma* "good" never has glottalisation. Toende Kusaal, Farefare, Nabit and Talni lack this phenomenon. It probably arose from gemination of *m ŋ*; KB has 385 examples of *an sum* to 47 of *an su'um àñ sùmm* "is good", but 30 of *ka' sum* to 40 of *ka' su'um k̄ā sùmm* "is not good" clause-finally.

Yām~yā'am probably represents a conflation of once-distinct *yām* "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárm*) and *yā'am* "gall bladder" (Buli *yáam*, Nawdm *ráhím*.)

3.2.5 Diphthongs

Kusaal has short, long and overlong diphthongs. Overlong diphthongs are realised as *disyllabic* with syllable division after the first mora; other sequences of dissimilar vowels are realised as falling diphthongs. Rounding diphthongs occur only word-finally and before velars, fronting diphthongs only word-finally and before *y*. The digraphs *ja ya iə uə* represent phonemic *monophthongs* 3.2.2.

Length contrasts among phonemic diphthongs in identical contexts occur only with word-final *ae/aē* and with *avj/avj̄*.

Primary diphthongs arise from word-final **Vw* **Vy* 5.3.1 and from fusion, fronting and rounding 5.6 5.5. All also occur nasalised, and if not short, glottalised; those written glottalised below *only* occur glottalised.

	<i>ia</i> [ia] <i>ja'a</i> [jạː] <i>ua</i> [ua] <i>u'a</i> [ụạ]	<i>iaa</i> [ia:] <i>uaa</i> [ua:]
<i>aē</i> [ạɪ̣] <i>ɔē</i> [ɔ̣ɪ̣] <i>uī</i> [ụị] <i>uē</i> [ụɪ̣]	<i>ae</i> [aɪ] <i>ie</i> [iɪ] <i>ɔ'e</i> [ɔ̣ɪ̣] <i>ui</i> [ui] <i>ue</i> [uɪ] <i>u'e</i> [ụɪ̣]	<i>aae</i> [aɪ:] <i>iee</i> [iɪ:] <i>uee</i> [uɪ:]
<i>av̄</i> [ạv̄] <i>εv̄</i> [ε̣v̄] <i>jav̄</i> [jạv̄] <i>iv̄</i> [ịv̄]	<i>av</i> [av] <i>εo</i> [εv] <i>iu</i> [iu] <i>io</i> [iv]	

Long diphthongs may become overlong by prolongation of the second mora before the polar-question prosodic clitic 7.1. The diphthongs *u'a uñ'a* appear as *u'aa uñ'aa* respectively when LF-final.

Secondary diphthongs are created by *replacement* of final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] [ʊ] before liaison words 7.2.1: ^o [ʊ] "him/her" replaces any preceding vowel mora by [ʊ], never [u], and the postposed 2pl subject ^{ya} replaces any preceding vowel mora by [ɪ], never [i]. Any of *a e ɔ ɪ ʊ i u* may precede:

<i>zū·ó·o</i>	[zuɔ:]	"steal him"	Long Form 5.1
<i>zú·o</i>	[zuɔ]	"steal him"	Short Form
<i>bēɪyá</i>	[bɛɪja]	"be ye!"	Long Form
<i>bēɪ</i>	[bɛɪ]	"be ye!"	Short Form

3.3 Traditional orthography

For word division see 2.3. Tone is unmarked.

ll mm nn are often written single before 2016. KSS uses *ng* for *ŋ*.

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

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

e o are used for [ɪ] [ʊ] as in this grammar. In addition, the pronouns *ɔn/ɔn/ɔn ðŋā* are written *on oŋa*, and KB writes *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ* "go" (pfv), *ken* "go" (ipfv) for *yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn*. This may reflect actual variants with [ɪ]: cf Toende *tīŋ* "land", Mampruli *tīŋŋa* "land", versus Toende *meŋ*, Mampruli *maŋŋa* = *mēŋ* "self."

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

iə uə are written respectively as *ie uo*; *ie uo* are also used to write *ie uo* [iɪ] [ʊɪ] but there is no significant ambiguity, because *ie uo* appear only word-finally and in *-i'ey-*, and *iə uə* only word-internally, and marginally in external sandhi 7.3:

<i>pielig</i>	<i>piəɪɪg</i>	"white"
<i>bu'os</i>	<i>bū'əs</i>	"ask"
<i>dɪ'e</i>	<i>dɪ'e</i>	"receive"
<i>zu o</i>	<i>zú·o</i>	"steal him"

2016 orthography writes *-ue* [uɪ] as *-uoe* and *-ve* [ʊɪ] as *-voe* (similarly when nasalised and/or glottalised): *duoe* = *dūe* "raise, rise", *sv'oe* = *sū'e* "own."

The diphthong *io* [iʊ] is written *io* in the 1976 NT but *ieu* later: thus *kpɪ'oŋ* "strong" [kɪpɪ'oŋ] is *kpɪ'oŋ* in the 1976 NT, *kpɪ'euoŋ* in the 1996 NT and KB.

Traditional orthography uses *e i u* for *ɛ ɪ ʊ* and consequently does not mark length consistently, but only two length contrasts are found in *phonemic* diphthongs; of these *ae/aē* is expressed by writing *aae* (or *aaɛ*) for *ae* versus *ae* for *aē*:

paae *pāe* "reach"

The contrast *au/ay* is unmarked. KB uses *au* or *av* consistently for each word, but not as marking length: *yaug yàug* "grave", but *na'araug nā'-dāug* "ox"; *dau dāu* "man" but *tavn tāuñ* "sibling of opposite sex." Ambiguity appears before *ŋ*:

gbauŋ *gbāuŋ* "skin"
mangaŋ *màngáŋ* "crab"

Word-final *ia ua* are used ambiguously for both *ja ɥa* and *ia ua*:

kia *kjà* "cut"
kua *kɥā* "hoe"
sia *sīa* "waist"
sabua *sàbùa* "lover"

' is not written after *i* when it represents *j*, thereby disambiguating

kpi'a *kpi'a* "neighbour"
kpi'a' *kpi'à'* "shape wood"

Before 2016, *ɥ'a* [ɥǎ] was usually written *o'a*, but did not even then contrast consistently with *u'a* representing *u'a* [uǎ]. All *u'a ɥ'a* and *o'a* are now written *u'a*.

po'a pu'a *pu'ā* "woman"
po'ab pu'ab *pū'ab* "women"

NT/KB write *-ey-* in Long Forms 5.1 corresponding to Short Forms where final *-y* has become *-e*: *vveya* = *vūyá* Long Form of *vūe* "be alive." Older NT versions also write *būn-vúyà* "living things" as *bunvoeya*, but KB has the expected *bunvuya*.

Traditional orthography has *dunia*, *laafia* for *dūnɪya* "world", *láafiya* "health."

KB writes *bieya* for *bjēyá* "elder same-sex siblings", but *suoya* for *sūēyá* "roads", *zuoya* for *zūēya* "hills" etc. Older sources write *sueya*, *zueya*.

For nasalisation, plain *n* is used for *ñ*, e.g. *tεens* for *tēēñs* "lands", *gen'* for *gēñ'* "get angry", *gen'ed* for *gēñ'ed* "get angry" (ipfv), *nwam* for *ñwām* "calabash."

Ending a prefix, *n* represents *n*: *dunduug* for *dùndùug* [dundu:g] "cobra."

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

4 Tones

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

The tone-bearing unit is the syllable 2.1. Every syllable carries a toneme, except for superlight syllables and catenator-*n*, which are toneless, and realised by extension of the toneme of the preceding syllable to cover both. Overlong diphthongs are disyllabic, with syllable division following the first mora, and thus carry two tonemes, as in the Long Form *nūáa* "hen."

There are four tonemes: High (H), marked with an acute: *gél* "egg"; Mid (M), marked with a macron: *bāŋ* "ring"; Low (L), marked with a grave: *bòk* "pit"; and Circumflex (X), marked with a circumflex: *nû'ug* "hand." The circumflex toneme can only appear on a superheavy CVVC syllable; when such a syllable becomes open, H toneme replaces X. Words like *nû'ug* "hand" and *náaf* "cow" thus fall together tonally in the Long Form 5.1.1:

Lì kâ' nû'ugō +∅. "It's not a hand."
3INAN NEG.BE hand:SG NEG.

Lì kâ' náafō +∅. "It's not a cow."
3INAN NEG.BE COW:SG NEG.

Kusaal M toneme corresponds to H in the other Western Oti-Volta languages. H and X tonemes are secondary. M syllables become H before a following L; superheavy L syllables become X after a preceding M, or as a result of the M-spreading external tone sandhi 7.4.3, while other L syllables here become H.

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

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

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

HH → H↓H

HX → H↓X

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

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

Kà m̃ gɔ̃s gél lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̃ gɔ̃s ↓gél lā bēogv-n.*

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

"I looked at the egg in the morning."

Kà m̃ gɔ̃s náaf lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̃ gɔ̃s ↓náaf lā bēogv-n.*

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

"I looked at the cow in the morning."

Kà m̃ gɔ̃s nû'ug lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̃ gɔ̃s ↓nû'ug lā bēogv-n.*

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

"I looked at the hand in the morning."

MH → M↓H before a superheavy CVVC syllable:

Ànó'wòní \emptyset *ńyē* *púkòwǎrē* $^{+\emptyset?}$ "Who saw a widow?"
Who CAT see widow:SG CQ?

Lì *kā'* *púkòwǎrē* $^{+\emptyset}$. "It's not a widow."
3INAN NEG.BE widow:SG NEG.

but *Lì* *à* *nē* *↓púkòwǎrē* *lā*. "It's the widow."
3INAN COP FOC widow:SG ART.

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

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

Mān *bú-sùŋ* *kā'e* $^{+\emptyset}$. "My good goat isn't there."
1SG.CNTR goat-good:SG NEG.BE NEG.

Mān *kúkōr* *kā'e* $^{+\emptyset}$. "My voice isn't there."
1SG.CNTR VOICE:SG NEG.BE NEG.

but *Mān* *↓bú-pìəl* *kā'e* $^{+\emptyset}$.
1SG.CNTR goat-white:SG NEG.BE NEG.
"My white goat isn't there."

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

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

Yō *↓gúm* *kā'e* $^{+\emptyset}$. "There's no camel."
Camel:SG NEG.BE NEG.

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

Ò p̄ yādi ↓gídā +∅.
3AN NEG.IND scatter:IPFV NEG.

"He isn't scattering."

Lì k̄ā' bī-↓púnā +∅.
3INAN NEG.BE child-girl:SG NEG.

"It's not a girl."

Ò p̄ ñyē ↓sú'ugā +∅.
3AN NEG.IND see knife:SG NEG.

"She didn't find a knife."

Lì k̄ā' ñyī ↓ríf5 +∅.
3INAN NEG.BE egusi:SG NEG.

"It's not an egusi seed."

but Kà m̄ ḡs búŋ l̄ā bēogv-n.

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

"And I looked at the donkey in the morning." (*l̄ā* not prepausal)

Yūgúm l̄ā k̄ā'e +∅.
Camel:SG ART NEG.BE NEG.

"The camel's not there."
(*l̄ā* not prepausal)

Lì à nē d̄ɔŋ l̄ā.
3INAN COP FOC hut:SG ART.

"It's the hut." (MX not MH)

Ànó'ɔnì_∅ yādi gídà +∅?
Who CAT scatter:IPFV CQ?

"Who is scattering?" (L after H)

Lì k̄ā' bī-púnà +∅?
3INAN NEG.BE child-girl:SG PQ?

"Isn't it a girl?" (L after H)

Ànó'ɔnì_∅ ñyē sú'ugà +∅?
Who CAT see knife:SG CQ.

"Who found a knife?" (L after H)

Ò p̄ dúgèè +∅ +∅?
3AN NEG.IND COOK NEG PQ.

"Didn't she cook?" (L after H)

A CV syllable is superlight if it is not word-initial, word-final or root-initial, and is preceded by another CV syllable which is not itself superlight. Superlight syllables are toneless, with the toneme of the preceding syllable extended to cover both.

Bà k̄ā' dī'əsídibā +∅.
3PL NEG.BE receiver:PL NEG.

"They are not receivers."

An intervening superlight syllable prevents the insertion of downstep between M and H when the syllable after the superlight is prepausal:

Lì k̄ā' ↓nú'uḡ̄ +∅. "It's not a hand."
3INAN NEG.BE hand:SG NEG.

but *Lì k̄ā' mólif̄̄ +∅.* "It's not a gazelle."
3INAN NEG.BE gazelle:SG NEG.

A syllable introduced by *k p t ŋ* cannot be superlight, because written intervocalic *k p t ŋ* represent *kk tt pp ŋŋ*, which close the preceding syllable:

Ka ya pu siakida. "But you did not agree." (Lk 13:34)
Kà yà p̄̄ sjákìdā +∅.
And 2PL NEG.IND agree:IPFV NEG.

Heavy, root-initial, word-initial and word-final syllables always carry tonemes.

Lì à nē mólif̄̄. "It's a gazelle."
3INAN COP FOC gazelle:SG.

Lì k̄ā' b̄̄n-sábìllē +∅. "It's not a black thing."
3INAN NEG.BE thing-black:SG NEG.

Lì k̄ā' dágòbìgā +∅. "It's not a left hand."
3INAN NEG.BE left.hand:SG NEG. (Prefix *dà-*, root *gòb-* 13)

Bà à nē dígà. "They are dwarfs."
3PL COP FOC dwarf:PL.

Word-division creates a prominence contrast leading to a tonal contrast between the bolded syllables in

Ò p̄̄ zábì_f̄̄ +∅. "He didn't fight you."
3AN NEG.IND fight 2SG.OB NEG.

and *Lì k̄ā' mólif̄̄ +∅.* "It's not a gazelle."
3INAN NEG.BE gazelle:SG NEG.

5 Word segmental structure

This section treats the structure of free words, and those bound words which have the same segmental and tonal form as free words: all combining forms, some clause-level particles and most preverbs.

Segmental rules apply in the order: consonant assimilation/epenthetic vowel insertion [5.4](#), vowel fronting/rounding [5.5](#), *g-deletion/vowel fusion [5.6](#), apocope [5.1](#).

5.1 Apocope

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

For example, "child" appears as the Short Form *bīig* in isolation and in most contexts, including clause finally for the most part, and clause medially everywhere except when followed by a particular set of "liaison words" [7.2](#):

Ò *dāa ñyē bīig*. "She saw a child."
3AN TNS see child:SG.

bīig lā nū'ug "the child's hand"
child:SG ART hand:SG

The Long Form (here, *bīiga*) is found in the final word of

Clauses with a **negation** (negative particle or negative verb)
Questions, both content and polar
Clauses used as **vocatives**

Ò *kā' bīiga* +∅. "He/she is not a child."
3AN NEG.BE child:SG NEG.

Ò *dāa pū ñyē bīiga* +∅. "He/she did not see a child."
3AN TNS NEG.IND see child:SG NEG.

Ánó'ɔ̀nì_∅ *dāa ñyē bīigà* +∅?
Who CAT TNS see child:SG CQ?
"Who saw a child?"

Ì *bīiga* +∅! "My child!"
1SG child:SG VOC!

The Long Form also appears as a **derivational** feature in the *citation* form of some words 5.1.3. Direct commands sometimes end in a LF 21.3.

The LF appears in a modified form before **liaison**, with LF final short vowels losing all contrasts of quality 7.2.

The LF is not predictable in general from the shape of the SF alone; however, the SF is always derivable from the LF by **apocope**:

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

Subsequently

Word-final consonant clusters drop the second consonant
(*kk tt pp ηη* become *k t p η* but are *written* single in any case 3.1)
Word-final *y* becomes *ɛ* after back vowels and zero elsewhere

Shortening of final diphthongs by apocope (changes apply identically to nasalised and/or glottalised diphthongs):

ia → *ja* *ua* → *ɥa* *ja'a* → *ja'* *ɥ'aa* → *ɥ'a*
ae → *aɛ* *av* → *aɥ* *ui* → *uj*
Vaa → *Va* *Vee* → *Ve* *Vuu* → *Vu*

The term "apocope" will be used exclusively for this phenomenon. Apocope is described as a single process, but comparative and internal evidence shows that loss of quality contrasts preceded the complete deletion of word-final vowels clause-medially, which was itself distinct from the clause-final apocope characteristic of Kusaal, Nabit and Talni. In Toende Kusaal, apocope still involves two steps 3.1 fn.

Examples:

Lì à nē kōk.

3INAN COP FOC chair:SG.

"It's a chair."

Kōk lā bódìg yā.

Chair:SG ART get.lost PFV.

"The chair has got lost."

<i>Lì k̄a' k̄oka.</i> +∅.	"It's not a chair."
3INAN NEG.BE chair:SG NEG.	
<i>Lì à nē kúkàa</i> +∅?	"Is it a chair?"
3INAN COP FOC chair:SG PQ?	
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì_∅ ñyē kúkà</i> +∅?	"Who saw a chair?"
Who CAT see chair:SG CQ?	

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

<i>Lì à nē dūk.</i>	"It's a cooking pot."
<i>Dūk lā bódìg yā.</i>	"The pot's got lost."
<i>Lì k̄a' dūk.</i> /kk/	"It's not a pot."
<i>Lì à nē dūkó?</i>	"Is it a pot?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē dūkó?</i>	"Who saw a pot?"
<i>Lì à nē gbīgum.</i>	"It's a lion."
<i>Lì k̄a' gbīgumne.</i>	"It's not a lion."
<i>Lì à nē gbígìmnεε?</i>	"Is it a lion?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē gbígìmnεε?</i>	"Who saw a lion?"
<i>Lì à nē yáarìm.</i>	"It's salt."
<i>Lì k̄a' yáarìmm.</i>	"It's not salt."
<i>Lì à nē yáarìmm?</i>	"Is it salt?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē yáarìmm?</i>	"Who saw salt?"
<i>Bà à nē gbīguma.</i>	"They're lions."
<i>Bà k̄a' gbīgumaa.</i>	"They're not lions."
<i>Bà à nē gbígumàa?</i>	"Are they lions?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē gbígumàa?</i>	"Who saw lions?"
<i>Ò à nē dāy.</i>	"He's a man."
<i>Ò k̄a' dāv.</i>	"He's not a man."
<i>Ò à nē dāv?</i>	"Is he a man?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē dāv?</i>	"Who saw a man?"
<i>Ò à nē sāeñ.</i>	"He's a blacksmith."
<i>Ò k̄a' sāeñ.</i>	"He's not a blacksmith."
<i>Ò à nē sáeñ?</i>	"Is he a blacksmith?"
<i>Ànó'ɔ̀nì ñyē sáeñ?</i>	"Who saw a blacksmith?"

<i>Kà ò sják.</i> And 3AN agree.	"And he agreed."
<i>Ò p̄ sjákē +∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND agree NEG.	"He didn't agree."
<i>Kà ò dīgi.</i> <i>Ò p̄ dīgiyá.</i>	"And she's lying down." "She isn't lying down."
<i>Kà ò vūe.</i> <i>Ò p̄ vūyá.</i>	"And she's alive." "She's not alive."
<i>Kà ò kǐá.</i> <i>Ò p̄ kǐa.</i>	"And she cut (it)." "She hasn't cut (it)."
<i>Kà ò pāe.</i> <i>Ò p̄ pāée.</i>	"And he reached (it)." "He hasn't reached (it)."

The derivational type of Long Form appears in many adverbs and quantifiers. Thus with the adjective *bédug* "big" and the adverb *bédugū* "a lot":

<i>Lì à nē b̄n-bédug.</i> 3INAN COP FOC thing-big:SG.	"It's a big thing."
<i>Lì k̄a' b̄n-bédug +∅.</i> 3INAN NEG.BE thing-big:SG NEG.	"It's not a big thing."
<i>M̄ p̄'us yā bédugū.</i> 1SG greet PFV much.	"Thank you very much."

Apocope often results in a syllable which is superlight in the LF becoming closed. Closed syllables must carry tonemes; such syllables always become M after a preceding syllable with M, and L after syllables with other tonemes. The conventions for toneme marking require L to be marked with a grave symbol if the preceding syllable has H:

<i>Lì à nē nóbìr.</i>	"It's a leg."
<i>Lì k̄a' nóbìrē.</i>	"It's not a leg."

5.1.1 Superscript notation

The exact shape of a Long Form differs in different contexts. Final vowel length may be neutralised, final short vowel qualities may be altered or completely neutralised, and final tonemes may be altered. Changes to LFs occur clause-medially before **liaison** 7.2, and clause-finally before **prosodic clitics** 7.1, which have no segmental form of their own but cause the preceding word to appear as a LF rather than the default SF. Derivational LF types are taken as showing **apocope-blocking** 5.1.3. The LF as such is an abstraction, representing the underlying word-form which produces the surface SF through apocope, and the various surface LFs through application of the rules for each environment. For convenience, the LF preceding the *negative* prosodic clitic will be taken as basic segmentally. It shows underlying final short *-i -u* as *-ε -ɔ*, **-mu *-mi* as *-mm -mm* and *-iə -uə* as *-ia -ua* 3.2.2.

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

<i>bīig</i> ^a	"child"	<i>kūk</i> ^a	"chair"
<i>dūk</i> ^{ɔ/}	"pot"	<i>s̄jək</i> ^ε	"agree"
<i>gbīgim</i> ^{nε}	"lion"	<i>yàarim</i> ^m	"salt"
<i>dīg</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"	<i>zìe</i> ^{ya}	"be standing"

When the LF ends in a long vowel or diphthong, superscript notation writes the SF followed by the mark ⁺:

<i>gbīgima</i> ⁺	"lions"	SF <i>gbīgima</i>	LF <i>gbīgimaa</i>
<i>mòli</i> ⁺	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòli</i>	LF <i>mòliu</i>
<i>gòñ</i> ⁺	"hunt"	SF <i>gòñ</i>	LF <i>gòɔñ</i>
<i>tìeñ</i> ⁺	"inform"	SF <i>tìeñ</i>	LF <i>tìeeñ</i>
<i>kjà</i> ⁺	"cut"	SF <i>kjà</i>	LF <i>kjà</i>
<i>kṽā</i> ⁺	"hoe"	SF <i>kṽā</i>	LF <i>kūā</i>
<i>dāṽ</i> ⁺	"man"	SF <i>dāṽ</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>
<i>sāeñ</i> ⁺	"blacksmith"	SF <i>sāeñ</i>	LF <i>sāeñ</i>

Superscript ^a is written after a vowel symbol in two cases.

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

	<i>kpjà</i> ⁺	"shape wood"	SF <i>kpjà'</i>	LF <i>kpì'a</i>
but	<i>djā</i> ^a	"get dirty"	SF <i>djā'</i>	LF <i>djā'a</i>
	<i>kṽā</i> ⁺	"hoe"	SF <i>kṽā</i>	LF <i>kūā</i>
but	<i>pu'ā</i> ^a	"woman"	SF <i>pu'ā</i>	LF <i>pu'āa</i>

Words with LFs in *-ya* where the SFs changes the word-final *-y* to *-ɛ* are also written with superscript ^a:

<i>vōɛ^{a/}</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>vōɛ</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>
<i>tōɛ^{a/}</i>	"be bitter"	SF <i>tōɛ</i>	LF <i>tōyá</i>

Words with segmentally identical SF and LF and are written with =, as in *dà'a*= "market." In a few cases where superscript notation is impractical, the forms will be written out separately, e.g. *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot."

Intrinsic LF-final tonemes are L whenever the last stem toneme is L or H, but may be either M or H after stem-final M; superscript notation takes M as the default, and writes an acute mark / after forms with LF-final H. For the actual realisation before different prosodic clitics and liaison words see 7.4.

Words like SF *nú'ug* LF *nú'ugò* "hand" coincide tonally in the LF with words like *náaf^ɔ* "cow", because X toneme can only stand on a superheavy syllable. They are written in superscript notation with the SF tonemes: *nú'ug^ɔ* "hand."

Words like SF *nóbìr* LF *nóbìrè* "foot, leg" show a toneless superlight second syllable in the LF, corresponding to a L closed syllable in the SF; such words too are written in superscript notation with the SF tones: *nóbìr^ɛ* "foot", *dī'əsídìb^a* "receivers." Cases where the LF superlight syllable follows a syllable with L or M need no special notation, because of the convention that graves and macrons apply to following unmarked syllables: *ñwādìg^{a/}* "moon", LF *ñwādìgá*, SF *ñwādìg* written *ñwādìg*.

5.1.2 Predictability of Long Forms

The LF can usually be predicted from the SF given the aspect of a verb, or whether a noun has human reference 8.1. Historically expected LFs can be replaced by different LFs corresponding to the same SFs 8.3.1 8.3.2. Apocope frequently does *not* lead to loss of segmental contrasts despite deleting segments which condition preceding sound changes, and working in reverse, such features can often accurately predict LFs from SFs; even words completely deleted by apocope remain recognisable from their effects on preceding words. The LF will be treated as synchronically primary, as it certainly is historically, but the matter merits discussion.

Apocope abolishes the contrast between Tone Patterns H and O in nominals with short stems, whereas LFs can only lack contrasts seen in SFs due to the limited occurrence of the X toneme. However, Tone Patterns are suprasegmental features of stems rather than words 6.1, so this does not establish the primacy of the LF.

With **SFs ending in consonants** the LF may end in *a ɛ* or *ɔ*; SF-final *m n* or *l* may or may not be geminated; *-m* may become *-mn-* instead of *-mm-*. Even before liaison 7.2, with vowel quality neutralised, the same issues arise with consonants:

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

However, given whether a noun has human reference, it is usually possible to identify its noun class and thus the correct LF 8.1. Perfectives end in *-mm* if the the SF ends in *-m* and in *-ε* otherwise; imperfectives end in *-a* with gemination of preceding *n / m*. (Dual-aspect verb imperfectives with SFs ending in *-m* formerly had LFs in *-mna*, though not for my informants or KB.)

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

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wusa, sɔ' kae gat Joon ne [sic 2.3].
Pū'abí_ ø dɔ' à sīəba lā wūsa, sɔ' kā'e_ ø gát Joone +ø.
 Woman:PL NZ bear IND.F.PL ART all, IND.F.AN NEG.BE CAT PASS:IPFV John NEG.
 "Of all those born of women, none surpasses John." (Lk 7: 28)

All SFs ending in vowels other than front vowels or fronting diphthongs have LFs which can be obtained by lengthening the final vowel/diphthong; so too do many that do end in fronting diphthongs or in *short* (but not long) front vowels:

<i>sīa⁺</i>	"waist"	<i>sàbùa⁺</i>	"girlfriend"
<i>bāa⁼</i>	"dog" <u>7.1</u>	<i>pāe^{+/}</i>	"reach"
<i>niè⁺</i>	"appear"	<i>dūe^{+/}</i>	"raise/rise"
<i>kūgá⁺</i>	"stones"	<i>wìdì⁺</i>	"horses"
<i>kū⁺</i>	"kill"	<i>mà⁺</i>	"mother"
<i>bèdvgū^{+/}</i>	"a lot"		

This applies also in cases where a LF long vowel is historically unexpected:

<i>djā^a</i>	"get dirty"	← * <i>djagi</i>	Farefare	<i>dēgè</i>
<i>dɔ' à^a</i>	"bear, beget"	← * <i>dɔ' agi</i>	Farefare	<i>dògè</i>
<i>zò⁺</i>	"run"		Farefare	<i>zè</i>
<i>dāy⁺</i> LF <i>dāv</i>	"man"	← * <i>dawa</i>	Mooré	<i>ráo</i>
<i>tāyñ^{+/}</i> LF <i>távñ</i>	"opposite-sex sib"	← * <i>tāwa</i>	Mooré	<i>táo</i>

A marginal exception to predictability is the fact that words ending in *ja'* may have LFs in *ja'a* like *djā^a* "get dirty" or in *'a* like *kpjā⁺* "shape wood with an axe."

SFs ending in a fronting diphthong or short *ɪ* may either prolong the vowel/diphthong in the LF or add *-ya*. Two nouns have variant sg LFs:

<i>sāeñ</i>	"blacksmith"	LF <i>sāeñ</i> or <i>sāñya</i>
<i>sōeñ</i>	"witch"	LF <i>sōeñ</i> or <i>sōñya</i>

All other cases with added *-ya* occur in **single-aspect verbs** 10.2, where LF *-ya* is the regular LF corresponding to such SFs except with a few bare root forms:

<i>dīgi^{ya}</i>	"be lying down"	<i>vūe^a</i>	"be alive"
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Before liaison, single-aspect verbs follow the *general* rule, prolonging any final short diphthong and then applying phrase-medial loss of fronting 7.2.

5.1.3 Apocope-blocking

Some free words have citation forms without apocope. The form is like a LF, without the lowering of postconsonantal final *ɪ* *ʊ* to *ɛ* *ɔ* seen before prosodic clitics. Final L is changed to M, which becomes H in the secondary LF form (see below.)

This is a derivational feature seen in many adverbs and quantifiers (including number words), and as a downtoning measure with adjectives 15.7.1.2:

<i>bèdvū</i> (<i>g</i> ^ɔ sg)	"a lot"	<i>sùŋā</i> (<i>g</i> ^a sg)	"well"
<i>yīnní</i> (<i>r</i> ^ɛ sg)	"one"	<i>ànāasí</i> (<i>s</i> ^ɛ pl)	"four"
<i>pāmm</i> (<i>m</i> ^m)	"a lot"		

A number of nouns ending in *-ɪ*⁺ or *-ʊ*⁺ 8.5 also display apocope-blocking.

Words of one underlying mora also do not show apocope, e.g. *yā*⁺ "houses", (SF *yā* LF *yáa*) and numerous bound particles and pronouns.

Words with apocope-blocking may display final extra-long simple vowels: *mà'aa* "only." They change final *-mʊ* to *-mm*: *pāmm* "a lot."

Apocope-blocked words make secondary LFs before prosodic clitics by prolonging a short final vowel:

<i>Lì à nē bédvū.</i>	"It's a lot."
<i>Lì kā' bédvūv.</i>	"It's not a lot."

Forms not ending in a short vowel add *-nɛ* to make the secondary LF: *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot"; *mà'aa* SF *mà'anɛ* LF "only"; *gùllimm* SF *gùllumnɛ* LF "only"; *kòtā*^{nɛ} "at all." The LF of *ñyāe*^{nɛ} "brightly, clearly" is similarly *ñyāené* [jãĩñẽ]. Cf *mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause-finally (all sources) *mèn*^ɛ "also, too."

5.2 Roots, stems and flexions

Word structure is based on (C)V(C) or (C)VV(C) **roots**. Root syllables with no initial consonant are optionally realised with initial [ʔ], e.g. *úvn*^{NE} "dry season" [ʔʊ:n]~ [ʊ:n]. Root-final consonants can only be *b d g l m n s r*. All vowels may occur in roots, along with contrastive length, nasalisation and glottalisation.

Stems are derived from roots by adding up to three of the **derivational suffixes** *b d g l m n s r*. Only *d l m* can follow another suffix. Nominal stems may also have derivational **prefixes** 13 V CV CVN CVs_lN or CVl_lN, where *N* is a nasal homorganic with the following consonant and *l* is an epenthetic vowel: *tītā'ar* "big", *bòmbàrig* "ant", *sīlinsíuňg* "spider." A few stems have two prefixes.

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

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** *a i u aa u u v*, without nasalisation or glottalisation. Most bound words of the form (C)V(V) have the same vowel restrictions, with glottalisation only in *pà'* ← **pag* "earlier today." Phonetic nasalisation has led to *ε* for *l* in various particles realised *nē*. Prosodic clitics 7.1 cause short LF-final *i u* to be lowered to *ε ɔ*, realised somewhat closer than as root vowels; LF-final short *i u* only appear as such before apocope-blocking 5.1.3.

Prefix *i u* are realised [i] [u] when the first vowel mora of the root is *i* or *u*; as this is non-contrastive, the orthography uses *i u* throughout. Thus *tītā'ar* [tɪt̩ɑ:r] "big", *kòkōr* [kɔkɔr] "voice", but *kìkīrig* [kikirig] "fairy", *sìsì'əm* [sɪsɪəm] "wind", *sīlinsíuňg* [silinsĩũg] "spider", *vòlɪnvùuňl* [vulɪnvũ:l] "mason wasp", *dòndùug* [dundu:g] "cobra" (KB *dunduug*.) *Nìn-tāa* [ninta:] "co-wife" has *i* because **iň *uň* never occur.

As affix vowels, short *i* and *u* contrast only after velars and word-initially: *i* is the default after alveolars, and *u* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars, but prefixes show *u* rather than *i* before root *u/u/ɔ* (*dòndùug* "cobra") and *i* instead of *u* before *i/i/ε* (*kpīkpīn* "merchant.") In flexions *-mm* appears in place of **-mv*; *i* appears after labial consonants only by analogy in pfv LFs like *zàbε* "fight." Velars followed by affix-vowel *u* could be analysed as labiovelars, with 3sg *ò* ← **ɣmò*. A similar pattern is reconstructable for Proto-Western-Oti-Volta: the Mooré and Farefare pl suffix *-do/-ro* is probably a shared innovation based on the analogy of sg *-go*.

Before vowel-initial flexions CVV root-stems become CVy or CVd 5.3.1.

No consonant clusters appear word-initially or finally except final *-mm*: *pāmm* "a lot." Few clusters are permitted within words. Homorganic nasal + C may occur where noun prefixes attach to a root or to another noun prefix: *kòndòŋ*^a "jackal", *gōmpōzēr*^{εl} "duck", *dànkòŋ* [daŋkɔŋ] "measles." Except in loanwords, the only other word-internal clusters permitted are *kk tt pp ŋŋ nn mm ll mn*, of which *kk tt pp ŋŋ* are written *k t p ŋ*, and realised single except in very slow speech. The consonants *r f s*, though always realised single, often arise from underlying clusters.

All other pairs of consonants arising in word formation either assimilate to a permissible cluster or single consonant, or insert an epenthetic vowel (see below).

Stem <i>kōg-</i>	"chair"	+ sg <i>-ga</i>	→	LF <i>kōka</i>	SF <i>kōk</i>
		+ pl <i>-si</i>	→	LF <i>kōgʊsɛ</i>	SF <i>kōgʊs</i>
<i>nób-</i>	"leg"	+ sg <i>-ri</i>	→	LF <i>nóbɪrɛ̀</i>	SF <i>nóbɪr</i>
<i>dūm-</i>	"knee"	+ sg <i>-ri</i>	→	LF <i>dūmnɛ</i>	SF <i>dūm</i>

Gemination of *mm nn ll* before epenthetic vowels is hard to hear, and usually unmarked in written materials prior to 2016, but KB is fairly reliable. Niggli's Toende materials show gemination *only* before LF-final vowels preceding prosodic clitics.

The cluster *mn* is unstable. All informants have *mm* in the LFs of dual-aspect verb imperfectives like *kàrimma* "read" (cf Dagbani *karimda*), but there are a few examples of the original *mn* in the older NT versions:

ka ba li' ba toba ka pu wum na [sic 2.3]
kà bà lí bà tùba kà pū wúmnā +∅.

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

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

Informants differ with regard to the LF sg forms of *r^ɛ|a⁺* class *m*-stems; thus SB has *gbīgumne* "lion", *dūmnɛ* "knee" whereas WK has *gbīgumme*, *dūmme*.

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

m naan ku aan Kiristo tumtum na [sic 2.3].
m̃ nāan kú āa-n Kiristo túm-tūmna +∅.

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

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

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

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

The default **epenthetic vowel** is *ɪ*. Before LF *-gɔ -ŋɔ* it becomes *ʊ*, remaining *ʊ* in the SF 5.5.

	SF <i>āaṅdɪg</i>	LF <i>āaṅdɪga</i>	"black plum tree"
but	SF <i>gàadʊg</i>	LF <i>gàadʊgɔ</i>	"(sur)passing"
pl	SF <i>māluma</i>	LF <i>mālumaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	SF <i>mālʊŋ</i>	LF <i>mālʊŋɔ</i>	"sacrifice"

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

<i>gbīgim</i>	[ḡbīgim]	"lion"	<i>yōgúm</i>	[jōgóm]	"camel"
<i>wābɪd</i>	[wabɪd]	"elephants"	<i>dōgυd</i>	[dōgød]	"cooking pots"
<i>dōgυdíb</i>	[dōgødɪb]	"people who cook"			

Speakers vary with rounding of epenthetic vowels after rounded root vowels, but this can only become contrastive before word-final velars, where it can lead to reanalysis of the *g*^a sg suffix as *g*^ɔ 8.3.2. WK has rounding before velars after short root rounded vowels with intervening *b m l*, and after *mm* even when the preceding vowel is not rounded: *nōbυg* "grow" (but *nóbìr* "leg"), *kōlυg* "river", *yàmmυg* "slave."

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

<i>tìsid</i>	[tɪsɪd]	"gives"	<i>sīgɪd</i>	[sigɪd]	"lowers"
<i>bōgυr</i>	[bōgør]	"spirit's dwelling"	<i>kūgυr</i>	[kugur]	"stone"

Epenthetic vowels show two distinct levels of prominence. The weaker is seen in **superlight** CV syllables 2.1. A CV syllable is superlight if it is a word-internal non-root vowel and is preceded by another CV syllable which is not itself superlight, working from left to right. Bolded syllables are thus superlight in the LFs *dī'əsíd**υ**bà* "receivers", *mò**l**ɪf* "gazelle", but in LF *yū**g**υdíre* "hedgehog" only the second syllable is superlight, not the third, and in LF *yū**u**gυre* "delaying" (gerund) there is no superlight syllable. With marginal exceptions after *-Vr-*, superlight syllables do not carry tonemes, and they do not show contrasts of vowel quality even in surface forms. They are structurally analogous to the second morae of long vowels or diphthongs. Epenthetic *ι υ* in syllables which are not superlight (typically in the third mora of a stem, disregarding any prefix) have the same prominence as affix vowels.

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

	SF <i>vīid</i>	LF <i>vīidé</i>	"owls"
but	SF <i>vīug</i>	LF <i>vīugó</i>	"owl"

5.3 Root alternations

5.3.1 CV~CVV~CVC

Most roots ending in a vowel show a long vowel before all flexional and derivational suffixes: *kō*⁺ "kill" ipfv *kōvd*^{a/}. Some words with short vowels throughout are probably simply *CV-stems, e.g. *zūg*^{ɔ/} "head" pl *zūt*^{ε/}, *zā*^{+/} "millet", *mùj*⁺ "rice", *ki*^{+/} "millet"; cf 6.2.4 on the absence of M dropping after their cbs.

A number of roots show vowel length alternation. Glottalised roots of this kind are all underlyingly *CVg, and their behaviour is due to *g deletion and vowel fusion 5.6. Non-glottalised roots show a long vowel before the class suffixes -g^a -g^ɔ and short elsewhere, with following *d → *tt* *b → *pp* (but *not* *m → *mm* or *l → *ll*):

<i>dāv</i> ^ɔ	"male"	cf <i>dāp</i> ^a	"men"
<i>bīg</i> ^a	"child"	cf <i>bīl</i> ^a	"little"
<i>dò</i> ^ɔ	"hut"	pl <i>dòt</i> ^ε	
<i>fūu</i> ^{ɔ/}	"clothing"	pl <i>fūt</i> ^{ε/}	
<i>ñyē</i> ⁺	"see"	ipfv <i>ñyēt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>ñyèm</i> ^a
<i>kē</i> ⁺	"allow"	ipfv <i>kēt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>kèl</i> ^a
<i>dì</i> ⁺	"eat"	ipfv <i>dīt</i> ^a	imp <i>dìm</i> ^a
<i>yī</i> ⁺	"emerge"	ipfv <i>yīt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>yìm</i> ^a
<i>zò</i> ⁺	"run"	ipfv <i>zòt</i> ^a	imp <i>zòm</i> ^a
<i>dō</i> ⁺	"rise"	ipfv <i>dòt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>dòm</i> ^a
<i>lù</i> ⁺ or <i>lì</i> ⁺	"fall"	ipfv <i>lùt</i> ^a or <i>lìt</i> ^a	imp <i>lùm</i> ^a or <i>lìm</i> ^a

VV before sg -g^a or -g^ɔ may be introduced into the pl, optionally or always:

<i>dāv</i> ^ɔ	"male"	pl <i>dāad</i> ^ε	
<i>bīg</i> ^a	"child"	pl <i>bīs</i> ^ε	
<i>pō</i> ^{ɔ/}	"field"	pl <i>pōd</i> ^{ε/}	or <i>pōt</i> ^{ε/}
<i>dò</i> ^ɔ	"hut"	pl <i>dòd</i> ^ε	or <i>dòt</i> ^ε
<i>fūu</i> ^{ɔ/}	"clothing"	pl <i>fūud</i> ^{ε/}	or <i>fūt</i> ^{ε/}

Before derivational suffixes the vowel is usually long:

<i>dì</i> ^ε	"feed"	<i>dì</i> ⁺	"eat"
<i>dàal</i> ^m	"masculinity"	<i>dāp</i> ^a	"men"
<i>vō</i> ^{ε/}	"come alive"	<i>vōr</i> ^{ε/}	"alive"
<i>yīs</i> ^{ε/}	"make go/come out"	<i>yī</i> ⁺	"emerge"

There are exceptions before *s*, e.g. *yīs*^ε beside *yīis*^{ε/} above, and the alternating CV/CVs stems seen in *gōs*^ε "look", ipfv *gōt*^{a/} or *gōsid*^{a/}, imp *gōm*^a or *gōsim*^a, *tīs*^ε "give" ipfv *tīt*^a or *tīsid*^a.

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

Historically, such roots probably ended in a consonant preserved before vowel-initial suffixes, assimilated before homorganic consonants, and otherwise deleted with vowel fusion to produce CVV. For example, three roots with CV*p*- allomorphs show evidence of an underlying form *CV*w* with **wb* → *pp*: *dāy*⁺ "man" (Mooré *ráoa*) pl *dāp*^a; *tāyñ*^{+/} "sib of opposite sex" pl *tāñp*^{a/}; *tñ*⁺ "shoot" (Mooré *tāo*) *tāñp*^ɔ "war."

Kusaal CVV roots with CV*t*- allomorphs typically have Mooré cognates with fronting diphthongs or front vowels: e.g. Mooré *zòe* "run" *lùt* "fall", ipfvs *zòeta*, *lùta*, versus *kú* "kill", ipfv *kúvdà*. Mooré shows much less levelling than Kusaal in such cases. Sporadic monophthongisation of earlier *Vy explains the Kusaal alternation *lù*⁺ ~ *li*⁺ "fall", and Western Oti-Volta contrasts like Kusaal *dōɔg*^ɔ, Mampruli/Dagbani *duu*, Mooré *ròogó* as against Hanga *dìi*, Farefare *dèegò*, Dagaare *dìé* "hut, room."

These diphthongs usually correspond to Nawdm Vr: *tè'eg*^a "baobab", Mooré *tòεεgá*, Nawdm *tòd* pl *tòrá* (Nawdm **rr* → *d*); *dèεg*^a "warthog", Mooré *rèoogó* (← **rèεgó*), pl *reto*, Nawdm *dòd* pl *dòrá*. Positing Proto-Oti-Volta **l* → Nawdm *r*, Western Oti-Volta has geminated **ll* → **r*, single **l* → **y* after a short root vowel, root-initially and before **a*, and single **l* → **r* elsewhere. Only Mooré and Agolle Kusaal maintain a three-way contrast *r/d/l* after vowels; elsewhere *r/d* fall together as *r*, except in Dagbani, where *r/l* fall together as *l*, with original *d* appearing as *r* (cf the Songhay loanword *bùrkìn*^a, Mooré *bùrkīná*, Dagbani *bilchina* "honourable.")

	Kusaal	Mampruli	Dagbani	Nawdm	
* <i>l</i>	<i>yā'am</i> ^{m/}	<i>yam</i>		<i>ráhím</i>	"gall"
	<i>(h)yí'</i>	<i>(n)yi</i>	<i>(a)yi</i>	<i>(m)réh</i>	"two"
	<i>yò</i> ⁺	<i>yɔ</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>riw</i>	"close"
	<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	<i>zeyá</i>	<i>zìeyá</i>	<i>jehra</i>	"be standing"
	<i>yàarim</i> ^m	<i>yaarim</i>	<i>yalim</i>	<i>yáàrrím</i>	"salt"
	<i>nōɔr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>noori</i>	<i>noli</i>	<i>nóór</i>	"mouth"
	<i>tòbɔr</i> ^ε	<i>tubri</i>	<i>tibili</i>	<i>tóbr</i>	"ear"
* <i>ll</i>	<i>yīr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>yiri</i>	<i>yili</i>		"house"
	<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	<i>guri</i>	<i>guli</i>		"guard"
	<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	<i>mari</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>mada</i> (<i>d</i> ← <i>rr</i>)	"have" (Nawdm <i>tenir</i>)
* <i>d</i>	<i>mōd</i> ^ε	<i>mɔri</i>	<i>mɔri</i>	<i>mɔd</i>	"swell"
	<i>mōɔd</i> ^ε	<i>moori</i>	<i>mɔri</i>	<i>móót</i>	"grass" pl

Mooré/Agolle Kusaal *r* following a short root vowel is either due to gemination or the result of analogy or borrowing: thus Dagbani *kpari* "lock" corresponds to Kusaal **kpàr*^ε (not **kpàd*^ε), with *r* probably from an obsolete single-aspect **kpàr*^a ← **kpalla* ← **kpada* "be locked" (cf *gùl*^ε "suspend", *gùl*^{la} "be suspended"); the gerunds *põñrib*^ɔ *tẽñrib*^ɔ from *põñr*^a "be near" and *tẽñr*^a "remember" are modelled on dual-aspect root-stems; borrowing may underlie the irregular correspondences seen in Mampruli *nyariŋgu*, Dagbani *ɲariŋ*, Toende Kusaal *ãarùŋ* and Agolle *añrvu*^ɔ "boat."

Buli has *y* for **l* initially (*yáam* "gall"); *r* for **ll* (*yérí* "house", *tara* "have" = Kusaal *tār*^{a/}); and *i* or zero otherwise (*tũik* "baobab", *dòk* "hut", *nóai* "mouth.") "Warthog" is *dèrì* or *dùok*, with the same stem but different noun classes: the vowel in *dèrì* is monophthongised, with *r* ← **ll* (stem-final + flexion-initial **l*).

In Moba **l* appears as *l*: *rílé* "two", *lõõn* "close", *dõõlò* "pig", *tõõlò* "baobab." *Jàm* "gall" may reflect confusion between two originally distinct Oti-Volta words "gall" and "sense." Gulimancéma has zero for **l* before consonants.

The Eastern Oti-Volta languages differ among themselves in the reflexes of **l*: e.g. Byali *dyā* "two", *tēēbū* "baobab", *dīīgē* "warthog", *nūī* "mouth", but Waama *yění* "two", *tõõribū* "baobab", *dõõribū* "warthog", *nóré* "mouth."

Before the noun class plural suffix *-a*⁺, stems ending in a root vowel insert *-y-*, with shortening of long vowels; shortening of *iə uə* produces *je ye* [jɪ] [yɪ], found solely in this context. Historically, this may represent analogical introduction of the **l* of the sg suffix before pl *-a*⁺; cf the regular Nawdm pattern *nóór* "mouth" pl *nóórá*.

<i>gāñr</i> ^{ε/}	"ebony fruit"	pl <i>gāñyá</i> ⁺ (short sg vowel from pl)
<i>bàlàar</i> ^ε	"stick, club"	pl <i>bàlàya</i> ⁺
<i>kùkṣr</i> ^{ε/}	"voice"	pl <i>kùkṣyá</i> ⁺ (*CVy- root)
<i>nṵṵr</i> ^{ε/}	"mouth"	pl <i>nṵyá</i> ⁺
<i>zūvr</i> ^ε	"tail"	pl <i>zūya</i> ⁺
<i>bīər</i> ^{ε/}	"elder same-sex sib"	pl <i>bjēyá</i> ⁺
<i>zūər</i> ^ε	"hill"	pl <i>zūēya</i> ⁺

Before the stative verb ending **-ya* 10.2 unglottalised long vowels are shortened, but glottalised vowels remain long:

	<i>tṵṵg</i> ^ɔ	"bitter"	<i>tṵṵ</i> ^{a/}	"be bitter" (Mooré <i>tóe</i>)
but	<i>sū'blím</i> ^m	gerund of	<i>sū'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"

The *y* belongs to the suffix: *tṵṵ*^{a/} is not a *CVy root (cf Nawdm *tóogú* "amer.")

With the irregular nouns *sāṣñ*^a/*sāṣñ*⁺ "blacksmith" pl *sāañb*^a and *sṵṵñ*^a/*sṵṵñ*⁺ "witch" pl *sṵṵñb*^a there are no CVt- allomorphs (cf Mooré *sādo* "smithing", *sōodo* "witchcraft"), and the roots were perhaps originally *CVñ.

A different rule of attachment of *-a*⁺ is followed after root-stems ending with glottalised long vowels CV'V, which change to CVd:

<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ε	"big"	pl <i>tītāda</i> ⁺
<i>pòñ'ɔr</i> ^ε	"cripple"	pl <i>pòñda</i> ⁺
<i>yū'ur</i> ^{ε/}	"name"	pl <i>yūdá</i> ⁺
<i>yū'ər</i> ^ε	"penis"	pl <i>yūāda</i> ⁺

Stems in **-ag-* **-jag-* **-ɥag-* 5.6 may inflect as CVC- stems, or may show analogical forms with *-d-*:

<i>bà'ar</i> ^ε	"idol"	pl <i>bà'a</i> ⁺ or <i>bàda</i> ⁺ <i>*bagri</i> ; Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>
<i>sjà'ar</i> ^ε	"forest"	pl <i>sjà'a</i> ⁺
<i>mù'ar</i> ^ε	"reservoir, dam"	pl <i>mɥ'àa</i> ⁺ or <i>mù'ada</i> ⁺
<i>zànkù'ar</i> ^ε	"jackal"	pl <i>zànkɥ'àa</i> ⁺ or <i>zànkù'ada</i> ⁺

In the CV'V~CVd alternation an original root-final consonant appears as *d* before vowels but is deleted with glottalisation elsewhere. This consonant may simply have been **d*, with **Vdr* → *V'Vr* after short root vowels and a cb based on the sg. Stems with sg CVd- in the *r^ε|a*⁺ noun class would need to be explained by levelling. This usually involves remodelling of pl forms on the sg, but CV'V⁺ plurals would naturally be avoided as ambiguous, and many such words are in fact commoner in pl than sg, e.g. *kpeñdir*^{ε/} "cheek." Others are deverbal nouns, as in *nif-nódir* "trachoma", prone to remodelling after finite verbal forms; yet others are adjectives, like *kōdir*^ε "old", *bèdir*^ε "great", where the stem is levelled across noun classes. The second component of *py'à-sādir*^{ε/} "young woman" is an original adjective "nulliparous", with former ^a|*b*^a class agreement: cf Mooré *pùg-sádà* "young woman." Languages without glottalisation treat *r^ε|a*⁺ class cognates of CV'V-stems exactly like CVV- stems (Mooré *pōya*, Kusaal *pòñda*⁺ "cripples"), but the rules for originally *unlotted* stems before pl *a*⁺ also differ among the Western Oti-Volta subgroups.

A derivational change **[g* → *dg* appears in

	<i>l̄</i> ⁺	"tie"	<i>l̄dig</i> ^{ε/}	"untie"
cf	<i>l̄oe</i>	"tie" (Mooré)	<i>l̄odgè</i> (or <i>l̄ókè</i>)	"untie" (Mooré)
	<i>p̄</i> ⁺	"divide"	<i>p̄dig</i> ^{ε/}	"divide"
cf	<i>p̄úi</i>	"divide" (Mooré)		
	<i>b̄ò</i>	"get lost" (Toende)	<i>b̄òdig</i> ^ε	"lose, get lost":
	<i>ȳā</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>ȳādig</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"

*CVw roots become glottalised before derivational *g and *s, probably reflecting another historical consonant cluster change; thus $y\acute{\epsilon}^+$ "dress oneself", $y\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon g^\epsilon$ "undress oneself", $d\grave{i}^+$ "eat", $d\grave{i}l s^\epsilon$ "feed", but

	$k\grave{o}^+$	"break" intrans	$k\grave{o}'\omega g^\epsilon$	"break" trans/intrans
	$p\grave{o}\omega d^a$	"be few"	$p\grave{o}'\omega g^\epsilon$	"diminish"
	$v\bar{u}\acute{\epsilon}^a/$	"be alive"	$v\bar{u}'\upsilon g^\epsilon/$	"make, come alive"
cf	$v\omega pa$	"live things" (Farefare)	$v\bar{u}'\upsilon s^\epsilon/$	"breathe, rest"
	$k\grave{o}\omega l\acute{u}\eta^\omega$	"broken"	$k\grave{o}'\omega s^\epsilon$	"break several times"
	$t\grave{o}\check{n}^+$	"shoot"	$t\grave{o}\check{n}'\omega s^\epsilon$	"hunt"

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

	$n\bar{o}^+$	"tread"	$n\bar{o}b\acute{a}^+$	"feet"
cf	nao	"tread" (Mooré)		
	$s\bar{o}\omega\check{n}r^\epsilon$	"liver"	$s\omega bri$	"liver" (Mampruli)
	$s\check{a}oore$	"liver" (Mooré)	$sabili$	"liver" (Dagbani)

There are few CVb- stems in the $r^\epsilon|a^+$ noun class. $N\acute{o}b\grave{i}r^\epsilon$ "foot" has introduced -b- from the plural (Toende sg $n\bar{o}\bar{\omega}t$) and $t\bar{u}b\upsilon r^\epsilon$ "ear" may have done so; others are deverbal or adjectival: cf the discussion of CV'V~CVd alternations above.

CVV~CVg alternations appear in:

	$w\grave{i}id^a$	"draw water" ipfv	$w\grave{i}k^\epsilon$	pfv (← *wiggı)
	$v\bar{i}^+$	"uproot"	$v\bar{i}k^\epsilon/$	"uproot" (← *viggı)

5.3.2 CVVC~CVC

Roots of the form CVVC are confirmed by cases where they alternate with CVC. The alternation appears in derivation:

	$t\bar{u}\omega ma^+$	"work" noun	$t\bar{u}m^m$	"work" verb
	$y\acute{\epsilon}\omega\eta$	"one"	$y\bar{i}\eta\eta^\omega/$	"single"
	$k\bar{a}a ^\epsilon/$	"count"	$k\bar{a}l ^\epsilon/$	"number"
	$t\bar{u}\omega l\acute{u}\eta^\omega$	"hot"	$t\bar{u}l a/$	"be hot"

The short allomorph is invariable before derivational suffixes other than -lmm- "-ness/-hood" and the -y- of stative verbs; thus $s\acute{a}ann\grave{i}m^m$ "strangerhood" ← *saanlmmu, $k\bar{p}\bar{i}\acute{\epsilon}m^{ma/}$ "be strong" ← *kpi'əmya, but

<i>màal</i> ^ε	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālvɔ</i> ^ɔ	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>piəlv</i> ^a	"white"	<i>pèlv</i> ^ε	"whiten"
<i>kp̄oŋ</i> ^ɔ	"strong"	<i>kp̄ɛ'ŋ</i> ^ε	"strengthen"
<i>liəb</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>lèbiv</i> ^ε	"turn over"
<i>t̄vulvɔ</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>t̄vlv</i> ^{ε/}	"heat"
<i>yāar</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yādv</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"
<i>dɛɛŋ</i> ^a	"first"	<i>dɛŋ</i> ^ε	"go first"
<i>piəb</i> ^ε	"blow" (flute)	<i>pèbiv</i> ^ε	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul</i> ^ε	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlv</i> ^ε	"swing" transitive

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

<i>zīŋ</i> ^a (← *zīmgā)	<i>zīm</i> ⁺	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>náaf</i> ^ɔ (← *nāágv̄v̄)	<i>nīig</i> ⁺	<i>nā'-</i> (← *nāg-)	"cow"
<i>wáaf</i> ^ɔ (← *wāágv̄v̄)	<i>wīig</i> ⁺	<i>wā'-</i> (← *wāg-)	"snake"
<i>pīim</i> ^{m/}	<i>pīmá</i> ⁺		"arrow"
<i>yùum</i> ^{mε}	<i>yùma</i> ⁺		"year"

5.4 Consonant cluster assimilation

The changes described below precede deletion of postvocalic *g.

Except between a prefix and a root, adjacent consonants within a word must either assimilate to one of the clusters *kk pp tt ŋŋ mm nn ll mn* or insert an epenthetic vowel (*ɪ* by default.) Nasals take up the position of articulation of a following consonant, and then homorganic consonants form clusters; however, alveolars often fail to assimilate due to remodelling by analogy in flexion.

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

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

The unusual change *ld* → *nn* is carried out with complete regularity. It is found throughout Western Oti-Volta, with e.g. Mooré showing *ld* → *nd*.

The forms in square brackets occur only under certain phonological conditions:

bm → *mm* only occurs after a short root vowel

ms → *ʃs* never occurs after a short root vowel; elsewhere it is optional.

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

<i>tēŋ^a</i>	"land"	pl	<i>tēēŋs^ε</i>	← * <i>tɛnsɪ</i>
<i>kòlɪŋ^a</i>	"door"	pl	<i>kòlɪs^ε</i>	← * <i>kuɪnsɪ</i>

For the pl *bōtɪs^ε* of *bōtɪŋ^a* "cup" see 2.1.

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

<i>nīf^ɔ</i>	"eye"	pl	<i>nīnɪ⁺</i>
<i>píɪŋf^ɔ</i>	"genet"	pl	<i>pīɪnɪ⁺</i>

**ss* inserts an epenthetic vowel in

<i>pūsɪg^a</i>	<i>pūsɪs^ε</i>	<i>pūs-</i>	"tamarind"
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All other examples of *g^a|s^ε* plurals ending in *-sɪs^ε* in my materials are for **-sɪnsɪ*, from stems in **m*. A plural **pūs^ε* would have appeared to show no ending in SF; nouns usually avoid such ambiguity by substituting a flexion from a different noun class, but this is inhibited by the strong association of tree names with the *g^a|s^ε* class and of fruits with *r^ε|a⁺* and *g^ɔ|d^ε*: *pūsá⁺* means "tamarind fruits."

**dr* inserts an epenthetic vowel, but it is possible that originally the rule was **Vdr* → *V'Vr*, as discussed in 5.3.1 above; **ds* may have behaved similarly.

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

Derivation precedes flexion in consonant cluster formation.

Regardless of origin, stem-final *kk pp tt ŋŋ mn nn* never assimilate further; stem-final *mm* assimilates only with *mmm* → *mm* in imperatives 10.1. Thus e.g. *kɔt^ε* "slaughter", ipfv *kɔtɪd^a*; *dàm^m* "shake", ipfv *dàmmɪd^a* ipfv, gerund *dàmmug^ɔ* but imperative *dàm^{ma}*.

However, stem-final *ll r(r)* assimilate the initial of the noun class suffix $-r^\epsilon$: *kùg-dēl^lε/* "chair for leaning on." This assimilation has led to the sg SF forms of agent nouns from single-aspect verbs in *ll r(r)* being reinterpreted as $r^\epsilon|a^+$ class 8.3.1.

Stem-internal *nn* and *mm* become single *n* and *m* after after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels. *Pībun^{nε}* pl *pībuna⁺* "covering" has single *-n-* for my informants, but the Mooré cognate has *-nd-*: *pìbíndgà* "lid, cover." The Mooré equivalent of the assume-stance derivational suffix *-n-* 12.1.1 is *-nd-*: *zĩndi* = *zìñ'in^ε* "sit down"; *vábende* = *vàbun^ε* "lie prone"; *tàbende* "get stuck to" cf Kusaal *tàb^ε id*. The corresponding Nawdm suffix is *-nt-*: *jehra* ipfv = *zì'e^{ya}* "be standing, *jehnt* pfv = *zì'ən^ε* "stand up." Geminate *mm* has become single *m* in most sources after after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels in single-aspect verbs 12.1.5.1.

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

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

<i>bùn^ε</i>	<i>bùn^{na}</i>	<i>bùnım^a</i>	"reap"
<i>būnıb^ɔ</i>			gerund
<i>dìgıı^ε</i>	<i>dìgıııd^a</i>	<i>dìgııım^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>dìgıııvɔ^ɔ</i>			gerund
<i>gò'ɔn^ε</i>	<i>gò'ɔııd^a</i>	<i>gò'ɔııım^a</i>	"extend neck"

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

<i>wòm^m</i>	<i>wòm^{ma}</i>	<i>wòm^{ma}</i>	"hear"
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but *ka nan kpɛn wòmıd ye m bæ li puvgin nannanna la.*

kà nán kpèn wòmıd yé òn bée_ lı pūvɔv-n nānná-nā lā.

and still still hear:IPFV that 1SG EXIST 3INAN inside:SG-LOC NOW ART.

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

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

<i>t̃ɔvm^{m/}</i>	<i>t̃ɔvm^{ma}/t̃ɔvmıd^a</i>	<i>t̃ɔvm^{ma}</i>	"depart"
<i>t̃ɔvɔ^ɔ/t̃ɔvmúvɔ^ɔ</i>			gerund

<i>kàrim^m</i>	<i>kàrim^m/kàrimɪd^a</i>	<i>kàrim^{ma}</i>	"read"
<i>kàruŋ^ɔ/kàrimvɔ^ɔ</i>			gerund

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

<i>Ṁ pō kàrimmā.</i>	"I'm not reading."
<i>Ṁ kàrim nē.</i>	"I'm reading."
<i>Kà bà kàrimɪd.</i>	"And they were reading."
<i>Kà bà kàrim.</i>	only "And they read."

Examples for assimilation versus epenthetic vowel insertion:

<i>*gg → kk</i>	<i>gìk^a</i>	"dumb" sg	<i>gìgɪs^ɛ</i> pl
	cf <i>kōlɪg^a</i>	"river" sg	<i>kōlɪs^ɛ</i> pl
<i>*dd → tt</i>	<i>bùt^a</i>	"plant" ipfv	<i>bùd^ɛ</i> pfv
	cf <i>dōgvɔd^{a/}</i>	"cook" ipfv	<i>dōg^ɛ</i> pfv
<i>*bb → pp</i>	<i>sōp^{ɔ/}</i>	"writing" ger	<i>sōb^ɛ</i> pfv
	cf <i>kpārɪb^ɔ</i>	"locking" ger	<i>kpàr^ɛ</i> pfv
<i>*ld → nn</i>	<i>kòŋ^{nɛ}</i>	"bags" pl	<i>kòlvɔ^ɔ</i> sg
	cf <i>zūəbíd^ɛ</i>	"hairs" pl	<i>zūəbúvɔ^ɔ</i> sg
<i>*mg → ŋŋ</i>	<i>bùŋ^a</i>	"donkey" sg	<i>bùmɪs^ɛ</i> pl
<i>*ng → ŋŋ</i>	<i>gbàŋ^ɔ</i>	"book" sg	<i>gbàna⁺</i> pl
	cf <i>ñwādɪg^{a/}</i>	"month" sg	<i>ñwādɪs^{ɛ/}</i> pl
<i>*nr → nn</i>	<i>tān^{nɛ}</i>	"earth" sg	<i>tāna⁺</i> pl
<i>*mr → mn</i>	<i>dūm^{nɛ}</i>	"knee" sg	<i>dūma⁺</i> pl
<i>*lr → ll</i>	<i>gél^{lɛ}</i>	"egg" sg	<i>gēlá⁺</i> pl
<i>*rr → ll</i>	<i>kùkpàr^ɛ</i>	"palm fruit" sg	<i>kùkpàra⁺</i> pl
	cf <i>dìgɪr^ɛ</i>	"dwarf" sg	<i>dìga⁺</i> pl
<i>*nb → mm</i>	<i>sāam^{ma}</i>	"strangers" pl	<i>sāan^{a/}</i> sg
	cf <i>nīdɪb^{a/}</i>	"people" pl	<i>nīd^{a/}</i> sg
<i>*mb → mm</i>	<i>kīm^{mɔ}</i>	"shepherding" ger	<i>kīm^m</i> pfv
	cf <i>kādɪb^ɔ</i>	"driving off" ger	<i>kād^ɛ</i> pfv
<i>*ll → ll</i>	<i>Bùl^{lɛ}</i>	"Buli"	<i>Bùls^ɛ</i> "Bulsa"
<i>*rl → tt</i>	<i>Bāt^{ɛ/}</i>	"Bisa language"	<i>Bārs^{ɛ/}</i> "Bisa people"
<i>*ml → nn</i>	<i>Dàgbān^{nɛ/}</i>	"Dagbani"	<i>Dàgbām^{ma/}</i> "Dagomba"
<i>*nl → nn</i>	<i>Gūrín^{nɛ}</i>	"Farefare language"	<i>Gūrís^ɛ</i> "Farefare people"

5.5 Diphthongisation before **-ya* **-gu* **-kku* **-ŋɥ*

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

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

SF	<i>vōɛ</i>	LF	<i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"
SF	<i>tōɛ</i>	LF	<i>tōyá</i>	"be bitter"
SF	<i>sāɛñ</i>	LF	<i>sāñya</i>	"blacksmith"
SF	<i>sōɛñ</i>	LF	<i>sōñya</i>	"witch"

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

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

<i>sōñ'e^{ya}</i>	←	<i>*sō'ỹya</i>	"be better than"
<i>sū'e^{ya}</i>	←	<i>*sū'uya</i>	"own" (cf <i>sū'ulím^m</i> "property")

Short unrounded root vowels become diphthongs in *ɥ* before LF **ŋɥ* **kku*:

<i>gbàɥŋ^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*gbəŋɥ</i>	"book"	pl <i>gbàna⁺</i>
<i>lāɥk^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*lakku</i>	"goods item"	pl <i>lā'ad^ɛ</i>
<i>yīɥŋ^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*yīŋɥ</i>	"single"	pl <i>yīná⁺</i>

Tense *i* does not diphthongise in the only case in my materials: *nìn-gbīŋ^ɔ* "body" pl *nìn-gbīná⁺*; this may be due to the analogy of the alternative sg *nìn-gbīn*.

Short *ja* becomes *ɣaɥ*, but short *ya* becomes *ɔ*: **ɥakku* → *ɔkku*

<i>bɣāɥŋk^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*bɣākku</i>	"shoulder"	pl <i>bɣāñ'ad^ɛ</i>
<i>bòk^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*bɥakku</i>	"pit"	pl <i>bò'ad^ɛ</i>

Unrounded second morae of long vowels become [ʊ] before LF **gu* **ŋɥ*:

<i>dàɥg^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*daagu</i>	"log"	pl <i>dàad^ɛ</i>
<i>fēñ'og^ɔ</i>	←	<i>*fē'ēgu</i>	"ulcer"	pl <i>fēñ'ɛd^ɛ</i>

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

	<i>vīug</i> ^{ɔ/}	← * <i>viigv</i>	"owl"	pl <i>vīid</i> ^{ɛ/}
but	<i>dàbīog</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>dabiəgv</i>	"coward"	pl <i>dàbīəd</i> ^ɛ
	<i>kpī'og</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>kpī'əŋgv</i>	"strong"	pl <i>kpī'əma</i> ⁺

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

	<i>Sà'dàbòɔg</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>Sa'dabuəgv</i>	"place of the Sarabose <i>Sà'dàbùes</i> ^ɛ clan"
	<i>lām-fòɔg</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>lam-fuəgv</i>	"toothless" (<i>lām</i> ^{mɛ/} "gum", <i>fùe</i> ⁺ "draw out")

Pl vowels are remodelled on the sg: *lām-fòɔd*^ɛ "toothless." The only stem in final *uə* in the *g*^ɔ|*d*^ɛ class is the formally-plural *zùəd*^ɛ "friendship", where there is no sg with *g*^ɔ. The only *g*^ɔ|*d*^ɛ stems in *iə* are *dàbīog*^ɔ "coward", *kpī'og*^ɔ "strong", and *pīog*^ɔ (? tones) "bald", and there is stem alternation before *g*^a|*s*^ɛ and *g*^ɔ|*d*^ɛ suffixes in

<i>bī'a</i> ⁺	<i>bī'əs</i> ^ɛ	<i>bjà'</i> -	"bad"
<i>bē'og</i> ^ɔ	<i>bē'əd</i> ^ɛ	<i>bè'</i> -	

Bī'am^m "enemy" shows the same root with derivational **m*. The alternation suggests a rule **iəgv* → *ɛvuv*, parallel to **uəgv* → *ɔɔgv*, with the pl vowels again remodelled on the sg. The broken vowel of *dàbīog*^ɔ "coward" is perhaps carried over from an obsolete **dàbīam*^m "coward" (= Mooré *ràbéɛmà*.)

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

	<i>āāndɪg</i> ^a	← * <i>āādɪga</i>	"black plum tree"
but	<i>gàaduv</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>gaadɪgv</i>	"(sur)passing" (gerund)
pl	<i>māluma</i> ⁺	← * <i>malɪmaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	<i>mālvɔg</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>malɪŋgv</i>	"sacrifice"

5.6 Deletion of **g* with vowel fusion

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

Underlying ****g*** is deleted after ***a ja ɥa aŋ jaŋ ɥaŋ*** before any vowel, affix or epenthetic, with fusion resulting in glottalised long vowels and diphthongs:

* <i>agV</i>	→ <i>a'a</i>	* <i>aŋV</i>	→ <i>aŋ'a</i>
* <i>jaɣV</i>	→ <i>ja'a</i>	* <i>jaŋV</i>	→ <i>jaŋ'a</i>
* <i>ɥagV</i>	→ <i>ɥ'a</i> (word-final <i>ɥ'aa</i>)	* <i>ɥaŋV</i>	→ <i>ɥŋ'a</i> (word-final <i>ɥŋ'aa</i>)

ja'a u'a jañ'a uñ'a contrast with *i'a u'a iñ'a uñ'a*, except when shortened by apocope. There is no phonetic difference between *a'a añ'a* arising from *g-deletion and underlying glottalised *a'a añ'a*, as in *dà'a*[°] "market", pl *dà'as*^ε (*g^a|s^ε* class.)

This rule applies later than the assimilation *gg → *kk* 5.4; thus

<i>zàk</i> ^a	"compound"	<i>zà'as</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>g^a s^ε</i> class)
<i>lāyuk</i> ^ɔ	"item of goods"	<i>lā'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)
<i>yàk</i> ^ε	"unhang"	<i>yà'al</i> ^ε	"hang up"	
<i>pjāyñk</i> ^ɔ	"word"	<i>pjāñ'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)
<i>pyāk</i> ^a	"female" (adj)	<i>pū'as</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>g^a s^ε</i> class)
<i>bək</i> ^ɔ	"pit"	<i>bù'ad</i> ^ε	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)
<i>pjāñ'</i> ^a	"speak" pfv	<i>pjāñ'ad</i> ^{a/}	ipfv	
<i>py'ā</i> ^a	"woman"	<i>pū'ab</i> ^a	pl	(<i>a b^a</i> class)

Exceptional is *kā'ε*⁺ "not be" ← **kagi*.

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

* <i>aaga</i>	→ <i>aa</i> 7.1	* <i>aagi</i>	→ <i>aee</i>
* <i>iəga</i>	→ <i>iaa</i>	* <i>iəgi</i>	→ <i>iee</i>
* <i>uəga</i>	→ <i>uaa</i>	* <i>uəgi</i>	→ <i>uee</i>

The diphthongs *iaa uaa* arise from deletion of the **g* in *g^a|s^ε* class singulars:

	<i>būvg</i> ^a	"goat"	pl <i>būvs</i> ^ε
but	<i>bāa</i> [°] ← * <i>baaga</i>	"dog"	pl <i>bāas</i> ^ε
	<i>sīa</i> ⁺ ← * <i>siəga</i>	"waist"	pl <i>sīas</i> ^ε
	<i>sàbùa</i> ⁺ ← * <i>sabuəga</i>	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs</i> ^ε

The diphthongs *aee iee uee* appear in dual-aspect "fusion" verbs 10.1 with stems in **Caag* **Ciəg* **Cuəg* and their glottalised counterparts:

<i>pāe</i> ^{+/}	← * <i>paagi</i>	"reach"
<i>kpi'e</i> ⁺	← * <i>kpi'əgi</i>	"approach" cf <i>kpi'əs</i> ^ε "neighbours"
<i>dūe</i> ^{+/}	← * <i>duəgi</i>	"raise, rise"

Original open nasalised **ēē* **ōō* only undergo vowel breaking 3.2.2 before **g*, elsewhere falling together with the reflexes of former close **ēē* **ōō* as *εñ ɔñ*: breaking occurs in all contexts where **g* would suffer deletion and nowhere else.

Alternations thus arise in nouns and adjectives in the $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ class between SF-final *iañ uañ* and word-internal *εεñ ɔɔñ* before a consonant:

<i>ziñ'a⁺</i>	"red" $g^a s^\varepsilon$ class sg	<i>zèñ'εs^ε</i>	"red" $g^a s^\varepsilon$ class pl
		<i>zèñ'εd^ε</i>	"red" $g^ɔ d^\varepsilon$ class pl
		<i>zèñ'og^ɔ</i>	"red" $g^ɔ d^\varepsilon$ class sg <u>5.5</u>
<i>dùañ⁺</i>	"dawadawa" sg	<i>dòɔñs^ε</i>	"dawadawa" pl
<i>Mùa⁺</i>	"Mossi person"	<i>Mòɔs^ε</i>	"Mossi people"
		<i>Mòɔl^ε</i>	"Mooré language"
		<i>Mòɔg^ɔ</i>	"Mossi country"

Similarly, alternation appears in derivation between fusion verb forms from *-*gɪ*, ending in SF *ieñ ueñ*, and cognate forms with *εεñ ɔɔñ*:

<i>nìe⁺</i>	"appear"	<i>nèεl^ε</i>	"reveal"
<i>ñyū'e^{+/}</i>	"set alight"	<i>ñyɔ'ɔs^{ε/}</i>	"smoke" (noun)
<i>sūeñ^{+/}</i>	"anoint"	<i>sɔñ⁺</i>	"rub"

Breaking results in fronting before *-*gɪ* differing from fronting before *-*y*- 5.5:

<i>sūñ'e^{+/}</i>	"become better" WK	<i>sɔñ'e^{ya/}</i>	"be better than" (← *sɔ'ɔya)
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When *aa aañ iə uə* precede a **g* which is *not* followed by an affix vowel, the only trace of **g* is the disturbance of toneme allocation in Tone Pattern H 6.2.1.

<i>náaf^ɔ</i>	← * <i>naagfv</i>	"cow" pl <i>nīgí⁺</i> cb <i>nā'</i> -
<i>dí'ər^ε</i>	← * <i>dī'əgrɪ</i>	"receiving" (<i>dī'e^{+/}</i> "receive" ← * <i>dī'əgí</i>)
<i>vúər^ε</i>	← * <i>vuəgrɪ</i>	"red kapok fruit" pl <i>vūáa⁼</i>

However, broken *iañ uəñ* appear instead of *εεñ ɔɔñ*:

	<i>nèεr^ε</i>	"empty" (← "clear")
but	<i>nìər^ε</i>	← * <i>nī'əgrɪ</i> gerund of <i>nìe⁺</i> "appear"
	<i>pɔñ'ɔl^{ε/}</i>	"cause to rot"
but	<i>púñ'ər^ε</i>	← * <i>pū'ěgrɪ</i> gerund of <i>pūñ'e^{+/}</i> "rot"

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

6 Word tonal structure

6.1 Tone Patterns

Nominals show only three basic distinct overall patterns (labelled H, L and O), and verbs only two (H and LO.) Compounds have more tonal possibilities, being *phrases* composed of words with partly independent tones 7.4.4.

The distribution of tonemes on a word, prior to any effects of external tone sandhi or tone overlay, is specified by a **Tone Pattern**. For the Western Oti-Volta protolanguage, it would be feasible to take these Patterns as *tonemes* with the *word* as the tone-bearing unit, but synchronically, Tone Patterns are suprasegmental features of word *stems* which allocate individual tonemes to all tone-bearing units of each complete word belonging to a flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes. Allocation precedes apocope, and furthermore precedes the application of rules which delete segments; such rules disrupt the surface distribution of tonemes. For example, these two Pattern H nouns show different tonemes in the singular:

<i>sīĩŋʰ</i> [/] sg	<i>sīĩŋ</i> ^{ε/} pl	<i>sīĩ-</i> cb	"bee"
<i>píĩŋʰ</i>	<i>pīĩní</i> ⁺	<i>pīĩn-</i>	"genet"

The difference is due to the fact that "bee" has the CVV stem *sīĩŋ-* [sĩ:], whereas "genet" has the CVVC stem *pīĩn-* [pɪ:n] which in the singular has undergone simplification of the consonant cluster **nf* to *f*.

A single paradigm only shows more than one Tone Pattern with agent nouns which drop derivational *-d-* in the sg and cb 6.2.3.

Short Pattern H and O stems may have LF-final tonemes which cannot be predicted from the SF tonemes because there are too few segments for the difference between the Patterns to be expressed in the SFs:

O	<i>Lì à nē kōk.</i>	"It's a chair."	<i>Lì kā' kōka.</i>	"It's not a chair."
H	<i>Lì à nē dōk.</i>	"It's a pot."	<i>Lì kā' dōkó.</i>	"It's not a pot."

SF tonal distinctions can be lost in the LF as the result of the constraints on the occurrence of the X toneme, e.g. *náaf*^ʰ "cow" versus *nú'ug*^ʰ "hand."

For descriptive convenience, the intrinsic LF-final tonemes are taken to be

L	after H and L
M	in nouns and verbs of Tone Patterns O/LO whenever the stem is all-M
H	after M in all other cases

Apocope-blocked words ending in M toneme change it to H in the secondary LF form 5.1.3: SF *bèdugō* LF *bèdugóv* "a lot." So too do particles and pronouns with the SF form (C)V bearing M toneme, and the pl noun form SF *yā* LF *yáa* "houses." The superscript forms are written *bèdugō^{+/}*, *yā^{+/}* etc by the usual principles.

Three basic Tone Patterns are distinguished in nominals:

Pattern H	initial H, or initial M followed by H
Pattern L	initial L
Pattern O	all-M in sg/pl; all-L in cb

Analogous Patterns appear throughout Western Oti-Volta, with Pattern O alternating between all-H free forms and all-L cbs; the noun tone patterns of Buli systematically correspond, with H, L and mid-tone stems respectively.

Akanlig-Pare and Kenstowicz 2002 regard Mooré Pattern O stems as intrinsically tonally unmarked, copying the H tone (= Kusaal M) of a flexional suffix but otherwise defaulting to all-L. Olawsky 1999 takes Dagbani Pattern O stems as toneless, but follows Anttila and Bodomo (on Dagaare) in attributing the change to all-H to stress. This is not workable in Kusaal, and even in Dagbani, stressed verb forms often have all-L tonemes. Tone-copying is supported by the facts that cbs and perfectives are the only all-L open-class word types *not* followed by M spreading, and that such perfectives (when without tone overlay) uniquely show L before liaison; this covers all cases where Pattern O words do *not* change to all-M apart from Pattern LO imperfectives, which historically probably incorporated derivational suffixes which produce Pattern L when added to Pattern O forms 6.5. Derivational suffixes also frequently produce Pattern O stems when added to Pattern L forms, which is difficult to reconcile with an analysis of Pattern O as intrinsically toneless. The appearance of H tonemes on non-initial syllables in some Pattern L nominal stems suggests rather that Pattern L has an underlying non-initial M² which becomes L or H by internal tone sandhi in surface forms, whereas Pattern O stems are intrinsically all-L.

Descriptively, it is unnecessary to attribute underlying tonemes as such to derivational suffixes, which can simply be classified by the Patterns they produce.

Superlight syllables 2.1 are consistently toneless both underlyingly and at surface level (with one marginal exception 6.2.1.) However, apocope may lead to a syllable which is superlight in the LF becoming closed in the SF and acquiring a toneme: this is always M after a preceding M syllable, but L otherwise, e.g. *nóbir^ε* "foot, leg", LF *nóbirè*, SF *nóbir*.

2) The final H in Toende Kusaal nouns like *zìlím* "langue" (Agolle *zìlim*) vs verbs like *sìbìg* "punir" (Niggli 2012 pp134ff) is probably not stem-internal, but the result of leftward docking of a flexion tone left floating by apocope; cf SF *bòḡ* LF *bòḡá* "âne."

6.2 Nominals

Prefixed nominals are tonally distinctive only in that *cbs* with M prefixes always have H on the root; sg and pl follow normal patterns. L prefixes do not affect stem tonemes at all. Prefixes are ignored in counting stem syllables below.

The tones of compounds are determined by external tone sandhi [7.4](#).

Noun and adjective examples will be given in the order sg, pl, cb [8.1](#). The cb cannot occur phrase-finally and is therefore always affected by apocope.

Quantifiers and adverbs have the same segmental and tonal structure as nouns and adjectives, though often with the addition of apocope-blocking [5.1.3](#).

6.2.1 Pattern H

Pattern H displays H on the first, second or third syllable of the LF (disregarding any prefix.) All tonemes before H are M, and all syllables following H carry L whenever they are not superlight. H falls on the first syllable if it is superheavy *in the LF*; if not, it falls on the second syllable unless this is superlight *in the LF*, in which case it falls on the third syllable. Cbs are always allocated tonemes as if the final syllable were open.

<i>vōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>vōyá⁺</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>yīr^{ε/}</i>	<i>yā^{+/}</i>	<i>yī-</i>	"house"
<i>fūug^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>fūud^{ε/}</i>	<i>fū-</i>	"shirt, clothes"
<i>dōk^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>dōgud^{ε/}</i>	<i>dōg-</i>	"cooking pot"
<i>nīd^{a/}</i>	<i>nīdɪb^{a/}</i>	<i>nīn-</i>	"person"
<i>kūgvr^{ε/}</i>	<i>kūgá⁺</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>gōt^{a/}</i>	<i>gōtɪb^a /tt/</i>	<i>gōt-</i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>sābɪlíg^a</i>	<i>sābɪlís^ε</i>	<i>sābɪl-</i>	"black"
<i>sābɪl^{lε}</i>	<i>sābɪlá⁺</i>		
<i>yōgúm^{mε}</i>	<i>yōgumá⁺</i>	<i>yōgum-</i>	"camel"
<i>dīəs^{a/}</i>	<i>dīəsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>dīəs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>sūgvríd^a</i>	<i>sūgvrídɪb^a</i>	<i>sūgvríd-</i>	"forgiver, forbearer"
<i>kō'alíj^a</i>	<i>kō'alís^ε</i>	<i>kō'alíj-</i>	traditional smock
<i>sū'əŋ^a /ŋŋ/</i>	<i>sū'əmís^ε</i>	<i>sū'əŋ-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	<i>sāam^{ma}</i>	<i>sāan-</i>	"stranger, guest"
<i>sāannìm^m</i>			"strangerhood"

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

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

Two subtypes of Pattern H show the H toneme shifted to the left of its expected position because an underlying segment has been lost.

H can appear even on a superlight syllable if it is preceded by *r* ← **rr*:

<i>ñyírí</i> ^ʔ	<i>ñyírí</i> ⁺	"egusi seed"
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Many words have a long root vowel followed by a segment which has been deleted either by reduction of a consonant cluster to a single consonant by assimilation 5.4 or by deletion of **g* when no affix vowel follows 5.6. The first syllable still behaves as superheavy and carries the H toneme:

<i>níis</i> ^ε	← <i>*niinsi</i>	(beside <i>nīimís</i> ^ε)	"birds" (sg <i>níiŋ</i> ^a /ŋŋ/)
<i>píiŋ</i> ^ʔ	← <i>*piunfu</i>	(pl <i>pīini</i> ⁺)	"genet"
<i>wáa</i> ^ʔ	← <i>*waagfu</i>	(pl <i>wīigi</i> ⁺)	"snake"
<i>yáab</i> ^a	← <i>*yaagba</i>		"grandparent"
<i>vúe</i> ^ε	← <i>*vuəgrɪ</i>		"fruit of red kapok"
<i>náa</i> ^ε	← <i>*naagrɪ</i>	gerund of	<i>nāe</i> ^{+/} "finish"
<i>dí'ə</i> ^ε	← <i>*di'əgrɪ</i>		<i>dī'e</i> ^{+/} "get"
<i>púñ'ə</i> ^ε	← <i>*pǔ'ǔgrɪ</i>		<i>pūñ'e</i> ^{+/} "rot"

6.2.1.1 Subpattern X

Subpattern X represents stems with intrinsic initial ML. Few words belong here, but several are very common. Sg/pl forms with consonant-initial flexions show root-initial X on superheavy syllables in the SF, and root-initial H otherwise; in all other respects Subpattern X coincides with Pattern H. As in Pattern H, syllables after H carry L toneme whenever they are not superlight.

<i>nú'ug</i> ^ʔ	<i>nú'us</i> ^ε	<i>nū'</i> -	"hand, arm"
<i>à-gâvŋ</i> ^ʔ	<i>à-gâaŋ</i> ^ε	<i>à-gāñ</i> -	"pied crow"
<i>gbéēñm</i> ^m	no pl	<i>gbēñ</i> -	"sleep"
<i>nóbìr</i> ^ε	<i>nōbá</i> ⁺	<i>nōb</i> -	"foot, leg"
<i>gél</i> ^ε	<i>gēlá</i> ⁺	<i>gēl</i> -	"egg"
<i>kísùg</i> ^ʔ	<i>kīsá</i> ⁺	<i>kīs</i> -	"hateful, taboo" (adj)
<i>āñsìb</i> ^a	<i>āñs-nám</i> ^a	<i>āñs</i> -	"mother's brother"

Here also belong the irregularly formed gerunds *sóñsìg*^a "conversing", *gósìg*^a "looking", *kìkírùg*^ɔ "hurrying" (L prefix.)

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

6.2.2 Pattern L

Pattern L comprises all nouns and adjectives beginning with L in sg/pl. Except with *m*-stems, all tonemes are L:

<i>sù'ug</i> ^a	<i>sù'us</i> ^ɛ	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>zàk</i> ^a	<i>zà'as</i> ^ɛ	<i>zà'-</i>	"dwelling-compound"
<i>mòli</i> ^ɔ	<i>mòli</i> ⁺	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>pùgvdib</i> ^a	<i>pùgvd-nàm</i> ^a	<i>pùgvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>sàal</i> ^a	<i>sàalib</i> ^a	<i>sàal-</i>	"human"
<i>nòηid</i> ^a			"lover"
<i>bòɔdim</i> ^m	no pl		"will"
<i>zòtim</i> ^m	no pl		"fear"
<i>dàalum</i> ^m	no pl		"maleness"

M-stems show H on the syllable before *m* unless it is either a root syllable itself or follows a light root syllable. Syllables after H are L whenever they are not superlight.

	<i>sàam</i> ^{ma}	<i>sàam-nàm</i> ^a	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
	<i>mèεη</i> ^a	<i>mèεmìs</i> ^ɛ	<i>mèεη-</i>	"turtle"
	<i>àñrvɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>àñrìma</i> ⁺	<i>àñrvɔ-</i>	"boat"
	<i>kàrvɔ</i> ^ɔ or <i>kàrìmvɔ</i> ^ɔ			"reading" (gerund)
	<i>yàlvɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yàlvma</i> ⁺	<i>yàlvɔ-</i>	"wide"
	<i>zìlm</i> ^{mε}	<i>zìlvma</i> ⁺	<i>zìlm-</i>	"tongue"
but	<i>sìilíη</i> ^a	<i>sìilímìs</i> ^ɛ	<i>sìilíη-</i>	"proverb"
		<i>sìilís</i> ^ɛ		
		<i>sìilímà</i> ⁺		
	<i>zàañsúη</i> ^ɔ	<i>zàañsímà</i> ⁺	<i>zàañsúη-</i>	"dream"
	<i>nòηilím</i> ^m		<i>nòηilím-</i>	"love"
	<i>nòηidím-tāa</i> ⁼	<u>12.2.1.4</u>		"fellow lover" WK
	<i>sòηidím-tāa</i> ⁼			"fellow-helper"
	<i>dàalím</i> ^m	<i>dàalímìs</i> ^ɛ	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
	<i>bì'isím</i> ^m			"milk"

Tonally exceptional with H after a light root syllable is

bùgúm^m no pl *bùgúm-* or *bùgūm-* "fire"

Tàdimís^ε "weakness", *bùdimís^ε* "confusion" perhaps derive from **-mimsi*.

6.2.3 Pattern O

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

<i>būvs^a</i>	<i>būvs^ε</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>tān^{nε}</i>	<i>tāna⁺</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	"earth"
<i>sīd^a</i>	<i>sīdib^a</i>	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>pū'ā^a</i>	<i>pū'ab^a</i>	<i>pū'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>sā'ab^ɔ</i>	no pl	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge"
<i>gbīgim^{nε}</i>	<i>gbīgima⁺</i>	<i>gbīgim-</i>	"lion"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamīs^ε</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>mēed^a</i>	<i>mēedib^a</i>	<i>mèed-</i>	"builder"
<i>sĵākīd^a</i>	<i>sĵākīdib^a</i>	<i>sĵàkīd-</i>	"believer"
<i>būtīŋ^a</i>	<i>būtīs^ε</i>	<i>būtīŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>mēedīŋ^a</i>	<i>mēedīs^ε</i>	<i>mèedīŋ-</i>	"building tool"

Agent nouns of the types which have *-d-* only in the plural when derived from from Pattern LO verbs are tonally heteroclitite, consistently showing Pattern L sg and Pattern O pl (the cb would have had L tonemes in either case) [6.5](#):

<i>pù'us^a</i>	<i>pū'usidib^a</i>	<i>pù'us-</i>	"worshipper"
<i>kùø^a</i>	<i>kūøsidib^a</i>	<i>kùø-</i>	"seller"

Pattern O nouns and adjectives are all either root-stems or stems derived with **m *n* or **d*; however, all three suffixes are also seen in Pattern L words.

Pattern O all-M LFs become all-L before the interrogative clitics [7.4.1](#):

Lì kā' gbígìmmēε? "Isn't it a lion?"

Certain Pattern O words show **LF-final H** instead of the expected M toneme before prosodic clitics, but not before liaison words. For WK this occurs when the LF has more than two syllables and does not end in a long vowel or *-a*, and also with disyllabic LFs ending in *-mmV* or *-mm*:

<i>yūgvɔdɪr^{ε/}</i>	<i>yūgvɔda⁺</i>	<i>yùgvɔd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>bāŋɪd^a</i>	<i>bāŋɪdɪb^{a/}</i>	<i>bàŋɪd-</i>	"wise man"
<i>kpārɪdɪŋ^a</i>	<i>kpārɪdɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>kpàrɪdɪŋ-</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>gbīgum^{mε/}</i>	<i>gbīguma⁺</i>	<i>gbìgum-</i>	"lion"
<i>zōɔm^{mε/}</i>	<i>zōɔma⁺</i>	<i>zòɔm-</i>	"fugitive"
<i>tādɪm^{m/}</i>	<i>tādɪmɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>tàdɪm-</i>	"weak person"

For some speakers, words of this type also have alternative forms with the final H in questions, alongside those displaying the usual change to all-L:

<i>Lì à nē gbīgummées?</i>	"Is it a lion?" WK only; rejected by DK
<i>Lì à nē gbìgimmées?</i>	"Is it a lion?" both WK and DK

6.2.4 Prefixes

Noun prefixes 13 are tonally L or M. L noun prefixes do not affect the rest of the tone pattern; M prefixes only affect cbs, which always have H/X after the prefix:

H	<i>dàyūug^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>dàyūud^{ε/}</i>	<i>dàyū-</i>	"rat"
X	<i>Bùsáŋ^a</i>	<i>Bùsâaŋs^ε</i>	<i>Bùsāŋ-</i>	"Bisa person"
L	<i>kùkpàrig^a</i>	<i>kùkpàris^ε</i>	<i>kùkpàr-</i>	"palm tree"
O	<i>dàkīig^a</i>	<i>dàkīs^ε</i>	<i>dàkì-</i>	"sib-in-law via wife"
H	<i>zīnzāuŋ^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>zīnzāná⁺</i>	<i>zīnzáuŋ-</i>	"bat"
H	<i>Ñwāmpūrig^{a/}</i>	<i>Ñwāmpūris^{ε/}</i>	<i>Ñwāmpúr-</i>	"Mamprussi person"
H	<i>gūmpōzēr^{ε/}</i>	<i>gūmpōzēyá⁺</i>	<i>gūmpōzér-</i>	"duck"
H	<i>tīntōñríg^a</i>	<i>tīntōñrís^ε</i>	<i>tīntóñr-</i>	"mole" (<i>r</i> ← * <i>rr</i>)
H	<i>pīpīrig^{a/}</i>	<i>pīpīris^{ε/}</i>	<i>pīpír-</i>	"desert"
H	<i>bālērvg^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>bālērɪd^{ε/}</i>	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
O	<i>fūfūm^{mε}</i>	<i>fūfūma⁺</i>	<i>fūfúm-</i>	"envy; styne in the eye"
L	<i>sāmán^{nε}</i>	<i>sāmánà⁺</i>	<i>sāmán-</i>	"courtyard"

Dependent cbs from CV-stems occasionally behave tonally like prefixes:

O	<i>zūg-kōgvɔr^{ε/}</i>	<i>zūg-kōga⁺</i>	<i>zūg-kúg-</i>	"pillow" <u>8.2</u>
O	<i>kā-wēnnɪr^{ε/}</i>	<i>kā-wēnna⁺</i>	<i>kā-wén-</i>	"corn"
H	<i>pōkpāad^{a/}</i>	<i>pōkpāadíb^a</i>	<i>pōkpá-</i>	"farmer" <u>13.1.4</u>

6.3 Verbs

Verbs show just two Tone Patterns:

Pattern H	initial M or H
Pattern LO	L throughout in the indicative and imperative moods M throughout in the irrealis mood

Dual-aspect verbs have three finite forms 10.1 but the *-m^a* imperative is found only with tone overlay 19.6.1.1, so here just perfective and imperfective will be cited, in that order. Single-aspect verbs have just one finite form, which is imperfective.

Verbs conflate Pattern H with X and Pattern O with L. This was probably driven by regular falling together of the patterns in most perfectives (which resemble nominal cbs tonally) and by the development of imperfectives from *derived* stems 6.5. On top of this there has been extensive tonal levelling, extending also to gerunds. A few root-stem gerunds survive with Patterns X or L: segmental and tonal levelling correlate in the two gerunds of *kīr^ε* "hurry, tremble", *kìkíròg^ɔ* and *kīrb^ɔ*.

6.3.1 Pattern H

Pattern H resembles Pattern H in nominals. Again, H falls on the first syllable if it is superheavy *in the LF*; if not, it falls on the second syllable unless this is superlight *in the LF*, in which case it falls on the third. All tonemes before H are M and following syllables carry L whenever they are not superlight. Verb forms show no anomalies due to deletion of segments.

2-mora-stem perfectives are MM before the negative prosodic clitic, changed as usual to LL before interrogative clitics; however, the final syllable is H before liaison-word pronouns:

<i>Ò p̄ ḡs̄ε.</i>	"She didn't look"
<i>Ò p̄ ḡs̄ὲε?</i>	"Didn't she look?"
<i>Ò p̄ d̄ḡε.</i>	"She didn't cook."
<i>Ò p̄ d̄ḡὲε?</i>	"Didn't she cook?"
<i>Kà ò d̄ḡí lī</i>	"And she cooked it."

Examples for Pattern H:

<i>ñyē⁺</i>	<i>ñyēt^a/</i>	"see"
<i>kū⁺</i>	<i>kūvd^a/</i>	"kill"
<i>dūg^ε</i>	<i>dūgvd^a/</i>	"cook"
<i>p̄jāñ^a</i>	<i>p̄jāñ^ad^a/</i>	"speak", "praise"
<i>kū^ε</i>	<i>kūn^{na}/</i>	"go home"

<i>yādıg</i> ^{ε/}	<i>yādıgıd</i> ^a	"scatter"
<i>mōɔ</i> ^{ε/}	<i>mōɔn</i> ^{na}	"proclaim"
<i>dīgı</i> ^{ε/}	<i>dīgın</i> ^{na}	"lay down"
<i>nōk</i> ^{ε/} /kk/	<i>nōkıd</i> ^a /kk/	"take"
<i>lāŋım</i> ^m /ŋŋ/	<i>lāŋım</i> ^{ma} /ŋŋ/	"wander searching"
	<i>vōē</i> ^{a/}	"be alive"
	<i>dīgı</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"
	<i>tī</i> ^{ya/}	"be leaning" (objects)
	<i>zāñ</i> ^{la/}	"be holding"

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

<i>tōɔm</i> ^{m/}	"disappear"	SF <i>tōɔm</i>	LF <i>tōɔmm</i>
<i>pāe</i> ^{+/}	"reach"	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>

For the tonemes of stative verbs like *kpīəm*^{ma/} "be strong" see [12.1.5.1](#).

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

<i>pāe</i> ^{+/}	<i>pāad</i> ^{a/}	not * <i>páad</i> ^a	"reach"
<i>dīe</i> ^{+/}	<i>dīəd</i> ^{a/}	not * <i>díəd</i> ^a	"get"
<i>pūñ'e</i> ^{+/}	<i>pūñ'əd</i> ^{a/}	not * <i>púñ'əd</i> ^a	"rot" WK

Contrast the corresponding gerunds in *-r*^ε: *páar*^ε *díər*^ε *púñ'ər*^ε.

6.3.2 Pattern LO

All stem tonemes are L in the indicative and imperative, and M in the irrealis.

<i>bùd</i> ^ε	<i>bùt</i> ^a	"plant"
<i>dì</i> ⁺	<i>dít</i> ^a	"eat"
<i>mè</i> ⁺	<i>mèəd</i> ^a	"build"
<i>zàb</i> ^ε	<i>zàbıd</i> ^a	"fight, hurt"
<i>bùə</i> ^ε	<i>bùən</i> ^{na}	"call"
<i>bòdıg</i> ^ε	<i>bòdıgıd</i> ^a	"get lost, lose"
<i>nìŋ</i> ^ε	<i>nìŋıd</i> ^a	"do"
<i>màa</i> ^ε	<i>màan</i> ^{na}	"sacrifice"
<i>dìgı</i> ^ε	<i>dìgııd</i> ^a	"lie down"
<i>wàŋım</i> ^m	<i>wàŋım</i> ^{ma}	"waste away"
<i>sìilım</i> ^m	<i>sìilım</i> ^{ma}	"cite proverbs"
<i>zàaňsım</i> ^m	<i>zàaňsım</i> ^{ma}	"dream"

<i>zìǎ'í^{ya}</i>	"be sitting down"
<i>tàb_i'ya</i>	"be stuck to"
<i>tèǎ^a</i>	"remember"
<i>vèn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"

In the irrealis, as with nominal Pattern O, the last toneme of the LF is M:

<i>Ò nà bōdɪg.</i>	"He'll get lost."
<i>Ò nà vēn.</i>	"She'll be beautiful."
<i>Ò kù zābɛ.</i>	"She won't fight."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɛ.</i>	"He won't get lost."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪdɔ.</i>	"She won't be getting lost."
<i>Ò kù būənnɔ.</i>	"She won't be calling."
<i>Ò nà bōdɪgɪ m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪ má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò nà bōdɪgɪ bá.</i>	"She will lose them."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪ báa.</i>	"She won't lose them."
<i>Ò kù bōdɪgɪdɪ má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò kù zābɪdɪ má.</i>	"He won't be fighting me."
<i>Ò kù zābɪdɪné.</i>	"He wouldn't have been fighting."
<i>Ò kù sīlɪmm.</i>	"She won't cite proverbs" WK
vs <i>Ò kù lāŋímm.</i>	"She won't wander about searching (<i>lāŋím^m</i>)."

Such forms are always followed by M spreading:

<i>Ò nà zāb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He'll fight the chief."
<i>Ò nà gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He'll look at the chief."

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

<i>Ò kù zāb·ó-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."
or <i>Ò kù zāb·o-o.</i>	"He won't fight him."

In questions, clause-final M...M become L...L just as with Pattern O nominals:

<i>Ǟ ná bōdɪgɛɛ?</i>	"Will I get lost?"
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Most derivational suffixes added to O/L/LO roots produce Pattern L/LO. No stem with **g* */ **s* or **b* as a final derivational suffix is Pattern O.

All segmentally regular gerunds have predictable Tone Patterns:

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

<i>dūg</i> ^ε	"cook"	→	<i>dūgub</i> ^ɔ
<i>nōk</i> ^{ε/}	"take"	→	<i>nōkír</i> ^ε
<i>dīgul</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	→	<i>dīgulóg</i> ^ɔ
<i>mè</i> ⁺	"build"	→	<i>mēeb</i> ^ɔ
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ε	"help"	→	<i>sùŋir</i> ^ε
<i>dìgin</i> ^ε	"lie down"	→	<i>dìginug</i> ^ɔ
<i>zàañsim</i> ^m	"dream"	→	<i>zàañsúŋ</i> ^ɔ

The assignment of 3- and 4-mora Pattern LO verb gerunds to Pattern L is natural given that the great majority of such stems have a Pattern-L-deriving suffix.

Imperfective gerunds [12.2.1.4](#) with **d* from Pattern LO verbs are Pattern L: *bōōdum*^m "will", *mēédím-tāa*⁼ "fellow-builder." This **d* is historically identifiable with the *d* of the dual-aspect ipfv *-d^a*, preceding an original ipfv *-a* before extensive levelling resulted in *-d^a* behaving as a single flexional suffix: this accounts for the merger of Patterns L and O in dynamic imperfectives. In dynamic single-aspect verbs, the **y* of the ending *-y^a* behaves tonally like dual-aspect **d*, but in stative verbs **y* does not alter the Tone Pattern of the preceding form. The Tone Patterns of stative verbs have been assimilated to those of dynamic verbs, however [12.1.5.1](#).

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

from Pattern H verbs	Pattern H
from Pattern LO verbs	
containing derivational <i>-d-</i>	Pattern O
otherwise	Pattern L

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

7 External sandhi

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

Sandhi after right-bound words often differs from that between word-forms capable of ending a phrase and even left-bound following dependents. Perfectives behave as if right-bound in tone sandhi and with word-final stop devoicing in Toende Kusaal 3.1 fn; perfectives and single-aspect verbs ending in fronting diphthongs monophthongise phrase-internally like cbs, and unlike singulars (even singulars before the article *lā*^{+/}):

<i>sāḡñ lā</i>	"the blacksmith"		
<i>sàñ-kàḡñ</i>	"this blacksmith"		
<i>Ò sù'v lór.</i>	"She owns a lorry."	<i>sū'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"
<i>Lì nàa nē.</i>	"It is finished."	<i>nāe</i> ^{+/}	"finish"

7.1 Prosodic clitics

Prosodic clitics³ cause a preceding word to appear as a Long Form, completely suppressing apocope. All four cause lowering of short LF-final *ɪ ʊ* to *ɛ ɔ* respectively, which are realised slightly closer in this case than as root vowels.

Before prosodic clitics, and in forms with apocope-blocking, final *-mɪ* and *-mʊ* become *-mm* whenever the *m* is not geminated. The final *m* was presumably once syllabic, but currently *-mm* is non-tone-bearing [m:]. Word-final *iə uə* diphthongise to *ia ua* before prosodic clitics 3.2.2. None of these changes occur before liaison 7.2.

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

	<i>sīa</i> ⁺	"waist"	SF <i>sīa</i>	LF <i>sīaa</i>	← * <i>siəga</i>
but	<i>dà'a</i> ⁼	"market"	SF <i>dà'a</i>	LF <i>dà'a</i>	← * <i>da'aga</i>
	<i>bāa</i> ⁼	"dog"	SF <i>bāa</i>	LF <i>bāa</i>	← * <i>baaga</i>
	<i>kú-o</i> ⁼	"kill him"	←	<i>kū</i> ⁺ "kill" + ^o "him/her"	SF/LF [kū:]

3) The concept of prosodic "clitics" is also useful for describing complex clause structures. Mooré has the clause-final particle *yé* after negative VPs, and segmental vocative and interrogative clitics are also common in West Africa. For clitic-like elements cross-linguistically which lack segmental form see Spencer and Luís 2012: 5.5.1 on Tongan "definitive accent."

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

<i>Lì à nē nóbìr.</i> 3INAN COP FOC leg:SG.	"It's a leg (<i>nóbìr^ɛ</i>)."
<i>Ànó'ɔnì_ø ñyē nóbìrè +ø?</i> Who CAT see leg:SG CQ?	"Who saw a leg?"
<i>Lì à nē nóbìrèè +ø?</i> 3INAN COP FOC leg:SG PQ?	"Is it a leg?"
<i>Lì à nē kōk.</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē kúkà?</i> <i>Lì à nē kúkàa?</i>	"It's a chair (<i>kōk^a</i>)." "Who saw a chair?" "Is it a chair?"
<i>Lì à nē gbīgum.</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē gbígìmnè?</i> <i>Lì à nē gbígìmnèè?</i>	"It's a lion (<i>gbīgum^{nɛ}</i>)." "Who saw a lion?" "Is it a lion?"
<i>Lì à nē dōk.</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē dōkó?</i> <i>Lì à nē dōkóó?</i>	"It's a cooking pot (<i>dōk^ɔ</i>)." "Who saw a pot?" "Is it a pot?"
<i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē mólì?</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē bédugú?</i>	"Who saw gazelles (<i>mólì⁺</i>)?" "Who saw a lot (<i>bédugū^{+/}</i>)?"

7.1.1 Long Forms in clause adjuncts

Clause adjuncts are not followed by M spreading, even though M spreading elsewhere can cross phrase boundaries. Some single-word clause adjuncts always end in a LF, and occasional examples occur with *yà'*-clauses:

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

Kìkìrìg yá' mōr bōude, fūn tís-ò_ø kà ò lèbig ò mōɔgū-n.

Fairy:SG if have innocence, 2SG.CNTR give 3AN.OB and 3AN return 3AN grass:SG-LOC.

"When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." KSS p38

(Give the devil his due.)

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

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

Forms displaying this feature cannot be used as VP or NP constituents.

The LF form is like that seen before the negative prosodic clitic. In KB, all examples written *bεogv* precede liaison; clause adjuncts with a final vowel are always written *bεogv*. Similarly, KB consistently shows final *-v* in the apocope-blocked word [5.1.3](#) *bεdegv bēdvū^{+/}* "a lot", but just as consistently has final *-v* in *bɔzugv bō zúgv* "because", *dinzugv dìn zúgv* "therefore", *alazugv àlá zùgv* "therefore."

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

7.2 Liaison

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

Left-bound liaison words are always preceded by liaison. There are two sets.

Position 1 left-bound liaison words are the locative particle *n^ε* [16.3](#), which attaches directly after nominal sg or pl forms, along with the discontinuous-past marker *n^ε* [23.1.1](#) and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun *y^a* [21.3](#), which attach directly after verb forms. In this grammar, all these words are hyphenated to the preceding host word, except when *y^a* is completely deleted by apocope.

Position 2 left-bound liaison words comprise the bound object personal pronouns *m^a f^o l⁺ t⁺ y^a b^a* [15.3.1](#). They either attach directly to a verb word or after discontinuous-past *n^ε* or 2pl subject *y^a*. They are written as separate words, except with the 3sg animate pronoun, which is deleted by apocope.

Liaison words which are either right-bound or free comprise all the right-bound personal pronouns *m̄ f̄ ò l̄ t̄ yà bà*, the personifier particle *à/ḥ* [15.5](#), *àḥ'ɔn^ε* "who?" [15.3.4](#), nominaliser-*ḥ* [24](#), catenator-*n* [22.1](#), all words with the number prefixes *à bà bò* [13.3](#), and all words with manner-adverb prefix *à* [13.2](#). Liaison is not invariable before these words, except with with personal pronouns immediately preceded by a verb within the same verb phrase; older texts show liaison more widely.

Tì gòsɿ̀ b̀à b̄īs. "We looked at their children."
 1PL look.at 3PL child:PL. (Liaison before *b̀à* "their")

The basic liaison change is that when the preceding host word LF ends in a short vowel it becomes *ɿ*. For some speakers, this *ɿ* becomes *ʊ* after *g* preceded by a rounded root vowel. LF-final *-mm* behaves as *-mɿ*; *-iə -uə* remain as such, not becoming *-ia -ua* 3.2.2. If the host LF ends in an overlong vowel sequence it is reduced to long, and fronting diphthongs are simplified to monophthongs. The liaison words ^oya *ya⁺ ỳà* and words beginning with the number prefix *à* subsequently cause new quality changes in the mora preceding liaison.

Examples:

<i>kūk^a</i>	"chair"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>kūkɿ-n^ɛ/</i>
<i>dūk^{ɔ/}</i>	"pot"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>dūkɿ-n^ɛ</i>
<i>b̀òɔd^a</i>	"want"	+ <i>tɿ⁺</i>	"us"	→	<i>b̀òɔdɿ tɿ⁺</i>
<i>p̄ɔɔg^{ɔ/}</i>	"field"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>p̄ɔɔgʊ-n^ɛ</i>
<i>ỳàv^g</i>	"grave"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>ỳàvʊ-n^ɛ/</i>

B̀à b̀òɔdɿ m. "They love me."
B̀à p̄ɔ b̀òɔdɿ má. "They don't love me."

<i>t̀ùm^m</i>	"send"	+ <i>tɿ⁺</i>	"us"	→	<i>t̀ùmɿ tɿ⁺/</i>
<i>dāam^{m/}</i>	"beer"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>dāamɿ-n^ɛ</i>
<i>k̀ù'əm^m</i>	"water"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>k̀ù'əmɿ-n^ɛ/</i>

K̀à b̀à ñȳɛ m. "And they saw me." (*ñȳɛ⁺* "see")
K̀à b̀à kíá l̄. "And they cut it." (*k̀j̀à⁺* "cut")

<i>d̀à'a⁼</i>	"market"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>d̀à'a-n^ɛ/</i>
<i>p̄āe^{+/}</i>	"reach"	+ <i>tɿ⁺</i>	"us"	→	<i>p̄áa tɿ⁺/</i>
<i>p̄īe^{+/}</i>	"wash"	+ <i>tɿ⁺</i>	"us"	→	<i>p̄íə tɿ⁺/</i>
<i>d̄ūe^{+/}</i>	"raise"	+ <i>tɿ⁺</i>	"us"	→	<i>d̄úə tɿ⁺/</i>

Single-aspect verbs with LFs ending in *-ya* make forms analogous to those of fusion verb perfectives. They drop the *ya*, monophthongise diphthongs and prolong preceding short vowels (see further 5.1.2):

<i>s̄ū'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"	+ <i>lɿ⁺</i>	"it"	→	<i>s̄ú'ʊ l̄ɿ⁺/</i>
<i>v̄ūe^{a/}</i>	"live"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	dp	→	<i>v̄ūʊ-n^ɛ/</i>

Four liaison words are reduced by apocope to segmental zero, and the only sign of their presence as SFs is the preceding liaison, with any associated changes to the vowel quality and toneme of the mora before liaison. This is invariably the case with the pronoun ^o [ɔ] "him/her" and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun ^{ya}:

	<i>bòɔd^a</i>	"want"	+	^o "him/her"	→	<i>bòɔd·ó-o</i>	(SF <i>bòɔd·ō</i>)
SF	<i>gòsımī_∅</i>	"look ye!"					Traditional: <i>gosimi</i>
LF	<i>gòsımī_ yá</i>						Traditional: <i>gosimiya</i>

Nominaliser-*n̄* 24 combines with a preceding pronoun subject to produce a special set of pronouns 15.3.1, but for my informants it is segmental zero in all other contexts; its presence remains apparent in the change of pre-liaison M tonemes to H. Older texts frequently show *n* and/or liaison, but even texts which use *n* nearly always omit it after words with SFs ending in nasal consonants. In KB, *n* (without liaison) occurs mostly after foreign proper names.

All sources realise catenator-*n* 22.1 21.4.1 after pause as a syllabic nasal assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Elsewhere, WK has liaison before segmental zero:

Kà ò zóɔ_ ∅ kēŋ nā. "And he came running"
 And 3AN run CAT come hither.

Bɔɔ_ ∅ lá +∅? "What's that?"
 What CAT that CQ?

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

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

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

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

tuum kanε ka m tummi tisid Wina'am la.

tùum-kànι kà m̃ túmmī_∅ tísìd Wínà'am lā

work-REL.SG and 1SG work:IPFV CAT give:IPFV God ART

"The work which I do for God" (Rom 15:17)

7.2.1 Vowel quality changes

Fronting of the second mora of a LF-final long vowel occurs before the 2pl object pronoun *ya*⁺ exactly as before word-internal *y* 5.5, with any back mora becoming *e* [ɪ] but no change to front morae:

	<i>Bà b̀̀ɔdī yá.</i>		"They love you."
	<i>Kà bà ñýéé yā.</i>		"And they saw you (pl)." (<i>ñyē</i> ⁺ "see")
but	<i>Kà bà kúé yā.</i>	[kɔɪja]	"And they killed you (pl)." (<i>kū</i> ⁺ "kill")
	<i>Kà bà kíé yā.</i>	[kiɪja]	"And they cut you (pl)." (<i>kjā</i> ⁺ "cut")

This recreates a fronting diphthong in monophongised fusion verb pfv forms:

	<i>Kà bà páa bā.</i>		"And they reached them." (<i>pāe</i> ^{+/} "reach")
but	<i>Kà bà páe yā.</i>		"And they reached you (pl)."

For some speakers, rounding of unrounded long vowel second morae and of the default LF-final short vowel *ɪ* takes place before the 2 sg object pronoun *f*^o "you":

	<i>Kà bà kīā f.</i>		"And they cut you (sg)."
or	<i>Kà bà kīo f.</i>		
	<i>Kà bà ñýéé f.</i>		"And they saw you (sg)."
or	<i>Kà bà ñýéo f.</i>		
	<i>M̃ gbáñ'a f.</i>		"I've grabbed you (sg)."
or	<i>M̃ gbáñ'ʊ f.</i>		

Rounding is invariable in the 1996 NT, probably reflecting an orthographic decision to write *uf* rather than *if* consistently for the spurious object pronoun "you."

The 3sg animate object pronoun ^o [ɔ] "him/her" and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun ^{ya}, both of which lose their entire segmental form in their SFs, share the property that they completely override the vowel quality of the pre-liaison mora, creating **secondary diphthongs** 3.2.5.

The mora before ^o becomes *·o* 2.3 [ɔ], always lax. In the LF this mora fuses with the [ɔ] of the LF of the pronoun itself create a long vowel [ɔ:], written *·o-o*:

<i>b̀̀ɔɔda</i>	"wants"	+ 0	→	<i>b̀̀ɔɔd·ó-o</i>	SF <i>b̀̀ɔɔd·ō</i>
<i>t̀̀mɪ</i>	"send"	+ 0	→	<i>t̀̀m·ó-o</i>	SF <i>t̀̀m·ō</i>
<i>k̀̀ia</i>	"cut"	+ 0	→	<i>k̀̀i·o-o</i>	SF <i>k̀̀i·o</i>
<i>ñ̀̀yɛɛ</i>	"see"	+ 0	→	<i>ñ̀̀yɛ·ó-o</i>	SF <i>ñ̀̀yɛ·o</i>

F̀̀ù b̀̀ɔɔd·ō_∅. "You love her." [fɔbɔ:dɔ]
2SG want 3AN.OB.

F̀̀ù p̄ b̀̀ɔɔd·ó-o +∅. "You don't love her." [fɔpɔbɔ:dɔ:]
2SG NEG.IND want-3AN.OB NEG.

F̀̀ù ñ̀̀yɛ·o_∅. "You've seen her." [fɔj̃ɛ̃ɔ̃]
2SG see 3AN.OB.

F̀̀ù p̄ ñ̀̀yɛ·ó-o +∅. "You've not seen her." [fɔpɔj̃ɛ̃ɔ̃:]
2SG NEG.IND see-3AN.OB NEG.

<i>z̄u⁺</i>	"steal"	+ 0	→	<i>z̄ú·o⁻⁰</i>	SF [zuɔ] LF [zuɔ:]
<i>d̄i⁺</i>	"eat"	+ 0	→	<i>d̄ì·o⁻⁰</i>	SF [dɪɔ] LF [dɪɔ:]
<i>k̀̀jà⁺</i>	"cut"	+ 0	→	<i>k̀̀i·o⁻⁰</i>	SF [kiɔ] LF [kiɔ:]
<i>p̄āe^{+/}</i>	"reach"	+ 0	→	<i>p̄á·o⁻⁰</i>	
<i>p̄īe^{+/}</i>	"wash"	+ 0	→	<i>p̄í·o⁻⁰</i>	
<i>d̄ūe^{+/}</i>	"raise"	+ 0	→	<i>d̄ú·o⁻⁰</i>	

Mane a o. "I am he." (Jn 18:5, 1976)
M̄ānɪ_∅ áñ·o_∅. (*àɛñ^a* "be")
1SG.CNTR CAT COP 3AN.OB.

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

SF *g̀̀ɔ̀̀sɪm̄_∅* "look ye!" Traditional: *gosimi*
LF *g̀̀ɔ̀̀sɪm̄_ yá* 21.3 Traditional: *gosimiya*

<i>k̄u⁺</i>	"kill"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>k̄ūe^{-ya/}</i>	[kɔɪ]
<i>k̀̀jà⁺</i>	"cut"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>k̄īe^{-ya/}</i>	[kiɪ]
<i>p̄āe^{+/}</i>	"reach"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>p̄āe^{-ya/}</i>	
<i>p̄īe^{+/}</i>	"wash"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>p̄īe^{-ya/}</i>	
<i>d̄ūe^{+/}</i>	"raise"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>d̄ūe^{-ya/}</i>	
but <i>b̄ɛ⁺</i>	"be"	+ <i>ya</i>	→	<i>b̄ēɪ^{-ya/}</i>	[bɛɪ]

Before liaison words beginning with *à-* the quality of the final vowel mora of the preceding word is not predictable from the phonology alone.

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

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

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

Fusion verbs [10.1](#) show forms in final *e* [ɪ] in these cases, instead of the monophthongs *aa iə ue* usual before another word in the VP [7.3](#):

... [n] *loo Abaa zuur* "... tying Dog's tail" [15.5](#) KSS p20
... *n lóɔ_À-Bāa zôur*
...CAT tie PERS-dog:SG tail:SG

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

However, *àeń^a* "be something" always appears as *àań*, not *àeń*.

Ka fʊ aan anɔ'ɔnɛ? "And who are you?" (Jn 1:19)
Kà fù áań àń'ɔnɛ⁺∅?
And 2SG COP who CQ?

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

Ì mór nē bīisá_àtáń'. "I have three children."
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.

Pèédá_àlá⁺∅? "How many baskets?"
basket:PL NUM:how.many CQ? (contrast *àlá* "thus" above)

These rules are consistent in written materials. However, my informants contract *-á à-* to *á-* with the number prefix:

Nū'-bíbìs álá kà fù ñyētá +ø?
 hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV CQ?
 "How many fingers do you see?"

Elsewhere, my informants show liaison before *à* only between imperatives and *àlá*, where *-í à-* is contracted to either *-á-* or *-í-* depending on the speaker: *gòsimí lá* or *gòsim álá* "Keep on looking!"

WK and DK both always round the LF-final vowel before *ò* "his/her":

Bà gòsú_ò bīg. "They've looked at her child."
 3PL look:at 3AN child:SG.

All written sources show *-i* (i.e. *-ɪ* [ɪ]), presumably the original form.

The number prefix *a-* originated as **ŋa-* 13.3, and prefix-initial **ŋ* seems to have disappeared early throughout Western Oti-Volta. Sandhi effects may outlive the complete disappearance of a consonant, as with the French "*H aspiré*"; the personifier particle and the manner-adverb prefix probably began with consonants like *y* or *w* which, though now also deleted, were maintained long enough for consonant-initial sandhi to be preserved.

7.2.2 The pronoun *y^a* before liaison

The pronoun *y^a* adopts the allomorph *-ní-* before liaison. The pronoun was historically **ŋa*, which regularly became **yã* with subsequent loss of emic nasalisation, as always with affix vowels. When the *-a* is deleted by apocope, *y* is also deleted. When followed by a liaison word, the vowel *a* was not deleted but became *ɪ*, before which *ŋ* became *n-*. (Cf also *nìŋ^ɛ* "do" = Toende Kusaal *ěŋ*, locative *n^ɛ ~ nī^{+/}* = Toende *-ɪ*, *nìe⁺* "appear" = Toende *yěe*, *nīŋ^a* "body" = Mooré *yīŋga*.)

Dā dōllɪ_yá +ø! "Follow ye not!"
 NEG.IMP follow 2PL.SUB NEG!

Dì'əmī_ø! "Receive ye!"
 receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dì'əmī-ní_bā! "Receive ye them!"
 receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB

Dì'əmī-n-ó_ø! "Receive ye her!"
 receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB.

Biise, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.

Bīise + \emptyset , *sjàkımī-ní* *yà dū'adib nɔyà.*

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

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

Dì'amī-ní *àlá!*

"Keep ye on receiving!"

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

(Realised *Dì'amī-ní lá!* or *dì'amī-n álá!*)

7.3 Segmental contact

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

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

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

<i>yīr lā</i>	"the house"	[jira]
<i>pùkòwñr lā</i>	"the widow"	[pʊkô:ra]

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

Initial *n* of focus-*nē*⁺ often assimilates completely to a preceding word-final *d t n r l m* in normal rapid speech. Subsequently [r:] becomes [r] and [d:] becomes [d]:

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

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

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

	<i>Ñ-Bīl</i>	Mbillah (personal name)	[m̩bil]
but	<i>Ṁ nójĩ_ f.</i>	"I love you."	[m̩nɔŋɪf]

I follow traditional orthography in writing final nasals of prefixes as *n* everywhere except before *p b m*, where I write *m*.

Within phrases, word-final short vowels denasalise before initial *n* or *m*:

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

Some right-bound *CVñ-* elements lose nasalisation even when the following consonant is not a nasal. Thus with compounds of *sūñf^o* "heart" like *sū-málsim^m* "joy", *sūñ-kpí'oj^o* "boldness", *sūñ-péεn^{nε}* "anger" the 1996 NT and older sources write *sumalism sukpi'oj/sukpi'euj supeen*, reflecting the bleaching and phonological simplification which has created noun prefixes from some original cbs 13.1.4. KB restores the nasalisation in writing: *sunkpí'euj* "boldness", *sunpεεn* "anger."

With *àεñ^a* "be something/somehow" there is loss of nasalisation before the focus particle *nē^{+/}* (for the loss of the *ε* see below):

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

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

Combining forms, and verb forms which are not VP-final, may not end in fronting diphthongs unless the next word begins with *y*. Otherwise, the fronting diphthongs are replaced by the corresponding monophthongs 3.2.2: *aε → a*; *oε → o*; *vε → v*; *ae → aa*; *ve → vv*; *ie → iə*; *ue → uə*. Thus *sāεñ lā* "the blacksmith", but *sàñ-kàjā* "this blacksmith" and e.g.

<i>Ò sù'v lór.</i>	"She owns a lorry." (<i>sū'e^{ya/}</i> "own")
<i>Lì àñ sújā.</i>	"It's good." (<i>àεñ^a</i> "be something")

Ti ya'a vve, ti vve tis Zugsoɓ la.

Tì yá' vūε, tì vú nē_∅ tís Zūg-sóɓ lā.

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

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

Èñrigim_ ∅ pāa dū'átà.

Shift.along:IMP CAT reach doctor:SG.

"Shift along up to the doctor." (*pāe^{+/}* "reach")

Lì nàa nē. "It is finished." *nāe*^{+/} "finish"
Dúe wēlá? "[You] arose how?" 28 *dūe*^{+/} "arise"

Kā'e⁺ "not be/not have" loses *e* before complements but not adjuncts:

Ò kā' bīga +∅. "She is not a child."
 3AN NEG.BE child:SG NEG.

Dāy lā kā' dōcgū-n lāa +∅.
 Man:SG ART NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART NEG.
 "The man's not in the room." (*dōcgū-n lā* as complement)

but *Sɔ' kae na nyanji dɔl zugdaannam ayi'...*
Sɔ' kā'e_∅ ná ñyāŋi_∅ dɔl zūg-dāan-nàm àyí' ...
 IND.FAN NEG.BE CAT IRR prevail CAT follow head-owner:PL NUM:two ...
 "Nobody can serve two masters." (Mt 6:24)

Dāy kā'e dōcgū-n lāa +∅.
 Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART NEG.
 "There's no man in the room." (*dōcgū-n lā* as adjunct)

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

<i>voen</i>	= <i>vōv-n</i>	"would live" (Gal 3:21, 1996)
<i>Kristo da faaen ti</i>	= <i>Kristo dá fāañ tí</i>	"Christ saved us." (Gal 5:1)
<i>m wa'e ne</i>	= <i>m wá'a nē.</i>	"I'm going" ILK

Àeñ^a "be something" is always written *aa* or *aan* before liaison; this might reflect consistent absence of stress, but it seems more likely that the rarity of phrase-final *àeñ*^a has prevented the analogical introduction of phrase-final spelling phrase-medially. *Fāeñ*^{+/} "save" is perhaps written *faaenn* instead of *faann* to distinguish the forms from those of *fāñ*⁺ "grab, rob"; the 1996 NT has two instances of the certainly spurious *faaenm* for imperative *faanm*. (See also 14.1 on *faangid* "saviour", *faangir* "salvation.") Errors like *Nonjilim pu naae da* (1 Cor 13:8, 1996 NT) for KB *Nɔŋilim pu naada* "Love does not come to an end" confirm that the orthographic tradition has encompassed the writing of diphthongs for undoubted monophthongs.

7.4 Tone sandhi

The tone overlay of independency marking [19.6.1.1](#) precedes external tone sandhi, which follows apocope. M dropping and the change of M to L induced by the interrogative prosodic clitics apply before other external tone sandhi rules, which otherwise apply left to right.

7.4.1 Before prosodic clitics

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

<i>mòli</i> ⁺	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòli</i>	LF <i>mòlī</i>
<i>yàarim</i> ^m	"salt"	SF <i>yàarim</i>	LF <i>yàarīmm</i>
<i>tìim</i> ^m	"medicine"	SF <i>tìim</i>	LF <i>tīimm</i>

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

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

Pattern H words written in superscript notation with a following acute mark / place the H on the last syllable of the LF, replacing any SF M toneme:

<i>fūug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"shirt, clothes"	SF <i>fūug</i>	LF <i>fūugó</i>
<i>pāe</i> ^{+/}	"reach"	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>
<i>nūa</i> ^{+/}	"hen"	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>
<i>yā</i> ^{+/}	"houses"	SF <i>yā</i>	LF <i>yáa</i>
<i>lā</i> ^{+/}	(article)	SF <i>lā</i>	LF <i>láa</i>
<i>bèdugū</i> ^{+/}	"a lot"	SF <i>bèdugū</i>	LF <i>bèdugúv</i>
<i>gāañ</i> ^{=/}	"Nigerian ebony"	SF <i>gāañ</i>	LF <i>gáañ</i>
<i>dāam</i> ^{m/}	"millet beer"	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>
<i>tāuñ</i> ^{+/}	"opposite-sex sib"	SF <i>tāuñ</i>	LF <i>táuñ</i>
<i>dāam</i> ^{m/}	"millet beer"	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>
<i>vūm</i> ^{m/}	"life"	SF <i>vūm</i>	LF <i>vúmm</i>

When the liaison word ^o "him/her" follows a perfective ending in a root vowel, the SF has H toneme, but the corresponding LF-final overlong diphthong carries MH:

<i>ñyé·o</i> ^o	"see him/her"	SF <i>ñyé·o</i>	LF <i>ñyē·ó-o</i>
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The changes before the vocative clitic resemble those before the negative clitic, though the audio NT version sometimes shows a change of final H tone to falling (found also with vocatives for some Hausa speakers, Jagger p18.)

Like many other West African languages, Kusaal signals questions with a final *falling* intonation. All questions, polar or content, end with a L or H toneme. The two **interrogative prosodic clitics cause preceding words with all-M tonemes to change to all-L**. This is an actual change of tonemes, not just a matter of intonation, and it precedes M spreading, to which the new L tonemes are subject [7.4.3](#). In Kusaal (unlike Dagbani) this lowering only affects the final word, not a sequence of several all-M words.

Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì_ø ñyḗ bà bìiga +ø?
 Who CAT see 3PL child:SG CQ?
 "Who saw their child (bīig^a)?"

Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì ñyḗ bíigà?	"Who saw a child?" tonally identical to
Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì ñyḗ sù'ugà?	"Who saw a knife (sù'ug ^a)?"
Fù bɔ́ɔ̀d bɔ́?	"What (bɔ́ ⁺) do you want?"
Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì ñyḗ zṹyḗà?	"Who saw hills (zṹyḗ ⁺)?"
Ì ná bɔ́dɪg.	"I will get lost."
Ì ná bɔ́dɪgɛɛ?	"Will I get lost?"
Ò pṹ dṹgɛ.	"She didn't cook."
Ò pṹ dṹgɛɛ?	"Didn't she cook?"

7.4.2 Before liaison

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

Kà ìn zábì bā.	"And I've fought them."
Kà ìn pṹ zábì fṹ.	"And I didn't fight you."
Ì zábì bá.	"I've fought them."
Ì pṹ bɔ́ɔ̀dī fṹ.	"I don't love you."
Ì pṹ bɔ́ɔ̀dī báa.	"I don't love them."
Kà ìn pṹ zábì báa.	"And I didn't fight them."
Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì kúv bá?	"Who has killed them?" SF kúv bā

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

	<i>pōɔg</i> ^{ɔ/}	"field"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>pōɔgú-n</i> ^ɛ	
	<i>bīig</i> ^a	"child"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>bīigi-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	WK
but	<i>mù'ar</i> ^ɛ	"dam, lake"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>mù'arī-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	
	<i>yàad</i> ^ɛ	"graves"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>yàadī-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	WK
	<i>kōvdíb</i> ^a	"killers"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>kōvdībī-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	WK

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

	<i>dōg</i> ^ɛ	"cook"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>dōgv-n</i> ^{ɛ/}
	<i>b̀̀dɪg</i> ^ɛ	"lose"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>b̀̀dɪgī-n</i> ^{ɛ/}
	<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"scatter"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>yādɪgi-n</i> ^{ɛ/}
ipfv	<i>kōvd</i> ^{a/}	"kill"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>kōvdi-n</i> ^{ɛ/}
ipfv	<i>yādɪgíd</i> ^a	"scatter"	+ <i>n</i> ^ɛ	→ <i>yādɪgídī-n</i> ^{ɛ/}

Dā d̄ɔllɪ yá +∅! "Follow ye not!"
 NEG.IMP follow 2PL.SUB NEG!

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

	<i>b̀̀dɪg</i> ^ɛ	"lose"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>b̀̀dɪgi m</i> ^a
	<i>dì</i> ⁺	"eat"	+ <i>l</i> ⁺ "it"	→ <i>dì lī</i> ^{+/}
	<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"scatter"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>yādɪgí m</i> ^a
but	<i>dōg</i> ^ɛ	"cook"	+ <i>l</i> ⁺ "it"	→ <i>dōgí lī</i> ^{+/}
	<i>ḡs</i> ^ɛ	"look"	+ <i>o</i> "him/her"	→ <i>ḡs·ó</i> ^{-o}
	<i>kō</i> ⁺	"kill"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>kúv m</i> ^a

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

	<i>pāe</i> ^{+/}	"reach"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>pāa m</i> ^a
	<i>dīe</i> ^{+/}	"get"	+ <i>ba</i> ⁺ "them"	→ <i>dīə bā</i> ^{+/}

After all other verb forms, including all imperfective forms and all forms with independency-marking tone overlay 19.6.1.1, object pronouns change LF-final L to M:

	<i>zàbɪd</i> ^a	"fights"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>zàbɪdī m</i> ^{a/}
	<i>dít</i> ^a	"eats"	+ <i>l</i> ⁺ "it"	→ <i>dītī lī</i> ⁺
	<i>yādɪgíd</i> ^a	"scatters"	+ <i>ba</i> ⁺ "them"	→ <i>yādɪgídī bā</i> ⁺
	<i>kōvd</i> ^{a/}	"kills"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>kōvdí m</i> ^a

With independency-marking:

Ò kūv bá.

"She has killed them."

Dāy lā kúv bá.

"The man has killed them."

Except for catenator-*n*, which is toneless, all liaison words which are not left-bound begin with a fixed-L toneme 7.4.3; as always, preceding M must become H:

Kà bà dìtī_ bá.

"And they were eating them."

And 3PL eat:PFV 3PL.OB.

(ipfv without independency marking)

but Kà bà dìtī_ bà dīv.

"And they were eating their food." (ML → HL)

And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food.

Noun LFs before fixed-L liaison words end in H:

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la

bàni nà yēl Zūg-súbí_ bà tūmá_ø àñ sī'em lā

REL.PL IRR say head-EMPTY.AN 3PL deed:PL NZ COP INDF.ADV ART

"Those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are." (Heb 13:17, 1996)

Before the fixed-L toneme 7.4.3 of nominaliser-*ñ* a final M tone becomes H. For my informants this is the only sign of the presence of the particle, except when it is combined in the special form of the preceding subject pronouns.

Dāy lā záb nà'ab lā.

"The man has fought the chief."

man:SG ART fight chief:SG ART

but dāy lā_ø zàb nà'ab lā "the man having fought the chief"

man:SG ART NZ fight chief:SG ART

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

amaa o kena ye o tum tisi ba

àmáa ò kē nā yé ò tūm_ø tìsì_bā

but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give 3PL.OB

"but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M nók sú'ugù_ø kjà nīm lā.

1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

"I cut the meat with a knife."

7.4.3 M spreading

Most words not bound to the right cause an initial L toneme in a following word to change to X toneme on a superheavy syllable and H otherwise, unless there is an intervening pause; so do *all* words bound to the right which end in M.

If the L toneme is "fixed" (see below) a preceding M toneme must become H instead 4. M spreading follows

all words, bound or free, ending in M toneme

all other words which are not bound to the right, *except*

Verb perfectives without independency-marking tone overlay 19.6.1.1

Certain words affected by M dropping 7.4.4

Words ending in an affix vowel with H toneme

right-bound subject pronouns 19.6.1.2 (including ellipted subjects 20.2.2)

ò lì bà *except* preceding independency marking

m̀ f̀ t̀ ỳ *except* preceding independency marking after *yē*

Catenator-*n* is transparent to M spreading 7.4.2.

M spreading does not occur after clause adjuncts 20.2.1. The occurrence of M spreading is otherwise unaffected by syntax:

Bà t̀s ǹa'ab l̄ā búŋ.

3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

"They gave the chief a donkey (*b̀ùŋ^a*)."

Bà ñwè' ǹa'ab l̄ā súŋā. "They beat the chief well (*s̀ùŋā^{+/}*)."

3PL beat chief:SG ART good:ADV.

Raising is absent after words ending in an affix vowel with H toneme:

M̀ d̀ìga l̀ú ỳā.

1SG dwarf:PL fall PFV.

"My dwarfs have fallen down."

but *M̀ ỳūgumá l̀ù ỳā.*

1SG camel:PL fall PFV.

"My camels have fallen down."

M spreading examples, with *z̀àb^ε* "fight" *g̀ōs^ε* "look at" *ǹa'ab^a* "chief":

K̀à-clause, without independency-marking tone overlay; all subject pronouns are followed by raising; perfectives are followed by raising only if ending in M:

<i>Kà m̄ záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"And I've fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"And he's fought the chief."
<i>Kà m̄ gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And I've looked at the chief."
<i>Kà ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's looked at the chief."

Main clause, with independency marking; the verbs have tone overlay and are now both followed by M spreading; 3rd persons are not followed by M spreading:

<i>M̄ záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"I've fought the chief."
<i>Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's fought the chief."
<i>M̄ gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"I've looked at the chief."
<i>Ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's looked at the chief."

A minimal pair: *ba* "them" is followed by M spreading; *bà* "they, their" is not:

<i>Ò gòsī bá bédugū.</i>	"She looked at them a lot." (<i>ba</i> object)
<i>Ò gòsī bà bédugū.</i>	"She looked at a lot of them." (<i>bà</i> possessive)

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

right-bound personal pronouns	<i>m̄ fù ò lì tì yà bà</i>
personifier particle	<i>à-/h̄-</i>
<i>àn̄'ɔn</i> ^ε "who?"	
nominaliser (however realised)	<i>h̄</i>
all words with number prefixes	<i>à- bà- bù-</i>
manner-adverb prefix	<i>à-</i>
linker particle	<i>kà</i>

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

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

<i>Bà kòvdī bá.</i>	"They kill them."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL.OB.	

but *Bà kòvdī bà bōvs.* "They kill their goats."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

<i>Lì à né à-dàalúŋ.</i>	"It's a stork"
3INAN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.	

ba diib n yit na'ateŋ la na zug

bà dúb ò yīt ná'-tēŋ lā nā zúg

3PL food NZ emerge:IPFV king-land:SG ART hither upon

"because their food came from the king's land" (Acts 12:20, 1996)

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'an n ti paae ya tuona la.

wūu sáa_ ø nāani jáñk yà ñyá'an n tí páe_ yà tùona lā

like rain:SG NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT after reach 2PL before.ADV ART

"like when lightning leaps from East to West" (Mt 24:27, 1996)

Though the matter rarely arises, fixed-L syllables *are* subject to being changed to M before the negative prosodic clitic [7.4.1](#); thus *né tì* "with us" but

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.

Àmáa ò pū lāl né tī +ø.

But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL NEG.

"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

After right-bound words ending in M toneme, M spreading is transparently a tone spreading process. Right-bound pronouns have fixed-L tonemes for my informants even when followed by M spreading, but ILK and Niggli's materials show M, which can be taken as having given rise to *floating* M tonemes in current Agolle. M spreading after SFs ending in H or L can similarly be attributed to floating tonemes. However, from a purely descriptive standpoint this is simply an indirect way of labelling the conditions under which M spreading occurs, which are in fact largely determined by syntactic role. Words with identical L-final sg and cb forms like *mà* "mother" *zùà* "friend" *du'átà* "doctor" and *lannig* "squirrel" [8.2](#) show M spreading after the sg but not the cb; the single-aspect verbs *bè⁺* and *nòŋ^ε* are followed by M spreading, unlike Pattern LO perfectives; *lèε* "but" is followed by M spreading when affected by independency marking, though it is not even a verb and has no flexion.

7.4.4 M dropping

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

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

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

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

dāy lā pɔ́ɔgū-n "in the man's field (*pɔ́ɔg*^{ɔ/})"
 like *dāy lā dɔ́ɔgū-n* "in the man's hut (*dɔ́ɔg*^ɔ)"

Examples with a cb as head:

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

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

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

There is no M dropping after personal pronouns:

<i>̀̀̀n bīg</i>	"my child"	<i>̀̀̀n tìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān bīg</i>	"my child"	<i>mān tìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān yūgùm</i>	"my camel"	<i>mān gbìgim</i>	"my lion"

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

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

M dropping after free NPs also followed by M spreading:

<i>dāy bīg</i>	"a man's child"	<i>nà'ab bīg</i>	"a chief's child"
<i>dāy lā yúgùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>dāy lā gbìgim</i>	"the man's lion"

Unlike M spreading, M dropping occurs only *within* NPs and AdvPs; there is thus a tonal minimal pair between

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bīig. "They've given (it) to the chief's child."
3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (M dropping applied to *bīig*^a "child")

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bīig. "They've given the chief a child."
3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (No M dropping applied to *bīig*^a)

It occurs regardless of the meaning or role of the preceding dependent:

mōɔɔv-n wábùg lā "the wild (in-the-bush) elephant (*wābug*^{ɔ/})"

M dropping follows cb heads, but never uncompounded heads:

	<i>kūg-yínnì</i>	"one stone" with <i>yínnì</i> as adjective <u>15.4.2.1</u>
but	<i>kūgvr yīnní</i>	"one stone"
	<i>wābug lā</i>	"the elephant"
	<i>wābɪs pīiga</i>	"ten elephants"

The final element of a compound induces following M spreading in accordance with the usual rules 7.4.3 regardless of whether it has been subject to M dropping:

<i>bù-wōk</i>	"tall goat"	<i>nō-wók</i>	"tall hen"
<i>bù-wōk-píəlìg</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>bù-wōk-pāalìg</i>	"tall new goat"
<i>nō-wók-píəlìg</i>	"tall white hen"	<i>nō-wók-pāalìg</i>	"tall new hen"
<i>bù-wōk dīɪb</i>	"tall goat's food (<i>dīɪb</i> ^ɔ)"	<i>nō-wók dīɪb</i>	"tall hen's food"

A word of less than three syllables affected by M dropping and M spreading after a free predependent is not itself followed by M spreading. Thus, using the frames "the man's (*dāy lā*) X has got lost (*bòdìg yā*)" and "my elder same-sex siblings' (*m̄ bīēyá*) X has got lost":

Pattern H and O nouns, affected by M dropping:

<i>wābug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wábùg bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>pōɔɔ</i> ^{ɔ/}	"field"	<i>Dāy lā pōɔɔ bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>pōv</i> ^a	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā pōv bòdìg yā.</i>

but	<i>wābug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"elephant"	<i>M̄ bīēyá wābug bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>M̄ bīēyá bāŋ bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgvdir</i> ^ε	"hedgehog"	<i>M̄ bīēyá yūgvdir bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgvdir</i> ^ε	"hedgehog"	<i>Dāy lā yūgvdir bódìg yā.</i>	three syllables

Contrast Pattern L nouns, which are not subject to M dropping:

<i>bùŋ^a</i>	"donkey"	<i>Dāy lā búŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>àñrvŋ^ɔ</i>	"boat"	<i>Dāy lā áñrùŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>dòɔg^ɔ</i>	"house"	<i>Dāy lā dòɔg bódìg yā.</i>

Pattern X nouns seem unchanged after M dropping and spreading, and by analogy have unchanged following tone sandhi; words like *náaf^ɔ* "cow" fluctuate:

<i>à-gâvŋ^ɔ</i>	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gâvŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>náaf^ɔ</i>	"cow"	<i>Dāy lā nâaf bódìg yā</i> or <i>Dāy lā nâaf bòdìg yā.</i>

M dropping applies sequentially, reflecting the substructure of NPs and AdvPs.

When M dropping affects the first component of an existing compound, the second component retains any previous M dropping and spreading effects:

	<i>dāy lā bú-pìəlìg</i>	"the man's white goat (<i>bù-pìəlìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā bú-pāalíg</i>	"the man's new goat (<i>bù-pāalíg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā nɔ́-pìəlìg</i>	"the man's white hen (<i>nɔ́-pìəlìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā nɔ́-pāalìg</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>nɔ́-pāalìg</i>)"
but	<i>dōg-kánā</i>	"this pot" (<i>dōk^ɔ</i> cb <i>dōg-</i> "pot")
	<i>[sālɪma dóg-]kànā</i>	"this [golden pot]"

The order of applications of M dropping may also be revealed by the absence of M spreading after some words affected by M dropping:

<i>[fūug dóg]</i>	"tent" (<i>fūug^ɔ</i> "cloth", <i>dóg^ɔ</i> "house")
<i>pò'vsug [fūug dóg]</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>pò'vsug^ɔ</i> "worship")

but *Lì kâ' [[dāy lā bìg] bìər] nâaf] zòvrĒ.*

"It's not the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail." WK
(*bìg^a* "child" *bìər^ɛ* "elder sib of same sex" *nâaf^ɔ* "cow" *zòvr^ɛ* "tail")

Morphology

8 Noun flexion

8.1 Noun classes

Nouns inflect for singular and plural by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the bare stem is used as a combining form (cb) in composition with a following nominal. This is a regular and frequent occurrence, being for example the regular method of construing a noun with a following adjective or demonstrative. The cb is always subject to apocope, as it can never appear clause-finally or before liaison. Archaisms like *nwadibil* (Mt 2:2, 1996) for *ñwād-bíl^a* "star" (KB *nwadbil*) suggest that consonant-final cbs once ended in an epenthetic vowel, but this is no longer the case.

In the paradigms, noun forms are cited as sg, pl and cb in order.

Each noun class suffix has a basic singular, plural or non-count meaning. Count nouns pair a singular and a plural suffix. Five pairings account for the majority of count nouns: these are labelled using superscript notation forms of the suffixes, as the ^a*|b^a*, ^{g^a}*|s^ε*, ^{g^ɔ}*|d^ε*, ^{r^ε}*|a⁺* and ^{f^ɔ}*|t⁺* **noun classes**. Two unpaired non-count suffixes *-b^ɔ* *-m^m* form two more noun classes mostly containing mass nouns.

The noun classes were once grammatical genders, with separate 3rd person pronouns and agreement of adjectives and numerals. Kusaal, like Dagbani and Mooré, now has only a natural gender system opposing persons and non-persons, with pronouns based respectively on the original ^a*|b^a* and ^{r^ε}*|a⁺* classes. A few isolated remnants of agreement will be pointed out as they occur.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class if the regular form would be rendered ambiguous by consonant cluster assimilation and/or apocope. This has become regular with class ^{g^ɔ}*|d^ε* stems ending in *m n* following a short vowel, which always use the plural suffix *-a⁺* instead of *-d^ε*, as do all gerunds with sg ^{g^ɔ}. Mampruli and Dagbani also show *-a* for the plural of *m n* stems in this class (cf Mampruli *gbəŋŋu* "skin", pl *gbana*), so this suppletion is probably driven by the fact that cluster assimilation would cause the expected plural to resemble a ^{r^ε}*|a⁺* sg. Suppletion does not take place in Mooré or Farefare, where the ^{g^ɔ}*|d^ε* pl suffix has a rounded vowel, unlike the ^{r^ε}*|a⁺* sg: cf Mooré *gǎongò* "skin" pl *gǎndo*.

Adjectives avoid potentially ambiguous suffixes altogether 9.

In two cases, the sg LF has adopted the form proper to a different class suffix that would have produced the same SF: rounded vowels before *-g^a* may result in LFs ending in *-ɔ*, as in *nû'ug^ɔ* "hand", and ^a*|b^a* stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show LF *-ε* with *l* and *n* geminated, as if the suffix were ^{r^ε}, e.g *Bìn^{nε}* "Moba person."

Two subclasses are semantically motivated: a subclass of $^a|b^a$ referring to older/important people uses b^a as the *singular* suffix, and names of languages belong to a subclass of $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ with the singular suffix l^ε .

The classes are thus as follows:

$^a b^a$ b^a (sg)	$s\bar{i}d^a$ $n\grave{a}'ab^a$	$s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b^a$ $n\grave{a}'-n\grave{a}m^a$	$s\grave{i}d-$ $n\grave{a}'-$	"husband" "chief"
$g^a s^\varepsilon$	$b\bar{u}v\bar{g}^a$	$b\bar{u}vs^\varepsilon$	$b\grave{u}-$	"goat"
$g^\supset d^\varepsilon$	$d\grave{o}v\bar{g}^\supset$ $b\bar{u}'\acute{o}s\acute{u}g^\supset$	$d\grave{o}vd^\varepsilon$ $b\bar{u}'\acute{o}s\acute{a}^+$	$d\grave{o}-$ $b\bar{u}'\acute{o}s-$	"hut" "question"
$r^\varepsilon a^+$ l^ε	$n\bar{o}v\bar{r}^\varepsilon/$ $K\bar{u}s\acute{a}al^\varepsilon$	$n\bar{o}y\acute{a}^+$	$n\bar{o}-$	"mouth" "Kusaal"
$f \iota^+$	$m\grave{o}l\iota f^\supset$	$m\grave{o}l\iota^+$	$m\grave{o}l-$	"gazelle"
b^\supset	$s\bar{a}'ab^\supset$		$s\grave{a}'-$	"porridge"
m^m	$t\bar{i}lm^m$		$t\bar{i}-$	"medicine"

Stems in m with long root vowels in the $^a|b^a$ class avoid the plural suffix b^a ; some $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ class nouns with human reference have alternative plurals with b^a ; countable nouns in the m^m class form plurals with $-a^+$ or $-s^\varepsilon$ or $n\grave{a}m^a$; and the small $f|\iota^+$ class has some members with $f|\iota^+$ suffixes in only one number. The sg suffix $-l^a$ is found only in the irregular adjective $b\bar{i}l^a$ "little."

Few other cases of irregular sg/pl pairing occur; examples are

$p\bar{e}'og^\supset/$	$p\bar{e}'\varepsilon s^\varepsilon/$	$p\bar{e}'-$	"sheep"
$g\bar{b}\grave{e}'og^\supset$	$g\bar{b}\grave{e}'\varepsilon d^\varepsilon$ $g\bar{b}\grave{e}da^+$	$g\bar{b}\grave{e}'-$	"forehead"
$b\bar{j}\bar{a}u\check{n}k^\supset$	$b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'ad^\varepsilon$ $b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'ada^+$	WK $b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'-$ SB	"shoulder"

The sg SF is usually enough to identify the noun class correctly, given whether the word has human reference. Where it is not enough, there is often vacillation between classes, suggesting that speakers do use these criteria to determine class membership; this is confirmed by the assignment of loanwords to noun classes.

Nouns with sg SF ending in a long monophthong, or in an unrounded vowel followed by a velar, belong to $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ (exceptions are $b\bar{a}'a^=$ "traditional diviner" and $n\grave{a}y\bar{i}ig^a$ "thief", both $^a|b^a$); all nouns ending in a rounding diphthong followed by a velar belong to $g^\supset|d^\varepsilon$, as do most ending in a rounded monophthong followed by a velar, but a fair number are $g^a|s^\varepsilon$.

Human-reference nouns are otherwise $^a|b^a$, except for stems ending in a long vowel, which have been transferred to $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ in Agolle Kusaal. The b^a -singular subclass contains most human-reference nouns in sg SF $-b$, and also *sàam*^{ma} "father", *dìam*^{ma} "man's parent-in-law", *dàyáam*^{ma} "woman's parent-in-law"; exceptional is *zɔɔm*^{ne} "fugitive" ($r^\varepsilon|a^+$).

All nouns in SF $-f$ belong to $f^\beta|t^+$.

Underived mass nouns in $-m$ belong to m^m , and in $-b$ or $-p$ to the b^β class.

Non-human-reference count nouns ending in $l n r$ belong to the $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ class, as do those ending in m apart from a few m^m -class count nouns like *yā'am*^{m/} "gall, gall bladder", *pūum*^{m/} "flower", *dàalím*^m "male sex organs", *pù'alím*^m "female sex organs." *Piim*^{m/} "arrow" is a relic of a "long thin things" $^\beta|^\varepsilon$ class, lost in Western Oti-Volta.

The class membership of regular deverbal nouns is predictable.

As with almost all noun class systems, there are correlations between class membership and meaning, though with frequent exceptions. These associations can be exploited to change the significance of a stem 11.2.

The $^a|b^a$ class has exclusively human-reference membership, though many nouns referring to people belong to other classes. There is a subclass of nouns for elders and other important people which use the plural b^a as singular.

The $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ class has general membership but notably includes the great majority of tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Almost all ethnic group names belong to $^a|b^a$ or $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ except for *Zàngbèog*^ɔ "Hausa" and *Nàsāara*⁺ "European"; the place inhabited by the group has sg $-g^\beta$.

The $g^\beta|d^\varepsilon$ and $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ classes are the default non-human countable classes. They include all nouns naming fruits, and about four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference nouns in $g^\beta|d^\varepsilon$ seem to be pejorative: *bālērug*^{ɔ/} "ugly person", *dàbīog*^ɔ "coward", *zōlug*^{ɔ/} "fool." Some original $^a|b^a$ class nouns have been reallocated to $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ for phonological reasons e.g. *bīar*^{ε/} "elder same-sex sibling."

The l^ε subclass includes all names of languages.

The small $f^\beta|t^+$ class includes two groups: animals, and small round things. It contains all names of seeds. No $f^\beta|t^+$ noun refers to people.

The b^β class has only three members known to me that are not gerunds: *sā'ab*^ɔ "millet porridge, TZ", *tāñp*^ɔ "war" and *kī'ib*^{ɔ/} "soap."

The m^m class includes names of liquids and substances and abstract nouns. There are few count nouns, and none referring to people or animals. Names of liquids are all m^m or b^β or formally plural.

8.2 Remodelled combining forms

For levelling between sg and pl forms see [5.3 5.5](#).

Combining forms, lacking a flexional suffix and always subject to apocope, would be often reduced by the usual rules to ambiguous forms. Often the expected cb is replaced by a form which is segmentally **but not tonally** that of the singular.

<i>nīf</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>nīn</i> ^{í+}	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>zìñ'a</i> ⁺	<i>zèñ'ɛs</i> ^ɛ	<i>zìàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>wōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wā'ad</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall" (adjective)
<i>tāñp</i> ^ɔ		<i>tāñp-</i>	"war"
<i>zūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zūt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>zū-</i> or <i>zūg-</i>	"head"

Mooré and Toende show *zu-* consistently in cases where Agolle has *zūg-*: Mooré *zusoaba*, Toende *zùsóp*, Agolle *zūg-sób*^a "boss"; Mooré *zúkúká*, Toende *zúkúk*, Agolle *zūg-kōgvr*^ɛ "pillow." *Zūg-sób*^a "Lord" is very frequently read *Zū-sób*^a in the audio version of the NT. The cb *zūg-* sometimes behaves tonally like a noun prefix [6.2.4](#).

The "regular" cb of *nīf*^{ɔ/} "eye" is *nīn-*, but as a head it appears as *nīf-*: *nīf-kágā* "this eye." *Nīn-* still predominates as a dependent: *nīn-dáa*⁼ "face", *nīn-tám*^m "tears", *nīn-gótis*^ɛ "spectacles." *Gbàuy*^ɔ "letter, book" now has the cb *gbàuy-*, but the "regular" cb *gbàn-* still occurred as a generic complement in the 1976 NT e.g. *gbanmi'id gbàn-mī'id* "scribe" ("book-knower") where later versions have *gbauymi'id*. Similarly, the 1976 NT *ziingban'ad zīm-gbâñ'ad* "fisherman" has been replaced by KB *ziingban'ad*.

With *m* and *n* stems, the remodelled forms have become the regular cbs:

<i>zīnzāuy</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zīnzāná</i> ⁺	<i>zīnzáyuy-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrvy</i> ^ɔ	<i>àñrma</i> ⁺	<i>àñrvy-</i>	"boat"

So too with CV-stems in the *r^ɛ|a⁺* class:

<i>gbēr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>gbēyá</i> ⁺	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
<i>kùkōr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>kùkōyá</i> ⁺	<i>kùkōr-</i>	"voice"
		(but <i>kùkō-títā'ar</i>	"loud voice" NT)

The cb may be remodelled after the *plural* if there is no sg extant, or if the plural has a distinct specialised meaning:

no sg	<i>kī</i> ^{+/}	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"
<i>lā'aP</i>	<i>līgidi</i> ⁺	<i>là'-</i> or <i>līg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cbs:

<i>dāy</i> ⁺	<i>dāp</i> ^a	<i>dày-</i> sg <i>dàp-</i> pl	"man, male person"
<i>tāyñ</i> ^{+/}	<i>tāñp</i> ^{a/}	<i>tāyñ-</i> sg <i>tāñp-</i> pl	"sib of opposite sex"

Disambiguation is clearly involved with some longer remodelled cbs:

<i>kòlvɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>kòn</i> ^{nɛ}	<i>kòlvɔ-</i>	"bag"
<i>lànnɔ</i> ^a	<i>lànnɪs</i> ^ɛ	<i>lànnɔ-</i>	"squirrel"
<i>kòlvɔ-kàŋā</i>	"this bag"	cf cb <i>kòl-</i> from	<i>kòlvɔ</i> ^a "river"
<i>lànnɔ-piəlvɔ</i>	"white squirrel"	cf cb <i>lànn-</i> from	<i>lànn</i> ^{nɛ} "testicle"

Remodelling of cbs after sg/pl forms never affects tones, revealing that cases where a sg/pl seems to precede an adjective or dependent pronoun in fact show cbs: *dày-sùŋ* "good man", vs sg *dāy* "man"; *dàp-sùma* "good men", vs pl *dāp* "men."

Remodelled cbs are traditionally written as separate words; as the orthography does not mark tone, this can lead to ambiguity, e.g. *yamug bipuŋ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *yàmmvɔ-bī-púŋ* "slave girl" not *yàmmvɔ bí-púŋ* "slave's girl" 15.7.1.4.

8.3 Paradigms

By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel. Complications arise from consonant assimilation, rounding before *-g*^ɔ *-k*^ɔ *-ŋ*^ɔ, deletion of **g* after *aa iə uə aañ ɛñ ɔŋ*, and with CVV-stems before ^a, ^ɪ⁺ and ^a⁺.

8.3.1 a|b^a

Most stems ending in consonants straightforwardly show ^a in the sg:

<i>sīd</i> ^a	<i>sīdɪb</i> ^a	<i>sīd-</i>	"husband"
<i>nīd</i> ^{a/}	<i>nīdɪb</i> ^{a/}	<i>nīn-</i> irreg	"person"
<i>sàal</i> ^a	<i>sàalɪb</i> ^a	<i>sàal-</i>	"human being"
<i>kpāad</i> ^{a/}	<i>kpāadɪb</i> ^a	<i>kpāad-</i>	"farmer"
<i>kōvd</i> ^{a/}	<i>kōvdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kōvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>kpīkpīn</i> ^{na/}	<i>kpīkpīnɪb</i> ^a	<i>kpīkpín-</i>	"merchant"
<i>bì-pīt</i> ^{a/}	<i>bì-pītɪb</i> ^a	<i>bì-pīt-</i>	"younger child"
<i>wād-tís</i> ^a	<i>wād-tísɪb</i> ^a	<i>wād-tís-</i>	"lawgiver" NT
<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> ^a	<i>zà'-nō-gúrɪb</i> ^a	<i>zà'-nō-gúr-</i>	"gatekeeper" NT

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in *s* regularly drop the *d* formant in sg and cb, which can result in "tonal heteroclites" 6.2.3. Many also have *nām*^a plurals.

<i>kùəs</i> ^a	<i>kūəsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>dì'əs</i> ^a	<i>dī'əsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>dì'əs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>tù'as-tù'as</i> ^a	<i>tù'as-tū'asɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>tù'as-tù'as-</i>	"talker"
<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{a/}	<i>sīgɪsídɪb</i> ^a	<i>sīgɪs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dìɪs</i> ^a	<i>dìɪs-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dìɪs-</i>	"glutton"

The same behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs too:

<i>sòs</i> ^a	<i>sōsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tìs</i> ^a	<i>tīsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>tìs-</i>	"giver" WK
<i>kīs</i> ^{a/} or <i>kīsɪd</i> ^{a/}	<i>kīsɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kīsɪd-</i> (only)	"hater"

These may be original 3-mora stem verbs with *ss → s. There are also

<i>zàb-zàb</i> ^a	<i>zàb-zàb-nàm</i> ^a	<i>zàb-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
	<i>zàb-zābɪdɪb</i> ^a		
<i>gbān-záb</i> ^a	<i>gbān-záb-nàm</i> ^a	<i>gbān-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>ñwī-ték</i> ^a	<i>ñwī-tékɪdɪb</i> ^a		"rope-puller"

Exceptionally, consonant assimilation of *md does not appear in the plural in

(cf	<i>pɸ'à-sāñ'am</i> ^{ma}	<i>pɸ'à-sāñ'amɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>pɸ'à-sàñ'am-</i>	"adulterer"
	<i>yūum-yû'um</i> ^{na}	<i>yūum-yû'umnɪb</i> ^a	<i>yūum-yû'um-</i>	"singer")

Stems ending in vowels in this class are problematic because of the vowel-initial sg suffix. There is no single rule for the outcome.

Four highly irregular nouns end in diphthongs in the sg:

<i>dāy</i> ⁺	<i>dāp</i> ^a	<i>dày-</i> , <i>dàp-</i> 5.3.1	"man"
<i>tāyñ</i> ^{+/}	<i>tāñp</i> ^{a/}	<i>tāyñ-</i> , <i>tāñp-</i>	"sib of opposite sex"
<i>sāḡñ</i> ⁺	WK <i>sāañb</i> ^a	<i>sàñ-</i>	"blacksmith"
<i>sāḡñ</i> ^a	DK		
<i>sōḡñ</i> ⁺	WK <i>sōḡñb</i> ^a	<i>sòñ-</i>	"witch"
<i>sōḡñ</i> ^a	DK		

There are also the two original *g-stems

<i>pɸ'ā</i> ^a ← *pɸaga	<i>pō'ab</i> ^a	<i>pɸ'ā-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>bā'a</i> ⁼ ← *baga	<i>bā'ab</i> ^a	<i>bà'-</i>	"traditional diviner"

Note the irregular long SF vowel of *bā'a*⁼.

Sg final *-v* is dropped in the cb and pl in

<i>pítú⁺</i>	<i>pítíb^a</i>	<i>pīt-</i>	"younger sibling of same sex"
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Sàam-pīt^{a/} "father's younger brother" and *bì-pīt^{a/}* "younger child" are regular. Some CVV stems introduce *-d-* in the sg and in the pl or cb:

<i>wìid^a</i>	<i>wìib^a</i>	<i>wìid-</i>	"hunter"
<i>sǎñ'ɔd^{a/}</i>	<i>sǎñ'ɔb^{a/}</i>	<i>sǎñ'ɔd-</i>	agent noun of <i>sǎñ'e^{+/}</i> "be better than"
<i>pūkṗāad^{a/}</i>	<i>pūkṗāadíb^a</i>	<i>pūkṗá-</i>	"farmer" (but <i>kpāad^{a/}</i> <i>id</i> is regular)

Other CVV stems use the suffix *-r^ε* instead of *-^a*. Related languages, including Toende Kusaal, keep pl *-b^a*, but in Agolle such words have simply become *r^ε|a⁺* class:

<i>pùkòǎñ^ε</i>	<i>pùkòñya⁺</i>	"widow"
<i>pɔkóót</i>	<i>pɔkõp</i>	Toende <i>id</i>
<i>pɔkõorɛ</i>	<i>pɔkõpa</i>	Farefare <i>id</i>
<i>dà-kòǎñ^ε</i>	<i>dà-kòñya⁺</i>	"bachelor"
<i>dákóót</i>	<i>dakõp</i>	Toende <i>id</i>
<i>dàkõorè</i>	<i>dakõpa</i>	Farefare <i>id</i>

This accounts for human-reference nouns in *r^ε|a⁺* like *bīār^{ε/}* "elder same-sex sib", *pòñ'ɔr^ε* "cripple", *ñyē'ɛr^{ε/}* "next-younger sib" (but Toende sg *yě'et* pl *yěra id*.)

Stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show LF *-ε* with *l* and *n* geminated. This represents remodelling based on the SF, which could be the outcome of adding either *-^a* or *-r^ε*. If the SF could *not* result from attachment of sg *-r^ε*, as with stems in *nn mm mn* 5.4, nouns with *b^a* plurals always have sg *-^a*.

The assimilation **nb* → *mm* takes place in the plural:

<i>Dàgbān^{nε/}</i>	<i>Dàgbām^{ma/}</i>	<i>Dàgbān-</i>	"Dagomba person"
<i>Bìn^{nε}</i>	<i>Bìm^{ma}</i>	<i>Bìn-</i>	"Moba person"
<i>Kùtān^{nε/}</i>	<i>Kùtām^{ma/}</i>	<i>Kùtān-</i>	member of EW's clan
<i>Mṣr^{ε/}</i>	<i>Móɔm^{ma} irreg</i>	<i>Mṣr-</i>	"Muslim"

Agent nouns from single-aspect verbs with stems in *-ll* or *-r(r)* not only show alternative *-ε* LF sg forms but also have analogical plurals in *-a⁺* alongside *-b^a*.

	<i>ňyà'an-dòl^{la}</i>	<i>ňyà'an-dòll^b</i>	<i>ňyà'an-dòl-</i>	"disciple" NT
	<i>ňyā'an-dól^{lɛ}</i>	<i>ňyā'an-dóll^à</i>	<i>ňyā'an-dól-</i>	<i>id</i> WK
	<i>gbàn-zāñ^{la}</i>	<i>gbàn-zāñll^b</i>	<i>gbàn-zāñl-</i>	"book-carrier" KT WK
	<i>bù-zāñ^{la}</i>	<i>bù-zāñll^b</i>	<i>bù-zāñl-</i>	"goat-carrier" WK
or	<i>bù-zāñ^{lɛ}</i>	<i>bù-zāñll^á</i>		
	<i>gbàn-mōr^a</i>	<i>gbàn-mōr^í</i>	<i>gbàn-mōr-</i>	"book-owner" DK
	<i>gbàn-tār^a</i>	<i>gbàn-tār^í</i>	<i>gbàn-tār-</i>	<i>id</i> DK
	<i>bù-mōr^a</i>	<i>bù-mōr^í</i>	<i>bù-mōr-</i>	"goat-owner" WK
or	<i>bù-mōr^ɛ</i>	<i>bù-mōr^á</i>		

Stems in *VVn-* undergo consonant assimilation in the pl: **nb* → *mm*:

<i>sāan^a</i>	<i>sáam^{ma}</i>	<i>sāan-</i>	"guest, stranger"
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Stems in *VVm-* have sg *-m^m* instead of *-m^a*. The assimilation **mb* → *mm* would cause SF sg and pl to coincide at least segmentally; this is avoided by using pl *s^ɛ* or by pluralising with *nàm^a*:

<i>kpī'im^m</i>	<i>kpī'imís^ɛ</i>	<i>kpī'im-</i>	"dead person, corpse"
<i>zū'əm^m</i>	<i>zū'amís^ɛ</i>	<i>zū'əm-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tādım^m</i>	<i>tādımıs^ɛ</i>	<i>tādım-</i>	"weak person"
	<i>tādım-nàm^a</i>		

In two words WK accepted *-b^a* pl forms as LFs but not SFs, demonstrating that avoidance of ambiguity drives the variations:

<i>kpēñm^m</i>	<i>kpēñmma</i> LF only		
	<i>kpēñm-nàm^a</i>	<i>kpēñm-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'əm^m</i>	<i>bī'emma</i> LF only		
	<i>bī'əm-nàm^a</i>	<i>bī'əm-</i>	"enemy"

A subclass referring to older/important people has *-b^a* for sg, with pl *nàm^a* 8.4:

<i>nà'ab^a</i>	<i>nà'-nàm^a</i>	<i>nà'-</i>	"chief"
<i>yáab^a</i> (*yāágbā)	<i>yāa-nám^a</i>	<i>yāa-</i>	"grandparent"
<i>pùgvdl^b</i>	<i>pùgvd-nàm^a</i>	<i>pùgvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>áñsìb^a</i>	<i>āñs-nám^a</i>	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"
<i>sàam^{ma}</i> (*mb)	<i>sàam-nàm^a</i>	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
<i>dìəm^{ma}</i> (*mb)	<i>dìəm-nàm^a</i>	<i>dìəm-</i>	"man's parent-in-law"
<i>dàyáam^{ma}</i> (*mb)	<i>dàyāam-nám^a</i>	<i>dàyāam-</i>	"woman's parent-in-law"

8.3.2 $g^a|s^\varepsilon$

Straightforward examples include:

<i>bōvg^a</i>	<i>bōvs^ε</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>ñwādīg^{a/}</i>	<i>ñwādīs^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwād-</i>	"moon, month"
<i>āañdīg^a</i>	<i>āañdīs^ε</i>	<i>àañd-</i>	"Vitex doniana"
<i>bù-dìbīg^a</i>	<i>bù-dìbīs^ε</i>	<i>bù-dìb-</i>	"male kid"
<i>kpiibīg^a</i>	<i>kpiibīs^ε</i>	<i>kpiib-</i>	"orphan"
<i>yàmmīg^a</i>	<i>yàmmīs^ε</i>	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
<i>kōlīg^a</i>	<i>kōlīs^ε</i>	<i>kòl-</i>	"river"
<i>kpùkparīg^a</i>	<i>kpùkparīs^ε</i>	<i>kpùkpar-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>pūsīg^{a/}</i>	<i>pūsīs^{ε/}</i>	<i>pūs-</i>	"tamarind"
<i>zōvg^a</i>	<i>zōvs^ε</i>		"run, race"

Root-stems in *Caa Cīa Cuø* delete the **g* of the sg suffix *-g^a* 5.6:

<i>bāa⁼ 7.1</i>	<i>bāas^ε</i>	<i>bà-</i>	"dog"
<i>sīa⁺</i>	<i>sīās^ε</i>	<i>sjà-</i>	"waist"
<i>sàbùa⁺</i>	<i>sàbùø^ε</i>	<i>sàbùà-</i>	"lover, girlfriend"

Nasal *iañ uañ* here alternates with *εεñ ɔɔñ*:

<i>ziñ'a⁺</i>	<i>zèñ'εs^ε</i>	<i>zjàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>nū'-íñ'a⁺</i>	<i>nū'-éñ'εs^ε</i>	<i>nū'-éñ'-</i>	"fingernail"
<i>nūa^{+/}</i>	<i>nōvs^{ε/}</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"hen"

Stems in **CVg-* display consonant assimilation in the sg via **gg* → *kk*:

<i>gìk^a</i>	<i>gìgīs^ε</i>	<i>gìg-</i>	"dumb person"
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**Cag-* **Cjag-* **Cyag-* delete **g* when there is no assimilation 5.6:

<i>zàk^a</i>	<i>zà'as^ε</i>	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>pṽāk^a</i>	<i>pṽ'as^ε</i>	<i>pṽ'à-</i>	"female" (adjective)

Stems in *-m-* and *-n-* show **mg* → *ηη* and **ng* → *ηη* in the sg, with cbs remodelled on the sg. In the pl **ns* → *ʒs* 5.4, but **ms* never assimilates in 2-mora stems, and need not do in longer stems. No 3- or 4-mora *n-*stems occur in this class.

<i>tēŋ^a</i>	<i>tēñs^ε</i>	<i>tèŋ-</i>	"land"
<i>pàŋ^a</i>	<i>pàañs^ε</i>	<i>pàŋ-</i>	"power"
<i>bòŋ^a</i>	<i>bòmɪs^ε</i>	<i>bòŋ-</i>	"donkey"
<i>nāŋ^a</i>	<i>nāmɪs^ε</i>	<i>nàŋ-</i>	"scorpion"
<i>sú'əŋ^a</i>	<i>sū'əmɪs^ε</i>	<i>sū'əŋ-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>nīŋ^a</i>	<i>nís^ε</i>	<i>nīŋ-</i>	"bird"
	<i>nīimɪs^ε</i>		
<i>kòlŋ^a</i>	<i>kòlɪs^ε</i>	<i>kòlŋ-</i>	"door"
	<i>kòlɪmɪs^ε</i>		
<i>kō'alíŋ^a</i>	<i>kō'alís^ε</i>	<i>kō'alíŋ-</i>	sleeveless traditional smock
	<i>kō'alímɪs^ε</i>		
<i>mēɛdɪŋ^a</i>	<i>mēɛdɪs^ε</i>	<i>mēɛdɪŋ-</i>	"building tool"
	<i>mēɛdɪmɪs^ε</i>		
<i>pīəsíŋ^a</i>	<i>pīəsís^ε</i>	<i>pīəsíŋ-</i>	"sponge"
	<i>pīəsímɪs^ε</i>		← <i>pīe^{+/}</i> "wash (self)"

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>bīŋ^a</i>	<i>bīs^ε</i>	<i>bī-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"child"
<i>bèrŋ^a</i>	<i>bèrɪɟɪs^ε</i>		a plant used for fibre
<i>tàmpūa⁺</i>	<i>tàmpɔɔs^ε</i>	<i>tàmpò-</i>	"housefly" DK (no <i>ñ</i>)
<i>būtŋ^a</i>	<i>būtɪs^ε</i>	<i>būtŋ-</i>	"cup" <u>2.1</u>
<i>sāŋá⁺</i>	<i>sānsá⁺ /ns/</i>	<i>sān-</i>	"time"

These human-reference nouns have alternative plurals with the suffix *-b^a*:

<i>dàsāŋ^a</i>	<i>dàsām^{ma}</i> or <i>dàsāañs^ε</i>	<i>dàsàŋ-</i>	"young man"
<i>Yàaŋ^a</i>	<i>Yàam^{ma}</i> or <i>Yàamɪs^ε/Yàañs^ε</i>	<i>Yàaŋ-</i>	"Yanga, Yansi person"
<i>Sà'dàbùa⁺</i>	<i>Sà'dàbùəb^a</i> or <i>Sà'dàbùəs^ε</i>		clan name

Several *s^ε*-plural stems with rounded root vowels or epenthetic vowels rounded after *m* have sg *g^ɔ* for the expected *g^a*. WK avoids this with human-reference nouns.

<i>kūug^{a/}</i> or <i>kūug^{ɔ/}</i>	<i>kūs^{ε/}</i>	<i>kū-</i>	"mouse"
<i>sù'ug^a</i> or <i>sù'ug^ɔ</i>	<i>sù'us^ε</i>	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>nù'ug^ɔ</i>	<i>nù'us^ε</i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand"
<i>zùnzòŋ^a</i> or <i>zùnzòŋ^ɔ</i>	<i>zùnzòŋs^ε</i>	<i>zùnzòŋ-</i>	"blind person"

<i>tèŋ-zùŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>tèŋ-zùvŋs</i> ^ɛ		"foreign land"
	but <i>ɲjàñ'-zùna</i> ⁺		"foreign language"
<i>yó'vŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yō'vmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>yō'vŋ-</i>	"night"
<i>zùuŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zùuŋs</i> ^ɛ or <i>zùuŋd</i> ^ɛ	<i>zùñ-</i>	"vulture"
<i>yàmmug</i> ^a WK	<i>yàmmis</i> ^ɛ	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
or <i>yàmmug</i> ^ɔ			

Compare Mampruli *nuuwa* pl *nuusi* "hand", *suuwa* pl *suusi* "knife", *kuuwa* pl *kuusi* "mouse", *zuuwa* pl *zuusi* "vulture" (but *yunŋu* pl *yunsi* "night.")

Some original *g*^ɔ/*d*^ɛ nouns have substituted pl *-s*^ɛ for *-d*^ɛ instead of *-a*⁺ 8.3.3:

	<i>à-dàalú</i> ^ɔ	<i>à-dàalís</i> ^ɛ WK	<i>à-dàalú-</i>	"stork"
		<i>à-dàalímis</i> ^ɛ		
	<i>sí'vŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>sī'imís</i> ^ɛ	<i>sī'vŋ-</i>	a kind of big dish
cf	<i>dìisú</i> ^ɔ	<i>dìisís</i> ^ɛ	<i>dìisú-</i>	"spoon"
		<i>dìisímà</i> ⁺		

Two words of this type drop *-s-* from the stem in the plural:

<i>wīlísú</i> ^ɔ	<i>wīlmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>wīlísú-</i>	a kind of snail
<i>yālísú</i> ^ɔ	<i>yālmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>yālísú-</i>	"quail"

8.3.3 *g*^ɔ/*d*^ɛ

All stems in *m n* after a short vowel, and all gerunds, use pl *a*⁺ instead of *d*^ɛ.

Before the sg *-g*^ɔ *-k*^ɔ *-ŋ*^ɔ stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic vowels to *u* and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels 5.5.

<i>dàv</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàad</i> ^ɛ	<i>dà-</i>	"piece of wood"
<i>vāvŋ</i> ^ɔ /	<i>vāaŋd</i> ^ɛ /	<i>vāñ-</i>	"leaf"
<i>fēñ'og</i> ^ɔ /	<i>fēñ'ɛd</i> ^ɛ /	<i>fēñ'-</i>	"ulcer"
<i>dàbīog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàbīad</i> ^ɛ	<i>dàbjà-</i>	"coward"
<i>vīug</i> ^ɔ /	<i>vīid</i> ^ɛ /	<i>vī-</i>	"owl"
<i>mōv</i> ^ɔ	<i>mōvd</i> ^ɛ	<i>mò-</i>	"grass, bush"
<i>dùndùug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dùndùud</i> ^ɛ	<i>dùndù-</i>	"cobra"
	<i>zùød</i> ^ɛ		"friendship"
<i>wābug</i> ^ɔ /	<i>wābɪd</i> ^ɛ /	<i>wāb-</i>	"elephant"
<i>zūøbú</i> ^ɔ	<i>zūøbíd</i> ^ɛ	<i>zūøb-</i>	"(human head) hair"
<i>bālērvg</i> ^ɔ /	<i>bālērɪd</i> ^ɛ /	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
	or <i>bālērɪs</i> ^ɛ /		
<i>bēsuv</i> ^ɔ	<i>bēsɪd</i> ^ɛ	<i>bès-</i>	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have plurals of the form CVt^ε 5.3.1:

dòɔg^ɔ *dòɔd*^ε or *dòt*^ε *dò-* "hut, room; clan"

So too *pòɔg*^ɔ "farm, field", *fūug*^ɔ "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

zūg^ɔ/ *zūt*^ε/ *zū-* or *zūg-* "head"

*Cag- *Cĭag- *Cɔag- stems 5.6 show sg -k^ɔ, and *ɔa* becomes *ɔ* before -k^ɔ 5.5:

lāɔk^ɔ *lā'ad*^ε *là-* "(item of) goods"

bĭāɔñk^ɔ *bĭāñ'ad*^ε WK *bĭàñ'-* "shoulder"

bĭāñ'ada⁺ SB

lòk^ɔ *lò'ad*^ε *lɔ'à-* "quiver (for arrows)"

Stems in CVd show -t- in the pl 5.4 via *dd → tt:

ùdvɔg^ɔ *ùt*^ε *ùd-* "(piece of) chaff"

Stems in CVg develop *kk* in the singular via *gg → *kk*:

dūk^ɔ/ *dōgvɔd*^ε/ *dūg-* "cooking pot"

dōgvɔb dút^ε "cooking pots" SB

Stems in *l* develop the cluster *nn* in the pl via *ld → *nn*:

zōlvɔg^ɔ/ *zōn*^{nε}/ *zōl-* "fool"

sìlvɔg^ɔ *sìn*^{nε} or *sìlts*^ε *sìl-* "hawk"

The only *m n* stems making plurals with -d^ε are CVVC root-stems:

làngáɔŋ^ɔ *làngāamá*⁺ *làngāɔŋ-* "crab"

or *làngāam*^{mε}

So too *màngáɔŋ*^ɔ "crab", the plural-only *sūñ-pēen*^{nε} "anger" and perhaps the placename *Tèmpáan*^{nε} "Tempane", if the second element is from *pāalíg*^a "new."

All stems in *n m* following a short vowel use the plural suffix *a*⁺ instead of *d*^ε. They show *mg → *ŋŋ* and *ng → *ŋŋ* in the sg, with cbs remodelled on the sg.

<i>gbàṽṽ</i> ^ɔ	<i>gbàna</i> ⁺	<i>gbàn-</i> or <i>gbàṽṽ-</i>	"letter, book"
<i>zīnzāṽṽ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zīnzāná</i> ⁺	<i>zīnzáṽṽ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrvṽ</i> ^ɔ	<i>àñrɪma</i> ⁺	<i>àñrvṽ-</i>	"boat"
<i>mālvṽ</i> ^ɔ	<i>mālvma</i> ⁺	<i>mālvṽ-</i>	"sacrifice"

The expected *v*-glide is absent in the sg and cb of

<i>nìn-gbīṽ</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>nìn-gbīná</i> ⁺	<i>nìn-gbīṽ-</i>	"body"
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This may represent the influence of the alternate sg form *nìn-gbīn*^{nɛ/}.

All regular gerunds of 3-mora- and 4-mora-stem dual-aspect verbs belong to this noun class except for those with stems ending in velars and fusion verbs, which have the singular suffix *r*^ɛ 11.1.1. Only stems in *-s-* and *-sim-* have plurals, always with *-a*⁺:

<i>bū'əsúṽ</i> ^ɔ	<i>bū'əsá</i> ⁺	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaṽsúṽ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zàaṽsímà</i> ⁺	<i>zàaṽsúṽ-</i>	"dream"

Gerunds of 3-mora *n*-stem verbs never assimilate **ng* → *ṽṽ*, and gerunds of 3-mora *m*-stems only assimilate **mg* → *ṽṽ* optionally: thus *dìgvṽ*^ɔ "lying down", *sùnnvṽ*^ɔ "bowing the head", *zìñ'invṽ*^ɔ "sitting down", *tṽṽ*^ɔ or *tṽṽmúṽ*^ɔ "departing", *sàñ'vṽ*^ɔ or *sàñ'amvṽ*^ɔ "destroying", *kàrvṽ*^ɔ or *kàrvmṽ*^ɔ "reading."

The place name *Dènvṽ*^ɔ "Denugu" (?? *Dènvṽ*^ɔ) also fails to assimilate **ng*.

8.3.4 *r*^ɛ|*a*⁺

Straightforward examples include:

<i>kūgv^r</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>kūgá</i> ⁺	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>dìgv^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>dìgá</i> ⁺	<i>dìg-</i>	"dwarf"
<i>bàlàṽgv^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>bàlàṽgá</i> ⁺	<i>bàlàṽg-</i>	"hat"
<i>yūgv^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>yūgvá</i> ⁺	<i>yūgv-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>pv^r'à-sādv^r</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>pv^r'à-sādá</i> ⁺	<i>pv^r'à-sād-</i>	"young woman"
<i>nṽb^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>nṽbá</i> ⁺	<i>nṽb-</i>	"leg"
<i>lṽb^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>lṽbá</i> ⁺	<i>lṽb-</i>	"twin"
<i>sāngúnn^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>sāngúnnà</i> ⁺	<i>sāngún-</i>	"millipede"
<i>bì'is^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>bì'isá</i> ⁺	<i>bì'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>sūmm^r</i> ^ɛ	<i>sūmma</i> ⁺	<i>sūm-</i>	"groundnut"

CVV- and CVV'-stems (for the allomorphs before pl *-a*⁺ see 5.3.1):

<i>bīər^{ε/}</i>	<i>bīēyá⁺</i>	<i>bīā-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zūər^ε</i>	<i>zūēyá⁺</i>	<i>zūà-</i>	"hill"
<i>nōɔr^{ε/}</i>	<i>nōyá⁺</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zūvər^ε</i>	<i>zūyá⁺</i>	<i>zū-</i>	"tail"
<i>tītā'ar^ε</i>	<i>tītāda⁺</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big" (adjective)
<i>ñyē'ēr^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñyēdá⁺</i>	<i>ñyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòñ'ɔr^ε</i>	<i>pòñda⁺</i>	<i>pòñ'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yō'vər^{ε/}</i>	<i>yōdá⁺</i>	<i>yō'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū'ər^ε</i>	<i>yūāda⁺</i>	<i>yū'ər- 8.2</i>	"penis"

Stems in *Cag- *Cjag- *Cuag- 5.6 may have forms made by analogy with original CV'V-stems, instead of or alongside forms with vowel fusion:

<i>bà'ar^ε</i>	<i>bà'a⁺</i> or <i>bàda⁺</i>	<i>bà'-</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgré</i>)
<i>ñyā'ar^ε</i>	<i>ñyā'a⁺</i>	<i>ñyà'-</i>	"root" (← *jεg-)
<i>sjà'ar^ε</i>	<i>sjà'a⁺</i>	<i>sjà'-</i>	"forest"
<i>bjāñ'ar^{ε/}</i>	<i>bjāñ'a⁺</i>	<i>bjāñ'-</i>	"wet mud, riverbed"
<i>mù'ar^ε</i>	<i>mù'àa⁺</i> or <i>mù'ada⁺</i>	<i>mù'à-</i>	"reservoir, dam"
<i>zànkù'ar^ε</i>	<i>zànkù'àa⁺</i> or <i>zànkù'ada⁺</i>	<i>zànkù'à-</i>	"jackal"
<i>kùndù'ar^ε</i>	<i>kùndù'àa⁺</i> or <i>kùndù'ada⁺</i>	<i>kùndù'à-</i>	"barren woman"

So too, even in a case where the glottalisation is not derived from *g:

<i>kì-dà'ar^ε</i>	<i>kì-dà'ada⁺</i> WK		"bought-in millet"
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Stems in deleted *g after a long vowel include

<i>vúər^ε</i>	<i>vūáa⁼</i>	<i>vūə-</i>	"fruit of red kapok"
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and all fusion verb gerunds 10.1 like *gbáñ'ar^ε* from *gbāñ'e^{+/}* "grab", *dí'ər^ε* from *dī'e^{+/}* "get", *dúər^ε* from *dūe^{+/}* "rise."

Some root-stems show CV with a short vowel before *r^ε*, with cb CVr- 8.2:

<i>gbēr^{ε/}</i>	<i>gbēyá⁺</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
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Similarly *kùkōr^{ε/}* "voice" *kpàkūr^{ε/}* "tortoise" *gāñr^{ε/}* "ebony fruit" *gūmpūzēr^{ε/}* "duck" *ñyò-vūr^{ε/}* "life".

2-mora stem verbs make gerunds in $-r^\varepsilon$ instead of $-b^\circ$ after a noun cb: $n\bar{5}-l\bar{5}r^\varepsilon$ "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), $f\bar{u}-y\acute{e}r^\varepsilon$ "shirt-wearing"; vowel shortening appears in $n\bar{a}'-l\bar{5}r^\varepsilon$ "area in compound for tying up cows" and $w\bar{i}d-l\bar{5}r^\varepsilon$ "area for tying up horses."

Stems in mnr undergo consonant assimilation in the sg: $*rr \rightarrow r$, $*lr \rightarrow ll$, $*nr \rightarrow nn$, $*mr \rightarrow mn$; on the instability of the cluster mn see 5.2.

$k\bar{u}kp\bar{a}r^\varepsilon$	$k\bar{u}kp\bar{a}r^+$	$k\bar{u}kp\bar{a}r-$	"palm fruit"
$kp\bar{a}n^{n\varepsilon}$	$kp\bar{a}n^+$	$kp\bar{a}n-$	"spear"
$m\bar{a}'an^{n\varepsilon}$	$m\bar{a}'an\acute{a}^+$	$m\bar{a}'an-$	"okra"
$p\bar{i}b\bar{i}n^{n\varepsilon}$	$p\bar{i}b\bar{i}n^+$	$p\bar{i}b\bar{i}n-$	"covering"
$d\bar{u}m^{n\varepsilon}$	$d\bar{u}m^+$	$d\bar{u}m-$	"knee"
$z\bar{5}w\bar{m}^{n\varepsilon}$	$z\bar{5}w\bar{m}^+$	$z\bar{5}w\bar{m}-$	"fugitive"
$y\bar{u}m^{n\varepsilon}$	$y\bar{u}m^+$	$y\bar{u}m-$	"year" 5.3.2
$gb\bar{i}g\bar{i}m^{n\varepsilon}$	$gb\bar{i}g\bar{i}m^+$	$gb\bar{i}g\bar{i}m-$	"lion"
$g\acute{e}l^\varepsilon$	$g\acute{e}l\acute{a}^+$	$g\acute{e}l-$	"egg"
$\acute{i}l^\varepsilon$	$\acute{i}l\acute{a}^+$	$\acute{i}l-$	"horn"

With unusual sandhi in the sg, and presumably analogical levelling

$\check{n}w\bar{a}n^{n\varepsilon}$ SB	$\check{n}w\bar{a}n^+$ NT	$\check{n}w\bar{a}n-/\check{n}w\bar{a}m-$	"calabash"
$\check{n}w\bar{a}m^{m\varepsilon}$ WK	$\check{n}w\bar{a}m^+$ SB WK NT		

An exceptional suppletive plural, segmentally and tonally, is seen in

$d\bar{a}ar^\varepsilon$	$d\bar{a}b\acute{a}^+$	$d\bar{a}-$	"day"
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These two $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ class words probably have 1-mora stems:

[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	$z\bar{a}^+/\bar{a}^+$	$z\bar{a}-$	"millet"
$y\bar{i}r^\varepsilon$	$y\bar{a}^+/\bar{a}^+$	$y\bar{i}-$	"house"

Language names 29.4 all belong to a $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ subclass partly formed with the suffix $-l^\varepsilon$. The suffix is always $-l^\varepsilon$ after stems ending in a root vowel:

Language		Speakers	
$K\bar{u}s\bar{a}al^\varepsilon$	Kusaal	$K\bar{u}s\bar{a}as^\varepsilon$	Kusaasi
$B\bar{u}s\bar{a}a\check{n}^\varepsilon$	Bisa	$B\bar{u}s\bar{a}a\check{n}s^\varepsilon$	Bisa
$M\bar{5}w\bar{5}l^\varepsilon$	Mooré	$M\bar{5}w\bar{5}s^\varepsilon$	Mossi
$S\bar{i}m\bar{i}il^\varepsilon$	Fulfulde	$S\bar{i}m\bar{i}is^\varepsilon$	Fulbe
$Z\bar{a}ngb\bar{e}el^\varepsilon$	Hausa	$Z\bar{a}ngb\bar{e}ed^\varepsilon$	Hausa
$N\bar{a}s\bar{a}al^\varepsilon$	English/French	$N\bar{a}s\bar{a}a-n\bar{a}m^a$	Europeans

After stems ending in a consonant other than *-r-* the suffix is either replaced by *r^ε*, or assimilates to the stem final in a way which is indistinguishable from *r^ε*:

<i>Nàbir^ε</i>	Nabit	<i>Nàbir^a</i>	Nabdema
<i>Tùennir^ε</i>	Toende Kusaal	<i>Tùen^{nε}</i>	Toende area
<i>Dàgbān^{nε/}</i>	Dagbani	<i>Dàgbām^{ma/}</i>	Dagomba
<i>Bìn^{nε}</i>	Moba	<i>Bim^{ma}</i>	Moba
<i>Yàan^{nε}</i>	Yansi	<i>Yaañs^ε</i>	Yansi
<i>Gōrín^{nε}</i>	Farefare	<i>Gōrís^ε</i>	Farefare
<i>Tàlín^{nε}</i>	Talni	<i>Tàlís^ε</i>	Tallensi
<i>Bùl^{lε}</i>	Buli	<i>Bùlís^ε</i>	Bulsa
<i>Àgòl^{lε}</i>	Agolle Kusaal	<i>Àgòl^{lε}</i>	Agolle area

However, stems in *-r-* show the distinctive assimilation **r/* → *tt* [5.4](#):

<i>Yāt^{ε/}</i>	Yarsi	<i>Yāris^{ε/}</i>	Yarsi
<i>Bāt^{ε/}</i>	Bisa	<i>Bāris^{ε/}</i>	Bisa

Unexpected epenthesis occurs in:

<i>Kàmbònr^ε</i>	Twi	<i>Kàmbòmís^ε</i>	Ashanti
<i>Ñwāmpūrl^{ε/}</i>	Mampruli	<i>Ñwāmpūris^{ε/}</i>	Mamprussi

8.3.5 *ɸ|t⁺*

The plural *-t⁺* causes the stem vowels *aa iə εε* to undergo "umlaut" to *ii*. Straightforward examples for the *ɸ|t⁺* class are

<i>mòlɸ</i>	<i>mòlt⁺</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bīlɸ</i>	<i>bīlt⁺</i>	<i>bīl-</i>	"seed"
<i>ñyírɸ</i>	<i>ñyírt⁺</i>	<i>ñyīr-</i>	"egusi"
<i>zūrɸ</i>	<i>zūrt⁺</i>	<i>zūr-</i>	"dawadawa seed"
<i>bōn-búvdɸ</i>			"plant"
[Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>]	<i>kī^{+/}</i>	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	<i>mùj⁺</i>	<i>mùj-</i>	"rice"

Two words have stems in **Caag-* with deletion of **g* [5.6](#):

<i>náaf^ɸ</i>	<i>nīíg⁺</i>	<i>nā'-</i> 5.3.2	"cow"
<i>wáaf^ɸ</i>	<i>wīíg⁺</i>	<i>wā'-</i>	"snake"

Stems in *-n-* show consonant assimilation in the sg with **nf* → *ʔf* 5.4:

<i>nīf^l</i>	<i>nīn^{l+}</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>píuñ^f</i>	<i>pīn^{l+}</i>	<i>pīn-</i>	"genet"
<i>kíiñ^f</i>	<i>kīn^{l+}</i>		"millet seed"
<i>zú'vñ^f</i>	<i>zū'vni^{l+}</i>		"dawadawa seed"
<i>míif^f</i>	<i>mīin^{l+}</i>		"okra seed"

Sg *míif^f* is remodelled after an unlauded pl: cf *má'an^{nε}* "okra."

In two words stem *-d-* is lost in the sg:

<i>wìə^f</i>	<i>wìd^{l+}</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"horse"
<i>lā'a^f</i>	<i>līgìd^{l+}</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words only have *f^l|l⁺* class suffixes in one number:

<i>zíiŋ^a</i>	<i>zīm^{l+}</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>wāliŋ^a</i>	<i>wāli^{sε}</i> or <i>wālí^{l+}</i> sic	<i>wàl-</i>	a kind of gazelle
<i>sībliŋ^{a/}</i>	<i>sīb^{l+}</i>	<i>sīb-</i>	a kind of termite
<i>sīiñ^{f/}</i> or <i>sīiñŋ^{a/}</i>	<i>sīiñ^{sε/}</i>	<i>sīñ-</i>	"bee"
<i>sūñ^{f/}</i> or <i>sūuñ^{sε/}</i>	<i>sūñyá^{l+}</i>	<i>sūñ-</i>	"heart"
<i>kpá'vŋ^ɔ</i>	<i>kpā'iní^{l+}</i>	<i>kpā'-</i> irreg	"guinea fowl"

8.3.6 *b^ɔ*

Only three *b^ɔ* class nouns have been found which are not gerunds:

<i>sā'ab^ɔ</i>	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge, TZ"
<i>tāñp^ɔ</i>	<i>tāñp-</i>	"war" 5.3.1
<i>kī'ib^ɔ</i>		"soap"

All regular gerunds from 2-mora-stem dual-aspect verbs belong here 11.1.1: stems in *b* show *-p-* via **bb* → *pp*: *sōp^ɔ* from *sōb^{sε}* "write", *lōp^ɔ* from *lōb^{sε}* "throw stones at", and stems in *m* show **mb* → *mm*: *kīm^{mɔ}* from *kīm^m* "tend a flock/herd", *wōm^{mɔ}* from *wòm^m* "hear." Stems in *n* do not assimilate, however: *būnib^ɔ* from *bùn^{sε}* "reap."

Yīs^{sε} "make go/come out" has the expected gerund *yīsib^ɔ*; the alternate form *yīs^{sε/}* has *yīsib^ɔ*, the only 3-mora stem in the *b^ɔ* class.

8.3.7 *m^m*

Most words in this class are mass nouns. Straightforward forms include:

<i>dāam^m/</i>	<i>dā-</i>	"millet beer, pito"
<i>mèlɨɨm^m</i>		"dew"
<i>kōdɨm^m</i>		"olden days"
<i>dū'uním^m</i>	<i>dū'un-</i>	"urine"
<i>dàalɨm^m</i>		"masculinity"
<i>yàarɨm^m</i>	<i>yàar-</i>	"salt"
<i>zāańsím^m</i>	<i>zāańs-</i>	"soup"

M-stems can be identified from cbs in *m*, pls in *-ma⁺* or *-mɨs^ɛ*, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L 6.2.2.

<i>vōm^m/</i>		<i>vōm-</i>	"life"
<i>kūm^m</i>		<i>kùm-</i>	"death"
<i>zōm^m/</i>		<i>zōm-</i>	"flour"
<i>bùgúm^m</i>		<i>bùgúm-</i> or <i>bùgōm-</i>	"fire"
<i>yā'am^m/</i>		<i>yā'am-</i>	"gall; gall bladder"
<i>pūum^m/</i>		<i>pūum-</i>	"flowers, flora"
<i>bì'isím^m</i>			"milk"
<i>dàalím^m</i>	<i>dàalímɨs^ɛ</i>	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
<i>pīim^m/</i>	<i>pīmá⁺</i>	<i>pīm-</i>	"arrow" <u>5.3.2</u>

Pīim^m "arrow" is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" ɔ|^ɛ class, preserved in e.g. the Gurma languages and Nawdm: cf Nawdm *fíimú* "arrow", plural *fíimí*.

8.4 *Nàm* plurals

The word *nàm^a* can pluralise words which do not make a plural through the class system. It appears as the NP head, with a predependent noun appearing as cb if it is a count noun and as sg or pl if it is a mass noun 15.6. *Nàm^a* is not a suffix.

Plurals with *nàm^a* are made for nouns where the pl stem differs from the sg, or the regular pl would be ambiguous; nouns using *-b^a* as sg 8.3.1; nouns with a bare stem as sg; loanwords; pronouns without distinctive pl forms, like *ànó'ɔn^ɛ* "who" when asking for a plural answer or *nē'⁺* inanimate "this" in older materials 15.2.1; plural forms with singular meanings; mass nouns used with count meanings; quantifiers as noun-phrase heads 15.4.1; and forms with the personifier particle 15.5.

Examples:

<i>mà</i> ⁺	<i>mà nám</i> ^a	<i>mà-</i>	"mother"
	(tone <i>sic</i> , as if uncompounded)		
<i>bā</i> ^{+/}	<i>bā-nám</i> ^a	<i>bā-</i>	"father"
<i>zụà</i> ⁺	<i>zụà-nàm</i> ^a	<i>zụà-</i>	"friend"
<i>bùrkìn</i> ^a	<i>bùrkìn-nàm</i> ^a	<i>bùrkìn-</i>	"honourable person"
<i>kèèkè</i> ⁺	<i>kèèkè-nàm</i> ^a	<i>kèèkè-</i>	"bicycle"
<i>dāan</i> ^a	<i>dāan-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dāan-</i>	"owner of ..."
<i>tīrāan</i> ^a	<i>tīrāan-nàm</i> ^a	<i>tīrāan-</i>	"neighbour, peer"
	<i>dà-pūvdá nám</i> ^a		"crosses"
	<i>kūt nám</i> ^a		"nails"; sg also "iron"
	<i>bē'ed nám</i> ^a		"evils"
	<i>bùgúm nám</i> ^a		"fires, lights"
	<i>sā'ab nám</i> ^a		"portions of porridge"
	<i>dāam nám</i> ^a		"beers"

8.5 Nouns with apocope-blocking

A number of nouns ending in *-i*⁺ or *-o*⁺ display apocope-blocking 5.1.3:

<i>būudi</i> ⁺	<i>bùud-</i>	"tribe"
<i>nà'asi</i> ⁺		"honour"
<i>kābirí</i> ⁺		"entry permission"
<i>sūgurú</i> ⁺		"forbearance"
<i>pīini</i> ⁺	<i>pīin-</i>	"gift"

Some are loans from related languages without apocope, like *kīibú*⁺ "soap" (from Mampruli.) Cognates of *būudi*⁺ show that the *-di* represents the *d*^ε pl suffix: Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*. *Nà'asi*⁺ may be *s*^ε pl. *Kābirí*⁺ and *sūgurú*⁺ may be *r*^ε sg, with *kābir*^{ε/} "ask for admission" and *sūgur*^{ε/} "forbear" as back-formations.

With *pīini*⁺ cf Mampruli *piini id*; Mampruli also has *r*^ε|*a*⁺ type sg *piinni* pl *piina*, but Dagbani *pini* shows that single *n* is original, because Dagbani preserves long vowels in originally closed syllables. The word may reflect a noun class obsolete in Western Oti-Volta; *ii* is probably umlauted from *aa*, as in *ɸ*|*i*⁺ class plurals (cf Gulimancéma *paabu* "gift.")

8.6 Loanwords

Loanwords adopt noun classes by analogy [8.1](#) or make *nàm^a* plurals [8.4](#):

<i>g^a s^ε</i> : àrazàk ^a	àrazà'as ^ε	àrazà'-	"riches" Hausa <i>arzikii</i>
<i>màljāk^{a/}</i>	<i>màljā'as^{ε/}</i>	<i>màljā'-</i>	"angel" DK (Arabic)
<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> : gādvug ^{ɔ/}	<i>gāt^{ε/}</i>	<i>gād-</i>	"bed" Hausa <i>gadoo</i>
<i>lòmbò'ɔg^ɔ</i>	<i>lòmbò'ɔd^ε</i>	<i>lòmbò'-</i>	"garden" Hausa <i>làmbuu</i>
<i>r^ε a⁺</i> : lór ^ε	<i>lòyà⁺</i> tones sic or <i>lóm^{ma}</i>	<i>lór-</i>	"car, lorry" cf <i>Mōr^ε</i> 8.3.1
<i>àlòpìr^ε</i>	<i>àlòpìya⁺</i>		"aeroplane" SB
<i>wādir^{ε/}</i>	<i>wādá⁺</i>	<i>wād-</i>	pl "customs, law" (English "order")
<i>gādv⁺</i>	<i>gādv-nám^a</i>	<i>gādv-</i>	"bed" WK
<i>kèèkè⁺</i>	<i>kèèkè-nàm^a</i>	<i>kèèkè-</i>	"bicycle" Hausa <i>kèèkè</i>
<i>dāká⁺</i>	<i>dāká-nàm^a</i>	<i>dāká-</i>	"box" Hausa <i>àdakàa</i>
<i>téébùl^ε</i>	<i>téébùl-nàm^a</i>	<i>téébùl-</i>	"table"
<i>Nàsāara⁺</i>	<i>Nàsàar-nàm^a</i> or <i>Nàsàa-nàm^a</i>	<i>Nàsàar-</i> <i>Nàsàa-</i>	"white person, European" 29.4 ; cf Hausa <i>Nàsāara</i>

Loanwords ending in L or H toneme distinguish sg from cb by the fact that M spreading only follows the sg, conforming to the usual rule [7.4.3](#):

<i>dɥ'átà ná'ab</i>	"a doctor's chief"
<i>dɥ'átà-nà'ab</i>	"a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief"

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cb on the analogy of Kusaal nouns with M toneme noun prefixes [6.2.4](#): *dūnɪya⁺* "world" (Arabic *dunya*:), *dūnɪyá-kàŋā* "this world."

9 Adjective flexion

Unlike nouns, most Kusaal adjectives show suffixes from more than one noun class. This reflects the prehistory of the language, in which noun classes triggered agreement and adjectives took the suffix of the head noun, which preceded as a combining form, effectively infixing the adjective stem between the noun stem and its suffix. Like most Western Oti-Volta languages, Kusaal has lost the agreement system, but adjectives commonly remain extant with suffixes from more than one class, now usually in free variation. Thus from *būvg*^a "goat":

<i>bù-pìəlīg</i> ^a	<i>bù-pìəlɪs</i> ^ε	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>g</i> ^a <i>s</i> ^ε)	"white goat"
<i>bù-pìəl</i> ^ε	<i>bù-pìəla</i> ⁺	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>r</i> ^ε <i>a</i> ⁺)	<i>id</i>

A few traces of agreement remain, accounting for all cases with *m*^m 15.7.1.1. There is also some preference for *g*^a|*s*^ε suffixes for human reference: *nīn-sábilɪs*^ε "Africans", where *nīn-sábilà*⁺ is accepted by informants but is much less common, and *Zuà-wiis*^ε "Red Zoose" (clan), where the adjective does not normally use pl *s*^ε. The suffixes ^a|*b*^a and ^ɔ|*t*⁺ appear only in set expressions; *b*^ɔ never occurs at all.

WK claims a meaning difference in intensity in gradable adjectives with sg suffixes of different classes, consistently ranking them *g*^a *r*^ε *g*^ɔ in decreasing order, so that *fū-pìəlīg* "white shirt" is whiter than *fū-pìəl id*. However, DK specifically denied any difference of meaning.

Class suffixes are avoided when their combination with stem finals would give rise to unclear or ambiguous SFs. The availability of alternatives from three classes permits avoidance much more freely than with nouns. A further major constraint is that only two adjectives show suffixes from both the *g*^a|*s*^ε and *g*^ɔ|*d*^ε classes:

<i>zìñ'a</i> ⁺	<i>zèñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>zèñ'-</i>	"red"
<i>zèñ'og</i> ^ɔ	<i>zèñ'εd</i> ^ε or <i>zèñ'da</i> ⁺		
<i>bī'a</i> ⁺	<i>bī'əs</i> ^ε	<i>bjà'-</i>	"bad"
<i>bē'og</i> ^ɔ	<i>bē'εd</i> ^ε	<i>bè'-</i>	
also <i>bē'εd</i> ^ε sg	<i>bè'εd-nàm</i> ^a pl		

Other adjectives are *either* *g*^a- or *g*^ɔ-type, along with *r*^ε|*a*⁺ class suffixes; this probably reflects simplification of the old agreement system prior to its complete abandonment. Adjectives of the *g*^a type include:

<i>wàbīg</i> ^a	<i>wàbɪs</i> ^ε	<i>wàb-</i>	"lame"
<i>wàbɪr</i> ^ε	<i>wàba</i> ⁺		

<i>vènnig^a</i>	<i>vènnis^ε</i>	<i>vèn-</i>	"beautiful"
<i>vènnur^ε</i> rare	<i>vèнна⁺</i>		
<i>vèñllig^a</i>	<i>vèñllis^ε</i>		"beautiful"
	<i>vèñlla⁺</i>		
<i>sābílíg^a</i>	<i>sābílís^ε</i>	<i>sābil-</i>	"black"
<i>sābíl^{lε}</i>	<i>sābílá⁺</i>		

Similar are *wēnnur^ε* "resembling" *pāalíg^a* "new" *záal^{lε}* "empty" *bàañlig^a* "slim" *pìəlig^a* "white."

Sg *r^ε* is not used with *g^a*-type stems in *m n*:

<i>dēη^a</i>	<i>dēēñs^ε</i>		"first"
	<i>dēemis^ε</i>	<i>dēη-</i>	
	<i>dēēna⁺</i>		

Pl *s^ε* is not used with 2-mora stems in *m n*, or with any stems in *s d*:

<i>gīη^a</i>	<i>gīma⁺</i>	<i>gīη-</i>	"short"
<i>būgvsíg^a</i>		<i>būgvs-</i>	"soft"
<i>būgvsír^ε</i>	<i>būgvsá⁺</i>		
<i>pòɔdig^a</i>		<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"
<i>pòɔdir^ε</i>	<i>pòɔda⁺</i>		

Similarly *mā'asír^ε* "cold, wet" *mālsír^ε* "sweet" *tēbísír^ε* "heavy" *lābísír^ε* "wide."

Adjectives of the *g^ɔ*-type only show pl *d^ε* in a few 2-mora stems ending in vowels or plosives:

<i>nèog^ɔ</i>	<i>nèed^ε</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>nèer^ε</i>	<i>nèya⁺</i>		
<i>wìug^ɔ</i>	<i>wiid^ε</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wìir^ε</i>	<i>wìya⁺</i>		
<i>wōk^ɔ/</i>	<i>wā'ad^{ε/}</i>	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>wā'ar^{ε/}</i> rare	<i>wá'a⁺</i>		

<i>kōdvǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>kūt</i> ^ε rare	<i>kùd-</i>	"old"
<i>kōdir</i> ^ε	<i>kōda</i> ⁺		
<i>bèdvǔg</i> ^ǔ		<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>bèdir</i> ^ε rare	<i>bèda</i> ⁺		
<i>tītā'vǔg</i> ^ǔ rare	<i>tītāda</i> ⁺	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big"
<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ε			

Adjectives of the *g*^ǔ-type with stems in *l m n r s* do not use sg *r*^ε, and accordingly end up with sg *g*^ǔ pl *a*⁺ only:

<i>sùŋ</i> ^ǔ	<i>sùma</i> ⁺	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>kísùg</i> ^ǔ	<i>kīsá</i> ⁺	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo"
<i>dà-zēmmúg</i> ^ǔ	<i>dà-zēmmá</i> ⁺	<i>dà-zēm-</i>	"equal piece of wood"
<i>tūlúg</i> ^ǔ	<i>tūlá</i> ⁺	<i>tūl-</i>	"hot"
<i>lāllúg</i> ^ǔ	<i>lālá</i> ⁺	<i>lāl-</i>	"distant"
<i>mì'isvǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>mì'isa</i> ⁺	<i>mì'is-</i>	"sour"
<i>wàvǔŋ</i> ^ǔ	<i>wàna</i> ⁺	<i>wàvǔŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpī'ovǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>kpī'əma</i> ⁺	<i>kpī'ovǔg-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlvǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>zùlma</i> ⁺	<i>zùlvǔg-</i>	"deep"
<i>yī-póŋrǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>yī-póŋrà</i> ⁺		"nearby house"

Similarly *yàlvǔg*^ǔ "wide" *ŋyālúŋ*^ǔ "wonderful" *yēl-nárǔŋ*^ǔ "necessary thing."

Resultative adjectives derived with **-lɪm-* [12.2.1.2.2](#) belong here. KT (but not WK) also has forms without *-m-* in both sg and pl:

<i>kpīilúŋ</i> ^ǔ	<i>kpīilímà</i> ⁺	<i>kpīilúŋ-</i>	"dead"	WK
<i>nīn-kpīilǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>nīn-kpīilímá</i> ⁺		"dead person"	KT
<i>gēēñlúŋ</i> ^ǔ	<i>gēēñlímà</i> ⁺	<i>gēēñlúŋ-</i>	"tired"	WK
<i>nīn-gēēñlǔg</i> ^ǔ	<i>nīn-gēēñlímá</i> ⁺		"tired person"	KT
<i>pè'elúŋ</i> ^ǔ	<i>pè'elímà</i> ⁺	<i>pè'elúŋ-</i>	"full"	WK KT
	<i>dūg-pè'elà</i> ⁺		"full pots"	KT

Habitual adjectives are derived with *d* [12.2.1.2.1](#), but the *d* is often assimilated or dropped, so not all habitual adjectives are *d*-stems. They are *g*^a-type for WK, but *g*^ǔ-type for KT. In either case, the pl suffix is always *a*⁺, as expected:

<i>kōvdír</i> ^ε	<i>kōvdá</i> ⁺	<i>kōvd-</i>	"murderous;
<i>kōvdíg</i> ^a WK			liable to be killed"
<i>kōvdúg</i> ^ǔ KT			

<i>tōmmur</i> ^ε	<i>tōmma</i> ⁺ WK <i>tōmna</i> ⁺ KT	<i>tòm-</i>	"working, helpful"
<i>sīnnír</i> ^ε rare <i>sīnníg</i> ^a	<i>sīnná</i> ⁺	<i>sīn-</i>	"silent"
<i>mōr</i> ^{ε/} <i>kùg-dēl</i> ^{lε/}	<i>mōrá</i> ⁺ <i>kùg-dēllá</i> ⁺	<i>mōr-</i>	"having" "chair for leaning on"

Stems in *g k ŋ* do not use the sg suffixes *g*^a *g*^ɔ:

<i>bōn-túlgìr</i> ^ε	<i>bōn-túlgà</i> ⁺		"heating thing"
<i>ñwī-tékìr</i> ^ε	<i>ñwī-tékà</i> ⁺	<i>ñwī-ték-</i>	"pulling-rope"
<i>bōn-súgìr</i> ^ε	<i>bōn-súgà</i> ⁺		"helpful thing"

Adjectives derived from 4-mora stem verbs in *-m* in KT's speech take *g*^a or *g*^ɔ sg and *-a*⁺ pl; they may drop the *-m*- in the plural:

<i>nīn-pú'alìŋ</i> ^a	<i>nīn-pú'alìma</i> ⁺		"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záaŋsùŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>nīn-záaŋsà</i> ⁺		"dreamy person"

Some adjectives simply belong to a single noun class even though this cannot be accounted for by the stem-suffix incompatibilities outlined above:

<i>vūr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vōyá</i> ⁺	<i>vūr-</i>	"alive"
<i>dāvug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dāad</i> ^ε	<i>dà-</i>	"male"
<i>tōɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>tōɔd</i> ^ε	<i>tò-</i>	"bitter"
<i>pūāk</i> ^a	<i>pō'as</i> ^ε	<i>pū'à-</i>	"female" (human)
<i>ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a	<i>ñyá'as</i> ^ε	<i>ñyā'aŋ-</i>	"female" (animal)
	or <i>ñyā'amís</i> ^ε		
<i>ñyèésìŋ</i> ^a	<i>ñyèensís</i> ^ε	<i>ñyèésìŋ-</i>	"self-confident"

and similarly *vèñllìŋ*^a "beautiful" *mālsìŋ*^a "pleasant" *lāllìŋ*^a "distant."

<i>bīl</i> ^a	<i>bībìs</i> ^ε	<i>bìl-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"little"
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The sg flexion *-la* is found more widely in other Western Oti-Volta languages, where it has a diminutive sense: thus Farefare *níllá* "chick", *pìllà* "lamb", *bùdíblá* "boy", *púglá* "girl", *kíllá* "young guinea fowl"; Mooré *bìríblá* "boy", *bìpúglá* "girl", *bùllá* "kid." The plural stem *bib-* is reduplicated.

10 Verb flexion

Though written solid with the verb in traditional orthography, discontinuous-past n^{ϵ} [23.1.1](#) and the 2pl subject y^a [19.7.3](#) are not flexions but bound liaison words.

10.1 Dual-aspect

Some 90% of verbs are dynamic [19.2](#) **dual-aspect** verbs, using the stem form for perfective aspect and adding $-d^a$ for imperfective. Synchronically, $-d^a$ is simply a flexion, but historically this probably represents thoroughgoing levelling of a formation with a *derivational* suffix $*d$ preceding the same imperfective flexion $-a$ as appears in single-aspect verbs. A suffix $-m^a$ marks imperative mood whenever the verb carries the independency-marking tone overlay [19.6.2.2](#).

Perfective, imperfective and $-m^a$ imperative are cited in order.

Straightforward examples include:

$k\bar{o}^+$	$k\bar{o}vd^a/$	$k\bar{u}m^a$	"kill"
$kp\grave{e}\grave{n}'^+$	$kp\grave{e}\grave{n}'\epsilon d^a$	$kp\grave{e}\grave{n}'\epsilon m^a$	"enter"
$k\grave{i}\grave{a}^+$	$k\grave{i}\epsilon d^a$	$k\grave{i}\epsilon m^a$	"cut"
$k\grave{u}\bar{a}^+$	$k\bar{u}\epsilon d^a/$	$k\bar{u}\epsilon m^a$	"hoe"
$g\grave{z}\grave{n}'^+$	$g\grave{z}\grave{z}\grave{n}'d^a$	$g\grave{z}\grave{z}\grave{n}'m^a$	"hunt"
$d\bar{o}g^{\epsilon}$	$d\bar{o}gvd^a/$	$d\bar{u}gv m^a$	"cook"
$y\grave{u}ug^{\epsilon}$	$y\grave{u}ugd^a$	$y\grave{u}ug m^a$	"delay, get late"
$y\bar{a}d\grave{i}g^{\epsilon}/$	$y\bar{a}d\grave{i}gd^a$	$y\bar{a}d\grave{i}g m^a$	"scatter"
$p\grave{i}\bar{a}\grave{n}'^a$	$p\grave{i}\bar{a}\grave{n}'ad^a/$	$p\grave{i}\bar{a}\grave{n}'am^a$	"speak; praise"
$d\grave{u}'\grave{a}^a$	$d\grave{u}'ad^a$	$d\grave{u}'am^a$	"bear, beget"
$n\bar{o}k^{\epsilon}/$	$n\bar{o}k\grave{i}d^a$	$n\bar{o}k m^a$	"take"
$g\bar{a}\eta^{\epsilon}/$	$g\bar{a}\eta\grave{i}d^a$	$g\bar{a}\eta m^a$	"choose"
$kp\grave{a}r^{\epsilon}$	$kp\grave{a}r\grave{i}d^a$	$kp\grave{a}r m^a$	"lock"
$s\bar{u}gv r^{\epsilon}/$	$s\bar{u}gv r\grave{i}d^a$	$s\bar{u}gv r m^a$	"forgive"
$b\grave{a}s^{\epsilon}$	$b\grave{a}s\grave{i}d^a$	$b\grave{a}s m^a$	"go/send away"
$s\bar{i}g\grave{i}s^{\epsilon}/$	$s\bar{i}g\grave{i}s\grave{i}d^a$	$s\bar{i}g\grave{i}s m^a$	"lower"
$k\bar{o}t^{\epsilon}/$	$k\bar{o}t\grave{i}d^a$	$k\bar{o}t m^a$	"slaughter"

Some root-stems ending in a vowel show a CV- allomorph in both imperfective and imperative, with $-t-$ for $-d-$ [5.3.1](#):

$d\grave{i}^+$	$d\grave{i}t^a$	$d\grave{i}m^a$	"eat"
$\grave{n}y\bar{\epsilon}^+$	$\grave{n}y\bar{\epsilon}t^a/$	$\grave{n}y\bar{\epsilon}m^a$	"see"

and likewise $l\grave{i}^+/l\grave{u}^+$ "fall", $d\bar{o}^+$ "go up", $y\bar{i}^+$ "go/come out", $z\grave{o}^+$ "run, fear."

Stems in *-d-* show *-t-* in the ipfv via **dd* → *tt*:

<i>bùd</i> ^ε	<i>bùt</i> ^a	<i>bùdım</i> ^a	"plant"
<i>gàad</i> ^ε	<i>gàt</i> ^a 3.2.1	<i>gàadım</i> ^a	"pass, surpass"

Stems in *l* generate a cluster in the ipfv via **ld* → *nn* 5.4:

<i>vōl</i> ^ε	<i>vōn</i> ^{na/}	<i>vòlım</i> ^a	"swallow"
<i>màal</i> ^ε	<i>màan</i> ^{na}	<i>màalım</i> ^a	"make; sacrifice"
<i>dīgıı</i> ^{ε/}	<i>dīgín</i> ^{na}	<i>dīgıılım</i> ^a	"lay down"

Only 2-mora *b*-stems assimilate **bm* → *mm*:

<i>lèb</i> ^ε	<i>lèbıd</i> ^a	<i>lèm</i> ^{ma}	"return"
<i>sōb</i> ^ε	<i>sōbıd</i> ^{a/}	<i>sòm</i> ^{ma}	"write"
<i>liəb</i> ^ε	<i>liəbıd</i> ^a	<i>liəbım</i> ^a	"become"
<i>ēēñb</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ēēñbıd</i> ^a	<i>ēēñbım</i> ^a	"lay a foundation"

Only 2-mora *n*-stems show **nd* → *nn*; only *kēŋ*^{ε/} (below) shows **nm* → *mm*:

<i>bùn</i> ^ε	<i>bùn</i> ^{na}	<i>bùnım</i> ^a	"reap"
<i>mōn</i> ^ε	<i>mōn</i> ^{na/}	<i>mònım</i> ^a	"make porridge"
<i>gò'ɔn</i> ^ε	<i>gò'ɔnıd</i> ^a	<i>gò'ɔnım</i> ^a	"extend neck"
<i>dìgıı</i> ^ε	<i>dìgıııd</i> ^a	<i>dìgıınım</i> ^a	"lie down"

The *nn*-stem *sùn*^ε does not assimilate at all:

<i>sùn</i> ^{ne}	<i>sùnnıd</i> ^a	<i>sùnnım</i> ^a	"bow head"
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4-mora *m*-stems always assimilate **md* → *mn*, *mm*, while 3-mora *m*-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, but the NT/KB sometimes have unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity 5.4.

<i>siilım</i> ^m	<i>siilım</i> ^{ma}	<i>siilım</i> ^{ma}	"quote proverbs"
<i>lāŋım</i> ^m	<i>lāŋım</i> ^{ma}	<i>lāŋım</i> ^{ma}	"wander searching"
<i>kàrım</i> ^m	<i>kàrım</i> ^{m/} <i>kàrımıd</i> ^a	<i>kàrım</i> ^{ma}	"read"
<i>tōɔm</i> ^{m/}	<i>tōɔm</i> ^{ma/} <i>tōɔmıd</i> ^a	<i>tōɔm</i> ^{ma}	"depart"
<i>tùm</i> ^m	<i>tùm</i> ^{ma}	<i>tùm</i> ^{ma}	"work"

Like *tùm*^m are *wùm*^m "hear", *kìm*^m "tend a flock or herd", *dùm*^m "bite."

Stems in *-mm-* only assimilate in the imperative:

<i>tàm^m</i>	<i>tàmmɪd^a</i>	<i>tàm^{ma}</i>	"forget"
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Like *tàm^m* are *zàm^m* "cheat, betray", *dàm^m* "shake", *lèm^m* "sip, taste"; the cognate Mooré verbs have *-mb-*: *zãmbè* "cheat", *rãmbè* "stir", *lèmbè* "taste".

Fusion verbs show deleted **g* after *aa iə uə aañ ɛɛñ ɔɔñ* 5.6. **G*-deletion appears only in the perfective and gerund; elsewhere **g* is absent, not deleted (for the tonal implications see 6.3.1.) For the perfective forms before liaison see see 7.2.

<i>fāeñ^{+/}</i>	<i>fāañd^{a/}</i>	<i>fàañm^a</i>	"save"
<i>dī^{e+/}</i>	<i>dīəd^{a/}</i>	<i>dīəm^a</i>	"get, receive"
<i>dū^{e+/}</i>	<i>dūəd^{a/}</i>	<i>dùəm^a</i>	"rise, raise"
<i>pūñ'e^{+/}</i>	<i>pūñ'əd^{a/}</i>	<i>pùñ'əm^a</i>	"rot" WK

Irregular dual-aspect verbs are few. Only two are irregular in the actual flexional suffixes taken:

<i>kē⁺</i>	<i>kēt^{a/}</i>	<i>kèl^a</i>	"let, allow"
<i>kēñ⁺</i>	<i>kēn^{a/}</i>	<i>kèm^a</i>	"come"

All others show a derivational suffix in the perfective which is dropped in the imperfective. This suggests a survival of older patterns: outside the Western group, Oti-Volta languages often drop perfective suffixes when forming imperfectives. Nawdm has a regular conjugation which drops pfv *g* in the ipfv, e.g. *jehl^g* pfv "poser verticalement", *jehl^a* ipfv.

<i>wik^ɛ</i>	<i>wiid^a</i> 5.3.1	<i>wikɪm^a</i>	"fetch water"
<i>jāñk^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>jāñ'ad^{a/}</i>	<i>jàñkɪm^a</i>	"leap, fly"
<i>gīlɪg^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>gīn^{na/}</i>	<i>gīlɪgɪm^a</i>	"go around"
<i>kēŋ^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>kēn^{na/}</i>	<i>kèm^a</i>	"go"
<i>yèl^ɛ</i>	<i>yèt^a</i>	<i>yèlɪm^a</i>	"say"
<i>gɔs^ɛ</i>	<i>gɔsɪd^{a/}</i>	<i>gòsɪm^a</i>	"look"
	or <i>gɔt^{a/}</i>	<i>gòm^a</i>	
<i>tis^ɛ</i>	<i>tisɪd^a</i>	<i>tisɪm^a</i>	"give"
	or <i>tit^a</i>		

A perfective *tì* may appear before bound object pronouns, e.g. *tì f* "give you."

10.2 Single-aspect

The remaining 10% of verbs are **single-aspect**, with just one finite form, which is always imperfective. Each single-aspect verb is either **dynamic**, behaving like the imperfective of a dual-aspect verb, or **stative** 19.2; transitive stative verbs typically express relationships, while intransitives have predicative adjectival meanings.

Morphologically, there are three major groups of single-aspect verbs; the morphological division correlates only to a limited extent with meaning.

Six stative single-aspect verbs consist of bare stems alone:

<i>mī</i> ⁺	"know"	<i>zī</i> ⁺	"not know"
<i>bè</i> ⁺	"be somewhere, exist"	<i>kā'è</i> ⁺	"not be" (← * <i>kagɪ</i>)
<i>tūñ'e</i>	"be able" 22.2.1	<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"

Uniquely among single-aspect verbs, *nòŋ*^ε has a *m*^a-imperative *nòŋim*^a, used when the verb word carries the tone overlay of independency marking. Unlike perfectives, these forms are never followed by particle *yā*⁺ 19.6.2.1. The Pattern LO verbs *bè*⁺ and *nòŋ*^ε have M tone before liaison-word pronouns and are followed by M spreading even when not subject to the tone overlay of independency marking 7.4.3.

	<i>M nòŋ.</i>	"I love him." (e.g. in reply to a question)
not	* <i>M nòŋ yā</i>	specifically stated to be impossible by WK

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noŋ zaba.

Mìt kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm á ònì nòŋ zábāa +∅.

NEG.LET.IMP and head-EMPTY.AN WORK-WORKER:SG COP REL.AN love conflict:PL NEG.

"Let not a servant of the Lord be someone who loves fights." (2 Tim 2:24, 1996)

Kà ò nòŋī f. "And she loves you."

The agent noun *nòŋɪd*^a has Pattern L instead of the expected O:

Ò nòŋɪd kā'e. "There's nobody who loves him." WK

The majority of single-aspect verbs have the suffix **y*^a. Nawdm has many imperfective-only verbs of parallel structure, like *jefra* ipfv "*être debout*" = Kusaal *zì'e*^y^a, where Nawdm *r* and Kusaal *y* both represent Proto-Oti-Volta **l*. With only one aspect, these verbs have not undergone the extensive levelling which has made dual-aspect *-d*^a into a unitary flexion. In particular, when **y* has assimilated to a preceding root-final consonant, resulting in *nn mm ll* or *r(r)*, the cluster is carried over into deverbal nominals, or introduced by analogy into cognate adjectives even when the

adjectives are primary. The cluster *nn* then behaves exactly like *nn* derived from **nd*, but // *r(r)* are subject to further assimilation just like single / *r* 5.4.

Dynamic verbs with unassimilated *y* mostly express **stances**:

<i>īgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be kneeling"	<i>dīgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"
<i>vābi</i> ^{ya/}	"be prone"	<i>làbi</i> ^{ya}	"crouch in hiding"
<i>tàbi</i> ^{ya}	"be stuck to"	<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	"be standing still"
<i>zìñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>tī'y</i> ^{a/}	"be leaning (object)"
<i>gō'e</i> ^{ya/} WK	"have neck extended"	<i>wà'e</i> ^{ya}	"travel to"

Statives include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>àeñ^a</i>	"be something/somehow"		
<i>sō'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than"
<i>tōe^{a/}</i>	"be bitter"	<i>vōe^{a/}</i>	"be alive"

Stance verbs with unassimilated *y* have derived inchoative and causative dual-aspect verbs in *n* and / 12.1.1. They make perfective gerunds, and have agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns with the formant *d* like dual-aspect verbs. Some informants inflect these verbs with the ipfv suffix *-d^a* to express *habitual* meaning; others use the ipfv of the derived assume-stance verb instead:

	<i>Ò zìñ'i nē.</i>	"She's sitting down." WK KT
	<i>Ò pō zìñ'idā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	<i>Ò pō zìñ'inìdā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	<i>Ò vābi nē.</i>	"He's lying prone."
	<i>Ò pō vābídá.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	<i>Ò pō vābìnìdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	<i>Ò dīgi nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
	<i>Ò pō dīgídá.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	<i>Lì zì'ə nē.</i>	"It's standing up."
	<i>Lì pō zì'ədā.</i>	"It (a defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	<i>Lì tì'i nē.</i>	"It's leaning against something."
	<i>Lì tì'id.</i>	"It can be leant against something." WK
	<i>Lì pō tī'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning against something."
	<i>Lì pō tī'idá.</i>	"It's not for leaning against something." WK

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* include stance verbs and others:

<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning (person)"
<i>gùl</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>gōl</i> ^{la/}	KT "have neck extended"
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"carry in one's hands"
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"guard"	<i>tēñr</i> ^a	"remember"
<i>sūr</i> ^a	"have head bowed"	<i>gōr</i> ^{a/}	DK "have neck extended"

They make imperfective gerunds; in these and in agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns, the stem is in *nn mm ll r(r)* and *d* is omitted. Similarly, they do not have distinct continuous, habitual or inchoative forms.

Stative verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* again include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>vèn</i> ^{na}	"be beautiful"
<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"	<i>kpīəm</i> ^{ma/}	"be strong"
<i>kpēñm</i> ^{ma/}	"be older than"	<i>zùlm</i> ^{ma}	"be deep"
<i>sùm</i> ^{ma}	"be good"	<i>gīm</i> ^{ma/}	"be short"
<i>yàlm</i> ^{ma}	"be wide"	<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal to"
<i>tàdm</i> ^{ma}	"be weak"	<i>wā'am</i> ^{ma/}	"be long, tall"
<i>vèñl</i> ^{la}	"be beautiful"	<i>lāl</i> ^{la/}	"be far from"
<i>tūl</i> ^{la/}	"be hot"	<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>dūr</i> ^a	"be many"
<i>kār</i> ^a	"be few"	<i>nār</i> ^{a/}	"be necessary"
<i>pòñr</i> ^a	"be near to"		

M-stems show single *m* in most sources after after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels 5.4.

A number of stative verbs end in *-s*^a:

<i>mì'is</i> ^a	"be sour"	<i>būgus</i> ^{a/}	"be soft"
<i>mā'as</i> ^{a/}	"be cool"	<i>tēbıs</i> ^{a/}	"be heavy"
<i>mālıs</i> ^{a/}	"be sweet"	<i>lābıs</i> ^{a/}	"be wide"
<i>ñyèes</i> ^a	"be self-confident"	<i>kīs</i> ^{a/}	"hate"

It is possible that *s* here represents **ss* ← **sy* historically, but toneme allocation always treats the *s* as single.

There is one intransitive stative verb in *-d*^a: *pòçd*^a "be few, small."

Some dual-aspect-verb imperfective forms have become independent stative verbs, e.g. *bòçd*^a "want, like" (*bò*⁺ "seek"), *zòt*^a "fear" (*zò*⁺ "run.")

11 Stem conversion

11.1 Nouns from verbs

11.1.1 Perfective gerunds

Almost all verbs other than intransitive statives can form a **gerund**, a derived abstract noun which expresses the process, event or state described by the verb.

Gerunds from dual-aspect and many dynamic single-aspect verbs are formed by adding noun class suffixes to the verb stem. Gerunds from other single-aspect verbs are based on derived stems 12.2.1.4.

Gerunds may be used as abstract *count* nouns describing particular instances of the activity of the verb, and may then have plurals 15.2.1.

The Tone Patterns of all regularly formed gerunds are predictable 6.5.

Dual-aspect verbs freely form gerunds by adding the following class suffixes to the stem. The choice after 3-mora stems reflects avoidance of suffixes which would give rise to opaque forms, with the usual $-g^{\text{D}}$ replaced by $-r^{\text{E}}$ after stems ending in underlying $*g$.

2-mora stems	$-b^{\text{D}}$ but $-r^{\text{E}}$ as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in $*g$	
[surface $-g^{\text{E}}$ $-k^{\text{E}}$ $-\eta^{\text{E}}$ $-ae^+$ $-ie^+$ $-ue^+$]	$-r^{\text{E}}$
all others	$-g^{\text{D}}$

$k\bar{o}^+$	"kill"	$k\bar{o}ub^{\text{D}}$
$d\bar{o}g^{\text{E}}$	"cook"	$d\bar{o}gub^{\text{D}}$
$du'\bar{a}^{\text{a}}$	"bear, beget"	$d\bar{u}'ab^{\text{D}}$
$k\bar{a}d^{\text{E}}$	"drive away"	$k\bar{a}d\text{.}b^{\text{D}}$
$p\bar{i}l^{\text{E}}$	"cover"	$p\bar{i}l\text{.}b^{\text{D}}$
$k\bar{p}\bar{a}r^{\text{E}}$	"lock"	$k\bar{p}\bar{a}r\text{.}b^{\text{D}}$
$b\bar{a}s^{\text{E}}$	"abandon, go away"	$b\bar{a}s\text{.}b^{\text{D}}$
$s\bar{5}b^{\text{E}}$	"write"	$s\bar{5}p^{\text{D}}$
$l\bar{5}b^{\text{E}}$	"throw stones at"	$l\bar{5}p^{\text{D}}$
$k\bar{i}m^{\text{m}}$	"tend a flock/herd"	$k\bar{i}m^{\text{mD}}$
$w\bar{u}m^{\text{m}}$	"hear"	$w\bar{u}m^{\text{mD}}$

2-mora n -stems do not assimilate $*nb \rightarrow mm$: $b\bar{u}n^{\text{E}}$ "reap", gerund $b\bar{u}n\text{.}b^{\text{D}}$.

<i>yùug</i> ^ε	"delay"	<i>yùugv</i> ^ε
<i>nōk</i> ^{ε/}	"take"	<i>nōkír</i> ^ε
<i>nìŋ</i> ^ε	"doing"	<i>nìŋv</i> ^ε
<i>gbāñ'e</i> ^{+/}	"grab"	<i>gbáñ'ar</i> ^ε
<i>dīe</i> ^{+/}	"get"	<i>dī'ər</i> ^ε
<i>dūe</i> ^{+/}	"rise"	<i>dúər</i> ^ε
<i>gàad</i> ^ε	"(sur)pass"	<i>gàadv</i> ^ɔ
<i>liəb</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>liəbv</i> ^ɔ
<i>dīgɪ</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	<i>dīgɪlúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>yāar</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yāarúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"	<i>sīgɪsúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>dàm</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dàmmv</i> ^ɔ (and thus with all <i>mm</i> -stems)

3-mora *n*-stems never assimilate **ng* → *ŋŋ*:

<i>dìgɪn</i> ^ε	"lie down"	<i>dìgɪnv</i> ^ɔ
<i>zìñ'in</i> ^ε	"sit down"	<i>zìñ'inv</i> ^ɔ

3-mora *m*-stems assimilate **mg* → *ŋŋ* optionally:

<i>tōw</i> ^{m/}	"depart, disappear"	<i>tōwv</i> ^ɔ	or <i>tōwúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>sàñ'am</i> ^m	"destroy"	<i>sàñ'uv</i> ^ɔ	or <i>sàñ'amv</i> ^ɔ
<i>kàrɪm</i> ^m	"read"	<i>kàrv</i> ^ɔ	or <i>kàrɪmv</i> ^ɔ

4-mora stems in *-sɪm -lɪm* follow the rule and use *-g*^ɔ (always assimilating), but stems in **-gɪm* drop the *-m-* and use *-r*^ε:

<i>sìlɪm</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>sìlúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>zàaŋsɪm</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>zàaŋsúv</i> ^ɔ
<i>wàŋɪm</i> ^m	"waste away"	<i>wàŋv</i> ^ε
<i>lāŋí</i> ^m	"wander"	<i>lāŋír</i> ^ε
<i>zàkɪm</i> ^m	"itch"	<i>zàkɪr</i> ^ε

2-mora stems regularly use *-r*^ε instead of *-b*^ɔ in compounds:

<i>pɪ'à-dīv</i> ^ε	"marriage"	<i>nīn-kôv</i> ^ε	"murder"
<i>dā-nûv</i> ^ε	"beer-drinking"	<i>mò-pīl</i> ^ε	"grass roof"
<i>fū-yéev</i> ^ε	"shirt-wearing" WK		

Irregular perfective gerunds are rare with stems of three or four morae. A few have plural-as-singular forms 15.2.1; *yīis^ε* "make go/come out" has *yīisí^ɔ*, like the alternate form *yīs^ε* with *yīsí^ɔ*. However, almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs in KED use suffixes other than *b^ɔ*. Most irregular 2-mora stem verbs have regular gerunds:

<i>tìs^ε</i>	"give"	<i>tīsí^ɔ</i>
<i>kē⁺</i>	"let"	<i>kēε^ɔ</i>
<i>gò^ε</i>	"suspend"	<i>gōlí^ɔ</i>

Few segmentally irregular gerunds are also tonally irregular. However, forms with the suffix *-g^ɔ* are Pattern L from Pattern LO verbs unless there are variants with *g^a* or *s^ε* showing that the word really belongs to *g^a|s^ε* with LF remodelling 8.3.2.

Many 2-mora stem verbs with irregular gerunds have stems ending in *m* or *b*, where the regular formation would have produced ambiguous SFs 8.1.

<i>lì⁺</i>	"fall"	<i>līig^a</i>
<i>zī⁺</i>	"carry on head"	<i>zīid^ε</i>
<i>bèñ⁺</i>	"fall ill"	<i>bèñ'εs^ε</i>
<i>kēñ⁺</i>	"come"	<i>kēñ^{nε}</i>
<i>zò⁺</i>	"run"	<i>zūa⁺</i> also <i>zōɔg^ɔ</i>
<i>vū⁺</i>	"make noise"	<i>vūug^ɔ</i>
<i>pjāñ^a</i>	"speak"	<i>pjāuñk^ɔ</i>
<i>bùd^ε</i>	"plant"	<i>būdíg^a</i> also <i>būdug^ɔ</i>
<i>yè^ε</i>	"say, tell"	<i>yèlv^ɔ</i> (cf Mooré <i>yèele</i>)
<i>kū^ε</i>	"go home"	<i>kūlíg^a</i> also <i>kūlv^ɔ</i>
<i>tàñs^ε</i>	"shout"	<i>tàñsug^ɔ</i>
<i>sōñs^ε</i>	"converse"	<i>sōñsìg^a</i>
<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	<i>gōsìg^a</i>
<i>sòs^ε</i>	"pray, beg"	<i>sōsíg^a</i>
<i>kī^ε</i>	"hurry"	<i>kìkírùg^ɔ</i> or <i>kīrb^ɔ</i>
<i>lèb^ε</i>	"return"	<i>lēbíg^a</i>
<i>tèb^ε</i>	"carry in both hands"	<i>tēbíg^a</i>
<i>kāñb^ε</i>	"scorch"	<i>kāñbír^ε</i>
<i>ǎñb^ε</i>	"chew"	<i>ǎñbír^ε</i>
<i>lūb^ε</i>	"buck"	<i>lūbír^ε</i>
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbír^ε</i>
<i>tèñb^ε</i>	"tremble"	<i>tèñbug^ɔ</i>
<i>tùm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tūuma⁺</i>
<i>tùm^m</i>	"send"	<i>tìtūmí^ε</i>
<i>wùm^m</i>	"hear"	<i>wūm^{mɔ}</i> or <i>wòm^{mug^ɔ}</i> <u>12.2.1.4</u>

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in $-y^a$ where the y is not assimilated form perfective gerunds from the root using various noun classes:

$zìñ'y^a$	"be sitting"	$zìñ'ig^a$	also "place", regular $g^a s^ε$ class
$zì'e^ya$	"be standing"	$zì'a^+$	KED $zì'æg^a$ (very irreg 5.6) DK KT
$dīg^ya/$	"be lying"	$dīk^a/$	KT $dīgur^ε/$ WK
$īg^ya/$	"be kneeling"	$īk^a/$	KT $īgur^ε/$ WK
$vābly^a/$	"be lying prone"	$vāp^ɔ/$	KT $vābur^ε/$ WK
$tī'y^a/$	"be leaning"	$tī'ib^ɔ/$	(of an object)

$Gùl^la$ "be hanging" uses $gùlib^ɔ$, from the cognate dual-aspect verb $gùl^ε$, and the stative $pòñr^a$ "be near" has $pòñrib^ɔ$, probably from an otherwise unused dual-aspect $*pòñd^ε$ with r for d by analogy. Stative $kīs^a/$ "hate" has the gerund $kísòg^ɔ$.

Other single-aspect verbs have imperfective gerunds 12.2.1.4.

11.1.2 Concrete nouns

When there is a perfective gerund with regular noun class membership, other nouns with the same stem but different class suffixes have **concrete** senses, such as the product of the action, instrument used, or place at which the action occurs.

$ēēñbír^ε$	"(physical) foundation"	$ēēñbúg^ɔ$	"laying a foundation"
$dūk^ɔ/$	"cooking pot"	$dūgub^ɔ/$	"cooking"
$dà'a^=$	"market"	$dā'ab^ɔ$	"buying"
$kūk^a$	"chair"	$kūgub^ɔ$	"resting on something"
$zūg-kōgur^ε$	"pillow"		
$sūāk^a/$	"hiding place"	$sū'ab^ɔ/$	"hiding"
$sōbur^ε/$	"piece of writing"	$sōp^ɔ/$	"writing, orthography"
$kūt^ε$	"iron, nail"	$kūdub^ɔ$	"working iron"
$kùəsim^m$	"merchandise"	$kùəsvg^ɔ$	"selling"
$pèbısim^m$	"wind"	$pèbısvg^ɔ$	"blowing of the wind; wind"

$Vābur^ε/$ $lābur^ε/$ $dīgur^ε/$ $īgur^ε/$, used by WK as gerunds, are used by KT as concrete nouns meaning "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds $vāp^ɔ/$ etc.

Three concrete deverbal nouns, from $pībıı^ε$ "cover", $zāñbıı^ε$ "tattoo", $māal^ε$ "sacrifice" show single $-n-$ in place of $-l-$:

$pībın^NE$	$pībına^+$	$pībın-$	"covering"
$zāñbın^NE$	$zāñbına^+$	$zāñbın-$	"tattoo" (NT "sign")
$māan^NE$	$māana^+$	$māan-$	"sacrifice"

My informants definitely had single *-n-* in these words, but this is probably a secondary simplification of **nn* 5.4. Toende, like Mooré, has Pattern L for these words: *zābín*, *màan*. As *nn* is the regular reflex of **ld*, these forms may be derivatives with **d* in its instrument-noun sense: cf *tūedir^ε* "mortar", from *tyà⁺* "grind in a mortar." Tone Pattern O is consistent with this.

It is exceptional for regularly formed gerunds to acquire concrete meaning, but a clearcut example is *dīb^ɔ* "food."

11.2 Nominals from nominals

The partial association of noun class and meaning 8.1 can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem. Examples include the names of ethnic groups, which belong to the ^a*|b^a* or *g^a|s^ε* classes, their languages, which belong to the *-l^ε* subclass of *r^ε|a⁺* 8.3.4 and the associated place, which has the suffix *-g^ɔ* 29.4. Another case of sg *-g^ɔ* deriving an associated place name is

wèéd^a "hunter" *wèog^ɔ* "deep bush"

Some names of liquids take *-d^ε* rather than *-m^m* 15.2.1; hence also

sīĩñ^{ɸ/} "bee" *sīĩñd^{ε/}* "honey"

Names of trees are almost all *g^a|s^ε* class, and their fruits *r^ε|a⁺* or *g^ɔ|d^ε* 29.5.

The strong association of the *m^m* class with abstracts can be used to convert adjective stems to abstract nouns; less commonly, the sg suffix *-g^ɔ* serves in the same way. When there are derived stative verbs, these nouns somewhat resemble gerunds, and can, for example, be preceded by combining forms as generic arguments 15.6.1. However, they cannot be used in the immediate-future construction with *bòòd^a* "want" 19.3.4, and unlike imperfective gerunds, which show the expected Tone Patterns for gerunds 6.5, they show the same tone pattern as the adjective.

Examples of abstract nouns formed from adjective stems with *m^m*:

<i>vōm^{m/}</i>	"life"	<i>sùm^m</i>	"goodness"
<i>pòòdım^m</i>	"scarcity"	<i>vènnım^m</i>	"beauty"
<i>vèñllım^m</i>	"beauty"	<i>bōgvsım^m</i>	"softness"
<i>tēbısım^m</i>	"weight"	<i>mā'asım^m</i>	"coolness, damp"
<i>mālsım^m</i>	"sweetness"	<i>lābısım^m</i>	"width"
<i>pìəlım^m</i>	"brightness"	<i>tītā'am^m</i>	"multitude"
<i>kōdım^m</i>	"old times"		

From *ñyèesíj^a* "self-confident" is derived *ñyèesım^m* "self-confidence."

The suffix *-g^ɔ* is used to make abstract nouns when the sg adjective form also has *-g^ɔ*; the abstract noun form is identical:

<i>lāllúg^ɔ</i>	"distance"	<i>zēmmúg^ɔ</i>	"equality"
<i>kpī'orŋ^ɔ</i>	"hardness, strength"	<i>yàlvŋ^ɔ</i>	"width"
<i>mì'isv^ɔ</i>	"sourness"	<i>tōv^ɔ</i>	"bitterness"
<i>zùlvŋ^ɔ</i>	"depth"	<i>tūvlúg^ɔ</i> or <i>tōllím^m</i>	"heat"

Some stems referring to people form abstract nouns with *-m^m* or *-g^ɔ*:

<i>gbáñyà'a⁼</i>	"lazy person"	→	<i>gbáñyà'am^m</i>	"laziness"
<i>dàmà'a⁼</i>	"liar"	→	<i>dàmà'am^m</i>	"lying"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	"guest"	→	<i>sáuv^ɔ</i>	"hospitality"
<i>kpēñm^m</i>	"elder"	→	<i>kpēoñ^ɔ</i>	"eldership"
<i>sōḡñ^a</i>	"witch"	→	<i>sōvḡñ^ɔ</i>	"witchcraft"

Cf also *zùød^ε* "friendship" from *zuv^{a+}* "friend."

The *m^m* class suffix with adjective stems often creates manner adverbs:

<i>pāalím^m</i>	"recently"	<i>bāañlím^m</i>	"quietly"
<i>zāalím^m</i>	"emptily"		

So too *nèem^m* "for free", from *nèer^ε* "empty."

Several adjective stems form manner-adverbs with an ending *-ga⁺*, i.e. *g^a|s^ε* class sg with apocope-blocking [5.1.3](#):

<i>sùḡā^{+/}</i>	"well; very much"	<i>mā'asígā^{+/}</i>	"coolly"
<i>tūvlígā^{+/}</i>	"hotly"	<i>gīḡa⁺</i>	"shortly"
<i>būgvśígā^{+/}</i>	"softly"	<i>sàalígā^{+/}</i>	"smoothly"
<i>ñyèesígā^{+/}</i>	"self-confidently"		

Cf also *yīgá⁺* "firstly" [15.4.2.3](#).

12 Derivational suffixes

The statement of underlying open-class word structure made in [5.2](#) implies that roots are only of the shapes $CV(V)(C)$, so that any stem consonant which does not immediately follow the root vowel is not part of the root; neither is any consonant following a *long* root vowel unless the root shows $CVC \sim CVVC$ allomorphy.

For simplicity, all such consonants will be called "derivational suffixes", though there may not always be parallel stems lacking the suffix or with different suffixes. Nevertheless, many such consonants are clearly identifiable as derivational. Regular highly productive suffixing processes derive agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns from verbs, and there are several less systematic processes deriving nominals from other nominals. Cognate stems make it possible to recognise many suffixes involved in verb derivation from roots; there are clear patterns, but no completely consistent correlations of suffix and meaning.

The derivational suffixes are *g s n l d m*, along with *b* and *r* in just a handful of words. The suffix *n* may represent historical **ld* [5.4](#).

g s n b r never follow another derivational suffix. *g* and *s* cause a preceding $CVVC$ to become CVC , and a preceding oral ɔɔ to become glottalised.

l follows another suffix only as part of the combination *lm*.

d is very productive in the formation of deverbal nouns and adjectives; it often deletes a preceding suffix or is itself deleted.

No stem has more than three derivational suffixes, or more than five morae apart from prefixes. All four-mora verb stems have *m* as the second suffix, and all five-mora stems are formed with *lm*.

The rules for consonant assimilation differ slightly from the rules operative in flexion, probably because they are less subject to analogical remodelling.

For Tone Patterns in derivation see [6.5](#).

12.1 Verbs

All verb derivation is by suffixes, probably always added to roots rather than word stems. Clear meanings can often be recognised in suffixes, but there is no straightforward match of form and meaning.

Possible verb shapes are very constrained. Only two, three and four-mora stems occur. All four-mora stems end in *m*, and in dual-aspect verbs $CVVCm$ only occurs as CVV root + *sum* or *lm*, never $CVVC$ root + *m*; some stative verbs have stems in $CVVmm$.

12.1.1 Assume-stance verbs

Stance verbs have derived dual-aspect verbs in $-n^{\epsilon}$ signifying "assume the stance" and in $-l^{\epsilon}$ "make assume the stance"; all the $-n^{\epsilon}$ verbs are Pattern LO regardless, but the $-l^{\epsilon}$ verbs have the same Pattern as the base stance verb.

Stance verb		Assume-stance	Make-assume-stance
<i>dīg^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dīg^{nε}</i>	<i>dīg^{lε/}</i>
<i>vāb^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vāb^{nε}</i>	<i>vāb^{lε/}</i>
<i>īg^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īg^{nε}</i>	<i>īg^{lε/}</i>
<i>làb^{ya}</i>	"be crouching hidden"	<i>làb^{nε}</i>	<i>làb^{lε}</i>
<i>zìñ'^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'^{nε}</i>	<i>zìñ'^{lε}</i>
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zì'ə^{nε}</i>	<i>zì'ə^{lε}</i>
<i>tī'j^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning" (of thing)	<i>tì'in^{nε}</i>	<i>tī'il^{lε/}</i>
<i>gō'e^{ya/}</i>	"be looking up" WK	<i>gò'ɔ^{nε}</i>	
<i>sù^a</i>	"have bowed head"	<i>sùn^{nε}</i>	<i>sùn^{nε} sic</i>
-	"cover oneself"	<i>lìg^{nε}</i>	<i>lìg^{lε}</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>zùə^{nε}</i>	<i>zùə^{lε}</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>yà'an^{nε}</i>	<i>yà'al^{lε}</i>

The resultative perfective of *zùe*⁺ is used for "be perching":

Níj lā zúə nē.

"The bird is perching." KT

Bird:SG ART perch FOC.

Nawdm has exactly parallel formations, e.g. *jēhra* ipfv "être debout", *jēhnt* pfv "se mettre debout", *jēhlg* pfv, *jēhla* ipfv "poser verticalement".

Other derivational relationships involving stance verbs are seen in

<i>gù^{la}</i>	"be suspended"	<i>gù^ε</i>	<i>gù^ε</i>
<i>tàb^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàb^ε</i>	<i>tàb^{lε}</i>
<i>dē^{la/}</i>	"be leaning" (person)	<i>dèl^m</i>	

12.1.2 Causatives

-s- is a common causative suffix:

<i>kpèñ'⁺</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'^{εs}</i>	"make enter"
<i>nìe⁺</i>	"appear"	<i>nèεs^ε</i>	"reveal"
<i>yī⁺</i>	"go/come out"	<i>yīs^{ε/}</i> or <i>yīs^ε</i>	"make go/come out"
<i>dì⁺</i>	"eat"	<i>dìs^ε</i>	"feed"
<i>nū⁺</i>	"drink"	<i>nūls^{ε/}</i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlg^{ε/}</i>

<i>sīg</i> ^ε	"go down"	<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"
<i>lèb</i> ^ε	"return"	<i>lèbɪs</i> ^ε	"make return; answer"
<i>mɥ'à</i> ^a	"suck" (of a baby)	<i>mù'as</i> ^ε	"give to suck"
[Mooré <i>tá</i>	"arrive"]	<i>tā'as</i> ^{ε/}	"help to travel, walk"
<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal"	<i>zēmɪs</i> ^{ε/}	"make equal"
<i>kpiig</i> ^ε	"go out (fire)"	<i>kpiis</i> ^ε	"quench"

-l- has been seen above as the causative suffix for stance verb roots. It is also found with other roots with location-related meanings:

<i>ňyá'anj</i> ^a	"behind"	<i>ňyā'al</i> ^{ε/}	"leave behind"
<i>gēog</i> ^ɔ	"space between legs"	<i>gēɛl</i> ^{ε/}	"put between legs" Tones <i>sic</i>
<i>līk</i> ^a	"darkness"	<i>līgɪl</i> ^ε	"cover up"
<i>bāñ'</i> ⁺	"ride"	<i>bāñ'al</i> ^{ε/}	"put on a horse/bicycle etc"
<i>gū'</i> ⁺	"guard"	<i>gū'ul</i> ^{ε/}	"set someone on guard"
<i>yè</i> ⁺	"dress oneself"	<i>yèl</i> ^ε	"dress another person"

Verbs derived with **-g-** from nominal roots are usually patientive ambitransitives but may have separate causatives in **-l-** :

<i>mā'e</i> ^{+/}	"get cool"	<i>mā'al</i> ^{ε/}	"make cool"
<i>pūñ'e</i> ^{+/}	"rot"	<i>pōñ'ɔl</i> ^{ε/}	"cause to rot"
<i>nìe</i> ⁺	"appear"	<i>nèl</i> ^ε	"reveal"
<i>mā'e</i> ^{+/}	"get cool, wet"	<i>mā'al</i> ^{ε/}	"make cool, wet"
<i>wū'ug</i> ^{ε/}	"get wet"	<i>wū'ul</i> ^{ε/}	"make wet"

There is no obvious reason for the choice of suffix in

<i>zàb</i> ^ε	"fight"	<i>zàbl</i> ^ε	"cause to fight"
<i>du'à</i> ^a	"bear, beget"	<i>dù'al</i> ^ε	"make interest (of a loan)"

-g- forms causatives in a few verbs:

<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>dōlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"make accompany"
<i>gōr</i> ^{a/}	"look up" DK	<i>gōdɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"make look up" DK
<i>tèñr</i> ^a	"remember"	<i>tèñ'</i> ⁺	"bring to mind, remind"
<i>yùul</i> ^ε	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlɪg</i> ^ε	"swing" transitive
<i>kò</i> ⁺	"break" intransitive	<i>kò'ɔg</i> ^ε	"break" ambitransitive
<i>nū</i> ⁺	"drink"	<i>nūlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"make drink"; also <i>nūlɪs</i> ^{ε/}

12.1.3 Reverse action

-g- attached to dynamic-verb roots implies reversal:

<i>yè⁺</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèεg^ε</i>	"undress oneself"
<i>pìd^ε</i>	"put (hat etc) on"	<i>pìdɪg^ε</i>	"take (hat etc) off"
<i>pìl^ε</i>	"cover"	<i>pìlɪg^ε</i>	"uncover"
<i>l̥⁺</i>	"tie up"	<i>l̥dɪg^{ε/}</i>	"untie"
<i>yò⁺</i>	"close"	<i>yò'ɔg^ε</i>	"open"
<i>èñd^ε</i>	"block up"	<i>èñdɪg^ε</i>	"unblock"
<i>yà'al^ε</i>	"hang up"	<i>yàk^ε</i>	"unhang"
<i>pà'al^ε</i>	"put on top"	<i>pàk^ε</i>	"take off top"
<i>pìbɪl^ε</i>	"cover up"	<i>pìbɪg^ε</i>	"uncover"
<i>tàbɪ^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàbɪg^ε</i>	"unstuck, get unstuck"
<i>là'as^ε</i>	"gather together"	<i>lāk^{ε/}</i>	"open" (eye, book); tone <i>sic</i>
		cf <i>lákè</i>	(Mooré) "un-stick together"

Possibly a reversal sense also underlies

<i>l̥iəb^ε</i>	"become"	<i>l̥èbɪg^ε</i>	"turn over"
<i>fāñ⁺</i>	"rob, snatch"	<i>fāñ^{+/}</i>	"save" ?? for "snatch back"

Reversive **-g-** is a peculiarity of the Western group within Oti-Volta; the other groups show alveolar suffixes: Moba *l̥ōōñ* "close" *l̥ōōd* "open", Byali *byá* "close" *byēró* "open", Nawdm *riw* pfv "close" *rawdɪg* pfv *rawdá* ipfv "open." Proto-Bantu had **-ʊl-** and **-ʊk-**, perhaps respectively transitive and intransitive; an alveolar variant may have been disfavoured in Western Oti-Volta because of the adoption of **-da** as the regular imperfective flexion for dynamic verbs.

12.1.4 Plural action

-s- may have a pluractional sense:

<i>kò⁺</i>	"break"	<i>kò'ɔs^ε</i>	"break several times"
<i>tòñ⁺</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'ɔs^ε</i>	"hunt"
<i>p̥iəb^ε</i>	"blow (flute etc)"	<i>p̥èbɪs^ε</i>	"blow (wind)"
<i>làbɪ^{ya}</i>	"crouch in hiding"	<i>làbɪs^ε</i>	"walk stealthily"
<i>v̥ūɛ^{a/}</i>	"be alive"	<i>v̥ū'ʊs^{ε/}</i>	"breathe, rest"
<i>ǰāñk^{ε/}</i>	"fly, jump"	<i>ǰāñ'as^{ε/}</i>	"leap, jump repeatedly"
<i>yā'e^{+/}</i>	"open mouth"	<i>yā'as^{ε/}</i>	"open repeatedly" WK
<i>d̥ī'e^{+/}</i>	"receive"	<i>d̥ī'əs^{ε/}</i>	"receive (many things)"
<i>gū⁺</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'ʊs^{ε/}</i>	"watch out; guard (many)"

-d- appears with a pluractional sense in

k̄ɔdɪg^{ɛ/} "slaughter one animal" *k̄ɔt^{ɛ/}* "slaughter several animals"

This suffix is perhaps historically connected with the **d* of the ipfv suffix **-da*, by way of the distinctively habitual sense seen in stance verbs [10.2](#).

12.1.5 Denominal verbs

12.1.5.1 Single aspect

Intransitive stative verbs are mostly derived from adjectives or human-reference nouns. Some transitive stative verbs are also denominal.

Many stative verbs are formed with *-y^a*, like dynamic single-aspect verbs. Even when the adjective is primary, it may show segmental remodelling on the verbal forms with **y*. *S*-stems show no sign of **y* synchronically, and *m*-stems have lost gemination except after short root vowels for many speakers.

This **y* formant differs in tonal behaviour from **y* and **d* in dynamic verbs [6.5](#). Primary nominals thus show a characteristic Tone Pattern correspondence with the verbs: Pattern L nominals correspond to Pattern LO verbs but Pattern H and Pattern O both correspond to Pattern H verbs. Historically, the all-M pattern of verbs corresponding to Pattern O nominals was also Pattern O, and this is still reflected in the tonemes of e.g. *kp̄ɪəm^{ma/}* "be strong" *kp̄ɛɛŋm^{ma/}* "be older than", but the LF-final toneme is now always H; similarly, the original Pattern L type now changes to all-M in the irrealis mood just like dynamic Pattern LO verbs.

L	<i>v̄ɛnnɪg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>v̄ɛn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>v̄ɛñllɪg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>v̄ɛñl^{la}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>z̄ùlɔŋ^ɔ</i>	"deep"	<i>z̄ùlɪm^{ma}</i>	"be deep"
	<i>p̄ɔ̀ɔ̀dɪg^a</i>	"small"	<i>p̄ɔ̀ɔ̀d^a</i>	"be few, small"
	<i>m̄ì'isɔg^ɔ</i>	"sour"	<i>m̄ì'is^a</i>	"be sour"
	<i>s̄ùŋ^ɔ</i>	"good"	<i>s̄ùm^{ma}</i>	"be good"
	<i>ȳàlɔŋ^ɔ</i>	"wide"	<i>ȳàlɪm^{ma}</i>	"be wide"
H	<i>b̄ōgvsír^ɛ</i>	"soft"	<i>b̄ōgvs^{a/}</i>	"be soft"
	<i>v̄ōr^{ɛ/}</i>	"alive"	<i>v̄ōɛ^{a/}</i>	"be alive"
	<i>m̄ā'asír^ɛ</i>	"cool"	<i>m̄ā'as^{a/}</i>	"be cool"
	<i>t̄ēbɪsír^ɛ</i>	"heavy"	<i>t̄ēbɪs^{a/}</i>	"be heavy"
	<i>m̄āɪsír^ɛ</i>	"sweet"	<i>m̄āɪs^{a/}</i>	"be sweet"
	<i>l̄ābɪsír^ɛ</i>	"wide"	<i>l̄ābɪs^{a/}</i>	"be wide"
	<i>z̄ēmmúg^ɔ</i>	"equal"	<i>z̄ēm^{ma/}</i>	"be equal to"
	<i>l̄āllúg^ɔ</i>	"far"	<i>l̄āl^{la/}</i>	"be far from"

O	<i>tōɔŋ</i> ^ɔ	"bitter"	<i>tōɛ</i> ^{a/}	"be bitter"
	<i>gīŋ</i> ^a	"short"	<i>gīm</i> ^{ma/}	"be short"
	<i>kpī'ŋ</i> ^ɔ	"strong"	<i>kpī'əm</i> ^{ma/}	"be strong"
	<i>kpēɛŋm</i> ^m	"elder"	<i>kpēɛŋm</i> ^{ma/}	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnɪr</i> ^ɛ	"resembling"	<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"

More complex stem changes occur in

<i>tūvúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>tū</i> ^{la/}	"be hot"
<i>ñyèɛsɪŋ</i> ^a	"self-confident"	<i>ñyèɛs</i> ^a	"be self-confident"
<i>wōk</i> ^ɔ	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am</i> ^{a/}	"be long, tall"

12.1.5.2 Dual aspect

-g- attached to nominal/adjectival roots has the meaning "make/become ...":

<i>ñyō'ɔs</i> ^{ɛ/}	"smoke"	<i>ñyū'e</i> ^{+/}	"set alight"
<i>ñwīig</i> ^{a/}	"rope"	<i>ñwīig</i> ^{ɛ/}	"make a rope"
<i>tādum</i> ^{m/}	"weak person"	<i>tàdɪg</i> ^ɛ	"become weak"
<i>kpì'a</i> ⁺	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i> ⁺	"approach"
<i>zūər</i> ^ɛ	"hill"	<i>zùe</i> ⁺	"get higher, more"
<i>À-Tūl</i> ^ɛ	"Breech-Delivered" 29.2	<i>tùlɪg</i> ^ɛ	"invert"
<i>mā'asír</i> ^ɛ	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e</i> ^{+/}	"get cool, wet"
<i>būgvsír</i> ^ɛ	"soft"	<i>būk</i> ^{ɛ/}	"soften"
<i>tēbɪsír</i> ^ɛ	"heavy"	<i>tēbɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"get/make heavy"
<i>gīŋ</i> ^a	"short"	<i>gìŋ</i> ^ɛ	"scrimp"
<i>kpī'ŋ</i> ^ɔ	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i> ^ɛ	"strengthen"
<i>vūr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"alive"	<i>vū'vɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"make/come alive"
<i>pò'ɔdɪg</i> ^a	"few"	<i>pò'ɔg</i> ^ɛ	"diminish, belittle"
<i>pì'əlɪg</i> ^a	"white"	<i>pè'ɪg</i> ^ɛ	"whiten"
<i>sābɪlɪg</i> ^a	"black"	<i>sōbɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"blacken"
<i>nīn-múa</i> ⁺	"concentration"	<i>mù'e</i> ⁺	"redden, become intense"
<i>kūdɪvɪg</i> ^ɔ	"old"	<i>kùdɪg</i> ^ɛ	"shrink up, dry out, age"
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"good"	<i>sùŋ</i> ^ɛ	"help"
<i>tūvúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>tūlɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"heat up"
<i>mì'isvɪg</i> ^ɔ	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i> ^ɛ	"turn sour"
<i>zùlɪvɪg</i> ^ɔ	"deep"	<i>zùlɪg</i> ^ɛ	"deepen"
<i>lālɪlɪg</i> ^ɔ	"far"	<i>lālɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"get to be far, make far"
<i>mà'ɪk</i> ^ɔ	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i> ^ɛ	"crumple up"
<i>dēɛŋ</i> ^a	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i> ^ɛ	"precede"

<i>nèèr</i> ^ε	"clear, empty"	<i>nìe</i> ⁺	"appear"
<i>sṵñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than"	<i>sūñ'e</i> ^{+/}	"become better than" WK

With the addition of *-m* as a second derivational suffix:

<i>wàṽṽ</i> ^ᵛ	"wasted"	<i>wàṽṽm</i> ^m	"waste away"
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-lum- derives verbs from noun roots, meaning "act as ..." or "make/become ...":

<i>pṽ'ā</i> ^a	"woman"	<i>pṽ'alim</i> ^m	"cook"
<i>pṽñ'ɔr</i> ^ε	"cripple"	<i>pṽñ'ɔlim</i> ^m	"cripple, get crippled"
<i>gìk</i> ^a	"dumb"	<i>gìgulum</i> ^m	"become dumb"
<i>wàbɪr</i> ^ε	"lame"	<i>wàbɪlim</i> ^m	"make, go lame"
<i>gṽ'us</i> ^ε	"semi-ripe things"	<i>gṽ'ulim</i> ^m	"become semi-ripe"
<i>bṽgud</i> ^a	"client of diviner"	<i>bṽgulum</i> ^m	"cast lots"
		cf <i>bṽk</i> ^ε	"cast lots"

Miscellaneous denominal dual-aspect verbs formed with *s m b* are seen in

<i>zṽà</i> ⁺	"friend"	<i>zṽəs</i> ^ε	"befriend"
<i>nṽēr</i> ^{ε/}	"millstone"	<i>nṽēm</i> ^{m/}	"grind with a millstone"
<i>yā'ad</i> ^ε	"clay"	<i>yā'ab</i> ^ε	"mould clay"
cf <i>yàge</i>	(Mooré) "make pottery"		

12.1.6 Miscellaneous cases

-m- derives some preverbs [19.7.2](#):

<i>lèb</i> ^ε	"return"	<i>lèm</i>	"again"
cf <i>là'as</i> ^ε	"gather together"	<i>là'am</i>	"together"
<i>dèṽ</i> ^ε	"go first"	<i>dèṽṽm</i>	"first"
cf <i>malig</i>	(Toende) "do again"	<i>màlṽṽm</i>	"again"

It has no obvious meaning in *kṽñsṽm*^m "cough" = *kṽñs*^ε *id.*

-g- occurs with no clear meaning in

<i>sṽñ</i> ⁺	"rub"	<i>sṽēñ</i> ^{+/}	"anoint"
<i>nṽb</i> ^ε	"get fat"	<i>nṽbig</i> ^{ε/}	"grow" (child, plant)
<i>nā</i> ⁺	"join"	<i>nāē</i> ^{+/}	"finish"; compare Hausa <i>gamàa</i> "join, finish"

-r- appears in

kāab^{ε/} "offer, invite"

[no simplex]

kābir^{ε/}

cf *kábɪs*

sūgur^{ε/}

"ask for admission"

Toende *id*

"forbear, be patient with"

Both words appear frequently in pan-regional set formulae [28](#) and may well be loanwords. They may be back-formations from the nouns *kābirí*⁺ and *sūguró*⁺, where *ri/ru* possibly originated in the equivalent of *r^ε|a⁺* class singular flexions [8.5](#).

12.2 Nominals

12.2.1 From verbs

The derivational processes described below are very productive; agent noun formation in particular is almost flexional in its regularity and generality, though this is less true of deverbal adjective formation. Deverbal noun and adjective formation generally shows more analogical levelling than derivational processes elsewhere, in keeping with the strong Kusaal tendency to regularity and transparency in verb morphology.

The Tone Patterns of deverbal nouns and adjectives are predictable [6.5](#).

12.2.1.1 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be freely made from almost all verbs which can be used in direct commands. Informants readily supply isolated forms on demand, but in conversation and texts they usually occur as second elements of compounds. All belong to the ^a*|b^a* class, although those derived from *ll-* or *r(r)-*stem single-aspect verbs may also show *r^ε|a⁺* class forms [8.3.1](#). Despite their regularity of formation, agent nouns often develop specialised meanings, as will be seen in the examples. The name "agent noun" is not altogether felicitous; as with English derivatives in "-er", the formation may be found with verbs whose subject is not an agent: agent nouns can even be created from stative verbs if they are usable in direct commands.

The formant of agent nouns and habitual adjectives is the derivational suffix *-d*. It is probably historically related to the *-d-* of the imperfective flexion *-d^a*, but the tonal effects differ, and derivational *-d* shows much less regularity in its mode of attachment; agent nouns show more levelling and regularisation than habitual adjectives. These variations arise from a tendency to limit stem length, resulting in deletion of either *-d* itself or the suffix preceding it. The absence or presence of the suffix affects the Tone Pattern in forms derived from Pattern LO verbs [6.5](#).

Most dual-aspect verbs have an agent noun with a singular form segmentally identical with the imperfective. For tones see [6.5](#). If there are alternate forms, the less "regular" form appears as the agent noun.

<i>kō</i> ⁺	"kill"	<i>kōud</i> ^{a/}	"killer"
<i>mè</i> ⁺	"build"	<i>mēɛd</i> ^a	"builder"
<i>dì</i> ⁺	"eat"	<i>dīt</i> ^a	"eater"
<i>gōs</i> ^ɛ	"look"	<i>gōt</i> ^{a/}	"seer, prophet"
<i>dūg</i> ^ɛ	"cook"	<i>dūgud</i> ^{a/}	"cook"
<i>dɥ'à</i> ^a	"bear, beget"	<i>dū'ad</i> ^a	"elder relation"
<i>kàd</i> ^ɛ	"drive away"	<i>saríyà-kāt</i> ^a	"judge"
<i>sōb</i> ^ɛ	"write"	<i>sōbɪd</i> ^{a/}	"writer"
<i>bùn</i> ^ɛ	"reap"	<i>būn</i> ^{na}	"reaper"
<i>tùm</i> ^m	"work"	<i>tùm-tūm</i> ^{na}	"worker"
<i>kì</i> ^m	"tend flock"	<i>kòñb-kīm</i> ^{na}	"herdsman, shepherd"
<i>kpàr</i> ^ɛ	"lock"	<i>kpārɪd</i> ^a	"lock-er"
<i>gbīs</i> ^ɛ	"sleep"	<i>gbīsɪd</i> ^{a/}	"sleeper"
<i>sjàk</i> ^ɛ	"believe"	<i>sjàkɪd</i> ^a	"believer"
<i>jāñk</i> ^{ɛ/}	"jump, fly"	<i>jāñ'ad</i> ^{a/}	"flier"
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ɛ	"help"	<i>sūŋɪd</i> ^a	"helper"
<i>bàŋ</i> ^ɛ	"understand"	<i>bāŋɪd</i> ^a	"wise man"
<i>kēŋ</i> ^{ɛ/}	"go"	<i>kēŋ</i> ^{na/}	"traveller"
<i>gàad</i> ^ɛ	"pass"	<i>tùəŋ-gāt</i> ^a	"leader"
<i>mōɔl</i> ^{ɛ/}	"proclaim"	<i>mōɔl-mōɔn</i> ^{na}	"proclaimer"
<i>màal</i> ^ɛ	"sacrifice"	<i>màal-māan</i> ^{na}	"sacrificer"
<i>pà'al</i> ^ɛ	"teach"	<i>pā'an</i> ^{na}	"teacher"
<i>sūgvr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"forbear"	<i>sūgvrɪd</i> ^a	"forgiver"
<i>yū'um</i> ^{m/}	"sing"	<i>yūum-yū'um</i> ^{na}	"singer"
		pl <i>yūum-yū'umnìb</i> ^a	
<i>sàñ'am</i> ^m	"spoil"	<i>ɥ'à-sāñ'am</i> ^{na}	"adulterer"
		pl <i>ɥ'à-sāñ'amɪdɪb</i> ^a	

Pattern H fusion verbs, which delete the H toneme of the stem in the imperfective [6.3.1](#), show the same form for the agent noun:

<i>nāe</i> ^{+/}	"finish"	<i>nāad</i> ^{a/}	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
<i>dīe</i> ^{+/}	"receive"	<i>dīəd</i> ^{a/}	"receiver"
<i>ñwà'e</i> ⁺	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'ad</i> ^a	"woodcutter"
<i>gbāñ'e</i> ^{+/}	"catch"	<i>zīm-gbāñ'ad</i> ^a	"fisherman"
<i>pīe</i> ^{+/}	"wash"	<i>pīəd</i> ^{a/}	"washer"
<i>fāeñ</i> ^{+/}	"save"	<i>fāañd</i> ^{a/}	"saviour" WK
		<i>faangid</i>	NT/KB 14

3-mora stems in *-s* consistently drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{ɛ/}	"lower"	<i>sīgɪs</i> ^{a/}	"lowerer"
		pl <i>sīgɪsídɪb</i> ^a	
<i>kùəʃ</i> ^ɛ	"sell"	<i>kùəʃ</i> ^a	"seller"
		pl <i>kùəʃídɪb</i> ^a	
<i>pùʊʃ</i> ^ɛ	"worship"	<i>pùʊʃ</i> ^a	"worshipper"
		pl <i>pùʊʃídɪb</i> ^a	
<i>tùʔas</i> ^ɛ	"talk"	<i>tùʔas-tùʔas</i> ^a	"talker"
		pl <i>tùʔas-tùʔasídɪb</i> ^a	
<i>dīʔəs</i> ^{ɛ/}	"receive"	<i>n̄-dīʔəs</i> ^a	"chief's spokesman"
		pl <i>n̄-dīʔəsídɪb</i> ^a	("linguist")

Some 2-mora stems also irregularly drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>zàb</i> ^ɛ	"fight"	<i>zàb-zàb</i> ^a	"warrior"
		<i>gbān-záb</i> ^a	"leather-worker"
<i>tìs</i> ^ɛ	"give"	<i>tìs</i> ^a	"giver"
<i>sòs</i> ^ɛ	"beg"	<i>sòs</i> ^a	"beggar"

Stems in *-mm-* form reduplicated agent nouns with *nàm*^a plurals:

<i>dàm</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dàm-dàm</i> ^{ma}	"shaker"
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The *nn*-stem *sùn*^{nɛ} "bow the head" has an agent noun stem in *-nn-*, but the tonemes show retention of the *-d-* formant:

<i>sùn</i> ^{nɛ}	"bow head"	<i>sūn</i> ^{na}	"deep thinker, close
		pl <i>sūnnɪb</i> ^a	observer" WK
		cb <i>sùn-</i>	(cf ipfv <i>sūnnɪd</i> ^a)

Agent nouns can only be formed from 3-mora verb stems in *-*g-* if the **g* is either deleted or assimilated with the root final consonant as *-k-* or *-ŋ-*:

<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"scatter"	<i>yāt</i> ^{a/}	technical term for one
			participant in a
			housebuilding ritual

Various irregular formations in my materials include:

<i>tēk</i> ^{ε/}	"pull"	<i>ñwī-ték</i> ^a	"rope-puller"
		pl <i>ñwī-tékìdɪb</i> ^a	
<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"	<i>nòŋɪd</i> ^a	"lover"; tones irreg
<i>tì'əb</i> ^ε	"heal"	<i>tì'əb</i> ^a	"healer"; tones irreg

For 4-mora stems: KT has no agent nouns; WK drops the final *-m-* and proceeds as for 3-mora stems:

<i>siilum</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>sīin</i> ^{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
		pl <i>sīinnɪb</i> ^a	
<i>pù'alum</i> ^m	"harm"	<i>pū'an</i> ^{na}	"harmer"
<i>zàańsım</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>zàańs</i> ^a	"dreamer"
		pl <i>zāańsɪdɪb</i> ^a	

Single-aspect verbs with unassimilated *y*, and the bare-stem type, add *-d-*:

<i>zìñ'y</i> ^a	"be sitting down"	<i>zīñ'id</i> ^a	"sitter"
<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	"be standing still"	<i>zī'əd</i> ^a	"stander"
<i>mī</i> ⁺	"know"	<i>mī'id</i> ^{a/}	"knower"
		<i>gbàn-mī'id</i> ^{a/}	"scribe" NT
<i>zī</i> ⁺	"not know"	<i>zī'id</i> ^{a/}	"ignorant person"
<i>sū'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	<i>sū'ud</i> ^{a/}	"owner"
<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than"	<i>sōñ'ɔd</i> ^{a/} pl <i>sōñ'ɔb</i> ^{a/}	8.3.1
<i>dīg</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"	<i>dīgɪd</i> ^{a/}	"lier-down"
<i>īg</i> ^{ya/}	"be kneeling"	<i>īgɪd</i> ^{a/}	"kneeler"
<i>vābɪ</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying prone"	<i>vābɪd</i> ^{a/}	"lier prone"
<i>làbɪ</i> ^{ya}	"be crouching"	<i>lābɪd</i> ^a	"croucher in hiding"
<i>àęñ</i> ^a	"be something"	<i>āańd</i> ^a	"someone who continually is something" <i>sic</i> WK

Stems in *nn ll r(r)* drop *-d* throughout. Those in *ll r(r)* may use *r^ε|a⁺* class suffixes, coinciding in form with habitual adjectives 8.3.1.

<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>nīn-sín</i> ^{na}	"silent person"
<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>nīn-nén</i> ^{na}	"envious person"
<i>dō</i> ^{la/}	"be with"	<i>ńyà'an-dò</i> ^{la}	"disciple" (irreg. tone)
		or <i>ńyà'an-dò</i> ^{lε}	
<i>zāñ</i> ^{la/}	"be holding"	<i>nō-záñ</i> ^{la}	"holder of hens"
		or <i>nō-záñ</i> ^{lε}	
<i>dē</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dé</i> ^{la}	"person prone to lean"

<i>m̄r^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>bù-m̄r^{a/}</i> or <i>bù-m̄r^{ε/}</i>	"owner of goats"
<i>tār^{a/}</i>	"have"	<i>bù-tār^{a/}</i> or <i>bù-tār^{ε/}</i>	"owner of goats"

The simplification to single *s r* leads to analogical formations with *-d-* in

<i>kīs^{a/}</i>	"hate"	<i>kīs^{a/}</i> or <i>kīsɪd^{a/}</i>	"hater"
<i>tèñ^a</i>	"remember"	<i>tèñrɪd^a</i>	"rememberer"
<i>gūr^{a/}</i>	"be on guard"	<i>gūrɪd^{a/}</i> <i>zà'-nō-gúr^a</i>	"guard" "gatekeeper"

12.2.1.2 Deverbal adjectives

12.2.1.2.1 Habitual

In principle these adjectives have the same stem as the agent noun, but they drop the *-d* formant more readily, probably because they are not made as freely and are correspondingly not as far along the axis from derivational to flexional.

The sense may be active or passive, essentially "habitually connected with the verbal action", like the range of meaning of an English gerund as a noun premodifier. It is not usual for a habitual adjective to have a past passive sense like an English past participle, though examples occur, e.g. *sūm-dúgvdà⁺* "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziīṅdvḡida = zīīṅ-dúgvdà⁺* "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *nī'im dvḡida = nīm-dúgvdà⁺* "meat for cooking" (1 Samuel 2:15.)

When used without a preceding noun cb, habitual adjective forms have the meaning of agent nouns: *kōvdír^ε* pl *kōvdá⁺* "killer" = *kōvd^{a/}* pl *kōvdíb^a*. However, with a preceding cb the meanings differ: *py'à-kōvd^{a/}* "woman-killer, killer of women" vs *py'à-kōvdír^ε* "woman killer, murderous woman." Accordingly, deverbal adjectives will be cited with a preceding cb.

With dual-aspect verbs, 2-mora stems all retain the **d*:

<i>gòñ⁺</i>	"hunt"	<i>py'à-gōṅñdir^ε</i>	"prostitute"
<i>là⁺</i>	"laugh"	<i>py'à-lā'adir^ε</i>	"woman prone to laughter/ woman to be laughed at"
<i>ñyē⁺</i>	"see"	<i>bōn-ñyétir^ε</i>	"visible object"
<i>kuā⁺</i>	"hoe"	<i>nā'-dā-kūédír^ε</i>	"ox for ploughing"
<i>yè⁺</i>	"don clothes"	<i>fū-yéédír^ε</i> <i>fū-yéédòg^ᶜ</i>	"shirt for wearing" WK KT
<i>kō⁺</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kōvdím^m</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>dy'à^a</i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tèṅ-dū'adig^a</i>	"native land"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>sūm-dúgvdà⁺</i>	"cooked groundnuts" WK

<i>sīg</i> ^ε	"descend"	<i>yī-sígídìr</i> ^ε	"lodging-house"
<i>su'ā</i> ^a	"hide"	<i>yēl-sú'adìr</i> ^ε	"confidential matter"
<i>ǎñb</i> ^ε	"chew"	<i>bōn-ǎñbídà</i> ⁺	"solid food"
<i>bùn</i> ^ε	"reap"	<i>bōn-búnnìr</i> ^ε	"thing for reaping"
<i>tùm</i> ^m	"work"	<i>bōn-túmmìr</i> ^ε	"useful thing"
<i>vū</i> ^ε	"swallow"	<i>tì-vōnním</i> ^m	"oral medication"
<i>gbīs</i> ^ε	"sleep"	<i>pɹ'à-gbīsídír</i> ^ε	"woman always sleeping"

3-mora stems in **g* drop *-d* in all cases except where the **g* derivational suffix is deleted in the imperfective, whether regularly or otherwise 10.1. The dropping of *-d* is thus much more consistent than in agent nouns.

<i>gīlɣ</i> ^{ε/}	"go around"	<i>pɹ'à-gīnníg</i> ^a	"prostitute"
<i>sūeñ</i> ^{+/}	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóɔñdìm</i> ^m	"anointing oil"
<i>tūlɣ</i> ^{ε/}	"heat up"	<i>bōn-túlɣìr</i> ^ε	"heater, thing for heating"
<i>pèlɣ</i> ^ε	"whiten"	<i>bōn-pélɣìr</i> ^ε	"whitening thing, whitener"
<i>yādɣ</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>bōn-yátìr</i> ^ε	"scattering thing" (cf <i>yāt</i> ^{a/})
<i>jāñk</i> ^{ε/}	"fly, jump"	<i>bōn-jāñ'adìr</i> ^ε	"flying creature"
<i>pàk</i> ^ε	"surprise"	<i>yēl-pákìr</i> ^ε	"disaster"
<i>tēk</i> ^{ε/}	"pull"	<i>ñwī-tékìr</i> ^ε	"rope for pulling with"
<i>kēŋ</i> ^{ε/}	"go"	<i>bōŋ-kēnnìr</i> ^ε	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ε	"help"	<i>bōn-súŋìr</i> ^ε	"helpful thing"
<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"	<i>bì-nòŋìr</i> ^ε	"beloved child"

3-mora stems in *-m* retain the *-d*, forming the consonant cluster *-mm-*:

<i>sàñ'am</i> ^m	"destroy"	<i>bù-sāñ'ammìr</i> ^ε	"scapegoat" WK
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3-mora stems in *-s* all drop the *-d*:

<i>pèlts</i> ^ε	"sharpen"	<i>bōn-péltsìr</i> ^ε	"sharpening thing"
<i>kùø</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>bōn-kúø̀sìr</i> ^ε	"item for sale"

4-mora stems (all from KT) drop *-d* (whereas agent nouns drop stem-final *-m*):

<i>siilm</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>bōn-síilóŋ</i> ^ɔ	"thing relating to proverbs"
<i>pò'alum</i> ^m	"harm"	<i>nīn-pú'alíŋ</i> ^a	"harmful person"
		<i>pɹ'à-pò'alíŋ</i> ^a	"harmful woman"
<i>zàañsım</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>nīn-záañsùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dreamy person"
		<i>pɹ'à-zàañsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dreamy woman"

Dynamic single-aspect verbs show the same stem as the agent noun:

<i>dīgi</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying"	<i>bùŋ-dīgidír</i> ^ε	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābi</i> ^{ya/}	"be prone"	<i>bùŋ-vābidír</i> ^ε	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>ziñ'</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>kūg-zíñ'idìr</i> ^ε	"stone for sitting on" (i.e. not a <i>būgur</i> ^ε WK)
<i>zāñ'</i> ^{la/}	"be holding"	<i>nō-záñ'</i> ^{lε}	"hen for holding"
<i>dē'</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dē'</i> ^{lε}	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kùg-dē'</i> ^{lε/}	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gù'</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>būn-gù'</i> ^{lε}	"thing for suspending"

12.2.1.2.2 Resultative

Resultative adjectives are only derived from verbs which can use the perfective form in a resultative sense [19.2.2](#); it is not clear how productive the formation is. Almost all such verbs are either intransitive or patientive ambitransitive [19.8.1](#), and the adjectives are not passive participles, but express resulting states. There are no resultative adjectives from stance-verb roots meaning e.g. "seated", "standing" or from passives, like "eaten.". The formant *-lum-* either deletes a preceding derivational suffix or is added only to roots; for the flexion see [9](#).

<i>kpi</i> ⁺	"die"	<i>kpiilúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dead"
<i>gēñ</i> ⁺	"get tired"	<i>gēñlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"tired"
<i>pè'el</i> ^ε	"fill"	<i>pè'elúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"full"
<i>kò</i> ⁺	"break"	<i>kòlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"broken"
<i>yè</i> ⁺	"wear"	<i>yèlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"worn" (of a shirt)
<i>yò</i> ⁺	"close"	<i>yòlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"closed"
<i>pò'alum</i> ^m	"harm"	<i>pò'alúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"damaged"
<i>àeñ</i> ⁺	"tear"	<i>àeñlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"torn"

12.2.1.3 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding *-m* to habitual-adjective stems in *d t* or *s*. All are *g^a|s^ε* class. Meanings may overlap with those of agent nouns.

<i>kō</i> ⁺	"kill"	<i>kōvdíŋ</i> ^a	"thing for killing with"
<i>lō</i> ⁺	"tie"	<i>sjà-lōvdíŋ</i> ^a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
<i>dūg</i> ^ε	"cook"	<i>dūgvdíŋ</i> ^a	"cooking utensil"
<i>sōb</i> ^ε	"write"	<i>sōbvdíŋ</i> ^a	"writing implement"
<i>kpàr</i> ^ε	"lock"	<i>kpārvdíŋ</i> ^a	"thing for locking"
<i>ñwà'e</i> ⁺	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'advíŋ</i> ^a	"axe"
<i>pīe</i> ^{+/}	"wash self"	<i>pīadvíŋ</i> ^a	"thing for washing oneself"

<i>sù</i> ⁺	"bathe"	<i>sōvdɪŋ</i> ^a	"sponge"
<i>gōs</i> ^ε	"look"	<i>nīn-gótɪŋ</i> ^a	"mirror"
		<i>nīn-gótis</i> ^ε	"spectacles" [<i>nīn-</i> "eye"]
<i>bùd</i> ^ε	"plant"	<i>bōtɪŋ</i> ^a 2.1	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
<i>pīəs</i> ^{ε/}	"clean"	<i>pīəsɪŋ</i> ^a	"cleaning implement"
<i>kùəs</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>kūəsɪŋ</i> ^a	"professional salesperson"
<i>dā'e</i> ^{+/}	"push"	<i>dā'adɪŋ</i> ^a	"pusher (person or thing)"
<i>zīñ</i> ^{iya}	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'idɪŋ</i> ^a	"thing for sitting on"

12.2.1.4 Imperfective gerunds

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *-y^a*, where *y* is not assimilated, make perfective gerunds, as do a few others [11.1.1](#); intransitive stative verbs usually lack gerunds altogether. Other single-aspect verbs usually make *m^m*-class gerunds by adding derivational *-lum-* after root vowels and *-m-* after *nn* // *r(r)*:

<i>sō'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	gerund: <i>sō'vlím</i> ^m cf <i>so'olimkan</i> Mt 12:25, 1996
<i>mī</i> ⁺	"know"	<i>mī'ilím</i> ^m
<i>zī</i> ⁺	"not know"	<i>zī'ılím</i> ^m
<i>àəñ</i> ^a	"be something"	<i>àañlím</i> ^m
<i>bè</i> ⁺	"be somewhere"	<i>bèlím</i> ^m [short vowel sic]
<i>kā'ə</i> ⁺	"not be"	<i>kā'alím</i> ^m
<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"	<i>wēnnlím</i> ^m [tones show this is <i>deverbal</i>]
<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>sīnnlím</i> ^m
<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>nēnnlím</i> ^m
<i>dō</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>dōllím</i> ^m
<i>zāñ</i> ^{la/}	"hold in the hand"	<i>zāñllím</i> ^m
<i>dē</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning (of person)"	<i>dēllúg</i> ^ɔ or <i>dēllím</i> ^m
<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>mōrlím</i> ^m
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>tārlím</i> ^m
<i>nār</i> ^{a/}	"be necessary"	<i>nārlím</i> ^m
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"guard"	<i>gūrlím</i> ^m

These forms obey the tonal rules for gerund formation [6.5](#). The non-initial H toneme in Pattern L confirms that they are *m*-stems [6.2.2](#).

Stative verbs derived from imperfectives of dual-aspect verbs [19.2.3](#) also form imperfective gerunds; the tonemes show that these are not *m*-stems:

<i>bṑɔ̀dım</i> ^m	"will" (Pattern L, unlike <i>bṑɔ̀dɪr</i> ^ε "desirable")
<i>gò̀ɔ̀ñdım</i> ^m	"wandering" (<i>gò̀ɔ̀ñ</i> ⁺ "hunt")
<i>zò̀tım</i> ^m	"fear" [<i>Ḿ zò̀t nē</i> "I'm afraid."]

The gerund *wummug* of *wòm^m* "hear" (written *wumug* before 2016, but read with *-mm-* in the 1996 audio NT) perhaps represents **wumduɔ*. A number of deverbal abstract nouns from 3-mora verb stems in *-s-* appear in the *m^m* class and resemble gerunds in tone. They too are probably imperfective gerund forms: for the dropping of the *-d-* formant compare agent nouns and deverbal adjectives.

<i>pò'us^ε</i>	"greet, thank"	<i>pò'usim^m</i>	"worship"
		or <i>pò'usug^ɔ</i>	
<i>kō⁺</i>	"kill"	<i>nīn-kúvsim^m</i>	"murderousness"
<i>yōls^{ε/}</i>	"untie"	<i>yōlsim^m</i>	"freedom"

Unequivocal imperfective gerund forms with *-m-* derived from almost all agentive verbs occur as predependents of the bound noun

<i>-tāa⁼</i>	<i>-tāas^ε</i>	<i>-tā-</i> or <i>-tā-</i>	"companion in ..."
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For dynamic single-aspect verbs with stems in *-ll -nn -r(r)*, and all stative verbs with deverbal gerunds, the forms are identical to the usual imperfective gerunds:

<i>mī⁺</i>	"know"	<i>mī'ilím-tāa⁼</i>	"partner in knowledge"
<i>zī⁺</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'ilím-tāa⁼</i>	"partner in ignorance"
<i>bè⁺</i>	"exist"	<i>bè'ilím-tāa⁼</i>	"partner in existence" WK
<i>dō^la/</i>	"be with"	<i>dō'llím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-companion"

For the irregular stative verb *nòŋ^ε* WK has two forms with different nuances:

<i>nòŋ^ε</i>	"love"	<i>nòŋ'ilím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow liker"
		or <i>nòŋ'idím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow lover"

Dual-aspect verbs add *-m-* to the habitual adjective stem, but with *gerund* Tone Patterns:

<i>mè⁺</i>	"build"	<i>mè'edím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-builder"
<i>dì⁺</i>	"eat"	<i>dì'tím-tāa⁼</i>	"messmate"
<i>pō⁺</i>	"share"	<i>pō'vdím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-sharer"
<i>kpèñ⁺</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'edím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-resident"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zà'bidím-tāa⁼</i>	"opponent"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōg'vdím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-cook"
<i>fāñ⁺</i>	"snatch"	<i>fāañ'dím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-robber"
<i>tùm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tùm'mím-tāa⁼</i>	"co-worker"

<i>pù'us^ε</i>	"worship"	<i>pù'usím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-worshipper"
<i>dìis^ε</i>	"feed"	<i>dìisím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-feeder"
<i>sùŋ^ε</i>	"help"	<i>sùŋím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-helper"
		or <i>sùŋídím-tāa⁼</i>	
<i>sjàk^ε</i>	"agree"	<i>sjàkím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow in agreement"

Stance verbs may use *-dum-* or *-lum-* or *-num-*; *-lum-* and *-num-* forms may really belong to the derived assume-stance/make-assume-stance verbs [12.1.1](#):

<i>īgi^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgulím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-kneeler"
		or <i>īgidím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-kneeler" WK
<i>zìŋ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìŋ'ilím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-sitter"
		or <i>zìŋ'idím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-sitter" WK
<i>vābi^{ya/}</i>	"lie prone"	<i>vābílím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow liar-prone"
		or <i>vābidím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow liar-prone" WK
<i>làbi^{ya}</i>	"be crouched"	<i>làbílím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow croucher in hiding"
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be stood"	<i>zì'əlím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-stander"
		or <i>zì'ədím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-stander" WK
<i>dīgi^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dīgulím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-lier"
		or <i>dīgíním-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow-lier" WK

12.2.1.5 Other deverbal nominals

-s- appears in a few concrete nouns derived from verbs:

<i>dīgi^{ya/}</i>	"be lying down"	<i>dīgísá⁺</i>	"lairs"
<i>dō⁺</i>	"go up"	<i>dōvsá⁺</i>	"steps"

-m- derives nouns from verbal roots in

<i>zò⁺</i>	"run"	<i>zōwm^{mε}</i>	"refugee"
<i>kpi⁺</i>	"die"	<i>kpi'im^{m/}</i>	"corpse"

-d- appears as an instrument noun formant instead of the usual *-dum-* in

<i>tɔ̀à⁺</i>	"grind in a mortar"	<i>tūədɪr^ε</i>	"mortar"
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See also on *pībin^{nε}* "covering" etc, where the *n* may represent **ld* [11.1.2](#).

-b- derives nouns from verbal roots in

<i>kpì</i> ⁺	"die"	<i>kpìibɪg</i> ^a	"orphan"
<i>dà</i> ⁺	"buy"	<i>dà'abɪr</i> ^ε	"slave"

This *-b* may be connected with the stem of *bīig*^a "child"; cf Gulimancéma *kpebíga* "orphan", *kpé* "die", *bíga* "child". It is conceivable that *lībɪr*^ε "twin" is a similar formation from Proto-Oti-Volta **li* "two" with an aberrant reflex of **l*; cf Buli *yībīk*, Gulimancéma *lébīli id. Sàlɪbɪr*^ε "bridle" and *kòlɪbɪr*^ε "bottle" are not analysable.

12.2.2 From nominals

-s- and *-l-* form adjectives from roots which are probably primarily adjectival:

<i>mā'e</i> ^{+/}	"cool down"	<i>mā'asír</i> ^ε	"cold, wet"
<i>būk</i> ^{ε/}	"weaken"	<i>būgv́sír</i> ^ε	"soft"
<i>tēbɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"get heavy"	<i>tēb́sír</i> ^ε	"heavy"
<i>mì'ig</i> ^ε	"get sour"	<i>mì'isug</i> ^ɔ	"sour"
<i>sōb</i> ^ε	"get dark"	<i>sāb́líg</i> ^a	"black"

-d- features in a number of nouns with no evident derivational meaning, such as *yūgv́dɪr*^ε "hedgehog", *lā'af*^ɔ "cowrie" pl *līgɪdɪ*⁺ "money", *pùgv́dɪb*^a "father's sister." It can form abstract nouns from human-reference words (examples from KB, Naden):

<i>pu'à-sādir</i> ^{ε/}	"young woman"	<i>pu'asatim</i>	"girlhood, virginity"
<i>būn-kúddùg</i> ^ɔ	"old man"	<i>bunkuttim</i>	"old age"
<i>gɛdɪg</i>	"fool"	<i>getim</i>	"folly"
<i>pùkòɔñr</i> ^ε	"widow"	<i>pukɔntim</i>	"widowhood"
<i>bā'-bīig</i> ^a	"brother"	<i>ba'abiidɪg</i>	"brotherhood"

-m- appears in both concrete nouns, mostly with human reference, and abstracts:

<i>bī'a</i> ⁺	"bad"	<i>bī'əm</i> ^m	"enemy"
<i>tàdɪg</i> ^ε	"become weak"	<i>tādɪm</i> ^{m/}	"weak person"
<i>āñsìb</i> ^a	"mother's brother"	<i>āñśíj</i> ^a	"sister's child"
<i>yáab</i> ^a	"grandparent"	<i>yáaj</i> ^a	"grandchild"
<i>*yāágbā</i>		<i>*yāágmgā</i>	
<i>vúer</i> ^ε	"red kapok fruit"	<i>vúəj</i> ^a	"red kapok"
<i>*vūégrī</i>		<i>*vūégmgā</i>	
<i>bì'isɪr</i> ^ε	"breast"	<i>bì'isím</i> ^m	"milk"
<i>nà'ab</i> ^a	"chief"	<i>nā'am</i> ^m	"chiefship"
<i>zōlvug</i> ^ɔ	"fool"	<i>zōlímís</i> ^ε	"foolishness"

Abstract *-mís^ε* forms seem always to have H toneme; cf *bùdimís^ε* "confusion", where, however, the *-m-* is part of the verb stem *bùdim^m* "get confused"; cf also

<i>tādīm^{m/}</i>	"weak person"	<i>tādīmís^ε</i>	"weakness"
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Added to existing adjectival stems, *-m-* produces no change of meaning:

<i>ñyèes^a</i>	"be self-confident"	<i>ñyèesíḡ^a</i>	"self-confident"
<i>vèñllíḡ^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèñllíḡ^a</i>	"beautiful"
<i>mālisíḡ^a</i>	"pleasant"	<i>mālisíḡ^a</i>	"pleasant"
<i>lāllúḡ^ɔ</i>	"distant"	<i>lāllíḡ^a</i>	"distant"
<i>nār^{a/}</i>	"be necessary"	<i>nàrvḡ^ɔ</i>	"necessary"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am^{a/}</i>	"be long, tall"

-m- is seen in a good many unanalysable 3-mora nominal stems, such as the nouns *yōgúm^{nε}* "camel" (ultimately from Berber), *gbīḡim^{nε}* "lion", *zìlīm^{mε}* "tongue", *àñrvḡ^ɔ* "boat", and the adjectives *zùlvḡ^ɔ* "deep", *ñyālúḡ^ɔ* "wonderful", *yàlvḡ^ɔ* "wide."

-l- and *-lum-* derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. The suffix *-lum-* is the only derivational suffix before which CVVC roots do not become CVC 5.3.2, and it can follow a preceding derivational suffix, creating five-mora stems. The stems of these abstract nouns are not themselves used as adjectives.

<i>dāy⁺</i>	"man"	<i>dàalīm^m</i>	"masculinity"
<i>py'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>pù'alīm^m</i>	"femininity"
<i>bīḡ^a</i>	"child"	<i>bīilīm^m</i>	"childhood"
<i>tītā'al^ε</i>	"proud person"	<i>tītā'alīm^m</i>	"pride"
<i>ḡīḡ^a</i>	"short"	<i>ḡīñlīm^m</i>	"shortness"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'alīm^m</i>	"tallness"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	"guest, stranger"	<i>sáannīm^m</i>	"strangerhood"
<i>tīrāan^a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>tīrāannīm^m</i>	"neighbourliness"
<i>ḡīḡ^a</i>	"short"	<i>ḡīḡulīm^m</i>	"shortness"

13 Prefixes

13.1 Nouns and adjectives

Many noun stems, and one or two adjectives and adverbs, have an element preceding the root which is not the combining form of any noun. Such elements will be called **noun prefixes**. No finite verb form has a prefix.

Noun prefixes usually have no identifiable individual meanings. Even where parallel stems without prefixes or with different prefixes exist, there are no regular processes relating the various forms (contrast the manner-adverb prefix *à-* and the number prefixes.) However, noun prefixes are common in particular semantic fields, such as with nouns referring to small animals, reptiles and insects.

Most noun prefixes fall into just a few phonological types, with limited possibilities for vowel distinctions and for tones. Segmentally, they are mostly of the shape *CV(n)*, where *V* shows only the three-way *a i u* vowel distinction of affix vowels; the *i/u* distinction itself and realisations as [i] or [u] are predictable [5.2](#). There is also a complex reduplicated type *CVsɪn* or *CVlɪn*. Stems with noun prefixes usually lack derivational suffixes. Prefixes have either M or L tonemes throughout, and they differ from cbs in their tonal effects on following elements [6.2.4](#).

The distinction between noun prefixes and combining forms is not absolute, and a few prefixes clearly originated as cbs, sometimes with phonological simplifications. Other prefixes are related to verbal negative particles. Nevertheless, cbs and noun prefixes are distinct in principle, and most cases readily distinguishable in practice. Thus, an element is a combining form if it is part of a noun paradigm, if it ends in a consonant other than a nasal, if it has a vowel other than short *a i u* without glottalisation or contrastive nasalisation, or if it has M toneme and is followed by M dropping affecting singular and plural forms. On the other hand, an element is a noun prefix if it is formed by reduplication of the stem-initial consonant, or if it has M toneme and is not followed by M dropping affecting singular and plural forms.

Complicating the issue are many stems with elements preceding the final root which do not fit into the common segmental prefix patterns, though behaving tonally as prefixes. Most are **loanwords**, but not all, and many names of ethnic groups and of Kusaasi clans are of this type.

For the personifier particle as part of some common nouns referring to living creatures see [15.5](#); it is not a prefix but a right-bound particle.

13.1.1 Reduplication-prefixes

The simplest type of noun prefix copies the initial C of the root, followed by a vowel which is *ɪ* by default, but *ʊ* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars; *ʊ* replaces *ɪ* before root *u/ʊ/ɔ* and *ɪ* replaces *ʊ* before root *i/ɪ/ɛ*. No cases occur with voiced stops or voiced fricatives.

<i>kùkōr^{ɛ/}</i>	"voice"	<i>kùkòm^{mɛ}</i>	"leper"
<i>kìkàŋ^a</i>	"fig tree"	<i>kìkīrɪg^{a/}</i>	"tutelary spirit"
<i>k[p]ùkpàrɪg^a</i>	"palm tree"	<i>kpīkpīn^{na/}</i>	"merchant"
<i>tītā'ar^ɛ</i>	"big"	<i>tàtəl^ɛ</i>	"palm of hand"
<i>pīpīrɪg^{a/}</i>	"desert"	<i>sìsì'əm^m</i>	"wind"
<i>lìlāalɪŋ^a</i>	"swallow"	<i>mìmīilím^m</i>	"sweetness"
<i>mìmīilúg^ɔ</i>	"sweetness"		
<i>kpàkūr^{ɛ/}</i>	"tortoise" (anomalous prefix vowel)		
<i>tītōmɪs^ɛ</i>	"sending" (<i>tòm^m</i> "send")		
<i>fūfūm^{mɛ}</i>	"envy"; "stye" (believed to result from envy)		
<i>zà-sìsōbɪr^{ɛ/}</i>	"evening" (<i>zà-</i> cb of <i>zàam^m</i> "evening", <i>sōb^ɛ</i> "get dark")		

More complex is a similar type with a final nasal consonant; voiced stops and fricatives do occur with this type:

<i>dùndùug^ɔ</i>	"cobra"	<i>dìndēog^{ɔ/}</i>	"chameleon"
<i>bìmbìm^{mɛ}</i>	"altar"	<i>bùmbàrɪg^a</i>	"ant"
<i>kìnkàŋ^a</i>	"fig"	<i>tītōñrɪg^a</i>	"mole"
<i>zīnzāuŋ^{ɔ/}</i>	"bat"	<i>sīnsáañ⁼</i>	a kind of tiny ant
<i>nōb-púmpàuŋ^ɔ</i>	"foot"		
<i>gùngūm^{mɛ}</i>	"kapok material" (<i>gùm^{mɛ}</i> "kapok fruit")		
<i>zùnzòŋ^a</i>	"blind" (<i>zū'əm^{m/}</i> "go/make blind")		
<i>pòmpōwɔg^ɔ</i>	"housefly" (<i>tàmpūa⁺</i> id)		

An even more complex type follows the reduplicated CV with *-sɪn* or *-lɪn*:

<i>kpìsɪnkpìl^ɛ</i>	"fist"	<i>tàsɪntəl^ɛ</i>	"palm of hand"
<i>vòlɪnvùuñ^ɛ</i>	"mason wasp"		
<i>sīlɪnsíuŋg^ɔ</i>	"spider" pl <i>sīlɪnsíiñd^ɛ</i>		
<i>sīlɪnsíug^ɔ</i>	"ghost" pl <i>sīlɪnsíis^ɛ</i>		
<i>zīlɪnzîog^ɔ</i>	"unknown" cf <i>zī⁺</i> "not know"		

<i>wàsɪnwà</i> ^{lɛ}	a parasitic gall on trees, called "mistletoe" in local English
<i>nēsɪnnēog</i> ^ɔ	"envious person" cf <i>nēn</i> ^{na} / "envy" WK others "centipede" = WK <i>nà'-nēsɪnnēog</i> ^ɔ

13.1.2 *Da(n) ba(n) sa(n)*

<i>dàyūug</i> ^ɔ	"rat"	<i>dàwān</i> ^{nɛ}	"pigeon"
<i>dàtiuj</i> ^ɔ	"right hand"	<i>dàgòbig</i> ^a	"left hand"
<i>bàlàar</i> ^ɛ	"hat"	<i>bàlàar</i> ^ɛ	"stick, staff"
<i>sākárùg</i> ^ɔ	"fox"		
<i>dàyáam</i> ^{ma}	"woman's parent-in-law"		
<i>dàwàlig</i> ^a	"hot, humid period just before the rainy season"		
<i>dàtāa</i> ⁼	"enemy" cf <i>nìn-tāa</i> ⁼ "co-wife", Ghanaian "rival"		
<i>dàmà'a</i> ⁼	"liar" cf <i>mà'</i> ⁺ "lie"		
<i>dàkīig</i> ^a	"sibling-in-law via wife"		
<i>dādúk</i> ^ɔ	a kind of large pot, cf <i>dūk</i> ^ɔ "pot"		
<i>bānāa</i> ⁼	traditional long-sleeved smock		
<i>bālērvg</i> ^ɔ	"ugly" cf <i>lēr</i> ^ɛ "get ugly"		
<i>bàyēog</i> ^ɔ	"betrayal of secrets" cf <i>yēs</i> ^ɛ "betray a secret"		
<i>sàbùu</i> ⁺	"lover, girlfriend" ? <i>bòɔd</i> ^a "want, love"		
<i>sāmán</i> ^{nɛ}	clear space in front of a <i>zàk</i> ^a "compound"		

Prefixes of the form *Can-* with initial consonants other than *d b s* are best classified with the unanalysable residue of complex stems including loanwords 14:

<i>dànkòj</i> ^ɔ	"measles"	<i>sāngúnni</i> ^ɛ	"millipede"
<i>zànkù'ar</i> ^ɛ	"jackal"	<i>Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	"Hausa person"
<i>màngávuj</i> ^ɔ	"crab"	<i>làngávuj</i> ^ɔ	"crab"
<i>nānzū'us</i> ^ɛ	"pepper"		

The interesting word *nàyīig*^a "thief" is written *na'ayīig* in NT/KB as if it were a compound with the cb *nā'*- "cow", but it has L toneme initially and the vowel is definitely not glottalised in WK's speech. Moreover, the sense is not confined to "cattle thief." The word is ^a|*b*^a class and the *-g-* belongs to the stem: pl *nàyīig-nàm*^a, though there is an analogical *g*^a|*s*^ɛ pl *nàyīis*^ɛ as well; there is also a derived abstract noun *nàyīigum*^m "thievery." The Farefare cognate of *nàyīig*^a is *nàyìgà*, pl *nayigba* or *nayigsi*; Dagbani has *nayiya* pl *nayis* and also *tayiya id*.

13.1.3 *Pū kù(n)*

In some words these prefixes have a negative meaning, and they are then presumably connected with the verb negative particles *pū kù*:

<i>kòndù'ar</i> ^ε	"barren woman"; cf <i>dụ'à</i> ^a "bear, beget"
<i>nīn-pū-nān</i> ^{na/}	"disrespectful person"; cf <i>nān</i> ^ε "love, respect"
<i>tùb-pū-wòm</i> ^{nib} ^a	"deaf people" (Rom 11:7) cf <i>tùbur</i> ^ε "ear", <i>wòm</i> ^m "hear."

However, most cases are not analysable:

<i>kòndùḡ</i> ^a	"jackal"	<i>gūmpūzēr</i> ^{ε/}	"duck"
<i>dāmpūsār</i> ^ε	"stick"		
<i>bān-kúsé</i> ^{lε}	"lizard" ? first element connected with <i>bāḡ</i> ^a		
	"agama lizard", but the tones are unexpected.		

13.1.4 Stranded combining forms

Some original cbs have become partly bleached of their original meaning and/or simplified phonologically, and then detached from their regular paradigms after being ousted by new cbs based on analogy with sg forms 8.2.

nìn "body" is accepted by WK as cb of *nīḡ*^a *nīs*^ε [= Mooré *yīḡa*] but the word is rare; as a noun prefix cf

<i>nìn-gbīḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	"human skin; body"
<i>nìn-tāa</i> [̄]	"co-wife"

dà "man" is replaced as regular cb by forms segmentally remodelled on sg and pl *dàḡ-*, *dàp-*, but the *dà-* form is seen in

<i>dà-pāa</i> ^{a/}	"son, boy"	cf <i>pāalḡ</i> "new"
<i>dà-kòḡḡ</i> ^ε	"son, bachelor"	cf <i>àràkóḡ</i> ^l "one"
	compare <i>pùkòḡḡ</i> ^ε below	

pù "woman" cf *pū'ā*^a "woman" cb *pū'à-*. Identifiable in e.g.

<i>pùkòḡḡ</i> ^ε	"widow"
cf	Mooré <i>pùgkōoré</i> "widow"
with	Mooré <i>pùgsádà</i> "young woman"
	= Kusaal <i>pū'à-sādı</i> ^{ε/}

pū- "farm" cf *pōɔg*^{ɔ/} "field, farm", pl *pōt*^{ɛ/}, regular cb *pō-*; Mooré *pūvgò* pl *pútò*
Tonally, this *pū-* behaves as a M prefix, not a cb 6.2.4.

pūkpaad^{a/} "farmer" (= *kpāad*^{a/} id)

nà' "chief"(?) appears before a number of nouns signifying animals and insects:

cf *nà'-nēsinnēog*^{ɔ/} "centipede" WK
nēsinnēog^{ɔ/} "envious person" WK; others: "centipede"
nà'-zòm^{mɛ} "locust"
nà'-dàwān^{nɛ/} "pigeon" = *dàwān*^{nɛ/}

The "chief" cb perhaps relates to traditional folklore; cf *à-kōra-dīam*^{ma} "praying mantis" ("hyena's parent-in-law") and animal and bird names which incorporate the personifier particle 15.5 like *à-dàalún*^ɔ "stork", *à-gávŋg*^ɔ "pied crow", *à-mús*^ɛ "cat."

13.2 Adverbs

The manner-adverb prefix *à-* appears before some stems which are also followed by apocope-blocking 16.4:

<i>àmēŋá</i> ⁺	"truly"	<i>àsīda</i> ⁺	"truly"
<i>àníŋà</i> ⁺	"promptly"		

The same prefix is also seen in a number of proadverbs and in the locative *àgól*^{lɛ} "upwards" 16.3. Forms with this prefix are all liaison words. The prefix is followed by M spreading. Unlike the number prefix *à-*, it does not cause a preceding LF-final vowel to appear as *-a* 7.2.1.

13.3 Number words

In all uses, the numbers 2 to 9 begin with an inseparable number prefix. Forms with number prefixes are all liaison words 7.2.

The number prefixes represent **fossilised noun class agreement prefixes**. With the collapse of noun-class based grammatical gender 8.1 in favour of a system of natural gender 15.2.2 the old ^{a/}*b*^a class agreement pronouns *ò bà* have been generalised for animate while the old ^{rɛ/}*a*⁺ class singular pronoun *lì* has been adopted for inanimate gender. In Dagbani, where there has been a very similar change, the inanimate singular pronouns are similarly based on the equivalent of the ^{rɛ/}*a*⁺ class, with the old plural pronoun *ŋa* still extant in older materials for inanimate plural (Olawsky 1999.) Number words originally agreed with the counted noun using

a prefix similar to the corresponding plural pronoun, and the à- of the numbers 2-9, àyí⁺ "two", àtáñ⁺ "three" etc used as quantifiers [15.4.2.1](#) represents original *ɲa-.

Because of this origin from *ɲa-, the à- number prefix, unlike all other a-particles and prefixes, causes a preceding LF-final vowel following a consonant to appear as -a rather than -i [7.2.1](#). This same à- is also seen in àlá⁺ "how many?" contrasting with àlá⁺ "thus", which has manner-adverb à-:

Pèédá_ àlá +ø? "How many baskets?"
Basket:PL NUM:how.many CQ?

vs nìɲi_ àlá "did thus"
do ADV:thus

The expected corresponding number prefix bà- is not now found after nouns with animate gender, but is still preserved after personal pronouns:

tì bàtáñ' "we three"
yà bàyópè "you seven"
bà bàyí' "they two"

The forms of the number words 2-9 used for counting [15.4.2.2](#) represent the old *m^m* class agreement, in the "abstract" sense of *m^m* [8.1](#):

̀̀táñ' "three" (in counting)
̀̀nāas "four" (in counting)
̀̀nū "five" (in counting)

Compare Nawdm *mtáñ* "three" *mnàà* "four" *mnù* "five" etc in counting. When referring to a specific noun, Nawdm numbers have a prefix agreeing with the noun class: *nídbá bàtáñ* "three people"; *m* marks the abstract/mass class cognate to the Kusaal *m^m* class (Fiedler 2012.)

The number prefix *bù-* appears in various adverbial number words [15.4.2.4](#). It probably represents either an old *b^ɔ* or *m^m* class agreement.

̀̀bùyí⁺ "twice"
̀̀bùtáñ⁺ "three times"
̀̀bùnāasí⁺ "four times"
̀̀bùpīga⁺ "ten times"
̀̀nṓrím̀̀bùtáñ⁺ "three times"

14 Unsegmentable complex stems

Numerous words in Kusaal (including the very name of the language, *Kūsâa*^ε) have stems which are more complex structurally than the ordinary unprefixated type but are simply unanalysable units. Tonally, they usually resemble forms with noun prefixes, but examples occur with an initial H toneme. Segmentally, they may contain unusual consonant clusters. Most are identifiable as loanwords, but by no means all. Many names of ethnic groups and clans fall into this category.

Examples of such complex stems are *Kūsâas*^ε "Kusaasi", *Ñwāmpūris*^{ε/} "Mamprussi", *Kùtām*^{ma/} the name of WK's clan; *gbáñyà'a*⁼ "lazy person" (*gonya'am* "idleness" 1976 NT), cf Dagbani *gbinyayli* "laziness."

14.1 Loanwords

As usual cross-linguistically, nouns form by far the largest group of identifiable loanwords. They are sometimes fitted into the noun class system by analogy 8.6. Analogy usually causes the initial à- of loanwords like *àrazánà*⁺ "heaven" and *àrazàk*^a "riches" to be treated tonally as fixed-L 7.4.3.

Most identifiable loanwords in Kusaal come from **Hausa**, the largest African language after Arabic by number of first-language speakers, used by millions more as a lingua franca in the savanna zone of West Africa. Although there are many ethnic *Hàusàawaa* in the Kusaasi area, especially in Bawku, the language which has influenced Kusaal is the *Gaanancii* lingua franca; though mutually intelligible with Kano Hausa, *Gaanancii* among other differences lacks not only grammatical but even natural gender, uses [z] for [ḍ̣], monophthongises diphthongs, and drops the distinction between glottalic consonants and their plain counterparts.

Hausa loans often stand out prominently as foreign elements by their deviation from the typical structure of Kusaal words, with its limitation of possible vowel contrasts by position within the word and its restrictions on consonant distribution.

Among nouns borrowed from Hausa are *dāká*⁺ "box", Hausa *àdakàa* (ultimately from Portuguese *arca*); *gādu*⁺ "bed", Hausa *gadoo*; *kèkèkè*⁺ "bicycle", Hausa *kèkè*; *bákpàè*⁺ "week", from Hausa *bakwàì* "seven", also used for "week" in *Gaanancii*.

Identifiable verb loanwords are much less common. They are subject to the usual constraints on possible Kusaal verb shapes 12.1, e.g. *dàam*^m "disturb, trouble", Hausa *dàamaa*; *bùg*^ε "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*, literally "get thoroughly beaten", a Hausa idiom.

Several function words are loans, probably from Hausa: *àsée* "except", Hausa *sai*; *kūv* "or", Hausa *koo*; *báa* "not a...", Hausa *bâa*.

Loanwords with clear Hausa counterparts did not necessarily originate in Hausa, itself a great borrower of words. Some such words appear in many languages of the Sahel and Savanna. e.g. *hālí*⁺ "until", Hausa *har*, Kikara Songhay *háli*, possibly from Arabic *ḥatta*: (Heath 2005.) With *làbi*^{ya} "be crouching behind something", Hausa *labèe* "crouch behind something or lean against wall to eavesdrop", Kikara Songhay *lá:bú* "hide behind or under something", the close match of form and highly specific meaning is striking; if the Kusaal word is a loan, it may owe its single-aspect flexion and dual-aspect assume-stance and make-assume-stance derivatives to analogy with *vābi*^{ya/} "be lying prone."

Wide geographical distribution need not rule out Hausa origin or transmission, however: loans from Hausa have travelled far in West Africa, with an entry point into Songhay via the Zarma and Kaado languages of Niger.

Words from **Arabic** are frequent throughout the languages of the Sahel and Savanna; thus, among many others: Kusaal *láafiya*⁺, Hausa *laafiyàa*, Mooré *làafí*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàlà:fiyà* "health", Arabic *ʔal-ʕa:fiya* "(the) wellness"; Kusaal *àrazàk*^a, Hausa *arzikii*, Mooré *àrzéká* "riches", Kikara Songhay *ʔárzúkù* "good luck", Arabic *ʔar-rizq* "(the) livelihood" pl *ʔarza:q*; *àrazánà*⁺ "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannàa*, Mooré *àrzǎnà*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàljánnà* "heaven, paradise", Arabic *ʔal-ʔanna* "(the) garden, paradise"; Kusaal *yàddā*^{+/} (*yàdā* WK) "assent", Hausa *yàrda* (verb) "consent", Kikara Songhay *yárrè* "consent", probably from the Arabic *yardʕa*:, 3sg masculine ipfv of *radʕiya* "be satisfied"; Kusaal *Tàláatà*⁺, Hausa *Tàlaatàa*, Arabic *ʔaθ-θala:θa:ʔ* "Tuesday."

It is likely that Arabic words have mostly entered Kusaal via Hausa. However, some Kusaal forms clearly resemble **Mooré** rather than Hausa. Many Mossi people are found in the Kusaasi area, and many Kusaasi themselves speak Mooré well; they often attribute local or individual peculiarities of Kusaal speech to Mooré influence. Arabic words have reached Mooré from several other West African languages widely used by Muslims, including Dyula and the Songhay languages.

Thus *màljāk*^{a/} "angel" (always *malek* in NT versions prior to 2016) is derived from the Arabic *malʔak*. The vocalism suggests transmission via Mooré *màlékà*, and the word is usually found in Christian materials, which would be consistent with this pathway (see below.) The forms clearly do not match Hausa *màlaa'ikàa*, which is from the Arabic plural *mala:ʔika*. A similar case in the realm of religion is *Sūtáanà*⁺ "Satan", matching Mooré *Sutãana* rather than Hausa *shàidân*, which is a learned borrowing of the Arabic *ʕaytʕa:n*.

Christian missionary work among the Kusaasi began in Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso) and used Mooré materials, leading to some borrowing and calquing. One word revealed as a loan by its phonology is *Wínnà'am*^m (WK) *Wínà'am*^m (always *Wina'am* NT/KB) "God." It is common in Christian materials; the Creator of traditional religion often appears simply as *Wín*^{ne/} in proverbs etc. *Wínnà'am* looks analysable as a compound of *wín*^{ne/} "god" and the stem of *nà'ab*^a "chief" or *nā'am*^m "chieftaincy",

but the tones should then have been **Wín-nâ'am*, and the prevalence of the form *Wínà'am* with single *-n-* likewise shows that the form is not in fact a synchronic compound in Agolle Kusaal. Direct borrowing of the corresponding Mooré word *Wěnnàám* would not account for the glottalised *-a'a-*; the immediate source of the loan is probably **Toende Kusaal**. Niggli's materials have *Wínā'am*, with a tonal fall like the Agolle *Wínà'am*, and always with single *n*, probably reflecting consistent loss of consonant gemination in Toende everywhere except before LF affix vowels.

The word *faangid* "saviour" in the NT/KB is read [fã:g̊ɪd] by my informants; preservation of *g* in this position 5.6 is exceptional in my Agolle Kusaal data, the only other cases being *faangir* "salvation" and the gerund *zī'əg*^a of *zī'e*^a "be standing" used by DK KT instead of *zī'a*⁺. The expected agent noun from *fāēñ*^{+ /} "save" is *fāāñd*^{a /}, presumably avoided as identical to the agent noun of *fāñ*⁺ "rob, snatch", found in NT/KB as *faand* "robber." WK has *fāāñd*^{a /} as the agent noun for both verbs, and specifically confirms that the word has *both* meanings in his idiolect.

In Toende Kusaal, **g* is deleted word-finally after all long vowels (*bíi* "child" = *bīig*^a, *būū* "goat" = *būūg*^a), but is otherwise retained by many speakers (Niggli 2012):

<i>páa</i>	"arriver" (Agolle <i>pāē</i> ⁺ "reach")
<i>Õ bu paage.</i>	"Il n'est pas arrivé." (Agolle <i>Õ pū pāée.</i>)

Niggli's dictionary has both *fāagit* and *fāat* for "saviour", with *fāat* also glossed as "robber." Thus *faangid* too is probably a loan from Toende Kusaal.

Wínà'am fāāñgíd fāāñgír appear in the actual speech of many Agolle Kusaasi, and are accordingly used in this grammar in transliterating Bible verses. NT versions prior to 2016 also used the Toende forms *aaruŋ* (Toende *āarùŋ*) for *āñruŋ* "boat", and *malek* (Toende *màlék*, Mooré *màlékà*) for *màljāk* "angel", but KB has *anruŋ* and *maliak* throughout, matching the usage of my informants and of the audio 1996 version.

One clear **Mampruli** loanword is WK's *kīibú*⁺ cb *kīib-* "soap", which he uses instead of Kusaal *kī'ib*^{ɔ /}. The length and quality of the vowels identify the source as Mampruli *kyiibu*: contrast Farefare *kí'íbɔ*, Dagbani *chibo*. Other words with singulars ending in *-i*⁺ or *-u*⁺ also probably originated as loans from Mampruli or Mooré 8.5.

Farefare has certainly influenced Nabit and perhaps also Toende Kusaal, but I have no examples of Farefare loanwords in Agolle Kusaal.

Loanwords ultimately from **Songhay** languages include *bùrkìn*^a "honest person", Mooré *bùrkĩná* "free, noble", Dagbani *bilchina* "free, not slave", cf Kikara Songhay *bòrkĩn* "noble (caste)" and *bàŋɲu*, used only in *kpèñ' bàŋɲu* "get circumcised" (*kpèñ*⁺ "enter"), Mooré *kě bāongó id*, cf Kikara Songhay *bàngù* "pool, spring", *à húrò bàngù* "he entered the pool", i.e. "he was circumcised."

Loans from **Twi/Fante** ("Akan"), the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include *kōdú*⁺ "banana", Twi *kwadu*; *sāafi*⁺ (?tones) "lock, key", Twi *sāfě* "key" (from Portuguese *chave*); *būryá*⁺ "Christmas", Twi *bronya* (itself of unclear origin.)

A few loans from **English** are found. Loanwords which are sufficiently naturalised that they are used by speakers unfamiliar with English have often undergone considerable changes: *àlópìr^ε* "aeroplane", perhaps a back-formation from [alɔpɪlɪn] taken as a locative *àlópìrì-n^{ε/}*; *du'átà⁺* "doctor" (cf Dagbani *dóyté* id); *tóklàe⁺* "torch" (from "torchlight"); *lór^ε* "car, lorry" (often borrowed even in Francophone Africa: cf Mooré *lórè*, Nawdm *lòró.*) *Pɔɔtim* (Jeremiah 20:10), 1976 NT *pootum* "complain about officially" is ultimately from the English "report"; cf Mampruli, Buli *pooti* id.

English stress may be represented by a H toneme which remains fixed throughout the paradigm: *lòyà* "cars", not **lòyá*.

Several words of English origin have probably been transmitted via Hausa: *kótò⁺* "court", Hausa *kootù*; *sóǵjà^a* "soldier", Hausa *soojà*; *téɛbùl^ε* "table", Hausa *teebùr*; *wādá⁺* "law", Hausa *oodà*, from English "order", with Kusaal sg *wādir^{ε/}* cb *wād-* created by back-formation.

A clear **French** loan in Agolle Kusaal is *làmpō* (i.e. *l'impôt*) "tax", as in *làmpō-dī'əs^a* "tax gatherer." This word is widespread in northern Ghana (Dagbani *lampoo*), reflecting extensive French influence in the region prior to the British annexation. Another word probably derived from French is *kàsēt^{a/}* "witness, testimony", Mooré *kàsétò* "testimony, proof", as in *kàsét sébrè* "receipt" ("evidence writing.") The ultimate origin is probably French *cachet* in the sense "seal (of authenticity)", with the Mooré *-t-* perhaps introduced from the corresponding French verb: *il cachète* "he seals." Mooré *kàsétò* and Farefare *kàsétò* have only the abstract sense "testimony"; the adaptation as a ^a|*b*^a class human-reference noun "witness" seems to be a Kusaal innovation (Agolle and Toende) enabled by the dropping of the final vowel.

There are naturally many more French loans in the Toende Kusaal of Burkina Faso (Niggli 2014.)

Syntax

15 Noun phrases

15.1 Structure

A nominal phrase may be either a noun phrase (NP) or an adverbial phrase (AdvP.) A noun phrase has a noun, pronoun or quantifier as head. If present, the **article** *lā*^{+/} occurs last in a NP. (For the sole exception, see [19.10.](#))

Unbound dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as NP heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed in English by genitives or NP complements with "of", e.g.

<i>dāy lā bútìŋ</i>	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
<i>sālma bútìŋ</i>	"a gold cup" ("cup of gold")

Predependents with specific or countable-generic reference are **determiners** (answering "which?"), as are the article, dependent pronouns, quantifiers or AdvPs following the NP head; other dependents are **modifiers** (answering "what kind of?")

Relative clauses [24.3](#) are also NPs.

As is characteristic of Oti-Volta, **compounding** is pervasive in NP structure where most languages use uncompounded constructions. Kusaal compounds fall into two basic types, depending on whether the combining form is head or dependent. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

<i>būvg</i> ^a	"goat"	<i>bù-pìəlɪg</i> ^a	"white goat"
<i>bù-kàŋā</i> ^{+/}	"this goat"	<i>bù-pìəl-kàŋā</i> ^{+/}	"this white goat"

Compounds with non-referential cbs as *dependents* are also common:

<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs <i>nà'ab lā wíəf zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse's tail"

Regardless of which element precedes, the last stem shows the noun class suffixes which mark number for the head. Preceding stems appear as combining forms, typically bare stems which have undergone apocope, though analogical remodelling is common, and regular with some stem types [8.2](#). Compounding is so productive that the cb is a regular part of noun and adjective flexion [8.1](#).

For the tone sandhi rules which affect the component following the combining form see [7.4.3](#) [7.4.4](#). They are not sensitive to whether the cb is head or dependent.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound, where the binding of the new element is weaker than that within the existing compound:

<i>[bù-pìəl-]kàṅā</i>	"this [white goat]"
<i>[nīn-wók-]pìəlìg</i>	"white [tall person]"
<i>[zà'-nō-]pìəlìg</i>	"white gate" ("white [compound-mouth])"

A compound may appear as generic argument to a following deverbal noun:

<i>[zà'-nō-]gúr</i>	"gate-keeper"
<i>[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàṅā</i>	"this [gate-keeper]"

Noun-adjective compounds can be used as bahuvrihi adjectives [15.7.1.3](#):

<i>nīf-ñyáuk</i>	"one eye"
<i>bù-[nīf-ñyáuk]</i>	"[one-eyed] goat"
<i>nōb-wók</i>	"long leg"
<i>kùg-[nōb-wók]</i>	"[long-legged] stool"

Bahuvrihis can appear as complements of *àḡñ^a* "be something":

<i>Kùg-kàṅā á nē nōb-wók.</i>	"This chair is long-legged." WK
Chair-DEMST.SG COP FOC leg-long:SG.	

Compounds may contain un-compounded elements within their structure.

Predependent NPs as modifiers [15.6.2](#) bind tighter than the link between cb generic arguments and deverbal nouns:

<i>ānzúrìfà nē sālìma lâ'ad</i>	"silver and gold goods"
<i>[ānzúrìfà lá'-]māan</i>	"silversmith" ("[silver goods]-maker")
<i>[ānzúrìfà nē sālìma lá'-]māan</i>	"silver- and goldsmith"

Otherwise, cbs are bound tighter to following than preceding words, except that determiners of all kinds have the loosest binding:

<i>[sālìma bútìṅ-]kàṅā</i>	"this [gold cup]"
<i>[[sālìma lá'-]māan-]kàṅā</i>	"this [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>ò [[sālìma lá'-]māan]</i>	"her [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>sālìma [zá'-nōɔr]</i>	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth])"
<i>zūgú-n [níf-gbáuy]</i>	"upper eyelid" ("upper [eye-skin])"

Adjective cbs can only be used before another adjective or a dependent pronoun, so when a noun-adjective compound is used as a generic argument it must adopt a sg or pl form:

[*fū-zéñdà*] *kùə̀s* "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
 not **fū-zéñ'-kùə̀s*

Coordination is characteristically a feature of NPs, but also found in AdvPs.

The particles for "or" are *bēē* or *kūv*. Here the two are synonymous; the only place where they consistently have different senses is in the formation of polar questions. Both, like English "or", are by default taken as exclusive "or" but admit the inclusive interpretation "or both." This can be spelt out explicitly:

Bīg lā kūv dāy lā kúv bà wōsa
 child:SG ART OR man:SG ART OR 3PL all
 "The man, or the child, or both" WK

The particle for "and" for NPs and AdvPs is *nē*. This *nē* is fundamentally the same word as the preposition "with"; the linker adjuncts *bēē* and *kūv* can be used in a parallel way. *Nē* links nominal words and phrases, but no clauses other than (previously nominalised) *ñ*-clauses. It is not possible to omit coordinating particles in a series of three or more items, or to use *nē* to join two words with the same referent:

À-Wīn né À-Bōgvr né À-Nà'ab "Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dɥ'átà nē ná'ab "a doctor and a chief"
 (necessarily two different people)

Coordinated heads may not share determiners:

m ba'abiis nē m saamnama
ṁ bā-bīis né ṁ sàam-nàmā +∅
 1SG father-child:PL with 1SG father-PL VOC
 "my siblings and [my] fathers!" (Acts 7:2)

pu'ā lā nē dāy lā "the woman and the man"
 woman:SG ART with man:SG ART

An exception is *yīgá*⁺ "firstly" used as a predependent for "first" [15.6.3](#):

yiiga sangbauŋ ne tenŋbauŋ ne atɛuk
yīgá sàŋ-gbàùŋ nē tén-gbàùŋ né àtìuk
 firstly heaven-skin:SG with earth-skin:SG with sea:SG
 "the former heaven and earth and sea" (Rev 21:1)

Coordinated heads may share modifiers:

Kūsáal sólímà nē sílímà "Kusaasi stories and proverbs"
 Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

Kūsâas kûøb nē yīr "Kusaasi agriculture and housing"
 Kusaasi:PL hoeing with house:SG

sālima bûtìis nē díísímà "gold cups and spoons"
 gold cup:PL with spoon:PL ("all of them gold", KT)

However, KT WK both agreed that *sālima lâ'ad nē bûtìis* must mean "gold goods and [not gold] cups", WK offering the correction

sālima lâ'ad né ò bûtìis "gold goods and (gold) cups" WK
 gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

where *ò* refers to *sālima*. (See [15.2.2](#) on the unexpected gender of the pronoun.) The difference from *sālima bûtìis nē díísímà* (above) is probably that "cups" are a subtype of "goods", impairing the parallel between the coordinated units and making it less natural to supply the ellipsis than in *sālima bûtìis nē [sālima] díísímà* "gold cups and [gold] spoons" (I am grateful to Tony Naden for this suggestion.)

Coordinated heads may even occur before an adjective:

Ka m nye sangbauŋ ne tenŋbaung paal.
Kà m ñyē sàŋ-gbàùŋ- nē tén-gbàùŋ-páal
 And 1SG see heaven-skin- with earth-skin-new:SG.
 "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth." (Rev 21:1)

However, cbs as *dependents* may not be coordinated:

*[*bēŋíd nē kī*] *kûøb* not possible for "seller of *bēŋíd nē kī*"
 (beanleaf-and-millet, a conceptual unity
 like "fish and chips", "lox and bagels.")

Dependent NPs or AdvPs can naturally include coordinated components:

o nya'andɔlib pii nɛ yi "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

ò ñyà'an-dòllɪb pī nē yí
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two

dɔ'átà nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "Doctor's and the chief's cars"

doctor:SG with chief:SG ART car:PL

sāluma nē ānzúrɪfà lâ'ad "gold and silver goods"

gold with silver item:PL

The last two examples, like their English translations, are ambiguous; they can, but need not, be taken as representing ellipsis of the first of two repeated heads within a coordination of two parallel dependent + head NPs:

dɔ'átà (lóyà) nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "[Doctor's cars] and [the chief's cars]"

sāluma (lâ'ad) nē ānzúrɪfà lâ'ad "[gold goods] and [silver goods]"

cf *[dɔ'átà nē nâ'ab lā] lóyà* "the cars of [Doctor-and-the-chief]"

[sāluma nē ānzúrɪfà] lâ'ad "[gold-and-silver] goods"

Elliptical interpretations are sometimes impossible. As dependent cbs cannot be coordinated and *nē* cannot join NPs with the same reference, this is the case with

ānzúrɪfà nē sāluma lá'-māan "silver- and goldsmith"

silver with gold item-maker:SG

cf **ānzúrɪfà lá'- nē sāluma lá'-māan* (impossible)

ānzúrɪfà lá'-māan nē sāluma lá'-māan (necessarily two different people)

NPs can also be combined by **apposition**. For apposition of locatives see [16.3](#); for uncompounded relatives [24.3.3](#).

NPs may precede personal names in apposition:

na'ab Agrippa "King Agrippa." (Acts 25:13)

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì pū nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bîig pɔ'á Herodiase +∅.

3INAN NEG.IND must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4, 1996)

... *lebis ye, eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.*

... *∅ lèbɪs yĕ, Ēĕñ, ò zʉà À-Sībɪgɪ n kābíríd.*

...CAT reply that, Yes, 3AN friend:SG PERS-termite:SG CAT ask.admission:IPFV.

"...replying that, Yes, it was his friend Termite asking for admission." KSS p12

The fact that the personifier-particle allomorph *à-* is not omitted in these cases shows that the relationship is not dependent-head 15.5.

Personal pronouns in apposition use free forms 27.5:

Man Paul [...] *pʉ'usidi ya.* "I, Paul ... greet you." (2 Thess 3:17)

Mān Paul [...] *pú'usìdī yá.*

1SG Paul greet:IPFV 2PL.OB.

Apposition is to be distinguished from cases where a preceding head has no combining form, as with quantifiers, or coordinated structures, and also from cases of segmental remodelling of cbs 8.2. The 1996 NT regularly replaces the initial cb of a number of compounds in the 1976 NT with a form written like a singular:

Nonaar Paal for *Nonapaal* *N5-ná-páal* "New Testament"

Siig Sun for *Sisun* *Sì-sùŋ* "Holy Spirit"

Siig Sun in the 1996 NT audio version is read as *Sìŋ-sùŋ* (*Sìŋ-sùŋ* with M spreading) or *Sì-sùŋ*, not **Sìŋ-sùŋ*; similar cases in my informants' speech confirm that this reflects segmental remodelling of cbs, not replacement of compounding by apposition: *lànnug-kàŋā* "this squirrel", *dàp-bàmmā* "these men" (both WK.)

SB showed a much greater tendency to produce segmental sg forms before dependent pronouns and even adjectives than my other informants.

15.2 Noun phrase categories

15.2.1 Number

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. Agreement is confined to pronouns; VPs show no agreement. However, in a compound of a noun with a following adjective or dependent pronoun, it is the dependent which inflects to show the number of the head noun cb 15.7.

Kusaal resembles English in distinguishing between **count** nouns, with singular and plural, and **mass** nouns which normally make no such distinction, and characteristically refer to liquids or substances or abstractions. Abstract nouns may be count nouns, as with gerunds referring to individual events or actions:

<i>zōwɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zōwɔs</i> ^ɛ		"race"
<i>bū'əsúɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>bū'əsá</i> ⁺	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaňsúɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>zàaňsíma</i> ⁺	<i>zàaňsúɔ-</i>	"dream"

Typical underived mass nouns belong to the *b*^ɔ and *m*^m noun classes, which do not have paired sg/pl suffixes, but gerunds of 3-mora stem verbs regularly show sg *r*^ɛ or *g*^ɔ suffixes, and a number of words referring to uncountables or abstracts are formally plural, but construed as singular:

<i>bāň'as</i> ^ɛ	<i>bāň'-</i>	"disease"
<i>ňyō'wɔs</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>ňyō'-</i>	"smoke"
<i>tàdımís</i> ^ɛ		"weakness"
<i>zōlımís</i> ^ɛ		"foolishness"
<i>mēt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>mēt-</i> 8.2	"pus"
<i>kūt</i> ^ɛ	<i>kūt-</i> 8.2	"iron"
<i>zùød</i> ^ɛ		"friendship"
<i>bōvd</i> ^ɛ		"innocence"
<i>sīňd</i> ^{ɛ/}		"honey"
<i>nīn-pōvd</i> ^ɛ		"pus"
<i>wāad</i> ^{ɛ/}		"cold weather"
<i>sūň-péen</i> ^{nɛ}		"anger"
<i>kų'à-nūud</i> ^{ɛ/}		"thirst"
<i>sālma</i> ⁺	<i>sālɨm-</i>	"gold"
<i>sìda</i> ⁺	<i>sìd-</i>	"truth"

Kūt^ɛ is also "nail"; the original sg *kūdug*^ɔ appears in the name *À-Kūdug*^ɔ 29.2. So too with a number of irregularly formed deverbal abstract nouns:

<i>gēēňmís</i> ^ɛ	"madness"	←	<i>gēēňm</i> ^{m/}	"madden, go mad"
<i>bùdımís</i> ^ɛ	"confusion"	←	<i>bùdım</i> ^m	"confuse"
<i>tìtōmıs</i> ^ɛ	"sending"	←	<i>tòm</i> ^m	"send"
<i>zīid</i> ^{ɛ/}	"carrying on head"	←	<i>zī</i> ⁺	"carry on head"
<i>vūud</i> ^{ɛ/}	"noise"	←	<i>vū</i> ⁺	"make a noise"
<i>kēn</i> ^{nɛ/}	"arrival"	←	<i>kēň</i> ⁺	"come"
<i>p̣àň'ad</i> ^ɛ	"speech"	←	<i>p̣āň</i> ^{'a}	"speak" (irreg. tones)
[sg <i>p̣àųňk</i> ^ɔ	"word"]			
<i>dì'əma</i> ⁺	"festival"	←	<i>dì'əm</i> ^m	"play, not be serious"
<i>tōuma</i> ⁺	"work"	←	<i>tòm</i> ^m	"work"
[sg <i>tōum</i> ^{mɛ}	"deed"]			
<i>tēň'əsá</i> ⁺	"thought"	cf	<i>tēň'əsá yīnní</i> (Acts 4:32)	"one thought"

A single object may be referred to by a plural naming its components:

	<i>dà-pōvdá</i> ⁺	<i>dà-pōvdá nàm</i> ^a	"cross"
cf	<i>dà-pōvdír</i> ^ε	<i>dà-pōvdá</i> ⁺	"cross-piece"

A Kusaal plural may just happen to correspond to an English mass noun:

	<i>lāuk</i> [∅]	<i>lā'ad</i> ^ε	<i>là</i> '-	"piece of goods"
	<i>lā'af</i> [∅]	<i>līgɪdɪ</i> ⁺	<i>là</i> '- or <i>līg</i> -	"cowrie" pl "money"

The count/mass distinction is significant in the choice of quantifiers [15.4.1](#) and when plurals are formed with *nàm*^a [8.4](#), and it affects the meaning of constructions with preceding NPs as dependents [15.6.2](#).

Mass nouns can be used in count senses (as in English): *dāam nám* "beers."

Some count nouns also have mass senses:

<i>fūug dōɔg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut): <i>fūug</i> "item of clothing, shirt"
<i>dàad bún-nám</i>	"wooden things": <i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood"

Manner-adverbs resemble mass nouns syntactically. Mass nouns may occur as manner adverbs, as may count nouns used in senses where number is irrelevant:

<i>Ṁ kēj nōbá.</i>	"I went on foot." SB
1SG go leg:PL.	WK corrected to <i>Ṁ kēj nē nōbá</i> (<i>nē</i> "with")

15.2.2 Gender

Gender is marked only in pronouns. It is natural, distinguishing **animate** from **inanimate**. Not only human beings, but also supernatural beings, "fairies" and the like have "animate" gender. Without a context, my informants all rejected

<i>*Ò à nē náaf.</i>	attempted "It is a cow."
3AN COP FOC COW:SG.	

Nevertheless, written sources often use animate pronouns for higher animals:

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

Kà wìəf yá' sīgí_ lì nī, lì zùluŋ ná pāe ò sàlɪbɪr.

And horse:SG if descend 3INAN LOC, 3INAN depth IRR reach 3AN bridle:SG.

"If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." (Rev 14:20)

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

Bùŋ yá' bòɔd yé ò lūbú_ f, fù pū ñyētí_ ò túbāa +∅.

Donkey:SG if want that 3AN throw.off 2SG.OB, 2SG NEG.IND see:IPFV 3AN ear:PL NEG.

"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." KSS p44

(i.e. "If there's a will, there's a way.")

In stories where animals speak, they are naturally assigned animate gender.

When body parts are metaphorically represented as having opinions in this NT passage, they have animate gender:

Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' ningbiŋ la nii," lin ku nyanji ke ka o ka' ningbiŋ la nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlì-n yē, Mán kā' nù'ug lā zúg, m̀ kā' nín-gbīŋ lā

Leg:SG if say-DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.BE hand:SG ART upon, 1SG NEG.BE body-skin:SG ART

níú +∅, līn kú ñyāŋi_∅ ké kà ò kā' nín-gbīŋ lā níú +∅.

LOC NEG, DEM.INAN NEG.IRR prevail CAT cause and 3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG ART LOC NEG.

"If a leg said, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not in the body', that could not cause it not to be in the body." (1 Cor 12:15)

Babies may be counted as animate or inanimate gender:

Ò/Lì à nē bí-lā. "He/she/it is a baby."

3AN/3INAN COP FOC child-baby:SG.

Trees, animate in the traditional world view, may have animate gender:

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.

Tìg wélà bìgısd ɔn àñ sī'em.

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IPFV 3AN:NZ COP INDF.ADV.

"The fruit of a tree shows what ["how"] it is." (Mt 12:33, 1976)

but *Tiig wela bigisid lin a tisi'a.*

Tìg wélà bìgısd lín àñ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IMPF 3INAN:NZ COP tree-INDF.INAN.

"The fruit of the tree shows what tree it is." (Mt 12:33, 1996)

The relevant distinction is thus whether the referent is being regarded as a "person"; if first or second person pronouns might apply, the gender is "animate."

A specific human/non-human distinction appears in morphology, in that the ^{a|b} noun class has exclusively human reference. Elsewhere, any such distinction is

essentially lexical, as with the division between *nīn-* "person" and *bōn-* "thing" as "dummy" cbs with adjectives. The availability of human-reference nouns in particular as adjectives 15.7.1.4 reflects the fact that nouns referring to people are generally either descriptive or labels for roles, unless they are unique identifiers.

There has been a change over the past decades in the alignment of gender and number. The current system distinguishes animate/inanimate in the singular with no gender distinction in the plural. In older sources like the 1976 NT (as in older Dagbani) inanimate pronoun forms used as heads, like demonstrative *nē*^{+/}, are used indifferently for sg or pl, occasionally with *nām*^a plurals to avoid ambiguity. However, even the 1976 NT always uses the animate plurals *bāmmā*^{+/} *bàn*^ε *sīāba*⁺ of the *dependent* pronouns for inanimate, and my informants use the animate plural forms of all pronouns freely for both genders both as dependents and heads:

Bà à nē kūgá. "They are stones."
3PL COP FOC stone:PL.

In my informants' unselfconscious utterances animate pronouns often appear for expected inanimates:

Nīf-káŋā, ɔn sáñ'am nē.
Eye-DEMST.SG, 3AN.CNTR spoil FOC.
"This eye, it's spoilt." KT (Overheard)

M̄ pū ñyē-ó-o ^{+∅}. "I can't find it [a stethoscope]" (Overheard)
1SG NEG.IND see-3AN.OB NEG.

sālima lá'ad né ò bōtɔs "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK
gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

Speakers correct the gender to inanimate if their attention is drawn to it.

The dummy subject pronoun "it" is always *lì*, never *ò*.

The inanimate sg pronoun subject *lì* is not changed to animate *ò* to agree with an animate complement of *àɛñ*^a "be something":

Li anε Zugɔɔb la. "It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)
Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.
3INAN COP FOC head-EMPTY.AN ART.

"an"= animate, "inan" = inanimate.

The alternate form *mām* also occurs for 1st sg in any role. The bound forms are non-contrastive; they are all liaison words 7.2. The left-bound pronouns are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. They are **never dependent**: in e.g. *m̄ bīig* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is *this NP* which is the predependent of *bīig* "child", exactly like *nà'ab lā* "the chief" in *nà'ab lā bīig* "the chief's child." There are **no possessive pronouns** in Kusaal.

The "+*h̄*" forms are used as subjects in *h̄*-clauses 24.1. The 2pl subject has a form ^{ya} used *after* imperatives 21.3 with the allomorph *-n̄l̄-* before liaison 7.2.2.

Free forms may be used for cbs before relative pronouns:

Fun kanε buoli f̄v m̄εŋ ... "You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
F̄ōn-kánì bùəli f̄v m̄ēŋ ...
 2SG-REL.SG call 2SG self ...

My informants only have *l-* forms for 3sg inanimate; all sources have *l-* for the bound object pronoun.

Kusaal has no honorific usages of plural for singular or 3rd person for 2nd.

Toende Kusaal has *õ* for *ò*; the original form was probably **ŋ̄m̄v*, with later **ŋ̄m̄* → **ŋ* before the rounded vowel. Toende has *t̄vn nam* for *t̄ínám yānám*; the *nam* of the Agolle forms is presumably the element seen in the pluraliser *nám^a*.

15.3.2 Demonstrative

	Animate sg	Inanimate sg		Plural
Long	<i>òŋā^{+/}</i>	<i>lìnā^{+/}</i>	far	<i>bàmmā^{+/}</i>
Short	<i>òŋ^ε</i>	<i>lìn^ε</i>	far	<i>bàn^ε</i>
Long		<i>nē'ŋá⁺</i>	near	
Short		<i>nē'^{+/}</i>	near	<i>nē'-nám^a</i> NT
Long	<i>kàŋā^{+/}</i>	<i>kàŋā^{+/}</i>		
Short	<i>kàn^ε</i>	<i>kàn^ε</i>		

Note the tone difference between *òŋ^ε* *lìn^ε* *bàn^ε* and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used as the basis of relative pronouns 24.3.2, for discourse deixis, and for interrogative "which?":

F̄vne an dau kan la! "You are that man!" (2 Samuel 12:7)
F̄ōni ∅ áñ dáŷ-kàn lā! [i.e. in the story just related.]
 2SG.CNTR CAT COP man-DEM.SG ART!

<i>Lìnɛ?</i>	"Which one?"
<i>Nĩf-kánè?</i>	"Which eye?"
<i>Nĩn-kánè?</i>	"Which person?"

The "long" series are used for spatio-temporal deixis. They do not distinguish near and far except with sg inanimate heads; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with *lā*^{+/} and "this" by a following *ñwà*⁺ (cf French *là* and *ci*.) This use of *lā*^{+/} as deictic is enabled by the fact that demonstratives automatically make the NP definite 15.7.5.

<i>sān-kánā</i>	"at this/that time"
<i>dà̀y-kà̀nā sām</i>	"this/that man's father"
<i>dà̀y-kà̀nā lā sām</i>	"that man's father"
<i>dà̀y-kà̀nā ñwá sām</i>	"this man's father"

Ḷḡā^{+/} *lìnā*⁺ *nē'ḡá*⁺ *nē'*^{+/} appear only as NP heads, and *Ḷḡ^ɛ lìn^ɛ* cannot follow a cb; however, *bāmmā*^{+/} *bàn^ɛ* can be used either uncompounded or after a cb.

Kàn^ɛ kà̀nā^{+/} are only used as dependent pronouns, and if the head is a noun or noun-adjective compound it must be a cb (sometimes remodelled on the sg.) *Kàn^ɛ* may also follow a free personal pronoun, and *à̀ràkóń'* "one", but no other quantifiers. NT avoids *kà̀nā*^{+/} *kàn^ɛ* for animate gender.

<i>du'átà lā lór-kà̀nā</i>	"this car of the doctor's"
<i>bù-kà̀nā lā</i>	"that goat"
<i>nō-píəl-kà̀nā</i>	"this white hen"
<i>fūn-kánì bùəl ...</i>	"you who call ..."

15.3.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
<i>sō</i> ⁺	<i>sīəl^a</i>	<i>sīəba</i> ⁺ (unglottalised vowel)
<i>sīa</i> ⁺	<i>sīa</i> ⁺	

Sō⁺ *sīəl^a* *sīəba*⁺ may be used as heads or dependents, and may follow cbs: *sīa*⁺ can only follow cbs, as a dependent. For NT WK, but not KT, *sīa*⁺ is much commoner than *sīəl^a* used as a dependent. WK feels that for people *sīa*⁺ is pejorative; NT occasionally has *sō*⁺ for inanimate: *tèḡ-sō* "a certain land." For indefinite pronouns in relative clauses see 24.3.1.

The sense is "some, someone, something", "a certain", indefinite but *specific*:

yà bì-sǎ' "a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDF.AN

The meaning is often "another, a different" (cf Hausa *wani*, Jaggar p314.)

ka man ti ye m sig la, ka sǎ' pun deni sig sa.

kà mán tì yé ò sīg lā,

and 1SG:NZ after say 1SG descend ART,

kà sǎ' pún dèŋi_ø sīg sá.

and INDF.AN already before CAT descend thither.

"when I'm then about to go down, someone else goes down first." (Jn 5:7)

Mεeri one an Magdalen ne Meeri sǎ'

Meeri ónì àñ Magdalen nē Meeri sǎ'

Mary REL.AN COP Magdalen with Mary INDF.AN

"Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

Winnig mǎr o meŋ venlim, ka nwadig me mǎr venlim si'a.

Winnig mǎr ò mēŋ véñlìm kà ñwādig mé mǎr véñlìm-sǎ'a.

Sun:SG have 3AN self beauty and moon:SG also have beauty-INDF.INAN.

"The sun has its own beauty and the moon, another beauty." (1 Cor 15:41)

M̄ ná tī_ f tí-sǎ'a.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine-INDF.INAN.

"I'll give you a different medicine." WK

The indefinite pronouns can be used to introduce new information:

Dāy-sǎ' dāa bé ... "There was a certain man ..."

Man-INDF.AN TNS EXIST ...

but this is likely to mean "There was another man ..."; "Once there was a man ..." is more likely to be expressed simply as *Dāy dāa bé ...*

Sǎ'/sǎ'al mé-kàma means "anyone, anything, everyone, everything":

O niŋid si'el mekama su'vŋa.

Ò niŋid sǎ'al mé-kàma súŋā.

3AN do:IPFV INDF.INAN also-whatever good:ADV.

"He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)

In negative clauses the indefinites mean "(not) ... anything", "(not) ... anybody":

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.

Kà s̄' k̄udim kú lēm ñyée_lī yá'asā +∅.

And INDFAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3INAN.OB again NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

S̄' k̄ā'e +∅.

"There's nobody there."

INDFAN NEG.BE NEG.

M̄ p̄ yél s̄'əla +∅.

"I didn't say anything."

1SG NEG.IND say INDF.INAN NEG.

15.3.4 Interrogative

Animate

ànô'ɔn^ɛ "who?"

Inanimate

b̄⁺ "what?"

Plurals with *nàm^a* may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

B̄ kimm "what exactly?" with the ideophone *kimm* is common in KB [30.1](#).

The initial *à-* of *ànô'ɔn^ɛ* behaves like the manner-adverb prefix in liaison [7.2.1](#):

... *keŋ tisi anô'ɔnɛ?*

"to go to whom?" (1 Samuel 6:20)

... *kēŋ_∅ tísì_ànô'ɔnɛ +∅?*

... go CAT give who CQ?

B̄⁺ can be used after a cb as a dependent interrogative "what?":

nā'-b̄

"what cow?" WK DK

(*náaf b̄* can only mean "What, of a cow's?")

bù-b̄

"what goat?"

dā-b̄

"what beer?"

The compound *b̄-būudi⁺* "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

nā'-b̄-būudi

"what kind of cow?"

dā-b̄-būudi

"what kind of beer?"

Note the idiom:

Fù á nē b̄-būudi +∅?

"What tribe do you belong to?"

2SG COP FOC what-sort CQ?

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

Fò túm bó-tùuma +ø? "What kind of work do you do?"
2SG work:IPFV what-work CQ?

Bo yir ka ya na me' n tis mane?

Bò-yír kà yà ná mē n tís mánè +ø?

What-house:SG and 2PL IRR build CAT give 1SG.CNTR CQ?

"What kind of house will you build for me?" (Acts 7:49, 1996)

15.3.5 Reciprocal

Tāaba⁺ "one another" appears as *tāab* clause-medially for some speakers. It can be used after a cb, meaning "fellow-": *ò tùm-tùm-tāaba* "his fellow-workers."

Examples of the pronoun use:

Sòḡimī_ø tāaba. "Help one another."
Help:IMP 2PL.SUB each.other.

Tì yúug nē tāaba. "It's been a long time." KT
1PL delay with each.other.

Bà d̀l nē tāaba. "They went together." (*d̀l*^{la/} "accompany")
3PL follow with each.other.

15.3.6 Reflexive

Mēḡ^{a/} "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl: *m̀ mēḡ* "myself", *yà mēḡ* "yourselves."

nà'ab lā mēḡ "the chief himself"
chief:SG ART self

Bà ṅýé_è bà mēḡ. "They've seen for themselves."
3PL see 3PL self.

"Self" forms must be used for complements referring to the clause subject:

M̀ ṅwé'ε_m mēḡ. "I hit myself."
1SG hit 1SG self.
not **M̀ ṅwé'ε m* or **M̀ ṅwé' mān.*

Kusaal resembles English, as opposed to French, in using a pronoun possessor with body parts acted on by their owner, e.g.

Ba pu piesidi ba nu'us wuv lin nar si'em la ka ditā.

Bà pū pīāsídí_ bā nū'us wōv lín nār sī'əm lá kà dītā +∅.

3PL NEG.IND clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3INAN:NZ be.proper INDF.ADV ART and eat:IPFV NEG.

"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." (Mt 15:1)

Where ordinary pronouns would be permissible, using *mēŋ* implies contrast:

M̄ pīā_ m̄ mēŋ nū'us. "I washed my own hands."

1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

Fù mēŋ kōv bí-līaa +∅? "Yourself or the baby?"

2SG self or child-baby:SG CQ? ("Which of you needs the doctor?")

See also [15.7.3](#) on *amēŋá*⁺ "really, truly" as a modifier "genuine, real"; cf the adjective *mēŋír*^ε seen in *yēl-mēŋír*^ε "truth" ("genuine matter.")

15.3.7 Dummy head *sōb*

Sōb^a is a dummy head for a preceding NP or AdvP dependent; it specifies number and gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate sg *sōb*^a pl *dīm*^a

Inanimate sg/pl *dìn*^{nε}

NP predependent constructions have their usual meanings [15.6.2](#):

mān dín^{nε} "my one, mine"

À-Wīn dīm "Awini's family"

Fūn pīāñ'ad nē tīnám dín.

2SG.CNTR speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CNTR EMPTY.INAN.

("We can't speak your language but ...") "You're speaking ours."

pù-pìəlim sōb^a

pl *pù-pìəlim dīm*^a

"holy person" (*pù-pìəlim*^m "holiness")

dūniya ní dìn^{nε}

"earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)

Bòk dīm

"Bawku people"

yīigá sōb^a

"first (person)" beside *yīig-sōb*^a *id*

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

<i>yī-sób^a</i>	pl <i>yī-sób-nàm^a</i>	"householder"	(<i>yīr^{ε/}</i> "house")
<i>yī-dím^a</i>		"members of the household"	
<i>nīf-sób^a</i>		"miser"	(<i>nīf^{ɔ/}</i> "eye")
<i>tāñp-sōb^a</i>		"warrior"	(<i>tāñp^ɔ</i> "war")
<i>zūg-sób^a</i>	pl <i>zūg-sób-nàm^a</i>	"boss" NT "Lord"	(<i>zūg^{ɔ/}</i> "head")

Ò sōb^a/ōn sōb^a mean "the person we were just talking about."

15.4 Quantifiers

15.4.1 Overview

Formally, quantifiers resemble noun sg or pl forms, frequently with apocope-blocking [5.1.3](#); most number words are also preceded by number prefixes.

Quantifiers can be classified as **count** or **mass** [15.2.1](#), but the distinction is only of significance when the quantified noun is mass type, in which case a count quantifier is ungrammatical; with count nouns there is no restriction and either type of quantifier is acceptable:

	<i>nīdɪb bédvugū</i>	"a lot of people"
	<i>nīdɪb bábɪgā</i>	"many people"
	<i>kù'em bédvugū</i>	"a lot of water"
not	* <i>kù'em bábɪgā</i>	*"many water"

Mass quantifiers are

<i>bèdvugū^{+/}</i>	"a lot"	<i>pāmm</i> LF <i>pāmné</i>	"a lot"
<i>fīñ⁼</i>	"a little (liquid)"	<i>bī'əlá⁺</i>	"a little"
<i>wūv⁼</i>	"all"	<i>wōsa⁺</i>	"all"

Count quantifiers include the number words, and also

<i>bàbɪgā^{+/}</i>	"many"	<i>kàlɪgā^{+/}</i>	"few"
<i>fāañ⁼</i>	"every"	<i>zāñ'a⁼</i>	"every"
<i>kàm^a</i>	"every"		

Kàm^a "every" occurs by itself as a quantifier and also before others:

sāñá kám = sāñá kám zāñ'a "all the time"

Quantifiers appear typically as determiners in NPs [15.7.2](#), but like pronouns they may also be heads of NPs; they can pluralise with *nàm*^a:

<i>Pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèdugū ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèdugū lā ké nā.</i>	"The crowd came"
<i>Àyí' ké nā.</i>	"Two came."
<i>Àyí' lā ké nā.</i>	"The two came."
<i>màljāk-nám túsà pīiga nám</i>	"tens of thousands of angels"

Àyí' námá_àyí' á nē nāasí.

NUM:two PL NUM:two COP FOC four.

"Two two's are four."

A quantifier head after a dependent NP is a **partitive** construction [15.6.2](#).

Quantifier heads may be followed by dependent pronouns; as quantifiers have no combining forms, there is no compounding:

*Ka ti ye ti nye diib yaani moogin nwa diis nidib **bedego bama** nwa?*

Kà tì yé tì ñyē dīib yáa ní mōogū-n ñwá

And 3PL that 3PL find food where LOC grass:SG-LOC this

∅ dūs nidib bédugū bámmā ñwá +∅?

CAT feed person:PL many DEMST.PL this CQ?

"Where are we going to find food in this wilderness to feed this crowd of people?" (Mt 15:33, 1996: KB *nimbama nwa wusa* "all these people")

15.4.2 Number words

15.4.2.1 Quantifiers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i> ⁺	10	<i>pīiga</i> ⁺	100	<i>kòbigā</i> ⁼
2	<i>àyí</i> ⁺	20	<i>pīsí</i> ⁺ [pisi]	200	<i>kòbisí</i> ⁺ [kòbisi]
3	<i>àtáñ</i> ⁺	30	<i>pīs táñ</i> ⁺	300	<i>kòbis táñ</i> ⁺
4	<i>ànāasí</i> ⁺	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i> ⁺	400	<i>kòbis nāasí</i> ⁺
5	<i>ànū</i> ⁺	50	<i>pīs nū</i> ⁺	500	<i>kòbis nū</i> ⁺
6	<i>àyúèbù</i> ⁺	60	<i>pīs yúèbù</i> ⁺	600	<i>kòbis yúèbù</i> ⁺
7	<i>àyópòè</i> ⁺	70	<i>pīs yópòè</i> ⁺	700	<i>kòbis yópòè</i> ⁺
8	<i>àní</i> ⁼	80	<i>pīs ní</i> ⁼	800	<i>kòbis ní</i> ⁼
9	<i>àwāè</i> ⁺	90	<i>pīs wāè</i> ⁺	900	<i>kòbis wāè</i> ⁺

The quantified noun is normally plural, except with *yīnní*⁺, but may be singular with units of measure: *yōlvogá àtáñ'* "¢600 [cedis]."

The forms for 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 100 show apocope-blocking 5.1.3; the forms for 20 and 200 are not apocope-blocked but are combinations with the stem of *àyí*⁺.

kòbɪgā[≠] has LF like the SF, not **kòbɪgáa*, contrary to the usual rule for forms with apocope-blocking.

"Thousand" is a regular *r^ε|a⁺* class noun, *tūsɪr^{ε/}*: *tūsá àtáñ'* "3000." "Half" is *pō-súk^a* pl *pō-súgùs^ε*. Other numbers are formed with *nē* "with, and":

kòbɪs táñ' nē pīs yúəbò nē nū "three hundred and sixty-five"

11 to 19 have the special contracted forms

pīi nē yīnní, pīi nē yí, pīi nē táñ' ... pīi nē wāɛ (or *pīi nā yīnní, pīi nā yí ...*)

The prefix *à-* is omitted after *nē* "with", and sometimes also after focus-*nē*^{+/}:

Lì à nē nāasí. / Lì à né ànāasí. "They're four."

The forms *àyíṅā^{+/}* *àtáṅā^{+/}* mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M̄ mór bīisá àtáñ'. "I have three children."
1SG have child:PL NUM:three. is true, though misleading

but *M̄ mór bīisá àtáṅā.* "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after *nē* "and", as in *pīi nē yíṅā* "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with the particle *nē*^{+/} 27.1.2.1.

Yīnní⁺ can also be construed with a preceding noun cb:

kūg-yínnì⁺ "one stone" (M dropping 7.4.4)
cf *kūgɔr yīnní⁺* "one stone" (no M dropping)

In Dagbani both "one" and "ten" can be used after a combining form, but Kusaal has only a few isolated forms like *dà-pīiga* "ten days".

After personal pronouns the number prefix is *bà-* instead of *à-* 13.3: *tì bàtáñ'* "we three", *yà bàyópòɛ* "you seven", *bà bàyí* "they two."

Other ordinal expressions can be created using *pàas*^E or *pè'εs*^E "add up to":

dàu-kàni pè'εsa_ àyí lā
 man-REL.SG add.up.to NUM:two ART
 "the second man" ("man who has added up to two")

lìni pàasa_ àtáñ' lā "the third one"
 REL.INAN add.up.to NUM:three ART

Another construction uses numbers as predependents before *dāan*^a "owner of ..."; such phrases are then themselves used either as NP heads or as determiners:

àyí dāan lā "the second one"
būvgá àtáñ' dāan lā "the third goat"

Yīgá dāan may be used for "first." In "*Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*" p35 ordinal forms used in counting "first, second, third ..." appear without apocope-blocking: *atan'-daan ... ka anaas-daan ... ka nu-daan ... ka yuob-daan ... ka poi-daan ... ka nii-daan ... ka wai-daan ... ka piig-daan*, but my informants use the ordinary quantifier forms in this construction.

15.4.2.4 Adverbs

Multiplicatives (answering *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?") are expressed

yīmmú⁺ "straight away, at once"
àbùyí⁺ "twice"
àbùtáñ'⁺ "three times"
àbùnāasí⁺ "four times"

and so on, with the same stems after the prefixes as for the quantifiers, up to

bùpīga⁺ "ten times"

The *à-* of these forms is not the number prefix but the manner-adverb formant, and a LF-final vowel before it is *-i* not *-a*; its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably therefore analogical.

Answers to *nōcrá àlá* "how many times?" have forms of the pattern

	<i>nɔ̄ɔr yīnní⁺</i>	"once"
	<i>nɔ̄ɔrá àtáñ⁺</i>	"three times"
or	<i>nɔ̄ɔríṃ b̀táñ⁺</i>	"three times" NT

This *nɔ̄ɔr* is not "mouth" (= Mooré *nóorè*) but corresponds to Mooré *náooré* "times", homophonous with Mooré *náooré* "leg"; cf Toende Kusaal *nɔ̄'ɔt* = Agolle *nɔ̄b̀ir* "leg". Original open and closed *oo* fall together when nasalised 3.2.2. For the semantics cf Hausa *sàu ukù* "three times" *sau* "foot(print)." Niggli's dictionary gives Toende *nɔ̄'ɔt* (tone *sic*) in the sense "*fois*" and even has *nɔ̄ba ayi* beside *nɔ̄'ɔt ayi* "*deux fois*." Agolle *nɔ̄ɔr* "times" does not have a glottalised vowel, however.

Distributives ("two by two" etc) are reduplicated forms without apocope-blocking; there is no M dropping on the second part except with 10, 100, 1000:

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīig</i>	100	<i>k̀b̀ig k̀b̀ig</i>
2	<i>àyí yí</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>k̀b̀isí k̀b̀isí</i> or <i>k̀b̀is yí yí</i>
3	<i>àtáñ' táñ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táñ' táñ'</i>	300	<i>k̀b̀is táñ' táñ'</i>
4	<i>ànāas nāas</i>	40	<i>pīs nāas nāas</i>		<i>etc</i>
5	<i>ànū nū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū nū</i>	1000	<i>tūsir túsir</i>
6	<i>àyùèb yùèb</i>	60	<i>pīs yùèb yùèb</i>		
7	<i>àyó̀p̀è p̀è</i>	70	<i>pīs yó̀p̀è p̀è</i>		
8	<i>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pīs níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwāè wāè</i>	90	<i>pīs wāè wāè</i>		

Intermediate numbers are made by replacing the last part of the usual quantifier phrase with a distributive:

pīs nū nē nāas nāas "by fifty-fours"

The distributives can have a preceding NP as a dependent:

dābá àyó̀p̀è p̀è "weekly" ("by sevens of days")

15.4.3 Proquantifiers

Quantifiers have corresponding proforms; the *à-* is the *number* prefix, and induces preceding LF-final *-a* not *-i* 7.2.1.

Demonstrative	Indefinite	Interrogative
<i>àlá⁺</i>	<i>sī'əm^m</i>	<i>àlá⁺</i>
"so much/many"	"some amount"	"how much/many?"

15.5 Personifier particle

Indigenous Kusaasi personal names are always preceded by the personifier particle, which appears as *À-* by default, but *Ñ-* before adjective stems, where *Ñ-* is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the point of articulation of a following consonant. The particle is a liaison word; the *À-* allomorph, like the manner-adverb prefix *à-*, is preceded by word-final *-ɪ*, not *-a* as with the number prefix.

Personal names do not take adjectives or the article, but may occur with other determiners. *À-* is deleted after a predependent, but *Ñ-* remains.

Personal names can pluralise with *nàm*^a; such plurals can mean e.g. "more than one person called Awini"; Niggli's Toende Kusaal dictionary also gives the *cum suis* meaning: *Awinnam*: "Awin and his people. *Awinne et consort (les Awinne).*"

<i>À-Wīn</i>	"Awini"
<i>tì Wīn</i>	"our Awini"
<i>M̄ Wīn</i>	"my Awini"
<i>À-Wīn-kánjā</i>	"this Awini"
<i>À-Wīn nám</i>	"Awinis"
<i>Ñ-Dāvg</i>	"Ndago"
<i>tì Ñ-Dāvg</i>	"our Ndago"

Although the Kusaal Bible versions (unlike the Mooré Bible) use foreign names without the particle, *À-* normally appears before them in speech:

<i>À-Mūusa</i>	"Moses"
<i>À-Yīisa</i>	"Jesus"
<i>À-Sīmōɔn</i>	"Simon"

For examples of Kusaasi names see [29.2](#).

NT has some personifications of abstractions: *À-Sàñ'vŋ* "Destruction."

In stories where animals are characters, animal names take *À-*:

<i>À-Bāa</i>	"Mr Dog"
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A number of animal and bird names incorporate the personifier particle as part of the common noun, without any implication of personification; among such nouns are *à-dàalúŋ*^ɔ "stork" *à-gávŋg*^ɔ "pied crow" *à-kōra-dīəm*^{ma} "praying mantis" and the loanword *à-mús*^ɛ "cat." Thus

<i>à-dàalúŋ</i>	"a stork"
<i>m̄/mān dáalúŋ</i> 1SG/1SG.CNTR stork:SG	"my stork"
<i>dāy lā dáalúŋ</i> man:SG ART stork:SG	"the man's stork"
<i>Lì à né à-dàalúŋ.</i> 3INAN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.	"It's a stork"
<i>M̄ ñyé à-dàalúŋ.</i> 1SG see PERS-stork:SG.	"I've seen a stork."

The *à-* allomorph is not elided after a predependent but is *replaced* by it, as shown by the M spreading affecting the stem. The fact that *à-* thus effectively fills a predependent slot may reflect a historical origin in an indefinite third-person pronoun "someone", perhaps related to the Mooré 3sg pronoun *yě~a*.

A further similarity with personal pronouns appears when *verb phrases* are nominalised by the personifier particle, which then takes the place of a subject pronoun in the sense "someone who ..." This is particularly common in proverbs.

<i>Atum sɔ'</i>	"Siloam" (Jn 9:7)
<i>À-tòm sɔ'</i> PERS-send INDF.AN	("Someone sent someone")

<i>Apv-kpen'-banv dim</i>	
<i>À-pō kpéñ' bàvŋv díŋ</i> PERS-NEG.IND enter circumcision EMPTY.PL	
"the Uncircumcised" (Eph 2:11)	

<i>À-dāa yél kā' tūmm +∅.</i> PERS-TNS say NEG.HAVE medicine NEG.	
"Did-say has no remedy." (No use crying over spilt milk.)	

<i>À-ñyē nē nīf sŋñ'ɔ̄ À-wòm tūba.</i> PERS-see with eye:SG be.better.than PERS-hear ear:PL	
"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)	

<i>À-Kīdigi_ ∅ Bū'əs</i> PERS-CROSS CAT ask	"Crossed over and asked" (name of the constellation Orion.)
--	--

Apozotyel "Doesn't-fear-trouble", character in KSS p35.
À-Pō-zót-yēl
 PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG

The expected final LF in this expression, induced by the negative clitic paired with *pō*, is seen only when the name is clause-final:

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.
À-Pō-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa.
 PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG TNS COP FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only
 "Fears-nothing was his father's only child." KSS p35

À- can appear as a predependent of the subject of an entire clause, with the meaning "someone whose ...":

Bà kèn né À-nà kúu_ m̄ nūa yír, kà bà pō kén
 3PL go:IPFV FOC PERS-IRR kill 1SG chicken:SG house:SG and 3PL NEG.IND go:IPFV
À-nōɔs bé yírē +∅.
 PERS-chicken:PL EXIST house:SG NEG.
 "They go to Will-kill-my-chicken's house, but not to Got-chickens' house."
 ("The rich are not always hospitable.") [Cf *Nōɔs bé*. "There are chickens."]

Nominalisations with *à-* can pluralise with *nàm^a*:

À-zī_ ∅ kpí nàm kpîid né kà téñbìd.
 PERS-NEG.KNOW CAT die PL die:IPFV FOC and tremble:IPFV.
 "Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Proverb)
 (i.e "It's a storm in a teacup.")

15.6 Dependents preceding the head

The head of a NP may be preceded by a dependent. Only one is permitted, but the resulting NP may itself recursively serve as the head of a NP with yet another predependent. Specific predependents precede generic, with cbs last:

Wínà'am [pú'vsòg [fûug dōɔg]]
 "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see [7.4.4](#).

15.6.1 Combining forms

A combining form as a predependent is always generic and non-referential. Compounds with a predependent cb can be freely created, but resemble the compounds seen in other languages more closely than those with cb heads preceding adjectives and dependent pronouns. Specialised lexical meanings often occur with dependent cbs, rarely with head cbs before adjectives and never before pronouns.

If the head is a deverbal noun, it may be preceded by a combining form representing an **argument**, with count or mass meaning:

<i>dā-nûur</i> ^ε	"beer-drinking"
<i>gēl-kûes</i> ^a	"egg-seller"

With **agent nouns** from transitive verbs the cb usually represents an object. Agent nouns from intransitives may have an AdvP or indirect object cb complement. These compounds can be freely coined, and their meanings are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions. Examples:

<i>nīn-kûud</i> ^a	"murderer"
<i>bù-kûud</i> ^{a/}	"goat-killer"
<i>nō-kûud</i> ^a	"hen-killer"
<i>pu' à-kûud</i> ^{a/}	"woman-killer"
<i>nō-záñ</i> ^{lε}	"holder of hens"
<i>wìd-kûes</i> ^a	"horse-seller"
<i>bù-kûes</i> ^a	"goat-seller"
<i>sàlm-kûes</i> ^a	"gold-seller"
<i>dā-nûud</i> ^a	"beer-drinker"
<i>zīm-gbâñ'ad</i> ^a	"fisherman" ("fish-catcher")
<i>nō-dí'əs</i> ^a	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")
<i>tàn-mēd</i> ^a	"builder" (<i>tān</i> ^{nε} "earth")
<i>làmpō-dí'əs</i> ^a	"tax collector" (French <i>l'impôt</i>)
<i>gbàn-mī'id</i> ^{a/}	"scribe" NT ("book-knower")
<i>pu' à-sāñ'am</i> ^{ma}	"adulterer" ("woman-spoiler")
<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> ^a	"gate-keeper" (<i>zà'-nōr</i> ^{ε/} "gate")
<i>dà-kīəd</i> ^a	"wood-cutter"
<i>kòñb-kīm</i> ^{na}	"herdsman" (<i>kòñb-</i> cb of <i>būn-kóñbùg</i> ^ɔ "animal")
<i>bùl-sīgud</i> ^{a/}	"well-diver" (<i>bùlig</i> ^a "well")
<i>tùen-gāt</i> ^a	"leader" (<i>Ò gād tùen</i> "He's gone ahead")
<i>ñyà'an-dò</i> ^{la}	"disciple" (<i>ñyá'anj</i> ^a "behind", <i>dò</i> ^{la/} "accompany")
<i>pu' à-lā'ad</i> ^a	"laugher at women" WK (<i>Ò là'ad pū'ab</i> "He laughs at women")

My informants freely create and cite agent nouns in isolation, but it is unusual in practice for agent nouns to appear "bare"; in my materials only *bāŋɪd^a* "wise man", *sĭākɪd^a* "believer", *sūŋɪd^a* "helper", *fāāñd^{a/}* "robber", "Saviour" occur often. With monosyllabic agent nouns there is often a preceding cognate cb, sometimes an object, but often apparently just a reduplication of the agent noun stem:

<i>màal-māan^{na}</i>	"sacrificer"
<i>zī-zīd^a</i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as^a</i>	"talker"
<i>zàb-zàb^a</i>	"warrior" (tone <i>sic</i>)
<i>zòt-zòt^a</i>	"racer, athlete"
<i>tùm-tùm^{na}</i>	"worker"

Cbs occur before deverbal **instrument nouns** in object or adverb senses:

<i>sĭà-lǝɔdɪŋ^a</i>	"belt" (waist-tying thing)
<i>nīn-gótɪŋ^a</i>	"mirror" (eye-looking thing)
<i>nīn-gótìs^ɛ</i>	"spectacles"

If the head is a **gerund**, a predependent cb may represent a subject or complement. Gerunds in *-b^ɔ* here replace the suffix with *-r^ɛ* 11.1.1.

If the underlying verb is transitive, a predependent cb cannot be a subject. It is most often an object:

<i>pɥ'à-dīr^ɛ</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ò dì pɥ'ā</i> "He's married a wife")
<i>nīn-kúv^ɛ</i>	"murder"
<i>dā-núur^ɛ</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>Sāmán-píər^ɛ</i>	traditional New Year ("Courtyard Cleaning")
<i>bùgúm-tǝɔŋ^ɛ</i>	Fire Festival ("Fire Throwing")
<i>nǝ-lǝɔr^ɛ</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>nǝ-pǝɔr^ɛ</i>	"oath" (<i>pǝ⁺</i> "swear")
<i>nǝ-nâar^ɛ</i>	"covenant" (<i>nā⁺</i> "join")
<i>nīn-bâal-zǝɔr^ɛ</i>	"pity" (<i>Ò zòt-ō nīn-báalìg</i> . "He has pity on him")

It may represent an AdvP:

<i>mǝ-pīl^{lɛ}</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vū'vgír^ɛ</i>	"resurrection" (<i>Ò vò'vg kūmɪ-n</i> . "He came alive from death.")

Although many of these are set forms, free creation of nonce-forms is possible:

fū-yêēr^ε "shirt-wearing" WK

Cbs as subjects are seen only with gerunds from intransitive or patientive ambitransitive verbs:

nōb-kōwr^ε "breaking a leg" (*kō⁺* is intransitive)
nū'-módìr^ε "swelling of the hand"
wìn-līir^ε "sunset" (*Winnig lí yā*. "The sun has set/fallen.")
sūñ-sāñ'uj^ɔ "sorrow" (*Ṁ sūñf sāñ'am nē*. "My heart is spoilt"
 = "I'm sad.")
sūñ-pêen^{nε} "anger" (*Ṁ sūñf pélig nē*. "My heart is white.")

A dependent cb before a deadjectival abstract noun may have a sense much like an argument, corresponding to the subject of a related verb:

pù-pìəlīm^m "holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
sūñ-kpí'oj^ɔ "boldness" ("heart-strength")
sūñ-má'asīm^m "joy" ("heart-coolness")
 (*Ṁ sūñf má'e yā*. "I'm joyful.")
nìn-tōllīm^m "fever" ("body-heat")
wīn-tōvg^ɔ "ill fortune" ("fate-bitterness")

Before heads which are neither deverbal nor abstract nouns, a dependent cb has a very general quasi-adjectival sense. Such compounds are especially liable to develop specialised lexical meanings.

bì-fūug "children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
wìd-zōvr "horsetail"
wāb-móvgū-n WK "in elephant-bush, where there are elephants"
zà'-nōwr "gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig "sibling" ("child by [same] mother")
bā'-bīig "half-sibling" ("child by [same] father")
tèŋ-bīig "native" ("child of a country")
nàsàa-sìlvug "aeroplane" (European hawk) ILK

WK has the exceptional forms *nāaf-bì'isīm* "cow's milk", *bōvg-bí'isīm* "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound (note the lack of M spreading after *nāaf-*.)

15.6.2 Noun phrases

Complete NPs as predependents play a role analogous to English genitives and NP complements with "of" (CGEL pp467ff, 441.) The range of meanings is similarly very wide, and dependent on the semantics of both head and dependent. Indefinite non-count predependent NPs function as modifiers, and definite and/or count NPs as determiners. Personal pronouns never function as determiners themselves, but they often head predependent NPs which do 2.2.

Definite predependents do not automatically make a NP head definite 15.7.5.

For *mēŋ*^{a/} "self" and *sōb*^a as heads after predependents see 15.3.6 15.3.7.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun or a quantifier, the construction with a predependent is **partitive**:

<i>nīn-sīabà</i>	"certain people"	<i>sīaba</i>	dependent
<i>yà sō'</i>	"some one among you"	<i>sō'</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb lā sīabà</i>	"certain of the people"	<i>sīaba</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb sīabà</i>	"certain ones among people"	<i>sīaba</i>	head
<i>nīdɪbá àyí'</i>	"two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdɪbá àyí' lā</i>	"the two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdɪb lá àyí'</i>	"two of the people"	<i>àyí'</i>	head

The sense is also partitive if the head is a relative clause with an indefinite pronoun as relative:

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

Pà'alimī tí nīdɪbá_ àyí' ñwá fún gāŋ sō'

Teach:IMP 1PL.OB person:PL NUM:two this 2SG:NZ choose INDF.AN

"Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" (Acts 1:24)

A partitive sense is not possible with other head types: e.g. *nīdɪb lā gígìs* must mean "the dumb ones *belonging* to the people", not "among the people" (WK.)

Abstract indefinite NPs as predependents ascribe a quality to the head:

<i>nā'am kúk</i>	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
<i>nā'am sù'ulìm</i>	"kingdom" ("chieftaincy possession")
<i>pù'usug dōcɔg</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>tōlɪgír bún</i>	"heater" ("heating thing" = <i>bōn-tólɪgír</i> ^ε)
<i>dōgub dút</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>līgɪdɪ túmà</i>	"expensive work" (<i>līgɪdɪ</i> + "money")

There are sometimes alternate forms with cbs:

	<i>tāñp-sōb^a</i>	"warrior"	(<i>tāñp^ɔ</i> "war")
	<i>pù-pìəl-sōb^a</i>	"holy person"	(Rom 3:10, 1996)
but	<i>pù-pìəlɪm sōb^a</i>	"holy person"	(Mt 10:41, 1996)
	<i>pù-pìəl-tūuma⁺</i>	"holy actions"	(Rom 6:13, 1996)
but	<i>pù-pìəlɪm túumà⁺</i>	"holy actions"	(Mt 5:10, 1996)

Language names may appear as abstract nouns describing an ethnic group:

<i>Kūsāal yír nē kūeb</i>	"Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
<i>Nāsāal búgúm</i>	"electricity" ("European fire")

Concrete indefinite mass NPs as predependents express the material of which the head consists.

<i>sālima bútiŋ</i>	"golden cup"
<i>sālima nē ānzúrfà lá'ad</i>	"gold and silver goods"

Count nouns may appear here in mass senses [15.2.1](#):

<i>fūug dōɔg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut)
<i>dàad bún-nám</i>	"wooden things" (<i>dàug^ɔ</i> "piece of wood")

Despite the presumably generic meaning, NP predependents of this type can be antecedents of anaphoric pronouns:

<i>sālima lá'ad né ò bētus</i>	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK 15.1
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This is not the case with cbs of mass nouns used as generic complements of deverbal nouns, as in *sālim-kùes* "gold-seller", *dā-nūud* "beer-drinker"; for some discussion of non-referential NPs as antecedents in English see e.g. CGEL pp400ff, and p1458; though this is not stated, the restriction of anaphora to the same clause implied on p400 is not valid in English in the case of *generic* non-referential NPs.

An interesting case involving a concrete mass noun is the compound *kɔ'à-ñwīig* "current" ("water" + "rope.") This perhaps represents "aquatic rope" in contrast to **kù'əm ñwīig* "a rope made of water", suggesting that the construction with unbound concrete mass predependents is limited to the specific sense "made of ..."

With count and/or definite heads, meanings include kin relations, body parts, and ownership:

<i>m̀ bīig</i>	"my child"
<i>dāy lā bīig</i>	"the man's child"
<i>dāy lā bīer bīig nāaf zòur</i>	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
<i>Kūsāas wádà</i>	"customs of the Kusaasi"

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bē'og yír nà sǎñ'am.

Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.

"The house of a wicked person will be destroyed." (Proverbs 14:11)

A contrast with a non-referential predependent cb:

<i>nà'ab lā wīaf zôur</i>	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zôur</i>	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)

Dāan^a "owner of ..." (*nām*^a pl) always has a predependent NP; this may represent a concrete possession, or if it is adverbial or has an abstract sense, it may ascribe a quality (as with Hausa *m̀ai*, or Arabic *đu:*):

<i>lór dāan</i> ^a	"car owner"
<i>bōug dāan</i> ^a	"goat owner"
<i>kù'em dāan</i> ^a	"water owner"
<i>tìŋ dāan</i> ^a	"bearded man" Hausa <i>m̀ai geemu</i>
<i>dāam dāan</i> ^a	"beer owner"
<i>pōɔg lā dāan</i> ^a	"the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40)

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wōk dāan pō gǎŋìd búgúmm +∅.

Tail-long:SG owner:SG NEG.IND step.over:IPFV fire NEG.

Proverb: "One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire."

(If you have family commitments you shouldn't take risks.) KSS p38

<i>p̀è-p̀ielim dāan</i> ^a	"holy person"
<i>bōvusígā dāan</i> ^a	"softly-softly sort of person" WK

See [15.4.2.3](#) on the use of *dāan*^a with numbers to make ordinal expressions.

A cb predependent appears before *dāan*^a in a few set expressions:

<i>yī-dāan</i> ^a	"householder" = <i>yī-sǎb</i> ^a (Hausa <i>m̀ai gidaa</i>)
<i>t̀èŋ-dāan</i> ^a	(literally "land-owner"): traditional earth-priest

Before gerunds and other abstract nouns describing events or processes, NP predependents refer to *subjects*. Such constructions are themselves most often used as subjects or with postpositions.

Dāy lā kúlòg dāa mālsí m.

Man:SG ART go.home:GER TNS be.sweet 1SG.OB.

"The man's return home pleased me."

A generic object cb may also appear, and adjunct AdvPs or VP-final particles may follow the head:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la

yà àntu'à-mōrím kótò ní nē tāaba lā

2PL case-have:GER court:SG LOC with each.other ART

"your going to law with each other in court" (1 Cor 6:7, 1976)

Ninsaal Biig la lebug la na

Nīn-sāal Bīig lā lébòg lā nā

Person-smooth:SG Child:SG ART return:GER ART hither

"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

15.6.3 Adverbial phrases

Predependent AdvPs may not be proadverbs. Most such AdvPs are locative, or phrases with *yēlá*⁺ "about" [16.6](#), or involve the specialised head *dāan*^a [15.6.2](#).

dūniya ní nìn-gbīḡ

"earthly body"

kōlugu-n nó-dāug

"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")

Bòk díḡ

"Bawku people"

dàgòbìg níf

"left eye"

zūgú-n níf-gbáug

"upper eyelid"

tēḡi-n níf-gbáug

"lower eyelid"

Ba da mɔr mɔɔgin bunkɔnbid ne ba buudi, yin bunkɔnbid ne ba buudi ...

Bà dà mòr mɔɔgu-n bún-kóñbìd né bà būudi, yín bún-kóñbìd

3PL TNS have bush:SG-LOC thing-hair:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC thing-hair:PL

né bà būudi...

and 3PL kind ...

"They took wild animals with their kind, tame animals with their kind ..."

(Gen 7:14)

Kūsâas kûeb nē yīr yélà gbàṽṽ "A book about Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
dàṽ-kàṅā lā yélà gbàṽṽ "a book about that man" WK

Yīgá⁺ "firstly" appears as a predependent meaning "first" [15.4.2.3](#), e.g.

linε da an yiiga dabisir

līnι_ ∅ dá àñ yīgá dàbısır.

3INAN.CNTR CAT TNS COP firstly day:SG.

"That was the first day." (Genesis 1:5)

15.7 Dependents following the head

Dependents follow a head noun in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun or AdvP, article or *ñwà*⁺ "this." All except adjectives are determiners.

Adjectives and dependent pronouns follow a head noun which is itself reduced to a combining form, while the dependent inflects to show the number of the head. Compounds with cb heads are formed absolutely freely with completely transparent meanings, and correspond to uncompounded constructions in most other languages. Consequently the cb needs to be treated as a standard part of noun and adjective paradigms. Cb heads are the most liable to segmental remodelling on the basis of the singular form (or even the plural) [8.2](#).

Compounds with dependent pronouns naturally cannot be lexicalised; compounds with adjectives may develop specialised individual lexical meanings, though much less often than dependent-first compounds.

Quantifiers do not have combining forms and cannot be followed by the dependent-only demonstrative forms *kàn*^ε *kàṅā*^{+/}.

For WK and DK, a noun before a dependent pronoun must appear as a cb, but SB often produced forms with cbs segmentally remodelled after sg or even pl forms.

15.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives follow a head cb. They do not themselves normally appear as heads, but a subset of adjectives lacking corresponding stative verbs may be used as heads of predicative complements [19.8.2](#). Generally, compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *būn-* "thing" are used instead: *nīn-súṽ*³ "good person", *būn-vúr*^ε "living thing" etc. *Būn*^{NE/} can make a regular *r^ε|a⁺* class plural *būná*⁺ or pluralise with *nàm*^a:

Būn-námá_àlá *kà fù ñyētá* +∅?

Thing-PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV CQ?

"How many things do you see?" SB

Bōn also occurs with abstract and AdvP predependents:

tōlīgír bún^{nε} "heating thing, heater" = *bōn-tōlīgír^ε*
kù'əmī-n bún^{nε} "water creature"

Deverbal adjective forms with no preceding cb are synonymous with agent nouns, so the presence of *bōn-* distinguishes different meanings in e.g.

bōn-kúvdír^ε "thing to do with killing"
 but *kōvdír^ε* "killer"

Note the idioms

bōn-gíŋ^a "short chap" (informal, humorous)
bōn-kúdùg^ɔ "old man" (the normal expression)

The combination noun + adjective is almost invariably rendered with noun cb before the adjective, which inflects as sg pl or cb on behalf of the head noun:

<i>bōvg^a</i>	"goat"	<i>bōvs^ε</i>	"goats"
<i>bù-pìəlig^a</i>	"white goat"	<i>bù-pìəlis^ε</i>	"white goats"
<i>bù-sùŋ^ɔ</i>	"good goat"	<i>bù-sùma⁺</i>	"good goats"
<i>nūa^{+/}</i>	"hen"	<i>nōvs^{ε/}</i>	"hens"
<i>nō-pìəlig^a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-pìəlis^ε</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súŋ^ɔ</i>	"good hen"	<i>nō-sùma⁺</i>	"good hens"

A second adjective or a dependent pronoun can follow a first adjective, which thus itself appears as a cb:

nīn-wók-pìəlig^a "white tall person"
nō-pìəl-kàŋā^{+/} "this white hen"

However, a noun + adjective compound cannot form a cb to be used as the generic complement of a deverbal noun; a sg/pl form is used instead:

fū-zéñdà kùəs^a "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
 not **fū-zéñ'-kùəs^a*

i.e. adjective cbs may only precede other adjectives or dependent pronouns.

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings:

<i>nū'-bíl^a</i>	"finger" ("small hand")
<i>tì-sābulím^m</i>	a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
<i>gòñ'-sābulíg^a</i>	Haaf <i>gosabliga</i> "Acacia hockii" ("black thorn")

15.7.1.1 Class agreement

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system:

<i>là'-bīəlíf^ɸ</i>	"small coin" NT (<i>lā'af^ɸ</i> "cowrie", <i>bī'əlá⁺</i> "a little")
<i>dà-sī'ər^ɛ</i>	"some day, perhaps" (<i>dāar^ɛ</i> "day", <i>sī'a⁺</i> , "some")
<i>dàbɪs-sī'ər^ɛ</i>	"some day" (<i>dàbɪsɪr^ɛ</i> "day")
<i>yēl-súm^{mɛ}</i>	"blessing" (<i>yēl^{ɛ/}</i> "matter", <i>sùŋ^ɔ</i> "good")
<i>pɥ' à-pāal^{a/}</i>	"bride" (<i>pɥ'ā^a</i> "wife", <i>pāalíg^a</i> "new")
<i>dà-pāal^{a/}</i>	"young man, son" (<i>dāɥ⁺</i> "man")

The dependents do not regularly appear with these class suffixes.

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, *m^m* class nouns require adjectives in *-m^m*, as does *bōn* "thing" in abstract (but not concrete) senses:

<i>dā-pāalím^m</i>	"new millet beer"
	WK does not accept * <i>dā-pāal</i> , * <i>dā-pāalìg</i> .
<i>tì-sābulím^m</i>	"black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
<i>tì-vōnním^m</i>	"oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
<i>tì-kōvdím^m</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>kpāñ-sóǎdìm^m</i>	"anointing oil" (<i>kpāañm^{m/}</i> "oil, grease")
<i>bōn-bóǎdìm^m</i>	"desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1: <i>nòŋulím^m</i> "love")
but <i>bōn-bóǎdìr^ɛ</i>	"desirable thing" (BNY p17: a sheep)
<i>bōn-ñyétìm^m</i>	"the visible world"
but <i>bōn-ñyétìr^ɛ</i>	"a visible object"

15.7.1.2 Downtoning

Adjectives may show apocope-blocking [5.1.3](#) as a downtoner. Only singular forms seem to be possible. (All examples KT):

<i>Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā.</i>	"It's a whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā lā.</i>	"It's the whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē wíug.</i>	"It's red."
<i>Lì à nē wíugō.</i>	"It's reddish."
<i>fū-wíugō lā</i>	"the reddish shirt"
<i>Lì à nē tītā'arɪ.</i>	"It's biggish."

15.7.1.3 Bahuvrihis

The combination noun + adjective may be used as a bahuvrihi adjective itself:

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kpíílúŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíílúŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bí-[nū'-kpíílúŋ].</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."

In constructions like *bì-nū'-kpíílúŋ*^ɔ "child with a withered hand" the adjective is modifying the cb immediately preceding it, not *vice versa*. It is not possible to say **bì-nū'-kpíim*^m, and in such constructions the adjective may even be plural despite singular reference of the whole noun + adjective compound:

	<i>bì-tùb-kpīda</i> ⁺	"deaf child" (<i>tùbuv</i> ^ε "ear", <i>kpi</i> ⁺ "die")
pl	<i>bì-tùb-kpīda nám</i> ^a , <i>bì-tùb-kpīdɪs</i> ^ε	
	<i>bì-tùb-līd</i> ^ε	"child/children with blocked ears" (<i>lī</i> ⁺ "block up")

Accordingly, the construction is zero-derivation of a noun-adjective compound to an adjective, and not modification of an adjective by a cb.

Other examples of bahuvrihis:

	<i>kùg-nōb-wók</i> ^ɔ	"long-legged stool"
	<i>kùg-nōb-wâ'ad</i> ^ε	"long-legged stools"
	<i>zūg-máuk</i> ^ɔ	"crushed-headed"
pl	<i>zūg-mâ'ad</i> ^ε	
	<i>zù-wōk</i> ^ɔ	"long-tailed"
	<i>nōb-gíŋ</i> ^a	"short-legged"
	<i>zū-péélùg</i> ^ɔ	"bald"; cf <i>Dau sɔ'</i> zug ya'a pie
pl	<i>zū-péélà</i> ⁺	"If a man has gone bald" (Leviticus 13:40)
	<i>lām-fōg</i> ^ɔ	"toothless" (<i>lām</i> ^{mε/} "gum" <i>fùe</i> ⁺ "draw out")
pl	<i>lām-fōd</i> ^ε	

The two adjectives "one of a pair" [15.4.2.3](#) are often used in bahuvrihis: *nīf-ñyáuk*^ɔ "one eye", *bà-nīf-ñyáuk*^ɔ "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuŋ*^ɔ "one ear" *bì-tùb-yīná*⁺ "one-eared children."

15.7.1.4 Nouns as adjectives

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives modifying other human-reference nouns. This is particularly common with ^a|*b*^a class words:

	<i>bì-sāan</i> ^{a/} or <i>bì-sáaŋ</i> ^a	"stranger-child"
[only	<i>bù-sáaŋ</i> ^a	"stranger goat"]
	<i>bì-kpī'im</i> ^{m/} or <i>bì-kpīilúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dead child"
[only	<i>bù-kpīilúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"dead goat"]
	<i>bì-dāy</i> ⁺ or <i>bì-dāvg</i> ^ɔ	"male child"
[only	<i>bù-dāvg</i> ^ɔ	"male goat"]
	<i>bì-py'ā</i> ^a or <i>bì-pyāk</i> ^a	"female child"
	<i>bì-zū'əm</i> ^{m/} or <i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"

The same behaviour is also seen with some agent nouns:

	<i>py'à-zàańs</i> ^a	"dreamy woman" KT
	<i>nīn-nén</i> ^{na}	"envious person"
	<i>bì-sīn</i> ^{na/} or <i>bì-sīnníg</i> ^a	"silent child"
only	<i>bù-sīnníg</i> ^a or <i>bù-sīnnúŋ</i> ^ɔ	"silent goat"

However, WK usually reports a contrast between agent nouns/deverbal adjectives with head-second compounds in ^a|*b*^a class and head-first compounds in *g*^a|*s*^ε or *r*^ε|*a*⁺ class, even with derivatives of intransitive verbs:

	<i>py'à-kūvdíg</i> ^a	"murderous woman, murderess"
	<i>py'à-kūvd</i> ^{a/}	only "killer of women"
	<i>py'à-lā'adíg</i> ^a	"woman given to laughing"
	<i>py'à-lā'ad</i> ^a	"laugher at women"

Nouns (of any class) expressing bodily defects can be used adjectivally:

	<i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"
	<i>bì-gìk</i> ^a	"dumb child"
	<i>bì-wàbır</i> ^ε	"lame child"
	<i>bì-bālērvg</i> ^ɔ	"ugly child"
	<i>bì-pòń'ɔr</i> ^ε	"crippled child"

Other examples, which are effectively appositional, include:

<i>nàsàa-bīig^a</i>	"European child"
<i>yàmmug-bī-púŋ^a</i>	"girl slave" (<i>yamug bipuŋ</i> Acts 16:16, 1976 <u>8.2</u>)
<i>yàm-bī-púŋ^a</i>	"girl slave" WK
(vs <i>yàmmug bí-púŋ^a</i>	"slave's girl")
<i>bī-púŋ-yàmmug^a</i>	"slave girl"
<i>nà'-bīig^a</i> or <i>bì-nà'ab^a</i>	"prince"
<i>dàŋ-bīig^a</i> or <i>bì-dāŋ⁺</i>	"male child"

15.7.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers as determiners follow the head, except for *yīigá⁺* "firstly." A head can appear as a cb only with *yīnní⁺* "one" and in a few fixed expressions like *dà-pīiga* "ten days"; elsewhere, quantifiers are not subject to M dropping: *kūg-yīnní⁺* "one stone" but *kūgur yīnní⁺* "one stone."

Quantifiers precede dependent pronouns and *lā^{+/}* "the, that", *ñwà⁺* "this":

<i>bunama atan' nwa</i>	"these three things" (1 Cor 13:13)
<i>būn-námá_àtáñ' ñwá</i>	
thing-PL NUM:three this	

Quantifiers as determiners can be coordinated: this is the mechanism for the creation of numbers other than simple digits, tens or hundreds:

<i>o nya'andɔlib pii nɛ yi</i>	
<i>ò ñyà'an-dòllub pīi nē yí</i>	
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two	
"his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)	

15.7.3 Adverbial phrases

When an abstract noun with a verbal sense has a preceding NP dependent as subject, complement or adjunct AdvPs may follow the head, including prepositional phrases, which are not found elsewhere as NP dependents, and also VP-final particles. This is therefore best regarded as a clause nominalisation process. Other uses of AdvPs as NP dependents after the head are marginal. *Àmējá* "really, truly" occurs in the meaning "genuine, real":

<i>Ōn sōb á nē du'átà àmējá lā.</i>	
3AN.CNTR EMPTY.AN COP FOC doctor:SG ADV:real:ADV ART	
"That one's the real doctor."	

With *ñwādis yōum lā púvgō-n* "months in the year" (SB) and *wābug mōcgv-n lā* "the elephant in the bush" (WK), I have not recorded the full contexts, possibly e.g. *Ṁ dāa ñyē wābug mōcgv-n lā* "I saw an elephant in the bush." The 1976 NT has

Lina ane labasuṅ Jesus Christ Wina'am Biig la yela.

Lìnā á nē lábà-sùṅ Jesus Christ Wínà'am bìig lā yélà.

DEMST.INAN COP FOC news-good:SG Jesus Christ God child:SG ART about.

"This is the good news about Jesus Christ, God's Son." (Mk 1:1)

but the 1996 revision recasts this as

Lina ane Yesu Kiristo one a Wina'am Biig la labasuṅ.

Lìnā á nē Yesu Kiristo ónì à Wínà'am bìig lā lábà-sùṅ.

DEMST.INAN COP FOC Yesu Kiristo REL.AN COP God child:SG ART news-good:SG.

15.7.4 Pronouns

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns may be used as determiners following a noun cb as NP head, or a noun cb as NP head followed by an adjective cb; they follow quantifiers without compounding:

<i>bīig^a</i>	"child"	<i>bì-kàṅā^{+/}</i>	"this child"
<i>bì-sō⁺</i>	"a certain child"	<i>bì-sùṅ-kàṅā^{+/}</i>	"this good child"
<i>bì-kàṅε?</i>	"which child?"	<i>bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

yeltōōd ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la

yēl-tōōd àyōpōḗ bání kà màlīāk-námá_àyōpōḗ mōr lā

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rev 15:8)

15.7.5 Deictic particles *lā ñwà*

Lā^{+/} and *ñwà⁺* are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." Although *ñwà* always retains this sense, *lā^{+/}* in the great majority of its occurrences is weakened to a **definite article**. It retains its deictic sense in opposition to *ñwà⁺* in identificational clauses [21.4.1](#) and after demonstratives [15.3.2](#).

Unlike *lā^{+/}*, *ñwà⁺* can stand alone as a NP:

Ñwà á nē bīig.

"This is a child." WK; tones *sic*.

This COP FOC child:SG.

Lā^{+/} and *ñwà*⁺ stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for the marginal case where a VP-final particle occurs in a *ñ*-clause, when it may follow the article attached to the clause 19.10.

As article, *lā*^{+/} corresponds in many cases to English "the", marking referents as specific and already established. However, unlike "the", *lā*^{+/} is not typically used for "familiar background", unless there was an explicit prior mention of the referent:

Winnig lí yā. "The sun has set."
Sun:SG fall PFV.

It is not used with pronouns, or with proper names of people or places: *mān* "me", *À-Wīn* "Awini", *Bòk* "Bawku." Nor is it used with abstract mass nouns:

Nɔŋilim pu naada. "Love does not come to an end." (1 Cor 13:8)
Nòŋulím pō nāadá ^{+∅}.
Love NEG.IND finish:IPFV NEG.

Lā^{+/} is not used in vocatives, contrasting with *ñwà*⁺, which often appears:

Bīga ^{+∅!} "Child!"
Child:sg voc!

Bīs ñwá! "Children!" [bi:sa]

There is no indefinite article: a NP with no *lā*^{+/} is indefinite if it could have taken *lā*^{+/} in the sense of the article. When a NP of a type which can take the article appears without it, the sense may be non-referential. This is the case, for example, with negative-bound nouns like *bīg* "child" in

M̄ bīg ká'e ^{+∅}. "I've no child" WK
1SG child:SG NEG.BE NEG.

and with the complement of *àñ*^a "be something" when used ascriptively 19.11.2:

Ò à nē bīg. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

An indefinite NP is only likely to have a *specific* sense in the context of an explicit introductory presentational statement 27.4:

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāy dá bē̄ ∅ mōrí̄ ò bī-díbiŋ

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

*Anina ka o nyε **dau** ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.*

Àníná kà ò ñyē dáy kà ò yū'ur būen Aneas.

ADV:there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

Outside such contexts, an indefinite NP is usually *generic*; unlike English "the", *lā*^{+/} is not used with a generic sense:

Tumtum pu gat o zugdaana.

Tùm-tùm pū gát ò zūg-dáanā +∅.

Work-worker:SG NEG.IND PASS:IPFV 3AN head-owner:SG NEG.

"The servant does not surpass his master." (Jn 15:20)

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélàa ∅ bigisid lín àñ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IPFV 3INAN:NZ COP tree-INDEF.INAN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." (Mt 12:33)

Kusaas ye ...

"The Kusaasi say ..." KSS p16
drawing the moral of a story.

Generic core arguments are incompatible with aspectual use of *nē*^{+/} 19.2.1.

A predependent NP ending in *lā*^{+/} makes the following head definite, and the head does not itself take the article:

dy'átà lā bīg

"the doctor's child"

not **dy'átà lā bīg lā*

Only predependents *with the article* and demonstrative pronouns automatically make their heads definite; predependent personal pronouns or proper names do not:

Wínà'am máljāk

"an angel of God"

Wínà'am máljāk lā

"the angel of God"

m̄ bīg

"my child" (at first mention)

m̄ bīg lā

"my child" (previously mentioned)

Contrast the common idiom at first introduction of a possessed referent, where *lā*^{+/} is absent, with cases where the referent has already been introduced:

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāy dá bè_ ø mōrí_ò bī-díbìŋ

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

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

Ōn dāa áñ pu'á-sādir lá kà ò kŭl sīd_ ø pāe

3AN:NZ TNS COP woman-nulliparous:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

yúmà àyɔ̀p̀è_ kà ò sīd lā kpí.

year:PL NUM:seven and 3AN husband:SG ART die.

"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her husband died." (Lk 2:36)

Note also the contrast of meaning produced by the article in

M̄ bīig kā'e +ø.

"I've no child" WK

1SG child:SG NEG.BE NEG.

M̄ bīig lā kā'e +ø.

"My child's not there" WK

1SG child:SG ART NEG.BE NEG.

Certain words consistently lack the article after a pronoun possessor even if they are specific old information. This may be a question of uniqueness within a particular context; examples are *bā*^{+/} and *sàam*^{ma} "father."

For an unambiguously indefinite specific meaning like "some, another", indefinite pronouns are used 15.3.3.

Nā'-sìabà ń̀bìd nē mōɔd.

Cow INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

"Some cows are eating grass."

An indefinite pronoun is necessary to make the head indefinite after a predependent with the article:

d̄y'átà lā b́í-s̄'

"a child of the doctor's"

doctor:SG ART child INDEF.AN

16 Adverbial phrases

16.1 Overview

Adverbial phrases are typically clause or VP adjuncts, but they can also be arguments of verbs or dependents in NPs [15.6.3](#). AdvPs of time, circumstance or reason can also appear as postlinker adjuncts [20.2.1](#), but AdvPs of place or manner can only precede the subject by *kà*-preposing.

Many adverbs are formally identical to nouns; others, notably proadverbs, do not conform to ordinary noun structure. Many AdvPs represent adverbial *uses* of NPs, and have the usual structural possibilities for NPs. Otherwise, AdvPs structures are more limited; for example, only specialised *postpositions* have NP predependents.

Absolute clauses occur as adverbs of time/circumstance [24.2](#), while relative clauses with pronouns expressing place or manner occur as corresponding types of AdvP. As with NPs, coordination of AdvPs uses the particle *nĕ*.

16.2 Time and circumstance

Adverbial phrases expressing **time** may be instantiated by proadverbs [16.7](#) or by distinctive time adverbs which do not have the structure of nouns, such as

<i>zīná</i> ⁺	"today"	<i>sù'əs</i> ^a	"yesterday"
<i>dūnná</i> ⁺	"this year"		

Some time adverbs resemble nouns in form but lack cb or pl forms, and cannot be referred to by pronouns, or occur with dependents, e.g. *bĕog*^ɔ "tomorrow"; *dāar*^ɛ "day after tomorrow/day before yesterday" is in the same category but happens to be homophonous with the ordinary noun *dāar*^ɛ "day."

However, many time AdvPs are simply NPs with temporal meanings, and no special marking. Such NPs may consist of single nouns, but the possibility of adding dependents distinguishes them from specialised time adverbs; see [29.7](#) and e.g.

<i>yú'vŋ</i> ^ɔ	"night"	<i>úvŋ</i> ^{nɛ}	"dry season"
<i>nīntāŋ</i> ^{a/}	"heat of the day"		

Adverbial phrases expressing **circumstances** are typically absolute clauses; such clauses are also frequently used to express time [24.2](#).

No formal distinction is made between a point in time and a period over which a state of affairs persists:

<i>Fù ná kŭl</i>	<i>bĕog.</i>	"You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG IRR go.home	tomorrow.	

Tì kpélìm ànínā dábɪsà bí'ə̀là.

1PL remain ADV:there day:PL few.

"We stayed there a few days."

Time AdvPs can be coordinated:

Bēogv-n nē zâam kà fù ná nīŋ tí-kàŋā.

Morning-LOC with evening and 2SG IRR do medicine-DEMST.SG.

"You'll use this medicine morning and evening."

16.3 Place

Locative adverbs comprise proforms along with Kusaasi place names; other locative AdvPs use the locative particle $nī^{+}/\sim n^{\epsilon}$. It is not possible to use a noun other than a place name by itself as a place adverb, unless it has become a postposition [16.6](#); synchronically such postpositions are separate lexical items.

The core adverb of place is thus the locative particle, which has the allomorphs $nī^{+}/$ and n^{ϵ} along with a zero allomorph accompanying intrinsically locative forms; evidence for this zero allomorph is seen in the focus behaviour of locatives [27.1.2.2](#).

The form $nī^{+}/$ is used after words ending in a short vowel in SF, after pronouns and after loanwords; the liaison word n^{ϵ} is used elsewhere:

<i>mù'arī-n</i>	"in a lake"	<i>yōdá nì</i>	"among names"
<i>m̄ nī</i>	"in me"	<i>mān nī</i>	"in me"

la'asvɔ dɔɔdin nɛ suoya nɪ

là'asvɔ dɔɔdī-n nē sūēyá nì

assembly:SG house:PL-LOC with road:PL LOC

"in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

$Yīr^{\epsilon/}$ "house" has the exceptional sg and pl locative forms $yín^{n\epsilon}$ $yáa-n^{\epsilon}$ which have the particular nuance "home", as in the parting formula

Pò'usim yín. "Greet (those) at home." i.e. "Goodbye."

Note also the locative adverb $yìŋ^a$ "outside."

The article $lā^{+}/$ may precede or follow the locative particle:

mù'arī-n lā "in the lake"

or *mù'ar lā ní*

Quantifiers may also follow the locative particle:

m gbana ni wusa "in all my letters" (2 Thess 3:17, 1996)
m̀ gbàna ní w̄sa
 1SG letter:PL LOC all

The meaning is completely non-specific location: at, in, to, from. The locative particle is attached to nouns which are not place names whenever they are used as complements of verbs expressing motion or location:

Kem Siloam buligini pie fu nini.
K̀em Siloam búlɔḡ-ni_ø píə_ fù n̄n̄í.
 GO:IMP Siloam well:SG-LOC CAT wash 2SG eye:PL.
 "Go to the well of Siloam and wash your eyes." (Jn 9:7)

Ka Sontaana kpen' Judas [...] sunfun.
Kà S̄otáanà kpéñ' Judas [...] sún̄f̄i-n.
 And Satan enter Judas [...] heart:SG-LOC.
 "Satan entered Judas' heart." (Lk 22:3)

Ka Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ye...
Kà Paillet lé̄m yī n̄idib̄i-n lā nā yá'asì_ø yé̄lì_ bā yē...
 And Pilate again emerge person:PL-LOC ART hither again CAT say 3PL.OB that ...
 "Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." (Jn 19:4)

ILK has, transposed into the orthography of this grammar:

<i>Ò bè dâ'a-n.</i>	"He's at market."
<i>Ò bè s̄já'ar̄i-n.</i>	"He's at the bush."
<i>Ò bè p̄ɔɔḡú-n.</i>	"He's at the farm."
<i>Ò bè yín.</i>	"He's at home."
<i>Ò bè m̄ɔɔḡu-n.</i>	"He's in the grasslands."
<i>Ò bè k̄ɔ̄l̄iḡi-n</i>	"He's at the stream."
<i>Ò bè t̄v̄mm̄i-n.</i>	"He's at work."

More precise meanings are expressed with postpositions [16.6](#):

Ò dìḡil gbáɔ̄ŋ lā té̄eb̄ùl lā zúg.
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.
 "She's put the book on the table."

Dāy lā bé nē dǔ-kàṅā lā púvǔ-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut."

Kusaasi place names, and many postpositions and proadverbs 16.7, are "intrinsically locative", i.e. accompanied by a zero allomorph of the locative particle:

Ò bɛ̀ Bók.

"He's at Bawku." ILK

Ò bɛ̀ Témpan.

"He's at Tempane." ILK

Ò kɛ̀ṅ Bók.

"He's gone to Bawku."

Ò dǐgɪ gbáṅ lā tɛ̀ɛ̀bùl lā zúg.

"She's put the book on the table."

dàtìṅ^ɔ or dítúṅ^ɔ

"righthand"

dàgòbɪg^a

"lefthand"

àgól^{lɛ} or àgōlá⁺

"upwards"

lālíl⁺

"far off" (? *lāl níl⁺*)

Place names often have a locative proform in apposition, particularly to express rest at a place, as opposed to movement towards or away:

M ná kɛ̀ṅ Bók.

"I'm going to Bawku."

Fù yúug Bók kpɛ̀lāa?

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

Fù yúug Bókàa? SB

(rejected by WK as "Mooré")

In the speech of my informants, foreign place names share the syntactic behaviour of Kusaasi place names as intrinsically locative, but especially in the sense of rest at a place, the NT often either uses the postposition *nī^{+/}* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tɛ̀ṅī-n* "in Jerusalem-land."

Proforms used in locative heads of relative clauses are intrinsically locative, and consequently so is the relative clause as a whole:

Onɛ ken likin zì' on ken sī'ela.

Ònɪ kɛ̀n líkɪ-n zī' ón kɛ̀n sī'əla +∅.

REL.AN go:IPFV darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.INAN NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know where he is going." (Jn 12:35)

ka mɔ̀rɪ fù kɛ̀ṅ zín'ikanɛ ka fù pɔ̀ bɔ̀ɔ̀dā.

kà mōrí_ fù_ ∅ kɛ̀ṅ zín'-kànɪ kà fù pō bɔ̀ɔ̀dā +∅.

and have 2SG.OB CAT go place-REL.SG and 2SG NEG.IND want NEG.

"and take you where you do not want." (Jn 21:18)

Note the *time* expressions:

bēog^ɔ "tomorrow" *bēogv-n*^{ε/} "morning"
yīgí-n^ε "at first" *sān-sí'ə-n lā* "at one time, once..."

Locative AdvPs can be coordinated:

Nyalima na be winnigin ne nwadigin ne nwadbibisin.

Ñyālmá nà bē wínnìgī-n nē ñwādigí-n nē ñwād-bíbìsī-n.

Wonder:PL IRR EXIST sun:SG-LOC with moon:SG-LOC with moon-small:PL-LOC.

"There will be wonders in the sun, moon and stars." (Lk 21:25)

Reason-why AdvPs are constructed by a metaphorical extension of the sense of the postposition *zūg* "upon"; similarly for proforms:

àlá zùg^ɔ "therefore" *bō zúg*^ɔ "why?"
dìn zúg^ɔ "therefore"

16.4 Manner

AdvPs of manner may be instantiated by proforms, and there also are several morphologically distinctive manner-adverb formations; like specialised time adverbs, specialised manner-adverb words do not take dependents. However, various NP types can also be used as manner AdvPs.

Distinctive manner-adverbs often show apocope-blocking 5.1.3. Some have the manner-adverb prefix *à-* 13.2 or are derived from adjective stems with the suffixes *m^m* or *-ga⁺* 11.2. Others include

pāalú⁺ "openly" *ñyāe^{ne/}* "brightly, clearly"

Ñyāe^{ne/} shows the characteristic distribution of a manner-adverb rather than a noun, appearing as complement of *àḡñ^a* "be something" and as an adjunct:

Wina'am a su'um nyain. "God is light." (1 Jn 1:5, 1996)

Wínà'am áñ sùm ñyāe.

God COP good:ABSTR brightly.

... ke ka ti lieb nyain. "... make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)

... ké kà tì líəb ñyāe.

... cause and 1PL become brightly.

Ka li sid nie nyain. "And there truly was light." (Genesis 1:3)
Kà lì síd nìe ñyāe.
 And 3INAN truly appear brightly.

The spelling *nyain* appears for *ñyāe* "brightly" even in texts prior to 2016, where *nyainn* or *nyai* might have been expected. The 1992 audio NT renders it [jãĩ]. A number of manner-adverbs are formed by reduplication of roots:

nà'anā^{+/} "easily"
tò'wtō^{+/} "straight away" (Mooré *taotao id*)
kōñ'wkō⁺ "solely, by oneself"

Reduplication of nouns forms a number of distributive manner-AdvPs:

dàbısır dábısır "day by day"
zĩñ'ig zĩñ'ig "place by place"

Reduplication of number words is similarly distributive [15.4.2.4](#).

Reduplication of manner-adverbs themselves is intensifying:

àmēñá mēñá "very truly"
àsídà sídà "very truly"

Ḿ wúm Kūsáal bĩ'əlá. "I know Kusaal a little."
 1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

Ḿ wúm bĩ'əl bĩ'əl. "I understand a very little."
 1SG hear:IPFV little little.

A very common form of manner-AdvP is a relative clause using the proform *sĩəm^m* "somehow" as head [24.3.1](#).

Manner-adverbs resemble generic mass nouns in their syntactic behaviour in several respects. Even count nouns in generic senses may be encountered as AdvPs:

Ḿ kēj nōbá. "I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to
 1SG go leg:PL. *Ḿ kēj nē nōbá*, using *nē* "with."

A prepositional phrase with *nē* parallels a count plural used adverbially in

À-ńyē nē nīf sǎń'ɔ̄ À-wòm tùba.

PERS-see with eye:SG be.better.than PERS-hear ear:PL.

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

Mass quantifiers, like abstract mass nouns, are frequently used adverbially:

Ò tùm bédugū.

"She's worked a lot."

Ò tùm pāmm.

"She's worked a lot."

Wōsa "all" readily switches from quantifying an object to adverbial use:

Bà gòsī tí wōsa.

"They've looked at us all." WK

3PL look.at 1PL.OB all.

(for: *Bà gòsí tì wōsa.* 3PL look.at 1PL all.)

This is not a universal property of quantifiers:

Bà gòsī tí bédugū.

"They've looked at us a lot." WK

Bà gòsí tì bédugū.

"They've looked at a lot of us." WK

Numbers have specific forms for the adverbial meaning "so many times" [15.4.2.4](#); the other count quantifiers sometimes appear similarly as adverbs:

Bà gòsī tí bábīgā.

"They've looked at us many times." WK

Bà gòsí tì bábīgā.

"They've looked at many of us." WK

Manner AdvPs can be coordinated: so for example with *sī'am* clauses [24.3.1](#).

16.5 AdvPs as verb arguments

The prototypical use of AdvPs is as VP adjuncts; time/circumstance AdvPs also commonly appear as postlinker adjuncts:

Fù dúe wēlá +ø?
2SG rise how CQ?

literally "How did you rise?"; morning greeting.

Nānná-ná m àń nâ'ab.

"Now I am a chief." WK

Now-hither 1SG COP chief:SG.

AdvPs also occur as verb arguments. All types can appear as subjects of the verb *àęń^a* "be something /somehow." Other stative verbs may also have an AdvP subject, and there are a few examples with dynamic verbs:

Yiŋ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yiŋ véñl kà pūvgu-n kā' súmm +∅.

Outside be.beautiful and inside:SG-LOC NEG.BE good:ABSTR NEG.

"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3, 1996)

Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ n̄ŋilim an si'em.

Kristo_∅ dà kp̄ii_ tì yēlá lā ké kà tì bāŋ n̄ŋilim_∅ àñ sī'em.

Christ NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

(absolute clause AdvP 24.2 as subject)

In *S̀̀ŋā b́é.* "OK it is." WK

Good:ADV EXIST.

s̀̀ŋā is however used metalinguistically, meaning "the word *s̀̀ŋā*."

Verbs with appropriate meanings frequently take locative AdvPs as complements, rather than as adjuncts 19.8.3.

The verb *àḗñ*^a "be something/somehow" typically has a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement rather than an adjective as NP head 19.11.2:

Lì à nē zāalím. "It's empty."

Lì à nē b̄ūvsígā. "It's soft."

Lì à s̀̀ŋā. "It's good."

Kusaal characteristically uses manner proadverbs as predicative complements in place of pronouns with abstract reference. i.e. the language says "be/do *how*" rather than "be/do *what*."

Dā níŋì_ àláa +∅! "Don't do that!" ("thus")

NEG.IMP do ADV:thus NEG.

F̄v w̄um ban yet si'em laa?

F̄v w̄úm b̄án yèt sī'em lāa +∅?

2SG hear:IPFV 3PL:NZ say:IPFV INDF.ADV ART PQ?

"Do you hear what they are saying?" (Mt 21:16)

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.

Tiig wélà bigisid ́n àñ sī'em.

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IPFV 3AN:NZ COP INDF.ADV.

"The fruit of a tree shows what ["how"] it is." (Mt 12:33, 1976)

Relative clauses with the proform *sī'am*^m "somehow" as head are accordingly used after verbs of cognition, reporting and perception, to express the subordinate interrogative sense "say [etc] what ..." 24.3.1.

For the idiom "X *nìŋ wēlá ...?*" "how can X ...?" see 22.2.1.

16.6 Postpositions

Postpositions are adverbs with predependents; some also occur without. Most postpositions are literally or metaphorically locative. Postpositional phrases are AdvPs and can be freely preposed with *kà* 27.2, unlike *prepositional* phrases. Postpositions may not be coordinated, but their predependents may:

tinam nε fun svugine? "[what is there] between us and you?" (Mt 8:29)
tīnám nē fōn súvgū-né +ø?
 1PL with 2SG between-LOC CQ?

Many postpositions are readily recognisable as special uses of ordinary nouns. Some postpositions are AdvPs which include the locative particle.

zūg^{ɔ/} "onto" (*zūg*^{ɔ/} "head"):

téebùl lā zúg "onto the table"

Zūg^{ɔ/} is frequently used metaphorically to express a **reason** "because of ..."

dāy lā zúg "on account of the man"
bō-zúgò? "why?"

Reason AdvPs are often preposed with *kà*, but may also occur as postlinker adjuncts 20.2.1:

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà police gbáñ'a_m.
 1SG:NZ strike man:SG ART upon and police seize 1SG.OB.
 "Because I struck the man the police arrested me." 24.2

Pian'akane ka m pian' tisi ya la zug, ya anε nyain.
Pjàñ'-kànı kà ñ pjàñ'_ø tísı yā lā zúg, yà á nē ñyāe.
 Word-REL.SG and 1SG speak CAT give 2PL.OB ART upon, 2PL COP FOC brightly.
 "Because of the the words I have spoken to you, you are clean." (Jn 15:3)

The set expression *sāa zúg*³ is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka kukɔr yi saazug na ...

Kà kòkɔr yī sāa zúg nā ...

And voice emerge rain onto hither

"And a voice came from heaven..." (Jn 12:28)

***zūgú-n*^ε** "on":

téɛbùl lā zúgū-n "on the table"

***tēŋír*^ε** "under" (*tēŋ*^a "ground"; with no predependent *Gòsim tēŋír!* "Look down!"):

téɛbùl lā tēŋír "under the table"

***pūvgu-n*^{ε/}** "inside" (*pūvg*^a "belly, inside"):

dūk lā púvgū-n "in the pot"

ñwādis yûvm lā púvgū-n "months in the year" (metaphorical locative)

***bābá*⁺** "beside" (pl of *bābir*^{ε/} "sphere of activity"):

m̄ nōbá bàba "beside my feet"

***sìsùvgū-n*^{ε/}** "between" (replaced by *sùvgū-n*^{ε/} in KB):

tīnám nē fūn sísùvgū-n "between us and you"

***tùen*^{nε}** "in front of" (with no predependent *Gòsim tùen!* "Look to the front!"):

dāká lā tùen "in front of the box"

***gbìn*^{nε}** "at the bottom of" (*gbìn*^{nε} "buttock"):

zūer lā gbín "at the foot of the mountain"

***ñyá'an*^a** "behind; after (time)" (*ñyá'an*^a "back"):

lì ñyá'an^a "afterwards" as a postlinker/VP adjunct

Nĕ'ŋá ñyâ'aŋ kà ò kūl. "After this she went home."
 DEMST.INAN after and 3AN go.home.

sā'an^ε "into/in the presence of", "in the opinion of":

Wínà'am sâ'an "in the sight of God"

Fù ná dī'e tîm pū'á-bàmmā lā sâ'an.
 2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEMST.PL ART among.
 "You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

yēlá⁺ "about, concerning" (pl of *yēl^ε* "matter, affair"):

Bà yēl-ō_ ø mān yēlá wūsa.
 3PL say 3AN.OB 1SG.CNTR about all.
 "They told him all about me."

kōñ'kō (cf *àràkōñ'* "one" in counting) is used as in *m kōñ'kō* "by myself."

16.7 Proadverbs

	Demonstrative	Indefinite	Interrogative	
Place	<i>kpē⁺</i>	"here"	<i>zīñ'-sī'a⁺</i>	<i>yáa ní⁺</i> "where?"
	<i>kpēlá⁺</i>	"there"	"somewhere"	<i>yáa</i> "whither"
	<i>àní⁺</i>	"there"		/whence?"
	<i>àínā^{+/}</i>	"there"		
Time	<i>nānná⁺</i>	"now"	<i>sān-sī'a⁺</i>	<i>sān-kán^ε</i> "when?"
	<i>nānná-nā^{+/}</i>	"now"	"sometime"	<i>būn-dâar^ε</i> "which day?"
	<i>sān-kán^ε</i>	"then"		<i>bò-wìn^{nε}</i> "what time of day?"
Manner	<i>àñwá⁺</i>	"like this"	<i>sī'əm^m</i>	<i>wēlá⁺</i> "how?"
	<i>àwá nā^{+/}</i>	"like this"	"somehow"	
	<i>àlá⁺</i>	"like that"		

The indefinites are used in relative clauses 24.3.1.

The *à-* of the "manner" forms is preceded by the LF-final vowel *-i* 7.2.1.

Proforms expressing reason are formed with the postposition *zūg^ɔ*: *àlá zùg^ɔ* "because of that", *bōzúg^ɔ* "why?" (cf *bō zúg^ɔ* "because" 20.2.1.)

17 Ideophones

Adjectives cannot themselves take adverbs as modifiers. In e.g.

Lì à nē píəlìg pāmm. "It's very white"

the adverb *pāmm* goes with the copula verb rather than the adjective; it is not possible to say **fū-píəlìg pāmm lā* for "the very white shirt."

However, in any syntactic role an adjective may be immediately followed by an ideophone with intensifying force, as may derived stative verbs. As is common cross-linguistically, ideophones often display unusual phonological features. Such ideophones are specific to particular adjectives and their derived stative verbs.

<i>Lì à nē píəlìg fáss fáss.</i>	"It's very white."	
<i>Lì à nē sābílìg zím zím.</i>	"It's deep black."	
<i>Lì à nē zǐǎ'a wím wím.</i>	"It's deep red."	
<i>Lì à nē fū-zǐǎ'a wím wím.</i>	"It's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ ñyé fū-zǐǎ'a wím wím.</i>	"I've seen a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Fū-zǐǎ'a wím wím bé.</i>	"There's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ bōɔd fū-zǐǎ'a wím wím lā.</i>	"I want the deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Ò à nē wōk tólùlì.</i>	"She's very tall."	
<i>Ò à nē gīŋ tírgà.</i>	"She's very short."	
<i>Ò wà'am tólùlì.</i>	"She's very tall."	
<i>Ò gìm nē tírgà.</i>	"She's very short."	

Not all adjectives, or even all adjectives with gradable senses, have associated ideophones; thus WK has only the adverb *pāmm* in

<i>Lì à súŋā pāmm.</i>	"It's very good."
<i>Lì à nē bē'ed pāmm.</i>	"It's very bad."
<i>Lì zùlum pāmm.</i>	"It's very deep."
<i>Lì mà'as pāmm.</i>	"It's very damp."

Most dynamic verbs likewise are not associated with ideophones:

<i>Ò tùm pāmm.</i>	"She's worked hard."
<i>Ò tùm hālí.</i>	"She's worked hard." 27.6
<i>Ò zò pāmm.</i>	"She's run a lot."
<i>Ò zò hālí.</i>	"She's run a lot."

However, many verbs can be followed by words which are again stereotyped and often show phonological features not found in the regular vocabulary. These are often more obviously onomatopoeic than the ideophones which intensify adjectives, and are not generally uniquely associated with particular verbs:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb. "He [a rabbit] is running lollop-lollop." WK

Similarly, the stance verb *zì'e*^{ya} "be standing" and its dual-aspect derivatives are often followed by *sāpɪ*⁺ "straight" (LF *sappinε* KB, cf [5.1.3](#)), but the word is found also after other verbs.

ka ku nyaje due o meŋi zi'e sappi.

kà kú ñyāŋɪ_ø dúe ò mēŋɪ_ø zí'e sāpɪ.

and NEG.IRR prevail CAT rise 3AN self CAT stand IDEO

"and was not able to rise and stand straight." (Lk 13:11, 1996)

maalim suoraug sappi mōɔgin la

màalɪm sɹā-dāvɔ sāpɪ mōɔgɪ-n lā

make:IMP road-male:SG IDEO grass:SG-LOC ART

"Make straight the high road in the wilderness" (Isaiah 40:3)

Ideophones of this type resemble manner adverbs syntactically, and similarly can be preposed with *kà* (Abubakari 2017.) There is perhaps some overlap of categories: see on *ñyāe*^{ne/} "brightly", for example [16.4](#).

A third type of ideophone overlaps with emphatics [27.6](#): so, for example *kímm* in *B5 kímm* "what exactly?" [15.3.4](#).

18 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases function typically as VP adjuncts, less often as complements. They cannot form components of noun phrases directly. Neither prepositions nor their own complements can be coordinated. Except for *nē* "with", the prepositions are also used as clause adjuncts 20.2.1.

Nē is "with" in both accompanying and instrumental senses. The *nē* "and" which coordinates NPs and AdvPs 15.1 is fundamentally the same word. *Nē* may only take NPs or AdvPs as complements (including nominalised *ñ*-clauses.)

WK has forms with bound personal pronouns as complements; note the H toneme on the preposition:

<i>ní m^a</i>	<i>ní tī^{+/}</i>
<i>ní f^o</i>	<i>ní yā^{+/}</i>
<i>n-ó^{-o} [nõ(:)]</i>	<i>ní bā^{+/}</i>
<i>ní lī^{+/}</i>	

The *ne o* of the 1996 NT version is frequently read [nõ] in the audio.

Other speakers only use *nē* with free pronouns; WK has alternative forms also with *né* before those bound pronouns which have a vowel in SF: *né lì, né tì, né yà, né bà*, with the pronouns having L toneme throughout; SB has the same forms.

Examples for *nē*:

Lìgúním fù nīf né fù nû'ug.

Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

Bà kèŋ nē nōbá.

"They've gone on foot." WK

3PL go with leg:PL.

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tû'as nē Wīnné +ø.

Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG NEG.

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

(Proverb: Be grateful for God's generosity and don't complain.)

Kulim nē sumbugusum.

"Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)

Kùlím nē sùmbūgusím.

Go.home:IMP with peace.

[*Bárikà né fù*] *kēn kēn*.

[Blessing with 2SG] arrival arrival.

"Welcome!" (based on a greeting template 28)

M̄ géñ' né fù. "I'm angry with you." SB

1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

The compound preposition *là'am nē* "together with" derives from a *n*-catenation construction 22.2.2:

...*m̄r ya'am yinne la'am nē tēn'esa yinne*.

... *m̄r yā'am yīnní là'am nē tēñ'esá yīnní*.

... have sense one together with thought one.

"... had one mind together with one thought." (Acts 4:32)

Wōv means "like." With pronoun complements WK has

wōv m̄n LF *mánè*

wóv tì

wōv fōn LF *fúnè*

wóv yà

wōv ɔn^ɛ

wóv bà

wóv ì

WK permits phrases introduced by *wōv* to be preposed with *kà* 27.2, but rejects this construction for *nē* + NP:

Wōv búŋ né kà ò zót.

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"Like a donkey, he runs."

but **Né m̄ nū'ug kà m̄ sī'ɪs.*

With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

is not possible for "With my hand, I touched it."

The complement is often a *sī'am* relative clause 24.3.1:

Ò zòt wōv búŋ ò zòt sī'am lā.

3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG NZ run:IPFV INDEF.ADV ART.

"He runs like a donkey runs."

Wōv occurs often after *wēn*^{na/} "resemble", introducing its complement; the preposition *nē* is frequently used instead. In any case, the complement is followed by the empty particle *nē* whenever it does not already have the article *lā*^{+/}, even if it is a pronoun, or is specific:

wōv mān nē "like me"
wōv búŋ nē "like a donkey"

Ka o nindaa wenne nintaŋ ne.

Kà ò nīn-dáa wēn nē nīntāŋ nē.

And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.

"His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996)

Alazugɔ mɔri ya'am wov wiigi ne...

Àlá zùgɔ, m̀r̀r̀ yā'am wōv wīgí nē...

Therefore, have sense like snake:PL like...

"Therefore, be wise as serpents ..." (Mt 10:16)

Wōv, *wēn wōv*, and *wēn nē* can also be used for "about" with numbers. The complement is not followed by the redundant *nē* in this case:

wōv tūsá àyí "about 2000"
 like thousand:PL NUM:two

Wēn nē X and *wēn wōv X*, using *wēn*^{na/} "resemble" in *n*-catenation 22.2.2, behave as unitary prepositional phrases to the extent that the entire sequence *wēn* + preposition + complement can be preposed with *kà*, or extraposed after the negative prosodic clitic:

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niŋid si'em la.

Dā ló yà nīn-dáasē +∅, wēn nē f̀ẁs̀úg dím lá_∅

NEG.IMP tie 2PL eye-face:PL NEG, resemble with puff:GER EMPTY.PL ART NZ

nìŋid sī'am lā.

do:IPFV INDF.ADV ART.

"Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16, 1976)

Àséé⁼ is "except for" (← Hausa *sai*)

àséé Wínà'am "except for God" (calquing the Twi *gye Nyame*)

For pronoun complements the free forms are used.

Hālí⁺ means "up to and including"; cf Hausa *har*, but this is a word found extremely widely in the savanna and Sahel; it may ultimately derive from Arabic *ḥatta*: (Heath 2005.)

O daa pɔn anɛ ninkuɔd hali pin'ilɔgɔn sa.

Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kôud hālí pīñ'ilógū-n sá.

3AN TNS previously COP FOC person-killer:SG even beginning:SG-LOC since.

"He was a murderer from the beginning." (Jn 8:44)

For pronoun complements, the free forms are used.

Hālí⁺ can also appear as a prelinker adjunct and as an emphatic 27.6. As emphatic "even" preceding *nē* or *là'am nē* "(together) with" and a *ḥ*-clause complement, it produces the meaning "despite, even though, even as":

Hali la'am nɛ on daa an yɛlsum wusa daan la, o da lieb nɔŋdaan...

Hālí là'am nē ón dāa áñ yēl-súm wūsa dāan lā,

Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS COP matter-goodness all owner:SG ART,

ò dà liəb nōŋ-dāan...

3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG...

"Despite his having possessed every blessing, he became poor..." (2 Cor 8:9)

Zugsɔb yel ye, Hali nɛ man vɔe nwa...

Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālí nē mán vōɛ ṅwá ...

head-EMPTY.AN say that even with 1SG:NZ be.alive this ...

"The Lord says: Even as I live .." (Rom 14:11)

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li

hālí nē mán dāa sōbi_ø tísì_yā sī'em lā

even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART

ḥ dāa pō sōbíl_ī ...

1SG TNS NEG.IND write 3INAN.OB ...

"Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

19 Verb phrases

19.1 Structure

The core of the verb phrase is a verb word along with bound particles which, together with verb flexion, mark tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Some verb complements are left-bound liaison words; remaining complements and adjuncts follow in that order, after which VP-final particles may occur.

The VP is subject to independency marking. This is primarily a tone overlay, but there are associated segmental features: the particle $yā^+$ after phrase-final perfective forms and the dual-aspect verb imperative flexion $-m^a$ appear only when the tone overlay is present.

The system separates tense, marked by preverbal particles, from aspect, marked by verb flexion and postverbal $nē^{+/-}$. As is common cross-linguistically, future reference is marked by *mood*. Negative markers vary with mood. Mood itself is marked primarily by such preverbal particles, but the flexion $-m^a$ of dual-aspect verbs is a portmanteau marker of imperative mood, positive polarity and independency.

The VP shows no agreement. Apparent number agreement in imperatives is actually due to the incorporation of the postposed 2nd pl subject pronoun ya .

Bound VP particles occur in a fixed order:

	Tense		Mood	Preverb		LW1	LW2	
<i>lèε</i>	<i>dàa</i>	<i>nàm</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow p\bar{u}$	<i>pòn</i>	VERB	n^ϵ	m^a	$n\bar{\epsilon}^{+/-}$
	<i>sàa</i>	<i>ñyēε(ti)</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow d\bar{a}$	<i>lèm</i>		ya	f	
	\emptyset		$n\grave{a} \leftrightarrow k\grave{u}$	<i>tì</i>			o	
	<i>pà'</i>			<i>kpèlum</i>			l^+	
	<i>sà</i>			<i>là'am</i>			t^+	
	<i>dāa</i>			<i>dèŋum</i>			ya^+	
	<i>dà</i>			...			ba^+	

\emptyset marks slots where the absence of a particle can be contrastive.

The particles in the column "Mood" also mark polarity: positive \leftrightarrow negative.

LW1, LW2 are slots for left-bound liaison words [19.7.3](#).

For *lèε* "but" see [19.7.1](#); for *nàm* "still" and *ñyēε(ti)* "habitually" see [19.3.2](#); for aspectual $n\bar{\epsilon}^{+/-}$ see [19.2.1](#).

Tone Pattern LO verbs have all-M tones in the irrealis mood [6.3](#).

19.2 Aspect

The basic aspect distinction is **perfective** versus **imperfective**. Dual-aspect verbs distinguish aspects by flexion: the unmarked stem form is perfective, the suffix **-da* forms the imperfective, and a form with **-ma* is used for imperative when the verb word itself carries the independency-marking tone overlay [19.6.2.2](#). Single-aspect verbs have a single form which is always imperfective.

The terms **dynamic** and **stative** are used in this description as labels for verb classes, not aspects. Dynamic verbs can be morphologically dual-aspect or single-aspect. They typically express occurrences, but can also express states: the imperfective form of a dynamic verb can have habitual/propensity meaning, which can be regarded either as expressing multiple occurrences or as a state, describing the character of the subject, and the perfective of dynamic verbs which express a change of state in the subject can express the resulting state itself. Stative verbs are all single-aspect. By default, they express persistent/abiding states.

19.2.1 Aspectual *nē*

Following a verb word with no free words intervening, the VP focus particle *nē*^{+/} [27.1.2](#) by default marks a contrast with another time at which the situation expressed by the verb did not obtain; the meaning might be paraphrased "at the time referred to in particular." When *nē*^{+/} is used in this way, the time referred to is not coextensive with the time of the situation (CGEL pp125 ff); in the terminology of Klein 2013, there is a "topic-time contrast." With imperfective aspect, this happens when the time referred to is strictly contained within the time of the situation: the meaning is similar to the English "progressive", and is similarly not freely used with verbs which by default express abiding states. With perfectives expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and aspectual use of *nē*^{+/} is not possible; however, *resultative* perfectives express a state resulting from the action of the verb, and because this state is not present prior to the action, there is invariably a topic-time contrast. Accordingly, aspectual *nē*^{+/} after a perfective form marks it as resultative; conversely, if a perfective verb form does not express a change of state in the subject, any following *nē*^{+/} cannot be aspectual.

Nē^{+/} may not be used at all in certain syntactic contexts, and may not appear a second time in an aspectual sense if it is already present focussing a constituent; the aspect distinctions are then unmarked.

If free words intervene between *nē*^{+/} and the verb it cannot be interpreted as aspectual, and the relevant aspect distinctions are unmarked:

Ò kùəsídī_bá nē.

3AN sell:IPFV 3PL.OB FOC.

"She's selling them."

Ò *kùəsɪd nē sūmma lā*. "She is selling the groundnuts."
 3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

but Ò *kùəsɪd sūmma lā nē*. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
 3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. (VP focussed: "They're not free.")

Nē^{+/} may only be used aspectually if the VP has positive polarity; if not, the relevant distinctions are again unmarked:

Ò *zàbɪd*. "He fights."
 3AN fight:IPFV.

Ò *zàbɪd nē*. "He's fighting."
 3AN fight:IPFV FOC.

but Ò *p̄ zàbɪdā +∅*. "He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."
 3AN NEG.IND fight:IPFV NEG.

The VP must have indicative mood for aspectual use of *nē^{+/}*. In direct commands a following *àlá* "thus" imposes a continuous/progressive imperfective sense on the verb 19.4, but aspectual *nē^{+/}* cannot appear.

Passives 19.8.1.1 cannot use the imperfective aspect with progressive meaning, so *nē^{+/}* can never be aspectual after such forms.

Dāam lā nūud. "The beer gets drunk." WK
 Beer ART drink:IPFV.

Dāam nūud zíná. "Beer gets drunk today." WK
 Beer drink:IPFV today.

but *Dāam lā nūud nē*. Only "The beer is for drinking." WK
 Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not for throwing away.")
 not "The beer is being drunk."

**Dāam nūud nē* was rejected by WK altogether (because without a context the subject was interpreted as generic, see below.)

Contrast the intransitive use of patientive ambitransitive verbs expressing changes of state:

Ḿ *yɔɔd nē kúlìŋ lā*. "I'm closing the door."
 1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

Kòlɪŋ lā yɔ̀ɔd nē. "The door is closing."
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

Lì mà'ad nē. "It is getting cool." (*mā'e^{+/}* "get cool")
3INAN get.COOL:IPFV FOC.

A perfective form can only be interpreted as resultative if it expresses a change of state in the subject.

Ò kpì nē. "He's dead."
3AN die FOC.

but *Ṁ dá' nē búŋ.* "I've bought a *donkey*."
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. ("What have you bought?"; focussed object)

Assume-stance verbs do not express a change of state in the subject, because stance verbs are not stative in Kusaal. Accordingly, the perfective of an assume-stance verb cannot accept a resultative reading:

Ò dìŋɪn nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
3AN lie.down FOC.

With stative verbs, aspectual *nē^{+/}* may only occur if there is an explicit time expression in the immediate context, or if the the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē^{+/}* [19.2.3](#). If not, *nē^{+/}* must be interpreted as focussing the VP or a constituent of the VP:

Ò gìm. "She's short."
3AN be.short.

but *Ò gìm nē.* "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

Ṁ mór pu'ā. "I have a wife."
1SG have wife:SG.

but *Ṁ mór nē pu'ā.* "I have a woman."
1SG have FOC woman:SG. (not "wife": implies an irregular liaison, WK)

The general principle that *nē*^{+/} following a verb without intervening unbound words is aspectual if the verb allows for it has an exception with **generic** statements. These are usually recognisable by the fact that they have indefinite subjects without determiners (or pronouns referring to such subjects) and are not presentational 27.4:

Nīgí ññbud nē mōɔd. Bā nūud nē kû'om.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.

"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat? and drink?")

Aspectual *nē*^{+/} is omitted in replying to polar questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: *Gòsım!* "Look!" B: *Ḥ gósìd!* "I'm looking!"

A: *Fò gósìd néé?* "Are you looking?" B: *Ḥ gósìd!* "I'm looking!"

19.2.2 Perfective

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. It is not incompatible with a present tense interpretation, often corresponding to the English "simple present", which is likewise unmarked over against the progressive form. It is the usual aspect found with the irrealis mood to express future events, and in *yà*'-clauses 23.2. Nevertheless, even without tense marking, the perfective often has an implication of completion, in contrast with the imperfective.

The perfective frequently does occur without tense marking, either explicit or implicit from context 19.3.5. With most verbs this simply expresses a completed event or process with the time unspecified, creating the implication that the event is still currently relevant; the sense resembles the English "present perfect":

Sāa dāa ní.

Rain TNS rain.

"It rained." (before yesterday.)

but *Sāa ní yā.*

Rain rain PFV.

"It has rained."

The time is unspecified: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert." (WK)

Perfective appears with present meaning with events and processes which can be conceptualised as being coextensive with the moment of utterance:

Ò yèl yē ...

3AN say that ...

"He says" (translating for the foreign doctor)

Performatives naturally fall into this category:

M̀ p̀ô'us yā. "Thankyou", "I thank you."
1SG greet PFV. (cf Hausa *Naa goodèe*, also perfective)

M̀ s̀já_k yā. "I agree."
1SG agree PFV.

Verbs of perception and cognition (often corresponding to English "stative" verbs that do not use the progressive present) frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

M̀ ñy_é nū'-bí_bí_sá_ àt_á_ñ'.
1SG see hand-small:PL NUM:three.
"I can see three fingers."

M̀ t_ê_ñ'es k_à ... "I think that ..."
1SG think and ...

With verbs which express a change of state in the subject the perfective may express the resulting state:

Lì b_ò_dì_g yā . "It's got lost."
3INAN lose PFV.

Lì b_ò_dì_g n_ē . "It's lost."
3INAN lose FOC.

Such resultative perfectives are followed by aspectual *n_ē*^{+/} whenever syntactically permissible, because there is always a topic-time contrast with the situation preceding the action of the verb.

Ò k_pì n_ē. "He's dead."
3AN die FOC.

M̀ g_é_ñ n_ē. "I'm tired."
1SG get.tired FOC.

B_à k_ù_dug n_ē. "They're old."
3PL grow.old FOC.

<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i> 3INAN fill FOC.	"It's full."
<i>Lì yò nē.</i> 3INAN close FOC.	"It's closed."
<i>Ì búg nē.</i> 1SG get.drunk FOC.	"I'm drunk." (← Hausa <i>bùgu</i>)
<i>Ò lèr nē.</i> 3AN get.ugly FOC.	"He's ugly." WK <i>sic</i>
<i>Lì sòbig nē.</i> 3INAN blacken FOC.	"It's black." WK <i>sic</i>

The only agentive transitive verbs [19.8.1](#) I have found which express a change of state in the subject with resultative perfectives involve putting on clothing:

<i>Ì yé fūug.</i> 1SG put.on shirt:SG.	"I've put a shirt on."
<i>Ì yé nē fūug.</i> 1SG put.on FOC shirt:SG.	"I'm wearing a shirt."

In catenation and in absolute clauses, the choice of perfective over imperfective implies that the event is complete. Consequently, in catenation the order of VPs when the first has perfective aspect is iconic, with constituent order constrained to follow event order [22.1](#). Thus while English might say: "Two men stood with them, dressed in white", Kusaal must have

Ka dapa ayi' yε fupielā zi'e ba san'an.
Kà dāpá_ àyí' yé fū-píə̀lā_ ø zì'e bà sā'an.
And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.
"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

In contrast, an imperfective may be followed by a perfective:

Ñwādisá_ àtáñ' kà fù ná mōr bīig lā n kē nā.
Month NUM:three and 2SG IRR have child:SG ART CAT come hither.
"Bring the child here in three months." ("having the child, come here.")

With absolute clauses as adjuncts, the temporal relationship to the main clause is determined by aspect, with perfective in the absolute clause implying priority and imperfective simultaneity [24.2](#). In the same way, narrative generally features series of tense-unmarked perfectives describing events strictly in order [19.3.5](#).

Perfectives may appear in general statements such as proverbs, which in such cases should probably be regarded as mini-anecdotes:

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

Kùkòma dá zàb tāabá à-sǎñ'e bī'elá yèla.

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-better.than slightly about.

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

19.2.3 Imperfective

Without aspectual $n\bar{e}^{+/}$, the imperfective of dynamic verbs is "habitual", expressing multiple occurrences, or a propensity of the subject to the achievement, accomplishment or activity expressed by the verb:

Ò òñbɪd.

3AN chew:IPFV.

"He chews."

Nīdɪb kpīid.

Person:PL die:IPFV.

"People die."

Nīigí òñbɪd mōɔd.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

"Cows eat grass."

Ì zíñ'i.

1SG be.sitting.

"I sit."

Ì záñl dāká lā.

1SG carry.in.hands box:SG ART.

"I carry the box in my hands."

With aspectual $n\bar{e}^{+/}$, the imperfective of dynamic verbs has a meaning analogous to the English "progressive."

Ò òñbɪd nē.

3AN chew:IPFV FOC.

"He's chewing."

Nā'-síəbà ʒñ̀bìd nē mṑɔd. "Some cows are eating grass."
 COW-INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC GRASS:PL.

M̄ zíñ'i nē. "I'm sitting."
 1SG be.sitting FOC.

M̄ záñl nē dāká lā.
 1SG carry.in.hands FOC box:SG ART.
 "I'm carrying the box in my hands."

With verbs describing events the sense is often "time-limited habitual":

Nīdɪb kp̄iid nē. "People are dying."
 Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Stative single-aspect verbs express persistent or abiding states; accordingly they do not normally display topic-time contrasts or take aspectual *nē*^{+/-}:

Ò gìm. "She's short."
 3AN be.short.

M̄ mór p̄y'ā. "I have a wife."
 1SG have wife:SG.

By default, if the particle *nē*^{+/-} follows such a verb it is interpreted as *focussing* either the VP or a VP constituent, but *nē*^{+/-} can be aspectual if there is an explicit time reference in the clause itself (which may be as little as a tense marker.) This can constrain the meaning to a temporary state, limited to a particular time period, with a contrast between the time referred to and other times when the state was not in effect. (The requirement for an explicit marker of time in the same clause may be partly an artefact of acceptability judgments based on short isolated clauses.)

Lì vèn nē. "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)
 3INAN be.beautiful FOC.

but *Nānnánā, lì vèn nē.* "Just now, it's beautiful."
 Now, 3INAN be.beautiful FOC.

Sān-kán lā, lì dāa zúlìm nē.
 Time-DEM.SG ART, 3INAN TNS be.deep FOC.
 "At that time, it was deep."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē. "The lake *was* deep."
 Lake:SG ART TNS be.deep FOC. (Implying, "Now it's shallow." WK)

Lì dāa vén nē. "It *was* beautiful." WK: "I gave you a cup, and
 3INAN TNS be.beautiful FOC. it was OK then, but now you've spoiled it."

Lì dāa bōgvs nē. "It *was* soft." ("Now it isn't.")
 3INAN TNS be.soft FOC.

If the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē^{+/}* [27.1.2.1](#), *nē^{+/}* has to be aspectual even if the verb is stative and there no explicit time marker:

M̄ mór bīsá_ àtájā.
 1SG have child:PL NUM:three.exactly.
 "I've got exactly three children."

but *M̄ mór nē bīsá_ àtájā.*
 1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.exactly.
 "I've got exactly three children just now." DK: "You're on a school trip, talking about how many children everyone has brought."

Lì dāa áñ sújā. "It was good." WK
 3INAN TNS COP good:ADV.

Lì dāa á nē sújā. "At the time, it was good." WK
 3INAN TNS COP FOC good:ADV.

Lì à nē sújā. "It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)
 3INAN COP FOC good:ADV.

Emphatics [27.6](#) do not behave in this way:

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn.
bɔ zúgɔ ò à né fù bīig mén.
 Because 3AN COP FOC 2SG child:SG also.
 "Because he is your child too." (Genesis 21:13)

19.3 Tense

19.3.1 Tense particles

Tense particles come first in the VP, preceded only by *lɛɛ* "but." They are mutually exclusive. They comprise

<i>dàa</i>	"day after tomorrow"
<i>sàa</i>	"tomorrow"
∅	present, or implicit (see below)
<i>pà'</i>	"earlier today"
<i>sà</i>	"yesterday"
<i>dāa</i>	before yesterday
<i>dà</i>	before the time marked by <i>dāa</i>

The day begins at sunrise:

<i>Fù sá gbìs wēlá</i> +∅?	"How did you sleep yesterday?" i.e. "last night"
2SG TNS sleep how CQ?	

Future tense markers normally require irrealis mood, but imperative is possible if a main clause has been ellipted before a subordinate clause of purpose:

<i>Ò sáa zàb nà'ab lā.</i>	"Let him fight the chief tomorrow."
3AN TNS fight chief:SG ART.	

Dāa means "before yesterday" but can be used freely for even remote past. The NT has numerous parallel passages where the same events are narrated in one passage with *dāa* and in another with *dà*, but when both markers occur, *dà* always expresses time prior to *dāa*. (For other "pluperfects", cf tense marking in content clauses [25.2](#), and in *h*-clauses within narrative [19.3.5](#).)

19.3.2 Auxiliary tense particles

Two particles may occur in the slot following tense particles but preceding polarity/mood particles.

Nàm means "still" or with a negative "yet":

<i>Tìim lā nám bèè</i> +∅?	"Is there any medicine left?"
Medicine ART still EXIST PQ?	("Does the medicine still exist?")

dunia nam pu pin'il la

dūniyá_ø nàm pū pīñ'il lā

world:SG NZ still NEG.IND begin ART

"before the world began" (Mt 25:34) ("The world having not yet begun.")

M̄ nám zī'_ ø ñyē gbīgumne +ø.

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB (see [22.2](#) on *n*-catenation idioms)

Ñyēε or *ñyēε tí* (KT *ēñ tí*, NT *nyii tí*, KB *enti*) means "habitually." The main verb is naturally imperfective.

Ò ñyēε zàbìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually fight:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to fight the chief." WK

Ò ñyēε gōsìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually look.at:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to look at the chief." WK

Ò dāa ñyēε zàbìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN TNS usually fight:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He was accustomed to fight the chief." WK

Ò ēñ tí zàbìd nē nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually fight:IPFV FOC chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to fight the chief." KT

Ò ēñ tí zìñ'i kpēlá.

3AN usually be.sitting there.

"She's accustomed to sit there." KT

Ò ēñ tí dīgi kpēlá.

3AN usually be.lying there.

"She's accustomed to lie there." KT

Ti enti pu sōbid dine ka ya na karim ka ku nyañi gban'e li gbinne.

Tì ēñ tí pū sōbìd dínì kà yà ná kārím kà kú ñyāñi_ø

1PL usually NEG.IND write:IPFV REL.INAN and 2PL IRR read and NEG.IRR prevail CAT

gbáñ'e lì gbìnnē +ø.

grab 3INAN base:SG NEG.

"We do not write what you will read and not be able to grasp the meaning of."

(2 Cor 1:13)

19.3.3 Discontinuous past

My informants use the **discontinuous-past** marker n^{ϵ} to make an earlier-today past with indicative meaning:

M̃ ʒñbɪdī-n sūmma. "I was eating groundnuts."
1SG chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

This implies "and now I'm not", a sort of anti-current-relevance. Such a "discontinuous" past is proposed for many languages (especially in West Africa) in Plungian and van der Auwera 2006; n^{ϵ} fulfils their criteria for a typical discontinuous past well. They note (5.2) that such markers often acquire attenuative, hypothetical or counterfactual senses, which are much the commonest roles of n^{ϵ} in Kusaal [23.1.1](#).

19.3.4 Periphrastic future constructions

Kusaal does not use tense-unmarked indicative imperfectives for immediate future (like English "I'm going home.") Note the use of the *perfective* in

M̃ kúl yā. equivalent in usage to "I'm going home now."
1SG go.home PFV. Perfective as an instantaneous present [19.2.2](#)

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to ...":

(a) *bòɔd*^a "want" + gerund. The subject need not be animate; the construction is only possible with gerunds from dynamic verbs.

Tìɔg lā bôɔd līg. "The tree is about to fall."
Tree:SG ART want fall:GER.

Yú'ɔŋ bôɔd gaadɔg, ka bɛog bôɔd nier.
Yú'ɔŋ bôɔd gáadùg kà bɛog bôɔd níə.

Night want pass:GER and morning want appear:GER.

"The night is about to pass and tomorrow is about to appear." (Rom 13:12)

(b) subject + *yē*-purpose clause; the subject must be animate. (Cf also [25.2](#).)

M̃ yé m̃ kɔā sūmma. "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

M̃ yé m̃ kɔ́á nīm. "I'm going to cut meat"
1SG that 1SG cut meat:SG.

19.3.5 Implicit tense marking and narrative

Tense markers are frequently absent. As a basic principle, explicit marking is not needed when the time reference is recoverable from the linguistic context, but the occurrence of tense markers is not arbitrary, and contrasts with \emptyset may occur.

Real-world context does not in itself licence omission of tense markers. If there is no other time-referring element in the clause, the absence of any tense particle is meaningful. By default, it simply means that the tense is present, whether the aspect is imperfective or perfective:

Nīdɪb kpīid nē. "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Nīdɪb kpīid. "People die."
Person:PL die:IPFV.

Ò m̀̀r pɹ'ā. "He has a wife."
3AN have wife:SG.

Ò kpì yā. "She's died."
3AN die PFV. ("present perfect" [19.2.2](#))

In isolation, it is not possible to interpret such expressions as referring to the past (see below on informal narrative.)

Tense-markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with $-n^E$ as today-past, or with another time reference in the clause itself, like a time adverb:

F̀̀ sáa nà kũl. "You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG TNS IRR go.home.

or *F̀̀ sáa nà kũl bēog.*
2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.

or *F̀̀ nà kũl bēog.*
2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

cf *F̀̀ ná kũl.* "You will go home."
2SG IRR go.home (today, tomorrow, next week ...)

̀̀M pá' ò̀̀̀bɪdī-n sũmma. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
1SG TNS chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

or *̀̀M ò̀̀̀bɪdī-n sũmma.*
1SG chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

M̄ sá zàb nâ'ab lā sù'əs. "I fought the chief yesterday."

1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

or *M̄ záb nâ'ab lā sù'əs.*

1SG fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

Systematic meaningful omission of past tense markers occurs in **narrative**.

In KB/NT narrative, main clauses which do not contain an explicit time expression show tense marking much more often than not, *unless* they are introduced by *kà*; the first 12 chapters of Acts in the 1996 version show over five times as many tense-marked as unmarked forms. On the other hand, clauses introduced by *kà* only have tense marking to signal that they disrupt the narrative flow, as with flashbacks or descriptive passages. KB/NT narrative varies in the proportion of tense-marked clauses without *kà* to unmarked clauses with *kà*; the Balaam's Donkey narrative [30.1](#) shows a higher proportion of tense-marked clauses without *kà* than typical NT narrative, for example. However, throughout KB, narrative favours long sequences of coordinated *kà*-clauses with perfective aspect without tense marking, narrating the sequence of events in order. Here *kà* itself corresponds to *zero* in English.

Less formal sources like the Three Murderers text [30.2](#) drop tense-marking in clauses *without kà* within narrative much more often than the Bible versions. In view of the consistency of the tense marking principles of KB/NT, narrative clauses of this kind are probably analogous to the "historic present" of English informal conversational narration (CGEL p130); significantly, *kpē* "here" and spatio-temporal deictics like *kàngā* "this" are also common in such texts.

In any case, tense-marking must be absent in clauses introduced by *kà* which are carrying the narrative forward, and conversely, disruptions in narrative flow must normally be tense-marked (with exceptions as noted below.) Informants interpreted isolated *kà*-clauses without tense marking as fragments of narratives expressing events, leading to consistent rejection of any aspectual interpretation of the particle *nē^{+/-}* in favour of constituent focus; but with tense marking, *nē^{+/-}* was taken as aspectual just as in clauses without *kà*:

Lì b̀̀d̀̀g nē.
3INAN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

Kà lì b̀̀d̀̀g nē.
And 3INAN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as contradicting "someone hid it" i.e. as contrastive focus

Bà k̀̀d̀̀g nē.
3PL get.old FOC.

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nē.

And 3PL get.old FOC.

"And they're old." Rejected by WK; accepted by DK with the gloss "You're saying they're old when he promised to give you new ones", i.e. as contrastive focus

But *Kà lì dāa bódìg nē.*

And 3INAN TNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kúdìg nē.

Kà bà dāa kúdìg nē.

etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

Thus, both with and without *kà*, tense-marking signals disruption of the narrative flow:

Ka Yesu daa an yuma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keŋ maluŋ la wuw ban εenti niŋid si'em la. Ka maluŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba daa ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...

Kà Yesu_∅ dāa áñ yúmà pīi né àyí lā, kà bà kēŋ málùŋ

And Jesus NZ TNS COP year:PL ten with NUM:TWO ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG

lā wuw bán ēñ tí niŋid s'əm lā. Kà màluŋ lā dábisà_∅

ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV INDF.ADV ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL NZ

nāe lā, kà bà lɛbidi_∅ kūn. Kà Yesu kpélim Jerusalem

finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem

téŋi-n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū bán yé ò kpélim

land:SG-LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain

yāa +∅. Bà dāa tēñ'es yé ò dɔl né bà tēŋ-dim lā, kà kēŋ...

PFV NEG. 3PL TNS think that 3AN accompany FOC 3PL land-person.PL ART, and go...

"When Jesus **was** twelve years old, they went to Jerusalem to sacrifice as they were accustomed to. When the days of sacrifice were over, they were going home, but Jesus remained behind in Jerusalem, and his father and mother didn't realise that he had stayed. They **thought** that he was accompanying their fellow-countrymen. And they went ..." (Lk 2:42-44)

Note the "aside" *Ò mà dá à nē ...* in the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1.1ff 1996, which has dozens of clauses of the pattern *kà X dɔ'á Y* "and X begat Y":

*Ka Jese du'a na'ab David. Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma **da** anε Uria pu'a. Ka Solomon du'a Rehoboam.*

Kà Jese d̄u'á nâ'ab David. Kà David d̄u'á Solomon. Ò mà

And Jesse beget king:SG David. And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG

dá à nē Uria p̄u'á. Kà Solomon d̄u'á Rehoboam...

TNS COP FOC Uria wife:SG. And Solomon beget Rehoboam...

"And Jesse begat King David. And David begat Solomon. His mother **was** Uria's wife. And Solomon begat Rehoboam..." (Mt 1:6-7)

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff 1996, which moves backwards in time, has dozens of consecutive examples of

kà X s̄aam dá à nē Y "and X's father **was** Y"

and X father:SG TNS COP FOC Y

Disruptions in narrative flow normally *must* be tense-marked, but very long series of coordinated "asides" do sometimes drop tense marking; in KB the genealogy in Luke shows *ka X saam da anε Y* at the beginning of paragraphs in the text, but *ka X saam an Y* otherwise.

Tense-unmarked dynamic-verb imperfectives can appear without aspectual *nē^{+/}* in narrative to express several instances of an event:

*Ka on kpen' la, o yeli ba ye [...]. Ka ba **la'ad** o.*

Kà 3n kpěñ' lā, ò yélì bā yē [...]. Kà bà lá'ad-ō ∅.

And 3AN:NZ enter ART, 3AN say 3PL.OB that ... and 3PL laugh:IPFV 3AN.OB.

"After he came in, he said to them [...]. But they **laughed** at him." (Mk 5:39-40)

N̄-clauses normally mark tense independently, but within narrative they mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

3n dāa ñyēt súgā 3n dāa áñ bí-līa lāa +∅?

3AN.CNTR TNS see:IPFV good:ADV 3AN:NZ TNS COP child-baby:SG ART PQ?

"Did he see well when he was a baby?"

but *Ka Pita yu'un tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la ye ...*

Kà Pita yū'un tíeñ Yesu n sà yèl sī'əl lā yē ...

And Peter then remember Jesus NZ TNS say INDEFINAN ART that ...

"And Peter then remembered what Jesus had said the day before..." (Mt 26:75)

When absolute clauses are preposed with *kà* 27.2, main clauses lack tense marking regardless of whether tense marking appears in the absolute clause (132 of

136 cases in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14, 1976.) When the absolute clause is a postlinker adjunct 20.2.1, main clauses are tense-marked or not in the same way as other clauses in narrative, with absolute clauses agreeing with the main clauses as to tense-marking (69 cases out of 78.)

In this example, *nē* is perhaps marking constituent focus:

Ka ban ken la, Jesus g̃bisid ne.

Kà b̃án k̃ēn l̃ā, Jesus g̃b̃isid ñē.

And 3PL:NZ go:IMPF ART, Jesus sleep:IPFV FOC.

"As they were travelling, Jesus was sleeping." (Lk 8:22-23, 1976)

KB *ka gb̃em z̃eg Yesu ka o g̃bisid*. "sleep overcame Jesus and he slept."

If *nē* were aspectual, one would have expected tense marking.

Tense marking is not affected by clause adjuncts other than time expressions or by the "resumptive" *yē* of indirect speech 25.2.1; cf:

Amaa ba da z̃t o ñe dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid añe nya'and̃l la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n m̃r o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà z̃t̃·ō_∅ ñē d̃ábī̃em, b̃án dà p̃ū níŋ·ò_∅

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV 3AN.OB FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND do 3AN.OB

yáddā yé ò s̃id à ñē ñyâ'an-d̃òl l̃ā z̃úg. Àmáa k̃à Barnabas

faith that 3AN truly COP FOC after-follower:SG ART upon. But and Barnabas

z̃áŋ Saul n m̃r·ó_∅ ∅ k̃ēŋ ...

take Saul CAT have 3AN.OB CAT go ...

"But they were afraid of him, because they did not believe that he was really a disciple. But Barnabas brought Saul ..." (Acts 9:26-27)

A tense-marked interruption in the narrative flow may itself contain clauses coordinated with *kà*; the tense marker of the first such clause is not repeated, but the following *kà*-clauses are not carrying on the narrative and can thus have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet da ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa me kudigne.

Bà dà p̃ū m̃r b̃iiga +∅, b̃z̃úg̃ō Elizabet dá à ñē

3PL TNS NEG.IND have child:SG NEG, because Elizabeth TNS COP FOC

kúndù'ar k̃à bà bàyí' l̃ā w̃usa mé k̃ùdig ñē.

barren.woman:SG and 3PL NUM:two ART all also get.old FOC.

"They had no child, because Elizabeth was barren and they were both old."

(Lk 1:7, 1996; no *ñe* in the KB *ka babayi' la wusa me kudig hali*.)

19.4 Mood

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. The distinction among them is in itself quite straightforward, but the *marking* of mood involves portmanteau morphs which also express polarity, and in the case of the imperative, independency as well.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It uses the negative particle *pō*. It is used for statements and questions about the present and past, and timeless events and states. It can express the immediate future in periphrastic constructions. It is the only mood which permits the use of the particle *nē^{+/}* with aspectual meaning.

Imperative mood is negated by *dā*. With dual-aspect verbs carrying the independency-marking tone overlay it shows a special inflection *-m^a* [19.6.2.2](#) but otherwise the verb word coincides in form with the indicative.

Ò vùl tîm kà ò nóbìr pō zábē^{+∅}.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IND fight NEG.
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

Ò vùl tîm kà ò nóbìr dā zábē^{+∅}.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight NEG.
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

The *-m^a* imperative of dual-aspect verbs is perfective by default:

Kòñsım! "Cough!"

Imperatives without independency-marking tone overlay make perfective/imperfective distinctions in the usual way by verb flexion:

Dā kóñsē^{+∅}! "Don't cough!" (To a patient who has coughed during an eye operation with local anaesthetic)
 NEG.IMP cough NEG!

Dā kóñsıdā^{+∅}! "Don't cough!" (Explaining before the operation what to avoid throughout)
 NEG.IMP cough:IPFV NEG!

Whether or not it carries the flexion *-m^a*, imperative mood is followed by the postposed 2pl subject pronoun ^ya in direct commands to several people [21.3](#).

The particle *nē^{+/}* cannot appear in its aspectual sense with the imperative, but *àlá* "thus" after imperatives imposes continuous/progressive meaning:

<i>Dìm!</i>	"Eat!"
<i>Dìmí àlá!</i>	"Carry on eating!"

Informants contract *-í-à-* either to *-í-* or to *-á-*: [dímíla] [dímala].

<i>Dìmī-ní</i> <i>àlá!</i>	"Keep ye on eating!" [dímímíla] [dímímala]
Eat:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!	

Single-aspect verbs used as imperatives frequently add *àlá*:

<i>Zì'é àlá!</i>	text <i>zi'ela</i>	"Be still!" (Jesus to the storm, Mk 4:39, 1976)
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<i>Dìgī-ní</i> <i>àlá!</i>	"Keep (ye) on lying down." [dìgímíla] [dìgímala]
Be.lying.down-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!	

<i>Āa-ní</i> <i>àlá</i> <i>bāāńlím!</i>	"Be (ye) quiet!"
COP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!	

<i>Bēi-ní</i> <i>àlá</i> <i>àńínā!</i>	"Be ye there!"
EXIST-2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there!	

Imperative mood is used in direct commands and prohibitions and in purpose clauses. Imperative mood follows another imperative in catenation.

<i>Gòsīmī</i> <i>∅!</i>	"Look ye!"
Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!	

<i>Dā</i> <i>gōsε</i> <i>+∅!</i>	"Don't look!"
NEG.IMP look NEG!	

<i>Kèl</i> <i>kà</i> <i>ò</i> <i>gōs!</i>	"Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!	

<i>Kèm</i> <i>nā</i> <i>n</i> <i>gōs!</i>	"Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!	

<i>Dòllī-ní</i> <i>m!</i>	"Follow ye me!"
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!	

<i>Mòr</i> <i>nīn-báalìg!</i>	"Have pity!"
Have eye-pity!	

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions and has the preverbal mood markers *nà* (positive) *kù* (negative.) Tone Pattern LO verbs show a tone perturbation to all-M tonemes 6.3. The irrealis distinguishes aspects by verb flexion like the indicative, but aspectual *nē^{+/}* cannot occur. Perfective aspect occurs much more often than imperfective. Irrealis mood with past tense markers is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past: see 23.1 for its use in conditionals.

Ò *dāa ná zāb nâ'ab lā.* "He would have fought the chief" (but didn't)
 3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.

19.5 Polarity

VP negation markers combine this function with mood marking. They appear after tense markers but before preverbs. They induce the appearance of a clause final negative prosodic clitic 7.1. Aspectual *nē^{+/}* is incompatible with negative polarity.

Indicative mood is negated by *pū* (for some speakers *bū*, as in Toende Kusaal.) Imperative is negated by *dā*; conversely, forms which are negated by *dā* are imperative. Irrealis is negated by *kù*, which *replaces* the positive irrealis marker *nà*. Younger speakers sometimes use *kù* for *pū*, but none of my informants accepts this.

Ò *zàb nâ'ab lā.* "He's fought the chief."
 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

Ò *pū záb nà'ab lāa ^{+∅}.* "He hasn't fought the chief."
 3AN NEG.IND fight chief:SG ART NEG.

Zàm *nâ'ab lā!* "Fight the chief!"
 Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!

Dā *záb nà'ab lāa ^{+∅}!* "Don't fight the chief!"
 NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART NEG!

Ò *nà zāb nâ'ab lā.* "He'll fight the chief."
 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò *kù zāb nâ'ab lāa ^{+∅}.* "He won't fight the chief."
 3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART NEG.

19.5.1 Negative verbs

Three verbs are equivalent to negative particle + verb. They do not carry the independency tone overlay 19.6.1.1. Negative prosodic clitics appear as usual.

Kā'e⁺ "not be, not have" appears as **kā'** before a complement 7.3. It is the negative to both "be" verbs, **àeñ**^a "be something/somehow" and **bè**⁺ "be somewhere, exist" and also to **mōr**^{a/} "have." ***Pō bé** is not found, but **pō mōr** is quite common; **pō áeñ** is rare but can be found in contrastive contexts 19.11.2.

Examples:

Dāy lā kā' ná'abā +∅. "The man isn't a chief."
Man:SG ART NEG.BE chief:SG NEG.

Dāy lā kā' bīga +∅. "The man hasn't got a child."
Man:SG ART NEG.HAVE child:SG NEG.

Pū'ā lā mór bīg àmáa dāy lā kā'e +∅.
Woman:SG ART have child:SG but man:SG ART NEG.HAVE NEG.
"The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

Dāy lā kā'e +∅. "The man isn't there."
Man:SG ART NEG.BE NEG.

Dāy kā'e dógū-n láa +∅. "There's no man in the room."
Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART NEG.

Dāy lā kā' dógū-n láa +∅. "The man is not in the room."
Man:SG ART NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART NEG.

Kā'e⁺ has a clause-final variant **kà'asige** (always LF):

Ò bīg ká'asigē +∅. "She has no child."
3AN child NEG.EXIST NEG.

Zī⁺ "not know" normally replaces negative particle + **mī**.

Bòη-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēη túllā +∅.
Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot NEG.
"He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot." (Proverb)

Instances of **mī** with negative particles do occur:

M biig Solomon ane dasaŋ , ka pu mi' wuv lin nar si'em.

M̄ bīg Solomon á nē dá-sāŋ, kà pū mī

1SG child:SG Solomon FOC COP young.man:SG, and NEG.IND know

w̄uv lín nār sī'emm +∅.

how 3INAN:NZ be.proper IND.FADV NEG.

"My son Solomon is young, and does not know how things ought to be."

(1 Chronicles 22:5)

A clause-final LF **zi'isigε** also appears in KB, NT (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

Mit "see that it doesn't happen that ..." 22.3 is always imperative. In this sense, the postposed 2pl subject ^{ya} does not occur, even in address to several people.

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

M̄it kà yà m̄aal yà t̄uum-s̄uma n̄idib t̄uon yé b̄à ḡosε +∅.

NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL do 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL before that 3PL look.at NEG.

"See that you don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look at you." (Mt 6:1, 1996)

KB has *mid* without a following negative clitic: *Mid ka ya maali ya tuum suma nidib tuon ye ba ḡos*.

Mit also appears with a NP object in the sense "beware of ..."; no final negative clitic appears in this case:

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

M̄it̄_ ∅ z̄írí n̄ò-d̄í'əs̄idib b̄ànì k̄ēnn̄í_ yà s̄ā'an n̄ā l̄ā.

Beware 2PL.SUB lie mouth-receiver:PL REL.PL come:IPFV 2PL among hither ART.

"Beware of false prophets who come among you." (Mt 7:15, 1996)

19.6 Independency marking

The VP of a main clause or content clause is marked as independent. The marking is absent in all subordinate clause types other than content clauses. It is also absent in all clauses introduced by *kà* other than content clauses, regardless of whether they are subordinate or coordinate. The marker is primarily a tone overlay, but has associated segmental manifestations.

19.6.1 Tonal Features

19.6.1.1 Tone overlay

The independency-marking tone overlay is manifested only on VPs with positive polarity and indicative or imperative mood. It affects only the *first* word in the VP capable of carrying it: first the preverbal particle *lèɛ* "but", next any preverb, then the verb itself. Preverbal particles which have intrinsic M tonemes (past tense marker *dāa*, auxiliary tense marker *ñyɛɛ*) not only remain M themselves but also prevent the overlay from applying to any subsequent words.

The overlay otherwise changes all tonemes in the affected word to L if they were not L already. Affected words, regardless of their intrinsic tones, are always followed by M spreading, and show M toneme on the final syllable before liaison (changed as usual to H before liaison words beginning with a fixed-L toneme 7.4.3.)

Examples of tone overlay manifesting independency marking in main clauses (with *zàb^ɛ* "fight", *gōs^ɛ* "look at", *nà'ab^a* "chief"):

<i>Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's fought the chief."
<i>Ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's looked at the chief."
<i>Ò sà zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He fought the chief yesterday."
<i>Ò sà gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He looked at the chief yesterday."

In contrast, the intrinsic tones appear after *kà*, with preverbal particles having intrinsic M tonemes, with negative polarity, and in subordinate clauses:

<i>Kà ò záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's looked at the chief."
<i>Ò dāa záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't fight the chief."
<i>Ò dāa gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't look at the chief."
<i>Ò pū záb nâ'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't fought the chief."
<i>Ò pū gōs nâ'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't looked at the chief."
<i>Ò yá' zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"If he fights the chief."
<i>Ò yá' gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"If he looks at the chief."
<i>Ón zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He having fought the chief"
<i>Ón gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He having looked at the chief."

Content clauses have independency marking 25.2:

<i>Bà yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>
3PL say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.
"They say he's fought the chief."

With independency marking:

M záb nâ'ab lā.	"I've fought the chief."
Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.	"He's fought the chief."
M gós nâ'ab lā.	"I've looked at the chief."
Ò gòs nâ'ab lā.	"He's looked at the chief."

The first and second person bound subject pronouns *are* followed by M spreading before a VP with independency marking, *unless* they are immediately preceded by *yē* "that" (here introducing a content clause [25.2](#)):

Ò tēñ'ēs kà ò zàb nâ'ab lā.
 3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.
 "He thinks he's fought the chief." WK

Ò tēñ'ēs kà m záb nâ'ab lā.
 3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.
 "He thinks I've fought the chief."

but Ò yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.
 3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.
 "He says he's fought the chief."

and Ò yèl yé m zàb nâ'ab lā.
 3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.
 "He says I've fought the chief."

Absence of M spreading after bound subject pronouns is independent of tone overlay and is still seen when tone overlay is absent, e.g. when the VP has irrealis mood, or there is a preverbal particle carrying a M toneme:

Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa +∅. "He will not fight the chief."
 3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART NEG.

Ò lèè dāa zāb nâ'ab lā. "But he did fight the chief."
 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

Ò yèl yé m nà zāb nâ'ab lā.
 3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.
 "He says I'll fight the chief."

19.6.2 Segmental features

There are two segmental features of independency marking. They occur when and only when the verb word itself has undergone *tone* overlay, and are therefore absent whenever the verb is preceded by the particle *lɛɛ* "but", a preverb, or a particle with M toneme, or when the VP has irrealis mood or negative polarity. Verbs which have intrinsic L tonemes have unchanged stem tonemes after overlay, but these segmental features and the following M spreading reveal its presence.

19.6.2.1 Perfective *yā*

Any perfective verb form carrying the independency-marking tone overlay which would otherwise be phrase-final is followed by the particle *yā*⁺. NT usually writes this particle as *-eya*, but informants show no trace of liaison, and KB writes *ya* solid with a preceding ordinary perfective SF. It is perhaps connected historically with the perfective flexion *-ra* of one conjugation of Nawdm verbs.

Ò zàb yā.
3AN fight PFV.

"She's fought."

Ò gòs yā.
3AN look PFV.

"She's looked."

Ò sà zàb yā.
3AN TNS fight PFV.

"She fought (yesterday)."

Sāa ní yā.
Rain:SG rain PFV.

"It has rained."

Ì tɛñ'ɛs kà lì lù yā.
1SG think and 3INAN fall PFV.

"I think it's fallen down." (content clause)

But Ò zàbī m.
3AN fight 1SG.OB.

"He's fought me." (not final)

Ò gòsī m.
3AN look.at 1SG.OB.

"He's looked at me." (not final)

Sāa dāa ní.
Rain:SG TNS rain.

"It rained." (M preverbal particle)

<i>Ò dāa záb.</i> 3AN TNS fight.	"He fought." (M preverbal particle)
<i>Ò nà zāb.</i> 3AN IRR fight.	"She'll fight." (irrealis)
<i>Kà ò záb.</i> And 3AN fight.	"And he fought." (no independency marking)
<i>Kà ò gās.</i> And 3AN look.	"And he looked." (no independency marking)
<i>Ò pū zábē +∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND fight NEG.	"He's not fought." (negative)
<i>Ò pū gāse +∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND look NEG.	"He's not looked." (negative)
<i>Ò gīm.</i>	"She's short." (stative)
<i>Ò mī'.</i>	"She knows." (stative)
<i>Ò nòŋ.</i>	"She loves him." (stative)

The particle *yā* is tonally unique among left-bound words bearing M toneme in being Pattern O: when the LF occurs in questions, the toneme is L not H [6.4](#):

<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg yā.</i> 3INAN get.lost PFV.	"It's got lost."
<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg yàa +∅?</i> 3INAN get.lost PFV PQ?	"Has it got lost?"

Phrase constituents can only follow *yā*⁺ by extraposition [27.3](#):

<i>Ya yidigya bēdegv.</i>	"You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)
<i>Yà yídìg yā bédugō.</i> 2PL go.astray PFV much.	
<i>M̄ pū'vs yā bédugō.</i> 1SG greet PFV much.	"Thank you very much."

19.6.2.2 Imperative -m

Imperatives of dual-aspect verbs carrying the independency-marking tone overlay adopt the flexion *-m^a* 10.1.

G̀̀sım! "Look!" (or *G̀̀sīm!* with the vowel absorbed 3)

G̀̀sımī_ m! "Look at me!"
Look:IMP 1SG.OB!

G̀̀sımí_ f̀̀ ǹ̀'ug! "Look at your hand!"
Look:IMP 2SG hand:SG!
(or *G̀̀sīm f̀̀ ǹ̀'ug!* with the vowel absorbed)

Dì'əm! "Receive!"

Dì'əmī_ ø! "Receive ye!"
Receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dì'əmī-ní_ bā! "Receive ye them!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB!
(-ní- for -ya *ɲa before liaison 7.2.2)

Dì'əmī-n-ó_ ø! "Receive ye her!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB!

Dì'əmī-ní_ àlá! "Keep ye on receiving!"
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

But *Dā g̃sɛ +ø!* "Don't look!" (negative)
NEG.IMP look NEG!

K̀̀l k̀̀ ò g̃s! "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!
(No independency marking: subordinate)

K̀̀m nā n g̃s! "Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!
(No independency marking: subordinate)

D̀̀llī-ní_ m! "Follow ye me!" (single-aspect verb)
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!

19.7 Other bound words in the VP

For non-contrastive subject pronouns see [15.3.1](#) [19.6.1.2](#).

19.7.1 *Lèε* "but"

lèε "but" precedes even tense particles, but like a preverb, and unlike a post-subject particle [20.2.3](#), it prevents the independency-marking tone overlay from falling on the verb, and is then itself followed by M spreading:

Kà ò léε dāa zāb nà'ab lā.

And 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

"But he fought the chief."

Bà lèε zāb nà'ab lā.

3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

"But they've fought the chief." WK

Kà bà léε zāb nà'ab lā.

And 3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

"But they've fought the chief." WK

Lèε zāb nà'ab lā!

But fight chief:SG ART!

"But fight the chief!" WK

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

Kà mān pīāñ'ad lā léε kù gāade +∅.

And 1SG.CNTR speech ART but NEG.IRR pass NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35, 1996)

NT has the *-m^a*-imperative, suggesting tone overlay on the verb, in

Lee iemini o na'am so'olim la...

Lèε iāmī-ní_ ò nā'am sū'olīm lā...

But seek:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN kingship possession ART...

"But seek ye his kingdom ..." (Lk 12:31, 1976)

WK does not accept this, and he corrected e.g.

**Lèε gósìm nā'ab lā!*

But look.at:IMP chief:SG ART!

attempted: "But look at the chief!"

to *Lèε gōs nā'ab lā.*

But look.at chief:SG ART.

19.7.2 Preverbs

Preverbs follow all other preverbal particles. All carry the independency-marking tone overlay in place of the following main verb (cf *l̥ɛɛ* "but" 19.7.1.) Those derived from verbs show a suffix *-m-* 12.1.4.

pùn "previously, already":

Ò pùn záb nà'ab lā. "He's already fought the chief."
3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò pún zàb nà'ab lā.
And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.
"And he's already fought the chief."

lèm "again" (cf *l̥ɛb^ɛ* "return"):

Ò lèm záb nà'ab lā. "He's fought the chief again"
3AN again fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò lém zàb nà'ab lā. "And he's fought the chief again."
And 3AN again fight chief:SG ART.

Ò pū lém zàb nà'ab lāa +∅.
3AN NEG.IND again fight chief:SG ART NEG.
"He hasn't fought the chief again."

Ò nà lēm záb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."
3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Ṁ nīf lém zàbìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
1SG eye:SG again fight FOC.

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.
Kà s̄' kōdum kú lēm ñȳɛɛ_lī yá'asā +∅.
And INDFAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3INAN.OB again NEG.
"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

kpèlum is "still" before an ipfv, but "immediately afterwards" before a pfv. It occurs also as a main verb "remain, still be." KB has the reduced form **kpèn**.

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

Kà ò kpélìim zū'øm.

And 3AN immediately go.blind.

"Immediately he went blind." (Acts 13:11, 1996: KB *Ka o kpen zu'om.*)

m biig Josef nan kpen vve.

m̀ bìig Josef nán kpèn v̄v̄e.

1SG child:SG Joseph still still be.alive.

"My child Joseph is still alive." (Genesis 45:28)

là'am "together" (cf *là'as*^ε "gather"); as a main verb *là'am*^m is "associate with."

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.

kà nīdīb wūsa dá là'am kpì né ò.

and person:PL all TNS together die with 3AN.

"so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

dèŋum "beforehand" (cf *dèŋ*^ε "go, do first": *m̀ déŋī f* "I've got there before you"; *dèŋ*^ε is used with the same meaning in *n*-catenation 22.2.)

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

Pīñ'ilúgū-n sá kà Pjāñ'ad lā dá pùn dèŋim bè.

Beginning:SG-LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already beforehand EXIST.

"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

màlgum "again" (cf Toende Kusaal *malig* "do again"):

Amaa man pian'ad la ku maligim gaade.

Àmáa mán pjāñ'ad lā kú mālīgim gáadē +∅.

But 1SG.CNTR speech ART NEG.IRR again pass NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

tì "after" occurs often in *n*-catenation; for *hālì tì pāa ...* "up until" see 20.2.1. If the next following VP in the same clause or series of coordinated clauses is perfective, there is disturbance of the usual iconic alignment of VPs with event order, with *tì* corresponding to English "before."

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"Until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)

hālì kà Herod tí kpì.

Until and Herod after die.

Kèm_ø tí ñyē dɔ'átà. "Go to see the doctor." SB
Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Bεogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

BĒogú_ø tì niəd lá kà bà gâad.

Morning NZ after appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.

"Before morning appears they have passed!" (Isaiah 17:14)

19.7.3 Left-bound liaison words

A verb may be followed by up to two successive left-bound liaison words. They precede all other verb phrase complements and also precede the focus particle *nĒ^{+/}* in all its senses.

The first slot may be occupied by either ^{ya} "2pl subject of direct command" [21.3](#) or discontinuous-past *n^ε* [23.1.1](#); they can never occur together. The two words are tonally alike, changing the last toneme of the preceding host to M, and themselves having H toneme.

The second slot is for bound object pronouns. There is no formal distinction between direct and indirect objects. Only one bound object pronoun may occur; cases where a verb has both non-contrastive direct and indirect object pronouns without ellipsis are expressed by *n*-catenation using *tis^ε* "give" [22.2](#).

19.8 Complements

"Complement" will be used below to describe all verb core arguments other than the subject. Complements may be NPs, AdvPs, prepositional phrases or clauses.

Verbs vary in the kind of complement they take and in whether the complements are obligatory; the matter is complicated in Kusaal by the fact that "obligatory" complements in fact need not be explicitly present: if they are absent, the gap then represents an anaphoric pronoun.

NP and AdvP complements can be classified as direct and indirect objects, as predicative complements, or as locative complements.

19.8.1 Transitivity and objects

Indirect objects precede direct, and objects precede other complements, except in cases of extraposition due to weight [27.3](#). A bound pronoun before a noun object therefore cannot be the direct object:

M̄ dāa tísì_lī nâ'ab lā.

1SG TNS give 3INAN.OB chief:SG ART.

"I gave the chief to it."

There is otherwise no formal difference between direct and indirect objects. Transitive verbs vary in whether they require a direct object/complement:

da ku nidaa, da zuuda

dā kū nīdā +∅, dā zūudā +∅...

NEG.IMP kill person:SG NEG, NEG.IMP steal:IPFV NEG...

"Do not kill [a person] ... do not steal ..." (Lk 18:20, 1996)

Obligatorily transitive verbs may appear without any expressed object, but in such cases the meaning is necessarily **anaphoric**:

Ò pū zám̄m +∅.

"She didn't cheat him/her."

3AN NEG.IND cheat NEG.

Transitive single-aspect verbs which do not take locative complements are all obligatory transitives. Thus with *àḗñ^a* "be something/somehow":

Māni_ ∅ áñ du'átà àmáa fūn pū áñyā +∅.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG but 2SG.CNTR NEG.IND COP NEG.

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Māni_ ∅ áñ du'átà kà fūn mén áḗñ.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CNTR also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

Particular cases of null anaphora appear with direct objects preposed with *kà* [27.2](#) and in adnominal *kà*-catenation [22.3](#).

In replies to questions and responses to commands, null anaphora of complements may refer to an antecedent in the previous speaker's words:

Q. *Fù mór gbāȳj lāa +∅?* "Do you have the letter?"
2SG have letter:SG ART PQ?

A. *Ēḗñ, m̄ mór.* "Yes, I have it."
Yes, 1SG have.

Q. *Fù bód̄d-ó-o +∅?* "Do you love her?"
2SG want-3AN.OB PQ?

A. *Áyì, m̄ pū bód̄dā +∅.* "No, I don't love her."
No, 1SG NEG.IND want NEG.

Agentive ambitransitive verbs appear with and without objects, with no change in the role of the subject, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

banε zuud nidibi gban'ad

bàni zūud nīdibi_ ∅ gbāñ'ad

REL.PL steal:IPFV person:PL CAT seize:IPFV

"those who steal people by force" (1 Tim 1:10)

onε daa zuud

"he who used to steal" (Eph 4:28)

òni dāa zūud

REL.AN TNS steal:IPFV

Some verbs only take objects of a very limited type, often expressed with a "cognate accusative" noun formed from the same stem. They may be obligatorily transitive or agentive ambitransitive:

Fù túm bɔ-tùuma +∅? "What work do you do?"

2SG work:IPFV what-work CQ?

Ka ya ninkuda zaansim zaansima.

Kà yà nīn-kúdà zàañsim zāañsíma.

And 2PL person-old:PL dream:IPFV dream:PL.

"And your old people dream dreams." (Acts 2:17)

Patientive ambitransitive verbs can appear transitively with an expressed object, but if there is no object they are normally interpreted as intransitive, with the object of the transitive appearing as the subject. Examples include *yò*⁺ "close", *nāe*^{+/} "finish", *zàmɪs*^ε "learn/teach", *nāmɪs*^{ε/} "suffer/make suffer", *bòdɪg*^ε "lose, get lost", *bàs*^ε "go/send away", *dūe*^{+/} "raise/rise", *mā'e*^{+/} "get cool."

Many, though not all, patientive ambitransitive verbs express a change of state and can use the perfective form in a resultative sense [19.2.2](#):

Ḿ náa tūma lā.

1SG finish work ART.

"I've finished the work."

Tūma lā náa nē.

Work ART finish FOC.

"The work is finished."

Almost any verb can potentially take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc (this could lead to ambiguity in principle):

Ò d̀ògū_ m. "He cooked (for) me."
3AN COOK 1SG.OB.

Lì màlīsī_ m. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
3INAN be.sweet 1SG.OB.

Àláafù b́éé_ bá. "They are well." ("Health exists for them.")
Health EXIST 3PL.OB.

Ditransitive verbs require an indirect object, which cannot be ellipted unless any direct object is too, with a necessarily anaphoric sense; *tìs*^ε "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like *d̀ìs*^ε "feed", *ǹùlvs*^{ε/} "give to drink."

Ì t̀ís ǹá'ab l̄ā d̀āká. "I've given the chief a box."
1SG give chief:SG ART box:SG.

Ì t̀ís ǹá'ab l̄ā. "I've given it to the chief."
1SG give chief:SG ART.

*Ì t̀ís d̀āká. impossible as "I've given him a box", which is
Ì t̀ís·ō_ ∅ d̀āká.
1SG give 3AN.OB box:SG.

Dā t̀ís·ò_ ∅ s̄ī'əla +∅. "Don't give her anything!"
NEG.IMP give 3AN.OB INDF.INAN NEG.

Dā t̀ísē +∅! "Don't give it to her!"
NEG.IMP give NEG.

Ì t̀ís yā. "I've given it to him."
1SG give PFV.

Certain verbs take a fixed direct object as a set idiom after an indirect object which expresses the functional object, e.g. *k̀àd* X *s̀àríyà* "judge X", *m̄ōr* X *ǹīn-báalìg* or *z̀ò* X *ǹīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *ǹìŋ* X *yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *z̀ò* X *d̀àbīəm* "fear X", *s̀jàk* X *ǹōɔr* "obey X", *ǹwè'* X *ǹù'ug* "make an agreement with X."

Ò z̀òt·ō_ ∅ ǹīn-báalìg. "She has pity on him."
3AN feel:IPFV 3AN.OB eye-pity.

Bà zòt-ō_∅ dábīam. "They are afraid of him."
3PL feel:IPFV 3AN.OB fear.

Wina'am na kad nidib poten'esua'ada saria.
Wínà'am ná kād nīdīb pú-těň'-sū'adá sàríyà.
God IRR drive person:PL inside-mind-secret:PL judgment.
"God will judge people's secret thoughts." (Rom 2:16, 1996)

Bà niŋ-ō_∅ yáddā. "They believed her."
3PL do 3AN.OB assent.

Ò ñwè' nâ'ab lā nû'ug. "He made an agreement with the king."
3AN strike king:SG ART hand:SG.

19.8.1.1 Passives

For passive meaning expressed by an empty *bà* "they" as subject see [15.2.3](#).

Transitive verbs expressing a change of state are usually patientive ambitransitives. Obligatory transitives or agentive ambitransitives can be used *passively* with no formal change. The original agent may not then be expressed.

Ṁ nú dāam lā. "I've drunk the beer."
1SG drink beer ART.

Dāam lā nú yā. "The beer has got drunk."
Beer ART drink PFV.

Indirect objects cannot become passive subjects:

Dāká lā tís yā. "The box was given."
Box:SG ART give PFV.

but **Nà'ab lā tís yā.* not possible in sense "The chief was given (it.)"
Chief:SG ART give PFV.

Imperfective passives can only appear with habitual/propensity meanings. Stative verbs accordingly cannot make passives.

The verb *sōb^ε* "write" is a specialised usage of *sōb^ε* "make/go dark", and is patientive ambitransitive. It can form a resultative; the imperfective *sōbid^{a/}* seems to accept intransitive use only when some adverbial modification is present.

Gbàṣṣẹ̀ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Gbàna sòbìd zīnà. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṣṣẹ̀ lā sòbìd sùḡā. "The letter is writing well (i.e. easily.)" WK
Letter:SG ART write:IPFV good:ADV.

19.8.1.2 Middle use of intransitives

The assume-stance verbs 12.1.1, rather than the make-assume-stance series, are often used transitively for parts of one's own body:

Lìḡíním_ fù nīf né fù nù'ug.
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.
"Cover your eye with your hand."

Thus *Dìḡíním_ fù nù'ug.* "Put your hand down." is commoner than
Lie.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Dìḡílím_ fù nù'ug. "Put your hand down."
Lay.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Similarly *nìe*⁺ "appear" is usually intransitive, corresponding to transitive *nèèl*^ε "reveal", but *nìe*⁺ is much more frequent than *nèèl*^ε before *ò mēḡ*^{a/} "him/herself" etc.

Ka o nie o mēḡ Jemes san'an ...
Kà ò níe ò mēḡ Jemes sâ'an ...
And 3AN appear 3AN self James among ...
And he revealed himself to James (1 Cor 15:7)

19.8.2 Predicative complements

Predicative complements may or may not be required, in the sense of omission implying anaphora. As in English, they can be "depictive" or "resultative"; in Kusaal this falls out naturally from the stative or dynamic nature of the verb:

Kəl ka m liebi fù tūmtum yinne.
Kèl kà m líàbì_ fù tùm-tòm yīnní.
Cause:IMP and 1SG become 2SG work-worker:SG one.
"Make me [become] one of your servants" (Lk 15:19); dynamic *liàb*^ε

M á né fù tòm-tòm. "I am your servant."; stative àěñ^a
1SG COP FOC 2SG work-worker:SG.

Adjectives may appear as NP heads so long as the NP is a predicative complement. The only permitted dependents are the article and ideophones 17. This is most frequent with àěñ^a "be something" 19.11.2, but is seen also with other verbs:

Lì à nē píalìg. "It's white, a white one."
Lì à nē píalìg fáss. "It's very white."
Bà à nē píalà. "They're white."

si'el zie sabili wuu nidne.
sī'əl zī'e sābílì_∅ wūv nīd nē.
INDF.INAN stand black:SG CAT like person:SG like.
"something stood, black like a person." KSS p16

Mam anε pielug amaa m ya'a paaε bugumin asεε ka m lεb zin'a.
Mām á nē píalùg àmáa m yá' pāε búgúmī-n,
1SG COP FOC white:SG but 1SG if reach fire-LOC,
àséε kà m léb zīñ'a.
except and 1SG become red:SG.
"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] (BNY p16)

Most adjectives do not permit this. All examples in my materials involve adjectives without corresponding stative verbs. More often, compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *būn-* "thing" + adjective are used instead. Even adjectives which may appear without a noun head cannot do so before a dependent pronoun; thus only

Lì à nē būn-píal-kàṅā. "It is this white one."

Some transitive verbs may have a predicative complement after the direct object. With verbs are used in the relevant senses, this complement is compulsory.

The verb *pùd*^ε "name, dub" has as first object a NP with the head *yū'ur*^{ε/} "name", and the name itself as second object; this may be introduced by *yē* "that."

Ka fū na pvd o yu'ur ye Yesu.
Kà fù ná púd ò yū'ur yē Yesu.
And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.
"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

Ka o pud biig la yu'ur Yesu.

Kà ò púd bīg lā yô'ur Yesu.

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

Bùel^E "call, call out, summon" can be used in the ipfv with an object expressing the person and the name as a complement, again often introduced by *yē*:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la

òn kà bà bùen yē Pita lā

REL.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

"who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)

Bùel^E is often used passively with *yô'ur*^E "name" as subject and the name itself as complement:

dau sɔ' ka o yu'ur buon Joon.

dàù-sɔ' kà ò yô'ur bùen Joon.

man-INDEF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.

"a man [habitually] called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal^E "make" is used with object and resultative predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meŋ nintita'ar.

Kà ò mâal ò mēŋ nīn-títā'ar.

And 3AN make 3AN self person-great:SG.

"He made himself out to be a great man." (Acts 8:9. 1976)

A *kà*-catenation [22.3](#) can appear as a resultative predicate.

19.8.3 Locatives

Locative AdvPs occur as complements after verbs of position and movement. Some verbs *require* a locative complement, and its absence is anaphoric.

Ṁ yí B̀k.

1SG emerge Bawku.

"I left Bawku."

Ṁ yí yā.

1SG emerge PFV.

"I've left [there]."

No single-aspect verb or dual-aspect verb derived from a stance verb requires a locative; nor does *kēŋ*^{El} "go/walk." No verb requires a locative *second* complement.

...ka pu tun'e kenna..

...kà p̄ tūñ'e_ø kēnná +ø.

...and NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV NEG.

"who couldn't walk." (Acts 14:8)

but *Ò kèŋ Bók.* "She's gone to Bawku."
3AN go Bawku.

Ò dìgɪn yā. "He's lain down."
3AN lie.down PFV.

but *Dìgɪnim kpē!* "Lie down here!"
Lie.down:IMP here!

Ò dìgɪl gbáɥŋ lā. "She's put the book down."
3AN lay.down book:SG ART.

but *Ò dìgɪl gbáɥŋ lā téebùl lā zúg.*
3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.
"She's put the book on the table."

Àláafù bé-o_ø. "He's well." ("Health exists for him.")
Health EXIST 3AN.OB. Indirect object but no complement.

but *Dāy lā bé nē dɔ-kàŋā lā púvū-n.*
Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.
"The man is inside that hut."

19.8.4 Prepositional phrases

Wēn^{na/} "resemble" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē* or *wōv* 18.

Ka o nindaa wenne nintaŋ ne.

Kà ò nīn-dáa wēn nē nīntāŋ nē.

And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.

"His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996)

Lā^{la/} "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē*:

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.

Àmáa ò pū lāl né tīl +∅.

But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL NEG.

"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

Dōl^{la/} "accompany" with the preposition *nē* means "be in accordance with":

Li dɔlnɛ lin sɔb Wina'am gbaunɔn si'em la ye ...

Lì dɔl nē lín sɔb Wínà'am gbáunɔ-n sī'em lā yē ...

3INAN follow with 3INAN:NZ write God book:SG-LOC INDF.ADV ART that ...

"This is in accordance with what is written in God's book ..." (1 Cor 2:16)

The preposition *nē* can be distinguished from focus-*nē*^{+/} 27.1.2 by contexts where focus is prohibited. *Yī*⁺ "emerge" does not take a prepositional phrase:

M̄ yí nē Bók.

"I come from Bawku." SB

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

but *Meeri one yi Magdala*

"Mary who came from Magdala"

Meeri ɔ̀nì yī Magdala

(Mk 16:9, 1996)

Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

19.8.5 Clauses

Certain verbs require a following subordinate clause introduced by *kà* or *yē*. *Kē*⁺ "let" does not appear at all without a following *kà*-catenation, while if *nār*^{a/} "be obliged to" appears without a purpose clause there is a necessarily anaphoric sense; *mīt* in its usual sense "let not" always takes a *kà*-catenation. *Bòɔd*^a "want, love" takes a purpose clause in the sense "want to ..."; without any object it has an anaphoric meaning in either sense. *Gūr*^{a/} "be on guard, watch, wait for" takes a NP headed by a gerund or a purpose-clause complement to express "waiting for an event." *Àɛñ*^a "be something/somehow", which is uniquely flexible in the variety of different types of argument it may appear with, may also take a content-clause complement.

Verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception have as complement a content clause, a relative clause with *sī'em*, or a postpositional AdvP with *yēlá* "about." Most such verbs have an anaphoric sense without such an object.

19.9 Adjuncts

Adjuncts, typically AdvPs, occur as the last element in the VP. Several VP adjuncts may occur together. Clause-final adjuncts are always taken as VP adjuncts in this grammar; clause-level adjuncts precede the subject 20.2.1.

Bà dìt nē sā'ab dǎ-kàṅā lā púvǔ-n.
 3PL eat:IPFV FOC porridge hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.
 "They're eating porridge in that hut."

19.10 Verb-phrase-final particles

For the independent-perfective marker *yā*⁺ see 19.6.2.1.

The particles *nā*^{+/} "hither" and *sà*⁺ "hence; ago" follow any complements. The verb *kēñ*⁺ "come" is invariably used with *nā*^{+/}; the imperative SF *kèm*, which coincides for *kēñ*⁺ "come" and *kēṅ*^{ε/} "go", is always disambiguated by the fact that it is followed by *nā*^{+/} or *sà*⁺ respectively: *kèm nā*! "come" *kèm sá*! "go!"

M mór kû'əm náa +ø? "Shall I bring water?" SB
 1SG have water hither PQ?

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná +ø?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?"

Fù yí yáa ní ná +ø?
 2SG emerge where LOC hither CQ?
 "Where have you come from?" WK

Sà⁺ is often used temporally, for "since" or "ago":

Fu na baṅ li nya'aṅ sa.
Fù ná báṅ lì ñyá'aṅ sá.
 2SG IRR realise 3INAN behind since.
 "You will come to understand afterwards." (Jn 13:7, 1976)

Lazarus pun bε yaugun la daba anaasi sa.
Lazarus pún bè yáugū-n lā dābá_ànāasí sà.
 Lazarus previously EXIST grave:SG-LOC ART day:PL NUM:four since.
 "Lazarus had already been in the grave four days." (Jn 11:17)

The particles are VP-final, not clause-final:

Kèm nā n gōs. "Come and look!" SB
Come:IMP hither CAT look.

Man ya'a pu kēen na tu'asini ba ...

Mān yá' pū kēε-n nā ∅ tú'asī-ní bā...
1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB...
"If I had not come to talk to them ..." (Jn 15:22)

Nā^{+/} and *sà*⁺ often follow any article *lā*^{+/} ending an *ñ*-clause containing them; closely parallel constructions may show either *nā lā* or *lā nā*:

ñwādıg-kánì kēn nā lā
month REL.SG come:IPFV hither ART
"next month" SB

dunia kanε ken la na
dūnyá-kànı kēn lā nā
world-REL.SG come:IPFV ART hither
"the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)

ti tum onε tum man na la tūma.
tì túm ònı tùm mān nā lā tūma
1PL work REL.AN send 1SG.CNTR hither ART work
"Let us do the work of him who sent me." (Jn 9:4)

M diib anε ye m tum onε tumi m la na bōɔdim naae.
M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ túm ònı tùmı_m lā nā bōɔdım ∅ nāe.
1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither will CAT finish.
My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely. (Jn 4:34)

VP-final particles can also follow the *gerund* of a verb which is associated with such a particle, and again may follow the associated article:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.
Nīdib lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.
Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.
"The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out." (Lk 1:21)

Ninsaal Biig la lɛbug la na

Nīn-sāal Bîig lā lɛ̀bùg lā nā

Person-smooth:SG Child:SG ART return:GER ART hither

"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

19.11 Verbs "to be"

19.11.1 *Bè* "be somewhere, exist"

With no following locative *bè*⁺ means simply "exist"; before a locative, *bè*⁺ means "be located in a place" when the locative is focussed or foregrounded [27.1](#), but "exist in a place" otherwise:

Wínà'am bɛ́.

God EXIST.

"God exists." (Calque of the West African Pidgin
God dey, implying "It'll all work out.")

Áláafù bɛ́-o_ø.

Health EXIST 3AN.OB.

"She's well." ("Health exists for her.")

Wāad bɛ́.

Cold.weather EXIST.

"It's cold."

Mam bene moogin.

Mām bɛ́ nē mɔ̀ɔgɔ-n.

1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p8

Moogin ka mam bɛ.

Mɔ̀ɔgɔ́-n kà mām bɛ́.

Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p10

Dāy lā bɛ́ nē dɔ́-kàṅā lā púvɔ̀-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut." (Reply to "Where is that man?")

Dà̀y-s̄' bɛ́ dɔ́-kàṅā lā púvɔ̀-n.

Man-INDF.AN EXIST hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.

"There's a certain man in that hut."

For the corresponding negative *kā'ɛ*⁺ see [19.5.1](#). **pū bɛ́* is not used.

Bè⁺ plays a role analogous to a "passive" to *m̄r*^{a/} "have" in constructions like:

Ṁ bīg b́é. "I have a child." Equivalent to *Ṁ mór bīg.*
1SG child:SG EXIST.

Ṁ bīg kā'e +∅. "I have no child." Equivalent to *Ṁ kā' bīga.*
1SG child:SG NEG.BE NEG.

Bè⁺ can be used in direct commands:

B́éε_ ànínā. "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB
EXIST ADV:there.

B́éi-ní_ àlá ànínā. "Be ye there!" [bɛ:nala anina]
EXIST-2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there.

19.11.2 *Àẹ̀ñ* "be something/somehow"

For the loss of *ẹ* and nasalisation see [7.3](#).

Ò à nē bīg. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

but *Māni_ ∅ áñ dɥ'átà kà fūn ḿén áẹ̀ñ.*
1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CNTR also COP.
"I'm a doctor and you are too."

The usual negative uses *kā'ẹ⁺* "not be", but *pū áẹ̀ñ* does occur, for example in expressing contrasts:

Ṁ kā' dɥ'átā +∅. "I'm not a doctor."
1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG NEG.

Māni_ ∅ áñ dɥ'átà àmáa fūn pū áñyā +∅.
1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG but 2SG.CNTR NEG.IND COP NEG.
"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Àẹ̀ñ^a can be used in direct commands:

Āa-ní_ àlá bāańlím! "Be (ye) quiet!"
COP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

As with English copular clauses, the sense may be ascriptive or specifying (CGEL p266.) If it is **ascriptive**, the complement is non-referring, and normally focussed with *nē*^{+/} 27.1.2.2 if permitted 27.1.2.1:

Ò à nē bīg. "She is a child."
 3AN COP FOC child:SG.

In **specifying** constructions focus frequently falls on the subject, which usually then has *n*-focus 27.1.1:

Manε an kɔnbkem suŋ la.
Māni_ ∅ áñ kóñb-kìm-sùŋ lā.
 1SG.CNTR CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.
 "I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

Manε a o. "I am he." (Jn 18:5, 1976)
Māni_ ∅ áñ·o_ ∅.
 1SG.CNTR CAT COP 3AN.OB.

Nɔbibisi a mam disuŋ.
N5-bíbìsì_ ∅ áñ mām dí-sùŋ.
 Hen-small:PL CAT COP 1SG.CNTR food-good:SG.
 "Chicks are my favourite food." BNY p13

When the complement of *àñ*^a is definite, the construction is usually specifying, with the subject in focus:

M̄ á nē dɔ'átà. "I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")
 1SG COP FOC doctor:SG. Ascriptive.

but *Māni_ ∅ áñ dɔ'átà lā.* "I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")
 1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG ART. Specifying.

However, definite complements may be in focus as "pragmatically non-recoverable" because of their internal structure or other factors: see 27.1.2.2.

Àñ^a allows a wide range of different types of NP as arguments. It shares with deadjectival stative verbs the ability to take an AdvP of any type as subject 16.5:

Zíná a nē dá'a. "Today [time] is market."
 Today COP FOC market:SG.

Yiŋ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yiŋ véñl kà pūvuvu-n kā' súmm +∅.

Outside be.beautiful and inside:SG-LOC NEG.BE good:ABSTR NEG.

"Outside is beautiful but inside [place] is not good." (Acts 23:3, 1996)

Man nonji ya si'em la ane bedego.

Mán nòŋi yā sī'em lā á nē bédvugū.

1SG:NZ love 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART COP FOC much.

"How much I love you [manner], is a lot." (2 Cor 7:3, 1976)

Àeñ^a takes a predicative complement. Some adjectives can appear as NP heads as predicative complements after *àeñ^a* and other verbs [19.8.2](#), but typically *àeñ^a* has a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement instead. In any case, such constructions are ascriptive, and use *nē⁺* where syntactically permissible:

Mam ane sabilig, la'am ne wala m venl hali.

Mām á nē sābulíg, là'am nē wālá m véñl hālí.

1SG COP FOC black:SG, together with how 1SG be.beautiful so.far.

"I am dark, although I am very beautiful." (Song of Songs 1:5)

Lì à nē ná'anā.

"It's easy."

3INAN COP FOC easily.

Lì à nē bōvuvúgā.

"It's soft."

3INAN COP FOC soft:ADV.

Lì à nē zāalím.

"It's empty."

3INAN COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

Lì àñ sūgā.

"It's good." [27.1.2.1](#)

3INAN COP good:ADV.

Absolute clauses [24.2](#) and even content clauses may be complements of *àeñ^a*:

M diib ane ye m tum one tumi m la na bōvuvuvu naae.

M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ túm òni tùmí m lā nā bōvuvuvu ∅ nāe.

1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither will CAT finish.

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." (Jn 4:34)

20 Clauses

Typical clauses consist of a subject NP followed by a VP. Clause-linker particles and clause adjuncts may precede the subject position; post-subject particles may intervene between NP and VP.

20.1 Clause types

Criteria for describing a clause as **main** or **subordinate** do not always neatly align. **Independency marking** of VPs 19.6 in principle marks a clause as non-subordinate, but the matter is complicated by downranking of main clauses to function as subordinate content clauses without internal alteration, and by the fact that main clauses preceded by the linker particle *kà* "and" in its *coordination* function always lack independency marking. Historically, *kà* was perhaps once always subordinating; its coordinating function is characteristic especially of narrative, and it is not unusual (especially in Africa) for non-initial clauses in narrative to resemble subordinate clauses formally: Hausa, for example, uses the Focus Perfective, otherwise found in relative clauses and in clefting (Jaggar 2001 pp161ff pp526ff.)

Three types of clause subordination can be distinguished: **nominalisation**, **catenation**, and **complementisation**.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main <u>21</u>	main without <i>kà</i>	main with initial <i>kà</i>
complementised <u>25</u>	<i>yē/kà</i> content	<i>yē/kà</i> purpose
catenated <u>22</u>		<i>n/kà</i> catenation
nominalised		<i>ḥ</i> absolute/relative <u>24</u> <i>yà'</i> conditional <u>23</u>

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands. *Kà*-preposing is found only in these clause types and in relative clauses with initial antecedents 24.3.2. Only main and content clauses may lack VPs altogether.

Clause types marked by the post-subject particles *ḥ* and *yà'* are nominalised. They are unproblematically subordinate, and always lack independency marking. They differ from catenated and purpose clauses in having independent tense marking. *Yà'*-clauses and *sāḍigím*-clauses only appear as postlinker clause adjuncts, do not participate in NP or VP formation, and cannot be coordinated. Otherwise, *ḥ*-clauses are coordinated with *nē* like other AdvPs and NPs, whereas all other clauses are coordinated with *kà*:

... *pa'ali ba* [on daa nye Zugsɔb la suorin, **ka** o pian' tis o si'em],
nɛ [Saul n mɔɔl Yesu yɛla nɛ sunkpi'euŋ Damaskus teŋin si'em.]
 ... *pá'alì_bā ún dāa ñyē Zūg-sób lā sūθrī-n, kà ò*
 ... teach 3PL.OB 3AN:NZ TNS see head-EMPTY.AN ART road:SG-LOC and 3AN
pjāñ' ∅ tís-ò ∅ sīəm, nē Saul n mɔɔl Yesu yélà
 speak CAT give 3AN.OB INDF.ADV with Saul NZ proclaim Jesus about
nē sūñ-kpīŋj Damaskus téŋī-n sīəm.
 with heart-strength Damascus land:SG-LOC INDF.ADV

"informing them how he had seen the Lord on the road and He had spoken to him, and how Saul had preached boldly about Jesus in Damascus." (Acts 9:27)

Catenated clauses introduced by *n* lack their own subjects, resembling serial verb constructions but with a greater range of structures and functions; those introduced by *kà* have their own subjects. Catenated clauses are clearly subordinate and lack independency and tense marking. Catenation involves a more intimate union between clauses than complementisation; catenated clauses are part of their main clauses for focus purposes, and the main clause is frequently semantically subordinate to the catenated clause.

Complementised clauses are introduced by *yē* "that", or less often *kà*. They fall into two groups.

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have VPs with imperative mood; they show tense marking only if the main clause is ellipted.

M̄ pū bɔɔd yé fù kēŋ Bókō +∅.
 1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG go Bawku NEG.
 "I don't want you to go to Bawku."

Content clauses are downranked main clauses, with both independency marking and the full range of possible main clause structures. They function as complements of verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception:

Ka o ba' nɛ o ma pu baŋ ye o kpɛlim yaa.
Kà ò bā' né ò mà pū báj yé ò kpɛlim yāa +∅.
 and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain PFV NEG.
 "His father and mother did not realise that he had remained." (Lk 2:43)

When coordinating, *kà* is never followed by independency marking.

A clause must be subordinate if it precedes clause-final elements belonging to the preceding clause, such as negative prosodic clitics:

ka pu nar ka ba buolim ye Tumtumma.

kà pō nár kà bà búèlì_m yē Túm-tūmma +∅.
and NEG.IND must and 3PL call 1SG.OB that work-worker:SG NEG.
"and (I) ought not to be called an apostle" (1 Cor 15:9)

Structures can be obscured by extraposition 27.3. Even a catenated clause after *kē*⁺ "cause" is unexpectedly placed after the VP-final perfective marker *yā*⁺ in

Amaa Wina'am keya ka ya an nōcr yinne ne Yesu Kristo.

Àmáa Wínà'am ké yá kà yà áñ nōcr yīnní nē Yesu Kristo.
But God cause PFV and 2PL COP mouth:SG one with Jesus Christ.
"But God has caused you to be in agreement with Jesus Christ." (1 Cor 1:30)

Any subordinate clause type can be embedded (potentially recursively) in any other, but catenated clauses cannot follow complementised clauses at the same level. A catenated clause embedded in a content clause in a purpose clause:

M pu bōcd [ye fu ti yei beog daar [ye fune ke [ka mam Abram lieb bummōra.]]

Ḿ pō bōcd yé fù tí yèl bēog dāar yē fūnt_∅
1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG after say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that 2SG.CNTR CAT
ké kà mām Abram līab bōn-mórā +∅.
cause and 1SG Abram become thing-haver:SG NEG.
"I do not want you afterwards some day saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich." (Gen 14:23)

A content clause within an absolute nominalised clause:

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug

bán mī' yē bīig lā kpí nē lā zúg
3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART upon
"because they knew that the child was dead" (Lk 8:53)

A *n*-catenated clause within a relative nominalised clause:

[Paul n sob gbaun si'a [n tis Efesus dim la]] nwa.

Paul ñ sōb gbáun-sī'a n tís Efesus dím lā_∅ ñwá.
Paul NZ write book-INDEF.INAN CAT give Ephesus EMPTY.PL ART CAT this.
"This is the letter Paul wrote to the Ephesians." (1996 NT heading)

20.2 Structure

Except in special circumstances, clauses require a subject NP, which is followed by a VP, with any post-subject particles intervening.

The **clause-linker particles** *kà* "and" and *yē* "that" are placed before the subject (which may itself be ellipited after *kà*.) Clause-level adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position before the subject.

While *yē* is invariably subordinating, *kà* may be coordinating or subordinating. The gloss "and" is merely conventional; *kà* is used in a great variety of constructions with meanings that vary considerably [19.3.5](#) [22.3](#) [25](#) [27.2](#).

Kusaal is strictly SVO; deviations not achieved by *kà*-preposing always represent extraposition. Indirect objects precede direct, and objects precede other complements. VP adjuncts follow complements.

Emphatics [27.6](#) are clause-level particles associated with top-level NPs/AdvPs.

Main clauses and content clauses have similar structures. Both display independency marking on the first VP [19.6](#), and have structural possibilities not permitted to other clauses. They may also lack VPs altogether.

20.2.1 Clause adjuncts

Clause-level adjuncts precede the subject position. They fall into three groups: prelinker adjuncts, linker adjuncts and postlinker adjuncts, which respectively precede, occupy, or follow the clause linker position.

Besides the clause-linker particles *kà* "and" and *yē* "that" themselves, English conjunctions largely correspond to linker adjuncts and prelinker adjuncts.

Linker adjuncts do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>kōv</i>	"or" (← Hausa)
<i>bēε</i>	"or"
<i>dìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"
<i>lìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"
<i>àlá zùgō</i>	"thus"
<i>bō zúgō</i>	"because"

Bō zúgō, stigmatised as an Anglicism in ILK, is in fact freely used in NT/KB for "because."

Police gbâñ'a_m bō zúgō ò ñwé' dāy lā.

Police seize 1SG.OB because 1SG hit man:SG ART.

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." (ILK)

It also appears after an absolute clause, just like the postposition *zūg^o* alone.

Prelinker adjuncts may precede but never follow linker particles.

<i>àmáa</i>	"but" (cf Arabic <i>ʔamma</i> : "as for")
<i>hālí</i>	"until" (cf Arabic <i>ḥatta</i> :); preposition <u>18</u>
<i>àséé</i>	"unless" (cf Hausa <i>sai</i>); preposition
<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"

KB has no examples of *kà àmáa* to 365 of *àmáa kà*, one of *kà àséé* to 247 of *àséé kà* and 436 examples of *hālí kà* but none of *kà hālí* as a clause adjunct. The orders are thus almost without exception as in

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yeI ye ...
Kà sī̄ba lá'·o_∅. Àmáa kà sī̄ba yéI yē ...
 And INDF.PL laugh 3AN.OB. But and INDF.PL say that...
 "Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

Prelinker adjuncts precede *yē*, both as linker and "resumptive" *yē* 25.2.1:

Wina'am daa pu ganji ti ye ti tum dian'ad tuuma, amaa ye ti be nyain.
Wínà'am dāa pū gāñí_ tī yé tì túm djā'ad túmà +∅,
 God TNS NEG.IND choose 1PL.OB that 1PL work dirt work NEG,
àmáa yé tì bé ñyāe.
 but that 1PL EXIST brightly.
 "God did not choose us so that we would do the work of impurity, but so that we would be in cleanliness." (1 Thess 4:7)

Postlinker adjuncts follow any clause-linker particle or other clause adjunct but precede all other clause constituents, including *kà*-preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bo ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'ase?
Àmáa ɔn sādígím kpí lā, bó kà n̄ lém
 But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again
lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asè +∅ +∅?
 tie:IPFV mouth:SG again NEG CQ?
 "But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

Certain categories of constituent occur *exclusively* as postlinker adjuncts: *yà*'-clauses "if/when ..." 23.1, *sādígím*-clauses 24.2, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'erē* "perhaps." *Yà*'-clauses and *sādígím*-clauses can only appear after main clauses by extraposition.

In addition, AdvPs referring to time, circumstance or reason may be either be used as postlinker adjuncts or as VP adjuncts. All VP adjunct AdvPs, including also those referring to place or manner, may be placed before the clause subject by *kà*-preposing 27.2. This means that AdvPs referring to time, circumstance or reason can potentially occur before the subject alone, preceded by *kà*, followed by *kà*, or both preceded and followed by *kà*, whereas other types of AdvP *must* be followed by *kà* when they appear before the subject. Thus

Nānná-ná m̄ á nē ná'ab. "Now I am a chief."
Now-hither 1SG COP FOC chief:SG.

is grammatical, but **Mōwógú-n mām b́é* was corrected by WK to

Mōwógú-n kà mām b́é. "I'm in the bush."
Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

(Cf English VP-oriented and clause-oriented AdvP adjuncts, CGEL pp575f.)

Any AdvPs or clauses expressing time, circumstances, or reason may appear as postlinker adjuncts, including absolute clauses, *dìn zúg* "therefore" *lìn zúg* "therefore", *lì ñyá'aj*^a "afterwards", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as things stand", *àsīda* "truly."

In KB *nannanna nānná-nā*^{+/} "now", and *dìn zúg* and *lìn zúg* "therefore" without final *-ḡ* appear with the following distributions:

	X alone	<i>kà</i> X	X <i>kà</i>	<i>kà</i> X <i>kà</i>
<i>nānná-nā</i>	394	23	16	4
<i>dìn zúg</i>	154	8	99	15
<i>lìn zúg</i>	29	3	43	20

Thus while *nānná-nā* is much more often used as a clause adjunct than not, *dìn zúg* and *lìn zúg* are very often treated as *kà*-preposed VP adjuncts. This state of affairs has probably arisen through originally VP-only *dìn zúg* and *lìn zúg* encroaching on the function of the corresponding linker adjuncts *dìn zúgḡ* and *lìn zúgḡ*.

Bḡ zúg, without final *-ḡ*, appears in KB only in the *kà*-preposed form *bḡ zúg kà ...?* "why ...?"

Bḡzug ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Haggai 1:9)
Bḡ zúg kà lì áañ àlá +∅?
What on and 3INAN COP thus CQ?

WK generally uses *nānná-nā*^{+/} "now" as a clause adjunct but *requires kà* after *kà nānná-nā*, suggesting that that for him *nānná-nā*^{+/} is normally a *prelinker* adjunct:

Kà nānná-ná kà m̄ áñ ná'ab. "And now I am a chief."
 And now-hither and 1SG COP chief:SG. Rejected by WK without the second *kà*

Clause adjuncts are with few exceptions found only in main and content clauses. Despite the semantics, the position of the negative prosodic clitic shows that the *kà*-clauses are not subordinate in e.g.

O p̄v yɛɛd fuugɔ, hali ka li yuug.
Ò p̄v yɛɛd fūugó +∅, hālí kà lì yūug.
 3AN NEG.IND wear:IPFV shirt:SG NEG, even and 3INAN take.long.
 "He had not worn clothes for a long time." (Lk 8:27)

M ku basif ka fu kenɛ asɛɛ ka fu niŋi m zug bareka.
Ì kú bāsí_f kà fù kēŋé +∅ àséɛ kà fù níŋì_m zūg bāríkà.
 1SG NEG.IRR leave 2SG.OB and 2SG go NEG unless and 2SG do 1SG head:SG blessing.
 "I will not let you go unless you bless me." (Genesis 32:26)

However, *hālí* can be a prelinker adjunct before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.
Tì ñwá'a_lī hālí_∅ pāe Nofa.
 1PL strike 3INAN.OB until CAT reach Nophah.
 "We struck them as far as Nophah." (Numbers 21:30)

...ka keŋ iee yinne kanɛ bɔ̀dig la hali ti nyɛɛ o?
...kà kēŋ_∅ já yīnní-kàni bò̀dig lā hālí_∅ tì ñyē-ó-o +∅?
 ...and go CAT seek one-REL.SG get.lost ART until CAT after see-3AN.OB CQ?
 "... and go and look for the one which is lost until he finds it?" (Lk 15:4)

Wōv "like" 18 can be a linker adjunct before a content clause:

ka tuumbe'ed ku len so'e ti wuu ti aa li yamugo.
kà tùm-bē'ed kú lēm sù'v_tī wōv tì áañ_lì yammugō +∅.
 and work-bad:PL NEG.IRR again own 1PL.OB like 1PL COP 3INAN slave:SG NEG.
 "and that sin will not again own us as if we were its slave." (Rom 6:6, 1996)

M pian'adi tisidi ya wuv ya anɛ m biis nɛ.
Ì pjàñ'adī_∅ tísidī_yá wōv yà á né m bīs nē.
 1SG speak:IPFV CAT give:IPFV 2PL.OB like 2PL COP FOC 1SG child:PL like.
 "I talk to you as if you were my children." (2 Cor 6:13)

20.2.2 Subjects

Kusaal is not a pro-drop language, and requires, for example, the dummy subject pronoun *lì* (never *ò*) in impersonal constructions such as

Lì t̀̀l. "It [weather] is hot."
3INAN be.hot.

Lì àñ s̀́gā. "It's good."
3INAN COP good:ADV. Contrast Mooré *yaa s̀́ama*, with no pronoun.

Lì ǹ̀r k̀̀à f̀̀ù k̀̀l. "It's necessary for you to go home."
3INAN must and 2SG go.home.

Lì may be omitted in *ỳ̀à'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan ku yεline ya ye ...
Ỳ̀à' k̀̀a-ní_ àlá, m̀̀ ǹ̀ān k̀̀ú ỳ̀ēl-ní_ ỳ̀ā ỳ̀ē ...
If NEG.BE-DP ADV:thus, 1SG then NEG.IRR say-DP 2PL.OB that...

"If it were not so, I would not have told you that ..." (Jn 14:2)

Zi'isigε 19.5.1 appears without a subject as "unbeknownst" at KSS p16.

See 21.3 for omission and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are regularly ellipted after the clause-linker particle *k̀̀à* when they would have the same reference as the subject of the preceding clause. Any M spreading after the pronoun remains. Pronouns after *k̀̀à* introducing a content clause are not subject to deletion, and *k̀̀à*-catenation typically involves a change of subject, so this deletion is characteristic of coordinating *k̀̀à*, especially narrative: a pronoun after *k̀̀à* then usually signals a change of subject. Conversations may be reported *K̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ... k̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ...* with each *ò* marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust 15.3.1) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness, though it cannot override number:

P̀̀ỳ̀ā l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à k̀̀ēη B̀̀ók.
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

P̀̀ỳ̀āb l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à b̀̀à k̀̀ēη B̀̀ók.
Woman:PL ART buy box:SG and 3PL go Bawku.
"The women bought a box and they went to Bawku." WK
(Possible, though unusual, with "they" referring to "the women.")

but *Pɥ'ā lā dá' dāká kà ò kēŋ Bók.*

Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

Occasionally the pronoun after *kà* is ellipted as referring, not to the subject of the preceding clause, but to the subject of a preceding *kà*-preposed absolute clause:

Ban wum nɛ'ɛŋa la ka sin.

Bán wòm nē'ŋá lá kà sīn.

3PL:NZ hear DEMST.INAN ART and be.silent.

"After they heard this they fell silent." (Acts 11:18)

Elsewhere, absence of subject pronouns is due to *informal* ellipsis, "corrected" when informants' attention is drawn to it. M spreading after pronouns remains:

Náe yàa +ø?

"[Have you] finished?"

Finish PFV PQ?

20.2.3 Post-subject particles

For *yà'* "if" [23.1](#); nominaliser-*ñ* [24](#); *sādiǵím* "since" [24.2](#); *nāan(i)* [23.1.2](#).

sìd "truly"

Ò sìd dāa á nē nâ'ab.

"Truly, he was a chief." WK

3AN truly TNS COP FOC chief:SG.

kōlɪm or **kōdɪm** "always" (← Hausa) is most often found with negatives:

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.

Kà sǎ' kōdɪm kú lēm ñyée_lī yá'asā +ø.

And INDEFAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3INAN.OB again NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

ñyāan or **nāan** "next, afterwards":

Ka Yesu tans nɛ kukɔtita'ar ka nyaan kpi.

Kà Yesu táñs nē kúkō-títā'ar kà ñyāan kpi.

And Jesus shout with voice-great:sg and next die.

"Jesus cried out with a loud voice and then died." (Mt 27:50)

pà' tì "perhaps":

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la bεε?

Ńni_ ∅ pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bée +∅?

3AN.CNTR CAT perhaps COP Christ ART OR PQ?

"Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

yō'un "then, next"

Manoa yu'un da ban ye o anε Zugsoɓ maliak.

Manoa yō'un dá bàn yé ò à nē Zūg-sóɓ máljāk.

Manoah then TNS realise that 3AN COP FOC head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG.

"Then Manoah realised that he was an angel of the Lord." (Judges 13:12)

20.3 Ellipsis

Informal ellipsis is liable to be declared incorrect by speakers if their attention is drawn to it; it does not affect meaning. It is common in greetings [28](#). More systematic ellipsis may imply anaphora or avoid repetition, as after *kà* (above), with VP complements [19.8.1](#), coordination within NPs [15.1](#), implicit tense marking [19.3.5](#), or in replies to questions [19.2.1](#). Ellipsis can become formalised, as with *yél* before *yē* [25.2](#), questions with *kúv*⁺ or *bée*⁺ [21.2](#), indirect commands [25.1](#) [25.2.1](#), *kà*-preposing and *n*-focus [27.1.1](#) [27.2](#) or *hālí*⁺ as a stand-alone intensifier [27.6](#).

Clause-level bound words may be left standing alone, but not phrase-level:

Wina'am tísíd ... ka mε tísíd ...

Wínà'am tísíd ... kà mé tísíd ...

God give:IPVF ... and also give:IPFV ...

"God gives ... and [God] also gives ..." (1 Cor 15:38); emphatic *mè* [27.6](#)

Ellipsis of repeated elements in clause coordination is common, e.g.

Dāy lā ñyé bī-díɓìŋ kūv bī-púŋàa +∅?

Man:SG ART see child-boy:SG or child-girl:SG PQ?

"Did the man see a boy or a girl?"

21 Main clauses

Main clauses show numerous structural possibilities which are not found in subordinate clauses other than content clauses, which are structurally identical, and regarded as downranked main clauses [25.2](#). Both clause types display independency marking on the first VP [19.6](#). They can show focussing with *ñ*, clefting, and *kà*-preposing [27](#). Unlike subordinate clauses, they may lack VPs altogether.

Main clauses divide into declarative (the unmarked default), content questions, polar questions, and commands, along with several verbless subtypes.

Coordinated main clauses agree in type as declarative, interrogative or imperative. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kōv* "or", *bēε* "or". *Kōv* and *bēε* are linker adjuncts; they are synonyms in this use. In coordinating function *kà* always introduces a clause *without* independency marking on the VP.

Except in narrative, coordinating *kà* has much the same sense as English "and", though *kà ... lēε* means "but" [19.7.1](#). Within narrative, it generally corresponds to *zero* in English, and such clauses show distinctive tense-marking behaviour [19.3.5](#).

Coordination of direct commands:

Pù'usim À-Wīn, kà pù'us À-Bōgur.

Greet:IMP PERS-Awini, and greet PERS-Abugri.

"Greet Awini, and greet Abugri."

Coordination of questions:

Fù búg nēε +∅? Bēε fù gēēñm yā kúv +∅?

2SG get.drunk FOC PQ? Or 2SG go.mad PFV OR PQ?

"Are you drunk? Or have you gone mad?"

21.1 Content questions

Content questions (except those with *liā* [21.4.2](#)) contain an interrogative pronoun; the final word of the question appears as a LF with a tone perturbation due to the following content-question prosodic clitic [7.4.1](#).

The focus particle *nē⁺* may not be used in content questions, either in constituent-focus or aspectual senses [27.1.2.1](#).

There is no special interrogative word order; however if the interrogative word is the subject (or part of the subject NP) it is always *n*-focussed [27.1.1](#) when syntactically possible:

Fù bōvd bó +∅?

2SG want what CQ?

"What do you want?"

Fù bôwd línè +∅? "Which do you want?"
2SG want DEM.INAN CQ?

Ànó'wnì ∅ ñyē bíigà +∅? "Who has seen a child?"
Who CAT see child:SG CQ?

Ànó'òn bíigi ∅ ñwá +∅? "Whose child is this?"
Who child:SG CAT this CQ?

Dāy lā ñyé ànó'wnè +∅? "Whom did the man see?"
Man:SG ART see who CQ?

Interrogatives other than subjects are very often *kà*-preposed [27.2](#):

Ànó'wn kà dāy lā ñyēε +∅?
Who and man:SG ART see CQ?
"Whom did the man see?"

Preposing is obligatory for *bō zúg*, "why?" [20.2.1](#) and for *bō* when used in the same sense:

Bó kà fù kúmmà +∅? "Why are you crying?"
What and 2SG weep:IPFV CQ?

21.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are of two types. One is exactly like a statement but with final LF and tone changes due to the polar-question prosodic clitic; in this case the neutralisation of LF-final vowel length is to long [7.1](#). There are no restrictions on focus-*nē*^{+/}. The answer expected is *ēñ* [21.4.4](#).

Dāy lā ñyé bíigà +∅? "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG PQ?

Bà kùvd nē búvsèε +∅? "Are they killing goats?"
3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL PQ?

M á nē dáùv +∅? "Am I a man?"
1SG COP FOC man:SG PQ?

F̀̀ p̄̀ ẃ́mmàà +∅ +∅? "Don't you understand?"
 2SG NEG.IND hear:IPFV NEG PQ? (expects *ēēñ*, here "no")

The second type of polar question follows the ordinary statement form with either *b́́éé* "or" (expecting disagreement, with *áyìì*) or *kúú* "or" (expecting agreement, with *ēēñ*.) NT rarely uses *kúú* in this way.

Dā̀̀ lā̀ ñý́é bī́́g kúú +∅?
 Man:SG ART see child:SG or PQ?
 "Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)

Dā̀̀ lā̀ ñý́é bī́́g b́́éé +∅?
 Man:SG ART see child:SG or PQ?
 "Has the man seen a child?" (I expect not.)

21.3 Commands

For indirect commands, see [25.1](#) [25.2.1](#).

In a direct command the subject is 2nd person; in accordance with a cross-linguistically common pattern, a singular pronoun is deleted, and a plural subject pronoun is placed immediately after the verb, in Kusaal assuming the liaison-word form ^{ya}; for the realisation of ^{ya} see [7.2.1](#) [7.2.2](#). Thus

F̀̀ ǵ́s bī́́g lā̀. "You (sg) have looked at the child."
 2SG look.at child:SG ART.

Yà̀̀ ǵ́s bī́́g lā̀. "You (pl) have looked at the child."
 2PL look.at child:SG ART.

but *G̀̀sım bī́́g lā̀!* "Look (sg) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP child:SG ART!

G̀̀sımī̀ ∅ bī́́g lā̀! "Look (pl) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP 2PL.SUB child:SG ART!

G̀̀sım tḕ̀ŋ̀̀-n! "Look (sg) down!"
 Look:IMP ground:SG-LOC!

G̀̀sımī̀̀ ∅ tḕ̀ŋ̀̀-n! "Look (pl) down!"
 Look:IMP 2PL.SUB ground:SG-LOC!

Dā gōs tēŋi-né +∅! "Don't (sg) look down!"
 NEG.IMP look ground:SG-LOC NEG!

Dā gōsi_∅ tēŋi-né +∅!
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB ground:SG-LOC NEG!
 "Don't (pl) look down!"

Dā gōse +∅! "Don't (sg) look."
 NEG.IMP look NEG!

Dā gōsi_yá +∅! "Don't (pl) look."
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB NEG!

Pronouns remain in place after *yà'*-clauses:

Fu ya'a m̄r pu'a, fun da m̄ɔd ye fu bas oo.
Fù yá' m̄r pu'ā, fūn dā m̄ɔd yé fù bás-ō-o +∅.
 2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon-3AN.OB NEG.
 "If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

They also remain in quoted direct commands within indirect speech [25.2.1](#), even when the addressee is the same as in the original utterance:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsim tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to them: Look down!" WK

Ò yèl yé fù gòsim tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2SG look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you SG: Look down!"

Ò yèl yé yà gòsim tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you PL: Look down!"

Some speakers still keep postposed *y^a* after the verb even when there is a pronoun subject before it:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsim_∅ tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP 2PL.SUB ground:SG-LOC.
 "He said to them: Look down!" WK

In catenation, where WK does not repeat ^ya in VPs after the first:

Kèmī_ ∅ nā n gōs!
 Come:IMP 2PL.SUB hither CAT look!
 "Come (ye) and look!"

such speakers have e.g.

Kèmī_ ∅ nā n gōs_∅!
 Come:IMP 2PL.SUB hither CAT look 2PL.SUB!
 "Come (ye) and look!"

Direct commands which consist only of a verb, or a verb with a following postposed subject pronoun, occasionally end in a Long Form like that preceding a negative prosodic clitic:

Gòsimā! "Look!"
Gòsimīyá! "Look! (plural)"

21.4 Verbless clauses

21.4.1 Identificational clauses

Verbless identificational clauses have the form NP + catenator-*n* + deictic particle or *wà nā* "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

Kòlɪ_ ∅ lā. "That is a door."
 Door:SG CAT that.

Kòlɪ_ ∅ wá nā. "This here is a door."
 Door:SG CAT this hither.

Bēogv_ ∅ lā. "See you tomorrow" ("That's tomorrow.")
 Tomorrow CAT that.

Bō_ ∅ lá +∅? "What's that?"
 What CAT that CQ?

Ñwāamis_ ∅ ñwá! "Monkeys!" [wã:misa]
 Monkey:PL CAT this!
 (Said by a passenger in my car, on suddenly catching sight of some.)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tuumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ø ñwáa_ø yīsɪd nīdɪb tûm-bē'edi_ø básɪdà +ø?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Yɛl bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am kɛ ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bɔɔ_ø ñwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa_ tì +ø?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3INAN arrive 1PL.OB CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Verbless clauses can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bɔɔ nwa?

Yà níngìd bɔɔ_ø ñwá +ø?

2PL do:IPFV what CAT this CQ?

"What is this you are doing?" (Nehemiah 2:19)

Fu maal bɔɔ la tis mam?

Fù mâal bɔɔ_ø lā_ø tís màm +ø?

2SG make what CAT that CAT give me CQ?

"What is this that you have done to me?" (Numbers 23:11)

21.4.2 *Lia*-clauses

X + *lia* means "where is X?" Although I often heard *lia* in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, no examples appear in the 1996 or 2016 Bible versions.

Fù mà lā lía +ø?

2SG mother:SG ART be.where CQ?

"Where is your mother?" (WK to a child in the outpatient clinic.)

Ka awai la dia [sic]?

"But where are the nine?" (Lk 17:17, 1976)

Kà àwāę lā lía +ø?

And NUM:nine ART be.where CQ?

21.4.3 Vocatives

Vocative clauses usually either precede a main clause, or stand alone. They take the form of NPs followed by the vocative prosodic clitic 7.1:

M̄ pɔ̄'ā né m̄ bīise +∅!
1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL VOC!
"My wife and my children!"

M̄ dīammā +∅, bó kà fù kúesìda +∅?
1SG parent.in.law:SG VOC, what and 2SG sell:IPFV CQ?
"Madam, what are you selling?"

Vocatives do not take the article *lā*^{+/}, but often end in *ñwà* "this":

<i>Bīs ñwá!</i>	"Children!"	[bi:sa]
<i>Pɔ̄'ā ñwá!</i>	"Woman!"	[pɔ̄ɔwã]
<i>Zōn ñwá</i>	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]

21.4.4 Particles as clauses

Some particles occur characteristically as complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic; others are widely shared among local languages.

<i>Tò.</i>	"OK." (= Hausa <i>tô</i>)
<i>Báp.</i>	"Wallop!"
<i>Ñfá!</i>	"Well done!"

"Yes" is *ēēñ*; "No" is *áyìì*. As in many languages, the reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

<i>Lì nàa néε +∅?</i> 3INAN finish FOC PQ?	"Is it finished?"
<i>ēēñ.</i>	"Yes."
<i>áyìì.</i>	"No"
<i>Lì p̄ nāée +∅ +∅?</i> 3INAN NEG.IND finish NEG PQ?	"Isn't it finished?"
<i>ēēñ.</i>	"No."
<i>áyìì.</i>	"Yes."

22 Catenated clauses

22.1 Overview

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs, each introduced by catenator-*n*; for the realisation of this particle see 7.2. Complements, VP adjuncts, and even other clauses introduced by *kà* may be incorporated within such chains.

*Amaa ka Zugsob malek daa keŋ n yo'og sarega doog za'anoor la **yu'uŋ kan**, n more ba n yiis yiŋ.*

Àmáa kà Zūg-sób máljāk dāa kēŋ n yô'og sārīgá dōog

But and head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG TNS go CAT open prison:SG house:SG

zá'-nōor lā yō'uŋ-kán, n mōrí-bā n yiis yiŋ.

compound-mouth:SG ART night-DEM.SG, CAT have 3PL.OB CAT extract outside.

"But an angel of the Lord came and opened the gate of the prison **that night** and took them outside ..." (Acts 5:19, 1996)

*Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Parisee nid **ka o yu'ur buon Gamaliel**, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela, ka lem a yu'ur daan nidib sa'an.*

Kà dāy-sō' dūe n zī'e lá'asòg lā nīdīb sísòogō-n, n áñ

And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among-LOC, CAT COP

Parisee níd kà ò yō'ur būen Gamaliel, n áñ ònì pà'an

Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT COP REL.AN teach:IPFV

Wínà'am wádà lā yélà, kà lém àñ yō'ur dāan nīdīb sá'an.

God law ART about, and again COP name:SG owner:SG person:PL among.

"A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee **called Gamaliel**, a teacher of God's law and also reputable among the people." (Acts 5:34, 1976)

Toende Kusaal (like Dagaare, Bodomo 1997) has *zero* throughout corresponding to catenator-*n*, but most other Western Oti-Volta languages show *n*, at least in slow speech. In languages with the zero realisation, these structures have usually been regarded as serial verb constructions, and many uses of catenation are indeed closely parallel to uncontroversial serial verb constructions in other languages. For example, substitution of *kà* for catenator-*n* makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with *n*-catenation:

M zánjì m̀ nú'ugò_ø sī'is dāká lā.

1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I touched the box with my hand."

?? *M zájí m̄ nû'ug kà sī'is dāká lā.*

"I picked up my hand and touched the box."

M dāa kûes bûŋv̄ ∅ tís dɥ'átà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? *M dāa kûes bûŋ kà tís dɥ'átà.*

"I sold a donkey and gave it to the doctor."

However, *n*-catenation shows much greater flexibility than typical serial verb constructions, and in particular VPs can be catenated to verbless clauses [21.4.1](#):

Anɔ'ɔn nwaá yísid nidib tɔumbɛ'edi basida?

Ánɔ'ɔn ∅ ñwáa ∅ yísid nīdib tōum-bē'edi ∅ básidà +∅?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Catenator-*n* thus attaches a VP to the preceding clause, not VP. In fact, the catenated VP itself will be considered to be a *clause*, which shares its subject with the main clause. This analysis is supported by the existence of clearly parallel constructions using *kà* in place of catenator-*n* [22.3](#). Catenation is a closer relationship than complementisation; mood and aspect are mostly determined by the first VP, and the catenation behaves as one unit with regard to focus [27.1.2.1](#).

There are similarities with "catenative" constructions in English. CGEL pp1176ff reanalyses many traditional auxiliary verbs as taking non-finite clauses (with or without their own subjects) as "catenative complements." There is evidence for catenator-*n* originating as a non-finite marker. Olawsky describes the Dagbani structure *n*+verb as an "infinitive", presumably meaning that it is used as the citation form, though he gives no examples of usage. Both Niggli and Zongo describe the same construction in Mooré as an *infinitif*, and Canu, who calls it the "*état neutre*" (p272), confirms that it is used in citation and in one-word answers to questions (p175) and in constructions like *ēm dátā ndī* "je *désire manger*." Moreover, catenator-*n* may be historically related to nominaliser-*ñ* [24](#); the particles differ tonally, and in Toende Kusaal they are even distinct segmentally: nominaliser-*ñ* is *ne*, whereas catenator-*n* is *∅*. However, this might be attributed to the effect of a preceding subject NP, in a way analogous to M dropping in NP structure [7.4.4](#).

Normally only the first VP carries tense and polarity particles, which apply to the entire catenation, but (especially in *n*-catenation) each retains discontinuous-past *n^ɛ*, and while initial irrealis mood marking applies to the whole chain, a VP following

an indicative may be in the irrealis, in which case it will be marked itself. The preverb *tì* is often found with non-initial VPs in *n*-catenation.

Catenation seems always to involve semantic subordination; the equivalent in translation in European languages would often be a participle modifying the main verb subject. However, it may be the *first* component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have characteristic subordinate "auxiliary" roles in *n*-catenation, and whether they precede or follow the "main" verb depends on their own semantics. Moreover, in catenation the order of events, if they are not simultaneous, must always be mirrored in the order of the VPs 19.2.2.

Common *n*-catenation patterns with verbs without specialised roles are
(a) main VP + imperfective VP expressing accompanying events:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud...

Kà Nīn-sāal Bīg kēn nā_ ∅ dīt kà nūud ...

And Person-smooth:SG child:SG come:IPFV hither CAT eat:IPFV and drink:IPFV...

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking ..." (Mt 11:19)

(b) perfective VP expressing prior event + main VP

Ka dapa ayi' yε fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_àyí' yé fū-píə̀lā_ ∅ zì'e bà sā'an.

And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

(c) main VP + perfective VP in irrealis or imperative mood, expressing purpose. The preverb *tì* is commonly seen in the second VP.

Amaa m pu m̄r antu'a zugv o yela na s̄bi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ pū m̄r ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_∅ nà s̄bì_∅ tís

But 1SG NEG.IND have case:SG upon 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give

ná'-tītā'ar láa +∅.

king-great:SG ART NEG.

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kēm_ ∅ tí ñyē dɔ'átà. "Go and see the doctor."

Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pu k̄en na tu'asini ba ...

Mān yá' pū k̄ē-n nā_ ∅ tú'asī-ní_bā...

1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB...

"If I had not come to talk to them ..." (Jn 15:22): Note DP on both verbs.

(d) *Hālí*⁺ "until" can precede *n*-catenated clauses as a prelinker adjunct 20.2.1.

Catenated VPs can be coordinated with *kà* "and":

ka keŋ ... n ian'asid ka pian'ad n du'osid Wina'am yu'ur su'uŋa.

kà kēŋ ... n jāñ'asíd kà pīāñ'ad n dū'osíd Wínà'am yô'ur súŋā.

and go ... CAT leap:IPFV and praise:IPFV CAT elevate:IPFV God name:SG good:ADV.

"and went ... leaping and praising the name of God greatly." (Acts 3:8, 1996)

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógjà-sō' kā'e n túm kà yōōd ò mēŋá⁺∅.

Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

22.2 Auxiliary verbs in *n*-catenation

Certain verbs have characteristic specialised meanings in *n*-catenation. Dual-aspect verbs agree in aspect with the main VP verb.

22.2.1 Preceding the main VP

bè⁺ "exist, be somewhere" + *àínā* "there" + imperfective "be in the process of ..."

Ò bē àínā n ñwé'ed bīig lā.

3AN EXIST ADV: there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.

"He's currently beating the child."

àěñ^a "be something/somehow" can be used in foregrounding by clefting 27.1.1:

Li anε o sidi sv'oe li.

Lì á né ò sīdī_ ∅ súb'jī.

3INAN COP FOC 3AN husband:SG CAT OWN 3INAN.OB.

"It's her husband who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

mī⁺ "know", *zī*⁺ "not know": *nàm mī* *n* + perfective "always have X-ed", *nàm zī* *n* + perfective "never have X-ed":

Makir banε buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba mēn.

Mākír bànī būudī pādī_ yā lā nám mī_ ∅ pāe sīēba mēn.

Testing REL.PL sort reach:IPFV 2PL.OB ART still know CAT reach INDF.PL also.

"Trials of the kind that have reached you have always reached others too." (1 Cor 10:13)

M̄ nám zī' ∅ ñyē gbīgumne +∅.
 1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG NEG.
 "I've never seen a lion." SB

zàŋ^ε and **nōk^ε** "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M̄ nók sú'ugù ∅ kǎ nīm lā.
 1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.
 "I cut the meat with a knife."

M̄ zángí m̄ nú'ugù ∅ sī'is dāká lā.
 1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.
 "I touched the box with my hand."

mōr^a "have" + object "bringing" with motion verbs:

Dābá àyópòḡ kà fù mōr-ó ∅ ∅ kē nā.
 Day:PL NUM:seven and 2SG have 3AN.OB CAT come hither.
 "Bring her here in a week." WK

dōl^{la} "accompany in subordinate role, attend"

Bà dōll-ō ∅ ∅ kēŋ Bók. "They went to Bawku with him."
 3PL follow 3AN.OB CAT go Bawku.

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba ...
Kà Pita pīñ'il ∅ pá'alì bā ...
 And Peter begin CAT teach 3PL.OB ...
 "Peter began to tell them." (Acts 11:4)

Tì déŋì ∅ tís-ò ∅ lór.
 1PL precede CAT give 3AN.OB car.
 "We previously gave him a car." (*dēŋ^ε* "do/go first")

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zī'en la'asug la svugin ...
Kà dàu-sɔ' dūe ∅ zī'ən là'asug lā súvgū-n ...
 And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand.up assembly ART among-LOC ...
 "And a man (having risen) stood up in the synagogue ..." (Acts 5:34)

kēñ⁺ "come" and **kēŋ**^{El} "go" can be used similarly as initiators:

M̄ kējì_ø pīə nû'us. "I went and washed my hands."
1SG GO CAT wash hand:PL.

su'ā^a "conceal" is used in this construction for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol banjidib la ...
Kà Nà'ab Herod su'ā_ø bûel bāŋɪdɪb lā ...
And king:SG Herod conceal CAT ask understander:PL ART...
"Herod secretly called for the wise men ..." (Mt 2:7)

nìŋ wālá⁺ literally "do how?" is used in catenation for "how can ...?" (see also [22.3](#)):

Ninsaal na niŋ wala an pupiel Wina'am tuonnε? Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pu mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnε?
Nīn-saal ná nīŋ wālá_ø àñ pú-pìəl Wínà'am tûennè +ø?
Person-smooth:SG IRR do how CAT COP inside-white:SG God before CQ?
Nīn-saal bīig nà nīŋ wālá_ø pū mɔr taal
Person-smooth:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG.IND have fault:SG
Wínà'am tûennè +ø?
God before CQ?
"How can a human being be pure before God? How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" (Job 25:4)

ñyāŋ^{El} means "overcome" as a main verb:

Ka m nyaŋ dunia. "I have overcome the world." (Jn 16:33)
Kà m̄ ñyāŋ dūnyā.
And 1SG overcome world:SG.

As a *n*-catenation auxiliary it means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

M̄ pū ñyāŋ_ø záb nà'ab lāa +ø.
1SG NEG.IND prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART NEG.
"I wasn't able to fight the chief."

Unlike English "can", **ñyāŋ**^{El} expresses events and not states. Thus, to express present ability or inability, the auxiliary is in the irrealis mood; if the main verb is imperfective the auxiliary is imperfective too.

M kú ñyāŋɿ_ø záb nà'ab láa +ø.

1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART NEG.

"I can't fight the chief." ("I won't succeed in fighting the chief.")

wad line nyaŋedin ketin ka nidib voen,

wād-línì ñyāŋídī-n_ ø kētí-n kà nīdɿb vūv-n

law-REL.INAN prevail:IPFV-DP CAT cause:IPFV-DP and person:PL be.alive-DP.

"a law which could make people live." (Gal 3:21, 1996)

tūñ'e means "be able"; it is a stative single-aspect verb. As a main verb

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paŋi na tun'e si'em

bà dāa tís kà lì zēmísì_ bà pàŋɿ_ ø nà tūñ'e sī'em

3PL TNS give and 3INAN become.equal 3PL strength NZ IRR be.able INDF.ADV

"They gave as much as their strength would permit" (2 Cor 8:3)

Because of its stative meaning, when **tūñ'e** is used as a *n*-catenation auxiliary both indicative and irrealis moods can express present ability or inability.

ka li kv tun'e su'a.

kà lì kú tūñ'e_ ø sɿ'āa +ø.

and 3INAN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide NEG.

"which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la nɛ ti.

Yà ná tūñ'e_ ø zín'i tēŋɿ-n lā nɛ tì.

2PL IRR be.able CAT be.sitting land:SG-LOC ART with 1PL.

"You can dwell in the land with us." (Genesis 34:10)

Fv tun'e nyet si'ela?

Fù tūñ'e_ ø ñyēt sí'ə̀l̀àa +ø?

2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.INAN PQ?

"Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)

O pv tun'e pian'ada.

Ò p̄v tūñ'e_ ø p̄iāñ'adá +ø.

3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT speak:IPFV NEG.

"He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)

With *ňyāŋ*^{E/} as the main verb in the sense "overcome":

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaŋe ba meŋa.

b̄ zúḡ b̄ à k̄ t̄ ŋ'ē ∅ ŋyāŋí b̄ à mēŋá +∅.

because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT CONTROL 3PL self NEG.

"because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5, 1996)

22.2.2 Following the main VP

tis^E "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning may have nothing to do with "giving", and is simply a way of adding an indirect object. This can be used to put an indirect object after a direct, or to have both direct and indirect bound pronoun objects.

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suŋ.

F̄ ÷ p̄ má' n t̄ s n̄ n-sáalā +∅, à máa f̄ ÷ mà'

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give person-smooth:SG NEG but 2SG lie

n t̄ s n̄ Wínà'am Sí-sùŋ.

CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have not lied to a human being; rather, you have lied to God's Holy Spirit." (Acts 5:4, 1996)

M̄ dāa k̄ ŋes b̄ ŋv̄ ∅ t̄ s d̄ y'átà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

gàad^E "pass, surpass" can be used in comparisons:

Isaac kárì m̄ ∅ gát John.

Isaac read:IPFV CAT pass:IPFV John.

"Isaac reads better than John." SB

À-Wīn gím̄ ∅ gát À-Bōgur.

PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

Fu sid n̄ ŋ mam gat bamaa?

F̄ ÷ síd n̄ ŋ mām̄ ∅ gát bámmáa +∅?

2SG truly love 1SG CAT pass:IPFV DEMST.PL PQ?

"Do you really love me more than these?" (Jn 21:15)

gàlis^ε "get to be too much" (*Sāa gális yā* "There's too much rain"):

Ò dì n gális. "She's eaten too much."
3AN eat CAT exceed.

Dā kàrìm gbánà_ø gálisidā +ø.
NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV NEG.
"Don't read books too much."

bàs^ε "send/go away" is used for "away, off, out":

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tuumbɛ'edi basida?
Ànɔ'ɔn_ø ñwáa_ø yīsíd nīdīb tūm-bē'edi_ø básidà +ø?
Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV CQ?
"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Ending verbs naturally follow the main VP:

Ò dì_ø nāe. "He's finished eating."
3AN eat CAT finish.

Ò dì_ø tīg. "She's eaten to satiety."
3AN eat CAT get.sated.

Motion verbs occur in *n*-catenation with meanings like local prepositions e.g.

Ò kàt kíkīr-bē'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdīb.
3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.
"He drives evil spirits out of people."

Ĕñrigim_ ø páa_m. "Shift along up to me." (*pāe*^{+/} "reach")
Shift.along:IMP CAT reach 1SG.OB.

wēn^{na/} "be like" is very common in *n*-catenation. *Wēn*^{na/} + complement sequences are often treated like prepositional phrases 18. As a main verb:

Ka o nindaa wenne nintāṅ ne.
Kà ò nīn-dáa wēn nē nīntāṅ nē.
And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.
"His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996: KB *Ka o nindaa nwene winnig nē*)

Wēn^{na/} takes a prepositional phrase with *wōv* "like" or *nē* "with" as complement. Any object without the article *lā*^{+/}, even a pronoun or proper name, must be followed by a meaningless *nē*. Before numbers and measurements *wēn*^{na/} means "about, approximately"; numbers appearing alone are not followed by *nē*:

Li anε wuv maila ayi' nε.

Lì à nē wōv maila àyí' nē.

3INAN COP FOC like mile NUM:two like.

"It's about two miles." (Jn 11:18)

but *ka ba kal an wuv kɔbiga nε pisi.*

kà bà kāl áñ wōv kóbigā nē pīsí.

and 3PL number:SG COP like hundred with twenty

"and their number was about 120." (Acts 1:15)

là'am^m "together" is also found as a preverb [19.7.2](#) and in the compound preposition *là'am nē* "together with" [18](#). As a main verb it means "associate with":

... ye labasun̄ moolug la ket ka buudi wusa la'amid ne taaba pudugid Wina'am piini.

... yē lábà-sùṅ mólùg lā kēt kà būudi wōsa lá'amid

... that news-good:SG proclamation ART cause:IPFV and tribe all gather:IPFV

nē tāaba_ ø pōdugíd Wínà'am píinì.

with each.other CAT share:IPFV God gift.

"...that the proclamation of the good news is making every tribe gather with one another to share God's gifts." (Eph 3:6, 1996)

yà'as^ε or *yà'as*^a "again" is rarely preceded by liaison (never in KB) and has now effectively simply become an adverb; it is even preposable with *kà* [27.2](#). ILK glosses it "repeat", but I have no examples as a main verb.

ka m lem yeti ya'as ... "and I say again ..." (Gal 1:9, 1996)

kà m̄ lé̄m yèti_ ø yá'as

and 1SG again say:IPFV CAT again

Ya'as ka m gos ... "Again I looked ..." (Rev 5:11, 1976)

Yà'as kà m̄ gōs ...

Again and 1SG look ...

22.3 *Kà*-catenation

Certain constructions with a clause introduced by *kà* have clear affinities with catenation using *n*. They never have alternate forms with the linker *yē*. With few exceptions, they either have different subject from the preceding clause or differ in polarity. They resemble *n*-catenation in that they have the aspect and mood of the preceding VP.

Kē⁺ "let, leave off" is used with *kà*-catenation in the sense "let, cause that." The subject of the catenation cannot be the same as the main clause subject (in the whole KB, the only counterexample is Titus 2:7 *kei ka fu men an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them", where the pronoun *fu* is formally a predependent.) The mood of the catenation matches the VP containing *kē*⁺, though imperative often replaces irrealis mood.

Li da ke ka ba pu nyanji kuvu o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pō ñyāŋi_∅ kú·o_∅ ^{+∅}.

3INAN TNS cause and 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT kill 3AN.OB NEG.

"This caused them not to be able to kill him." (2 Kings 11:2)

Ba kuvdim nijidi lin ye li ke ka ba da nyε Kristo kum dapuudir namisug laa.

Bà kūdīm níjìdī_lí yé lì kέ kà bà dā ñyē Kristo kúm

3PL ever do:IPFV 3INAN.OB that 3INAN cause and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death

dà-pōvdír námisùg láa ^{+∅}.

wood-cross:SG suffering ART NEG.

"They have always been doing this so that they will not experience the suffering of the cross of the death of Christ." (Gal 6:12)

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dīni_∅ ná kέ kà bà dā kpī'ílímm ^{+∅}.

3INAN.CNTR CAT IRR cause and 3PL NEG.IMP finish NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Genesis 6:20)

After *kέε-n kà*, with discontinuous-past *n*^ε, the catenated clause generally had *n*^ε in the 1976 Bible, but this is no longer invariable. Aspect usually matches:

Ka li anε wada la ket ka tvumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lì à né wādá lā_∅ kέt kà tùm-bē'ed ñyēt páŋ.

And 3INAN COP FOC law ART CAT cause:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which makes sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

The irregular imperative *kèl^a*, followed by a *kà*-clause with imperative mood, creates a way of expressing commands to third or first persons:

Kèl kà ò gōs tēŋi-n.

Cause:IMP and 3AN look ground:SG-LOC.

"Let him look down."

Dā ké kà dàbīam bée +ø!

NEG.IMP cause and fear EXIST NEG.

"Don't be afraid." ("Let fear not exist.")

Kèl [or Kèl(̣) ø] kà tì pò'us Wínà'am.

Cause:IMP cause:IMP 2PL.SUB and 1PL greet God.

"Let us praise God."

Kèl kà ... is often ellipited informally, leaving the lack of independency marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̄ gōs nīf lā.

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"I've looked at the eye."

Independency marked: tone overlay on *gōs*

but *M̄ gōs nīf lā.*

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic)

No tone overlay on *gōs*

M̄ dígunèè +ø?

1SG lie.down PQ?

"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic)

No independency imperative *-m^a*

Ò záb nà'ab lā.

3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He should fight the chief."

M spreading after *ò*, not *záb* [19.6.1.2](#)

Mìt is a defective verb used only in the imperative [19.5.1](#). Much its most common use is with *kà*-catenation as "see that it doesn't happen that ...". In this sense it never appears with the postposed 2pl subject *ʷ^a*, suggesting that it is impersonal.

Mid ka ya maali ya tuum suma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.

Mìt kà yà máali_yà tùum-sùma nīdīb tūen yé bà gōs.

NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL make 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look.at.

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look." (Mt 6:1)

X nìŋ wēlá n...? "how can X ...?" has an impersonal variant using a dummy subject in the main clause and the effective subject in *kà*-catenation.

Li niŋ wala ka o an David yaaŋa?

Lì niŋ wēlá kà ò áñ David yâaŋà +∅?

3INAN do how and 3AN COP David descendant:SG CQ?

"How can he be David's descendant?" (Mt 22:45)

Where there is no change of subject, *n*-catenation is overwhelmingly more common, but a few cases of the personal type do appear with *kà*:

M na niŋ wala ka nyε faangirε?

M̄ ná niŋ wēlá kà ñyē fāaŋírè +∅?

1SG IRR do how and find salvation CQ?

"How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)

Kà usually replaces *n* when there is a change of polarity in catenation:

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

Kà dāy dāa zín'i Listra ní kà pū tūñ'e_ ∅ kēnná +∅.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8, 1996)

Ka Joon kena lɔɔd nɔɔr ka pu nuud daam

Kà Joon kē nā_ ∅ lɔɔd nɔɔr kà pū nūud dáamm +∅.

And John come hither CAT tie:IPFV mouth:SG and NEG.IND drink:IPFV beer NEG.

"John came, fasting and not drinking beer." (Mt 11:18)

Change from positive to negative can nevertheless occur with *n*:

Ya sieba bε kpεla ku kp̄ii ...

Yà sīəba bé kpēlá_ ∅ kú kp̄ii +∅ ...

2PL INDF.PL EXIST here CAT NEG.IRR die NEG

There are some of you here who will not die ..." (Lk 9:27)

An **adnominal** *kà*-catenated clause follows, usually directly, a NP anchor other than the main clause subject, and contains a pronoun referring to it, which is ellipted if it is an object [19.8.1](#). The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

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

Áníná kà ò ñyē dāy kà ò yū'ur būən Aneas.

ADV:there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

Li anε ya taaba bane pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāaba bání pù'usid Wínà'am kà lì nár

3INAN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3INAN must

kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 2PL drive judgment.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

If the main clause is a verbless identificational clause [21.4.1](#), the NP of the main clause can be the anchor:

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bɔɔ_ ∅ ñwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa_ ti +∅?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3INAN arrive 1PL.OB CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Adnominal *kà*-catenation is the basis of *kà*-clefting and *kà*-preposing [27.2](#).

The subject of the catenated clause does not normally refer to the anchor; if it does, the *kà*-catenation is a resultative predicate [19.8.2](#):

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

...kà lá'am màn gígìs kà bà wúm kà piāñ'ad.

...and together make:IPFV dumb:PL and 3PL hear:IPFV and speak:IPFV.

"...and even makes the dumb hear and speak." (Mk 7:37, 1976)

With *ñyē*⁺ "see", this construction has the predicative sense "see as":

M̄ dāa ñyē dāy lá kà ò áñ nâ'ab.

1SG TNS see man:SG ART and 3AN COP chief:SG.

"I saw the man as a chief." KT: not possible as "who was a chief"

M̄ dāa pū ñyē dāy lá kà ò áñ ná'abā +∅.

1SG TNS NEG.IND see man:SG ART and 3AN COP chief:SG NEG.

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

As expected, KT rejected constructions with tense marking in the *kà*-catenation. He also rejected focus-*nē*^{+/} in the catenated clause:

**M̄ dāa pū ñyē dāy lá kà ò á nē ná'abā +∅.*

1SG TNS NEG.IND see man:SG ART and 3AN COP FOC chief:SG NEG.

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference in a *yà'*-clause:

Fv ya'a na dɔllimi keŋ, m na keŋ.

Fù yá' nà dɔllí mī_ø kēŋ, m̄ ná kēŋ.

2SG if IRR accompany 1SG CAT go, 1SG IRR go.

"If you will go with me, I will go." (Judges 4:8)

M ya'a pu keŋε, Sɔŋid la kv keɛn ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' pū kēŋé⁺ø, sōŋid lā kú kēñ_ yà nī náa⁺ø.

1SG if NEG.IND go NEG, helper:SG ART NEG.IRR come 2PL LOC hither NEG.

"If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." (Jn 16:7)

23.1.1 Discontinuous-past *n*

The left-bound liaison word *n^ε* can express a discontinuous today-past [19.3.3](#), but much more often has a meaning analogous to the modal remoteness expressed by the use of the English preterite in non-temporal usage (CGEL pp148ff.) It expresses a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; if it is accompanied by post-subject *nāan(ɪ)*, the sense is contrary-to-fact. It can attach to any verb form in indicative or irrealis mood, but is incompatible with the imperative. In *n*-catenation, if *n^ε* is found in the first VP it is usually repeated in all. It appears most often in *yà'*-clauses, but occurs both with and without *nāan(ɪ)* in other clause types; without *nāan(ɪ)* this is most often in the expression *bɔ̀ɔdī-n* "might wish":

m pa'ati nye ka ya pu wenne wuu man boodin ye ya aan si'em laa.

m̄ pá' tì ñyé kà yà pū wēn nē

1SG perhaps see and 2PL NEG.IND resemble with

wūv mán bɔ̀ɔdī-n yé yà áa-n sī'əm láa⁺ø.

like 1SG:NZ want-DP that 2PL COP-DP INDF.ADV ART NEG.

"I will perhaps find you not as I might wish." (2 Cor 12:20, 1996)

Man bɔ̀ɔdin nε yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvuliga.

Mān bɔ̀ɔdī-n nē yānámì_ø nāan áa-n mā'asígā bēε

1SG.CNTR want-DP that 2PL NZ then COP-DP cold:ADV or

yānámì_ø nāan áa-n tūvígā.

2PL NZ then COP-DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

23.1.2 *Nāan(ɪ)* "in that case"

Post-subject *nāan(ɪ)* is distinct from *ñyāan* "next, afterwards, then", but *ñyāan* itself has a frequent alternative form *nāan*. Thus, in parallel NT passages:

Fu na ki'is noor atan' ye, fu zi' ma, ka noraug nyaan kaas.

Fù ná kī'ɪs nócɔr àtáń' yé fù zí'ɪ mā +∅,
2SG IRR deny occasion:SG NUM:three that 2SG NEG.KNOW 1SG.OB NEG,
kà nō-dāvg ñyāan kāas.

and hen-male:SG next cry.

"You will deny three times that you know me before the cock crows."
(Mt 26:75, 1996)

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [KB nyaan] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'ɪs mān nócɔr àtáń' kà nō-dāvg
2SG IRR deny 1SG.CNTR occasion:SG NUM:three and hen-male:SG
nāan kāas nócɔr àyí'.

next cry occasion:SG NUM:two.

"You will deny me three times before the cock crows twice." (Mk 14:30, 1996)

The distinct particle *nāan(ɪ)* has a core verbal sense "be(ing) there/thus"; it can appear with its own locative complement, typically before a *n*-catenated clause:

M nye ka Sutaana naane arazana ni n lu wenne saa yiti iank si'em la.

M̄ ñyé kà Sūtáanà nāanɪ_ ∅ àrazánà ní n lù_∅ wēn nē
1SG see and Satan be.there CAT sky LOC CAT fall CAT resemble FOC
sáa_ ∅ yítɪ_ ∅ jāńk sī'əm lā.

rain:SG NZ emerge:IPFV CAT leap INDF.ADV ART.

"I saw Satan in heaven fall like lightning." (Lk 10:18, 1996)

dap banε gur ye ba zugdaan naan pu'adiir di'ema zin'igin kul na

dàp-bànɪ gūr yé bà zūg-dāan nāan pɥ'á-dīr dí'əmə
man-REL.PL wait that 3PL head-owner:SG be.there wife-taking:SG feast:PL
zín'igī-n_ ∅ kūl nā

place:SG-LOC CAT go.home hither.

"men who are waiting for their lord at a wedding feast to return ..." (Lk 12:36)

Ka nwadbibis na naan agɔla lit teŋin na.

Kà ñwād-bíbìs ná nāan àgólà_ ∅ lít tēŋɪ-n nā.

And moon-small:PL IRR be.there ADV:above CAT fall:IPFV ground:SG-LOC hither.

"And the stars [being] above will fall to earth." (Mk 13:25)

Nāani evidently originated in *nāan* followed by catenator-*n*, but I will omit CAT in the interlinear glossing henceforward.

Most cases of modal *nāan(i)* appear in conditional main clauses. In other main clauses *nāan* without *n^ε* is often a by-form of *ñyāan* as described above; if not, the meaning is "in that case, matters being thus." Examples of *nāan(i)* in subordinate clauses are uncommon in KB, which usually simply shows the irrealis marker *nà* where older versions have *nāan*.

Nāan(i) without *n^ε* is often effectively equivalent to *yà'* "if/when."

Li an sum ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àñ sùm yē dāy yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yéla_∅ gāad ...

3INAN COP good that man:SG one then die person:PL ART about CAT pass ...

"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." (Jn 11:50)

Fun naani tum be'ed ka ba sigis uf ne kpisiṅkpil ka fu sin ka mor suguru, li su'um a bo?

Fún nāani túm bē'ed kà bà sīgísú_ f nē kpísìṅkpìl

2SG:NZ then do bad and 3PL put.down 2SG.OB with fist:SG

kà fù sín kà mōr sūgurú, lì sòm áñ bós +∅?

and 2SG be.silent and have forbearance, 3INAN good:ABSTR COP what CQ?

"If you do evil and they down you with fists and you are silent and forbear, what is the good of it?" (1 Pet 2:20, 1996)

Noṅir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòṅir lém kā'e_∅ gāad nīdí_ ∅ nāan kpí ò zụà-nàm zúgō +∅.

Love again NEG.BE CAT pass person:SG NZ then die 3AN friend-PL upon NEG.

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." (Jn 15:13, 1996)

Ba wenne zunzoṅ naani ve'ed zunzoṅ ne.

Bà wēn nē zúnzòṅ_ ∅ nāani vē'ed zúnzòṅ nē.

3PL resemble with blind.person:SG NZ then lead:IPFV blind.person:SG like.

"They are like when a blind person leads a blind person." (Mt 15:14, 1996)

When *nāan(i)* is accompanied by discontinuous-past *n^ε* the meaning is contrary-to-fact, as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaṅin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan zāṅí-n_ m̀ līgídi n sū'a-n bānkì ní.

3INAN be.good and 2SG TNS then take-DP 1SG money CAT hide-DP bank:SG LOC.

"You should have put my money in the bank." (Mt 25:27, 1976)

Yà' nāan(ɪ) means "if only":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyεen nɔdi'es la bε Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sjákì_∅ kēŋ_∅ ñyēε-n

1SG head-owner:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see-DP

nɔ-dí'əs lā_∅ bε Samaria lā!

mouth-transmitter:SG ART NZ EXIST Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kings 5:3)

23.2 Open

Conditional clauses without discontinuous-past *n^ε* or *nāan(ɪ)* express "if", and also "when" with a main clause with present or future reference. With main clauses with past reference, *yà'* is only used for conditionals; for the meaning "when", an absolute clause with time reference is used as a postlinker or VP adjunct 24.2.

Nid ya'a tum tɔuma, o di'ed yɔɔd.

Nīd yá' tùm tūuma, ò di'əd yɔɔd.

Person:SG if work:IPFV work, 3AN receive:IPFV pay.

"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

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

Kà Kristo yá' dà pū vū'ug kūmɪ-né⁺∅, àlāa_ tì làba-sùŋ

And Christ if TNS NEG.IND come.alive death-LOC NEG, ADV:thus 1PL news-good:SG

lā mɔɔlòg lā á nē zāalím.

ART proclamation ART COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgúlí_ f.

2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay.down 2SG.OB.

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed [i.e. admit you to hospital.]"

Bεog ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.

Bēog yá' nie, fù ná wúm ò pìàñ'ad.

Tomorrow if appear, 2SG IRR hear 3AN speech.

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." (Acts 25:22)

Cf Hausa *ìdan gàrii yaa waayèe zaa mù tàfi* "When dawn comes we'll go." (Jaggar p608), where *ìdan* is likewise "if/when."

23.3 Hypothetical

If discontinuous-past n^E occurs in the $yà'$ -clause and the main clause does not have $nāan(ɪ)$, the meaning is hypothetical. The main clause has irrealis mood; in the 1976 NT, but not later Bible versions, it also has n^E .

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' ningbiŋ nii, lin ku nyanjin keen ka o ka' ningbiŋ nii.

Nóbir yá' yèlī-n yē, ón pō áñ nû'ug lā zúg,

Leg:SG if say-DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.IND COP hand:SG ART upon,

ò kâ' nín-gbīŋ níú +∅, līn kú ñyāŋɪ-n ∅

3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG LOC NEG, DEM.INAN NEG.IRR accomplish-DP CAT

kéε-n kà ò kâ' nín-gbīŋ níú +∅.

cause-DP and 3AN NEG.BE body-skin:SG LOC NEG.

"If the leg said, because it is not a hand, it is not in the body, that would not cause it not to be in the body." (1 Cor 12:15, 1976)

2016: *Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋbiŋ la nii," lin ku nyanji ke ka o ka' ningbiŋ la nii.*

Later versions also use open conditionals with irrealis mood in the main clause:

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.

Wiəf yá' sīgí-n lì nī, lì zùluŋ ná páa-n ò sàltbir.

Horse:SG if descend-DP 3INAN LOC, 3INAN depth IRR reach-DP 3AN bridle:SG.

"If a horse went down in it, its depth would reach its bridle." (Rev 14:20, 1976)

2016: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluŋ na paae o salibir.*

23.4 Contrary-to-fact

If the main clause has $nāan(ɪ)$, there is a contrary-to-fact implication. Both main and $yà'$ -clause have discontinuous-past n^E :

Man ya'a pu keen na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mɔrin taale.

Mān yá' pō kéε-n nā ∅ tú'asī-ní bā, bà nāan kú

1SG.CNTR if NEG.IND come-DP hither CAT talk-DP 3PL.OB, 3PL then NEG.IRR

mɔri-n tâallē +∅.

have-DP fault:SG NEG.

"If I had not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty."

(Jn 15:22)

Ya'a ka'ane alaa, m naan ku yeline ya ye ...

Yà' kà'a-ní_ àlá, m̄ nāan kú yēl-ní_ yā yē ...

If NEG.BE-DP ADV:thus, 1SG then NEG.IRR say-DP 2PL.OB that...

"If it were not so, I would not have told you that ..." (Jn 14:2)

Ba ya'a daa mi'ine li, ba naan ku kpa'an Zugsoɓ one an na'atita'ar la dapuudir zugɔ.

Bà yá' dāa mī'i-ní_ lī, bà nāan kú kpā'a-n Zūg-sóɓ ɔ̀nì

3PL if TNS know-DP 3INAN.OB, 3PL then NEG.IRR fasten-DP head-EMPTY.AN REL:AN

àñ ná'-tītā'ar lā dá-pōvdá zùgɔ +∅.

COP king-great:SG ART wood-cross:SG upon NEG.

"If they had known it, they would not have fastened the Lord, who was a great king, to a cross." (1 Cor 2:8)

Ya ya'a mi'in line na tisi ya sumbugusum zina nwa, li naan aan su'um!

Yà yá' mī'i-n línì nà tīsì_ yá súmbōgusím zīnā ñwá,

2PL if know-DP REL.INAN IRR give 2PL.OB peace today this,

lì nāan āa-n súm!

3INAN then COP-DP good:ABSTR.

"If you had known this day what would have brought you peace, that would have been good." (Lk 19:42)

Contrary-to-fact conditions in the past are also sometimes marked by combining the irrealis mood with preverbal past tense markers in the main clause; the *yà'*-clause has *n^ε* as usual:

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 tīsī-ní_ bā vū'usím zīñ'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give-DP 3PL.OB resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm pjāñ' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē +∅.

again speak day-INDF.INAN about again NEG.

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of a certain day." (Heb 4:8)

Similarly, without a *yà'*-clause:

Ò dāa ná zāb ná'ab lā.

3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"He would have fought the chief" (but didn't)

WK confirmed this meaning, as against "He was going to fight the chief."

24 Ñ-clauses

24.1 Overview

Kusaal transforms complete clauses into AdvPs or NPs by inserting the post-subject particle *ñ*. (For the realisation of the particle, see 7.2.) The *ñ* by itself is a nominaliser, which turns the original clause "X" into an "absolute" clause signifying "it being the fact that X." Ñ-clauses also form the basis of Kusaal relative clauses, though in the commonest type the nominaliser has fused with a preceding demonstrative pronoun to create what is synchronically simply a relative pronoun.

Nominaliser-*ñ* may be historically related to catenator-*n* 22.1.

All types of *ñ*-clause have independent tense marking (but relative to the narrative timeline within narrative 19.3.5.)

They cannot use the imperative mood; irrealis appears instead:

Yaname na mɔr sam si'a anɛ ye ya nɔŋ taaba.

Yānámì ∅ nà mōr sām-sí'a á nē yé yà nón tāaba.

2PL NZ IRR have debt-INDEF.INAN COP FOC that 2PL love each.other.

"Any debt which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8)

Ñ-clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative pronouns are often preposed with *kà* 24.3.2. Dependents of *ñ*-clauses may only be articles or predependent NPs 15.6.2, but *ñ*-clauses can be predependents themselves.

Absolute *ñ*-clauses almost always take the article *lā*^{+/}, but the function of the article after relative clauses is similar to its usage elsewhere. Absence of the article after a relative clause does duty for what with nouns is expressed by dependent indefinite pronouns.

Ŋn sɔb á nē dáɣ-kànɪ sà kē nā sù'əs lā.

3AN.CNTR EMPTY.AN COP FOC man-REL.SG TNS come hither yesterday ART.

"That one's the man who came yesterday."

Dàp-bànɪ bɔɔd yé bà ñyées f ké nā.

Man-REL.PL want that 3PL see 2SG.OB come hither.

"Some men who want to see you have come."

onɛ du'a nɛ Siig

"someone born of the Spirit" (Jn 3:8)

òni dɣ'à nē Sīɣ

REL.AN bear with spirit:SG

one tumi m la na "he who sent me hither" (Mk 9:37)
òni tùmí_m lā nā (òni = REL.AN; contrast *ón* 3SG:NZ)
 REL.AN send 1SG.OB ART hither

The article is not repeated a second time after an ñ-clause which ends in a NP with *lā*^{+/}. If the clause contains the VP-final particles *nā*^{+/} "hither" *sà*⁺ "hence", these may follow an article belonging to the ñ-clause [19.10](#).

If the ñ-clause has a negative VP, it only shows a final LF if the ñ-clause is itself clause-final in the superordinate clause:

Nīn-báni pō dít ná kpī.
 Person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV IRR die.
 "People who don't eat will die." WK

M ñyé nīn-báni pō dītā +∅.
 1SG see person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV NEG.
 "I've seen some people who don't eat."

24.2 Absolute clauses

Ñ-clauses without relative pronouns or indefinite pronouns used as relatives are **absolute clauses**, meaning "it being the fact that ...":

Dāy lā dāa záb nà'ab lā.
 Man:SG ART TNS fight chief:SG ART.
 "The man has fought the chief."

dāy lá_∅ dāa záb nà'ab lā
 Man:SG ART NZ TNS fight chief:SG ART
 "the man having fought the chief"

The most characteristic use of absolute clauses is as AdvPs of time or circumstance. They are the usual way of expressing past "when", used as postlinker adjuncts [20.2.1](#) or as VP adjuncts, generally preposed with *kà* [27.2](#). Kusaal is stricter than English in requiring constituent order to reflect event order (cf catenation [22.1](#)), so the VP-final adjunct position is usually confined to cases where the absolute clause expresses a state of affairs rather than a single event:

Ōn dāa ñyēt sūḡā, ón dāa áñ bí-līa lāa +∅?
 3AN.CNTR TNS see:IPFV good:ADV, 3AN:NZ TNS COP child-baby:SG ART PQ?
 "Did she see well when she was a baby?"

Tense markers in an absolute clause are the same as in the main clause; the main clause markers may be omitted if the absolute clause precedes. It is thus not possible to manipulate the time relationship with tense particles; instead, this is determined by aspect, with a perfective in the absolute clause implying a prior event and imperfective a simultaneous one, setting the temporal scene for the main clause.

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeli ba ...

Kà bán dít lā, Yesu yéli_bā ...

And 3PL:NZ eat:IPFV ART, JESUS say 3PL.OB

"As they were eating, Jesus said to them ..." (Mt 26:21)

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ ...

Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máljāk níe ò mēŋ ...

And 3PL:NZ emerge ART and head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG appear 3AN self

"After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself ..." (Mt 2:13, 1996)

Like other AdvPs, absolute clauses have limited use as verb arguments, most often as the complement of *àñ*^a "be", though occasionally as subjects:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ n̄ŋilim an si'em.

Kristo_∅ dà kp̄ii_tì yēlá lā ké kà tì bán n̄ŋilim_∅ àñ sī'em.

Christ NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love NZ COP INDF.ADV.

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

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 m̄ àñ s̄aal-biis z̄uá lā á n̄ē mán

REL.SG cause and 1SG COP smooth-child:PL friend:SG ART COP FOC 1SG:NZ

p̄w̄ s̄áñ'amídí_bà lā'ad kà mé p̄w̄ dítí_bà kī lāa +∅.

NEG.IND spoil:IPFV 3PL goods:PL and also NEG.IND eat:IPFV 3PL millet ART NEG.

"What makes me a friend of human beings is

that I don't spoil their property or eat their millet." BNY p20

Absolute clauses are not used as objects of verbs of perception or communication; either relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as relatives or content clauses [25.2](#) appear in this function.

Absolute clauses with *sādigim* "since, because" immediately following nominaliser-*n̄* occur as postlinker adjuncts expressing "reason why":

Tiname sagidim aan o biis la, ti da ten'es ...

Tīnámì ∅ sādígím áañ ò bīis lā, tì dā tēñ'es ...

1PL NZ since COP 3AN child:PL ART, 1PL NEG.IMP think ...

"Since we are his children, we should not think ..." (Acts 17:29)

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ɔn sādígím kɔ́ lā, bɔ́ kà ò m lém

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again

lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asè +∅ +∅?

tie:IPFV mouth:SG again NEG CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

For absolute clauses with post-subject *nāan(i)* see [23.1.2](#).

Absolute clauses occur after *hālí nē* or *hālí là'am nē* "although, even as" [18](#), and *hālí n tì pāa ...* "up until the time when ..." [20.2.1](#).

Before the postposition *zūg*^ɔ "on account of", or *bɔ́ zúgɔ́* "because", absolute clauses form reason-why AdvPs used as adjuncts:

Ka ba la'as taaba n denji nye Blestus one a na'ab Herod samanna'ab la n maal suer ye o nwe' na'ab nu'ug, ba diib n yit na'ateŋ la na zug.

Kà bà là'as tāaba n déŋì ∅ ñyē Blestus ɔ̀nì àñ nâ'ab Herod

And 3PL gather each.other CAT do.first CAT see Blastus REL.AN COP king:SG Herod

sāmán-nà'ab lā n mâal sūer yé ò ñwé' nà'ab nû'ug,

courtyard-chief:SG ART CAT make way:SG that 3AN strike king:SG hand:SG,

bà dīib ñ yīt ná'-tēŋ lā nā zúg.

3PL food NZ emerge:IPFV king-country:SG ART hither upon.

"They gathered together after first seeing Blastus, king Herod's chamberlain, to get him to make an agreement with the king, because their food came from the king's land." (Acts 12:20, 1996)

When they contain perfective forms, such absolute clauses may as usual need to be preposed with *kà* [27.2](#) to match the word order to event order [19.2.2](#):

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà police gbáñ'a_m.

1SG:NZ strike man:SG ART upon and police seize 1SG.OB.

"Because I struck the man the police arrested me."

It is commoner for causation to be simply implied by an absolute clause as postlinker adjunct or *kà*-preposed VP adjunct, or simply by coordination with *kà*:

Mán ñwè' dāy lā, kà police gbáñ'a_m.

1SG:NZ strike man:SG ART and police seize 1SG.OB.

"I having struck the man, the police arrested me."

M̄ ñwé' dāy lā, kà police gbáñ'a_m.

1SG strike man:SG ART and police seize 1SG.OB.

"I struck the man and the police arrested me."

Yēlá⁺ "concerning" appears after absolute clauses in NT section headings:

Jesus n kpen' Jerusalem la yela

Jesus ñ kpèñ' Jerusalem lā yéla

Jesus NZ enter Jerusalem ART about

"[about] Jesus entering into Jerusalem."

However, the NT uses absolute clauses alone as picture captions:

Ban meed yir

"A house being built"

Bán mēed yīr

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

24.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually restrictive in meaning, though not invariably, especially when relative pronouns are not compounded with the preceding head. (See also on adnominal *kà*-catenation, which typically has non-restrictive meaning [22.3](#).)

Structurally, Kusaal relative clauses are of two distinct types: those which use relative pronouns, and those which use indefinite pronouns in the role of relatives. The relative clause subject is followed by *ñ* in the indefinite-pronoun type; diachronically, the unitary relative pronouns have arisen from fusion of a clause-initial short demonstrative pronoun with a following *ñ*.

A relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun may contain indefinite pronouns with their normal meaning, and a relative clause with an indefinite pronoun as relative may contain other indefinite pronouns in their normal function so long as they precede the pronoun which appears with the relative meaning. Short demonstrative pronouns are never relatives when non-initial, and long demonstratives are never relatives at all:

Wina'am one gaad **si'el** wusa la
 Wínà'am ónì gàad sī'əl wūsa lā
 God REL.AN pass INDF.INAN all ART
 "God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wuv banj gban'ad **si'el** si'em la
 wūv bāŋj_ ø gbāñ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā
 like trap:SG NZ seize:IPFV INDF.INAN INDF.ADV ART
 "like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

O pa'al ne'enam nyain tis sɔ' wusa on vu'ug ninkan kumin la zug.
 Ò pà'al nē'-nám ñyāe_ ø tís sō' wūsa ón vū'ug nīn-kán
 3AN show DEM.INAN-PL clearly CAT give INDF.AN all 3AN:NZ revive person-DEM.SG
 kūmı-n lā zúg.
 death-LOC ART upon.
 "He has shown this clearly to everyone because he has raised that person from death." (Acts 17:31)

o na tum tumnyalima gaad dau **kanja** tum si'el laa?
 ò nà tūm tūm-ñyālmá_ ø gàad dàu-kàŋjá_ ø tùm sī'əl láa +ø?
 3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT pass man-DEMST.SG NZ work INDF.INAN ART PQ?
 "Will he do miracles greater than this man has?" (Jn 7:31)

24.3.1 With indefinite pronouns

Relative clauses using indefinite pronouns as relatives are **internally headed**. The pronoun may occur as a head, functioning as the clause antecedent, or as a dependent after a cb which is then the clause antecedent; in either case it remains *in situ* within the relative clause. The pronoun is thus followed not only by the article belonging to the whole clause, but by any adverbial elements and catenated clauses:

ye Wina'am nodi'esidib n daa yel **si'el** n sob Wina'am gbaunjin la, ane amēja.
 yē Wínà'am nɔ́-dí'əsídıb n dāa yél sī'əl n sōb
 That God mouth-receiver:PL NZ TNS say INDF.INAN CAT write
 Wínà'am gbáunjū-n lā á né àmējá.
 God book:SG-LOC ART COP FOC truly.
 "So that what God's prophets said and wrote in God's book is true."
 (Mt 26:56, 1996)

The indefinite pronoun or noun-pronoun compound usually follows the verb directly, but this is not invariable:

... fun yelim fun niŋ li si'el.

... fūn yélìm fún niŋl̄ lī sī'əl.

... 2SG.CNTR say:IMP 2SG:NZ do 3INAN INDF.INAN.

"... that you say where you have put it." (Jn 20:15)

Instead of analysing these clauses as internally headed, one might try to take such trailing elements as modifying the relative clause; however, this cannot explain cases where the pronoun appears in a subordinate clause within the relative clause, or is a predependent within a NP or AdvP (see below.)

The antecedent of a relative clause using an indefinite pronoun is most often a direct object:

Ón yèl sī'əl lā kā' sídāa +∅.

3AN:NZ say INDF.INAN ART NEG.BE truth NEG.

"**What** he says is not true" SB

on gaŋ **dau sɔ'** la

ón gāŋ dáu-sɔ' lā

3AN:NZ choose man-INDF.AN ART

"**the man** whom he has chosen" (Numbers 16:5)

M mi' man gaŋ **sieba** la.

M̄ mī' mán gāŋ sīəba lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

"I know **those** whom I have chosen." (Jn 13:18)

Ka ban tum **sɔ'** la ku gaad onε tum o la.

Kà bán tùm sɔ' lā kú gāad ónì tùm·o ∅ lāa +∅.

And 3PL:NZ send INDF.AN ART NEG.IRR surpass REL.AN send 3AN.OB ART NEG.

"**One** who was sent does not surpass the one who sent him." (Jn 13:16)

Paul n sob **gbauŋ si'a** n tis Efesus dim la

Paul n̄ sōb gbáuŋ-sī'a n tís Efesus dímm lā

Paul NZ write letter- INDF.INAN CAT give Ephesus EMPTY.PL ART

"**the letter** which Paul wrote to the Ephesians" (NT heading)

Man mi' **si'el** nan anε bi'ela.

Mán mī' sī'əl nān á nē bī'əlá.

1SG:NZ know INDF.INAN now COP FOC small.ADV.

"**What** I know now is small." (1 Cor 13:12)

The head can be part of a subordinate clause within the relative clause, or it can be a predependent in a NP or AdvP:

*Fun bɔɔd ye fu ku **dau sɔ'** la ya'a kpi...*

Fún b̀ɔ̀ɔd yé fù kù dáy-sɔ' lā yá' kpi...

2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDF.AN ART if die...

"If the man **whom** you are seeking to kill dies ..." (2 Samuel 17:3)

*ya na baŋ man yeɪ ye m an **sɔ'** la.*

yà ná bāŋ mán yeɪ yé m àñ sɔ' lā.

2PL IRR understand 1SG:NZ say that 1SG COP INDF.AN ART.

"you will understand **who** I say that I am." (Jn 8:28)

*Gɔsim ye fu na baŋ la'abama an **sɔ'** bunneɛ?*

G̀ɔ̀sɪm yé fù ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá_ø àñ sɔ' búnnèè +ø?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL NZ COP INDF.AN thing:SG PQ?

"Can you see if you can find out **whose** property these things are?"

(Genesis 38:25)

*Alaa mam me ku yeɪi ya mam nye nɔɔr la **sɔ'** san'anɛ.*

Àláa mām mé kù yeɪi_yá mán ñyē nɔɔr lā sɔ' sá'anē +ø.

Thus 1SG.CNTR also NEG.IRR say 2PL.OB 1SG:NZ see mouth:SG ART INDF.AN among NEG.

"Thus I too will not tell you from **whom** I derived the authority." (Mt 21:27)

*M na tumi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr **sɔ'** yeɪla la tisi ya*

M̀ ná tūmí_m̀ B́a' zì'el nɔɔr sɔ' yeɪlā_ø tísì_yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG NZ stand mouth:SG INDF.AN about CAT give 2PL.OB.

"I will send **whom** my Father made a promise about to you." (Lk 24:49)

Indefinite pronouns as relatives may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

*ka fun gban'e **ziŋ si'a yiiga** la, fun ya'am o nɔɔr ...*

kà fún gbāñ'e zīŋ-sí'a yīgá lā, fūn yá'am ò nɔɔr ...

and 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.INAN firstly ART, 2SG.CNTR open:IMP 3AN mouth:SG

"and the first fish you catch, open its mouth..." (Mt 17:27)

but *Paul n sob **gbaun yiiga daan** n tis Korint dim la nwa.*

Paul ñ sɔb gbáun yīgá dāan n tís Korint dím lā_ø ñwá.

Paul NZ write letter:SG firstly owner:SG CAT give Corinth one.PL ART CAT this.

"This is **the first letter** which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (NT heading)

In most relative clauses using indefinite pronouns the pronoun is itself the head of the clause. It then usually keeps the indefinite-specific sense of indefinite pronouns in other contexts (the main exception in KB is a sequence in Rev 2-3 of *man nye so' la* "the one I saw.") In the 1996 NT, out of 33 examples of *sō*⁺ used in this way, 20 involve constructions where the relative clause is the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception. Relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as relatives are strongly preferred in clauses which correspond to what CGEL calls "subordinate interrogative clauses" (pp1070ff, pp972ff), and may be obligatory when such a clause follows a verb as its complement and the pronoun is not the subject of the subordinate clause. Such cases account for the great majority of relative clauses with uncompounded indefinite pronouns.

Examples from the 1996 NT and KB:

o naan banjin po'a kane si'is o la a so'

ò nāan bānjī-n pɔ'á-kàni sī'is-ó_ø lá_ø àñ sō'.

3AN then realise-DP woman-REL.SG touch 3AN.OB ART NZ COP INDF.AN.

"He would know **what** [kind of] woman it is who touched him" (Lk 7:39, 1996)

m na pa'ali ya on wen so'.

m̄ ná pā'ali_ýá ́n wēn sō'.

1SG IRR teach 2PL.OB 3AN:NZ resemble INDF.AN.

"I will teach you **what** he is like." (Lk 6:47, 1996)

M mi' fun a so'.

"I know **who** you are." (Lk 4:34, 1996)

M̄ mí' fún àñ sō'.

1SG know 2SG:NZ COP INDF.AN.

David da tum sō' ye o bu'osi ban pu'a la an sō'.

David dá tùm sō' yé ò bū'osi_ø bānj pɔ'ā lá_ø àñ sō'.

David TNS send INDF.AN that 3AN ask CAT understand woman:SG ART NZ COP INDF.AN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out **who** the woman was." (2 Samuel 11:3)

... baji ba yaaname an sieba

... bājì_ø bà yāa-námì_ø àñ sīēba

... understand 3PL ancestor-PL NZ COP INDF.PL

"... discover **who** their ancestors were." (Ezra 2:61)

Relative clauses headed by *sī'əl*^a account for most occurrences of *sī'əl*^a in the 1996 NT. Again, most cases (75 out of 130 in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in the

1995 NT) show either *sī'əl*^a or the entire relative clause (or both) as the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception:

Mam mi' si'el ane ye, m daa ane zu'om ka yu'un nyet.

Mán mī sī'əl á nē yē, m̄ dāa á nē zū'om, kà yū'un ñyēt.

1SG:NZ know INDF.INAN COP FOC that, 1SG TNS COP FOC blind:SG, and after see:IPFV.

"What I know is, that I was blind and now I see." (Jn 9:25, 1996)

Kem yeli Joon yanam wum ka nye si'el.

Kēm ∅ yēli ∅ Joon yānám ∅ wum kà ñyē sī'əl.

GO:IMP CAT say 2PL.SUB John 2PL NZ hear and see INDF.INAN.

"Go and tell John what you have heard and seen." (Mt 11:4, 1996)

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el laa?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ sī'əl láa +∅?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.INAN ART CQ?

"Do you understand what I have done?" (Jn 13:12, 1996)

Of the remaining 55 examples, 22 have *sī'əl*^a in a locative meaning "where, whither"; neither the pronoun nor the relative clause have the locative particle:

Bozugo ya araza'ase be si'el la, ya potenda me bene anina.

Bō zúgú yà àrazà'así ∅ bè sī'əl lā, yà pù-tènda mé bè né àní nā.

Because 2PL treasure NZ EXIST INDF.INAN ART, 2PL mind:PL too EXIST FOC there.

"For where your treasure is, your mind is too." (Mt 6:21, 1996)

One keŋ likin zī' on ken si'ela.

Òni kēŋ líki-n zī' ón kēn sī'əla +∅.

REL.AN go darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.INAN NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know where he is going." (Jn 12:35, 1996)

In the remaining 33 examples, *sī'əl*^a consistently has an abstract uncountable meaning, often shading into "whatever":

Ka o niŋ on tun'e si'el.

Kà ò níŋ ón tūñ'e sī'əl.

And 3AN do 3AN:NZ be.able INDF.INAN.

"She has done what she could." (Mk 14:8, 1996)

In 14 of these cases it is followed by *wōsa*⁺ "all":

M na tis uf fun bood si'el wusa.

M̄ ná t̄is̄_f fún b̄òòd s̄ī'əl w̄usa.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB 2SG:NZ want INDF.INAN all.

"I will give you anything you want." (Mk 6:23, 1996)

S̄ī'əm^m, the form of the indefinite pronoun system with the mass *m^m* class suffix, appears in adverbial use as "somehow." As Kusaal frequently uses manner-adverbs as predicative complements, relative clauses with *s̄ī'əm* are, once again, common as objects of verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ n̄òŋilim an si'em.

Kristo_∅ dà kp̄ii_ t̄i yēlá lā ké kà t̄i báŋ n̄òŋilim_∅ àñ s̄ī'əm.

Christ NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

The article *lā^{+/}* has its usual function with *s̄ī'əm*-relative clauses:

M̄ mí' mán nà n̄iŋ s̄ī'əm. "I know what to do."

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

M̄ mí' mán nà n̄iŋ s̄ī'əm lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV ART.

"I know what I'm to do" (WK: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

In the 1976 NT almost all relative clauses with *s̄ī'əm* and past tense marking have *lā^{+/}*; 75% lacking *lā^{+/}* have irrealis mood. Cf the two standing expressions

ŋn b̄òòd s̄ī'əm "as he wishes"

3AN:NZ want INDF.ADV

lín àñ s̄ī'əm lā "as things are"

3INAN:NZ COP INDF.ADV ART

Yèl^ε "say, tell" tends to take a *s̄ī'əm*-relative clause with *lā* in its sense of "say, tell how something is" and without *lā* in the sense "say how to do something":

Bà yèl·ō_∅ b̄án n̄iŋ s̄ī'əm lā.

3PL say 3AN.OB 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV ART

"They told him what they'd done"

Bà nà yēli_f fún nà nīḡ sī'am.
 3PL IRR tell 2SG.OB 2SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.
 "They'll tell you what to do."

Pà'al^ε "teach, inform", surprisingly, takes a relative clause object without *lā*:

Bà pà'al_ō_∅ bán nīḡ sī'am.
 3PL inform 3AN.OB 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV.
 "They informed him of what they'd done."

Verbs of other types also take *sī'am*-clauses as complements.

Gàad^ε "pass, surpass" is used with a *sī'am*-clause for comparing actions:

Mam tum bēdegv gaad ban tum si'em la.
Mām túm bēdugū_∅ gāad bán tùm sī'am lā.
 1SG.CNTR work much CAT pass 3PL:NZ work INDF.ADV ART
 "I've worked much harder than (how) they have." (2 Cor 11:23)

Gbāñ'e^{+/} "catch" is used with a *sī'am*-clause for "decide what to do":

M gbāñ'e mán nà nīḡ sī'am.
 1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.
 "I've decided what to do."

With verbs of doing, a *sī'am*-relative clause can be a manner-adverb:

Bà nīḡ ́n yēli_bā sī'am lā.
 3PL do 3AN:NZ tell 3PL.OB INDF.ADV ART.
 "They did as he'd told them."

Like other AdvPs, *sī'am*-relative clauses can be verb subjects:

Man nonji ya si'em la ane bedego.
Mán nòḡi_yā sī'am lā á nē bēdugū.
 1SG:NZ love 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART COP FOC much.
 "How much I love you, is a lot." (2 Cor 7:3, 1976)

Sī'am-relative clauses occur often as objects of *wōv* "like", *wēn^{na/}* "resemble"

...ka ya na ke ka nidib dɔl man wɔv ziingba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

...kà yà ná ké kà nīdɪb dɔl mān wɔv zīiŋ-gbāñ'adìb_∅

...and 3PL IRR cause and person:PL follow 1SG.CNTR like fish-catcher:PL NZ

gbāñ'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.

catch:IPFV fish:PL INDF.ADV ART

"... you will make people follow me like fishermen catch fish." (Mt 4:19)

Hālí (là'am) nē "although" can take a *sī'əm*-relative clause in the sense "despite how..." 18.

Relative clauses with an indefinite dependent pronoun are comparatively uncommon. Only one case occurs in the 1996 NT with *sɔ̄*⁺ or *sī'əba*⁺, though KB has several examples; *sī'a*⁺ is commoner, but in the great majority of cases follows a cb expressing a place or time. However, when indefinite pronouns do appear after cbs as relatives, they are not limited to indefinite-specific senses:

Nidib la da wum Yesu n tum tuum sieba ...

Nīdɪb lā dá wùm Yesu n tùm tùm-sī'əba ...

Person:PL ART TNS hear Jesus NZ work work-INDF.PL ...

"The people heard of the deeds that Jesus had performed..." (Mk 3:7, 1996)

Ban da ku ninsieba da ka' bi'elaa.

Bán dà kù nīn-sī'əbà dá kà' bī'eláa ⁺∅.

3PL:NZ TNS kill person-INDF.PL TNS NEG.BE few NEG.

"Those they had killed were not few." (1 Samuel 4:10)

ka ban ne ban tum ninsieba la dɔl taaba keŋ David san'an...

kà bān nē bán tùm nīn-sī'əbà lā dɔl tāaba_∅

and 3PL.CNTR with 3PL:NZ send person-INDF.PL ART accompany each.other CAT

kēŋ David sâ'an...

go David among ...

"They and those whom had been sent went together with David" (1 Sam 25:42)

Kem tu'us Samaria na'abi tum ninsieba la na ...

Kēm_∅ tū'us Samaria ná'abí_∅ tùm nīn-sī'əbà lā nā ...

Go:IMP CAT greet Samaria king:SG NZ send person-INDF.PL ART hither ...

"Go and greet the men sent by the king of Samaria ..." (2 Kings 1:3)

ka fun gban'e zīŋ sī'a yiiga la, fun ya'ami o noor

kà fún gbāñ'e zīm-sí'a yīigá lā, fūn yá'amí_ò nōɔr.

And 2SG:NZ grab fish-INDF.INAN firstly ART, 2SG.CNTR open:IMP 3AN mouth:SG.

"The first fish that you catch, open its mouth ..." (Mt 17:27, 1996)

*Ka bugum n dit **tejtita'ar si'a** la nyo'os dut ne agol saŋa dine ka' benne.*

Kà b̀ùgúm_ n d̀it t́éj-t́ítá'-s̄́a lā ñyô'ɔs d̀ùt né

And fire NZ eat:IPFV land-big-INDF.INAN ART smoke ascend:IPFV FOC

àgól s̄́āŋá d̀ìni k̄́ā' b̄́ēnne +∅.

ADV:upwards time:SG REL.INAN NEG.HAVE end:SG NEG.

"The smoke of **that great city** which fire is consuming is going up for time without end." (Rev 19:3), referencing the ongoing topic of the previous chapter *Babilon tej tita'ar* "the great city of Babylon" (Rev 18:21, 1996)

*Nannanna, yaname daa sob **gbaŋ si'a** la ka m ye m sob lebisi ya.*

Nānná-nā, yānámì_∅ dāa s̄́b gbáŋ-s̄́a lá kà m̀ yé

Now, 2PL NZ TNS write letter-INDF.INAN ART and 1SG that

m̀ s̄́b_∅ ĺébisì_ yā.

1SG write CAT answer 2PL.OB.

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm going to write back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1, 1996)

*... li pu nar ye m zaŋ Zugsob la tisi m **paŋ si'a** la n tum ne sutoogo.*

... lì p̄́ nār yé m̀ záj Zūg-s̄́b lá_∅ t̄́is̄́_m

... 3INAN NEG.IND be.necessary that 1SG pick.up Head-EMPTY.AN ART NZ give 1SG.OB

p̄́āŋ-s̄́a lā n t̄́úm nē s̄́ñ-t̄́ɔḡ́ +∅.

power-INDF.INAN ART CAT work with heart-bitterness NEG.

"... it's not necessary that I use the power which the Lord gave me in acting with harshness." (2 Cor 13:10, 1996)

*Yaname na mor **sam si'a** ane ye ya noŋ taaba.*

Yānámì_∅ nà m̄́r s̄́m-s̄́'a á nē yé yà ńŋ t̄́āba.

2PL NZ IRR have debt-INDF.INAN COP FOC that 2PL love each.other

"**Any debt** which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8, 1996)

Cases of the "subordinate interrogative clause" type also occur:

*Tiig wela bigisid lin a **tisi'a**.*

T̄́ig w̄́l̄́à_∅ b̄́ḡ́is̄́id l̄́in àñ t̄́í-s̄́'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IMPF 3INAN:NZ COP tree-INDF.INAN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows **what tree** it is." (Mt 12:33, 1996)

Of 56 relative clauses with *s̄́a*⁺ in the 1996 NT, 33 involve cbs of nouns referring to places:

M Zugsoba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.

M̄ Zūg-sóbā +∅, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-sī'a láa +∅.

1SG Head-EMPTY.AN VOC, 1PL NEG.KNOW 2SG:NZ go:IPFV place-INDF.INAN ART NEG.

"My Lord, we don't know where you are going." (Jn 14:5, 1996)

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni.

Kà bùgúm níe ́n bè d́-sī'a lā ní.

And fire appear 3SG:NZ EXIST room-INDF.INAN ART LOC.

"And fire illuminated the room where he was." (Acts 12:7, 1996)

Nine cases out of the remaining 23 involve *sān-sí'a*⁺ "sometime", e.g.

Abraham da nan kae' sanjsi'a la, ka man pun be.

Abraham dá nàm kā'ę sān-sí'a lā, kà mān pún bè.

Abraham TNS still NEG.BE time-INDF.INAN ART, and 1SG.CNTR already EXIST.

"When Abraham still did not exist, I already existed." (Jn 8:58, 1996)

24.3.2 With relative pronouns

The commonest type of relative clause begins with a relative pronoun or an NP with a relative pronoun as a dependent. In origin, these pronouns are short demonstrative pronouns followed by *ñ*. When the head is the subject of the relative clause, this produces the forms *ñni kàni òni bànì* (always written *one kane line banε* in KB) where the final *-i* is due to liaison before the nominaliser, which is itself invariably realised *∅* in this case.

M̄ ñyé dáy-kàni_∅ zàb nà'ab lā.

1SG see man-DEM.SG NZ fight chief:SG ART

"I saw the man who fought the chief."

When the pronoun is not the subject of the relative clause, but is either another constituent preposed by *kà*, or belongs to a predependent of the subject, one might expect the *ñ* to be absent and the pronoun to have the normal SF form. This indeed the case for WK, and commonly in the older NT versions too:

bàn kà nà'ab lā záb lā

DEM.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

"those whom the chief fought"

yikan ka mam Paul be la

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā

house-DEM.SG and 1SG.CNTR Paul EXIST ART

"the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

on buudi ka Jew dim kis

òn būudí kà Jew díím kīs

DEM.AN tribe:SG and Jew EMPTY.PL hate

"whose tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

However, frequently even in older written materials, and almost invariably in KB, the pre-liaison forms are generalised to these cases too:

gbauŋ kanɛ ka dau la sɔb la

for *gbàuŋ-kàn kà dāu lā sɔb lā*

letter-REL.SG and man:SG ART write ART

"the letter which the man has written"

In *dau **kanɛ** yadda **niŋiri** pɔ zu'oe*

dāu-kànɪ yàddā-níŋìrì_ ø pō zú'e lā

man-REL.SG assent-doing:SG NZ NEG.IND become.great ART

"a man whose faith is not great..." (Mt 14:31)

the nominaliser occurs after the actual relative clause subject.

In view of all this, it seems best to regard the forms *ònɪ kànɪ lìnɪ bànɪ* synchronically as subordinating relative pronouns rather than demonstrative + nominaliser combinations, and where sources use the historically expected forms *òn kàn lìn bàn* in heads of relative clauses they will be regarded as allomorphs of the relative pronouns in that context. Accordingly, elsewhere I will write e.g.

M̄ ñyɛ dáy-kànɪ zàb nà'ab lā.

1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART

"I saw the man who fought the chief."

bàn(t) kà nà'ab lā záb lā

REL.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

"those whom the chief fought."

Toende Kusaal shows the same development. Nominaliser-*ñ* is *ne* in Toende; thus Abubakari 2011 (using her orthography):

*N sa nye buraa **kanne** da da'a gbana la.*

"I saw the man who bought the book."

*Buraa **kanne ka** fo bor la kiŋ tuma.*

"The man you are looking for is gone to work"

*N sa nye buraa **kanne ka** Ayi da nye la.*

"I saw the man that Ayi saw."

As a *cb* is a word, not a word fragment, and Kusaal compounded forms are not necessarily bound tighter than uncompounded forms syntactically, there is no need to regard the pronoun-initial type of relative clause as internally-headed.

If the antecedent is the subject within a relative clause, or a predependent of the subject, a relative pronoun must be used:

***bàni** zàb nà'ab lā*

REL.PL fight chief:SG ART

"**those** who fought the chief"

*M̄ ñyé **dáŋ-kàni** zàb nà'ab lā.*

1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART

"I saw **the man who** fought the chief."

***nimbane** yuda sɔb Pɛbil la gbaunɔn line an nyɔvupaal dim gbaun la*

nīn-báni yūdá sōb PĒ'-bíl lā gbáunŋ-n línì

person-REL.PL name:PL write Lamb:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.INAN

àñ ñyɔ-vū-paal díɓ gbáun lā

COP breath-alive-new:SG EMPTY.PL book:SG ART

"**those whose** names are written in the Lamb's book of new life" (Rev 21:27)

A relative pronoun can also relativise a complement or adjunct, or an antecedent extracted from a prepositional phrase or from a subordinate clause. The antecedent is preposed with *kà* and a resumptive pronoun is placed in any gap left by extraction, or for an indirect object, and occasionally for a human-reference direct object. *Kà*-preposing has no foregrounding sense in this context.

Kà-preposed relative pronouns are commoner than indefinite pronouns used as relatives, except when the clause corresponds to an English subordinate interrogative clause, or expresses time, place or manner [24.3.1](#).

Gbauŋ kane ka Jerusalem kpeenmnam daa sob la nwa.

Gbàuŋ-kàni kà Jerusalem kpéñm-nàm dāa sōb lā_ø ñwá.

Letter-REL.SG and Jerusalem elder-PL TNS write ART CAT this.

"This is the letter that the elders of Jerusalem wrote." (Acts 15:23, 1996)

m antu'a line [1996 lin] ka ba mɔr na

m̄ àntù'a lìnì kà bà mōr nā

1SG CASE REL.INAN and 3PL have hither

"the charge they are bringing against me" (Acts 25:11)

yełtɔɔd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la

yēl-tōɔd àyópòɛ bání kà màljàk-námá_àyópòɛ mōr lā

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rev 15:8)

nin̄kane [1996 nin̄kan] ka ba gban'e o la

nīn-kání kà bà gbáñ'o_ø lā

person-REL.SG and 3PL seize 3AN.OB ART

"a person **whom** they have seized" (Acts 25:16) (human VP object)

Onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mɛ mɔr pɔtɛn'er ye o na lɛbis line zu'oe.

Òni kà bà tís-ò_ø kà lì zú'e, bà mɛ mɔr

REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3INAN become.much, 3PL also have

pú-tèñ'er yé ò nà lēbis línì zù'e.

inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.INAN become.much.

"**Whom** they have given much **to**, they expect he will return much." (Lk 12:48)

Búraa sō dāa bɛ ànīa, òn kà mān néōn dāa túm lā.

Būrā-sō' dāa bɛ ànínā, òn kà mān nē ōn dāa túm lā.

Man-INDF.AN TNS EXIST ADV:there, REL.AN and 1SG with 3AN TNS work:IPFV ART.

"There was a man there **whom** I used to work **with**." ILK

ninkane ka Na'ab Aretus ke ka o su'oe Damaskus la

nīn-kání kà nà'ab Aretus ké kà ò sū'e Damaskus lā

person-REL.SG and king:SG Aretus cause and 3AN own Damascus ART

"the person **whom** King Aretus had caused to possess Damascus" (2 Cor 11:32)

nimbane ka ya ten'es ye ba ane tuongatib la

nīn-bání kà yà tēñ'es yé bà à nē tūen-gātíb lā

person-REL.PL and 2PL think that 3PL COP FOC ahead-passer:PL ART

"those **whom** you consider to be leaders" (Gal 2:6)

linε [1996 *lin*] *ka Kristo bɔɔd ye ti pian' la*
l̄inɪ kà Kristo bɔɔd yé tì pjāñ' lā
 REL.INAN and Christ want that 1PL speak ART
 "what Christ wishes us to say" (2 Cor 12:19)

If the antecedent is a predependent in an NP which is not the subject, that entire NP is *kà*-preposed, but obviously no resumptive pronoun is needed:

Samaritan nid (on buudi ka Jew dim kis)
Samaritan n̄id, òn b̄udí kà Jew d̄im k̄is
 Samaritan person:SG REL.AN tribe:SG and Jew EMPTY.PL hate
 "a Samaritan, whose tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

bikane [1996 *biig kan*] *p̄uug ka o m̄ɔr la*
b̄i-kànɪ p̄uug kà ò m̄ɔr lā
 child-REL.SG belly:SG and 3AN have ART
 "the child which she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

Relative clauses with locative reference do not take the locative *n̄i*^{+/}:

yikan ka mam Paul be la yidaan
ȳi-kán kà mām Paul b̄é lā yí-dāan
 house-REL.SG and 1SG.CNTR Paul EXIST ART house-owner:SG
 "the owner of the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

24.3.3 Uncompounded antecedents

Written materials generally avoid *kane k̄anɪ* as a relative pronoun for human reference (invariably so after proper names), substituting *one ònɪ*, which cannot be preceded by a cb:

o sid one da be ne o la
ò s̄id òn̄i d̄à b̄è né ò lā
 3AN husband:SG REL.AN TNS EXIST with 3AN ART
 "her husband, who was there with her" (Genesis 3:6)

Relative pronouns naturally cannot be compounded with heads which lack cbs or with coordinate structures. Uncompounded relative clauses are also preferred when the preceding head has any other dependents apart from the article, and to avoid ambiguity resulting from reduction of the head to a cb.

Mam Paul ne Timoti banε an Yesu Kristo tumtumnb la

Mām Paul nē Timoti bánì àñ Yesu Kristo túm-tūmníb lā

1SG.CNTR Paul with Timothy REL.PL COP Jesus Christ work-worker:PL ART

"I, Paul, and Timothy, the servants of Jesus Christ" (Phil 1:1)

kokor kaḡa lini yi arazana ni la na

kùkōr-káḡā líni yí àrazánà ní lā nā

VOICE-DEMST.SG REL.INAN emerge sky:SG LOC ART hither

"this voice which came from heaven" (2 Pet 1:18, 1976)

sanlima laas ayōpōi line ka Wina'am onε be **saḡa line** ka' ben la sunpεen

pε'eli ba la

sālima láas àyópōē líni kà Wínà'am óni bē

gold vessel:PL NUM:seven REL.INAN and God REL.AN EXIST

sāḡá līni kā' bēn lā súñ-péen pé'elì_bā lā

time:SG REL.INAN NEG.HAVE end:SG ART heart-whiteness fill 3PL.OB ART

"the seven gold bowls filled with the anger of God who exists for time without end" (Rev 15:7)

nimbane yuda sōb Pεbil la gbaunon line an nyōvupaal dim gbaun la

nīn-bánì yūdá sōb PĒ'-bíl lā gbáunō-n líni

person-REL.PL name:PL write Lamb:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.INAN

àñ ñyó-vō-pāal díim gbáun lā

COP breath-alive-new:SG EMPTY.PL book:SG ART

"those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of those with new life" (Rev 21:27)

ba ba'ar line buon Dagon la

bà bà'ar líni bùen Dagon lā

3PL idol:SG REL.INAN call:IPFV Dagon ART

"their idol which was called Dagon" (1 Samuel 5:3)

ka du'us fuug line be anruḡ la tuon la

kà dū'es fūug líni bē áñròḡ lā tūen lā

and raise cloth REL.INAN EXIST boat:SG ART front ART

"and raised the sail in the front of the ship" (Acts 27:40)

25 Complementised clauses

Complementised clauses are usually introduced by the clause linker *yē*. Both types may appear with *kà* instead, but usually much less often, and never exclusively; constructions which only permit *kà* and never *yē* must be coordination or catenation. Complementised clauses follow any catenated clauses. Complementised clauses can be coordinated with *kà*:

*ka lin anε ye fu ku maali ti bε'εδε nwεε tiname daa pu maalif bε'εδ si'em la
aseε su'um ma'aa, ka ye fu yim ne sumbugusum la.*

kà līn á nē yé fù kù māalí_tì bē'εδι_∅ wēn nē

and 3INAN.CNTR COP FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make 1PL bad CAT resemble with

tīnámì_∅ dāa pō máalí_f bē'εδ sī'əm lá àséε sùm má'aa,

1PL NZ TNS NEG.IND make 2SG.OB bad IND.FADV ART except good only

kà yé fù yīm nē súmbūgusím lā.

and that 2SG emerge:IMP with peace ART.

"Which is that you will not do us harm, as we did not do you harm but only good, and that you will depart in peace." (Genesis 26:29)

25.1 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have imperative mood. As there is no *-m^a* flexion with dual-aspect verbs, the imperative is apparent only in the use of *dā* as the negation particle. The term "purpose clause" is convenient but such clauses are also used as complements of verbs expressing necessity and permission, and elsewhere the "purpose" sense can be very attenuated.

Purpose clauses may be VP adjuncts:

Bà tìs·ō_∅ kù'əm yé ò nū.

3PL give 3AN.OB water that 3AN drink.

"They gave him water to drink. ("So that he might drink it.")

M̄ ná tī_f tīum yé fù nīf dā zábē +∅.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB medicine that 2SG eye:SG NEG.IMP fight NEG.

"I'll give you medicine so your eye won't hurt."

Ò vùl tīum kà ò nóbìr dā zábē +∅.

3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight NEG.

"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

An "attenuated" example is

Ka ba gban'e ba kpen'es sanrega ni ye beog nie.

Kà bà gbáñ'a_bā_ ∅ kpéñ'es sārīgá nì yē bēog níe.

And 3PL seize 3PL.OB CAT put.in prison:SG LOC that morning appear.

"They seized them and put them in prison until tomorrow came." (Acts 4:3)

Purpose clauses can be coordinated without repetition of *yē*:

Ṁ bōɔd yē dāy lā kēŋ dā'a-n, kà pū'ā lā dōg dīlb.

1SG want that man:SG ART go market:SG-LOC, and woman:SG ART cook food.

"I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." WK

Purpose clauses appear as complements of particular verbs, e.g. *bōɔd*^a "want"; or *yél*^ε "tell." Negative raising occurs with *bōɔd*^a but not with *yél*^ε.

Ṁ bōɔd yé ò kūl. "I want her to go home."

1SG want that 3AN go.home.

Ṁ pū bōɔd yé ò kūle +∅.

1SG NEG.IND want that 1SG go.home NEG.

"I don't want [me] to go home."

Ṁ yél_f yé fù dā kūle +∅.

1SG tell 2SG.OB that 2SG NEG.IMP go.home NEG.

"I've told you not to go home."

The verb *gūr*^{a/} "be on guard, watch, wait for" in the sense of "waiting for an event" may take as complement either a NP headed by gerund, or a purpose clause introduced by *yē*, again with an attenuated sense:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out. (Lk 1:21)

... gur ye pu'a la du'a ka o ɔnb biig la.

... gūr yē pū'ā lā dū'á kà ò ɔñb bīig lā.

...watch that woman:SG ART bear and 3AN eat child:SG ART.

"...waiting for the woman to give birth so he could devour her child." (Rev 12:4)

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of **necessity** or **permission** such as *nār^a* "be obliged to" (negated "be obliged not to"); *mōr sūer* "be allowed to"; *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary":

Fù pū nār yé fù níŋ àláa +∅.

2SG NEG.IND must that 2SG do ADV:thus NEG.

"You're not allowed to do that."

Lì nār yé/kà fù kūl.

"You must go home."

3INAN must that/and 2SG go.home.

In KB there are 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 of *nar ka*.

Yà mōr sūer yé yà kūl.

"You may go home."

2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

Sūer bé yé/kà tì kūl.

"We may go home."

Way:SG EXIST that/and 1PL go.home.

(" There's a way that we go home.")

Li anē tilas ye m keŋ Jerusalem.

Lì à nē tīlās yé m kēŋ Jerusalem.

3INAN COP FOC necessity that 1SG go Jerusalem.

"I must go to Jerusalem." (Mt 16:21, 1996)

Li ane tilas ka m niŋid ala.

Lì à nē tīlās kà m níŋid àlá.

3INAN COP FOC necessity and 1SG do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"I must do that." (1 Cor 9:16, 1996); there are no examples *kà* with in KB

Nār^a is occasionally used in a personal construction "deserve that":

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba

bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv_bā

3PL NUM:TWO ART must that 3PL kill 3PL.OB

"both of them must be killed" (Leviticus 20:12)

Ano'one nar ka na nyanji lak titabir la ...

Ánó'ónì_∅ nār kà ná ñyāŋi_∅ lāk tītābır lā ...?

Who CAT must and IRR prevail CAT unstick glue ART ...?

"Who is worthy to open the seal ...?" (Rev 5:2)

25.2 Content clauses

Complementised clauses with independency marking 19.6 on the VP are content clauses. They are downranked main clauses, and show all the structural features possible for main clauses. They occur very frequently representing passages of indirect speech, but are also found much more generally after verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception.

Verbs taking content clauses as complements include, for example *yèl^ε* "say", *wòm^m* "hear", *ñyē⁺* "see", *tēñ'εs^{ε/}* "think", *mī⁺* "know", *bàŋ^ε* "come to know", *pà'al^ε* "teach, show", *kàrim^m* "read", *zī⁺* "not know" and *sjàk^ε* "agree":

ban mi' ye biig la kpine la zug

bán mī yē bīg lā kpí nē lā zúg

3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART upon

"because they knew that the child was dead" (Lk 8:53): focus-*nē⁺*

Bùŋ-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēŋ túllā +∅.

Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot NEG.

"The donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot."

Tone overlay: *Tēŋ túl.* "The ground is hot." cf *tūl^{la/}* "be hot"

Fune siak ye fu ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fu na'am gbaun la zugw?

Fōnι_ ∅ sják yé fù yá' tì kā'ę, ò nà zīñ'iní_ fù nā'am

2SG.CNTR CAT agree that 2SG if after NEG.BE, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy

gbáun lā zúgw +∅?

skin:SG ART upon PQ?

"Did you agree that when you are no more, he will sit on your throne?"

(1 Kings 1:24): postlinker adjunct

Absolute clauses 24.2 cannot be used as objects of such verbs, but another possibility apart from content clauses is NP + *yēlá* "about" 16.6.

Except in indirect speech (see below), content clauses are usually declarative. There are exceptions, possibly characteristic of verbs of opinion and judgment:

Ya tenes ka m aan anɔ'ɔne?

Yà tēñ'εs kà m áañ ànɔ'òne +∅?

2PL think and 1SG COP who CQ?

"Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25)

WK usually has *yē* before content clauses, but prefers *kà* after *tēñ'εs^{ε/}* "think." KB has 219 examples of *tenes ye* to 31 of *tenes ka* and shows *kà* after other verbs too:

Ya pun wum ka ba da yeI ye...

Yà pún wòm kà bà dá yèI yē ...

2PL previously hear and 3PL TNS say that...

"You previously heard that they had said ..." (Mt 5:43)

Kà + content clause is the only context where *kà* is followed by independency marking, and where *kà* does not delete a following subject pronoun with the same reference as the preceding subject:

M̄ tēñ'es kà m̄ lú yā. "I think I've fallen" WK
1SG think and 1SG fall PFV.

There are a few examples in KB of *nε* for *ye yē* "that" (cf Mampruli *ni id*):

Man bɔɔdin nε yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvuliga.

Mān bɔɔdī-n nē yānámì ∅ nāan āa-n mā'asígā bēε

1SG.CNTR want-DP that 2PL NZ then COP-DP cold:ADV or

yānámì ∅ nāan āa-n tūvígā.

2PL NZ then COP-DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

The verb *yèI* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

Ka Zugsoɓ la ye ... "And the Lord said: ..." (Genesis 18:28)

Kà Zūg-sób lā yē ...

And head-EMPTY.AN ART that ...

Pronouns are changed throughout in the content clause to reflect its setting, on the same basis as in English "indirect speech." The free 3rd person pronouns have **logophoric** sense. In contexts where bound pronouns could have occurred instead (i.e. where they are contrastive) they replace 1st persons of the original utterance:

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

Festus táñs Paul yé ò gèēñm nē ... kà Paul lēbìs

Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē ɔn pū gèēñmm +∅.

that 3AN.CNTR NEG.IND go.mad NEG.

"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." (Acts 26:24-25, 1976)

Bound 3rd persons may also have this sense, but the free pronouns are much commoner as subjects. Thus "He₁ said he₁ would kill them." is usually

Ò yèl yē ɔn ná kúv̄ bā.
 3AN say that 3AN.CNTR IRR kill 3PL.OB.

It is possible to say *Ò yèl yé ò nà kúv̄ bā*, but this is much more likely to mean "He₁ said he₂ would kill them."

Tense and mood marking is always the same as in the equivalent main clause. Pluperfect and future-in-the-past meanings may result:

Ò dāa yél yé bà dāa kūl.
 3AN TNS say that 3PL TNS go.home.
 "She said that they had gone home."

Tì dāa tēñ'es yé ò nà zāb nā'ab lā.
 1PL TNS think that 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.
 "We thought he was going to fight the chief."

25.2.1 Reported speech

After a speech-verb *yē* may introduce the words of the speech itself, unaltered except for "resumptive" *yē* at intervals (see below.) This is uncommon in older texts, and in the 1976 NT is mostly confined to utterances of Jesus. Usually the original speech is downranked to a content clause or series of coordinated content clauses, with personal pronouns altered throughout as in English indirect speech, and free personal pronouns used logophorically. All other features of the original main clauses, including tense marking and independency marking, are unchanged. Such passages of indirect speech may be kept up for very long stretches; the 1976 NT version has examples extending over several pages. Later Bible versions consistently replace all indirect speech with direct.

Indirect speech may include questions and commands:

Ka Peter bu'os o ye, Ananias, ye bo ka o ke ka Sutaana kpen' o suunrin...
Kà Peter bŭ'os-ó_ø yē Ananias, yē bó kà ò ké kà Sūtáanà
 And Peter ask 3AN.OB that Ananias, that what and 3AN cause and Satan
kpèñ' ò sūuñrí-n ... +ø?
 enter 3AN heart:SG-LOC ... CQ?
 "Peter asked him: Ananias, why did you let Satan enter your heart ...?"
 (Acts 5:3, 1976)

In indirect commands the usual deletion of a 2nd sg subject and change of 2pl subject to postposed *y^a* does not occur, even if the addressee is the same as in the original utterance and the pronoun remains 2nd person. Some speakers keep the postposed *y^a* after the verb even when there is a preceding pronoun subject 21.3.

Indirect speech is an alternative to catenation with *kē⁺* 22.3 for expressing third/first person commands; main clause and linker may again be ellipped informally:

[*M̄ yél yé*] ò *gòsım tēŋı-n*.
1SG say that 3AN look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
"[I said] she should look down."

[*M̄ tēñ'əs kà*] tì *pú'usım Wínà'am*.
1SG think and 1PL greet:IMP God.
"[I think] we should praise God."

A main clause with no VP can also appear in indirect speech:

Ò *yèl yē báp*. "She said *Bap!*"
3AN say that Bap.

Pronouns are changed even within a vocative:

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
o *nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.*
Kà ñ wóm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yī áràzánà ní nā yē,
And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3INAN emerge heaven LOC hither that
ò nīdibá ⁺∅, yé bà yīmī_ ∅ tēŋ lā ní nā.
3AN person:PL VOC, that 3PL emerge:IMP 2PL.SUB land:SG ART LOC hither.
"And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying
'**My** people, come out of the land!'" (Rev 18:4, 1976)

Passages of direct or indirect speech longer than two or three clauses insert **resumptive yē** at intervals of roughly every third clause, after any prelinker adjuncts but before clause-linker *kà*:

amaa ye ba yaanam da pu bood ye ba siak o noore
àmáa yé bà yāa-nám dá pū bōod yé bà sǎk·ò_ ∅ nōoré ⁺∅.
but that 3PL ancestor-PL TNS NEG.IND want that 3PL agree 3AN.OB mouth:SG NEG
"But their ancestors did not want to obey him" (Acts 7:39, 1976)

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòòd yé ò kpélìm sārīgá nì.

That and Paul say that 3AN want that 3AN remain prison:SG LOC.

"But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison...(Acts 25:21, 1976)

Amaa **ye ka** on yeli ba ye ...

Àmáa yé kà ɔ̃n yé̀lì_bā yē...

But that and 3AN.CNTR say 3PL.OB that...

"But he [the speaker] had said to them ..." (Acts 25:16, 1976)

Alazug **ye ka** on ke ka ba mor o ba sa'an na ...

Àlá zùg yé kà ɔ̃n ké kà bà m̄r-ó_ø bà sā'an nā ...

Thus that and 3AN.CNTR let and 3PL have 3AN.OB 3PL before hither...

"So he [the speaker] had made them bring him [Paul] into their presence..."

(Acts 25:26, 1976)

Resumptive *yē* may be placed between a postlinker adjunct and the subject, or between a vocative and the following clause:

Ka nanana **ye** o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin...

Kà nānná-nā yé ò niŋī_bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pìəlìm

And now-hither that 3AN do 3PL.OB God with 3AN inside-whiteness

pjāñ'ad lā nú'usī-n...

speech ART hand:PL-LOC...

"And now he committed them to God and the words of his holiness.."

(Acts 20:32, 1976)

O zuanam ne o saamnama, **ye** ba kelisim.

Ò zùà-nàm né ò sàam-nàmā +ø, yé bà kèlìsìm!

3AN friend-PL with 3AN father-PL VOC that 3PL listen:IMP!

"His friends and his fathers should listen." (Acts 7:2, 1976)

26 Negation

Negation of clauses is achieved by using a negative particle in the VP, *pū* for indicative, *dā* for imperative, *kù* for irrealis replacing the positive marker *nà* 19.5, along with a clause-final negative prosodic clitic 7.1:

Ti pū bōcd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pū bōcd yē dáu-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā +∅.

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tū'as nē Wīnné +∅.

Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG NEG.

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

Amaa man pian'ad la ku maligim gaade.

Àmáa mán pjàñ'ad lā kú mālīgim gáadē +∅.

But 1SG.CNTR speech ART NEG.IRR again pass NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

The negative prosodic clitic appears at the end of the clause containing the negated verb, passing over all subordinate clauses:

Ti pū bōcd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pū bōcd yē dáu-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā +∅.

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

There are no unequivocal examples in my materials of a negative clitic placed before a subordinate clause to exclude it from the scope of a negation. Thus, in

Nidib be ka pu tum si'ela ye ba a popielim dim...

Nīdīb bē kà pū túm sī'əla +∅ yé bà áñ pú-pìəlīm

person:PL EXIST and NEG.IND work:IPFV INDF.INAN NEG that 3PL COP inside-whiteness

dím ...

"There are people who haven't done anything that they become blessed"

(Rom 4:5, 1976); revised completely in the 1996 version.

the adjunct *yē*-clause has probably been extraposed, while in

Ka li pu yuugε ka o pu'a mε kena.

Kà lì pō yúugē +∅, kà ò pu'ā mé kē nā.

And 3INAN NEG.IND delay NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7)

the *kà*-clause can be taken as a coordinate clause carrying on the narrative.

The negative clitic is dropped after *ñ*-clauses containing a negative unless they are themselves clause final in the main clause, and before the article *lā*⁺:

m bi'emnam banε pu bōcd ye m an na'abi su'oe ba la

m̀ bì'əm-nàm bání pō bōcd yé m̀ áñ ná'abì ∅ sú'v̄ bā lā

1SG enemy-PL REL.PL NEG.IND want that 1SG COP king:SG CAT OWN 3PL.OB ART

"my enemies who do not want me to be king over them" (Lk 19:27)

Clauses with *yà'* "if" keep their own negative clitics:

Ba ya'a pu niñ si'ela, o pu'usim dōcg la na lieb zaalim.

Bà yá' pō níñ sī'ēla +∅, ò pu'usim dōcg lā ná līəb zāalím.

3PL if NEG.IND do INDF.INAN NEG 3AN worship house:SG ART IRR become empty:ABSTR.

"If they don't do anything, her temple will become of no account." (Acts 19:27)

Apparent exceptions in the NT probably all involve *yà'*-clauses ending in words with final vowels or final *-m*, and do in fact end with a negative clitic.

Negative raising, a poorly understood phenomenon cross-linguistically, seems to operate in Kusaal in a way generally analogous to English. It takes place with complement clauses after verbs expressing opinions or judgments:

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì pō nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pu'á Herodiase +∅.

3INAN NEG.IND must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4, 1996)

Ti pu bōcd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bōcd yē dáu-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā +∅.

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

mam pu ten'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.

Mām pō tēñ'es yé ò nà kēlígí m̀ pjàñ'ad +∅.

1SG NEG.IND think that 3AN IRR listen 1SG word:PL NEG.

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." (Job 9:16)

It does not occur with verbs of knowing or informing:

linzug ka ti baŋ ye o pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

Lìn-zúg kà tì báj yé ò p̄ yī Wínà'am sá'an náa +∅.

Therefore and 1PL realise that 3AN NEG.IND emerge God with hither NEG.

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." (Jn 9:16)

ka o lεε pu baŋ ye li anε onε.

kà ò léε p̄ báj yé lì à nē ɔnε +∅.

And 3AN but NEG.IND realise that 3INAN COP FOC 3AN.CNTR NEG.

"but she didn't realise it was him." (Jn 20:14)

Constituent negation is commonly achieved by clefting, using the patterns

Lì kā' X kà ... /Lì kā' X n ... "It's not X that ..."

X ká'ε kà ... /X kā'ε n ... "There's no X that ..."

Sɔ' kae na nyanji dɔl zugdaannam ayi'...

Sɔ' ká'e_∅ ná ñyāŋi_∅ dɔl zūg-dāan-nàm àyí' ...

INDF.AN NEG.BE CAT IRR prevail CAT follow head-owner:PL NUM:two ...

"Nobody can serve two masters." (Mt 6:24)

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sóǵjà-sɔ' ká'e n tùm kà yɔɔd ò mēŋá +∅.

Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

Di len ka' fun ye'l si'el la zug, ka ti niŋ o yadda.

Lì lēm kā' fún yèl sī'əl lā zúg kà tì níŋ-ò_∅ yáddáa +∅.

3INAN again NEG.BE 2SG:NZ say INDF.INAN ART upon and 1PL do 3AN.OB assent NEG.

"It is no longer because of what you said that we believe in him." (Jn 4:42)

Similarly, relative clauses can be used:

Da mɔr nɔɔr yinne ne banε ka' yadda niŋidib la ye ya niŋ si'ela.

Dā mɔr nɔɔr yīnní nē bání kā' yáddā-níŋidib lā

NEG.IMP have mouth:SG one with REL.PL NEG.BE assent-doer:PL ART

yé yà níŋ sī'əla +∅.

that 2PL do INDF.INAN NEG.

"Do not agree with those who are not believers to do anything." (2 Cor 6:14)

The particle *báa* (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") appears in *báa bī'əlá*⁺ "not at all", *báa yīnní*⁺ "not one", which are both used with a negative VP. *Báa yīnní*⁺ can be used as a NP head, or as a postdependent.

Da tumi si'el baa bi'elaa.

Dā túmī_∅ sī'əl báa bī'əláa ⁺∅.
NEG.IMP work 2PL.SUB INDF.INAN at.all NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Leviticus 23:31)

Amaa ba pu nyaŋi nyε linε tu'al baa yinne.

Àmáa bà pū ñyāŋi_∅ ñyē línì tù'al [⁺∅] *báa yīnní.*
But 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT find REL.INAN condemn [NEG] not one.

"But they couldn't find anything condemning, not one thing." (Mt 26:60)

Ka nid baa yinne pu yei ye on mɔr si'el la, onε su'oe lii.

Kà nīd báa yīnní pū yéi yē ɔn mōr
and person:SG not one NEG.IND say that 3AN:NZ have
sī'əl lā, ɔni_∅ sù'v_lí ⁺∅.
INDF.INAN ART 3AN.CNTR CAT OWN 3INAN.OB NEG.

"Not one person said that what he had, *he* owned." (Acts 4:32)

Fu du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.

Fù dū'adib báa yīnní ká'é kà ò yū'ur bûen àláa ⁺∅.
2SG relative:PL not one NEG.BE and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV ADV:thus NEG.

"Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)

27 Information packaging

27.1 Focus

As a starting point, I adopt the formulation from Lambrecht 1994: "[Focus] is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes the utterance into an assertion."

A distinction is made between **ordinary** and **contrastive focus**.

Separate from the notion of focus is the concept of **foregrounding**, the usual function of it-clefting in English; as pointed out in CGEL p1424, foregrounded elements in English need not be focussed.

Two syntactic devices in Kusaal relate to focus: subject focussing with catenator-*n*, and the use of the particle *nē*^{+/}. Clefting constructions with the clause linker *kà* and corresponding ellipted types relate to foregrounding rather than focus, or are motivated simply by ordering constraints.

Main clauses without any special syntactic marking of focus have ordinary focus on the predicate by default.

The usage of the article *lā*^{+/} interacts with these focus mechanisms.

27.1.1 With catenator-*n*

N-clefting uses a *n*-catenation in the sense of a relative clause with the subject as antecedent, after a main clause with *Lì à nē* "It is ..." The sense resembles that of the formally analogous "it-clefting" of English, *foregrounding* the clefted element and *backgrounding* the rest:

Ka dau me pu sv'oe o meŋ niŋgbinaa. Li ane o pu'a sv'oe li.

Kà dāy mé pū sù'v ò mēŋ nín-gbīnāa ^{+∅}.

And man:SG also NEG.IND OWN 3AN self body-skin:PL NEG.

Lì á né ò pū'ā_∅ sù'v_lī.

3INAN COP FOC 3AN wife CAT OWN 3INAN.OB.

"And a husband, too, does not own his own body. It is his wife who owns it."

(1 Cor 7:4)

Like English it-clefting (CGEL p1416) the construction has an implicature of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness: the wife (only), not the husband, is the owner.

The main clause may be a verbless identificational clause [21.4.1](#):

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tuumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_∅ ñwáa_∅ yīsɪd nīdɪb tūm-bē'edi_∅ básɪdà ^{+∅?}

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

N-focus of subjects presumably arose from *n*-clefting by ellipsis. The focussed subject stands first, with the rest of the clause introduced by *n*, phonologically identical to catenator-*n*. The clause lacks independency marking but has independent tense marking; compare tense marking in ellipsed indirect commands [19.3.1](#).

The meaning of this construction is *focus* rather than foregrounding:

Wáafù \emptyset *dúm·ō* \emptyset . "A snake bit him." WK
Snake:SG CAT bite 3AN.OB.

would be a felicitous reply to "What's happened?" as well as "Did a dog bite him?"

Focus rather than foregrounding is demonstrated by the fact that interrogative pronouns as subjects are always *n*-focussed. As a subject *àń'ɔn* "who" thus always appears as *àń'ɔn n* [anɔ:nɪ] (always NT *ano'one*, KB *anɔ'ɔnɛ*.)

Àń'ɔnì \emptyset *kābirídà* $^{+}\emptyset?$
Who CAT ask.for.entry:IPFV CQ?
"Who is asking permission to enter?"

Clauses containing interrogative pronouns may not contain focus-*nē*^{+/}, an incompatibility which is most readily explained by analysing interrogative pronouns as intrinsically focussed, though this is only syntactically manifested when they are subjects.

Furthermore, the focus particle *nē*^{+/} in all its roles is excluded from clauses which are *n*-focussed, with the corresponding VP aspect distinctions present but unmarked, as in other cases of formal exclusion of the marker:

Ì zūgu \emptyset *zábìd*. "My head is hurting."
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV. (Reply to "Where is the pain?")

cf *Ì zūg lā pú'alìm nē*. "My head is hurting."
1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC. (Reply to "What's the matter with you?")

Accordingly, the ellipsed construction with catenator-*n* after the subject represents focus, filling the gap caused by the fact that a clause subject cannot be focussed with *nē*^{+/}.

27.1.2 With *nē*

As a constituent-focus particle *nē*^{+/} has two distinct roles, readily distinguishable by position: preceding a VP-constituent, *nē*^{+/} focusses that constituent, while VP-final *nē*^{+/} focusses the entire VP contrastively.

The focus particle is homophonous with the preposition *nē* "with, and" and with the empty particle *nē* which follows objects of comparisons when they do not have the article 18; on distinguishing constituent-focus *nē*^{+/} from the preposition see 19.8.4.

Greater difficulty arises over the distinction from the *nē*^{+/} which is bound to the verb 19.2.1, and which represents a specialised use of the same particle for temporal focus: this *aspectual* marker is subject to the same formal constraints on appearance as the constituent-focus marker, and *nē*^{+/} cannot appear twice in a clause in both constituent-focus and aspectual senses. The aspectual sense normally prevails wherever semantically and formally possible; otherwise, the particle is interpreted as constituent focus. When aspectual *nē*^{+/} is excluded only by formal constraints, the different aspectual meanings still appear but are unmarked.

27.1.2.1 Restrictions

Nē^{+/} cannot appear in constituent-focus sense if it could be interpreted as aspectual.

It cannot appear in either constituent-focus or aspectual senses

- (a) if the subject has *n*-focus
- (b) in nominalised clauses
- (c) in content questions

***Nē*^{+/} may only occur *once* in a clause or series of catenated clauses:**

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suŋ.

Fù p̄ mā' n tìs nīn-sáalā +∅, àmáa fù mà'

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give person-smooth:SG NEG but 2SG lie

n tís nē Wínà'am Sí-sòŋ..

CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have not lied to a human being, but you have lied to the Holy Spirit."

(Acts 5:4, 1996)

When *nē*^{+/} marks constituent focus, aspect distinctions elsewhere expressed by *nē*^{+/} are unmarked, showing that aspectual *nē*^{+/} is a specialised use of focus-*nē*^{+/}.

Examples of exclusion of *nē*^{+/}:

Exclusion with *n*-focussing of the subject:

M̄ zūgu_ø zábìd.
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts." (No aspectual *nē^{+/-}*)
Reply to "Where is the pain?"

Ànó'òní_ø dí't sá'abò +ø?
Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge CQ?

"Who eats/is eating millet porridge?" (No aspectual *nē^{+/-}*)

Exclusion of *nē^{+/-}* in nominalised clauses:

Ò dāa á nē bīig.
3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

"She was a child."

but *ón àñ bīig lā zúg*
3AN:NZ COP child:SG ART upon

"because she's a child"

M̄ yí nē Bók.
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

"I come from Bawku." SB

but *Meeri one yi Magdala*
Meeri ónì yī Magdala
Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"
(Mk 16:9, 1996)

Focus-*nē^{+/-}* can occur in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m bɔɔd ye fu nyεnε buud.

Pj'àñ'am kà m̄ bɔɔd yé fù ñyē nē būud.

Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Job 33:32)

Exclusion of *nē^{+/-}* in content questions: aspectual *nē^{+/-}*:

Bó kà fù kúmmà +ø?
What and 2SG cry:IPFV CQ?

"Why are you crying?"

Fù níḡìd bó +ø?
2SG do:IPFV what CQ?

"What are you doing?"

Fù wá'e yáa +ø?
2SG go where CQ?

"Where are you going?"

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná +∅?

Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?

"Where is the light coming from?" SB

Exclusion of *nē^{+/-}* in content questions: constituent-focus *nē^{+/-}*:

Ṁ á nē dāy.

"I am a man."

1SG COP FOC man:SG.

but *Mām áñ b́ +∅?*

"What am I?"

1SG.CNTR COP what CQ?

Fù áañ_ànó'ónè +∅?

"Who are you?"

2SG COP who CQ?

Fù b́wɔd b́ +∅?

"What do you want?"

2SG want what CQ?

but *Fù b́wɔd nē b́ +∅?*

"What do you want it with?"

2SG want with what CQ?

Nē must be interpreted as preposition (WK)

Certain words do not prevent focus-*nē^{+/-}* from being used in the clause (unlike interrogative proforms, see above), but cannot themselves be focussed with *nē^{+/-}*. Words which behave like this include *sùṅā^{+/-}* "good", *sùm^m* "good", *bē'ed^ε* "bad" *sìda⁺* "truth" when used as adverbs, and the "two, three exactly" quantifier forms *àyíṅā^{+/-}* *àtájā^{+/-}*. AdvPs formed by coordinating such words and NPs with these quantifiers as dependents share the same property.

Lì àñ sùṅā.

"It's good."

3INAN COP good:ADV.

Lì àñ bē'ed.

"It's bad."

3INAN COP bad:ABSTR.

[*ye ka*] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.

ò sàríyà-kādīb áñ sùm nē sídà.

3AN law-drive:GER COP good:ABSTR with truth.

"His judgment is good and true. (Rev 19:2, 1976)

If $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ does occur before such constituents it must be interpreted aspectually, limiting the state described to a particular time period, even with stative verbs where there is no explicit time marker in the clause [19.2.3](#).

27.1.2.2 VP constituent focus

The use of $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ to focus a VP constituent, as opposed to the entire VP, is possible only in statements and polar questions. The aspectual sense of $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ must be impossible and the constituent in question must permit $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ -focus.

Focus on an **indefinite object** represents it as "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable" information, as for example in supplying an answer to a content question; this is **ordinary** focus:

\dot{M} dá' búŋ.	"I've bought a donkey." ("What have you done?")
1SG buy donkey:SG.	
\dot{M} dá' $n\bar{e}$ búŋ.	"I've bought a <i>donkey</i> ." ("What have you bought?")
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG.	
$N\bar{i}g\acute{i}$ òńbìd $n\bar{e}$ m̄ɔɔd.	"Cows eat <i>grass</i> ." ("What do [generic] cows eat?")
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.	

However, under the scope of a negative, focus is likely to be **contrastive**:

\dot{M} p̄ dá' b̀̀nḡā +∅.	"I haven't bought a donkey."
1SG NEG.IND buy donkey:SG NEG.	
\dot{M} p̄ dá' $n\bar{e}$ búŋā +∅.	"I haven't bought a <i>donkey</i> ." ("I bought something else.")
1SG NEG.IND buy FOC donkey NEG.	

Definite objects/predicative complements normally have old-information status, making the ordinary-focus sense of "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable" unlikely; hence $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ before a definite object is usually aspectual:

$N\bar{i}g\acute{i}$ l̄ā óńb̀̀d $n\bar{e}$ m̄ɔɔd l̄ā.	
Cow:PL ART chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.	
"The cows are eating the grass."	
$N\bar{a}'$ -s̄íəb̀̀à óńb̀̀d $n\bar{e}$ m̄ɔɔd l̄ā.	
Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.	
"Some cows are eating the grass."	

If focus does occur with old-information arguments, it is **contrastive**.

Linε ka ba'amaannib maanne tisid bada la, ba maanne tisidne kikiris, ka pu maanne tisid Wina'am.

Lini kà bà'-māannib mâanni_ ∅ tísìd bádà lā, bà màanni_
REL.INAN and idol-sacrificer:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV
∅ tísìd nē kíkírís kà pū mâanni_ ∅ tísìd Wínā'amm +∅.
CAT give:IPFV FOC fairy:PL and NEG.IND sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV God NEG.

"That which idol-worshippers sacrifice to an idol, they sacrifice to *demons* and they don't sacrifice to God." (1 Cor 10:20)

The predicative complement of *àɛñ^a* "be something/somewhat" in its ascriptive sense [19.11.2](#) is non-referring and prototypically "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable", and therefore is naturally preceded by *nē^{+/-}* for **ordinary** focus:

Ò à nē bīig. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

Ò dāa á nē bīig. "She was a child."
3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

Dītb á nē bōn-súŋ. "Food is a good thing."
Food COP FOC thing-good:SG.

Ò à nē bāañlím. "She is quiet."
3AN COP FOC quiet:ABSTR.

Lì à nē bōgusígā. "It's soft."
3INAN COP FOC soft:ADV.

While such complements are characteristically indefinite, this is not invariable; the non-recoverability may instead lie in the internal structure of the complement:

Ka bumbuda banε lu gɔn'ɔs suugin la anε banε wum pian'ad la, ka...

Kà bōn-búvdà bànì lù gòñ'ɔs súugū-n lā á nē

And thing-planting:PL REL.PL fall thorn:PL among-LOC ART COP FOC

bànì wòm pjàñ'ad lā, kà

REL.PL hear speech ART, and...

"And the seeds which fell among thorns are those who heard the word, but..."

(Lk 8:14)

Biis la diemid ne dua gbinin. Ba zamisid ne bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Bīis lā dī'əmìd nē dúaǎ gbínnī-n. Bà zàmísid nē

Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG-LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

būla wá'ab. Bà à né À-Pām bīis.

shoot:PL dance:SG. 3PL COP FOC PERS-Apam child:PL.

"The children are playing under a dawadawa tree. They are learning the dance of the young shoots. They are Apam's children." KKY p6

(Apam and the children have been mentioned already, but the relationship between them is new information.)

In this context proper names are non-referential (cf CGEL p402):

O yu'ur na anε Joon.

"His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)

Ò yū'ur ná ā nē Joon.

3AN name:SG IRR COP FOC John.

As with objects, when the complement falls under the scope of the negative (here with the negative verb *kā'ε*⁺ "not be") focus is difficult to interpret in the "ordinary" sense, so that if *nē*^{+/} is present at all the result is normally **contrastive**:

Ṁ á nē dū'átà.

"I'm a doctor."

1SG COP FOC doctor:SG.

Ṁ kā' dū'átāa +∅.

"I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG NEG.

Ṁ kā' nē dū'átāa +∅.

"I'm not a *doctor*." ("I'm a lab assistant.")

1SG NEG.BE FOC doctor:SG NEG.

Focus on a **locative complement** typically involves either a place name or a definite predependent of a locative postposition, where the fact that a referent is at a known place is new information; this is another instance of non-recoverability arising from the internal structure of a constituent. (Place names have internal structure because they include a zero allomorph of the locative particle [16.3](#).)

Dāy lā bé nē dǔ-kàṅā lā púvgū-n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside-LOC.

"The man is inside that hut." (Reply to "Where is that man?")

Mam bene moogin. "I'm in the bush." BNY p8
Mām bē nē mōɔɔɔ-n.
 1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

M̄ yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
 1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Yadda niɲir yitne labaar la wummuɔ ni.
Yàddā-níɲìr yít nē lābāar lā wúmmùɔ ní.
 Assent-doing emerge:IPFV FOC news ART hearing LOC.
 "Faith comes from hearing the news." (Rom 10:17)

Contrast the existential use of *bē*⁺, where the locative is an adjunct:

Dàù-sō' bē dɔ-kàɲā lā púvɔɔ-n.
 Man-INDF.AN EXIST hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG LOC.
 "There is a certain man in that hut."

There are few examples of *nē*^{+/-}-focus on an adjunct in my data; one is

Tì dítt sā'ab nē zāam. "We eat millet porridge *in the evening*."
 1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening. ("When do you eat porridge?")

27.1.2.3 VP focus

Focus on the VP as a whole is always contrastive, because non-contrastive focus on the VP is the default. It uses VP-final *nē*^{+/-}. It occurs not only in statements and polar questions but also in direct commands, which do not permit focus on a VP constituent. For *nē*^{+/-} to mark focus, aspectual interpretation must be impossible.

Aspectual sense ruled out by the position of *nē*^{+/-}:

Ò kùesɪd sūmma lā nē. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
 3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. ("They're not free.")

Aspectual sense ruled out by mood:

Gòsɪm nē. "Look!" ("Don't touch." WK)
 Look:IMP FOC.

Stative verbs without an explicit time indicator:

Ò *gìm nē.* "He's *short.*" ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

Lì *zùlím nē.* "It's *deep.*"
3INAN be.deep FOC.

Ì *bóɔdī_f nē.* "I really *love* you." WK
1SG want 2SG.OB FOC.

Imperfective passives:

Dāam lā nūud nē. "The beer is for *drinking.*"
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not washing with!")

Lì *mà'an nē.* "It gets *cooled.*" (ipfv of *mā'al*^{+/} "make cool")
3INAN get.cool:IPFV FOC. ("Not heated!")

Dāká lā zāñl nē. "The box gets carried *in the hands.*"
Box:SG ART carry.in.hands FOC. ("Not on your head.")

Dāká lā zīid nē. "The box is for carrying *on the head.*"
Box:SG ART carry.on.head:IPFV FOC. ("Not carrying in the hands.")

Perfectives which cannot be interpreted as resultative:

Ò *dìgɪl nē.* "He's *laid it down.*" ("I thought he'd pick it up.")
3AN lay.down FOC.

Kà *lì bóɔdìg nē.* "It's *lost.*"
And 3INAN get.lost FOC. Contradicting "someone hid it." [19.3.5](#)

Ò *dìgɪn nē.* "He's *lain down.*" DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
3AN lie.down FOC. WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

An idiomatic use (marking a euphemism) is seen in

Ò *zì'ən nē.* "She's *pregnant.*" (Not "She has stood still.")
3AN stand.still FOC.

27.2 Clefting and preposing with *kà*

Kà-clefting arises from constructions with adnominal *kà*-catenation [22.3](#) in much the same way that *n*-clefting arises by ellipsis from *n*-catenation. *Kà*-clefting has a similar implicature of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness.

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 tāaba bání pù'usid Wínà'am kà lì nár

3INAN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3INAN must

kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 2PL drive judgment.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

Again, the main clause may be a verbless identificational clause [21.4.1](#):

Ńni_ ø lá kà fù dāa ñyēt.

3AN.CNTR CAT that and 2SG TNS see:IPFV.

"This is he whom you saw." WK

Án'ɔ̀ni_ ø ñwá kà tì ñyētá +ø?

Who CAT this and 1PL see:IPFV CQ?

"Who is this that we can see?"

Bɔ̀_ ø lá kà m̀ ñyētá +ø?

What CAT that and 1SG see:IPFV CQ?

"What is that that I can see?"

Once again, there is a construction with ellipse of all the main clause except the NP. Independent tense marking is possible in the ellipited structure, as with *n*-focus. Preposed direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap.

Aεε line an bε'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àséé líni àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m̀ ná tūñ'e_ ø níŋ.

Only REL.INAN COP bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.

"It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

Bó kà fù kúesida +ø? "What are you selling?"

What and 2SG sell:IPFV CQ?

The effect of *kà*-preposing remains *foregrounding*, not focus. It is compatible both with *n*-focus and with the occurrence of the focus particle *nē*^{+/}:

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew dim la yela.

Dìn-zúg kà mām Paul n bé sārīgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg yānám

That-upon and 1SG.CNTR Paul CAT EXIST prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ upon 2PL.CNTR

bûud-bànı kâ' Jew dím lā yélà.

tribe-REL.PL NEG.BE JEW EMPTY.PL ART about.

"Therefore, I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you whose tribe is not Jewish." (Eph 3:1, 1996)

Bī'əl bī'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē.

Little little and river:SG get.full FOC.

"Little by little, and a river is full." (Proverb)

Kà-foregrounding of VP objects containing interrogative pronouns is very common. There is no syntactic movement rule for interrogative pronouns/proforms:

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná +∅?

Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?

"Where is the light coming from?" SB

but *bō* "what?" is very often preposed with *kà*, as in the example above; preposing is *required* if the sense is "why?" rather than "what?":

Bó kà fù kúmmà?

"Why are you crying?"

cf **Fò kúm bós?*

*"What are you crying?"

Bó kà... is by far the most frequent way of rendering "Why?", and usually has this meaning, but foregrounding of *bō* in the normal sense "What?" also occurs:

Bɔ ka ti na niŋe?

"What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)

Bó kà tì ná niŋe +∅?

What and 1PL IRR do CQ?

Other queried NP objects in content questions are often preposed with *kà*:

Nū'-bíbisá_ alá kà fù ñyētá +∅?

Hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV CQ?

"How many fingers can you see?" SB

Kà-preposing can also be used to extract an interrogative pronoun from a prepositional phrase; the original position must be filled by an anaphoric pronoun:

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sunf da pɛlig nɛ ba yuma piisnaasi la?

Kà ànɔ'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súńf dá pɛ̀lɪg nɛ̀ bà

And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL

yùma pīs nāasí lá +∅?

year:PL forty ART CQ?

"And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

As interrogative pronouns are intrinsically focussed, these constructions, like other cases of preposing with *kà*, are best regarded as foregrounding, not focus.

Preposing the complement of a single-aspect verb is uncommon, and interrogative pronouns in such cases usually remain *in situ*, probably necessarily so in the case of *àɛñ*^a "be something":

Ningbiŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?

nìn-gbīŋ bɔ́-būudí kà bà ná tī mɔ́rá +∅?

Body-skin:SG what-sort and 3PL IRR afterwards have CQ?

"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

but *Fù bɔ́ɔd bɔ́ +∅?* "What do you want?"
2SG want what CQ?

Mām áñ bɔ́ +∅? "What am I?"
1SG.CNTR COP what CQ?

Kà fù áañ_à́nɔ'ɔnɛ̀ +∅? "Then who are you?"
And 2SG COP who CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed with *kà*; there is probably a contrast between foregrounding with *kà* and focussing with *nɛ̃*^{+/}:

Ñwādisá_à́táñ' kà fù ná lēb nā.

Month:PL NUM:three and 2SG IRR return hither.

"You're to come back in three months." (Instructions, not a reply.)

Tì dí́t sā'ab nē zāam.

1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.

"We eat millet porridge in the evening." ("When do you eat porridge?")

Kà-preposed elements cannot be clause subjects, as is to be expected if the construction has arisen from ellipsis, because an adnominal *kà*-clause normally has a different subject from its main clause.

The only structure other than a NP (including *ñ*-clauses) or AdvP that I have found preposed with *kà* is *wōv* "like" + object:

Wōv búŋ nɛ̀ kà ò zót.

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"It's like a donkey that he runs."

**Nɛ̀ m̀ nū'ug kà m̀ sī'ɪs.*

*With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

attempted for "With my hand, I touched it."

Kà-preposing is often simply a means of bringing a constituent before the clause subject with **no implication of foregrounding** at all. Purely formal *kà*-preposing is a feature of many relative clauses [24.3.2](#). Manner, place and reason adjuncts can *only* precede the subject by *kà*-preposing, and absolute clauses in adjuncts must often precede the main clause subject so that constituent order parallels event order [24.2](#):

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà police gbáñ'a_m.

1SG:NZ hit man:SG ART upon and police seize 1SG.OB.

"Because I hit the man, the police caught me." ILK

27.3 Extraposition

A NP or AdvP placed after a distinctively phrase-final verb form must have been extraposed. The commonest cases involve manner-adverbs, where the effect seems to be to intensify the adverb:

Ya yidigya bɛdegv.

"You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)

Yà yídìg yā bédugō.

2PL go.astray PFV much.

M̀ pū'us yā bédugō.

"Thank you very much."

1SG greet PFV much.

Objects, other than pronouns, can be extraposed; the sense seems to be that the extraposed element is contrary to expectation:

Ò ñyè yā nā'ab lā. "He's seen the chief." ("of all people!")
 3AN see PFV chief:SG ART.

Ò dà' yā múj. "She's bought rice." ("of all things!")
 3AN buy PFV rice.

cf Ò dà' nē múj. "She's bought rice."
 3AN buy FOC rice. (reply to "What did she buy?")

Lì à nē múj kà ò dá'. "It's rice that she's bought." ("not millet.")
 3INAN COP FOC rice and 3AN buy.

Leftward extraposition of objects and complements on the basis of **weight**, without clefting or *kà*-preposing, occurs in e.g.

Wilkanε bæε m ni ka pu wanna, m Ba' nwaadi li nε [sic: 1996 n] basid.

Wil-kànι bæε_̀m ní kà pū wénnā +∅,
 Branch-REL.SG EXIST 1SG LOC and NEG.IND bear.fruit:IPVF NEG.

m̀ Bā' ñwá'adī_̀jí n básid.
 1SG father:SG cut:IPFV 3INAN.OB CAT throw.out:IPFV.

"A branch which is in me and does not bear fruit, my father cuts out."
 (Jn 15:2)

Onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mε mɔr puten'er ye o na lεbis linε zu'oe.

̀Onι kà bà tís-ò_̀∅ kà lì zú'e, bà m̀ m̀r
 REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3INAN become.much, 3PL also have

pú-tèñ'er yé ò nà lēbis línι zù'e.
 inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.INAN become.much.

"Whom they have given much to, they expect he will return much." (Lk 12:48)

A heavy indirect object is extraposed 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.*

Mām Paul ... tísid gbáŋ-kàŋā Wínà'am níðìb bànι àñ
 1SG.CNTR Paul ... give:IPFV book-DEMST.SG God person:PL REL.PL COP

sídà dímm kà áñ yīnní nē Jesus Christ Efesus téŋī-n lā.
 truth EMPTY.PL and COP one with Jesus Christ Ephesus land:SG-LOC ART

"I, Paul ... give this letter to God's people who are truthful and one in Jesus
 Christ in Ephesus." (Eph 1:1, 1976; KB ...*gbauŋ kaŋa tisid Wina'am...*)

27.4 Presentational constructions

A number of constructions are employed to introduce new entities into discourse. Referring NPs are indefinite; it is here that absence of the article *lā*⁺ typically reflects an indefinite but *specific* rather than generic reference [15.7.5](#). Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers are possible but not required.

Bè⁺ "be somewhere/exist" is frequent in presentational clauses, often with a following *n*-catenation [22](#) or adnominal *kà*-catenation [22.3](#).

Farisee dim nid yinne da be

Farisee dílm nid yīnní dà bè ...

Pharisee EMPTY.PL person:SG one TNS EXIST ...

"There was one man of the Pharisees ..." (Jn 3:1)

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men." KSS p16

Dāpá_àtáñ' n dá bè.

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS EXIST.

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir

Dāy dá bè_ø mōrí_ò pū'à-yīmmír

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG

"There was a man who had one wife." KSS p26

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

Kà pū'à-sō' dá bè_ø mōr ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōll-ó_ø.

And woman-INDEF.AN TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-girl:SG and fairy:SG follow 3AN.OB.

"There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." (Mk 7:25)

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

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

Kà dāy dāa zīñ'i Lystra ní kà pū tūñ'e_ø kēnná +ø.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG.IND be.able CAT GO:IPFV NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8, 1996)

Anina ka o nyē dau ka o yū'vr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò ñyē dāy kà ò yū'vr būen Aneas.

ADV: there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

27.5 Free personal pronouns

In some contexts only free pronoun *forms* are possible, and they are then simply allomorphs of the bound pronouns:

Isolation:	<i>Mánè?</i>	"Me?"
Apposition:	<i>mān Paul</i>	"I, Paul"
Coordination:	<i>tīnám nē fōn</i>	"us and you"
Before relative pronouns:	<i>fōn-kání ...</i>	"you, who ..."

and for some speakers, the 2nd persons before direct commands after a *yà'*-clause [23](#). In other contexts, the choice of a free pronoun over bound implies *contrast*. For the special case of **logophoric** use see [25.2](#).

A personal pronoun which is focussed must be contrastive; conversely, contrastive pronouns are normally focussed where possible:

Manε an kɔnbkem suŋ la.

Māni_ ∅ áñ kóñb-kìim-sùŋ lā.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.

"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

But *Li nar ka on du ka man sie.*

Lì nàr kà ɔn dū, kà mān sīe.

3INAN must and 3AN.CNTR rise, and 1SG.CNTR lower.

"He must increase and I must decrease." (Jn 3:30)

Contrastive pronouns can be subjects of *ñ*-clauses [15.3.1](#):

wuu mane a si'em la.

"as I am." (1 Cor 7:7, 1996)

wūw māni_ ∅ àñ sī'əm lā.

like 1SG.CNTR NZ COP INDF.ADV ART.

27.6 Emphatics

I have borrowed the term "emphatic" from Jeffrey Heath's Songhay grammars (Heath pp202ff.) Emphatics resemble CGEL's "Focussing Modifiers" (pp586ff), but this "focus" is not "informational focus" of the kind discussed above but "scopal focus", the semantic element which the particle applies to: this need not be either the syntactic head of the NP or the informational focus of the clause. Emphatics relate a NP or AdvP to the discourse context. They follow top-level NPs or AdvPs within clauses, with the exception of *hālí*⁺, which precedes its phrase.

mè DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause finally (all sources) *mèn*^ε "also, too"

bɔzʊgɔ o anɛ fʊ biig mɛn.

bɔ́ zúgɔ̀ ò à nɛ̀ fù bīig mɛ́n.

Because 3AN COP FOC 2SG child:SG also.

"Because he is your child too." (Genesis 21:13)

O pu'a mɛ kena.

"His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)

Ò pʊ'ā mɛ̀ kɛ̀ nā.

3AN wife:SG also come hither.

The particle may follow *kà* + ellipted subject pronoun [20.3](#).

mà'aa (LF *mà'anɛ*) "only"

Aɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ɛd ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àsɛɛ líni àñ bɛ'ɛd má'aa kà m ná tũñ'e_ø níŋ.

Only REL.INAN COP bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.

"It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

(*Kà*-foregrounding of the NP, which also implies exclusiveness [27.2](#).)

gùllimm (LF *gùllimnɛ*) "only"

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?

Lì ká' nɛ́ Wínà'am gùllimnɛɛ +ø +ø?

3INAN NEG.BE FOC God only NEG PQ?

"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kòtā^{nɛ} "at all"

Áyì kòtā.

"Not at all."

nɔɔ = "just, exactly"

dàa-kàn lā nɔɔ

"that very day"

Fʊ ya'a mɔɔr ya'am, fʊn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.

Fù yá' mɔ́r yā'am, fūn nɔɔ ná dí_lì mālísím.

2SG if have sense, 2SG.CNTR exactly IRR eat 3INAN joy.

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Proverbs 9:12)

hālí⁺ can be used as an emphatic, preceding a NP or AdvP with the meaning "even":

Hali t̩ʊmbɛ'ɛd dim niɲid ala.

Hālí t̩ʊm-bɛ'ɛd dí̄m ní̄ɲìd àlá.

Even deed-bad:PL EMPTY:PL do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)

Before a manner-adverb it effectively means "very":

Lì t̩ɛ hālí bédʊgō. "It's very difficult."

3INAN be.bitter until much.

The adverb itself may be ellipted:

Lì t̩ɛ hālí. "It's very difficult."

Hālí in this sense may be preposed with *kà*:

Hali ka nidib m̩ɔr ban'adnam na.

Hālí kà ní̄ɲìb m̩ɔr bāñ'ad-nàm nā.

Even and person:PL have sick.person-PL hither.

"People even brought the sick" (Acts 5:15)

Hālí baa is also used for "even" before a NP:

Hali baa lampɔdi'esidib mɛ niɲid ala.

Hālí baa làmpɔ-dí'əsìɲìb mé niɲìd àlá.

Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man ku basi fɔ.

Hālí baa bàmmā wūsa yá' nà zó kà básì_ f,

Even DEMST.PL all if IRR run and abandon 2SG.OB,

mān kú bāsì_ fɔ +∅.

1SG.CNTR NEG.IRR abandon 2SG.OB NEG.

"If even they all run away and leave you, I will not leave you." (Mt 26:33)

Lexicon and texts

28 Greetings and other formulae

(a) Enquiries after health.

<i>Gbís wēlá?</i>	"How did you sleep?"
<i>Dúe wēlá?</i>	literally "How did you get up?" both usual greetings on meeting for the first time in the morning.
<i>Nīntāŋ á wēlá?</i>	"How is the day/afternoon?"
<i>Yú'ɔŋ á wēlá?</i>	"How is the evening?" literally "night"
<i>Fù yī-dímàa?</i>	"[How are] your household?"
<i>Nìn-gbīnàa?</i>	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
<i>Fù sìdaa?</i>	"[How is your] husband?"
<i>Pɔ'ā nē bīisèè?</i>	"[How are your] wife and children?"

... and so on, often at great length. Replies may be

<i>Àláafù bé.</i>	literally "There is health." (Also a general purpose greeting itself.)
<i>Àláafù bé·o.</i>	... for him/her.
<i>Àláafù béε bá.</i>	... for them.

(b) Blessings

These follow the pattern

<i>Báríkà né fù ...</i>	"Blessing with your ..."
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with the introductory words usually ellipted; the reply to all of these is *Náa*.

<i>Kēn kēn.</i>	"Welcome!" <i>Kēn</i> , gerund of <i>kēñ</i> "come" cf Hausa: <i>Barkà dà zuwàa</i> .
<i>Nē zâam zâam.</i>	"Good evening."
<i>Tūuma!</i>	
or <i>Tūuma tūuma!</i>	literally "(Blessing on your) work!" Interpreted to include practically anything which could be regarded as work, and hence probably the commonest daytime greeting.

<i>Nē sǎ́sugā.</i>	"(Blessing on your) conversation." to greet a group of people talking; also to greet a person sitting quietly alone, assumed to be conversing with his or her own <i>wīn</i> ^{nɛ/} (spiritual essence, personal <i>genius</i>)
<i>Né fù būrlyá-sùŋ.</i>	"Merry Christmas." (<i>būrlyá</i> ⁺ ← <i>*burǔya</i> ← Twi/Fante <i>bronya</i> , of unclear ultimate origin)
<i>Né fù yòum-pāalíg.</i>	"Happy New Year."

(c) Prayers. Reply *Ámí!* "Amen!"

<i>Wīn ná lēbisi f nē láaflya.</i>	"Safe journey!" literally "[I pray that] God will bring you back in health."
<i>Wīn ná sōŋi f.</i>	"God will help you." Generally used to express thanks.
<i>Wīn ná tā'así f.</i>	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

(d) Statements of fact and commands. Reply *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate.

<i>Bēogv lā.</i>	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
<i>Àtínì dáarì lā.</i>	"See you on Monday."
<i>Gbìsim sùŋā.</i>	"Sleep well."
<i>Kpèlumī sùm.</i>	"Remain (ye) well." Said by departing person to those remaining.
<i>Pù'usim yín.</i>	"Greet (those) at home." i.e. "Goodbye." reply <i>Tò</i> "OK", or <i>Bà nà wūm</i> "They will hear."

(e) Miscellaneous formulae

<i>M̀ pù'us yā.</i>	"Thankyou." reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Pù'usug kā'e.</i>
<i>M̀ pù'us yā béduḡ.</i>	"No thanks (sc. needed.)"
<i>Gáafàra.</i>	"Thank you very much." (← Arabic) "Pardon me, sorry." Also (like Ghanaian English "sorry") used simply to empathise with misfortune, with no implication of apology as such.

Kābir kābirí!

Formula asking admission to a house or compound. "Knock, knock!" Twi *agoo* is also used. (Actual knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is at home.)

Dìm sūgurú.

"Please forgive me."

M̀ bélìm nē.

"I beg you." Not "please"; Kusaasi etiquette does not demand a spoken equivalent of the English "please."

X lábāar á wēlá?

"What is the news of X?"

A common initial reply is *Dīb má'aa.*

"Only food." i.e. "good"

M̀ mōr kù'əm náa?

literally "Shall I bring water?"

Traditional first words to guest.

Reply for "No, thank you" is *Kù'əm á súm.*

("Water is good.")

Wīn yél sídà.

"Bless you!" (after a sneeze.) Literally

"God speaks truth"; WK explained: "If you

sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you."

F̀ò wúm Kūsáalèè?

"Do you understand [literally "hear"] Kusaal?"

Ēēñ, m̀ wúm.

"Yes, I do."

Áyì, m̀ p̄ wúmmā.

"No, I don't."

29 Selected lexical fields

29.1 Kinship terms

Pervading the whole system of Kusaal kinship terms is the importance of birth order among same-sex siblings, and its irrelevance between siblings of opposite sex. Some basic terms, such as those for siblings, do not in themselves distinguish sex, in a way that is surprising from a European perspective. Seniority goes by family branch, so I am senior to you if my parent is senior to your parent of the same sex, regardless of our own ages. Seniority among wives is determined by marriage order and is also independent of actual age. Age, as opposed to seniority, is in itself of little significance and many people do not know their own ages exactly.

My father	is my	<i>sàam</i> ^{ma} , less formally <i>bā</i> ^{+/}
father's elder brother		<i>sàam-kpēēñm</i> ^m
father's younger brother		<i>sàam-pīt</i> ^{a/}
father's sister		<i>pùgvdɪb</i> ^a

My mother	is my	<i>mà</i> ⁺
mother's elder sister		
or senior co-wife		<i>mà-kpēēñm</i> ^m
mother's younger sister		
or junior co-wife		<i>mà-bīl</i> ^a or <i>mà-pīt</i> ^{a/}
mother's co-wives	are my	<i>mà nám</i> ^a
mother's brother	is my	<i>áñsìb</i> ^a

I am my mother's brother's *āñsíŋ*^a; to all the other relatives above I am *bīig*^a "child" or specifically *dà-kòwñr*^ε "son" or *pɥ'à-yùu*⁺ "daughter." Although the Kusaasi are not matrilineal, the mother's brother is felt to be a particularly close relation with a traditionally benevolent role towards his sister's child.

There are no special terms for aunts or uncles by marriage.

My grandparent	is my	<i>yáab</i> ^a (♂ <i>yāa-dáɥ</i> ⁺ , ♀ <i>yāa-pɥ'á</i> ^a)
grandchild		<i>yáaŋ</i> ^a

These words are also used for ancestor/descendant.

My elder sibling of my own sex	is my	<i>bīər</i> ^{ε/}
younger sibling of my own sex	is my	<i>pītú</i> ⁺
sibling of opposite sex	is my	<i>tāɥñ</i> ^{+/}

These words are also used for cousins, with seniority, as always, going by family branch.

My wife	is my	<i>yī-pu'á^a</i> or simply <i>pu'ā^a</i>
wife's parent		<i>dìam^{ma}</i> (♂ <i>dìam-dāu⁺</i> , ♀ <i>dìam-puāk^a</i>)
wife's sibling		<i>dàkīg^a</i> (♂ <i>dàkì-dāu⁺</i> , ♀ <i>dàkì-puāk^a</i>)

Dìam^{ma} is also used in polite address to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age to oneself but not old enough to be called *n̄ mà* "my mother" or *n̄ bā* "my father." Parents-in-law are greatly respected, but with siblings-in-law there is a traditional reciprocal joking relationship; certain whole ethnic groups are said to bear this relationship to each other, called "playmate" in local English. At *Bùgúm-t̄ɔ̄ñ̄^ε*, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's brothers-in-law.

I am my wife's parents' *bīig^a* "child" and my wife's siblings' *dàkīg^a*.

My husband	is my	<i>sīd^a</i>
husband's parent		<i>dàyāam^{ma}</i> (♂ <i>dàyāam-dáu⁺</i> , ♀ <i>dàyāam-puāk^a</i>)
husband's elder brother		<i>sìd-kpēñm^m</i>
husband's younger brother		<i>sìd-bīl^a</i>
husband's sister		<i>sìd-puāk^a</i>

I am my husband's parents' *bīig^a* "child"; all my husband's siblings (of both sexes) call me *pu'ā^a* "wife."

My co-wife is my *n̄n-tāa[̄]*, "rival" in Ghanaian English. In traditional stories the role of the "wicked stepmother" in European folklore is assumed by one of the father's other wives.

Two men married to sisters are *dàkì-tùes^ε*; two women married to brothers are *n̄n-tāas^ε*, "co-wives." "Fiancée" is *pu'à-ēlīg^a*.

29.2 Personal names

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi personal naming practices.

Personal names are preceded by the personifier particle, *À-* by default but *N̄-* before adjective stems, where *N̄-* is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the point of articulation of a following consonant. Most names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs, or even clauses.

On the form in which Kusaal personal names appear in English-language contexts see [1.1](#).

The Kusaasi do not use surnames traditionally; although everyone knows his or her clan, and indeed at least part of its genealogy, clan names are not used as surnames, as they are with the Mossi.

A few personal names account for a large proportion of all individuals; *À-Wīn* and *À-Bōgur* are especially common male names. Identification of particular individuals often requires further enquiries about kindred or residence.

Many names allude to a guardian spirit (*sīgur*^{ε/}) assigned to a newborn child through the father's consultation with a diviner (*bā'a*⁼); this may be the *wīn*^{ne/} 1.1 of an ancestor, or of a spiritually powerful tree:

<i>À-Wīn</i> ^{ne/}	Awini	<i>wīn</i> ^{ne/}	person with a <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/} from father's side of the family
<i>À-Bōgur</i> ^ε	Abugri	<i>bōgur</i> ^ε	person with a <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/} from mother's side of the family
<i>À-Tìg</i> ^a	Atiga	<i>tìg</i> ^a	"tree", as <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/}
<i>À-Kūdug</i> ^ɔ	Akudugu	<i>kūdug</i> ^ɔ	"piece of iron" (sc. as a marker on a tree- <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/}); displaced as a common noun by the pl-as-sg <i>kūt</i> ^ε

A younger sibling of *À-Wīn*^{ne/} with the same *sīgur*^{ε/} is called *À-Wīn-bīl*^a "Awimbillah", of *À-Kūdug*^ɔ, *À-Kud-bīl*^a "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern *À-Wīn-puák*^a "Awimpoaka."

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

<i>À-Nà'ab</i> ^a	Anaba	<i>nà'ab</i> ^a	"chief" but in the sense "afterbirth" (because a chief leaves his house after his retainers)
<i>À-Fūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	Afugu	<i>fūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	Name for sole survivor of twins
<i>À-Tūl</i> ^ε	Atuli	<i>tūl</i> ^ε	"clothing" for child born with a caul
			"invert" for breech-delivered child

A whole clause is seen as a birth-circumstance personal name in

À-Tīm bódìg yā "The medicine has got lost."

Many names relate to customs intended to break a cycle of stillbirths. One such custom is the apotropaic practice of throwing away the dead child or just burying it in a pot to avoid attracting malevolent spiritual attention; the next surviving child may then be called e.g.

<i>À-Tàmpōur</i> ^ε	Tampuri	<i>tàmpōur</i> ^ε	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
<i>À-Dōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	Aruk	<i>dōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like *Jambeedu* "Fulani", or

<i>À-Sāan</i> ^{a/}	Asana	<i>sāan</i> ^{a/}	"guest, stranger"
<i>À-Sāan-dú</i> ⁺	Sadow	<i>sāan</i> ^{a/}	"guest" + <i>dāy</i> ⁺ "man"
<i>À-Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	Azangbego	<i>Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	"Hausa person"
<i>À-Nàsà-puāk</i> ^a	Anasapoaka		"European woman"; also a birth-circumstance name: "child delivered by a European midwife"

Names based on adjectives:

<i>Ñ-Dāvog</i> ^ɔ	Ndago	<i>dāvog</i> ^ɔ	"male"
<i>Ñ-Puāk</i> ^a	Mpoaka	<i>puāk</i> ^a	"female"
<i>Ñ-Bīl</i> ^a	Mbillah	<i>bīl</i> ^a	"little"

Muslims often use day-of-the-week names depending on birth; these are not so common among traditional Kusaasi, as the seven-day week was not generally in use; older persons still do not use it, adhering to the older three-day cycle of markets instead. The system does not cover all weekdays; examples are *À-Tíni*⁺ "Girl born on Monday", *À-Tàláatà*⁺ "Girl born on Tuesday", *Àrzúmà*⁺ "Boy born on Friday", *À-Síbi*⁺ "Boy born on Saturday."

Muslims also have formal Islamic Arabic names, sometimes adapted to Kusaal phonology, like *Dàhamáani*⁺/*Dàsmáani*⁺ *ʿAbdu-r-Raḥma:n*.

KKY p6 has the interesting girl's name *Amɔryam*, perhaps an adaptation of the Arabic *Maryam* "Mary" as *À-Mōr Yām* "Has Common Sense."

Christians use English (or French) baptismal names in speaking European languages, and in official contexts use their Kusaal personal names as "surnames."

29.3 Places

For Kusaal place names in English-language contexts see [1.1](#).

This section has been improved by consultation with John Turl, who maintains an extensive website dedicated to Ghanaian toponymy (see References.)

Many, though by no means all, Kusaal place names have transparent meanings.

Place names include:

<i>Bòk</i> ^ɔ	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
<i>Kōk</i> ^{a/}	Koka	"mahogany tree"
<i>Kòkpàrig</i> ^a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
<i>Tèmpáan</i> ^{nɛ}	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
<i>Mụ'à-nōr</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mogonori	"lakeside" ("lake-mouth")
<i>Bàs-yōn</i> ^{nɛ/}	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ?reason for name
<i>Kūgur</i> ^{ɛ/}	Kugri	"stone"
<i>Bōgur</i> ^ɛ	Bugri	<i>bōgur</i> ^ɛ , object housing a <i>wīn</i> ^{nɛ/} "spirit"
<i>Wìdì-ñyá'an</i> ^a	Woriyanga	archaic for <i>wìd-ñyá'an</i> ^a "mare"
<i>Bì-nà'ab</i> ^a	Binaba	"prince"
<i>Gàaru</i> ⁺	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "wall around a town or compound"
<i>Wiid-nà'ab</i> ^a	Widinaba	"chief of the clan <i>Wiid</i> ^a "
<i>Pūsɪg</i> ^{a/}	Pusiga	"tamarind"
<i>Tɪl</i> ^{ɛ/}	Tilli	"tree trunk" cf Toende Kusaal <i>tíl id</i> (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
<i>Dènvug</i> ^ɔ	Denugu	No known meaning
<i>Pùlɪma Kù'əm</i> ^m	Pulimakom	"water by <i>pùlɪma</i> ⁺ (grass sp)"
<i>Widāan</i> ^a	Widana	for <i>Wid-dāan</i> ^a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's <i>nō-dí'əs</i> ^a "linguist." The usual informal name for Pulimakom, as the seat of this particular linguist.
<i>Mì'isug</i> ^a	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission", i.e. of the Assemblies of God; perhaps influenced by <i>mì'isug</i> ^ɔ "baptism", gerund of <i>mì'is</i> ^ɛ "duck someone"
<i>Sā-bíl</i> ^a	Zebilla	"small grass"?
<i>Sā-píəlìg</i> ^a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertia Doka</i> "
<i>Kòl-tā'amís</i> ^ɛ	Kultamse	"dog almonds"

The meanings given for "Sapeliga" and "Kultamse" are based on a careful 1935 report by an assistant agricultural officer who lists among local trees in the Farefare/Nabit area *sapelaga Isobertia doka*, *ta-anga Butyrospermum parkii* (Kusaal *tá'an*^a), and *kulta-anga Andira inermis* (p.c. John Turl.)

WK thought that the *sā-* of *Sā-bíl*^a and *Sā-píəlìg*^a was a plant used in making brooms. No **sāa*^{=/} occurs in my data (only *sāa*⁼ "rain"), but the Farefare cognate *sáagá* appears in Niggli's dictionary as "a kind of grass used for making brooms", and Blench 2006 identifies Mampruli/Dagbani *saa* as *Sporobolus subglobosus* A. Chev, used for binding in making mats and traps.

For *Kùlvugún*^ɔ "Kulungungu", Turl cites a Bisa-speaking informant who suggests a plausible origin in Bisa *Kuurgongu*, "Crooked Sheanut Tree." Prost's Bisa grammar confirms that adjectives follow nouns, and his dictionary cites *kúr* "karité." The second element is probably a simplex form of *gongeda* "arqué" (*ng* = [ŋ]); Prost has an adjectival suffix *-da* "s'appliquant aux grandes choses ou marquant intensité."

<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lɛ}	Agolle	the Kusaasi area east of the White Volta; cf <i>àgól</i> ^{lɛ} "upwards"
<i>Tùen</i> ^{nɛ}	Toende	Kusaasi area west of the White Volta; cf <i>tùen</i> ^{nɛ} "in front", "West"

For points of the compass, WK gave

N	<i>Bārvug</i> ^ɔ	"Bisa country"
E	<i>Ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a	"behind"
S	<i>Zuēya</i> ⁺	"hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment)
W	<i>Tùen</i> ^{nɛ}	"in front"

KB has *ya-dagɔbug yà dàgòbɔg*^a ("your left hand") for "south" and *ya-datiuŋ yà dàtiuŋ*^ɔ ("your right hand") for "north," along with *ya-nya'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Words referring to ethnic groups and clans create place names by adding the suffix *-g*^ɔ to the stem. These can be nonce-formations and need not necessarily refer to any established political entity or permanent settlement: *Kùtāuŋ*^ɔ "any place inhabited by the clan *Kùtām*^{ma}!"; *Kūsâvug*^ɔ "Kusaasiland"; *Mòɔg*^ɔ "Mossi country" (*Mòɔg Nâ'ab*^a "Moro Naba, King of the Mossi.")

Places outside *Kūsâvug*^ɔ generally do not have Kusaal names (an exception is *Sānkāñs*^ɛ "Sankanse" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived name *Ankara* is usual. Niggli's dictionary has Toende *Wa'aruk* for "Ouagadougou", but I could not elicit any Agolle equivalent. The Mooré name *Waogdgo* apparently does not have a transparent meaning for Mooré speakers, and its etymology is uncertain.

There seems to be no Agolle Kusaal proper name for the White Volta river, which is simply *kōlvug*^a "river"; presumably this is simply because it is the only real river within *Kūsâvug*^ɔ.

29.4 Ethnic groups and clans

Names for the group belong to the $^a|b^a$ or $g^a|s^\varepsilon$ classes (apart from *Zàngbèog*^ɔ "Hausa" and *Nàsāara*⁺ "European") and their language to the l^ε subclass of $r^\varepsilon|a^+$. The place they inhabit has the suffix $-g^\partial$.

Ethnic gp sg	Ethnic gp pl	Language	Place	
<i>Kūsáa</i> ⁼	<i>Kūsáas</i> ^ε	<i>Kūsáa</i> ^{lε}	<i>Kūsáug</i> ^ɔ	Kusaasi
<i>Ñwāmpūrig</i> ^{a/}	<i>Ñwāmpūris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūri</i> ^{lε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūrig</i> ^{ɔ/}	Mamprussi
<i>Bārig</i> ^{a/}	<i>Bāris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bārig</i> ^{ɔ/}	Bisa
<i>Mùa</i> ⁺	<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Mòɔ</i> ^{lε}	<i>Mòɔg</i> ^ɔ	Mossi
<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nε/}	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nε/}	<i>Dàgbāug</i> ^{ɔ/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìn</i> ^{nε}	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn</i> ^{nε}	<i>Bìug</i> ^ɔ	Moba
<i>Sìmiig</i> ^a	<i>Sìmiis</i> ^ε	<i>Sìmiil</i> ^{lε}	<i>Sìmiug</i> ^ɔ	Fulbe
<i>Yàaŋ</i> ^a	<i>Yàaŋs</i> ^ε	<i>Yàan</i> ^{nε}		Yansi
<i>Gūríg</i> ^a	<i>Gūrís</i> ^ε	<i>Gūrín</i> ^{nε}		Farefare
<i>Yārig</i> ^{a/}	<i>Yāris</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Yāt</i> ^{ε/}		Yarsi
<i>Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	<i>Zàngbèed</i> ^ε	<i>Zàngbèe</i> ^{lε}		Hausa
<i>Bùlig</i> ^a	<i>Bùlis</i> ^ε	<i>Bùl</i> ^{lε}		Bulsa
<i>Tàlɔg</i> ^a	<i>Tàlɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Tàlɔn</i> ^{nε}		Tallensi
<i>Nàbɔd</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɔdɔb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɔr</i> ^ε		Nabdema
<i>Bùsáŋ</i> ^a	<i>Bùsáaŋs</i> ^ε	<i>Bùsáaŋ</i> ^{lε}		Bisa
<i>Nàsāara</i> ⁺	<i>Nàsàa-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsāa</i> ^{lε}		European
<i>Kàmbùŋ</i> ^a	<i>Kàmbùmɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Kàmbùnr</i> ^ε		Ashanti

Bāris^{ε/} is "Bisa" generally, not just the Bareka; *Bìm*^{ma} similarly is "Moba" in general, and not only the Bemba (WK.)

Note

Tùen^{nε}

"Toende area"

Tùennɔr^ε

"Toende dialect of Kusaal"

Àgò^{lε}

"Agolle area"

Àgò^{lε}

"Agolle dialect of Kusaal"

Ò pjàŋ'ad Àgòl.

"She speaks Agolle Kusaal."

3AN speak:IPFV Agolle.

Kusaasi clan names include, among many others:

Singular	Plural	Place	
<i>Kùtān</i> ^{nε/}	<i>Kùtām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Kùtāuŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	WK's clan
<i>Zùà</i> ⁺	<i>Zùəs</i> ^ε		
	<i>Zùà-sābílís</i> ^ε		subclans
	<i>Zùà-wiib</i> ^a		
	or <i>Zùà-wiis</i> ^ε		
<i>Wiid</i> ^a	<i>Wiid-nam</i> ^a	<i>Wiidug</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Nàbɪd</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪdug</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Gòɔg</i> ^a	<i>Gòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Gòɔg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Sà'dàbùà</i> ⁺	<i>Sà'dàbùəs</i> ^ε - <i>bùəb</i> ^a	<i>Sà'dàbòɔg</i> ^ɔ	
	<i>Nà'dàm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Nà'dauŋ</i> ^ɔ	
	<i>Gùm-dim</i> ^a	<i>Gùm</i> ^{mε}	

Nàbɪd^a as a clan name is different from the ethnic group "Nabdema" (WK.)

29.5 Trees and fruits

Tree names are almost all *g*^a|*s*^ε class, like *tùg*^a "tree"; their fruits belong to classes *r*^ε|*a*⁺ or *g*^ɔ|*d*^ε.

Tree sg	Tree pl	Fruit sg	Fruit pl	
<i>āāndɪg</i> ^a	<i>āāndɪs</i> ^ε	<i>āāndɪr</i> ^ε	<i>āānda</i> ⁺	Vitex doniana
<i>dùāñ</i> ⁺	<i>dòɔñs</i> ^ε	<i>dòɔñg</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòɔñd</i> ^ε	dawadawa
<i>gāāñ</i> ^{=/}	<i>gāāñs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>gāñr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>gāñyá</i> ⁺	Nigerian ebony
<i>gùŋ</i> ^a	<i>gùmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>gùm</i> ^{mε}	<i>gùma</i> ⁺	kapok
<i>kìkàŋ</i> ^a	<i>kìkàmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>kìkàm</i> ^{mε}	<i>kìkàma</i> ⁺	fig tree
<i>kpòkpàrig</i> ^a	<i>kpòkpàris</i> ^ε	<i>kpòkpàr</i> ^ε	<i>kpòkpàra</i> ⁺	palm
<i>lí'əŋ</i> ^a	<i>lí'əmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>lí'əm</i> ^{mε}	<i>lí'əma</i> ⁺	Ximenia americana
<i>pūsɪg</i> ^{a/}	<i>pūsɪs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>pūsɪr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>pūsá</i> ⁺	tamarind
<i>sīsíbìg</i> ^a	<i>sīsíbìs</i> ^ε	<i>sīsíbìr</i> ^ε	<i>sīsíbà</i> ⁺	neem
<i>tá'əŋ</i> ^a	<i>tā'amɪs</i> ^ε	<i>tá'am</i> ^{mε}	<i>tā'amá</i> ⁺	shea butter
<i>tè'εg</i> ^a	<i>tè'εs</i> ^ε	<i>tè'og</i> ^ɔ	<i>tè'εd</i> ^ε	baobab
<i>vúəŋ</i> ^a	<i>vūəmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>vúər</i> ^ε	<i>vūáa</i> ⁼	red kapok

The stems for "red kapok" and its fruit are slightly different: tree **vuəgm*- fruit **vuəg*-

29.6 Colours

Kusaal, like many local languages, has a basic three-colour system:

<i>zèñ'og</i> ^ɔ	"red"	all reddish shades
<i>sābɪlɪg</i> ^a	"black"	all darker shades of colour
<i>pìəlɪg</i> ^a	"white"	all lighter shades of colour

Wiug^ɔ is synonymous with *zèñ'og*^ɔ. Kusaal has many other standard expressions for colour (e.g. *wōv támpōur nē* "like ash", i.e. "grey"), often with parallels in other West African languages: the system is "three-colour" because any colour can be allocated to one of only three terms, not because only three colour terms exist.

29.7 Time

The day begins at sunrise. Answers to *bò-wìn*^{nɛ} "what time of day?"

<i>bēogv-n</i> ^{ɛ/}	"morning"	<i>àsùbá</i> ⁺	"dawn" (← Arabic)
<i>bèkèkèoŋg</i> ^ɔ	"very early morning"	<i>zàam</i> ^m	"evening"
<i>wìn-līir</i> ^ɛ	"sunset"	<i>yú'vɟ</i> ^ɔ	"night"
<i>wìn-kòɔŋr</i> ^ɛ	"sunset"	<i>nīntāŋ</i> ^{a/}	"heat of the day, early afternoon"

Wìn^{nɛ} "time of day" (cf *wìnnɪg*^a "sun") always has a predependent.

There are no traditional expressions for clock time; NT/KB adapts the Hausa constructions, as with *kérifà àtán'* "three o'clock", Hausa *karfèe ukù*.

The deictic particle *ñwà* "this" is commonly attached to time words:

<i>zàam ñwá</i>	"this evening" [za:ma]	<i>yú'vɟ ñwá</i>	"tonight" [yɔ:ŋ:a]
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Answers to *bōn-dāar*^ɛ "which day?":

<i>zīná</i> ⁺	"today"	<i>sù'əs</i> ^a	"yesterday"
<i>bēog</i> ^ɔ	"tomorrow"	<i>dāar</i> ^ɛ	"day after tomorrow/ day before yesterday"

Weekday names are of Arabic origin, the seven-day week being a Muslim importation. (The traditional "week" is a three day market cycle, differing from village to village and carrying on regardless of any weekdays or festivals. Many older speakers do not use weeks at all, but count in days instead.)

<i>Àláasìd dâar</i> ^ε	"Sunday"	<i>Àtínì dâar</i> ^ε	"Monday"
<i>Àtáláatà dâar</i> ^ε	"Tuesday"	<i>Àlárìbà dâar</i> ^ε	"Wednesday"
<i>Àlà míisì dâar</i> ^ε	"Thursday"	<i>À(r)zúmà dâar</i> ^ε	"Friday"
<i>Àsíbitì dâar</i> ^ε	"Saturday"		

Dâar^ε "day" is "twenty-four hour period" (*nīntāŋ* "day as opposed to night") and is used with predependents to specify a particular day; the word *dàbìsur*^ε is also used for "day" in counting periods of time, occurring usually in the plural:

<i>Dābá àyóṗṑḗ dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back in a week."
<i>Dābá àyóṗṑḗ kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back for a week."
<i>Àláasìd dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back on Sunday."
<i>Tì kpélìm ànínā dábìsà bī̀ə́lá.</i>	"We stayed there a few days."

Longer periods of time:

<i>dābá àyóṗṑḗ</i>	"week"	also <i>bákpàḗ</i> ← Hausa <i>bakwàì</i> "seven"
<i>ñwādug</i> ^{a/}	"moon, month"	
<i>ñwād-kánì kēn nā lā</i>	"next month"	("the month which is coming")
<i>ñwād-kánì gāad lā</i>	"last month"	("the month which has passed")

There are two seasons:

<i>sēoŋḡ</i> ^ḡ	"rainy season"	<i>úun</i> ^{nε}	"dry season"
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The Harmattan part of *úun* is called *sāpá*^{lε} and the very hot humid part before the rains is *dàwàlɔg*^a.

<i>yùum</i> ^{mε}	"year"	<i>dūnná</i> ⁺	"this year"
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"Time" in general is *sāŋá*⁺ pl *sānsá*⁺ cb *sān-*; "time of day" is *wìn*^{nε}; "time" as in "several times" is *nōɔr* 15.4.2.4. Examples with *sāŋá*⁺:

<i>sān-kánè?</i>	"when?"	<i>sān-kán lā</i>	"at that time"
<i>sāŋá kám</i>	"all the time"	<i>sāŋá bèdugū</i>	"a long time"
<i>sānsá bèdugū</i>	"many times"	<i>sāŋá bī̀ə́lá</i>	"for/in a short time"

30 Texts

30.1 Balaam's Donkey

From the 2016 Kusaal Bible, Numbers 22:21-35.

Balaam da duoe beogun lɔɔ o buŋu dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keŋ.

Balaam dá dùè bēogun-n_ ∅ lɔɔ_ò b̀̀nɔ_ ∅ dɔl Moab
 Balaam TNS rise morning-LOC CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT accompany Moab
ná'-yī-kpém lā_∅ ḱ́eŋ.

chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey and went with the courtiers of the king of Moab."

Amaa Wina'am sunf da duoe ne on keŋ la, ka Zugsoɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geŋ o.

Àmáa Wínà'am súnf dà dùè nē ón ḱ́eŋ lā, kà Zūg-sóɔb máljāk
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG
kídigi_∅ zí'ən sūer lā zúg yé ò gīŋ-ó_ ∅.

meet CAT stand road:SG ART upon that 3AN obstruct 3AN.OB.

"But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him."

Balaam da ban'adne o buŋ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o.

Balaam dá bàñ'ad né ò b̀̀nɔ, kà ò yàmmis àyí' dɔll-ó_ ∅.

Balaam TNS ride:IPFV FOC 3AN donkey:SG, and 3AN slave:PL NUM:two accompany 3AN.OB.

"Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him."

Buŋ la da nye Zugsoɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fue su'ugv zani o nu'ugin, ka o buŋi kpen' mɔɔgi gaad.

B̀̀nɔ lā dá ñyè Zūg-sóɔb máljāk lá kà ò zí'e sūer lā zúg
 Donkey:SG ART TNS see Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART and 3AN be.standing road:SG ART upon
kà fúe sù'ugv_∅ zánl ò nú'ugī-n, kà ò búŋì_ ∅ kpèñ'

and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand 3AN hand:SG-LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter

mɔɔgi_∅ gâad.

grass:SG CAT pass.

"The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on."

Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ud buŋ la ye o lɛb suor puug.

Kà Balaam pīñ'ili_ø bŭ'ud búŋ lā yé ò lɛ́b sūer pūug.

And Balaam begin CAT beat:IPFV donkey:SG ART that 3AN return road:SG inside.

"Balaam started beating the donkey to make it return to the road."

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lɔmbɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zaŋguoma ayi' beŋ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teŋsɔk la.

*Zūg-só**b** máljāk lā dá tɔ̀lɪsɪ_ø zɪ'ən lɔ̀mbò'ɔd àyí bání kà bà mé*

Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL NUM:two REL.PL and 3PL build

zàngùema àyí_ø bēŋ, kà suā-báañ̀lìg bɛ́ɛ_̀lì tɛ̀ŋ-sūk lā.

wall:PL NUM:two CAT demarcate, and road-narrow:SG EXIST 3INAN middle:SG ART.

"The angel of the Lord then stood where dividing walls had been built between two orchards and there was a narrow path between them."

Buŋ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zaŋguom la urig Balaam nɔbir.

*Bùŋ lá ò dà ñyē Zūg-só**b** máljāk lā, ò dà miè_ø làbɪn*

Donkey:SG ART NZ TNS see Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind

zàngùem lā_ø ūrɪg Balaam nɔ̀bìr.

wall:SG ART CAT scrape Balaam leg:SG.

"When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it squeezed against the wall and scraped Balaam's leg."

Ka o lɛm bu' o ya'as.

Kà ò lém bú'·o_ø yá'as.

And 3AN again beat 3AN.OB again.

"And he beat it again."

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikanɛ ka sɔ' ku nyanji fɛndig datiun bɛɛ dagɔbuga.

*Zūg-só**b** máljāk lā dá lɛ̀m vūrɪgɪ_ø tɔ̀lɪs_ø zɪ'ən tùen zín'-kàni*

Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand in.front place-REL.SG

kà sɔ' kú ñyāŋɪ_ø fɛ̀ñdɪg dátɪ̀uŋ bɛ́ɛ dágò̀bɪgā⁺ø.

and INDF.AN NEG.IRR prevail CAT turn right or left NEG.

"Then the angel of the Lord moved along to stand in front of a place where nobody could turn to the right or the left."

Buḡ la da lɛn nyɛ Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wusa tɛŋin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔb buḡ la nɛ o dansaar.

Bùḡ lá_ø dà lè̀m ñyē Zūg-sób máljāk lā, ò dà dìgìn nē Balaam
 Donkey:SG ART NZ TNS again see Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie.down with Balaam
wōsa tēŋi-n, kà Balaam súñf dūe hālí kà ò vɔb búḡ lā né
 all ground:SG-LOC, and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike donkey:SG ART with
ò dànsàar.
 3AN staff:SG.

"When the donkey again saw the angel of the Lord, it lay down along with Balaam on the ground, and Balaam was so angry he beat the donkey with his staff."

Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka buḡ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fu bu'um nɔɔr atan' sa?"

Kà Zūg-sób kɛ kà bùḡ lā yá'e ò nɔɔri_ø pǎñ' Balaam yē,
 And Head-EMPTY.AN let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
Bɔ kimm kà m máalí_f kà lì kɛ kà fù bú'um
 what IDEO and 1SG make 2SG and 3INAN let and 2SG beat 1SG
nɔɔr átáñ' sá +ø?
 time:SG NUM:three hence CQ?

"Then the Lord caused the mouth of the donkey to open to speak to Balaam: 'Just what have I done to you to make you beat me these three times?'"

Balaam da lɛbis o ye, "Fu mɔrim nɛ maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kuvnif nannanna."

Balaam dá lè̀bis_ø yē, Fù mórí_m nē_ø mâan_ø gálím! M yá'
 Balaam TNS reply 3AN.OB that, 2SG have 1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
mɔri-n sú'ugv_ò m nú'ugí-n, m nāan kōv-ní_f nānná-nā.
 have-DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG-LOC, 1SG then kill-DP 2SG now.

"Balaam replied: 'You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you now.'"

Buḡ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'anɛ fu mɛŋ buḡ onɛ ka fu ban'ad saŋa wusa ti paae zinaa? Fu nam mi' nyɛ ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?"

Bùḡ lā dá lè̀bis Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fù mēŋ búḡ ɔ̀nì kà fù
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CNTR NEG.BE FOC 2SG self donkey:SG REL.AN and 2SG
bāñ'ad sāŋá wōsa_ø tí pāe zīnāa +ø +ø? Fù nám mī_ø ñyē kà m
 ride:IPFV time all CAT after reach today NEG PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and 1SG
māal àñwá_ø tísì_ò +ø?
 make thus CAT give 2SG CQ?

"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?'"

Ka o lēbis ye, "Ayei!"

Kà ò lēbìs yē, Áyì!

And 3AN reply that No.

"He replied, 'No.'"

Ka Zugsɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nyε maliak la zi'e suor la teɲsuk ka fuoe sɔ'ɔgu zanl.

Kà Zūg-sób yô'ɔg Balaam níni kà ò ñyē máljāk lā_ø zí'e sūø

And Head-EMPTY.AN open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT be.standing road:SG

lā téŋ-sūk, kà fúe sò'ɔgu_ø zāñl.

ART centre:SG and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand.

"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."

Ka o igin ka vanbin teŋin.

Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēŋi-n.

And 3AN kneel and lie.prone ground:SG-LOC.

"And he knelt down and lay face down."

Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fɔ bu' buŋ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giŋif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'um m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buŋ la nyεem ka yuk. Buŋ la ya'a pu yukinε, anwaa m kuvnif ka basin buŋ la."

Zūg-sób máljāk lā dá bù'əs-ō_ø yē, Bó kà fù bŭ' búŋ lā

Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART TNS ask 3AN.OB that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART

nɔɔr átáñ' sá +ø? M ké nā yé m giŋí_ f bɔ zúgɔ kēn lā

time:SG NUM:three hence CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct 2SG because go:GER ART

kā' súm m nīní nī_ +ø. Nɔɔr átáñ' kà bùŋ lā ñyēε_m kà

NEG.BE good:ABSTR 1SG eye:PL LOC NEG. Time:SG NUM:three and donkey:SG ART see 1SG and

yūk. Bùŋ lā yá' pŭ yŭki-ní_ àñwáa_ m kŭv-ní_ f kà básī-n

deviate. Donkey:SG ART if NEG.IND deviate-DP thus 1SG kill-DP 2SG and release-DP

búŋ lā.

donkey:SG ART.

"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 da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tum taal, m pa'a pu baŋ ye fu zi'enɛ suorin la ye fu geŋi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pu malisi fɔ m na lɛbi kul."

Balaam dá lɛ̀bɪsɪ_ø yél Zūg-sɔ́b máljāk lā yē, Ḿ t́úm t́aal, m̀ pá'
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Head-EMPTY.AN angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS
pō báj yé fù zí'e nē sūerí-n lā yé fù gīŋí_ mā +ø.

NEG.IND realise that 2SG be.standing FOC road:SG-LOC ART that 2SG obstruct 1SG NEG.

Nānná-nā, lì yá' pō mālsí_ fɔ +ø, m̀ ná lɛ̀bɪ_ø kŭl.

Now, 3INAN if NEG.IND be.pleasing 2SG NEG, 1SG IRR return CAT 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.'"

Ka maliak la lɛbisi yɛl Balaam ye, "Dɔl nidib la keŋ, amaa yɛlim nɛ man ye fu yɛl si'el ma'aa."

Kà màljāk lā lɛ̀bɪsɪ_ø yél Balaam yē, D̀l nīdɪb lā_ø kēŋ,
 And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,
à máa yèlɪm nē mán yé fù yél sɪ'əl má'aa.

but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say INDF.INAN only.

"But the angel replied to Balaam: 'Go with the people, but say only what I tell you to say.'"

Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keŋ.

Kà Balaam dɔl Balak ná'-yī-kpém lā_ø kēŋ.

And Balaam accompany Balak chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers."

30.2 The Three Murderers

This story is from *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima* p16. It is clearly related to Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*; the fable is in fact familiar throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, and is probably ultimately derived from a Buddhist *Jātaka* story. (Hamel and Merrill 1991.)

The style is much less formal than in the passage from KB above.

NING KUUDIBA ATAN'.

"The three murderers."

Nīn-kúvdìbá_ àtán'.

Person-kill:AGT:PL NUM:three.

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga.

Dāpá_àtáń' n dá bɛ̀. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāńda súŋā.

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS EXIST. 3PL TNS COP FOC man-tough:PL well.

"There were once three men. They were really tough men."

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.

Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asì_∅ zín'ini_∅ gbāń'e yé bà dūom_∅

And day:SG one and 3PL gather CAT sit CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT

ḵā búdaalum lá'ad n gīnni_∅ kō nīdɪb má'aa

seek manliness goods:PL CAT wander:IPFV CAT kill person:PL only

kà dā lé̄m tùm sī'əla +∅.

and NEG.IMP again work INDF.INAN NEG.

"One day they sat down to meet and decided to go and find some weaponry and go round looking to kill people so as never to have to work again."

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.

Bà sīd dūe_∅ ḵā sū'us nē zán'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē

3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with

lú'ad, nē kpāna nē máli súŋā n pīń'ili_∅ gīnni_∅ ∅ īad nīdɪb

quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV person:PL

yé bà yá'ńyē sī' bān kō.

that 3PL if find INDF.AN 3PL.CNTR kill.

"So indeed they went and found lots of swords and bludgeons and bows and arrows and quivers and spears and guns and started out looking for people so if they found someone they would kill him."

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken.

Bà gílígí_ àlá nē ńwāɪsá_àtáń' nē dábɪsà_àtáń'. Bà pō ńyē

3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG.IND find

nīdɪ_∅ ná kōv +∅. Kà kpélim mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn.

person:SG CAT IRR kill NEG. And remain have go:GER with go:GER with go:GER

"They went round like this for three months and three days and didn't find a person to kill. They carried on walking and walking and walking."

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.

Dābá_ànū dāar bà ñyē nē lāllí sà kà sī'əl zí'e sābílíì_∅

Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.INAN stand black:SG CAT

wūv nīd nē, kà bà kpēēñm lā yé bà kém_∅ kú·o_∅, yé ò sōb

like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill 3AN.OB, that 3AN EMPTY.AN

yá' pòn túñ'e kà mōr nē láuk-sī'a wūsa, bà nà ñyāñi_∅ kú·o_∅.

if already be.able and have FOC item-INDF.INAN all, 3PL IRR prevail CAT kill 3AN.OB.

"On the fifth day they saw something standing in the distance, black like a human being, and the eldest of them said that they should go and kill him; when he himself was ready and had every piece of equipment, they would be able to kill him."

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.

Kà òṅā gīṅid kpē, kà òṅā gīṅid kpē, bà tì kēṅ_∅

And DEMST.AN intercept:IPFV there, and DEMST.AN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL after go CAT

pāe_∅ ñyé kà lì kā' nīdá +∅, kà á nē bōtú kà līḡidì pé'el

reach CAT see and 3INAN NEG.BE person:SG NEG, and COP FOC sack:SG and money fill

mà'aa má'aa má.

only only IDEO.

"And this one blocked this way, and that one blocked that way, but after they got there they saw that it wasn't a person but a bag chock full of money."

Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla?

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā ñwá, tì yé tì níḡ līḡidì ñwá wālá +∅?

And 3PL say, So.then, and now this, 1PL that after do money this how CQ?

"They said: 'Well, now! What are we going to do with this money?'"

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.

Kà bà yē, bà nà pūdīḡ nē. Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yīs līḡidì lā n

And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3INAN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT

kēṅ_∅ dá' dāam_∅ ná nū yīḡá kà ñyāan pūdīḡ līḡidì lā.

go CAT buy beer CAT IRR drink firstly and next share money ART.

"And they said they'd share it. But first they said they should take some money out to buy beer to drink, and then share out the money."

Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Kà yīs līgidi lā bī'elá yē bīig lā kém_ø dá' yōor ná kà bà nū.

And extract money ART little that child:SG ART go:IMP CAT buy jug:SG hither and 3PL drink.

"And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [sic] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [sic] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa.

Bīig lā_ø kēn lā, ò tēñ'esid nē ́n nà nīḡ sī'em_ø kō bání kpèlim

Child:SG ART NZ go:IPFV ART, 3AN think:IPFV FOC 3AN:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV CAT kill REL.PL remain

àní nā lā, kà vāe līgidi lā wōsa wōsa n sū'e, ò yèl_ò mēḡ yē,

there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT OWN, 3AN say 3AN self that,

ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà b́ tì-kōvdím n lós dāamí-n lā

3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer-LOC ART

n pāe_ø tí_bá kà bà nūu_ø kpíkà ò sū'e līgidi lā wōsa.

CAT reach CAT give 3PL.OB and 3PL drink CAT die and 3AN OWN money ART all.

"As the youngest was travelling, he was thinking how he might kill those who stayed in that place and take absolutely all of the money as his own; he said to himself that he would buy the beer, and look for a poison to put into the beer and go and give it to them to drink and die so he'd possess all of the money."

Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà b́ tì-kōvdím n lós.

And truly buy beer ART, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse.

"And indeed he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it."

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.

Zī'isígē⁺ø, kà bà bàyí lā_ø kpèlim lā mé gbāñ'e nē yé bà kō

NEG.KNOW NEG, and 3PL NUM:two ART NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill

bīig lā_ø kēḡ dāam lā dá'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgidi lā.

child:SG ART NZ go beer ART buy:GER ART, and also own money ART.

"Unbeknownst, the two who had stayed behind had also decided to kill the youth who had gone to buy the beer and themselves keep the money."

Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [sic] kpe, ka on kiak [sic] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Bīig lá n mōr dāam lā_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òṅā kịá kpē,

Child:SG ART NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEMST.AN cut here,

kà ɔn kịá kpē, n kí-o_∅ ∅ kū, kà yū'un záṅ dāam lā_∅

and 3AN.CNTR cut here, CAT cut 3AN.OB CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT

nū wán wán, lì pō yúugē⁺∅, kà bà wōsa wōsa mé kpélìm kpi

drink IDEO IDEO, 3INAN NEG.IND delay NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die

zìñ-kàn lā nóc kà bà sō' sō' pō ñyāṅi_∅ pāam lā'af lā

place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDF.AN INDF.AN NEG.IND prevail CAT receive COWTY:SG ART

báa yīnní_∅ mōri_∅ kúlí_∅ bà yáanē⁺∅.

not.one CAT have CAT go.home 3PL house:PL.LOC NEG.

"When the youth arrived back with the beer, this one cut him here and that one cut him there, cutting him to death, and they then picked up the beer and drank it in gulps; before long both of them died immediately in the exact same place, and none of them was able to take even a single coin home."

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Dìn kà Kūsāas yé fù yá' tēñ'es bēē túm bē'ed yé fù tísì_

3INAN.CNTR and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give

fù tīrāan, fù mâanní_ fù mēṅ yâ'as lā.

2SG neighbour:SG, 2SG make:IPFV 2SG self again ART.

"That's why the Kusaasi say: if you think or do evil toward your neighbour, you're doing it to yourself in return."

30.3 Proverbs

These are a selection from *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima* pp38ff; others are cited above in the body of the grammar itself. I have added English proverbs with similar implications where possible; the art of deploying proverbs appropriately is hard, however, and I will be happy to accept corrections.

Benga nobid ka o sob la'adne.

Bēṅá ñòbɪd kà ò sōb lâ'ad nē.

Bean:PL grow:IPFV and 3AN EMPTY.AN laugh:IPFV FOC.

"Beans grow and their owner is laughing." (Make hay while the sun shines.)

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'əm káadi_ø lébìs né m̄ gēogv-n.

Water bail:IPFV CAT return FOC 1SG between.legs:SG-LOC.

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs." (Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'əm zót nē bjāñ'ar zúg.

Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG upon.

"Water runs on mud." (What's in it for me?)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asíd nē zūərɪ-n.

Stone:PL gather:IPFV FOC hill:SG-LOC.

"Stones build up on a hill." (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À-wjāk sēoňg zī' sínnē +ø.

PERS-hatch rainy.season NEG.KNOW hawk:PL NEG.

"The one hatched in the rainy season doesn't know about hawks."

(It's a fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pō ñyē sāa kúvbō +ø, kà ñyē sāa nîib.

NEG.IND see rain threaten:GER NEG, and see rain rain:GER.

"Didn't see the rain coming, but did see the rain." (Easy to be wise after the event.)

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà pū nōkíd nā'-bínnì_ø lōbígíd náafō +ø.

3PL NEG.IND take:IPFV COW-dung:SG CAT throw.at:IPFV COW:SG NEG.

"They don't take cow dung and throw it at the cow."

(Don't carry coals to Newcastle.)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zū'əm yá' yé ò nà lōbug, bāŋɪm kà ò nò nē kūgɪr.

Blind.person:SG if that 3AN IRR throw.at, realise:IMP and 3AN stand.on FOC stone:SG.

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

(Be prepared!)

Nong daan fuug tigidne gum ka li po tigid ki'ibo.

Nōŋ-dāan fūug tigid nē gúm, kà lì pō tigid kī'ibó +∅.

Poverty-owner:SG shirt:SG sate:IPFV FOC cotton, and 3INAN NEG.IND sate:IPFV soap NEG.

"The poor man's shirt has a lot of material but not a lot of soap."

(i.e. wastefulness leads to poverty.)

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o tadim.

Bālērug_∅ zī' yé ò à bālērugó +∅, kà tādım mī yé ò [à] tādım.

Ugly:SG CAT NEG.KNOW that 3AN COP ugly:SG NEG, and poor:SG know that 3AN COP poor:SG.

"The ugly man doesn't know he's ugly, but the poor man knows he's poor."

(Self-delusion about poverty is not possible.)

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bōɔd támpìiŋ sīiŋd, fù pō léɔm zòt líəŋ dāug ñyōɔɔg +∅.

2SG if want rock:SG honey, 2SG NEG.IND again run:IPFV axe:SG wood:SG sympathy NEG.

"If you're trying to get honey out of a stone, you shouldn't feel sorry for the shaft of the axe." (You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs.)

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.

Mōɔdi_∅ píliŋ kà yū'ada bé.

Grass:PL CAT strip.off and rafter:PL EXIST.

"The thatch has come off but the rafters are still there."

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

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.

Bù-dìbiŋ kúnńí_ ò bā' yír nē nōb-kōɔg dāar.

Goat-young.male:SG go.home:IPFV 3AN father:SG house:SG with leg-break:GER day:SG.

"The kid goes back to his father's house on the day he breaks his leg."

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

À-dī'e bōɔd pō zín'i ná'-yīré +∅.

PERS-Receive innocence NEG.IND be.sitting chief-house:SG NEG.

"He who has been declared innocent doesn't hang around the courthouse."

(Quit while you're ahead.)

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

Bà yē bālērug, kà fù yē zūg-máuk.

3PL that ugly:SG, and 2SG that head-crumpled:SG.

"They say 'ugly' and you say 'funnyface.'"

(Six of one, half a dozen of the other.)

31 Vocabulary

Words are ordered by Short Forms. Vowel glottalisation and the distinctions *n/ñ*, *ə/e/ɛ/ε*, *i/ɨ/j*, *ə/o/ɔ* and *u/ʊ/ɯ* are ignored in the ordering; *ŋ* follows *n*.

The abbreviations *n adj adv ideo q sv dv* stand respectively for noun, adjective, adverb, ideophone, quantifier, single-aspect verb and dual-aspect verb.

Nouns are listed under the sg. Adjectives are listed under the *g^a|s^ε* class form if extant; if not, *g^ɔ|d^ε* or *r^ε|a⁺*. Dual-aspect verbs are listed under the perfective; other forms are listed only if irregular. Regular deverbal nominals are not listed.

Compounds are not listed if they are regularly formed and have transparent meanings. Those that *are* listed are included under the entry for the first element.

Personal and place names are not listed: see [29.2](#) [29.3](#) for examples.

Binomial names of plants are mostly taken from Haaf (see References); he checked the identifications carefully with botanical experts.

Arabic words have probably all been transmitted via other languages.

A

à- personifier particle (default allomorph) [15.5](#)

āañɔg^a pl *āañɔs^ε* cb *āañd-* n. black plum tree, *Vitex doniana*

āañɔr^ε pl *āañda⁺* n. black plum fruit

āañs^ε dv. tear

àbùlá⁺ q. adv. how many-fold?

àbùyí⁺ *àbùtáñ⁺* *àbùnāasí⁺* q. adv. twice, three times etc

à-dàalúŋ^ɔ pl *à-dàalís^ε* *à-dàalímìs^ε* cb *à-dàalúŋ-* n. stork [15.5](#)

àɛñ^a ger *àañlím^m* sv. be something/somehow [19.11.2](#) [7.3](#)

àèñ⁺ dv. get torn; resultative adj *àañlúŋ^ɔ* torn

à-gâvñŋ^ɔ pl *à-gâañd^ε* cb *à-gāñ-* n. pied crow [15.5](#)

àgól^{lε} *àgōlá⁺* adv. upwards

Àgòl^{lε} n. Agolle district of Kusaasi territory; n. Agolle Kusaal dialect

à-kōra-díəm^{ma} pl *à-kōra-díəm-nàm^a* n. praying mantis [15.5](#)

àlá⁺ adv. thus

àlá⁺ q. so many; how many?

àláafù⁺ n. health; in greetings [28](#); cf *láafiya⁺* ← Arabic *ʔal-ṣa:fiya*

Àláasìd dâar^ε n. Sunday ← Arabic

Àlàmiisì dâar^ε n. Thursday ← Arabic

Àlárìbà dâar^ε n. Wednesday ← Arabic

àlá zùg^ɔ therefore [20.2.1](#)

àlɔpìr^ε pl *àlɔpìya⁺* n. aeroplane ← English

àmáa⁼ but [20.2.1](#) ← Hausa ← Arabic

àmēŋá⁺ adv. really, truly

- àmí* amen ← Arabic *ʔa:mi:n*; in replies to greetings 28
à-mús^ε pl *à-mús-nàm^a* n. cat 15.5; cf Hausa *mussàa id*
ànāasí⁺ q. four
àní⁺ adv. there
àní⁼ q. eight
àní nā^{+/} adv. there
àníḡà⁺ adv. promptly
ànḡ'ḡn^ε who? 15.3.4
àñrvḡ^ᶑ pl *àñrma⁺* cb *àñrvḡ-* n. boat (written *aaruv* in the 1976/1996 NT)
āñs^ε dv. pluck (leaves)
āñsìb^a pl *āñs-nám^a* cb *āñs-* n. mother's brother
āñsḡ^{ε/} dv. break at an angle
āñsḡ^a pl *āñsís^ε* cb *āñsḡ-* n. (man's) sister's child
àntù'a⁼ pl *àntù'əs^ε* cb *ànty'à-* n. lawsuit
ànū⁺ q. five
àñwá⁺ adv. like this
ānzúrìfà⁺ n. silver ← Hausa *azùrfaa*
àràkóñ⁺ q. one
àrazàk^a pl *àrazà'as^ε* cb *àrazà'-* Generally used in pl: n. wealth, riches ← Arabic
ʔar-rizq
àrazánà⁺ n. heaven ← Arabic *ʔal-janna*
Àrzúmà dâar^ε n. Friday ← Arabic
àsée except, unless 18 20.2.1 ← Hausa *sai*
Àsíbìtì dâar^ε n. Saturday ← Arabic
àsīda⁺ adv. truly
àsùbá⁺ n. dawn ← Arabic *ʔas^ʕ-s^ʕaba:h*
àtáñ⁺ q. three
Àtáláatà dâar^ε n. Tuesday ← Arabic
àtáḡā^{+/} q. three exactly
Àtínì dâar^ε n. Monday ← Arabic
àtìyuk^ᶑ n. sea ← Hausa *tèeku*
àwánā^{+/} adv. like this
àwāḡ⁺ q. nine
àyí⁺ q. two
áyì no 21.4.4
àyíḡā^{+/} q. two exactly
àyᶑpᶑḡ⁺ q. seven
àyúəbù⁺ q. six

B

bà they, their (*right-bound*); *ba*⁺ them (*left-bound*) 15.3.1

bā^{+/} pl *bā-nám*^a cb *bā*⁻ n. father 8.4

bāa⁼ pl *bāas*^ε cb *bà*⁻ n. dog

báa (← Hausa *bâa* "not exist") in constituent negation 26

bā'a⁼ pl *bā'ab*^a cb *bà*⁻ n. traditional diviner; *bà'-kòlv*^ɔ pl *bà'-kòn*^{nε} cb *bà'-kòl*⁻ n. diviner's bag

bā'a⁼ pl *bā'as*^ε cb *bà*⁻ n. peg to hang things on

bà'an^{nε} pl *bà'ana*⁺ cb *bà'an*⁻ n. stocks (punishment)

bàañlv^a pl *bàañls*^ε adj. narrow, slender

bāañlv^a adj. quiet

bāañlm^m adv. quietly

bà'ar^ε pl *bàda*⁺ *bà'a*⁺ cb *bà*⁻ n. idol

bābá⁺ beside *postposition* 16.6; cf *bābir*^{ε/} sphere of activity

bàbv^a q. many

bákpàε⁺ n. week ← Hausa *bakwài* "seven"

bàlàar^ε pl *bàlàya*⁺ cb *bàlà*⁻ n. stick, staff, club

bàlàrv^ε pl *bàlàra*⁺ cb *bàlàrv*⁻ n. hat

bālērv^{ɔ/} pl *bālērv*^{ε/} *bālērvs*^{ε/} cb *bālēr*⁻ n. ugly person; cf *lēr*^ε get ugly

bàmmā^{+/} these, those *demonstrative* 15.3.2

bàn^ε these, those *demonstrative* 15.3.2

bán they (*subject of ñ-clause*); *bān*^ε they, them (*contrastive*) 15.3.1

bāñ⁺ dv. ride

bānāa⁼ pl *bānāas*^ε cb *bànà*⁻ (*tone sic in my materials*) n. traditional "fugu" smock

bàn'ad^a pl *bàn'ad-nàm*^a n. ill person

bāñ'al^{ε/} dv. make to ride (horse, bicycle)

bāñ'as^ε cb *bāñ*⁻ n. pl as sg disease

bàn-dāv^ɔ pl *bàn-dāad*^ε cb *bàn-dà*⁻ n. crocodile

bān-kúsél^{lε} pl *bān-kúsélá*⁺ cb *bān-kúsēl*⁻ n. lizard

bārv^a pl *bārvs*^ε cb *bàrv*⁻ n. ring, chain, fetter

bàrv^a n. agama lizard

bàrv^ε dv. come to know

báp wallop!

Bārv^{a/} pl *Bārvs*^{ε/} cb *Bār*⁻ n. Bisa person (not only the Bareka, WK)

bárvkà⁺ n. blessing; in greetings 28 ← Arabic *baraka*

Bārv^{ɔ/} n. Bisa country; North 29.3

bàs^ε dv. go away; abandon; throw out

Bāt^{ε/} n. Bisa language

bàtáñ⁺ q. three (*after a personal pronoun*)

bàvrv⁺ n. found only as in *Ò kpèñ' bárvv*. He was circumcised. ← Songhay "pool"

bàvrvog^{ɔ/} betrayer of secrets (cf *yēvs*^{ε/})

- bàyi*⁺ *q.* two (after a personal pronoun)
bàyópòḡ⁺ *q.* seven (after a personal pronoun)
bè⁺ *ger* *bèlím*^m (sic) *sv.* exist; be in a place 19.11.1
bēdiḡ^{el} *dv.* go rotten
bèdug^ᵛ *bèdir*^ε *pl* *bèda*⁺ *cb* *bèd-* *adj.* great
bèdugū^{+/} *q.* much, a lot
bēε or 20.2.1 21.2
bèkèkèoṅḡ^ᵛ or *bèkèoṅḡ*^ᵛ *n.* very early morning
bèlím^m *dv.* beg
bèlɪs^ε *dv.* comfort
bēn^{nε} *pl* *bēna*⁺ *cb* *bèn-* *n.* end
bèñ⁺ *ger* *bēñ'εs*^ε *dv.* fall ill
bèñsiḡ^ε *dv.* serve soup
bèṅ^ε *dv.* mark out a boundary
bēṅíd^ε *cb* *bēṅ-* *n.* *pl* bean leaves, *Vigna unguiculata* (Haaf); *bēṅíd nē kī*^{+/} *n.* beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack
bēṅír^ε *pl* *bēṅá*⁺ *cb* *bēṅ-* *n.* brown bean
bēog^ᵛ *n.* tomorrow 20.2.1; *Kà bēog níe kà ...* The next day ...
bēogv-n^{el} *n.* morning
bē'og^ᵛ *bī'a*⁺ *pl* *bē'εd*^ε *bī'əs*^ε *cb* *bè'- bjà'-* *adj.* bad
bèriḡ^a *pl* *bèriḡis*^ε *sic n.* a plant used for fibre (KED), *Hibiscus cannabinus* (Haaf)
bēriḡa⁺ *cb* *bèriḡ-* *pl* leaves of *bèriḡ* used for soup (KED)
bēsug^ᵛ *pl* *bēsíd*^ε *cb* *bès-* *n.* a kind of wide-mouthed pot
bjāñ'ar^{el} *pl* *bjāñ'adá*⁺ *bjāñ'a*⁺ *cb* *bjāñ'-* *n.* wet mud, black mud; riverbed
bjāḡñk^ᵛ *pl* *bjāñ'ad*^ε *cb* *bjāñ'-* *n.* shoulder
bīál^ε *pl* *bīálá*⁺ *adj.* naked
bīəl^ε *dv.* accompany
bī'álá⁺ *q.* a little; *bī'əl bī'əl* *q. and adv.* a very little; little by little
bī'am^m *pl* *bī'am-nàm*^a *bī'amma* LF *cb* *bī'am-* *n.* enemy
bīan^{nε} *pl* *bīana*⁺ *cb* *bīan-* *n.* shin
bīar^{el} *pl* *bjēyá*⁺ *cb* *bjā-* *n.* elder sibling of the same sex
bī'əs^ε *dv.* doubt
bīḡis^ε *dv.* show, teach
bīiḡa^a *pl* *bīis*^ε *cb* *bì- bī-* *n.* child; *bī-díbiḡ*^a *n.* boy; *bì-līa*⁺ *n.* baby; *bì-nà'ab*^a *n.* prince;
bì-pīt^{a/} *pl* *bì-pītí(b*^a *cb* *bì-pīt-* *n.* father's younger brother; *bī-púḡ*^a *n.* girl
bī'ig^ε *dv.* ripen, become pregnant
bīilíḡ^ᵛ *pl* *bīilí*⁺ *cb* *bīil-* *n.* seed
bīilím^m *n.* childhood
bīim^{m/} *cb* *bī-* *n.* soup, stew
bī'isím^m *n.* milk (human or animal)
bī'isur^ε *pl* *bī'isa*⁺ *cb* *bī'is-* *n.* woman's breast

- bīl^a* pl *bībīs^ε* cb *bīl-* or *bì-* adj. little, small
bilıg^ε dv. roll (transitive)
bilım^m dv. roll (intransitive)
bìmbìm^{mε} pl *bìmbìma⁺* cb *bìmbìm-* n. altar NT (KED: mound or pillar of earth)
Bìn^{nε} pl *Bìm^{ma}* cb *Bìn-* n. Moba, Bimoba person (not only Bemba, WK)
Bìn^{nε} n. Moba language
bīn^{nε} n. excrement
Bìyη^ɔ n. Moba country
bò⁺ dv. seek; *bòɔd^a* ipfv used for: want, like, love (sexual, romantic); ipfv ger
bòɔdım^m will 12.2.1.4
bō⁺ cb *bò-* what? why? 15.3.4; *bò-būudi⁺* what sort of ..?; *bō-zúgō* because 20.2.1,
 why? 16.7; *bò-wìn^{nε}* what time of day?; *bō kím̄m* "exactly what?"
bòbig^ε dv. wrap round, tie round
bòdıg^ε dv. lose, become lost
bòdòbòdò⁺ n. bread (? ultimately ← English)
bòk^ɔ pl *bò'ad^ε* cb *bı'à-* n. pit
bōsır^ε pl *bōsa⁺* cb *bòs-* n. puff adder
bōtu⁺ n. sack
bō⁺ dv. beat
bı'ak^ε dv. split
bò'ar^ε pl *bı'àa⁺* cb *bı'à-* n. hole
bō'ar^{ε/} pl *bı'áa⁺* cb *bı'ā-* n. skin bottle
bùd^ε ger *būdıg^a* *būdug^ɔ* dv. plant seeds
bòdàalım^m n. manhood, courage
bùdım^m dv. get confused
bùdımís^ε n. confusion
bù'e⁺ dv. pour out
bùg^ε dv. get drunk; cf Hausa *bùgu id*
bōgud^a n. client of a *bā'a⁼* traditional diviner
bògulım^m dv. cast lots
bōgur^ε pl *bōga⁺* cb *bòg-* n. dwelling-place of a *wīn^{nε}* localised spirit; also a *wīn^{nε/}* as
 a *sīgir^{ε/}* 29.2 inherited from one's mother's family
bùgúm^m cb *bùgōm-* *bùgúm-* n. fire; *Bùgúm-tōñr^ε* n. Fire Festival
bōgus^{a/} sv. be soft
bōgusíg^a *bōgusír^ε* pl *bōgusá⁺* cb *bōgus-* adj. soft, weak
bōgusígā^{+/} adv. softly
bōgusím^m n. softness, weakness
bōk^{ε/} dv. weaken
bòk^ε dv. cast lots
bùl^ε dv. germinate, ooze
būl^ε pl *būla⁺* n. shoot, sprout

bùl^ε *dv.* astonish

Bùl^{lε} *n.* Buli language

Bùlɔ^a *pl* *Bùlɩs*^ε *cb* *Bùl-* *n.* Balsa person

bùlɔ^a *pl* *bùlɩs*^ε *cb* *bùl-* *n.* well, pond

bùmbàrɔ^a *pl* *bùmbàrɩs*^ε *cb* *bùmbàr-* *n.* ant

bùn^ε *dv.* reap, harvest

būn^{nε/} *pl* *būná*⁺ *būn-nám*^a *cb* *būn-* *n.* thing (concrete or abstract); *būn-búvdì*^Ɔ *n.* plant; *būn-gíj*^a *n.* short chap (informal, joking); *būn-kóñbùg*^ɔ *pl* *būn-kóñbìd*^ε *cb* *kòñb-* (sic) *n.* animal; *būn-kúdùg*^ɔ *n.* old man

būn-dáar^ε which day? 16.7

bùŋ^a *pl* *bùmɩs*^ε *cb* *bùŋ-* *n.* donkey

bùŋ^ε *dv.* take a short cut

bùl^ε *dv.* call, summon; *Ò yǔ'ur búen* X. She is called X. 19.8.2

bùer^ε *pl* *bųèya*⁺ *cb* *bųà-* *n.* grain store, silo

bū'əs^ε *dv.* ask; *ger bū'əsúg*^ɔ *n.* question; *bu'oskaŋa* this question (Jn 18:34)

bù-pīiga *q. adv.* ten times

būráa⁼ *n.* man, male adult (in ILK, but characteristically *Toende* Kusaal; see *dāy*⁺)

būriyá⁺ *n.* Christmas ← Twi/Fante *bronya*

bùrkìn^a *pl* *bùrkìn-nàm*^a *cb* *bùrkìn-* *n.* free person; honourable person ← Songhay

Bùsáañ^{lε} *n.* Bisa language

Bùsáj^a *pl* *Bùsáañs*^ε *cb* *Bùsāŋ-* *n.* Bisa person

būtɩj^a *pl* *būtɩs*^ε 5.4; *cb* *bùtɩj-* *n.* cup (in general; originally "seed-planting [cup]")

būvd^ε *n. pl* as *sg* innocence

būudi⁺ *cb* *bùud-* *n.* kind, sort, ethnic group

būvg^a *pl* *būvs*^ε *cb* *bù-* *n.* goat; *bù-dìbɩg*^a *n.* male kid

D

dà before two days ago, *tense particle* 19.3.1

dā not with imperative mood 19.5

dàa day after tomorrow, *tense particle* 19.3.1

dāa before yesterday, *tense particle* 19.3.1

dà⁺ *dv.* buy

dà'a⁼ *pl* *dà'as*^ε *cb* *dà'-* *n.* market

dà'abɩr^ε *n.* slave

dàalum^m *n.* masculinity

dàalím^m *pl* *dàalímìs*^ε *n.* male organs

dāam^{m/} *cb* *dā-* *n.* millet beer, "pito"; *dā-nūur*^ε *n.* beer-drinking; *dā-bín*^{nε} *cb* *dā-bín-* *n.* beer residue; NT yeast (cf *bīn*^{nε})

dāam^m *dv.* disturb, trouble (cf Hausa *dāamaa id*)

dāan^a *pl* *dāan-nàm*^a *cb* *dāan-* *n.* owner of ... 15.6.2

dāar^ε *pl* *dābá*⁺ *cb* *dà-* *n.* day (24-hour period); *dà-pīiga*⁺ *n.* ten days

dāa-sí'ērē perhaps 20.2.1

dàbīām^m *tone sic n.* fear

dàbīog^ɔ *pl* *dàbīəd^ɛ* *cb* *dàbjà-* *n.* coward

dàbısrı^ɛ *pl* *dàbısa⁺* *cb* *dàbıs-* *n.* day (as one of several)

dādúk^ɔ *n.* a kind of large pot

dā'e^{+/} *dv.* push; blow (of wind)

Dàgâad^a *pl* *Dàgâadìb^a* *Dàgâad-nàm^a* *cb* *Dàgâad-* *n.* Dagaaba person (L prefix *sic*)

Dàgbān^{ne/} *pl* *Dàgbām^{ma/}* *cb* *Dàgbān-* *n.* Dagomba person

Dàgbān^{ne/} *n.* Dagbani language

Dàgbāuŋ^{ɔ/} *n.* Dagomba country, Dagbon

dàgòbıg^a *n.* left-hand; (*yà*) *dàgòbıg^a* South KB 29.3

dāká⁺ *pl* *dāká-nàm^a* *cb* *dāká-* *n.* box ← Hausa *àdakàa*

dàkīig^a *pl* *dàkīis^ɛ* *cb* *dàkì-* *n.* wife's sibling; *dàkì-dāu⁺* *n.* wife's brother; *dàkì-puāk^a* *n.*

wife's sister; *dàkì-tù^a* *n.* wife's sister's husband

dà-kòǹr^ɛ *pl* *dà-kòǹya⁺* *cb* *dà-kòǹ-* *n.* unmarried son 29.1

dām^m *ipfv* *dàmmıd^a* *dv.* shake

dàmà'a⁼ *n.* liar cf *mà⁺*

dàmà'am^m *n.* lie, untruth, lying

dàmà'ar^ɛ *n.* lie, untruth

dāmpūsāar^ɛ *n.* stick

dànkòŋ^ɔ *n.* measles

dànsàar^ɛ *n.* staff, club

dà-pāal^{a/} *n.* young man, son

dà-sāŋ^a *pl* *dà-sāaŋs^ɛ* *dà-sām^{ma}* *cb* *dà-sàŋ-* *n.* young man

dà-tāa⁼ *pl* *dà-tāas^ɛ* *cb* *dà-tà-* *n.* enemy

dàtiıŋ^ɔ *n.* right-hand; (*yà*) *dàtiıŋ^ɔ* North KB 29.3

dāu⁺ *pl* *dāp^a* *cb* *dāu-* *dàp-* 8.2 *n.* man (as opposed to woman)

dāvug^ɔ *pl* *dàad^ɛ* *cb* *dà-* *n.* piece of wood, log; *pl also:* wood (material); *dà-kīəd^a* *n.*

wood-cutter; *dà-kpīəd^a* *n.* carpenter; *dà-pūvdír^ɛ* *n.* cross-piece, *pl* *dà-pūvdá⁺* *n.*

used as sg cross NT

dāvug^ɔ *pl* *dāad^ɛ* *cb* *dà-* *adj.* male

dàwàlɔg^a *n.* hot humid season before the rains

dàwān^{ne/} *pl* *dàwāná⁺* *cb* *dàwān-* *n.* pigeon

dàyāam^{ma} *pl* *dàyāam-nám^a* *cb* *dàyāam-* *n.* husband's parent; *dàyāam-dāu⁺* *n.*

husband's father; *dàyāam-puák^a* *n.* husband's mother

dàyūug^{ɔ/} *pl* *dàyūud^{ɛ/}* *cb* *dàyū-* *n.* rat

dèbir^ɛ *pl* *dèba⁺* *n.* mat, pallet, bed

dèεg^a *pl* *dèεs^ɛ* *n.* warthog

dēεŋ^a *pl* *dēεŋs^ɛ* *dēεmıs^ɛ* *dēεna⁺* *cb* *dēεŋ-* *q.* first

dēl^{la/} *ger* *dēllóg^ɔ* *dēllım^m* *sv.* be leaning on something (of a person)

dèlım^m *dv.* begin to lean on something (of a person)

- dēŋ*^a pl *dēmɪs*^ε cb *dēŋ-* n. accidental bruise
dēŋ^ε dv. go, do first
dēŋum beforehand, preverb 19.7.2
dì it, its (*right-bound*) 15.3.1 = *lì*
dì⁺ ipfv *dìt*^a imp *dìm*^a dv. eat, receive; ger *dīb*^ɔ n. food; *Ò dì pɔ̄'ā*. He's married a wife. *Ò dì ñyán*. She's ashamed.
djā^a dv. get dirty
djā'ad^{ε/} n. dirt
dīe^{+/} dv. receive, get
dìam^{ma} pl *dìam-nàm*^a cb *dìam-* n. wife's parent; also in polite address to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age than oneself; *dìam-dāy*⁺ n. wife's father; *dìam-pyāk*^a n. wife's mother
dì'am^m dv. play, not be serious
dì'ama⁺ n. festival
dīəs^{ε/} dv. receive (many things)
dīg^{ya/} ger *dīk*^{a/} KT *dīgur*^{ε/} WK sv. be lying down
dīgusá⁺ n. pl lairs
dīgul^{ε/} dv. lay down
dìgɪn^ε dv. lie down
dìgɪr^ε pl *dìga*⁺ cb *dìg-* n. dwarf
dìs^ε dv. feed; agt *dìs*^a n. glutton
dìsúŋ^ɔ pl *dìsímà*⁺ *dìsís*^ε cb *dìsúŋ-* n. spoon
dìm^a dummy head pronoun, animate pl; *dìn*^{nε} inanimate sg 15.3.7
dín it (*subject of ñ-clause*) 15.3.1
dīn^ε it (*contrastive*) 15.3.1 = *līn*^ε
dìndēog^{ɔ/} pl *dìndēəd*^{ε/} cb *dìndē-* n. chameleon
dìndìs^a n. glutton
dìn zúg^ɔ therefore 16.7
dìtúŋ^ɔ n. right-hand (see *dàtìyŋ*^ɔ)
dì-zōrvog^{ɔ/} pl *dì-zōrá*⁺ cb *dì-zōr-* n. crumb
dō^{la/} ger *dōllím*^m sv. accompany in a subordinate role; *Ànó'kònì dōllí fò?* Who has come with you? (to an elderly patient.) *Bà dòl nē tāaba*. They went together.
dōlɪg^{ε/} dv. make accompany, send along with
dōlɪs^{ε/} dv. investigate, trace
dōñlɪg^{ε/} dv. stretch oneself
dòñ'ɔs^ε dv. water plants
dòɔg^ɔ pl *dòɔd*^ε *dòt*^ε cb *dò-* n. house, hut; clan; *dòɔg bìg*^a n. housecat
dòɔŋg^ɔ pl *dòɔñd*^ε cb *dòñ-* n. dawadawa fruit
dō⁺ ipfv *dōt*^{a/} imp *dòm*^a dv. go up
dɔ̄'à^a dv. bear, give birth, beget; agt *dō'ad*^a n. elder relation
dò'al^ε dv. make interest (of a loan)

dō'am^m *n.* birth

dùañ⁺ *pl* *dòṅṅ*^ε *cb* *dòñ-* *n.* dawadawa *Parkia clappertoniana* [*biglobosa*] (Haaf)

dụ'átà⁺ *n.* doctor ← English

dūe^{+/} *dv.* raise, rise

dōg^ε *dv.* cook

dōk^{ɔ/} *pl* *dōgud*^{ε/} *cb* *dōg-* *n.* cooking pot; *dōg-pé'elà*⁺ *n.* full pots; *dōgub dút* cooking pots

dùm^m *dv.* bite

dūm^{mε} *dūm*^{nε} *pl* *dūma*⁺ *cb* *dùm-* *n.* knee

dòndùug^ɔ *pl* *dòndùud*^ε *cb* *dòndù-* *n.* cobra

dūnyá⁺ *cb* *dūnyá-* 8.6 *n.* world ← Arabic *dunya*:

dūnná⁺ *adv.* this year

dūṅ^a *pl* *dūmɪs*^ε *cb* *dùṅ-* *n.* mosquito

dūər^{ε/} *pl* *dụēyá*⁺ *cb* *dụā-* *n.* stick

dū'əs^{ε/} *dv.* lift up, honour

dūr^a *sv.* be many

dū'un^{ε/} *dv.* pass water (*ger* recorded as *dū'unúg*^ɔ)

dū'uním^m *cb* *dū'un-* *n.* urine

dōvsá⁺ *n. pl.* steps

E

ēēñ yes 21.4.4

ēēñ or *ēēñ tí* see *ñyēē*, *ñyēē tí* habitually *auxiliary tense marker* 19.3.2

ēēñb^{ε/} *dv.* lay a foundation

ēēñbír^ε *n.* foundation 11.1.2

èñbɪs^ε *dv.* scratch

èñd^ε *dv.* block up, plug up

èñdɪg^ε *dv.* unblock, unplug

èñrug^{ε/} *dv.* shift along (e.g. a bench)

F

f^ɔ you *sg* (*left-bound*) 15.3.1

fāañ⁼ *q.* every

fāeñ^{+/} *dv.* save; *agt* *fāañd*^{a/} *fāañgíd*^a *n.* saviour 14.1

fāñ⁺ *dv.* grab, rob

fáss *ideo.* for *pìəlɪg*^a white

fēeg^{ε/} *dv.* (of food) get old, cold

fēñdɪg^{ε/} *dv.* turn round (*tone uncertain*)

fēñ'og^{ɔ/} *pl* *fēñ'ed*^{ε/} *cb* *fēñ'-* *n.* ulcer

fīəb^ε *dv.* beat

fī'ig^ε *dv.* cut off

fiiñ^ε *q.* a little (liquid)

fitlá⁺ *n.* lamp ← Hausa *fitilàa*; in KB adapted to the *r^ε|a⁺* class: *sg fitir pl fita*

fɔ̄ɔs^{ε/} *dv.* blow, puff (wind); *ger fɔ̄ɔsúg^ɔ* *n.* hypocrisy NT

fù you, your *sg (right-bound)* 15.3.1

fùe⁺ *dv.* draw out

fōfōm^{mε} *pl fōfōma⁺* *cb fōfóm-* *n.* envy; stye (believed to result from envy)

fún you *sg (as subject of ñ-clause)*; *fūn* SF *fúnè* LF you *sg (contrastive)* 15.3.1

fūug^{ɔ/} *pl fūud^{ε/}* *fūt^{ε/}* *cb fū-* *n.* shirt, clothing; *pl also:* cloth

G

gàad^ε *dv.* pass, surpass 22.2.2

gáafàra sorry formula 28 (Hausa *gaafaràa*, ultimately ← Arabic)

gà'al^ε *dv.* button up

gà'am^m *dv.* grind teeth

gāañ^{=/} *pl gāañs^{ε/}* *cb gāñ-* *n.* Nigerian ebony *Diospyros mespilliformis* (Haaf)

gàas^ε *dv.* pass by

gādu⁺ *gādu^{ɔ/}* *pl gādu-nám^a* *gāt^{ε/}* *cb gād- gādu-* *n.* bed ← Hausa *gadoo*

gàlum^m *dv.* joke

gàls^ε *dv.* exceed, get to be too much

gāñ^{ε/} *pl gāñyá⁺* *cb gāñ-* *n.* fruit of Nigerian ebony

gàŋ^ε *dv.* step over

gāŋ^{ε/} *dv.* choose

gbāñ'e^{+/} *dv.* catch

gbáñyà'a⁼ *n.* lazy person 14

gbáñyà'am^m *n.* laziness; 1976 NT *gonya'am*

gbàuy^ɔ *pl gbàna⁺* *cb gbàn- gbàuy-* *n.* book WK

gbāuy^{ɔ/} *pl gbāná⁺* *cb gbān- gbāuy-* *n.* animal skin WK; animal skin, book DK

gbéñm^m *cb gbēñ-* *n.* sleep

gbè'og^ɔ *pl gbè'ed^ε* *gbèda⁺* *cb gbè'-* *n.* forehead; shore of a lake

gbēr^{ε/} *pl gbēyá⁺* *cb gbēr-* *n.* thigh

gbīgum^{nε} *pl gbīguma⁺* *cb gbìgum-* *n.* lion

gbìn^{nε} *pl gbìna⁺* *cb gbìn-* *n.* buttock; base (e.g. of a mountain); *postposition* 16.6

gbìn-vòǎñ^ε *n.* anus

gbīs^ε *dv.* sleep

gē^{ε/} *dv.* place between one's legs (Pattern H)

gēñm^{m/} *dv.* go mad, madden

gēñmís^ε *n.* *pl as sg* madness

géñŋ^a *pl gēñmís^ε* *n.* madman

gél^ε *pl gēlá⁺* *cb gēl-* *n.* egg

gēñ⁺ *dv.* get tired; *resultative adj gēñlúŋ^ɔ* *adj.* tired

gēñ'⁺ *dv.* get angry

- gēog*^ɔ *n.* place between one's legs (Pattern O *sic*)
gīñlím^m *n.* shortness
gìk^a *pl* *gìgɪs*^ɛ *cb* *gìg-* *n.* dumb person
gìgɪlɪm^m *dv.* become dumb
gīlɪg^{ɛ/} *ipfv* *gīn*^{na/} *dv.* go around 10.1
gīm^{ma/} *sv.* be short
gīŋ^a *pl* *gīma*⁺ *cb* *gìŋ-* *adj.* short
gìŋ^ɛ *dv.* scrimp
gīŋ^{ɛ/} *dv.* surround, intercept, obstruct
gīŋa⁺ *adv.* shortly
gīŋɪlím^m *n.* shortness
gɔ̄dɪg^{ɛ/} *gɔ̄'ɔn*^ɛ *dv.* look up
gɔ̄^{la/} *gɔ̄r*^{a/} *gɔ̄'e*^{ya/} *sv.* be looking up
gɔ̄ñ⁺ *dv.* hunt; *ipfv* *gɔ̄ɔñd*^a wander, *ger* *gɔ̄ɔñdɪm*^m wandering 12.2.1.4
Gɔ̄ɔg^a *pl* *Gɔ̄ɔs*^ɛ *n.* clan name
Gɔ̄ɔg^ɔ *n.* place of the *Gɔ̄ɔs*^ɛ Goosi clan
gɔ̄'ɔn^ɛ *dv.* look up
gɔ̄r^{a/} *sv.* be looking up
gɔ̄s^ɛ *ipfv* *gɔ̄sɪd*^{a/} *gɔ̄t*^{a/} *imp* *gɔ̄sɪm*^a *gɔ̄m*^a *ger* *gɔ̄sɪg*^a *dv.* look; *agt* *gɔ̄t*^{a/} *n.* seer, prophet
gū⁺ *dv.* guard, protect
gù^ɛ *ipfv* *gùn*^{na} *dv.* suspend
gù^{la} *ger* *gùlɪb*^ɔ *sv.* be suspended
gùllimm SF *gùllimne* LF only; *emphatic* 27.6
gùm^{mɛ} *pl* *gùma*⁺ *n.* kapok fruit; *also* thread WK
Gùm^{mɛ} *n.* place of the clan *Gùm-dìm*^a
gūmpūzēr^{ɛ/} *pl* *gūmpūzēyá*⁺ *cb* *gūmpūzér-* *n.* duck
gùñ'a⁺ *pl* *gùñ'ɔs*^ɛ *cb* *gùñ'-* *n.* thorn; Acacia; *gùñ'-sābɪlíg*^a Acacia *hockii* (Haaf)
gùngūm^{mɛ} *n.* kapok material
gùŋ^a *pl* *gùmɪs*^ɛ *cb* *gùŋ-* *n.* kapok tree *Ceiba pentandra* (Haaf)
gūr^{a/} *ger* *gūrím*^m *sv.* be on guard, watch for 25.1
Gūrín^{nɛ} *n.* Farefare language
Gūrín^a *pl* *Gūrís*^ɛ *n.* Farefare person
gū'ul^{ɛ/} *dv.* put on guard
gù'ɔlɪm^m *dv.* become half-ripe
gùvɪ^ɛ *pl* *gùya*⁺ *cb* *gù-* *n.* upland; bank of river
gūvɪ^ɛ *pl* *gūya*⁺ *cb* *gù-* *n.* ridge of back
gū'us^{ɛ/} *dv.* take care, watch out
gū'us^ɛ *n.* *pl* half-ripe fruit

H

hālí⁺ until, up to and as far as, even 18 20.2.1 22.1 27.6; ? ← Arabic *hatta*;;
hālí báa even

I

jā⁺ *dv.* seek
jāñ'as^{ε/} *dv.* leap
jāñk^{ε/} *ger jāñ'ad*^{al} *agt jāñ'ad*^{al} *dv.* leap, fly 10.1
īgi^{yal} *ger īk*^{al} KT *īgur*^{ε/} WK *sv.* be kneeling
īgi^{ε/} *dv.* make to kneel
ìgin^ε *dv.* kneel down
íi^{lε} *pl íilá*⁺ *cb íil-* *n.* horn
īsi^ε *pl īsa*⁺ *cb is-* *n.* scar
ìsig^ε *dv.* get up early

K

kà and, that 20.2
kā⁺ *dv.* bail (water)
kāab^{ε/} *dv.* offer, invite
kāal^{ε/} *dv.* count
kāas^{ε/} *dv.* cry out, weep; (cock) crow
kà'asige LF *only*; *sv.* not exist 19.5.1
kābig^{ε/} *dv.* ladle out (liquid)
kābu^{ε/} *ger kābirí*⁺ *dv.* call out asking for admission 28
kàd^ε *dv.* drive away; *kàd sàrìyà* *dv.* judge 19.8.1; *agt sàrìyà-kāt*^a *n.* judge NT
kā'ε⁺ *ger kā'alím*^m *sv.* not exist, not be, not have 19.5.1 7.3
kāl^{lε/} *pl kālá*⁺ *cb kāl-* *n.* number
kàlīgā^{+/} *q.* few
kàm^a *q.* every
Kàmbùnɪ^ε *n.* Twi language
Kàmbùŋ^a *pl Kàmbùmɪs*^ε *cb Kàmbùŋ-* *n.* Ashanti person
kàn^ε this, that *demonstrative* 15.3.2
kàñb^ε *ger kãñbir*^ε *dv.* scorch
kãñdug^ɔ *adj.* fat, tough (person)
kàŋā^{+/} this, that *demonstrative* 15.3.2
kàr^a *sv.* be few
kàrum^m *dv.* read
kàsēt^{al} *n.* witness; testimony (Mooré *kàsétò* "proof, testimony"; probably ultimately
 ← French *cachet*; *pl kàsētí*^b witnesses)
kē⁺ *ipfv kēt*^{al} *imp kèl*^a *dv.* let, cause to ... 10.1 22.3
kèkè⁺ *pl kèkè-nàm*^a *cb kèkè-* *n.* bicycle ← Hausa *kèkè*

kòñs^ε *dv.* cough

kòñsim^m *dv.* cough

kò'ɔg^ε *dv.* break (*transitive or intransitive*)

kò'ɔs^ε *dv.* break several times

kɔ̄t^{ε/} *dv.* slaughter (several animals) by cutting their throats

kòt̄aa^{nε} at all; *emphatic* 27.6

kót̄ò⁺ *n.* lawcourt ← English, probably via Hausa

kpà'a⁼ *pl* *kpà'a-nàm*^a *n.* rich person

kpāad^{a/} *pl* *kpāadíb*^a *cb* *kpāad-* *n.* farmer, cultivator

kpà'am^m *n.* riches

kpāañm^{m/} *cb* *kpāñ-* *n.* grease, ointment; *kpāñ-sóñ'ɔdìm*^m *n.* anointing oil

kpàkūr^{ε/} *pl* *kpàkūyá*⁺ *cb* *kpàkūr-* *n.* tortoise

kpān^{nε} *pl* *kpāna*⁺ *cb* *kpān-* *n.* spear

kpàñdir^ε *pl* *kpàñda*⁺ *cb* *kpàñd-* *n.* baboon

kpàr^ε *dv.* lock

kpār-kéõŋ^ɔ *pl* *kpār-kéẽñd*^ε *cb* *kpār-kéñ-* *n.* rag

kpá'ɔŋ^ɔ *pl* *kpī'iní*⁺ *cb* *kpā'-* *n.* guinea fowl

kpē⁺ *adv.* here

kpēẽñm^m *pl* *kpēẽñm-nàm*^a *cb* *kpēẽñm-* *n.* elder

kpēẽñm^{ma/} *sv.* be older than

kpēlá⁺ *adv.* here

kpèlum still; immediately after, *preverb* 19.7.2

kpèlum^m *dv.* remain

kpèn reduced form of the preverb *kpèlum*

kpèñ⁺ *dv.* enter

kpèñdir^{ε/} *pl* *kpèñdá*⁺ *cb* *kpèñd-* *n.* cheek

kpèñ'es^ε *dv.* make enter

kpè'ŋ^ε *dv.* strengthen

kpēõŋ^ɔ *n.* seniority

kpì⁺ *dv.* die; *resultative adj* *kpìilúŋ*^ɔ *adj.* dead

kpì'a⁺ *pl* *kpì'əs*^ε *cb* *kpjà'-* *n.* neighbour

kpjà⁺ *dv.* shape wood with axe etc

kpì'e⁺ *dv.* approach

kpī'əm^{ma/} *sv.* be strong, hard

kpìibɔ^a *pl* *kpìibɔs*^ε *cb* *kpìib-* *n.* orphan

kpìig^ε *dv.* go out (fire)

kpī'ulím^m *dv.* finish, come to an end

kpī'im^{m/} *pl* *kpī'imís*^ε *cb* *kpī'im-* *n.* dead person, corpse

kpìis^ε *dv.* quench (fire)

kpīkpīn^{na/} *pl* *kpīkpīnńb*^a *cb* *kpīkpín-* *n.* merchant

kpī'ɔŋ^ɔ *pl* *kpī'əma*⁺ *cb* *kpì'ɔŋ-* *adj.* strong, hard

- kpìsɪnkpìl*^{lɛ} pl *kpìsɪnkpìl*^a cb *kpìsɪnkpìl*- n. fist
kpìsɪkplì^{lɛ} n. fist
kpùkpar^ɛ pl *kpùkpara*⁺ n. palm tree fruit
kpùkparɪg^a pl *kpùkparɪs*^ɛ cb *kpùkpar*- n. palm tree (*Borassus akeassii/aethiopum*)
kpùkparaɲ^ɔ pl *kpùkpara*⁺ cb *kpùkparaɲ*- n. arm, wing
kù not; *negates irrealis mood* 19.5
kū⁺ dv. kill (= Mooré *kú*)
kū⁺ dv. gather, threaten (of rain): *Sāa kú yā*. It looks like rain (= Mooré *kú*)
kūā⁺ dv. hoe, farm
kū'alɪŋ^a pl *kū'alɪmɪs*^ɛ *kū'alɪs*^ɛ cb *kū'alɪŋ*- n. sleeveless traditional smock
kùd^ɛ dv. work iron
kùdɪg^ɛ dv. shrivel up, dry out, age
kūdɪm^m n. the olden days; also for *kūlɪm* qv
kūdvg^ɔ *kūdɪr*^ɛ pl *kūda*⁺ *kūt*^ɛ cb *kùd*- adj. old
kūdvg^ɔ pl *kūt*^ɛ (used as sg 15.2.1) cb *kùt*- n. iron, nail; sg only in names 29.2
kūgv^{ɛl} pl *kūgá*⁺ cb *kūg*- n. stone
kūk^a pl *kūgus*^ɛ cb *kùg*- n. chair
kùk^a n. ghost
kūk^{al} n. mahogany tree, *Khaya senegalensis* (Haaf); cf Hausa *kuukàa*
kùkòm^{mɛ} pl *kùkòma*⁺ cb *kùkòm*- n. leper
kùkōr^{ɛl} pl *kùkōyá*⁺ cb *kùkōr*- n. voice
kùkparɪg^a see *kpùkparɪg*^a id
kūl^ɛ ger *kūlɪg*^{al} dv. return home; transitive marry (woman subject, man object)
kūlɪm always, post-subject particle 20.2.3
kùlɪŋ^a pl *kùlɪmɪs*^ɛ *kùlɪs*^ɛ cb *kùlɪŋ*- n. door
kùm^m dv. cry, weep
kūm^m cb *kùm*- n. death; *kùm-vō'ugír*^ɛ n. resurrection NT
kùndù'ar^ɛ pl *kùndù'ada*⁺ cb *kùndy'à*- n. barren woman
kùndùŋ^a pl *kùndòmɪs*^ɛ *kùndùna*⁺ n. jackal, hyena
kù'əm^m cb *kų'à*- n. water; *kų'à-nūud*^{ɛl} n. thirst; *kų'à-ñwīg*^{al} pl *kų'à-ñwīs*^{ɛl} n.
 current in a river
kùø^ɛ dv. sell
kùrkōr^{ɛl} pl *kùrkōyá*⁺ cb *kùrkōr*- n. pig
Kūsáa⁼ pl *Kūsâas*^ɛ cb *Kūsá*- n. Kusaasi person
Kūsâal^ɛ n. Kusaal language
Kūsâvg^ɔ n. Kusaasi country
Kùtān^{nɛl} pl *Kùtām*^{ma/} cb *Kùtān*- n. member of WK's clan
Kùtāyŋ^{ɔl} n. country of clan *Kùtām*^{ma/} Kutamba
kūv or 20.2 21.2 ← Hausa
kūug^{al} *kūug*^{ɔl} pl *kūus*^{ɛl} cb *kū*- n. mouse
kùv^ɛ dv. get drunk

L

lā^{+l} definite article 15.7.5

là⁺ dv. laugh

lā'af^o n. cowrie; pl *līgidi*⁺ n. cowries, money; cb *lig- là'-*; *là'-bīālf*^o n. small coin

lāafiya⁺ n. health ← Arabic *ʔal-ʕa:fiya*; replaced by *laafe lāafi* in 1996 NT and KB

là'am together, preverb 19.7.2

là'am^m dv. associate with; together with 22.2

là'as^ε dv. gather together (transitive); *Bà là'as tāaba* They gathered together.

làbāa^ε cb *làbà-* n. news ← Arabic *ʔal-ʔaxba:r*

làbi^{ya} sv. be crouching, hiding behind something (cf Hausa *labèe* "crouch behind something to eavesdrop" 14.1)

làbi^l dv. make crouch behind something

làbin^ε dv. crouch behind something

làbis^ε dv. walk stealthily

lābis^a sv. be wide

lābisiga^a *lābisir*^ε pl *lābisá*⁺ cb *lābis-* adj. wide

lābisim^m n. width

lāk^ε dv. open (eye, book)

lā^{la} sv. be distant

lālig^ε dv. get to be far, make far

lāllí⁺ adv. far off

lāllíŋ^a pl *lāllís*^ε cb *lāllíŋ-* adj. distant

lāllúŋ^o pl *lāllá*⁺ cb *lāl-* adj. distant

lām^{mε} pl *lāmá*⁺ cb *lām-* n. gum (of tooth); *lām-fōŋŋ*^o pl *lām-fōŋd*^ε adj. toothless

làmpō-dí'əs^a n. tax collector 14 ← French *l'impôt*

lān^{nε} pl *lāna*⁺ cb *làn-* n. testicle

làngáŋŋ^o pl *làngáam*^{mε} *làngāamá*⁺ cb *làngāŋŋ-* n. crab (cf *màngáŋŋ*^o id)

lànnig^a pl *lànnis*^ε cb *lànnig-* 8.2 n. squirrel

lā'ŋ^ε dv. set alight

lāŋím^m dv. wander around searching

lāyuk^o pl *lā'ad*^ε cb *là'-* n. item of goods pl goods

là'ŋŋ^o pl *là'ama*⁺ n. fishing net

lèb^ε ger *lēbig*^a dv. return (intrans)

lèbig^ε dv. turn over; return

lèbis^ε dv. answer; send back; divorce (wife)

lèε but, VP particle 19.7.1

lèm again, preverb 19.7.2

lèm^m ipfv *lèmmid*^a dv. sip, taste

lēr^ε dv. get ugly

lì it, its (right-bound); *li*⁺ it (left-bound) 15.3.1

lì⁺ ipfv *lità* imp *lìm*^a ger *līig*^a dv. fall

lī⁺ *dv.* block up

līa where is ...? 21.4.2

līdɪg^ɛ *dv.* turn a shirt WK

līdɪg^ɛ *dv.* astonish, be amazed

līəb^ɛ *dv.* become

lī'əl^ɛ *dv.* approach, come near

lī'əm^{mɛ} *pl* *lī'əmá*⁺ *n.* fruit of yellow plum tree

lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís*^ɛ *cb* *lī'əŋ-* *n.* axe

lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís*^ɛ *n.* yellow plum tree, *Ximenia americana*

līg^ɛ *dv.* patch

līgɪ^ɛ *dv.* cover

līgɪn^ɛ *dv.* cover oneself

līɪbɪr^ɛ *pl* *līɪba*⁺ *cb* *līɪb-* *n.* twin

līk^a *pl* *līgɪs*^ɛ *n.* darkness

līlāalɪŋ^a *pl* *līlāalís*^ɛ *līlāalímís*^ɛ *cb* *līlāalɪŋ-* *n.* swallow

līn it (subject of *ñ*-clause); *līn*^ɛ it (contrastive) 15.3.1

līn^ɛ that demonstrative 15.3.2

līná⁺ that demonstrative 15.3.2

lī⁺ *dv.* tie

līb^ɛ or *lībɪg*^{ɛl} *dv.* throw stones at

lībɪdɪg^a *pl* *lībɪdís*^ɛ *n.* water drawing vessel

lībɪg^{al} *pl* *lībɪs*^{ɛl} *cb* *līb-* *n.* corner; *lībɪgɪn kúg-súŋ*^ɔ cornerstone NT

lībɪg^{ɛl} *dv.* untie

līk^ɔ *pl* *lì'ad*^ɛ *cb* *lɪ'à-* *n.* quiver (for arrows)

lìmbò'ɔg^ɔ *pl* *lìmbò'ɔd*^ɛ *cb* *lìmbò'-* *n.* garden ← Hausa *làmbuu*

līŋ^a *pl* *līmɪs*^ɛ *cb* *lìŋ-* *n.* a kind of frog

lī'ŋ^{ɛl} *dv.* go across river, road etc

lír^ɛ *pl* *láyà*⁺ *lóɔm*^{ma} *cb* *lír-* *n.* car, lorry ← English

lòs^ɛ *dv.* dip, immerse in liquid

lù⁺ *ipfv* *lùt*^a *imp* *lùm*^a *dv.* fall

lūb^ɛ *ger* *lūbɪr*^{ɛl} *dv.* buck, kick, struggle, throw off rider

lūg^ɛ *dv.* swim

lūgur^ɛ *n.* organ, member

M

m̀ I, my (*right-bound*); *m*^a me (*left-bound*) 15.3.1

mà⁺ *cb* *mà-* *n.* mother; *pl* *mà nám*^a (*tone sic*) mother's sisters/co-wives; *mà-bīg*^a *n.*

sibling with same mother; *mà-bīl*^a *n.* mother's younger sister or junior co-wife;

mà-kpēñm^m *n.* mother's elder sister or senior co-wife; *mà-pīt*^{al} *n.* mother's

younger sister

mà⁺ *dv.* lie, deceive

mà'aa SF *mà'ane* LF only; *emphatic* 27.6

màal^ε *dv.* prepare, sacrifice; *agt* *màal-māan*^{na} *n.* sacrificer; priest NT; traditionally just a worker who conducts the actual slaying for the *tèŋ-dāan*^a earth-priest

mā'al^{ε/} *dv.* make cool, wet

māan^{nε} *pl* *māana*⁺ *cb* *māan-* *n.* sacrifice 11.1.2

má'an^{nε} *pl* *mā'aná*⁺ *cb* *mā'an-* *n.* okra

mā'as^{a/} *sv.* be cool, wet

mā'asíg^a *mā'asír*^ε *pl* *mā'asá*⁺ *cb* *mā'as-* *adj.* cool, wet

mā'asígā^{+/} *adv.* coolly

mā'asím^m *n.* coolness, wetness

mādɪg^{ε/} *dv.* overflow, abound

mā'e^{+/} *dv.* cool down

màk^ε *dv.* crumple up

māk^{ε/} *dv.* measure, judge

màljāk^{a/} *pl* *màljā'as*^{ε/} *màljāk-nám*^a *cb* *màljā'-* *n.* angel ← Arabic *malʔak*;
written *malek* in NT versions before 2016

màlɪ^ɸ *pl* *màlɪ*⁺ *n.* gun, rifle (ultimately ← Arabic)

màlɪgɪm again; *preverb* 19.7.2

māls^{a/} *sv.* be sweet, pleasant

mālsíg^a *mālsír*^ε *pl* *mālsá*⁺ *cb* *māls-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant

mālsím^m *n.* sweetness

mālsíŋ^a *pl* *mālsís*^ε *cb* *mālsíŋ-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant

mālvɔ^ɔ *pl* *mālvma*⁺ *cb* *mālvɔ-* *n.* sacrifice

mām I, me 15.3.1

mán I (as subject of *ŋ*-clause); *mān* SF *mánè* LF I, me (contrastive) 15.3.1

màngávɔ^ɔ *pl* *màngáam*^{mε} *màngāamá*⁺ *cb* *màngāvɔ-* *n.* crab (cf *làngávɔ*^ɔ *id*)

màvɔk^ɔ *pl* *mà'ad*^ε *adj.* crumpled up

mè⁺ *dv.* build

mè mèn^ε too, also; *emphatic* 27.6; *mè-kàma* -soever 15.3.3

mēd^ε *dv.* mash up

mèɛŋ^a *pl* *mèɛmɪs*^ε *cb* *mèɛŋ-* *n.* turtle

mèlɪgɪm^m *n.* dew

mēŋ^{a/} self 15.3.6

mēŋír^ε *adj.* genuine

mēt^{ε/} *cb* *mēt-* *n.* *pl* as *sg* *pus*

mī⁺ *ger* *mī'ilím*^m *sv.* know; *agt* *gbàn-mī'id*^{a/} *n.* scribe ("book-knower") NT

mìè⁺ *dv.* squeeze(?) 30.1; *uncertain meaning and tones*

míif^ɸ *pl* *mīiní*⁺ *n.* okra seed

mì'ig^ε *dv.* become sour

mì'is^a *sv.* be sour

mì'isvɔ^ɔ *pl* *mì'isa*⁺ *cb* *mì'is-* *adj.* sour

mīlɨg^{ɛ/} *dv.* get dirty
mīmīlím^m *mīmīlúg*^ɔ *n.* sweetness
mīt see that it doesn't happen that... 19.5.1; *always mid in KB*
mō⁺ *dv.* strive, struggle
mōd^ɛ *dv.* swell
mōdɨg^{ɛ/} *dv.* be patient, endure
mòlɨ^ɸ *pl* *mòlɨ*⁺ *cb* *mòl-* *n.* gazelle
mōn^ɛ *dv.* grind millet to make *sā'ab*^ɔ porridge
mōŋ^{ɛ/} *dv.* refuse to lend
mōɔg^ɔ *pl* *mōɔd*^ɛ *cb* *mò-* *n.* grass, "bush"; *mò-pīl*^{lɛ} *n.* grass thatch
Mòɔg^ɔ *n.* Mossi realm; *Mòɔg Nâ'ab*^a *n.* the Moro Naba, King of the Mossi
mōɔl^{ɛ/} *dv.* proclaim; *agt* *mōɔl-môɔn*^{na} *n.* proclaimer
Mòɔl^ɛ *n.* Mooré language
Mōr^{ɛ/} *pl* *Móɔm*^{ma} *cb* *Mōr-* *n.* Muslim
mōr^{a/} *ger* *mōrím*^m *sv.* have, possess; *mōr nā* bring 19.10
Mùa⁺ *pl* *Mòɔs*^ɛ *cb* *Mò-* *n.* Mossi person
mɸ'à^a *dv.* suck (of a baby)
mɸ'àk^a *pl* *mò'as*^ɛ *cb* *mɸ'à-* *n.* maggot
mò'ar^ɛ *pl* *mɸ'àa*⁺ *mò'ada*⁺ *cb* *mɸ'à-* *n.* dam; reservoir
mò'as^ɛ *dv.* give (to baby) to suck
mò'e⁺ *dv.* redden; catch fire/ignite; become intense, severe
mùj⁺ *cb* *mùj-* *n.* *pl as sg* rice
mùl^ɛ *dv.* itch
mùm^m *dv.* bury

N

̀n clause nominaliser particle 24
n clause catenator particle 22.1
̀n- personifier particle (allomorph used before an adjective) 15.5
n^ɛ discontinuous-past marker 23.1.1
n^ɛ *nī*^{+/} locative particle 16.3
nà positive irrealis mood marker 19.4
nā^{+/} hither; VP-final particle 19.10
nā⁺ *dv.* join
náa reply to greetings invoking blessings 28
nà'ab^a *pl* *nà'-nàm*^a *cb* *nà'-* *n.* chief, king; *nà'-bīg*^a *n.* prince/princess; *nà'-yīr*^{ɛ/} *n.* palace; *nà'-yī-kpém*^{ma} *n.* *pl* king/chief's retainers
náa^ɸ *pl* *nīg*⁺ *cb* *nā'-* *n.* cow; *nā'-lór*^ɛ *n.* place in compound for tying up cows;
nā'-dāug^ɔ *pl* *nā'-dāad*^ɛ *cb* *nā'-dá-* *n.* ox; *nā'-dá-kūedír*^ɛ *n.* ox for ploughing
nàam^m *dv.* happen
nā'am^m *cb* *nà'am-* *n.* chieftaincy, kingdom

- nāan* next, afterwards = *ñyāan*
nāan or *nāani* then, in that case, being thus/there 23.1.2
nà'anā^{+/} *adv.* easily
nà'as^ε *dv.* honour; *ger* *nà'asi*⁺ *n.* honour
Nàbɪd^a *pl* *Nàbɪdɪb*^a *cb* *Nàbɪd-* *n.* Nabdema person
Nàbɪdɔg^ɔ *n.* Nabdema country
Nàbɪr^ε *n.* Nabit language
Nà'dàm^{ma} *n.* clan name
Nà'dàuy^ɔ *n.* place of clan Nadamba
nà'-dàwān^{ne/} *n.* pigeon KED (= *dàwān*^{ne/})
nāe^{+/} *dv.* finish
nàm still, yet; *auxiliary tense particle* 19.3.1
nàm^a *pluraliser* 8.4
nāmɪs^{ε/} *dv.* persecute, suffer
nān^ε *dv.* love, respect, appreciate
nà'-nēsinnēog^{ɔ/} *n.* centipede WK
nānná⁺ *adv.* now
nānná-nā^{+/} *adv.* now
nānzū'us^{ε/} *n.* pepper tones uncertain
nāŋ^a *pl* *nāmɪs*^ε *cb* *nàŋ-* *n.* scorpion
nār^{a/} *ger* *nārím*^m *sv.* be obliged to; impersonal: to be necessary; *with following purpose clause* 25.1; *negated*: be obliged not to
nàrvɔ^ɔ *pl* *nàrima*⁺ *cb* *nàrvɔ-* *adj.* necessary
Nàsāal^ε *n.* English/French language
Nàsāara⁺ *pl* *Nàsàa-nàm*^a *Nàsàar-nàm*^a *cb* *Nàsàa- Nàsàar-* *n.* European person
 ← Arabic *Nasʿa:ra*: "Christians"; *Nàsàa-bīg*^a *n.* European child
nàyīg^a *pl* *nàyīg-nàm*^a *nàyīs*^ε *n.* thief
nàyīgum^m *n.* thievery
nà'-zòm^{me} *n.* locust
nē *preposition*: with 18; *linking NPs and AdvPs*: and 15.1
nē *uncommon variant of yē* that 25.2 (cf Mampruli *ni id*)
nē^{+/} *focus particle* 27.1.2; *aspectual marker* 19.2.1
nē^{+/} *meaningless particle after objects of wōv and wēn*^{na/} 18
nē^{+/} *this (pronoun)* 15.3.2
nèε^ε *dv.* reveal
nèεm^m *adv.* for free
nēεm^{m/} *dv.* grind with a millstone
nēεr^{ε/} *n.* millstone
nèεs^ε *dv.* reveal
nèεsim^m *n.* light
nēm-nêεr^ε *pl* *nēm-néyà*⁺ *n.* someone who grinds

nēn^{na/} *ger nēnním*^m sv. envy

nē'ŋá⁺ this (pronoun) [15.3.2](#)

nèog^ɔ *nèer*^ε pl *nèed*^ε *nèya*⁺ cb *nè-* adj. empty

nēsinnēog^{ɔ/} pl *nēsinnēed*^{ε/} cb *nēsinné-* n. envious person WK; *others*: centipede

ñfá! Well done! [21.4.4](#)

nī^{+/} locative particle [16.3](#) see *n*^ε

nì⁺ dv. rain

nīd^{a/} pl *nīdub*^{a/} cb *nīn-* n. person; *nīn-sâal*^a pl *nīn-sâalib*^a cb *nīn-sâal-* n. human being;

nīnpōnān^{na/} pl *nīnpōnānníb*^a cb *nīnpōnán-* n. disrespectful person; *nīn-sábulis*^ε n. Africans

nìe⁺ dv. appear, reveal

nīf^{ɔ/} pl *nīní*⁺ cb *nīn-* *nīf-* n. eye; *nīf-gbáŋ*^ɔ n. eyelid; *nīf-sób*^a n. miser; *nīf-ñyáuk*^ɔ adj.

one-eyed [15.7.1.3](#); *nīn-dáa*⁼ pl *nīn-dâas*^ε cb *nīn-dá-* n. face; *nīn-gótìŋ*^a n.

mirror pl *nīn-gótìs*^ε n. spectacles, glasses; *nīn-kúgvdiŋ*^a pl *nīn-kúgvdis*^ε n.

eyebrow; *nīn-tâ'am*^m n. tear(s); *nīn-múa*⁺ n. concentration ("eye-redness");

m̄ nīní m̄'u e nē ... I'm concentrating on ... (KB "zealous for ...")

nīiŋ^a pl *nīimís*^ε *nīs*^ε cb *nīiŋ-* n. bird

nīm^{ne/} *nī'm*^{ne/} pl *nīmá*⁺ cb *nīm-* n. meat

nīn-báalìg^a n. pity; *nīn-bâal-zōr*^ε n. pity; *Ò zòt-ō nīn-báalìg*. He has pity on him.

nīŋ^a pl *nīs*^ε cb *nīŋ-* *nìn-* n. body (uncommon); *nìn-tōllím*^m n. fever; *nìn-tāa*⁼ pl *nìn-*

tāas^ε cb *nìn-tà-* n. co-wife; husband's brother's wife (Ghanaian English: "rival");

nìn-gbīŋ^{ɔ/} pl *nìn-gbīná*⁺ cb *nìn-gbīŋ-* n. body (plural often used as singular);

nìn-gòr^ε n. neck

nīn-pôud^ε n. pl as sg pus

nīntāŋ^{a/} pl *nīntāaŋs*^{ε/} cb *nīntāŋ-* n. heat of the day, early afternoon

nīŋ^ε dv. do

n lā that is ... [21.4.1](#)

ñnāas q. four, in counting

ñní q. eight, in counting

ñnū q. five, in counting

n ñwà this is ...; *n ñwà nā* this here is ... [21.4.1](#)

nō⁺ dv. tread

nōb^ε dv. get fat

nōbìg^{ε/} dv. grow (e.g. child, plant)

nóbì^ε pl *nōbá*⁺ cb *nōb-* n. leg, foot; *nōb-bíl*^a n. toe; *nōb-yíŋ*^ɔ adj. one-legged

[15.7.1.3](#); *nōb-íñ'a*⁺ n. toenail; *nōb-púmpàŋ*^ɔ n. foot

nōk^{ε/} dv. pick up, take up

nòŋ^ε agt *nòŋid*^a (irregularly Pattern L) sv. love (family, spiritual); irregularly has

the *m*^a-imperative form *nòŋim*^a [10.2](#)

nōŋ^{ɔ/} cb *nōŋ-* n. poverty; *nōŋ-dâan*^a n. poor person

nòŋulím^m n. love

nɔ̄ɔ̄^ɛ exactly, just; *emphatic* 27.6

nɔ̄ɔ̄^{ɛ/} *pl nɔ̄yá*⁺ *cb nɔ̄-* n. mouth; command, message, opinion; *nɔ̄-dí'əs*^a n. "linguist", a councillor who speaks on a chief's behalf on all official occasions (not only in the region of the old Mossi-Dagomba states 1.1: "linguist" in Ghana typically refers to an Akan chief's herald and spokesman, the *okyeame*); *Wínà'am nɔ̄-dí'əs*^a ("God's linguist") prophet NT/KB; *nɔ̄-lɔ̄ɔ̄*^ɛ n. fasting ("mouth-tying", as throughout West Africa); *nɔ̄-nâar*^ɛ n. covenant; *nɔ̄-pɔ̄ɔ̄*^ɛ n. oath; *nɔ̄-gbáɣɣ*^{ɔ̄} *pl nɔ̄-gbánà*⁺ n. lip

nɔ̄ɔ̄^{ɛ/} *nɔ̄ɔ̄rí*^m times 15.4.2.4

ɲpɔ̄ɔ̄ q. seven, in counting

ɲtáñ' q. three, in counting

nū⁺ *dv.* drink

nūa^{+/} *pl nɔ̄ɔ̄*^{ɛ/} *cb nɔ̄-* n. hen; *nɔ̄-dâug*^{ɔ̄} n. cock; *nɔ̄-ñyâ'aŋ*^a n. (specifically female) hen; *Nɔ̄-ñyâ'aŋ-né-ò-Bīis* the Pleiades

nūlɣ^{ɛ/} *dv.* make drink

nūlɔ̄^{ɛ/} *dv.* make drink

nū'ug^{ɔ̄} *pl nū'us*^ɛ *cb nū'-* n. hand, arm; *nū'-bíl*^a *pl nū'-bíbìs*^ɛ n. finger; *nū'-dâug*^{ɔ̄} n. thumb; *nū'-y(ɣ)ɣ*^{ɔ̄} *adj.* one-armed 15.7.1.3; *nū'-íñ'a*⁺ *pl nū'-éñ'ɛs*^ɛ *cb nū'-éñ'* n. fingernail; *nū'-wéñ'ɛd*^a n. mediator

ñwà⁺ this 15.7.5

ñwā⁺ *dv.* smash, break up

ñwāaŋ^a *pl ñwāamɔ̄*^ɛ *cb ñwàaŋ-* n. monkey

ñwādɣ^{a/} *pl ñwādɔ̄*^{ɛ/} *cb ñwād-* n. moon, month; *ñwād-bíl*^a *pl ñwād-bíbìs*^ɛ n. star; *Ñwād-dár*^ɛ n. Venus

ñwà'e⁺ *dv.* cut wood

ñwā'e^{+/} *dv.* strike, break

ñwāɔ̄ q. nine, in counting

ñwām^{mɛ} *ñwān*^{nɛ} *pl ñwāma*⁺ *ñwāna*⁺ *cb ñwàm-* *ñwàn-* n. calabash

Ñwāmpūrɣ^{a/} *pl Ñwāmpūris*^{ɛ/} *cb Ñwāmpúr-* n. Mamprussi person

Ñwāmpūri^{ɛ/} n. Mampruli language

Ñwāmpūrɣ^{ɔ̄/} n. Mamprussi country

ñwè⁺ *dv.* beat; *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* make an agreement with X; *ñwè'* *ñyɔ̄'ɔ̄* boast

ñwīg^{a/} *pl ñwīis*^{ɛ/} *cb ñwī-* n. rope; *ñwī-ték*^a *pl ñwī-tékìdɔ̄*^a *cb ñwī-ték-* n. rope-puller; *ñwī-tékìr*^ɛ *pl ñwī-tékà*⁺ n. rope for pulling

ñwīg^{ɛ/} *dv.* make a rope

ñyā'a^{ɛ/} *dv.* leave behind

ñyāan next, afterwards; *post-subject particle* 20.2.3

ñyá'aŋ^a *pl ñyá'as*^ɛ *ñyā'amɔ̄*^ɛ *cb ñyā'aŋ-* *adj.* female (animal)

ñyá'aŋ^a behind, *postposition* 16.6; East 29.3; *ñyà'an-dò*^{la} *ñyà'an-dò*^{lɛ} *pl ñyà'an-dòlla*⁺ *ñyà'an-dòllɔ̄*^a *cb ñyà'an-dòl-* n. disciple NT; *tones unexpected, Pattern L*

ñyā'ar^ɛ *pl ñyā'a*⁺ *cb ñyà'-* n. root

ňyāe^{ne/} *adv.* in the light, brightly, clearly
ňyālúŋ^ɔ *pl* *ňyālímá*⁺ *cb* *ňyālúŋ-* *adj.* wonderful
ňyàn^{ne} *n.* shame; *Ò dì ñyán.* He's ashamed.
ňyāŋ^{el/} *dv.* overcome 22.2
ňyàuk^ɔ *pl* *ňyà'ad*^e *adj.* only (eye) 15.7.1.3
ňyē⁺ *ipfv* *ňyēt*^{al/} *imp* *ňyèm*^a *dv.* see, find; *ňyē láafiya* get well
ňyēε, ñyēε tí habitually, auxiliary tense marker 19.3.2
ňyē'εr^{el/} *pl* *ňyēdá*⁺ *cb* *ňyē'*- *n.* next-younger sibling
ňyèεs^a *sv.* be self-confident
ňyèεsim^m *n.* self-confidence
ňyèεsín^a *pl* *ňyèεsís*^ε *cb* *ňyèεsín-* *adj.* self-confident
ňyèεsínā^{+/} *adv.* self-confidently
ňyí^l *q.* two, in counting
ňyīn^{ne/} *pl* *ňyīná*⁺ *cb* *ňyīn-* *n.* tooth
ňyīrír^ɔ *pl* *ňyīrí*⁺ *n.* a kind of edible seed, egusi: *Colocynthis citrullus* (Haaf)
ňyōɔd^e *n.* intestines
ňyō'ɔg^{ɔ/} *n.* chest
ňyōɔg^ɔ *n.* sympathy: *Ò zòt-ò ñyōɔg.* She sympathises with him.
ňyōɔr^e *pl* *ňyōya*⁺ *cb* *ňyò-* *n.* nose; breath; *ňyò-vūr*^{el/} *pl* *ňyò-vūyá*⁺ *cb* *ňyò-vūr-* *n.* life;
ňyò-vūr-paal^{le} *n.* new life NT
ňyō'ɔs^{el/} *n.* smoke
ňyúəb *q.* six, in counting
ňyūur^{el/} *pl* *ňyūyá*⁺ *cb* *ňyū-* *n.* yam

O

ò [ʊ] he, she, his, her (*right-bound*); ^o LF [ʊ] him, her (*left-bound*) 15.3.1
ón he, she (*subject of ñ-clause*); *ōn*^e he, she (*contrastive*) 15.3.1
òn^e this, that (*animate sg demonstrative*) 15.3.2
òñb^e *ger* *ññbur*^e *dv.* chew
òŋā^{+/} this, that (*animate sg demonstrative*) 15.3.2
ōɔs^{el/} *dv.* warm oneself; *Ò òɔsɪd nē búgúm lā.* She's warming herself at the fire.

P

pà' earlier today, tense particle 19.3.1
pà'al^e *dv.* teach, inform; *agt* *pā'an*^{na} *pl* *pā'annɪb*^a *cb* *pà'an-* *n.* teacher
pà'al^e *dv.* put on top of something
pāalíg^a *pāal*^{le} *pl* *pāalís*^ε *pāalá*⁺ *cb* *pāal-* *adj.* new
pāalím^m *adv.* recently
pāalú⁺ *adv.* openly
pàañlúŋ^ɔ *pl* *pàañlímìs*^ε *n.* spider's web
pàam^m *dv.* receive a gift

pàas^ε *dv.* add up to, amount to

pāe^{+/} *dv.* reach

pàk^ε *dv.* surprise

pàk^ε *dv.* take off from the top

pāmm SF *pāmné* LF *q.* much, a lot 5.1.3

pàñ'alum^m *dv.* dedicate

pàñsɪg^ε *dv.* lack

pàŋ^a *pl* *pàaŋs*^ε *cb* *pàŋ-* *n.* power

pà^t *ti* perhaps; *post-subject particle* 20.2.3

pèbɪs^ε *dv.* blow (of wind)

pèbɪsɪm^m *pèbɪsug*^ɔ *n.* wind

pè'el^ε *dv.* fill; *resultative adj* *pè'elúŋ*^ɔ full

pεelug^ɔ in *zū-péelòg*^ɔ bald 15.7.1.3; cf *pie* "go bald" (Leviticus 13:40), Mooré *pěoogè*

pè'εs^ε *dv.* add up to, amount to

pèlɪg^ε *dv.* whiten, go white

pèlɪs^ε *dv.* sharpen

pèn^{nε} *n.* vagina

pē'ŋ^{ε/} *dv.* borrow; knock over WK

pèog^ɔ *pl* *pèεd*^ε *cb* *pè-* *n.* basket

pē'og^{ɔ/} *pl* *pē'εs*^{ε/} *cb* *pē'-* *n.* sheep; *pē'-sá'a*⁼ *n.* ewe lamb

pēsɪg^{ε/} *dv.* sacrifice

pjā⁺ *dv.* dig up

pjāñ^a *dv.* speak, praise; *ger* *pjāuñk*^ɔ *n.* word *pl* *pjāñ'ad*^ε language *cb* *pjāñ'-*;

pjāñ'-zòna⁺ *n.* foreign language

pibɪg^ε *dv.* uncover

pibɪl^ε *dv.* cover up

pībɪn^{nε} *pl* *pībɪna*⁺ *cb* *pībɪn-* *n.* covering 11.1.2

pìd^ε *dv.* put on (hat, shoes, rings); *clothing item as object; with indirect object put*
(hat, shoes, rings) on someone else

pīd^ε *dv.* get bloated

pìdɪg^ε *dv.* take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pīe^{+/} *dv.* wash (part of one's own body)

pìəb^ε *dv.* blow (e.g. flute)

pìəlɪg^a *pìəl*^{lε} *pl* *pìəla*⁺ *pìəlɪs*^ε *cb* *pìəl-* *adj.* white

pìəlɪm^m *n.* whiteness

pìəs^ε *dv.* fool someone

pīəs^{ε/} *dv.* wash

pīiga⁺ *q.* ten

pīim^{m/} *pl* *pīmá*⁺ *cb* *pīm-* *n.* arrow

píuñf^ɔ *pl* *pīuní*⁺ *cb* *pīun-* *n.* genet

pīini⁺ *cb* *pīin-* *pl* as *sg* (?) *n.* gift

pil^ε *dv.* cover

pilig^ε *dv.* uncover

pīñ'il^{ε/} *dv.* begin

pīpīrig^{a/} *pl* *pīpīris*^{ε/} *cb* *pīpír-* *n.* desert

pīsí⁺ *q.* twenty

pītú⁺ *pl* *pītílb*^a *cb* *pīt-* *n.* younger sibling of the same sex

pō⁺ *dv.* swear

pòñd^ε *dv.* crouch down

pōñ'w^{ε/} *dv.* cause to rot

pòñ'wlum^m *dv.* cripple, get crippled

pòñ'wr^ε *pl* *pòñda*⁺ *cb* *pòñ'-* *n.* cripple

pòñr^a *ger* *pōñrub*³ *sv.* be near

pòwd^a *sv.* be few, small

pòwdig^a *pòwdir*^ε *pl* *pòwda*⁺ *cb* *pòwd-* *adj.* few, small

pòwdum^m *n.* fewness

pōwɔ^{3/} *pl* *pōwd*^{ε/} *pōt*^{ε/} *cb* *pō-* *n.* field, farm

pò'wg^ε *dv.* diminish, belittle

pōwr^{ε/} *n.* "slogan" of a clan, part of its traditional genealogy WK; ← *pō*⁺ swear (cf FAREFARE *pote*, *pore* "nom de famille, nom par lequel on jure", also "oath")

pō not: *negates indicative mood* 19.5

pō⁺ *dv.* divide

pū'ā^a *pl* *pū'ab*^a *cb* *pū'à-* *n.* woman, wife; *Ò dì pū'ā*. He's married a wife; *pū'à-dūr*^ε *n.* marriage; *pū'à-élíŋ*^a *n.* fiancée; *pū'à-gīnníg*^a, *pū'à-gwōñdūr*^ε *n.* prostitute; *pū'à-ñyá'ar*^a *pl* *pū'à-ñyá'as*^ε *n.* old woman; *pū'à-pāal*^{a/} *n.* bride; *pū'à-sādūr*^{ε/} *n.* young woman; *pū'à-sāñ'am*^{na} *n.* adulterer; *pū'à-yù*^a *n.* daughter

pūāk^a *pl* *pū'as*^ε *adj.* female (human only)

pù'alum^m *dv.* cook

pù'alum^m *dv.* harm, damage; *resultative adj* *pù'alúŋ*³ damaged

pù'alum^m *n.* femininity

pù'alím^m *pl* *pù'alímìs*^ε *cb* *pù'alím-* *n.* female sex organs

pùd^ε *dv.* name

pūdíg^{ε/} *dv.* divide, share out

pùgudí^a *pl* *pùgud-nàm*^a *cb* *pùgud-* *n.* father's sister

pùkòñr^ε *pl* *pùkòñya*⁺ *cb* *pùkòñ-* *n.* widow

pūkṗād^{a/} *pl* *pūkṗādí*^b *cb* *irreg* *pūkṗá-* *n.* farmer

pùluma⁺ *n.* a species of grass, *Imperata cylindrica* (Haaf)

*pùmpwɔ*³ *n.* housefly

pùn previously, already; *preverb* 19.7.2

pūñ'e^{+/} *dv.* rot

pūsíg^{a/} *pl* *pūsís*^{ε/} *cb* *pūs-* *n.* tamarind

pūsír^{ε/} *pl* *pūsá*⁺ *n.* tamarind fruit

pō-súk^a pl *pō-súgùs^ε* n. half 15.4.2.1

pōt^{ε/} n. pl as sg contents of stomach WK

pūum^{m/} cb *pūum-* n. flowers

pūvg^a cb *pù-* n. inside, belly; *Pu'ā lā mór pūvg* The woman is pregnant; *pūvgu-n^{ε/}* inside 16.6; *pù-piəlum^m* n. holiness; *pù-těñ'er^ε* pl *pù-těnda⁺* cb *pù-těñ'-* n. mind

pōvr^{ε/} n. stomach

pù'us^ε dv. greet, worship, thank; *ger pù'usim^m* n. worship; *ger pù'usug^ɔ* n. thanks; *pù'usug dɔɔg^ɔ* NT temple

S

sà yesterday, tense particle 19.3.1

sà hence, ago, VP-final particle 19.10

sā⁺ dv. be in distress

sàa tomorrow, tense particle 19.3.1

sāa⁼ pl *sāas^ε* cb *sà-* n. rain; sky; as subject of *jāñk^{ε/}* "leap": lightning; *sāa díndēog^ɔ* rainbow ("rain chameleon"); *sāa zúg^ɔ* n. sky 16.6

sā'ab^ɔ cb *sà'-* n. millet porridge, "TZ", the staple food of the Kusaasi

sāafi⁺ (?tones) n. lock, key ← Twi *safē*

sàal^a pl *sàalib^a* cb *sàal-* n. human (perhaps ← "hairless" cf *būn-kóñbùg^ɔ*); *sàal-biīg^a* pl *sàal-biīs^ε* n. human being

sàalíjā^{+/} adv. smoothly

sàam^{ma} pl *sàam-nàm^a* cb *sàam-* n. father; *sàam-kpēēñm^m* n. father's elder brother; *sàam-pīt^{a/}* pl *sàam-pītíb^a* cb *sàam-pīt-* n. father's younger brother

sāam^{m/} dv. mash, crumble

sā'an^{ε/} in the presence of, in the opinion of; *postposition* 16.6

sāan^{a/} pl *sāam^{ma}* cb *sāan-* n. guest, stranger

sāannim^m n. strangerhood

sàbēog^ɔ pl *sàbēed^ε* cb *sàbè-* n. wind, storm

sābilíg^a *sābil^{lε}* pl *sābilís^ε* *sābilá⁺* cb *sābil-* adj. black

sàbù^{a+} pl *sàbùes^ε* cb *sàbùà-* n. lover, girlfriend

Sà'dàbòg^ɔ n. place of the clan Sarabose

Sà'dàbù^{a+} pl *Sà'dàbùes^ε* *Sà'dàbùeb^a* n. clan name

sādıgım since, because 24.2

sāeñ⁺ or *sāeñ^a* pl *sāañb^a* cb *sañ-* n. blacksmith

sākárùg^ɔ pl *sākárid^ε* cb *sākár-* n. fox

sàlbur^ε n. bridle

sāluma⁺ cb *sàlum-* n. pl as sg gold; *sàlum-kùes^a* n. gold merchant

sām^{nε/} pl *sāmá⁺* cb *sām-* n. debt; *sām-kpá'as^a* n. household servant

sāmán^{nε} pl *sāmánà⁺* cb *sāmán-* n. open space in front of a *zàk^a* compound;

Sāmán-piər^ε n. traditional New Year ceremony

- sàñ'am*^m *dv.* spoil, get spoiled, get broken; destroy
sāngúnnìr^ε *pl* *sāngúnnà*⁺ *cb* *sāngún-* *n.* millipede
sājá⁺ *pl* *sānsá*⁺ *cb* *sān-* *n.* time 29.7 8.3.2; *sān-kán*^ε *adv.* then; when?
sān-sí'ə-n lā *adv.* at one time, once ... 20.2.1
sàŋ-gbàŋ^ɔ *n.* sky, heaven; cf *sāa*⁼
sāpál^{lε} *n.* Harmattan part of the dry season *úun*^{nε}
sāpɪ⁺ *ideo.* straight
sāriḡá⁺ *n.* prison ← Hausa *sarkàa* "chain"
sàríyà⁺ or *sèríyà*⁺ *n.* law ← Arabic *fari:fa*; *sàríyà-kāt*^a *n.* judge NT
sāvḡ^ɔ *pl* *sāad*^{εl} *cb* *sā-* *n.* broom, brush
sàvk^ɔ *pl* *sà'ad*^ε *n.* mote of dust
sávŋ^ɔ *n.* hospitality
sè⁺ *ipfv* *sèɛd*^a *dv.* transplant
sēoñḡ^ɔ *n.* rainy season
sì⁺ *dv.* skin, flay
sīa⁺ some, any (*sg*) 15.3.3
sīa⁺ *pl* *sīəs*^ε *cb* *sjà-* *n.* waist; *sjà-lṵɔdŋ*^a *n.* belt ("waist-tying-thing"); *sjà-nīr*^{ɔl}
n. kidney
sjà'al^{εl} *dv.* get to be enough
sjà'ar^ε *pl* *sjà'a*⁺ *cb* *sjà'-* *n.* forest (WK), wilderness
sjàk^ε *dv.* agree (cf Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi id*)
sjàk^{εl} *dv.* suffice (cf Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi id*)
sībḡal *pl* *sībí*⁺ *cb* *sīb-* *n.* a kind of termite
sìd truly, *post-subject particle* 20.2.3
sìda⁺ *pl* *sìd-* *n.* *pl as sg* truth
sìd^a *pl* *sìdɪb*^a *cb* *sìd-* *n.* husband; *sìd-bīl*^a *n.* husband's younger brother;
sìd-kpēñm^m *n.* husband's elder brother; *sìd-puāk*^a *n.* husband's sister
sīe^{+l} *dv.* descend, be humbled
sīeba⁺ some(ones), any (ones) 15.3.3
sīə^a something, anything 15.3.3
sīəm^m somehow, anyhow 15.3.3 16.7
sīg^ε *dv.* descend
sīgɪr^{εl} *n.* guardian spirit, typically but not invariably the *wīn*^{nεl} of an ancestor 29.2
sīgɪs^{εl} *dv.* lower
sīgɪsír^ε *pl* *sīgɪsá*⁺ *n.* stopping-place
sīḡa *pl* *sīus*^ε *cb* *sì-* *n.* shade, personal spirit (KED); used in NT for "spirit"; in
 traditional belief rather *Lebenskraft* (Haaf) "vital energy", closely associated
 with a person's tutelary *kìkīrus*^{εl} (qv); *Sì-sòḡ*^ɔ *n.* Holy Spirit NT; cf Buli *chíik*
sīḡa *pl* *sīus*^ε *n.* African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*; cf Buli *sīik*
sīilm^m *dv.* cite proverbs
sīilŋ^a *sīilŋ*^ɔ *pl* *sīilís*^ε *sīilímìs*^ε *sīilímà*⁺ *cb* *sīilŋ-* *n.* proverb

- sīñd^{ε/}* n. honey
sīñ^{ɸ/} sīñg^{a/} pl sīñs^{ε/} cb sīñ- n. bee
sī'ls^{ε/} dv. touch
sīlinsūg^ɔ pl sīlinsūis^ε n. ghost
sīlinsūuñg^ɔ pl sīlinsūiñd^ε n. spider
sīlvog^ɔ pl sīn^{nε} sīls^ε cb sīl- n. hawk
sīm^m dv. sink in a liquid
Sīmīig^a pl Sīmīs^ε cb Sīmī- n. Fulbe person, Fulani
Sīmīil^ε n. Fulfulde language
Sīmīug^ɔ n. place of the Fulbe
sīn^{na/} ger sīnním^m sv. be silent
sīnsáañ^ɸ n. a kind of tiny ant
sīŋ^a pl sīuñs^ε cb sīŋ- n. a kind of very big pot
sī'ŋ^{ε/} dv. begin
sīsíbìg^a pl sīsíbìs^ε cb sīsíb- n. neem tree *Azadirachta indica* (Haaf)
sīsíbì^ε pl sīsíbà⁺ n. fruit of neem tree
sīsì'əm^m n. wind, storm
sīsùvugū-n^{ε/} between, *postposition* [16.6](#) KB *svugun*
sí'uj^ɔ pl sī'imís^ε cb sī'uj- n. a kind of large dish
sō⁺ some(one), any(one), *animate sg* [15.3.3](#)
sōb^a dummy head pronoun, *animate sg* [15.3.7](#)
sōb^ε dv. go/make dark; usually write; *sōbur^{ε/}* n. piece of writing
sōbìg^{ε/} dv. blacken
sōeñ⁺ or sōeñ^a pl sōwñb^a cb sōñ- n. witch
sógjà^a n. soldier ← English
sōlvuj^ɔ pl sōlvumá⁺ n. story
sōñ⁺ dv. rub
sōñ'e^{ya/} sv. be better than; *agt sōñ'cd^{a/} pl sōñ'cb^{a/} cb sōñ'cd-*
sōnnur^ε pl sōnna⁺ cb sōn- n. courtyard dividing wall
sōñs^ε ger sōñsìg^a dv. converse, talk with
sōwñg^ɔ n. witchcraft
sōwñr^ε pl sōñya⁺ cb sōñ- n. liver
sòs^ε ger sōsìg^a dv. ask; *agt sòs^a* n. beggar
sù⁺ dv. take a bath
sų'ā^a dv. do secretly, hide
sųāk^{a/} n. hiding place
sūeñ^{+/} dv. anoint
sū'e^{ya/} sv. own; *ger sū'vlím^m* n. property, country, realm
sūgur^{ε/} dv. show forbearance, be patient with; *sūgurú⁺* n. forbearance
sùm^m n. goodness; well
sùm^{ma} sv. be good

sùmbōgusím^m n. peace

sūmmír^ε pl *sūmma⁺* cb *sùm-* n. groundnuts; *sūm-dúgvà⁺* n. cooked groundnuts

sùn^{nε} ger *sùnnír^ε* or *sùnnug^ɔ* dv. bow one's head; *agt sūn^{na}* n. ("someone who goes about with bowed head") deep thinker, close observer WK

sūñ'e^{+/} dv. become better than

sūñ^ɔ/ sūñr^{ε/} pl *sūñyá⁺* cb *sūñ-* n. heart; *sūñ-kpî'or^ɔ* n. boldness 15.6.1;

sūñ-má'asím^m n. joy (*Ṁ sūñf má'e yā*. "My heart has cooled" = I'm joyful);

sūñ-málsím^m cb *sūñ-máls-* n. joy; *sūñ-péén^{nε}* n. anger (*Ṁ sūñf pélig nē*. "My heart is whitened" = I'm angry); *sūñ-sáñ'or^ɔ* n. sorrow (*Ṁ sūñf sáñ'am nē*. "My heart is spoilt" = I'm sad)

sùη^ε dv. help

sùη^ɔ *sùm^{mε}* pl *sùma⁺* cb *sùη-* adj. good

sùḡā^{+/} adv. well, much

sú'or^a pl *sū'omís^ε* cb *sū'or-* n. rabbit

sūor^{ε/} pl *suyéyá⁺* cb *suyā-* n. road; permission in *sūor bé, mōr sūor* 25.1

sù'es^a n. yesterday

sù'es^ε dv. trick

sùr^a sv. have one's head bowed

sùsòm^{mε} n. grasshopper

Sūtáanà⁺ n. Satan

sōvg^{ε/} dv. wither (leaves) WK

sù'ug^a *sù'ug^ɔ* pl *sù'us^ε* cb *sù'-* n. knife

T

tāa⁼ *tāas^ε* fellow- as second part of compound 12.2.1.4

tāaba⁺ *tāab* each other 15.3.5

tā'adír^ε pl *tā'ada⁺* cb *tà'ad-* n. sandal

tàal^ε pl *tàala⁺* cb *tàal-* n. fault, sin

tá'am^{mε} pl *tā'amá⁺* n. shea tree fruit

tá'ar^a pl *tā'amís^ε* cb *tā'ar-* n. shea butter tree *Butyrospermum parkii* (Haaf)

tā'as^{ε/} dv. help someone to walk; in greetings 28

tàb^ε dv. get stuck to

tàb^{ya} sv. be stuck to

tàbig^ε dv. get unstuck from

tàbl^ε dv. stick to (transitive)

tàdig^ε n. become weak

tādım^{m/} pl *tādım-nàm^a* cb *tādım-* n. weak person

tādımís^ε n. weakness

Tàlın^{nε} n. Talni language

Tàlɔ^a pl *Tàlɔ^ε* cb *Tàlɔ-* n. Tallensi person

tàm^m ipfv *tàmmıd^a* dv. forget

- tàmpiiŋ^a* n. rock
tàmpūa⁺ pl *tàmpōɔs^ε* cb *tàmpò-* n. housefly 8.3.2
tàmpōur^ε cb *tàmpò-* n. ashpit, rubbish tip
tān^{nε} pl *tāna⁺* cb *tàn-* n. earth; *tàn-mēɛd^a* n. builder
tāŋp^ɔ n. war; *tāŋp-sōb^a* n. warrior
tāŋs^ε ger *tāŋsug^ɔ* dv. shout; *Wìnnig táŋsìd nē*. The sun is shining.
tār^{a/} ger *tārím^m* sv. have; more typical of Toende Kusaal; NT/KB always *mōr^{a/}*
tàsintàl^{lε} n. palm of hand
tàtál^{lε} n. palm of hand
tāyŋ^{+/} pl *tāŋp^{a/}* cb *tāyŋ- tāŋp-* n. sibling of opposite sex
tēb^ε ger *tēbig^a* dv. carry in both hands
tēbig^{ε/} dv. get heavy
tēbis^{a/} sv. be heavy
tēbisíg^a *tēbisír^ε* pl *tēbisá⁺* cb *tēbis-* adj. heavy
tēbisím^m n. heaviness
téɛbùl^ε pl *téɛbùl-nàm^a* n. table ← English
tēɛg^{ε/} dv. drag, draw; *tēɛg* X *tùɔɔr* punish X
tè'ɛg^a pl *tè'ɛs^ε* cb *tè'-* n. baobab *Adansonia digitata* (Haaf)
tēk^{ε/} dv. pull
tēŋb^ε ger *tēŋbug^ɔ* dv. tremble, struggle
tēŋ'ɛs^ε dv. remind
tēŋ'ɛs^{ε/} dv. think; ger *tēŋ'ɛsá⁺* n. thought
tēŋ^a ger *tēŋrɔb^ɔ* sv. remember
tēŋ^a pl *tēɛŋs^ε* cb *tēŋ-* n. land; *tēŋ-bīg^a* n. native; *tēŋ-dāan^a* n. traditional earth-
priest; *tēŋ-dū'adig^a* n. native land; *tēŋ-gbàuyŋ^ɔ* n. earth, land; *tēŋ-pōug^{ɔ/}* pl
tēŋ-pōud^{ε/} cb *tēŋ-pō-* n. village, town; *tēŋ-zòŋ^ɔ* pl *tēŋ-zòvŋs^ε* n. foreign country;
tēŋ-sūk^a n. centre
tēŋɔ-n^{ε/} or *tēŋír^ε* downward; as postposition under 16.6
tèog^ɔ pl *tèɛd^ε* n. nest
tè'og^ɔ pl *tè'ɛd^ε* n. baobab fruit
tì we, our (right-bound); *tì⁺* us (left-bound) 15.3.1
tì preverb conveying completion or purpose 19.7.2
tjà'al^ε dv. come next
tjàk^ε dv. change
tì'əb^ε dv. prepare, get ready; heal in this sense perhaps influenced by
Arabic *t'ibb* "medicinal art"; *tì'əb^a* n. healer
tìeŋ⁺ dv. inform WK (KED remember)
tìeŋ⁺ dv. stretch out
tìəŋ^a pl *tìəmɔs^ε* cb *tìəŋ-* n. beard; *tìəŋ-gōur^ε* n. chin
tīg^ε dv. become sated, have too much/many; ger *tīgur^{ε/}* n. glut
tì'y^{a/} ger *tì'ib^{ɔ/}* sv. be leaning (object)

- tìug^a pl tìis^ε cb tì-* n. tree; *tì-dāug^ɔ pl tì-dāad^ε cb tì-dà-* n. bow (for arrows)
tīi^{ε/} dv. lean something
tìim^m cb tì- n. medicine; *tì-kōvdím^m* n. poison (killing-medicine); *tì-sābílím^m* n. "black medicine" (a particular traditional remedy); *tì-vōnním^m* n. oral medication
tì'in^ε dv. begin to lean
tīlās^ε n. necessity ← Hausa *tiilàs* 25.1
tìlug^ε dv. survive, be saved
tīnám^a we, us (contrastive); *tīnámì* we (subject of *ñ*-clause) 15.3.1
tīntōñríg^a pl tīntōñrís^ε cb tīntōñr- n. mole (animal)
tìp^a pl tìp-nàm^a cb tìp- n. healer (see *tī'əb^a* id)
tīrâan^a pl tīrâan-nàm^a cb tīrâan- n. neighbour, peer
tīrâannìm^m n. neighbourliness
tīrugà ideo. for *gīŋ^a* short
tìs^ε ipfv tìsid^a tìt^a agt tìs^a dv. give; also *tì* before bound pronouns: *tì f* gave you
tītā'al^ε n. proud person
tītā'alum^m n. pride
tītā'am^m n. multitude
tītā'ug^ɔ tītā'ar^ε pl tītāda⁺ cb tītá'- adj. big, great
tò OK 21.4.4 (= Hausa *tóo*)
tòd^ε dv. give to the poor, share
tōḡ^{a/} sv. be bitter, difficult
tóklàe⁺ n. torch ← English "torchlight"
tólib ideo.
tōlis^{ε/} dv. do next, advance, carry on
tólilili ideo. for *wōk^{ɔ/}* tall
tòñ⁺ dv. shoot
tòñ'ɔs^ε dv. hunt
tōɔg^ɔ pl tōɔd^ε cb tō- adj. bitter, difficult
tōɔm^{m/} dv. depart, disappear
tò'ɔtō^{+/} adv. straight away
tɔ̀à⁺ dv. grind in a mortar; *tɔ̀à-bīl^a* n. pestle
tɔ̀à^a dv. speak, plead in court
tò'al^ε dv. condemn in court
tò'as^ε dv. talk
tòbɔr^ε pl tòba⁺ cb tòb- n. ear; *tòb-kpìr^ε* n. half of jaw; *tòb-yīɔŋ^{ɔ/}* adj. one-eared
15.7.1.3
tōl^{la/} sv. be hot
tùlug^ε dv. invert
tōlug^{ε/} dv. heat up

tùm^m *dv.* work; *ger tūom^{mε}* *n.* deed *pl tūoma⁺* *n.* deeds; work *cb tūom-*; *tūom-bē'ed^ε* *n.* bad deeds; *tūom-bē'ed-dím^a* *n.* sinners NT; *agt tùm-tūm^{na}* *n.* worker
tùm^m *ger titūmis^ε* *dv.* send; compare Hausa àikaa "send", aikàtaa "work"
tūñ'e *sv.* be able 22.2
tūødɪr^ε *pl tūøda⁺* *cb tūød-* *n.* mortar
tūøn^{nε} in front; as postposition 16.6; West (KB *yà tūøna*) 29.3; *tūøn-gāt^a* *n.* leader
Tūøn^{nε} *n.* Toende, western part of Kusaasiland
Tūønnɪr^ε *n.* Toende dialect of Kusaal
tūsɪr^{ε/} *n.* thousand 15.4.2.1
tùtūl^ε *n.* upside-down thing, cf *tùlɪg^ε*
tūvɪlgā^{+/} *adv.* hotly
tūvɪlúg^ɔ *pl tūvɪlá⁺* *cb tūvɪl-* *adj.* hot
tū'vs^{ε/} *dv.* meet

U

ùdvg^ɔ *pl ùt^ε* *cb ùd-* *n.* (piece of) chaff
ūgv^{sε/} *dv.* bring up a child
ùk^ε *dv.* vomit
ūk^ε *dv.* bloat
ùm^m *dv.* close eyes
ūrɪg^{ε/} *dv.* scrape
úvn^{nε} *n.* dry season

V

vābɪ^{va/} *ger vāp^{ɔ/}* KT *vābɪr^{ε/}* WK *sv.* be lying prone
vābɪ^{ε/} *dv.* make lie prone
vàbɪn^ε *dv.* lie prone
vàe⁺ *dv.* gather up
vāvñg^{ɔ/} *pl vāañd^{ε/}* *cb vāñ-* *n.* leaf
vē¹⁺ *dv.* lead
vē'εg^{ε/} *dv.* drag
vèn^{na} or *vèñ^{la}* *sv.* be beautiful
vèñllɪg^a *pl vèñllɪs^ε* *vèñlla⁺* *cb vèñl-* *adj.* beautiful
vèñllíj^a *pl vèñllís^ε* *cb vèñllíj-* *adj.* beautiful
vènnɪg^a *vènnɪr^ε* *pl vènnɪs^ε* *vènnna⁺* *cb vèn-* *adj.* beautiful
vènnɪm^m *n.* beauty
vī⁺ *dv.* uproot
vīk^{ε/} *dv.* uproot
vīug^{ɔ/} *pl vīid^{ε/}* *cb vī-* *n.* owl
vōb^{ε/} *dv.* thrash (tones uncertain)
vū⁺ *ger vūug^{ɔ/}* *dv.* make a noise; *vūud^{ε/}* *n.* noise

vōē^{a/} sv. be alive
vōl^ε dv. swallow
vòlɪnvùuñl^ε n. mason wasp
vōm^{m/} cb *vōm-* n. life; *vōm-pâal^ε* n. new life
vúəŋ^a pl *vūəmís^ε* n. red kapok *Bombax buonopozense* (Haaf)
vúə^ε pl *vūáa⁼* cb *vūə-* n. fruit of red kapok
vōr^{ε/} pl *vōyá⁺* cb *vōr-* adj. alive
vūriŋ^{ε/} dv. shift along, move over (*tones uncertain*)
vō'ug^{ε/} dv. come, make alive
vō'us^{ε/} dv. breathe, rest
vō'usím^m n. resting

W

wā⁺ dv. dance
wāad^{ε/} n. cold weather
wáaf^p pl *wīgí⁺* cb *wā'-* n. snake
wāal^{ε/} dv. sow, scatter seed
wā'alím^m n. length
wā'am^{a/} sv. be long, tall
wàbɪŋ^a *wàbɪ^ε* pl *wàbɪs^ε* *wàba⁺* cb *wàb-* n. lame person
wàbɪlɪm^m dv. make, go lame
wābug^{ɔ/} pl *wābɪd^{ε/}* cb *wāb-* n. elephant
wādɪr^{ε/} pl *wādá⁺* cb *wād-* n. law (← English "order" via Hausa) *plural as sg: law*
wād-tís^a n. lawgiver NT
wà'e^{ya} sv. be travelling
wālɪŋ^a pl *wālɪs^ε* *wālí⁺* (*tone sic*) cb *wàl-* n. a kind of gazelle
wàŋɪm^m dv. waste away
wàsɪnwàl^ε n. a parasitic gall on trees, called "mistletoe" in local English
wàɲŋ^ɔ pl *wàna⁺* cb *wàɲŋ-* adj. wasted, thin
wèɛd^a see *wìd^a*
wēɛl^{ε/} dv. be left unsold (KED) *but see wēog^{ɔ/}*
wēl^ε dv. bear fruit
wēl^{ε/} pl *wēlá⁺* cb *wēl-* n. fruit
wēlá⁺ or *wālá⁺* how? 16.7; *nìŋ wēlá n/kà* how can ...? 22.2.1
wēn^{na/} sv. resemble; in KB *wēn nē* appears as *nwenε*; ger *wēnním^m*
wēnnɪr^ε adj. resembling (*Pattern O, specifically confirmed with WK*)
wèog^ɔ n. deep bush
wēog^{ɔ/} pl *wēɛd^{ε/}* n. cheap thing sold in abundance WK
wjāk^{ε/} dv. hatch (from an egg)
wìdɪŋ^ε dv. scatter

wiəʔ pl *widi*⁺ cb *wid-* n. horse; *wid-l̄r*^{ε/} n. place for tying up horses in a compound;
wid-dāvg^ɔ n. stallion; *wid-ñyá'aŋ*^a n. mare; *wid-zūv*^ε n. horsetail
wid^a or *wèɛd*^a pl *wib*^a cb *wid-* n. hunter
Wiid^a pl *Wiid-nàm*^a cb *Wiid-* n. member of the clan Wiid
Wiidvg^ɔ n. place of the clan Wiid
wiig^{a/} n. whistle
wim^m n. sickness, disease ("worse than *bāñ'as*^ε" WK)
wik^ε ipfv *wiid*^a dv. fetch water 10.1
wil^ε pl *wila*⁺ cb *wil-* n. branch
wīl̄súŋ^ɔ pl *wīlmís*^ε cb *wīl̄súŋ-* n. a kind of snail 8.3.2
wim *ideo. for zìñ'a*⁺ red
wīn^{nε/} pl *wīná*⁺ cb *wīn-* n. God; god; spiritual double, *genius*; destiny; *wīn-t̄ɔg*^ɔ
n. misfortune
Wínà'am^m n. God 14.1
winnig^a cb *wìn-* n. sun; talent; *wìn-l̄ir*^ε n. sunset; *wìn-kòɔñr*^ε n. sunset
wiug^ɔ *wiir*^ε pl *wiya*⁺ *wiid*^ε cb *wi-* adj. red
wōk^{ɔ/} *wā'ar*^{ε/} pl *wá'a*⁺ *wā'ad*^{ε/} cb *wōk- wā'-* adj. long, tall
wòm^m dv. hear; understand (a language); smell
wūsa⁺ q. all
wūv⁺ q. all
wūv like, resembling 18
wū'vg^{ε/} dv. get wet
wū'v^{ε/} dv. make wet

Y

yà you, your pl (*right-bound*); *ya*⁺ you pl (*left-bound*) 15.3.1
y^a you pl, *left-bound subject after imperative* 7.2.1 15.3.1 21.3
yā⁺ *independent-perfective particle* 19.6.2.1
yà['] if, when 23
yáa adv. whither?
yáab^a pl *yāa-nám*^a cb *yāa-* n. grandparent, ancestor; *yāa-dáŋ*⁺ n. grandfather;
yāa-pu'á^a n. grandmother
yà'ab^ε dv. mould clay
yā'ad^ε cb *yà'-* n. clay
yà'al^ε dv. hang up; make perch (bird)
yà'an^ε dv. perch (of a bird)
Yàan^{nε} n. Yansi language (apparently Mooré now)
yáa ní⁺ adv. where?
yáaŋ^a pl irr *yáas*^ε (*consistently without nasalisation*) cb *yāaŋ-* n. grandchild,
descendant 29.1
Yàaŋ^a pl *Yàam*^{ma} *Yàam̄s*^ε *Yàas*^ε cb *Yàaŋ-* n. Yansi person

- yāar*^{ε/} *dv.* scatter
yàarım^m *cb* *yàar-* *n.* salt
yà'as^a *yà'as*^ε again 22.2
yā'as^{ε/} *dv.* open repeatedly
yàddā or *yàdā* *n.* faith, trust 19.8.1 ← Hausa *yàrda*; probably ← Arabic *yard'a*;
yàddā-níjìr^ε *n.* belief
yādig^{ε/} *dv.* scatter; *agt* *yāt*^{a/} *irreg. agt:* participant in a housebuilding ritual
yā'e^{+/} *dv.* widen, open (mouth)
yàk^ε *dv.* unhang, unhook
yàlum^{ma} *sv.* be wide
yālum^{m/} *pl* *yālum-nám*^a *n.* worthless person
yālsúŋ^ɔ *pl* *yālmís*^ε *cb* *yālsúŋ-* *n.* quail 8.3.2
yàlvŋ^ɔ *pl* *yàlvma*⁺ *cb* *yàlvŋ-* *adj.* wide
yām^{me} *pl* *yàma*⁺ *cb* *yàm-* *n.* hay WK
yām^{m/} *cb* *yām-* *n.* gall; gall bladder; common sense. WK *yā'am*^{m/}; probably originally
two distinct words 3.2.4
yàmmıg^a *yàmmıg*^a *yàmmıg*^ɔ *pl* *yàmmıs*^ε *cb* *yàm-* *n.* slave
yānám^a *you pl* (*contrastive*); *yānámì* *you pl* (*subject of ñ-clause*) 15.3.1
Yāriŋ^{a/} *pl* *Yāris*^{ε/} *cb* *Yār-* *n.* Yarsi person; also called Kantonsi; said to have been
originally of Manding/Dyula origin
Yāt^{ε/} *n.* Yarsi language (no longer Dyula/Bambara, but a Western Oti-Volta language)
yàvŋ^ɔ *pl* *yàad*^ε *n.* grave, tomb
yē that 25; be about to ... 19.3.4
yè⁺ *dv.* dress oneself; *resultative adj* *yèélúŋ*^ɔ worn (e.g. of a shirt)
yèeg^ε *dv.* undress oneself
yèèl^ε *dv.* dress someone
yēes^{ε/} *dv.* betray a secret
yèl^ε *ipfv* *yèt*^a *ger* *yèlvŋ*^ɔ *dv.* say, tell
yēl^{ε/} *pl* *yēlá*⁺ (*as postposition:* about 16.6) *cb* *yēl-* *n.* matter, affair; *yēl-méŋjìr*^ε
n. truth; *yēl-nárùŋ*^ɔ *n.* necessity; *yēl-pákìr*^ε *n.* disaster; *yēl-sú'adìr*^ε
n. confidential matter; *yēl-súm*^{me} *n.* blessing 15.7.1.1
yēŋím^m *dv.* oscillate (like waves)
yèog^ɔ *pl* *yèed*^ε *n.* bird's crop; person displaced from family (KED)
yéon *q.* one, in counting
yī⁺ *ipfv* *yīt*^{a/} *imp* *yim*^a *dv.* go, come out
yìdig^ε *dv.* go astray
yīdig^{ε/} *dv.* untie
yìar^ε *n.* jaw
yīigá⁺ *q.* firstly; former 15.1; *yīig-sób*^a *n.* first person 15.3.7
yīis^{ε/} *ger* *yīisíb*^ɔ *dv.* make go/come out, extract
yīmmír^ε *pl* *yīmmá*⁺ *cb* *yīm-* *adj.* solitary, lone 15.4.2.3

yīmmú⁺ *q. adv.* straight away, at once

yīnní⁺ *q.* one

yìŋ^a *adv.* outside

yīr^{ε/} *pl yā*^{+/} *cb yī-* *n.* house; *yī-dāan*^a *n.* householder; *yī-sób*^a *pl yī-sób-nàm*^a *n.*

householder; *yī-dím*^a *n.* members of the household; *yī-póŋrùg*^ɔ *pl yī-póŋrà*⁺ *n.*

neighbouring house; *yī-síguđìr*^ε *n.* lodging-house; *yín*^{nε} at home *pl yáan*^ε

yīs^ε *dv.* make go/come out, extract

yīyŋ^{ɔ/} *pl yīná*⁺ *adj.* single- 15.7.1.3

yò⁺ *dv.* close; *resultative adj yòwólúg*^ɔ closed

yō⁺ⁿ *vv.* pay; *ger yōwɔd*^{ε/} *n.* pay

yōlɪs^{ε/} *dv.* untie

yōlɪsím^m *n.* freedom

yōlvug^{ɔ/} *pl yōn*^{nε/} *cb yōl-* *n.* sack, moneybag; (like Hausa *jàkaa*) £100, ₵200 (cedis)

yò'wɔg^ε *dv.* open

yòwɔr^ε *pl yòya*⁺ *cb yò-* *n.* soldier ant

yùà⁺ *dv.* bleed; *also* fornicate WK

yù'adɪr^ε *pl yù'ada*⁺ *n.* rafter

yùbɪg^a *pl yùbɪs*^ε *cb yùb-* *n.* small bottle-like pot

yūgvɔdɪr^ε *pl yūgvɔda*⁺ *cb yūgvɔd-* *n.* hedgehog

yōgúm^{mε} *yōgúm*^{nε} *pl yōgúmá*⁺ *cb yōgúm-* *n.* camel

yùlɪg^ε *dv.* swing (*transitive*)

yūñ'e^{+/} *dv.* set alight

yū'ər^ε *pl yūāda*⁺ *cb yū'ər-* *n.* penis

yùug^ε *dv.* get to be a long time, delay; *Tì yūug nē tāaba.* It's long since we met.

yùul^ε *dv.* swing (*intransitive*)

yō'um^{m/} *dv.* sing; *agt yōum-yô'um*^{na} *pl yōum-yô'umnìb*^a *n.* singer

yô'um^{nε} *pl yô'umá*⁺ *cb yô'um-* or *yōum-* *n.* song

yòum^{mε} *pl yòma*⁺ *cb yòum-* *n.* year; *yòum-pāalíg*^a *n.* new year

yō'un then, next 20.2.3

yô'uyɔ^ɔ *pl yô'umís*^ε *cb yô'uyɔ-* *n.* night

yô'ur^{ε/} *pl yôdá*⁺ *cb yô'-* *n.* name

yōur^ε *pl yōya*⁺ *cb yò-* *n.* water pot

Z

zā^{+/} *cb zā-* *n.* millet

zāalíg^a *zāal*^{lε} *pl zāalís*^ε *zāalá*⁺ *cb zāal-* *adj.* empty

zāalím^m *adv.* emptily

zàam^m *cb zà-* *n.* evening; *zà-sìsɔbɪr*^{ε/} *n.* evening

zàñ'an^{nε} *pl zàñ'ana*⁺ *n.* metal hammer, iron-tipped weapon, bludgeon

zàañsım^m *dv.* dream

- zāańsím^m cb zāańs-* n. soup; soup in general, not "fish soup" despite Mampruli *zaasim* "fish"; cf *Toende zāasím* "meat soup" (*Niggli*)
- zàańsúŋ^ɔ pl zàańsímà⁺ cb zàańsúŋ-* n. dream
- zàb^ε ger zàbir^ε dv.* fight; hurt (of body part); *agt zàb-zàb^a* n. warrior;
agt gbān-záb^a n. leather-beater, leather-worker
- zàbir^ε dv.* cause to fight
- zàk^a pl zà'as^ε cb zà'-* n. compound; *zà'-nōwr^{ε/}* n. gate; *zà'-nō-gúr^a* n. gatekeeper
- zàkım^m dv.* itch
- zàlŋ^a pl zàlımıs^ε cb zàlŋ-* n. electric eel
- zàm^m ipfv zàmmıd^a dv.* cheat; *agt zàm-zām^{na}* n. cheat
- zàmıs^ε dv.* learn, teach
- zāń'a⁼* q. every
- zàń'as^ε dv.* refuse
- zàńbir^ε dv.* tattoo, mark skin
- zāńbın^{ne} pl zāńbına⁺ cb zàńbın-* n. tattoo; NT sign [11.1.2](#)
- Zàngbèèl^ε n.* Hausa language
- Zàngbèog^ɔ pl Zàngbèed^ε n.* Hausa person
- zàngùem^{me} pl zàngùema⁺ cb zàngùem-* n. wall
- zànkù'ar^ε pl zànkų'àa⁺ zànkù'ada⁺ cb zànkų'à-* n. jackal
- zāń'la^l ger zāńllım^m sv.* be holding, carrying in hands
- zàń'^lε* n. umbilicus
- zàŋ^ε dv.* pick up, take up
- zēm^{ma/} ger zēmmúg^ɔ sv.* be equal
- zēmıs^{ε/} dv.* make equal
- zēmmúg^ɔ pl zēmmá⁺ cb zēm-* adj. equal
- zī⁺ ger zīid^{ε/} dv.* carry on one's head; *agt zī-zīid^a* n. carrier on the head
- zī⁺ ger zī'ılım^m sv.* not know [19.5.1](#); *agt zī'ıd^{al}* n. ignorant person
- zì'e^{ya} ger zī'a⁺ KED; DK KT zī'əg^a (exceptional phonology [14 11.1.1](#)) sv.* be standing
- zì'əl^ε dv.* make to stand; *zì'əl nōwr^{ε/}* promise, command; *with n tıs X:* promise to X
- zì'ən^ε dv.* stand still; *Ò zì'ən nē.* She's pregnant.
- zīım^{m/} cb zī-* n. blood
- zīıŋ^a pl zīmı⁺ cb zīm-* n. fish; *zīm-gbāń'ad^a* n. fisherman
- zìlım^{me} pl zìlıma⁺ cb zìlım-* n. tongue
- zīlınzîog^ɔ adj.* unknown
- zım* *ideo. for sābılıg^a* black
- zīná⁺* today
- zìń'a⁺ zèń'ug^ɔ pl zèń'ed^ε zèń'es^ε zèńda⁺ cb zèń'-* adj. red
- zìń'i^{ya} sv.* be sitting; *ger zīń'ig^a pl zīń'is^ε cb zìń-* (also place)
- zìń'il^ε dv.* make sit, seat
- zìń'in^ε dv.* sit down
- zīnzāıŋ^{ɔ/} pl zīnzāná⁺ cb zīnzáıŋ-* n. bat

zīrí⁺ *n.* lie, untruth

zò⁺ *ipfv* *zòt*^a *imp* *zòm*^a *dv.* run; fear; experience emotion; *ger* *zūa*⁺ *zōw*^ɔ run;
ipfv ger *zòtim*^m fear 12.2.1.4 *Ò zòt-ō nīn-báalìg.* He has pity on him

zōl^ɛ *dv.* castrate

zōlumís^ɛ *n.* foolishness

zōlv^ɔ *pl* *zōn*^{nɛ/} *cb* *zōl-* *n.* fool

zōm^{m/} *cb* *zōm-* *n.* flour

zōwm^{mɛ} *zōwm*^{nɛ} *pl* *zōwma*⁺ *cb* *zōwm-* *n.* refugee, fugitive

zōrìg^{a/} *n.* small child WK

zōrv^ɔ *pl* *zōrá*⁺ *n.* piece

zū⁺ *dv.* steal

zùà⁺ *pl* *zùà-nàm*^a *cb* *zùà-* *n.* friend

Zùà⁺ *pl* *Zùòs*^ɛ *n.* member of clan Zoose; *subclans* *pl* *Zùà-wiis*^{ɛ/}-*wiib*^a, *pl* *Zùà-sābulís*^ɛ

zù'e⁺ *dv.* get higher, more

zùe⁺ *dv.* perch, get on top (? variant of *zù'e*⁺)

zūg^ɔ *pl* *zūt*^{ɛ/} *cb* *zūg-* *zū-* 8.2 *n.* head; as *postposition* 16.6; *zūgú-n*^ɛ is also used as a *postposition*; *zūg-dāan*^a *n.* boss, master (replaces *zūg-sób*^a in KB for meanings other than "the Lord"); *zūg-kōgv*^ɛ *pl* *zūg-kōga*⁺ *cb* *zūg-kúg-* *n.* pillow; *zūg-mávk*^ɔ *pl* *zūg-mâ'ad*^ɛ *adj.* crushed-headed 15.7.1.3; *zūg-sób*^a *n.* boss; NT Lord; *zū-péelòg*^ɔ *pl* *zū-péelà*⁺ *adj.* bald 15.7.1.3; *zū-píbig*^a *n.* hat

zùlg^ɛ *dv.* deepen

zùlm^{ma} *sv.* be deep

zùlv^ɔ *pl* *zùlma*⁺ *cb* *zùlv-* *adj.* deep

zùlv^ɔ *n.* depth

zùnzòg^a *zùnzòg*^ɔ *pl* *zùnzògñs*^ɛ *cb* *zùnzòg-* *n.* blind person

zūòbúg^ɔ *pl* *zūòbí*^d *cb* *zūòb-* *n.* hair (of human head); see *kōñbug*^ɔ

zùòd^ɛ *n.* friendship

zùòl^ɛ *dv.* make to perch

zū'òm^{m/} *pl* *zū'òmís*^ɛ *cb* *zū'òm-* *n.* blind person

zū'òm^{m/} *dv.* go blind, make blind

zùòn^ɛ *dv.* begin to perch

zūòr^ɛ *pl* *zūēya*⁺ *cb* *zùà-* *n.* hill

zùòs^ɛ *dv.* befriend

zūríf^ɔ *pl* *zūrí*⁺ *cb* *zūr-* *n.* dawadawa seed

zú'vñf^ɔ *pl* *zū'vñí*⁺ *n.* dawadawa seed

zùuñg^ɔ *pl* *zùuñs*^ɛ *zùuñd*^ɛ *cb* *zùñ-* *n.* vulture

zōvr^ɛ *pl* *zōya*⁺ *cb* *zò-* *n.* tail; *zò-wōk*^ɔ *adj.* long-tailed 15.7.1.3