

A Grammar of Kusaal

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. 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 section 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 References.) 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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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 References)
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>15.3</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>15.4.2</u>
DEMST	demonstrative pronoun (spatio-temporal)	
DP	discontinuous-past marker <i>n^ɛ</i>	<u>23.1.1</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>
IN	inanimate gender	<u>15.3</u>
INDF	indefinite pronoun	<u>15.4.3</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</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</u>
NEG.LET	negative verb <i>mīt</i>	<u>19.5</u>
NULL	semantically empty NP head <i>sōb^a</i>	<u>15.4.7</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>15.6</u>
PFV	independent-perfective marker <i>yā⁺</i>	<u>19.6.2.1</u>
PL	plural	<u>15.2</u>
PQ	polar question prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>
REL	relative pronoun	<u>24.3.2</u>
SG	singular	<u>15.2</u>
TNS	tense marker	<u>19.3.1</u>
VOC	vocative prosodic clitic	<u>7.1</u>

Personal pronouns:	<u>15.4.1</u>
1SG 1PL	1st sg/pl
2SG 2PL	2nd sg/pl
3AN 3IN	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 o 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: *pōvɔv-n* "inside", not *pōvɔv_*.

Transcription conventions

Phonetic transcriptions are written in square brackets; they are generally broad, ignoring all allophony not immediately under discussion. Starred forms representing the input of morphophonemic rules are given *ad hoc* to illustrate the rule in question, and do not represent a uniform underlying level of language.

For Agolle Kusaal orthography see 3. In general, symbols have approximately their IPA values, but 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 [k̠p] [g̠b].

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.

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, except that I write *y* for [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 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 Gbaun
Wínà'am Gbáun

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-kóñbìd 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 Gbaun
Kŭsâas Kûøb nē Yīr yēlá Gbàun

"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.

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 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 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 the domain of one family head with his wives, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Cattle-raising is common but is mostly the preserve of Fulbe and Mossi. A single rainy season lasts unpredictably from May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with rice to a lesser extent. Millet is used for the staple porridge *sā'ab*, called "TZ" /ti:'zed/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zaafii*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional millet beer, *dāam*, called "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*) in English.

The Kusaasi are divided into numerous patrilineal exogamous clans (*dòɔg*, "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 *pɔ̄ɔr* "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 *tɛ̄ŋ-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 *tɛ̄ŋ-dāan-nàm*. 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

Dīm 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 ñyɛ̀ 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: *nin-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 *kīkīrs*, protective spirits (called "fairies" in local English.) Men have three *kīkīrs*, 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 *kīkīrs* 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 *kīkīrs*.

The key term *wīn* has yet further senses, overlapping with the European concepts of fate or destiny: *wīn-tōg*, 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'aj* 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 "horse": Mampruli *wuri-*, 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.)

However, this transposition convention has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology, morphology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is also sometimes 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 *zangò* "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 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.

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%.

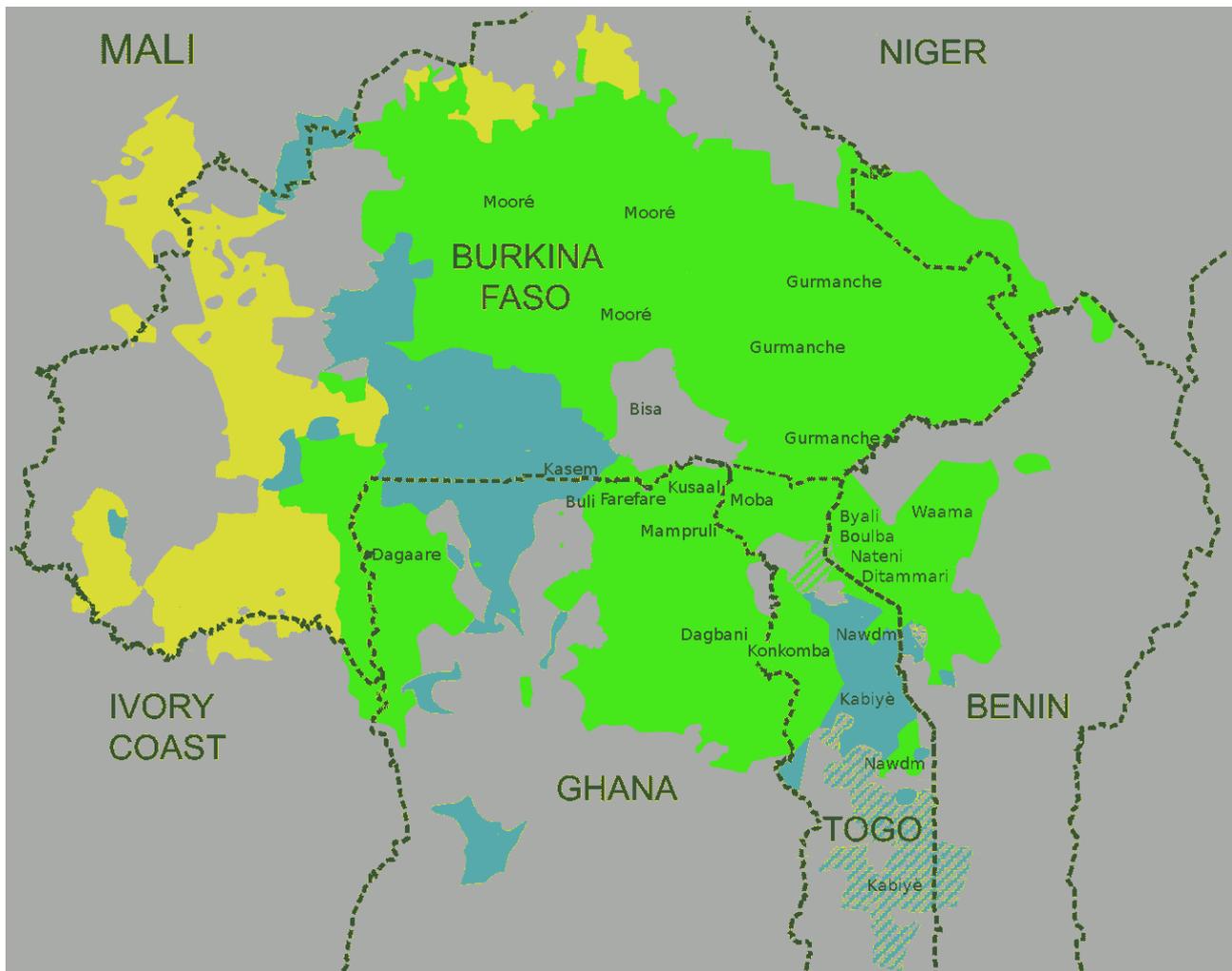
Agolle and Toende Kusaasi agree that they constitute a single ethnic group, and that they speak dialects of a single language. Nevertheless, the differences are great enough to justify separate grammatical treatment for the two major dialects.

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

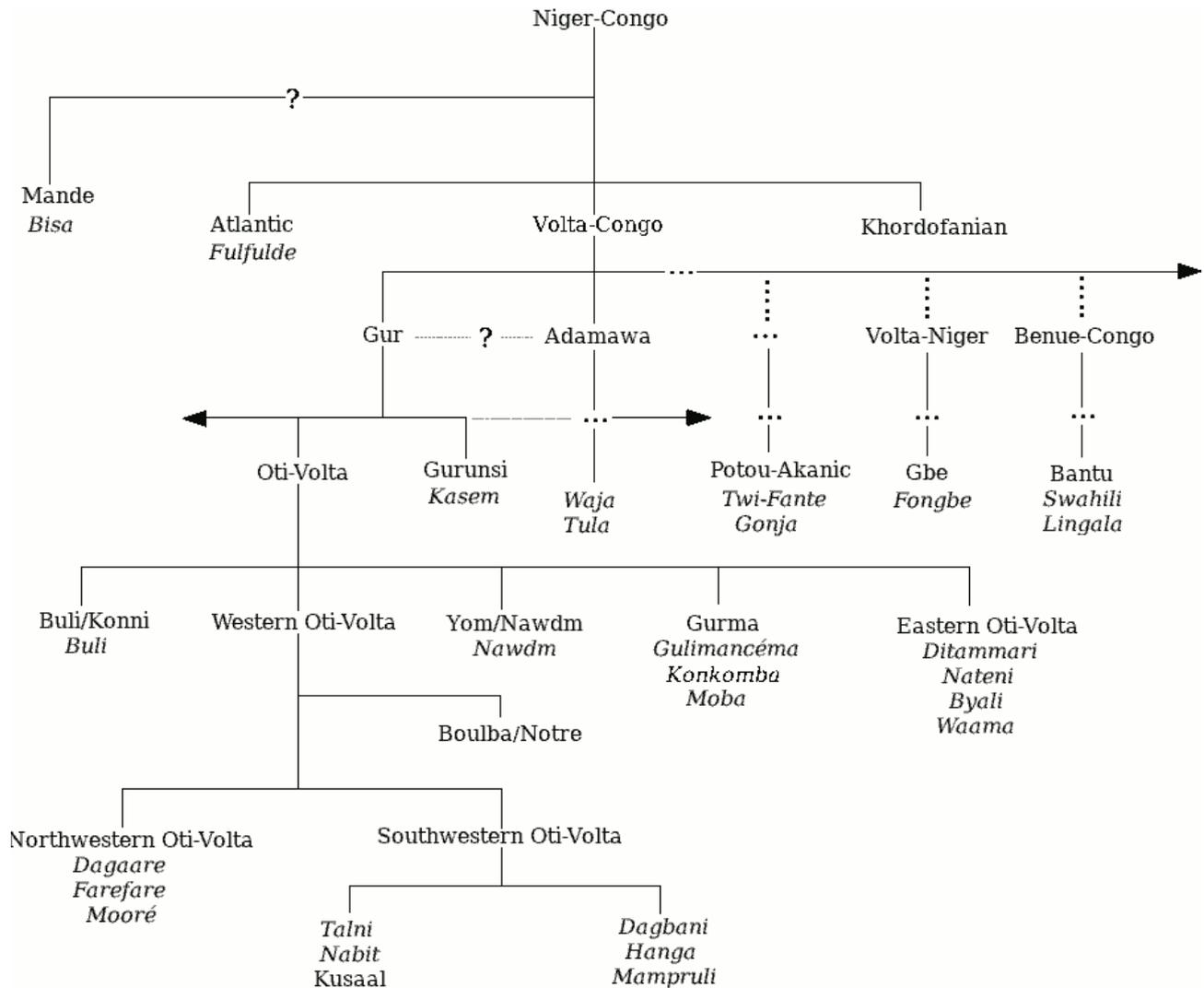
1.2.3 Related languages

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

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



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



The chart above 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 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 Volta-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 *bīig* "child", *dì* "eat", *nū* "drink", *kpi* "die", *tìig* "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", *-tǝ* "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^ɛ|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 *tùbur* in this very class: *litóí* "ear", plural *matóí*. The affixes of other Volta-Congo languages correspond to the Bantu pronominal/verbal agreement prefixes rather than noun class prefixes; for Proto-Bantu 5/6 these are sg *lɪ*, 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 Manessy's **Western Oti-Volta** family. Except in Boulba (see below), Proto-Oti-Volta **c *j* have here 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 *tiib* "tree", Kusaal *tìig*, Mooré *tìigá*); and there is much distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *kù'əm* "water", Mooré *kòóm*, vs Moba *núm*, Buli *nyám*, Nawdm *nyáálm*, Nateni *néēma* (cf Kusaal *nì* "rain.") The Boulba/Notre language of Benin is an outlier: it shares distinctive lexicon (e.g. *kùà* "water"), but has devoiced **g → k*, **gb → kw*, **z → c̄*, reflecting areal features shared with 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. Northwestern Oti-Volta includes Mooré, Safaliba, the dialect continuum Dagaare-Waale-Birifor, and Farefare-Gurenne-Ninkare. (Glossing over complex issues, I will refer to the two last simply as Dagaare and Farefare.) Mooré and Farefare share innovations absent 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 smaller languages form a clear subgroup. Among other 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 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, retain the final vowel at the end of questions and negated clauses (Toende materials from Niggli):

Nabit	<i>La bi'imε.</i>	"It is ripe."
Toende	<i>La bi'ɪ me.</i>	
Agolle	<i>Lì bì'ig nē.</i>	
	3IN ripen FOC.	

Nabit	<i>La na bu biigε.</i>	"It is not yet ripe."
Toende	<i>La nan bu bi'ɪge.</i>	
Agolle	<i>Lì nàm pū b'igē +∅.</i>	
	3IN still NEG.IND ripen NEG.	

Talni	<i>Bunpɔk dɔɣam pu bɔkəra, buraɑ dɔɣam m bɔkət.</i>	
Toende	<i>Bupɔk dɔgɪm bu bɔkɪra, buraɑ dɔgɪm bɔkɪt.</i>	
Agolle	<i>[Pɥ'ā] dū'am pū byákìdā +∅, [dāy] dú'amì_∅ byákìd.</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 Western Oti-Volta Tone Patterns 6.1 can be systematically matched with them. However, Pattern H corresponds to Buli *high* tone, but Gurma *low*; Pattern A to Buli mid and Gurma high, and Pattern L to Buli low and Gurma mid:

Kusaal	Buli	Moba	
<i>wáaf</i>	<i>wáab</i>	<i>wààùg</i>	"snake"
<i>mɔ̃ɔg</i>	<i>mūub</i>	<i>móóùg</i>	"grass"
<i>tìig</i>	<i>tìib</i>	<i>tīg̃</i>	"tree"

It is Gurma, with L corresponding to Western Oti-Volta Pattern H, which is conservative: cf Proto-Bantu *-nùà* "mouth", Fongbe *ònù* = Kusaal *nɔ̃ɔr* (Pattern H) versus Proto-Bantu *-tɔ́* "ear", Fongbe *tó* = Kusaal *tùbur*.

Nawdm aligns tonally with Western Oti-Volta and Buli: *wáàg̃b* "snake", *móóúg* "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. He 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 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 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 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: Kleinewillinghöfer 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

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 *bīiga* "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):

Ò à nē bīig. "He/she's a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

Ò kã' bīiga +ø. "He/she is not a child."
3AN NEG.BE child:SG NEG.

Ò à nē bīigàa +ø? "Is he/she a child?"
3AN COP FOC child:SG PQ?

Ì bīiga +ø! "My child!"
1SG child:SG VOC!

Following apocope, word-final consonant clusters drop the second consonant:

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

Lì à nē gb̄igim. "It's a lion."
 3IN 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: *b̄ig^a* "child", *gb̄igim^{NE}* "lion", *k̄ōk^a* "chair", *d̄ōk[∅]* "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 *v̄iug[∅]* "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 *v̄iug* "owl": the diphthong *iu* itself now contrasts with the vowel of *v̄iid* "owls", shortened from *v̄iidÉ*. Similarly, *āāndiga* "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel *ɪ* before the flexion, and appears as *āāndig* after apocope, whereas the gerund *ḡaadug[∅]* "passing" has rounding of the vowel to *u* before the flexion *-g[∅]*, and after apocope this rounding itself becomes contrastive in the usual Short Form *ḡaadug*.

Liaison words cause a preceding word to appear 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:

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

Ṁ b̄ōdī *bá*. "I love them."
 1SG want 3PL.OB. Modified Long Form *b̄ōdī* before liaison.

Ṁ p̄ū z̄ábē ^{+∅}. "I haven't fought."
 1SG NEG.IND fight NEG. Long Form *z̄ábē* preceding negative clitic.

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

In interlinear glossing, liaison is marked by $_$, as above.

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to a single consonant. Thus with $b\acute{o}c\acute{d}d^a$ "wants, loves" and f^p "you (sg)":

\grave{M} $p\bar{u}$ $b\acute{o}c\acute{d}d_\acute{f}$ $^+\emptyset$. "I don't love you."
1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB NEG. Long Form \acute{f} of the pronoun "you (sg)"

\grave{M} $b\acute{o}c\acute{d}d_\acute{f}$. "I love you."
1SG want 2SG.OB. Short Form \acute{f} of the pronoun "you (sg)"

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

$L\grave{i}$ $k\bar{a}'$ $k\bar{o}ka$ $^+\emptyset$. "It's not a chair."
3IN NEG.BE chair:SG NEG.

$L\grave{i}$ $k\bar{a}'$ $k\bar{o}k\bar{i}-n\acute{e}$ $^+\emptyset$. "It's not in a chair."
3IN NEG.BE chair:SG-LOC NEG.

$k\bar{o}k\bar{i}-n$ "in a chair"
chair:SG-LOC

$L\grave{i}$ $k\bar{a}'$ $d\bar{o}k\acute{o}$ $^+\emptyset$. "It's not a pot."
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG NEG.

$L\grave{i}$ $k\bar{a}'$ $d\bar{o}k\bar{i}-n\bar{e}$ $^+\emptyset$. "It's not in a pot."
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG-LOC NEG.

$d\bar{o}k\bar{i}-n$ "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 $\cdot o$ with a preceding raised point.

Compare the forms with f^p "you (sg)" with the forms with o "him/her":

\grave{M} $p\bar{u}$ $b\acute{o}c\acute{d}d_\acute{f}$ $^+\emptyset$. "I don't love you."
1SG NEG.IND want 2SG.OB NEG.

Ṁ bɔ́dɪ̄_f.

1SG want 2SG.OB.

"I love you"

Ṁ pū bɔ́d-ó-o +∅.

1SG NEG.IND want-3AN.OB NEG.

"I don't love him/her."

[ɱpɔbɔ:dɔ:]

Long Form *o* of the pronoun "him/her"

Ṁ bɔ́d-ō_∅.

1SG want 3AN.OB.

"I love him/her."

[ɱbɔ:dɔ]

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:IMP!

"Look!"

Gòsimī_∅!

Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!

"Look ye!" by apocope from *gòsimī-yá*

Liaison words are not all bound to the left. *Right*-bound non-contrastive personal pronouns cause inhibition of apocope in the *preceding* word, as do the personifier particle *à-* and all words beginning with certain 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_∅ zàbìd lā zúg "because my head hurts" (nominaliser-*n*)

1SG head:SG NZ fight:IPFV ART upon

Ṁ zūgu_∅ zábìd.

1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head hurts." (catenator-*n*)

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 has contrastive vowel glottalisation.

Vowel **breaking** has caused earlier $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \text{ } \varepsilon\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔɔ}$ (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.

dī̄əsídìb "receivers" *bāṅıdɪb* "wise men"
gbīgım̄nɛ "lion" (Long Form)

The only consonant clusters possible within stems following the root are *kk tt pp ṅṅ nn mm ll mn*, of which *kk tt pp ṅṅ* 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. *pīpīrɪg* "desert." Nominals with prefixes may thus contain -nC- clusters at the junction between the prefix and the rest of the stem: *dīndēog* "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 *ɛ ɔ*. Clusters of two consonants occur freely across word division (including within compounds) due to apocope of word-final short vowels:

Gbīgım̄ lā dāa kūvd búṅ lā.
 LION:SG ART TNS kill:IPFV donkey:SG ART.
 "The lion (*gbīgım̄*^{nɛ}) was killing (*kūvd*^{a/}) the donkey (*bùṅ*^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 straightforward, but with some morphophonemic complications. These words all belong to the same $g^a|s^e$ noun class, and are all regular:

<i>būvg</i>	"goat"	<i>būvs</i>	"goats"
<i>sàbùà</i>	"lover"	<i>sàbùəs</i>	"lovers"
<i>nūa</i>	"hen"	<i>nōvs</i>	"hens"
<i>kūk</i>	"chair"	<i>kūgvs</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>tēēŋs</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>būvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>pìəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>bù-pìəliɡ</i>	"white goat"
<i>būvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>sī'a</i>	"another"	→ <i>bù-sī'a</i>	"another goat"
<i>kūk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>pìəliɡ</i>	"white"	→ <i>kùg-pìəliɡ</i>	"white chair"
<i>kūk</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:

Ò dīgɪ nē. "She's lying down."
3AN be.lying.down FOC.

Ò mər búŋ. "She has a donkey."
3AN have donkey:SG.

Ò gìm. "She's short."
3AN be.short.

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

Ò à nē bīg. "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:

Ò kā' bīg +∅. "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. *gbìgim-kōvd* "lion-killer."

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

M̄ tís 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 *wōv* "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 bīg

"my child"

dāy lā bīg

"the man's child"

Adverbs often appear as postpositions preceded by NP dependents, as with *zūg* "head" used adverbially in

téebùl lā zūg

"onto the table"

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

mù'arī-n

"in a lake" (*mù'arε* "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.

Gbīgum lā sá kù búmìs lā.

Lion:SG ART TNS kill donkey:PL ART.

"The lion killed the donkeys yesterday."

Gbīguma lā dāa pō kō 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 *àeñ* "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 dɥ'átà. "He's fought the doctor."
 3AN fight doctor:SG.

Ò gòs dɥ'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 dɥ'átà. "And he fought the doctor."
 And 3AN fight doctor:SG.

Kà ò gōs dɥ'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 dɥ'átā +∅! "Don't look at the doctor!"
 NEG.IMP look.at doctor:SG NEG!

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

Main clauses frequently have adjuncts preceding the subject which express time or circumstance; conditional subordinate clauses, which contain *yà* 'if' after their own subject, appear before the main clause subject:

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

M ná tī f tīim 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.
Dāy dá bē ∅ mōrí ∅ pū'à-yīmmír, kà pū'ā lā yē
 Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that
ōn pū lém bōod yé ∅ sīd lā dí pū'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:

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

Gbīgím kà m 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 *ànó'ɔn* "who?" as subject even though it remains *in situ* before the verb.

Fù bōod bō +∅? "What do you want?"
 2SG want what CQ?

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

Ànó'wòní_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*:

Moogin ka mam bε.

"I'm in the bush." BNY p10

Mōwóú-n kà mām bε. (*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 biig mà'aa.

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

Kà dāar yīnní kà biig 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 biig lā tí yēl 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'əsí**d**t**b**à* "receivers", *mò**l**í**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>dàtìtŋ</i>	"right hand"
<i>bōtìŋ</i>	"cup" (originally the instrument noun from <i>būd</i> "plant seeds")
pl <i>bōtɪs</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

Open word classes comprise verbs and nominals. Nominals are 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.)" Many bound forms are also best regarded as words. In Kusaal even members of the *open* class of nouns have regular "combining forms", used exclusively with following words as parts of compounds. Combining forms may appear as dependents, but more often as NP heads before adjectives and even demonstratives:

tì-kàṅā "this tree." There are no consistent phonological differences between combining forms and free words, and compounds may incorporate unbound words: [*ānzúrfà nē sāluma lá'*]-*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker." Combining forms are thus best regarded as bound *words*, not word fragments.

Word status for other bound forms may depend on distinguishing them from affixes. Although non-contrastive personal pronouns and many bound particles resemble free-word affixes segmentally, they show no tendencies to phonological fusion with their hosts other than those also seen between free words, and they clearly differ in tonal behaviour from affixes. For cases where my analyses of wordhood differ from those implied by traditional orthography see [2.3](#) below.

Because Kusaal stress allocation does not distinguish between bound and free words as such, I will reserve the term "clitic" for prosodic clitics [7.1](#), and will elsewhere use the non-committal labels "left-bound" and "right-bound."

Boundness is entirely distinct from the syntactic feature of *dependency*. Most open-class words are neither bound nor intrinsically dependent, and most particles are both bound and intrinsically dependent. However, combining forms, though always bound, may be dependents or heads, and bound personal pronouns are *never* dependent: Kusaal has no possessive pronouns [15.4.1](#).

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>kpùkpàrɪg</i>	"palm tree"
<i>zīm-gbâñ'ad</i>	"fisherman"	<i>bù-pìəlɪg</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 bipuṅ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *yàmmvug-bī-púṅ* "slave girl."

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

<i>M̀ bɔ́ɔdɪ̃_f.</i>	"I love you."	[ṃbɔ:ɔɪf]
1SG want 2SG.OB.		

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

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: *puvgun*, *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: *pūvgu-n* "inside", *bòɔdī-n* "might wish."

The personifier particle *à/h̄*, traditionally written solid with the following word, will also be hyphenated to its host, as it can be attached to entire phrases 15.6.

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 fū 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 <i>Dàhamáanì</i>		

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"
vs <i>wìd-dāvg</i> [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", *àrakóń'* "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:

3.2 Vowels

The vowel system displays marked **positional prominence**. Diphthongs, glottalisation, emic nasalisation and full quality contrasts appear only in roots [5.2](#).

Agolle Kusaal has a nine-vowel system. Seven of these are written by default as *a ɛ ɔ i u ɪ ʊ*, respectively [a] [ɛ] [ɔ] [i] [u] [ɪ] [ʊ]; the corresponding long vowels contrast with short vowels in length, but not quality, and are written by doubling the vowel symbol: *bāa* [ba:] "dog." The vowel *i* is more central after velars and labials, and *u* is slightly fronted after alveolars and *y*; *u* is distinctly fronted after alveolars, and preceding *s z* may be realised as palato-alveolars: *zūg* "head" [ʒyɡ].

Lax *i ʊ* do not appear after *m* or *n* in roots or prefixes. There are few minimal pairs for short *i/i u/ʊ*, except as the result of apocope [5.1](#); however, examples are

<i>lìdɪg</i>	"astonish, be amazed"	<i>lìdɪg</i>	"turn a shirt" WK
<i>sībɪg</i>	antelope species KED	<i>sībɪg</i>	"termite"
<i>bùl</i>	"astonish"	<i>bùl</i>	"germinate"
<i>ùk</i>	"vomit"	<i>ūk</i>	"bloat"
<i>būn</i>	"thing"	<i>bùn</i>	"germinate" ipfv
<i>kūdʊg</i>	"old"	<i>kūdʊg</i>	"piece of iron"
<i>tūlɪg</i>	"heat up"	<i>tùlɪg</i>	"invert"

The allophony [ɪ]~[i] and [ʊ]~[u] in epenthetic and prefix vowels [5.2](#) is ignored, only *i ʊ* being used in writing.

The two remaining vowels are the **broken vowels** *ja ɥa*; the corresponding long vowels are *iə uə*. All are realised as written, [ja] [ɥa] [iə] [uə]; however, they everywhere pattern as *monophthongs*, and will be so labelled throughout below. The symbols *ə e* are used only here, and *j ɥ* do not otherwise occur before a vowel symbol.

<i>tjàk</i>	[tʃak]	"change"	<i>pɥāk</i>	[pɥak]	"female"
<i>kɔjà'</i>	[kɔja]	"shape wood"	<i>kjà</i>	[kja]	"cut"
<i>piəlɪg</i>	[piəlɪg]	"white"	<i>bū'əs</i>	[buəs]	"ask"

Before *y* word-internally, *ja ɥa* are realised [jɪ] [ɥɪ] and written *je ɥe*.

<i>bjēyá</i>	[bjɛja]	"elder siblings"	<i>sɥēyá</i>	[sɥɛja]	"roads"
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Word-final *iə uə* only arise by monophthongisation in external sandhi [7.2](#) [7.3](#).

Nasalised *iañ uañ* (including after *m n*) occur only before underlying **g*, and in the ipfv of fusion verbs by analogy [5.6](#). In all other contexts original **ɛ̃* **ɔ̃* and **ě* **õ* have fallen together as *ɛñ ɔñ*. They were distinct historically: cf *nōɔr* "times", Mooré *náooré*, *nōɔr* "mouth", Mooré *nóorè*.

Oral $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$ originate from $*Vy \text{ } *Vw$ or by levelling in nominal paradigms 5.5. Short $\underset{\cdot}{j}a \text{ } \underset{\cdot}{u}a$ have just two origins. Apocope 5.1 shortens final $i\text{ə} \text{ } u\text{ə}$ to $\underset{\cdot}{j}a \text{ } \underset{\cdot}{u}a$:

$k\underset{\cdot}{j}à$ SF of $k\underset{\cdot}{i}a$ "cut" $k\underset{\cdot}{u}\bar{a}$ SF of $k\underset{\cdot}{u}a$ "hoe"

Elsewhere, $\underset{\cdot}{j}a \text{ } \underset{\cdot}{u}a$ replace $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}$ before k and before underlying $*g$, which is deleted, with vowel glottalisation and fusion 5.6. $B\grave{\text{ò}}k$ "pit" contrasting with $b\underset{\cdot}{u}\grave{\text{à}}k$ "split" is due to the rounding change $*\underset{\cdot}{u}akku \rightarrow \text{ɔ}kku$, while $t\bar{e}k$ "pull", contrasting with $t\underset{\cdot}{j}àk$ "change" is due to shortening of a long vowel before an original plosive cluster $*t\varepsilon\text{ɛ}kk\text{ɪ}$. Presumably $n\bar{\text{ò}}k$ "pick up" is similarly derived by shortening of $*n\text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}kk\text{ɪ}$; Toende Kusaal has $n\grave{\text{ò}}k$, with a variant form $n\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}$ (for $*n\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}g$.)

Toende Kusaal preserves the equivalents of the broken vowels as phonetic monophthongs, more open than the Toende vowels corresponding to $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \text{ } \varepsilon\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}$, which have expanded in Agolle into the phonetic space vacated by breaking:

Toende	Agolle	
$s\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{s}$	$s\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{s}$	"waists"
$p\bar{e}'\bar{e}\bar{s}$	$p\bar{e}'\bar{e}\bar{s}$	"sheep" pl
$b\text{ɔ}'\text{ɔ}\bar{s}$	$b\bar{u}'\bar{e}\bar{s}$	"ask"
$t\bar{o}om$	$t\bar{\text{ɔ}}om$	"depart, disappear"

The common Kusaal protolanguage preserved other contrasts, like Mooré; Kusaal $\text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}/u\text{ə}$ pairings correspond to Mooré oo , but Mooré ao corresponds to $\text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}/\text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}$: Toende $b\grave{\text{ò}}\text{t}$, Agolle $b\grave{\text{ò}}\text{ɔ}\text{d}$, Mooré $b\grave{\text{à}}\text{oda}$ "want, wish."

All other sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols represent phonemic **diphthongs**. After a vowel symbol $\underset{\cdot}{e}$ represents [ɪ], $\underset{\cdot}{j}$ is [i̠] (found only after u), and $\underset{\cdot}{u}$ represents [ʊ]:

$s\bar{\text{ɔ}}\underset{\cdot}{e}\bar{n}$	[sɔ̠ɪ̠]	"witch"	$m\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{j}$	[mũi̠]	"rice"
$d\bar{\text{a}}\underset{\cdot}{u}$	[daʊ̠]	"man"	$gb\grave{\text{à}}\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{j}$	[gb̠aʊ̠ŋ]	"book"
$b\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{a}}\underset{\cdot}{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$	[bɹ̠ãʊ̠k]	"shoulder"			

Unlike $y \text{ } w$, $\underset{\cdot}{e} \text{ } \underset{\cdot}{j} \text{ } \underset{\cdot}{u}$ do not form syllable boundaries. Word-final $-V\underset{\cdot}{e} \text{ } -V\underset{\cdot}{j} \text{ } -V\underset{\cdot}{u}$ behave just like short vowels in being followed by [ʔ] before pause in statements 3.2.2, and word-initial $y\text{a}$ [ja] contrasts with $\underset{\cdot}{j}a$ [ɹ̠a] in the tenseness of the semivowel, and probably in timing features; the contrast is not [ʔja] ~ [ja].

$\underset{\cdot}{j}\bar{a}$ [ɹ̠a] "seek" $y\bar{a}$ [ja] "houses"

KB has uak "inundate"; cf wak "be sleepless" (from Naden's dictionary.)

The symbol *e* is used for [ɪ] as a non-initial element of a diphthong, except after *ε*, and *o* is used for [ʊ] as a non-initial element of a diphthongs, except after *a*.

Diphthongs may be short, long, or overlong. Overlong diphthongs are realised as *disyllabic* with syllable division after the first mora. Diphthong length contrasts in identical environments occur only with word-final *ae/aē* and with *avη/avη̄*. Rounding diphthongs occur only word-finally and before velars, fronting diphthongs only word-finally and before *y*.

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> [ʒa:] <i>ua</i> [ua] <i>va</i> [ʋa]	<i>iaa</i> [ia:] <i>uaa</i> [ua:]
<i>aē</i> [aɪ̯] <i>ɔē</i> [ɔɪ̯] <i>uī</i> [ui̯] <i>ʋē</i> [ʋɪ̯]	<i>ae</i> [aɪ] <i>ie</i> [iɪ] <i>ɔ'e</i> [ɔɪ̯] <i>ui</i> [ui] <i>ue</i> [uɪ] <i>ʋ'e</i> [ʋɪ̯]	<i>aeē</i> [aɪ:] <i>ieē</i> [iɪ:] <i>ueē</i> [uɪ:]
<i>av̄</i> [aʋ̄] <i>εv̄</i> [εʋ̄] <i>jav̄</i> [ʒaʋ̄] <i>iv̄</i> [ɪʋ̄]	<i>av</i> [aʋ] <i>εo</i> [εʋ] <i>iu</i> [iu] <i>io</i> [iʊ]	

Long diphthongs become overlong by prolongation of the second mora before the polar-question prosodic clitic 7.1. The diphthongs *ʋ'a vñ'a* appear as *ʋ'aa vñ'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 ε ɔ ɪ ʋ i u* may precede:

<i>zū-ó-o</i>	[zuɔ:]	"steal him"	Long Form <u>5.1</u>
<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

The symbol *o* also represents [o] in the 3sg pronoun *o*, and in the mora preceding it in liaison, which is written *·o*; any nasalisation mark *ñ* precedes *·o*.

	<i>ò bíg</i> [ɔbi:g]	"her child"	<i>zú·o</i> [zuɔ]	"steal him"
	<i>dà'·o</i> [dɑɔ]	"bought for him"	<i>āñ·o</i> [ãõ]	"be him/her"
but	<i>dāvug</i> [daɔg]	"male"		

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" (*tεεkɪ)
Hausa	<i>tèeku</i>	<i>àtìyuk</i>	"sea"
Hausa	<i>kootù</i> (← English)	<i>kótù</i>	"court"

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.

3.2.1 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>tēēñs</i> [tẽ:s]	"lands"	<i>áñsib</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"

Nasalisation is **automatic** on long vowels after *m n*: *mèed* "build" ipfv [mẽ:d].

Short *iñ uñ* are laxer than oral *i u*, but there are no contrasting short **iñ *uñ*. They nearly always arise from apocope 5.1 of *iiñ uuñ*, as in *sīñf* "bee" cb *sīñ-*, *zùuñg* "vulture", cb *zùñ-*; the only exception is *sūñf* "heart" (pl *sūñyá*), written *sunf* in KB.

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

Nasalised *iə̃ uə̃* occur only in fusion verbs 5.6. Long *ũ ũ* appear solely through the change of *nf *ns to *f s* with nasalisation of the preceding vowel 5.4:

<i>píũf</i>	"genet"	pl <i>pīũní</i>
<i>zú'ũf</i>	"dawadawa seed"	pl <i>zū'ũní</i>
<i>tèŋ-zùũs</i>	"foreign lands"	sg <i>tèŋ-zùŋ</i>

3.2.2 Glottalisation

Glottalisation does not affect vowel quality. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel symbol (including *ɥ*) other than *i*:

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

Glottalisation may be realised as [ʔ] after the first vocalic mora, or as vowel creakiness, but in either case behaves as a vowel feature. Flapping of initial *d* 3.1 occurs after *V'* as well as after *V*, and the pattern of downstepping before *H* shows that ' 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:

	<i>Kà bà gēñ.</i>	"and they got tired"	is homophonous with
	<i>Kà bà gēñ'.</i>	"and they got angry"	
but	<i>Bà gēñ nē.</i>	"they're tired"	differs in realisation from
	<i>Bà gēñ' nē.</i>	"they're angry"	

Root syllables with no initial consonant are optionally realised with initial [ʔ]: *úun*^{ne} "dry season" [ʔu:n]~ [u:n]; this is not regarded as a consonant phoneme.

There is no vowel glottalisation in Mooré, Dagaare, Mampruli, Hanga or Dagbani, but Farefare, Nabit and Talni share it: *yū'or* "name", Farefare *yú'úré*; *kù'əm* "water", Talni *kwoʔm*; *kpá'or* "guinea fowl", Nabit *kpá'uor*; *nō-ñyâ'or* "hen", Nabit *nɔnya'or*. Nawdm has *h* [ʔ] in many cognate words, e.g. *mtáh'* "three" = Kusaal *ntáñ'*; *núhú* "arm, hand" = *nú'ug*; *ráhím* "bile" = Kusaal *yā'am* (WK), Farefare *yá'am*.

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

<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"	<i>lā'ŋ</i>	"set alight"
<i>nī'm</i>	"meat"	<i>kō'm</i>	"hunger"
<i>sù'ŋā</i>	"well"	<i>sù'm</i>	"goodness"

Sùŋ 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 súm* "is good", but 30 of *ka' sum* to 40 of *ka' su'um kā' súmm* "is not good" clause-finally.

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

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 *ε ɔ*, *i* for *i* 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 *ε* in KB; so always with the relative pronouns *onε kanε linε banε*, and with *anɔ'ɔnε* "who?" before liaison.

e o are used for [ɪ] [ʊ] as in this grammar. In addition, the pronouns *ōn/ón/òn òŋā* 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 *sāriɣá* "prison."

ie is used for *iə* and *ie*, but the sequences only contrast in the marginal case of external sandhi when final *ie* is monophthongised 7.3.

uo is used for *uə* and *uo*, but traditional orthography always separates the vowel symbols in the latter case: *bu'os* = *bū'əs* "ask", *zu o* = *zú·o* "steal him."

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

The diphthong *io* [iɔ] is written *io* in the 1976 NT but *ieu* later: thus *kpī'oj* "strong" is *kpi'oj* in the 1976 NT, *kpi'euj* in the 1996 NT and KB.

Traditional orthography uses *e i u* for *ē ī ū* and consequently does not mark length consistently in diphthongs, but only two length contrasts are actually found in phonemic diphthongs: of these *ae/aē* is expressed by writing *aae* (or *aaε*) for *ae* versus *ae* for *aē*: thus e.g. *paae* = *pāe* "reach."

The contrast *au/āu* is unmarked. KB uses *au* or *av* consistently for each word, but not as marking length: *yaug yāvug* "grave", but *na'araug* = *nā'-dāvug* "ox"; *dau* = *dāu* "man" but *tavn* = *tāvñ* "sibling of opposite sex." Ambiguity appears before *ŋ*: *gbauŋ* = *gbāuŋ* "skin", *mangaŋ* = *màngávŋ* "crab."

Word-final *ia ua* are used ambiguously for both *īa ūa* and *ia ua*:

<i>kia</i>	= <i>kīà</i>	"cut"	<i>sia</i>	= <i>sīa</i>	"waist"
<i>kua</i>	= <i>kūā</i>	"hoe"	<i>sabua</i>	= <i>sàbùa</i>	"lover"

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

<i>kpi'a</i>	= <i>kpi'ā</i>	"shape wood"	<i>kpi'a</i>	= <i>kpi'a</i>	"neighbour"
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Before 2016, *u'a v'a* were usually written *o'a*, but sometimes *u'a*, like *u'a* [uā]. All are now written *u'a*: *po'a/pu'a* = *pu'ā* "woman", *po'ab/pu'ab* = *pō'ab* "women."

Traditional orthography writes *-ey-* in Long Forms 5.1 corresponding to Short Forms where final *-y* becomes *-ē*: *vveya* = *vōyá*, Long Form of *vōē* "be alive." Older NT versions also write *bōn-vóyà* "living things" as *bunvoeya*, but KB has *bunvoya*.

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

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

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

Ending a prefix, *n* represents *n*: *dunduug* = *dòndùug* [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*) = *gāañ* [gã:] "ebony tree" versus *daan* (old: *daan*) = *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:

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

Lì kâ' náafō +∅. "It's not a cow."
3IN 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-bóɔdìr* "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 m̄ gōs gél lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̄ gōs ↓gél lā bēogv-n.*

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

"I looked at the egg in the morning."

Kà m̄ gōs náaf lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̄ gōs ↓náaf lā bēogv-n.*

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

"I looked at the cow in the morning."

Kà m̄ gōs nû'ug lā bēogv-n.

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

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

but *M̄ gōs ↓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'ɔ̀nì_ø ñyē púkòǎǎrē +ø? "Who saw a widow?"
Who CAT see widow:SG CQ?

Lì kǎ' púkòǎǎrē +ø. "It's not a widow."
3IN NEG.BE widow:SG NEG.

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

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

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

Mān bú-sùŋ kǎ'e +ø. "My good goat isn't there."
1SG.CNTR goat-good:SG NEG.BE NEG.

Mān kúkōr kǎ'e +ø. "My voice isn't there."
1SG.CNTR VOICE:SG NEG.BE NEG.

but *Mān ↓bú-pìəl kǎ'e +ø.*
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 kǎ'e +ø. "There's no camel."
Camel:SG NEG.BE NEG.

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

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

"He isn't scattering."

Lì kā' bī-↓púnā +∅.
3IN 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 kā' ñyī ↓ríf̄ +∅.
3IN NEG.BE egusi:SG NEG.

"It's not an egusi seed."

but Kà m̄ ḡs búŋ lā bēogv-n.

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

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

Yūgóm lā kā'e +∅.
Camel:SG ART NEG.BE NEG.

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

Lì à nē d̄ɔɔg lā.
3IN 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 kā' bī-púnà +∅?
3IN 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 dúgè +∅ +∅?
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 kā' dī'əsíd̄t̄bā +∅.
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."
3IN NEG.BE hand:SG NEG.

but *Lì k̄ā' mólif̄̄ +∅.* "It's not a gazelle."
3IN 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 p̄ū 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."
3IN COP FOC gazelle:SG.

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

Lì k̄ā' dágòbigā +∅. "It's not a left hand."
3IN 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 p̄ū zábì_f̄̄ +∅. "He didn't fight you."
3AN NEG.IND fight 2SG.OB NEG.

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

5 Word segmental structure

This section deals with open-class words.

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 nû'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.

Ànó'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 (see below.) 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 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):

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

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 kūk.

3IN COP FOC chair:SG.

"It's a chair."

Kūk lā bódìg yā.

Chair:SG ART get.lost PFV.

"The chair has got lost."

Lì kā' kūka. +∅.

3IN NEG.BE chair:SG NEG.

"It's not a chair."

<i>Lì à nē kúkà</i> +∅?	"Is it a chair?"
3IN COP FOC chair:SG PQ?	
<i>Àń'òní</i> ∅ <i>ńyē 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 kā' dūk.</i> /kk/	"It's not a pot."
<i>Lì à nē dūkó?</i>	"Is it a pot?"
<i>Àń'òní ńyē dūkó?</i>	"Who saw a pot?"
<i>Lì à nē gbīgim.</i>	"It's a lion."
<i>Lì kā' gbīgimne.</i>	"It's not a lion."
<i>Lì à nē gbígimne?</i>	"Is it a lion?"
<i>Àń'òní ńyē gbígimne?</i>	"Who saw a lion?"
<i>Lì à nē yáarim.</i>	"It's salt."
<i>Lì kā' yáarimm.</i>	"It's not salt."
<i>Lì à nē yáarimm?</i>	"Is it salt?"
<i>Àń'òní ńyē yáarimm?</i>	"Who saw salt?"
<i>Bà à nē gbīgima.</i>	"They're lions."
<i>Bà kā' gbīgimaa.</i>	"They're not lions."
<i>Bà à nē gbígimàa?</i>	"Are they lions?"
<i>Àń'òní ńyē gbígimàa?</i>	"Who saw lions?"
<i>Ò à nē dāy.</i>	"He's a man."
<i>Ò kā' dāy.</i>	"He's not a man."
<i>Ò à nē dáyù?</i>	"Is he a man?"
<i>Àń'òní ńyē dáyù?</i>	"Who saw a man?"
<i>Kà ò sjàk.</i>	"And he agreed."
And 3AN agree.	
<i>Ò pū sjàkē</i> +∅.	"He didn't agree."
3AN NEG.IND agree NEG.	

<i>Kà ò dīgi.</i>	"And she's lying down."
<i>Ò p̄ dīgiyá.</i>	"She isn't lying down."
<i>Kà ò vūē.</i>	"And she's alive."
<i>Ò p̄ vūyá.</i>	"She's not alive."
<i>Kà ò kǐá.</i>	"And she cut (it)."
<i>Ò p̄ kǐa.</i>	"She hasn't cut (it)."
<i>Kà ò pāe.</i>	"And he reached (it)."
<i>Ò p̄ pāée.</i>	"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>	"It's a big thing."
3IN COP FOC thing-big:SG.	
<i>Lì k̄á' b̄n-béduḡ +∅.</i>	"It's not a big thing."
3IN NEG.BE thing-big:SG NEG.	
<i>M̄ p̄'us yā bédugū.</i>	"Thank you very much."
1SG greet PFV much.	

The LF is undoubtedly historically primary, with the SF derived by apocope, but it does not automatically follow that the LF must be primary synchronically. It can usually be predicted from the SF given the aspect of a verb or the natural gender of a noun, and in several cases historically expected LFs have actually been replaced by different forms corresponding to the same SFs. Apocope often does *not* lead to loss of contrasts despite deleting the segments which conditioned them, and working in reverse, such features can predict LFs from SFs; even words completely deleted by apocope remain recognisable from effects on preceding words. Some SFs are too short to show a tonal difference between Pattern H and all-M Pattern A, as with *kūk* "chair" and *dūk* "pot" above, but Tone Patterns are suprasegmental stem features 6.1.

Nevertheless, it is descriptively simplest to regard LFs as primary. With SFs ending in consonants the LF may end in *a ε* 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 kìkīr-bé'ed-nàm dâamnī_ 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*)

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

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wusa, sɔ' kae gat Joon nε [sic 2.3].
Pū'abí_ ø dɔ̀'à sīəba lā wūsa, sɔ' kā'e_ø gát Joonε +ø.
 Woman:PL NZ bear INDF.PL ART all, INDF.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 now have LFs obtainable simply by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong:

<i>kū</i>	LF <i>kūv</i>	"kill"	<i>mà</i>	LF <i>màa</i>	"mother"
<i>kūgá</i>	LF <i>kūgáa</i>	"stones"	<i>bāa</i>	LF <i>bāa</i>	"dog" <u>7.1</u>
<i>sīa</i>	LF <i>sīaa</i>	"waist"	<i>sàbùa</i>	LF <i>sàbùaa</i>	"girlfriend"
<i>djā'</i>	LF <i>djā'a</i>	"get dirty"	but	Farefare <i>dēgè</i>	
<i>dɔ̀'à</i>	LF <i>dɔ̀'àa</i>	"bear, beget"		Farefare <i>dògè</i>	
<i>zò</i>	LF <i>zòv</i>	"run"		Farefare <i>zè</i>	
<i>dāy</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>	"man"		Mooré <i>ráoa</i>	
<i>tāyñ</i>	LF <i>tāvñ</i>	"opposite-sex sib"		Mooré <i>tǎoa</i>	

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

Most SFs ending in fronting diphthongs or front vowels behave likewise:

<i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"	<i>niè</i>	LF <i>niée</i>	"appear"
<i>dūe</i>	LF <i>dūée</i>	"raise/rise"	<i>wìdɪ</i>	LF <i>wìdɪ</i>	"horses"

Two nouns have variant sg LFs in *-ya*: *sāeñ* "blacksmith", LF *sāeñ* or *sāñya* and *sōeñ* "witch", LF *sōeñ* or *sōñya*. All other LFs in *-ya* occur in single-aspect verbs 10.2, where LF *-ya* corresponds to all vowel-final SFs except in a few bare root forms:

<i>dīgɪ</i>	LF <i>dīgɪyá</i>	"be lying"	<i>vōɛ</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"
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Before liaison, even these verbs follow the *general* rule, prolonging any final short diphthong and then applying phrase-medial loss of fronting 7.2.

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 described as showing apocope-blocking (see below.) 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*, **-mυ *-mɪ* as *-mm -mm* and *-iə -uə* as *-ia -ua* 7.1.

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

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

<i>gbīigima⁺</i>	"lions"	SF <i>gbīigima</i>	LF <i>gbīigimaa</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>kia</i>
<i>kṽā⁺</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kṽā</i>	LF <i>kūa</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>

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>djà^a</i>	"get dirty"	SF <i>djà'</i>	LF <i>djà'a</i>
	<i>kṽā⁺</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kṽā</i>	LF <i>kūa</i>
but	<i>pṽā^a</i>	"woman"	SF <i>pṽā</i>	LF <i>pṽāa</i>

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

<i>vōe^a/</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>
<i>tōe^a/</i>	"be bitter"	SF <i>tōe</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", where the X of the SF has to become H in the LF, are written in superscript notation with their SF tonemes: *nú'ug^ɔ* "hand." So too are words like SF *nóbìr* LF *nóbìrè* "foot, leg", which show a toneless superlight second syllable in the LF corresponding to a L closed syllable in the SF: *nóbìr^ε* "foot", *dī'əsídìb^a* "receivers." The orthographic convention that macrons and graves apply to all following unmarked syllables means that no special superscript notation is needed to express the change from LF superlight to SF closed toneme-bearing syllables in words like *wābug^ɔ* "elephant" or *dìgur^ε* "dwarf."

Apocope-blocking is seen with some nouns ending in *-l* or *-v* 8.5, as a derivational feature in adverbs and quantifiers, as a downtoning measure with adjectives, and in many words with only one underlying mora, including pronouns.

Apocope-blocked words uses LFs as *citation* forms. They lack the lowering of postconsonantal final *l v* to *ε ɔ* seen before prosodic clitics, but do change final *-mv* to *-mm*. Final L tonemes change to M. Apocope-blocked words make secondary LFs before prosodic clitics by prolonging a short final vowel; except in polysyllabic words with M tonemes throughout, final M tonemes become H in such LFs.

<i>būudl⁺</i>	"tribe"	<i>bèdugū^{+/}</i>	"a lot"
<i>sòṅā^{+/}</i>	"well"	<i>ànāasí^{+/}</i>	"four"
<i>yā^{+/}</i>	"houses"		

Words which do not end in a short vowel add *-ne* for the secondary LF: *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot"; *mà'aa* SF *mà'ane* LF "only"; *gùllimm* SF *gùllimne* LF "only"; *kòtāa^{ne}* "at all." The LF of *ñyāe^{ne/}* "brightly, clearly" is similarly *ñyāené* [jãĩñẽ]. Cf *mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause-finally (all sources) *mèn^ε* "also, too."

5.2 Roots, stems and flexions

Word structure is based on (C)V(C) or (C)VV(C) **roots**. All vowels may occur in roots. Root-final consonants may only be *b d g l m n s r*.

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** *V CV CVN CVsɪN* or *CVlɪN*, where *N* is a nasal homorganic with the following consonant and *ɪ* is an epenthetic vowel: *tītā'ar* "big", *bùmbàrɪg* "ant", *sīlinsíuŋg* "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* [m:].

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** *a ɪ ʊ aa ɪ ʊʊ*. Most bound words of the form (C)V(V) have the same vowel restrictions, though the various particles *nē* show *ɛ* for *ɪ*. Prosodic clitics 7.1 cause short LF-final *ɪ ʊ* to be lowered to *ɛ ɔ*, here realised [e] [o]; short *ɪ ʊ* remain as such only before apocope-blocking 5.1.

Prefix *ɪ ʊ* are realised [i] [u] when the first vowel mora of the root is *i* or *u*; as this is non-contrastive, the orthography uses *ɪ ʊ* throughout. Thus *tītā'ar* [tɪt̪ɑ:r] "big", *kùk̪ɔr* [kùk̪ɔr] "voice", but *kìk̪ɪrɪg* [kìk̪ɪrɪg] "fairy", *sìsì'əm* [sìsì'əm] "wind", *sīlinsíuŋg* [sìlinsíuŋg] "spider", *vùlɪnvùuŋl* [vùlɪnvùuŋl] "mason wasp", *dùndùug* [dùndùug] "cobra" (KB *dunduug*.) Only [i] [u] occur after *m* or *n*: *nìn-tāa* [nìn-tāa] "co-wife."

As affix vowels, short *ɪ* and *ʊ* contrast only after velars and word-initially: *ɪ* is the default after alveolars, and *ʊ* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars, but prefixes show *ʊ* rather than *ɪ* before root *u/ʊ/ɔ* (*dùndùug* "cobra") and *ɪ* instead of *ʊ* before *i/ɪ/ɛ* (*kp̪ɪkp̪ɪn* "merchant.") In flexions *-mm* appears in place of **-mʊ*; *ɪ* appears after labial consonants only by analogy in pfv LFs like *zàbɛ* "fight." Velars followed by affix-vowel *ʊ* could be analysed as labiovelars, with 3sg *ò* ← **ɪmò*.

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: *kùndòŋ*^a "jackal", *gùmpòzēr*^{ɛl} "duck", *dànkòŋ* [dànkòŋ] "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.

All other pairs of consonants arising in word formation either assimilate to a permissible cluster or single consonant, or insert an epenthetic vowel:

Stem <i>nób-</i>	"leg"	+ sg <i>-rɪ</i>	→	LF <i>nóbɪrɛ</i>	SF <i>nóbɪr</i>
<i>dūm-</i>	"knee"	+ sg <i>-rɪ</i>	→	LF <i>dūmnɛ</i>	SF <i>dūm</i>

The cluster *mn* is unstable. All informants have *mm* in the LFs of dual-aspect verb ipfvs like *kàrumma* "read", but a few examples of the original *mn* occur in NT:

ka ba li' ba toba ka pu wum na [sic 2.3]
kà bà lí bà tùba kà pō 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 $r^e|a^+$ class *m*-stems; thus SB has *gbīgumne* "lion", *dūmne* "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].
m̄ 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: *bōn-tūmmir* "useful thing" (pl *tūmna* for some), *bò-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 *tumtummnib* *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>gàadug</i>	LF <i>gàadugɔ</i>	"(sur)passing"
pl	SF <i>māluma</i>	LF <i>mālumaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	SF <i>mālvŋ</i>	LF <i>mālvŋɔ</i>	"sacrifice"

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

gbīgum [gβigim] "lion" *yōgúm* [jɔgum] "camel"
dōgud [dɔgɔd] "cooking pots" *dōgudíb* [dɔgɔdɪb] "people who cook"

Otherwise, rounding of epenthetic vowels after short rounded root vowels varies between sources. It is contrastive only before velars, where it can lead to reinterpretation of *-g^a* as *-g^ɔ*. Here WK has rounding with intervening *b m* or *l*, and also with intervening *mm* even if the preceding vowel is not rounded: *nóbìr* "leg" but *nōbvug* "grow", *kōlvug* "river", *yàmmvug* "slave."

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

<i>tìsɪd</i>	[tɪsɪd]	"gives"	<i>sīgɪd</i>	[sigɪd]	"lowers"
<i>bōgʊr</i>	[bɔgʊr]	"spirit's dwelling"	<i>kūgʊr</i>	[kugʊr]	"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 *dīāsíd**ɪ**bà* "receivers", *mò**l**ɪfɔ* "gazelle", but in LF *yū**g**ʊdɪrɛ* "hedgehog" only the second syllable is superlight, not the third, and in LF *yù**u**gɪrɛ* "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 *i* *u* 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* **-gʊ* **-kkʊ* **-ŋŋʊ*. 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*^{ɛ/}, *zā*^{+/} "millet", *mùj*⁺ "rice", *kī*^{+/} "millet"; cf 6.2.4 on the absence of M dropping after their cbs.

A number of such roots show vowel length alternation. Those with glottalised vowels are all underlyingly **CVg*, and their behaviour is due to **g* deletion and vowel fusion 5.6. Non-glottalised types 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>dòɔ</i> ^ɔ	"hut"	pl <i>dòt</i> ^ɛ	
<i>fūu</i> ^{ɔ/}	"clothing"	pl <i>fūt</i> ^{ɛ/}	

<i>ňyē</i> ⁺	"see"	ipfv <i>ňyēt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>ňyèm</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>dū</i> ⁺	"rise"	ipfv <i>dūt</i> ^{a/}	imp <i>dùm</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>pōɔ</i> ^{ɔ/}	"field"	pl <i>pōɔd</i> ^{ε/}	or <i>pōt</i> ^{ε/}
<i>dòɔ</i> ^ɔ	"hut"	pl <i>dòɔd</i> ^ε	or <i>dòt</i> ^ε
<i>fū</i> ^{ɔ/}	"clothing"	pl <i>fūd</i> ^{ε/}	or <i>fūt</i> ^{ε/}

Before derivational suffixes the vowel is usually long:

<i>dìs</i> ^ε	"feed"	<i>dì</i> ⁺	"eat"
<i>dàalim</i> ^m	"masculinity"	<i>dāp</i> ^a	"men"
<i>vō'ug</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 *yīs*^{ε/} above, and the alternating CV/CVs stems seen in *gōs*^ε "look", ipfv *gōt*^{a/} or *gōsɪd*^{a/}, imp *gòm*^a or *gòsɪm*^a, *tìs*^ε "give" ipfv *tìt*^a or *tìsɪd*^a.

Gerunds in *-b*^ɔ always show long vowels: *dīlb*^ɔ "food", *ňyēeb*^{ɔ/} "seeing"; so do all regular gerunds in *-r*^ε: *nō-lōr*^ε "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), *fū-yêr*^ε "shirt-wearing", but WK has *nā-lōr*^ε "place for tying up cows", *wìd-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*: *dāv*⁺ "man" (Mooré *rāoa*) pl *dāp*^a; *tāyñ*^{+/} "sib of opposite sex" pl *tāñp*^{a/}; *tòñ*⁺ "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" *lòt* "fall", ipfvs *zòeta*, *lòita*, 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*⁺ ~ *lì*⁺ "fall", and Western Oti-Volta contrasts like Kusaal *dòɔ*^ɔ, Mampruli/Dagbani *duu*, Mooré *ròogó* as against Hanga *dìi*, Farefare *dèegò*, Dagaare *dìé* "hut, room."

These diphthongs usually correspond to Nawdm Vr: *tè'εg*^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// after vowels; elsewhere r/d fall together as r, except in Dagbani, where r// fall together as l, with original d appearing as r (cf the Songhay loanword *bùrkìn*^a, Mooré *bùrkĩná*, Dagbani *bilchina* "honourable.")

	Kusaal	Mampruli	Dagbani	Nawdm	
*l	<i>yā'am</i> ^{m/}	<i>yam</i>		<i>ráhím</i>	"gall"
	<i>(̀)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^{ya}</i>	<i>zεya</i>	<i>ziεya</i>	<i>jehra</i>	"be standing"
	<i>yàarim</i> ^m	<i>yaarim</i>	<i>yalim</i>	<i>yáàrrím</i>	"salt"
	<i>nōwr^{ε/}</i>	<i>noori</i>	<i>noli</i>	<i>nóór</i>	"mouth"
	<i>tùbur^ε</i>	<i>tubri</i>	<i>tibili</i>	<i>tóbr</i>	"ear"
*ll	<i>yīr^{ε/}</i>	<i>yiri</i>	<i>yili</i>		"house"
	<i>gūr^{a/}</i>	<i>guri</i>	<i>guli</i>		"guard"
	<i>mōr^{a/}</i>	<i>mari</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>mada</i> (d ← rr)	"have" (Nawdm <i>tenir</i>)
*d	<i>mōd^ε</i>	<i>mɔri</i>	<i>mɔri</i>	<i>mɔd</i>	"swell"
	<i>mōcd^ε</i>	<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 *pōñrib^ɔ* *tēñrib^ɔ* from *pōñr^a* "be near" and *tēñr^a* "remember" are modelled on dual-aspect root-stems; borrowing may underlie the irregular correspondences seen in Mampruli *nyariŋu*, Dagbani *ɲariŋ*, Toende Kusaal *āarùŋ* and Agolle *āñruŋ^ɔ* "boat."

Buli has y for *l initially (*yáam* "gall"); r for *ll (*yéí* "house", *tara* "have" = Kusaal *tār^{a/}*); and i or zero otherwise (*tūik* "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", *lōōh* "close", *dōōlǝ* "pig", *tōōlǝ* "baobab." *Yàm* "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 *yēní* "two", *tōōrībū* "baobab", *dōrībū* "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 ue* [jɪ] [ɥɪ], found solely in this context. Historically, this may represent analogical introduction of the */ 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>kùkōr</i> ^{ε/}	"voice"	pl <i>kùkōyá</i> ⁺ (*CVy- root)
<i>nōwr</i> ^{ε/}	"mouth"	pl <i>nōyá</i> ⁺
<i>zūvr</i> ^ε	"tail"	pl <i>zūya</i> ⁺
<i>bīār</i> ^{ε/}	"elder same-sex sib"	pl <i>bīēyá</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>tōcg</i> ^ɔ	"bitter"	<i>tōɛ</i> ^{a/}	"be bitter" (Mooré <i>tóe</i>)
but	<i>sō'vlím</i> ^m	gerund of	<i>sō'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"

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

With the irregular nouns *sāēñ^a/sāēñ⁺* "blacksmith" pl *sāañb^a* and *sōēñ^a/sōēñ⁺* "witch" pl *sōōñb^a* there are no CVt- allomorphs (cf Mooré *sāado* "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'or</i> ^ε	"cripple"	pl <i>pòñda</i> ⁺
<i>yū'vr</i> ^{ε/}	"name"	pl <i>yūdá</i> ⁺
<i>yū'ər</i> ^ε	"penis"	pl <i>yūāda</i> ⁺

Stems in **-ag-* **-jag-* **-yag-* 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>mų'àa</i> ⁺ or <i>mù'ada</i> ⁺

In CV'V~CVd alternations 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 $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ noun class could be explained by levelling. Levelling of the pl on the sg would naturally be avoided due to the ambiguity of *CV'V'* forms, and many such words are in fact commoner in the pl, e.g. *kpēñdir*^{ε/} "cheek." Deverbal nouns (as in *nīf-nódìr* "trachoma") are remodelled on finite forms, and adjectives level stems across noun classes. The second component of *py'à-sādir*^{ε/} "young woman" is "nulliparous", with former $^a|b^a$ agreement: cf Mooré *pùg-sádà* "young woman." Languages without glottalisation treat $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ class cognates of *CV'V'*-stems exactly like *CVV-* stems (Mooré *pōya*, Kusaal *pòñda*⁺ "cripples"), but the rules for originally *unglottalised* stems before pl a^+ also differ among Western Oti-Volta subgroups.

A derivational change $*|g \rightarrow dg$ appears in

	<i>l̄̄</i> ⁺	"tie"	<i>l̄̄dɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"untie"
cf	<i>l̄̄e</i>	"tie" (Mooré)	<i>l̄̄dɔgè</i> (or <i>l̄̄kè</i>)	"untie" (Mooré)
	<i>p̄̄</i> ⁺	"divide"	<i>p̄̄dɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"divide"
cf	<i>p̄̄i</i>	"divide" (Mooré)		
	<i>b̄̄i</i>	"get lost" (Toende)	<i>b̄̄dɪg</i> ^ε	"lose, get lost":
	<i>yāar</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"

$*CVw$ roots become glottalised before derivational $*g$ and $*s$, probably reflecting another historical consonant cluster change; thus *yè*⁺ "dress oneself", *yèeg*^ε "undress oneself", *dì*⁺ "eat", *dìs*^ε "feed", but

	<i>k̄̄</i> ⁺	"break" intrans	<i>k̄̄'ɔg</i> ^ε	"break" trans/intrans
	<i>p̄̄'ɔd</i> ^a	"be few"	<i>p̄̄'ɔg</i> ^ε	"diminish"
	<i>v̄̄'ɛ</i> ^{a/}	"be alive"	<i>v̄̄'vɔg</i> ^{ε/}	"make, come alive"
cf	<i>v̄̄pa</i>	"live things" (Farefare)	<i>v̄̄'vɔs</i> ^{ε/}	"breathe, rest"
	<i>k̄̄'ɔl̄̄ɔɔ</i> ^ɔ	"broken"	<i>k̄̄'ɔs</i> ^ε	"break several times"
	<i>t̄̄ñ</i> ⁺	"shoot"	<i>t̄̄ñ'ɔs</i> ^ε	"hunt"

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

	<i>n̄̄</i> ⁺	"tread"	<i>n̄̄bá</i> ⁺	"feet"
cf	<i>nao</i>	"tread" (Mooré)		
	<i>s̄̄'ɔñr</i> ^ε	"liver"	<i>s̄̄bri</i>	"liver" (Mampruli)
	<i>s̄̄oore</i>	"liver" (Mooré)	<i>s̄̄abili</i>	"liver" (Dagbani)

There are few *CVb-* stems in the $r^\varepsilon|a^+$ noun class. *Nóbìr*^ε "foot" has introduced *-b-* from the plural (Toende sg *n̄̄'ɔt*) and *tùbur*^ε "ear" may have done so; others are deverbal or adjectival: cf the discussion of *CV'V*~*CVd* alternations above.

CVV~CVg alternations appear in:

<i>wìid</i> ^a	"draw water" ipfv	<i>wìk</i> ^ε	pfv (← * <i>wiggι</i>)
<i>vī</i> ⁺	"uproot"	<i>vīk</i> ^{ε/}	"uproot" (← * <i>viggι</i>)

5.3.2 CVVC~CVC

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

<i>tūuma</i> ⁺	"work" noun	<i>tùm</i> ^m	"work" verb
<i>yéon</i>	"one"	<i>yīun</i> ^{ɔ/}	"single"
<i>kāa</i> ^{ε/}	"count"	<i>kā</i> ^{ε/}	"number"
<i>tūulúg</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>tū</i> ^{la/}	"be hot"

The short allomorph is invariable before derivational suffixes other than *-lum-* "-ness/-hood" and the *-y-* of stative verbs; thus *sáannim*^m "strangerhood" ← **saanlummυ*, *kpi'am*^{ma/} "be strong" ← **kpi'əmya*, but

<i>màa</i> ^ε	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālu</i> ^ɔ	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìelg</i> ^a	"white"	<i>pèlg</i> ^ε	"whiten"
<i>kpi'on</i> ^ɔ	"strong"	<i>kpe'ŋ</i> ^ε	"strengthen"
<i>lìab</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>lèbg</i> ^ε	"turn over"
<i>tūulúg</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>tūlg</i> ^{ε/}	"heat"
<i>yāa</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yādug</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"
<i>dēen</i> ^a	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i> ^ε	"go first"
<i>pìab</i> ^ε	"blow" (flute)	<i>pèbɿ</i> ^ε	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul</i> ^ε	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlg</i> ^ε	"swing" transitive

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

<i>zīŋ</i> ^a (← * <i>zīimgā</i>)	<i>zīm</i> ⁺	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>nāaf</i> ^ɔ (← * <i>nāágfū</i>)	<i>nīg</i> ⁺	<i>nā'</i> - (← * <i>nāg-</i>)	"cow"
<i>wāaf</i> ^ɔ (← * <i>wāágfū</i>)	<i>wīg</i> ⁺	<i>wā'</i> - (← * <i>wāg-</i>)	"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 → *ːs* 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>tɛŋ^a</i>	"land"	pl	<i>tɛɛŋs^ɛ</i>	← * <i>tɛnsɪ</i>
<i>kòlŋ^a</i>	"door"	pl	<i>kòlɪs^ɛ</i>	← * <i>kòlɪnsɪ</i>

For the pl *bōtɪs^ɛ* 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</i> ^{pl}	"eye"	pl	<i>nīnī</i> ⁺
<i>píiñf</i>	"genet"	pl	<i>pīinī</i> ⁺

***ss** inserts an epenthetic vowel in the plural *pūsīs*^{ε/} of *pūsīg*^{a/} "tamarind." All other examples of *g^a|s^ε* plurals ending in *-sis^ε* in my materials are for **-sɪnsɪ*, from stems in **m*. A plural **pūs^{ε/}* would have appeared to show no ending in SF; substituting a flexion from a different noun class would be 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*.

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-kīmmib*^a ← **kōb-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. *kōt*^{ε/} "slaughter", ipfv *kōtíd^a*; *dām*^m "shake", ipfv *dāmmíd^a* ipfv, gerund *dāmmug^ɔ* but imperative *dām^{ma}*.

However, stem-final *ll r(r)* assimilate the initial of the noun class suffix *-r^ε*: *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^ε|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-*: *pībíndgà* "lid, cover." The Mooré equivalent of the assume-stance derivational suffix *-n-* 12.1.1 is *-nd-*: *zīndi* = *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>dìgıın^ε</i>	<i>dìgıınıd^a</i>	<i>dìgıınım^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>dìgıınug^ɔ</i>			gerund
<i>gò'ɔn^ε</i>	<i>gò'ɔnıd^a</i>	<i>gò'ɔnım^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:

wùm^m *wùm^{ma}* *wùm^{ma}* "hear"

but *ka nan kpèn wumid ye m bæε li puvgin nannanna la.*

kà nán kpèn wùmíd yé òn bæε òlì pūvǵu-n nānná-nā lā.

and still still hear:IPFV that 1SG EXIST 3IN 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>tōm^{m/}</i>	<i>tōm^{ma}/tōmíd^a</i>	<i>tōm^{ma}</i>	"depart"
<i>tōǵ^ǵ/tōmúǵ^ǵ</i>			gerund
<i>kàrum^m</i>	<i>kàrum^m/kàrumíd^a</i>	<i>kàrum^{ma}</i>	"read"
<i>kàruǵ^ǵ/kàrumǵ^ǵ</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>M̄ pū kárìmmā.</i>	"I'm not reading."
<i>M̄ kárìm nē.</i>	"I'm reading."
<i>Kà bà kàrumíd.</i>	"And they were reading."
<i>Kà bà kárìm.</i>	only "And they read."

Examples for assimilation versus epenthetic vowel insertion:

* <i>gg</i> → <i>kk</i>	<i>gìk^a</i>	"dumb" sg	<i>gìǵis^ε</i> pl
	cf <i>kōlǵ^a</i>	"river" sg	<i>kōlǵis^ε</i> pl
* <i>dd</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>bùt^a</i>	"plant" ipfv	<i>bùd^ε</i> pfv
	cf <i>dūǵud^{a/}</i>	"cook" ipfv	<i>dūǵ^ε</i> pfv
* <i>bb</i> → <i>pp</i>	<i>sōp^{ǵ/}</i>	"writing" ger	<i>sōb^ε</i> pfv
	cf <i>kpārǵb^ǵ</i>	"locking" ger	<i>kpàr^ε</i> pfv
* <i>ld</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>kòn^{nε}</i>	"bags" pl	<i>kòlvǵ^ǵ</i> sg
	cf <i>zūǵbíd^ε</i>	"hairs" pl	<i>zūǵbúǵ^ǵ</i> sg
* <i>mg</i> → <i>ǵǵ</i>	<i>bùǵ^a</i>	"donkey" sg	<i>bùmǵis^ε</i> pl
* <i>ng</i> → <i>ǵǵ</i>	<i>gbàǵǵ^ǵ</i>	"book" sg	<i>gbàna⁺</i> pl
	cf <i>ñwādǵ^{a/}</i>	"month" sg	<i>ñwādǵis^{ε/}</i> pl
* <i>nr</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>tān^{nε}</i>	"earth" sg	<i>tāna⁺</i> pl

* <i>mr</i> → <i>mn</i>	<i>dūm</i> ^{nε}	"knee" sg	<i>dūma</i> ⁺ pl	
* <i>lr</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>gél</i> ^{lε}	"egg" sg	<i>gēlá</i> ⁺ pl	
* <i>rr</i> → <i>r</i>	<i>kùkpàr</i> ^ε	"palm fruit" sg	<i>kùkpàra</i> ⁺ pl	
	cf <i>dìgir</i> ^ε	"dwarf" sg	<i>dìga</i> ⁺ pl	
* <i>nb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>sám</i> ^{ma}	"strangers" pl	<i>sāan</i> ^{a/} sg	
	cf <i>nīdib</i> ^{a/}	"people" pl	<i>nīd</i> ^{a/} sg	
* <i>mb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>kīm</i> ^{mɔ}	"shepherding" ger	<i>kīm</i> ^m pfv	
	cf <i>kādib</i> ^ɔ	"driving off" ger	<i>kād</i> ^ε pfv	
* <i>ll</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>Bùl</i> ^{lε}	"Buli"	<i>Bùls</i> ^ε	"Bulsa"
* <i>rl</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ε/}	"Bisa language"	<i>Bārs</i> ^{ε/}	"Bisa people"
* <i>ml</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nε/}	"Dagbani"	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	"Dagomba"
* <i>nl</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Gūrín</i> ^{nε}	"Farefare language"	<i>Gūrís</i> ^ε	"Farefare people"

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

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>sāñɛ</i>	LF	<i>sāñya</i>	"blacksmith"
SF	<i>sōñɛ</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* [I]:

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

Short unrounded root vowels become diphthongs in *ɔ* before LF **ηηυ* **kku*:

<i>gbàɔŋ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>gbəŋɔ</i>	"book"	pl <i>gbàna</i> ⁺
<i>lāɔk</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>lakku</i>	"goods item"	pl <i>lā'ad</i> ^ε
<i>yīɔŋ</i> ^{ɔ/}	← * <i>yīŋɔ</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 *jaʉ*, but short *ya* becomes *ɔ*: **ɥakkʉ* → *ɔkkʉ*

<i>bjāʉŋkʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>bjākkʉ</i>	"shoulder"	pl <i>bjāñ'ad</i> ^ɛ
<i>bɔkʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>bɥakkʉ</i>	"pit"	pl <i>bò'ad</i> ^ɛ

Unrounded second morae of long vowels become [ʊ] before LF **gʉ* **ŋŋʉ*:

<i>dàʉgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>daagʉ</i>	"log"	pl <i>dàad</i> ^ɛ
<i>fēñ'ogʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>fē'ɛgʉ</i>	"ulcer"	pl <i>fēñ'ɛd</i> ^ɛ

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>vīʉgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>viigʉ</i>	"owl"	pl <i>vīid</i> ^ɛ
but	<i>dàbīogʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>dabiəgʉ</i>	"coward"	pl <i>dàbīəd</i> ^ɛ
	<i>kpi'ogʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>kpi'əŋŋʉ</i>	"strong"	pl <i>kpi'əma</i> ⁺

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

<i>Sà'dàbɔɔgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>Sa'dabuəgʉ</i>	"place of the Sarabose <i>Sà'dàbùəs</i> ^ɛ clan"
<i>lām-fɔɔgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>lam-fuəgʉ</i>	"toothless" (<i>lām</i> ^{mɛ} / "gum", <i>fùe</i> ⁺ "extract")

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

<i>bī'a</i> ⁺	<i>bī'əs</i> ^ɛ	<i>bjā'</i> -	"bad"
<i>bē'ogʰ</i> ^ɔ	<i>bē'ɛd</i> ^ɛ	<i>bɛ'</i> -	

Bī'əm^m "enemy" shows the same root with derivational **m*. The alternation suggests a rule **iəgʉ* → *ɛʉgʉ*, parallel to **uəgʉ* → *ɔɔgʉ*, with the pl vowels again remodelled on the sg. The broken vowel of *dàbīogʰ*^ɔ "coward" is perhaps carried over from an obsolete **dàbīəm*^m "coward" (= Mooré *ràbɛ́ɛmà*.)

The **epenthetic vowel** *i* is rounded to *ʊ* before LF **-gʉ* **-ŋʉ*:

	<i>āāñdɪg^a</i>	← * <i>āāɔdɪgʉ</i>	"black plum tree"
but	<i>gàadʉgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>gaadɪgʉ</i>	"(sur)passing" (gerund)
pl	<i>māluma</i> ⁺	← * <i>malɪmaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	<i>mālʉgʰ</i> ^ɔ	← * <i>malɪŋŋʉ</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 aň jaň ɥaň** before any vowel, affix or epenthetic, with fusion resulting in glottalised long vowels and diphthongs:

*agV	→ a'a	*aňgV	→ aň'a
*jaɣV	→ ja'a	*jaňgV	→ jaň'a
*ɥagV	→ ɥ'a (word-final ɥ'aa)	*ɥaňgV	→ ɥň'a (word-final ɥň'aa)

ja'a ɥ'a jaň'a ɥň'a contrast with *i'a u'a iň'a uň'a*, except when shortened by apocope. There is no phonetic difference between *a'a aň'a* arising from *g-deletion and underlying glottalised *a'a aň'a*, as in *dà'a*^ε "market", pl *dà'as*^ε (*g^a|s^ε* class.)

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

	<i>pjāň'a</i>	"speak" pfv	<i>pjāň'ad^{a/}</i>	ipfv	
	<i>pɥ'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>pū'ab^a</i>	pl	(<i>a b^a</i> class)
but	<i>zàk^a</i>	"compound"	<i>zà'as^ε</i>	pl	(<i>g^a s^ε</i> class)
	<i>lāɥk^ɔ</i>	"item of goods"	<i>lā'ad^ε</i>	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)
	<i>pjàɥňk^ɔ</i>	"word"	<i>pjàň'ad^ε</i>	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)
	<i>pɥāk^a</i>	"female" (adj)	<i>pū'as^ε</i>	pl	(<i>g^a s^ε</i> class)
	<i>bòk^ɔ</i>	"pit"	<i>bù'ad^ε</i>	pl	(<i>g^ɔ d^ε</i> class)

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

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

*aaga	→ aa 7.1	*aagɪ	→ aee
*iəga	→ iaa	*iəgɪ	→ iee
*uəga	→ uaa	*uəgɪ	→ uee

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

	<i>bōɥg^a</i>		"goat"	pl <i>bōɥs^ε</i>
but	<i>bāa</i> ⁼	← <i>*baaga</i>	"dog"	pl <i>bāas^ε</i>
	<i>sīa</i> ⁺	← <i>*siəga</i>	"waist"	pl <i>sīas^ε</i>
	<i>sàbùa</i> ⁺	← <i>*sabuega</i>	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs^ε</i>

The diphthongs *aee iee uee* appear in dual-aspect "fusion" verbs 10.1 with stems in **Caag* **Ciæg* **Cuөг* 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>duөгi</i>	"raise, rise"

Original open nasalised **ĕĕ* **ǰǰ* only undergo vowel breaking 3.2 before **g*, elsewhere falling together with the reflexes of former close **ěě* **ǫǫ* as *εĕñ ǰǰñ*: breaking occurs in all contexts where **g* would suffer deletion and nowhere else.

Alternations arise in nouns and adjectives in the *g^a|s^ε* class between SF-final *iañ uañ* and word-internal *εĕñ ǰǰñ* before a consonant, and in derivation between fusion verb forms from **-gi*, ending in SF *ieñ ueñ*, and cognate forms with *εĕñ ǰǰñ*:

<i>ziñ'a</i> ⁺	"red" <i>g^a s^ε</i> class sg	<i>zèñ'εs</i> ^ε	"red" <i>g^a s^ε</i> class pl
		<i>zèñ'og</i> ^ǰ	"red" <i>g^ǰ d^ε</i> class sg <u>5.5</u>
<i>dùañ</i> ⁺	"dawadawa" sg	<i>dǰǰñ's</i> ^ε	"dawadawa" pl
<i>Mùa</i> ⁺	"Mossi person"	<i>Mǰǰs</i> ^ε	"Mossi people"
		<i>Mǰǰg</i> ^ǰ	"Mossi country"
<i>nìe</i> ⁺	"appear"	<i>nèεl</i> ^ε	"reveal"
<i>ñyū'e</i> ^{+/}	"set alight"	<i>ñyǰ'ǰs</i> ^{εl}	"smoke" (noun)
<i>sūeñ</i> ^{+/}	"anoint"	<i>sǰñ</i> ⁺	"rub"
<i>sūñ'e</i> ^{+/}	"become better" WK	<i>sǰñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than" (← * <i>sǰ'ǰya</i>)

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</i> ^ǰ	← * <i>naagfu</i>	"cow" pl <i>nīigi</i> ⁺ cb <i>nā</i> ⁻
<i>dí'ər</i> ^ε	← * <i>dí'əgrɪ</i>	"receiving" (<i>dī'e</i> ^{+/} "receive" ← * <i>dī'əgí</i>)

However, broken *iañ uəñ* appear instead of *εĕñ ǰǰñ*:

	<i>nèεl</i> ^ε	"empty" (← "clear")
but	<i>nìər</i> ^ε	← * <i>nīǰgrɪ</i> gerund of <i>nìe</i> ⁺ "appear"
	<i>pǰñ'ǰl</i> ^{εl}	"cause to rot"
but	<i>púñ'ər</i> ^ε	← * <i>pū'ǰgrɪ</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 *εĕñ ǰǰñ*, 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*^{al}.

6 Word tonal structure

6.1 Tone Patterns

The distribution of tonemes on an open-class word, prior to any effects of external tone sandhi or tone overlay, is specified by a **Tone Pattern**, a suprasegmental feature of the word *stem* which allocates individual tonemes to all tone-bearing units of each complete word belonging to the flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes. Nominals show only three basic distinct Patterns (H, L and A), and verbs only two (H and A.)

Pattern H	initial H or MH	
Pattern L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer <i>m</i> -stems)	
Pattern A	(for "alternating")	
	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl all-L in cb
	verbs:	all-M in irrealis all-L in other moods

Any tonemes after H are L.

Allocation precedes apocope and all synchronic rules which delete segments. Later loss of segments may result in unexpected distributions of tonemes [6.2.1](#).

Superlight syllables [2.1](#) are toneless. If a superlight LF syllable becomes closed in the SF, it must acquire a toneme: this is M after a preceding M syllable, and L otherwise, e.g. LF *kūgvré* SF *kūgvr* (i.e. *kūgūr*) "stone", LF *nóbvrè* SF *nóbvr* "foot."

A single flexional paradigm only shows more than one Tone Pattern in the case of agent nouns which drop derivational *-d-* in the sg and cb [6.2.3](#).

Analogous Patterns appear throughout Western Oti-Volta, with Pattern A alternating all-H/all-L. Pattern A has been taken as tonally unmarked, realised all-L by default but changed to all-H either by copying of a suffix H toneme (Akanlig-Pare and Kenstowicz 2002) or when a form is stressed (Olawsky 1999, Anttila and Bodomo 1996.) However, stressed verb forms are often all-L, and the Kusaal evidence also supports tone-copying: unlike almost all other open-class words, all-L Pattern A forms are not followed by M spreading and show L before liaison, apart from verb imperfectives, which probably originated as Pattern L derivatives. Derivational suffixes may change Pattern A forms to Pattern L and *vice versa*, which is difficult to reconcile with an analysis of Pattern A as intrinsically toneless; it may simply be intrinsically all-L, whereas Pattern L has an underlying non-initial M toneme usually deleted by internal tone sandhi but responsible for the H seen in longer *m*-stems.

For descriptive purposes it is sufficient simply to show Tone Patterns in terms of the resulting surface toneme distributions, and to classify derivational suffixes by the Patterns they produce; this is the approach adopted below.

6.2 Nominals

For prefixes see [6.2.4](#). They are ignored in counting stem syllables below.

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cb [8.1](#). Cbs are 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](#).

6.2.1 Pattern H

Disregarding prefixes, Pattern H displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the LF, but otherwise has the initial tonemes MH; note that the H toneme falls on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the LF. Any tonemes following H are L. Cbs are allocated tonemes as if the final syllable were open.

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

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

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 may appear on a *superlight* syllable if it is preceded by *r* derived from **rr*:

ñyírí^ɸ *ñyírí⁺* "egusi seed"

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 [5.4](#) or by deletion of **g* [5.6](#). The first syllable still behaves as superheavy and carries H:

<i>níís^ɛ</i>	← <i>*niinsɪ</i>	(beside <i>nīimís^ɛ</i>)	"birds" (sg <i>nííj^a</i> /ŋŋ/)
<i>píúñ^ɸ</i>	← <i>*pɪunfv</i>	(pl <i>pīiní⁺</i>)	"genet"
<i>wáaf^ɸ</i>	← <i>*waagfv</i>	(pl <i>wīigí⁺</i>)	"snake"
<i>yáab^a</i>	← <i>*yaagba</i>		"grandparent"
<i>vúər^ɛ</i>	← <i>*vuəgrɪ</i>		"fruit of red kapok"
<i>náar^ɛ</i>	← <i>*naagrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>nāe^{+/}</i>	"finishing"
<i>dí'ər^ɛ</i>	← <i>*di'əgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>dī'e^{+/}</i>	"getting"
<i>púñ'ər^ɛ</i>	← <i>*põ'õgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pūñ'e^{+/}</i>	"rotting"

A few words, all root-stems, show a different tonal irregularity: in sg/pl forms with consonant-initial flexions, the initial syllable carries X if it is superheavy and H otherwise. As usual, syllables after H carry L toneme whenever they are not superlight. Forms with vowel-initial suffixes and cbs are regular.

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

So too the gerunds *sóñsìg^a* "talking", *gósìg^a* "looking", *kìkírù^ɔ* "hurrying."

The superheavy X syllables only occur in the SFs: corresponding LFs have open initial syllables with H: LF *nú'ug^ɔ* "hand", tonally identical to the LF *wáaf^ɔ* "snake."

Some of these 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 *nùu* pl *nii*. *Nóbìr^ɛ* "leg" is remodelled segmentally on the basis of the plural: cf Toende sg *nō'õt* pl *nōba*.

6.2.2 Pattern L

Pattern L shows L on all syllables, except with *m*-stems:

<i>sù'ug^a</i>	<i>sù'us^ε</i>	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>zàk^a</i>	<i>zà'as^ε</i>	<i>zà'-</i>	"dwelling-compound"
<i>mòli^ɸ</i>	<i>mòli⁺</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>pògvdi^b</i>	<i>pògvd-nàm^a</i>	<i>pògvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>sàal^a</i>	<i>sàalib^a</i>	<i>sàal-</i>	"human"
<i>nòηid^a</i>			"lover"
<i>bòɔdim^m</i>	no pl		"will"
<i>zòtim^m</i>	no pl		"fear"
<i>dàalim^m</i>	no pl		"maleness"

M-stems show H on the syllable before the *m* unless this is either a root syllable or follows a light root syllable. Any tonemes after H are L.

	<i>sàam^{ma}</i>	<i>sàam-nàm^a</i>	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
	<i>mèεη^a</i>	<i>mèεmɪs^ε</i>	<i>mèεη-</i>	"turtle"
	<i>àñrvj^ɔ</i>	<i>àñrɪma⁺</i>	<i>àñrvj-</i>	"boat"
	<i>kàrvj^ɔ/kàrɪmvg^ɔ</i>			"reading" (gerund)
	<i>yàlvj^ɔ</i>	<i>yàlɪma⁺</i>	<i>yàlvj-</i>	"wide"
	<i>zìlɪm^{mε}</i>	<i>zìlɪma⁺</i>	<i>zìlɪm-</i>	"tongue"
But	<i>sìilíj^a</i>	<i>sìilímɪs^ε</i> <i>sìilís^ε</i> <i>sìilímà⁺</i>	<i>sìilíj-</i>	"proverb"
	<i>zàańsúj^ɔ</i>	<i>zàańsíma⁺</i>	<i>zàańsúj-</i>	"dream"
	<i>nòηilím^m</i>		<i>nòηilím-</i>	"love"
	<i>sòηidím-tāa⁼</i>			"co-helper" 12.2.1.4
	<i>dàalím^m</i>	<i>dàalímɪs^ε</i>	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
	<i>bì'isím^m</i>			"milk"

Tonally exceptional, with H after a light root syllable, is

<i>bùgúm^m</i>	no pl	<i>bùgúm-</i> or <i>bùgūm-</i>	"fire"
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Tàdɪmís^ε "weakness", *bùdɪmís^ε* "confusion" may derive from **-mɪmsɪ*.

6.2.3 Pattern A

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

<i>bōvg^a</i>	<i>bōvs^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>pɔ̃'ā^a</i>	<i>pō'ab^a</i>	<i>pɔ̃'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>sā'ab^ɔ</i>	no pl	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge"
<i>gbīgim^{nε}</i>	<i>gbīgima⁺</i>	<i>gbìgim-</i>	"lion"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamɪs^ε</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>mēɛd^a</i>	<i>mēɛdib^a</i>	<i>mèɛd-</i>	"builder"
<i>sĵākɪd^a</i>	<i>sĵākɪdib^a</i>	<i>sĵàkɪd-</i>	"believer"
<i>bōtɪŋ^a</i>	<i>bōtɪs^ε</i>	<i>bòtɪŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>mēɛdɪŋ^a</i>	<i>mēɛdɪs^ε</i>	<i>mèɛdɪŋ-</i>	"building tool"

When derived from Pattern A verbs, agent nouns which have *-d-* only in the plural have Pattern L sg and Pattern A pl (the cb is in any case all-L) 6.5:

<i>pò'us^a</i>	<i>pō'usɪdib^a</i>	<i>pò'us-</i>	"worshipper"
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Pattern A all-M LFs become all-L before the interrogative clitics 7.4.1.

Certain Pattern A words show **LF-final H** instead of the expected M toneme before the negative prosodic clitic, 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>yūgvdir^{ε/}</i>	<i>yūgvda⁺</i>	<i>yùgvd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>bāŋɪd^a</i>	<i>bāŋɪdib^{a/}</i>	<i>bàŋɪd-</i>	"wise man"
<i>kpārɪdɪŋ^a</i>	<i>kpārɪdɪs^{ε/}</i>	<i>kpàrɪdɪŋ-</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>gbīgim^{mε/}</i>	<i>gbīgima⁺</i>	<i>gbìgim-</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"

Some speakers allow this H optionally before the interrogative prosodic clitics:

Lì à nē gbīgimméε?

"Is it a lion?" WK only; rejected by DK

Lì à nē gbígimmεε?

"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^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>dàyū-</i>	"rat"
H	<i>Bùsán^a</i>	<i>Bùsâańs^ɛ</i>	<i>Bùsāŋ-</i>	"Bisa person"
L	<i>kùkparig^a</i>	<i>kùkparis^ɛ</i>	<i>kùkpar-</i>	"palm tree"
A	<i>dàkīig^a</i>	<i>dàkīs^ɛ</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^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>Ñwāmpúr-</i>	"Mamprussi person"
H	<i>gūmpūzēr^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>gūmpūzēyá⁺</i>	<i>gūmpūzér-</i>	"duck"
H	<i>pīpīrig^{a/}</i>	<i>pīpīris^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>pīpír-</i>	"desert"
H	<i>tīntōńrig^a</i>	<i>tīntōńris^ɛ</i>	<i>tīntōńr-</i>	"mole" (<i>r</i> ← * <i>rr</i>)
L	<i>sāmán^{nɛ}</i>	<i>sāmánà⁺</i>	<i>sāmán-</i>	"courtyard"
A	<i>fūfūm^{mɛ}</i>	<i>fūfūma⁺</i>	<i>fūfúm-</i>	"envy; styne in the eye"

Cbs from CV-stems sometimes behave tonally like prefixes:

H	<i>pūkpāad^{a/}</i>	<i>pūkpāadíb^a</i>	<i>pūkpá-</i>	"farmer" <u>13.1.4</u>
A	<i>zūg-kūgur^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>zūg-kūga⁺</i>	<i>zūg-kúg-</i>	"pillow" <u>8.2</u>
A	<i>kā-wēnnir^{ɛ/}</i>	<i>kā-wēnna⁺</i>	<i>kā-wén-</i>	"corn"

6.3 Verbs

Verbs show just two Tone Patterns, H and A. Patterns L and A have fallen together, probably through the 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 the great majority of gerunds.

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

6.3.1 Pattern H

As in nominals, Pattern H displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the LF, but otherwise shows the initial tonemes MH, with H falling on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the LF. Any tonemes following H are L. Unlike nominals, verbs show no anomalies due to deletion of segments.

2-mora-stem perfectives show M(M) before the negative clitic, becoming L(L) before interrogative clitics in accordance with the usual rule. However, they show final H before liaison-word pronouns:

<i>Ò p̄ dōgε.</i>	"She didn't cook."
<i>Ò p̄ dúgèε?</i>	"Didn't she cook?"
<i>Kà ò dōgí lī</i>	"And she cooked it."

Examples for Pattern H:

<i>ñyē⁺</i>	<i>ñyēt^{a/}</i>	"see"
<i>kū⁺</i>	<i>kūd^{a/}</i>	"kill"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	<i>dōgud^{a/}</i>	"cook"
<i>kūl^ε</i>	<i>kūn^{na/}</i>	"go home"
<i>yādıg^{ε/}</i>	<i>yādıgíd^a</i>	"scatter"
<i>m̄ɔɔl^{ε/}</i>	<i>m̄ɔɔn^{na}</i>	"proclaim"
<i>dīgı^{ε/}</i>	<i>dīgın^{na}</i>	"lay down"
<i>n̄k^{ε/} /kk/</i>	<i>n̄kíd^a /kk/</i>	"take"
<i>lāŋım^m /ŋŋ/</i>	<i>lāŋım^{ma} /ŋŋ/</i>	"wander searching"
	<i>vūē^{a/}</i>	"be alive"
	<i>dīgı^{ya/}</i>	"be lying down"
	<i>tī'ıya/</i>	"be leaning" (objects)
	<i>zāñ a/</i>	"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>t̄ɔɔm^{m/}</i>	SF <i>t̄ɔɔm</i>	LF <i>t̄ɔɔmm</i>	"disappear"
<i>pāe^{+/}</i>	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"

For the tonemes of stative verbs like *kpī'əm^{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^{a/}</i>	"reach"
<i>dī'e^{+/}</i>	<i>dī'əd^{a/}</i>	"get"
<i>pūñ'e^{+/}</i>	<i>pūñ'əd^{a/}</i>	"rot" WK

Contrast the corresponding gerunds: *páar^ε dī'ər^ε pūñ'ər^ε*.

6.3.2 Pattern A

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

<i>bùd^ε</i>	<i>bùt^a</i>	"plant"
<i>dì⁺</i>	<i>dìt^a</i>	"eat"
<i>mè⁺</i>	<i>mèéd^a</i>	"build"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	<i>zàbɪd^a</i>	"fight, hurt"
<i>bùθ^ε</i>	<i>bùθn^{na}</i>	"call"
<i>bòdɪg^ε</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪd^a</i>	"get lost, lose"
<i>nìŋ^ε</i>	<i>nìŋɪd^a</i>	"do"
<i>màal^ε</i>	<i>màan^{na}</i>	"sacrifice"
<i>dìgɪn^ε</i>	<i>dìgɪnɪd^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>wàŋɪm^m</i>	<i>wàŋɪm^{ma}</i>	"waste away"
<i>sīlum^m</i>	<i>sīlum^{ma}</i>	"cite proverbs"
<i>zàaŋsɪm^m</i>	<i>zàaŋsɪm^{ma}</i>	"dream"
	<i>tàbɪ^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"
	<i>vèn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"

As with nominal Pattern A, the last LF toneme in the irrealis is M:

<i>Ò nà b̄ɔdɪg.</i>	"He'll get lost."
<i>Ò nà v̄ɛn.</i>	"She'll be beautiful."
<i>Ò kù z̄ābɛ.</i>	"She won't fight."
<i>Ò kù b̄ɔdɪgɛ.</i>	"He won't get lost."
<i>Ò nà b̄òdɪgɛɛ?</i>	"Will she get lost?" 7.1
<i>Ò kù b̄ɔdɪgɪd̄a.</i>	"She won't be getting lost."
<i>Ò kù b̄ūθn̄a.</i>	"She won't be calling."
<i>Ò nà b̄ɔdɪgɪ m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò kù b̄ɔdɪgɪ má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò kù b̄ɔdɪgɪdɪ má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò kù z̄ābɪdɪ-n̄é.</i>	"He wouldn't have been fighting."
<i>Ò kù s̄īlum̄m.</i>	"She won't cite proverbs" WK
<i>Ò nà z̄āb n̄â'ab l̄ā.</i>	"He'll fight the chief."

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

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

6.4 Particles

Particles with the segmental structure of nouns have similar tonal structures. For the tonemes of bound liaison words see [7.4.2](#). Left-bound particles with SF CV which are *not* liaison words carry M or L; M changes to H in the LF CVV. Tonally unique is independent-perfective $yā^+$ [19.6.2.1](#), which remains M before the negative prosodic clitic and becomes L before the interrogative clitics [7.1](#):

	<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg nē.</i>	"It's lost." (focus- $nē^{+/-}$)
	<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg néɛ?</i>	"Is it lost?"
but	<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg yā.</i>	"It's got lost."
	<i>Lì b̀̀dɪg yàa?</i>	"Has it got lost?"

6.5 Tone in derivation

Root tone patterns can be deduced from the tone patterns of words with stems lacking any derivational suffix, and by comparing patterns in derived stems.

It is exceptional for forms derived from H roots to show L or A Patterns, or vice versa, but this does occur regularly in derivation of assume-stance verbs [12.1.1](#).

Gīŋlím^m "shortness", from the Pattern A adjective *gīŋ^a* "short", possibly represents a five-mora-stem Pattern A toneme allocation (but cf *gīñlím^m id.*)

Pattern H roots which show irregular tonemes in root-stem nominal forms are regular in all derived forms and in cognate verbs:

<i>áñsìb^a</i>	"maternal uncle"	<i>āñsín^a</i>	"sister's child"
<i>kísùg^ɔ</i>	"hateful"	<i>kīs^{a/}</i>	"hate"
<i>gósìg^a</i>	"looking"	<i>gōs^ɛ</i>	"look"

After L or A roots derivational suffixes differ in tonal behaviour, some producing Pattern L nominal stems and others Pattern A. The Pattern is determined by the *last* derivational suffix, unless this is **m* as a second suffix, or **y* as a formant of stative verbs. Pattern A roots can give rise to Pattern L, and *vice versa*:

<i>bīig^a</i>	"child"	<i>bīilím^m</i>	"childhood" (-l-)
<i>nà'ab^a</i>	"chief"	<i>nā'am^m</i>	"chiefship" (-m-)

When added to L or A roots the derivational suffixes *b g l s* always produce Pattern L nominals, while *d m* may produce either Pattern L or Pattern A. The suffix *n* may produce Pattern A when it is derived from **nd* **ld* [5.4](#).

All segmentally regular gerunds have predictable Tone Patterns:

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

<i>dōg</i> ^ε	"cook"	→	<i>dōgub</i> ^{ɔ/}
<i>nōk</i> ^{ε/}	"take"	→	<i>nōkír</i> ^ε
<i>dīgí</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	→	<i>dīgílúg</i> ^ɔ
<i>mè</i> ⁺	"build"	→	<i>mēeb</i> ^ɔ
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ε	"help"	→	<i>sùŋír</i> ^ε
<i>dìgín</i> ^ε	"lie down"	→	<i>dìgínvug</i> ^ɔ
<i>zàańsum</i> ^m	"dream"	→	<i>zàańsúg</i> ^ɔ

The assignment of 3- and 4-mora Pattern A verb gerunds to Pattern L is natural, as the great majority have a suffix which in nominals only derives Pattern L.

Imperfective gerunds formed with **d* from Pattern A verbs are Pattern L: *bòɔdím*^m "will", *mēédím-tāa* "fellow-builder." This Pattern-L-deriving **d* is probably historically identifiable with the *d* preceding the original ipfv *-a* in the imperfective of dual-aspect verbs; extensive levelling has now resulted in *-d^a* behaving as a single flexional suffix. This accounts for the fact that original Pattern L and A dynamic imperfectives have merged, and that they show behaviour resembling nominal Pattern L, with no change to all-M despite the fact that they are followed by M spreading and show final M tonemes before liaison.

In dynamic single-aspect verbs, the **y* of the ending *-y^a* behaves tonally like dual-aspect **d*. Stative verbs derived with **y* keep the Tone Pattern of the nominal, but their Patterns have been reanalysed in terms of those of dynamic verbs.

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

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

The suffix **d* in these formations is Pattern-A-deriving: *bòɔdír*^ε "desirable", *mēédíŋ*^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-kàḡā</i>	"this blacksmith"		
<i>Ò sù'v lór.</i>	"She owns a lorry."	<i>sū'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"
<i>Lì nàa nē.</i>	"It is finished."	<i>nāe^{+/}</i>	"finish"

7.1 Prosodic clitics

Prosodic clitics² 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: pfv LF *kia* "cut" vs ipfv *kìəd*, pfv LF *kūa* "hoe" vs ipfv *kūəd*. None of these changes occur before liaison.

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 [kʊ:]

2) 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 **negative prosodic clitic** appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb 19.5. Superscript notation represents LFs as they appear before the negative prosodic clitic segmentally, with lowering of short final to $l\ \upsilon$ to $\varepsilon\ \downarrow$:

Lì à nē nóbìr. "It's a leg."
3IN COP FOC leg:SG.

Lì kâ' nóbìrē +∅. "It's not a leg."
3IN NEG.BE leg:SG NEG.

Lì à nē dōk. "It's a cooking pot."
3IN COP FOC pot:SG.

Lì kâ' dōkó +∅. "It's not a pot."
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG NEG.

Long final $l\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$ are not lowered:

Bà à nē mólì. "They are gazelles."
3PL COP FOC gazelle:PL.

Bà kâ' mólì +∅. "They are not gazelles."
3PL NEG.BE gazelle:PL NEG.

The **vocative prosodic clitic** ends a vocative clause. It has similar segmental effects to the negative clitic.

Ṃ bīse +∅! "My children!"
1SG child:PL VOC!

Pu'aa, bɔ ka fu kaasida?
Pu'āa +∅, bɔ kà fù kāsídà +∅?
Woman:SG VOC, what and 2SG cry:IPFV CQ?
"Woman, why are you crying?" (Jn 20:13)

dau one an yadda niḡida
dāy ɔnì àñ yàddā-níḡidā +∅
man:SG REL.SG COP faith-doer:SG VOC
"You man, who are a believer!" (1 Cor 7:16)

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> 3IN 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> 3IN 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 gbīgim.</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē gbígìmnè?</i> <i>Lì à nē gbígìmnèè?</i>	"It's a lion (<i>gbīgim^{nɛ}</i>)." "Who saw a lion?" "Is it a lion?"
<i>Lì à nē dūk.</i> <i>Ànó'ɔnì ñyē dūkó?</i> <i>Lì à nē dūkóó?</i>	"It's a cooking pot (<i>dūk^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.

Kìkīrīg yá' mōr bōvde, fūn tís-ò_ø kà ò lèbig ò mōɔgɔ-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 *bēogv* precede liaison; clause adjuncts with a final vowel are always written *bēogv*. Similarly, KB consistently shows final *-v* in the apocope-blocked word *bēdegv bēdvḡv*^{+l} "a lot", but just as consistently has final *-v* in *bōzugv bō zūḡv* "because", *dinzugv dìn zūḡv* "therefore", *alazugv àlá zūḡv* "therefore."

bōzugv ba zi' onε tumi m la naa.
bō zūḡv, bà zī' ́nì tùmı̣ 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*^{mɔ} from **dumbu* "biting" with *dùmı̣ 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 lı⁺ tı⁺ ya⁺ ba⁺* 15.4.1. 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 ò t̄ ò yà bà*, the personifier particle *à/h̄* 15.6, *àñ'ɔn^ε* "who?" 15.4.4, nominaliser-*h̄* 24, catenator-*n* 22.1, all words with the number prefixes *à bà b̄* 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*. 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 ^o *ya*⁺ *yà* 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^{ɔ̄/}</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^{ɔ̄/}</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 kíə 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 *-ya*, monophthongise diphthongs and prolong preceding short vowels:

<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</i> ^a	"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</i> _á						Traditional: <i>gosimiya</i>

Nominaliser-*ñ* 24 combines with a preceding pronoun subject to produce a special set of pronouns 15.4.1, 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-*ñ* 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>	[kiɟa]	"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.

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*:

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
yèl_ 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" 15.6 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-Dàyuug
and 3PL seize PERS-rat:SG

However, *àeń^a* "be something" always appears as *àań*, not *àeń*.

Ka fù 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'amī_ø! "Receive ye!"
 receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dì'amī-ní_bā! "Receive ye them!"
 receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB

Dì'amī-n-ó_ø! "Receive ye her!"
 receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB.

Biise, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.

Bīise ^{+∅}, *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'əmī-ní *àlá!*

"Keep ye on receiving!"

receive:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

(Realised *Dì'əmī-ní lá!* or *dì'əmī-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"	[nanz̄i]

	<i>Ñ-Bīl</i>	Mbillah (personal name)	[ɱbil]
but	<i>Ṁ nójĩ_ f.</i>	"I love you."	[ɱnɔŋɪf]

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^{ɔ/}* "heart" like *sū-máɪsìm^m* "joy", *sūñ-kpí'oj^ɔ* "boldness", *sūñ-péɛn^{nɛ}* "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", *sunpɛɛn* "anger."

With *àɛñ^a* "be something/somehow" there is loss of nasalisation before the focus particle *nē^{+/}* (for the loss of the *ɛ* 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: *aɛ* → *a*; *oɛ* → *o*; *uɛ* → *u*; *ae* → *aa*; *ve* → *vv*; *ie* → *iə*; *ue* → *uə*. Thus *sāɛñ lā* "the blacksmith", but *sàñ-kàñā* "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>àɛñ^a</i> "be something")

Ti ya'a vve, ti vve tis Zugsoɓ la.

Tì yá' vūɛ, tì vú nē_∅ tís Zūg-sóɓ lā.

1PL if be.alive, 1PL be.alive FOC CAT give head-NULL.AN ART.

"If we live, we live to the Lord." (Rom 14:8): (*vūɛ^{a/}* "be alive")

Èñrigim_ ∅ pāa dɥ'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'ε⁺ "not be/not have" loses *ε* 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'ε 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 *Noñilim pu naae da* (1 Cor 13:8, 1996 NT) for KB *Nōñilim 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 (<i>sù'ug</i> ^a)?"
Fù bɔ́ɔ̀d bɔ́?	"What (<i>bɔ́</i> ⁺) do you want?"
Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì ñyḗ zuḗyà?	"Who saw hills (<i>zuḗya</i> ⁺)?"
Ì ná bɔ́dɪg.	"I will get lost."
Ì ná bɔ́dɪgɛɛ?	"Will I get lost?"
Ò p̄ d̄ɔ́gɛ.	"She didn't cook."
Ò p̄ dúgɛɛ?	"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 ì zábì bā.	"And I've fought them."
Kà ì p̄ zábì f̄.	"And I didn't fight you."
Ì zábì bá.	"I've fought them."
Ì p̄ bɔ́ɔ̀dī f̄.	"I don't love you."
Ì p̄ bɔ́ɔ̀dī báa.	"I don't love them."
Kà ì p̄ zábì báa.	"And I didn't fight them."
Ànɔ́'ɔ̀nì kúv bá?	"Who has killed them?" SF <i>kúv bā</i>

The locative particle *n*^ε 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>kōvdí</i> ^b	"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 d̄̄ll̄̄ 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 l̄</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 l̄</i> ^{+/}
	<i>ḡ̄s</i> ^ɛ	"look"	+ ^o "him/her"	→ <i>ḡ̄s·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>zàbɪ</i> ^d	"fights"	+ <i>m</i> ^a "me"	→ <i>zàbɪdī m</i> ^{a/}
<i>dít</i> ^a	"eats"	+ <i>l</i> ⁺ "it"	→ <i>dītī l̄</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 dīub. "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
 bànì nà yēl Zūg-súbí bà tūmá_ø àñ sī'em lā
 REL.PL IRR say head-NUL.L.AN 3PL deed:PL NZ COP IND.FADV 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 nà'ab lā búŋ.

3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

"They gave the chief a donkey (*b̀ùŋ`*)."

Bà ñwè' nà'ab lā 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 d̀iga lú yā.

1SG dwarf:PL fall PFV.

"My dwarfs have fallen down."

but *M̀ ỳgumá lù yā.*

1SG camel:PL fall PFV.

"My camels have fallen down."

M spreading examples, with *zàb`* "fight" *g̀s`* "look at" *nà'ab`* "chief":

Kà-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 gòs 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-dàalóŋ.</i>	"It's a stork"
3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.	

ba diib n yit na'ateŋ la na zug

bà díib 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 words ending in M, this tone sandhi is straightforwardly recognisable as tone spreading. 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, here delinked by apocope. However, M spreading may also be determined by syntactic role or by analogy, and prior tonal behaviour persists even after segmental remodelling by *addition* of segments. Words with identical L-final sg and cb, like *mà* "mother", *zùà* "friend", *du'átà* "doctor", *lànnig* "squirrel" show M spreading after sg but not cb; the single-aspect verbs *bè⁺* and *nòŋ^ε* are followed by M spreading, unlike Pattern A perfectives; *lèε* "but", though not even a verb, is followed by M spreading when affected by independency marking.

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 or A 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>15.5.2.1</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 A 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 wàbug bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>M̄ bīēyá bàŋ 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 áñrèŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>dòɔg^ɔ</i>	"house"	<i>Dāy lā dòɔg bódìg yā.</i>

Those Pattern H nouns which have an irregular intrinsic initial H or X toneme 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-pìəliɡ</i>	"the man's white goat (<i>bù-pìəliɡ</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā bú-pāalíɡ</i>	"the man's new goat (<i>bù-pāalíɡ</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā n̄ɔ́-pìəliɡ</i>	"the man's white hen (<i>n̄ɔ́-pìəliɡ</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā n̄ɔ́-pāalìɡ</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>n̄ɔ́-pāalìɡ</i>)"
but	<i>dōg-kánā</i>	"this pot" (<i>dōk^ɔ</i> / cb <i>dōg</i> - "pot")
	<i>[sālɪma dúg-]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 dōɔg]</i>	"tent" (<i>fūug^ɔ</i> "cloth", <i>dōɔg^ɔ</i> "house")
<i>pò'usug [fūug dōɔg]</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>pò'usug^ɔ</i> "worship")

but *Lì kâ' [[[dāy lā bìŋ] bìər] nâaf] zòvrē.*
 "It's not the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail." WK
 (*bìŋ^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*|s^ε*, ^g*|d^ε*, ^r*|a⁺* and ^f*|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*|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*|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. 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*|a⁺* sg. Suppletion does not take place in Mooré or Farefare, where the ^g*|d^ε* pl suffix has a rounded vowel, unlike the ^r*|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*|a⁺*, 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"
$g\bar{b}\acute{e}'og^\supset$	$g\bar{b}\acute{e}'\varepsilon d^\varepsilon$	$g\bar{b}\acute{e}'-$	"forehead"
	$g\bar{b}\acute{e}da^+$		
$b\bar{j}\bar{a}u\check{n}k^\supset$	$b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'ad^\varepsilon$	WK $b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'-$	"shoulder"
	$b\bar{j}\bar{a}\check{n}'ada^+$	SB	

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 $f|t^+$.

Underived mass nouns in $-m$ belong to m^m , and in $-b$ or $-p$ to the b^∂ 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" $\partial|^\varepsilon$ 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 $-g^\partial$.

The $g^\partial|d^\varepsilon$ 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 $g^\partial|d^\varepsilon$ 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 $f|t^+$ class includes two groups: animals, and small round things. It contains all names of seeds. No $f|t^+$ noun refers to people.

The b^∂ 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^∂ 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^ɔ/</i>	<i>nīní⁺</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>zìñ'a⁺</i>	<i>zèñ'ɛs^ɛ</i>	<i>zìàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>wōk^ɔ/</i>	<i>wā'ad^ɛ/</i>	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall" (adjective)
<i>tāñp^ɔ</i>		<i>tāñp-</i>	"war"
<i>zūg^ɔ/</i>	<i>zūt^ɛ/</i>	<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-gótìs^ɛ* "spectacles." *Gbàṽṽ^ɔ* "letter, book" now has the cb *gbàṽṽ-*, 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 *gbaṽṽmi'id*. Similarly, the 1976 NT *ziṅban'ad zīm-gbâñ'ad* "fisherman" has been replaced by KB *ziṅban'ad*.

With *m* and *n* stems, the remodelled forms have become the regular cbs:

<i>zīnzāṽṽ^ɔ/</i>	<i>zīnzāná⁺</i>	<i>zīnzáṽṽ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrvṽṽ^ɔ</i>	<i>àñrīma⁺</i>	<i>àñrvṽṽ-</i>	"boat"

So too with CV-stems in the *r^ɛ|a⁺* class:

<i>gbēr^ɛ/</i>	<i>gbēyá⁺</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
<i>kùkōr^ɛ/</i>	<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'a^ɔ</i>	<i>līgīdī⁺</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>lànnɪg</i> ^a	<i>lànnɪs</i> ^ɛ	<i>lànnɪg-</i>	"squirrel"
<i>kòlvɔ-kàŋā</i>	"this bag"	cf cb <i>kòl-</i> from	<i>kòlvɔ</i> ^a "river"
<i>lànnɪg-pìəlvɔ</i>	"white squirrel"	cf cb <i>là-</i> from	<i>lān</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 *yàmmvɔg-bì-púŋ* "slave girl" not *yàmmvɔg bí-púŋ* "slave's girl" 15.8.1.4.

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 ɔñ*, 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>sàa</i> ^a	<i>sàaɪb</i> ^a	<i>sàa-</i>	"human being"
<i>kpāad</i> ^{a/}	<i>kpāadɪb</i> ^a	<i>kpāad-</i>	"farmer"
<i>kūvd</i> ^{a/}	<i>kūvdɪb</i> ^a	<i>kūvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>kpīkpīn</i> ^{na/}	<i>kpīkpīnɪb</i> ^a	<i>kpīkpín-</i>	"merchant"
<i>yūvm-yū'vm</i> ^{na}	<i>yūvm-yū'vmnɪb</i> ^a	<i>yūvm-yū'vm-</i>	"singer"
<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^a</i>	<i>kūəsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>dì'əs^a</i>	<i>dī'əsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>dì'əs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>tù'as-tù'as^a</i>	<i>tù'as-tū'asɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>tù'as-tù'as-</i>	"talker"
<i>sīgɪs^{a/}</i>	<i>sīgɪsídɪb^a</i>	<i>sīgɪs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dìs^a</i>	<i>dìs-nàm^a</i>	<i>dìs-</i>	"glutton"

The same behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs too:

<i>sòs^a</i>	<i>sōsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tìs^a</i>	<i>tīsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>tìs-</i>	"giver" WK
<i>kīs^{a/}</i> or <i>kīsɪd^{a/}</i>	<i>kīsɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>kīsɪd-</i> (only)	"hater"

These may be original 3-mora stem verbs with *ss → s. There are also

<i>zàb-zàb^a</i>	<i>zàb-zàb-nàm^a</i>	<i>zàb-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
	<i>zàb-zābɪdɪb^a</i>		
<i>gbān-záb^a</i>	<i>gbān-záb-nàm^a</i>	<i>gbān-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>ñwī-ték^a</i>	<i>ñwī-tékɪdɪb^a</i>		"rope-puller"

Exceptionally, consonant assimilation of *md does not appear in the plural in

<i>pɥ'à-sāñ'am^{ma}</i>	<i>pɥ'à-sāñ'amɪdɪb^a</i>	<i>pɥ'à-sāñ'am-</i>	"adulterer"
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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 segmentally; plurals in *-s^ɛ* or *nàm^a* appear instead:

<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>tādɪm^{m/}</i>	<i>tādɪmís^ɛ</i>	<i>tādɪm-</i>	"weak person"
	<i>tādɪm-nàm^a</i>		

WK accepted *-b^a* pl forms as LFs but not SFs in the two words

<i>kpēēñm^m</i>	<i>kpēēñmma</i> LF only		
	<i>kpēēñm-nàm^a</i>	<i>kpēēñm-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'əm^m</i>	<i>bī'əmma</i> LF only		
	<i>bī'əm-nàm^a</i>	<i>bī'əm-</i>	"enemy"

Stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show sg LF *-llε -nne -re*, with the SFs reinterpreted as the outcome of adding *-r^ε* instead of *-^a*. Sg LF-final *-ε* is never seen with *b^a*-plural words in cases where the stem final would *not* assimilate sg *-r^ε* 5.4.

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>Mōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>Mōom^{ma} irreg</i>	<i>Mōr-</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>ñyà'an-dòl^{la/}</i>	<i>ñyà'an-dòll^{lb^a}</i>	<i>ñyà'an-dòl-</i>	"disciple" NT
	<i>ñyā'an-dól^{lε}</i>	<i>ñyā'an-dóll^{a+}</i>	<i>ñyā'an-dól-</i>	<i>id</i> WK
	<i>gbàn-zāñl^{la/}</i>	<i>gbàn-zāñll^{lb^a}</i>	<i>gbàn-zāñl-</i>	"book-carrier" KT WK
	<i>bù-zāñl^{la/}</i>	<i>bù-zāñll^{lb^a}</i>	<i>bù-zāñl-</i>	"goat-carrier" WK
or	<i>bù-zāñl^{lε/}</i>	<i>bù-zāñll^{a+}</i>		
	<i>gbàn-mōr^{a/}</i>	<i>gbàn-mōr^{lb^a}</i>	<i>gbàn-mōr-</i>	"book-owner" DK
	<i>gbàn-tār^{a/}</i>	<i>gbàn-tār^{lb^a}</i>	<i>gbàn-tār-</i>	<i>id</i> DK
	<i>bù-mōr^{a/}</i>	<i>bù-mōr^{lb^a}</i>	<i>bù-mōr-</i>	"goat-owner" WK
or	<i>bù-mōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>bù-mōr^{a+}</i>		

There is no single rule for the sg form with stems ending in vowels.

Four nouns end in diphthongs in the sg:

<i>dāu⁺</i>		<i>dāp^a</i>	<i>dàu-, dàp-</i> <u>5.3.1</u>	"man"
<i>tāuñ^{+/}</i>		<i>tānp^{a/}</i>	<i>tāuñ-, tānp-</i>	"sib of opposite sex"
<i>sāeñ⁺</i>	WK	<i>sāańb^a</i>	<i>sàñ-</i>	"blacksmith"
<i>sāeñ^a</i>	DK			
<i>sōeñ⁺</i>	WK	<i>sōońb^a</i>	<i>sòñ-</i>	"witch"
<i>sōeñ^a</i>	DK			

*CVg-stems appear in

<i>pṽ'ā^a</i> ← <i>*pṽaga</i>	<i>pō'ab^a</i>	<i>pṽ'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>bā'a⁼</i> ← <i>*baga</i>	<i>bā'ab^a</i>	<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>pītú⁺</i>	<i>pītíb^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>	"someone better than"
<i>pūkpaad^{a/}</i>	<i>pūkpaadíb^a</i>	<i>pūkpa-</i>	"farmer"

Other CVV stems have become *r^ε|a⁺* class, accounting for human-reference nouns in *r^ε|a⁺* like *pùkòǎñ^ε* "widow", *dà-kòǎñ^ε* "bachelor", *bīār^{ε/}* "elder same-sex sib", *pòñ'ɔr^ε* "cripple", *ñyē'er^{ε/}* "next-younger sib." Related languages, including Toende Kusaal, may keep pl *-b^a*: Toende *pókóót* pl *pɔkõp* "widow", *dákóót* pl *dakõp* "bachelor", but sg *yě'et* pl *yěra* "next-younger sib."

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>pùgvdib^a</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>dìam^{ma}</i> (*mb)	<i>dìam-nàm^a</i>	<i>dìam-</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^ε*

Straightforward examples include:

<i>būvg^a</i>	<i>būs^ε</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>ñwādig^{a/}</i>	<i>ñwādis^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwād-</i>	"moon, month"
<i>āāñdig^a</i>	<i>āāñdis^ε</i>	<i>āāñd-</i>	"Vitex doniana"
<i>bù-dìbig^a</i>	<i>bù-dìbis^ε</i>	<i>bù-dìb-</i>	"male kid"
<i>kpiibig^a</i>	<i>kpiibis^ε</i>	<i>kpiib-</i>	"orphan"
<i>yàmmig^a</i>	<i>yàmmis^ε</i>	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
<i>kōlig^a</i>	<i>kōlis^ε</i>	<i>kòl-</i>	"river"
<i>kpòkpàrig^a</i>	<i>kpòkpàris^ε</i>	<i>kpòkpàr-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>pūsig^{a/}</i>	<i>pūsis^{ε/}</i>	<i>pūs-</i>	"tamarind"
<i>zōvg^a</i>	<i>zōs^ε</i>		"run, race"

Root-stems in *Caa Ciə Cuə* delete the *g of the sg suffix -g^a 5.6:

<i>bāa</i> ⁼ 7.1	<i>bāas</i> ^ε	<i>bà-</i>	"dog"
<i>sīa</i> ⁺	<i>sīəs</i> ^ε	<i>sjà-</i>	"waist"
<i>sàbùa</i> ⁺	<i>sàbùəs</i> ^ε	<i>sàbùà-</i>	"lover, girlfriend"

Nasal *iañ uañ* here alternates with *εεñ ɔɔñ*:

<i>ziñ'a</i> ⁺	<i>zèñ'əs</i> ^ε	<i>zjàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>nū'-íñ'a</i> ⁺	<i>nū'-éñ'əs</i> ^ε	<i>nū'-éñ'-</i>	"fingernail"
<i>nūa</i> ^{+/}	<i>nɔɔs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>nɔ-</i>	"hen"

Stems in *CVg- display consonant assimilation in the sg via *gg → kk:

<i>gìk</i> ^a	<i>gìgis</i> ^ε	<i>gìg-</i>	"dumb person"
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*Cag- *Cjag- *Cɥag- delete *g when there is no assimilation 5.6:

<i>zàk</i> ^a	<i>zà'as</i> ^ε	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>puāk</i> ^a	<i>pū'as</i> ^ε	<i>pu'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 → ʔs 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>tēη</i> ^a	<i>tēεñs</i> ^ε	<i>tèη-</i>	"land"
<i>pàη</i> ^a	<i>pàañs</i> ^ε	<i>pàη-</i>	"power"
<i>bùη</i> ^a	<i>bùmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>bùη-</i>	"donkey"
<i>nāη</i> ^a	<i>nāmɪs</i> ^ε	<i>nàη-</i>	"scorpion"
<i>sú'əη</i> ^a	<i>sū'əmís</i> ^ε	<i>sū'əη-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>níη</i> ^a	<i>nís</i> ^ε	<i>nīη-</i>	"bird"
	<i>nīmís</i> ^ε		
<i>kòlη</i> ^a	<i>kòlɪs</i> ^ε	<i>kòlη-</i>	"door"
	<i>kòlɪmɪs</i> ^ε		
<i>kō'alíη</i> ^a	<i>kō'alís</i> ^ε	<i>kō'alíη-</i>	sleeveless traditional smock
	<i>kō'alímìs</i> ^ε		
<i>mēɛdɪη</i> ^a	<i>mēɛdɪs</i> ^ε	<i>mēɛdɪη-</i>	"building tool"
	<i>mēɛdɪmɪs</i> ^ε		
<i>pīəsíη</i> ^a	<i>pīəsís</i> ^ε	<i>pīəsíη-</i>	"sponge for washing"
	<i>pīəsímìs</i> ^ε		

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>bīig^a</i>	<i>bīs^ε</i>	<i>bī-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"child"
<i>bèrɪŋ^a</i>	<i>bèrɪgɪs^ε</i>		a plant used for fibre
<i>tàmpūa⁺</i>	<i>tàmpōs^ε</i>	<i>tàmpò-</i>	"housefly" DK (no <i>ñ</i>)
<i>bōtɪŋ^a</i>	<i>bōtɪs^ε</i>	<i>bòtɪŋ-</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>dàsāñs^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^ɔ</i>	<i>tèŋ-zùvñs^ε</i>		"foreign land"
	but <i>pì'àñ'-zùna⁺</i>		"foreign language"
<i>yù'uh^ɔ</i>	<i>yù'umís^ε</i>	<i>yù'uh-</i>	"night"
<i>zùuñ^ɔ</i>	<i>zùuñs^ε</i> or <i>zùuñd^ε</i>	<i>zùñ-</i>	"vulture"
<i>yàmmug^a</i> WK	<i>yàmmɪs^ε</i>	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave"
or <i>yàmmug^ɔ</i>			

Compare Mampruli *nuuwa* pl *nuusi* "hand", *suuwa* pl *suusi* "knife", *kuuwa* pl *kuusi* "mouse", *zuuwa* pl *zuusi* "vulture" (but *yuhŋu* pl *yunsi* "night.")

Some original *g^ɔ|d^ε* nouns have substituted pl *-s^ε* for *-d^ε* instead of *-a⁺* 8.3.3:

	<i>à-dàalúŋ^ɔ</i>	<i>à-dàalís^ε</i> WK <i>à-dàalímìs^ε</i>	<i>à-dàalúŋ-</i>	"stork"
	<i>sí'uh^ɔ</i>	<i>sī'imís^ε</i>	<i>sī'uh-</i>	a kind of big dish
cf	<i>dìsúŋ^ɔ</i>	<i>dìsís^ε</i> <i>dìsímà⁺</i>	<i>dìsúŋ-</i>	"spoon"

Two words of this type drop *-s-* from the stem in the plural:

<i>wīlɪsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>wīlɪmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>wīlɪsúŋ-</i>	a kind of snail
<i>yāɪsúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yāɪmís</i> ^ɛ	<i>yāɪsúŋ-</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>dàvug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàad</i> ^ɛ	<i>dà-</i>	"piece of wood"
<i>vāvŋg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vāaŋd</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>vāŋ-</i>	"leaf"
<i>fēñ'og</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>fēñ'ɛd</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>fēñ'-</i>	"ulcer"
<i>dàbīog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàbīəd</i> ^ɛ	<i>dàbjà-</i>	"coward"
<i>vīug</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vīid</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>vī-</i>	"owl"
<i>mōvg</i> ^ɔ	<i>mōvd</i> ^ɛ	<i>mò-</i>	"grass, bush"
<i>dòndùug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòndùud</i> ^ɛ	<i>dòndù-</i>	"cobra"
	<i>zùəd</i> ^ɛ		"friendship"
<i>wābug</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wābɪd</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>wāb-</i>	"elephant"
<i>zūəbúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zūəbíd</i> ^ɛ	<i>zūəb-</i>	"(human head) hair"
<i>bālērvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>bālērɪd</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
	or <i>bālērɪs</i> ^{ɛ/}		
<i>bēsug</i> ^ɔ	<i>bēsɪd</i> ^ɛ	<i>bès-</i>	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have plurals of the form *CVt*^ɛ 5.3.1:

<i>dòvg</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòvd</i> ^ɛ or <i>dòt</i> ^ɛ	<i>dò-</i>	"hut, room; clan"
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So too *pōvg*^{ɔ/} "farm, field", *fūug*^{ɔ/} "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

<i>zūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>zūt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>zū-</i> or <i>zūg-</i>	"head"
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**Cag-* **Cjag-* **Cuag-* stems 5.6 show sg *-k*^ɔ, and *u*_a becomes *ɔ* before *-k*^ɔ 5.5:

<i>lāyuk</i> ^ɔ	<i>lā'ad</i> ^ɛ	<i>lā'-</i>	"(item of) goods"
<i>bjāyŋk</i> ^ɔ	<i>bjāŋ'ad</i> ^ɛ	WK <i>bjāŋ'-</i>	"shoulder"
	<i>bjāŋ'ada</i> ⁺	SB	
<i>lòk</i> ^ɔ	<i>lò'ad</i> ^ɛ	<i>lɔ'à-</i>	"quiver (for arrows)"

Stems in *CVd* show *-t-* in the pl 5.4 via **dd* → *tt*:

<i>ùdʋg^ɔ</i>	<i>ùt^ɛ</i>	<i>ùd-</i>	"(piece of) chaff"
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Stems in *CVg* develop *kk* in the singular via **gg* → *kk*:

<i>dōk^ɔ/</i>	<i>dōgʋd^ɛ/</i>	<i>dōg-</i>	"cooking pot"
	<i>dōgʋb dút^ɛ</i>		"cooking pots" SB

Stems in *l* develop the cluster *nn* in the pl via **ld* → *nn*:

<i>zōlv^ɔ/</i>	<i>zōn^{nɛ}/</i>	<i>zōl-</i>	"fool"
<i>sìlv^ɔ</i>	<i>sìn^{nɛ} or sɪlɪs^ɛ</i>	<i>sìl-</i>	"hawk"

The only *m n* stems making plurals with *-d^ɛ* are *CVVC* root-stems:

<i>làngáʋ^ɔ</i>	<i>làngāamá⁺</i> or <i>làngám^{mɛ}</i>	<i>làngāʋ-</i>	"crab"
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So too *màngáʋ^ɔ* "crab", the plural-only *sūñ-péén^{nɛ}* "anger" and perhaps the placename *Tèmpáan^{nɛ}* "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^ɛ*. They show **mg* → *ŋŋ* and **ng* → *ŋŋ* in the sg, with cbs remodelled on the sg.

<i>gbàʋ^ɔ</i>	<i>gbàna⁺</i>	<i>gbàn-</i> or <i>gbàʋ-</i>	"letter, book"
<i>zīnzāʋ^ɔ/</i>	<i>zīnzāná⁺</i>	<i>zīnzáʋ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñrv^ɔ</i>	<i>àñrɪma⁺</i>	<i>àñrv-</i>	"boat"
<i>mālʋ^ɔ</i>	<i>mālɪma⁺</i>	<i>màlʋ-</i>	"sacrifice"

The expected *ʋ*-glide is absent in the sg and cb of

<i>nìn-gbī^ɔ/</i>	<i>nìn-gbīná⁺</i>	<i>nìn-gbī-</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'ésú^ɔ</i>	<i>bū'ésá⁺</i>	<i>bū'es-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaňsú^ɔ</i>	<i>zàaňsíma⁺</i>	<i>zàaňsú-</i>	"dream"

Gerunds of 3-mora *n*-stem verbs never assimilate **ng* → *ŋŋ*, and gerunds of 3-mora *m*-stems only assimilate **mg* → *ŋŋ* optionally: thus *dìgɪvɔ*^ɔ "lying down", *sùnnvɔ*^ɔ "bowing the head", *zìñ'invɔ*^ɔ "sitting down", *tɔɔŋ*^ɔ or *tɔɔmúg*^ɔ "departing", *sàñ'vɔ*^ɔ or *sàñ'amvɔ*^ɔ "destroying", *kàrvɔ*^ɔ or *kàrvɔm*^ɔ "reading."

The place name *Dènvɔ*^ɔ "Denugu" (?? *Dènnvɔ*^ɔ) also fails to assimilate **ng*.

8.3.4 *r^ɛ|a⁺*

Straightforward examples include:

<i>kūgvɔr^ɛ/</i>	<i>kūgá⁺</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>dìgvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>dìgá⁺</i>	<i>dìg-</i>	"dwarf"
<i>bàlàŋvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>bàlàŋá⁺</i>	<i>bàlàŋ-</i>	"hat"
<i>yūgvɔdɪr^ɛ</i>	<i>yūgvɔdá⁺</i>	<i>yùgvɔd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>pɔ̀'à-sādvɔr^ɛ/</i>	<i>pɔ̀'à-sādá⁺</i>	<i>pɔ̀'à-sād-</i>	"young woman"
<i>nɔ́bvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>nɔ́bá⁺</i>	<i>nɔ́b-</i>	"leg"
<i>lɪbvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>lɪbá⁺</i>	<i>lɪb-</i>	"twin"
<i>sāngúnnɪr^ɛ</i>	<i>sāngúnnà⁺</i>	<i>sāngún-</i>	"millipede"
<i>bì'isvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>bì'isá⁺</i>	<i>bì'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>sūmmvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>sūmma⁺</i>	<i>sùm-</i>	"groundnut"

CVV- and CV'V-stems (for the allomorphs before pl -*a⁺* see 5.3.1):

<i>bīər^ɛ/</i>	<i>bīēyá⁺</i>	<i>bīā-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zūər^ɛ</i>	<i>zūēyá⁺</i>	<i>zūà-</i>	"hill"
<i>nɔ́ɔr^ɛ/</i>	<i>nɔ́yá⁺</i>	<i>nɔ́-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zūvɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>zūyá⁺</i>	<i>zù-</i>	"tail"
<i>tītā'ar^ɛ</i>	<i>tītāda⁺</i>	<i>tītā'-</i>	"big" (adjective)
<i>ñyē'ɛr^ɛ/</i>	<i>ñyēdá⁺</i>	<i>ñyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòñ'ɔr^ɛ</i>	<i>pòñda⁺</i>	<i>pòñ'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yū'vɔr^ɛ/</i>	<i>yūdá⁺</i>	<i>yū'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū'ər^ɛ</i>	<i>yūāda⁺</i>	<i>yù'ər-</i> <u>8.2</u>	"penis"

Stems in **Cag-* **Cjag-* **Cɔag-* 5.6 may have forms made by analogy with original CV'V-stems, instead of or alongside forms with vowel fusion:

<i>bà'ar^ɛ</i>	<i>bà'a⁺</i> or <i>bàda⁺</i>	<i>bà'-</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
<i>ñyā'ar^ɛ</i>	<i>ñyā'a⁺</i>	<i>ñyà'-</i>	"root" (← * <i>ɲɛg-</i>)
<i>sjà'ar^ɛ</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>mų'àa⁺</i>	<i>mų'à-</i>	"reservoir, dam"
	or <i>mù'ada⁺</i>		
<i>zànkù'ar^ε</i>	<i>zànkų'àa⁺</i>	<i>zànkų'à-</i>	"jackal"
	or <i>zànkù'ada⁺</i>		
<i>kùndù'ar^ε</i>	<i>kùndų'àa⁺</i>	<i>kùndų'à-</i>	"barren woman"
	or <i>kùndù'ada⁺</i>		

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 fusion verb gerunds 10.1 like *gbáñ'ar^ε* (*gbāñ'e^{+/}* "grab"), *dí'ar^ε* (*dī'e^{+/}* "get"), *dúar^ε* (*dūe^{+/}* "rise") and also

<i>vúar^ε</i>	<i>vūáa⁼</i>	<i>vūø-</i>	"fruit of red kapok"
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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^ε* instead of *-b^ɔ* after a noun cb: *nō-lōr^ε* "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), *fū-yêr^ε* "shirt-wearing"; vowel shortening appears in *nā'-lōr^ε* "area in compound for tying up cows" and *wìd-lōr^{ε/}* "area for tying up horses."

Stems in *m n l r* undergo consonant assimilation in the sg: **rr* → *r*, **lr* → *ll*, **nr* → *nn*, **mr* → *mn*; on the instability of the cluster *mn* see 5.2.

<i>kùkpàr^ε</i>	<i>kùkpàra⁺</i>	<i>kùkpàr-</i>	"palm fruit"
<i>kpān^{nε}</i>	<i>kpāna⁺</i>	<i>kpàn-</i>	"spear"
<i>má'an^{nε}</i>	<i>mā'aná⁺</i>	<i>mā'an-</i>	"okra"
<i>pībɪn^{nε}</i>	<i>pībɪna⁺</i>	<i>pìbɪn-</i>	"covering"
<i>dūm^{nε}</i>	<i>dūma⁺</i>	<i>dùm-</i>	"knee"
<i>zōm^{nε}</i>	<i>zōma⁺</i>	<i>zòm-</i>	"fugitive"
<i>yòum^{nε}</i>	<i>yòma⁺</i>	<i>yòum-</i>	"year" <u>5.3.2</u>
<i>gbīgum^{nε}</i>	<i>gbīguma⁺</i>	<i>gbìgum-</i>	"lion"
<i>gél^{lε}</i>	<i>gēlá⁺</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>íl^{lε}</i>	<i>īlá⁺</i>	<i>īl-</i>	"horn"

With unusual sandhi in the sg, and presumably analogical levelling

<i>ñwān</i> ^{nɛ} SB	<i>ñwāna</i> ⁺ NT	<i>ñwàn-/ñwàm-</i>	"calabash"
<i>ñwām</i> ^{mɛ} WK	<i>ñwāma</i> ⁺ SB WK NT		

An exceptional suppletive plural, segmentally and tonally, is seen in

<i>dāar</i> ^ɛ	<i>dābá</i> ⁺	<i>dà-</i>	"day"
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These two *r*^ɛ|*a*⁺ class words probably have 1-mora stems:

[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	<i>zā</i> ^{+/}	<i>zā-</i>	"millet"
<i>yīr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>yā</i> ^{+/}	<i>yī-</i>	"house"

Language names 29.4 have the suffix *-l*^ɛ after stems ending in a root vowel:

Language		Speakers	
<i>Kūsāal</i> ^ɛ	Kusaal	<i>Kūsāas</i> ^ɛ	Kusaasi
<i>Mòɔl</i> ^ɛ	Mooré	<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ɛ	Mossi
<i>Zàngbèɛl</i> ^ɛ	Hausa	<i>Zàngbèɛd</i> ^ɛ	Hausa
<i>Nàsāal</i> ^ɛ	English/French	<i>Nàsàa-nàm</i> ^a	Europeans

Stems in *-r-* show the distinctive assimilation **rl* → *tt* 5.4, but other stems ending in a consonant show forms indistinguishable those with the flexion *r*^ɛ:

<i>Yāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	Yarsi	<i>Yārls</i> ^{ɛ/}	Yarsi
<i>Bāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	Bisa	<i>Bārls</i> ^{ɛ/}	Bisa
<i>Nàbir</i> ^ɛ	Nabit	<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	Nabdema
<i>Tùənnɪr</i> ^ɛ	Toende Kusaal	<i>Tùən</i> ^{nɛ}	Toende area
<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nɛ/}	Dagbani	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìn</i> ^{nɛ}	Moba	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	Moba
<i>Yàan</i> ^{nɛ}	Yansi	<i>Yàańs</i> ^ɛ	Yansi
<i>Gūrín</i> ^{nɛ}	Farefare	<i>Gūrís</i> ^ɛ	Farefare
<i>Tàlɪn</i> ^{nɛ}	Talni	<i>Tàlɪs</i> ^ɛ	Tallensi
<i>Bùl</i> ^{lɛ}	Buli	<i>Bùlɪs</i> ^ɛ	Bulsa
<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lɛ}	Agolle Kusaal	<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lɛ}	Agolle area

Unexpected epenthesis occurs in:

<i>Kàmbùnɪr</i> ^ɛ	Twi	<i>Kàmbùmɪs</i> ^ɛ	Ashanti
<i>Ñwāmpūrɪl</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mampruli	<i>Ñwāmpūrɪs</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mamprussi

8.3.5 $\mathcal{P}|l^+$

The plural $-l^+$ causes the stem vowels *aa iə εε* to undergo "umlaut" to *ii*.
Straightforward examples for the $\mathcal{P}|l^+$ class are

<i>mòlɪ^ɸ</i>	<i>mòli⁺</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bīilí^ɸ</i>	<i>bīilí⁺</i>	<i>bīil-</i>	"seed"
<i>ñyīrí^ɸ</i>	<i>ñyīrí⁺</i>	<i>ñyīr-</i>	"egusi"
<i>zūrí^ɸ</i>	<i>zūrí⁺</i>	<i>zūr-</i>	"dawadawa seed"
<i>bōn-búvdì^ɸ</i>			"plant"
[Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>]	<i>kī^{+l}</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>nīigí⁺</i>	<i>nā'-</i> 5.3.2	"cow"
<i>wáaf^ɸ</i>	<i>wīigí⁺</i>	<i>wā'-</i>	"snake"

Stems in *-n-* show consonant assimilation in the sg with **nf* → *ʔf* 5.4:

<i>nī^{ɸl}</i>	<i>nīnί⁺</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>pí^lñ^ɸ</i>	<i>pīnί⁺</i>	<i>pīn-</i>	"genet"
<i>kí^lñ^ɸ</i>	<i>kīnί⁺</i>		"millet seed"
<i>zú^lvñ^ɸ</i>	<i>zū^lvnί⁺</i>		"dawadawa seed"
<i>mí^lɪ^ɸ</i>	<i>mīnί⁺</i>		"okra seed"

Sg *mí^lɪ^ɸ* is remodelled after the umlauted pl: cf *má'an^{nε}* "okra."

In two words stem *-d-* is lost in the sg:

<i>wìə^ɸ</i>	<i>wìd⁺</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"horse"
<i>lā'a^ɸ</i>	<i>līg^ld⁺</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words only have $\mathcal{P}|l^+$ class suffixes in one number:

<i>zī^lŋ^a</i>	<i>zīmί⁺</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>wāl^lg^a</i>	<i>wā^ll^{sε}</i> or <i>wālí⁺</i> sic	<i>wàl-</i>	a kind of gazelle
<i>sīb^lg^{a/}</i>	<i>sībί⁺</i>	<i>sīb-</i>	a kind of termite
<i>sī^lñ^{ɸ/}</i> or <i>sī^lñg^{a/}</i>	<i>sī^lñs^{ε/}</i>	<i>sīñ-</i>	"bee"
<i>sū^lñ^{ɸ/}</i> or <i>sū^luñ^{ε/}</i>	<i>sū^lñyá⁺</i>	<i>sūñ-</i>	"heart"
<i>kpá^lvŋ^ɸ</i>	<i>kpá^linί⁺</i>	<i>kpá'-</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</i> ^ɔ	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge, TZ"
<i>tāñp</i> ^ɔ	<i>tāñp-</i>	"war" 5.3.1
<i>kī'ib</i> ^ɔ		"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*^ɛ "write", *lōp*^ɔ from *lōb*^ɛ "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*^ɛ "reap."

Yīs^ɛ "make go/come out" has the expected gerund *yīsib*^ɔ; the alternate form *yīs*^{ɛ/} 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</i> ^{m/}	<i>dā-</i>	"millet beer, pito"
<i>mèligim</i> ^m		"dew"
<i>kōdim</i> ^m		"olden days"
<i>dū'uním</i> ^m	<i>dū'un-</i>	"urine"
<i>dàalim</i> ^m		"masculinity"
<i>yàarim</i> ^m	<i>yàar-</i>	"salt"
<i>zāańsím</i> ^m	<i>zāańs-</i>	"soup"

M-stems can be identified from cbs in *m*, pls in *-ma*⁺ or *-mɪs*^ɛ, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L [6.2.2](#).

<i>vōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>vōm-</i>	"life"	
<i>kūm</i> ^m	<i>kùm-</i>	"death"	
<i>zōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>zōm-</i>	"flour"	
<i>bùgúm</i> ^m	<i>bùgúm-</i> or <i>bùgūm-</i>	"fire"	
<i>yā'am</i> ^{m/}	<i>yā'am-</i>	"gall; gall bladder"	
<i>pūum</i> ^{m/}	<i>pūum-</i>	"flowers, flora"	
<i>bì'isím</i> ^m		"milk"	
<i>dàalím</i> ^m	<i>dàalímɪs</i> ^ɛ	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
<i>pīim</i> ^{m/}	<i>pīimá</i> ⁺	<i>pīim-</i>	"arrow" 5.3.2

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 *fīimú* "arrow", plural *fīimí*.

8.4 *Nàm* plurals

Nàm^a is not a suffix. It appears as a 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.

It is used: when pl stems differs from the sg; to avoid ambiguous regular plurals; with nouns using *-b*^a or a bare stem as sg [8.3.1](#); with loanwords; with pronouns [15.2](#) and quantifiers [15.5.1](#); with plural forms with singular meanings; for mass nouns with count meanings; with forms with the personifier particle [15.6](#).

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 nàm</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 *-ɹ*⁺ or *-v*⁺ display apocope-blocking [5.1](#):

<i>būudɹ</i> ⁺	<i>bùud-</i>	"tribe"
<i>nà'asɹ</i> ⁺		"honour"
<i>kābirí</i> ⁺		"entry permission"
<i>sūgvrú</i> ⁺		"forbearance"
<i>pīinɹ</i> ⁺	<i>pīin-</i>	"gift"

Some are loans from related languages without apocope, like *kīibú*⁺ "soap" (from Mampruli.) Cognates of *būudɹ*⁺ show that the *-dɹ* represents the *d*^ɛ pl suffix: Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*. *Nà'asɹ*⁺ may be *s*^ɛ pl. *Kābirí*⁺ and *sūgvrú*⁺ may be *r*^ɛ sg, with *kābir*^{ɛ/} "ask for admission" and *sūgvr*^{ɛ/} "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 *P|t*⁺ 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> : <i>àrazàk^a</i>	<i>àrazà'as^ε</i>	<i>àrazà'-</i>	"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> : <i>gādv^{ɔ/}</i>	<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> ⁺ : <i>lór^ε</i>	<i>lòyà</i> ⁺ tones <i>sic</i> or <i>lóm</i> ^{ma}	<i>lór-</i>	"car, lorry" cf <i>Mōr^ε</i> 8.3.1
<i>àlópìr^ε</i>	<i>àlópìya</i> ⁺		"aeroplane" SB
<i>wādìr^{ε/}</i>	<i>wādá</i> ⁺	<i>wād-</i>	pl "customs, law" (English "order")
<i>gādv</i> ⁺	<i>gādv-nám</i> ^a	<i>gādv-</i>	"bed" WK
<i>kèkèkè</i> ⁺	<i>kèkèkè-nàm</i> ^a	<i>kèkèkè-</i>	"bicycle" Hausa <i>kèkèkè</i>
<i>dāká</i> ⁺	<i>dāká-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dāká-</i>	"box" Hausa <i>àdakàa</i>
<i>téébùl^ε</i>	<i>téébùl-nàm</i> ^a	<i>téébùl-</i>	"table"
<i>Nàsāara</i> ⁺	<i>Nàsàar-nàm</i> ^a or <i>Nàsàa-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsàar-</i> <i>Nàsàa-</i>	"white person, European" 29.4 : cf Hausa <i>Nàsaara</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>dù'átà nā'ab</i>	"a doctor's chief"
<i>dù'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](#): *dūnīya*⁺ "world" (Arabic *dunya*:), *dūnīyá-kàṅā* "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 15.8.1.1. 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>zèñda</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" *bāañlig^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>kōdvɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>kūt</i> ^ɛ rare	<i>kùd-</i>	"old"
<i>kōdir</i> ^ɛ	<i>kōda</i> ⁺		
<i>bèdvɔg</i> ^ɔ		<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>bèdir</i> ^ɛ rare	<i>bèda</i> ⁺		
<i>tītā'vɔg</i> ^ɔ rare	<i>tītāda</i> ⁺	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big"
<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ɛ			

Adjectives of the *g*^ɔ-type with stems in *l m n r s* do not use sg *r*^ɛ, and accordingly end up with sg *g*^ɔ pl *a*⁺ only:

<i>sùŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>sùma</i> ⁺	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>kísùg</i> ^ɔ	<i>kísá</i> ⁺	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo"
<i>dà-zēmmúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>dà-zēmmá</i> ⁺	<i>dà-zēm-</i>	"equal piece of wood"
<i>tūlúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>tūlá</i> ⁺	<i>tūl-</i>	"hot"
<i>lāllúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>lāllá</i> ⁺	<i>lāl-</i>	"distant"
<i>mì'isvɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>mì'isa</i> ⁺	<i>mì'is-</i>	"sour"
<i>wàvɔŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>wàna</i> ⁺	<i>wàvɔŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpī'ovɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>kpī'əma</i> ⁺	<i>kpī'ovɔ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlvɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zùlma</i> ⁺	<i>zùlvɔ-</i>	"deep"
<i>yī-póŋròg</i> ^ɔ	<i>yī-póŋrà</i> ⁺		"nearby house"

Similarly *yàlvɔg*^ɔ "wide" *nyālúŋ*^ɔ "wonderful" *yēl-náròŋ*^ɔ "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> ^ɔ	<i>kpīilímà</i> ⁺	<i>kpīilúŋ-</i>	"dead"	WK
<i>nīn-kpīilòg</i> ^ɔ	<i>nīn-kpīilìma</i> ⁺		"dead person"	KT
<i>gēēñlúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>gēēñlímà</i> ⁺	<i>gēēñlúŋ-</i>	"tired"	WK
<i>nīn-gēēñlòg</i> ^ɔ	<i>nīn-gēēñlìma</i> ⁺		"tired person"	KT
<i>pè'elúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<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*^ɔ-type for KT. In either case, the pl suffix is always *a*⁺, as expected:

<i>kōvdír</i> ^ɛ	<i>kōvdá</i> ⁺	<i>kōvd-</i>	"murderous;
<i>kōvdíg</i> ^a WK			liable to be killed"
<i>kōvdúg</i> ^ɔ 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", *pìlilà* "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	<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-*: *zãmbé* "cheat", *rãmbé* "stir", *lèmbé* "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>dūe^{+/}</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 A 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.

M nòŋ. "I love him." (e.g. in reply to a question)
 not **M nòŋ yā* specifically stated to be impossible by WK

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noŋ zaba.

Mìt kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm á ɔ̀nì nòŋ zábāa ⁺∅.

NEG.LET.IMP and head-NUL.LAN 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 A:

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'</i> ^{ya/}	"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 tì'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning against something."
	<i>Lì pō tì'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>gù</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>gōl</i> ^{la/}	KT "have neck extended"
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>zāñ</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>vèñ</i> ^{la}	"be beautiful"	<i>lā</i> ^{la/}	"be far from"
<i>tū</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>tēbīs</i> ^{a/}	"be heavy"
<i>mālis</i> ^{a/}	"be sweet"	<i>lābīs</i> ^{a/}	"be wide"
<i>ñyēs</i> ^a	"be self-confident"	<i>kīs</i> ^{a/}	"hate"

The *s* of these forms is a derivational suffix producing stative forms.

There is one intransitive stative verb in *-d^a*: *pòcd^a* "be few, small."

Some dual-aspect-verb imperfective forms have become independent stative verbs, e.g. *bòcd^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.

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"	$d\bar{o}gub^{\text{D}}$
$du' \grave{a}^{\text{a}}$	"bear, beget"	$d\bar{u}'ab^{\text{D}}$
$k\grave{a}d^{\text{E}}$	"drive away"	$k\grave{a}d\grave{u}b^{\text{D}}$
$p\grave{i}l^{\text{E}}$	"cover"	$p\grave{i}l\grave{u}b^{\text{D}}$
$k\grave{p}\grave{a}r^{\text{E}}$	"lock"	$k\grave{p}\grave{a}r\grave{u}b^{\text{D}}$
$b\grave{a}s^{\text{E}}$	"abandon, go away"	$b\grave{a}s\grave{u}b^{\text{D}}$
$s\bar{5}b^{\text{E}}$	"write"	$s\bar{5}p^{\text{D}}$
$l\bar{5}b^{\text{E}}$	"throw stones at"	$l\bar{5}p^{\text{D}}$
$k\grave{i}m^{\text{m}}$	"tend a flock/herd"	$k\grave{i}m^{\text{mD}}$
$w\grave{u}m^{\text{m}}$	"hear"	$w\bar{u}m^{\text{mD}}$

2-mora *n*-stems do not assimilate $*nb \rightarrow mm$: $b\grave{u}n^{\text{E}}$ "reap", gerund $b\bar{u}n\grave{u}b^{\text{D}}$.

<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>dī'e</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; *yīis*^{ε/} "make go/come out" has *yīisí*^b, like the alternate form *yīs*^ε with *yīsib*^{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</i> ^ε	"give"	<i>tīsib</i> ^ɔ
<i>kē</i> ⁺	"let"	<i>kēεb</i> ^{ɔ/}
<i>gòl</i> ^ε	"suspend"	<i>gōlib</i> ^ɔ

Few segmentally irregular gerunds are also tonally irregular. However, forms with the suffix *-g*^ɔ are Pattern L from Pattern A 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</i> ^a
<i>zī</i> ⁺	"carry on head"	<i>zīid</i> ^{ε/}
<i>bèñ</i> ⁺	"fall ill"	<i>bèñ'εs</i> ^ε
<i>kēñ</i> ⁺	"come"	<i>kēñ</i> ^{nε/}
<i>zò</i> ⁺	"run"	<i>zūa</i> ⁺ also <i>zōɔg</i> ^ɔ
<i>vū</i> ⁺	"make noise"	<i>vūug</i> ^{ɔ/}
<i>pjāñ</i> ^a	"speak"	<i>pjāuñk</i> ^ɔ
<i>bùd</i> ^ε	"plant"	<i>būdɔg</i> ^a also <i>būdug</i> ^ɔ
<i>yèl</i> ^ε	"say, tell"	<i>yèlvɔg</i> ^ɔ (cf Mooré <i>yèele</i>)
<i>kūl</i> ^ε	"go home"	<i>kūlɔg</i> ^{a/} also <i>kūlvɔg</i> ^{ɔ/}
<i>tàñs</i> ^ε	"shout"	<i>tàñsug</i> ^ɔ
<i>sōñs</i> ^ε	"converse"	<i>sōñsìg</i> ^a
<i>gōs</i> ^ε	"look"	<i>gōsìg</i> ^a
<i>sòs</i> ^ε	"pray, beg"	<i>sōsɔg</i> ^a
<i>kīr</i> ^ε	"hurry"	<i>kìkírùg</i> ^ɔ or <i>kīrb</i> ^{ɔ/}
<i>lèb</i> ^ε	"return"	<i>lēbɔg</i> ^a
<i>tèb</i> ^ε	"carry in both hands"	<i>tēbɔg</i> ^a
<i>kāñb</i> ^ε	"scorch"	<i>kāñbɪr</i> ^ε
<i>òñb</i> ^ε	"chew"	<i>ōñbɪr</i> ^ε
<i>lūb</i> ^ε	"buck"	<i>lūbɪr</i> ^{ε/}
<i>zàb</i> ^ε	"fight"	<i>zàbɪr</i> ^ε
<i>tèñb</i> ^ε	"tremble"	<i>tèñbug</i> ^ɔ
<i>tùm</i> ^m	"work"	<i>tūuma</i> ⁺
<i>tùm</i> ^m	"send"	<i>tìtūmɪs</i> ^ε
<i>wùm</i> ^m	"hear"	<i>wūm</i> ^{mɔ} or <i>wòmug</i> ^ɔ <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"	$zīñ'ig^a$	also "place", regular $g^a s^ε$ class
$zì'e^ya$	"be standing"	$zī'a^+$	KED $zī'æg^a$ (very irreg 5.6) DK KT
$dīg'y^a/$	"be lying"	$dīk^a/$	KT $dīgir^ε/$ WK
$īg'y^a/$	"be kneeling"	$īk^a/$	KT $īgir^ε/$ WK
$vābly^a/$	"be lying prone"	$vāp^ɔ/$	KT $vābir^ε/$ WK
$tī'y^a/$	"be leaning"	$tī'ib^ɔ/$	(of an object)

$Gùl^la$ "be hanging" uses $gūlib^ɔ$, from the cognate dual-aspect verb $gùl^ε$, and the stative $pōñr^a$ "be near" has $pōñrib^ɔ$, probably from an otherwise unused dual-aspect $*pōñd^ε$ 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"
$sōbir^ε/$	"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"

$Vābir^ε/$ $lābir^ε/$ $dīgir^ε/$ $īgir^ε/$, 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 *tūēdir^ε* "mortar", from *tyà⁺* "grind in a mortar." The Tone Pattern A is consistent with this.

It is exceptional for regularly formed gerunds to acquire concrete meaning, but a clearcut example is *dīlb^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; hence also

sīñ^{ɸ/} "bee" *sīñd^{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 15.7.1. However, they cannot be used in the immediate-future construction with *bòɔd^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>pòɔdım^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 *ñyèésíj^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'isvŋ^ɔ</i>	"sourness"	<i>tōvŋ^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>sáuvŋ^ɔ</i>	"hospitality"
<i>kpēñm^m</i>	"elder"	→	<i>kpēoñŋ^ɔ</i>	"eldership"
<i>sōḡñ^a</i>	"witch"	→	<i>sōvŋ^ɔ</i>	"witchcraft"

Cf also *zùød^ε* "friendship" from *zuvà⁺* "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](#):

<i>sùḡā^{+/}</i>	"well; very much"	<i>mā'asígā^{+/}</i>	"coolly"
<i>tūvlígā^{+/}</i>	"hotly"	<i>gīḡa⁺</i>	"shortly"
<i>bōvvsígā^{+/}</i>	"softly"	<i>sàalígā^{+/}</i>	"smoothly"
<i>ñyèesígā^{+/}</i>	"self-confidently"		

Cf also *yīgá⁺* "firstly" [15.5.2.3](#).

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 + *sm* 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 A 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>dīgⁱⁿε</i>	<i>dīg^lε/</i>
<i>vāb^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vābⁱⁿε</i>	<i>vāb^lε/</i>
<i>īg^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgⁱⁿε</i>	<i>īg^lε/</i>
<i>làb^{ya}</i>	"be crouching hidden"	<i>làbⁱⁿε</i>	<i>làb^lε</i>
<i>zìñ'^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'ⁱⁿε</i>	<i>zìñ'^lε</i>
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zì'əⁿε</i>	<i>zì'ə^lε</i>
<i>tī'ī^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning" (of thing)	<i>tì'in^ε</i>	<i>tī'il^{ε/}</i>
<i>gō'e^{ya/}</i>	"be looking up" WK	<i>gò'ɔⁿε</i>	
<i>sùr^a</i>	"have bowed head"	<i>sùn^{nε}</i>	<i>sùn^{nε} sic</i>
-	"cover oneself"	<i>lìgⁱⁿε</i>	<i>lìg^lε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>zùəⁿε</i>	<i>zùə^lε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>yà'an^ε</i>	<i>yà'al^ε</i>

The resultative perfective of *zùe*⁺ is used for "be perching":

Níiŋ lā zúə nē.

"The bird is perching." KT

Bird:SG ART perch FOC.

Nawdm has exactly parallel formations, e.g. *jeŋra* ipfv "être debout", *jeŋnt* pfv "se mettre debout", *jeŋlg* pfv, *jeŋla* 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^ε</i>	"make enter"
<i>nìe⁺</i>	"appear"	<i>nèεs^ε</i>	"reveal"
<i>yī⁺</i>	"go/come out"	<i>yīis^{ε/}</i> or <i>yīs^ε</i>	"make go/come out"
<i>dì⁺</i>	"eat"	<i>dìis^ε</i>	"feed"
<i>nū⁺</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlis^{ε/}</i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlīg^{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>yèɛl</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>nèɛl</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>zàbul</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>l̄⁺</i>	"tie up"	<i>l̄dɪg^{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>l̄iəb^ε</i>	"become"	<i>l̄èbɪg^ε</i>	"turn over"
<i>fāñ⁺</i>	"rob, snatch"	<i>fāeñ^{+/}</i>	"save" ?? for "snatch back"

Reversive **-g-** is a peculiarity of the Western group within Oti-Volta; the other groups show alveolar suffixes: Moba *l̄ōōñ* "close" *l̄ōōd* "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>p̄iəb^ε</i>	"blow (flute etc)"	<i>p̄èbɪs^ε</i>	"blow (wind)"
<i>làbɪ^{ya}</i>	"crouch in hiding"	<i>làbɪs^ε</i>	"walk stealthily"
<i>v̄ūɛ^{a/}</i>	"be alive"	<i>v̄ū'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>d̄īe^{+/}</i>	"receive"	<i>d̄īəs^{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

kōdɪg^{ɛ/} "slaughter one animal" *kōt^{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 A verbs but Pattern H and Pattern A both correspond to Pattern H verbs. Historically, the all-M pattern of verbs corresponding to Pattern A nominals was also Pattern A, and this is still reflected in the tonemes of e.g. *kpɪ̄əm^{ma/}* "be strong" *kpɛ̄ɛ̄ñm^{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 A verbs.

L	<i>vènnɪg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>vèñllɪg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèñ^{la}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>zùlɔŋ^ɔ</i>	"deep"	<i>zùlɪm^{ma}</i>	"be deep"
	<i>pòɔdɪg^a</i>	"small"	<i>pòɔd^a</i>	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isɔŋ^ɔ</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'is^a</i>	"be sour"
	<i>sùŋ^ɔ</i>	"good"	<i>sùm^{ma}</i>	"be good"
	<i>yàlɔŋ^ɔ</i>	"wide"	<i>yàlɪm^{ma}</i>	"be wide"
H	<i>bōgʊsír^ɛ</i>	"soft"	<i>bōgʊs^{a/}</i>	"be soft"
	<i>vōr^{ɛ/}</i>	"alive"	<i>vōɛ^{a/}</i>	"be alive"
	<i>mā'asír^ɛ</i>	"cool"	<i>mā'as^{a/}</i>	"be cool"
	<i>tēbɪsír^ɛ</i>	"heavy"	<i>tēbɪs^{a/}</i>	"be heavy"
	<i>mālsír^ɛ</i>	"sweet"	<i>māls^{a/}</i>	"be sweet"
	<i>lābɪsír^ɛ</i>	"wide"	<i>lābɪs^{a/}</i>	"be wide"
	<i>zēm̄múg^ɔ</i>	"equal"	<i>zēm̄^{ma/}</i>	"be equal to"
<i>lāllúg^ɔ</i>	"far"	<i>lāl^{la/}</i>	"be far from"	

A	<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>bōgvsír</i> ^ɛ	"soft"	<i>bōk</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>kōdɪvɔ</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'isvɔ</i> ^ɔ	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i> ^ɛ	"turn sour"
<i>zùlɪvɔ</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> ^ɔ	"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>gìgìlim</i> ^m	"become dumb"
<i>wàbír</i> ^ε	"lame"	<i>wàbílím</i> ^m	"make, go lame"
<i>gṽ'us</i> ^ε	"semi-ripe things"	<i>gṽ'ulim</i> ^m	"become semi-ripe"
<i>bṽgṽd</i> ^a	"client of diviner"	<i>bṽgṽlim</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>zṽø</i> ^ε	"befriend"
<i>nṽèr</i> ^{ε/}	"millstone"	<i>nṽèr</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>màlígum</i>	"again"

It has no obvious meaning in *kṽñsím*^m "cough" = *kṽñs*^ε *id.*

-g- occurs with no clear meaning in

<i>sṽñ</i> ⁺	"rub"	<i>sṽèñ</i> ^{+/}	"anoint"
<i>nṽb</i> ^ε	"get fat"	<i>nṽbig</i> ^{ε/}	"grow" (child, plant)
<i>nā</i> ⁺	"join"	<i>nāe</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 A 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>mē</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>dɔ̀'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>sōbɔd</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>kpārɔd</i> ^a	"lock-er"
<i>gbīs</i> ^ɛ	"sleep"	<i>gbīsɔd</i> ^{a/}	"sleeper"
<i>sjàk</i> ^ɛ	"believe"	<i>sjàkɔd</i> ^a	"believer"
<i>jāñk</i> ^{ɛ/}	"jump, fly"	<i>jāñ'ad</i> ^{a/}	"flier"
<i>sùŋ</i> ^ɛ	"help"	<i>sūŋɔd</i> ^a	"helper"
<i>bàŋ</i> ^ɛ	"understand"	<i>bāŋɔd</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>sūgvrɔd</i> ^a	"forgiver"
<i>yū'um</i> ^{m/}	"sing"	<i>yūum-yū'um</i> ^{na}	"singer"
		pl <i>yūum-yū'umnìb</i> ^a	
<i>sāñ'am</i> ^m	"spoil"	<i>pɔ̀'à-sāñ'am</i> ^{na}	"adulterer"
		pl <i>pɔ̀'à-sāñ'amɔdɔb</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>pùʋs</i> ^ɛ	"worship"	<i>pùʋs</i> ^a	"worshipper"
		pl <i>pùʋsídɪb</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-gōṅñdír^ε</i>	"prostitute"
<i>là⁺</i>	"laugh"	<i>py'à-lā'adír^ε</i>	"woman prone to laughter/ woman to be laughed at"
<i>ñyē⁺</i>	"see"	<i>bōn-ñyétír^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'adíg^a</i>	"native land"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>sūm-dúgvdà⁺</i>	"cooked groundnuts" WK

<i>sīg</i> ^ε	"descend"	<i>yī-sígɪdìr</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-ǎñbɪdà</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-gbīsɪdír</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>gīlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"go around"	<i>pɹ'à-gīnníg</i> ^a	"prostitute"
<i>sūeñ</i> ^{+/}	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóɔñdìm</i> ^m	"anointing oil"
<i>tūlɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"heat up"	<i>bōn-túlɪgìr</i> ^ε	"heater, thing for heating"
<i>pèlɪg</i> ^ε	"whiten"	<i>bōn-pélɪgìr</i> ^ε	"whitening thing, whitener"
<i>yādɪg</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>bōn-yátìr</i> ^ε	"scattering thing" (cf <i>yāt</i> ^{a/})
<i>jāñk</i> ^{ε/}	"fly, jump"	<i>bōn-jáñ'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-nòŋɪr</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>pèlɪs</i> ^ε	"sharpen"	<i>bōn-pélɪsìr</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>sōbdíŋ</i> ^a	"writing implement"
<i>kpàr</i> ^ε	"lock"	<i>kpārdíŋ</i> ^a	"thing for locking"
<i>ñwà'e</i> ⁺	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'adíŋ</i> ^a	"axe"
<i>pīe</i> ^{+/}	"wash self"	<i>pīedíŋ</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'e</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 *-dím-* or *-lím-* or *-nim-*; *-lím-* and *-nim-* 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>vābɪ^{ya/}</i>	"lie prone"	<i>vābílím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow liar-prone"
		or <i>vābídím-tāa⁼</i>	"fellow liar-prone" WK
<i>làbɪ^{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>zōw^{mε}</i>	"refugee"
<i>kpi⁺</i>	"die"	<i>kpi^{m/}</i>	"corpse"

-d- appears as an instrument noun formant instead of the usual *-dím-* in

<i>tɹà⁺</i>	"grind in a mortar"	<i>tūədɹ^ε</i>	"mortar"
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See also on *pībɪn^{nε}* "covering" etc, where the *n* may represent **ld* [11.1.2](#).

-b- derives nouns from verbal roots in

<i>kpì</i> ⁺	"die"	<i>kpìibɔg</i> ^a	"orphan"
<i>dà</i> ⁺	"buy"	<i>dà'abɪ</i> ^ɛ	"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 *lībɪ*^ɛ "twin" is a similar formation from Proto-Oti-Volta **li* "two" with an aberrant reflex of **l*; cf Buli *yībīk*, Gulimancéma *lébīli id. Sàlɪbɪ*^ɛ "bridle" and *kòlɪbɪ*^ɛ "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> ^ɛ	"cold, wet"
<i>būk</i> ^{ɛ/}	"weaken"	<i>būgvsír</i> ^ɛ	"soft"
<i>tēbɔg</i> ^{ɛ/}	"get heavy"	<i>tēbɪsír</i> ^ɛ	"heavy"
<i>mì'ig</i> ^ɛ	"get sour"	<i>mì'isug</i> ^ɔ	"sour"
<i>sōb</i> ^ɛ	"get dark"	<i>sābɪlíg</i> ^a	"black"

-d- features in a number of nouns with no evident derivational meaning, such as *yūgvɔdɪ*^ɛ "hedgehog", *lā'af*^ɔ "cowrie" pl *līgɪdɪ*⁺ "money", *pùgvɔdɪb*^a "father's sister." It can form abstract nouns from human-reference words (examples from KB, Naden):

<i>pu'à-sādir</i> ^{ɛ/}	"young woman"	<i>pu'asatim</i>	"girlhood, virginity"
<i>būn-kúddùg</i> ^ɔ	"old man"	<i>bunkɔttim</i>	"old age"
<i>gɛdɔg</i>	"fool"	<i>gɛtim</i>	"folly"
<i>pùkòɔñr</i> ^ɛ	"widow"	<i>pukɔntim</i>	"widowhood"
<i>bā'-bīig</i> ^a	"brother"	<i>ba'abiidɔg</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>tàdɔg</i> ^ɛ	"become weak"	<i>tādɪm</i> ^{m/}	"weak person"
<i>āñsìb</i> ^a	"mother's brother"	<i>āñsíg</i> ^a	"sister's child"
<i>yáab</i> ^a	"grandparent"	<i>yáaŋ</i> ^a	"grandchild"
<i>*yāágbā</i>		<i>*yāágmgā</i>	
<i>vúer</i> ^ɛ	"red kapok fruit"	<i>vúəŋ</i> ^a	"red kapok"
<i>*vūégrī</i>		<i>*vūégmgā</i>	
<i>bì'isɪ</i> ^ɛ	"breast"	<i>bì'isím</i> ^m	"milk"
<i>nà'ab</i> ^a	"chief"	<i>nā'am</i> ^m	"chiefship"
<i>zōlvɔg</i> ^{ɔ/}	"fool"	<i>zōlímís</i> ^ɛ	"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>ñyèesíŋ^a</i>	"self-confident"
<i>vèñllíŋ^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèñllíŋ^a</i>	"beautiful"
<i>mālisíŋ^a</i>	"pleasant"	<i>mālisíŋ^a</i>	"pleasant"
<i>lāllúŋ^ɔ</i>	"distant"	<i>lāllíŋ^a</i>	"distant"
<i>nār^{a/}</i>	"be necessary"	<i>nàrvŋ^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), *gbīŋm^{nε}* "lion", *zìlm^{mε}* "tongue", *àrvŋ^ɔ* "boat", and the adjectives *zùlvŋ^ɔ* "deep", *ñyālúŋ^ɔ* "wonderful", *yàlvŋ^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>dàalim^m</i>	"masculinity"
<i>py'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>pù'alim^m</i>	"femininity"
<i>bīŋ^a</i>	"child"	<i>bīilim^m</i>	"childhood"
<i>tītā'al^{lε}</i>	"proud person"	<i>tītā'alim^m</i>	"pride"
<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīñlím^m</i>	"shortness"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'alím^m</i>	"tallness"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	"guest, stranger"	<i>sáannim^m</i>	"strangerhood"
<i>tīrāan^a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>tīrāannim^m</i>	"neighbourliness"
<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīŋulím^m</i>	"shortness"

13 Prefixes

13.1 Nouns and adjectives

Many nouns, and one or two adjectives, 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. Noun prefixes are common in particular semantic fields, however, such as 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 $CVsin$ or $CVlin$. 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 15.6; 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*. A few forms show *Ca*. No cases occur with voiced stops or voiced fricatives.

<i>kùk̄ɔ̄r^{ɛ/}</i>	"voice"	<i>kùk̄òm^{mɛ}</i>	"leper"
<i>kìk̄àŋ^a</i>	"fig tree"	<i>kìk̄irɔ̄g^{a/}</i>	"tutelary spirit"
<i>k[p]ùk̄pàrɔ̄g^a</i>	"palm tree"	<i>kṙìkṙīn^{na/}</i>	"merchant"
<i>tītā'ar^ɛ</i>	"big"	<i>tàtəl^ɛ</i>	"palm of hand"
<i>pīpīrɔ̄g^{a/}</i>	"desert"	<i>sìsì'əm^m</i>	"wind"
<i>lìlāalɔ̄g^a</i>	"swallow"	<i>mìmīilɔ̄m^m</i>	"sweetness"
<i>mìmīilóg^{ɔ̄}</i>	"sweetness"	<i>kṙàk̄ōr^{ɛ/}</i>	"tortoise"
<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^{ɔ̄}</i>	"cobra"	<i>dìndēog^{ɔ̄/}</i>	"chameleon"
<i>bìmbìm^{mɛ}</i>	"altar"	<i>bùmbàrɔ̄g^a</i>	"ant"
<i>kìnkàŋ^a</i>	"fig"	<i>tītōñríg^a</i>	"mole"
<i>zīnzāuŋ^{ɔ̄/}</i>	"bat"	<i>sīnsáañ^ɸ</i>	a kind of tiny ant
<i>nōb-púmpàuŋ^{ɔ̄}</i>	"foot"		
<i>gùngūm^{mɛ}</i>	"kapok material" (<i>gòm^{mɛ}</i> "kapok fruit")		
<i>zùnzòŋ^a</i>	"blind" (<i>zū'əm^{m/}</i> "go/make blind")		
<i>pùmpōwɔ̄g^{ɔ̄}</i>	"housefly" (<i>tàmpūa⁺</i> id)		

An even more complex type follows the reduplicated CV with *-sɪn* or *-lɪn*:

<i>kṙìsɪnkṙìl^ɛ</i>	"fist"	<i>tàsɪntəl^ɛ</i>	"palm of hand"
<i>sīlɪnsíuŋ^{ɔ̄}</i>	"spider"	<i>sīlɪnsíuŋ^{ɔ̄}</i>	"ghost"
<i>zīlɪnzòg^{ɔ̄}</i>	"unknown" cf <i>zī⁺</i> "not know"		
<i>vòlɪnvùuŋ^{lɛ}</i>	"mason wasp"		
<i>wàsɪnwàl^ɛ</i>	parasitic gall on trees ("mistletoe" in local English)		
<i>nēsɪnnēog^{ɔ̄/}</i>	"envious person" cf <i>nēn^{na/}</i> "envy" WK others "centipede" = WK <i>nà'-nēsɪnnēog^{ɔ̄/}</i>		

13.1.2 *Ca(n)*

Prefixes may be of the form *Ca(n)*, where *C* is *d b n m l s* or *z*.

<i>dàyūug</i> ^{ɔ/}	"rat"	<i>dàwān</i> ^{nɛ/}	"pigeon"
<i>dàtìŋ</i> ^ɔ	"right hand"	<i>dàgòbɪg</i> ^a	"left hand"
<i>dànkòŋ</i> ^ɔ	"measles"	<i>dàwàlɪg</i> ^a	"humid season"
<i>dàyáam</i> ^{ma}	"woman's parent-in-law"		
<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>bàlànɪr</i> ^ɛ	"hat"	<i>bàlàar</i> ^ɛ	"stick, staff"
<i>bānāa</i> ⁼	traditional 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>nānzū'us</i> ^{ɛ/}	"pepper"	<i>màngávŋ</i> ^ɔ	"crab"
<i>làngávŋ</i> ^ɔ	"crab"		
<i>sākárùg</i> ^ɔ	"fox"	<i>sàbùa</i> ⁺	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>sāmán</i> ^{nɛ}	"courtyard"	<i>sāngúnnìr</i> ^ɛ	"millipede"
<i>zànkù'ar</i> ^ɛ	"jackal"	<i>Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	"Hausa person"

Nàyīig^a "thief" is written *na'ayiig* 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 (WK); nor is the sense limited to "cattle thief." It is a ^a|b^a class *g*-stem: pl *nàyīig-nàm*^a; cf *nàyīigum*^m "thievery." There is an analogical *g*^a|s^ɛ pl *nàyīs*^ɛ. The Farefare cognate is *nàyìgà*, pl *nayigba* or *nayigsi*; Dagbani has *nayiɣa* pl *nayiɣsi* and also *tayiɣa id*.

13.1.3 Negative particles as prefixes

Some prefixes are connected with the verb negative particles *pū kù*:

<i>kùndù'ar</i> ^ɛ	"barren woman"; cf <i>dɪ'à</i> ^a "bear, beget"
<i>nīn-pū-nān</i> ^{na/}	"disrespectful person"; cf <i>nān</i> ^ɛ "love, respect"
<i>tùb-pū-wòmni</i> ^b	"deaf people" (Rom 11:7) cf <i>tùbur</i> ^ɛ "ear", <i>wòm</i> ^m "hear."

However, most cases show no identifiable negative meaning:

<i>kùndòŋ</i> ^a	"jackal"	<i>gūmpōzēr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"duck"
<i>dāmpōsāar</i> ^ɛ	"stick"		
<i>bān-kúsé</i> ^{lɛ}	"lizard" ? first element connected with <i>bàŋ</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 *nīŋ*^a *nīs*^ε [= Mooré *yīŋga*] but the word is rare; as a noun prefix cf

nìn-gbīŋ^{ɔ/} "human skin; body"
nìn-tāa⁼ "co-wife"

dà "man" is replaced as regular cb by forms segmentally remodelled on sg and pl *dàŋ-*, *dàp-*, but the *dà-* form is seen in

dà-pāal^{a/} "son, boy" cf *pāalíg* "new"
dà-kòǎŋ^ε "son, bachelor" cf *àrakóŋ'* "one"

pù "woman" cf *pu'ā*^a "woman" cb *pu'à-*. Identifiable in e.g.

pùkòǎŋ^ε "widow"
 cf Mooré *pùgkōoré* "widow"
 with Mooré *pùgsádà* "young woman"
 = Kusaal *pu'à-sādir*^{ε/}

pū- "farm" cf *pōɔg*^{ɔ/} "field, farm", pl *pōt*^{ε/}, regular cb *pō-*; Mooré *púvɔgò* pl *pútò*
 Tonally, this *pū-* behaves as a M prefix, not a cb 6.2.4.

pūk-pāad^{a/} "farmer" (= *kpāad*^{a/} *id*)

nà' "chief"(?) appears before a number of nouns signifying animals and insects:

nà'-nēsinnēog^{ɔ/} "centipede" WK
 cf *nēsinnēog*^{ɔ/} "envious person" WK; others: "centipede"
nà'-zòm^{mε} "locust"
nà'-dàwān^{nε/} "pigeon" = *dàwān*^{nε/}

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 15.6 like *à-dàalúŋ*^ɔ "stork", *à-gāvŋg*^ɔ "pied crow", *à-mús*^ε "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](#). It is followed by M spreading. Forms with this prefix are all liaison words. 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](#), the old ^{a|b} class agreement pronouns *ò bà* have been generalised for animate gender and the old ^{r^ɛ|a} class singular pronoun *lì* has been adopted for inanimate. In Dagbani, where there has been a very similar change, the old plural pronoun *ŋa* is still found 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 [15.5.2.1](#) represents original **ŋa-*. Because of this origin, the *à-* number prefix, unlike all other *à-* 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-*.

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 bàyóɔɔɛ* "you seven", *bà bàyí* "they two."

The forms of the number words 2-9 used for counting [15.5.2.2](#) represent the old *m^m* class agreement, in the "abstract" sense of *m^m* [8.1](#): thus *ñtáñ* "three", *ñnāas* "four", *ñnū* "five" (counting.) Nawdm, which preserves class agreement for numbers (*nídbá bàtáñ* "three people") uses the agreement prefix for its cognate *m*-class for counting: *mtáñ* "three" *mnàà* "four" *mnù* "five" etc (Fiedler 2012.)

The number prefix *bù-* appears in various adverbial number words [15.5.2.4](#). It probably represents either an old *b^ɔ* or *m^m* class agreement.

<i>àbùyí</i> ⁺	"twice"	<i>àbùtáñ</i> ⁺	"three times"
<i>àbùnāasí</i> ⁺	"four times"	<i>bùpīga</i> ⁺	"ten times"
<i>nōwrím b̀táñ</i> ⁺	"three times"		

14 Unsegmentable complex stems

Numerous words in Kusaal (including the very name of the language, *Kūsâal*^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>pāe</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*^{3 /}. The length and quality of the vowels identify the source as Mampruli *kyiibu*: contrast Farefare *kí'íbɔ́*, 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*; *sógjà^a* "soldier", Hausa *soojà*; *téebùl^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 bûtìŋ</i>	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
<i>sālima bûtìŋ</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.

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-zōv</i>	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs <i>nà'ab lā wîəf zōv</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 [15.8.1.3](#):

<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 uncompounded elements within their structure.

Predependent NPs as modifiers [15.7.2](#) 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'-nōṛ]</i>	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth])"
<i>zūgú-n [níf-gbáṅ]</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*] *kùø* "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
 not **fū-zéñ'-kùø*

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-Bōgur né À-Nà'ab "Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dų'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
ñ bā-bīis né ñ sām-nāmā +ø
 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" [15.7.3](#):

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 [15.3](#) 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 ne yi "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

ò ñyà'an-dòllɪb pī nē yí
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two

du'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 are ambiguous; they can also be construed as ellipsis of the first of two identical heads within a coordination of two dependent-head NPs:

du'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]"

vs *[du'átà nē nâ'ab lā] lóyà* "the cars of [Doctor-and-the-chief]"

[sāluma nē ānzúrɪfà] lâ'ad "[gold-and-silver] goods"

This is impossible if the ellipsed element would have been a cb: an elliptical reading of *ānzúrɪfà nē sāluma lá'-māan* "silver- and goldsmith" would have to mean "a smith made of silver and a smith made of gold."

NPs can also be combined by **apposition**. For apposition of locatives see [16.3](#); for relative clauses see [24.3](#).

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 pō nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bîig pu'á Herodiase +∅.

3IN 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.

... ∅ lèbis yē, Ēñ, ò zùà À-Sībigi n kábíríd.

...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 [15.6](#).

Personal pronouns in apposition use free forms 27.5:

Man Paul [...] *pʊ'ʊsidi ya*. "I, Paul ... greet you." (2 Thess 3:17)

Mān Paul [...] *pú'ʊsìdī_ 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* *Nṵ-ná-páal* "New Testament"

Siig Sun for *Sisun* *Sì-sùḡ* "Holy Spirit"

In the audio version *Siig Sun* is read *Sìḡ-sùḡ* (*Sîḡ-sùḡ* with M spreading) or *Sì-sùḡ*, not **Sîḡ-sùḡ*; cf WK's *lànḡḡ-kàḡḡ* "this squirrel", *dàp-bàmmā* "these men."

SB showed a greater tendency to produce segmental sg forms before dependent pronouns and even adjectives than my other informants.

15.2 Number

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. Agreement is confined to pronouns. However, in a compound of a noun with a following adjective or dependent pronoun, the *dependent* inflects to show the number of the head 15.8.

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>zṵṵḡ</i> ^ḡ	<i>zṵṵs</i> ^ḡ		"race"
<i>bū'əsúḡ</i> ^ḡ	<i>bū'əsá</i> ⁺	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaḡsúḡ</i> ^ḡ	<i>zàaḡsímà</i> ⁺	<i>zàaḡsúḡ-</i>	"dream"

Typical underived mass nouns belong to the *b*^ḡ and *m*^m noun classes, which do not have paired sg/pl suffixes, but gerunds of 3-mora stem verbs regularly show sg *r*^ḡ or *ḡ*^ḡ suffixes, and a number of words referring to uncountables or abstracts are formally plural, but construed as singular:

<i>bāñ'as</i> ^ḡ	<i>bāñ'-</i>	"disease"
<i>ḡyṵ'ṵs</i> ^{ḡ/}	<i>ḡyṵ'-</i>	"smoke"
<i>tàdīmís</i> ^ḡ		"weakness"

<i>zōlumís^ε</i>			"foolishness"
<i>mēt^{ε/}</i>	<i>mēt-</i>	<u>8.2</u>	"pus"
<i>kūt^ε</i>	<i>kūt-</i>	<u>8.2</u>	"iron"
<i>zùød^ε</i>			"friendship"
<i>bōvd^ε</i>			"innocence"
<i>sīñd^{ε/}</i>			"honey"
<i>nīn-pōvd^ε</i>			"pus"
<i>wāad^{ε/}</i>			"cold weather"
<i>sūñ-péén^{nε}</i>			"anger"
<i>kɥ'à-nūud^{ε/}</i>			"thirst"
<i>sālima⁺</i>	<i>sālim-</i>		"gold"
<i>sìda⁺</i>	<i>sìd-</i>		"truth"

Kūt^ε 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>gēēñmís^ε</i>	"madness"	←	<i>gēēñm^{m/}</i>	"madden, go mad"
<i>bùdımıs^ε</i>	"confusion"	←	<i>bùdım^m</i>	"confuse"
<i>tìtōmıs^ε</i>	"sending"	←	<i>tòm^m</i>	"send"
<i>zīid^{ε/}</i>	"carrying on head"	←	<i>zī⁺</i>	"carry on head"
<i>vūud^{ε/}</i>	"noise"	←	<i>vū⁺</i>	"make a noise"
<i>kēn^{nε/}</i>	"arrival"	←	<i>kēñ⁺</i>	"come"
<i>pḷāñ'ad^ε</i>	"speech"	←	<i>pḷāñ'^a</i>	"speak" (irreg. tones)
[sg <i>pḷāḷñk^ɔ</i>	"word"]			
<i>dì'əma⁺</i>	"festival"	←	<i>dì'əm^m</i>	"play, not be serious"
<i>tūoma⁺</i>	"work"	←	<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"
[sg <i>tūom^{mε}</i>	"deed"]			
<i>tēñ'əsá⁺</i>	"thought"	cf	<i>tēñ'əsá yīnní</i> (Acts 4:32)	"one thought"

A single object may be referred to by a plural naming its components:

cf	<i>dà-pōvdá⁺</i>	<i>dà-pōvdá nàm^a</i>	"cross"
	<i>dà-pōvdír^ε</i>	<i>dà-pōvdá⁺</i>	"cross-piece"

A Kusaal plural may just happen to correspond to an English mass noun:

<i>lāyuk^ɔ</i>	<i>lā'ad^ε</i>	<i>là'-</i>	"piece of goods"
<i>lā'aP</i>	<i>līgıdı⁺</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

The count/mass distinction is significant in the choice of quantifiers [15.5.1](#) and when plurals are formed with *nám*^a [8.4](#), and it affects the meaning of constructions with preceding NPs as dependents [15.7.2](#).

Mass nouns can be used in count senses (as in English): *dāam nám* "beers." Some count nouns also have mass senses:

<i>fūug dōog</i>	"tent" (cloth hut): <i>fūug</i> "item of clothing, shirt"
<i>dàad bún-nám</i>	"wooden things": <i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood"

15.3 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

**Ò à nē náaf.* 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 zuluḡ na paae o salibir.
Kà wìəf yá' sīgí_ lì nī, lì zùluḡ ná pāe ò sàlibir.
 And horse:SG if descend 3IN LOC, 3IN depth IRR reach 3AN bridle:SG.
 "If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." (Rev 14:20)

In stories where animals speak, they are naturally assigned animate gender. Trees, animate in the traditional world view, may have animate gender:

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.
Tìḡ wélà bigisid ón 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)
 (KB: *Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a*, with inanimate gender.)

Babies may be counted as animate or inanimate gender:

Ò/Lì à nē bí-līa. "He/she/it is a baby."
 3AN/3IN COP FOC child-baby:SG.

When body parts are represented as speaking 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 nyaji ke ka • ka' ningbiŋ la nii.

Nóbir yá' yèlī-n yē, Mán kā' nù'ug lā zúg, m̄ 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.IN 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)

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, such distinctions are essentially lexical, as with *nīn-* "person" vs *būn-* "thing" as dummy cbs with adjectives. The availability of human-reference nouns as adjectives [15.8.1.4](#) reflects the fact that nouns referring to people are descriptive, labels for roles, or unique identifiers.

The current gender system distinguishes animate/inanimate in the singular with no 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⁺/ bān^ε sīaba⁺* 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 unselfconscious utterances animate pronouns often appear for inanimate; speakers correct the gender to inanimate if their attention is drawn to it.

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 lâ'ad né ò bütus "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK
 gold item:PL with 3AN CUP:PL

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 anɛ Zugɔɔb la. "It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)
Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.
 3IN COP FOC head-NULL.AN ART.

15.4 Pronouns

15.4.1 Personal

		Right-bound	Left-bound	Free	Subject+ <i>ñ</i>
Sg	1st	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m^a</i>	<i>mān</i> SF <i>mánè</i> LF	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>fù</i>	<i>f^o</i>	<i>fōn</i> SF <i>fúnè</i> LF	<i>fún</i>
	3rd an	<i>ò</i> [ɔ]	<i>o</i> [ɔ]	<i>ōn^ɛ</i>	<i>ón</i>
	3rd inan	<i>lì</i> or <i>dì</i>	<i>l⁺</i>	<i>līn^ɛ</i> or <i>dīn^ɛ</i>	<i>lín</i> or <i>dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>tì</i>	<i>t⁺</i>	<i>tīnám^a</i>	<i>tīnámì</i> _∅
	2nd	<i>yà</i>	<i>ya⁺</i>	<i>yānám^a</i>	<i>yānámì</i> _∅
	3rd	<i>bà</i>	<i>ba⁺</i>	<i>bān^ɛ</i>	<i>bán</i>

"an" = animate, "inan" = inanimate.

Mām also occurs for 1sg in any role. The bound forms are non-contrastive; they are all liaison words 7.2. Left-bound pronouns are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. Personal pronouns are **never dependent**: in e.g. *m̄ bīg* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is *this NP* which is the predependent of *bīg* "child", exactly like *nà'ab lā* "the chief" in *nà'ab lā bīg* "the chief's child."

The "+*ñ*" forms are used as subjects in *ñ*-clauses 24.1. The 2pl subject has a form *y^a* used *after* imperatives 21.3 with the allomorph *-ní-* before liaison 7.2.2.

Free forms may be used for cbs before relative pronouns:

Fvn kanɛ buoli fɔ mɛŋ ... "You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
Fōn-kánì bùèl_∅ fù mēŋ ...
 2SG-REL.SG call 2SG self ...

Toende Kusaal has *ũ* for *ò*; the original form was probably **ñ̄m̄v*, with later **ñ̄m̄* → **ñ̄* before the rounded vowel. Toende has *tvn nam* for *tīnám yānám*.

There are no inclusive/exclusive distinctions and no honorific uses of plural for singular or 3rd person for 2nd.

2sg is used in proverbs for a generic "one":

<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 15.8.5.

<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 *Ḷn^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 *àrakóñ'* "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>bò-kà̀nā lā</i>	"that goat"
<i>nō-píəl-kà̀nā</i>	"this white hen"
<i>fūn-kánì bùəl ...</i>	"you who call ..."

15.4.3 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.IN.

"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.IN.

"I'll give you a different medicine." WK

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 usually *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.IN 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 3IN.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.IN NEG.

15.4.4 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

(*nāaf b̄* can only mean "What, of a cow's?")

b̄-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:

F̄ 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)

15.4.5 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."

Sùḡimī_ø tāaba. "Help one another."
Help:IMP 2PL.SUB each.other.

Tì yūug 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.

15.4.6 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 ṅyέε_ 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 3IN: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-liāa +∅? "Yourself or the baby?"

2SG self or child-baby:SG CQ? ("Which of you needs the doctor?")

See also [15.8.3](#) on *amēŋá*⁺ "really, truly" as a modifier "genuine, real"; cf the adjective *mēŋír*^ε seen in *yēl-mēŋír*^ε "truth" ("genuine matter.")

15.4.7 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 [15.7.2](#):

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 NULL.IN.

("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."

15.5 Quantifiers

15.5.1 Overview

Formally, quantifiers resemble noun sg or pl forms, frequently with apocope-blocking 5.1; most number words are also preceded by number prefixes.

Quantifiers are **count** or **mass** 15.2, but the distinction is only of significance if the quantified noun is mass type, in which case a count quantifier is ungrammatical; with count nouns either type of quantifier is acceptable:

	<i>nīdɪb bédvugū</i>	"a lot of people"
	<i>nīdɪb bábɪgā</i>	"many people"
	<i>kù'əm bédvugū</i>	"a lot of water"
not	* <i>kù'əm bábɪgā</i>	*"many water"

Mass quantifiers are

<i>bédvugū^{+/}</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>wūsa⁺</i>	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers are

<i>bàbɪgā^{+/}</i>	"many"	<i>kàlɪgā^{+/}</i>	"few"
<i>fāāñ⁼</i>	"every"	<i>zāñ'a⁼</i>	"every"

Kàm^a "every" occurs by itself as a quantifier and also before others:

sānjá kám = sānjá kám zāñ'a "all the time"

Quantifiers appear typically as determiners in NPs [15.8.2](#), but like pronouns they may also be heads of NPs; they can pluralise with *nàm*^a:

<i>Pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèdvgū ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèdvgū 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 pīga 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 [15.7.2](#).

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 mōogv-n ñwá

And 3PL that 3PL find food where LOC grass:SG-LOC this

∅ dīis nīdīb bédvgū 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")

15.5.2 Number words

15.5.2.1 Quantifiers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i> ⁺	10	<i>pīga</i> ⁺	100	<i>kòbīgā</i> ⁼
2	<i>àyí</i> ⁺	20	<i>pīsí</i> ⁺ [pisi]	200	<i>kòbísí</i> ⁺ [kòbisi]
3	<i>àtáñ</i> ⁺	30	<i>pīs táñ</i> ⁺	300	<i>kòbīs táñ</i> ⁺
4	<i>ànāasí</i> ⁺	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i> ⁺	400	<i>kòbīs nāasí</i> ⁺
5	<i>ànū</i> ⁺	50	<i>pīs nū</i> ⁺	500	<i>kòbīs nū</i> ⁺
6	<i>àyúébù</i> ⁺	60	<i>pīs yúébù</i> ⁺	600	<i>kòbīs yúébù</i> ⁺
7	<i>àyópòè</i> ⁺	70	<i>pīs yópòè</i> ⁺	700	<i>kòbīs yópòè</i> ⁺
8	<i>àní</i> ⁼	80	<i>pīs ní</i> ⁼	800	<i>kòbīs ní</i> ⁼
9	<i>àwāè</i> ⁺	90	<i>pīs wāè</i> ⁺	900	<i>kòbīs wāè</i> ⁺

The quantified noun is normally plural, except with *yīnní*⁺, but may be singular with units of measure: *yōlvǎ àtáñ'* "¢600 [cedis]."

The forms for 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 100 show apocope-blocking 5.1; the forms for 20 and 200 are not apocope-blocked but are combinations with the stem of *àyí*⁺.

Kòbǐgā[−] irregularly has identical LF and SF.

"Thousand" is a regular *r^ε|a*⁺ class noun, *tūsír^{ε/}*: *tūsá àtáñ'* "3000." "Half" is *pō-súk^a* pl *pō-súgòs^ε*. Other numbers are formed with *nē* "with, and":

kòbǐs 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 wāə* (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 *àyǐnā^{+/}* *átánā^{+/}* mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M̄ mór bīsá àtáñ'. "I have three children."
1SG have child:PL NUM:three. is true, though misleading

but *M̄ mór bīsá àtánā.* "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after *nē* "and", as in *pīi nē yǐnā* "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with the particle *nē*^{+/} 27.1.2.

Yīnní⁺ can also be construed with a preceding noun cb:

kūg-yínní⁺ "one stone" (M dropping 7.4.4)
cf *kūgvr yīnní*⁺ "one stone" (no M dropping)

Dà-pīiga is "ten days"; *pīiga* is not otherwise used after cbs.

After personal pronouns the number prefix is *bà-* instead of *à-* 13.3: *tì bàtáñ'* "we three", *yà bàyóɔ̀ə* "you seven", *bà bàyí* "they two."

15.5.2.2 Counting forms

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix *h̄-* instead of *à-* 13.3.

1	<i>yéon</i> or <i>àrakóň'</i>	6	<i>h̄yûeb</i>
2	<i>h̄yí'</i>	7	<i>h̄pòę</i> [tone sic]
3	<i>h̄táň'</i>	8	<i>h̄níí</i>
4	<i>h̄nāas</i>	9	<i>h̄wāę</i>
5	<i>h̄nū</i>		continuing <i>pīiga</i> , <i>pīi nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

Àrakóň' can also be used as a quantifier: *búug àrakóň'* "one goat."

The form *kōň'okō* appears as a postposition 16.6: *m̄ kōň'okō* "by myself."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' nāmá_àyí' á nē nāasí.

NUM:two PL NUM:two COP FOC four.

"Two twos are four."

15.5.2.3 Adjectives and ordinals

"First" can be expressed by *yīigá*⁺ "firstly" as a predependent:

līnē da an yīiga dabisir

līni_ ∅ dá àň yīigá dàbısr.

3IN.CNTR CAT TNS COP firstly day:SG.

"That was the first day." (Genesis 1:5)

The only ordinal adjective, as in *sōb-dēę* "first census" (Lk 2:2, 1976) is

<i>dēę</i> ^a	<i>dēęň</i> ^ε	<i>dēę-</i>	"first"
	or <i>dēęmı</i> ^ε		
	or <i>dēęna</i> ⁺		

Other ordinal expressions can be created using *pàas*^ε or *pè'εs*^ε "add up to":

dàı-kàni pè'εsa_ àyí' lā

man-REL.SG add.up.to NUM:two ART

"the second man" ("man who has added up to two")

līni pàasa_ àtáň' lā "the third one"

REL.IN 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 ordinary quantifier forms.

Note the adjective

yīmmír^ε *yīmmá*⁺ *yīm-* "single, alone"

e.g. *bì-yīmmír* "only child"
wāb-yīmmìr "solitary elephant"

There are two words meaning "one of a pair": *ñyàuk*^ɔ pl *ñyà'ad*^ε is only used for eyes, while *yīỵŋ*^ɔ/ pl *yīná*⁺ is used for other normally paired body parts: *nōb-yīỵŋ*^ɔ "one leg", *nū'-yīỵŋ*^ɔ "one hand", *nīf-ñyáuk* "one eye", *tùb-yīỵŋ* "one ear."

15.5.2.4 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 apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīga*⁺ "ten times."

This *à-* is not the number prefix but the manner-adverb formant, and a LF-final vowel before it is *-i*; the attachment to 2-9 only is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nōcrá àlá* "how many times?" have forms of the pattern

nōcr yīnní⁺ "once"
nōcrá àtáñ⁺ "three times"
 or *nōcrím bùtáñ*⁺ "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 *nɔ̄bìr* "leg". Original *ɔɔ* and *oo* fell together when nasalised 3.2. 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."

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>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbìsì kóbìsì</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtáñ' táñ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táñ' táñ'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs 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>tūsìr túsìr</i>
6	<i>àyûèb yûèb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûèb yûèb</i>		
7	<i>àyópðẹ pópẹ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópðẹ pópẹ</i>		
8	<i>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pīs níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwāẹ wāẹ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāẹ wāẹ</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 àyópðẹ pópẹ "weekly" ("by sevens of days")

15.5.3 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?"

15.6 Personifier particle

Indigenous Kusaasi personal names 29.2 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 *-i*, 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-káŋā</i>	"this Awini"
<i>À-Wīn nám</i>	"Awinis"
<i>N̄-Dāvg</i>	"Ndago"
<i>tì N̄-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"

NT has some personifications of abstractions: *À-Sàñ'vɔŋ* "Destruction."

In stories where animals are characters, animal names take *À-*:

<i>À-Bāa</i>	"Mr Dog"
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Some animal and bird names incorporate the personifier particle as part of the common noun, with no implication of personification, e.g. *à-dàalúŋ*^ɔ "stork", *à-gâvŋg*^ɔ "pied crow", *à-kōra-dīəm*^{ma} "praying mantis", *à-mús*^ε "cat." Thus

<i>à-dàalúŋ</i>	"a stork"
<i>n̄/mān dāalúŋ</i> 1SG/1SG.CNTR stork:SG	"my stork"
<i>dāy lā dāalúŋ</i> man:SG ART stork:SG	"the man's stork"
<i>Lì à né à-dàalúŋ.</i> 3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.	"It's a stork"
<i>M̄ n̄yé 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.

Atum sɔ' "Siloam" (Jn 9:7)
À-tùm sɔ' ("Someone sent someone")
 PERS-send INDF.AN

Apu-kpen'-banu dim
À-pō kpéñ' bànunu díim
 PERS-NEG.IND enter circumcision NULL.PL
 "the Uncircumcised" (Eph 2:11)

À-dāa yél kā' tūmm +∅.
 PERS-TNS say NEG.HAVE medicine NEG.
 "Did-say has no remedy." (No use crying over spilt milk.)

À-nyē nē nīf sǎñ'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.)

À-Kīdigi ∅ Bū'əs "Crossed over and asked"
 PERS-CROSS CAT ask (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

À- as predependent of a clause subject means "someone whose ...":

Bà kèn né À-nà kúv 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-nōs 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 *Nōs bé*. "There are chickens."]

Nominalisations with *à-* can pluralise with *nàm^a*:

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpíid 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.")

15.7 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'vsùg [fúug dōcg]]

"tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see [7.4.4](#).

15.7.1 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:

dā-nûur^ε

"beer-drinking"

gēl-kûəs^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:

nīn-kūvd^a

"murderer"

bù-kūvd^{a/}

"goat-killer"

nō-kūvd^a

"hen-killer"

pū'à-kūvd^{a/}

"woman-killer"

nō-záñ^{lε}

"holder of hens"

wìd-kùəs^a

"horse-seller"

bù-kùəs^a

"goat-seller"

sàlīm-kùəs^a

"gold-seller"

dā-nūud^a

"beer-drinker"

dà-kīəd^a

"wood-cutter"

<i>zīm-gbāñ'ad^a</i>	"fisherman" ("fish-catcher")
<i>nō-dī'əs^a</i>	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")
<i>tàn-mēəd^a</i>	"builder" (<i>tān</i> ^{NE} "earth")
<i>lāmpō-dī'əs^a</i>	"tax collector" (French <i>l'impôt</i>)
<i>gbàn-mī'id^{a/}</i>	"scribe" NT ("book-knower")
<i>pɔ̀'à-sāñ'am^{ma}</i>	"adulterer" ("woman-spoiler")
<i>zà'-nō-gúr^a</i>	"gate-keeper" (<i>zà'-nōɔr^{ε/}</i> "gate")
<i>kòñb-kīm^{na}</i>	"herdsman" (<i>kòñb-</i> cb of <i>bōn-kòñbùg^ɔ</i> "animal")
<i>bùl-sīgıd^{a/}</i>	"well-diver" (<i>bùlıg^a</i> "well")
<i>tùøn-gāt^a</i>	"leader" (<i>Ò gād tùøn</i> "He's gone ahead")
<i>ñyà'an-dò^{la}</i>	"disciple" (<i>ñyá'an^a</i> "behind", <i>dò^{la/}</i> "accompany")
<i>pɔ̀'à-lā'ad^a</i>	"laugher at women" WK (<i>Ò là'ad pō'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 *bāñıd^a* "wise man", *sjākıd^a* "believer", *sūñıd^a* "helper", *fāañd^{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-zīid^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-tūm^{na}</i>	"worker"

Cbs occur before deverbal **instrument nouns** in object or adverb senses:

<i>sjà-lōɔdıŋ^a</i>	"belt" (waist-tying thing)
<i>nīn-gótıŋ^a</i>	"mirror" (eye-looking thing)
<i>nīn-gótıs^ε</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^ε* 11.1.1.

If the underlying verb is transitive, a predependent cb cannot be a subject. It is most often an object:

<i>fū-yéer^ε</i>	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)
<i>pɔ̀'à-dīur^ε</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ò dı pɔ̀'ā</i> "He's married a wife")
<i>nīn-kôvr^ε</i>	"murder"

<i>dā-nûur</i> ^ε	"beer-drinking"
<i>Sāmán-píar</i> ^ε	traditional New Year ("Courtyard Cleaning")
<i>bùgúm-tṵṵǎr</i> ^ε	Fire Festival ("Fire Throwing")
<i>nṵ-lṵṵr</i> ^ε	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>nṵ-pṵṵr</i> ^ε	"oath" (<i>pṵ</i> ⁺ "swear")
<i>nṵ-nâar</i> ^ε	"covenant" (<i>nā</i> ⁺ "join")
<i>nīn-bâal-zṵṵr</i> ^ε	"pity" (<i>Ò zṵt-ō nīn-báalig</i> . "He has pity on him")

It may represent an AdvP:

<i>mṵ-pīl</i> ^{le}	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vṵ'ugír</i> ^ε	"resurrection" (<i>Ò vṵ'ug kūmī-n</i> . "He came alive from death.")

Cbs as subjects are seen only with gerunds from intransitive or patientive ambitransitive verbs:

<i>nṵb-kṵṵr</i> ^ε	"breaking a leg" (<i>kṵ</i> ⁺ is intransitive)
<i>nū'-mṵdír</i> ^ε	"swelling of the hand"
<i>wìn-līir</i> ^ε	"sunset" (<i>Winnig lí yā</i> . "The sun has set/fallen.")
<i>sūñ-sâñ'ṵṵ</i> ^ᶑ	"sorrow" (<i>Ṁ sūñf sâñ'am nē</i> . "My heart is spoilt")
<i>sūñ-pēen</i> ^{ne}	"anger" (<i>Ṁ sūñf pélig nē</i> . "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:

<i>pṵ-piəlīm</i> ^m	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
<i>sūñ-kpí'ṵṵ</i> ^ᶑ	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
<i>sūñ-má'asīm</i> ^m	"joy" ("heart-coolness") (<i>Ṁ sūñf má'e yā</i> . "I'm joyful.")
<i>nìn-tōllīm</i> ^m	"fever" ("body-heat")
<i>wīn-tṵṵg</i> ^ᶑ	"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.

<i>bì-fūug</i>	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
<i>wìd-zṵṵr</i>	"horsetail"
<i>wāb-mṵṵgṵ-n</i> WK	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants"

<i>zà'-nōɔr</i>	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
<i>mà-bīig</i>	"sibling" ("child by [same] mother")
<i>bā'-bīig</i>	"half-sibling" ("child by [same] father")
<i>tɛŋ-bīig</i>	"native" ("child of a country")
<i>nàsàa-sìlvɔ</i>	"aeroplane" (European hawk) ILK

WK has the exceptional forms *náaf-bì'isím* "cow's milk", *bōvɔg-bí'isím* "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 *náaf-*.)

15.7.2 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 15.8.5.

For *mēŋ*^{a/} "self" and *sōb*^a as heads after predependents see 15.4.6 15.4.7.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun or a quantifier, the construction with a predependent is **partitive**:

<i>nīn-síəbà</i>	"certain people"	<i>sīəba</i>	dependent
<i>yà sō'</i>	"some one among you"	<i>sō'</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb lā síəbà</i>	"certain of the people"	<i>sīəba</i>	head
<i>nīdɪb síəbà</i>	"certain ones among people"	<i>sīəba</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 lā 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 sú'ulim</i>	"kingdom" ("chieftaincy possession")
<i>pù'usug dōcg</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>tōligír bún</i>	"heater" ("heating thing" = <i>bōn-tōligír</i> ^ε)
<i>dōgub dút</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>līgidi túmà</i>	"expensive work" (<i>līgidi</i> ⁺ "money")

There are sometimes alternate forms with cbs:

	<i>tāñp-sōb^a</i>	"warrior"	(<i>tāñp</i> ^ɔ "war")
	<i>pù-pìal-sōb^a</i>	"holy person"	(Rom 3:10, 1996)
but	<i>pù-pìalim sōb^a</i>	"holy person"	(Mt 10:41, 1996)
	<i>pù-pìal-tūuma⁺</i>	"holy actions"	(Rom 6:13, 1996)
but	<i>pù-pìalim túmà⁺</i>	"holy actions"	(Mt 5:10, 1996)

Language names may appear as abstract nouns describing an ethnic group:

<i>Kūsāal yír nē kūəb</i>	"Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
<i>Nàsāal 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 ānzúri fà lâ'ad</i>	"gold and silver goods"

Count nouns may appear here in mass senses 15.2:

<i>fūug dōcg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut)
<i>dàad bún-nám</i>	"wooden things" (<i>dàug</i> ^ɔ "piece of wood")

NP predependents of this type can be antecedents of anaphoric pronouns:

<i>sālima lâ'ad né ò bōtus</i>	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK <u>15.1</u>
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This is never the case with dependent cbs, as in *sālim-kūəs* "gold-seller", *dā-nūud* "beer-drinker"; on non-referential NPs as antecedents in English see e.g. CGEL pp400ff, and p1458; the restriction of anaphora to the same clause implied on p400 is not valid in English in the case of *generic* non-referential NPs.

The cb first element of *ky'à-ñwīg* "current" ("aquatic rope") suggests that the construction with unbound concrete mass predependents is limited to the specific sense "made of ...", so that **kù'əm ñwīg* would be "rope made of water."

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 bīər bīig nāaf zòur</i>	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
<i>Kūsāas wádà</i>	"customs of the Kusaasi"

Nimɛ'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bé'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 wīəf zòur</i>	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zòur</i>	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)

Dāan^a "owner of ..." (*nəm*^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 *mài*, or Arabic *đu:*):

<i>lír dāan</i> ^a	"car owner"
<i>būug dāan</i> ^a	"goat owner"
<i>kù'əm dāan</i> ^a	"water owner"
<i>tìəŋ dāan</i> ^a	"bearded man" Hausa <i>mài geemùu</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>pù-pìəlɪm dāan</i> ^a	"holy person"
<i>bōgusígā dāan</i> ^a	"softly-softly sort of person" WK

See [15.5.2.3](#) on the use of *dāan*^a with numbers to make ordinal expressions.

A cb predependent appears before *dāan*^a in a few set expressions:

yī-dāan^a "householder" = *yī-sób*^a (Hausa *màì gidaa*)
tèŋ-dāan^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 lɛbug la na
Nīn-sāal Bîg lā lɛbùg lā nā
 Person-smooth:SG Child:SG ART return:GER ART hither
 "the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

15.7.3 Adverbial phrases

Predependent AdvPs may not be proadverbs. Most are locative, or phrases with the postposition *yēlá*⁺ "about", or depend on the specialised head *dāan*^a [15.7.2](#).

dūniya ní nìn-gbīŋ "earthly body"
kōlugu-n nók-dāug "crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
Bòk dím "Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf "left eye"
zūgú-n níf-gbáug "upper eyelid"
tēŋi-n níf-gbáug "lower eyelid"

Ba da mɔr mɔɔgin bɔnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi, yin bɔnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi ...

Bà dà mòr mɔɔgu-n bún-kóń̀bìd nɛ̀ bà būudi, yín bún-kóń̀bìd

3PL TNS have bush:SG-LOC thing-hair:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC thing-hair:PL
nɛ̀ bà būudi...

and 3PL kind ...

"They took wild animals with their kind, tame animals with their kind ..."

(Gen 7:14)

Kūsâas kûøb nɛ̀ yīr yélà gbà̀uŋ "A book about Kusaasi houses and agriculture"

dà̀u-kà̀ŋā lā yélà gbà̀uŋ "a book about that man" WK

Yīgá⁺ "firstly" appears as a predependent meaning "first" [15.5.2.3](#), e.g.

linɛ da an yīga dabisir.

līnɪ ̣ ø dá àñ yīgá dà̀bɪsɪr.

3IN.CNTR CAT TNS COP firstly day:SG.

"That was the first day." (Genesis 1:5)

15.8 Dependents following the head

Dependents follow a head noun in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun or AdvP, article or *ńwà*⁺ "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, but compounds with adjectives can develop specialised lexical meanings.

Quantifiers do not have combining forms and cannot be followed by the dependent-only demonstrative forms *kàn*^ɛ *kàŋā*^{+/}.

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.

15.8.1 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 *bōn-* "thing" are used instead: *nīn-súŋ*^ɔ "good person", *bōn-vúr*^ε "living thing" etc. *Bōn*^{ne/} can make a regular *r^ε|a⁺* class plural *bōná⁺* or pluralise with *nám^a*:

Bōn-námá_àlá *kà fù ñyētá* +ø?

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:

tōlígír bún^{ne} "heating thing, heater" = *bōn-tólígír*^ε

kù'əmī-n bún^{ne} "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 *kūvdír*^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</i> ^a	"goat"	<i>bōvs</i> ^ε	"goats"
<i>bù-pìəlíg</i> ^a	"white goat"	<i>bù-pìəlis</i> ^ε	"white goats"
<i>bù-sùŋ</i> ^ɔ	"good goat"	<i>bù-sùma</i> ⁺	"good goats"
<i>nūa</i> ^{+/}	"hen"	<i>nōvs</i> ^{ε/}	"hens"
<i>nō-pìəlíg</i> ^a	"white hen"	<i>nō-pìəlis</i> ^ε	"white hens"
<i>nō-súŋ</i> ^ɔ	"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:

<i>nīn-wók-pìəlɪg^a</i>	"white tall person"
<i>nṵ-pìəl-kàṅā^{+/}</i>	"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:

<i>fū-zéñdà kùəs^a</i>	"seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
not <i>*fū-zéñ'-kùəs^a</i>	

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-sābílím^m</i>	a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
<i>gòñ'-sābílíg^a</i>	Haaf <i>gosabliga</i> "Acacia hockii" ("black thorn")

15.8.1.1 Class agreement

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system; the dependents do not regularly appear with the class suffixes seen in

<i>là'-bīəlíf^p</i>	"small coin" NT (<i>lā'af^p</i> "cowrie", <i>bī'əlá⁺</i> "a little")
<i>dà-sī'ər^ε</i>	"some day, perhaps" (<i>dāar^ε</i> "day", <i>sī'a⁺</i> , "some")
<i>dàbıs-sī'ər^ε</i>	"some day" (<i>dàbısır^ε</i> "day")
<i>yēl-súm^{mε}</i>	"blessing" (<i>yēl^{ε/}</i> "matter", <i>sùṅ^ɔ</i> "good")
<i>pṽ'à-pāal^{a/}</i>	"bride" (<i>pṽ'ā^a</i> "wife", <i>pāalíg^a</i> "new")
<i>dà-pāal^{a/}</i>	"young man, son" (<i>dāṽ⁺</i> "man")

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, *m^m* class nouns require adjectives in *-m^m*, as does *būn* "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-sābílím^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-sóóñdìm^m</i>	"anointing oil" (<i>kpāañm^{m/}</i> "oil, grease")
<i>būn-bóóđìm^m</i>	"desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1: <i>nòṅlím^m</i> "love")
but <i>būn-bóóđìr^ε</i>	"desirable thing" (BNY p17: a sheep)
<i>būn-ñyétìm^m</i>	"the visible world"
but <i>būn-ñyétìr^ε</i>	"a visible object"

15.8.1.2 Downtoning

Adjectives may show apocope-blocking [5.1](#) as a downtoner. Only singular forms seem to be possible. (All examples KT):

<i>Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā.</i>	"It's a whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā 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'ari.</i>	"It's biggish."

15.8.1.3 Bahuvrihis

The combination noun + adjective may be used as a bahuvrihi adjective itself:

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bí-[nū'-kpíilúŋ].</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."
<i>kùg-nōb-wók^ɔ</i>	"long-legged stool"
<i>kùg-nōb-wâ'ad^ε</i>	"long-legged stools"
<i>zūg-máyuk^ɔ pl zūg-mâ'ad^ε</i>	"crushed-headed"
<i>zò-wōk^ɔ/</i>	"long-tailed"
<i>nōb-gíŋ^a</i>	"short-legged"
<i>zū-péelùg^ɔ pl zū-péelà⁺</i>	"bald"; cf <i>Dau sɔ'</i> zug ya'a pie
	"If a man has gone bald" (Leviticus 13:40)
<i>lām-fōwɔg^ɔ pl lām-fōwɔd^ε</i>	"toothless" (<i>lām^{mε/}</i> "gum" <i>fùe+</i> "draw out")

The two adjectives "one of a pair" [15.5.2.3](#) are often used in bahuvrihis: *nīf-ñyáyuk^ɔ* "one eye", *bà-nīf-ñyáyuk^ɔ* "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuŋ^ɔ* "one ear" *bì-tùb-yīná⁺* "one-eared children."

The construction is not modification of an adjective by a cb. In cases like *bì-nū'-kpíilúŋ^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'-kpīim^m*. The adjective may even be plural despite singular reference of the whole compound:

<i>bì-tùb-kpīda⁺</i>	"deaf child" (<i>tùbur^ε</i> "ear", <i>kpī⁺</i> "die")
pl <i>bì-tùb-kpīda nám^a, bì-tùb-kpīdis^ε</i>	
<i>bì-tùb-līud^ε</i>	"child/children with blocked ears"
	(<i>lī⁺</i> "block up")

15.8.1.4 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"

15.8.2 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-yínni⁺* "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-dòllɔb pīi nē yí</i>
3AN after-follower:PL ten with two
"his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

15.8.3 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. *Àmēŋá* "really, truly" occurs in the meaning "genuine, real":

<i>Ōn sōb á nē dŋ'átà àmēŋá lā.</i>
3AN.CNTR NULL.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 mōɔgv-n lā* "the elephant in the bush" (WK), I have not recorded the full contexts, possibly e.g. *Ṁ dāa ñyē wābug mōɔgv-n lā* "I saw an elephant in the bush." The 1976 NT has

Lina ane labasuŋ Jesus Christ Wina'am Biig la yela.

Lìnā á nē lábà-sùŋ Jesus Christ Wínà'am bìig lā yélà.

DEMST.IN 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 labasuŋ.

Lìnā á nē Yesu Kiristo ónì à Wínà'am bìig lā lábà-sùŋ.

DEMST.IN COP FOC Yesu Kiristo REL.AN COP God child:SG ART news-good:SG.

15.8.4 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-kàŋā^{+/}</i>	"this child"
<i>bì-sō⁺</i>	"a certain child"	<i>bì-sùŋ-kàŋā^{+/}</i>	"this good child"
<i>bì-kàŋε?</i>	"which child?"	<i>bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

yeltɔɔd ayɔpɔi banε ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la

yēl-tɔɔd àyɔpɔ̀ε bání kà màlìāk-námá_àyɔpɔ̀ε mɔr 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)

15.8.5 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 [15.4.2](#).

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 *àeñ*^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 bè_ø mōrí_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 +ø.

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_ø bigisid lín àñ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IPFV 3IN:NZ COP tree-INDEF.IN.

"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:

dụ'átà lā bīg

"the doctor's child"

not **dụ'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 àyɔɔ̀ɛ̀ kà ò sīd lā kpi.

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 15.4.3.

Nā'-sìabà ńbìd 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 typically appear as clause or VP adjuncts, but also occur as arguments of verbs or dependents in NPs [15.7.3](#). AdvPs of time, circumstance or reason (but not place or manner) may appear as postlinker adjuncts [20.2.1](#).

Many AdvPs represent adverbial *uses* of NPs. Other kinds of AdvP have fewer structural possibilities than NPs; for example, only specialised *postpositions* have NP predependents. Many adverbs do not conform to the structure of ordinary nouns.

Absolute clauses are AdvPs [24.2](#), as are several relative clause types.

As with NPs, coordination of AdvPs uses the particle *nē*.

16.2 Time and circumstance

AdvPs expressing **time** [29.7](#) may be instantiated by proadverbs [16.7](#) or by structurally distinctive time adverbs such as *zíná*⁺ "today", *sù'əs*^a "yesterday", *dūnná*⁺ "this year." *Bēog*³ "tomorrow" has the form of a noun but cannot inflect or take dependents; *dāar*^ε "day after tomorrow/day before yesterday" is in the same category but happens to be homophonous with the noun *dāar*^ε "day."

Other time AdvPs are simply NPs with temporal meanings, and no special marking. They may consist of single nouns, such as *yú'vŋ*³ "night", *úvn*^{nε} "dry season", *nīntāŋ*^{a/} "heat of the day", but such nouns inflect and may occur with dependents.

Absolute clauses [24.2](#) are frequently used to express time.

No formal distinction is made between points in time and periods of time:

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

Tì kpélìm ànínā dábɪsà bí'ə̀l̀à.
1PL remain ADV:there day:PL few.
"We stayed there a few days."

Time AdvPs can be coordinated:

Bēogu-n nē zāam 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 AdvPs consist of Kusaasi place names, specialised locative adverbs, or NPs followed by postpositions. The core locative postposition is the particle $n\bar{i}^{+/\sim} n^{\epsilon}$. Some postpositions are themselves followed by n^{ϵ} ; many postpositions are converted nouns. Nouns other than place names cannot otherwise be used alone as locatives.

Besides locative proforms, specialised locative adverbs include $y\grave{i}\eta^a$ "outside", $d\grave{a}t\grave{i}\eta\eta^{\circ}$ or $d\grave{i}t\acute{u}\eta^{\circ}$ "right(hand)", $d\grave{a}g\grave{o}b\grave{i}g^a$ "left", $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l^{|\epsilon}$ or $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l\acute{a}^+$ "upwards", $\grave{l}\acute{a}l\acute{l}\acute{i}^+$ "far off" (perhaps from $\acute{l}\acute{a}l\ n\acute{i}^+$.)

The locative particle takes the form $n\bar{i}^{+/\sim}$ after words ending in a short vowel in SF, after pronouns and after loanwords, and the liaison-word form n^{ϵ} elsewhere:

$m\grave{u}'ar\bar{i}-n$	"in a lake"	$y\bar{u}d\acute{a}\ n\grave{i}$	"among names"
$\grave{m}\ n\bar{i}$	"in me"	$m\bar{a}n\ n\bar{i}$	"in me"

$la'asug\ d\acute{o}d\bar{i}n\ n\epsilon\ suoya\ ni$
 $l\grave{a}'asug\ d\acute{o}d\bar{i}-n\ n\bar{\epsilon}\ su\grave{e}y\acute{a}\ n\grave{i}$
 assembly:SG house:PL-LOC with road:PL LOC
 "in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

$Y\bar{i}r^{\epsilon/}$ "house" has the exceptional sg and pl locative forms $y\acute{i}n^{n\epsilon}$ $y\acute{a}a-n^{\epsilon}$ which have the particular nuance "home", as in the parting formula

$P\grave{u}'usim\ y\acute{i}n.$ "Greet (those) at home." i.e. "Goodbye."

The article $\acute{l}\bar{a}^{+/\sim}$ may precede or follow the locative particle, as may quantifiers:

$m\grave{u}'ar\bar{i}-n\ \acute{l}\bar{a}$ or $m\grave{u}'ar\ \acute{l}\bar{a}\ n\acute{i}$ "in the lake"

$m\ gbana\ ni\ wusa$ "in all my letters" (2 Thess 3:17, 1996)
 $\grave{m}\ gb\grave{a}na\ n\acute{i}\ w\bar{u}sa$
 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:

$Kem\ Siloam\ buligini\ pie\ f\bar{u}\ nini.$
 $K\grave{e}m\ Siloam\ b\acute{u}l\bar{u}g\bar{u}-n\grave{i}\ \emptyset\ p\acute{i}\grave{a}\ \emptyset\ f\bar{u}\ n\bar{i}n\acute{i}.$
 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 Suntaana kpen' Judas [...] sunfun.
Kà Sōtáanà kpéñ' Judas [...] súñfī-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 nīdībī-n lā nā yá'asì_∅ yé̄lì_bā yē̄...
 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 bē dā'a-n.</i>	"He's at market."
<i>Ò bē sjá'arī-n.</i>	"He's at the bush."
<i>Ò bē pōɔɔgú-n.</i>	"He's at the farm."
<i>Ò bē yín.</i>	"He's at home."
<i>Ò bē mōɔɔgu-n.</i>	"He's in the grasslands."
<i>Ò bē kōlɔɔlɔ-n</i>	"He's at the stream."
<i>Ò bē tūvmmi-n.</i>	"He's at work."

More precise meanings are expressed with postpositions [16.6](#):

Ò dīgɔl gbáɔɔ lā téɛbòl lā zúg.
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.
 "She's put the book on the table."

Dāɔ lā bé nē dɔ-kàɔnā lā púvɔgū-n.
 Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG-LOC.
 "The man is inside that hut."

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative:

<i>Ò bē Bók.</i>	"He's at Bawku." ILK
<i>Ò bē Tépáan.</i>	"He's at Tempene." ILK
<i>Ò kèn Bók.</i>	"He's gone to Bawku."

They often have a locative proform in apposition, particularly to express rest at a place, as opposed to movement towards or away:

<i>M̄ ná kēŋ Bók.</i>	"I'm going to Bawku."
<i>Fù yûug Bók kpēláa?</i>	"Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"
<i>Fù yûug Bókàa? SB</i>	(rejected by WK as "Mooré")

For my informants, foreign place names share the syntactic behaviour of Kusaasi place names, but (especially in the sense of rest at a place) NT often uses *nī*^{+/} or paraphrases like *Jerusalem téŋī-n* "in Jerusalem-land."

The locative particle also appears in some *time* expressions: *bēog*³ "tomorrow", *bēogv-n*^{E/} "morning", *yīīgí-n*^E "at first" *sān-sí'ə-n lā* "at one time, once..."

Proforms used as locative heads of relative clauses are intrinsically locative:

Onε ken likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ōnι kēn līkī-n zī' ón kēn sī'əla +∅.

REL.AN go:IPFV darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.IN NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know where he is going." (Jn 12:35)

ka m̄ri fu keŋ zin'ikanε ka fu p̄v b̄c̄c̄da.

kà m̄rī_ fù_ ∅ kēŋ zín'-kànι kà fù p̄v b̄c̄c̄dā +∅.

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)

Locative AdvPs can be coordinated:

Nyalima na be winnigin ne nwadigin ne nwadbibisin.

Ñyālímá nà bē wínnìgī-n nē ñwādigí-n nē ñwād-bíbīsī-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:

<i>àlá zùg</i> ³	"therefore"	<i>b̄s zúg</i> ³	"why?"
<i>dìn zúg</i> ³	"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](#). 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^{nɛ/}* "brightly, clearly"

Ñyāe^{nɛ/} appears as complement of *àɛñ^a* "be something" and as an adjunct:

Wina'am a su'um nyain. "God is light." (1 Jn 1:5, 1996)

Wínà'am áñ súm ñyāe.

God COP good:ABSTR brightly.

... kɛ ka ti lieb nyain. "... make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)

... kɛ 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 3IN 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" *kōñ'ɔkō⁺* "solely, by oneself"

tò'ɔtō^{+/} "straight away"

Reduplication of nouns or numbers [15.5.2.4](#) creates distributive manner-AdvPs:

dàbɪsɪr dàbɪsɪr "day by day"

zĩñ'ig zĩñ'ig "place by place"

Reduplication of manner-adverbs themselves is intensifying:

àmēṅá mēṅá "very truly"

àsídà sídà "very truly"

M̄ wúm Kūsáal bī'əlá. "I know Kusaal a little."

1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

Ṁ wúm bī'əl bī'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 *sī'am*^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:

Ṁ kēj nōbá. "I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to
1SG go leg:PL. *Ṁ kēj nē nōbá*, using *nē* "with."

A prepositional phrase with *nē* parallels a count plural used adverbially in

Á-ñyē nē nīf sǎñ'w̄ Á-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 "so many times" [15.5.2.4](#); 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 ^{+∅?} literally "How did you rise?"; morning greeting.
2SG rise how CQ?

Nānná-ná m àñ nâ'ab. "Now I am a chief." WK
Now-hither 1SG COP chief:SG.

AdvPs also occur as verb arguments. AdvPs as subjects are most often seen with stative verbs, in particular *àeñ*^a "be something/somehow."

Yij venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.
Yij véñl kà pūvgu-n kâ' 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 kpil ti yela la ke ka ti ban nōjilim an si'em.
Kristo_∅ dà kpil_ tì yēlá lā ké kà tì bāñ nōjilim_∅ 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 *Sùṅā bē.* "OK it is." WK
Good:ADV EXIST.

sùṅā is however used metalinguistically, meaning "the word *sùṅā*."

Verbs with appropriate meanings frequently take locative AdvPs as complements, rather than as adjuncts 19.8.3.

The verb *àeñ*^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 bōvgusígā. "It's soft."
Lì à súṅā. "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 níjì àlāa +∅! "Don't do that!" ("thus")
 NEG.IMP do ADV:thus NEG.

Fv wum ban yet si'em laa?
Fù wúm bán yèt sī'am láa +∅?
 2SG hear:IPFV 3PL:NZ say:IPFV INDF.ADV ART PQ?
 "Do you hear what they are saying?" (Mt 21:16)

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 *nìj 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. Postpositions may not be coordinated, but their predependents may:

tinam ne fon svugine? "[what is there] between us and you?" (Mt 8:29)
tīnám nē fōn súvgū-né +∅?
 1PL with 2SG between-LOC CQ?

Many postpositions represent special uses of ordinary nouns. Some 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 ..."; reason AdvPs often occur preposed with *kà* or as postlinker adjuncts 20.2.1:

dāy lā zúg "on account of the man"
b̄-zúg? "why?"

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'akanε ka m pian' tisi ya la zug, ya anε nyain.

Pjàñ'-kànι kà m̄ pjàñ'—∅ tísi 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 kùkɔr yī sāa zúg nā ...

And voice emerge rain onto hither

"And a voice came from heaven..." (Jn 12:28)

***zūgú-n*^ε** "on":

téεbùl lā zúgū-n "on the table"

***tēñír*^ε** "under" (*tēñ*^a "ground"; with no predependent *Gòsim tēñír!* "Look down!"):

téεbùl lā tēñír "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"

ňyá'aŋ^a "behind; after (time)" (*ňyá'aŋ^a* "back", *lì ñyá'aŋ^a* "afterwards"):

Nē'ŋá ñyá'aŋ kà ò kūl. "After this she went home."
DEMST.IN 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"

Fò ná dī'e tūm pu'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 yèl·ō_ ø mān yēlá wōsa.
3PL say 3AN.OB 1SG.CNTR about all.
"They told him all about me."

kōñ'ɔkɔ (cf *àrakóñ'* "one" in counting) is used as in *m kōñ'ɔkɔ* "by myself."

16.7 Proadverbs

	Demonstrative	Indefinite	Interrogative	
Place	<i>kpē⁺</i>	"here"	<i>zĩñ'-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-sí'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", *bōzúgò?* "why?" (cf *bō zúgō* "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, an adjective in any role may be immediately followed by an intensifying ideophone, as may the derived stative verbs. As is common cross-linguistically, ideophones often display unusual phonological features. Such ideophones are specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding 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>M̐ 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>M̐ 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 gradable adjectives, 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), 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 sɥā-dāvɔ sāpɪ mōɔgu-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?" [15.4.4](#).

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 complements can be coordinated. Except for *nē* "with", the prepositions also appear 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*:

Lìgíním fù nīf né fù nū'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 tū'as nē Wīnné +∅.

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

<i>wōv m̄n</i> LF <i>mánè</i>	<i>wóv tì</i>
<i>wōv fūn</i> LF <i>fúnè</i>	<i>wóv yà</i>
<i>wōv ɔn^ɛ</i>	<i>wóv bà</i>
<i>wóv ì</i>	

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...

Álá zùgɔ, mòrī 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 fɔɔsúg díɔm lá_∅

NEG.IMP tie 2PL eye-face:PL NEG, resemble with puff:GER NULL.PL ART NZ

nìŋɪd sī'am lā.

do:IPFV INDEF.ADV ART.

"Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16, 1976)

Àséé⁼ is "except for"

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."

O daa pɔn anɛ ninkuɔd hali pin'ilɔgɔn sa.

Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kúɔd 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 **h**-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 nɔŋ-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 ñwá ...

head-NUL.LAN 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 pu sɔbi li

hālí nē mán dāa sōbı_ø tísı_yā sī'em lā

even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give 2PL.OB INDF.ADV ART

m̀ dāa pū sōbı_lī ...

1SG TNS NEG.IND write 3IN.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	\bar{p}	
	\emptyset		$n\grave{a} \leftrightarrow k\grave{u}$	<i>tì</i>			\circ	
	<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 A 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. Furthermore, *nē*^{+/} can only be interpreted aspectually if no free words intervene between the particle and the verb, and the VP has positive polarity and indicative mood. When aspectual senses are not excluded by the meaning of the verb itself, the relevant aspect distinctions still occur, but are formally 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.")

Ò *zàbɪd*. "He fights."
 3AN fight:IPFV.

Ò *zàbɪd nē*. "He's fighting."
 3AN fight:IPFV FOC.

but Ò *pū zábɪdā* +∅. "He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."
 3AN NEG.IND fight:IPFV NEG.

Nē^{+/} cannot have aspectual meaning in **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 òñbɪd nē mɔɔd. Bā nùud nē kú'əm.
 Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.
 "Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat? and drink?")

Nē^{+/} is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: <i>Gòsɪm!</i>	"Look!"	B: <i>M̃ gósɪd!</i>	"I'm looking!"
A: <i>Fù gósɪd nē?</i>	"Are you looking?"	B: <i>M̃ gósɪd!</i>	"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:

M̄ p̄'us yā.

1SG greet PFV.

"Thankyou", "I thank you."

(cf Hausa *Naa goodèe*, also perfective)

M̄ s̄ják yā.

1SG agree PFV.

"I agree."

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:

M̄ ñyé nū'-bíbísá_ àtán'.

1SG see hand-small:PL NUM:three.

"I can see three fingers."

M̄ tēñ'es kà ...

1SG think and ...

"I think that ..."

With verbs which express a change of state in the subject the perfective may express the resulting state; such resultative perfectives are followed by aspectual *nē^{+/}* whenever syntactically permissible, because there is always a topic-time contrast with the situation preceding the action of the verb:

Lì b̀d̀ıg yā .

3IN lose PFV.

"It's got lost."

but *Lì b̀̀dɪg n̄̄.* "It's lost."
 3IN lose FOC.

Most verbs expressing a change of state in the subject are either intransitive or patientive ambitransitive:

Ò kpì n̄̄. "He's dead."
 3AN die FOC.

Ì gɛ̃ñ n̄̄. "I'm tired."
 1SG get.tired FOC.

Bà k̀̀dɪg n̄̄. "They're old."
 3PL grow.old FOC.

Lì p̀̀è'el n̄̄. "It's full."
 3IN fill FOC.

Lì ỳ̀ n̄̄. "It's closed."
 3IN close FOC.

Ì búg n̄̄. "I'm drunk." (← Hausa *b̀̀gu*)
 1SG get.drunk FOC.

Ò l̀̀r n̄̄. "He's ugly." WK *sic*
 3AN get.ugly FOC.

Lì s̀̀bɪg n̄̄. "It's black." WK *sic*
 3IN blacken FOC.

Agentive transitive verbs of dressing express a change of state in the subject:

Ì ý f̀̀uug. "I've put a shirt on."
 1SG put.on shirt:SG.

Ì ý n̄̄ f̀̀uug. "I'm wearing a shirt."
 1SG put.on FOC shirt:SG.

A perfective form can *only* be interpreted as resultative if it expresses a change of state in the subject:

M̄ 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 dìŋin nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your
 3AN lie.down FOC. house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out
 but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."

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' ye 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:

Ñwāɔ́sá_ 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-sōñ'e bī'ə̀lá 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:

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

Nīgí òñbɪd mōɔd. "Cows eat grass."
Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

M̄ zín'i. "I sit."
1SG be.sitting.

With aspectual $n\bar{e}^{+/}$, the imperfective of dynamic verbs has a meaning analogous to the English "progressive."

Nā'-sábà óñbɪd nē mōɔd. "Some cows are eating grass."
Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

M̄ zín'i nē. "I'm sitting."
1SG be.sitting FOC.

With verbs describing events the sense is often "time-limited habitual":

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

Patientive ambitransitive verbs expressing changes of state can be used in progressive senses:

M̄ yōɔd nē kúlìŋ lā. "I'm closing the door."
1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

Kùlìŋ lā yōɔd nē. "The door is closing."
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

Lì mà'ad nē. "It is getting cool." ($mā'e^{+/}$ "get cool")
3IN get.cool:IPFV FOC.

However, passives [19.8.1.1](#) cannot be used with progressive meaning:

Dāam lā nûud. "The beer gets drunk." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV.

Dāam nûud zīná. "Beer gets drunk today." WK
Beer drink:IPFV today.

but *Dāam lā nûud nē.* Only "The beer is for *drinking*." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not for throwing away."); Focus on the verb:
not "The beer is being drunk."

**Dāam nûud nē* was rejected by WK altogether, because without a context the subject was interpreted as generic.

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.

Ì mór pụ'ā. "I have a wife."
1SG have wife:SG.

With stative verbs, the default interpretation of following *nē*^{+/} is therefore as focussing the VP or a VP constituent:

Ò gìm nē. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

Ì mór nē pụ'ā. "I have a woman."
1SG have FOC woman:SG. (not "wife": implies an irregular liaison, WK)

However, if there is an explicit time reference in the clause itself (even just a tense marker) it 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. [This requirement for an explicit time marker in the same clause may reflect acceptability judgments based on short isolated clauses.]

Lì vèn nē. "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)
3IN be.beautiful FOC.

but *Nānnánā, lì vèn nē.* "Just now, it's beautiful."
 Now, 3IN be.beautiful FOC.

Lì dāa vén nē. "It was beautiful." WK: "I gave you a cup, and
 3IN TNS be.beautiful FOC. it was OK then, but now you've spoiled it."

Sān-kán lā, lì dāa zúlìm nē.
 Time-DEM.SG ART, 3IN 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)

If the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē^{+/-}* [27.1.2](#), *nē^{+/-}* must be aspectual even if the verb is stative and there no explicit time marker:

M̄ mór bīisá_ àtánā.
 1SG have child:PL NUM:three.exactly.
 "I've got exactly three children."

but *M̄ mór nē bīisá_ àtánā.*
 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 súnā. "It was good." WK
 3IN TNS COP good:ADV.

Lì dāa á nē súnā. "At the time, it was good." WK
 3IN TNS COP FOC good:ADV.

Lì à nē súnā. "It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)
 3IN COP FOC good:ADV.

Emphatics [27.6](#) do not reject focus with *nē^{+/-}*:

bɔzʊgɔ o anɛ fʊ biig mɛn.
bɔ zúgɔ ò à né fù bīig mɛn.
 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 *ñ*-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>Tìum 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_∅ 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'_ ∅ ñyē gbīgumne +∅.

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_∅

1PL usually NEG.IND write:IPFV REL.IN and 2PL IRR read and NEG.IRR prevail CAT

gbáñ'e lî gbinnē +∅.

grab 3IN 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:

M̐ 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

M̐ 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](#).)

M̐ yé m̐ kɔā sūmma. "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

M̐ yé m̐ 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' ò̀̀bɪdī-n sũmma. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
1SG TNS chew:IPFV-DP groundnut:PL.

or *̀̀M ò̀̀bɪdī-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 *kàṅā* "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 b̀̀d̀̀ɪg nē.

3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

Kà lì b̀̀d̀̀ɪg nē.

And 3IN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as contradicting "someone hid it" i.e. as contrastive focus

Bà k̀̀d̀̀ɪg 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 3IN 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 tenjin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba daa ten'es ye o dɔlne ba ten 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 ēēñ tí niŋid sī'em 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 kpélìm Jerusalem
finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem
téŋī-n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū báj yé ò kpèlìm
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 tèn-dìm 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 kpèñ' 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'v̄n tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la ye ...*

Kà Pita yū'v̄n tíeñ Yesu n sà yèl sī'əl lā yē ...

And Peter then remember Jesus NZ TNS say INDF.IN ART that ...

"And Peter then remembered what Jesus had said the day before..." (Mt 26:75)

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with *kà* 27.2, regardless of whether tense marking appears in the absolute clause (132/136 cases in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14, 1976.) After absolute clauses as postlinker adjuncts 20.2.1, tense marking in main clauses follows the usual principles for narrative, with absolute clauses agreeing with their main clauses in tense-marking (69/78 cases.)

NĒ is perhaps marking constituent focus in

Ka ban ken la, Jesus gbisid ne.

Kà b́án kḗn lā, Jesus gbísíd nē.

And 3PL:NZ GO:IMPF ART, JESUS sleep:IPFV FOC.

"As they were travelling, Jesus was sleeping." (Lk 8:22-23, 1976)

KB *ka gbεem zεεg Yesu ka o gbisid.* "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 *zɔt o ne dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid anε nya'andɔl la zug. Amaa ka* Barnabas *zɔŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...*

Àmáa bà dà zòt·ò_∅ nē dábīēm, b́án dà pū níŋ·ò_∅

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV 3AN.OB FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND do 3AN.OB

yáddā yé ò s̀ìd à nē ñyâ'an-d̀òl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas

faith that 3AN truly COP FOC after-follower:SG ART upon. But and Barnabas

zɔŋ Saul n mɔr·ó_∅ ∅ kēŋ ...

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 pū mɔr bīiga +∅, b̄zúgō Elizabet dá à nē

3PL TNS NEG.IND have child:SG NEG, because Elizabeth TNS COP FOC

kúndù'ar kà bà bàyí' lā wūsa mé kùdɪg nē.

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 *nε* 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!

See [21.3](#) on the postposed 2pl pronoun *y^a* in commands to several people.

The particle *nē^{+/}* cannot appear in its aspectual sense with the imperative, but *àlá* "thus" after imperatives imposes continuous/progressive meaning:

Dım! "Eat!"
Dımí àlá! "Carry on eating!"

Informants contract *-í-à-* either to *-í-* or to *-á-*: [dɪmɪla] [dɪmala].

Dìmī-ní *àlá!* "Keep ye on eating!" [dɪmɪla] [dɪmala]
Eat:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Single-aspect verbs used as imperatives frequently add *àlá*:

Zì'é àlá! text *zi'ela* "Be still!" (Jesus to the storm, Mk 4:39, 1976)

Dìgī-ní *àlá!* "Keep (ye) on lying down." [dɪgɪla] [dɪgmala]
Be.lying.down-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Āa-ní *àlá* *bāańlím!* "Be (ye) quiet!"
COP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

Bēi-ní *àlá* *àńínā!* "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.

Gòsimī *∅!* "Look ye!"
Look:IMP 2PL.SUB!

Dā *gōsε* *+∅!* "Don't look!"
NEG.IMP look NEG!

Kèl *kà* *ò* *gōs!* "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!

Kèm *nā* *n* *gōs!* "Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Dòllī-ní *m!* "Follow ye me!"
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!

Mòr *nīn-báalìg!* "Have pity!"
Have eye-pity!

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions and has the preverbal mood markers *nà* (positive) *kù* (negative.) Tone Pattern A 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.

Three **negative 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, **àḗñ**^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 áḗñ** 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'ḗ dōcgū-n lāa +∅. "There's no man in the room."
Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG-LOC ART NEG.

Dāy lā kā' dōcgū-n lāa +∅. "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.

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.

Mit kà yà mâal yà tùm-sùma nīdīb tūen yé bà gōsε +∅.
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 gōs.*

Mìt 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.

Mìtì ∅ *zīrí nò-dí'əsìdìb* *báni kēnní* *yà sā'an nā lā.*

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)

Zī⁺ "not know" normally replaces negative particle + *mī*. A clause-final LF *zī'isigε* also appears in KB, NT (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

Bùŋ-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēŋ 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)

Mī does occur with negative particles:

M biig Solomon anε dasaŋ , ka pu mi' wuv lin nar si'em.

M̄ bīig Solomon á nē dá-sāŋ, kà pū mī

1SG child:SG Solomon FOC COP young.man:SG, and NEG.IND know

wūv lín nār sī'əmm ^{+∅.}

how 3IN:NZ be.proper INDF.ADV NEG.

"My son Solomon is young, and does not know how things ought to be."

(1 Chronicles 22:5)

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 *lèε* "but", next any preverb, then the verb itself. Preverbal particles which have intrinsic M tonemes (past tense marker *dāa*, auxiliary tense marker *ñyēε*) 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*^ε "fight", *gōs*^ε "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 zàb 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 zàb 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 zàb 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."

Examples for the final M before liaison, using the verbs *bòdɪg*^ε "lose", *yādɪg*^{ε/} "scatter" and the pronouns *m*^a "me" *ba*⁺ "them":

Intrinsic tones:	<i>bòdɪgɪ m^a</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i> (ipfv)	<i>bòdɪgɪ bā^{+/}</i>
	<i>yādɪgɪ m^a</i>	<i>yādɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i> (ipfv)	<i>yādɪgɪ bā^{+/}</i>
With overlay:	<i>bòdɪgī m^{a/}</i>	<i>bòdɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i>	<i>bòdɪgī bā⁺</i>
	<i>yādɪgī m^{a/}</i>	<i>yādɪgɪdī m^{a/}</i>	<i>yāgɪdī bā⁺</i>

Before a liaison word with initial fixed-L toneme [7.4.3](#): contrast

Bà kùvdī bá. "They kill them."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL.OB.

with *Bà kùvdí bà bōvs.* "They kill their goats."
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

and *Bà gòs-ō ∅.* "They looked at her."
3PL look.at 3AN.OB.

with *Bà gòsú ò bīig.* "They looked at her child."
3PL look.at 3AN child:SG.

with ML necessarily changed to HL before the fixed-L pronouns.

19.6.1.2 Tone sandhi after subject pronouns

Bound pronoun subjects are normally followed by M spreading despite their own fixed L tonemes [7.4.3](#). However, the *third* persons *ò ò bà* are never followed by M spreading when the following VP has independency marking.

Examples with *zàb*^ε "fight" *gōs*^ε "look at" *nâ'ab*^a "chief":

Without independency marking after coordinating *kà*:

<i>Kà ì záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And I've fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's fought the chief."
<i>Kà ì 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."

With independency marking:

<i>Ì záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"I've fought the chief."
<i>Ò záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's fought the chief."
<i>Ì gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"I've looked at the chief."
<i>Ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"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 tèn'ɛs kà ò zàb nâ'ab lā.

3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He thinks he's fought the chief." WK

Ò tèn'ɛs kà m zàb 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 lèɛ 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 *lèɛ* "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 *těñ'es kà lì lù yā.*

1SG think and 3IN 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)

Ò *dāa záb.*

3AN TNS fight.

"He fought." (M preverbal particle)

Ò *nà zāb.*

3AN IRR fight.

"She'll fight." (irrealis)

Kà ò záb.

And 3AN fight.

"And he fought." (no independency marking)

<i>Kà ò gōs.</i> And 3AN look.	"And he looked." (no independency marking)
<i>Ò pō zábē +∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND fight NEG.	"He's not fought." (negative)
<i>Ò pō gōsē +∅.</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 A: when the LF occurs in questions, the toneme is L not H 6.4:

<i>Lì b̀̀dìg yā.</i> 3IN get.lost PFV.	"It's got lost."
<i>Lì b̀̀dìg yàa +∅?</i> 3IN get.lost PFV PQ?	"Has it got lost?"

Phrase constituents can only follow *yā*⁺ by extraposition 27.3:

<i>Ya yidigya bēdegv.</i> <i>Yà yídìg yā bédugō.</i> 2PL go.astray PFV much.	"You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)
<i>M̀ pū'us 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.

<i>G̀̀sım!</i>	"Look!" (or <i>G̀̀sīm!</i> with the vowel absorbed 3)
<i>G̀̀sımī_m!</i> Look:IMP 1SG.OB!	"Look at me!"

Gòsímí_ fò nù'ug!
Look:IMP 2SG hand:SG!

"Look at your hand!"
(or *Gòsím fò nù'ug!* with the vowel absorbed)

Dì'amī_ ø!
Receive:IMP 2PL.SUB!

"Receive ye!"

Dì'amī-ní_ bā!
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3PL.OB!

"Receive ye them!"
(-ní- for -ya *ɲa before liaison [7.2.2](#))

Dì'amī-n-ó_ ø!
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB 3AN.OB!

"Receive ye her!"

Dì'amī-ní_ àlá!
Receive:IMP-2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

"Keep ye on receiving!"

But *Dā gōsɛ +ø!*
NEG.IMP look NEG!

"Don't look!" (negative)

Kèl kà ò gōs!
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!

"Let her look!"
(No independency marking: subordinate)

Kèm nā n gōs!
Come:IMP hither CAT look!

"Come and look!"
(No independency marking: subordinate)

Dòllī-ní_ m!
Follow-2PL.SUB 1SG.OB!

"Follow ye me!" (single-aspect verb)

19.7 Other bound words in the VP

For non-contrastive subject pronouns see [15.4.1](#) [19.6.1.2](#).

19.7.1 *Lèɛ* "but"

Lèɛ "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 lée dāa záb nà'ab lā.
And 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.
"But he fought the chief."

Bà lèè zàb nà'ab lā. "But they've fought the chief." WK
3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

Kà bà léè zàb nà'ab lā. "But they've fought the chief." WK
And 3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

Lèè zàb nà'ab lā! "But fight the chief!" WK
But fight chief:SG ART!

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

Kà mān pīāñ'ad lā léè 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...

Lèè iēmī-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.

**Lèè gósìm nā'ab lā!* attempted: "But look at the chief!"
But look.at:IMP chief:SG ART!

to *Lèè 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 *lèè* "but" [19.7.1.](#))

Pùn "previously, already":

Ò pùn zàb nà'ab lā. "He's already fought the chief."
3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò pùn zàb nà'ab lā.
And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.
"And he's already fought the chief."

Lèm "again" (cf *lèb^ε* "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 pō 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.

M̄ nīf lém zábìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
1SG eye:SG again fight FOC.

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.
Kà sō' kōdum kú lēm ñyέε_ī yá'asā +∅.
And IND.FAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3IN.OB again NEG.
"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

Kpèlim 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 kpélìm zū'om.
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.
m̄ bīg Josef nán kpèn vōę.
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 wōsa dá là'am kpi 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 deŋim 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 mālǵum 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 *hālí 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)

hālí kà Herod tí kpi.

Until and Herod after die.

Kè̀m_∅ tí ñyē dṽ'átà.

"Go to see the doctor." SB

Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Bεogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

BĒogú_∅ 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^{+!}*.

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 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 *tìs^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 3IN.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 nīdá +∅, dā zūudá +∅...
 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 p̄ zám̄ +∅. "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 àěñ^a "be something/somehow":

Māni_ ∅ áñ du'átà àmáa fūn p̄ 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 áěñ.
 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 gbāȳ lāa +∅? "Do you have the letter?"
 2SG have letter:SG ART PQ?

A. Ēěñ, m̄ mór.
 Yes, 1SG have.

Q. Fù bód·ó-o +∅? "Do you love her?"
 2SG want-3AN.OB PQ?

A. Áyì, m̄ p̄ bódā +∅. "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 nīdībī_ ∅ gbāñ'ad
 REL.PL steal:IPFV person:PL CAT seize:IPFV
 "those who steal people by force" (1 Tim 1:10)

one daa zuud "he who used to steal" (Eph 4:28)
̀ni 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:

F̀ t̀m b́-t̀uma +̀? "What work do you do?"
 2SG work:IPFV what-work CQ?

Ka ya ninkuda zaansim zaansima.
Kà yà nīn-kúdà zàañsım záañsímà.
 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 *ỳ*⁺ "close", *nāe*^{+/} "finish", *z̀mıs*^ε "learn/teach", *nāms*^{ε/} "suffer/make suffer", *b̀dɪg*^ε "lose, get lost", *b̀s*^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](#):

M̄ ńa t̀uma l̄. "I've finished the work."
 1SG finish work ART.

T̀uma l̄ ńa n̄. "The work is finished."
 Work ART finish FOC.

Almost any verb can potentially take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc (this could lead to ambiguity in principle):

̀ d̀g̀ m. "He cooked (for) me."
 3AN COOK 1SG.OB.

L̀ m̀l̄s̄ m. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
 3IN be.sweet 1SG.OB.

Àláf̀ b̄e b́. "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 *dìs*^ε "feed", *nūlus*^{ε/} "give to drink."

M̀ tís nâ'ab lā dāká. "I've given the chief a box."
1SG give chief:SG ART box:SG.

M̀ tís nâ'ab lā. "I've given it to the chief."
1SG give chief:SG ART.

**M̀ tís dāká.* impossible as "I've given him a box", which is
M̀ tís·ō_∅ dāká.
1SG give 3AN.OB box:SG.

Dā tís·ō_∅ sī'əla +∅. "Don't give her anything!"
NEG.IMP give 3AN.OB INDF.IN NEG.

Dā tísē +∅! "Don't give it to her!"
NEG.IMP give NEG.

M̀ tís 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. *kàd* X *sàríyà* "judge X", *mōr* X *nīn-báalìg* or *zò* X *nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìŋ* X *yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *zò* X *dàbīəm* "fear X", *sjàk* X *nōɔr* "obey X", *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* "make an agreement with X."

Ò zòt·ō_∅ nīn-báalìg. "She has pity on him."
3AN feel:IPFV 3AN.OB eye-pity.

Bà zòt·ō_∅ dàbīəm. "They are afraid of him."
3PL feel:IPFV 3AN.OB fear.

Wina'am na kad nidib poten'esua'ada saria.
Wínà'am ná kād nīdɪb pú-těñ'-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 [15.4.1](#).

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.

Ì 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 *sōbìd*^{a/} seems to accept intransitive use only when some adverbial modification is present.

Gbàṽ lā sōb nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Gbàna sōbìd zīná. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṽ lā sōbìd súnā. "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:

Lìgíním_ fù nīf né fù nû'ug.

Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

Thus *Dìgíním_ fù nû'ug.*

Lie.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

"Put your hand down." is commoner than

Dìgílím_ fù nû'ug.

Lay.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

"Put your hand down."

Similarly *nìe*⁺ "appear" is usually intransitive, corresponding to transitive *nèèl*^ε "reveal", but *nìe*⁺ is much more frequent than *nèèl*^ε before *ò mēŋ*^{a/} "him/herself" etc.

Ka o nie o mēŋ Jemes san'an ...

Kà ò níe ò mēŋ 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:

Kel ka m liebi fu tumtum yinne.

Kèl kà m líabì_ fù tùm-tùm yīnní.

Cause:IMP and 1SG become 2SG work-worker:SG one.

"Make me [become] one of your servants" (Lk 15:19); dynamic *liəb*^ε

M á né fù tùm-tùm.

1SG COP FOC 2SG work-worker:SG.

"I am your servant."; stative *àēñ*^a

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 *àēñ*^a "be something" 19.11.2, but is seen also with other verbs:

Lì à nē píəlìg. "It's white, a white one."
Lì à nē píəlìg fáss. "It's very white."
Bà à nē píəlà. "They're white."

si'el zie sabili wuu nidne.
sī'əl zī'e sābílìlì_ø wūv nīd nē.
 INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT like person:SG like.
 "something stood, black like a person." KSS p16

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asεε ka m lēb zin'a.
Mām á nē píəlùg àmáa m yá' pāe búgúmī-n,
 1SG COP FOC white:SG but 1SG if reach fire-LOC,
àsée kà m lēb 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-píəl-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 *púd^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 fu na púd o yū'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 púd biig la yū'ur Yesu.
Kà ò púd biīg lā yū'ur Yesu.
 And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.
 "And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

Bùel^ε "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^ε is often used passively with *yō'vr*^{ε/} "name" as subject and the name itself as complement:

dau sɔ' ka o yv'vr buon Joon.
dàù-só' kà ò yō'vr bùen Joon.
 man-INDF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.
 "a man [habitually] called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal^ε "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 Bòk. "I left Bawku."
 1SG emerge Bawku.

Ṁ yí yā. "I've left [there]."
 1SG emerge PFV.

No single-aspect verb or dual-aspect verb derived from a stance verb requires a locative; nor does *kēŋ*^{ε/} "go/walk." No verb requires a locative *second* complement.

...ka pu tun'e kenna..
...kà pū tūñ'e_ ∅ kēnná +∅.
 ...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 téeɓ̀l lā zúg.*
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.
 "She's put the book on the table."
- Àláafù bé·o_∅.* "He's well." ("Health exists for him.")
 Health EXIST 3AN.OB. Indirect object but no complement.
- but *Dāy lā bé nē dɔ́-kàŋā lā púɥgō-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 tī +∅.

But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL NEG.

"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

Dɔ́^{la/} "accompany" with the preposition *nē* means "be in accordance with":

Li dɔlnɛ lin sɔb Wina'am gbaunɔn si'em la ye ...

Lì d̀̀l nē lín sɔb Wínà'am gbáun̄-n sī'am lā yē ...

3IN follow with 3IN: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 ́nì 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; *mìt* in its usual sense "let not" always takes a *kà*-catenation. *B̀̀ɔd*^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." *Àḡñ*^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'am*, 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 d̀t nē sā'ab d́-kàḡā lā púuḡ-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 *kēm*, which coincides for *kēñ*⁺ "come" and *kēŋ*^{ε/} "go", is always disambiguated by the fact that it is followed by *nā*^{+/} or *sà*⁺ respectively: *kēm nā!* "come" *kēm sá!* "go!"

M̄ mór kù'əm nāa +∅? "Shall I bring water?" SB
1SG have water hither PQ?

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná +∅?
Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?
"Where is the light coming from?"

Fù yí yáa ní ná +∅?
2SG emerge where LOC hither CQ?
"Where have you come from?" WK

Sà⁺ is often used temporally, for "since" or "ago":

Fu na baŋ li nya'aŋ sa.
Fù ná báŋ lì ñyá'aŋ sá.
2SG IRR realise 3IN behind since.
"You will come to understand afterwards." (Jn 13:7, 1976)

Lazarus pùn be 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:

Kēm nā n gōs. "Come and look!" SB
Come:IMP hither CAT look.

Man ya'a pū 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 *h*-clause containing them; closely parallel constructions may show either *nā lā* or *lā nā*:

ñwādıg-kàni kēn nā lā
 month REL.SG COME:IPFV hither ART
 "next month" SB

dunia kanε ken la na
dūniyá-kàni 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 òni 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 bɔɔdim naae.
Ì dīib á nē yé ònì tùm m lā nā bɔɔdīm_ø 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 lebug la na
Nīn-sāal Bīg lā lébùg 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 bé. "God exists." (Calque of the West African Pidgin
God EXIST. *God dey*, implying "It'll all work out.")

Áláafù bé·o_∅. "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")
Health EXIST 3AN.OB.

Wāad bé. "It's cold."
Cold.weather EXIST.

Mam bene moogin. "I'm in the bush." BNY p8
Mām bé nē mōɔɔɔ-n.
1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

Moogin ka mam be. "I'm in the bush." BNY p10
Mōɔɔɔ-n kà mām bé.
Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

Dāy lā bé nē dɔ́-kàŋā lā púvɔ́-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' bé dɔ́-kàŋā lā púvɔ́-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'e*⁺ see [19.5](#); **pō bé* is not used.

Bè⁺ plays a role analogous to a "passive" to *mōr*^{a/} "have" in constructions like:

Ṁ bīg bé. "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:

BÉE _└ *àníñā*. "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB
EXIST ADV:there.

BÈl-ní _└ *àlá* *àníñā*. "Be ye there!" [bɛ:nala anina]
EXIST-2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there.

19.11.2 *Àeñ* "be something/somehow"

For the loss of *ɛ* and nasalisation see 7.3.

Ò *à* *nē* *bīg*. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

but *Mān* _└ *∅* *áñ* *du'átà* *kà* *fūn* *mén* *áeñ*.
1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CNTR also COP.
"I'm a doctor and you are too."

The usual negative uses *kā'ɛ*⁺ "not be", but *pū áeñ* does occur, for example in expressing contrasts:

M̄ *kā'* *du'átā* ⁺*∅*. "I'm not a doctor."
1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG NEG.

Mān _└ *∅* *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."

Àeñ^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*^{+/} if permitted 27.1.2:

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-kìim-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 *àɛñ^a* is definite, the construction is usually specifying, with the subject in focus:

M̄ á nē du'átà.

1SG COP FOC doctor:SG.

"I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")

Ascriptive.

but *Māni_ ∅ áñ du'átà lā.*

1SG.CNTR CAT COP doctor:SG ART.

"I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")

Specifying.

However, definite complements may be in focus as "pragmatically non-recoverable" because of their internal structure or other factors: see [27.1.2.1](#).

Àɛñ^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](#):

Zīnā à nē dá'a.

Today COP FOC market:SG.

"Today [time] is market."

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 [place] is not good." (Acts 23:3, 1996)

Man noŋi ya si'em la ane bedego.

Mán nòŋi yā sī'əm lā á nē bédugū.

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 vėńl 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."

3IN COP FOC easily.

Lì à nē bōgusígā.

"It's soft."

3IN COP FOC soft:ADV.

Lì à nē zāalím.

"It's empty."

3IN COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

Lì àñ súnjā.

"It's good." [27.1.2](#)

3IN 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 bōcdim naae.

M dīib á nē yé m tum òni tùmí m lā nā bōcdim ∅ 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 main clauses are downranked to subordinate content clauses without internal alteration, and **main clauses preceded by *coordinating kà* "and" lack independency marking**. *Kà* was perhaps once always subordinating; its coordinating role is characteristic especially of narrative, and cross-linguistically, non-initial narrative clauses are often formally subordinate. There are three types of clause subordination: **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>ñ</i> absolute/relative <u>24</u> <i>yà'</i> conditional <u>23</u>

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands. Only main and content clauses may lack VPs.

Complementised clauses are introduced by *yē* "that", less often *kà*. Purpose clauses lack independency marking, have VPs with imperative mood, and show tense marking only if the main clause is ellipted; content clauses are downranked main clauses, with independency marking and the full range of main clause structures:

M̄ p̄ b̄ōōd yé fù kēŋ Bókō +∅.

1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG go Bawku NEG.

"I don't want you to go to Bawku."

Ka o ba' ne o ma pu ban ye o kpelim yaa.

Kà ò bā' né ò mà p̄ báj yé ò kpèlim 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)

Catenated clauses introduced by *n* lack their own subjects and resemble serial verb constructions in many ways; those introduced by *kà* have their own subjects. Catenated clauses lack independency and tense marking. They are part of their main clauses for focus purposes, and the main clause is often semantically subordinate.

Clauses marked by the post-subject particles *ñ* and *yà'* are nominalised. They have independent tense-marking. Like other AdvPs and NPs, *ñ*-clauses are coordinated with *nĒ*, not *kà*:

... *pa'ali ba* [*on daa nye Zugsɔb la suorin, ka o pian' tis o si'em*],
nĒ [*Saul n mɔɔl Yesu yɛla nĒ sunkpi'euŋ Damaskus tenjin si'em.*]
 ... *pá'alì_bā òn dāa ñyĒ Zūg-sób lā sūerí-n, kà ò*
 ... teach 3PL.OB 3AN:NZ TNS see head-NULL.AN ART road:SG-LOC and 3AN
pjāñ' ∅ tís·ò ∅ sī'əm, nĒ Saul n mɔɔl Yesu yélà
 speak CAT give 3AN.OB INDF.ADV with Saul NZ proclaim Jesus about
nĒ sūñ-kp'ŋ Damaskus tɛŋī-n sī'əm.
 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)

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 pū 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 nɔɔr yinne nĒ Yesu Kristo.
Àmáa Wínà'am ké yá kà yà áñ nɔɔr 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 bɔɔd [ye fu ti yeɪ beog daar [ye funɛ kɛ [ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.]]

Ṁ pū bɔɔd 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 līəb bŭn-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 díim lā_∅ ñwá.

Paul NZ write book-INDEF.IN CAT give Ephesus NULL.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 ellipted after *kà*.) Clause-level adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position before the subject.

Yē is invariably subordinating, but *kà* may be coordinating or subordinating: it appears in a great variety of constructions and meanings [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, unless preceded by coordinating *kà* [19.6](#), and they have structural possibilities not permitted to other clauses, including lacking 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. English conjunctions largely correspond to clause linkers, prelinker adjuncts and linker adjuncts.

Linker adjuncts do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>kōv</i>	"or"	<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 a calque in ILK, is freely used in NT/KB for "because."

Police gbāñ'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, like the postposition *zūg^o* alone.

Prelinker adjuncts may precede but never follow linker particles.

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>hālí</i>	"until"
<i>àséε</i>	"unless"	<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"

Hālí and *àséε* are also used as prepositions [18](#).

KB has no examples of *kà àmáa* to 365 of *àmáa kà*, one of *kà àséε* to 247 of *àséε kà* and 436 examples of *hālí kà* but none of *kà hālí* as a clause adjunct. Prelinker adjuncts also precede *yē*, both as linker and "resumptive" *yē* [25.2.1](#). Thus

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yeI ye ...

Kà sīāba lā'·o_∅. Àmáa kà sīāba yéI yē ...

And INDF.PL laugh 3AN.OB. But and INDF.PL say that...

"Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

Wina'am daa pu ganji ti ye ti tum dian'ad tuvma, amaa ye ti be nyain.

Wínà'am dāa pō gāñí_ tī yé tì tùm dīā'ad túvmà +∅,

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, bɔ ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ɔ́n sādígím ḱpí lā, bɔ̀ kà̀ m̀ lém

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again

lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asɛ̀ +∅ +∅?

tie:IPFV mouth:SG again NEG CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

Some constituents occur *exclusively* as postlinker adjuncts: *yà'*-clauses "if/when ..." 23.1, *sādígím*-clauses 24.2, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'ɛrē* "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 those referring to place or manner as well, 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 m̀ á nē nâ'ab. "Now I am a chief."

Now-hither 1SG COP FOC chief:SG.

is grammatical, but **Mɔɔgú-n mām bé* was corrected by WK to

Mɔɔgú-n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG-LOC and 1SG.CNTR EXIST.

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'aŋ* "afterwards", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as things stand", *àsīda* "truly."

In KB *nannanna nānná-nā^{+/}* "now" appears without preceding or following *kà* much more often than not (394/437 cases) and is thus usually a clause adjunct. WK *requires kà* after *kà nānná-nā*, showing that that for him *nānná-nā^{+/}* is a *prelinker* adjunct but can be a preposed VP adjunct; this rule is not followed in KB.

Kà nānná-ná kà m̀ áñ nâ'ab. "And now I am a chief."

And now-hither and 1SG COP chief:SG. Rejected by WK without the second *kà*

Dìn zúg and *lìn zúg* "therefore" without final *-̄5* appear very often before *kà* (177/371 cases), i.e. as *kà*-preposed VP adjuncts. Constructions without *kà* probably arose by original VP-only *dìn zúg* and *lìn zúg* encroaching on the function of the corresponding linker adjuncts *dìn zúḡ5* and *lìn zúḡ5*.

B̄5 zúg without *-̄5* appears in KB only as *kà*-preposed *b̄5 zúg kà ...?* "why ...?"

B̄5 zúg ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Haggai 1:9)

B̄5 zúg kà lì áañ àlá +̄0?

What on and 3IN COP thus CQ?

Hālí can be a prelinker adjunct before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ti nwa'ae li hali pae Nofa.

Tì ñwá'a_lī hālí_̄0 pāe Nofa.

1PL strike 3IN.OB until CAT reach Nophah.

"We struck them as far as Nophah." (Numbers 21:30)

Clause adjuncts are otherwise found only in main and content clauses. The position of the negative clitic shows that the *kà*-clauses are not subordinate in e.g.

O p̄v ȳɛɛd fuuḡ5, hali ka li yuug.

Ò p̄v ȳɛɛd fūuḡ5 +̄0, hālí kà lì yūug.

3AN NEG.IND wear:IPFV shirt:SG NEG, even and 3IN take.long.

"He had not worn clothes for a long time." (Lk 8:27)

M k̄v basif ka f̄v k̄ɛɛ asɛɛ ka f̄v niŋi m zug bareka.

M̄ k̄v bāsí_f kà f̄v k̄ɛɛ +̄0 àséɛ kà f̄v níŋì_m̄ zūg b̄aríkà.

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)

W̄v "like" 18 appears as a linker adjunct before content clauses:

ka tuumbe'ed ku len so'e ti wuu ti aa li yamugo.

kà t̄v̄m-b̄ɛ'ed k̄v lēm s̄v_tī w̄v t̄i áañ_lì yammuḡ5 +̄0.

and work-bad:PL NEG.IRR again own 1PL.OB like 1PL COP 3IN 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 w̄v ya anɛ m biis nɛ.

M̄ p̄jāñ'adī_̄0 t̄isidī_yá w̄v yà á né m̄ b̄iis n̄ɛ.

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. A dummy subject pronoun *lì* (never *ò*) is required in impersonal constructions:

Lì t̀̀l. "It [weather] is hot."
3IN be.hot.

Lì àñ s̀́ngā. "It's good."
3IN COP good:ADV. Contrast Mooré *yaa s̀́ama*, with no pronoun.

Lì nàr k̀̀à f̀̀ò k̀̀ūl. "It's necessary for you to go home."
3IN must and 2SG go.home.

Zi'isige 19.5 appears without a subject as "unbeknownst" at KSS p16.
Lì may be omitted in *ỳ̀à'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan ku yeline ya ye ...
Ỳ̀à' k̀̀ā'a-ní_ àlá, m̀̀ nāan kú 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)

See [21.3](#) for omission and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are regularly ellipted after *k̀̀à* when they would have the same reference as the subject of the preceding clause, except when *k̀̀à* introduces a content clause; M spreading still follows *k̀̀à*. As *k̀̀à*-catenation typically involves a change of subject, this is characteristic of coordination, where a retained pronoun after *k̀̀à* 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 [15.4.1](#)) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness, though it cannot override number:

P̀̀ỳ̀ā l̄́á d́á' d́áká k̀̀à k̀̀ēŋ B́ók.
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

P̀̀ỳ̀āb l̄́á d́á' d́áká k̀̀à b̀̀à k̀̀ēŋ B́ók.
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 *Pu'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

The pronoun after *kà* may be ellipted as referring to the subject of a preceding *kà*-preposed absolute clause:

Ban wum ne'εŋa la ka sin.
Bán wòm nē'ŋá lá kà sīn.
 3PL:NZ hear DEMST.IN 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 again remains:

Náe yàa +∅? "[Have you] finished?"
 Finish PFV PQ?

20.2.3 Post-subject particles

For *yà* "if" [23.1](#); nominaliser-*ñ* [24](#); *sāɗɨ́m* "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.

kūlɨm or *kūdɨm* "always" (← Hausa) is most often found with negatives:

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.
Kà sã' kūdɨm kú lēm ñyέε_lī yá'asā +∅.
 And INDFAN ever NEG.IRR again see 3IN.OB again NEG.
 "Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

ñyāan or *nāan* "next, afterwards":

Ka Yesu tans ne kukotita'ar ka nyaan kpi.
Kà Yesu táñs nē kúkō-títā'ar kà ñyāan kpí.
 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":

One pa'ati an Kristo la bee?

Ńni_ ø pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bée +ø?

3AN.CNTR CAT perhaps COP Christ ART OR PQ?

"Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

yū'un "then, next"

Manoa yu'un da ban ye o ane Zugsob maliak.

Manoa yū'un dá bàn yé ò à nē Zūg-sób máliāk.

Manoah then TNS realise that 3AN COP FOC head-NULL.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 *yèl* 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 me 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-díbiŋ kūv bī-púŋàa +ø?

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 information-packaging possibilities 27 not found in subordinate clauses other than content clauses, which are downranked main clauses and show the same structures 25.2. Unless preceded by coordinating *kà*, they display independency marking 19.6. They divide into declarative types (the unmarked default), content and polar questions, commands, and types lacking VPs. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kōv* "or", *bēε* "or"; *kōv* and *bēε* are synonyms in this use. Coordinating *kà* corresponds to English *zero* before *lēε* 19.7.1 and in narrative 19.3.5.

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. *Nē^{+/}* may not appear 27.1.2.

There is no special interrogative word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focussed 27.1.1 whenever syntactically possible, and interrogatives other than subjects are very often *kà*-preposed 27.2:

<i>Fù bōvd b́ +∅?</i> 2SG want what CQ?	"What do you want?"
<i>Fù bōvd línè +∅?</i> 2SG want DEM.IN CQ?	"Which do you want?"
<i>Ànó'ɔnì_∅ ñyē bíigà +∅?</i> Who CAT see child:SG CQ?	"Who has seen a child?"
<i>Ànó'ɔn bíigì_∅ ñwá +∅?</i> Who child:SG CAT this CQ?	"Whose child is this?"
<i>Dāy lā ñyé ànó'ɔnè +∅?</i> Man:SG ART see who CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"
<i>Ànó'ɔn kà dāy lā ñyéε +∅?</i> Who and man:SG ART see CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"

Preposing is obligatory for *bō zúg*, "why?" and for *bō* when used for "why?":

<i>B́ kà fù kúmmà +∅?</i> What and 2SG weep:IPFV CQ?	"Why are you crying?"
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21.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are of two types. One is exactly like a statement but ending in a LF showing final vowel lengthening and tone changes imposed by the polar-question clitic 7.4.1. $N\bar{E}^{+/-}$ appears as in statements. The answer expected is $\bar{E}\bar{E}\bar{N}$ 21.4.4.

Dāy lā ñyé bíigàa $^{+\emptyset?}$ "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG PQ?

M á nē dáùv $^{+\emptyset?}$ "Am I a man?"
1SG COP FOC man:SG PQ?

Bà kùvd nē búvsèè $^{+\emptyset?}$ "Are they killing goats?"
3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL PQ?

Fù pū wúmmàa $^{+\emptyset+\emptyset?}$ "Don't you understand?"
2SG NEG.IND hear:IPFV NEG PQ? (expects $\bar{E}\bar{E}\bar{N}$, here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either *bée* "or" (expecting disagreement) or *kúv* "or" (expecting agreement; rare in NT/KB):

Dāy lā ñyé bíig kúv $^{+\emptyset?}$
Man:SG ART see child:SG or PQ?
"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)

Dāy lā ñyé bíig bée $^{+\emptyset?}$
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 direct commands the subject is 2nd person: 2sg pronouns are deleted, and 2pl pronouns moved to immediately after the verb, assuming the liaison-word form ^{ya} 7.2.1 7.2.2. Thus

Fù gós bíig lā. "You (sg) have looked at the child."
2SG look.at child:SG ART.

Yà gós bíig lā. "You (pl) have looked at the child."
2PL look.at child:SG ART.

but *Gòsım bīg lā!* "Look (sg) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP child:SG ART!

Gòsımī ∅ bīg lā! "Look (pl) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP 2PL.SUB child:SG ART!

Dā gōs bīg lāa +∅! "Don't (sg) look at the child!"
 NEG.IMP look child:SG ART NEG!

Dā gōsī ∅ bīg lāa +∅!
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB child:SG ART NEG!
 "Don't (pl) look down!"

Dā gōsε +∅! "Don't (sg) look."
 NEG.IMP look NEG!

Dā gōsī yá +∅! "Don't (pl) look."
 NEG.IMP look 2PL.SUB NEG!

2sg/2pl subject pronouns are not changed after *yà'*-clauses:

Fu ya'a mōr pu'a, fun da mōd ye fu bas oo.
Fù yá' mōr pū'ā, fūn dā mōd 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 gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to them: Look down!" WK

Ò yèl yé fù gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2SG look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you SG: Look down!"

Ò yèl yé yà gòsım tēŋi-n.
 3AN say that 2PL look:IMP ground:SG-LOC.
 "She said to you PL: Look down!"

Some speakers still keep postposed *ya* after the verb even when there is a pronoun subject before it; such speakers also repeat *ya* in catenated clauses.

Ò yèl yé bà gòsimī_ø tēŋi-n.

3AN say that 3PL look:IMP 2PL.SUB ground:SG-LOC.

"He said to them: Look down!"

Kèmi_ø nā n gōsi_ø!

Come:IMP 2PL.SUB hither CAT look 2PL.SUB!

"Come (ye) and look!" (WK *Kèmi nā n gōs!*)

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.

Kòlŋi_ø lā.

Door:SG CAT that.

"That is a door."

Kòlŋi_ø wá nā.

Door:SG CAT this hither.

"This here is a door."

Bēogv_ø lā.

Tomorrow CAT that.

"See you tomorrow" ("That's tomorrow.")

Bō_ø lá +ø?

What CAT that CQ?

"What's that?"

Ñwāamis_ø ñwá!

Monkey:PL CAT this!

"Monkeys!" [wã:misa]

(Said by a passenger in my car, on suddenly catching sight of some.)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anɔ'ɔn nwaɑ yisid nidib tɔumbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ø ñwáa_ø yīsɪd nīdɪb tɔ̄um-bɛ'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?

Yɛl-bɔɔ_ø ñwá kà Wínà'am kɛ kà lì páa_ tì +ø?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN 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 m̄aal bɔɔ_ø lā_ø tís m̄am +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>tôo</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 néé +∅?</i> 3IN finish FOC PQ?	"Is it finished?"
<i>ēēñ.</i>	"Yes."
<i>áyìì.</i>	"No"
<i>Lì pō nāée +∅ +∅?</i> 3IN 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 yó'ɔg sārɪgá dōɔg

But and head-NULL.AN angel:SG TNS go CAT open prison:SG house:SG

zá'-nɔɔr lā yū'ɔŋ-kán, n mōrí-bā n yīis yíŋ.

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 dàu-sɔ' dūe n zí'e lá'asùg lā nīdɪb sísùɔgɔ-n, n áñ

And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among-LOC, CAT COP

Parisee níd kà ò yū'ur bûen 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 yū'ur dāan nīdɪb 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 m nú'ugù ø sī'ɪs 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 b̀̀n̄u_ ∅ tís d̄y'átà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? *M dāa kûes b̀̀n̄ kà tís d̄y'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](#):

An̄'ɔn̄ n̄waa ȳisid̄ nidib̄ t̄vumb̄ε'edī basida?

Ān̄'ɔn̄_ ∅ n̄wāa_ ∅ ȳisid̄ n̄idib̄ t̄v̄um-b̄ē'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](#).

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*."

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^ε*, 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 mɔr antu'a zugv o yela na sɔbi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ pū mɔr ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_∅ nà sɔbɪ_∅ 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 dɥ'átà. "Go and see the doctor."

Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pu kεen 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): 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."

àēñ^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 sīdɿ_ ∅ sú'v_ lī.

3IN COP FOC 3AN husband:SG CAT OWN 3IN.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 men.

Mākír bànɿ būudɿ pāadɿ_ yā lā nám mī_ ∅ pāe sīēba mén.

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 zǎŋí 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^{ɛ/}** "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 tuonnɛ? Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pu mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?
Nīn-saal ná nīŋ wālá_ø àñ pú-pìəl Wínà'am tûənnè +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 tûənnè +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^{ɛ/} 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^{ɛ/}** 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 kḗtí-n kà nīdɪb vōv-n

law-REL.IN 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'am

3PL TNS give and 3IN 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 sū'āa +ø.

and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide NEG.

"which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la ne ti.

Yà ná tūñ'e_ ø zín'i tēŋɿ-n lā né 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.IN 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 *ñyāŋ*^{E/} as the main verb in the sense "overcome":

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaje ba meŋa.

b̄ zúḡ b̄ k̄ t̄ñ'e_ ∅ ñyāŋí_ b̄ 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 t̄s n̄n-sáalā +∅, àmáa f̄ mà'

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give person-smooth:SG NEG but 2SG lie

n t̄s 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 k̄uēs b̄ŋv_ ∅ t̄s d̄y'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 kárìm_ ∅ gát John.

Isaac read:IPFV CAT pass:IPFV John.

"Isaac reads better than John." SB

À-Wīn gím_ ∅ gát À-Bōgur.

PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

Fu sid n̄ŋ mam gat bamaa?

F̄ síd n̄ŋ mām_ ∅ 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 yīsɪd nīdɪb tūm-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)

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-bé'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdɪb.
3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.
"He drives evil spirits out of people."

Ĕñrigum_ 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 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: KB *Ka o nindaa nwene winnig nē*)

Wĕn^{na/} takes a prepositional phrase with *wōv* "like" or *nĕ* "with" as complement. Any object without the article *lā*^{+/}, even a pronoun or proper name, must be followed by a meaningless *nĕ*. Before numbers and measurements *wĕn*^{na/} means "about, approximately"; numbers appearing alone are not followed by *nĕ*:

Li anε wuv maila ayi' nε.
Lì à nĕ wōv maila àyí nĕ.
 3IN 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 nĕ 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 nĕ* "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.
... yĕ lábà-sùŋ mólùg lā kĕt kà būudi wōsa lá'amìd
 ... that news-good:SG proclamation ART cause:IPFV and tribe all gather:IPFV
nĕ tāaba ∅ 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 òm lém yèti ∅ yâ'as
 and 1SG again say:IPFV CAT again

Ya'as ka m gos ... "Again I looked ..." (Rev 5:11, 1976)
Yà'as kà òm 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_ø kú-o_ø +ø.

3IN 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 nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisug laa.

Bà kūdīm níjìdī lí yé lì kè kà bà dā ñyē Kristo kúm

3PL ever do:IPFV 3IN.OB that 3IN cause and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death

dà-pūvdír námisùg láa +ø.

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_ø ná kè kà bà dā kpī'ílīm +ø.

3IN.CNTR CAT IRR cause and 3PL NEG.IMP finish NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Genesis 6:20)

After *kéε-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 ane wada la ket ka tvumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lì à né wādá lā_ø kēt kà tùm-bē'ed ñyēt páŋ.

And 3IN 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](#). 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 ^y*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 +∅?

3IN 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 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

3IN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3IN 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_ tì +∅?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN 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 pjàñ'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.

Fu 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 ku keen ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' pū kēŋé⁺ø, sōŋid lā kú kēēñ_ 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(l)*, 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(l)* in other clause types; without *nāan(l)* this is most often in the expression *bɔ̀ɔ̀dī-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

wūw mán bɔ̀ɔ̀dī-n yé yà âa-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 bɔ̀ɔ̀din ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga beε yaname naan aan tvuliga.

Mān bɔ̀ɔ̀dī-n nē yānámì_ø nāan âa-n mā'asígā bēε

1SG.CNTR want-DP that 2PL NZ then COP-DP cold:ADV or

yānámì_ø nāan âa-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-dāug 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-dāug
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'əmà
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 ...

3IN 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 tùm 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, 3IN 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.

3IN 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.IN 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.

Wīef yá' sīgí-n lì nī, lì zùluŋ ná páa-n ò sàlɪbɪr.

Horse:SG if descend-DP 3IN LOC, 3IN 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 kēε-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 3IN.OB, 3PL then NEG.IRR fasten-DP head-NUL.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 súmbūgusím zíná ñwá,

2PL if know-DP REL.IN IRR give 2PL.OB peace today this,

lì nāan āa-n súm!

3IN 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 pīāñ' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē +∅.

again speak day-INDF.IN 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 N̄-clauses

24.1 Overview

Kusaal transforms complete clauses into AdvPs or NPs by inserting the post-subject particle *ḥ* (for the realisation, see 7.2.) The *ḥ* by itself is a nominaliser, which turns the original clause "X" into an "absolute" clause signifying "it being the fact that X." N̄-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.

N̄-clauses have independent tense marking (but relative to the *narrative* timeline within narrative 19.3.5.) Irrealis mood must replace the imperative:

Yaname na mɔr sam si'a anε ye ya nɔŋ taaba.

Yānāmì ∅ nà mōr sām-sí'a á nē yé yà nɔŋ tāaba.

2PL NZ IRR have debt-INDF.IN COP FOC that 2PL love each.other.

"The debt which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8)

N̄-clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative pronouns are often preposed with *kà*. Dependents of *ḥ*-clauses may only be articles or predependent NPs, but *ḥ*-clauses can themselves be predependents.

Absolute *ḥ*-clauses normally take the article *lā*^{+/}. After relative clauses *lā*^{+/} has its usual function; clauses without *lā*^{+/} are usually indefinite but specific.

Ōn sōb á nē dáɥ-kàni sà kē nā sù'əs lā.

3AN.CNTR NULL.AN COP FOC man-REL.SG TNS come hither yesterday ART.

"That one's the man who came yesterday."

Dàp-bàni bɔɔd yé bà ñyέε_f ké nā.

Man-REL.PL want that 3PL see 2SG.OB come hither.

"Some men who want to see you have come."

onε du'a nε Siig

"someone born of the Spirit" (Jn 3:8)

òni dɥ'à nē Sīig

REL.AN bear with spirit:SG

onε tumi m la na

"he who sent me hither" (Mk 9:37)

òni tùmì_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 *n̄*-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 *n̄*-clause 19.10.

If a *n̄*-clause has a negative VP, the negative prosodic clitic is dropped unless the *n̄*-clause lacks *lā*⁺/ and is itself clause-final in the superordinate clause 26.

24.2 Absolute clauses

N̄-clauses without relative pronouns or indefinite pronouns used as relatives are **absolute clauses**, meaning "it being the fact that ...":

Dāy lā dāa zāb nà'ab lā.

Man:SG ART TNS fight chief:SG ART.

"The man has fought the chief."

dāy lá_∅ dāa zāb 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. As Kusaal is stricter than English in requiring constituent order to reflect event order, the VP-final adjunct position is usually confined to cases where the absolute clause expresses a state of affairs rather than a single event:

Ńn dāa ñyēt súḡā, 3n 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 dit 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 b́án yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máljāk níe ò mēŋ ...

And 3PL:NZ emerge ART and head-NULL.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 yēla la kē ka ti baŋ n̄ŋilim an si'em.

Kristo_∅ dà kp̄ii_ tì yēlá lā kē kà tì b́án n̄ŋilím_∅ 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 kē ka m a saalbiis zua la anē

mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka mē pu diti ba ki la.

Dìni kē kà m̄ áñ s̄aal-biis zúá lā á nē mán

REL.SG cause and 1SG COP smooth-child:PL friend:SG ART COP FOC 1SG:NZ

pū s̄añ'amídí_ b̄à lā'ad kà mē pū dítí_ b̄à 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

Verbs of perception or communication take content clauses or relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as objects, never absolute clauses.

Absolute clauses with *sādígím* "since, because" immediately following nominaliser-*ñ* occur as postlinker adjuncts expressing "reason why":

Tinamē sagidim aan o biis la, ti da tēn'ēs ...

Tīnámì_∅ sādígím áañ_ò biis lā, tì dā tēñ'ēs ...

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 ɔ́n sādígím kpí lā, b́ó kà m̄ 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 *bō zúgō* "because", absolute clauses form reason-why AdvPs used as adjuncts:

Ka ba la'as taaba n deni 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_ø ñyē Blestus ónì àñ nâ'ab Herod sāmán-nà'ab lā n māl sūer yé ò ñwé' nà'ab nú'ug, bà dīib ñ yīt ná'-tēŋ lā nā zúg.

And 3PL gather each.other CAT do.first CAT see Blastus REL.AN COP king:SG Herod courtyard-chief:SG ART CAT make way:SG that 3AN strike king:SG hand:SG,

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)

Kà-preposing 27.2 may be needed to match 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 just by coordination with *kà*.

Yēlá⁺ "concerning" appears after absolute clauses in NT section headings, and absolute clauses alone are used as picture captions:

Jesus n kpen' Jerusalem la yela

Jesus ñ kpèñ' Jerusalem lā yéla

Jesus NZ enter Jerusalem ART about

"[about] Jesus entering into Jerusalem."

Ban meed yir

"A house being built"

Bán mēed yīr

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

24.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are of two structural 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*.

In either case, the pronoun may be a head, as clause antecedent, or a dependent after a cb which is the clause antecedent. Relative clauses are restrictive when the pronouns are compounded with a cb, but need not be so otherwise.

Written materials avoid *kane k̄ani* as a relative for human reference (invariably so after proper names), substituting *one ñni*, which cannot be preceded by a cb; the resulting construction is appositional:

o sid one da be ne o la

ò sīd ñni dà bè né ò lā

3AN husband:SG REL.AN TNS EXIST with 3AN ART

"her husband, who was there with her" (Genesis 3:6)

Note that this example is unequivocally non-restrictive.

Uncompounded pronouns are obviously necessary with heads that lack cbs or have a coordinate structure:

kokor kaja lini yi arazana ni la na

kùkōr-kájā líni yí àrazánà ní lā nā

voice-DEMST.SG REL.IN emerge sky:SG LOC ART hither

"this voice which came from heaven" (2 Pet 1:18, 1976)

*nimbane yuda s̄ob **Pebil la gbaun̄on line** an nyɔvupaal dim gbaun̄ la*

nīn-báni yūdā s̄ōb PĒ'-bíl lā gbáun̄ō-n líni

person-REL.PL name:PL write Lamb:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.IN

añ ñyɔ-v̄p̄aal díim gbáun̄ lā

COP breath-alive-new:SG NULL.PL book:SG ART

"those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of those with new life" (Rev 21:27)

Mam Paul ne Timoti bane an Yesu Kristo tumtumnib la

Mām Paul nē Timoti báni añ 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)

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 with 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 wōsa lā
 God REL.AN PASS INDF.IN all ART
 "God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wuu banji gban'ad si'el si'em la
wūw bāñí_ ø gbāñ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā
 like trap:SG NZ seize:IPFV INDF.IN INDF.ADV ART
 "like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

O pa'al ne'enam nyain tis so' wusa on vu'ug ninkan kumin la zug.
Ò pà'al nē'-nám ñyāe_ ø tís sō' wōsa ón vū'ug nīn-kán
 3AN show DEM.IN-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 kanya tum si'el laa?
ò nà tūm tūm-ñyālímá_ ø gàad dàu-kàñá_ ø tùm sī'əl lāa +ø?
 3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT PASS man-DEMST.SG NZ work INDF.IN 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 be a head, as clause antecedent, or a dependent after a cb which is then the clause antecedent; in either case it remains *in situ* within the relative clause.

Wina'am nodi'esidib n daa yel si'el n sob Wina'am gbaunjin la, ane amena.
Wínà'am nó-dí'əsídıb n dāa yél sī'əl n sōb
 God mouth-receiver:PL NZ TNS say INDF.IN CAT write
Wínà'am gbáunjū-n lā á né àmēñá.
 God book:SG-LOC ART COP FOC truly.
 "What God's prophets said and wrote in God's book is true." (Mt 26:56, 1996)

The indefinite pronoun need not follow the verb directly:

... *fun yɛlim fun niŋ li si'el.*

... *fūn yélim fún niŋli sī'el.*

... 2SG.CNTR say:IMP 2SG:NZ do 3IN.OB INDF.IN.

"... that you say where you have put it." (Jn 20:15)

The antecedent of a relative clause using an indefinite pronoun cannot be the subject in the relative clause. It is either a verb object or complement, or adverbial, or a predependent in such a constituent. It may belong to a subordinate clause within the relative clause. The fact that the pronoun may be a predependent or appear in a subordinate clause proves that these constructions are internally headed; elements following the pronoun cannot simply be taken as dependents of the relative clause.

If the indefinite pronoun is not compounded with a preceding cb and is not part of an AdvP, it normally retains a specific-indefinite sense (the main exception in KB is a sequence in Rev 2-3 of *man nyɛ sɔ' la* "the one I saw.")

Ka ban tum sɔ' la ku gaad onɛ tum o la.

Kà bán tùm sɔ' lā kú gāad ónì tùm·o lāa +ø.

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)

Ka o niŋ on tun'e si'el.

Kà ò níŋ ón tūñ'e sī'el.

And 3AN do 3AN:NZ be.able INDF.IN.

"She has done **what** she could." (Mk 14:8,1996)

M na tisif fun bɔɔd si'el wusa.

M̃ ná tīsif fún bòɔd sī'el wūsa.

1SG IRR give 2SG.OB 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

"I will give you anything you want." (Mk 6:23)

Very often either the relative clause is the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception, or the pronoun is the complement of such a verb within the relative clause (or both.) Relative clauses with indefinite pronouns as relatives are strongly preferred in clauses corresponding to English "subordinate interrogative clauses" (CGEL pp1070ff, pp972ff.) Such cases account for most relative clauses with uncompounded indefinite pronouns in KB. (For example, 20/33 examples of relative clause with *sɔ'* in the 1996 NT are of this type.)

m na pa'ali ya on nwenε sɔ'.

ṁ ná pā'ali yá ɔ́n wēn nē sō'.

1SG IRR teach 2PL.OB 3AN:NZ resemble with INDF.AN.

"I will teach you **what** he is like." (Lk 6:47)

M mi' fun an sɔ'.

"I know **who** you are." (Lk 4:34)

Ṁ mí fún àñ sō'.

1SG know 2SG:NZ COP INDF.AN.

David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.

David dá tùm sō' yé ò bū'osi ∅ bāŋ pu'ā lá ∅ 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)

ya na baŋ man yeŋ ye m an sɔ' la.

yà ná bāŋ mán yeŋ yé ṁ àñ sō' 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' bunneε?

Gòsim yé fù ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá ∅ àñ sō' búnnèε +∅?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL NZ COP INDF.AN thing:SG PQ?

"Can you look and find out **whose** property these things are?" (Genesis 38:25)

Alaa mam me ku yeŋi ya mam nye nɔɔr la sɔ' san'ane.

Áláa mām mé kù yeŋi yá mán ñyē nɔɔr lā sō' sá'anē +∅.

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' yela la tisi ya

Ṁ ná tūmí ṁ Bā' ∅ zì'el nɔɔr sō' yéla ∅ 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)

... baŋi ba yaaname an sieba

... bāŋì bà yāa-námì ∅ àñ sīēba

... understand 3PL ancestor-PL NZ COP INDF.PL

"... discover **who** their ancestors were." (Ezra 2:61)

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.

M̄ mí' mán gāŋ s̄āba lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

"I know **those** whom I have chosen." (Jn 13:18)

Man mi' si'el nan anε bi'ela.

Mán mī' s̄āl nān á nē bī'elá.

1SG:NZ know INDF.IN now COP FOC small.ADV.

"**What** I know now is small." (1 Cor 13:12)

Ōn yèl s̄āl lā kā' sídāa +∅.

3AN:NZ say INDF.IN ART NEG.BE truth NEG.

"**What** he says is not true" SB

Kem yeli Joon yaname wum ka nye si'el.

Kēm_∅ yēli_∅ Joon yānāmì_∅ wòm kà ñyē s̄āl.

GO:IMP CAT say 2PL.SUB John 2PL NZ hear and see INDF.IN.

"Go and tell John **what** you have heard and seen." (Mt 11:4)

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinneε?

Yà bāŋ mán niŋ s̄āl lā gbínnεε +∅?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.IN ART meaning:SG CQ?

"Do you understand the meaning of **what** I have done?" (Jn 13:12)

Most occurrences of *s̄āl*^a in the 1996 NT are as relatives. 75/130 cases in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John show *s̄āl*^a, the entire relative clause, or both as the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception. Of the remaining 55 examples, in 33 *s̄āl*^a consistently has an abstract uncountable meaning, shading into "whatever", often with *wōsa*⁺ "all"; in the other 22 *s̄āl*^a has the locative meaning "where, whither"; neither the pronoun nor the clause have the locative particle.

Bozugo ya araza'ase be si'el la, ya potenda me bene anina.

Bō zúgú yà àrazà'así_∅ bè s̄āl lā, yà pù-tèñda mé bè né àní nā.

Because 2PL treasure NZ EXIST INDF.IN ART, 2PL mind:PL too EXIST FOC there.

"For **where** your treasure is, your mind is too." (Mt 6:21, 1996)

One keŋ likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ōni kēŋ líki-n zī' ón kēn s̄āla +∅.

REL.AN go darkness-LOC NEG.KNOW 3AN:NZ go:IPFV INDF.IN NEG.

"He who walks in darkness does not know **where** he is going." (Jn 12:35, 1996)

Bà pà'al-ō_ø bán nìḡ sī'am.

3PL inform 3AN.OB 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV.

"They informed him of what they'd done."

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 bédvḡ_ø 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 nìḡ ́n yèl_ bā sī'am lā.

3PL do 3AN:NZ tell 3PL.OB INDF.ADV ART.

"They did as he'd told them."

Sī'am-relative clauses occur often as objects of *wōv* "like", *wēn*^{na/} "resemble"

...ka ya na ke ka nidib dɔl man wov ziingba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

...kà yà ná ké kà nīdɪb dɔl mán wōv zīḡ-gbāñ'adɪb_ø

...and 3PL IRR cause and person:PL follow 1SG.CNTR like fish-catcher:PL NZ

gbāñ'ad zīmí sī'am 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'am*-clause for "despite how..." 18.

Relative clauses with an indefinite pronoun dependent on a preceding cb are uncommon compared with *kà*-preposing with relative pronouns. KB has only a few cases with *sī*⁺ or *sīaba*⁺; *sīa*⁺ is commoner, but mostly follows cbs expressing place or time. Indefinite pronouns used as relatives after cbs are not confined to specific indefinite meanings or complements of verbs of cognition, reporting, or perception.

*Fun bɔɔd ye fu ku **dau sɔ'** la ya'a kpi...*

Fún b̀̀ɔ̀ɔ̀d 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)

*Nidib la da wum Yesu n tum **tuum sieba** ...*

Nīdɪb lā dá wùm Yesu n tùm tùm-sīəba ...

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-síəbà dá kā' 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)

*Kem tu'us Samaria na'abi tum **ninsieba** la na ...*

Kèm_∅ tū'us Samaria ná'abí_∅ tùm nīn-síəbà 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)

*Tiig walaa bigisid lin an **tisi'a**.*

Tìg wélà_∅ bìgɪsɪd lín àñ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IMPF 3IN:NZ COP tree-INDF.IN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows **what tree** it is." (Mt 12:33)

*Ka bugum dit **teḡ tita'asi'a** la nyɔ'ɔs dvt ne agɔl saŋa dine ka' benne.*

Kà bùgúm_∅ dít téḡ-títá'-sī'a lā ñyɔ'ɔs dvt né

And fire NZ eat:IPFV land-big-INDF.IN ART smoke ascend:IPFV FOC

àgól sāŋá dīnɪ kā' bēnne +∅.

ADV:upwards time:SG REL.IN NEG.HAVE end:SG NEG.

"The smoke of the great city which fire consumes goes up eternally." (Rev 19:3)
referring to *Babilon teḡ tita'ar la* "the great city of Babylon" (Rev 18:21)

*Nannanna, yaname daa sɔb **gbauḡ si'a** la ka m sɔbidi lebisidi ya.*

Nānná-nā, yānámì_∅ dāa sɔb gbáḡ-sī'a lá kà

Now, 2PL NZ TNS write letter-INDF.IN ART and

ḡ sɔbɪdɪ_∅ lébɪsɪdī_ yá.

1SG write:IPFV CAT answer:IPFV 2PL.OB.

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1)

Paul n sob **gbaun̄ si'a** n tis Efesus dim la

Paul ñ s̄b gbáun̄-sī'a n tís Efesus dí̄m lā

Paul NZ write letter- INDF.IN CAT give Ephesus NULL.PL ART

"**the letter** which Paul wrote to the Ephesians" (NT heading)

In 42/56 relative clauses with *sī'a*⁺ in the 1996 NT, *sī'a*⁺ follows cbs of nouns referring to times or places:

M Zugsoba, ti zi' fun ken **zin'isi'a** la.

Ì Zūg-sóbā +∅, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-sī'a lāa +∅.

1SG Head-NULL.AN VOC, 1PL NEG.KNOW 2SG:NZ go:IPFV place-INDF.IN 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 ón bè dós-sī'a lā ní.

And fire appear 3SG:NZ EXIST room-INDF.IN ART LOC.

"And fire illuminated the room where he was." (Acts 12:7, 1996)

Abraham da nan kae' **sansī'a** la, ka man pun be.

Abraham dá nàm kā'ε s̄an-sī'a lā, kà m̄an pún bè.

Abraham TNS still NEG.BE time-INDF.IN ART, and 1SG.CNTR already EXIST.

"When Abraham still did not exist, I already existed." (Jn 8:58, 1996)

Indefinite pronouns as relatives may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

ka fun gban'e **ziin̄ si'a yiiga** la, fun ya'am o n̄ɔɔr ...

kà fún gbāñ'e zīn̄-sī'a yīigá lā, fūn yā'am ò n̄ɔɔr ...

and 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN 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 **gbaun̄ yiiga daan** n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul ñ s̄b gbáun̄ yīigá dāan n tís Korint dí̄m lā_∅ 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)

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 *òni kàni òni bàni* (always written *one kanε line banε* in KB) where the final *-i* is due to liaison before the nominaliser, which is itself invariably realised *∅* in this case.

M ñyέ dáyu-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 itself the subject of the relative clause 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 "those whom the chief fought" WK

DEM.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

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 díim kīs

DEM.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.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; rarely, the nominaliser may be inserted after the relative clause subject as well.

gbauŋ kanε ka dau la sɔb la

for *gbàuŋ-kàn kà dāyu lā sōb lā*

letter-DEM.SG and man:SG ART write ART

"the letter which the man has written"

dau kanε yadda niŋiri pu zu'oe
dà̀y-kà̀ni yàddā-níŋìrì ∅ p̄ zú'e lā
 man-DEM.SG assent-doing:SG NZ NEG.IND become.great ART
 "a man whose faith is not great..." (Mt 14:31)

It is thus best to regard *̀ni k̀ni òni b̀ni* synchronically as subordinating relative pronouns rather than demonstrative + nominaliser combinations. Where the historically expected *̀n k̀n òn b̀n* appear as heads of relative clauses they will elsewhere be regarded as allomorphs of the relative pronouns in that context:

M̄ ñýé dá̀y-kà̀ni zàb nà'ab lā.
 1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART
 "I saw the man who fought the chief."

b̀n k̀ nà'ab lā zàb lā "those whom the chief fought."
 REL.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

Toende Kusaal shows the same development (nominaliser-*̀n* is *ne* in Toende):

N sa nye buraa kanne da da'a gbana la.
 "I saw the man who bought the book." (Abubakari 2011)

N sa nye buraa kanne ka Ayi da nye la.
 "I saw the man that Ayi saw." *ibid*

If the antecedent is the subject within a relative clause, or a predependent of the subject, a relative pronoun must be used:

b̀ni zàb nà'ab lā "those who fought the chief"
 REL.PL fight chief:SG ART

M̄ ñýé dá̀y-kà̀ni 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
n̄n-b̀n̄n̄ ȳd́á s̄ɔb P̄ɛ'-b̄l̄ lā gbáun̄-n̄ lín̄
 person-REL.PL name:PL write Lamb:SG ART book:SG-LOC REL.IN
àñ ñȳɔ-v̄-p̄aal dí̄m gbáun̄ lā
 COP breath-alive-new:SG NULL.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. Here *kà*-preposing has no foregrounding sense. *Kà*-preposed relative pronouns are commoner than indefinite pronouns as relatives, except with clauses used adverbially or corresponding to English subordinate interrogative clauses.

Gbauŋ kane ka Jerusalem kpeenmnam daa sob la nwa.

Gbàuŋ-kàni kà Jerusalem kpééñm-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.IN and 3PL have hither

"the charge they are bringing against me" (Acts 25:11)

yeltɔɔd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la

yēl-tōɔd àyópòɛ bání kà màlīāk-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)

niŋkane [1996 niŋkan] 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 putɛn'er ye o na lɛbis line zu'oe.

Ōnì kà bà tís·ò_ø kà lì zú'e, bà mɛ mōr

REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have

pú-tèñ'er yé ò nà lēbīs línì zù'e.

inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.IN become.much.

"**Whom** they have given much **to**, they expect he will return much." (Lk 12:48)

Búraa sō dāa bɛ ànīa, **ōn** kà mān né**ōn** 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

nimbane ka ya tɛn'ɛs ye **ba** anɛ tuongatib la
 nīn-báni kà yà tēñ'ɛs yé bà à nē tūɛn-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)

line [1996 lin] ka Kristo bɔɔd ye ti pian' la
 lìni kà Kristo bɔɔd yé tì pīāñ' lā
 REL.IN 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 níd, òn būudí kà Jew díim kīs
 Samaritan person:SG REL.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.PL hate
 "a Samaritan, **whose** tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

bikane [1996 biig kan] puvɔg ka o mɔr la
 bì-kàni púvɔg kà ò mɔr 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 *nī*^{+/}:

yikan ka mam Paul be la yidaan
 yī-kán kà mām Paul bé 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)

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 mālī_tì bē'edi_∅ wēn nē

and 3IN.CNTR COP FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make 1PL bad CAT resemble with

tīnāmì_∅ dāa pū mālī_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 the meaning is sometimes attenuated from "so that" to merely "until."

Purpose clauses may be VP adjuncts:

Bà tīs·ō_∅ kû'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 tīm yé fù nīf dā zābē +∅.

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 tīm kà ò nóbìr dā zābē +∅.

3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight NEG.

"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

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."

3IN 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.

3IN 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.

3IN COP FOC necessity and 1SG do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"I must do that." (1 Cor 9:16, 1996); there are no examples with *kà* 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)

Ánó'ónē 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 zúgǔw +∅?

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'ɔnɛ?

Yà tēñ'εs kà m áañ ànɔ'ɔnɛ +∅?

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-sóɓ lā yē ...

And head-NULL.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 kúv bā.
 3AN say that 3AN.CNTR IRR kill 3PL.OB.

It is possible to say *Ò yèl yé ò nà kúv 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 ^{ya} 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 ^{ya} 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 ellipied 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,
• *nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.*
Kà ò wóm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yī áràzàná ní nā yē,
And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN 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 òn yéì 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 òn 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 bā 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, *pō* 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 pō 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)

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."

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 pō 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)

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 the adjunct *yē*-clause has probably been extraposed in:

Nidib be ka pu tum si'ela ye ba a popielim dim...

Nīdīb bē kà pō túm sī'ēla +∅ yē bà áñ pú-pìəlīm

person:PL EXIST and NEG.IND work:IPFV INDF.IN NEG that 3PL COP inside-whiteness

dīm ...

NULL.PL.

"There are people who haven't done anything that they become blessed" (Rom 4:5, 1976); revised completely in the 1996 version.

Again, in this example, the *kà*-clause can be taken as a coordinate clause carrying on the narrative:

Ka li pu yuugε ka o pu'a mε kena.

Kà lì pō yúugē^{+∅}, kà ò pu'ā mé kē nā.

And 3IN NEG.IND delay NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7)

Negative clitics are omitted after *ñ*-clauses containing a negative unless they both lack articles and are clause-final within the main clause:

Nīn-báni pō díť ná kpī.

Person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV IRR die.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

M ñyé nīn-báni pō díťā^{+∅}.

1SG see person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV NEG.

"I've seen some people who don't eat." WK

The same is true of VPs nominalised by the personifier particle:

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

À-Pō-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bíig 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

Clauses with *yà'* "if" keep their own negative clitics:

Ba ya'a pu niñ si'ela, o pu'usim dɔɔg la na lieb zaalim.

Bà yá' pō níñ sī'ēla^{+∅}, ò pù'usim dɔɔg lā ná līāb zāalím.

3PL if NEG.IND do INDF.IN 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 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-biig pu'á Herodiase +∅.

3IN 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 bōod ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bōod 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 tēn'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.

Mām pō tēn'es yē ò nà kēlígí m 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 bāŋ yé ò pō yī Wínà'am sâ'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 lēe pu baŋ ye li ane one.

kà ò lēe pō bāŋ yé lì à nē òne +∅.

And 3AN but NEG.IND realise that 3IN 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 kâ' X kà ... /Lì kâ' X n ... "It's not X that ..."

X ká'ē kà ... /X kâ'ē n ... "There's no X that ..."

Sō' kae na nyanji dɔl zugdaannam ayi'...

Sō' kâ'e_∅ ná ñyāŋj_∅ dɔl zūg-dâan-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.

Sógjà-sō' kâ'e n tùm kà yōod 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 yel si'el la zug, ka ti niŋ o yadda.

Lì lè̀m k̄ā' fún yè̀l sī'əl lā zúg kà tì níŋ·ò_∅ yáddáa +∅.

3IN again NEG.BE 2SG:NZ say INDF.IN 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)

Relative clauses can be used:

Da m̄ɔr n̄ɔr yinne ne banɛ ka' yadda niŋidib la ye ya niŋ si'ela.

Dā m̄ɔr n̄ɔr yīnní nē bānì k̄ā' yáddā-niŋidib 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.IN 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 bāa bī'əláa +∅.

NEG.IMP work 2PL.SUB INDF.IN at.all NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Leviticus 23:31)

Amaa ba pu nyanji nye line tu'al baa yinne.

Àmáa bà pū ñyāŋi_∅ ñyē línì tū'al [+∅] bāa yīnní.

But 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT find REL.IN condemn [NEG] not one.

"But they couldn't find anything condemning, not one thing." (Mt 26:60)

Ka nid baa yinne pu yel ye on m̄ɔr si'el la, onɛ su'oe lii.

Kà nīd bāa yīnní pū yé̀l yḗ ɔ́n m̄ɔr

and person:SG not one NEG.IND say that 3AN:NZ have

sī'əl lā, ɔ́n_∅ sū'v_ lī_ +∅.

INDF.IN ART 3AN.CNTR CAT OWN 3IN.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 bāa yīnní ká'e kà ò yū'ur bûɔn 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 mε pu sv'oe o mεη ningbinaa. Li anε o pu'a sv'oe li.

Kà dāy mé pū s'ú'v ò mēη nín-gbīnáa +∅.

And man:SG also NEG.IND OWN 3AN self body-skin:PL NEG.

Lì á né ò pɥ'ā ∅ s'ú'v lī.

3IN COP FOC 3AN wife CAT OWN 3IN.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 tuumbε'edi basida?

Àn'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*

Preceding a VP constituent, the particle *nē*^{+/} focusses that constituent, while VP-final *nē*^{+/} focusses the entire VP contrastively.

On distinguishing constituent-focus *nē*^{+/} from the preposition *nē* "with, and" see 19.8.4. Confusion with the *nē* following objects of comparison is unlikely 18.

The aspect particle *nē*^{+/} bound to the verb 19.2.1 represents a specialised use of the same particle for temporal focus. The aspectual interpretation normally prevails over constituent focus. When *nē*^{+/} is excluded by formal constraints, or is present but separated from the verb by free words, the different aspectual meanings still appear if the verb meaning permits it, but are unmarked.

Nē^{+/} cannot appear in either constituent-focus or aspectual senses

if the subject has *n*-focus
in nominalised clauses
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 Sun.

Fù pū má' 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-sùŋ.

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)

N-focussing of the subject:

M̄ zūgu ∅ zábìd.

1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts." (No aspectual *nē*^{+/})

Reply to "Where is the pain?"

Ànó'oni ∅ dít sá'abò +∅?

Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge CQ?

"Who eats/is eating millet porridge?" (No aspectual *nē*^{+/})

Nominalised clauses:

Ò dāa á nē bīig.

3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

"She was a child."

but *ón àñ bīg lā zúg* "because she's a child"
 3AN:NZ COP child:SG ART upon

M̄ yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
 1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

but *Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala"
Meeri ónì yī Magdala (Mk 16:9, 1996)
 Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

Focus-*nē*^{+/} can occur in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m bɔɔd ye fɔ nyɛnɛ bɔɔd.

Pjàñ'am kà m̄ bɔɔd yé fù ñyē nē bɔɔd.

Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Job 33:32)

Content questions:

Bó kà fù kúmmà +∅? "Why are you crying/do you cry?"
 What and 2SG cry:IPFV CQ?

Fù níjìd bó +∅? "What are you doing/do you do?"
 2SG do:IPFV what CQ?

Fù wá'e yáa +∅? "Where are you going/do you go?"
 2SG go where CQ?

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná +∅?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

M̄ á nē dāy. "I am a man."
 1SG COP FOC man:SG.

but *Mām áñ bó +∅?* "What am I?"
 1SG.CNTR COP what CQ?

Fù áañ_àń'ɔnè +∅? "Who are you?"
 2SG COP who CQ?

Fù b̂ɔɔd b̂ɔ + \emptyset ? "What do you want?"
2SG want what CQ?

but *Fù b̂ɔɔd n̄ b̂ɔ* + \emptyset ? "What do you want it with?"
2SG want with what CQ? *N̄* must be interpreted as preposition (WK)

Certain words do not prevent focus-*n̄*^{+/} from being used in the clause but cannot themselves be focussed with *n̄*^{+/}. They include *ŝɔ̄n̄*^{+/} "good", *ŝɔm*^m "good", *b̂ɛ'ɛd*^ɛ "bad", *ŝɪd̂a*⁺ "truth" when used as adverbs, and the "two, three exactly" quantifier forms *à̀ȳn̄*^{+/} *à̀t̄n̄*^{+/}. AdvPs formed by coordinating such words and NPs with these quantifiers as dependents share the same property.

Lì àñ ŝɔ̄n̄. "It's good."
3IN COP good:ADV.

Lì àñ b̂ɛ'ɛd. "It's bad."
3IN COP bad:ABSTR.

[*ye ka*] *o sariakadib a sum ne sida.*
ò ŝaríyà-k̄ad̂ɪb àñ ŝúm n̄ ŝídà.
3AN law-drive:GER COP good:ABSTR with truth.
"His judgment is good and true. (Rev 19:2, 1976)

If *n̄*^{+/} 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](#).

27.1.2.1 VP constituent focus

The use of *n̄*^{+/} to focus a VP constituent, as opposed to the entire VP, is possible only in statements and polar questions. The aspectual sense of *n̄*^{+/} must be impossible and the constituent in question must permit *n̄*^{+/}-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:

M̂ dá' b̂ún̄. "I've bought a donkey."
1SG buy donkey:SG. ("What have you done?")

M̂ dá' n̄ b̂ún̄. "I've bought a *donkey*."
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. ("What have you bought?")

Nīigí òñbìd nē mōɔd. "Cows eat *grass*."
 Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. ("What do [generic] cows eat?")

However, under the scope of a negative, focus is likely to be **contrastive**:

Ṁ pū dá' b̀̀ngā +∅. "I haven't bought a donkey."
 1SG NEG.IND buy donkey:SG NEG.

Ṁ pū dá' nē búngā +∅. "I haven't bought a *donkey*."
 1SG NEG.IND buy FOC donkey NEG. ("I bought something else.")

Definite objects/predicative complements normally have old-information status, making the ordinary-focus sense of "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable" unlikely; hence *nē*^{+/} before a definite object is usually aspectual:

Nīigí lā òñbìd nē mōɔd lā.
 Cow:PL ART chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.
 "The cows are eating the grass."

Nā'-síbà òñbìd nē mōɔd lā.
 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 tisid **nε** kikiris, ka pu maanne tisid Wina'am.*

Lini kà bà'-māannib mâanni_ ∅ tísìd bádà lā, bà màanni_
 REL.IN 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 *àñ^a* "be something/somehow" 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."
3IN 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 suvgin la anε banε wum pian'ad la, ka...

Kà bōn-búvdà bànì lù gòñ'ɔs súvgō-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 nε dua gbinin. Ba zamisid nε bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Bīis lā dí'əmìd nē dúañ gbínnī-n. Bà zàmɪsɪd 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

(The relationship between Apam and the children is new information.)

In this context proper names are not referential:

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 a negative, focus is usually **contrastive**:

M̐ á nē d̥y'átà. "I'm a doctor."
1SG COP FOC doctor:SG.

M̐ kā' d̥y'átāa +∅. "I'm not a doctor."
1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG NEG.

M̐ kā' nē d̥y'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 with a postposition. The fact that a referent is at a known place is new information.

Dāy lā bé nē d̥ɔ-kàŋā lā p̥úvg̥ū-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 bé nē m̥ɔɔgv-n.
1SG.CNTR EXIST FOC grass:SG-LOC.

M̐ yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Yadda niŋir yitnɛ labaar la wum̥mug ni.
Yàddā-níŋìr yít nē lābāar lā wúmmùg ní.
Assent-doing emerge:IPFV FOC news ART hearing LOC.
"Faith comes from hearing the news." (Rom 10:17)

Contrast the existential use of *bè*⁺, where the locative is an adjunct:

Dày-s̥' bé d̥ɔ-kàŋā lā p̥úvg̥ū-n.
Man-INDFAN 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 dít s̥ā'ab nē z̥āam. "We eat millet porridge *in the evening*."
1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening. ("When do you eat porridge?")

27.1.2.2 VP focus

Focus on the VP as a whole with VP-final $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$ is always contrastive, because non-contrastive focus on the VP is the default. It may occur in statements, polar questions and direct commands. Aspectual interpretation must be impossible.

Aspectual sense ruled out by the position of $n\bar{e}^{+/-}$:

\bar{O} *kùəsɪd 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:

\bar{O} *gìm nē.* "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
 3AN be.short FOC.

Lì zùlɪm nē. "It's *deep*."
 3IN be.deep FOC.

\bar{M} *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'a*^{+/-} "make cool")
 3IN 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 dīgɪl nē.
3AN lay.down FOC.

"He's *laid it down*." ("I thought he'd pick it up.")

Kà lì bódìg nē.
And 3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's *lost*."

Contradicting "someone hid it." [19.3.5](#)

Ò dīgɪn nē.
3AN lie.down FOC.

"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."
WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ən nē.
3AN stand.still FOC.

"She's *pregnant*." (Not "She has stood still.")
An idiomatic euphemistic use.

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
3IN COP FOC 2PL fellow REL.PL greet:IPFV God and 3IN 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](#):

Ōnɪ_ ø lá kà fù dāa ñyēt.
3AN.CNTR CAT that and 2SG TNS see:IPFV.
"This is he whom you saw." WK

Ànó'ɔnɪ_ø ñwá kà tì ñyētá +ø?
Who CAT this and 1PL see:IPFV CQ?
"Who is this that we can see?"

B̄ɔ̄_ø lá kà m̄ 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.

Aσεε line an bε'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àséé líni àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m̄ ná tūñ'e_ø níŋ.

Only REL.IN COP bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.

"It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

B̄ɔ̄ kà f̄ù 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 NULL.PL ART about.

"Therefore, I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you whose tribe is not Jewish." (Eph 3:1, 1996)

B̄ʾəl b̄ʾəl kà k̄ōlīg p̄ē'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 +ø?

Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither CQ?

"Where is the light coming from?" SB

However *b̄ɔ̄* "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 **Fù kúm bó?* *"What are you crying?"

Bó kà... is by far the most frequent way of rendering "Why?", and usually has this meaning, but foregrounding of *bó* in the normal sense "What?" also occurs:

Bɔ ka ti na niŋɛ? "What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)
Bó kà tì ná niŋɛ +∅?
 What and 1PL IRR do CQ?

Other queried NP objects in content questions are often preposed with *kà*:

Nū'-bíbɪsá_ àlá 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 súñf dá pɛlig né 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":

Niŋgbij bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?
nìn-gbīj bɔ-būudí kà bà ná tī mɔrá +∅?
 Body-skin:SG what-sort and 3PL IRR afterwards have CQ?
 "What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

but *Fù bɔɔd bɔ +∅?* "What do you want?"
 2SG want what CQ?

Mām áñ b́ +∅? "What am I?"
1SG.CNTR COP what CQ?

Kà fù áañ_àń'ónè +∅? "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 *nē*^{+/}:

Ñwādisá_àtáñ' 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 dít 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: 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 né kà ò zót.
Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.
"It's like a donkey that he runs."

**Né ò nū'ug kà ò sī'is.*
*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. 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. Extraposed manner-adverbs are intensified:

Ya yidigya bɛdegv. "You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)
Yà yídìg yā bédvǔgō.
 2PL go.astray PFV much.

M̄ pū'vs yā bédvǔgō. "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 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.")
 3IN 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.

Wilkanɛ bɛɛ m ni ka pɔ wanna, m Ba' nwaadi li nɛ [sic: 1996 n] basid.

Wil-kànɪ bɛɛ_m ní kà pō wénnā +∅,
 Branch-REL.SG EXIST 1SG LOC and NEG.IND bear.fruit:IPVF NEG.

m̄ Bā' ñwá'adī_í n básìd.
 1SG father:SG cut:IPFV 3IN.OB CAT throw.out:IPFV.

"A branch which is in me and does not bear fruit, my father cuts out."
 (Jn 15:2)

Onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mɛ mɔr pɔtɛn'er ye o na lɛbis line zu'oe.

Ōnɪ kà bà tís-ò_∅ kà lì zú'e, bà mɛ mɔr
 REL.AN and 3PL give 3AN.OB and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have

pú-tèñ'er yé ò nà lɛbis línì zù'e.
 inside-mind:SG that 3AN IRR return REL.IN 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 tejin la.

Mām Paul ... tísìd gbáŋ-kàŋā Wínà'am nídìb bàni àñ

1SG.CNTR Paul ... give:IPFV book-DEMST.SG God person:PL REL.PL COP

sídà díím kà áñ yīnní nē Jesus Christ Efesus téjī-n lā.

truth NULL.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 [15.8.5](#). 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 díím nìd yīnní dà bè ...

Pharisee NULL.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

Dāu 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 mór_ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōll-ó_ø.

And woman-INDF.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 pō 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)

Anina ka o nyε dau ka o yu'vr buon Aneas.

Áníná kà ò ñyē dáy 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-kánì ...</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 kōnbkem sūη la.

Māni_ ∅ áñ kóñb-kìm-sùη lā.

1SG.CNTR CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.

"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

Contrastive pronouns can be subjects of *ñ*-clauses [15.4.1](#):

wuu mane a si'em la.

"as I am." (1 Cor 7:7, 1996)

wūv mání_ ∅ 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 relate a NP or AdvP to the discourse context. They follow top-level NPs or AdvPs, with the exception of *hālí*⁺, which precedes.

mè DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause finally (all sources) *mèn*^ε "also, too"

bɔʒugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn.

bɔ́ zúgɔ̀ ò à né fù bīig mén.

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 pɹ'ā mé kè 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.

Àséé líni àñ bɛ'ɛd má'aa kà m ná tũñ'e_ ø níŋ.

Only REL.IN 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' nē Wínà'am gùllimnɛ +ø +ø?

3IN NEG.BE FOC God only NEG PQ?

"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kòtāa^{nɛ} "at all":

Áyì kòtāa.

"Not at all."

nɔɔ⁼ "just, exactly"

dāa-kàn lā nɔɔ

"that very day"

Fu ya'a m̄r ya'am, fun n̄w na dii li malisim.

Fù yá' m̄r yā'am, fūn n̄w ná dí_lì mālísím.

2SG if have sense, 2SG.CNTR exactly IRR eat 3IN 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 t̄umbē'ed dim niḡid ala.

Hālí t̄um-bē'ed dí_m níḡid àlá.

Even deed-bad:PL NULL.PL do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)

Before a manner-adverb it effectively means "very":

Lì t̄e hālí bédugō. "It's very difficult."

3IN be.bitter until much.

The adverb may be ellipted: *Lì t̄e hālí.*

Hālí may be preposed with *kà*:

Hali ka nidib m̄r ban'adnam na.

Hālí kà nīdib m̄r bāñ'ad-nām 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 lampōdi'esidib me niḡid ala.

Hālí baa làmpō-dí'əsìdib mé niḡid 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 z̄o ka basif, man ku basi f̄o.

Hālí baa bàmmā wūsa yá' nà z̄ó kà básì_f,

Even DEMST.PL all if IRR run and abandon 2SG.OB,

mān kú bāsì_f +∅.

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?" or
<i>Dúø wēlá?</i>	"How did you get up?" (morning greetings at first meeting)
<i>Nīntāŋ á wēlá?</i>	"How is the day/afternoon?"
<i>Yú'uy á wēlá?</i>	"How is the evening?" literally "night"
<i>Fù yī-dímàa?</i>	"[How are] your household?"
<i>Nìn-gbīnáa?</i>	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
<i>Fù sìdaa?</i>	"[How is your] husband?"
<i>Pu'ā nē bíisèè?</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 in itself.)
<i>Àláafù bé·o.</i>	... for him/her.
<i>Àláafù béε bá.</i>	... for them.

(b) Blessings follow the pattern *Bárikà né fù/yà ...* "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipited; 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>	"(Blessing on your) work!"; includes practically anything which could be regarded as work, making this the commonest daytime greeting.
<i>Nē sŏñsīgā.</i>	"(Blessing on your) conversation"; greeting a group of people talking; also greeting a person sitting quietly alone, assumed to be conversing with his or her own <i>wīn</i> ^{NE/} .
<i>Né fù bŏrlyá-sùŋ.</i>	"Merry Christmas."
<i>Né fù yùum-pāalíg.</i>	"Happy New Year."

(c) Prayers. Reply *Àmí!* "Amen!"*Wīn ná lēbisi f nē láafīya.*

"Safe journey!" literally "[I pray that] God will bring you back in health."

Wīn ná sōŋi f.

"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Wīn ná tā'así f.

"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

(d) Statements of fact and commands. Reply *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate.*Bēogv lā.*

"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")

Àtínì dáarì lā.

"See you on Monday."

Gbìsım sūŋā.

"Sleep well."

Kpèlımī súm.

"Remain well"; Goodbye, to those remaining.

Pò'usım yín.

"Greet (those) at home"; Goodbye, to leaver.

Reply *Tò* "OK", or *Bà nà wōm* "They will hear."

(e) Miscellaneous formulae

M̄ p̄'us yā [béduḡū]."Thankyou [very much]." Reply *Tò*, or *Pò'usug k̄ā'e*. "No thanks [needed]."*Gáafàra.*

"Sorry." Like Ghanaian English "sorry", may be just an expression of sympathy.

*Kābir k̄ābirí!*Formula asking admission to a dwelling. Twi *agoo* is also used. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is at home.)*Dìm sūḡurú.*

"Please forgive me."

M̄ bélim nē.

"I beg you." Not "please"; Kusaasi etiquette needs no spoken equivalent of "please."

X lábāar á wēlá?"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is *Dīlb má'āa*. "Only food." i.e. "good."*M̄ mōr k̄u'əm náa?*"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is *Kù'əm á súm*. ("Water is good.")*Wīn yél sídà.*

"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth"; WK explained: "If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you."

Fò wóm Kūsáalèè?

"Do you understand ['hear'] Kusaal?"

Ēēñ, m̄ wóm.

"Yes, I do."

Áyì, m̄ p̄ wómmā.

"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. Many basic terms do not distinguish sex in the way familiar in European languages. 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>pùgvɔɖɪb</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 *pɔ'á-yù*⁺ "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-pɔ'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-t̄ɔǎ̄r^ε*, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's brothers-in-law.

I am my wife's parents' *bīg^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-dāu⁺</i> , ♀ <i>dàyāam-puāk^a</i>)
husband's elder brother		<i>sìd-kpēɛ̄ñm^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' *bīg^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 Kusaal personal names in English-language contexts see [1.1](#).

The Kusaasi do not use surnames traditionally. Christians use English (or French) baptismal names in speaking European languages, and in official contexts use their Kusaal personal names as "surnames."

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	person with a <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/} from father's family
<i>À-Bōgur</i> ^ε	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/} from mother's family
<i>À-Tìlg</i> ^a	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgur</i> ^{ε/}
<i>À-Kūdvg</i> ^ɔ	Akudugu	"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-bíl*^a "Awimbillah", of *À-Kūdvg*^ɔ, *À-Kud-bīl*^a "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern *À-Wīn-puāk*^a "Awimpoaka."

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

<i>À-Nà'ab</i> ^a	Anaba	"chief" but in the sense "afterbirth" (because a chief leaves his house after his retainers): sole survivor of twins
<i>À-Fūug</i> ^{ɔ/}	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
<i>À-Tūl</i> ^{lε}	Atuli	(<i>tūlg</i> ^ε "invert"): breech-delivered child

A whole clause is seen as a birth-circumstance personal name in

À-Tìlm 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; the next surviving child may then be called e.g.

<i>À-Tāmpūr</i> ^ε	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
<i>À-Dūk</i> ^{ɔ/}	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like *Jambeedu* "Fulani", or

<i>À-Sāan</i> ^{a/}	Asana	"guest, stranger"
<i>À-Sāan-dú</i> ⁺	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāy</i> ⁺ "man"
<i>À-Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
<i>À-Nàsà-puāk</i> ^a	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

Names based on adjectives:

<i>Ñ-Dāvg</i> ^ɔ	Ndago	"male"
<i>Ñ-Puāk</i> ^a	Mpoaka	"female"
<i>Ñ-Bīl</i> ^a	Mbillah	"little"

Muslims often use day-of-the-week names depending on birth. 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 Arabic names, sometimes adapted into Kusaal, like *Dàhamáani*⁺/*Dàsmáani*⁺ *ʿAbdu-r-Raḥma:n*. KKY p6 has the interesting girl's name *Amɔryam*, ? Arabic *Maryam* "Mary", interpreted as *À-Mṣr Yām* "Has Common Sense."

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>Kùkpàrig</i> ^a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
<i>Tèmpáan</i> ^{nɛ}	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
<i>Mu'à-nɔɔr</i> ^{ɛ/}	Mogonori	"lakeside" ("lake-mouth")
<i>Bàs-yōn</i> ^{nɛ/}	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ?reason for name
<i>Kūgur</i> ^{ɛ/}	Kugri	"stone"
<i>Būgur</i> ^ɛ	Bugri	<i>būgur</i> ^ɛ , object housing a <i>wīn</i> ^{nɛ/}
<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>Pūsiga</i> ^{a/}	Pusiga	"tamarind"
<i>Tīl</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>nṣ-dī'əs</i> ^a "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"
<i>Sā-bíl</i> ^a	Zebilla	"small grass"?
<i>Sā-píə̀lìg</i> ^a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isoberlinia Doka</i> "
<i>K̀l-tā'amís</i> ^ε	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 Isoberlinia doka*, *ta-anga Butyrospermum parkii* (Kusaal *tá'ə̀*^a), and *kulta-anga Andira inermis* (p.c. John Turl.)

WK thought that the *sā-* of *Sā-bíl*^a and *Sā-píə̀lìg*^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 *K̀lvgúɔ*^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>Àg̀l</i> ^{lε}	Agolle	cf <i>àg̀l</i> ^{lε} "upwards"
<i>T̀ə̀n</i> ^{nε}	Toende	cf <i>t̀ə̀n</i> ^{nε} "in front", "West"
<i>Bārvɔ</i> ^{ɔ/}	North	"Bisa country"
<i>Ñyá'ə̀</i> ^a	East	"behind"
<i>Zuēya</i> ⁺	South	"hills", i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment
<i>T̀ə̀n</i> ^{nε}	West	"in front"

The forms above were given by WK; KB has *ya-dagɔbug yà dàg̀bɔg*^a ("your left hand") for "south" and *ya-datiuɔ yà dàtìuɔ*^ɔ ("your right hand") for "north," along with *ya-nyá'ə̀* "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: *K̀tāuɔ*^{ɔ/} "any place inhabited by the clan *K̀tām*^{ma/}"; *K̀sáuvɔ*^ɔ "Kusaasiland"; *M̀ɔɔg*^ɔ "Mossi country" (*M̀ɔɔg Nā'ab*^a "Moro Naba, King of the Mossi.")

Places outside *Kūsâvg*^ɔ generally do not have Kusaal names (an exception is *Sānkāañs*^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 *kɔlvɔg*^a "river"; presumably this is simply because it is the only real river within *Kūsâvg*^ɔ.

29.4 Ethnic groups and clans

Names for the group belong to the ^a|*b*^a or *g*^a|*s*^ɛ classes (apart from *Zàngbèog*^ɔ "Hausa" and *Nàsāara*⁺ "European") and their language to the *l*^ɛ subclass of *r*^ɛ|*a*⁺. The place they inhabit has the suffix *-g*^ɔ.

Ethnic gp sg	Ethnic gp pl	Language	Place	
<i>Kūsáa</i> ⁼	<i>Kūsáas</i> ^ɛ	<i>Kūsáal</i> ^ɛ	<i>Kūsâvg</i> ^ɔ	Kusaasi
<i>Ñwāmpūriḡ</i> ^{a/}	<i>Ñwāmpūris</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>Ñwāmpūri</i> ^{lɛ/}	<i>Ñwāmpūriḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Mamprussi
<i>Bāriḡ</i> ^{a/}	<i>Bāris</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>Bāriḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Bisa
<i>Mùa</i> ⁺	<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ɛ	<i>Mòɔ</i> ^{lɛ}	<i>Mòɔḡ</i> ^ɔ	Mossi
<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nɛ/}	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{nɛ/}	<i>Dàgbāḡ</i> ^{ɔ/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìn</i> ^{nɛ}	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn</i> ^{nɛ}	<i>Bìḡ</i> ^ɔ	Moba
<i>Sìmiḡ</i> ^a	<i>Sìmīs</i> ^ɛ	<i>Sìmiil</i> ^ɛ	<i>Sìmiḡ</i> ^ɔ	Fulbe
<i>Yàaḡ</i> ^a	<i>Yàañs</i> ^ɛ	<i>Yàan</i> ^{nɛ}		Yansi
<i>Gūrínḡ</i> ^a	<i>Gūrís</i> ^ɛ	<i>Gūrín</i> ^{nɛ}		Farefare
<i>Yāriḡ</i> ^{a/}	<i>Yāris</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>Yāt</i> ^{ɛ/}		Yarsi
<i>Zàngbèog</i> ^ɔ	<i>Zàngbèed</i> ^ɛ	<i>Zàngbèel</i> ^ɛ		Hausa
<i>Bùliḡ</i> ^a	<i>Bùlis</i> ^ɛ	<i>Bùl</i> ^{lɛ}		Bulsa
<i>Tàliḡ</i> ^a	<i>Tàlis</i> ^ɛ	<i>Tàlin</i> ^{nɛ}		Tallensi
<i>Nàbɪd</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbir</i> ^ɛ		Nabdema
<i>Bùsáḡ</i> ^a	<i>Bùsâañs</i> ^ɛ	<i>Bùsâañl</i> ^ɛ		Bisa
<i>Nàsāara</i> ⁺	<i>Nàsàa-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsāal</i> ^ɛ		European
<i>Kàmbòḡ</i> ^a	<i>Kàmbòmɪs</i> ^ɛ	<i>Kàmbòmɪr</i> ^ɛ		Ashanti

Bāris^{ɛ/} is "Bisa" generally, not just the Bareka; *Bìm*^{ma} is "Moba" in general, and not only the Bemba (WK.)

Note *Tùen*^{nɛ} "Toende area", *Tùennɪr*^ɛ "Toende dialect of Kusaal", *Àḡòl*^{lɛ} "Agolle area", *Àḡòl*^{lɛ} "Agolle dialect of Kusaal", e.g.

Ò *pjàñ'ad* *Àḡòl*.

"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>Kùtāŋ</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'daŋ</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>āāñdɪg</i> ^a	<i>āāñdɪs</i> ^ε	<i>āāñdɪr</i> ^ε	<i>āāñda</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>kpòkpàrɪg</i> ^a	<i>kpòkpàrɪs</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'əmə</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>bèkèkèoňg</i> ^ɔ	"very early morning"	<i>zàam</i> ^m	"evening"
<i>wìn-līir</i> ^ɛ	"sunset"	<i>yú'vɟ</i> ^ɔ	"night"
<i>wìn-kòcňr</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 *ňwà* "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 kpélì m ànínā dábìsà bī'əlá.</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>sēōŋ</i> ^ᵑ	"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 *dàwàlɔ*^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* 15.5.2.4. 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 bī'əlá</i>	"for/in a short time"

Zūg-sób máljāk lā dá lèm vūriḡ_ ∅ tōlīs_ ∅ zī'ən tūən zīñ'-kàni
 Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand in.front place-REL.SG
 kà sō' kú ñyāḡ_ ∅ fēñdḡ dátìḡ bēē dágòbḡā +∅.
 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."

Bòḡ lā_ ∅ dà lèm ñyē Zūg-sób máljāk lā, ò dà dḡḡn nē Balaam
 Donkey:SG ART NZ TNS again see Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie.down with Balaam
 wōsa tēḡi-n, kà Balaam súñf dūe hālí kà ò vōb búḡ lā né
 all ground:SG-LOC, and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike donkey:SG ART with
 ò dānsàar.
 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."

Kà Zūg-sób ké kà bòn lā yá'e ò nōrḡ_ ∅ pḡāñ' Balaam yē,
 And Head-NULL.AN let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
 Bō kimm kà m̄ máalì_ f kà lì ké kà fù bú'v_ m nōr átáñ' sá +∅?
 what IDEO and 1SG make 2SG and 3IN let and 2SG beat 1SG 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 dá lèbīs_ō_ ∅ yē, Fù mórī_ m nē_ ∅ mâan_ ∅ gálìm! M̄ yá'
 Balaam TNS reply 3AN.OB that, 2SG have 1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
 mōrḡ-n sù'ugù_ m̄ nú'ugī-n, m̄ 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.'"

Bòḡ lā dá lèbīs Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fù mēḡ búḡ ónì kà fù
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CNTR NEG.BE FOC 2SG self donkey:SG REL.AN and 2SG
 bāñ'ad sājá wōsa_ ∅ tí pāe zīnāa +∅ +∅? Fù nám mī_ ∅ ñyē kà m̄
 ride:IPFV time all CAT after reach today NEG PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and 1SG
 mâal àñwá_ ∅ tísi_ f̄ +∅? Kà ò lèbīs yē, Áyì!
 make thus CAT give 2SG CQ? And 3AN reply that No.

"The donkey replied to Balaam: 'Am I not your own donkey that you have always been riding up until today? Have you ever known me to behave like this?' He replied, 'No.'"

Kà Zūg-sób yǎ'ɔg Balaam níni kà ò ñyē máljāk lā_∅ zí'e sūer
 And Head-NULL.AN open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT be.standing road:SG
lā téŋ-sūk, kà fúe sù'vɔv_∅ 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."

Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēŋi-n.

And 3AN kneel and lie.proned ground:SG-LOC.

"And he knelt down and lay face down."

Zūg-sób máljāk lā dá bù'əs_∅ yē, Bó kà fù bŭ' búŋ lā
 Head-NULL.AN angel:SG ART TNS ask 3AN.OB that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART
nōɔr átáñ' sá +∅? M ké nā yé m̄ gīŋí_ f bō zúgō kēn lā
 time:SG NUM:three hence CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct 2SG because go:GER ART
kā' sŭm m̄ nīnī nī +∅. Nōɔr átáñ' kà bŭŋ lā ñyē_ m kà
 NEG.BE good:ABSTR 1SG eye:PL LOC NEG. Time:SG NUM:three and donkey:SG ART see 1SG and
yūk. Bŭŋ lā yá' pō yūki-ní_ àñwáa_ m̄ 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 dá lèbisi_∅ yél Zūg-sób máljāk lā yē, M̄ tŭm tâal, m̄ pá'
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Head-NULL.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 +∅.

NEG.IND realise that 2SG be.standing FOC road:SG-LOC ART that 2SG obstruct 1SG NEG.

Nānná-nā, lì yá' pō mālsí_ fō +∅, m̄ ná lēbi_∅ kŭl.

Now, 3IN 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.'"

Kà máljāk lā lèbisi_∅ yél Balaam yē, Dòl nīdɪb lā_∅ kēŋ,

And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,

àmáa yèlum nē mán yé fù yél sī'əl má'aa.

but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say INDF.IN only.

"But the angel replied to Balaam: 'Go with the people, but say only what I tell you.'"

Kà Balaam d5l Balak ná'-yī-kpém lā_ø kén.

And Balaam accompany Balak chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers."

30.2 The Three Murderers

From *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima* p16. The story is clearly related to Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*; the fable is 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'

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [sic] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [sic] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [sic] kpe, ka on kiak [sic] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Nīn-kúudìbá_ àtáñ'.

"The three murderers."

Person-kill:AGT:PL NUM:three.

Dāpá_àtáń' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kānda súḡā.

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."

Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asi_∅ zín'ini_∅ gbāñ'e yé bà dūem_∅

And day:SG one and 3PL gather CAT sit CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT

ḡā búdàalim lá'ad n ḡīnni_∅ kō nīdib má'aa

seek manliness goods:PL CAT wander:IPFV CAT kill person:PL only

kà dā lé̄m tùm sī'ala⁺∅.

and NEG.IMP again work INDF.IN 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."

Bà sìd dūe_∅ ḡā sū'us nē zāń'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē

3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with

lū'ad, nē kpāna nē máli súḡā n pīń'ilu_∅ ḡīnni_∅ ∅ iad nīdib

quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV person:PL

yé bà yá' ḡyē 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."

Bà ḡilḡí_∅ àlá nē ḡwādisá_àtáń' nē dábı̀sà_àtáń'. Bà pū ḡyē

3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG.IND find

nīdi_∅ ∅ ná kōu⁺∅. 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."

Dābá_ànū dāar bà ḡyē nē lāllí sà kà sī'al zí'e sābílì_∅

Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT

wūu nīd nē, kà bà kpēñm 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 NULL.AN

yá' pùn túń'e kà mōr nē láuk-sī'a wōsa, bà nà ḡyāḡi_∅ kú'o_∅.

if already be.able and have FOC item-INDF.IN 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."

Kà òṅā gīṅɪd kpē, kà òṅā gīṅɪd 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 līgɪdɪ pē'ei
 reach CAT see and 3IN 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."

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā ñwá, tì yé tì níṅ līgɪdɪ 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?'"

Kà bà yē, bà nà pūdɪg nē. Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yīs līgɪdɪ lā n
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
kēṅ_∅ dá' dāam_∅ ná nū yīgá kà ñyāan pūdɪg līgɪdɪ 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."

Kà yīs līgɪdɪ lā bī'elá yē bīig lā kēm_∅ dá' yūr 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."

Bīig lá_∅ kēn lā, ò tēñ'esɪd nē ɔn nà nīṅ sī'am_∅ kō bání kpèlɪm
 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 līgɪdɪ lā wōsa wōsa n sū'e, ò yélí_ò mēṅ yē,
 there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT OWN, 3AN say 3AN self that,
ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kūvdím n lós dāamí-n lā
 3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer-LOC ART
n pāe_∅ tíú_bá kà bà nūu_∅ kpíkà ò sū'e līgɪdɪ 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."

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kūvdím 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."

Zī'isígē +∅, kà bà bàyí' lá_∅ kpèlīm lā mé gbāñ'e nē yé bà kū

NEG.KNOW NEG, and 3PL NUM:two ART NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill

bīig lá_∅ kēŋ dāam lā dā'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."

Bīig lá n mōr dāam lā_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òŋā 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 zán dāam lā_∅

and 3AN.CNTR cut here, CAT cut 3AN.OB CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT

nū wán wán, lì pū yúugē +∅, kà bà wōsa wōsa mé kpélim kpi

drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG.IND delay NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die

zìñ-kàn lā nóc kà bà sō' sō' pū ñyāŋi_∅ 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."

Dìn kà Kūsāas yé fù yá' tēñ'es bēē tóm bē'ed yé fù tísì_

3IN.CNTR and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give

fù tīrāan, fù máanní_∅ fù mēŋ yá'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.

Bēŋá ònbid kà ò sōb lá'ad nē.

Bean:PL grow:IPFV and 3AN NULL.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 sēoŋg 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 nīib.

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 pō 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, bàŋɪm 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 li pō tigid kī'ibó +∅.

Poverty-owner:SG shirt:SG sate:IPFV FOC cotton, and 3IN 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 tādīm mī yé ò [à] tādīm.

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 ñyɔɔgɔ +∅.

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

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.

Bù-dìbiŋ kúní_ 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 zīŋ'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) [15.6](#)

āañɔg^a pl *āañɔs^ε* cb *āañ-* 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 [15.6](#)

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 [15.6](#)

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 [15.6](#)

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 15.6; cf Hausa *mussàa id*
ànāasí⁺ q. four
àní⁺ adv. there
àní⁼ q. eight
àní nā^{+/} adv. there
àníḡà⁺ adv. promptly
ànḡ'ḡn^ε who? 15.4.4
àñrvḡ^ḡ 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
āñsḡḡ^a pl *āñsís^ε* cb *āñsḡḡ-* n. (man's) sister's child
àntù'a⁼ pl *àntù'os^ε* cb *àntḡ'à-* n. lawsuit
ànū⁺ q. five
àñwá⁺ adv. like this
ānzúrìfà⁺ n. silver ← Hausa *azùrfaa*
àrakóñ⁺ q. one
àrazàk^a pl *àrazà'as^ε* cb *àrazà'-* generally pl: n. wealth, riches ← Arabic *ʔar-rizq*
àrazánà⁺ n. heaven ← Arabic *ʔal-janna*
Àrzúmà dâar^ε n. Friday ← Arabic
àsée^ε except, unless 18 20.2.1 ← Hausa *sai*
Àsíbitì dâar^ε n. Saturday ← Arabic
àsīda⁺ adv. truly
àsùbá⁺ n. dawn ← Arabic *ʔas^ʕ-s^ʕaba:ħ*
àtáñ⁺ q. three
Àtáláatà dâar^ε n. Tuesday ← Arabic
àtáḡā^{+/} q. three exactly
Àtínì dâar^ε n. Monday ← Arabic
àtìḡk^ḡ n. sea ← Hausa *tèeku*
àwánā^{+/} adv. like this
àwāḡ⁺ q. nine
àyí⁺ q. two
áyì no 21.4.4
àyḡā^{+/} q. two exactly
àyóḡḡ⁺ q. seven
àyúḡbù⁺ q. six

B

bà they, their (*right-bound*); *ba*⁺ them (*left-bound*) 15.4.1

bā^{+/} pl *bā-nám*^a cb *bā*⁻ n. father 8.4

bāa⁼ pl *bāas*^ε cb *bà*⁻ n. dog

báa (← Hausa *bāa* "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

bāañlím^m adv. quietly

bà'ar^ε pl *bàda*⁺ *bà'a*⁺ cb *bà*⁻ n. idol

bābá⁺ beside *postposition* 16.6; cf *bābı*^{ε/} sphere of activity

bàbv^a q. many

bákpàe⁺ n. week ← Hausa *bakwài* "seven"

bàlàar^ε pl *bàlāya*⁺ cb *bàlà*⁻ n. stick, staff, club

bàlàrv^ε pl *bàlàrv*⁺ 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* 15.4.2

bàn^ε these, those *demonstrative* 15.4.2

bán they (*subject of ñ-clause*); *bān*^ε they, them (*contrastive*) 15.4.1

bāñ⁺ dv. ride

bānāa⁼ pl *bānāas*^ε cb *bànà*⁻ (*tone sic in my materials*) n. traditional "fugu" smock

bāñ'ad^a pl *bāñ'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 *bārv*^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)
bàyópò⁺ *q.* seven (after a personal pronoun)
bè⁺ *ger* *bèlím*^m (sic) *sv.* exist; be in a place 19.11.1
bēdi^g *dv.* go rotten
bēdug^o *bēdir*^ε *pl* *bēda*⁺ *cb* *bēd-* *adj.* great
bēdugō^{+/} *q.* much, a lot
bēε or 20.2.1 21.2
bèkèkèoňg^o or *bèkèoňg*^o *n.* very early morning
bèlím^m *dv.* beg
bèlís^ε *dv.* comfort
bēn^{nε} *pl* *bēna*⁺ *cb* *bèn-* *n.* end
bèñ⁺ *ger* *bèñ'εs*^ε *dv.* fall ill
bèñsíg^ε *dv.* serve soup
bèŋ^ε *dv.* mark out a boundary
bēŋíd^ε *cb* *bēŋ-* *n.* *pl* bean leaves, *Vigna unguiculata* (Haaf); *bēŋíd nē kī*^{+/} *n.* beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack
bēŋír^ε *pl* *bēŋá*⁺ *cb* *bēŋ-* *n.* brown bean
bēog^o *n.* tomorrow 20.2.1; *Kà bēog níe kà ...* The next day ...
bē'og^o *bīa*⁺ *pl* *bē'εd*^ε *bī'əs*^ε *cb* *bè'- bjà'-* *adj.* bad
bēogv-n^{ε/} *n.* morning
bèrɪŋ^a *pl* *bèrɪgis*^ε *sic n.* a plant used for fibre (KED), *Hibiscus cannabinus* (Haaf)
bērɪga⁺ *cb* *bèrɪg-* *pl* leaves of *bèrɪŋ* used for soup (KED)
bēsug^o *pl* *bēsíd*^ε *cb* *bès-* *n.* a kind of wide-mouthed pot
bjāñ'ar^{ε/} *pl* *bjāñ'adá*⁺ *bjāñ'a*⁺ *cb* *bjāñ'-* *n.* wet mud, black mud; riverbed
bjāŋk^o *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^{ε/} *pl* *bjēyá*⁺ *cb* *bjā-* *n.* elder sibling of the same sex
bī'əs^ε *dv.* doubt
bīgís^ε *dv.* show, teach
bīig^a *pl* *bīis*^ε *cb* *bì- bī-* *n.* child; *bī-díbiŋ*^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-púŋ*^a *n.* girl
bī'ig^ε *dv.* ripen, become pregnant
bīilí^f *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
bilɪg^ε dv. roll (transitive)
bilum^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
Bìyɿ^ɔ n. Moba country
bò⁺ dv. seek; *bòɔd^a* ipfv used for: want, like, love (sexual, romantic); ipfv ger
bòɔdum^m will 12.2.1.4
bō⁺ cb *bò-* what? why? 15.4.4; *bò-būudi⁺* what sort of ..?; *bō-zúgō* because 20.2.1,
 why? 16.7; *bò-wìn^{nε}* what time of day?; *bō kím* "exactly what?"
bòbig^ε dv. wrap round, tie round
bòdig^ε dv. lose, become lost
bòdòbòdò⁺ n. bread (? ultimately ← English)
bòk^ɔ pl *bò'ad^ε* cb *bù'à-* n. pit
bōsɪ^ε pl *bōsa⁺* cb *bòs-* n. puff adder
bōtu⁺ n. sack
bō⁺ dv. beat
bù'àk^ε dv. split
bù'ar^ε pl *bù'àa⁺* cb *bù'à-* n. hole
bū'ar^{ε/} pl *bù'áa⁺* cb *bù'ā-* n. skin bottle
bùd^ε ger *būdɪg^a* *būdug^ɔ* dv. plant seeds
bùdàalim^m n. manhood, courage
bùdum^m dv. get confused
bùdumís^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
bògulum^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 *sīgɪr^{ε/}* 29.2 inherited from one's mother's family
bùgúm^m cb *bùgūm-* *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
būk^{ε/} dv. weaken
bùk^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^{ne/} *pl* *būná*⁺ *būn-nám*^a *cb* *būn-* *n.* thing (concrete or abstract); *būn-búvdì*^f *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'vr 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*^{ne} *cb* *dā-bín-* *n.* beer residue; NT yeast (cf *bīn*^{ne})

dāam^m *dv.* disturb, trouble (cf Hausa *dāamaa id*)

dāan^a *pl* *dāan-nàm*^a *cb* *dāan-* *n.* owner of ... 15.7.2

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-pyāk^a* n.

wife's sister; *dàkì-tù⁺* n. wife's sister's husband

dà-kòǹr^ɛ pl *dà-kòǹya⁺* cb *dà-kòǹ-* n. unmarried son 29.1

dām^m ipfv *dāmmıd^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 *dāad^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-pyāk^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)

dēlım^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
dēŋɪm beforehand, *preverb* 19.7.2
dì it, its (*right-bound*) 15.4.1 = *lì*
dì⁺ *ipfv dīt*^a *imp dìm*^a *dv.* eat, receive; *ger dīb*^ɔ *n.* food; *Ò dì pɹ̄'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)
dīgɪ^{ya/} *ger dīk*^{a/} *KT dīgɪ*^{ε/} *WK sv.* be lying down
dīgɪsá⁺ *n. pl* lairs
dīgɪ^{ε/} *dv.* lay down
dìgɪn^ε *dv.* lie down
dìgɪ^ε *pl dīga*⁺ *cb dīg-* *n.* dwarf
dìs^ε *dv.* feed; *agt dīs*^a *n.* glutton
dìsúŋ^ɔ *pl dìsímà*⁺ *dìsís*^ε *cb dìsúŋ-* *n.* spoon
dìm^a dummy head pronoun, animate *pl*; *dìn*^{nε} inanimate *sg* 15.4.7
dín it (*subject of ñ-clause*) 15.4.1
dīn^ε it (*contrastive*) 15.4.1 = *līn*^ε
dìndēog^{ɔ/} *pl dīndēəd*^{ε/} *cb dīndē-* *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
dɹ̄'à^a *dv.* bear, give birth, beget; *agt dō'ad*^a *n.* elder relation
dò'al^ε *dv.* make interest (of a loan)

dū'am^m *n.* birth

dùañ⁺ *pl* *dòṵṵ*^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

dūnyā⁺ *cb* *dūnyā-* 8.6 *n.* world ← Arabic *dunya*:

dūnná⁺ *adv.* this year

dūṅ^a *pl* *dūmɪs*^ε *cb* *dūṅ-* *n.* mosquito

dūər^{ε/} *pl* *dūēyá*⁺ *cb* *dūā-* *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

èñrɪg^{ε/} *dv.* shift along (e.g. a bench)

F

f^ɔ you *sg* (*left-bound*) 15.4.1

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)* 15.4.1
fùe⁺ *dv.* draw out
fūfūm^{mε} *pl fūfūma⁺* *cb fūfūm-* *n.* envy; stye (believed to result from envy)
fún you *sg (as subject of ñ-clause)*; *fūn* SF *fúnè* LF you *sg (contrastive)* 15.4.1
fūug^{ɔ/} *pl fūud^{ε/}* *fūt^{ε/}* *cb fū-* *n.* shirt, clothing; *pl also:* cloth

G

gàad^ε *dv.* pass, surpass 22.2.2
gáfàra 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
gbāñyà'a⁼ *n.* lazy person 14
gbāñyà'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 gēñlú^ɔ* tired
gēñ'⁺ *dv.* get angry

- gēog*^ɔ *n.* place between one's legs (Pattern A *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
gɔdɪg^{ɛ/} *gɔ'ɔn*^ɛ *dv.* look up
gɔ^{la/} *gɔr*^{a/} *gɔ'e*^{ya/} *sv.* be looking up
gɔñ⁺ *dv.* hunt; *ipfv* *gɔɔñd*^a wander, *ger* *gɔɔñdɪm*^m wandering 12.2.1.4
Gɔɔg^a *pl* *Gɔɔs*^ɛ *n.* clan name
Gɔɔg^ɔ *n.* place of the *Gɔɔs*^ɛ Goosi clan
gɔ'ɔn^ɛ *dv.* look up
gɔr^{a/} *sv.* be looking up
gɔs^ɛ *ipfv* *gɔsɪd*^{a/} *gɔt*^{a/} *imp* *gɔsɪm*^a *gɔm*^a *ger* *gɔsɪg*^a *dv.* look; *agt* *gɔt*^{a/} *n.* seer, prophet
gū⁺ *dv.* guard, protect
gù^ɛ *ipfv* *gùn*^{na} *dv.* suspend
gù^{la} *ger* *gùlɪb*^ɔ *sv.* be suspended
gùllɪmm SF *gùllɪmne* 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
gūmpōzēr^{ɛ/} *pl* *gūmpōzēyá*⁺ *cb* *gūmpōzér-* *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* *gūrɪm*^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
gùv^ɛ *pl* *gùya*⁺ *cb* *gù-* *n.* upland; bank of river
gūv^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
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 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* 15.4.2
kàñb^ε *ger kãñbir*^ε *dv.* scorch
kãñdug^ɔ *adj.* fat, tough (person)
kàŋā^{+/} this, that *demonstrative* 15.4.2
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*

kèes^ε *dv.* say farewell to

kèlɔg^ε or *kèlɪs^ε* *dv.* listen

kēñ⁺ *ipfv* *kēn^{al}* *imp* *kēm^a* *ger* *kēn^{ne/}* *dv.* come 10.1; always with *nā* 19.10; *kēn kēn* welcome! 28

kēŋ^{ε/} *ipfv* *kēn^{na/}* *imp* *kēm^a* (*disambiguated* with *sà* 19.10) *dv.* go; walk 10.1; *agt* *kēn^{na/}* *n.* traveller

kérɪfà or *káɪfà* ← Hausa *karfèe*; in *telling time*, e.g. *kérɪfà àtáñ'* three o'clock

kī^{+/} *cb* *kī- kā-* *n.* cereal, millet; *kì-dà'ar^ε* *pl* *kì-dà'ada⁺* *n.* purchased millet; *kā-wēnnɪr^ε* *pl* *kā-wēnna⁺* *cb* *kā-wén-* *n.* corn

kjà⁺ *dv.* cut

kīdɪg^{ε/} *dv.* cross over, meet; *À-Kīdɪgɪ Bū'əs* *n.* the constellation Orion

kī'ɪb^{ɔ/} *n.* soap; WK has instead the Mampruli loan *kībú⁺* *cb* *kīb-*

kīñP *pl* *kīnɪ⁺* *n.* millet seed

kìs^ε *dv.* listen

kī'ɪs^{ε/} *dv.* deny

kìkàm^{mε} *pl* *kìkàma⁺* *n.* fig

kìkàŋ^a *kìnkàŋ^a* *pl* *kìkàmɪs^ε* *cb* *kìkàŋ-* *n.* fig tree *Ficus capensis* (Haaf)

kìkīrɔg^{al} *pl* *kìkīrɪs^{ε/}* *cb* *kìkīr-* *n.* "fairy" in local English; protective spiritual beings associated with a person (three for a man, four for a woman because of the dangers of childbirth.) Wild *kìkīrɪs^{ε/}* hostile to man live in the bush: "Their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers." WK; *kìkīr-bé'ed^ε* *n.* NT evil spirit, demon (KB just uses *kìkīrɔg^{al/}*)

kīlɪm^{m/} *dv.* become, change into

kìm^m *dv.* tend flock, herd; *agt* *kòñb-kīm^{na}* *n.* herdsman, shepherd

kīr^ε *ger* *kìkírùg^ɔ* *kīrɪb^ɔ* *dv.* hurry, tremble

kīs^{al} *ger* *kísùg^ɔ* *agt* *kīs^{al}* *kīsɪd^{al}* *sv.* hate

kísùg^ɔ *adj.* hateful, taboo

kò⁺ *dv.* get broken, break (*intransitive*); *resultative adj* *kòkólúg^ɔ* broken

kòbɪgā⁼ *q.* one hundred; *kòbɪsɪ⁺* two hundred

kōbɪr^ε *pl* *kōba⁺* *cb* *kòb-* *n.* bone

kōdɪg^{ε/} *dv.* slaughter (one animal) by cutting its throat

kōdú⁺ *n.* banana ← Twi *kwadu*

kòl^ε *dv.* put something around the neck

kòlɪbɪr^ε *pl* *kòlɪba* *n.* bottle

kōlɪg^a *pl* *kōlɪs^ε* *cb* *kòl-* *n.* river; *kōlɔgɔ-n nɔ-dāvɔg^ɔ* *n.* crayfish

kòlɔg^ɔ *pl* *kòn^{ne}* *cb* *kòlɔg-* 8.2 *n.* sack, bag

kōm^{m/} *cb* *kōm-* *n.* hunger

kōñbɔg^ɔ *pl* *kōñbɪd^ε* *cb* *kòñb-* (*also used as cb of* *būn-kòñbùg^ɔ* *animal*) *n.* animal hair or human body hair; cf *zūəbúg^ɔ*; *kòñb-kīm^{na}* *pl* *kòñb-kīmmɪb^a* *n.* shepherd, herdsman

kōñ'ɔkɔ⁺ *adv.* alone, by oneself

- 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
kòt̄a^{nε} at all; *emphatic* 27.6
kót̄o⁺ *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 dead
kpì'a⁺ *pl kpì'əs*^ε *cb kpjà'-* *n.* neighbour
kpjà⁺ *dv.* shape wood with axe etc
kpì'e⁺ *dv.* approach
kpī'am^{ma/} *sv.* be strong, hard
kpìibɔg^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 kpīkpīnníb*^a *cb kpīkpín-* *n.* merchant
kpī'ɔŋ^ɔ *pl kpī'əma*⁺ *cb kpì'ɔŋ-* *adj.* strong, hard

- kpìsɪnkpìl*^{lɛ} pl *kpìsɪnkpìla*⁺ cb *kpìsɪnkpìl-* n. fist
kpìsɪkplìl^{lɛ} n. fist
kpùkpar^ɛ pl *kpùkpara*⁺ n. palm tree fruit
kpùkparɪg^a pl *kpùkparɪs*^ɛ cb *kpùkpar-* n. palm tree (*Borassus akeassii/aethiopum*)
kpùkpaɲ^ɔ pl *kpùkpaɲa*⁺ cb *kpùkpaɲ-* 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*)
kyā⁺ 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 *kōlɪm* qv
kūdvg^ɔ *kūdɪr*^ɛ pl *kūda*⁺ *kūt*^ɛ cb *kùd-* adj. old
kūdvg^ɔ pl *kūt*^ɛ (used as sg 15.2) 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)
kōlɪm 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 *ky'à-* n. water; *ky'à-nūud*^{ɛl} n. thirst; *ky'à-ñwīg*^{al} pl *ky'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 *koo*
kūug^{al} *kūug*^{ɔl} pl *kūus*^{ɛl} cb *kū-* n. mouse
kùv^ɛ dv. get drunk

L

lā^{+l} definite article 15.8.5

là⁺ dv. laugh

lā'af^o n. cowrie; pl *līgidi*⁺ n. cowries, money; cb *līg- 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.

làbāar^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^{al} sv. be wide

lābisiga^a *lābisir*^ε pl *lābisá*⁺ cb *lābis-* adj. wide

lābisim^m n. width

lāk^{el} dv. open (eye, book)

lāl^{la} sv. be distant

lālīg^{el} 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^{me}/ 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^{ne} pl *lāna*⁺ cb *làn-* n. testicle

làngáŋŋ^o pl *làngáam*^{me} *làngāamá*⁺ cb *làngāŋŋ-* n. crab (cf *màngáŋŋ*^o id)

lànnig^a pl *lànnis*^ε cb *lànnig-* 8.2 n. squirrel

lā'ŋ^{el} dv. set alight

lāŋím^m dv. wander around searching

lāŋk^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) 15.4.1

lì⁺ ipfv *lità* imp *lìm*^a ger *līig*^a dv. fall

- lī*⁺ *dv.* block up
līa where is ...? 21.4.2
līdɪg^ε *dv.* turn a shirt WK
līdɪg^ε *dv.* astonish, be amazed
līəb^ε *dv.* become
lī'əl^ε *dv.* approach, come near
lī'əm^{mε} *pl* *lī'əmá*⁺ *n.* fruit of yellow plum tree
lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís*^ε *cb* *lī'əŋ-* *n.* axe
lī'əŋ^a *pl* *lī'əmís*^ε *n.* yellow plum tree, *Ximenia americana*
līg^ε *dv.* patch
līgɪ^ε *dv.* cover
līgɪn^ε *dv.* cover oneself
līɪbɪr^ε *pl* *līɪba*⁺ *cb* *līɪb-* *n.* twin
līk^a *pl* *līgɪs*^ε *n.* darkness
līlāalɪŋ^a *pl* *līlāalís*^ε *līlāalímís*^ε *cb* *līlāalɪŋ-* *n.* swallow
līn it (subject of *ñ*-clause); *līn*^ε it (contrastive) 15.4.1
līn^ε that demonstrative 15.4.2
līná⁺ that demonstrative 15.4.2
lī⁺ *dv.* tie
līb^ε or *lībɪg*^{ε/l} *dv.* throw stones at
lībɪdɪg^a *pl* *lībɪdís*^ε *n.* water drawing vessel
lībɪg^{al} *pl* *lībɪs*^{ε/l} *cb* *līb-* *n.* corner; *lībɪgɪn kúg-súŋ*^ɔ cornerstone NT
lībɪg^{ε/l} *dv.* untie
līk^ɔ *pl* *lì'ad*^ε *cb* *lɪ'à-* *n.* quiver (for arrows)
lìmbò'ɔg^ɔ *pl* *lìmbò'ɔd*^ε *cb* *lìmbò'-* *n.* garden ← Hausa *làmbuu*
līŋ^a *pl* *līmɪs*^ε *cb* *lìŋ-* *n.* a kind of frog
lī'ŋ^{ε/l} *dv.* go across river, road etc
lír^ε *pl* *láyà*⁺ *lóɔm*^{ma} *cb* *lór-* *n.* car, lorry ← English
lòs^ε *dv.* dip, immerse in liquid
lù⁺ *ipfv* *lùt*^a *imp* *lùm*^a *dv.* fall
lūb^ε *ger* *lūbɪr*^{ε/l} *dv.* buck, kick, struggle, throw off rider
lūg^ε *dv.* swim
lūgɪr^ε *n.* organ, member

M

- m̄* I, my (*right-bound*); *m*^a me (*left-bound*) 15.4.1
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-kpēēñm*^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 15.4.1

mán I (as subject of *ŋ*-clause); *mān* SF *mánè* LF I, me (contrastive) 15.4.1

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 15.4.3

mēd^ε *dv.* mash up

mèɛŋ^a *pl* *mèɛmɪs*^ε *cb* *mèɛŋ-* *n.* turtle

mèlɪgɪm^m *n.* dew

mēŋ^{a/} self 15.4.6

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^{ɛl} *dv.* get dirty
mīmīlím^m *mīmīlúb*^ɔ *n.* sweetness
mīt see that it doesn't happen that... 19.5; *always mid in KB*
mō⁺ *dv.* strive, struggle
mōd^ɛ *dv.* swell
mōdɨg^{ɛl} *dv.* be patient, endure
mòlɨ^ɸ *pl* *mòlɨ*⁺ *cb* *mòl-* *n.* gazelle
mōn^ɛ *dv.* grind millet to make *sā'ab*^ɔ porridge
mōŋ^{ɛl} *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^{ɛl} *dv.* proclaim; *agt* *mōɔl-môɔn*^{na} *n.* proclaimer
Mòɔl^ɛ *n.* Mooré language
Mōr^{ɛl} *pl* *Móɔm*^{ma} *cb* *Mōr-* *n.* Muslim
mōr^{al} *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* *mù'as*^ɛ *cb* *mɸ'à-* *n.* maggot
mù'ar^ɛ *pl* *mɸ'aa*⁺ *mù'ada*⁺ *cb* *mɸ'à-* *n.* dam; reservoir
mù'as^ɛ *dv.* give (to baby) to suck
mù'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)* 15.6
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*^{ɛl} *n.* palace; *nà'-yī-kpém*^{ma} *n.* *pl* king/chief's retainers
náaɸ^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'dàɯɯ^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'-nēsɪnnēog^{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) 15.4.2
nèε^ε dv. reveal
nèεm^m adv. for free
nēεm^{m/} dv. grind with a millstone
nēεr^{ε/} n. millstone
nèεs^ε dv. reveal
nèεsɪm^m n. light
nēm-nêεr^ε pl *nēm-néyà⁺* n. someone who grinds

nēn^{na/} *ger nēnním*^m sv. envy

nē'ŋá⁺ this (pronoun) [15.4.2](#)

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 [15.8.1.3](#); *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

[15.8.1.3](#); *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 15.5.2.4

ɲpɔ̄ɔ̄ q. seven, in counting

ɲtáñ' q. three, in counting

nū⁺ *dv.* drink

nūa^{+/} *pl nɔ̄ɔ̄*^{ɛ/} *cb nɔ̄-* n. hen; *nɔ̄-dâɣɔ̄*^{ɔ̄} n. cock; *nɔ̄-ñyâ'aɣ*^a n. (specifically female) hen; *Nɔ̄-ñyâ'aɣ-né-ò-Bīis* the Pleiades

nūlɣ^{ɛ/} *dv.* make drink

nūlɔ̄^{ɛ/} *dv.* make drink

nû'ug^{ɔ̄} *pl nû'us*^ɛ *cb nū'-* n. hand, arm; *nū'-bíl*^a *pl nū'-bíbìs*^ɛ n. finger; *nū'-dâɣɔ̄*^{ɔ̄} n. thumb; *nū'-y(ɣ)ɔ̄*^{ɔ̄} *adj.* one-armed 15.8.1.3; *nū'-íñ'a*⁺ *pl nū'-éñ'ɛs*^ɛ *cb nū'-éñ'* n. fingernail; *nū'-wéñ'ɛd*^a n. mediator

ñwà⁺ this 15.8.5

ñwā⁺ *dv.* smash, break up

ñwāaɣ^a *pl ñwāamɔ̄*^ɛ *cb ñwàaɣ-* 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 *nû'ug* make an agreement with X; *ñwè'* *ñyɔ̄'ɔ̄ɣ* 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'aɣ^a *pl ñyá'as*^ɛ *ñyā'amɔ̄*^ɛ *cb ñyā'aɣ-* *adj.* female (animal)

ñyá'aɣ^a behind, *postposition* 16.6; East 29.3; *ñyà'an-dò*^l^a *ñyà'an-dò*^l^ɛ *pl ñyà'an-dò*^{lla}⁺ *ñyà'an-dò*^{llɔ̄}^a *cb ñyà'an-dò*^{l-} 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
ňyàùk^ɔ *pl* *ňyà'ad*^e *adj.* only (eye) 15.8.1.3
ňyē⁺ *ipfv* *ňyēt*^{al} *imp* *ňyèm*^a *dv.* see, find; *ňyē láafīya* 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
ňyèεsım^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
ňyīríf^ɔ *pl* *ňyīrít*⁺ *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*) 15.4.1
ón he, she (*subject of ñ-clause*); *ōn*^e he, she (*contrastive*) 15.4.1
òn^e this, that (*animate sg demonstrative*) 15.4.2
òñb^e *ger* *ññbur*^e *dv.* chew
òŋā^{+/} this, that (*animate sg demonstrative*) 15.4.2
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

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 15.8.1.3; 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

pǰā⁺ *dv.* dig up

pǰāñ^a *dv.* speak, praise; *ger* *pǰàũŋk*^ɔ *n.* word *pl* *pǰāñ'ad*^ε language *cb* *pǰāñ'-*;

pǰāñ'-zòna⁺ *n.* foreign language

pìbɪg^ε *dv.* uncover

pìbɪl^ε *dv.* cover up

pìbɪn^{nε} *pl* *pìbɪna*⁺ *cb* *pìbɪn-* *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

pìd^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

píũŋp *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

pōw3[/] *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*, *pre* "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'an*^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

pùgudílb^a *pl* *pùgud-nàm*^a *cb* *pùgud-* *n.* father's sister

pùkòñr^ε *pl* *pùkòñya*⁺ *cb* *pùkòñ-* *n.* widow

pūkṗād^{a/} *pl* *pūkṗādílb*^a *cb* *irreg* *pūkṗá-* *n.* farmer

pùluma⁺ *n.* a species of grass, *Imperata cylindrica* (Haaf)

*pùmpwōg*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 15.5.2.1

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^{al}* 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^{al} pl *sáam^{ma}* cb *sāan-* n. guest, stranger

sáannim^m n. strangerhood

sàbēog^ɔ pl *sàbēed^ε* cb *sàbè-* n. wind, storm

sābilíg^a *sābíl^{lε}* pl *sābílís^ε* *sābílá⁺* cb *sābil-* adj. black

sàbù^{a+} pl *sàbùes^ε* cb *sàbùà-* n. lover, girlfriend

Sà'dàbòɔg^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*) 15.4.3
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) 15.4.3
sīə^a something, anything 15.4.3
sīəm^m somehow, anyhow 15.4.3 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
sīḡ^a *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*
sīḡ^a *pl* *sīus*^ε *n.* African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*; cf Buli *sīik*
sīilm^m *dv.* cite proverbs
sīilŋ^a *sīilóḡ*^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'ɫs^{ε/} dv. touch
sīlɫnsīug^ɔ pl sīlɫnsīis^ε n. ghost
sīlɫnsīuñg^ɔ pl sīlɫnsīiñd^ε n. spider
sīlvog^ɔ pl sīn^{nε} sīlɫs^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 sīñs^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
sīsòvugū-n^{ε/} between, *postposition* [16.6](#) KB *svugun*
sī'uj^ɔ pl sī'imís^ε cb sī'uj- n. a kind of large dish
sō⁺ some(one), any(one), *animate sg* [15.4.3](#)
sōb^a dummy head pronoun, *animate sg* [15.4.7](#)
sōb^ε dv. go/make dark; usually write; *sōbur^{ε/}* n. piece of writing
sōbìg^{ε/} dv. blacken
sōḡñ⁺ or sōḡñ^a pl sōḡñb^a cb sōñ- n. witch
sógjà^a n. soldier ← English
sōlvuj^ɔ pl sōlvímá⁺ n. story
sōñ⁺ dv. rub
sōñ'e^{ya/} sv. be better than; *agt sōñ'ɔd^{a/} pl sōñ'ɔb^{a/} cb sōñ'ɔd-*
sōnnur^ε pl sōnna⁺ cb sōn- n. courtyard dividing wall
sōñs^ε ger sōñsìg^a dv. converse, talk with
sōḡñg^ɔ n. witchcraft
sōḡñr^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 15.7.1;

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)

sùŋ^ε dv. help

sùŋ^ɔ *sùm^{mε}* pl *sùma⁺* cb *sùŋ-* adj. good

sùŋā^{+/} adv. well, much

sú'or^a pl *sū'omís^ε* cb *sū'or-* n. rabbit

sūor^{ε/} pl *sūyá⁺* cb *sūā-* 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'vg^a *sù'vg^ɔ* pl *sù'vs^ε* cb *sù'-* n. knife

T

tāa⁼ *tāas^ε* fellow- as second part of compound 12.2.1.4

tāaba⁺ *tāab* each other 15.4.5

tā'adír^ε pl *tā'ada⁺* cb *tā'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

tàbl^{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

Tàlın^a pl *Tàlıs^ε* cb *Tàlın-* 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; *Winnig táŋsìd nē*. The sun is shining.
tār^{al} ger *tārím^m* sv. have; more typical of Toende Kusaal; NT/KB always *mōr^{al}*
tàsintàl^{lε} n. palm of hand
tàtál^{lε} n. palm of hand
tāyŋ^{+l} pl *tāŋp^{al}* cb *tāyŋ- tāŋp-* n. sibling of opposite sex
tēb^ε ger *tēbig^a* dv. carry in both hands
tēbig^{εl} dv. get heavy
tēbɪs^{al} sv. be heavy
tēbɪsíg^a *tēbɪsír^ε* pl *tēbɪsá⁺* cb *tēbɪs-* adj. heavy
tēbɪsím^m n. heaviness
téɛbùl^ε pl *téɛbùl-nàm^a* n. table ← English
tēɛg^{εl} dv. drag, draw; *tēɛg* X *tùbɔr* punish X
tè'ɛg^a pl *tè'ɛs^ε* cb *tè'-* n. baobab *Adansonia digitata* (Haaf)
tēk^{εl} dv. pull
tèŋb^ε ger *tèŋbug^ɔ* dv. tremble, struggle
tèŋ'ɛs^ε dv. remind
tēŋ'ɛs^{εl} dv. think; ger *tēŋ'ɛsá⁺* n. thought
tēŋ^a ger *tēŋrɪb^ɔ* sv. remember
tēŋ^a pl *tēɛŋs^ε* cb *tèŋ-* n. land; *tèŋ-bīg^a* n. native; *tèŋ-dāan^a* n. traditional earth-
 priest; *tèŋ-dū'adig^a* n. native land; *tèŋ-gbàuyŋ^ɔ* n. earth, land; *tèŋ-pōug^{ɔl}* pl
tèŋ-pōud^{εl} cb *tèŋ-pō-* n. village, town; *tèŋ-zùŋ^ɔ* pl *tèŋ-zùvŋs^ε* n. foreign country;
tèŋ-sūk^a n. centre
tēŋɪ-n^{εl} 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) 15.4.1
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"; *tī'əb^a* n. healer
tìeŋ⁺ dv. inform WK (KED remember)
tìeŋ⁺ dv. stretch out
tìəŋ^a pl *tìəmɪs^ε* cb *tìəŋ-* n. beard; *tìəŋ-gōur^ε* n. chin
tīg^ε dv. become sated, have too much/many; ger *tīgur^{εl}* n. glut
tī'y^{al} ger *tī'ib^{ɔl}* 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) 15.4.1
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
15.8.1.3
tōl^{la/} sv. be hot
tùlug^ε dv. invert
tùlug^{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 15.5.2.1
tùtūl^ε *n.* upside-down thing, cf *tùlɪg^ε*
tūvlígā^{+/} *adv.* hotly
tūvlúg^ɔ *pl tūvlá⁺* *cb tūvl-* *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
vē⁺ *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^ɔ 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
wàɸŋ^ɔ pl *wàna⁺* cb *wàɸŋ-* 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 *nwɛnɛ*; ger *wēnním^m*
wēnnɪr^ε adj. resembling (*Pattern A, 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-zōvr*^ε n. horsetail
wid^a or *wèɛd*^a pl *wiɪb*^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
wiim^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 *wīnà*⁺ cb *wīn-* n. God; god; spiritual double, *genius*; destiny; *wīn-tōvg*^ɔ
n. misfortune
Wínà'am^m n. God 14.1
winnig^a cb *win-* n. sun; talent; *win-līr*^ε n. sunset; *win-kòǝñr*^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
wōsa⁺ q. all
wōv⁺ q. all
wōv like, resembling 18
wō'vg^{ε/} dv. get wet
wō'v/^{ε/} dv. make wet

Y

yà you, your pl (*right-bound*); *ya*⁺ you pl (*left-bound*) 15.4.1
y^a you pl, *left-bound subject after imperative* 7.2.1 15.4.1 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^{mε} *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 3.2.2
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*) 15.4.1
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* *yèelúŋ*^ɔ worn (e.g. of a shirt)
yèeg^ε *dv.* undress oneself
yèeI^ε *dv.* dress someone
yēes^{ε/} *dv.* betray a secret
yèI^ε *ipfv* *yèt*^a *ger* *yèlvŋ*^ɔ *dv.* say, tell
yēI^{ε/} *pl* *yēlá*⁺ (*as postposition:* about 16.6) *cb* *yēI-* *n.* matter, affair; *yēI-méŋjìr*^ε
n. truth; *yēI-nárùŋ*^ɔ *n.* necessity; *yēI-pákìr*^ε *n.* disaster; *yēI-sú'adìr*^ε
n. confidential matter; *yēI-súm*^{mε} *n.* blessing 15.8.1.1
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 15.4.7
yīis^{ε/} *ger* *yīisíb*^ɔ *dv.* make go/come out, extract
yīmmír^ε *pl* *yīmmá*⁺ *cb* *yīm-* *adj.* solitary, lone 15.5.2.3

yīmmú⁺ *q. adv.* straight away, at once

yīnní⁺ *q.* one

yìŋ^a *adv.* outside

yīr^{el} *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-póŋròg*^ɔ *pl yī-póŋrà*⁺ *n.*

neighbouring house; *yī-sígdìr*^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- 15.8.1.3

yò⁺ *dv.* close; *resultative adj yòwólúg*^ɔ closed

yō⁺ⁿ *vv.* pay; *ger yōwɔd*^{el} *n.* pay

yōlɪs^{el} *dv.* untie

yōlɪsím^m *n.* freedom

yōlvɔg^ɔ *pl yōn*^{nεl} *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

yùgvɔdɪr^ε *pl yùgvɔda*⁺ *cb yùgvɔd-* *n.* hedgehog

yōgúm^{mε} *yōgúm*^{nε} *pl yōgúmá*⁺ *cb yōgúm-* *n.* camel

yùlɔg^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 yùug 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^{el} *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*^{el} *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
zāń'as^ε dv. refuse
zāńbir^ε dv. tattoo, mark skin
zāńbın^{ne} pl zāńbına⁺ cb zāńbın- n. tattoo; NT sign 11.1.2
Zàngbèèl^ε n. Hausa language
Zàngbèèog^ɔ pl Zàngbèèed^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/ ger zāńllım^m sv. be holding, carrying in hands
zāń'l^ε 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; *agt zī'ıd^{a/}* 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
zīń'a⁺ zēń'ug^ɔ pl zēń'ed^ε zēń'es^ε zēńda⁺ cb zēń'- adj. red
zīń'i^{ya} sv. be sitting; *ger zīń'ig^a pl zīń'is^ε cb zīń-* (also place)
zīń'il^ε dv. make sit, seat
zīń'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 15.8.1.3; *zūg-sób*^a *n.* boss; NT Lord; *zū-péelòg*^ɔ *pl* *zū-péelà*⁺ *adj.* bald 15.8.1.3; *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

zùnzòḡ^a *zùnzòḡ*^ɔ *pl* *zùnzòḡs*^ɛ *cb* *zùnzòḡ-* *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* *zūèya*⁺ *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

zùuḡ^ɔ *pl* *zùuḡs*^ɛ *zùuḡd*^ɛ *cb* *zùñ-* *n.* vulture

zōvr^ɛ *pl* *zōya*⁺ *cb* *zò-* *n.* tail; *zò-wōk*^ɔ *adj.* long-tailed 15.8.1.3