

A Grammar of Kusaal

Agolle Dialect

David Eddyshaw

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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. 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.

With the help of four intelligent and extremely 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.

When I lived in Ghana, little linguistic work was available on Kusaal. Happily, the situation has since changed greatly, with the work of Urs Niggli and Hasiyatu Abubakari on Toende Kusaal, and the recent appearance of a full grammar of Agolle Kusaal by Anthony Agoswin Musah.

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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

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

David Eddyshaw
Swansea, July 2019
david.eddyshaw@btinternet.com

Abbreviations

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

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

Interlinear glossing

ABSTR	abstract	<u>8.2</u>
ADV	adverbial	
AN	animate gender	<u>12.3</u>
CAT	clause catenator (underlyingly <i>n</i>)	<u>19</u>
CN	contrastive (personal pronouns)	<u>24.6</u>
COP	copula <i>àeñ^{va}</i>	<u>16.12</u>
CQ	content question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
DEM	demonstrative pronoun (discourse)	<u>12.4.2</u>
DEMST	demonstrative pronoun (spatio-temporal)	
DP	discontinuous-past marker <i>n^ε</i>	<u>16.3.2</u>
EXIST	existence/location verb <i>bè</i>	<u>16.12</u>
FOC	focus particle <i>nē'</i>	<u>24.1.2</u>
GER	gerund	<u>8.1.1</u>
IDEO	ideophone	<u>14</u>
IMP	independent imperative verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IN	inanimate gender	<u>12.3</u>
INDF	indefinite pronoun	<u>12.4.3</u>
IPFV	imperfective verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IRR	positive irrealis mood marker	<u>16.4</u>
LOC	locative postposition (<i>nī' ~ n^ε</i>)	<u>13.3</u>
NEG	negative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
NEG.BE	negative verb to and COP and EXIST	<u>16.5</u>
NEG.HAVE	(another use of the same verb)	
NEG.IMP	negative imperative marker	
NEG.IND	negative indicative marker	
NEG.IRR	negative irrealis marker	
NEG.KNOW	negative verb <i>zī'</i>	
NEG.LET	negative verb <i>mīt</i>	
NULL	semantically empty NP head <i>sōb^a</i>	<u>12.4.7</u>
NUM	number prefix <i>à- b-à- ñ- b-ò-</i>	<u>10</u>
NZ	nominaliser (underlyingly <i>ñ</i>)	<u>21</u>
PERS	personifier particle (<i>à-</i> or <i>ñ-</i>)	<u>12.6</u>
PFV	independent-perfective marker <i>yā</i>	<u>16.6.2</u>
PL	plural	<u>12.2</u>
PQ	polar question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
REL	relative pronoun	<u>21.2.2</u>
SG	singular	<u>12.2</u>
TNS	tense marker	<u>16.3.1</u>
VOC	vocative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>

Personal pronouns:	<u>12.4.1</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

The linker particle *kà* is glossed "and" throughout, though this often does not reflect its meaning in context; similarly *yà'* is glossed "if" in all cases. The empty particle *nē* following objects of comparison 15 is glossed "like."

Mass nouns are not specified as SG or PL in the glossing; single-aspect verbs 7.2 are not labelled for aspect. The perfective of dual-aspect verbs is also unlabelled.

∅ represents words with zero surface segmental representation, detectable only from tonal and segmental effects on preceding words. Prosodic clitics 4.1 are represented by =∅. Liaison enclitics 4.2 are preceded by = in glossing as in the working orthography. Other bound words which are traditionally written solid with their hosts are joined with hyphens in glossing as in the working orthography 3.1. Liaison before non-enclitic words is marked with ◡.

A few very common compounds are glossed with single words.

Transcription conventions

Phonetic transcriptions are broad, ignoring all allophony not immediately under discussion. Starred forms are *ad hoc*, simply illustrating single rules.

For Agolle Kusaal orthography see 2. 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* marks nasalisation and ' glottalisation of adjacent vowels, *y* stands for [j], and *kp gb* stand for [k̟p] [g̟b]. The symbol *i* is written with the dot below when it carries a tone mark, e.g. *bīg* "child" [bi:g]. *This* colour is reserved for words and word fragments in the working orthography of the grammar.

Hausa words are cited as in Newman 1979, but using double letters to mark long vowels; Mooré as in Niggli 2016; Nawdm as in Babakima 2013; Moba as in Kantchoa 2005, but with *y* for [j]. Arabic transcriptions use IPA, but with *y* for [j] and double symbols for long vowels; forms are classical, but without case endings or the *t* of *taaʔ marbuutʔa*.

Words from other languages are cited as given in the sources, adding the tone marks acute for H, grave for L, and macron for mid tone where necessary.

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

Internal and external hyperlinks appear like this.

Sources

All analyses adopted in this grammar are 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 otherwise based on elicitation work with four informants. The treatment of phrase-level syntax is also primarily based on the help they gave both through elicitation and in exploring puzzling constructions I had encountered while attempting to communicate at work.

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 four. If any would like to see his name included in its rightful place, I would be happy to comply. Meanwhile I identify them by abbreviations (which are not their initials):

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

All are first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal, with full competence also in English. All are male, and were then around forty years old. I noted examples from many other speakers, but few of the usage of younger speakers specifically; my informants did occasionally comment on the incorrect grammar of the young (surely a cultural universal.) There have been changes in the language itself over the fifty years covered by my sources, and traditional orthography sometimes preserves obsolete forms. I found no evidence of significant differences between the speech of men and women but made no systematic enquiries on this point. My informants showed a number of minor speech differences from one another, which were probably dialectal, but I have not explored the question of subdialects within Agolle Kusaal.

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

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

The Bible versions are generally regarded by Kusaal speakers as good and idiomatic Kusaal. The 1996 revision adapted foreign names more closely to 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 Bible makes significant orthographic changes.

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.

Except for a few examples from David Spratt's *Introduction to Learning Kusaal*, written sources are cited in their original orthography, with a transliteration into the working orthography of this grammar. Tone marking 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 Bible versions are cited:

Wina'am Gbauŋ

Wínà'am Gbáúŋ

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](#)

I also cite these materials published by GILLBT (the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation) in Tamale:

Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela

Bŋn-kóŋbìd nē Nŋis né bà yēlá

"Animals and birds and their affairs"

Matthew M. Abokiba

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima

Kŋsâal Sólímà nē Sŋilímà

"Kusaal Stories and Proverbs"

Samuel Akon, Joe Anabah

Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ

Kŋsâas Kûeb nē Yŋr yēlà Gbàúŋ

"A book on Kusaasi farming and housing"

William A. Sandow, Joseph A.H.Anaba

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1 Introduction

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 territory into **Toende** (French *Tondé*, Kusaal *Tùen* "West", shaded light green above) and **Agolle** (Kusaal *Àgòl* "Upper", dark green.)

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 (I was once told: "The first thing a young man looking for a wife needs to do is to get a bicycle.") A Kusaasi person knows his or her clan, and often its *pɔɔr* "slogan", part of its traditional lineage, but unlike the Mossi, the Kusaasi do not use clan names as surnames. Clans have their own distinctive customs (such as prohibitions against eating particular animals) but no administrative function; the Kusaasi originally had no chiefs. In religious matters the leading man of the area is the *tɛŋ-dāan* "earth-priest", taken to be the descendant and heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the dominant political structures in this region were the so-called Mossi-Dagomba states, the continuations and offshoots of polities founded, probably around the fourteenth century, by incoming conquerors traditionally held to be from the region of Lake Chad. The invaders created hereditary chiefdoms among previously acephalous peoples, who continued to provide the *tɛŋ-dāan-nàm*. The founder of these kingdoms is called *Naa* [King] *Gbewaa* in Mampruli. His seat was at Pusiga (Kusaal *Pūsīg*) 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 Balsa. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba and Mossi, including the long-sleeved baggy *bānāa* smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (*fūug* "clothing"), popularised in southern Ghana by President Rawlings.

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

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

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tɔ'as nē Wīnné=∅.

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

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

Wīn ñyé kà sīn.

God:sg see and be.silent.

"God sees and is silent."

Everyday religious practice is concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called *wīn*. A *wīn* resides in a *bōgōr*, 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: *ñin-gbīn* "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 *kìkīrīs*, protective spirits (called "fairies" in local English.) Men have three *kìkīrīs*, 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 *kìkīrīs* 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 *kìkīrīs*. *Sōñb* "witches" cause harm by stealing a person's life force; their condition is not always voluntary.

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 *sīgīr* "guardian spirit" which is often the *wīn* of an ancestor; the word *bōgōr* may also mean "a *wīn* inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's *sīgīr*.

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi normally cite Kusaal personal and place names without apocope 3.2: *À-Wīn* from *Wìdì-ñyá'an* will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga." Similarly "Kusaasi" for *Kōsâas*, "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" *Kōsâal* 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. The major dialect division is between Agolle and Toende Kusaal: numerous isoglosses coincide to produce a sharp discontinuity, probably attributable to depopulation near the White Volta caused by the river blindness prevalent until recent times.

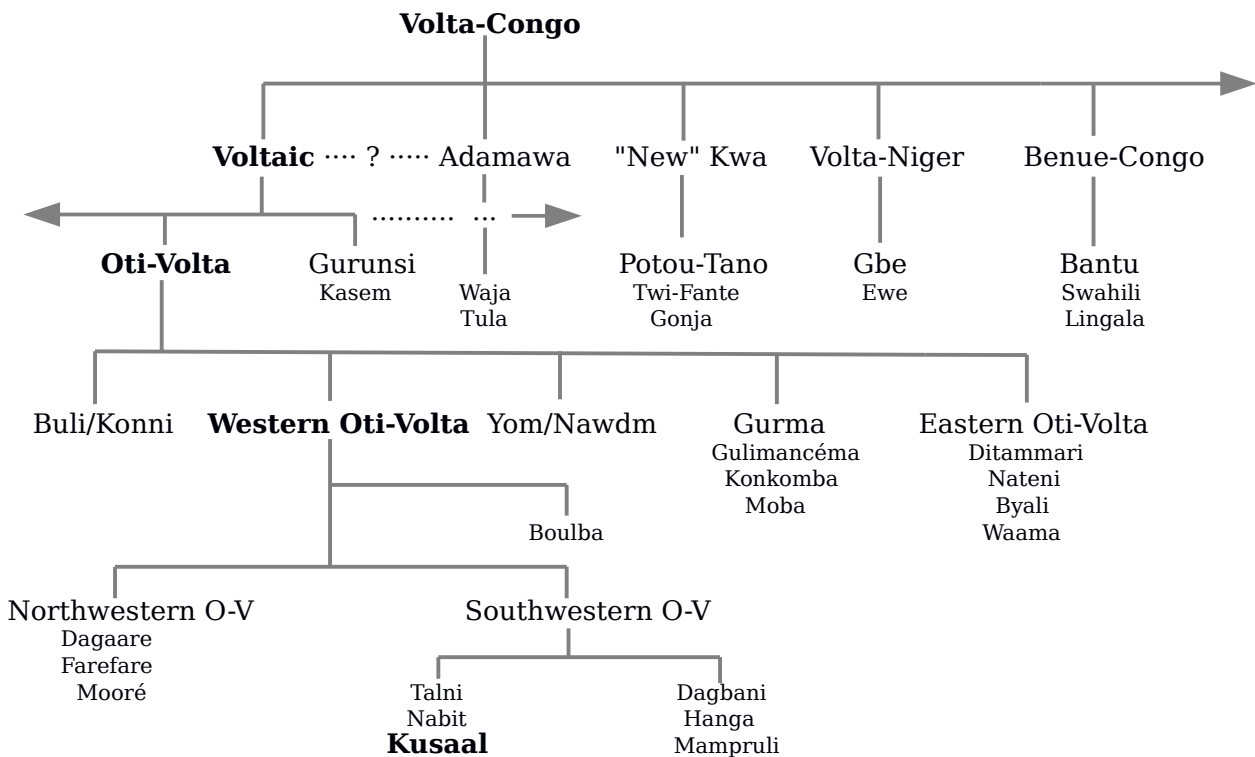
My informants reported little difficulty communicating with Toende speakers, but they are sophisticated multilinguals, and Agolle speakers may also find Toende Kusaal easier than vice versa. Berthelette 2001 found that recorded-text tests administered to Burkina Faso Toende speakers showed scores of 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 reports that Toende speakers feel their dialect to be "purer", which may affect comprehension. Berthelette gives a rate of apparent lexical cognates 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 **Voltaic** (or Gur) subgroup of **Volta-Congo**, itself traditionally joined to other groups by long-range hypotheses in a **Niger-Congo** phylum. This chart shows commonly accepted relationships between some of the Volta-Congo languages discussed below:



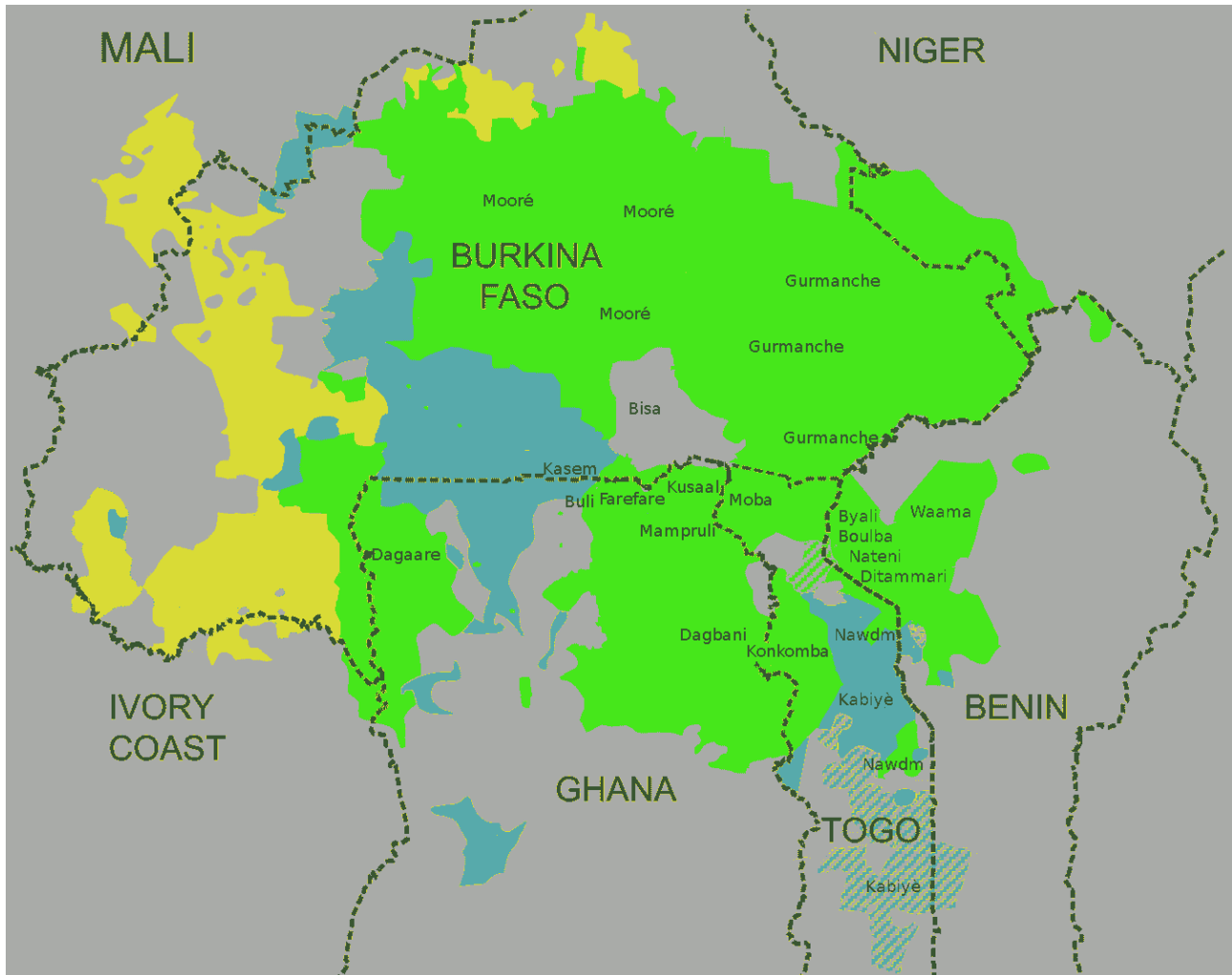
There is clear evidence for Volta-Congo as a genetic group. Basic lexical items recur: cf Kusaal *bīg* "child", *dì* "eat", *nū* "drink", *kpì* "die", *tìg* "tree", *àtáñ* "three", *tùbùr* "ear", Ewe *ví*, *dù*, *nò*, *kú*, *átí*, *ètè*, *tó*. Proto-Bantu reconstructions parallel all except "child": *dí-* "eat", *nú-* "drink", *kú-* "die", *-tí* "tree", *-tátò* "three", *-tó* "ear", and Proto-Bantu *tóm-* "send" corresponds to Kusaal *tùm*. The Potou-Tano languages here show a regular correspondence *t ~ s*: Twi *εsã* "three", *asõ* "ear", *soma* "send."

The most salient morphological feature of Volta-Congo is the presence of noun classes marked by affixes, which appear in sg/pl pairs for count nouns; the affixes of other Volta-Congo languages correspond to the Bantu pronominal/verbal agreement prefixes rather than noun class prefixes when these differ. Thus, the Kusaal human-plural noun suffix *-ba* seen in *nīdīb* "people", plural of *nīd*, matches the prefix of Lingala *bato* "people", plural of *moto*; the Proto-Bantu verb agreement prefix pair *li|gá* are cognate to the suffixes *re|aa* seen in Kusaal *tùbùr* "ear", pl *tùbà*, where Lingala *litói* "ear", pl *matói* shows the corresponding Bantu noun prefix pair.

Similarities also appear in verb derivation by suffixes, but good matches of form and function are less evident than in noun flexion.

The Voltaic languages (adapted from Davius)

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



The closest relatives of Kusaal form Manessy's **Western Oti-Volta**, a group roughly as diverse as Romance. Proto-Oti-Volta **c *j* have merged with **s *z*; almost all inflecting verbs use the stem for perfective aspect, suffixing **da* (\leftarrow **ta*) for the imperfective. The group shows a great deal of distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *kù'om* "water", Boulba *kóà*, vs Moba *núm*, Buli *nyíam* etc. Boulba (Notre) is an outlier; it devoices **g *gb̄ *z *v*, for example, and preserves noun classes lost elsewhere, as with *tìebò* "tree" vs Kusaal *tùg*, Mooré *tùgá*.

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. Mooré and Farefare share innovations absent in Dagaare. Southwestern Oti-Volta includes Kusaal, Nabit, Talni, Mampfuli, Dagbani, Hanga, Kamara and some smaller languages; a distinctive Southwestern feature is the imperative flexion **-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 development of contrastive palatalised velars.

Kusaal forms a subgroup with Nabit and Talni, spoken in the adjacent Nabdam and Talensi districts. Like Kusaal, Nabit and Talni have lost inherited final short vowels in citation forms. Naden's materials suggest that as in Kusaal the vowel remains at the end of questions and negated clauses:

Nabit	<i>La bi'imε.</i>	"It is ripe." (<i>mε</i> = Toende <i>me</i> , Agolle nē 16.2.1)
	<i>La na bu biigε.</i>	"It is not yet ripe."
Talni	<i>Bunpək dɔɣam pu bəkəra, buraɔ dɔɣam m bəkət.</i>	
	"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 close to Western Oti-Volta, with many clear cognates and similar nominal morphology. Buli verbs do not inflect for aspect. Proto-Oti-Volta **s* **z* **c* **j* are preserved unchanged.

The Gurma languages are much less close. Verb flexion is complex, marking aspects by changing stem tones and/or adding or dropping several different suffixes. Gulimancéma and Konkomba show nouns with paired class prefixes and suffixes. Moba shows some features suggestive of Western Oti-Volta influence.

Both Buli and Gurma have three-tone systems. Of the three Western Oti-Volta Tone Patterns [3.8](#), 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>m̄ɔɔg</i>	<i>mūub</i>	<i>móóùg</i>	"grass"
<i>t̄ig</i>	<i>t̄ib</i>	<i>t̄īḡ</i>	"tree"

It is Gurma which is conservative: cf Proto-Bantu *-nùà* "mouth", Ewe *nù* = Kusaal [n̄ɔɔr](#) (Pattern H) versus Proto-Bantu *-tó* "ear", Ewe *tó* = Kusaal [t̄ùb̄ùr](#).

Nawdm aligns tonally with Western Oti-Volta and Buli: *wáàḡb̄* "snake", *móóḡú* "grass", *t̄ìb̄* "tree." It has shifted **p* → *f*, **s* → *h*, **c* → *s*, **z* → *j*. It often has *h̄* [ʔ] where Western Oti-Volta shows vowel glottalisation. Nawdm shows much less lexical similarity than Buli to Western Oti-Volta, but there are parallels in verb morphology. Most verbs use the stem as perfective and add *-a* for imperfective, dropping any perfective *-g* suffix; another common pattern is perfective *-ra* ~ imperfective *-l*.

Eastern Oti-Volta is internally very diverse; Manessy's subgrouping is largely based on shared initial consonant changes, some of which are clearly areal.

Ditammari and Nateni have similar complex verbal flexion, broadly resembling Gurma. Both also align with Gurma in showing L tones corresponding to Pattern H, and Ditammari shows nouns with paired class prefixes and suffixes.

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

Waama shows high tones in words corresponding to Western Oti-Volta Pattern H. Most verbs use a bare stem as perfective and add *-ri/-di/-ti* for imperfective. Of some 400 vocabulary items compared in Sambieni 2005, 55 Waama words are not cognate to those of the other languages, compared to under 20 for the other languages; some of these words have cognates in Western Oti-Volta and Buli.

There is much less similarity between Oti-Volta as a whole and the **Gurunsi** languages, considered by Manessy to constitute the other major branch of Voltaic. The relationship between Oti-Volta and Gurunsi and the Adamawa languages is unclear (Kleinewillinghöfer 1996), and neighbouring related languages with suffixing noun flexion have sometimes been ascribed to Voltaic without firm evidence that they are closer to Oti-Volta or Gurunsi in particular than to other Volta-Congo groups.

1.2.4 Grammatical sketch

Kusaal and its close relatives Nabit and Talni differ from other Western Oti-Volta languages in having undergone **apocope** of word-final short vowels even in citation forms. Thus where Mooré has the citation form *gígemde* "lion", the cognate Kusaal word normally appears in the **Short Form** (SF) *gbīgīm*. This is not a simple historical matter: the 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):

Lì à nē gbīgīm. "It's a lion."
3IN COP FOC lion:SG.

Lì kā' gbīgīmnē=∅. "It's not a lion."
3IN NEG.BE lion:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē gbīgìmnèε=∅. "Is it a lion?"
3IN COP FOC lion:SG=PQ.

As here, after apocope any final consonant cluster drops the second consonant.

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. Alongside interlinear glossing they are represented by = \emptyset .

In citing word forms, superscripts are used for those parts of words which only appear in the LF: *gbīgīm^{NE}* "lion."

The phonology of Kusaal is greatly 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 LF *vīugó* "owl" has *iu* for *ii* because of the rounding effect of the suffix vowel. After apocope, the diphthong *iu* in *vīug* contrasts with the vowel of *vīid* "owls", shortened from *vīidé*. Similarly, *āañdīgā* "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel *ɪ*, and appears as *āañdīg* after apocope, whereas *gàadògò* "passing" has rounding to *ɔ* before the flexion *-gɔ*, and after apocope this becomes contrastive in the SF *gàadòg*.

Liaison words cause a preceding word to appear as a LF 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:

<i>Ṃ p̄</i> <i>bócdā=∅</i> . 1SG NEG.IND want=NEG.	"I don't want to." LF <i>bòcdā</i> preceding negative clitic.
<i>Ṃ bócdī=bá</i> . 1SG want=3PL.	"I love them." Modified LF <i>bòcdī</i> before liaison.
<i>Ṃ p̄</i> <i>zábē=∅</i> . 1SG NEG.IND fight=NEG.	"I haven't fought." LF <i>zàbē</i> preceding negative clitic.
<i>Ṃ zábī=bá</i> . 1SG fight =3PL.	"I've fought them." Modified LF <i>zábī</i> before liaison.

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to a single consonant. So with the object pronoun *f³* "you (sg)" and the locative postposition *n^E*:

<i>Ṃ p̄</i> <i>bócdī=fó=∅</i> . 1SG NEG.IND want=2SG=NEG.	"I don't love you." LF <i>fɔ</i> of the pronoun "you (sg)"
<i>Ṃ bócdī=f</i> . 1SG want=2SG.	"I love you." SF <i>f</i> of the pronoun "you (sg)"

Lì k̄ā' k̄ōk̄ā=∅. "It's not a chair."
3IN NEG.BE chair:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄ā' k̄ōk̄ī=né=∅. "It's not in a chair." (*k̄ōk̄ī=n* "in a chair")
3IN NEG.BE chair:SG=LOC=NEG.

Lì k̄ā' d̄ōk̄ó=∅. "It's not a pot."
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄ā' d̄ōk̄í=nē=∅. "It's not in a pot." (*d̄ōk̄í=n* "in a pot")
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=LOC=NEG.

The pronoun ^o "him/her" has a SF which is segmentally *zero*. Its presence is still shown by the replacement of the preceding word-final vowel mora by *o* [ɔ]:

Ṁ p̄ō b̄óɔdó=∅. "I don't love him/her." [ṁpɔbɔ:dɔ:]
1SG NEG.IND want=3AN=NEG. LF *o* of the pronoun "him/her"

Ṁ b̄óɔd̄ō=∅. "I love him/her." [ṁbɔ:dɔ]
1SG want=3AN. SF *∅* of the pronoun "him/her"

The SF of the 2pl subject ^{ya} after imperatives is similarly segmentally zero:

Gòsìm! "Look!"
Look:IMP!

Gòsīmī=∅! "Look ye!" by apocope from *gòsīmī=yá*
Look:IMP=2PL.SUB!

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. Liaison before such words is marked by ◡.

Two particles of the form *n* also frequently lose their own segmental form entirely, their presence again apparent only in the modified LF of the preceding word:

ṁ z̄ūgú=∅ z̄àb̄ìd l̄ā z̄úg
1SG head:SG=NZ fight:IPFV ART upon
"because my head hurts" (nominaliser-*n̄*)

M̄ zūgō ∅ *zábìd*. "My head hurts." (catenator-*n*)
 1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV.

Kusaal has contrastive vowel glottalisation, marked with '.

Vowel **breaking** results in four vowels *ɪa ʊa iə uə* which pattern throughout as *monophthongs*. Many phonemic diphthongs arise from fusion of vowels after deletion of intervocalic **g* and from fronting and rounding made contrastive by apocope.

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. There is extensive external tone sandhi, and a tone overlay marks the verb phrases of main clauses.

Open-class words are built from *(C)V(V)(C)* roots, followed by zero to three derivational suffixes *C*, and then zero or one flexional suffix *(C)V(V)*. Many nominal stems have a prefix *CV- CVn- CVlɪn-* or *CVsɪn-* before the root, e.g. *pīpīrīg* "desert", and may thus contain *nC* clusters between prefix and root: *dìndēog* "chameleon." Except in loans, other word-internal consonant clusters are only *kk tt pp ŋŋ nn mm ll mn; kk tt pp ŋŋ* are written and usually realised single. No clusters occur word-initially or finally except final *mm*. Otherwise, consonants are separated by epenthetic *ɪ* or *ʊ*: *dī'əsídìb* "receivers", *bāŋīdīb* "wise men", *gbīgīmnē* "lion" LF. Because of apocope, two-consonant clusters occur freely across word division, including within compounds.

Prefixes and flexional suffixes have only a three-way vowel contrast *a/ɪ/ʊ*. Suffix vowels are lost by apocope in SFs; before prosodic clitics *ɪ ʊ* become *ɛ ɔ*.

Most common **particles** are short bound words, like the postposed article *lā* "the", and the preverbal tense marker *dāa* "before yesterday."

All **flexion** is by suffixing, as is all productive derivation. Most prefixes do not have identifiable meanings. Flexion is underlyingly simple, but with morphophonemic complications; these words are all regular members of the same noun class:

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	<i>bōvs</i>	"goats"
<i>sàbùa</i>	"lover"	<i>sàbùəs</i>	"lovers"
<i>nūa</i>	"hen"	<i>nōɔs</i>	"hens"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	<i>kōgōs</i>	"chairs"
<i>zàk</i>	"compound"	<i>zà'as</i>	"compounds"
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	<i>dà'as</i>	"markets"
<i>bòŋ</i>	"donkey"	<i>bòmìs</i>	"donkeys"
<i>tēŋ</i>	"land"	<i>tēēñs</i>	"lands"

Noun flexion marks singular and plural by suffixes which come in matched pairs, resulting in seven noun classes; most exceptions are transparently explicable phonologically. The classes partly correlate with meaning. The stem is itself an important part of the paradigm, because it is extensively used as the first element in **compound** formation, which is a highly productive process. Among other things it is the normal way for a head noun to combine with an adjective or dependent pronoun:

<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>pìə̀lìg</i>	"white"	→ <i>bò-pìə̀lìg</i>	"white goat"
<i>bōvg</i>	"goat"	+ <i>sī'a</i>	"another"	→ <i>bò-sī'a</i>	"another goat"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>pìə̀lìg</i>	"white"	→ <i>kòg-pìə̀lìg</i>	"white chair"
<i>kōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>kàḡā</i>	"this"	→ <i>kòg-kàḡā</i>	"this chair"

In most Voltaic languages the noun classes form a grammatical gender system, with pronoun and adjective agreement, but like most of its close relatives Kusaal has abandoned grammatical gender in favour of an animate/inanimate opposition.

Verb flexion shows just one conjugation of prototypical dual-aspect verbs, using the stem form for perfective aspect and marking the imperfective with a single suffix *-da*. Morphophonemic changes again complicate the surface picture:

<i>kō</i>	pfv	<i>kōvd</i>	ipfv	"kill"
<i>ḡyē</i>	pfv	<i>ḡyēt</i>	ipfv	"see"
<i>vōl</i>	pfv	<i>vōn</i>	ipfv	"swallow"

Dual-aspect verbs also have an imperative flexion *-ma*, appearing only when the verb has independency-marking tone overlay (see below.)

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

<i>Ò d̀ìgì</i>	<i>nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
3AN be.lying.down	FOC.	
<i>Ò m̀òr</i>	<i>b́úḡ.</i>	"She has a donkey."
3AN have donkey:SG.		
<i>Ò g̀ìm.</i>		"She's short."
3AN be.short.		

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

Ò à nē bīig. "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' bīigā=∅. "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. *gbìgìm-kōvd* "lion-killer."

Kusaal is SVO, with indirect objects preceding direct:

Ṁ tíṣī=f bój lā. "I've given you the donkey."
 1SG give=2SG donkey:SG ART.

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.)

Possessors precede heads: *m bīig* "my child", *dāy lā bīig* "the man's child."

Adverbs often appear as postpositions preceded by NP dependents, as with *zūg* "head" used adverbially in *téebòl lā zúg* "onto the table."

The liaison word *n^ɛ* noted above is a very general locative postposition.

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

Gbīgimā lā sá pō kō bój lāa=∅.
 Lion:PL ART TNS NEG.IND kill donkey:SG ART=NEG.
 "The lions didn't kill the donkey (yesterday.)"

The focus particle *nē* may focus VPs or VP constituents (as after *àḡñ* "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":

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

Nīdīb kp̄īd nē. "People are dying."
 Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Main and content clauses have **independency marking** of the first VP, marked by a tone overlay and by special subject pronoun tone sandhi. The overlay is absent in negative polarity or irrealis mood and with various preverbal particles; marking itself is absent after the clause-linker *kà* even in *coordinating* function, as in narrative:

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

but *Kà ò gòs d'atà.* "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 flexion *-ma*:

Dā gòs d'atā=∅! "Don't look at the doctor!"
 NEG.IMP look.at doctor:SG=NEG!

but *Gòsim d'atà!* "Look at the doctor!"
 Look.at:IMP doctor:SG!

Main clauses frequently have time or circumstance adjuncts preceding the subject; conditional clauses, with *yà* "if" after their own subjects, appear here:

Fù yá' bòod, m ná tīsī=f búη.
 2SG if want, 1SG IRR give=2SG donkey:SG.
 "If you want, I'll give you a donkey."

Clause subordination by **catenation** using the same-subject catenator particle *n* often creates structures resembling serial verb constructions:

M kûes bònò ∅ tīsī=f. "I've sold a donkey to you."
 1SG sell donkey:SG CAT give=2SG.

Clause catenation can also introduce a different subject by using *kà* instead of *n*; one use is adnominal, with a meaning like a non-restrictive relative clause:

Lì à nē gbīgīm lá kà m̄ ñyēt.

3IN COP FOC lion:SG ART and 1SG see:IPFV.

"It's the lion I see."

A second type of subordination is **nominalisation** by insertion of the nominaliser particle *ñ* (frequently realised as segmental \emptyset) after the subject:

gbīgīm lá= \emptyset kō búŋ "the lion having killed the donkey"

lion:SG ART=NZ kill donkey:SG ART

Relative clauses may be internally-headed, using indefinite pronouns as relatives:

[Paul=ñ sōb gbáuy-sī'a n tís Efesus dí m̄ lā] \emptyset ñwá.

Paul=NZ write letter-INDE.IN CAT give Ephesus one.PL ART CAT this.

"This is [the letter Paul wrote to the Ephesians]." (NT heading)

Kusaal has also developed an antecedent-initial relative clause type where the nominaliser has fused with a preceding demonstrative to form a relative pronoun:

dàuy-kànì pū'ā kpí lā "the man whose wife has died"

man-REL.SG wife:SG die ART

A third type, **complementisation**, uses the initial linker particles *yē* or *kà*.

Content clauses appear after verbs expressing communication or thought; they have independency marking. Contrastive personal pronouns are used logophorically:

ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.

kà Paul lébìs yē òn pō gēēñmm= \emptyset .

and Paul reply that 3AN.CN NEG.IND go.mad=NEG.

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." (Acts 26:25, 1976)

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have imperative mood:

M̄ ná tī=f tūm yé fò nīf dā zábē= \emptyset .

1SG IRR give=2SG medicine that 2SG eye:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.

"I'll give you medicine so your eye won't hurt."

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

M̄ zūgō ∅ *zábìd*.
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting."
(Reply to "Where is the pain?")

Gbīgím kà m̄ dāa ñyē.
Lion:SG and 1SG TNS see.

"It was a lion that I saw."

Although there is no syntactic movement rule for interrogative words, they are frequently preposed using *kà*, and as subjects they must be focussed with *n*:

F̀v̀ b̀ò̀d̀ b̀ó̀=∅?
2SG want what=CQ?

"What do you want?"

B̀ó̀ k̀à̀ f̀v̀ ñ̀ỳḕt̀á̀=∅?
What and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"What can you see?"

À̀ǹó̀'ò̀ǹì̀ ∅ *k̀ú̀v̀=̀b̀á̀=∅?*
Who CAT kill=3PL=CQ?

"Who has killed them?"

Kusaal narrative links clause after clause with *kà*, omitting tense marking so long as the action is preceding in sequence; tense marking can also be omitted when a time AdvP is present in the same clause:

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-Pv̄-zót-yēl *dá à né ò sàam b̄ig mà'aa.*

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

Kà dāar yīnní kà b̄ig lā né ò sàam z̄ĩ'ì ∅ s̄õñs̄id.

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

Kà b̄ig lā tí yèl ò sàam yē ...

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

"Fears-nothing was his father's only son. One day the son and father were sitting talking. The son said to his father ..." KSS p35

The second *kà* is preposing the time AdvP *dāar yīnní*; the third is carrying on the narrative, introducing a clause without the tense marker *dà*.

2 Sound system

2.1 Consonants

The following symbols are used for consonant phonemes, with *kp gb* as digraphs; values resemble the corresponding IPA symbols, except as noted below.

<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>

kp gb z v are only found prefix- or root-initially 3.3, and *w* only root-initially. Syllable-final *y* becomes the glide *j/ɟ*. No *ŋ* occurs prefix- or root-initially. Phonemic *h* occurs only syllable-initially in loans, but these include the common *hālí* "as far as."

Root syllables with no initial consonant are optionally realised with initial [ʔ].

k t p represent [k^h] [t^h] [p^h] prefix- or root-initially, [k] [t] [p] elsewhere. Except after prefixes, word-internal *k t p ŋ* represent /kk/ /tt/ /pp/ /ŋŋ/, but they are only realised as geminates in very slow speech. Word-final *g d b* are partly devoiced, but still contrast with *k t p*.

k g are palatalised before front vowels, for some speakers even becoming palatal stops or affricates. They may represent palatal stops or affricates in loans:

<i>tóklàè</i>	"torch"	← English "torchlight"
<i>sógià</i>	"soldier"	

Before *a* and *ɔ* velars are backed, or even uvular: *kòbɪgā* [q^wɔbɪga] "hundred."

k g are labialised before rounded vowels; they might here be regarded as allophones of *kp gb* rather than *k g*: cf *kūm* "death", *kpì* "die"; *kōbīr* "bone", Moba *kpábl̩*; *kpàkōr* "tortoise", Dagbani *kpàkpílí*.

t d n s z l r represent alveolars in general, but *s z* are often dental, or even interdental; *l* is never velarised. Before *u*, *z* is sometimes heard as [ʒ].

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

<i>Àláasìd (dâar)</i>	"Sunday"	← Hausa <i>Lahàdì</i> (← Arabic)
<i>Dàsmáanì</i>	personal name: f <i>Abdu-r-Raḥmaan(i)</i> ; also <i>Dàhámáanì</i>	

d represents [d], and *r* [r] (often [ʀ] after an epenthetic vowel.) There is no contrast prefix- or root-initially: [d] appears by default, but often [r] phrase-internally after vowels. The symbol *d* is used word-initially, *r* after a prefix vowel.

<i>nō-dâvɔ</i> [nɔraʊɔ]	"cock"	<i>nā'-dâad</i> [nɔra:d]	"oxen"
<i>tīrâan</i>	"neighbour"	<i>àràzàk</i>	"riches"

d and *r* contrast elsewhere, though in rapid speech *d* can still resemble [r]:

<i>èñdìg</i>	"unplug"	<i>ēñrīg</i>	"shift along"
<i>mōd</i>	"swell"	<i>mōr</i>	"have"
<i>yàad</i>	"graves"	<i>yāar</i>	"scatter"
<i>zàbìd</i>	"fight" (ipfv)	<i>zàbìr</i>	"fight" (gerund)

Western Oti-Volta **r* became **y* except when geminated or between a long vowel or a consonant and **ɪ*, where it remains as *r* in Mooré and Agolle Kusaal but falls together with *l* in Dagbani and with *d* (as *r*) elsewhere. After a short root vowel *r* thus reflects **rr* except when introduced by analogy or borrowing: thus *kpàr*^ε "lock" for expected **kpàd*^ε (Dagbani *kpàri*) has *r* from an obsolete **kpàr*^a "be locked"; cf *gùl*^ε "suspend", *gùl*^{la} "be suspended."

n is syllabic when representing various particles, and as the number prefix; it assimilates to the position of articulation of a following consonant.

m is syllabic when standing alone as the 1st sg pronoun "I, my"; it does *not* assimilate to a following consonant.

The sequence *-mi* preceding liaison may absorb the vowel:

<i>Gòsīm=m!</i>	"Look at me!" for <i>Gòsimī=m!</i>
<i>Gòsím fò nù'ug!</i>	"Look at your hand!" for <i>Gòsimí fò nù'ug!</i>

kp gb represent [k̠p̠] [g̠b̠]; *kp* is unaspirated. They occur only before unrounded vowels, and (for some speakers) in prefixes like *kpòkpàrìg/kòkpàrìg* "palm tree." They represent labialised velars in loans: *bákpàè* "week", Hausa *bakwàì* "seven."

y w are [j] [w] respectively. They are strongly nasalised before nasalised vowels, and are then written *ñy ñw* with no nasalisation marking on the vowel:

<i>ñyē</i>	[j̃ɛ]	"see"	<i>ñwādīg</i>	[w̃ãdɪg]	"moon"
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ñy ñw reflect earlier initial *n ñm* respectively, cf Dagbani *nyá* "see", *ɲmariga* "moon." Some Toende speakers retain initial [ɲ] [ɲm]. Kusaal initial nasalised vowels reflect earlier initial *ɲ*: Dagbani *ɲubi*, Kusaal *òñb* "chew."

2.2 Vowels

The vowel system displays marked **positional prominence**. Diphthongs, glottalisation, emic nasalisation and full quality contrasts appear only in roots 3.3.

Agolle Kusaal has a nine-vowel system. Seven of these are written by default as *a ε ɔ i u ɪ v*, 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." *Mà'àa* "only" has a unique overlong monophthong. The vowel *ɪ* is more central after velars and labials, and *v* is slightly fronted after alveolars and *y*; *u* is fronted after alveolars: *zūg* "head" [zyg].

Lax *ɪ v* do not appear after *m* or *n* in roots or prefixes. Distinctions of short *i/ɪ* and *u/v* have a very low functional load even in roots. The allophony [ɪ]~[i] and [ʊ]~[u] in epenthetic and prefix vowels 3.3 is ignored, only *ɪ v* being used in writing.

The two remaining vowels are the **broken vowels** *ja ua*; the corresponding long vowels are *iə uə*. Though realised [ɪa] [ʊa] [iə] [uə] as written, they pattern throughout as *monophthongs*, and will be referred to as such below. Before *y* word-internally, *ja ua* are realised [jɪ] [jʊ] and written *je ue*.

<i>tjàk</i>	[tɹak]	"change"	<i>puāk</i>	[pʊak]	"female"
<i>kpjà'</i>	[kɹɪa]	"shape wood"	<i>kjà</i>	[kɪa]	"cut"
<i>pjàlɪg</i>	[piəlɪg]	"white"	<i>bū'əs</i>	[bʊəs]	"ask"
<i>bjēyá</i>	[bjɪja]	"elder siblings"	<i>suēyá</i>	[sʊɪja]	"roads"

Word-final *iə uə* only occur through monophthongisation in external sandhi 4.2 4.3; before prosodic clitics they diphthongise to *ia ua* respectively.

Nasalised *ian uən* (including after *m n*) occur only before underlying **g*, and in the ipfv of fusion verbs by analogy 3.7. Elsewhere they have fallen together with *εñ ɔñ*: cf *nɔɔr* "times", Mooré *náooré*, *nɔɔr* "mouth", Mooré *nóorè*.

Short *ja ua* have just two origins. Apocope 3.2 shortens final *iə uə* to *ja ua*:

<i>kjà</i>	SF of <i>kja</i>	"cut"	<i>kuā</i>	SF of <i>kua</i>	"hoe"
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Elsewhere, *ja ua* replace *ε ɔ* before *k* and before underlying **g*, which is deleted with vowel fusion 3.7. *Bòk* "pit" (vs *bjàk* "split") is due to the change **ɹakv* → *ɔkv*; other *εk ɔk* arise by shortening of long vowels before *k* (see below), as with *tēk* "pull" (vs *tjàk* "change.")

Toende Kusaal here preserves phonetic monophthongs: Toende *sēēs* = *sīēs* "waists" vs *pē'ēs* = *pē'ēs* "sheep (pl)"; *bó'ɔs* = *bū'əs* "ask" vs *tōom* = *tōom* "depart." Mooré *oo* corresponds to Toende *ɔɔ*/Agolle *uə*, but Mooré *aoo* to Toende *ɔɔ*/Agolle *ɔɔ*: Mooré *bàooda*, Toende *bòòt*, Agolle *bòòd*, "want, wish."

Non-glottalised long vowels are shortened word-internally before *k t p* and *y*:

<i>gàad</i>	"pass" pfv	<i>gàt</i>	"pass" ipfv
<i>tēεg</i>	"drag"	<i>tēk</i>	"pull" (*tεεkkɪ)
<i>tōɔg</i>	"bitter"	<i>tōɛ</i>	"be bitter" (*tōɔya)

The process also applies in loanwords: *àtìyuk* "sea" ← Hausa *tèeku*, *kótò* "court."

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols other than *ia ua ie ue iə uə* represent phonemic **diphthongs**. After a vowel symbol *ɛ* represents [ɪ], *ĩ* is [i] (found only after *u*), and *ɔ̣* represents [ʊ]:

<i>sōɛñ</i>	[sõɪ]	"witch"	<i>mùĩ</i>	[mũi]	"rice"
<i>dāy</i>	[daʊ]	"man"	<i>bĩāyñk</i>	[bĩãʊk]	"shoulder"

Unlike *y w*, *ɛ ĩ ɔ̣* do not form syllable boundaries. Initial *ya* contrasts with *ĩa* in tenseness and timing: *ĩā* "seek" and *yā* "houses" contrast as [ɪa] ~ [ja], not [ʔja] ~ [ja].

Primary diphthongs arise from word-final *Vw *Vy 3.4 and from fronting, rounding and fusion 3.6 3.7. All also occur nasalised, and if not short, glottalised; some *only* occur glottalised. Non-initial [ɪ] is written *e* except after *ε*, and non-initial [ʊ] is written *o* except after *a*. Fronting diphthongs occur only word-finally or before *y*, rounding diphthongs only word-finally or before velars. Diphthongs may be short or long; long may correspond to overlong before prosodic clitics 4.1. The only length contrasts in identical environments are *avŋ/avŋ* and *ae/ae*.

	Short	Long	Overlong
Centring		<i>ia</i>	<i>iaa</i>
		<i>ua</i>	<i>uaa</i>
		<i>ĩa'a</i>	
		<i>v'a</i> (y'aa LF-finally)	
Fronting	<i>aɛ</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>aee</i>
		<i>ie</i>	<i>iee</i>
		<i>ue</i>	<i>uee</i>
	<i>ɔɛ</i>	<i>ɔ'e</i>	
	<i>uĩ</i>	<i>ui</i>	
	<i>vɛ</i>	<i>v'e</i>	
Rounding	<i>aɔ̣</i>	<i>av</i>	
	<i>εɔ̣</i>	<i>εo</i>	
	<i>ĩaɔ̣</i>		
	<i>ɪɔ̣</i>		
		<i>iu</i>	
	<i>io</i>		

Secondary diphthongs are created by *replacement* of final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] (never [i]) before the liaison word 4.2 2pl subject ^{ya} and by [ɔ] (never [u]) before the liaison word ^o "him/her." Any vowel may precede:

<i>zūó=o</i>	[zuɔ:]	"steal him"	Long Form	3.2
<i>zúo</i>	[zuɔ]	"steal him"	Short Form	
<i>bēɪ=yá</i>	[bɛɪja]	"be ye!"	Long Form	
<i>bēɪ</i>	[bɛɪ]	"be ye!"	Short Form	

The symbol *o* is used for [ɔ] both in the 3sg animate pronoun and in the mora preceding it in liaison: thus *dāvog* [daɔg] "male", but e.g.

<i>ò bīg</i>	[ɔbi:g]	"her child"	<i>zúo</i>	[zuɔ]	"steal him"
<i>dà'o</i>	[dɔɔ]	"bought for him"			

Nasalisation is automatic on long vowels after *m n*: *mèed* "build" ipfv [mɛ:d]. Elsewhere it is marked by a following *ñ*, but if the vowel or diphthong is also glottalised, *ñ* precedes the ' mark, and after initial *y* or *w*, *ñ* precedes the *y* or *w*; *ñ* also precedes *o* [ɔ] before the 3sg pronoun: *āño* [ãõ] "be him/her."

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

There are no short **iñ* **vñ*. Short *iñ uñ* nearly always arise from apocope 3.2 of *iiñ uuñ*, as in *sīñf* "bee" cb *sīñ-*, *zùuñg* "vulture", cb *zùñ-*; the only exception is *sūñf* "heart" (pl *sūñyá*), written *sonf* in KB. Nasalised *iñ uñ* occur only in fusion verbs 3.7. Nasalisation may result after lost initial **ŋ* **ɲ* **ŋm* or before underlying **ns* **nf*; so with all *uñ vñ*: *píuñf* "genet", pl *pīuñí*; *zú'vñf* "dawadawa seed", pl *zū'vñí*; *tèñ-zùvñs* "foreign lands", sg *tèñ-zùvñ*.

Glottalisation does not affect vowel quality. It may be realised as creakiness or as [ʔ] after the first mora; this [ʔ] is never treated as a consonant. Glottalisation is marked by ' following the first/only vowel symbol (including *u*) other than *i*:

<i>dà'</i>	[dɔ]	"buy"	<i>dà'a</i>	[dɔ:]	"market"
<i>kù'əm</i>	[kɔəm]	"water"	<i>pɔ'ā</i>	[pɔɔ]	"woman"
<i>kɔ'pì'a</i>	[kɔpɪɔ]	"neighbour"	<i>kɔ'pì'à</i>	[kɔpɪɔ]	"carve"

Word-final short vowels and diphthongs ending statements and commands, but not questions, become glottalised; for example *dāy* "man" is realised [d̥ɑ̃]/[d̥ɑ̃ʔ], and *gēñ* "get tired" falls together with *gēñ'* "get angry."

Farefare, Talni and Nabit also preserve glottalisation: Farefare *yú'úré* = *yō'vr* "name"; Talni *kwoʔm*, Nabit *kɔ'm* = *kù'əm* "water." Nawdm has *h* [ʔ] in many cognates, e.g. *béhǵú* "bad" = *bē'og*, *dañ-* "buy" = *dà'*.

Glottalised short vowels arise by apocope 3.2. Besides *kā'g* "not be" (**kagɪ*) all other cases precede *m* or *ŋ* in closed syllables, e.g. *kpè'ŋ* "strengthen", *lā'ŋ* "set alight", *nī'm* "meat", *kō'm* "hunger", *sò'ŋā* "well", *sò'm* "goodness" (but only *sòŋ* pl *sòmà* "good.") The vowels are traditionally written long: *sv'vŋa* etc. Only Agolle Kusaal shows this phenomenon, and only some informants. It probably arose from gemination of *m ŋ*; KB has 385 examples of *an svm* to 47 of *an sv'vm àñ sóm* "is good", but 30 of *ka' svm* to 40 of *ka' sv'vm kā' súmm* "is not good."

Yām/yā'am were probably originally distinct words: *yām* "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárm*) and *yā'am* "gall bladder" (Farefare *yá'ám*, Buli *yáam*, Nawdm *ráhím*.)

2.3 Syllables and tonemes

Syllables may be light (C)V or heavy (C)VV~(C)VC~(C)VVC; (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 a (C)V syllable which is *not* superlight, working from left to right: *dī'əsídibà* "receivers", *sīgísídibà* "lowerers", *mòlifo* "gazelle." Three-mora vowel sequences are *disyllabic*, dividing after the first mora: Long Form *nū-áa* "hen."

Stress falls on the root syllables of free words, but is subject to complex sandhi phenomena which have yet to be properly investigated. It is probably never contrastive, and roots can be reinterpreted as prefixes: *dítóŋ* "right hand" is derived from *dì* "eat", but also appears as *dàtìŋ*, while *bōtīŋ* "cup" is the instrument noun from *bòd* "plant seeds", but has the plural *bōtīs*, as if from *bō* + *tīŋ*.

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

Tone is mostly distinctive as a syntactic marker, but lexical minimal pairs are quite common, e.g. *bōk* "weaken", *bòk* "cast lots"; *kōk* "chair", *kòk* "ghost."

The tone-bearing unit is the syllable. Superlight syllables and catenator-*n* are toneless; the toneme of the preceding syllable extends over them. Being disyllabic, overlong diphthongs carry two tonemes, as in the Long Form *nūáa* "hen."

There are four tonemes: High (H), marked ´: *gél* "egg"; Mid (M), marked ¨: *bāŋ* "ring"; Low (L), marked `: *bòk* "pit"; and Circumflex (X): *nū'ug* "hand." When *i* carries a tone mark the dot is written below: *bīg* "child."

X only appears on superheavy CVVC syllables; on CVV syllables, it is replaced by H. Cf *nū'ug* "hand", but Long Form *nú'ugò*.

Kusaal M corresponds to the H of other Western Oti-Volta languages. Kusaal H and X arise from ML sequences by synchronic and diachronic tone sandhi.

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 from first to second mora, differing 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."

Superlight syllables are toneless:

Bà kā' dī'əsídībā=∅. "They are not receivers."
3PL NEG.BE receiver:PL=NEG.

Lì kā' mólif̄=∅. "It's not a gazelle."
3IN NEG.BE gazelle:SG=NEG.

vs *Ò p̄v zábì=f̄=∅.* "He didn't fight you."
3AN NEG.IND fight=2SG=NEG. (word-final syllable)

Ka ya pv siakida. "But you did not agree." (Lk 13:34)
Kà yà p̄v sjàkìdā=∅. (*k* /kk/ closes the preceding syllable)
And 2PL NEG.IND agree:IPFV=NEG.

H and X tonemes are in certain contexts 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 CVVC or if the next syllable precedes pause and is not L

Downstep (marked with ↓) between HH and HX:

Ṁ gós ↓náf lā bēogū=n.
1SG look.at cow:SG ART morning=LOC.
"I looked at the cow in the morning."

Ṁ gós ↓nū'ug lā bēogū=n.
1SG look.at hand:SG ART morning=LOC.
"I looked at the hand in the morning."

vs *Kà m̄ gōs náaf lā bēogō=n.*
 And 1SG look.at donkey:SG ART morning=LOC.
 "And I looked at the cow in the morning."

Kà m̄ gōs nū'ug lā bēogō=n.
 And 1SG look.at hand:SG ART morning=LOC.
 "And I looked at the hand in the morning."

MH → M↓H before a superheavy CVVC syllable:

Lì à nē ↓pú-kòǎnr lā. "It's the widow."
 3IN COP FOC widow:SG ART.

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

Mān ↓bú-pìəl kā'e=∅. "My white goat isn't there."
 1SG.CN goat-white:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

vs *Lì kā' pú-kòǎnrē=∅.* "It's not a widow."
 3IN NEG.BE widow:SG=NEG.

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

Mān bú-sùŋ kā'e=∅. "My good goat isn't there."
 1SG.CN goat-good:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Mān kúkōr kā'e=∅. "My voice isn't there."
 1SG.CN voice:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

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

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

Yō↓gúm kā'e=∅. "There's no camel."
 Camel:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Lì à nē ↓náaf lā.

3IN COP FOC COW:SG ART.

"It's the cow."

Ò p̄ yādi ↓gídā=∅.

3AN NEG.IND scatter:IPFV=NEG.

"He isn't scattering."

Lì k̄ā' bī- ↓púḡā=∅.

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 k̄ā' ñyī ↓rífō=∅.

3IN NEG.BE egusi:SG=NEG.

"It's not an egusi seed."

vs *Kà m̄ gōs búḡ lā bēogū=n.*

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

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

Yūḡóm lā k̄ā'e=∅.

Camel:SG ART NEG.BE=NEG.

"The camel's not there."

(*lā* not prepausal)

Lì à nē dōog lā.

3IN COP FOC hut:SG ART.

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

Ànó'òní ∅ yādi gídā=∅?

Who CAT scatter:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is scattering?" (L after H)

Lì k̄ā' bī-púḡà=∅?

3IN NEG.BE child-girl:SG=PQ?

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

Ànó'òní ∅ ñyē sú'ugā=∅?

Who CAT see knife:SG=CQ.

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

Ò p̄ ñyē mólifō=∅.

3AN NEG.IND see gazelle:SG=NEG.

"She didn't find a gazelle."

(Superlight *-li-* intervenes before the prepausal syllable *-fō*.)

2.4 Traditional orthography

Tone is unmarked. For word division see [3.1](#). KSS uses *ng ng nk* for *ŋ ŋg ŋk*.

Before 2016, *e o* were used for *ɛ ɔ*, *i* for *i ~ ɪ*, and *u* for *u ~ ʊ*; *e o* were also sporadically used for *ɪ ʊ* as root vowels. KB has the same basic conventions as this grammar except for using *i* for both [i] and [ɪ]: *tiig tìig* "tree", *biig bīig* "child."

Word-final short *-ɪ* after *m n* is usually written *ɛ* in KB; so always with the pronouns *one kane line bane anɔ'one*.

KB has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ* "go" pfv, *ken* "go" ipfv for *yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn*, and *on oŋa* for the pronouns *ɔ̄n/ón/òñ òŋā*, probably reflecting actual variants with [ɪ] [ʊ]: cf Toende *tīŋ* "land" versus *meŋ mēŋ* "self" (Mampruli *tiŋŋa, maŋŋa*.)

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

ie is used for *iə* and *ie*, but they are almost in complementary distribution.

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

KB writes *-uoe -voe* for *-ue -ve*: *duoe dŭe* "raise, rise", *sv'oe sv'e* "own."

io [iʊ] is written *ieu* in the 1996 NT and KB: *kpi'eueŋ kpī'oeŋ* "strong."

e i u are used for *ɛ ɪ ʊ*. The contrast *ae/aɛ* is expressed by writing *aae* or *aaɛ* for *ae*, e.g. *paae pāe* "reach." KB spells words consistently with either *au* or *av*, but does not distinguish *au/av*: *yavɔ yàvɔ* "grave", *na'araug nā'-dāvɔ* "ox", *dau dāu* "man", *tavn tāvñ* "sibling of opposite sex." The symbols *ia ua* are used for *ɪa ʊa* and *ia ua*: *kia kjà* "cut", *sia sja* "waist"; *kua kuā* "hoe", *sabua sàbùa* "lover." The conventions for marking glottalisation distinguish *kpi'a kpjà'* "carve" from *kpi'a kpì'a* "neighbour."

Before 2016, *ʊ'a v'a* were both usually written *o'a*, but KB has *u'a*: *pu'a pŭ'ā* "woman", *pu'ab pŭ'ab* "women."

Long Forms [3.2](#) with final *-ya* corresponding to Short Forms with final *-ɛ* are written with *-eya*: *vveya vŏyá* "be alive." Older texts also write *bŏn-vúyà* "living things" as *bunvoeya*, but KB has *bunvuya*.

KB writes *bieya bjēyá* "elder same-sex siblings", but *suoya suēyá* "roads", *zuoya zŭēyā* "hills" etc; older sources have *sueya, zueya*.

y is omitted in *dunia dŭnyā* "world", *laafia láafiyà* "health."

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

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

3 Word structure

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."

Segmental rules apply in the order: consonant assimilation/epenthetic vowel insertion [3.5](#), vowel fronting/rounding [3.6](#), *g-deletion/vowel fusion [3.7](#), apocope [3.2](#). Tone Patterns allocate tonemes prior to all deletions of segments [3.8.1](#).

3.1 Word boundaries

Free words fulfil the concept of "word" expressed in Bloomfield 1926: "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. Nominals regularly have "combining forms" (cbs), used as initial members of compounds: cbs may be dependents, but are more often NP heads before adjectives and demonstratives: *tì-kàṅā* "this tree." There are no consistent phonological differences between cbs and free words, and compounds may include unbound words: [*ānzúrìfà nē sālīmā lá'*]-*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker."

Word status for other bound forms depends on distinguishing them from affixes. Bound personal pronouns and many particles resemble free-word affixes segmentally, but differ in tonal behaviour, mode of attachment, and distribution.

Stress allocation does not distinguish between bound and free words, and tone does not distinguish between right-bound and free words. However, left-bound liaison words [4.2](#) are distinct segmentally and tonally both from free words and from other left-bound words; the term **clitic** will be reserved for these words and for "prosodic" clitics [4.1](#). Clitics are preceded by = in the working orthography whenever they have a non-zero segmental form; with interlinear glossing, = \emptyset is also used.

Boundness is distinct from syntactic *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 personal pronouns always head their own NPs: Kusaal has no possessive pronouns, only possessive NPs.

In this grammar nominals with prefixes, loanwords, and unanalysable stems are written solid, but combining forms are hyphenated to the following word:

<i>b̀̀rkìn</i>	"honest person"	<i>kp̀̀kp̀̀r̀̀g</i>	"palm tree"
<i>z̄im-gb̄āñ'ad</i>	"fisherman"	<i>b̀̀-ṗ̀̀l̀̀g</i>	"white goat"
<i>b̀̀-kàṅā</i>	"this goat"	<i>b̀̀-ṗ̀̀l̀̀-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*: *bvkaŋa b̀-kaŋā* "this goat", but *yamuɡ bipuŋ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *ỳamm̀̀g-bī-púŋ* "slave girl."

Traditional orthography writes pronouns as separate words if they have vowels of their own. Pronouns may be reduced to single consonants by apocope 3.2; prior to 2016, *m* [m] "me" was written as a separate word, while the mora before *f* "you" was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun as *uf*. KB writes *m f* solid with the preceding word. In this grammar they are joined to the preceding word by = 4.2.

Fv bɔɔdi ti. "You love us." [fɔbɔ:ditɪ]
F̀̀ bɔɔdī=tí.
 2SG want=1PL.

M nye uf. (2016: *nyɛɛf*) "I've seen you." [m̩j̥ɛ:f]
M̩ ñýéɛ=f.
 1SG see=2SG.

Fu boodi m. (2016: *bɔɔdim*) "You love me." [fɔbɔ:dɪm]
F̀̀ bɔɔdī=m.
 2SG want=1SG.

M bood uf. (2016: *bɔɔdif*) "I love you." [ɱbɔ:dɪf]
M̩ bɔɔdī=f.
 1SG want=2SG.

The pronoun ^o "him/her" loses its entire segmental form by apocope, after causing the final vowel mora of the preceding word to become [ɔ]. This mora is traditionally mistaken for the pronoun itself and written separately; in this grammar it is not separated, but is written *o* as a concession to tradition.

Fv bɔɔd o. "You love her." [fɔbɔ:dɔ]
F̀̀ bɔɔdō=ø.
 2SG want=3AN.

Fv p̩v bɔɔd oo. "You don't love her." [fɔpɔbɔ:dɔ:]
F̀̀ p̩v̩ bɔɔdó=o=ø.
 2SG NEG.IND want=3AN=NEG.

Fv nyɛ o. "You've seen her." [fɔj̥ɛũ]
F̀̀ ñýéo=ø.
 2SG see=3AN.

Fv pv nɛ oo. "You've not seen her." [fɔpɔ̃ǽǽ:]
Fḅ pḅ ñyḗó=o=ø.
 2SG NEG.IND see=3AN=NEG.

Locative *nɛ* and discontinuous-past *nɛ* 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: *pυvɔvɔn*, *bɔɔdɪn*. However, all three are liaison enclitics, not suffixes, and accordingly joined to the preceding word by = in the working orthography: *pḅvɔḅn=n* "inside", *bḅɔḅdī=n* "might wish."

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

Traditional orthography always writes focus-*nḗ* solid after *à* "be", and usually after other verbs; *nḗ* "with" is written solid after *wḗn* "resemble" by analogy:

O anɛ biig. "He/she's a child."
Ò à nḗ bḷiig.
 3AN COP FOC child:SG.

Ka o nindaa wenne nintan ne.
Kà ò nḭn-dáa wḗn nḗ nḭntān nḗ.
 And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.
 "His face is like the sun." (Rev 10:1, 1996)

In KB *wḗn nḗ* appears as *nwɛnɛ*: *Ka o nindaa nwɛnɛ winnig nɛ.*
 KB writes independent-perfective *yā* 16.6.2 solid with the preceding verb:

Nannanna o gaadya. "Now he has gone." (2 Samuel 3:24)
Nānná-nā, ò gāad yā.
 Now 3AN pass PFV.

Older texts write *-eya* after consonants: *gaadeya* etc.
 A word-final syllable before a prosodic clitic is often mistaken for a segmentally homophonous particle in older materials, and occasionally even in KB:

Arezana nɛ dunia gaadvɔ pv tɔi yaa.
Àràzánà nḗ dḁnɪyā gáadvḅ pḅ tḅyá=ø.
 Heaven with world passing NEG.IND be.difficult=NEG.
 "The passing of heaven and earth is not difficult" (Lk 16:17)

3.2 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" usually appears as the SF *b̄ig*:

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

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

Among other cases described below, a LF is found in the final word of clauses with a **negation** (negative particle or negative verb), of **questions**, both content and polar, and of clauses used as **vocatives**. Thus the LF *b̄igā* is seen in

Ò dāa p̄ ñyē b̄igā=∅. "He/she did not see a child."
3AN TNS NEG.IND see child:SG=NEG.

Ànó'òní ∅ dāa ñyē b̄igā=∅?
Who CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?
"Who saw a child?"

Ì b̄igā=∅! "My child!"
1SG child:SG=VOC!

The SF is 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)
Word-final *y* becomes *ɣ* after back vowels and zero elsewhere

The shortening changes of final diphthongs induced by apocope are

ia → *ja* *ua* → *ya* *ia'a* → *ja'* *u'aa* → *u'a*
ae → *aɛ* *av* → *aɸ* *ui* → *uɨ*
Vaa → *Va* *Vee* → *Ve* *Vvv* → *Vv*

Identical changes occur with nasalised and/or glottalised diphthongs.

Apocope was not a single process historically: quality neutralisation preceded deletion of word-final vowels clause-medially, which was distinct from the clause-final apocope seen in Kusaal, Nabit and Talni. In Toende Kusaal, word-final *g b* become *k p*, *except* in perfectives and cbs (*ya'ab* "mould pots" vs *ya'ap* "potter"): apocope applies to dummy suffixes only *after* final stop devoicing.

Examples:

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

Dōk lā bódìg yā. "The pot has got lost."
Pot:SG ART get.lost PFV.

Lì kā' dōkó=∅. "It's not a pot." (/kk/)
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē dōkó=∅? "Is it a pot?"
3IN COP FOC pot:SG=PQ?

Ánó'ónì ∅ ñyē dōkó=∅? "Who saw a pot?"
Who CAT see pot:SG=CQ?

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

Lì à nē kōk. "It's a chair."

Lì kā' kōkā. "It's not a chair."

Lì à nē kúkàa? "Is it a chair?"

Lì à nē gbīgīm. "It's a lion."

Lì kā' gbīgīmñē. "It's not a lion."

Lì à nē yáarìm. "It's salt."

Lì kā' yáarìmm. "It's not salt."

Bà à nē gbīgīmā. "They're lions."

Bà kā' gbīgīmāa. "They're not lions."

Ò à nē dāy. "He's a man."

Ò kā' dāv. "He's not a man."

<i>Kà ò sjàk.</i> And 3AN agree.	"And he agreed."
<i>Ò p̄v̄ sjàkē=∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND agree=NEG.	"He didn't agree."
<i>Kà ò dīgī.</i> <i>Ò p̄v̄ dīgíyá.</i>	"And she's lying down." "She isn't lying down."
<i>Kà ò v̄v̄.</i> <i>Ò p̄v̄ v̄v̄yá.</i>	"And she's alive." "She's not alive."
<i>Kà ò kǐá.</i> <i>Ò p̄v̄ kǐá.</i>	"And she cut (it)." "She hasn't cut (it)."
<i>Kà ò p̄āe.</i> <i>Ò p̄v̄ p̄āée.</i>	"And he reached (it)." "He hasn't reached (it)."

The appearance of clause-final LFs is triggered by following **prosodic clitics**, which have no segmental form themselves [4.1](#). LFs occur clause-medially before **liaison words** [4.2](#), and as the *citation* forms of **apocope-blocked** words. The exact shape of a LF differs in these different contexts: length and quality of final vowels may be altered or neutralised, and final tonemes altered. For convenience, the LF preceding the negative prosodic clitic will be taken as basic segmentally.

The LF is historically primary, but it can usually be predicted from the SF given the aspect of a verb or the gender of a noun. Apocope often does *not* lead to loss of contrasts despite deleting the segments which conditioned them, allowing prediction of LFs from SFs; historically expected LFs may be replaced by other forms with the same SFs. Nevertheless, LFs are best regarded as synchronically primary. Consonant-final SFs may have LFs ending in *a* *ε* or *ɔ*, and even before liaison final *m n* or *l* may or may not be geminated, and *m* may become *mn* or *mm*:

ka ban ka kikirbe'ednam daamne ba daa nye laafiya
kà bàn kà kìkīr-bê'ed-nàm dâamnī=bá dāa ñyē láafiya
 and REL.PL and fairy-bad-PL trouble:IPFV=3PL TNS see health
 "And people who were afflicted by evil spirits became well." (Lk 6:18, 1976)

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 wōsa, sō' kae gat Joon ne [sic 3.1].

Pō'abí=∅ dū'à sīēbā lā wōsā, sō' kā'e ∅ gát Joone=∅.

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 long monophthongs, front vowels or fronting diphthongs have LFs obtainable simply by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong, as do most but not all SFs ending in fronting diphthongs or front vowels:

<i>zò</i>	LF <i>zòò</i>	"run"	<i>kūgá</i>	LF <i>kūgáa</i>	"stones"
<i>sā</i>	LF <i>sāā</i>	"waist"	<i>sàbùà</i>	LF <i>sàbùàa</i>	"girlfriend"
<i>kpià'</i>	LF <i>kpià'a</i>	"carve wood"	<i>dāy</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>	"man"
<i>wìdì</i>	LF <i>wìdìi</i>	"horses"	<i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"
<i>nìe</i>	LF <i>nìèe</i>	"appear"	<i>dūe</i>	LF <i>dūée</i>	"raise/rise"

SFs ending in *ja' u'ā* may have LFs in *ja'a u'aa* or *i'a u'a* (see below.)

Some SFs ending in fronting diphthongs or front vowels have LFs in *-ya*.

In two nouns this appears as a variant: *sāeñ* "blacksmith", LF *sāeñ* or *sāñyā* and *sōeñ* "witch", LF *sōeñ* or *sōñyā*. All other LFs in *-ya* occur in single-aspect verbs 7.2, where LF *-ya* corresponds to all vowel-final SFs except in a few bare root forms:

<i>dīgī</i>	LF <i>dīgīyá</i>	"be lying"	<i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"
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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>bīg^a</i>	"child"	<i>kōk^a</i>	"chair"
<i>dōk^{ɔ'}</i>	"pot"	<i>sìàk^ε</i>	"agree"
<i>gbīgīm^{ne}</i>	"lion"	<i>yàarìm^m</i>	"salt"
<i>dīgī^{ya'}</i>	"be lying down"	<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"

Words with LFs in *-ya* where SF-final *y* becomes *e* are written with ^{ya}:

<i>vōe^{ya'}</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>
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When there is no superscript (other than /, see below) written after a SF ending in a vowel, the LF is segmentally the same, but with prolongation of any final vowel sequence other than a *long monophthong* 4.1:

<i>gbīgīmā</i>	"lions"	SF <i>gbīgīmā</i>	LF <i>gbīgīmāa</i>
<i>mòlì</i>	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòlì</i>	LF <i>mòlìi</i>

<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	SF <i>gòñ</i>	LF <i>gòòñ</i>
<i>dī'e'</i>	"receive"	SF <i>dī'e</i>	LF <i>dī'ée</i>
<i>nūa'</i>	"hen"	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>
<i>kɔ̀jà'</i>	"shape wood"	SF <i>kɔ̀jà'</i>	LF <i>kɔ̀'ja</i>
<i>kuā</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kuā</i>	LF <i>kūa</i>
<i>dāu</i>	"man"	SF <i>dāu</i>	LF <i>dāv</i>
<i>sāeñ</i>	"blacksmith"	SF <i>sāeñ</i>	LF <i>sāeñ</i>
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	SF <i>dà'a</i>	LF <i>dà'a</i>
<i>àní</i>	"eight"	SF <i>àní</i>	LF <i>àní</i>

Words ending in LF *ja'a u'aa* rather than *i'a u'a* are written with superscript ^a:

<i>djā'^a</i>	"get dirty"	SF <i>djā'</i>	LF <i>djā'a</i>
<i>ɔ̀y'ā'^a</i>	"woman"	SF <i>ɔ̀y'ā'</i>	LF <i>ɔ̀y'āa</i>

A few cases must 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, writing / after forms with LF-final H: *dōk^{o/}* "pot", LF *dōkó*; *nūa'* "hen", LF *nūáa*.

Words with root X in the SF becoming H in the LF are written with SF tonemes, as are words with a penultimate toneless superlight syllable in the LF:

<i>nū'ug^o</i>	"hand"	SF <i>nū'ug</i>	LF <i>nú'ugò</i>
<i>nóbìr^ε</i>	"foot"	SF <i>nóbìr</i>	LF <i>nóbìrè</i>
<i>wābōg^{o/}</i>	"elephant"	SF <i>wābōg</i>	LF <i>wābvogó</i>
<i>dìgìr^ε</i>	"dwarf"	SF <i>dìgìr</i>	LF <i>dìgìrè</i>

Apocope-blocked words use LFs as *citation* forms. Final *ɪ v* do not become *ε ɔ*, but *-mv* becomes *-mm*. Final L tonemes become M. Secondary LFs are created before prosodic clitics by prolonging short final vowels; final M becomes H, except in Pattern A words 3.8. Apocope-blocking is seen in some nouns ending in *-ɪ* or *-v*, as a derivational feature in adverbs and quantifiers, as a downtoning measure with adjectives, and in many words with only one underlying mora.

<i>būudī</i>	"tribe"	<i>bèdvōv̄'</i>	"a lot"
<i>sòṅā'</i>	"well"	<i>yā'</i>	"houses"

Blocked words which do not end in a short vowel add *-nε* for the secondary LF: *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot"; *mà'àa* SF *mà'anè* LF "only"; *gòllīm* SF *gòllimnè* LF "only"; *kòtāa^{nε}* "at all." The LF of *ñyāe^{nε/}* "brightly, clearly" is similarly *ñyāenè* [jããẽ]. Cf *mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause-finally (all sources) *mèn^ε* "also, too."

3.3 Roots, stems and flexions

Roots have the form (C)V(C) where V may be any short or long vowel. Final consonants may only be *b d g l m n s r*. CV roots have CVC allomorphs before vowel-initial flexions. **Stems** are derived from roots by adding up to three **derivational suffixes** *b d g l m n s r*. Only *d l m* can follow another suffix. Nominal stems may also have up to two derivational **prefixes** *V CV CVN CVsɪN* or *CVɪN*, where V is short, N is a nasal homorganic with the following consonant and *ɪ* is an epenthetic vowel: *tītā'ar* "big", *bòmbàrìg* "ant", *sīlīnsīuñg* "spider." Finally, either a **flexional suffix** (C)V or *-mm* [m:] appears, or the **dummy suffix**, which takes the form *-ɪ* after consonants, and zero after vowels.

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** *a ɪ v aa ɪ v v*. Most bound monosyllabic words have the same restriction. Before prosodic clitics short LF-final *ɪ v* become *ɛ ɔ*, realised [e] [o] 4.1. Prefix *ɪ v* are realised [i] [u] when the first vowel mora of the root is *i* or *u*, or following *m n*: *tītā'ar* [tɪt̩ɑ:r] "big", *kòkōr* [kɔkɔr] "voice", but *kìkìrīg* [kikirig] "fairy", *sìsì'əm* [sɪsɪəm] "wind", *sīlīnsīuñg* [silinsĩũg] "spider", *vòlìnvùuñl* [vulimvũ:l] "mason wasp", *dùndùug* [dundu:g] "cobra" (KB *dunduug*), *nìn-tāa* [ninta:] "co-wife."

The short affix vowels *ɪ v* only contrast after velars: *ɪ* is the default after alveolars, and *v* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars, but prefixes show *v* before root *u/v/ɔ* (*dùndùug* "cobra") and *ɪ* before *i/ɪ/ɛ* (*kpīkpīn* "merchant.") In flexions *-mm* appears for **-mv*; *ɪ* appears after labials only as the dummy suffix (LF *zàbè* "fight.")

No consonant clusters appear word-initially or finally except final *-mm*: *pāmm* "a lot." Homorganic nasal + C may occur after noun prefixes: *kùndùḡ^a* "jackal", *gōmpōzēr^{ɛ/}* "duck", *dàḡkàḡ* "measles." Except in loanwords, the only other word-internal clusters permitted are *kk tt pp ḡḡ nn mm ll mn*.

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>nóbɪrè</i>	SF <i>nóbìr</i>
<i>dūm-</i> "knee"	+ sg <i>-rɪ</i>	→	LF <i>dūmnē</i>	SF <i>dūm</i>

The default **epenthetic vowel** is *ɪ*. Before **-gv* **-ḡḡv* it becomes *v* 3.6. A similar **diphthongisation** of root vowels occurs before **-ya* **-gv* **-kkv* **-ḡḡv* and also from deletion of **g* with vowel fusion. Apocope renders these changes contrastive:

SF <i>āañdīg</i>	LF <i>āañdīgā</i>	"black plum tree"
SF <i>gàadḡḡ</i>	LF <i>gàadḡḡḡ</i>	"(sur)passing"
SF <i>vīid</i>	LF <i>vīidé</i>	"owls"
SF <i>vīug</i>	LF <i>vīugó</i>	"owl"

Epenthetic vowels are also rounded when *preceded* by a short rounded root vowel with intervening *g* (but not *ŋ* or *k*): thus *gbīgīm* "lion" but *yōgúm* "camel." WK also has rounding after *mm* always, and after *b m l* preceded by a short rounded vowel: *yàmmòg* "slave", *nōbōg* "grow", *kōlōg* "river"; other sources vary.

After a single consonant preceded by short root *i* or *u*, epenthetic *i v* are realised [i] [u] respectively; this is not contrastive and is ignored in the orthography: *sīgīd* "lowers" [sigid], *kūgōr* "stone" [kugur].

In superlight syllables 2.3 epenthetic vowels are less prominent, with no vowel quality contrasts at all; elsewhere they have the same prominence as affix vowels.

3.4 Root allomorphy

Most roots ending in a vowel have either a long or short vowel throughout, but some show length alternation. All *glottalised* roots of this kind are underlyingly *CVg 3.7. Non-glottalised types are historically either monomoraic or have undergone lenition of a final consonant. In flexion, they show long vowels before *-ga -gɔ* but short elsewhere, with following **d* → *tt* **b* → *pp* (but *not* **m* → *mm* or **l* → *ll*):

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

Zūg^{ɔ/} "head", pl *zūt*^{ɛ/} has an exceptional short vowel before *-gɔ*; contrast Farefare *zúugó* pl *zútó*. All regular gerunds show long vowels: *ñyēɛb*^{ɔ/} "seeing."

There is variation before *-rɛ*. The default is a long vowel: *pò-kòõr*^ɛ "widow", *dà-kòõr*^ɛ "bachelor" vs *pukòntim* "widowhood" and Toende Kusaal *pòkõp* "widows", *dakõp* "bachelors", *dakõtvm* "bachelorhood." Regular gerunds show long vowels, as in *nō-lòɔr*^ɛ "fasting", but WK has *nā-lór*^ɛ "place for tying up cows", *wìd-lōr*^{ɛ/} "place for tying up horses." Short-vowel allomorphs before *-rɛ* are characteristic of roots that were formerly *CVy: cf Mooré *lòe* "tie." Sporadic monophthongisation of such diphthongs explains e.g. *lù/lì* "fall" and Farefare *dèegò* = Kusaal *dòɔg*^ɔ "hut."

Long vowels before sg *-ga* or *-gɔ* may be introduced into the pl, optionally or always: thus *dòɔd*^ɛ "huts", *fūud*^{ɛ/} "shirts", and always *dāad*^ɛ "male" pl, *bīs*^ɛ "children."

Before derivational suffixes the vowel is lengthened

<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìis^ε</i>	"feed"
<i>dāp^a</i>	"men"	<i>dàalim^m</i>	"masculinity"

Exceptions are *yīs^ε* beside *yīs^{ε/}* "make emerge" from *yī* "emerge"; *gōs^ε* "look", ipfv *gōt^{a/}* or *gōsīd^{a/}*, imp *gòm^a* or *gòsīm^a*; *tìs^ε* "give" ipfv *tìt^a* or *tìsīd^a*.

Before the noun pl suffix *-aa* unglottalised CV(V)-stems insert *-y-*, with long vowels shortened and *iə uə* becoming *ie ue* [iɪ] [uɪ], found only in this context:

<i>gāñr^{ε/}</i>	"ebony fruit"	pl <i>gāñyá</i> (short sg vowel from pl)
<i>bàlàar^ε</i>	"stick, club"	pl <i>bàlàyà</i>
<i>kòkōr^{ε/}</i>	"voice"	pl <i>kòkōyá</i> (*CVy- root)
<i>nōɔr^{ε/}</i>	"mouth"	pl <i>nōyá</i>
<i>zōv^ε</i>	"tail"	pl <i>zōyā</i>
<i>bīər^{ε/}</i>	"elder same-sex sib"	pl <i>bīēyá</i>
<i>zūər^ε</i>	"hill"	pl <i>zūēyā</i>

CVV root-stems change to CVd- before *-aa*:

<i>tītā'ar^ε</i>	"big"	pl <i>tītādā</i>
<i>pòñ'ɔr^ε</i>	"cripple"	pl <i>pòñdà</i>
<i>yō'v^{ε/}</i>	"name"	pl <i>yōdá</i>
<i>yū'ər^ε</i>	"penis"	pl <i>yūādā</i>

Stems in **-ag-* **-iag-* **-uag-* may show analogical forms with *-d-*:

<i>bà'ar^ε</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)	pl <i>bà'a</i> or <i>bàdà</i>
<i>mù'ar^ε</i>	"reservoir, dam"	pl <i>mù'àa</i> or <i>mù'adà</i>

Rounded vowels become glottalised before derivational *g s*:

<i>vōr^{ε/}</i>	"alive"	<i>vō'v^{ε/}g^{ε/}</i>	"come alive"
		<i>vō'v^{ε/}s^{ε/}</i>	"breathe, rest"
<i>kò</i>	"break" intrans	<i>kò'ɔ^εg^ε</i>	"break" trans/intrans
<i>kòɔlúŋ^ɔ</i>	"broken"	<i>kò'ɔs^ε</i>	"break several times"
<i>pòɔd^a</i>	"be few"	<i>pò'ɔ^εg^ε</i>	"diminish"
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'ɔs^ε</i>	"hunt"

Sporadic CVV~CVC alternations are seen in

<i>nō</i>	"tread"	<i>nōbá</i>	"feet"
<i>sōñr^ε</i>	"liver"	<i>sōbri</i>	"liver" (Mampruli)
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tāñp^o</i>	"war" (← *tābbv)
<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>lōdīg^{ε/}</i>	"untie"
<i>pō</i>	"divide"	<i>pōdīg^{ε/}</i>	"divide"
<i>wìid^a</i>	"draw water" ipfv	<i>wìk^ε</i>	pfv (← *wiggı)
<i>vī'</i>	"uproot"	<i>vīk^{ε/}</i>	<i>id</i> (← *viggı).

Some CVC roots have CVVC allomorphs. Alternation may appear in derivation:

<i>tōvmā</i>	"work" noun	<i>tòm^m</i>	"work" verb
<i>yéoy</i>	"one"	<i>yīyη^{o/}</i>	"single"
<i>kāal^{ε/}</i>	"count"	<i>kāl^{ε/}</i>	"number"
<i>tōvlóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tōl^{la/}</i>	"be hot"

CVC is invariable before derivational suffixes other than *-lim-* "-ness" and the *-y-* of stative verbs; thus *sáannìm^m* "strangerhood", *kpī'əm^{ma/}* "be strong", but

<i>màal^ε</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālōy^o</i>	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìèlìg^a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlìg^ε</i>	"whiten"
<i>kpī'oη^o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'η^ε</i>	"strengthen"
<i>lìəb^ε</i>	"become"	<i>lèbìg^ε</i>	"turn over"
<i>tōvlóg^o</i>	"hot"	<i>tōlìg^{ε/}</i>	"heat"
<i>yāar^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"
<i>dēεη^a</i>	"first"	<i>dèη^ε</i>	"go first"
<i>pìəb^ε</i>	"blow" (flute)	<i>pèbìs^ε</i>	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul^ε</i>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlìg^ε</i>	"swing" transitive

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

<i>zìiη^a</i> (← *ziimga)	<i>zīmí</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>náaf^o</i> (← *naagfv)	<i>nīgí</i>	<i>nā'-</i> (← *nag-)	"cow"
<i>wáaf^o</i> (← *waagfv)	<i>wīgí</i>	<i>wā'-</i> (← *wag-)	"snake"
<i>pīim^{m/}</i>	<i>pīmá</i>		"arrow"
<i>yòvm^{mε}</i>	<i>yòmà</i>		"year"

3.5 Consonant clusters

The changes described below precede deletion of postvocalic **g*.

Except after prefixes, adjacent consonants within a word must assimilate to *kk pp tt ηη mm nn ll mn* or insert an epenthetic vowel, as shown below; *ə* marks pairs which insert an epenthetic vowel.

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>ηη</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>mm</i>		<i>mn</i>	[<i>:s</i>]	<i>nn</i>		<i>mm</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>ηη</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>nn</i>	<i>~s</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 change *bm* → *mm* only occurs after a short root vowel, whereas *ms* → *~s* never occurs after a short root vowel, and is optional elsewhere.

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

<i>tēŋ^a</i>	"land"	pl	<i>tēŋs^ε</i>	← * <i>tensɪ</i>
<i>kòlŋ^a</i>	"door"	pl	<i>kòlìs^ε</i>	← * <i>kolinsɪ</i>

For the pl *bōtìs^ε* of *bōtīŋ^a* "cup" see [2.3](#).

**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^o</i>	"eye"	pl	<i>nīnì</i>
<i>píuñf^o</i>	"genet"	pl	<i>pīunì</i>

**ss* only inserts an epenthetic vowel in the pl *pūsīs^ε* of *pūsīg^a* "tamarind." All other plurals in *-sɪs^ε* in my materials are for **-sɪnsɪ*. **Pūs^ε* would have appeared to show no ending in SF.

The cluster *mn* is merging with *mm*. All *mna* and *mne* in KB cross word division by the criteria of this grammar, but *mni* is still usual in plurals like *tumtumnb tòm-tòmnb̄* "servants." A few cases of *mna* remain in older texts, as with *wum na* for LF *wòmnb̄* "do not hear" (Mt 13:15, 1996) and *tumtum na* for LF *tòm-tòmnb̄* "servant" (Gal 1:10, 1996), where KB has *tumtumma*. Some informants preserve *mne*: SB *gb̄iḡimnē* "lion", *dūmnē* "knee", WK *gb̄iḡimmē*, *dūmmē*. Informants have *mni* in agent noun plurals only: *b̄on-tòmnr̄* "useful thing" pl *tòmnb̄* SB, *b̄-sāñ'ammur* "goat for destruction" WK.

Derivation precedes flexion in consonant cluster formation.

Stem-final *kk pp tt ηη mn nn* never assimilate further; *mm* assimilates only with *mmm* → *mm* in imperatives. Thus e.g. *kōt^{ε/}* "slaughter", ipfv *kōtíd^a*; *dàm^m* "shake", ipfv *dàmmíd^a* ipfv, gerund *dàmmòg^o* but imperative *dàm^{ma}*.

However, stem-final *ll r(r)* assimilate the initial of the noun class suffix *-re*: *kòg-dēl^{ε/}* "chair for leaning on."

Stem-internal *nn* becomes *n* except after short root vowels: cf *p̄ib̄in^{nε}* pl *p̄ib̄inā* "covering", Mooré *p̄ib̄indgà* "lid, cover"; *z̄ñ'in^ε* "sit down", Mooré *z̄ñdi*; *vàb̄in^ε* "lie prone", Mooré *vábende*. For many speakers, stem-internal *mm* in single-aspect verbs similarly becomes *m* except after short root vowels 9.1.2.1.

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*.

<i>bùn^ε</i>	<i>bùn^{na}</i>	<i>bùnìm^a</i>	"reap"
<i>dìgìn^ε</i>	<i>dìgìníd^a</i>	<i>dìgìnìm^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>gò'òn^ε</i>	<i>gò'òníd^a</i>	<i>gò'ònìm^a</i>	"extend neck"

N-stem gerunds never show assimilation: *b̄unīb^o*, *d̄ìgìnòg^o*.

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

<i>wòm^m</i>	<i>wòm^{ma}</i>	<i>wòm^{ma}</i>	"hear"
	<i>wòmíd</i> (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>t̄ɔm^{m/}</i>	<i>t̄ɔm^{ma/}/t̄ɔmíd^a</i>	<i>t̄ɔm^{ma}</i>	"depart"
<i>kàrìm^m</i>	<i>kàrìm^{ma/}/kàrìmíd^a</i>	<i>kàrìm^{ma}</i>	"read"

The corresponding gerunds are *t̄ɔŋ^ɔ/t̄ɔmúŋ^ɔ* and *kàròŋ^ɔ/kàrìmòŋ^ɔ*.

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

<i>Ṁ p̄ kárìmmā.</i>	"I'm not reading."
<i>Ṁ kárìm nē.</i>	"I'm reading."
<i>Kà bà kárìmíd.</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>gìgìs^ε</i> pl
	cf <i>kōlīg^a</i>	"river" sg	<i>kōlīs^ε</i> pl
* <i>dd</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>bùt^a</i>	"plant" ipfv	<i>bùd^ε</i> pfv
	cf <i>dōgūd^{a/}</i>	"cook" ipfv	<i>dōg^ε</i> pfv
* <i>bb</i> → <i>pp</i>	<i>sōp^{ɔ/}</i>	"writing" ger	<i>sōb^ε</i> pfv
	cf <i>kpārīb^ɔ</i>	"locking" ger	<i>kpàr^ε</i> pfv
* <i>ld</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>kòŋ^{nε}</i>	"bags" pl	<i>kòlòŋ^ɔ</i> sg
	cf <i>zūəbíd^ε</i>	"hairs" pl	<i>zūəbúŋ^ɔ</i> sg
* <i>mg</i> → <i>ŋŋ</i>	<i>bùŋ^a</i>	"donkey" sg	<i>bùmìs^ε</i> pl
* <i>ng</i> → <i>ŋŋ</i>	<i>gbàŋ^ɔ</i>	"book" sg	<i>gbànà</i> pl
	cf <i>ñwādīg^{a/}</i>	"month" sg	<i>ñwādīs^{ε/}</i> pl
* <i>nr</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>tān^{nε}</i>	"earth" sg	<i>tānā</i> pl
* <i>mr</i> → <i>mn</i>	<i>dūm^{nε}</i>	"knee" sg	<i>dūmā</i> pl
* <i>lr</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>gél^{lε}</i>	"egg" sg	<i>gēlá</i> pl
* <i>rr</i> → <i>r</i>	<i>kùkpàr^ε</i>	"palm fruit" sg	<i>kùkpàrà</i> pl
	cf <i>dìgìr^ε</i>	"dwarf" sg	<i>dìgà</i> pl
* <i>nb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>sāam^{ma}</i>	"strangers" pl	<i>sāan^{a/}</i> sg
	cf <i>nīdīb^{a/}</i>	"people" pl	<i>nīd^{a/}</i> sg
* <i>mb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>kīm^{mɔ}</i>	"shepherding" ger	<i>kìm^m</i> pfv
	cf <i>kādīb^ɔ</i>	"driving off" ger	<i>kàd^ε</i> pfv
* <i>ll</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>Bùl^{lε}</i>	"Buli"	<i>Bùlìs^ε</i> "Bulsa"
* <i>rl</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>Bāt^{ε/}</i>	"Bisa language"	<i>Bārīs^{ε/}</i> "Bisa people"
* <i>ml</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Dàgbān^{nε/}</i>	"Dagbani"	<i>Dàgbām^{ma/}</i> "Dagomba"
* <i>nl</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Gōrín^{nε}</i>	"Farefare language"	<i>Gōrìs^ε</i> "Farefare people"

3.6 Vowel changes before *-ya *-gv *-kkv *-ηηv

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 *e*, producing a short fronting diphthong:

SF <i>vōe</i>	LF <i>vōyá</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>tōe</i>	LF <i>tōyá</i>	"be bitter"
SF <i>sāeñ</i>	LF <i>sāñyā</i>	"smith"	SF <i>sōeñ</i>	LF <i>sōñyā</i>	"witch"

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

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

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

Short unrounded root vowels become diphthongs in *u* before LF *ηηv *kkv:

<i>gbà<u>u</u>η^o</i>	← *gb ^a ηηv	"book"	pl <i>gbà<u>n</u>à</i>
<i>lā<u>u</u>k^o</i>	← *l ^a kkv	"goods item"	pl <i>lā'<u>a</u>d^ε</i>
<i>yī<u>u</u>η^{o/}</i>	← *y ⁱ ηηv	"single"	pl <i>yī<u>n</u>á</i>

Short tense *i* does not diphthongise in *nìn-gbī^{o/}* "body."

Short *ia* becomes *iau*, but short *ua* becomes *ɔ*: **uakkv* → *ɔkkv*

<i>bīā<u>u</u>ñk^o</i>	← *bī ^a kkv	"shoulder"	pl <i>bīā'<u>n</u>'ad^ε</i>
<i>bòk^o</i>	← *b ^u akkv	"pit"	pl <i>bò'<u>v</u>'ad^ε</i>

Unrounded second morae of long vowels become [ɔ] before LF *gv *ηηv:

<i>dāv<u>g</u>^o</i>	← *d ^a agv	"log"	pl <i>dā<u>a</u>d^ε</i>
<i>fēñ'<u>o</u>g^{o/}</i>	← *fē' ^ε g ^v	"ulcer"	pl <i>fēñ'<u>ε</u>d^{ε/}</i>

Long *ii* becomes *iu*, whereas *iə* becomes *io* [iɔ]:

but <i>vī<u>u</u>g^{o/}</i>	← *vī ⁱ gv	"owl"	pl <i>vī<u>i</u>d^{ε/}</i>
<i>dàbī<u>o</u>g^o</i>	← *d ^a bī ^ə gv	"coward"	pl <i>dàbī<u>ə</u>d^ε</i>
<i>kpī'<u>o</u>η^o</i>	← *kpī' ^ə ηηv	"strong"	pl <i>kpī'<u>ə</u>mā</i>

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

Sà'dàbòɔg^ɔ ← **Sa'dabuøgv* "place of the Sarabose *Sà'dàbùəs*^ɛ clan"
lām-fôɔg^ɔ ← **lam-fuøgv* "toothless" (*lām*^{mɛ/} "gum", *fùe* "extract")

Pl vowels are remodelled on the sg: *lām-fôɔd*^ɛ "toothless." The only stem with final *ue* in the *gɔ|dɛ* class is formally-plural *zùød*^ɛ "friendship." There is probably a parallel rule **iøgv* → *ɛvgv*, with similar pl remodelling: with *bī'əm*^m "enemy" cf

bē'og^ɔ *bē'ɛd*^ɛ *bè'-* "bad"
bī'a *bī'əs*^ɛ *bī'à'-*

Dàbīog^ɔ is perhaps influenced by an obsolete **dàbīəm*^m "coward" (Mooré *ràbéesmà*.)

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

āāñdīg^a ← **āādiɡa* "black plum tree"
but *gàad̀v̀g*^ɔ ← **gaadiɡv* "(sur)passing" (gerund)
pl *mālīmā* ← **malimaa* "sacrifices"
but *māl̄v̄ŋ*^ɔ ← **maliv̄ŋv* "sacrifice"

3.7 Consonant deletion and vowel fusion

The 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" (Prost 1979 *baxa*) and *winbagr* for *wīn-bâ'ar* "altar"; Toende Kusaal has different deletion rules from Agolle, and no fusion.

g is deleted after a *ja ua and their nasalised counterparts before any vowel, affix or epenthetic; fusion then results in glottalised long vowels and diphthongs:

**agV* → *a'a* **iagV* → *ja'a* **uagV* → *va'a*

va'a becomes *va'aa* word-finally. The rule applies later than **gg* → *kk* 3.5; thus

but *pu'ā*^a ← **puaga* "woman" pl *p̄v'ab*^a
zàk^a ← **zakka* "compound" pl *zà'as*^ɛ
lāuk^ɔ ← **lakkv* "item of goods" pl *lā'ad*^ɛ
piàv̄ñk^ɔ ← **piākkv* "word" pl *piàñ'ad*^ɛ
puāk^a ← **puakkv* "female" (adj) pl *p̄v'as*^ɛ
bòk^ɔ ← **buakkv* "pit" pl *bò'ad*^ɛ

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

*aaga → aa 4.1 *iəga → iaa *uəga → uaa
 *aagi → aee *iəgi → iee *uəgi → uee

Glottalised vowels behave in the same way.

Thus with deletion of the *g in *ga|se* class singulars:

<i>bāa</i>	← *baaga	"dog"	pl <i>bāas</i> ^ε
<i>sāa</i>	← *siəga	"waist"	pl <i>sāəs</i> ^ε
<i>sàbùà</i>	← *sabuəga	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs</i> ^ε

So too with "fusion verbs" in *-gi:

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

Original open *ē̃ *ō̃, which elsewhere fall together with the reflexes of former close *ē̄ *ō̄ as *εñ ɔñ* 2.2, undergo breaking before *g. Alternations thus arise:

<i>zìñ'a</i>	"red" <i>ga se</i> class sg	<i>zèñ'əs</i> ^ε	"red" <i>ga se</i> class pl
		<i>zèñ'og</i> ^ɔ	"red" <i>gɔ de</i> class sg 3.6
<i>dùañ</i>	"dawadawa" sg	<i>dòɔñs</i> ^ε	"dawadawa" pl
<i>Mùà</i>	"Mossi person"	<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ε	"Mossi people"
		<i>Mòɔg</i> ^ɔ	"Mossi country"
<i>nè</i>	"appear"	<i>nèel</i> ^ε	"reveal"
<i>ñyū'e'</i>	"set alight"	<i>ñyò'ɔs</i> ^{ε/}	"smoke" (noun)
<i>sūēñ'</i>	"anoint"	<i>sōñ</i>	"rub"
<i>sūñ'e'</i>	"become better" WK	<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than" (← *sō'ɔya)

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 3.8.1.

<i>náaf</i> ^ɔ	← *naagfv	"cow" pl <i>nīgí</i>
<i>dī'ər</i> ^ε	← *di'əgrɪ	gerund of <i>dī'e'</i> "receive" ← *di'əgrɪ
<i>vúər</i> ^ε	← *vuəgrɪ	"fruit of red kapok"

However, *εñ ɔñ* are broken to *iəñ uəñ*:

	<i>nèɛr^ɛ</i>		"empty"
but	<i>nìə^ɛ</i>	← * <i>nĩəgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>nìe</i> "appear"
	<i>pōñ'ɔ^ɛ/</i>		"cause to rot"
but	<i>púñ'ə^ɛ</i>	← * <i>pũ'əgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pũñ'e/</i> "rot"

Tones show that the imperfective of fusion verbs has no underlying **g*, and older forms in texts reflect this by keeping *ɛñ ɔñ*, e.g. *pon'od* from *pũñ'e/*. Later sources introduce *iəñ uəñ* into all ipfvs and imperatives by analogy: *pun'od pũñ'əd^{al}*.

3.8 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.) Allocation precedes all synchronic rules which delete segments, including apocope.

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. L flexional suffixes other than the dummy suffix carried M historically; the original toneme appears before locative *n^ɛ* and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M spreading seen after the corresponding SFs.

Superlight syllables 2.3 are toneless; superlight LF syllables which become closed as a result of apocope must acquire a toneme, which is M after a preceding M syllable, and L otherwise:

<i>wābōg^ɔ/</i>	"elephant"	LF <i>wābugó</i>	SF <i>wābōg</i>
<i>dìgìr^ɛ</i>	"dwarf"	LF <i>dìgìrè</i>	SF <i>dìgìr</i>
<i>nóbìr^ɛ</i>	"foot"	LF <i>nóbìrè</i>	SF <i>nóbìr</i>

Analogous Tone Patterns appear throughout Western Oti-Volta, with Pattern A alternating all-H/all-L. Akanlig-Pare and Kenstowicz 2002 take Pattern A stems as tonally unmarked, realised all-L by default but changed to all-H by copying of a suffix H toneme; a similar analysis (with M for H) is plausible as a *historical* account for

Kusaal. However, derivational suffixes can change Pattern A forms to Pattern L and *vice versa*, suggesting an origin for Pattern A as intrinsically all-L rather than toneless, with Pattern L having an underlying non-initial M toneme usually deleted by internal tone sandhi but responsible for the H still seen in longer *m*-stems.

Synchronically, it is simplest to describe the Patterns directly in terms of resulting surface toneme distributions, with derivational suffixes classified by the Patterns they produce.

3.8.1 Nouns and adjectives

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cb 5.1. Cbs are always affected by apocope.

Noun prefixes 10 are ignored in counting stem syllables below. Prefixes are L or M: L prefixes do not affect the rest of the tone pattern, while M prefixes only affect cbs, which always have H/X after the prefix.

Cbs from CV-stems sometimes behave tonally like prefixes:

<i>p̄v-kp̄aad^{a/}</i>	<i>p̄v-kp̄aadíb^a</i>	<i>p̄v-kp̄á-</i>	"farmer" <u>10</u>
<i>zūg-kōgōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>zūg-kōgā</i>	<i>zūg-kóg-</i>	"pillow" <u>5.2</u>
<i>kā-wēnnīr^{ε/}</i>	<i>kā-wēnnā</i>	<i>kā-wén-</i>	"corn"

Pattern H displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the LF, but otherwise has the initial tonemes MH; the H toneme falls on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the LF. Any tonemes following H are L. Consonant-final cbs always treat their final syllables as open.

<i>v̄r^{ε/}</i>	<i>v̄yá</i>	<i>v̄r-</i>	"alive"
<i>ȳr^{ε/}</i>	<i>ȳá[/]</i>	<i>ȳ-</i>	"house"
<i>fūug^{o/}</i>	<i>fūud^{ε/}</i>	<i>fū-</i>	"shirt, clothes"
<i>d̄k^{o/}</i>	<i>d̄vōvd^{ε/}</i>	<i>d̄vg-</i>	"cooking pot"
<i>n̄d^{a/}</i>	<i>n̄dīb^{a/}</i>	<i>n̄n-</i>	"person"
<i>kūgōr^{ε/}</i>	<i>kūgá</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>gōt^{a/}</i>	<i>gōtíb^a /tt/</i>	<i>gōt-</i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>sābílíg^a</i>	<i>sābílís^ε</i>	<i>sābīl-</i>	"black"
<i>sābíl^{lε}</i>	<i>sābílá</i>		
<i>yōgóm^{mε}</i>	<i>yōgvamá</i>	<i>yōgōm-</i>	"camel"
<i>dī'əs^{a/}</i>	<i>dī'əsídīb^a</i>	<i>dī'əs-</i>	"receiver"
<i>sūgvrid^a</i>	<i>sūgvridīb^a</i>	<i>sūgvrid-</i>	"forgiver, forbearer"
<i>k̄v'alíg^a</i>	<i>k̄v'alís^ε</i>	<i>k̄v'alíg-</i>	traditional smock
<i>sú'əŋ^a /ŋŋ/</i>	<i>sū'əmís^ε</i>	<i>sū'əŋ-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>sāan^{a/}</i>	<i>sāam^{ma}</i>	<i>sāan-</i>	"stranger, guest"
<i>sāannim^m</i>			"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^m'</i>	SF <i>vōm</i>	LF <i>vómm</i>	"life"
<i>dāam^m'</i>	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>	"millet beer"

Loss of underlying segments may shift the H toneme to the left.

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

<i>ñyīríf^o</i>	<i>ñyīrí</i>	"egusi seed"
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Many words have a long root vowel followed by a segment which has been deleted by reduction of a consonant cluster to a single consonant 3.5 or by deletion of **g* 3.7. The first syllable still behaves as superheavy in the LF and carries H:

<i>ñīs^ε</i>	← * <i>niinsɪ</i>	(beside <i>ñīmís^ε</i>)	"birds" (sg <i>ñīŋ^a</i> /ŋŋ/)
<i>píiñf^o</i>	← * <i>piɪnfɔ</i>	(pl <i>pīiñí</i>)	"genet"
<i>wáaf^o</i>	← * <i>waagfɔ</i>	(pl <i>wīigí</i>)	"snake"
<i>yáab^a</i>	← * <i>yaagba</i>		"grandparent"
<i>vúø^ε</i>	← * <i>vuøgrɪ</i>		"fruit of red kapok"
<i>náar^ε</i>	← * <i>naagrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>nāe'</i>	"finishing"
<i>dí'ø^ε</i>	← * <i>dí'øgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>dī'e'</i>	"getting"
<i>púñ'ø^ε</i>	← * <i>pǔ'ōgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pūñ'e'</i>	"rotting"

A few root-stems show a different irregularity: in sg/pl forms with consonant-initial flexions, the initial syllable carries X if it is superheavy *in the SF*, H otherwise; all following tonemes are L. Forms with vowel-initial suffixes and cbs are regular.

<i>nū'ug^o</i>	<i>nū'us^ε</i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand, arm"
<i>à-gâvñg^o</i>	<i>à-gâañd^ε</i>	<i>à-gāñ-</i>	"pied crow"
<i>gbêεñm^m</i>		<i>gbēñ-</i>	"sleep"
<i>nóbìr^ε</i>	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"foot, leg"
<i>gél^{lε}</i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>kísùg^o</i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo" (adj)
<i>áñsìb^a</i>	<i>āñs-nám^a</i>	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"

So too the gerunds *sóñsìg^a* "talking", *gósìg^a* "looking", *kìkírùg^o* "hurrying."

LFs corresponding to SFs with superheavy X syllables have open initial H syllables: *nū'ugò* "hand" is tonally identical to LF *wáafò* "snake."

Tonally exceptional forms are *bùgúm^m* cb *bùgúm-* or *bùgòm-* "fire", *tàdímís^ε* "weakness", *bùdímís^ε* "confusion."

Pattern L with prefixes:

<i>kòkpàrig^a</i>	<i>kòkpàris^ε</i>	<i>kòkpàr-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>sāmán^{nε}</i>	<i>sāmánà</i>	<i>sāmán-</i>	"courtyard"

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

<i>bōvg^a</i>	<i>bōvs^ε</i>	<i>bò-</i>	"goat"
<i>tān^{nε}</i>	<i>tānā</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	"earth"
<i>sīd^a</i>	<i>sīdīb^a</i>	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>pū'ā^a</i>	<i>pū'ab^a</i>	<i>pū'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>sā'ab^ɔ</i>	no pl	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge"
<i>gbīgīm^{nε}</i>	<i>gbīgīmā</i>	<i>gbìgìm-</i>	"lion"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamīs^ε</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>mēed^a</i>	<i>mēedīb^a</i>	<i>mèed-</i>	"builder"
<i>sĭākīd^a</i>	<i>sĭākīdīb^a</i>	<i>sĭàkìd-</i>	"believer"
<i>bōtīŋ^a</i>	<i>bōtīs^ε</i>	<i>bòtìŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>mēedīŋ^a</i>	<i>mēedīs^ε</i>	<i>mèedìŋ-</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) 3.8.4:

<i>pò'us^a</i>	<i>pō'usīdīb^a</i>	<i>pò'us-</i>	"worshipper"
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Pattern A all-M LFs become all-L before the interrogative clitics 4.1.

Certain Pattern A words show **LF-final H** instead of M before negative prosodic clitics, but not liaison words. For WK this occurs with LFs of more than two syllables not ending in a long vowel or *-a*, and disyllabic LFs in *-mmV* or *-mm*. Some speakers allow H optionally before the interrogative clitics.

<i>yūgvdīr^{ε/}</i>	<i>yūgvdā</i>	<i>yùgvèd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>ñwāaŋ^a</i>	<i>ñwāamīs^{ε/}</i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>bāŋīd^a</i>	<i>bāŋīdīb^{a/}</i>	<i>bàŋìd-</i>	"wise man"
<i>kpārīdīŋ^a</i>	<i>kpārīdīs^{ε/}</i>	<i>kpàrìdìŋ-</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>gbīgīm^{mε/}</i>	<i>gbīgīmā</i>	<i>gbìgìm-</i>	"lion"
<i>zōom^{mε/}</i>	<i>zōomā</i>	<i>zòom-</i>	"fugitive"
<i>tādīm^{m/}</i>	<i>tādīmīs^{ε/}</i>	<i>tàdìm-</i>	"weak person"

Lì à nē gbīgīmmés?

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

Lì à nē gbígìmmès?

"Is it a lion?" both WK and DK

Pattern A with prefixes:

dàkīg^a

dàkīs^ε

dàkì-

"sib-in-law via wife"

fōfōm^{mε}

fōfōmā

fōfóm-

"envy; stye"

3.8.2 Verbs

Pattern L has merged with A in verbs, probably through the regular falling together of most perfectives (which resemble nominal cbs structurally) and the *derivational* origin of the imperfective flexion (see below.) Further levelling has extended to all but a few gerunds.

Dual-aspect verbs have three finite forms 7.1 but the *ma*-imperative is found only with tone overlay 16.6.2. Perfective and imperfective will be cited below, in that order. Single-aspect verbs have just one finite form, which is imperfective.

Pattern H, as in nominals, 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. However, they show final H before liaison-word pronouns:

Ò p̄v d̄vǵē.

"She didn't cook."

Ò p̄v d̄vǵèè?

"Didn't she cook?"

Kà ò d̄vǵí=lī.

"And she cooked it."

Examples for Pattern H:

ñyē

ñyēt^a/

"see"

k̄v

k̄vd^a/

"kill"

d̄vǵ^ε

d̄vǵv̄d^a/

"cook"

k̄l^ε

k̄ln^{na}/

"go home"

yādīǵ^ε/

yādīǵíd^a

"scatter"

m̄v̄v̄l^ε/

m̄v̄v̄n^{na}

"proclaim"

d̄īǵīl^ε/

d̄īǵín^{na}

"lay down"

n̄v̄k^ε /kk/

n̄v̄kíd^a /kk/

"take"

lāñīm^m /ŋŋ/

lāñīm^{ma} /ŋŋ/

"wander searching"

v̄v̄ǵ^{ya}/

"be alive"

d̄īǵī^{ya}/

"be lying down"

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>tōom^{m/}</i>	SF <i>tōom</i>	LF <i>tóomm</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 [9.1.2.1](#).

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*.

Pattern A shows all tonemes L in indicative and imperative, all M in irrealis.

Historically, indicative and imperative ipfv forms did not become all-M despite having a M flexion because they incorporated a Pattern-L-deriving derivational suffix; the all-M irrealis shift perhaps reflects a *non-dummy* pfv irrealis flexion *-ɪ*, with the much less frequent ipfv irrealis forms following the analogy of the pfv.

<i>bòd^ε</i>	<i>bòt^a</i>	"plant"
<i>dì</i>	<i>dìt^a</i>	"eat"
<i>mè</i>	<i>mèɛd^a</i>	"build"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	<i>zàbìd^a</i>	"fight, hurt"
<i>bùə^ε</i>	<i>bùən^{na}</i>	"call"
<i>bòdìg^ε</i>	<i>bòdìgìd^a</i>	"get lost, lose"
<i>nìŋ^ε</i>	<i>nìŋìd^a</i>	"do"
<i>màal^ε</i>	<i>màan^{na}</i>	"sacrifice"
<i>dìgìn^ε</i>	<i>dìgìnìd^a</i>	"lie down"
<i>wàŋìm^m</i>	<i>wàŋìm^{ma}</i>	"waste away"
<i>zàaŋsìm^m</i>	<i>zàaŋsìm^{ma}</i>	"dream"
	<i>tàbì^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"
	<i>vèn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"

Ò kò zābē.

"She won't fight."

Ò kò bōdìgē.

"He won't get lost."

Ò nà bōdìgèε?

"Will she get lost?" [4.1](#)

Ò kò bōdìgìdā.

"She won't be getting lost."

Ò kò būənnā.

"She won't be calling."

<i>Ò k̀̀ b̀̀d̀̀i g̀̀i =má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò k̀̀ b̀̀d̀̀i g̀̀i d̀̀i =má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."

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

<i>Ò k̀̀ z̀̀ā b̀̀ó =o.</i>	"He won't fight him."
or <i>Ò k̀̀ z̀̀ā b̀̀ō =o.</i>	"He won't fight him."

3.8.3 Other word classes

Quantifiers, adverbs and particles with the segmental structure of nouns have similar tonal structures; they may also show apocope-blocking 3.2. For the tonemes of bound liaison words see 4.2. Left-bound particles with SF CV which are *not* liaison enclitics carry M or L; M changes to H in the LF CVV. Tonally unique is independent-perfective *yā* 16.6.2, which remains M before the negative clitic and becomes L before the interrogative clitics 4.1:

<i>L̀̀i b̀̀d̀̀i g̀̀ n̄́é?</i>	"Is it lost?" (focus- <i>n̄́</i>)
<i>L̀̀i b̀̀d̀̀i g̀̀ ỳ̀ā?</i>	"Has it got lost?"

3.8.4 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 9.1.1.

G̀̀i ṅ̀̀i l̄́m^m "shortness", from the Pattern A adjective *g̀̀i ṅ̀̀^a* "short", possibly represents a five-mora-stem Pattern A toneme allocation (but cf *g̀̀i ṅ̀̀l̄́m^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>áṅ̀̀s̀̀ì b̀̀^a</i>	"maternal uncle"	<i>āṅ̀̀s̀̀í ṅ̀̀^a</i>	"sister's child"
<i>k̀̀í s̀̀ù g̀̀^o</i>	"hateful"	<i>k̀̀í s̀̀^{a/}</i>	"hate"
<i>g̀̀ó s̀̀ì g̀̀^a</i>	"looking"	<i>g̀̀ó s̀̀^ε</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>b̀̀i ṅ̀̀^a</i>	"child"	<i>b̀̀i ṅ̀̀l̄́m^m</i>	"childhood" (-l-)
<i>ǹ̀à'ā b̀̀^a</i>	"chief"	<i>ǹ̀ā'am^m</i>	"chiefship" (-m-)

When added to L or A roots the derivational suffixes *bgls* always produce Pattern L nominals, while *d m n* may produce either Pattern L or Pattern A.

All 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>dṽg^ε</i>	"cook"	→	<i>dṽgṽb^{o/}</i>
<i>nṽk^{ε/}</i>	"take"	→	<i>nṽkír^ε</i>
<i>dīgīl^{ε/}</i>	"lay down"	→	<i>dīgílúg^o</i>
<i>mè</i>	"build"	→	<i>mēéb^o</i>
<i>sṽη^ε</i>	"help"	→	<i>sṽηìr^ε</i>
<i>dìgìn^ε</i>	"lie down"	→	<i>dìgìnḡg^o</i>
<i>zàañsìm^m</i>	"dream"	→	<i>zàañsúg^o</i>

Gerunds derived with **d* from Pattern A verbs are likewise Pattern L: *bṽṽdìm^m* "will", *mēédím-tāa* "fellow-builder." This Pattern-L-deriving **d* is probably historically identifiable with the *d* preceding the original ipfv *-a* in dual-aspect verbs before extensive levelling produced a unitary flexional suffix *-da*. This explains the merger of Patterns L and A dynamic ipfv as a L-type form which does not change to all-M in the indicative, despite having a non-dummy flexional suffix.

In dynamic single-aspect verbs, the **y* of the ending *-ya* behaves tonally like dual-aspect **d*. Stative verbs derived with **y* keep the Tone Pattern of the nominal, but their Patterns have been mapped into those of dynamic verbs 9.1.2.1.

Deverbal agent nouns, instrument nouns and deverbal adjectives 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: *bṽṽdír^ε* "desirable", *mēédīη^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.

4 External sandhi

External sandhi includes segmental contact phenomena, tone sandhi, and complete or partial suppression of apocope. Tone sandhi follows apocope and the independency tone overlay [16.6.1](#). M dropping and the changes before interrogative clitics apply before other tone sandhi rules, which then apply left to right.

Sandhi after words with flexional suffixes (other than dummy suffixes [3.3](#)) differs from sandhi after other forms: *sàñ-kàṅā* "this blacksmith", *sāṅñ lā* "the blacksmith"; Toende Kusaal shows differences with apocope too [3.2](#).

4.1 Prosodic clitics

Prosodic clitics have no segmental form, but cause a preceding word to appear as a Long Form, completely suppressing apocope. (On clitics without segmental form cross-linguistically, see Spencer and Luís 2012: 5.5.1.)

Before prosodic clitics short LF-final *ɪ v* become *ε ɔ* respectively, realised slightly closer than as root vowels. Final *iə uə* diphthongise to *ia ua*: pfv LF *kṷa* "cut" vs ipfv *kṷəd*, pfv LF *kūa* "hoe" vs ipfv *kūəd*. Overlong monophthongs reduce to long, resulting in words which have segmentally identical SF and LF:

	<i>sā</i>	"waist"	SF <i>sā</i>	LF <i>sāā</i>	← * <i>siəga</i>
but	<i>bā</i>	"dog"	SF <i>bā</i>	LF <i>bāā</i>	← * <i>baaga</i>
	<i>kṷ</i> + ⁰	"kill him/her"	SF <i>kúo</i>	LF <i>kúo</i> [kū:]	← * <i>kvo=o</i>

Before prosodic clitics and also with apocope-blocking, final *-mɪ* and *-mυ* become *-mm* whenever the *m* is not geminated. The final *m* was presumably once syllabic, but currently *-mm* is non-tone-bearing [m:].

The **negative prosodic clitic** appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb [16.5](#). (Mooré uses segmental *yé* in the same way.) Superscript notation represents LFs as they appear before the negative clitic segmentally, with lowering of short final *ɪ v* to *ε ɔ*; long *ɪ vυ* are not lowered:

Lì kā' *nóbɪrē=∅*. "It's not a leg (*nóbɪr^ε*)."
3IN NEG.BE leg:SG=NEG.

Lì kā' *dūkó=∅*. "It's not a pot (*dūk^ɔ*)."
3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.

Bà kā' *mólɪ=∅*. "They are not gazelles (*mòlì*)."
3PL NEG.BE gazelle:PL=NEG.

LF-final L syllables are changed to M before the negative clitic:

<i>mòlì</i>	"gazelles"	SF <i>mòlì</i>	LF <i>mòlì</i>
<i>yàarìm^m</i>	"salt"	SF <i>yàarìm</i>	LF <i>yàarìmm</i>
<i>tìum^m</i>	"medicine"	SF <i>tìum</i>	LF <i>tìumm</i>

This applies later than external tone sandhi induced by preceding words:

	<i>Lì ká' ò tìumm.</i>	"It's not her medicine (<i>tìum^m</i>)."
but	<i>Lì k̄a' tìumm.</i>	"It's not medicine."
	<i>Lì ká' bà dā'a.</i>	"It's not their market (<i>dā'a</i>)."
but	<i>Lì k̄a' 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^{o/}</i>	"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>bèdvgv̄[/]</i>	"a lot"	SF <i>bèdvgv̄</i>	LF <i>bèdvgv̄úv̄</i>
<i>gāañ[/]</i>	"Nigerian ebony"	SF <i>gāañ</i>	LF <i>gáañ</i>
<i>tāuñ[/]</i>	"opposite-sex sib"	SF <i>tāuñ</i>	LF <i>távñ</i>
<i>dāam^{m/}</i>	"millet beer"	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>
<i>vōm^{m/}</i>	"life"	SF <i>vōm</i>	LF <i>vómm</i>

Before the SF of ° "him/her", a Pattern H perfective ending in a root vowel has H toneme, but the overlong diphthong formed with the LF *o* carries MH:

<i>ñyē + °</i>	"see him/her"	SF <i>ñyéó</i>	LF <i>ñyēó=o</i>
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LFs of the same form appear with some single-word clause adjuncts. KB consistently writes such adjuncts with final *ε* *ɔ* rather than *ι* *υ*.

bɔzugɔ ba zi' onɛ tvmi m la naa.

bɔ zúgɔ, bà zī' ónì tòmì=m lā náa=ø.

because 3PL NEG.KNOW REL.AN send=1SG ART hither=NEG.

"Because they do not know him who sent me here." (Jn 15:21)

Bēogó fò ná kūl.

"You're going home tomorrow." SB

Tomorrow 2SG IRR go.home.

Occasional examples of such LFs are seen ending *yà'*-clauses:

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

Kìkìrīg yá' mōr bōvdē, fōn tísò=∅ kà ò lèbìg ò mōogū=n.

Fairy:SG if have innocence, 2SG.CN give=3AN and 3AN return 3AN grass:SG=LOC.

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

The **vocative clitic** ends a vocative clause. It has similar effects to the negative clitic, although the audio NT version sometimes shows a change of final M tone to falling.

M̃ b̃j̃isē=∅!

"My children!"

1SG child:PL=VOC!

Lem na, lem na, fōn kanε an Sulam teη nida!

Lèm nā, lèm nā, fōn-káni àñ Sulam téη nìdā=∅!

Return:IMP hither, return:IMP hither, 2SG-REL.SG COP Shulam land:SG person:SG=VOC!

"Return, return, O Shulammitte!" (Song of Songs 6:13)

The two **interrogative prosodic clitics** end questions. Final vowel length distinctions are neutralised to short in content questions, long in polar questions.

Ànó'òní ∅ ñyē nóbirè=∅?

"Who saw a leg (*nóbìr^ε*)?"

Who CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

Lì à nē nóbirèε=∅?

"Is it a leg?"

3IN COP FOC leg:SG=PQ?

Ànó'òní ñyē kúkà?

"Who saw a chair (*kōk^a*)?"

Ànó'òní ñyē dōkó?

"Who saw a pot (*dōk^o?*)"

Ànó'òní ñyē mólì?

"Who saw gazelles (*mòlì*)?"

Ànó'òní ñyē bédvǔ?

"Who saw a lot (*bédvǔ^l*)?"

Kusaal signals questions with a final *falling* intonation. All questions end with a L or H toneme. **Both interrogative clitics cause preceding words with all-M tonemes to change to all-L.** This is a change of tonemes, not just a matter of intonation, and it precedes M spreading, to which the new L tonemes are subject [4.4](#). In Kusaal (unlike Dagbani) this lowering only affects the final word, not a sequence of several all-M words.

Ànó'ònì \emptyset *ñyē bà bììgà=ø?* "Who saw their child (*bīìg^a*)?"
 Who CAT see 3PL child:SG=CQ?

Ànó'ònì ñyē bììgà? "Who saw a child?" tonally identical to
Ànó'ònì ñyē sù'vǵà? "Who saw a knife (*sù'vǵ^a*)?"
Fù bō'od bó? "What (*bō*) do you want?"
Ànó'ònì ñyē zūéyà? "Who saw hills (*zūéyā*)?"
M ná bōdīg. "I will get lost."
M ná bōdīgèè? "Will I get lost?"
Ò p̄ dūgē. "She didn't cook."
Ò p̄ dūgèè? "Didn't she cook?"

4.2 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final LF vowel, but with loss of quality and length contrasts. Final short vowels become *ɪ*, for some speakers replaced by *ʊ* after *g* preceded by a rounded root vowel. Final *-mm* behaves as *-mɪ*. All final diphthongs become 2-mora monophthongs; final *-ya* is dropped, and the preceding vowel similarly becomes a 2-mora monophthong.

The pl suffixes *-a -ɪ*, apocope-blocked forms, and the final vowels of bound words do not change segmentally before liaison.

Certain liaison words then induce new changes to the final LF vowel.

Liaison enclitics are always preceded by liaison. They are joined to the preceding word by =. The locative particle *n^ɛ* [13.3](#) attaches after nominal sg or pl forms; discontinuous-past *n^ɛ* [16.3.2](#) and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun ^{ya} [18.3](#) attach after verb forms. The bound object pronouns *m^a f^o l tɪ ya ba* [12.4.1](#) attach directly to a verb word or after *n^ɛ* or ^{ya}. Nominaliser-*h̄* [21](#) follows complete NPs.

<i>kōk^a</i>	"chair"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>kōkī=n^ɛl</i>
<i>dōk^ɔl</i>	"pot"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>dōkí=n^ɛ</i>
<i>pō'og^ɔl</i>	"field"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>pō'ogú=n^ɛ</i>
<i>yà'vg^ɔ</i>	"grave"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>yà'vgū=n^ɛl</i>
<i>kù'øm^m</i>	"water"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>kù'ømī=n^ɛl</i>
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→	<i>ñyēɛ=m^a</i>
<i>kì'à</i>	"cut"	+ <i>lɪ</i>	"it"	→	<i>kì'ə=lī^l</i>
<i>dā'a</i>	"market"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	"at"	→	<i>dā'a=n^ɛl</i>
<i>pāe^l</i>	"reach"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>pāa=tī^l</i>
<i>pīe^l</i>	"wash"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>pīə=tī^l</i>
<i>dūe^l</i>	"raise"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>dūə=tī^l</i>
<i>sū'e^{ya}l</i>	"own"	+ <i>lɪ</i>	"it"	→	<i>sū'v=lī^l</i>
<i>vūe^{ya}l</i>	"live"	+ <i>n^ɛ</i>	dp	→	<i>vūv=n^ɛl</i>

Except for nominaliser-*n̄*, liaison enclitics carry H after host-final M toneme and M after L or H. Liaison-enclitic SF-final M becomes H before prosodic clitics.

<i>M̄ b́ɔɔdī=b́á.</i>	"I love them."
<i>Kà m̄ zábì=b̄ā.</i>	"And I fought them."
<i>Kà m̄ p̄v zábì=f̄ɔ̄.</i>	"And I didn't fight you."
<i>Kà m̄ ḱúv=b̄ā.</i>	"And I killed them."
<i>Kà m̄ p̄v zábì=b́áá.</i>	"And I didn't fight them."
<i>Ànó'ɔn̄ ḱúv=b́á?</i>	"Who has killed them?"

The locative particle *n̄*^ε has the same tonal effects on the preceding word as the negative clitic, changing final L to M:

	<i>p̄ɔɔg^{ɔ/}</i>	"field"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>p̄ɔɔgú=n̄^ε</i>	
	<i>b̄īg^a</i>	"child"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>b̄īgī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	WK
but	<i>m̄v'ar^ε</i>	"dam, lake"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>m̄v'arī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	
	<i>yàad^ε</i>	"graves"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>yàadī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	WK
	<i>k̄vvdíb^a</i>	"killers"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>k̄vvdíbī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	WK

Discontinuous-past *n̄*^ε and 2pl *ya* always impose M on the preceding syllable:

	<i>d̄v̄g^ε</i>	"cook"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>d̄v̄gū=n̄^{ε/}</i>	
	<i>b̄d̄d̄g^ε</i>	"lose"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>b̄d̄d̄gī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	
	<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>yādīgī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	
ipfv	<i>k̄vvd^{a/}</i>	"kill"	+ <i>n̄</i> ^ε	→ <i>k̄vvdī=n̄^{ε/}</i>	
	<i>d̄ɔ̄l^{la/}</i>	"follow"	+ <i>ya</i>	→ <i>d̄ɔ̄llī</i>	LF <i>d̄ɔ̄llī=yá</i>

Indicative perfective forms without independency-marking tone overlay change LF-final M → H before bound object pronouns; final L and H are not affected.

Pattern H fusion verb perfectives here behave exactly like CVV-stems.

	<i>b̄d̄d̄g^ε</i>	"lose"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>b̄d̄d̄gì=m^a</i>	
	<i>d̄ì</i>	"eat"	+ <i>l</i>	"it"	→ <i>d̄ì=l̄</i>	
	<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>yādīgí=m^a</i>	
but	<i>d̄v̄g^ε</i>	"cook"	+ <i>l</i>	"it"	→ <i>d̄v̄gí=l̄</i>	
	<i>ḡs^ε</i>	"look"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>ḡsó</i>	LF <i>ḡsó=o</i>
	<i>k̄v̄</i>	"kill"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>k̄v̄v=m^a</i>	
	<i>p̄āe[/]</i>	"reach"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>p̄áa=m^a</i>	
	<i>d̄ī'e[/]</i>	"get"	+ <i>ba</i>	"them"	→ <i>d̄ī'ə=b̄ā</i>	

After all other verb forms, object pronouns change LF-final L to M:

<i>zàbìd^a</i>	"fights"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>zàbìdī=m^{a/}</i>	
<i>zàbìd^a</i>	"fights"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>zàbìdō</i>	LF <i>zàbìdó=o</i>
<i>yādīgíd^a</i>	"scatters"	+ <i>ba</i>	"them"	→ <i>yādīgídī=bá</i>	
<i>yādīgíd^a</i>	"scatters"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>yādīgídō</i>	LF <i>yādīgídó=o</i>
<i>kōvd^{a/}</i>	"kills"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>kōvdí=m^a</i>	
<i>kōvd^{a/}</i>	"kills"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>kōvdō</i>	LF <i>kōvdó=o</i>

With independency-marking:

<i>bòdīg^ε</i>	"lose"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>bòdīgī=m^{a/}</i>	
<i>bòdīg^ε</i>	"lose"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>bòdīgō</i>	LF <i>bòdīgó=o</i>
<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ <i>m^a</i>	"me"	→ <i>yādīgī=m^{a/}</i>	
<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	+ ^o	"him/her"	→ <i>yādīgō</i>	LF <i>yādīgó=o</i>

The sequence *o=o* forms a tautosyllabic long vowel; thus word-final *ō* becomes *ó=o* before prosodic clitics, and *ò* becomes *ō=o* before the negative clitic:

<i>Kà bà zábò.</i>	"And they fought him."
<i>Kà bà p̄v zábō=o.</i>	"And they didn't fight him."

SF-final H corresponds to LF-final MH if the LF ends in an overlong diphthong:

<i>Kà bà ñyéó.</i>	"And they saw her."
<i>Kà bà p̄v ñyēó=o.</i>	"And they didn't see her."

The irrealis of Pattern A verbs has M before liaison; final *o=o* can be H or M:

<i>Ò nà bōdīgī=m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò nà bōdīgī=bá.</i>	"She will lose them."
<i>Ò k̄v bōdīgīdī=má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò k̄v zābó=o/zābō=o.</i>	"He won't fight him."

Liaison enclitics reduced to a single consonant by apocope close the final syllable of the preceding word; thus X toneme is not changed to H in e.g.

<i>Kà bà k̄p̄θ=m.</i>	"And they cut me."
-----------------------	--------------------

Toneme changes induced by liaison words *follow* external tone sandhi induced by words before the host; thus *dà'a* "market" + *n^ε* "at" → *dā'a=n^{ε/}*; *m̄ε* "build" + *n^ε* dp → *m̄εε=n^{ε/}*; *k̄v* "kill" [*k̄v* with independency marking] + *m^a* "me" → *kōv=m^{a/}*; but

<i>Ò bè né dâ'a=n.</i>	"She is at market"
<i>Dāy lā mēε=n.</i>	"The man built (earlier today.)"
<i>Dāy lā kôv=m.</i>	"The man has killed me."

The toneme on the enclitic itself is the same as it would have been *without* the toneme changes induced by preceding words:

<i>Ò kôv=bá.</i>	"She has killed them."
<i>Dāy lā kúv=bá.</i>	"The man has killed them."

The pronoun ^{ya} becomes *-ní-* before liaison. The pronoun was historically **na*, regularly becoming **yã* with subsequent loss of nasalisation; when *-a* is deleted by apocope, *y* is also deleted. Before a liaison word, *-a* was not deleted but became *ɪ*, before which *n* became *n-*. (Cf also *nìŋ*^ε "do" = Toende Kusaal *ěŋ*, locative *n*^ε ~ *nī*' = Toende *-ɪ*, *nìe* "appear" = Toende *yěe*, *nīŋ*^a "body" = Mooré *yĩnga*.)

<i>Dā dōllī=yá=ø!</i> NEG.IMP follow=2PL.SUB=NEG!	"Follow ye not!"
<i>Dì'əmī=ø!</i> Receive:IMP=2PL.SUB!	"Receive ye!"
<i>Dì'əmī=ní=bā!</i> Receive:IMP=2PL.SUB=3PL.	"Receive ye them!"
<i>Dì'əmī=nó=ø!</i> Receive:IMP=2PL.SUB=3AN.	"Receive ye her!"
<i>Dì'əmī=ní_ àlá!</i> Receive:IMP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus!	"Keep ye on receiving!"

Biisε, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.
Bīisē=ø, sjàkìmī=ní_ yà dō'adīb nóyà.
 Child:PL=VOC, agree:IMP=2PL.SUB 2PL parent:PL mouth:PL.
 "Children, obey your parents." (Eph 6:1)

Nominaliser-*n̄* is bound to both left and right. It fuses with preceding pronoun subjects [12.4.1](#); my informants have segmental zero in all other contexts. Texts often show *n* and/or liaison, though *n* is usually omitted after words with SFs ending in nasal consonants; in KB, *n* (without liaison) occurs mostly after foreign proper names.

ya zuobid wɔsa kalli an si'em

yà zūəbíd wōsā kāllí=∅ 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)

Nominaliser-*ñ* has a fixed-L toneme 4.4. Except after subject pronouns, the change of a preceding M toneme to H is often the only sign of its presence:

dāyú lá=∅ zàb nà'ab lā "the man having fought the chief"

man:SG ART=NZ fight chief:SG ART

Non-enclitic liaison words comprise the pronouns *m̄ f̄ ò l̄ ò t̄ yà bà*, the personifier particle *à/ñ* 12.6, catenator-*n*, all words with the number prefixes *à bà b̄* or the manner-adverb prefix *à*, and *ànô'ɔn*^ε "who?". Liaison before these words is marked ◡ in glossing. It is consistent only with pronouns after a verb within a VP:

Tì gósí ◡ bà b̄is.

1PL look.at 3PL child:PL.

"We looked at their children."

The quality of the final vowel mora before liaison words beginning with *à-* is not predictable from the phonology alone. Before *ànô'ɔn*^ε "who?", the manner-adverb prefix *à-* and personifier-particle *à-* the forms are the same as before consonant-initial liaison words. Fusion-verb forms with final *-e* are probably simply orthographic: *àañ* "be" always appears as *aan(n)*.

Ò n̄ñí ◡ àlá.

3AN do ADV:thus

"She did thus."

(contrast *àlá* "how many?" below)

yeli Abaa

yèlì ◡ À-Bāa

say PERS-dog:SG

"said to Dog" KSS p20

... [n] *loo Abaa zuur*

... *n ló◡ À-Bāa z̄v̄r*

...CAT tie PERS-dog:SG tail:SG

"... tying Dog's tail" KSS p20

ka ba gban'e Adayuug

kà bà gbáñ'a ◡ À-Dàyūug

and 3PL seize PERS-rat:SG

"and they seized Rat" KSS p20

Ka f̀v aan anɔ'ɔnɛ? "And who are you?" (Jn 1:19)
Kà f̀v áań ànɔ'ɔnɛ=∅?
 And 2SG COP who=CQ?

Before the number prefix *a-* a pre-liaison short vowel is not *-ɪ* but *-a*:

M̃ mór nē b̃ĩsá_ 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)

Informants contract *-á à-* to *á-* and *-í à-* to either *-á-* or *-í-*:

Nū'-b̃ĩb̃is álá kà f̀v ñyētá=∅?
 hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
 "How many fingers do you see?"

The number-prefix originated as **ɥa-*, where **ɥ* disappeared early throughout Western Oti-Volta; other *a-* prefixes began with consonants which persisted long enough for consonant-initial sandhi to be preserved (cf French "*H aspiré*.")

WK and DK round LF-final *ɪ* before *ò* "his/her", but all written sources have *-i*:

Ba gɔsi o biig. "They've looked at her child."
Bà g̀ɔsú_ ò b̃ĩig.
 3PL look:at 3AN child:SG.

Except for catenator-*n*, all non-enclitic liaison words begin with a fixed-L toneme 4.4. Preceding verb forms show the final tonemes seen before the enclitic object pronouns, and preceding nominal forms show the tonemes seen before the locative particle, but M becomes H before the fixed-L toneme of the liaison word:

Kà bà d̃ití_ bà d̃īb. "And they were eating their food."
 And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food. (ML → HL: cf *d̃itī=bá* "were eating them")

bane na yel Zugsoɓi ba tuuma a si'em la
bàni nà yēl Zūg-sóbí bà t̃ṽmá=∅ àń s̃ĩ'əm lā
 REL.PL IRR say Lord 3PL deed:PL=NZ COP INDF.ADV ART
 "Those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are." (Heb 13:17, 1996)

After pause, catenator-*n* 19 is a syllabic nasal assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Elsewhere, WK has liaison alone, except for words unchanged before liaison, where he has a consonantal nasal with assimilation of position. KB shows the same pattern. Older sources often show *n* along with or instead of liaison.

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

Bōo_ø lá=ø? "What's that?"
 What CAT that=CQ?

tuum kanε ka m tummi tisid Wina'am la.
tòum-kànì kà m túmmì_ø tìsìd 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)

Catenator-*n* is tonally null. The preceding final LF toneme 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 túm_ø tìsì=bā
 but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give=3PL
 "but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M nók s'vǵò_ø kǵá nīm lā.
 1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.
 "I cut the meat with a knife."

4.3 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:

bīis ñwá "these children" [bi:sa]

The *l* of the article *lā*^l assimilates to word-final *-r*, with [r:] → [r]:

pò-kòǵñr lā "the widow" [pøkõ:ra]

Initial *n* of focus-*nē*^l assimilates completely to a preceding word-final *d t n r l m* in normal rapid speech, with [r:] → [r] and [d:] → [d]:

<i>Bà kp̄id nē.</i>	"They're dying."	[ba k̄pi:dɛ]
<i>Ṁ zót nē.</i>	"I'm afraid."	[m̄ zot:ɛ]
<i>Ṁ mór nē b̄isá àyí'.</i>	"I have two children with me."	[m̄ mɔɾɛ bi:sa:j̄i]
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	"It's full."	[l̄i pɛ:l:ɛ]
<i>Lì sàñ'am nē.</i>	"It's spoilt."	[l̄i sã:m:ɛ]

Final *n m ŋ* of right-bound words adopt the place of articulation of following consonants, as does syllabic *ñ* but not *m̄*:

<i>n̄ñ-bámmā</i>	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
<i>nàm zī'</i>	"still not know"	[nanz̄i]
<i>Ñ-Bīl</i>	Mbillah (personal name)	[m̄bil]
but <i>Ṁ nóŋī=f.</i>	"I love you."	[m̄noŋif]

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")

Older sources write *sukpi'oŋ supeen* for *sūñ-kp̄i'oŋ*^o "boldness", *sūñ-pêen*^{ne} "anger", which include the cb of *sūñf*^o "heart", but KB has *svnkpi'eun*, *svnpɛen*.

Cbs, and verb forms which are not VP-final, do not end in fronting diphthongs unless the next word begins with *y*; diphthongs are replaced by corresponding monophthongs: *aɛ* → *a*; *oɛ* → *o*; *vɛ* → *v*; *ae* → *aa*; *ve* → *vv*; *ie* → *iə*; *ue* → *uə*. Thus *sāŋñ lā* "the blacksmith", but *sàñ-kàŋñā* "this blacksmith" and e.g.

<i>Ò sò'v lór.</i>	"She owns (<i>sō'e</i>) a lorry."
<i>Dúo wēlá?</i>	"[You] arose (<i>dūe</i>) how?" (Morning greeting)
<i>Èñrìgìm pāa dú'atà.</i>	"Shift along up to (<i>pāe</i>) the doctor."

Ti ya'a vve, ti vvnɛ tis Zugsɔb la.

Tì yá' v̄vɛ, tì vó nē_∅ tís Zūg-sób lā.

1PL if be.alive, 1PL be.alive FOC CAT give Lord ART.

"If we live, we live to the Lord." (Rom 14:8)

With *àŋñ*^{ya} "be" before the focus particle *nē*[/] there is also loss of nasalisation:

<i>Ṁ á nē dāy.</i>	"I'm a man."
but <i>Lì àñ súnā.</i>	"It's fine."

Older written materials write *a* for *añ*, but KB consistently has *an*.

This monophthongisation is fairly recent: Haaf still has e.g. *soiput* for *sòñ-pūt^a* "witchfinder." Diphthongs may appear in writing where the audio NT and all informants have monophthongs, e.g. *voen vōv=n* "would live" (Gal 3:21, 1996), *Kristo da faaen ti Kristo dá fāañ=tí* "Christ saved us" (Gal 5:1); the 1996 NT even has *faaenm* for imperative *fāañm* "save" and *naae da* for ipfv LF *nāadá* "end." Pre-liaison *aan(n)* "be" is never written *aaen(n)*, however.

4.4 M spreading

With no intervening pause, most words cause an initial L toneme in a following word to change to X toneme on superheavy syllables and H on others, unless the L toneme is "fixed", when any preceding M becomes H instead. M spreading follows

all words ending in M toneme

all words *not* bound to the right

except for verb perfectives (unless ending in M)

noun or adjective plurals ending in *-á* or *-í*

certain forms affected by M dropping [4.5](#)

bound subject pronouns

Independency marking affects M spreading after subject pronouns, VP particles and verb forms [16.6.1](#). M spreading does not follow clause adjuncts. Its occurrence is otherwise unaffected by clause structure:

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bój. "They gave the chief a donkey (*bòj^a*)."
3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

Bà ñwè' nâ'ab lā sújā. "They beat the chief well (*sújā'*)."
3PL beat chief:SG ART good:ADV.

Absent M spreading after nominal plurals in *-á* or *-í*:

Ṁ dīgà lú yā. "My dwarfs have fallen down."
1SG dwarf:PL fall PFV.

but *Ṁ yōgómá lù yā.* "My camels have fallen down."
1SG camel:PL fall PFV.

Absent M spreading after perfectives without tone overlay, not ending in M:

Kà m̄ gōs nà'ab lā. "And I've looked at (*gōs*^ε) the chief (*nà'ab*^a)."
 but *Kà m̄ zàb nà'ab lā.* "And I've fought (*zàb*^ε) the chief."

Fixed-L words carry an initial/sole L toneme which is not subject to M spreading. All liaison words not bound to the left are fixed-L except for catenator-*n*: right-bound personal pronouns *m̄ f̄v̄ ò l̄i t̄i yà bà*, personifier particle *à-/n̄-*, *ànô'on*^ε "who?", and all words with the number or manner-adverb prefixes *à- bà- b̄v̄-*. Also fixed-L are the linker particle *kà* and all forms of nominaliser-*n̄*. Initial *à* in loanwords is usually treated as fixed-L by analogy.

If there is no intervening pause, a preceding M toneme must become H:

Bà kòv̄dí b̄a b̄v̄s. "They kill their goats."
 3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

L̄i à n̄é à-dàal̄óŋ. "It's a stork"
 3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'aŋ n ti paae ya tuona la.
w̄v̄v̄ s̄áa=∅ n̄āan̄i j̄áñk yà ñyá'aŋ n tí páe yà tùenà 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)

Fixed-L *does* change to M before the negative clitic; thus *n̄é t̄i* "with us" but

Amaa o pv lal n̄e t̄i.
Àm̄áa ò p̄v̄ l̄āl n̄é t̄i=∅.
 But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL=NEG.
 "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

After word-final M, the term "M spreading" is easily seen to be appropriate. Right-bound personal pronouns followed by M spreading bear M in ILK and Niggli's materials, which can be taken as having given rise to *floating* M tonemes in current Agolle. Historically, words with SFs ending in H or L which are followed by M spreading had LF-final M, delinked by apocope in the SF 3.8, but synchronically, M spreading after free words is largely determined by syntactic role: for example, words with identical L-final sg and cb, like *mà* "mother", *z̄yà* "friend", *d̄v̄'atà* "doctor", show M spreading after sg but not cb, and *l̄ann̄ìg* "squirrel" shows tone sandhi unaffected even by the analogical *addition* of segments in the cb.

4.5 M dropping

M dropping takes place exclusively within NPs and AdvPs. It occurs after any free form as a predependent other than contrastive personal pronouns, and also after any cb ending in M toneme, whether as dependent or head. Historically, it may have arisen by dissimilation of adjacent M tonemes to ML; cf Meeussens's Rule (Nurse and Phillipson p65) and the note on the origin of M spreading above.

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 is 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 pōwōv̄=n "in the man's field (*pōwōv̄*⁰/)."

Examples with a cb as head:

<i>b̀̀-̀̀ə̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"white goat"	<i>b̀̀-̀̀ā̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"new goat"
<i>b̀̀-̀̀ú̀̀ŋ-̀̀ə̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"white girl"	<i>b̀̀-̀̀ú̀̀ŋ-̀̀ā̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"new girl"
<i>n̄-̀̀ə̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"white hen"	<i>n̄-̀̀ā̀̀l̀̀g</i> ^a	"new hen"

With a cb as dependent (*n̄w̄r*^{ε/} "mouth", *d̄́'əs*^{a/} "receiver" pl *d̄́'əsíd̄́b*^a):

<i>n̄-d̄́'əs</i> ^a	"chief's interpreter"	pl <i>n̄-d̄́'əsíd̄́b</i> ^a
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There is no M dropping after personal pronouns:

<i>n̄ b̄́ig</i>	"my child"	<i>n̄ t̄́ig</i>	"my tree"
<i>m̄ān b̄́ig</i>	"my child"	<i>m̄ān t̄́ig</i>	"my tree"
<i>m̄ān ȳ́ḡ́m</i>	"my camel"	<i>m̄ān ḡ́b̄́ḡ́m</i>	"my lion"

M dropping does occur after words which do not also induce M spreading:

<i>n̄ b̄́ēyá b̄́is</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' children (<i>b̄́is</i> ^ε)"
<i>n̄ b̄́ēyá f̄́uud</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' clothes (<i>f̄́uud</i> ^{ε/})"

M dropping after free NPs also followed by M spreading:

<i>dāy b̄ig</i>	"a man's child"	<i>nà'ab b̄ig</i>	"a chief's child"
<i>dāy lā yógùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>dāy lā gbígìm</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 b̄ig. "They've given (it) to the chief's child."
3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (M dropping applied to *b̄ig*^a "child")

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā b̄ig. "They've given the chief a child."
3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG. (No M dropping applied to *b̄ig*^a)

It occurs regardless of the meaning or role of the preceding dependent:

mōcgō=n wábòg lā "the wild (in-the-bush) elephant (*wābōg*^{o/})"

M dropping follows cb heads, but never uncompounded heads:

	<i>kūg-yinnì</i>	"one stone" with <i>yinnì</i> as adjective <u>12.5.1</u>
but	<i>kūgōr yinnì</i>	"one stone"
	<i>wābōg lā</i>	"the elephant"
	<i>wābīs p̄igā</i>	"ten elephants"

The final element of a compound induces following M spreading in accordance with the usual rules 4.4 regardless of whether it has been subject to M dropping:

<i>bò-wōk</i>	"tall goat"	<i>nō-wók</i>	"tall hen"
<i>bò-wōk-p̄jə̀lìg</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>bò-wōk-pāalìg</i>	"tall new goat"
<i>nō-wók-p̄jə̀lìg</i>	"tall white hen"	<i>nō-wók-pāalìg</i>	"tall new hen"
<i>bò-wōk d̄ìb</i>	"tall goat's food (<i>d̄ìb</i> ^o)"	<i>nō-wók d̄ìb</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 b̄jēyá*) X has got lost", with Pattern H and A nouns affected by M dropping:

<i>wābōg</i> ^{o/}	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wábòg bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>pōcg</i> ^{o/}	"field"	<i>Dāy lā pōcg bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>bāŋ</i> ^a	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ bòdìg yā.</i>
<i>pōvg</i> ^a	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā pōvg bòdìg yā.</i>

but	<i>wābūg^{ɔ/}</i>	"elephant"	<i>Ṁ bĭēyá wàbùg bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ^a</i>	"ring"	<i>Ṁ bĭēyá bàŋ bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgvdīr^ɛ</i>	"hedgehog"	<i>Dāy lā yūgvdīr bódìg yā.</i>	three syllables

Pattern L nouns are not subject to M dropping, and show unchanged following tone sandhi; by analogy, so do Pattern H nouns with an intrinsic initial H or X toneme, while words like *nāaf^ɔ* "cow" fluctuate:

<i>bùŋ^a</i>	"donkey"	<i>Dāy lā búŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>ànrùŋ^ɔ</i>	"boat"	<i>Dāy lā ànrùŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>dòɔg^ɔ</i>	"house"	<i>Dāy lā dòɔg bódìg yā.</i>
<i>à-gāvŋg^ɔ</i>	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gāvŋg bódìg yā.</i>
<i>nāaf^ɔ</i>	"cow"	<i>Dāy lā nāaf bódìg yā</i>
		or <i>Dāy lā nāaf 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-pìèlìg</i>	"the man's white goat (<i>bù-pìèlìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā bú-pāalíg</i>	"the man's new goat (<i>bù-pāalíg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā nò-pìèlìg</i>	"the man's white hen (<i>nò-pìèlìg</i>)"
	<i>dāy lā nò-pāalìg</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>nò-pāalìg</i>)"
but	<i>dōg-kāŋā</i>	"this pot" (<i>dōk^{ɔ/}</i> cb <i>dōg-</i> "pot")
	<i>[sālīmā dūg-]kàŋā</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'vsùg [fūug dōɔg]</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>pò'vsùg^ɔ</i> "worship")

but	<i>Lì kā' [[dāy lā bĭìg] bĭèr] nāaf] zòvrē.</i>
	"It's not the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail." WK
	(<i>bĭìg^a</i> "child", <i>bĭèr^{ɛ/}</i> "elder sib of same sex", <i>nāaf^ɔ</i> "cow", <i>zòvr^ɛ</i> "tail")

5 Noun flexion

5.1 Noun classes

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem itself is used as a combining form (cb) in composition with a following nominal. This is a frequent occurrence, as it is the regular method of construing a noun with a following dependent adjective or demonstrative. The cb is always subject to apocope. Archaisms like *nwadibil* (Mt 2:2, 1996) for *ñwād-bíl*^a "star" (KB *nwadbil*) suggest that the dummy suffix after consonant-final cbs was formerly not completely deleted.

In the paradigms, noun forms are cited as sg, pl and cb in order.

Each class suffix has a basic singular, plural or non-count meaning. Count nouns pair a singular with a plural suffix. The classes were once grammatical genders, with separate 3rd person pronouns and agreement of adjectives and numerals, but Kusaal now has a natural gender system opposing persons and non-persons. Five pairings account for most count nouns, labelled using LFs of the suffixes, as the *a|ba*, *ga|sɛ*, *gɔ|dɛ*, *rɛ|aa* and *fɔ|ɪ* **noun classes**. Two unpaired non-count suffixes *bɔ* *mm* form two more noun classes mostly containing mass nouns. The current 3rd person pronouns are based on the original *a|ba* and *rɛ|aa* classes.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class if the regular form would be ambiguous. This has become regular with class *gɔ|dɛ* stems ending in *m n* following a short vowel, which always use plural *-aa* instead of *-dɛ*, as do all gerunds with sg *gɔ*. Adjectives avoid ambiguous suffixes altogether.

Two subclasses are semantically motivated: a subclass of *a|ba* referring to older/important people uses *ba* as the *singular* suffix, and names of languages belong to a subclass of *rɛ|aa* with the singular suffix *lɛ*.

The classes are thus as follows:

<i>a ba</i> <i>ba</i> (sg)	<i>sīd</i> ^a <i>nà'ab</i> ^a	<i>sīdīb</i> ^a <i>nà'-nàm</i> ^a	<i>sìd-</i> <i>nà'-</i>	"husband" "chief"
<i>ga sɛ</i>	<i>būvg</i> ^a	<i>būvs</i> ^ɛ	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>gɔ dɛ</i>	<i>dòɔg</i> ^ɔ <i>bū'əsúg</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòɔd</i> ^ɛ <i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>dò-</i> <i>bū'əs-</i>	"hut" "question"
<i>rɛ aa</i> <i>lɛ</i>	<i>nōɔr</i> ^{ɛ/} <i>Kūsâal</i> ^ɛ	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth" "Kusaal"
<i>fɔ ɪ</i>	<i>mòlɪf</i> ^ɔ	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bɔ</i>	<i>sā'ab</i> ^ɔ		<i>sà'-</i>	"porridge"
<i>mm</i>	<i>tìum</i> ^m		<i>tì-</i>	"medicine"

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 *-ga* may result in LFs ending in *-ɔ*, as in *nû'ug^ɔ* "hand", and *a|ba* stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show LF *-ε* with *l* and *n* geminated, as if the suffix were *rε*, e.g. *Bìn^{nε}* "Moba person."

Stems in *m* with long root vowels in the *a|ba* class avoid the plural suffix *ba*; some *ga|se* class nouns with human reference have alternative plurals with *ba*; countable nouns in the *mm* class form plurals with *-aa* or *-se* or *nàm^a*; and the small *fɔ|u* class has some members with *fɔ|u* suffixes in only one number. The sg suffix *la* is found only in the irregular adjective *bīl^a* "little."

Few other cases of irregular sg/pl pairing occur; examples are

<i>pē'og^ɔ</i>	<i>pē'εs^{εl}</i>	<i>pē'-</i>	"sheep"
<i>gbè'og^ɔ</i>	<i>gbè'εd^ε</i> <i>gbèdà</i>	<i>gbè'-</i>	"forehead"
<i>bīāyũñk^ɔ</i>	<i>bīāñ'ad^ε</i> <i>bīāñ'adā</i>	WK <i>bīāñ'-</i> SB	"shoulder"

A few nouns end in *-ɪ* or *-v* with apocope-blocking 3.2:

<i>būudī</i>	<i>būud-</i>	"tribe"
<i>nà'asì</i>		"honour"
<i>kābirí</i>		"entry permission"
<i>sūgvró</i>		"forbearance"

They are probably loans from related languages without apocope, like *kīibú* "soap" from Mampruli. Cognates of *būudī* show that *-dɪ* represents the *dε* pl suffix: Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*. *Nà'asì* may be *se* pl. *Kābirí* and *sūgvró* may be *rε* sg, with *kābīr^{εl}* "ask for admission" and *sūgvōr^{εl}* "forbear" as back-formations.

An alternative way of forming plurals is to use the word *nàm^a*, preceded by a dependent cb for a count noun (*kpèěñm-nàm^a* "elders"), or a sg/pl form for a mass noun (*sā'ab nám^a* "portions of porridge", *bùgúm nám^a* "fires.") *Nàm^a* is used to pluralise loanwords, pronouns, quantifiers, plural forms with singular meaning, mass nouns with count meaning, and forms with the personifier particle 12.6. It is also used to avoid ambiguous regular plurals, and with

<i>mà</i>	<i>mà nám^a sic</i>	<i>mà-</i>	"mother"
<i>bā'^l</i>	<i>bā'-nám^a</i>	<i>bā'-</i>	"father"
<i>zụà</i>	<i>zụà-nàm^a</i>	<i>zụà-</i>	"friend"

There are partial correlations between class and meaning; this can be exploited to change the significance of a stem [8.2](#).

The *a|ba* class has exclusively human-reference membership.

The *ga|sɛ* class has general membership but includes most tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Most nouns referring to people belong to *a|ba* or *ga|sɛ*.

The *gɔ|dɛ* and *rɛ|aa* 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 *gɔ|dɛ* are pejorative: *bālēr̄v̄g^ɔ* "ugly person", *dàb̄iog^ɔ* "coward", *zōl̄v̄g^ɔ* "fool." Most human-reference nouns in *rɛ|aa* probably originated in *a|ba* and were transferred for phonological reasons.

The *lɛ* subclass includes all names of languages.

The small *fɔ|u* class includes two groups: animals, and small round things. It contains all names of seeds. No *fɔ|u* noun refers to people.

The *bɔ* 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 *mm* 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 *mm* or *bɔ* or formally plural.

The class membership of regular deverbal nouns is predictable.

The sg SF is usually enough to identify the noun class, given whether the word has human reference. Vacillation between classes and the assignment of loanwords to classes confirm that speakers do use such criteria to determine class membership.

5.2 Remodelled combining forms

For levelling between sg and pl forms see [3.4](#) [3.6](#).

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>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>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'ɛs^ɛ</i>	<i>zìñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)

Mooré and Toende Kusaal show *zu-* where Agolle has *zūg-*, cb of *zūg^ɔ* "head": Mooré *zusoaba*, Toende *zùsóp*, Agolle *zūg-sób^a* "boss"; Mooré *zúkúká*, Toende *zúkúk*, Agolle *zūg-kv̄ḡv̄r^ɛ* "pillow." *Zūg-sób^a* "Lord" is very frequently read *Zū-sób^a* in the audio version of the NT. *Zūg-* sometimes behaves tonally like a noun prefix [3.8.1](#).

Cbs as heads are more prone to levelling than as dependents: *nīn-dáa* "face", *nīn-tám^m* "tears", *nīn-gótis^ɛ* "spectacles" but *nīf-káñā* "this eye" from *nīf^ɔ* "eye."

Gbàṣẹ^o "book" has cb *gbàṣẹ-*, but dependent *gbàn-* is seen in the 1976 NT *gbanmi'id* *gbàn-mī'id* "scribe" ("book-knower"), KB *gbauṣmi'id*.

Remodelled cbs are regular with *m* and *n* stems, and with CV-stems in *re|aa*:

<i>zīnzāṣẹ</i> ^{o/}	<i>zīnzānā</i>	<i>zīnzáṣẹ-</i>	"bat"
<i>gbēr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
<i>kòkòr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>kòkòyá</i>	<i>kòkòr-/kòkò-</i>	"voice"

Cbs based on *plurals* occur with

no sg	<i>kī'</i>	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"
<i>lā'af</i> ^o	<i>līgıdī</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cbs as heads:

<i>dāṣ</i>	<i>dāp</i> ^a	<i>dàṣ-</i> sg <i>dàp-</i> pl	"man"
<i>tāṣñ'</i>	<i>tāñp</i> ^{a/}	<i>tāṣñ-</i> sg <i>tāñp-</i> pl	"sib of opposite sex"

Thus *dàṣ-sùṣ* "good man", *dàp-sùmà* "good men."

Disambiguation is clearly involved with some longer remodelled cbs:

<i>kòlòg-kàṣā</i>	"this bag"	cf cb <i>kòl-</i> from	<i>kòlīg</i> ^a "river"
<i>lànnìg-pìlìg</i>	"white squirrel"	cf cb <i>là-</i> from	<i>lān</i> ^{NE} "testicle"

5.3 Paradigms

By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel. Complications arise from consonant assimilation, rounding before *-gɔ -kɔ -ŋɔ*, deletion of **g* after *aa iə uə aañ εñ ɔñ*, and with CVV-stems before *a, ɪ* and *aa*.

5.3.1 a|ba

Most stems ending in consonants straightforwardly show *-a* in the sg:

<i>sīd</i> ^a	<i>sīdīb</i> ^a	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>nīd</i> ^{a/}	<i>nīdīb</i> ^{a/}	<i>nīn-</i> irreg	"person"
<i>sàal</i> ^a	<i>sàalīb</i> ^a	<i>sàal-</i>	"human being"
<i>kòvd</i> ^{a/}	<i>kòvdīb</i> ^a	<i>kòvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>kpīkpīn</i> ^{na/}	<i>kpīkpīnīb</i> ^a	<i>kpīkpín-</i>	"merchant"
<i>yòvm-yò'vm</i> ^{na}	<i>yòvm-yò'vmnīb</i> ^a	<i>yòvm-yò'vm-</i>	"singer"
<i>bì-pīt</i> ^{a/}	<i>bì-pītīb</i> ^a	<i>bì-pīt-</i>	"younger child"
<i>zà'-nò-gúr</i> ^a	<i>zà'-nò-gúrīb</i> ^a	<i>zà'-nò-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 3.8.1. Many also have *nàm^a* plurals.

<i>kùəs^a</i>	<i>kūəsīdīb^a</i>	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>sīgīs^{a/}</i>	<i>sīgīsídīb^a</i>	<i>sīgīs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dìs^a</i>	<i>dìs-nàm^a</i>	<i>dìs-</i>	"glutton"

Similar behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs:

<i>sòs^a</i>	<i>sōsīdīb^a</i>	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tìs^a</i>	<i>tīsīdīb^a</i>	<i>tìs-</i>	"giver" WK
<i>wād-tís^a</i>	<i>wād-tísīb^a</i>	<i>wād-tís-</i>	"lawgiver" NT
<i>kīs^{a/}</i> or <i>kīsīd^{a/}</i>	<i>kīsīdīb^a</i>	<i>kīsīd-</i> (only)	"hater"
<i>zàb-zàb^a</i>	<i>zàb-zàb-nàm^a</i> <i>zàb-zābīdīb^a</i>	<i>zàb-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
<i>gbān-záb^a</i>	<i>gbān-záb-nàm^a</i>	<i>gbān-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>ñwī-ték^a</i>	<i>ñwī-tékīdīb^a</i>		"rope-puller"

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

<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'am^{ma}</i>	<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'amīdīb^a</i>	<i>pɹ'à-sāñ'am-</i>	"adulterer"
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Stems in *VVn-* show **nb* → *mm* in the pl:

<i>sān^{a/}</i>	<i>sáam^{ma}</i>	<i>sān-</i>	"guest, stranger"
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Stems in *VVm-* have sg *-mm* instead of *-ma*. The assimilation **mb* → *mm* would cause SF sg and pl to coincide segmentally; plurals in *-sɛ* 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>tādīm^{m/}</i>	<i>tādīmīs^ɛ</i> <i>tādīm-nàm^a</i>	<i>tādīm-</i>	"weak person"

WK accepted *-ba* pl forms as LFs but not SFs in the two words

<i>kpēēñm^m</i>	<i>kpēēñmmā</i> LF only		
	<i>kpēēñm-nàm^a</i>	<i>kpēēñm-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'əm^m</i>	<i>bī'əmmā</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 *-lle -nne -re*, with the SFs reinterpreted as the outcome of adding *-re* instead of *-a*. Sg LF-final *-ε* is never seen with *ba*-plural words in cases where the stem final would *not* assimilate sg *-re*.

The assimilation **nb* → *mm* takes place in the plural:

<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān-</i>	"Dagomba person"
<i>Bìn</i> ^{ne}	<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn-</i>	"Moba person"
<i>Kòtān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Kòtām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Kòtān-</i>	member of EW's clan
<i>Mōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Móom</i> ^{ma} <i>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 *-aa* alongside *-ba*.

	<i>ñyà'an-dòl</i> ^{la}	<i>ñyà'an-dòllìb</i> ^a	<i>ñyà'an-dòl-</i>	"disciple" NT
	<i>ñyā'an-dól</i> ^{le}	<i>ñyā'an-dóllà</i>	<i>ñyā'an-dól-</i>	<i>id</i> WK
	<i>gbàn-zāñl</i> ^{la/}	<i>gbàn-zāñllíb</i> ^a	<i>gbàn-zāñl-</i>	"book-carrier" KT WK
	<i>bù-zāñl</i> ^{la/}	<i>bù-zāñllíb</i> ^a	<i>bù-zāñl-</i>	"goat-carrier" WK
or	<i>bù-zāñl</i> ^{le/}	<i>bù-zāñllá</i>		
	<i>gbàn-mōr</i> ^{a/}	<i>gbàn-mōrìb</i> ^a	<i>gbàn-mōr-</i>	"book-owner" DK
	<i>gbàn-tār</i> ^{a/}	<i>gbàn-tārìb</i> ^a	<i>gbàn-tār-</i>	<i>id</i> DK
	<i>bù-mōr</i> ^{a/}	<i>bù-mōrìb</i> ^a	<i>bù-mōr-</i>	"goat-owner" WK
or	<i>bù-mōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bù-mōrá</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</i> ^a	<i>dàu-</i> , <i>dàp-</i> <u>3.4</u>	"man"
<i>tāuñ'</i>	<i>tāñp</i> ^{a/}	<i>tāuñ-</i> , <i>tāñp-</i>	"sib of opposite sex"
<i>sāeñ/sāeñ</i> ^{ya}	<i>sāañb</i> ^a	<i>sañ-</i>	"blacksmith"
<i>sōeñ/sōeñ</i> ^{ya}	<i>sōañb</i> ^a	<i>sōñ-</i>	"witch"

*CVg-stems appear in

<i>pṽ'ā</i> ^a ← <i>*pṽaga</i>	<i>pṽ'ab</i> ^a	<i>pṽ'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>bā'a</i> ← <i>*baga</i>	<i>bā'ab</i> ^a	<i>bà'-</i>	"traditional diviner"

Note the irregular long SF vowel of *bā'a*.

Sg final *-v* is dropped in the cb and pl in

<i>pītú</i>	<i>pītíb</i> ^a	<i>pīt-</i>	"junior same-sex sib"
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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>wìd</i> ^a	<i>wìb</i> ^a	<i>wìd-</i>	"hunter"
<i>sōñ'ɔd</i> ^{a/}	<i>sōñ'ɔb</i> ^{a/}	<i>sōñ'ɔd-</i>	"someone better than"
<i>pō-kpāad</i> ^{a/}	<i>pō-kpāadíb</i> ^a	<i>pō-kpá-</i>	"farmer"

Other CVV stems have become *re|aa* class: *pò-kòòñr*^ε "widow", *dà-kòòñr*^ε "bachelor", *bīər*^{ε/} "elder same-sex sib", *pòñ'ɔr*^ε "cripple", *ñyē'er*^{ε/} "next-younger sib." Related languages still keep pl *-ba*, e.g. Toende Kusaal *pókóót* pl *pəkõp* "widow", *dákóót* pl *dakõp* "bachelor."

A subclass referring to older/important people has *-ba* for sg, with pl *nàm*^a:

<i>nà'ab</i> ^a	<i>nà'-nàm</i> ^a	<i>nà'-</i>	"chief"
<i>yáab</i> ^a (* <i>yaagba</i>)	<i>yāa-nám</i> ^a	<i>yāa-</i>	"grandparent"
<i>pògvdìb</i> ^a	<i>pògvd-nàm</i> ^a	<i>pògvd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>áñsìb</i> ^a	<i>āñs-nám</i> ^a	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"
<i>sàam</i> ^{ma} (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>sàam-nàm</i> ^a	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
<i>dìəm</i> ^{ma} (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>dìəm-nàm</i> ^a	<i>dìəm-</i>	"man's parent-in-law"
<i>dàyáam</i> ^{ma} (* <i>mb</i>)	<i>dàyāam-nám</i> ^a	<i>dàyāam-</i>	"woman's <i>id</i> "

5.3.2 *ga|sε*

<i>būvg</i> ^a	<i>būs</i> ^ε	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>zōɔg</i> ^a	<i>zōɔs</i> ^ε		"run, race"
<i>ñwādīg</i> ^{a/}	<i>ñwādīs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ñwād-</i>	"moon, month"
<i>bò-dìbìg</i> ^a	<i>bò-dìbìs</i> ^ε	<i>bò-dìb-</i>	"male kid"
<i>kōlīg</i> ^a	<i>kōlīs</i> ^ε	<i>kòl-</i>	"river"
<i>kpòkpàrìg</i> ^a	<i>kpòkpàrìs</i> ^ε	<i>kpòkpàr-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>pūsīg</i> ^{a/}	<i>pūsīs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>pūs-</i>	"tamarind"

Root-stems in *Caa Ciə Cuə* delete the **g* of the sg *-ga*, with vowel fusion; nasal final *iañ uañ* correspond to *εñ ɔñ* before a consonant:

<i>bāa</i>	<i>bāas</i> ^ε	<i>bà-</i>	"dog"
<i>sāa</i>	<i>sāas</i> ^ε	<i>sjà-</i>	"waist"
<i>sàbùa</i>	<i>sàbùas</i> ^ε	<i>sàbɔà-</i>	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>zìàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>nū'-íñ'a</i>	<i>nū'-êñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>nū'-éñ'-</i>	"fingernail"
<i>nūa</i> [/]	<i>nōɔs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>nō-</i>	"hen"

Stems in *CVg- show *gg → *kk* in the sg, and *Cag- *C_iag- *C_uag- delete *g with vowel fusion in the cb and pl:

<i>gìk^a</i>	<i>gìgìs^ε</i>	<i>gìg-</i>	"dumb person"
<i>zàk^a</i>	<i>zà'as^ε</i>	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>puāk^a</i>	<i>pū'as^ε</i>	<i>pu'à-</i>	"female" (adjective)

Stems in -m- -n- show *mg → *ηη* and *ng → *ηη*, with remodelled cbs. In the pl *Vns → *Ṽ:s*, but *ms never assimilates in 2-mora stems, and only optionally otherwise:

<i>tēη^a</i>	<i>tēēñs^ε</i>	<i>tèη-</i>	"land"
<i>pàη^a</i>	<i>pàañs^ε</i>	<i>pàη-</i>	"power"
<i>bùη^a</i>	<i>bùmìs^ε</i>	<i>bùη-</i>	"donkey"
<i>nāη^a</i>	<i>nāmīs^ε</i>	<i>nàη-</i>	"scorpion"
<i>sú'əη^a</i>	<i>sū'əmīs^ε</i>	<i>sū'əη-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>nīη^a</i>	<i>nīs^ε/nīīmīs^ε</i>	<i>nīη-</i>	"bird"
<i>kùlìη^a</i>	<i>kùlìs^ε/kùlìmìs^ε</i>	<i>kùlìη-</i>	"door"
<i>pīəsíη^a</i>	<i>pīəsí^ε/pīəsí^εmìs^ε</i>	<i>pīəsíη-</i>	"sponge for washing"
<i>mēədīη^a</i>	<i>mēədīs^ε</i>	<i>mēədīη-</i>	"building tool"
	or <i>mēədīmīs^ε</i>		

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>bīη^a</i>	<i>bīs^ε</i>	<i>bī-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"child"
<i>bèrìη^a</i>	<i>bèrìgìs^ε</i>		a plant used for fibre
<i>tàmpūa</i>	<i>tàmpōws^ε</i>	<i>tàmpò-</i>	"housefly" (<i>oral</i> vowel)
<i>būtīη^a</i>	<i>būtīs^ε</i> 2.3	<i>bùtìη-</i>	"cup"
<i>sāηá</i>	<i>sānsá /ns/</i>	<i>sān-</i>	"time"
<i>dàsāη^a</i>	<i>dàsām^{ma}/dàsāañs^ε</i>	<i>dàsàη-</i>	"young man"
<i>Yàaη^a</i>	<i>Yàam^{ma}</i>	<i>Yàaη-</i>	"Yanga, Yansi person"
	or <i>Yàamìs^ε/Yàañs^ε</i>		
<i>Sà'dàbùa</i>	<i>Sà'dàbùəb^a/-bùə^ε</i>		clan name

Several stems with rounded vowels before the suffix have sg *gɔ* for *ga*:

<i>kūug^a/kūug^ɔ</i>	<i>kūs^ε</i>	<i>kū-</i>	"mouse"
<i>sù'ug^a/sù'ug^ɔ</i>	<i>sù'us^ε</i>	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>nū'ug^ɔ</i>	<i>nū'us^ε</i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand"
<i>zùnzòη^a/zùnzòη^ɔ</i>	<i>zùnzòñs^ε</i>	<i>zùnzòη-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tèη-zùη^ɔ</i>	<i>tèη-zùvñs^ε</i>		"foreign land"

<i>yó'vŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yō'vmís</i> ^ε	<i>yō'vŋ-</i>	"night"
<i>zùuñg</i> ^ɔ	<i>zùuñs</i> ^ε / <i>zùuñd</i> ^ε	<i>zùñ-</i>	"vulture"
<i>yàmmòg</i> ^ɔ	<i>yàmmìs</i> ^ε	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave" (<i>yàmmòg</i> ^a WK)

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

Some original *gɔ|dε* nouns have substituted pl *-sε* for *-dε* instead of *-aa* 5.3.3:

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

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

<i>wīlísúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>wīlímís</i> ^ε	<i>wīlísúŋ-</i>	a kind of snail
<i>yālísúŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>yālímís</i> ^ε	<i>yālísúŋ-</i>	"quail"

5.3.3 *gɔ|dε*

Before the sg *-gɔ -kɔ -ŋɔ* stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic vowels to *u* and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

<i>dàvɔ</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàad</i> ^ε	<i>dà-</i>	"piece of wood"
<i>vāvñg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vāañd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vāñ-</i>	"leaf"
<i>fēñ'og</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>fēñ'ed</i> ^{ε/}	<i>fēñ'-</i>	"ulcer"
<i>dàbīog</i> ^ɔ	<i>dàbīəd</i> ^ε	<i>dàbīà-</i>	"coward"
<i>vīug</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>vīid</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vī-</i>	"owl"
<i>mōɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>mōɔd</i> ^ε	<i>mò-</i>	"grass, bush"
<i>dòndùug</i> ^ɔ	<i>dòndùud</i> ^ε	<i>dòndù-</i>	"cobra"
	<i>zùød</i> ^ε		"friendship"
<i>wābūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wābīd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>wāb-</i>	"elephant"
<i>bālērūg</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>bālērīd</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
	or <i>bālērīs</i> ^{ε/}		
<i>bēsūg</i> ^ɔ	<i>bēsīd</i> ^ε	<i>bès-</i>	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have plurals of the form *CVt*^ε 3.4:

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

<i>zūg^ɔ</i>	<i>zūt^ε</i>	<i>zū-</i> or <i>zūg-</i>	"head"
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*CVg-stems show *gg → *kk* in the sg, with *ya* becoming *ɔ* before *-k^ɔ*; *Cag-
*Cḡag- and *Cḡag-stems delete *g with vowel fusion in the cb and pl:

<i>dōk^ɔ</i>	<i>dōgōd^ε</i>	<i>dōg-</i>	"cooking pot"
	<i>dōgōb dūt^ε</i>		"cooking pots" SB
<i>lāyk^ɔ</i>	<i>lā'ad^ε</i>	<i>là'-</i>	"(item of) goods"
<i>bḡāyñk^ɔ</i>	<i>bḡāñ'ad^ε</i>	WK <i>bḡāñ'-</i>	"shoulder"
	<i>bḡāñ'adā</i>	SB	
<i>lòk^ɔ</i>	<i>lò'ad^ε</i>	<i>lḡ'à-</i>	"quiver (for arrows)"

Stems in *d* show *dd → *tt* in the pl:

<i>ùdòg^ɔ</i>	<i>ùt^ε</i>	<i>ùd-</i>	"(piece of) chaff"
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Stems in *l* show *ld → *nn* in the pl:

<i>zōlōg^ɔ</i>	<i>zōn^{nε}</i>	<i>zōl-</i>	"fool"
<i>sìlòg^ɔ</i>	<i>sìn^{nε}</i> or <i>sìlìs^ε</i>	<i>sìl-</i>	"hawk"

All stems in *m n* after a short vowel use pl *aa* instead of *dε*. The only *m n* stems making plurals with *-dε* are CVVC root-stems:

<i>làḡávḡ^ɔ</i>	<i>làḡāamá</i> or <i>làḡáam^{mε}</i>	<i>làḡāvḡ-</i>	"crab"
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So too *màḡávḡ^ɔ* "crab", the plural-only *sūñ-pêen^{nε}* "anger" and perhaps the placename *Tèmpáan^{nε}* "Tempane", if the second element is from *pāalíg^a* "new."

Stems in *m n* show *mg → *ḡḡ* and *ng → *ḡḡ* in the sg, with remodelled cbs:

<i>gbàḡ^ɔ</i>	<i>gbàà</i>	<i>gbàn-</i> or <i>gbàḡ-</i>	"letter, book"
<i>zīnzāḡ^ɔ</i>	<i>zīnzāá</i>	<i>zīnzáḡ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñròḡ^ɔ</i>	<i>àñrìà</i>	<i>àñròḡ-</i>	"boat"

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

<i>nìn-gbīḡ^ɔ</i>	<i>nìn-gbīá</i>	<i>nìn-gbī-</i>	"body"
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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 sg *re* 8.1.1. Only stems in *-s-* and *-sim-* have plurals, always with *-aa*:

<i>bū'əsúg</i> ^o	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàańsúŋ</i> ^o	<i>zàańsímà</i>	<i>zàańsúŋ-</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 *dìgùnòg*^o "lying down", *sùnnòg*^o "bowing the head", *zìń'inòg*^o "sitting down", *tóŋ*^o or *tōmúg*^o "departing", *sàń'vŋ*^o or *sàń'amùg*^o "destroying", *kàròŋ*^o or *kàrimòg*^o "reading."

The place name *Dènòg*^o "Denugu" (?? *Dènnòg*^o) also fails to assimilate **ng*.

5.3.4 *re|aa*

<i>kūgōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>kūgá</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>yūgvđīr</i> ^ε	<i>yūgvđā</i>	<i>yùgvđ-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>nóbīr</i> ^ε	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"leg"
<i>bì'isìr</i> ^ε	<i>bì'isà</i>	<i>bì'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>bàlàŋìr</i> ^ε	<i>bàlàŋà</i>	<i>bàlàŋ-</i>	"hat"
<i>sāŋgúnńīr</i> ^ε	<i>sāŋgúnńà</i>	<i>sāŋgún-</i>	"millipede"
<i>sūmmīr</i> ^ε	<i>sūmmā</i>	<i>sùm-</i>	"groundnut"

CVV- and CV'V-stems (for the allomorphs before pl *-aa* see 3.4):

<i>bīər</i> ^{ε/}	<i>bīēyá</i>	<i>bīā-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zūər</i> ^ε	<i>zūēyā</i>	<i>zūà-</i>	"hill"
<i>nōər</i> ^{ε/}	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zōvər</i> ^ε	<i>zōyā</i>	<i>zò-</i>	"tail"
<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ε	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big" (adjective)
<i>ńyē'ēr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ńyēdá</i>	<i>ńyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòń'ər</i> ^ε	<i>pòńdà</i>	<i>pòń'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yō'vr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>yōdá</i>	<i>yō'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū'ər</i> ^ε	<i>yūādā</i>	<i>yù'ər-</i> 5.2	"penis"

Stems in **Cag-* **Cīag-* **Cuag-* 3.7 may make forms with *-d-* by analogy:

<i>bà'ar</i> ^ε	<i>bà'a/bàdà</i>	<i>bà'-</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
<i>ńyā'ar</i> ^ε	<i>ńyā'a</i>	<i>ńyà'-</i>	"root" (← <i>*ŋεg-</i>)
<i>sìà'ar</i> ^ε	<i>sìà'a</i>	<i>sìà'-</i>	"forest"

<i>bjāñ'ar^ε</i>	<i>bjāñ'a</i>	<i>bjāñ'-</i>	"wet mud, riverbed"
<i>mù'ar^ε</i>	<i>mù'àa/mù'adà</i>	<i>mù'à-</i>	"reservoir, dam"
<i>zàṅkù'ar^ε</i>	<i>zàṅkù'àa</i> or <i>zàṅkù'adà</i>	<i>zàṅkù'à-</i>	"jackal"
<i>kòndù'ar^ε</i>	<i>kòndù'àa</i> or <i>kòndù'adà</i>	<i>kòndù'à-</i>	"barren woman"

Thus even in a case where the glottalisation is not derived from *g:

<i>kì-dà'ar^ε</i>	<i>kì-dà'adà</i> WK		"bought-in millet"
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Stems in deleted *g after a long vowel include fusion verb gerunds 7.1 like *gbáñ'ar^ε* (*gbāñ'e'* "grab"), *dí'ər^ε* (*dī'e'* "get"), *dú'ər^ε* (*dū'e'* "rise") and also

<i>vú'ər^ε</i>	<i>vū'áa</i>	<i>vū'ə-</i>	"fruit of red kapok"
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Some root-stems show CV with a short vowel before *r^ε*, with cb CVr- 5.2:

<i>gbēr^ε</i>	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
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Similarly *kòkōr^ε* "voice", *kpàkōr^ε* "tortoise", *gāñr^ε* "ebony fruit", *gōmpōzēr^ε* "duck", *ñyò-vōr^ε* "life."

2-mora stem verbs make gerunds in *-r^ε* instead of *-b^o* after a noun cb: *nō-lōr^ε* "fasting" ("mouth-tying"), *fū-yêr^ε* "shirt-wearing"; vowel shortening appears in *nā-lór^ε* "area in compound for tying up cows" and *wìd-lōr^ε* "area for tying up horses."

Stems in *m n l r* show *rr → *r*, *lr → *ll*, *nr → *nn*, *mr → *mn* ~ *mm*:

<i>kòkpàr^ε</i>	<i>kòkpàrà</i>	<i>kòkpàr-</i>	"palm fruit"
<i>kpān^{nε}</i>	<i>kpānā</i>	<i>kpàn-</i>	"spear"
<i>dūm^{nε}</i>	<i>dūmā</i>	<i>dùm-</i>	"knee"
<i>yòvm^{nε}</i>	<i>yòmà</i>	<i>yòvm-</i>	"year" 3.4
<i>gél^{lε}</i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>ñwān^{nε}</i> SB	<i>ñwānā</i> NT	<i>ñwàn-/ñwàm-</i>	"calabash"
<i>ñwām^{mε}</i> WK	<i>ñwāmā</i> SB WK NT		

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>dāar^ε</i>	<i>dābá</i>	<i>dà-</i>	"day"
[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	<i>zā'</i>	<i>zā-</i>	"millet"
<i>yīr^ε</i>	<i>yā'</i>	<i>yī-</i>	"house"

Language names 26.4 have the suffix *-le* after stems ending in a root vowel. Only stems in final vowels and in *r* have distinctive forms (with **rl* → *tt*):

<i>Kōsâal</i> ^ε	Kusaal	<i>Kōsâas</i> ^ε	Kusaasi
<i>Bât</i> ^{ε/}	Bisa language	<i>Bārīs</i> ^{ε/}	Bisa people

5.3.5 *fɔ|u*

<i>mòlɪ</i> ^ɔ	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>ñyīrɪ</i> ^ɔ	<i>ñyīrì</i>	<i>ñyīr-</i>	"egusi"
<i>bōn-búvdɪ</i> ^ɔ			"plant"
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	<i>mùj</i>	<i>mùj-</i>	"rice"

The plural *-u* causes umlaut of the stem vowels *aa iə* to *ii*.

<i>náaf</i> ^ɔ (<i>*naagfv</i>)	<i>nīgí</i>	<i>nā'-</i> 3.4	"cow"
<i>wáaf</i> ^ɔ (<i>*waagfv</i>)	<i>wīgí</i>	<i>wā'-</i>	"snake"
[Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>]	<i>kī'</i>	<i>kī-</i> or <i>kā-</i>	"cereal, millet"

Stems in *-n-* show **nf* → *f* with nasalisation of the preceding vowel:

<i>nīf</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>nīnì</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>píñf</i> ^ɔ	<i>pīnì</i>	<i>pīn-</i>	"genet"
<i>kíñf</i> ^ɔ	<i>kīnì</i>		"millet seed"
<i>zú'vñf</i> ^ɔ	<i>zū'vnì</i>		"dawadawa seed"
<i>míif</i> ^ɔ	<i>mīinì</i>		"okra seed"

Sg *míif*^ɔ is remodelled after the umlauted pl: cf *má'an*^{ne} "okra."

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

<i>wìəf</i> ^ɔ	<i>wìdì</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"horse"
<i>lā'af</i> ^ɔ	<i>līgīdī</i>	<i>lā'-</i> or <i>līg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words have *fɔ|u* suffixes in only one number:

<i>zīiŋ</i> ^a	<i>zīmì</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>wālīg</i> ^a	<i>wālīs</i> ^ε or <i>wālì sic</i>	<i>wāl-</i>	a kind of gazelle
<i>sībīg</i> ^{a/}	<i>sībì</i>	<i>sīb-</i>	a kind of termite
<i>sīiñf</i> ^{ɔ/} or <i>sīiŋg</i> ^{a/}	<i>sīiñs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>sīñ-</i>	"bee"
<i>sūñf</i> ^{ɔ/} or <i>sūuñr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>sūñyá</i>	<i>sūñ-</i>	"heart"
<i>kpá'vŋ</i> ^ɔ	<i>kpī'inì</i>	<i>kpā'-</i> irreg	"guinea fowl"

P̄īnī "gift" reflects a class obsolete in Western Oti-Volta, with *aa* umlauted to *ii* by the flexion *u*: cf Moba *pāāb̄* "gift", pl *pāānī̄*. It is used as sg, with cb *p̄in-*.

5.3.6 *bo*

Only three *bo* class nouns have been found which are not gerunds:

<i>sā'ab</i> ^o	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge, TZ"
<i>kī'ib</i> ^{o/}		"soap"
<i>tāñp</i> ^o	<i>tāñp-</i>	"war"

Cf Mooré *tāpo* pl *tābdo* "bow, war."

All regular gerunds from 2-mora-stem dual-aspect verbs belong here 8.1.1: stems in *b* show *-p-* via **bb* → *pp*: *sōp*^{o/} from *sōb*^ε "write", *lōp*^{o/} from *lōb*^ε "throw stones at", and stems in *m* show **mb* → *mm*: *kīm*^{mo} from *kīm*^m "tend a flock/herd", *wōm*^{mo} from *wòm*^m "hear." Stems in *n* do not assimilate, however: *būnīb*^o from *būn*^ε "reap."

Yīs^ε "make go/come out" has the expected gerund *yīsīb*^{o/}; the alternate form *yīs*^{ε/} has *yīsīb*^o, the only 3-mora stem in the *bo* class.

5.3.7 *mm*

Most words in this class are mass nouns. *M*-stems can be identified from cbs, plurals in *-ma* or *-mus*^ε, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L 3.8.1.

<i>dāam</i> ^{m/}	<i>dā-</i>	"millet beer, pito"
<i>mèlɣim</i> ^m		"dew"
<i>kōdīm</i> ^m		"olden days"
<i>dū'uním</i> ^m	<i>dū'un-</i>	"urine"
<i>dàalím</i> ^m		"masculinity"
<i>yàarím</i> ^m	<i>yàar-</i>	"salt"
<i>zāańsím</i> ^m	<i>zāańs-</i>	"soup"
<i>zōm</i> ^{m/}	<i>zōm-</i>	"flour"
<i>pūum</i> ^{m/}	<i>pūum-</i>	"flowers, flora"
<i>bì'isím</i> ^m		"milk"
<i>dàalím</i> ^m	<i>dàalímis</i> ^ε	"male sex organs"
<i>p̄īm</i> ^{m/}	<i>p̄ímá</i>	"arrow" 3.4
	<i>p̄īm-</i>	

P̄īm^{m/} "arrow" is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" *o|ε* class, preserved in e.g. the Gurma languages and Nawdm: cf Nawdm *f̄ímú* "arrow", plural *f̄ímí*.

6 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-pìəlìg</i> ^a	<i>bù-pìəlìs</i> ^ε	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>ga sε</i>)	"white goat"
<i>bù-pìəl</i> ^{lε}	<i>bù-pìələ</i>	<i>bù-pìəl-</i> (<i>rε aa</i>)	<i>id</i>

A few traces of agreement remain, accounting for all cases with *mm* 12.8.1. There is also some preference for *ga|sε* suffixes for human reference: *nīn-sábilìs*^ε "Africans", where *nīn-sábilà* is accepted by informants but is much less common, and *Zuà-wìis*^ε "Red Zoose" (clan), where the adjective does not normally use pl *sε*. The suffixes *a|ba* and *fo|u* appear only in set expressions; *bo* never occurs at all.

WK claims a meaning difference in intensity in gradable adjectives with sg suffixes of different classes, consistently ranking them *ga rε go* in decreasing order, so that *fū-pìəlìg* "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 *ga|sε* and *go|dε* classes:

<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'εs</i> ^ε	<i>zèñ'-</i>	"red"
<i>zèñ'og</i> ^o	<i>zèñ'εd</i> ^ε or <i>zèñdà</i>		
<i>bī'a</i>	<i>bī'əs</i> ^ε	<i>bìà'-</i>	"bad"
<i>bē'og</i> ^o	<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 ga- or go-* type, along with *rε|aa* class suffixes; this probably reflects simplification of the old agreement system prior to its complete abandonment. Adjectives of the *ga* type include:

<i>wàbìg</i> ^a	<i>wàbìs</i> ^ε	<i>wàb-</i>	"lame"
<i>wàbìr</i> ^ε	<i>wàbà</i>		

<i>vènnìg</i> ^a	<i>vènnìs</i> ^ε	<i>vèn-</i>	"beautiful"
<i>vènnìr</i> ^ε rare	<i>vènnà</i>		
<i>vèñllìg</i> ^a	<i>vèñllìs</i> ^ε		"beautiful"
	<i>vèñllà</i>		
<i>sābílìg</i> ^a	<i>sābílìs</i> ^ε	<i>sābīl-</i>	"black"
<i>sābíl</i> ^{lε}	<i>sābílá</i>		

Similar are *wēnnīr*^ε "resembling" *pāalìg*^a "new" *záal*^{lε} "empty" *bāañlìg*^a "slim" *pìə̀lìg*^a "white."

Sg *rε* is not used with *ga*-type stems in *m n*:

<i>dēēŋ</i> ^a	<i>dēēñs</i> ^ε	<i>dēēŋ-</i>	"first"
	<i>dēēmīs</i> ^ε		
	<i>dēēnā</i>		

Pl *sε* is not used with 2-mora stems in *m n*, or with any stems in *s d*:

<i>gīŋ</i> ^a	<i>gīmā</i>	<i>gìŋ-</i>	"short"
<i>bōgvsíg</i> ^a		<i>bōgūs-</i>	"soft"
<i>bōgvsír</i> ^ε	<i>bōgvsá</i>		
<i>pòɔ̀dìg</i> ^a		<i>pòɔ̀d-</i>	"few, small"
<i>pòɔ̀dìr</i> ^ε	<i>pòɔ̀dà</i>		

Similarly *mā'asír*^ε "cold, wet" *mā̀lísír*^ε "sweet" *tēbísír*^ε "heavy" *lābísír*^ε "wide."

Adjectives of the *gɔ*-type only show pl *dε* in a few 2-mora stems ending in vowels or plosives:

<i>nèog</i> ^ɔ	<i>nèəd</i> ^ε	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>nèer</i> ^ε	<i>nèyà</i>		
<i>wìug</i> ^ɔ	<i>wìid</i> ^ε	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wìir</i> ^ε	<i>wìyà</i>		
<i>wōk</i> ^{ɔ/}	<i>wā'ad</i> ^{ε/}	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>wā'ar</i> ^{ε/} rare	<i>wá'a</i>		

<i>kōdōg</i> ^o	<i>kōt</i> ^ε rare	<i>kòd-</i>	"old"
<i>kōdīr</i> ^ε	<i>kōdā</i>		
<i>bèdòg</i> ^o		<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>bèdīr</i> ^ε rare	<i>bèdà</i>		
<i>tītā'ug</i> ^o rare	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big"
<i>tītā'ar</i> ^ε			

Adjectives of the *gō*-type with stems in *l m n r s* do not use *re*, and accordingly end up with sg *gō* pl *aa* only:

<i>sòŋ</i> ^o	<i>sòmà</i>	<i>sòŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>kīsòg</i> ^o	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo"
<i>dà-zēmmóg</i> ^o	<i>dà-zēmmá</i>	<i>dà-zēm-</i>	"equal piece of wood"
<i>tōvlóg</i> ^o	<i>tōvlá</i>	<i>tōvl-</i>	"hot"
<i>lāllóg</i> ^o	<i>lāllá</i>	<i>lāl-</i>	"distant"
<i>mì'isòg</i> ^o	<i>mì'isà</i>	<i>mì'is-</i>	"sour"
<i>wàuxŋ</i> ^o	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàuxŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpì'orŋ</i> ^o	<i>kpì'əmə</i>	<i>kpì'orŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlòŋ</i> ^o	<i>zùlìmà</i>	<i>zùlòŋ-</i>	"deep"
<i>yī-póŋròg</i> ^o	<i>yī-póŋrà</i>		"nearby house"

Similarly *yàlòŋ*^o "wide" *nyālòŋ*^o "wonderful" *yēl-náròŋ*^o "necessary thing."

Deverbal adjectives 9.2.1.2 of the **resultative** type derived with **-lum-* belong here. KT (but not WK) also has forms without *-m-* in both sg and pl:

<i>kpìilóg</i> ^o	<i>kpìilìmà</i>	<i>kpìilòŋ-</i>	"dead"	WK
<i>nīŋ-kpìilòg</i> ^o	<i>nīŋ-kpìilìmà</i>		"dead person"	KT
<i>gēēñlóg</i> ^o	<i>gēēñlìmà</i>	<i>gēēñlòŋ-</i>	"tired"	WK
<i>nīŋ-gēēñlòg</i> ^o	<i>nīŋ-gēēñlìmà</i>		"tired person"	KT
<i>pè'elóg</i> ^o	<i>pè'elìmà</i>	<i>pè'elòŋ-</i>	"full"	WK KT
	<i>dōg-pé'elà</i>		"full pots"	KT

Deverbal adjectives of the **habitual** type are derived with *d*, but the *d* is often assimilated or dropped, so not all habitual adjectives are *d*-stems. They are *ga*-type for WK, but *gō*-type for KT. In either case, the pl suffix is always *aa*, as expected:

<i>kōvdīr</i> ^ε	<i>kōvdá</i>	<i>kōvd-</i>	"murderous;
<i>kōvdíg</i> ^a WK			liable to be killed"
<i>kōvdóg</i> ^o KT			

<i>tōmmīr</i> ^ε	<i>tōmmā</i> WK <i>tōmnā</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>kòg-dēl</i> ^{lε/}	<i>mōrá</i> <i>kòg-dēllá</i>	<i>mōr-</i>	"having" "chair for leaning on"

Stems in *g k η* do not use the sg suffixes *ga gɔ*:

<i>bōn-tólgìr</i> ^ε	<i>bōn-tólgà</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 *ga* or *gɔ* sg and *aa* pl; they may drop the *-m-* in the plural:

<i>nīn-pú'alìg</i> ^a	<i>nīn-pú'alimà</i>	"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záaṅsùg</i> ^ɔ	<i>nīn-záaṅsà</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>vōr</i> ^{ε/}	<i>vōyá</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>dāvog</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'aṅ</i> ^a	<i>ñyá'as</i> ^ε	<i>ñyā'aṅ-</i>	"female" (animal)
	or <i>ñyā'amís</i> ^ε		
<i>ñyèesíg</i> ^a	<i>ñyèensís</i> ^ε	<i>ñyèesíg-</i>	"self-confident"

and similarly *vèñllíg*^a "beautiful" *māhsíg*^a "pleasant" *lāllíg*^a "distant."

<i>bīl</i> ^a	<i>bībīs</i> ^ε	<i>bìl-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"little"
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The sg flexion *-la* is found more widely in other Western Oti-Volta languages, where it has a diminutive sense: thus Farefare *níllá* "chick", *pìllà* "lamb", *bùdíblá* "boy", *púglá* "girl", *kíllá* "young guinea fowl"; Mooré *bìrìblá* "boy", *bìpúglá* "girl", *bùllá* "kid." The plural stem *bib-* is reduplicated.

7 Verb flexion

Though written solid with the verb in traditional orthography, discontinuous-past n^ε and the 2pl subject $^{y^a}$ are not flexions but liaison enclitics [4.2](#).

7.1 Dual-aspect

Some 90% of verbs are dynamic [16.2](#) **dual-aspect** verbs, using the stem form for perfective aspect (with the dummy suffix $-i/\varepsilon$ after consonants) and adding $-da$ for imperfective. Synchronically, $-da$ is simply a flexion, but historically this represents levelling of a formation with a *derivational* suffix $*d$ preceding the same imperfective flexion $-a$ as appears in single-aspect verbs. A suffix $-ma$ marks imperative mood whenever the verb carries the independency-marking tone overlay [16.6.2](#).

Perfective, imperfective and $-ma$ imperative are cited in order.

Straightforward examples include:

$k\bar{v}$	$k\bar{v}vd^{a/}$	$k\bar{v}vm^a$	"kill"
$kp\bar{e}\bar{n}'$	$kp\bar{e}\bar{n}'\varepsilon d^a$	$kp\bar{e}\bar{n}'\varepsilon m^a$	"enter"
$k\bar{i}\bar{a}$	$k\bar{i}\bar{a}d^a$	$k\bar{i}\bar{a}m^a$	"cut"
$k\bar{u}\bar{a}$	$k\bar{u}\bar{a}d^{a/}$	$k\bar{u}\bar{a}m^a$	"hoe"
$g\bar{o}\bar{n}$	$g\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{n}d^a$	$g\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{n}m^a$	"hunt"
$d\bar{v}g^\varepsilon$	$d\bar{v}g\bar{v}d^{a/}$	$d\bar{v}g\bar{v}m^a$	"cook"
$y\bar{u}ug^\varepsilon$	$y\bar{u}ug\bar{i}d^a$	$y\bar{u}ug\bar{i}m^a$	"delay, get late"
$y\bar{a}d\bar{i}g^\varepsilon/$	$y\bar{a}d\bar{i}g\bar{i}d^a$	$y\bar{a}d\bar{i}g\bar{i}m^a$	"scatter"
$p\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{n}'^a$	$p\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{n}'ad^{a/}$	$p\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{n}'am^a$	"speak; praise"
$d\bar{u}'\bar{a}^a$	$d\bar{u}'ad^a$	$d\bar{u}'am^a$	"bear, beget"
$n\bar{o}k^\varepsilon/$	$n\bar{o}k\bar{i}d^a$	$n\bar{o}k\bar{i}m^a$	"take"
$g\bar{a}\eta^\varepsilon/$	$g\bar{a}\eta\bar{i}d^a$	$g\bar{a}\eta\bar{i}m^a$	"choose"
$kp\bar{a}r^\varepsilon$	$kp\bar{a}r\bar{i}d^a$	$kp\bar{a}r\bar{i}m^a$	"lock"
$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r^\varepsilon/$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r\bar{i}d^a$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r\bar{i}m^a$	"forgive"
$b\bar{a}s^\varepsilon$	$b\bar{a}s\bar{i}d^a$	$b\bar{a}s\bar{i}m^a$	"go/send away"
$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s^\varepsilon/$	$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s\bar{i}d^a$	$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s\bar{i}m^a$	"lower"
$k\bar{o}t^\varepsilon/$	$k\bar{o}t\bar{i}d^a$	$k\bar{o}t\bar{i}m^a$	"slaughter"

Some root-stems ending in a vowel show a CV- allomorph in both imperfective and imperative, with $-t-$ for $-d-$ [3.4](#):

$d\bar{i}$	$d\bar{i}t^a$	$d\bar{i}m^a$	"eat"
$\bar{n}y\bar{e}$	$\bar{n}y\bar{e}t^{a/}$	$\bar{n}y\bar{e}m^a$	"see"

and likewise $\bar{l}i/\bar{l}u$ "fall", $d\bar{v}$ "go up", $y\bar{i}$ "go/come out", $z\bar{o}$ "run, fear."

Stems in *-d-* show *-t-* in the ipfv via **dd* → *tt*:

<i>bòd</i> ^ε	<i>bòt</i> ^a	<i>bòdìm</i> ^a	"plant"
<i>gàad</i> ^ε	<i>gàt</i> ^a 2.2	<i>gàadìm</i> ^a	"pass, surpass"

Stems in *l* generate a cluster in the ipfv via **ld* → *nn*:

<i>vòl</i> ^ε	<i>vòn</i> ^{na/}	<i>vòlìm</i> ^a	"swallow"
<i>màal</i> ^ε	<i>màan</i> ^{na}	<i>màalìm</i> ^a	"make; sacrifice"
<i>dīgīl</i> ^{ε/}	<i>dīgín</i> ^{na}	<i>dīgīlìm</i> ^a	"lay down"

Only 2-mora *b*-stems assimilate **bm* → *mm*:

<i>lèb</i> ^ε	<i>lèbìd</i> ^a	<i>lèm</i> ^{ma}	"return"
<i>sòb</i> ^ε	<i>sòbìd</i> ^{a/}	<i>sòm</i> ^{ma}	"write"
<i>lìəb</i> ^ε	<i>lìəbìd</i> ^a	<i>lìəbìm</i> ^a	"become"
<i>ēñb</i> ^{ε/}	<i>ēñbìd</i> ^a	<i>ēñbìm</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>bùnìm</i> ^a	"reap"
<i>mōn</i> ^ε	<i>mōn</i> ^{na/}	<i>mònìm</i> ^a	"make porridge"
<i>gò'ɔn</i> ^ε	<i>gò'ɔnìd</i> ^a	<i>gò'ɔnìm</i> ^a	"extend neck"
<i>dìgìn</i> ^ε	<i>dìgìnìd</i> ^a	<i>dìgìnìm</i> ^a	"lie down"

The *nn*-stem *sùn*^ε does not assimilate at all:

<i>sùn</i> ^{ne}	<i>sùnnìd</i> ^a	<i>sùnnìm</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 3.5.

<i>sìlìm</i> ^m	<i>sìlìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>sìlìm</i> ^{ma}	"quote proverbs"
<i>lāŋím</i> ^m	<i>lāŋím</i> ^{ma}	<i>lāŋìm</i> ^{ma}	"wander searching"
<i>kàrìm</i> ^m	<i>kàrìm</i> ^{m/kàrımìd} ^a	<i>kàrìm</i> ^{ma}	"read"
<i>tòɔm</i> ^{m/}	<i>tòɔm</i> ^{ma/tòɔmìd} ^a	<i>tòɔm</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:

tàm^m *tàmmìd^a* *tàm^{ma}* "forget"

Like *tàm^m* are *zàm^m* "cheat, betray", *dàm^m* "shake", *lèm^m* "sip, taste"; the cognate Mooré verbs have *-mb-*: *zãmbe* "cheat", *rãmbe* "stir", *lèmbe* "taste".

Fusion verbs show deleted **g* after *aa iə uə aañ eñ ɔñ* 3.7. **G*-deletion appears only in the perfective and gerund; elsewhere **g* is absent, not deleted (for the tonal implications see 3.8.2.) For the perfective forms before liaison see see 4.2.

<i>fāeñ^l</i>	<i>fāañd^{a/l}</i>	<i>fàañm^a</i>	"save"
<i>dī'e^l</i>	<i>dī'əd^{a/l}</i>	<i>dī'əm^a</i>	"get, receive"
<i>dūe^l</i>	<i>dūəd^{a/l}</i>	<i>dùəm^a</i>	"rise, raise"
<i>pūñ'e^l</i>	<i>pūñ'əd^{a/l}</i>	<i>pūñ'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/l}</i>	<i>kèl^a</i>	"let, allow"
<i>kēñ</i>	<i>kēn^{a/l}</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", *jehla* ipfv.

<i>wìk^ε</i>	<i>wìid^a</i> 3.4	<i>wìkìm^a</i>	"fetch water"
<i>jàñk^{ε/l}</i>	<i>jàñ'ad^{a/l}</i>	<i>jàñkìm^a</i>	"leap, fly"
<i>gìlg^{ε/l}</i>	<i>gìṅ^{na/l}</i>	<i>gìlgìm^a</i>	"go around"
<i>kēṅ^{ε/l}</i>	<i>kēṅ^{na/l}</i>	<i>kèm^a</i>	"go"
<i>yèl^ε</i>	<i>yèt^a</i>	<i>yèlìm^a</i>	"say"
<i>gōs^ε</i>	<i>gōsìd^{a/l}</i>	<i>gòsìm^a</i>	"look"
	or <i>gōt^{a/l}</i>	<i>gòm^a</i>	
<i>tìs^ε</i>	<i>tìsìd^a</i>	<i>tìsìm^a</i>	"give"
	or <i>tìt^a</i>		

A perfective *tì* may appear before bound object pronouns, e.g. *tì=f* "give you."

7.2 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** 16.2; 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 verbs consist of bare stems (with dummy suffixes after consonants):

<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>zī'</i>	"not know"
<i>bè</i>	"be somewhere, exist"	<i>kā'ẹ</i>	"not be" (← * <i>kagɪ</i>)
<i>tūñ'e</i>	"be able"	<i>nòŋ^ɛ</i>	"love"

Uniquely among single-aspect verbs, *nòŋ^ɛ* has a *ma*-imperative *nòŋìm^a*, used when the verb word carries the tone overlay of independency marking. Unlike perfectives, these forms are never followed by the particle *yā* 16.6.2. The Pattern A verbs *bè* and *nòŋ^ɛ* have M tone before liaison-word pronouns and are followed by M spreading even when not subject to the tone overlay of independency marking 4.4.

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

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noŋ zaba.

Mìt kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm á ónì nòŋ zábāa=∅.

NEG.LET.IMP and Lord 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)

<i>Kà ò nóŋī=f.</i>	"And she loves you."
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The agent noun *nòŋìd^a* has Pattern L instead of the expected A:

<i>Ò nòŋìd kā'e.</i>	"There's nobody who loves him." WK
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The majority of single-aspect verbs have the suffix **-ya*. Nawdm has many imperfective-only verbs of parallel structure, like *jehra* ipfv "*être debout*" = Kusaal *zì'e^{y^a}*, where Nawdm *r* and Kusaal *y* both represent Proto-Oti-Volta **r*. With only one aspect, these verbs have not undergone the extensive levelling which has made dual-aspect *-da* 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 *ll r(r)* are subject to further assimilation just like single *l r* 3.5.

Dynamic verbs with unassimilated *y* mostly express **stances**:

<i>īgī^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying down"
<i>vābī^{ya/}</i>	"be prone"	<i>lābī^{ya}</i>	"crouch in hiding"
<i>tābī^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>zī'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing still"
<i>zīñ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>tī'i^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning (object)"
<i>gō'e^{ya/}</i> WK	"have neck extended"	<i>wà'e^{ya}</i>	"travel to"

NT/KB *tu'ae* "approach" is perhaps *tv'e^{ya}* ← **tōgya*.

Statives include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>àgēñ^{ya}</i>	"be something/somehow"		
<i>sō'e^{ya/}</i>	"own"	<i>sōñ'e^{ya/}</i>	"be better than"
<i>tōgē^{ya/}</i>	"be bitter"	<i>vūgē^{ya/}</i>	"be alive"

Stance verbs with unassimilated *y* have derived inchoative and causative dual-aspect verbs in *n* and *l* 9.1.1. 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 *-da* to express *habitual* meaning; others use the ipfv of the derived assume-stance verb instead:

	<i>Ò zīñ'i nē.</i>	"She's sitting down." WK KT
	<i>Ò pō zīñ'idā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	<i>Ò pō zīñ'inidā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	<i>Ò vābī nē.</i>	"He's lying prone."
	<i>Ò pō vābīdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	<i>Ò pō vābīnidā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	<i>Ò dīgī nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
	<i>Ò pō dīgīdā.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	<i>Lì zī'ə nē.</i>	"It's standing up."
	<i>Lì pō zī'ədā.</i>	"It (a defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	<i>Lì tī'i nē.</i>	"It's leaning against something."
	<i>Lì tī'id.</i>	"It can be leant against something." WK
	<i>Lì pō tī'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning against something."
	<i>Lì pō tī'idá.</i>	"It's not for leaning against something." WK

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* include stance verbs and others:

<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning (person)"
<i>gùl</i> ^{la}	"be hanging"	<i>gōl</i> ^{la/} KT	"have neck extended"
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"carry in one's hands"
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"guard"	<i>tēñr</i> ^a	"remember"
<i>sūr</i> ^a	"have head bowed"	<i>gōr</i> ^{a/} DK	"have neck extended"

They make imperfective gerunds; in these and in agent nouns, deverbal adjectives and instrument nouns, the stem is in *nn mm ll r(r)* and *d* is omitted. Similarly, they do not have distinct continuous, habitual or inchoative forms.

Stative verbs in *nn mm ll r(r)* again include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>vēn</i> ^{na}	"be beautiful"
<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"	<i>kp̄'əm</i> ^{ma/}	"be strong"
<i>kp̄ēñm</i> ^{ma/}	"be older than"	<i>zùl̄m</i> ^{ma}	"be deep"
<i>sùm</i> ^{ma}	"be good"	<i>gīm</i> ^{ma/}	"be short"
<i>yàl̄m</i> ^{ma}	"be wide"	<i>zēm</i> ^{ma/}	"be equal to"
<i>tàd̄m</i> ^{ma}	"be weak"	<i>wā'am</i> ^{ma/}	"be long, tall"
<i>vēñl</i> ^{la}	"be beautiful"	<i>lāl</i> ^{la/}	"be far from"
<i>tūl</i> ^{la/}	"be hot"	<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>dūr</i> ^a	"be many"
<i>kār</i> ^a	"be few"	<i>nār</i> ^{a/}	"be necessary"
<i>pòñr</i> ^a	"be near to"		

M-stems show single *m* in most sources after after epenthetic vowels and long root vowels 3.5.

A number of stative verbs end in *-sa*:

<i>m̄'is</i> ^a	"be sour"	<i>bōgōs</i> ^{a/}	"be soft"
<i>mā'as</i> ^{a/}	"be cool"	<i>tēbīs</i> ^{a/}	"be heavy"
<i>mālīs</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 *-da*: *pòd*^a "be few, small."

Some dual-aspect imperfective forms have become independent stative verbs, e.g. *bòd*^a "want, like" (*bò* "seek"), *zòt*^a "fear" (*zò* "run.")

8 Stem conversion

8.1 Nouns from verbs

8.1.1 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. For gerund Tone Patterns see [3.8.4](#).

Gerunds may be used as abstract *count* nouns describing particular instances of the activity of the verb, and may then have plurals.

Dual-aspect verbs form gerunds by adding the following class suffixes to the stem. 3-mora stems ending in underlying *g replace the -gɔ suffix with -rɛ.

2-mora stems	-bɔ	but -rɛ as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in *g		
[surface -g ^ɛ -k ^ɛ -ŋ ^ɛ -ae -ie -ue]	-rɛ	
all others	-gɔ	

<i>kṵ</i>	"kill"	<i>kṵvb^ɔ</i>
<i>dṵg^ɛ</i>	"cook"	<i>dṵgṵb^ɔ</i>
<i>dṵ'à^a</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dṵ'ab^ɔ</i>
<i>kàd^ɛ</i>	"drive away"	<i>kādīb^ɔ</i>
<i>pìl^ɛ</i>	"cover"	<i>pīlīb^ɔ</i>
<i>kpàr^ɛ</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārīb^ɔ</i>
<i>bàs^ɛ</i>	"abandon, go away"	<i>bāsīb^ɔ</i>
<i>sṵb^ɛ</i>	"write"	<i>sṵp^ɔ</i>
<i>lṵb^ɛ</i>	"throw stones at"	<i>lṵp^ɔ</i>
<i>kìm^m</i>	"tend a flock/herd"	<i>kīm^{mɔ}</i>
<i>wṵm^m</i>	"hear"	<i>wīm^{mɔ}</i>

2-mora *n*-stems do not assimilate *nb → mm: *bùn^ɛ* "reap", gerund *būnīb^ɔ*.

<i>yùug^ɛ</i>	"delay"	<i>yùugṵr^ɛ</i>
<i>nṵk^ɛ/</i>	"take"	<i>nṵkír^ɛ</i>
<i>nṵŋ^ɛ</i>	"doing"	<i>nṵŋír^ɛ</i>
<i>gbāñ'e/</i>	"grab"	<i>gbāñ'ar^ɛ</i>
<i>dī'e/</i>	"get"	<i>dī'ər^ɛ</i>
<i>dūe/</i>	"rise"	<i>dúər^ɛ</i>

<i>gàad</i> ^ε	"(sur)pass"	<i>gàadùg</i> ^ɔ
<i>lìəb</i> ^ε	"become"	<i>lìəbùg</i> ^ɔ
<i>dīgīl</i> ^{ε/}	"lay down"	<i>dīgílúg</i> ^ɔ
<i>yāar</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yāarúg</i> ^ɔ
<i>sīgīs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"	<i>sīgísúg</i> ^ɔ
<i>dàm</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dàmmùg</i> ^ɔ (and thus with all <i>mm</i> -stems)

3-mora *n*-stems never assimilate **ng* → *ηη*:

<i>dìgin</i> ^ε	"lie down"	<i>dìginùg</i> ^ɔ
<i>zìñ'in</i> ^ε	"sit down"	<i>zìñ'inùg</i> ^ɔ

3-mora *m*-stems assimilate **mg* → *ηη* optionally:

<i>tōom</i> ^{m/}	"depart, disappear"	<i>tóωη</i> ^ɔ	or <i>tōomúg</i> ^ɔ
<i>sàñ'am</i> ^m	"destroy"	<i>sàñ'υη</i> ^ɔ	or <i>sàñ'amùg</i> ^ɔ
<i>kàrìm</i> ^m	"read"	<i>kàrùη</i> ^ɔ	or <i>kàrìmùg</i> ^ɔ

4-mora stems in *-sim -lim* follow the rule and use *-gɔ* (always assimilating), but stems in **-gim* drop the *-m-* and use *-rε*:

<i>sìlìm</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>sìlúη</i> ^ɔ
<i>zàaṅsìm</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>zàaṅsúη</i> ^ɔ
<i>wàṅìm</i> ^m	"waste away"	<i>wàṅìr</i> ^ε
<i>lāṅìm</i> ^m	"wander"	<i>lāṅír</i> ^ε
<i>zàkìm</i> ^m	"itch"	<i>zàkìr</i> ^ε

2-mora stems regularly use *-rε* instead of *-bɔ* in compounds:

<i>pṽ'à-dīur</i> ^ε	"marriage"	<i>nṽn-kôur</i> ^ε	"murder"
<i>dā-nûur</i> ^ε	"beer-drinking"	<i>mò-pīl</i> ^{lε}	"grass roof"
<i>fū-yêur</i> ^ε	"shirt-wearing" WK		

Irregular gerunds are rare with stems of three or four morae. A few are formally plural 12.2, and *yīis*^{ε/} "make go/come out" has *yīisíb*^ɔ. Most irregular 2-mora stem verbs have regular gerunds, e.g. *tīs*^ε "give" → *tīsīb*^ɔ, *kē* "let" → *kēeb*^{ɔ/}, *gùl*^ε "suspend" → *gùlīb*^ɔ. However, almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs in KED use suffixes other than *bɔ*; many of these have stems ending in *m* or *b*. Most irregular gerunds are tonally regular, but forms with *-gɔ* from Pattern A verbs are Pattern L unless variants with *ga* or *sε* show that the word is *ga|sε* with LF remodelling 5.3.2.

<i>lì</i>	"fall"	<i>līg^a</i>
<i>zī</i>	"carry on head"	<i>zīd^{ε/}</i>
<i>bēñ'</i>	"fall ill"	<i>bēñ'εs^ε</i>
<i>kēñ</i>	"come"	<i>kēñ^{nε/}</i>
<i>zò</i>	"run"	<i>zūa</i> also <i>zōōg^o</i>
<i>vū</i>	"make noise"	<i>vūug^{o/}</i>
<i>piāñ^{ta}</i>	"speak"	<i>piāñk^o</i>
<i>bòd^ε</i>	"plant"	<i>bōdīg^a</i> also <i>bōdōg^o</i>
<i>yèl^ε</i>	"say, tell"	<i>yèlōg^o</i> (cf Mooré <i>yèele</i>)
<i>kūl^ε</i>	"go home"	<i>kūlīg^{a/}</i> also <i>kūlōg^{o/}</i>
<i>tāñs^ε</i>	"shout"	<i>tāñsòg^o</i>
<i>sōñs^ε</i>	"converse"	<i>sōñsìg^a</i>
<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	<i>gōsìg^a</i>
<i>sòs^ε</i>	"pray, beg"	<i>sōsīg^a</i>
<i>kīr^ε</i>	"hurry"	<i>kìkíròg^o</i> or <i>kīrīb^{o/}</i>
<i>lèb^ε</i>	"return"	<i>lēbīg^a</i>
<i>tèb^ε</i>	"carry in both hands"	<i>tēbīg^a</i>
<i>kāñb^ε</i>	"scorch"	<i>kāñbīr^ε</i>
<i>òñb^ε</i>	"chew"	<i>òñbīr^ε</i>
<i>lūb^ε</i>	"buck"	<i>lūbīr^{ε/}</i>
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbīr^ε</i>
<i>tèñb^ε</i>	"tremble"	<i>tèñbòg^o</i>
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tōvmā</i>
<i>tòm^m</i>	"send"	<i>tìtōmīs^ε</i>
<i>wòm^m</i>	"hear"	<i>wōm^{mo}</i> or <i>wòmmòg^o</i> <u>9.2.1.4</u>

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *-ya* where the *y* is not assimilated form perfective gerunds from the root using various noun classes:

<i>zìñ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'ig^a</i> also "place", regular <i>ga se</i> class
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zī'a</i> KED <i>zī'og^a</i> (very irreg <u>3.7</u>) DK KT
<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dīk^{a/}</i> KT <i>dīgīr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>īgī^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īk^{a/}</i> KT <i>īgīr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>vābī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vāp^{o/}</i> KT <i>vābīr^{ε/}</i> WK
<i>tī'i^{ya/}</i>	"be leaning"	<i>tī'ib^{o/}</i> (of an object)

Gùl^{la} "be hanging" uses *gōlīb^o* from dual-aspect *gùl^ε*. *Tèñr^a* "remember" and the stative *pōñr^a* "be near" have *tēñrīb^o* *pōñrīb^o* by analogy with dual-aspect verbs following the simplification **rr → r*. Stative *kīs^{a/}* "hate" has the gerund *kīsòg^o*.

Other single-aspect verbs have imperfective gerunds 9.2.1.4.

8.1.2 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.

<i>ēñbír^ε</i>	"(physical) foundation"	<i>ēñbúg^o</i>	"laying a foundation"
<i>dōk^o</i>	"cooking pot"	<i>dōgōb^o</i>	"cooking"
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	<i>dā'ab^o</i>	"buying"
<i>kōk^a</i>	"chair"	<i>kōgōb^o</i>	"resting on something"
<i>zūg-kōgūr^ε</i>	"pillow"		
<i>sūāk^a</i>	"hiding place"	<i>sū'ab^o</i>	"hiding"
<i>sōbír^ε</i>	"piece of writing"	<i>sōp^o</i>	"writing, orthography"
<i>kūt^ε</i>	"iron, nail"	<i>kūdōb^o</i>	"working iron"
<i>kùəsìm^m</i>	"merchandise"	<i>kùəsòg^o</i>	"selling"
<i>pèbìsìm^m</i>	"wind"	<i>pèbìsòg^o</i>	"blowing of the wind; wind"

Vābír^ε, *lābír^ε*, *dīgīr^ε*, *īgīr^ε*, used by WK as gerunds, are used by KT as concrete nouns meaning "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds *vāp^o* etc.

From *pībìl^ε* "cover", *zāñbìl^ε* "tattoo", *māal^ε* "sacrifice" are derived

<i>pībīn^{nε}</i>	<i>pībīnā</i>	<i>pībìn-</i>	"covering"
<i>zāñbīn^{nε}</i>	<i>zāñbīnā</i>	<i>zāñbìn-</i>	"tattoo" (NT "sign")
<i>māan^{nε}</i>	<i>māanā</i>	<i>māan-</i>	"sacrifice"

The *-n* in these words is simplified from **nn* 3.5. Toende and Mooré have Pattern L instead of A: *zābín*, *māan*. The **nn* may represent **ld*, with **d* in instrument-noun sense: cf *tūōdīr^ε* "mortar", from *tūà* "grind in a mortar."

It is exceptional for regularly formed gerunds to acquire concrete meaning, but a clearcut example is *dīib^o* "food."

8.2 Nominals from nominals

The partial association of noun class and meaning 5.1 can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem. Examples include the names of ethnic groups, which belong to the *a|ba* or *ga|se* classes, their languages, which belong to the *-lε* subclass of *re|aa* 5.3.4 and the associated place, which has the suffix *-gɔ* 26.4. Another case of sg *-gɔ* deriving an associated place name is *wèed^a* "hunter", *wèog^o* "deep bush."

Names of trees are almost all *ga|se* class, and their fruits *re|aa* or *gɔ|de* 26.5.

Note also *sīiñf^o* "bee", *sīiñd^ε* "honey."

The strong association of the *mm* class with abstracts can be used to convert adjective stems to abstract nouns. These nouns somewhat resemble gerunds, and can

be preceded by combining forms as generic arguments [12.7.1](#), but they cannot be used in the future construction with *bòd*^a "want" [16.3.3](#), and unlike imperfective gerunds, which show the expected gerund Tone Patterns [3.8.4](#), they show the same tone pattern as the adjective. These forms sometimes also appear as manner adverbs.

Examples formed from adjective stems with *mm*:

<i>vōm</i> ^{m/}	"life"	<i>sòm</i> ^m	"goodness"
<i>pòdìm</i> ^m	"scarcity"	<i>vènnìm</i> ^m	"beauty"
<i>vèñlìm</i> ^m	"beauty"	<i>bōgvsím</i> ^m	"softness"
<i>tēbísím</i> ^m	"weight"	<i>mā'asím</i> ^m	"coolness, damp"
<i>bāañlìm</i> ^m	"quietly"	<i>zāalím</i> ^m	"emptily"
<i>mālisím</i> ^m	"sweetness"	<i>lābísím</i> ^m	"width"
<i>pìèlìm</i> ^m	"brightness"	<i>tītā'am</i> ^m	"multitude"
<i>kūdīm</i> ^m	"old times"	<i>pāalím</i> ^m	"recently"
<i>nèem</i> ^m	"for free" (<i>nèer</i> ^ε "empty")		

From *ñyèesíŋ*^a "self-confident" is derived *ñyèesìm*^m "self-confidence."

The suffix *-gɔ* makes abstract nouns when the sg adjective form also has *-gɔ*:

<i>lāllóg</i> ^ɔ	"distance"	<i>zēmmóg</i> ^ɔ	"equality"
<i>kpī'oj</i> ^ɔ	"hardness, strength"	<i>yàlòŋ</i> ^ɔ	"width"
<i>mì'isùg</i> ^ɔ	"sourness"	<i>tōg</i> ^ɔ	"bitterness"
<i>zùlòŋ</i> ^ɔ	"depth"	<i>tōvólóg</i> ^ɔ or <i>tōllím</i> ^m	"heat"

Some stems referring to people form abstract nouns with *-mm* or *-gɔ*:

<i>gbáñyà'a</i>	"lazy person"	→	<i>gbáñyà'am</i> ^m	"laziness"
<i>dàmà'a</i>	"liar"	→	<i>dàmà'am</i> ^m	"lying"
<i>sāan</i> ^{a/}	"guest"	→	<i>sávŋ</i> ^ɔ	"hospitality"
<i>kpēēñm</i> ^m	"elder"	→	<i>kpēoñŋ</i> ^ɔ	"eldership"
<i>sōŋñ^{ya}</i>	"witch"	→	<i>sōōñg</i> ^ɔ	"witchcraft"

Cf also *zùød*^ε "friendship" from *zùà* "friend."

Several stems form manner-adverbs with apocope-blocked *-ga* [3.2](#):

<i>sòŋā'</i>	"well; very much"	<i>mā'asígā'</i>	"coolly"
<i>tōvólígā'</i>	"hotly"	<i>gīŋā'</i>	"shortly"
<i>bōgvsígā'</i>	"softly"	<i>sàalígā'</i>	"smoothly"
<i>ñyèesíŋā'</i>	"self-confidently"	<i>yīígā'</i>	"firstly"

9 Derivation by suffixes

Very productive suffixing processes derive agent nouns, adjectives and instrument nouns from verbs, and several less systematic processes derive nominals from other nominals. The derivational suffixes 3.3 are *g s n l d m*, along with *b* and *r* in just a handful of words; *n* may represent historical **ld* 3.5. *G s n b r* never follow another suffix, and *l* follows another suffix only as part of the combination *lm*. 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*.

For Tone Patterns in derivation see 3.8.4.

9.1 Verbs

All verb derivation is by suffixes, probably always added to roots. Clear meanings are often seen, but there is no straightforward match with form.

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 + *sim* or *lm*, never *CVVC* root + *m*.

9.1.1 From verbs

-n- derives dual-aspect **assume-stance** verbs from stance verbs, which also have corresponding derivatives in *-l* for "make assume the stance." All *-n* derivatives are Pattern A regardless, but *-l* derivatives have the same Pattern as the base verb.

Stance verb		Assume-stance	Make-assume-stance
<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dìgìn^ε</i>	<i>dīgīl^{ε/}</i>
<i>vābī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vàbìn^ε</i>	<i>vābīl^{ε/}</i>
<i>īgī^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>ìgìn^ε</i>	<i>īgīl^{ε/}</i>
<i>làbì^{ya}</i>	"be crouching hidden"	<i>làbìn^ε</i>	<i>làbìl^ε</i>
<i>zìñ'ì^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'in^ε</i>	<i>zìñ'il^ε</i>
<i>zì'e^{ya}</i>	"be standing"	<i>zì'ən^ε</i>	<i>zì'əl^ε</i>
<i>tī'ì^{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'ɔn^ε</i>	
<i>sùr^a</i>	"have bowed head"	<i>sùn^{nε}</i>	<i>sùn^{nε} sic</i>
-	"cover oneself"	<i>lìgìn^ε</i>	<i>lìgìl^ε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>zùən^ε</i>	<i>zùəl^ε</i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>yà'an^ε</i>	<i>yà'al^ε</i>
<i>gùl^{la}</i>	"be suspended"	<i>gùl^ε</i>	<i>gùl^ε</i>
<i>tàbì^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàb^ε</i>	<i>tàbìl^ε</i>

Nawdm has exactly parallel formations, e.g. *jefra* ipfv "être debout", *jehnt* pfv "se mettre debout", *jehlg* pfv, *jehla* ipfv "poser verticalement".

Some stance verbs correspond instead to a simplex dual-aspect verb for "assume the stance", and *dēl*^{la/} "be leaning" (of a person) has the idiosyncratic assume-stance derivative *dēlim*^m. Some *-n* and *-l* derivatives lack a corresponding stance verb: thus "be perching" is expressed with the resultative perfective of *zùe*:

Nḥiŋ lā zúə nē.

"The bird is perching." KT

Bird:SG ART perch FOC.

-l- derives causatives from nominals and from verbs expressing states or positions:

<i>ňyá'aŋ</i> ^a	"behind"	<i>ňyā'al</i> ^{ε/}	"leave behind"
<i>gēog</i> ^ɔ	"space between legs"	<i>gēεl</i> ^{ε/}	"put between legs" Tones <i>sic</i>
<i>līk</i> ^a	"darkness"	<i>lìgìl</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>yèεl</i> ^ε	"dress another person"
<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>nḥe</i>	"appear"	<i>nèεl</i> ^ε	"reveal"
<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"	<i>mā'al</i> ^{ε/}	"make cool, wet"
<i>wū'vɔg</i> ^{ε/}	"get wet"	<i>wū'vl</i> ^{ε/}	"make wet"
?? <i>zàb</i> ^ε	"fight"	<i>zàbìl</i> ^ε	"cause to fight"
?? <i>dḥ'à</i> ^a	"bear, beget"	<i>dḥ'al</i> ^ε	"make interest (of a loan)"

-s- derives causatives from dynamic verbs for the most part:

<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'es</i> ^ε	"make enter"
<i>nḥe</i>	"appear"	<i>nèεs</i> ^ε	"reveal"
<i>yī</i>	"go/come out"	<i>yīs</i> ^{ε/} or <i>yīs</i> ^ε	"make go/come out"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìs</i> ^ε	"feed"
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlīs</i> ^{ε/}	"make drink"; also <i>nūlīg</i> ^{ε/}
<i>sīg</i> ^ε	"go down"	<i>sīgīs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"
<i>lèb</i> ^ε	"return"	<i>lèbīs</i> ^ε	"make return; answer"
<i>mḥ'à</i> ^a	"suck" (of a baby)	<i>mḥ'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>zēmīs</i> ^{ε/}	"make equal"
<i>kpìg</i> ^ε	"go out (fire)"	<i>kpìs</i> ^ε	"quench"

-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>pìəb^ε</i>	"blow (flute etc)"	<i>pèbìs^ε</i>	"blow (wind)"
<i>làbì^{ya}</i>	"crouch in hiding"	<i>làbìs^ε</i>	"walk stealthily"
<i>vōɛ^{ya/}</i>	"be alive"	<i>vō'vs^{ε/}</i>	"breathe, rest"
<i>ĩāñk^{ε/}</i>	"fly, jump"	<i>ĩāñ'as^{ε/}</i>	"leap, jump repeatedly"
<i>yā'e[/]</i>	"open mouth"	<i>yā'as^{ε/}</i>	"open repeatedly" WK
<i>dī'e[/]</i>	"receive"	<i>dī'əs^{ε/}</i>	"receive (many things)"
<i>gū'</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'us^{ε/}</i>	"watch out; guard (many)"

-g- attached to dynamic roots implies reversal:

<i>yè</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèɛg^ε</i>	"undress oneself"
<i>pìd^ε</i>	"put (hat etc) on"	<i>pìdìg^ε</i>	"take (hat etc) off"
<i>pìl^ε</i>	"cover"	<i>pìlìg^ε</i>	"uncover"
<i>lō</i>	"tie up"	<i>lōdīg^{ε/}</i>	"untie"
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yò'ɔg^ε</i>	"open"
<i>èñd^ε</i>	"block up"	<i>èñdìg^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>pìbìl^ε</i>	"cover up"	<i>pìbìg^ε</i>	"uncover"
<i>tàbì^{ya}</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàbìg^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"
?? <i>lìəb^ε</i>	"become"	<i>lèbìg^ε</i>	"turn over"
?? <i>fāñ</i>	"rob, snatch"	<i>fāñ[/]</i>	"save" ?? for "snatch back"

Reversible **-g-** is peculiar to Western Oti-Volta; other Oti-Volta languages show alveolar suffixes instead: Moba *lōōń* "close" *lōōđ* "open", Byali *byá* "close" *byēré* "open." Proto-Bantu had both **-ɔl-** and **-ɔk-**; the alveolar variant may have been lost in Western Oti-Volta owing to the development of ipfv **-da**.

-g- also forms a few causatives:

<i>dōl^{la/}</i>	"accompany"	<i>dōlīg^{ε/}</i>	"make accompany"
<i>gōr^{a/}</i>	"look up" DK	<i>gōdīg^{ε/}</i>	"make look up" DK
<i>tèñr^a</i>	"remember"	<i>tìèñ</i>	"bring to mind, remind"
<i>yùul^ε</i>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlìg^ε</i>	"swing" transitive
<i>kò</i>	"break" intransitive	<i>kò'ɔg^ε</i>	"break" ambitransitive
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlīg^{ε/}</i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlīs^{ε/}</i>

-g- occurs with no clear meaning in

<i>sōñ</i>	"rub"	<i>sūēñ'</i>	"anoint"
<i>nōb^ε</i>	"get fat"	<i>nōbīg^{ε/}</i>	"grow" (child, plant)
<i>nā</i>	"join"	<i>nāe'</i>	"finish"; compare Hausa <i>gamàa</i> "join, finish"

-d- appears with a pluractional sense in *kōdīg^{ε/}* "slaughter one animal", *kōt^{ε/}* "slaughter several animals." This is perhaps historically connected with the **d* of the ipfv suffix **-da*, by way of the distinctively habitual sense seen in stance verbs [7.2](#).

-m- derives some preverbs:

	<i>lèb^ε</i>	"return"	<i>lèm</i>	"again"
cf	<i>là'as^ε</i>	"gather together"	<i>là'am</i>	"together"
	<i>dèη^ε</i>	"go first"	<i>dèηìm</i>	"first"
cf	<i>maliḡ</i>	(Toende) "do again"	<i>maliḡìm</i>	"again"

-r- appears in

	<i>kāab^{ε/}</i>	"offer, invite"	<i>kābīr^{ε/}</i>	"ask for admission"
	[no simplex]		cf <i>kábıs</i>	Toende <i>id</i>
			<i>sūḡūr^{ε/}</i>	"forbear, be patient with"

The verbs may be back-formations from the nouns *kābírí* and *sūḡuró* [5.1](#).

9.1.2 From nominals

9.1.2.1 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 *-ya*, 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* differs in tonal behaviour from the **y* and **d* of dynamic verbs [3.8.4](#). Primary nominals 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, as reflected in the tonemes of e.g. *kḡ'əm^{ma/}* "be strong" (not **kḡ'əm^{ma/}*), 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: *Ò nà vĕn* "She'll be beautiful."

L	<i>vĕnnìg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vĕn^{na}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>vĕñllìg^a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vĕñ^{la}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>zùlòŋ^ɔ</i>	"deep"	<i>zùlìm^{ma}</i>	"be deep"
	<i>pòòdìg^a</i>	"small"	<i>pòòd^a</i>	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isòg^ɔ</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'is^a</i>	"be sour"
	<i>sòŋ^ɔ</i>	"good"	<i>sòm^{ma}</i>	"be good"
	<i>yàlòŋ^ɔ</i>	"wide"	<i>yàlìm^{ma}</i>	"be wide"
H	<i>bōgvśír^ε</i>	"soft"	<i>bōgvś^{a/}</i>	"be soft"
	<i>vōr^{ε/}</i>	"alive"	<i>vō^{ya/}</i>	"be alive"
	<i>mā'asír^ε</i>	"cool"	<i>mā'as^{a/}</i>	"be cool"
	<i>tēbıśír^ε</i>	"heavy"	<i>tēbıś^{a/}</i>	"be heavy"
	<i>mālısír^ε</i>	"sweet"	<i>mālıs^{a/}</i>	"be sweet"
	<i>lābıśír^ε</i>	"wide"	<i>lābıś^{a/}</i>	"be wide"
	<i>zēm̄múg^ɔ</i>	"equal"	<i>zēm̄^{ma/}</i>	"be equal to"
	<i>lāllóg^ɔ</i>	"far"	<i>lāl^{la/}</i>	"be far from"
A	<i>tōɔg^ɔ</i>	"bitter"	<i>tō^{ya/}</i>	"be bitter"
	<i>gīŋ^a</i>	"short"	<i>gīm̄^{ma/}</i>	"be short"
	<i>kpī'òŋ^ɔ</i>	"strong"	<i>kpī'əm̄^{ma/}</i>	"be strong"
	<i>kpēεñm^m</i>	"elder"	<i>kpēεñm̄^{ma/}</i>	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnīr^ε</i>	"resembling"	<i>wēn^{na/}</i>	"resemble"

More complex stem changes occur in

<i>tōvlóg^ɔ</i>	"hot"	<i>tōl^{la/}</i>	"be hot"
<i>ñyèəsíŋ^a</i>	"self-confident"	<i>ñyèəs^a</i>	"be self-confident"
<i>wōk^{ɔ/}</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am^{a/}</i>	"be long, tall"

9.1.2.2 Dual aspect

-g- attached to nominal/adjectival roots has the meaning "make/become ...":

<i>ñyō'ɔs^{ε/}</i>	"smoke"	<i>ñyū'e/</i>	"set alight"
<i>ñwīig^{a/}</i>	"rope"	<i>ñwīig^{ε/}</i>	"make a rope"
<i>tādīm^{m/}</i>	"weak person"	<i>tādīg^ε</i>	"become weak"
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>zūr^ε</i>	"hill"	<i>zùe</i>	"get higher, more"

<i>À-Tūl</i> ^{lɛ}	"Breech-Delivered" <u>26.2</u>	<i>tùlìg</i> ^ɛ	"invert"
<i>mā'asír</i> ^ɛ	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e</i> ^l	"get cool, wet"
<i>bōgvsír</i> ^ɛ	"soft"	<i>bōk</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"soften"
<i>tēbvsír</i> ^ɛ	"heavy"	<i>tēbīg</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"get/make heavy"
<i>gīŋ</i> ^a	"short"	<i>gīŋ</i> ^ɛ	"scrimp"
<i>kpī'orŋ</i> ^ɔ	"strong"	<i>kpē'ŋ</i> ^ɛ	"strengthen"
<i>vōr</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"alive"	<i>vō'vŋ</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"make/come alive"
<i>pòɔdìg</i> ^a	"few"	<i>pò'ɔg</i> ^ɛ	"diminish, belittle"
<i>pìə̀lìg</i> ^a	"white"	<i>pè̀lìg</i> ^ɛ	"whiten"
<i>sābílìg</i> ^a	"black"	<i>sōbīg</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"blacken"
<i>nīn-múa</i>	"concentration"	<i>mù'e</i>	"redden, become intense"
<i>kōdōg</i> ^ɔ	"old"	<i>kùdìg</i> ^ɛ	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
<i>sòŋ</i> ^ɔ	"good"	<i>sòŋ</i> ^ɛ	"help"
<i>tōvúg</i> ^ɔ	"hot"	<i>tōlīg</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"heat up"
<i>mì'isòg</i> ^ɔ	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i> ^ɛ	"turn sour"
<i>zùlòŋ</i> ^ɔ	"deep"	<i>zùlìg</i> ^ɛ	"deepen"
<i>lāllóg</i> ^ɔ	"far"	<i>lālīg</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"get to be far, make far"
<i>màɣk</i> ^ɔ	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i> ^ɛ	"crumple up"
<i>dēɛŋ</i> ^a	"first"	<i>dēŋ</i> ^ɛ	"precede"
<i>nēɛr</i> ^ɛ	"clear, empty"	<i>nìe</i>	"appear"
<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya}	"be better than"	<i>sūñ'e</i> ^l	"become better than" WK

With the addition of *-m* as a second derivational suffix:

<i>wàɣŋ</i> ^ɔ	"wasted"	<i>wàŋìm</i> ^m	"waste away"
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-lum- derives verbs from noun roots, meaning "act as ..." or "make/become ...":

<i>pū'ā</i> ^a	"woman"	<i>pù'alìm</i> ^m	"cook"
<i>pòñ'ɔr</i> ^ɛ	"cripple"	<i>pòñ'ɔlìm</i> ^m	"cripple, get crippled"
<i>gìk</i> ^a	"dumb"	<i>gìgùlìm</i> ^m	"become dumb"
<i>wàbìr</i> ^ɛ	"lame"	<i>wàbìlìm</i> ^m	"make, go lame"
<i>gū'vs</i> ^ɛ	"semi-ripe things"	<i>gù'vùlìm</i> ^m	"become semi-ripe"
<i>bōgūd</i> ^a	"client of diviner"	<i>bògùlìm</i> ^m	"cast lots" (cf <i>bòk</i> ^ɛ <i>id</i>)

Miscellaneous denominal dual-aspect verbs formed with *s m b* are seen in

<i>zùà</i>	"friend"	<i>zùəŋ</i> ^ɛ	"befriend"
<i>nēɛr</i> ^{ɛ/l}	"millstone"	<i>nēɛm</i> ^{m/l}	"grind with a millstone"
<i>yā'ad</i> ^ɛ	"clay"	<i>yà'ab</i> ^ɛ	"mould clay"
cf	<i>yàge</i>	(Mooré)	"make pottery"

9.2 Nominals

9.2.1 From verbs

The derivational processes described below are very productive; agent noun formation in particular is almost flexional in its regularity and generality. Deverbal noun and adjective formation shows more analogical levelling than derivational processes elsewhere, in keeping with the strong tendency to regularity and transparency in verb morphology. For Tone Patterns see [3.8.4](#).

9.2.1.1 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be freely made from almost all verbs which can be used in direct commands. Informants readily supply isolated forms, but in practice they usually occur as second elements of compounds. All are *a|ba* class, but those derived from *ll-* or *r(r)-*stem single-aspect verbs also show *re|aa* forms [5.3.1](#). Despite their regularity of formation, agent nouns often develop specialised meanings. As with English derivatives in "-er", "agent nouns" may be created from verbs whose subject is not in fact an agent, including even stative verbs if usable in direct commands.

The formant of agent nouns and habitual adjectives is *-d*, probably historically related to the *-d* of the imperfective flexion *-da*, though it has different tonal effects. Derivational *-d* shows much less regularity in its mode of attachment than ipfv *-da*; agent nouns are more regular than habitual adjectives. There is a tendency to limit stem length, causing deletion of either *-d* itself or the suffix preceding it. Absence or presence of *-d* affects the Tone Pattern [3.8.4](#).

Most dual-aspect verbs have an agent noun with sg segmentally identical to the ipfv. If there are alternate forms, the less "regular" form appears as the agent noun.

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mēēd^a</i>	"builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dīt^a</i>	"eater"
<i>gōs^ε</i>	"look"	<i>gōt^{a/}</i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgōd^{a/}</i>	"cook"
<i>dū'ā^a</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dū'ad^a</i>	"elder relation"
<i>kād^ε</i>	"drive away"	<i>saríyà-kāt^a</i>	"judge"
<i>sōb^ε</i>	"write"	<i>sōbīd^{a/}</i>	"writer"
<i>bùn^ε</i>	"reap"	<i>būn^{na}</i>	"reaper"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tòm-tōm^{na}</i>	"worker"
<i>kpār^ε</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārīd^a</i>	"lock-er"
<i>gbīs^ε</i>	"sleep"	<i>gbīsīd^{a/}</i>	"sleeper"
<i>sjàk^ε</i>	"believe"	<i>sjàkīd^a</i>	"believer"
<i>īāñk^{ε/}</i>	"jump, fly"	<i>īāñ'ad^{a/}</i>	"flier"
<i>sòŋ^ε</i>	"help"	<i>sòŋīd^a</i>	"helper"

<i>kēŋ</i> ^{ε/}	"go"	<i>kēn</i> ^{na/}	"traveller"
<i>gàad</i> ^ε	"pass"	<i>tùən-gāt</i> ^a	"leader"
<i>màal</i> ^ε	"sacrifice"	<i>màal-māan</i> ^{na}	"sacrificer"
<i>pà'al</i> ^ε	"teach"	<i>pā'an</i> ^{na}	"teacher"
<i>sūgv̄r</i> ^{ε/}	"forbear"	<i>sūgv̄ríd</i> ^a	"forgiver"
<i>ȳ'vm</i> ^{m/}	"sing"	<i>ȳvm-ȳ'vm</i> ^{na}	"singer"
		pl <i>ȳvm-ȳ'vnm̄b</i> ^a	
<i>sāñ'am</i> ^m	"spoil"	<i>pu'à-sāñ'am</i> ^{na}	"adulterer"
		pl <i>pu'à-sāñ'amīdīb</i> ^a	

Pattern H fusion verbs, which delete the H toneme of the stem in the imperfective 3.8.2, show the same form for the agent noun:

<i>nāe</i> [/]	"finish"	<i>nāad</i> [/]	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
<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>fāeñ</i> [/]	"save"	<i>fāañd</i> ^{a/}	"saviour" WK
<i>dī'e</i> [/]	"receive"	<i>dī'əd</i> [/]	"receiver"

3-mora stems in *-s* consistently drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>sīgīs</i> ^{ε/}	"lower"	<i>sīgīs</i> ^{a/}	"lowerer"
		pl <i>sīgīsídīb</i> ^a	
<i>kùəs</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>kùəs</i> ^a	"seller"
		pl <i>kùəsīdīb</i> ^a	
<i>tù'as</i> ^ε	"talk"	<i>tù'as-tù'as</i> ^a	"talker"
		pl <i>tù'as-tù'asīdīb</i> ^a	
<i>dī'əs</i> ^{ε/}	"receive"	<i>nō-dī'əs</i> ^a	"chief's spokesman"
		pl <i>nō-dī'əsīdīb</i> ^a	("linguist")

Some 2-mora stems also irregularly drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>zàb</i> ^ε	"fight"	<i>zàb-zàb</i> ^a	"warrior"
<i>tìs</i> ^ε	"give"	<i>tìs</i> ^a	"giver"
<i>sòs</i> ^ε	"beg"	<i>sòs</i> ^a	"beggar"

Stems in *-mm-* form reduplicated agent nouns with *nām*^a plurals:

<i>dàm</i> ^m	"shake"	<i>dàm-dàm</i> ^{ma}	"shaker"
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The *nn*-stem *sùn*^{ne} (ipfv *sùnnìd*^a) "bow the head" has an agent noun stem in *-nn-*, but the tonemes show retention of the *-d-* formant:

<i>sùn</i> ^{ne}	"bow head"	<i>sūn</i> ^{na}	"deep thinker, close observer" WK
		pl <i>sūnnīb</i> ^a cb <i>sùn-</i>	

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>yādīg</i> ^{ε/}	"scatter"	<i>yāt</i> ^{a/}	(a participant in a housebuilding ritual)
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Various irregular formations in my materials include:

<i>tēk</i> ^{ε/}	"pull"	<i>ñwī-ték</i> ^a	"rope-puller"
		pl <i>ñwī-tékìdìb</i> ^a	
<i>nòŋ</i> ^ε	"love"	<i>nòŋìd</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 stem-final *m*.

<i>sìlìm</i> ^m	"cite proverbs"	<i>sīn</i> ^{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
		pl <i>sīnnīb</i> ^a	
<i>pò'alìm</i> ^m	"harm"	<i>pò'an</i> ^{na}	"harmer"
<i>zàaṅsìm</i> ^m	"dream"	<i>zàaṅs</i> ^a	"dreamer"
		pl <i>zàaṅsìdīb</i> ^a	

Single-aspect verbs with unassimilated *y*, and the bare-stem type, add *-d-*:

<i>zīñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting down"	<i>zīñ'id</i> ^a	"sitter"
<i>zì'e</i> ^{ya}	"be standing still"	<i>zì'əd</i> ^a	"stander"
<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>mī'id</i> ^{a/}	"knower"
<i>zī'</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'id</i> ^{a/}	"ignorant person"
<i>sū'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	<i>sū'vd</i> ^{a/}	"owner"
<i>sōñ'e</i> ^{ya/}	"be better than"	<i>sōñ'ɔd</i> ^{a/} pl <i>sōñ'ɔb</i> ^{a/}	5.3.1
<i>dīgī</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying down"	<i>dīgīd</i> ^{a/}	"lied-down"
<i>īgī</i> ^{ya/}	"be kneeling"	<i>īgīd</i> ^{a/}	"kneeler"
<i>vābī</i> ^{ya/}	"be lying prone"	<i>vābīd</i> ^{a/}	"lied prone"
<i>lābì</i> ^{ya}	"be crouching"	<i>lābīd</i> ^a	"croucher in hiding"
<i>àḡñ</i> ^{ya}	"be something"	<i>āaṅd</i> ^a	"someone who always is something" sic WK

Stems in *nn ll r(r)* drop *-d* throughout. Those in *ll r(r)* may use *re|aa* class suffixes, coinciding in form with habitual adjectives 5.3.1.

<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>nīn-sīn</i> ^{na}	"silent person"
<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>nīn-nēn</i> ^{na}	"envious person"
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"be with"	<i>ñyà'an-dōl</i> ^{la} - <i>dōl</i> ^{le}	"disciple" (irreg. tone)
<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"be holding"	<i>nō-zāñl</i> ^{la} - <i>zāñl</i> ^{le}	"holder of hens"
<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dēl</i> ^{la}	"person prone to lean"
<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>bò-mōr</i> ^{a/} - <i>mōr</i> ^{ε/}	"owner of goats"
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>bò-tār</i> ^{a/} - <i>tār</i> ^{ε/}	"owner of goats"

The simplification to single *s r* leads to analogical formations with *-d-* in

<i>kīs</i> ^{a/}	"hate"	<i>kīs</i> ^{a/} or <i>kīsīd</i> ^{a/}	"hater"
<i>tēñr</i> ^a	"remember"	<i>tēñrīd</i> ^a	"rememberer"
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"be on guard"	<i>gūrīd</i> ^{a/}	"guard"
		<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> ^a	"gatekeeper"

9.2.1.2 Adjectives

Habitual deverbals in principle have the same stem as the agent noun, but drop the *-d* formant more readily. 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. A past passive sense is unusual, though examples occur: *sūm-dógvdà* "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziñdvgida* = *zīñ-dógvdà* "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *nī'im dvgida* = *nīm-dógvdà* "meat for cooking" (1 Samuel 2:15.)

Without a preceding cb, these adjective forms have the same meaning as agent nouns: *kōvdír*^ε pl *kōvdá* "killer" = *kōvd*^{a/} pl *kōvdíb*^a. After a cb the meanings differ: *pu'à-kōvd*^{a/} "woman-killer, killer of women" vs *pu'à-kōvdír*^ε "woman killer, murderous woman." Accordingly, deverbals will be cited with a preceding cb.

With dual-aspect verbs, 2-mora stems all retain the **d*:

<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	<i>pu'à-gōwñdír</i> ^ε	"prostitute"
<i>là'</i>	"laugh"	<i>pu'à-lā'adír</i> ^ε	"woman prone to laughter/ woman to be laughed at"
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	<i>bōn-ñyétír</i> ^ε	"visible object"
<i>kūā</i>	"hoe"	<i>nā'-dá-kūødír</i> ^ε	"ox for ploughing"
<i>yē</i>	"don clothes"	<i>fū-yéédír</i> ^ε	"shirt for wearing" WK
		<i>fū-yéédv̀g</i> ^o	KT

<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kōvdím^m</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>dɥ'à^a</i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tèŋ-dō'adīg^a</i>	"native land"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>sūm-dógvdà</i>	"cooked groundnuts" WK
<i>sīg^ε</i>	"descend"	<i>yī-sígìdìr^ε</i>	"lodging-house"
<i>sɔ̄'ā^a</i>	"hide"	<i>yēl-só'adìr^ε</i>	"confidential matter"
<i>òñb^ε</i>	"chew"	<i>bōn-òñbìdà</i>	"solid food"
<i>bùn^ε</i>	"reap"	<i>bōn-búnnìr^ε</i>	"thing for reaping"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>bōn-túmmìr^ε</i>	"useful thing"
<i>vōl^ε</i>	"swallow"	<i>tì-vōnním^m</i>	"oral medication"
<i>gbīs^ε</i>	"sleep"	<i>pɔ̄'à-gbīsìdìr^ε</i>	"woman always sleeping"

3-mora stems in **g* drop *-d* unless **g* is deleted in the imperfective:

	<i>tōlīg^{ε/}</i>	"heat up"	<i>bōn-túlīgìr^ε</i>	"heater, thing for heating"
	<i>pèlīg^ε</i>	"whiten"	<i>bōn-pélīgìr^ε</i>	"whitening thing, whitener"
	<i>pàk^ε</i>	"surprise"	<i>yēl-pákìr^ε</i>	"disaster"
	<i>tēk^{ε/}</i>	"pull"	<i>ñwī-tékìr^ε</i>	"rope for pulling with"
	<i>sòŋ^ε</i>	"help"	<i>bōn-sóŋìr^ε</i>	"helpful thing"
	<i>nòŋ^ε</i>	"love"	<i>bì-nòŋìr^ε</i>	"beloved child"
but	<i>kēŋ^{ε/}</i>	"go"	<i>bòŋ-kēnnìr^ε</i>	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
	<i>gīlīg^{ε/}</i>	"go around"	<i>pɔ̄'à-gīnníg^a</i>	"prostitute"
	<i>sūeñ[/]</i>	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóóñdìm^m</i>	"anointing oil"
	<i>yādīg^{ε/}</i>	"scatter"	<i>bōn-yátìr^ε</i>	"scattering thing" (cf <i>yāt^{a/}</i>)
	<i>jàñk^{ε/}</i>	"fly, jump"	<i>bōn-jàñ'adìr^ε</i>	"flying creature"

3-mora stems in *-m* retain the *-d*, forming the consonant cluster *-mm-*:

<i>sàñ'am^m</i>	"destroy"	<i>bò-sāñ'ammìr^ε</i>	"scapegoat" WK
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3-mora stems in *-s* all drop the *-d*:

<i>pèlìs^ε</i>	"sharpen"	<i>bōn-pélìsìr^ε</i>	"sharpening thing"
<i>kùòs^ε</i>	"sell"	<i>bōn-kúòsìr^ε</i>	"item for sale"

4-mora stems (all from KT) drop *-d* (whereas agent nouns drop stem-final *-m*):

<i>sìlìm^m</i>	"cite proverbs"	<i>bōn-sìlìúŋ^o</i>	"thing relating to proverbs"
<i>pò'alìm^m</i>	"harm"	<i>nīn-pú'alìŋ^a</i>	"harmful person"
		<i>pɔ̄'à-pò'alìŋ^a</i>	"harmful woman"
<i>zàańsìm^m</i>	"dream"	<i>nīn-zàańsùŋ^o</i>	"dreamy person"
		<i>pɔ̄'à-zàańsúŋ^o</i>	"dreamy woman"

Dynamic single-aspect verbs show the same stem as the agent noun:

<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>bòη-dīgídír^ε</i>	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābī^{ya/}</i>	"be prone"	<i>bòη-vābídír^ε</i>	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>zīñ'í^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>kūg-zīñ'idír^ε</i>	"stone for sitting on"
<i>zāñl^{la/}</i>	"be holding"	<i>nō-zāñl^{lε}</i>	"hen for holding"
<i>dēl^{la/}</i>	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dél^{lε}</i>	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kòg-dēl^{lε/}</i>	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gùl^{la}</i>	"be hanging"	<i>bōn-gùl^{lε}</i>	"thing for suspending"

Resultative deverbals are only derived from verbs which can use the perfective form in a resultative sense 16.2.2; it is not clear how productive the formation is. Almost all such verbs are either intransitive or patientive ambitransitive, 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 *-līm-* either deletes a preceding derivational suffix or is added only to roots; for the flexion see 6.

<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpìilóη^o</i>	"dead"
<i>gēñ</i>	"get tired"	<i>gēñlóη^o</i>	"tired"
<i>pè'el^ε</i>	"fill"	<i>pè'elóη^o</i>	"full"
<i>kò</i>	"break"	<i>kòólóη^o</i>	"broken"
<i>yè</i>	"wear"	<i>yèelóη^o</i>	"worn" (of a shirt)
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yòólóη^o</i>	"closed"
<i>pò'alīm^m</i>	"harm"	<i>pò'alóη^o</i>	"damaged"
<i>àeñ</i>	"tear"	<i>àañlóη^o</i>	"torn"

9.2.1.3 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding *-m* to habitual-adjective stems in *d t* or *s*. All are *ga|se*. The meanings may overlap with those of agent nouns.

<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>kōvdíη^a</i>	"thing for killing with"
<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>sìà-lōvdíη^a</i>	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvdíη^a</i>	"cooking utensil"
<i>sōb^ε</i>	"write"	<i>sōbvdíη^a</i>	"writing implement"
<i>kpàr^ε</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārvdíη^a</i>	"thing for locking"
<i>ñwà'e</i>	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'advíη^a</i>	"axe"
<i>pīe[/]</i>	"wash self"	<i>pīēdvíη^a</i>	"thing for washing oneself"
<i>sù</i>	"bathe"	<i>sūvdíη^a</i>	"sponge"

<i>gōs</i> ^ε	"look"	<i>nīn-gótìŋ</i> ^a	"mirror"; <i>nīn-gótis</i> ^ε "glasses"
<i>bòd</i> ^ε	"plant"	<i>bōtīŋ</i> ^a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
<i>pīəs</i> ^{ε/}	"clean"	<i>pīəsíŋ</i> ^a	"cleaning implement"
<i>kùəs</i> ^ε	"sell"	<i>kūəsīŋ</i> ^a	"professional salesperson"
<i>dā'e</i> [/]	"push"	<i>dā'adíŋ</i> ^a	"pusher (person or thing)"
<i>zīñ'i</i> ^{ya}	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'idīŋ</i> ^a	"thing for sitting on"

9.2.1.4 Imperfective gerunds

Dynamic single-aspect verbs in *-ya* without assimilation of the *y* make perfective gerunds, as do a few others 8.1.1. Other single-aspect verbs which make gerunds add *-lim-* after root vowels and *-m-* after *nn ll r(r)*; the forms are *mm*-class.

<i>sū'e</i> ^{ya/}	"own"	<i>sū'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'ilím</i> ^m	
<i>àęñ</i> ^{ya}	"be something"	<i>àañlím</i> ^m	
<i>bè</i>	"be somewhere"	<i>bèlím</i> ^m	<i>sic</i>
<i>kā'ę</i>	"not be"	<i>kā'alím</i> ^m	
<i>wēn</i> ^{na/}	"resemble"	<i>wēnním</i> ^m	[tones show this is <i>deverbal</i>]
<i>sīn</i> ^{na/}	"be silent"	<i>sīnním</i> ^m	
<i>nēn</i> ^{na/}	"envy"	<i>nēnním</i> ^m	
<i>dōl</i> ^{la/}	"accompany"	<i>dōllím</i> ^m	
<i>zāñl</i> ^{la/}	"hold in hand"	<i>zāñllím</i> ^m	
<i>dēl</i> ^{la/}	"be leaning"	<i>dēllúg</i> ^o or <i>dēllím</i> ^m	
<i>mōr</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>mōrím</i> ^m	
<i>tār</i> ^{a/}	"have"	<i>tārím</i> ^m	
<i>nār</i> ^{a/}	"be necessary"	<i>nārím</i> ^m	
<i>gūr</i> ^{a/}	"guard"	<i>gūrím</i> ^m	

These forms obey the tonal rules for gerund formation 3.8.4. The non-initial H toneme in Pattern L confirms that they are *m*-stems 3.8.1.

Stative verbs derived from imperfectives of dual-aspect verbs 16.2.3 also form imperfective gerunds; the tonemes show that these are not *m*-stems:

<i>bòcđim</i> ^m	"will" (Pattern L, unlike <i>bōcđīr</i> ^ε "desirable")
<i>gòcňđim</i> ^m	"wandering" (<i>gòň</i> "hunt")
<i>zòtìm</i> ^m	"fear" [<i>Ḿ zót nē</i> "I'm afraid."]

Cf *wòmmòg*^o **wòmduḡo* "hearing" from *wòmm*^m "hear."

Some deverbal abstract nouns from 3-mora verb stems in *-s-* are imperfective gerund forms with dropping of *-d-* as in agent nouns and deverbal adjectives.

<i>pò'us^ε</i>	"greet, thank"	<i>pò'usìm^m/pò'usòg^o</i>	"worship"
<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>nṅ-kúvsìm^m</i>	"murderousness"
<i>yōlīs^{ε/}</i>	"untie"	<i>yōlīsìm^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>bèlím-tāa</i>	"partner in existence" WK
<i>dōl^{la/}</i>	"be with"	<i>dōllím-tāa</i>	"fellow-companion"

For the irregular stative verb *nòŋ^ε* WK has two forms with different nuances:

<i>nòŋ^ε</i>	"love"	<i>nòŋlím-tāa</i>	"fellow liker"
		or <i>nòŋdím-tāa</i>	"fellow lover"

Dual-aspect verbs add *-m-* to habitual adjective stems, but with *gerund* Tone Patterns:

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mèedím-tāa</i>	"fellow-builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìtím-tāa</i>	"messmate"
<i>pō</i>	"share"	<i>pōvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-sharer"
<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'edím-tāa</i>	"fellow-resident"
<i>zàb^ε</i>	"fight"	<i>zàbidím-tāa</i>	"opponent"
<i>dōg^ε</i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-cook"
<i>fāñ</i>	"snatch"	<i>fāañdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-robber"
<i>tòm^m</i>	"work"	<i>tòmím-tāa</i>	"co-worker"
<i>pò'us^ε</i>	"worship"	<i>pò'usím-tāa</i>	"fellow-worshipper"
<i>dìus^ε</i>	"feed"	<i>dìusím-tāa</i>	"fellow-feeder"
<i>sòŋ^ε</i>	"help"	<i>sòŋím-tāa</i>	"fellow-helper"
		or <i>sòŋdím-tāa</i>	
<i>sjàk^ε</i>	"agree"	<i>sjàkím-tāa</i>	"fellow in agreement"

Stance verbs may use *-dīm-* or *-līm-* or *-nim-*; *-līm-* and *-nim-* forms may really belong to the derived assume-stance/make-assume-stance verbs 9.1.1:

<i>īgī^{ya/}</i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgīlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-kneeler"
		<i>īgīdīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>zīñ'i^{ya}</i>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'ilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-sitter"
		<i>zīñ'idīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>vābī^{ya/}</i>	"lie prone"	<i>vābīlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow lier-prone"
		<i>vābīdīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>lābī^{ya}</i>	"be crouched"	<i>lābīlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow croucher in hiding"
<i>zī'e^{ya}</i>	"be stood"	<i>zī'əlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-stander"
		<i>zī'ədīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying"	<i>dīgīlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-lier"
		<i>dīgīnīm-tāa</i> WK	

9.2.1.5 Other derivatives

<i>dīgī^{ya/}</i>	"be lying down"	<i>dīgīsá</i>	"lairs"
<i>dō</i>	"go up"	<i>dōvsá</i>	"steps"
<i>zò</i>	"run"	<i>zōom^{mε}</i>	"refugee"
<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpī'im^{m/}</i>	"corpse"
<i>tuà</i>	"grind in a mortar"	<i>tūədīr^ε</i>	"mortar"
<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpīibìg^a</i>	"orphan"
<i>dà'</i>	"buy"	<i>dà'abìr^ε</i>	"slave"

9.2.2 From nominals

-s- and **-l-** form adjectives from adjectival roots:

<i>mā'e[/]</i>	"cool down"	<i>mā'asír^ε</i>	"cold, wet"
<i>bōk^{ε/}</i>	"weaken"	<i>bōvsír^ε</i>	"soft"
<i>tēbīg^{ε/}</i>	"get heavy"	<i>tēbīsír^ε</i>	"heavy"
<i>mī'ig^ε</i>	"get sour"	<i>mī'isòg^o</i>	"sour"
<i>sōb^ε</i>	"get dark"	<i>sābílíg^a</i>	"black"

-d- is seen in *yūgvdīr^ε* "hedgehog", *lā'af^o* "cowrie" pl *līgīdī* "money", *pògvdīb^a* "father's sister." It can form abstract nouns from human-reference words:

<i>pu'à-sādīr^{ε/}</i>	"young woman"	<i>pu'asatim</i>	"girlhood, virginity"
<i>bōn-kúvdòg^o</i>	"old man"	<i>bōnkvttim</i>	"old age"
<i>gēdvog</i>	"fool"	<i>gētim</i>	"folly"

<i>p̀v̀-<i>k̀òòǹr</i>^ε</i>	"widow"	<i>p̀v̀k̀òntim</i>	"widowhood"
<i>b̀ā'-<i>b̀īg</i>^a</i>	"brother"	<i>b̀a'abiidv̀g</i>	"brotherhood"

-m- is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. *ỳv̀g̀óm*^{nε} "camel" (ultimately from Berber), *g̀b̀īg̀īm*^{nε} "lion", *z̀ìlīm*^{mε} "tongue", *àǹr̀v̀η*^o "boat", *z̀ùl̀v̀η*^o "deep", *ñ̀ỳā́l̀v̀η*^o "wonderful", *ỳā́l̀v̀η*^o "wide." It also derives both human-reference and mass nouns:

<i>b̀ī'a</i>	"bad"	<i>b̀ī'ə^m</i>	"enemy"
<i>t̀àd̀ìg</i> ^ε	"become weak"	<i>t̀ā́d̀īm^{m/}</i>	"weak person"
<i>áǹs̀ìb</i> ^a	"mother's brother"	<i>ā́ñs̀í^a</i>	"sister's child"
<i>b̀ì'is̀ìr</i> ^ε	"breast"	<i>b̀ì'is̀ím^m</i>	"milk"
<i>ǹà'ab</i> ^a	"chief"	<i>ǹā'am^m</i>	"chiefship"
<i>z̀ōl̀v̀g</i> ^{o/}	"fool"	<i>z̀ōl̀m̀ís</i> ^ε	"foolishness"

Added to adjectival stems, **-m-** produces no change of meaning: thus with resultative deverbal adjective stems in **-l-** or **-līm-** *ḡ*; *v̀èñl̀l̀ìg*^a or *v̀èñl̀l̀í^a* "beautiful"; *m̀ā́l̀s̀í^a* or *m̀ā́l̀s̀í^a* "pleasant"; *l̀ā́ll̀v̀g*^o or *l̀ā́ll̀í^a* "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding stative verb:

<i>ñ̀ỳèè^a</i>	"be self-confident"	<i>ñ̀ỳèè^a</i>	"self-confident"
<i>ǹā́r^{a/}</i>	"be necessary"	<i>ǹā́r̀v̀η</i> ^o	"necessary"
<i>ẁōk</i> ^{o/}	"long, tall"	<i>ẁā'am^{a/}</i>	"be long, tall"

Sometimes **-m-** seems to be introduced to avoid **gg* → *kk*: *ỳáa^a* "grandchild", pl *ỳáas*^ε **yaagsi*, *ỳáab*^a **yaagba* "grandparent"; *v̀úə^a* "red kapok", *v̀úə^ε* **vuəgrɪ* "red kapok fruit" (pl *v̀ūə́m̀ís*^ε "red kapoks" would have to be analogical); *b̀èr̀v̀η*^a pl *b̀èr̀v̀ìs*^ε *Hibiscus cannabinus*, *b̀èr̀v̀g*^a cb *b̀èr̀v̀g-* pl leaves of *b̀èr̀v̀g*^a.

-l- and **-līm-** derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. The suffix **-līm-** is the only derivational suffix before which *CVVC* roots do not become *CVC*, 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>d̀ā́y</i>	"man"	<i>d̀ā́alīm^m</i>	"masculinity"
<i>p̀ỳ'ā^a</i>	"woman"	<i>p̀v̀'ālīm^m</i>	"femininity"
<i>b̀īg</i> ^a	"child"	<i>b̀īlīm^m</i>	"childhood"
<i>t̀ītā'al^{lε}</i>	"proud person"	<i>t̀ītā'alīm^m</i>	"pride"
<i>g̀ī^a</i>	"short"	<i>g̀īñlīm^m</i>	"shortness"
<i>ẁōk</i> ^{o/}	"long, tall"	<i>ẁā'alīm^m</i>	"tallness"
<i>s̀ā́an^{a/}</i>	"guest, stranger"	<i>s̀ā́annīm^m</i>	"strangerhood"
<i>t̀īrā́an^a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>t̀īrā́annīm^m</i>	"neighbourliness"
<i>g̀ī^a</i>	"short"	<i>g̀īñlīm^m</i>	"shortness"

10 Noun prefixes

For the prefixes seen in numbers see [12.5.1](#); in manner-adverbs, [13.4](#).

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. They usually have no identifiable meanings, though they are common in particular semantic fields, such as small animals, reptiles and insects.

Most noun prefixes fall into just a few phonological types. Segmentally, they are mostly of the shape *CV(n)*, where *V* shows only the three-way *a i v* vowel distinction of affix vowels; the *i/v* distinction itself and realisations as [i] or [u] are predictable [3.3](#). There is also a complex reduplicated type *CVsɪn* or *CVlɪn*. Stems with noun prefixes usually lack derivational suffixes. Prefixes have either M or L tonemes throughout, and they differ from cbs in their tonal effects on following elements [3.8.1](#).

Some complex stems have first elements unlike the usual prefix forms; they may also contain unusual consonant clusters, or show tonal anomalies like the initial H of *gbáñyà'a* "lazy person" (cf Dagbani *gbinyayli* "laziness.") Most are found in loanwords, but many names of ethnic groups and clans are also of this kind, like *Kūsâas*^ε "Kusaasi", *Ñwāmpūrīs*^{ε/} "Mamprussi", *Kv̄tām*^{ma/} "Kotamba" (WK's clan.)

A few cbs have become separated from their original paradigms through phonological simplifications and/or semantic bleaching and are effectively now prefixes. Other prefixes are related to verbal negative particles.

The personifier particle [12.6](#) it is not a prefix but a right-bound particle.

The simplest type of noun prefix copies the initial *C* of the root, followed by a vowel which is *ɪ* by default, but *v* after labials, labiodentals and labiovelars; *v* replaces *ɪ* before root *u/v/ɔ* and *ɪ* replaces *v* before root *i/ɪ/ε*. A few forms show *Ca*. No cases occur with voiced stops or voiced fricatives.

<i>k̀̀k̄ɔ̄r</i> ^{ε/}	"voice"	<i>k̀̀k̄ɔ̄m</i> ^{mε}	"leper"
<i>k̀̀k̄àŋ</i> ^a	"fig tree"	<i>k̀̀k̄ĩrĩg</i> ^{a/}	"tutelary spirit"
<i>k[p]̀̀k̄pàrĩg</i> ^a	"palm tree"	<i>k̄p̄ĩk̄p̄ĩn</i> ^{na/}	"merchant"
<i>t̄ĩt̄à'ar</i> ^ε	"big"	<i>t̄àt̄àl</i> ^{lε}	"palm of hand"
<i>p̄ĩp̄ĩrĩg</i> ^{a/}	"desert"	<i>s̄ĩs̄ĩ'əm</i> ^m	"wind"
<i>l̄ĩl̄àalĩg</i> ^a	"swallow"	<i>m̄ĩm̄ĩlĩm</i> ^m	"sweetness"
<i>m̄ĩm̄ĩlĩg</i> ^ɔ	"sweetness"	<i>k̄p̄àk̄v̄r</i> ^{ε/}	"tortoise"
<i>t̄ĩt̄ōmĩs</i> ^ε	"sending"	<i>f̄v̄f̄v̄m</i> ^{mε}	"envy"; "stye"
<i>z̄à-s̄ĩs̄ōb̄ĩr</i> ^{ε/}	"evening" (<i>z̄à</i> - cb of <i>z̄àam</i> ^m "evening", <i>s̄ōb</i> ^ε "get dark")		

More complex is a similar type with a final nasal consonant; voiced stops and fricatives do occur with this type:

<i>dòndùug</i> ^o	"cobra"	<i>dìndēog</i> ^o	"chameleon"
<i>bìmbìm</i> ^{mε}	"altar"	<i>bòmbàrìg</i> ^a	"ant"
<i>kìṅkàṅ</i> ^a	"fig"	<i>tìntōñrìg</i> ^a	"mole"
<i>zīnzāuṅ</i> ^o	"bat"	<i>sīnsáañ</i>	a kind of tiny ant
<i>nōb-púmpàuṅ</i> ^o	"foot"		
<i>gùṅgōm</i> ^{mε}	"kapok material" (<i>gòm</i> ^{mε} "kapok fruit")		
<i>zònzòṅ</i> ^a	"blind" (<i>zū'om</i> ^m "go/make blind")		
<i>pòmpōṅ</i> ^o	"housefly" (<i>tàmpūa id</i>)		

An even more complex type follows the reduplicated CV with *-sin* or *-lin*:

<i>kpìsìṅkpìl</i> ^{lε}	"fist"	<i>tàsìntàl</i> ^{lε}	"palm of hand"
<i>sīlīnsīuṅ</i> ^o	"spider"	<i>sīlīnsīug</i> ^o	"ghost"
<i>zīlīnzìog</i> ^o	"unknown" cf <i>zī</i> "not know"		
<i>vòlīnvùuṅ</i> ^{lε}	"mason wasp"		
<i>wàsìnwàl</i> ^{lε}	parasitic gall on trees ("mistletoe" in local English)		
<i>nēsīnnēog</i> ^o	"envious person" cf <i>nēn</i> ^{na} "envy" WK others "centipede" = WK <i>nà'-nēsīnnēog</i> ^o		

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

<i>dàyūug</i> ^o	"rat"	<i>dàwān</i> ^{nε}	"pigeon"
<i>dàtìuṅ</i> ^o	"right hand"	<i>dàgòbìg</i> ^a	"left hand"
<i>dàṅkòṅ</i> ^o	"measles"	<i>dàwàlìg</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>dārúk</i> ^o	a kind of large pot, cf <i>dōk</i> ^o "pot"		
<i>bàlàṅìr</i> ^ε	"hat"	<i>bàlàar</i> ^ε	"stick, staff"
<i>bānāa</i>	traditional smock		
<i>bālērōg</i> ^o	"ugly" cf <i>lēr</i> ^ε "get ugly"		
<i>bàyēog</i> ^o	"betrayal of secrets" cf <i>yēs</i> ^ε "betray a secret"		
<i>nānzū'us</i> ^ε	"pepper"	<i>màṅgávṅ</i> ^o	"crab"
<i>làṅgávṅ</i> ^o	"crab"		
<i>sākáròg</i> ^o	"fox"	<i>sàbùa</i>	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>sāmán</i> ^{nε}	"courtyard"	<i>sāṅgónnìr</i> ^ε	"millipede"
<i>zàṅkù'ar</i> ^ε	"jackal"	<i>Zàṅgbèog</i> ^o	"Hausa person"

Nàyiġ^a "thief" is written *na'ayiġ* in NT/KB as if 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 an *a|ba* class *g*-stem: pl *nàyiġ-nàm*^a; cf *nàyiġim*^m "thievery." There is an analogical *ga|sɛ* pl *nàyiġis*^ɛ. The Farefare cognate is *nàyiġà*, pl *nayigba* or *nayigsi*; Dagbani has *nayixɔ* pl *nayixsi* and also *tayixɔ*.

Some prefixes are connected with the verb negative particles *pō kò*:

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

However, most cases show no identifiable negative meaning:

<i>kòndòŋ</i> ^a	"jackal"	<i>gōmpōzēr</i> ^{ɛ/}	"duck"
<i>dāmpōsār</i> ^ɛ	"stick"	<i>bān-kúsél</i> ^{lɛ}	"lizard"

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.

Nīn- "body" is accepted by WK as cb of *nīŋ*^a *nīis*^ɛ [= Mooré *yīŋga*] but the word is rare; it appears in *nīn-tāa* "co-wife" and *nīn-ġbīŋ*^{ɔ/} "human skin; body."

Dà- "man" has been replaced as regular cb by forms segmentally remodelled on sg and pl *dàŋ*-, *dàp*-, but *dà*- is seen in *dà-pāal*^{a/} "son, boy" (*pāalīġ* "new") and *dà-kòŋr*^ɛ "son, bachelor" (cf *àràkòŋ*^ɛ "one.")

Pò- "woman" (cf *pɥ'ā*^a "woman" cb *pɥ'à*-) appears in *pò-kòŋr*^ɛ "widow"; cf Mooré *pòġkòré* "widow" along with *pòġsádà* "young woman" = Kusaal *pɥ'à-sādīr*^{ɛ/}.

Pō- "farm" (cf *pōŋġ*^{ɔ/} "field, farm", pl *pōt*^{ɛ/}, cb *pō*-, Mooré *púŋgò* pl *pútò*) appears in *pō-kpāad*^{a/} "farmer" (= *kpāad*^{a/} *id*); tonally, it behaves as a M prefix 3.8.1.

Nà'- "chief"(?) appears before a number of nouns signifying animals and insects: *nà'-zòm*^{mɛ} "locust", *nà'-dàwān*^{nɛ/} "pigeon" (= *dàwān*^{nɛ/}) and WK's *nà'-nēsīnnēog*^{ɔ/} "centipede" (*nēsīnnēog*^{ɔ/} "envious person" WK; others: "centipede.")

The cb perhaps relates to traditional folklore; cf *à-kōrā-dīəm*^{ma} "praying mantis" ("hyena's parent-in-law") and animal and bird names which incorporate the personifier particle, like *à-dàalóŋ*^ɔ "stork", *à-gávŋġ*^ɔ "pied crow", *à-mús*^ɛ "cat."

11 Loanwords

Nouns are much the largest group of identifiable loans. They often deviate from typical Kusaal noun structure, but are fitted into the noun class system by analogy where possible, otherwise making *nàm*^a plurals:

<i>ga sɛ:</i> àràzàk ^a	àràzà'as ^ɛ	àràzà'-	"riches"
<i>màlǐāk</i> ^{a/}	<i>màlǐā'as</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>màlǐā'</i> -	"angel" DK
<i>gɔ dɛ:</i> gādṵg ^{ɔ/}	<i>gāt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>gād</i> -	"bed"
<i>lòmbòñ'ɔg</i> ^ɔ	<i>lòmbòñ'ɔd</i> ^ɛ	<i>lòmbòñ'</i> -	"garden"
<i>rɛ aa:</i> lór ^ɛ	<i>lòyà</i> or <i>lòɔm</i> ^{ma}	<i>lór</i> -	"car, lorry" (cf <i>Mōr</i> ^{ɛ/})
<i>àlópìr</i> ^ɛ	<i>àlópìyà</i>		"aeroplane" SB
<i>wādīr</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>wādá</i>	<i>wād</i> -	pl "customs, law"
<i>kèɛkè</i>	<i>kèɛkè-nàm</i> ^a	<i>kèɛkè</i> -	"bicycle"
<i>Nàsāarā</i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsàa(r)</i> -	"European"

Loans ending in L or H toneme show M spreading after sg, but not cb:

<i>dú'atà nâ'ab</i>	"a doctor's chief"
<i>dú'atà-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 3.8.1: *dūnyā* "world", *dūnyá-kàṅā* "this world."

Initial *à-* in loans is usually treated tonally as fixed-L 4.4.

Borrowed verbs are much less common; they are subject to the usual constraints on verb shapes 9.1. In addition, several function words are loans.

Most identifiable loanwords come from **Hausa**, used as a lingua franca by millions in the savanna zone of West Africa. Alongside the many nouns, borrowed verbs include *dàam*^m "disturb, trouble", Hausa *dàamaa*; *b̀̀g*^ɛ "get drunk", Hausa *b̀̀gu*, literally "get thoroughly beaten." Function words probably taken from Hausa include *àsésé* "except", Hausa *sai*; *k̄v* "or", Hausa *koo*; *b́́á* "not a...", Hausa *b́́á*.

Though loans from Hausa have travelled far in West Africa, words with Hausa counterparts did not necessarily originate in Hausa, itself a great borrower. Some are panregional, like *hālì* "until", Hausa *har*, Kikara Songhay *hālì*, possibly from Arabic *ḥattaa* (Heath 2005.) With *làb̀̀ì*^{ya} "be crouching behind something", Hausa *lab̀̀è* "crouch behind something to eavesdrop", Kikara Songhay *lá:bú* "hide behind or under something", the match of form and meaning is striking; if *làb̀̀ì*^{ya} is a loan, its flexion and derivatives are probably due to the analogy of *vāb̀̀ī*^{ya/} "be lying prone."

Arabic loanwords, frequent throughout the Sahel and Savanna, are likely to have reached Kusaal predominantly through Hausa. Words of Arabic origin include among many others Kusaal *láafiya*, Hausa *laafiya*, Mooré *làafi*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàlà:fiyà* "health", Arabic *ʔal-ḥaafiya* "the wellness"; Kusaal *àràzàk*^a, Hausa *arzikii*, Mooré *àrzéká* "riches", Kikara Songhay *ʔárzúkù* "good luck", Arabic *ʔar-rizq* "the livelihood" pl *ʔarzaaq*; *àràzánà* "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannà*, Mooré *àrzānà*, Kikara Songhay *ʔàljānnà* "heaven, paradise", Arabic *ʔal-janna* "the garden, paradise"; Kusaal *yàddā*^l "assent", Hausa *yàrda* (verb) "consent", Kikara Songhay *yárrè* "consent", probably from the Arabic *yardʿaa*, 3sg masculine ipfv of *radʿiya* "be satisfied"; Kusaal *Tàláatà*, Hausa *Tàlaatà*, Arabic *ʔaθ-θalaaθaaʔ* "Tuesday."

Many Mossi live in the Kusaasi area, and many Kusaasi speak **Mooré** well; they often attribute local or individual peculiarities of Kusaal speech to Mooré influence. Christian missionary work among the Kusaasi began in Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso) and used Mooré materials, leading to borrowing and calquing.

Arabic words have reached Mooré from several West African languages widely used by Muslims other than Hausa, including Dyula and the Songhay languages. Thus *màlǐāk*^{al} "angel" (*malek* in NT versions prior to 2016) is derived from the Arabic *malʔak*, and the vocalism suggests transmission via Mooré *màlékà*; the forms clearly do not match Hausa *màlaaʼikàa*, which is from the Arabic plural *malaaʔika*. Similarly, *Sṽtáanà* "Satan" matches Mooré *Svtāana* rather than Hausa *shàidān*, which is a learned borrowing of the Arabic *ṣaytʿaan*.

Wínnàʼam^m (WK) *Wínàʼam*^m (NT/KB) is "God" in Christian materials, though the Creator of traditional religion often appears simply as *Wín*^{ne/}. Tone and the prevalence of the form *Wínàʼam* with single *n* show that the word is not an Agolle Kusaal compound of *wín*^{ne/}. Direct borrowing of Mooré *Wěnnàám* would not explain the glottalised *aʼa*, and the immediate source is probably **Toende Kusaal** *Wínāʼam*.

Fāañgíd^a "saviour" (NT/KB) is exceptional in preserving *g* in an environment where it is normally deleted; the only other cases in my data are *fāañgír*^ε "salvation" and the gerund *zīʼəg*^a of *zīʼe*^{ya} "be standing" used by DK KT instead of *zīʼa*. The agent noun of *fāe*^l "save" is *fāañd*^{al}, identical to the agent noun of *fāñ* "snatch", NT/KB *faand* "robber"; WK confirmed that *fāañd*^{al} has *both* meanings in his idiolect. *Fāañgíd* is probably another loan from Toende Kusaal, which often retains **g* in this position: Niggli has *fāagít* and *fāat* for "saviour", with *fāat* also glossed "robber." Older NT versions also wrote the Toende forms *aaruŋ* (Toende *āarvòŋ*) for *àñrvòŋ*^ɔ "boat", and *malek* (Toende *màlék*, Mooré *màlékà*) for *màlǐāk*^{al} "angel", but KB has *anrvŋ* and *maliak* throughout, matching both the 1996 audio and the usage of my informants.

A clear **Mampruli** loanword is WK's *k̄ībú* cb *k̄īb-* "soap", which he uses instead of Kusaal *k̄'ib^{3/}*. The length and quality of the vowels identify the source as Mampruli *kyiibu*: contrast Farefare *kí'ibó*, Dagbani *chibo*. Other words with singulars ending in *-i* or *-u* also probably originated as loans from Mampruli or Mooré.

Loanwords of **Songhay** origin include *bùrkìn^a* "honest person", Mooré *bùrkĩná* "free, noble", Dagbani *bilchina* "free, not slave", cf Kikara Songhay *bòrkĩn* "noble (caste)" and *bàṽṽ*, used only in *kpèñ' bàṽṽ* "get circumcised" (*kpèñ'* "enter"), Mooré *kě bǎongó id*, cf Kikara Songhay *bàngù* "pool, spring", à *húró bàngù* "he entered the pool", i.e. "he was circumcised."

Loans from **Twí/Fante** ("Akan"), the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include *kōdú* "banana", Twí *kwadu*; *sāafi* "lock, key", Twí *safě* "key" (from Portuguese *chave*); *bōryá* "Christmas", Twí *bronya*.

English loanwords sufficiently naturalised to be used by speakers unfamiliar with English have often undergone considerable changes: *àlópìr^ε* "aeroplane", perhaps a back-formation from [alopɪɹm] taken as a locative *àlópìrì=n^{ε/}*; *dú'atà* "doctor" (cf Dagbani *dóyté id*); *tóklàè* "torch" ("torchlight"); *lór^ε* "car, lorry" (often borrowed even in Francophone Africa: cf Mooré *lorè*, Nawdm *lòró*); *pɔɔtim* (Jeremiah 20:10) "complain about officially" ("report.")

English stress may be represented by a H toneme which remains fixed throughout the paradigm: *lòyà* "cars", not **lōyá*.

Some words of English origin have probably been transmitted via Hausa: *kótò* "court", Hausa *kootù*; *téebòl^ε* "table", Hausa *teebùr*; *wādá* "law", Hausa *oodà*, from English "order", with sg *wādīr^{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^{al}* "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 *-t-* perhaps introduced from the corresponding verb: *il cachète* "he seals." Mooré and Farefare *kàsétò* have only the abstract sense "testimony"; the adaptation as an *a|ba* class human-reference noun "witness" seems to be a Kusaal innovation enabled by the dropping of the final vowel.

12 Noun phrases

12.1 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 [16.11](#).)

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>sālmā 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 [21.2](#) 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>bōvg</i>	"goat"	<i>bò-ṛìə̀lìg</i>	"white goat"
<i>bò-kàŋā</i>	"this goat"	<i>bò-ṛìə̀l-kàŋā</i>	"this white goat"

Compounds with non-referential cbs as *dependents* are also common:

<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs <i>nà'ab lā wíəf zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse's tail"

Regardless of which element precedes, the last stem shows the noun class suffixes which mark number for the head. The preceding stem has a dummy suffix if it ends in a consonant, but in any case undergoes apocope; analogical remodelling of such combining forms [5.1](#) is common, however, and regular with some stem types.

For the tone sandhi rules which affect the component following the combining form see [4.4](#) [4.5](#). 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-]pìə̀lìg</i>	"white [tall person]"
<i>[zà'-nō-]pìə̀lìg</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 [12.8.1.1](#):

<i>kùg-[nōb-wók]</i>	"[long-legged] stool"
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Compounds may contain uncompounded elements within their structure.

Determiners always bind looser than modifiers. Cbs as modifiers bind tighter to following than preceding words, but cbs as generic arguments bind closer to preceding modifiers than to the following word:

<i>[sālimā bútìṅ-]kàṅā</i>	"this [gold cup]"
<i>[[sālimā lá'-]māan-]kàṅā</i>	"this [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>ò [[sālimā lá'-]māan]</i>	"her [[gold-item]-maker]"
<i>sālimā [zá'-nōɔr]</i>	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth]")
<i>zūgú=n [níf-gbáṅ]</i>	"upper eyelid" ("upper [eye-skin]")
<i>ānzúrfà nē sālimā lá'ad</i>	"silver and gold goods"
<i>[ānzúrfà lá'-]māan</i>	"silversmith" ("[silver goods]-maker")
<i>[ānzúrfà nē sālimā lá'-]māan</i>	"silver- and goldsmith"

Adjective cbs can only be used before an adjective or a dependent pronoun: a noun-adjective compound as a generic argument must adopt a sg or pl form:

<i>[fū-zéñdà] kùə̀s</i>	"seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth"
not <i>*fū-zéñ'-kùə̀s</i>	

Coordination is characteristically a feature of NPs, but also found in AdvPs.

The particles for "or" are *bēε* or *kōv*, synonymous in this usage. By default they are taken as exclusive "or" but can admit the inclusive interpretation "or both":

<i>Dāy lā n̄yé bī-díbìṅ kōv bī-póṅàa=ø?</i>	
Man:SG ART see child-boy:SG or child-girl:SG=PQ?	
"Did the man see a boy or a girl?"	

Bīig lā kōv dāy lā kōv bà wōsā

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*, fundamentally the same word as the preposition "with"; it can only link clauses if they have been nominalised. 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-Bōgūr né À-Nà'ab

"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"

dú'atà nē nà'ab

"a doctor and a chief" (two people)

Coordinated heads may not share determiners:

m ba'abiis ne m saamnama

m bā'-bīis né m sām-nāmā=∅

1SG father-child:PL with 1SG father-PL=VOC

"my siblings and [my] fathers!" (Acts 7:2)

pū'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" [12.7.3](#):

yīga saṅbauṅ ne teṅbauṅ ne atεuk

yīgá sàṅ-gbàṅ nē téṅ-gbàṅ 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 by ellipsis:

Kōsāal sólímà nē sīlímà

"Kusaasi stories and [Kusaal] proverbs"

Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

Kōsāas kûøb nē yīr

"Kusaasi farming and [Kusaasi] housing"

Kusaasi:PL hoeing with house:SG

sālimā bótìis nē dísíímà

"gold cups and [gold] spoons"

gold cup:PL with spoon:PL

("all of them gold", KT)

However, KT WK both agreed that *sālimā lâ'ad nē bōtīs* must mean "gold goods and [not gold] cups", WK offering the correction

sālimā lâ'ad nē ò bōtīs "gold goods and (gold) cups" WK
gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL (for ò referring to *sālimā* see 12.3)

Tony Naden notes that "cups" being a subtype of "goods" impairs the parallel between the coordinated units, making it less natural to supply the ellipsis.

Coordinated heads may even occur before an adjective:

Ka m nye saṅbauṅ nē teṅbauṅ paal.

Kà m ñyē sáṅ-gbàṁṅ- nē téṅ-gbàṁṅ-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:

*[*bēḡíd nē kī*] *kūəs* not possible for "seller of *bēḡíd nē kī*"
(beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack)

Dependent NPs or AdvPs can naturally include coordinated components:

o nya'andolib pii nē yi "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)
ò ñyà'an-dòllìb pīi nē yí'
3AN disciple:PL ten with two

dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "Doctor's and the chief's cars"
doctor:SG with chief:SG ART car:PL

sālimā nē ānzúrfà 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:

	<i>dú'atà (láyà) nē nâ'ab lā lóyà</i>	"[Doctor's cars] and [the chief's cars]"
	<i>sālimā (lâ'ad) nē ānzúrfà lâ'ad</i>	"[gold goods] and [silver goods]"
vs	<i>[dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā] lóyà</i>	"the cars of [Doctor-and-the-chief]"
	<i>[sālimā nē ānzúrfà] lâ'ad</i>	"[gold-and-silver] goods"

This is impossible if the ellipited element would have been a cb: an elliptical reading of *ānzúrífà nē sālīmā 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 [13.3](#); for relative clauses see [21.2](#).

NPs may precede personal names in apposition. The personifier particle is not omitted, showing that the relationship is not dependent-head [12.6](#).

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì p̄ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-b̄iig p̄'á Herodiasε=∅.

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.

... ∅ lèbìs yē, Ēēñ, ò zuà À-Sībīgī n kābiríd.

...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

Personal pronouns in apposition use free forms [24.6](#):

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

Mān Paul [...] *p̄'v̄sìdī=yá.*

1SG Paul greet:IPFV=2PL.

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 [5.2](#). The 1996 NT has *Nonaar Paal* for 1976 *Nonapaal Nō-ná-páal* "New Testament", *Siig Sun* for *Sisun Sî-sùŋ* "Holy Spirit", but the audio NT has *Sîg-sùŋ* (*Sîg-sùŋ* with M spreading) or *Sî-sùŋ*, never **Sîg-súŋ*.

12.2 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 [12.8](#).

Count nouns distinguish sg/pl, unlike **mass** nouns, which characteristically refer to liquids, substances or abstractions. Count nouns may be abstract:

zōɔg^o

zōɔs^ε

"race"

bū'əsúg^o

bū'əsá

bū'əs-

"question"

zàaŋsúg^o

zàaŋsímà

zàaŋsúg-

"dream"

The count/mass distinction affects the choice of quantifiers [12.5](#), the form of plurals with *nàm*^a [5.1](#), and the meaning of NPs as predependents [12.7.2](#).

Typical underived mass nouns belong to the *bɔ* and *mm* noun classes, but gerunds of 3-mora-stem verbs regularly show sg *rɛ* or *gɔ*, and a number of words referring to uncountables or abstracts are formally plural, but construed as singular:

<i>bāñ'as</i> ^ɛ	<i>bāñ'-</i>	"disease"
<i>ñyɔ'ɔs</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>ñyɔ'-</i>	"smoke"
<i>tàdɪmís</i> ^ɛ		"weakness"
<i>zɔ̀lɪmís</i> ^ɛ		"foolishness"
<i>mēt</i> ^{ɛ/}	<i>mēt-</i>	"pus"
<i>kūt</i> ^ɛ	<i>kūt-</i>	"iron"
<i>zùød</i> ^ɛ		"friendship"
<i>bōvd</i> ^ɛ		"innocence"
<i>sīĩnd</i> ^{ɛ/}		"honey"
<i>nīn-pōvd</i> ^ɛ		"pus"
<i>wāad</i> ^{ɛ/}		"cold weather"
<i>sūñ-pêen</i> ^{nɛ}		"anger"
<i>kɥ'á-nūud</i> ^{ɛ/}		"thirst"
<i>sālɪmā</i>	<i>sàlɪm-</i>	"gold"
<i>sìdà</i>	<i>sìd-</i>	"truth"

Kūt^ɛ is also "nail"; the original sg *kūdōg*^ɔ appears in the name *À-Kūdōg*^ɔ [26.2](#). So too with a number of irregularly formed deverbal abstract nouns:

<i>gēēñmís</i> ^ɛ	"madness"	←	<i>gēēñm</i> ^{m/}	"madden, go mad"
<i>bùdɪmís</i> ^ɛ	"confusion"	←	<i>bùdɪm</i> ^m	"confuse"
<i>tìtōmīs</i> ^ɛ	"sending"	←	<i>tòm</i> ^m	"send"
<i>zīid</i> ^{ɛ/}	"carrying on head"	←	<i>zī</i>	"carry on head"
<i>vūud</i> ^{ɛ/}	"noise"	←	<i>vū</i>	"make a noise"
<i>kēn</i> ^{nɛ/}	"arrival"	←	<i>kēñ</i>	"come"
<i>pìàñ'ad</i> ^ɛ	"speech"	←	<i>pìāñ</i> ^a	"speak" (irreg. tones)
[sg <i>pìàɥñk</i> ^ɔ	"word"]			
<i>dì'əmà</i>	"festival"	←	<i>dì'əm</i> ^m	"play, not be serious"
<i>tōvmā</i>	"work"	←	<i>tòm</i> ^m	"work"
[sg <i>tōvm</i> ^{mɛ}	"deed"]			
<i>tēñ'esá</i>	"thought"	cf	<i>tēñ'esá yīnní</i>	"one thought"

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

	<i>dà-p̄vɔdá</i>	<i>dà-p̄vɔdá nàm^a</i>	"cross"
cf	<i>dà-p̄vɔdí^r</i> ^ε	<i>dà-p̄vɔdá</i>	"cross-piece"

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

<i>lāyuk^o</i>	<i>lā'ad^ε</i>	<i>là'-</i>	"piece of goods"
<i>lā'af^o</i>	<i>līgīdī</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>līg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

Mass nouns can be used in count senses: *dāam nám* "beers."

Some count nouns can have mass senses:

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

12.3 Gender

Gender is marked only in pronouns. It is natural, distinguishing entities regarded as *persons* from those not so regarded; for convenience the genders are labelled **animate** and **inanimate**, but the basic principle is that if first or second person pronouns might in principle apply, the gender is "animate." Specifically human/non-human distinctions are lexical rather than syntactic. Thus, although without a context, my informants rejected e.g. **Ò à nē náaf* for "It is a cow", sources often do use animate pronouns for higher animals:

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

Kà wìəf yá' sīgí_ l̄i n̄i, l̄i zùl̀v̀η ná p̄ae ò sàlib̄ir.

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)

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋgb̄iη la nii," lin kv nyan̄i ke ka o ka' niŋgb̄iη la nii.

Nóbir yá' yèl̄i=n yē, Mán k̄a' n̄u'ug l̄a zúg, m̄ k̄a' n̄iŋ-gb̄iη l̄a

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.BE hand:SG ART upon, 1SG NEG.BE body:SG ART

n̄i=∅, l̄in kú ñyāñī_∅ ké k̄a ò k̄a' n̄iŋ-gb̄iη l̄a n̄i=∅.

LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR prevail CAT cause and 3AN NEG.BE body: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)

Trees are personal in the traditional world view:

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.

Tiig wélà b̀ìgìsìd ón àñ s̄'əm.

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)

Babies may be counted as animate or inanimate gender:

Ò/Lì à nē b̀i-l̄ia. "He/she/it is a baby."

3AN/3IN COP FOC child-baby:SG.

There is no gender distinction in the plural:

Bà à nē kūgá. "They are stones."

3PL COP FOC stone:PL.

In older sources (as in older Dagbani) inanimate pronouns as heads could be used indifferently for sg or pl, but with dependent pronouns even the 1976 NT always uses *bàmmā/ b̀àn^ε s̄'əbā* for inanimate plural.

In unselfconscious utterances animate pronouns often appear for inanimate; speakers correct the gender to inanimate if their attention is drawn to it.

N̄if-káṅā, ɔ̄n s̄āñ'am nē.

Eye-DEMST.SG, 3AN.CN spoil FOC.

"This eye, it's spoilt." KT (Overheard)

M̄ p̄w̄ ñyēó=ø=ø. "I can't find it [a stethoscope]" (Overheard)

1SG NEG.IND see=3AN=NEG.

sālmā lâ'ad né ò b̄w̄t̄is "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK

gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

The dummy subject pronoun "it" is always *l̄i*, never *ò*.

The inanimate sg pronoun subject *l̄i* is not changed to animate *ò* to agree with an animate complement of *àṅñ^{ya}* "be something":

Li anε Zuḡsɔb la. "It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)

Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.

3IN COP FOC Lord ART.

12.4 Pronouns

12.4.1 Personal

		Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ <i>n̄</i>
Sg	1st	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m^a</i>	<i>mān</i> SF <i>mánè</i> LF	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>f̄v̄</i>	<i>f^o</i>	<i>fōn</i> SF <i>fúnè</i> LF	<i>fún</i>
	3rd an	<i>ò</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ōn^ε</i>	<i>ón</i>
	3rd inan	<i>l̄i</i> or <i>d̄i</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>līn^ε</i> or <i>dīn^ε</i>	<i>lín</i> or <i>dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>t̄i</i>	<i>ti</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^ε</i>	<i>bán</i>

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

Toende Kusaal has *õ* for *ò* (← **ŋ̄mv*) and *t̄vn nam* for *tīnám yānám*.

Mām also occurs for 1sg in any role. The bound forms are non-contrastive; they are all liaison words 4.2. The liaison enclitic pronouns are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. Personal pronouns are never dependent: in e.g. *m̄ b̄iḡ* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is *this NP* which is the predependent of *b̄iḡ* "child", exactly like *nà'ab lā* "the chief" in *nà'ab lā b̄iḡ* "the chief's child."

The "+*n̄*" forms are used as subjects in *n̄*-clauses 21. The 2pl subject has an enclitic form *y^a* used *after* imperatives 18.3 with the allomorph *n̄i* before liaison.

Free forms may be used for cbs before relative pronouns:

F̄vn kanε buoli f̄v mεḡ ... "You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
F̄v̄n-kánì bùèlì f̄v̄ mēḡ ...
 2SG-REL.SG call 2SG self ...

There are no inclusive/exclusive distinctions and no honorific uses.

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

B̄v̄ḡ yá' a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.
B̄v̄ḡ yá' b̄òɔd̄ yé ò lūbú=f, f̄v̄ p̄v̄ ñyētí ò t̄v̄bāa=∅.

Donkey:SG if want that 3AN throw.off=2SG, 2SG NEG.IND see:IPFV 3AN ear:PL=NEG.

"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." KSS p44

("Where there's a will, there's a way.")

3pl is used as a non-specific "they" for turning passive constructions actively:

Bà yòdī=f sùgàa=ø?

3PL pay:IPFV=2SG good:ADV=PQ?

"Are you well paid?" "Do they [never mentioned] pay you well?" SB

This construction has become grammaticalised so far that in *n*-catenation, the object can be construed as the grammatical subject 19.1, e.g.

Diib wusa nari ba di.

"All foods may be eaten." (Rom 14:20)

Dīb wōsā nárì ∅ bà dí.

Food all must CAT 3PL eat.

There are formal means of distinguishing different third persons by the use of pronoun ellipsis 17.2.2 and logophoric use of the free pronouns 22.2.

12.4.2 Demonstrative

	Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
Long	<i>òḡā'</i>	<i>lìnā'</i>	<i>bàmmā'</i>
Short	<i>òn^ε</i>	<i>lìn^ε</i>	<i>bàn^ε</i>
Long		<i>nē'ḡá</i>	
Short		<i>nē'</i>	<i>nē'-nám^a NT</i>
Long	<i>kàḡā'</i>	<i>kàḡā'</i>	
Short	<i>kàn^ε</i>	<i>kàn^ε</i>	

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

"Short" demonstratives are used as the basis of relative pronouns 21.2.2, for discourse deixis, and for interrogative "which?":

Fvne an dau kan la!

"You are that man!" (2 Samuel 12:7)

Fōnī ∅ áñ dáy-kàn lā!

[i.e. in the story just related.]

2SG.CN CAT COP man-DEM.SG ART!

Lìnè?

"Which one?"

Nīf-kánè?

"Which eye?"

Nīn-kánè?

"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 ci*.)

This use of *lā'* as deictic is enabled by the fact that demonstratives automatically make the NP definite 12.8.5.

<i>sān-káŋā</i>	"at this/that time"
<i>dàŋ-kàŋā sâam</i>	"this/that man's father"
<i>dàŋ-kàŋā lā sâam</i>	"that man's father"
<i>dàŋ-kàŋā ñwá sâam</i>	"this man's father"

Ōŋā' lìnā' nē'ŋá nē' appear only as NP heads, and *òn^ε lìn^ε* cannot follow a cb; however, *bàmmā' bàn^ε* can be used either uncompounded or after a cb.

Kàn^ε kàŋā' 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^ε* may also follow a free personal pronoun, and *àràkón'* "one", but no other quantifiers. NT avoids *kàŋā' kàn^ε* for animate gender.

<i>dú'atà lā lór-kàŋā</i>	"this car of the doctor's"
<i>bù-kàŋā lā</i>	"that goat"
<i>nō-pîl-kàŋā</i>	"this white hen"
<i>fōn-kánì bùel ...</i>	"you who call ..."

12.4.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
<i>sō'</i>	<i>sī'əl^a</i>	<i>sīəbā</i> (unlotted vowel)
<i>sī'a</i>	<i>sī'a</i>	

Sō' sī'əl^a sīəbā may be heads or dependents, and may follow cbs. *Sī'a* is only dependent; for NT WK (not KT) it is much commoner than *sī'əl^a* as dependent. WK feels *sī'a* is pejorative if used for people. For indefinites in relative clauses see 21.2.1.

The sense is "some, someone, something", "a certain", indefinite but *specific*:

<i>yà bì-sō'</i>	"a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDEFAN	

The meaning is often "another, a different":

<i>Mεeri one an Magdalen ne Mεeri sō'</i>
<i>Meeri ónì àñ Magdalen nē Meeri-sō'</i>
Mary RELAN COP Magdalen with Mary-INDEFAN
"Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

M̄ ná tī=f tí-sī'a. "I'll give you a different medicine." WK
1SG IRR give=2SG medicine-INDF.IN.

Indefinite pronouns can be used in presentational constructions, but often still imply "another, a different": *Dāy dāa bé ...* "Once there was a man ...", but

Dāy-sō' dāa bé ... "There was a certain/another man ..."
Man-INDF.AN TNS EXIST ...

Sō'/sī'əl mé-kàmà means "anyone, anything, everyone, everything":

O niḡid si'el məkama sv'vḡa.
Ò niḡid sī'əl mé-kàmà súḡā.
3AN do:IPFV INDF.IN also-whatever good:ADV.
"He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)

With negatives the indefinites mean "nobody, nothing":

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.
Kà sō' kōdīm kú lēm ñyéε=lī yá'asā=∅.
And INDF.AN ever NEG.IRR again see=3IN again=NEG.
"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

Sō' kā'e=∅. "There's nobody there."
INDF.AN NEG.BE=NEG.

M̄ pō yél sī'əlā=∅. "I didn't say anything."
1SG NEG.IND say INDF.IN=NEG.

12.4.4 Interrogative

Animate	Inanimate
<i>ànô'ɔn^ε</i> "who?"	<i>bō</i> "what?"

Plurals with *nàm^a* may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought. *Bō kimm* "what exactly?" with the ideophone *kimm* is common in KB. The initial *à-* of *ànô'ɔn^ε* behaves like the manner-adverb prefix in liaison [4.2](#):

... *keḡ tisi anô'ɔnε?* "to go to whom?" (1 Samuel 6:20)
... *kēḡ ∅ tísì ∅ ànô'ɔnè=∅?*
... go CAT give who=CQ?

Bō can be used after a cb as a dependent interrogative "what?":

<i>nā'-bó?</i>	"what cow?" WK DK (<i>náaf bó</i> can only mean "What, of a cow's?")
<i>bù-bò?</i>	"what goat?"
<i>dā-bó?</i>	"what beer?"

The compound *bò-būudī* "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

<i>nā'-bó-būudī?</i>	"what kind of cow?"
<i>dā-bó-būudī?</i>	"what kind of beer?"

<i>Fò á nē bó-būudī=ø?</i>	"What ethnic group do you belong to?"
2SG COP FOC what-sort=CQ?	

Bò- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of ...?"

<i>Fò túm bó-tùvmà=ø?</i>	"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.CN=CQ?

"What kind of house will you build for me?" (Acts 7:49, 1996)

12.4.5 Reciprocal

Tāabā "one another" appears as *tāab* clause-medially for some speakers. It can be used after a cb, meaning "fellow-": *ò tùm-tùm-tāabā* "his fellow-workers."

<i>Sòḡimī=ø tāabā.</i>	"Help one another."
Help:IMP=2PL.SUB each.other.	

<i>Tì yûug nē tāabā.</i>	"It's been a long time." KT
1PL delay with each.other.	

<i>Bà dól nē tāabā.</i>	"They went together." (<i>dól</i> ^{la/} "accompany")
3PL follow with each.other.	

12.4.6 Reflexive

Mēη^{a/} "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl:

nà'ab lā mēη "the chief himself"
chief:SG ART self

Bà ñyéε_ bà mēη. "They've seen for themselves."
3PL see 3PL self.

F̀d mēη k̄v̀v bí-l̄àa=ø? "Yourself or the baby?"
2SG self or child-baby:SG=CQ? ("Which of you needs the doctor?"; overheard)

"Self" forms must be used for complements referring to the clause subject:

̀M ñwé'ε_ m mēη. "I hit myself."
1SG hit 1SG self. not **̀M ñwé'ε m* or **̀M ñwé' m̄n.*

Kusaal uses a pronoun possessor with body parts acted on by their owner; where ordinary pronouns would have been permissible, using *mēη* implies contrast:

Ba p̄v p̄iesidi ba nu'us w̄v̄v l̄in nar si'em la ka ditta.

Bà p̄v̄ p̄īēsídí_ bà n̄u'us w̄v̄v l̄in n̄ār s̄ī'əm lá k̄à dītā=ø.
3PL NEG.IND clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3IN:NZ be.right INDEADV ART and eat:IPFV=NEG.

"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." (Mt 15:1)

̀M p̄íə_ ñ mēη n̄u'us. "I washed my own hands."
1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

12.4.7 Dummy head

S̄ōb^a is a dummy head for a preceding NP or AdvP dependent; it specifies number and gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate sg *s̄ōb*^a pl *d̄im*^a
Inanimate sg/pl *d̄in*^{nε}

NP predependent constructions have their usual meanings [12.7.2](#):

m̄ān d̄ín^{nε} "my one, mine"
À-W̄in d̄im^a "Awini's family"

Fōn p̄jāñ'ad nē tīnám dín.

2SG.CN speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CN NULL.IN.

("We can't speak your language but ...") "You're speaking ours."

p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̀im s̀ób^a

pl *p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̀im d́im^a*

dūniyā ní dìn^{NE}

B̀òk d́im^a

ȳīgá s̀ób^a

"holy person" (*p̀v̀-ṛ̀ə̀l̀im^m* "holiness")

"earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)

"Bawku people"

"first (person)" beside *ȳīg-s̀ób^a id*

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

ȳi-s̀ób^a

pl *ȳi-s̀ób-nàm^a*

"householder" (*ȳi^ε* "house")

ȳi-d́im^a

"members of the household"

n̄if-s̀ób^a

"miser" (*n̄if^o* "eye")

tāñp-s̀ób^a

"warrior" (*tāñp^o* "war")

zūg-s̀ób^a

pl *zūg-s̀ób-nàm^a*

"boss" NT "Lord" (*zūg^o* "head")

Ò s̀ób^a/ōn s̀ób^a mean "the last person mentioned."

12.5 Quantifiers

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

Quantifiers are **count** or **mass** 12.2, but the distinction is only of significance if the quantified noun is mass type, in which case a count quantifier is ungrammatical:

n̄id̄ib bédv̄ḡ or *n̄id̄ib bábıḡ* "a lot of people, many people"

k̀ù'əm bédv̄ḡ "a lot of water"

not **k̀ù'əm bábıḡ* *"many water"

Mass quantifiers are

b̀èdv̄ḡ'

"a lot"

p̄amm LF *p̄amné*

"a lot"

f̄iñ

"a little (liquid)"

b̄i'ə́lá

"a little"

w̄v̄

"all"

w̄s̄á

"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers are

b̀ábıḡ'

"many"

k̀àlıḡ'

"few"

f̄āāñ

"every"

z̄āñ'a

"every"

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

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

Quantifiers appear typically as determiners in NPs [12.8.2](#), but like pronouns they may also be heads of NPs; they can pluralise with *nàm*^a:

<i>Pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèḍvgū ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèḍvgū lā ké nā.</i>	"The crowd came"
<i>Àyí' ké nā.</i>	"Two came."
<i>Àyí' lā ké nā.</i>	"The two came."
<i>màlīāk-nám túsà pīgā nám</i>	"tens of thousands of angels"

A quantifier head after a dependent NP is a **partitive** construction [12.7.2](#).

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 mōogū=n ñwá

And 1PL that 1PL find food where LOC grass:SG=LOC this

ø dūs nīdīb bēḍvgū bámmā ñwá=ø?

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 wvsa* "all these people")

12.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as **quantifiers** take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i>	10	<i>pīgā</i>	100	<i>kòbīgā</i>
2	<i>àyí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí</i> [pisi]	200	<i>kòbīsí</i> [kòbisi]
3	<i>àtáñ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táñ'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs táñ'</i>
4	<i>ànāasí</i>	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i>	400	<i>kòbìs nāasí</i>
5	<i>ànū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū</i>	500	<i>kòbìs nū</i>
6	<i>àyúèbò</i>	60	<i>pīs yúèbò</i>	600	<i>kòbìs yúèbò</i>
7	<i>àyópòḗ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópòḗ</i>	700	<i>kòbìs yópòḗ</i>
8	<i>ànī</i>	80	<i>pīs nī</i>	800	<i>kòbìs nī</i>
9	<i>àwāḗ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāḗ</i>	900	<i>kòbìs wāḗ</i>

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

The forms for 20 and 200 are not apocope-blocked but combinations with the stem of *àyí'*. *Kòbǵá* irregularly has identical LF and SF.

"Thousand" is a regular *re|aa* class noun, *tūsīr^{ε/}*: *tūsá àtáń'* "3000." "Half" is *pō-súk^a* pl *pō-súgùs^ε*. Other numbers are formed with *nē* "with, and": *kòbìs táń' 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 táń' ... pīi nē wāg* (or *pīi nā yīnní*, *pīi nā yí' ...*)

The prefix *à-* is omitted after *nē* "with", and sometimes also after focus-*nē^l*:

Lì à nē nāasí. / *Lì à né ànāasí.* "They're four."

The forms *àyíǵá' àtáǵá'* mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M mór bīisá àtáń'. "I have three children."
1SG have child:PL NUM:three. is true, though misleading

but *M mór bīisá àtáǵā.* "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after *nē* "and", as in *pīi nē yíǵā* "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with the particle *nē^l* 24.1.2.

Yīnní can also be construed with a preceding noun cb:

kūg-yīnnì "one stone" (M dropping 4.5)
cf *kūgōr yīnní* "one stone" (no M dropping)

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

The number prefix *à-* represents original **ǵa-*, a fossilised noun class agreement flexion corresponding to the plural of the *re|aa* class. Older Dagbani sources retain the inanimate plural pronoun *ǵa*, corresponding to singular *dí* = Kusaal *lì, dī* (Olawsky 1999.) After animate-gender nouns, the expected prefix *bà-* has been supplanted by *à-*, but *bà* is used after personal pronouns: *tì bàtáń'* "we three", *yà bàyópòg* "you seven", *bà bàyí'* "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in **counting**, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix *ń-* instead of *à-*. This represents the old agreement for the *mm* class, in its "abstract" sense. Nawdm, which preserves class agreement for numbers (*nídbá bàtáń* "three people") uses the agreement prefix for its cognate *m-* class for counting: *mtáń* "three" *mnàà* "four" *mnù* "five" etc (Babakima 2013, p51.)

1	<i>yéon</i> or <i>àràkóń'</i>	6	<i>nyúøb</i>
2	<i>nyí'</i>	7	<i>npòę</i> [tone sic]
3	<i>ntáń'</i>	8	<i>nní</i>
4	<i>nnāas</i>	9	<i>nwāę</i>
5	<i>nnū</i>		continuing <i>pīigā</i> , <i>pīi nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

Àràkóń' can also be used as a quantifier: *búvg àràkóń'* "one goat."

The form *kōń'okō* appears as a postposition: *n̄ kōń'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."

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

dēę^a *dēęńs*^ε *dēę-* "first"
or *dēmīs*^ε or *dēenā*

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

linē da an yiiga dabisir

līnī_ø dá àń yīigá dábısìr.

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

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

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

dàụ-kàni pè'esà_ àyí' lā

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

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

līnī pàasà_ àtáń' 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 àtáń' dāan lā "the third goat"

Yīgá dāan may be used for "first." "Third, fourth, fifth ..." in counting appear without apocope-blocking in KSS p35: *atan'-daan ... ka anaas-daan ... ka nu-daan ... ka yuob-daan ... ka poi-daan ... ka nii- daan ... ka wai-daan ... ka piig-daan.*

Note the adjective

yīmmír^ε *yīmmá* *yīm-* "solitary, unique"

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

Multiplicatives answer *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yīmmú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí'* "twice", *àbùtán'* "three times", *àbùnāasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīgā* "ten times." The prefix *bù-* is an old *bō* or *mm* agreement; *à-* is the *manner-adverb* formant, preceded by LF-final *-i*, so its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nōrá àlá* "how many times?" have forms of the pattern *nōr yīnní* "once", *nōrá àtán'* "three times", or alternatively *nōrím bùtán'* "three times" etc. This *nōr* is not "mouth" (Mooré *nóorè*) but corresponds to Mooré *náooré* "pied, fois"; Toende uses *nó'ot* "leg": *nōba ayi/nó'ot ayi* "deux fois."

Distributives "two by two" etc are (as SFs):

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīg</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>àtán' tán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán' tán'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tán' tán'</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>tūsīr túsìr</i>
6	<i>àyûeb yûeb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûeb yûeb</i>		
7	<i>àyópðe pðe</i>	70	<i>pīs yópðe pðe</i>		
8	<i>ànīi nīi</i>	80	<i>pīs nīi nīi</i>		
9	<i>àwāe wāe</i>	90	<i>pīs wāe wāe</i>		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern *pīs nū nē nāas nāas* "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: *dābá àyópðe pðe* "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

12.5.2 Proquantifiers

Quantifiers have corresponding proforms; *à-* is the *number* prefix here 4.2.

Demonstrative	Indefinite	Interrogative
<i>àlá</i>	<i>sī'əm^m</i>	<i>àlá</i>
"so much/many"	"some amount"	"how much/many?"

12.6 Personifier particle

Indigenous Kusaasi personal names [26.2](#) are always preceded by the liaison-word 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.

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>Ṁ Wīn</i>	"my Awini"
<i>À-Wīn-káŋā</i>	"this Awini"
<i>À-Wīn nám</i>	"Awinis"
<i>Ñ-Dāvɔ</i>	"Ndago"
<i>tì Ñ-Dāvɔ</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-Mūūsā</i>	"Moses"
<i>À-Yīīsā</i>	"Jesus"
<i>À-Sīimōon</i>	"Simon"

NT has some personifications of abstractions: *À-Sàñ'vɔ* "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-dàalóŋ*^ɔ "stork", *à-gāvñg*^ɔ "pied crow", *à-kōrā-dīəm*^{ma} "praying mantis", *à-mús*^ε "cat." Thus

<i>à-dàalóŋ</i>	"a stork"
<i>Ṁ/mān dáalóŋ</i>	"my stork"
1SG/1SG.CN stork.SG	

dāu lā dáalóη "the man's stork"
man:SG ART stork:SG

Lì à né à-dàalóη. "It's a stork"
3IN COP FOC PERS-stork:SG.

M̄ ñyé à-dàalóη. "I've seen a stork."
1SG see PERS-stork:SG.

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-tòm sɔ' ("Someone sent someone")
PERS-send INDF.AN

Apu-kpen'-baηu dim
À-pū kpéñ' bàηηò díη
PERS-NEG.IND enter circumcision NULL.PL
"the Uncircumcised" (Eph 2:11)

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

À-ñyē nē nīf sóñ'ɔ̄ À-wòm tòbà.
PERS-see with eye:SG be.better.than PERS-hear ear:PL
"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

À-K̄id̄igī̄ ∅ Bū'es "Crossed over and asked"
PERS-CROSS CAT ask (name of the constellation Orion.)

Apozotyel "Doesn't-fear-trouble", character in KSS p35.
À-Pū-zót-yēl
PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG

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

Bà kèn né À-nà kúv̀m̀ 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.") [*Nōs bé.* "There are chickens."]

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

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpīid 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.")

12.7 Dependents before 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 [fūug dōog]] "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see [4.5](#).

12.7.1 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-nūur^ε "beer-drinking" *gēl-kûes^a* "egg-seller"

With **agent nouns** from transitive verbs the cb usually represents an object. Agent nouns from intransitives may have an AdvP or indirect object cb complement. These compounds can be freely coined, and their meanings are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions. Examples:

<i>nīn-kūvd^a</i>	"murderer"	<i>bù-kūvd^{a/}</i>	"goat-killer"
<i>nō-kūvd^a</i>	"hen-killer"	<i>pū'à-kūvd^{a/}</i>	"woman-killer"
<i>nō-zāñ^{lε}</i>	"holder of hens"	<i>wìd-kùəs^a</i>	"horse-seller"
<i>bù-kùəs^a</i>	"goat-seller"	<i>sàlìm-kùəs^a</i>	"gold-seller"
<i>dā-nūud^a</i>	"beer-drinker"	<i>dà-kīəd^a</i>	"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^{nε}</i> "earth")		
<i>làmpō-dī'əs^a</i>	"tax collector" (French <i>l'impôt</i>)		
<i>gbàn-mī'id^{a/}</i>	"scribe" NT ("book-knower")		
<i>pū'à-sāñ'am^{ma}</i>	"adulterer" ("woman-spoiler")		
<i>zà'-nō-gúr^a</i>	"gate-keeper" (<i>zà'-nōɔɔ^{ε/}</i> "gate")		
<i>kòñb-kīm^{na}</i>	"herdsman" (<i>kòñb-</i> cb of <i>būn-kóñbòg^ɔ</i> "animal")		
<i>bùl-sīgīd^{a/}</i>	"well-diver" (<i>bùlìg^a</i> "well")		
<i>tùən-gāt^a</i>	"leader" (<i>Ò gād tùən</i> "He's gone ahead")		
<i>ñyà'an-dòl^{la}</i>	"disciple" (<i>ñyá'an^a</i> "behind", <i>dòl^{la/}</i> "accompany")		
<i>pū'à-lā'ad^a</i>	"laugher at women" WK (<i>Ò là'ad pū'ab</i> "He laughs at women")		

My informants freely create and cite agent nouns in isolation, but it is unusual in practice for agent nouns to appear "bare"; in my materials only *bāñīd^a* "wise man", *sīākīd^a* "believer", *sōñīd^a* "helper", *fāāñd^{a/}* "robber", "Saviour" occur often. With monosyllabic agent nouns there is often a preceding cognate cb, sometimes an object, but often apparently just a reduplication of the agent noun stem:

<i>màal-māan^{na}</i>	"sacrificer"	<i>zī-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-tùm^{na}</i>	"worker"

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

<i>sjà-lōcdíŋ^a</i>	"belt" (waist-tying thing)
<i>nīn-gótìŋ^a</i>	"mirror" (eye-looking thing)
<i>nīn-gótìs^ε</i>	"spectacles"

If the head is a **gerund**, a predependent cb may represent a subject or complement. Gerunds in *-bo* here replace the suffix with *-rε* 8.1.1.

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

<i>fū-yêr^ε</i>	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)
<i>pɥ'â-dīur^ε</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ò dī pɥ'ā</i> "He's married a wife")
<i>nīn-kôvr^ε</i>	"murder"
<i>dā-nûur^ε</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>Sāmán-pjər^ε</i>	traditional New Year ("Courtyard Cleaning")
<i>bùgóm-tōwñr^ε</i>	Fire Festival ("Fire Throwing")
<i>nō-lôvr^ε</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>nō-pôvr^ε</i>	"oath" (<i>pō</i> "swear")
<i>nō-nâar^ε</i>	"covenant" (<i>nā</i> "join")
<i>nīn-baal-zōvr^ε</i>	"pity" (<i>Ò zōtō nīn-baalīg</i> . "He has pity on him")

It may represent an AdvP:

<i>mò-pīl^{le}</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vū'vgr^ε</i>	"resurrection" (<i>Ò vò'vgr kūmī=n</i> . "He revived from death.")

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

<i>nōb-kôvr^ε</i>	"breaking a leg" (<i>kò</i> is intransitive)
<i>nū'-módīr^ε</i>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>wìn-līir^ε</i>	"sunset" (<i>Wīnnīg lī yā</i> . "The sun has set/fallen.")
<i>sūñ-sāñ'vŋ^o</i>	"sorrow" (<i>Ḃ sūñf sāñ'am nē</i> . "My heart is spoilt")
<i>sūñ-pêen^{ne}</i>	"anger" (<i>Ḃ sūñf pēlīg 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>pò-pjə̀līm^m</i>	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
<i>sūñ-kpī'orŋ^o</i>	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
<i>sūñ-má'asīm^m</i>	"joy" ("heart-coolness": <i>Ḃ sūñf má'e yā</i> . "I'm joyful.")
<i>nìn-tōllīm^m</i>	"fever" ("body-heat")
<i>wīn-tôog^o</i>	"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^o</i>	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
<i>wìd-zōvr^ε</i>	"horsetail"

<i>wāb-móogū=n^{ε/}</i>	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants" WK
<i>zà'-nōor^{ε/}</i>	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
<i>mà-bīg^a</i>	"sibling" ("child by [same] mother")
<i>bā'-bīg^a</i>	"half-sibling" ("child by [same] father")
<i>tèŋ-bīg^a</i>	"native" ("child of a country")
<i>nàsàa-sìlòg^o</i>	"aeroplane" (European hawk) ILK

WK has *náaf-bì'isím^m* "cow's milk", *bōvg-bì'isím^m* "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound.

12.7.2 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 [3.1](#).

Definite predependents do not automatically make a NP head definite [12.8.5](#).

For *mēŋ^{a/}* "self" and *sōb^a* as heads after predependents see [12.4.6](#) [12.4.7](#).

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>sīəbā</i>	dependent
<i>yà sō'</i>	"some one among you"	<i>sō'</i>	head
<i>nīdīb lā síəbà</i>	"certain of the people"	<i>sīəbā</i>	head
<i>nīdīb síəbà</i>	"certain ones among people"	<i>sīəbā</i>	head
<i>nīdībá àyí'</i>	"two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdībá àyí' lā</i>	"the two people"	<i>àyí'</i>	dependent
<i>nīdīb 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 gan sō'

Pà'alīmī=tí nīdībá àyí' ñwá fún gāŋ sō'

Teach:IMP=1PL person:PL NUM:two this 2SG:NZ choose INDEFAN

"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. *nīdīb 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'v̀l̀im</i>	"kingdom" ("chieftaincy possession")
<i>p̀v̀'vs̀òg d̀òòg</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>t̀v̀l̀gír b̀ún</i>	"heater" ("heating thing" = <i>b̀v̀n-t̀v̀l̀gír</i> ^ε)
<i>d̀v̀g̀v̀b d̀út</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>l̀ìgídì t̀v̀vm̀à</i>	"expensive work" (<i>l̀ìgídì</i> "money")

There are sometimes alternate forms with cbs:

	<i>t̀àñp-s̀v̀b</i>	"warrior"	(<i>t̀àñp</i> ³ "war")
	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀ìèl-s̀v̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Rom 3:10, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀ìèl̀im s̀v̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Mt 10:41, 1996)
	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀ìèl-t̀v̀vm̀à</i>	"holy actions"	(Rom 6:13, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀ìèl̀im t̀v̀vm̀à</i>	"holy actions"	(Mt 5:10, 1996)

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

<i>K̀v̀s̀aal ỳír ǹē k̀v̀èb</i>	"Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
<i>Ǹàs̀aal búg̀úm</i>	"electricity" ("European fire")

Concrete indefinite mass NPs as predependents express the material of which the head consists.

<i>s̀al̀im̀ā b̀v̀t̀ìg</i>	"golden cup"
<i>s̀al̀im̀ā ǹē ānz̀uríf̀à lâ'ad</i>	"gold and silver goods"

Count nouns may appear here in mass senses [12.2](#):

<i>f̀ūug d̀òòg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut)
<i>d̀àad b̀v̀n-ǹám</i>	"wooden things" (<i>d̀àv̀g</i> ³ "piece of wood")

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

<i>s̀al̀im̀ā lâ'ad ǹē ò b̀v̀t̀ìs</i>	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK 12.1
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This is never the case with dependent cbs, as in *s̀al̀im-k̀v̀èb* "gold-seller", *d̀ā-ǹūud* "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 bīg</i>	"my child"
<i>dāy lā bīg</i>	"the man's child"
<i>dāy lā bīər bīg nāaf z̀v̀r</i>	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
<i>K̀s̄as wádà</i>	"customs of the Kusaasi"

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bê'og yír nà sãñ'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 z̀v̀r</i>	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
<i>nà'ab lā wíd-z̀v̀r</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:

<i>lór dāan</i>	"car owner"
<i>b̄v̄g dāan</i>	"goat owner"
<i>kù'əm dāan</i>	"water owner"
<i>t̄əŋ dāan</i>	"bearded man"
<i>dāam dāan</i>	"beer owner"
<i>p̄ɔɔg lā dāan</i>	"the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40)

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Z̀-w̄k dāan p̄ gáŋìd 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>p̀-ɸ̀ə̀l̄m dāan</i>	"holy person"
<i>b̄v̄s̄ígā dāan</i>	"softly-softly sort of person" WK

See [12.5.1](#) 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 "householder" = *yī-sób*
tèŋ-dāan (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.

Dāu lā kúlòg dāa māhsí=m.
 Man:SG ART go.home:GER TNS be.sweet=1SG.
 "The man's return home pleased me."

Generic-object cbs, adjunct AdvPs and VP-final particles may appear:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
yà àntu'á-mōríim kótò ní nē tāabā 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 lēbvɔg la na
Nīn-sāal Bīig lā lēbòg lā nā
 Human:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither
 "the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

12.7.3 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 [12.7.2](#).

dūniyā ní nīn-gbīŋ "earthly body"
kōlīgī=n nó-dāvɔg "crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
Bòk díim "Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf "left eye"
zūgú=n níf-gbáɔŋ "upper eyelid"
tēŋī=n níf-gbáɔŋ "lower eyelid"

Kūsāas kùəb nē yīr yélà gbàɔŋ "A book about Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
dàɔ-kàŋā lā yélà gbàɔŋ "a book about that man" WK

Ba da mər məɔgin bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi, yɪn bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi ...

Bà dà m̀̀r m̄̀ɔḡ̄=n b́̀n-kóń̀̀bìd né bà b̄̀udī, ý̀n b́̀n-kóń̀̀bìd

3PL TNS have bush:SG=LOC thing-hair:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC thing-hair:PL

né bà b̄̀udī ...

and 3PL kind ...

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

(Gen 7:14)

Yīgá "firstly" appears as a predependent meaning "first" [12.5.1](#).

12.8 Dependents after 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, making the cb a standard part of noun and adjective paradigms. Cbs as heads are the most liable to segmental remodelling [5.2](#).

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'*.

12.8.1 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 [16.9.2](#). Generally, compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *bōn-* "thing" are used instead: *nīn-súŋ^ɔ* "good person", *bōn-vúr^ɛ* "living thing" etc. *Bōn^{nɛ/}* can make a regular *rɛ|aa* class plural *bōná* or pluralise with *nám^a*:

Bōn-námá_àlá kà f̀̀v̀̀ 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:

tōlīgír b́̀n^{nɛ} "heating thing, heater" = b́̀n-tólīgír^ɛ

kù'əmī=n b́̀n^{nɛ} "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" versus *kúvdír^ε* "killer."

Note the idioms

<i>bōn-gíŋ^a</i>	"short chap" (informal, humorous)
<i>bōn-kúvdòg^o</i>	"old man" (the normal expression)

The combination noun + adjective is rendered with noun cb before the adjective, which inflects as sg/pl or cb on behalf of the head noun:

<i>nūa^l</i>	"hen"	<i>nōs^{ε/}</i>	"hens"
<i>nō-píə̀lìg^a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-píə̀lìs^ε</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súŋ^o</i>	"good hen"	<i>nō-súmà</i>	"good hens"

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

<i>nīn-wók-píə̀lìg^a</i>	"white tall person"
<i>nō-píə̀l-kàŋā^l</i>	"this white hen"

However, noun-adjective compounds cannot form cbs for deverbal noun generic complements; sg/pl forms appear instead:

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

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings:

<i>nū^l-bī^l</i>	"finger" ("small hand")
<i>tì-sābilím^m</i>	a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
<i>gòñ^l-sābilíg^a</i>	Haaf <i>gosabliga</i> "Acacia hockii" ("black thorn")

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^l-bīə̀lìf^o</i>	"small coin" NT (<i>lā^laf^o</i> "cowrie", <i>bī^lə̀lá</i> "a little")
<i>dà-sī^lə̀r^ε</i>	"some day, perhaps" (<i>dāar^ε</i> "day", <i>sī^la</i> "some")
<i>dàbìs-sī^lə̀r^ε</i>	"some day" (<i>dàbìsìr^ε</i> "day")
<i>yē^l-súm^{mε}</i>	"blessing" (<i>yē^l</i> ^{lε/} "matter", <i>sùŋ^o</i> "good")
<i>pū^là-pāal^{al}</i>	"bride" (<i>pū^lā^a</i> "wife", <i>pāalíg^a</i> "new")
<i>dà-pāal^{al}</i>	"young man, son" (<i>dāū</i> "man")

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, *mm*-class nouns require adjectives in *-mm*, as does *bōn* "thing" in abstract but not concrete senses:

	<i>dā-páalim^m</i>	"new millet beer"; WK does not accept * <i>dā-paal</i> , * <i>dā-paalìg</i> .
	<i>tì-sābilim^m</i>	"black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
	<i>tì-vōnnim^m</i>	"oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
	<i>tì-kōvdim^m</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
	<i>kpāñ-sóoñdim^m</i>	"anointing oil" (<i>kpāañ^m</i> "oil, grease")
	<i>bōn-bóodim^m</i>	"desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1: <i>nòhìlim^m</i> "love")
but	<i>bōn-bóodir^ε</i>	"desirable thing" (BNY p17: a sheep)
	<i>bōn-nyétim^m</i>	"the visible world"
but	<i>bōn-nyétir^ε</i>	"a visible object"

Adjectives may show apocope-blocking [3.2](#) 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'arī.</i>	"It's biggish."

12.8.1.1 Bahuvrihis

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

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kpíílúŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíílúŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bí-[nū'-kpíílúŋ].</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."
<i>kòg-nōb-wók^o</i>	"long-legged stool"
<i>kòg-nōb-wâ'ad^ε</i>	"long-legged stools"
<i>Kòg-kàŋā á nē nōb-wók.</i>	"This stool is long-legged." WK
<i>zūg-máuk^o pl zūg-mâ'ad^ε</i>	"crushed-headed"
<i>zò-wōk^o</i>	"long-tailed"
<i>nōb-gíŋ^a</i>	"short-legged"
<i>zū-péelòg^o pl zū-péelà</i>	"bald"; cf <i>Dau sò' zug ya'a pie</i>
	"If a man has gone bald" (Leviticus 13:40)
<i>lām-fōog^o pl lām-fōod^ε</i>	"toothless" (<i>lām^{mε}</i> "gum", <i>fūe</i> "draw out")

The two adjectives "one of a pair" [12.5.1](#) are often used in bahuvrihis: *nīf-ñyáuk*^o "one eye", *bà-nīf-ñyáuk*^o "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuŋ*^o "one ear" *bì-tùb-yīná* "one-eared children."

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

	<i>bì-tùb-kpīdā</i>	"deaf child" (<i>tùbùr</i> ^ε "ear", <i>kpì</i> "die")
pl	<i>bì-tùb-kpīdā nám</i> ^a , <i>bì-tùb-kpīdīs</i> ^ε <i>bì-tùb-līd</i> ^ε	"child/children with blocked ears" (<i>lī</i> "block")

12.8.1.2 Nouns as adjectives

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives modifying other human-reference nouns; the construction is effectively appositional:

	<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-kpīlúŋ</i> ^o	"dead child"
[only	<i>bù-kpīlúŋ</i> ^o	"dead goat"]
	<i>bì-dāu</i> or <i>bì-dāvŋ</i> ^o	"male child"
[only	<i>bù-dāvŋ</i> ^o	"male goat"]
	<i>bì-pu'ā</i> ^a or <i>bì-puāk</i> ^a	"female child"
	<i>bì-zū'əm</i> ^{m/} or <i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"
	<i>bì-zùnzòŋ</i> ^a	"blind child"
	<i>bì-gìk</i> ^a	"dumb child"
	<i>bì-wàbìr</i> ^ε	"lame child"
	<i>bì-bālērōŋ</i> ^o	"ugly child"
	<i>bì-pòŋ'or</i> ^ε	"crippled child"
	<i>nà'-bīg</i> ^a or <i>bì-nà'ab</i> ^a	"prince"
	<i>dāu-bīg</i> ^a or <i>bì-dāu</i>	"male child"
	<i>nàsàa-bīg</i> ^a	"European child"
	<i>yàmmùg-bī-púŋ</i> ^a	"girl slave" (<i>yamug bipuŋ</i> Acts 16:16, 1976 5.2)
	<i>yàm-bī-púŋ</i> ^a	"girl slave" WK (<i>yàmmùg bì-púŋ</i> ^a "slave's girl")
	<i>bī-púŋ-yàmmùg</i> ^a	"slave girl"

Even agent nouns can appear as modifiers, but only of human-reference cbs which cannot be interpreted as complements:

	<i>pɹ̀'à-zàaṅs^a</i>	"dreamy woman" KT
	<i>bì-sīn^{na/}</i> or <i>bì-sīnníg^a</i>	"silent child"
but	<i>bò-sīnníg^a</i> or <i>bò-sīnnúg^o</i>	"silent goat"
	<i>pɹ̀'à-kōvdíg^a</i>	"murderous woman, murderess" WK
	<i>pɹ̀'à-lā'adīg^a</i>	"woman given to laughing" WK
cf	<i>pɹ̀'à-kōvd^{a/}</i>	only "killer of women" WK
	<i>pɹ̀'à-lā'ad^a</i>	only "laugher at women" WK

12.8.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers as determiners follow the head, except for *yīgá* "firstly." A head can appear as a cb only with *yīnní* "one" and in a few fixed expressions like *dà-pīgā* "ten days"; elsewhere, quantifiers are not subject to M dropping: *kūg-yīnnì* "one stone" but *kūgōr yīnní* "one stone."

Quantifiers precede dependent pronouns and *lā'* "the, that", *ñwà* "this":

<i>bɔnama atan' nwa</i>	"these three things" (1 Cor 13:13)
<i>bōn-námá_àtáñ' ñwá</i>	
thing-PL NUM:three this	

Quantifiers as determiners can be coordinated:

<i>o nya'andolib pii ne yi</i>	"his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)
<i>ò ñyà'an-dòllìb pīi nē yí'</i>	
3AN disciple:PL ten with two	

12.8.3 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. *Àmēḡá* "really, truly" occurs in the meaning "genuine, real":

<i>Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēḡá lā.</i>
3AN.CN NULL.AN COP FOC doctor:SG ADV:real:ADV ART
"That one's the real doctor."

With *ñwādīs yōvm lā púvgō=n* "months in the year" (SB) and *wābōg mōḡgō=n lā* "the elephant in the bush" (WK), I have not recorded the full contexts, possibly e.g. *M dāa ñyē wābōg mōḡgō=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-sòŋ 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-sòŋ.

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

12.8.4 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-sòŋ-kàŋā'</i>	"this good child"
<i>bì-kànè?</i>	"which child?"	<i>bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

yeltōd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la

yēl-tōd àyópòɛ bání kà màlīāk-námá àyópòɛ 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)

12.8.5 *Lā* and *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 [18.4](#) and after demonstratives [12.4.2](#).

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 [16.11](#).

As article, *lā'* marks referents as specific and already established. However, unlike English "the", *lā'* is not typically used for "familiar background" references:

Wìnnìg 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:

Nɔ̀jilim pɔ naada. "Love does not come to an end." (1 Cor 13:8)
Nɔ̀jìlím p̄ nāadá=∅.
Love NEG.IND finish:IPFV=NEG.

Lā' is not used in vocatives, contrasting with *ñwà*, which often is:

Bīgā=∅! "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, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of *àɛñ^{ya}* "be something" when used ascriptively:

M̄ bīg kā'e=∅. "I've no child" WK
1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

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 [24.5](#):

Dau da be mori o biribing
Dāu dá bè_∅ mōrí_ò bī-díbìṅ
Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG
"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

Outside such contexts, an indefinite NP is usually *generic*; unlike English "the", *lā'* is not used with a generic sense:

Tvmtv̄m p̄v gat o zugdaana.

T̀̀m-t̀̀m p̄v gát ò z̀̀g-dáanā=∅.

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.

T̀̀ig wélàa ∅ b̀̀gisìd lín àñ tí-s̄́'a.

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

A predependent NP ending in *lā'* makes the following head definite, and the head does not itself take the article:

nà'ab lā b̀̀ig

"the chief's child"

not **nà'ab lā b̀̀ig lā*

Only predependents *with the article* and demonstrative pronouns automatically make their heads definite; predependent personal pronouns or proper names do not:

Wínà'am málìāk

"an angel of God"

Wínà'am málìāk lā

"the angel of God"

m̀̀ b̀̀ig

"my child" (at first mention)

m̀̀ b̀̀ig 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:

*On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul **sidi** paae yvma ayɔɔɔi ka **o sid la** kpi.*

Ón dāa áñ p̄́'á-sādīr lā kà ò k̄́l s̄́dī ∅ p̄́e

3AN:NZ TNS COP woman-nulliparous:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

ỳ̀mà àyóɔ̀ɔ̀ kà ò s̄́d lā k̄́p̄́.

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)

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāu dá bè̃ ∅ mōrí̃ ò bī-díbĩŋ

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

Note also the contrast of meaning produced by the article in

M̃ bī̃ŋ kã'e=∅.

"I've no child" WK

1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

M̃ bī̃ŋ lã kã'e=∅.

"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 *bã'* and *sàam*^{ma} "father."

For an unambiguously indefinite specific meaning like "some, another", indefinite pronouns are used:

Nã'-sị̃bà óñbìd nē mō̃d. "Some cows are eating grass."

Cow INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

An indefinite pronoun is necessary to make the head indefinite after a predependent with the article:

nà'ab lã bī-sō'

"a child of the chief's"

chief:SG ART child INDF.AN

13 Adverbial phrases

13.1 Forms and functions

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, and many adverbs do not conform to the structure of ordinary nouns.

Absolute clauses are AdvPs 21.1, as are several relative clause types.

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

Bēogō=n nē zāam kà fò ná nīḡ tí-kàḡā.

Morning=LOC with evening and 2SG IRR do medicine-DEMST.SG.

"You'll use this medicine morning and evening." [Time]

Nyalima na be winnigin ne nwadigin ne nwadbibisin.

Ñyālmá nà bē wīnnìḡī=n nē ñwādìḡí=n nē ñwād-bíḡīsī=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) [Place]

For manner-AdvP coordination see on *sī'əm*-clauses 21.2.1.

The prototypical use of AdvPs is as VP adjuncts. For AdvPs as dependents in NPs see 12.7.3; time/circumstance AdvPs may appear as postlinker adjuncts 17.2.1.

AdvPs also occur as verb arguments. AdvP subjects are most often seen with *àḡñ^{ya}* "be something/somehow," but occur with other verbs too, especially statives.

Yīḡ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yīḡ véñl kà pōvgō=n kā' sūmm=∅.

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 kpīi ti yēla la ke ka ti baḡ nōḡilim an si'em.

Kristo=∅ dà kpīi tì yēlá lā ké kà tì báḡ nòḡìlīm=∅ àñ sī'əm.

Christ=NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love=NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

(absolute clause AdvP as subject)

In *Sòḡā bé* "OK it is" (WK), *sòḡā* used metalinguistically: "the word *sòḡā*."

Verbs with appropriate meanings frequently take locative AdvPs as complements, rather than as adjuncts 16.9.3.

The verb *àḡñ^{ya}* "be something/somehow" 16.12 typically has a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement rather than an adjective as NP head:

<i>Lì à nē zāalím.</i>	"It's empty."
<i>Lì à nē bōgvsígā.</i>	"It's soft."
<i>Lì à súnā.</i>	"It's good."

Kusaal characteristically says "be/do *how*" rather than "be/do *what*":

<i>Dā nīḡì àlāa=∅!</i>	"Don't do that!" ("thus")
NEG.IMP do ADV:thus=NEG.	

<i>Fv wum ban yet si'em laa?</i>	
<i>Fv wóm bán yèt sī'əm láa=∅?</i>	
2SG hear:IPFV 3PL:NZ say:IPFV INDEF.ADV ART=PQ?	
"Do you hear what they are saying?" (Mt 21:16)	

See also on relative clauses with *sī'əm*^m "somehow" as head 21.2.1.
For the idiom "X *nīḡ wēlá ...?*" "how can X ...?" see 19.1.

13.2 Time/circumstance

AdvPs expressing **time** 26.7 may be instantiated by proadverbs 13.6 or by structurally distinctive time adverbs such as *zīnā* "today", *sù'əs*^a "yesterday", *dūnnā* "this year." *Bēog*^o "tomorrow" has the form of a noun but cannot inflect or take dependents; *dāar*^e "day after tomorrow/day before yesterday" is in the same category but happens to be homophonous with the noun *dāar*^e "day."

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

Absolute clauses 21.1 are frequently used to express time.

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

<i>Fv ná kūl bēog.</i>	"You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.	

<i>Tì kpélím ànínā dábısà bī'ələ.</i>	
1PL remain ADV:there day:PL few.	
"We stayed there a few days."	

13.3 Place

Locative AdvPs consist of Kusaasi place names, specialised locative adverbs, or NPs followed by postpositions. The core locative postposition is the particle $n\bar{i}/\sim n^{\varepsilon}$. 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 $d\grave{i}t\acute{o}\eta^{\circ}$ "right(hand)", $d\grave{a}g\grave{o}b\grave{i}g^a$ "left", $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l^{l\varepsilon}$ or $\grave{a}g\acute{o}l\acute{a}$ "upwards", $l\grave{a}l\acute{l}\acute{i}$ "far off" (perhaps from $l\grave{a}l\ n\acute{i}$.)

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

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

$la'asv\grave{g}\ d\acute{o}d\bar{i}n\ n\varepsilon\ suoya\ n\bar{i}$
 $l\grave{a}'as\grave{o}g\ d\acute{o}d\bar{i}=n\ n\bar{\varepsilon}\ s\grave{u}\acute{e}y\acute{a}\ n\grave{i}$
 assembly:SG house:PL=LOC with road:PL LOC
 "in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

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

$P\grave{o}'vs\grave{i}m\ y\grave{i}n.$ "Greet (those) at home." i.e. "Goodbye."

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

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

$m\ g\bar{b}ana\ n\bar{i}\ wusa$ "in all my letters" (2 Thess 3:17, 1996)
 $\grave{m}\ g\bar{b}\grave{a}n\grave{a}\ n\acute{i}\ w\bar{o}s\bar{a}$
 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:

$Kem\ Siloam\ buligini\ pie\ f\bar{v}\ nini.$
 $K\grave{e}m\ Siloam\ b\acute{u}lv\bar{g}\bar{o}=n\bar{i}_{} _{} p\acute{i}\acute{\theta}_{} f\bar{v}\ n\bar{i}n\acute{i}.$
 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 Svntaana kpen' Judas [...] svnfvn.

Kà Svtáanà 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 lélm yī nīdībī=n lā nā yá'asì ∅ yéì=bā yē...

And Pilate again emerge person:PL=LOC ART hither again CAT say=3PL that ...

"Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." (Jn 19:4)

ILK has e.g.

Ò bè dâ'a=n.

"He's at market."

Ò bè sǎ'arī=n.

"He's at the bush."

Ò bè pōogú=n.

"He's at the farm."

Ò bè yín.

"He's at home."

Ò bè mōogū=n.

"He's in the grasslands."

Ò bè kōlīgī=n

"He's at the stream."

Ò bè tūvmī=n.

"He's at work."

More precise meanings are expressed with postpositions [13.5](#).

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take the locative particle; however, they often have a locative proform in apposition, particularly to express rest at a place, as opposed to movement:

Ò bè Bók.

"He's at Bawku." ILK

Ò bè Témpan.

"He's at Tempene." ILK

Ò kēη Bók.

"He's gone to Bawku."

M ná kēη Bók.

"I'm going to Bawku."

Fò yûug Bók kpēlāa?

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

Fò yûug Bókàa? SB

(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 téηī=n* "in Jerusalem-land."

The locative particle also appears in some *time* expressions: *bēog*^o "tomorrow", *bēogū=n*^{el} "morning", *yīīgī=n*^e "at first" *sān-sǎ'ə=n lā* "at one time, once..."

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

One ken likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ōnì kēn līkī=n zī' ón kēn sī'elā=ø.

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 mōri fv keŋ zin'ikanε ka fv pv bōoda.

kà mōrí=fv_ø kēŋ zīñ'-kànì kà fò pō bōodā=ø.

and have=2SG CAT go place-REL.SG and 2SG NEG.IND want=NEG.

"and take you where you do not want." (Jn 21:18)

Reason-why AdvPs are constructed by a metaphorical extension of the sense of the postposition *zūg* "upon"; similarly for proforms:

àlá zùg^o "therefore" *bō zúg^o* "why?"
dìn zúg^o "therefore"

13.4 Manner

Various NP types can be used as manner AdvPs. Besides proforms, there are several morphologically distinctive manner-adverb formations; like specialised time adverbs, specialised manner-adverbs do not take dependents. They often show apocope-blocking 3.2. Some have a prefix *à-* followed by M spreading, e.g. *àmēŋá* "truly", *àsīdā* "truly", *ànīŋà* "promptly"; the same prefix appears in proadverbs and in the locative *àgól^{lε}* "upwards." Some are derived from adjective stems with the suffixes *mm* or *-ga* 8.2. Others include *pāalú* "openly" and *ñyāe^{ne/}* "brightly, clearly." *Ñyāe^{ne/}* appears as complement of *àeñ^{ya}* "be something" and as an adjunct. Even texts prior to 2016 write *nyain*, not *nyainn* or *nyai*, but the 1992 audio NT always has [jãĩ].

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

Wìnà'am áñ sóm ñyāe.

God COP good:ABSTR brightly.

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

... ké kà tì līəb 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.

A number of manner-adverbs are formed by reduplication of roots:

nà'anā' "easily" *kōñ'okō* "solely, by oneself"
tò'otō' "straight away"

Reduplication of nouns or numbers 12.5.1 creates distributive manner-AdvPs:

zīñ'ig zīñ'ig "place by place" *dàbìsìr dàbìsìr* "day by day"

Reduplication of manner-adverbs themselves is intensifying:

àsídà sídà "very truly" *àmēḡá mēḡá* "very truly"

Ḥ wóm Kōsâal bī'elá. "I know Kusaal a little."
 1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

Ḥ wóm bī'el bī'el. "I understand a very little."
 1SG hear:IPFV little little.

Relative clauses with *sī'əm^m* "somehow" are common as AdvPs 21.2.1.

Manner-adverbs resemble generic mass nouns in their syntactic behaviour in several respects. Even count nouns in generic senses may be encountered as AdvPs:

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

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

À-ñyē nē nīf sōñ'ō *À-wòm túbà.*
 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 tòm bédvḡ. "She's worked a lot."
Ò tòm pāmm. "She's worked a lot."

Wōsā "all" readily switches from quantifying an object to adverbial use:

Bà ḡòsī=tí wōsā. "They've looked at us all." WK
 3PL look.at=1PL all. (for: *Bà ḡòsī tì wōsā*. 3PL look.at 1PL all.)

This is not a universal property of quantifiers:

Bà gòsī=tí bédvǵō.

"They've looked at us a lot." WK

Bà gòsí tì bédvǵō.

"They've looked at a lot of us." WK

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" [12.5.1](#); other count quantifiers sometimes appear similarly as adverbs:

Bà gòsī=tí bábıǵā.

"They've looked at us many times." WK

Bà gòsí tì bábıǵā.

"They've looked at many of us." WK

13.5 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 nε fun svvǵıne?

"[what is there] between us and you?" (Mt 8:29)

tīnám nē fūn sǵvǵō=né=∅?

1PL with 2SG between=LOC=CQ?

Many postpositions represent special uses of ordinary nouns. Some are AdvPs which include the locative particle.

Zūg[∅] "onto" (*zūg[∅]* "head"):

Ò dıǵıl gbáııǵ lā téebòl lā zúǵ.

3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.

"She's put the book on the table."

Zūg[∅] is frequently used metaphorically to express a **reason** "because of ..."; reason AdvPs often occur preposed with *kà* or as postlinker adjuncts:

bō-zúǵò?

"why?"

dāıı lā zúǵ

"on account of the man"

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

Pıǵāñ'-kànı kà m pıǵāñ' ∅ tısı=yā lā zúǵ, yà á nē ñyāe.

Word-REL.SG and 1SG speak CAT give=2PL ART upon, 2PL COP FOC brightly.

"Because of the words I have spoken to you, you are clean." (Jn 15:3)

The set expression *sāa zúg*^o is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka kvkɔr yi saazug na ...

Kà k̀̀k̀̀r yī sāa zúg nā ...

And voice:SG emerge rain:SG onto hither

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

Zūg^u=*n*^ε "on":

téeb̀̀l lā zúg̀̀=n "on the table"

Tēhír^ε "under" (*tēh*^a "ground"; with no predependent *G̀̀s̀̀m tēhír!* "Look down!"):

téeb̀̀l lā tēhír "under the table"

P̀̀v̀̀g̀̀^u=*n*^{ε/} "inside" (*p̀̀v̀̀g̀̀*^a "belly, inside"):

Dāu lā bé nē d́́-k̀̀h̀̀ā lā p̀̀v̀̀g̀̀=n.

Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.

"The man is inside that hut."

ñwād́́s ỳ̀v̀̀m lā p̀̀v̀̀g̀̀=n "months in the year" (metaphorical locative)

Bābá "beside" (pl of *bābír*^{ε/} "sphere of activity"):

̀̀n nōbá b̀̀b̀̀ "beside my feet"

S̀̀s̀̀v̀̀g̀̀^u=*n*^{ε/} "between" (replaced by *s̀̀v̀̀g̀̀*^u=*n*^{ε/} in KB):

t́́nám nē f̀̀n s̀̀s̀̀v̀̀g̀̀=n "between us and you"

T̀̀t̀̀n^{ne} "in front of" (with no predependent *G̀̀s̀̀m t̀̀t̀̀n!* "Look to the front!"):

dāká lā t̀̀t̀̀n "in front of the box"

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

Nē'ŋá ñyá'aŋ kà ò k̀̀l. "After this she went home."

DEMST.IN after and 3AN go.home.

Gbìn^{nɛ} "at the bottom of" (*gbìn*^{nɛ} "buttock"):

zūər lā gbín

"at the foot of the mountain"

Sā'an^{ɛl} "into/in the presence of", "in the opinion of", "chez":

Wínà'am sâ'an

"in the sight of God"

Fò ná dī'e tîm pụ'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*^{lɛl} "matter, affair"):

Bà yèlō=∅ mān yēlá wōsā.

3PL say=3AN 1SG.CN about all.

"They told him all about me."

Kōñ'okō (cf *àràkón'* "one" in counting) is used as in *m kōñ'okō* "by myself."

13.6 Proadverbs

	Demonstrative		Indefinite	Interrogative	
Place	<i>kpē</i>	"here"	<i>zìñ'-sī'a</i>	<i>yáa ní</i>	"where?"
	<i>kpēlá</i>	"there"	"somewhere"	<i>yáa</i>	"whither /whence?"
	<i>àní</i>	"there"			
	<i>ànínā'</i>	"there"			
Time	<i>nānná</i>	"now"	<i>sān-sī'a</i>	<i>sān-kán</i> ^ɛ	"when?"
	<i>nānná-nā'</i>	"now"	"sometime"	<i>būn-dâar</i> ^ɛ	"which day?"
	<i>sān-kán</i> ^ɛ	"then"		<i>bò-wìn</i> ^{nɛ}	"what time of day?"
Manner	<i>àñwá</i>	"like this"	<i>sī'əm</i> ^m	<i>wēlá</i>	"how?"
	<i>àwá nā'</i>	"like this"	"somehow"		
	<i>àlá</i>	"like that"			

The indefinites are used in relative clauses 21.2.1.

The *à-* of the "manner" forms is preceded by the LF-final vowel -ɪ 4.2.

Proforms expressing reason are formed with the postposition *zūg*^{ɔl}: *àlá zùg*^ɔ "because of that", *bōzúgò?* "why?" (cf *bō zúgō* "because" 17.2.1.)

14 Ideophones

Adjectives cannot take adverbs as modifiers. 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 pǐə̀lìg fáss fáss.</i>	"It's very white."	
<i>Lì à nē sǎ̀bǐlíg zím zím.</i>	"It's deep black."	
<i>Lì à nē zǐn̄'a wím wím.</i>	"It's deep red."	
<i>Lì à nē fū-zǐn̄'a wím wím.</i>	"It's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ n̄yé fū-zǐn̄'a wím wím.</i>	"I've seen a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Fū-zǐn̄'a wím wím bé.</i>	"There's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ bṑod fū-zǐn̄'a wím wím lā.</i>	"I want the deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Ò à nē wṑk tólìlì.</i>	"She's very tall."	
<i>Ò à nē gǐ̀ŋ tǐrìgà.</i>	"She's very short."	
<i>Ò wà'am tólìlì.</i>	"She's very tall."	
<i>Ò gì̀m nē tǐrìgà.</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 sǔ̀ŋā pāmm.</i>	"It's very good."
<i>Lì à nē bē'ed pāmm.</i>	"It's very bad."
<i>Lì zù̀lìm 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 tòm pāmm.</i>	"She's worked hard."
<i>Ò tòm hālì.</i>	"She's worked hard." 24.7
<i>Ò zò pāmm.</i>	"She's run a lot."
<i>Ò zò hālì.</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 *sāpī* "straight" (LF *sappinε* KB), but the word is found also after other verbs.

ka ku nyaje due o meŋi zi'e sappi.

kà kú ñyāŋī_∅ dúe ò mēŋī_∅ zì'e sāpī.

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 mōogin la

màalim sūā-dāvŋ sāpī mōogō=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 [13.4](#).

A third type of ideophone overlaps with emphatics [24.7](#): so, for example *kímm* in *Bō kímm* "what exactly?" [12.4.4](#).

15 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases function as VP adjuncts or complements. They cannot be direct components of noun phrases. Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated. *Nē* "with" only takes NPs or AdvPs (including *ñ*-clauses) as complements, but the other prepositions also appear as clause adjuncts 17.2.1.

Nē is "with" in both accompanying and instrumental senses. *Nē* "and", coordinating NPs and AdvPs, is fundamentally the same word.

Some speakers only use free pronoun forms after *nē*, but WK and SB have

<i>ní m^a</i>	<i>ní tī'</i> or <i>né tì</i>
<i>ní f^o</i>	<i>ní yā'</i> or <i>né yà</i>
<i>nó</i> [nõ] LF <i>nó=o</i> [nõ:]	<i>ní bā'</i> or <i>né bà</i>
<i>ní lī'</i> or <i>né lì</i>	

Written *ne o* is usually read [nõ] in the audio NT.

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 kèη nē nōbá.

"They've gone on foot." WK

3PL go with leg:PL.

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."

(Proverb: Be grateful for God's generosity and don't complain.)

Kulim ne sumbugvsum.

"Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)

Kùlìm nē sùmbōgvsí.

Go.home:IMP with peace.

[Bárikà né fù] kēn kēn.

[Blessing with 2SG] arrival arrival.

"Welcome!" (based on a greeting template 25)

M géñ' né fù.

"I'm angry with you." SB

1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

Là'am nē "together with" derives from a *n*-catenation construction 19.1:

...*mōr ya'am yinne la'am nē tēn'esa yinne.*

... *mōr yā'am yīnní là'am nē tēñ'esá yīnní.*

... have sense one together with thought one.

"... had one mind together with one thought." (Acts 4:32)

Wōv means "like." With pronoun complements WK has

wōv mān LF *mánè*

wóv tì

wōv fōn LF *fónè*

wóv yà

wōv òn^ε

wóv bà

wóv lì

WK permits phrases introduced by *wōv* to be preposed with *kà* 24.3, but rejects this construction for *nē* + NP:

Wōv búŋ nē kà ò zót.

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"Like a donkey, he runs."

but **Né m nū'ug kà m sī'is.*

With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

is not possible for "With my hand, I touched it."

The complement is often a *sī'əm* relative clause 21.2.1:

Ò zòt wōv búŋì=∅ zòt sī'əm lā.

3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG=NZ run:IPFV INDF.ADV ART.

"He runs like a donkey runs."

Wēn^{na/} "resemble" takes as complement a prepositional phrase introduced by *wōv* or *nē*. A complement of *wēn wōv*, *wēn nē* or of *wōv* alone is followed by an empty particle *nē* whenever it does not have the article *lā'*, even if it is a pronoun, or is specific, though not if it is a number (in which case, the meaning is "about"):

wōv mān nē

"like me"

wōv búŋ nē

"like a donkey"

wōv tūsá àyí'

"about 2000"

Alazugɔ mɔri ya'am wɔv wiigi ne...

Àlá zùgɔ, mɔrī=∅ yā'am wɔv wīgí nē...

Therefore, have=2PL.SUB sense like snake:PL like...

"Therefore, be wise as serpents ..." (Mt 10:16)

Àséé is "except for." Pronoun complements appear as free forms.

àsée Wínà'am

"except for God" (calquing Twi *gye Nyame*)

Hālí means "up to and including." Pronoun complements are free forms.

O daa pɔn anε ninkvɔd hali pin'ilvɔn sa.

Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kvɔd hālí pīñ'ilógv̄=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)

Hālí can also appear as a prelinker adjunct and as an emphatic 24.7. As emphatic "even" preceding *nē* or *là'am nē* "(together) with" and a *n*-clause complement, it produces the meaning "despite, even though, even as":

Hali la'am ne on daa an yelsum wɔsa daan la, o da lieb nɔɲdaan...

Hālí là'am nē ón dāa áñ yēl-súm wɔsā dāan lā,

Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS COP matter-goodness all owner:SG ART,

ò dà lịəb nɔɲ-dāan...

3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG...

"Despite his having possessed every blessing, he became poor..." (2 Cor 8:9)

Zugsɔb yel ye, Hali ne man vɔe nwa...

Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālí nē mán vōɛ ñwá ...

Lord say that even with 1SG:NZ be.alive this ...

"The Lord says: Even as I live .." (Rom 14:11)

hali ne man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li

hālí nē mán dāa sōbī_∅ tísì=yā sī'əm lā

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

̀n dāa p̄ sōbí=lī ...

1SG TNS NEG.IND write=3IN ...

"Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

16 Verb phrases

16.1 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 liaison enclitics; 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 *-ma* 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 *-ma* 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:

	T1	T2	Mood	Preverb		E1	E2	
<i>lèε</i>	<i>dàa</i>	<i>nàm</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow p\bar{v}$	<i>pòn</i>	VERB	<i>n^ε</i>	<i>m^a</i>	<i>nē'</i>
	<i>sàa</i>	<i>ñyēε(tí)</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow d\bar{a}$	<i>lèm</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>f^o</i>	
	\emptyset		$n\bar{a} \leftrightarrow k\bar{v}$	<i>tì</i>			<i>o</i>	
	<i>pà'</i>			<i>kpèlìm</i>			<i>lì</i>	
	<i>sà</i>			<i>là'am</i>			<i>tì</i>	
	<i>dāa</i>			<i>dèηìm</i>			<i>ya</i>	
	<i>dà</i>			...			<i>ba</i>	

\emptyset marks slots where the absence of a particle can be contrastive.

T1, T2 are slots for tense particles; E1 for the liaison enclitics *n^ε* [16.3.2](#) *ya* [18.3](#); E2 for enclitic personal pronouns as (direct or indirect) objects, which unlike all other complements *precede* aspect-marking *nē'* [16.2.1](#). Only one bound object pronoun may occur; cf *n*-catenation using *tìs^ε* "give" [19.1](#).

The particles in the column "Mood" also mark polarity: positive \leftrightarrow negative.

For *lèε* "but" see [16.7](#).

Tone Pattern A verbs have all-M tones in the irrealis mood.

16.2 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 [16.6.2](#). 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.

16.2.1 Aspectual *nē*

Following a verb word with no free words intervening, the VP focus particle *nē* [24.1.2](#) 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." This usually occurs because the time referred to is not coextensive with the time of the situation (CGEL pp125 ff.) 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 follows the action the time referred to and the time of the situation never coincide. 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 *kùə̀sìdī=bá nē.*

3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.

"She's selling them."

Ò kùèsìd nē sūmmā lā. "She is selling the groundnuts."
 3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

but Ò kùèsìd sūmmā lā nē. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
 3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. (VP focussed: "They're not free.")

Ò zàbìd. "He fights."
 3AN fight:IPFV.

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

but Ò p̄v zàbìdā=∅. "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 [24.5](#):

Nīgí òñbìd nē mōɔd. Bā nùud nē kù'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: Gòsìm!	"Look!"	B: M̄ gósìd!	"I'm looking!"
A: Fv̄ gósìd nēɛ?	"Are you looking?"	B: M̄ gósìd!	"I'm looking!"

16.2.2 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 [20.2](#). 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. 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 nī.

Rain TNS rain.

"It rained." (before yesterday.)

but *Sāa nī 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:

Ì pò'us yā.

1SG greet PFV.

"Thankyou", "I thank you."

(cf Hausa *Naa goodèe*)

Ì sjàk 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:

Ì ñyé nū'-bìbìsá àtán'.

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

"I can see three fingers."

Ì tēñ'es kà ...

1SG think and ...

"I think that ..."

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject may use the perfective to express the resulting state. Aspectual *nē'* must then follow whenever syntactically permissible:

Lì bòdìg yā .

3IN lose PFV.

"It's got lost."

but *Lì bòdìg nē .*

3IN lose FOC.

"It's lost."

<i>Ò kpì nē.</i>	"He's dead."
<i>Ẁ géñ nē.</i>	"I'm tired."
<i>Bà kòdùg nē.</i>	"They're old."
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	"It's full."
<i>Lì yò nē.</i>	"It's closed."
<i>Ẁ búg nē.</i>	"I'm drunk."
<i>Ò lèr nē.</i>	"He's ugly." WK
<i>Lì sòbìg nē.</i>	"It's black." WK

Agentive transitive verbs of dressing express a change of state in the subject:

Ẁ yé fūug. "I've put a shirt on."
1SG put.on shirt:SG.

Ẁ yé nē fūug. "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:

Ẁ dá' nē búg. "I've bought a *donkey*."
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. ("What have you bought?"; focussed object)

As stance verbs are not stative in Kusaal, assume-stance verbs do not express a change of state, and their perfectives cannot accept a resultative reading:

Ò dìgìn nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
3AN lie.down FOC.

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 19. Thus while English might say: "Two men stood with them, dressed in white", Kusaal must have

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.
Kà dāpá_ àyí' yé fū-píələ_ 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)

An imperfective may be followed by a perfective:

Ñwādisá_ àtáñ' kà fù ná mōr bīg 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 [21.1](#). In the same way, narrative generally features series of tense-unmarked perfectives describing events strictly in order [16.3.4](#).

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.

Kùkòmà dá zàb tāabá à-sōñ'e bṛ'elá yèlà.

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-better.than slightly about.

"Leper once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

16.2.3 Imperfective

Without aspectual *nē'*, the imperfective of dynamic verbs is "habitual", expressing multiple events, or a propensity of the subject to the action expressed by the verb, while stative verbs express abiding states:

Nīdīb kpīid.

Person:PL die:IPFV.

"People die."

Nīgí òñbìd mōɔd.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

"Cows eat grass."

Ṁ zīñ'i.

1SG be.sitting.

"I sit."

Ò gīm.

3AN be.short.

"She's short."

Ṁ mór pū'ā.

1SG have wife:SG.

"I have a wife."

With *nḗ*, dynamic imperfectives have continuous/progressive meaning. This is permitted only if the subject is an agent (including the subjects of stance verbs), is undergoing a change of state, or is moving without external agency.

Nā'-síəbà óñbìd nḗ mṑd. "Some cows are eating grass."
Cow-INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

M̄ zĩń'i nḗ. "I'm sitting."
1SG be.sitting FOC.

M̄ yồd nḗ kùlìŋ lā. "I'm closing the door."
1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

Kùlìŋ lā yồd nḗ. "The door is closing."
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

Lì lèt nḗ. "It is falling."
3IN fall:IPFV FOC.

Otherwise, *nḗ* must be interpreted as focussing a constituent, not as aspectual:

Dāam lā nūud. "The beer gets drunk." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV.

but *Dāam lā nūud nḗ.* "The beer is for *drinking*." ("not pouring away")
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. Not possible as "The beer is being drunk." WK

Nḗ after stative verbs is normally interpreted as focussing a constituent:

Ò gìm nḗ. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

M̄ mór nḗ pụ'ā. "I have a woman."
1SG have FOC woman:SG. (not "wife": implies an irregular liaison, WK)

However, any explicit time reference in the clause itself, even a tense marker, may signal a **temporary state**, with a contrast between the time referred to and other times when the state was not in effect, permitting the use of aspectual *nḗ*:

Lì vèn nḗ. "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)

Dynamic verbs may similarly express a time-limited habitual sense:

Nīdīb kp̄id nē. "People are dying."
 Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

If the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē*' [24.1.2](#), *nē*' is constrained to be aspectual even without explicit time limitation:

M̄ mór nē b̄isá_ atáŋā.
 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.

16.3 Tense

16.3.1 Tense particles

Tense particles come first in the VP, preceded only by *lèε* "but." They are mutually exclusive:

<i>dàa</i>	"day after tomorrow"
<i>sàa</i>	"tomorrow"
\emptyset	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>

These particles (including \emptyset) may be followed immediately in the tense slot by either of the two auxiliary tense particles *nàm* "still/yet" or *ñyēε (tí)* "habitually."

The day begins at sunrise:

<i>Fò 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 ellipited 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 "before yesterday" can be used even for remote past. Many parallel NT passages narrate the same events with either *dāa* or *dà*, but when both markers occur, *dà* always expresses time prior to *dāa*. (For other "pluperfects", cf tense marking in content clauses [22.2](#), and in *n*-clauses within narrative [16.3.4](#).)

Nàm means "still", or with a negative "yet":

<i>dunia nam pv pin'il la</i>	
<i>dūnyá=∅ nàm pō pīñ'il lā</i>	
world:SG=NZ still NEG.IND begin ART	
"before the world began" (Mt 25:34) ("The world having not yet begun.")	

<i>Tùm lā nám bèε=∅?</i>	"Is there any medicine left?"
Medicine ART still EXIST=PQ?	("Does the medicine still exist?")

M̄ nám zī' ∅ ñyē gbīgīmnē=∅.

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB (see [19.1](#) on *n*-catenation idioms)

Ñyēε or *ñyēε tí* (KT *ēñ tí*, NT *nyii ti*, KB *εenti*) means "habitually":

Ò ñyēε zábìd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually fight:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to fight the chief." WK

Ò ñyēε gōsīd nâ'ab lā.

3AN usually look.at:IPFV chief:SG ART.

"He's accustomed to look at the chief." WK

Ò dāa ñyēε zábìd 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 dīgī kpēlá.

"She's accustomed to lie there." KT

3AN usually be.lying there.

Ti εenti pv sōbìd dìne ka ya na karim ka kv nyañi gban'e li gbinne.

Tì ēñ tí pō sōbīd dīnì kà yà ná kārīm kà kú ñyāñī ∅

1PL usually NEG.IND write:IPFV REL.IN and 2PL IRR read and NEG.IRR prevail CAT

gbáñ'e lì gbìnnē=∅.

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)

16.3.2 Discontinuous past

My informants use the **discontinuous-past** marker *n^ε* to make an earlier-today past with indicative meaning:

M̄ óñbìdī=n sūmmā.

"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 20.1.

16.3.3 Periphrastic futures

Kusaal does not use tense-unmarked indicative imperfectives for immediate future (like English "I'm going home.") Note the use of the *perfective* in

<i>M̄ kúl yā.</i>	equivalent in usage to "I'm going home now."
1SG go.home PFV.	Perfective as an instantaneous present <u>16.2.2</u>

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to ...":

(a) *bôɔd*^a "want" + gerund. The subject need not be animate; the construction is only possible with gerunds from dynamic verbs.

<i>T̄ug lā bôɔd l̄ig.</i>	"The tree is about to fall."
Tree:SG ART want fall:GER.	

Yv'vŋ bôɔd gaadvog, ka bεog bôɔd nier.

Yú'vŋ bôɔd gáadvòg kà bεog bôɔd n̄ɛr.

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 22.2.)

<i>M̄ yé m̄ kuā sūmmā.</i>	"I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.	

<i>M̄ yé m̄ k̄já n̄im.</i>	"I'm going to cut meat"
1SG that 1SG cut meat:SG.	

16.3.4 Implicit tense and narrative

Tense markers are frequently absent, but the occurrence of tense markers is not arbitrary, and contrasts with \emptyset may occur. By default, if there is no other time-referring element in the clause, the absence of any tense particle expresses present tense, regardless of aspect; in isolation, past interpretation is not possible:

Nīdīb kp̄īd. "People die."
 Person:PL die:IPFV.

Ò m̀r p̄'ā. "He has a wife."
 3AN have wife:SG.

Ò kp̄i yā. "She's died." ("present perfect")
 3AN die PFV.

Tense-markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with *-n^ε* as today-past, or with a time AdvP in the clause:

F̀ ñá k̄l. "You will go home."
 2SG IRR go.home (today, tomorrow, next week ...)

F̀ sáa ñà k̄l. "You'll go home tomorrow."
 2SG TNS IRR go.home.

or *F̀ sáa ñà k̄l b̄ēog.*
 2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.

or *F̀ ñà k̄l b̄ēog.*
 2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

Ḿ pá' òñb̄īdī=n s̄ūmmā. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
 1SG TNS chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

or *Ḿ óñb̄īdī=n s̄ūmmā.*
 1SG chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

Ḿ sá zàb ñà'ab lā s̄u'əs. "I fought the chief yesterday."
 1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

or *Ḿ zàb ñà'ab lā s̄u'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 a time AdvP and are not introduced by *kà* show tense marking much more often than not (over five times as often in Acts 1-12 in the 1996 NT.) On the other hand, clauses introduced by *kà* have tense marking only to signal that they disrupt the narrative flow, as with flashbacks or descriptive passages. The frequency of tense-marked clauses without *kà* varies: the Balaam's Donkey narrative [27.1](#) shows a higher proportion than typical NT narrative, for example. However, narrative consistently favours long sequences of

coordinated *kà*-clauses with perfective aspect and no tense marking, narrating the sequence of events in order; *kà* itself here corresponds to *zero* in English.

Less formal sources like the Three Murderers text 27.2 often drop tense-marking in clauses *without kà* within narrative. Such clauses are analogous to the "historic present" of English informal conversational narration (CGEL p130); *kpē* "here" and spatio-temporal deictics like *kàŋā* "this" are also common in such texts.

In all types of narrative, clauses introduced by *kà* lack tense-marking when they are carrying the narrative forward, but are normally tense-marked when expressing disruptions in narrative flow.

Presented with isolated *kà*-clauses with perfective aspect and no tense marking, my informants always interpreted them as expressing events, rejecting any aspectual interpretation of the particle *nē*' in favour of constituent focus; but with tense marking, *nē*' was, as usual, taken as aspectual by default:

Lì bòdìg nē. "It's lost."
3IN get.lost FOC.

Kà ì bódìg nē. Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought
And 3IN get.lost FOC. by DK, explained as contradicting
"someone hid it" i.e. as contrastive focus

Bà kùdìg nē. "They're old."
3PL get.old FOC.

Kà bà kúdíg nē. "And they're old." Rejected by WK; accepted
And 3PL get.old FOC. 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 ì dāa bódìg nē.* "And it was lost."
And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.
Kà bà dāa kúdíg nē. etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

Disruptions of narrative flow normally must be tense-marked, whether or not the clause is introduced by *kà*:

*Ka Yesu **daa** an yoma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keŋ malvŋ la wv ban enti niŋid si'em la. Ka malvŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pv baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba **daa** ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...*

Kà Yesu=∅ dāa añ yómà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēŋ málvŋ
 And Jesus=NZ TNS COP year:PL ten with NUM:two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG
lā wv b́án ēñ tí niŋìd sī'əm lā. Kà màlòŋ lā dábisà=∅
 ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV INDEF.ADV ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ
nāe lā, kà bà lɛbìdì ∅ kún. 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 p̄v b́áŋ yé ò kpélìm
 land:SG=LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain
yāa=∅. Bà dāa tēñ'es yé ò d̀l né bà tēŋ-d̀im 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)

So too with the aside *O ma **da** ane Uria po'a* in the genealogy in Matthew 1.1ff 1996, among dozens of clauses of the pattern *kà X d̀y'á Y* "and X begat Y":

*Ka Jese du'a na'ab David. Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma **da** ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a Rehoboam.*

Kà Jese d̀y'á nā'ab David. Kà David d̀y'á Solomon. Ò mà
 And Jesse beget king:SG David. And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG
dá à nē Uria p̄y'á. Kà Solomon d̀y'á Rehoboam...
 TNS COP FOC Uriah wife:SG. And Solomon beget Rehoboam...

"And Jesse begat King David. And David begat Solomon. His mother **was** Uriah's wife. And Solomon begat Rehoboam..." (Mt 1:6-7, 1996)

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff 1996 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam **da** ane Y* "and X's father **was** Y."

Very long series of coordinated "asides" do sometimes drop tense marking; in KB the genealogy in Luke shows *ka X saam da ane 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 ón kpèñ' lā, ò yélì=bā yē [...]. Kà bà lá'adō=∅.

And 3AN:NZ enter ART, 3AN say=3PL that ... and 3PL laugh:IPFV=3AN.

"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:

Ka Pita yv'vn tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la ye ...

Kà Pita yv̄'vn tīēñ Yesu=n sà yèl sī'el 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* [24.3](#), regardless of whether *kà* also precedes or whether the absolute clause has tense marking (132/136 cases in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14, 1976.) With absolute clauses as adjuncts *following kà*, tense marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual principles for narrative (69/78 cases.) Accordingly, *nē* must be focussing the verb in

Ka ban ken la, Jesus gbisid ne.

Kà bán kēn lā, Jesus gbīsīd nē.

And 3PL:NZ go:IMPF ART, Jesus sleep:IPFV FOC.

"As they were travelling, Jesus was sleeping." (Lk 8:22-23, 1976)

Tense marking is not affected by clause adjuncts other than time expressions or by the "resumptive" *yē* of indirect speech [22.2](#); cf:

Amaa ba da zot o ne dabiem, ban da pv niη o yadda ye o sid anε nya'andol la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaη Saul n m̄or o keη ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō=∅ nē dábīēm, bán dà p̄v níηò=∅

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND do=3AN

yáddā yé ò sīd à nē ñyâ'an-dòl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas

faith that 3AN truly COP FOC disciple:SG ART upon. But and Barnabas

záη Saul n m̄oró=∅ ∅ kēη ...

take Saul CAT have=3AN 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 p̄ m̄r b̄igā=∅, b̄zúḡ Elizabeth dá à n̄
 3PL TNS NEG.IND have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS COP FOC
kúndv̄'ar kà bà bàyí' lā w̄sā mé k̄dìg n̄.
 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 *n̄* in the KB *ka babayi' la wusa me kudig hali.*)

16.4 Mood

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. 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 *p̄*. 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 *n̄* with aspectual meaning.

Imperative mood is negated by *dā*. It is used in direct commands and prohibitions and in purpose clauses. With dual-aspect verbs carrying the independency-marking tone overlay it shows a special inflection *-ma* 16.6.2 but otherwise the verb word coincides in form with the indicative.

Ò v̄l t̄im kà ò n̄b̄ir p̄ z̄ab̄=∅.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IND fight=NEG.
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

Ò v̄l t̄im kà ò n̄b̄ir dā z̄ab̄=∅.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

D̄ll̄=ńí=m! "Follow ye me!"
 Follow=2PL.SUB=1SG!

M̄r n̄n-báalìg! "Have pity!"
 Have eye-pity!

The *-ma* imperative of dual-aspect verbs is perfective by default:

Kòñsìm! "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
NEG.IMP cough=NEG! during an eye operation with local anaesthetic)

Dā kóñsídā=∅! "Don't cough!" (Explaining before the operation
NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG! what to avoid throughout)

See 18.3 on the postposed 2pl pronoun ^{ya} in commands to several people.

The particle *nḗ* cannot appear in its aspectual sense with the imperative, but *àlá* "thus" after imperatives imposes continuous/progressive meaning:

Dìm! "Eat!"

Dìmí àlá! "Carry on eating!"

Informants contract *-í-à-* either to *-í-* or to *-á-*: [dímɪla] [dímala].

Dìmī=ní àlá! "Keep ye on eating!" [dímímɪla] [dímímala]
Eat:IMP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Single-aspect verbs used as imperatives frequently add *àlá*:

Dìgī=ní àlá! "Keep (ye) on lying down." [dìgímɪla] [dìgímala]
Be.lying.down=2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Āa=ní àlá bāańlím! "Be (ye) quiet!" [a:nɪla] [a:nala]
COP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

Bēi=ní àlá ànínā! "Be ye there!" [bɛ:nɪla] [bɛ:nala]
EXIST=2PL.SUB ADV:thus ADV:there!

Imperative mood follows another imperative in catenation.

Kèl kà ò gōs! "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!

Kèm nā n gōs! "Come and look!"
Come:IMP hither CAT look!

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. 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 [20.4](#) for its use in conditionals.

16.5 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 clitic [4.1](#). Aspectual *nē*' is incompatible with negative polarity.

Indicative mood is negated by *pō* (for some speakers *bō*, 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*.

Ò zàb nà'ab lā. "He's fought the chief."
3AN fight chief:SG ART.

Ò pō záb nà'ab lāa=∅. "He hasn't fought the chief."
3AN NEG.IND fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Zàm nà'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 nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief."
3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò kù zāb nà'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 [16.6.1](#). Negative clitics appear as usual.

Kā'ẹ "not be, not have" appears as *kā'* before a complement [4.3](#). It is the negative to both "be" verbs, *àñ*^{ya} "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 ágēñ* is rare but can be found in contrastive contexts.

Dāy lā kā' ná'abā=∅. "The man isn't a chief."
Man:SG ART NEG.BE chief:SG=NEG.

Dāy lā kā' bīgā=∅. "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'ē dógō=n lāa=∅. "There's no man in the room."
Man:SG NEG.BE room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

Dāy lā kā' dógō=n lāa=∅. "The man is not in the room."
Man:SG ART NEG.BE room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

Kā'ē has a clause-final variant *kà'asìgè* (always LF):

Ò bīg kà'asìgē=∅. "She has no child."
3AN child NEG.EXIST=NEG.

Mìt "see that it doesn't happen that ..." 19.2 is always imperative. In this sense, the postposed 2pl subject ^{ya} does not occur, even in address to several people.

Mìt ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mìt kà yà mâal yà tùm-sùmà nīdīb tūon yé bà gōsē=∅.
NEG.LETIMP 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 uses *mid* with no clitic: *Mid ka ya maali ya tùm sùma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.*

Mìt appears with a NP object and no negative clitic in the sense "beware of ...":

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

Mìtì=∅ zīrí nò-dí'əsìdìb bání 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 *zi'isige* also appears in KB, NT (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

Bòŋ-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 p̄v mi' w̄v̄v lín nar si'em.

M̄ bīig Solomon á nē dá-sāŋ, kà p̄v mī'

1SG child:SG Solomon FOC COP young.man:SG, and NEG.IND know

w̄v̄v lín nār sī'əmm=∅.

how 3IN:NZ be.proper INDE.ADV=NEG.

"My son Solomon is young, and does not know how things ought to be."

(1 Chronicles 22:5)

16.6 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 markers are primarily tonal, but there are associated segmental manifestations.

16.6.1 Tonal

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 [4.4.](#))

Bà kùvdī=bá.

3PL kill:IPFV=3PL.

"They kill them."

vs *Bà kùvdí bà b̄vs.*

3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

"They kill their goats."

Bà gòsō=∅.

3PL look.at =3AN.

"They looked at her."

vs *Bà gòsú ò b̄ig.*

3PL look.at 3AN child:SG.

"They looked at her child."

M spreading after bound personal pronoun subjects is affected by independency marking. Bound pronoun subjects are normally followed by M spreading despite their own fixed L tonemes: however, the *third* persons *ò li bà* are never followed by M spreading when the following VP has independency marking.

Thus, with no independency marking after coordinating *kà*:

Kà ì záb nà'ab lā.

"And I've fought the chief."

Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.

"And he's fought the chief."

but *Ì záb nà'ab lā.*

"I've fought the chief."

Ò zàb nà'ab lā.

"He's fought the chief."

The first and second person pronouns *are* followed by M spreading unless the VP has independency marking *and* they are immediately preceded by *yē* "that" [22.2](#):

Ò tēñ'es kà ò zàb nà'ab lā.
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He thinks he's fought the chief." WK

Ò tēñ'es kà ì záb nà'ab lā.
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

"He thinks I've fought the chief."

but *Ò yèl yé ò zàb nà'ab lā.*
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He says he's fought the chief."

and *Ò yèl yé ì zàb nà'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 láa=∅. "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. "He says I'll fight the chief."
3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.

16.6.2 Segmental

There are two segmental features of independency marking. They occur when and *only* when the verb word itself has undergone *tone* overlay. Verbs which have intrinsic L tonemes have unchanged stem tonemes after overlay, but these segmental features and the following M spreading reveal its presence.

The flexion -ma 7.1 marks imperatives of dual-aspect verbs whenever they carry the independency-marking tone overlay:

Gòsìm! "Look!"

Gòsìmī=ní=bā! "Look ye at them!"
Look:IMP=2PL.SUB=3PL!

But *Dā gōsē=∅!* "Don't look!" (negative)
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Kèl kà ò gōs! "Let her look!"
Cause:IMP and 3AN look!
(No independency marking: subordinate)

Dòllī=ní=bā! "Follow ye !" (single-aspect verb)
Follow=2PL.SUB=3PL!

The particle yā follows any perfective verb form carrying the tone overlay which would otherwise be phrase-final. Texts write *ya* solid with the verb; before 2016 it appears as *-eya* after consonants. Its toneme becomes L before interrogative clitics 3.8.3. *Yā* may be related to the perfective *-ra* of one Nawdm verb conjugation. Phrase constituents can only follow *yā* by right dislocation 24.4. Examples:

Ò gòs yā.

3AN look PFV.

"She's looked."

Ò sà gòs yā.

3AN TNS look PFV.

"She looked (yesterday.)"

Sāa nị yā.

Rain:SG rain PFV.

"It has rained."

M tēñ'ēs kà lị lụ yā.

1SG think and 3IN fall PFV.

"I think it's fallen down." (content clause)

But *Ò gòsī=m.*

3AN look.at=1SG.

"He's looked at me." (not final)

Sāa dāa nị.

Rain:SG TNS rain.

"It rained." (M preverbal particle)

Ò dāa gōs.

"He looked." (M preverbal particle)

Ò nà gōs.

"She'll look." (irrealis)

Kà ò gōs.

"And he looked." (no independency marking)

Ò p̄v gōsē.

"He's not looked." (negative)

Ò gịm.

"She's short." (stative)

Ò mị'.

"She knows." (stative)

Ò nòη.

"She loves him." (stative)

16.7 LÈÈ "but"

LÈÈ "but" precedes even tense particles, but like a preverb, and unlike a post-subject particle, it prevents the independency-marking tone overlay from falling on the verb, and is then itself followed by M spreading:

Kà ò lēs dāa zāb nà'ab lā.

And 3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

"But he fought the chief."

Bà lēs zāb nà'ab lā.

3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

"But they've fought the chief." WK

Kà bà léε zàb nà'ab lā. "But they've fought the chief." WK
And 3PL but fight chief:SG ART.

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

Kà mān pīāñ'ad lā léε kò gāadē=∅.

And 1SG.CN speech ART but NEG.IRR pass=NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35, 1996)

NT has the *ma*-imperative, suggesting tone overlay on the verb, in

Lee iemini o na'am so'olim la...

Lèε ìəmī=ní ̀ ò nā'am sù'v̀l̀im lā...

But seek:IMP=2PL.SUB 3AN kingship possession ART...

"But seek ye his kingdom ..." (Lk 12:31, 1976)

WK does not accept this; he corrected e.g. **Lèε gósìm nà'ab lā!* to

Lèε gōs nà'ab lā! "But look at the chief!"

But look.at chief:SG ART.

16.8 Preverbs

Preverbs follow all other preverbal particles. All carry the independency-marking tone overlay in place of the following main verb (cf *lèε* "but" [16.7](#).)

P̀òn "previously, already":

Ò p̀òn zàb nà'ab lā. "He's already fought the chief."

3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò p̀òn zàb nà'ab lā.

And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

"And he's already fought the chief."

In *yà'*-clauses, *yà' p̀òn* means "even if":

Li ya'a p̀òn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' p̀òn d̀y'̀à, sáam ná d̄̀i=lí.

3IN if already bear, stranger:PL IRR eat=3IN.

"Even if it [millet] bears a crop, strangers will eat it." (Hosea 8:7)

Lèm "again" (cf *lèb^ε* "return"):

M̄ nīj lém zábìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
1SG eye:SG again fight FOC.

Kà ò lém zàb nà'ab lā. "And he's fought the chief again."
And 3AN again fight chief:SG ART.

Ò nà lēm záb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."
3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Kpèlìm 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. "Immediately he went blind."
Kà ò kpèlìm zū'om. (Acts 13:11, 1996: KB *Ka o kpen zu'om.*)
And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpen vve. "My child Joseph is still alive." (Genesis 45:28)
m̄ bīig Josef nám kpèn v̄v̄e.
1SG child:SG Joseph still still be.alive.

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 wūsā dá là'am kpì né ò.
and person:PL all TNS together die with 3AN.
"so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

Dèηìm "beforehand" (cf *dèη^ε* "go, do first": *m̄ dèηī=f* "I've got there before you"; *dèη^ε* is used with the same meaning in *n*-catenation.)

Pin'ilv̄gv̄n sa ka Pian'ad la da p̄vn dèηim bε.
Pīñ'ilúgv̄=n sá kà Pīañ'ad lā dá p̄vn dèηim bè.
Beginning:SG=LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already beforehand EXIST.
"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

Màlìgìm "again" (cf Toende Kusaal *maliḡ* "do again"):

Amaa man pian'ad la kv maligim gaadε.

Àmáa mān pīāñ'ad lā kú mālīgīm gáadē=∅.

But 1SG.CN 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 [17.2.1](#). If the next VP is perfective, *tì* corresponds instead to English "before."

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"Until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)

hālí kà Herod tí kpì.

Until and Herod after die.

Kèm_∅ tí ñyē d'atà.

"Go to see the doctor." SB

Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Bεogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

Bēogú=∅ tì nìəd lā kà bà gāad!

Morning=NZ after appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.

"Before morning appears they have passed!" (Isaiah 17:14)

16.9 Complements

"Complement" will be used below for 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; "obligatory" complements need not in fact be explicitly present, but when they are absent, the gap functions as an anaphoric pronoun.

NP and AdvP complements can be classified as direct and indirect objects, as predicative complements, or as locative complements.

16.9.1 Objects

Indirect objects precede direct, and objects precede other complements. A bound pronoun before a noun object therefore cannot be the direct object:

Ḿ dāa tísì=lī nā'ab lā.

"I gave the chief to it." *sic*

1SG TNS give=3IN chief:SG ART.

Transitive verbs vary in whether they require a direct object/complement. When obligatorily transitive verbs appear without any expressed object, the meaning is anaphoric. Among others, transitive single-aspect verbs which do not take locative complements are all of this kind.

Mid ka ya kv nid. "Do not kill [a person.]" (Exodus 20:13)

Mìt kà yà kō nīd.

NEG.LET and 2PL kill person:SG.

Mānī_∅ áñ d'atà kà fōn mén áęñ.

1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

For null anaphora for preposed objects see [24.3](#); in adnominal *kà*-catenation, see [19.2](#). In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

Q. *Fò mór gbāuŋ lāa=∅?* "Do you have the letter?"

2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?

A. *Ēęñ, m mór.* "Yes, I have it."

Yes, 1SG have.

Q. *Fò bódó=∅=∅?* "Do you love her?"

2SG want=3AN=PQ?

A. *Áyì, m pō 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

bànì zūud nīdībī_∅ gbāñ'ad

REL.PL steal:IPFV person:PL CAT seize:IPFV

"those who steal people by force" (1 Tim 1:10)

onε daa zuud

"he who used to steal" (Eph 4:28)

ònì dāa zūud

REL.AN TNS steal:IPFV

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. Many express a change of state. Examples include *yò* "close", *nāe* "finish", *zàmìs^ε* "learn/teach", *nāmīs^ε* "suffer/make suffer", *bòdìg^ε* "lose, get lost", *bàs^ε* "go/send away", *dūe* "raise/rise", *mā'e* "get cool."

M̄ náa t̄v̄mā lā. "I've finished the work."
1SG finish work ART.

T̄v̄mā lā náa nē. "The work is finished."
Work ART finish FOC.

Direct objects of most other dynamic verbs can also be transferred to subject position, resulting in a passive sense. (For passive meaning expressed by an empty *bà* "they" as subject see [12.4.1](#).) The agent cannot then be expressed.

M̄ 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.

Gbàṽṽ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Gbàṽṽ sóbìd zīnā. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṽṽ lā sóbìd s̄ṽṽ. "The letter is writing well (i.e. easily)." WK
Letter:SG ART write:IPFV good:ADV.

The assume-stance verbs [9.1.1](#) are used transitively for parts of one's own body more often than the make-assume-stance series:

Lìgíním̄ f̄v̄ nīf̄ né f̄v̄ nū'ug.
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.
"Cover your eye with your hand."

Dìgíním̄ f̄v̄ nū'ug. "Put your hand down."
Lie.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Similarly *n̄je* "appear" is usually intransitive, corresponding to transitive *n̄èl̄^É* "reveal", but *n̄je* is much more frequent than *n̄èl̄^É* before *ò m̄ēṽ^{al}* "him/herself" etc.

Dā tísò=∅ sī'əlā=∅. "Don't give her anything!"
NEG.IMP give=3AN INDF.IN=NEG.

Dā tísē=∅! "Don't give it to her!"
NEG.IMP give=NEG.

Ṁ 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 *sà'íyà* "judge X", *mōr* X *nīn-báalìg* or *zò* X *nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìṅ* X *yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *zò* X *dàbīēm* "fear X", *sìàk* X *nōr* "obey X", *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* "make an agreement with X."

Bà zòtō=∅ dàbīēm. "They are afraid of him."
3PL feel:IPFV=3AN fear.

Wina'am na kad nidib poten'esua'ada saria.
Wínà'am ná kād nīdīb pú-tèñ'-sū'adá sà'íyà.
God IRR drive person:PL mind-secret:PL judgment.
"God will judge people's secret thoughts." (Rom 2:16, 1996)

Bà nìṅō=∅ yáddā. "They believed her."
3PL do=3AN assent.

Ò ñwè' nā'ab lā nū'ug. "He made an agreement with the king."
3AN strike king:SG ART hand:SG.

It is not possible to transfer indirect objects to the subject position:

Nà'ab lā tís yā. *only* "The chief was given [to someone.]"
Chief:SG ART give PFV.

16.9.2 Predicatives

Predicative complements are resultative or depictive:

Kel ka m liebi fɔ tvmtvm yinne.
Kèl kà m líəbì fò tòm-tòm yīnní.
Cause:IMP and 1SG become 2SG worker:SG one.
"Make me one of your servants" (Lk 15:19)

M á né fò tòm-tòm. "I am your servant."
1SG COP FOC 2SG worker:SG.

For *kà*-catenations as resultative predicates see 19.2.

Adjectives may appear as NP heads in predicative complements:

Lì à nē pìl̀g. "It's white, a white one."
Lì à nē pìl̀g f́áss. "It's very white."
Bà à nē pìl̀à. "They're white."

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin aseε ka m leb zin'a.

Mām á nē pìl̀g àmáà n̄ yá' pāe búgúmī=n, àséε kà n̄ léb zìñ'a.
1SG COP FOC white:SG but 1SG if reach fire=LOC, except and 1SG turn red:SG.
"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] (BNY p16)

si'el zie sabili wuu nidne.

sī'əl zī'e sābíl̀l̄ ∅ wōv n̄d nē.
INDEF.IN stand black:SG CAT like person:SG like.

"something stood, black like a person." KSS p16

Only adjectives without corresponding stative verbs permit this. More often, compounds with *n̄n-* "person" or *b̄n-* "thing" + adjective are used instead. This is required for *all* adjectives before dependent pronouns:

Lì à nē b̄n-pìl̀-kàḡā. "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 *p̀vd*^ε "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head *ȳ'vr*^{ε/} "name", and the name itself as predicative complement optionally introduced by *yē* "that."

Ka f̄v na p̀vd o yv'vr ye Yesu.

Kà fò ná p̀vd ò ȳ'vr yē Yesu.

And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

Ka o p̀vd biig la yv'vr Yesu.

Kà ò p̀vd biig lā ȳ'vr Yesu.

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

Bùel^E "call, call out, summon" can be used in the ipfv with an object expressing the person and the name as a complement optionally introduced by *yē*, or with *yō'vr*^{E/} "name" as the subject:

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)

dau sɔ' ka o yv'vr buon Joon.
dàù-só' kà ò yō'vr bùen Joon.
 man-INDFAN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.
 "a man [habitually] called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal^E "make" is used with object and resultative predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meη nintita'ar.
Kà ò mâal ò mēη nīn-títā'ar.
 And 3AN make 3AN self person-great:SG.
 "He made himself out to be a great man." (Acts 8:9. 1976)

16.9.3 Locatives

Locative AdvPs occur as complements after verbs of position and movement. They are probably never obligatory.

Ò kèη Bók. "She's gone to Bawku."
 3AN go Bawku.

Ò p̄ tūñ'ə_ø kēnná=ø.
 3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.
 "She can't walk."

Dìgìnìm kpē! "Lie down here!"
 Lie.down:IMP here!

Ò dīgìn yā. "He's lain down."
 3AN lie.down PFV.

Ò òdìgìl gbáṣṣe lā tésèbòl lā zúg.
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.
 "She's put the book on the table."

Ò òdìgìl gbáṣṣe lā. "She's put the book down."
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART.

Dāy lā bé nē dó-kàṅā lā pòvḡv̄=n.
 Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST:SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
 "The man is inside that hut."

Àláafò béo=∅. "He's well." ("Health exists for him.")
 Health EXIST=3AN. Indirect object, no complement.

16.9.4 Prepositional phrases

Wēn^{na/} "resemble" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē* or *wōv* 15.

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

Lāl^{la/} "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē*:

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.
Àmáa ò p̄v lāl né tīi=∅.
 But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL=NEG.
 "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

Dōl^{la/} "accompany" with the preposition *nē* means "be in accordance with":

Li dolne lin sob Wina'am gbaugvn si'em la ye ...
Lì dól nē lín sōb Wínà'am gbáṣṣeṣ̄=n sī'əm lā yē ...
 3IN follow with 3IN:NZ write God book:SG=LOC INDEFADV 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*[/] 24.1.2 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 ónì yī Magdala (Mk 16:9, 1996)
 Mary REL.AN emerge Magdala

16.9.5 Clauses

Kē "let" and *m̄t* in the sense "let not" always take a *kà*-catenation. *Nār^{a/}* "be obliged to" and *bòòd^a* in the sense "want to" take purpose clauses, and the meaning is anaphoric if it is absent. *Gūr^{a/}* in the sense "wait for (an event)" takes a NP headed by a gerund or a purpose-clause. *Àgñ^{ya}* "be" may take a content-clause complement.

Verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception have as complement a content clause, a relative clause with *sī'əm*, or a postpositional AdvP with *yēlá* "about." Most such verbs have an anaphoric sense without such an object.

16.10 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 [17.2.1](#).

Bà dīt nē sā'ab dó-kàṅā lā púvgō=n.
 3PL eat:IPFV FOC porridge hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
 "They're eating porridge in that hut."

16.11 Verb-phrase-final particles

Nā' "hither" and *sà* "hence; ago" follow any complements. *Kēñ* "come" is invariably used with *nā'*; the identical imperatives SF *kēm* of *kēñ* "come" and *kēḡ^{ε/}* "go" are distinguished by the following *nā'* or *sà* respectively.

Kēm nā n gōs. "Come and look!" SB
 Come:IMP hither CAT look.

M̄ mór kù'əm náa=ø? "Shall I bring water?" SB
 1SG have water hither=PQ?

Bùgóm lā yīt yáa ní ná=ø?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

Fò yí yáa ní ná=ø? "Where have you come from?" WK
2SG emerge where LOC hither=CQ?

Sà often refers to time:

Fu na baη li nya'aη sa. "You will come to understand afterwards."
Fò ná báη lì ñyá'aη sá. (Jn 13:7, 1976)
2SG IRR realise 3IN behind since.

Lazarus pvn be yavgvn la daba anaasi sa.
Lazarus pún bè yávgv̄=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 often follow any article *lā'* ending an *ñ*-clause containing them:

dunia kanε ken la na
dūnyá-kànì kēn lā nā
world-REL.SG come:IPFV ART hither
"the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)

ñwādīg-kánì kēn nā lā
month REL.SG come:IPFV hither ART
"next month" SB

M diib anε ye m tvm onε tvmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.
M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ tvm ònì tvmì=m lā nā bɔɔdīm_ø nāe.
1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work RELAN send=1SG ART hither will CAT finish.
My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely. (Jn 4:34)

ti tvm onε tvm man na la tvvma.
tì tvm ònì tvm mān nā lā tvvmà
1PL work RELAN send 1SG.CN hither ART work
"Let us do the work of him who sent me." (Jn 9:4)

The VP-final particles can follow gerunds, and may again follow the article:

Ninsaal Biig la lεbvγ la na
Nīn-saal Bīg lā lēbv̄g lā nā
Human:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither
"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

16.12 "Be" verbs

Existence is expressed with the verb *bè*; with a focussed or foregrounded locative, it expresses **location**.

Wìnà'am bé. "God exists." (Calque of Ghanaian Pidgin
God EXIST. *God de*, implying "It'll all work out.")

Áláafù béo=∅. "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")
Health EXIST=3AN.

Wāad bé. "It's cold."
Cold.weather EXIST.

Dàù-sō' bé kpēlá. "There's a man here."
Man-INDF.AN EXIST here.

Mam bene moogin. "I'm in the bush." BNY p8
Mām bé nē mōogū=n.
1SG.CN EXIST FOC grass:SG=LOC.

Moogin ka mam be. "I'm in the bush." BNY p10
Mōogū=n kà mām bé.
Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN EXIST.

For the corresponding negative *kā'e* see 16.5; **pū 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' bīgā.*
1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

Bè can be used in direct commands:

Béε ànínā. "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB
EXIST ADV:there.

The **copula** is *àḡñ*^{ya}. On the loss of *ε* and nasalisation see 4.3.

Mānī ∅ *áñ d'atà kà fōn mēn áęñ.*

1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

The usual negative is *kā'ę*, but *pō áęñ* occurs, e.g. in expressing contrasts:

Ṁ kā' d'atā=∅. "I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG=NEG.

Mānī ∅ *áñ d'atà àmáa fōn pō áñyā=∅.*

1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG but 2SG.CN NEG.IND COP=NEG.

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Áęñ^{ya} can be used in direct commands:

Āa=ní ∅ *àlá bāañlím!* "Be (ye) quiet!"

COP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

The sense may be ascriptive or specifying (cf CGEL p266.) If it is ascriptive, the complement is non-referring, and normally focussed with *nē*' if permitted [24.1.2](#), while in specifying constructions the subject usually has *n*-focus [24.1.1](#).

Ṁ á nē d'atà.

1SG COP FOC doctor:SG.

"I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")

Ascriptive.

Mānī ∅ *áñ d'atà lā.*

1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG ART.

"I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")

Specifying.

Nōbibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nō-bíbisì ∅ *áñ mām dí-sùŋ.*

Hen-small:PL CAT COP 1SG.CN food-good:SG.

"Chicks are my favourite food." Specifying. BNY p13

Áęñ^{ya} allows a wide range of different types of NP as arguments. It can take an AdvP of any type as subject:

Yiŋ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yiŋ véñl kà pōvōvō=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)

Zīnā à nē dá'a. "Today [time] is market."
 Today COP FOC market:SG.

Man noŋi ya si'em la ane bedego.

Mán nòŋī=yá sī'əm lā á nē bédvǵō.

1SG:NZ love=2PL INDEFADV ART COP FOC much.

"How much I love you [manner], is a lot." (2 Cor 7:3, 1976)

Àǵñ^{ya} takes a predicative complement. Some adjectives can appear as NP heads of predicative complements after *àǵñ^{ya}* and other verbs [16.9.2](#), but typically *àǵñ^{ya}* 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 sābílíg, là'am nē wālá m vėñl 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 bǵvǵígā. "It's soft."

3IN COP FOC soft:ADV.

Lì à nē zāalím. "It's empty."

3IN COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

Lì àñ sǵǵā. "It's good." [24.1.2](#)

3IN COP good:ADV.

Absolute clauses and even content clauses may be complements of *àǵñ^{ya}*:

M diib ane ye m tvm one tvmi m la na bǵǵdim naae.

M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ tvm ònì tvmì=m lā nā bǵǵdīm_∅ nāe.

1SG food COP FOC that 1SG work REL.AN send=1SG ART hither will CAT finish.

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." (Jn 4:34)

17 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.

17.1 Clause types

Criteria for describing a clause as main or subordinate do not always neatly align. Independency marking of VPs 16.6 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>18</u>	main without <i>kà</i>	main with initial <i>kà</i>
complementised <u>22</u>	<i>yē/kà</i> content	<i>yē/kà</i> purpose
catenated <u>19</u>		<i>n/kà</i> catenation
nominalised		<i>ñ</i> absolute/relative <u>21</u> <i>yà'</i> conditional <u>20</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 p̄w̄ b̄ôɔd̄ yé f̄v̄ kēŋ Bók̄ɔ=∅.

1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG go Bawku=NEG.

"I don't want you to go to Bawku."

Ka o ba' ne o ma pv baŋ ye o kpelim yaa.

Kà ò bā' né ò mà p̄w̄ báŋ yé ò kpèlìm 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. They are coordinated with *nē*, not *kà*:

... *pa'ali ba* [*on daa nye Zugsəb la suorin, ka o pian' tis o si'em*],
nē [*Saul n mōol Yesu yela nē sɔnkpɪ'euj Damaskus teɟin si'em.*]
 ... *pá'alì=bā ón dāa ñyē Zūg-sób lā sūerí=n, kà ò pǐāñ' ∅*
 ... teach=3PL 3AN:NZ TNS see Lord ART road:SG=LOC and 3AN speak CAT
tísò=∅ sǐ'əm, nē Saul=n mōol Yesu yélà nē sūñ-kpǐ'oɟ
 give=3AN INDF.ADV with Saul=NZ proclaim Jesus about with heart-strength
Damaskus tégí=n sǐ'əm.

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 clitics:

ka pɔ nar ka ba buolim ye Tɔmtɔmma.
kà pɔ nár kà bà búəlì=m yē Tóm-tōmmā=∅.
 and NEG.IND must and 3PL call=1SG that worker:SG=NEG.
 "and I ought not to be called an apostle" (1 Cor 15:9)

Structures can be obscured by dislocation 24.4.

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 pɔ bɔɔd [ye fɔ ti yel bɛog daar [ye fɔnɛ kɛ [ka mam Abram lieb bɔmmɔra.]]]
M̃ pɔ bɔɔd yé fɔ tí yèl bɛog dāar yē
 1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG after say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that
fɔnī ∅ ké kà mām Abram lǐəb bɔn-mórā=∅.
 2SG.CN CAT 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)

17.2 Structure

Except in special circumstances, clauses require a subject NP, which is followed by a VP, with any post-subject particles intervening. Kusaal is SVO [16.9](#); deviations occur only by preposing or dislocation.

The **clause-linker particles** *kà* "and" and *yē* "that" precede the subject (which may be ellipted after *kà*.) *Yē* is invariably subordinating, but *kà* may be coordinating or subordinating: it appears in a great variety of constructions and meanings. Clause-level adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position.

Emphatics [24.7](#) are clause-level particles associated with top-level NPs/AdvPs.

Main and content clauses have similar structures. Both display independency marking on the first VP, unless preceded by coordinating *kà* [16.6](#), and have structural possibilities not permitted to other clauses, including lacking VPs altogether.

17.2.1 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"

Ya pvn mi' nε'εηa, bɔzugɔ li daa maalne ya san'an.

Yà pún mī' nē'ηá, bō zúgō lì dāa mâal né yà sã'an.

2PL already know DEMST.IN, because 3IN TNS make FOC 2PL among.

"You already know this, because it was done in your presence." (Acts 2:22)

Bō zúgō may also appear after an absolute clause, like *zūg^o* alone.

Prelinker adjuncts precede any linkers. *Hālí àséε* are also prepositions [15](#).

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>hālí</i>	"until"
<i>àséε</i>	"unless"	<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"

KB has no examples of *kà àmáa* to 365 of *ámáa kà*, one of *kà àséé* to 247 of *àséé kà* and 436 examples of *hālí kà* but none of *kà hālí* as a clause adjunct. Prelinker adjuncts also precede *yē*, both as linker and "resumptive" *yē* 22.2. Thus

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yel ye ...

Kà s̄əbā lá'o=∅. Àmáa kà s̄əbā yél yē ...

And INDEF.PL laugh=3AN. But and INDEF.PL say that...

"Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

Wina'am daa pu gaŋi ti ye ti tum dian'ad tɔɔma, amaa ye ti be nyain.

Wínà'am dāa pū gāŋí=tī yé tì tùm dīā'ad tóɔmà=∅,

God TNS NEG.IND choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

ámáa 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 preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bo ka m lem lood noor ya'ase?

Àmáa ɔn sādīgím kpí lā, bó kà m̀ lém lōod nōor yá'asè=∅=∅?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again 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 ..." 20.1, *sādīgím*-clauses 21.1, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'ērē* "perhaps." *Yà'*-clauses and *sādīgím*-clauses can only appear after main clauses by dislocation.

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 preposing with *kà* 24.3. 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 **M̄ɔɔgú=n mā́m bé* was corrected by WK to

Mōogú=n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN 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", *àsīdā* "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 m àñ nā'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 *-ɔ* appear very often before *kà* (177/371 cases), i.e. as 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 zúgō* and *lìn zúgō*.

Bō zúg without *-ɔ* appears in KB only as preposed *bō zúg kà ...?* "why ...?"

Bōzug ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Haggai 1:9)

Bō zúg kà lī áañ àlá=ø?

What on and 3IN COP thus=CQ?

Hālī can be a prelinker adjunct before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.

Tì ñwá'a=lī hālī_ø pāe Nofa.

1PL strike=3IN 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 yēd fuugō, hali ka li yuug.

Ò p̄v yēd fūugó=ø, hālī kà lī 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 kv basif ka fɔ **keŋɛ** aseɛ ka fɔ niŋi m zug bareka.*

M̄ kú bāsí=f kà fò kēŋɛ=∅ àséɛ kà fò níŋì_̀m̄ zūg bárkà.

1SG NEG.IRR leave=2SG 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" 15 appears as a linker adjunct before content clauses:

*ka tuumbe'ed **ku** len so'e ti wuu ti aa li **yamugo**.*

kà tùm-bē'ed kú lēm s'v=tī w̄v tì áañ_̀lì yàmmògō=∅.

and work-bad:PL NEG.IRR again own=1PL 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 wv ya **anɛ** m biis nɛ.*

M̄ piáñ'adī_̀∅ tísídī=yá w̄v yà á né m̄ bīs nē.

1SG speak:IPFV CAT give:IPFV=2PL like 2PL COP FOC 1SG child:PL like.

"I talk to you as if you were my children." (2 Cor 6:13)

17.2.2 Subjects

Kusaal is not a pro-drop language. A dummy subject pronoun *lì* (never *ò*) is required in impersonal constructions:

Lì t̀l.

3IN be.hot.

"It [weather] is hot."

Lì àñ s̀jā.

3IN COP good:ADV.

"It's good."

Contrast Mooré *yaa s̄ōama*, with no pronoun.

Lì nàr kà f̀v k̀l.

3IN must and 2SG go.home.

"It's necessary for you to go home."

Lì may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anɛ alaa, m naan kv yelɛnɛ ya ye ...

Yà' k̄a'a=ní_̀àlá, m̄ n̄aan kú yēlī=ní=yā yē ...

If NEG.BE=DP ADV:thus, 1SG then NEG.IRR say=DP=2PL that...

"If it were not so, I would not have told you that ..." (Jn 14:2)

See 18.3 for omission and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are regularly ellipted after *kà* when they would have the same reference as the subject of the preceding clause, except when *kà* introduces a content clause; M spreading still follows *kà*. As *kà*-catenation typically involves a change of subject, this is characteristic of coordination, where a retained pronoun after *kà* usually signals a change of subject. Conversations may be reported *Kà ò yél ... kà ò yél ...* with each *ò* marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust [12.4.1](#)) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness, though it cannot override number:

Pɥ'ā lā dá' dāká kà kēŋ Bók.

Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

Pɥ'āb lā dá' dāká kà bà kēŋ Bók.

Woman:PL ART buy box:SG and 3PL go Bawku.

"The women bought a box and they went to Bawku." WK

(Possible, though unusual, with "they" referring to "the women.")

but *Pɥ'ā lā dá' dāká kà ò kēŋ Bók.*

Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

The pronoun after *kà* may be ellipted as referring to the subject of a preceding preposed absolute clause:

Ban wɔm nɛ'ɛŋa la ka sɪn.

Bán wòm nē'ŋá lá kà sɪn.

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 *informal* ellipsis. M spreading after pronouns again remains:

Náe yà=∅?

Finish PFV=PQ?

"[Have you] finished?"

Such ellipsis may be declared incorrect by speakers if their attention is drawn to it; it does not affect meaning. It can become standardised in greetings or proverbs. *Zi'isige* [16.5](#) appears without a subject in the meaning "unbeknownst."

17.2.3 Post-subject particles

For *yà* "if" 20.1; nominaliser-*̀n* 21; *sāduḡim* "since" 21.1; *nāan(ī)* 20.1.

Sìd "truly":

Ò sìd dāa á nē nā'ab. "Truly, he was a chief." WK
3AN truly TNS COP FOC chief:SG.

Kōlīm or *kōdīm* "always" (← Hausa) is most often found with negatives:

Ka so' kudin ku len nyee li ya'asa.
Kà sō' kōdīm kú lēm ñyées=lì yá'asā=∅.
And INDEFAN ever NEG.IRR again see=3IN again=NEG.
"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rev 18:21, 1996)

Ñyāan or *nāan* "next, afterwards":

Ka Yesu tans ne kvkōtita'ar ka nyaan kpi.
Kà Yesu táńs 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":

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la bεε?
Ōnī_ ∅ pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bées=∅?
3AN.CN CAT perhaps COP Christ ART or=PQ?
"Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

Yō'vn "then, next"

Manoa yv'vn da baḡ ye o anε Zugsoḡ maliak.
Manoa yō'vn dá bàḡ yé ò à nē Zūg-sóḡ máliāk.
Manoah then TNS realise that 3AN COP FOC Lord angel:SG.
"Then Manoah realised that he was an angel of the Lord." (Judges 13:12)

18 Main clauses

Main clauses show structural possibilities shared only with content clauses, which are downranked main clauses 22.2. For independency marking see 16.6. They may be declarative (the unmarked default), content or polar questions, commands, or types lacking VPs. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kūv* "or", *bēε* "or"; *kūv* and *bēε* are synonyms in this use. For *kà* before *lèε* see 16.7; in narrative, see 16.3.4.

18.1 Content questions

Content questions (except those with *lìa* 18.4) 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 4.1. *Nē'* may not appear 24.1.2.

There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focussed 24.1.1, and non-subjects are very often preposed 24.3. Preposing is obligatory for *bō zúg*, "why?" and for *bō* when used for "why?"

<i>F̀̀ b̀̀ɔ̀d b̀̀=ø?</i> 2SG want what=CQ?	"What do you want?"
<i>F̀̀ b̀̀ɔ̀d lí̀nè=ø?</i> 2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?	"Which do you want?"
<i>Dā̀y lā̀ ñ̀yé à̀nɔ̀'ɔ̀nè=ø?</i> Man:SG ART see who=CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"
<i>B̀̀ɔ̀ maalè?</i> <i>B̀̀ɔ̀_ø máalè=ø?</i> What CAT make=CQ?	"What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)
<i>À̀nɔ̀'ɔ̀nì_ø ñ̀yē bí̀gà=ø?</i> Who CAT see child:SG=CQ?	"Who has seen a child?"
<i>À̀nɔ̀'ɔ̀n bí̀gì_ø ñ̀wá=ø?</i> Who child:SG CAT this=CQ?	"Whose child is this?"
<i>À̀nɔ̀'ɔ̀n kà dā̀y lā̀ ñ̀yéε=ø?</i> Who and man:SG ART see=CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"
<i>B̀̀ kà f̀̀ kúmmà=ø?</i> What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?	"Why are you crying?"

18.2 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 4.1. *Nē*^l appears as in statements. The answer expected is *ēēñ* 18.4.

Dāy lā ñyé bīgà=ø? "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?

Ḃ á nē dáàv=ø? "Am I a man?"
1SG COP FOC man:SG=PQ?

Bà kùvd nē búvsèè=ø? "Are they killing goats?"
3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?

FḂ pḂ wómàa=ø=ø? "Don't you understand?"
2SG NEG.IND hear:IPFV=NEG=PQ? (expects *ēēñ*, here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either *béè* "or" (expecting disagreement) or *kúv* "or" (expecting agreement; rare in NT/KB):

Dāy lā ñyé bīg kúv=ø?
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?
"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)

Dāy lā ñyé bīg béè=ø?
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?
"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect not.)

18.3 Commands

For indirect commands, see 22. 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} 4.2. Thus

FḂ gós bīg lā. "You (sg) have looked at the child."
2SG look.at child:SG ART.

Yà gós bīg lā. "You (pl) have looked at the child."
2PL look.at child:SG ART.

but *Gòsìm bīg lā!* "Look (sg) at the child!"
 Look.at:IMP child:SG ART!

Gòsīmī=∅ 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 gōsē=∅! "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:

Fv ya'a m̄r pu'a, fvn da m̄ɔd ye fv bas oo.
Fv̀ yá' m̄r p̄ā, fvn dā m̄ɔd yé f̀v̀ básō=o=∅.
 2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=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 [22.2](#), even when the addressee is the same as in the original utterance:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsìm tēḡī=n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP ground:SG=LOC.
 "She said to them: Look down!" WK

Ò yèl yé f̀v̀ gòsìm tēḡī=n.
 3AN say that 2SG look:IMP ground:SG=LOC.
 "She said to you SG: Look down!"

Ò yèl yé yà gòsìm tēḡī=n.
 3AN say that 2PL look:IMP ground:SG=LOC.
 "She said to you PL: Look down!"

Some speakers still keep postposed *y^a* after the verb even when there is a pronoun subject before it; such speakers also repeat *y^a* in catenated clauses.

Ò yèl yé bà gòsimī=∅ tēṅī=n.
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PL.SUB ground:SG=LOC.
 "He said to them: Look down!"

Kèṁī=∅ nā n gōsī=∅!
 Come:IMP=2PL.SUB hither CAT look=2PL.SUB!
 "Come (ye) and look!" (WK *Kèṁī 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 clitic:

Gòsimā! "Look!"
Gòsimī-yá! "Look! (plural)"

18.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses have the form NP + catenator-*n* + deictic particle or *wà nā* "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

K̀̀l̀̀ṅ̀̀ì̀̀ ∅ lā. "That is a door."
 Door:SG CAT that.

K̀̀l̀̀ṅ̀̀ì̀̀ ∅ wá nā. "This here is a door."
 Door:SG CAT this hither.

Bēogō ∅ lā. "See you tomorrow" ("That's tomorrow.")
 Tomorrow CAT that.

Bō ∅ lá=∅? "What's that?"
 What CAT that=CQ?

Ñwāamīs ∅ ñwá! "Monkeys!" [w̃ã:misa]
 Monkey:PL CAT this!
 (Said by a passenger in my car, on suddenly catching sight of some.)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anɔʼon nwaɑ yisid nidib tɔvmbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔʼon ∅ *ñwáa* ∅ *yīsīd* *nīdīb* *tɔvmb-ɛ'edī* ∅ *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)

Yɛl bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am kɛ ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bóɔ ∅ *ñwá* *kà* *Wínà'am* *ké* *kà* *lì* *páa=tì=∅?*

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Identificational clauses can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bɔɔ nwa?

Yà nīŋìd *bóɔ* ∅ *ñwá=∅?*

2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?

"What is this you are doing?" (Nehemiah 2:19)

Fv maal bɔɔ la tis mam?

Fv màal *bóɔ* ∅ *lā* ∅ *tís* *màm=∅?*

2SG make what CAT that CAT give me=CQ?

"What is this that you have done to me?" (Numbers 23:11)

Lìɑ clauses have the form X + *lìɑ*, meaning "where is X?" Although I often heard *lìɑ* in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, no examples appear in the 1996 or 2016 Bible versions.

Fv mà *lā* *lìɑ=∅?* "Where is your mother?"

2SG mother:SG ART be.where=CQ? (WK to a child in the outpatient clinic.)

Ka awai la dia [sic]? "But where are the nine?" (Lk 17:17, 1976)

Kà àwāɛ *lā* *lìɑ=∅?*

And NUM:nine ART be.where=CQ?

Vocative clauses usually either precede a main clause, or stand alone. They take the form of NPs followed by the vocative clitic 4.1:

M *pɔ'ā* *né* *m* *bīisē=∅!*

1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL=VOC!

"My wife and my children!"

M̄ d̄iəmmā=∅, bó kà f̄v̄ kúə̀sìdà=∅?
 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>B̄iis ñwá!</i>	"Children!"	[bi:sa]
<i>P̄y'ā ñwá!</i>	"Woman!"	[p̄ȳāwã]
<i>Zōn ñwá</i>	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]

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 *ēɛñ*; "No" is *áyì*. 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 n̄é=∅?</i> 3IN finish FOC=PQ?	"Is it finished?"
<i>Ēɛñ.</i>	"Yes."
<i>Áyì.</i>	"No"
<i>Lì p̄ n̄āé=∅=∅?</i> 3IN NEG.IND finish=NEG=PQ?	"Isn't it finished?"
<i>Ēɛñ.</i>	"No."
<i>Áyì.</i>	"Yes."

19 Catenated clauses

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs, each introduced by catenator-*n*; for the realisation of this particle see 4.2. 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 máliāk dāa kēŋ n yô'og sārɔ́gá dōog

But and Lord angel:SG TNS go CAT open prison:SG house:SG

zá'-nɔɔr lā yō'vŋ-kán, n mōrí=bā n yīis yíŋ.

compound-mouth:SG ART night-DEM.SG, CAT have=3PL 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-sō' dūe n zī'e lá'asùg lā nīdīb sísvòvgū=n, n áñ

And man-INDEF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among=LOC, CAT COP

Parisee níd kà ò yō'vr būen Gamaliel, n áñ ónì pà'an

Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT COP REL.AN teach:IPFV

Wínà'am wádà lā yélà, kà lém àñ yō'vr dāan nīdīb sá'an.

God law ART about, and again COP name:SG owner:SG person:PL among.

"A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee **called Gamaliel**, a teacher of God's law and also reputable among the people." (Acts 5:34, 1976)

Toende Kusaal (like Dagaare, Bodomo 1997) has *zero* throughout corresponding to catenator-*n*, but most other Western Oti-Volta languages show *n*, at least in slow speech. In languages with the zero realisation, these structures have usually been regarded as serial verb constructions, and many uses of catenation are indeed closely parallel to uncontroversial serial verb constructions in other languages. For example, substitution of *kà* for catenator-*n* makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with *n*-catenation:

Ṁ zání Ṁ m nú'ugò ∅ sī'is dāká lā.

1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I touched the box with my hand."

?? *M záhí m̀ nù'ug kà sī'is dāká lā.*

"I picked up my hand and touched the box."

M dāa kûes b̀h̀ỳ ò tís d́'atà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? *M dāa kûes b̀h̀ỳ kà tís d́'atà.*

"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 [18.4](#):

Anɔ'ɔn nwaɑ yisid nidib tɔvmbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ø ñwáɑ_ø yīsīd nīdīb t̀v̀m-bē'edī_ø básidà=ø?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

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 catenation constructions using *kà* in place of catenator-*n* [19.2](#). 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 [24.1.2](#).

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. Niggli calls the same construction in Mooré *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^E*, 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. However, it may be the *first* component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have characteristic "auxiliary" roles in catenation, preceding or following the "main" verb depending on their own semantics. Furthermore, the order of perfectives expressing events must mirror the order of the events.

N-catenations are sometimes attached to the *object* of *ñyē* "see, find"; I have no examples of this construction with other verbs.

ka na nye Ninsaal Biig la n kenna ne o na'am.

kà ná ñyē Nīn-sâal Bîig lā n kēn nā né ò nā'am.

and IRR see human:SG child:SG ART CAT come:IPFV hither with 3AN kingdom.

"...will see the Son of Man coming with his kingdom."

(Mt 16:28, 1996: *lā* not *lá*)

19.1 N-catenation

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-sâal Bîig kēn nā ∅ dīt kà nūud ...

And human: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' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_àyí' yé fū-píèlà_ ∅ 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 pv mār antu'a zugv o yela na sōbi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ p̄v mār ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_ ∅ nà sōbī_ ∅ tís

But 1SG NEG.IND have case:SG upon 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give

ná'-tītā'ar lāa=∅.

king-great:SG ART=NEG.

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kèm ∅ *tí ñyē d'atà.* "Go and see the doctor."
Go:IMP CAT after see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba ...

Mān yá' pō kēɛ=n nā ∅ *tó'asī=ní=bā...*

1SG.CN if NEG.IND come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL ...

"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 17.2.1.

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 iāñ'asíd kà piāñ'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.

Sógià-sō' kā'e n túm kà yōod ò mēŋá=∅.

Soldier-INDEFAN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

Certain verbs have characteristic specialised meanings in *n*-catenation. Dual-aspect verbs agree in aspect with the main VP verb.

The following *precede* the (semantically) main VP:

Bè "exist, be somewhere" + *àñinā* "there" + imperfective "be in the process of ..."

Ò bè àñinā n ñwê'ed bīg lā.

3AN EXIST ADV: there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.

"He's currently beating the child."

Àgñ^{ya} "be something/somehow" can be used in clefting 24.2:

Li ane o sidi sv'oe li.

Lì á né ò sīdī ∅ *sú'v=lī.*

3IN COP FOC 3AN husband:SG CAT own=3IN.

"It's her husband who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

Mī "know" and *zī* "not know": *nàm mī* *n* + perfective "always have X-ed", *nàm zī* *n* + perfective "never have X-ed":

Makir bane buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

Mākír bānì būudī pāadī=yā lā nám mī' ∅ pāe sīēbā mén.

Testing REL.PL sort reach:IPFV=2PL 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)

Ṁ nám zī' ∅ ñyē gbīgīmnē=∅.

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

Zàṅ^ε and *nōk^{ε/}* "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

Ṁ nók s'vugò ∅ kịá nịm lā.

1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

"I cut the meat with a knife."

Ṁ zání ∅ m' nú'ugò ∅ 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 mōró=∅ ∅ kē nā.

Day:PL NUM:seven and 2SG have=3AN CAT come hither.

"Bring her here in a week." WK

Dōl^{la/} "accompany in subordinate role, attend"

Bà dōllō=∅ ∅ kēṅ Bók. "They went to Bawku with him."

3PL follow=3AN 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 ...

"Peter began to tell them." (Acts 11:4)

Tì déṅì ∅ tísò=∅ lór.

1PL precede CAT give=3AN car.

"We previously gave him a car."

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en la'asvɔg la svugin ...

Kà dàu-sɔ' dūe_∅ zɪ'ən là'asvòg lā súbvǔ=n ...

And man-INDEFAN 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*^{ε/} "go" can be used similarly as initiators:

M̄ kɛŋì_∅ 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 baŋidib la ...

Kà Nà'ab Herod sù'ā_∅ búəl bāŋīdīb lā ...

And king:SG Herod conceal CAT call understander:PL ART...

"Herod secretly called for the wise men ..." (Mt 2:7)

Niŋ wālá literally "do how?" is used in catenation for "how can ...?" (see also [19.2](#)):

Ninsaal na niŋ wala an pɔpiel Wina'am tuonne? Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pɔ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Nīn-sâal ná niŋ wālá_∅ àñ pú-pìəl Wínà'am tûønnè=∅?

Human:SG IRR do how CAT COP holy:SG God before=CQ?

Nīn-sâal bīg nà niŋ wālá_∅ pṽ mōr tâal Wínà'am tûønnè=∅?

Human:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG.IND have fault:SG 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^{ε/} means "overcome" as a main verb; as an auxiliary it means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

Ka m nyaŋ dunia.

"I have overcome the world." (Jn 16:33)

Kà m̄ ñyāŋ dūnyā.

And 1SG overcome world:SG.

M̄ pṽ ñyāŋī_∅ záb nà'ab lāa=∅.

1SG NEG.IND prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I wasn't able to fight the chief."

Unlike English "can", *ñyāŋ*^{ε/} 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.

M̄ kú ñyāŋ̄_ø záb nà'ab láa=ø.

1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I can't fight the chief." ("I won't succeed in fighting the chief.")

wad line nyaŋedin ketin ka nidib voen

wād-línì ñyāŋídī=n_ ø kētí=n kà nīdīb 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 pàŋì=ø nà tūñ'è sī'em

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'è_ 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'è_ ø zīŋ'i tēŋī=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?

Fv tūñ'è_ ø ñyēt sī'èlāa=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 tũñ'ə_ ∅ p̄iãñ'adá=∅.

3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

"He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)

With *ñyāŋ*^{el} as the main verb in the sense "overcome":

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaŋe ba meŋa.

bō zúgō bà kò tũñ'ə_ ∅ ñyāŋí_ bà mēŋá=∅.

because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT control 3PL self=NEG.

"because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5, 1996)

The following verbs *follow* the main VP:

Tis^ε "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.

Fù p̄v má' n t̄is n̄ĩn-sáalā=∅, àmáa fù má'

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

n t̄is n̄ē W̄inà'am S̄í-s̄òŋ.

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)

Ì dāa kûəs b̄òŋò_ ∅ t̄is d̄ú'atà.

1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.

"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

Gàad^ε "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

Isaac kárìm_ ∅ gát John.

Isaac read:IPFV CAT pass:IPFV John.

"Isaac reads better than John." SB

À-W̄in ḡím_ ∅ gát À-B̄v̄ḡv̄r.

PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

Fv sid nōη mam gat bamaa?

Fò síd nòη mām_ø gát bámmáa=ø?

2SG truly love 1SG CAT pass:IPFV DEMST.PL=PQ?

"Do you really love me more than these?" (Jn 21:15)

Gàlìs^ε "get to be too much" (*Sāa gálìs yā* "There's too much rain"):

Ò dì n gálìs.

"She's eaten too much."

3AN eat CAT exceed.

Dā kárìm gbánà_ø gálìsìdā=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":

An'òn nwaa yisid nidib tvumbē'edi basida?

Àn'òn_ø ñwáa_ø yīsíd nīdīb t̄vum-bē'edī_ø básìdà=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 dù_ø nāe.

"He's finished eating."

3AN eat CAT finish.

Ò dù_ø tīg.

"She's eaten to satiety."

3AN eat CAT get.sated.

Verbs of motion occur in *n*-catenation with meanings like local prepositions e.g.

Ò kàt kíkīr-bē'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdīb.

3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.

"He drives evil spirits out of people."

Èñrìgìm_ø páa=m. "Shift along up to me." (*pāe*^l "reach")

Shift.along:IMP CAT reach=1SG.

Wēn^{na/} "be like" is very common in *n*-catenation. It takes a prepositional phrase with *wōv* "like" or *nē* "with" as complement. Any object without the article *lā*^l, even a pronoun or proper name, is followed by a meaningless *nē*. As a main verb:

Ka o nindaa wenne nintaŋ ne.

Kà ò n̄n-dáa wēn nē n̄ntāŋ 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 ne*)

Wēn nē and *wēn wōv* behave as unitary prepositions to the extent that *wēn* + preposition + complement can be preposed with *kà*, or dislocated as in

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niŋid si'em la.

Dā ló yà n̄n-dáasē=∅, wēn nē f̄wosúg díim lá=∅

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

n̄iŋìd s̄'əm lā.

do:IPFV INDE.ADV ART.

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

Là'am^m "together" is also found as a preverb 16.8 and in the compound preposition *là'am nē* "together with" 15. As a main verb it means "associate with":

... ye labasuŋ moolug la ket ka buudi wusa la'amid ne taaba pudugid Wina'am piini.

... yē lábà-sùŋ mólùg lā kèt kà būudī wōsā lá'amìd

... that news-good:SG proclamation ART cause:IPFV and tribe all gather:IPFV

nē tāabā ∅ p̄ōdīgíd Wínà'am p̄ìnì.

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* 24.3. 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 m 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 m gōs ...

Again and 1SG look ...

19.2 *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 *kēl ka fū mēη an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them", where the pronoun *fū* 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 pū nyāηi kuvu o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pū ñyāηī ∅ kúo=∅=∅.

3IN TNS cause and 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT kill=3AN=NEG.

"This caused them not to be able to kill him." (2 Kings 11:2)

Ba kuvdim niηidi lin ye li ke ka ba da nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisvη laa.

Bà kōdīm niηìdī=lí yé lì ké kà bà dā ñyē Kristo kúm

3PL ever do:IPFV=3IN that 3IN cause and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death

dà-pōvdír námisùg láa=∅.

wood-cross:SG suffering ART=NEG.

"They have always been doing this so that they will not experience the suffering of the cross of the death of Christ." (Gal 6:12)

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dīnī ∅ ná ké kà bà dā kpī'ílímm=∅.

3IN.CN CAT IRR cause and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Genesis 6:20)

After *kés=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 tvvmbē'ed nyet paη.

Kà lì à né wādá lā ∅ kēt kà tvvmb-ē'ed ñyēt páη.

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 tēḡī=n.

Cause:IMP and 3AN look ground:SG=LOC.

"Let him look down."

Dā ké kà dàb̄ōm b́éε=ø!

NEG.IMP cause and fear EXIST=NEG.

"Don't be afraid." ("Let fear not exist.")

Kèl [or *Kèlí=ø*] *kà tì p̄'vs 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:

Ḿ gōs n̄īf lā.

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"I've looked at the eye."

Independency marked: tone overlay on *gōs*

but *Ḿ gōs n̄īf lā.*

1SG look.at eye:SG ART.

"Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic)

No tone overlay on *gōs*

Ḿ díḡinèε=ø?

1SG lie.down=PQ?

"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic)

No independency imperative *-ma*

Ò záb nà'ab lā.

3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He should fight the chief."

M spreading after *ò*, not *záb* [16.6.1](#)

M̄it is a defective verb used only in the imperative [16.5](#). 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 tvum s̄vma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.

M̄it kà yà máali yà tvum-s̄vmà n̄īd̄īb t̄uon 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 *n̄iḡ 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 nìŋ wēlá kà ò áñ David yāaŋà=∅?

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 nye faangire?

M̄ ná nīŋ wēlá kà ñyē fāaŋíre=∅?

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 Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāy dāa zīñ'i Lystra ní kà p̄ tūñ'ə ∅ 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 lōd nōr ka p̄ nuud daam

Kà Joon kē nā ∅ lōd nōr kà p̄ 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 be kpela kv kp̄i ...

Yà s̄əbā bé kp̄lā ∅ k̄v̄ kp̄i=∅ ...

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 16.9.1. The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

Anina ka o nye dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.

Āníná kà ò ñyē dāy kà ò yv'vr būn 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 ane ya taaba bane pv'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bání pò'usìd 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 [18.4](#), the NP of the main clause can be the anchor:

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bóɔ ∅ ñwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa=tì=∅?

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Genesis 42:28)

Adnominal *kà*-catenation underlies *kà*-clefting and preposing.

The subject of the catenated clause does not normally refer to the anchor; if it does, the *kà*-catenation is a resultative predicate [16.9.2](#):

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

...kà lâ'am màn gígìs kà bà wóm kà pīāñ'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 nā'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 p̄ 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 p̄ ñyē dāy lá kà ò á nē ná'abā=∅.*

1SG TNS NEG.IND see man:SG ART and 3AN COP FOC chief:SG=NEG.

20 Conditional clauses

20.1 Structure

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause as postlinker adjunct, after any other adjuncts. The main clause can be of any type, including a command or a question.

F̀̀ yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà f̀̀ ñyētá=ø?
 2SG if look here, what and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
 "If you look here, what do you see?"

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

Ka ligidi la ya'a p̀̀'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà līgīdī lā yá' p̀̀'ɔg, m̀̀ yá' tì lèb nā, m̀̀ ná yóɔ=f.
 And money ART if get.small, 1SG if then return hither, 1SG IRR pay=2SG.
 "If the money runs short, when I return I will repay you." (Lk 10:35)

The main clause must have an unellipted subject. Direct commands keep a subject pronoun in place; some speakers require a free pronoun form in such cases:

F̀̀ yá' a m̄r pu'a, f̀̀n da m̄ɔd ye f̀̀ bas oo.
F̀̀̀ yá' m̄r p̄'ā, f̀̀n dā m̄ɔd yé f̀̀ bāsō=o=ø.
 2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=NEG.
 "If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

Yà'-clauses can appear clause-finally because of dislocation due to weight:

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaḡaa.
Dìn-zúg lì nāan áñ sóm bà yá' p̄ d̄v'a=n dáy-kàḡáa=ø.
 Thus 3IN then COP good:ABSTR 3PL if NEG.IND bear=DP man-DEMST.SG=NEG.
 "So it would have been better for that man not to have been born."
 (Mk 14:21, 1996)

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

F̀̀ yá' a na dōllimi keḡ, m na keḡ.
F̀̀̀ yá' nà dōllí=mī_ ø kēḡ, m̀̀ ná kēḡ.
 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 pv keŋε, Svŋid la kv keɛn ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' p̄v kēŋé=∅, s̄vŋīd lā kú kēēñ yà nī náa=∅.

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)

The **discontinuous-past marker** n^{ε} 16.3.2, beside tense, is used to express *modal remoteness* (cf CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs. If it is accompanied by post-subject *nāan(ī)*, the sense is contrary-to-fact. It can attach to any verb form apart from imperatives. In catenation, n^{ε} in the first VP is usually repeated in all. It appears most often in *yà'*-clauses, but can occur both with and without *nāan(ī)* elsewhere:

Man bōōdin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvvliga.

Mān bōōdī=n nē yānāmì nāan āa=n mā'asígā bēε

1SG.CN want=DP that 2PL:NZ then COP=DP cold:ADV or

yānāmì nāan āa=n tvvligā.

2PL:NZ then COP=DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

Post-subject *nāan(ī)* "in that case, matters being so" is distinct from *ñyāan* "next, then" (← *ñyá'ay*^a "behind"), but before 2016 *ñyāan* often appears as *nāan*. Thus, in parallel NT passages:

Fu na ki'is noor atan' ye, fu zi' ma, ka noraug nyaan kaas.

Fù ná kī'is nóór àtáñ' yé fù zī'í=mā=∅,

2SG IRR deny occasion:SG NUM:three that 2SG NEG.KNOW=1SG=NEG,

kà nō-dāvǵ ñyāan kāas.

and hen-male:SG next cry.

"You will thrice deny 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'is mān nóór àtáñ' kà nō-dāvǵ

2SG IRR deny 1SG.CN occasion:SG NUM:three and hen-male:SG

nāan kāas nóór àyí'.

next cry occasion:SG NUM:two.

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." (Mk 14:30, 1996)

Nāan(ī) originates from the verb *nāan*^{el} "be there", which typically appears as an auxiliary with its own locative complement before a *n*-catenated clause:

Ka nwadbibis na naan agola lit tejin na.

Kà ñwā́d-bí̀bìs ná nāan àgólà_ ∅ lít tēṅī=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)

Fv ya'a sid anε Wina'am Biig fvn naanim dapuudir la zugv sig na.

Fv̀ yá' síd à nē Wínà'am Bīg, fvn náanìm dá-pōvdír lā

2SG if truly COP FOC God child:SG, 2SG.CN be.there:IMP wood-cross:SG ART
zùg̀v_ ∅ sīg nā.

upon CAT descend hither.

"If you are truly the Son of God, come down here from the cross." (Mt 27:40)

I will omit CAT in interlinear glossing after *nāanī*.

In subordinate clauses KB usually simply has irrealis *nà* where older versions had *nāan*. Modal *nāan(ī)* most often appears in conditional main clauses; in other main clauses *nāan* without *n^ε* often represents *ñyāan*, as above.

Nāan(ī) without *n^ε* is often effectively equivalent to *yà'* "if/when."

Li an svm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àñ sùm yē dāy yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yéla_ ∅ g̀aad ...

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 nāanī túm bē'ed kà bà sīgísú=f nē kpísìṅkpìl

2SG:NZ then do bad and 3PL put.down =2SG with fist:SG

kà f̀v̀ sìn kà m̄r sūgurv, l̀ì s̀m àñ b́=∅?

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.

Nòṅìr lém ká'e_ ∅ g̀aad nīdí=∅ nāan kpí ò z̀uà-nàm z̀úg̀=∅.

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 z̀únz̀òṅ=∅ nāanī vē'ed z̀únz̀òṅ 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)

Nāan(ī) with $n^ε$ expresses contrary-to-fact, as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaḡin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sò'm kà fù dāa nāan záḡí=n̄ m̄ līgīdī n sū'a=n bāḡkì 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(ī) means "if only":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keḡ nyεen nōdi'es la be Samaria la!

Ḥ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sīákì_∅ kēḡ_∅ ḡnyēε=n

1SG head-owner:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see=DP

nó-dḡ'əs lā_∅ bē Samaria lā!

mouth-transmitter:SG ART CAT EXIST Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kings 5:3)

20.2 Open

Conditional clauses without discontinuous-past $n^ε$ or *nāan(ī)* 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", absolute clauses are used [21.1](#).

Nid ya'a tvm tvvma, o di'ed yōod.

Nīd yá' tvm tvv mā, ò dī'əd yōod.

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 pv vυ'vḡ kuminε, alaa ti labasvḡ la mōvḡ la anε zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà p̄ v̄v'vḡ kūmī=né=∅, àlāa_∅ tì làbà-svḡ

And Christ if TNS NEG.IND come.alive death=LOC=NEG, ADV:thus 1PL news-good:SG

lā mōvḡ lā á nē zāalīm.

ART proclamation ART COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

Fù yá' sīàk, tì ná dīḡilí=f.

2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay.down=2SG.

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed [i.e. admit you to hospital.]"

Bεog ya'a nie fɔ na wɔm o pian'ad.

Bēog yá' n̄e, fò ná wóm ò p̄iǎǎ'ad.

Tomorrow if appear, 2SG IRR hear 3AN speech.

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." (Acts 25:22)

20.3 Hypothetical

If discontinuous-past n^{ε} occurs in the $yà'$ -clause and the main clause has irrealis mood without $nāan(\bar{i})$, the meaning is hypothetical. In the 1976 NT the main clause also has n^{ε} , but not in later versions. KB sometimes uses constructions identical to open conditionals with irrealis in the main clause in this meaning.

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salibir.

Wīef yá' s̄igí=n l̄i n̄i, l̄i zùlòŋ ná p̄aa=n ò s̄alib̄ir.

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)

KB: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluŋ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niŋbiŋ nii, lin ku nyaŋin keen ka o ka' niŋbiŋ nii.

Nób̄ir yá' yèl̄i=n yē, ón p̄ū áñ n̄u'ug l̄ā zúg,

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.IND COP hand:SG ART upon,

ò k̄ā' n̄in-gb̄iŋ ní=∅, l̄in kú ñyāŋī=n ∅

3AN NEG.BE body:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT

k̄éε=n k̄à ò k̄ā' n̄in-gb̄iŋ ní=∅.

cause=DP and 3AN NEG.BE body: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)

KB: *Nób̄ir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋbiŋ la nii," lin ku nyaŋi k̄ε ka o ka' niŋbiŋ la nii.*

20.4 Contrary-to-fact

If the main clause has $nāan(\bar{i})$, there is a contrary-to-fact implication. Both main and $yà'$ -clause have discontinuous-past n^{ε} :

Man ya'a pɔ k̄εen na tu'asini ba, ba naan kv m̄orin taale.

Mān yá' p̄ū k̄éε=n n̄ā ∅ tú'asī=ní=b̄ā, b̄ā n̄āan kú

1SG.CN if NEG.IND come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL, 3PL then NEG.IRR

m̄ōrī=n tâall̄ē=∅.

have=DP fault:SG=NEG.

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." (Jn 15:22)

M ya'a mōrin sv'v̄gv m nu'ugin m naan kv̄vnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōrī=n sv'v̄gṽ̀m̄ nú'ugī=n, m̄ nāan kv̄v=ní=f nānná-nā.

1SG if have=DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG=LOC, 1SG then kill=DP=2SG now.

"If I'd had a sword in my hand, I'd have killed you right now." (Numbers 22:29)

Ba ya'a daa mi'ine li, ba naan kv̄ kpa'an Zugsōb one an na'atita'ar la dapuudir zugō.

Bà yá' dāa mī'i=ní=lī, bà nāan kú kpā'a=n Zūg-sób ónì

3PL if TNS know=DP=3IN, 3PL then NEG.IRR fasten=DP Lord REL:AN

añ ná'-tītā'ar lā dá-p̄v̄vdá zùgō=∅.

COP king-great:SG ART wood-cross:PL 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)

Contrary-to-fact conditions in the past are also sometimes marked with irrealis mood along with past tense markers in the main clause; WK specifically confirmed that the sense of this combination is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past.

Bōzugō Josua ya'a da tisini ba v̄v'v̄sv̄m zin'ig, Wina'am da kv̄ lem pian' dabis-si'a yēla ya'ase.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tīsī=ní=bā v̄v'v̄sīm zīñ'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give=DP=3PL resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm pīāñ' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē=∅.

again speak day-INDEF.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)

Without a *yà'*-clause:

Ò dāa ná zāb nā'ab lā.

3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"He would have fought the chief (but didn't.)" WK

21 Ñ-clauses

Clauses are nominalised by inserting the post-subject particle *ñ* NZ 4.2, which turns an original clause "X" into an *absolute* clause signifying "it being the fact that X." Ñ-clauses are also the basis of relative clauses, but *ñ* often fuses with a preceding demonstrative to create what is synchronically simply a relative pronoun.

Ñ-clauses have independent tense marking (but relative to the *narrative* timeline within narrative 16.3.4.) Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

Yaname na mōr sam si'a anε ye ya nōη taaba.

Yānámì nà mōr sām-sí'a á nē yé yà nōη tāabā.

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)

Ñ-clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative pronouns are often preposed with *kà*. Contrastive pronouns can be subjects of *ñ*-clauses:

wuu mane a si'em la.

"as I am." (1 Cor 7:7, 1996)

wōv mánì=∅ àñ sī'ēm lā.

like 1SG.CN=NZ COP INDF.ADV ART.

Ñ-clauses take no dependents themselves except predependent NPs or articles. Absolute *ñ*-clauses normally take the article *lā'*. After relative clauses *lā'* has its usual function; clauses without *lā'* are usually indefinite but specific.

... amaa o di'ene one tvmi m la na

... àmáa ò dīē nē ónì tòmì=m lā nā

... but 3AN receive FOC REL.AN send=1SG ART hither

"... but he receives him who sent me hither." (Mk 9:37)

One du'a ne Siig me anε ala.

Ònì dū'à nē Sīg mé á né àlà.

REL.AN bear with spirit:SG also COP FOC thus.

"Someone born of the Spirit is like that too." (Jn 3:8)

The article is not repeated a second time after an *ñ*-clause which ends in a NP with *lā'*. If the clause contains the VP-final particles *nā'* "hither" or *sà* "hence", these may follow an article belonging to the *ñ*-clause 16.11.

If a *ñ*-clause has a negative VP, the negative clitic is dropped unless the *ñ*-clause lacks *lā'* and is itself clause-final in the superordinate clause 23.

21.1 Absolute clauses

Ñ-clauses without relative pronouns or indefinite pronouns used as relatives are **absolute clauses**, meaning "it being the fact that ...":

Dāy lā záb nà'ab lā. "The man has fought the chief."
Man:SG ART fight chief:SG ART.

dāy lá=∅ zàb nà'ab lā "the man having fought the chief"
Man:SG ART=NZ fight chief:SG ART

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 [17.2.1](#) or as VP adjuncts, generally preposed with *kà* [24.3](#). 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:

Ōn dāa ñyēt súṅā, ón dāa áñ bí-līa lāa=∅?
3AN:CN 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 dīt lā, Yesu yéì=bā ...
And 3PL:NZ eat:IPFV ART, Jesus say=3PL ...
"As they were eating, Jesus said to them ..." (Mt 26:21)

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meṅ ...
Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk nīe ò mēṅ ...
And 3PL:NZ emerge ART and Lord 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 uses as verb arguments [13.1](#):

Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la ane

mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka me pu diti ba ki la.

Dìnì ké kà ò ãñ s̄aal-b̄iis z̄uá lā á nē mán

REL.SG cause and 1SG COP smooth-child:PL friend:SG ART COP FOC 1SG:NZ

p̄ō s̄añ'amìdí b̄à lā'ad kà mé p̄ō d̄ítí b̄à k̄ī 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 *sādīgim* "since, because" immediately following nominaliser-*ñ* occur as postlinker adjuncts expressing "reason why":

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bo ka m lem lood noor ya'ase?

Àmáa ón s̄ādīgim kp̄í lā, bó kà ò lém lōod nōor yá'asè=∅=∅?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=NEG=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Samuel 12:23)

Tiname sagidim aan o biis la, ti da ten'es ...

Tīnámì s̄ādīgim áañ ò b̄iis lā, tì dā tēñ'es ...

1PL:NZ since COP 3AN child:PL ART, 1PL NEG.IMP think ...

"Since we are his children, we should not think ..." (Acts 17:29)

For absolute clauses with post-subject *nāan(ī)* see 20.1.

Absolute clauses occur after *hālī nē* or *hālī là'am nē* "although, even as" 15, and *hālī n tì pāa ...* "up until the time when ..." 17.2.1.

Before the postposition *zūg*^{o/} "on account of", or *bō zūgō* "because", absolute clauses form reason-why AdvPs used as adjuncts:

Ban mōr deŋ la zug, ba kv di'e baa.

Bán mōr dēŋ lā zúg, b̄à k̄ò d̄í'ə=b̄áa=∅.

3PL:NZ have wound:SG ART upon, 3PL NEG.IRR receive=3PL=NEG.

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." (Leviticus 22:25)

Mán ñwè' dāu lā zúg kà pōlīs gbáñ'a=m.

1SG:NZ strike man:SG ART upon and police seize=1SG.

"The police arrested me because I struck the man." ILK

It is commoner for causation to be simply implied by an absolute clause as postlinker adjunct or 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

21.2 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; 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 kàni* as a relative for human reference (invariably so after proper names), substituting *one òni*, which cannot be preceded by a cb; the resulting construction is appositional:

o sid one da be ne o la
ò sīd óni 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) [clearly non-restrictive]

Uncompounded pronouns are obviously necessary with heads that lack cbs or have a coordinate structure:

nimbane yuda sōb Pēbil la gbaun linε an nyɔvupaal dim gbaun la
nīn-báni yōdá sōb Pē'-bīl lā gbáun̄=n línì
 person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC REL.IN
àn ñyó-v̄-pāal dím 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)

kokor kaŋa lini yi arazana ni la na

kòkòr-káŋā línì yí àràzánà 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)

Mam Paul ne Timoti banε an Yesu Kristo tumtumnb la

Mām Paul nē Timoti bánì àñ Yesu Kristo tòm-tòmnb lā

1SG.CN Paul with Timothy REL.PL COP Jesus Christ 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 onε gaad si'el wɔsa la

Wínà'am ónì gàad sī'əl wōsā lā

God REL.AN pass INDEF.IN all ART

"God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wɔv baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la

wōv bāŋí=∅ gbāñ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā

like trap:SG=NZ seize:IPFV INDEF.IN INDEF.ADV ART

"like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

O pa'al ne'enam nyain tis sɔ' wɔsa on vɔ'vɔg ninkan kumin la zug.

Ò pà'al nē'-nám ñyāe ∅ tís sō' wōsā ón vō'vɔg nīn-kán

3AN show DEM.IN-PL clearly CAT give INDEF.AN all 3AN:NZ revive person-DEM.SG

kūmī=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 kaŋa tum si'el laa?

ò nā tòm tòm-ñyālímá ∅ gàad dàu-kàŋá=∅ tòm sī'əl lāa=∅?

3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT pass man-DEMST.SG=NZ work INDEF.IN ART=PQ?

"Will he do miracles greater than this man has?" (Jn 7:31)

21.2.1 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. It need not follow the verb directly.

Wina'am nodi'esidib n daa yel si'el n sob Wina'am gbauḡin la, ane ameḡa.

Wínà'am nò-dì'èsìdìb=n dāa yél sī'əl n sōb

God mouth-receiver:PL=NZ TNS say INDF.IN CAT write

Wínà'am gbáḡḡv̄=n lā á né àmēḡá.

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)

... fvn yelim fvn niḡ li si'el.

... fvn yélìm fún nìḡì=lī sī'əl.

... 2SG.CN say:IMP 2SG:NZ do=3IN 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, but may be a verb complement or adjunct. It may be a predependent in such constituents, or belong to a subordinate clause within the relative clause: elements following the pronoun thus cannot be taken as dependents of the entire relative clause.

Uncompounded indefinite pronouns are specific-indefinite or adverbial:

Ka ban tvm sɔ' la kv gaad one tvm o la.

Kà bán tùm sɔ' lā kú gāad ónì tùmò=∅ lāa=∅.

And 3PL:NZ send INDF.AN ART NEG.IRR surpass REL.AN send=3AN ART=NEG.

"**One** who was sent does not surpass the one who sent him." (Jn 13:16)

M na tisif fvn bɔɔd si'el wvsa.

M ná tīsī=f fún bòòd sī'əl wṽsā.

1SG IRR give=2SG 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

"I will give you **anything** you want." (Mk 6:23)

Among the few exceptions are Rev 2-3 *man nye sɔ' la* "the one I saw" KB.

Most often the pronoun and/or the whole relative clause is the complement of a verb of cognition, reporting, or perception, corresponding to an English "subordinate interrogative clause" (CGEL pp1070ff, pp972ff; so with 20/33 examples of relative clauses with *sō'* in the 1996 NT.)

m na pa'ali ya on nwene sɔ'.

m̄ ná pā'alī=yá ón wēn nē sō'.

1SG IRR teach=2PL 3AN:NZ resemble with INDFAN.

"I will teach you **what** he is like." (Lk 6:47)

David da tvm sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.

David dá tvm̄ sō' yé ò bŭ'osi_∅ báŋ pu'ā lá=∅ àñ sō'.

David TNS send INDFAN that 3AN ask CAT discover woman:SG ART=NZ COP INDFAN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out **who** the woman was." (2 Samuel 11:3)

ya na baŋ man yeI ye m an sɔ' la.

yà ná bāŋ mán yeI yé m̄ àñ sō' lā.

2PL IRR understand 1SG:NZ say that 1SG COP INDFAN ART.

"you will understand **who** I say that I am." (Jn 8:28)

Gɔsim ye fɔ na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bunnɛɛ?

Gòsim yé fò ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá=∅ àñ sō' búnnèè=∅?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL=NZ COP INDFAN thing:SG=PQ?

"Can you look and find out **whose** property these things are?" (Genesis 38:25)

Alaa mam me kv yeli ya mam nye nɔɔr la sɔ' san'ane.

Álāa mām mé kù yēlī=yá mán ñyē nōōr lā sō' sá'anē=∅.

Thus 1SG.CN also NEG.IRR say=2PL 1SG:NZ see mouth:SG ART INDFAN among=NEG.

"Thus I too will not tell you from **whom** I derived the authority." (Mt 21:27)

M na tvmi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya

M̄ ná tvm̄í_ m̄ Bā'=∅ zì'el nōōr sō' yéIà_∅ tísì=yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG=NZ stand mouth:SG INDFAN about CAT give=2PL.

"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 sīēbā

... understand 3PL ancestor-PL=NZ COP INDF.PL

"... discover **who** their ancestors were." (Ezra 2:61)

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.

M̄ mī' mán gāŋ sīēbā 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' sī'əl nān á nē bī'əlá.

1SG:NZ know INDF.IN now COP FOC small.ADV.

"**What** I know now is small." (1 Cor 13:12)

Ón yèl sī'əl 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 yānámì wòm kà ñyē sī'əl.

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 baη man niη si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà báη mán niη sī'əl 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)

75/130 cases of *sī'əl*^a as a relative in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in the 1996 NT are subordinate-interrogative type. 33 have *sī'əl*^a as abstract uncountable "what(ever)", and 22 as locative "where, whither" (without any locative particle.)

Bozugo ya araza'ase be si'el la, ya potenda me bene anina.

Bō zúgó yà àràzà'así=∅ bè sī'əl lā, yà pò-tèñdà 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 keη likin zi' on ken si'ela.

Ònì kēη līkī=n zī' ón kēn sī'əlā=∅.

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)

Kusaal often uses manner-adverbs as predicative complements, so subordinate-interrogative type relative clauses with *sī'əm*^m "somehow" are common:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ke ka ti baη n̄ηilim an si'em.

Kristo=∅ dà kp̄ii tì yēlá lā ké kà tì báη n̄òηílím=∅ àñ sī'əm.

Christ=NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love=NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

The article *lā'* has its usual function with *sī'əm*-relative clauses:

Ṁ mī' mán nà nīḡ sī'əm. "I know what to do."
1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

Ṁ mī' mán nà nīḡ sī'əm lā.
1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV ART.

"I know what I'm to do" (WK: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Compare the two standing expressions

ón b̀̀̀̀d sī'əm "as he wishes"
3AN:NZ want INDF.ADV

lín àñ sī'əm lā "as things are"
3IN:NZ COP INDF.ADV ART

Yèl'^ε "say, tell" takes a *sī'əm*-relative clause with *lā* in the sense "say, tell how something is" and without *lā* in the sense "say how to do something":

Bà yèl̄=∅ b́́́n nīḡ sī'əm lā.
3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV ART.
"They told him what they'd done"

Bà nà yēl̄=f f́́́n nà nīḡ sī'əm.
3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.
"They'll tell you what to do."

Pà'al'^ε "teach, inform" nevertheless takes a relative clause object without *lā*:

Bà pà'al̄=∅ b́́́n nīḡ sī'əm. "They informed him of what they'd done."
3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV.

Gàad'^ε "pass, surpass" is used with a *sī'əm*-clause for comparing actions:

Mam tvm bedegv gaad ban tvm si'em la.
Mām túm bédvḡ_∅ gâad b́́́n t̀̀̀̀m sī'əm lā.
1SG.CN 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'əm*-clause for "decide what to do":

M gbáñ'e mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.

1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

"I've decided what to do."

With verbs of doing, a *sī'əm*-relative clause can be a manner-adverb:

Bà nīṅ ón yèlì=bā sī'əm lā.

3PL do 3AN:NZ tell=3PL INDF.ADV ART.

"They did as he'd told them."

Sī'əm-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 nīdīb dɔl mán wōv zīṅ-gbáñ'adìb=∅

...and 3PL IRR cause and person:PL follow 1SG.CN like fish-catcher:PL=NZ

gbāñ'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.

catch:IPFV fish:PL INDF.ADV ART

"... you will make people follow me like fishermen catch fish." (Mt 4:19)

Hālí (là'am) nē "although" can take a *sī'əm*-clause for "despite how..." 15.

In most relative clauses with a *compounded* indefinite pronoun, the pronoun is part of an AdvP (42/56 of cases of relative *sī'a* in the 1996 NT.)

M Zugsoḃa, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.

M Zūg-sóḃā=∅, tì zī' fún kēn zīñ'-sī'a lāa=∅.

1SG Lord=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 nīe ón bè dɔ-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' saṅsi'a la, ka man pun be.

Abraham dá nàm kā'ē sān-sī'a lā, kà mán pún bè.

Abraham TNS still NEG.BE time-INDF.IN ART, and 1SG.CN already EXIST.

"When Abraham still did not exist, I already existed." (Jn 8:58, 1996)

Compounded indefinite pronouns in NPs are *not* limited to specific-indefinite or subordinate-interrogative types, but such constructions are uncommon.

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélà_ ø bìgìsìd 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)

Nidib la da wum Yesu n tum tuum sieba ...

Nīdīb lā dá wòm Yesu=n tòm tùm sīēbā ...

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)

But *Fvn bōod ye fv kv dau sō' la ya'a kpi...*

Fún bòòd yé fù k̄v dáy-sō' lā yá' kpì...

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)

Ban da kv ninsieba da ka' bi'elaa.

Bán dà k̄v nīn-sīēbà dá k̄a' bī'elāa=ø.

3PL:NZ TNS kill person-INDF.PL TNS NEG.BE few=NEG.

"Those they had killed were not few." (1 Samuel 4:10)

Kem tv'vs Samaria na'abi tum ninsieba la na ...

Kēm_ ø t̄v'vs Samaria ná'abí=ø tòm nīn-sīēbà lā nā ...

Go:IMP CAT meet Samaria king:SG=NZ send person-INDF.PL ART hither ...

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria ..." (2 Kings 1:3)

Ka bugum dit teη tita'asi'a la nyō'os dvt ne agol saηa dine ka' benne.

Kà bùgúm=ø dīt téη-títá-sī'a lā ñyô'os dvt né

And fire=NZ eat:IPFV land-big-INDF.IN ART smoke ascend:IPFV FOC

àgól sāηá dīnì k̄a' bēnnē=ø.

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)

Nannanna, yaname daa sōb gbaυη si'a la ka m sōbidi lebisidi ya.

Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sōb gbáυη-sī'a lá kà m sōbīdī_ ø lébīsīdī=yá.

Now, 2PL:NZ TNS write letter-INDF.IN ART and 1SG write:IPFV CAT reply:IPFV=2PL.

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1)

Indefinite pronouns as relatives may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

ka fɔn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la, fɔn ya'am o nɔɔr ...

kà fón gbāñ'e zīŋ-sí'a yīgá lā, fōn yâ'am ò nɔɔr ...

and 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART, 2SG.CN open:IMP 3AN mouth:SG

"and the first fish you catch, open its mouth..." (Mt 17:27)

but *Paul n sob gbaun yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.*

Paul=ñ sōb gbáun yīgá dāan n tís Korint díṃ 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)

21.2.2 With relative pronouns

The commonest type of relative clause begins with a relative pronoun as NP or NP predependent. 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 ònì kànì lìnì bànì (KB *onε kanε linε banε*) where the final -ɪ is due to liaison before the nominaliser, here always realised ∅.

Ṁ ñyé dáu-kànì=∅ 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.CN Paul EXIST ART

"the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

on buudi ka Jew dim kis

òn būudí kà Jew díṃ 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:

gbauŋ kanɛ ka dau la sɔb la
gbàuŋ-kàn kà dāu lā sɔb lā
 letter-DEM.SG and man:SG ART write ART
 "the letter which the man has written"

dau kanɛ yadda niŋiri pɔ zu'oe
dàù-kànì yàddā-níŋìrì=∅ p̄ zú'e
 man-DEM.SG assent-doing:SG=NZ NEG.IND become.great
 "a man whose faith is not great..." (Mt 14:31), with the nominaliser *twice*

It is thus best to regard *òn kàn lìn bàn* synchronically simply as subordinating relative pronouns. Where *òn kàn lìn bàn* do appear as heads of relative clauses they will be regarded as allomorphs of these relative pronouns:

M̄ ñyé dáy-kànì zàb nà'ab lā.
 1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART
 "I saw the man who fought the chief."

bàn kà 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-*ñ* 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:

bànì zàb nà'ab lā "those who fought the chief"
 REL.PL fight chief:SG ART

M̄ ñyé dáy-kànì zàb nà'ab lā.
 1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART
 "I saw **the man who** fought the chief."

nimbane *yuda sōb Pēbil la gbaun̄n line an nyōvupaal dim gbaun̄ la*
n̄n-báni yōdá sōb Pē'-bīl lā gbáun̄v̄=n línì
 person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC REL.IN
àn ñyó-v̄-paal díim 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 antecedent extracted from a prepositional phrase or subordinate clause. The antecedent is preposed with *kà* with a resumptive pronoun for an indirect object, or occasionally for a human-reference direct object. There is no foregrounding sense. Such constructions are commoner than indefinite pronouns as relatives, except with clauses used adverbially or of the subordinate interrogative type.

Gbaun̄ kane *ka Jerusalem kpeenmnam daa sob la nwa.*
Gbàun̄-kànì kà Jerusalem kpēñm-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 linε [1996 *lin*] *ka ba m̄r na*
m̄ àntù'a lìnì kà bà m̄r nā
 1SG case REL.IN and 3PL have hither

"the charge they are bringing against me" (Acts 25:11)

yełtōd ayōpōi banε *ka maliaknama ayōpōi m̄r la*
yēl-tōd àyōpōē bání kà màlīāk-námá_àyōpōē m̄r 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)

niḡkanε [1996 *niḡkan*] *ka ba gban'e o la*
n̄n-kání kà bà gbáñ'o=ø lā
 person-REL.SG and 3PL seize=3AN ART
 "a person **whom** they have seized" (Acts 25:16) (human VP object)

One *ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mε m̄r p̄ten'er ye o na lebis line zu'oe.*
Ōnì kà bà tísò=ø kà lì zú'e, bà mē m̄r
 REL.AN and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have
pú-tēñ'er yé ò nà lēbīs línì zù'e.
 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)

Bōrā-sō' dāa bé ànīnā, òn kà mān nē òn dāa tóm lā.

Man-INDFAN 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 ten'es ye ba ane tuongatib la

nīn-bánì kà yà tēñ'es yé bà à nē tūen-gātíb lā

person-REL.PL and 2PL think that 3PL COP FOC ahead-passer:PL ART
 "those **whom** you consider to be leaders" (Gal 2:6)

linē [1996 lin] ka Kristo bōod ye ti pian' la

lìnì kà Kristo bōod 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 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] puvug ka o mōr la

bì-kànì pūvug kà ò mōr 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 *nī̄*:

yikan ka mam Paul be la yidaan

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā yī-dâan

house-REL.SG and 1SG.CN Paul EXIST ART house-owner:SG
 "the owner of the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

22 Complementised clauses

Complementised clauses are usually introduced by the clause linker *yē*. They also appear with *kà*, but 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. They can be coordinated with *kà*:

ka lin ane ye fv kv maali ti be'ede nwenε tiname daa pv maalif be'ed si'em la asee sv'vm ma'aa, ka ye fv yim ne sumbvgvsvm la.

kà līn á nē yé fù kò māālī=tí bē'edī ∅ *wēn nē*
and 3IN.CN COP FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make=1PL bad CAT resemble with

tīnámì dāa pō máalì=f bē'ed sī'əm lá àséε sòm má'aa,
1PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND make=2SG bad INDF.ADV ART except good only

kà yé fù yīm nē súmbvgvśím 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)

22.1 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have imperative mood. As there is no *-ma* flexion, the mood 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 tìsō=∅ kù'əm yé ò nū.

3PL give=3AN water that 3AN drink.

"They gave him water to drink. ("So that he might drink it.")

Ì ná tī=f tīm yé fù nīf dā zábē=∅.

1SG IRR give=2SG 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 zábē=∅.

3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.

"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

Ka ba gban'e ba kpen'es sanrega ni ye beog nie.

Kà bà gbáń'a=bā_∅ kpêñ'es sārīgá nì yē bēog nīe.

And 3PL seize=3PL CAT put.in prison:SG LOC that morning appear.

"They seized them and put them in prison until tomorrow came." (Acts 4:3)

Purpose clauses can be coordinated without repetition of *yē*:

Ṁ bôɔd yē dāy lā kēŋ dâ'a=n, kà pɔ'ā lā dōg dīib.

1SG want that man:SG ART go market:SG=LOC, and woman:SG ART cook food.

"I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." WK

Purpose clauses appear as complements of particular verbs, e.g *bôɔd*^a "want"; or *yèl*^ε "tell." Negative raising occurs with *bôɔd*^a but not with *yèl*^ε.

Ṁ bôɔd yé ò kūl. "I want her to go home."

1SG want that 3AN go.home.

Ṁ pō bôɔd yé ñ kūlē=∅.

1SG NEG.IND want that 1SG go.home=NEG.

"I don't want [me] to go home."

Ṁ yélí=f yé fò dā kūlē=∅.

1SG tell=2SG that 2SG NEG.IMP go.home=NEG.

"I've told you not to go home."

The verb *gūr*^{a/} "be on guard, watch, wait for" in the sense of "waiting for an event" may take as complement either a NP headed by gerund, or a purpose clause introduced by *yē*, again with an attenuated sense:

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out." (Lk 1:21)

... gur ye pu'a la du'a ka o ɔnb biig la.

... gūr yē pɔ'ā lā dɔ'á kà ò ɔñb bīig lā.

...watch that woman:SG ART bear and 3AN eat child:SG ART.

"...waiting for the woman to give birth so he could devour her child." (Rev 12:4)

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of **necessity** or **permission** such as *nār^a* "be obliged to" (negated "be obliged not to"); *mōr sūər* "be allowed to"; *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary":

F̀̀ p̄ nār yé f̀̀ n̄̀ àláa=∅.
2SG NEG.IND must that 2SG do ADV:thus=NEG.
"You're not allowed to do that."

Lì nār yé/kà f̀̀ k̄l. "You must go home."
3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

KB has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 of *nar ka*.

Yà mór sūər yé yà k̄l. "You may go home."
2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

Sūər bé yé/kà tì k̄l. "We may go home."
Way:SG EXIST that/and 1PL go.home. (" There's a way that we go home.")

Li ane tilas ye m keḡ Jerusalem.
Lì à nē tīlās yé m̄ kēḡ Jerusalem.
3IN COP FOC necessity that 1SG go Jerusalem.
"I must go to Jerusalem." (Mt 16:21, 1996)

Li ane tilas ka m niḡid ala.
Lì à nē tīlās kà m̄ niḡid 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 nár yé bà kúv=bā
3PL NUM:two ART must that 3PL kill=3PL
"both of them must be killed" (Leviticus 20:12)

An'one nar ka na nyaḡi lak titabir la ...
Án'ònì ∅ nár kà ná ñyāḡì ∅ lāk tītābīr lā ...?
Who CAT must and IRR prevail CAT unstick glue ART ...?
"Who is worthy to open the seal ...?" (Rev 5:2)

22.2 Content clauses

Complementised clauses with independency marking 16.6 on the VP are content clauses. They are downranked main clauses, and show the same range of structural features. They occur as complements of verbs of cognition, reporting, and perception like *wòm^m* "hear", *nyē* "see", *tēñ'es^{el}* "think", *mī'* "know", *zī'* "not know", *bàŋ^ε* "come to know", *pà'al^ε* "teach, show", *kàrìm^m* "read", *sjàk^ε* "agree", and may represent both direct and indirect speech after verbs like *yèl^ε* "say."

Note the distinctively main-clause structural features in

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): focus-*nē'*

Bòŋ-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēŋ tóllā=∅.

Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.

"The donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot."

Tone overlay: *Tēŋ tól.* "The ground is hot." cf *tól^{la/}* "be hot"

Fvne siak ye fv ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fv na'am gbauŋ la zugoo?

Fōni_∅ sjàk yé fù yá' tì kā'ε, ò nà zīñ'iní_ fù nā'am

2SG.CN CAT agree that 2SG if after NEG.BE, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy

gbáŋŋ lā zúgóo=∅?

skin:SG ART upon=PQ?

"Did you agree that when you are no more, he will sit on your throne?"

(1 Kings 1:24): *yá'*-clause postlinker adjunct

Ya tenes ka m aan anɔ'one?

Yà tēñ'es kà m áañ ànó'one=∅?

2PL think and 1SG COP who=CQ?

"Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25)

Command content clauses appear only in reported speech (see below.)

WK usually has *yē* before content clauses, but prefers *kà* after *tēñ'es^{el}* "think."

KB has 219 examples of *tenes ye* to 31 of *tenes ka* and shows *kà* after other verbs too:

Ya pvn wvm ka ba da yel ye...

Yà pún wòm kà bà dá yèl yē ...

2PL previously hear and 3PL TNS say that...

"You previously heard that they had said ..." (Mt 5:43)

This is only context where *kà* is followed by independency marking, or where personal pronouns referring to the preceding subject are not deleted after *kà*:

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 *yε yē* "that" (cf Mampruli *ni id*):

Man bōōdīn nε yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvvliga.
Mān bōōdī=n nē yānāmì nāan āa=n mā'asígā bēε
1SG.CN want=DP that 2PL:NZ then COP=DP cold:ADV or
yānāmì nāan āa=n tvvligā.
2PL:NZ then COP=DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rev 3:15)

The verb *yēl* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

Ka Zugsoḅ la ye ... "And the Lord said: ..." (Genesis 18:28)
Kà Zūg-sóḅ lā yē ...
And Lord ART that ...

Pronouns are changed throughout a content clause to reflect its setting, on the same basis as in English "indirect speech." Thus, even within a vocative:

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
o nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.
Kà m̄ wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà l̄ yī áràzánà ní nā yē,
And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that
ò n̄d̄ibá=∅, yé bà yìmī=∅ tēḡ 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)

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. Bound 3rd persons may also be used in this sense, but free pronouns are much commoner in subject function.

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

Festus táńs Paul yé ò gèěńm nē ... kà Paul lébìs

Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē ōn pō gèěńmm=∅.

that 3AN.CN 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)

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.

Dāu dá bē ∅ mōrí ò pū'à-yīmmír, kà pū'ā lā yē

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that

ōn pō lém bòod yé ò sīd lā dí pū'ā yá'asē=∅.

3AN.CN 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

Tense and mood marking are unaltered:

Ò dāa yél yé bà dāa kūl.

3AN TNS say that 3PL TNS go.home.

"She said that they **had** gone home."

Tì dāa tēń'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."

After speech verbs the 1976 NT almost always uses such "indirect speech", which may extend over several pages, but later Bible versions use *yē* followed by the words of the speech itself, unaltered except for "resumptive" *yē* (see below.)

Indirect speech may include not only declarative clauses and questions but also commands. The usual deletion of a 2sg 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. The construction can express third/first person commands; main clause and *yē* may be ellipted informally.

[M̄ yél yé] ò gòsìm tēńī=n.

1SG say that 3AN look:IMP ground:SG=LOC.

"[I said] she should look down."

[M̄ tēñ'es kà] tì pú'vsìm Wínà'am.

1SG think and 1PL greet:IMP God.

"[I think] we should praise God."

Reported speeches longer than two or three clauses insert **resumptive yē** in roughly every third clause, after any prelinker adjuncts but before clause-linker *kà*; *yē* may also be placed between a postlinker adjunct or a vocative and the subject.

amaa **ye** ba yaanam da pu bood ye ba siak o noore

àmáa yé bà yāa-nám dá pō bōod yé bà sjàkò=∅ nōoré=∅.

but that 3PL ancestor-PL TNS NEG.IND want that 3PL agree=3AN 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 bōod yé ò kpélìim sārìgá 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.CN say=3PL 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 mōró=∅ bà sā'an nā ...

Thus that and 3AN.CN let and 3PL have=3AN 3PL before hither...

"So he [the speaker] had made them bring him [Paul] into their presence..." (Acts 25:26, 1976)

Ka nanana **ye** o niḡi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin...

Kà nānná-nā yé ò niḡì=bá Wínà'am né ò pò-pìèlìim

And now-hither that 3AN do=3PL God with 3AN holiness

pjàñ'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=∅, 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)

23 Negation

Negation is marked in the VP 16.5, inducing a clause-final negative clitic 4.1. The negative clitic follows all subordinate clauses:

Ti pu bōod ye dau kaṇa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bōod yē dáy-kàṇā 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)

I have no unequivocal examples of negative clitics preceding subordinate clauses to exclude them from the scope of negation. Thus the adjunct *yē*-clause has probably been dislocated in:

Nidib be ka pu tum si'ela ye ba a popielim dim...

Nīdīb bē kà pō túm sī'elā=∅ yē bà áñ pú-pìəlim díim

person:PL EXIST and NEG.IND work:IPFV INDEF.IN=NEG that 3PL COP holiness NULL.PL.

"There are people who haven't done anything that they become blessed"

(Rom 4:5, 1976); revised completely in the 1996 version.

Here the *kà*-clause can be taken as coordinate, carrying on the narrative:

Ka li pu yuugε ka o pu'a me kena.

Kà lì pō yúugē=∅, kà ò pū'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, and likewise with VPs nominalised by the personifier particle:

Nñn-báni pō dít ná kpī.

Person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV IRR die.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

M̄ ñyé nñn-báni pō dītā=∅.

1SG see person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV=NEG.

"I've seen some people who don't eat." WK

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

À-Pṵ-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa.

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

"Fears-nothing was his father's only child." KSS p35

Clauses with *yà'* "if" keep their own negative clitics:

Ba ya'a pṵ niṅ si'ela, o pṵ'vsim dṵṵg la na lieb zaalim.

Bà yá' pṵ níṅ sī'elā=∅, ò pṵ'vsim dṵṵg lā ná līəb 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)

Negative raising takes place with complement clauses after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì pṵ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pṵ'á Herodiasε=∅.

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 bṵṵd ye dau kaṅa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pṵ bṵṵd yē dáy-kàṅā 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 pṵ ten'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.

Mām pṵ tēñ'es yé ò nà kēlígí ḿ pīàñ'adē=∅.

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)

vs *linzug ka ti baṅ ye o pṵ yi Wina'am san'an naa.*

Lìn-zúg kà tì báy yé ò pṵ yī Wínà'am sá'an náa=∅.

Therefore and 1PL realise that 3AN NEG.IND emerge God with hither=NEG.

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." (Jn 9:16)

ka o lēε pṵ baṅ ye li anε onε.

kà ò léε pṵ báy yé lì à nē ṵnē=∅.

And 3AN but NEG.IND realise that 3IN COP FOC 3AN.CN=NEG.

"but she didn't realise it was him." (Jn 20:14)

Constituent negation can be achieved by clefting, using *Lì kā' X kà/n ...* "It's not X that ..." or X *ká'g kà/n ...* "There's no X that ...", or with relative clauses:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meḡa.

Sógià-sō' k̄a'e n tóm kà yōōd ò mēḡá=∅.

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' fvn yel si'el la zug, ka ti niḡ o yadda.

Lì lēm k̄a' fún yèl sī'əl lā zúg kà tì niḡò=∅ yáddáa=∅.

3IN again NEG.BE 2SG:NZ say INDF.IN ART upon and 1PL do=3AN assent=NEG.

"It is no longer because of what you said that we believe in him." (Jn 4:42)

... ka zan'as banε ka' Kristo nidib la svḡir.

... kà zāñ'as bání k̄a' Kristo níḡìb lā sḡḡìr.

... and refuse REL.PL NEG.BE Christ person:PL ART help:GER.

"... and refused the help of non-Christians." (3 Jn 1:7)

The AdvP *báa bī'elá* "not at all" and the NP postdependent *báa yīnní* "not one" (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") are used along with negative VPs:

Da tvmi si'el baa bi'elaa.

Dā tvmī=∅ sī'əl bāa bī'elāa=∅.

NEG.IMP work=2PL.SUB INDF.IN at.all=NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Leviticus 23:31)

Amaa ba pv nyaḡi nye line tu'al baa yinne.

Ámáa bà p̄v ñyāḡī ∅ ñyē línì tò'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 pv yel ye ...

Kà nīd bāa yīnní p̄v yél yē ...

and person:SG not one NEG.IND say that ...

"Not one person said ..." (Acts 4:32)

Fv du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yv'vr buon alaa.

F̀v̀ d̀v̀ad̀ib̀ bāa yīnní k̄a'e kà ò yv'vr̀ b̀uoǹ àlāa=∅.

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)

24 Information packaging

24.1 Focus

According to 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 further distinction will be made between **ordinary** and **contrastive focus**. Main clauses without any special syntactic marking of focus have ordinary focus on the predicate by default.

Focus is distinct from **foregrounding**, the usual function of it-clefting in English; foregrounded elements need not be focussed (CGEL p1424.)

24.1.1 Subjects

In subject focussing the subject stands first, with the rest of the clause introduced by catenator-*n*. The clause lacks independency marking but has independent tense marking. The construction presumably arose by ellipsis from *n*-clefting [24.2](#), but the meaning is *focus* rather than foregrounding:

Wáafv̄ ∅ *dúmō*=∅. "A snake bit him." WK
Snake:SG CAT bite=3AN.

would be a felicitous reply to "What's happened?" as well as "Did a dog bite him?"

Focus-*nē*' in all its roles is excluded from clauses which are *n*-focussed, with the corresponding VP aspect distinctions present but unmarked:

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

cf *Ṁ zūg lā pú'alìm nē*. "My head is hurting."
1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC. (Reply to "What's the matter with you?")

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always *n*-focussed:

Ànó'òní ∅ *kābírídà*=∅?
Who CAT ask.for.entry:IPFV=CQ?
"Who is asking permission to enter?"

As clauses containing interrogative pronouns may not contain focus-*nē*', this is most readily explained by taking interrogative pronouns as intrinsically focussed, though this is only syntactically manifested when they are subjects.

24.1.2 Verb phrases

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 [16.9.4](#). Confusion with the *nē* which follows objects of comparison is unlikely.

The aspect particle *nē'* bound to the verb [16.2.1](#) 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' 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.

F̀̀ p̀̀ m̀́ n t̀̀s ǹ̀n-s̀̀al̀̀ā=∅, à́m̀́́́́ f̀̀ m̀́́́́

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

n t̀̀s ǹ̀ Ẁ̀ǹ̀à́́́m S̀̀í-s̀̀ò̀̀ŋ.

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)

Nē' cannot appear in either constituent-focus or aspectual senses if the subject is focussed, or in nominalised clauses, or in content questions.

N-focussing of the subject:

Ṁ zūgō ∅ zábìd.

1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts." (No aspectual *nē'*)

Reply to "Where is the pain?"

Ànó'ónì ∅ dít sá'ab̀̀=∅?

Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?

"Who eats/is eating millet porridge?" (No aspectual *nē'*)

Nominalised clauses:

Ò dā́́́ á nḗ́́ b̀̀ìg.

3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

"She was a child."

but *ón àñ b̀̀ìg lā́́ zúg*

3AN:NZ COP child:SG ART upon

"because she's a child"

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 bôod ye fù nyenē bûud.
Pìàñ'am kà m̄ bôod yé fù ñyē nē bûud.
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 nìyèd 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?

Bùgóm 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.CN COP what=CQ?

Fù áañ_ànó'ónè=∅? "Who are you?"
2SG COP who=CQ?

Fù bôod bó=∅? "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?

M̄ p̄ dā' b̄n̄ā=∅. "I haven't bought a donkey."
1SG NEG.IND buy donkey:SG=NEG.

M̄ p̄ dā' n̄ē b̄n̄ā=∅. "I haven't bought a donkey."
1SG NEG.IND buy FOC donkey:SG=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 *n̄ē'* before a definite object is usually aspectual:

N̄īgí lā ǎn̄b̄id n̄ē m̄ōd lā.
Cow:PL ART chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.
"The cows are eating the grass."

Nā'-s̄íḅà ǎn̄b̄id n̄ē m̄ōd lā.
Cow-INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.
"Some cows are eating the grass."

If focus does occur with old-information arguments, it is **contrastive**.

Line ka ba'amaannib maanne tisid bada la, ba maanne tisid n̄ē kikiris, ka pu maanne tisid Wina'am.

Lìnì kà bà'-māannīb mâannì ∅ t̄is̄id bádà lā, bà màannī ∅ t̄is̄id n̄ē kíkīrīs kà p̄v mâannì ∅ t̄is̄id Wínā'amm=∅.
REL.IN and idol-sacrificer:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV
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 *àḡñ^{va}* "be something/somehow" in its ascriptive sense [16.12](#) is non-referring and prototypically "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable", and therefore is naturally preceded by *n̄ē'* for **ordinary** focus:

Ò à n̄ē b̄īg. "She is a child."
3AN COP FOC child:SG.

Ò dāa á n̄ē b̄īg. "She was a child."
3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

D̄īb á n̄ē b̄n̄-s̄úḡ. "Food is a good thing."
Food COP FOC thing-good:SG.

Ò à nē bāāñlím. "She is quiet."
3AN COP FOC quiet:ABSTR.

Lì à nē bōgvśíḡā. "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 bumbvuda banε lu ḡon'os svvḡin la anε banε wvm pian'ad la ...

Kà bōn-búvdà bānì lù ḡñ'os súbvō=n lā á nē

And thing-planting:PL REL.PL fall thorn:PL among=LOC ART COP FOC

bānì wòm pìāñ'ad lā ...

REL.PL hear speech ART ...

"And the seeds which fell among thorns are those who heard the word ..."

(Lk 8:14, explaining the meaning of the parable)

Biis la diemid nε dua ḡbinin. Ba zamisid nε bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Bīis lā dī'əmìd nē dúāñ ḡbínñī=n. Bà zàmìsìd nē

Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

būlā wā'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 yv'vr na anε Joon. "His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)

Ò yv'vr ná ā nē Joon.

3AN name:SG IRR COP FOC John.

Focus under the scope of a negative is again usually **contrastive**:

Ḿ kā' dúb'atāa=∅. "I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG=NEG.

Ḿ kā' nē dúb'atāa=∅. "I'm not a *doctor*." ("I'm a nurse.")

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 dó-kàṅā lā púvǵv̄=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 mōvǵv̄=n.

1SG.CN EXIST FOC grass:SG=LOC.

Ṁ yí nē Bók.

"I come from Bawku." SB

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Yadda niṅir yitne labaar la wumvǵv̄ ni.

Yàddā-niṅir yít nē lābāar lā wóm̄vǵv̄ 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:

Dàv̄-sō' bé dó-kàṅā lā púvǵv̄=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 díit sā'ab nē zāam. "We eat millet porridge *in the evening*."

1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening. ("When do you eat porridge?")

Focus on the entire VP, which uses VP-final *nē'*, 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 *nē'*:

Ò kùèsìd sūmmā 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:

Gòsìm nē. "Look!" ("Don't touch." WK)
Look:IMP FOC.

Imperfectives with subjects which are neither agents, nor changing state, nor moving without external agency, and where there is no explicit time limitation:

Ò gìm nē. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")
3AN be.short FOC.

Ì bódī=f nē. "I really *love* you." WK
1SG want=2SG FOC.

Dāam lā nūud nē. "The beer is for *drinking*."
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not washing with!")

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 dīgìl nē. "He's *laid it down*." ("I thought he'd pick it up.")
3AN lay.down FOC.

Kà lì bódìg nē. "It's *lost*."
And 3IN get.lost FOC. Contradicting "someone hid it." [16.3.4](#)

Ò dīgìn nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
3AN lie.down FOC. WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ən nē. "She's *pregnant*." (Not "She has stood still.")
3AN stand.still FOC. An idiomatic use.

24.2 Clefting

Clefting uses a main clause like *Lì à nē* "It is ..." or a verbless identificational clause [18.4](#) followed by a *n*-catenation when it is the subject of the catenated clause which appears in the main clause, adnominal *kà*-catenation otherwise. The sense resembles English "it-clefting" (CGEL p1416), *foregrounding* the clefted element and *backgrounding* the rest, with an implicature of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Ka dau me pu sv'oe o meη ningbinaa. Li ane o pu'a sv'oe li.

Kà dāy mé pō sú'v ò mēη nīn-gbīnāa=∅.

And man:SG also NEG.IND own 3AN self body:PL=NEG.

Lì á né ò pu'ā_∅ sú'v=lī.

3IN COP FOC 3AN wife CAT OWN=3IN.

"And a husband, too, does not own his own body. It is his wife who owns it."

(1 Cor 7:4)

Anō'on nwaa yisid nidib tvumbe'edi basida?

Ànō'on_∅ ñwáa_∅ yīsīd nīdīb tūm-bē'edī_∅ 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)

Ōnī_∅ lá kà fù dāa ñyēt.

3AN.CN CAT that and 2SG TNS see:IPFV.

"This is he whom you saw." WK

Bōō_∅ lá kà ò ñyētá=∅?

What CAT that and 1SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"What is that that I can see?"

With *kà*, the foregrounded element may be extracted from a subordinate clause or prepositional phrase; direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap:

Li ane ya taaba bane pu'vsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì pù'vsid Wínà'am kà lī 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)

24.3 Preposing

A preposed clause element is followed a *kà*-catenation with independent tense marking. Preposed elements cannot be clause subjects. Unlike the formally similar *n*-focus, the default meaning is *foregrounding*, not focus, and the construction is compatible both with *n*-focus and with focus-*nē*':

Aσεε line an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.

Àséε línì àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m ná tūñ'ə ̸ nίη.

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)

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.CN Paul CAT EXIST prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ upon 2PL.CN

búud-bàni kā' Jew díim lā yéla.

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)

Bī'əl bī'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē.

Little little and river:SG get.full FOC.

"Little by little, and a river is full." (Proverb)

There is no syntactic movement rule for interrogative pronouns/proforms:

Bùgóm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?

Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?

"Where is the light coming from?" SB

However, preposing of objects containing interrogative pronouns is common; if they are extracted from prepositional phrases, resumptive pronouns are used.

Bɔ ka ti na niηε?

"What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)

Bó kà tì ná nìηè=ø?

What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

Nū'-bībísá ̸ alá kà fù ñyētá=ø?

Hand-small:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"How many fingers can you see?" SB

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sɔnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?

Kà ànɔ'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súñf dá pèlìg né bà

And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL

yòmà pīs nāasí lá=∅?

year:PL forty ART=CQ?

"And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

Preposing is *required* for *bɔ* in the sense "why?":

Bó kà fù kúmmà?

"Why are you crying?"

cf **Fù kúm bó?*

*"What are you crying?"

Bó kà... is much the most frequent way of rendering "Why?"

Complements of single-aspect verbs usually remain *in situ*, perhaps necessarily so in the case of *àɛñ*^{ya} "be something":

Niŋgbɪŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?

Nɪn-gbɪŋ bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mɔrá=∅?

Body:SG what-sort and 3PL IRR afterwards have=CQ?

"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

but *Fù bɔɔd bó=∅?*

"What do you want?"

2SG want what=CQ?

Mām áñ bó=∅?

"What am I?"

1SG.CN COP what=CQ?

Kà fù áañ_àno'ɔnè=∅?

"Then who are you?"

And 2SG COP who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed; there is probably a contrast between foregrounding by preposing and focussing with *nē*':

Ñwādɪsá_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 díť sā'ab nē zāam.

1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.

"We eat millet porridge in the evening." ("When do you eat porridge?")

The only structure other than a NP (including *ñ*-clauses) or AdvP that I have found preposed 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 ñ nù'ug kà ñ sī'is.*

*With 1SG hand:SG and 1SG touch.

attempted for "With my hand, I touched it."

Preposing has **no implication of foregrounding** in relative clauses [21.2.2](#), with manner, place and reason adjuncts (which may *only* precede the subject by preposing), and when absolute clauses in adjuncts precede the main clause because of the requirement for constituent order to parallel event order [21.1](#):

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà pōlīs gbáñ'a=m.

1SG:NZ hit man:SG ART upon and police seize=1SG.

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." ILK

24.4 Dislocation

A clause element placed after a distinctively phrase-final verb form has been dislocated. Manner-adverbs are thereby intensified:

Ṁ pō'vs yā bédvḡ.

1SG greet PFV much.

"Thank you very much."

Ya yidigya bēdegv.

Yà yídìg yā bédvḡ.

2PL go astray PFV much.

"You are very much mistaken." (Mk 12:27)

Non-pronoun objects can be dislocated; the sense is "against expectation":

Ò dà' yā múj.

3AN buy PFV rice.

"She's bought rice." ("of all things!")

vs *Ò dà' nē múj.*

3AN buy FOC rice.

"She's bought rice." ("What did she buy?")

Yà'-clauses 20.1 can be dislocated. So is even a catenated clause in

Amaa Wina'am keya ka ya an nɔɔr yinne ne 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)

Left-dislocation of objects and complements may occur on the basis of **weight**, without preposing *kà* or foregrounding. A resumptive pronoun must appear.

Wilkanε bεε m ni ka pv wanna, m Ba' nwaadi li ne [sic: 1996 n] basid.

Wìl-kànì bèε ò ní kà p̄ wénnā=∅,

Branch-REL.SG EXIST 1SG LOC and NEG.IND bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.

ò Bā' ñwá'adī=lí n básìd.

1SG father:SG cut:IPFV=3IN CAT throw.out:IPFV.

"A branch which is in me and does not bear fruit, my father cuts out." (Jn 15:2)

Onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba me mɔr puten'er ye o na lεbis line zu'oe.

Ònì kà bà tísò=∅ kà lì zú'e, bà mè mòr

REL.AN and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have

pú-tèñ'er yé ò nà lēbīs línì zù'e.

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)

24.5 Presentational constructions

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs; here, absence of *lā'* implies *indefinite specific* reference, not generic 12.8.5. 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 or adnominal *kà*-catenation 19.

Farisee dim nid yinne da be

Farisee dím 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-sɔ' dá bè_ø mór ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló=ø.

And woman-INDFAN TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-girl:SG and fairy:SG follow=3AN.

"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 dāu dāa zīñ'i Lystra ní kà pū tūñ'è_ø kēnná=ø.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG.IND be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8, 1996)

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò ñyē dāu kà ò yv'vr būøn 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)

24.6 Free personal pronouns

Only free pronoun forms are possible in isolation, apposition, coordination, before relative pronouns, and (for some speakers) with 2nd persons before direct commands after a *yà'*-clause:

Mánè?

"Me?"

mān Paul

"I, Paul"

tīnám nē fōn

"us and you"

fōn-kánì ...

"you, who ..."

Where a bound pronoun is permitted, the choice of a free pronoun implies *contrast*. For the special case of **logophoric** use see [22.2](#).

Focussed pronouns must be contrastive, and contrastive pronouns are normally focussed if syntactically permissible:

Manɛ an kɔnbkem svŋ la.

Mānī_ø áñ kóñb-kìm-svŋ lā.

1SG.CN CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.

"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

24.7 Emphatics

I have borrowed the term "emphatic" from Jeffrey Heath's Songhay grammars (Heath pp202ff.) Emphatics relate NPs or AdvPs to the discourse context. They follow top-level NPs/AdvPs, except for *hālí*, which precedes.

mè DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause finally (all sources) *mèn*^ε "also, too." The particle may follow *kà* + ellipted subject pronoun.

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn.

bɔ́ zúgɔ̀ ò à né fò 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 pɔ'ā mé kè nā.

3AN wife:SG also come hither.

Wina'am tisid ... ka mɛ tisid ...

Wínà'am tísìd ... kà mé tìsìd ...

God give:IPVF ... and also give:IPFV ...

"God gives ... and [God] also gives ..." (1 Cor 15:38)

nɔɔ "just, exactly"

dàa-kàn lā nɔɔ

"that very day"

Fɔ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.

Fò yá' mɔr yā'am, fɔn nɔɔ ná dí_lì mālísím.

2SG if have sense, 2SG.CN exactly IRR eat 3IN joy.

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Proverbs 9:12)

mà'aa (LF *mà'anè*) "only"

Aɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ɛd ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.

Àséé líni àñ bē'ɛd má'aa kà m ná tũñ'ə_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)

kòtāa^{nɛ} "at all"

Áyì kòtāa.

"Not at all."

gòllimm (LF *gòllimnè*) "only"

Li ka'anε Wina'am gullim nε?

Lì k̄ā' nē Wínà'am góllimnèε=∅=∅?

3IN NEG.BE FOC God only=NEG=PQ?

"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

hālí can be used as an emphatic, preceding a NP or AdvP with the meaning "even":

Hali t̄v̄mbε'ed dim nīid ala.

Hālí t̄v̄m-bē'ed dí̄m nīīd àlá.

Even deed-bad:PL NULL.PL do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)

Before a manner-adverb it means "very"; the adverb itself may be ellipted.

Lì t̄ε hālí [bédv̄gō]. "It's very difficult."

3IN be.bitter until much.

Hālí can be preposed with *kà*:

Hali ka nidib m̄r ban'adnam na.

Hālí k̄à nīdīb m̄r bāñ'ad-nām nā.

Even and person:PL have sick.person-PL hither.

"People even brought the sick" (Acts 5:15)

Hālí b́aa is also used for "even" before a NP:

Hali baa lamp̄di'esidib mε nīid ala.

Hālí b́aa làmp̄-dī'ēsìdìb mé nīīd àlá.

Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali baa bama w̄sa ya'a na z̄o ka basif, man kv basi f̄o.

Hālí b́aa bàmmā w̄sā yá' nà z̄ó k̄à b́asì=f,

Even DEMST.PL all if IRR run and abandon=2SG,

mān k̄ú b́āsī=f̄ó=∅.

1SG.CN NEG.IRR abandon=2SG=NEG.

"If even they all run away and leave you, I will not leave you." (Mt 26:33)

(c) Prayers. Reply *Àmí!* "Amen!"

Wīn ná lēbīsī=f nē láafiyà.

"Safe journey!" literally "[I pray that] God will bring you back in health."

Wīn ná sōhī=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.

Bēogō lā.

"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")

Àtínì dáarì lā.

"See you on Monday."

Gbìsìm sùhā.

"Sleep well."

Kpèlīmī súm.

"Remain well"; Goodbye, to those remaining.

Pò'vsìm yín.

"Greet (those) at home"; Goodbye, to leaver.

Reply *Tò* "OK", or *Bà nà wōm* "They will hear."

(e) Miscellaneous formulae

M̀ pò'vs yā [bédvugō].

"Thankyou [very much]." Reply *Tò*, or *Pò'vsòg kā'e*. "No thanks [needed]."

Gáafàrà.

"Sorry." Like Ghanaian English "sorry", may be just an expression of sympathy.

Kābīr kābirí!

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 sūgvró.

"Please forgive me."

M̀ bēlīm nē.

"I beg you." Not "please"; Kusaasi etiquette needs no spoken equivalent of "please."

X lābāar á wēlá?

"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is *Dīub má'āa*. "Only food." i.e. "good."

M̀ mōr kù'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 Kōsáalèε?

"Do you understand ['hear'] Kusaal?"

Ēēñ, m̀ wóm.

"Yes, I do."

Áyìt, m̀ pō wómmā.

"No, I don't."

26 Specific lexical fields

26.1 Kinship

Pervading the whole system is the importance of birth order among same-sex siblings, and its irrelevance between siblings of opposite sex. Many basic terms do not in themselves distinguish sex. 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} or less formally <i>bā'</i>
	father's elder brother		<i>sàam-kpēñm</i> ^m
	father's younger brother		<i>sàam-pīt</i> ^{a/}
	father's sister		<i>pògvdìb</i> ^a

My	mother	is my	<i>mà</i>
	mother's elder sister		
	or senior co-wife		<i>mà-kpēñm</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 *bīg*^a "child" or specifically *dà-kòñr*^ε "son" or *pu' à-yùà* "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-dáú</i> , ♀ <i>yāa-pu' 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>pītó</i>
	sibling of opposite sex	is my	<i>tāuñ</i> [/]

These words are also used for cousins, with seniority, as always, going by family branch.

My wife	is my	<i>yī-pu'á</i> ^a or simply <i>pu'ā</i> ^a
wife's parent		<i>dìəm</i> ^{ma} (♂ <i>dìəm-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dìəm-puāk</i> ^a)
wife's sibling		<i>dàkīg</i> ^a (♂ <i>dàkī-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dàkī-puāk</i> ^a)

Dìəm^{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 *m̄ mà* "my mother" or *m̄ 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 *Bùgóm-tōwñ*^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</i> ^a
husband's parent		<i>dàyám</i> ^{ma} (♂ <i>dàyām-dāu</i> , ♀ <i>dàyām-puāk</i> ^a)
husband's elder brother		<i>sìd-kpēñm</i> ^m
husband's younger brother		<i>sìd-bīl</i> ^a
husband's sister		<i>sìd-puāk</i> ^a

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 *nìn-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 *dàkī-tùes*^ε; two women married to brothers are *nìn-tāas*^ε, "co-wives." "Fiancée" is *pu'à-ēlīŋ*^a.

26.2 Personal names

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi personal naming practices.

Personal names are preceded by the personifier particle, *Á-* by default but *Ñ-* before adjective stems, where *Ñ-* 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 (*sīgīr^{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^{ne/}</i>	Awini	person with a <i>sīgīr^{ε/}</i> from father's family
<i>À-Bōgūr^ε</i>	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgīr^{ε/}</i> from mother's family
<i>À-Tūg^a</i>	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgīr^{ε/}</i>
<i>À-Kūdōg^o</i>	Akudugu	"piece of iron" (sc. as a marker on a tree- <i>sīgīr^{ε/}</i>); displaced as a common noun by the pl-as-sg <i>kūt^ε</i>

A younger sibling of *À-Wīn^{ne/}* with the same *sīgīr^{ε/}* is called *À-Wīn-bīl^a* "Awimbillah", of *À-Kūdōg^o*, *À-Kūd-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^a</i>	Anaba	"chief" but in the sense "afterbirth" (because a chief leaves his house after his retainers): sole survivor of twins
<i>À-Fūug^{o/}</i>	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
<i>À-Tūl^{lε}</i>	Atuli	(<i>tūlīg^ε</i> "invert"): breech-delivered child

A whole clause is seen as a birth-circumstance personal name in

<i>À-Tūm bódìg yā</i>	"The medicine has got lost."
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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-Tāmpōvr^ε</i>	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
<i>À-Dōk^{o/}</i>	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like *Jambeedu* "Fulani", or

<i>À-Sāan^{a/}</i>	Asana	"guest, stranger"
<i>À-Sāan-dú</i>	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāy</i> "man"
<i>À-Zāngbèog^o</i>	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
<i>À-Nàsà-puāk^a</i>	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

Names based on adjectives:

<i>Ñ-Dāv̄g</i> ^o	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-Tínì* "Girl born on Monday", *À-Tàláatà* "Girl born on Tuesday", *Àrzúmà* "Boy born on Friday", *À-Síbì* "Boy born on Saturday."

Muslims also have formal Arabic names, sometimes adapted into Kusaal, like *Dàhà máanì/Dàsmáanì* *ʔAbdu-r-Raḥmaan*. KKY p6 has the interesting girl's name *Amoryam*, *ʔArabic Maryam* "Mary", interpreted as *À-Mōr Yām* "Has Common Sense."

26.3 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 Kusaal place names have transparent meanings.

Place names include:

<i>Bòk</i> ^o	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
<i>Kōk</i> ^{a/}	Koka	"mahogany tree"
<i>Kòkparìg</i> ^a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
<i>Tèmpáan</i> ^{ne}	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
<i>Mṽ'à-nōr</i> ^{ε/}	Mogonori	"lakeside" ("lake-mouth")
<i>Bàs-yōn</i> ^{ne/}	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ?reason for name
<i>Kūgōr</i> ^{ε/}	Kugri	"stone"
<i>Bōgōr</i> ^ε	Bugri	<i>bōgōr</i> ^ε , object housing a <i>wīn</i> ^{ne/}
<i>Wìdì-ñyá'aṅ</i> ^a	Woriyanga	archaic for <i>wìd-ñyá'aṅ</i> ^a "mare"
<i>Bì-nà'ab</i> ^a	Binaba	"prince"
<i>Gàarò</i>	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "wall around a town or compound"
<i>Wìid-nà'ab</i> ^a	Widinaba	"chief of the clan <i>Wìid</i> ^a "
<i>Pūsìg</i> ^{a/}	Pusiga	"tamarind"
<i>Tīl</i> ^{ε/}	Tilli	"tree trunk" cf Toende Kusaal <i>tīl id</i> (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
<i>Dènòg</i> ^o	Denugu	No known meaning
<i>Pùlìmà Kù'om</i> ^m	Pulimakom	"water by <i>pùlìmà</i> (grass sp)"

<i>Wīdāan</i> ^a	Widana	for <i>Wīd-dāan</i> ^a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's <i>nō-dī'əs</i> ^a "linguist."
<i>Mī'isìg</i> ^a	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission", i.e. of the Assemblies of God; perhaps influenced by <i>mī'isùg</i> ^o "baptism"
<i>Sā-bīl</i> ^a	Zebilla	" <i>Sporobolus subglobosus</i> "
<i>Sā-pìlìg</i> ^a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia Doka</i> "
<i>Kòl-tā'amís</i> ^ε	Kultamse	"dog almonds, <i>Andira inermis</i> "

WK thought that the *sā-* of *Sā-bīl*^a was a plant used in making brooms. No **sā'* occurs in my data, but Farefare *sáagá*, Dagbani *saa* are *Sporobolus subglobosus*, which is indeed so used (Blench.) The meanings for "Sapeliga" and "Kultamse" are based on a 1935 agricultural report on the Farefare/Nabit area located by John Turl.

For *Kòlvóg*^o "Kulungungu", Turl cites a Bisa-speaking informant who suggests Bisa *Kuurgongu*, "Crooked Sheanut Tree."

<i>Àgòl</i> ^{lε}	Agolle	cf <i>àgól</i> ^{lε} "upwards"
<i>Tùen</i> ^{nε}	Toende	cf <i>tùen</i> ^{nε} "in front", "West"
<i>Bārōg</i> ^{o/}	North	"Bisa country"
<i>Ñyá'aŋ</i> ^a	East	"behind"
<i>Zuēyā</i>	South	"hills", i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment
<i>Tùen</i> ^{nε}	West	"in front"

The forms above were given by WK; KB has *ya-dagɔbvg yà dàgòbìg*^a ("your left hand") for "south" and *ya-datiuŋ yà dàtìuŋ*^o ("your right hand") for "north," along with *ya-nyá'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Stems referring to ethnic groups and clans create place names by adding the suffix *-gɔ*: *Kūsâvg*^o "Kusaasiland", *Mòɔg*^o "Mossi country." They need not always be established settlements: *Kòtāuŋ*^{o/} "any place inhabited by clan Kotamba."

Places outside *Kūsâvg*^o generally do not have Kusaal names (an exception is *Sāŋkâaŋs*^ε "Sankanse" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Ankara* is usual. Toende has *Wa'arvk* for "Ouagadougou", but I could not elicit any Agolle equivalent.

There seems to be no Agolle Kusaal proper name for the White Volta, which is simply *kōlīg*^a "river", presumably as the only real river within *Kūsâvg*^o.

26.4 Ethnic groups and clans

The great majority of ethnic group names are *ga|se* or *a|ba*. The corresponding languages belong to the *le* subgroup of *re|aa*, and the place inhabited has sg *gɔ*.

Ethnic group (pl)	Language	Place	
<i>Kūsâas</i> ^ε	<i>Kūsâal</i> ^ε	<i>Kūsâvg</i> ^ɔ	Kusaasi
<i>Ñwāmpūrīs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūrīl</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Ñwāmpūrvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	Mamprussi
<i>Bārīs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bāt</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Bārvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	Bisa
<i>Mòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Mòɔl</i> ^ε	<i>Mòɔg</i> ^ɔ	Mossi
<i>Dàgbām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Dàgbān</i> ^{ne/}	<i>Dàgbāvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	Dagomba
<i>Bìm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Bìn</i> ^{ne}	<i>Bìvg</i> ^ɔ	Moba
<i>Sìm̄īs</i> ^ε	<i>Sìm̄il</i> ^ε	<i>Sìm̄vg</i> ^ɔ	Fulbe
<i>Yàañs</i> ^ε	<i>Yàan</i> ^{ne}		Yansi
<i>Gōrīs</i> ^ε	<i>Gōrín</i> ^{ne}		Farefare
<i>Yārīs</i> ^{ε/}	<i>Yāt</i> ^{ε/}		Yarsi
<i>Zàṅgbèed</i> ^ε	<i>Zàṅgbèel</i> ^ε		Hausa
<i>Bùlīs</i> ^ε	<i>Bùl</i> ^{lε}		Bulsa
<i>Tàlīs</i> ^ε	<i>Tàlín</i> ^{ne}		Tallensi
<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbìr</i> ^ε		Nabdema
<i>Bòsâañs</i> ^ε	<i>Bòsâañl</i> ^ε		Bisa
<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> ^a	<i>Nàsāal</i> ^ε		European
<i>Kàmbùmìs</i> ^ε	<i>Kàmbùnìr</i> ^ε		Ashanti

Note *Tùen*^{ne} "Toende area", *Tùennìr*^ε "Toende dialect of Kusaal", *Àgòl*^{lε} "Agolle area", *Àgòl*^{lε} "Agolle dialect of Kusaal": *Ò pjàñ'ad Àgòl*. "She speaks Agolle Kusaal."

Kusaasi clan names include, among many others:

Clan (pl)	Place	
<i>Kùtām</i> ^{ma/}	<i>Kùtāvg</i> ^{ɔ/}	WK's clan
<i>Zùos</i> ^ε		
<i>W̄iid-nàm</i> ^a	<i>W̄iidvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Nàbɪdɪb</i> ^a	<i>Nàbɪdvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Gòɔs</i> ^ε	<i>Gòɔg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Sà'dàbùos</i> ^ε - <i>bùob</i> ^a	<i>Sà'dàbòvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Nà'dàm</i> ^{ma}	<i>Nà'dāvg</i> ^ɔ	
<i>Gòm-dìm</i> ^a	<i>Gòm</i> ^{mε}	

Subclans of *Zùos*^ε include *Zyà-sābílís*^ε "Black Zoose" and *Zyà-w̄ìib*^a or *Zyà-w̄ìis*^ε "Red Zoose."

26.5 Trees and fruits

Tree names are almost all *ga|se* class, like *tùg*^a "tree"; their fruits belong to classes *re|aa* or *gɔ|de*.

Tree	Fruit	
<i>āañdīg</i> ^a	<i>āañdīr</i> ^ε	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>dùañ</i>	<i>dòòǹg</i> ^ɔ	dawadawa
<i>gāañ</i> [/]	<i>gāñr</i> ^{ε/}	Nigerian ebony
<i>gùḡ</i> ^a	<i>gùm</i> ^{mε}	kapok
<i>kìkàḡ</i> ^a	<i>kìkàm</i> ^{mε}	fig tree
<i>kpòkparìg</i> ^a	<i>kpòkpar</i> ^ε	palm
<i>lì'əḡ</i> ^a	<i>lì'am</i> ^{mε}	<i>Ximenia americana</i>
<i>pūsīg</i> ^{a/}	<i>pūsīr</i> ^{ε/}	tamarind
<i>sīsìbìg</i> ^a	<i>sīsìbìr</i> ^ε	neem
<i>tá'aḡ</i> ^a	<i>tá'am</i> ^{mε}	shea butter
<i>tè'εg</i> ^a	<i>tè'og</i> ^ɔ	baobab
<i>vúəḡ</i> ^a	<i>vúər</i> ^ε	red kapok

26.6 Colours

Kusaal, like many local languages, has a basic three-colour system: *zèñ'og*^ɔ "red", for all reddish shades, *sābílíg*^a "black" for all darker shades, and *pìə̀lìg*^a "white" for all lighter shades. *Wìug*^ɔ is synonymous with *zèñ'og*^ɔ. Kusaal has many other standard expressions for colour (e.g. *wōv támpōvr nē* "like ash", i.e. "grey"), often with parallels in other West African languages: "three-colour" means that any colour can be allocated to one of only three terms, not that only three colour terms exist.

26.7 Time

The day begins at sunrise. Answers to *bò-wìn*^{nε} "what time of day?" may be

<i>bēogōv=n</i> ^{ε/}	"morning"	<i>bèkèkèoḡ</i> ^ɔ	"very early morning"
<i>zàam</i> ^m	"evening"	<i>àsùbá</i>	"dawn" (← Arabic)
<i>wìn-lìr</i> ^ε	"sunset"	<i>yú'vḡ</i> ^ɔ	"night"
<i>wìn-kòòǹr</i> ^ε	"sunset"	<i>nīntāḡ</i> ^{a/}	"heat of the day"

Wìn^{nε} "time of day" (cf *wìnnìg*^a "sun") always has a predependent.

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: *kérifà àtáñ'* "three o'clock" = *karfèe ukù*.

The deictic particle *ñwà* "this" is commonly attached to time words, e.g. *zàam ñwá* [za:ma] "this evening", *yú'vḡ ñwá* [yɔ:vḡ:a] "tonight."

Answers to *bōn-dâar*^ε "which day?" may be

<i>zīnā</i>	"today"	<i>sù'əs</i> ^a	"yesterday"
<i>bēog</i> ^o	"tomorrow"	<i>dāar</i> ^ε	"day after tomorrow/ day before yesterday"

Weekday names are of Arabic origin. Many older speakers count in days, not weeks; the traditional "week" is a three day market cycle, differing from village to village and carrying on regardless of any weekdays or festivals.

<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>Àlámìsì 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 *dábìsìr*^ε is also used for "day" in counting periods of time, occurring usually in the plural:

<i>Dābá àyópòḡ dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back in a week."
<i>Dābá àyópòḡ kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back for a week."
<i>Àláasìd dâar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back on Sunday."
<i>Tì kpélìm ànīnā dábìsà bī'əlá.</i>	"We stayed there a few days."

Longer periods of time:

<i>dābá àyópòḡ</i>	"week"	<i>bákpàḡ</i>	"week"
<i>ñwādīg</i> ^{a/}	"moon, month"		
<i>sēoŋg</i> ^o	"rainy season"	<i>úvn</i> ^{nε}	"dry season"
<i>sāpál</i> ^{lε}	"Harmattan"	<i>dàwàlìg</i> ^a	"hot humid time just before the rains"
<i>yòvm</i> ^{mε}	"year"	<i>dūnná</i>	"this year"

Ñwād-kánì gàad lā "last month", *ñwād-kánì kēn nā lā* "next month."

"Time" in general is *sāŋá* pl *sānsá* cb *sān*-:

<i>sān-kánè?</i>	"when?"	<i>sān-kán lā</i>	"at that time"
<i>sāŋá kám</i>	"all the time"	<i>sāŋá bèdvgū</i>	"a long time"
<i>sānsá bèdvgū</i>	"many times"	<i>sāŋá bī'əlá</i>	"for/in a short time"

27 Texts

27.1 Balaam's Donkey

Numbers 22:21-35, KB.

Balaam da duoe beogun lɔɔ o buɲɔ dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keɲ. Amaa Wina'am sunf da duoe nɛ on keɲ la, ka Zugsɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geɲ o. Balaam da ban'adne o buɲ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Buɲ la da nye Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe su'ugv zanzl o nu'ugin, ka o buɲi kpen' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ud buɲ la ye o lɛb suor pɔvɔg.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lɔmbɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zaɲguoma ayi' beɲ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teɲsɔk la. Buɲ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zaɲguom la urig Balaam nɔbir. Ka o lɛm bu' o ya'as.

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikane ka sɔ' kv nyaɲi fɛndig datiuɲ bɛɛ dagɔbɔga. Buɲ la da lɛn nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wɔsa teɲin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔb buɲ la nɛ o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka buɲ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fɔ bu'um nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da lɛbis o ye, "Fɔ mɔrim nɛ maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kvunif nannanna." Buɲ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'ane fɔ meɲ buɲ onɛ ka fɔ ban'ad saɲa wɔsa ti paae zinaa? Fɔ nam mi' nye ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?" Ka o lɛbis ye, "Ayei!"

Ka Zugsɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nye maliak la zi'e suor la teɲsɔk ka fuoe su'ugv zanzl. Ka o igin ka vanbin teɲin. Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fɔ bu' buɲ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giɲif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'um m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buɲ la nyɛɛm ka yuk. Buɲ la ya'a pɔ yukine, anwaa m kvunif ka basin buɲ la." Balaam da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tɔm taal, m pa'a pɔ baɲ ye fɔ zi'ene suorin la ye fɔ geɲi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pɔ malisi fɔ m na lɛbi kul." Ka maliak la lɛbisi yɛl Balaam ye, "Dɔl nidib la keɲ, amaa yɛlim nɛ man ye fɔ yɛl si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keɲ.

Balaam dá dùè bēogū=n ∅ lɔɔ̀ ò̀ b̀̀h̀̀v̀̀ ∅ d̄ɔl Moab

Balaam TNS rise morning=LOC CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT accompany Moab

ná'-yī-kpém lā̀ ∅ kɛɲ.

chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey and went with the courtiers of the king of Moab."

Àmáa Wínà'am súñf dà dùè nē ón kēη lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Lord angel:SG
kīdīgī_ø zī'ən sūer lā zúg yé ò gīηó=ø.

meet CAT stand road:SG ART upon that 3AN obstruct=3AN.

"But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him."

Balaam dá bàñ'ad né ò bòn, kà ò yàmmìs àyí' dōlló=ø.

Balaam TNS ride:IPFV FOC 3AN donkey:SG, and 3AN slave:PL NUM:two accompany=3AN.

"Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him."

Bòn lā dá ñyè Zūg-sób máliāk lá kà ò zī'e sūer lā zúg
 Donkey:SG ART TNS see Lord angel:SG ART and 3AN be.standing road:SG ART upon
kà fúe sò'vòg_ø zāñl ò nú'ugī=n, kà ò búηì_ø kpèñ'
 and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand 3AN hand:SG=LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter
mōogī_ø gāad.

grass:SG CAT pass.

"The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on."

Kà Balaam pīñ'iī_ø bō'vd búη lā yé ò léb sūer pòvòg.

And Balaam begin CAT beat:IPFV donkey:SG ART that 3AN return road:SG inside.

"Balaam started beating the donkey to make it return to the road."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá tōlìsì_ø zī'ən lòm̀bòñ'òd àyí' bání kà bà mé
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL NUM:two REL.PL and 3PL build
zànguè̀m̀à àyí'_ø bēη, kà sūā-báañ̀l̀g bée_̀l̀l̀ tēη-sōk lā.

wall:PL NUM:two CAT demarcate, and road-narrow:SG EXIST 3IN middle:SG ART.

"The angel of the Lord then stood where dividing walls had been built between two orchards and there was a narrow path between them."

Bòn lá=n dà ñyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà m̀ìe_ø là̀bìn

Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind

zànguè̀m̀ lā_ø ūrīg Balaam nó̀b̀ìr. Kà ò lé̀m bú'o=ø yá'as.

wall:SG ART CAT scrape Balaam leg:SG. And 3AN again beat=3AN again.

"When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it squeezed against the wall and scraped Balaam's leg. And he beat it again."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá lèm vūrigī ∅ tōlīs ∅ zī'en tūen
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand in.front
zīñ'-kànì kà sō' kú ñyāñī ∅ fēñdīg dātìuḡ bēē dágòbīgā=∅.
 place-REL.SG 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 máliāk lā, ò dà dīgìn nē
 Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS again see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie.down with
Balaam wōsā tēḡī=n, kà Balaam súñf dūe hālì kà ò vōb
 Balaam all ground:SG=LOC, and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike
búḡ lā né ò dànsàar.
 donkey:SG ART with 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 bòḡ lā yá'e ò nōorī ∅ piāñ' Balaam yē,
 And Lord let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
Bō kimm kà m máalì=f kà lì ké kà fò bú'v=m nōor 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 donkey to open its mouth to speak to Balaam: 'Just what have I done to you to make you beat me these three times?'"

Balaam dá lèbīsō=∅ yē, Fò mórī=m nē ∅ mâan ∅ gálìm! M yá'
 Balaam TNS reply=3AN that, 2SG have=1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
mōrī=n sù'vḡò ò nù'ugī=n, m nāan kōv=ní=f nānná-nā.
 have=DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG=LOC, 1SG then kill=DP=2SG now.

"Balaam replied: 'You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you right now.'"

Bòḡ lā dá lèbīs Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fò mēḡ búḡ ónì kà
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CN NEG.BE FOC 2SG self donkey:SG REL.AN and
fò bāñ'ad sāḡá wōsā ∅ tí pāe zīnāa=∅=∅? Fò nám mī' ∅ ñyé kà
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT after reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and
m mâal añwá ∅ tísì=fò=∅? Kà ò lèbīs yē, Áyì!
 1SG 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 to you?' He replied, 'No.'"

Kà Zūg-sób yó'og Balaam nīnì kà ò ñyē málīāk lā ∅ zí'e sūer
 And Lord open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT be.standing road:SG
lā téŋ-sōk, kà fúe sù'vǵò ∅ zāñl. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēŋī=n.
 ART centre:SG and draw knife:SG CAT hold. And 3AN kneel and lie.prone ground:SG=LOC.
 "Then the Lord opened Balaam's eyes so he could see the angel standing in the
 middle of the road with a drawn sword in his hand, and he knelt and lay face down."

Zūg-sób málīāk lā dá bù'əsō=∅ yē, Bó kà fù bō' búŋ lā
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS ask=3AN that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART
nōor átáñ' sá=∅? M kē 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' sóm m̄ nīnī nū=∅. Nōor átáñ' kà bùŋ lā ñyéε=m
 NEG.BE good:ABSTR 1SG eye:PL LOC=NEG. Time:SG NUM:three and donkey:SG ART see=1SG
kà yūk. Bùŋ lā yá' pō yūkī=ní ∅ àñwáa=∅ m̄ kōv=ní=f kà
 and deviate. Donkey:SG ART if NEG.IND deviate=DP thus=NEG 1SG kill=DP=2SG and
básī=n búŋ lā.
 release=DP 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 lèbìsì ∅ yél Zūg-sób málīāk lā yē, M tóm tâal, m̄ pá'
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord 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, lī yá' pō mālísí=fō=∅, m̄ ná lēbī ∅ kūl.
 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 málīāk lā lēbìsì ∅ yél Balaam yē, Dòl nīdīb lā ∅ kēŋ,
 And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,
àmáa yèlīm nē mán yé fù yél sī'əl má'aa.
 but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say INDEF.IN only.

"But the angel replied to Balaam: 'Go with the people, but say only what I tell you.'"

Kà Balaam dōl Balak ná'-yī-kpém lā ∅ kēŋ.
 And Balaam accompany Balak chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.
 "So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers."

27.2 Three Murderers

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima p16. This fable, found throughout Africa, Europe, and Asia, ultimately derives from a Buddhist *Jātaka* tale (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.

N̄n-kóvdìbá àtáń'.

Person-kill:AG:PL NUM:three.

"Three murderers."

Dāpá àtáń' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāñdā súnā.

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 yinní kà bà lá'asì ∅ zīñ'inì ∅ gbāñ'e yé bà dūem ∅ iā bódàalim
 And day:SG one and 3PL gather CAT sit CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT seek courage
lâ'ad n gīnnī ∅ k̄w nīdīb má'aa kà dā lém tòm sī'elā=∅.
 goods:PL CAT roam:IPFV CAT kill person:PL only 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 s̄id dùe ∅ iā s̄v̄s nē zāñ'anà nē tí-dāad nē p̄imá nē
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with
l̄u'ad, nē kpānā nē mālì súḡā n p̄ñ'ilī ∅ gīnnī ∅ īəd
 quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV
nīdīb yé bà yá' ñyē s̄v̄ bān k̄w.
 person:PL that 3PL if find INDF.AN 3PL.CN kill.

"So indeed they went and sought lots of swords, bludgeons, bows, arrows, quivers,
 spears and guns and began looking round for people to find someone to kill."

Bà ḡilḡi ∅ alá nē ñwādsá ∅ átáñ' nē dábı̀sà ∅ átáñ'. Bà p̄w ñyē
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG.IND find
nīdī ∅ ná k̄w=∅. Kà kpél̄im m̄or 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 ∅ anū dāar bà ñyē nē lāl̄l̄ı̀ sà kà s̄v̄el z̄ı̀'e s̄abı̀ll̄ı̀ ∅
 Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT
w̄w̄v̄ nīd̄ nē, kà bà kp̄ēñm̄ lā yé bà k̄ém ∅ k̄úo=∅, yé ò s̄ōb
 like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill=3AN, that 3AN NULL.AN
yá' p̄òn túñ'e kà m̄or nē l̄áuk-s̄ı̀'a w̄s̄ā, bà nà ñyāñı̀ ∅ k̄úo=∅.
 if already be.able and have FOC item-INDF.IN all, 3PL IRR prevail CAT kill=3AN.
 "On the fifth day they saw something standing in the distance, black like a human
 being, and the eldest of them said that they should go and kill him; even if he was
 capable (?) and had every piece of equipment, they would be able to kill him."

Kà òḡā ḡı̀ñı̀d kp̄ē, kà òḡā ḡı̀ñı̀d kp̄ē, bà tı̀ k̄ēñ ∅
 And DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, and DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL after go CAT
p̄āa ∅ ñyē kà lı̀ k̄ā' nīdá=∅, kà á nē b̄ōt̄ú kà lı̀ḡı̀dı̀ p̄ē'el
 reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.BE person:SG=NEG, and COP FOC sack:SG and money fill
m̄à'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 nīḡ līgīdī 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 pōdīg nē. Àmáa bà yé lī nár kà bà yīs līgīdī lā n
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
kēḡ ∅ dá' dāam ∅ ná nū yīgá kà ñyāan pōdīg līgīdī 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 līgīdī lā bī'elá yē bīḡ lā kēm ∅ dá' yōvr 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."

Bīḡ lá=∅ kēn lā, ò tēñ'esid nē ón nà nīḡ sī'əm ∅ kō bání kpèlīm
 Child:SG ART=NZ go:IPFV ART, 3AN think:IPFV FOC 3AN:NZ IRR do INDEF.ADV CAT kill REL.PL remain
àní nā lā, kà vāe līgīdī lā wōsā wōsā n sō'e, ò yèlí ∅ mēḡ yē,
 there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT OWN, 3AN say 3AN self that,
ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kōvdīm n lós dāamí=n lā
 3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer=LOC ART
n pāa ∅ tí=bá kà bà nū ∅ kpí kà ò sō'e līgīdī lā wōsā.
 CAT reach CAT give=3PL 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 dā' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kōvdīm 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 kō
 NEG.KNOW=NEG, and 3PL NUM:TWO ART=NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill
bīḡ lá=∅ kēḡ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sō'e līgīdī 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."

B̄iig lá=̀n m̄or d̄āam l̄ā_∅ p̄āa n̄ā l̄ā, k̄à òḡā k̄iá kp̄ē,
 Child:SG ART=NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEMSTAN cut here,
k̄à ̄on k̄iá kp̄ē, n k̄iò=∅ ∅ k̄v̄, k̄à ȳv̄n z̄áḡ d̄āam l̄ā_∅
 and 3AN.CN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT
nū wán wán, lì p̄v̄ yúugē=∅, k̄à bà w̄s̄ā w̄s̄ā mé kp̄él̄im kp̄ì
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG.IND delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die
z̄iñ-k̄àn l̄ā n̄óo k̄à bà s̄v̄' s̄v̄' p̄v̄ ñyāḡi_∅ p̄āam l̄ā'af l̄ā
 place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDFAN INDFAN NEG.IND prevail CAT receive cowry:SG ART
b̄āa ȳīnní_∅ m̄v̄rī_∅ k̄ūlí_∅ bà ȳáa=nē=∅.
 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."

D̄in k̄à K̄v̄s̄āas ȳé f̄v̄ ȳá' tēñ'es b̄ēē t̄v̄m b̄ē'ed ȳé f̄v̄ t̄isì_∅ f̄v̄ t̄ir̄āan,
 3IN.CN and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give 2SG neighbour:SG,
f̄v̄ m̄āanní_∅ f̄v̄ m̄ēḡ ȳá'as l̄ā.
 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."

27.3 Proverbs

Kusaal Solima ne Siilima pp38ff.; other proverbs appear in the grammar above.

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'øm káadi_∅ léb̄is né m̄ gēogv̄=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'øm zót nē b̄iāñ'ar zúg.

Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG upon.

"Water runs on mud." (i.e. what's in it for me?)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asìd nē zūørī=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-wiāk sēoňg zī' sínnē=∅.

PERS-hatch rainy.season NEG.KNOW hawk:PL=NEG.

"One hatched in the rainy season doesn't know about hawks." (Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pō ñyē sāa kúvbō=∅, kà ñyē sāa ñib.

NEG.IND see rain threaten:GER=NEG, and see rain rain:GER.

"Didn't see the rain coming, but did see the rain." (Wise after the event.)

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà pō nōkíd nā'-bínnì ∅ lōbígíd náafō=∅.

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." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zū'om yá' yé ò nà lōbīg, bàñim kà ò nò nē kūgīr.

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."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Bālērvgū ∅ zī' yé ò à bālērvgó=∅, 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."

(i.e. self-delusion about poverty is not possible.)

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bōōd támpìiňg sīiňd, fù pō lém zòt lịəŋ dāuɡ ñyōōgō=∅.

2SG if want rock:SG honey, 2SG NEG.IND again run:IPFV axe:SG wood:SG sympathy=NEG.

"If you want honey out of a stone, you don't feel sorry for the axeshaft."

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.

Mōōdī ∅ pìlìg kà yū'adā bē.

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-dìbìg kúnñí ∅ ò bā' yír nē nōb-kōōg 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 bōvd pō zīñ'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."

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

Bà yē bālērōg, kà fò 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.)

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.

Bòŋ-dāvug pō kāasídí_ ò tīrâan tēŋī=né=∅.

Donkey-male:SG NEG.IND cry.out:IPFV 3AN neighbour:SG land:SG=LOC=NEG.

"The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory."

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

Kpēēñm á nē tē'eg, ò tìgìd nē bálàyà.

Elder:SG COP FOC baobab:SG, 3AN satē:IPFV FOC stick:PL.

"An elder is like a baobab - no shortage of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

From Tony Naden's dictionary:

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e pōɔg.

Bāas ká'e kà ñwāamīs dī'e pōɔg.

Dog:PL NEG.BE and monkey:PL receive farm:SG.

"There are no dogs and monkeys have got the farm." (When the cat's away ...)

A proverb related to me by KT:

Sāan-súŋ á nē yī-dâan áñsìb.

Stranger-good:SG COP FOC house-owner:SG mother's.brother:SG.

"A good guest is a householder's uncle."

KT explained: Entertaining a guest gives the householder a reason to bring out all his best food and drink and enjoy himself. (The mother's brother is traditionally a generous benefactor to his sister's child.)

28 Vocabulary

Words are ordered by Short Forms. Vowel glottalisation and the distinctions *n/ñ*, *ə/e/ɛ/ɛ̄*, *i/ɪ/ĩ*, *o/ō* and *u/v/ʉ* are ignored in the ordering; *ŋ* follows *n*.

The abbreviations *n adj pron adv ideo q sv dv* stand respectively for noun, adjective, pronoun, adverb, ideophone, quantifier, single-aspect and dual-aspect verb.

Nouns are listed under the sg. Adjectives are listed under the *ga|se* class form if extant; if not, *gɔ|de* or *re|aa*. 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. For compound adjectives see [12.8.1.1](#).

Personal and place names are not listed: see [26](#) 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 [12.6](#)

āāñdīg^a pl *āāñdīs*^ε cb *āāñd-* n. black plum tree, *Vitex doniana*

āāñdīr^ε pl *āāñdā* n. black plum fruit

àāns^ε dv. tear

àbùlá q. adv. how many-fold?

àbùyí' àbùtáñ' àbùnāsí q. adv. twice, three times etc

à-dàalúŋ^ɔ pl *à-dàalís*^ε *à-dàalímìs*^ε cb *à-dàalúŋ-* n. stork

àgñ^{ya} ger *àāñlím*^m sv. be something/somehow [16.12](#)

àeñ dv. get torn; resultative adj *àāñlúŋ*^ɔ torn

à-gâvñg^ɔ pl *à-gâāñd*^ε cb *à-gāñ-* n. pied crow

àgól^{lε} *àgólá* adv. upwards

Àgòl^{lε} n. Agolle district of Kusaasi territory; n. Agolle Kusaal dialect

à-kōrā-dīəm^{ma} pl *à-kōrā-dīəm-nàm*^a n. praying mantis

àlá adv. thus

àlá q. so many; how many?

àláafv n. health (in greetings); cf *láafiyà*

Àláasìd dâar^ε n. Sunday ← Arabic

Àlàṃṣìsì dâar^ε n. Thursday ← Arabic

Àláribà dâar^ε n. Wednesday ← Arabic

àlá zùg^ɔ clause adjunct therefore

àlópìr^ε pl *àlópìyà* n. aeroplane ← English

àmáa clause adjunct but ← Hausa ← Arabic

- àmḗǵá* *adv.* really, truly
àmí *amen* ← Arabic *ʔaamiin*
à-mús^ε *pl* *à-mús-nàm^a* *n.* cat; cf Hausa *mussàa id*
ànāasí *q.* four
àní *adv.* there
àníí *q.* eight
àní nā' *adv.* there
àníǵà *adv.* promptly
ànḡ'ḡn^ε *pron.* who?
àñrḡḡ^ḡ *pl* *àñrḡmà* *cb* *àñrḡḡ-* *n.* boat (written *aaruḡ* in the 1976/1996 NT)
āñs^ε *dv.* pluck (leaves)
āñsìb^a *pl* *āñs-nám^a* *cb* *āñs-* *n.* mother's brother
āñsīǵ^{ε/} *dv.* break at an angle
āñsíǵ^a *pl* *āñsí^ε* *cb* *āñsīǵ-* *n.* (man's) sister's child
àntù'a *pl* *àntù'ḡs^ε* *cb* *àntḡ'à-* *n.* lawsuit
ànū *q.* five
àñwá *adv.* like this
ānzúrǵà *n.* silver ← Hausa *azùrfaa*
àràkóñ' *q.* one
àràzàk^a *pl* *àràzà'as^ε* *cb* *àràzà'-* *generally pl: n.* wealth, riches ← Arabic *ʔar-rizq*
àràzánà *n.* heaven ← Arabic *ʔal-janna*
Àrzúmà dâar^ε *n.* Friday ← Arabic
àsée *clause adjunct/preposition* except, unless ← Hausa *sai*
Àsǵbtì dâar^ε *n.* Saturday ← Arabic
àsīdā *adv.* truly
àsùbá *n.* dawn ← Arabic *ʔas^ḡ-s^ḡabaaḡ*
àtáñ' *q.* three
Àtáláatà dâar^ε *n.* Tuesday ← Arabic
àtáǵā' *q.* three exactly
Àtínì dâar^ε *n.* Monday ← Arabic
àtḡuk^ḡ *n.* sea ← Hausa *tèeku*
àwánā' *adv.* like this
àwāǵ *q.* nine
àyí' *q.* two
áyì *no* 18.4
àyíǵā' *q.* two exactly
àyóǵḡ *q.* seven
àyúḡbù *q.* six

B

- bà* pron. they (*right-bound*); *ba* them (*enclitic*)
bā' pl *bā'-nám^a* cb *bā'*- n. father
bāa pl *bāas^ε* cb *bà-* n. dog
bāa (← Hausa *bāa* "not exist") in constituent negation 23
bā'a pl *bā'ab^a* cb *bà'*- n. diviner; *bà'-kòlòg^o* 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'anà* cb *bà'an-* n. stocks (punishment)
bàañlìg^a pl *bàañlìs^ε* adj. narrow, slender
bāañlíg^a adj. quiet
bāañlím^m adv. quietly
bà'ar^ε pl *bàdà* *bà'a* cb *bà'*- n. idol
bābá postposition beside; cf *bābīr^{ε/}* sphere of activity
bàbıgā' q. many
bákpàg n. week ← Hausa *bakwài* "seven" (also "week" in Ghana)
bàlàar^ε pl *bàlàyà* cb *bàlà-* n. stick, staff, club
bàlàñìr^ε pl *bàlàyà* cb *bàlàñ-* n. hat
bālērōg^{o/} pl *bālērīd^{ε/}* *bālērīs^{ε/}* cb *bālér-* n. ugly person; cf *lēr^ε* get ugly
bàmmā' pron. these
bàn^ε pron. these
bán pron. they (*subject of ñ-clause*); *bān^ε* they, them (*contrastive*)
bāñ' dv. ride
bānāa pl *bānāas^ε* cb *bànà-* (*tone sic*) n. traditional "fugu" smock
bāñ'ad^a pl *bāñ'ad-nām^a* n. ill person
bāñ'al^{ε/} dv. make to ride (horse, bicycle)
bāñ'as^ε cb *bāñ'*- n. pl as sg disease
bàn-dāvug^o pl *bàn-dāad^ε* cb *bàn-dà-* n. crocodile
bān-kúsél^{lε} pl *bān-kúsēlá* cb *bān-kúsēl-* n. lizard
bāñ^a pl *bāañs^ε* cb *bàñ-* n. ring, chain, fetter
bàñ^a n. agama lizard
bàñ^ε dv. come to know
báp wallop!
Bārīg^{a/} pl *Bārīs^{ε/}* cb *Bār-* n. Bisa person (not only the Bareka, WK)
bárikà n. blessing ← Arabic *baraka*
Bārōg^{o/} n. Bisa country; north
bàs^ε dv. go away; abandon; throw out
Bāt^{ε/} n. Bisa language
bàtáñ' q. three (*after a personal pronoun*)
bàuyè n. found only as in *Ò kpèñ' báuyè*. He was circumcised. ← Songhay "pool"
bàyēog^{o/} betrayer of secrets (cf *yēs^{ε/}*)
bàyi' q. two (*after a personal pronoun*)

- bàyópðe* *q.* seven (after a personal pronoun)
bè ger bèlím^m sv. exist; be in a place 16.12
bēdīg^{el} dv. go rotten
bèdùg^o bēdīr^e pl *bèdà* cb *bēd-* adj. great
bèdvū^l *q.* much, a lot
bēe clause adjunct or; in polar questions 18.2
bèkèkèoñg^o or *bèkèoñg^o* *n.* very early morning
bèlīm^m dv. beg
bèlīs^e dv. comfort
bēn^{ne} pl *bēnā* cb *bèn-* *n.* end
bēñ' ger bēñ'es^e dv. fall ill
bēñsìg^e dv. serve soup
bèη^e dv. mark out a boundary
bēηíd^e cb *bēη-* *n.* pl bean leaves, *Vigna unguiculata*; *bēηíd nē kī^l* *n.* beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack
bēηír^e pl *bēηá* cb *bēη-* *n.* brown bean
bēog^o *n.* tomorrow; *Kà bēog nīe kà ...* The next day ...
bē'og^o bī'a pl *bē'ed^e bī'əs^e* cb *bē'- bīà'-* adj. bad
bēogó clause adjunct tomorrow
bēogū=n^{el} *n.* morning
bèrìη^a pl *bèrìgìs^e* sic *n.* a plant used for fibre (KED), *Hibiscus cannabinus*
bērīgā cb *bèrìg-* pl leaves of *bèrìη* used for soup (KED)
bēsūg^o pl *bēsīd^e* cb *bēs-* *n.* a kind of wide-mouthed pot
bīāñ'ar^{el} pl *bīāñ'adá bīāñ'a* cb *bīāñ'-* *n.* wet mud, black mud; riverbed
bīāyūñk^o pl *bīāñ'ad^e* cb *bīāñ'-* *n.* shoulder
bīól^{le} pl *bīólá* adj. naked
bīø^e dv. accompany
bī'ólá *q.* a little; *bī'əl bī'əl* *q. and adv.* a very little; little by little
bī'əm^m pl *bī'əm-nàm^a bī'əmmā* LF cb *bī'əm-* *n.* enemy
bīən^{ne} pl *bīənā* cb *bīən-* *n.* shin
bīør^{el} pl *bīēyá* cb *bīā-* *n.* elder sibling of the same sex
bī'əs^e dv. doubt
bīgìs^e dv. show, teach
bīīg^a pl *bīīs^e* cb *bī- bī-* *n.* child; *bī-díbìη^a* *n.* boy; *bī-līa* *n.* baby; *bī-nà'ab^a* *n.* prince;
bī-pī^{al} pl *bī-pītí^a* cb *bī-pīt-* *n.* father's younger brother; *bī-púη^a* *n.* girl
bī'ig^e dv. ripen, become pregnant
bīlíf^o pl *bīlí* cb *bīil-* *n.* seed
bīlím^m *n.* childhood
būm^m cb *bī-* *n.* soup, stew
bī'isím^m *n.* milk (human or animal)
bī'isìr^e pl *bī'isà* cb *bī'is-* *n.* woman's breast

- bīl^a* pl *bībīs^ε* cb *bīl-* or *bī-* adj. little, small
bīlīg^ε dv. roll (transitive)
bīlīm^m dv. roll (intransitive)
bìmbìm^{mε} pl *bìmbìmà* 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
Bìṽṽ^ᵑ n. Moba country
bò dv. seek; *bòᵑᵑ^a* ipfv want, like, love (sexual, romantic); ipfv ger *bòᵑᵑìᵑ^m* will
bō cb *bò-* pron. what? why?; *bò-būūdī* what sort of ..?; *bō-zúgō* clause adjunct because;
bō-zúgō^ᵑ why?; *bò-wìn^{nε}* what time of day?; *bō kīmm* "exactly what?"
bòbìg^ε dv. wrap round, tie round
bòdìg^ε dv. lose, become lost
bòᵑᵑbòᵑᵑ n. bread (? ultimately ← English)
bòk^ᵑ pl *bò'ad^ε* cb *bṽ'à-* n. pit
bōsīr^ε pl *bōsā* cb *bòs-* n. puff adder
bōtō n. sack
bō' dv. beat
bṽ'àk^ε dv. split
bò'ar^ε pl *bṽ'àa* cb *bṽ'à-* n. hole
bō'ar^{ε/} pl *bṽ'áa* cb *bṽ'ā-* n. skin bottle
bòᵑ^ε ger *būdīg^a* *būdōg^ᵑ* dv. plant seeds
bòᵑàalìᵑ^m n. manhood, courage
bùᵑìᵑ^m dv. get confused
bùᵑìᵑís^ε n. confusion
bù'e dv. pour out
bòg^ε dv. get drunk ← Hausa *bùgu*
bōgōᵑᵑ^a n. client of a *bā'a* traditional diviner
bògṽlìᵑ^m dv. cast lots
bōgōr^ε pl *bōgā* cb *bòg-* n. dwelling-place of a *wīn^{nε/}* localised spirit; also a *wīn^{nε/}* as
a *sīgīr^{ε/}* 26.2 inherited from one's mother's family
bùgúm^m cb *bùgōm-* *bùgúm-* n. fire; *Bùgúm-tōᵑñr^ε* n. Fire Festival
bōgōs^{a/} sv. be soft
bōgṽsíg^a *bōgṽsír^ε* pl *bōgṽsá* cb *bōgṽs-* adj. soft, weak
bōgṽsígā[/] adv. softly
bōgṽsím^m n. softness, weakness
bōk^{ε/} dv. weaken
bòk^ε dv. cast lots
bùl^ε dv. germinate, ooze
būl^{lε} pl *būlā* n. shoot, sprout
bùl^ε dv. astonish

Bùl^{lɛ} *n.* Buli language
Bùlìg^a *pl Bùlìs*^ɛ *cb Bùl-* *n.* Balsa person
bùlìg^a *pl bùlìs*^ɛ *cb bùl-* *n.* well, pond
bùmbàrìg^a *pl bùmbàrìs*^ɛ *cb bùmbàr-* *n.* ant
bùn^ɛ *dv.* reap, harvest
bōn^{nɛ/} *pl bōnà bōn-nám*^a *cb bōn-* *n.* thing (concrete or abstract); *bōn-búvdìf*^ɔ *n.* plant; *bōn-gíj*^a *n.* short chap (informal, joking); *bōn-kóñbòg*^ɔ *pl bōn-kóñbìd*^ɛ *cb kóñb-* (*sic*) *n.* animal; *bōn-kúdòg*^ɔ *n.* old man
bōn-dâar^ɛ *proadverb* which day?
bùŋ^a *pl bùmìs*^ɛ *cb bùŋ-* *n.* donkey
bùŋ^ɛ *dv.* take a short cut
bùø^ɛ *dv.* call, summon; *Ò yō'vr búø* *X.* She is called X.
bùø^ɛ *pl buèyà* *cb buà-* *n.* grain store, silo
bū'ø^ɛ *dv.* ask; *ger bū'ø*^ɛ *n.* question; *bu'oskəŋa* this question (Jn 18:34)
bò-pīgā *q. adv.* ten times
bōráa *n.* man, male adult (in ILK, but characteristically *Toende* Kusaal; see *dāy*)
bōrɪyá *n.* Christmas ← Twi/Fante *bronya*
bòrkìn^a *pl bòrkìn-nám*^a *cb bòrkìn-* *n.* free person; honourable person ← Songhay
Bòsâañ^ɛ *n.* Bisa language
Bòsáj^a *pl Bòsâañ*^ɛ *cb Bòsāj-* *n.* Bisa person
bōtīj^a *pl bōtīs*^ɛ; *cb bōtīj-* *n.* cup (*in general; originally "seed-planting [cup]"*)
bōvd^ɛ *n. pl as sg* innocence
būudī *cb būud-* *n.* kind, sort, ethnic group
bōvg^a *pl bōvs*^ɛ *cb bō-* *n.* goat; *bò-dìbìg*^a *n.* male kid

D

dà *tense particle* before two days ago, *tense particle*
dā not with imperative mood 16.5
dàa *tense particle* day after tomorrow
dāa *tense particle* before yesterday, *tense particle*
dà' *dv.* buy
dà'a *pl dà'as*^ɛ *cb dà'-* *n.* market
dà'abìr^ɛ *n.* slave
dàalim^m *n.* masculinity
dàalim^m *pl dàalímìs*^ɛ *n.* male organs
dāam^{m/} *cb dā-* *n.* millet beer, "pito"; *dā-nūur*^ɛ *n.* beer-drinking; *dā-bīn*^{nɛ} *cb dā-bīn-* *n.* beer residue; NT yeast (cf *bīn*^{nɛ})
dāam^m *dv.* disturb, trouble ← Hausa *dāamaa*
dāan^a *pl dàan-nám*^a *cb dàan-* *n.* owner of ... 12.7.2
dāar^ɛ *pl dābá* *cb dà-* *n.* day (24-hour period); *dà-pīgā* *n.* ten days
dāa-sì'erē *clause adjunct* perhaps

- dàbīəm^m* tone sic n. fear
dàbīog^o pl *dàbīəd^ε* cb *dàbīà-* n. coward
dàbīsir^ε pl *dàbīsà* cb *dàbīs-* n. day (as one of several)
dā'e^l dv. push; blow (of wind)
Dàgâad^a pl *Dàgâadīb^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^{o/} n. Dagomba country, Dagbon
dàgòbìg^a n. left-hand; *yà dàgòbìg^a* South KB
dāká pl *dāká-nàm^a* cb *dāká-* n. box ← Hausa *àdakàa* ← Portuguese *arca*
dàkīg^a pl *dàkīs^ε* cb *dàkì-* n. wife's sibling; *dàkì-dāu* n. wife's brother; *dàkì-puāk^a* n.
 wife's sister; *dàkì-tùà* n. wife's sister's husband
dà-kòǎnr^ε pl *dà-kòǎyà* cb *dà-kòñ-* n. unmarried son, bachelor
dàm^m ipfv *dàmmìd^a* dv. shake
dàmà'a n. liar cf *mà'*
dàmà'am^m n. lie, untruth, lying
dàmà'ar^ε n. lie, untruth
dāmpūsāar^ε n. stick
dānsàar^ε n. staff, club
dàŋkòŋ^o n. measles
dà-pāal^{al/} n. young man, son
dārúk^o n. a kind of large pot
dà-sāŋ^a pl *dà-sāaŋs^ε* *dà-sām^{ma}* cb *dà-sàŋ-* n. young man
dà-tāa pl *dà-tāas^ε* cb *dà-tà-* n. enemy
dàtìuŋ^o n. right-hand; *yà dàtìuŋ^o* North KB
dāu pl *dāp^a* cb *dàu-* *dàp-* n. man (as opposed to woman)
dāvug^o pl *dāad^ε* cb *dà-* n. piece of wood, log; pl also: wood (material); *dà-kīəd^a* n.
 wood-cutter; *dà-kpī'əd^a* n. carpenter; *dà-pūvdír^ε* n. cross-piece, pl *dà-pūvdá* n.
 used as sg cross NT
dāvug^o pl *dāad^ε* cb *dà-* adj. male
dàwàlìg^a n. hot humid season before the rains
dàwān^{ne/} pl *dàwānà* cb *dàwān-* n. pigeon
dàyāam^{ma} pl *dàyāam-nám^a* cb *dàyāam-* n. husband's parent; *dàyāam-dáu* n. husband's
 father; *dàyāam-puák^a* n. husband's mother
dàyūug^{o/} pl *dàyūud^{ε/}* cb *dàyū-* n. rat
dèbìr^ε pl *dèbà* n. mat, pallet, bed
dèeg^a pl *dèes^ε* n. warthog
dēēŋ^a pl *dēēñs^ε* *dēēmīs^ε* *dēēnā* cb *dēēŋ-* q. first
dēl^{la/} ger *dēllúg^o* *dēllím^m* sv. be leaning on something (of a person)
dèlím^m dv. begin to lean on something (of a person)
dēŋ^a pl *dēmīs^ε* cb *dēŋ-* n. accidental bruise; defect

dèŋ^ε *dv.* go, do first

dèŋim *preverb* beforehand

dì *pron.* it (*right-bound*) = *lì*

dì ipfv *dìt*^a *imp* *dìm*^a *dv.* eat, receive; *ger* *dīb*^o *n.* food; *Ò dì pū'ā*. He's married a wife.

Ò dì ñyán. She's ashamed.

dīā^a *dv.* get dirty

dīā'ad^{ε/} *n.* dirt

dī'e[/] *dv.* receive, get

dìəm^{ma} *pl* *dìəm-nàm*^a *cb* *dìəm-* *n.* wife's parent; also in polite address to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age than oneself; *dìəm-dāy* *n.*

wife's father; *dìəm-pūāk*^a *n.* wife's mother

dì'əm^m *dv.* play, not be serious

dì'əmà *n.* festival

dī'əs^{ε/} *dv.* receive (many things)

dīgī^{ya/} *ger* *dīk*^{a/} *KT* *dīgīr*^{ε/} *WK sv.* be lying down

dīgísá *n. pl* lairs

dīgīl^{ε/} *dv.* lay down

dìgìn^ε *dv.* lie down

dìgìr^ε *pl* *dìgà* *cb* *dìg-* *n.* dwarf

dìs^ε *dv.* feed; *ag* *dìs*^a *n.* glutton

dìsúŋ^o *pl* *dìsímà* *dìsís*^ε *cb* *dìsúŋ-* *n.* spoon

dìm^a *dummy head pronoun, animate pl*; *dìn*^{ne} *inanimate sg*

dín *pron.* it (*subject of ñ-clause*)

dīn^ε *pron.* it (*contrastive*) = *līn*^ε

dìndēog^{o/} *pl* *dìndēed*^{ε/} *cb* *dìndē-* *n.* chameleon

dìndìs^a *n.* glutton

dìn zúg^o *proadverb* therefore

dìtúŋ^o *n.* right-hand (see *dàtìuŋ*^o)

dì-zōrūg^{o/} *pl* *dì-zōrá* *cb* *dì-zōr-* *n.* crumb

dōl^{la/} *ger* *dōllim*^m *sv.* accompany in a subordinate role; *Ànó'òní dōllí=fò?* Who has come with you? (to an elderly patient.) *Bà dōl nē tāabā*. They went together.

dōlīg^{ε/} *dv.* make accompany, send along with

dōlīs^{ε/} *dv.* investigate, trace

dōñlīg^{ε/} *dv.* stretch oneself

dòñ'os^ε *dv.* water plants

dòog^o *pl* *dòod*^ε *dòt*^ε *cb* *dò-* *n.* house, hut; clan; *dòog bìg*^a *n.* housecat

dòoŋg^o *pl* *dòoñd*^ε *cb* *dòñ-* *n.* dawadawa fruit

dō ipfv *dōt*^{a/} *imp* *dòm*^a *dv.* go up

dū'à^a *dv.* bear, give birth, beget; *ag* *dū'ad*^a *n.* elder relation

dù'al^ε *dv.* make interest (of a loan)

dū'am^m *n.* birth

dùañ pl *dòõñs*^ε cb *dòñ-* n. dawadawa, *Parkia clappertoniana*

dú'atà n. doctor ← English

dūe^l dv. raise, rise

dōg^ε dv. cook

dōk^ɔ/ pl *dōgōd*^{εl} cb *dōg-* n. cooking pot; *dōg-pé'elà* n. full pots; *dōgōb dūt* cooking pots

dùm^m dv. bite

dūm^{mε} *dūm*^{nε} pl *dūmā* cb *dùm-* n. knee

dòndùug^ɔ pl *dòndùud*^ε cb *dòndù-* n. cobra

dūniyā cb *dūniyá-* n. world ← Arabic *dunya*

dūnná adv. this year

dūñ^a pl *dūmīs*^ε cb *dūñ-* n. mosquito

dūør^{εl} pl *dūēyá* cb *dūā-* n. stick

dū'əs^{εl} dv. lift up, honour

dūr^a sv. be many

dū'un^{εl} dv. pass water

dū'uním^m cb *dū'un-* n. urine

dōvsá n. pl. steps

E

ēēñ yes 18.4

ēēñ or *ēēñ tí* see *ñyēē*, *ñyēē tí* auxiliary tense marker habitually

ēēñb^{εl} dv. lay a foundation

ēēñbír^ε n. (physical) foundation

èñbìs^ε dv. scratch

èñd^ε dv. block up, plug up

èñdìg^ε dv. unblock, unplug

ēñrīg^{εl} dv. shift along (e.g. a bench)

F

f^ɔ pron. you sg (enclitic)

fāañ q. every

fāeñ^l dv. save; ag *fāañd*^a/ *fāañgíd*^a n. saviour 11

fāñ dv. grab, rob

fáss ideo. for *pìə̀lìg*^a white

fēεg^{εl} dv. (of food) get old, cold

fēñdīg^{εl} dv. turn round (tone uncertain)

fēñ'og^ɔ/ pl *fēñ'εd*^{εl} cb *fēñ'-* n. ulcer

fìə̀b^ε dv. beat

fì'ig^ε dv. cut off

fīñ q. a little (liquid)

fítlá n. lamp ← Hausa *fítílà*; in KB adapted to the *re|aa* class: sg *fítir* pl *fítá*

fɔ̄ɔs^{ɛ/} *dv.* blow, puff (wind); *ger fɔ̄ɔsúg*^ɔ *n.* hypocrisy NT
fù *pron.* you *sg* (right-bound)
fùe *dv.* draw out
fūfūm^{mɛ} *pl fūfūmā cb fūfūm-* *n.* envy; stye (believed to result from envy)
fún *pron.* you *sg* (as subject of *ñ*-clause); *fūn* SF *fúnè* LF you *sg* (contrastive)
fūug^{ɔ/} *pl fūud*^{ɛ/} *fūt*^{ɛ/} *cb fū-* *n.* shirt, clothing; *pl also:* cloth

G

gàad^ɛ *dv.* pass, surpass 19.1
gáafàrà *formula* sorry! 25 (Hausa *gaafaràa*, ultimately ← Arabic)
gà'al^ɛ *dv.* button up
gà'am^m *dv.* grind teeth
gāañ[/] *pl gāañs*^{ɛ/} *cb gāñ-* *n.* Nigerian ebony, *Diospyros mespilliformis*
gàas^ɛ *dv.* pass by
gādū gādūg^{ɔ/} *pl gādū-nám*^a *gāt*^{ɛ/} *cb gād- gādū-* *n.* bed ← Hausa *gadoo*
gàlìm^m *dv.* joke
gàlìs^ɛ *dv.* exceed, get to be too much
gāñr^{ɛ/} *pl gāñyá cb gāñr-* *n.* fruit of Nigerian ebony
gàŋ^ɛ *dv.* step over
gāŋ^{ɛ/} *dv.* choose
gbāñ'e[/] *dv.* catch
gbáñyà'a *n.* lazy person
gbáñyà'am^m *n.* laziness; 1976 NT *gonya'am*
gbàùŋ^ɔ *pl gbàná cb gbàn- gbàùŋ-* *n.* book WK
gbāùŋ^{ɔ/} *pl gbāná cb gbān- gbāùŋ-* *n.* animal skin WK; animal skin, book DK
gbēñm^m *cb gbēñ-* *n.* sleep
gbè'og^ɔ *pl gbè'ed*^ɛ *gbèdà cb gbè'-* *n.* forehead; shore of a lake
gbēr^{ɛ/} *pl gbēyá cb gbēr-* *n.* thigh
gbīgīm^{nɛ} *pl gbīgīmā cb gbìgìm-* *n.* lion
gbìn^{nɛ} *pl gbìnà cb gbìn-* *n.* buttock; base (e.g. of a mountain); *postposition* beneath
gbìn-vòòñr^ɛ *n.* anus
gbīs^ɛ *dv.* sleep
gēel^{ɛ/} *dv.* place between one's legs (Pattern H *sic*)
gēñm^{m/} *dv.* go mad, madden
gēñmís^ɛ *n.* *pl as sg* madness
gēñŋ^a *pl gēñmís*^ɛ *n.* madman
gél^{lɛ} *pl gēlá cb gēl-* *n.* egg
gēñ *dv.* get tired; *resultative adj gēñlúŋ*^ɔ tired
gēñ' *dv.* get angry
gēog^ɔ *n.* place between one's legs (Pattern A *sic*)
gīñlím^m *n.* shortness

- gìk^a pl g̀̀g̀̀s^ε cb g̀̀g-* *n.* dumb person
g̀̀g̀̀l̀̀m^m dv. become dumb
g̀̀l̀̀g^{ε/} ipfv g̀̀n^{na/} dv. go around
g̀̀m^{ma/} sv. be short
g̀̀ŋ^a pl g̀̀mā cb g̀̀ŋ- *adj.* short
g̀̀ŋ^ε dv. scrimp
g̀̀ŋ^{ε/} dv. surround, intercept, obstruct
g̀̀ŋā adv. shortly
g̀̀ŋ̀̀l̀̀m^m n. shortness
g̀̀d̀̀d̀̀g^{ε/} g̀̀d̀̀ʼɔn^ε dv. look up
g̀̀d̀̀l^{la/} g̀̀d̀̀r^{a/} g̀̀d̀̀e^{ya/} sv. be looking up
g̀̀d̀̀ŋ dv. hunt; *ipfv g̀̀d̀̀d̀̀ŋ^a wander, ger g̀̀d̀̀d̀̀ŋ̀̀d̀̀m^m wandering*
G̀̀d̀̀ɔg^a pl G̀̀d̀̀ɔs^ε n. clan name
G̀̀d̀̀ɔg^ɔ n. place of the *G̀̀d̀̀ɔs^ε* Goosi clan
g̀̀d̀̀ʼɔn^ε dv. look up
g̀̀d̀̀r^{a/} sv. be looking up
g̀̀d̀̀s^ε ipfv g̀̀d̀̀s̀̀d̀̀^{a/} g̀̀d̀̀t^{a/} imp g̀̀d̀̀s̀̀m^a g̀̀d̀̀m^a ger g̀̀d̀̀s̀̀g^a dv. look; *ag g̀̀d̀̀t^{a/} n.* seer, prophet
g̀̀ū' dv. guard, protect
g̀̀l^ε ipfv g̀̀n^{na} dv. suspend
g̀̀l^{la} ger g̀̀l̀̀b^ɔ sv. be suspended
g̀̀l̀̀l̀̀m SF g̀̀l̀̀l̀̀m̀̀ǹ̀ LF emphatic only
g̀̀m^{mε} pl g̀̀mà n. kapok fruit; *also thread WK*
G̀̀m^{mε} n. place of the clan *G̀̀m-d̀̀m^a*
g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ē^{ε/} pl g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ēyá cb g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ér- *n.* duck
g̀̀n̄'a pl g̀̀n̄'ɔs^ε cb g̀̀n̄'- *n.* thorn; *Acacia; g̀̀n̄'-sābílíg^a Acacia hockii*
g̀̀ŋ^a pl g̀̀m̀̀s̀̀^ε cb g̀̀ŋ- *n.* kapok tree, *Ceiba pentandra*
g̀̀ŋg̀̀m^{mε} n. kapok material
g̀̀r^{a/} ger g̀̀r̀̀m^m sv. be on guard, watch for 22.1
G̀̀r̀̀n^{nε} n. Farefare language
G̀̀r̀̀ŋ^a pl G̀̀r̀̀s̀̀^ε n. Farefare person
g̀̀ū'ul^{ε/} dv. put on guard
g̀̀v̀̀l̀̀m^m dv. become half-ripe
g̀̀v̀̀r^ε pl g̀̀v̀̀yà cb g̀̀v̀̀- *n.* upland; bank of river
g̀̀v̀̀r^ε pl g̀̀v̀̀yā cb g̀̀v̀̀- *n.* ridge of back
g̀̀ū'us^{ε/} dv. take care, watch out
g̀̀v̀̀s^ε n. pl half-ripe fruit

H

- hālí preposition, clause adjunct, emphatic until, up to, even; ? ← Arabic ḥattaa;*
hālí baa even

I

īā dv. seek

īāñ^{el} dv. leap

īāñ^{el} ger *īāñ^{ad}* ag *īāñ^{ad}* dv. leap, fly

īgī^{ya} ger *īk^{al}* KT *īgī^{el}* WK sv. be kneeling

īgī^{el} dv. make to kneel

īgìn^e dv. kneel down

íul^{le} pl *īulá* cb *īul-* n. horn

īsīr^e pl *īsā* cb *īs-* n. scar

īsìg^e dv. get up early

K

kà and, that 17.2

kā dv. bail (water)

kāab^{el} dv. offer, invite

kāal^{el} dv. count

kāas^{el} dv. cry out, weep; (cock) crow

kà'asìgè LF only; sv. not exist 16.5

kābīg^{el} dv. ladle out (liquid)

kābīr^{el} ger *kābírí* dv. call out asking for admission 25

kàd^e dv. drive away; *kàd sàríyà* dv. judge; ag *sàríyà-kāt^a* n. judge NT

kā'ę ger *kā'alím^m* sv. not exist, not be, not have 16.5 4.3

kāl^{le} pl *kālá* cb *kāl-* n. number

kàlīgā^l q. few

kām^a q. every

Kàmbònìr^e n. Twi language

Kàmbòṅ^a pl *Kàmbòmìs^e* cb *Kàmbòṅ-* n. Ashanti person

kàn^e pron. this, that

kàñb^e ger *kāñbīr^e* dv. scorch

kāñdōg^o adj. fat, tough (person)

kàṅā^l pron. this, that

kār^a sv. be few

kàrìm^m dv. read

kàsēt^{al} n. witness; testimony (Mooré *kàsétò* "proof, testimony"; probably ultimately ← French *cachet*; pl *kàsētíb^a* witnesses)

kē ipfv *kēt^{al}* imp *kèl^a* dv. let, cause to ... 19.2

kèèkè pl *kèèkè-nàm^a* cb *kèèkè-* n. bicycle ← Hausa *kèèkè*

kèès^e dv. say farewell to

kèlìg^e or *kèlìs^e* dv. listen

kēñ ipfv *kēñ^{al}* imp *kēm^a* ger *kēñ^{nel}* dv. come (with *nā* 16.11); *kēñ kēñ* welcome! 25

kēṅ^{el} ipfv *kēñ^{nal}* imp *kēm^a* (with *sà* 16.11) dv. go; walk; ag *kēñ^{nal}* n. traveller

kérifà or *kárfà* ← Hausa *karfèe*; in telling time, e.g. *kérifà àtáñ'* three o'clock
kī' cb *kī- kā-* n. cereal, millet; *kì-dà'ar^ε* pl *kì-dà'adà* n. purchased millet; *kā-wēnnīr^ε*
 pl *kā-wēnnā* cb *kā-wén-* n. corn

kīà dv. cut

kīdīg^{ε/} dv. cross over, meet; *À-Kīdīgī Bū'os* n. the constellation Orion

kī'ib^{o/} n. soap; WK uses the Mampruli loan *kīibú* cb *kīib-* instead

kīñf^o pl *kīíní* n. millet seed

kīus^ε dv. listen

kī'is^{ε/} dv. deny

kīkām^{mε} pl *kīkàmà* n. fig

kīkàñ^a *kīñkàñ^a* pl *kīkàmìs^ε* cb *kīkàñ-* n. fig tree, *Ficus capensis*

kīkīrīg^{a/} pl *kīkīrīs^{ε/}* cb *kīkīr-* 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 *kīkīrīs^{ε/}* hostile to man live in the bush: "Their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers." WK; *kīkīr-bé'ed^ε* n. NT evil spirit, demon (KB just uses *kīkīrīg^{a/}*)

kīlīm^{m/} dv. become, change into

kīm^m dv. tend flock, herd; ag *kāñb-kīm^{na}* n. herdsman, shepherd

kīr^ε ger *kīkīrùg^o* *kīrīb^o* dv. hurry, tremble

kīs^{a/} ger *kīsùg^o* ag *kīs^{a/}* *kīsīd^{a/}* sv. hate

kīsùg^o adj. hateful, taboo

kò dv. get broken, break (intransitive); resultative adj *kòólúg^o* broken

kòbīgā (SF and LF identical) q. one hundred; *kòbīsí* two hundred

kòbīr^ε pl *kòbā* cb *kòb-* n. bone

kòdīg^{ε/} dv. slaughter (one animal) by cutting its throat

kòdú n. banana ← Twi *kwadu*

kòl^ε dv. put something around the neck

kòlībìr^ε pl *kòlībà* n. bottle

kòlīg^a pl *kòlīs^ε* cb *kòl-* n. river; *kòlīgī=n nó-dāvug^o* n. crayfish

kòlùg^o pl *kòñ^{nε}* cb *kòlùg-* n. sack, bag

kòm^{m/} cb *kòm-* n. hunger

kòñbūg^o pl *kòñbīd^ε* cb *kòñb-* (also used as cb of *bōn-kòñbùg^o* animal) n. animal hair or human body hair; cf *zūòbúg^o*; *kòñb-kīm^{na}* pl *kòñb-kīmmīb^a* n. shepherd, herdsman

kòñ'òkò adv. alone, by oneself

kòñs^ε dv. cough

kòñsìm^m dv. cough

kò'og^ε dv. break (transitive or intransitive)

kò'os^ε dv. break several times

kòt^{ε/} dv. slaughter (several animals) by cutting their throats

kòtā^{nε} emphatic at all

kótò n. lawcourt ← English

kpà' dv. nail, fasten

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-són'òdìm^m* n. anointing oil

kpàkōr^{el/} pl *kpàkōyá* cb *kpàkōr-* n. tortoise

kpān^{ne} pl *kpānā* cb *kpān-* n. spear

kpāñdīr^e pl *kpāñdà* cb *kpāñd-* n. baboon

kpār^e dv. lock

kpār-kêoňg^o pl *kpār-kêeňd^e* cb *kpār-kéñ-* n. rag

kpá'vŋ^o pl *kpī'iní* cb *kpā'-* n. guinea fowl

kpē adv. here

kpēeňm^m pl *kpēeňm-nàm^a* cb *kpēeňm-* n. elder

kpēeňm^{ma/} sv. be older than

kpēlá adv. here

kpèlìm preverb still; immediately after

kpèlìm^m dv. remain

kpèn reduced form of the preverb *kpèlìm*

kpēñ' dv. enter

kpēñdīr^{el/} pl *kpēñdá* cb *kpēñd-* n. cheek

kpēñ'es^e dv. make enter

kpè'ŋ^e dv. strengthen

kpēoňŋ^o n. seniority

kpì dv. die; resultative adj *kpìilóŋ^o* dead

kpì'a pl *kpì'əs^e* cb *kpìà'-* n. neighbour

kpìà' dv. shape wood with axe etc

kpì'e dv. approach

kpī'əm^{ma/} sv. be strong, hard

kpìibìg^a pl *kpìibìs^e* cb *kpìib-* n. orphan

kpìig^e dv. go out (fire)

kpī'ilím^m dv. finish, come to an end

kpī'im^{m/} pl *kpī'imís^e* cb *kpī'im-* n. dead person, corpse

kpìis^e dv. quench (fire)

kpīkpīn^{na/} pl *kpīkpīnníb^a* cb *kpīkpín-* n. merchant

kpī'oŋ^o pl *kpī'əmā* cb *kpī'oŋ-* adj. strong, hard

kpìsìŋkpìl^{le} pl *kpìsìŋkpìlà* cb *kpìsìŋkpìl-* n. fist

kpìsòkpìl^{le} n. fist

kpòkpàr^e pl *kpòkpàrà* n. palm tree fruit

kpòkpàrìg^a pl *kpòkpàrìs^e* cb *kpòkpàr-* n. palm tree, *Borassus akeassii*

kpòkpàũŋ^o pl *kpòkpàmà* cb *kpòkpàũŋ-* n. arm, wing

k̀̀ not; *negates irrealis mood* 16.5

k̀̀ *dv.* kill (= Mooré *k̀̀*)

k̀̀ *dv.* gather, threaten (of rain): *Sāa k̀̀ yā*. It looks like rain (= Mooré *k̀̀*)

k̀̀ *dv.* hoe, farm

k̀̀'alíŋ^a *pl* *k̀̀'alímìs^ε* *k̀̀'alís^ε* *cb* *k̀̀'alíŋ-* *n.* sleeveless traditional smock

k̀̀d^ε *dv.* work iron

k̀̀dìg^ε *dv.* shrivel up, dry out, age

k̀̀dīm^m *n.* the olden days; *also for* *k̀̀līm* *qv*

k̀̀d̄yō^o *k̀̀d̄r^ε* *pl* *k̀̀dā* *k̀̀t^ε* *cb* *k̀̀d-* *adj.* old

k̀̀d̄yō^o *pl* *k̀̀t^ε* (*used as sg*) *cb* *k̀̀t-* *n.* iron, nail; *sg only in names* 26.2

k̀̀gūr^{ε/} *pl* *k̀̀gá* *cb* *k̀̀g-* *n.* stone

k̀̀k^a *pl* *k̀̀gōs^ε* *cb* *k̀̀g-* *n.* chair

k̀̀k^a *n.* ghost

k̀̀k^{al} *n.* mahogany tree, *Khaya senegalensis*; *cf* Hausa *kuukàa*

k̀̀k̀m^{mε} *pl* *k̀̀k̀mà* *cb* *k̀̀k̀m-* *n.* leper

k̀̀k̀r^{ε/} *pl* *k̀̀k̀yá* *cb* *k̀̀k̀r-* *n.* voice

k̀̀kpàrìg^a *see* *kp̀̀kpàrìg^a* *id*

k̀̀l^ε *ger* *k̀̀lìg^{al}* *dv.* return home; *transitive marry (woman subject, man object)*

k̀̀līm *post-subject particle* *always*

k̀̀lìŋ^a *pl* *k̀̀lìmìs^ε* *k̀̀lìs^ε* *cb* *k̀̀lìŋ-* *n.* door

k̀̀m^m *dv.* cry, weep

k̀̀m^m *cb* *k̀̀m-* *n.* death; *k̀̀m-v̄v̄gír^ε* *n.* resurrection NT

k̀̀nd̀'ar^ε *pl* *k̀̀nd̀'adà* *cb* *k̀̀nd̀'á-* *n.* barren woman

k̀̀nd̀'òŋ^a *pl* *k̀̀nd̀'mìs^ε* *k̀̀nd̀'nà* *n.* jackal, hyena

k̀̀'øm^m *cb* *k̀̀'á-* *n.* water; *k̀̀'á-n̄ud^{ε/}* *n.* thirst; *k̀̀'á-ñw̄ìg^{al}* *pl* *k̀̀'á-ñw̄ìs^{ε/}* *n.*
current in a river

k̀̀ø^ε *dv.* sell

k̀̀rk̄r^{ε/} *pl* *k̀̀rk̄yá* *cb* *k̀̀rk̄r-* *n.* pig

K̀̀sáa *pl* *K̀̀sâas^ε* *cb* *K̀̀sá-* *n.* Kusaasi person

K̀̀sâal^ε *n.* Kusaal language

K̀̀sâvg^o *n.* Kusaasi country

K̀̀tān^{ne/} *pl* *K̀̀tām^{ma/}* *cb* *K̀̀tān-* *n.* member of WK's clan

K̀̀tāŋ^{o/} *n.* country of clan *K̀̀tām^{ma/}* Kutamba

k̀̀v̄ *or* 17.2 18.2 ← Hausa *koo*

k̀̀ug^{al} *k̀̀ug^{o/}* *pl* *k̀̀us^{ε/}* *cb* *k̀̀-* *n.* mouse

k̀̀vl^ε *dv.* get drunk

L

lā^l *article* 12.8.5

là^l *dv.* laugh

lā^{af} *n.* cowrie; *pl* *l̄ìḡd̄ī* *n.* cowries, money; *cb* *l̄ìg- là^l-*; *là^l-b̄j̄əl̄í^o* *n.* small coin

- láafiyà* n. health ← Arabic *ʔal-ʔaafiya*; replaced by *laafe láafi* in 1996 NT and KB
- là'am* preverb together
- là'am^m* dv. associate with; together with 19.1
- là'as^ε* dv. gather together (*transitive*); *Bà là'as tāabā* They gathered together.
- làbāar^ε* cb *làbà-* n. news ← Arabic *ʔal-ʔaxbaar*
- làbì^{ya}* sv. be crouching, hiding behind something (? ← Hausa *labèe*)
- làbìl^ε* dv. make crouch behind something
- làbìn^ε* dv. crouch behind something
- làbìs^ε* dv. walk stealthily
- lābīs^{al}* sv. be wide
- lābīsíg^a* *lābīsír^ε* pl *lābīsá* cb *lābīs-* adj. wide
- lābīsím^m* n. width
- lāk^{εl}* dv. open (eye, book)
- lāl^{la/}* sv. be distant
- lālīg^{εl}* dv. get to be far, make far
- lālílí* adv. far off
- lālílīg^a* pl *lālílís^ε* cb *lālílīg-* adj. distant
- lālílóg^o* pl *lālílá* cb *lāl-* adj. distant
- lām^{mε/}* pl *lāmá* cb *lām-* n. gum (of tooth); *lām-fôog^o* pl *lām-fôod^ε* adj. toothless
- làmpô-dî'əs^a* n. tax collector (French *l'impôt*)
- lān^{nε}* pl *lānā* cb *làn-* n. testicle
- lànnìg^a* pl *lànnìs^ε* cb *lànnìg-* n. squirrel
- lā'η^{εl}* dv. set alight
- làηgávη^o* pl *làηgáam^{mε}* *làηgāamá* cb *làηgāvη-* n. crab (cf *màηgávη^o* id)
- làηím^m* dv. wander around searching
- lāyk^o* pl *lā'ad^ε* cb *là'-* n. item of goods pl goods
- là'vη^o* pl *là'amà* n. fishing net
- lèb^ε* ger *lēbīg^a* dv. return (*intrans*)
- lèbìg^ε* dv. turn over; return
- lèbìs^ε* dv. answer; send back; divorce (wife)
- lèε* VP particle but 16.7
- lèm* preverb again
- lèm^m* ipfv *lèmmìd^a* dv. sip, taste
- lēr^ε* dv. get ugly
- lì* pron. it (*right-bound*); *li* it (*enclitic*)
- lì* ipfv *lìt^a* imp *lìm^a* ger *līg^a* dv. fall
- lī* dv. block up
- lìà* where is ...? 18.4
- lìdìg^ε* dv. turn a shirt WK
- lìdìg^ε* dv. astonish, be amazed
- lìəb^ε* dv. become

- lì'əl^ε* *dv.* approach, come near
lì'əm^{mε} *pl* *lì'əmá* *n.* fruit of yellow plum tree
lì'əŋ^a *pl* *lì'əmís^ε* *cb* *lì'əŋ-* *n.* axe
lì'əŋ^a *pl* *lì'əmís^ε* *n.* yellow plum tree, *Ximenia americana*
lìg^ε *dv.* patch
lìgìl^ε *dv.* cover
lìgìn^ε *dv.* cover oneself
lìbīr^ε *pl* *lìbā* *cb* *lìb-* *n.* twin
līk^a *pl* *līgīs^ε* *n.* darkness
lìlāalíŋ^a *pl* *lìlāalís^ε* *lìlāalímìs^ε* *cb* *lìlāalíŋ-* *n.* swallow
lín *pron.* it (*subject of ñ-clause*); *līn^ε* it (*contrastive*)
lìn^ε *pron.* that
lìná *pron.* that
lō *dv.* tie
lōb^ε or *lōbīg^{ε/l}* *dv.* throw stones at
lōbídíg^a *pl* *lōbídís^ε* *n.* water drawing vessel
lōdīg^{a/l} *pl* *lōdīs^{ε/l}* *cb* *lōd-* *n.* corner; *lōdígín kúg-súŋ^o* cornerstone NT
lōdīg^{ε/l} *dv.* untie
lòk^o *pl* *lò'ad^ε* *cb* *lụ'à-* *n.* quiver (for arrows)
lòmbòñ'cŋ^o *pl* *lòmbòñ'cɔ^ε* *cb* *lòmbòñ'-* *n.* garden ← Hausa *làmbuu*; *second element remodelled by analogy with bòñ'cŋ^o* "swamp; ricefield"
lōŋ^a *pl* *lōmīs^ε* *cb* *lòŋ-* *n.* a kind of frog
lō'ŋ^{ε/l} *dv.* go across river, road etc
lór^ε *pl* *lóyà lócm^{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* *lūbīr^{ε/l}* *dv.* buck, kick, struggle, throw off rider
lūg^ε *dv.* swim
lūgūr^ε *n.* organ, member

M

- m̀* *pron.* I (*right-bound*); *m^a* *me* (*enclitic*)
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^{a/l}* *n.* mother's younger sister
mà' *dv.* lie, deceive
mà'àa SF *mà'anè* LF *emphatic* only
màal^ε *dv.* prepare, sacrifice; *ag* *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/l} *dv.* make cool, wet

māan^{ne} *pl māanā* *cb māan-* *n.* (physical) sacrifice
má'an^{ne} *pl mā'aná* *cb mā'an-* *n.* okra
mā'as^{al} *sv.* be cool, wet
mā'asíg^a *mā'asír*^ε *pl mā'asá* *cb mā'as-* *adj.* cool, wet
mā'asígā^l *adv.* coolly
mā'asím^m *n.* coolness, wetness
mādīg^{ε/l} *dv.* overflow, abound
mā'e^l *dv.* cool down
màk^ε *dv.* crumple up
māk^{ε/l} *dv.* measure, judge
màlīāk^{al} *pl màlīā'as*^{ε/l} *màlīāk-nám*^a *cb màlīā'-* *n.* angel ← Arabic *malʔak*;
written malek in NT versions before 2016
màlī^o *pl màlì* *n.* gun, rifle (ultimately ← Arabic)
*màlīgì**m* *preverb* again
mālīs^{al} *sv.* be sweet, pleasant
mālísíg^a *mālísír*^ε *pl mālísá* *cb mālīs-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant
mālísím^m *n.* sweetness
mālísíg^a *pl mālísís*^ε *cb mālísíg-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant
mālō^o *pl mālōmā* *cb mālō-* *n.* sacrifice
mām *pron.* I, me
mán *pron.* I (*as subject of ñ-clause*); *mān* SF *mánè* LF I, me (*contrastive*)
màngávŋ^o *pl màngáam*^{mε} *màngāamá* *cb màngāvŋ-* *n.* crab (cf *làngávŋ*^o *id*)
màʔk^o *pl mà'ad*^ε *adj.* crumpled up
mè *dv.* build
mè mèn^ε *emphatic* too, also; *mè-kàmà* -soever 12.4.3
mēd^ε *dv.* mash up
mèεŋ^a *pl mèεmìs*^ε *cb mèεŋ-* *n.* turtle
mèlīgì^m *n.* dew
mēŋ^{al} *pron.* self
mēŋír^ε *adj.* genuine
mēt^{ε/l} *cb mēt-* *n.* *pl as sg* pus
mī^l *ger mī'ilím*^m *sv.* know; *ag gbàn-mī'id*^{al} *n.* scribe ("book-knower") NT
mìe *dv.* squeeze(?); *uncertain meaning and tones*
mīif^o *pl mīiní* *n.* okra seed
mì'ig^ε *dv.* become sour
mì'is^a *sv.* be sour
mì'isò^o *pl mì'isà* *cb mì'is-* *adj.* sour
mīlīg^{ε/l} *dv.* get dirty
mìmīlím^m *mìmīlúg*^o *n.* sweetness
mìt see that it doesn't happen that... 16.5; *always mid in KB*
mō *dv.* strive, struggle

mōd^ε *dv.* swell
mōdīg^{ε/} *dv.* be patient, endure
mòlìf^o *pl* *mòlì* *cb* *mòl-* *n.* gazelle
mōn^ε *dv.* grind millet to make *sā'ab*^o porridge
mōŋ^{ε/} *dv.* refuse to lend
mōɔg^o *pl* *mōɔd*^ε *cb* *mò-* *n.* grass, "bush"; *mò-pī*^{lε} *n.* grass thatch
Mòɔg^o *n.* Mossi realm; *Mòɔg Nā'ab*^a *n.* Moro Naba, King of the Mossi
mōɔl^{ε/} *dv.* proclaim; *ag* *mōɔl-mōɔn*^{na} *n.* proclaimer
Mòɔl^ε *n.* Mooré language
Mōr^{ε/} *pl* *Móɔm*^{ma} *cb* *Mōr-* *n.* Muslim
mōr^{al} *ger* *mōrím*^m *sv.* have, possess; *mōr nā* bring 16.11
Mùa *pl* *Mòɔs*^ε *cb* *Mò-* *n.* Mossi person
mų'à^a *dv.* suck (of a baby)
mų'àk^a *pl* *mų'as*^ε *cb* *mų'à-* *n.* maggot
mų'ar^ε *pl* *mų'àa* *mų'adà* *cb* *mų'à-* *n.* dam; reservoir
mų'as^ε *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^ε *dv.* itch
mùm^m *dv.* bury

N

̀n *clause nominaliser* 21
n *clause catenator* 19
̀n- *personifier particle before an adjective* 12.6
n^ε *discontinuous-past marker* 16.3.2
n^ε *nī'* *locative particle* 13.3
nà *positive irrealis mood marker* 16.4
nā' *VP-final particle* hither
nā *dv.* join
náa *reply to greetings invoking blessings*
nà'ab^a *pl* *nà'-nàm*^a *cb* *nà'-* *n.* chief, king; *nà'-bīg*^a *n.* prince/princess; *nà'-yīr*^{ε/} *n.* palace; *nà'-yī-kpém*^{ma} *n.* *pl* king/chief's retainers
náaf^o *pl* *nīgí* *cb* *nā'-* *n.* cow; *nā'-lór*^ε *n.* place in compound for tying up cows; *nā'-dāvug*^o *pl* *nā'-dāad*^ε *cb* *nā'-dā-* *n.* ox; *nā'-dā-kūədír*^ε *n.* ox for ploughing
nàam^m *dv.* happen
nā'am^m *cb* *nà'am-* *n.* chieftaincy, kingdom
nāan *next, afterwards = ñyāan*
nāan *or* *nāanī* *then, in that case, being thus/there* 20.1
nà'anā' *adv.* easily
nà'as^ε *dv.* honour; *ger* *nà'asì* *n.* honour

- Nàbìd^a* pl *Nàbìdìb^a* cb *Nàbìd-* n. Nabdema person; also a *Kusaasi* clan name (WK)
Nàbìdùg^o n. Nabdema country
Nàbìr^ε n. Nabit language
Nà'dàm^{ma} n. clan name
Nà'dàṽṽ^o n. place of clan Nadamba
nà'-dàwān^{ne/} n. pigeon KED (= *dàwān^{ne/}*)
nāe[/] dv. finish
nàm auxiliary tense marker still, yet
nàm^a pluraliser 5.1
nāmīs^{el/} dv. persecute, suffer
nān^ε dv. love, respect, appreciate
nà'-nēsīnnēog^{o/} n. centipede WK
nānná adv. now
nānná-nā[/] adv. now
nānzū'us^{el/} n. pepper tones uncertain
nāṽ^a pl *nāmīs^ε* cb *nàṽ-* n. scorpion
nār^{al/} ger *nārím^m* sv. be obliged to; impersonal: to be necessary; with following purpose clause 22.1; negated: be obliged not to
nàrvòṽ^o pl *nàrvàmà* cb *nàrvòṽ-* adj. necessary
Nàsāal^ε n. English/French language
Nàsāara pl *Nàsàa-nàm^a* *Nàsàar-nàm^a* cb *Nàsàa- Nàsàar-* n. European person
 ← Arabic *Nas'aaraa* "Christians"; *Nàsàa-bīg^a* n. European child
nàvīg^a pl *nàvīg-nàm^a* *nàvīs^ε* n. thief
nàvīgì^m n. thievery
nà'-zòm^{me} n. locust
nē preposition with; linking NPs and AdvPs and 12.1
nē uncommon variant of *yē* that 22.2 (cf Mampruli *ni id*)
nē[/] focus particle 24.1.2; aspectual marker 16.2.1
nē[/] meaningless particle after objects of *wōv* and *wēn^{na/}* 15
nē[/] pron. this
nèel^ε dv. reveal
nèem^m adv. for free
nēem^{m/} dv. grind with a millstone
nēer^{el/} n. millstone
nèes^ε dv. reveal; *nèesì^m* n. light
nēm-nêer^ε pl *nēm-néyà* n. someone who grinds
nēn^{na/} ger *nēnním^m* sv. envy; *nīn-nén^{na}* ag envious person
nē'ṽá pron. this
nèog^o *nèer^ε* pl *nèed^ε* *nèyà* cb *nè-* adj. empty
nēsīnnēog^{o/} pl *nēsīnnēed^{el/}* cb *nēsīnné-* n. envious person WK; others: centipede
ṽfá! Well done!

nī^l locative particle 13.3 see *n*^ε

nì *dv.* rain

nīd^{al} *pl* *nīdīb*^{al} *cb* *nīn-* *n.* person; *nīn-sâal*^a *pl* *nīn-sâalīb*^a *cb* *nīn-sâal-* *n.* human being; *nīnpōnān*^{nal} *pl* *nīnpōnānīb*^a *cb* *nīnpōnán-* *n.* disrespectful person; *nīn-sábilis*^ε *n.* Africans

nìe *dv.* appear, reveal

nīf^{ol} *pl* *nīnī* *cb* *nīn-* *nīf-* *n.* eye; *nīf-gbáɣɣ*^o *n.* eyelid; *nīf-sób*^a *n.* miser; *nīf-ñyáɣuk*^o *adj.* one-eyed; *nīn-dáa* *pl* *nīn-dâas*^ε *cb* *nīn-dá-* *n.* face; *nīn-gótɪŋ*^a *n.* mirror *pl* *nīn-gótis*^ε *n.* spectacles, glasses; *nīn-kúgvɔ̀dìg*^a *pl* *nīn-kúgvɔ̀dis*^ε *n.* eyebrow; *nīn-tâ'am*^m *n.* tear(s); *nīn-múa* *n.* concentration ("eye-redness"); *m̄ nīnī mù'e nē* ... I'm concentrating on ...

nīŋ^a *pl* *nīimís*^ε *nīis*^ε *cb* *nīiŋ-* *n.* bird

nīm^{ne/} *nī'm*^{ne/} *pl* *nīmá* *cb* *nīm-* *n.* meat

nīn-báalìg^a *n.* pity; *nīn-bâal-zɔ̀ɔr*^ε *n.* pity; *Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg.* He has pity on him.

nīŋ^a *pl* *nīis*^ε *cb* *nīŋ-* *nīn-* *n.* body (uncommon); *nīn-tōllím*^m *n.* fever; *nīn-tāa* *pl* *nīn-tāas*^ε *cb* *nīn-tà-* *n.* co-wife (Ghanaian English: "rival"); husband's brother's wife; *nīn-gbīŋ*^{ol} *pl* *nīn-gbīná* *cb* *nīn-gbīŋ-* *n.* body (*pl* often as *sg*); *nīn-gòɔr*^ε *n.* neck

nīn-pôvd^ε *n.* *pl* as *sg* *pus*

nīntāŋ^{al} *pl* *nīntāaŋs*^{el} *cb* *nīntáŋ-* *n.* heat of the day, early afternoon

nīŋ^ε *dv.* do

n lā that is ... 18.4

ñnāas *q.* four, in counting

ññí *q.* eight, in counting

ññū *q.* five, in counting

n ñwà this is ...; *n ñwà nā* this here is ... 18.4

nō *dv.* tread

nōb^ε *dv.* get fat

nōbīg^{el} *dv.* grow (e.g. child, plant)

nóbìr^ε *pl* *nōbá* *cb* *nōb-* *n.* leg, foot; *nōb-bíŋ*^a *n.* toe; *nōb-yíɣɣ*^o *adj.* one-legged; *nōb-íŋ'a* *n.* toenail; *nōb-púmpàɣɣ*^o *n.* foot

nōk^{el} *dv.* pick up, take up

nòŋ^ε *ag* *nòŋìd*^a (irregularly Pattern L) *sv.* love (family, spiritual); irregularly forms a *ma-imperative*: *nòŋìm*^a

nōŋ^{ol} *cb* *nōŋ-* *n.* poverty; *nōŋ-dâan*^a *n.* poor person

nòŋìlím^m *n.* love

nōɔ *emphatic* exactly, just

nōɔr^{el} *pl* *nōyá* *cb* *nō-* *n.* mouth; command, message, opinion; *nō-dî'əs*^a *n.* in Ghanaian English "linguist", councillor who speaks on a chief's behalf on all official occasions (the Akan *okyeame*); *Wínà'am nò-dî'əs*^a ("God's linguist") prophet NT/KB; *nō-lòɔr*^ε *n.* fasting ("mouth-tying", as throughout West Africa); *nō-nâar*^ε *n.* covenant; *nō-pòɔr*^ε *n.* oath; *nō-gbáɣɣ*^o *pl* *nō-gbánà* *n.* lip

nɔɔr^{el} *nɔɔrím*^m times 12.5.1

ɲpòɛ *q.* seven, in counting

ɲtáñ' *q.* three, in counting

nū *dv.* drink

nūa' *pl* *nɔɔs*^{el} *cb* *nɔ-* *n.* hen; *nɔ-dâvɔ*^o *n.* cock; *nɔ-ɲyâ'aŋ*^a *n.* (specifically female) hen; *Nɔ-ɲyâ'aŋ-né-ò-Bɪs* the Pleiades

nūlīg^{el} *dv.* make drink

nūlīs^{el} *dv.* make drink

nū'ug^o *pl* *nū'us*^e *cb* *nū'-* *n.* hand, arm; *nū'-bɪl*^a *pl* *nū'-bɪbɪs*^e *n.* finger; *nū'-dâvɔ*^o *n.* thumb; *nū'-yíuŋ*^o *adj.* one-armed; *nū'-ɪñ'a* *pl* *nū'-éñ'es*^e *cb* *nū'-éñ'* *n.* fingernail; *nū'-wêñ'ed*^a *n.* mediator

ñwà this 12.8.5

ñwā' *dv.* smash, break up

ñwāaŋ^a *pl* *ñwāamīs*^e *cb* *ñwāaŋ-* *n.* monkey

ñwādīg^{al} *pl* *ñwādīs*^{el} *cb* *ñwād-* *n.* moon, month; *ñwād-bɪl*^a *pl* *ñwād-bɪbɪs*^e *n.* star; *Ñwād-dár*^e *n.* Venus

ñwà'e *dv.* cut wood

ñwā'e' *dv.* strike, break

ñwāɛ *q.* nine, in counting

ñwām^{me} *ñwān*^{ne} *pl* *ñwāmā* *ñwānā* *cb* *ñwām-* *ñwān-* *n.* calabash

Ñwāmpūrīg^{al} *pl* *Ñwāmpūrīs*^{el} *cb* *Ñwāmpúr-* *n.* Mamprussi person

Ñwāmpūrīl^{el} *n.* Mampruli language

Ñwāmpūrōg^o *n.* Mamprussi country

ñwè' *dv.* beat; *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* make an agreement with X; *ñwè'* *ɲyō'ɔg* boast

ñwīg^{al} *pl* *ñwīis*^{el} *cb* *ñwī-* *n.* rope; *ñwī-ték*^a *pl* *ñwī-tékìdìb*^a *cb* *ñwī-ték-* *n.* rope-puller; *ñwī-tékìr*^e *pl* *ñwī-tékà* *n.* rope for pulling

ñwīg^{el} *dv.* make a rope

ñyā'al^{el} *dv.* leave behind

ñyāan *post-subject particle* next, afterwards

ñyá'aŋ^a *pl* *ñyá'as*^e *ñyā'amís*^e *cb* *ñyá'aŋ-* *adj.* female (animal)

ñyá'aŋ^a *postposition* behind; East; *ñyá'an-dòl*^{la} *ñyá'an-dòl*^{le} *pl* *ñyá'an-dòllà* *ñyá'an-dòllìb*^a *cb* *ñyá'an-dòl-* *n.* disciple NT; *tones unexpected, Pattern L*

ñyā'ar^e *pl* *ñyā'a* *cb* *ñyā'-* *n.* root

ñyāe^{ne/} *adv.* in the light, brightly, clearly

ñyālúŋ^o *pl* *ñyālímá* *cb* *ñyālōŋ-* *adj.* wonderful

ñyàn^{ne} *n.* shame; *Ò dī ñyán.* He's ashamed.

ñyāŋ^{el} *dv.* overcome 19.1

ñyàùk^o *pl* *ñyà'ad*^e *adj.* only (eye) 12.8.1.1

ñyē *ipfv* *ñyēt*^{al} *imp* *ñyèm*^a *dv.* see, find; *ñyē láafiyà* get well

ñyēε, *ñyēε tí* *auxiliary tense marker* habitually

ñyē'er^{el} *pl* *ñyēdá* *cb* *ñyē'-* *n.* next-younger sibling

ñyèes^a sv. be self-confident
 ñyèesim^m n. self-confidence
 ñyèesíŋ^a pl ñyèesís^ε cb ñyèesíŋ- adj. self-confident
 ñyèesíŋā^l adv. self-confidently
 ñyí^l q. two, in counting
 ñyīn^{ne/} pl ñyīná cb ñyīn- n. tooth
 ñyīrí^o pl ñyīrí n. a kind of edible seed, egusi: *Colocynthis citrullus*
 ñyōōd^ε n. intestines
 ñyō'og^{o/} n. chest
 ñyōog^o n. sympathy: Ò zòtō ñyōog. She sympathises with him.
 ñyōōr^ε pl ñyōyā cb ñyò- n. nose; breath; ñyò-vūr^{el/} pl ñyò-vūyá cb ñyò-vūr- n. life;
 ñyò-vūr-paal^{le} n. new life NT
 ñyō'os^{el/} n. smoke
 ñyūøb q. six, in counting
 ñyūur^{el/} pl ñyūyá cb ñyū- n. yam

O

ò pron. he, she (right-bound); ^o LF [ɔ] him, her (enclitic)
 ón pron. he, she (subject of ñ-clause); òn^ε he, she (contrastive)
 òn^ε pron. this, that (animate sg)
 òñb^ε ger òñbīr^ε dv. chew
 òŋā^l pron. this, that (animate sg)
 òōs^{el/} dv. warm oneself; Ò òōsìd nē búgúm lā. She's warming herself at the fire.

P

pà^l tense particle earlier today
 pà'al^ε dv. teach, inform; ag pā'an^{na} pl pā'annīb^a cb pà'an- n. teacher
 pà'al^ε dv. put on top of something
 pāalíg^a pāal^{le} pl pāalís^ε pāalá cb pāal- adj. new
 pāalím^m adv. recently
 pāaló adv. openly
 pàañlój^o pl pàañlímìs^ε n. spider's web
 pàam^m dv. receive a gift
 pàas^ε dv. add up to, amount to
 pāe^l dv. reach
 pàk^ε dv. surprise
 pàk^ε dv. take off from the top
 pāmm SF pāmné LF q. much, a lot
 pàñ'alìm^m dv. dedicate
 pàñsìg^ε dv. lack
 pàŋ^a pl pàañs^ε cb pàŋ- n. power

pà' tì *post-subject particle* perhaps

pèbìs^ε *dv.* blow (of wind)

pèbìsìm^m *pèbìsùg^o* *n.* wind

pè'el^ε *dv.* fill; *resultative adj* *pè'elúg^o* full

pεelvg^o in *zū-péelùg^o* bald; cf *pie* "go bald" (Leviticus 13:40), Mooré *pěoogè*

pè'es^ε *dv.* add up to, amount to

pèlìg^ε *dv.* whiten, go white

pèlìs^ε *dv.* sharpen

pèn^{nε} *n.* vagina

pē'η^{ε/} *dv.* borrow; knock over WK

pèog^o *pl* *pèed^ε* *cb* *pè-* *n.* basket

pē'og^{o/} *pl* *pē'es^{ε/}* *cb* *pē'-* *n.* sheep; *pē'-sá'a* *n.* ewe lamb

pēsīg^{ε/} *dv.* sacrifice

pīā *dv.* dig up

pīāñ^a *dv.* speak, praise; *ger* *pīāyñk^o* *n.* word *pl* *pīāñ'ad^ε* language *cb* *pīāñ'-*;

pīāñ'-zònà *n.* foreign language

pìbìg^ε *dv.* uncover

pìbìl^ε *dv.* cover up

pībīn^{nε} *pl* *pībīnā* *cb* *pībīn-* *n.* (physical) covering

pìd^ε *dv.* put on (hat, shoes, rings); *clothing item as object; with indirect object* put (hat, shoes, rings) on someone else

pīd^ε *dv.* get bloated

pìdìg^ε *dv.* take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pīe[/] *dv.* wash (part of one's own body)

pìəb^ε *dv.* blow (e.g. flute)

pìəlìg^a *pìəl^{lε}* *pl* *pìəlà* *pìəlìs^ε* *cb* *pìəl-* *adj.* white

pìəlìm^m *n.* whiteness

pìə^ε *dv.* fool someone

pīə^{ε/} *dv.* wash

pīīgā *q.* ten

pīim^{m/} *pl* *pīimá* *cb* *pīim-* *n.* arrow

pīūñf^o *pl* *pīūnī* *cb* *pīūn-* *n.* genet

pīinī *cb* *pīin-* *pl* as sg (?) *n.* gift

pìl^ε *dv.* cover

pìlìg^ε *dv.* uncover

pīñ'il^{ε/} *dv.* begin

pīpīrīg^{a/} *pl* *pīpīrīs^{ε/}* *cb* *pīpīr-* *n.* desert

pīsí *q.* twenty

pītú *pl* *pītíb^a* *cb* *pīt-* *n.* younger sibling of the same sex

pō *dv.* swear

pòñd^ε *dv.* crouch down

- pōñ'ɔl^{εl}* *dv.* cause to rot
pōñ'ɔlīm^m *dv.* cripple, get crippled
pōñ'ɔr^ε *pl* *pōñdà* *cb* *pōñ'-* *n.* cripple
pōñr^a *ger* *pōñrōb^ɔ* *sv.* be near
pòɔd^a *sv.* be few, small
pòɔdìg^a *pòɔdìr^ε* *pl* *pòɔdà* *cb* *pòɔd-* *adj.* few, small
pòɔdìm^m *n.* fewness
pōɔg^{ɔl} *pl* *pōɔd^{εl}* *pōt^{εl}* *cb* *pō-* *n.* field, farm
pò'ɔg^ε *dv.* diminish, belittle
pōɔr^{εl} *n.* "slogan" of a clan, part of its traditional genealogy WK; ← *pō* swear (cf Farefare *pote*, *pore* "nom de famille, nom par lequel on jure", also "oath")
pō *not:* negates indicative mood 16.5
pō *dv.* divide
pṽ'ā^a *pl* *pṽ'ab^a* *cb* *pṽ'ā-* *n.* woman, wife; *Ò dì pṽ'ā.* He's married a wife; *pṽ'ā-dīr^ε* *n.* marriage; *pṽ'ā-ēlīg^a* *n.* fiancée; *pṽ'ā-gīnníg^a*, *pṽ'ā-gōɔñdīr^ε* *n.* prostitute; *pṽ'ā-ñyá'an^a* *pl* *pṽ'ā-ñyá'as^ε* *n.* old woman; *pṽ'ā-pāal^{al}* *n.* bride; *pṽ'ā-sādīr^{εl}* *n.* young woman; *pṽ'ā-sāñ'am^{na}* *n.* adulterer; *pṽ'ā-yùà* *n.* daughter
pṽāk^a *pl* *pṽ'as^ε* *adj.* female (human only)
pṽ'alīm^m *dv.* cook
pṽ'alīm^m *dv.* harm, damage; *resultative adj* *pṽ'alúŋ^ɔ* damaged
pṽ'alīm^m *n.* femininity
pṽ'alím^m *pl* *pṽ'alímìs^ε* *cb* *pṽ'alím-* *n.* female sex organs
pṽd^ε *dv.* name
pōdīg^{εl} *dv.* divide, share out
pògvdìb^a *pl* *pògvd-nàm^a* *cb* *pògvd-* *n.* father's sister
pò-kòɔñr^ε *pl* *pò-kòñyà* *cb* *pò-kòñ-* *n.* widow
pō-kpāad^{al} *pl* *pō-kpāadíb^a* *cb* *irreg* *pō-kpá-* *n.* farmer
pùlmà *n.* a species of grass, *Imperata cylindrica*
pòm̄pōɔg^ɔ *n.* housefly
pòn *preverb* previously, already
pūñ'e^l *dv.* rot
pūsīg^{al} *pl* *pūsīs^{εl}* *cb* *pūs-* *n.* tamarind
pūsīr^{εl} *pl* *pūsá* *n.* tamarind fruit
pō-súk^a *pl* *pō-súgùs^ε* *n.* half
pōt^{εl} *n.* *pl* as *sg* contents of stomach WK
pūum^m *cb* *pūum-* *n.* flowers
pōvg^a *cb* *pṽ-* *n.* belly; *Pṽ'ā lā mór pōvg* The woman is pregnant; *pōvgṽ=n^{εl}* *post-*
position inside; *pṽ-pṽəlīm^m* *n.* holiness; *pṽ-tēñ'er^ε* *pl* *pṽ-tēñdà* *cb* *pṽ-tēñ'-* *mind*
pōvr^{εl} *n.* stomach
pṽ'us^ε *dv.* greet, worship, thank; *ger* *pṽ'usim^m* *n.* worship; *ger* *pṽ'usùg^ɔ* *n.* thanks;
pṽ'usùg dōɔg^ɔ NT temple

S

sà tense particle yesterday

sà VP-final particle hence, ago

sā' dv. be in distress

sàa tense particle tomorrow

sāa pl *sāas*^ε cb *sà-* n. rain; sky; as subject of *īāñk*^{ε/} "leap": lightning; *sāa d'indēog*^{o/} rainbow ("rain chameleon"); *sāa zúg*^o n. sky 13.5

sā'ab^o 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*^o); *sàal-bīig*^a pl *sàal-bīis*^ε n. human being

sàalīgā[/] adv. smoothly

sàam^{ma} pl *sàam-nàm*^a cb *sàam-* n. father; *sàam-kpēēñm*^m n. father's elder brother; *sàam-pīt*^{a/} pl *sàam-pītib*^a cb *sàam-pīt-* n. father's younger brother

sāam^{m/} dv. mash, crumble

sā'an^{ε/} postposition in the presence of, in the opinion of

sāan^{a/} pl *sāam*^{ma} cb *sāan-* n. guest, stranger

sāannim^m n. strangerhood

sàbēog^o pl *sàbēed*^ε cb *sàbè-* n. wind, storm

sābilíg^a *sābil*^{lε} pl *sābilis*^ε *sābilá* cb *sābīl-* adj. black

sàbùa pl *sàbùes*^ε cb *sàbùà-* n. lover, girlfriend

Sà'dàbòog^o n. place of the clan Sarabose

Sà'dàbùa pl *Sà'dàbùes*^ε *Sà'dàbùeb*^a n. clan name

sādıgım since, because 21.1

sāeñ WK *sāeñ*^{ya} DK pl *sāañb*^a cb *sāñ-* n. blacksmith

sākárùg^o pl *sākàrìd*^ε cb *sākár-* n. fox

sàlibìr^ε n. bridle

sàlimā cb *sàlim-* n. pl as sg gold; *sàlim-kùes*^a n. gold merchant

sām^{ne/} pl *sāmá* cb *sām-* n. debt; *sām-kpá'as*^a n. household servant

sāmán^{ne} pl *sāmánà* cb *sāmán-* n. open space in front of a *zàk*^a compound;

Sāmán-pjər^ε n. traditional New Year ceremony

sāñ'am^m dv. spoil, get spoiled, get broken; destroy

sāhjá pl *sānsá* cb *sān-* n. time 26.7; *sān-kán*^ε adv. then; when?

sān-sī'ə=n lā clause adjunct at one time, once ...

sàη-gbàur^o n. sky, heaven; cf *sāa*

sāηgúnnìr^ε pl *sāηgúnnà* cb *sāηgún-* n. millipede

sāpál^{lε} n. Harmattan part of the dry season *úvn*^{ne}

sāpī ideo. straight (LF *sāpī* or *sāpīné*)

sārıgá n. prison ← Hausa *sarkàa* "chain"

sàrıyà or *sèrıyà* n. law ← Arabic *fariifa*; *sàrıyà-kāt*^a n. judge NT

- sāv*^ɔ/ *pl sād*^ɛ/ *cb sā-* *n.* broom, brush
sàvk^ɔ *pl sà'ad*^ɛ *n.* mote of dust
sávŋ^ɔ *n.* hospitality
sè *ipfv sèɛd*^a *dv.* transplant
sēoŋ^ɔ *n.* rainy season
sì *dv.* skin, flay
sī'a *pron.* some, any (*sg*)
sīa *pl sīəs*^ɛ *cb sīà-* *n.* waist; *sīà-lōɔdíŋ*^a *n.* belt ("waist-tying-thing"); *sīà-nīf*^ɔ/*n.* kidney
sīā'al^ɛ *dv.* get to be enough
sīà'ar^ɛ *pl sīà'a* *cb sīà'-* *n.* forest (WK), wilderness
sīàk^ɛ *dv.* agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*)
sīāk^ɛ *dv.* suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)
sībīg^a/ *pl sībí* *cb sīb-* *n.* a kind of termite
sìd *post-subject particle* truly
sìdà *pl sìd-* *n.* *pl as sg* truth
sīd^a *pl sīdīb*^a *cb sìd-* *n.* husband; *sìd-bīl*^a *n.* husband's younger brother;
sìd-kpēēñm^m *n.* husband's elder brother; *sìd-puāk*^a *n.* husband's sister
sīe^l *dv.* descend, be humbled
sīēbā *pron.* some, any; *sī'əl*^a something, anything; *sī'əm*^m somehow, anyhow
sīg^ɛ *dv.* descend
sīgīr^ɛ *n.* guardian spirit; often the *wīn*^{ne}/*l* of an ancestor 26.2
sīgīs^ɛ *dv.* lower
sīgīsír^ɛ *pl sīgīsá* *n.* stopping-place
sīu^a *pl sīs*^ɛ *cb sì-* *n.* shade, personal spirit (KED); used in NT for "spirit"; in
 traditional belief *Lebenskraft* (Haaf) "vital energy", identified with a person's
 tutelary *kìkīrīs*^ɛ (*qv*); *Sì-sòŋ*^ɔ *n.* Holy Spirit NT; cf Buli *chíik*
sīu^a *pl sīs*^ɛ *n.* African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*; cf Buli *sīik*
sīlīm^m *dv.* cite proverbs
sīlīŋ^a *sīlúŋ*^ɔ *pl sīlís*^ɛ *sīlímìs*^ɛ *sīlímà* *cb sīlīŋ-* *n.* proverb
sīīñd^ɛ *n.* honey
sīīñf^ɔ/ *sīīñg*^a/ *pl sīīñs*^ɛ/ *cb sīñ-* *n.* bee
sī'is^ɛ *dv.* touch
sīlīnsūg^ɔ *pl sīlīnsūis*^ɛ *n.* ghost
sīlīnsūñg^ɔ *pl sīlīnsūīñd*^ɛ *n.* spider
sìlòg^ɔ *pl sìn*^{ne} *sìlìs*^ɛ *cb sìl-* *n.* hawk
sīm^m *dv.* sink in a liquid
Sīmīg^a *pl Sīmīs*^ɛ *cb Sīmì-* *n.* Fulbe person, Fulani
Sīmīl^ɛ *n.* Fulfulde language
Sīmīug^ɔ *n.* place of the Fulbe
sīn^{na}/ *ger sīnním*^m *sv.* be silent
sīnsáañ *n.* a kind of tiny ant

- sīŋ^a* pl *sīŋs^ε* cb *sìŋ-* n. a kind of very big pot
sī'ŋ^{ε/} dv. begin
sīsībìg^a pl *sīsībìs^ε* cb *sīsīb-* n. neem tree, *Azadirachta indica*
sīsībìr^ε pl *sīsībà* n. fruit of neem tree
sìsì'em^m n. wind, storm
sìsùvǔgū=n^{ε/} postposition between; KB *svvǔgūn*
sī'uŋ^ɔ pl *sī'imís^ε* cb *sī'uŋ-* n. a kind of large dish
sō' pron. some(one), any(one), animate sg
sōb^a pron. (animate dummy head sg)
sōb^ε dv. go/make dark; usually write; *sōbīr^{ε/}* n. piece of writing
sōbīg^{ε/} dv. blacken
sōḡñ WK *sōḡñ^{ya}* DK pl *sōḡñb^a* cb *sòñ-* n. witch
sógjà^a n. soldier ← English
sōlǔŋ^{ɔ/} pl *sōlímá* n. story
sōñ dv. rub
sōñ'e^{ya/} sv. be better than; ag *sōñ'od^{a/}* pl *sōñ'ob^{a/}* cb *sōñ'od-*
sōnnīr^ε pl *sōnnā* cb *sòn-* n. courtyard dividing wall
sōñs^ε ger *sóñsìg^a* dv. converse, talk with
sōḡñg^ɔ n. witchcraft
sōḡñr^ε pl *sōñyā* cb *sòñ-* n. liver
sòs^ε ger *sōsīg^a* dv. ask; ag *sòs^a* n. beggar
sò dv. take a bath
sū'ā^a dv. do secretly, hide
sūāk^{a/} n. hiding place
sūeñ' dv. anoint
sū'e^{ya/} sv. own; ger *sū'vlím^m* n. property, country, realm
sūgūr^{ε/} dv. show forbearance, be patient with; *sūgūrú* n. forbearance
sùm^m n. goodness; well
sùm^{ma} sv. be good
sùmbǔgvsím^m n. peace
sūmmīr^ε pl *sūmmā* cb *sùm-* n. groundnuts; *sùm-dǔgvdá* n. cooked groundnuts
sùn^{ne} ger *sùnnìr^ε* or *sùnnòg^ɔ* dv. bow one's head; ag *sūn^{na}* n. ("someone who goes about with bowed head") deep thinker, close observer WK
sūñ'e[/] dv. become better than
sūñf^{ɔ/} *sūuñr^{ε/}* pl *sūñyá* cb *sūñ-* n. heart; *sūñ-kpī'oŋ^ɔ* n. boldness; *sūñ-má'asím^m* n. joy (*Ḃ sūñf má'e yā*. "My heart has cooled"= I'm joyful); *sūñ-málsím^m* cb *sūñ-máls-* n. joy; *sūñ-pēen^{ne}* n. anger (*Ḃ sūñf pélìg nē*. "My heart is whitened"= I'm angry); *sūñ-sāñ'vŋ^ɔ* n. sorrow (*Ḃ sūñf sāñ'am nē*. "My heart is spoilt" = I'm sad)
sùŋ^ε dv. help
sùŋ^ɔ *sùm^{me}* pl *sùmà* cb *sùŋ-* adj. good

sùṅā' *adv.* well, much

sú'əṅ^a *pl sū'əmís*^ε *cb sū'əṅ*- *n.* rabbit

sūər^{ε/} *pl sūēyá* *cb sūā*- *n.* road; permission in *sūər bé*, *mōr sūər* 22.1

sù'əs^a *n.* yesterday

sù'əs^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*^o *pl sù'vs*^ε *cb sù'*- *n.* knife

T

tāa tāas^ε *fellow-* as second part of compound 9.2.1.4

tāabā tāab *pron.* each other

tā'adīr^ε *pl tā'adā* *cb tā'ad*- *n.* sandal

tàal^{le} *pl tàalà* *cb tàal*- *n.* fault, sin

tá'am^{mε} *pl tā'amá* *n.* shea tree fruit

tá'aṅ^a *pl tā'amís*^ε *cb tā'aṅ*- *n.* shea butter tree *Butyrospermum parkii*

tā'as^{ε/} *dv.* help someone to walk

tàb^ε *dv.* get stuck to

tàbì^{ya} *sv.* be stuck to

tàbìg^ε *dv.* get unstuck from

tàbìl^ε *dv.* stick to (*transitive*)

tàdìg^ε *n.* become weak

tādīm^{m/} *pl tàdīm-nàm*^a *cb tàdīm*- *n.* weak person

tàdīmís^ε *n.* weakness

Tàlìn^{nε} *n.* Talni language

Tàlìṅ^a *pl Tàlìs*^ε *cb Tàlìṅ*- *n.* Tallensi person

tàm^m *ipfv* *tàmmìd*^a *dv.* forget

tàmpìiṅ^a *n.* rock

tàmpūa *pl tàmpōs*^ε *cb tàmpò*- *n.* housefly

tàmpōv^ε *cb tàmpò*- *n.* ashpit, rubbish tip

tān^{nε} *pl tānā* *cb tān*- *n.* earth; *tān-mēed*^a *n.* builder

tāṅp^o *n.* war; *tāṅp-sōb*^a *n.* warrior

tāṅs^ε *ger* *tāṅsòg*^o *dv.* shout; *Wìnnìg táṅsìd nē*. The sun is shining.

tār^{a/} *ger* *tārim*^m *sv.* have; more typical of Toende Kusaal; NT/KB always *mōr*^{a/}

tàsìntàl^{le} *n.* palm of hand

tàtál^{le} *n.* palm of hand

tāuṅ[/] *pl tāṅp*^{a/} *cb tāuṅ- tāṅp*- *n.* sibling of opposite sex

tēb^ε *ger* *tēbìg*^a *dv.* carry in both hands

tēbìg^{ε/} *dv.* get heavy

tēbīs^{a/} sv. be heavy

tēbīsíg^a *tēbīsír*^ε pl *tēbīsá* cb *tēbīs-* adj. heavy

tēbīsím^m n. heaviness

tēébùl^ε pl *tēébùl-nàm*^a n. table ← English

tēεg^{ε/} dv. drag, draw; *tēεg* X *tùbùr* punish X

tè'εg^a pl *tè'es*^ε cb *tè'-* n. baobab, *Adansonia digitata*

tēk^{ε/} dv. pull

tèñb^ε ger *tèñbùg*^o dv. tremble, struggle

tèñ'es^ε dv. remind

tēñ'es^{ε/} dv. think; ger *tēñ'esá* n. thought

tēñ^a ger *tēñrīb*^o sv. remember

tēη^a pl *tēεñs*^ε cb *tēη-* n. land; *tēη-bīg*^a n. native; *tēη-dāan*^a n. traditional earth-priest; *tēη-dv'adīg*^a n. native land; *tēη-gbàυη*^o n. earth, land; *tēη-pōυg*^{o/} pl *tēη-pōυd*^{ε/} cb *tēη-pv-* n. village, town; *tēη-zùη*^o pl *tēη-zùvñs*^ε n. foreign country; *tēη-sūk*^a n. centre

tēηī=n^{ε/} or *tēηír*^ε downward; as postposition under

tèog^o pl *tèed*^ε n. nest

tè'og^o pl *tè'ed*^ε n. baobab fruit

tì pron. we (right-bound); *tì* us (enclitic)

tì preverb conveying completion or purpose 16.8

tìà'al^ε dv. come next

tìàk^ε dv. change

tì'əb^ε dv. prepare, get ready; heal in this sense perhaps influenced by Arabic *t'ibb* "medicinal art"; *tì'əb*^a n. healer

tìeñ dv. inform WK (KED remember)

tìeñ dv. stretch out

tìəη^a pl *tìəmìs*^ε cb *tìəη-* n. beard; *tìəη-gvur*^ε n. chin

tīg^ε dv. become sated, have too much/many; ger *tīgīr*^{ε/} n. glut

tì'iy^{a/} ger *tì'ib*^{o/} sv. be leaning (object)

tìg^a pl *tìs*^ε cb *tì-* n. tree; *tì-dāvug*^o pl *tì-dāad*^ε cb *tì-dà-* n. bow (for arrows)

tì'il^{ε/} dv. lean something

tìum^m cb *tì-* n. medicine; *tì-kvvdím*^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

tìlās^ε n. necessity ← Hausa *tiilàs* 22.1

tìlīg^ε dv. survive, be saved

tìnám^a pron. we, us (contrastive); *tìnámì* we (subject of *ñ*-clause)

tìntōñríg^a pl *tìntōñrís*^ε cb *tìntōñr-* n. mole (animal)

tìp^a pl *tìp-nàm*^a cb *tìp-* n. healer (see *tì'əb*^a id)

tìrāan^a pl *tìrāan-nàm*^a cb *tìrāan-* n. neighbour, peer

- tīrâannìm^m* n. neighbourliness
tīrīgà *ideo. for gīŋ^a* short
tìs^ε ipfv *tìsìd^a* *tìt^a* ag *tìs^a* dv. give; also *tì* before bound pronouns: *tì=f* gave you
tītā'al^{lε} n. proud person
tītā'alīm^m n. pride
tītā'am^m n. multitude
tītā'vg^o *tītā'ar^ε* pl *tītādā* cb *tītá'-* adj. big, great
tò OK (Hausa *tôo*)
tòd^ε dv. give to the poor, share
tōē^{ya/} sv. be bitter, difficult
tóklàe n. torch ← English "torchlight"
tólìb *ideo.*
tōlīs^{ε/} dv. do next, advance, carry on
tólìlì *ideo. for wōk^{o/}* tall
tòñ dv. shoot
tòñ'ɔs^ε dv. hunt
tōɔg^o pl *tōɔd^ε* cb *tò-* adj. bitter, difficult
tōɔm^{m/} dv. depart, disappear
tò'ɔtō[/] adv. straight away
tùà dv. grind in a mortar; *tùà-bīl^a* n. pestle
tù'à^a dv. speak, plead in court
tù'al^ε dv. condemn in court
tù'as^ε dv. talk
tùbùr^ε pl *tùbà* cb *tùb-* n. ear; *tùb-kpìr^ε* n. half of jaw; *tùb-yīuŋ^{o/}* adj. one-eared
tōl^{la/} sv. be hot
tùlìg^ε dv. invert
tōlīg^{ε/} dv. heat up
tùm^m dv. work; *ger tōvm^{mε}* n. deed pl *tōvmā* n. deeds; work cb *tùvm-*; *tùvm-bē'ed^ε*
 n. bad deeds; *tùvm-bē'ed-dím^a* n. sinners NT; ag *tùm-tōm^{na}* n. worker
tùm^m *ger tītōmīs^ε* dv. send; compare Hausa *àikaa* "send", *aikàtaa* "work"
tūñ'e sv. be able, have power over 19.1
tūødīr^ε pl *tūødā* cb *tùød-* n. mortar
tùøn^{nε} postposition in front; West (KB *yà tùènà*); *tùøn-gāt^a* n. leader
Tùøn^{nε} n. Toende, western part of Kusaasiland
Tùønnìr^ε n. Toende dialect of Kusaal
tūsīr^{ε/} n. thousand
tòtūl^{lε} n. upside-down thing, cf *tùlìg^ε*
tōvlīgā[/] adv. hotly
tōvlúg^o pl *tōvlá* cb *tōvl-* adj. hot
tū'vs^{ε/} dv. meet

U

ùd̀v̀g` pl ùt` cb ùd`- n. (piece of) chaff

ūg̀v̀s` dv. bring up a child

ùk` dv. vomit

ūk` dv. bloat

ùm` dv. close eyes

ūrīg` dv. scrape

úvn` n. dry season

V

vābī`^{ya/} ger vāp`^{o/} KT vābīr`^{ε/} WK sv. be lying prone

vābīl` dv. make lie prone

vàb̀n` dv. lie prone

vàe` dv. gather up

vāvňg`^{o/} pl vāaňd`^{ε/} cb vāň`- n. leaf

vē` dv. lead

vē`εg` dv. drag

vèn`^{na} or vèňl`^{la} sv. be beautiful

vèňll̀g`^a pl vèňll̀s`^ε vèňll̀à cb vèňl`- adj. beautiful

vèňll̀j`^a pl vèňll̀ís`^ε cb vèňll̀j`- adj. beautiful

vènǹg`^a vènǹr`^ε pl vènǹs`^ε vènǹà cb vèn`- adj. beautiful

vènǹm`^m n. beauty

vī` dv. uproot

vīk` dv. uproot

vīug`^{o/} pl vīid`^{ε/} cb vī`- n. owl

vōb` dv. thrash (*tones uncertain*)

vū ger vūug`^{o/} dv. make a noise; *vūud`^{ε/} n.* noise

vōę`^{ya/} sv. be alive

vōl` dv. swallow

vòl̀nv̀uũňl`^{lε} n. mason wasp

vōm`^{m/} cb vōm`- n. life; *vōm-pāal`^{lε} n.* new life

vúøj`^a pl vūømís`^ε n. red kapok, *Bombax buonopozense*

vúør`^ε pl vūáa` cb vūø`- n. fruit of red kapok

vōr`^{ε/} pl vōyá` cb vōr`- adj. alive

vūrīg` dv. shift along, move over (*tones uncertain*)

vō`vug` dv. come, make alive

vō`vs` dv. breathe, rest

vō`vsím`^m n. resting

W

wā' *dv.* dance

wāad^{ε/} *n.* cold weather

wáaf^o *pl wīgí cb wā'- n.* snake

wāal^{ε/} *dv.* sow, scatter seed

wā'alím^m *n.* length

wā'am^{a/} *sv.* be long, tall

wàbìg^a *wàbìr*^ε *pl wàbìs*^ε *wàbà cb wàb-* *n.* lame person

wàbùlím^m *dv.* make, go lame

wābōg^{o/} *pl wābīd*^{ε/} *cb wāb-* *n.* elephant

wādīr^{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

wālīg^a *pl wālīs*^ε *wālí* (*tone sic*) *cb wàl-* *n.* a kind of gazelle

wàṅìm^m *dv.* waste away

wàsìnwàl^{lε} *n.* a parasitic gall on trees, called "mistletoe" in local English

wàṅṅ^o *pl wàṅà cb wàṅṅ-* *adj.* wasted, thin

wèéd^a see *wìd*^a

wēl^{ε/} *dv.* be left unsold (KED) *but see wēog*^{o/}

wēl^ε *dv.* bear fruit

wēl^{lε/} *pl wēlá cb wēl-* *n.* fruit

wēlá or *wālá* *proadverb* how?; *nìṅ wēlá n/kà* how can ...? 19.1

wēn^{na/} *sv.* resemble; *in KB wēn nē* appears as *nwenε*; *ger wēnním*^m

wēnnīr^ε *adj.* resembling (*Pattern A, specifically confirmed with WK*)

wèog^o *n.* deep bush

wēog^{o/} *pl wēéd*^{ε/} *n.* cheap thing sold in abundance WK

wīāk^{ε/} *dv.* hatch (from an egg)

wìdìg^ε *dv.* scatter

wìəf^o *pl wìdì cb wìd-* *n.* horse; *wìd-lōr*^{ε/} *n.* place for tying up horses in a compound;

wìd-dāvog^o *n.* stallion; *wìd-ñyá'aṅ*^a *n.* mare; *wìd-zōvr*^ε *n.* horsetail

wìd^a or *wèéd*^a *pl wìb*^a *cb wìd-* *n.* hunter

Wìid^a *pl Wìid-nàm*^a *cb Wìid-* *n.* member of the clan Wiid

Wìidùg^o *n.* place of the clan Wiid

wīg^{a/} *n.* whistle

wìim^m *n.* sickness, disease ("worse than *bāñ'as*^ε" WK)

wìk^ε *ipfv wìid*^a *dv.* fetch water

wìl^{lε} *pl wìlà cb wìl-* *n.* branch

wīlśúṅ^o *pl wīlímís*^ε *cb wīlśúṅ-* *n.* a kind of snail

wīm *ideo. for zìñ'a* red

wīn^{ne/} *pl wīná cb wīn-* *n.* God; god; spiritual double, *genius*; destiny; *wīn-tōog*^o

n. misfortune

Wínà'am^m *n.* God

wìnnìg^a *cb wìn-* *n.* sun; talent; *wìn-līr*^ε *n.* sunset; *wìn-kòǒñr*^ε *n.* sunset

wìug^ɔ *wìir*^ε *pl wìyà wìid*^ε *cb wì-* *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

wōsā *q.* all

wōv *q.* all

wōv *preposition* like, resembling

wō'vg^ε/*dv.* get wet

wō'vl^ε/*dv.* make wet

Y

yà *pron.* you *pl* (right-bound); *ya* you *pl* (enclitic)

ya^a *pron.* you *pl*, enclitic subject after imperative [4.2](#) [18.3](#)

yā independent-perfective particle [16.6.2](#)

yà' if, when [20](#); *yà' nāan* if only; *yà' pòn* even if

yáa *adv.* whither?

yáab^a *pl yāa-nám*^a *cb yāa-* *n.* grandparent, ancestor; *yāa-dáú* *n.* grandfather;

yāa-pu'^á *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 (without nasalisation) *cb yāaŋ-* *n.* grandchild, descendant

Yàaŋ^a *pl Yàam*^{ma} *Yàamìs*^ε *Yàañs*^ε *cb Yàaŋ-* *n.* Yansi person

yāar^ε/*dv.* scatter

yàarìm^m *cb yàar-* *n.* salt

yà'as^a *yà'as*^ε again [19.1](#)

yā'as^ε/*dv.* open repeatedly

yàddā or *yàdā* *n.* faith, trust [16.9.1](#) ← Hausa *yàrda*; probably ← Arabic *yard*^{aa};

yàddā-nìjìr^ε *n.* belief

yādīg^ε/*dv.* scatter; *irreg ag yāt*^{al} participant in a housebuilding ritual

yā'e^l/*dv.* widen, open (mouth)

yàk^ε *dv.* unhang, unhook

yàlìm^{ma} *sv.* be wide

yālīm^m/*pl yālīm-nám*^a *n.* worthless person

yālísúŋ^ɔ *pl yālímís*^ε *cb yālísúŋ-* *n.* quail

yàlòŋ^ɔ *pl yàlìmà* *cb yàlòŋ-* *adj.* wide

yām^{mε} *pl yàmà* *cb yàm-* *n.* hay WK

yām^{m/} *cb yām-* *n.* gall; gall bladder; common sense. WK *yā'am^{m/}*; probably originally two distinct words 2.2

yàmmìg^a *yàmmòg^a* *yàmmòg^o* *pl yàmmìs^ε* *cb yàm-* *n.* slave

yānám^a *pron.* you *pl (contrastive)*; *yānámì* you *pl (subject of ñ-clause)*

Yārīg^{al} *pl Yārīs^{el}* *cb Yār-* *n.* Yarsi person; also called Kantonsi; said to have been originally of Manding/Dyula origin

Yāt^{el} *n.* Yarsi language (no longer Dyula/Bambara, but a Western Oti-Volta language)

yàvg^o *pl yàad^ε* *n.* grave, tomb

yē that 22; be about to ... 16.3.3

yè *dv.* dress oneself; *resultative adj yèelúg^o* worn (e.g. of a shirt)

yèεg^ε *dv.* undress oneself

yèel^ε *dv.* dress someone

yēεs^{el} *dv.* betray a secret

yèl^ε *ipfv yèt^a* *ger yèlòg^o* *dv.* say, tell

yēl^{el} *pl yēlá* (*as postposition: about*) *cb yēl-* *n.* matter, affair; *yēl-méñìr^ε* *n.* truth; *yēl-náròg^o* *n.* necessity; *yēl-pákìr^ε* *n.* disaster; *yēl-sú'adìr^ε* *n.* confidential matter; *yēl-súm^{mε}* *n.* blessing

yēñím^m *dv.* oscillate (like waves)

yèog^o *pl yèed^ε* *n.* bird's crop; person displaced from family (KED)

yéog *q.* one, *in counting*

yī *ipfv yīt^{al}* *imp yīm^a* *dv.* go, come out

yìdìg^ε *dv.* go astray

yīdīg^{el} *dv.* untie

yìθ^ε *n.* jaw

yīgá *q.* firstly; former 12.1; *yīg-sób^a* *n.* first person

yīs^{el} *ger yīsíb^o* *dv.* make go/come out, extract

yīmmír^ε *pl yīmmá* *cb yīm-* *adj.* solitary, lone, unique

yīmmú *q.* *adv.* straight away, at once

yīnní *q.* one

yìg^a *adv.* outside

yīr^{el} *pl yā'* *cb yī-* *n.* house; *yī-dâan^a* *n.* householder; *yī-sób^a* *pl yī-sób-nàm^a* *n.*

householder; *yī-dím^a* *n.* members of the household; *yī-póñròg^o* *pl yī-póñrà* *n.*

neighbouring house; *yī-sígìdìr^ε* *n.* lodging-house; *yín^{nε}* at home *pl yáa=n^ε*

yīs^ε *dv.* make go/come out, extract

yīyog^o *pl yīná* *adj.* single- 12.8.1.1

yò *dv.* close; *resultative adj yòólóg^o* closed

yō *dv.* pay; *ger yōod^{el}* *n.* pay

yōlīs^{el} *dv.* untie

yōlísím^m *n.* freedom

yōlōg^o *pl yōn^{nε}* *cb yōl-* *n.* sack, moneybag; (like Hausa *jàkaa*) £100, ₵200 (cedis)

yò'og^ε *dv.* open

yòɔr^ε *pl yòyà cb yò-* *n.* soldier ant
yɔ̀à *dv.* bleed; also fornicate WK
yō'adīr^ε *pl yō'adā* *n.* rafter
yùbìg^a *pl yùbìs*^ε *cb yùb-* *n.* small bottle-like pot
yūgvdīr^ε *pl yūgvdā* *cb yùgùd-* *n.* hedgehog
yōgúm^{mε} *yōgúm*^{nε} *pl yōgumá* *cb yōgōm-* *n.* camel
yùlìg^ε *dv.* swing (*transitive*)
yūñ'e^l *dv.* set alight
yū'ør^ε *pl yūādā* *cb yū'ør-* *n.* penis
yùug^ε *dv.* get to be a long time, delay; *Tì yúug nē tāabā.* It's long since we met.
yùul^ε *dv.* swing (*intransitive*)
yō'vm^{m/l} *dv.* sing; *ag yōvm-yô'vm*^{na} *pl yōvm-yô'vmnìb*^a *n.* singer
yó'vm^{nε} *pl yó'vmá* *cb yō'vm-* or *yōvm-* *n.* song
yòvm^{mε} *pl yòmà* *cb yòvm-* *n.* year; *yòvm-pāalíg*^a *n.* new year
yō'vn *post-subject particle* then, next
yó'vη^ɔ *pl yō'vmís*^ε *cb yō'vη-* *n.* night
yō'vr^{ε/l} *pl yōdá* *cb yō'-* *n.* name
yōvr^ε *pl yōyā* *cb yò-* *n.* water pot

Z

zā^l *cb zā-* *n.* millet
zāalíg^a *záal*^{lε} *pl zāalís*^ε *zāalá* *cb zāal-* *adj.* empty
zāalím^m *adv.* emptily
zàam^m *cb zà-* *n.* evening; *zà-sìsōbīr*^{ε/l} *n.* evening
zàñ'an^{nε} *pl zàñ'anà* *n.* metal hammer, iron-tipped weapon, bludgeon
zàañsìm^m *dv.* dream
zāañsím^m *cb zāañs-* *n.* soup; *soup in general, not "fish soup" despite Mampruli zaasim "fish"; cf Toende zāasím "meat soup" (Niggli)*
zàañsúη^ɔ *pl zàañsímà* *cb zàañsúη-* *n.* dream
zàb^ε *ger zàbìr*^ε *dv.* fight; hurt (of body part); *ag zàb-zàb*^a *n.* warrior; *gbān-záb*^a *n.* leather-beater, leather-worker
zàbìl^ε *dv.* cause to fight
zàk^a *pl zà'as*^ε *cb zà'-* *n.* compound; *zà'-nōɔr*^{ε/l} *n.* gate; *zà'-nō-gúr*^a *n.* gatekeeper
zàkìm^m *dv.* itch
zàlìη^a *pl zàlìmìs*^ε *cb zàlìη-* *n.* electric eel
zàm^m *ipfv zàmmìd*^a *dv.* cheat; *ag zàm-zām*^{na} *n.* cheat
zàmìs^ε *dv.* learn, teach
zāñ'a *q.* every
zàñ'as^ε *dv.* refuse
zàñbìl^ε *dv.* tattoo, mark skin
zāñbīn^{nε} *pl zāñbīnā* *cb zàñbìn-* *n.* tattoo; NT sign

- zāñ^{la/} ger zāñlím^m sv. be holding, carrying in hands*
zāñ^{lɛ} n. umbilicus
zàŋ^ɛ dv. pick up, take up
Zàŋgbèɛ^{lɛ} n. Hausa language
Zàŋgbèog^ɔ pl Zàŋgbèed^ɛ n. Hausa person
zàŋgùem^{mɛ} pl zàŋgùemà cb zàŋgùem- n. wall
zàŋkù'ar^ɛ pl zàŋkù'aa zàŋkù'adà cb zàŋkù'à- n. jackal
zēm^{ma/} ger zēmúg^ɔ sv. be equal
zēmīs^{ɛ/} dv. make equal
zēmúg^ɔ pl zēmá cb zēm- adj. equal
zī ger zīid^{ɛ/} dv. carry on one's head; ag zī-zīid^a n. carrier on the head
zī' ger zī'ilím^m sv. not know 16.5; ag zī'id^{a/} n. ignorant person
zì'e^{ya} ger zì'a KED; DK KT zì'əg^a (exceptional phonology) sv. be standing
zì'əl^ɛ dv. make to stand; zì'əl nōɔr^{ɛ/} promise, command; with n tìs X: promise to X
zì'əŋ^ɛ dv. stand still; Ò zì'əŋ nē. She's pregnant.
zīm^{m/} cb zī- n. blood
zīŋ^a pl zīmí cb zīm- n. fish; zīm-gbāñ'ad^a n. fisherman
zìlím^{mɛ} pl zìlímà cb zìlím- n. tongue
zīlīnzīog^ɔ adj. unknown
zīm ideo. for sābílíg^a black
zīnā today
zīñ'a zēñ'ug^ɔ pl zēñ'ed^ɛ zēñ'es^ɛ zēñ'dà cb zēñ'- adj. red
zīñ'i^{ya} sv. be sitting; ger zīñ'ig^a pl zīñ'is^ɛ cb zīñ- (also place)
zīñ'il^ɛ dv. make sit, seat
zīñ'in^ɛ dv. sit down
zīnzāuŋ^{ɔ/} pl zīnzānā cb zīnzáuŋ- n. bat
zīrí n. lie, untruth
*zò ipfv zòt^a imp zòm^a dv. run; fear; experience emotion; ger zūa zōog^ɔ run;
 ipfv ger zòtìm^m fear; Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.*
zōl^ɛ dv. castrate
zōlímís^ɛ n. foolishness
zōlūg^{ɔ/} pl zōn^{nɛ/} cb zōl- n. fool
zōm^{m/} cb zōm- n. flour
zōom^{mɛ} zōom^{nɛ} pl zōomā cb zòom- n. refugee, fugitive
zōrīg^{a/} n. small child WK
zōrōg^{ɔ/} pl zōrá n. piece
zū dv. steal
zùà pl zùà-nàm^a cb zùà- n. friend
Zùà pl Zùə^ɛ n. member of clan Zoose; subclans pl Zùà-wjìs^{ɛ/}-wjìb^a, pl Zùà-sābílís^ɛ
zù'e dv. get higher, more
zùe dv. perch, get on top (? variant of zù'e)

zūg^{o/} pl *zūt*^{ε/} cb *zūg- zū-* n. head; postposition onto, due to; *zūgú=n*^ε postposition on; *zūg-dâan*^a n. boss, master (replaces *zūg-sób*^a in KB for meanings other than "the Lord"); *zūg-kōgōr*^ε pl *zūg-kōgā* cb *zūg-kúg-* n. pillow; *zūg-máuk*^o pl *zūg-mâ'ad*^ε adj. crushed-headed; *zūg-sób*^a n. boss; NT Lord; *zū-péelòg*^o pl *zū-péelà* adj. bald; *zū-píbig*^a n. hat

zùlìg^ε dv. deepen

zùlìm^{ma} sv. be deep

zùlòg^o pl *zùlìmà* cb *zùlòg-* adj. deep

zùlòg^o n. depth

zùnzòg^a *zùnzòg*^o pl *zùnzògōñs*^ε cb *zùnzòg-* n. blind person

zūəbóg^o pl *zūəbíd*^ε cb *zūəb-* n. hair (of human head); see *kōñbōg*^o

zùəđ^ε n. friendship

zùəł^ε dv. make to perch

zū'əmm[/] pl *zū'əmís*^ε cb *zū'əmm-* n. blind person

zū'əmm[/] dv. go blind, make blind

zùəñ^ε dv. begin to perch

zūər^ε pl *zūəyā* cb *zūà-* n. hill

zùəš^ε dv. befriend

zūríf^o pl *zūrí* cb *zūr-* n. dawadawa seed

zú'vñf^o pl *zū'vñí* n. dawadawa seed

zùuñg^o pl *zùuñs*^ε *zùuñđ*^ε cb *zùñ-* n. vulture

zūvr^ε pl *zūyā* cb *zù-* n. tail; *zù-wōk*^{o/} adj. long-tailed