

# **A Grammar of Kusaal**

Agolle Dialect

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## **Preface**

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. Although I had the benefit of some coaching in the language by SB (see Sources), there were no written instructional materials of any kind available to me at the time I first arrived. 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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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.

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## Abbreviations

AdvP	adverb 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

Books of the Bible are abbreviated using the shorter forms from the Chicago Manual of Style; verses are cited from KB unless stated otherwise.



**Interlinear glossing**

ABSTR	abstract	<u>8.2</u>
ADV	adverbial	
AN	animate gender	<u>12.2</u>
CAT	clause catenator (underlyingly <i>n</i> )	<u>17.2</u>
CN	contrastive (personal pronouns)	<u>12.3.1</u>
COP	copula <i>àeñ<sup>va</sup></i>	<u>16.10</u>
CQ	content question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
DEM	demonstrative pronoun (discourse)	<u>12.3.2</u>
DEMST	demonstrative pronoun (spatio-temporal)	
DP	discontinuous-past marker <i>n<sup>ε</sup></i>	<u>16.2.2</u>
EXIST	existence/location verb <i>bè</i>	<u>16.10</u>
FOC	focus particle <i>nē'</i>	<u>19.1.2</u>
GER	gerund	
IDEO	ideophone	
IMP	independent imperative verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IN	inanimate gender	<u>12.2</u>
INDF	indefinite pronoun	<u>12.3.3</u>
IPFV	imperfective verb form	<u>7.1</u>
IRR	positive irrealis mood marker	<u>16.3</u>
LOC	locative postposition ( <i>nī' ~ n<sup>ε</sup></i> )	<u>13.2</u>
NEG	negative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
NEG.BE	negative verb to COP and EXIST	<u>16.4</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	dummy NP head <i>sōb<sup>a</sup></i>	<u>12.3.7</u>
NUM	number prefix <i>à- bà- ñ- bò-</i>	<u>12.4.1</u>
NZ	nominaliser <i>ñ</i>	<u>17.3</u>
PERS	personifier ( <i>à-</i> or <i>ñ-</i> )	<u>12.5.1</u>
PFV	independent-perfective marker <i>yā</i>	<u>16.5</u>
PL	plural	
PQ	polar question prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>
REL	relative pronoun	<u>17.3.2.2</u>
SG	singular	
TNS	tense marker	<u>16.2.1</u>
VOC	vocative prosodic clitic	<u>4.1</u>

Personal pronouns:	<u>12.3.1</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 *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 common compounds are glossed with single words.

## Transcriptions

Phonetic transcriptions ignore all allophony not immediately under discussion.

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 [k̟p̟] [g̟b̟]. The symbol *i* is written with the dot below when it carries a tone mark, e.g. *bīig* "child" [bi:g]. *This* colour is reserved for the working orthography of the grammar. Except for a few examples from ILK, written sources are cited in original orthography along with a transliteration, and tone marking supplied by me; tone was checked against the audio NT in the few cases where a tonal point is at issue, but in general should be regarded as illustrating the tonal principles described elsewhere, not as evidence for their validity.

Hausa is cited as in Newman 1979, but with double letters for 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, without case endings or the *t* of *taaʔ marbuutʔa*.

Words from other languages are given as in the sources, adding the tone marks acute for H, grave for L, and macron for mid tone where necessary. Written *ɪ* *ʊ* represent IPA *ɪ* *ʊ* in all cited sources where they occur.

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." Otherwise, the phonology, morphology and basic syntax are based on elicitation and discussion with four informants. With great reluctance I have omitted their names, as I am not currently able to confirm that they would be happy to be identified. I am very grateful to all four. If any would like to see his name included in its rightful place, I would happy to comply. Meanwhile I identify them by abbreviations (not their initials): WK (from Koka), KT (from Tempane), DK (from Kukpariga), and 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 over the fifty years covered by my sources, and traditional orthography sometimes preserves obsolete forms. I found no 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.

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 NT, storing up problems to discuss later with my teachers. Twenty years later, access to digitised versions of the 1996 NT and the complete Bible version of 2016 has enabled substantial improvements in my analyses of Kusaal syntax. I have also drawn on the various literacy materials listed in the References. I owe a great debt to the dedicated personnel of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), without whom these written sources 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.

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The Kusaasi people

Upper East Region of Ghana (after [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. 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 zaafi*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional millet beer, *dāam*, called "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*) in English.

The Kusaasi are divided into numerous patrilineal exogamous clans (*d̀̀ɔɔg*, "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 *p̄ɔɔr* "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 *t̄ɛŋ-d̄āan* "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 earth-priests. The founder of these kingdoms is called *Naa* (King) *Gbewaa* in Mampruli. His seat was at Pusiga, 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.

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 *b̄ānāa* smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (*f̄uug* "clothing"), popularised in southern Ghana by President Rawlings.

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional animist outlook. The creator, *W̄in* "God", is invoked in proverbs and greetings but is remote from everyday life, and not approached in prayer or worship. Proverbs say

*D̄im n̄e W̄in, d̄a t̄o'as n̄e W̄inné=∅.*

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

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

*W̄in ñȳé kà s̄īn.*

"God sees and is silent."

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

The convention has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology, morphology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is also sometimes seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name *À-Dōk*, and the language name "Kusaal" *Kūsâal* itself.



## **1.2 The Kusaal language**

### **1.2.1 Status**

As of 1995 there were about 250,000 speakers of Kusaal, a number which has since increased 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 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. About 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, and every district has local peculiarities. The major 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.

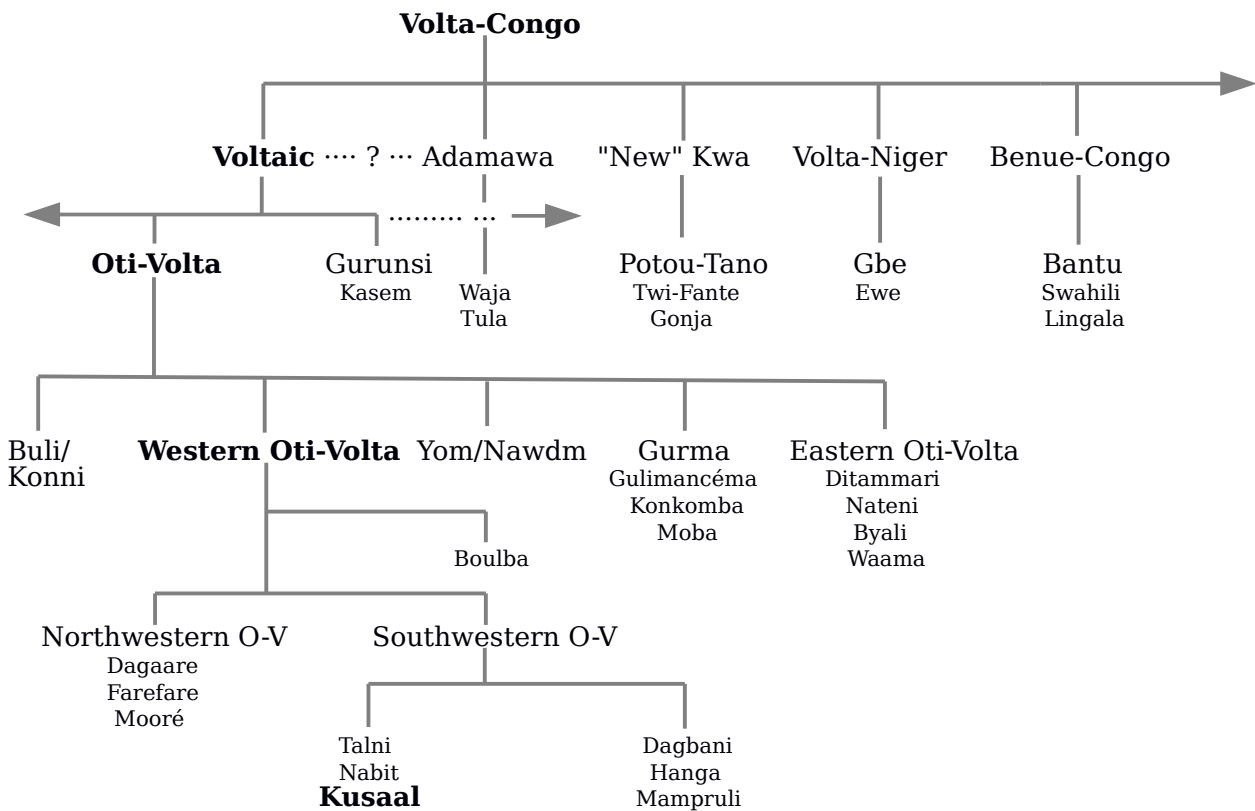
My informants reported little difficulty communicating with Toende speakers, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; moreover, Agolle speakers may find Toende Kusaal easier than vice versa. Berthelette 2001 suggests that Ghanaian Toende speakers understand Agolle Kusaal significantly better than Burkina Faso Toende speakers do, presumably reflecting greater exposure. The paper also reports that Toende speakers feel their dialect to be "purer", which may affect comprehension. It cites 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:



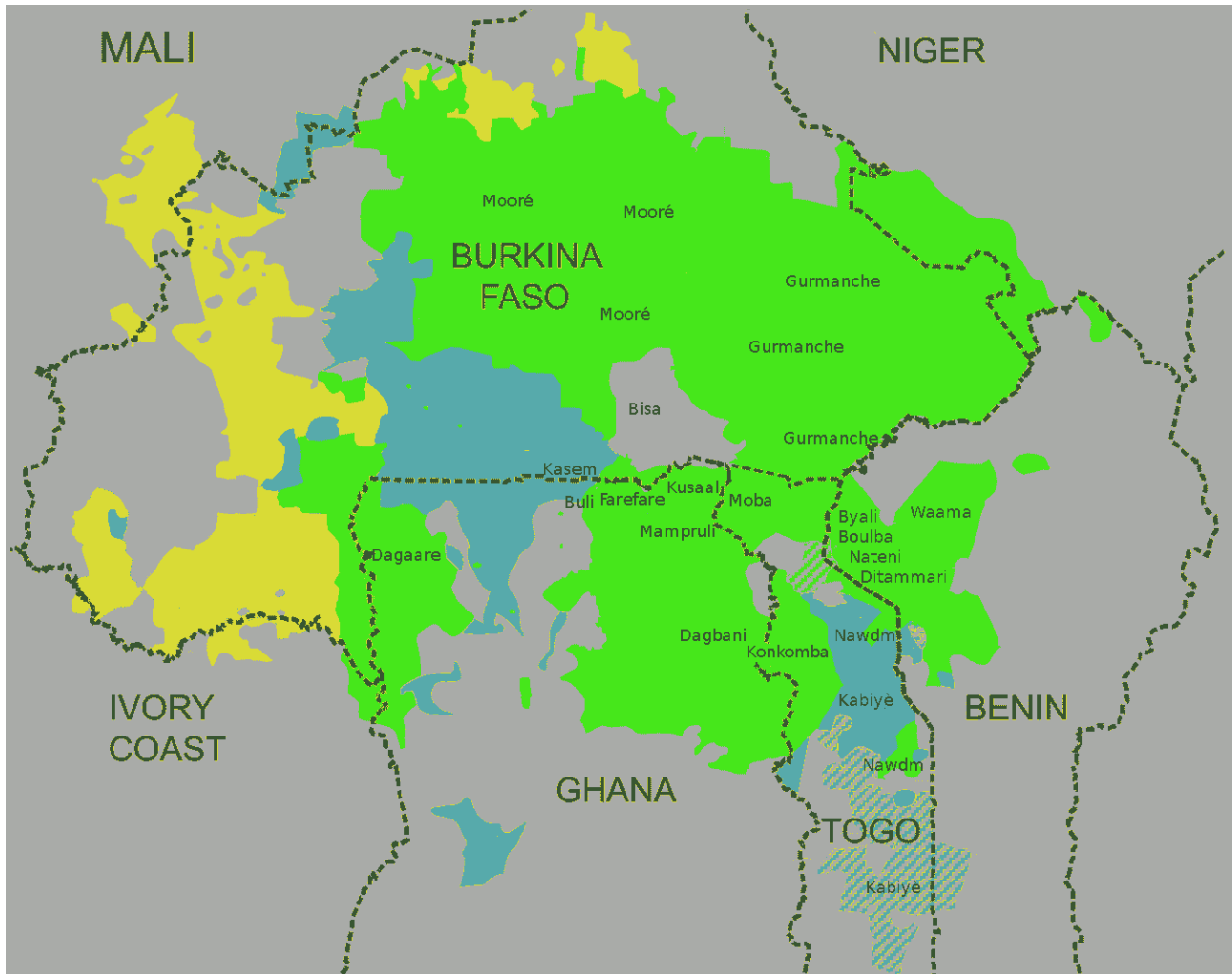
There is clear evidence for Volta-Congo as a genetic group. Basic lexical items recur: compare Kusaal *dì* "eat", *nū* "drink", *kūm* "death", *tìg* "tree", *àtáñ'* "three", *tùb̀̀̀r* "ear", *tùm* "send" with the Proto-Bantu reconstructions *dí-* "eat", *nú-* "drink", *kú-* "die", *-tí* "tree", *-tátò* "three", *-tó* "ear", *tóm-* "send." The Potou-Tano languages here show a regular correspondence *t ~ s*: Twi *esã* "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 *n̄d̄ib* "people" (sg *n̄d*) matches the prefix of Lingala *bato* "people" (sg *moto*); the Proto-Bantu verb agreement prefix pair *l|gá* are cognate to the suffixes *re|aa* seen in Kusaal *tùb̀̀̀r* "ear", pl *tùb̀̀̀à*, where Lingala *litói* "ear", pl *matói* shows the corresponding Bantu noun prefixes.

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 (after Davius)

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



The closest relatives of Kusaal are found in 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* (from *\*ta*) for the imperfective. The group shows a great deal of distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *kù'em* "water", Boulba *kòà*, vs Moba *jùm*, Buli *nyiam* 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 <i>nē</i> 16.1.1)
	<i>La na bu biigε.</i>	"It is not yet ripe."
Talni	<i>Bunpɔk dɔɣam pu bɔkɔra, buraɔ dɔɣam m bɔkɔt.</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; verbs are uninflected. Proto-Oti-Volta \**s* \**z* \**c* \**j* are preserved unchanged.

The Gurma languages are much less close. Verbs mark aspect by unpredictable changes of tone and/or addition or deletion of 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>mɔɔg</i>	<i>mūub</i>	<i>móóùg</i>	"grass"
<i>tìg</i>	<i>tìib</i>	<i>tīḡ</i>	"tree"

Nawdm aligns tonally with Western Oti-Volta and Buli: *wáàǵb* "snake", *móógú* "grass", *tìíb* "tree." It has shifted \**p* → *f*, \**s* → *h*, \**c* → *s*, \**z* → *j*. It often has *h* [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 very diverse. Manessy's subgrouping is largely based on shared initial consonant changes, some of which are clearly areal.

Ditammari and Nateni have broadly similar systems of verb flexion to Gurma, and also align with Gurma in showing L tones corresponding to Pattern H. Ditammari nouns show paired class prefixes and suffixes, as in Gulimancéma.

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 Sambiéni 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 untruncated forms is 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: 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<sup>NE</sup>* "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 *gàadùgò* "passing" has rounding to *ʊ* before the flexion *-gɔ*, and after apocope this becomes contrastive in the SF *gàadùg*.

**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:

*Ṃ p̄ b́óɔdā=∅.* "I don't want to." (*b́óɔd<sup>a</sup>* "want")  
1SG NEG.IND want=NEG.

*Ṃ b́óɔdī=bá.* "I love them."  
1SG want=3PL.

*Ṃ p̄ zábē=∅.* "I haven't fought." (*záb<sup>ε</sup>* "fight")  
1SG NEG.IND fight=NEG.

*Ṃ zábī=bá.* "I've fought them."  
1SG fight =3PL.

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to a single consonant. So with the object pronoun *f<sup>ɔ</sup>* "you (sg)" and the locative postposition *n<sup>ε</sup>*:

*Ṃ p̄ b́óɔdī=f́=∅.* "I don't love you."  
1SG NEG.IND want=2SG=NEG.

*Ṃ b́óɔdī=f.* "I love you."  
1SG want=2SG.

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

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

The pronoun <sup>o</sup> "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* [ʊ]:

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

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

The SF of the 2pl subject <sup>ya</sup> after imperatives is similarly segmentally zero:

*Gòsìm!* "Look!"  
Look:IMP!

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

Liaison words are not all left-bound. *Right*-bound non-contrastive personal pronouns inhibit apocope in the *preceding* word, as do the personifier *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 z̄ūḡú=∅ z̄àb̄ìd l̄ā z̄úg*  
1SG head:SG=NZ fight:IPFV ART upon  
"because my head hurts" (nominaliser-*ṁ*)

*Ṁ z̄ūḡū◡ ∅ z̄àb̄ìd.* "My head hurts." (catenator-*n*)  
1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV.

Kusaal has contrastive vowel glottalisation, marked with '.

Vowel **breaking** results in four vowels *ja ya 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- CVln- or CVsln- before the root, e.g. *pīpīrīg* "desert", and may thus contain nC clusters between prefix and root: *dīndēog* "chameleon." Except in loans, other word-internal consonant clusters are only *kk tt pp ηη nn mm ll mn*; *kk tt pp ηη* 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", *bāñīdīb* "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 *ε 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>sàbùà</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>bòη</i>	"donkey"	<i>bòmìs</i>	"donkeys"
<i>tēη</i>	"land"	<i>tēēs</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 a key



part of the paradigm, because adjectives and dependent pronouns are regularly compounded with preceding head nouns:

<i>b̄vug</i>	"goat"	+ <i>p̄ìə̀lìg</i>	"white"	→ <i>b̄v-p̄ìə̀lìg</i>	"white goat"
<i>b̄vug</i>	"goat"	+ <i>s̄ī'a</i>	"another"	→ <i>b̄v-s̄ī'a</i>	"another goat"
<i>k̄ōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>p̄ìə̀lìg</i>	"white"	→ <i>k̄ōg-p̄ìə̀lìg</i>	"white chair"
<i>k̄ōk</i>	"chair"	+ <i>k̄àŋā</i>	"this"	→ <i>k̄ōg-k̄àŋā</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>k̄ō</i>	pfv	<i>k̄ōvd</i>	ipfv	"kill"
<i>ñyē</i>	pfv	<i>ñyēt</i>	ipfv	"see"
<i>v̄ōl</i>	pfv	<i>v̄ōn</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 d̄ìḡì</i>	<i>nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
3AN be.lying.down FOC.		
<i>Ò m̄òr b̄úŋ.</i>		"She has a donkey."
3AN have donkey.SG.		
<i>Ò ḡìm.</i>		"She's short."
3AN be.short.		

There are two verbs "to be": *b̄è* "exist, be somewhere" and the copula *àḡñ. Àḡñ* is usually followed by the focus particle *nē* whenever syntactically permitted, and then loses both the final *ḡ* and the nasalisation:

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

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

*Ò kā' bīgā=∅.* "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 head-second compounds can be created freely: e.g. *gbìgim-kōvd* "lion-killer."

Kusaal is SVO, with indirect objects preceding direct:

*Ì tísī=f bój lā.* "I've given you the donkey."  
1SG give=2SG donkey:SG ART.

There are two 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 bīg* "my child", *dāy lā bīg* "the man's child."

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

The liaison word *n<sup>ε</sup>* 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 the copula *àgñ* 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 kpīd.* "People die."  
Person:PL die:IPFV.

*Nīdīb kpīd 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 after the tense marker *dāa*; 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; clauses nominalised with *yà* "if" appear in this position:

*Fò yá' bòod, m ná tīsī=f búŋ.*  
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 m 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 *̀n* (frequently realised as segmental  $\emptyset$ ) after the subject:

*gb̄iḡim lá=̄ k̄ b̄́* "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=̀n s̄b gb̄́y-s̄'a n t̄s Efesus d̄im l̄́*] $\emptyset$  *̀nwá*.  
 Paul=NZ write letter-INDF.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 nominaliser-*̀n* has fused with a preceding demonstrative to form a relative pronoun:

*d̄́-k̀nì p̄́'ā kp̄́ l̄́* "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 léb̄is yē ̀n p̄́ ḡéñmm=̄.*  
 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:

*̀M ná t̄=f t̄im yé f̀ n̄́f d̄́ z̄ábē=̄.*  
 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:

*̀M z̄ūḡ́* $\emptyset$  *z̄áb̄id̄.* "My head is hurting."  
 1SG head CAT fight:IPFV. (Reply to "Where is the pain?")

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

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

*F̀ò b̀òd b̀ó=ø?* "What do you want?"  
2SG want what=CQ?

*B̀ó kà f̀ò ñyētá=ø?* "What can you see?"  
What and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

*Ànó'̀onì ø k̀úv=bá=ø?* "Who has killed them?"  
Who CAT kill=3PL=CQ?

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-P̀v-z̀ót-yēl dá à né ò sàam b̀iig mà'aa.*

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

*Kà dāar yīnní kà b̀iig lā né ò sàam z̀í'ni ø s̀õñsìd.*

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

*Kà b̀iig lā tí ỳèl ò sàam yē ...*

And child:SG ART once 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 very common *hālí* "even."

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

*k t p* represent [k<sup>h</sup>] [t<sup>h</sup>] [p<sup>h</sup>] 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<sup>w</sup>ɔbɪga] "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> (from Arabic)
<i>Dàsmáanì</i>	personal name: f <i>Abdu-r-Raḥmaan(i)</i> ; also <i>Dàhámáanì</i>	

*d* represents [d], and *r* [r] (often [l] 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*<sup>ε</sup> "lock" for expected \**kpàd*<sup>ε</sup> (Dagbani *kpàri*) has *r* from an obsolete \**kpàr*<sup>a</sup> "be locked"; cf *gùl*<sup>ε</sup> "suspend", *gùl*<sup>la</sup> "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.

Before liaison *-m* may become *-m*:

<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 *kpòkਪàrìg/kòkਪàrìg* "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", *ηmariga* "moon." Some Toende speakers retain initial [ɲ] [ɲ̃m]. Kusaal initial nasalised vowels reflect earlier initial *η*: Dagbani *ηubi*, 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** *ɪa 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, *ɪa ua* are realised [ɪɪ] [ʊɪ] and written *ɪe ue*.

<i>tɪ̀àk</i>	[tɪ̀ak]	"change"	<i>pɹ̥ā̀k</i>	[pɹ̥ak]	"female"
<i>kɹ̥ɪ̀à'</i>	[kɹ̥ɪ̀a]	"shape wood"	<i>kɪ̀à</i>	[kɪ̀a]	"cut"
<i>pɪ̀ə̀lɪ̀g</i>	[pìə̀lɪ̀g]	"white"	<i>bū̀'əs</i>	[bʊ̀əs]	"ask"
<i>bɪ̀ḕyá</i>	[bɪ̀ɪ̀ja]	"elder siblings"	<i>sɹ̥ḕyá</i>	[sɹ̥ɪ̀ja]	"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 *iə̃ uə̃* (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 *εɪ̃ ɔɪ̃*: cf *n̄ɔ̃r* "times", Mooré *náooré*, *n̄ɔ̃r* "mouth", Mooré *nóorè*.

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

<i>kɪ̀à</i>	SF of <i>kɪ̀a</i>	"cut"	<i>kɹ̥ā̀</i>	SF of <i>kū̀a</i>	"hoe"
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Elsewhere, *ɪa ua* replace *ε ɔ* before *k* and before underlying \**g*, which is deleted with vowel fusion 3.7. *B̀àk* "pit" (vs *bɹ̥à̀k* "split") is due to the change \**ɹ̥akv* → *ɔkɹ̥v*; other *εk ɔk* arise by shortening of long vowels before *k* (see below), as with *tḕk* "pull" (vs *tɪ̀à̀k* "change.")

Toende Kusaal here preserves phonetic monophthongs: Toende *sḕēs* = *sɪ̀ēs* "waists" vs *pḕ'ēs* = *pḕ'ēs* "sheep (pl)"; *bó'ɔs* = *bū̀'əs* "ask" vs *tōom* = *tōom* "depart." Mooré *oo* corresponds to Toende *ɔɔ*/Agolle *uə*, but Mooré *ao* to Toende *ɔɔ*/Agolle *ɔɔ*: Mooré *bàooda*, Toende *b̀ò̀òt*, Agolle *b̀ò̀òd*, "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>	* <i>tεεkkɪ</i>	"pull"
<i>tōɔg</i>	"bitter"	<i>tōɛ</i>	* <i>tɔɔya</i>	"be bitter"

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 *ia* 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> ( <i>ɥ'aa</i> LF-finally)	
Fronting	<i>aɛ</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>aeē</i>
		<i>ie</i>	<i>ieē</i>
		<i>ue</i>	<i>ueē</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 <sup>ya</sup> and by [ɔ] (never [u]) before the liaison word <sup>o</sup> "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* = *yū'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. Except in *kā'ε* \**kagɪ* "not be", 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", *sù'ŋā* "well", *sù'm* "goodness" (but only *sùŋ* pl *sùmà* "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 súm* "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 word-internal non-root CV syllable is *superlight* if preceded by a CV syllable which is *not* superlight, working left to right: *dī'əsídibà* "receivers", *sīgusídibà* "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 s̄iákìdā=∅.* (*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 between HH and HX:

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

*Ṁ gós ↓nû'ug lā bēoḡ=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 gídà=∅?*

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'ugà=∅?*

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-* before prepausal *-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."

KB has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ* "go" pfv, *ken* "go" ipfv for *yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn*, and *on oŋa* for the pronouns *ōn/ón/òn òŋā*, reflecting differing dialect developments of \*ĩ\* \*õ: cf Toende *tīŋ* "land" vs *meŋ mēŋ* "self" (Mampruli *tiŋŋa*, *maŋŋa*.) A related phenomenon is that word-final short *-ɪ* after *m n* is usually written *ɛ* in KB, as always with the pronouns *onɛ kanɛ linɛ banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

KB writes *bɛdegv* for *bèdvgv̄* "a lot" and *sanrega* for *sārīgá* "prison."

*ie* is used for *iə* and *ie*, which are anyhow in near-complementary distribution.

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

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

*io* [iɔ] is written *ieu* in the 1996 NT and KB: *kpi'euŋ kpī'ŋ* "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*: *yavg yāvɔg* "grave", *na'araug nā'-dāvɔg* "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 kūā* "hoe", *sabua sàbùā* "lover." The conventions for marking glottalisation distinguish *kpi'a kpj̄'a* "carve" from *kpi'a kpj̄'a* "neighbour."

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

Long Forms 3.2 with final *-ya* corresponding to Short Forms with final *-ɛ* are written with *-eya*: *vveya vōyá* "be alive." Older texts also write *bōn-vóyà* "living things" as *bunvoeya*, but KB has *bvnvya*.

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

*y* is omitted in *dunia dūmīyā* "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 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

Minimal meaningful utterances constitute free **words**. Many bound forms are also best regarded as words. The "combining forms" (cbs) used as initial members of compound nouns may be dependents, but are more often NP heads before adjectives and demonstratives: *tì-kàṅā* "this tree." There are no diagnostic phonological differences between cbs and free words, and compounds may include unbound words: [*ānzúrɪfà nē sālīmā lá'-*]*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker." Again, bound personal pronouns and several particles resemble free-word affixes segmentally, but differ in tonal behaviour, mode of attachment, and distribution. Stress does not distinguish bound and free words, and tone does not distinguish 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](#). *Boundness* is distinct from syntactic *dependency*: combining forms, though always bound, may be dependents or heads, and personal pronouns always head their own NPs.

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

<i>bòrkìn</i>	"honest person"	<i>kpòkpàrìg</i>	"palm tree"
<i>zīm-gbāñ'ad</i>	"fisherman"	<i>bù-ɾìèlìg</i>	"white goat"
<i>bù-kàṅā</i>	"this goat"	<i>bù-ɾìèl-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: *bvkaṅa bù-kàṅā* "this goat", but *yamug bipuṅ* (Acts 16:16, 1976) for *yàmmùg-bī-púṅ* "slave girl."

Traditional orthography writes pronouns as separate words if they have vowels of their own. Liaison enclitic object pronouns reduced to single consonants by apocope [3.2](#) are written solid with the preceding word in 2016 orthography; previously, *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*.



<i>Fv bɔɔdi ti.</i> <i>Fð bɔɔdī=tí.</i> 2SG want=1PL.	"You love us."	[fɔbɔ:diti]
<i>Fu boodi m. (2016: bɔɔdim)</i> <i>Fð bɔɔdī=m.</i> 2SG want=1SG.	"You love me."	[fɔbɔ:dim]
<i>M bood uf. (2016: bɔɔdif)</i> <i>M̃ bɔɔdī=f.</i> 1SG want=2SG.	"I love you."	[m̃bɔ:dif]
<i>M nye uf. (2016: nyɛɛf)</i> <i>M̃ ñyêɛ=f.</i> 1SG see=2SG.	"I've seen you."	[m̃j̃ɛ:f]

Apocope deletes the entire segmental form of <sup>o</sup> "him/her", *after* the final vowel mora of the word before <sup>o</sup> is changed to [ʊ], traditionally mistaken for the pronoun itself and written separately. In this grammar the [ʊ] is written *o* but not separated:

<i>Fv bɔɔd o.</i> <i>Fð bɔɔdō=∅.</i> 2SG want=3AN.	"You love her."	[fɔbɔ:dʊ]
<i>Fv pɔ bɔɔd oo.</i> <i>Fð p̄ b̄ bɔɔdó=o=∅.</i> 2SG NEG.IND want=3AN=NEG.	"You don't love her."	[fɔpɔbɔ:dʊ:]
<i>Fv nyɛ o.</i> <i>Fð ñyéo=∅.</i> 2SG see=3AN.	"You've seen her."	[fɔj̃ɛõ]
<i>Fv pɔ nyɛ oo.</i> <i>Fð p̄ ñyēó=o=∅.</i> 2SG NEG.IND see=3AN=NEG.	"You've not seen her."	[fɔpɔj̃ɛõ:]

The three liaison enclitics which are not object pronouns, locative *ne*, discontinuous-past *ne* and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun *ya*, are traditionally written solid with the preceding word whether reduced to single consonants (or zero) by apocope or preserving their own vowels: thus *pυυgvn* for *p̄υυgv̄=n* "inside", *bɔɔdin* for *b̄ɔɔdī=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-*nē* solid after *à* "be", and usually after other verbs; *nē* "with" is written solid after *wēn* "resemble" by analogy:

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

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

In KB *wēn nē* appears as *nwεnε*: *Ka o nindaa nwεnε winnig nε.*  
 KB writes the independent-perfective particle *yā* solid with the preceding verb:

*Nannanna o gaadya.* "Now he has gone." (2 Sm 3:24)  
*Nānná-nā, ò gādā 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 nε dunia gaadvg pv tɔi yaa.*  
*Àràzánà nē dūniyā gādàv̀g p̄ t̄ɔyá=∅.*  
 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 *bīig*:

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

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

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 *bīgā* is seen in

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

Ànó'òní\_∅ *dāa ñyē bīgà*=∅?  
Who CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?  
"Who saw a child?"

Ì *bīgā*=∅!      "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 ( <i>kk tt pp ηη</i> become <i>k t p η</i> but are written single in any case) Word-final <i>y</i> becomes <i>ɛ</i> after back vowels and zero elsewhere

The shortening changes of final diphthongs induced by apocope are

*ia* → *ja*      *ua* → *ɥa*      *ja'a* → *ja'*      *ɥ'aa* → *ɥ'a*  
*ae* → *aɛ*      *av* → *aɥ*      *ui* → *ɥi*  
*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:

Ì *à nē d̄vk*.      "It's a cooking pot."  
3IN COP FOC pot:SG.

<i>Dōk lā bódìg yā.</i> Pot:SG ART get.lost PFV.	"The pot has got lost."
<i>Lì kā' dōkó=∅.</i> 3IN NEG.BE pot:SG=NEG.	"It's not a pot." (/kk/)
<i>Lì à nē dōkó=∅?</i> 3IN COP FOC pot:SG=PQ?	"Is it a pot?"
<i>Ànó'oni ∅ ñyē dōkó=∅?</i> Who CAT see pot:SG=CQ?	"Who saw a pot?"
<i>Lì à nē kōk.</i>	"It's a chair."
<i>Lì kā' kōkā.</i>	"It's not a chair."
<i>Lì à nē kúkàa?</i>	"Is it a chair?"
<i>Lì à nē gbīgīm.</i>	"It's a lion."
<i>Lì kā' gbīgīmnē.</i>	"It's not a lion."
<i>Lì à nē yáarīm.</i>	"It's salt."
<i>Lì kā' yáarīmm.</i>	"It's not salt."
<i>Bà à nē gbīgīmā.</i>	"They ( <i>bà</i> ) are lions."
<i>Bà kā' gbīgīmāa.</i>	"They're not lions."
<i>Ò à nē dāy.</i>	"He ( <i>ò</i> ) is a man."
<i>Ò kā' dāv.</i>	"He's not a man."
<i>Kà ò sjàk.</i> And 3AN agree.	"And he agreed."
<i>Ò p̄v sjàkē=∅.</i> 3AN NEG.IND agree=NEG.	"He didn't agree."
<i>Kà ò dīgī.</i>	"And she's lying down."
<i>Ò p̄v dīgíyá.</i>	"She isn't lying down."
<i>Kà ò vōę.</i>	"And she's alive."
<i>Ò p̄v vōyá.</i>	"She's not alive."

*Kà ò kǎ́.* "And she cut (it)."  
*Ò p̄v kǎ́a.* "She hasn't cut (it)."

*Kà ò pāe.* "And he reached (it)."  
*Ò p̄v pā́ée.* "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 kíkīr-bê'ed-nàm dâamnī=bá dāa ñyē láafiyà*  
 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 wusa, sò' kae gat Joon nε [sic 3.1].*  
*P̄v'abí=∅ d̄u'à s̄ēbā lā w̄sā, s̄ō' k̄ā'e\_∅ gát Joonε=∅.*  
 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; SFs ending in *ǎ*' *u'ā* may have LFs in *ǎ'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: *sāēñ* "blacksmith", LF *sāēñ* or *sāñyā* and *sōēñ* "witch", LF *sōēñ* 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:

*dīgī* LF *dīgíyá* "be lying"      *vōę* LF *vōyá* "be alive"

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, as in *bīg<sup>a</sup>* "child", *kōk<sup>a</sup>* "chair", *dōk<sup>o/</sup>* "pot", *sìk<sup>ε</sup>* "agree", *gbīgīm<sup>ne</sup>* "lion", *yàarìm<sup>m</sup>* "salt", *dīgī<sup>ya/</sup>* "be lying down", *zìe<sup>ya</sup>* "be standing."

Words with LFs in *-ya* where SF-final *y* becomes *ę* are written with <sup>ya</sup>:

*vōę<sup>ya/</sup>* "be alive"      SF *vōę*      LF *vōyá*

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>zò</i>	"run"	SF <i>zò</i>	LF <i>zòo</i>
<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	SF <i>gòñ</i>	LF <i>gòññ</i>
<i>kpjà'</i>	"shape wood"	SF <i>kpjà'</i>	LF <i>kpjà'a</i>
<i>kūā</i>	"hoe"	SF <i>kūā</i>	LF <i>kūaa</i>
<i>dāu</i>	"man"	SF <i>dāu</i>	LF <i>dāu</i>
<i>sāęñ</i>	"blacksmith"	SF <i>sāęñ</i>	LF <i>sāęññ</i>
<i>pāe'</i>	"reach"	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>
<i>dī'e'</i>	"receive"	SF <i>dī'e</i>	LF <i>dī'ée</i>
<i>dūe'</i>	"raise/rise"	SF <i>dūe</i>	LF <i>dūée</i>
<i>sīa</i>	"waist"	SF <i>sīa</i>	LF <i>sīāa</i>
<i>nūa'</i>	"hen"	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūāa</i>
but <i>dà'a</i>	"market"	SF <i>dà'a</i>	LF <i>dà'a</i>
<i>àñí</i>	"eight"	SF <i>àñí</i>	LF <i>àñí</i>

Words ending in LF *ja'a u'aa* rather than *i'a u'a* are written with superscript <sup>a</sup>:

*djā<sup>a</sup>* "get dirty"      SF *djā'*      LF *djā'a*  
*pu'ā<sup>a</sup>* "woman"      SF *pu'ā*      LF *pu'āa*

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<sup>o/</sup>* "pot", LF *dōkó*; *nūa'* "hen", LF *nūāa*.

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>nû'ug</i> <sup>o</sup>	"hand"	SF <i>nû'ug</i>	LF <i>nú'ugò</i>
<i>nóbìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"foot"	SF <i>nóbìr</i>	LF <i>nóbìrè</i>
<i>wābōg</i> <sup>o/</sup>	"elephant"	SF <i>wābōg</i>	LF <i>wābōgó</i>
<i>dìgìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"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> <sup>l</sup>	"a lot"
<i>sòṅā</i> <sup>l</sup>	"well"	<i>yā</i> <sup>l</sup>	"houses"

Blocked words which do not end in a short vowel add *-nε* for the secondary LF: *pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF "a lot"; *mà'aa* SF *mà'anè* LF "only"; *gòllimm* SF *gòllimnè* LF "only"; *kòtāa*<sup>nε</sup> "at all." The LF of *ñyāe* "brightly, clearly" is similarly *ñyāenè* [jãĩñẽ]. Cf *mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause-finally (all sources) *mèn*<sup>ε</sup> "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", *sīlīnsūñg* "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 ɪ vv*. Most bound monosyllabic words have the same restriction. Before prosodic clitics short LF-final *ɪ v* become *ε 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* [kòkòr] "voice", but *kìkìrīg* [kìkìrìg] "fairy", *sìsì'əm* [sìsì'əm] "wind", *sīlīnsūñg* [sìlìnsũg] "spider", *vòlìnvùuñl* [vòlìnvũ:l] "mason wasp", *dùndùug* [dùndu:g] "cobra" (KB *dunduug*), *nìn-tāa* [nìnta:] "co-wife."

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

No consonant clusters appear word-initially or finally except final *-mm*: *p̄̄amm* "a lot." Homorganic nasal + *C* may occur after noun prefixes: *k̀̀̀nd̀̀̀ɲ̀̀̀*<sup>a</sup> "jackal", *ḡ̄omp̄̄z̄̄ɛ̄̄*<sup>ɛ/</sup> "duck", *d̀̀̀ɲ̀̀̀k̀̀̀* "measles." Except in loanwords, the only other word-internal clusters permitted are *kk tt pp ɲɲ 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>ǹ̀̀b̀̀̀-</i> "leg"	+ sg <i>-rɪ</i>	→	LF <i>ǹ̀̀b̄̄r̄̄è</i>	SF <i>ǹ̀̀b̄̄r̄̄</i>
<i>d̄̄m-</i> "knee"	+ sg <i>-rɪ</i>	→	LF <i>d̄̄mn̄̄è</i>	SF <i>d̄̄m</i>

The default **epenthetic vowel** is *ɪ*. Before *\*-gʊ* *\*-ɲɲʊ* it becomes *ʊ* 3.6. A similar **diphthongisation** of root vowels occurs before *\*-ya* *\*-gʊ* *\*-kkʊ* *\*-ɲɲʊ* and also from deletion of *\*g* with vowel fusion. Apocope renders these changes contrastive:

SF <i>ā̄̄ñ̄̄d̄̄ɪ̄̄g</i>	LF <i>ā̄̄ñ̄̄d̄̄ɪ̄̄gā</i>	"black plum tree"
SF <i>g̀̀̀ad̀̀̀g</i>	LF <i>g̀̀̀ad̀̀̀gò</i>	"(sur)passing"
SF <i>v̄̄ɪ̄̄d</i>	LF <i>v̄̄ɪ̄̄dɛ́</i>	"owls"
SF <i>v̄̄ɪ̄̄g</i>	LF <i>v̄̄ɪ̄̄gó</i>	"owl"

Epenthetic vowels are also rounded when *preceded* by a short rounded root vowel with intervening *g* (but not *ɲ* or *k*): thus *gb̄̄ɪ̄̄m* "lion" but *yō̄̄ḡ̄m* "camel."

After a single consonant preceded by short root *i* or *u*, epenthetic *ɪ* *ʊ* are realised [i] [u] respectively; this is not contrastive and is ignored in the orthography: *s̄̄ɪ̄̄ḡ̄ɪ̄̄d* "lowers" [sigid], *k̄̄ū̄ḡ̄v̄̄r* "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>dāv<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"male"	cf <i>dāp<sup>a</sup></i>	"men"
<i>bīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"child"	cf <i>bīl<sup>a</sup></i>	"little"
<i>dòɔg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"hut"	pl <i>dòt<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	
<i>fūug<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	"clothing"	pl <i>fūt<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	ipfv <i>ñyēt<sup>a/</sup></i>	imp <i>ñyèm<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>kē</i>	"allow"	ipfv <i>kēt<sup>a/</sup></i>	imp <i>kèl<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	ipfv <i>dīt<sup>a</sup></i>	imp <i>dìm<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>yī</i>	"emerge"	ipfv <i>yīt<sup>a/</sup></i>	imp <i>yìm<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>zò</i>	"run"	ipfv <i>zòt<sup>a</sup></i>	imp <i>zòm<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>dō</i>	"rise"	ipfv <i>dōt<sup>a/</sup></i>	imp <i>dòm<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>lù</i> or <i>lì</i>	"fall"	ipfv <i>lùt<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>līt<sup>a</sup></i>	imp <i>lùm<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>lìm<sup>a</sup></i>

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

There is variation before *-rɛ*. The default is a long vowel: *pò-kòòñr<sup>ɛ</sup>* "widow", *dà-kòòñr<sup>ɛ</sup>* "bachelor" vs *pukontim* "widowhood" and Toende Kusaal *pokõp* "widows", *dakõp* "bachelors", *dakõtvm* "bachelorhood." Regular gerunds show long vowels, as in *nō-lòor<sup>ɛ</sup>* "fasting", but WK has *nā-lór<sup>ɛ</sup>* "place for tying up cows", *wìd-lōr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "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<sup>ɔ</sup>* "hut."

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

Before derivational suffixes the vowel is lengthened

<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"feed"
<i>dāp<sup>a</sup></i>	"men"	<i>dàalim<sup>m</sup></i>	"masculinity"

Exceptions are *yīs<sup>ɛ</sup>* beside *yīs<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "make emerge" from *yī* "emerge"; *gōs<sup>ɛ</sup>* "look", ipfv *gōt<sup>a/</sup>* or *gōsīd<sup>a/</sup>*, imp *gòm<sup>a</sup>* or *gòsīm<sup>a</sup>*; *tìs<sup>ɛ</sup>* "give" ipfv *tīt<sup>a</sup>* or *tìsīd<sup>a</sup>*.

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

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

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

<i>tītā'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"big"	pl <i>tītādā</i>
<i>pòñ'or<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cripple"	pl <i>pòñdà</i>
<i>yū'ur<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"name"	pl <i>yūdá</i>
<i>yū'or<sup>ε</sup></i>	"penis"	pl <i>yūādā</i>

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

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

Rounded vowels become glottalised before derivational *g* s:

<i>vūr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"alive"	<i>vūr<sup>ε/</sup>ug<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"come alive"
		<i>vūr<sup>ε/</sup>us<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"breathe, rest"
<i>kò</i>	"break" intrans	<i>kò'og<sup>ε</sup></i>	"break" trans/intrans
<i>kòolúŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"broken"	<i>kò'os<sup>ε</sup></i>	"break several times"
<i>pòod<sup>a</sup></i>	"be few"	<i>pò'og<sup>ε</sup></i>	"diminish"
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'os<sup>ε</sup></i>	"hunt"

Sporadic CVV~CVC alternations are seen in

<i>nō</i>	"tread"	<i>nōbá</i>	"feet"
<i>sōōñr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"liver"	<i>sōbri</i>	"liver" (Mampruli)
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tāñp<sup>o</sup></i> <i>*tābbu</i>	"war"
<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>lōdīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"untie"
<i>pū</i>	"divide"	<i>pūdīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"divide"
<i>wìid<sup>a</sup></i>	"draw water" ipfv	<i>wìk<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>*wiggı</i>	pfv
<i>vī'</i>	"uproot"	<i>vīk<sup>ε/</sup></i> <i>*viggı</i>	<i>id</i>

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

<i>tōvmā</i>	"work" noun	<i>tòm<sup>m</sup></i>	"work" verb
<i>yéonŋ</i>	"one"	<i>yīur<sup>o/</sup></i>	"single"
<i>kāal<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"count"	<i>kāl<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"number"
<i>tōvlúg<sup>o</sup></i>	"hot"	<i>tōl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be hot"

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

<i>màal</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālōŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìə̀lìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"white"	<i>pè̀lìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"whiten"
<i>kpī'orŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"strong"	<i>kpè'η</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"strengthen"
<i>lìə̀b</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"become"	<i>lè̀bìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"turn over"
<i>t̄v̄l̄v̄g</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"hot"	<i>t̄v̄l̄g</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"heat"
<i>yāar</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"scatter"	<i>yād̄ig</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"scatter"
<i>dēεη</i> <sup>a</sup>	"first"	<i>dèη</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"go first"
<i>pìə̀b</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"blow" (flute)	<i>pè̀bìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yù̀lìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"swing" transitive

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

<i>zìiŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	*ziimga	<i>zīmí</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"	
<i>náaf</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	*naagfv	<i>nīgí</i>	<i>nā'-</i>	*nag-	"cow"
<i>wáaf</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	*waagfv	<i>wīgí</i>	<i>wā'-</i>	*wag-	"snake"
<i>pīim</i> <sup>m/</sup>		<i>pīmá</i>			"arrow"
<i>yùv̄m</i> <sup>mε</sup>		<i>yù̀mà</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>	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə		ə
<i>d</i>	ə	<i>tt</i>	ə	ə		ə	ə			<i>r</i>
<i>b</i>	ə	ə	<i>pp</i>	[ <i>mm</i> ]	ə	ə	ə	ə		ə
<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>	ə		<i>nn</i>	̣: <i>s</i>	<i>nn</i>	~ <i>f</i>	<i>nn</i>
<i>r</i>	ə	ə	ə	ə		<i>r</i>	ə	<i>tt</i>	ə	
<i>s</i>	ə	ə	ə	ə		ə	ə			<i>s</i>
<i>l</i>	ə	<i>nn</i>	ə	ə		<i>ll</i>	ə	<i>ll</i>	ə	<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<sup>a</sup></i>	"land"	pl	<i>tēŋs<sup>ε</sup></i>	* <i>tensɪ</i>
<i>kòlŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"door"	pl	<i>kòlɪs<sup>ε</sup></i>	* <i>kuɪnsɪ</i>

For the pl *bōtɪs<sup>ε</sup>* of *bōtɪŋ<sup>a</sup>* "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>nĩf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"eye"	pl	<i>nĩní</i>
<i>píũf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"genet"	pl	<i>pĩuí</i>

\***ss** only inserts an epenthetic vowel in the pl *pūsɪs<sup>ε</sup>*/ of *pūsɪg<sup>a</sup>* "tamarind." All other plurals in *-sɪs<sup>ε</sup>* in my materials are for \**-sɪnsɪ*. \**Pūs<sup>ε</sup>* 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 *tɔmtɔmnɪb* *tòm-tōmnīb* "servants." A few cases of *mna* remain in older texts, as with *wum na* for LF *wòmna* "do not hear" (Mt 13:15, 1996) and *tumtum na* for LF *tòm-tōmnā* "servant" (Gal 1:10, 1996), where KB has *tɔmtɔmma*. Some informants preserve *mne*: SB *gbīgīmne* "lion", *dūmne* "knee", WK *gbīgimmē*, *dūmmē*. Informants have *mni* in agent noun plurals only: *bōn-tómmɪr* "useful thing" pl *tōmnā* SB, *bò-sāñ'ammur* "goat for destruction" WK.

### Derivation precedes flexion in consonant cluster formation.

Stem-final *kk pp tt ŋŋ mn nn* never assimilate further; *mm* assimilates only with *mmm* → *mm* in imperatives. Thus e.g. *kōt<sup>ε</sup>* "slaughter", ipfv *kōtíd<sup>a</sup>*; *dàm<sup>m</sup>* "shake", ipfv *dàmmìd<sup>a</sup>* ipfv, gerund *dàmmòg<sup>ɔ</sup>* but imperative *dàm<sup>ma</sup>*.

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

Stem-internal *nn* becomes *n* except after short root vowels: cf *pībɪn<sup>nε</sup>* pl *pībɪnā* "covering", Mooré *pìbìndgà* "lid, cover"; *zìñ'in<sup>ε</sup>* "sit down", Mooré *zĩndi*; *vàbìn<sup>ε</sup>* "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<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bùn<sup>na</sup></i>	<i>bùnì<sup>m</sup>a</i>	"reap"
<i>dìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dìgìnìd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>dìgìnì<sup>m</sup>a</i>	"lie down"
<i>gò'òn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>gò'ònìd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gò'ònì<sup>m</sup>a</i>	"extend neck"

*N*-stem gerunds never show assimilation: *būnīb<sup>o</sup>*, *dìgìnòg<sup>o</sup>*.

*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<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>wòm<sup>ma</sup></i>	<i>wòm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"hear"
	<i>wòmìd</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>tòòm<sup>m/</sup></i>	<i>tòòm<sup>ma</sup>/tòòmìd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tòòm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"depart"
<i>kàrìm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>kàrìm<sup>ma</sup>/kàrìmìd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kàrìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"read"

The corresponding gerunds are *tòòḡ<sup>o</sup>/tòòḡó<sup>o</sup>* and *kàròḡ<sup>o</sup>/kàròḡó<sup>o</sup>*.

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<sup>/</sup>*:

<i>Ḥ pō kárìmmā.</i>	"I'm not reading."
<i>Ḥ kárìm nē.</i>	"I'm reading."
<i>Kà bà kárìmìd.</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<sup>a</sup></i>	"dumb" sg	<i>gìgìs<sup>ε</sup></i> pl
	cf <i>kōlīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"river" sg	<i>kōlīs<sup>ε</sup></i> pl
<i>*dd</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>bòt<sup>a</sup></i>	"plant" ipfv	<i>bòd<sup>ε</sup></i> pfv
	cf <i>dōgōd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"cook" ipfv	<i>dōg<sup>ε</sup></i> pfv
<i>*bb</i> → <i>pp</i>	<i>sōp<sup>o/</sup></i>	"writing" ger	<i>sōb<sup>ε</sup></i> pfv
	cf <i>kpārīb<sup>o</sup></i>	"locking" ger	<i>kpàr<sup>ε</sup></i> pfv
<i>*ld</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>kòn<sup>nε</sup></i>	"bags" pl	<i>kòlòg<sup>o</sup></i> sg
	cf <i>zūəbíd<sup>ε</sup></i>	"hairs" pl	<i>zūəbóg<sup>o</sup></i> sg

* <i>mg</i> → <i>ηη</i>	<i>b̀v̀η<sup>a</sup></i>	"donkey" sg	<i>b̀v̀m̀is<sup>ε</sup></i>	pl
* <i>ng</i> → <i>ηη</i>	<i>gb̀v̀v̀η<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"book" sg	<i>gb̀v̀v̀ǹa</i>	pl
	cf <i>ñwādīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	"month" sg	<i>ñwādīs<sup>ε/</sup></i>	pl
* <i>nr</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>tān<sup>nε</sup></i>	"earth" sg	<i>tānā</i>	pl
* <i>mr</i> → <i>mn</i>	<i>dūm<sup>nε</sup></i>	"knee" sg	<i>dūmā</i>	pl
* <i>lr</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>gél<sup>lε</sup></i>	"egg" sg	<i>gēlá</i>	pl
* <i>rr</i> → <i>r</i>	<i>k̀v̀kp̀ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"palm fruit" sg	<i>k̀v̀kp̀ar̀a</i>	pl
	cf <i>d̀ìg̀ir<sup>ε</sup></i>	"dwarf" sg	<i>d̀ìg̀a</i>	pl
* <i>nb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>sáam<sup>ma</sup></i>	"strangers" pl	<i>sāan<sup>a/</sup></i>	sg
	cf <i>nīdīb<sup>a/</sup></i>	"people" pl	<i>nīd<sup>a/</sup></i>	sg
* <i>mb</i> → <i>mm</i>	<i>kīm<sup>mɔ</sup></i>	"shepherding" ger	<i>k̀im<sup>m</sup></i>	pfv
	cf <i>kādīb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"driving off" ger	<i>k̀ad<sup>ε</sup></i>	pfv
* <i>ll</i> → <i>ll</i>	<i>B̀v̀l<sup>lε</sup></i>	"Buli"	<i>B̀v̀l̀is<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Bulsa"
* <i>rl</i> → <i>tt</i>	<i>Bāt<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"Bisa language"	<i>Bārīs<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"Bisa people"
* <i>ml</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>Dàgbān<sup>nε/</sup></i>	"Dagbani"	<i>Dàgbām<sup>ma/</sup></i>	"Dagomba"
* <i>nl</i> → <i>nn</i>	<i>G̀v̀r̀in<sup>nε</sup></i>	"Farefare language"	<i>G̀v̀r̀is<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Farefare people"

### 3.6 Vowel changes before \*-ya \*-gu \*-kku \*-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 *ɛ*, producing a short fronting diphthong:

SF <i>v̀v̀ɛ</i>	LF <i>v̀v̀yá</i>	"be alive"	SF <i>t̀v̀ɛ</i>	LF <i>t̀v̀yá</i>	"be bitter"
SF <i>sāɛñ</i>	LF <i>sāñyā</i>	"smith"	SF <i>s̀v̀ɛñ</i>	LF <i>s̀v̀ñyā</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>s̀v̀ñ<sup>ya/</sup></i>	* <i>s̀v̀ñ<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be better than"
<i>s̀v̀<sup>ya/</sup></i>	* <i>sv̀vya</i>	"own" (cf <i>s̀v̀v̀lím<sup>m</sup></i> "property")

Short unrounded root vowels become diphthongs in *v̀* before LF \**ηηv* \**kku*:

<i>gb̀v̀v̀v̀η<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	* <i>gbavηv</i>	"book"	pl <i>gb̀v̀v̀ǹa</i>
<i>lāv̀k<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	* <i>lakku</i>	"goods item"	pl <i>lā'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>yīv̀v̀η<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	* <i>yivηv</i>	"single"	pl <i>yīnā</i>

Short tense *i* does not diphthongise in *n̄n-gb̄iŋ*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "body."

Short *ia* becomes *iaʉ*, but short *ua* becomes *ɔ*: \**uakku* → *ɔkku*

<i>b̄iāyñk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>b̄iākkv</i>	"shoulder"	pl <i>b̄iāñ'ad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>
<i>b̄ɔk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>b̄uakku</i>	"pit"	pl <i>b̄v'ad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>

Unrounded second morae of long vowels become [ʊ] before LF \**gv* \**ŋŋv*:

<i>dāvɔ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>daagv</i>	"log"	pl <i>dāad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>
<i>f̄ēñ'og</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	* <i>f̄ē'ēgv</i>	"ulcer"	pl <i>f̄ēñ'ed</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>

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

	<i>v̄iug</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	* <i>v̄iigv</i>	"owl"	pl <i>v̄iid</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>
but	<i>d̄ab̄iog</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>d̄abiəgv</i>	"coward"	pl <i>d̄ab̄iəd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>
	<i>k̄p̄i'oj</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>k̄pi'əŋŋv</i>	"strong"	pl <i>k̄p̄i'amā</i>

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

<i>S̄à'-d̄ab̄ɔɔ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>Sa'-dabuəgv</i>	"place of the Sarabose <i>S̄à'-d̄ab̄uəs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> clan"
<i>lām-f̄ɔɔ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>lam-fuəgv</i>	"toothless" ( <i>lām</i> <sup>mɛ/</sup> "gum", <i>f̄uə</i> "extract")

Pl vowels are remodelled on the sg: *lām-f̄ɔɔd*<sup>ɛ</sup> "toothless." The only stem with final *ue* in the *gɔ|dɛ* class is formally-plural *z̄uəd*<sup>ɛ</sup> "friendship." There is probably a parallel rule \**iəgv* → *ɛvɔgv*, with similar pl remodelling: with *b̄i'am*<sup>m</sup> "enemy" cf

<i>b̄ē'og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>b̄ē'ed</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>b̄ē'</i> -	"bad"
<i>b̄i'a</i>	<i>b̄i'əs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>b̄i'à'</i> -	

*D̄ab̄iog*<sup>ɔ</sup> is perhaps influenced by an obsolete \**d̄ab̄iəm*<sup>m</sup> "coward" (Mooré *r̄ab̄émà*.)

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

	<i>āāñd̄ig</i> <sup>a</sup>	* <i>āād̄ig</i>	"black plum tree"
but	<i>ḡaad̄v̄</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>gaad̄igv</i>	"(sur)passing" (gerund)
pl	<i>māl̄imā</i>	* <i>mal̄imaa</i>	"sacrifices"
but	<i>māl̄v̄</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	* <i>mal̄iŋŋv</i>	"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* → *ia'a*                      *\*uagV* → *v'a*

*v'a* becomes *u'aa* word-finally. The rule applies later than *\*gg* → *kk*:

but	<i>pṽā<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>*pṽaga</i>	"woman"	pl <i>pṽ'ab<sup>a</sup></i>
	<i>zāk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>*zakka</i>	"compound"	pl <i>zà'as<sup>ε</sup></i>
	<i>lāy<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>*lakkv</i>	"item of goods"	pl <i>lā'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>
	<i>pṽāñk<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>*pṽākkv</i>	"word"	pl <i>pṽāñ'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>
	<i>pṽāk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>*pṽakka</i>	"female" (adj)	pl <i>pṽ'as<sup>ε</sup></i>
	<i>bòk<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>*bṽakkv</i>	"pit"	pl <i>bṽ'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>

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

*\*aaga* → *aa* 4.1                      *\*iəga* → *iaa*                      *\*uoəga* → *uaa*  
*\*aagi* → *aee*                      *\*iəgi* → *iee*                      *\*uoəgi* → *uee*

Glottalised vowels behave in the same way.

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

<i>bāa</i>	<i>*baaga</i>	"dog"	pl <i>bāas<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>sīa</i>	<i>*siəga</i>	"waist"	pl <i>sīəs<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>sàbùa</i>	<i>*sabuəga</i>	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs<sup>ε</sup></i>

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

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



Except before \**v*, \**ɛ̃ɛg* → \**ĩɔ̃g* and \**ɔ̃ɔ̃g* → \**ũɔ̃g* prior to \**g*-deletion (and similarly with glottalised vowels), creating alternations:

	<i>zĩñ'a</i>	* <i>zɛ̃'ɛ̃ga</i>	"red"	pl <i>zɛ̃ñ'ɛs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	
vs	<i>zɛ̃ñ'og</i> <sup>o</sup>	* <i>zɛ̃'ɛ̃gv</i>	"red"		
	<i>dùañ</i>	* <i>dɔ̃ɔ̃ga</i>	"dawadawa"	pl <i>dòɔ̃ñs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	
	<i>Mùa</i>	* <i>Mɔ̃ɔ̃ga</i>	"Mossi person"	pl <i>Mòɔ̃s</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	
vs	<i>Mòɔ̃g</i> <sup>o</sup>	* <i>Mɔ̃ɔ̃gv</i>	"Mossi country"		
	<i>nìe</i>	* <i>nɛ̃ɛ̃gɪ</i>	"appear"	cf <i>nèɛl</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"reveal"
	<i>ñyū'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	* <i>yɔ̃'ɔ̃gɪ</i>	"set alight"	cf <i>ñyɔ̃'ɔs</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	"smoke" (noun)
	<i>sūñ'</i> <sup>/</sup>	* <i>sɔ̃ɔ̃gɪ</i>	"anoint"	cf <i>sɔ̃ñ</i>	"rub"
	<i>sūñ'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	* <i>sɔ̃'ɔ̃gɪ</i>	"improve"	cf <i>sɔ̃ñ'e</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be better than"
	<i>nìə</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	* <i>nɛ̃ɛ̃gɪ</i>	ger "appear"	cf <i>nèɛr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"empty"
	<i>púñ'ə</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	* <i>pɔ̃'ɔ̃gɪ</i>	ger "rot"	cf <i>pɔ̃ñ'ɔl</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	"cause to rot"

Tones show that the ipfv of fusion verbs has no underlying \**g* 3.8.2; older texts reflect this, keeping *ɛñ ɔ̃ñ*, e.g. *pon'od pɔ̃ñ'ɔd*<sup>al/</sup> from *pūñ'e*<sup>/</sup>. Later sources introduce *iəñ uəñ* into ipfvs and imperatives by analogy: *pun'od pūñ'əd*<sup>al/</sup>.

### 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. Analogous Patterns appear throughout Western Oti-Volta.

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  $n^{\epsilon}$  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:

$wābōg^{o/}$	"elephant"	LF $wābugó$	SF $wābōg$
$dìgìr^{\epsilon}$	"dwarf"	LF $dìgìrè$	SF $dìgìr$
$nóbìr^{\epsilon}$	"foot"	LF $nóbìrè$	SF $nóbìr$

### 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:

$p\bar{v}-kp\bar{a}ad^{a/}$	$p\bar{v}-kp\bar{a}ad\acute{ib}^a$	$p\bar{v}-kp\acute{a}-$	"farmer"
$z\bar{u}g-k\bar{v}g\bar{v}r^{\epsilon/}$	$z\bar{u}g-k\bar{v}g\bar{a}$	$z\bar{u}g-k\acute{u}g-$	"pillow" <u>5.2</u>
$k\bar{a}-w\bar{e}nn\bar{r}^{\epsilon/}$	$k\bar{a}-w\bar{e}nn\bar{a}$	$k\bar{a}-w\acute{e}n-$	"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.

$v\bar{v}r^{\epsilon/}$	$v\bar{v}y\acute{a}$	$v\bar{v}r-$	"alive"
$y\bar{y}r^{\epsilon/}$	$y\bar{y}\acute{a}$	$y\bar{y}-$	"house"
$f\bar{u}ug^{o/}$	$f\bar{u}ud^{\epsilon/}$	$f\bar{u}-$	"shirt, clothes"
$d\bar{v}k^{o/}$	$d\bar{v}g\bar{v}d^{\epsilon/}$	$d\bar{v}g-$	"cooking pot"
$n\bar{y}d^{a/}$	$n\bar{y}d\bar{y}b^{a/}$	$n\bar{y}n-$	"person"
$k\bar{u}g\bar{v}r^{\epsilon/}$	$k\bar{u}g\acute{a}$	$k\bar{u}g-$	"stone"
$g\bar{v}t^{a/}$	$g\bar{v}t\acute{y}b^a$ /tt/	$g\bar{v}t-$	"seer, prophet"
$s\bar{a}b\acute{y}l\acute{y}g^a$	$s\bar{a}b\acute{y}l\acute{s}^{\epsilon}$	$s\bar{a}b\bar{y}l-$	"black"
$s\bar{a}b\acute{y}l^{\text{le}}$	$s\bar{a}b\acute{y}l\acute{a}$		
$y\bar{v}g\bar{v}m^{\text{m}\epsilon}$	$y\bar{v}g\bar{v}m\acute{a}$	$y\bar{v}g\bar{v}m-$	"camel"
$d\bar{y}'\acute{e}s^{a/}$	$d\bar{y}'\acute{e}s\acute{y}d\bar{y}b^a$	$d\bar{y}'\acute{e}s-$	"receiver"
$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r\acute{y}d^a$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r\acute{y}d\bar{y}b^a$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{v}r\acute{y}d-$	"forgiver, forbearer"
$k\bar{v}'\acute{a}l\acute{y}g^a$	$k\bar{v}'\acute{a}l\acute{s}^{\epsilon}$	$k\bar{v}'\acute{a}l\acute{y}g-$	traditional smock

<i>sú'əŋ<sup>a</sup></i> /ŋŋ/ <i>sāan<sup>a</sup></i> <i>sáannìm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>sū'əmís<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>sáam<sup>ma</sup></i>	<i>sū'əŋ-</i> <i>sāan-</i>	"rabbit" "stranger, guest" "strangerhood"
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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<sup>/</sup></i>	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>	"hen"
<i>vōm<sup>m/</sup></i>	SF <i>vōm</i>	LF <i>vómm</i>	"life"
<i>dāam<sup>m/</sup></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>ñyīrí<sup>ɔ</sup></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>nīis<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>*niinsi</i>	(beside <i>nīimís<sup>ε</sup></i> )	"birds" (sg <i>nīiŋ<sup>a</sup></i> /ŋŋ/)
<i>píiñ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>*pɪɪnfɔ</i>	(pl <i>pīɪnɪ</i> )	"genet"
<i>wáaf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>*waagfɔ</i>	(pl <i>wīigɪ</i> )	"snake"
<i>yáab<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>*yaagba</i>		"grandparent"
<i>vúə<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>*vuəgrɪ</i>		"fruit of red kapok"
<i>náar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>*naagrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>nāe<sup>/</sup></i>	"finishing"
<i>dī'ə<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>*dɪ'əgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>dī'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"getting"
<i>pūñ'ə<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>*pɔ̃'ɔgrɪ</i>	gerund of <i>pūñ'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"rotting"

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

<i>nū'ug<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>nū'us<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand, arm"
<i>à-gāvñ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>à-gāañ<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>à-gāñ-</i>	"pied crow"
<i>gbêñm<sup>m</sup></i>		<i>gbēñ-</i>	"sleep"
<i>nóbìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"foot, leg"
<i>gél<sup>lε</sup></i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>kísù<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful, taboo" (adj)
<i>áñsìb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>āñs-nám<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"

So too the gerunds *sóñsìg<sup>a</sup>* "talking", *gósìg<sup>a</sup>* "looking", *kìkíròg<sup>o</sup>* "hurrying."

Some of these words have probably lost a segment: *s r* can represent older *ss rr*, and cf Mooré *gǎoobgó* "pied crow." *Nú'ug<sup>o</sup>* "hand" has added further class suffixes to old *o|ε* class forms: cf Nawdm *núhú* pl *níhí*. *Nóbìr<sup>ε</sup>* "leg" is remodelled segmentally on the basis of the plural: cf Toende sg *nṵ'ṵt* pl *noba*.

Examples for Pattern H with prefixes:

<i>dà'yūug<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>dà'yūud<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dà'yū-</i>	"rat"
<i>B̀̀s̀̀s̀̀á̀̀g<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>B̀̀s̀̀s̀̀à̀n̄s<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>B̀̀s̀̀s̀̀ā̀̀g-</i>	"Bisa person"
<i>z̄ĩnz̄ā̀̀m̄g<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>z̄ĩnz̄ā̀̀n̄á</i>	<i>z̄ĩnz̄ā̀̀m̄g-</i>	"bat"
<i>ḡũmp̄z̄ḕ̀r<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ḡũmp̄z̄ḕ̀yá</i>	<i>ḡũmp̄z̄ḕ̀r-</i>	"duck"
<i>p̄ĩp̄ĩr̄ĩg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>p̄ĩp̄ĩr̄ĩs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>p̄ĩp̄ĩr̄-</i>	"desert"
<i>t̄ĩnt̄ṑ̀n̄r̄ĩg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>t̄ĩnt̄ṑ̀n̄r̄ĩs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>t̄ĩnt̄ṑ̀n̄r̄-</i>	"mole" ( <i>r</i> from <i>*rr</i> )

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

<i>s̀̀v̀̀g<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀v̀̀s<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀v̀̀-</i>	"knife"
<i>z̀̀à̀̀k<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>z̀̀à̀̀as<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>z̀̀à̀̀-</i>	"dwelling-compound"
<i>m̀̀ò̀̀l̄ĩf<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>m̀̀ò̀̀l̄ĩ</i>	<i>m̀̀ò̀̀l̄-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>p̀̀ò̀̀g̀̀v̀̀d̄ĩb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>p̀̀ò̀̀g̀̀v̀̀d̄-n̄ám<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>p̀̀ò̀̀g̀̀v̀̀d̄-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>s̀̀à̀̀al<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀à̀̀al̄ĩb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀à̀̀al-</i>	"human"
<i>ǹ̀ò̀̀ḡ̀̀d̄<sup>a</sup></i>			"lover"
<i>b̀̀ò̀̀ò̀̀d̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>			"will"
<i>z̀̀ò̀̀t̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>			"fear"
<i>d̀̀à̀̀al̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>			"maleness"

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

	<i>s̀̀à̀̀am<sup>ma</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀à̀̀am-n̄ám<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>s̀̀à̀̀am-</i>	"father"
	<i>m̀̀è̀̀ε̄̀ḡ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>m̀̀è̀̀ε̄̀m̄is<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>m̀̀è̀̀ε̄̀ḡ-</i>	"turtle"
	<i>à̀̀n̄r̀̀ò̀̀ḡ<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>à̀̀n̄r̀̀m̄à</i>	<i>à̀̀n̄r̀̀ò̀̀ḡ-</i>	"boat"
	<i>k̀̀à̀̀r̀̀ò̀̀ḡ<sup>o</sup></i> or <i>k̀̀à̀̀r̀̀m̄ò̀̀ḡ<sup>o</sup></i>			"reading" (gerund)
	<i>ỳ̀à̀̀l̀̀ò̀̀ḡ<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>ỳ̀à̀̀l̄ĩm̄à</i>	<i>ỳ̀à̀̀l̀̀ò̀̀ḡ-</i>	"wide"
	<i>z̄ĩl̄ĩm<sup>mε</sup></i>	<i>z̄ĩl̄ĩm̄à</i>	<i>z̄ĩl̄ĩm-</i>	"tongue"
But	<i>s̄ĩl̄ĩḡ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>s̄ĩl̄ĩm̄is<sup>ε</sup></i> or <i>s̄ĩl̄ĩs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>s̄ĩl̄ĩḡ-</i>	"proverb"
	<i>z̀̀à̀̀à̀n̄s̀̀ú̀̀ḡ<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>z̀̀à̀̀à̀n̄s̀̀í̀̀m̄à</i>	<i>z̀̀à̀̀à̀n̄s̀̀ú̀̀ḡ-</i>	"dream"
	<i>ǹ̀ò̀̀ḡ̀̀l̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>		<i>ǹ̀ò̀̀ḡ̀̀l̄ĩm-</i>	"love"
	<i>s̀̀ò̀̀ḡ̀̀d̄ĩm-t̄āa</i>			"co-helper" <a href="#">9.2.1.4</a>
	<i>d̀̀à̀̀al̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>d̀̀à̀̀al̄ĩm̄is<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>d̀̀à̀̀al̄ĩm-</i>	"male sex organs"
	<i>b̀̀ì̀̀is̄ĩm<sup>m</sup></i>			"milk"

Tonally exceptional forms are *bùgúm<sup>m</sup>* cb *bùgúm-* or *bùgōm-* "fire", *tàdímís<sup>ε</sup>* "weakness", *bùdímís<sup>ε</sup>* "confusion."

Pattern L with prefixes:

<i>kùkparìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kùkparìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>kùkpar-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>sāmán<sup>nε</sup></i>	<i>sāmánà</i>	<i>sāmán-</i>	"courtyard"

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

<i>būvg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>būs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>tān<sup>nε</sup></i>	<i>tānā</i>	<i>tàn-</i>	"earth"
<i>sīd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sīdīb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>pū'ā<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pū'ab<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pū'à-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>sā'ab<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	no pl	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge"
<i>gbīgīm<sup>nε</sup></i>	<i>gbīgīmā</i>	<i>gbìgìm-</i>	"lion"
<i>ñwāaŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ñwāamīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ñwàaŋ-</i>	"monkey"
<i>mēed<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>mēedīb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>mèed-</i>	"builder"
<i>sĵākīd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sĵākīdīb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sĵàkìd-</i>	"believer"
<i>būtīŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>būtīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bùtìŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>mēedīŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>mēedīs<sup>ε</sup></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>pù'us<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pū'usīdīb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pù'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 sg *-a*, and disyllabic LFs in *-mmV* or *-mm*. Some speakers allow H optionally before the interrogative clitics.

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

*Lì à nē gbīgīmmées?*

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

*Lì à nē gbígìmmèè?*

"Is it a lion?" both WK and DK

Pattern A with prefixes:

*dàkīig<sup>a</sup>*

*dàkīs<sup>ε</sup>*

*dàkì-*

"sib-in-law via wife"

*fōfōm<sup>mε</sup>*

*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 [16.5](#). 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 dúǵèè?*

"Didn't she cook?"

*Kà ò d̄vǵí=lī.*

"And she cooked it."

Examples for Pattern H:

*ñyē*

*ñyēt<sup>a</sup>/*

"see"

*k̄v*

*k̄vvd<sup>a</sup>/*

"kill"

*d̄vǵ<sup>ε</sup>*

*d̄vǵv̄d<sup>a</sup>/*

"cook"

*k̄ul<sup>ε</sup>*

*k̄un<sup>na</sup>/*

"go home"

*yādīǵ<sup>ε</sup>/*

*yādīǵíd<sup>a</sup>*

"scatter"

*m̄v̄v̄l<sup>ε</sup>/*

*m̄v̄v̄n<sup>na</sup>*

"proclaim"

*d̄īǵīl<sup>ε</sup>/*

*d̄īǵín<sup>na</sup>*

"lay down"

*n̄v̄k<sup>ε</sup> /kk/*

*n̄v̄kíd<sup>a</sup> /kk/*

"take"

*lāñīm<sup>m</sup> /ŋŋ/*

*lāñīm<sup>ma</sup> /ŋŋ/*

"wander searching"

*v̄v̄ǵ<sup>ya</sup>/*

"be alive"

*d̄īǵī<sup>ya</sup>/*

"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<sup>m/</sup></i>	SF <i>tōom</i>	LF <i>tóomm</i>	"disappear"
<i>pāe<sup>/</sup></i>	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>	"reach"

For the tonemes of stative verbs like *kpī'əm<sup>ma/</sup>* "be strong" see [9.1.2.1](#).

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

<i>pāe<sup>/</sup></i>	<i>pāad<sup>a/</sup></i>	"reach"
<i>dī'e<sup>/</sup></i>	<i>dī'əd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"get"
<i>pūñ'e<sup>/</sup></i>	<i>pūñ'əd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"rot" WK

Contrast the corresponding gerunds: *páar<sup>ε</sup> dī'ər<sup>ε</sup> pūñ'ər<sup>ε</sup>*.

**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<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bòt<sup>a</sup></i>	"plant"
<i>dì</i>	<i>dìt<sup>a</sup></i>	"eat"
<i>mè</i>	<i>mèɛd<sup>a</sup></i>	"build"
<i>zàb<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zàbìd<sup>a</sup></i>	"fight, hurt"
<i>bùə<sup>lε</sup></i>	<i>bùən<sup>na</sup></i>	"call"
<i>bòdìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bòdìgìd<sup>a</sup></i>	"get lost, lose"
<i>nìŋ<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nìŋìd<sup>a</sup></i>	"do"
<i>màal<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>màan<sup>na</sup></i>	"sacrifice"
<i>dìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dìgìnìd<sup>a</sup></i>	"lie down"
<i>wàŋìm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>wàŋìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"waste away"
<i>zàaŋsìm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>zàaŋsìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"dream"
	<i>tàbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be stuck to"
	<i>vèn<sup>na</sup></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 k̀ b̀d̀ı̀g̀ı̀=má.</i>	"He will not lose me."
<i>Ò k̀ b̀d̀ı̀g̀ı̀d̀ı̀=má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."

The LF before the bound pronoun <sup>o</sup> can show final M or H (all WK):

<i>Ò k̀ z̀ā̀b̀ó̀=0.</i>	"He won't fight him."
or <i>Ò k̀ z̀ā̀b̀ṑ=0.</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* 16.5, which remains M before the negative clitic and becomes L before the interrogative clitics 4.1:

<i>L̀ı̀ b̀d̀ı̀g̀ ńéε?</i>	"Is it lost?" (focus- <i>nē</i> ')
<i>L̀ı̀ b̀d̀ı̀g̀ ỳāa?</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.

*G̀ı̀ŋ̀ı̀l̀ı̀m<sup>m</sup>* "shortness", from the Pattern A adjective *g̀ı̀ŋ<sup>a</sup>* "short", possibly represents a five-mora-stem Pattern A toneme allocation (but cf *g̀ı̀ŋ̀ı̀l̀ı̀m<sup>m</sup> id.*)

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

<i>á̀ǹs̀ı̀b<sup>a</sup></i>	"maternal uncle"	<i>ā̀ǹs̀ı̀ŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"sister's child"
<i>k̀ı̀s̀v̀g̀<sup>o</sup></i>	"hateful"	<i>k̀ı̀s<sup>a/</sup></i>	"hate"
<i>g̀ó̀s̀ı̀g̀<sup>a</sup></i>	"looking"	<i>g̀ṑs<sup>ε</sup></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>b̀ı̀g̀<sup>a</sup></i>	"child"	<i>b̀ı̀l̀ı̀m<sup>m</sup></i>	"childhood" (-l-)
<i>ǹà'ab<sup>a</sup></i>	"chief"	<i>ǹā'am<sup>m</sup></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<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	<i>dṽgṽb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>
<i>nṽk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"take"	<i>nṽkír<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>dīgīl<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"lay down"	<i>dīgílúg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>
<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mēéb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>
<i>sṽη<sup>ε</sup></i>	"help"	<i>sṽηìr<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>dìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lie down"	<i>dìgìnḡ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>
<i>zàaṅsìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"dream"	<i>zàaṅsúḡ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>

Gerunds derived with *\*d* from Pattern A verbs are likewise Pattern L: *bṽṽdìm<sup>m</sup>* "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 verbal 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<sup>ε</sup>* "desirable", *mēédīḡ<sup>a</sup>* "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 16.5. 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 ue* 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> + <sup>0</sup>	"kill him/her"	SF <i>kúo</i>	LF <i>kúo</i> [kʊ:]	* <i>kvo=o</i>

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

The **negative prosodic clitic** appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb 16.4. (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 vʊ* are not lowered:

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

*Lì kā'* *dōkó=∅*. "It's not a pot (*dōk<sup>ɔ</sup>*)."  
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<sup>m</sup></i>	"salt"	SF <i>yàarìm</i>	LF <i>yàarìmm</i>
<i>tìum<sup>m</sup></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<sup>m</sup></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<sup>o/</sup></i>	"shirt, clothes"	SF <i>fūug</i>	LF <i>fūugó</i>
<i>pāe<sup>/</sup></i>	"reach"	SF <i>pāe</i>	LF <i>pāée</i>
<i>nūa<sup>/</sup></i>	"hen"	SF <i>nūa</i>	LF <i>nūáa</i>
<i>yā<sup>/</sup></i>	"houses"	SF <i>yā</i>	LF <i>yáa</i>
<i>bèdvgv̄<sup>/</sup></i>	"a lot"	SF <i>bèdvgv̄</i>	LF <i>bèdvgv̄úv̄</i>
<i>gāañ<sup>/</sup></i>	"Nigerian ebony"	SF <i>gāañ</i>	LF <i>gáañ</i>
<i>tāuñ<sup>/</sup></i>	"opposite-sex sib"	SF <i>tāuñ</i>	LF <i>távñ</i>
<i>dāam<sup>m/</sup></i>	"millet beer"	SF <i>dāam</i>	LF <i>dáamm</i>
<i>vōm<sup>m/</sup></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=ɔ.*

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 nīdā=∅!*

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

"Return, return, O Shulammite!" (Sg 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<sup>ε</sup>*)?"

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<sup>a</sup>*)?"

*Ànó'òní ñyē dōkó?*

"Who saw a pot (*dōk<sup>o/</sup>*)?"

*Ànó'òní ñyē mólì?*

"Who saw gazelles (*mòlì*)?"

*Ànó'òní ñyē bédvǔ?*

"Who saw a lot (*bédvǔ<sup>l</sup>*)?"

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<sup>a</sup>*)?"  
 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<sup>a</sup>*)?"  
*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<sup>ɛ</sup>* [13.2](#) attaches after nominal sg or pl forms; discontinuous-past *n<sup>ɛ</sup>* [16.2.2](#) and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun <sup>ya</sup> [17.1.3](#) attach after verb forms. The bound object pronouns *m<sup>a</sup> f<sup>o</sup> l tɪ ya ba* [12.3.1](#) attach directly to a verb word or after *n<sup>ɛ</sup>* or <sup>ya</sup>. Nominaliser-*h̄* [17.3](#) follows complete NPs.

<i>kōk<sup>a</sup></i>	"chair"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>kōkī=n<sup>ɛ</sup>l</i>
<i>dōk<sup>ɔ</sup>l</i>	"pot"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>dōkí=n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>
<i>pō'og<sup>ɔ</sup>l</i>	"field"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>pō'ogú=n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>
<i>yà'vǵ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"grave"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>yà'vǵv̄=n<sup>ɛ</sup>l</i>
<i>kù'øm<sup>m</sup></i>	"water"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>kù'ømī=n<sup>ɛ</sup>l</i>
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→	<i>ñyēɛ=m<sup>a</sup></i>
<i>kì'à</i>	"cut"	+ <i>lɪ</i>	"it"	→	<i>kì'ə=lī<sup>l</sup></i>
<i>dā'a</i>	"market"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"at"	→	<i>dā'a=n<sup>ɛ</sup>l</i>
<i>pāe<sup>l</sup></i>	"reach"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>pāa=tī<sup>l</sup></i>
<i>pīe<sup>l</sup></i>	"wash"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>pīə=tī<sup>l</sup></i>
<i>dūe<sup>l</sup></i>	"raise"	+ <i>tɪ</i>	"us"	→	<i>dūə=tī<sup>l</sup></i>
<i>sū'e<sup>ya</sup>l</i>	"own"	+ <i>lɪ</i>	"it"	→	<i>sū'v=lī<sup>l</sup></i>
<i>vūe<sup>ya</sup>l</i>	"live"	+ <i>n<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	dp	→	<i>vūv=n<sup>ɛ</sup>l</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=bā.</i>	"And I fought them."
<i>Kà m̄ p̄v zábì=f̄ɔ.</i>	"And I didn't fight you."
<i>Kà m̄ ḱúv=bā.</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*<sup>ε</sup> has the same tonal effects on the preceding word as the negative clitic, changing final L to M:

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

Discontinuous-past *n̄*<sup>ε</sup> and 2pl *ya* always impose M on the preceding syllable:

	<i>d̄v̄g<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	+ <i>n̄</i> <sup>ε</sup>	→ <i>d̄v̄gū=n̄<sup>ε/</sup></i>	
	<i>b̄d̄d̄g<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lose"	+ <i>n̄</i> <sup>ε</sup>	→ <i>b̄d̄d̄gī=n̄<sup>ε/</sup></i>	
	<i>yādīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"scatter"	+ <i>n̄</i> <sup>ε</sup>	→ <i>yādīgī=n̄<sup>ε/</sup></i>	
ipfv	<i>k̄vvd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"kill"	+ <i>n̄</i> <sup>ε</sup>	→ <i>k̄vvdī=n̄<sup>ε/</sup></i>	
	<i>d̄ɔl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"follow"	+ <i>ya</i>	→ <i>d̄ɔllī</i>	LF <i>d̄ɔllī=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<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lose"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>b̄d̄d̄gì=m<sup>a</sup></i>	
	<i>d̄ì</i>	"eat"	+ <i>l</i>	"it"	→ <i>d̄ì=l̄</i>	
	<i>yādīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"scatter"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>yādīgì=m<sup>a</sup></i>	
but	<i>d̄v̄g<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	+ <i>l</i>	"it"	→ <i>d̄v̄gì=l̄</i>	
	<i>ḡɔs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"look"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>ḡɔsó</i>	LF <i>ḡɔsó=o</i>
	<i>k̄v̄</i>	"kill"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>k̄v̄=m<sup>a</sup></i>	
	<i>p̄āe<sup>/</sup></i>	"reach"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>p̄áa=m<sup>a</sup></i>	
	<i>d̄ī'e<sup>/</sup></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<sup>a</sup></i>	"fights"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>zàbìdī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	
<i>zàbìd<sup>a</sup></i>	"fights"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>zàbìdō</i>	LF <i>zàbìdó=o</i>
<i>yādìgíd<sup>a</sup></i>	"scatters"	+ <i>ba</i>	"them"	→ <i>yādìgídī=bá</i>	
<i>yādìgíd<sup>a</sup></i>	"scatters"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>yādìgídō</i>	LF <i>yādìgídó=o</i>
<i>kōvd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"kills"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>kōvdí=m<sup>a</sup></i>	
<i>kōvd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"kills"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>kōvdō</i>	LF <i>kōvdó=o</i>

With independency-marking:

<i>bòdìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lose"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>bòdìgī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	
<i>bòdìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lose"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>bòdìgō</i>	LF <i>bòdìgó=o</i>
<i>yādīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"scatter"	+ <i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	"me"	→ <i>yādīgī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	
<i>yādīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"scatter"	+ <sup>o</sup>	"him/her"	→ <i>yādīgō</i>	LF <i>yādìgó=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 ñyéó=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 bōdìgī=m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò nà bōdìgī=bá.</i>	"She will lose them."
<i>Ò k̀ bōdìgīdī=má.</i>	"He won't be losing me."
<i>Ò k̀ 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."
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Toneme changes induced by liaison words *follow* external tone sandhi induced by words before the host; thus *dà'a* "market" + *n<sup>ε</sup>* "at" → *dā'a=n<sup>ε/</sup>*; *m̄ε* "build" + *n<sup>ε</sup>* dp → *m̄εε=n<sup>ε/</sup>*; *k̀* "kill" [*k̀v* with independency marking] + *m<sup>a</sup>* "me" → *k̀v=m<sup>a/</sup>*; 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 <sup>ya</sup> 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 *nìη<sup>ε</sup>* "do" = Toende Kusaal *ẽη*, locative *n<sup>ε</sup> ~ nī'* = Toende *-ɪ*, *nìe* "appear" = Toende *yěe*, *nīη<sup>a</sup>* "body" = Mooré *yĩnga*.)

<i>Dā dōllī=yá=∅!</i> NEG.IMP follow=2PL.SUB=NEG!	"Follow ye not!"
<i>Dì'əmī=∅!</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=∅!</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!"

*Biise, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.*  
*Bīisē=∅, 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 [12.3.1](#); 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 *m fù ò lì tì yà bà*, the personifier *à/ñ* 12.5.1, catenator-*n*, all words with the number prefixes *à bà b̀̀* or the manner-adverb prefix *à*, and *ànô'ɔn<sup>ε</sup>* "who?". Liaison before these words is marked ◡ in glossing. It is consistent only with pronouns after a verb within a VP:

*Tì gó sí ◡ bà b̀̀is.*

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<sup>ε</sup>* "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 nì ñí ◡ 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 zôvr*

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

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

*M̄ mór nē b̄ĩsá\_ 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'-b̄ĩb̄ìs álá kà f̀v̄ 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 ḡɔsi o biig.* "They've looked at her child."  
*Bà ḡɔsú\_ ò b̄ĩig.*  
 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 d̄ití\_ bà d̄īb.* "And they were eating their food."  
 And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food. (ML → HL: cf *d̄itī=bá* "were eating them")

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

After pause, catenator-*n* 17.2 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 zóó\_ø kēŋ nā.* "And he came running"  
And 3AN run CAT come hither.

*Bōó\_ø lá=ø?* "What's that?"  
What CAT that=CQ?

*tuum kanε ka m tummi tisid Wina'am la.*  
*tùum-kànì kà m túmmì\_ø tísìd Wínà'am lā*  
work-REL.SG and 1SG work:IPFV CAT give:IPFV God ART  
"The work which I do for God" (Rom 15:17)

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 sù'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 of postdependent *ñwà* "this" is assimilated after a consonant-final word, and *l m n* are geminated; emic nasalisation is lost.

<i>bīis ñwá</i>	"these children"	[bi:sa]
<i>Zōn ñwá</i>	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]

The *l* of the article *lā'* assimilates to word-final *-r*:

<i>pò-kòõr lā</i>	"the widow"	[pukõ:ra]
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Initial *n* of focus-*nē* assimilates to a preceding word-final *d t n r l m* in normal rapid speech, with *l m n* geminated:

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

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

<i>n̄n-bámmā</i>	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
<i>nàm zī'</i>	"still not know"	[nanz̄i]
<i>N̄-B̄ī</i>	Mbillah (personal name)	[mbil]
but <i>M̄ 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 a* for *sūñ-kp̄'oŋ*<sup>o</sup> "boldness", *sūñ-pēen*<sup>ne</sup> "anger", *àñ* "be" (KB *sv̄nkp̄i'euŋ*, *sv̄npɛɛn*, *an*.)

Fronting diphthongs ending *cbs* and non-VP-final verbs are monophthongised unless the next word begins with *y* (with *ie* → *iə*, *ue* → *uə*.) Thus *sāŋñ lā* "the blacksmith", but *sàñ-kàŋā* "this blacksmith" and e.g.

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

*Ti ya'a vve, ti v̄vne tis Zuḡsob la.*

*Tì yá' v̄v̄ɛ, tì vó nē\_ø 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)

*Mānī\_ø áñ d́'atà kà f̄v̄n mén áŋñ.*

1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also COP.

"I'm a doctor and you are too." WK

*M á nē d'atà.* "I'm a doctor." (see above on the loss of nasalisation)

This change is fairly recent: cf *soiput* (Haaf 1967) for *sòñ-pōt<sup>a</sup>* "witchfinder." It is often ignored in older texts: *voen vōv=n* "would live" (Gal 3:21, 1996), *Kristo da faaen ti Kristo dá fāañ=tí* "Christ saved us" (Gal 5:1); analogical misspellings also occur, like *faaenm* for *fāañm* "save!" and even *naae da* for *nāadá* ipfv LF "end."

#### 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 [16.5](#). M spreading does not follow clause adjuncts. Its occurrence is otherwise unaffected by clause structure:

*Bà tìs nâ'ab lā búŋ.* "They gave the chief a donkey (*bùŋ<sup>a</sup>*)."   
 3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

*Bà ñwè' nâ'ab lā súŋā.* "They beat the chief well (*sùŋā<sup>l</sup>*)."   
 3PL beat chief:SG ART good:ADV.

M spreading is absent after perfectives without tone overlay which do not end in M, and after nominal plurals in *-á* or *-í*:

*Kà m̄ gōs nâ'ab lā.* "And I've looked at (*gōs<sup>ε</sup>*) the chief (*nâ'ab<sup>a</sup>*)."   
 but *Kà m̄ záb nâ'ab lā.* "And I've fought (*záb<sup>ε</sup>*) the chief."

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

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

**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 *à-/n̄-*, *àn̄ḡ'ɔn̄<sup>ɛ</sup>* "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 k̄v̄v̄d̄í b̄à b̄v̄v̄s.* "They kill their goats."  
3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

*L̄i à n̄é à-d̄àal̄óŋ.* "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 t̄uonà l̄ā*  
like rain:SG=NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT once 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 ne tii.*  
*Àm̄áa ò p̄v̄ l̄āl n̄é t̄ī=∅.*  
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", *z̄uà* "friend", *d̄v̄'atà* "doctor", show M spreading after sg but not cb, and *l̄ànn̄ìg* "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 pōwō=ñ* "in the man's field (*pōwō*<sup>o/</sup>)."

Examples with a cb as head:

<i>b̀-̀p̀ìèlìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"white goat"	<i>b̀-̀p̀āalìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"new goat"
<i>b̀-̀p̀úŋ-̀p̀ìèlìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"white girl"	<i>b̀-̀p̀úŋ-̀p̀āalìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"new girl"
<i>n̄-̀p̀ìèlìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"white hen"	<i>n̄-̀p̀āalìg`<sup>a</sup></i>	"new hen"

With a cb as dependent (*n̄w̄r`<sup>ε/</sup>* "mouth", *d̄'əs`<sup>a/</sup>* "receiver" pl *d̄'əsìd̀ìb`<sup>a</sup>*):

<i>n̄-d̄'əs`<sup>a</sup></i>	"chief's interpreter"	pl <i>n̄-d̄'əsìd̀ìb`<sup>a</sup></i>
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There is no M dropping after personal pronouns:

<i>̀n̄ b̄ìg</i>	"my child"	<i>̀n̄ t̄ìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>m̄ān b̄ìg</i>	"my child"	<i>m̄ān t̄ìg</i>	"my tree"
<i>m̄ān ȳw̄ḡm</i>	"my camel"	<i>m̄ān gb̄ìḡm</i>	"my lion"

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

<i>̀n̄ b̄ìȳá b̄ìs</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' children ( <i>b̄ìs`<sup>ε/</sup></i> )"
<i>̀n̄ b̄ìȳá f̄uud</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' clothes ( <i>f̄uud`<sup>ε/</sup></i> )"

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*<sup>a</sup> "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*<sup>a</sup>)

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

*m̄wógw̄=n wáb̀̀g lā* "the wild (in-the-bush) elephant (*wāb̄w̄g*<sup>o/</sup>)"

M dropping follows cb heads, but never uncompounded heads:

	<i>kūg-yínnì</i>	"one stone" with <i>yínnì</i> as adjective <u>12.4.1</u>
but	<i>kūḡr yīnnì</i>	"one stone"
	<i>wāb̄w̄g lā</i>	"the elephant"
	<i>wāb̄is 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>b̀̀wōk</i>	"tall goat"	<i>n̄wōk</i>	"tall hen"
<i>b̀̀wōk-p̄j̄l̄ig</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>b̀̀wōk-p̄al̄ig</i>	"tall new goat"
<i>n̄wōk-p̄j̄l̄ig</i>	"tall white hen"	<i>n̄wōk-p̄al̄ig</i>	"tall new hen"
<i>b̀̀wōk d̄ib</i>	"tall goat's food ( <i>d̄ib</i> <sup>o</sup> )"	<i>n̄wōk d̄ib</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 (*b̀̀d̄ig yā*)" and "my elder same-sex siblings' (*m̄ b̄j̄yá*) X has got lost", with Pattern H and A nouns affected by M dropping:

<i>wāb̄w̄g</i> <sup>o/</sup>	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wáb̀̀g b̀̀d̄ig yā.</i>
<i>p̄w̄g</i> <sup>o/</sup>	"field"	<i>Dāy lā p̄w̄g b̀̀d̄ig yā.</i>
<i>bāŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ b̀̀d̄ig yā.</i>
<i>p̄v̄g</i> <sup>a</sup>	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā p̄v̄g b̀̀d̄ig yā.</i>

but	<i>wābūg<sup>o/</sup></i>	"elephant"	<i>Ṁ bĭēyá wàbùg bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"ring"	<i>Ṁ bĭēyá bàŋ bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>yūgvdīr<sup>ε</sup></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<sup>o</sup>* "cow" fluctuate:

<i>bùŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"donkey"	<i>Dāy lā búŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>ànrùŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"boat"	<i>Dāy lā ànrùŋ bódìg yā.</i>
<i>dòcog<sup>o</sup></i>	"house"	<i>Dāy lā dòcog bódìg yā.</i>
<i>à-gāvŋg<sup>o</sup></i>	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gāvŋg bódìg yā.</i>
<i>nāaf<sup>o</sup></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 nó-pìèlìg</i>	"the man's white hen ( <i>nó-pìèlìg</i> )"
	<i>dāy lā nó-pāalìg</i>	"the man's new hen ( <i>nó-pāalìg</i> )"
but	<i>dōg-kāŋā</i>	"this pot" ( <i>dōk<sup>o/</sup></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 dōcog]</i>	"tent" ( <i>fūug<sup>o/</sup></i> "cloth", <i>dōcog<sup>o</sup></i> "house")
<i>pò'vsùg [fūug dōcog]</i>	"tabernacle" ( <i>pò'vsùg<sup>o</sup></i> "worship")

but *Lì kā' [[[dāy lā bĭìg] bĭèr] nāaf] zòvrē.*  
 "It's not the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail." WK  
 (*bĭìg<sup>a</sup>* "child", *bĭèr<sup>ε/</sup>* "elder sib of same sex", *nāaf<sup>o</sup>* "cow", *zòvr<sup>ε</sup>* "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*<sup>a</sup> "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> <sup>a</sup> <i>nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>nà'-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sìd-</i> <i>nà'-</i>	"husband" "chief"
<i>ga sɛ</i>	<i>būvg</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>būvs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>gɔ dɛ</i>	<i>dòɔg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> <i>bū'əsúg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>dòɔd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> <i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>dò-</i> <i>bū'əs-</i>	"hut" "question"
<i>rɛ aa</i> <i>lɛ</i>	<i>nōɔr</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup> <i>Kūsâal</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth" "Kusaal"
<i>fɔ ɪ</i>	<i>mòlɪf</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bɔ</i>	<i>sā'ab</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>		<i>sà'-</i>	"porridge"
<i>mm</i>	<i>tìum</i> <sup>m</sup>		<i>tì-</i>	"medicine"

In two contexts, the sg LF adopts the form proper to a different class suffix that would have produced the same SF: rounded vowels before *-ga* may result in LFs in *-gɔ*, as in *nû'ug*<sup>ɔ</sup> "hand", and *a|ba* stems in *l n r* following a *short* root vowel show LF *-ɛ* with *l* and *n* geminated, as if the suffix were *rɛ*, e.g. *Bìn*<sup>nɛ</sup> "Moba person."

Stems in *-m* in the *a|ba* class avoid pl *ba*; some human-reference *ga|sɛ* class nouns have alternative plurals with *ba*; countable *mm* class nouns use pl *-aa* or *-sɛ* or *nàm*<sup>a</sup>; the small *fɔ|u* class has members with *fɔ|u* suffixes in only one number. A few other cases of irregular pairing mostly involve replacement of pl *-dɛ* by other suffixes.

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 pl *dɛ*: Mooreé *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*. *Kābirí*, *sūgvró* may show equivalents of sg *rɛ*.

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

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

There are partial correlations between class and meaning (see also 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 names of fruits, and about four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference nouns in *gɔ|dɛ* are pejorative: *bālērōg*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "ugly person", *dàb̄jog*<sup>ɔ</sup> "coward", *zōlōg*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "fool." Most human-reference nouns in *rɛ|aa* originated in *a|ba* and were transferred for phonological reasons. The *lɛ* subclass includes all names of languages.

The *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 *bo* class has only three members known to me that are not gerunds: *sā'ab*<sup>o</sup> "millet porridge, TZ", *tāñp*<sup>o</sup> "war" and *kī'ib*<sup>o</sup> "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 *bo* 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 sg, or of the pl if there is no extant sg or if it has a distinct meaning.

<i>wōk</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>wā'ad</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>wā'</i> - or <i>wōk</i> -	"long, tall" (adjective)
<i>tāñp</i> <sup>o</sup>		<i>tāñp</i> -	"war"
<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'εs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>zìñ'</i> - or <i>zèñ'</i> -	"red" (adjective)
no sg	<i>kī'</i>	<i>kī'</i> - or <i>kā'</i> -	"cereal, millet"
<i>lā'af</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>līgīdī</i>	<i>là'</i> - or <i>līg</i> -	"cowrie" pl "money"
<i>zūg</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>zūt</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>zūg</i> -	"head"

The cb *zūg*- "head" is frequently read *zū-* in the audio NT, and *zūg*- can behave tonally like a CV noun prefix [3.8.1](#). Mooré and Toende Kusaal have *zu-*.

Cbs as heads are more prone to levelling than as dependents: *nīn-dáa* "face", *nīn-tám*<sup>m</sup> "tears", *nīn-gótis*<sup>ε</sup> "spectacles" but *nīf-káñā* "this eye" from *nīf*<sup>o</sup> "eye." *Gbàṽṽ*<sup>o</sup> "book" has cb *gbàṽṽ-*, but dependent *gbàn-* is seen in the 1976 NT *gbanmi'id* *gbàn-mī'id* "scribe", KB *gbauṽmi'id*.

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

<i>zīnzāṽṽ</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzáṽṽ-</i>	"bat"
<i>gbēr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
<i>kùkōr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>kùkōyá</i>	<i>kùkōr-/kùkō-</i>	"voice"

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

<i>dāy</i>	<i>dāp</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dày-</i> sg <i>dàp-</i> pl	"man"
<i>tāyñ'</i>	<i>tāñp</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>tāyñ-</i> sg <i>tāñp-</i> pl	"sib of opposite sex"

Thus *dày-sùη* "good man", *dàp-sùmà* "good men."

Disambiguation is clearly involved with some longer remodelled cbs:

<i>kòlòg-kàηā</i>	"this bag"	cf cb <i>kòl-</i> from	<i>kòlīg</i> <sup>a</sup> "river"
<i>lànnìg-pìə̀lìg</i>	"white squirrel"	cf cb <i>làñ-</i> from	<i>làñ</i> <sup>nε</sup> "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 -ηɔ*, deletion of \**g* after *aa iə uə aañ εñ ɔɔñ*, and with CVV-stems before *a, u* and *aa*.

#### 5.3.1 a|ba

Stem-final *m n* assimilate before pl *-ba*: \**mb* → *mm*, \**nb* → *mm*.

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

<i>sīd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sìd-</i>	"husband"
<i>nīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>nīdīb</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>nīñ-</i> irreg	"person"
<i>sàal</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sàalīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sàal-</i>	"human being"
<i>kōvd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>kōvdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>kōvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>sāan</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>sāam</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>sāan-</i>	"guest, stranger"
<i>kpīkpīñ</i> <sup>na/</sup>	<i>kpīkpīñnīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>kpīkpīñ-</i>	"merchant"
<i>yōvm-yô'vm</i> <sup>na</sup>	<i>yōvm-yô'vmnīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>yōvm-yô'vm-</i>	"singer"
<i>pɸ'ə-sāñ'am</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>pɸ'ə-sāñ'amīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pɸ'ə-sāñ'am-</i>	"adulterer"
<i>bì-pīt</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>bì-pītīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>bì-pīt-</i>	"younger child"
<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>zà'-nō-gúrīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>zà'-nō-gúr-</i>	"gatekeeper" NT

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in *s* regularly drop the *d* formant in sg and cb, which can result in tonal heteroclites 3.8.1; similar behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs. Many of these nouns also have *nām*<sup>a</sup> plurals.

<i>kùəs</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>kùəsīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>sīgīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>sīgīsídīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sīgīs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dìs</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dìs-nām</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dìs-</i>	"glutton"
<i>sòs</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sòsīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tìs</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>tìsīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>tìs-</i>	"giver" WK

<i>wād-tís<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>wād-tísìb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>wād-tís-</i>	"lawgiver" NT
<i>kīs<sup>a/</sup> or kīsīd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>kīsīdíb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kīsīd-</i> (only)	"hater"
<i>zàb-zàb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>zàb-zàb-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>zàb-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
	<i>zàb-zābīdīb<sup>a</sup></i>		
<i>gbān-záb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gbān-záb-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gbān-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>ñwī-ték<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ñwī-tékìdìb<sup>a</sup></i>		"rope-puller"

Stems in *VVm-* have sg *-mm*; they make pls in *-se* or *nàm<sup>a</sup>* to avoid SFs which would be identical in sg and pl.

<i>kpī'im<sup>m/</sup></i>	<i>kpī'imís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>kpī'im-</i>	"dead person, corpse"
<i>zū'øm<sup>m/</sup></i>	<i>zū'amís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zū'øm-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tādīm<sup>m/</sup></i>	<i>tādīmīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tādīm-</i>	"weak person"
	<i>tādīm-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>		
<i>kpēεñm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>kpēεñmmā</i> LF only, WK		
	<i>kpēεñm-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kpēεñm-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'øm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>bī'ømmā</i> LF only, WK		
	<i>bī'øm-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bī'øm-</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*. Agent nouns from single-aspect verbs with stems in *-ll* or *-r(r)* show LF sg forms in either *-a* or *-ε* and analogical plurals in *-aa* alongside *-ba*.

	<i>Dàgbān<sup>ne/</sup></i>	<i>Dàgbām<sup>ma/</sup></i>	<i>Dàgbān-</i>	"Dagomba person"
	<i>Bìn<sup>ne</sup></i>	<i>Bìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	<i>Bìn-</i>	"Moba person"
	<i>Kùtān<sup>ne/</sup></i>	<i>Kùtām<sup>ma/</sup></i>	<i>Kùtān-</i>	member of EW's clan
	<i>Mōr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>Móom<sup>ma</sup> irreg</i>	<i>Mōr-</i>	"Muslim"
	<i>ñyà'an-dòl<sup>la</sup></i>	<i>ñyà'an-dòllìb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ñyà'an-dòl-</i>	"disciple" NT
	<i>ñyā'an-dól<sup>le</sup></i>	<i>ñyā'an-dóllà</i>	<i>ñyā'an-dól-</i>	<i>id</i> WK
	<i>gbàn-zāñl<sup>la/</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-zāñllíb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-zāñl-</i>	"book-carrier" KT WK
	<i>bù-zāñl<sup>la/</sup></i>	<i>bù-zāñllíb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bù-zāñl-</i>	"goat-carrier" WK
or	<i>bù-zāñl<sup>le/</sup></i>	<i>bù-zāñllá</i>		
	<i>gbàn-mōr<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-mōríb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-mōr-</i>	"book-owner" DK
	<i>gbàn-tār<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-tāríb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gbàn-tār-</i>	<i>id</i> DK
	<i>bù-mōr<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>bù-mōríb<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bù-mōr-</i>	"goat-owner" WK
or	<i>bù-mōr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>bù-mōrá</i>		

There is no one rule for the sg form with stems ending in vowels.  
Four nouns end in diphthongs in the sg:

<i>dāy</i>	<i>dāp</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dāy-</i> , <i>dāp-</i> 3.4	"man"
<i>tāyñ'</i>	<i>tāñp</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>tāyñ-</i> , <i>tāñp-</i>	"sib of opposite sex"
<i>sāḡñ/sāḡñ</i> <sup>ya</sup>	<i>sāañb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sāñ-</i>	"blacksmith"
<i>sōḡñ/sōḡñ</i> <sup>ya</sup>	<i>sōḡñb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sōñ-</i>	"witch"

\*CVg-stems appear in

<i>pū'ā</i> <sup>a</sup> * <i>pūaga</i>	<i>pū'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pū'ā-</i>	"woman, wife"
<i>bā'a</i> * <i>baga</i>	<i>bā'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>bā'-</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> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pīt-</i>	"junior same-sex sib"
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*Sàam-pīt*<sup>a/</sup> "father's younger brother" and *bì-pīt*<sup>a/</sup> "younger child" are regular.  
Some CVV stems introduce -*d-* in the sg and in the pl or cb:

<i>wìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>wìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>wìd-</i>	"hunter"
<i>sōñ'ɔd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>sōñ'ɔb</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>sōñ'ɔd-</i>	"someone better than"
<i>pū-kpāad</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>pū-kpāadíb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pū-kpá-</i>	"farmer"

Other CVV stems have become *re|aa* class: *pù-kòḡñr*<sup>ε</sup> "widow", *dà-kòḡñr*<sup>ε</sup> "bachelor", *bīḡr*<sup>ε/</sup> "elder same-sex sib", *pòñ'ɔr*<sup>ε</sup> "cripple", *ñyē'er*<sup>ε/</sup> "next-younger sib."  
Related languages still keep pl -*ba*, e.g. Toende Kusaal *pókóót* pl *pókõp* "widow", *dákóót* pl *dakõp* "bachelor."

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

<i>nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>nà'-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>nà'-</i>	"chief"
<i>yáab</i> <sup>a</sup> * <i>yaagba</i>	<i>yāa-nám</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>yāa-</i>	"grandparent"
<i>pùgvùdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pùgvùd-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>pùgvùd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>áñsìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>āñs-nám</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>āñs-</i>	"mother's brother"
<i>sàam</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>sàam-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sàam-</i>	"father"
<i>dìəm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>dìəm-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dìəm-</i>	"man's parent-in-law"
<i>dàyáam</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>dàyāam-nám</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dàyāam-</i>	"woman's <i>id</i> "



5.3.2 *ga|sɛ*

<i>bōvɔg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bōvs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>zōɔg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>zōɔs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>		"run, race"
<i>ñwādīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>ñwādīs<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>ñwād-</i>	"moon, month"
<i>bù-dìbìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bù-dìbìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>bù-dìb-</i>	"male kid"
<i>kōlīg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kōlīs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>kòl-</i>	"river"
<i>kpòkparìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kpòkparìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>kpòkpar-</i>	"palm tree"
<i>pūsīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>pūsīs<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<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 *εεñ ɔɔñ* before a consonant:

<i>bāa</i>	<i>bāas<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>bà-</i>	"dog"
<i>sāa</i>	<i>sāəs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>sjà-</i>	"waist"
<i>sàbùa</i>	<i>sàbùəs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>sàbùà-</i>	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>zìñ'a</i>	<i>zèñ'əs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>zìàñ'-</i> or <i>zèñ'-</i>	"red" (adjective)
<i>nū'-ìñ'a</i>	<i>nū'-èñ'əs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>nū'-éñ'-</i>	"fingernail"
<i>nūa'</i>	<i>nōɔs<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>nō-</i>	"hen"

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

<i>gìk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gìgìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>gìg-</i>	"dumb person"
<i>zàk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>zà'as<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>pṹāk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pṹ'as<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>pṹ'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<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tēεñs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>tèη-</i>	"land"
<i>pàη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pàañs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>pàη-</i>	"power"
<i>bòη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bòmìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>bòη-</i>	"donkey"
<i>nāη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>nāmīs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>nàη-</i>	"scorpion"
<i>sú'əη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sū'əmís<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>sū'əη-</i>	"rabbit"
<i>ñìη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ñís<sup>ɛ</sup>/ñìimís<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>ñìη-</i>	"bird"
<i>kòlìη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kòlìs<sup>ɛ</sup>/kòlìmìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>kòlìη-</i>	"door"
<i>pṹəsíη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pṹəsís<sup>ɛ</sup>/pṹəsímìs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>pṹəsíη-</i>	"sponge for washing"
<i>mēədīη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>mēədīs<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>mèədìη-</i>	"building tool"

or *mēədīmīs<sup>ɛ</sup>*

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>bīig<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bīis<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bī-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"child"
<i>bèrìŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bèrìgìs<sup>ε</sup></i>		a plant used for fibre
<i>tàmpūa</i>	<i>tàmpōs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tàmpò-</i>	"housefly" ( <i>oral</i> vowel)
<i>būtīŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>būtīs<sup>ε</sup></i> <u>2.3</u>	<i>būtìŋ-</i>	"cup"
<i>sāŋá</i>	<i>sānsá /ns/</i>	<i>sān-</i>	"time"
<i>dàsāŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>dàsām<sup>ma</sup>/dàsāaŋs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dàsàŋ-</i>	"young man"
<i>Yàaŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Yàam<sup>ma</sup></i>	<i>Yàaŋ-</i>	"Yanga, Yansi person"
	or <i>Yàamìs<sup>ε</sup>/Yàaŋs<sup>ε</sup></i>		
<i>Sà'-dàbùa</i>	<i>Sà'-dàbùòb<sup>a</sup>/-dàbùòs<sup>ε</sup></i>		clan name

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

<i>kūug<sup>a</sup>/kūug<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>kūs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>kū-</i>	"mouse"
<i>sù'vɔ<sup>a</sup>/sù'vɔ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>sù'vs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>nù'ug<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>nù'us<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand"
<i>zùnzòŋ<sup>a</sup>/zùnzòŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>zùnzòŋs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zùnzòŋ-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tèŋ-zòŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>tèŋ-zòvŋs<sup>ε</sup></i>		"foreign land"
<i>yù'vɔ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>yù'vmís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yù'vɔŋ-</i>	"night"
<i>zùuŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>zùuŋs<sup>ε</sup>/zùuŋd<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zùŋ-</i>	"vulture"

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

<i>yàmmòg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>yàmmìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yàm-</i>	"slave" ( <i>yàmmòg<sup>a</sup></i> WK)
<i>à-dàalóŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>à-dàalís<sup>ε</sup></i> WK	<i>à-dàalóŋ-</i>	"stork"
	<i>à-dàalímìs<sup>ε</sup></i>		
<i>sī'uŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>sī'imís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>sī'uŋ-</i>	a kind of big dish
<i>dìsúŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>dìsís<sup>ε</sup>/dìsímà</i>	<i>dìsúŋ-</i>	"spoon"

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

<i>wīlsúŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>wīlímís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>wīlsúŋ-</i>	a kind of snail
<i>yālsúŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>yālímís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yālsúŋ-</i>	"quail"

### 5.3.3 *gɔ|dɛ*

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

<i>dàvɔ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>dàad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>dà-</i>	"piece of wood"
<i>fěñ'og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>fěñ'ed</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>fěñ'-</i>	"ulcer"
<i>gbè'og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>gbè'ed</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> / <i>gbèdà</i>	<i>gbè'-</i>	"forehead"
<i>dàb̄iog</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>dàb̄iəd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>dàb̄ià-</i>	"coward"
<i>v̄iug</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>v̄iid</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>v̄i-</i>	"owl"
<i>mōɔg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>mōɔd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>mò-</i>	"grass, bush"
<i>dòndùug</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>dòndùud</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>dòndù-</i>	"cobra"
	<i>zùəd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>		"friendship"
<i>wāb̄og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>wāb̄id</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>wāb-</i>	"elephant"
<i>bālēr̄og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>bālēr̄id</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>bālér-</i>	"ugly person"
	or <i>bālēr̄is</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>		
<i>bēs̄og</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>bēs̄id</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>bès-</i>	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have plurals of the form *CVt*<sup>ɛ</sup> 3.4:

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

<i>zūg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>zūt</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>zūg-</i>	"head"
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\**CVg*-stems show \**gg* → *kk* in the sg, with *ɥa* becoming *ɔ* before *-k*<sup>ɔ</sup>; \**Cag*-  
\**Cɪag*- and \**Cuag*-stems delete \**g* with vowel fusion in the cb and pl:

<i>dūk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> / <sub>ɔ</sub>	<i>dūgūd</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>dūg-</i>	"cooking pot"
	<i>dūgūb dūt</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>		"cooking pots" SB
<i>lāuk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>lā'ad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>l'à-</i>	"(item of) goods"
<i>bīāuñk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>bīāñ'ad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> WK	<i>bīāñ'-</i>	"shoulder"
	<i>bīāñ'adā</i> SB		
<i>lòk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>lò'ad</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>l'ù'à-</i>	"quiver (for arrows)"

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

<i>ùd̀v̀g</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>ùt</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>ùd-</i>	"(piece of) chaff"
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Stems in *l* show \**ld* → *nn* in the pl:

<i>zōlōg</i> <sup>o/</sup>	<i>zōn</i> <sup>ne/</sup>	<i>zōl-</i>	"fool"
<i>sìlòg</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>sìn</i> <sup>ne/</sup> / <i>sìlìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>sìl-</i>	"hawk"

All stems in *m n* after a short vowel use pl *aa* instead of *dε*. The only *m n* stems which use *-dε* are *yammid* "slavery" and CVVC root-stems:

<i>làṅgávŋ</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>làṅgāamá</i> or <i>làṅgáam</i> <sup>me</sup>	<i>làṅgāvŋ-</i>	"crab"
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So too *màṅgávŋ*<sup>o</sup> "crab", the plural-only *sūñ-pêen*<sup>ne</sup> "anger" and perhaps the placename *Tèmpáan*<sup>ne</sup> "Tempane", if the second element is from *pāalíg*<sup>a</sup> "new."

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

<i>gbàŋ</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>gbàná</i>	<i>gbàn-</i> or <i>gbàŋŋ-</i>	"letter, book"
<i>zīnzāŋ</i> <sup>o/</sup>	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzāŋŋ-</i>	"bat"
<i>àñròŋ</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>àñrímà</i>	<i>àñròŋŋ-</i>	"boat"
<i>nìŋ-gbīŋ</i> <sup>o/</sup>	<i>nìŋ-gbīná</i>	<i>nìŋ-gbīŋŋ-</i>	"body"

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 *rε*. Only stems in *-s-* and *-sim-* have plurals, always with *-aa*:

<i>bū'əsúg</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàańsúŋ</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>zàańsímà</i>	<i>zàańsúŋŋ-</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 *dìgìŋòg*<sup>o</sup> "lying down", *sùnnòg*<sup>o</sup> "bowing the head", *zìñ'inòg*<sup>o</sup> "sitting down", *tóŋ*<sup>o</sup> or *tōmúg*<sup>o</sup> "departing", *sàñ'vŋ*<sup>o</sup> or *sàñ'amòg*<sup>o</sup> "destroying", *kàròŋ*<sup>o</sup> or *kàrìmòg*<sup>o</sup> "reading."

The place name *Dènòg*<sup>o</sup> "Denugu" also fails to assimilate \**ng*.

An irregular *sε* pl appears in

<i>pē'og</i> <sup>o/</sup>	<i>pē'εs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>pē'-</i>	"sheep"
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5.3.4 *re|aa*

<i>kūgōr<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>kūgá</i>	<i>kūg-</i>	"stone"
<i>yūgvdīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yūgvdā</i>	<i>yùgvòd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>nóbìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"leg"
<i>bì'isìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bì'isà</i>	<i>bì'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>bàlàḡìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bàlàḡà</i>	<i>bàlàḡ-</i>	"hat"
<i>sāḡgúnìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>sāḡgúnà</i>	<i>sāḡgún-</i>	"millipede"
<i>sūmmīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>sūmmā</i>	<i>sùm-</i>	"groundnut"

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

<i>bī̄ər<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>bī̄yá</i>	<i>bī̄-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zū̄ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zū̄yā</i>	<i>zū̄-</i>	"hill"
<i>nō̄ər<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>nō̄yá</i>	<i>nō̄-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zō̄v<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zō̄yā</i>	<i>zò-</i>	"tail"
<i>tītā'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big" (adjective)
<i>ñyē'ər<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>ñyēdá</i>	<i>ñyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòñ'ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>pòñdà</i>	<i>pòñ'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yō̄'v<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>yō̄dá</i>	<i>yō̄'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū̄'ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yū̄ādā</i>	<i>yù'ər-</i> 5.2	"penis"

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

<i>ñyā'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ñyā'a</i>	<i>ñyà'-</i>	"root" (* <i>ɲεg-</i> )
<i>sīà'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>sīà'a</i>	<i>sīà'-</i>	"forest"
<i>bīāñ'ar<sup>ε</sup>/</i>	<i>bīāñ'a</i>	<i>bīāñ'-</i>	"wet mud, riverbed"
<i>bà'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bà'a/bàdà</i>	<i>bà'-</i>	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i> )
<i>mù'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>mù'aa/mù'adà</i>	<i>mù'à-</i>	"reservoir, dam"
<i>zàḡkù'ar<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zàḡkù'aa</i>	<i>zàḡkù'à-</i>	"jackal"
	or <i>zàḡkù'adà</i>		

Even in a case where the glottalisation is not derived from \**g*:

<i>kì-dà'ar<sup>ε</sup></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 *gbāñ'ar<sup>ε</sup>* (*gbāñ'e/* "grab"), *dī'ər<sup>ε</sup>* (*dī'e/* "get"), *dū'ər<sup>ε</sup>* (*dū'e/* "rise") and also

<i>vū'ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>vūáa</i>	<i>vū̄-</i>	"fruit of red kapok"
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Some root-stems show *CV* with a short vowel before *rɛ*, with cb *CVr-* 5.2:

<i>gbēr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>gbēyá</i>	<i>gbēr-</i>	"thigh"
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Similarly *kòkōr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "voice", *kpàkōr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "tortoise", *gāñr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "ebony fruit", *gōmpōzēr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "duck", *ñyò-vōr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "life", *nā'-lór<sup>ɛ</sup>* "area in compound for tying up cows", *wìd-lōr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* "area for tying up horses."

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

<i>dūm<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>dūmā</i>	<i>dùm-</i>	"knee"
<i>yòvm<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>yòmà</i>	<i>yòvm-</i>	"year" 3.4
<i>kpān<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>kpānā</i>	<i>kpàn-</i>	"spear"
<i>gél<sup>lɛ</sup></i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"
<i>kòkpàr<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>kòkpàrà</i>	<i>kòkpàr-</i>	"palm fruit"

Various irregularities are seen in

<i>dāar<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	<i>dābá</i>	<i>dà-</i>	"day"
[Mampruli <i>zari</i> ]	<i>zā<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>zā-</i>	"millet"
<i>yīr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>yā<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>yī-</i>	"house"

**Language names** 21.3 have the suffix *-lɛ* after stems ending in a root vowel. Only stems in final vowels and in *r* have distinctive forms (with \**rl* → *tt*):

<i>Kūsâal<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	Kusaal	<i>Kūsâas<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	Kusaasi
<i>Bāt<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	Bisa language	<i>Bārīs<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	Bisa people

### 5.3.5 fɔ|u

<i>mòlɪf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>ñyīrɪf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>ñyīrì</i>	<i>ñyīr-</i>	"egusi"
<i>bōn-búvdɪf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>			"plant"
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i> ]	<i>mùj</i>	<i>mùj-</i>	"rice"

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

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

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

<i>nīf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>nīní</i>	<i>nīn-</i> or <i>nīf-</i>	"eye"
<i>píiñf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>pīní</i>	<i>pīin-</i>	"genet"
<i>kíiñf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>kīní</i>		"millet seed"
<i>zú'vñf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>zū'vní</i>		"dawadawa seed"
<i>míif<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>mīiní</i>		"okra seed"

*Míif<sup>ɔ</sup>* is remodelled after the unlauded pl: cf *má'an<sup>nɛ</sup>* "okra."

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

<i>wìəf<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>wìdì</i>	<i>wìd-</i>	"horse"
<i>lā'af<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>līgīdī</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</i>	"cowrie" pl "money"

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

<i>zīiŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>zīmí</i>	<i>zīm-</i>	"fish"
<i>wālīg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>wālīs<sup>ɛ</sup></i> or <i>wālí sic</i>	<i>wàl-</i>	a kind of gazelle
<i>sībīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>sībí</i>	<i>sīb-</i>	a kind of termite
<i>sīiñf<sup>ɔ/</sup></i> or <i>sīiñg<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>sīiñs<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>sīñ-</i>	"bee"
<i>sūñf<sup>ɔ/</sup></i> or <i>sūuñr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	<i>sūñyá</i>	<i>sūñ-</i>	"heart"
<i>kpá'vŋ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>kpī'iní</i>	<i>kpā'-</i> <i>irreg</i>	"guinea fowl"

*Pīinī* "gift" reflects a class obsolete in Western Oti-Volta, with *aa* unlauded to *ii* by the flexion *u*: cf Moba *pāāb* "gift", pl *pāānī*. It is used as sg, with cb *pīin-*.

### 5.3.6 *bɔ*

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

<i>sā'ab<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>sà'-</i>	"millet porridge, TZ"
<i>kī'ib<sup>ɔ</sup></i>		"soap"
<i>tāñp<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<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<sup>ɔ</sup>* from *sōb<sup>ɛ</sup>* "write", *lōp<sup>ɔ</sup>* from *lōb<sup>ɛ</sup>* "throw stones at", and stems in *m* show \**mb* → *mm*: *kīm<sup>mɔ</sup>* from *kīm<sup>m</sup>* "tend a flock/herd", *wōm<sup>mɔ</sup>* from *wòm<sup>m</sup>* "hear." Stems in *n* do not assimilate, however: *būnīb<sup>ɔ</sup>* from *bùn<sup>ɛ</sup>* "reap."

*Yīs<sup>ɛ</sup>* "make go/come out" has the expected gerund *yīsīb<sup>ɔ</sup>*; the alternate form *yīs<sup>ɛ/</sup>* has *yīsíb<sup>ɔ</sup>*, the only 3-mora stem in the *bɔ* class.

### 5.3.7 *mm*

Most words in this class are mass nouns. *M*-stems can be identified from cbs, plurals in *-ma* or *-mɛ*<sup>ε</sup>, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L [3.8.1](#).

<i>dāam</i> <sup>m/</sup>		<i>dā-</i>	"millet beer, pito"
<i>mèlɪgìm</i> <sup>m</sup>			"dew"
<i>kōdīm</i> <sup>m</sup>			"olden days"
<i>dū'uním</i> <sup>m</sup>		<i>dū'un-</i>	"urine"
<i>dàalím</i> <sup>m</sup>			"masculinity"
<i>yàarìm</i> <sup>m</sup>		<i>yàar-</i>	"salt"
<i>zāańsím</i> <sup>m</sup>		<i>zāańs-</i>	"soup"
<i>zōm</i> <sup>m/</sup>		<i>zōm-</i>	"flour"
<i>pūum</i> <sup>m/</sup>		<i>pūum-</i>	"flowers, flora"
<i>bì'isím</i> <sup>m</sup>			"milk"
<i>dàalím</i> <sup>m</sup>	<i>dàalímɛ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>dàalím-</i>	"male sex organs"
<i>p̄im</i> <sup>m/</sup>	<i>p̄imá</i>	<i>p̄im-</i>	"arrow" <a href="#">3.4</a>

*P̄im*<sup>m/</sup> "arrow" is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" *ɔ|ε* class, preserved in e.g. the Gurma languages and Nawdm: cf Nawdm *fíímú* "arrow", plural *fíímí*.



## 6 Adjective flexion

Historically, the noun classes were grammatical genders; adjectives took the class suffix of the head noun, which preceded as a bare-stem combining form. Like most Western Oti-Volta languages, Kusaal has lost the agreement system, but most adjectives still show suffixes from more than one class, usually in free variation.

Thus from *būvg*<sup>a</sup> "goat":

<i>bù-pìlìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>bù-pìlìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>bù-pìl-</i> ( <i>ga sε</i> )	"white goat"
<i>bù-pìl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	<i>bù-pìlà</i>	<i>bù-pìl-</i> ( <i>rε aa</i> )	<i>id</i>

A few traces of agreement remain, accounting for all cases with *mm* 12.6.1. There is some preference for *ga|sε* suffixes for human reference, as with *nīn-sábilis*<sup>ε</sup> "Africans", where *nīn-sábilà* is accepted by informants but is much less common, and *Zuà-wìis*<sup>ε</sup> "Red Zoose" (clan), where the adjective does not normally use pl *sε*. The suffixes *a|ba* and *fɔ|u* appear only in set expressions; *bo* never occurs at all.

WK claims a difference in intensity in gradable adjectives with sg suffixes of different classes, consistently ranking them *ga rε go* in decreasing order, so that *fū-pìlìg* "white shirt" is whiter than *fū-pìl*. DK specifically denied any difference.

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> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>zèñ'-</i>	"red"
<i>zèñ'og</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>zèñ'εd</i> <sup>ε</sup> or <i>zèñdà</i>		
<i>bī'a</i>	<i>bī'əs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>bīà'-</i>	"bad"
<i>bē'og</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>bē'εd</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>bē'-</i>	
also <i>bē'εd</i> <sup>ε</sup> sg	<i>bē'εd-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup> 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> <sup>a</sup>	<i>wàbìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>wàb-</i>	"lame"
<i>wàbìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>wàbà</i>		
<i>vènnìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>vènnìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>vènn-</i>	"beautiful"
<i>vènnìr</i> <sup>ε</sup> rare	<i>vènnà</i>		

<i>vèñllìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>vèñllìs<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>vèñllà</i>		"beautiful"
<i>sābílìg<sup>a</sup></i> <i>sābíl<sup>lε</sup></i>	<i>sābílís<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>sābílá</i>	<i>sābīl-</i>	"black"

Similar are *wēnnīr<sup>ε</sup>* "resembling" *pāalìg<sup>a</sup>* "new" *záal<sup>lε</sup>* "empty" *bàañlìg<sup>a</sup>* "slim" *pìə̀lìg<sup>a</sup>* "white."

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

<i>dēεη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>dēεñs<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>dēεmīs<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>dēεnā</i>	<i>dēεη-</i>	"first"
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Pl *sε* is not used with 2-mora stems in *m n*, or with any stems in *s d*:

<i>gīη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gīmā</i>	<i>gīη-</i>	"short"
<i>bōgvśìg<sup>a</sup></i> <i>bōgvśìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bōgvśá</i>	<i>bōgvś-</i>	"soft"
<i>pò̀ɔ̀dìg<sup>a</sup></i> <i>pò̀ɔ̀dìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>pò̀ɔ̀dà</i>	<i>pò̀ɔ̀d-</i>	"few, small"

Similarly *mā'asír<sup>ε</sup>* "cold, wet" *mālísír<sup>ε</sup>* "sweet" *tēbísír<sup>ε</sup>* "heavy" *lābísír<sup>ε</sup>* "wide."

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

<i>nèog<sup>ɔ</sup></i> <i>nèεr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>nèεd<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìug<sup>ɔ</sup></i> <i>wìir<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>wìid<sup>ε</sup></i> <i>wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wōk<sup>ɔ</sup>/</i> <i>wā'ar<sup>ε</sup>/</i> rare	<i>wā'ad<sup>ε</sup>/</i> <i>wá'a</i>	<i>wā'-</i> or <i>wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kōdōg<sup>ɔ</sup></i> <i>kōdīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>kōt<sup>ε</sup></i> rare <i>kōdā</i>	<i>kōd-</i>	"old"

<i>bèd̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>		<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>bèd̀ir</i> <sup>ε</sup> rare	<i>bèd̀à</i>		
<i>tītā'v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup> rare	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītá'-</i>	"big"
<i>tītā'ar</i> <sup>ε</sup>			

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

<i>s̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>s̀v̀mà</i>	<i>s̀v̀η-</i>	"good"
<i>k̀is̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>k̀is̀á</i>	<i>k̀is̀-</i>	"hateful, taboo"
<i>d̀à-zēmm̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>d̀à-zēmm̀á</i>	<i>d̀à-zēm-</i>	"equal piece of wood"
<i>t̀v̀v̀l̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>t̀v̀v̀lá</i>	<i>t̀v̀v̀l-</i>	"hot"
<i>l̀áll̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>l̀áll̀á</i>	<i>l̀ál-</i>	"distant"
<i>m̀ì'is̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>m̀ì'is̀à</i>	<i>m̀ì'is-</i>	"sour"
<i>ẁàv̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>ẁànà</i>	<i>ẁàv̀η-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>k̀p̀r̀'ov̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>k̀p̀r̀'omā</i>	<i>k̀p̀r̀'ov̀-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>z̀ùl̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>z̀ùl̀imà</i>	<i>z̀ùl̀v̀η-</i>	"deep"
<i>ỳī-póñr̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>ỳī-póñr̀à</i>		"nearby house"

Similarly *ỳàl̀v̀η*<sup>o</sup> "wide" *ñyāl̀v̀η*<sup>o</sup> "wonderful" *ỳēl-nár̀v̀η*<sup>o</sup> "necessary thing."

Perfective verbal adjectives 9.2.1.2 derived with *\*-lim-* belong here. KT (but not WK) also has forms without *-m-* in both sg and pl:

<i>k̀p̀ìl̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>k̀p̀ìl̀imà</i>	<i>k̀p̀ìl̀v̀η-</i>	"dead"	WK
<i>ǹīn-k̀p̀ìl̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>ǹīn-k̀p̀ìl̀imà</i>		"dead person"	KT
<i>g̀ēēñl̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>g̀ēēñl̀imà</i>	<i>g̀ēēñl̀v̀η-</i>	"tired"	WK
<i>ǹīn-g̀ēēñl̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>ǹīn-g̀ēēñl̀imà</i>		"tired person"	KT
<i>p̀è'el̀v̀η</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>p̀è'el̀imà</i>	<i>p̀è'el̀v̀η-</i>	"full"	WK KT
	<i>d̀v̀g-p̀é'elà</i>		"full pots"	KT

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

<i>k̀v̀v̀d̀ir</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>k̀v̀v̀d̀á</i>	<i>k̀v̀v̀d-</i>	"murderous;
<i>k̀v̀v̀d̀íg</i> <sup>a</sup> WK			liable to be killed"
<i>k̀v̀v̀d̀v̀g</i> <sup>o</sup> KT			
<i>t̀v̀mm̀ir</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>t̀v̀mm̀ā</i> WK	<i>t̀v̀m-</i>	"working, helpful"
	<i>t̀v̀mǹā</i> KT		

<i>sīnnír<sup>ε</sup></i> rare	<i>sīnná</i>	<i>sīn-</i>	"silent"
<i>sīnníg<sup>a</sup></i>			
<i>mōr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>mōrá</i>	<i>mōr-</i>	"having"
<i>kòg-dēl<sup>lε/</sup></i>	<i>kòg-dēllá</i>		"chair for leaning on"

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

<i>bōn-tólìgìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bōn-tólìgà</i>		"heating thing"
<i>ñwī-tékìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ñwī-tékà</i>	<i>ñwī-ték-</i>	"pulling-rope"
<i>bōn-sújìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bōn-sújà</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'alìη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>nīn-pú'alìmà</i>	"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záańsòη<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>nīn-záańsà</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<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>vōyá</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>dāvog<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>dāad<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dà-</i>	"male"
<i>tōɔg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>tōɔd<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tò-</i>	"bitter"
<i>puāk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>pṽ'as<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>pu'à-</i>	"female" (human)
<i>ńyá'aη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ńyá'as<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ńyā'aη-</i>	"female" (animal)
	or <i>ńyā'amís<sup>ε</sup></i>		
<i>ńyèesíη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ńyèensís<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ńyèesíη-</i>	"self-confident"

and similarly *vèńllíη<sup>a</sup>* "beautiful" *māńsíη<sup>a</sup>* "pleasant" *lāllíη<sup>a</sup>* "distant."

<i>bīl<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bībīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bìl-</i> or <i>bì-</i>	"little"
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The pl stem *bib-* is reduplicated. Sg *-la* is a diminutive class suffix: cf Farefare *níílá* "chick", *pìlilà* "lamb", *bùdíblá* "boy", *púglá* "girl", *kíílá* "young guinea fowl", Mooré *bìrìblá* "boy", *bìpúglá* "girl", *bùllá* "kid."

## 7 Verb flexion

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

### 7.1 Dual-aspect

Some 90% of verbs are dynamic [16.1](#) **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 [16.5](#).

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

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

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

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

<i>lèb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>lèbìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>lèm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"return"
<i>sōb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>sōbìd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>sòm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"write"
<i>lìəb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>lìəbìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>lìəbìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"become"
<i>ēñb</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>ēñbìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>ēñbìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"lay a foundation"

Only 2-mora *n*-stems show *\*nd* → *nn*; only *kēŋ*<sup>ε/</sup> (below) shows *\*nm* → *mm*:

<i>bùn</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>bùn</i> <sup>na</sup>	<i>bùnìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"reap"
<i>mōn</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>mōn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	<i>mònìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"make porridge"
<i>gò'ɔn</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>gò'ɔnìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>gò'ɔnìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"extend neck"
<i>dìgìn</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>dìgìnìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>dìgìnìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"lie down"

The *nn*-stem *sùn*<sup>ε</sup> does not assimilate at all:

<i>sùn</i> <sup>ne</sup>	<i>sùnnìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sùnnìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	"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> <sup>m</sup>	<i>sìlìm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>sìlìm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"quote proverbs"
<i>lāŋím</i> <sup>m</sup>	<i>lāŋím</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>lāŋìm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"wander searching"
<i>kàrìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	<i>kàrìm</i> <sup>m/kàrımìd<sup>a</sup></sup>	<i>kàrìm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"read"
<i>tōɔm</i> <sup>m/</sup>	<i>tōɔm</i> <sup>ma/tōɔmìd<sup>a</sup></sup>	<i>tōɔm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"depart"
<i>tùm</i> <sup>m</sup>	<i>tùm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>tùm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"work"

Like *tùm*<sup>m</sup> are *wùm*<sup>m</sup> "hear", *kìm*<sup>m</sup> "tend a flock or herd", *dùm*<sup>m</sup> "bite."

Stems in *-mm-* only assimilate in the imperative:

*tàm<sup>m</sup>*                      *tàmmìd<sup>a</sup>*                      *tàm<sup>ma</sup>*                      "forget"

Like *tàm<sup>m</sup>* are *zàm<sup>m</sup>* "cheat, betray", *dàm<sup>m</sup>* "shake", *lèm<sup>m</sup>* "sip, taste"; the cognate Mooré verbs have *-mb-*: *zǎmbe* "cheat", *rǎmbe* "stir", *lèmbé* "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<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>fāañd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>fàañm<sup>a</sup></i>	"save"
<i>dī'e<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>dī'əd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>dī'əm<sup>a</sup></i>	"get, receive"
<i>dūe<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>dūəd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>dùəm<sup>a</sup></i>	"rise, raise"
<i>pūñ'e<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>pūñ'əd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>pūñ'əm<sup>a</sup></i>	"rot" WK

**Irregular dual-aspect verbs** are few. Only two are irregular in the actual flexional suffixes taken:

<i>kē</i>	<i>kēt<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>kèl<sup>a</sup></i>	"let, allow"
<i>kēñ</i>	<i>kēn<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>kèm<sup>a</sup></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<sup>g</sup>* pfv "poser verticalement", *jehl<sup>a</sup>* ipfv.

<i>wìk<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>wìd<sup>a</sup></i> 3.4	<i>wìkìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"fetch water"
<i>jāñk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>jāñ'ad<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>jāñkìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"leap, fly"
<i>gīl<sup>g</sup></i>	<i>gīn<sup>na/</sup></i>	<i>gīl<sup>g</sup>ìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"go around"
<i>kēŋ<sup>ε/</sup></i>	<i>kēn<sup>na/</sup></i>	<i>kèm<sup>a</sup></i>	"go"
<i>yèl<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yèt<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>yèlìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"say"
<i>gōs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>gōsìd<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>gòsìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"look"
	or <i>gōt<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>gòm<sup>a</sup></i>	
<i>tìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tìsìd<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tìsìm<sup>a</sup></i>	"give"
	or <i>tìt<sup>a</sup></i>		

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

## 7.2 Single-aspect

**Single-aspect** verbs have just one finite form, which is always imperfective. Each verb is either **dynamic**, behaving like the imperfective of a dual-aspect verb, or **stative** 16.1; transitive stative verbs typically express relationships, while intransitives have predicative adjectival meanings. Morphologically, there are three subgroups, but this 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'ɛ *kagɪ</i>	"not be"
<i>tūñ'e</i>	"be able"	<i>nòŋ<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"love"

Uniquely among single-aspect verbs, *nòŋ<sup>ɛ</sup>* has a *ma*-imperative *nòŋim<sup>a</sup>* when the verb word carries the independency-marking tone overlay. As imperfectives, the forms are never followed by perfective *yā* 16.5, and the Pattern A verbs *bè* and *nòŋ<sup>ɛ</sup>* always have M tone before liaison and are followed by M spreading 4.4.

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

*Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noŋ zaba.*

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

NEG.LETIMP 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)

*Kà ò nóŋī=f.* "And she loves you."

The agent noun *nòŋid<sup>a</sup>* has Pattern L instead of the expected A:

*Ò nòŋid kā'e.* "There's nobody who loves him." WK

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<sup>ya</sup>*, 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<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be kneeling"	<i>dīgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying down"
<i>vābī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be prone"	<i>làbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"crouch in hiding"
<i>tàbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be stuck to"	<i>zì'e<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be standing still"
<i>zì'ñ'i<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be sitting"	<i>tì'i<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be leaning (object)"
<i>gō'e<sup>ya/</sup></i> WK	"have neck extended"	<i>wà'e<sup>ya</sup></i>	"travel to"

NT/KB *tu'ae* "approach" is perhaps *tv'e<sup>ya</sup>* \**tɔgya*.

Statives include transitive and intransitive types:

<i>àḡñ<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be something/somehow"		
<i>sṽ'e<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"own"	<i>sṽñ'e<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be better than"
<i>tṽe<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be bitter"	<i>vṽe<sup>ya/</sup></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, ipfv verbal 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 zì'ñ'i nē.</i>	"She's sitting down." WK KT
	<i>Ò pṽ zì'ñ'idā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	<i>Ò pṽ zì'ñ'inìdā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	<i>Ò vābì nē.</i>	"He's lying prone."
	<i>Ò pṽ vābìdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	<i>Ò pṽ vābìnìdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	<i>Ò dīgì nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
	<i>Ò pṽ dīgìdā.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	<i>Lì zì'ə nē.</i>	"It's standing up."
	<i>Lì pṽ zì'ədā.</i>	"It (a defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	<i>Lì tì'i nē.</i>	"It's leaning against something."
	<i>Lì tì'id.</i>	"It can be leant against something." WK
	<i>Lì pṽ tì'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning against something."
	<i>Lì pṽ tì'idá.</i>	"It's not for leaning against something." WK

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

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

Most make imperfective gerunds; in these and in agent nouns, ipfv verbal 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> <sup>na/</sup>	"envy"	<i>vēn</i> <sup>na</sup>	"be beautiful"
<i>wēn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"resemble"	<i>kpī'əm</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be strong"
<i>kpēēñm</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be older than"	<i>zùlīm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"be deep"
<i>sùm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"be good"	<i>gīm</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be short"
<i>yàlīm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"be wide"	<i>zēm</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be equal to"
<i>tàdīm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"be weak"	<i>wā'am</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be long, tall"
<i>vèñl</i> <sup>la</sup>	"be beautiful"	<i>lāl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be far from"
<i>tōl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be hot"	<i>mōr</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"
<i>tār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"	<i>dūr</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be many"
<i>kār</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be few"	<i>nār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be necessary"
<i>pòñr</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be near to"		

*M*-stems show single *m* in most sources except after short root vowels [3.5](#).

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

<i>mì'is</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be sour"	<i>bōgūs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be soft"
<i>mā'as</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be cool"	<i>tēbīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be heavy"
<i>mālīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be sweet"	<i>lābīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be wide"
<i>ñyèēs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be self-confident"	<i>kīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"hate"

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

There is one intransitive stative verb in *-da*: *pòçd*<sup>a</sup> "be few, small."

Some dual-aspect imperfective forms have become independent stative verbs, e.g. *bòçd*<sup>a</sup> "want, like" (*bò* "seek"), *zòt*<sup>a</sup> "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	<i>-bɔ</i> but <i>-rɛ</i> as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in * <i>g</i>	
[surface <i>-g<sup>ɛ</sup> -k<sup>ɛ</sup> -ŋ<sup>ɛ</sup> -ae -ie -ue</i> ]	<i>-rɛ</i>
all others	<i>-gɔ</i>

<i>kɔ̄vb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"kill ( <i>kɔ̄</i> )"	<i>dɔ̄gɔ̄b<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"cook ( <i>dɔ̄g<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
<i>dɔ̄'ab<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"bear, beget ( <i>dɔ̄'a<sup>a</sup></i> )"	<i>kāđīb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"drive off ( <i>kād<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
<i>pīlīb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"cover ( <i>pīl<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>kpārīb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"lock ( <i>kpār<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
<i>bāsīb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"go/send away ( <i>bās<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>sōp<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"write ( <i>sōb<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
<i>lōp<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"throw stones at ( <i>lōb<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>kīm<sup>mɔ</sup></i>	"tend flock/herd ( <i>kīm<sup>m</sup></i> )"

2-mora *n*-stems do not assimilate \**nb* → *mm*: *bùn<sup>ɛ</sup>* "reap", gerund *būnīb<sup>ɔ</sup>*.

<i>yùugùr<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"delay ( <i>yùug<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>nōkír<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"take ( <i>nōk<sup>ɛ</sup>/</i> )"
<i>nìŋìr<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"doing ( <i>nìŋ<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>gbáñ'ar<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"grab ( <i>gbāñ'e'/</i> )"
<i>dī'ər<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"get ( <i>dī'e'/</i> )"	<i>dúər<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"rise ( <i>dūe'/</i> )"
<i>gàadùg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"pass ( <i>gàad<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>lìəbùg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"become ( <i>lìəb<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
<i>dīgílúg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"lay down ( <i>dīgīl<sup>ɛ</sup>/</i> )"	<i>yāarúg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"scatter ( <i>yāar<sup>ɛ</sup>/</i> )"
<i>sīgīsúg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"lower ( <i>sīgīs<sup>ɛ</sup>/</i> )"	<i>dàmmùg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"shake ( <i>dàm<sup>m</sup></i> )" ( <i>mm</i> -stem)

3-mora *n*-stems never assimilate \**ng* → *ŋŋ*:

<i>dīgìnùg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"lie down ( <i>dīgìn<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"	<i>zìñ'inùg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"sit down ( <i>zìñ'in<sup>ɛ</sup></i> )"
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3-mora *m*-stems assimilate \**mg* → *ηη* optionally:

<i>tóɔŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"depart, disappear ( <i>tōɔm</i> <sup>m/</sup> )" or <i>tōɔmúg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>
<i>sàñ'vŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"destroy ( <i>sàñ'am</i> <sup>m</sup> )" or <i>sàñ'amùg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>
<i>kàrùŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"read ( <i>kàrìm</i> <sup>m</sup> )" or <i>kàrìmùg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>

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

<i>sìlúŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"cite proverbs ( <i>sìlìm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"	<i>zàańsúŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"dream ( <i>zàańsìm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"
<i>wàŋìr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"waste away ( <i>wàŋìm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"	<i>lāŋír</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"wander ( <i>lāŋím</i> <sup>m</sup> )"
<i>zàkìr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"itch ( <i>zàkìm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"		

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

<i>pɹ'á-dīur</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"marriage"	<i>nīn-kúur</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"murder"
<i>dā-nūur</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"beer-drinking"	<i>mò-pīl</i> <sup>lɛ</sup>	"grass roof"
<i>fū-yêur</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"shirt-wearing" WK		

Irregular gerunds are rare with stems of three or four morae. A few are formally plural [12.1](#), and *yīs*<sup>ɛ/</sup> "make emerge" has *yīsíb*<sup>ɔ</sup>. Most irregular verbs have regular gerunds, e.g. *tis*<sup>ɛ</sup> "give" → *tisīb*<sup>ɔ</sup>, *kē* "let" → *kēɛb*<sup>ɔ/</sup>. However, in KED almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs use suffixes other than *bɔ*, especially stems 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 *sɛ* show that the word is *ga|sɛ* with LF remodelling [5.3.2](#).

<i>līg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"fall ( <i>lì</i> )"	<i>zīid</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	"carry on head ( <i>zī</i> )"
<i>bēñ'es</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"fall ill ( <i>bēñ'</i> )"	<i>kēn</i> <sup>nɛ/</sup>	"come ( <i>kēñ</i> )"
<i>zūa</i>	"run ( <i>zò</i> )" or <i>zōɔg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>vūug</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	"make noise ( <i>vū</i> )"
<i>pìàũŋk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"speak ( <i>pīāñ'</i> <sup>a</sup> )"	<i>būdīg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"plant ( <i>bùd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )" or <i>būdōg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>
<i>yèlòg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"say, tell ( <i>yèl</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>kūlīg</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"go home ( <i>kūl</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )" or <i>kūlōg</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>
<i>tàńsòg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"shout ( <i>tàńs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>sóńsìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"converse ( <i>sōńs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
<i>gósìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"look ( <i>gōs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>sōsīg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"pray, beg ( <i>sòs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
<i>kìkíròg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"hurry ( <i>kīr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )" or <i>kīrīb</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	<i>lēbīg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"return ( <i>lèb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
		<i>tēbīg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"carry in both hands ( <i>tèb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
<i>kāńbīr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"scorch ( <i>kāńb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>ōńbīr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"chew ( <i>òńb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
<i>lūbīr</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	"buck ( <i>lūb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>zàbìr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"fight ( <i>zàb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"
<i>tèńbòg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"tremble ( <i>tèńb</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> )"	<i>tūvmā</i>	"work ( <i>tùm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"
<i>tìtōmīs</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"send ( <i>tùm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"	<i>wūm</i> <sup>mɔ</sup>	"hear ( <i>wùm</i> <sup>m</sup> )"
			or <i>wòmùmòg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup> <a href="#">9.2.1.4</a>

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

<i>zīñ'ig<sup>a</sup></i>		"be sitting ( <i>zīñ'i<sup>ya</sup></i> )"; also "place", <i>ga sɛ</i> class		
<i>zī'a</i>	KED	"be standing ( <i>zī'e<sup>ya</sup></i> )"	or <i>zī'əg<sup>a</sup></i>	KT ( <i>very irreg 3.7</i> )
<i>dīk<sup>a/</sup></i>	KT	"be lying ( <i>dīgī<sup>ya/</sup></i> )"	or <i>dīgīr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	WK
<i>īk<sup>a/</sup></i>	KT	"be kneeling ( <i>īgī<sup>ya/</sup></i> )"	or <i>īgīr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	WK
<i>vāp<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	KT	"be lying prone ( <i>vābī<sup>ya/</sup></i> )"	or <i>vābīr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	WK
<i>tī'ib<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>		"be leaning, of an object ( <i>tī'i<sup>ya/</sup></i> )"		

*Gùl<sup>la</sup>* "be hanging" uses *gūlīb<sup>ɔ</sup>* from dual-aspect *gùl<sup>ɛ</sup>*. *Tèñr<sup>a</sup>* "remember" and the stative *pəñr<sup>a</sup>* "be near" have *tèñrīb<sup>ɔ</sup>* *pəñrīb<sup>ɔ</sup>* by analogy with dual-aspect verbs following the simplification *\*rr → r*. Stative *kīs<sup>a/</sup>* "hate" has the gerund *kīsòg<sup>ɔ</sup>*.

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<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"(physical) foundation"	<i>ēñbúb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"laying a foundation"
<i>dūk<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	"cooking pot"	<i>dūgūb<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	"cooking"
<i>dà'a</i>	"market"	<i>dā'ab<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"buying"
<i>kūk<sup>a</sup></i>	"chair"	<i>kūgūb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"resting on something"
<i>zūg-kūgūr<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"pillow"		
<i>sūāk<sup>a/</sup></i>	"hiding place"	<i>sū'ab<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	"hiding"
<i>sōbīr<sup>ɛ/</sup></i>	"piece of writing"	<i>sōp<sup>ɔ/</sup></i>	"writing, orthography"
<i>kūt<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	"iron, nail"	<i>kūdūb<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"working iron"
<i>kùə̀sìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"merchandise"	<i>kùə̀sòg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"selling"
<i>pèbìsìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"wind"	<i>pèbìsòg<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	"blowing of the wind; wind"

*Vābīr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* *lābīr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* *dīgīr<sup>ɛ/</sup>* *īgīr<sup>ɛ/</sup>*, used by WK as gerunds, are used by KT as concrete nouns meaning "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds *vāp<sup>ɔ/</sup>* etc.

From *pìbìl<sup>ɛ</sup>* "cover", *zāñbìl<sup>ɛ</sup>* "tattoo", *màal<sup>ɛ</sup>* "sacrifice" are derived

<i>pìbīn<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>pìbīnā</i>	<i>pìbìn-</i>	"covering"
<i>zāñbīn<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>zāñbīnā</i>	<i>zāñbìn-</i>	"tattoo" (NT "sign")
<i>māan<sup>nɛ</sup></i>	<i>māanā</i>	<i>màan-</i>	"sacrifice"

The *-n-* in these words is simplified from *\*nn* 3.5. Toende and Mooré have Pattern L instead of A: *zǎbín*, *màan*. The *\*nn* may represent *\*ld*, with *\*d* in instrument-noun sense: cf *tūødīr<sup>ε</sup>* "mortar", from *tɥà* "grind in a mortar."

It is exceptional for regularly formed gerunds to acquire concrete meaning, but a clearcut example is *dīub<sup>ɔ</sup>* "food."

## 8.2 Nominals from nominals

The partial association of noun class and meaning can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem, e.g. *zɥà* "friend", *zùød<sup>ε</sup>* "friendship"; *sīiñf<sup>ɔ</sup>* "bee", *sīiñd<sup>ε/</sup>* "honey"; *wèəd<sup>a</sup>* "hunter", *wèog<sup>ɔ</sup>* "deep bush."

Names of ethnic groups belong to the *a|ba* or *ga|sε* classes, their languages belong to the *-lε* subclass of *rε|aa*, and associated places have *-gɔ* 21.

Tree names are almost all *ga|sε* class, like *tìɥ<sup>a</sup>* "tree", while their fruits belong to classes *rε|aa* or *gɔ|dε*.

Tree	Fruit	
<i>āañdīg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>āañdīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>dùañ</i>	<i>dòǎng<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	dawadawa
<i>gāañ<sup>/</sup></i>	<i>gāñr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	Nigerian ebony
<i>gòη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>gòm<sup>mε</sup></i>	kapok
<i>kìkàη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kìkàm<sup>mε</sup></i>	fig tree
<i>kpòkparìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>kpòkpar<sup>ε</sup></i>	palm
<i>lì'əη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>lì'am<sup>mε</sup></i>	<i>Ximenia americana</i>
<i>pūsīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>pūsīr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	tamarind
<i>sīsìbìg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sīsìbìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	neem
<i>tá'aη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tá'am<sup>mε</sup></i>	shea butter
<i>tè'εg<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tè'og<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	baobab
<i>vúəη<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>vúər<sup>ε</sup></i>	red kapok

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 likewise be preceded by combining forms as generic arguments, but they cannot be used in the future construction with *bòɔd<sup>a</sup>* "want", and unlike imperfective gerunds, which show the expected gerund Tone Patterns 3.8.4, they show the same tone patterns as their adjectives. The forms sometimes also appear as manner adverbs.

<i>vōm<sup>m/</sup></i>	"life"	<i>sò<sup>m</sup></i>	"goodness"
<i>pòòdì<sup>m</sup></i>	"scarcity"	<i>vènnì<sup>m</sup></i>	"beauty"
<i>vèñlì<sup>m</sup></i>	"beauty"	<i>bōgvsí<sup>m</sup></i>	"softness"
<i>tēbísí<sup>m</sup></i>	"weight"	<i>mā'así<sup>m</sup></i>	"coolness, damp"
<i>bāañlì<sup>m</sup></i>	"quietly"	<i>zāalí<sup>m</sup></i>	"emptily"
<i>mālisí<sup>m</sup></i>	"sweetness"	<i>lābísí<sup>m</sup></i>	"width"
<i>pìèlì<sup>m</sup></i>	"brightness"	<i>tītā'am<sup>m</sup></i>	"multitude"
<i>kōdì<sup>m</sup></i>	"old times"	<i>pāalí<sup>m</sup></i>	"recently"
<i>nèem<sup>m</sup></i>	"for free" ( <i>nèer<sup>ε</sup></i> "empty")		

From *ñyèesí<sup>ηa</sup>* "self-confident" is derived *ñyèsì<sup>m</sup>* "self-confidence."

The suffix *-gò* makes abstract nouns when the sg adjective form also has *-gò*:

<i>lāllú<sup>gò</sup></i>	"distance"	<i>zēmmú<sup>gò</sup></i>	"equality"
<i>kpī'oy<sup>gò</sup></i>	"hardness, strength"	<i>yàlò<sup>gò</sup></i>	"width"
<i>mì'isò<sup>gò</sup></i>	"sourness"	<i>tō<sup>gò</sup></i>	"bitterness"
<i>zùlò<sup>gò</sup></i>	"depth"	<i>tōvólú<sup>gò</sup></i> or <i>tōllí<sup>m</sup></i>	"heat"

Some stems referring to people form abstract nouns with *-mm* or *-gò*:

<i>gbáñyà'a</i>	"lazy person"	<i>gbáñyà'am<sup>m</sup></i>	"laziness"
<i>dàmà'a</i>	"liar"	<i>dàmà'am<sup>m</sup></i>	"lying"
<i>sāan<sup>a/</sup></i>	"guest"	<i>sáv<sup>gò</sup></i>	"hospitality"
<i>kpēēñ<sup>m</sup></i>	"elder"	<i>kpēōñ<sup>gò</sup></i>	"eldership"
<i>sō<sup>gò</sup></i>	"witch"	<i>sō<sup>gò</sup></i>	"witchcraft"

Several stems form manner-adverbs with apocope-blocked *-gā*:

<i>sò<sup>gā</sup></i>	"well; very much"	<i>mā'asígā</i>	"coolly"
<i>tōvólígā</i>	"hotly"	<i>gī<sup>gā</sup></i>	"shortly"
<i>bōgvsígā</i>	"softly"	<i>sàalígā</i>	"smoothly"
<i>ñyèesígā</i>	"self-confidently"	<i>yī<sup>gā</sup></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<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying"	<i>dìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>dīgīl<sup>ε/</sup></i>
<i>vābī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying prone"	<i>vàbìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>vābīl<sup>ε/</sup></i>
<i>īgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be kneeling"	<i>ìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>īgīl<sup>ε/</sup></i>
<i>làbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be crouching hidden"	<i>làbìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>làbìl<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>zìñ'ì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be sitting"	<i>zìñ'in<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zìñ'il<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>zì'e<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be standing"	<i>zì'ən<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zì'əl<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>tì'i<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be leaning" (of thing)	<i>tì'in<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tì'il<sup>ε/</sup></i>
<i>gō'e<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be looking up" WK	<i>gò'ɔn<sup>ε</sup></i>	
<i>sùr<sup>a</sup></i>	"have bowed head"	<i>sùn<sup>nε</sup></i>	<i>sùn<sup>nε</sup> sic</i>
-	"cover oneself"	<i>lìgìn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>lìgìl<sup>ε</sup></i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>zùən<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>zùəl<sup>ε</sup></i>
-	"perch" (of bird)	<i>yà'an<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>yà'al<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>gùl<sup>la</sup></i>	"be suspended"	<i>gùl<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>gùl<sup>ε</sup></i>
<i>tàbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàb<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tàbìl<sup>ε</sup></i>



Nawdm has exactly parallel formations, e.g. *jefra* ipfv "être debout", *jehnt* pfv "se mettre debout", *jehl̩g* pfv, *jefla* ipfv "poser verticalement".

Some stance verbs correspond instead to a simplex dual-aspect verb for "assume the stance", and *dēl*<sup>la/</sup> "be leaning" (of a person) has the idiosyncratic assume-stance derivative *dēl̩m*<sup>m</sup>. Some *-n* and *-l* derivatives lack a corresponding stance verb: thus "be perching" is expressed with the resultative perfective of *zùe*:

*N̩ij̩ 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>ñyá'əŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"behind"	<i>ñyā'al</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"leave behind"
<i>gēog</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"space between legs"	<i>gēεl</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"put between legs" Tones <i>sic</i>
<i>l̩k</i> <sup>a</sup>	"darkness"	<i>l̩g̩l</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"cover up"
<i>bāñ'</i>	"ride"	<i>bāñ'al</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"put on a horse/bicycle etc"
<i>gū'</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'ul</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"set someone on guard"
<i>yè</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèεl</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"dress another person"
<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool"	<i>mā'al</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make cool"
<i>pūñ'e'</i>	"rot"	<i>pūñ'ɔl</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"cause to rot"
<i>n̩è</i>	"appear"	<i>n̩èεl</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"reveal"
<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"	<i>mā'al</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make cool, wet"
<i>wū'vɔg</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"get wet"	<i>wū'vl</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make wet"
?? <i>zàb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"fight"	<i>zàb̩l</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"cause to fight"
?? <i>d̩y'à</i> <sup>a</sup>	"bear, beget"	<i>d̩v'al</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"make interest (of a loan)"

**-s-** derives causatives from dynamic verbs for the most part:

<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'əs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"make enter"
<i>n̩è</i>	"appear"	<i>n̩èəs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"reveal"
<i>y̩</i>	"go/come out"	<i>y̩is</i> <sup>ε/</sup> or <i>y̩s</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"make go/come out"
<i>d̩</i>	"eat"	<i>d̩is</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"feed"
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūl̩s</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make drink"; also <i>nūl̩g</i> <sup>ε/</sup>
<i>s̩g</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"go down"	<i>s̩g̩s</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"lower"
<i>l̩b</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"return"	<i>l̩b̩s</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"make return; answer"
<i>m̩y'à</i> <sup>a</sup>	"suck" (of a baby)	<i>m̩v'as</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"give to suck"
[Mooré <i>tá</i>	"arrive"]	<i>tā'as</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"help to travel, walk"
<i>zēm</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	"be equal"	<i>zēm̩s</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make equal"
<i>kp̩ig</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"go out (fire)"	<i>kp̩is</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"quench"

*-s-* may have a pluractional sense:

<i>kò</i>	"break"	<i>kò'ɔs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"break several times"
<i>tòñ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòñ'ɔs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"hunt"
<i>pìəb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"blow (flute etc)"	<i>pèbìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"blow (wind)"
<i>làbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"crouch in hiding"	<i>làbìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"walk stealthily"
<i>vōɛ<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be alive"	<i>vō'vs<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"breathe, rest"
<i>ĩāñk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"fly, jump"	<i>ĩāñ'as<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"leap, jump repeatedly"
<i>yā'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"open mouth"	<i>yā'as<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"open repeatedly" WK
<i>dī'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"receive"	<i>dī'əs<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"receive (many things)"
<i>gū'</i>	"guard"	<i>gū'us<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"watch out; guard (many)"

*-g-* attached to dynamic roots implies reversal:

<i>yè</i>	"dress oneself"	<i>yèɛg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"undress oneself"
<i>pìd<sup>ε</sup></i>	"put (hat etc) on"	<i>pìdìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"take (hat etc) off"
<i>pìl<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cover"	<i>pìlìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"uncover"
<i>lō</i>	"tie up"	<i>lōdīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"untie"
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yò'ɔg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"open"
<i>èñd<sup>ε</sup></i>	"block up"	<i>èñdìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"unblock"
<i>yà'al<sup>ε</sup></i>	"hang up"	<i>yàk<sup>ε</sup></i>	"unhang"
<i>pà'al<sup>ε</sup></i>	"put on top"	<i>pàk<sup>ε</sup></i>	"take off top"
<i>pìbìl<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cover up"	<i>pìbìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"uncover"
<i>tàbì<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be stuck to"	<i>tàbìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"unstuck, get unstuck"
<i>là'as<sup>ε</sup></i>	"gather together"	<i>lāk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"open" (eye, book); tone <i>sic</i>
		cf <i>lákè</i>	(Mooré) "un-stick together"
?? <i>lìəb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"become"	<i>lèbìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"turn over"
?? <i>fāñ</i>	"rob, snatch"	<i>fāñ<sup>/</sup></i>	"save" ?? for "snatch back"

Reversive *-g-* is peculiar to Western Oti-Volta; other Oti-Volta languages show alveolar suffixes: Moba *lōōñ* "close" *lōōd* "open", Byali *byá* "close" *byēr* "open."

*-g-* also forms a few causatives:

<i>dōl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"accompany"	<i>dōlīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"make accompany"
<i>gōr<sup>a/</sup></i>	"look up" DK	<i>gōdīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"make look up" DK
<i>tèñr<sup>a</sup></i>	"remember"	<i>tìèñ</i>	"bring to mind, remind"
<i>yùul<sup>ε</sup></i>	"swing" intransitive	<i>yùlìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"swing" transitive
<i>kò</i>	"break" intransitive	<i>kò'ɔg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"break" ambitransitive
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"make drink"; also <i>nūlīs<sup>ε/</sup></i>

*-g-* has no clear meaning in

<i>sōñ</i>	"rub"	<i>sūēñ'</i>	"anoint"
<i>nōb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"get fat"	<i>nōbīg<sup>ε/</sup></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<sup>ε/</sup>* "slaughter one animal", *kōt<sup>ε/</sup>* "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<sup>ε</sup></i>	"return"	<i>lèm</i>	"again"
<i>là'as<sup>ε</sup></i>	"gather together"	<i>là'am</i>	"together"
<i>dèη<sup>ε</sup></i>	"go first"	<i>dèηim</i>	"first"
<i>maliḡ</i>	(Toende) "do again"	<i>màliḡim</i>	"again"

*-r-* appears in

<i>kāab<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"offer, invite"	<i>kābīr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"ask for admission"
[no simplex]		<i>sūgōr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"forbear, be patient with"

The verbs may be back-formations from the nouns *kābirí* and *sūgvrú* 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 Pattern L nominals correspond to Pattern A verbs but Pattern H and Pattern A nominals 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. *kpī'əm<sup>ma/</sup>* "be strong" (not \**kpī'əm<sup>ma/</sup>*), 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 vēn* "She'll be beautiful."

L	<i>vènnìg<sup>a</sup></i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèn<sup>na</sup></i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>vèñlìg<sup>a</sup></i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèñl<sup>la</sup></i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>zùlòη<sup>o</sup></i>	"deep"	<i>zùlìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"be deep"
	<i>pòcòdìg<sup>a</sup></i>	"small"	<i>pòcòd<sup>a</sup></i>	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isòg<sup>o</sup></i>	"sour"	<i>mì'is<sup>a</sup></i>	"be sour"
	<i>sùη<sup>o</sup></i>	"good"	<i>sùm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"be good"
	<i>yàlòη<sup>o</sup></i>	"wide"	<i>yàlìm<sup>ma</sup></i>	"be wide"
H	<i>bōgvsír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"soft"	<i>bōgōs<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be soft"
	<i>vōr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"alive"	<i>vōē<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be alive"
	<i>mā'asír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cool"	<i>mā'as<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be cool"
	<i>tēbısír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"heavy"	<i>tēbīs<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be heavy"
	<i>mālısír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sweet"	<i>mālīs<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be sweet"
	<i>lābısír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"wide"	<i>lābīs<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be wide"
	<i>zēm̄múg<sup>o</sup></i>	"equal"	<i>zēm̄<sup>ma/</sup></i>	"be equal to"
<i>lāllóg<sup>o</sup></i>	"far"	<i>lāl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be far from"	
A	<i>tōcog<sup>o</sup></i>	"bitter"	<i>tōē<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be bitter"
	<i>gīη<sup>a</sup></i>	"short"	<i>gīm̄<sup>ma/</sup></i>	"be short"
	<i>kpī'orη<sup>o</sup></i>	"strong"	<i>kpī'əm̄<sup>ma/</sup></i>	"be strong"
	<i>kpēēñm<sup>m</sup></i>	"elder"	<i>kpēēñm̄<sup>ma/</sup></i>	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"resembling"	<i>wēn<sup>na/</sup></i>	"resemble"

More complex stem changes occur in

<i>tōvlóg<sup>o</sup></i>	"hot"	<i>tōl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be hot"
<i>ñyèēsíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"self-confident"	<i>ñyèēs<sup>a</sup></i>	"be self-confident"
<i>wōk<sup>o/</sup></i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am<sup>a/</sup></i>	"be long, tall"

### 9.1.2.2 Dual aspect

**-g-** attached to nominal/adjectival roots has the meaning "make/become ...":

<i>ñyō'os<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"smoke"	<i>ñyū'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"set alight"
<i>ñwīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	"rope"	<i>ñwīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"make a rope"
<i>tādīm<sup>m/</sup></i>	"weak person"	<i>tādīg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"become weak"
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>zūor<sup>ε</sup></i>	"hill"	<i>zùe</i>	"get higher, more"
<i>À-Tūl<sup>lε</sup></i>	"Breech-Delivered" <a href="#">21.2</a>	<i>tùlìg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"invert"
<i>mā'asír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>bōgvsír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"soft"	<i>bōk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"soften"

<i>tēbísír</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"heavy"	<i>tēbīg</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"get/make heavy"
<i>gīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"short"	<i>gīŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"scrimp"
<i>kpī'orŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"strengthen"
<i>vōr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"alive"	<i>vō'vŋ</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"make/come alive"
<i>pòɔdìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"few"	<i>pò'ɔg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"diminish, belittle"
<i>pìə̀lìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"white"	<i>pè̀lìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"whiten"
<i>sā̀bílìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"black"	<i>sṑbīg</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"blacken"
<i>nīn-múa</i>	"concentration"	<i>mù'e</i>	"redden, become intense"
<i>kṑdōg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"old"	<i>kò̀dìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
<i>sòŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"good"	<i>sòŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"help"
<i>tṑv́lúg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"hot"	<i>tṑlīg</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"heat up"
<i>mì'isòg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"turn sour"
<i>zù̀lòŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"deep"	<i>zù̀lìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"deepen"
<i>lā̀llúg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"far"	<i>lā̀līg</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"get to be far, make far"
<i>mà̀yuk</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"crumpled up"	<i>mà̀k</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"crumple up"
<i>dḕeŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"first"	<i>dḕŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"precede"
<i>nè̀eŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"clear, empty"	<i>nè̀</i>	"appear"
<i>sṑñ'e</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be better than"	<i>sū̀ñ'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	"become better than" WK

With *-m* as a second derivational suffix:

<i>wà̀yŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"wasted"	<i>wà̀ŋim</i> <sup>m</sup>	"waste away"
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**-lum-** derives verbs from noun roots, meaning "act as ..." or "make/become ...":

<i>pŋ'ā</i> <sup>a</sup>	"woman"	<i>pò'əlìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"cook"
<i>pò̀ñ'or</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"cripple"	<i>pò̀ñ'òlìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"cripple, get crippled"
<i>gìk</i> <sup>a</sup>	"dumb"	<i>gìgìlìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"become dumb"
<i>wà̀bìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"lame"	<i>wà̀bìlìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"make, go lame"
<i>gō'vs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"semi-ripe things"	<i>gò'v̀lìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"become semi-ripe"
<i>bōgṑd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"client of diviner"	<i>bògò̀lìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"cast lots" (cf <i>bòk</i> <sup>ε</sup> <i>id</i> )

Miscellaneous denominal dual-aspect verbs formed with *s m b* are seen in

<i>zŋà</i>	"friend"	<i>zùes</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"befriend"
<i>nḕeŋ</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"millstone"	<i>nḕem</i> <sup>m/</sup>	"grind with a millstone"
<i>yā'ad</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"clay"	<i>yà'ab</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"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 nominal 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 ipfv verbal 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 ipfv verbal 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<sup>a</sup></i>	"builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dīt<sup>a</sup></i>	"eater"
<i>gōs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"look"	<i>gōt<sup>a/</sup></i>	"seer, prophet"
<i>dōg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	<i>dōgōd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"cook"
<i>dū'ā<sup>a</sup></i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dū'ad<sup>a</sup></i>	"elder relation"
<i>kād<sup>ε</sup></i>	"drive away"	<i>sarīyā-kāt<sup>a</sup></i>	"judge"
<i>sōb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"write"	<i>sōbīd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"writer"
<i>bùn<sup>ε</sup></i>	"reap"	<i>būn<sup>na</sup></i>	"reaper"
<i>tòm<sup>m</sup></i>	"work"	<i>tòm-tōm<sup>na</sup></i>	"worker"
<i>kpār<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lock"	<i>kpārīd<sup>a</sup></i>	"lock-er"
<i>gbīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sleep"	<i>gbīsīd<sup>a/</sup></i>	"sleeper"
<i>sjàk<sup>ε</sup></i>	"believe"	<i>sjàkīd<sup>a</sup></i>	"believer"
<i>īāñk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"jump, fly"	<i>īāñ'ad<sup>a/</sup></i>	"flier"
<i>sòŋ<sup>ε</sup></i>	"help"	<i>sōŋīd<sup>a</sup></i>	"helper"

<i>kēŋ</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"go"	<i>kēn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"traveller"
<i>gàad</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"pass"	<i>tùəŋ-gāt</i> <sup>a</sup>	"leader"
<i>màal</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sacrifice"	<i>màal-māan</i> <sup>na</sup>	"sacrificer"
<i>pà'al</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"teach"	<i>pā'an</i> <sup>na</sup>	"teacher"
<i>sūgūr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"forbear"	<i>sūgūríd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"forgiver"
<i>yū'um</i> <sup>m/</sup>	"sing"	<i>yūum-yū'um</i> <sup>na</sup>	"singer"
		pl <i>yūum-yū'umnìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>sàn'am</i> <sup>m</sup>	"spoil"	<i>pɔ̀'à-sàn'am</i> <sup>na</sup>	"adulterer"
		pl <i>pɔ̀'à-sàn'amīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	

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> <sup>/</sup>	"finish"	<i>nāad</i> <sup>/</sup>	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
<i>ñwà'e</i>	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'ad</i> <sup>a</sup>	"woodcutter"
<i>gbāñ'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	"catch"	<i>zīm-gbāñ'ad</i> <sup>a</sup>	"fisherman"
<i>fāeñ</i> <sup>/</sup>	"save"	<i>fāañd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"saviour" WK
<i>dī'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	"receive"	<i>dī'əd</i> <sup>/</sup>	"receiver"

3-mora stems in *-s* consistently drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>sīgīs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"lower"	<i>sīgīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"lowerer"
		pl <i>sīgīsídìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>kùəŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sell"	<i>kùəŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"seller"
		pl <i>kùəŋīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>tù'as</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"talk"	<i>tù'as-tù'as</i> <sup>a</sup>	"talker"
		pl <i>tù'as-tū'asīdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>dī'əs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"receive"	<i>nō-dī'əs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"chief's spokesman"
		pl <i>nō-dī'əsìdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	("linguist")

Some 2-mora stems also irregularly drop the *-d* in the sg and cb:

<i>zàb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"fight"	<i>zàb-zàb</i> <sup>a</sup>	"warrior"
<i>tìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"give"	<i>tìs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"giver"
<i>sòs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"beg"	<i>sòs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"beggar"

Stems in *-mm-* form reduplicated agent nouns with *nàm*<sup>a</sup> plurals:

<i>dàm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"shake"	<i>dàm-dàm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"shaker"
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The *nn*-stem *sùn*<sup>ne</sup> (ipfv *sùnnìd*<sup>a</sup>) "bow the head" has an agent noun stem in *-nn-*, but the tonemes show retention of the *-d-* formant:

<i>sùn</i> <sup>ne</sup>	"bow head"	<i>sūn</i> <sup>na</sup>	"deep thinker, close observer" WK
		pl <i>sūnnīb</i> <sup>a</sup> 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> <sup>ε/</sup>	"scatter"	<i>yāt</i> <sup>a/</sup>	(a participant in a housebuilding ritual)
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Various irregular formations in my materials include:

<i>tēk</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"pull"	<i>ñwī-ték</i> <sup>a</sup>	"rope-puller"
		pl <i>ñwī-tékìdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>nòŋ</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"love"	<i>nòŋìd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"lover"; tones irreg
<i>tì'əb</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"heal"	<i>tì'əb</i> <sup>a</sup>	"healer"; tones irreg

For 4-mora stems KT has no agent nouns; WK drops the stem-final *m*.

<i>sìlìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"cite proverbs"	<i>sīn</i> <sup>na</sup>	"speaker of proverbs"
		pl <i>sīnnīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	
<i>pò'alìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"harm"	<i>pò'an</i> <sup>na</sup>	"harmer"
<i>zàaṅsìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"dream"	<i>zàaṅs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"dreamer"
		pl <i>zàaṅsìdīb</i> <sup>a</sup>	

Single-aspect verbs with unassimilated *y*, and the bare-stem type, add *-d-*:

<i>zìṅ'i</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be sitting down"	<i>zīṅ'id</i> <sup>a</sup>	"sitter"
<i>zì'e</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be standing still"	<i>zī'əd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"stander"
<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>mī'id</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"knower"
<i>zī'</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'id</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"ignorant person"
<i>sū'e</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"own"	<i>sū'vd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"owner"
<i>sōñ'e</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be better than"	<i>sōñ'ɔd</i> <sup>a/</sup> pl <i>sōñ'ɔb</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"outdoer"
<i>dīgī</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be lying down"	<i>dīgīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"lier-down"
<i>īgī</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"kneeler"
<i>vābī</i> <sup>ya/</sup>	"be lying prone"	<i>vābīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"lier prone"
<i>làbì</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be crouching"	<i>làbīd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"croucher in hiding"
<i>àḡñ</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be something"	<i>āaṅd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"someone who always is something" <i>sic</i> 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 ipfv verbal adjectives 5.3.1.

<i>sīn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"be silent"	<i>nīn-sīn</i> <sup>na</sup>	"silent person"
<i>nēn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"envy"	<i>nīn-nēn</i> <sup>na</sup>	"envious person"
<i>dōl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be with"	<i>ñyà'an-dòl</i> <sup>la</sup> - <i>dòl</i> <sup>le</sup>	"disciple" (irreg. tone)
<i>zāñl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be holding"	<i>nō-zāñl</i> <sup>la</sup> - <i>zāñl</i> <sup>le</sup>	"holder of hens"
<i>dēl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dēl</i> <sup>la</sup>	"person prone to lean"
<i>mōr</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"	<i>bò-mōr</i> <sup>a/</sup> - <i>mōr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"owner of goats"
<i>tār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"	<i>bò-tār</i> <sup>a/</sup> - <i>tār</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"owner of goats"

The simplification to single *s r* leads to analogical formations with *-d-* in

<i>kīs</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"hate"	<i>kīs</i> <sup>a/</sup> or <i>kīsīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"hater"
<i>tēñr</i> <sup>a</sup>	"remember"	<i>tēñrīd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"rememberer"
<i>gūr</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be on guard"	<i>gūrīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"guard"
		<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> <sup>a</sup>	"gatekeeper"

### 9.2.1.2 Adjectives

**Imperfective** verbal adjectives 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 Sm 2:15.)

Without a preceding cb, these adjective forms have the same meaning as agent nouns: *kōvdír*<sup>ε</sup> pl *kōvdá* "killer" = *kōvd*<sup>a/</sup> pl *kōvdíb*<sup>a</sup>. After a cb the meanings differ: *py'à-kōvd*<sup>a/</sup> "woman-killer, killer of women" vs *py'à-kōvdír*<sup>ε</sup> "woman killer, murderous woman." Accordingly, ipfv verbal adjectives will be cited with a preceding cb.

With dual-aspect verbs, 2-mora stems all retain the *\*d*:

<i>gòñ</i>	"hunt"	<i>py'à-gōwñdīr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"prostitute"
<i>là'</i>	"laugh"	<i>py'à-lā'adīr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"woman prone to laughter/ woman to be laughed at"
<i>ñyē</i>	"see"	<i>bōn-ñyétīr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"visible object"
<i>kūā</i>	"hoe"	<i>nā'-dá-kūødīr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"ox for ploughing"
<i>yē</i>	"don clothes"	<i>fū-yéedīr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"shirt for wearing" WK
		<i>fū-yéedùg</i> <sup>o</sup>	KT

<i>kō</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kōvdím<sup>m</sup></i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>dɥ'à<sup>a</sup></i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tèŋ-dō'adīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"native land"
<i>dōg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	<i>sūm-dógvdà</i>	"cooked groundnuts" WK
<i>sīg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"descend"	<i>yī-sígìdìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lodging-house"
<i>sɥ'ā<sup>a</sup></i>	"hide"	<i>yēl-só'adìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"confidential matter"
<i>òñb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"chew"	<i>bōn-òñbìdà</i>	"solid food"
<i>bùn<sup>ε</sup></i>	"reap"	<i>bōn-búnnìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"thing for reaping"
<i>tòm<sup>m</sup></i>	"work"	<i>bōn-túmmìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"useful thing"
<i>vōl<sup>ε</sup></i>	"swallow"	<i>tì-vōnním<sup>m</sup></i>	"oral medication"
<i>gbīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sleep"	<i>pɥ'à-gbīsìdìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"woman always sleeping"

3-mora stems in \**g* drop *-d* unless \**g* is deleted in the imperfective:

	<i>tōlīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"heat up"	<i>bōn-túlīgìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"heater, thing for heating"
	<i>pèlīg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"whiten"	<i>bōn-pélīgìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"whitening thing, whitener"
	<i>pàk<sup>ε</sup></i>	"surprise"	<i>yēl-pákìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"disaster"
	<i>tēk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"pull"	<i>ñwī-tékìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"rope for pulling with"
	<i>sòŋ<sup>ε</sup></i>	"help"	<i>bōn-sóŋìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"helpful thing"
	<i>nòŋ<sup>ε</sup></i>	"love"	<i>bì-nòŋìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"beloved child"
but	<i>kēŋ<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"go"	<i>bòŋ-kēnnìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
	<i>gīlīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"go around"	<i>pɥ'à-gīnníg<sup>a</sup></i>	"prostitute"
	<i>sūeñ<sup>/</sup></i>	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóóñdìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"anointing oil"
	<i>yādīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"scatter"	<i>bōn-yátìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"scattering thing" (cf <i>yāt<sup>a/</sup></i> )
	<i>jàñk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"fly, jump"	<i>bōn-jàñ'adìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"flying creature"

3-mora stems in *-m* retain the *-d*, forming the consonant cluster *-mm-*:

<i>sàñ'am<sup>m</sup></i>	"destroy"	<i>bò-sāñ'ammìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"scapegoat" WK
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3-mora stems in *-s* all drop the *-d*:

<i>pèlìs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sharpen"	<i>bōn-pélìsìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sharpening thing"
<i>kùòs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sell"	<i>bōn-kúòsìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"item for sale"

4-mora stems (all from KT) drop *-d* (whereas agent nouns drop stem-final *-m*):

<i>sìlìlìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"cite proverbs"	<i>bōn-sìlìlìŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"thing relating to proverbs"
<i>pò'alìlìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"harm"	<i>nīn-pú'alìlìŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"harmful person"
		<i>pɥ'à-pò'alìlìŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"harmful woman"
<i>zàańsìlìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"dream"	<i>nīn-zàańsòŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"dreamy person"
		<i>pɥ'à-zàańsúŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"dreamy woman"

Dynamic single-aspect verbs show the same stem as the agent noun:

<i>dīgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying"	<i>bòη-dīgídír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be prone"	<i>bòη-vābídír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>zìñ'í<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be sitting"	<i>kūg-zìñ'idír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"stone for sitting on"
<i>zāñl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be holding"	<i>nō-zāñl<sup>lε</sup></i>	"hen for holding"
<i>dēl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be leaning"	<i>nīn-dél<sup>lε</sup></i>	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kòg-dēl<sup>lε/</sup></i>	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gùl<sup>la</sup></i>	"be hanging"	<i>bōn-gùl<sup>lε</sup></i>	"thing for suspending"

**Perfective** verbal adjectives are only derived from verbs which can use the perfective in a resultative sense [16.1.2](#); 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 pfv verbal 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<sup>o</sup></i>	"dead"
<i>gēñ</i>	"get tired"	<i>gēñlóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"tired"
<i>pè'el<sup>ε</sup></i>	"fill"	<i>pè'elóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"full"
<i>kò</i>	"break"	<i>kòólóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"broken"
<i>yè</i>	"wear"	<i>yèelóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"worn" (of a shirt)
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yòólóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"closed"
<i>pò'alīm<sup>m</sup></i>	"harm"	<i>pò'alóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"damaged"
<i>àeñ</i>	"tear"	<i>àañlóη<sup>o</sup></i>	"torn"

### 9.2.1.3 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding *-m* to ipfv verbal 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<sup>a</sup></i>	"thing for killing with"
<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>sìà-lōvdíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
<i>dōg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	<i>dōgvdíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"cooking utensil"
<i>sōb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"write"	<i>sōbvdíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"writing implement"
<i>kpàr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lock"	<i>kpārvdíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"thing for locking"
<i>ñwà'e</i>	"cut wood"	<i>ñwā'advíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"axe"
<i>pīe<sup>/</sup></i>	"wash self"	<i>pīədíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"thing for washing oneself"
<i>sù</i>	"bathe"	<i>sūvdíη<sup>a</sup></i>	"sponge"

<i>gōs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"look"	<i>nīn-gótìŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"mirror"; <i>nīn-gótis</i> <sup>ε</sup> "glasses"
<i>bòd</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"plant"	<i>bōtīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
<i>pīəs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"clean"	<i>pīəsíŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"cleaning implement"
<i>kùəs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sell"	<i>kūəsīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"professional salesperson"
<i>dā'e</i> <sup>/</sup>	"push"	<i>dā'adíŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"pusher (person or thing)"
<i>zīñ'i</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'idīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"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> <sup>ya/</sup>	"own"	<i>sū'vlím</i> <sup>m</sup>	cf <i>so'olimkan</i> Mt 12:25, 1996
<i>mī'</i>	"know"	<i>mī'ilím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>zī'</i>	"not know"	<i>zī'ilím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>àęñ</i> <sup>ya</sup>	"be something"	<i>àañlím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>bè</i>	"be somewhere"	<i>bèlím</i> <sup>m</sup>	<i>sic</i>
<i>kā'ę</i>	"not be"	<i>kā'alím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>wēn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"resemble"	<i>wēnním</i> <sup>m</sup>	[tones show this is <i>deverbal</i> ]
<i>sīn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"be silent"	<i>sīnním</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>nēn</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"envy"	<i>nēnním</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>dōl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"accompany"	<i>dōllím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>zāñl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"hold in hand"	<i>zāñllím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>dēl</i> <sup>la/</sup>	"be leaning"	<i>dēllúg</i> <sup>o</sup> or <i>dēllím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>mōr</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"	<i>mōrím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>tār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"have"	<i>tārím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>nār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be necessary"	<i>nārím</i> <sup>m</sup>	
<i>gūr</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"guard"	<i>gūrím</i> <sup>m</sup>	

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 16.1.3 also form imperfective gerunds; the tonemes show that these are not *m*-stems:

<i>bòcđìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"will" (Pattern L, unlike <i>bōcđīr</i> <sup>ε</sup> "desirable")
<i>gòcňđìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"wandering" ( <i>gòň</i> "hunt")
<i>zòtìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"fear" [ <i>Ḿ zót nē</i> "I'm afraid."]

Cf *wòmmùg*<sup>o</sup> \**wòmduḡo* "hearing" from *wòmm*<sup>m</sup> "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 ipfv verbal adjectives.

<i>pù'vs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"greet, thank"	<i>pù'vsìm<sup>m</sup>/pù'vsòg<sup>o</sup></i>	"worship"
<i>kṽ</i>	"kill"	<i>nṽn-kúvsìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"murderousness"
<i>yṽlīs<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"untie"	<i>yṽlīsìm<sup>m</sup></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<sup>ε</sup></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>dṽl<sup>la/</sup></i>	"be with"	<i>dṽllím-tāa</i>	"fellow-companion"

For the irregular stative verb *nòḡ<sup>ε</sup>* WK has two forms with different nuances:

<i>nòḡ<sup>ε</sup></i>	"love"	<i>nòḡlím-tāa</i>	"fellow liker"
		or <i>nòḡdím-tāa</i>	"fellow lover"

Dual-aspect verbs add *-m-* to ipfv verbal adjective stems, with *gerund* tones:

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mèedím-tāa</i>	"fellow-builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìtím-tāa</i>	"messmate"
<i>pṽ</i>	"share"	<i>pṽvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-sharer"
<i>kpèñ'</i>	"enter"	<i>kpèñ'edím-tāa</i>	"fellow-resident"
<i>zàb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"fight"	<i>zàbdím-tāa</i>	"opponent"
<i>dṽg<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cook"	<i>dṽgvdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-cook"
<i>fāñ</i>	"snatch"	<i>fāañdím-tāa</i>	"fellow-robber"
<i>tṽm<sup>m</sup></i>	"work"	<i>tṽmmím-tāa</i>	"co-worker"
<i>pù'vs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"worship"	<i>pù'vsím-tāa</i>	"fellow-worshipper"
<i>dṽs<sup>ε</sup></i>	"feed"	<i>dṽsím-tāa</i>	"fellow-feeder"
<i>sòḡ<sup>ε</sup></i>	"help"	<i>sòḡím-tāa</i>	"fellow-helper"
		or <i>sòḡdím-tāa</i>	
<i>sṽàk<sup>ε</sup></i>	"agree"	<i>sṽàkím-tāa</i>	"fellow in agreement"

Stance verbs may use *-dīm-* or *-līm-* or *-nīm-*:

<i>īgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be kneeling"	<i>īgilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-kneeler"
		<i>īgidīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>zīñ'i<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be sitting"	<i>zīñ'ilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-sitter"
		<i>zīñ'idīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>vābī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"lie prone"	<i>vābilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow lier-prone"
		<i>vābidīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>lābī<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be crouched"	<i>lābilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow croucher in hiding"
<i>zī'e<sup>ya</sup></i>	"be stood"	<i>zī'əlīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-stander"
		<i>zī'ədīm-tāa</i> WK	
<i>dīgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying"	<i>dīgilīm-tāa</i>	"fellow-lier"
		<i>dīgīnīm-tāa</i> WK	

### 9.2.1.5 Other derivatives

<i>dīgī<sup>ya/</sup></i>	"be lying down"	<i>dīgīsá</i>	"lair"
<i>dō</i>	"go up"	<i>dōvsá</i>	"steps"
<i>zò</i>	"run"	<i>zōom<sup>mε</sup></i>	"refugee"
<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpī'im<sup>m/</sup></i>	"corpse"
<i>tụà</i>	"grind in a mortar"	<i>tūødīr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"mortar"
<i>kpì</i>	"die"	<i>kpìibìg<sup>a</sup></i>	"orphan"
<i>dà'</i>	"buy"	<i>dà'abìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"slave"

### 9.2.2 From nominals

*-s-* and *-l-* form adjectives from adjectival roots:

<i>mā'e<sup>/</sup></i>	"cool down"	<i>mā'asír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"cold, wet"
<i>bōk<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"weaken"	<i>bōvsír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"soft"
<i>tēbīg<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"get heavy"	<i>tēbísír<sup>ε</sup></i>	"heavy"
<i>mì'ig<sup>ε</sup></i>	"get sour"	<i>mì'isòg<sup>o</sup></i>	"sour"
<i>sōb<sup>ε</sup></i>	"get dark"	<i>sābílíg<sup>a</sup></i>	"black"

*-d-* is seen in *yūgvdīr<sup>ε</sup>* "hedgehog", *lā'af<sup>o</sup>* "cowrie" pl *līgīdī* "money", *pògvdìb<sup>a</sup>* "father's sister." It can form abstract nouns from human-reference words:

<i>pu'à-sādīr<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"young woman"	<i>pu'asatim</i>	"girlhood, virginity"
<i>bōn-kúdòg<sup>o</sup></i>	"old man"	<i>bōnkuttim</i>	"old age"
<i>gēdvog</i>	"fool"	<i>gētīm</i>	"folly"
<i>pò-kòòñr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"widow"	<i>pōkōntim</i>	"widowhood"
<i>bā'-bīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"brother"	<i>bā'abiidvog</i>	"brotherhood"

**-m-** is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. *yōgóm*<sup>nε</sup> "camel" (ultimately from Berber), *gbīgīm*<sup>nε</sup> "lion", *zìlīm*<sup>mε</sup> "tongue", *àñròŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "boat", *zùlòŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "deep", *ñyālóŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "wonderful", *yàlòŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "wide." It also derives both human-reference and mass nouns:

<i>bī'a</i>	"bad"	<i>bī'əm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"enemy"
<i>tàdìg</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"become weak"	<i>tādīm</i> <sup>m/</sup>	"weak person"
<i>áñsìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	"mother's brother"	<i>āñsíŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"sister's child"
<i>bì'isìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"breast"	<i>bì'isím</i> <sup>m</sup>	"milk"
<i>nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	"chief"	<i>nā'am</i> <sup>m</sup>	"chiefship"
<i>zōlōg</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	"fool"	<i>zōlímís</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"foolishness"

Added to adjectival stems, **-m-** produces no change of meaning: thus with pfv verbal adjective stems in **-l-** or **-līm-** 6; *vēñllìg*<sup>a</sup> or *vēñllíŋ*<sup>a</sup> "beautiful"; *mālisíg*<sup>a</sup> or *mālisíŋ*<sup>a</sup> "pleasant"; *lāllóg*<sup>ɔ</sup> or *lāllíŋ*<sup>a</sup> "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding stative verb:

<i>ñyèes</i> <sup>a</sup>	"be self-confident"	<i>ñyèesíŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"self-confident"
<i>nār</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be necessary"	<i>nàròŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"necessary"
<i>wōk</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"be long, tall"

Sometimes **-m-** seems to be introduced to avoid \**gg* → *kk*: *yáaŋ*<sup>a</sup> "grandchild", pl *yáas*<sup>ε</sup> \**yaagsi*, *yáab*<sup>a</sup> \**yaagba* "grandparent"; *vúoŋ*<sup>a</sup> "red kapok", *vúo*<sup>ε</sup> \**vuogr* "red kapok fruit" (pl *vūōmís*<sup>ε</sup> "red kapoks" would have to be analogical); *bèrìŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *bèrìgìs*<sup>ε</sup> *Hibiscus cannabinus*, *bèrìgā* cb *bèrìg-* pl leaves of *bèrìŋ*<sup>a</sup>.

**-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>dāy</i>	"man"	<i>dàalīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"masculinity"
<i>pū'ā</i> <sup>a</sup>	"woman"	<i>pò'alīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"femininity"
<i>bīg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"child"	<i>bīlīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"childhood"
<i>tītā'al</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"proud person"	<i>tītā'alīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"pride"
<i>gīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"short"	<i>gīñlīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"shortness"
<i>wōk</i> <sup>ɔ/</sup>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'alīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"tallness"
<i>sāan</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"guest, stranger"	<i>sāannīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"strangerhood"
<i>tīrāan</i> <sup>a</sup>	"neighbour"	<i>tīrāannīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"neighbourliness"
<i>gīŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"short"	<i>gīŋlīm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"shortness"

## 10 Noun prefixes

For the prefixes seen in numbers see [12.4.1](#); in manner-adverbs, [13.3](#).

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*<sup>ε</sup> "Kusaasi", *Ñwāmpūrīs*<sup>ε/</sup> "Mamprussi", *Kòtām*<sup>ma/</sup> "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 [12.5.1](#) 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>k̀òk̄ɔ̄r</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"voice"	<i>k̀òk̄ò̄m</i> <sup>mε</sup>	"leper"
<i>k̀ìk̄à̄ŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"fig tree"	<i>k̀ìk̄ìr̄ìg</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"tutelary spirit"
<i>k[p]̀òk̄pà̀r̀ìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"palm tree"	<i>k̀p̄ìk̄p̄ì̄n</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"merchant"
<i>t̀ìt̄à'ar</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"big"	<i>t̀àt̄àl̄</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"palm of hand"
<i>p̄ìp̄ìr̄ìg</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"desert"	<i>s̀ìs̀ì'əm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"wind"
<i>l̀ìl̄àl̄ìŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"swallow"	<i>m̀ìm̄ìl̄ìm</i> <sup>m</sup>	"sweetness"
<i>m̀ìm̄ìl̄óg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"sweetness"	<i>k̀p̄àk̄ò̄r</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"tortoise"
<i>t̀ìt̄ò̄m̄ìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sending"	<i>f̀òf̄ò̄m</i> <sup>mε</sup>	"envy"; "stye"
<i>z̀à-s̀ìs̀ò̄b̄ìr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"evening" ( <i>z̀à-</i> cb of <i>z̀àam</i> <sup>m</sup> "evening", <i>s̀ò̄b</i> <sup>ε</sup> "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> <sup>o</sup>	"cobra"	<i>dìndēog</i> <sup>o</sup>	"chameleon"
<i>bìmbìm</i> <sup>mε</sup>	"altar"	<i>bòmbàrìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"ant"
<i>kìṅkàṅ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"fig"	<i>tìntōñrìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"mole"
<i>zīnzāuṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"bat"	<i>sīnsáañ</i>	a kind of tiny ant
<i>nōb-púmpàuṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"foot"		
<i>gùṅgōm</i> <sup>mε</sup>	"kapok material" ( <i>gòm</i> <sup>mε</sup> "kapok fruit")		
<i>zònzòṅ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"blind" ( <i>zū'om</i> <sup>m</sup> "go/make blind")		
<i>pòmpōṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"housefly" ( <i>tàmpūa id</i> )		

An even more complex type follows the reduplicated CV with *-sin* or *-lin*:

<i>kpìsìṅkpìl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"fist"	<i>tàsìntàl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"palm of hand"
<i>sīlīnsīuñg</i> <sup>o</sup>	"spider"	<i>sīlīnsīug</i> <sup>o</sup>	"ghost"
<i>zīlīnzìog</i> <sup>o</sup>	"unknown" cf <i>zī</i> "not know"		
<i>vòlīnvùuñl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"mason wasp"		
<i>wàsìnwàl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	parasitic gall on trees ("mistletoe" in local English)		
<i>nēsīnnēog</i> <sup>o</sup>	"envious person" cf <i>nēn</i> <sup>na</sup> "envy" WK others "centipede" = WK <i>nà'-nēsīnnēog</i> <sup>o</sup>		

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

<i>dàyūug</i> <sup>o</sup>	"rat"	<i>dàwān</i> <sup>nε</sup>	"pigeon"
<i>dàtìuṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"right hand"	<i>dàgòbìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"left hand"
<i>dàṅkòṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"measles"	<i>dàwàlìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	"humid season"
<i>dàyáam</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"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> <sup>a</sup>	"sibling-in-law via wife"		
<i>dārúk</i> <sup>o</sup>	a kind of large pot, cf <i>dōk</i> <sup>o</sup> "pot"		
<i>bàlàṅìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"hat"	<i>bàlàar</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"stick, staff"
<i>bānāa</i>	traditional smock		
<i>bālērōg</i> <sup>o</sup>	"ugly" cf <i>lēr</i> <sup>ε</sup> "get ugly"		
<i>bàyēog</i> <sup>o</sup>	"betrayal of secrets" cf <i>yēs</i> <sup>ε</sup> "betray a secret"		
<i>nānzū'us</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"pepper"	<i>màṅgávṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"crab"
<i>làṅgávṅ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"crab"		
<i>sākáròg</i> <sup>o</sup>	"fox"	<i>sàbùa</i>	"lover, girlfriend"
<i>sāmán</i> <sup>nε</sup>	"courtyard"	<i>sāṅgónnìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"millipede"
<i>zàṅkù'ar</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"jackal"	<i>Zàṅgbèog</i> <sup>o</sup>	"Hausa person"

*Nà̀yī̀g*<sup>a</sup> "thief" is written *na'ayiig* in NT/KB as if with the cb *nā̀'* "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 *nà̀yī̀g-nàm*<sup>a</sup>; cf *nà̀yī̀gīm*<sup>m</sup> "thievery." There is an analogical *ga|sɛ* pl *nà̀yī̀s*<sup>ɛ</sup>. The Farefare cognate is *nà̀yìgà*, pl *nayigba* or *nayigsi*; Dagbani has *nayixa* pl *nayixsi* and also *tayixa*.

Some prefixes are connected with the verb negative particles *p̄v k̄ò*:

<i>k̀ònd̀v̀ar</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"barren woman"; cf <i>d̀ỳ'à</i> <sup>a</sup> "bear, beget"
<i>n̄n-p̄v-nā̀n</i> <sup>na/</sup>	"disrespectful person"; cf <i>nā̀n</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> "love, respect"
<i>t̀v̀b-p̄v-ẁóm̄n̄b</i> <sup>a</sup>	"deaf people" (Rom 11:7) cf <i>t̀v̀b̀v̀r</i> <sup>ɛ</sup> "ear", <i>ẁóm̄m</i> <sup>m</sup> "hear."

However, most cases show no identifiable negative meaning:

<i>k̀ònd̀v̀ŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"jackal"	<i>g̀v̀mp̄v̀z̄ēr</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	"duck"
<i>dā̀mp̄v̀sā̀ar</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	"stick"	<i>bā̀n-k̀ús̄él</i> <sup>lɛ</sup>	"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.

*N̄n-* "body" is accepted by WK as cb of *n̄ŋ*<sup>a</sup> *n̄is*<sup>ɛ</sup> [= Mooré *ȳ́ngá*] but the word is rare; it appears in *n̄n-tā̀a* "co-wife" and *n̄n-gb̄ŋ*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "human skin; body."

*Dà̀-* "man" has been replaced as regular cb by forms segmentally remodelled on sg and pl *d̀à̀ỳ-*, *d̀à̀p̀-*, but *d̀à̀-* is seen in *d̀à̀-pā̀al*<sup>a/</sup> "son, boy" (*pā̀alíg* "new") and *d̀à̀-k̀ò̀ŋ̀r*<sup>ɛ</sup> "son, bachelor" (cf *à̀rà̀k̀ó̀ŋ̀'* "one.")

*P̀v̀-* "woman" (cf *p̀ỳ'ā̀*<sup>a</sup> "woman" cb *p̀ỳ'à̀*) appears in *p̀v̀-k̀ò̀ŋ̀r*<sup>ɛ</sup> "widow"; cf Mooré *p̀v̀gk̀ò̀r̄é* "widow" along with *p̀v̀gsá̀dà̀* "young woman" = Kusaal *p̀ỳ'à̀-śā̀d̄ī̀r*<sup>ɛ/</sup>.

*P̄v̀-* "farm" (cf *p̄v̀ɔg*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "field, farm", pl *p̄v̀t*<sup>ɛ/</sup>, cb *p̄v̀-*, Mooré *p̀v̀v̀gò* pl *p̀v̀tò*) appears in *p̄v̀-kpā̀ad*<sup>a/</sup> "farmer" (= *kpā̀ad*<sup>a/</sup> *id*); tonally, it behaves as a M prefix 3.8.1.

*Nà̀'* "chief"(?) appears before a number of nouns signifying animals and insects: *nà̀'-z̀òm*<sup>mɛ</sup> "locust", *nà̀'-d̀à̀wā̀n*<sup>nɛ/</sup> "pigeon" (= *d̀à̀wā̀n*<sup>nɛ/</sup>) and WK's *nà̀'-n̄ēs̄inn̄ēog*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "centipede" (*n̄ēs̄inn̄ēog*<sup>ɔ/</sup> "envious person" WK; others: "centipede.")

The cb perhaps relates to traditional folklore; cf *à̀-kr̄ā̀-đ̄ŋ̄əm*<sup>ma</sup> "praying mantis" ("hyena's parent-in-law") and animal and bird names which incorporate the personifier particle, like *à̀-d̀à̀al̀v̀ŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "stork", *à̀-gā̀v̄ŋg*<sup>ɔ</sup> "pied crow", *à̀-mús*<sup>ɛ</sup> "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*<sup>a</sup> plurals:

<i>ga sɛ:</i> àràzàk <sup>a</sup>	àràzà'as <sup>ɛ</sup>	àràzà'-	"riches"
<i>màlǐāk</i> <sup>a/</sup>	<i>màlǐā'as</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>màlǐā'</i> -	"angel" DK
<i>gɔ dɛ:</i> gādṵg <sup>ɔ/</sup>	<i>gāt</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>gād</i> -	"bed"
<i>lòmbòñ'ɔg</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	<i>lòmbòñ'ɔd</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>lòmbòñ'</i> -	"garden"
<i>rɛ aa:</i> lór <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>lòyà</i> or <i>lòɔm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>lór</i> -	"car, lorry" (cf <i>Mōr</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup> )
<i>àlópìr</i> <sup>ɛ</sup>	<i>àlópìyà</i>		"aeroplane" SB
<i>wādīr</i> <sup>ɛ/</sup>	<i>wādá</i>	<i>wād</i> -	pl "customs, law"
<i>kèɛkè</i>	<i>kèɛkè-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>kèɛkè</i> -	"bicycle"
<i>Nàsāarā</i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<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: *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*<sup>m</sup> "disturb, trouble", Hausa *dàamaa*; *bùg*<sup>ɛ</sup> "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*, literally "get thoroughly beaten." Function words probably taken from Hausa include *àsésé* "except", Hausa *sai*; *kūv* "or", Hausa *koo*; *báa* "not a...", Hausa *bâa*.

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 *hālī* "even", Hausa *har*, Kikara Songhay *hálì*, possibly from Arabic *ḥattaa* (Heath 2005.) With *làbì*<sup>ya</sup> "be crouching behind something", Hausa *labèe* "crouch behind something to eavesdrop", Kikara Songhay *lá:bú* "hide behind or under something", the match of form and meaning is striking; if *làbì*<sup>ya</sup> is a loan, its flexion and derivatives are probably due to the analogy of *vābī*<sup>ya/</sup> "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*<sup>a</sup>, 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*<sup>/</sup> "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*<sup>al</sup> "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 *ḥaytʿaan*.

*Wínnàʼam*<sup>m</sup> (WK) *Wínàʼam*<sup>m</sup> (NT/KB) is "God" in Christian materials, though the Creator of traditional religion often appears simply as *Wīn*<sup>ne/</sup>. Tone and the prevalence of the form *Wínàʼam* with single *n* show that the word is not an Agolle Kusaal compound of *wīn*<sup>ne/</sup>. Direct borrowing of Mooré *Wěnnàám* would not explain the glottalised *aʼa*, and the immediate source is probably **Toende Kusaal** *Wínāʼam*.

*Fāañgíd*<sup>a</sup> "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*<sup>ε</sup> "salvation" and the gerund *zīʼəg*<sup>a</sup> of *zīʼe*<sup>ya</sup> "be standing" used by DK KT instead of *zīʼa*. The agent noun of *fāe*<sup>/</sup> "save" is *fāañd*<sup>al</sup>, identical to the agent noun of *fāñ* "snatch", NT/KB *faand* "robber"; WK confirmed that *fāañd*<sup>al</sup> 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*<sup>ɔ</sup> "boat", and *malek* (Toende *màlék*, Mooré *màlékà*) for *màlǐāk*<sup>al</sup> "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<sup>3</sup>*. The length and quality of the vowels identify the source as Mampruli *kyiibu*: contrast Farefare *kí'íbó*, 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<sup>a</sup>* "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<sup>ε</sup>* "aeroplane", perhaps a back-formation from [alopɪɹm] taken as a locative *àlópìrì=n<sup>ε/</sup>*; *dú'atà* "doctor" (cf Dagbani *dóyté id*); *tóklàè* "torch" ("torchlight"); *lór<sup>ε</sup>* "car, lorry" (often borrowed even in Francophone Africa: cf Mooré *lorè*, Nawdm *lòró*); *pɔɔtim* (Jer 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<sup>ε</sup>* "table", Hausa *teebùr*; *wādá* "law", Hausa *oodà*, from English "order", with sg *wādīr<sup>ε/</sup>* 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<sup>a</sup>* "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<sup>al</sup>* "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

A nominal phrase may be either a noun phrase (NP) or an adverb 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 [16.9.](#))

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>sālimā 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 [17.3.2](#) 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-pìəlìg</i>	"white goat"
<i>bò-kàŋā</i>	"this goat"	<i>bò-pìəl-kàŋā</i>	"this white goat"

Compounds with non-referential cbs as *dependents* are also common:

<i>nà'ab lā wíd-zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs <i>nà'ab lā wíəf zōvr</i>	"the chief's horse's tail"

Regardless of which element precedes, the last stem shows the noun class suffixes which mark number for the head. 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 [12.6.1.1](#):

<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 bútìḡ-]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-gbáḡḡ]</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>	

For **coordination**, "and" in NPs and AdvPs is *nē*, identical to the preposition "with." *Nē* can only link clauses if they have been nominalised. It cannot be omitted in series of three or more items, and it cannot join two words with the same referent:

<i>À-Wīn né À-Bōgūr né À-Nà'ab</i>	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
<i>dú'atà nē nà'ab</i>	"a doctor and a chief" ( <i>two</i> people)

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":

*Dāy lā ñyé bī-díbiη kōv bī-póηàa=∅?*

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 kóv bà wōsā*

child:SG ART or man:SG ART or 3PL all

"The man, or the child, or both" WK

Coordinated heads may not share determiners:

*m ba'abiis ne m saamnama*

*m̄ bā-b̄iis né m̄ sām-nāmā=∅*

1SG father-child:PL with 1SG father-PL=VOC

"my siblings and [my] fathers!" (Acts 7:2)

*pu'ā lā nē dāy lā*

"the woman and the man"

woman:SG ART with man:SG ART

An exception is *yīigá* "firstly" used as a predependent for "first" [12.5.3](#):

*yīiga saηgbauη ne teηgbauη ne atεuk*

*yīigá sàη-gbàυη nē téη-gbàυη né àtìυk*

firstly heaven-skin:SG with earth-skin:SG with sea:SG

"the former heaven and earth and sea" (Rv 21:1)

Coordinated heads may share modifiers by ellipsis:

*Kōsâal sôlimà nē sīlímà*

"Kusaasi stories and [Kusaal] proverbs"

Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

*Kōsâas kûeb nē yīr*

"Kusaasi farming and [Kusaasi] housing"

Kusaasi:PL hoeing with house:SG

*sālimā bûtìis nē díisímà*

"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 bûtìis* must mean "gold goods and [not gold] cups", WK offering the correction



*sālimā lâ'ad né ò bōtīs* "gold goods and (gold) cups" WK  
 gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL (for ò referring to *sālimā* see 12.2)

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 saṅgbauṅ ne teṅgbaung paal.*

*Kà m ñyē sán-gbàuṅ- nē téṅ-gbàuṅ-páal*

And 1SG see heaven-skin- with earth-skin-new:SG.

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth." (Rv 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 ne 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 ellipsed element would have been a cb: an elliptical reading of *ānzúrfà nē sālimā lá'-māan* "silver- and goldsmith" would have to mean "a smith made of silver and a smith made of gold."

NPs can be combined by **apposition**; for relative clauses see [17.3.2](#). NPs may precede personal names in apposition: *mān Paul* "I, Paul." As the NP is not a dependent, a following personifier particle is not omitted [12.5.1](#).

*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, Ēñ, ò zuà À-S̄ibigī n k̄abiríd.*

...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

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 N̄ō-ná-páal* "New Testament", *Siig Sun* for *Sisun S̄i-s̄òŋ* "Holy Spirit", but the audio NT has *S̄iig-s̄òŋ* (*S̄iig-s̄òŋ* with M spreading) or *S̄i-s̄òŋ*, never \**S̄iig-s̄óŋ*.

## 12.1 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 [12.6](#).

**Count** nouns distinguish sg/pl, unlike **mass** nouns, which characteristically refer to liquids, substances or abstractions. Count nouns may be abstract:

<i>z̄ōɔɔ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>z̄ōɔɔ<sup>ε</sup></i>		"race"
<i>bū'əsúɔ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàańsúɔ<sup>ɔ</sup></i>	<i>zàańsímə</i>	<i>zàańsúŋ-</i>	"dream"

The count/mass distinction affects the choice of quantifiers [12.4](#), the form of plurals with *nàm<sup>a</sup>* [5.1](#), and the meaning of NPs as predependents [12.5.2](#).

Typical underived mass nouns belong to the *bɔ* and *mm* noun classes, but gerunds of 3-mora-stem verbs regularly show sg *rɛ* or *ɔɔ*. A number of words referring to uncountables or abstracts, along with several irregularly formed deverbal abstract nouns, are formally plural but construed as singular.

<i>bāñ'as</i> <sup>ε</sup>		<i>bāñ'-</i>	"disease"
<i>ñyō'ɔs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>		<i>ñyō'-</i>	"smoke"
<i>tàdımís</i> <sup>ε</sup>			"weakness"
<i>zōlımís</i> <sup>ε</sup>			"foolishness"
<i>mēt</i> <sup>ε/</sup>		<i>mēt-</i>	"pus"
<i>kūt</i> <sup>ε</sup>		<i>kūt-</i>	"iron"; also "nail"
<i>zùød</i> <sup>ε</sup>			"friendship"
<i>bōvd</i> <sup>ε</sup>			"innocence"
<i>sīiñd</i> <sup>ε/</sup>			"honey"
<i>nīn-pōvd</i> <sup>ε</sup>			"pus"
<i>wāad</i> <sup>ε/</sup>			"cold weather"
<i>sūñ-pêen</i> <sup>nε</sup>			"anger"
<i>kɥ'à-nūud</i> <sup>ε/</sup>			"thirst"
<i>sālımā</i>		<i>sàlīm-</i>	"gold"
<i>sìdà</i>		<i>sìd-</i>	"truth"
<i>gēēñmís</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"madness"	<i>bùdımís</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"confusion"
<i>tìtōmīs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sending"	<i>zīid</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"carrying on the head"
<i>vūud</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"noise"	<i>kēn</i> <sup>nε/</sup>	"arrival"
<i>dị'əmə</i>	"festival"		
<i>pị'āñ'ad</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"speech"	cf <i>pị'āyñk</i> <sup>o</sup>	"word"
<i>tōvmā</i>	"work"	cf <i>tōvm</i> <sup>mε</sup>	"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, as with *dà-pōvdá* "cross", pl *dà-pōvdá nàm*<sup>a</sup> (cf *dà-pōvdír*<sup>ε</sup> "cross-piece.")

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

<i>lāyuk</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>lā'ad</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>là'-</i>	"piece of goods"
<i>lā'af</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>līgıdī</i>	<i>là'-</i> or <i>lìg-</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 bón-nám</i>	"wooden things": <i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood"

## 12.2 Gender

Gender is marked only in pronouns. For convenience the genders are labelled **animate** and **inanimate**, but the basic principle is that entities regarded as persons, to whom first or second person pronouns might in principle apply, are "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 zuluṅ na paae o salibir.*

*Kà wìəf yá' sīgí lì nī, lì zùlùṅ ná pāe ò sàlibìr.*

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." (Rv 14:20)

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

*Nòbir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niṅbiṅ la nii," lin kv nyaṅi ke ka o ka' niṅbiṅ la nii.*

*Nóbìr yá' yèlì=n yē, Mán kā' nù'ug lā zúg, m kā' nìṅ-gbìṅ lā*

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.BE hand:SG ART upon, 1SG NEG.BE body:SG ART

*níu=ø, līn kú ñyāṅī ø ké kà ò kā' nìṅ-gbìṅ lā níu=ø.*

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.*

*Tìg wélà bīgìsìd ón àñ sī'em.*

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IPFV 3AN:NZ COP INDFADV.

"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 bí-līa.*

"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'* *bàn<sup>ε</sup>* *sīəbā* 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.

*Nīf-káŋā, ɔ̄n sãñ'am nē.*

Eye-DEMST.SG, 3AN.CN spoil FOC.

"This eye, it's spoilt." KT (Overheard)

*M̄ p̄v ñyēó=ø=ø.*

"I can't find it [a stethoscope]" (Overheard)

1SG NEG.IND see=3AN=NEG.

*sālimā lâ'ad né ò bōtīs* "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK

gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

The dummy subject pronoun "it" is always *lì*, never *ò*.

The inanimate sg pronoun subject *lì* is not changed to animate *ò* to agree with an animate complement of the copula *àgñ<sup>ya</sup>*:

*Li anε Zugšəb la.*

"It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)

*Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.*

3IN COP FOC Lord ART.

## 12.3 Pronouns

### 12.3.1 Personal

		Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ <i>ñ</i>
Sg	1st	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>mān</i> SF <i>mánè</i> LF	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>f̄v</i>	<i>f<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>fōn</i> SF <i>fónè</i> LF	<i>fón</i>
	3rd an	<i>ò</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ōn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>ón</i>
	3rd inan	<i>lì</i> or <i>dì</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>līn<sup>ε</sup></i> or <i>dīn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>lín</i> or <i>dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>tì</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tīnám<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>tīnámì</i>
	2nd	<i>yà</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>yānám<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>yānámì</i>
	3rd	<i>bà</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bān<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>bán</i>

"an" = animate, "inan" = inanimate. *Mām* occurs for 1sg in any role. The 2pl subject has an enclitic form *y<sup>a</sup>* used *after* imperatives in direct commands with the allomorph *ní* before liaison.

Toende Kusaal has *ĩ* for *ò* (\* $\eta\bar{m}\nu$ ) and *tvn nam* for *tĩnám yānám*.

There are no special honorific usages.

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 b̄ĩg* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is *this NP* which is the predependent of *b̄ĩg* "child", exactly like *nà'ab lā* "the chief" in *nà'ab lā b̄ĩg* "the chief's child."

Free forms are *contrastive* wherever bound forms could be used. Free forms must be used in isolation, apposition, coordination, and before relative pronouns:

<i>Mánè?</i>	"Me?"	<i>mān Paul</i>	"I, Paul"
<i>tĩnám nē f̄v̄n</i>	"us and you"		

<i>F̄v̄n kanε buoli f̄v̄ mεη ...</i>	"You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
<i>F̄v̄n-kánì bùèlì f̄v̄ mēη ...</i>	
2SG-REL.SG call	2SG self ...

Focussed pronouns must be contrastive, and contrastive pronouns are normally focussed if syntactically permissible:

*Manε an k̄v̄nbkem sv̄η la.*  
*Mānī-∅ áñ kóñb-kìm-sùη lā.*  
 1SG.CN CAT COP animal-tender-good:SG ART.  
 "I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

The "+*n̄*" forms are used as subjects in *n̄*-clauses 17.3.  
 2sg is used in proverbs for a generic "one":

*Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.*  
*B̀v̄η yá' b̀v̄v̄d yé ò lūbú=f, f̀v̄ p̄v̄ ñyḗtí ò t̀v̄bāa=∅.*  
 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 ỳv̄v̄dī=f s̀v̄ηàa=∅?*  
 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 17.2.1, e.g.

*Diib wɔsa nari ba di.* "All foods may be eaten." (Rom 14:20)  
*Dīib 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 16.7.1 and logophoric use of the free pronouns 17.4.2.

### 12.3.2 Demonstrative

	Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
Long	<i>òḡā'</i>	<i>lìnā'</i> far	<i>bàmmā'</i>
Short	<i>òn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>lìn<sup>ε</sup></i> far	<i>bàn<sup>ε</sup></i>
Long		<i>nē'ḡá</i> near	
Short		<i>nē'</i> near	<i>nē'-nám<sup>a</sup></i> NT
Long	<i>kàḡā'</i>	<i>kàḡā'</i>	
Short	<i>kàn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>kàn<sup>ε</sup></i>	

Note the tone difference between *òn<sup>ε</sup> lìn<sup>ε</sup> bàn<sup>ε</sup>* and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used as the basis of relative pronouns 17.3.2.2, for discourse deixis, and for interrogative "which?":

*Fvne an dau kan la!* "You are that man!" (2 Sm 12:7)  
*Fōnī ∅ áñ dáḡ-kàn lā!* [i.e. in the story just related.]  
 2SG.CN CAT COP man-DEM.SG ART!

*Lìnè?* "Which one?"  
*Nīf-kánè?* "Which eye?"

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*.)

*sān-káḡā* "at this/that time"  
*dàḡ-kàḡā sām* "this/that man's father"  
*dàḡ-kàḡā lā sām* "that man's father"  
*dàḡ-kàḡā ñwá sām* "this man's father"

*Ḷḡā' lìnā' nē'ḡá nē'* appear only as NP heads, and *Ḷn<sup>ε</sup> lìn<sup>ε</sup>* cannot follow a cb; however, *bàmmā' bān<sup>ε</sup>* can be used either uncompounded or after a cb.

*Kàn<sup>ε</sup> kàḡā'* 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<sup>ε</sup>* may also follow a free personal pronoun, and *àràkóñ'* "one", but no other quantifiers. NT avoids *kàḡā' kàn<sup>ε</sup>* for animate gender.

<i>dú'atà lā lór-kàḡā</i>	"this car of the doctor's"
<i>bù-kàḡā lā</i>	"that goat"
<i>nō-p̄ḡl-kàḡā</i>	"this white hen"
<i>fōn-kánì bùḡl ...</i>	"you who call ..."

### 12.3.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
<i>sō'</i>	<i>sī'ḡl<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>sīḡbā</i> ( <i>unlotted</i> vowel)
<i>sī'a</i>	<i>sī'a</i>	

*Sō' sī'ḡl<sup>a</sup> sīḡbā* 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'ḡl<sup>a</sup>* as dependent. WK feels *sī'a* for people is pejorative. For indefinites in relative clauses see [17.3.2.1](#).

The sense is indefinite but *specific*: "some, someone, something, a certain", and often "another, a different":

<i>yà bī-sō'</i>	"a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDEFAN	

<i>Mεeri one an Magdalen ne Meeri 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)	

<i>Ḷ ná tī=f tí-sī'a.</i>	"I'll give you a different medicine." WK
1SG IRR give=2SG medicine-INDEF.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

<i>Dāy-sō' dāa bé ...</i>	"There was a certain/another man ..."
Man-INDEFAN 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 súnā.*

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' kūdīm kú lēm ñyées=lī yá'asā=∅.*

And INDF.AN ever NEG.IRR again see=3IN again=NEG.

"Nobody will ever see it again." (Rv 18:21, 1996)

*Sō' kā'e=∅.*

"There's nobody there."

INDF.AN NEG.BE=NEG.

*Ḿ pō yél sī'əlā=∅.*

"I didn't say anything."

1SG NEG.IND say INDF.IN=NEG.

### 12.3.4 Interrogative

Animate

*ànô'ɔn<sup>ε</sup>* "who?"

Inanimate

*bō* "what?"

Plurals with *nàm<sup>a</sup>* may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

*Bō kǐmm* "what exactly?" with the ideophone *kǐmm* is common in KB.

The initial *à-* of *ànô'ɔn<sup>ε</sup>* behaves like the manner-adverb prefix in liaison [4.2](#):

... *keḡ tisi anô'ɔnε?*

"to go to whom?" (1 Sm 6:20)

... *kēḡ ∅ tísì ànô'ɔnè=∅?*

... go CAT give who=CQ?

*Bō* can be used after a cb as a dependent interrogative "what?":

*nā'-bó?*

"what cow?" WK DK

(*náaf bó* can only mean "What, of a cow's?")

*bò-bò?*

"what goat?"

*dā-bó?*

"what beer?"

The compound *bò-būudī* "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

*nā'-bó-būudī?* "what kind of cow?"  
*dā-bó-būudī?* "what kind of beer?"

*Fù á nē bó-būudī=ø?* "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 ...?"

*Fù túm bó-tòvmà=ø?* "What kind of work do you do?"  
 2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

*Bo yir ka ya na me' n tis mane?*  
*Bò-yír kà yà ná mē n tís mánè=ø?*  
 What-house:SG and 2PL IRR build CAT give 1SG.CN=CQ?  
 "What kind of house will you build for me?" (Acts 7:49, 1996)

### 12.3.5 Reciprocal

*Tāabā* "one another" appears as *tāab* clause-medially for some speakers. It can be used after a cb, meaning "fellow-": *ò tòvm-tòvm-tāabā* "his fellow-workers."

*Sòṣimī=ø tāabā.* "Help one another."  
 Help:IMP=2PL.SUB each.other.

*Tì yūug nē tāabā.* "It's been a long time." KT  
 1PL delay with each.other.

*Bà dól nē tāabā.* "They went together." (*dól*<sup>la/</sup> "accompany")  
 3PL follow with each.other.

### 12.3.6 Reflexive

*Mēṣ*<sup>a/</sup> "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl:

*nà'ab lā mēṣ* "the chief himself"  
 chief:SG ART self

*Bà ṅyéὲ bà mēṣ.* "They've seen for themselves."  
 3PL see 3PL self.

*F̀ò mē̄η k̄ōv b́ì-l̀à̀a=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:

*Ṁ ñwé'ε m mē̄η.* "I hit myself."  
 1SG hit 1SG self. not \**Ṁ ñwé'ε m* or \**Ṁ ñwé' m̄n.*

Kusaal uses a pronoun possessor with body parts acted on by their owner; where ordinary pronouns would have been permissible, using *mē̄η* implies contrast:

*Ba p̄v piesidi ba nu'us w̄wv lin nar si'em la ka ditta.*  
*B̀à p̄v p̄r̄əsídí b̀à n̄u'us w̄wv lín n̄ar s̄ī'əm lá k̀à dít̄a=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)

*Ṁ p̄j̄ə m̄ mē̄η n̄u'us.* "I washed my own hands."  
 1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

### 12.3.7 Dummy head

*S̄ōb<sup>a</sup>* is a dummy head for a preceding NP or AdvP dependent; it specifies number and gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate sg *s̄ōb<sup>a</sup>* pl *d̄im<sup>a</sup>*  
 Inanimate sg/pl *d̄in<sup>nε</sup>*

*Ò s̄ōb<sup>a</sup>/ōn s̄ōb<sup>a</sup>* mean "the last person mentioned."

NP predependent constructions have their usual meanings [12.5.2](#):

*m̄ān d̄ín<sup>nε</sup>* "my one, mine"  
*À-W̄in d̄ím<sup>a</sup>* "Awini's family"  
*p̀v̀-̀p̀j̄ə̀l̄im s̄ób<sup>a</sup>*  
 pl *p̀v̀-̀p̀j̄ə̀l̄im d̄ím<sup>a</sup>* "holy person" (*p̀v̀-̀p̀j̄ə̀l̄im<sup>m</sup>* "holiness")  
*d̄ūnyā ní d̄in<sup>nε</sup>* "earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)  
*B̀òk d̄ím<sup>a</sup>* "Bawku people"  
*ȳīgá s̄ōb<sup>a</sup>* "first (person)" beside *ȳīg-s̄ób<sup>a</sup> id*

*F̀w̄n p̄j̄āñ'ad n̄ē t̄ínám d̄ín.* "You're speaking ours [language]."  
 2SG.CN speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CN NULL.IN.

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

<i>yī-sób<sup>a</sup></i>	pl <i>yī-sób-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	"householder"	( <i>yīr<sup>ε</sup></i> "house")
<i>yī-dím<sup>a</sup></i>		"members of the household"	
<i>nīf-sób<sup>a</sup></i>		"miser"	( <i>nīf<sup>σ</sup></i> "eye")
<i>tāñp-sōb<sup>a</sup></i>		"warrior"	( <i>tāñp<sup>σ</sup></i> "war")
<i>zūg-sób<sup>a</sup></i>	pl <i>zūg-sób-nàm<sup>a</sup></i>	"boss" NT "Lord"	( <i>zūg<sup>σ</sup></i> "head")

## 12.4 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** 12.1, but the distinction is only of significance if the quantified noun is mass type, in which case a count quantifier is ungrammatical:

	<i>nīdīb bédvḡv̄</i> or <i>nīdīb bábıgā</i>	"a lot of people, many people"
	<i>kù'əm bédvḡv̄</i>	"a lot of water"
not	* <i>kù'əm bábıgā</i>	*"many water"

Mass quantifiers are

<i>bédvḡv̄'</i>	"a lot"	<i>pāmm</i> LF <i>pāmné</i>	"a lot"
<i>fīñ</i>	"a little (liquid)"	<i>bī'əlá</i>	"a little"
<i>wōv</i>	"all"	<i>wōsā</i>	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers are

<i>bábıgā'</i>	"many"	<i>kàlıgā'</i>	"few"
<i>fāāñ</i>	"every"	<i>zāñ'a</i>	"every"

*Kàm<sup>a</sup>* "every" occurs by itself as a quantifier and also before others: *sāñá kám* = *sāñá kám zāñ'a* "all the time."

Quantifiers appear typically as determiners in NPs 12.6.2, but like pronouns they may also be heads of NPs; they can pluralise with *nàm<sup>a</sup>*:

<i>Pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bédvḡv̄ ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bédvḡv̄ 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 12.5.2.

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 dīb yáa ní mōɔgō=n ñwá*

And 1PL that 1PL find food where LOC grass:SG=LOC this

*∅ dūs nīdīb bédugō bámmā ñwá=∅?*

CAT feed person:PL many DEMST.PL this=CQ?

"Where are we going to find food in this wilderness to feed this crowd of people?" (Mt 15:33, 1996: KB *nimbama nwa wusa* "all these people")

Quantifiers have corresponding **proforms**: demonstrative *àlá* "so much/so many"; indefinite *sī'em<sup>m</sup>* "some amount"; interrogative *àlá* "how much/how many?" In these words *à-* is the *number* prefix 4.2.

### 12.4.1 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>kòbísí</i> [kòbisi]
3	<i>àtán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tán'</i>
4	<i>ànāsí</i>	40	<i>pīs nāsí</i>	400	<i>kòbìs nāsí</i>
5	<i>ànū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū</i>	500	<i>kòbìs nū</i>
6	<i>àyúèbù</i>	60	<i>pīs yúèbù</i>	600	<i>kòbìs yúèbù</i>
7	<i>àyópòḡ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópòḡ</i>	700	<i>kòbìs yópòḡ</i>
8	<i>ànḡ</i>	80	<i>pīs nḡ</i>	800	<i>kòbìs nḡ</i>
9	<i>àwāḡ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāḡ</i>	900	<i>kòbìs wāḡ</i>

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

The forms for 20 and 200 are not apocope-blocked but combinations with the stem of *àyí'*. *Kòbīgā* irregularly has identical LF and SF.

"Thousand" is a regular *re|aa* class noun, *tūsīr<sup>ε/</sup>*: *tūsá àtán'* "3000." "Half" is *pō-súk<sup>a</sup>* pl *pō-súḡs<sup>ε</sup>*. Other numbers are formed with *nē* "with, and": *kòbìs tán' nē pīs yúèbù nē nū* "three hundred and sixty-five." 11 to 19 have the special contracted forms *pīi nē yīnní*, *pīi nē yí'*, *pīi nē tán'* ... *pīi nē wāḡ* (or *pīi nā yīnní*, *pīi nā yí'* ...)

The prefix *à-* is omitted after *nē* "with", and sometimes also after focus-*nē<sup>ε/</sup>*:

*Lì à nē nāasí. / Lì à né ànāasí.* "They're four."

The forms *àyíḡā' àtáḡā'* mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

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

but *M̄ mór b̄īsá àtáḡā.* "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after *nē* "and", as in *p̄ī nē yíḡā* "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with the particle *nē'* 19.1.2.

*Yīnní* can also be construed with a preceding cb: *kūg-yínnì* "one stone" vs *kūgōr yīnní* "one stone." *Dà-p̄īḡā* is "ten days", but *p̄īḡā* is not used after other cbs.

Number-prefix *à-* represents \**ḡa-*, the old agreement flexion for *re|aa* pl. Animate-gender *bà-* has been supplanted by *à-* after nouns, but remains regular after personal pronouns: *tì bàtáñ'* "we three", *yà bàyópòḡ* "you seven", *bà bàyí'* "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in **counting**, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix *ḡ-* instead of *à-*. This represents the old agreement for the *mm* class, in its "abstract" sense. Nawdm, which preserves class agreement for numbers (*nídbá bàtáñ'* "three people") uses the agreement prefix for its cognate *m-* class for counting: *mtáñ'* "three" *mnàà* "four" *mnù* "five" etc (Babakima 2013, p51.)

1	<i>yéḡ</i> or <i>àràkóñ'</i>	6	<i>ḡyûḡb</i>
2	<i>ḡyí'</i>	7	<i>ḡpòḡ</i> [tone sic]
3	<i>ḡtáñ'</i>	8	<i>ḡñí</i>
4	<i>ḡnāas</i>	9	<i>ḡwāḡ</i>
5	<i>ḡnū</i>		continuing <i>p̄īḡā, p̄ī nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

*Àràkóñ'* can also be used as a quantifier: *búvg àràkóñ'* "one goat."

The forms *kōñ'* and *kōñ'òkō* appear as postpositions: *m̄ kōñ'* "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-dēḡ* "first census" (Lk 2:2, 1976) is

*dēḡ<sup>a</sup>*                      *dēḡñs<sup>ε</sup>*                      *dēḡ-*                      "first"  
or *dēḡmīs<sup>ε</sup>* or *dēḡnā*

"First" can also be expressed by *yīgá* "firstly" as a predependent:

*linε da an yiiga dabisir*  
*līnī* ∅ *dá àñ yīgá dábīsìr.*  
 3IN.CN CAT TNS COP firstly day:SG.  
 "That was the first day." (Gn 1:5)

Other ordinal expressions use relative clauses with *pàas*<sup>ε</sup> or *pè'es*<sup>ε</sup> "add up to", or NPs consisting of numbers as predependents before *dāan*<sup>a</sup> "owner of ...":

*dà̀̀-kà̀̀nì pè'esà̀̀ à̀̀yí' lā*  
 man-REL.SG add.up.to NUM:two ART  
 "the second man" ("man who has added up to two")

*lìnì pàasà̀̀ à̀̀táñ' lā* "the third one"  
 REL.IN add.up.to NUM:three ART

*à̀̀yí' dāan lā* "the second one"  
*bṑ̀vǵá à̀̀táñ' 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*<sup>ε</sup>                      *yīmmá*                      *yīm-*                      "solitary, unique"

There are two words meaning "one of a pair": *ñyà̀̀uk*<sup>o</sup> pl *ñyà̀̀ad*<sup>ε</sup> is only used for eyes, while *yī̀̀uη*<sup>o</sup>/ pl *yī̀̀ná* is used for other normally paired body parts: *nṑ̀b-yī̀̀uη* "one leg", *nū̀̀'-yī̀̀uη* "one hand", *nī̀̀f-ñyà̀̀uk* "one eye", *tò̀̀b-yī̀̀uη* "one ear."

**Multiplicatives** answer *à̀̀bò̀̀lá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yī̀̀mmú* "straight away, at once", *à̀̀bò̀̀yí'* "twice", *à̀̀bò̀̀táñ'* "three times", *à̀̀bò̀̀nā́́sí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bò̀̀pī̀̀gā* "ten times." The prefix *bò̀̀-* is an old *bṑ̀* or *mm* agreement; *à̀̀-* is the *manner-adverb* formant, preceded by LF-final *-ɪ*, so its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nṑ̀wǵá à̀̀lá* "how many times?" have forms of the pattern *nṑ̀wǵ yī̀̀nní* "once", *nṑ̀wǵá à̀̀táñ'* "three times", or alternatively *nṑ̀wǵrím bò̀̀táñ'* "three times" etc. This *nṑ̀wǵ* is not "mouth" (Mooré *nóorè*) but corresponds to Mooré *náooré* "pied, fois"; Toende uses *nó̀̀'ot* "leg": *nṑ̀ba ayi/nó̀̀'ot ayi* "deux fois."

**Distributives** "two by two" etc are (as SFs):

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīig</i>	100	<i>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbìsí kóbìsí</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>átáñ' táñ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táñ' táñ'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs táñ' táñ'</i>
4	<i>ànāas nāas</i>	40	<i>pīs nāas nāas</i>		<i>etc</i>
5	<i>ànū nū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū nū</i>	1000	<i>tūsīr túsìr</i>
6	<i>àyûeb yûeb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûeb yûeb</i>		
7	<i>àyópòḡ pòḡ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópòḡ pòḡ</i>		
8	<i>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pīs níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwāḡ wāḡ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāḡ wāḡ</i>		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern *pīs nū nē nāas nāas* "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: *dābá àyópòḡ pòḡ* "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

## 12.5 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. The personifier particle precedes all other predependents; then specific dependents precede generic, with cbs last:

*Wīnà'am* [*pú'vsùḡ* [*fûug dḡog*]] "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see [4.5](#).

### 12.5.1 Personifier

Kusaasi personal names [21.2](#) are always preceded by the personifier particle: *À-* by default, but *Ñ-* before adjective stems; *Ñ-* is syllabic but assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant. Names do not take adjectives or the article, but occur with other determiners. *À-* is deleted after a predependent, but *Ñ-* remains.

Personal names may pluralise with *nám*<sup>a</sup>; a form like *À-Wīn nám* can mean "more than one person called Awini" or "Awini and his people."

<i>À-Wīn</i>	"Awini"	<i>tì Wīn</i>	"our Awini"
<i>À-Wīn-káḡā</i>	"this Awini"	<i>À-Wīn nám</i>	"Awinis"
<i>Ñ-Dāvḡ</i>	"Ndago"	<i>tì Ñ-Dāvḡ</i>	"our Ndago"

The Kusaal Bible versions use foreign names without *À-*, but it is usual in speech: *À-Mūsā* "Moses", *À-Yīsā* "Jesus", *À-Sīmōn* "Simon." In stories with talking animals, animal names take *À-*: *À-Bāa* "Mr Dog"; NT has *À-Sàñ'vḡ* "Abaddon."



Some animal and bird names incorporate the personifier as part of the common noun, with no implication of personification, e.g. *à-dàalúŋ*<sup>o</sup> "stork", *à-gâvñg*<sup>o</sup> "pied crow", *à-kōrā-dîəm*<sup>ma</sup> "praying mantis", *à-mús*<sup>ε</sup> "cat." Thus

*M̄ ñyé à-dàalúŋ.* "I've seen a stork."  
1SG see PERS-stork:SG.

but *̀̀m̄/mān dáalúŋ* "my stork"  
1SG/1SG.CN stork:SG

*dāy lā dáalúŋ* "the man's stork"  
man:SG ART 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; *à-* thus occupies a predependent slot.

When *verb phrases* are nominalised by *à-*, it behaves as a subject pronoun "someone who ..." This is particularly common in proverbs.

*Atvm sɔ'* "Siloam" (Jn 9:7)  
*À-tòm sɔ'* ("Someone sent someone")  
PERS-send INDEF.AN

*Apv-kpen'-baŋv dim*  
*À-pv kpeñ' bàŋvò díŋ*  
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-Kīdīgī̄ ∅ Bū'əs* "Crossed over and asked"  
PERS-CROSS CAT ask (name of the constellation Orion.)

*Apozotyel* "Doesn't-fear-trouble", character in KSS p35.  
*À-Pv-zót-yēl*  
PERS-NEG.IND-run:IPFV-thing:SG

As a predependent of a clause subject *à-* 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-nōos 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.")

Nominalisations with *à-* can pluralise with *nàm*<sup>a</sup>:

*À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpîid né kà téñbìd.*  
 PERS-NEG.KNOW CAT die PL die:IPFV FOC and tremble:IPFV.

"Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Proverb)  
 (i.e "It's a storm in a teacup.")

## 12.5.2 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. For *mēŋ*<sup>a</sup> "self" and *sōb*<sup>a</sup> after predependents see [12.3.6](#) [12.3.7](#).

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier, or a relative clause, 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

*Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fun gaŋ sō'*

*Pà'alīmī=tí nīdībá àyí' ñwá fún gāŋ sō'*

Teach:IMP=1PL person:PL NUM:two this 2SG:NZ choose INDFAN

"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 s'v̀l̀im</i>	"kingdom" ("chieftaincy possession")
<i>p̀v̀s̀òg d̀òg</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>t̀v̀l̀gír b̀n</i>	"heater" ("heating thing" = <i>b̀n-t̀v̀l̀gír</i> <sup>ε</sup> )
<i>d̀g̀v̀b d̀t</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>l̀g̀d̀ t̀v̀m̀</i>	"expensive work" ( <i>l̀g̀d̀</i> "money")

There are sometimes alternate forms with cbs:

	<i>t̀ñp-s̀b</i>	"warrior"	( <i>t̀ñp</i> <sup>o</sup> "war")
	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀l̀-̀s̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Rom 3:10, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀l̀m s̀b</i>	"holy person"	(Mt 10:41, 1996)
	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀l̀-̀t̀v̀m̀</i>	"holy actions"	(Rom 6:13, 1996)
but	<i>p̀v̀-̀p̀l̀m t̀v̀m̀</i>	"holy actions"	(Mt 5:10, 1996)

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

<i>K̀s̀aal ỳr ǹ k̀v̀b</i>	"Kusaasi houses and agriculture"
<i>Ǹs̀aal b̀g̀m</i>	"electricity" ("European fire")

Concrete indefinite mass NPs as predependents express the material of which the head consists; count nouns may appear if used in mass senses. Unlike dependent cbs, such predependents can be pronoun antecedents (cf CGEL pp400ff p1458.)

<i>s̀l̀m̀ b̀t̀ǹ</i>	"golden cup"
<i>s̀l̀m̀ ǹ ānz̀r̀f̀ l̀'ad</i>	"gold and silver goods"
<i>f̀v̀g d̀òg</i>	"tent" (cloth hut)
<i>d̀ad b̀n-ǹm</i>	"wooden things" ( <i>d̀av̀g</i> <sup>o</sup> "piece of wood")
<i>s̀l̀m̀ l̀'ad ǹ v̀ b̀t̀is</i>	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK

The cb first element of *k̀v̀'̀-̀ñẁig* "current" ("aquatic rope") suggests that the construction with unbound concrete mass predependents is limited to the specific sense "made of ...", so that *\*k̀v̀'̀m ñẁig* would be "rope made of water."

With count and/or definite heads, meanings include kin relations, body parts, and ownership:

<i>m̄ b̄ig</i>	"my child"
<i>dāy lā b̄ig</i>	"the man's child"
<i>dāy lā b̄iər b̄ig n̄af z̄v̄r</i>	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
<i>K̄s̄âas wádà</i>	"customs of the Kusaasi"

*Nimbe'og yir na san'am.*

*N̄in-bê'og yír nà s̄āñ'am.*

Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.

"The house of a wicked person will be destroyed." (Prv 14:11)

A contrast with a non-referential predependent cb:

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

*Dāan*<sup>a</sup> "owner of ..." (*nām*<sup>a</sup> pl) always has a predependent NP, representing a concrete possession or a quality:

<i>b̄v̄g dāan</i>	"goat owner"
<i>kù'əm dāan</i>	"water owner"
<i>dāam dāan</i>	"beer owner"
<i>t̄iəŋ dāan</i>	"bearded man"
<i>p̄w̄g lā dāan</i>	"the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40)

*Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.*

*Z̄w̄k dāan p̄ ḡāŋid 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>p̄-p̄iəlim dāan</i>	"holy person"
<i>b̄gusígā dāan</i>	"softly-softly sort of person" WK

See [12.4.1](#) on the use of *dāan*<sup>a</sup> with numbers to make ordinal expressions.

A cb predependent appears before *dāan*<sup>a</sup> in a few set expressions:

<i>yī-dāan</i>	"householder" = <i>yī-sób</i>
<i>t̄iə-dāan</i>	(literally "land-owner"): traditional earth-priest

Before gerunds and other abstract nouns describing events or processes, NP predependents refer to *subjects*. Generic-object cbs, adjunct AdvPs and VP-final particles may appear. Such NPs are used as verb arguments and before postpositions.

*Dāy lā kúlòg dāa māhsí=m.*

Man:SG ART go.home:GER TNS be.sweet=1SG.

"The man's return home pleased me."

*ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la*

*yà àntu'à-mōrím 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 lɛbɔg la na*

*Nīn-sāal Bīig lā lɛbòg lā nā*

Human:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither

"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

### 12.5.3 Adverb phrases

Predependent AdvPs may not be proadverbs. Most are locative, or phrases with the postposition *yēlá* "about", or depend on the specialised head *dāan*<sup>a</sup> 12.5.2.

*dūniyā ní nìn-gbīḡ*

"earthly body"

*kōlīgī=n nó-dāvɔ*

"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")

*Bòk díḡ*

"Bawku people"

*dàgòbìg níf*

"left eye"

*zūgú=n níf-gbáḡ*

"upper eyelid"

*tēḡī=n níf-gbáḡ*

"lower eyelid"

*Kūsāas kùəb nē yīr yélà gbàḡ*

"A book about Kusaasi houses and agriculture"

*dàḡ-kàḡā lā yélà gbàḡ*

"a book about that man" WK

*Ba da mər mɔɔgɪn bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi, yɪn bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi ...*

*Bà dà mòr mɔɔgɔ̄=n bún-kóñbìd nɛ bà būudī, yɪn bún-kóñbìd*

3PL TNS have bush:SG=LOC thing-hair:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC thing-hair:PL

*nɛ bà būudī ...*

and 3PL kind ...

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

(Gn 7:14)

*Yīgá* "firstly" appears as a predependent meaning "first" 12.4.1.

### 12.5.4 Combining forms

A combining form as a predependent is always generic and non-referential. Compounds with a predependent cb can be freely created, but resemble the compounds seen in other languages more closely than those with cb heads preceding adjectives and dependent pronouns. Specialised lexical meanings often occur with dependent cbs, rarely with head cbs before adjectives and never before pronouns.

If the head is a deverbal noun, it may be preceded by a combining form representing an **argument**, with count or mass meaning:

*dā-nûur*<sup>ε</sup> "beer-drinking"      *gēl-kûəs*<sup>a</sup> "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>n̄n-kûvd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"murderer"	<i>bù-kûvd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"goat-killer"
<i>nō-kûvd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"hen-killer"	<i>pu'â-kûvd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"woman-killer"
<i>nō-záñ</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"holder of hens"	<i>wìd-kûəs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"horse-seller"
<i>bù-kûəs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"goat-seller"	<i>sàl̄m-kûəs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"gold-seller"
<i>dā-nûud</i> <sup>a</sup>	"beer-drinker"	<i>dà-kīəd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"wood-cutter"
<i>zīm-gbãñ'ad</i> <sup>a</sup>	"fisherman" ("fish-catcher")		
<i>nō-dî'əs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
<i>tàn-mēəd</i> <sup>a</sup>	"builder" ( <i>tān</i> <sup>nε</sup> "earth")		
<i>làmpō-dî'əs</i> <sup>a</sup>	"tax collector" (French <i>l'impôt</i> )		
<i>gbàn-mī'id</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"scribe" NT ("book-knower")		
<i>pu'â-sāñ'am</i> <sup>ma</sup>	"adulterer" ("woman-spoiler")		
<i>zà'-nō-gúr</i> <sup>a</sup>	"gate-keeper" ( <i>zà'-nōɔr</i> <sup>ε/</sup> "gate")		
<i>kòñb-kīm</i> <sup>na</sup>	"herdsman" ( <i>kòñb-</i> cb of <i>būn-kóñbùg</i> <sup>o</sup> "animal")		
<i>bùl-sīgīd</i> <sup>a/</sup>	"well-diver" ( <i>bùlìg</i> <sup>a</sup> "well")		
<i>tùøn-gāt</i> <sup>a</sup>	"leader" ( <i>Ò gād tùøn</i> "He's gone ahead")		
<i>ñyà'an-dòl</i> <sup>la</sup>	"disciple" ( <i>ñyá'an</i> <sup>a</sup> "behind", <i>dōl</i> <sup>la/</sup> "accompany")		
<i>pu'â-lā'ad</i> <sup>a</sup>	"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; NT/KB has *bāñīd*<sup>a</sup> "wise man", *sīākīd*<sup>a</sup> "believer", *sōñīd*<sup>a</sup> "helper", *fāañd*<sup>a/</sup> "robber", "Saviour." However, a preceding cb is usual. It may be just a reduplication of the noun stem:

<i>màal-māan</i> <sup>na</sup>	"sacrificer"	<i>zī-zīid</i> <sup>a</sup>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as</i> <sup>a</sup>	"talker"	<i>zàb-zàb</i> <sup>a</sup>	"warrior" (tone <i>sic</i> )
<i>zòt-zòt</i> <sup>a</sup>	"racer, athlete"	<i>tòm-tòm</i> <sup>na</sup>	"worker"

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

<i>sjà-lōdìŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"belt" (waist-tying thing)
<i>nīn-gótìŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>	"mirror" (eye-looking thing)
<i>nīn-gótìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"spectacles"

If the head is a **gerund**, a predependent cb may represent a subject or complement. Gerunds in *-bo* here replace the suffix with *-re* [8.1.1](#).

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

<i>fū-yêr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)
<i>pṽ'à-dūr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"marriage" ( <i>Ò dī pṽ'ā</i> "He's married a wife")
<i>nīn-kôvr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"murder"
<i>dā-nûur</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"beer-drinking"
<i>Sāmán-pjər</i> <sup>ε</sup>	traditional New Year ("Courtyard Cleaning")
<i>bùgúm-tōñr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	Fire Festival ("Fire Throwing")
<i>nō-lôvr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>nō-pôvr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"oath" ( <i>pō</i> "swear")
<i>nō-nâar</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"covenant" ( <i>nā</i> "join")
<i>nīn-baal-zôvr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"pity" ( <i>Ò zòtō nīn-baalìg</i> . "He has pity on him")
<i>mò-pīl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vō'vgír</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"resurrection" ( <i>Ò vò'vg kūmī=n</i> . "He revived from death.")

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

<i>nōb-kôvr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"breaking a leg" ( <i>kò</i> is intransitive)
<i>nū'-módìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>wīn-līr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"sunset" ( <i>Wīnnìg lí yā</i> . "The sun has set/fallen.")
<i>sūñ-sâñ'vŋ</i> <sup>o</sup>	"sorrow" ( <i>Ḥ sūñf sâñ'am nē</i> . "My heart is spoilt")
<i>sūñ-pêen</i> <sup>nε</sup>	"anger" ( <i>Ḥ sūñf pēlìg 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>pù-pìèlìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
<i>sūñ-kpì'orŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
<i>sūñ-má'asìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"joy" ("heart-coolness": <i>M sūñf má'e yā</i> . "I'm joyful.")
<i>nìn-tōllìm<sup>m</sup></i>	"fever" ("body-heat")
<i>wīn-tōcŋ<sup>o</sup></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<sup>o/</sup></i>	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
<i>wìd-zōvr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"horsetail"
<i>wāb-mōcŋv̄=n<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants" WK
<i>zà'-nōcŋ<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
<i>mà-bīig<sup>a</sup></i>	"sibling" ("child by [same] mother")
<i>bā'-bīig<sup>a</sup></i>	"half-sibling" ("child by [same] father")
<i>tèŋ-bīig<sup>a</sup></i>	"native" ("child of a country")
<i>nàsàa-sìlòg<sup>o</sup></i>	"aeroplane" (European hawk) ILK

WK has *náaf-bì'isím<sup>m</sup>* "cow's milk", *bōvg-bì'isím<sup>m</sup>* "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound.

## 12.6 Dependents after the head

Dependents follow a head noun in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun or AdvP, article or *ñwà* "this." All except adjectives are determiners.

Adjectives and dependent pronouns follow a head noun which is itself reduced to a combining form, while the dependent inflects to show the number of the head. Compounds with cb heads are formed absolutely freely with completely transparent meanings, 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<sup>ε</sup>* *kàŋā'*.



### 12.6.1 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 16.7.2. Generally, compounds with *n̄n-* "person" or *b̄n-* "thing" are used instead: *n̄n-súŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> "good person", *b̄n-vúr*<sup>ε</sup> "living thing" etc. *B̄n*<sup>nε/</sup> can make a regular *re|aa* class plural *b̄ná* or pluralise with *nám*<sup>a</sup>:

*B̄n-námá* *àlá*                      *kà f̄v̄ ñyētá=ø?*  
 Thing-PL      NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?  
 "How many things do you see?" SB

*B̄n* also occurs with abstract and AdvP *predependents*:

*t̄v̄lígír b̄n*<sup>nε</sup>                      "heating thing, heater" = *b̄n-t̄v̄lígír*<sup>ε</sup>  
*kù'əmī=n b̄n*<sup>nε</sup>                      "water creature"

Ipfv verbal adjective forms with no preceding cb are synonymous with agent nouns, so the presence of *b̄n-* distinguishes different meanings in e.g. *b̄n-kúvdír*<sup>ε</sup> "thing to do with killing" versus *k̄v̄vdír*<sup>ε</sup> "killer."

Note the idioms

*b̄n-gíŋ*<sup>a</sup>                      "short chap" (informal, humorous)  
*b̄n-kúvd̄g*<sup>ɔ</sup>                      "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>n̄a'</i>	"hen"	<i>n̄ɔs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	"hens"
<i>n̄-p̄l̄l̄g</i> <sup>a</sup>	"white hen"	<i>n̄-p̄l̄l̄s</i> <sup>ε</sup>	"white hens"
<i>n̄-súŋ</i> <sup>ɔ</sup>	"good hen"	<i>n̄-súmà</i>	"good hens"

Another adjective or a dependent pronoun can follow a first adjective cb, but noun-adjective compounds cannot form cbs for deverbal noun generic complements; sg/pl forms appear instead:

*n̄n-wók-p̄l̄l̄g*<sup>a</sup>                      "white tall person"  
*n̄-p̄l̄l̄-kàŋā'*                      "this white hen"

but *f̄u-zéñdà kùəs*<sup>a</sup>                      "seller of red (i.e. dyed) cloth" (not \**f̄u-zéñ'-kùəs*<sup>a</sup>)

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings:

<i>nū'-bīl<sup>a</sup></i>	"finger" ("small hand")
<i>tì-sābílím<sup>m</sup></i>	a traditional remedy ("black medicine")
<i>gòñ'-sābílíg<sup>a</sup></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'-bīəlíf<sup>o</sup></i>	"small coin" NT ( <i>lā'af<sup>o</sup></i> "cowrie", <i>bī'ələ́</i> "a little")
<i>dà-sī'ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	"some day, perhaps" ( <i>dāar<sup>ε</sup></i> "day", <i>sī'a</i> "some")
<i>dàbìs-sī'ər<sup>ε</sup></i>	"some day" ( <i>dàbìsìr<sup>ε</sup></i> "day")
<i>yēl-súm<sup>mε</sup></i>	"blessing" ( <i>yēl<sup>lε/</sup></i> "matter", <i>sòŋ<sup>o</sup></i> "good")
<i>pṣ'á-pāal<sup>a/</sup></i>	"bride" ( <i>pṣ'ā<sup>a</sup></i> "wife", <i>pāalíg<sup>a</sup></i> "new")
<i>dà-pāal<sup>a/</sup></i>	"young man, son" ( <i>dāu</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-pāalím<sup>m</sup></i>	"new millet beer"; WK does not accept <i>*dā-pāal</i> , <i>*dā-pāalìg</i> .
	<i>tì-sābílím<sup>m</sup></i>	"black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
	<i>tì-vōnním<sup>m</sup></i>	"oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
	<i>tì-kōvdím<sup>m</sup></i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
	<i>kpāñ-sóoñdím<sup>m</sup></i>	"anointing oil" ( <i>kpāañm<sup>m/</sup></i> "oil, grease")
	<i>bōn-bóoðím<sup>m</sup></i>	"desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1: <i>nòŋìlím<sup>m</sup></i> "love")
but	<i>bōn-bóoðìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"desirable thing" (BNY p17: a sheep)
	<i>bōn-ñyétím<sup>m</sup></i>	"the visible world"
but	<i>bōn-ñyétìr<sup>ε</sup></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."

### 12.6.1.1 Bahuvrihis

Noun + adjective compounds may be used as a bahuvrihi adjectives:

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kpīlúŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>Bīg lā á nē nū'-kpīlúŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bì-[nū'-kpīlúŋ].</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."
<i>kòg-nōb-wók<sup>o</sup></i>	"long-legged stool"
<i>kòg-nōb-wâ'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>	"long-legged stools"
<i>Kòg-kàŋā á nē nōb-wók.</i>	"This stool is long-legged." WK
<i>zūg-máuk<sup>o</sup> pl zūg-mâ'ad<sup>ε</sup></i>	"crushed-headed"
<i>zò-wōk<sup>o</sup></i>	"long-tailed"
<i>nōb-gíŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"short-legged"
<i>zū-péelòg<sup>o</sup> pl zū-péelà</i>	"bald"
<i>lām-fōwòg<sup>o</sup> pl lām-fōwòd<sup>ε</sup></i>	"toothless" ( <i>lām<sup>mε</sup></i> "gum", <i>fùe</i> "draw out")

The two adjectives "one of a pair" [12.4.1](#) are often used in bahuvrihis: *nīf-ñyáuk<sup>o</sup>* "one eye", *bà-nīf-ñyáuk<sup>o</sup>* "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuŋ<sup>o</sup>* "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<sup>o</sup>* "child with a withered hand" the adjective is modifying the cb immediately preceding it, not *vice versa*: it is not possible to say *\*bì-nū'-kpīim<sup>m</sup>*. The adjective may even be plural despite singular reference of the whole compound:

<i>bì-tùb-kpīdā</i>	"deaf child" ( <i>tùbòr<sup>ε</sup></i> "ear", <i>kpī</i> "die")
pl <i>bì-tùb-kpīdā nám<sup>a</sup>, bì-tùb-kpīdīs<sup>ε</sup></i>	
<i>bì-tùb-līd<sup>ε</sup></i>	"child/children with blocked ears" ( <i>lī</i> "block")

### 12.6.1.2 Nouns as adjectives

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives modifying other human-reference nouns; the construction is effectively appositional:

<i>bì-sāan<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>bì-sáaŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"stranger-child";	only <i>bù-sáaŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"stranger goat"
<i>bì-kpī'im<sup>m</sup></i> or <i>bì-kpīilúŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"dead child";	only <i>bù-kpīilúŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	"dead goat"
<i>bì-dāu</i> or <i>bì-dāvug<sup>o</sup></i>	"male child";	only <i>bù-dāvug<sup>o</sup></i>	"male goat"
<i>bì-pu'ā<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>bì-puāk<sup>a</sup></i>	"female child"		
<i>bì-zū'om<sup>m</sup></i> or <i>bì-zònzòŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	"blind child"		
<i>bì-gìk<sup>a</sup></i>	"dumb child"		
<i>bì-wàbìr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"lame child"		
<i>bì-bālērōg<sup>o</sup></i>	"ugly child"		
<i>bì-pòñ'or<sup>ε</sup></i>	"crippled child"		

<i>nà'-bīg<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>bì-nà'ab<sup>a</sup></i>	"prince"
<i>dàṽ-bīg<sup>a</sup></i> or <i>bì-dāṽ</i>	"male child"
<i>nàsàa-bīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"European child"
<i>yàmmòg-bī-púṅ<sup>a</sup></i>	"girl slave" ( <i>yamug bipuṅ</i> Acts 16:16, 1976 5.2)
<i>yàm-bī-púṅ<sup>a</sup></i>	"girl slave" WK ( <i>yàmmòg bì-púṅ<sup>a</sup></i> "slave's girl")
<i>bī-púṅ-yàmmòg<sup>a</sup></i>	"slave girl"

Agent nouns can only be adjectival after cbs which could not be complements:

<i>pṽ'à-zàaṅs<sup>a</sup></i>	"dreamy woman" KT
<i>bì-sīn<sup>na/</sup></i> or <i>bì-sīnníg<sup>a</sup></i>	"silent child"; only <i>bṽ-sīnníg<sup>a</sup></i> "silent goat"
<i>pṽ'à-kṽvdíg<sup>a</sup></i>	"murderous woman, murderess" WK
<i>pṽ'à-lā'adīg<sup>a</sup></i>	"woman given to laughing" WK
cf <i>pṽ'à-kṽvd<sup>a/</sup></i>	only "killer of women" WK
<i>pṽ'à-lā'ad<sup>a</sup></i>	only "laugher at women" WK

### 12.6.2 Quantifiers

Except for *yīgá* "firstly", quantifier determiners follow the head, which may be a cb only before *yīnní* "one" and in a few fixed expressions like *dà-pīgā* "ten days."

Quantifiers can be coordinated:

*o nya'andolib pii ne yi*  
*ò ñyà'an-dòllìb pīi nē yí'*  
 3AN disciple:PL ten with two  
 "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)

### 12.6.3 Adverb 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. *Àmēṅá* "really, truly" occurs in the meaning "genuine, real":

*Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēṅá lā.*  
 3AN.CN NULL.AN COP FOC doctor:SG ADV:real:ADV ART  
 "That one's the real doctor."

With *ñwādīs yōvm lā púvgū=n* "months in the year" (SB) and *wābōg mōōgū=n lā* "the elephant in the bush" (WK), I have not recorded the full contexts, possibly e.g. *M̄ dāa ñyē wābōg mōōgū=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 has *Lina ane Yesu Kiristo one a Wina'am Biig la labasuŋ.*

#### 12.6.4 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<sup>a</sup></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?"

*yeltōod ayɔpɔi bane ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la*

*yēl-tōod àyópòg bání kà màlīāk-námá àyópòg mōr lā*

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rv 15:8)

#### 12.6.5 *Lā* and *ñwà*

*Lā'* and *ñwà* are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." They 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 *lā'* attached to the clause 16.9. 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'* retains its deictic sense in identificational clauses 17.1.5 and after demonstratives 12.3.2, but is elsewhere a **definite article**, marking referents as specific and already established. *Lā'* is *not* used for "familiar background":

*Wīnnìg lī yā.*

"**The** sun has set."

Sun:SG fall PFV.

It is not used with pronouns, proper names, or abstract mass nouns:

*Nɔ̃nilim pɔ naada.* "Love does not come to an end." (1 Cor 13:8)  
*Nò̃̀nìlím p̄ nāadá=∅.*  
 Love NEG.IND finish:IPFV=NEG.

Unlike *ñwà*, it not used in vocatives [17.1.5](#).

There is no indefinite article: a NP without *lā'* is indefinite if it could have taken *lā'* as an article. The sense may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of the copula *àḡñ<sup>ya</sup>* used ascriptively:

*Ḃ b̄iḡ k̄a'e=∅.* "I've no child" WK  
 1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

*Ò à nē b̄iḡ.* "She is a child."  
 3AN COP FOC child:SG.

A *specific* sense is only likely in a *presentational* statement [19.5](#):

***Dau da be mori o biribing***  
*Dāy dá b̄è\_∅ m̄rì\_ò b̄i-díbiḡ*  
 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:

*T̄omt̄om pɔ gat o zugdaana.*  
*T̄òm-t̄òm p̄ gát ò z̄ūg-dáanā=∅.*  
 Worker:SG NEG.IND pass:IPFV 3AN head-owner:SG=NEG.  
 "The servant does not surpass his master." (Jn 15:20)

*Kusaas ye ...* "The Kusaasi say ..." (moral of a story) KSS p16

A predependent NP ending in *lā'* makes the following head definite, and the head does not itself take the article:

*nà'ab lā b̄iḡ* "the chief's child" (not *\*nà'ab lā b̄iḡ lā*)

Only demonstrative pronouns or predependents *with the article* automatically make their heads definite; heads with predependent personal pronouns or proper names take *lā'* only when already established:

*On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sidi paae yɔma ayɔpɔi ka o sid la kpi.*

*Ón dāa áñ pɔ'á-sādir lā kà ò kùl sīdī ∅ pāe*

3AN:NZ TNS COP woman-nulliparous:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

*yómà àyópòḡ kà ò sīd lā kpí.*

year:PL NUM:seven and 3AN husband:SG ART die.

"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her husband died." (Lk 2:36)

*Dau da be mori o biribing*

*Dāu dá bē ∅ mōrí ò bī-díbiḡ*

Man:SG TNS EXIST CAT have 3AN child-boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

cf *M̄ bīḡ bé.* "I have a child." WK (= *M̄ mór bīḡ.*)  
1SG child:SG EXIST.

*M̄ bīḡ kā'e=∅.* "I've no child" WK (= *M̄ kā' bīḡā.*)  
1SG child:SG NEG.BE=NEG.

*M̄ bīḡ lā kā'e=∅.* "My child's not there" WK  
1SG child:SG ART NEG.BE=NEG.

Certain words consistently lack *lā'* after a pronoun possessor even if they are specific old information, e.g. *bā'* "father", *sàam*<sup>ma</sup> "father." This may reflect uniqueness within a particular context.

For an unambiguously indefinite specific meaning like "some, another", indefinite pronouns are used:

*Nā'-sìbà óñbìd nē mōɔd.* "Some cows are eating grass."

Cow INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

An indefinite pronoun is required to make a head indefinite after a predependent with the article:

*nà'ab lā bī-sō'* "a child of the chief's"  
chief:SG ART child INDF.AN

### 13 Adverb phrases

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 17.3.1, as are several relative clause types.

Coordination of AdvPs uses *nē*, as with NPs:

*Bēogō=n nē zāam kà fò ná nīη tí-kàηā.*

Morning=LOC with evening and 2SG IRR do medicine-DEMST.SG.

"You'll use this medicine morning and evening."

*Nyalima na be winnigin ne nwadigin ne nwadbibisin.*

*Ńyālimá nà bē wīnnìgī=n nē űwādìgí=n nē űwād-bíbisī=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)

The prototypical use of AdvPs is as VP adjuncts. For AdvPs as dependents in NPs see 12.5.3; time/circumstance AdvPs may appear as postlinker adjuncts 17.1.1.

AdvPs also occur as verb arguments. AdvP subjects are most often seen before the copula *àgē<sup>ya</sup>*, but occur with other verbs too, especially statives.

*Yīη venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.*

*Yīη 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 kē ka ti bāη nōηilim an si'em.*

*Kristo=∅ dà kpīi tì yēlá lā kē kà tì bāη nōηìlīm=∅ àñ sī'em.*

Christ=NZ TNS die 1PL about ART cause and 1PL realise love=NZ COP INDF.ADV

"Christ dying for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

(absolute clause AdvP as subject)

In *Sòηā bē* "OK it is" (WK), *sòηā* used metalinguistically: "the word *sòηā*."

Verbs with appropriate meanings take locative AdvPs as complements 16.7.3.

The copula *àgē<sup>ya</sup>* typically takes a derived manner-adverb or abstract noun as complement rather than an adjective as NP head 16.10.

Kusaal characteristically says "be/do *how*" rather than "be/do *what*" (cf relative clauses with *sī'em<sup>m</sup>* 17.3.2.1, and the idiom "X *nīη wēlá ...?*" "how can X ...?" 17.2.1.)



*Dā nìjì àlāa=∅!* "Don't do that!" ("thus")  
 NEG.IMP do ADV:thus=NEG.

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

### 13.1 Time/circumstance

AdvPs expressing **time** may be instantiated by proadverbs or by distinctive time adverbs such as *zīnā* "today", *sù'əs<sup>a</sup>* "yesterday", *dūnnā* "this year." *Bēog<sup>∅</sup>* "tomorrow" cannot inflect or take dependents; *dāar<sup>ε</sup>* "day after tomorrow/before yesterday" is homophonous with the noun *dāar<sup>ε</sup>* "day." Absolute clauses 17.3.1 frequently express time. Other time AdvPs are simply NPs with temporal meanings, including nouns like *yú'vη<sup>∅</sup>* "night", *úvn<sup>ne</sup>* "dry season", *nīntāη<sup>a/</sup>* "heat of the day" inflect and occur with dependents. The particle *ñwà* "this" is commonly attached to time words, e.g. *zàam ñwá* [za:ma] "this evening", *yú'vη ñwá* [yʊ:ŋ:a] "tonight."

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

*Fv̀ ná kùl bēog.* "You'll go home tomorrow."  
 2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

*Tì kpélim ànīnā dábɪsà bí'ələ.*  
 1PL remain ADV:there day:PL few.  
 "We stayed there a few days."

The day begins at sunrise. Answers to *bò-wìn<sup>ne</sup>* "what time of day?" may be

<i>bēogū=n<sup>ε/</sup></i>	"morning"	<i>bèkèkèoŋg<sup>∅</sup></i>	"very early morning"
<i>zàam<sup>m</sup></i>	"evening"	<i>àsùbá</i>	"dawn" (Arabic)
<i>wìn-līr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sunset"	<i>yú'vη<sup>∅</sup></i>	"night"
<i>wìn-kòǎr<sup>ε</sup></i>	"sunset"	<i>nīntāη<sup>a/</sup></i>	"heat of the day"

*Wìn<sup>ne</sup>* "time of day" (cf *wìnnìg<sup>a</sup>* "sun") always has a predependent.

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: *kérifà àtáñ'* "three o'clock" = *karfèe ukù*. Answers to *bōn-dāar<sup>ε</sup>* "which day?" may be

<i>zīnā</i>	"today"	<i>sù'əs<sup>a</sup></i>	"yesterday"
<i>bēog<sup>∅</sup></i>	"tomorrow"	<i>dāar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"day after tomorrow/ before yesterday"

Weekday names are of Arabic origin. Many older speakers count in days, not weeks; the traditional three day market cycle differs from village to village.

<i>Àláasìd dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Sunday"	<i>Àtínì dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Monday"
<i>Àtáláatà dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Tuesday"	<i>Àlárìbà dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Wednesday"
<i>Àlàmbìsì dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Thursday"	<i>À(r)zúmà dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Friday"
<i>Àsíbitì dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"Saturday"		

*Dâar<sup>ε</sup>* "day" is "twenty-four hour period" (*nīntāŋ* "day as opposed to night") and is used with predependents to specify a particular day; the word *dàbìsìr<sup>ε</sup>* 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."

<i>dābá àyópòḡ</i>	"week"	<i>bákpàḡ</i>	"week"
<i>ñwādīg<sup>a/</sup></i>	"moon, month"	<i>sēoñg<sup>o</sup></i>	"rainy season"
<i>úvn<sup>ne</sup></i>	"dry season"	<i>sāpál<sup>le</sup></i>	"Harmattan"
<i>dàwàlìg<sup>a</sup></i>	"hot humid time just before the rains"		
<i>yùvm<sup>me</sup></i>	"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"

### 13.2 Place

Locative AdvPs consist of Kusaasi place names, specialised locative adverbs, or NPs followed by postpositions. The core locative postposition is the particle *nī/~ n<sup>ε</sup>*. Some postpositions are themselves followed by *n<sup>ε</sup>*; many postpositions are converted nouns. Nouns other than place names cannot otherwise be used alone as locatives.

Specialised locative adverbs include *yìŋ<sup>a</sup>* "outside", *dàtìuŋ<sup>o</sup>* or *dìtúŋ<sup>o</sup>* "right", *dàgòbìg<sup>a</sup>* "left", *àgól<sup>le</sup>* or *àgōlá* "upwards", *lāllí* "far off" (perhaps from *lāl ní*.)

The particle is *nī/* after words ending in a short vowel in SF, after pronouns and after loanwords, and liaison-word *n<sup>ε</sup>* elsewhere:

<i>m̀v̀arī=n</i>	"in a lake"	<i>yōdá nì</i>	"among names"
<i>m̀ nī</i>	"in me"	<i>mān nī</i>	"in me"

*la'asvɔg dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni*

*là'asvɔg dɔɔdī=n nē sɔyɛ́á nì*

assembly:SG house:PL=LOC with road:PL LOC

"in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

*Yīr*<sup>ε/</sup> "house" has the exceptional sg and pl locative forms *yín*<sup>nɛ</sup> *yáa=n*<sup>ɛ</sup>, with the nuance "home", as in the formula *P̀v̀sìm yín* "Greet those at home" (i.e. "Goodbye.")  
Quantifiers and the article *lā*<sup>/</sup> may precede or follow the locative particle:

*m̀v̀arī=n lā* or *m̀v̀ar lā ní* "in the lake"

*m gbana ni wusa* "in all my letters" (2 Thes 3:17, 1996)

*m̀ gbàná ní wōsā*

1SG letter:PL LOC all

The particle is attached to all nouns other than place names used as complements of verbs of motion or location, in any locative sense:

*Kem Siloam buligini pie f̀v̀ nini.*

*Kèm Siloam búlv̄ḡ=nī\_ø p̀jə\_ f̀v̀ nīnī.*

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 Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ye...*

*Kà Paillet lé́m yī nīdībí=n lā nā yá'asì\_ø yé̀lì=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: <i>Ò bè dâ'a=n.</i>	"He's at market."
<i>Ò bè s̄já'arī=n.</i>	"He's at the bush."
<i>Ò bè p̄ɔɔḡú=n.</i>	"He's at the farm."
<i>Ò bè yín.</i>	"He's at home."
<i>Ò bè m̄ɔɔḡū=n.</i>	"He's in the grasslands."
<i>Ò bè k̄ɔ̀l̄ıḡī=n</i>	"He's at the stream."
<i>Ò bè t̄v̄mmī=n.</i>	"He's at work."

More precise locative meanings are expressed with postpositions [13.4](#).

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take  $n\bar{i}/\sim n^{\varepsilon}$ , but they often have a locative proform in apposition, particularly to express rest at a place:

<i>Ò bè Bók.</i>	"He's at Bawku." ILK
<i>M̄ ná kēη Bók.</i>	"I'm going to Bawku."
<i>F̀v̀ ỳuug Bók kp̄ēl̄áa?</i>	"Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"
<i>F̀v̀ ỳuug Bókàa?</i> 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  $n\bar{i}/$  or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tēηī=n* "in Jerusalem-land."

The locative particle also appears in some *time* expressions: *bēog*<sup>o</sup> "tomorrow", *bēogv̄=n<sup>ε</sup>* "morning", *ȳīgí=n<sup>ε</sup>* "at first" *s̄ān-s̄'ə=n lā* "at one time, once..."

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

<i>Onε ken likin zi' on ken si'ela.</i>	
<i>Ònì kēn l̄ikī=n zī' ón kēn s̄'əlā=∅.</i>	
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)	

<i>ka m̄ori f̄v̄ keη zin'ikane ka f̄v̄ p̄v̄ b̄oɔda.</i>	
<i>kà m̄orí=f̄v̄ ∅ kēη z̄iñ'-kànì kà f̄v̄ p̄v̄ b̄oɔdā=∅.</i>	
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)	

### 13.3 Manner

Various NP types can be used as manner AdvPs. Besides proforms, there are several distinctive manner-adverb formations; they do not take dependents. Apocope-blocking is common. Some have the prefix *à-* followed by M spreading: *àmēηá* "truly", *àsīdā* "truly", *ànīηà* "promptly." Some derive from adjective stems with the suffixes *mm* or *-ga* §.2. Others include *pāalú* "openly" and *ñyāe*<sup>NE/</sup> [jãĩ] "brightly, clearly" (written *nyain* even in texts prior to 2016.)

<i>Wina'am a su'um nyain.</i>	"God is light." (1 Jn 1:5, 1996)
<i>Wina'am áñ s̄úm ñyāe.</i>	
God COP good:ABSTR brightly.	

<i>... ke ka ti lieb nyain.</i>	"... make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)
<i>... ké kà tì l̄iəb ñyāe.</i>	
... cause and 1PL become brightly.	

*Ka li sid nie nyain.* "And there truly was light." (Gn 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" = *kōñ'*  
*tò'otō'* "straight away"

Reduplication of nouns or numbers [12.4.1](#) creates distributive manner-AdvPs; reduplication of manner-adverbs themselves is intensifying:

*zīñ'ig zīñ'ig* "place by place" *dàbìsìr dàbìsìr* "day by day"  
*àsídà sídà* "very truly" *àmēḡá mēḡá* "very truly"

*M̄ wóm Kōsāal bī'elá.* "I know Kusaal a little."  
 1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

*M̄ wóm bī'el bī'el.* "I understand it a very little."  
 1SG hear:IPFV little little.

Relative clauses with *sī'am*<sup>m</sup> "somehow" are common as AdvPs [17.3.2.1](#).

Manner-adverbs resemble generic mass nouns in their syntactic behaviour in several respects. Even count nouns in generic senses may be encountered as AdvPs:

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

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

*À-ñyē nē nīf sóñ'ō* *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.)

Quantifiers are frequently used adverbially:

*Ò tòḡm béḡvḡ/pāmm.* "She's worked a lot."

Quantifiers without distinct partitive senses have the same meaning when used adverbially after an object as when used as part of the object NP itself:

*Bà gòsī=tí wōsā.*  
3PL look.at=1PL all.

"They've looked at us all/all of us." WK  
(for: *Bà gòsí tì wōsā.* 3PL look.at 1PL all.)

but *Bà gòsī=tí bédvǵv̄.*  
*Bà gòsí tì bédvǵv̄.*  
*Bà gòsī=tí bábvǵā.*  
*Bà gòsí tì bábvǵā.*

"They've looked at us a lot." WK  
"They've looked at a lot of us." WK  
"They've looked at us many times." WK  
"They've looked at many of us." WK

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" [12.4.1](#).

### 13.4 Postpositions

Postpositions are adverbs with predependents. Many represent special uses of nouns. Most are literally or metaphorically locative, and some include the locative particle. Postpositions may not be coordinated, but their predependents may:

*tinam nε fun svvginε?*      "[what is there] between us and you?" (Mt 8:29)  
*tīnám nē fūn súvgv̄=né=ø?*  
1PL with 2SG between=LOC=CQ?

*Bābá* "beside" (pl of *bābīr<sup>ε/</sup>* "sphere of activity"):

*m̄ nōbá bábà*      "beside my feet"

*Gbìn<sup>nε</sup>* "at the bottom of" (*gbìn<sup>nε</sup>* "buttock"):

*zūθr lā gbín*      "at the foot of the mountain"

*Kōñ'* and *kōñ'okō* (cf *àràkón'* "one" in counting) is used as in *m̄ kōñ'* "by myself."  
*Ñyá'aŋ<sup>a</sup>* "behind; after (time)" (*ñyá'aŋ<sup>a</sup>* "back", *lì ñyá'aŋ<sup>a</sup>* "afterwards"):

*Nē'ŋá ñyá'aŋ kà ò kūl.*      "After this she went home."  
DEMST.IN after and 3AN go.home.

*Pv̄vgv̄=n<sup>ε/</sup>* "inside" (*p̄v̄vg<sup>a</sup>* "belly, inside"):

*Dāu lā bé nē d-ó-kàŋā lā p̄v̄vgv̄=n.*  
Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.  
"The man is inside that hut."

*ñwādīs yôvm lā púvǭ=n* "months in the year" (metaphorical locative)

*Sā'an*<sup>el</sup> "into/in the presence of", "in the opinion of", "chez":

*Wínà'am sâ'an* "in the sight of God"

*Fò ná dī'e tîm pū'á-bàmmā lā sâ'an.*  
2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEMST.PL ART among.  
"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

*Sìsòvǭ=n*<sup>el</sup> "between" (KB *svvgin*):

*tīnám nē fōn sísòvǭ=n* "between us and you"

*Tēñír*<sup>e</sup> "under" (*tēñ*<sup>a</sup> "ground"; with no predependent *Gòsìm tēñír!* "Look down!"):

*téeb̀l lā tēñír* "under the table"

*Tùen*<sup>ne</sup> "in front of" (with no predependent *Gòsìm tùen!* "Look to the front!"):

*dāká lā tùen* "in front of the box"

*Yēlá* "about, concerning" (pl of *yēl*<sup>lel</sup> "matter, affair"):

*Bà yèlō=∅ mān yēlá wōsā.* "They told him all about me."  
3PL say=3AN 1SG.CN about all.

*Zūg*<sup>ol</sup> "onto" (*zūg*<sup>ol</sup> "head"); very often used metaphorically, "on account of ..."

*Ò dìgìl gbáɥ lā téeb̀l lā zúg.*  
3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.  
"She's put the book on the table."

*bō-zúgò?* "why?" ("on account of what?")  
*dāy lā zúg* "on account of the man"

*Pian'akane ka m pian' tisi ya la zug, ya ane nyain.*  
*Pìǎñ-kànì kà m̀ pìǎñ' ∅ tísì=yā lā zúg, 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<sup>o</sup>* is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

*Ka kvkɔr yi saazug na ...*

*Kà k̀̀k̀ɔr yī sāa zúg nā ...*

And voice:sg emerge rain:sg onto hither

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

*Zūg<sup>o</sup>=n<sup>ε</sup>* "on":

*téɛb̀̀l lā zúg<sup>o</sup>=n*

"on the table"

### 13.5 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
	<i>àní</i>	"there"			/whence?"
	<i>ànínā'</i>	"there"			
Time	<i>nānná</i>	"now"	<i>sān-sī'a</i>	<i>sān-kán<sup>ε</sup></i>	"when?"
	<i>nānná-nā'</i>	"now"	"sometime"	<i>bōn-dâar<sup>ε</sup></i>	"which day?"
	<i>sān-kán<sup>ε</sup></i>	"then"		<i>b̀̀ẁ̀n<sup>nε</sup></i>	"what time of day?"
Manner	<i>àñwá</i>	"like this"	<i>sī'əm<sup>m</sup></i>	<i>wēlá</i>	"how?"
	<i>àwá nā'</i>	"like this"	"somehow"		
	<i>àlá</i>	"like that"			

The *à-* of the "manner" forms is preceded by the LF-final vowel -i 4.2.

Proforms expressing reason are formed with the postposition *zūg<sup>o</sup>*: *àlá zùg<sup>o</sup>* "because of that", *b̄zúg̀̀?* "why?" (cf *b̄ zúḡ* "because.")



## 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 sǎ̀bɪ́líg zím zím.</i>	"It's deep black."	
<i>Lì à nē zǐ́n̄'a wím wím.</i>	"It's deep red."	
<i>Lì à nē fū-zǐ́n̄'a wím wím.</i>	"It's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ ñyé fū-zǐ́n̄'a wím wím.</i>	"I've seen a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Fū-zǐ́n̄'a wím wím bé.</i>	"There's a deep red shirt."	WK
<i>M̄ bôɔd fū-zǐ́n̄'a wím wím lā.</i>	"I want the deep red shirt."	WK
<i>Ò à nē wōk 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." <a href="#">19.6</a>
<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*<sup>ya</sup> "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-dâvg sāpī mōogō=n lā*

make:IMP road-male:SG IDEO grass:SG=LOC ART

"Make straight the high road in the wilderness" (Is 40:3)

Ideophones of this type resemble manner adverbs syntactically, and similarly can be preposed with *kà* (Abubakari 2017.) There is some overlap of categories: see on *ñyāe*<sup>ne/</sup> "brightly", for example [13.3](#). A third type of ideophone overlaps with emphatics: so, for example *kímm* in *Bō kímm* "what exactly?" [12.3.4](#).

## 15 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases function as VP adjuncts or complements. They cannot be direct components of noun phrases. Their own complements are NPs or AdvPs, including *n̄*-clauses. Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated.

**Nē** is both accompanying and instrumental "with." **Nē** "and", coordinating NPs and AdvPs, is fundamentally the same word.

**Nē** may take bound personal pronouns as complements (WK, SB):

<i>ní m<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>ní f<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>nó LF nó=o [nõ:]</i>	<i>ní lī' or né lī</i>
<i>ní tī' or né tī</i>	<i>ní yā' or né yā</i>	<i>ní bā' or né bā</i>	

Written *ne o* is usually read [nõ] in the audio NT.

Examples for **nē**:

*Lìgíním fò nīf né fò 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."

*Kulim ne sumbōgvsom.*

"Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)

*Kùlìm nē sùmbōgvsím.*

Go.home:IMP with peace.

*Bárìkà né fò kēn kēn.* "Welcome!" (a greeting template 20)

Blessing with 2SG arrival arrival.

*M̄ gēñ' né fò.*

"I'm angry with you." SB

1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

**Là'am nē** "together with" with absolute clause [17.3.1](#) complements means "although."

**Wōv** means "like." With pronoun complements WK has

<i>wōv mān</i>	<i>wōv fōn</i>	<i>wōv ōn<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>wóv lì</i>
<i>wóv tì</i>	<i>wóv yà</i>	<i>wóv bà</i>	

Complements of *wōv* are followed by a meaningless *nē* unless they have the article *lā'* or are numbers, when *wōv* means "about."

<i>wōv mān nē</i>	"like me"	<i>wōv búŋ nē</i>	"like a donkey"
<i>wōv tūsá àyí'</i>	"about 2000"		

*Alazugo mōri ya'am wov wiigi ne...*

*Àlá zùgō, mōrī=∅ yā'am wōv wīgí nē...*

Therefore, have=2PL.SUB sense like snake:PL like...

"Therefore, be wise as serpents ..." (Mt 10:16)

Relative clauses with *sī'əm* 17.3.2.1 are common as complements:

*Ò zòt wōv búŋì=∅ zòt sī'əm lā.*

3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG=NZ run:IPFV INDFADV ART.

"He runs like a donkey runs."

WK permits phrases introduced by *wōv* to be preposed with *kà* 19.3:

*Wōv búŋ nē kà ò zót.*

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

"Like a donkey, he runs."

WK rejects this for *nē*: \**Né m nū'ug kà m sī'is*. "With my hand, I touched it."

*Wōv* may take a content clause as complement:

*M pian'adi tisidi ya wov ya anε m biis ne.*

*M pīáñ'adī\_∅ tísídī=yá wōv yà á né m 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)

## 16 Verb phrases

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 *nē̄'*. 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:

Tense	Mood	Preverb		E1	E2	
<i>dāa</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow p\bar{v}$	<i>pòn</i>	VERB	<i>n<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>m<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>nē̄'</i>
<i>sāa</i>	$\emptyset \leftrightarrow d\bar{a}$	<i>lèm</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>f<sup>o</sup></i>	
$\emptyset$	<i>nà \leftrightarrow k\grave{v}</i>	<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>dèṅìm</i>			<i>ya</i>	
<i>dà</i>		...			<i>ba</i>	

$\emptyset$  marks slots where the absence of a particle can be contrastive.

E1 is the slot for the discontinuous-past liaison enclitic *n<sup>ε</sup>* or the postposed 2pl subject *ya*; E2 for enclitic personal pronouns as direct or indirect objects, which unlike all other complements *precede* aspect-marking *nē̄'*. Only one bound object pronoun may occur; cf *n*-catenation using *tìs<sup>ε</sup>* "give" [17.2.1](#).

The particles in the column "Mood" also mark polarity: positive  $\leftrightarrow$  negative.

Tone Pattern A verbs have all-M tones in the irrealis mood.

For tense-slot adjuncts see [16.2.5](#).

## 16.1 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 [16.5](#). 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. 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.

### 16.1.1 Aspectual $n\bar{e}$

Following a verb word with no free words intervening, the VP focus particle  $n\bar{e}$  [19.1.2](#) 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  $n\bar{e}$  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  $n\bar{e}$  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  $n\bar{e}$  cannot be aspectual.

$N\bar{e}$  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,  $n\bar{e}$  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.*

"She's selling them."

3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.

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 [19.5](#):

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!"

### 16.1.2 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 [17.1.4.1](#). 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 (time unspecified.)"

WK: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert."

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:

*Ḃ pō'us yā.*

1SG greet PFV.

"Thank you", "I thank you."

*Ḃ sīák 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:

*Ḃ ñyé nū'-bībísá àtáñ'.*

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

"I can see three fingers."

*Ḃ 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>M̄ géñ nē.</i>	"I'm tired."
<i>Bà kòdòg nē.</i>	"They're old."
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	"It's full."
<i>Lì yò nē.</i>	"It's closed."
<i>M̄ 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:

<i>M̄ yé fūug.</i> 1SG put.on shirt:SG.	"I've put a shirt on."
<i>M̄ yé nē fūug.</i> 1SG put.on FOC shirt:SG.	"I'm wearing a shirt."

A perfective form can *only* be interpreted as resultative if it expresses a change of state in the subject:

<i>M̄ dá' nē búg.</i> 1SG buy FOC donkey:SG.	"I've bought a <i>donkey</i> ." ("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:

<i>Ò dìgìn nē.</i> 3AN lie.down FOC.	"He's <i>lain down</i> ." 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."
---	--

In catenation [17.2](#) the order of VPs when the first has perfective aspect is iconic, with constituent order constrained to follow event order: while English might say "Two men stood with them, dressed in white", Kusaal must have

<i>Ka dapa ayi' ye fupielā zi'e ba san'an.</i> <i>Kà dāpá_ àyí' yé fū-píə̀lā_ ø zì'e bà sā'an.</i> 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 àtáń' kà fù ná mōr bīig lā n kē nā.*

Month NUM:three and 2SG IRR have child:SG ART CAT come hither.

"Bring the child here in three months." ("having the child, come here.")

With absolute clauses [17.3.1](#) as adjuncts, the temporal relationship to the main clause is determined by aspect, with perfective in the absolute clause implying priority and imperfective simultaneity. In the same way, narrative generally features series of tense-unmarked perfectives describing events strictly in order [16.2.4](#).

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 bī'elá yèlà.*

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-better.than slightly about.

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

### 16.1.3 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:

*Nīgí òñbìd mōd.* "Cows eat grass."

Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

*M zīñ'i.* "I sit."

1SG be.sitting.

*Ò gìm.* "She's short."

3AN be.short.

*M mór pu'ā.* "I have a wife."

1SG have wife:SG.

With *nē'*, 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'-sìbà òñbìd nē mōd.* "Some cows are eating grass."

Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

*M̄ zĩñ'i nē.* "I'm sitting."  
1SG be.sitting FOC.

*M̄ yôɔd nē kùlìŋ lā.* "I'm closing the door."  
1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

*Kòlìŋ lā yôɔd nē.* "The door is closing."  
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

*Lì lịt nē.* "It is falling."  
3IN fall:IPFV FOC.

Otherwise, *nē'* 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 nē.* "The beer is for *drinking*." ("not pouring away")  
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. Not possible as "The beer is being drunk." WK

*Nē'* after stative verbs is normally interpreted as focussing a constituent:

*Ò gìm nē.* "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")  
3AN be.short FOC.

*M̄ mór nē 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 *nē'*:

*Lì vèn nē.* "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)  
3IN be.beautiful FOC.

but *Nānnánā, lị 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."

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

If the following constituent does not permit focussing with *nē*' [19.1.2](#), *nē*' is constrained to be aspectual even without explicit time limitation:

*M̄ mór nē b̄isá\_ àtáṅā.*  
 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.

## 16.2 Tense

### 16.2.1 Tense particles

The tense particles are mutually exclusive. The day begins at sunrise.

<i>dāa</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>

*Fv̄ sá gb̄is wēlá=∅?* "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 ellipped before a subordinate clause of purpose:

*Ò sáa zàb nà'ab lā.* "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 [17.4.2](#), and in *n*-clauses within narrative [16.2.4](#).)

### 16.2.2 Discontinuous past

My informants use the **discontinuous-past** marker *n<sup>ε</sup>* to make an earlier-today past with indicative meaning:

*Ṁ ǎ̀nbı̀dī=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<sup>ε</sup>* 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<sup>ε</sup>* in Kusaal [17.1.4](#).

### 16.2.3 Periphrastic futures

Kusaal does not use tense-unmarked indicative imperfectives for immediate future. Note the use of the *perfective* in its instantaneous-present sense in

*Ṁ kúl yā.* "I'm going home (now.)"  
 1SG go.home PFV.

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to ...":

(a) *bòɔd*<sup>a</sup> "want" + gerund. The subject need not be animate; the construction is only possible with gerunds from dynamic verbs.

*Tı̀g lā bôɔd lı̀g.* "The tree is about to fall."  
 Tree:SG ART want fall:GER.

*Yv'vɥ bɔɔd gaadvɔg, ka bɛog bɔɔd nier.*

*Yú'vɥ bôɔd gáadvòg kà bēog bôɔd nîɛr.*

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.

*M̄ yé m̄ kɥā sūmmā.* "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."  
1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

*M̄ yé m̄ kɥá nīm.* "I'm going to cut meat"  
1SG that 1SG cut meat:SG.

#### 16.2.4 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 kɥīd.* "People die."  
Person:PL die:IPFV.

*Ò mòr pɥ'ā.* "He has a wife."  
3AN have wife:SG.

*Ò kɥì yā.* "She's died." ("present perfect")  
3AN die PFV.

Tense-markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with *-n<sup>ɛ</sup>* as today-past, or with a time AdvP in the clause:

*Fv̄ ná kūl.* "You will go home."  
2SG IRR go.home (today, tomorrow, next week ...)

*Fv̄ sáa nà kūl.* "You'll go home tomorrow."  
2SG TNS IRR go.home.

or *Fv̄ sáa nà kūl bēog.*  
2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.

or *Fv̄ nà kūl bēog.*  
2SG IRR go.home tomorrow.

*Ṃ pá' òñbídī=n sūmmā.* "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."

1SG TNS chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

or *Ṃ óñbídī=n sūmmā.*

1SG chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

*Ṃ sá zàb nâ'ab lā sū'əs.* "I fought the chief yesterday."

1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART yesterday.

or *Ṃ záb nâ'ab lā sū'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 [22.1](#) 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 [22.2](#) 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.*

3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

*Kà lì bódìg nē.*

And 3IN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as contradicting

"someone hid it" i.e. as contrastive focus

*Bà kùdìg nē.*  
3PL get.old FOC.

"They're old."

*Kà bà kùdìg nē.*  
And 3PL get.old FOC.

"And they're old." Rejected by WK; accepted by DK with the gloss "You're saying they're old when he promised to give you new ones", i.e. as contrastive focus

But *Kà lì dāa bódìg nē.*  
And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

*Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.*  
*Kà bà dāa kùdìg 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 keḡ malvḡ la wov ban εenti niḡid si'em la. Ka malvḡ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teḡin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baḡ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba **daa** ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teḡ dim la, ka keḡ ...*

*Kà Yesu=∅ dāa áñ yómà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēḡ málòḡ*

And Jesus=NZ TNS COP year:PL ten with NUM:two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG

*lā wōv bán ēēñ tí niḡid sī'əm lā. Kà málòḡ lā dábisà=∅*

ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV INDE.ADV ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ

*nāe lā, kà bà lɛbidi* ∅ *kūn.*

*Kà Yesu kpélìm Jerusalem*

finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem

*téḡī=n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū báj yé ò kpèlìm*

land:SG=LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG.IND realise that 3AN remain

*yāa=∅. Bà dāa tēñ'es yé ò dòl né bà tèḡ-dìm lā, kà kēḡ...*

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 dɔy'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 dɔ́'á nâ'ab David. Kà David dɔ́'á Solomon. Ò mà*  
And Jesse beget king:SG David. And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG  
*dá à nē Uria pɔ́'á. Kà Solomon dɔ́'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 kpɛn' la, o yɛli ba ye [...]. Ka ba **la'ad** o.*

*Kà ón kpɛ̀n' lā, ò yé̀lì=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 tjeñ Yesu=n sà yè̀l sī'əl lā yē ...*

And Peter then remember Jesus=NZ TNS say INDF.IN ART that ...

"And Peter then remembered what Jesus had said the day before..." (Mt 26:75)

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with *kà* [19.3](#), 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 [17.4.2](#); cf:

*Amaa ba da zot o ne dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andɔl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...*

*Àmáa bà dà zòtō=∅ nē dábīəm, bán dà pō nīŋò=∅*

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG.IND do=3AN

*yáddā yé ò sìd à nē ñyâ'an-dòl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas*

faith that 3AN truly COP FOC disciple:SG ART upon. But and Barnabas

*záŋ Saul n mōró=∅ ∅ kēŋ ...*

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 pō mōr bīigā=∅, bōzúgō Elizabet dá à nē*

3PL TNS NEG.IND have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS COP FOC

*kúndv'ar kà bà bàyí' lā wōsā mé kùdìg nē.*

barren.woman:SG and 3PL NUM:two ART all also get.old FOC.

"They had no child, because Elizabeth was barren and they were both old."

(Lk 1:7, 1996; no *ne* in the KB *ka babayi' la wusa me kudig hali.*)

### 16.2.5 Tense-slot adjuncts

Tense-slot adjuncts may precede, occupy or follow the slot for tense particles; in any case they precede the mood and polarity markers. They do not affect the independency-marking tone overlay.

*Sādigim* "since" [17.3.1](#) always precedes tense markers. *Yō'vn* "then, next", *sìd* "truly, thus" and *lèε* "but" precede tense markers much more often than they follow (in KB, 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lèε da* to 1 of *da lèε*.)

*Josua yv'vn da kvdigya.* "Then Joshua grew old." (Jo 13:1)

*Josua yō'vn dá kùdìg yā.*

Joshua then TNS grow.old PFV.

*O sid kpiya.* "He's really died." (Mk 15:44)  
*Ò s̀id kpì yā.*  
 3AN truly die PFV.

*Ò s̀id dāa á nē nā'ab.* "Truly, he was a chief." WK  
 3AN truly TNS COP FOC chief:SG.

*Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.*  
*Kà m̄an p̄iāñ'ad lā léε k̀ò gāadē=∅.*  
 And 1SG.CN speech ART but NEG.IRR pass=NEG.  
 "But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35, 1996)

*amaa lεε pv'vsimi Wina'am bareka*  
*àmáa lèε pv'vsimī=∅ Wínà'am b́aríkà*  
 but but greet:IMP=2PL.SUB God blessing  
 "but thank God" (Eph 5:4)

For WK, *lèε* carries the tone overlay; he corrected e.g. \**Lèε gòsìm nā'ab lā!* to *Lèε gòs nā'ab lā!* "But look at the chief!" KB does not follow this rule.

*Ñyēε (tí)* (KT *ēñ tí*, NT *nyii ti*, KB *εenti*) "habitually", *k̀v̄līm/k̀v̄dīm* "always", and *nàm* "still" (with a negative, "yet") follow any tense particles.

*Hor dim la me da εenti be Seir.*  
*Hor díim lā mé dà ēñ tí bè Seir.*  
 Hor NULL.PL ART also TNS habitually EXIST Seir.  
 "The Horites too used to live in Seir." (Dt 2:12)

*Tvuma la da nam pv pin'il la*  
*T̄v̄mā lá=∅ dà nàm p̄v̄ p̄ñ'il lā*  
 work:SG ART=NZ TNS still NEG.IND begin ART  
 "before the work began" (Zec 8:10) ("The work having not yet begun.")

*T̄im lā nám bèε=∅?* "Is there any medicine left?"  
 Medicine ART still EXIST=PQ? ("Does the medicine still exist?")

*On nε o pu'a Prisila daa kvdim nan yine Room ...*  
*Ōn né ò p̄u'ā Pr̄isila dāa k̀v̄dīm nám yī nē Room ...*  
 3AN.CN with 3AN wife:SG Priscilla TNS ever still emerge FOC Rome ...  
 "He and his wife Priscilla had just arrived from Rome ..." (Acts 18:2)

*Ńyāan/nāan* "next, afterwards", *nāan* [17.1.4](#) "in that case" and *pà' tì* "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. *Ńyāan* usually appears in *kà*-clauses in narrative.

*Ka Zugšob sunf nyaan yv'vn ma'ae.*  
*Kà Zūg-sób súñf ñyāan yv'vn mā'e.*  
 And Lord heart.SG next then cool.  
 "Then the Lord's anger subsided." (Jo 7:26)

*One pa'ati an Kristo la bεε?*  
*Ńnī\_ ∅ pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bέε=∅?*  
 3AN.CN CAT perhaps COP Christ ART OR=PQ?  
 "Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

### 16.3 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 *pō*. It is used for statements and questions about the present and past, and timeless events and states. It can express the immediate future in periphrastic constructions. It is the only mood which permits the use of the particle *nē* with aspectual meaning.

**Imperative** mood is negated by *dā*. 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* [16.5](#) but otherwise the verb word coincides in form with the indicative.

*Ò vòl tîm kà ò nóbìr pō zábē=∅.*  
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IND fight=NEG.  
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

*Ò vòl tîm kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.*  
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.  
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

*Dòllī=ní=m!* "Follow ye me!"  
 Follow=2PL.SUB=1SG!

*Mòr nīn-báalìg!* "Have pity!"  
 Have eye-pity!

The *-ma* imperative of dual-aspect verbs is perfective by default:

*Kòñsìm!* "Cough!"

Imperatives without independency-marking mark aspect distinctions by verb flexion, like other moods:

*Dā kóñsē=∅!* "Don't cough!" (To a patient who just 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 [17.1.3](#) on the postposed 2pl pronoun <sup>ya</sup> in commands to several people.

Aspectual *nē* cannot appear with the imperative, but *àlá* "thus" after imperatives has a continuous/progressive sense. Informants contract *-í à-* to *-í-* or *-á-*. Single-aspect verbs used as imperatives also frequently add *àlá*.

*Dìmí àlá!* "Carry on eating!" [dìmíla] or [dímala]

*Dìmī=ní àlá!* "Keep ye on eating!" [dìmímíla] or [dímínala]  
Eat:IMP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

*Dìgī=ní àlá!* "Keep (ye) on lying down."  
Be.lying.down=2PL.SUB ADV:thus!

Even stative verbs may be used in direct commands: any restrictions are pragmatic rather than syntactic. Thus *Vve!* *Vvè!* "Live!" (Ez 16:6) and e.g.

*Béε ànínā!* "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB

*Āa=ní àlá bāañlím!* "Be (ye) quiet!"  
COP=2PL.SUB ADV:thus quiet:ABSTR!

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, using the markers *nà* (positive), *k̀̀* (negative.) Tone Pattern A verbs change all tonemes to M. Aspects are distinguished by verb flexion as with the indicative, but aspectual *nḗ* cannot occur; perfective occurs much more often than imperfective. Irrealis with past tense markers is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past 17.1.4.3.

### 16.4 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 *nḗ* is incompatible with negative polarity.

Indicative mood is negated by *p̄* (for some speakers *b̄*, as in Toende Kusaal.) Imperative is negated by *dā*; conversely, forms which are negated by *dā* are imperative. Irrealis is negated by *k̀̀*, which *replaces* the positive irrealis marker *nà*.

*Ò z̀̀b n̂'ab l̄.* "He's fought the chief."  
3AN fight chief:SG ART.

*Ò p̄ z̀̀b n̂'ab l̄a=∅.* "He hasn't fought the chief."  
3AN NEG.IND fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

*Z̀̀m n̂'ab l̄!* "Fight the chief!"  
Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!

*D̄ z̀̀b n̂'ab l̄a=∅!* "Don't fight the chief!"  
NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!

*Ò n̂ z̀̀b n̂'ab l̄.* "He'll fight the chief."  
3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

*Ò k̀̀ z̀̀b n̂'ab l̄a=∅.* "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. Negative clitics appear as usual.

*K̄'ē* "not be, not have" appears as *k̄'* before a complement. It is the negative to both "be" verbs, the copula *áēñ<sup>ya</sup>* and *bè* "be somewhere, exist", and also to *m̄r<sup>a</sup>* "have." \**P̄ bé* is not found, but *p̄ m̄r* is quite common; *p̄ áēñ* 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.

*Pu'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'ẹ́ 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'ẹ́* 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 ..." [17.2.2](#) is always imperative. In this sense, the postposed 2pl subject <sup>ya</sup> does not occur, even in address to several people.

*Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.*

*Mìt kà yà m̄aal yà t̄uum-s̄umà n̄id̄ib t̄uon yé bà ḡos̄ē=∅.*  
 NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL do 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL before that 3PL look.at=NEG.  
 "See that you don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look at you." (Mt 6:1, 1996)

KB uses *mid* with no clitic: *Mid ka ya maali ya tuum soma nidib tuon ye ba gos.*  
*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.*

*Mìtī=∅ z̄írí n̄ò-d̄í'əs̄id̄ib b̄an̄i k̄ēnn̄í yà s̄ā'an n̄ā l̄ā.*  
 Beware=2PL.SUB lie mouth-receiver:PL REL.PL come:IPFV 2PL among hither ART.  
 "Beware of false prophets who come among you." (Mt 7:15, 1996)

*Zi'* "not know" normally replaces negative particle + *mī'*. A clause-final LF *zi'isiḡe* also appears in KB, NT (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

*B̀̀η-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēη tóllā=∅.*

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 anē dasaη , ka p̄v mi' w̄v̄v lín nar si'em.*

*M̄ b̄iig Solomon á nē dá-sāη, kà p̄v mī'*

1SG child:SG Solomon FOC COP young.man:SG, and NEG.IND know

*w̄v̄v lín nār s̄i'əmm=∅.*

how 3IN:NZ be.proper INDF.ADV=NEG.

"My son Solomon is young, and does not know how things ought to be."

(1 Chr 22:5)

## 16.5 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.

The independency-marking **tone overlay** is manifested only on VPs with positive polarity and indicative or imperative mood. If there is a preverb, it carries the overlay instead of the verb itself. The past tense marker *dāa* not only remains M itself but also prevents the overlay from applying to any subsequent words.

The overlay 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.)

Examples of tone overlay manifesting independency marking in main clauses (with *zàb<sup>ε</sup>* "fight", *gōs<sup>ε</sup>* "look at", *nà'ab<sup>a</sup>* "chief"):

*Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.*

"He's fought the chief."

*Ò gòs nâ'ab lā.*

"He's looked at the chief."

*Ò sà zàb nâ'ab lā.*

"He fought the chief yesterday."

*Ò sà gòs nâ'ab lā.*

"He looked at the chief yesterday."



In contrast, the intrinsic tones appear after *kà*, with preverbal *dāa*, in negative polarity, and in subordinate clauses:

<i>Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"And he's fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"And he's looked at the chief."
<i>Ò dāa záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't fight the chief."
<i>Ò dāa gōs nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He didn't look at the chief."
<i>Ò p̄ záb nà'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't fought the chief."
<i>Ò p̄ gōs nâ'ab lāa.</i>	"He hasn't looked at the chief."
<i>Ò yá' zàb nà'ab lā ...</i>	"If he fights the chief ..."
<i>Ò yá' gōs nâ'ab lā ...</i>	"If he looks at the chief ..."
<i>ón zàb nà'ab lā</i>	"he having fought the chief"
<i>ón gōs nâ'ab lā</i>	"he having looked at the chief"

Content clauses have independency marking:

*Bà yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.*  
 3PL say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.  
 "They say he's fought the chief."

Examples for the final M before liaison, using the verbs *bòdìg<sup>ε</sup>* "lose", *yādīg<sup>ε/</sup>* "scatter" and the pronouns *m<sup>a</sup>* "me" *ba* "them":

Intrinsic tones:	<i>bòdìgì=m<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>bòdìgìdī=m<sup>a/</sup></i> ipfv	<i>bòdìgì=bā<sup>/</sup></i>
	<i>yādìgì=m<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>yādìgìdī=m<sup>a/</sup></i> ipfv	<i>yādìgì=bā<sup>/</sup></i>
With overlay:	<i>bòdìgī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>bòdìgìdī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>bòdìgī=bá</i>
	<i>yādìgī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>yādìgìdī=m<sup>a/</sup></i>	<i>yādìgī=bá</i>

Before a liaison word with initial fixed-L toneme, M must change to H 4.4:

*Bà kòvdī=bá.* "They kill them."  
 3PL kill:IPFV=3PL.

vs *Bà kòvdí̀ bà bōvs.* "They kill their goats."  
 3PL kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

*Bà gòsō=∅.* "They looked at her."  
 3PL look.at =3AN.

vs *Bà gòsú̀ ò bīg.* "They looked at her child."  
 3PL look.at 3AN child:SG.

**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 m záb nà'ab lā.* "And I've fought the chief."

*Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.* "And he's fought the chief."

but *M záb nâ'ab lā.* "I've fought the chief."

*Ò zàb nâ'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" [17.4.2](#):

*Ò tēñ'es kà ò zàb nâ'ab lā.* "He thinks he's fought the chief." WK  
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

*Ò tēñ'es kà m záb nâ'ab lā.* "He thinks I've fought the chief."  
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

but *Ò yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.* "He says he's fought the chief."  
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

and *Ò yèl yé m zàb nâ'ab lā.* "He says I've fought the chief."  
3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

Absence of M spreading after bound subject pronouns is independent of tone overlay and is still seen when tone overlay is absent:

*Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅.* "He will not fight the chief."  
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG. (VP irrealis mood)

*Ò lèε dāa záb nâ'ab lā.* "But he did fight the chief."  
3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART. (preverbal *dāa*)

*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. (VP irrealis mood)

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!"

*Gòsım̄=ní=bā!* "Look ye at them!"

Look:IMP=2PL.SUB=3PL!

But *Dā gōsē=ø!* "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 19.4. Examples:

*Ò gòs yā.* "She's looked."

3AN look PFV.

*Ò sà gòs yā.* "She looked (yesterday.)"

3AN TNS look PFV.

*Sāa ní yā.* "It has rained."

Rain:SG rain PFV.

*M tēñ'es kà lī lū yā.* "I think it's fallen down." (content clause)

1SG think and 3IN fall PFV.

But *Ò gòsī=m.* "He's looked at me." (not final)

3AN look.at=1SG.

<i>Sāa dāa nī.</i> Rain:SG TNS rain.	"It rained." (preverbal <i>dāa</i> )
<i>Ò dāa gōs.</i>	"He looked." (preverbal <i>dāa</i> )
<i>Ò nà gōs.</i>	"She'll look." (irrealis)
<i>Kà ò gōs.</i>	"And he looked." (no independency marking)
<i>Ò p̄v gōsē.</i>	"He's not looked." (negative)
<i>Ò ḡim.</i>	"She's short." (stative)
<i>Ò m̄ì'.</i>	"She knows." (stative)
<i>Ò n̄òŋ.</i>	"She loves him." (stative)

### 16.6 Preverbs

Preverbs follow all other preverbal particles. The independency-marking tone overlay and the all-L to all-M toneme change of the irrealis mood both fall on any preverb, the main verb following with its intrinsic tonemes.

*P̄òn* "previously, already":

*Ò p̄òn záb nà'ab lā.* "He's already fought the chief."  
3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

*Kà ò p̄òn zàb nà'ab lā.*  
And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.  
"And he's already fought the chief."

In *yà'*-clauses, *yà' p̄òn* means "even if":

*Li ya'a p̄òn du'a, saam na dii li.*  
*Lì yá' p̄òn d̄y'á, sáam ná d̄ī=lí.*  
3IN if already bear, stranger:PL IRR eat=3IN.  
"Even if it [millet] bears a crop, strangers will eat it." (Hos 8:7)

*Lèm* "again" (cf *lèb<sup>ε</sup>* "return"):

*M̄ nīf 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 kpélìm zū'øm.* (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." (Gn 45:28)

*m̀ bìig Josef nám kpèn v̄v̄.*

1SG child:SG Joseph still still be.alive.

*Là'am* "together" (cf *là'as<sup>ε</sup>* "gather"); as a main verb *là'am<sup>m</sup>* is "associate with."

*ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.*

*kà nīdīb wōsā dá là'am kpì nó=∅.*

and person:PL all TNS together die with=3AN.

"so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

*Dèṅìm* "beforehand" (cf *dèṅ<sup>ε</sup>* "go, do first": *m̀ déṅī=f* "I've got there before you"; *dèṅ<sup>ε</sup>* is used with the same meaning in *n*-catenation.)

*Pin'ilvgn sa ka Pian'ad la da pvn deṅim be.*

*Pīñ'ilúgv̄=n sá kà Pjāñ'ad lā dá p̀vn dèṅim b̄è.*

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 *malig* "do again"):

*Amaa man pian'ad la kv maligim gaadε.*

*Àmáa mán pjāñ'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* "once, until" occurs often in *n*-catenation; the sense is "before" when the next VP is perfective.

*hali ka Herod ti kpi.* "Until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)  
*hālí kà Herod tí kpì.*  
 Until and Herod once die.

*Kèm\_ø tí ñyē dú'atà.* "Go to see the doctor." SB  
 Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

*Bεogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!*  
*Bēogú=ø tì nìəd lá kà bà gâad!*  
 Morning=NZ once appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.  
 "Before morning appears they have passed!" (Is 17:14)

## 16.7 Complements

### 16.7.1 Objects

Objects precede all other complements, and indirect objects precede direct:

*M̄ dāa tísì=lī nâ'ab lā.* "I gave the chief to it." *sic*  
 1SG TNS give=3IN chief:SG ART.

If there is no overt object after an **obligatorily transitive** verb, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied. Among many other verbs, this category includes all single-aspect verbs which take complements other than locatives.

*Mānī\_ø áñ dú'atà kà fōn mēn áęñ.*  
 1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also COP.  
 "I'm a doctor and you are too."

In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

- Q. *F̀ò mór gbāyη lāa=ø?* "Do you have the letter?"  
 2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?
- A. *Ēęñ, m̄ mór.* "Yes, I have it."  
 Yes, 1SG have.
- Q. *F̀ò bódó=o=ø?* "Do you love her?"  
 2SG want=3AN=PQ?
- A. *Áyìt, m̄ p̄v bódā=ø.* "No, I don't love her."  
 No, 1SG NEG.IND want=NEG.

For other null-anaphora objects see [19.3](#) [17.2.2](#).

**Agentive ambitransitive** verbs appear with and without objects, with no change in the role of the subject, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

*banε zuud nidibi gban'ad*

*bàni zūud nīdībī ∅ gbāñ'ad*

REL.PL steal:IPFV person:PL CAT seize:IPFV

"those who steal people by force" (1 Tim 1:10)

*onε daa zuud*

"he who used to steal" (Eph 4:28)

*òni dāa zūud*

REL.AN TNS steal:IPFV

vs *Mid ka ya kv nid.*

"Do not kill [a person.]" (Ex 20:13)

*Mīt kà yà kō nīd.*

(*kō* is obligatorily transitive)

NEG.LET and 2PL kill person:SG.

Most other transitive dynamic verbs can be used intransitively with object transferred to subject position and agent unmentioned. Continuous ipfv aspect may only appear if the subject is undergoing a change of state or moving without external agency, as with e.g. *yò* "close", *nāe* "finish", *bòdìg<sup>ε</sup>* "lose, get lost", *mā'e* "get cool", *zàmìs<sup>ε</sup>* "learn/teach", *nāmīs<sup>ε/</sup>* "(make) suffer", *bàs<sup>ε</sup>* "go/send off", *dūe* "raise/rise."

*M̄ nāa tōvmā lā.*

"I've finished the work."

1SG finish work ART.

*Gbàuy lā sób nē.*

"The letter is written."

Letter:SG ART write FOC.

*Gbàna sóbìd zīnā.*

"Letters get written today." WK

Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

*Gbàuy lā sóbìd súyā.*

"The letter is writing well (i.e. easily.)" WK

Letter:SG ART write:IPFV good:ADV.

*Tōvmā lā nāa nē.*

"The work is finished."

Work ART finish FOC.

*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.

When parts of a subject's own body appear as objects, assume-stance verbs are often preferred to make-assume-stance:

*Dìgíním fù nù'ug.* "Put your hand down."  
Lie.down:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

*Lìgíním fù nīf né fù nù'ug.*  
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.  
"Cover your eye with your hand."

*N̄je* "appear" is more frequent than *n̄el<sup>ε</sup>* "reveal" before *ò m̄ēŋ<sup>a/</sup>* "him/herself":

*Ka o nie o m̄ēŋ Jemes san'an ...*  
*Kà ò n̄je ò m̄ēŋ Jemes s̄a'an ...*  
And 3AN appear 3AN self James among ...  
And he revealed himself to James (1 Cor 15:7)

Some verbs only take direct objects of a very limited type, often expressed with a noun formed from the same stem:

*Fù túm b̄ó-tùvmà=ø?* "What work do you do?"  
2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

*Ka ya ninkvda zaansim zaansima.*  
*Kà yà n̄īn-kúdà z̄aãñsìm z̄áãñsímà.*  
And 2PL person-old:PL dream:IPFV dream:PL.  
"And your old people dream dreams." (Acts 2:17)

Almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc:

*Ò d̄v̄ḡv̄=m.* "He cooked (for) me."  
3AN cook=1SG.

*Lì m̄àl̄s̄ī=m.* "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")  
3IN be.sweet=1SG.

*Àláaf̄v̄ b̄éε=bá.* "They are well." ("Health exists for them.")  
Health EXIST=3PL.



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.

Some verbs *require* an indirect object, which cannot be ellipted unless any direct object is too, with a necessarily anaphoric sense; *tís*<sup>ε</sup> "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like *dìs*<sup>ε</sup> "feed", *nūlōs*<sup>ε/</sup> "give to drink."

*M̄ tís nâ'ab lā dāká.*                      "I've given the chief a box."  
1SG give chief:SG ART box:SG.

*M̄ tís nâ'ab lā.*                              "I've given it to the chief."  
1SG give chief:SG ART.

*M̄ tís=∅ dāká.*                              "I've given him a box." Not \**M̄ tís dāká.*  
1SG give=3AN box:SG.

*Dā tís=∅ 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.

*M̄ 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. *kād* X *sàríyà* "judge X", *mōr* X *nīn-báalìg* or *zò* X *nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìj* X *yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *zò* X *dàbīəm* "fear X", *sìàk* X *nōr* "obey X", *ñwè'* X *nú'ug* "make an agreement with X."

*Bà zòtō=∅ dábīəm.*                      "They are afraid of him."  
3PL feel:IPFV=3AN fear.

*Bà nìjō=∅ yáddā.*                          "They believed her."  
3PL do=3AN assent.

*Ò ñwè' nâ'ab lā nú'ug.*                      "He made an agreement with the king."  
3AN strike king:SG ART hand:SG.

### 16.7.2 Predicatives

Predicative complements are resultative or depictive:

*Kèl ka m liebi fò tòm-tòm yinne.*

*Kèl kà m̀ lị̀bì fò tòm-tòm yīnní.*

Cause:IMP and 1SG become 2SG worker:SG one.

"Make me one of your servants" (Lk 15:19)

*M̀ á né fò tòm-tòm.*

"I am your servant."

1SG COP FOC 2SG worker:SG.

Adjectives without corresponding stative verbs may appear as NP heads in predicative complements:

*Bà à nē pìl̀à.*

"They're white."

*Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asεε ka m lεb zin'a.*

*Mām á nē pìl̀òg àmáa m̀ yá' pāe búgúmī=n, àsée kà m̀ lεb 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." [crayfish] (BNY p16)

Compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *bōn-* "thing" + adjective are commoner. They are required with adjectives preceding dependent pronouns:

*Lì à nē bōn-pìl̀-kaηā.*

"It is this white one."

Some constructions require a predicative complement after a direct object.

*Pùd<sup>ε</sup>* "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head *yō'vr<sup>εl</sup>* "name", and the name itself as predicative complement optionally introduced by *yē* "that."

*Ka fò na pùd o yv'vr ye Yesu.*

*Kà fò ná pùd ò yō'vr yē Yesu.*

And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

*Ka o pùd biig la yv'vr Yesu.*

*Kà ò pùd bīig lā yō'vr Yesu.*

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

*Bùel*<sup>ε</sup> "call" can be used in the ipfv with a person as object and name as complement, optionally introduced by *yē*, or with *yū'vr*<sup>ε/</sup> "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 yū'vr bùen Joon.*  
 man-INDF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.  
 "a man [habitually] called John." (Jn 1:6)

*Màal*<sup>ε</sup> "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)

### 16.7.3 Locatives

Position/movement verbs may take non-obligatory locative complements.

*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 dìgìn yā.* "He's lain down."  
 3AN lie.down PFV.

*Ò dìgìl gbáụη lā téeb̀l lā zúg.*  
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART table:SG ART upon.  
 "She's put the book on the table."

*Ò d̀ìgìl gbáụ̀n lā.* "She's put the book down."  
 3AN lay.down book:SG ART.

*Dā̀y lā bé nē d́-kànā lā p̀v̀g̀v̀=.*  
 Man:SG ART EXIST FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.  
 "The man is inside that hut."

*Àláaf̀v̀ b́eó=.* "He's well." ("Health exists for him.")  
 Health EXIST=3AN. Indirect object, no complement.

#### 16.7.4 Prepositional phrases

*Wēn*<sup>na/</sup> "resemble" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē* or *wōv* 15.

*Ka o nindaa wenne nintan ne.*  
*Kà ò n̄n-d́aa wēn nē n̄ntān nē.*  
 And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.  
 "His face is like the sun." (Rv 10:1, 1996)

*Lāl*<sup>la/</sup> "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by *nē*:

*Amaa o pu lal ne tii.*  
*Àmáa ò p̄v lāl né t̄i=.*  
 But 3SG NEG.IND be.far with 1PL=NEG.  
 "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

*Dōl*<sup>la/</sup> "accompany" with the preposition *nē* means "be in accordance with":

*Li dōlne lin sōb Wina'am gbaunon si'em la ye ...*  
*Lì d̀l nē lín sōb Wina'am gbáụ̀n̄= n s̄'əm lā yē ...*  
 3IN follow with 3IN:NZ write God book:SG=LOC INDFADV ART that ...  
 "This is in accordance with what is written in God's book ..." (1 Cor 2:16)

Contexts where focus-*nē*<sup>/</sup> is prohibited show that *nē* is not a preposition in e.g.

*M̄ yí nē Bók.* "I come from Bawku." SB  
 1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

*Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala"  
*Meeri ónì yī Magdala* (Mk 16:9, 1996)  
 Mary RELAN emerge Magdala

### 16.7.5 Clauses

*Kē* "let" and *mīt* in the sense "let not" always take a *kà*-catenation. *Nār<sup>a/</sup>* "be obliged to" and *bòòd<sup>a</sup>* in the sense "want to" take purpose clauses, and the meaning is anaphoric if it is absent. *Gūr<sup>a/</sup>* in the sense "wait for (an event)" takes a NP headed by a gerund or a purpose-clause. *Àgñ<sup>ya</sup>* "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.

*Kà*-catenations can be used as resultative predicates [17.2.2](#).

### 16.8 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.

*Bà dīt nē sā'ab dó-kàṅā lā púvḡ=n.*  
 3PL eat:IPFV FOC porridge hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.  
 "They're eating porridge in that hut."

### 16.9 Final particles

*Nā'* "hither" and *sà* "hence" stand last in the VP.

*M mór kù'əm náa=ø?* "Shall I bring water?" SB  
 1SG have water hither=PQ?

*Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?*  
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?  
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

*Fù yí yáa ní ná=ø?* "Where have you come from?" WK  
 2SG emerge where LOC hither=CQ?

*Kēñ* "come" is invariably used with *nā'*; the identical SF imperatives of *kēñ* "come" and *kēṅ<sup>el</sup>* "go" are distinguished by the following *nā'* or *sà* respectively:

*Kèm nā!* "Come here!"  
*Kèm sá!* "Go away!"

*Sà* often refers to time rather than place:

*Fu na baŋ li nya'aŋ sa.* "You will come to understand afterwards."  
*Fù ná báŋ lì ñyá'aŋ sá.* (Jn 13:7, 1976)  
 2SG IRR realise 3IN behind since.

*Lazarus pvn be yavgvn la daba anaasi sa.*  
*Lazarus pón 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 are VP-final, not clause-final, and precede subordinate clauses:

*Alazug Wina'am pv tvm o Biig dunia ni na ye o kvvs dunia dim be'edε.*  
*Álá zùg Wínà'am pō tvm ò Bīg dūnyā ní nā*  
 Thus God NEG.IND send 3AN child:SG world:SG LOC hither  
*yé ò kvvs dūnyā díim bè'edē =∅.*  
 that 3AN settle world:SG NULL.PL bad:PL=NEG.  
 "For God did not send his Son to judge the sins of the world." (Jn 3:17)

*Kèm nā n gōs!* "Come and look!" SB  
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!

They often follow the article *lā'* when it ends an *ñ*-clause containing them, but either order is possible:

*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

The VP-final particles can follow gerunds, and may again follow the article:

*Ninsaal Biig la lεbv̄g 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)

### 16.10 "Be" verbs

*Bè* expresses **existence** or, with a focussed or foregrounded locative, **location**. The corresponding negative is always *kā'ε* (*kā'* before a complement.)

*Wínà'am bé.* "God exists." (Calque of Ghanaian Pidgin  
God EXIST. *God de*, implying "It'll all work out.")

*Áláafvò béo=∅.* "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")  
Health EXIST=3AN.

*Wāad bé.* "It's cold."  
Cold.weather EXIST.

*Dà̀u-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 mṑogv̄=n.*  
1SG.CN EXIST FOC grass:SG=LOC.

*Moogin ka mam be.* "I'm in the bush." BNY p10  
*Mṑogv̄=n kà mām bé.*  
Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN EXIST.

The **copula** *àεñ*<sup>va</sup> takes a predicative complement. Except when VP-final, *àεñ* monophthongises to *añ* (*àañ* before liaison), becoming *à* before focus-*nē*'. The usual negative is *kā'ε* ~ *kā'*, but *pō áεñ* occurs, e.g. in expressing contrasts. 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 19.1.2, while in specifying constructions the subject usually has *n*-focus 19.1.1.

*M á nē d́'atà.* "I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")  
1SG COP FOC doctor:SG.

*Mānī\_∅ añ d́'atà lā.* "I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")  
1SG.CN CAT COP doctor:SG ART.

*M kā' d́'atāa=∅.* "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."

*Nōbibisi a mam disuη.*  
*Nō-bíbisì* ∅ *áñ mām dí-sùη.*  
 Hen-small:PL CAT COP 1SG.CN food-good:SG.  
 "Chicks are my favourite food." BNY p13

Some adjectives can appear as NP heads of predicative complements after *àñ<sup>ya</sup>* and other verbs 16.7.2, but typically *àñ<sup>ya</sup>* 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 sābilíg, là'am nē wālá m véñl hālí.*  
 1SG COP FOC black:SG, together with how 1SG be.beautiful even.  
 "I am dark, although I am very beautiful." (Sg 1:5)

	<i>Lì à nē ná'anā.</i>	"It's easy."
	<i>Lì à nē bōgvsígā.</i>	"It's soft."
	<i>Lì à nē zāalím.</i>	"It's empty."
but	<i>Lì àñ sūñā.</i>	"It's good." <u>19.1.2</u>

Absolute clauses and even content clauses may be complements of *àñ<sup>ya</sup>*:

*M diib ane ye m tvm one tvmi m la na bōdīm naae.*  
*M̄ dīib á nē yé m̄ tvm ònì tvmì=m lā nā bōdīm* ∅ *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)

*Àñ<sup>ya</sup>* can also take AdvPs as subjects:

*Zīnā à nē dá'a.* "Today is market."  
 Today COP FOC market:SG.

*Man noηi ya si'em la ane bedego.*  
*Mán nòηī=yá sī'əm lā á nē bédvugō.*  
 1SG:NZ love=2PL INDF.ADV ART COP FOC much.  
 "How much I love you, is a lot." (2 Cor 7:3, 1976)



## 17 Clauses

Typical clauses show a subject NP followed by a VP. Kusaal is SVO; deviations may occur by preposing or dislocation. Any nominaliser particles (*ṅ* or *yà'*) immediately follow subjects; the clause-linkers *kà* "and", *yē* "that", and catenator-*n* precede the subject, which is always ellipted after *n* and may be ellipted after *kà*. *Yē* and *n* are always subordinating, but *kà* may be coordinating or subordinating, with a great variety of meanings. Clause adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position in main/content clauses. For "emphatics" see [19.6](#).

Criteria for describing a clause as main or subordinate do not always neatly align. In principle, independency marking [16.5](#) marks clauses 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.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main <a href="#">17.1</a>	main without <i>kà</i>	main with initial <i>kà</i>
complementised <a href="#">17.4</a>	<i>yē/kà</i> content	<i>yē/kà</i> purpose
catenated <a href="#">17.2</a>		<i>n/kà</i> catenation
nominalised		<i>ṅ</i> absolute/relative <a href="#">17.3</a> <i>yà'</i> in conditionals <a href="#">17.1.4</a>

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands. They have structural possibilities not possible for other clause types, including lacking VPs.

Complementised clauses are introduced by *yē* "that", less often *kà*. Purpose clauses lack independency marking, have imperative VPs, 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.

*Ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa.*

*Kà ò bā' né ò mà p̄ bāŋ 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 resemble serial verb constructions. When introduced by *n* they ellip their subjects. They lack independency and tense marking, and are part of their main clauses for focus. The main clause may be semantically subordinate.

Clauses with *n̄* or *yà'* after the subject are nominalised. They have independent tense-marking. Being nominalised, 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 mōl Yesu yela nē sɔnkpi'euŋ Damaskus teŋin si'em.*]  
 ... *pá'alì=bā ón dāa ñyē Zūg-sób lā sūerí=n, kà ò p̄āñ' ∅*  
 ... teach=3PL 3AN:NZ TNS see Lord ART road:SG=LOC and 3AN speak CAT  
*tísò=∅ s̄'əm, nē Saul=n mōl Yesu yélà nē sūñ-kp̄'oj*  
 give=3AN INDF.ADV with Saul=NZ proclaim Jesus about with heart-strength  
*Damaskus téŋī=n s̄'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 main-clause-final elements:

*Ti p̄v bōd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.*  
*Tì p̄v bōd yē dáu-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā=∅.*  
 1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG=NEG.  
 "We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

*ka p̄v nar ka ba buolim ye Tumtumma.*  
*kà p̄v nár kà bà búəlì=m yē Túm-tūmmā=∅.*  
 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)

Subordinate clauses can be freely embedded, except that catenated clauses cannot follow complementised clauses at the same level:

*M p̄v bōd [ye f̄v ti yel beog daar [ye f̄vne ke [ka mam Abram lieb bummōra.]]]*  
*M̄ p̄v bōd yé f̄v tí yèl bēog dāar yē*  
 1SG NEG.IND want that 2SG once say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that  
*f̄vñī ∅ ké kà mām Abram l̄əb b̄vñ-mórā=∅.*  
 2SG.CN CAT cause and 1SG Abram become thing-haver:SG=NEG.  
 "I do not want you some day saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich." (Gn 14:23) [Catenated within content within purpose]

[*ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug*  
*bán mī' yē b̄iig lā kpí nē lā zúg*  
 3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART upon  
 "because they knew the child was dead" (Lk 8:53) [Content within nominalised]

Kusaal is not pro-drop. Impersonal constructions require a dummy subject *lì* :

*Lì t̀̀l.* "It [weather] is hot."  
3IN be.hot.

*Lì àñ s̀́ḡā.* "It's good." (Contrast Mooré *yaa s̀́ama*)  
3IN COP good:ADV.

*Lì ǹ̀r k̀̀à f̀̀v k̀̀l.* "It's necessary for you to go home."  
3IN must and 2SG go.home.

*Lì* may be omitted in *ỳ̀à'*-clauses:

*Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan kv yelins ya ye ...*  
*Ỳ̀à' k̀̀ā'a=ní\_ àlá, m̀̀ ǹ̀āan k̀̀ú ỳ̀ēlī=ní=ỳ̀ā ỳ̀ē ...*  
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)

*Zi'isigε 16.4* appears without a subject in the meaning "unbeknownst."

Subject pronouns are always ellipted after catenator-*n*. Except in content clauses, they are regularly ellipted after *k̀̀à* when coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause; M spreading then follows *k̀̀à*. Conversations may be reported *K̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ... k̀̀à ò ỳ̀él ...*, each *ò* marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust 12.3.1) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness:

*P̀̀ỳ̀ā l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à k̀̀ēḡ B̀̀ók.*  
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.  
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

but *P̀̀ỳ̀ā l̀̀ā d̀̀á' d̀̀āká k̀̀à ò k̀̀ēḡ B̀̀ók.*  
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.  
"The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

*Ban ẁ̀m nε'εḡa la ka s̀̀n.*  
*B̀̀án ẁ̀m nē'ḡá lá k̀̀à s̀̀n.*  
3PL:NZ hear DEMST.IN ART and be.silent.  
"After they heard this they fell silent." (Acts 11:18)

See [17.1.3](#) for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Other subject pronoun ellipsis is *informal*, and may be "corrected" if speakers' attention is drawn to it. It does not affect meaning. M spreading after ellipted pronouns remains. Such ellipsis may become standardised in greetings or proverbs:

*Náe yàa=∅?* "[Have you] finished?"  
Finish PFV=PQ?

## 17.1 Main

Main clauses show structural possibilities shared only with content clauses, which are downranked main clauses. For independency marking see [16.5](#). They may be statements (the unmarked default), questions or commands; some types lack VPs. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kōv* "or", *bēε* "or"; here *kōv* and *bēε* are synonymous. With *lèε* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English *zero*.

### 17.1.1 Clause adjuncts

Clause-level adjuncts precede the subject position. They appear only in main and content clauses, although the preposition *wōv* "like" may take a content clause as complement [15](#), and the emphatic *hālī* may not only appear in the prelinker adjunct slot of main clauses but also precede catenator-*n* [19.6](#). The position of the negative clitic shows that the clause after *àséε* is not subordinate in

*M kv basif ka fv keŋε aseε ka fv niŋi m zug bareka.*  
*Ḿ kú bāsí=f kà fù kēŋé=∅ àséε kà fù nīŋì\_ḿ zūg bārka.*  
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." (Gn 32:26)

**Linker adjuncts** do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>kōv</i>	"or"	<i>bēε</i>	"or"
<i>dìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"	<i>lìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"
<i>àlá zùgō</i>	"thus"	<i>bō zúgō</i>	"because"

*Bō zúgō* may also appear *after* an absolute clause, like *zūg<sup>o/</sup>* alone.

**Prelinker adjuncts** precede any linkers.

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>àséε</i>	"unless"
<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"		

*Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yeI ye ...*

*Kà sīəbā lá'o=∅. Àmáa kà sīəbā yéI yē ...*

And INDF.PL laugh=3AN. But and INDF.PL say that...

"Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

*Wina'am daa pv gaŋi ti ye ti tum dian'ad tɔvma, amaa ye ti be nyain.*

*Wínà'am dāa pō gāŋí=tī yé tì tùm dīā'ad tóvma=∅,*

God TNS NEG.IND choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

*àmáa yé tì bé ñyāe.*

but that 1PL EXIST brightly.

"God did not choose us to act impurely, but to be pure." (1 Thes 4:7)

By ellipsis of shared clause elements, *àsée* is found before NPs as "except":

*Sɔ' kae an sv'vm aseε Wina'am gullim.*

*Sō' kā'e ∅ áñ sóm=∅ àsée Wínà'am gúllimm.*

INDFAN NEG.BE CAT COP goodness=NEG unless God only.

"No-one is good except God alone [is good]." (Mk 10:18)

**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, bɔ ka m lem loɔd nɔɔr ya'ase?*

*Àmáa ón sādígím kpí lā, bó kà ìn lém lōɔd nōɔr 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 Sm 12:23)

Some constituents always occur as postlinker adjuncts: *yà'*-clauses "if/when ..." 17.1.4, *sādígím*-clauses 17.3.1, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'εrē* "perhaps." *Yà'*-clauses only appear after main clauses by dislocation. Any time, circumstance, or reason AdvP *may* appear as a postlinker adjunct, including *dìn/lìn zúg* "therefore", *lì ñyá'aŋ* "afterward", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as things stand", *àsīdā* "truly" and absolute clauses.

Any AdvP may be placed before the subject by *kà*-preposing 19.3, so time, circumstance or reason AdvPs may occur before the subject alone, preceded by *kà*, followed by *kà*, or both preceded *and* followed by *kà*; however, manner or place AdvPs can *only* precede by preposing: \**Mōɔgú=n mām bé* was corrected by WK to

*Mōɔgú=n kà mām bé.* "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN EXIST.

In KB *dìn/lìn zúg* "therefore" is a *kà*-preposed VP adjunct in 177/371 cases. Constructions without *kà* probably arose by *dìn/lìn zúg* encroaching on the role of *dìn/lìn zúgō*, because *kà dìn/lìn zúg* is usually followed by *kà*.

*Bō zúg* without *-o* appears in KB only as preposed *bō zúg kà ...?* "why ...?":

*Bōzug ka li aan ala?* "Why is it so?" (Hg 1:9)

*Bō zúg kà lì áañ àlá=∅?*

What on and 3IN COP thus=CQ?

### 17.1.2 Questions

**Content** questions (except those with *lì* 17.1.5) 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 19.1.2.

There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focussed 19.1.1, and non-subjects are very often preposed 19.3. Preposing is obligatory for *bō zúg*, "why?" and for *bō* when used for "why?"

*Fù bōod bó=∅?* "What do you want?"  
2SG want what=CQ?

*Fù bōod línè=∅?* "Which do you want?"  
2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?

*Dāy lā ñyē ànó'ònè=∅?* "Whom did the man see?"  
Man:SG ART see who=CQ?

*Bōo maalé?* "What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)  
*Bōo ∅ málé=∅?*  
What CAT make=CQ?

*Ànó'ònì ∅ ñyē bígà=∅?* "Who has seen a child?"  
Who CAT see child:SG=CQ?

*Ànó'òn bígì ∅ ñwá=∅?* "Whose child is this?"  
Who child:SG CAT this=CQ?

*Ànó'òn kà dāy lā ñyē=∅?* "Whom did the man see?"  
Who and man:SG ART see=CQ?

*Bó kà fù kúmmà=∅?* "Why are you crying?"  
 What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?

**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'* appears as in statements. The answer expected is *ēēñ* [17.1.5](#).

*Dāy lā ñyé bīgàa=∅?* "Has the man seen a child?"  
 Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?

*M á nē dáùv=∅?* "Am I a man?"  
 1SG COP FOC man:SG=PQ?

*Bà kùvd nē búvsèè=∅?* "Are they killing goats?"  
 3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?

*Fù p̄ wúmmàa=∅=∅?* "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 *béε* "or" (expecting disagreement) or *kúv* "or" (expecting agreement; rare in NT/KB):

*Dāy lā ñyé bīg kúv=∅?*  
 Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?  
 "Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)

*Dāy lā ñyé bīg béε=∅?*  
 Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?  
 "Has the man seen a child?" (I expect not.)

### 17.1.3 Commands

For indirect commands, see [17.4](#). 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 <sup>ya</sup> [4.2](#). Thus

*Fù 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!

*Gòsimī=∅ 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 pu'ā, 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 [17.4.2](#), 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!"

Some speakers keep postposed *y<sup>a</sup>* after the verb even when there is a pronoun subject before it; such speakers also repeat *y<sup>a</sup>* in catenated clauses.



*Ò yèl yé bà gòsımī=∅ tēṅī=n.*  
 3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PL.SUB ground:SG=LOC.  
 "He said to them: Look down!"

*Kèmī=∅ nā n gōsī=∅!*  
 Come:IMP=2PL.SUB hither CAT look=2PL.SUB!  
 "Come (ye) and look!" (WK *Kèmī nā n gōs!*)

Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed subject pronoun occasionally end in a LF like that preceding a negative clitic:

*Gòsımā!* "Look!"  
*Gòsımī=yá!* "Look! pl

#### 17.1.4 Conditionals

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.

*Fù yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà fù ñyētá=∅?*  
 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 pò'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.*  
*Kà līgīdī lā yá' pò'ɔg, m yá' tì lèb nā, m ná yóɔ=f.*  
 And money ART if get.small, 1SG if once return hither, 1SG IRR pay=2SG.  
 "If the money runs short, once 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:

*Fv ya'a mɔr pu'a, fvn da mɔɔd ye fv bas oo.*  
*Fù yá' mōr pū'ā, fvn dā mōɔd yé fù 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)

*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 kaṇaa.*

*Dìn-zúg lì nāan áñ sóm      bà yá' pō      dŭ'a=n      dáṽ-kàṇáa=∅.*

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:

*Fv ya'a na dōllimi keṇ, m na keṇ.*

*Fv̀ yá' nà dōllí=mī      ∅      kēṇ, m̀ ná kēṇ.*

2SG if IRR accompany=1SG CAT go, 1SG IRR go.

"If you will go with me, I will go." (Jgs 4:8)

*M ya'a pv keṇε, Svḥid la kv keṇ ya ni naa.*

*M̀ yá' pō      kēṇé=∅, sōḥid      lā kú      kéeñ      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**  $n^ε$  16.2.2, beside tense, is used to express *modal remoteness* (cf CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs. With *nāan*, the sense is contrary-to-fact. It can attach to any verb form except imperatives.  $N^ε$  in a first VP is usually repeated in following catenated clauses.  $N^ε$  appears most often in *yà'*-clauses, but can occur elsewhere:

*Man bōōdin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bεε yaname naan aan tvvliga.*

*Mān      bōōdī=n      nē      yānámì      nāan      āa=n      mā'asígā      bēε*

1SG.CN want=DP that 2PL:NZ      then COP=DP cold:ADV      or

*yānámì      nāan      āa=n      tvvligā.*

2PL:NZ      then COP=DP hot:ADV.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rv 3:15)

**Tense-slot adjunct** *nāan* "in that case, it being so" is distinct from *ñyāan* "next, then" (from *ñyá'aṅ*<sup>a</sup> "behind"), but before 2016 *ñyāan* often appears as *nāan*:

*Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan KB] kaas noor ayi.*

*Fv̀ ná kī'is mān      nóor      àtáñ'      kà      nō-dāvḡ      ñyāan      kāas      nóor      àyí'.*

2SG IRR deny 1SG.CN time:SG NUM:three and cock:SG next cry time:SG NUM:two.

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." (Mk 14:30, 1996)

In KB *nāan* is usually written *naane* before liaison words and *naan* elsewhere.

In subordinate clauses KB usually simply has irrealis *nà* where older versions had *nāan*. Modal *nāan* most often appears in conditional main clauses; in main clauses after *kà*, *nāan* without *n<sup>ε</sup>* often represents *ñyāan*.

*Nāan* without *n<sup>ε</sup>* is often effectively equivalent to *yà'* "if/when."

*Li an sòm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...*

*Lì àñ sóm yē dāy yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yéla ∅ gād ...*

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)

*Noñir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.*

*Nòñìr lém ká'e ∅ gād nīdī=∅ nāan kpí ò zùà-nàm zúgō=∅.*

Love again NEG.BE CAT pass person:SG=NZ then die 3AN friend-PL upon=NEG.

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." (Jn 15:13, 1996)

*Nāan* with *n<sup>ε</sup>* expresses contrary-to-fact, as in conditional clauses:

*Li su'm ka fu daa naan zañin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.*

*Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan záñí=n ∅ ò līgīdī n sù'a=n bāñkì 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* means "if only":

*M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keñ nyεεn nōdi'es la be Samaria la!*

*M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sīákì ∅ kēñ ∅ ñyēε=n*

1SG head-owner:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see=DP

*nó-dī'əs lā ∅ bè 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 Kgs 5:3)

### 17.1.4.1 Open

Conditional clauses without discontinuous-past *n<sup>ε</sup>* or *nāan* express "if", and also "when" in the case of main clauses with present or future reference. With main clauses with past reference, *yà'* is only used for conditionals; for "when", absolute clauses are used 17.3.1.

*Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgílí=f.*

2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay.down=2SG.

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed [i.e. admit you to hospital.]"

*Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'vg kumine, alaa ti labasvη la moolvg la ane zaalim.*

*Kà Kristo yá' dà p̄ v̄'vg k̄mī=né=∅, àlāa tì làbà-s̀v̄η*

And Christ if TNS NEG.IND come.alive death=LOC=NEG, ADV:thus 1PL news-good:SG

*lā moolv̄g lā á nē zāalím.*

ART proclamation ART COP FOC empty:ABSTR.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

*Nid ya'a tum tvuma, o di'ed yōd.*

*Nīd yá' t̄m t̄vmā, ò dī'əd yōd.*

Person:SG if work:IPFV work, 3AN receive:IPFV pay.

"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

*Bεog ya'a nie fv na wum o pian'ad.*

*Bēog yá' n̄e, f̄v ná w̄m ò p̄iāñ'ad.*

Tomorrow if appear, 2SG IRR hear 3AN speech.

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." (Acts 25:22)

### 17.1.4.2 Hypothetical

If discontinuous-past  $n^ε$  occurs in the  $yà'$ -clause and the main clause has irrealis mood without  $nāan$ , the meaning is hypothetical. In the 1976 NT the main clause also has  $n^ε$ . KB may omit  $n^ε$  in the main clause, and even the  $yà'$ -clause.

*Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluη na paaen o salabir.*

*Wīēf yá' s̄igí=n l̄i n̄i, l̄i z̄ul̄v̄η ná p̄aa=n ò s̄al̄b̄ir.*

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." (Rv 14:20, 1976)

KB: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluη na paae o salibir.*

*Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niηgbiη nii, lin ku nyaηin keen ka o ka' niηgbiη nii.*

*Nób̄ir yá' ȳēl̄i=n ȳē, ón p̄v áñ n̄u'ug lā z̄úg,*

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG.IND COP hand:SG ART upon,

*ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄iη n̄í=∅, l̄in k̄ú ñyāñ̄i=n ∅*

3AN NEG.BE body:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT

*k̄éε=n k̄à ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄iη n̄í=∅.*

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)

### 17.1.4.3 Contrary-to-fact

A main clause with *nāan* implies contrary-to-fact. Both clauses have *n<sup>ε</sup>*:

*Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan kv mɔrin taale.*

*Mān yá' pɔ̄ kɛɛ=n nā̄ ∅ tɔ'asī=ní=bā, bà nāan kú*

1SG.CN if NEG.IND come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL, 3PL then NEG.IRR

*mōrī=n tâallē=∅.*

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 mɔrin sv'ɔgv m nu'ugin m naan kvɔnif nannanna.*

*M̄ yá' mōrī=n sɔ'ɔgv̄̀ m̄ nù'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." (Nm 22:29)

Past main clauses may show irrealis mood with past tense markers instead:

*Bɔzugɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vɔ'vɔvm zin'ig, Wina'am da kv lem pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'ase.*

*Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tìsī=ní=bā vō'vōsím zīñ'ig, Wínà'am dá k̄*

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)

*Ò dāa ná xāb nā'ab lā.*

3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"He would have fought the chief (but didn't.)" WK

### 17.1.5 Verbless clauses

**Identificational clauses** have the form NP + catenator-*n* + deictic particle or *wà nā* "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

*Kòlìṅì ∅ lā.*

Door:SG CAT that.

"That is a door."

*Kòlìṅì ∅ wá nā.*

Door:SG CAT this hither.

"This here is a door."

*Bēogō* ∅ *lā*.  
Tomorrow CAT that.

"See you tomorrow" ("That's tomorrow.")

*Bōō* ∅ *lá=∅?*  
What CAT that=CQ?

"What's that?"

*Ñwāamīs* ∅ *ñwá!*  
Monkey:PL CAT this!

"Monkeys!" [wã:misa]  
(a passenger in my car, on suddenly  
catching sight of some)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

*Anō'on nwaā yīsid nidib tūmbē'edi basida?*

*Ānō'on* ∅ *ñwāā* ∅ *yīsid* *nīdīb* *tūm-bē'edī* ∅ *bāsīdā=∅?*

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)

*Yēl bōō nwa ka Wīnā'am kē ka li paaē ti?*

*Yēl-bōō* ∅ *ñwá* *kà* *Wīnā'am* *ké* *kà* *lì* *pāa=tì=∅?*

Matter-what CAT this and God cause and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?  
"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Gn 42:28)

Identificational clauses can be embedded in verbal clauses:

*Ya ningid bōō nwa?*

*Yà nījīd* *bōō* ∅ *ñwá=∅?*

2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?  
"What is this you are doing?" (Neh 2:19)

*Fv maal bōō la tis mam?*

*Fv* *māal* *bōō* ∅ *lā* ∅ *tīs* *mām=∅?*

2SG make what CAT that CAT give me=CQ?  
"What is this that you have done to me?" (Nm 23:11)

**L̩a clauses** have the form X + *l̩a*, meaning "where is X?" Although I often heard *l̩a* in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, no examples appear in the 1996 or 2016 Bible versions.

*Fv mà* *lā* *l̩a=∅?* "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 àwāḡ lā lía=∅?*  
 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:

*M̄ pɸ'ā né m̄ b̄isē=∅!*  
 1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL=VOC!  
 "My wife and my children!"

*M̄ d̄iəmmā=∅, bó kà f̄v̄ kúəsìdà=∅?*  
 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":

*Pɸ'ā ñwá!* "Woman!"  
*Zōn ñwá* "Fools!"

Some **particles** occur characteristically as complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic; others are widely shared among local languages.

*Tò.* "OK." (= Hausa *tôo*)  
*Báp.* "Wallop!"  
*Ñfá!* "Well done!"

"Yes" is *ēēñ*; "No" is *áyù*. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

*Lì nàa néε=∅?* "Is it finished?"  
 3IN finish FOC=PQ?

*ēēñ.* "Yes."  
*áyù.* "No"

*Lì p̄v̄ nāée=∅=∅?* "Isn't it finished?"  
 3IN NEG.IND finish=NEG=PQ?

*ēēñ.* "No."  
*áyù.* "Yes."

## 17.2 Catenated

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs, each introduced by catenator-*n*; for the realisation of this particle see 4.2. 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. For example, substitution of *kà* for catenator-*n* makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with *n*-catenation:

*M̄ záńí m̄ nú'ugò ø sī'is dāká lā.*  
 1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.  
 "I touched the box with my hand."

?? *M̄ záńí m̄ nú'ug kà sī'is dāká lā.*  
 "I picked up my hand and touched the box."

*M̄ dāa kûes bòn̄ø ø tís d'atà.*  
 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.  
 "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? *M̄ dāa kûes bòn̄ø kà tís d'atà.*  
 "I sold a donkey and gave it to the doctor."

However, *n*-catenation shows much greater flexibility than typical serial verb constructions: complements, VP adjuncts, and even subordinate clauses introduced by *kà* may be incorporated within chains of catenated VPs, and even verbless clauses may be followed by catenated VPs:

*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'asòg lā nīdīb sísùvgū=n, n áñ*  
 And man-INDEFAN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among=LOC, CAT COP  
*Parisee nīd kà ò yō'vr būen Gamaliel, n áñ ónì pà'an*  
 Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT COP RELAN 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)



*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 sārīgá dōog*

But and Lord angel:SG TNS go CAT open prison:SG house:SG

*zá'-nōor 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)

*Anɔ'on nwaa yisid nidib tvumbe'edi basida?*

*Ànô'on\_ø ñwáa\_ø yīsīd nīdīb t̄vum-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*. The catenated VP is itself a clause with an ellipted subject, identical to that of the preceding clause; this analysis is supported by the existence of clearly parallel catenation constructions using *kà* in place of catenator-*n*. 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 that catenator-*n* originated as a non-finite marker: Niggli, for example, calls the Mooré *n*+verb construction *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*."

Catenation is a closer relationship than complementisation; mood and aspect are usually determined by the first VP, which carries the tense and polarity particles which apply to the entire catenation, but (especially in *n*-catenation) each VP retains discontinuous-past *n<sup>ε</sup>*, 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. Catenation seems always to involve semantic subordination, and behaves as a single unit with regard to focus. 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.

### 17.2.1 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-sāal Bīg kēn nā̄ ∅ 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-píə̀lā\_ ∅ zì'e bà sā'an.*

And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

(c) main VP + perfective VP in irrealis or imperative mood, expressing purpose.

*Amaa m pv mōr antu'a zugv o yela na sōbi tis na'atita'ar laa.*

*Àmáa m̄ p̄v mōr 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)

*Kēm\_ ∅ tí ñyē d'atà.* "Go and see the doctor."

Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

*Man ya'a pv kēn na tu'asini ba ...*

*Mān yá' p̄v kēε=n nā\_ ∅ t'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.

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'ésíd Wínà'am yû'ur sūŋā.*

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 tóm kà yōod ò mēŋá=∅.*

Soldier-INDEF.AN NEG.BE CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7, 1976)

The preverb *tì* is often found with non-initial VPs in *n*-catenation.

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:

*Àḡñ<sup>ya</sup>* "be something/somehow" precedes a *n*-catenation in clefting 19.2.

*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."

*Dōl<sup>la</sup>* "accompany in subordinate role, attend"

*Bà dōllō=∅ ∅ kēŋ Bók.* "They went to Bawku with him."

3PL follow=3AN CAT go Bawku.

*Kēñ* "come" and *kēŋ<sup>el</sup>* "go" are used as initiators:

*Ḃ kēŋì ∅ pīə nū'us.* "I went and washed my hands."

1SG go CAT wash hand:PL.

*Mī* "know": *nàm mī' n* + pfv "always have X-ed", *nàm zī' n* + pfv "never have X-ed":

*Makir banε buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.*

*Mākír bànì būudī pāadí=yā lā nám mī' ∅ pāe sīəbā mén.*

Testing REL.PL sort reach:IPFV=2PL ART still know CAT reach INDEF.PL also.

"Trials of the kind that have reached you have always reached others too."

(1 Cor 10:13)

*Ḃ nám zī' ∅ ñyē gbīgīmnē=∅.*

1SG still NEG.KNOW CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

*Mōr*<sup>a/</sup> "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

*Nāan*<sup>ε/</sup> "starting from ... do..." takes a locative AdvP followed by a *n*-catenation:

*Ka pu'a la da naane o buḡ la zugv sig la ...*

*Kà pū'ā lá=∅ dà nāaní\_ò bùḡ lā zúḡv\_∅ sīg lā*

And woman:SG ART=NZ TNS start.at 3AN donkey:SG ART upon CAT descend ART

"When the woman had got off her donkey ..." (Jo 15:18)

*Nīḡ wālá* literally "do how?" is used in catenation for "how can ...?" (see also [17.2.2](#)):

*Ninsaal na niḡ wala an pūpiel Wina'am tuonne? Ninsaal biḡ na niḡ wala pū mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?*

*Nīn-sāal ná nīḡ wālá\_∅ àñ pū-pīəl Wínà'am tūønnè=∅?*

Human:SG IRR do how CAT COP holy:SG God before=CQ?

*Nīn-sāal bīḡ nà nīḡ wālá\_∅ pū mōr tâal Wínà'am tūønnè=∅?*

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?" (Jb 25:4)

*Ñyāḡ*<sup>ε/</sup> "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

*Ka m nyaḡ dunia.*

"I have overcome the world." (Jn 16:33)

*Kà m ñyāḡ dūnyā.*

And 1SG overcome world:SG.

*M pū ñyāḡī\_∅ 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", *ñyāḡ*<sup>ε/</sup> expresses events and not states. Thus, to express present ability or inability, the auxiliary is in the irrealis mood; if the main verb is imperfective the auxiliary is imperfective too.

*M kú ñyāḡī\_∅ záb nà'ab lāa=∅.*

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 nyaḡedin ketin ka nidib voen*

*wād-línì ñyāḡídī=n* ∅ *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)

*Su'ā*<sup>a</sup> "conceal" is used for "secretly":

*Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baḡidib la ...*

*Kà Nà'ab Herod su'ā* ∅ *bûel bāḡīdīb* *lā ...*

And king:SG Herod conceal CAT call understander:PL ART...

"Herod secretly called for the wise men ..." (Mt 2:7)

*Tūñ'e* is a stative single-aspect verb "be able." As a main verb:

*ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paḡi na tun'e si'em*

*bà dāa tís* *kà lì zēmísì* ∅ *bà pàḡì=∅* *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)

Both indicative and irrealis moods can express present ability or inability:

*ka li kv tun'e su'a.*

*kà lì kú* *tūñ'è* ∅ *su'āa=∅.*

and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide=NEG.

"which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)

*Ya na tun'e zin' teḡin la ne ti.*

*Yà ná tūñ'è* ∅ *zīḡ'i* *tēḡī=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." (Gn 34:10)

*Fv tun'e nyet si'ela?*

*Fv tūñ'è* ∅ *ñyēt* *sí'elàa=∅?*

2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.IN=PQ?

"Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)

*O pv tun'e pian'ada.*

*Ò p̄v* *tūñ'è* ∅ *p̄iāñ'adá=∅.*

3AN NEG.IND be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

"He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)

*bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaŋe ba meŋa.*

*bō zúgō bà kò tūñ'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)

*Zàŋ*<sup>ε</sup> and *nōk*<sup>ε/</sup> "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

*Ḃ nók s'ú'vǵò ∅ kǵá nīm lā.*

1SG pick.up knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

"I cut the meat with a knife."

*Ḃ záŋí m̀ nú'ugò ∅ sī'is dāká lā.*

1SG pick.up 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I touched the box with my hand."

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

*Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba ...*

*Kà Pita pñ'il ∅ pá'alì=bā ...*

And Peter begin CAT teach=3PL ...

"Peter began to tell them." (Acts 11:4)

*Tì déŋì ∅ tísò=∅ lór.*

1PL precede CAT give=3AN car.

"We previously gave him a car."

*Ka dau s' duoe zi'en la'asvǵ la svvǵin ...*

*Kà dàu-s' dūe ∅ zī'ən là'asvǵ lā s'úvǵū=n ...*

And man-INDEFAN rise CAT stand.up assembly ART among=LOC ...

"And a man (having risen) stood up in the assembly ..." (Acts 5:34)

The following verbs *follow* the main VP:

*Bàs*<sup>ε</sup> "send/go away" is used for "away, off, out":

*Anō'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tvvmbē'edi basida?*

*Ànô'ɔn ∅ ñwáa ∅ yīsīd nīdīb t'v̄m-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)

*Gàad*<sup>ε</sup> "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

*À-Wīn gím\_ ∅ gát À-Būgūr.*  
 PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.  
 "Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

*Fv sid nōη mam gat bamaa?*  
*Fv̀ síd nòη mām\_ ∅ gát bámmáa=∅?*  
 2SG truly love 1SG CAT pass:IPFV DEMST.PL=PQ?  
 "Do you really love me more than these?" (Jn 21:15)

*Gàlìs*<sup>ε</sup> "get to be too much" (*Sāa gálìs yā* "There's too much rain"):

*Dā kárìm gbánà\_ ∅ gálìsìdā=∅.*  
 NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV=NEG.  
 "Don't read books too much."

*Là'am*<sup>m</sup> "together" is also found as a preverb 16.6 and in *là'am nē* "together with" 15.  
 As a main verb it means "associate with."

*Tìs*<sup>ε</sup> "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving", and is simply a way to express an indirect object.

*M̀ dāa kûes b̀̀h̀̀v̀̀ ∅ tís d̀̀'atà.*  
 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.  
 "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

*Wēn*<sup>na/</sup> "be like" is followed by *wōv* "like" or *nē* "with" before a complement, which is followed by an empty particle *nē* unless it has the article *lā'* or is a number. The entire sequence *wēn* + preposition + complement can be preposed with *kà*, or dislocated.

*Ka o nindaa wenne nintāη ne.*  
*Kà ò nīn-dáa wēn nē nīntāη nē.*  
 And 3AN eye-face:SG resemble with sun:SG like.  
 "His face is like the sun." (Rv 10:1, 1996: KB *Ka o nindaa nwene winnig nē*)

*Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niηid si'em la.*  
*Dā ló yà nīn-dáasē=∅, wēn nē f̀̀ẁ̀s̀̀g dím lá=∅*  
 NEG.IMP tie 2PL eye-face:PL=NEG, resemble with puff:GER NULL.PL ART=NZ  
*ǹ̀ὴ̀ìd s̀̀'əm lā.*  
 do:IPFV INDF.ADV ART.  
 "Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16, 1976)

*Yà'as*<sup>ε</sup> or *yà'as*<sup>a</sup> "again" is now simply an adverb in KB, even preposable with *kà* 19.3.

*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 ..." (Rv 5:11, 1976)  
*Yà'as kà m gōs ...*  
 Again and 1SG look ...

"Ending" verbs naturally follow the main VP:

*Ò dù\_ ∅ nāe.* "He's finished eating."  
 3AN eat CAT finish.

*Ò dù\_ ∅ 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-bê'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdīb.*  
 3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.  
 "He drives evil spirits out of people."

*N tì pāe* + NP/AdvP is "until, up to": *hālí n tì pāa zīnā* "right up until today."

### 17.2.2 *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. *Kà*-catenated clauses cannot contain focus-*nē*'.

*Kē* "let, leave off" is used with *kà*-catenation in the sense "let, cause that." The catenation subject cannot be the same as the main clause subject (in KB the only counterexample is Ti 2:7 *kēl ka fū mēη an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them", where *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 pu nyaŋi kuvu o.*

*Lì dà kè kà bà p̄ ñyāŋī ∅ kúo=∅=∅.*

3IN TNS cause and 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT kill=3AN=NEG.

"This caused them not to be able to kill him." (2 Kgs 11:2)

*Ba kuvim niŋidi lin ye li ke ka ba da nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisug laa.*

*Bà kōdīm niŋidī=lí yé lì kè kà bà dā ñyē Kristo kúm*

3PL ever do:IPFV=3IN that 3IN cause and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death

*dà-p̄vdír 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 kè kà bà dā kpī'ilímm=∅.*

3IN.CN CAT IRR cause and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Gn 6:20)

After *kéε=n kà*, with discontinuous-past *n<sup>ε</sup>*, the catenated clause generally had *n<sup>ε</sup>* in the 1976 Bible, but this is no longer invariable. Aspect usually matches:

*Ka li ane wada la ket ka tvumbε'ed nyet paŋ.*

*Kà lì à né wādá lā ∅ kèt kà t̄v̄m-bē'ed ñyēt páŋ.*

And 3IN COP FOC law ART CAT cause:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which makes sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

Imperative *kèl<sup>a</sup>* + *kà*-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

*Kèl kà ò gōs tēŋī=n.*

Cause:IMP and 3AN look ground:SG=LOC.

"Let him look down."

*Dā kè kà dàb̄ōm béε=∅!*

NEG.IMP cause and fear EXIST=NEG.

"Don't be afraid." ("Let fear not exist.")

*Kèl [or Kèlí=∅] kà tì p̄'vs Wínà'am.*

Cause:IMP cause:IMP=2PL.SUB and 1PL greet God.

"Let us praise God."

*Kèl kà ...* is often ellipped informally, leaving the lack of independency marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

<i>M̃ gōs nīf lā.</i> 1SG look.at eye:SG ART.	"Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic) No tone overlay on <i>gōs</i>
<i>M̃ díginèè=ø?</i> 1SG lie.down=PQ?	"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic) No independency imperative <i>-ma</i>
<i>Ò záb nà'ab lā.</i> 3AN fight chief:SG ART.	"He should fight the chief." M spreading after <i>ò</i> but not <i>záb</i>

*M̃it* is a defective negative verb used only in the imperative. 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 <sup>ya</sup>, suggesting that it is impersonal.

*Mid ka ya maali ya tvum suma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.*

*M̃it kà yà máali yà tvum-sùmà nīdīb tūen yé bà gōs.*  
NEG.LET.IMP and 2PL make 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look.at.  
"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look." (Mt 6:1)

X *ñiḡ 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 niḡ wala ka o an David yaḡḡa?*

*Lì ñiḡ wēlá kà ò áñ David yāḡḡà=ø?*  
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 niḡ wala ka nyē faangirè?*

*M̃ ná ñiḡ wēlá kà ñyē fāāñgírè=ø?*  
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, but this is not invariable:

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

*Kà dāy dāa zīñ'i Listra ní kà pō tūñ'ē ∅ 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)

but *Ya sieba be kpela kv kpīi ...*

*Yà sīēbā bé kpēlá ∅ kú kpīi=∅ ...*

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 16.7.1. The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

*Anina ka o nye dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.*

*Àníná 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 banε pv'vsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.*

*Lì à né yà tāabā bānì pv'vsid 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 17.1.5, its NP can be the anchor; such constructions underlie *kà*-clefting and preposing.

*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?" (Gn 42:28)

The subject of the catenated clause does not normally refer to the anchor; if it does, the *kà*-catenation is a resultative predicate:

*...ka la'am maan gígis 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 *ňyē* the construction means "see as":

*Ṁ dāa ņyē dāu 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"

*Ṁ dāa pō ņyē dāu 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

### 17.3 *Ñ*-nominalised

Insertion of *ñ* NZ 4.2 after the subject nominalises an original clause "X", producing 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 16.2.4.) Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

*Yaname na mōr sam si'a ane ye ya nōŋ taaba.*

*Yānāmì nà mōr sām-sī'a á nē yé yà nōŋ 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'əm 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 *lā'*. After relative clauses *lā'* has its usual function:

*Onē du'a nē Siig mē anē ala.*

*Ònì dū'à nē Sīig 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)

... *amaa o di'ene one tumi m la na*  
 ... *àmáa ò ḍìə nē ónì tò̀mì=m lā nā*  
 ... but 3AN receive FOC REL.AN send=1SG ART hither  
 "... but he receives him who sent me hither." (Mk 9:37)

The article is not repeated a second time after 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. Final negative clitics are dropped unless the *ñ*-clause lacks *lā'* and is itself clause-final in its superordinate clause.

### 17.3.1 Absolute

*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=∅ fight chief:SG ART

Their typical use is as AdvPs of time or circumstance. They are the usual way of expressing past "when", as postlinker adjuncts or VP adjuncts. As constituent order usually reflects event order, VP adjuncts are generally preposed with *kà* 19.3 unless 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?"

Absolute clause tense markers are the same as in the main clause; main clause markers may be omitted if the absolute clause precedes. The time relationship is determined by aspect, 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 ḍìt lā, Yesu yé̀lì=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 meη ...*

*Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób málīāk nīe ò mēη ...*

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)

Verbs of perception (but not communication) may take absolute-clause objects:

*Ka m gat ka nye fvn digi fv ziimin la bilim.*

*Kà m gát kà ñyē fón dīgí fù zīimí=n lā ∅ bīlīm.*

And 1SG pass:IPFV and see 2SG:NZ be.lying 2SG blood=LOC ART CAT roll.

"I was passing and saw you rolling in your blood." (Ez 16:6)

Either argument of the copula àǵñ<sup>ya</sup> can be an absolute clause:

*Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la anε*

*mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka mε pu diti ba ki la.*

*Dìnì ké kà m áñ sâal-bīis zuá lā á nē mán*

REL.SG cause and 1SG COP smooth-child:PL friend:SG ART COP FOC 1SG:NZ

*pō sán'amídí bā lā'ad kà mé pō dítí bā kī láa=∅.*

NEG.IND spoil:IPFV 3PL goods:PL and also NEG.IND eat:IPFV 3PL millet ART=NEG.

"What makes me a friend of human beings is

that I don't spoil their property or eat their millet." BNY p20

Absolute clauses occur after *n tì pāe* "up until" and *là'am nē* "although":

*winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la*

*wīnnìgì=∅ yīt sī'el hālī ∅ tì pāe ón lùt sī'el lā*

sun:SG=NZ emerge:IPFV INDEF.IN until CAT once reach 3AN:NZ fall:IPFV INDEF.IN ART

"where the sun rises to where the sun sets" (Ps 65:8)

*La'am nε on da zan'as la*

*Là'am nē ón dà zāñ'as lā*

Together with 3AN:NZ TNS refuse ART

"Although he refused" (Gn 39:10)

They may precede the postpositions *zūg*<sup>3/</sup> "on account of", *bō zúgō* "because":

*Ban mōr dēη la zug, ba kv di'e baa.*

*Bán mōr dēη lā zúg, bā kv dī'ə=báa=∅.*

3PL:NZ have wound:SG ART upon, 3PL NEG.IRR receive=3PL=NEG.

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." (Lv 22:25)

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

The tense-slot adjunct *sādigim* "since, because" appears only after *yá'* "if" and in absolute clauses:

*O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...*  
*Ò yá' sādīgīm áñ Naazir nīd, òn mīd kà ò dí ...*  
 3AN if since COP Nazirite person:SG, 3AN.CN NEG.LET and 3AN eat ...  
 "Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." (Nm 6:4)

*Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?*  
*Àmáa ón sādīgīm kpí lā, bó kà m lém lōɔd nōɔr yá'asè=ø=ø?*  
 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 Sm 12:23)

For absolute clauses with the tense-slot adjunct *nāan* see [17.1.4](#).

### 17.3.2 Relative

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 òni dà bè nó=∅ lā*

3AN husband:SG REL.AN TNS EXIST with=3AN ART

"her husband, who was there with her" (Gn 3:6) [clearly non-restrictive]

Compounding is impossible with coordinated heads or heads that lack cbs:

*nimbane yuda sob **Pebil la gbaun linε** an nyovupaal dim gbaun la*

*nīn-báni yōdá sōb Pē'-bīl lā gbáunv̄=n línì*

person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC REL.IN

*añ ñyó-v̄-paal díim gbáun 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" (Rv 21:27)

***kokor kaṅa lini** yi arazana ni la na*

*kòkōr-káṅā 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 tvmtnmib la*

*Mām Paul nē Timoti bání añ Yesu Kristo tvm-tōmníb 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. Long demonstrative pronouns are never relatives, and short demonstratives are never relatives when non-initial:

*Wina'am one gaad **si'el** wōsa la*

*Wínà'am òni gād sī'əl wōsā lā*

God REL.AN pass INDEF.IN all ART

"God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)



*wvυ bāŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la*  
*wōv bāŋí=∅ gbāñ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā*  
 like trap:SG=NZ seize:IPFV INDF.IN INDF.ADV ART  
 "like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

*o na tvm tvumnyalima gaad dau kaŋa tvm si'el laa?*  
*ò nà tōm tōvm-ñyālimá ∅ gàad dàυ-kàŋá=∅ tōm sī'əl láa=∅?*  
 3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT pass man-DEMST.SG=NZ work INDF.IN ART=PQ?  
 "Will he do miracles greater than this man has?" (Jn 7:31)

*O pa'al nē'enam nyain tis sō' wvsa on vυ'vυg ninkan kumin la zug.*  
*Ò pà'al nē'-nám ñyāe ∅ tís sō' wv̄sā ón v̄v'vυg n̄n-kán*  
 3AN show DEM.IN-PL clearly CAT give INDF.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)

### 17.3.2.1 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 gbauŋin la, ane ameŋa.*  
*Wínà'am nó-dí'əsìdìb=n dāa yél sī'əl n sōb*  
 God mouth-receiver:PL=NZ TNS say INDF.IN CAT write  
*Wínà'am gbáυŋv̄=n lā á né àmēŋá.*  
 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 niŋ li si'el.*  
*... f̄vn yélìm f̄vn nìŋì=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.

With few exceptions (e.g. Rv 2-3 *man nye sɔ' la* "the one I saw" KB), *uncompounded* indefinite pronouns are specific-indefinite or adverbial:

*Ka ban tum sɔ' la kv gaad onε tum 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 fɔn bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.*

*M̄ ná tīsī=f fún bɔɔd sī'el wōsā.*

1SG IRR give=2SG 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

"I will give you **anything** you want." (Mk 6:23)

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 *sɔ'* in the 1996 NT.)

*m na pa'ali ya on nwene sɔ'.*

*m̄ ná pā'alī=yá ón wēn nē sɔ'.*

1SG IRR teach=2PL 3AN:NZ resemble with INDF.AN.

"I will teach you **what** he is like." (Lk 6:47)

*David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.*

*David dá tùm sɔ' yé ò bŭ'osī\_∅ bāŋ pŭ'ā lā=∅ àñ sɔ'.*

David TNS send INDF.AN that 3AN ask CAT discover woman:SG ART=NZ COP INDF.AN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out **who** the woman was." (2 Sm 11:3)

*ya na baŋ man yeŋ ye m an sɔ' la.*

*yà ná bāŋ mán yèl yé m̄ àñ sɔ' lā.*

2PL IRR understand 1SG:NZ say that 1SG COP INDF.AN ART.

"you will understand **who** I say that I am." (Jn 8:28)

*Gɔsim ye fɔ na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bunnεε?*

*Gòsìm yé fò ná bāŋ lā'-bàmmá=∅ àñ sɔ' búnnèε=∅?*

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL=NZ COP INDF.AN thing:SG=PQ?

"Can you look and find out **whose** property these things are?" (Gn 38:25)

*Alaa mam me kv yeli ya mam nye nɔɔr la sɔ' san'anɛ.*

*Àlása mām mé kò yēlī=yá mán ñyē nɔɔr lā sɔ' 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 tɔmi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya*

*Ṁ ná tōmí\_Ṁ B́a'=∅ zì'el nɔɔr sɔ' yéla\_∅ 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*

*... báŋì\_ bà yāa-námì=∅ àñ s̄əbā*

... understand 3PL ancestor-PL=NZ COP INDF.PL

"... discover **who** their ancestors were." (Ezr 2:61)

*M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.*

*Ṁ mī' mán gāŋ s̄əbā lā.*

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

"I know **those** whom I have chosen." (Jn 13:18)

*Ón yèl s̄ī'əl lā ká' sídāa=∅.*

3AN:NZ say INDF.IN ART NEG.BE truth=NEG.

"**What** he says is not true" SB

*Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnɛɛ?*

*Yà báŋ mán ñìŋ s̄ī'əl lā gbínnèè=∅?*

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 relative *s̄ī'əl*<sup>a</sup> in the Gospels in the 1996 NT are subordinate-interrogative, 33 are abstract uncountable "what(ever)", and 22 locative.

*Bozugo ya araza'ase be si'el la, ya potenda me bene anina.*

*Bō zúgó yà àràzà'así=∅ bè s̄ī'əl lā, yà pù-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 keŋ likin zi' on ken si'ela.*

*Ònì kēŋ līkī=n zī' ón kēn s̄ī'elā=∅.*

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*<sup>m</sup> "somehow" are common:

*Kristo da kp̄ii ti yɛla la kɛ ka ti baŋ nɔŋilim an si'em.*

*Kristo=∅ dà kp̄ii tì yēlá lā kɛ kà tì báŋ nòŋílím=∅ 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:

*M̄ m̄í' mán nà n̄iŋ sī'əm.* "I know what to do."

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

*M̄ m̄í' mán nà n̄iŋ 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")

*ón bɔ̀ɔd sī'əm* "as he may wish"

3AN:NZ want INDF.ADV

*lín àñ sī'əm lā* "as things are"

3IN:NZ COP INDF.ADV ART

*Yèl*<sup>ε</sup> "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 yèlō=∅ bán n̄iŋ sī'əm lā.*

3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV ART.

"They told him what they'd done"

*Bà nà yēlī=f fún nà n̄iŋ sī'əm.*

3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

"They'll tell you what to do."

*Pà'al*<sup>ε</sup> "teach, inform" nevertheless takes a relative clause object without *lā*:

*Bà pà'alō=∅ bán n̄iŋ sī'əm.* "They informed him of what they'd done."

3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do INDF.ADV.

*Gàad*<sup>ε</sup> "pass, surpass" is used with a *sī'əm*-clause for comparing actions:

*Mam tvm bēdegv gaad ban tvm si'em la.*

*Mām tvm bēdegv\_∅ gāad bán tvm 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":

*Ṁ gbāñ'e mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.* "I've decided what to do."

1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do INDF.ADV.

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*<sup>na/</sup> "resemble"

*...ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wv ziṅgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.*

*...kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mán wōv zīṅ-gbāñ'adīb=∅*

...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)

*Là'am nē* or *hālí nē* with a *sī'əm*-clause means "although."

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 Zugsobā, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.*

*Ṁ Zūg-sóbā=∅, 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 bē dō-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' **sajsi'a** la, ka man pun be.*

*Abraham dá nàm kǎ'ɛ sǎn-sǎ'a lǎ, kà mǎn pún bè.*

Abraham TNS still NEG.BE time-INDEF.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 wǎlà ∅ bǐgǐsǐd lín àñ tí-sǐ'a.*

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

*Nǐdǐb lǎ dá wòm Yesu=n tòm tòm-sǐəbǎ ...*

Person:PL ART TNS hear Jesus=NZ work work-INDEF.PL ...

"The people heard of the deeds that Jesus had performed..." (Mk 3:7, 1996)

But *Fvn bɔɔd ye fɔ kv **dau sɔ'** la ya'a kpi...*

*Fún bòòd yé fò kǎ dáy-sǎ' lǎ yá' kpi...*

2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDEF.AN ART if die...

"If the man **whom** you are seeking to kill dies ..." (2 Sm 17:3)

*Ban da kv **ninsieba** da ka' bi'elaa.*

*Bán dà kǎ nǐn-sǐəbǎ dá kǎ' bǐ'əlǎa=∅.*

3PL:NZ TNS kill person-INDEF.PL TNS NEG.BE few=NEG.

"Those they had killed were not few." (1 Sm 4:10)

*Kem tv'vs Samaria na'abi tum **ninsieba** la na ...*

*Kèm ∅ tǔ'vs Samaria ná'abí=∅ tòm nǐn-sǐəbǎ lǎ nǎ ...*

Go:IMP CAT meet Samaria king:SG=NZ send person-INDEF.PL ART hither ...

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria ..." (2 Kgs 1:3)

*Ka bugum dit **teŋ tita'asi'a** la nyɔ'ɔs dɔt nɛ aɔɔl saŋa diŋe ka' bɛnnɛ.*

*Kà bùgúm=∅ dít téŋ-títá'-sǐ'a lǎ ñyô'ɔs dòt né*

And fire=NZ eat:IPFV land-big-INDEF.IN ART smoke ascend:IPFV FOC

*àgól sǎŋá dìnì kǎ' bɛnnɛ=∅.*

ADV:upwards time:SG REL.IN NEG.HAVE end:SG=NEG.

"The smoke of the great city which fire consumes goes up eternally." (Rv 19:3)

*Nannanna, yaname daa sɔb gbaun si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.*

*Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sōb gbáun-sí'a lá kà m sōbìdī ∅ lɛbìsìdī=yá.*

Now, 2PL:NZ TNS write letter-INDEF.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 yīigá lā, fɔn yâ'am ò nɔɔr ...*

and 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDEF.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 yīigá dāan n tís Korint díim 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)

### 17.3.2.2 With relative pronouns

The commonest type of relative clause begins with a relative pronoun as NP or NP predependent. In origin, these pronouns were short demonstrative pronouns followed by *ñ*. When the head is the relative clause subject, the forms *ɔ̀nì kà̀nì lìnì b̀ànì* result, where *-i* is due to liaison before nominaliser-*ñ*, here always realised *∅*.

*M̄ ñyé dáu-kà̀nì=∅ 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:

*b̀àn kà nà'ab lā zàb 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 díim kīs*

DEM.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.PL hate

"whose tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

However, frequently even in older written materials, and almost invariably in KB, the pre-liaison forms are generalised to these cases too:

*gbauŋ kanɛ ka dau la sɔb la*

for *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*

i.e. *dāu-kànì=∅ yàddā-níŋìrì=∅ pō zú'e*

man-DEM.SG=NZ assent-doing:SG=NZ NEG.IND become.great

"a man whose faith is not great..." (Mt 14:31), with nominaliser-*ñ* twice

It is thus best to regard *òn kàn lìn bàn* synchronically simply as subordinating relative pronouns, with *òn kàn lìn bàn* as allomorphs:

*M ñyé dāu-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 záb 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*

REL.PL fight chief:SG ART

"**those** who fought the chief"



*M̄ ñyé **dáŷ-kàní** zàb nà'ab lā.*

1SG see man-REL.SG fight chief:SG ART

"I saw **the man who** fought the chief."

***nimbane** yuda sob Pēbil la gbaun̄n line an nyɔvupaal dim gbaun̄ la*

*n̄n-bání yōdá sōb Pē'-bíl lā gbáun̄=̄n línì*

person-REL.PL name:PL write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC REL.IN

*añ ñyó-v̄-paal dí̄m gbáun̄ lā*

COP breath-alive-new:SG NULL.PL book:SG ART

"**those whose** names are written in the Lamb's book of new life" (Rv 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.*

*Gbáun̄-kání 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 line** [1996 lin] ka ba m̄ɔr na*

*m̄ àntù'a línì kà bà m̄ɔr nā*

1SG case REL.IN and 3PL have hither

"the charge they are bringing against me" (Acts 25:11)

***yeltɔɔd ayɔpɔi bane** ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi m̄ɔr la*

*yēl-tɔɔd àyɔpɔè bání kà màlīāk-námá\_àyɔpɔè m̄ɔr lā*

matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven REL.PL and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rv 15:8)

***niŋkanε** [1996 niŋkan] ka ba gban'e o la*

*n̄n-kání kà bà gbán'o=ø lā*

person-REL.SG and 3PL seize=3AN ART

"a person **whom** they have seized" (Acts 25:16) (human VP object)

**Onε** ka ba tis **o** ka li zu'oe, ba me m̄or p̄uten'er ye o na lebis line zu'oe.

Ǫnì kà bà tí̀sò=∅ kà lì zú'e, bà mè m̄òr

REL.AN and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have

p̄ú-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)

B̄ōrá-s̄ō' dāa bé àn̄ínā, Ǫn kà m̄ān nē Ǫn dāa t̄óm 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

**linε** [1996 lin] ka Kristo b̄oɔd ye ti pian' la

lìnì kà Kristo b̄oɔd yé tì p̄iāñ' 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 a 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 n̄id, Ǫn b̄ūdí kà Jew dí̄m k̄īs

Samaritan person:SG REL.AN tribe:SG and Jew NULL.PL hate

"a Samaritan, **whose** tribe the Jews hate" (Lk 10:33, 1996)

**bikanε** [1996 biig kan] p̄vug ka o m̄or la

b̄ì-kànì p̄vug kà ò m̄ōr lā

child-REL.SG belly:SG and 3AN have ART

"the child **which** she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

Relative clauses with locative reference do not take the locative *nī*':

yikan ka mam Paul be la yidaan

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā yí-dāan

house-REL.SG and 1SG.CN Paul EXIST ART house-owner:SG

"the owner of the house where I, Paul, am" (Rom 16:23, 1976)

## 17.4 Complementised

Complementised clauses are usually introduced by *yē* (from \*ñi, cf Mampruli, Dagbani *ni*, Toende *yé/ne*); less often they appear with *kà*, but constructions which *only* permit *kà* are coordination or catenation. They follow any catenated clauses. They can be coordinated with *kà*, or contain subclauses 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 fò 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 fò 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." (Gn 26:29)

*Ḿ bōɔd yē dāy lā kēη dā'a=n, kà pū'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

### 17.4.1 Purpose

Purpose clauses lack independency marking and have imperative mood, using *dā* for negation. The meaning is sometimes attenuated from "so that" to merely "until." Purpose clauses may be VP adjuncts:

*Ò vòl tīum kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.*  
3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.  
"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

*Ka ba gban'e ba kpen'es sanrega ni ye beog nie.*  
*Kà bà gbáñ'a=bā\_∅ kpēñ'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)

Some verbs take purpose-clause complements, e.g *bōɔd*<sup>a</sup> "want"; *yèl*<sup>ε</sup> "tell":

*Ḿ pō bōɔd yé ò kūlē=∅.*  
1SG NEG.IND want that 3AN go.home=NEG.  
"I don't want her to go home."

*M̄ yéḷī=f yé fò dā kūlē=∅.*

1SG tell=2SG that 2SG NEG.IMP go.home=NEG.

"I've told you not to go home."

*Gūr<sup>a</sup>* "guard, watch" in the sense "waiting for an event" may take as complement either a NP headed by gerund, or a purpose clause:

*Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.*

*Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.*

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah's coming out." (Lk 1:21)

*... gur ye pu'a la du'a ka o ɔnb biig la.*

*... gūr yē pū'ā lā dū'á kà ò ɔñb bīig lā.*

...watch that woman:SG ART bear and 3AN eat child:SG ART.

"...waiting for the woman to give birth so he could devour her child." (Rv 12:4)

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of **necessity** or **permission** such as *nār<sup>a</sup>* "be obliged to" (negated "be obliged not to"); *mōr sūer* "be allowed to"; *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary." KB has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 of *nar ka*.

*Fò pō nār yé fò nīḡ àlāa=∅.*

2SG NEG.IND must that 2SG do ADV:thus=NEG.

"You're not allowed to do that."

*Lì nār yé/kà fò kūl.*

3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

"You must go home."

*Yà mōr sūer yé yà kūl.*

2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

"You may go home."

*Sūer bé yé/kà tì kūl.*

Way:SG EXIST that/and 1PL go.home.

"We may 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<sup>a/</sup>* 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" (Lv 20:12)

*Anɔ'one nar ka na nyaḡi lak titabir la ...*

*Ànɔ'ònì\_ø nár kà ná ñyāḡī\_ø lāk tītābīr lā ...?*

Who CAT must and IRR prevail CAT unstick glue ART ...?

"Who is worthy to open the seal ...?" (Rv 5:2)

## 17.4.2 Content

Complementised clauses with independency marking 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<sup>m</sup>* "hear", *ñyē* "see", *tēñ'es<sup>ε/</sup>* "think", *mī* "know", *zī* "not know", *bàḡ<sup>ε</sup>* "come to know", *pà'al<sup>ε</sup>* "teach, show", *kàrim<sup>m</sup>* "read", *sjàk<sup>ε</sup>* "agree", and may represent both direct and indirect speech after verbs like *yèl<sup>ε</sup>* "say." KB has 31 examples of *tenes ka* to 219 of *tenes ye*, but 162 of *wum ka* to 105 of *wum ye* "hear that", and 386 cases of *nye ka* to none of *nye ye* "see that." Only in this construction can *kà* introduce a clause with independency marking, and personal pronouns after *kà* are not ellipted when referring to the previous clause subject.

Note the distinctively main-clause structural features in

*Ya tenes ka m aan anɔ'one?*

*Yà tēñ'es kà m̄ áañ ànɔ'one=ø?*

2PL think and 1SG COP who=CQ?

"Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25): question

*ban mi' ye biig la kpine la zug*

*bán mī' yē bīḡ lā kpí nē lā zúḡ*

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 túllā=∅.*

Donkey-rider:SG NEG.KNOW that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.

"The donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot": tone overlay on *tūl*<sup>la/</sup>

*M̄ tēñ'es kà m̄ lú yā.* "I think I've fallen" WK: pfv *yā*

1SG think and 1SG fall PFV.

*Fvne siak ye fv ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fv na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?*

*Fvni\_∅ sɪák yé fv yá' tì kã'ɛ, ò nà zīñ'ini\_∅ fv nã'am*

2SG.CN CAT agree that 2SG if once NEG.BE, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy

*gbáŋ lā zúgɔɔ=∅?*

skin:SG ART upon=PQ?

"Did you agree that when you are no more, he will sit on your throne?"

(1 Kgs 1:24): *yá'*-clause postlinker adjunct

Command content clauses appear only in reported speech (see below.)

The verb *yèl* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

*Ka Zugɔɔb la ye ...*

"And the Lord said: ..." (Gn 18:28)

*Kà Zūg-sób 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 l̄i yī áràzánà ní nā yē,*

And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that

*ò n̄idibá=∅, yé bà yìmī=∅ tēŋ lā ní nā.*

3AN person:PL=VOC, that 3PL emerge:IMP=2PL.SUB land:SG ART LOC hither.

"And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying

'**My** people, come out of the land!'" (Rv 18:4, 1976)

Contrastive 3rd person pronouns are here interpreted as **logophoric**, representing 1st persons in the original utterance. Bound 3rd persons may also be used in this sense, but especially as subjects, free pronouns are usual.

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

*Festus táñs Paul yé ò gèéñm nē ... kà Paul lébìs*

Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

*yē òn pō gèéñmm=∅.*

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 bè ∅ 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

*òn pō lém bòòd 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 tēñ'es yé ò nà zāb nā'ab lā.*

1PL TNS think that 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"We thought he **was going to** fight the chief."

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 direct speech, unaltered except for "resumptive" *yē* (see below.)

Indirect speech may include commands. The usual deletion of a 2sg subject and change of 2pl to <sup>ya</sup> does not occur, even if the addressee is the same as in the original utterance and the pronoun remains 2nd person; some speakers keep <sup>ya</sup> 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 tēñī=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 speech longer than two or three clauses inserts **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 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)

*Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.*

*Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòòd yé ò kpélim sārīgá nì.*

That and Paul say that 3AN want that 3AN remain prison:SG LOC.

"But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison...(Acts 25:21, 1976)

*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 niḡī=bá Wínà'am né ò pò-pìèlīm*

And now-hither that 3AN do=3PL God with 3AN holiness

*pìāñ'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)



## 18 Negation

Negation is marked in the VP 16.4, inducing a clause-final negative clitic 4.1.

The negative clitic follows subordinate clauses 17; exceptions are either due to dislocation or actually represent coordination, as in

*Ka li pu yuugε ka o pu'a mε kena.*

*Kà lî p̄v̄ yúugē=∅, kà ò p̄u'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); narrative coordination.

With *n̄*-clauses and *à* + VP nominalisations with negated VPs, the negative clitic is omitted unless they are clause-final in the main clause and have no articles; however, clauses with *yà*' "if" keep their own negative clitics:

*N̄īn-bánì p̄v̄ díť ná kp̄ī.*

Person-REL.PL NEG.IND eat:IPFV IRR die.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

*Ì ñyé n̄īn-bánì p̄v̄ díťā=∅.*

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-P̄v̄-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam b̄īg 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

*Ba ya'a pu niη si'ela, o pu'v̄sim d̄oog la na lieb zaalim.*

*Bà yá' p̄v̄ níη s̄ī'ēlā=∅, ò p̄v̄'sim̄ d̄ôog lā ná l̄ēb zāalim̄.*

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 intentions, opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

*Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.*

*Lì p̄v̄ nār yé f̄v̄ díť f̄v̄ b̄ā'-b̄īg p̄u'á Herodiase=∅.*

3IN NEG.IND must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias=NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4, 1996)

*Ti pv bōod ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.*

*Tì pṵ bōod yē dáṽ-kàŋā áañ tì nà'abā=∅.*

1PL NEG.IND want that man-DEMST.SG COP 1PL king:SG=NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

*mam pv ten'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.*

*Mām pṵ tēñ'es yé ò nà kēlígí m̄ pìàñ'adē=∅.*

1SG NEG.IND think that 3AN IRR listen 1SG word:PL=NEG.

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." (Jb 9:16)

vs *linzug ka ti baŋ ye o pv yi Wina'am san'an naa.*

*Lìn-zúg kà tì báŋ yé ò pṵ yī Wínà'am sà'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 læe pv baŋ ye li ane one.*

*kà ò læe pṵ báŋ yé lì à nē ònē=∅.*

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 k̄ā' X k̄à/n ...* "It's not X that ..." or *X k̄á'ə k̄à/n ...* "There's no X that ...", or with relative clauses:

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

*Sógìà-sō' k̄ā'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)

*Di len ka' fvn yel si'el la zug, ka ti niŋ o yadda.*

*Lì lēm k̄ā' fún yèl sī'el lā zúg kà tì niŋò=∅ yáddáa=∅.*

3IN again NEG.BE 2SG:NZ say INDEF.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 banē ka' Kristo nidib la svŋir.*

*... kà zāñ'as bānì k̄ā' Kristo nìdìb lā svŋìr.*

... and refuse REL.PL NEG.BE Christ person:PL ART help:GER.

"... and refused the help of non-Christians." (3 Jn 1:7)

## 19 Information packaging

For the article *lā'* see [12.6.5](#); for contrastive personal pronouns see [12.3.1](#).

### 19.1 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 effect of clefting.

#### 19.1.1 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, 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:

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

cf *M̄ 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'onì* ∅ *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.

### 19.1.2 Verb phrases

Preceding a VP constituent, the particle *nē̄*' focusses that constituent, while VP-final *nē̄*' focusses the entire VP contrastively. *Nē̄*' may occur only once in a clause.

*Nē̄* "with, and" is distinguishable from focus-*nē̄*' in not being limited to particular clause types and potentially being followed by non-contrastive pronouns.

The aspect particle *nē̄*' 16.1.1 is a specialised use of focus-*nē̄*'. If aspectual interpretation is possible it prevails over constituent focus. When *nē̄*' is excluded by formal constraints, or is present but separated from the verb by free words, any permitted aspect distinctions still exist but are unmarked.

*Nē̄*' may appear in clauses after catenator-*n* (but not after catenating *kà*):

*Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suŋ.*

*F̀̀ p̄ mā' n t̄s n̄n-sáalā=∅, àmáa f̀̀ má'*

2SG NEG.IND lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

*n t̄s nē̄ Wínà'am Sí-s̀̀ŋ.*

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)

*Nē̄*' 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:

*M̄ z̄uḡ∅ zábìd.*

1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts." (No aspectual *nē̄*'/)

Reply to "Where is the pain?"

*Ánó'òní∅ dít sá'ab̀̀=∅?*

Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?

"Who eats/is eating millet porridge?" (No aspectual *nē̄*'/)

Nominalised clauses:

*Ò dāa á nē̄ b̄īg.*

3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

"She was a child."

but *ón àñ b̄īg lā zúg*

3AN:NZ COP child:SG ART upon

"because she's a child"

*M̄ yí nē̄ Bók.*

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

"I come from Bawku." SB

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 nyεnε bûud.*

*Pìàñ'am kà ì bôod yé fù ñyē nē bûud.*

Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Jb 33:32)

Content questions:

*Bó kà fù kúmmà=∅?* "Why are you crying/do you cry?"  
 What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?

*Fù níhìd bó=∅?* "What are you doing/do you do?"  
 2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?

*Fù wá'e yáa=∅?* "Where are you going/do you go?"  
 2SG go where=CQ?

*Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=∅?*  
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?  
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

*Ì 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?

but *Fù bôod nē bó=∅?* "What do you want it with?"  
 2SG want with what=CQ? *Nē* must be interpreted as "with" (WK)

Certain words do not prevent focus-*nē* from being used in the clause, but cannot themselves be focussed: *sùṅā* "good", *sùm<sup>m</sup>* "good", *bē'ed<sup>ε</sup>* "bad", *sìdà* "truth" when used as adverbs, and the "two, three exactly" quantifier forms *àyíṅā* / *àtáṅā*. AdvPs formed by coordinating such words and NPs with these quantifiers as dependents share the same property.

*Lì àñ sùṅā.* "It's good."  
3IN COP good:ADV.

*Lì àñ bē'ed.* "It's bad."  
3IN COP bad:ABSTR.

[*ye ka*] *o sariakadib a sum ne sida.*  
*ò sàríyà-kādīb áñ sóm nē sídà.*  
3AN law-drive:GER COP good:ABSTR with truth.  
"His judgment is good and true. (Rv 19:2, 1976)

*Nē* before such constituents must be interpreted as marking a temporary state even with stative verbs where there is no explicit time marker in the clause [16.1.3](#).

**VP constituent focus** with *nē*, as opposed to focus on the entire VP, is possible only in statements and polar questions. The aspectual sense of *nē* must be impossible and the constituent in question must permit *nē*-focus.

Focus on an **indefinite object** represents it as "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable" information, as for example in supplying an answer to a content question; this is **ordinary** focus:

*M dá' búṅ.* "I've bought a donkey."  
1SG buy donkey:SG. ("What have you done?")

*M dá' nē búṅ.* "I've bought a *donkey*."  
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. ("What have you bought?")

*Nṅí òñbìd nē mōɔd.* "Cows eat *grass*."  
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. ("What do [generic] cows eat?")

However, under the scope of a negative, focus is likely to be **contrastive**:

*M pū dá' bṅā=∅.* "I haven't bought a donkey."  
1SG NEG.IND buy donkey:SG=NEG.

*M̄ p̄ dá' nē búḡā=∅.* "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 *nē* before a definite object is usually aspectual:

*N̄igí lā óñbìd nē m̄ōd lā.*  
 Cow:PL ART chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.  
 "The cows are eating the grass."

*Nā'-s̄ìbà óñbìd nē 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 nē kikiris, ka pu maanne tisid Wina'am.*

*Lìni kà bà'-māannīb māannì ∅ t̄isid bádà lā, bà màannī ∅ t̄isid nē kíkīrīs kà p̄ māannì ∅ t̄isid 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 the copula *àḡñ*<sup>ya</sup> in its ascriptive sense 16.10 is non-referring and prototypically "unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable", and therefore is naturally preceded by *nē* for **ordinary** focus:

*Ò dāa á nē b̄ig.* "She was a child."  
 3AN TNS COP FOC child:SG.

*D̄ib á nē b̄ñ-s̄úḡ.* "Food is a good thing."  
 Food COP FOC thing-good:SG.

*Ò à nē b̄āñlím.* "She is quiet."  
 3AN COP FOC quiet:ABSTR.

*Lì à nē b̄ḡvsígā.* "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 bumbudda banε lu gɔn'ɔs sɔvgin la anε banε wɔm pian'ad la ...*

*Kà bŭn-búvdà bənì lù gɔŋ'ɔs sɔvgŭ=n lā á nē*

And thing-planting:PL REL.PL fall thorn:PL among=LOC ART COP FOC

*bánì wòm pìàñ'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 gbinin. Ba zamisid nε bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.*

*Bīis lā dī'əmìd nē dúañ gbínnī=n. Bà zàmìsìd nē*

Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

*būlā wâ'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**:

*Ṁ kā' dŭ'atāa=∅.*

"I'm not a doctor."

1SG NEG.BE doctor:SG=NEG.

*Ṁ kā' nē dŭ'atāa=∅.*

"I'm not a *doctor*." ("I'm a nurse.")

1SG NEG.BE FOC doctor:SG=NEG.

Focussed **locative complements** are typically place names or definite NPs with postpositions, but the fact that a referent is at a known place is new information.

*Dāy lā bé nē dŏ-kàŋā lā pŭvgŭ=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 mōogō=n.*

1SG.CN EXIST FOC grass:SG=LOC.

*M̄ yí nē Bók.* "I come from Bawku." SB

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

*Yadda niḡir yitne labaar la wōmmug ni.*

*Yàddā-niḡìr yít nē lābāar lā wómmùg 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:

*Dàḡ-sō' bé dō-kàḡā lā púugō=n.*

Man-INDFAN EXIST hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.

"There is a certain man in that hut."

There are few examples of *nē*'-focus on an adjunct in my data; one is

*Tì dít 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 *gìṃ* *nē̄*. "He's *short*." ("I was expecting someone taller.")  
3AN be.short FOC.

Ṁ *bóḳdī=f* *nē̄*. "I really *love* you." WK  
1SG want=2SG FOC.

*Dāam lā nūud nē̄*. "The beer is for *drinking*."  
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("Not washing with!")

*Dāká lā zāñl nē̄*. "The box gets carried *in the hands*."  
Box:SG ART carry.in.hands FOC. ("Not on your head.")

*Dāká lā zīid nē̄*. "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 (see also [16.2.4](#)):

Ò *dìgìl* *nē̄*. "He's *laid it down*." ("I thought he'd pick it up.")  
3AN lay.down FOC.

Ò *dìgìn* *nē̄*. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."  
WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò *zì'ən* *nē̄*. "She's *pregnant*." (Not "She has stood still.")  
3AN stand.still FOC. An idiomatic use.

## 19.2 Clefting

Clefting uses a main clause like *Lì à nē̄* "It is ..." or a verbless identificational clause [17.1.5](#) 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:

*Anɔ'ɔn nwaá yisid nidib tɔvmbɛ'edi basida?*

*Ànɔ'ɔn\_ø ñwáa\_ø yīsīd nīdīb t̄v̄m-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)

*Li anε o pu'a sv'oe li.*

*Lì á né ò p̄u'ā\_∅ sv'v=ī.*

3IN COP FOC 3AN wife CAT own=3IN.

"It is his wife who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

*Ōnī\_∅ lá kà f̄v̄ dāa ñyēt.*

3AN.CN CAT that and 2SG TNS see:IPFV.

"This is he whom you saw." WK

*Bōo\_∅ lá kà m̄ 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 anε ya taaba banε pv'vsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.*

*Lì à né yà tāabā bānì p̄v̄'sìd Wínà'am kà ì 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)

### 19.3 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 focus-*nē*' and with *n*-focus:

*Aσεε line an bε'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.*

*Àséé línì àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m̄ ná tūñ'θ\_∅ níη.*

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)

*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)

*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  
*bûud-bàni kâ' 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)

Objects containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed, with resumptive pronouns need if they are extracted from prepositional phrases.

*Bɔ ka ti na niŋɛ?* "What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)

*Bó kà tì ná niŋɛ=∅?*

What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

*Nū'-bībísá àlá kà fù ñyētá=∅?*

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 its very frequent use as meaning "why?":

*Bó kà fù kúmmà?* "Why are you crying?"

cf *\*Fù kóm bó?* \*"What are you crying?"

Stative verb complements usually remain *in situ*:

*Fù bôɔd bó=∅?* "What do you want?"

2SG want what=CQ?

but *Niŋgbīŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?*

*Nìŋ-gbīŋ bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mōrá=∅?*

Body:SG what-sort and 3PL IRR once have=CQ?

"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

The complement of the copula *àgě̃*<sup>ya</sup> probably cannot be preposed.

*Mām áñ b́=ø?* "What am I?"  
1SG.CN COP what=CQ?

*Kà f̀ àáñ\_àń'ónè=ø?* "Then who are you?"  
And 2SG COP who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

*Ñwā́dɪ́sá\_àtáñ' kà f̀ ná lēb nā.*  
Month:PL NUM:three and 2SG IRR return hither.  
"You're to come back in three months." (Foregrounded time AdvP)

vs *Tì dít sā'ab nē zāam.*  
1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.  
"We eat millet porridge in the evening." ("When do you eat porridge?": focus)

Prepositional phrases with *wōv* "like" can be preposed 15.

Preposing has **no implication of foregrounding** within relative clauses, 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:

*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

## 19.4 Dislocation

A clause element placed after a distinctively phrase-final verb form has been dislocated. Manner-adverbs are thereby intensified:

*Ì pō'us yā bédv̄gō.* "Thank you very much."  
1SG greet PFV much.

Non-pronoun objects can be dislocated; the sense is "contrary to expectation":

*Ò dà' yā múj.* "She's bought rice." ("Of all things!")  
3AN buy PFV rice.

vs *Ò dà' nē múj.* "She's bought rice." ("What did she buy?")  
 3AN buy FOC rice.

Subordinate clauses may be right-dislocated due to **weight** (see also [17.1.4](#)):

*Amaa Wina'am kɛya ka ya an nɔɔr yinne nɛ 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)

Complements may be left-dislocated due to weight, with no preposing or foregrounding *kà*; a resumptive pronoun must then appear:

*Wilkanɛ bɛɛ m ni ka pɔ wanna, m Ba' nwaadi li nɛ [sic: 1996 n] basid.*  
*Wìl-kàní bɛɛ̀m ní kà pɔ wénnā=∅,*  
 Branch-REL.SG EXIST 1SG LOC and NEG.IND bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.  
*m̀ 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)

*Onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe, ba mɛ mɔr pɔtɛn'er ye o na lɛbis linɛ zu'oe.*  
*Òní kà bà tísò=∅ kà lì zú'e, bà mɛ mɔr*  
 REL.AN and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN become.much, 3PL also have  
*pú-tɛñ'er yé ò nà lɛbīs 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)

## 19.5 Presentational constructions

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs; here, absence of *lā'* implies *indefinite specific* reference, not generic. Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers may be used. New entities may be subjects of *bè* "be somewhere/exist" or other verbs expressing location, or objects of verbs of finding, seeing etc, often with a following *n*-catenation or adnominal *kà*-catenation:

*Dapa atan' n da be.*  
*Dāpá\_àtáñ' n dá bè.*  
 Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS EXIST.  
 "There were once three men." KSS p16

*Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir*

*Dāu dá bè\_∅ 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\_∅ mór ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló=∅.*

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)

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

*Kà dāu dāa zīŋ'i Listra ní kà pū 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)

*Anina ka o nye dau ka o yv'vr buon Aneas.*

*Àníná kà ò ñyē dāu kà ò yō'vr būen Aneas.*

ADV: there and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

## 19.6 Emphatics

Emphatics (Heath pp202ff) relate constituents to the discourse context. Except for *báa* and *hālí*, they follow top-level NPs or AdvPs.

*mè* DK KT SB NT *mèn* WK; clause finally (all sources) *mèn*<sup>ε</sup> "also, too." It may follow *kà* + ellipted subject pronoun.

*O pu'a mε kena.*

"His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)

*Ò pū'ā mé kè nā.*

3AN wife:SG also come hither.

*bɔzugɔ o anε fɔ biig mεn.*

*bō zúgó ò à né fò bīig mén.*

Because 3AN COP FOC 2SG child:SG also.

"Because he is your child too." (Gn 21:13)

*Wina'am tisid ... ka mε 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": e.g. *dàa-kàn lā nɔɔ* "that very day", and

*Fɔ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.*

*Fò yá' mɔr yā'am, fɔn nɔɔ ná dí\_lì mā́sím.*

2SG if have sense, 2SG.CN exactly IRR eat 3IN joy.

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Prv 9:12)

**kòtāa**<sup>NE</sup> "at all" appears in *Áyù kòtāa*. "Not at all."

**mà'āa** (LF *mà'anè*) "only":

*Aɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.*

*Àsée línì àñ bē'ed má'aa kà m ná tūñ'è\_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)

**gùllimm** (LF *gùllimnè*) "only":

*Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?*

*Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllimnè=ø=ø?*

3IN NEG.BE FOC God only=NEG=PQ?

"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

**báa** (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") along with a negative VP, means "even" in the AdvP *báa bī'elá* "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent *báa yīnní* "(not) even one":

*Da tɔmi si'el baa bi'elaa.*

*Dā túmì=ø sī'el báa bī'eláa=ø.*

NEG.IMP work=2PL.SUB INDF.IN even slightly=NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Lv 23:31)

*Amaa ba pɔ nyanyi nye linɛ tu'al baa yinne.*

*Ámáa bà pɔ ñyāñī\_ø ñyē línì tò'al báa yīnní=ø.*

But 3PL NEG.IND prevail CAT find REL.IN condemn even one=NEG.

"But they could find not one incriminating thing." (Mt 26:60)

*Fɔ du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yv'vr buon alaa.*

*Fò dū'adīb báa yīnní ká'e kà ò yv'vr bùɛn àláa=ø.*

2SG relative:PL even one NEG.BE and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV ADV:thus=NEG.

"Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)



***hālí*** "even, as far as" precedes the element over which it takes scope, which may be a manner AdvP, place AdvP, prepositional phrase with *nē*, or clause. Only manner or place AdvPs can follow *hālí* directly; other AdvPs are preceded by *hālí nē*.

Before a manner-adverb *hālí* means "very"; the adverb itself may be ellipsed. This is the single commonest function of *hālí* in KB, with ellipsis usual.

*Lì tòḡ hālí [béḍvḡv̄].* "It's very difficult."  
 3IN be.bitter until much.

Before place AdvPs and *nē* + time AdvPs *hālí* is "until, as far as"; so too before *n*-catenations or narrative *kà*-clauses, the VPs of which often show the preverb *tì*.

*hālí nē zīnā* "up until today"

*O daa pvn anε ninkvvd hali pin'ilvḡvn sa.*

*Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kūvd hālí pīñ'ilúḡv̄=n sá.*  
 3AN TNS previously COP FOC person-killer:SG even beginning:SG=LOC since.  
 "He was a murderer even from the beginning." (Jn 8:44)

*Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.*

*Tì ñwá'a=lī hālí ∅ pāe Nofa.*  
 1PL strike=3IN until CAT reach Nophah.  
 "We struck them even as far as Nophah." (Nm 21:30)

*Zugsəb la da ke ka kvkəm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.*

*Zūḡ-sób lā dá kè kà kòkòm bāñ'as gbāñ'e Nā'ab lā,*  
 Lord ART TNS let and leper:SG disease seize king:SG ART  
*hālí kà ò tí kpi.*  
 until and 3AN once die.

"The Lord caused leprosy to afflict the king for the rest of his life."

Elsewhere *hālí* means "even." Thus, before nominalised clauses which do not express time or place:

*hali nε man daa sōbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pv sōbi li*

*hālí nē mán dāa sōbī ∅ tísì=yā sī'əm lā m dāa p̄v sōbì=lī ...*  
 even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give=2PL INDEFADV ART 1SG TNS NEG.IND write=3IN ...  
 "Despite how ["even with how"] I wrote to you, I did not write it ..."  
 (2 Cor 7:12)

*Hali la'am ne on daa an yelsom wusa daan la, o da lieb nõndaan...*

*Hālǐ là'am nē ón dāa áñ yēl-sóm wūsā dāan lā,*  
 Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS COP matter-goodness all owner:SG ART,  
*ò dà lǐəb nõŋ-dāan...*

3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG...

"Even though he had every blessing, he became poor..." (2 Cor 8:9)

*Zugsob yel ye, Hali ne man vve nwa...*

*Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālǐ nē mán vŋe ñwá ...*  
 Lord say that even with 1SG:NZ be.alive this ...

"The Lord says: Even as I live .." (Rom 14:11)

With *hālǐ* (or *hālǐ baa*) before main clauses without *kà* the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a presubject adjunct like a *yà'*-clause.

*Hali baa lampodi'esidib me niñid ala.*

*Hālǐ baa làmpō-dǐ'əsìdǐb mé niñìd àlá.*

Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

*Hali tvumbε'ed dim niñid ala.*

*Hālǐ tòvm-bē'ed dím niñìd àlá.*

Even deed-bad:PL NULL.PL do:IPFV ADV:thus.

"Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)

*Hali o be suori kenna ye o tv'vsif.*

*Hālǐ ò bē sūr\_ø kēn nā yé ò tū'vsí=f.*

Even 3AN EXIST road:SG CAT come:IPFV hither that 3AN meet=2SG.

"He's even on the way coming here to meet you." (Ex 4:14)

*Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zo ka basif, man kv basi fɔ.*

*Hālǐ baa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zó kà básì=f, mán kú bāsī=fó=ø.*

Even DEMST.PL all if IRR run and leave=2SG, 1SG.CN NEG.IRR leave=2SG=NEG.

"Even if they all run away and leave you, I will not." (Mt 26:33)

## 20 Greetings and other formulae

(a) Enquiries after health.

<i>Gbís wēlá?</i>	"How did you sleep?" or
<i>Dúe wēlá?</i>	"How did you get up?"
	(morning greetings at first meeting)
<i>Nīntāη á wēlá?</i>	"How is the day/afternoon?"
<i>Yú'υη á wēlá?</i>	"How is the evening?" literally "night"
<i>Fù yī-dímàa?</i>	"[How are] your household?"
<i>Nīn-gbīnáa?</i>	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
<i>Pu'ā nē bīisèè?</i>	"[How are your] wife and children?"

... and so on, often at great length. Replies may be

<i>Áláafù bé.</i>	"There is health." [Also used as a greeting.]
<i>Áláafù béo.</i>	... for him/her.
<i>Áláafù béε=bá.</i>	... for them.

(b) Blessings follow the pattern *Báríkà né fù/yà ...* "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted; the reply to all of these is *Náa*.

<i>Kēn kēn.</i>	"Welcome!" <i>Kēn</i> , gerund of <i>kēñ</i> "come"
<i>Nē zâam zâam.</i>	"Good evening."
<i>Tōvmā! or Tōvmā tōvmā!</i>	"(Blessing on your) work!"; includes practically anything which could be regarded as work, making this the commonest daytime greeting.
<i>Nē sóñsīgā.</i>	"(Blessing on your) conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own <i>wīn</i> <sup>nε/</sup> .)
<i>Né fù bōrɪyá-sùη.</i>	"Merry Christmas."
<i>Né fù yòvm-pāalíg.</i>	"Happy New Year."

(c) Prayers. Reply *Ámí!* "Amen!"

<i>Wīn ná lēbɪsī=f nē láafɪyà.</i>	"Safe journey!" literally "[I pray that] God will bring you back in health."
<i>Wīn ná sōηī=f.</i>	"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks
<i>Wīn ná tā'así=f.</i>	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

(d) Statements of fact and commands. Reply *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate.

<i>Bēogō lā.</i>	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
<i>Àtínì dáarì lā.</i>	"See you on Monday."
<i>Gbìsìm sùḡā.</i>	"Sleep well."
<i>Kpèlīmī sùm.</i>	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
<i>Pò'vsìḡm yín.</i>	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply <i>Tò</i> "OK", or <i>Bà nà wōm</i> "They will hear."

(e) Miscellaneous formulae

<i>M̀ p̀'vs yā [bédv̄ḡ].</i>	"Thankyou [very much]." Reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Pò'vsòg k̄'e</i> . "No thanks [needed]."
<i>Gáafàrà.</i>	"Sorry"; in apology, or often just as sympathy.
<i>Kābīr k̄abírí!</i>	Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
<i>Dìḡm sūḡuró.</i>	"Please forgive me."
<i>M̀ b̀l̀ìḡm n̄ē.</i>	"I beg you." Not "please"; Kusaasi etiquette needs no spoken equivalent of "please."
<i>X lábāar á wēlá?</i>	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is <i>Dīḡb má'aa</i> . "Only food." i.e. "good."
<i>M̀ m̄r k̄u'əm náa?</i>	"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is <i>Kù'əm á sùm</i> . ("Water is good.")
<i>W̄in yél sídà.</i>	"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth"; WK explained: "If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you."
<i>F̀v̀ ẁóm K̄sáalèè?</i>	"Do you understand ['hear'] Kusaal?"
<i>Èēñ, ò ẁóm.</i>	"Yes, I do."
<i>Áyì, ò p̄ ẁómmā.</i>	"No, I don't."

## 21 Specific lexical fields

### 21.1 Kinship terms

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> <sup>ma</sup> or less formally <i>bā'</i>
	father's elder brother		<i>sàam-kpēēñm</i> <sup>m</sup>
	father's younger brother		<i>sàam-pīt</i> <sup>a/</sup>
	father's sister		<i>pògvdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>

My	mother	is my	<i>mà</i>
	mother's elder sister or senior co-wife		<i>mà-kpēēñm</i> <sup>m</sup>
	mother's younger sister or junior co-wife		<i>mà-bīl</i> <sup>a</sup> or <i>mà-pīt</i> <sup>a/</sup>
	mother's co-wives	are my	<i>mà nám</i> <sup>a</sup>
	mother's brother	is my	<i>áñsìb</i> <sup>a</sup>

I am my mother's brother's *āñsíŋ*<sup>a</sup>; to all the other relatives above I am *bīg*<sup>a</sup> "child" or specifically *dà-kòòñr*<sup>ε</sup> "son" or *pū'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> <sup>a</sup> (M <i>yāa-dáú</i> , F <i>yāa-pū'á</i> <sup>a</sup> )
	grandchild		<i>yáaŋ</i> <sup>a</sup>

These words are also used for ancestor/descendant.

My	elder sibling of my own sex	is my	<i>bīər</i> <sup>ε/</sup>
	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> <sup>a</sup> or simply <i>pu'ā</i> <sup>a</sup>
wife's parent		<i>dìəm</i> <sup>ma</sup> (M <i>dìəm-dāy</i> , F <i>dìəm-puāk</i> <sup>a</sup> )
wife's sibling		<i>dàkīg</i> <sup>a</sup> (M <i>dàkī-dāy</i> , F <i>dàkī-puāk</i> <sup>a</sup> )

*Dìəm*<sup>ma</sup> 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*<sup>ε</sup>, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's brothers-in-law.

I am my wife's parents' *bīg*<sup>a</sup> "child" and my wife's siblings' *dàkīg*<sup>a</sup>.

My husband	is my	<i>sīd</i> <sup>a</sup>
husband's parent		<i>dàyám</i> <sup>ma</sup> (M <i>dàyām-dāy</i> , F <i>dàyām-puāk</i> <sup>a</sup> )
husband's elder brother		<i>sìd-kpēñm</i> <sup>m</sup>
husband's younger brother		<i>sìd-bīl</i> <sup>a</sup>
husband's sister		<i>sìd-puāk</i> <sup>a</sup>

I am my husband's parents' *bīg*<sup>a</sup> "child"; all my husband's siblings (of both sexes) call me *pu'ā*<sup>a</sup> "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 *dàkì-tùes*<sup>ε</sup>; two women married to brothers are *nìn-tāas*<sup>ε</sup>, "co-wives." "Fiancée" is *pu'à-ēlíg*<sup>a</sup>.

## 21.2 Personal names

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi personal naming practices.

Personal names are preceded by the personifier particle, *À-* by default but *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*<sup>ε/</sup>) assigned to a newborn child through the father's consultation with a diviner (*bā'a*); this may be the *wīn*<sup>ne/</sup> 1.1 of an ancestor, or of a spiritually powerful tree:

<i>À-Wīn</i> <sup>ne/</sup>	Awini	person with a <i>sīgīr</i> <sup>ε/</sup> from father's family
<i>À-Bōgūr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgīr</i> <sup>ε/</sup> from mother's family
<i>À-Tūg</i> <sup>a</sup>	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgīr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>
<i>À-Kūdōg</i> <sup>o</sup>	Akudugu	"piece of iron" (sc. as a marker on a tree- <i>sīgīr</i> <sup>ε/</sup> ); displaced as a common noun by the pl-as-sg <i>kūt</i> <sup>ε</sup>

A younger sibling of *À-Wīn*<sup>ne/</sup> with the same *sīgīr*<sup>ε/</sup> is called *À-Wīn-bīl*<sup>a</sup> "Awimillah", of *À-Kūdōg*<sup>o</sup>, *À-Kūd-bīl*<sup>a</sup> "Akudillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern *À-Wīn-puāk*<sup>a</sup> "Awimpoaka."

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

<i>À-Nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	Anaba	"chief" but in the sense "afterbirth" (because a chief leaves his house after his retainers): sole survivor of twins
<i>À-Fūug</i> <sup>o/</sup>	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
<i>À-Tūl</i> <sup>lε</sup>	Atuli	( <i>tūlīg</i> <sup>ε</sup> "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-Tāmpōr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
<i>À-Dōk</i> <sup>o/</sup>	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like *Jambeedu* "Fulani", or

<i>À-Sāan</i> <sup>a/</sup>	Asana	"guest, stranger"
<i>À-Sāan-dú</i>	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāy</i> "man"
<i>À-Zāngbèog</i> <sup>o</sup>	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
<i>À-Nàsà-puāk</i> <sup>a</sup>	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

Names based on adjectives:

<i>Ñ-Dāvg</i> <sup>o</sup>	Ndago	"male"
<i>Ñ-Puāk</i> <sup>a</sup>	Mpoaka	"female"
<i>Ñ-Bīl</i> <sup>a</sup>	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 girl's name *Amoryam* *À-Mōr Yām* "Has Common Sense", perhaps adapting *Maryam* "Mary."

### 21.3 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>Kōsāas</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Kōsāal</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Kōsāvɔ</i> <sup>o</sup>	Kusaasi
<i>Ñwāmpūrīs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>Ñwāmpūrīl</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>Ñwāmpūrōg</i> <sup>o/</sup>	Mamprussi
<i>Bārīs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>Bāt</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>Bārōg</i> <sup>o/</sup>	Bisa
<i>Mòɔs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Mòɔl</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Mòɔg</i> <sup>o</sup>	Mossi
<i>Dàgbām</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	<i>Dàgbān</i> <sup>ne/</sup>	<i>Dàgbāɣ</i> <sup>o/</sup>	Dagomba
<i>Bìm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>Bìn</i> <sup>ne</sup>	<i>Bìɣ</i> <sup>o</sup>	Moba
<i>Sìmīis</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Sìmīil</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Sìmīug</i> <sup>o</sup>	Fulbe
<i>Yàañs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Yàan</i> <sup>ne</sup>		Yansi
<i>Gūrīs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Gūrín</i> <sup>ne</sup>		Farefare
<i>Yārīs</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	<i>Yāt</i> <sup>ε/</sup>		Yarsi
<i>Zàṅgbèed</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Zàṅgbèel</i> <sup>ε</sup>		Hausa
<i>Bùlis</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Bùl</i> <sup>le</sup>		Bulsa
<i>Tàlis</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Tàlìn</i> <sup>ne</sup>		Tallensi
<i>Nàbɪdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Nàbìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>		Nabdema
<i>Bòsâañs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Bòsâañl</i> <sup>ε</sup>		Bisa
<i>Nàsàa(r)-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Nàsāal</i> <sup>ε</sup>		European
<i>Kàmbòmìs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Kàmbònìr</i> <sup>ε</sup>		Ashanti

Note *Tùen*<sup>ne</sup> "Toende area", *Tùennìr*<sup>ε</sup> "Toende dialect of Kusaal", *Àgòl*<sup>le</sup> "Agolle area", *Àgòl*<sup>le</sup> "Agolle dialect of Kusaal": *Ò pjàñ'ad Àgòl*. "She speaks Agolle Kusaal."



Clan (pl)	Place	
<i>Kòtām</i> <sup>ma/</sup>	<i>Kòtāṃ</i> <sup>o/</sup>	WK's clan
<i>Zùəs</i> <sup>ε</sup>		
<i>W̄iid-nàm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>W̄iidùg</i> <sup>o</sup>	
<i>Nàbıdìb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Nàbıdùg</i> <sup>o</sup>	
<i>Gòəs</i> <sup>ε</sup>	<i>Gòog</i> <sup>o</sup>	
<i>Sà'-dàbùəs</i> <sup>ε</sup> or <i>Sà'-dàbùəb</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Sà'-dàbòog</i> <sup>o</sup>	
<i>Nà'-dàm</i> <sup>ma</sup>	<i>Nà'-dàṃ</i> <sup>o</sup>	
<i>Gòm-dìm</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Gòm</i> <sup>mε</sup>	

Subclans of *Zùəs*<sup>ε</sup> include *Zuà-sābılıs*<sup>ε</sup> "Black Zoose" and *Zuà-w̄iib*<sup>a</sup> or *Zuà-w̄iis*<sup>ε</sup> "Red Zoose." Clan *Nàbıdìb*<sup>a</sup> is distinct from the ethnic group (WK.)

## 21.4 Place names

For Kusaal place names in English-language contexts see [1.1](#).

This section was improved by consultation with John Turl (see References.)

Many Kusaal place names have transparent meanings.

<i>Bòk</i> <sup>o</sup>	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
<i>Kōk</i> <sup>a/</sup>	Koka	"mahogany tree"
<i>Kòkparìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
<i>Tèmpáan</i> <sup>nε</sup>	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
<i>M̄ı'à-nōr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	Mogonori	"lakeside" ("lake-mouth")
<i>Bàs-yōn</i> <sup>nε/</sup>	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? reason for name
<i>Kūgūr</i> <sup>ε/</sup>	Kugri	"stone"
<i>Bōgūr</i> <sup>ε</sup>	Bugri	<i>bōgūr</i> <sup>ε</sup> , object housing a <i>w̄in</i> <sup>nε/</sup>
<i>W̄id-ñyá'aṃ</i> <sup>a</sup>	Woriyanga	archaic for <i>w̄id-ñyá'aṃ</i> <sup>a</sup> "mare"
<i>Bì-nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	Binaba	"prince"
<i>Gàarò</i>	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "town/compound wall"
<i>W̄iid-nà'ab</i> <sup>a</sup>	Widinaba	"chief of clan <i>W̄iid</i> <sup>a</sup> "
<i>Pūsīg</i> <sup>a/</sup>	Pusiga	"tamarind"
<i>Tīl</i> <sup>lε/</sup>	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
<i>Pùlımà Kù'əm</i> <sup>m</sup>	Pulimakom	"water by <i>pùlımà</i> grass"
<i>W̄idāan</i> <sup>a</sup>	Widana	for <i>W̄id-dāan</i> <sup>a</sup> "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's <i>nō-dī'əs</i> <sup>a</sup> "linguist."
<i>M̄ı'isìg</i> <sup>a</sup>	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission", i.e. of the Assemblies of God; perhaps influenced by <i>m̄ı'isùg</i> <sup>o</sup> "baptism"
<i>Sā-bīl</i> <sup>a</sup>	Zebilla	from * <i>sāa</i> <sup>l</sup> = Farefare <i>sáagá</i> "kind of grass used for brooms"

<i>Sā-píə̀lìg<sup>a</sup></i>	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia Doka</i> "
<i>Kòl-tā'amís<sup>ε</sup></i>	Kultamse	"dog almonds, <i>Andira inermis</i> "
<i>Kòlvǫ́ŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>Kuurgongu</i> "Crooked Sheanut"
<i>Dènè̀g<sup>o</sup></i>	Denugu	origin unknown
<i>Àgól<sup>lε</sup></i>	Agolle	cf <i>àgól<sup>lε</sup></i> "upwards"
<i>Tùen<sup>nε</sup></i>	Toende	cf <i>tùen<sup>nε</sup></i> "in front", "West"
<i>Bārōg<sup>o/</sup></i>	North WK	"Bisa country"
<i>Ñyá'aŋ<sup>a</sup></i>	East WK	"behind"
<i>Zuēyā</i>	South WK	"hills", i.e. Gambaga Escarpment
<i>Tùen<sup>nε</sup></i>	West WK	"in front"

KB has *ya-dagɔbɔg yà dàgò̀bìg<sup>a</sup>* ("your left hand") for "south" and *ya-datiuŋ yà dàtìuŋ<sup>o</sup>* ("your right hand") for "north," along with *ya-nya'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Stems referring to ethnic groups and clans create place names by adding the suffix *-gɔ*: *Kūsâvg<sup>o</sup>* "Kusaasi country", *Mòɔg<sup>o</sup>* "Mossi country." They need not always be established settlements: *Kòtāuŋ<sup>o/</sup>* "any place inhabited by clan Kotamba."

Places outside *Kūsâvg<sup>o</sup>* generally do not have Kusaal names (an exception is *Sāŋkâaŋs<sup>ε</sup>* "Sankanse" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Ankara* is usual. Toende has *Wa'arvɔk* for "Ouagadougou", but I could not elicit any Agolle equivalent.

The White Volta is simply *kōlīg<sup>a</sup>* "river."

## 22 Texts

### 22.1 Balaam's Donkey

Numbers 22:21-35, KB.

Balaam da duoe beogun lɔɔ o buɔɔ 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 buɔɔ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Buɔɔ la da nye Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe su'ugv zanzl o nu'ugin, ka o buɔɔi kpɛn' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ud buɔɔ la ye o lɛb suor pɔvɔ.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lombɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zangguoma ayi' beɲ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teɲsɔk la. Buɔɔ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zangguom 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. Buɔɔ la da lɛn nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wɔsa teɲin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔb buɔɔ la nɛ o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka buɔɔ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fu bu'um nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da lɛbis o ye, "Fv mɔrim nɛ maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kvunif nannanna." Buɔɔ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'ane fv meɲ buɔɔ onɛ ka fv ban'ad saɲa wɔsa ti paae zinaa? Fv 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 fv bu' buɔɔ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giɲif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'um m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buɔɔ la nyɛɛm ka yuk. Buɔɔ la ya'a pɔ yukine, anwaa m kvunif ka basin buɔɔ la." Balaam da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tɔm taal, m pa'a pɔ baɲ ye fv zi'ene suorin la ye fv 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 fv yɛl si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keɲ.

*Balaam dá dùè bēogū=n ∅ lɔɔ ∅ buɔɔ ∅ dɔl Moab*

Balaam TNS rise morning=LOC CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT accompany Moab

*ná'-yī-kpém lā ∅ 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 pòv.*

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'od 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 mīe\_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 dágòbìgā=∅.*  
 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 nōrī ∅ 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 nōr átáñ' sá=∅?*  
 what IDEO and 1SG make=2SG and 3IN let and 2SG beat=1SG time:SG NUM:three hence=CQ?  
 "Then the Lord caused the 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 lèbìsō=∅ 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 lèbìs 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' ∅ ñyē kà*  
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT once reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and  
*m mâal añwá ∅ tísì=fò=∅? Kà ò lèbìs 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'vgù ∅ 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'ēsō=∅ 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 m 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 m 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=∅ m 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 túm tâal, m pá'*  
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS  
*pō bāŋ yé fù zí'e nē sūerí=n lā yé fù gīŋí=mā=∅.*  
 NEG.IND realise that 2SG be.standing FOC road:SG=LOC ART that 2SG obstruct=1SG=NEG.  
*Nānná-nā, lì yá' pō mālísí=fō=∅, m 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 yèlìm 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."

## 22.2 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'.*

"Three murderers."

Person-killer:PL NUM:three.

*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 ∅ kō 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 sīd dùe ∅ iā sū'us nē zāñ'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē*  
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with  
*lū'ad, nē kpānā nē mālì súgā n pīñ'ilī ∅ gīnnī ∅ iād*  
 quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV  
*nīdīb yé bà yá' ñyē sō' bān kō.*  
 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 gīlígí ∅ alá nē ñwādisá ∅ átáñ' nē dábı̀sà ∅ átáñ'. Bà pō ñyē*  
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG.IND find  
*nīdī ∅ ná kōv=∅. Kà kpélīm mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn.*  
 person:SG CAT IRR kill=NEG. And remain have go:GER with go:GER with go:GER  
 "They went round like this for three months and three days and didn't find a person  
 to kill. They carried on walking and walking and walking."

*Dābá ∅ anū dāar bà ñyē nē lālílì sà kà sī'el zī'e sābílì ∅*  
 Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT  
*wōv nīd nē, kà bà kpēēñm lā yé bà kēm ∅ kúo=∅, yé ò sōb*  
 like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill=3AN, that 3AN NULL.AN  
*yá' pòn túñ'e kà mōr nē láyuk-sī'a wōsā, bà nà ñyāñī ∅ kúo=∅.*  
 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 òñā gīñīd kpē, kà òñā gīñīd kpē, bà tì kēñ ∅*  
 And DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, and DEMSTAN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL once go CAT  
*pāa ∅ ñyē kà lī kā' nīdá=∅, kà á nē bōtú kà līgīdī pē'el*  
 reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.BE person:SG=NEG, and COP FOC sack:SG and money fill  
*mà'aa má'aa má.*  
 only only IDEO.

"And this one blocked this way, and that one blocked that way, but once 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 once 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'em ∅ 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 dà' 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 dá'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=n̄ 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 ɔn̄ k̄iá kp̄ē, n̄ k̄iɔ=∅ ∅ k̄ō, k̄à ȳō'v̄n z̄áḡ d̄āam l̄ā\_∅*  
 and 3AN.CN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT  
*n̄ū w̄án w̄án, lì p̄ō ȳúugē=∅, k̄à bà w̄ōs̄ā w̄ōs̄ā mé kp̄él̄im kp̄ì*  
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG.IND delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die  
*z̄iñ-k̄àn l̄ā n̄óo k̄à bà s̄ō' s̄ō' p̄ō ñȳāḡi\_∅ p̄āam l̄ā'af l̄ā*  
 place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDEFAN INDEFAN NEG.IND prevail CAT receive cowry:SG ART  
*b̄áa ȳīnn̄i\_∅ m̄ōr̄i\_∅ k̄ūl̄i\_∅ bà ȳáa=n̄ē=∅.*  
 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."

*D̄in̄ k̄à K̄ōs̄āas ȳé f̄ò ȳá' t̄ēñ'es b̄ēē t̄óm b̄ē'ed ȳé f̄ò t̄ísì\_ f̄ò t̄ir̄āan,*  
 3IN.CN and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give 2SG neighbour:SG,  
*f̄ò m̄āann̄i\_ f̄ò 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."

### 22.3 Proverbs

*Kusaal Solima ne Siilima* pp38ff.; other proverbs appear in the grammar above.

*Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.*

*Kù'øm káadi\_∅ léb̄ìs né m̄ ḡēoḡō=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 n̄ē 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 n̄ē z̄ūør̄i=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 dāug 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 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.)

## 23 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 [12.6.1.1](#).

Personal and place names are not listed: see [21](#) 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 [12.5.1](#)

*āāñdīg*<sup>a</sup> pl *āāñdīs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *āāñd-* n. black plum tree, *Vitex doniana*

*āāñdīr*<sup>ε</sup> pl *āāñdā* n. black plum fruit

*āāñs*<sup>ε</sup> dv. tear

*àbùlā* q. adv. how many-fold?

*àbùyí' àbùtáñ' àbùnāsí* q. adv. twice, three times etc

*à-dàalúŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> pl *à-dàalís*<sup>ε</sup> *à-dàalímìs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *à-dàalúŋ-* n. stork

*àgñ*<sup>ya</sup> ger *àāñlím*<sup>m</sup> sv. be something/somehow [16.10](#)

*àeñ* dv. get torn; pfv adj *àāñlúŋ*<sup>ɔ</sup> torn

*à-gâvñg*<sup>ɔ</sup> pl *à-gâāñd*<sup>ε</sup> cb *à-gāñ-* n. pied crow

*àgól*<sup>lε</sup> *àgōlā* adv. upwards

*Àgòl*<sup>lε</sup> n. Agolle district of Kusaasi territory; n. Agolle Kusaal dialect

*à-kōrā-dīəm*<sup>ma</sup> pl *à-kōrā-dīəm-nām*<sup>a</sup> n. praying mantis

*àlā* adv. thus

*àlā* q. so many; how many?

*àlāafv* n. health (in greetings); cf *lāafiyà*

*Àlāasìd dāar*<sup>ε</sup> n. Sunday (Arabic)

*Àlāmīisì dāar*<sup>ε</sup> n. Thursday (Arabic)

*Àlārībà dāar*<sup>ε</sup> n. Wednesday (Arabic)

*àlā zùg*<sup>ɔ</sup> clause adjunct therefore

*àlópìr*<sup>ε</sup> pl *àlópìyà* n. aeroplane (English)

*àmáa* clause adjunct but (Hausa, from Arabic)

- àmḗǵá* *adv.* really, truly  
*àmí* *amen* (Arabic *ʔaamiin*)  
*à-mús<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *à-mús-nàm<sup>a</sup>* *n.* cat; cf Hausa *mussàa id*  
*ànāasí* *q.* four  
*àní* *adv.* there  
*àníí* *q.* eight  
*àní nā'* *adv.* there  
*àníǵà* *adv.* promptly  
*ànḡ'ḡn<sup>ε</sup>* *pron.* who?  
*àñròḡ<sup>ḡ</sup>* *pl* *àñrímà* *cb* *àñròḡ-* *n.* boat (written *aaruḡ* in the 1976/1996 NT)  
*āñs<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* pluck (leaves)  
*āñsìb<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *āñs-nám<sup>a</sup>* *cb* *āñs-* *n.* mother's brother  
*āñsīǵ<sup>ε/</sup>* *dv.* break at an angle  
*āñsíǵ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *āñsís<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *āñsīǵ-* *n.* (man's) sister's child  
*àntù'a* *pl* *àntù'òs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *àntù'à-* *n.* lawsuit  
*ànū* *q.* five  
*àñwá* *adv.* like this  
*ānzúrfà* *n.* silver (Hausa *azùrfaa*)  
*àràkóñ'* *q.* one  
*àràzàk<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *àràzà'as<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *àràzà'-* *generally pl: n.* wealth, riches (Arabic *ʔar-rizq*)  
*àràzánà* *n.* heaven (Arabic *ʔal-ǵanna*)  
*Àrzúmà dâar<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Friday (Arabic)  
*àsée* *clause adjunct/preposition* except, unless (Hausa *sai*)  
*Àsìbtì dâar<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Saturday (Arabic)  
*àsīdā* *adv.* truly  
*àsùbá* *n.* dawn (Arabic *ʔas<sup>f</sup>-s<sup>f</sup>abaaḡ*)  
*àtáñ'* *q.* three  
*Àtáláatà dâar<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Tuesday (Arabic)  
*àtáǵā'* *q.* three exactly  
*Àtínì dâar<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Monday (Arabic)  
*àtìyuk<sup>ḡ</sup>* *n.* sea (Hausa *tèeku*)  
*àwánā'* *adv.* like this  
*àwāǵ* *q.* nine  
*àyí'* *q.* two  
*áyì* *no* 17.1.5  
*àyíǵā'* *q.* two exactly  
*àyópòǵ* *q.* seven  
*àyúòbù* *q.* six

**B**

*bà* pron. they (*right-bound*); *ba* them (*enclitic*)

*bā'* pl *bā'-nám<sup>a</sup>* cb *bā'*- n. father

*bāa* pl *bāas<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bà*- n. dog

*bāa* (Hausa *bāa* "not exist") in *emphatics* (not) even

*bā'a* pl *bā'ab<sup>a</sup>* cb *bà*'- n. diviner; *bà'-kòlòg<sup>o</sup>* pl *bà'-kòn<sup>nε</sup>* cb *bà'-kòl*- n. diviner's bag

*bā'a* pl *bā'as<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bà*'- n. peg to hang things on

*bà'an<sup>nε</sup>* pl *bà'anà* cb *bà'an*- n. stocks (punishment)

*bàañlìg<sup>a</sup>* pl *bàañlìs<sup>ε</sup>* adj. narrow, slender

*bāañlíg<sup>a</sup>* adj. quiet

*bāañlím<sup>m</sup>* adv. quietly

*bà'ar<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bàdà* *bà'a* cb *bà*'- n. idol

*bābá* *postposition* beside; cf *bābīr<sup>ε/</sup>* sphere of activity

*bàbıgā'* q. many

*bákpàg* n. week (Hausa *bakwàì* "seven": also "week" in Ghana)

*bàlàar<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bàlàyà* cb *bàlà*- n. stick, staff, club

*bàlànr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bàlànà* cb *bàlàŋ*- n. hat

*bālērōg<sup>o/</sup>* pl *bālērīd<sup>ε/</sup>* *bālērīs<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *bālér*- n. ugly person; cf *lēr<sup>ε</sup>* get ugly

*bàmmā'* pron. these

*bàn<sup>ε</sup>* pron. these

*bán* pron. they (*subject of ñ-clause*); *bān<sup>ε</sup>* they, them (*contrastive*)

*bāñ'* dv. ride

*bānāa* pl *bānāas<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bànà*- (*tone sic*) n. traditional "fugu" smock

*bāñ'ad<sup>a</sup>* pl *bāñ'ad-nām<sup>a</sup>* n. ill person

*bāñ'al<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. make to ride (horse, bicycle)

*bāñ'as<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bāñ'*- n. pl as sg disease

*bàn-dāvog<sup>o</sup>* pl *bàn-dāad<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bàn-dà*- n. crocodile

*bān-kúsél<sup>lε</sup>* pl *bān-kúsēlá* cb *bān-kúsēl*- n. lizard

*bāŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *bāaŋs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bàŋ*- n. ring, chain, fetter

*bàŋ<sup>a</sup>* n. agama lizard

*bàŋ<sup>ε</sup>* dv. come to know

*báp* wallop!

*Bārīg<sup>a/</sup>* pl *Bārīs<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *Bār*- n. Bisa person (not only the Bareka, WK)

*bárikà* n. blessing (Arabic *baraka*)

*Bārōg<sup>o/</sup>* n. Bisa country; north

*bàs<sup>ε</sup>* dv. go away; abandon; throw out

*Bāt<sup>ε/</sup>* 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<sup>o/</sup>* betrayer of secrets (cf *yēs<sup>ε/</sup>*)

*bàyi'* q. two (*after a personal pronoun*)

- bàyópðe* *q.* seven (after a personal pronoun)  
*bè ger bèlím<sup>m</sup>* sv. exist; be in a place 16.10  
*bēdīg<sup>el</sup>* dv. go rotten  
*bèdùg<sup>o</sup> bēdīr<sup>e</sup>* pl *bèdà* cb *bēd-* adj. great  
*bèdvū<sup>l</sup>* *q.* much, a lot  
*bēe* clause adjunct or; in polar questions 17.1.2  
*bèkèkèoňg<sup>o</sup>* or *bèkèoňg<sup>o</sup>* *n.* very early morning  
*bèlīm<sup>m</sup>* dv. beg  
*bèlīs<sup>e</sup>* dv. comfort  
*bēn<sup>ne</sup>* pl *bēnā* cb *bèn-* *n.* end  
*bēñ' ger bēñ'es<sup>e</sup>* dv. fall ill  
*bēñsìg<sup>e</sup>* dv. serve soup  
*bèŋ<sup>e</sup>* dv. mark out a boundary  
*bēŋíd<sup>e</sup>* cb *bēŋ-* *n.* pl bean leaves, *Vigna unguiculata*; *bēŋíd nē kī<sup>l</sup>* *n.* beanleaf-and-millet, a traditional snack  
*bēŋír<sup>e</sup>* pl *bēŋá* cb *bēŋ-* *n.* brown bean  
*bēog<sup>o</sup>* *n.* tomorrow; *Kà bēog nje kà ...* The next day ...  
*bē'og<sup>o</sup> bī'a* pl *bē'ed<sup>e</sup> bī'əs<sup>e</sup>* cb *bē'- bīà'-* adj. bad  
*bēogó* clause adjunct tomorrow  
*bēogū=n<sup>el</sup>* *n.* morning  
*bèrìŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *bèrìgìs<sup>e</sup>* sic *n.* a plant used for fibre (KED), *Hibiscus cannabinus*  
*bēriḡā* cb *bèrìg-* pl leaves of *bèrìŋ* used for soup (KED)  
*bēsūg<sup>o</sup>* pl *bēsīd<sup>e</sup>* cb *bēs-* *n.* a kind of wide-mouthed pot  
*bīāñ'ar<sup>el</sup>* pl *bīāñ'adá bīāñ'a* cb *bīāñ'-* *n.* wet mud, black mud; riverbed  
*bīāyũk<sup>o</sup>* pl *bīāñ'ad<sup>e</sup>* cb *bīāñ'-* *n.* shoulder  
*bīól<sup>le</sup>* pl *bīólá* adj. naked  
*bīəl<sup>e</sup>* dv. accompany  
*bī'álá* *q.* a little; *bī'əl bī'əl* *q. and adv.* a very little; little by little  
*bī'əm<sup>m</sup>* pl *bī'əm-nàm<sup>a</sup> bī'əmmā* LF cb *bī'əm-* *n.* enemy  
*bīən<sup>ne</sup>* pl *bīənā* cb *bīən-* *n.* shin  
*bīər<sup>el</sup>* pl *bīēyá* cb *bīā-* *n.* elder sibling of the same sex  
*bī'əs<sup>e</sup>* dv. doubt  
*bīgìs<sup>e</sup>* dv. show, teach  
*bīīg<sup>a</sup>* pl *bīīs<sup>e</sup>* cb *bì- bī-* *n.* child; *bī-díbìŋ<sup>a</sup>* *n.* boy; *bī-līa* *n.* baby; *bī-nà'ab<sup>a</sup>* *n.* prince;  
*bī-pī<sup>al</sup>* pl *bī-pītib<sup>a</sup>* cb *bī-pīt-* *n.* father's younger brother; *bī-púŋ<sup>a</sup>* *n.* girl  
*bī'ig<sup>e</sup>* dv. ripen, become pregnant  
*bīilíf<sup>o</sup>* pl *bīilí* cb *bīil-* *n.* seed  
*bīilím<sup>m</sup>* *n.* childhood  
*bīum<sup>m</sup>* cb *bī-* *n.* soup, stew  
*bī'isím<sup>m</sup>* *n.* milk (human or animal)  
*bī'isìr<sup>e</sup>* pl *bī'isà* cb *bī'is-* *n.* woman's breast



- bīl<sup>a</sup>* pl *bībīs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bīl-* or *bī-* adj. little, small  
*bīlìg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. roll (transitive)  
*bīlìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. roll (intransitive)  
*bìmbìm<sup>mε</sup>* pl *bìmbìmà* cb *bìmbìm-* n. altar NT (KED: mound or pillar of earth)  
*Bìn<sup>nε</sup>* pl *Bìm<sup>ma</sup>* cb *Bìn-* n. Moba, Bimoba person (not only Bemba, WK)  
*Bìn<sup>nε</sup>* n. Moba language  
*bīn<sup>nε</sup>* n. excrement  
*Bìyη<sup>o</sup>* n. Moba country  
*bò* dv. seek; *bòòd<sup>a</sup>* ipfv want, like, love (sexual, romantic); ipfv ger *bòòdìm<sup>m</sup>* will  
*bō* cb *bò-* pron. what? why?; *bò-būudī* what sort of ..?; *bō-zúgō* clause adjunct because;  
*bō-zúgō<sup>o</sup>* why?; *bò-wìn<sup>nε</sup>* what time of day?; *bō kimm* "exactly what?"  
*bòbìg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. wrap round, tie round  
*bòdìg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. lose, become lost  
*bòdòbòdò* n. bread  
*bòk<sup>o</sup>* pl *bò'ad<sup>ε</sup>* cb *bù'à-* n. pit  
*bōsīr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bōsā* cb *bòs-* n. puff adder  
*bōtō* n. sack  
*bō'* dv. beat  
*bùàk<sup>ε</sup>* dv. split  
*bò'ar<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bù'àa* cb *bù'à-* n. hole  
*bō'ar<sup>ε/</sup>* pl *bù'áa* cb *bù'ā-* n. skin bottle  
*bòd<sup>ε</sup>* ger *būdīg<sup>a</sup>* *būdōg<sup>o</sup>* dv. plant seeds  
*bòdàalìm<sup>m</sup>* n. manhood, courage  
*bùdìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. get confused  
*bùdímís<sup>ε</sup>* n. confusion  
*bù'e* dv. pour out  
*bòg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. get drunk (Hausa *bùgu*)  
*bōgōd<sup>a</sup>* n. client of a *bā'a* traditional diviner  
*bògulìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. cast lots  
*bōgōr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bōgā* cb *bòg-* n. dwelling-place of a *wīn<sup>nε/</sup>* localised spirit; also a *wīn<sup>nε/</sup>* as  
a *sīgīr<sup>ε/</sup>* 21.2 inherited from one's mother's family  
*bùgúm<sup>m</sup>* cb *bùgōm-* *bùgúm-* n. fire; *Bùgúm-tōñr<sup>ε</sup>* n. Fire Festival  
*bōgōs<sup>a/</sup>* sv. be soft  
*bōgvsíg<sup>a</sup>* *bōgvsír<sup>ε</sup>* pl *bōgvsá* cb *bōgvs-* adj. soft, weak  
*bōgvsígā<sup>/</sup>* adv. softly  
*bōgvsím<sup>m</sup>* n. softness, weakness  
*bōk<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. weaken  
*bòk<sup>ε</sup>* dv. cast lots  
*bùl<sup>ε</sup>* dv. germinate, ooze  
*būl<sup>lε</sup>* pl *būlā* n. shoot, sprout  
*bùl<sup>ε</sup>* dv. astonish

*Bùl*<sup>lɛ</sup> *n.* Buli language  
*Bùlìg*<sup>a</sup> *pl Bùlìs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb Bùl-* *n.* Balsa person  
*bùlìg*<sup>a</sup> *pl bùlìs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb bùl-* *n.* well, pond  
*bùmbàrìg*<sup>a</sup> *pl bùmbàrìs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb bùmbàr-* *n.* ant  
*bùn*<sup>ɛ</sup> *dv.* reap, harvest  
*bōn*<sup>nɛ/</sup> *pl bōnà bōn-nám*<sup>a</sup> *cb bōn-* *n.* thing (concrete or abstract); *bōn-búvdìf*<sup>ɔ</sup> *n.* plant; *bōn-gíŋ*<sup>a</sup> *n.* short chap (informal, joking); *bōn-kóñbòg*<sup>ɔ</sup> *pl bōn-kóñbìd*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb kóñb-* (*sic*) *n.* animal; *bōn-kúdòg*<sup>ɔ</sup> *n.* old man  
*bōn-dâar*<sup>ɛ</sup> *proadverb* which day?  
*bòŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl bùmìs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb bòŋ-* *n.* donkey  
*bòŋ*<sup>ɛ</sup> *dv.* take a short cut  
*bùø*<sup>ɛ</sup> *dv.* call, summon; *Ò yō'vr búø* *X.* She is called X.  
*bùø*<sup>ɛ</sup> *pl buèyà* *cb buà-* *n.* grain store, silo  
*bū'ø*<sup>ɛ</sup> *dv.* ask; *ger bū'ø*<sup>ɛ</sup> *úg*<sup>ɔ</sup> *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*<sup>a</sup> *pl bòrkìn-nám*<sup>a</sup> *cb bòrkìn-* *n.* free person; honourable person (Songhay)  
*Bòsâañ*<sup>ɛ</sup> *n.* Bisa language  
*Bòsáj*<sup>a</sup> *pl Bòsâañs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb Bòsāj-* *n.* Bisa person  
*bōtīŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl bōtīs*<sup>ɛ</sup>; *cb bōtīŋ-* *n.* cup (*in general; originally "seed-planting [cup]"*)  
*bōvd*<sup>ɛ</sup> *n. pl as sg* innocence  
*būudī* *cb bùud-* *n.* kind, sort, ethnic group  
*bōvg*<sup>a</sup> *pl bōvs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb bō-* *n.* goat; *bò-dìbìg*<sup>a</sup> *n.* male kid

## D

*dà* *tense particle* before two days ago, *tense particle*  
*dā* not with imperative mood 16.4  
*dàa* *tense particle* day after tomorrow  
*dāa* *tense particle* before yesterday, *tense particle*  
*dà'* *dv.* buy  
*dà'a* *pl dà'as*<sup>ɛ</sup> *cb dà'-* *n.* market  
*dà'abìr*<sup>ɛ</sup> *n.* slave  
*dàalim*<sup>m</sup> *n.* masculinity  
*dàalim*<sup>m</sup> *pl dàalímìs*<sup>ɛ</sup> *n.* male organs  
*dāam*<sup>m/</sup> *cb dā-* *n.* millet beer, "pito"; *dā-nūur*<sup>ɛ</sup> *n.* beer-drinking; *dā-bīn*<sup>nɛ</sup> *cb dā-bīn-* *n.* beer residue; NT yeast (cf *bīn*<sup>nɛ</sup>)  
*dāam*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* disturb, trouble (Hausa *dāamaa*)  
*dāan*<sup>a</sup> *pl dàan-nám*<sup>a</sup> *cb dàan-* *n.* owner of ... 12.5.2  
*dāar*<sup>ɛ</sup> *pl dābá* *cb dà-* *n.* day (24-hour period); *dà-pīgā* *n.* ten days  
*dāa-sì'erē* *clause adjunct* perhaps

- dàbīəm<sup>m</sup>* tone sic n. fear  
*dàbīog<sup>o</sup>* pl *dàbīəd<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dàbīà-* n. coward  
*dàbīsir<sup>ε</sup>* pl *dàbīsà* cb *dàbīs-* n. day (as one of several)  
*dā'e<sup>l</sup>* dv. push; blow (of wind)  
*Dàgâad<sup>a</sup>* pl *Dàgâadīb<sup>a</sup>* *Dàgâad-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *Dàgâad-* n. Dagaaba person (L prefix sic)  
*Dàgbān<sup>ne/</sup>* pl *Dàgbām<sup>ma/</sup>* cb *Dàgbān-* n. Dagomba person  
*Dàgbān<sup>ne/</sup>* n. Dagbani language  
*Dàgbāuŋ<sup>o/</sup>* n. Dagomba country, Dagbon  
*dàgòbìg<sup>a</sup>* n. left-hand; *yà dàgòbìg<sup>a</sup>* South KB  
*dāká* pl *dāká-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *dāká-* n. box (Hausa *àdakàa* from Portuguese *arca*)  
*dàkīg<sup>a</sup>* pl *dàkīs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dàkì-* n. wife's sibling; *dàkì-dāu* n. wife's brother; *dàkì-puāk<sup>a</sup>* n.  
 wife's sister; *dàkì-tùà* n. wife's sister's husband  
*dà-kòǎnr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *dà-kòǎyà* cb *dà-kòñ-* n. unmarried son, bachelor  
*dàm<sup>m</sup>* ipfv *dàmmìd<sup>a</sup>* dv. shake  
*dàmà'a* n. liar cf *mà'*  
*dàmà'am<sup>m</sup>* n. lie, untruth, lying  
*dàmà'ar<sup>ε</sup>* n. lie, untruth  
*dāmpūsāar<sup>ε</sup>* n. stick  
*dānsàar<sup>ε</sup>* n. staff, club  
*dàŋkòŋ<sup>o</sup>* n. measles  
*dà-pāal<sup>al/</sup>* n. young man, son  
*dārúk<sup>o</sup>* n. a kind of large pot  
*dà-sāŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *dà-sāaŋs<sup>ε</sup>* *dà-sām<sup>ma</sup>* cb *dà-sàŋ-* n. young man  
*dà-tāa* pl *dà-tāas<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dà-tà-* n. enemy  
*dàtìuŋ<sup>o</sup>* n. right-hand; *yà dàtìuŋ<sup>o</sup>* North KB  
*dāu* pl *dāp<sup>a</sup>* cb *dàu-* *dàp-* n. man (as opposed to woman)  
*dāvug<sup>o</sup>* pl *dāad<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dà-* n. piece of wood, log; *pl also:* wood (material); *dà-kīəd<sup>a</sup>* n.  
 wood-cutter; *dà-kpī'əd<sup>a</sup>* n. carpenter; *dà-pūvdír<sup>ε</sup>* n. cross-piece, *pl dà-pūvdá* n.  
*used as sg* cross NT  
*dāvug<sup>o</sup>* pl *dāad<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dà-* adj. male  
*dàwàlìg<sup>a</sup>* n. hot humid season before the rains  
*dàwān<sup>ne/</sup>* pl *dàwānà* cb *dàwān-* n. pigeon  
*dàyāam<sup>ma</sup>* pl *dàyāam-nám<sup>a</sup>* cb *dàyāam-* n. husband's parent; *dàyāam-dáu* n. husband's  
 father; *dàyāam-puák<sup>a</sup>* n. husband's mother  
*dàyūug<sup>o/</sup>* pl *dàyūud<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *dàyū-* n. rat  
*dèbìr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *dèbà* n. mat, pallet, bed  
*dèeg<sup>a</sup>* pl *dèes<sup>ε</sup>* n. warthog  
*dēēŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *dēēñs<sup>ε</sup>* *dēēmīs<sup>ε</sup>* *dēēnā* cb *dēēŋ-* q. first  
*dēl<sup>la/</sup>* ger *dēllúg<sup>o</sup>* *dēllím<sup>m</sup>* sv. be leaning on something (of a person)  
*dèlìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. begin to lean on something (of a person)  
*dēŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *dēmīs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *dēŋ-* n. accidental bruise; defect

*dèŋ*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* go, do first

*dèŋim* *preverb* beforehand

*dì* *pron.* it (*right-bound*) = *lì*

*dì* *ipfv* *dìt*<sup>a</sup> *imp* *dìm*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* eat, receive; *ger* *dīb*<sup>o</sup> *n.* food; *Ò dì pū'ā*. He's married a wife.

*Ò dì ñyán*. She's ashamed.

*dīā*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* get dirty

*dīā'ad*<sup>ε/</sup> *n.* dirt

*dī'e*<sup>/</sup> *dv.* receive, get

*dìəm*<sup>ma</sup> *pl* *dìəm-nàm*<sup>a</sup> *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*<sup>a</sup> *n.* wife's mother

*dì'əm*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* play, not be serious

*dì'əmà* *n.* festival

*dī'əs*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* receive (many things)

*dīgī*<sup>ya/</sup> *ger* *dīk*<sup>a/</sup> *KT* *dīgīr*<sup>ε/</sup> *WK* *sv.* be lying down

*dīgísá* *n. pl* lairs

*dīgīl*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* lay down

*dìgìn*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* lie down

*dìgìr*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *dìgà* *cb* *dìg-* *n.* dwarf

*dìs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* feed; *ag* *dìs*<sup>a</sup> *n.* glutton

*dìsúŋ*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *dìsímà* *dìsís*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *dìsúŋ-* *n.* spoon

*dìm*<sup>a</sup> *dummy head pronoun, animate pl*; *dìn*<sup>mε</sup> *inanimate sg*

*dín* *pron.* it (*subject of ñ-clause*)

*dīn*<sup>ε</sup> *pron.* it (*contrastive*) = *līn*<sup>ε</sup>

*dìndēog*<sup>o/</sup> *pl* *dìndēed*<sup>ε/</sup> *cb* *dìndē-* *n.* chameleon

*dìndìs*<sup>a</sup> *n.* glutton

*dìn zúg*<sup>o</sup> *proadverb* therefore

*dìtúŋ*<sup>o</sup> *n.* right-hand (see *dàtìyŋ*<sup>o</sup>)

*dì-zōrōg*<sup>o/</sup> *pl* *dì-zōrá* *cb* *dì-zōr-* *n.* crumb

*dōl*<sup>la/</sup> *ger* *dōllim*<sup>m</sup> *sv.* accompany in a subordinate role; *Ànó'ònì dōllí=fò?* Who has come with you? (to an elderly patient.) *Bà dōl nē tāabā*. They went together.

*dōlīg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* make accompany, send along with

*dōlīs*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* investigate, trace

*dōñlīg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* stretch oneself

*dòñ'os*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* water plants

*dòog*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *dòod*<sup>ε</sup> *dòt*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *dò-* *n.* house, hut; clan; *dòog bìg*<sup>a</sup> *n.* housecat

*dòoŋg*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *dòoŋd*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *dòŋ-* *n.* dawadawa fruit

*dō* *ipfv* *dōt*<sup>a/</sup> *imp* *dòm*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* go up

*dū'à*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* bear, give birth, beget; *ag* *dū'ad*<sup>a</sup> *n.* elder relation

*dù'al*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* make interest (of a loan)

*dū'am*<sup>m</sup> *n.* birth

*dùañ* pl *dòõñs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *dòñ-* n. dawadawa, *Parkia clappertoniana*

*dú'atà* n. doctor (English)

*dūe*<sup>l</sup> dv. raise, rise

*dōg*<sup>ε</sup> dv. cook

*dōk*<sup>ɔ</sup>/ pl *dōgōd*<sup>ε</sup>/ cb *dōg-* n. cooking pot; *dōg-pé'elà* n. full pots; *dōgōb dūt* cooking pots

*dùm*<sup>m</sup> dv. bite

*dūm*<sup>mε</sup> *dūm*<sup>nε</sup> pl *dūmā* cb *dùm-* n. knee

*dòndùug*<sup>ɔ</sup> pl *dòndùud*<sup>ε</sup> cb *dòndù-* n. cobra

*dūniyā* cb *dūniyá-* n. world (Arabic *dunyaa*)

*dūnná* adv. this year

*dūñ<sup>a</sup>* pl *dūmīs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *dūñ-* n. mosquito

*dūør*<sup>ε</sup>/ pl *dūēyá* cb *dūā-* n. stick

*dū'əs*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. lift up, honour

*dūr<sup>a</sup>* sv. be many

*dū'un*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. pass water

*dū'uním*<sup>m</sup> cb *dū'un-* n. urine

*dōvsá* n. pl. steps

## E

*ēēñ* yes 17.1.5

*ēēñ* or *ēēñ tí* see *ñyēē*, *ñyēē tí* auxiliary tense marker habitually

*ēēñb*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. lay a foundation

*ēēñbír*<sup>ε</sup> n. (physical) foundation

*ēñbìs*<sup>ε</sup> dv. scratch

*ēñd*<sup>ε</sup> dv. block up, plug up

*ēñdìg*<sup>ε</sup> dv. unblock, unplug

*ēñrīg*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. shift along (e.g. a bench)

## F

*f<sup>ɔ</sup>* pron. you sg (enclitic)

*fāañ* q. every

*fāeñ*<sup>l</sup> dv. save; ag *fāañ<sup>d</sup>*/ *fāañgíd<sup>a</sup>* n. saviour 11

*fāñ* dv. grab, rob

*fáss* ideo. for *pìə̀lìg<sup>a</sup>* white

*fēεg*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. (of food) get old, cold

*fēñdīg*<sup>ε</sup>/ dv. turn round (tone uncertain)

*fēñ'og*<sup>ɔ</sup>/ pl *fēñ'εd*<sup>ε</sup>/ cb *fēñ'-* n. ulcer

*fìə̀b*<sup>ε</sup> dv. beat

*fì'ig*<sup>ε</sup> dv. cut off

*fīñ* q. a little (liquid)

*fítlá* n. lamp (Hausa *fítílàa*); KB sg *fítir* pl *fíta*

*fṵṵs*<sup>el</sup> *dv.* blow, puff (wind); *ger fṵṵsúg*<sup>o</sup> *n.* hypocrisy NT

*fṵ* *pron.* you *sg* (right-bound)

*fṵe* *dv.* draw out

*fṵfṵm*<sup>mε</sup> *pl fṵfṵmā* *cb fṵfṵm-* *n.* envy; stye (believed to result from envy)

*fṵn* *pron.* you *sg* (as subject of *n*-clause); *fṵn* SF *fṵnè* LF you *sg* (contrastive)

*fṵuug*<sup>o</sup> *pl fṵud*<sup>el</sup> *fṵt*<sup>el</sup> *cb fṵ-* *n.* shirt, clothing; *pl also:* cloth

## G

*gàad*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* pass, surpass 17.2.1

*gáafàrà* *formula* sorry! (Hausa *gaafaràa*, ultimately from Arabic)

*gà'al*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* button up

*gà'am*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* grind teeth

*gāañ*<sup>l</sup> *pl gāañs*<sup>el</sup> *cb gāñ-* *n.* Nigerian ebony, *Diospyros mespilliformis*

*gàas*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* pass by

*gādṵ* *gādṵg*<sup>o</sup> *pl gādṵ-nám*<sup>a</sup> *gāt*<sup>el</sup> *cb gād-* *gādṵ-* *n.* bed (Hausa *gadoo*)

*gàlìm*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* joke

*gàlìs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* exceed, get to be too much

*gāñr*<sup>el</sup> *pl gāñyá* *cb gāñr-* *n.* fruit of Nigerian ebony

*gàṅ*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* step over

*gāṅ*<sup>el</sup> *dv.* choose

*gbāñ'e*<sup>l</sup> *dv.* catch

*gbáñyà'a* *n.* lazy person

*gbáñyà'am*<sup>m</sup> *n.* laziness; 1976 NT *gonya'am*

*gbàṅṅ*<sup>o</sup> *pl gbàná* *cb gbàn-* *gbàṅṅ-* *n.* book WK

*gbāṅṅ*<sup>o</sup> *pl gbāná* *cb gbān-* *gbāṅṅ-* *n.* animal skin WK; animal skin, book DK

*gbēēñm*<sup>m</sup> *cb gbēñ-* *n.* sleep

*gbè'og*<sup>o</sup> *pl gbè'ed*<sup>ε</sup> *gbèdà* *cb gbè'-* *n.* forehead; shore of a lake

*gbēr*<sup>el</sup> *pl gbēyá* *cb gbēr-* *n.* thigh

*gbīgīm*<sup>nε</sup> *pl gbīgīmā* *cb gbìgìm-* *n.* lion

*gbìn*<sup>nε</sup> *pl gbìnà* *cb gbìn-* *n.* buttock; base (e.g. of a mountain); *postposition* beneath

*gbìn-vòṵñr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* anus

*gbīs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* sleep

*gēel*<sup>el</sup> *dv.* place between one's legs (Pattern H *sic*)

*gēēñm*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* go mad, madden

*gēēñmís*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* *pl as sg* madness

*gēēñṅ*<sup>a</sup> *pl gēēñmís*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* madman

*gél*<sup>le</sup> *pl gēlá* *cb gēl-* *n.* egg

*gēñ* *dv.* get tired; *pfv adj gēēñlúṅ*<sup>o</sup> tired

*gēñ'* *dv.* get angry

*gēog*<sup>o</sup> *n.* place between one's legs (Pattern A *sic*)

*gīñlím*<sup>m</sup> *n.* shortness

- gìk<sup>a</sup> pl g̀̀g̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> cb g̀̀g-* n. dumb person  
*g̀̀g̀̀l̀̀m<sup>m</sup> dv.* become dumb  
*g̀̀l̀̀g<sup>ε/</sup> ipfv g̀̀n<sup>na/</sup> dv.* go around  
*g̀̀m<sup>ma/</sup> sv.* be short  
*g̀̀η<sup>a</sup> pl g̀̀mā cb g̀̀η-* adj. short  
*g̀̀η<sup>ε</sup> dv.* scrimp  
*g̀̀η<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* surround, intercept, obstruct  
*g̀̀ηā adv.* shortly  
*g̀̀ὴl̀̀m<sup>m</sup> n.* shortness  
*g̀̀d̀̀d̀̀g<sup>ε/</sup> g̀̀'̀̀n<sup>ε</sup> dv.* look up  
*g̀̀l<sup>la/</sup> g̀̀r<sup>a/</sup> g̀̀e<sup>ya/</sup> sv.* be looking up  
*g̀̀ñ dv.* hunt; *ipfv g̀̀òñd<sup>a</sup> wander, ger g̀̀òñd̀̀m<sup>m</sup> wandering*  
*G̀̀̀̀g<sup>a</sup> pl G̀̀̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> n.* clan name  
*G̀̀̀̀g<sup>o</sup> n.* place of the *G̀̀̀̀s<sup>ε</sup>* Goosi clan  
*g̀̀'̀̀n<sup>ε</sup> dv.* look up  
*g̀̀r<sup>a/</sup> sv.* be looking up  
*g̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> ipfv g̀̀s̀̀d<sup>a/</sup> g̀̀t<sup>a/</sup> imp g̀̀s̀̀m<sup>a</sup> g̀̀m<sup>a</sup> ger g̀̀s̀̀g<sup>a</sup> dv.* look; *ag g̀̀t<sup>a/</sup> n.* seer, prophet  
*g̀̀ū' dv.* guard, protect  
*g̀̀l<sup>ε</sup> dv.* suspend  
*g̀̀l<sup>la</sup> ger g̀̀l̀̀b<sup>o</sup> sv.* be suspended  
*g̀̀l̀̀l̀mm SF g̀̀l̀̀l̀mnè LF emphatic only*  
*g̀̀m<sup>mε</sup> pl g̀̀mà n.* kapok fruit; also thread WK  
*G̀̀̀̀m<sup>mε</sup> n.* place of the clan *G̀̀̀̀m-d̀̀m<sup>a</sup>*  
*g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ēr<sup>ε/</sup> pl g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ēyá cb g̀̀m̀̀p̀̀z̀̀ér-* n. duck  
*g̀̀ñ'a pl g̀̀ñ'̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> cb g̀̀ñ'-* n. thorn; Acacia; *g̀̀ñ'-sābílíg<sup>a</sup> Acacia hockii*  
*g̀̀η<sup>a</sup> pl g̀̀m̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> cb g̀̀η-* n. kapok tree, *Ceiba pentandra*  
*g̀̀ηg̀̀m<sup>mε</sup> n.* kapok material  
*g̀̀r<sup>a/</sup> ger g̀̀r̀̀m<sup>m</sup> sv.* be on guard, watch for 17.4.1  
*G̀̀̀̀r̀̀n<sup>nε</sup> n.* Farefare language  
*G̀̀̀̀r̀̀η<sup>a</sup> pl G̀̀̀̀r̀̀s<sup>ε</sup> n.* Farefare person  
*g̀̀ū'ul<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* put on guard  
*g̀̀'̀̀l̀̀m<sup>m</sup> dv.* become half-ripe  
*g̀̀v̀̀r<sup>ε</sup> pl g̀̀yà cb g̀̀v-* n. upland; bank of river  
*g̀̀v̀̀r<sup>ε</sup> pl g̀̀yā cb g̀̀v-* n. ridge of back  
*g̀̀ū'us<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* take care, watch out  
*g̀̀v'us<sup>ε</sup> n. pl* half-ripe fruit

## H

*hālí emphatic even, until* (? Arabic *ḥattaa*)

**I**

*īā* dv. seek

*īāñ'as<sup>el</sup>* dv. leap

*īāñk<sup>el</sup>* ger *īāñ'ad<sup>al</sup>* ag *īāñ'ad<sup>al</sup>* dv. leap, fly

*īgī<sup>ya/</sup>* ger *īk<sup>al</sup>* KT *īgīr<sup>el</sup>* WK sv. be kneeling

*īgīl<sup>el</sup>* dv. make to kneel

*īgìn<sup>ε</sup>* dv. kneel down

*íul<sup>le</sup>* pl *īulá* cb *īul-* n. horn

*īsīr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *īsā* cb *īs-* n. scar

*īsìg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. get up early

**K**

*kà* and, that 17

*kā* dv. bail (water)

*kāab<sup>el</sup>* dv. offer, invite

*kāal<sup>el</sup>* dv. count

*kāas<sup>el</sup>* dv. cry out, weep; (cock) crow

*kà'asìgè* LF only; sv. not exist 16.4

*kābīg<sup>el</sup>* dv. ladle out (liquid)

*kābīr<sup>el</sup>* ger *kābírí* dv. call out asking for admission 20

*kàd<sup>ε</sup>* dv. drive away; *kàd sàríyà* dv. judge; ag *sàríyà-kāt<sup>a</sup>* n. judge NT

*kā'ε* ger *kā'alím<sup>m</sup>* sv. not exist, not be, not have 16.4 4.3

*kāl<sup>le/</sup>* pl *kālá* cb *kāl-* n. number

*kàlīgā<sup>l</sup>* q. few

*kām<sup>a</sup>* q. every

*Kàmbònìr<sup>ε</sup>* n. Twi language

*Kàmbòṅ<sup>a</sup>* pl *Kàmbòmìs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *Kàmbòṅ-* n. Ashanti person

*kàn<sup>ε</sup>* pron. this, that

*kàñb<sup>ε</sup>* ger *kāñbīr<sup>ε</sup>* dv. scorch

*kāñdōg<sup>o</sup>* adj. fat, tough (person)

*kàṅā<sup>l</sup>* pron. this, that

*kār<sup>a</sup>* sv. be few

*kàrìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. read

*kàsēt<sup>al</sup>* n. witness; testimony (Mooré *kàsétò* "proof, testimony"; probably ultimately from French *cachet*); pl *kàsētíb<sup>a</sup>* witnesses

*kē* ipfv *kēt<sup>al</sup>* imp *kèl<sup>a</sup>* dv. let, cause to ... 17.2.2

*kèèkè* pl *kèèkè-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *kèèkè-* n. bicycle (Hausa *kèèkè*)

*kèès<sup>ε</sup>* dv. say farewell to

*kèlìg<sup>ε</sup>* or *kèlìs<sup>ε</sup>* dv. listen

*kēñ* ipfv *kēn<sup>al</sup>* imp *kēm<sup>a</sup>* ger *kēn<sup>nel</sup>* dv. come (with *nā* 16.9); *kēn kēn* welcome! 20

*kēṅ<sup>el</sup>* ipfv *kēn<sup>na/</sup>* imp *kēm<sup>a</sup>* (with *sà* 16.9) dv. go; walk; ag *kēn<sup>na/</sup>* n. traveller



*kérifà* or *kárfà* (Hausa *karfèe*); in telling time, e.g. *kérifà àtáń'* three o'clock  
*kī'* cb *kī- kā-* n. cereal, millet; *kì-dà'ar<sup>ε</sup>* pl *kì-dà'adà* n. purchased millet; *kā-wēnnīr<sup>ε</sup>*  
 pl *kā-wēnnā* cb *kā-wén-* n. corn

*kjà* dv. cut

*kīdīg<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. cross over, meet; *À-Kīdīgī Bū'os* n. the constellation Orion

*kī'ib<sup>o/</sup>* n. soap; WK uses the Mampruli loan *kīibú* cb *kīib-* instead

*kīĩń<sup>o</sup>* pl *kīíní* n. millet seed

*kīus<sup>ε</sup>* dv. listen

*kī'is<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. deny

*kìkàm<sup>mε</sup>* pl *kìkàmà* n. fig

*kìkàń<sup>a</sup>* *kìńkàń<sup>a</sup>* pl *kìkàmìs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *kìkàń-* n. fig tree, *Ficus capensis*

*kìkīrīg<sup>a/</sup>* pl *kìkīrīs<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *kìkīr-* n. "fairy" in local English; protective spiritual beings associated with a person (three for a man, four for a woman because of the dangers of childbirth.) Wild *kìkīrīs<sup>ε/</sup>* hostile to man live in the bush: "Their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers." WK; *kìkīr-bê'ed<sup>ε</sup>* n. NT evil spirit, demon (KB just uses *kìkīrīg<sup>a/</sup>*)

*kīlīm<sup>m/</sup>* dv. become, change into

*kīm<sup>m</sup>* dv. tend flock, herd; ag *kǎńb-kīm<sup>na</sup>* n. herdsman, shepherd

*kīr<sup>ε</sup>* ger *kìkírùg<sup>o</sup>* *kīrīb<sup>o</sup>* dv. hurry, tremble

*kīs<sup>a/</sup>* ger *kísùg<sup>o</sup>* ag *kīs<sup>a/</sup>* *kīsīd<sup>a/</sup>* sv. hate

*kísùg<sup>o</sup>* adj. hateful, taboo

*kò* dv. get broken, break (intransitive); pfv adj *kòólúń<sup>o</sup>* broken

*kòbīgā* (SF and LF identical) q. one hundred; *kòbìsì* two hundred

*kòbīr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *kòbā* cb *kòb-* n. bone

*kòdīg<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. slaughter (one animal) by cutting its throat

*kòdú* n. banana (Twi *kwadu*)

*kòl<sup>ε</sup>* dv. put something around the neck

*kòlībìr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *kòlìbà* n. bottle

*kòlīg<sup>a</sup>* pl *kòlīs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *kòl-* n. river; *kòlīgī=n nó-dāvug<sup>o</sup>* n. crayfish

*kòlùg<sup>o</sup>* pl *kòń<sup>nε</sup>* cb *kòlùg-* n. sack, bag

*kòm<sup>m/</sup>* cb *kòm-* n. hunger

*kòń'* postposition alone, by oneself; also *kòń'ókò*

*kòńbùg<sup>o</sup>* pl *kòńbīd<sup>ε</sup>* cb *kòńb-* (also used as cb of *bōn-kòńbùg<sup>o</sup>* animal) n. animal hair or human body hair; cf *zūøbúg<sup>o</sup>*; *kòńb-kīm<sup>na</sup>* pl *kòńb-kīmmīb<sup>a</sup>* n. shepherd, herdsman

*kòńs<sup>ε</sup>* dv. cough

*kòńsìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. cough

*kò'og<sup>ε</sup>* dv. break (transitive or intransitive)

*kò'os<sup>ε</sup>* dv. break several times

*kòt<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. slaughter (several animals) by cutting their throats

*kòtā<sup>nε</sup>* emphatic at all

- kótò* n. lawcourt (English)  
*kpà'* dv. nail, fasten  
*kpà'a* pl *kpà'a-nàm<sup>a</sup>* n. rich person  
*kpāad<sup>a/</sup>* pl *kpāadíb<sup>a</sup>* cb *kpāad-* n. farmer, cultivator  
*kpà'am<sup>m</sup>* n. riches  
*kpāañm<sup>m/</sup>* cb *kpāñ-* n. grease, ointment; *kpāñ-sóñ'òdìm<sup>m</sup>* n. anointing oil  
*kpàkōr<sup>el/</sup>* pl *kpàkōyá* cb *kpàkōr-* n. tortoise  
*kpān<sup>ne</sup>* pl *kpānā* cb *kpān-* n. spear  
*kpāñdīr<sup>e</sup>* pl *kpāñdà* cb *kpāñd-* n. baboon  
*kpār<sup>e</sup>* dv. lock  
*kpār-kêoňg<sup>o</sup>* pl *kpār-kêeňd<sup>e</sup>* cb *kpār-kéñ-* n. rag  
*kpá'vŋ<sup>o</sup>* pl *kpī'iní* cb *kpā'-* n. guinea fowl  
*kpē* adv. here  
*kpēeňm<sup>m</sup>* pl *kpēeňm-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *kpēeňm-* n. elder  
*kpēeňm<sup>ma/</sup>* sv. be older than  
*kpēlá* adv. here  
*kpèlìm* preverb still; immediately after  
*kpèlìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. remain  
*kpèn* reduced form of the preverb *kpèlìm*  
*kpēñ'* dv. enter  
*kpēñdīr<sup>el/</sup>* pl *kpēñdá* cb *kpēñd-* n. cheek  
*kpēñ'es<sup>e</sup>* dv. make enter  
*kpè'ŋ<sup>e</sup>* dv. strengthen  
*kpēoňŋ<sup>o</sup>* n. seniority  
*kpì* dv. die; pfv adj *kpìilúŋ<sup>o</sup>* dead  
*kpì'a* pl *kpì'əs<sup>e</sup>* cb *kpìà'-* n. neighbour  
*kpìà'* dv. shape wood with axe etc  
*kpì'e* dv. approach  
*kpī'əm<sup>ma/</sup>* sv. be strong, hard  
*kpìibìg<sup>a</sup>* pl *kpìibìs<sup>e</sup>* cb *kpìib-* n. orphan  
*kpìig<sup>e</sup>* dv. go out (fire)  
*kpī'ilím<sup>m</sup>* dv. finish, come to an end  
*kpī'im<sup>m/</sup>* pl *kpī'imís<sup>e</sup>* cb *kpī'im-* n. dead person, corpse  
*kpìis<sup>e</sup>* dv. quench (fire)  
*kpīkpīn<sup>na/</sup>* pl *kpīkpīnníb<sup>a</sup>* cb *kpīkpín-* n. merchant  
*kpī'oŋ<sup>o</sup>* pl *kpī'əmā* cb *kpī'oŋ-* adj. strong, hard  
*kpìsìŋkpìl<sup>le</sup>* pl *kpìsìŋkpìlà* cb *kpìsìŋkpìl-* n. fist  
*kpìsòkpìl<sup>le</sup>* n. fist  
*kpòkpàr<sup>e</sup>* pl *kpòkpàrà* n. palm tree fruit  
*kpòkpàrìg<sup>a</sup>* pl *kpòkpàrìs<sup>e</sup>* cb *kpòkpàr-* n. palm tree, *Borassus akeassii*  
*kpòkpàũŋ<sup>o</sup>* pl *kpòkpàmà* cb *kpòkpàũŋ-* n. arm, wing

- k̀̀* not; *negates irrealis mood* 16.4  
*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<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀'alímìs<sup>ε</sup>* *k̀̀'alís<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀'alíŋ-* *n.* sleeveless traditional smock  
*k̀̀d<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* work iron  
*k̀̀dìg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* shrivel up, dry out, age  
*k̀̀dīm<sup>m</sup>* *n.* the olden days; *also for* *k̀̀līm* *qv*  
*k̀̀d̄y<sup>o</sup>* *k̀̀d̄r<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀dā* *k̀̀t<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀d-* *adj.* old  
*k̀̀d̄y<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀t<sup>ε</sup>* (*used as sg*) *cb* *k̀̀t-* *n.* iron, nail; *sg only in names* 21.2  
*k̀̀ḡr<sup>ε/</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀gá* *cb* *k̀̀g-* *n.* stone  
*k̀̀k<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀ḡs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀g-* *n.* chair  
*k̀̀k<sup>a</sup>* *n.* ghost  
*k̀̀k<sup>al</sup>* *n.* mahogany tree, *Khaya senegalensis*; *cf* Hausa *kuukàa*  
*k̀̀k̀m<sup>mε</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀k̀mà* *cb* *k̀̀k̀m-* *n.* leper  
*k̀̀k̀r<sup>ε/</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀k̀yá* *cb* *k̀̀k̀r-* *n.* voice  
*k̀̀kpàrìg<sup>a</sup>* *see* *kp̀̀kpàrìg<sup>a</sup>* *id*  
*k̀̀l<sup>ε</sup>* *ger* *k̀̀lìg<sup>al</sup>* *dv.* return home; *transitive marry (woman subject, man object)*  
*k̀̀līm* *tense-slot adjunct* *always*  
*k̀̀lìŋ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀lìmìs<sup>ε</sup>* *k̀̀lìs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀lìŋ-* *n.* door  
*k̀̀m<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* cry, weep  
*k̀̀m<sup>m</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀m-* *n.* death; *k̀̀m-v̄v̄gír<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* resurrection NT  
*k̀̀nd̄'ar<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀nd̄'adà* *cb* *k̀̀nd̄'á-* *n.* barren woman  
*k̀̀nd̄'ŋ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀nd̄'mìs<sup>ε</sup>* *k̀̀nd̄'nà* *n.* jackal, hyena  
*k̀̀'om<sup>m</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀'á-* *n.* water; *k̀̀'á-n̄ud<sup>ε/</sup>* *n.* thirst; *k̀̀'á-ñw̄ig<sup>al</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀'á-ñw̄is<sup>ε/</sup>* *n.*  
*current in a river*  
*k̀̀ø<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* sell  
*k̀̀rk̄r<sup>ε/</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀rk̄yá* *cb* *k̀̀rk̄r-* *n.* pig  
*K̀̀sáa* *pl* *K̀̀sâas<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *K̀̀sá-* *n.* Kusaasi person  
*K̀̀sâal<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Kusaal language  
*K̀̀sâv̄g<sup>o</sup>* *n.* Kusaasi country  
*K̀̀tān<sup>nε/</sup>* *pl* *K̀̀tām<sup>ma/</sup>* *cb* *K̀̀tān-* *n.* member of WK's clan  
*K̀̀tāŋ<sup>o/</sup>* *n.* country of clan *K̀̀tām<sup>ma/</sup>* Kutamba  
*k̀̀v̄* *clause adjunct* *or; in polar questions* 17.1.2 (Hausa *koo*)  
*k̀̀v̄g<sup>al</sup>* *k̀̀v̄g<sup>o/</sup>* *pl* *k̀̀v̄s<sup>ε/</sup>* *cb* *k̀̀v̄-* *n.* mouse  
*k̀̀v̄l<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* get drunk  
*k̀̀v̄s<sup>ε/</sup>* *dv.* settle (of a legal judgment)

**L**

*lā'* article 12.6.5

*là'* dv. laugh

*lā'af*<sup>o</sup> n. cowrie; pl *līgīdī* n. cowries, money; cb *līg- là'-*; *là'-bīəlíf*<sup>o</sup> n. small coin

*lāafiyà* n. health (Arabic *ʔal-ʔaafiya*); replaced by *laafe láafi* in 1996 NT and KB

*là'am*<sup>m</sup> dv. associate with; *preverb* together; *là'am nē* together with

*là'as*<sup>e</sup> dv. gather together (*transitive*); *Bà là'as tāabā* They gathered together.

*làbāar*<sup>e</sup> cb *làbà-* n. news (Arabic *ʔal-ʔaxbaar*)

*làbì*<sup>ya</sup> sv. be crouching, hiding behind something (? Hausa *labèe*)

*làbìl*<sup>e</sup> dv. make crouch behind something

*làbìn*<sup>e</sup> dv. crouch behind something

*làbìs*<sup>e</sup> dv. walk stealthily

*làbīs*<sup>a/</sup> sv. be wide

*làbìsíg*<sup>a</sup> *làbìsír*<sup>e</sup> pl *làbìsá* cb *làbīs-* adj. wide

*làbìsím*<sup>m</sup> n. width

*lāk*<sup>e/</sup> dv. open (eye, book)

*lāl*<sup>la/</sup> sv. be distant

*lālīg*<sup>e/</sup> dv. get to be far, make far

*lālíl* adv. far off

*lālílīg*<sup>a</sup> pl *lālís*<sup>e</sup> cb *lālílīg-* adj. distant

*lālúlóg*<sup>o</sup> pl *lállá* cb *lāl-* adj. distant

*lām*<sup>me/</sup> pl *lámá* cb *lām-* n. gum (of tooth); *lām-fōcóg*<sup>o</sup> pl *lām-fōcd*<sup>e</sup> adj. toothless

*làmpō-dī'əs*<sup>a</sup> n. tax collector (French *l'impôt*)

*lān*<sup>ne</sup> pl *lānā* cb *làn-* n. testicle

*lànnìg*<sup>a</sup> pl *lànnìs*<sup>e</sup> cb *lànnìg-* n. squirrel

*lā'η*<sup>e/</sup> dv. set alight

*làṅgávṅ*<sup>o</sup> pl *làṅgáam*<sup>me</sup> *làṅgāamá* cb *làṅgāvṅ-* n. crab (cf *màṅgávṅ*<sup>o</sup> id)

*lāṅím*<sup>m</sup> dv. wander around searching

*lāyuk*<sup>o</sup> pl *lā'ad*<sup>e</sup> cb *là'-* n. item of goods pl goods

*là'vṅ*<sup>o</sup> pl *là'amà* n. fishing net

*lèb*<sup>e</sup> ger *lēbīg*<sup>a</sup> dv. return (*intrans*)

*lèbìg*<sup>e</sup> dv. turn over; return

*lèbìs*<sup>e</sup> dv. answer; send back; divorce (wife)

*lèe* tense-slot adjunct but

*lèm* preverb again

*lèm*<sup>m</sup> ipfv *lèmmìd*<sup>a</sup> dv. sip, taste

*lēr*<sup>e</sup> dv. get ugly

*lì* pron. it (*right-bound*); *lì* it (*enclitic*)

*lì* ipfv *lìt*<sup>a</sup> imp *lìm*<sup>a</sup> ger *līg*<sup>a</sup> dv. fall

*lī* dv. block up

*lìa* where is ...? 17.1.5

- lìdìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* turn a shirt WK  
*lìdìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* astonish, be amazed  
*lìəb*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* become  
*lì'əl*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* approach, come near  
*lì'əm*<sup>mε</sup> *pl* *lì'əmá* *n.* fruit of yellow plum tree  
*lìəŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *lìəmís*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *lìəŋ-* *n.* axe  
*lì'əŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *lì'əmís*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* yellow plum tree, *Ximenia americana*  
*lìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* patch  
*lìgìl*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* cover  
*lìgìn*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* cover oneself  
*lìbìr*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *lìbā* *cb* *lìb-* *n.* twin  
*lìk*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *lìgīs*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* darkness  
*lìlāalìŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *lìlāalís*<sup>ε</sup> *lìlāalímìs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *lìlāalìŋ-* *n.* swallow  
*lìn* *pron.* it (*subject of ñ-clause*); *lìn*<sup>ε</sup> it (*contrastive*)  
*lìn*<sup>ε</sup> *pron.* that  
*lìná* *pron.* that  
*l̄* *dv.* tie  
*l̄b*<sup>ε</sup> *or* *l̄bìg*<sup>ε/l</sup> *dv.* throw stones at  
*l̄bìdìg*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *l̄bìdís*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* water drawing vessel  
*l̄dìg*<sup>a/l</sup> *pl* *l̄dīs*<sup>ε/l</sup> *cb* *l̄d-* *n.* corner; *l̄dìgìn kùg-sùŋ*<sup>o</sup> *cornerstone* NT  
*l̄dìg*<sup>ε/l</sup> *dv.* untie  
*l̄k*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *l̄'ad*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *l̄'à-* *n.* quiver (for arrows)  
*l̄mbòŋ'og*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *l̄mbòŋ'od*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *l̄mbòŋ'-* *n.* garden (Hausa *làmbuu*; *second element remodelled by analogy with bòŋ'og*<sup>o</sup> "swamp; ricefield")  
*l̄ŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *l̄mīs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *l̄ŋ-* *n.* a kind of frog  
*l̄ŋ*<sup>ε/l</sup> *dv.* go across river, road etc  
*l̄r*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *l̄yà l̄om*<sup>ma</sup> *cb* *l̄r-* *n.* car, lorry (English)  
*l̄s*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* dip, immerse in liquid  
*l̄* *ipfv* *l̄t*<sup>a</sup> *imp* *l̄m*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* fall  
*l̄b*<sup>ε</sup> *ger* *l̄bìr*<sup>ε/l</sup> *dv.* buck, kick, struggle, throw off rider  
*l̄g*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* swim  
*l̄gōr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* organ, member

## M

- ̀* *pron.* I (*right-bound*); *m*<sup>a</sup> *me* (*enclitic*)  
*mà* *cb* *mà-* *n.* mother; *pl* *mà nám*<sup>a</sup> (*tone sic*) mother's sisters/co-wives; *mà-bìg*<sup>a</sup> *n.* sibling with same mother; *mà-bìl*<sup>a</sup> *n.* mother's younger sister or junior co-wife; *mà-kpēēŋm*<sup>m</sup> *n.* mother's elder sister or senior co-wife; *mà-pīt*<sup>a/l</sup> *n.* mother's younger sister  
*mà'* *dv.* lie, deceive  
*mà'àa* SF *mà'anè* LF *emphatic* only

- màal*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* prepare, sacrifice; *ag màal-māan*<sup>na</sup> *n.* sacrificer; priest NT; traditionally just a worker who conducts the actual slaying for the *tèη-dāan*<sup>a</sup> earth-priest
- mā'al*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* make cool, wet
- māan*<sup>ne</sup> *pl* *māanā* *cb* *māan-* *n.* (physical) sacrifice
- má'an*<sup>ne</sup> *pl* *mā'aná* *cb* *mā'an-* *n.* okra
- mā'as*<sup>al</sup> *sv.* be cool, wet
- mā'asíg*<sup>a</sup> *mā'asír*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *mā'asá* *cb* *mā'as-* *adj.* cool, wet
- mā'asígā*<sup>/</sup> *adv.* coolly
- mā'asím*<sup>m</sup> *n.* coolness, wetness
- mādīg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* overflow, abound
- mā'e*<sup>/</sup> *dv.* cool down
- màk*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* crumple up
- māk*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* measure, judge
- màlīāk*<sup>al</sup> *pl* *màlīā'as*<sup>ε/</sup> *màlīāk-nám*<sup>a</sup> *cb* *màlīā'* *n.* angel (Arabic *malʔak*);  
written *malek* in NT versions before 2016
- màlīf*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *màlī* *n.* gun, rifle (ultimately Arabic)
- màlīgì**m* *preverb* again
- mālīs*<sup>al</sup> *sv.* be sweet, pleasant
- mālīsíg*<sup>a</sup> *mālīsír*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *mālīsá* *cb* *mālīs-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant
- mālīsím*<sup>m</sup> *n.* sweetness
- mālīsíg*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *mālīsís*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *mālīsíg-* *adj.* sweet, pleasant
- mālūη*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *mālīmā* *cb* *màlūη-* *n.* sacrifice
- mām* *pron.* I, me
- mán* *pron.* I (as subject of *η*-clause); *mān* SF *mánè* LF I, me (contrastive)
- màηgávη*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *màηgáam*<sup>mε</sup> *màηgāamá* *cb* *màηgāvη-* *n.* crab (cf *làηgávη*<sup>o</sup> *id*)
- màyuk*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *mà'ad*<sup>ε</sup> *adj.* crumpled up
- mè* *dv.* build
- mè mèn*<sup>ε</sup> *emphatic* too, also; *mè-kàmà* -soever 12.3.3
- mēd*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* mash up
- mèη*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *mèemìs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *mèη-* *n.* turtle
- mèlīgì**m*<sup>m</sup> *n.* dew
- mēη*<sup>al</sup> *pron.* self
- mēηír*<sup>ε</sup> *adj.* genuine
- mēt*<sup>ε/</sup> *cb* *mēt-* *n.* *pl* as *sg* *pus*
- mī*<sup>/</sup> *ger* *mī'ilím*<sup>m</sup> *sv.* know; *ag gbàn-mī'id*<sup>al</sup> *n.* scribe ("book-knower") NT
- mìe* *dv.* squeeze(?); *uncertain meaning and tones*
- mīif*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *mīiní* *n.* okra seed
- mì'ig*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* become sour
- mì'is*<sup>a</sup> *sv.* be sour
- mì'isùg*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *mì'isà* *cb* *mì'is-* *adj.* sour
- mīlīg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* get dirty

*mìmīlím<sup>m</sup> mīmīlíg<sup>o</sup>* n. sweetness  
*mīt* see that it doesn't happen that... 16.4; *always mid in KB*  
*mō* dv. strive, struggle  
*mōd<sup>ε</sup>* dv. swell  
*mōdīg<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. be patient, endure  
*mòlì<sup>o</sup> pl mòlì cb mòl-* n. gazelle  
*mōn<sup>ε</sup>* dv. grind millet to make *sā'ab<sup>o</sup>* porridge  
*mōŋ<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. refuse to lend  
*mōɔg<sup>o</sup> pl mōɔd<sup>ε</sup> cb mò-* n. grass, "bush"; *mò-pīl<sup>lε</sup>* n. grass thatch  
*Mòɔg<sup>o</sup>* n. Mossi realm; *Mòɔg Nā'ab<sup>a</sup>* n. Moro Naba, King of the Mossi  
*mōɔl<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. proclaim; *ag mōɔl-môɔn<sup>na</sup>* n. proclaimer  
*Mòɔl<sup>ε</sup>* n. Mooré language  
*Mōr<sup>ε/</sup> pl Móm<sup>ma</sup> cb Mōr-* n. Muslim  
*mōr<sup>a/</sup> ger mōrím<sup>m</sup>* sv. have, possess; *mōr nā* bring 16.9  
*Mùà* pl *Mòɔs<sup>ε</sup> cb Mò-* n. Mossi person  
*mù'à<sup>a</sup>* dv. suck (of a baby)  
*mùàk<sup>a</sup> pl mù'as<sup>ε</sup> cb mù'à-* n. maggot  
*mù'ar<sup>ε</sup> pl mù'aa mù'adà cb mù'à-* n. dam; reservoir  
*mù'as<sup>ε</sup>* 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<sup>ε</sup>* dv. itch  
*mùm<sup>m</sup>* dv. bury

## N

*̀n* clause nominaliser 17.3  
*n* clause catenator 17.2  
*̀n-* personifier before an adjective 12.5.1  
*n<sup>ε</sup>* discontinuous-past marker 16.2.2  
*n<sup>ε</sup> nī'* locative particle 13.2  
*nà* positive irrealis mood marker 16.3  
*nā'* VP-final particle hither  
*nā* dv. join  
*náa* reply to greetings invoking blessings  
*nà'ab<sup>a</sup> pl nà'-nàm<sup>a</sup> cb nà'-* n. chief, king; *nà'-bīg<sup>a</sup>* n. prince/princess; *nà'-yīr<sup>ε/</sup>* n. palace; *nà'-yī-kpém<sup>ma</sup>* n. pl king/chief's retainers  
*náaf<sup>o</sup> pl nīgí cb nā'-* n. cow; *nā'-lór<sup>ε</sup>* n. place in compound for tying up cows;  
*nā'-dâvg<sup>o</sup> pl nā'-dâad<sup>ε</sup> cb nā'-dá-* n. ox; *nā'-dá-kūødír<sup>ε</sup>* n. ox for ploughing  
*nàam<sup>m</sup>* dv. happen  
*nā'am<sup>m</sup> cb nà'am-* n. chieftaincy, kingdom

- nāan* next, afterwards = *ñyāan*  
*nāan* or *nāanī* in that case 17.1.4  
*nāan*<sup>el</sup> *dv.* starting at ... do ... 17.2.1  
*nà'anā'* *adv.* easily  
*nà'as*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* honour; *ger* *nà'asì* *n.* honour  
*Nàbìd*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *Nàbìdìb*<sup>a</sup> *cb* *Nàbìd-* *n.* Nabdema person; also a *Kusaasi* clan name (WK)  
*Nàbìdùg*<sup>o</sup> *n.* Nabdema country  
*Nàbìr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* Nabit language  
*Nà'-dàm*<sup>ma</sup> *n.* clan name  
*Nà'-dàṃṃ*<sup>o</sup> *n.* place of clan Nadamba  
*nà'-dàwān*<sup>ne/</sup> *n.* pigeon KED (= *dàwān*<sup>ne/</sup>)  
*nāe'* *dv.* finish  
*nàm* *auxiliary tense marker* still, yet  
*nàm*<sup>a</sup> *pluraliser* 5.1  
*nāmīs*<sup>el</sup> *dv.* persecute, suffer  
*nān*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* love, respect, appreciate  
*nà'-nēsīnnēog*<sup>o/</sup> *n.* centipede WK  
*nānná* *adv.* now  
*nānná-nā'* *adv.* now  
*nānzū'us*<sup>el</sup> *n.* pepper tones uncertain  
*nāṃ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *nāmīs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *nàṃ-* *n.* scorpion  
*nār*<sup>al</sup> *ger* *nārím*<sup>m</sup> *sv.* be obliged to; impersonal: to be necessary; with following  
*purpose clause* 17.4.1; *negated*: be obliged not to  
*nàrvòṃ*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *nàrvàmà* *cb* *nàrvòṃ-* *adj.* necessary  
*Nàsāal*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* English/French language  
*Nàsāara* *pl* *Nàsàa-nàm*<sup>a</sup> *Nàsàar-nàm*<sup>a</sup> *cb* *Nàsàa- Nàsàar-* *n.* European person  
 (Arabic *Nas'āaraa* "Christians"); *Nàsàa-bīg*<sup>a</sup> *n.* European child  
*nàyiṃg*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *nàyiṃg-nàm*<sup>a</sup> *nàyiṃs*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* thief  
*nàyiṃgìm*<sup>m</sup> *n.* thievery  
*nà'-zòm*<sup>mε</sup> *n.* locust  
*nē* *preposition* with; *linking NPs and AdvPs* and  
*nē'* *focus particle* 19.1.2; *aspectual marker* 16.1.1  
*nē'* *meaningless particle after objects of wūv and wēn*<sup>na/</sup> 15  
*nē'* *pron.* this  
*nèel*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* reveal  
*nèem*<sup>m</sup> *adv.* for free  
*nēem*<sup>m/</sup> *dv.* grind with a millstone  
*nēer*<sup>el</sup> *n.* millstone  
*nèes*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* reveal; *nèesìm*<sup>m</sup> *n.* light  
*nēm-nêer*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *nēm-néyà* *n.* someone who grinds  
*nēn*<sup>na/</sup> *ger* *nēnním*<sup>m</sup> *sv.* envy; *nīn-nén*<sup>na</sup> *ag* envious person



*nē'ŋá* pron. this

*nèog*<sup>o</sup> *nèer*<sup>e</sup> pl *nèed*<sup>e</sup> *nèyà* cb *nè-* adj. empty

*nēsīnnēog*<sup>o</sup> pl *nēsīnnēed*<sup>e</sup> cb *nēsīnné-* n. envious person WK; *others*: centipede  
*ñfá!* Well done!

*nī'* locative particle: see *n<sup>e</sup>*

*nì* dv. rain

*nīd*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīdīb*<sup>a</sup> cb *nīn-* n. person; *nīn-sâal*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīn-sâalīb*<sup>a</sup> cb *nīn-sâal-* n. human being;  
*nīnpōnān*<sup>na</sup> pl *nīnpōnānnīb*<sup>a</sup> cb *nīnpōnán-* n. disrespectful person; *nīn-*  
*sábilis*<sup>e</sup> n. Africans

*nìe* dv. appear, reveal

*nīf*<sup>o</sup> pl *nīnī* cb *nīn-* *nīf-* n. eye; *nīf-gbáɸŋ*<sup>o</sup> n. eyelid; *nīf-sób*<sup>a</sup> n. miser; *nīf-ñyáɸk*<sup>o</sup> adj.  
one-eyed; *nīn-dáa* pl *nīn-dâas*<sup>e</sup> cb *nīn-dá-* n. face; *nīn-gótìŋ*<sup>a</sup> n. mirror pl *nīn-*  
*gótìs*<sup>e</sup> n. spectacles, glasses; *nīn-kúgvdiŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīn-kúgvdiŋs*<sup>e</sup> n. eyebrow; *nīn-*  
*tâ'am*<sup>m</sup> n. tear(s); *nīn-múa* n. concentration ("eye-redness"); *m̄ nīnī mù'e nē* ...  
I'm concentrating on ...

*nīŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīmís*<sup>e</sup> *nīs*<sup>e</sup> cb *nīŋ-* n. bird

*nīm*<sup>ne</sup> pl *nī'm*<sup>ne</sup> pl *nīmá* cb *nīm-* n. meat

*nīn-báalìg*<sup>a</sup> n. pity; *nīn-bâal-zōr*<sup>e</sup> n. pity; *Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg*. He has pity on him.

*nīŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīs*<sup>e</sup> cb *nīŋ-* *nīn-* n. body (uncommon); *nīn-tōllím*<sup>m</sup> n. fever; *nīn-tāa* pl *nīn-*  
*tāas*<sup>e</sup> cb *nīn-tà-* n. co-wife (Ghanaian English: "rival"); husband's brother's wife;  
*nīn-gbīŋ*<sup>o</sup> pl *nīn-gbīná* cb *nīn-gbīŋ-* n. body (pl often as sg); *nīn-gōr*<sup>e</sup> n. neck

*nīn-pôvd*<sup>e</sup> n. pl as sg pus

*nīntāŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *nīntāans*<sup>e</sup> cb *nīntāŋ-* n. heat of the day, early afternoon

*nīŋ*<sup>e</sup> dv. do

*n lā* that is ... [17.1.5](#)

*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 ... [17.1.5](#)

*nō* dv. tread

*nōb*<sup>e</sup> dv. get fat

*nōbīg*<sup>e</sup> dv. grow (e.g. child, plant)

*nóbìr*<sup>e</sup> pl *nōbá* cb *nōb-* n. leg, foot; *nōb-bí*<sup>a</sup> n. toe; *nōb-yíɸŋ*<sup>o</sup> adj. one-legged;  
*nōb-íñ'a* n. toenail; *nōb-púmpàɸŋ*<sup>o</sup> n. foot

*nōk*<sup>e</sup> dv. pick up, take up

*nòŋ*<sup>e</sup> ag *nòŋd*<sup>a</sup> (tone sic) sv. love (family, spiritual); irreg *ma*-imperative: *nòŋim*<sup>a</sup>

*nōŋ*<sup>o</sup> cb *nōŋ-* n. poverty; *nōŋ-dâan*<sup>a</sup> n. poor person

*nòŋlím*<sup>m</sup> n. love

*nōw* emphatic exactly, just

- nɔɔr*<sup>el</sup> pl *nɔ́yá* cb *nɔ́-* n. mouth; command, message, opinion; *nɔ́-dí'əs*<sup>a</sup> n. in Ghanaian English "linguist", councillor who speaks on a chief's behalf on all official occasions (the Akan *okyeame*); *Wínà'am nɔ́-dí'əs*<sup>a</sup> ("God's linguist") prophet NT/KB; *nɔ́-lóɔr*<sup>e</sup> n. fasting ("mouth-tying", as throughout West Africa); *nɔ́-náar*<sup>e</sup> n. covenant; *nɔ́-pɔɔr*<sup>e</sup> n. oath; *nɔ́-gbáɔŋ*<sup>o</sup> pl *nɔ́-gbánà* n. lip
- nɔɔr*<sup>el</sup> *nɔ́ɔrím*<sup>m</sup> times 12.4.1
- ɲpɔ̀ɛ* q. seven, in counting
- ɲtáñ'* q. three, in counting
- nū* dv. drink
- nūa'* pl *nɔ́ɔs*<sup>el</sup> cb *nɔ́-* n. hen; *nɔ́-dávu*<sup>o</sup> n. cock; *nɔ́-ɲyá'aŋ*<sup>a</sup> n. (specifically female) hen; *Nɔ́-ɲyá'aŋ-né-ò-Bɲis* the Pleiades
- nūlīg*<sup>el</sup> dv. make drink
- nūlīs*<sup>el</sup> dv. make drink
- nū'ug*<sup>o</sup> pl *nū'us*<sup>e</sup> cb *nū'-* n. hand, arm; *nū'-bíl*<sup>a</sup> pl *nū'-bíbìs*<sup>e</sup> n. finger; *nū'-dáv*<sup>o</sup> n. thumb; *nū'-yíɔŋ*<sup>o</sup> adj. one-armed; *nū'-íñ'a* pl *nū'-éñ'es*<sup>e</sup> cb *nū'-éñ'-* n. fingernail; *nū'-wéñ'ed*<sup>a</sup> n. mediator
- ñwà* deictic this
- ñwā'* dv. smash, break up
- ñwāaŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *ñwāamīs*<sup>e</sup> cb *ñwàaŋ-* n. monkey
- ñwādīg*<sup>al</sup> pl *ñwādīs*<sup>el</sup> cb *ñwād-* n. moon, month; *ñwād-bíl*<sup>a</sup> pl *ñwād-bíbìs*<sup>e</sup> n. star; *Ñwād-dár*<sup>e</sup> n. Venus
- ñwà'e* dv. cut wood
- ñwā'e'* dv. strike, break
- ñwāɛ* q. nine, in counting
- ñwām*<sup>me</sup> WK *ñwān*<sup>ne</sup> SB pl *ñwāmā* SB WK NT *ñwānā* NT cb *ñwàm-* *ñwàn-* n. calabash
- Ñwāmpūrīg*<sup>al</sup> pl *Ñwāmpūrīs*<sup>el</sup> cb *Ñwāmpúr-* n. Mamprussi person
- Ñwāmpūrīl*<sup>el</sup> n. Mampruli language
- Ñwāmpūrōg*<sup>o</sup> n. Mamprussi country
- ñwè'* dv. beat; *ñwè'* X *nū'ug* make an agreement with X; *ñwè'* *ñyɔ'ɔg* boast
- ñwīg*<sup>al</sup> pl *ñwīis*<sup>el</sup> cb *ñwī-* n. rope; *ñwī-ték*<sup>a</sup> pl *ñwī-tékìdìb*<sup>a</sup> cb *ñwī-ték-* n. rope-puller; *ñwī-tékìr*<sup>e</sup> pl *ñwī-tékà* n. rope for pulling
- ñwīg*<sup>el</sup> dv. make a rope
- ñyā'al*<sup>el</sup> dv. leave behind
- ñyāan* tense-slot adjunct next, afterwards
- ñyá'aŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *ñyá'as*<sup>e</sup> *ñyā'amís*<sup>e</sup> cb *ñyā'aŋ-* adj. female (animal)
- ñyá'aŋ*<sup>a</sup> postposition behind; East; *ñyá'an-dòl*<sup>la</sup> *ñyá'an-dòl*<sup>le</sup> pl *ñyá'an-dòllà* *ñyá'an-dòllìb*<sup>a</sup> cb *ñyá'an-dòl-* n. disciple NT; tones unexpected, Pattern L
- ñyā'ar*<sup>e</sup> pl *ñyā'a* cb *ñyà'-* n. root
- ñyāe*<sup>nel</sup> adv. in the light, brightly, clearly
- ñyālóŋ*<sup>o</sup> pl *ñyālmá* cb *ñyālōŋ-* adj. wonderful
- ñyàn*<sup>ne</sup> n. shame; *Ò dì ñyán.* He's ashamed.

*ňyāŋ<sup>el</sup>* *dv.* overcome 17.2.1  
*ňyàùk<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *ňyà'ad<sup>e</sup>* *adj.* only (eye) 12.6.1.1  
*ňyē* *ipfv* *ňyēt<sup>a/</sup>* *imp* *ňyèm<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* see, find; *ňyē láafiyà* get well  
*ňyēē*, *ňyēē tí* *auxiliary tense marker* habitually  
*ňyē'ēr<sup>el</sup>* *pl* *ňyēdá* *cb* *ňyē'-* *n.* next-younger sibling  
*ňyèēs<sup>a</sup>* *sv.* be self-confident  
*ňyèēsìm<sup>m</sup>* *n.* self-confidence  
*ňyèēsíŋ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *ňyèēsís<sup>e</sup>* *cb* *ňyèēsíŋ-* *adj.* self-confident  
*ňyèēsíŋā<sup>l</sup>* *adv.* self-confidently  
*ňyí<sup>l</sup>* *q.* two, in counting  
*ňyīn<sup>ne/</sup>* *pl* *ňyīná* *cb* *ňyīn-* *n.* tooth  
*ňyīríf<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *ňyīrí* *n.* a kind of edible seed, egusi: *Colocynthis citrullus*  
*ňyōōd<sup>e</sup>* *n.* intestines  
*ňyō'og<sup>o/</sup>* *n.* chest  
*ňyōog<sup>o</sup>* *n.* sympathy: *Ò zòtō ñyōog.* She sympathises with him.  
*ňyōōr<sup>e</sup>* *pl* *ňyōyā* *cb* *ňyò-* *n.* nose; breath; *ňyò-vōr<sup>el</sup>* *pl* *ňyò-vōyá* *cb* *ňyò-vōr-* *n.* life;  
*ňyò-vōr-pâal<sup>le</sup>* *n.* new life NT  
*ňyō'os<sup>el</sup>* *n.* smoke  
*ňyûøb* *q.* six, in counting  
*ňyūur<sup>el</sup>* *pl* *ňyūyá* *cb* *ňyū-* *n.* yam

## O

*ò* *pron.* he, she (*right-bound*); <sup>o</sup> LF [ɔ] him, her (*enclitic*)  
*ón* *pron.* he, she (*subject of ñ-clause*); *ōn<sup>e</sup>* he, she (*contrastive*)  
*òn<sup>e</sup>* *pron.* this, that (*animate sg*)  
*òñb<sup>e</sup>* *ger* *ōñbīr<sup>e</sup>* *dv.* chew  
*òŋā<sup>l</sup>* *pron.* this, that (*animate sg*)  
*òōs<sup>el</sup>* *dv.* warm oneself; *Ò òòsìd nē búgúm lā.* She's warming herself at the fire.

## P

*pà<sup>l</sup>* *tense particle* earlier today  
*pà'al<sup>e</sup>* *dv.* teach, inform; *ag* *pā'an<sup>na</sup>* *pl* *pā'annīb<sup>a</sup>* *cb* *pà'an-* *n.* teacher  
*pà'al<sup>e</sup>* *dv.* put on top of something  
*pāalíg<sup>a</sup>* *pāal<sup>le</sup>* *pl* *pāalís<sup>e</sup>* *pāalá* *cb* *pāal-* *adj.* new  
*pāalím<sup>m</sup>* *adv.* recently  
*pāalú* *adv.* openly  
*pàañlúŋ<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *pàañlímìs<sup>e</sup>* *n.* spider's web  
*pàam<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* receive a gift  
*pàas<sup>e</sup>* *dv.* add up to, amount to  
*pāe<sup>l</sup>* *dv.* reach  
*pàk<sup>e</sup>* *dv.* surprise

*pàk*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* take off from the top

*pāmm* SF *pāmné* LF *q.* much, a lot

*pàñ'alim*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* dedicate

*pàñsìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* lack

*pàη*<sup>a</sup> pl *pàańs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *pàη-* n. power

*pà' tì* tense-slot adjunct perhaps

*pèbìs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* blow (of wind)

*pèbìsìm*<sup>m</sup> *pèbìsùg*<sup>o</sup> n. wind

*pè'el*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* fill; *pfv adj* *pè'elúη*<sup>o</sup> full

*pεelvg*<sup>o</sup> in *zū-péelùg*<sup>o</sup> bald; cf *Dau sɔ' zug ya'a pie* "If a man has gone bald" (Lv 13:40) and Mooré *pěoogè* "go bald"

*pè'es*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* add up to, amount to

*pèlìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* whiten, go white

*pèlìs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* sharpen

*pèn*<sup>nε</sup> n. vagina

*pē'η*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* borrow; knock over WK

*pèog*<sup>o</sup> pl *pèed*<sup>ε</sup> cb *pè-* n. basket

*pē'og*<sup>o/</sup> pl *pē'es*<sup>ε/</sup> cb *pē'-* n. sheep; *pē'-sá'a* n. ewe lamb

*pēsīg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* sacrifice

*pīā* *dv.* dig up

*pīāñ*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* speak, praise; *ger* *pīāyñk*<sup>o</sup> n. word pl *pīāñ'ad*<sup>ε</sup> language cb *pīāñ'-*;  
*pīāñ'-zònà* n. foreign language

*pìbìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* uncover

*pìbìl*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* cover up

*pībīn*<sup>nε</sup> pl *pībīnā* cb *pībìn-* n. (physical) covering

*pīd*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* put on (hat, shoes, rings); *clothing item as object; with indirect object* put  
(hat, shoes, rings) on someone else

*pīd*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* get bloated

*pīdìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* take off (hat, shoes, rings)

*pīe*<sup>/</sup> *dv.* wash (part of one's own body)

*pīəb*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* blow (e.g. flute)

*pīəlìg*<sup>a</sup> *pīəl*<sup>lε</sup> pl *pīəlà* *pīəlìs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *pīəl-* *adj.* white; Kusaal, like many local languages, has a three-colour system: *zēñ'og*<sup>o</sup> (or *wìug*<sup>o</sup>) "red", for all reddish shades, *sābílìg*<sup>a</sup> "black", for all darker shades, and *pīəlìg*<sup>a</sup> "white" for all lighter shades. Though any colour can be allocated to one of only three terms, many other standard colour expressions exist, e.g. *wōv támpōvr nē* "like ash", i.e. "grey."

*pīəlìm*<sup>m</sup> n. whiteness

*pīəs*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* fool someone

*pīəs*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* wash

*pīīgā* *q.* ten

*pīim*<sup>m/</sup> pl *pīimá* cb *pīim-* n. arrow

*píuǵ<sup>o</sup>* pl *pīuní* cb *pīun-* n. genet

*pīinī* cb *pīin-* pl as sg (?) n. gift

*pìl<sup>ε</sup>* dv. cover

*pìlìg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. uncover

*pīñ'il<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. begin

*pīpīrīg<sup>al/</sup>* pl *pīpīrīs<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *pīpír-* n. desert

*pīsí* q. twenty

*pītú* pl *pītíb<sup>a</sup>* cb *pīt-* n. younger sibling of the same sex

*pō* dv. swear

*pòñd<sup>ε</sup>* dv. crouch down

*pōñ'ɔl<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. cause to rot

*pòñ'ɔlìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. cripple, get crippled

*pòñ'ɔr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *pòñdà* cb *pòñ'-* n. cripple

*pòñr<sup>a</sup>* ger *pòñrǔb<sup>o</sup>* sv. be near

*pòɔd<sup>a</sup>* sv. be few, small

*pòɔdìg<sup>a</sup>* *pòɔdìr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *pòɔdà* cb *pòɔd-* adj. few, small

*pòɔdìm<sup>m</sup>* n. fewness

*pōɔg<sup>o/</sup>* pl *pōɔd<sup>ε/</sup>* *pōt<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *pō-* n. field, farm

*pò'ɔg<sup>ε</sup>* dv. diminish, belittle

*pōɔr<sup>ε/</sup>* n. "slogan" of a clan, part of its traditional genealogy WK; from *pō* swear (cf FAREFARE *pote, pore* "nom de famille, nom par lequel on jure", also "oath")

*pō* not: negates indicative mood [16.4](#)

*pō* dv. divide

*pū'ā<sup>a</sup>* pl *pō'ab<sup>a</sup>* cb *pū'à-* n. woman, wife; *Ò dī pū'ā*. He's married a wife; *pū'à-dīr<sup>ε</sup>* n.

marriage; *pū'à-ēlíg<sup>a</sup>* n. fiancée; *pū'à-gīnníg<sup>a</sup>*, *pū'à-gōɔñdīr<sup>ε</sup>* n. prostitute;

*pū'à-ñyá'aŋ<sup>a</sup>* pl *pū'à-ñyá'as<sup>ε</sup>* n. old woman; *pū'à-pāal<sup>al/</sup>* n. bride; *pū'à-sādīr<sup>ε/</sup>* n.

young woman; *pū'à-sāñ'am<sup>na</sup>* n. adulterer; *pū'à-yùà* n. daughter

*pūāk<sup>a</sup>* pl *pū'as<sup>ε</sup>* adj. female (human only)

*pù'alìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. cook

*pù'alìm<sup>m</sup>* dv. harm, damage; pfv adj *pù'alóŋ<sup>o</sup>* damaged

*pù'alìm<sup>m</sup>* n. femininity

*pù'alím<sup>m</sup>* pl *pù'alímìs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *pù'alím-* n. female sex organs

*pùd<sup>ε</sup>* dv. name

*pūdīg<sup>ε/</sup>* dv. divide, share out

*pùgudìb<sup>a</sup>* pl *pùgùd-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *pùgùd-* n. father's sister

*pù-kòɔñr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *pù-kòñyà* cb *pù-kòñ-* n. widow

*pō-kpāad<sup>al/</sup>* pl *pō-kpāadíb<sup>a</sup>* cb irreg *pō-kpá-* n. farmer

*pùlìmà* n. a species of grass, *Imperata cylindrica*

*pùmpōɔg<sup>o</sup>* n. housefly

*pùn* preverb previously, already

*pūñ'e<sup>/</sup>* dv. rot

*pūsīg<sup>a/</sup>* pl *pūsīs<sup>ε/</sup>* cb *pūs-* n. tamarind  
*pūsīr<sup>ε/</sup>* pl *pūsá* n. tamarind fruit  
*p̄-súk<sup>a</sup>* pl *p̄-súgòs<sup>ε</sup>* n. half  
*pūt<sup>ε/</sup>* n. pl as sg contents of stomach WK  
*pūum<sup>m/</sup>* cb *pūum-* n. flowers  
*p̄vug<sup>a</sup>* cb *p̄-* n. belly; *P̄'ā lā mór p̄vug* The woman is pregnant; *p̄vuḡ=n<sup>ε/</sup>* post-position inside; *p̄-p̄l̄im<sup>m</sup>* n. holiness; *p̄-t̄ñ'ēr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *p̄-t̄ñdà* cb *p̄-t̄ñ'-* mind  
*p̄vr<sup>ε/</sup>* n. stomach  
*p̄'vs<sup>ε</sup>* dv. greet, worship, thank; *ger p̄'vsim<sup>m</sup>* n. worship; *ger p̄'vsùg<sup>o</sup>* n. thanks;  
*p̄'vsùg d̄òg<sup>o</sup>* 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<sup>ε</sup>* cb *sà-* n. rain; sky; as subject of *īāñk<sup>ε/</sup>* "leap": lightning; *sāa d̄ind̄ēog<sup>o/</sup>* rainbow ("rain chameleon"); *sāa zúg<sup>o</sup>* n. sky  
*sā'ab<sup>o</sup>* cb *sà'-* n. millet porridge, "TZ", the staple food of the Kusaasi  
*sāafi* (?tones) n. lock, key (Twi *safē*)  
*sàal<sup>a</sup>* pl *sàal̄ib<sup>a</sup>* cb *sàal-* n. human (perhaps as "hairless" cf *b̄n-k̄ñb̄òg<sup>o</sup>*); *sàal-b̄īg<sup>a</sup>* pl *sàal-b̄īs<sup>ε</sup>* n. human being  
*sàal̄īnā<sup>/</sup>* adv. smoothly  
*sàam<sup>ma</sup>* pl *sàam-nàm<sup>a</sup>* cb *sàam-* n. father; *sàam-kp̄ēñm<sup>m</sup>* n. father's elder brother; *sàam-p̄īt<sup>a/</sup>* pl *sàam-p̄īt̄ib<sup>a</sup>* cb *sàam-p̄īt-* n. father's younger brother  
*sāam<sup>m/</sup>* dv. mash, crumble  
*sā'an<sup>ε/</sup>* postposition in the presence of, in the opinion of  
*sāan<sup>a/</sup>* pl *sāam<sup>ma</sup>* cb *sāan-* n. guest, stranger  
*sāann̄im<sup>m</sup>* n. strangerhood  
*sàb̄ēog<sup>o</sup>* pl *sàb̄ēd<sup>ε</sup>* cb *sàb̄è-* n. wind, storm  
*sāb̄il̄ig<sup>a</sup>* *sāb̄il̄<sup>ε</sup>* pl *sāb̄il̄is<sup>ε</sup>* *sāb̄il̄á* cb *sāb̄il-* adj. black [see note on *p̄l̄ig<sup>a</sup>*]  
*sàb̄ua* pl *sàb̄uəs<sup>ε</sup>* cb *sàb̄uà-* n. lover, girlfriend  
*Sà'-dàb̄òg<sup>o</sup>* n. place of the clan Sarabose  
*Sà'-dàb̄ua* pl *Sà'-dàb̄uəs<sup>ε</sup>* *Sà'-dàb̄uəb<sup>a</sup>* n. clan name  
*sād̄igim* since, because 17.3.1  
*sāñ* WK *sāñ<sup>ya</sup>* DK pl *sāñb<sup>a</sup>* cb *sāñ-* n. blacksmith  
*sākáròg<sup>o</sup>* pl *sākár̄id<sup>ε</sup>* cb *sākár-* n. fox  
*sàlib̄ir<sup>ε</sup>* n. bridle  
*sāl̄imā* cb *sāl̄im-* n. pl as sg gold  
*sām<sup>nε/</sup>* pl *sāmá* cb *sām-* n. debt; *sām-kp̄á'as<sup>a</sup>* n. household servant

- sāmán*<sup>ne</sup> pl *sāmánà* cb *sāmán-* n. open space in front of a *zàk*<sup>a</sup> compound;  
*Sāmán-pj̄er*<sup>e</sup> n. traditional New Year ceremony  
*sàñ'am*<sup>m</sup> dv. spoil, get spoiled, get broken; destroy  
*sāj́á* pl *sānsá* cb *sān-* n. time 13.1; *sān-kán*<sup>e</sup> adv. then; when?  
*sān-sj̄'ə=n lā* clause adjunct at one time, once ...  
*sàṅ-gbàṅj̄*<sup>o</sup> n. sky, heaven; cf *sāa*  
*sāṅgún̄n̄r*<sup>e</sup> pl *sāṅgún̄nà* cb *sāṅgún-* n. millipede  
*sāpál*<sup>le</sup> n. Harmattan part of the dry season *úvn*<sup>ne</sup>  
*sāpī* ideo. straight (LF *sāpī* or *sāpīné*)  
*sārīgá* n. prison (Hausa *sarkàa* "chain")  
*sàrj́yà* or *sèrj́yà* n. law (Arabic *fariiʿa*); *sàrj́yà-kāt*<sup>a</sup> n. judge NT  
*sāvḡ*<sup>o</sup>/ pl *sāad*<sup>el</sup>/ cb *sā-* n. broom, brush  
*sàvk*<sup>o</sup> pl *sà'ad*<sup>e</sup> n. mote of dust  
*sávḡ*<sup>o</sup> n. hospitality  
*sè* ipfv *sèed*<sup>a</sup> dv. transplant  
*sēoṅḡ*<sup>o</sup> n. rainy season  
*sì* dv. skin, flay  
*sj̄'a* pron. some, any (sg)  
*sj̄a* pl *sj̄əs*<sup>e</sup> cb *sj̄à-* n. waist; *sj̄à-l̄ōwđj́*<sup>a</sup> n. belt ("waist-tying-thing"); *sj̄à-nj̄f*<sup>o</sup>/n. kidney  
*sj̄ā'al*<sup>el</sup> dv. get to be enough  
*sj̄à'ar*<sup>e</sup> pl *sj̄à'a* cb *sj̄à'-* n. forest (WK), wilderness  
*sj̄àk*<sup>e</sup> dv. agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*)  
*sj̄āk*<sup>el</sup> dv. suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)  
*sj̄bīḡ*<sup>al</sup>/ pl *sj̄bí* cb *sj̄b-* n. a kind of termite  
*sìd* tense-slot adjunct truly  
*sìdà* pl *sìd-* n. pl as sg truth  
*sīd*<sup>a</sup> pl *sīdīb*<sup>a</sup> cb *sìd-* n. husband; *sìd-bj̄l*<sup>a</sup> n. husband's younger brother;  
*sìd-kpēñm*<sup>m</sup> n. husband's elder brother; *sìd-puāk*<sup>a</sup> n. husband's sister  
*sj̄e*<sup>l</sup> dv. descend, be humbled  
*sj̄ēbā* pron. some, any; *sj̄'əl*<sup>a</sup> something, anything; *sj̄'əm*<sup>m</sup> somehow, anyhow  
*sj̄g*<sup>e</sup> dv. descend  
*sj̄gīr*<sup>el</sup> n. guardian spirit; often the *wīn*<sup>ne</sup>/ of an ancestor 21.2  
*sj̄gīs*<sup>el</sup> dv. lower  
*sj̄gīsír*<sup>e</sup> pl *sj̄gīsá* n. stopping-place  
*sūḡ*<sup>a</sup> pl *sūs*<sup>e</sup> 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*<sup>el</sup> (qv); *Sì-sòṅ*<sup>o</sup> n. Holy Spirit NT; cf Buli *chík*  
*sūḡ*<sup>a</sup> pl *sūs*<sup>e</sup> n. African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*; cf Buli *sīk*  
*sj̄il̄m*<sup>m</sup> dv. cite proverbs  
*sj̄il̄j́*<sup>a</sup> *sj̄il̄óṅ*<sup>o</sup> pl *sj̄il̄ís*<sup>e</sup> *sj̄il̄ímìs*<sup>e</sup> *sj̄il̄ímà* cb *sj̄il̄j́*- n. proverb  
*sj̄iñd*<sup>el</sup> n. honey

- sīñf<sup>o/</sup> sīñg<sup>a/</sup> pl sīñs<sup>ε/</sup> cb sīñ-* n. bee  
*sī'is<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* touch  
*sīlīnsīug<sup>o</sup> pl sīlīnsīis<sup>ε</sup> n.* ghost  
*sīlīnsīuñg<sup>o</sup> pl sīlīnsīiñd<sup>ε</sup> n.* spider  
*sìlòg<sup>o</sup> pl sìn<sup>ne</sup> sīlīs<sup>ε</sup> cb sīl-* n. hawk  
*sìm<sup>m</sup> dv.* sink in a liquid  
*Sìmīig<sup>a</sup> pl Sìmīis<sup>ε</sup> cb Sìmì-* n. Fulbe person, Fulani  
*Sìmīil<sup>ε</sup> n.* Fulfulde language  
*Sìmīug<sup>o</sup> n.* place of the Fulbe  
*sīn<sup>na/</sup> ger sīnnīm<sup>m</sup> sv.* be silent  
*sīnsáañ n.* a kind of tiny ant  
*sīη<sup>a</sup> pl sīiñs<sup>ε</sup> cb sīη-* n. a kind of very big pot  
*sī'η<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* begin  
*sīsībìg<sup>a</sup> pl sīsībìs<sup>ε</sup> cb sīsīb-* n. neem tree, *Azadirachta indica*  
*sīsībìr<sup>ε</sup> pl sīsībà n.* fruit of neem tree  
*sìsì'em<sup>m</sup> n.* wind, storm  
*sìsùvgū=n<sup>ε/</sup> postposition* between; KB *svugun*  
*sì'uη<sup>o</sup> pl sī'imīs<sup>ε</sup> cb sī'uη-* n. a kind of large dish  
*sō' pron.* some(one), any(one), *animate sg*  
*sōb<sup>a</sup> pron.* (*animate dummy head sg*)  
*sōb<sup>ε</sup> dv.* go/make dark; *usually write; sōbīr<sup>ε/</sup> n.* piece of writing  
*sōbīg<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* blacken  
*sōeñ WK sōeñ<sup>ya</sup> DK pl sōoñb<sup>a</sup> cb sòñ-* n. witch  
*sógìà<sup>a</sup> n.* soldier (English)  
*sōlōη<sup>o/</sup> pl sōlímá n.* story  
*sōñ dv.* rub  
*sōñ'e<sup>ya/</sup> sv.* be better than; *ag sōñ'od<sup>a/</sup> pl sōñ'ob<sup>a/</sup> cb sōñ'od-*  
*sōnnīr<sup>ε</sup> pl sōnnā cb sòn-* n. courtyard dividing wall  
*sōñs<sup>ε</sup> ger sōñsìg<sup>a</sup> dv.* converse, talk with  
*sōoñg<sup>o</sup> n.* witchcraft  
*sōoñr<sup>ε</sup> pl sōñyā cb sòñ-* n. liver  
*sòs<sup>ε</sup> ger sōsīg<sup>a</sup> dv.* ask; *ag sòs<sup>a</sup> n.* beggar  
*sù dv.* take a bath  
*sū'ā<sup>a</sup> dv.* do secretly, hide  
*sūāk<sup>a/</sup> n.* hiding place  
*sūeñ' dv.* anoint  
*sū'e<sup>ya/</sup> sv.* own; *ger sū'vlím<sup>m</sup> n.* property, country, realm  
*sūgūr<sup>ε/</sup> dv.* show forbearance, be patient with; *sūgūrú n.* forbearance  
*sùm<sup>m</sup> n.* goodness; well  
*sùm<sup>ma</sup> sv.* be good  
*sùmbōgvsím<sup>m</sup> n.* peace



*sūmmīr*<sup>ε</sup> pl *sūmmā* cb *sùm-* n. groundnuts; *sùm-dōgvdá* n. cooked groundnuts  
*sùn*<sup>ne</sup> ger *sunnìr*<sup>ε</sup> or *sunnòg*<sup>o</sup> dv. bow one's head; *ag sūn*<sup>na</sup> n. ("someone who  
 goes about with bowed head") deep thinker, close observer WK

*sūñ'e*<sup>/</sup> dv. become better than

*sūñf*<sup>/</sup> *sūuñr*<sup>ε/</sup> pl *sūñyá* cb *sūñ-* n. heart; *sūñ-kpì'oŋ*<sup>o</sup> n. boldness; *sūñ-má'asim*<sup>m</sup> n. joy  
 (*M sūñf má'e yā*. "My heart has cooled" = I'm joyful); *sūñ-má'isim*<sup>m</sup> cb *sūñ-*  
*má'is-* n. joy; *sūñ-pêen*<sup>ne</sup> n. anger (*M sūñf pélìg nē*. "My heart is whitened" =  
 I'm angry); *sūñ-sāñ'vŋ*<sup>o</sup> n. sorrow (*M sūñf sāñ'am nē*. "My heart is spoilt" = I'm  
 sad)

*sùŋ*<sup>ε</sup> dv. help

*sùŋ*<sup>o</sup> *sùm*<sup>mε</sup> pl *sùmà* cb *sùŋ-* adj. good

*sùŋā*<sup>/</sup> adv. well, much

*sú'oŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *sū'omís*<sup>ε</sup> cb *sū'oŋ-* n. rabbit

*sūer*<sup>ε/</sup> pl *sūēyá* cb *sūā-* n. road; permission in *sūer bé*, *mōr sūer* 17.4.1

*sù'os*<sup>a</sup> n. yesterday

*sù'os*<sup>ε</sup> dv. trick

*sùr*<sup>a</sup> sv. have one's head bowed

*sùsòm*<sup>mε</sup> n. grasshopper

*Sūtáanà* n. Satan

*sōvg*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. wither (leaves) WK

*sù'vg*<sup>a</sup> *sù'vg*<sup>o</sup> pl *sù'vs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *sù'-* n. knife

## T

*tāa tāas*<sup>ε</sup> fellow- as second part of compound 9.2.1.4

*tāabā tāab* pron. each other

*tā'adīr*<sup>ε</sup> pl *tā'adā* cb *tā'ad-* n. sandal

*tàal*<sup>le</sup> pl *tàalà* cb *tàal-* n. fault, sin

*tá'am*<sup>mε</sup> pl *tā'amá* n. shea tree fruit

*tá'aŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *tā'amís*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tā'aŋ-* n. shea butter tree *Butyrospermum parkii*

*tā'as*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. help someone to walk

*tàb*<sup>ε</sup> dv. get stuck to

*tàbì*<sup>ya</sup> sv. be stuck to

*tàbìg*<sup>ε</sup> dv. get unstuck from

*tàbìl*<sup>ε</sup> dv. stick to (*transitive*)

*tàdìg*<sup>ε</sup> n. become weak

*tādīm*<sup>m/</sup> pl *tàdīm-nàm*<sup>a</sup> cb *tàdīm-* n. weak person

*tàdımís*<sup>ε</sup> n. weakness

*Tàlìn*<sup>ne</sup> n. Talni language

*Tàlìŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *Tàlìs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *Tàlìŋ-* n. Tallensi person

*tàm*<sup>m</sup> ipfv *tàmmìd*<sup>a</sup> dv. forget

*tàmpìiŋg*<sup>a</sup> n. rock

- tàmpūa* pl *tàmpōs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tàmpò-* n. housefly  
*tàmpōvr*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tàmpò-* n. ashpit, rubbish tip  
*tān*<sup>ne</sup> pl *tānā* cb *tàn-* n. earth; *tàn-mēed*<sup>a</sup> n. builder  
*tāñp*<sup>o</sup> n. war; *tāñp-sōb*<sup>a</sup> n. warrior  
*tāñs*<sup>ε</sup> ger *tāñsòg*<sup>o</sup> dv. shout; *Wìnnìg táñsìd nē*. The sun is shining.  
*tār*<sup>al</sup> ger *tārím*<sup>m</sup> sv. have; more typical of Toende Kusaal; NT/KB always *mōr*<sup>al</sup>  
*tàsìntàl*<sup>lε</sup> n. palm of hand  
*tàtál*<sup>lε</sup> n. palm of hand  
*tāyñ'* pl *tāñp*<sup>al</sup> cb *tāyñ-* *tāñp-* n. sibling of opposite sex  
*tèb*<sup>ε</sup> ger *tēbīg*<sup>a</sup> dv. carry in both hands  
*tēbīg*<sup>el</sup> dv. get heavy  
*tēbīs*<sup>al</sup> sv. be heavy  
*tēbísíg*<sup>a</sup> *tēbísír*<sup>ε</sup> pl *tēbísá* cb *tēbīs-* adj. heavy  
*tēbísím*<sup>m</sup> n. heaviness  
*téebòl*<sup>ε</sup> pl *téebòl-nàm*<sup>a</sup> n. table (English)  
*tēeg*<sup>el</sup> dv. drag, draw; *tēeg* X *tùbòr* punish X  
*tè'eg*<sup>a</sup> pl *tè'es*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tè'-* n. baobab, *Adansonia digitata*  
*tēk*<sup>el</sup> dv. pull  
*tēñb*<sup>ε</sup> ger *tēñbòg*<sup>o</sup> dv. tremble, struggle  
*tēñ'es*<sup>ε</sup> dv. remind  
*tēñ'es*<sup>el</sup> dv. think; ger *tēñ'esá* n. thought  
*tēñr*<sup>a</sup> ger *tēñrīb*<sup>o</sup> sv. remember  
*tēŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *tēēñs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tēŋ-* n. land; *tēŋ-bīg*<sup>a</sup> n. native; *tēŋ-dāan*<sup>a</sup> n. traditional earth-  
priest; *tēŋ-dō'adīg*<sup>a</sup> n. native land; *tēŋ-gbàŋ*<sup>o</sup> n. earth, land; *tēŋ-pōv*<sup>o</sup> pl  
*tēŋ-pōvd*<sup>el</sup> cb *tēŋ-pō-* n. village, town; *tēŋ-zòŋ*<sup>o</sup> pl *tēŋ-zòvñs*<sup>ε</sup> n. foreign country;  
*tēŋ-sūk*<sup>a</sup> n. centre  
*tēŋī=n*<sup>el</sup> or *tēŋír*<sup>ε</sup> downward; as postposition under  
*tèog*<sup>o</sup> pl *tèed*<sup>ε</sup> n. nest  
*tè'og*<sup>o</sup> pl *tè'ed*<sup>ε</sup> n. baobab fruit  
*tì* pron. we (right-bound); *tì* us (enclitic)  
*tì* preverb once 16.6  
*tìà'al*<sup>ε</sup> dv. come next  
*tìàk*<sup>ε</sup> dv. change  
*tì'əb*<sup>ε</sup> dv. prepare, get ready; heal in this sense perhaps influenced by  
Arabic *t'ibb* "medicinal art"; *tì'əb*<sup>a</sup> n. healer  
*tìeñ* dv. inform WK (KED remember)  
*tìeñ* dv. stretch out  
*tìəŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *tìəmìs*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tìəŋ-* n. beard; *tìəŋ-gōvr*<sup>ε</sup> n. chin  
*tīg*<sup>ε</sup> dv. become sated, have too much/many; ger *tīgīr*<sup>el</sup> n. glut  
*tì'y*<sup>al</sup> ger *tì'ib*<sup>o</sup> sv. be leaning (object)  
*tìg*<sup>a</sup> pl *tìis*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tì-* n. tree; *tì-dāv*<sup>o</sup> pl *tì-dāad*<sup>ε</sup> cb *tì-dà-* n. bow (for arrows)

*tī'il<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* lean something

*tìum<sup>m</sup>* *cb* *tì-* *n.* medicine; *tì-kōvdím<sup>m</sup>* *n.* poison; *tì-sābílím<sup>m</sup>* *n.* "black medicine" (a specific traditional remedy); *tì-vōnním<sup>m</sup>* *n.* oral medication

*tì'in<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* begin to lean

*tīlās<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* necessity (Hausa *tiilàs*) 17.4.1

*tìlìg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* survive, be saved

*tīnám<sup>a</sup>* *pron.* we, us (*contrastive*); *tīnámì* we (*subject of ñ-clause*)

*tīntōñríg<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *tīntōñrís<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *tīntóñr-* *n.* mole (animal)

*tìp<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *tìp-nàm<sup>a</sup>* *cb* *tìp-* *n.* healer (see *tī'əb<sup>a</sup>* *id*)

*tīrâan<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *tīrâan-nàm<sup>a</sup>* *cb* *tīrâan-* *n.* neighbour, peer

*tīrâannìm<sup>m</sup>* *n.* neighbourliness

*tīrìgà* *ideo.* for *gīŋ<sup>a</sup>* short

*tìs<sup>ε</sup>* *ipfv* *tìsìd<sup>a</sup>* *tìt<sup>a</sup>* *ag* *tìs<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* give; also *tì* before bound pronouns: *tì=f* gave you

*tītā'al<sup>lε</sup>* *n.* proud person

*tītā'alīm<sup>m</sup>* *n.* pride

*tītā'am<sup>m</sup>* *n.* multitude

*tītā'vg<sup>o</sup>* *tītā'ar<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *tītādā* *cb* *tītá'-* *adj.* big, great

*tò* OK (Hausa *tôo*)

*tòd<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* give to the poor, share

*tōg<sup>ya/</sup>* *sv.* be bitter, difficult

*tóklàe* *n.* torch (English "torchlight")

*tólib* *ideo.*

*tōlīs<sup>ε/</sup>* *dv.* do next, advance, carry on

*tólìlì* *ideo.* for *wōk<sup>o/</sup>* tall

*tòñ* *dv.* shoot

*tòñ'ws<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* hunt

*tōg<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *tōd<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *tò-* *adj.* bitter, difficult

*tōm<sup>m/</sup>* *dv.* depart, disappear

*tò'otō'* *adv.* straight away

*tùà* *dv.* grind in a mortar; *tùà-bīl<sup>a</sup>* *n.* pestle

*tù'à<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* speak, plead in court

*tù'al<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* condemn in court

*tù'as<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* talk

*tùbùr<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *tùbà* *cb* *tùb-* *n.* ear; *tùb-kpìr<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* half of jaw; *tùb-yīuŋ<sup>o/</sup>* *adj.* one-eared

*tōl<sup>la/</sup>* *sv.* be hot

*tùlìg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* invert

*tōlìg<sup>ε/</sup>* *dv.* heat up

*tòm<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* work; *ger* *tōvm<sup>mε</sup>* *n.* deed *pl* *tōvmā* *n.* deeds; work *cb* *tòvm-*; *tòvm-bē'ed<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* bad deeds; *tòvm-bē'ed-dím<sup>a</sup>* *n.* sinners NT; *ag* *tòm-tōm<sup>na</sup>* *n.* worker

*tòm<sup>m</sup>* *ger* *tītōmīs<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* send; compare Hausa *àikaa* "send", *aikàtaa* "work"

*tūñ'e* *sv.* be able, have power over 17.2.1

*tūødīr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *tūødā* cb *tūød-* n. mortar  
*tùøn<sup>nε</sup>* postposition in front; West (KB *yà tùønà*); *tùøn-gāt<sup>a</sup>* n. leader  
*Tùøn<sup>nε</sup>* n. Toende, western part of Kusaasi country  
*Tùønnìr<sup>ε</sup>* n. Toende dialect of Kusaal  
*tūsīr<sup>εl</sup>* n. thousand  
*tùtūl<sup>lε</sup>* n. upside-down thing, cf *tùlīg<sup>ε</sup>*  
*tōvlīgā<sup>l</sup>* adv. hotly  
*tōvlóg<sup>o</sup>* pl *tōvlá* cb *tōvl-* adj. hot  
*tō'vs<sup>εl</sup>* dv. meet

## U

*ùdòg<sup>o</sup>* pl *ùt<sup>ε</sup>* cb *ùd-* n. (piece of) chaff  
*ūgōs<sup>εl</sup>* dv. bring up a child  
*ùk<sup>ε</sup>* dv. vomit  
*ūk<sup>ε</sup>* dv. bloat  
*ùm<sup>m</sup>* dv. close eyes  
*ūrīg<sup>εl</sup>* dv. scrape  
*úvn<sup>nε</sup>* n. dry season

## V

*vābī<sup>ya/</sup>* ger *vāp<sup>o/</sup>* KT *vābīr<sup>εl</sup>* WK sv. be lying prone  
*vābīl<sup>εl</sup>* dv. make lie prone  
*vàbìn<sup>ε</sup>* dv. lie prone  
*vàe* dv. gather up  
*vāvňg<sup>o/</sup>* pl *vāaňd<sup>εl</sup>* cb *vāň-* n. leaf  
*vē<sup>l</sup>* dv. lead  
*vē'εg<sup>εl</sup>* dv. drag  
*vèn<sup>na</sup>* or *věňl<sup>la</sup>* sv. be beautiful  
*věňllīg<sup>a</sup>* pl *věňllis<sup>ε</sup>* *věňllà* cb *věňl-* adj. beautiful  
*věňllīg<sup>a</sup>* pl *věňllís<sup>ε</sup>* cb *věňllīg-* adj. beautiful  
*věnnìg<sup>a</sup>* *věnnìr<sup>ε</sup>* pl *věnnis<sup>ε</sup>* *věnnà* cb *věn-* adj. beautiful  
*věnnìm<sup>m</sup>* n. beauty  
*vī<sup>l</sup>* dv. uproot  
*vīk<sup>εl</sup>* dv. uproot  
*vīug<sup>o/</sup>* pl *vīid<sup>εl</sup>* cb *vī-* n. owl  
*vōb<sup>εl</sup>* dv. thrash (tones uncertain)  
*vū* ger *vūug<sup>o/</sup>* dv. make a noise; *vūud<sup>εl</sup>* n. noise  
*vōg<sup>ya/</sup>* sv. be alive  
*vōl<sup>ε</sup>* dv. swallow  
*vòlìnvùuňl<sup>lε</sup>* n. mason wasp  
*vōm<sup>m/</sup>* cb *vōm-* n. life; *vōm-paal<sup>lε</sup>* n. new life

*vúəŋ*<sup>a</sup> pl *vūəmís*<sup>ε</sup> n. red kapok, *Bombax buonopozense*

*vúə*<sup>ε</sup> pl *vūáa* cb *vūə*- n. fruit of red kapok

*vūr*<sup>ε/</sup> pl *vōyá* cb *vūr*- adj. alive

*vūrīg*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. shift along, move over (*tones uncertain*)

*vū'vug*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. come, make alive

*vū'us*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. breathe, rest

*vū'usím*<sup>m</sup> n. resting

## W

*wā'* dv. dance

*wāad*<sup>ε/</sup> n. cold weather

*wáaf*<sup>o</sup> pl *wīgí* cb *wā'*- n. snake

*wāal*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. sow, scatter seed

*wā'alím*<sup>m</sup> n. length

*wā'am*<sup>a/</sup> sv. be long, tall

*wàbìg*<sup>a</sup> *wàbìr*<sup>ε</sup> pl *wàbìs*<sup>ε</sup> *wàbà* cb *wàb*- n. lame person

*wàbùlím*<sup>m</sup> dv. make, go lame

*wābōg*<sup>o/</sup> pl *wābīd*<sup>ε/</sup> cb *wāb*- n. elephant

*wādīr*<sup>ε/</sup> pl *wādá* cb *wād*- n. law (English "order" via Hausa) plural as sg: law

*wād-tís*<sup>a</sup> n. lawgiver NT

*wà'e*<sup>ya</sup> sv. be travelling

*wālīg*<sup>a</sup> pl *wālīs*<sup>ε</sup> *wālí* (*tone sic*) cb *wàl*- n. a kind of gazelle

*wàṅì*<sup>m</sup> dv. waste away

*wàsìnwàl*<sup>lε</sup> n. a parasitic gall on trees, called "mistletoe" in local English

*wàṁṁ*<sup>o</sup> pl *wànà* cb *wàṁṁ*- adj. wasted, thin

*wèéd*<sup>a</sup> see *wìd*<sup>a</sup>

*wēel*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. be left unsold (KED) but see *wēog*<sup>o/</sup>

*wēl*<sup>ε</sup> dv. bear fruit

*wēl*<sup>lε/</sup> pl *wēlá* cb *wēl*- n. fruit

*wēlá* or *wālá* proadverb how?; *nìṅ wēlá n/kà* how can ...? [17.2.1](#)

*wēn*<sup>na/</sup> sv. resemble; in KB *wēn nē* appears as *nwenε*; ger *wēnním*<sup>m</sup>

*wēnnīr*<sup>ε</sup> adj. resembling (*Pattern A, specifically confirmed with WK*)

*wèog*<sup>o</sup> n. deep bush

*wēog*<sup>o/</sup> pl *wēed*<sup>ε/</sup> n. cheap thing sold in abundance WK

*wīāk*<sup>ε/</sup> dv. hatch (from an egg)

*wìdìg*<sup>ε</sup> dv. scatter

*wìəf*<sup>o</sup> pl *wìdì* cb *wìd*- n. horse; *wìd-lōr*<sup>ε/</sup> n. place for tying up horses in a compound;

*wìd-dāvug*<sup>o</sup> n. stallion; *wìd-ñyá'aṅ*<sup>a</sup> n. mare; *wìd-zūr*<sup>ε</sup> n. horsetail

*wìd*<sup>a</sup> or *wèéd*<sup>a</sup> pl *wìb*<sup>a</sup> cb *wìd*- n. hunter

*Wīid*<sup>a</sup> pl *Wīid-nàm*<sup>a</sup> cb *Wīid*- n. member of the clan Wiid

*Wīidòg*<sup>o</sup> n. place of the clan Wiid

*wīg*<sup>a/</sup> *n.* whistle  
*wūm*<sup>m</sup> *n.* sickness, disease ("worse than *bāñ'as*<sup>ε</sup>" WK)  
*wìk*<sup>ε</sup> *ipfv* *wìd*<sup>a</sup> *dv.* fetch water  
*wìl*<sup>lε</sup> *pl* *wìlà* *cb* *wìl-* *n.* branch  
*wīlsúŋ*<sup>o</sup> *pl* *wīlmís*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *wīlsúŋ-* *n.* a kind of snail  
*wīm* *ideo.* for *zìñ'a* red  
*wīn*<sup>ne/</sup> *pl* *wīná* *cb* *wīn-* *n.* God; god; spiritual double, *genius*; destiny; *wīn-tôg*<sup>o</sup>  
*n.* misfortune  
*Wínà'am*<sup>m</sup> *n.* God  
*wìnnìg*<sup>a</sup> *cb* *wìn-* *n.* sun; talent; *wìn-līr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* sunset; *wìn-kòǒñr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* sunset  
*wìug*<sup>o</sup> *wìr*<sup>ε</sup> *pl* *wìyà* *wìd*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *wì-* *adj.* red [see note on *pìə̀lìg*<sup>a</sup>]  
*wōk*<sup>o/</sup> *wā'ar*<sup>ε/</sup> *pl* *wá'a* *wā'ad*<sup>ε/</sup> *cb* *wōk-* *wā'-* *adj.* long, tall  
*wòm*<sup>m</sup> *dv.* hear; understand (a language); smell  
*wūsā* *q.* all  
*wūv* *q.* all  
*wūv* *preposition* like, resembling  
*wū'vg*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* get wet  
*wū'vl*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* make wet

## Y

*yà* *pron.* you *pl* (*right-bound*); *ya* *you pl* (*enclitic*)  
*y<sup>a</sup>* *pron.* you *pl*, *enclitic subject after imperative* [4.2](#) [17.1.3](#)  
*yā* *independent-perfective particle* [16.5](#)  
*yà'* *if, when* [17.1.4](#); *yà' nāan* *if only*; *yà' pòn* *even if*  
*yáa* *adv.* whither?  
*yáab*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *yāa-nám*<sup>a</sup> *cb* *yāa-* *n.* grandparent, ancestor; *yāa-dáu* *n.* grandfather;  
*yāa-pū'á*<sup>a</sup> *n.* grandmother  
*yà'ab*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* mould clay  
*yā'ad*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *yà'-* *n.* clay  
*yà'al*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* hang up; make perch (bird)  
*yà'an*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* perch (of a bird)  
*Yàan*<sup>ne</sup> *n.* Yansi language (apparently Mooré now)  
*yáa ní* *adv.* where?  
*yáaŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *irr* *yáas*<sup>ε</sup> (*without nasalisation*) *cb* *yāaŋ-* *n.* grandchild, descendant  
*Yàaŋ*<sup>a</sup> *pl* *Yàam*<sup>ma</sup> *Yàamìs*<sup>ε</sup> *Yàañs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb* *Yàaŋ-* *n.* Yansi person  
*yāar*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* scatter  
*yàarìm*<sup>m</sup> *cb* *yàar-* *n.* salt  
*yà'as*<sup>a</sup> *yà'as*<sup>ε</sup> *again* [17.2.1](#)  
*yā'as*<sup>ε/</sup> *dv.* open repeatedly  
*yàddā* or *yàdā* *n.* faith, trust [16.7.1](#) (Hausa *yàrda*; probably Arabic *yard<sup>f</sup>aa*);  
*yàddā-níŋìr*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* belief

- yādīg<sup>el</sup>* *dv.* scatter; *irreg ag yāt<sup>al</sup>* participant in a housebuilding ritual
- yā'e<sup>l</sup>* *dv.* widen, open (mouth)
- yàk<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* unhang, unhook
- yàlīm<sup>ma</sup>* *sv.* be wide
- yālīm<sup>m/</sup>* *pl yālīm-nám<sup>a</sup>* *n.* worthless person
- yālisúŋ<sup>o</sup>* *pl yālímís<sup>ε</sup>* *cb yālisúŋ-* *n.* quail
- yàlòŋ<sup>o</sup>* *pl yàlímà* *cb yàlòŋ-* *adj.* wide
- yām<sup>me</sup>* *pl yàmà* *cb yàm-* *n.* hay WK
- yām<sup>m/</sup>* *cb yām-* *n.* gall; gall bladder; common sense. WK *yā'am<sup>m/</sup>*; probably originally two distinct words 2.2
- yàmmìg<sup>a</sup>* *yàmmùg<sup>a</sup>* *yàmmùg<sup>o</sup>* *pl yàmmìs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb yàm-* *n.* slave
- yānám<sup>a</sup>* *pron.* you *pl (contrastive)*; *yānámì* you *pl (subject of ñ-clause)*
- Yārīg<sup>al</sup>* *pl Yārīs<sup>el</sup>* *cb Yār-* *n.* Yarsi person; also called Kantonsi; said to have been originally of Manding/Dyula origin
- Yāt<sup>el</sup>* *n.* Yarsi language (no longer Dyula/Bambara, but a Western Oti-Volta language)
- yàvŋ<sup>o</sup>* *pl yàad<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* grave, tomb
- yē* that 17.4; be about to ... 16.2.3
- yè* *dv.* dress oneself; *pfv adj yèelúŋ<sup>o</sup>* worn (e.g. of a shirt)
- yèεg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* undress oneself
- yèεl<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* dress someone
- yēεs<sup>el</sup>* *dv.* betray a secret
- yèl<sup>ε</sup>* *ipfv yèt<sup>a</sup>* *ger yèlùg<sup>o</sup>* *dv.* say, tell
- yēl<sup>lel</sup>* *pl yēlá* (as postposition: about) *cb yēl-* *n.* matter, affair; *yēl-méŋìr<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* truth; *yēl-nárùŋ<sup>o</sup>* *n.* necessity; *yēl-pákìr<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* disaster; *yēl-sú'adìr<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* confidential matter; *yēl-súm<sup>me</sup>* *n.* blessing
- yēŋím<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* oscillate (like waves)
- yèog<sup>o</sup>* *pl yèed<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* bird's crop; person displaced from family (KED)
- yéon* *q.* one, in counting
- yī* *ipfv yīt<sup>al</sup>* *imp yīm<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* go, come out
- yìdìg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* go astray
- yīdīg<sup>el</sup>* *dv.* untie
- yìθ<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* jaw
- yīigá* *q.* firstly; *yīig-sób<sup>a</sup>* *n.* first person
- yīis<sup>el</sup>* *ger yīisíb<sup>o</sup>* *dv.* make go/come out, extract
- yīmmír<sup>ε</sup>* *pl yīmmá* *cb yīm-* *adj.* solitary, lone, unique
- yīmmú* *q. adv.* straight away, at once
- yīnní* *q.* one
- yìŋ<sup>a</sup>* *adv.* outside
- yīr<sup>el</sup>* *pl yā'* *cb yī-* *n.* house; *yī-dāan<sup>a</sup>* *n.* householder; *yī-sób<sup>a</sup>* *pl yī-sób-nám<sup>a</sup>* *n.* householder; *yī-dím<sup>a</sup>* *n.* members of the household; *yī-póŋrùg<sup>o</sup>* *pl yī-póŋrà* *n.* neighbouring house; *yī-sígudìr<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* lodging-house; *yín<sup>ne</sup>* at home *pl yáa=n<sup>ε</sup>*

*yīs<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* make go/come out, extract  
*yīṃṃ<sup>o/</sup>* *pl* *yīná* *adj.* single- 12.6.1.1  
*yò* *dv.* close; *pfv adj* *yòólúṅ<sup>o</sup>* closed  
*yō* *dv.* pay; *ger* *yōód<sup>ε/</sup>* *n.* pay  
*yōlīs<sup>ε/</sup>* *dv.* untie  
*yōlísím<sup>m</sup>* *n.* freedom  
*yōlōg<sup>o/</sup>* *pl* *yōn<sup>ne/</sup>* *cb* *yōl-* *n.* sack, moneybag; (like Hausa *jàkaa*) ₦100, ₵200 (cedis)  
*yò'og<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* open  
*yò'or<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *yòyà* *cb* *yò-* *n.* soldier ant  
*yùà* *dv.* bleed; also fornicate WK  
*yō'adīr<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *yō'adā* *n.* rafter  
*yùbìg<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *yùbìs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *yùb-* *n.* small bottle-like pot  
*yūgvdīr<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *yūgvdā* *cb* *yùgvd-* *n.* hedgehog  
*yōgóm<sup>me</sup>* *yōgóm<sup>ne</sup>* *pl* *yōgvamá* *cb* *yōgvōm-* *n.* camel  
*yùlìg<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* swing (*transitive*)  
*yūñ'e<sup>/</sup>* *dv.* set alight  
*yū'or<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *yūādā* *cb* *yù'or-* *n.* penis  
*yùug<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* get to be a long time, delay; *Tì yūug nē tāabā.* It's long since we met.  
*yùul<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* swing (*intransitive*)  
*yō'vm<sup>m/</sup>* *dv.* sing; *ag* *yōvm-yō'vm<sup>na</sup>* *pl* *yōvm-yō'vmnìb<sup>a</sup>* *n.* singer  
*yó'vm<sup>ne</sup>* *pl* *yō'vmá* *cb* *yō'vm-* or *yōvm-* *n.* song  
*yòvm<sup>me</sup>* *pl* *yòmà* *cb* *yòvm-* *n.* year; *yòvm-pāalíg<sup>a</sup>* *n.* new year  
*yō'un* *tense-slot adjunct* then, next  
*yó'vṅ<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *yō'vmís<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *yō'vṅ-* *n.* night  
*yō'vr<sup>ε/</sup>* *pl* *yōdá* *cb* *yō'-* *n.* name  
*yōvr<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *yōyā* *cb* *yò-* *n.* water pot

## Z

*zā<sup>/</sup>* *cb* *zā-* *n.* millet  
*zāalíg<sup>a</sup>* *záal<sup>le</sup>* *pl* *zāalís<sup>ε</sup>* *zāalá* *cb* *zāal-* *adj.* empty  
*zāalím<sup>m</sup>* *adv.* emptily  
*zàam<sup>m</sup>* *cb* *zà-* *n.* evening; *zà-sìsōbīr<sup>ε/</sup>* *n.* evening  
*zāñ'an<sup>ne</sup>* *pl* *zāñ'anà* *n.* metal hammer, iron-tipped weapon, bludgeon  
*zàañsìm<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* dream  
*zāañsím<sup>m</sup>* *cb* *zāañs-* *n.* soup; *soup in general, not "fish soup" despite Mampruli*  
*zaasim* "fish"; *cf Toende zāasím* "meat soup" (*Niggli*)  
*zàañsúṅ<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *zàañsímà* *cb* *zàañsúṅ-* *n.* dream  
*zàb<sup>ε</sup>* *ger* *zàbìr<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* fight; hurt (of body part); *ag* *zàb-zàb<sup>a</sup>* *n.* warrior; *gbān-záb<sup>a</sup>* *n.*  
 leather-beater, leather-worker  
*zàbìl<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* cause to fight  
*zàk<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *zà'as<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *zà'-* *n.* compound; *zà'-nō'or<sup>ε/</sup>* *n.* gate; *zà'-nō-gúr<sup>a</sup>* *n.* gatekeeper



- zàkìm<sup>m</sup>* *dv.* itch  
*zàlìŋ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *zàlìmìs<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *zàlìŋ-* *n.* electric eel  
*zàm<sup>m</sup>* *ipfv* *zàmmìd<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* cheat; *ag* *zàm-zām<sup>na</sup>* *n.* cheat  
*zàmìs<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* learn, teach  
*zāñ'a* *q.* every  
*zàñ'as<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* refuse  
*zāñbìl<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* tattoo, mark skin  
*zāñbīn<sup>ne</sup>* *pl* *zāñbīnā* *cb* *zāñbīn-* *n.* tattoo; NT sign  
*zāñ<sup>la/</sup>* *ger* *zāñlím<sup>m</sup>* *sv.* be holding, carrying in hands  
*zāñ<sup>le</sup>* *n.* umbilicus  
*zàŋ<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* pick up, take up  
*Zàŋgbèel<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Hausa language  
*Zàŋgbèog<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *Zàŋgbèed<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* Hausa person  
*zàŋgùem<sup>me</sup>* *pl* *zàŋgùemà* *cb* *zàŋgùem-* *n.* wall  
*zàŋkù'ar<sup>ε</sup>* *pl* *zàŋkù'àa* *zàŋkù'adà* *cb* *zàŋkù'à-* *n.* jackal  
*zēm<sup>ma/</sup>* *ger* *zēmúg<sup>o</sup>* *sv.* be equal  
*zēmīs<sup>el/</sup>* *dv.* make equal  
*zēmúg<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *zēmám* *cb* *zēm-* *adj.* equal  
*zī* *ger* *zīid<sup>el/</sup>* *dv.* carry on one's head; *ag* *zī-zīid<sup>a</sup>* *n.* carrier on the head  
*zī'* *ger* *zī'ilím<sup>m</sup>* *sv.* not know 16.4; *ag* *zī'id<sup>a/</sup>* *n.* ignorant person  
*zì'e<sup>ya</sup>* *ger* *zī'a* KED; DK KT *zī'əg<sup>a</sup>* (*exceptional phonology*) *sv.* be standing  
*zì'əl<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* make to stand; *zì'əl nōɔr<sup>el/</sup>* promise, command; *with n tìs* X: promise to X  
*zì'ən<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* stand still; *Ò zì'ən nē.* She's pregnant.  
*zīum<sup>m/</sup>* *cb* *zī-* *n.* blood  
*zīŋ<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *zīmí* *cb* *zīm-* *n.* fish; *zīm-gbāñ'ad<sup>a</sup>* *n.* fisherman  
*zìlím<sup>me</sup>* *pl* *zìlímà* *cb* *zìlím-* *n.* tongue  
*zīlīnzìog<sup>o</sup>* *adj.* unknown  
*zīm* *ideo. for* *sābílíg<sup>a</sup>* black  
*zīnà* today  
*zìŋ'a zēñ'vg<sup>o</sup>* *pl* *zēñ'ed<sup>ε</sup>* *zēñ'es<sup>ε</sup>* *zēñdà* *cb* *zēñ'-* *adj.* red [see note on *pìəlìg<sup>a</sup>*]  
*zìŋ'i<sup>ya</sup>* *sv.* be sitting; *ger* *zìŋ'ig<sup>a</sup>* *pl* *zìŋ'is<sup>ε</sup>* *cb* *zìŋ-* (*also* place)  
*zìŋ'il<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* make sit, seat  
*zìŋ'in<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* sit down  
*zīnzāuŋ<sup>o/</sup>* *pl* *zīnzānà* *cb* *zīnzáuŋ-* *n.* bat  
*zīrì* *n.* lie, untruth  
*zò* *ipfv* *zòt<sup>a</sup>* *imp* *zòm<sup>a</sup>* *dv.* run; fear; experience emotion; *ger* *zūa zōɔg<sup>o</sup>* run;  
*ipfv* *ger* *zòtìm<sup>m</sup>* fear; *Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg.* He has pity on him.  
*zōl<sup>ε</sup>* *dv.* castrate  
*zōlímís<sup>ε</sup>* *n.* foolishness  
*zōlūg<sup>o/</sup>* *pl* *zōn<sup>ne/</sup>* *cb* *zōl-* *n.* fool  
*zōm<sup>m/</sup>* *cb* *zōm-* *n.* flour

- zōom*<sup>mε</sup> *zōom*<sup>nε</sup> *pl zōomā* *cb zōom-* *n.* refugee, fugitive  
*zōrīg*<sup>a/</sup> *n.* small child WK  
*zōrōg*<sup>o/</sup> *pl zōrā* *n.* piece  
*zū* *dv.* steal  
*zụà* *pl zụà-nàm*<sup>a</sup> *cb zụà-* *n.* friend  
*Zùà* *pl Zùəs*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* member of clan Zoose; *subclans pl Zụà-wịis*<sup>ε/</sup>-*wịib*<sup>a</sup>, *pl Zụà-sābulıs*<sup>ε</sup>  
*zù'e* *dv.* get higher, more  
*zùe* *dv.* perch, get on top (? variant of *zù'e*)  
*zūg*<sup>o/</sup> *pl zūt*<sup>ε/</sup> *cb zūg-* *zū-* *n.* head; *postposition onto, due to; zūgú=n*<sup>ε</sup> *postposition on;*  
*zūg-dāan*<sup>a</sup> *n.* boss, master (replaces *zūg-sób*<sup>a</sup> in KB for meanings other than  
 "the Lord"); *zūg-kūgūr*<sup>ε</sup> *pl zūg-kūgā* *cb zūg-kúg-* *n.* pillow; *zūg-máuk*<sup>o</sup> *pl zūg-*  
*mâ'ad*<sup>ε</sup> *adj.* crushed-headed; *zūg-sób*<sup>a</sup> *n.* boss; NT Lord; *zū-péelòg*<sup>o</sup> *pl zū-péelà*  
*adj.* bald; *zū-píbig*<sup>a</sup> *n.* hat  
*zùlìg*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* deepen  
*zùlìm*<sup>ma</sup> *sv.* be deep  
*zùlòη*<sup>o</sup> *pl zùlìmà* *cb zùlòη-* *adj.* deep  
*zùlòη*<sup>o</sup> *n.* depth  
*zùnzòη*<sup>a</sup> *zùnzòη*<sup>o</sup> *pl zùnzòòñs*<sup>ε</sup> *cb zùnzòη-* *n.* blind person  
*zūəbúg*<sup>o</sup> *pl zūəbíđ*<sup>ε</sup> *cb zūəb-* *n.* hair (of human head); see *kōñbōg*<sup>o</sup>  
*zùəđ*<sup>ε</sup> *n.* friendship  
*zùəł*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* make to perch  
*zū'əm*<sup>m/</sup> *pl zū'əmís*<sup>ε</sup> *cb zū'əm-* *n.* blind person  
*zū'əm*<sup>m/</sup> *dv.* go blind, make blind  
*zùən*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* begin to perch  
*zūə*<sup>ε</sup> *pl zụēyā* *cb zụà-* *n.* hill  
*zùə*<sup>ε</sup> *dv.* befriend  
*zūríf*<sup>o</sup> *pl zūrí* *cb zūr-* *n.* dawadawa seed  
*zú'vñf*<sup>o</sup> *pl zū'vñí* *n.* dawadawa seed  
*zùuñg*<sup>o</sup> *pl zùuñs*<sup>ε</sup> *zùuñđ*<sup>ε</sup> *cb zùñ-* *n.* vulture  
*zūvr*<sup>ε</sup> *pl zūyā* *cb zù-* *n.* tail; *zù-wōk*<sup>o/</sup> *adj.* long-tailed