

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. Although I had the benefit of some coaching in the language by SB (see Sources), no instructional or descriptive materials were available; however, with the help of four intelligent and patient informants, and a good deal of exposure to the language in the course of my work, I eventually learnt to cope in the stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I also became fascinated by the language and delighted by the order and beauty underlying a surface which once seemed chaotic; I hope to convey a little of that beauty below.

When I lived in Ghana, little linguistic work on Kusaal had yet been published. 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 showed me hospitality worthy of Africa when I turned up out of the blue at his home in northern Ghana, and also gave me a number of helpful pointers. I was much helped by the staff of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

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

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

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Abbreviations

C	consonant	cb	combining form
f	female	ger	gerund
H	high	imp	imperative
ipfv	imperfective	L	low
LF	long form	M	mid
m	male	NP	noun phrase
pfv	perfective	pl	plural
SF	short form	sg	singular
V	vowel	VP	verb phrase
1sg 2pl ...	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc		

CGEL Cambridge Grammar of the English Language

ILK Introduction to Learning Kusaal

See the next section for abbreviations for sources and informants.

Abbreviations in interlinear glossing:

AN	animate	ART	article
CAT	catenater	CN	contrastive
CQ	content question	DEM	discourse demonstrative
DEMST	spatio-temporal <i>id</i>	DP	discontinuous past
FOC	focus particle	GER	gerund
IDEO	ideophone	IMP	imperative
IN	inanimate	INDF	indefinite
IPFV	imperfective	IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative	NEG	negative
NULL	dummy head	NUM	number
NZ	nominaliser	PERS	personifier
PFV	perfective	PL	plural
PQ	polar question	SG	singular
TNS	tense	VOC	vocative
1SG 2PL	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc	3AN 3IN	3rd sg animate/inanimate
2PLS	postposed 2nd pl subject		

= precedes enclitics; liaison before non-enclitics is marked ◌.

Mass nouns are not marked for number, nor one-aspect verbs for aspect.

Perfective aspect and indicative mood are not labelled.

Common compounds listed in the vocabulary are glossed with single words.

Sources

David Spratt's work has been helpful on Kusaal phonology; otherwise, all analyses below are my own. The morphophonemics and basic syntax are based on discussion and elicitation with four first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal: WK from Koka, KT from Tempane, DK from Kukpariga, and SB from Bawku. I have reluctantly omitted their names, as I cannot confirm that they would be happy to be identified. All spoke English well. All were male, and were then about forty; they occasionally commented on the incorrect grammar of the young (surely a cultural universal.) I noticed no systematic differences between the speech of men and women.

The description of higher-level syntax reflects my study of Bible versions and literacy materials produced by the dedicated work over many years of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT):

- NT1 *Wina'am Gboŋ*. Kusaal New Testament, 1976. World Home Bible League.
 NT2 *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. Kusaal New Testament, 1996. The Bible League/GILLBT.
 Text and audio available via www.bible.is
 KB *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. Kusaal Bible, 2016. GILLBT.
 Android application available via www.kusaal-bf.com
- BN *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.
 KSS *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.
 KKY *Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ*. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah. 1988.

These sources are cited as written, with a transliteration. Tone was checked against the NT2 audio when it was specifically at issue.

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

Hausa is written as in Newman 1979, but with double letters for long vowels. Arabic is given in ALA-LC romanisation, using classical forms.

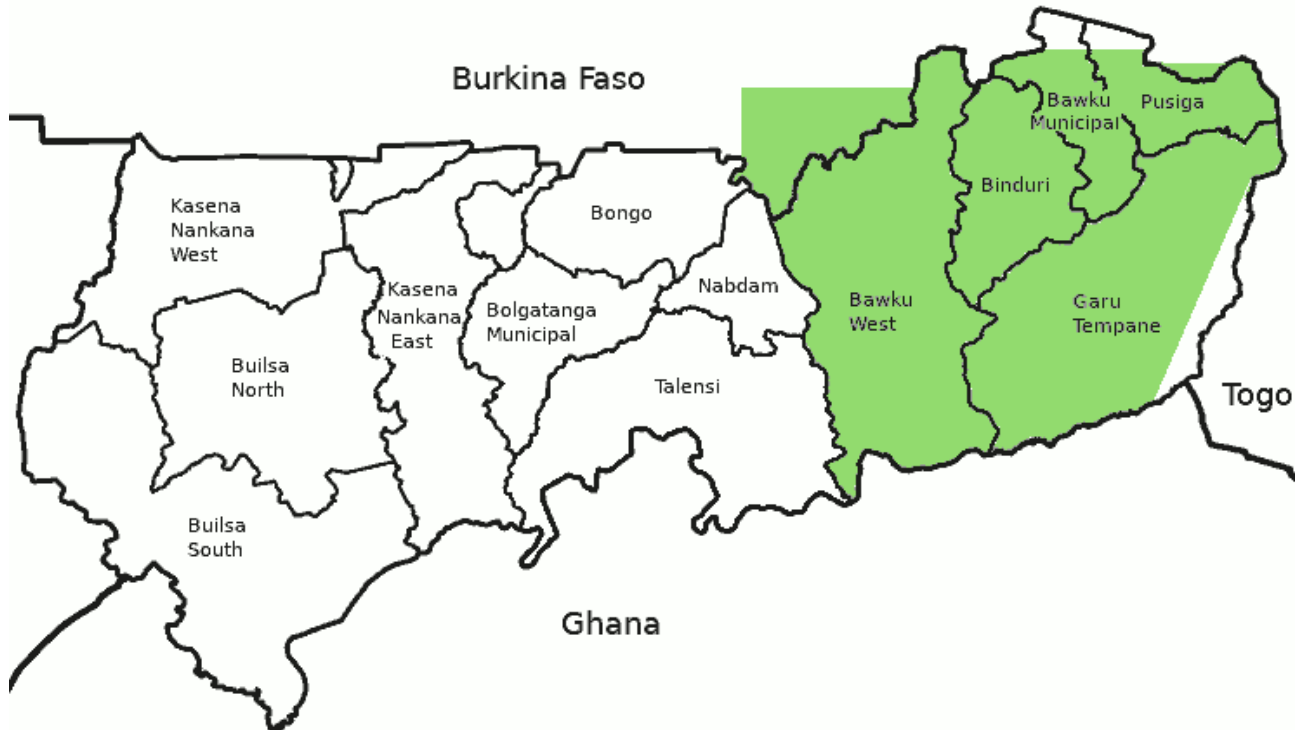
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1 Introduction

1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

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 Tùən "West" (Bawku West with the adjacent area of Burkina Faso above), and Agolle, Kusaal Àgòl "Upper."

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 Fulani and Mossi. A single rainy season lasts unpredictably from May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with rice to a lesser extent. Millet is used for the staple porridge *sā'ab*, called "TZ" /ti:'zed/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zaafii*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional millet beer, *dāam*, called "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*) in English.

The Kusaasi are divided into many patrilineal exogamous clans (d̀̀̀̀d "huts"), associated with localities (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 p̀̀̀r "slogan" (part of its traditional lineage), but clan names are not used 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 local leading man is the t̀̀̀-̀̀̀an "earth-priest", taken to be the heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the dominant political structures of the region were the Mossi-Dagomba states, heirs of polities founded around the fourteenth century by invaders traditionally held to be from the region of Lake Chad, who created hereditary chiefdoms among peoples who continued to provide the earth-priests. Their founder, called *Naa Gbewaa* in Mampruli, ruled from Pusiga; he is said to have been swallowed by the earth there. In his sons' time the capital was relocated south to the Mamprussi lands. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this Mamprussi state. Unlike their neighbours, the Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku.

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 encompassing neighbouring peoples like the Mossi, Farefare, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Bulsa. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba and Mossi, including the long-sleeved baggy b̀̀̀ǹ̀a smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (f̀̀̀ug "clothing.")

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

D̀̀̀m ǹ̀̀ Ẁ̀̀n, d̀̀̀ t̀̀̀'as ǹ̀̀ Ẁ̀̀nné=∅.

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

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

Ẁ̀̀n ǹ̀̀ỳ̀̀ k̀̀̀ s̀̀̀n.

"God sees and is silent."

God:SG see and be.silent.

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

A human being is understood as having four components: *nìn-gbīŋ* "body"; *nỳ-̀v̀r* "life", possessed by all living animals; *wīn* (in this sense) "*genius*, spirit, a person's own spiritual self"; and *k̀k̀r̀s*, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three *k̀k̀r̀s*, 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 *k̀k̀r̀s* in the bush which are hostile and try to lead travellers astray. *S̀u* "life force", used for "spirit" in Christian materials, is in traditional belief identified with a person's tutelary *k̀k̀r̀s*. *S̀o* "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 concept of destiny: *wīn-t̀o*, literally "bitterness of *wīn*" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular *s̀g̀r* "guardian spirit" which is often the *wīn* of an ancestor; the word *b̀g̀r* may also mean "a *wīn* inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's *s̀g̀r*.

As of 1995 there were about 250,000 speakers of Kusaal, a number which has since increased substantially. Kusaal is the language of all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and is also an areal lingua franca, used in particular by the many Bisa people found in the villages and in Bawku.

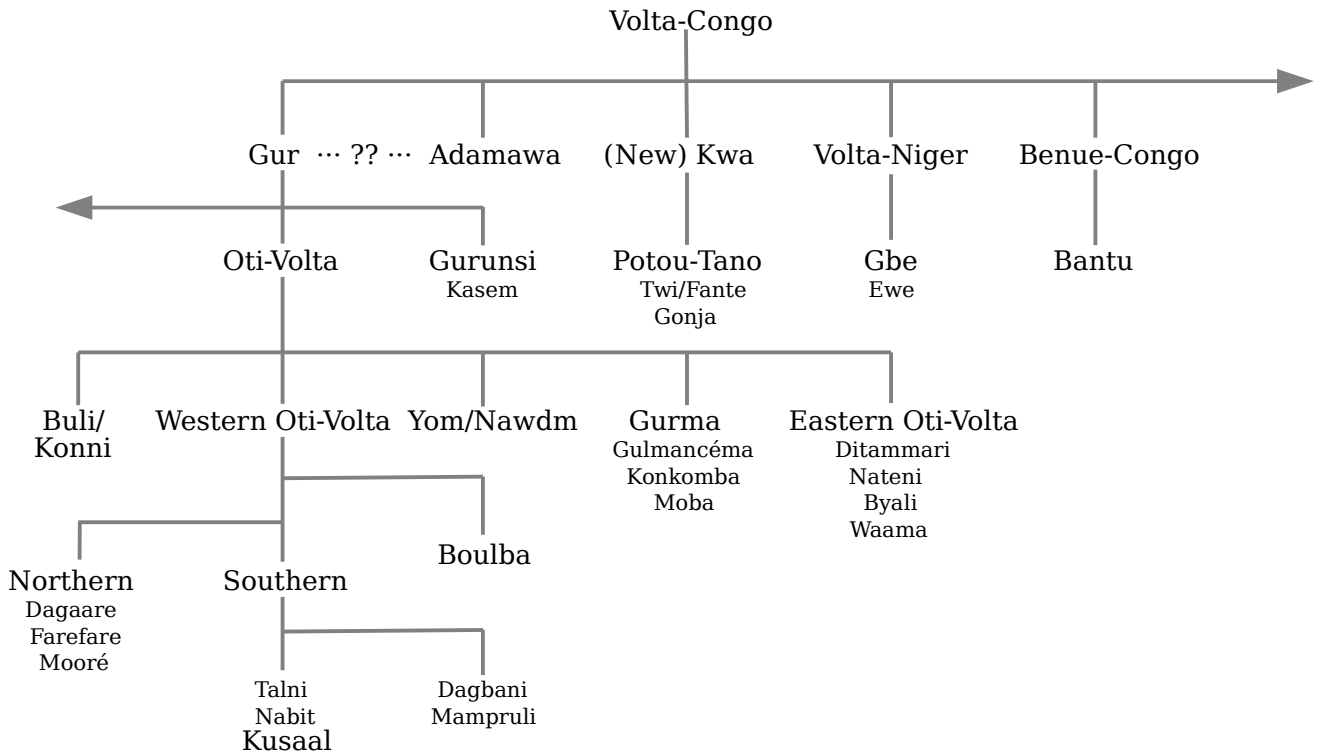
There is a major dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal: numerous isoglosses coincide to produce a sharp discontinuity, probably attributable to the depopulation near the White Volta caused by the river blindness prevalent until recent times. My informants reported little difficulty understanding 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 cites a rate of apparent lexical cognates of 84%. Although Agolle and Toende Kusaasi agree that they are a single ethnic group, speaking dialects of a single language, the differences are great enough to justify separate grammatical treatment.

Written materials remain few, apart from the Bible translation into Agolle Kusaal, which is far and away the most extensive written work in the language.

Hausa is the most widespread lingua franca in the region; 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, often as vehicular languages.

1.2 Related languages

Kusaal belongs to the Oti-Volta subfamily of Volta-Congo. Commonly accepted relationships between languages discussed below (and a few others) are shown here:

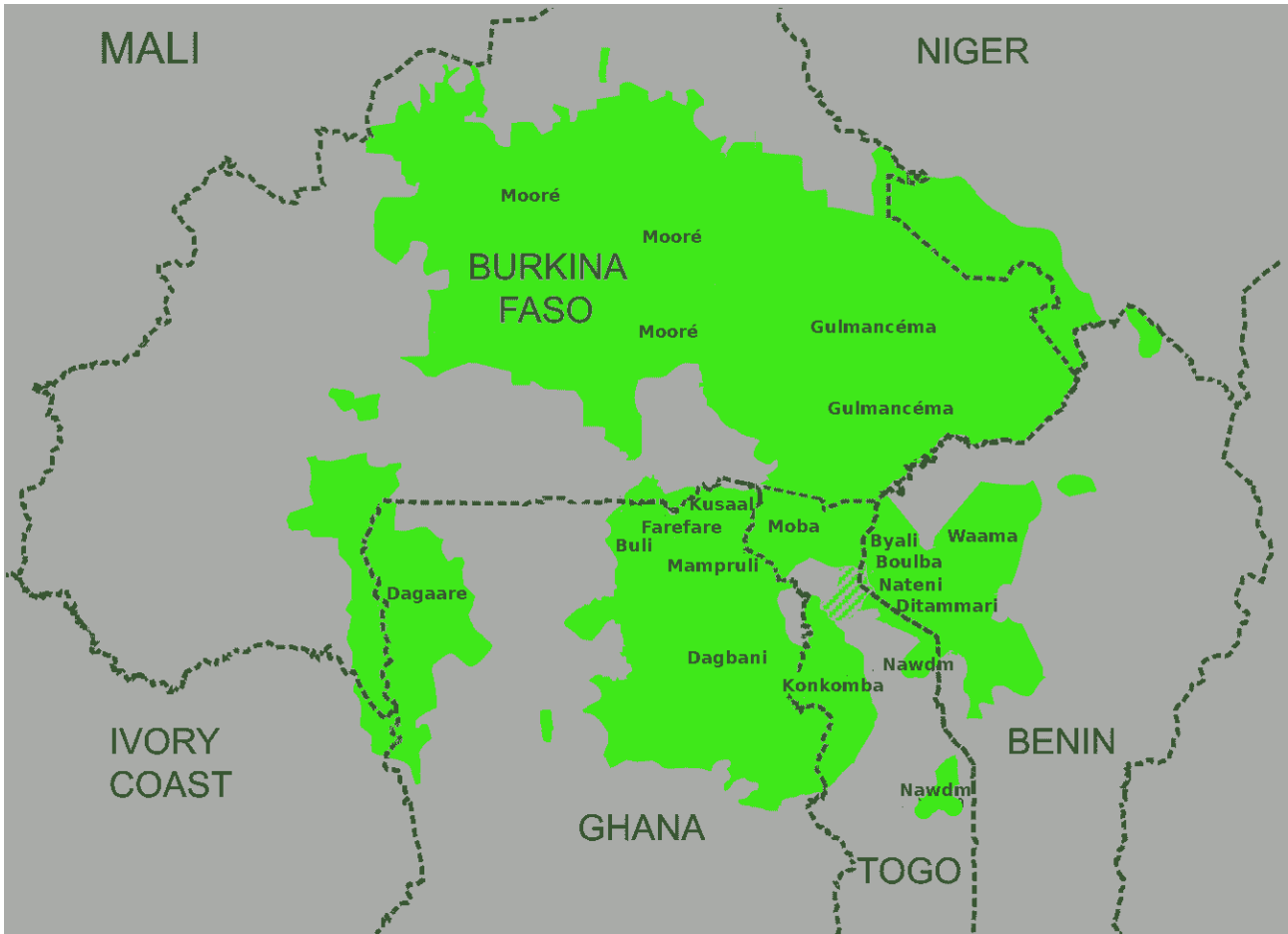


The status of "Gur" is uncertain: the relationship between Oti-Volta, Gurunsi and Adamawa is unclear, and languages have been labelled Gur without clear evidence that they are closer to Oti-Volta or Gurunsi than to other groups.

Oti-Volta inherits the characteristic Volta-Congo features of multiple noun classes marked by paired sg/pl affixes and productive verb derivation by suffixes.

Kusaal belongs to **Western Oti-Volta**, which is roughly as diverse as Romance. The subgroup shows much distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal *kù'əm* "water", Boulba *kuam*, vs Buli *nyíam*, Moba *núm* etc. Boulba is an outlier, sharing areal consonant changes with Eastern Oti-Volta and preserving noun classes lost elsewhere, cf *tiebo* "tree" vs Kusaal *tùg*, Mooré *tùgá*. Elsewhere, Proto-Oti-Volta **c* → *s*, **j* → *z*; inflecting verbs use the stem for pfv aspect, suffixing *-da* for ipfv. Within Western Oti-Volta, Kusaal belongs to the Southern division, of which one distinctive feature is an imperative flexion *-ma*. Mampruli, Dagbani and several smaller neighbours share many common innovations, including a major simplification of the vowel system and the redevelopment of contrastive palatal stops. In contrast, Kusaal and its western neighbours Nabit and Talni share a characteristic synchronic process of deletion of underlying final short vowels.

The Oti-Volta languages (after Davius):



Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta lexically.

Nawdm shows much less lexical similarity, but parallels in verb morphology: most verbs use the stem as pfv and add *-a* for ipfv, dropping any pfv *-g*; another common pattern is pfv *-ra* ~ ipfv *-l*. There are many ipfv-only verbs in *-ra*, cognate with Kusaal *-ya*. Nawdm often has *h* [ʔ] where Western Oti-Volta shows vowel glottalisation, e.g. *béhgú* "bad", Kusaal *bē'og*, Farefare *bé'egó*; *dañ-* "buy", Kusaal *dà'*.

Gurma languages like Gulmancéma, Konkomba and Moba are more distant. They mark aspect by unpredictable changes of tone and/or addition or deletion of several different suffixes. Their tone systems differ from Western Oti-Volta §3.4, Buli and Nawdm, with initial L in cognates of Pattern H, mid for Pattern L, and H for Pattern A, with no stem tone alternation between sg/pl and combining forms:

	Kusaal	Buli	Nawdm	Moba	
H	wáaf	wáab	wáàǵǵ	wààùg	"snake"
L	tùg	tìib	tìib	tīg	"tree"
A sg	pṷā'	pōk	fóǵá	póò	"wife"
cb	pṷà'-	pòk-	fòg-	póó-	

Manessy's Eastern Oti-Volta is based on shared consonant changes, but some at least are areal. Like Gurma, Ditammari and Nateni have complex verb flexion, and show L tones corresponding to Pattern H; Ditammari nouns have class prefixes, as in Konkomba. Waama is divergent lexically; some common words have cognates in Western Oti-Volta and Buli rather than elsewhere in Eastern Oti-Volta.

1.3 Grammatical sketch

Symbols have IPA values, but double letters are used for long vowels, e ɪ both represent [ɪ], o ʊ both [ʊ], ŋ marks nasalisation and ' glottalisation of adjacent vowels, and y kp gb stand for [j] [kp] [gb].

The full range of vowels occurs only in roots: elsewhere there is only a three-way contrast a/ɪ/ʊ (a/ɛ/ɔ before prosodic clitics, see below.) No consonant clusters occur word-initially or finally except final mm. Nominal prefixes often end in m/n/ŋ, e.g. dindēog "chameleon"; the only other word-internal clusters are kk tt pp ŋŋ (written k t p ŋ) nn mm ll mn, with all other CC inserting epenthetic ɪ or ʊ.

The tone system derives from a two-tone terracing type, but original H has become mid M, displaced by a new H derived from HL on a single mora; circumflex (X) toneme derives from HLL on a single syllable. Tone sandhi is pervasive; in particular word-initial L frequently becomes H or X.

Apocope deletes word-final short vowels in most contexts, including citation; any final consonant clusters then drop the second consonant. The cognate of Mampruli *gbigimni* "lion" thus normally appears as the "short form" (SF) gbīgīm. However, when a clause contains a negation, ends a question, or is used as a vocative, the last word preserves its final vowel and appears as a "long form" (LF):

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

Lì kâ' gbīgīm̄n̄=∅. "It's not a lion."
3IN NEG.be lion:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē gbígìmn̄è=∅? "Is it a lion?"
3IN be FOC lion:SG=PQ?

This appearance of LFs is triggered by "prosodic clitics", which lack segmental form of their own but show their presence through this effect on preceding words. Note that prosodic clitics cause LF-final short ɪ ʊ to become ε ɔ.

"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. Liaison words are not necessarily left-bound. All bound personal pronouns are liaison words:

Ṃ p̣ū ḍōllá=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=NEG.	"I don't go along (ḍōl)."
Ṃ ḍōllī=bá. 1SG go.with=3PL.	"I go with them."
Ṃ p̣ū zábē=∅. 1SG NEG fight=NEG.	"I haven't fought (zàb)."
Ṃ zábī=bá. 1SG fight=3PL.	"I've fought them."

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to C:

Ṃ p̣ū ḍōllí=f̣ō=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=2SG=NEG.	"I don't go with you."
Ṃ ḍōllī=f. 1SG go.with=2SG.	"I go with you."
Lì k̄ā' d̄ōkó=∅. 3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.	"It's not a pot (d̄ōk)."
Lì k̄ā' d̄ōkí=nē=∅. 3IN NEG.exist pot:SG=LOC=NEG.	"It's not in a pot."
Lì b̄è n̄ē d̄ōkí=n. 3IN exist FOC pot:SG=LOC.	"It's in a pot."

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

Ṃ p̣ū ḍōlló=o=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.	"I don't go with him/her." LF o of the pronoun "him/her"
Ṃ ḍōllō=∅. 1SG go.with=3AN.	"I go with him/her." SF ∅ of the pronoun "him/her"

The 2pl subject pronoun after imperatives, =ya, likewise has a segmentally zero SF: Gòsumī! "Look (pl)!" by apocope from gòsumī=yá.

Two particles with the underlying form n also often lose their segmental form:

m̄	zūgú=∅	zàbìd	lā	zúg	"because my head hurts"
	1SG head:SG=NZ	fight:IPFV	ART	on	(nominaliser =n̄)

M̄	zūgū_ ∅	zábìd.	"My head hurts."
	1SG head:SG CAT	fight:IPFV.	(catenating n)

The phonology of Kusaal is greatly complicated by apocope. For example, apocope deletes segments responsible for rounding and fronting effects on preceding vowels, creating diphthongs and contrasts among epenthetic vowels. Thus the LF vīugú "owl" has iu for ii because of the rounding effect of the suffix vowel; after apocope, the diphthong of vīug contrasts with the vowel of vīid "owls", shortened from vīidí. Similarly, āaṅḍīgā "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel ɪ, and appears as āaṅḍīg after apocope, whereas gàadùgò "passing" has rounding before the flexion -gu, and after apocope this becomes contrastive in the SF gàadùg. Further diphthongs result from deletion of intervocalic g.

All flexion and all productive derivation is by suffixing. Flexion is underlyingly simple, but with morphophonemic complications; these words are all regular:

sg	pl		sg	pl	
būug	būs	"goat"	sàbùa	sàbùəs	"lover"
nūa	nōs	"hen"	kūk	kūgūs	"chair"
zàk	zà'as	"compound"	dà'a	dà'as	"market"
bùṅ	bùmìs	"donkey"	tēṅ	tēṅs	"land"

Noun flexion marks sg and pl by matched pairs of suffixes, producing seven noun classes; most exceptions are explicable phonologically. 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:

kūk	"chair"	+ pìə̀lìg	"white"	→ kùg-pìə̀lìg	"white chair"
būug	"goat"	+ pìə̀lìg	"white"	→ b̀-̀pìə̀lìg	"white goat"
būug	"goat"	+ sī'a	"another"	→ b̀-̀sī'a	"another goat"

Head-final compounds like b̀-̀kūud "goat-killer" can also be freely created.

Kusaal has abandoned a grammatical gender system based on noun classes for a natural animate/inanimate opposition.

Two-aspect verbs use the stem for perfective aspect, adding the suffixes *-da* for imperfective, *-ma* for imperative. Again, morphophonemic complications appear:

pfv	ipfv		pfv	ipfv	
kō	kōɔd	"kill"	ŋyē	ŋyēt	"see"
vōl	vōn	"swallow"	wòm	wòm	"hear"

One-aspect verbs only have an ipfv. They typically express stances (*dīgī* "lie"), relationships (*mōr* "have") or predicative adjectival senses (*gīm* "be short.")

Gerunds and agent nouns can be regularly derived from almost all verbs: *kōɔb* "killing", *kōɔd* "killer"; there are many other common derivational processes.

The article *lā* follows its noun.

Possessors precede heads: *m̄ bīg* "my child", *dāɔ lā bīg* "the man's child."

There are two prepositions, *nē* "with" and *wōɔ* "like" (*nē* also links NPs in the sense "and", but *kà* is "and" when linking VPs and clauses.)

The liaison word *=n* is a very general locative postposition. Certain nouns often appear as postpositions, e.g. *téɛbòl lā zūg* "onto the table" (*zūg* "head.")

Kusaal is SVO; indirect objects precede direct. Particles expressing tense, mood and polarity precede the verb. There is no agreement for person or number.

Tì sá tìsī=f bój lā. "We gave you the donkey yesterday."
1PL TNS give=2SG donkey:SG ART.

There are two "be" verbs: *bē* "exist, be somewhere" and *àɛŋ* "be something." *Àɛŋ* is usually followed by the VP focus particle *nē* when syntactically permitted, and then becomes *à*. The negative of both "be" verbs is *kā'e* (*kā'* clause-medially.)

Ò à nē bīg. "He's a child."
3AN be FOC child:SG.

Ò kā' bīgā=∅. "He's not a child."
3AN NEG.be child:SG=NEG.

When the verb meaning permits and no unbound words intervene, *nē* after a verb has *aspectual* rather than constituent-focus sense, limiting the VP reference to "at the time referred to in particular":

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

Ànó'òñì ∅ ñyéε=bá=∅? "Who has seen them?"
 Who CAT see=3PL=CQ?

Insertion of =ñ (often ∅ segmentally) after the subject nominalises clauses:

gbīgīm lá=∅ ñyē búñ lā "the lion having seen the donkey"
 lion:SG ART=NZ see donkey:SG ART

Relative clauses use =ñ. They are headed internally by demonstrative or indefinite pronouns; an additional =ñ is introduced after head-marking demonstratives if not already present.

fún gbāñ'e zīñ-sí'a yīgá lā "the first fish that you catch"
 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

puà'-kànì=∅ bīgí=∅ vūñ lā "the woman whose child was alive"
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG=NZ live ART

Complementisation uses the initial linker particles yē or kà. Content clauses have independency marking. Contrastive personal pronouns are used logophorically:

Ò yèl yē òn gós dú'atà. "He says he's looked at the doctor."
 3AN say that 3AN.CN look doctor.

Purpose clauses lack independency marking, and have imperative mood:

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

2 Sound system

2.1 Consonants

Consonant symbols have IPA values (with *kp gb* as digraphs for [k̠p̠] [g̠b̠]) except as noted below. The consonant inventory comprises

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

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

There are many constraints on the occurrence of particular consonants within words §3.3. As a distinct phoneme, *h* only occurs syllable-initially in loanwords, but these include the ubiquitous *hālí* "even."

k t p (but not *kp*) are aspirated word- or root-initially. Except after prefixes, written word-internal *k t p ŋ* represent *geminate*s, though they are realised single in normal rapid speech. Final *g d b* are partly devoiced, but still contrast with *k t p*.

k g can be noticeably backed before back vowels, particularly *ɔ*. They are palatalised before front vowels, for some speakers even becoming palatal stops or affricates, and may represent palatal stops/affricates in loans: *tóklàe* "torch(light)", *sóǵjà* "soldier." They are labialised before rounded vowels, where they could be considered allophones of *kp gb*: cf *kūm* "death", *kpì* "die"; *kōŋbīr* "bone", Moba *kpáblì*; *kpàkūr* "tortoise", Dagbani *kpakpili*; *kp gb* themselves occur only before unrounded root vowels and in reduplication-prefixes (*kpòkpàrìg* "palm tree"), and represent labialised velars in loans (*bákpàɛ* "week", Hausa *bakwài*.)

t d n s z l r are usually alveolars, 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 [h] word-internally, and may represent *h* in loanwords: *Àláasìd* "Sunday", Hausa *Lahàdì*; *Dàsmáanì* for the personal name 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

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

<i>nō-dâug</i>	"cock"	<i>nā'-dâug</i>	"ox"
<i>tīrâan</i>	"neighbour"	<i>àràzàk</i>	"riches"

d and r contrast elsewhere:

ɛ̃ɲdìg	"unplug"	ɛ̃ɲrīg	"shift along"
mōd	"swell"	mōr	"have"
yàad	"graves"	yāar	"scatter"
zàbìd	"fight" ipfv	zàbìr	"fight" ger

In Western Oti-Volta **r* (Nawdm *r*) became *y* initially, before *a*, and after short root vowels; subsequently *dy* became *rr*. In Mooré and Agolle Kusaal *r* then remained distinct, but it fell together with *l* in Dagbani and with *d* (as *r*) elsewhere. Except in loans, *r* after a short root vowel thus reflects *rr*; kpàr "lock" for *kpàd (Dagbani *kpari*, not **kpali*) has been remodelled after a lost kpàr (**kpadya*) "be locked."

m n are syllabic when word-initial before a consonant or as separate words other than enclitic =*m* =*n*.

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

ɲyɛ̃	"see"	ɲwādīg	"moon"
------	-------	--------	--------

ɲy ɲw reflect older nasal occlusives: cf Dagbani *nya* "see", *ɲmariga* "moon."

2.2 Vowels

Symbols have IPA values by default, but ɪ ʊ stand for IPA ɪ ʊ, and double symbols for long vowels. The vowel system shows marked positional prominence: full quality contrasts, diphthongs, glottalisation and emic nasalisation appear only in roots §3.3. The inventory comprises nine vowels, each occurring short and long.

a	ɛ	ɿ	i	ɪ	ɔ	ɯa	u	ʊ
aa	ɛɛ	ɿə	ii	ɪɪ	ɔɔ	uə	uu	ʊʊ

ɿ ɯa ɿə uə are phonemic *monophthongs*. Initial *ya* has a tenser and shorter onset than ɿ: cf yā "houses" vs ɿā "seek." Word-internal ɿay ɯay are realised [ɿɿj] [ɯɿj]: bɿāyá [bɿɿja] "elder same-sex sibs", sɯāyá [sɯɿja] "roads." The second mora of uə is slightly rounded. The vowels ɿə uə diphthongise to ia ua before prosodic clitics.

Apocope shortens final ɿə uə to ɿa ɯa: kɿà "cut", kɿā "hoe." All other ɿa ɯa represent ɛ ɔ before *k* or underlying *g*: tɿàk "change", bɿàk "split"; all surface ɛk ɔk result via ɯaku → ɔku (bàk "pit") or shortening of CV/CVV roots (tēk/tēɛg "pull.")

ɪ ʊ u are somewhat more fronted after alveolars and y: zūg "head" [ʒyɡ].

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

[ʊ] is written o both in the 3sg pronoun ò and in the mora preceding its liaison enclitic form: tìsò [tɪsɔ] "gave her."

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

gàad	"pass" pfv	gàt	"pass" ipfv
tēεg	"pull"	tēk	"pull"
tōɔg	"bitter"	tōɛ *tɔɔya	"be bitter"

The process also applies in loanwords: àtèyuk "sea" (Hausa *tèeku*), kótò "court."

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols except ja ɥa iə uə represent phonemic diphthongs. Non-initial [ɪ] is written e except after ε, [ʊ] as o except after a, [i] as ɛ except after u.

Primary diphthongs comprise

		ja'a	ia		ɥ'a	ua	
aɛ				ɔɛ	ʊɛ		uj
ae			ie	ɔ'e	ʊ'e	ue	ui
aɥ	εɥ	jaɥ					ɥj
av	εo		io				iu

All also occur nasalised, and if long, glottalised; ja'a ɥ'a ɔ'e ʊ'e only occur so. Overlong iaa uaa aee iee uee appear for ia ua ae ie ue before prosodic clitics §4.4. The only length contrasts in identical environments are avɥ/aɥ and ae/aɛ.

Secondary diphthongs are created by *replacement* of the final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] before the liaison enclitic §4.5 2pl subject "you", or by [ʊ] (always written o) before the enclitic "him/her." Any vowel mora may precede:

bēɪ	"be (pl)!"	bēɪ=yá	long form
zúo	"steal him"	zúo=o	long form

Nasalisation is automatic after m n: mēɛd "build" ipfv [mɛ̃:d]. Elsewhere it is marked by a following ɲ; however, ɲ *precedes* any ' glottalisation mark, and precedes y w followed by nasal vowels. It also precedes any o [ʊ] rounded by a following 3sg animate pronoun.

tēɛŋs	"lands"	áŋsìb	"mother's brother"
gēŋ	"get tired"	gēŋ'	"get angry"
gēŋ'ɛd	"get angry" ipfv	ŋwām [wãm]	"calabash"
bjāuŋk	"shoulder"	āŋo [ãũ]	"be him/her"

Except after ŋw ŋy, all short nasal vowels have become oral before m n ŋ.

Except in sũŋf "heart" (KB *svnf*) all iŋ uŋ arise by apocope of iŋ uŋ. There are no short uŋ uŋ. Nasalised iəŋ uəŋ ieŋ ueŋ occur only before underlying g.

Glottalisation may be realised as creakiness or as [ʔ] (never treated as a consonant) after the first mora. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel mora:

dà'a	"market"	dà'	"buy"
kpi'a	"neighbour"	kpi'à'	"carve"
pō'ab	"women"	pū'ā'	"woman"

Mà'aa "only" has a unique overlong monophthong.

Word-final short vowels/diphthongs become glottalised before pause, except in questions: thus dāu "man" is realised [daʊʔ], and gēŋ "tire", gēŋ' "anger" fall together.

All glottalised short vowels which are not the result of apocope precede m or ŋ in closed syllables: nī'm "meat", lā'ŋ "set alight", kō'm "hunger", sù'ŋā "well", sù'm "goodness" (but always sùŋ "good.") Only some informants have glottalised vowels in such cases, and the cognates in Toende Kusaal and Farefare lack glottalisation.

Yām "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárm*) and yā'am "gall bladder" (Farefare *yá'ám*, Buli *yáam*, Nawdm *ráhím*) have fallen together as yām/yā'am.

2.3 Syllables and tonemes

Syllables may be light (C)V or heavy (C)VV~(C)VC~(C)VVC; (C)VVC syllables are *superheavy*. Except after prefixes, all word-internal k t p ŋ represent CC. A word-internal non-root CV syllable is *superlight* if preceded by a CV syllable which is *not* superlight, working left to right: dī'əsíd**ɪ**bà "receivers", sjākīd**ɪ**bā "believers", sīg**ɪ**síd**ɪ**bà "lowerers", m̀l**ɪ**f̀ "gazelle." Three-mora vowel sequences are *disyllabic*, dividing after the first mora: nū-áa "hen."

Stress falls on root syllables of free words, but it is subject to complex sandhi phenomena not yet fully understood. Roots can be reinterpreted as prefixes: dītúŋ "right hand" (dī "eat") also appears as dātìŋ, and bŏtīŋ "cup" (bŏd "sow") has pl bŏtūs, as if formed with a prefix bŏ.

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

Tone is both lexically and grammatically contrastive. Taking the syllable as tone-bearing unit, there are four tonemes: high (H), mid (M), low (L) and circumflex (X), written respectively as in gél "egg", kōk "chair", kùk "ghost", nù'ug "hand." Three-mora vowel sequences carry two tonemes: LF nūáa "hen." Only superheavy syllables may carry X, which is elsewhere replaced by H: nù'ug "hand", LF nú'ugò.

Superlight syllables and catenating n are toneless; the toneme of the preceding syllable extends over them:

Bà kā' dī'əsíd ɪ bā.	"They are not receivers."
Lì kā' mól ɪ f̄.	"It's not a gazelle."
vs Ò p̄ záb ɪ =f̄.	"He hasn't fought you."
Kà yà p̄ sják ɪ dā.	"But you did not agree." (Lk 13:34)

Kusaal M corresponds to H of other Western Oti-Volta languages. Kusaal H and X are secondary: without intervening pause, ML always becomes HL or MX/MH by tone sandhi; all other instances of H precede former L lost by diachronic changes.

M 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 m̄n s̄am "my father", m̄n s̄am "my guests."

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

HH	→	H!H
HX	→	H!X
MH	→	M!H if the next syllable is superheavy or if the next syllable precedes pause and is not L

Examples:

Downstep between H and H/X:

M̀ gós !náaf lā bēogū=n. "I looked at the cow in the morning."
 Kà m̀ gós náaf lā bēogū=n. "And I looked at the cow ..."

M̀ gós !nû'ug lā bēogū=n. "I looked at the hand in the morning."
 Kà m̀ gós nû'ug lā bēogū=n. "And I looked at the hand ..."

MH → M!H before a CVVC syllable:

Lì à nē !púkòṅr lā. "It's the widow."
 Lì kâ' púkòṅrē. "It's not a widow."

Mān !bú-bē'og kâ'e. "My bad goat isn't there."
 Mān !bú-pìəl kâ'e. "My white goat isn't there."
 Mān bú-wōk kâ'e. "My tall goat isn't there."
 Mān bú-sùṅ kâ'e. "My good goat isn't there."

Bīig lā !sá mēəd yīr lā. "The child was building the house."
 Bīig lā sá mē yīr lā. "The child built the house."

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

Kà m̀ gós !náaf lā. "And I looked at the cow."
 Kà m̀ gós náaf lā bēogū=n. "And I looked ..."

Yū!gúm kâ'e. "There's no camel."
 Yūgúm lā kâ'e. "The camel's not there."

Bà kâ' !mólù. "They aren't gazelles."
 Lì kâ' mólùf̄. "It's not a gazelle."
 Bà à nē mólù. "They are gazelles."

Lì kâ' bī-!púṅā. "It's not a girl."
 Lì kâ' bī-púṅāa? "Isn't it a girl?"

Ò p̄ yādı!gídā. "He isn't scattering."
 Àn'òṅì yādıgídā? "Who is scattering?"

Lì à nē dōṅ lā. "It's the hut." (MX, not MH)

2.4 Standard orthography

The orthography of texts differs somewhat from that used in this grammar. Tone is unmarked. For word division see §3.1.

Intervocalic *k t p* are sometimes written double; older texts often write *ll mm nn* single. KSS uses *ng ng nk* for *ŋ ɲg ɲk*.

Final *-ya* in loanwords is written *-ia*: *dunia* dūɲyā "world."

Before 2016, *e o* were used for *ɛ ɔ*, *i* for *i/ɪ*, *u* for *u/ʊ*; *e o* were also sporadically used for *ɪ ʊ* in roots. KB has the same basic conventions as this grammar, but uses *i* for both *i* and *ɪ*: *biig* bīig "child", *tiig* tūig "tree."

KB has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ ken* "go" for *yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn*, and *on oŋa* for *ɔn/ón/ón òŋā*, reflecting differing dialect developments of *ĩ ỹ*. Word-final *ɪ* after *m n* is usually written *ɛ* in KB: so always in *one kanɛ line banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

KB sometimes writes *e* for the vowel of superlight syllables: *bɛdegv* bèdugū "a lot", *sanrega* sārɛgá "prison."

ie uo are used for both *iə uə* and *ie uo*.

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

io [iʊ] is written *ieu* in NT2/KB: *kpi'euŋ* kpī'oŋ "strong."

e i u are used for *ɛ ɪ ʊ*. The contrast *ae/aɛ* is expressed by writing *aae/aaɛ* for *ae*: *paae* pāe "reach." Both *av* and *aʊ* are written *au/av*. Glottalisation marking distinguishes e.g. *kpi'a* kpɪ̀à' "carve" from *kpi'a* kpì'a "neighbour", but *ʊa'/ʊ'a* are both written *o'a* before 2016, *u'a* in KB: *pu'a* pūā' "woman", *pu'ab* pū'ab "women." Final *ʊ'a* in long forms is written *u'aa*, reflecting its realisation [ʊ̘̘:].

Long forms in *-ya* after a back vowel are written *-eya/-iya*: *tɔiya* tɔyá "be bitter."

KB has *iey uoy* for *ɪay ʊay*: *bieya* bjāyá "elder same-sex siblings", *suoya* sūāyá "roads." Older texts use *uey*: *sueya*.

All glottalised vowels are written long word-internally and in bound words: *pa'a* pà' "earlier today", *kpɛ'ɛŋ* kpɛ̀'ŋ "strengthen."

For nasalisation, plain *n* is used for *ɲ*, e.g. *tɛɛns* tɛɛŋs "lands", *gɛn'* gɛŋ' "get angry", *gɛn'ɛd* gɛŋ'ɛd "get angry" (ipfv), *nwam* ŋwām "calabash."

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

3 Word structure

Open word classes are verbs and nominals. Nominals comprise nouns and adjectives, along with closed pronoun and quantifier subclasses. *Ideophones* fall into three groups: adjective intensifiers, expressive adjuncts, and predicative complements. They often deviate from the normal root + affix structure and may even violate usual phonological constraints, e.g. tólùlù, intensifier for "tall", sāpī "straight", nyāe "brightly", fáss, intensifier for "white." All other words are *particles*.

Many quantifiers and particles have the segmental and tonal structure of nouns, often with apocope-blocking. Bound pronouns and many particles resemble full-word affixes, with the form (C)V(V) and vowels drawn from the set of affix vowels.

3.1 Word boundaries

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. "Combining forms" (cbs) used as initial members of compounds may be dependents, but are more often NP heads before adjectives or demonstratives: tì-kàṅā "this tree." There are no diagnostic phonological differences between cbs and free words, and compounds may include unbound words: [ānzúrɪfà nē sālumā lá']-māan "[silver and gold goods]-maker." Bound personal pronouns and several particles resemble affixes segmentally, but differ in tonal behaviour, mode of attachment, and distribution. Neither tone nor stress consistently distinguish bound words from free. However, left-bound liaison words §4.5 are distinct segmentally and tonally both from free words and from other left-bound words; the term **clitic** will be reserved for these and for "prosodic" clitics §4.4. Boundness differs from dependency: cbs may be dependents or heads, and personal pronouns always head their own NPs.

The symbol = is used before enclitics with a segmental form, and also before \emptyset in glossing. Cbs are hyphenated to the following word: thus bùrɪkìn "honest person", kpòkpàrìḡ "palm tree", but zīm-gbâṅ'ad "fisherman", bù-pìə̀lìḡ "white goat", bù-kàṅā "this goat", bù-pìə̀l-kàṅā "this white goat."

Standard orthography writes compounds solid unless the cb is segmentally identical to the sg: *bvkaṅa* bù-kàṅā "this goat" but *dau kaṅa* dàṽ-kàṅā "this man." It writes pronouns separately if they have vowels of their own. Enclitic pronouns reduced to single consonants by apocope §3.2 are written solid with the preceding word in KB; previously, =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*:

F̀v̀ d̀ə̀llì tì.

"You come with us."

F̀v̀ d̀ə̀llì=tì.

2SG go.with=1PL.

Fu dōlli m. Fù dólī=m. 2SG go.with=1SG.	KB dōllim	"You come with me."
M dol uf. M̀ dólī=f. 1SG go.with=2SG.	KB dōllif	"I go with you."
M gban'e uf. M̀ gbâḡ'a=f. 1SG seize=2SG.	KB gban'af	"I've seen you."

Apocope deletes =o "him/her" completely, but *after* the final vowel mora of the preceding word is changed to [ɔ], traditionally mistaken for the pronoun itself and written separately. In this grammar, this [ɔ] is written o but not separated:

Fu dōl o. Fù dólīō=∅. 2SG go.with=3AN.	[dōl:ɔ]	"You go with her."
Fu pɔ dōl oo. Fù pō dólīó=o=∅. 2SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.		"You don't go with her."
Fu nyε o. Fù ḡyéo=∅. 2SG see=3AN.		"You've seen her."
Fu pɔ nyε oo. Fù pō ḡyēó=o=∅. 2SG NEG SEE=3AN=NEG.		"You've not seen her."

The three other liaison enclitics, locative =nε, discontinuous-past =nε and postposed 2pl subject =ya, are traditionally written solid with the preceding word whether reduced to single consonants/zero by apocope, or preserving their own vowels: *ku'omine* kù'əmī=né "in water", after apocope *ku'omin* kù'əmī=n.

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

Standard orthography writes focus-nē solid after à "be", and usually after other verbs; nē "with" is written solid after wēn "be like", in KB appearing as *nwεnε*:

Ba anε zɔn. "They are fools." (Jer 5:4)
 Bà à nē zɔn.
 3PL be FOC fool:PL.

Ba nwεnε bɔ? "What are they like?" (Lk 7:31)
 Bà wèn nē bɔ=∅?
 3PL be.like with what=CQ?

The independent-perfective particle *yā* is written solid with the preceding verb:

Nannanna o gaadya. "Now he has gone." (2 Sm 3:24)
 Nānná-nā, ò gàad 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 separate particle in older materials, and occasionally even in KB:

Arezana nε dunia gaadυg pυ tɔi yaa.
 Àràzánà nē dūniyā gáadùg pū tɔyá=∅.
 Heaven with world passing NEG 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 nyē 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, LFs end clauses with negative VPs, questions (content and polar), and vocatives.

LF *bīigā* thus appears in

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

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_∅ dāa ŋyē bīigā=∅? "Who saw a child?"
 Who CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?

Ṁ bīigā=∅! "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:											
ia	→	ja	ua	→	ɯa	ja'a	→	ja'	u'a	→	ɯa'
ae	→	aɛ̄	av	→	aɯ̄	ui	→	uj̄			
Vaa	→	Va	Vee	→	Ve	Vuu	→	Vu			
Nasalised and/or glottalised diphthongs behave in the same way											
Subsequently											
Word-final consonant clusters drop the second consonant											
(kk tt pp ŋŋ become k t p ŋ but are written single in any case)											
Word-final y becomes ɛ̄ after back vowels and zero elsewhere											

Apocope reflects several distinct historical processes. In Toende Kusaal, apocope applies to dummy suffixes *after* final stop devoicing: final *g b* become *k p*, except in pfvs and cbs (*ya'ab* "mould pots" vs *ya'ap* "potter.")

Examples:

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

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

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

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

Lì à nē kūk.	"It's a chair."
Lì kā' kūkā.	"It's not a chair."
Lì à nē kúkàa?	"Is it a chair?"
Lì à nē gbīgīm.	"It's a lion."
Lì kā' gbīgīmnē.	"It's not a lion."
Lì à nē yáarìm.	"It's salt."
Lì kā' yáarīmm.	"It's not salt."
Lì à nē dāy.	"It's a man."
Lì kā' dāy.	"It's not a man."
Bà à nē gbīgīmā.	"They're lions."
Bà kā' gbīgīmāa.	"They're not lions."
Kà ò sják.	"And he agreed."
And 3AN agree.	
Ò pū sjákē=∅.	"He hasn't agreed."
3AN NEG agree=NEG.	
Kà ò dīgī.	"And she's lying down."
Ò pū dīgīyá.	"She isn't lying down."
Kà ò vūę.	"And she's alive."
Ò pū vūyá.	"She's not alive."
Kà ò kǐá.	"And she cut (it)."
Ò pū kía.	"She hasn't cut (it)."
Kà ò pāe.	"And he reached (it)."
Ò pū pāée.	"He hasn't reached (it)."

The appearance of clause-final LFs is triggered by following **prosodic clitics**, which have no segmental form themselves §4.4. LFs also appear before **liaison words** §4.5, and as citation forms in "apocope-blocked" words (see below).

LFs will be cited in a generalised form lacking the final vowel quality and tone changes specific to each of these three contexts; in particular, note that this form lacks the **change of ɪ ʊ to ε ɔ before prosodic clitics** seen above.

LFs are best regarded as synchronically primary. SF-final m n l may or may not be geminated in the LF, or m may become mn, and the LF final vowel may be a ɪ or ʊ. Nevertheless, most LFs can be predicted from SFs on phonological or morphological grounds, and in some LFs have in fact been analogically remodelled.

The default LF ending corresponding to SFs ending in a consonant is -m after m and -ɪ otherwise. Thus tīlás "necessity", LF tīlásɪ from Hausa *tiilàs*, and

Li pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì pū nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pɥá' Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG 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 NT2)

SFs ending in long monophthongs have segmentally identical LFs. Otherwise, SFs ending in vowels have LFs obtainable by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong; SFs ending in glottalised ʔa' ɥa' have LFs in ʔa'a ɥ'a by default.

However, vowel-final SFs correspond to LFs in -ya in the nouns sɔ̃ɣ̃ "witch", sãɣ̃ "blacksmith", and in one-aspect verbs (apart from a few bare-root forms.)

Words are cited as SFs with **subscripts** to show the corresponding LF.

When the LF simply prolongs a SF final vowel sequence, geminates final m, or leaves a long monophthong unchanged, no subscript is used:

gbīgīmā	"lions"	LF	gbīgīmāa
dāɥ	"man"		dāu
pāe'	"reach"		pāée
kɥā	"hoe"		kūa
djā'	"get dirty"		djā'a
pɥā'	"woman"		pū'a
yàarìm	"salt"		yàarìmm
dà'a	"market"		dà'a

Otherwise, the material deleted by apocope is written as a subscript, but with LF-final -ɪ implied as the default after any consonant other than m:

bīg _a	"child"	LF	bīgā
dūk _{ɔ'}	"pot"		dūkú
dīg _{ɪya'}	"be lying down"		dīgɪyá
sjàk	"agree"		sjàkì
gbīgīm _n	"lion"		gbīgīm _{nī}

Most speakers now render all LF-final -mnɪ as -mmɪ: thus gbīgīm_{nī}.

Words with LFs in -ya where SF-final y becomes ɣ̃ are written with ya:

vūɣ̃ _{ya'}	"live"	LF	vūyá
sãɣ̃ _{ya}	"smith"		sãɣ̃yā

A few cases must be written out separately, as with pāmm LF pāmní "a lot", and the very few words with LFs in glottalised i'a u'a: kpj̃à' LF kpj̃'a "shape wood."

The intrinsic LF-final toneme is L whenever the last SF toneme is L or H, but may be either M or H if the last SF toneme is M. The notation takes M as the default, with a following ´ implying that H is to be imposed on the last syllable of the LF.

	kōk _a	"chair"	LF	kōkā
	sīa	"waist"		sīāa
	dāu	"man"		dāu
but	dōk _o ´	"pot"	LF	dōkú
	vīid´	"owls"		vīidí
	nūa´	"hen"		nūáa
	tāuŋ´	"opposite-sex sib"		tāuŋ
	dāam´	"beer"		dāamm

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:

	nû'ug _o	"hand"	LF	nú'ugù
	nóbìr	"foot"		nóbìrì
	wābōg _o ´	"elephant"		wābugú
	dìgìr	"dwarf"		dìgìrì

Apocope-blocking is seen in some nouns, many quantifiers, ideophones and particles, and in downtoned adjectives, along with all words with SFs of the form CV except pfv_s and cbs. Short final ɪ ʊ do not become ε ɔ. Secondary LFs are created by prolonging short final vowels and adding -nɪ otherwise.

	būudī	"tribe"	LF	būudī
	bèdugō´	"a lot"		bèdugú
	yā´	"houses"		yáa
	pāmm	"a lot"		pāmní
	mà'àa	"only"		mà'anì
	gùllīmm	"only"		gùllīmnì
	ŋyāe	"brightly"		ŋyāení
	kòtāa	"at all"		kòtāanì

3.3 Segmental structure

Open-class words are based on (C)V(C) roots, where V may be any short or long vowel, and the final C is b d g l m n s or r. Stems may add zero to three derivational suffixes b d g l m n or s, where only d l m may follow another suffix. Nominal stems may have a prefix (C)V(N) CVsN or CVIN, where V is short and N a homorganic nasal. Full words end in either a flexional suffix (C)V or in a **dummy suffix**: -ɪ after consonants, zero after vowels. Surface forms result via consonant deletion and assimilation, vowel epenthesis, and vowel quality changes, all preceding apocope.

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** a ɪ ʊ aa ʉ ʊʊ. Prefix ɪ ʊ are realised [i] [u] after m n or if the root first vowel symbol is i or u, as in kɪkɪrɪŋ "fairy", sɪsɪ'əm "wind", sɪlɪnsɪuŋg "spider", dɪndɪuŋg "cobra", vɪlɪnvɪuŋɪ "mason wasp." Final mm replaces -mɪ/mʊ; before prosodic clitics short final ɪ ʊ become ɛ ɔ.

Word-initially, no consonant clusters appear; finally, mm only. Apart from -NC- after prefixes, the only word-internal clusters are kk tt pp ŋŋ nn mm ll mn: all other consonant pairs either assimilate to a permissible cluster or single consonant, or insert an epenthetic vowel: dūm + rɪ → dūm_n "knee"; nɔ́b + rɪ → nɔ́bɪr "leg."

The default **epenthetic vowel** is ɪ, rounded to ʊ before -gʊ/ŋʊ; this rounding becomes contrastive after apocope. Epenthetic ɪ is non-contrastively rounded to ʊ after a short rounded root vowel with intervening g: gbɪgɪm_n "lion", yɔ́gɔ́m_n "camel." Written ɪ ʊ are realised [i] [u] after short root i or u with any single consonant intervening: sɪgɪd "lowers" [sigid], kɪgɪr "stone" [kugur].

Before the noun pl suffix -aa unglottalised CV(V)-stems insert -y-, before which long vowels shorten. CV'V-stems change to CVd-; stems in -ag -ɪag -ʊag often also show analogical forms with -d-.

gāŋr'	"ebony fruit"	pl	gāŋyá
bàlàar	"stick, club"		bàlàyà
kùkɔ́r'	"voice"		kùkɔ́yá
nɔ́ɔ́r'	"mouth"		nɔ́yá
zōʊr	"tail"		zōyā
bīər'	"elder same-sex sibling"		bīāyá
zūər	"hill"		zūāyā
tītā'ar	"big"		tītādā
pòŋ'ɔ́r	"cripple"		pòŋdà
yū'ʊr'	"name"		yūdá
yū'ər	"penis"		yūādā
mù'ar	"reservoir, dam"		mù'a(dà)

3.3.1 Root allomorphy

Some roots alternate CV/CVV. For those with glottalised vowels see §3.3.2; they originated as CVg. The rest had other lenited final consonants, or were simply CV; they show long vowels in flexion before -ga -si -gu and with the dummy suffix, but short elsewhere, with following d → t and b → p (but not m → mm or l → ll):

dāug _o	"male"	cf dāp _a	"men"
bīig _a	"child" pl bīis	cf bīl _a	"little"
dòog _o	"hut"	pl dèt	
fūug _o ´	"clothing"	pl fūt´	
nyē	"see"	ipfv nyēt _a ´	imp nyèm _a
kē	"allow"	ipfv kēt _a ´	imp kèl _a
dì	"eat"	ipfv dīt _a	imp dìm _a
zò	"run"	ipfv zòt _a	imp zòm _a
dō	"rise"	ipfv dōt _a ´	imp dòm _a
lù/li	"fall"	ipfv lùt _a /lit _a	imp lùm _a /lìm _a

CVV is usual before -ri: pùkòog_r "widow", dàkòog_r "bachelor" vs *pvkòntim* "widowhood", Toende *pòkòp* "widows", *dakòp* "bachelors", *dakòtvm* "bachelorhood." CV does occur: nā'-lór "place for tying up cows" WK, kùkòr´ "voice." Such roots were often formerly CVy: cf Mooré *lòe* "tie", *kóεεgà* "voice." Monophthongisation of Vy explains e.g. lù/li "fall" and Farefare *dèegò*, Kusaal dòog_o "hut."

Zūg_o´ "head", pl zūt´ is exceptional; contrast Farefare *zúugó* pl *zútó*.

CVV before -gu is often introduced into the pl: dòod "huts", fūud´ "shirts", and always dāad "male." Regular gerunds show CVV: nyēεb_o´ "seeing", nō-lòog "fasting."

Before derivational suffixes, CVV is usual:

dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
dāp _a	"men"	dàalim	"masculinity"

Exceptions are yīs/yīs´ "make emerge" (yī "emerge", ipfv yīt_a´); gōs "look", ipfv gōt_a´/gōsīd_a´, imp gò(sì)m_a; tìs "give" ipfv tīt_a/tìsīd_a; and with g → k after CV:

wìk	"draw water"	ipfv wìid _a
tēk´/tēεg´	"pull"	ipfv tēεd _a ´/tēkíd _a

Some roots alternate CVC/CVVC. Alternation may appear in derivation; CVC is invariable before derivational suffixes other than noun-deriving -l:

tūmā	"work" (noun)	tùm	"work" (verb)
yéon	"one"	yīuŋ _v '	"single"
kāal'	"count"	kāl _l '	"number"
tūulóg _v	"hot"	tūl _l a'	"be hot"
màal	"sacrifice" (verb)	mālōŋ _v	"sacrifice" (noun)
piəliŋ _a	"white"	pèliŋ	"whiten"
kpi'oŋ _v	"strong"	kpe'ŋ	"strengthen"
liəb	"become"	lèbìŋ	"turn over"
tūulóg _v	"hot"	tūliŋ'	"heat"
yāar'	"scatter"	yādīŋ'	"scatter"
dēeŋ _a	"first"	dèŋ	"go first"
piəb	"blow" (flute)	pèbìs	"blow" (wind)
yūul	"swing" (intransitive)	yūliŋ	"swing" (transitive)

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

zīiŋ _a	*ziimga	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
nāaf _v	*naagfv	nīigi	nā'-	*nag-
wāaf _v	*waagfv	wīigi	wā'-	*wag-
pīim'		pīmá		"arrow"
yūum _n		yùmà		"year"

Rounded vowels become glottalised before derivational g s:

vūr'	"alive"	vū'ug'	"revive"
		vū'us'	"breathe"
kò	"break"	kò'ug	"break"
kòwólúŋ _v	"broken"	kò'us	"break several times"
pòwd _a	"be few"	pò'ug	"diminish"
tòŋ	"shoot"	tòŋ'us	"hunt"

Isolated CVV/CVC alternations are seen in

nō	"tread"	nōbá	"feet"
tòŋ	"shoot"	tāŋp _v	*tābbu
lō	"tie"	lōdīŋ'	"untie"
pū	"divide"	pūdīŋ'	"divide"

3.3.2 Morphophonemic rules

Three sets of rules apply in order before apocope. They are responsible for all phonemic diphthongs except word-final V_ɛ V_ɪ V_ʊ and those resulting from liaison.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion

Except before *ʊ*, *g* is deleted after *aa* *iə* *uə* *ãã* *ěě* *ǃǃ*; *ěě* *ǃǃ* are treated as *ĩĩ* *ũũ*. Glottalised vowels behave identically. When an affix vowel follows, fusion creates overlong diphthongs.

aaga → aa §4.4	iəga → iaa	uəga → uaa
aagi → aee	iəgi → iee	uəgi → uee
aagC → aaC	iəgC → iəC	uəgC → uəC
ããga → ãã	ěěga → ĩãã	ǃǃga → ũãã
ããgi → ãěě	ěěgi → ĩěě	ǃǃgi → ũěě
ããgC → ããC	ěěgC → ĩěC	ǃǃgC → ũěC

bāa	*baaga	"dog"	pl bāas
sīa	*siəga	"waist"	pl sīəs
sàbùa	*sabuəga	"lover"	pl sàbùəs
pāe´	*paagi	"reach"	
kpi'e	*kpi'əgi	"approach"	cf kpi'əs "neighbours"
dūe´	*duəgi	"raise, rise"	
páar	*paagri	"reach" ger	
kpi'ər	*kpi'əgru	"approach" ger	
dúər	*duəgru	"raise, rise" ger	

zìŋ'a	*zě'ěga	"red"	pl zèŋ'əs and sg zèŋ'og _ʊ
dùaŋ	*dǃǃga	"dawadawa"	pl dǃǃŋs
Mùa	*Mǃǃga	"Mossi person"	cf Mǃǃg _ʊ "Mossi land"
nìe	*něěgi	"appear"	cf nèel "reveal"
pūŋ'e´	*pǃǃgi	"rot"	cf pǃǃ'ɔl´ "cause to rot"
sūŋ´	*sǃǃgi	"anooint"	cf sǃǃ "rub"
sūŋ'e´	*sǃǃgi	"improve"	cf sǃǃ'e _{ya} ´ "be better than"
nìər	*něěgru	"appear" ger	cf nèer "empty"
púŋ'ər	*pǃǃgru	"rot" ger	cf pǃǃ'ɔl´ "cause to rot"

G is deleted after a *ja* *ya* unless it is geminated, producing *a'a* *ja'a* *ʊ'a*; any following affix vowel is deleted. Nasalised vowels behave identically.

pṽā'	*pṽaga	"woman"	pl pṽ'ab _a	*pṽagba
zàk _a	*zagga	"compound"	pl zà'as	*zagsɪ
lāṽk _o	*laggu	"item of goods"	pl lā'ad	*lagdɪ
pṽàṽnk _o	*pṽāggv	"word"	pl pṽàṽn'ad	*pṽāgdɪ
pṽāk _a	*pṽagga	"female"	pl pṽ'as	*pṽagsɪ
b̀̀k _o	*bṽaggu	"pit"	pl b̀̀'ad	*bṽagdɪ

Set 2: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis

Except after prefixes, CC within a word must assimilate to k p t ŋ mm nn ll mn r s f or insert the epenthetic vowel ɪ. This table shows the outcomes; + stands for epenthetic vowel insertion.

	-g	-d	-b	-m	-n	-r	-s	-l	-f	-y
g-	k	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
d-	+	t	+	+		+	+			r
b-	+	+	p	[mm]	+	+	+	+		+
m-	ŋ	mn	mm	mm		mn	[:ŋs]	nn		mm
n-	ŋ	nn	mm	+		nn	:ŋs	nn	ŋf	nn
r-	+	+	+	+		r	+	t	+	
s-	+	+	+	+		+	+			s
l-	+	nn	+	+		ll	+	ll	+	ll

E.g.	gg → k	g̀̀k _a	"dumb" sg	g̀̀g̀̀s pl	
	mg → ŋ	b̀̀ŋ _a	"donkey" sg	b̀̀m̀̀s pl	
		cf kōlīg _a	"river" sg	kōlīs pl	
	dd → t	b̀̀t _a	"plant" ipfv	b̀̀d pfv	
	ld → nn	kūn _{na} '	"go home" ipfv	kūl pfv	
		cf dōgūd _a '	"cook" ipfv	dōg pfv	
	bb → p	sōp _o '	"writing" ger	sōb pfv	
	mb → mm	kīm _{mo}	"shepherding" ger	kīm pfv	
		cf pōdīb _o	"name" ger	pōd pfv	
	mr → mn	dūm _n	"knee" sg	dūmā pl	
	nr → nn	tān _n	"earth" sg	tānā pl	
	lr → ll	gēl _l	"egg" sg	gēlá pl	
		cf dīg̀̀r	"dwarf" sg	dīg̀̀à pl	
	ll → ll	B̀̀l _l	"Buli"	B̀̀līg _a	"Bulsa person"
	rl → t	Bāt'	"Bisa language"	Bārīg _a '	"Bisa person"

mn is merging with mm. KB *mna* and *mne* are never truly word-internal. A few ipfvs in *mn* remain in NT1/NT2, e.g. *wum na* (Mt 13:15 NT2) LF wòmṇā "hear"; *daamne ba* (Lk 6:18 NT1) dàamnī=bá "trouble them." Some informants keep *mne* before prosodic clitics: SB gbīgīmṇē "lion" (WK gbīgīmmē.) Word-internal *mn* appears only in agent noun pls: *tvmtvumnib* tùm-tūmnīb "servants" but *būn-tūmmìr* "useful thing" pl tūmnā SB.

bm → mm only occurs after a short root vowel.

ms never assimilates after a short root vowel, and only optionally elsewhere.

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

tēṇ _a	"land"	pl	tēṇs	*tɛnsɪ
kùlìṇ _a	"door"		kùlìs	*kɔlɪnsɪ

The pl *būtūs* of *būtīṇ_a* "cup" reflects reanalysis of *bū-* as a prefix.

nf becomes *f* with nasalisation of a preceding root vowel, but no lengthening:

nīf _ɔ '	"eye"	pl	nīní
ríṇf _ɔ	"genet"		pīní

ss → *sɪs* only in *pūsīs'* "tamarinds"; all other *-sɪs* pls derive from *-sɪnsɪ*.

Regular *n*-stems never assimilate in imperatives or gerunds. In the ipfv they assimilate *nd* → *nn* only after short root vowels:

bùn	bùn _{na}	bùnìṇ _a	"reap"
dìḡìn	dìḡìṇìd _a	dìḡìṇìṇ _a	"lie down"
ḡḏ'ɔn	ḡḏ'ɔnìd _a	ḡḏ'ɔnìṇ _a	"extend neck"

The corresponding gerunds are *būnīb_ɔ*, *dìḡìṇḡ_ɔ*, *ḡḏ'ɔnḡ_ɔ*.

M-stems always assimilate in the imperative. They assimilate in ipfvs and gerunds whenever an epenthetic vowel would have been left in a superlight syllable in the LF; otherwise either assimilation or epenthesis is possible.

wùm	wùm _{ma}	wùm _{ma}	"hear"
tḡɔm'	tḡɔm _{ma} /tḡɔmíd _a	tḡɔm _{ma}	"depart"
kàrìṇ	kàrìṇ _{ma} /kàrìṇìd _a	kàrìṇ _{ma}	"read"

The corresponding gerunds are *wūm_{mɔ}*, *tḡɔḡ_ɔ/tḡɔmúḡ_ɔ*, *kàrḡ_ɔ/kàrìṇḡ_ɔ*.

WK and DK clearly avoid assimilation when it would lead to ambiguity, using optional assimilated finite forms only as LFs or before the focus particle *nē'*.

M̄ pō kárìmmā.	"I'm not reading."	M̄ kárìm nē.	"I'm reading."
Bà dāa kárùmìd.	"They were reading."	Bà dāa kárìm.	"They read."

KB sometimes even has forms like wòmìd_a unassimilated for clarity (Phil 1:30.)

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate further only with mmm → mm and llr → ll: thus dām "shake", imperative dām_{ma}, but ipfv dāmmìd_a ipfv, gerund dāmmùg_b; kùg-dēlì' "chair for leaning on", pl kùg-dēllá; contrast kōt' "slaughter", ipfv kōtíd_a.

Derivational n represents earlier nn: pībīn_n pl pībīnā "covering", Mooré pìbìndgà "lid"; vābìn "lie prone", Mooré vābende.

Set 3: vowel changes before y ku ηυ gu

Unglottalised long vowels shorten before word-internal y, but glottalised a'a → a'e, i'ə → i'e, ɔ'ɔ → ɔ'e, u'ə → u'e, u'u → u'i, ʊ'ʊ → ʊ'e:

tōɛ	*tɔɔya	"be bitter"	cf tōɔg	"bitter"
sō'e _{ya} '	*su'uya	"own"	cf sō'ulím	"property"

Short unrounded root vowels become V_ɥ before ku/ηυ; ja becomes ja_ɥ, but ɥa becomes ɔ: ɥaku → ɔku:

gbà _ɥ	"book"	pl	gbànà
yī _ɥ '	"single"		yīnà
lā _ɥ k _b	"goods item"		lā'ad
bjā _ɥ k _b	"shoulder"		bjā _ɥ 'ad
bòk _b	"pit"		bò'ad

Short i does not diphthongise: nìn-gbī_ɥ' "body."

Unrounded second morae of long vowels are rounded before gu/ηυ, with lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense becoming [u]; epenthetic ɪ likewise becomes ʊ:

dà _ɥ g _b	"log"	pl	dàad
fē _ɥ 'og _b '	"ulcer"		fē _ɥ 'ed'
kpī'ō _ɥ	"strong"		kpī'ə _{mā}
vī _ɥ g _b '	"owl"		vīid'
mālō _ɥ	"sacrifice"		māl _ɥ mā
pù'usò _ɥ g _b	"thanks"	cf	pù'usì _m "worship"

iəgu → ευgu and uəgu → ɔɔgu, with pl vowels remodelled on the sg:

	bē'og _ɔ	"bad"	pl	bē'ɛd
cf	bī'a	"bad"		bī'əs (bī'əm "enemy")
	lām-fōɔg _ɔ	"toothless"		lām-fōɔd (fùe *fuəɣi "extract")

The only -uədɪ pl is pl-only zùəd "friendship." Dàbīog_ɔ pl dàbīəd "coward" may have been influenced by an obsolete *dàbīəm "coward" (= Mooré *ràbémà*.)

3.4 Tone Patterns

The tonemes of an open-class word, prior to external tone sandhi or overlay, are specified by a Tone Pattern, a suprasegmental stem feature 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 occur throughout Western Oti-Volta.

Nominals show only three basic Patterns (H, L and A), and verbs only two (H and A.) Allocation precedes all rules which delete segments, including apocope.

Pattern H	initial H or MH		
Pattern L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer m-stems)		
Pattern A	(for "alternating")		
	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl	all-L in cb
	verbs:	all-M after nà/kù	all-L otherwise

Any tonemes after H are L. L flexional suffixes other than the dummy suffix carried M historically; the original toneme appears before locative =n and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M spreading seen after the corresponding SFs.

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

wābōg _ɔ '	"elephant"	LF wābuɔú	SF wābōg
dìgìr	"dwarf"	LF dìgùrì	SF dìgìr
nóbìr	"foot"	LF nóbùrì	SF nóbìr

Except after prefixes, all word-internal k t p ŋ represent CC in syllabification.

Final L becomes M in apocope-blocked SFs, changing to H in the LFs.

For the tonemes of bound liaison words see §4.5. Left-bound particles with SF CV which are *not* liaison enclitics carry L or M, with M becoming H in the LF.

3.4.1 Nouns and adjectives

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cb §5.1. Cbs are allocated tonemes as stem+V prior to apocope, with cb-final η treated as *single* m or n.

Prefixes are L or M. L prefixes do not affect Patterns; M prefixes affect only cbs, which always have H/X. Cbs from CV-stems sometimes behave like prefixes:

zūg-kūgūr	zūg-kūgā	zūg-kúg-	"pillow" §5.2
kā-wēnnīr	kā-wēnnā	kā-wén-	"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.

vūr´ (LF vūrí)	vōyá	vūr-	"alive"
fūug _o ´	fūud´	fū-	"shirt"
dūk _o ´	dūgūd´	dūg-	"cooking pot"
nīd _a ´	nīdīb _a ´	nīn-	"person"
kūgūr´	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
gōt _a ´	gōtīb _a	gōt-	"seer"
sābílīg _a	sābílís	sābīl- (sābílí)	"black"
sābíl _l	sābílá		
yōgúm _n	yōgumá	yōgūm- (yōgumí)	"camel"
dī'əs _a ´	dī'əsídīb _a	dī'əs-	"receiver"
sūgūríd _a	sūgūrídīb _a	sūgūríd-	"forgiver"
kō'alíη _a	kō'alís	kō'alíη-	traditional smock
sū'əη _a	sū'əmís	sū'əη- (sū'əmí)	"rabbit"
sāan _a ´	sāam _{ma}	sāan-	"stranger"
sāannìm			"strangerhood"

Monosyllabic LFs are H, and LFs ending in overlong diphthongs are MH, but the corresponding SFs carry M:

yā´	"houses"	LF	yáa
vōm´	"life"		vómm
dāam´	"millet beer"		dáamm
gāaη´	"Nigerian ebony"		gáaη
nūa´	"hen"		nūáa

Many words have a long root vowel followed by a nasal lost before s or f, or by deleted g; the first syllable still behaves as superheavy:

níis	*niinst	(also nīimís)	"birds"
píunf _o	*p _u unfu	(pl pīuní)	"genet"
wáaf _o	*waagfu	(pl wīigí)	"snake"
yáab _a	*yaagba		"grandparent"
vúər	*vuəgru		"fruit of red kapok"

Thus with all gerunds of Pattern H fusion verbs, e.g. náar *naagru "finishing", dí'ər *di'əgru "getting", pún'ər *pō'ōgru "rotting."

After a short root vowel r usually behaves as rr:

nyīríf _o	nyīrí	"egusi seed"
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A few root-stems are irregular only before consonant-initial class suffixes, where they show X on superheavy SF monosyllables and H/HL otherwise:

nû'ug _o	nû'us	nū'-	"hand, arm"
à-gâun _g _o	à-gâa _{nd}	à-gā _η -	"pied crow"
gbéē _η m		gbē _η -	"sleep"
nóbìr	nōbá	nōb-	"foot, leg"
gél _l	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kísù _g _o	kīsá	kīs-	"hateful, tabu"
ā _η sìb _a	ā _η s-nám _a	ā _η s-	"mother's brother"

So too the gerunds sō_ηsì_g_a "talking", gósì_g_a "looking", kìkírù_g_o "hurrying."

The stems in s and r have lost a segment through degemination; similarly, cf Mooré *gāoobgō* "pied crow." Nû'ug_o has added ga|s_i after older u|t flexions (cf Nawdm *núhú* pl *níhí*); sg nóbìr is remodelled on the pl (cf Toende *nō'ōt* pl *nōba*.)

Examples for Pattern H with prefixes:

dàyūug _o '	dàyūud'	dàyū-	"rat"
Bùsán _a	Bùsâa _η s	Bùsā _η -	"Bisa person"
zīnzāu _η _o '	zīnzāná	zīnzā _u _η -	"bat"
gūmpōzē _r '	gūmpōzēyá	gūmpōzē _r -	"duck"
pīpīrīg _a '	pīpīrīs'	pīpī _r -	"desert"
tīntō _η rīg _a	tīntō _η rís	tīntō _η _r -	"mole"

Pattern L has L on all syllables, except for m-stems of more than three morae, which show H on the last stem syllable.

sù'ug _a	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"dwelling-compound"
mòlìf _o	mòlì	mòlì-	"gazelle"
pùgùdìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal _a	sàalìb _a	sàal-	"human"
dàalìm			"maleness"
sàam _{ma}	sàam-nàm _a	sàam-	"father"
mèεη _a	mèεmìs	mèεη-	"turtle"
àηrùη _o	àηrumà	àηrùη-	"boat"
yàlòη _o	yàlìmà	yàlòη-	"wide"
zìlìm _n	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
dìgìnòg _o			"lying down" ger
nòηìd _a			"lover"
sìilìη _a	sìilìmìs/sìilìs	sìilìη-	"proverb"
zàaηsùη _o	zàaηsìmà	zàaηsùη-	"dream"
dàalìm	dàalìmìs	dàalìm-	"male sex organs"
nòηìlìm		nòηìlìm-	"love"

Tonally exceptional are bùgúm cb bùgúm-/bùgòm- "fire", tàdìmís "weakness", bùdìmís "confusion."

Pattern L with prefixes:

kùkparìg _a	kùkparìs	kùkpar-	"palm tree"
sāmán _n	sāmánà	sāmán-	"courtyard"

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

būug _a	būs	bù-	"goat"
tān _n	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd _a	sīdìb _a	sìd-	"husband"
puā'	pū'ab _a	puā'-	"woman, wife"
gbìgìm _n	gbìgìmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
ηwāaη _a	ηwāamìs	ηwāaη-	"monkey"
mēεd _a	mēεdìb _a	mēεd-	"builder"
sìākìd _a	sìākìdìb _a	sìākìd-	"believer"
būtìη _a	būtìs	būtìη-	"cup"
mēεdìη _a	mēεdìs	mēεdìη-	"building tool"

Agent nouns from Pattern A verbs with -d- only in the pl have Pattern L sgs:

ρὸ'υs _a	ρὸ'υsīdīb _a	ρὸ'υs-	"worshipper"
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Before negative prosodic clitics, WK and DK have final *H* when a nominal LF ends in a long or epenthetic vowel followed by CVCV, mCV or mm:

sg	yūgυdīré	pl	yūgυdāa	"hedgehog"
	ηwāaηā		ηwāamīsé	"monkey"
	bāηīdā		bāηīdībā	"wise man"
	kpārūdīηā		kpārūdīsé	"thing for locking"
	gbīgīmmé		gbīgīmāa	"lion"
	zōmmé		zōmāa	"fugitive"
	tādīmm		tādīmīsé	"weak person"

WK permits this before interrogative clitics as well:

Lì à nē gbīgīmméε?	"Is it a lion?" WK only; rejected by DK
Lì à nē gbīgīm̄m̄éε?	"Is it a lion?" both WK and DK

Pattern A with prefixes:

dàkīig _a	dàkīis	dàkī-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm _n	fūfūmā	fūfūm-	"envy; stye"

3.4.2 Verbs

Two-aspect-verb pfv and ipfv forms with be cited in order; the m-imperative is always subject to tone overlay. One-aspect verbs have only one finite form.

Pattern H two-mora-stem perfectives are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative clitics. They show final *H* only before liaison-word pronouns:

Ò p̄ dūgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò p̄ dúgèε?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dūgí=ī.	"And she cooked it."
Ò p̄ ηyēε.	"She hasn't seen."
Kà ò ηyέε=ī.	"And she saw it."

Pattern H is otherwise as in nominals, but without anomalies from segment loss; fusion-verb ipfv_s (and agent nouns, unlike gerunds) have initial M, not H.

nyē	nyēt _a '	"see"
kū	kūbd _a '	"kill"
dūg	dūgūd _a '	"cook"
kūl	kūn _{na} '	"go home"
yādīg'	yādīgīd _a	"scatter"
mōɔl'	mōɔn _{na}	"proclaim"
dīgīl'	dīgīn _{na}	"lay down"
nōk'	nōkīd _a	"take"
lāŋīm	lāŋīm _{ma}	"wander searching"
pāe'	pāad _a '	"reach"
dī'e'	dī'əd _a '	"get"
pūŋ'e'	pūŋ'əd _a '	"rot" WK
	vūɛ _{ya} '	"live"
	dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"

Except for two-mora-stem perfectives (above) monosyllabic LFs are H, and LFs ending in overlong diphthongs are MH, while the corresponding SFs carry M:

tōɔm'	LF tōɔmm	"disappear"
pāe'	LF pāée	"reach"

Pattern A has all tonemes M if directly preceded by the irrealis markers nà/kò, and all L everywhere else. Pattern L has merged completely with Pattern A.

bùd	bùt _a	"plant"
dì	dīt _a	"eat"
mè	mèɛd _a	"build"
zàb	zàbīd _a	"fight, hurt"
bùəl	bùə _{nna}	"call"
bòdīg	bòdīgīd _a	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋīd _a	"do"
wàŋìm	wàŋìm _{ma}	"waste away"
zàaŋsìm	zàaŋsìm _{ma}	"dream"
	tàbì _{ya}	"be stuck to"
	vèn _{na}	"be beautiful"

Ò nà bōdīg.	"She'll get lost.
Ò kò bōdīgē.	"She won't get lost."
Ò kò bōdīgīdā.	"She won't be getting lost."

3.4.3 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.

Pattern H words have Pattern H roots, and words derived from H roots are Pattern H, with the sole exception of verbs derived with *n*, which are all Pattern A. Irregular Pattern H roots correspond to regular H elsewhere: áηsìb_a "maternal uncle", āηsír_a "sister's child"; kísùg_b "hateful", kīś_a´ "hate"; gósìg_a ger of gōś "look."

Pattern L/A roots have L/A derivatives. Nominal Pattern A can result only with the suffixes *d m*, and when *d m* are *second* suffixes, only in deverbal forms:

	nà'ab _a	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy" (m-stem)
but	bīig _a	"child"	bīilím	"childhood"

Regular deverbal nominal Tone Patterns are predictable from those of the verb. All from Pattern H verbs are Pattern H; thus dōg "cook", gerund dōgōb_b´, agent noun dōgōd_a´, instrument noun dōgōdíη_a.

Gerunds from Pattern A verbs are Pattern A if the gerund stem has two morae, and Pattern L otherwise:

mēeb _b	"building"	sùηìr	"help"
kùəsùg _b	"selling"	zàaηsúη _b	"dream"
bōōdìm	"will"	mēedím-tāa	"fellow-builder"

Agent nouns and deverbal adjectives from Pattern A verbs are Pattern A if they contain the suffix *d* (even assimilated as *mn* or *nn*), and Pattern L otherwise:

sōηīd _a	"helper"	kpiilúη _b	"dead"
bōōdīr	"desirable"		

Pattern change appears even in noun *flexion* if *d* is dropped in the sg:

kùəs _a	"seller"	kūəsīdīb _a	"sellers"
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Instrument nouns from Pattern A verbs are all Pattern A:

mēedīη _a	"building tool"	kūəsīη _a	"salesperson"
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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-marking tone overlay; M dropping and the changes before interrogative clitics precede M spreading, which precedes all remaining tone sandhi.

4.1 Segmental contact

The initial consonant of dependent $\eta w\grave{a}$ "this" assimilates to any preceding word-final consonant; of $l\bar{a}'$ "the" to preceding r ; and of focus- $n\bar{e}'$ to $d\ t\ n\ r\ | m$. The resulting geminates are simplified, except for [l:] [m:] [n:].

Zōn $\eta w\acute{a}$!	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]
pùkòŋr $l\bar{a}$	"the widow"	[pøkõ:ra]
Bà kpìid $n\bar{e}$.	"They're dying."	[k̄pi:dɛ]
M zót $n\bar{e}$.	"I'm afraid."	[zotɛ]
Lì kpàr $n\bar{e}$.	"It's locked."	[k̄parɛ]
Lì pè'ei $n\bar{e}$.	"It's full."	[pɛ:l:ɛ]
Lì sàŋ'am $n\bar{e}$.	"It's spoilt."	[sã:m:ɛ]

Final $n\ m\ \eta$ of right-bound words adopt the place of articulation of following consonants, as does syllabic \grave{n} (but *not* \grave{m}):

$n\bar{i}n$ -bámmā	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
$n\bar{a}m\ z\bar{i}'$	"still not know"	[nanzɿ]
\grave{N} -Bīl	Mbillah (personal name)	[m̩bil]

Across liaison, informants usually contract $\acute{a}\ \grave{a}$ to \acute{a} and $\acute{í}\ \grave{a}$ to \acute{a} or $\acute{í}$:

Ò $n\grave{i}\acute{í}\ \grave{a}l\acute{a}$.	"She did thus."	[niŋ:ala]/[niŋ:ɪla]
Pèédá $\grave{a}l\acute{a}?$	"How many baskets?"	[pɛ:dala]

WK and DK round LF-final ι before \grave{o} "his/her" to [ʊ]:

Bà $g\grave{o}s\acute{i}\ \grave{o}\ b\bar{i}g$.	"They've looked at her child."	[gɔsʊ]
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In cbs and non-VP-final verbs, word-final short vowels denasalise before initial n or m , and final fronting diphthongs are monophthongised, except before y :

kē nā	"come hither" (kēŋ "come")
sàŋ-kàŋā	"this blacksmith" (sāŋ lā "the blacksmith")
Ò sò'v lór.	"She owns (sō'e) a lorry."
Dúə wēlá?	"[You] arose (dūe) how?" (greeting)
Èŋrɔ̀gìm pāa dú'atà.	"Shift along up to (pāe) the doctor."

Ti ya'a vɔe, ti vɔne tis Zugsɔb la.

Tì yá' vōɛ, tì vó nē_∅ tís Zūg-sóɓ lā.

1PL if live, 1PL live FOC CAT give Lord ART.

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

Mānī_∅ áŋ dú'atà kà fōn mén áŋ.

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

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

M̄ á nē dú'atà. "I'm a doctor."

1SG be FOC doctor:SG.

Àŋ "be" is written *a* before 2016. Except with àŋ, monophthongisation is often ignored in texts: *Kristo da faaen ti* Kristo dá fāaŋ=tí "Christ saved us" (Gal 5:1), *voen vōv=n* "would live" (Gal 3:21 NT2.) Hypercorrections also appear, like *faaenm* for fāaŋm imp "save", *naae da nāadá* ipfv LF "end."

4.2 M spreading

With no intervening pause, most words cause an initial L toneme in a following word to change to X on superheavy syllables and H on others, unless the L is "fixed" (see below.) In the absence of independency marking §13.4, M spreading follows all

subject pronouns

words ending in M toneme

words not bound to the right *except* verb perfectives ending in L or H

nominal plurals ending in -á or -í

some forms affected by M dropping §4.3

M spreading does not follow clause adjuncts, but its occurrence is otherwise independent of clause structure and crosses phrase boundaries:

Bà tís nâ'ab lā búŋ.

3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.

"They've given the chief a donkey."

(bòŋ_a "donkey")

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 the chief."
but	Kà m̄ záb nâ'ab lā.	"And I've fought the chief."
	M̄ dìgà bódìg yā.	"My dwarfs have got lost."
but	M̄ yōgumá bòdìg yā.	"My camels have got lost."

The pronouns m̄ fù ò l̄ t̄ yà bà, personifier à-, all words with prefix à-, all number prefixes, linker kà and all forms of nominaliser =n̄ have a **fixed L** toneme not subject to M spreading. With no intervening pause, M before fixed L must become H:

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'aŋ n ti paae ya tuona la.
 wūu **sáa**=∅ nāanī j̄áŋk yà nyá'aŋ n tí páe_ yà t̄ə̀nà lā
 like rain:SG=NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT once reach 2PL front ART
 "like when lightning leaps from East to West" (Mt 24:27 NT2)

Fixed L does change to M before the negative clitic; né t̄ "with us", but

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.	"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)
Àmáa ò pū lāl né t̄l=∅.	
But 3SG NEG be.far with 1PL=NEG.	

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, but synchronically, M spreading after free words is largely determined by syntactic role: for example, words with identical L-final sg and cb, like z̄à "friend", dú'atà "doctor", show M spreading after sg but not cb, with those like l̄ann̄ìg "squirrel" showing tone sandhi unaffected even by the analogical *addition* of segments in the cb.

4.3 M dropping

M dropping takes place exclusively within NPs. It occurs after any free form as a predependent other than 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 Meeussen's Rule in Bantu, and the note on the origin of M spreading above.)

M dropping affects only the one following word (which may be a cb.)
 Unprefixed words with initial M tonemes change all tonemes to L.
 M *prefixes* change to L, but the rest of the stem is unaffected.

M dropping applies before M spreading; the preceding word usually also induces M spreading, and the new initial L becomes X/H. M dropping also precedes tone changes due to following liaison: *dāu lā pɔɔgū=n* "in the man's field (*pɔɔgū*)."

Examples after cbs:

<i>bù-pìəlìg_a</i>	"white goat"	<i>bù-pāalìg_a</i>	"new goat"
<i>bī-púŋ-pìəlìg_a</i>	"white girl"	<i>bī-púŋ-pāalìg_a</i>	"new girl"
<i>nō-píəlìg_a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-pāalìg_a</i>	"new hen"
<i>dī'əs_a'</i>	"receiver"	<i>dī'əsídìb_a</i>	pl
<i>nō-dí'əs_a</i>	"chief's interpreter"	<i>nō-dí'əsìdìb_a</i>	pl

No M dropping occurs after personal pronouns, bound or free, but otherwise it occurs after all free predependents, including the few not followed by M spreading:

<i>ṁ bīig</i>	"my child"	<i>ṁ tìig</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān bīig</i>	"my child"	<i>mān tìig</i>	"my tree"
<i>mān yūgúm</i>	"my camel"	<i>mān gbīgīm</i>	"my lion"
<i>dāu bīig</i>	"a man's child"	<i>nà'ab bīig</i>	"a chief's child"
<i>dāu lā yúgùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>dāu lā gbígìm</i>	"the man's lion"
<i>mɔɔgū=n yúgùm</i>	"a wild (in-bush) camel"		
<i>ṁ bīāyá yùgùm</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' camel"		
<i>ṁ bīāyá gbìgìm</i>	"my elder same-sex siblings' lion"		

WK optionally applies M dropping to words with initial H on a long vowel, like *nāaf_o* "cow": *dāu lā nāaf* "the man's cow."

Unlike M spreading, M dropping occurs only within NPs:

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bīig. "They've given (it) to the chief's child."
 3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG.

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bīig. "They've given the chief a child."
 3PL give chief:SG ART child:SG.

M dropping never follows uncompounded heads:

kūg-yínnì	"one stone"	kūgūr yīnní	"one stone"
wābūg lā	"the elephant"	wābīs pīigā	"ten elephants"

A word of less than three syllables affected by M dropping and M spreading after a free predependent is not followed by M spreading.

With "the man's/my elder same-sex siblings' X has got lost (bòdìg yā)":

	wābūg _b '	"elephant"	Dāy lā wábùg bòdìg yā.	
	pōcōg _b '	"field"	Dāy lā pōcōg bòdìg yā.	
	bāŋ _a	"ring"	Dāy lā bāŋ bòdìg yā.	
	pōsōg _a	"inside"	Dāy lā pōsōg bòdìg yā.	
but	yūgudīr	"hedgehog"	Dāy lā yūgudīr bódìg yā.	three syllables
	dōcōg _b	"house"	Dāy lā dōcōg bódìg yā.	no M dropping
	à-gāuŋg _b	"pied crow"	Dāy lā gāuŋg bódìg yā.	no M dropping
	wābūg _b '	"elephant"	Ṁ bīāyá wàbùg bódìg yā.	no M spreading
	bāŋ _a	"ring"	Ṁ bīāyá bàŋ bódìg yā.	no M spreading

Tone sandhi after the final element of a *compound* follows the general rules:

bò-wōk dīub	"tall goat's food (dīub _b)"	nō-wók dīub	"tall hen's food"
bò-wōk-pìə̀lìg	"tall white goat"	nō-wók-pìə̀lìg	"tall white hen"
bò-wōk-pāalìg	"tall new goat"	nō-wók-pāalìg	"tall new hen"

M dropping applies sequentially, reflecting the substructure of NPs, and leaving words affected by *previous* rounds of dropping as they were:

dāy lā [nó-pāalìg] "the man's new hen" (nō-pāalìg "new hen")

The absence of M spreading after words affected by M dropping may also reveal the sequence of applications:

[fūug dōcōg] "tent" (fūug_b' "cloth", dōcōg_b "house")
 pò'usùg [fūug dōcōg] "tabernacle" (pò'usùg_b "worship")

[[[dāy lā bīig] bīər] nāaf] zūr "the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail" WK (bīig_a, bīər', nāaf_b, zūr)

4.4 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 pp132ff.)

Before prosodic clitics short final ι υ become ϵ \omicron (realised slightly closer than in roots.) Final υ 'a is here realised [ʊ̣ɑ:]. Final $i\alpha$ $u\alpha$ diphthongise to ia ua : pfv LF $k\grave{i}\alpha$ "cut" vs ipfv $k\grave{i}\alpha\delta$, pfv LF $k\grave{u}\alpha$ "hoe" vs ipfv $k\grave{u}\alpha\delta$. Overlong monophthongs reduce to long, resulting in words with segmentally identical SF and LF:

	$s\grave{i}\alpha$	"waist"	LF $s\grave{i}\bar{\alpha}\alpha$	* $si\alpha ga$
but	$b\bar{\alpha}\alpha$	"dog"	LF $b\bar{\alpha}\alpha$	* $baaga$
	$k\acute{u}\alpha$ [kʊ:]	"kill him/her"	LF $k\acute{u}\alpha$	* $k\upsilon\alpha=o$

The **negative prosodic clitic** appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb (Mooré uses segmental $y\acute{e}$ in the same way.) Short final ι υ become ϵ \omicron ; long u $\upsilon\upsilon$ are not affected. LF-final L syllables are changed to M.

L̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $d\bar{o}k\acute{o}=\emptyset$. "It's not a pot ($d\bar{o}k\acute{o}'$)."
 3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

L̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r\bar{\epsilon}=\emptyset$. "It's not a leg ($n\acute{o}b\grave{i}r$)."
 3IN NEG.be leg:SG=NEG.

B̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $m\acute{o}l\bar{i}=\emptyset$. "They are not gazelles ($m\grave{o}l\grave{i}$)."
 3PL NEG.be gazelle:PL=NEG.

L̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $y\grave{a}a\bar{r}\bar{i}m=\emptyset$. "It's not salt ($y\grave{a}a\bar{r}\bar{i}m$)."
 3IN NEG.be salt=NEG.

M spreading from preceding words precedes any changes of final L to M:

L̀ $k\acute{\alpha}'$ \grave{o} $t\bar{i}m$. "It's not her medicine ($t\grave{i}m$)."
 L̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $t\bar{i}m$. "It's not medicine."
 L̀ $k\acute{\alpha}'$ $b\grave{a}$ $d\bar{\alpha}'a$. "It's not their market ($d\grave{a}'a$)."
 L̀ $k\bar{\alpha}'$ $d\acute{\alpha}'a$. "It's not a market."

Similar LFs, consistently written with final ϵ \omicron in KB, appear in some clause adjuncts, like $b\bar{o}$ $z\acute{u}g\bar{o}$ "because", $d\bar{\alpha}\alpha$ - $s\acute{i}'\bar{e}r\bar{\epsilon}$ "perhaps" and sometimes $y\grave{a}'$ -clauses:

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

Kìkīrīg yá' mōr bōudē, fōn tísò=∅ kà ò lèbìg ò mōɔgū=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

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)!"

The greeting formula Nē sōɲsɔgā! "[Blessing] on your conversation" shows a similar final LF.

The **vocative clitic** ends a vocative clause. It has similar effects to the negative clitic, sometimes with a falling intonation imposed on final M.

M̃ pūā' né m̃ bīsē=∅!

"My wife and my children!"

1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL=VOC!

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

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_∅ ɲyē nóbɪrè=∅?

"Who's seen a leg (nóbìr)?"

Who CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

Ànó'ɔ̀nì ɲyē kúkà?

"Who's seen a chair (kūk_a)?"

Ànó'ɔ̀nì ɲyē dōkó?

"Who's seen a pot (dōk_o'?)"

Ànó'ɔ̀nì ɲyē mólì?

"Who's seen gazelles (mòlì)?"

Ànó'ɔ̀nì ɲyē bédugú?

"Who's seen a lot (bédugū'?)"

Lì à nē nóbɪrèè=∅?

"Is it a leg?"

3IN be FOC leg:SG=PQ?

All questions end with a L or H toneme and have final *falling* intonation. Before both interrogative clitics **all-M words 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. Lowering affects only the one final word before the clitic.

Ànó'ɔ̀nì_∅ ɲyé bà bìigà=∅?

"Who has seen their child (bīig_a)?"

Who CAT see 3PL child:SG=CQ?

Ànó'ɔ̀nì nyē bígà?	"Who's seen a child?" tonally identical to
Ànó'ɔ̀nì nyē sù'ugà?	"Who's seen a knife (sù'ugà)?"
Fù bōɔ̀d bó?	"What (bō) do you want?"
Ànó'ɔ̀nì nyē zūáyà?	"Who's seen hills (zūāyā)?"
M̀ ná bōdīg.	"I will get lost."
M̀ ná bōdīgèè?	"Will I get lost?"
Ò pū dōgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pū dúgèè?	"Hasn't she cooked?"

4.5 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final LF vowel, but without quality and length contrasts. Final short vowels become ɪ by default, but ʊ after f and (for many speakers) rounded root vowels + g/ŋ. Final diphthongs become 2-mora monophthongs. Final -ya is dropped, and preceding vowels again become 2-mora monophthongs. Plurals in -a or -ɪ and words with apocope-blocking do not change segmentally. Final -mm becomes -mɪ, but before non-clitics or =m the vowel may be dropped and its toneme shifted to the preceding syllable. Several liaison words induce further quality changes in preceding vowels.

Liaison enclitics are always preceded by liaison. Locative =n attaches to nominals; discontinuous-past =n and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun =ya to verbs. The object pronouns =m_a 1sg, =f_ɔ 2sg, =o 3sg animate, =lɪ 3sg inanimate, =tɪ 1pl, =ya 2pl, =ba 3pl attach to verbs or after =n or =ya. Nominaliser =ñ follows NPs.

kōk _a	"chair"	=n	→	kōkī=n´
dōk _ɔ ´	"pot"	=n	→	dōkí=n
pōɔ̀g _ɔ ´	"field"	=n	→	pōɔ̀gú=n
yàug _ɔ	"grave"	=n	→	yàugū=n´
dà'a	"market"	=n	→	dā'a=n´
nyē	"see"	=m _a	→	nyéε=m _a
kjà	"cut"	=lɪ	→	kìə=lī´
gbāŋ'e´	"seize"	=tɪ	→	gbāŋ'a=tī´
pīe´	"wash"	=tɪ	→	píə=tī´
dūe´	"raise"	=tɪ	→	dúə=tī´
sō'e _{ya} ´	"own"	=lɪ	→	sú'ɔ̀=lī´
vōe _{ya} ´	"live"	=n	→	vōɔ̀=n´
kù'əm	"water"	=n	→	kù'əmī=n´

Gòsımī=m!	Gòsīm=m!	"Look at me!"
Gòsımí fù nù'ug!	Gòsím fù nù'ug!	"Look at your hand!"

Before 2pl object =ya, aa iə ɔɔ uə uu ʊʊ become ae ie ɔe ue ui ve:

Kà bà nyéε=yā.	"And they saw (nyē) you."
Kà bà kúε=yā.	"And they killed (kō) you."
Kà bà kíε=yā.	"And they cut (kìà) you."
Kà bà gbāη'e=yā.	"And they seized (gbāη'e´) you."

The pronoun =o "him/her" and the postposed 2pl subject pronoun =ya lose their entire segmental form in their SFs. Both completely override the vowel quality of the pre-liaison mora, creating secondary diphthongs. The mora before =o becomes o [ʊ], fusing with the pronoun LF as o=o [ʊ:], and the mora before =ya becomes [ɪ]:

b̀̀ɔɔd _a	"want"	=o	→	b̀̀ɔɔdō=ó´
t̀̀m	"send"	=o	→	t̀̀mò=ó
nyē	"see"	=o	→	nyéó LF nyēó=o
zū	"steal"	=o	→	zúó LF zūó=o
d̀̀	"eat"	=o	→	d̀̀o=ó
k̀̀à	"cut"	=o	→	k̀̀io=ó
pāe´	"reach"	=o	→	páo LF pāó=o
pīe´	"wash"	=o	→	píó LF pīó=o
dūe´	"raise"	=o	→	dúó LF dūó=o
àηya	"be"	=o	→	āηo=ó´
zū	"steal"	=ya	→	zūe=ya´
bè	"be"	=ya	→	bēɪ=ya´

=ya itself becomes =ní before liaison. The pronoun was historically *ηa, with the pre-liaison form deriving from *ηɪ (cf nīη_a "body", Mooré *yīnga*.)

Dā d̀̀llī=yá=ø!	"Don't come along (pl)!"
NEG.IMP go.with=2PLS=NEG!	
Dì'əmī=ø!	"Receive (pl)!"
Receive:IMP=2PLS!	
Dì'əmī=ní=bā!	"Receive (pl) them!"
Receive:IMP=2PLS=3PL.	
Dì'əmī=nó=ø!	"Receive (pl) her!"
Receive:IMP=2PLS=3AN.	

Biise, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.

Bīisē=∅, s̩àkìmī=ní yà dū'adīb nɔyà.

Child:PL=VOC, agree:IMP=2PLS 2PL parent:PL mouth:PL.

"Children, obey your parents." (Eph 6:1)

Nominaliser =n fuses with preceding pronoun subjects §12.3.1; elsewhere, the effects of its fixed L toneme are the only sign of its presence for my informants, but texts may show *n* (especially after proper names) and/or liaison:

dāy **lā**=∅ zàb nà'ab lā "the man having fought the chief"
man:SG ART=NZ fight chief:SG ART

ya zuobid wɔsa kalli an si'em "the number of all your hairs" (Lk 12:7)
yà zūəbíd wɔsā kállí=∅ àŋ sī'em
2PL hair:PL all number:SG=NZ be how

All tone changes induced by liaison clitics *follow* those due to M spreading. Enclitics reduced to a single consonant close the preceding syllable:

Kà bà kīə=m. "And they cut me." (X toneme, not H)

The locative particle =n changes any preceding LF-final L to M. Its own LF carries M after a *non-root* H syllable, and H in all other cases.

pɔɔg _b '	"field"	=n	→	pɔɔgú=n	
bīig _a	"child"	=n	→	bīigī=n'	WK
yàad	"graves"	=n	→	yàadī=n'	WK
kōudí _b _a	"killers"	=n	→	kōudī _b _a =n'	WK

Ò ká' bà dā'a=né. "She is not at their market (dà'a)."

Ò kā' dá'a=né. "She is at market."

Discontinuous-past =n and 2pl =ya carry H on their own LFs. They change any preceding LF-final L and any *non-root* H to M:

dōg	"cook"	=n	→	dōgū=n'
mè	"build"	=n	→	mēε=n'
bòdìg	"lose"	=n	→	bòdìgī=n'
yādīg'	"scatter"	=n	→	yādìgī=n'
kōud _a '	"kill" ipfv	=n	→	kōudī=n'
dōl _l _a '	"go with"	=ya	→	dōllī=ya'

After perfectives without independency marking or preceding irrealis *nà/kù*, bound object pronouns carry M and change any preceding LF-final M to H.

b̀̀d̀̀g	"lose"	=m _a	→	b̀̀d̀̀g̀̀=m _a
d̀̀	"eat"	=l	→	d̀̀l=l̀̀
yā̀d̀̀g̀̀	"scatter"	=m _a	→	yā̀d̀̀g̀̀́=m _a
d̀̀g	"cook"	=l	→	d̀̀g̀̀́=l̀̀
g̀̀s	"look"	=o	→	g̀̀s̀̀́=o
k̀̀	"kill"	=m _a	→	k̀̀́=m _a
pā̀è	"reach"	=ba	→	pā̀à=bà

Final $\bar{o}=o$ becomes $\bar{o}=o$ before the negative clitic, and final overlong diphthongs behave tonally like -VCVV:

Kà bà zábò.	"And they fought him."
Kà bà p̄ záb̄o=o.	"And they didn't fight him."
Kà bà nyéó.	"And they saw her."
Kà bà p̄ nyḗo=o.	"And they didn't see her."

The SF-final M of the pronouns themselves becomes H before prosodic clitics.

Kà m̀ záb̀=bà.	"And I fought them."
Kà m̀ p̄ záb̀=bàa.	"And I didn't fight them."
Kà m̀ k̀́=bà.	"And I killed them."
Àn'̀̀ǹ̀ k̀́=bà?	"Who's killed them?"

Bound object pronouns following =n and =y_a likewise carry M.

In all other cases bound object pronouns carry H, and change any preceding LF-final L to M. Thus with ipfvs, or forms preceded by *nà/kù*:

k̀̀ud _a ̀	"kill"	=m _a	→	k̀̀ud̀́=m _a
k̀̀ud _a ̀	"kill"	=o	→	k̀̀ud̀́́=o
zà̀b̀̀d _a	"fight"	=m _a	→	zà̀b̀̀d̀̀́=m _a ̀
zà̀b̀̀d _a	"fight"	=o	→	zà̀b̀̀d̀̀́́=o
yā̀d̀̀g̀̀d _a	"scatter"	=ba	→	yā̀d̀̀g̀̀d̀̀́=bà
yā̀d̀̀g̀̀d _a	"scatter"	=o	→	yā̀d̀̀g̀̀d̀̀́́=o
ǹ̀̀	"love"	=ba	→	ǹ̀̀́=bà

Ò nà bōdɪgī=m.	"He will lose me."
Ò kù bōdɪgīdī=bá.	"He won't be losing them."
Ò kù zābó=o.	"He won't fight him."

So too after independency marking (which first changes all tonemes to L):

Ò bōdɪgī=m.	"He's lost me."
Ò bōdɪgō.	"He's lost her."
Ò yàdɪgī=bá.	"He's scattered them."
Ò kōv=bá.	"She has killed them."
Dāy lā kúv=bá.	"The man has killed them."

Non-enclitic liaison words comprise the pronouns ò fù ò lè tì yà bà, personifier à, catenating n, and all words with prefixed à. Before the pronouns, liaison only occurs consistently within VPs:

Tì gósí_ bà bīs.	"We've looked at their children."
1PL look 3PL child:PL.	

Number-prefix à- changes preceding LF-final short vowels to -a:

M̄ mór nē bīsá_ àtán'.	"I have three children."
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.	

Pèédá_ àlá=ø?	"How many baskets?"
basket:PL NUM:how.many=CQ?	(contrast àlá "thus")

In all other cases, LFs before à- are the same as before consonant-initial liaison words; here à- perhaps represents earlier ì-.

Ò nìḡ_ àlá.	"She has done thus."
3AN do thus.	(contrast àlá "how many?")

Ka fù aan anó'vne?	"And who are you?" (Jn 1:19)
Kà fù áan_ ànó'vne=ø?	
And 2SG be who=CQ?	

yeli Abaa	"said to Dog" KSS p20
yèlì_ À-Bāa	
say PERS-dog:SG	

loo Abaa zuur "tie Dog's tail" KSS p20
 lóɔ̀_À-Bāa zôur
 tie PERS-dog:SG tail:SG

After pause, and after words unaltered before liaison, catenating *n* appears as a syllabic nasal assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Elsewhere, WK and KB show liaison alone. Older sources often show *n* with or instead of liaison.

Wáafù_ ø dúmō=ø. "A snake has bitten him." WK
 Snake:SG CAT bite=3AN.

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

tɔum kanε ka m tɔm̄mi tísid Wina'am la.
 tòm-kànì=ø kà m̄ túmmì_ø tísid Wínà'am lā
 work-DEM.SG=NZ and 1SG work:IPFV CAT give:IPFV God ART
 "the work which I do for God" (Rom 15:17)

Catenating *n* is tonally null. A preceding LF-final toneme is M after M and L otherwise; M spreading follows *n* 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)

M̄ nók sú'ugù_ø kjà nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
 1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

All other non-enclitic liaison words begin with a fixed-L toneme. Preceding words show the final tonemes seen before the enclitic object pronouns or the locative particle, with M becoming H before the fixed L:

Kà bà dītí_ bà dīb. "And they were eating their food."
 And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food. (cf dītī=bá "were eating them")

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
 bànì=ø nà yēl Zūg-sóbí_bà tūmá=ø àŋ sī'em lā
 DEM.PL=NZ IRR say Lord 3PL deed:PL=NZ be how ART
 "those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are" (Heb 13:17 NT2)

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. Cbs always undergo apocope, but archaisms like *nwadibil* (Mt 2:2 NT2) for $\eta w\acute{a}d-b\acute{í}l_a$ "star" suggest that the dummy suffix after consonant-final cbs was formerly not deleted.

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

Each class suffix has a basic sg, pl or mass sense. Count nouns pair a sg with a pl suffix: five pairings account for most count nouns, labelled by suffixes as the a|ba, ga|sɛ, gu|dɛ, rɪ|aa and fɒ|u noun classes. Two unpaired suffixes form bɒ| and mm| classes mostly containing mass nouns. The classes were once grammatical genders, with separate 3rd person pronouns and agreement of adjectives and numerals, but Kusaal now has only a natural animate/inanimate gender system; the current 3rd person pronouns reflect the original a|ba and rɪ|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 gu|dɛ stems ending in m n following a short vowel, which always use plural -aa instead of -dɛ, as do all gerunds with sg gu. Adjectives avoid ambiguous suffixes altogether.

A subclass of a|ba referring to older/important people uses ba as the *singular* suffix, and language names belong to a subclass of rɪ|aa with the singular suffix ɪ.

The classes are thus as follows:

a ba ba	sīd _a nà'ab _a	sīdīb _a nà'-nàm _a	sìd- nà'-	"husband" "chief"
ga sɛ	būug _a	būs	bù-	"goat"
gu dɛ	dòog _ɔ bū'əsúg _ɔ	dòod bū'əsá	dò- bū'əs-	"hut" "question"
rɪ aa ɪ	nōr' Kūsâal	nōyá	nō-	"mouth" "Kusaal"
fɒ u	mòlìf _ɔ	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
bɒ	sā'ab _ɔ		sà'-	"porridge"
mm	tùm		tì-	"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 *-gu*, as in *nû'ug_o* "hand", and *a|ba* stems in *l n r* following a short root vowel show LF *-t* with *l* and *n* geminated, as if the suffix were *rt*, e.g. *Bìn_n* "Moba person."

Stems in *-m* in the *a|ba* class avoid pl *ba*; some human-reference *ga|st* nouns have alternative plurals with *ba*; countable *mm|* nouns use pl *-aa* or *-st* or *nàm_a*; the small *fu|u* class has members with *fu|u* suffixes in only one number. A few other cases of irregular pairing mostly involve replacement of pl *-dt* by other suffixes.

Many manner nouns §13.6.3 show apocope-blocking. A few others do too: *nà'asì* "honour"; *kābirí* "permission to enter"; *būudī* *cb* *būud-* "tribe", Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*; *sūgurú* "forbearance", Mooré *súgrì*. They are probably loans from related languages without apocope, as with *kībú* "soap", from Mampruli *kyiibu*.

An alternative pl formation uses the word **nàm_a** after count noun cbs or mass sgs: *kpèɛŋm-nàm_a* "elders", *sā'ab nám_a* "portions of porridge." *Nàm_a* pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pls with sg meaning, mass nouns with count meaning, and forms with personifier *à-*. It is used to avoid ambiguous regular plurals, and with

<i>mà</i>	<i>mà nám_a sic</i>	<i>mà-</i>	"mother"
<i>bā'</i>	<i>bā'-nám_a</i>	<i>bā'-</i>	"father"
<i>zùà</i>	<i>zùà-nàm_a</i>	<i>zùà-</i>	"friend"

There are partial correlations between class and meaning.

a|ba has exclusively human-reference membership.

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

gu|dt and *ru|aa* are the default non-human countable classes. They include all names of fruits, and four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference nouns in *gu|dt* are pejorative: *bālērūg_o'* "ugly person", *dābīog_o* "coward", *zōlūg_o'* "fool." Stems referring to groups of people may use *gu* for the place where they live. Most human-reference nouns in *ru|aa* originated in *a|ba* and were transferred for phonological reasons. The *lt|* subclass includes all names of languages.

fu|u comprises two groups: non-human animals, and small round things, including all seeds.

bu| has only three members that are not gerunds: *sā'ab_o* "millet porridge, TZ", *tāŋp_o* "war" and *kī'tb_o'* "soap."

mm| comprises nouns referring to liquids, substances and abstractions, and a few inanimate count nouns.

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. Loans are usually fitted into noun classes by analogy; otherwise they use *nàm_a*:

ga su	àràzàk _a	àràzà'as	àràzà'-	"riches"
	màljāk _a '	màljā'as'	màljā'-	"angel" DK
gu di	gādūg _u '	gāt'	gād-	"bed"
	lòmbòŋ'ɔg _u	lòmbòŋ'ɔd	lòmbòŋ'-	"garden"
ri aa	lór	lóyà/lóɔm _{ma}	lór-	"car, lorry" (cf Mōr')
	àlópìr	àlópìyà		"aeroplane" SB
		wādá	wād-	"customs, law"
	kèkè	kèkè-nàm _a	kèkè-	"bicycle"
	Nàsāarā	Nàsàa(r)-nàm _a	Nàsàa(r)-	"European"

Loans ending in L or H show M spreading after sg, but not cb: d'atà n'ab "a doctor's chief", but d'atà-n'ab "a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief."

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cb on the analogy of nouns with M prefixes: dūnyā "world", dūnyā-kàŋā "this world."

5.2 Stem levelling

For levelling of sg/pl vowel length see §3.3.1; sg/pl vowel quality §3.3.2.

As bare stems always subject to apocope, cbs are easily reduced to ambiguity. Often the expected cb is segmentally (but *not* tonally) remodelled on the sg, or on the pl when there is no sg or it has a different meaning.

wōk _u '	wā'ad'	wā'-/wōk-	"long, tall" (adjective)
tāŋp _u		tāŋp-	"war"
	kī'	kī-/kā-	"millet"
lā'af _u	līgūtī	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
zūg _u '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"

Zug- is often read zū- in the NT2 audio, and similarly with other cbs written as if remodelled, e.g. *Siig Suŋ*, read as Sì-sùŋ "Holy Spirit."

Cbs as dependents are less prone to levelling: nīf-kāŋā "this eye", but nīn-tám "tears", nīn-gótis "glasses"; gbāyŋ-kāŋā "this skin" but gbān-záb_a "leatherbeater."

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

zīnzāyŋ _u '	zīnzāná	zīnzáyŋ-	"bat"
gbēr'	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
kùkōr'	kùkōyá	kùkō(r)-	"voice"

Disambiguation is clearly involved in e.g.

kòlùg-kàṅā	"this bag"	cf cb kòl- from	kōlīg _a "river"
lànnìg-pièlìg	"white squirrel"	cf cb làn- from	lān _n "testicle"

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cbs as heads: dàṽ-sùṅ "good man", dàp-sùmà "good men":

dāṽ	dāp _a	dàṽ- sg	dàp- pl	"man"
tāṽṽ'	tāṅṅ _a '	tāṽṽ- sg	tāṅṅ- pl	"opposite-sex sib"

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 -ku -ṅɔ, deletion of g after aa iə uə aṅ ɛṅ ɔṅ, and with CVV-stems before a, u and aa.

a|ba

Stem-final m n assimilate before pl -ba: mb/nb → mm.

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

sīd _a	sīdīb _a	sīd-	"husband"
nīd _a '	nīdīb _a '	nīn- <i>sic</i>	"person"
sàal _a	sàalīb _a	sàal-	"human being"
kōvd _a '	kōvdīb _a	kōvd-	"killer"
sāan _a '	sāam _{ma}	sāan-	"guest, stranger"
kpīkpīn _{na} '	kpīkpīnīb _a	kpīkpīn-	"merchant"
yōum-yô'um _{na}	-yô'umnīb _a	-yô'um-	"singer"
pɔà'-sāṅ'am _{ma}	-sāṅ'amīdīb _a	-sāṅ'am-	"adulterer"
bì-pīt _a '	-pītīb _a	-pīt-	"younger child"
zà'-nō-gúr _a	-gúrīb _a	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in s regularly drop the d formant in sg and cb, which can result in tonal heteroclites §3.4.1; similar behaviour is found with agent nouns from a few other verbs. Many of these nouns have nām_a pls as well or instead.

kùəs _a	kūəsīdīb _a	kùəs-	"seller"
sīgīs _a '	sīgīsídīb _a	sīgīs-	"lowerer"
dūs _a	dūs-nām _a	dūs-	"glutton"
sòs _a	sòsīdīb _a	sòs-	"beggar"
tīs _a	tīsīdīb _a	tīs-	"giver" WK
wād-tís _a	-tísīb _a	-tís-	"lawgiver" NT1

kīsa' /kīsīda'	kīsīdība	kīsīd- only	"hater"
zàb-zàba	-zàb-nàma	-zàb-	"warrior"
	-zābīdība		
gbān-zāba	-zāb-nàma	-zāb-	"leatherbeater"
ḡwī-tékā	-tékiđība		"rope-puller"

Stems in VVm- have sg -mm and pls in -si or nàma:.

kṙī'um	kṙī'umīs	kṙī'um-	"dead person, corpse"
zū'əm'	zū'əmīs	zū'əm-	"blind person"
tādīm	tādīmīs	tādīm-	"weak person"
	tādīm-nàma		
kṙēḡm	kṙēḡm-nàma	kṙēḡm-	"elder"
	kṙēḡmmā		WK LF only
bī'əm	bī'əm-nàma	bī'əm-	"enemy"
	bī'əmmā		WK LF only

Stems in l n r following a *short* root vowel show sg LF -ll -nn -r, with the SFs reinterpreted as the outcome of adding -r instead of -a. Agent nouns with stems in -ll or -r show LF sg forms in either -a or -t and analogical plurals in -aa alongside -ba.

Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbām _{ma} '	Dàgbān-	"Dagomba person"
Bìn _n	Bīm _{ma}	Bìn-	"Moba person"
Kùtān _n '	Kùtām _{ma} '	Kùtān-	member of WK's clan
Mōr'	Móom _{ma} sic	Mōr-	"Muslim"
ḡyà'an-dól _{la}	-dólība	-dól-	"disciple" KB
ḡyā'an-dól _l	-dólà	-dól-	"disciple" WK
gbàn-zāḡl _{la} '	-zāḡlība	-zāḡl-	"book-carrier" KT WK
bù-zāḡl _{la} '	-zāḡlība	-zāḡl-	"goat-carrier" WK
or bù-zāḡl _l '	-zāḡllá		
gbàn-mōr _a '	-mōrība	-mōr-	"book-owner" DK
gbàn-tār _a '	-tārība	-tār-	"book-owner" DK
bù-mōr _a '	-mōrība	-mōr-	"goat-owner" WK
or bù-mōr'	-mōrá		

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

Seven nouns end in long vowels or diphthongs in the sg:

dāu	dāp _a	dàu-, dāp-	"man"
tāuŋ´	tāŋp _a ´	tāuŋ-, tāŋp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
sāeŋ/sāeŋ _{ya}	sāaŋb _a	sāŋ-	"blacksmith"
sōeŋ/sōeŋ _{ya}	sōaŋb _a	sōŋ-	"witch"
pūā´ *pūaga	pū´ab _a	pūā'-	"woman, wife"
bā'a *baga	bā´ab _a	bā'-	"traditional diviner"
pītú	pītíb _a	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

Note the irregular long SF vowel of bā'a. In compounds -pīt_a´ replaces pītú. Some CVV stems introduce -d- in the sg and either the pl or cb:

wìd _a	wìb _a	wìd-	"hunter"
sōŋ'ɔd _a ´	sōŋ'ɔb _a ´	sōŋ'ɔd-	"someone better than"
pūkpaad _a ´	pūkpaadíb _a	pūkpa-	"farmer"

Others have become rɪ|aa: pùkòŋr "widow", dàkòŋr "bachelor", bīər´ "elder same-sex sibling", pòŋ'ɔr "cripple", ŋyē'er´ "next-younger sibling." Related languages 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_a:

nà'ab _a	nà'-nàm _a	nà'-	"chief"
yāab _a *yaagba	yāa-nám _a	yāa-	"grandparent"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
áŋsìb _a	āŋs-nám _a	āŋs-	"mother's brother"
sàam _{ma}	sàam-nàm _a	sàam-	"father"
dìam _{ma}	dìam-nàm _a	dìam-	"man's parent-in-law"
dàyāam _{ma}	dàyāam-nám _a	dàyāam-	"woman's parent-in-law"

ga|su

būs _{ga}	būs	bù-	"goat"
zōŋ _{ga}	zōŋ		"run, race"
ŋwādīg _a ´	ŋwādīs´	ŋwād-	"moon, month"
bù-dìbìg _a	-dìbìs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kōlīg _a	kōlīs	kòl-	"river"
kpòkpàrìg _a	kpòkpàrìs	kpòkpàr-	"palm tree"
pūsīg _a ´	pūsīs´	pūs-	"tamarind"

Stems ending in aa iə uə delete the g of the sg ga with vowel fusion; final iaŋ uaŋ correspond to eŋ ɔŋ before a consonant:

bāa	bāas	bà-	"dog"
sīa	sīas	sìà-	"waist"
sàbùa	sàbùas	sàbùà-	"lover, girlfriend"
nū'-íŋ'a	-éŋ'as	-éŋ'-	"fingernail"
nūa'	nōas'	nō-	"hen"

G-stems show sg gg → k; in pl/cb, g is deleted after a ja ya.

gìk _a	gìgìs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"

Stems in m n show mg/ng → ŋ, with remodelled cbs. Pl Vns → V:ŋs, but ms never assimilates in 2-mora stems, and only optionally otherwise:

tēŋ _a	tēŋs	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ _a	pàaŋs	pàŋ-	"power"
bùŋ _a	bùmìs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋ _a	nāmìs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋ _a	sū'əmìs	sū'əŋ-	"rabbit"
nīŋ _a	nīis/nīimìs	nīiŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ _a	kùl(ɪm)ìs	kùlìŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋ _a	pīəsí(m)ìs	pīəsíŋ-	"washing sponge"
mēədīŋ _a	mēədī(m)ìs	mēədìŋ-	"building tool"

Various irregularities are seen in

bèrìŋ _a	bèrìgìs		"kenaf"
bīg _a	bīis	bī-/bì-	"child"
būtìŋ _a	būtìs	bùtìŋ-	"cup"
dàsāŋ _a	dàsām _{ma} /dàsāaŋs	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùa	-dàbùəb _a /-dàbùəs		clan name
sāŋá	sānsá /ns/	sān-	"time"
tàmpūa	tàmpōas	tàmpò-	"housefly"
yāaŋ _a	yāas *yaagsì	yāaŋ-	"grandchild"
Yàaŋ _a	Yàam _{ma}	Yàaŋ-	"Yanga, Yansi person"
	or Yàamìs/Yàaŋs		

Some root-stems with rounded root vowels show sg gū for ga:

kūug _{a/ʊ} ´	kūus´	kū-	"mouse"
sù'ug _{a/ʊ}	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
nû'ug _ʊ	nû'us	nû'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ _{a/ʊ}	zùnzòŋs	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
tèŋ-zùŋ _ʊ	-zùŋs		"foreign land"
yù'ug _ʊ	yù'umís	yù'ug-	"night"
zùuŋg _ʊ	zùuŋs/zùuŋd	zùŋ-	"vulture"

Some original gu|di nouns have substituted pl -sɪ for -dɪ instead of -aa:

yàmmùg _{a/ʊ}	yàmmís	yàm-	"slave"
à-dàalúŋ _ʊ	à-dàalí(mì)s	à-dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'ug _ʊ	sí'imís	sí'ug-	kind of big dish
dìsúŋ _ʊ	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúŋ-	"spoon"
wīlsúŋ _ʊ	wīlmís <i>sic</i>	wīlsúŋ-	kind of snail
yālsúŋ _ʊ	yālmís <i>sic</i>	yālsúŋ-	"quail"

gu|di

Before -gu -ku -ŋu stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic ɪ to ʊ and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

dàug _ʊ	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fēŋ'og _ʊ ´	fēŋ'ed´	fēŋ'-	"ulcer"
gbè'og _ʊ	gbè'ed/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbīog _ʊ	dàbīəd	dàbɪà-	"coward"
vīug _ʊ ´	vīid´	vī-	"owl"
mōɔg _ʊ	mōɔd	mò-	"grass, bush"
dòndùug _ʊ	dòndùud	dòndù-	"cobra"
wābōg _ʊ ´	wābīd´	wāb-	"elephant"
bālērōg _ʊ ´	bālērīd´/bālērīs´	bālēr-	"ugly person"
bēsōg _ʊ	bēsīd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dòɔg _ʊ	dòɔd/dòt	dò-	"hut, room; clan"
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So too pōɔg_ʊ´ "farm, field", fūug_ʊ´ "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

zūg _ʊ ´	zūt´	zū(g)-	"head"
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G-stems show sg $gg \rightarrow k$ and $\text{ɣ}ak\text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ɔ}k\text{ɔ}$; in pl/cb, g is deleted after a $\text{ja} \text{ɣ}a$.

$d\bar{o}k_{\text{ɔ}}$	$d\bar{o}g\bar{o}d'$	$d\bar{o}g-$	"cooking pot"
$l\bar{a}\text{ɣ}k_{\text{ɔ}}$	$l\bar{a}'ad$	$l\bar{a}'-$	"(item of) goods"
$b\bar{\text{ɔ}}\bar{\text{ɔ}}\text{ɣ}k_{\text{ɔ}}$	$b\bar{\text{ɔ}}\bar{\text{ɔ}}\eta'ad$ WK $b\bar{\text{ɔ}}\bar{\text{ɔ}}\eta'ad\bar{a}$ SB	$b\bar{\text{ɔ}}\bar{\text{ɔ}}\eta'-$	"shoulder"
$l\bar{o}k_{\text{ɔ}}$	$l\bar{o}'ad$	$l\bar{ɔ}\bar{a}'-$	"quiver (for arrows)"

D-stems show pl $dd \rightarrow t$, and l-stems pl $ld \rightarrow nn$:

$\bar{u}d\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$	$\bar{u}t$	$\bar{u}d-$	"(piece of) chaff"
$z\bar{o}l\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$	$z\bar{o}n_n'$	$z\bar{o}l-$	"fool"
$s\bar{i}l\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$	$s\bar{i}n_n/s\bar{i}l\bar{i}s$	$s\bar{i}l-$	"hawk"

Stems in $m n$ show sg $mg/ng \rightarrow \eta$, with remodelled cbs, and take pl aa instead of $d\bar{i}$, except for *yammid* "slavery" and CVVC root-stems:

$gb\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}$	$gb\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	$gb\bar{a}n-/gb\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta-$	"letter, book"
$z\bar{i}nz\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}$	$z\bar{i}nz\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	$z\bar{i}nz\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta-$	"bat"
$\bar{a}\eta r\bar{o}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}$	$\bar{a}\eta r\bar{u}m\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}\eta r\bar{o}\eta-$	"boat"
$n\bar{i}n-gb\bar{i}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}$	$-gb\bar{i}n\bar{a}$	$-gb\bar{i}\eta-$	"body"
$l\bar{a}\eta g\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}$	$l\bar{a}\eta g\bar{a}am\bar{a}$ or $l\bar{a}\eta g\bar{a}am_n$	$l\bar{a}\eta g\bar{a}\text{ɣ}\eta-$	"crab"

Most three-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate $ng \rightarrow \eta$, and m-stems optionally resist $mg \rightarrow \eta$: thus $d\bar{i}g\bar{u}n\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$ "lying down", $s\bar{u}nn\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$ "bowing the head", $s\bar{a}\eta'_{\text{ɔ}}/s\bar{a}\eta'am\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$ "destroying", $k\bar{a}r\bar{o}\eta_{\text{ɔ}}/k\bar{a}r\bar{u}m\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$ "reading." Only s- and $s\bar{u}m$ -stems have pls, and they always take $-aa$:

$b\bar{u}'\bar{e}s\bar{u}g_{\text{ɔ}}$	$b\bar{u}'\bar{e}s\bar{a}$	$b\bar{u}'\bar{e}s-$	"question"
$z\bar{a}\bar{a}\eta s\bar{u}g_{\text{ɔ}}$	$z\bar{a}\bar{a}\eta s\bar{i}m\bar{a}$	$z\bar{a}\bar{a}\eta s\bar{u}g-$	"dream"

The place name $D\bar{e}n\bar{o}g_{\text{ɔ}}$ "Denugu" also fails to assimilate ng .

An irregular $s\bar{u}$ pl appears in

$p\bar{e}'og_{\text{ɔ}}$	$p\bar{e}'\bar{e}s'$	$p\bar{e}'-$	"sheep"
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rt|aa

kūgūr´	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
yūgud̄r	yūgudā	yūgud-	"hedgehog"
nóbìr	nóbá	nób-	"leg"
bìŋ'isìr	bìŋ'isà	bìŋ'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlànṛ	bàlànṛà	bàlànṛ-	"hat"
sāŋgúnṛ	sāŋgúnṛà	sāŋgún-	"millipede"
sūmm̄r	sūmmā	sūm-	"groundnut"

CVV- and CV'V-stems make pls CVya CVda respectively; stems in ag ṛag ṛag may make analogical forms in -d-:

bīēr´	bīāyá	bīā-	"elder same-sex sib"
zūər	zūāyā	zūā-	"hill"
nōwr´	nōyá	nō-	"mouth"
zūər	zūyā	zū-	"tail"
ŋyē'ēr´	ŋyēdá	ŋyē'-	"next-younger sibling"
pòŋ'ər	pòŋdà	pòŋ'-	"cripple"
yū'ər´	yūdá	yū'-	"name"
yū'ər	yūādā	yū'ər- <i>sic</i>	"penis"
bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
sjà'ar	sjà'a	sjà'-	"forest"
bīāŋ'ar´	bīāŋ'a	bīāŋ'-	"wet mud, riverbed"
mù'ar	mù'a(dà)	mùà'-	"reservoir, dam"
zàŋkù'ar	zàŋkù'a(dà)	zàŋkùà'-	"hyena"

Kì-dà'ar "bought millet" has pl kì-dà'adà despite having no underlying g (WK.)

Stems with deleted g after a long vowel include fusion verb gerunds like gbāŋ'ar from gbāŋ'e´ "grab", and also

vúər	vūáa	vūə-	"fruit of red kapok"
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Stems with a short root vowel before rt have remodelled cbs in CVr-:

gbēr´	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
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Stems in m n l r assimilate the r of sg rt:

dūm _n	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yùum _n	yùmà	yùum-	"year" (CVVC/CVC)

kpān _n	kpānā	kpān-	"spear"
gél _l	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
[Mampruli <i>zari</i>]	zā´	zā-	"millet"
yīr´	yā´	yī-	"house"

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

Kūsāal	Kusaal	Kūsāas	Kusaasi
Bāt´	Bisa language	Bārīs´	Bisa people

fu|u

mòl _f _u	mòl _l	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyīr _f _u	nyīr _l	nyīr-	"egusi"
bōn-bóud _f _u			"plant"
[Mooré <i>muiifu</i>]	mùj _l	mùj-	"rice"

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

nāaf _u *naagfu	nīig _l	nā'- *nag-	"cow"
wāaf _u *waagfu	wīig _l	wā'- *wag-	"snake"
[Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>]	kī´	kī-/kā-	"millet"

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

nīf _u ´	nīn _l	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
pīn _f _u	pīn _l	pīn-	"genet"
kīn _f _u	kīn _l		"millet seed"
zū'n _f _u	zū'n _l		"dawadawa seed"

Two words drop stem -d- in the sg:

wìəf _u	wìd _l	wìd-	"horse"
lā'af _u	līgud _l	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words have fu|u suffixes in only one number:

zíiŋ _a	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wālīg _a	wālīs/wālí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sībīg _a '	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīiŋf _o '/sīiŋg _a '	sīiŋs'	sīiŋ-	"bee"
sūiŋf _o '/sūuŋr'	sūiŋyá	sūiŋ-	"heart"
kpá'ɔŋ _o	kpī'iní	kpā'- <i>sic</i>	"guinea fowl"

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

bu|

sā'ab _o		sà'-	"millet porridge, TZ"
kī'ɔb _o '			"soap"
tāŋp _o		tāŋp-	"war"

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

All regular gerunds from 2-mora-stem two-aspect verbs belong here: stems in b show bb → p: sōp_o' from sōb "write", lōp_o' from lōb "throw stones at", and stems in m show mb → mm: kīm_{mo} from kīm "tend a flock/herd", wōm_{mo} from wòm "hear." Stems in n do not assimilate: būnīb_o from bùn "reap."

Yīs' "make go/come out" has the gerund yīsīb_o, the only 3-mora stem in bu|.

mm|

dāam'		dā-	"millet beer, pito"
mèlīgì			"dew"
dū'uním		dū'un-	"urine"
dàalìm			"masculinity"
yàarìm		yàar-	"salt"
zāaŋsím		zāaŋs-	"soup"

M-stems, identifiable from cbs, pls, or non-initial H tonemes in Pattern L:

zōm'		zōm-	"flour"
pūum'		pūum-	"flowers, flora"
bìŋ'isím			"milk"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
pīim'	pīimá	pīim-	"arrow" (CVVC/CVC)

Pīim' is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" ɔ|ɪ class: cf Nawdm *fīimú* "arrow", plural *fīimí*.

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

ga sɪ	bù-pìə̀lìg _a	bù-pìə̀lìs	bù-pìə̀l-	"white goat (bōug _a)"
rɪ aa	bù-pìə̀lɪ	bù-pìə̀là	bù-pìə̀l-	"white goat"

WK claims a difference in gradable adjectives with the sg suffixes ga rɪ gu, consistently ranking them in decreasing order of intensity, so that fū-pìə̀lìg "white shirt" is whiter than fū-pìə̀l. DK specifically denied any difference.

Traces of agreement account for all adjectives with mm §12.8.1. For human reference ga|sɪ suffixes tend to be favoured, e.g. nīn-sábulìs "Africans" is commoner than nīn-sábulà and the adjective in Zyà-wiis "Red Zoose" does not normally use sɪ.

The suffixes a|ba and fu|u appear only in set expressions; bu is never used.

Class suffixes are avoided whenever their combination with stem finals would give rise to unclear or ambiguous SFs. A further major constraint is that only two adjectives show suffixes from both ga|sɪ and gu|dɪ:

zìŋ'a/zèŋ'og _o	zèŋ'ɛs/zèŋ'ɛd or zèŋdà	zìàŋ'-/zèŋ'-	"red"
bī'a/bē'og _o	bī'əs/bē'ɛd	bìà'-/bè'-	"bad"

Bē'ɛd is also frequently used as sg, with pl bè'ɛd-nàm_a.

Other adjectives are *either* ga- or gu-type, along with rɪ|aa suffixes.

Ga-type adjectives include:

wàbìg _a /wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìg _a /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	"beautiful"
sābulìg _a /sābulì	sābulìs/sābulà	sābìl-	"black"

Like sābulìg_a are pāalìg_a "new", bàanlìg_a "slim", pìə̀lìg_a "white." Vèŋlìg_a "beautiful" does not use sg rɪ; wēnnīr "resembling", zāalɪ "empty" do not use sg ga.

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

dēɛŋ _a	dēɛŋs/dēɛmīs or dēɛnā	dèɛŋ-	"first"
gīŋ _a	gīmā	gìŋ-	"short"

Pl *si* is not used with stems in *s d*:

būgusí _g /būgusír	būgusá	būgūs-	"soft"
ρῶδῖ _g /ρῶδῖρ	ρῶδὰ	ρῶδ-	"few, small"

Similarly mā'asír "cold, wet", mālisír "sweet", tēbsír "heavy", lābsír "wide."
Gu-type adjectives show pl *di* only in some 2-mora stems without assimilation:

nèog _υ /nèer	nèed/nèyà	nè-	"empty"
wiug _υ /wiir	wiid/wiyà	wì-	"red"
wōk _υ ´/wā'ar´	wā'ad´/wá'a	wā'-/wōk-	"long, tall"
kōdōg _υ /kōdῖr	kōt/kōdā	kōd-	"old"
but bèdōg _υ /bèdῖr	bèdà	bèd-	"great"
tītā'ug _υ /tītā'ar	tītādā	tītá'-	"big"

Gu-type stems in *l m n r s* simply have sg *gu* pl *aa*:

sùŋ _υ	sùmà	sùŋ-	"good"
kísùg _υ	kīsá	kīs-	"hateful, tabu"
wàuŋ _υ	wànà	wàuŋ-	"wasted, thin"
kpī'orŋ _υ	kpī'əmā	kpī'orŋ-	"hard, strong"
zùlòŋ _υ	zùlìmà	zùlòŋ-	"deep"

Similarly pōŋròg_υ "near", mì'isòg_υ "sour", zēm̀m̀úg_υ "equal", tōulòg_υ "hot", lāllúg_υ "distant", yàlòŋ_υ "wide", ŋyālúŋ_υ "wonderful", nārúŋ_υ "necessary", and all perfective deverbal adjectives in *-lm-*. KT (not WK) has alternative pfv adjective forms without *-m-*:

kpīilúŋ _υ /kpīilòg _υ	kpīilímà	kpīilúŋ-	"dead"
gēēŋlúŋ _υ /gēēŋlúg _υ	gēēŋlímà	gēēŋlúŋ-	"tired"
ρè'elúŋ _υ	ρè'el(ím)à	ρè'elúŋ-	"full"

Imperfective deverbal adjectives are *ga*-type for WK, but *gu*-type for KT; the pl always uses *aa*.

kōudῖr	kōudá	kōud-	"murderous;
or kōudí _g /kōudú _g			liable to be killed"
sīnnír/sīnní _g	sīnná	sīn-	"silent"

Stems in g k ŋ ll mm r use only r|aa suffixes:

bōn-túlgìr	-túlgà		"heating thing"
ŋwī-tékìr	-tékà	-ték-	"pulling-rope"
bōn-súŋìr	-súŋà		"helpful thing"
tōmmīr	tōmmā/tōmnā	tòm-	"working, helpful"
kòg-dēlì´	-dēllá		"chair for leaning on"

The ipfv adjectives derived from 4-mora stem verbs in -m in KT's speech take ga or gu sg and aa pl; they may drop m in the plural:

nīn-pú'alìŋ _a	-pú'alìmà	"harmful person"
nīn-záaŋsùŋ _o	-záaŋsà	"dreamy person"

Some adjectives simply belong to a single noun class in a way that cannot be attributed to stem-suffix incompatibilities:

vōr´	vōyá	vōr-	"alive"
dāuŋ _o	dāad	dà-	"male"
tōɔŋ _o	tōɔd	tò-	"bitter"
pūāk _a	pū'as	pūà'-	"female" (human)
ŋyá'aŋ _a	ŋyá'as/ŋyā'amís	ŋyā'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
ŋyèesíŋ _a	ŋyèensís	ŋyèesíŋ-	"self-confident"

and similarly vèŋllíŋ_a "beautiful" mālísíŋ_a "pleasant" lāllíŋ_a "distant."

bīl _a	bībīs	bìl-/bì-	"little"
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The pl stem is reduplicated. Sg -la is an obsolete diminutive class suffix: cf Farefare *níílá* "chick", *pìilà* "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 standard orthography, discontinuous-past =n and 2pl subject =y_a are not flexions but liaison enclitics. As independent-pfv yā follows SFs synchronically, it is written as a separate word in this grammar.

Two-aspect verbs form the great majority. All are dynamic. They use the stem form for perfective aspect (with the dummy suffix *ɪ* after consonants) and add *-da* for imperfective; a suffix *-ma* marks imperative mood whenever the verb carries independency-marking tone overlay.

Perfective, imperfective and m-imperative are cited in order below. Straightforward examples include:

kō	kōud _a '	kòum _a	"kill"
kjà	kìəd _a	kìə _m _a	"cut"
kɣā	kūəd _a '	kùə _m _a	"hoe"
gòŋ	gòŋd _a	gòŋm _a	"hunt"
piāŋ'	piāŋ'ad _a '	piāŋ'am _a	"speak; praise"
duà'	dù'ad _a	dù'am _a	"bear, beget"
yādīg'	yādīgd _a	yādīgim _a	"scatter"
nōk'	nōkíd _a	nòkì _m _a	"take"
gāŋ'	gāŋíd _a	gàŋì _m _a	"choose"
kpàr	kpàríd _a	kpàrì _m _a	"lock"
sīgɪs'	sīgɪsíd _a	sìgɪsì _m _a	"lower"
kōt'	kōtíd _a	kòtì _m _a	"slaughter"

Some root-stems ending in a vowel show a CV- allomorph in both imperfective and imperative, with *-t-* for *-d-*:

dì	dīt _a	dì _m _a	"eat"
nyē	nyēt _a '	nyè _m _a	"see"

and likewise lì/lù "fall", dō "go up", yī "go/come out", zò "run, fear."

Stems in *-d-* show ipfv dd → t, and l-stems show ld → nn:

bòd	bòt _a	bòdì _m _a	"plant"
gàad	gàt _a (VVt → Vt)	gàadì _m _a	"pass, surpass"
vōl	vōn _{na} '	vòlì _m _a	"swallow"
màal	màan _{na}	màalì _m _a	"make; sacrifice"
dīgīl'	dīgín _{na}	dìgūlì _m _a	"lay down"

Only 2-mora b-stems assimilate $bm \rightarrow mm$:

lèb	lèbìd _a	lèm _{ma}	"return"
liəb	liəbìd _a	liəbìm _a	"become"

Only 2-mora n-stems show $nd \rightarrow nn$; only kēŋ´ (below) shows $nm \rightarrow mm$:

bùn	bùn _{na}	bùnìm _a	"reap"
gò'ɔn	gò'ɔnìd _a	gò'ɔnìm _a	"extend neck"
dìgìn	dìgìnìd _a	dìgìnìm _a	"lie down"

The nn-stem sùn_n does not assimilate at all:

sùn _n	sùnnìd _a	sùnnìm _a	"bow head"
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4-mora m-stems always assimilate $md \rightarrow mm$, while 3-mora m-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, though KB sometimes has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity (e.g. *tvmid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm _{ma}	sìilìm _{ma}	"quote proverbs"
lāŋím	lāŋím _{ma}	lāŋìm _{ma}	"wander searching"
kàrìm	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrìmìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	"read"
tṵɔm´	tṵɔm _{ma} /tṵɔmìd _a	tṵɔm _{ma}	"depart"
tùm	tùm _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	"work"

Like tùm are wùm "hear", kìm "tend a flock or herd", dùm "bite."

Stems in -mm- only assimilate in the imperative:

tàm	tàmmìd _a	tàm _{ma}	"forget"
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Like tàm are zàm "cheat, betray", dàm "shake", lèm "sip, taste"; cognate Mooré verbs show -mb-: *zāmbe* "cheat", *rāmbe* "stir", *lēmbe* "taste".

Fusion verbs delete g after aa iə uə aəŋ eŋ ɔŋ §3.3.2. The tonal effect of this g is seen in gerunds §3.4.1, but not ipfvs, agent nouns, or pfvs before liaison.

fāeŋ´	fāaŋd _a ´	fāaŋm _a	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd _a ´	dī'əm _a	"get, receive"
dūe´	dūəd _a ´	dūəm _a	"rise, raise"
pūŋ'e´	pūŋ'əd _a ´	pūŋ'əm _a	"rot" WK

In NT1 $p\bar{u}\eta'e'$ forms an ipfv with no underlying g : $pon'od$ $p\bar{u}\eta'ɔd_a'$. A few other two-aspect verbs likewise drop a derivational suffix in the ipfv, e.g.

wìk §3.3.1	wìd _a	wìkìm _a	"fetch water"
ḵāḵk'	ḵāḵ'ad _a '	ḵāḵkìm _a	"leap, fly"
gīlɔg'	gīn _{na} '	gìlɔgìm _a	"go around"
kēḵ'	kēn _{na} '	kēm _a	"go"
yèl	yèt _a	yèlìm _a	"say"
gōs	gōsìd _a '/gōt _a '	gò(sì)m _a	"look"
tìs (also tì=f etc)	tìsìd _a /tìt _a	tìsìm _a	"give"

Cf the regular Nawdm conjugation seen in *jehlg* pfv *jehla* ipfv "make stand." Only two verbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

kē	kēt _a '	kèl _a	"let, allow"
kēḵ	kēn _a '	kēm _a	"come"

One-aspect verbs have just one finite form, always ipfv. Each verb is either stative or dynamic. Transitive statives mostly express relationships; intransitives have predicative adjectival meanings, most using the same stem as a corresponding adjective. Dynamic verbs behave like imperfectives of two-aspect verbs.

Six stative verbs consist of bare stems:

mī'	"know"	zī'	"not know"
bè	"exist"	kā'ẹ	"not be"
tūḵ'e	"be able"	nòḵ	"love"

These verbs are never followed by the independent-pfv particle $yā$, and they behave as ipfv tonally §4.2:

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noḵ zaba.

Mìt kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm áḵ ónì=∅ nòḵ zábāa=∅.

NEG.IMP.let and Lord worker:SG be DEM.AN=NZ love conflict:PL=NEG.

"Let not a servant of the Lord be someone who loves fights." (2 Tim 2:24 NT2)

Nòḵ is the only one-aspect verb with a m-imperative: $nòḵìm_a$. The agent noun $nòḵìd_a$ (Mooré *noanga*) has Pattern L instead of the expected A:

Ò nòḵìd kā'e.

"There's nobody who loves him." WK

Most one-aspect verbs have two-mora stems followed by the suffix -ya (Nawdm -ra.) Both ll from assimilated ly and r from dy are carried over into deverbal nominals, which omit derivational d. Three-mora stems simply add -a; WK geminates stem-final m by analogy, but without any tonal change: LF *kṙi'əmmá* "be strong."

Stative verbs:

<i>àɛŋya</i>	"be something"	<i>sū'eya'</i>	"own"
<i>sōŋ'eya'</i>	"be better than"	<i>tōɛya'</i>	"be bitter"
<i>vūɛya'</i>	"live"	<i>nēn_{na}'</i>	"envy"
<i>wēn_{na}'</i>	"be like"	<i>vèn_{na}</i>	"be beautiful"
<i>vèŋl_{la}</i>	"be beautiful"	<i>tōl_{la}'</i>	"be hot"
<i>lāl_{la}'</i>	"be far from"	<i>zēm_{ma}'</i>	"be equal to"
<i>sùm_{ma}</i>	"be good"	<i>gīm_{ma}'</i>	"be short"
<i>mōra'</i>	"have"	<i>tāra'</i>	"have"
<i>pòŋra</i>	"be near to"	<i>dùra</i>	"be many"
<i>kàra</i>	"be few"	<i>nāra'</i>	"be necessary"
<i>kīs_a'</i>	"hate"		
<i>kṙēɛŋm_a'</i>	"be older than"	<i>zùl_{ma}</i>	"be deep"
<i>yàl_{ma}</i>	"be wide"	<i>tàd_{im}_a</i>	"be weak"
<i>wā'am_a'</i>	"be long, tall"	<i>kṙi'əmm_a'</i>	"be strong"
<i>mì'is_a</i>	"be sour"	<i>bōgūs_a'</i>	"be soft"
<i>mā'as_a'</i>	"be cool"	<i>tēbīs_a'</i>	"be heavy"
<i>mālīs_a'</i>	"be sweet"	<i>lābīs_a'</i>	"be wide"
<i>ŋyēs_a</i>	"be self-confident"	<i>pòɔd_a</i>	"be few, small"

Some statives have arisen from two-aspect ipfvs, e.g. *bòɔd_a* "want" (*bò* "seek"), *zòt_a* "fear" (*zò* "run.")

Dynamic verbs:

<i>īgīya'</i>	"kneel"	<i>dīgīya'</i>	"lie down"
<i>vābīya'</i>	"lie prone"	<i>làbīya</i>	"crouch in hiding"
<i>tàbīya</i>	"be stuck to"	<i>zì'eya</i>	"stand"
<i>zìŋ'īya</i>	"sit"	<i>tī'īya'</i>	"lean (object)"
<i>gō'eya'</i> WK	"have neck extended"	<i>wà'eya</i>	"travel to"
<i>sīn_{na}'</i>	"be silent"	<i>dēl_{la}'</i>	"lean (person)"
<i>gòl_{la}</i>	"hang"	<i>gōl_{la}'</i> KT	"have neck extended"
<i>dōl_{la}'</i>	"go with"	<i>zāŋl_{la}'</i>	"carry in one's hands"
<i>gūr_a'</i>	"guard"	<i>tēŋra</i>	"remember"
<i>sùr_a</i>	"have head bowed"	<i>gōra'</i> DK	"have neck extended"

KB *tu'ae* "approach" is perhaps *tu'eya* **tɔgya*; cf Mooré *tóge* "travel."

Most dynamic one-aspect verbs express **stances**. Stance verbs with *unassimilated y* have regular derived inchoative two-aspect verbs in n and l §9.1. They make stem gerunds, and have agent nouns, ipfv verbal adjectives and instrument nouns with the formant d like two-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:

	Ò zìŋ'i nē.	"She's sitting down." WK KT
	Ò p̄ zìŋ'idā.	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	Ò p̄ zìŋ'inìdā.	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	Ò vābì nē.	"He's lying prone."
	Ò p̄ vābídá.	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	Ò p̄ vābìnìdā.	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	Ò dīgì nē.	"She's lying down."
	Ò p̄ dīgídá.	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	Lì zì'ə nē.	"It's standing up."
	Lì p̄ zì'ədā.	"It (a defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	Lì tì'i nē.	"It's leaning against something."
	Lì tì'id.	"It can be leant against something." WK
	Lì p̄ tī'iyá.	"It's not leaning against anything."
	Lì p̄ tī'idá.	"It's not for leaning against anything." WK

8 Stem conversion

8.1 Verbs from nominals

Most intransitive stative verbs add -ya or -a to a nominal stem. Historically, they had nominal Tone Patterns, but the nominal Pattern A has been reanalysed as verbal Pattern H, with LF-final H, not M, and Pattern L has merged with verbal Pattern A as usual (thus becoming all-M after *nà/kù*: *Ò nà vĕn* "She'll be beautiful.")

H	vōr´	"alive"	vō _ɛ ya´	"live"
	bōgusír	"soft"	bōgūs _a ´	"be soft"
	mā'asír	"cool"	mā'as _a ´	"be cool"
	tēbúsír	"heavy"	tēbīs _a ´	"be heavy"
	mālsír	"sweet"	mālīs _a ´	"be sweet"
	lābúsír	"wide"	lābīs _a ´	"be wide"
	zēm _u g _u	"equal"	zēm _{ma} ´	"be equal to"
	lāllóg _u	"far"	lāl _l a´	"be far from"
A	tōcg _u	"bitter"	tō _ɛ ya´	"be bitter"
	gīŋ _a	"short"	gīm _{ma} ´	"be short"
	kpi'ŋ _u	"strong"	kpi'əm _a ´	"be strong"
	kpeŋm	"elder"	kpeŋm _a ´	"be older than"
	wēnnīr	"resembling"	wēn _{na} ´	"be like"
L	pōcdìg _a	"small"	pōcd _a	"be few, small"
	mì'isòg _u	"sour"	mì'is _a	"be sour"
	sòŋ _u	"good"	sòm _{ma}	"be good"
	yàlòŋ _u	"wide"	yàlìm _a	"be wide"
	zùlòŋ _u	"deep"	zùlìm _a	"be deep"
	vènnìg _a	"beautiful"	vèn _{na}	"be beautiful"
	vèŋlìg _a	"beautiful"	vèŋ _l a	"be beautiful"

Stem changes occur in

wōk _u ´	"long, tall"	wā'am _a ´	"be long, tall"
tōsulóg _u	"hot"	tō _l a´	"be hot"
ŋyèesíŋ _a	"self-confident"	ŋyèes _a	"be self-confident"

8.2 Nominals from verbs

8.2.1 Gerunds

Almost all verbs other than intransitive statives can form a gerund, a deverbal abstract noun expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. Gerunds describing individual events may have plurals.

Gerunds from two-aspect and many dynamic one-aspect verbs are formed by adding noun class suffixes to the verb stem. For the Tone Patterns see §3.4.3.

Two-aspect verbs add the following class suffixes:

2-mora stems		-bu	but	-ri	as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in underlying g					
[surface -g -k -ŋ -ae -ie -ue]				-ri	
all others				-gu	
kōub ₀ '	"kill (kō)"	dōgōb ₀ '	"cook (dōg)"		
dō'ab ₀	"bear, beget (dɔ̀à)"	kādīb ₀	"drive off (kàd)"		
pīlīb ₀	"cover (pīl)"	kpārīb ₀	"lock (kpàr)"		
bāsīb ₀	"go/send away (bàs)"	sōp ₀ '	"write (sōb)"		
lōp ₀ '	"throw stones at (lōb)"	kīm _{m0}	"tend flock/herd (kīm)"		
būnīb ₀	"reap (bùn)"				
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nōkír	"take (nōk')"		
nìṅìr	"doing (nìṅ)"	gbāṅ'ar	"grab (gbāṅ'e')"		
dí'ər	"get (dī'e')"	dúər	"rise (dūe')"		
gàadùg ₀	"pass (gàad)"	lìəbùg ₀	"become (lìəb)"		
dīgūlúg ₀	"lay down (dīgūl')"	yāarúg ₀	"scatter (yāar')"		
sīgīsúg ₀	"lower (sīgīs')"	dàmmùg ₀	"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)		
dìgūnùg ₀	"lie down (dìgūn)"	zìṅ'inùg ₀	"sit down (zìṅ'in)"		
sàṅ'əṅ ₀	"destroy (sàṅ'am)"	kàrùṅ ₀	"read (kàrìm)"		
or sàṅ'amùg ₀		or kàrùmùg ₀			

4-mora stems in -sm -lm use -gu, but stems in -gm drop m and use -ri:

sìilúṅ ₀	"cite proverbs (sìilùm)"	zàaṅsúṅ ₀	"dream (zàaṅsìm)"
wàṅìr	"waste away (wàṅìm)"	lāṅír	"wander (lāṅím)"
zàkír	"itch (zàkìm)"		

In compounds, 2-mora stems use -rɪ, not -bʊ:

puà'-dīur	"marriage"	nīn-kôur	"murder"
dā-nôur	"beer-drinking"	mò-pīlɪ	"grass roof"
fū-yêer	"shirt-wearing" WK		

A few gerunds are formally plural:

gēɛɛnmís	"go mad (gēɛɛnm')"	bùdɪmís	"get confused (bùdɪm)"
tìtòmīs	"send (tòm)"	bēɛɛ'ɛs	"fall ill (bēɛɛ')"
kēɛɛn'	"come (kēɛɛ)"	zīid'	"carry on the head (zī)"

Apart from yīisíbʊ "make emerge (yīis')" irregularities are otherwise rare with 3- or 4-mora stems. Most irregular verbs have regular gerunds, e.g. tīsíbʊ "give (tìs)", kēɛɛbʊ' "let (kē)." However, almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs use suffixes other than bʊ, especially b-stems; a few forms are also tonally irregular.

līig _a	"fall (lì)"	zūa/zōɔɔgʊ	"run (zò)"
vūugʊ'	"make noise (vū)"	pjāɛɛkʊ	"speak (pjāɛɛ')"
bōdīg _a	"plant (bòd)"	kūlīg _a '	"go home (kūl)"
or bōdūgʊ		or kūlūgʊ'	
yèlūgʊ	"say, tell (yèl)"	tàɛɛsùgʊ	"shout (tāɛɛs)"
sōɛɛsīg _a	"converse (sōɛɛs)"	gósīg _a	"look (gōs)"
sōsīg _a	"pray, beg (sòs)"	kìkírùgʊ	"hurry (kīr)"
		or kīrībʊ'	
lēbīg _a	"return (lèb)"	tēbīg _a	"carry in both hands (tèb)"
tēɛɛbùgʊ	"tremble (tēɛɛb)"	kāɛɛbīr	"scorch (kāɛɛb)"
ōɛɛbīr	"chew (ōɛɛb)"	lūbīr'	"buck (lūb)"
zàbīr	"fight (zàb)"		

Dynamic one-aspect verbs in -ya with unassimilated y form gerunds from the root, in various noun classes:

zīɛɛ'ig _a		"sit (zīɛɛ'iy _a)"
zī'a	zī'əg _a KT <i>sic</i>	"stand (zī'e _y _a)"
dīk _a ' KT	dīgīr' WK	"lie down (dīgīy _a ')"
īk _a ' KT	īgīr' WK	"kneel (īgīy _a ')"
vāpʊ' KT	vābīr' WK	"lie prone (vābīy _a ')"
tī'ibʊ'		"(object) lean (tī'iy _a ')"

Gùl_a "hang" uses gùl_b from two-aspect gùl. Tènr_a "remember" and the stative pònr_a "be near" have tènr_b, pònr_b by analogy with two-aspect r-stems. The stative kīs_a´ "hate" has gerund kīsùg_b.

Other one-aspect verbs have suffix-derived mm| gerunds §9.3.4.

8.2.2 Concrete nouns

Regularly formed gerunds do not usually acquire concrete meanings (but dūb_b "food" from dī "eat", zīŋ'ig_a "place" from zīŋ'iy_a "sit.") However, the same stem with a different class suffix may refer to the product of the action, instrument used, or place at which the action occurs.

ēɛŋbír	"(physical) foundation"	ēɛŋbúg _b	"laying a foundation"
dūk _b ´	"cooking pot"	dūgūb _b ´	"cooking"
dà'a	"market"	dā'ab _b	"buying"
kūk _a	"chair"	kūgūb _b	"resting on something"
zūg-kūgūr	"pillow"		
sūāk _a ´	"hiding place"	sū'ab _b ´	"hiding"
sōbīr´	"piece of writing"	sōp _b ´	"writing, orthography"
kūt	"iron, nail"	kūdūb _b	"working iron"
kùəsìm	"merchandise"	kùəsùg _b	"selling"
pèbìsìm	"wind"	pèbìsùg _b	"blowing of the wind; wind"

Vābīr´ lābīr´ dīgīr´ īgīr´, used by WK as gerunds, are used by KT as concrete nouns meaning "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds vāp_b´ etc.

8.3 Nominals from nominals

Associations of noun class and meaning can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem, e.g. zūà "friend", zùəd "friendship"; sīŋf_b´ "bee", sīŋd´ "honey"; wèəd_a "hunter", wèog_b "deep bush."

For ethnic groups, their languages and the places they inhabit see §12.4.

Several stems referring to people form abstract nouns with -mm or -gū:

gbányà'a	"lazy person"	gbányà'am	"laziness"
dàmà'a	"liar"	dàmà'am	"lying"
tītā'al _l	"proud person"	tītā'alīm	"pride"
sāan _a ´	"guest"	sáug _b	"hospitality"
kpēɛŋm	"elder"	kpēoŋŋ _b	"eldership"
sōɛŋya	"witch"	sōɔŋg _b	"witchcraft"

Adjective stems mostly form mm| abstract nouns, but sg -gu is common when the adjective sg has -gu. Some mm| forms are used as manner nouns §13.6.3.

vōm´	"life"	sòm	"goodness"
pòcdìm	"scarcity"	vènnìm	"beauty"
vèḥlìm	"beauty"	bōgusím	"softness"
tēbúsím	"weight"	mā'asím	"coolness, damp"
bāaḥlím	"quietly"	zāalím	"emptily"
mālisím	"sweetness"	lābúsím	"width"
pièlìm	"brightness"	tītā'am	"multitude"
kōdīm	"old times"	pāalím	"recently"
nèem	" <i>gratis</i> " (nèer "empty")	ḡyèsìm	"self-confidence"
lāllóg _o	"distance"	zēmmóg _o	"equality"
kpī'oh _o	"hardness, strength"	yàlòḡ _o	"width"
mì'isòg _o	"sourness"	tōḡ _o	"bitterness"
zùlòḡ _o	"depth"	tōsulóg _o /tōllím	"heat"

Several adjective stems form manner nouns with apocope-blocked -ga:

sòḡā´	"well; very much"	mā'asígā´	"coolly"
tōulígā´	"hotly"	gīḡā	"shortly"
bōgusígā´	"softly"	sàalígā´	"smoothly"
ḡyèsíḡā´	"self-confidently"	yīigá	"firstly"

Most tree names are ga|s; their fruits belong to r|aa or gu|d.

Tree	Fruit	
āaḡdīg _a	āaḡdīr	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
dùaḡ	dòḡḡ _o	dawadawa
gāaḡ´	gāḡr´	Nigerian ebony
gòḡ _a	gòm _n	kapok
kìkàḡ _a	kìkàm _n	fig
kpòkpàrìg _a	kpòkpàr	palm
lí'əḡ _a	lí'əm _n	<i>Ximenia americana</i>
pūsīg _a ´	pūsīr´	tamarind
sīsíbìg _a	sīsìbìr	neem
tá'aḡ _a	tá'am _n	shea
tè'eg _a	tè'og _o	baobab
vúəḡ _a	vúər	red kapok

9 Derivation by suffixes

Derivational suffixes are b d g l m n s. A second derivational suffix may only be d m or the combination lm (d lm forming nominals only.)

For Tone Patterns in derivation see §3.4.3.

9.1 Verbs from verbs

n derives two-aspect assume-stance verbs from stance verbs, with corresponding derivatives in **l** for "make assume the stance." Nawdm has closely parallel formations, e.g. *jeħra* ipfv "stand", *jeħnt* pfv "stand up", *jeħlg* pfv, *jeħla* ipfv "make stand." Some **n** derivatives lack corresponding stance verbs. All **n** derivatives are Pattern A; **l** derivatives have the same Pattern as the base verb.

	Stance	Assume-stance	Make-assume-stance	
	zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'ə̀n	zì'ə̀l
	zìŋ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zìŋ'in	zìŋ'il
	tī'i _{ya} '	"lean" (of thing)	tì'in	tī'il'
	gō'e _{ya} '	"look up" WK	gò'ɔ̀n	
	dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dìgìn	dīgīl'
	īgī _{ya} '	"kneel"	ìgìn	īgīl'
	làbì _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
	vābī _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vābīl'
	sùr _a	"bow head"	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	-	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	-	"perch" (of bird)	zùə̀n	zùə̀l
	-	"perch" (of bird)	yà'an	yà'al

Cf Níŋ lā zúə̀ nē.
Bird:SG ART perch FOC.

"The bird is perching." KT
(resultative pfv of zùə̀)

Some stance verbs use a root-stem two-aspect verb for "assume the stance": gùl_{la} "hang", gùl "start hanging/hang up", tàbì_{ya} "be stuck to" with tàb "get stuck to", beside tàbìl "stick to." Dēl_{la}' "lean (of a person)" has the idiosyncratic assume-stance derivative dēl_{lm}.

l derives other causatives, mostly from verbs expressing states or positions:

bāṅ'	"ride"	bāṅ'al´	"put on a horse/bicycle etc"
dɔ̀à'	"bear, beget"	dù'al	"make interest (of a loan)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul´	"set someone on guard"
mā'e´	"get cool, wet"	mā'al´	"make cool, wet"
nìe	"appear"	nèel	"reveal"
pūṅ'e´	"rot"	pōṅ'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wū'ug´	"get wet"	wū'ul´	"make wet"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèel	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìl	"cause to fight"

s is the most general causative suffix:

àeṅ	"get torn"	àaṅs	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
kpèṅ'	"enter"	kpèṅ'es	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbìs	"make return; answer"
mɔ̀à'	"suck" (of a baby)	mù'as	"give to suck"
nìe	"appear"	nèes	"reveal"
nū	"drink"	nūlīs´	"make drink"; also nūlīg´
sīg	"go down"	sīgīs´	"lower"
yī	"go/come out"	yīis´/yīs	"make go/come out"
zēm _{ma} ´	"be equal"	zēmīs´	"make equal"

s can be pluractional:

dī'e´	"receive"	dī'əs´	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us´	"watch out; guard (many)"
ḷāṅk´	"fly, jump"	ḷāṅ'as´	"leap, jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'ɔs	"break several times"
làbì _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbìs	"walk stealthily"
pìəb	"blow (flute etc)"	pèbìs	"blow (wind)"
tòṅ	"shoot"	tòṅ'ɔs	"hunt"
vūə _{ya} ´	"live"	vū'us´	"breathe, rest"
yā'e´	"open mouth"	yā'as´	"open repeatedly" WK

d is pluractional in

kōdīg´	"slaughter one animal"	kōt´	"slaughter several animals"
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g attached to dynamic roots is reversive:

èṅd	"block up"	èṅdìg	"unblock"
là'as	"gather together"	lāk´	"open" (eye, book); tone <i>sic</i>
lō	"tie up"	lōdīg´	"untie"
pà'al	"put on top"	pàk	"take off top"
pìbìl	"cover up"	pìbìg	"uncover"
pìd	"put (hat etc) on"	pìdìg	"take (hat etc) off"
pìl	"cover"	pìlìg	"uncover"
tàbì _{ya}	"be stuck to"	tàbìg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèeg	"undress oneself"
yò	"close"	yò'ɔg	"open"

Reversive **g** is peculiar to Western Oti-Volta; *r/d/t* appear elsewhere in Oti-Volta: cf Moba *lōōń* "close" *lōōđ* "open."

g also forms a few causatives:

dōl _{la} ´	"go with"	dōlīg´	"make accompany"
gōr _a ´	"look up" DK	gōdīg´	"make look up" DK
kò	"break" intransitive	kò'ɔg	"break" ambitransitive
nū	"drink"	nūlīg´	"make drink"; also nūlīs´
yùul	"swing" intransitive	yùlìg	"swing" transitive

Quite often it has no clear meaning with verbal roots:

nōb	"get fat"	nōbīg´	"grow" (child, plant)
nā	"join"	nāe´	"finish" [both Hausa <i>gamàa</i>]
sōṅ	"rub"	sūeṅ´	"anoint"

m derives some subverbs:

dèṅ	"go first"	dèṅìm	"first"
là'as	"gather together"	là'am	"together"
lèb	"return"	lèm	"again"
<i>malig</i>	(Toende) "do again"	màlìgìm	"again"

r is not a true derivational suffix: *kābūr´* "ask for admission" and *sūgūr´* "forbear" are probably back-formations from the borrowed nouns *kāburí* and *sūgurú*.

9.2 Verbs from nominals

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

bōgusír	"soft"	bōk´	"soften"
dēēη _a	"first"	dēη	"precede"
gīη _a	"short"	gīη	"scrimp"
kpì'a	"neighbour"	kpì'e	"approach"
kpī'orη _o	"strong"	kpè'η	"strengthen"
kōdōg _o	"old"	kòdìg	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
lāllúg _o	"far"	lālīg´	"get to be far, make far"
mā'asír	"cool, wet"	mā'e´	"get cool, wet"
màḡk _o	"crumpled up"	màk	"crumple up"
mì'isòg _o	"sour"	mì'ig	"turn sour"
nēer	"clear, empty"	nìe	"appear"
nīn-múa	"concentration"	mù'e	"redden, become intense"
ηwīīg _a ´	"rope"	ηwīīg´	"make a rope"
ηyō'os´	"smoke"	ηyū'e´	"set alight"
pìèlìg _a	"white"	pèlìg	"whiten"
pòòdìg _a	"few"	pò'òg	"diminish, belittle"
sābìlìg _a	"black"	sōbīg´	"blacken"
sōη'e _{ya} ´	"be better than"	sūη'e´	"become better than" WK
sòη _o	"good"	sòη	"help"
tādīm	"weak person"	tàdìg	"become weak"
tēbúsír	"heavy"	tēbīg´	"get/make heavy"
À-Tūlì	"Breech-Delivered"	tùlìg	"invert"
tōulúg _o	"hot"	tōlīg´	"heat up"
vōr´	"alive"	vō'ug´	"make/come alive"
wàḡη _o	"wasted"	wàηìm	"waste away" (gm)
zūær	"hill"	zùe	"get higher, more"
zùlòη _o	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"

Im derives verbs from noun roots, meaning "act as ..." or "make/become ...":

bōgōd _a	"client of diviner"	bògùlìm	"cast lots" (also bòk)
gìk _a	"dumb"	gìgùlìm	"become dumb"
gō'us	"semi-ripe things"	gò'ulìm	"become semi-ripe"
pḡā'	"woman"	pò'alìm	"cook"
pòη'òr	"cripple"	pòη'òlìm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbulìm	"make, go lame"

Miscellaneous denominal two-aspect-verb formations are

gēog _b	"space between legs"	gēel´	"put between legs" tone <i>sic</i>
līk _a	"darkness"	līgùl	"cover up"
nēer´	"millstone"	nēm´	"grind with a millstone"
nyá'aŋ _a	"behind"	nyā'al´	"leave behind"
yā'ad	"clay"	yà'ab	"mould clay" (Mooré <i>yàge</i>)
zụà	"friend"	zùəs	"befriend"

9.3 Nominals from verbs

The derivational processes described below are very productive, and show more analogical levelling than derivation elsewhere.

9.3.1 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be made from almost all verbs usable in direct commands, including those whose subject is not an actual agent, even statives. They often develop specialised meanings. All are a|ba, but ll- and r-stems also show r|aa forms.

Agent nouns and ipfv verbal adjectives are derived with a suffix d. 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 §3.4.3.

Most two-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.

mè	"build"	mēed _a	"builder"
dì	"eat"	dīt _a	"eater"
dōg	"cook"	dōgūd _a ´	"cook"
duà'	"bear, beget"	dū'ad _a	"relative"
kàd	"drive away"	sàríyà-kāt _a	"judge"
gàad	"pass"	tùəŋ-gāt _a	"leader"
sōb	"write"	sōbīd _a ´	"writer"
kpàr	"lock"	kpārīd _a	"lock-er"
sūgūr´	"forbear"	sūgurīd _a	"forgiver"
gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsīd _a ´	"sleeper"
gōs	"look"	gōt _a ´	"seer, prophet"
màal	"sacrifice"	màal-māan _{na}	"sacrificer"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an _{na}	"teacher"
tòm	"work"	tòm-tòm _{na}	"worker"
yū'um´	"sing"	yūum-yū'um _{na}	"singer"
sàŋ'am	"spoil"	pụà'-sāŋ'am _{na}	"adulterer"
bùn	"reap"	būn _{na}	"reaper"

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

gbāŋ'e´	"catch"	zīm-gbāŋ'ad _a	"fisherman"
nāe´	"finish"	nāad _a ´	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
ŋwà'e	"cut wood"	ŋwā'ad _a	"woodcutter"
dī'e´	"receive"	dī'əd _a ´	"receiver"
sùŋ	"help"	sūŋīd _a	"helper"
sjàk	"believe"	sjàkīd _a	"believer"
tēk´	"pull"	ŋwī-ték _a pl -tékìdìb _a	"rope-puller"
kēŋ´	"go"	kēŋ _{na} ´	"traveller"
yādīg´	"scatter"	yāt _a ´	participant in a housebuilding ritual
jàŋk´	"jump, fly"	jàŋ'ad _a ´	"flier"

3-mora stems in s always drop d in sg and cb, as do a few 2-mora stems:

dī'əs´	"receive"	nō-dī'əs _a	"chief's spokesman"
		pl nō-dī'əsìdìb _a	
tù'as	"talk"	tù'as-tù'as _a	"talker"
		pl tù'as-tù'asìdìb _a	
zàb	"fight"	zàb-zàb _a	"warrior"
tìs	"give"	tìs _a	"giver"
sòs	"beg"	sòs _a	"beggar"

Stems in -mm- form reduplicated agent nouns with nām_a plurals:

dàm	"shake"	dàm-dàm _{ma}	"shaker"
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Sùn_n (ipfv sùnŋìd_a) "bow the head" has tonemes showing *assimilated* -d-:

sùn _n	"bow head"	sūn _{na} pl sūnnīb _a	"deep thinker" WK
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For 4-mora stems KT has no agent nouns; WK drops final m and adds d:

pù'alim	"harm"	pū'an _{na}	"harmer"
siilim	"cite proverbs"	sīin _{na} pl sīinnīb _a	"speaker of proverbs"
zàaŋsìm	"dream"	zàaŋs _a	"dreamer"
		pl zāaŋsìdìb _a	

Most one-aspect verbs add d:

mī'	"know"	mī'id _a '	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'id _a '	"ignorant person"
nòŋ	"love"	nòŋid _a	"lover" (tone <i>sic</i>)
dīgīya'	"lie down"	dīgīd _a '	"lier-down"
īgīya'	"kneel"	īgīd _a '	"kneeler"
vābīya'	"lie prone"	vābīd _a '	"lier prone"
làbīya	"crouch in hiding"	làbīd _a	"croucher in hiding"
àeŋya	"be something"	āaŋd _a	"someone who always is something" WK
sōŋ'eya'	"be better than"	sōŋ'ɔd _a ' pl sōŋ'ɔb _a '	"outdoer"
sū'eya'	"own"	sū'ud _a '	"owner"
zīŋ'īya	"sit"	zīŋ'id _a	"sitter"
zī'eya	"stand"	zī'əd _a	"stander"
nēn _{na} '	"envy"	nīn-nēn _{na}	"envious person"
sīn _{na} '	"be silent"	nīn-sīn _{na}	"silent person"
kīs _a '	"hate"	kīs _a ' / kīsīd _a '	"hater"
gūr _a '	"guard"	gūr _a ' / gūrīd _a '	"guard"
tēŋr _a	"remember"	tēŋrīd _a	"rememberer"

All stems in ll and some in r drop d and take r|aa suffixes alongside a|ba.

dēl _{la} '	"lean"	nīn-dēl _{la}	"person prone to lean"
dōl _{la} '	"go with"	ŋyà'an-dōl _{la} -dōl _l	"disciple" (tone <i>sic</i>)
zāŋl _{la} '	"hold"	nō-zāŋl _{la} -zāŋl _l	"holder of hens"
mōr _a '	"have"	bù-mōr _a ' -mōr'	"owner of goats"
tār _a '	"have"	bù-tār _a ' -tār'	"owner of goats"

9.3.2 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 an English gerund as a premodifier. Past passive senses are unusual, though examples occur: sūm-dúgudà "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziŋdvgida* zīŋ-dúgudà "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *nī'im dvgida* nīm-dúgudà "meat for cooking" (1 Sm 2:15.)

Uncompounded forms have the meaning of agent nouns: kōudír "killer." After cbs the meanings differ: puà'-kōud_a' "woman-killer" vs puà'-kōudír "woman killer."

Most verbs show the same stem as in the agent noun sg/cb:

là'	"laugh"	puà'-lā'adīr	"woman prone to laughter/ to be laughed at"
nyē	"see"	bōn-nyétīr	"visible object"
kūā	"hoe"	nā'-dā-kūədīr	"ox for ploughing"
yè	"don clothes"	fū-yéədīr -yéədòg _o	"shirt for wearing" WK, KT
kū	"kill"	tì-kūodīm	"poison" ("killing medicine")
duà'	"bear/beget"	tèŋ-dū'adīg _a	"native land"
sīg	"descend"	yī-sígīdīr	"lodging-house"
sūā'	"hide"	yēl-sú'adīr	"confidential matter"
òŋb	"chew"	bōn-óŋbīdà	"solid food"
bùn	"reap"	bōn-búnnīr	"thing for reaping"
tòm	"work"	bōn-túmmīr	"useful thing"
vōl	"swallow"	tì-vōnnīm	"oral medication"
gbīs	"sleep"	puà'-gbīsīdīr	"woman always sleeping"
kēŋ´	"go"	bòŋ-kēnnīr	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
gīlīg´	"go around"	puà'-gīnnīg _a	"prostitute"
sūeŋ´	"anoint"	kpā-sóŋdīm	"anointing oil"
yādīg´	"scatter"	bōn-yátīr	"scattering thing"
īāŋk´	"fly, jump"	bōn-īāŋ'adīr	"flying creature"
sàŋ'am	"destroy"	bò-sāŋ'ammīr	"scapegoat" WK
pèlīs	"sharpen"	bōn-péllīsīr	"sharpening thing"
kùəs	"sell"	bōn-kúəsīr	"item for sale"
dīgīya´	"lie down"	bòŋ-dīgīdīr	"donkey that lies down a lot"
vābīya´	"lie prone"	bòŋ-vābīdīr	"donkey always lying prone"
zìŋ'īya	"sit"	kūg-zìŋ'idīr	"stone for sitting on"
zāŋlīa´	"hold in hands"	nō-zāŋlī	"hen for holding"
dēlīa´	"lean (person)"	nīn-dēlī	"person you can lean on" WK
		kùg-dēlī´	"chair for leaning on"
gòlīa	"hang"	bōn-gólī	"thing for suspending"

3-mora stems in underlying g drop d:

pèlīg	"whiten"	bōn-péllīgīr	"whitening thing, whitener"
tōlīg´	"heat up"	bōn-túlīgīr	"heater, thing for heating"
pàk	"surprise"	yēl-pákīr	"disaster"
tēk´	"pull"	ŋwī-tékīr	"rope for pulling with"
sòŋ	"help"	bōn-sóŋīr	"helpful thing"
nòŋ	"love"	bì-nòŋīr	"beloved child"

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

pù'alìm	"harm"	nīn-pù'alìŋ _a	"harmful person"
		pɥà'-pù'alìŋ _a	"harmful woman"
sìilìm	"cite proverbs"	bōn-síilúŋ _o	"thing relating to proverbs"
zàaŋsìm	"dream"	nīn-zàaŋsùŋ _o	"dreamy person"
		pɥà'-zàaŋsùŋ _o	"dreamy woman"

Perfective verbal adjectives express resulting states, and are derived exclusively from verbs which can use the perfective in a resultative sense. The formant lm is added directly to roots; some speakers have forms in l alone.

àeŋ	"tear"	àaeŋlúŋ _o	"torn"
gēŋ	"get tired"	gēeŋlúŋ _o	"tired"
kò	"break"	kòɔlúŋ _o	"broken"
kpi	"die"	kpiilúŋ _o	"dead"
pè'eɪ	"fill"	pè'eɪlúŋ _o	"full"
pù'alìm	"harm"	pù'alúŋ _o	"damaged"
yè	"wear"	yèelúŋ _o	"worn" (of a shirt)
yò	"close"	yòɔlúŋ _o	"closed"

9.3.3 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding m to ipfv verbal adjective stems in d t or s. All are ga|su. The meanings may overlap with those of agent nouns.

kū	"kill"	kūudíŋ _a	"thing for killing with"
lō	"tie"	sìà-lōɔdíŋ _a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sò	"bathe"	sōudīŋ _a	"sponge"
dōg	"cook"	dōgudíŋ _a	"cooking utensil"
sōb	"write"	sōbudíŋ _a	"writing implement"
bòd	"plant"	bōtīŋ _a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārɪdīŋ _a	"thing for locking"
dā'e´	"push"	dā'adíŋ _a	"pusher (person or thing)"
ŋwà'e	"cut wood"	ŋwā'adīŋ _a	"axe"
pīe´	"wash self"	pīadíŋ _a	"thing for washing oneself"
gōs	"look"	nīn-gótìŋ _a	"mirror"; nīn-gótìs "glasses"
kùəs	"sell"	kūəsīŋ _a	"professional salesperson"
pīəs´	"clean"	pīəsíŋ _a	"cleaning implement"
zìŋ'íya	"sit"	zīŋ'idīŋ _a	"thing for sitting on"

9.3.4 Gerunds

Dynamic or transitive one-aspect verbs either make stem gerunds §8.2.1 or have mm| gerunds with stems formed with lm after root vowels, m otherwise:

mī'ilím	"know (mī')"	zī'ulím	"not know (zī')"
àaṅlím	"be (àeṅya)"	bèlím <i>sic</i>	"exist (bè)"
kā'alím	"not be (kā'e)"	sū'ulím	"own (sū'e _{ya} ´)"
nēnním	"envy (nēn _{na} ´)"	sīnním	"be silent (sīn _{na} ´)"
wēnním <i>sic</i>	"be like (wēn _{na} ´)"	dēllím	"lean (dēl _{la} ´)"; also dēllúg _b
dōllím	"go with (dōl _{la} ´)"	zāṅllím	"hold in hand (zāṅl _{la} ´)"
gūrím	"guard (gūr _a ´)"	mōrím	"have (mōr _a ´)"
nārím	"be necessary (nār _a ´)"	tārím	"have (tār _a ´)"

Note the cb *sv'vlim kanε* in Mt 12:25.

Some mm| abstract nouns are formed from two-aspect ipfvs, including gerunds of ipfvs that have become independent statives. Derivatives from s-stems drop d. Such abstracts are not m-stems, and show no stem-final H in Pattern L.

bòcɔ̀dìm	"will (bòcɔ̀d _a)"	gòcɔ̀ṅdìm	"wandering (gòcɔ̀ṅd _a)"
zòtìm	"fear (zòt _a)"	yòlìsím	"freedom (yòlìs´)"
nīn-kúusìm	"murder (kū)"	pò'usìm	"worship (pò'us)"

Wòm "hear" has a gerund wòm_{mm}ùg_b *wòm_{md}ug_b beside regular wòm_{mb}.

Most agentive verbs have a m-stem gerund used as predependent of t̄aa "companion in ..." Verbs with no other m-stem gerund add m to the ipfv verbal adjective stem, with *gerund* tones. Stance verbs may have forms in dm, lm or nm.

dì	"eat"	dìtím-t̄aa	"messmate"
fāṅ	"snatch"	fāaṅdí _m -	"fellow-robber"
kpèṅ'	"enter"	kpèṅ'edí _m -	"fellow-resident"
mè	"build"	mèedí _m -	"fellow-builder"
pō	"share"	pōudí _m -	"fellow-sharer"
zàb	"fight"	zàb _d í _m -	"opponent"
dōg	"cook"	dōg _d í _m -	"fellow-cook"
tòm	"work"	tòm _{mm} í _m -	"co-worker"
dìs	"feed"	dìsím-	"fellow-feeder"
pò'us	"worship"	pò'usím-	"fellow-worshipper"
sùṅ	"help"	sùṅ(ìd)í _m -	"fellow-helper"
sjàk	"agree"	sjàkím-	"fellow in agreement"
bè	"exist"	bèlím-	"partner in existence" WK

mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ulím-	"partner in ignorance"
zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'əlím-	"fellow-stander"
		zì'ədím-	WK
zìḡ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zìḡ'ilím-	"fellow-sitter"
		zìḡ'idím-	WK
vābī _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vābūlím-	"fellow lier-prone"
		vābūdím-	WK
lābī _{ya}	"crouch hiding"	lābūlím-	"fellow croucher in hiding"
īgī _{ya} '	"kneel"	īgūlím-	"fellow-kneeler"
		īgūdím-	WK
dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgūlím-	"fellow-lier"
		dīgūlím-	WK
dōlī _a '	"go with"	dōllím-	"fellow-companion"
nòḡ	"love"	nòḡilím-	"fellow liker" WK
		nòḡidím-	"fellow lover" WK

9.3.5 Other derivatives

dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgūsá	"lair"
dō	"go up"	dōūsá	"steps"
zò	"run"	zōom _n	"refugee"
kpì	"die"	kpī'tm	"corpse"
tṹà	"grind in a mortar"	tūədīr	"mortar"

Single n derives from nn (perhaps ultimately from ld) in

màal	"sacrifice"	māan _n	"sacrifice"
pìbìl	"cover"	pībīn _n	"covering"
zàḡbìl	"tattoo"	zāḡbīn _n	"tattoo"

9.4 Nominals from nominals

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

bōk'	"weaken"	bōgūsír	"soft"
mā'e'	"cool down"	mā'asír	"cold, wet"
mì'ig	"get sour"	mì'isòg _o	"sour"
sōb	"get dark"	sābulíg _a	"black"
tēbīg'	"get heavy"	tēbīsír	"heavy"

d is seen in *yūgudīr* "hedgehog", *lā'af_o* "cowrie" pl *līgīdī* "money", *pògudìb_a* "father's sister." It can form abstracts from human-reference nouns; Naden's dictionary has *ba'abiidvug* "brotherhood", *dataadim/dataadvug* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bvnkvttim* "old age", *getim* "folly" (*gedvug* "fool"), *pvkəntim* "widowhood."

m is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. *yōgúm_n* "camel" (ultimately Berber), *gbīgīm_n* "lion", *zìlīm_n* "tongue", *ànrùṅ_o* "boat", *zùlòṅ_o* "deep", *ḡyālóṅ_o* "wonderful", *yàlòṅ_o* "wide." It can derive both animate and mass nouns:

<i>áṅsìb_a</i>	"mother's brother"	<i>āṅsíṅ_a</i>	"sister's child"
<i>bī'a</i>	"bad"	<i>bī'əm</i>	"enemy"
<i>tàdīg</i>	"become weak"	<i>tādīm</i>	"weak person"
<i>vúər</i>	"red kapok fruit"	<i>vúəṅ_a</i>	"red kapok"
<i>yáab_a</i>	"grandparent"	<i>yáaṅ_a</i>	"grandchild"
<i>bìṅ'isìr</i>	"breast"	<i>bìṅ'isím</i>	"milk"
<i>nà'ab_a</i>	"chief"	<i>nā'am</i>	"chieftaincy"
<i>zōlōg_o'</i>	"fool"	<i>zōlómís</i>	"foolishness"

Added to adjectival stems, **m** produces no change of meaning: thus with *pfv* verbal adjective stems in **l** or **lm**; *vèṅllìg_a* or *vèṅllíṅ_a* "beautiful"; *mālsíg_a* or *mālsíṅ_a* "pleasant"; *lāllúg_o* or *lāllíṅ_a* "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding stative verb:

<i>nār_a'</i>	"be necessary"	<i>nārúṅ_o</i>	"necessary"
<i>ḡyèēs_a</i>	"be self-confident"	<i>ḡyèēsíṅ_a</i>	"self-confident"
<i>wōk_o'</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am_a'</i>	"be long, tall"

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. Addition of **lm** is the only case of derivational suffixation where preceding CVVC roots do not become CVC, and it can take place after a preceding derivational suffix, creating five-mora stems. The stems of these abstract nouns are not themselves used as adjectives.

<i>bīg_a</i>	"child"	<i>bìilím</i>	"childhood"
<i>dāṽ</i>	"man"	<i>dàalím</i>	"masculinity"
<i>puā'</i>	"woman"	<i>pù'alím</i>	"femininity"
<i>sāan_a'</i>	"guest, stranger"	<i>sáanním</i>	"strangerhood"
<i>tīrāan_a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>tīrāanním</i>	"neighbourliness"
<i>wōk_o'</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'alím</i>	"tallness"

10 Prefixes

Prefixes appear before the roots of many nouns and a few adjectives. They usually have no specific meaning, but are common in particular semantic fields, such as small animals and insects. They have the form CV(N) CVsɪN or CVɪN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial C, and V is a/ɪ/ʊ; after p b m f v kp gb, ɪ occurs only before root i/ɪ/ɛ, where ʊ is not permitted. They have M or L tonemes throughout, and differ from cbs in their tonal effects on following elements §3.4.1. Most prefixed stems lack derivational suffixes.

Cɪ(n)/Cʊ(n) prefixes usually copy the initial root consonant; if this is a voiced stop or voiced fricative, the prefix must end in a nasal. All CVsɪN/CVɪN prefixes copy the root initial.

kìkàŋ _a	"fig tree"	kùkɔ́r´	"voice"
k[ɹ]ùkpàrìŋ _a	"palm tree"	kṽkṽn _{na} ´	"merchant"
tītā'ar	"big"	ṽṽrìŋ _a ´	"desert"
sìsì'əm	"wind"	fṽfṽm _n	"envy; stye"
lìlāalìŋ _a	"swallow"	mṽmṽlìm	"sweetness"
kìŋkàŋ _a	"fig"	tṽntṽŋrìŋ _a	"mole"
sṽnsáaŋ	kind of tiny ant	nṽb-pṽmpàŋ _ʊ	"foot"
kṽsìŋkṽlì	"fist"	sṽlṽnsṽŋŋ _ʊ	"spider"
nṽsṽnnṽŋ _ʊ ´	"envious person" (for *nṽ-)		
dṽndṽŋ _ʊ ´	"chameleon"	dṽndṽŋ _ʊ	"cobra"
bṽmbṽm _n	"altar"	bṽmbṽrìŋ _a	"ant"
gṽŋgṽm _n	"kapok material"	zṽnzṽŋ _ʊ ´	"bat"
zṽnzṽŋ _a	"blind"	vṽlṽnvṽŋ _{lì}	"mason wasp"
zṽlṽnzṽŋ _ʊ	"unknown"		

In a few cases where C copies the root initial, the vowel is a:

tà(sìŋ)tàlì	"palm of hand"	kṽkṽr´	"tortoise"
wàsìnwàlì	"gall" (on trees)		

Most Ca(n) prefixes are da(n) ba(n) sa(n) or za(n):

dàyūug _o '	"rat"	dàwān _n '	"pigeon"
dàtìŋ _o	"right hand"	dàgòbìg _a	"left hand"
dàmà'a	"liar"	dàkīg _a	"wife's sibling"
dārúk _o	kind of large pot	dàŋkòŋ _o	"measles"
bālērūg _o '	"ugly"	bānāa	traditional smock
sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"	sākárùg _o	"fox"
sāmán _n	"courtyard"	sāŋgúnnìr	"millipede"
zàŋkù'ar	"hyena"	zàŋgùəm _n	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in màŋgáŋ_o/làŋgáŋ_o "crab" and nàyiīg_a "thief" (*sic*, despite KB *na'ayig*), an a|ba g-stem; cf nàyiīgìm "theft", Farefare nàyiīgà pl *nayigba/nayigsi*, Dagbani *nayiga/tayiga* pl *nayigsi*. A few have H toneme: gbányà'a "lazy person." A few words have two prefixes. Anomalous prefixes appear in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: Nwāmpūrīs' "Mamprussi."

Some prefixes are connected with the negative particles pū kò: kùndù'ar "barren woman" (dù'à' "bear"); nīn-pū-nān_{na}' "disrespectful person" (nān "respect"); túb-pū-wómni_ba "deaf people" (túbùr "ear", wòm "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: kùndù_a "hyena", gūmpūzēr' "duck", dāmpūsāar "stick", bān-kúsélì "lizard."

Other prefixes derive from cbs. Dà- "man" has been replaced as regular cb by dàŋ-/dàp-, but dà- is seen in dàpāal_a' "son, boy" (pāalíg "new") and dàkòŋr "son, bachelor." Pù- "woman" appears in pùkòŋr "widow"; cf Mooré *pùgkōoré* "widow", *pùgsádà* "young woman" = Kusaal pù'à'-sādīr' with the cb pù'à'- "woman." Pū- "farm" (cf Mooré *pūvgò* = Kusaal pūwōg_o' "farm") appears in pūkpāad_a' "farmer"; tonally, it behaves as a M prefix.

The initial nà'- of some nouns for animals and insects may be the cb of an unattested cognate of Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness": nà'-zòm_n "locust", nà'-dàwān_n' "pigeon" (also dàwān_n') and WK's nà'-nēsīnnēog_o' "centipede"; others use nēsīnnēog_o', which for WK is "envious person."

Some manner nouns show the prefix à followed by M spreading: àmēŋá "truly", àsīdā "truly", àníŋà "promptly."

Number-prefixes are fossilised flexions §12.6.1.

The personifier à- is a bound word, not a prefix.

11 Loanwords

Nouns are much the largest group of identifiable loans; they often deviate from typical Kusaal noun structure. Borrowed verbs are much less common; they are subject to the usual constraints on verb shapes. Several function words are loans.

Most loanwords come from **Hausa**. Alongside the many nouns, borrowed verbs include *dàam* "disturb", Hausa *dàamaa*; *bùg* "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*. Function words include *àsée* "except", Hausa *sai*; *kōv* "or", Hausa *koo*; *báa* "not a...", Hausa *bâa*. Hausa is itself a great borrower: *làbìyà* and Hausa *labèe* "crouch in hiding", for example, are probably both independently derived from **Songhay**. Other Songhay loans in Kusaal are *bùrkìnà* "honest person", and the word *bàṃṃè* in *kpèṃ' bàṃṃè* "get circumcised." *Hālì* "even", like Hausa *har*, is ultimately from **Berber**.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual peculiarities in Kusaal to **Mooré** influence. *Mōr'* "Muslim" may owe its exceptional pl *Móom_{ma}* to borrowing of Mooré *Móre* "Muslim" along with pl *Moeemba* (cf Bambara *mórí* "marabout.")

Most **Arabic** loanwords have reached Kusaal via Hausa: thus *láafiyà*, Hausa *laafiyàa*, "health", Arabic *al-'āfiyah* "the health"; *àràzánà* "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannàa*, Arabic *al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"; *yàddā'* "assent", Hausa *yàrda* "give consent", Arabic *yardā* "he is satisfied"; *Tàláatà*, Hausa *Tàlaatàa*, Arabic *al-thalāthā'* "Tuesday"; but cf also *màljākà'*, Mooré *màlékà*, Arabic *mal'ak*, "angel" (Hausa *màlaa'ikàa*, from Arabic pl *malā'ikah*); *Sūtáanà*, Mooré *Svtāana* "Satan" (Hausa *shàidān*, a learned borrowing of Arabic *shayṭān*.)

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and **Toende Kusaal**. *Wínà'am* "God" reflects Toende *Wínā'am*; *fāṅgídà* "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagit* (contrast WK's *fāṅdà'* "saver", homophonous with "robber.") NT1/NT2 write the Toende forms *aarṃ malek* for *àṅrṃṃ* "boat", *màljākà'* "angel."

Instead of *kī'tbó'* "soap" WK uses *kīibú*, from **Mampruli** *kyiibu*. Other words with singulars in -t or -v are also probably loans from Mampruli or Mooré.

Loans from **Akan** (Twi/Fante), the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include *kōdú* "banana", Twi *kwadu*; *sāafī* "lock, key", Twi *safē* "key" (from Portuguese *chave*); *būrtyá* "Christmas", Twi *bronya*.

English loanwords have often undergone considerable changes: *àlópìr* "aeroplane"; *dú'atà* "doctor"; *tóklàe* "torch" ("torchlight"); *pɔɔtim* (Jer 20:10) "complain about officially" ("report.") Some were probably transmitted via Hausa: *kótò* "court", Hausa *kootù*; *wādá* "law" ("order"), Hausa *oodà*. H toneme representing English stress may remain fixed throughout the paradigm: *lór* "car, lorry", pl *lóyà*.

Làmpō "tax" is from **French** *l'impôt*; *kàsētà'* "witness, testimony" probably derives from *cachet* "seal of authenticity" or *cacheté* "sealed" via Mooré *kàsétò* "testimony, proof" (cf *kàsét sébrè* "receipt", literally "evidence writing.")

12 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) may be headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; for nominalised clauses see §14.3.

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.

dāy lā bítìŋ	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
sālmā bítìŋ	"a gold cup" ("cup of gold")

Predependents with specific or countable-generic reference are determiners (answering "which?"), others are modifiers (answering "what kind of?") The head may be followed (in order) by adjectives, quantifiers, dependent pronouns, appositives, and the article; all but adjectives and some appositives are determiners.

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:

bōyɔ	"goat"	bù-pìə̀lìg	"white goat"
bù-kàŋā	"this goat"	bù-pìə̀l-kàŋā	"this white goat"

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

nà'ab lā wíd-zōur	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs nà'ab lā wíəf zōur	"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; segmental remodelling on the basis of the sg is quite common, and has become regular for some stem types. Tone sandhi in compounding is not affected by 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:

[bù-pìə̀l-]kàŋā	"this [white goat]"
[nīn-wók-]pìə̀lìg	"white [tall person]"
[zà'-nō-]pìə̀lìg	"white gate" ("white [compound-mouth]")

A compound may appear as generic argument to a following deverbal noun, and noun-adjective compounds can be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

[zà'-nō-]gúr	"gate-keeper"
[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàṅā	"this [gate-keeper]"
kòg-[nōb-wók]	"[long-legged] stool"

Modifiers of any type bind tighter than determiners, while generic arguments bind tighter to any preceding modifiers than to following words. Compounds may accordingly contain unbound constituents:

zūgú=n [níf-gbáyṅ]	"upper eyelid" ("upper [eye-skin]")
sālmā [zá'-nōɔr]	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth]")
[sālmā bútìṅ-]kàṅā	"this [gold cup]"
[sālmā lá'-]māan	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
[[sālmā lá'-]māan-]kàṅā	"this [[gold item]-maker]"
ò [[sālmā lá'-]māan]	"her [[gold item]-maker]"
[ānzúrufà nē sālmā lá'-]māan	"[silver and gold item]-maker" (see below)

For **coordination**, "and" in NPs 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:

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

The particles for "or" are bēε or kōu, synonymous in this usage. By default they are taken as exclusive "or" but can admit the inclusive interpretation "or both":

bīg	lā	kōu	dāy	lā	kūu	bà	wōsā
child:SG	ART	OR	man:SG	ART	OR	3PL	all
"the child, or the man, or both" WK							

Cbs cannot be coordinated. *Sangbaun nε tengbaun paal* "a new heaven and earth" (Rv 21:1) is exceptional; the normal pattern appears in *arezana paal nε dunia paal* "a new heaven and a new earth" (Is 65:17.) However, any unbound NP as a NP constituent may itself have a coordinate structure, except for postpositions.

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

pu'ab nɛ biis la "the [women and children]" (Gn 33:5)
 p̄'ab nē bīis lā
 woman:PL with child:PL ART

Midian tɛŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis
 Midian tɛŋ ðim lā p̄'ab nē bīis
 Midian land:SG NULL.PL ART woman:PL with child:PL
 "the Midianites women and [the Midianites] children" (Nm 31:9)

Kūsâal solumà nē sílímà "Kusaal [stories and proverbs]"
 Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

Kūsâas kûəb nē yīr "Kusaasi [farming and housing]"
 Kusaasi:PL hoeing with house:SG

sālmā bûtūs nē dísímà "gold [cups and spoons]"
 gold cup:PL with spoon:PL ("all of them gold", KT)

However, if the components are not parallel, the dependent is taken as applying only to the nearest. Thus in *sālmā lâ'ad nē bûtūs*, "cups" is a subtype of "goods", and KT and WK agreed that the meaning must be "[gold goods] and cups." For "gold [goods and cups]", WK offered *sālmā lâ'ad né ò bûtūs* (with ò for lì, as often in unselfconscious speech.)

Coordinated dependents are most often interpreted as if a repeated head had been ellipted:

dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā lóyà "Doctor's car(s) and the chief's car(s)"
 doctor:SG with chief:SG ART car:PL (but possibly cars owned in common)

ānzúrɪfà nē sālímā lá'-māan "maker of silver goods and gold goods"
 silver with gold item-maker:SG (but possibly items made of both)

Number words as dependents are coordinated to express teens etc.

12.1 Number

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. In a compound of a noun *cb* with a following adjective or pronoun, the dependent inflects to show the number of the head; otherwise, agreement is confined to pronouns.

Count nouns distinguish *sg/pl*, unlike mass nouns, which characteristically refer to liquids, substances or abstractions. Count nouns may be abstract, like *zōɔg*_ɔ "race", *bū'əsúg*_ɔ "question", *zàaŋsúŋ*_ɔ "dream." The count/mass distinction affects the choice of quantifiers, the form of plurals with *nàm_a*, and the meaning of NPs as predependents. Typical underived mass nouns belong to *bυ|* or *mm|*, but gerunds of 3-mora-stem verbs regularly show *sg r|* or *gv*.

Some words for abstracts or uncountables are formally plural, e.g. *bāŋ'as* (*cb* *bāŋ'-*) "disease", *ŋyō'ɔs'* (*cb* *ŋyō'-*) "smoke", *mēt'* (*cb* *mēt'-*) "pus", *kūt* (*cb* *kūt'-*) "iron" (also "nail", with *pl* *kūt-nàm_a*), *sālmā* (*cb* *sālīm'-*) "gold", *sìdà* (*cb* *sìd'-*) "truth", *tàdɪmís* "weakness", *zōlmís* "foolishness", *zùəd* "friendship", *bōvd* "innocence", *sīŋd'* "honey", *nīn-pōvd* "pus", *wāad'* "cold weather", *sūŋ-pêen_n* "anger", *kyà'-nūud'* "thirst", *vūud'* "noise", and a few gerunds §8.2.1.

An entity may be referred to by the *pl* of its components: *dà-pūudā* "cross", *pl* *dà-pūudā nám_a* (*dà-pūudār* "cross-piece.") Some correspond to English mass nouns, as with *lāyuk*_ɔ *pl* *lā'ad* "goods"; *lā'af*_ɔ "cowrie" *pl* *līgɪdī* "money"; *pjàyŋk*_ɔ "word" *pl* *pjàŋ'ad* "speech"; *tōum_n* "deed" *pl* *tōumā* "work"; *dì'əmə* "festival" ("diversions"); gerund *tēŋ'əsúg*_ɔ "thinking", *pl* *tēŋ'əsá* "thought", cf *tēn'esa yinne* "one thought" (Acts 4:32.)

Mass nouns can be used in count senses e.g. *dāam nám* "beers"; some count nouns can have mass senses: *fūug dōɔg* "tent" (*fūug* "item of clothing, shirt"), *dàad bún-nám* "wooden things" (*dàad* "pieces of wood.")

12.2 Gender

Gender is marked only in pronouns. It is natural: entities to which first or second person pronouns might in principle be applied are regarded as *animate*, the rest *inanimate*. Animate pronouns are used for higher animals; trees are also animate in the traditional world view:

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulɔŋ na paae **o** salibir.

Kà wìəf yá' sīgí lì nī, lì zùlòŋ ná páe ò sàlbìr.

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)

Tiig wela bigisid **on** a si'em.

Tiig wélà bigisid ón àŋ sī'em.

Tree:SG fruit:PL show:IPFV 3AN:NZ be how.

"The fruit of a tree shows what it is." (Mt 12:33 NT1)

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔ́bir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋgbīŋ la nii," lin ku nyaŋi ke
ka • ka' niŋgbīŋ la nii.

Nɔ́bìr yá' yèlī=n yē, Mán kā' nū'ug lā zúg, m̄ kā' nín-gbīŋ lā
Leg:SG if say=DP that 1SG:NZ NEG.be hand:SG ART on, 1SG NEG.exist body:SG ART
ní=∅, līn kú nyāŋī_∅ ké kà ò kā' nín-gbīŋ lā ní=∅.

LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR prevail CAT let and 3AN NEG.exist 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)

There is no gender distinction in the plural:

Bà à nē kūgá. "They are stones."
3PL be FOC stone:PL.

In older sources inanimate pronoun heads can be used indifferently for sg or
pl, but with dependent pronouns even NT1 always uses bàmmā' bàn sīəbā for
inanimate plural.

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate;
speakers change the gender to inanimate if their attention is drawn to it.

Nīf-kāŋā, ɔ́n sâŋ'am nē. "This eye, it's spoilt." KT (overheard)
Eye-DEMST.SG, 3AN.CN spoil FOC.

M̄ pū nyēó=o=∅. "I can't find it [stethoscope]" (overheard)
1SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.

sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭtīs "gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK
gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

The non-anaphoric dummy-subject pronoun "it" is always lī, never ò:

O anε m pu'a. "She is my wife." (Gn 26:7)
Ò à né m̄ puā'.
3AN be FOC 1SG woman:SG.

but Li anε Zugsəb la. "It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)
Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.
3IN be FOC Lord ART.

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.

B̀̀n̄ yá' b̀̀ɔɔd̄ yé ò l̀̀b́í=f, f̀̀ù p̄ n̄yēt́ ò t̀̀b̄āa=∅.

Donkey:SG if want that 3AN throw.off=2SG, 2SG NEG 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:

B̀̀à ỳ̀ɔɔd̄=f s̀̀́n̄́áa=∅?

"Are you well paid?" SB

3PL pay:IPFV=2SG well=PQ?

The construction has become grammaticalised to the extent that in n-catenation the object can be construed as the grammatical subject:

Diib w̄sa nari ba di.

"All foods may be eaten." (Rom 14:20)

D̄ub w̄s̄ā n̄́r̀̀∅ bà d́.

Food all must CAT 3PL eat.

12.3.2 Demonstrative

		Animate		Inanimate sg	Plural
Head	Long	̀̀n̄́á´	far	̀̀n̄́á´	b̀̀amm̄́´
			near	n̄́'ɛ̀n̄́á	
	Short	̀̀n	far	̀̀n	b̀̀àn
			near	n̄́'	
Dependent	Long	k̀̀n̄́á´		k̀̀n̄́á´	b̀̀amm̄́´
	Short	k̀̀àn		k̀̀àn	b̀̀àn
		Time		Manner	Place
		far s̄ān-kán		àlá	kp̄ē
		near n̄́nná(-n̄́´)		à̀n̄́wá(-n̄́´)	kp̄ēlá or à̀n̄́(-n̄́´)

N̄́'ɛ̀n̄́á n̄́' can form the specifically inanimate plurals n̄́'ɛ̀n̄́á-n̄́́m̄́_a n̄́'-n̄́́m̄́_a.

Note the tone difference between ̀̀n ̀̀n b̀̀àn and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative

"which?", and in heads of relative clauses §14.3.2:

F̀̀v̄n̄́ɛ̀ an dau kan la!

"You are that man!" (2 Sm 12:7)

F̀̀v̄n̄́∅ á̀n̄́ d̄á̀ȳ-k̀̀àn l̄́!

[i.e. in the story just related.]

2SG.CN CAT be man-DEM.SG ART!

Lìnè?	"Which one?"
Nīf-kánè?	"Which eye?"
fūn-kánì bùəl ...	"you who call ..."

"Long" demonstratives are used for spatio-temporal deixis. Inanimate heads have distinct forms for far and near, as do the time/manner/place series: kpē "here", kpēlá "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with lā́ and "this" by a following ηwà (cf French *là* and *ci*.)

nō-píəl-kàṅā	"this/that white hen"
dú'atà lā lór-kàṅā	"this/that car of the doctor's"
dàṽ-kàṅā sâam	"this/that man's father"
dàṽ-kàṅā lā sâam	"that man's father"
dàṽ-kàṅā ηwá sâam	"this man's father"

12.3.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
sō'	sī'ə _a	sīəbā (<i>unglottalised</i> vowel)
sī'a	sī'a	
Time	Manner	Place
sān-sí'a	sī'əm	zìṅ'-sī'a

Sō' sī'ə_a sīəbā may be heads or dependents, and may follow cbs. Sī'a is only dependent; for WK (but not KT) it is much commoner than sī'ə_a as a dependent. WK feels sī'a for people is pejorative. For indefinites in relative clauses see §14.3.2.

Except in relative clauses, under the scope of negation, or when followed by mē-kàmà "-soever", the sense is specific "(a) certain, (a) different":

yà bì-sō'	"a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDF.AN	

Mεεri one an Magdalen ne Μεεri sō'
 Μεεri ónì=∅ àṅ Magdalen nē Μεεri-sō'
 Mary DEM.AN=NZ be Magdalen with Mary-INDF.AN
 "Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

M ná tī=f tí-sī'a.	"I'll give you a different medicine." WK
1SG IRR give=2SG medicine-INDF.IN.	

Dà̀y-s̄' dāa bé ... "There was a certain/another man ..."
 Man-INDF.AN TNS exist ...

O niḡid si'el məkama s̄'ʊḡa. "He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)
 Ò niḡid s̄'əl mé-kàmà s̄'ḡā.
 3AN do:IPFV INDF.IN whatever well.

With negative VPs, indefinites mean "nobody, nothing":

S̄' k̄a'e=∅. "There's nobody there."
 INDF.AN NEG.exist=NEG.

M̄ p̄y yél s̄'əlā=∅. "I haven't said anything."
 1SG NEG say INDF.IN=NEG.

12.3.4 Interrogative

Animate		Inanimate
àḡ'ʊn	"who?"	b̄y "what?"

Plurals with n̄am_a may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

Time	Manner	Place
s̄an-kán	wēlá	yáa "whither/whence?" yáa ní "where?"

Àlá "how much/many?" has the number prefix à-, preceded by -a in liaison.

Note also b̄-w̄in_n "what time of day?" b̄n-d̄aar "which day?"

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

n̄a'-b̄y? "what cow?" WK DK
 (náaf b̄y must be "What, of a cow's?")

b̄y-b̄y? "what goat?"

d̄a'-b̄y? "what beer?"

The compound b̄y-b̄ūdī "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

n̄a'-b̄y-b̄ūdī? "what kind of cow?"

d̄a'-b̄y-b̄ūdī? "what kind of beer?"

F̀̀ á nē b́-b̀̀ud̀̀=∅? "What ethnic group do you belong to?"
 2SG be FOC what-sort=CQ? (idiom)

B̀̀- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of ...?"

F̀̀ túm b́-t̀̀um̀̀=∅? "What kind of work do you do?" SB
 2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

B̀̀ s̀̀nsig ka ya s̀̀nsid nē taaba?
 B̀̀-́̀s̀̀s̀g k̀̀ à ỳ̀ s̀̀s̀d nē táab̀̀=∅?
 What-converse:GER and 2PL converse:IPFV with each.other=CQ?
 "What are you talking about to each other?" (Lk 24:17)

The ideophone ḱmm "firmly, fast" appears after interrogative pronouns in the sense "exactly": b́ ḱmm "what exactly?"; b́ źg ḱmm "why exactly?"

12.3.5 Personifier

Except for those based on adjectives, Kusaasi personal names are preceded by à-, e.g. À-Ẁ̀n "Awini." Some animal and bird names incorporate à-, with no implication of personification, e.g. à-d̀̀al̀̀g̀̀ "stork", à-m̀̀s "cat", à-k̀̀r̀̀ā-d̀̀f̀̀em̀̀_{ma} "praying mantis." In any case, à- is omitted after any predependent: thus t̀̀ Ẁ̀n "our Awini", and e.g.

	L̀̀ à nē à-d̀̀al̀̀g̀̀.	"It's a stork."
but	m̀̀ d̀̀al̀̀g̀̀	"my stork"
	d̀̀ỳ l̀̀ d̀̀al̀̀g̀̀	"the man's stork"

VPs may be **nominalised** by à-, which then behaves as a subject pronoun "someone who ..."; as predependent of a clause subject à- means "someone whose ...". These nominalisations pluralise with ǹ̀m̀̀_a.

À-d̀̀ā ỳ̀l k̀̀ā' t̀̀umm=∅. "Did-say has no remedy."
 PERS-TNS say NEG.have medicine=NEG. (No use crying over spilt milk.)

À-̀̀ỳē nē ǹ̀f s̀̀g̀̀'̀̀ À-ẁ̀m̀̀ t̀̀b̀̀à.
 PERS-see with eye:SG surpass PERS-hear ear:PL
 "Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

À-K̀̀d̀̀g̀̀ ∅ B̀̀'̀əs "Crossed over and asked"
 PERS-CROSS CAT ask (name of the constellation Orion)

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

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpîid né kà téŋbìd.
 PERS-NEG.know CAT die PL die:IPFV FOC and tremble:IPFV.
 "Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Storm in a teacup.)

a-daar-paaeya kum "a natural death" (Nm 16:29)
 à-dāar páe yā kúm
 PERS-day:SG arrive PFV death

Ba wa'ene anakoom yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.
 Bà wà'a né À-nà kúu_m nūa yír, kà bà pū wá'a
 3PL go FOC PERS-IRR kill 1SG chicken:SG house:SG and 3PL NEG go
 À-nōɔs bé yírē=∅.
 PERS-chicken:PL exist house:SG=NEG.
 "They go to Will-kill-my-chicken's house, but not to Got-chickens' house."
 (The rich are not always hospitable.) KSS p38

12.3.6 Other pronouns

Tāabā "one another" appears as tāab clause-medially for some speakers. After a cb it means "fellow-": ò tùm-tùm-tāabā "his fellow-workers."

Sòŋimī=∅ tāabā. "Help one another."
 Help:IMP=2PLS each.other.

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

Bà dōl nē tāabā. "They go together." (dōl_a' "go with")
 3PL go.with with each.other.

Mēŋ_a' "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl:

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

Bà ηyέε_bà mēη.
3PL see 3PL self.

"They've seen for themselves."

Fù mēη kōu bí-liàa=ø?
2SG self or baby:SG=CQ?

"Yourself or the baby?" ("Which of you needs the doctor?"; overheard)

"Self" forms must be used for complements referring to the clause subject:

M̄ ηwέ'ε_m̄ mēη.
1SG hit 1SG self.

"I hit myself."
not *M̄ ηwέ'ε=m or *M̄ ηwέ' mān.

Kusaal uses pronoun possessors with body parts acted on by their owners; here mēη implies contrast:

Ba p̄v piesidi ba nu'us w̄v̄v lin nar si'em la ka dit̄ta.
Bà p̄v p̄iəsídí_bà n̄u'us w̄v̄v lín nār s̄i'əm lá kà dít̄a=ø.
3PL NEG clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3IN:NZ be.right how ART and eat:IPFV=NEG.
"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." (Mt 15:1)

M̄ p̄iə_m̄ mēη n̄u'us.
1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

"I've washed my own hands."

S̄b_a is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate	sg	s̄b _a	pl	d̄im _a
Inanimate	sg/pl	d̄in _n		

Ò s̄b_a/ḡn s̄b_a mean "the last person mentioned."

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings:

mān d̄in _n	"my one, mine"
À-W̄n d̄im _a	"Awini's family"
p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im s̄b _a (pl p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im d̄im _a)	"holy person" (p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im "holiness")
d̄un̄iyā ní d̄in _n	"earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)
B̀k d̄im _a	"Bawku people"
ȳigá s̄b _a	"first (person)" beside ȳig-s̄b _a

F̄v̄n p̄iā̀n'ad nē t̄nám d̄in.
2SG.CN speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CN NULL.IN.

"You're speaking ours [language]."

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

yī-sób _a	pl yī-sób-nàm _a	"householder"	(yīr' "house")
yī-dím _a		"members of the household"	
nīf-sób _a		"miser"	(nīf _v ' "eye")
tàṅp-sób _a		"warrior"	(tāṅp _v "war")
zūg-sób _a	pl zūg-sób-nàm _a	"boss"; KB "Lord"	(zūg _v ' "head")

12.4 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: À-Wīn_n' from Wīdī-ṅyá'aṅ_a will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kūsâas, "Bawku" for Bòk_v etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the *Mampruli* combining form *wuri-* for "horse": the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. A parallel development had taken place in the Mamprussi area when the British arrived with Dagomba guides: thus "Gambaga" (Dagbani *Gambaya*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa* (Naden.) The pattern has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology, morphology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name À-Dōk_v', and "Kusaal" Kūsâal itself.

Kusaasi **personal names** are preceded by the personifier À, except for a few based on adjectives, which are preceded by fixed-L Ñ: Ñ-Dāug_v "Ndago" ("male"), Ñ-Puāk_a "Mpoaka" ("female"), Ñ-Bīl_a "Mbillah" ("little.") They do not take adjectives or articles, but occur with other determiners, and may pluralise with nàm_a; the pl À-Wīn nám can mean "more than one person called Awini" or "Awini and his people."

À-Wīn _n '	"Awini"	tì Wīn	"our Awini"
À-Wīn-káṅā	"this Awini"	À-Wīn nám	"Awinis"
Ñ-Dāug _v	"Ndago"	tì Ñ-Dāug	"our Ndago"

The Bible uses foreign names without À-, but it is usual in speech: À-Mūsā "Moses", À-Yīsā "Jesus", À-Sīmōṅ "Simon." In stories with talking animals, animal names take À-: À-Bāa "Mr Dog." KB has *Asan'auṅ* À-Sàṅ'ṅ "Abaddon."

The Kusaasi do not use surnames traditionally. In speaking English or French, baptismal names are used, with Kusaal personal names treated as surnames.

Most Kusaasi names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs or clauses:

À-Mōr yām	"Amoryam"	"has intelligence" (a girl, KYY p6)
À-Tūm bódìg yā		"the medicine has got lost" (a man)

Many names allude to a guardian spirit (sīgīr´) assigned to a newborn child through the father's consultation with a diviner (bā'a); this may be the spiritual individuality (wīn_n´) of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree:

À-Wīn _n ´	Awini	person with a sīgīr´ from father's family
À-Bōgūr	Abugri	person with a sīgīr´ from mother's family
À-Tūg _a	Atiga	"tree" as sīgīr´
À-Kūdōg _o	Akudugu	"piece of iron", marking a tree-sīgīr´

A younger sibling of À-Wīn_n´ with the same sīgīr´ may be called À-Wīn-bīl_a "Awimillah", of À-Kūdōg_o, À-Kūd-bīl_a "Akudillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern À-Wīn-pūāk_a "Awimpoaka." Other names refer to birth circumstances:

À-Nà'ab _a	Anaba	"afterbirth" [a chief leaves the house after his retainers]: sole surviving twin
À-Fūg _o ´	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
À-Tūl _l	Atuli	"breech-delivered" (tùlìg "invert")

Girls, especially, may be named for the day of the week they were born on, e.g. À-Tīnì "Monday", À-Tàláatà "Tuesday", Àrẓúmà "Friday", À-Síbì "Saturday."

Some 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.

À-Tāmpūr	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
À-Dōk _o ´	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

À-Sāan _a ´	Asana	"guest, stranger"
À-Sāan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + dāy "man"
À-Zāngbèog _o	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
À-Nàsà-pūāk _a	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi naming practices.

The great majority of **ethnic group** and **clan** names are a|ba or ga|su. The place inhabited by the group adds sg gu to the stem; **language** names add l.

Ethnic group sg/pl	Language	Place	
Bārīg _a ´	Bārīs´	Bāt´	Bārūg _u ´
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìyη _u
Bùlīg _a	Bùlīs	Bùlì	Bulsa
Bùsán _a	Bùsâaηs	Bùsâaηl	Bisa
Dàgâad _a	Dàgâadìb _a		Dagaaba
Dàgbān _n ´	Dàgbām _{ma} ´	Dàgbān _n ´	Dàgbāyη _u ´
Gūrīg _a	Gūrīs	Gūrín _n	Farefare
Kàmbùη _a	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr	Ashanti
Kūsáa	Kūsâas	Kūsâal	Kūsâug _u
Mùa	Mòɔs	Mòɔl	Mòɔg _u
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùg _u
Ñwāmpūrīg _a ´	Ñwāmpūrīs´	Ñwāmpūrìl´	Ñwāmpūrūg _u ´
Sìmiīg _a	Sìmiīs	Sìmiil	Sìmiug _u
Tàlìη _a	Tàlìs	Tàlìn _n	Tallensi
Yâaη _a	Yâaηs/Yâamìs or Yâam _{ma}	Yâan _n	Yansi
Yārīg _a ´	Yārīs´	Yāt´	Yarsi
Zàηgbèog _u	Zàηgbèed	Zàηgbèel	Hausa

Bārīs´ means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bìm_{ma} "Moba", not just Bemba (WK.)

Note also Mōr´ pl Mòɔm_{ma} "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsāa(r)-nām_a "European"; Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tùə_n "Toende", Tùənnìr "Toende dialect", Àgòlì "Agolle", Àgòlì "Agolle dialect": Ò pìàη'ad Àgòlì. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gòɔg _a	Gòɔs	Gòɔg _u
	Gùm-dìm _a	Gùm _n
Kùtān _n	Kùtām _{ma} ´	Kùtāyη _u ´
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdùg _u
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùəs -dàbùəb _a	Sà'-dàbòɔg _u
	Nà'-dām _{ma}	Nà'-dàyη _u
Wiid _a	Wiid-nām _a	Wiidùg _u
Zùa	Zùəs	Zoose

Subclans: Zùà-sābìlìs "Black Zoose", Zùà-wiib_a/-wiis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbìdìb_a is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema." There are many other clans beside these.

Kusaal **place names** are distinctive in being intrinsically locative §13.6.3. Many have transparent meanings (see further John Turl's Ghana Place Names.)

Àgòl _l	Agolle	cf àgól _l "upwards"
Bàs-yōn _n '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? reason for name
Bì-nà'ab _a	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk _o	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
Bōgūr	Bugri	bōgūr, object housing a wīn _n '
Dènùg _o	Denugu	origin unknown
Gàarù	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "town/compound wall"
Kòl-tā'amís	Kultamse	"dog almonds, <i>Andira inermis</i> "
Kūgūr'	Kugri	"stone"
Kōk _a '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkpàrìg _a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùlùgúg _o	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>Kuurgongu</i> "Crooked Sheanut"
Mì'isìg _a	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission"; cf also mì'isùg _o "baptism"
Mùà'-nōōr'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlùmà Kù'ēm	Pulimakom	"water by pùlùmà grass"
Pūsìg _a '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sā-bíl _a	Zebilla	from *sāa', cf Farefare <i>sáagá</i> "kind of grass used for brooms"
Sā-píə̀lìg _a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan _n	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
Tīl _l '	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tūə̀n _n	Toende	cf tūə̀n _n "in front", "West"
Wìdāan _a	Widana	for Wìd-dāan _a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's nō-dí'əs _a "linguist."
Wìdì-nyá'aŋ _a	Woriyanga	archaic for wìd-nyá'aŋ _a "mare"
Wiid-nà'ab _a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wiid _a "
Bārōg _o '	North WK	"Bisa country"
Nyá'aŋ _a	East WK	"behind"
Zūāyā	South WK	"hills", i.e. Gambaga Escarpment
Tūə̀n _n	West WK	"in front"

KB has *ya-dagɔbɔg* "south" (yà dāgòbìg_a "your left hand"), *ya-datiuŋ* "north" (yà dātìuŋ_o "your right hand"), *ya-nya'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Sāŋkâaŋs "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Ankara* is usual. The White Volta is simply kōlìg_a "river."

Proper names of **times** include names of festivals like Sāmán-píər (traditional "New Year" and of weekdays, found always as predeterminers of dāar "day": Àláasìd Sunday", Àtínì "Monday", Àtáláatà "Tuesday", Àlárùbà "Wednesday", Àlà míisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbtì "Saturday." Older speakers count in days, not weeks, using a traditional three-day market cycle differing between villages.

12.5 Kinship terms

Many basic kinship terms do not distinguish sex. The system is characterised by the importance of birth order among same-sex siblings, and its irrelevance between siblings of opposite sex. Age itself is not a factor: I am senior to you if my parent is senior to yours, and seniority among wives depends on marriage order.

bīər´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pītú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
tāuŋ´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam _{ma} (less formally bā´)	father
sàam-kpēɛŋm	father's elder brother
sàam-pīt _a ´	father's younger brother
pùgudìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpēɛŋm	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bīl _a or mà-pīt _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
áŋsìb _a	mother's brother
bīig _a (m dākòŋr, f puà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
āŋsíŋ _a	sister's child
yáab _a (m yāa-dáŋ, f -puá')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ _a	grandchild/descendant
puà'-ēlíŋ _a	fiancée
yī-puá' or puā'	wife; brother's wife
dìəm _{ma} (m dìəm-dāŋ, f -puāk _a)	wife's parent
dàkīig _a (m dākì-dāŋ, f -puāk _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sīd _a	husband
dàyáam _{ma} (m dāyāam-dāŋ, f -puāk _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpēɛŋm	husband's elder brother
sìd-bīl _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-puāk _a	husband's sister
nìn-tāa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

Dìəm_{ma} is used in polite address by a person of either sex to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age.

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at Bùgúm-tṣṣṣṣṣ, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

12.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers frequently show apocope-blocking; most number words are also preceded by number prefixes. Quantifiers are *count* or *mass*. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: nīdīb bédugū or nīdīb bábīgā "a lot of/many people"; kù'əm bédugū "a lot of water"; but not *kù'əm bábīgā.

Mass quantifiers include

bèdugū´	"a lot"	pāmm LF pāmní	"a lot"
fīṣ	"a little (liquid)"	bī'əlá	"a little"
wū	"all"	wūsā	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers include

bàbigā´	"many"	kàlgā´	"few"
fāaṣ	"every"	zāṣ'a	"every"
kām _a	"every"	kām zāṣ'a	"every"

Quantifiers are typically determiners after NP heads, but may occur as heads. After a dependent NP, a quantifier head has a partitive sense. Quantifiers pluralise with nām_a. They may be followed by dependent pronouns.

Bèdugū/pāmm ké nā.	"Many came."
Bèdugū lā ké nā.	"The crowd came."
Àyí' ké nā.	"Two came."
Àyí' lā ké nā.	"The two came."
nīdīb lá àyí'	"two of the people"
màljāk-nám túsà pīgā nám	"tens of thousands of angels"
nīdīb bédugū bāmmā ṣwá	"this crowd of people" (Mt 15:33 NT2)
person:PL many DEMST.PL this=CQ?	

12.6.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	yīnní	10	pīgā	100	kòbugā (LF identical)
2	àyí'	20	pīsí [pisi]	200	kòbusí [kòbisi]
3	àtán'	30	pīs tán'	300	kòbìs tán'
4	ànāasí	40	pīs nāasí	400	kòbìs nāasí
5	ànū	50	pīs nū	500	kòbìs nū
6	àyúəbù	60	pīs yúəbù	600	kòbìs yúəbù
7	àyópḑe	70	pīs yópḑe	700	kòbìs yópḑe
8	àníí	80	pīs níí	800	kòbìs níí
9	àwāe	90	pīs wāe	900	kòbìs wāe

The quantified noun is normally plural (and not a cb) except with yīnní, but may be singular with units of measure: yōlogá àtán' "600 cedis."

"Thousand" is a regular r|aa noun, tūsír': túsá àtán' "3000." "Half" is pū-súk_a pl pū-súgùs. Other numbers are formed with nē "with, and": kòbìs tán' nē pīs yúəbù 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 wāe (or pīi nā yīnní, pīi nā yí' ...)

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

The prefix à- is omitted after nē "with", and sometimes also after focus-nē':

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

The forms àyínā' àtánā' mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M mór bīsá_ àtán'. "I have three children."
 1SG have child:PL NUM:three. is true, though misleading

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

These forms can also be used after nē "and", as in pīi nē yínā "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with nē' §15.1.

Yīnní can be construed with a preceding cb: kūg-yínnì "one stone" vs kūgūr yīnní "one stone." Pīigā pīi "ten", pīsí pīs "twenty" can be preceded by the cb dà- "day" (written *dab* in KB): *dabpii ne ayōpōi daar* "on the seventeenth day" (Gn 7:11.)

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

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

1	yέoη or àràkón'	6	òyûəb
2	òyí'	7	òρòε sic
3	òtán'	8	òníí
4	ònāas	9	òwāε
5	ònū		continuing pīigā, pīi nē yí' as with quantifiers

Àràkón' can also be used as a quantifier: *búυg àràkón'* "one goat."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' námá_àyí' á nē nāasí. "Two twos are four."
 NUM:TWO PL NUM:two be FOC four.

The only ordinal adjective is *dēεη_a* "first": *sob deεη* "first census" (Lk 2:2 NT1.) "First" can also be expressed by *yīigá* "firstly" as a predependent:

line da an yiiga dabisir "That was the first day." (Gn 1:5)
 līnī_ø dá àη yīigá dàbısìr.
 3IN.CN CAT TNS be firstly day:SG.

Ordinal expressions may use NPs with numbers as predependents before *dāan_a* "owner of": *àyí' dāan lā* "the second one", *būυgá àtán' dāan lā* "the third goat." *Yīigá 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.*

Another construction uses relative clauses with *pàas* or *pè'εs* "add up to":

dàυ-kànì=ø pè'εsà_àyí' lā "the second man"
 man-DEM.SG=NZ come.to NUM:two ART

lìnì=ø pàasà_àtán' lā "the third one"
 DEM.IN=NZ come.to NUM:three ART

Multiplicatives answer àb̀l̀á? "how many-fold?" They are ỳimmú "straight away, at once", àb̀ỳí' "twice", àb̀t̀án' "three times", àb̀ǹāasí "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to b̀p̀īgā "ten times." The prefix b̀- is an old bu or mm agreement; à- is the *manner-noun* formant, preceded by LF-final -ɪ, so its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably analogical.

Answers to ǹōr̀á àl̀á "how many times?" are of the pattern ǹōr̀ ỳinní "once", ǹōr̀á àt̀án' or ǹōr̀ím b̀t̀án' "three times" etc. This ǹōr̀ is not "mouth" (Mooré *nóorè*), but corresponds to Mooré *náooré*, Toende *nó'ot* "leg": Toende *noba ayi/nó'ot ayi* "twice."

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

1	ỳin ỳin	10	p̀īi p̀īig	100	k̀òb̀ig k̀òb̀ig
2	àỳí' ỳí'	20	p̀īsí p̀īsí	200	k̀òb̀isí k̀òb̀isí or k̀òb̀is ỳí' ỳí'
3	àt̀án' t̀án'	30	p̀īs t̀án' t̀án'	300	k̀òb̀is t̀án' t̀án'
4	àǹāas ǹāas	40	p̀īs ǹāas ǹāas		<i>etc</i>
5	àǹū ǹū	50	p̀īs ǹū ǹū	1000	t̀ūsīr t̀ūsīr
6	àỳûəb ỳûəb	60	p̀īs ỳûəb ỳûəb		
7	àỳóp̀ə p̀ə	70	p̀īs ỳóp̀ə p̀ə		
8	àǹíi ǹíi	80	p̀īs ǹíi ǹíi		
9	àẁāə ẁāə	90	p̀īs ẁāə ẁāə		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern p̀īs ǹū ǹē ǹāas ǹāas "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: d̀āb̀á àỳóp̀ə p̀ə "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": nỳàuk̀ pl nỳà'ad is only used for eyes, while ỳiuỳ' pl ỳiná is used for other normally paired body parts: ǹōb̀-ý̀iuỳ "one leg", ǹū'-ỳiuỳ "one hand", ǹīf-nỳáuk̀ "one eye", t̀ùb̀-ý̀iuỳ "one ear."

The adjective ỳimmír pl ỳimmá cb ỳim- means "solitary, unique."

12.7 Predependents

The head of a NP may be preceded by a dependent. Only one is permitted, but the resulting NP may itself recursively serve as the head of a NP with yet another predependent. Specific dependents precede generic, with cbs last:

Ẁínà'am [p̀ú'us̀òg [f̀úug d̀òcg]] "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see §4.3.

12.7.1 Unbound noun phrases

Unbound 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 predependent mass NPs function as modifiers, other NPs as determiners.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier, or a relative clause, the construction with a predependent is partitive. Thus *nīn-síəbà* "certain people", *nīdībá àyí' (lā)* "(the) two people", but

<i>yà sō'</i>	"some one among you"
<i>nīdīb lā síəbà</i>	"certain of the people"
<i>nīdīb lā àyí'</i>	"two of the people"

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fun gaŋ so'.

Pà'alīmī=tí nīdībá_ àyí' n̄wá fún gāŋ sō'.

Teach:IMP=1PL person:PL NUM:two this 2SG:NZ CHOOSE INDF.AN

"Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" (Acts 1:24)

A partitive sense is not possible with other head types: e.g. *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>pù'usùg dōcɔg</i>	"temple" ("worship house")
<i>tūlɔgír bún</i>	"heater" ("heating thing", also <i>būn-túlɔgír</i>)
<i>dōgūb dút</i>	"cooking pots"
<i>līgudī tūmà</i>	"expensive work" (<i>līgudī</i> "money")

There can be alternate forms with cbs:

<i>tāŋp-sōb</i>	"warrior"	(<i>tāŋp</i> "war")
<i>pù-pìəl-sōb/pù-pìəlīm sōb</i>	"holy person"	(Jb 9:2; Jb 23:7)
<i>pù-pìəl-tūmā/pù-pìəlīm tūmà</i>	"holy actions"	(Prv 11:30; Prv 21:21)

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

<i>Nāsāal bógúm</i>	"electricity" ("European fire")
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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 (CGEL pp400ff p1458.)

sālmā bótìŋ	"golden cup"
sālmā nē ānzúrɪfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fūug d̄ɔɔŋ	"tent" (cloth hut)
dàad bún-nám	"wooden things" (dàug, "piece of wood")
sālmā lâ'ad né ò b̄t̄ūs	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK

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

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

m̄ bīig	"my child"
dāu lā bīig	"the man's child"
dāu lā bīər bīig n̄aaf z̄ɔ̀ɔ̀	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
Kūsâas wádà	"customs of the Kusaasi"

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bê'og yír nà s̄āŋ'am.

Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.

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

nà'ab lā wīəf z̄ɔ̀ɔ̀	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
nà'ab lā wíd-z̄ɔ̀ɔ̀	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)

Dāan_a "owner of ..." (nām_a pl) always has a predependent; NPs represent concrete possessions or qualities: b̄ɔ̀ug dāan "goat owner"; dāam dāan "beer owner"; t̄iəŋ dāan "bearded man"; p̄ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ lā dāan "the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40); p̄ò-p̄iə̀l̄im dāan "holy person"; b̄ɔ̀gus̄igā dāan "softly-softly sort of person" WK; and

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Z̄ò-wōk dāan p̄ō ḡāŋìd búgúmm=∅.

Tail-long:SG owner:SG NEG 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

A cb predependent appears before $d\bar{a}an_a$ in a few set expressions like $y\bar{i}-d\bar{a}an$ "householder", $y\bar{i}-s\bar{o}b$ *id*, and $t\bar{e}\eta-d\bar{a}an$ traditional earth-priest ("land-owner.")

Numbers precede $d\bar{a}an_a$ for ordinal expressions: $\grave{a}t\grave{a}\eta'$ $d\bar{a}an$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ "the third one."

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

$D\bar{a}u$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $k\bar{u}l\grave{o}g$ $d\bar{a}a$ $m\bar{a}l\bar{u}s\bar{=}m$.

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

$y\grave{a}$ $\grave{a}ntu\grave{a}'-m\bar{o}r\bar{i}m$ $k\bar{o}t\bar{o}$ $n\bar{i}$ $n\bar{e}$ $t\bar{a}ab\bar{a}$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$

2PL case-have:GER court:SG LOC with each.other ART

"your going to law with each other in court" (1 Cor 6:7 NT1)

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

$N\bar{i}d\bar{i}b$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $d\bar{a}a$ $g\bar{u}r$ $Zakaria$ $y\bar{i}ib$ $n\bar{a}$.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emerge:GER hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah to come out." (Lk 1:21)

The manner noun $y\bar{i}ig\acute{a}$ "firstly" appears as a predependent "first." Place NPs and phrases with the postposition $y\bar{e}l\acute{a}$ "about" occur as predependents, and manner NPs may also occur before the specialised head $d\bar{a}an_a$.

$d\bar{u}n\bar{u}y\bar{a}$ $n\bar{i}$ $n\bar{i}n-gb\bar{i}\eta$

"earthly body"

$k\bar{o}l\bar{u}g\bar{=}n$ $n\acute{o}-d\bar{a}u\eta$

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

$B\grave{o}k$ $d\bar{i}m$

"Bawku people"

$d\grave{a}g\grave{o}b\bar{i}g$ $n\bar{i}f$

"left eye"

$z\bar{u}g\bar{u}=\bar{n}$ $n\bar{i}f-gb\bar{a}u\eta$

"upper eyelid"

$t\bar{e}\eta\bar{=}n$ $n\bar{i}f-gb\bar{a}u\eta$

"lower eyelid"

$K\bar{u}s\bar{a}as$ $k\bar{u}\bar{e}b$ $n\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}r$ $y\bar{e}l\acute{a}$ $gb\bar{a}u\eta$ "a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"

$d\bar{a}u-k\bar{a}\eta\bar{a}$ $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $y\bar{e}l\acute{a}$ $gb\bar{a}u\eta$ "a book about that man" WK

Ba da m\bar{o}r m\bar{o}cgin bunk\bar{o}nbid ne ba buudi, yin bunk\bar{o}nbid ne ba buudi ...

$B\bar{a}$ $d\bar{a}$ $m\bar{o}r$ $m\bar{o}c\bar{g}\bar{u}=\bar{n}$ $b\bar{u}n-k\bar{o}\eta b\bar{i}d$ $n\bar{e}$ $b\bar{a}$ $b\bar{u}ud\bar{i}$, $y\bar{i}n$ $b\bar{u}n-k\bar{o}\eta b\bar{i}d$

3PL TNS have bush:SG=LOC animal:PL and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC animal:PL

$n\bar{e}$ $b\bar{a}$ $b\bar{u}ud\bar{i}$...

and 3PL kind ...

"They took wild animals with their kind, tame with their kind ..." (Gn 7:14)

12.7.1.1 Before postpositions

Postpositions are nouns typically used with predependent NPs as VP adjuncts. Most are locative; many are themselves followed by the core locative particle, which has the form *nī́* after pronouns, loanwords and words ending in short vowels in SF, otherwise =n. Quantifiers and *lā́* may precede or follow the particle.

<i>m̄n nī́</i>	"in me"	<i>mān nī́</i>	"in me"
<i>yōdá nī́</i>	"among names"	<i>mù'ar lā́ ní</i>	"in the lake"
<i>mù'arī=n</i>	"in a lake"	<i>mù'arī=n lā́</i>	"in the lake"

la'asug dōdin nē suoya nī
là'asug dōdī=n nē sūāyá nī
 assembly:SG house:PL=LOC with road:PL LOC
 "in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

m kōnba nī wūsa "in all my bones" (Jer 20:9)
m̄ kōnbā ní wūsā
 1SG bone:PL LOC all

Yīr' "house" has the exceptional locatives *yín_n pl yāa=n* "at home."

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

Ka Pailēt len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ye...
Kà Pailēt léḿ yī nīdtb́=n lā́ nā yá'asì_∅ 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 dā'a=n.</i>	"He's at market."
<i>Ò bè yín.</i>	"He's at home."
<i>Ò bè kōlīgī=n</i>	"He's at the stream."
<i>Ò bè tūummī=n.</i>	"He's at work."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: *bēog_b* "tomorrow", *bēog_b=n'* "morning", *yīgí=n* "at first" *sān-sí'ə=n lā́* "at one time, once..."

Other postpositions include:

Bābá "beside" (pl of *bābār'* "sphere of activity"): *m̄ nōbá bābà* "beside my feet."
Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (*gbìn_n* "buttock"): *zūər lā́ gbín* "below the mountain."
Kōḅ'/kōḅ'w̄kō (*àràkōḅ'* "one"): *m̄ kōḅ'* "by myself."

Ŋyá'aŋ_a "behind, after" (ŋyá'aŋ_a "back"): lì ŋyá'aŋ, nē'ɛŋā ŋyâ'aŋ "afterward."
 Pūɔgū=n´ "inside" (pūɔg_a "belly"): yûm lā púɔgū=n "[months] in the year";

Dāy lā bé nē dɔ-kàŋā lā púɔgū=n.
 Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
 "The man is inside that hut."

Sā'an´ "in the presence/opinion of": Wínà'am sâ'an "in the sight of God";

Fù ná dī'e tûm pɔ́á'-bàmmā lā sâ'an.
 2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEMST.PL ART among.
 "You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

Sìsùɔgū=n´ "between" (KB *svugin*): tīnám nē fūn súɔgū=n "between us and you."
 Tēŋír "under": gòsìm tēŋír! "look down!"; téɛbùl lā tēŋír "under the table."
 Tûəŋ_n "in front of": gòsìm tûəŋ! "look to the front!"; dāká lā tûəŋ "before the box."
 Yēlá "about, concerning" (pl of yēlɪ´ "matter, affair"):

Bà yèlō=ø mān yēlá wōsā. "They told him all about me."
 3PL say=3AN 1SG.CN about all.

Zūg_b´ "onto" (zūg_b´ "head"); very often used metaphorically, "on account of ...", as in
 bō-zúgò? "why?" ("on account of what?")

Ò dīgìl gbáɔŋ lā téɛbùl lā zúg. "She's put the book on the table."
 3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.

Faanmim fɔ nɔŋilim la zug. "Save me because of your love." (Ps 6:4)
 Fàaŋmí=m fù nòŋlím lā zúg.
 Save:IMP=1SG 2SG love ART on

Sāa zúg_b is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka kùkɔr yi saazug na ... "And a voice came from heaven..."
 Kà kùkɔr yī sāa zúg nā ... (Jn 12:28)
 And voice:SG emerge rain:SG on hither

Zūgú=n "on": téɛbùl lā zúgū=n "on the table"

12.7.2 Combining forms

A combining form predependent is always 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, or a VP adjunct:

dā-nûur "beer-drinking" gēl-kûəs_a "egg-seller"

Free NPs cannot be used as generic argument predependents, so it is not possible to say *[bēŋíd nē kī] kûəs "seller of beanleaf-and-millet." However, noun-adjective compounds as generic arguments always adopt sg/pl forms:

fū-zéŋdà kûəs "dyed-cloth seller"

With agent nouns from transitive verbs the cb usually represents an object. Agent nouns from intransitives may have a cb representing an indirect object, complement or VP adjunct. These compounds can be freely coined, and their meanings are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions.

nīn-kûud _a	"murderer"	bù-kûud _a ´	"goat-killer"
nō-kûud _a	"hen-killer"	puà'-kûud _a ´	"woman-killer"
nō-záŋl _l	"holder of hens"	wìd-kûəs _a	"horse-seller"
bù-kûəs _a	"goat-seller"	sàlìm-kûəs _a	"gold-seller"
dā-nûud _a	"beer-drinker"	dà-kīəd _a	"wood-cutter"
zīm-gbâŋ'ad _a	"fish-catcher"	kòŋb-kīm _{na}	"herdsman"
làmpō-dí'əs _a	"tax collector"	tàn-mēəd _a	"builder"
bùl-sīgīd _a ´	"well-diver"	zà'-nō-gúr _a	"gate-keeper"
nō-dí'əs _a	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
gbàŋŋ-mī'id _a ´	"scribe" ("book-knower")		
puà'-sāŋ'am _{ma}	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")		
tùən-gāt _a	"leader" (Ò gàad tûən "He's gone ahead")		
ŋyà'an-dòl _l a	"disciple" (ŋyá'aŋ _a "behind", dōl _l a´ "go with")		
puà'-lā'ad _a	"laugher at women" WK (Ò là'ad pū'ab "He laughs at women")		

My informants freely create and cite agent nouns in isolation; KB has bāṅīd_a "wise man", sĭākīd_a "believer", sōṅīd_a "helper", fāaṅd_a "robber." However, a preceding cb is usual. It may be just a reduplication of the noun stem:

màal-māan _{na}	"sacrificer"	zī-zīid _a	"carrier-on-head"
tù'as-tù'as _a	"talker"	zàb-zàb _a	"warrior"
zòt-zòt _a	"racer, athlete"	tòm-tòm _{na}	"worker"

Cbs occur before deverbal instrument nouns in object or adjunct senses:

sĭà-lĭwòd(ŋ _a)	"belt" ("waist-tier")
nīn-gótĭs	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

Cbs before gerunds can represent subjects so long as the verb can be used intransitively; otherwise, they are complements or adjuncts:

nōb-kōw	"breaking a leg"	nū'-módìr	"swelling of the hand"
nīn-kōur	"murder"	dā-nūur	"beer-drinking"
wìn-līir	"sunset" (Winnìg lí yā "The sun has fallen")		
sūṅ-sâṅ'uh _o	"sorrow" (M̄ sūṅf sâṅ'am nē "My heart is spoilt")		
sūṅ-pēen _n	"anger" (M̄ sūṅf péìg nē "My heart is white")		
nō-lōw	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")		
fū-yēer	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)		
puà'-dūr	"marriage" (Ò dī puā' "He's married a wife")		
Sāmán-píer	traditional New Year ("Courtyard-cleaning")		
Bùgúm-tōwṅ	Fire Festival ("Fire-throwing")		
nīn-bāal-zōw	"pity" (Ò zòtō nīn-bāalìg "He has pity on him")		
mò-pīl _l	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")		
kùm-vū'ugír	"resurrection" (Ò vù'ug kūmī=n "He revived from death")		

A dependent cb before a deadjectival abstract noun may have a sense corresponding to the subject of a related verb:

pù-pièlìm	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
sūṅ-kpí'onṅ _o	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
sūṅ-má'asìm	"joy" ("heart-coolness")
nìn-tōllím	"fever" ("body-heat")
wīn-tōwṅ _o	"ill fortune" ("fate-bitterness")

Before heads which are neither deverbal nor abstract, dependent cbs have a very general quasi-adjectival sense. Specialised meanings often develop.

bì-fūug _b '	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
wìd-zōur	"horsetail"
wāb-mōcōgū=n'	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants" WK
zà'-nōcr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig _a	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bīig _a	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
tèŋ-bīig _a	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlòg _b	"aeroplane" ("European-hawk") ILK

WK has náaf-bìŋ'isím "cow's milk", bōug-bìŋ'isím "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound.

12.8 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or ŋwà "this." Before adjectives and dependent pronouns a head is reduced to a combining form, with the *dependent* inflecting to show its number; the cb is thus a regular part of each noun or adjective paradigm.

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependents as *subjects* may be followed by any VP complements or adjuncts §12.7.1, but other cases of VP adjuncts as NP postdependents are doubtful. I did not record the full context for ŋwādīs yōum lā rōugū=n "months in the year" (SB) or wābōg mōcōgū=n lā "elephant in the bush" (WK), and what I recorded as Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēŋá lā "That one's the real doctor" may have been an error for lá àmēŋá, with àmēŋá as a VP adjunct to àŋŋ_{ya}, as in *Mane an vain tiig la amēŋa* "I am the true vine" (Jn 15:1.)

Except for yīigá "firstly", **quantifiers** as determiners follow the head. Cb heads appear only before yīnní "one" and with dà- "day" before numbers without prefixes.

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative **pronouns** appear as dependent determiners after a noun or noun-adjective compound cb, or after a quantifier:

bīig _a	"child"	bì-kàŋā'	"this child"
bì-sō'	"a certain child"	bì-sòŋ-kàŋā'	"this good child"
bì-kàŋè?	"which child?"	bì-bó?	"what child?"
yēl-tōcōd àtáŋ' bāmā	"these three plagues" (Rev 9:18)		

Appositives (CGEL p447) in NPs may be relative clauses or personal names. Relative clauses *must* appear as appositives after heads which cannot form cbs, and *may* do so after those that could; appositive relative clauses, unlike others, need not be interpreted as restrictive. Appositives follow dependent pronouns: *dau kaŋa one ka Wina'am Siig bæe o ni* "this man in whom God's Spirit is" (Gn 41:38.)

Appositive personal names retain the particle *À-*:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.

Ēēŋ, ò zuà À-Sībīgī n kābíríd.

Yes, 3AN friend:SG PERS-termite:SG CAT ask.admission:IPFV.

"Yes, it was his friend Termite asking for admission." KSS p12

12.8.1 Adjectives

Adjectives follow head cbs. Adjectives lacking corresponding stative verbs may be used as heads of predicative complements §13.6.2, but generally compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *būn-* "thing" are used: *nīn-súŋ* "good person", *būn-vúr* "living thing" etc. *Būn*' has pl *būná* or *būn-nám_a*; it also occurs with abstract *predependents*: *tōlígír búŋ* "heating thing, heater", *kù'əmī=n búŋ* "water creature."

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

Note *būn-gíŋ_a* "short chap" (humorous), *būn-kúdùg_b* "old man" (standard.)

The combination noun + adjective is rendered with noun cb before the adjective, which inflects as sg pl or cb on behalf of the head noun:

<i>nūa'</i>	"hen"	<i>nōɔs'</i>	"hens"
<i>nō-píə̀lìg_a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-píə̀lìs</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súŋ_b</i>	"good hen"	<i>nō-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: *nō-píə̀l-kàŋā'* "this white hen", *nīn-wók-píə̀lìg_a* "white tall person" but *fū-zéŋdà kùəs_a* "dyed-cloth seller" (not **fū-zéŋ'-kùəs_a*.)

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. *nū'-bíl_a* "finger" ("small hand"); *tì-sābulím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gòŋ'-sābulìg_a* Haaf *gosabliga* "*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

là'-bīəlíf _o	"small coin" NT1 (lā'af _o "cowrie", bī'əlá "a little")
dà-sī'ər	"some day, perhaps" (dāar "day", sī'a "some")
dàbìs-sī'ər	"some day" (dàbìsìr "day")
yēl-súm _n	"blessing" (yēlì' "matter", sùŋ _o "good")
puà'-pāal _a '	"bride" (puā' "wife", pāalìg _a "new")

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, mm| nouns require adjectives in -mm, as does bŭn "thing" in abstract but not concrete senses:

dā-pāalìm	"new millet beer"; WK rejected *dā-pāal *dā-pāalìg.
tì-sābulìm	"black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
tì-vōnnìm	"oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kōvdìm	"poison" ("killing medicine")
kpāŋ-sōŋdìm	"anointing oil" (kpāŋm' "oil, grease")
bŭn-ŋyétìm	"the visible world" (bŭn-ŋyétìr "a visible object")
bŭn-bōvdìm	"desirable thing" (in 1 Cor 14:1, of nòŋlìm "love")

Adjective sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner (all KT):

Lì à nē fū-píəlgā.	"It's a whitish shirt."
Lì à nē fū-píəlgā lā.	"It's the whitish shirt."
Lì à nē wíug.	"It's red."
Lì à nē wíugō.	"It's reddish."
fū-wíugō lā	"the reddish shirt"
Lì à nē tītā'arī.	"It's biggish."

Adjectives and their derived stative verbs may be immediately followed by intensifier ideophones, specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding verbs.

Lì à nē píəlig fáss fáss.	"It's very white."	
Lì à nē sābulìg zím zím.	"It's deep black."	
Lì à nē zìŋ'a wím wím.	"It's deep red."	
Lì à nē fū-zìŋ'a wím wím.	"It's a deep red shirt."	WK
M̄ ŋyé fū-zìŋ'a wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."	WK
Fū-zìŋ'a wím wím bé.	"There's a deep red shirt."	WK
M̄ bōvd fū-zìŋ'a wím wím lā.	"I want the deep red shirt."	WK
Ò à nē wōk tólulì.	"She's very tall."	
Ò à nē gīŋ tírgà.	"She's very short."	
Ò wà'am tólulì.	"She's very tall."	
Ò gìm nē tírgà.	"She's very short."	

Not even all gradable adjectives/stative verbs have intensifiers; WK could supply none for e.g. s̀̀ηᵁ "good", bē'ed "bad", z̀̀l̀̀ηᵁ "deep", mā'asíḡ_a "damp."

Noun + adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

L̀̀ à nē nū'-kp̀̀íílúḡ.	"It's a dead hand."
B̀̀īḡ lā á nē nū'-kp̀̀íílúḡ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à nē bí-nū'-kp̀̀íílúḡ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
k̀̀ḡḡ-nᵁb-wókᵁ	"long-legged stool"
K̀̀ḡḡ-kàḡā á nē nᵁb-wók.	"This stool is long-legged." WK
z̀̀ḡḡ-máḡkᵁ pl z̀̀ḡḡ-mâ'ad	"crushed-headed"
z̀̀ḡ-wókᵁ´	"long-tailed"
nᵁb-ḡíḡ _a	"short-legged"
z̀̀ḡ-péél̀̀ḡᵁ pl z̀̀ḡ-péél̀̀à	"bald"
lāḡ-f̀̀ᵁḡᵁ pl lāḡ-f̀̀ᵁḡᵁd	"toothless" (f̀̀ḡ "draw out")

"One of a pair" adjectives are often so used: ǹ̀īf-ḡyáḡkᵁ "one eye", bà-ǹ̀īf-ḡyáḡkᵁ "one-eyed dog"; t̀̀ḡḡ-ỳ̀ḡḡᵁ´ "one ear" b̀̀ì-t̀̀ḡḡ-ỳ̀īnà "one-eared children."

The adjective is not modified by the cb: the adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg, as with b̀̀ì-t̀̀ḡḡ-kp̀̀īdā "deaf child" (pl b̀̀ì-t̀̀ḡḡ-kp̀̀īdā nām_a or b̀̀ì-t̀̀ḡḡ-kp̀̀īdīs) and b̀̀ì-t̀̀ḡḡ-l̀̀īd "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns appear as adjectives after human-reference heads:

b̀̀ì-sān _a ´/-sāḡ _a	"stranger-child"	b̀̀ḡ-sāḡ _a	"strange goat"
b̀̀ì-kp̀̀ī'īm/-kp̀̀īílúḡᵁ	"dead child"	b̀̀ḡ-kp̀̀īílúḡᵁ	"dead goat"
b̀̀ì-dāḡ/-dāḡᵁ	"male child"	b̀̀ḡ-dāḡᵁ	"male goat"

and similarly b̀̀ì-pḡā´/-pḡāk_a "female child"; b̀̀ì-z̀̀ḡ'əḡ´/-z̀̀ḡnz̀̀ḡ_a "blind child"; b̀̀ì-ḡìk_a "dumb child"; b̀̀ì-wàb̀̀ìr "lame child"; b̀̀ì-bāl̀̀ērᵁḡᵁ "ugly child"; b̀̀ì-p̀̀ḡḡ'ᵁr "crippled child"; nà'-b̀̀īḡ_a/b̀̀ì-nà'ab_a "prince"; dàḡ-b̀̀īḡ_a/b̀̀ì-dāḡ "male child"; nàsàa-b̀̀īḡ_a "European child", b̀̀ī-p̀̀ḡḡ-yàḡḡḡḡ_a "slave girl", yàḡḡḡḡḡḡ-b̀̀ī-p̀̀ḡḡ_a/yàḡḡḡḡḡḡ-b̀̀ī-p̀̀ḡḡ_a "girl slave" (yàḡḡḡḡḡḡ b̀̀ì-p̀̀ḡḡ_a "slave's girl.")

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

b̀̀ì-s̀̀īn _{na} ´/-s̀̀īnníḡ _a	"silent child";	b̀̀ḡ-s̀̀īnníḡ _a	"silent goat"
pḡà'-zàḡḡ _{sa}	"dreamy woman" KT		
pḡà'-k̀̀ḡḡd́ḡ _a	"murderous woman, murderess" WK		
pḡà'-lā'ad́ḡ _a	"woman given to laughing" WK		
but pḡà'-k̀̀ḡḡd̀̀ḡ _a ´	only "killer of women" WK		
pḡà'-lā'ad _a	only "laugher at women" WK		

12.8.2 Lā́ and ṅwà

Lā́ and ṅwà are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." They stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for VP-final particles in nominalised clauses, which may follow attached lā́ §13.7.

Unlike lā́, ṅwà can stand alone as a NP:

ṅwà á nē bīg.

"This is a child." WK; tones *sic*.

This be FOC child:SG.

Lā́ remains deictic after demonstratives and in identificational clauses §14.1.4, but elsewhere is the definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. Articles are not used with "familiar background", proper names, abstract mass nouns or vocatives, which are intrinsically definite, nor with pronouns, which are either intrinsically definite/indefinite or match their antecedents in definiteness.

Winnìg lí yā.

"The sun has set."

Sun:SG fall PFV.

Nṅilim pṽ naada.

"Love does not come to an end."

Nṅìlím pū nāadá=∅.

(1 Cor 13:8)

Love NEG finish:IPFV=NEG.

There is no indefinite article: a NP without lā́ is indefinite if it could have taken lā́ as an article. The sense may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of àḗya "be something" used ascriptively:

M̄ bīg kā'e=∅.

"I've no child" WK

1SG child:SG NEG.EXIST=NEG.

Ò à nē bīg.

"She is a child."

3AN be FOC child:SG.

Specific senses appear in presentational statements; elsewhere, indefinite NPs are usually generic; unlike "the", lā́ is not used generically.

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāy dá bē_∅ mōrí_ò bī-díbìṅ

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

T̀umt̀um p̀u gat o zugdaana.

T̀um-t̀um p̀u gát ò z̀ug-dáanā=∅.

Worker:SG NEG pass:IPFV 3AN master:SG=NEG.

"The servant does not surpass his master." (Jn 15:20)

Indefinite pronouns mark unambiguously specific "some/another":

Nā'-síəbà ́ǹb̀ìd nē m̀ẁd. "Some cows are eating grass."

Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

A predependent NP ending in *lā'* makes the following head definite, and the head does not itself take the article; a dependent indefinite pronoun is needed to make a head indefinite after a predependent with the article: *nà'ab lā bīg* "the chief's child", but *nà'ab lā bí-s̄* "a child of the chief's."

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:

Dau da be mori **o biribing**

Dāu dá b̀è_ ∅ m̀r̀í_ò b̀í-d̀í̀b̀ì̀ŋ

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son ..." KSS p35

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul **sidi** paae yuma ayɔpɔi ka **o sid la** kpi.

́ŋn dāa áŋ p̀uá'-sādīr lá kà ò k̀ul s̄d̄_ ∅ pāe

3AN:NZ TNS be girl:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

yúmà àyɔp̀ɛ kà ò s̄d̄ 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)

cf M̄ bīg b́. "I have a child." WK (M̄ mór bīg.)
1SG child:SG exist.

M̄ bīg k̄a'e=∅. "I've no child" WK (M̄ k̄a' bīgā.)
1SG child:SG NEG.exist=NEG.

but M̄ bīg lā k̄a'e=∅. "My child's not there" WK
1SG child:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

13 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 perfectives and the two-aspect-verb imperative flexion *-m_a* appear only when the tone overlay is present.

Tense is marked by preverbal particles, aspect by verb flexion and postverbal *nē'*. As is common cross-linguistically, future reference is marked by *mood*. Negative markers vary with mood. Mood itself is marked primarily by such preverbal particles, but the flexion *-m_a* of two-aspect verbs is a portmanteau marker of imperative mood, positive polarity and independency.

The VP shows no agreement. Apparent number agreement in imperatives is due to the postposed 2pl subject enclitic *=y_a*.

Bound words occur in a fixed order around the verb:

Tense	Mood	Subverb		E1	E2	
dàa	∅ ~ p̄	p̄n	VERB	=n	=m _a	nē'
sàa	∅ ~ d̄	l̄m		=y _a	=f _o	
∅	nà ~ kù	tì			=o	
pà'		kp̄l̄m			=l	
sà		là'am			=t	
d̄āa		d̄ɛ̄ŋl̄m			=y _a	
dà		...			=b _a	

∅ marks slots where absence of a particle is itself meaningful.

A small set of adjunct particles may appear in the tense slot alongside or instead of the tense particles.

The particles in the column "Mood" also mark polarity: positive ~ negative.

E1 is the slot for the discontinuous-past liaison enclitic *=n* or the postposed 2pl subject *=y_a*; E2 for enclitic personal pronouns as direct or indirect objects, which unlike all other complements *precede* aspect-marking *nē'*. Only one bound object pronoun may occur.

13.1 Aspect

The basic aspect distinction is perfective versus imperfective. Two-aspect verbs distinguish aspect by flexion: the unmarked stem form is perfective, the suffix *-da* forms the imperfective, and a flexion *-ma* is used for imperative when the verb word itself carries an independency-marking tone overlay. One-aspect verbs have a single form which is always imperfective.

Dynamic verbs can be two- or one-aspect. They typically express occurrences, but may express states: the "habitual" ipfv of a dynamic verb can be interpreted either as expressing multiple occurrences or as describing a propensity of the subject, and the pfv of dynamic verbs which express a change of state in the subject can express the resulting state itself. **Stative** verbs are all one-aspect. By default, they express persistent/abiding states.

The focus particle **nḗ** §15.1 plays an important role in the aspect system. When it follows a verb with no intervening free words, its default function is to mark a contrast with another time at which the situation expressed by the verb did not obtain; it might be paraphrased "at the time referred to in particular." The time referred to is thus not coextensive with the time of the situation (CGEL pp125 ff.) With ipfvs, this implies that 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 pfvs expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and aspectual focus is not possible; however, *resultative* pfvs 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 **nḗ** after a pfv marks it as resultative; conversely, if a pfv does not express a change of state in the subject, any following **nḗ** cannot be aspectual.

Nḗ 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. **Nḗ** cannot be used at all in certain syntactic contexts, and cannot appear a second time aspectually if it is already present for informational focus. Any aspectual senses permitted by the verb itself are then still present but are formally unmarked:

Ò kùəsìdī=bá nḗ. "She's selling them."
3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.

Ò kùəsìd nḗ sūmmā lā. "She is selling the groundnuts."
3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

but Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nḗ. "She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. (VP focused: "They're not free.")

Ò zàbìd. "He fights."
 3AN fight:IPFV.

Ò zàbìd nĕ. "He's fighting."
 3AN fight:IPFV FOC.

but Ò pū zábìdā=∅. "He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."
 3AN NEG fight:IPFV=NEG.

Nĕ' is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: Gòsìm!	"Look!"	B: M̂ gósìd!	"I'm looking!"
A: Fù gósìd nĕĕ?	"Are you looking?"	B: M̂ gósìd!	"I'm looking!"

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. It is compatible 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 to express future events, and in protases of conditional clauses. Nevertheless, the perfective often implies completion in contrast with the imperfective.

The perfective frequently occurs without explicit or context-implicit tense marking. With most verbs this expresses a completed event or process with the time unspecified, implying current relevance (cf English "present perfect"):

Sāa dāa ní. "It rained."
 Rain TNS rain.

but Sāa ní yā. "It has rained." WK: "Perhaps the grass is
 Rain rain PFV. 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; performatives naturally fall into this category.

Ò yèl yĕ ... "He says"
 3AN say that ... (translating for the foreign doctor)

M̂ pû'us yā. "I thank you."
 1SG greet PFV.

M̃ s̃ják yā. "I agree."
 1SG agree PFV.

Verbs of cognition and perception frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

M̃ ñyé ñū'-bíbúsá_àtán'. "I can see three fingers."
 1SG see finger:PL NUM:three.

M̃ t̃êŋ'és kà ... "I think that ..."
 1SG think and ...

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject may use the perfective to express the resulting state. NĒ´ must then follow whenever syntactically permissible. Most constructions are intransitive, but verbs of dressing also imply a change of state in the subject:

Lì b̃d̃d̃ìg yā . "It's got lost."
 3IN lose PFV.

but Lì b̃d̃d̃ìg ñē . "It's lost."
 3IN lose FOC.

Ò kpì ñē. "He's dead."
 M̃ g̃éŋ ñē. "I'm tired."
 Bà k̃d̃d̃òg ñē. "They're old."
 Lì p̃è'ei ñē. "It's full."
 Lì ỹò ñē. "It's closed."
 M̃ búg ñē. "I'm drunk."
 Ò l̃èr ñē. "He's ugly." WK
 Lì s̃òb̃ìg ñē. "It's black." WK

M̃ yé f̃ūug. "I've put a shirt on."
 1SG don shirt:SG.

M̃ yé ñē f̃ūug. "I'm wearing a shirt."
 1SG don FOC shirt:SG.

In catenation §14.2 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

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_ àyí' yé fū-píə̀là_ ø zì'e bà sã'an.

And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

An imperfective may be followed by a perfective:

Ñwā̀dísá_ àtán' 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."

With absolute clauses §14.3.1 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.

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-sṑŋ'e bī'ə̀lā yè̀lā.

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-surpass slightly about.

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

The imperfective of dynamic verbs without aspectual focus is habitual, expressing multiple events, or a propensity of the subject to the action expressed by the verb, while stative verbs express abiding states:

Nīigí ò̀ŋ̀b̀ìd mṑɔ̀d.

"Cows eat grass."

Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

M zíŋ'i.

"I sit."

1SG sit.

Ò g̀ìm.

"She's short."

3AN be.short.

M mór pṽā'.

"I have a wife."

1SG have wife:SG.

Aspectual focus with imperfectives is only felicitous when the subject is an agent, undergoing a change of state, or moving without external agency, or when the clause contains an explicit time reference (which may be simply a non-zero tense marker.) With dynamic verbs the sense is progressive:

Nā'-síəbà ń̀ǹb̀ìd nē mṑɔ̀d. Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.	"Some cows are eating grass."
M̐ źíŋ'i nē. 1SG sit FOC.	"I'm sitting." (Stance verb subjects are agents)
M̐ ỳɔ̀ɔ̀d nē kùl̀ŋ lā. 1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.	"I'm closing the door."
Kùl̀ŋ lā ỳɔ̀ɔ̀d nē. Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.	"The door is closing."
L̀ì l̀ìt nē. 3IN fall:IPFV FOC.	"It is falling."

Stative verbs normally require an explicit time reference for aspectual focus, and then express a *temporary* state, with a contrast between the time referred to and other times. Aspectual focus is also forced on stative verbs without time reference when *nē* precedes constituents which do not allow informational focus §15.1.

L̀ì v̀èn nē. 3IN be.beautiful FOC.	"It's <i>beautiful</i> ." (Focus on the verb.)
but Nānnánā, l̀ì v̀èn nē. Now, 3IN be.beautiful FOC.	"Just now, it's beautiful."
L̀ì dāa v̀én nē. 3IN TNS be.beautiful FOC.	"It <i>was</i> beautiful." WK: "I gave you a cup, and it was OK then, but now you've spoiled it."
M̀ù'ar lā dāa z̀úl̀m nē. Lake:SG ART TNS be.deep FOC.	"The lake <i>was</i> deep." ("Now it's shallow." WK)
L̀ì dāa áŋ s̀úŋā. 3IN TNS be well.	"It was good." WK

Lì dāa á nē súnā.
3IN TNS be FOC well.

"At the time, it was good." WK

Lì à nē súnā.
3IN be FOC well.

"It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)

M̄ mór nē bīisá_ àtánā.
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.exactly.

"I've got exactly three children just now."
DK: "On a school trip, talking about how many children everyone has brought."

Dynamic verbs may express a time-limited habitual sense:

Nīdīb kpīid nē.
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

"People are dying."

13.2 Tense

Tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP. They are mutually exclusive.

dàa	day after tomorrow
sàa	tomorrow
∅	present, or implicit (see below)
pà'	earlier today
sà	yesterday
dāa	before yesterday
dà	before the time marked by dāa

The day begins at sunrise:

Fù sá gbìs wēlá=∅?
2SG TNS sleep how=CQ?

"How did you sleep last night?"

Dāa "before yesterday" can be used even for remote past. Parallel KB passages may narrate the same events with either dāa or dà, but when both markers occur, dà always expresses time prior to dāa.

Future tense markers normally require irrealis mood, but imperative is possible when a main clause has been ellipted before a purpose clause:

Ò sáa zàb nà'ab lā.
3AN TNS fight chief:SG ART.

"Let him fight the chief tomorrow."

13.2.1 Discontinuous past

The discontinuous-past enclitic =n makes an earlier-today past:

M̐ ́n̐bɪdī=n sūmmā. "I was eating groundnuts." WK
 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 fulfils their criteria for a typical discontinuous past well. They note that such pasts often acquire attenuative, hypothetical or counterfactual senses: these are much the commonest roles of =n in Kusaal §14.1.3.

13.2.2 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

M̐ kúl yā. "I'm going home (now.)"
 1SG go.home PFV.

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to ...":

(a) b̐ɔɔd_a "want" + gerund. The subject need not be animate; the construction is only possible with gerunds from dynamic verbs.

T̐ɪg lā b̐ɔɔd līg. "The tree is about to fall."
 Tree:SG ART want fall:GER.

Y̐'ɪŋ b̐ɔɔd gaadɔg, ka b̐ɔg b̐ɔɔd nier.

Y̐'ɪŋ b̐ɔɔd gáadòg kà b̐ɔg b̐ɔɔd n̐ɪ.

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.

M̐ yé ñ̐ k̐ā sūmmā. "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
 1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

13.2.3 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 kṗiid. Person:PL die:IPFV.	"People die."
Ò m̀r pṡā'. 3AN have wife:SG.	"He has a wife."
Ò kṗì yā. 3AN die PFV.	"She's died." ("present perfect")

Tense-markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with =n as today-past, or with a time adjunct in the clause:

F̀ nà kũl. 2SG IRR go.home.	"You will go home."
F̀ sáa nà kũl. 2SG TNS IRR go.home.	"You'll go home tomorrow."
F̀ [sáa] nà kũl bēog. 2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.	"You'll go home tomorrow."
̀ [pá'] òṡbũdī=n sũmmā. 1SG TNS chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.	"I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
̀ [sá] zàb nâ'ab lā sũ'əs. 1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART yesterday.	"I fought the chief yesterday."

Systematic meaningful omission of past tense markers occurs in **narrative**.

In KB/NT narrative, main clauses not introduced by *kà* and not containing a time adjunct are normally tense-marked (> 80% in Acts 1-12 NT2.) Less formal narratives lack tense-marking in clauses without *kà* more often: this is analogous to the "historic present" of English informal narration (CGEL p130); *spatial* deictic words like *kṗē* "here" and *kàṡā* "this" are also common in such texts.

On the other hand, clauses introduced by *kà* regularly omit tense marking when narrating a sequence of events in order, containing tense markers if and only if they signal disruptions in the narrative flow like flashbacks, asides or descriptions. Narrative favours long sequences of coordinated *kà*-clauses with pfv aspect and no tense marking, with *kà* corresponding to *zero* in English.

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

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

Kà dāar yīnní kà bīig lā né ò sàam zín'i_∅ sōñsīd.

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

Kà bīig lā tí yèl ò sàam yē ...

And child:SG ART 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

Ka Yesu **daa** an yuma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keŋ malɔŋ la wub ban εenti niŋid si'em la. Ka malɔŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lebidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba **daa** ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...

Kà Yesu=∅ dāa áŋ yúmà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēŋ málòŋ

And Jesus=NZ TNS be year:PL ten with NUM:TWO ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG

lā wūb bán ēεŋ tí niŋìd sī'əm lā. Kà màlòŋ lā dábɪsà=∅

ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV how ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ

nāe lā, kà bà lébɪdì_∅ kūn. Kà Yesu kpélìm Jerusalem

finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem

téŋɪ=n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū bāŋ yé ò kpèlìm

land:SG=LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG realise that 3AN remain

yāa=∅. Bà dāa tēŋ'es yé ò dɔl né bà tēŋ-dìm lā, kà kēŋ...

PFV=NEG. 3PL TNS think that 3AN accompany FOC 3PL land-person.PL ART, and go...

"When Jesus **was** twelve years old, they went to Jerusalem to sacrifice as they were accustomed to. When the days of sacrifice were over, they were going home, but Jesus remained behind in Jerusalem, and his father and mother didn't realise that he had stayed. They **thought** that he was accompanying their fellow-countrymen. And they went ..." (Lk 2:42-44)

Among dozens of clauses *kà* X dụá' Y "X begat Y" in Matthew 1.1ff NT2:

Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma **da** ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a Rehoboam.
 Kà David dụá' Solomon. Ò mà dá à nē Uria pụá'.
 And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG TNS be FOC Uriah wife:SG.
 Kà Solomon dụá' Rehoboam...
 And Solomon beget Rehoboam...
 "David begat Solomon. His mother **was** Uriah's wife. Solomon begat Rehoboam..."

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff NT2 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam da ane Y* "and X's father **was** Y."

Long series of coordinated "asides" may 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.

The distinctiveness of *kà*-clauses with pfv aspect and no tense marking was confirmed by presenting them in isolation to informants; they were always interpreted as expressing events, requiring the particle *nē* to be interpreted as informational focus, never aspectual; tense marking permitted aspectual focus.

Lì b̀̀d̀ìg nē.
 3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

Kà ì b̀̀d̀ìg nē.
 And 3IN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as denying "someone hid it"; contrastive focus

Bà k̀̀d̀ìg nē.
 3PL get.old FOC.

"They're old."

Kà bà k̀̀d̀ìg 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"; contrastive focus

but Kà ì dāa b̀̀d̀ìg nē.
 And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá k̀̀d̀ìg nē.
 Kà bà dāa k̀̀d̀ìg nē.

etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked dynamic-verb ipfvs can appear (without aspectual focus) in narrative to express several instances of an event:

Ka on kpɛn' la, o yɛli ba ye [...]. Ka ba **la'ad** o.

Kà ón kpèŋ' lā, ò yélì=bā yē [...]. Kà bà lá'adō=∅.

And 3AN:NZ enter ART, 3AN say=3PL that ... and 3PL laugh:IPFV=3AN.

"After he came in, he said to them [...]. But they **laughed** at him." (Mk 5:39-40)

Tense marking is unaffected by non-temporal adjuncts or resumptive yē:

Amaa ba **da** zot o ne dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid anɛ nya'andol la zug. **Amaa ka** Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō=∅ nē dábīəm, bán dà pū níŋò=∅ yáddā yé ò sùd

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG do=3AN faith that 3AN truly

à nē nyâ'an-dòl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas zán Saul n mōró=∅ ∅ kēŋ ...

be FOC disciple:SG ART on. But and Barnabas 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 pū mōr biigā=∅, bōzúgō Elizabet dá à nē

3PL TNS NEG have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS be FOC

kúndù'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, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old." (Lk 1:7 NT2)

Nominalised clauses mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

Ka Pita yu'un tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la ye ...

Kà Pita yū'un tíeŋ Yesu=n sà yél sī'əl lā yē ...

And Peter then remember Jesus=NZ TNS say INDEF.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 §15.4, regardless of whether kà also precedes, or whether the absolute clause has tense marking (132/136 in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14 NT1.) With absolute clauses as adjuncts *following* kà, tense marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual principles for narrative (69/78.)

13.2.4 Tense-slot adjuncts

Tense-slot adjuncts may precede, occupy or follow tense particles in their slot; they precede mood/polarity markers. They do not affect independency-marking.

Sādɪgím "since" §14.3.1 always precedes tense markers. Yū'ɔn "then, next", sɪd "truly, thus" and lɛɛ "but" precede tense markers much more often than they follow (in KB, 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lɛɛ da* to 1 of *da lɛɛ*.)

Josua yū'ɔn da kɔdɪgya. "Then Joshua grew old." (Jo 13:1)
 Josua yū'ɔn dá kòdìg yā.
 Joshua then TNS grow.old PFV.

O sɪd kpiya. "He's really died." (Mk 15:44)
 Ò sɪd kpì yā.
 3AN truly die PFV.

Ò sɪd dāa á nē nā'ab. "Truly, he was a chief." WK
 3AN truly TNS be FOC chief:SG.

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.
 Kà mān piāŋ'ad lā lɛɛ kù gāadē=∅.
 And 1SG.CN speech ART but NEG.IRR pass=NEG.
 "But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35 NT2)

amaa lɛɛ pu'ɔsimi Wina'am bareka
 àmáa lɛɛ pù'ɔsɪmī=∅ Wínà'am bárukà
 but but greet:IMP=2PLS God blessing
 "but thank God" (Eph 5:4)

For WK, lɛɛ carries the independency tone overlay; he corrected Lɛɛ gòsɪm nā'ab lā! to Lɛɛ gōs nā'ab lā! "But look at the chief!"

Nàm "still" (with a negative, "yet"), nyɛɛ (tí) (KT ɛɛŋ tí, NT *nyii ti*, KB *ɛɛnti*) "habitually" and kōlīm/kūdīm "always" follow any tense particles.

Tɔɔma la da nam pu pin'il la "before the work began" (Zec 8:10)
 Tɔɔmā lá=∅ dà nàm pō pīŋ'il lā
 work:SG ART=NZ TNS still NEG begin ART

Tùm lā nám bèɛ=∅? "Is there any medicine left?"
 Medicine ART still exist=PQ?

Hor dim la mε da εenti bε Seir.

Hor díμ lā mé dà ēεη tí bε Seir.

Hor NULL.PL ART also TNS habitually exist Seir.

"The Horites too used to live in Seir." (Dt 2:12)

On nε o pu'a Prisila daa kɔdim nan yine Room ...

Ōn né ò puā' Prisila dāa kōdīm 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)

Nyāan/nāan "next, afterwards", nāan §14.1.3 "in that case" and pà' tì "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. Nyāan usually appears in kà-clauses in narrative.

Ka Zugsɔb sɔnf nyaan yu'ɔn ma'ae.

Kà Zūg-sób súnf nyāan yō'ɔn mā'e.

And Lord heart:SG next then cool.

"Then the Lord's anger subsided." (Jo 7:26)

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la bεε?

Ōnī_ ø pá' tì àη Kristo lā bέε=ø?

3AN.CN CAT perhaps be Christ ART or=PQ?

"Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

13.3 Mood and negation

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. Mood-marking particles also express polarity; they appear after tense markers but before subverbs. Imperative marking involves a flexion which also marks independency. Negated VPs induce the appearance of a clause-final negative clitic §4.4.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It is negated by pū (for some speakers bū, as in Toende Kusaal.) 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. Aspectual focus occurs only in positive indicative mood.

Ò zàb nà'ab lā.

3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He's fought the chief."

Ò pū záb nà'ab lāa=ø.

3AN NEG fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"He hasn't fought the chief."

Ò vùl tùm kà ò nóbìr pū zábē=∅.
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG fight=NEG.
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

Imperative mood is negated by *dā*. It is used in commands, prohibitions and purpose clauses, and after imperatives in catenation. Two-aspect verbs with independency-marking tone overlay take the inflection *-m_a*, with pfv sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked by flexion as usual. See §14.1.2 on 2pl subject =*ya*.

Zàm nâ'ab lā!
 Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!
 "Fight the chief!"

Dā záb nà'ab lāa=∅!
 NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!
 "Don't fight the chief!"

Ò vùl tùm 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

Kèm nā n gōs!
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!
 "Come and look!"

Kòḡsìm!
 "Cough!"

Dā kóḡsē=∅!
 NEG.IMP cough=NEG!
 "Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did, during an eye operation under local)

Dā kóḡsìdā=∅!
 NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG!
 "Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)

Dòllī=ní=m!
 Go.with=2PLS=1SG!
 "Come (pl) with me!"

Mòr nīn-báaḡ!
 Have eye-pity!
 "Have pity!"

Aspectual *nḗ* cannot appear, but *àlá* "thus" has progressive sense:

Dìmí àlá!
 "Carry on eating!"

Dìmī=ní_ àlá! "Keep (pl) on eating!"
Eat:IMP=2PLS thus!

Dìgī=ní_ àlá! "Keep (pl) on lying down."
Lie=2PLS thus!

Even stative verbs may be used in direct commands: any restrictions are pragmatic rather than syntactic. Thus *Vve!* *Vòe!* "Live!" (Ez 16:6) and e.g.

Béé ànínā! "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB

Āa=ní_ àlá bāaṅlím! "Be (pl) quiet!"
Be=2PLS thus quietness!

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers *nà* (positive), *kù* (negative), after which directly following Tone Pattern A subverbs or verbs change all tonemes to M. Aspect is marked by verb flexion; ipfv is uncommon. Irrealis with past tense markers is contrary-to-fact, not future-in-the-past.

Ò *nà zāb nā'ab lā.* "He'll fight the chief."
3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò *kù zāb nā'ab lāa=∅.* "He won't fight the chief."
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò *dāa ná zāb nā'ab lā.* "He would have fought the chief."
3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART. (but did not) WK

There are three **negative verbs**. They do not carry the independency tone overlay; clause-final negative clitics appear as usual.

Kā'ẹ appears as *kā'* before a complement. It functions as *indicative* negative (not irrealis or imperative) to *àẹṅya* "be something", *bè* "exist" and *mōr_a'* "have."
**Pū bé* is not found, but *pū mōr* is common; *pū áẹṅ* is 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.

Pṽā' lā mór bīig, àmáa dāṽ 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."

Dāṽ lā kā'e=∅. "The man isn't there."
 Man:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

Dāṽ kā'ẹ́ dǒṽgū=n lāa=∅. "There's no man in the room."
 Man:SG NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

Dāṽ lā kā' dǒṽgū=n lāa=∅.
 Man:SG ART NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.
 "The man is not in the room."

Kā'ẹ́ has a clause-final variant kà'asìg:

Ò bīig ká'asìgĒ=∅. "She has no child."
 3AN child NEG.exist=NEG.

Zī' "not know" usually replaces indicative pū mī'. A clause-final *zi'isig* also appears in texts (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

Bùṽ-bāṽ'ad zī' yĒ tĒṽ túllā=∅.
 Donkey-rider:SG NEG.know that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.
 "He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot." (Proverb)

but M biig Solomon anɛ dasaṽ , ka **pu mi'** wᵛᵛ lin nar si'em.
 M̄ bīig Solomon á nĒ dá-sāṽ, kà pū mī'
 1SG child:SG Solomon FOC be young.man:SG, and NEG know
 wᵛᵛ lín nār sī'əmm=∅.
 how 3IN:NZ be.proper how=NEG.
 "My son Solomon is young, and does not know how it should be." (1 Chr 22:5)

Mìt "see that it doesn't happen that ..." §14.2.2 is always imperative. In this sense, the postposed 2pl =ya does not occur, even in address to several people.

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.
 Mìt kà yà mâal yà tùm-sùmà nīdīb tūəṽ yé bà gōsĒ=∅.
 NEG.IMP.let and 2PL do 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look=NEG.
 "Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll see you." (Mt 6:1 NT2)

KB uses *mid* with no clitic: *Mid ka ya maali ya tvvm svma nidib tuon ye ba gcs.*
 Mìt appears with a NP object and no negative clitic in the sense "beware of ...":

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

Mìtì=∅ zírí nò-dí'əsìdìb bání=∅ kēnní yà sà'an nā lā.

Beware=2PLS lie linguist:PL DEM.PL=NZ COME:IPFV 2PL among hither ART.

"Beware of false prophets who come among you." (Mt 7:15 NT2)

A main-clause negative clitic follows any subordinate clauses; exceptions are either due to dislocation or actually represent coordination, as in

Ka li pu **yuugε** ka o pu'a mε kena.

Kà lì pū yúugε=∅, kà ò pūā' mé kē nā.

And 3IN NEG delay=NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7); narrative coordination.

With clauses nominalised by =n̄ or the personifier à having 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:

Nīn-bání=∅ pū dít ná kpī.

Person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV IRR die.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

M̄ nyé nīn-bání=∅ pū dītā=∅.

1SG see person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV=NEG.

"I've seen some people who don't eat." WK

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

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

PERS-NEG-run:IPFV-thing:SG TNS be FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only.

"Fears-nothing was his father's only child." KSS p35

Ba ya'a pu niḡ si'ela, o pu'usim dɔɔg la na lieb zaalim.

Bà yá' pū níḡ sī'elā=∅, ò pū'usim dɔɔg lā ná līeb zāalim.

3PL if NEG do INDEF.IN=NEG, 3AN worship house:SG ART IRR become emptiness.

"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 pō nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pɔ́á' Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG 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 NT2)

Ti pu bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bɔɔd yē dáɔ-kàŋā áaŋ_tì nà'abā=∅.

1PL NEG want that man-DEMST.SG be 1PL king:SG=NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

Mam pu tɛn'es ye o na keligi m pian'ade.

Mām pō tɛŋ'es yé ò nà kɛlɪgí_m pɪàn'adē=∅.

1SG NEG 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 pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

Lìn-zúg kà tì bāŋ yé ò pō yī Wínà'am sâ'an náa=∅.

So and 1PL realise that 3AN NEG emerge God with hither=NEG.

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." (Jn 9:16)

ka o lɛɛ pu baŋ ye li anɛ onɛ.

kà ò lɛɛ pō bāŋ yé lì à nē ŋnē=∅.

And 3AN but NEG realise that 3IN be FOC 3AN.CN=NEG.

"but she didn't realise it was him." (Jn 20:14)

Only VPs can be negated; constituent negation uses clefting or relative clauses:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógià-sō' kā'e n túm kà yóɔd ò mēŋá=∅.

Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.exist CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7 NT1)

Di len ka' fɔn yɛl si'el la zug, ka ti niŋ o yadda.

Lì lɛm ká' fún yɛl sī'el lā zúg kà tì níŋò=∅ yáddáa=∅.

3IN again NEG.be 2SG:NZ say INDF.IN ART on 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 banɛ ka' Kristo nidib la suŋir.

... kà zāŋ'as bānì=∅ ká' Kristo níðìb lā súŋìr.

... and refuse DEM.PL=NZ NEG.be Christ person:PL ART help:GER.

"... and refused the help of non-Christians." (3 Jn 1:7)

13.4 Independency

The VP of a main clause or content clause is marked as independent. The marking is absent in all subordinate clauses except content clauses. It is also absent in all clauses introduced by *coordinating* *kà*. The markers are primarily tonal, but there are associated segmental manifestations.

Independency **tone overlay** does not appear in negative polarity or irrealis mood, or if there is any preverbal particle with M toneme. Subverbs carry the overlay in place of the following verb.

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.)

Tone overlay in main clauses (with M spreading after *m̀*):

	M záb nâ'ab lâ.	"I've fought (zàb) the chief (nà'ab _a)."
	M gōs nâ'ab lâ.	"I've looked at (gōs) the chief."
	M sá zàb nâ'ab lâ.	"I fought the chief yesterday."
	M sá gōs nâ'ab lâ.	"I looked at the chief yesterday."
but	m̀ yá' zàb nâ'ab lâ ...	"If I fight the chief ..."
	m̀ yá' gōs nâ'ab lâ ...	"If I look at the chief ..."
	mán zàb nâ'ab lâ	"I having fought the chief ..."
	mán gōs nâ'ab lâ	"I having looked at the chief ..."
	Kà m̀ záb nâ'ab lâ.	"And I've fought the chief."
	Kà m̀ gōs nâ'ab lâ.	"And I've looked at the chief."
	M pū záb nâ'ab láa.	"I haven't fought the chief."
	M pū gōs nâ'ab láa.	"I haven't looked at the chief."
	M dāa záb nâ'ab lâ.	"I didn't fight the chief."
	M dāa gōs nâ'ab lâ.	"I didn't look at the chief."

Tones before liaison (b̀d̀g "lose", yād̀g' "scatter", =m_a "me", =ba "them"):

Intrinsic tones:	b̀d̀g̀= m _a	b̀d̀g̀d̀= m _a ' ipfv	b̀d̀g̀= b _a '
	yād̀g̀= m _a	yād̀g̀d̀= m _a ' ipfv	yād̀g̀= b _a '
With overlay:	b̀d̀g̀= m _a '	b̀d̀g̀d̀= m _a '	b̀d̀g̀= b _a
	yād̀g̀= m _a '	yād̀g̀d̀= m _a '	yād̀g̀= b _a

M kúud̀= b_a. "I kill them."
1SG kill:IPFV=3PL.

M̄ kúɔdɪ̀bà b̄ɔs.
1SG kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.

"I kill their goats."
M → H before fixed-L toneme

M spreading after bound subject pronouns is affected by independency marking. Bound subject pronouns are normally followed by M spreading despite their own fixed L tonemes: however, the *third* persons ò lì bà are never followed by M spreading when the following VP has independency marking. Thus

Kà m̄ záb nà'ab lā.
Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.
M̄ záb nâ'ab lā.

"And I've fought the chief."
"And he's fought the chief."
"I've fought the chief."

but Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.

"He's fought the chief."

Ò tɛ̃'ɛs kà ò zàb nâ'ab lā.
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He thinks he's fought the chief." WK

Ò yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

"He says he's fought the chief."

First and second persons are followed by M spreading unless the VP has independency marking *and* they are immediately preceded by yē "that":

Ò tɛ̃'ɛs kà m̄ záb nâ'ab lā.
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

"He thinks I've fought the chief."

but Ò yèl yé m̄ zàb nâ'ab lā.
3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

"He says I've fought the chief."

The distribution of M spreading after bound subject pronouns is not dependent on whether tone overlay is present:

Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅.
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"He will not fight the chief." (irrealis)

Ò yèl yé m̄ nà zāb nâ'ab lā.
3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.

"He says I'll fight the chief." (irrealis)

Ò lèɛ dāa záb nà'ab lā.
3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

"But he did fight the chief." (M particle)

Two **segmental** markers occur if the verb itself has tone overlay (including Pattern A verbs, which otherwise seem unaltered apart from following M spreading.)

The flexion $-m_a$ marks two-aspect-verb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gòsìm! "Look!"

Gòsìmī=ní=bā!
Look:IMP=2PLS=3PL! "Look (pl) at them!"

but Dā gōsē=∅!
NEG.IMP look=NEG! "Don't look!"

Kèl kà ò gōs!
Let:IMP and 3AN look! "Let her look!"

Dòllī=ní=bā!
Go.with=2PLS=3PL! "Go (pl) with them!" (one-aspect verb)

The particle $yā$ follows any VP-final pfv carrying the tone overlay:

Ò sà gòs yā.
3AN TNS look PFV. "She looked."

M̃ tēŋ'ēs kà ò gòs yā.
1SG think and 3AN look PFV. "I think she's looked."

but Ò pū gōsē.
Ò nà gōs.
Ò dāa gōs.
Kà ò gōs.
"He's not looked."
"She'll look."
"He looked."
"And he looked."

Ò gòsī=m.
Ò gìm.
Ò nòŋ.
"He's looked at me." (not VP-final)
"She's short." (ipfv)
"She loves [him.]" (ipfv) WK

$Yā$ remains M before the negative clitic, becoming L before interrogative clitics, unaffected by M spreading. This unique tonal behaviour may reflect an origin as a flexion, cognate with the pfv $-ra$ of one Nawdm conjugation.

Lì bòdìg néε?
Lì bòdìg yàa?
"Is it lost?" (focus-nē´)
"Has it got lost?"

13.5 Subverbs

Subverbs follow all other preverbal particles. They behave as Pattern A verbs tonally; both the independency-marking tone overlay and the toneme shift after irrealis *nà/kù* fall on the subverb and leave the following verb unaffected.

Pòn "previously, already":

Ò pòn záb nà'ab lā. "He's already fought the chief."
 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Kà ò pún zàb nà'ab lā. "And he's already fought the chief."
 And 3AN already fight chief:SG ART.

Yà' pòn means "even if":

Li ya'a pòn du'a, saam na dii li.
 Lì yá' pòn dṽà', sáam ná dī=lí.
 3IN if already bear, stranger:PL IRR eat=3IN.
 "Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." (Hos 8:7)

Lèm "again" (cf *lèb* "return"); *pō lém* with the ipfv is "no longer."

M nīf lém zàbìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
 1SG eye:SG again fight:IPFV FOC.

M nīf pō lém zàbìdā=∅. "My eye is not hurting any more."
 1SG eye:SG NEG again fight:IPFV=NEG.

Ò nà lēm záb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."
 3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Là'am "together" (cf *là'as* "gather"); as a main verb *là'am* is "associate with."

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.
 kà nīdīb wūsā dá là'am kpi nó=∅.
 and person:PL all TNS together die with=3AN.
 "so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

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'əm. (Acts 13:11 NT2: KB *Ka o kpen zu'om.*)
 And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpen vœ. "My child Joseph is still alive." (Gn 45:28)
 ò bīig Josef nám kpen vōē.
 1SG child:SG Joseph still still live.

Dèṅìm "beforehand" (cf dèṅ "go/do first": ò dèṅī=f "I've got there before you";
 dèṅ is used with the same meaning in n-catenation.)

Pin'ilugun sa ka Pian'ad la da pòn dèṅim bæ.
 Pīṅ'ilúgū=n sá kà Pjàṅ'ad lā dá pòn dèṅim bè.
 Beginning:SG=LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already before 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 pjàṅ'ad lā kú mālìgīm gáadē=∅.
 But 1SG.CN speech ART NEG.IRR again pass=NEG.
 "But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

Tì "once, until"; "before" when the next VP is perfective.

hali ka Herod ti kpi. "until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)
 hālí kà Herod tí kpi.
 until and Herod once die.

Kè̀m_∅ tí ṅyē dú'atà. "Go to see the doctor." SB
 Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Bεogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!
 Bēogú=∅ tì nìəd lā kà bà gâad!
 Morning=NZ once appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.
 "Before morning appears they have passed!" (Is 17:14)

13.6 Complements and adjuncts

Indirect objects precede direct, which precede predicative complements; adjuncts, of which there may be several, follow all complements. All clause-final adjuncts belong to the VP; clause-level adjuncts precede the subject.

M̀ dāa d́úsò=∅ sā'ab d́-kàṅā lā púṅṅū=n.
 1SG TNS feed=3AN porridge hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
 "I fed her porridge in that hut."

13.6.1 Objects

Some transitive verbs, including all transitive one-aspect verbs, *require* a direct object: if none appears, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied. An overt object is needed to avoid this implication with such verbs:

Mid ka ya kᵛ nid. "Do not kill." (Ex 20:13)
 M̀it kà yà kᵛ nīd.
 NEG.IMP.let and 2PL kill person:SG.

In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

- Q. F̀ù mór gbāṅṅ lāa=∅? "Do you have the letter?"
 2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?
- A. Ēḗṅ, m̀ mór. "Yes, I have it."
 Yes, 1SG have.

Other verbs appear with and without objects, with no change in the role of the subject, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent. Such objects are not adjuncts, because they can be transferred to subject position (see below):

kel ka ba nu ku'om "let them drink water" (Gn 29:7)
 k̀èl kà bà nū k̀u'əm
 let:IMP and 3PL drink water

K̀elli ka ti di ka nu "Let us eat and drink" (1 Cor 15:32)
 K̀èl=∅ kà tì dí kà nū
 Let:IMP=2PLS and 1PL eat and drink

Transitive dynamic verbs can be used intransitively with the object transferred to subject position and agent unmentioned.

Dāam lā nú yā. "The beer has got drunk."
Beer ART drink PFV.

M̄ náa tūmā lā. "I've finished the work."
1SG finish work ART.

Tūmā lā náa nē. "The work is finished."
Work ART finish FOC.

Gbàṽṽ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Ipfv aspect is felicitous along with adjuncts of time or manner:

Gbàṽṽ sóbìd zíná. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṽṽ lā sóbìd súḡā. "The letter is writing easily." WK
Letter:SG ART write:IPFV well.

As always, progressive-sense ipfv is restricted to cases where the subject is undergoing a change of state or moving without external agency, as with e.g. yò "close", nāe' "finish", bòdìḡ "get lost", m̄'e' "cool down", dūe' "rise."

When parts of the subject's own body appear as objects, intransitive verbs are often preferred to transitive:

Ka o nie o mēḡ Jemes san'an ...
Kà ò níe ò mēḡ Jemes sâ'an ...
And 3AN appear 3AN self James among ...
And he revealed himself to James (1 Cor 15:7; not n̄eɪ "reveal")

Dìḡnīm fù nû'ug. "Put your hand down."
Lie:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Lìḡnīm fù nīf né fù nû'ug. "Cover your eye with your hand."
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

Some verbs only take direct objects of very limited types, often nouns from the same stem, e.g. zàṽṽsìm zàṽṽsìmà "dream dreams" (Acts 2:17) or

Fù tùm bó-tùumà=ø? "What work do you do?" SB
 2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

Kusaal often uses a manner pronoun as an object instead of a pronoun with abstract reference:

Dā níjì-àláa=ø! "Don't do that!" ("thus")
 NEG.IMP do thus=NEG.

Fù wum ban yet si'em laa? "Do you hear what they are saying?"
 Fù wúm bán yèt sī'əm láa=ø? (Mt 21:16)
 2SG hear:IPFV 3PL:NZ say:IPFV how ART=PQ?

Almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc:

Ò dùgū=m. "He cooked (for) me."
 3AN COOK=1SG.

Lì màlīsī=m. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
 3IN be.sweet=1SG.

Àláafù béε=bá. "They are well."
 Health exist=3PL. ("Health exists for them.")

It is not possible to transfer indirect objects to the subject position.

Some verbs *require* an indirect object, which cannot be ellipted unless any direct object is too, with a necessarily anaphoric sense; tìs "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like dùs "feed", nūlōs' "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.

Dā tísò=ø sī'əlā=ø. "Don't give him anything!"
 NEG.IMP give=3AN INDF.IN=NEG. (not *Dā tís sī'əlā.)

Dā tísē=ø! "Don't give it to him!"
 NEG.IMP give=NEG.

Many idioms employ a fixed generic direct object after an indirect object, e.g. *kàd X sàríyà* "judge X", *mōr X nīn-báalìg* or *zò X nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìg X yàddā* "believe X, believe in X", *zò X dàbīəm* "fear X"; similarly, *nû'ug_b* "hand" is used generically in *ḡwè' X nû'ug* "plead with X."

m na ke ka fu dataas la nwe'ef nu'ug.
ḡn ná ké kà fù dàtāas lā ḡwé'ε=f nû'ug.
 1SG IRR let and 2SG enemy:PL ART hit=2SG hand:SG.
 "I will make your enemies plead with you." (Jer 15:11)

13.6.2 Predicatives

Several verbs take predicative complements, notably *àḡḡya* "be something" and its negative *kā'ḡ*. *Àḡḡ* and *kā'ḡ* become *àḡ* and *kā'* except when VP-final. In *ascriptive* uses focus-*nē'* follows when syntactically permitted §15.1, and *àḡ* becomes *à*.

Omission of a predicative complement implies anaphora:

Mānī_ø áḡ dú'atà kà fūn mén áḡḡ.
 1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also be.
 "I'm a doctor and you are too."

Adjectives lacking cognate stative verbs may appear as predicative NP heads:

Mam anε **pielug** amaa m ya'a paaε bugumin asεε ka m lεb **zin'a**.
Mām á nē píəlòg àmāa ḡn yá' pāe búgúmī=n, àsέε kà ḡn léb zìḡ'a.
 1SG be 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] (BN p16)

Bà à nē píəlà. "They're white."

Compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *būn-* "thing" + adjective are commoner. They are required with adjectives preceding dependent pronouns:

Lì à nē būn-píəl-kàḡā. "It is this white one."

Àḡḡya uses derived manner nouns instead, where they exist:

Lì à nē būgusígā. "It's soft."
Lì à nē zāalím. "It's empty."
Lì àḡ sùḡā. "It's good."

Pùd "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head yō'ur' "name", and the name itself as predicative complement, optionally introduced by yē.

Ka fu na pùd o yu'ur ye Yesu. "And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)
 Kà fù ná pùd ò yō'ur yē Yesu.
 And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

Ka o pùd biig la yu'ur Yesu. "And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)
 Kà ò pùd bīig lā yō'ur Yesu.
 And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

Bùəl "call" can be used in the ipfv with a person as object and name as complement, optionally introduced by yē, or with yō'ur' "name" as the subject:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la "who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)
 òn kà bà bùən yē Pita lā
 DEM.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

dau sɔ' ka o yu'ur buon Joon.
 dàu-sɔ' kà ò yō'ur bùən Joon.
 man-INDF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.
 "a man called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal "make" is used with object and a predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meṅ nintita'ar. "He made himself out to be a great man."
 Kà ò màal ò mēṅ nīn-títā'ar. (Acts 8:9 NT1)
 And 3AN make 3AN self person-big:SG.

Certain ideophones are characteristically used as predicative complements, e.g. sāpīn' "straight", nyāēn' "brightly, clearly", nà'anā' "easily":

ka pū nyanjidi duodi o meṅi zi'e sappinε.
 kà pū nyāṅídì_ø dūədí_ò mēṅī_ø zí'e sāpīné=ø.
 and NEG prevail:IPFV CAT rise:IPFV 3AN self CAT stand IDEO=NEG.
 "and was not able to rise and stand straight." (Lk 13:11)

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la
 màalim suā-dâug sāpī mɔɔgū=n lā
 make:IMP road-male:SG IDEO grass:SG=LOC ART
 "Make straight the high road in the wilderness" (Is 40:3)

Wina'am a su'um nyain. "God is light." (1 Jn 1:5 NT2)
 Wínà'am áη s'úm nyāe.
 God be goodness brightly.

... ke ka ti lieb nyain. "... make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)
 ... ké kà tì líəb nyāe.
 ... let and 1PL become brightly.

Lì à nē ná'anā. "It's easy."
 3IN be FOC easily.

13.6.3 Adjunct noun phrases

VP adjuncts may be NPs (including absolute clauses), prepositional phrases, or purpose clauses. Single words used as adjuncts typically belong to specialised subtypes; some are pronouns, some have distinctive structures unlike normal nouns, and some cannot occur with any dependents. Nevertheless, NPs typically found as VP adjunct "adverbial" phrases may also occur as NP predependents, as complements of àḗya "be", as objects, and in appropriate circumstances even as subjects:

Zíná à nē dá'a. "Today is market."
 Today be FOC market:sg.

Kristo da kpii ti yela la ke ka ti baη nōηilim an si'em.
 Kristo=∅ dà kpii_tì yēlá lā ké kà tì bāη nōηílím=∅ àη sī'əm.
 Christ=NZ TNS die 1PL about ART let and 1PL realise love=NZ be how.
 "Christ having died for us makes us understand what love is like." (1 Jn 3:16)

Yiη venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.
 Yiη véηl kà pōogō=n kâ' s'umm=∅.
 Outside be.beautiful and inside:sg=loc neg.be goodness=NEG.
 "Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3 NT2)

man ten'es si'em la ku viigε.
 mán tēη'es sī'əm lā kú viigé=∅.
 1SG:NZ think how ART NEG.IRR postpone=NEG.
 "What [how] I have planned will not be postponed." (Is 14:24)

Sòηā bé. "OK it is." (WK)
 Well exist.

Some **time** NPs are single words which cannot take dependents: besides pronouns like *nānná(-nā´)* "now", these include *zīnā* "today", *sù'əs_a* "yesterday", *bēog_b* "tomorrow", *dūnnā* "this year", *dāar* "two days ago/two days hence" (distinct from *dāar* "day", see below), *bēog sá/bēog dāar* "in future", *bēogū=n´* "morning", *bèkèkèoṅg_b* "very early morning", *àsùbá* "dawn." These should perhaps also be regarded as demonstrative pronouns (CGEL p429.)

Other time adjuncts are simply NPs, e.g. *zàam* "evening", *yú'ʊṅ_b* "night", *wìn-līir/wìn-kòcṅr* "sunset", *nīntāṅ_a´* "heat of the day", *dābá àyóṗḍe* or *bákpàe* "week", *ṅwādīg_a´* "moon, month", *sēoṅg_b* "rainy season", *úṅn_n* "dry season", *sāpál_l* "Harmattan", *dàwàlìg_a* "hot humid time before the rains", *yùṅn_n* "year", *ṅwād-kánì gàad lā* "last month", *ṅwād-kánì kēn nā lā* "next month." *ṅwà* "this" is common in such NPs: *zàam ṅwá* "this evening", *yú'ʊṅ ṅwá* "tonight."

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: *kárfà àtán'* "three o'clock", *kárfèe ukù*.

"Time" in general is *sāṅá pl sānsá cb sān-*:

<i>sān-kánè?</i>	"when?"	<i>sān-kán lā</i>	"at that time"
<i>sāṅá kám</i>	"all the time"	<i>sāṅá bèḍugū</i>	"a long time"
<i>sānsá bèḍugū</i>	"many times"	<i>sāṅá bī'elá</i>	"for/in a short time"

The nouns *dāar* "day" and *wìn_n* "time of day" always have either a preceding determiner or a following quantifier, demonstrative, or adnominal *kà*-catenation. Note *dāar wūsā/wūṅ*, *dāar mé-kàmà* "every day."

A common idiom appears in *yuum anwana win* "this time next year" (Gn 17:21), *daar anwa win* "this time the day after tomorrow" (1 Sm 20:12.)

Dāar is "day, date." It is *required* after weekday names: *Áláasìd dāar* "Sunday." The presence of *dāar* may distinguish a point in time from a span of time:

<i>Dābá àyóṗḍe dāar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back in a week."
<i>Tì kpélìm ànínā dábìsà bī'elá.</i>	"We stayed there a few days."

The irregular pl *dābā* is used exclusively before numbers with the prefix *à-* and *àlá* "how many?", with *cb dà-* (KB *dab*) before *pīgā pī* "ten", *pīsí pīs* "twenty." The pl of *dábìsìr* "twenty-four hour period" is also possible here, but less common.

NPs used as **manner** adjuncts again include pronouns like *wēlá* "how?" along with **manner nouns**, which cannot take dependents, and may show apocope-blocking and/or prefixed *à-*; many are formed from adjective stems with the suffixes *mm/ga*. *Tò'ctō´* "straight away" is a reduplicated root. *Yà'as/yà'as_a* "again" arose from *n*-catenation (cf Gal 1:9 NT2: *ka m lem yeti ya'as ...* "and I say again ...") but is now simply an adjunct: *Ya'as ka m gos ...* "Again I looked ..." (Rv 5:11 NT1.)

"Expressive" ideophones behave as manner adjuncts:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb.

"It [rabbit] is running lollop-lollop." WK

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: zīḡ'ig zīḡ'ig "place by place", dàbìsìr dàbìsìr "day by day", ànāas nāas "four by four."

Reduplication of manner nouns is intensifying: àsíðà síðà or àmēḡá mēḡá "very truly."

Ḥ wúm Kūsāal bī'əlá.
1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

"I know Kusaal a little."

Ḥ wúm bī'əl bī'əl.
1SG hear:IPFV little little.

"I understand it a very little."

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

Ḥ kēj nōbá.
1SG go leg:PL.

"I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to Ḥ kēj nē nōbá (nē "with")

A prepositional phrase parallels a formal plural used as a manner noun in

À-ḡyē nē nīf sóḡ'ḡ À-wòm túbà.
PERS-see with eye:SG surpass PERS-hear ear:PL.

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" §12.6.1. Some other quantifiers are frequently used as manner adjuncts.

Ò tòm bédugū/pāmm.

"She's worked a lot."

Bà gòsī=tí bédugū.

"They've looked at us a lot." WK

Bà gòsì tì bédugū.

"They've looked at a lot of us." WK

Bà gòsī=tí bábìgā.

"They've looked at us many times." WK

Bà gòsì tì bábìgā.

"They've looked at many of us." WK

Others may float from verb object to VP adjunct position:

Bà gòsī=tí wōsā.
3PL look=1PL all.

"They've looked at us all/all of us." WK
(for Bà gòsì tì wōsā.)

NPs used as **place** adjuncts consist of pronouns like *kpē* "here", specialised words like *yìŋ_a* "outside", *dàtìŋ_o/dìtúŋ_o* "right", *dàgòbìg_a* "left", *àgólì/àgōlá* "upwards", *lāllí* "far off", Kusaasi place names, or NPs followed by postpositions.

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

Ò bè Bók.	"He's in Bawku." ILK
M ná kēŋ Bók.	"I'm going to Bawku."
Fù yúug Bók kpēláa?	"Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"
Fù yúug Bókàa? SB	(rejected by WK as "Mooré")

My informants treat foreign places names similarly, but KB often uses *nī'* or paraphrases like Jerusalem *téŋī = n* "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

Place NPs after verbs are adjuncts rather than complements:

Ò kēŋ Bók. 3AN go Bawku.	"She's gone to Bawku."
Ò pū tūŋ'ə_ ø kēnná = ø. 3AN NEG be.able CAT go:IPFV = NEG.	"She can't walk."
Ò dīgìl gbáŋŋ lā téebùl lā zúg. 3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.	"She's put the book on the table."
Ò dīgìl gbáŋŋ lā. 3AN lay book:SG ART.	"She's put the book down."
Ka o paae zin'igin la. Kà ò pāe zīŋ'igī = n lā. And 3AN reach place:SG = LOC ART.	"And he reached the place." (Lk 22:40)
li sanga sid paae ya. lì sāŋá sùd pàe yā. 3IN time:SG truly arrive PFV.	"Its time has surely arrived." (Ps 102:13)
Dāŋ lā bé nē d-ò-kàŋā lā púugū = n. Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEMST:SG ART inside:SG = LOC. "The man is inside that hut."	
Dàŋ-s-ō' bé kpēlá. Man-INDF.AN exist here.	"There's a man here."

13.6.4 Prepositional phrases

There are two prepositions: *nē* "with" (accompanying and instrumental) and *wōu* "like." They precede NPs, including nominalised clauses. Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated.

Nē may take bound personal pronouns as complements (WK, SB):

<i>ní=m_a</i>	<i>ní=f_o</i>	<i>nó=o</i>	<i>ní=lī' /né lī</i>
<i>ní=tī' /né tī</i>	<i>ní=yā' /né yā</i>	<i>ní=bā' /né bà</i>	

Written *ne o* is usually read [nō] in the NT2 audio.

For pronoun complements of *wōu* WK has

<i>wōu mān</i>	<i>wōu fōn</i>	<i>wōu ōn</i>	<i>wóu lī</i>
<i>wóu tī</i>	<i>wóu yā</i>	<i>wóu bà</i>	

Complements of *wōu* without the article *lā'* are followed by an empty *nē*, unless they are numbers (meaning "about") or interrogative pronouns.

<i>wōu mān nē</i>	"like me"	<i>wōu búŋ nē</i>	"like a donkey"
<i>wōu tūsá àyí'</i>	"about 2000"	<i>wōu bó?</i>	"like what?"

Prepositional phrases most often appear as VP adjuncts:

Lìgíním fò nīf né fò nū'ug. "Cover your eye with your hand."
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

Bà kèŋ nē nōbá. "They've gone on foot." WK
3PL go with leg:PL.

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tū'as nē Wīnné=∅.
Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG=NEG.
"Eat with God, don't talk with God."

Kulim nē sumbugusum. "Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)
Kùlīm nē sūŋ-búgusìm.
Go.home:IMP with peace.

M gégé' né fò. "I'm angry with you." SB
1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

Alazugo mōri ya'am wūu wiigi nē...

Àlá zùgō, mōrī=∅ yā'am wūu wīgí nē...

Therefore, have=2PLS sense like snake:PL like...

"Therefore, be wise as serpents ..." (Mt 10:16)

WK permits adjuncts introduced by wūu, but not nē, to be preposed with kà:

Wūu búŋ nē kà ò zòt. "Like a donkey, he runs."

Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

Là'am nē "together with" before an absolute clause means "although."

Relative clauses with sī'əm "how" are common as complements of wūu:

Ò zòt wūu búŋl=∅ zòt sī'əm lā.

3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG=NZ run:IPFV how ART.

"He runs like a donkey runs."

Wūu may also take a content-clause complement:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wūu ya anē m biis nē.

M pǎn'adī ∅ tísídī=yá wūu yà á nē m bīs nē.

1SG speak:IPFV CAT give:IPFV=2PL like 2PL be FOC 1SG child:PL like.

"I talk to you as if you were my children." (2 Cor 6:13)

Certain verbs take prepositional phrases as complements.

Wēn_{na}' "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with nē or wūu; in either case the complement is followed by empty nē in the same circumstance as wūu:

M nwene danuud nē.

"I am like a beer-drinker." (Jer 23:9)

M wén nē dā-nūud nē.

1SG be.like with beer-drinker:SG like.

Lāl_{la}' "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by nē:

Amaa o pu lal nē tii.

"But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)

Àmáa ò pū lāl nē tīl=∅.

But 3SG NEG be.far with 1PL=NEG.

Dōl_{la}' "go with" with the preposition nē means "be in accordance with":

Li dólne lin sǒb Wina'am gbaug̃on si'em la ye ...
 Lì dǒl nē lín sǒb Wínà'am gbáug̃ō=n sī'əm lā yē ...
 3IN go.with with 3IN:NZ write God book:SG=LOC how ART that ...
 "This is in accordance with what is written in God's book ..." (1 Cor 2:16)

NĒ following a verb is usually focus-nĒ´ rather than the preposition. Thus M̃ yí nē Bók "I come from Bawku" SB but *Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala" (Mk 16:9 NT2), because focus-nĒ´ cannot be used in nominalised clauses.

13.6.5 Clauses

Relative clauses can take all kinds of NP role; absolute clauses appear as complements but most often as adjuncts. KĒ "let" and mīt "let not" take kà-catenation complements; kà-catenations also appear as predicative complements. Verbs expressing necessity, permission, intent or expectation take purpose-clause complements; in other cases, purpose clauses appear as adjuncts. Verbs of cognition, perception and communication may take as complements content clauses, relative clauses with sī'əm, absolute clauses, or a postpositional construction with yēlá "about." Àę̃ya "be" may take a content-clause as a predicative complement:

M diib ane ye m tum one tumi m la na bɔɔdim naae.
 M̃ dīb á nē yé ñ tùm ònì=∅ tùmì=m lā nā bɔɔdìm_∅ nāe.
 1SG food be FOC that 1SG work DEM.AN=NZ send=1SG ART hither will CAT finish.
 "My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." (Jn 4:34)

13.7 Final particles

Nā´ "hither" and sà "hence" (of time, "since") follow all complement and adjunct NPs, but precede non-nominalised subordinate clauses:

M̃ mór kù'əm náa=∅? "Shall I bring water?" SB
 1SG have water hither=PQ?

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=∅?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

O tumne beogun sa. "She's been working since morning."
 Ò tùm nē bēog̃ō=n sá. (Ru 2:7)
 3AN work:IPFV FOC morning hence.

but Kèm nā n gōs! "Come and look!" SB
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
 Kà zùuṅd dá sīg nā yé bà dí nī'm lā.
 And vulture:PL TNS descend hither that 3PL eat meat:SG ART.
 "Vultures came down to eat the meat." (Gn 15:11)

Kēṅ "come" is always used with nā'; the identical SF imperatives of kēṅ "come" and kēṅ' "go" are distinguished by nā'/sà: Kèm nā! "Come here!", Kèm sá! "Go away!"
 Nā' and sà may follow or precede lā' ending nominalised clauses containing them. They can also follow gerunds, and may again follow the article:

dunia kanε ken la na "the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)
 dūniyá-kànì=∅ kēn lā nā
 world-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV ART hither

ṅwādīg-kánì=∅ kēn nā lā "next month" SB
 month-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV hither ART

Ninsaal Biig la lεbug la na
 Nīn-sāal Bīg lā lēbùg lā nā
 Human:SG child:SG ART return:GER ART hither
 "the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

14 Clauses

Typical clauses show a subject NP followed by a VP. Kusaal is SVO; deviations imply preposing or dislocation. Any nominaliser particles (=ñ or yà') immediately follow subjects; the clause-linkers kà "and", yē "that" and catenating 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.

A clause is clearly subordinate if it separates main clause constituents:

ka p̄ nar ka ba buolim ye T̄omt̄omma.
 kà p̄ nár kà bà búə̀l̄=m yē T̄óm-t̄ōmmā=∅.
 and NEG must and 3PL call=1SG that worker:SG=NEG.
 "and I ought not to be called an apostle" (1 Cor 15:9)

Other criteria for subordination do not always neatly align. In principle, independency marking §13.4 marks clauses as non-subordinate; however, main clauses retain the marking when downranked to content clause status, while main clauses preceded by *coordinating* kà "and" lack independency marking.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main	without kà	with kà
complementised	yē/kà content	yē/kà purpose
catenated		n/kà catenation
nominalised		=ñ absolute/relative yà' conditional protasis

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' n̄ o ma p̄ baŋ ye o kp̄elim yaa.
 Kà ò bā' n̄ è m̄ p̄ bāŋ yé ò kp̄èl̄m yāa=∅.
 and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG 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 ellipit 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*:

On ka' sida sɔba, nɛ on tɔm tɔmbɛ'ed sieba la zug, o na kp̄i.
 Ón k̄ā' sídà s̄óbā, nē ón tùm tùm-bè'ed-sīəbā lā zúg,
 3AN:NZ NEG.be truth NULL.AN=NEG, with 3AN:NZ work work-bad-INDF.PL ART on,
 ò nà kp̄i.
 3AN IRR die.
 "He will die because he is not truthful, and because of the sins he has committed." (Ez 18:24)

Subordinate clauses can be freely nested. Any non-nominalised subordinate clause following another is subordinate to that clause, not to the main clause.

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug
 b̄án mī' yē b̄iig lā kp̄i nē lā zúg
 3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART on
 "because they knew the child was dead" (Lk 8:53) [Content within nominalised]

M p̄u b̄ɔɔd [ye f̄u ti yel b̄ɛog daar [ye f̄ɔnɛ k̄e [ka mam Abram lieb b̄umm̄ɔra.]]]
 M̄ p̄ū b̄ɔɔd yé f̄ù tí yèl b̄ɛog d̄āar yē
 1SG NEG want that 2SG once say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that
 f̄ūn̄_ø k̄é k̄à m̄ām Abram l̄iəb b̄ūn-m̄órá=ø.
 2SG.CN CAT let and 1SG Abram become thing-haver:SG=NEG.
 "I do not want you in future saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich." (Gn 14:23) [Catenated within content within purpose]

A clause normally requires a subject NP. Impersonal constructions use *lì*:

Lì t̄ùl. "It [weather] is hot."
 3IN be.hot.

Lì àŋ s̄úŋā. "Things are good."
 3IN be well.

Lì n̄àr k̄à f̄ù k̄ūl. "It's necessary for you to go home."
 3IN must and 2SG go.home.

Lì may be omitted in yà'-clauses:

Yà'a ka'anε alaa, m naan ku yeline ya ye ...

Yà' kâ'a=ní_àláa=∅, m nāan kú yēlī=ní=yā yē ...

If NEG.be=DP thus=NEG, 1SG then NEG.IRR say=DP=2PL that...

"If it were not so, I would not have told you that ..." (Jn 14:2)

Zi'isige "not know" appears without a subject in the meaning "unbeknownst."

Subject pronouns are always ellipted after catenating n. Except in content clauses, they are regularly ellipted after kà when coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause; M spreading then follows kà. Conversations may be reported Kà ò yél ... kà ò yél ..., each ò marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness:

Pṽā' lā dá' dāká kà kēŋ Bók.

Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

but Pṽā' lā dá' dāká kà ò kēŋ Bók.

Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.

"The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wòm nε'εŋa la ka sin.

Bán wòm nē'εŋā lá kà sīn.

3PL:NZ hear DEMST.IN ART and be.silent.

"After they heard this they fell silent." (Acts 11:18)

See §14.1.2 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; meaning is unaffected. Ellipsis may become standardised in greetings or proverbs. M spreading after ellipted pronouns remains:

Náe yàa=∅?

Finish PFV=PQ?

"[Have you] finished?"

14.1 Main

Main clauses show structural possibilities shared only with content clauses. They show independency marking unless they are introduced by *kà*. They may be statements (the unmarked default), questions or commands; some types lack VPs. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kūu* "or", *bēε* "or"; here *kūu* and *bēε* are synonymous. With *lèε* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English *zero*.

Clause adjuncts precede the subject position. They appear only in main and content clauses, although the preposition *wōu* "like" may take a content clause as complement, and the focusing modifier *hālí* may not only appear in the prelinker adjunct slot of main clauses but can also precede catenating n §15.2. The position of the negative clitic shows that the clause after *àsέε* is not subordinate in

M kv basif ka fv keŋε aσεε ka fv niŋi m zug bareka.

M̄ kú bāsí=f kà fù kēŋé=∅ àsέε kà fù níŋì_̀m̄ zūg bárúkà.

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>kūu</i>	"or"	<i>bēε</i>	"or"
<i>dìn/lìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"	<i>àlá zùgō</i>	"thus"
<i>bō zúgō</i>	"because"		

Bō zúgō may also appear *after* an absolute clause, like *zūgō*´ alone.

Prelinker adjuncts precede any linkers.

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>àsέε</i>	"unless"
<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"		

Wina'am daa pu gaŋi ti ye ti t̄um dian'ad t̄uma, **amaa ye** ti be nyain.

Wínà'am dāa pū gāŋí=tī yé tì t̄úm dīā'ad t̄umāa=∅,

God TNS NEG choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

àmáa yé tì bé ŋyāe.

but that 1PL exist brightly.

"God did not choose us to act impurely, but to live purely." (1 Thes 4:7)

Ka sieba la' o. **Amaa ka** sieba yeŋ ye ...

Kà sīābā lá'o=∅. Àmáa kà sīābā yél yē ...

And INDF.PL laugh=3AN. But and INDF.PL say that...

"Some laughed at him, but others said..." (Acts 17:32)

By ellipsis of shared clause elements, àséε is found before NPs as "except":

Sɔ' kae an sɔ'ʊm aσεε Wina'am gullim.

Sɔ' kã'e_ ø áη sù'm=ø àséε Wínà'am gúllimm.

INDF.AN NEG.EXIST CAT be goodness=NEG unless God only.

"No-one is good except God alone." (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 lood noor ya'ase?

Àmáa ́n sãdígím ḱpí lã, bɔ̀ kà òm lém lɔ̀ɔd nɔ̀ɔr yá'asè=ø?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=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 ..." §14.1.3, sãdígím-clauses §14.3.1, bēogó "tomorrow" and dāa-sí'ērē "perhaps." Yà'-clauses only appear after main clauses by dislocation. Any time, circumstance, or reason NP *may* appear as a postlinker adjunct, including ðìn/lìn zúg "therefore", ò nyá'aη "afterward", lín à sī'əm lã "as things stand", àsīdā "truly" and absolute clauses.

Any adjunct may be placed before the subject by preposing §15.4, so time, circumstance or reason NPs may occur before the subject alone, preceded by kà, followed by kà, or both preceded *and* followed by kà; however, manner or place adjuncts can *only* precede by preposing: *Mɔ̀ɔgú=n mām bé was corrected by WK to

Mɔ̀ɔgú=n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN exist.

In KB ðìn/lìn zúg "therefore" is a preposed VP adjunct in 177/371 cases. Constructions without kà probably arose by ðìn/lìn zúg encroaching on the role of ðìn/lìn zúgɔ, because kà ðìn/lìn zúg is usually *followed* by kà.

Bɔ̀ zúg without -ɔ appears in KB only as preposed bɔ̀ zúg kà ...? "why ...?":

Bɔ̀zug ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Hg 1:9)

Bɔ̀ zúg kà ò áaη_àlá=ø?

What on and 3IN be thus=CQ?

14.1.1 Questions

Content questions (except those with *līa* §14.1.4) contain an interrogative pronoun; the final word of the question appears as a LF with a tone perturbation due to the following content-question prosodic clitic §4.4. Focus-*nḗ* cannot appear.

There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be n-focused §15.1, and non-subjects are very often preposed §15.4. Preposing is obligatory for *bṓ zúg*, "why?" and for *bṓ* when used for "why?"

Fù bṓɔd bó=ø? 2SG want what=CQ?	"What do you want?"
Fù bṓɔd línè=ø? 2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?	"Which do you want?"
Dāy lā nyé àn'ɔnè=ø? Man:SG ART see who=CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"
Bɔɔ maale? Bṓ_ ø máalè=ø? What CAT make=CQ?	"What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)
Àn'ɔnì_ø nyē bígà=ø? Who CAT see child:SG=CQ?	"Who has seen a child?"
Àn'ɔn bígì_ø n̄wà=ø? Who child:SG CAT this=CQ?	"Whose child is this?"
Àn'ɔn kà dāy lā nyéε=ø? Who and man:SG ART see=CQ?	"Whom did the man see?"
Bó kà fù kúmmà=ø? What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?	"Why are you crying?"

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. *Nḗ* appears as in statements. Questions of this type expect agreement.

Dāy lā nyé bígàa=ø? Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?	"Has the man seen a child?"
--	-----------------------------

M̄ á nē dáùv=ø?	"Am I a man?"
1SG be FOC man:SG=PQ?	
Bà kùud nē búvèè=ø?	"Are they killing goats?"
3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?	
F̀ p̄ wúmmàa=ø=ø?	"Don't you understand?"
2SG NEG hear:IPFV=NEG=PQ?	(expects ēη, here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either βέε "or" (expecting disagreement) or κύv "or" (expecting agreement; rare in KB):

Dāv lā nyé bīg kúv=ø?	"Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?	(I expect so.)
Dāv lā nyé bīg βέε=ø?	"Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?	(I expect not.)

14.1.2 Commands

For indirect commands, see §14.4. In direct commands the subject is 2nd person: 2sg pronouns are deleted, and 2pl moved to immediately after the verb, assuming the liaison-word form =ya. Thus

F̀ ḡs bīg lā.	"You (sg) have looked at the child."
2SG look child:SG ART.	
Yà ḡs bīg lā.	"You (pl) have looked at the child."
2PL look child:SG ART.	
but G̀s̀m̄ bīg lā!	"Look (sg) at the child!"
Look:IMP child:SG ART!	
G̀s̀m̄=ø bīg lā!	"Look (pl) at the child!"
Look:IMP=2PLS child:SG ART!	
Dā ḡs bīg lāa=ø!	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
NEG.IMP look child:SG ART=NEG!	
Dā ḡs̄=ø bīg lāa=ø!	"Don't (pl) look down!"
NEG.IMP look=2PLS child:SG ART=NEG!	

Dā gōsē=∅! "Don't (sg) look."
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Dā gōsī=yá=∅! "Don't (pl) look."
NEG.IMP look=2PLS=NEG!

2sg/2pl subject pronouns are not changed after postlinker adjuncts, or in direct commands within content clauses:

Fū ya'a mōr pu'a, fūn da mōd ye fū bas oo.
Fū yá' mōr puā', fūn dā mōd yé fū básō=o=∅.
2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG.CN NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=NEG.
"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

kà sják yé fū tìkìm nū'ug "and agreed that you sign" (Dn 6:7)
and agree that 2SG press:IMP hand:SG

Some speakers use =ya after *all* imperatives with pl subjects:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsimī=∅ tēñī=n. "He said to them: Look down!"
3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PLS down

Kēmī=∅ nā n gōsī=∅! "Come (pl) and look!"
Come:IMP=2PLS hither CAT look=2PLS! (WK Kēmī 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:

Gòsimī=yá! "Look (pl)!"

14.1.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a yà'-clause protasis as postlinker adjunct, after any other adjuncts. The main clause can a statement, command or question.

Fū yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà fū nyētá=∅?
2SG if look here, what and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
"If you look here, what do you see?" SB

Yà'-clauses cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause:

Ka ligidi la ya'a pò'og, m ya'a ti lèb na, m na yooƿ.

Kà līgīdī lā yá' pò'og, m̄ yá' tì lèb nā, m̄ 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 form:

Fu ya'a m̄r pu'a, f̄n da m̄ɔd ye fu bas oo.

Fù yá' m̄r p̄ā', f̄n dā m̄ɔd yé fù básō=o=∅.

2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG.CN 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:

Dinzuɡ li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaŋaa.

Dìn-zúɡ lì nāan áŋ sù'm bā yá' p̄ d̄u'a=n dáu-kàŋáa=∅.

So 3IN then be goodness 3PL if NEG bear=DP man-DEMST.SG=NEG.

"So it would have been better for that man not to have been born."

(Mk 14:21 NT2)

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

Fu ya'a na d̄ollimi keŋ, m na keŋ.

Fù yá' nà d̄ollí(=m̄) ∅ kēŋ, m̄ ná kēŋ.

2SG if IRR go.with=1SG CAT go, 1SG IRR go.

"If you will go with me, I will go." (Jgs 4:8)

M ya'a p̄v keŋε, S̄uŋid la k̄v k̄εen ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' p̄v k̄εŋé=∅, s̄uŋīd lā k̄v k̄éεŋ_yà nī náa=∅.

1SG if NEG 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 enclitic =n §13.2.1 is used to express modal remoteness (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. The =n in a first VP is usually repeated in following catenated clauses. Most often, =n appears in yà'-clauses, but it can occur elsewhere:

Man bɔɔdin nɛ yanamɛ naan aan ma'asiga bɛɛ yanamɛ naan aan tɔɔliga.

Mān bɔɔdĩ=n nɛ yānámì nāan āa=n mā'asígā bɛɛ

1SG.CN want=DP that 2PL:NZ then be=DP coldly or

yānámì nāan āa=n tɔɔlígā.

2PL:NZ then be=DP hotly.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rv 3:15)

The tense-slot adjunct **nāan** "in that case, it being so" is distinct from nyāan "next, then" (from nyá'aŋa "behind"), but before 2016 nyāan often appears as nāan:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan KB] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'is mān nɔɔr àtán' kà nɔ̄-dāug nyāan kās nɔɔr 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 NT2)

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 often represents nyāan.

Nāan without =n is often effectively equivalent to yà' "if/when."

Li an sɔm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àŋ sóm yē dāu yīnní nāan kpí njdīb lā yélà_ø gàad ...

3IN be 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)

Noŋir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòŋìr lém kǎ'e_ø gǎad nídí=ø nāan kpí ò zɔ̀à-nàm zúgɔ̄=ø.

Love again NEG.exist CAT pass person:SG=NZ then die 3AN friend-PL on=NEG.

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." (Jn 15:13 NT2)

Nāan with =n has a contrary-to-fact sense, as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaŋin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan zǎŋí=n_ŋ̀m lígídí n sū'a=n bǎŋkì 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 NT1)

Yà' nāan means "if only":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sjákì_∅ kēŋ_∅ nyɛɛ=n

1SG master:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see=DP

nó-dí'əs lā=∅ bè Samaria lā!

linguist:SG ART=NZ exist Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kgs 5:3)

Open conditional clauses contain neither discontinuous-past =n nor nāan.

If the main clause has present or future reference, the yà'-clause may correspond to either "if" or "when" in English, but with main clauses with past reference, "when" is expressed with absolute clauses §14.3.1.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgí=f.

2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay=2SG.

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed."

[i.e. admit you to hospital.]"

Ka Kristo ya'a da pū vū'ug kuminε, alaa ti labasūŋ la mɔɔlɔg la anε zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà pū vū'ug kūmī=né=∅, àlāa_tì làbà-sūŋ

And Christ if TNS NEG come.alive death=LOC=NEG, thus 1PL news-good:SG

lā mɔɔlɔg lā á nē zāalím.

ART proclamation ART be FOC emptiness.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

Nid ya'a tūm tūma, o di'ed yɔɔd.

Nīd yá' tūm tūmā, ò di'əd yɔɔd.

Person:SG if work:IPFV work, 3AN receive:IPFV pay.

"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

Bεog ya'a nie fū na wum o pian'ad.

Bēog yá' nìe, fù ná wúm ò pjàŋ'ad.

Tomorrow if appear, 2SG IRR hear 3AN speech.

"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." (Acts 25:22)

If discontinuous-past =n occurs in the yà'-clause and the main clause has irrealis mood without nāan, the meaning is hypothetical. In NT1 the main clause also has =n. KB may omit =n in the main clause, and even the yà'-clause.

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.

Wīəf yá' sīgí=n lī nī, lī zùlùŋ ná páa=n ò sàltbìr.

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 NT1)

KB: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluŋ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niṅgbīṅ nii, lin ku nyaṅin
keen ka o ka' niṅgbīṅ nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlī=n yē, ón pō áṅ nû'ug lā zúg,

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG be hand:SG ART on,

ò kâ' nín-gbīṅ ní=∅, līn kú ṅyāṅī=n ∅

3AN NEG.exist body:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT

kéε=n kà ò kâ' nín-gbīṅ ní=∅.

let=DP and 3AN NEG.exist 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 NT1)

If the main clause has nāan the sense is contrary-to-fact; both clauses have =n:

Man ya'a pu kēεn na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mōrin taale.

Mān yá' pō kēε=n nā ∅ tú'asī=ní=bā, bà nāan kú

1SG.CN if NEG 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 mōrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kuvnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōrī=n sú'ugv m̄ nû'ugī=n, m̄ nāan kūv=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 contrary-to-fact main clauses may use past tense irrealis mood instead:

Bōzugō Josua ya'a da tisini ba vu'usom zin'ig, Wina'am da ku lem pian'
dabis-si'a yēla ya'ase.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tìsī=ní=bā vō'usím zīṅ'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give=DP=3PL resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm pīāṅ' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē=∅.

again speak day-INDF.IN about again=NEG.

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of another day." (Heb 4:8)

14.1.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses have the form NP + catenating n + deictic particle or wà nā "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

Kùlìŋì_ø lā. "That is a door."
Door:SG CAT that.

Kùlìŋì_ø wá nā. "This here is a door."
Door:SG CAT this hither.

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

Ŋwāamīs_ø ŋwá! "Monkeys!" (a passenger in my car,
Monkey:PL CAT this! suddenly catching sight of some)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tɔɔmbe'edi basida?
Anɔ'ɔn_ø ŋwāa_ø yīsīd nīdīb tɔɔm-bē'edī_ø básīdà=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)

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?
Yēl-bɔɔ_ø ŋwá kà Wínà'am ké kà ì páa=tì=ø?
Matter-what CAT this and God let and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?
"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Gn 42:28)

They can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bɔɔ nwa? "What is this you are doing?" (Neh 2:19)
Yà níŋìd bɔɔ_ø ŋwá=ø?
2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?

Fù maal bɔɔ la tis mam?
Fù màal bɔɔ_ø lā_ø tís màm=ø?
2SG make what CAT that CAT give me=CQ?
"What is this that you have done to me?" (Nm 23:11)

Lia clauses have the form X + *lia*, meaning "where is X?" I often heard *lia* in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, but no examples appear in NT2/KB.

Fù mà lā lía=∅? "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 NT1)
Kà àwāē lā lía=∅?
And NUM:nine ART be.where=CQ?

Vocative clauses stand alone or beside a main clause. They take the form of NPs followed by the vocative clitic §4.4:

Ḥ dīəmmā=∅, bó kà fù kúəsìdà=∅?
1SG parent.in.law:SG=VOC, what and 2SG sell:IPFV=CQ?
"Madam, what are you selling?"

Ləm na, fūn kanē an Sulam teḡ nida!
Ləm nā, fūn-kánì=∅ àḡ Sulam téḡ nìdā=∅!
Return:IMP hither, 2SG-DEM.SG=NZ be Shulam land:SG person:SG=VOC!
"Return, O Shulammite!" (Sg 6:13)

Vocatives do not take the article *lā'*, but often end in *ḡwà* "this":

Pḡā' ḡwá! "Woman!"
Zōn ḡwá "Fools!"

Some **particles** constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like *báp* "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like *tò* "OK", *ḡfá* "well done!" "Yes" is *ēēḡ*; "No" is *áyì*. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

Lì pō nāée=∅=∅? "Isn't it finished?"
3IN NEG finish=NEG=PQ?

ēēḡ. "No."
áyì. "Yes."

14.2 Catenated

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by catenating *n* §4.5. Toende Kusaal has *zero* throughout corresponding to this *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 *n* usually makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with catenation:

Ì dāa kûəs b̀̀ng̀̀ ò tís dú'atà.
1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? Ì dāa kûəs b̀̀ng̀̀ kà tís dú'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 Farisee 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 d̀̀u-s̀̀' d̀̀e n zı́'e lá'as̀̀g l̄́ nı́dīb sıs̀̀uḡ̄=n, n á̄n
And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among=LOC, CAT be
Farisee nı́d kà ò yū'ur búən Gamaliel, n á̄n ónì=ø
Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT be DEM.AN=NZ
pà'an Wínà'am wádà l̄́ yé̀l̀̀à, kà lém à̄n yū'ur dāan
teach:IPFV God law ART about, and again be name:SG owner:SG
nı́dīb s̄́'an.
person:PL among.

"A man stood up **in the assembly**, a Pharisee **called Gamaliel**, a teacher of God's law and reputable among the people." (Acts 5:34 NT2)

Ano'on nwaa yisid nidib tũmbe'edi basida?

Àn̄'w̄n ò n̄wá ò yısı́d nı́dīb tũm-bē'edı́ ò básı̀d=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)

Catenating *n* thus attaches a VP to the preceding *clause*. The catenated VP is itself a clause with an ellipsed 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 *n*. Compare English "catenative" constructions, CGEL pp1176ff. Catenating *n* probably originated as a non-finite marker: Niggli calls the Mooré *n*+verb construction *infinitif*; it is used in citation and standalone answers to questions, as well as constructions like *mam dat n waa* "I want to come."

Mood and aspect are usually determined by the first VP, which carries the tense and polarity particles for all, but usually each VP repeats discontinuous-past =*n*, and while initial irrealis marking applies to the whole chain, a VP following an indicative may be marked as irrealis. Catenation behaves as a single unit for focus. It can be the *first* component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have "auxiliary" roles in catenation, preceding or following according to their own semantics. Furthermore, the order of pfv must mirror event order.

14.2.1 With *n*

Common *n*-catenation patterns with verbs without specialised roles are

(a) main VP + ipfv VP expressing accompanying events:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud...

Kà Nīn-sāal Bīg kēn nā_ ∅ dīt kà nūud ...

And human:SG child:SG come:IPFV hither CAT eat:IPFV and drink:IPFV...

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking ..." (Mt 11:19)

(b) pfv VP expressing prior event + main VP

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá_ayí' 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 + pfv VP in irrealis or imperative mood, expressing purpose.

Amaa m p̄ m̄ m̄ antu'a zuḡ o yela na s̄bi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ p̄ m̄ m̄ ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_ ∅ nà s̄bī_ ∅ tís

But 1SG NEG have case:SG on 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give

ná'-tītā'ar láa=∅.

king-great:SG ART=NEG.

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kèm_ø tí nyē dú'atà. "Go and see the doctor."
Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba ...
Mān yá' pō kɛɛ=n nā_ø tú'asī=ní=bā...
1SG.CN if NEG come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL ...
"If I had not come to talk to them ..." (Jn 15:22)

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 jāŋ'asíd kà pīāŋ'ad n dū'əsíd Wínà'am yû'ur sù'ŋā.
and go ... CAT leap:IPFV and praise:IPFV CAT elevate:IPFV God name:SG well.
"and went ... leaping and praising the name of God greatly." (Acts 3:8 NT2)

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.
Sógjā-sō' kā'e n tùm kà yōōd ò mēŋá=ø.
Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.exist CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.
"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7 NT1)

The subverb *tì* is often found with non-initial VPs in n-catenation.

Certain verbs have specialised meanings in n-catenation. Two-aspect verbs agree in aspect with the main VP verb.

The following *precede* the semantically main VP:

Àŋya "be something" precedes a n-catenation in clefting §15.3.
Bè "exist" + ànínā "there" + ipfv "be in the process of ..."

Ò bè ànínā n ŋwê'ed bīig lā.
3AN exist there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.
"He's currently beating the child."

Dōl_la' "go with"

Bà dōllō=ø_ø kēŋ Bók. "They've gone to Bawku with him."
3PL go.with=3AN CAT go Bawku.

Kēŋ "come" and kēŋ' "go" are used as initiators:

M kēŋ_ø pīə nû'us. "I've gone 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-DEM.PL=NZ sort reach:IPFV=2PL ART still know CAT reach INDF.PL also.

"The kind of trials coming to you have ever come to others too." (1 Cor 10:13)

M̄ nám zī' ∅ nyē gbīgīmnē=∅.

1SG still NEG.know CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

Mōr_a' "have" + object "bringing" with motion verbs:

Dābá àyópòḗ kà fù mōró=∅ ∅ kē nā.

Day:PL NUM:seven and 2SG have=3AN CAT come hither.

"Bring her here in a week." WK

Nāan' "starting from ... do..." takes a locative NP followed by a n-catenation:

Ka pu'a la da naane o buḡ la zugv sig la ...

Kà pūā' lā=∅ dà nāanī' ∅ bḡḡ lā zúgù ∅ sīg lā

And woman:SG ART=NZ TNS start.at 3AN donkey:SG ART on CAT descend ART

"When the woman had got off her donkey ..." (Jo 15:18)

Nìḡ wālā "do how?" with n-catenation is "how can ...?":

Ninsaal biig na niḡ wala pu mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Nīn-sāal bīig nà nīḡ wālā ∅ pū mōr taal Wínà'am tūənnè=∅?

Human:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG have fault:SG God before=CQ?

"How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" (Jb 25:4)

There is an impersonal variant with kà-catenation (see next section.)

Nyāḡ' "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

M̄ pū nyāḡī ∅ záb nà'ab lāa=∅.

1SG NEG prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I wasn't able to fight the chief."

As nyāḡ' expresses events, not states, the irrealis mood is used to express present ability or inability; main and auxiliary verbs agree in aspect.

M̄ kú nyāṅī_ø záb nà'ab láa=ø.
 1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.
 "I can't fight the chief."

wada line nyaṅidi ket ka nidib v̄ue
 wādá l̄nì=ø nyāṅídì_ø k̄ét kà n̄id̄ib v̄ūē
 law DEM.IN=NZ prevail:IPFV CAT let:IPFV and person:PL live
 "a law which can make people live" (Gal 3:21)

Sṽā' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baṅidib la ...
 Kà Nà'ab Herod sṽā'_ø bùəl bāṅid̄ib lā ...
 And king:SG Herod hide CAT call understander:PL ART...
 "Herod secretly called for the wise men ..." (Mt 2:7)

Tūṅ'e is a stative one-aspect verb "be able"; either indicative or irrealis mood can express present ability or inability when it is used as an auxiliary.

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paṅi na tun'e si'em
 bà dāa t̄is kà l̄i z̄ēm̄s̄ì_ø bà p̄aṅi=ø nà tūṅ'ə s̄ī'əm
 3PL TNS give and 3IN become.equal 3PL strength=NZ IRR be.able how
 "They gave as much as their strength would permit" (2 Cor 8:3)

ka li kṽ tun'e su'a. "which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)
 kà l̄i kú tūṅ'ə_ø s̄ū'a=ø.
 and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide=NEG.

Ya na tun'e zin' teṅin la ne ti.
 Yà ná tūṅ'ə_ø z̄ín'i t̄ēṅī=n lā né t̄ì.
 2PL IRR be.able CAT sit land:SG=LOC ART with 1PL.
 "You can dwell in the land with us." (Gn 34:10)

Fṽ tun'e nyet si'ela? "Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)
 F̄ò túṅ'ə_ø nyēt s̄í'əl̄àa=ø?
 2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.IN=PQ?

O pṽ tun'e pian'ada. "He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)
 Ò p̄ṽ tūṅ'ə_ø p̄iāṅ'adá=ø.
 3AN NEG be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaje ba meja.
 bō zúgō bà kù tūŋ'ə ø nyāŋí bà mēŋá=ø.
 because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT control 3PL self=NEG.
 "because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5 NT2)

Zàŋ and nōk' "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M̄ nók sú'ugù ø kjà nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
 1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

M̄ zání m̄ nú'ugù ø sī'is dāká lā.
 1SG take 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.
 "I've touched the box with my hand."

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

Tì déŋì ø tísò=ø lór. "We've previously given him a car."
 1PL precede CAT give=3AN car.

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba ... "Peter began to tell them." (Acts 11:4)
 Kà Pita pīŋ'il ø pá'alì=bā ...
 And Peter begin CAT teach=3PL ...

Ka dau sò' duoe zi'en la'asug la suugin ...
 Kà dàu-sō' dūe ø zī'en là'asùg lā súugū=n ...
 And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand.up assembly ART among=LOC ...
 "And a man got up and stood in the assembly ..." (Acts 5:34)

Auxiliary verbs which *follow* the main VP include:

Gàad "pass, surpass", used in comparisons:

Fv sid nōŋ mam gat bamaa?
 Fù síd nōŋ mām ø gát bámmáa=ø?
 2SG truly love 1SG CAT pass:IPFV DEMST.PL=PQ?
 "Do you really love me more than these?" (Jn 21:15)

À-Wīn gím ø gát À-Būgūr.
 PERS-Awini be.short CAT pass:IPFV PERS-Abugri.
 "Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB

Gàlìs "get to be too much" (Sāa gálìs yā "There's been too much rain"):

Dā kàrìm gbánà_ø gálìsìdā=ø.
 NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV=NEG.
 "Don't read books too much."

Tìs "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

M dāa kûæs b̀̀ǹ̀ø tís d̀̀'atà.
 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
 "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

Wēn_{na}´ "be like" is often found in n-catenations; the n is usually realised as zero, and the catenation can be treated like a prepositional phrase, and even proposed with kà or dislocated.

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niḡid si'em la.
 Dā ló yà nīn-dáasē=ø, wēn nē f̀̀ẁ̀s̀̀úg d̀̀ím lá=ø ǹ̀ḡ̀̀ìd s̀̀'əm lā.
 NEG.IMP tie 2PL face:PL=NEG, be.like with puff:GER NULL.PL ART=NZ do:IPFV how ART.
 "Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16 NT1)

"Ending" verbs naturally follow the main VP:

Ò d̀̀ì_ø nāe. "He's finished eating."
 3AN eat CAT finish.

Ò d̀̀ì_ø tīg. "She's eaten to satiety."
 3AN eat CAT get.sated.

Verbs of motion occur in n-catenation with meanings like adverbs or prepositions:

Ò kàt kíkīr-bē'ed-nàm n yīsíd nīdīb.
 3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.
 "He drives evil spirits out of people."

N t̀̀ pāe + NP is "until, up to": hāl̀̀ n t̀̀ pāa zīnā "right up until today."

14.2.2 With *kà*

Certain constructions with clauses introduced by *kà* clearly parallel catenation using *n*. Alternate forms with *yē* never occur. The *kà*-clause normally either has a different subject from the preceding clause or differs in polarity; aspect and mood agree with the preceding VP. Such *kà*-clauses cannot contain focus-*nē*'.

Kē "let, leave off" with a *kà*-catenation means "let, cause that." The catenation subject cannot be the same as in the main clause (in Ti 2:7 *kəl ka fə məŋ an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them" *fə* is a predependent.) The mood of the catenation matches the main clause, but imperative often replaces irrealis. After *kéε=n*, the *kà*-clause usually had =*n* in NT1, but this is no longer invariable.

Ka li anε wada la kεt ka tɔumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lì à né wādá lā_∅ két kà tùm-bē'ed nyēt páŋ.

And 3IN be FOC law ART CAT let:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which makes sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

Li da kε ka ba pu nyanɔi kuv o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pū nyāŋī_∅ kúo=∅=∅.

3IN TNS let and 3PL NEG prevail CAT kill=3AN=NEG.

"This caused them not to be able to kill him." (2 Kgs 11:2)

ye li kε ka ba da nyε Kristo kum dapuudir namisug laa.

yé lì ké kà bà dā nyē Kristo kúm dá-pūudīr námisùg láa=∅.

that 3IN let and 3PL NEG.IMP see Christ death cross:SG suffering ART=NEG.

"so they will not experience the suffering of Christ's crucifixion." (Gal 6:12)

dine na kε ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dīnī_∅ ná ké kà bà dā kpī'ílímm=∅.

3IN.CN CAT IRR let and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"That will cause them not to come to an end." (Gn 6:20)

Imperative *kèl_a* + *kà*-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

Kèl kà ò gōs tēŋī=n.

"Let him look down."

Let:IMP and 3AN look down

Dā ké kà dàbīəm béε=∅!

"Don't be afraid."

NEG.IMP let and fear exist=NEG.

Kèlì=∅ kà tì pò'us Wínà'am. "Let us praise God." (or Kèl kà ...)
 Let:IMP=2PLS and 1PL greet God.

Kèl kà ... is often ellipted informally; absent independency marking is then the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̄ gōs nīf lā.
 1SG look eye:SG ART. "Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic; no tone overlay on gōs)

M̄ dígnèè=∅?
 1SG lie=PQ? "Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic; no independency imperative -m_a)

Ò záb nà'ab lā.
 3AN fight chief:SG ART. "He should fight the chief."
 (M spreading after ò but not záb)

Mìt is a defective negative imperative verb. Its most common use is with kà-catenation, meaning "see that it doesn't happen that ...". Here it is impersonal, never appearing with the postposed 2pl subject =ya.

Mid ka ya maali ya tūm sūma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.
 Mìt kà yà máalì_yà tūm-sūmà nīdīb tūən yé bà gōs.
 NEG.IMP.let and 2PL make 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look.
 "Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look." (Mt 6:1)

X nīḡ 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 nīḡ wala ka o an David yaaḡa?
 Lì nīḡ wēlá kà ò áḡ David yāaḡà=∅?
 3IN do how and 3AN be 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 nīḡ wala ka nyē faangirè?
 M̄ ná nīḡ wēlá kà nyē fāaḡírè=∅?
 1SG IRR do how and find salvation=CQ?
 "How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)

Kà usually replaces n when there is a change of polarity in catenation:

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāy dāa zín'i Lystra ní kà pū tūñ'ə_ ø kēnná=ø.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8 NT2)

but Ya sieba be kpela kv kpil ...

Yà sīēbā bé kpēlá_ø kú kpīl=ø ...

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, ellipted in the case of an object. The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

Anina ka o nye dau ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyē dāy kà ò yū'ur būøn Aneas.

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 pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì=ø pū'usid Wínà'am

3IN be FOC 2PL fellow DEM.PL=NZ greet:IPFV God

kà lì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 3IN must and 2PL drive law.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

The anchor may be the NP of a identificational clause:

Yel bōō nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

Yēl-bōō_ ø nṵwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa=tì=ø?

Matter-what CAT this and God let and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Gn 42:28)

An adnominal *kà*-clause whose *subject* is the anchor is a predicative complement; after *nyē* the construction means "see *as*":

...ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

...kà lâ'am mään gígìs kà bà wúm kà piāñ'ad.

...and together make:IPFV dumb:PL and 3PL hear:IPFV and speak:IPFV.

"...and even makes the dumb hear and speak." (Mk 7:37 NT1)

M̄ dāa nyē dāy lá kà ò áŋ ná'ab.

1SG TNS see man:SG ART and 3AN be chief:SG.

"I saw the man as a chief." KT: not possible as "who was a chief"

M̄ dāa p̄ nyē dāy lá kà ò áŋ ná'abā=∅.

1SG TNS NEG see man:SG ART and 3AN be chief:SG=NEG.

"I didn't see the man as a chief." KT

14.3 Nominalised with =ñ

Clauses can be nominalised by =ñ §4.5 placed after the subject. By default, they become VP-headed *absolute* clauses, but demonstrative or indefinite pronouns can be used to mark NPs as heads, thereby creating *relative* clauses.

These clauses have independent tense marking (relative to the narrative timeline within narrative.) Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

Yaname na m̄r sam si'a anε ye ya n̄ŋ taaba.

Yānámì nà m̄r sām-sí'a á nē yé yà n̄ŋ tāabā.

2PL:NZ IRR have debt-INDF.IN be FOC that 2PL love each.other.

"The debt which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8)

Nominalised clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative clause heads are often preposed with kà; no =ñ then appears after the subject.

These clauses may take no dependents except predependent NPs or articles. Absolute clauses normally have lā́. After relative clauses lā́ has its usual function:

Onε du'a nε Siig mε anε ala.

Ōnì=∅ dya' nē Sūg mé á né àlá.

DEM.AN=NZ bear with spirit:SG also be FOC thus.

"Someone born of the Spirit is like that too." (Jn 3:8)

... amaa o di'ene one t̄m̄i m la na

... àmáa ò d̄iə nē ónì=∅ t̄m̄ì=m lā nā

... but 3AN receive FOC DEM.AN=NZ send=1SG ART hither

"... but he receives him who sent me hither." (Mk 9:37)

The article is not repeated after another lā́. VP-final nā́ "hither", sà "hence" may follow lā́ attached to a nominalised clause they appear in. Final negative clitics are dropped unless the clause lacks lā́ and is itself clause-final.

14.3.1 Absolute

Clauses nominalised with =*n̄* without pronouns marking them as relative clauses are absolute clauses, typically used as adjuncts of time or circumstance.

Dāy lā záb nà'ab lā. "The man has fought the chief."
 Man:SG ART fight chief:SG ART.

dāy lá=∅ zàb nà'ab lā "the man having fought the chief"
 man:SG ART=NZ fight chief:SG ART

As postlinker or VP adjuncts, they are the usual way of expressing past "when." Preposing is often used so that constituent order reflects event order. Tense markers are the same as in the main clause; the main clause markers may be omitted if the absolute clause precedes. The time relationship is determined by aspect, *pfv* in the absolute clause implying a prior event, *ipfv* a simultaneous one.

Ōn dāa nyēt súḡā, 3n dāa áḡ bí-līa lāa=∅?
 3AN.CN TNS see:IPFV well, 3AN:NZ TNS be baby:SG ART=PQ?
 "Did she see well when she was a baby?"

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeli ba ...
 Kà bán dīt lā, Yesu yélì=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 meḡ ...
 Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máljāk níe ò mēḡ ...
 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 NT2)

Absolute clauses may be predicative or information-expressing complements:

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 m̄ áḡ sâal-bīis zṽá lā á nē mán
 DEM.SG=NZ let and 1SG be human:PL friend:SG ART be FOC 1SG:NZ
 pū sán'amídí bā lā'ad kà mé pū dítí bā kī lāa=∅.
 NEG spoil:IPFV 3PL goods:PL and also NEG eat:IPFV 3PL millet ART=NEG.
 "What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property
 or eating their millet." BN p20

Ka m gat ka nye fɔn digi fɔ ziimin la bilim.

Kà m̀ gát kà nyē fún dīgí f̀ zīmí=n lā ∅ bílím.

And 1SG PASS:IPFV and see 2SG:NZ lie 2SG blood=LOC ART CAT roll.

"I was passing and saw you(r) rolling in your blood." (Ez 16:6)

They occur after là'am nē "although", and before zūg_v´, bō zúgō "because of":

La'am nē on da zan'as la "Although he refused" (Gn 39:10)

Là'am nē ón dà zàṅ'as lā

Together with 3AN:NZ TNS refuse ART

Ban mōr deṅ la zug, ba kv di'e baa.

Bán mōr dēṅ lā zúg, bà kù dí'ə=báa=∅.

3PL:NZ have wound:SG ART on, 3PL NEG.IRR receive=3PL=NEG.

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." (Lv 22:25)

They appear as picture captions, and before yēlá "about" in section headings:

Ban meed yir "A house being built"

Bán mēəd yīr

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

Joram n di Israel na'am la yela "Joram becomes king of Israel" (2Kgs 3)

Joram=ṅ̀ dī Israel nā'am lā yélà

Joram=NZ eat Israel kingship ART about

For absolute clauses with the tense-slot adjunct nāan see §14.1.3. Tense-slot adjunct sādúgím "since, because" appears only after yà' "if" and in absolute clauses:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sādúgím áṅ Naazir níd, ɔ́n míd kà ò dí ...

3AN if since be Nazirite person:SG, 3AN.CN NEG.IMP.let and 3AN eat ...

"Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." (Nm 6:4)

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bō ka m lem lōd nōr ya'asε?

Àmáa ɔ́n sādúgím kpí lā, bó kà m̀ lém lōd nōr yá'asè=∅?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Sm 12:23)

14.3.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with =*n̄* and internally headed by a pronoun or by a cb with a dependent pronoun. Any nominal constituent may head a relative clause, even from within a subordinate clause. Heads remain *in situ*, but are often preposed with *kà* §15.4. Clauses with preposing show no =*n̄* after their subjects.

Heads forming all or part of the subject or of a preposed element are marked with short demonstratives; all others are marked with indefinite pronouns.

For WK, and many texts, head-marking pronouns are only followed by =*n̄* if they are relative clause subjects, but in KB =*n̄* is introduced after *all* head-marking demonstratives, including subject predependents and preposed heads:

fu bikanɛ san'ami fu la'ad nɛ pu'agɔɔnda la
 fù bì-kànì=∅ sàṅ'amì fù lā'ad nē pu'á-gɔɔṅdā lā
 2SG child-DEM.SG=NZ spoil 2SG goods:PL with prostitute:PL ART
 "your child who has wasted your goods on prostitutes" (Lk 15:30)

pu'a kanɛ biigi vɔe la
 pu'à-kànì=∅ bīigí=∅ vōḡ lā
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG=NZ live ART
 "the woman whose child was alive" (1 Kgs 3:26)

Demonstratives are relatives only if short and part of the initial constituent; non-relative indefinites may appear in demonstrative-headed relative clauses, or precede relative indefinites. Bolded pronouns are thus not relatives in

on vɔ'ug nin**kan** kumin la zug
 ón vō'ug nīn-kán kūmī=n lā zúḡ
 3AN:NZ revive person-DEM.SG death=LOC ART on
 "because he has raised that person from death" (Acts 17:31)

o na tɔm tɔmnyalima gaad dau **kaṅa** tɔm si'el laa?
 ò nà tōm tōm-nyālímá_∅ gàad dàṅ-kàṅá=∅ tōm sī'əl lāa=∅?
 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)

Wina'am onɛ gaad **si'el** wɔsa la
 Wínà'am ónì=∅ gàad sī'əl wōsā lā
 God DEM.AN=NZ PASS INDF.IN all ART
 "God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wuu baŋi gban'ad **si'el** si'em la
 wūu bāŋí=∅ gbāŋ'ad sī'əl sī'əm lā
 like trap:SG=NZ seize:IPFV INDF.IN how ART
 "like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fʊn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la "the first fish you catch" (Mt 17:27)
 fún gbāŋ'e zīŋ-sí'a yīigá lā
 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

but Paul n sob gbaʊŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.
 Paul=ŋ sōb gbáʊŋ yīigá dàan n tìs Korint díŋm lā_∅ ŋwá.
 Paul=NZ write letter:SG firstly owner:SG CAT give Corinth NULL.PL ART CAT this.
 "This is the first letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (NT heading)

Specific non-subject NPs comprising/containing heads are usually preposed. Resumptive pronouns appear for indirect, and occasionally animate direct objects, and for heads extracted from NPs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses.

bàn kà nà'ab lā záb lā "those whom the chief fought" WK
 DEM.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

Gbaʊŋ kanɛ ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.
 Gbàʊŋ-kànì=∅ kà bà dá sōbī_∅ tísì=bā lā_∅ ŋwá.
 Letter-DEM.SG=NZ and 3PL TNS write CAT give=3PL ART CAT this.
 "This is the letter that they wrote to them." (Acts 15:23)

yeltɔɔd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la
 yēl-tōɔd àyópɔɛ bání=∅ kà màlǐāk-námá_àyópɔɛ mōr lā
 matter-bitter:PL NUM:seven DEM.PL=NZ and angel-PL NUM:seven have ART
 "the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rv 15:8)

niŋkanɛ [NT2 niŋkan] ka ba gban'e o la
 nīn-kánì=∅ kà bà gbán'o=∅ lā
 person-DEM.SG=NZ and 3PL seize=3AN ART
 "a person whom they have seized" (Acts 25:16)

m antu'a linɛ ka ba mɔr na "the charge they bring against me"
 m̀ àntù'a-lìnì=∅ kà bà mōr nā (Acts 25:11)
 1SG case-DEM.IN=NZ and 3PL have hither

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vu'ug o kumin la
 pu'à-kànì=∅ bíig kà Elasia dá vū'ug kūmī=n lā
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG and Elisha TNS revive death=LOC ART
 "the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" (2 Kgs 8:5)

bikanε [NT2 biig kan] puug ka o mōr la
 bì-kànì=∅ pūug kà ò mōr lā
 child-DEM.SG=NZ belly:SG and 3AN have ART
 "the child which she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

linε [NT2 lin] ka Kristo bōod ye ti pian' la
 lìnì=∅ kà Kristo bōod yé tì pīān' lā
 DEM.IN=NZ and Christ want that 1PL speak ART
 "what Christ wishes us to say" (2 Cor 12:19)

onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe "one they have given much to" (Lk 12:48)
 ònì=∅ kà bà tísò=∅ kà lì zú'e
 DEM.AN=NZ and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN abound

Būrā-sō' dāa bé ànínā, òn kà mān nē ōn dāa tūm lā.
 Man-INDF.AN TNS exist there, DEM.AN and 1SG with 3AN.CN TNS work:IPFV ART.
 "There was a man there whom I used to work with." ILK

Non-specific complement NPs often remain *in situ*:

Ka ban tūm sō' la ku gaad onε tūm o la.
 Kà bán tūm sō' lā kú gāad ónì=∅ tūmò=∅ lāa=∅.
 And 3PL:NZ send INDF.AN ART NEG.IRR PASS DEM.AN=NZ send=3AN ART=NEG.
 "One who was sent does not surpass the one who sent him." (Jn 13:16)

M na tisif fun bōod si'el wōsa. "I will give you anything you want."
 M ná tīsī=f fún bōod sī'el wōsā. (Mk 6:23)
 1SG IRR give=2SG 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

Complements of verbs of cognition, perception or communication representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070) often remain *in situ* (comprising 20/33 of relative sō' in NT2; 75/130 of sī'ə_a in NT2 Gospels, versus 33 abstract, 22 locative.)

David da tum sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.

David dá tùm sɔ' yé ò bŭ'əsɪ_ø bāŋ pɔ̄ā' lá=ø àŋ sɔ'.

David TNS send INDFAN that 3AN ask CAT discover woman:SG ART=NZ be INDFAN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out who the woman was." (2 Sm 11:3)

Gɔsim ye fu na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bunneɛ?

Gòsìm yé fù ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá=ø àŋ sɔ' búnnèɛ=ø?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEMST.PL=NZ be INDFAN thing:SG=PQ?

"Can you look and find out whose property these things are?" (Gn 38:25)

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.

"I know those whom I have chosen."

M̀ mí' mán gāŋ sīəbā lā. (Jn 13:18)

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnɛɛ?

Yà bāŋ mán niŋ sī'əl lā gbínnèɛ=ø?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.IN ART meaning:SG=CQ?

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" (Jn 13:12)

Ón yèl sī'əl lā kā' sídāa=ø. "What he says is not true" SB

3AN:NZ say INDF.IN ART NEG.be truth=NEG.

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélà_ø bìgɪsɪd lín àŋ tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IMPF 3IN:NZ be tree-INDF.IN.

"It's the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." (Mt 12:33)

M na tumi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya

M̀ ná tŭmí_̀m̀ B́á'=ø zì'əl nɔ̄ɔr sɔ' yélà_ø 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)

The manner-pronoun sī'əm "somehow" commonly heads relative clauses, often representing abstract "what." After such clauses lā' marks old information as usual:

M̀ mí' mán nà niŋ sī'əm.

"I know what to do."

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

M̀ mí' mán nà niŋ sī'əm lā.

"I know what I'm to do." (WK: "You

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how ART.

explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yēlī=f fún nà nīḡ sī'əm. "They'll tell you what to do."
 3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do how.

Bà yèlō=∅ bán nīḡ sī'əm lā. "They told him what they'd done."
 3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do how ART.

ón bōd sī'əm "as he may wish"
 3AN:NZ want how

lín àḡ sī'əm lā "as things are"
 3IN:NZ be how ART

Gàad "pass, surpass" is used with a sī'əm clause for comparing actions:

Mam tùm bēdegū gaad ban tùm si'em la.
 Mām tùm bēdugū_∅ gāad bán tùm sī'əm lā.
 1SG.CN work much CAT pass 3PL:NZ work how ART.
 "I've worked much harder than they have." (2 Cor 11:23)

Pà'al "teach, inform" takes a sī'əm-clause object *without* lā:

Bà pà'alō=∅ bán nīḡ sī'əm. "They told him what they'd done."
 3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do how.

Gbāḡ'e´ "catch" with a sī'əm clause means "decide":

Ì gbāḡ'e mán nà nīḡ sī'əm. "I've decided what to do."
 1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

Sī'əm clauses occur often as objects of wōṽ "like", wēḡ_{na}´ "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wōṽ ziḡḡba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.
 kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mán wōṽ zīḡḡ-gbāḡ'adìbì=∅
 and 2PL IRR let and person:PL go.with 1SG.CN like fish-catcher:PL=NZ
 gbāḡ'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.
 catch:IPFV fish:PL how 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."

Specific complement NPs otherwise rarely remain *in situ*, but examples occur:

Fʊn bɔɔd ye fʊ kʊ dau sɔ' la ya'a kpi...

Fún bòɔd yé fù kō dáɣ-sɔ' lā yá' kpi...

2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDF.AN ART if die...

"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies ..." (2 Sm 17:3)

Kem tʊ'ʊs Samaria na'abi tʊm ninsieba la na ...

Kèṁ ∅ tū'ʊs Samaria ná'abí=∅ tùm nīn-síəbà lā nā ...

Go:IMP CAT meet Samaria king:SG=NZ send person-INDF.PL ART hither ...

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria ..." (2 Kgs 1:3)

Nannanna, yaname daa sɔb gbauŋ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.

Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sɔb gbáɣŋ-sī'a lá kà ṁ sɔbɪdī ∅ lɛbɪsɪdī=yá.

Now, 2PL:NZ TNS write letter-INDF.IN ART and 1SG write:IPFV CAT reply:IPFV=2PL.

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1)

Adjuncts containing/comprising the head usually remain *in situ*; preposing is commonest with locatives. *Sī'ə|_a* is often "where." Most cbs before indefinite relatives express time or place (42/56 of those with *sī'a* in NT2.) Locative =n/nī' does not follow relative heads, but may follow whole clauses expressing rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la

"the house where I, Paul, am"

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā (Rom 16:23 NT1)

house-DEM.SG and 1SG.CN Paul exist ART

ka mɔri fʊ keŋ zin'ikanɛ ka fʊ pʊ bɔɔda.

kà mɔrí=fù ∅ kēŋ zín'-kànì=∅ kà fù pū bɔɔdā=∅.

and have=2SG CAT go place-DEM.SG=NZ and 2SG NEG want=NEG.

"and take you where you do not want." (Jn 21:18)

winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la

wìnnìgì=∅ yīt sī'əl hālī ∅ tì pāe ɔn lùt sī'əl lā

sun:SG=NZ emerge:IPFV INDF.IN until CAT once reach 3AN:NZ fall:IPFV INDF.IN ART

"where the sun rises to where the sun sets" (Ps 65:8)

M Zugsoɓa, ti zi' fʊn ken zin'isi'a la.

Ṁ Zūg-sóɓā=∅, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-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)

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni.

Kà bùgúm níe ón bè dǒ-sí'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 NT2)

Abraham da nan kae saŋsi'a la, ka man pɔn bɛ.

Abraham=∅ dà nàm kā'ɛ sǎn-sí'a lā kà mǎn pún bè.

Abraham=NZ TNS still NEG.exist time-INDF.IN ART and 1SG.CN already exist.

"Before Abraham existed, I already existed." (Jn 8:58)

Relative clauses are restrictive. However, relative clauses with un-compounded short demonstrative pronouns as heads are frequently used as **appositives**, and the construction may then be interpreted as non-restrictive:

o sid onɛ da bɛ nɛ o la

ò sīd ónì=∅ dà bè nó=∅ lā

3AN husband:SG DEM.AN=NZ TNS exist with=3AN ART

"her husband [the only other human being], who was there with her" (Gn 3:6)

Restrictive appositives mostly appear along with predependents other than simple personal pronouns, or after heads which cannot form cbs at all:

Wina'am nid onɛ ki'is Zugsɔb pian'ad la

Wí(nà'am níd ònì=∅ kī'is Zūg-sób piǎŋ'ad lā

God person:SG DEM.AN=NZ deny Lord word ART

"the man of God who refused the Lord's word" (1 Kgs 13:26)

nimbane yuda sɔb Pɛbil la gbauŋɔn line an nyɔvɔpaal dim gbauŋ la

nīn-bánì=∅ yūdǎ=∅ sɔb Pɛ'-bíl lā gbáŋŋō=n línì=∅

person-DEM.PL=NZ name:PL=NZ write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC DEM.IN=NZ

àŋ nyɔ́-vū-pâal díɓ gbáŋŋ lā

be life-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)

14.4 Complementised

Complementised clauses are introduced by *yē* (from **ηι*, Mampruli *ni*, Toende *yé/ne*), or less often *kà*; constructions which *only* permit *kà* are either coordination or catenation. Complementised clauses may be coordinated themselves, or may contain coordinated subclauses:

ka lin anε ye fu kv maali ti be'εδε [...], ka ye fu yim ne sumbugusum la.

kà līn á nē yé fù kù māalī=tí bē'εδī=∅ [...],

and 3IN.CN be FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make=1PL bad NEG

kà yé fù yím nē sūη-búgusim 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)

M̄ bōcd yē dāy lā kēη dā'a=n, kà pūā' lā dōg dūb.

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

14.4.1 Purpose

Purpose clauses lack independency marking, all distinctive main-clause features, and tense marking. Negative raising largely prevents the mood from being apparent in purpose-clause complements, but adjunct clauses normally use negative imperative *dā*; cases of irrealis *kù* can generally be taken as content clauses (but cf *O niη ne'εηa ye nid kv nyaηi dv'vs o mεη Wina'am tuonne* "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.) The sense may be attenuated to a mere "until." *Kà* is uncommon as linker: KB has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 *nar ka*.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like *nār_a'* "be needful" (personally "have to"), *mōr sūar* "be allowed to", *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like *bōcd_a* "want", *gūr_a'* "watch for."

Lì nār yé/kà fù kūl. "You must go home."
3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

Fù pū nār yé fù kūlē=∅. "You're not allowed to go home."
2SG NEG must that 2SG go.home=NEG. (negative raising)

babayi' la nar ye ba kvv ba "both of them must be killed" (Lv 20:12)
bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv=bā
3PL NUM:TWO ART must that 3PL kill=3PL

Yà mór sūər yé yà kūl. 2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.	"You may go home."
Sūər bé yé/kà tì kūl. Way:SG exist that/and 1PL go.home.	"We may go home."
Lì à nē tīlās yé ñ kūl. 3IN be FOC necessity that 1SG go.home.	"I must go home."
M̄ pū b̄ɔɔd yé ò kūlē=∅. 1SG NEG want that 3AN go.home=NEG.	"I don't want her to go home."
gur ye pu'a la du'a gūr yē pūā' lā dūá' watch that woman:SG ART bear	"waiting for the woman to give birth" (Rv 12:4)

Purpose-clause adjuncts:

M maal nwa' nɛ ye m pa'ali ya M̄ mâal ŋwá nē yé ñ pá'alì=yā 1SG make this FOC that 1SG teach=2PL	"I have done this to teach you" (Jn 13:15)
--	--

Ò vùl t̄im 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
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Nε'εηα niηε ye ti da ti'e ti μεη panga. NĒ'εηā níη nē yé tì dā tí'e tì mēη páηā=∅. DEMST.IN do FOC that 1PL NEG.IMP rely 1PL self power:SG=NEG.	"This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength." (2 Cor 1:9)
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14.4.2 Content

Content clauses are complementised clauses with independency marking. They appear as complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication, like wòm "hear", ŋyē "see", tēŋ'es' "think", mī' "know", pà'al "teach", sjàk "agree", tìs nōɔr "command", sòs "request", and in reported speech. Verbs vary in preference for yē or kà: KB has 31 cases of *tēn'es ka* to 219 of *tēn'es ye*, but 162 *wòm ka* to 105 of *wòm ye* "hear that", and 386 *nyε ka* to none of *nyε ye* "see that."

Content clauses show the same range of structures as main clauses. Tense and mood are marked relative to the main clause. Except in reported speech, personal pronouns within content clauses reflect the context of the *main* clause; commands may thus appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and even 2sg/pl pronouns remain unaltered before the verb. Subject pronouns are never ellipted after *kà*.

M̄ tēŋ'ɛs kà m̄ lú yā. "I think I've fallen." WK
1SG think and 1SG fall PFV.

F̄ɔnɛ siak ye f̄ɔ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini f̄ɔ na'am gbaɯŋ la zugɔɔ?
F̄ɔnī_∅ s̄jāk yé f̄ɔ yá' tì k̄ā'ɛ, ò nà zīŋ'iní_f̄ɔ nā'am
2SG.CN CAT agree that 2SG if once NEG.exist, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy
gbáɯŋ lā zúgɔɔ=∅?
skin:SG ART ON=PQ?
"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?"
(1 Kgs 1:24)

Yā tēŋ'ɛs ka m̄ aan anɔ'ɔnɛ? "Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25);
Yā tēŋ'ɛs kà m̄ áaŋ_ànɔ'ɔnɛ=∅?
2PL think and 1SG be who=CQ?

M̄ p̄ɔ yel ye ya s̄ɔsim Wina'am din yelaa.
M̄ p̄ɔ yél yé yà s̄ɔs̄im Wínà'am dīn yēláa=∅.
1SG NEG say that 2PL beg:IMP God 3IN.CN about=NEG.
"I don't say that you should pray to God about that." (1 Jn 5:16)

ka David tis n̄ɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.
kà David tís n̄ɔɔr yé bà nyù'əm bádà lā nē búgúm.
and David give mouth:SG that 3PL burn:IMP idol:PL ART with fire.
"And David ordered them to burn the idols with fire." (1 Chr 14:12)

Wada la k̄ɔ yel nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.
Wādá lā kú yēl nīd yé ò dā níŋ bàmmáa=∅.
Law ART NEG.IRR say person:SG that 3AN NEG.IMP do DEMST.PL=NEG.
"The law will not tell a person not to do these things." (Gal 5:23)

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[M̄ yél yé] ò ḡɔs̄im tēŋī=n. "[I said] she should look down."
[M̄ tēŋ'ɛs kà] tì p̄ɔ'us̄im Wínà'am. "[I think] we should praise God."

Zàṅ'as "refuse" is followed by a content clause with negative polarity:

ka o zan'as ye ba kv keṅε. "and he refused to let them go." (Ex 9:7)
 kà ò zâṅ'as yé bà kú kēṅé=∅.
 and 3AN refuse that 3PL NEG.IRR go=NEG.

In older texts pronouns within reported speech reflect the context of the main clause, just as in other content clauses. In NT1 this may continue over many pages, and regularly includes even embedded vocatives. Contrastive 3rd person pronouns are used logophorically; bound pronouns may refer to the speaker(s), but contrastives are more usual, especially as subjects:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir, ka po'a la ye **on** pu lem bood ye o sid la di po'a ya'ase.

Dāu dá bē_ ∅ mōrī_ò pṽà'-yīmmír, kà pṽā' lā yē

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that

ōn pū léṃ bōōd yé ò sīd lā dí pṽā' yá'asē=∅.

3AN.CN NEG again want that 3AN husband:SG ART take wife:SG again=NEG.

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

ka Festus tans Paul ye **o** geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye **on** pu geem.

kà Festus táṅs Paul yé ò gēεṅm nē ... kà Paul lébìs

and Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē ōn pū gēεṅmm=∅.

that 3AN.CN NEG go.mad=NEG.

"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." (Acts 26:24-25 NT1)

However, in later Bible versions reported speech consistently uses the personal pronouns of the original utterance, as in direct speech.

Regardless of the pronoun strategy used, longer passages of reported speech insert a 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.

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bōōd yé ò kpélìṃ 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 NT1)

Amaa **ye** ka on yeli ba ye ...

Àmáa yé kà ɔn yélì=bā yē...

But that and 3AN.CN say=3PL that...

"But he [the speaker] had said to them ..." (Acts 25:16 NT1)

Ka nanana **ye** o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin...

Kà nānná-nā yé ò niŋī=bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pìèlìm

And now-hither that 3AN do=3PL God with 3AN holiness

piâŋ'ad lā nú'usī=n...

speech ART hand:PL=LOC...

"And now he committed them to God and his holy word ..." (Acts 20:32 NT1)

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,

o nidiba, **ye** ba yimi teng la ni na.

Kà m̄ wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà l̄ yī áràzàná ní nā yē,

And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that

ò nīd̄bá=∅, yé bà yīmī=∅ tēŋ lā ní nā.

3AN person:PL=VOC, that 3PL emerge:IMP=2PLS 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 NT1)

The verb *yél* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

Ka Zugsɔb la ye ...

"And the Lord said: ..." (Gn 18:28)

Kà Zūg-sób lā yē ...

And Lord ART that ...

15 Information packaging

15.1 Focus

Focus marks either addressee-new information (CGEL p1370) or contrast (or both); the prototypical example of new information is that given in response to a question. By default, the whole clause predicate is regarded as new information. Focus on the subject or on a single constituent of the predicate is specifically marked, as is contrastive focus on the whole predicate. Focus is distinct from foregrounding, the usual effect of clefting.

In subject focusing the subject stands first, with the rest of the clause introduced by catenating *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:

Wáafù̀ \emptyset dúmō=∅.	"A snake has bitten him." WK
Snake:SG CAT bite=3AN.	("What's happened?")

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always *n*-focused:

Ànó'ɔ̀nì̀ \emptyset kābirídà=∅?	"Who is asking permission to enter?"
Who CAT ask.entry:IPFV=CQ?	

As clauses containing interrogative pronouns cannot contain focus-*nĒ'*, this is most readily explained by taking interrogative pronouns as intrinsically focused, though this is only syntactically manifested when they are subjects.

In VP focusing the particle ***nĒ'*** either precedes focused VP constituents, or follows entire focused VPs. Focus on whole VPs is necessarily contrastive, because non-contrastive focus on the VP is the default. *NĒ'* occurs at most once in a clause. *NĒ* "with" is distinguishable from the focus particle in not being limited to particular clause types and potentially being followed by bound pronouns.

For the *aspectual* use of the focus particle see §13.1; when aspectual interpretation is possible it prevails over VP constituent or VP focus. When the particle is excluded by formal constraints, or present but separated from the verb by free words, aspect distinctions still exist but are unmarked.

NĒ' may appear in clauses after catenating *n* (but not catenating *kà*):

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis **ne** Wina'am Siig Suŋ.

Fù pū má' n tìs nīn-sáalā=∅, àmáa fù má'

2SG NEG lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

n tís nē Wínà'am Sí-sùŋ.

CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have not lied to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." (Acts 5:4 NT2)

NĒ´ is excluded in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, and content questions.

Àn'ò'òní_∅ dít sá'abò=∅?
Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?

"Who eats/is eating millet porridge?"

Ì zūg lā pú'alìm nē.
1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC.

"My head is hurting."
("What's the matter with you?")

but Ì zūgū_∅ zábìd.
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts."
("Where is the pain?")

Ì á nē bīig.
1SG be FOC child:SG.

"I am a child."

but mán àŋ bīig lā zúg
1SG:NZ be child:SG ART on

"because I'm a child"

Ì yí nē Bók.
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

"I come from Bawku." SB

but Meeri one yi Magdala
Meeri óní=∅ yī Magdala
Mary DEM.AN=NZ emerge Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"
(Mk 16:9 NT2)

Bó kà fù kúmmà=∅?
What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?

"Why are you crying/do you cry?"

Fù níŋìd b́=∅?
2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?

"What are you doing/do you do?"

Fù wá'e yáa=∅?
2SG go where=CQ?

"Where are you going/do you go?"

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

Mām áḡ bó=ø? "What am I?"
 1SG.CN be what=CQ?

Fù áḡ_àń'ónè=ø? "Who are you?"
 2SG be who=CQ?

Fù bôɔd bó=ø? "What do you want?"
 2SG want what=CQ?

cf Fù bôɔd nē bó=ø? "What do you want it with?"
 2SG want with what=CQ? (nē *must* be interpreted as "with", WK)

NĒ´ is permitted in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m bôɔd ye fù nyɛɛ bôɔd.
 Pìàḡ'am kà m bôɔd yé fù nyē nē bôɔd.
 Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.
 "Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Jb 33:32)

Certain words do not prevent focus-nĒ´ from being used in the clause, but cannot themselves be focused: sèḡā´ "good", sòm "good", bē'ed "bad", sîdà "truth" as manner adjuncts, and the "two, three exactly" quantifiers àyíḡā´ àtáḡā´. NPs with these words as constituents share the same property. NĒ´ before such constituents must be interpreted aspectually; even stative ipfvs with no time marker in the clause are constrained to temporary-state meaning.

Lì àḡ sḡḡā. "It's good."
 3IN be well.

Lì àḡ bē'ed. "It's bad."
 3IN be badness.

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.
 ò sàríyà-kādīb áḡ sóm nē sídà.
 3AN law-drive:GER be goodness with truth.
 "His judgment is good and true. (Rv 19:2 NT1)

An informational-focus interpretation of $n\bar{e}'$ depends on the aspectual sense being impossible, or at least infelicitous.

Aspectual interpretation is possible only if the VP is positive and indicative, and no unbound words intervene before $n\bar{e}'$:

Gòsìm $n\bar{e}$. "Look!" ("Don't touch!" WK)
Look:IMP FOC.

Ò kùəs̀ìd sūmmā lā $n\bar{e}$. "She sells/is selling the groundnuts."
3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC. ("They're not free.")

Indefinite subjects (and pronouns referring to them) are usually incompatible with aspectual $n\bar{e}'$, unless explicitly marked as specific with indefinite pronouns:

Nīgí ò̀h̀b̀ìd $n\bar{e}$ m̀ɔ̀ɔ̀d. Bà ǹùud $n\bar{e}$ k̀ú'ə̀m.
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.
"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat and drink?")

A pfv can only be resultative if it expresses a change of state in the subject:

M̀ dá' búŋ. "I've bought a donkey."
1SG buy donkey:SG. ("What have you done?")

M̀ dá' $n\bar{e}$ búŋ. "I've bought a *donkey*."
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. ("What have you bought?")

Ò d̀ìg̀ìl $n\bar{e}$. "He's *laid it down*."
3AN lay FOC. ("I thought he'd pick it up.")

As stance verbs are not stative in Kusaal, pfv's of assume-stance verbs cannot accept a resultative reading:

Ò d̀ìg̀ìn $n\bar{e}$. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at
3AN lie FOC. 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 z̀ì'ə̀n $n\bar{e}$. "She's pregnant." Not "She has stood
3AN stand FOC. still": an idiom.

On pfvs in narrative see §13.2.3.

In the absence of an explicit indication of time (even a tense particle), ipfvs only permit aspectual focus with subjects which are agents, changing state, or moving without external agency: *nē'* must therefore be taken as informational in

Ò gìm nē.
3AN be.short FOC. "He's *short*."
("I was expecting someone taller.")

Ì bódǎ=f nē.
1SG want=2SG FOC. "I really *love* you." WK

Ì mór nē pǎā'.
1SG have FOC woman:SG. "I have a woman."
(implies an irregular liaison, WK)

Dāam lā nūud.
Beer ART drink:IPFV. "The beer gets drunk." WK

but Dāam lā nūud nē.
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. "The beer is for *drinking*."
("not pouring away"); not possible as
"The beer is being drunk." WK

Dāká lā zǎŋl nē.
Box:SG ART hand.carry FOC. "The box gets carried *in the hands*."
("Not on your head.")

Dāká lā zīid nē.
Box:SG ART head.carry:IPFV FOC. "The box is for carrying *on the head*."
("Not carrying in the hands.")

Interpretation of focus as informational may itself be infelicitous. Because non-contrastive informational focus on a VP object or predicative complement represents it as addressee-new information, focused NPs are usually indefinite; accordingly *nē'* before definite arguments is usually aspectual:

Nīigí òŋbìd nē mǒǒd.
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. "Cows eat *grass*."
("What do cows eat?")

Nā'-síəbà óŋbìd nē mǒǒd lā.
Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART. "Some cows are eating the grass."

Contrastive focus, however, may involve old or new information:

Lin ka ba'amaanib maani tisid bada la, ba maani tisidne kikiris, ka pu maani tisidne Wina'am.

Lìn kà bà'-māannīb mâannì ∅ tísìd bádà lā, bà màannì
DEM.IN and idol-maker:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV
∅ tísìd nē kíkírīs kà pū mâannì ∅ tísìd nē Wínā'amm=∅.
CAT give:IPFV FOC fairy:PL and NEG sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV FOC God=NEG.

"That which idolaters sacrifice to an idol, they sacrifice to demons, they don't sacrifice to God." (1 Cor 10:20 NT2)

Proper names can be new information when not referring:

O yu'ur na anε Joon. "His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)
Ò yū'ur ná ā nē Joon.
3AN name:SG IRR be FOC John.

Furthermore, both indefinite and definite NPs may have *internal structure* encoding addressee-new information:

Biis la diemid ne dua gbinin. Ba zamisid ne bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Bīis lā dí'əmìd nē dúaḡ gbínnī=n. Bà zàmìsìd nē
Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

būlā wā'ab. Bà à né À-Pām bīis.

shoot:PL dance:SG. 3PL be FOC PERS-Apam child:PL.

"The children are playing under a dawadawa tree. They are learning the dance of the young shoots. They are children of Apam's." KKY p6
(Apam has already been introduced.)

Ka bumbuda bane lu gɔn'ɔs sɔugin la anε bane wɔm pian'ad la ...

Kà bŭn-búudà bànì=∅ lù gòḡ'ɔs súsɔgŭ=n lā á nē

And seed:PL DEM.PL=NZ fall thorn:PL among=LOC ART be FOC

bánì=∅ wòm pjàḡ'ad lā ...

DEM.PL=NZ hear speech ART ...

"The seeds which fell among thorns are those who heard the word ..." (Lk 8:14)

Similarly, with locative adjuncts the fact of association with a known location or origin may be new information:

M̀ yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Yadda niḡir yitne labaar la wummuḡ ni.
 Yaddā-niḡir yít nē lābāar lā wúmmùḡ ní.
 Assent-doing emerge:IPFV FOC news ART hearing LOC.
 "Faith comes from hearing the news." (Rom 10:17)

With a focused or foregrounded locative adjunct, *bè* "exist" (negative *kā'ẹ/kā'*) corresponds to "be somewhere":

Wínà'am bé. "God exists." (Calque of Ghanaian Pidgin
 God exist. *God de*, implying "It'll all work out.")

Wāad bé. "It's cold."
 Cold.weather exist.

Àláafù béo=∅. "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")
 Health exist=3AN. Indirect object, no complement.

Dàḡ-s' bé kpēlá. "There's a man here."
 Man-INDF.AN exist here.

Dàḡ-s' bé d'ò-kàḡā lā p'úḡḡ=n.
 Man-INDF.AN exist hut-DEMST.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
 "There is a certain man in that hut."

but Dāḡ lā bé **nē** d'ò-kàḡā lā p'úḡḡ=n.
 Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEMST.SG ART inside=LOC.
 "The man is inside that hut." ("Where is that man?")

Mam **bene** moogin. "I'm in the bush." BN p8
 Mām bé nē m'òḡḡ=n. (cf *Moogin ka mam be*. BN p10)
 1SG.CN exist FOC grass:SG=LOC.

There are a few examples of focus on a non-locative VP adjunct in my data:

Tì dít sā'ab nē zāam. "We eat millet porridge *in the evening*."
 1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening. ("When do you eat porridge?")

The complement of *àḡḡya* "be something" in *ascriptive* sense is prototypically addressee-new, and is preceded by *nē'* whenever syntactically permitted:

Dīb á nē bōn-sùŋ. Food be FOC thing-good:SG.	"Food is a good thing."
Ò à nē bāaŋlím. 3AN be FOC quietness.	"She is quiet."
Lì à nē bōgusígā. 3IN be FOC softly.	"It's soft."
M̐ á nē dú'atà. 1SG be FOC doctor:SG.	"I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")

In *specifying* constructions the subject usually has n-focus:

Mānī_ø áŋ dú'atà lā. 1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG ART.	"I'm the doctor." ("Which one is the doctor?")
Mānī_ø áŋ dú'atà àmáa fūn pū áŋyā=ø. 1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG but 2SG.CN NEG be=NEG.	"I'm a doctor but you aren't."
Nōbibisi a mam disuŋ. Nō-bíbusì_ø áŋ mām dí-sùŋ. Hen-small:PL CAT be 1SG.CN food-good:SG.	"Chicks are my favourite food." BN p13
Focus on indefinite arguments under the scope of a negative is contrastive:	
M̐ pū dá' bōŋā=ø. 1SG NEG buy donkey:SG=NEG.	"I haven't bought a donkey."
M̐ pū dá' nē bōŋā=ø. 1SG NEG buy FOC donkey:SG=NEG.	"I haven't bought a <i>donkey</i> ." ("I bought something else.")
M̐ kā' dú'atāa=ø. 1SG NEG.be doctor:SG=NEG.	"I'm not a doctor."
M̐ kā' nē dú'atāa=ø. 1SG NEG.be FOC doctor:SG=NEG.	"I'm not a <i>doctor</i> ." ("I'm a nurse.")

15.2 Focusing modifiers

Focusing modifiers relate constituents to the discourse context. Most follow top-level NPs. "Focus" here refers to the *scope* of the modifier: this is distinct from the informational focus treated above (CGEL p589.)

mèn, WK mèn; clause finally mèn "also, too." It may follow an ellipted subject pronoun.

O pu'a mɛ kena. "His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)
 Ò pɹā' mé kè nā.
 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɹ biig mɛn. "Because he is your child too." (Gn 21:13)
 bɔ́ zúgɔ̀ ò à né fù bīig mén.
 Because 3AN be FOC 2SG child:SG also.

Wina'am tisid ... ka mɛ tisid ... "God gives ... and also gives ..."
 Wínà'am tísìd ... kà mé tìsìd ... (1 Cor 15:38)
 God give:IPVF ... and also give:IPFV ...

nɔɔ "just, exactly": e.g. dàa-kàn lā nɔɔ "that very day", and

Fɹ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɹn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.
 Fù yá' mɔr yā'am, fɹn nɔɔ ná dí_lì mālísím.
 2SG if have sense, 2SG.CN exactly IRR eat 3IN joy.
 "If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Prv 9:12)

mà'aa (LF mà'anì) "only":

Aseɛ line an bɛ'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.
 Àséé línì=∅ àŋ bē'ed má'aa kà m ná tūŋ'ə_∅ níŋ.
 Only DEM.IN=NZ be 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 gùllimnì) "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?
 Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllimnèɛ=∅=∅?
 3IN NEG.be FOC God only=NEG=PQ?
 "Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kòt̀àà_n "at all" appears in Áyù kòt̀àà. "Not at all."

báa (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct *báa bī'elá* "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent *báa yīnní* "(not) even one":

Da tumi si'el baa bi'elaa.

Dā t́úmī=∅ sī'el báa bī'eláa=∅.

NEG.IMP work=2PLS INDF.IN even slightly=NEG.

"Do no work at all." (Lv 23:31)

F̀u du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.

F̀ù d̀u'adīb báa yīnní ká'e kà ò yū'ur b̀uən àláa=∅.

2SG relative:PL even one NEG.exist and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV thus=NEG.

"Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)

hāĺ (*nē*) "even, as far as" precedes the element over which it takes scope, which may be a NP, or a non-nominalised clause. *Hāĺ nē* is used before time/circumstance NPs.

Before a manner noun *hāĺ* means "very"; the noun itself may be ellipited. This is the single commonest function of *hāĺ* in KB, with ellipsis usual.

L̀ì t̀e hāĺ [béduḡū].

"It's very difficult."

3IN be.bitter until much.

Before place or time NPs *hāĺ* is "until, as far as"; so too before n-catenations or narrative *kà*-clauses, the VPs of which often show the subverb *t̀ì*.

hāĺ nē zīná

"up until today"

O daa p̀un ane ninkuud hali pin'ilugun sa.

Ò dāa p̀un à nē nīn-k̀uud hāĺ pīḡ'ilúḡū=n sá.

3AN TNS previously be 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.

"We struck them even as far as Nophah."

T̀ì ḡwá'a=lī hāĺ_∅ pāe Nofa. (Nm 21:30)

1PL strike=3IN until CAT reach Nophah.

Zugsob la da ke ka kukom ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.

Zūḡ-s̀ob lā dá kè kà k̀ukòm bāḡ'as gbāḡ'e Nā'ab lā, hāĺ kà ò tí k̀pì.

Lord ART TNS let and leper:SG disease seize king:SG ART until and 3AN once die.

"The Lord caused leprosy to afflict the king for the rest of his life." (2Kgs 15:5)

Elsewhere *hālí nē* (or *hālí là'am nē*) means "even":

hali nē man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pu sɔbi li
hālí nē mán dāa sɔbī_ø tísì=yā sī'əm lā m dāa pū sɔbì=lī ...
 even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give=2PL how ART 1SG TNS NEG write=3IN ...
 "Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

Hali la'am nē on daa an yelsum wusa daan la, o da lieb nɔŋdaan...
Hālí là'am nē ɔn dāa áŋ yēl-súm wūsā dāan lā,
 Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS be matter-goodness all owner:SG ART,
ò dà liəb nɔŋ-dāan...
 3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG...
 "Even though he had every blessing, he became poor..." (2 Cor 8:9)

Zugsɔb yel ye, Hali nē man vɔe nwa...
Zūg-sɔb yél yē, Hālí nē mán vɔɛ ŋwá ...
 Lord say that even with 1SG:NZ live this ...
 "The Lord says: Even as I live .." (Rom 14:11)

With *hālí* (or *hālí báa*) before main clauses without *kà* the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a presubject adjunct like a *yà'*-clause.

Hali tɔumbe'ed dim niŋid ala. "Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)
Hālí tɔum-bē'ed díŋ níŋìd àlá.
 Even deed-bad:PL NULL.PL do:IPFV thus.

Hali baa lampɔdi'esidib me niŋid ala.
Hālí báa làmpɔ-dí'əsìdìb mé niŋìd àlá.
 Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV thus.
 "Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali o be suori kenna ye o tu'usif.
Hālí ò bè sūər_ø kēn nā yé ò tū'usí=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 zɔ ka basif, man ku basi fɔ.
Hālí báa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zɔ kà básì=f, mān kú bāsì=fɔ=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)

15.3 Clefting

Clefting uses an identificational clause or a clause like *Lì à nē* "It is ...", 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", *foregrounding* the clefted element and backgrounding the rest, and implying exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tɔɔmbe'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn_ø n̄wáa_ø yīsīd nīdīb t̄ɔɔm-bē'edī_ø básiɔ̀dà=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.

"It is his wife who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

Lì á né ò p̄yā'_ø s̄ú'v=ī.

3IN be FOC 3AN wife CAT own=3IN.

B̄ɔɔ_ø lá kà m̄ nyētá=ø?

"What is that that I can see?"

What CAT that and 1SG see:IPFV=CQ?

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 pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì=ø p̄ù'usid Wínà'am

3IN be FOC 2PL fellow DEM.PL=NZ greet:IPFV God

kà ì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

and 3IN must and 2PL drive law.

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." (1 Cor 5:12)

15.4 Preposing

A preposed clause element is followed a *kà*-catenation with independent tense marking. 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 be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.

Àséé línì=ø àη bē'ed má'aa kà m̄ ná tūη'ə_ø níη.

Only DEM.IN=NZ be 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 bí'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē. "Little by little, a river is full." (Proverb)
 Little little and river:SG fill FOC.

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

So and 1SG.CN Paul CAT exist prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ on 2PL.CN

būud-bànì=∅ kā' Jew díim lā yélà.

tribe-DEM.PL=NZ NEG.be Jew NULL.PL ART about.

"Therefore, I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you gentiles."

(Eph 3:1 NT2)

Objects containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed, with resumptive pronouns needed if they are extracted from prepositional phrases.

Fù bōɔd bó=∅? "What do you want?"
 2SG want what=CQ?

but 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'-bíbísá_àlá kà fù nyētá=∅?
 Finger:PL NUM:how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
 "How many fingers can you see?" SB

Niŋgbiŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?
 Nìn-gbīŋ-bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mōrá=∅?
 Body-what-sort and 3PL IRR once have=CQ?
 "What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sɔnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?
 Kà ànô'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súnf dá pèlìg né bà yòmà pīs nāasí lá=∅?
 And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL year:PL forty ART=CQ?
 "And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

Preposing is *required* for bō in its very frequent use as meaning "why?":

Bó kà fù kúmmà? "Why are you crying?"
 *Fù kúm bó? *"What are you crying?"

Predicative complements probably cannot be preposed.

Mām áṅ b́ó=∅? "What am I?"
1SG.CN be what=CQ?

Kà fù áṅ àn'ónè=∅? "Then who are you?"
And 2SG be who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

Nwādsá àtán' kà fù ná lēb nā.
Month:PL NUM:three and 2SG IRR return hither.
"You're to come back in three months." (Foregrounded time adjunct)

Prepositional phrases with wōv "like" can be preposed.

Preposing has *no* implication of foregrounding within relative clauses, with manner, place and reason adjuncts, or when absolute clauses in adjuncts precede the main clause because of the requirement for constituent order to parallel event order.

Mán ṅwè' dāy lā zúg kà pōlīs gbán'a=m.
1SG:NZ hit man:SG ART on and police seize=1SG.
"The police arrested me because I hit the man." ILK

15.5 Dislocation

Clause elements other than pronouns may be dislocated to follow the clause-final perfective particle yā. Manner adjuncts are thereby intensified; with objects, the sense is "contrary to expectation."

M̀ pù'us yā bédugō. "Thank you very much."

Ò dà' yā múj. "She's bought rice." ("Of all things!")
vs Ò dà' nē múj. "She's bought rice."
("What did she buy?")

Catenations follow yā without dislocation:

Dinzug ka m keya ka saa pu len niida.
Dìn-zúg kà m̀ ḱé yá kà sāa pū lém niidā=∅.
So and 1SG let PFV and rain NEG again rain:IPFV=NEG.
"So I have made it no longer rain." (Jer 3:3)

Yà'-clauses may be right-dislocated due to weight §14.1.3.

Complements may be left-dislocated due to weight; unlike preposed elements, they are not followed by *kà*. A resumptive pronoun must then appear:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wìl-kànì=∅ bèε_ ò ní kà p̄ wénnā=∅,

Branch-DEM.SG=NZ exist 1SG LOC and NEG bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.

ò Bā' òwá'adī=lí n básid.

1SG father:SG cut:IPFV=3IN CAT throw.out:IPFV.

"A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts out." (Jn 15:2 NT2)

15.6 Presentation

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 location verbs, or objects of verbs of finding, seeing etc, often with a following n-catenation or adnominal *kà*-catenation:

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men."

Dāpá_àtán' n dá bè.

KSS p16

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS exist.

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāu dāa zín'i Lystra ní kà p̄ tūŋ'ə_ ∅ kēnnā=∅.

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8 NT2)

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

Pu'à-sɔ' dá bè_ ∅ mór ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló=∅.

Woman-INDF.AN TNS exist CAT have 3AN girl:SG and fairy:SG go.with=3AN.

"There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." (Mk 7:25)

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyɛ dāu kà ò yū'ur būən Aneas.

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)

16 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wēlá?	"How did you sleep?"
or Dúə wēlá?	"How did you get up?" (first morning greetings)
Nīntāŋ áŋ wēlá?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'uh áŋ wēlá?	"How is the evening?"
Fù yī-dímàa?	"[How are] your household?"
Nìn-gbīnàa?	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
Puā' nē bíisèè?	"[How are your] wife and children?"

... and so on, often at great length. Replies may be

Àláfù bé.	"There is health." [Also used as a greeting.]
Àláfù béo.	... for him/her.
Àláfù béε=bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern B́arkà né fù/yà ... "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted. The reply to all these is Ńaa.

Kēn kēn.	"Welcome!"
Nē zāam zāam.	"Good evening."
Tūmā! or Tūmā tūmā!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nē śŋsgā.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own ẃn _n ´.)
Né fù b́uríyá-s̀ŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù ỳum-pāalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands, replied to with T̀ "OK", or as appropriate:

Bēogū lā.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àt́nì dáarì lā.	"See you on Monday."
Gb̀s̀m śŋā.	"Sleep well."
Kp̀lumí śm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
P̀'us̀m yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply T̀, or B̀ nà ẃm "They will hear."

Prayers, requiring the reply Àmí "Amen":

Wīn ná lēbīsī=f nē láafiyà.	"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wīn ná tā'así=f.	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wīn ná sōḡī=f.	"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

M̀ pù'us yā [béduḡū].	"Thankyou [very much]." Reply Tò, or Pù'usòḡ kā'e. "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.	"Sorry"; in apology, or just as sympathy.
Kābīr kāburí!	Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
Dìm sūḡurú.	"Please forgive me."
M̀ bélìm nē.	"I beg you."
X lábāar áṅ wēlá?	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is Dīt̄b má'àa. "Only food." i.e. "good."
M̀ mōr kù'əm náa?	"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is Kù'əm á súm. ("Water is good.")
Wīn yél sídà.	"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth"; WK explained: "If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you."

17 Texts

1. Balaam's Donkey

(Numbers 22:21-35, KB)

Balaam da duoe beogun lɔɔ o buɲɔ dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keɲ. Amaa Wina'am sunf da duoe nɛ on keɲ la, ka Zugsɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geɲ o. Balaam da ban'adne o buɲ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Buɲ la da nye Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe su'ugv zanzl o nu'ugin, ka o buɲi kpen' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ud buɲ la ye o lɛb suor puvɔg.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lombɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zanguoma ayi' beɲ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teɲsuk la. Buɲ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zanguom la urig Balaam nɔbir. Ka o lɛm bu' o ya'as.

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikane ka sɔ' kv nyaɲi fɛndig datiuɲ bɛɛ dagɔbɔga. Buɲ la da lɛn nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wɔsa teɲin, ka Balaam sunf duoe hali ka o vɔb buɲ la nɛ o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka buɲ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fv 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." Buɲ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'ane fv meɲ buɲ 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 teɲsuk ka fuoe su'ugv zanzl. Ka o igin ka vanbin teɲin. Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fv bu' buɲ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giɲif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' su'um m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buɲ la nyeɛm ka yuk. Buɲ la ya'a pv yukine, anwaa m kvunif ka basin buɲ la." Balaam da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tɔm taal, m pa'a pv baɲ ye fv zi'ene suorin la ye fv geɲi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pv 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 dùe bēogū=n_ø lɔɔ_ò b̀̀ɲ̀̀ø ø dɔl Moab

Balaam TNS rise morning CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT go.with Moab

ná'-yī-kpém lā_ø 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 súnf dà dùè nē ón kēη lā, kà Zūg-sób máljāk
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Lord angel:SG
 kīdɪgī_ø zī'ən sūər lā zúg yé ò gīηó=ø.
 meet CAT stand road:SG ART on 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 bàη'ad né ò bòn, kà ò yammìs àyí' dōlló=ø.
 Balaam TNS ride:IPFV FOC 3AN donkey:SG, and 3AN slave:PL NUM:two go.with=3AN.
 "Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him."

Bòn lā dá ηyè Zūg-sób máljāk lá kà ò zí'e sūər lā zúg
 Donkey:SG ART TNS see Lord angel:SG ART and 3AN stand road:SG ART on
 kà fúe sò'ugò_ø zánl ò nú'ugī=n, kà ò búηì_ø kpèη'
 and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand 3AN hand:SG=LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter
 mōɔgī_ø gâad.
 grass:SG CAT pass.

"The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on."

Kà Balaam pīη'iīl_ø bō'ud búη lā yé ò léb sūər pòug.
 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 máljāk lā dá tōlɪsì_ø zī'ən lōmbòη'ɔd àyí' bánì=ø kà bà mé
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL NUM:two DEM.PL=NZ and 3PL build
 zàngùəmə àyí'_ø bēη, kà sūā-báaηlìg béε_ì tēη-sūk 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 ηyē Zūg-sób máljāk lā, ò dà miè_ø làbìn
 Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind
 zàηgùəm lā_ø ūrīg Balaam nóbìr. Kà ò lém bú'o=ø yâ'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 máljāk lā dá lèm vūriḡī_ ø tōlīs_ ø zī'ən tūən
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand front
 zīḡ'-kàni=ø kà sō' kú nyāḡī_ø fēḡdīḡ dātīḡḡ bēε dāḡòbugā=ø.
 place-DEM.SG=NZ 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=ø dà lèm nyē Zūg-sób máljāk lā, ò dà dīḡin nē
 Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS again see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie with
 Balaam wōsā tēḡī=n, kà Balaam súḡf dūe hālī kà ò vōb
 Balaam all down, 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 too, and Balaam was so angry he beat the donkey with his staff."

Kà Zūg-sób ké kà bōḡ lā yá'e ò nōḡrī_ ø pīāḡ' Balaam yē,
 And Lord let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
 Bō kím̄m kà ḡn máalī=f kà lì ké kà fù bú'ḡ=m nōḡr átāḡ' sá=ø?
 what IDEO and 1SG make=2SG and 3IN let and 2SG beat=1SG time:SG NUM:three hence=CQ?
 "Then the Lord caused the donkey to open its mouth to speak to Balaam: 'Just what have I done to you to make you beat me these three times?'"

Balaam dá lèbīsō=ø yē, Fù mōrī=m nē_ø mâan_ ø gálīm! M̄ yá'
 Balaam TNS reply=3AN that, 2SG have=1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
 mōrī=n sù'ḡḡḡ_ḡn nù'ḡḡī=n, ḡn nāan kōḡ=ní=f nānná-nā.
 have=DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG=LOC, 1SG then kill=DP=2SG now.

"Balaam replied: 'You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you right now.'"

Bòḡ lā dá lèbīs Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fù mēḡ búḡ ónì=ø kà
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CN NEG.be FOC 2SG self donkey:SG DEM.AN=NZ and
 fù bāḡ'ad sāḡá wōsā_ø tí pāe zīnāa=ø=ø? Fù nám mī'_ø nyé kà
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT once reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and
 ḡn mâal àḡwá_ø tísi=fò=ø? Kà ò lēbīs 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 yǎ'ɔg Balaam nínì kà ò nyē máljāk lā_ø zí'e sūər
 And Lord open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT stand road:SG
 lā tēŋ-sōk, kà fúe sù'ugù_ø zāŋl. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēŋl=n.
 ART centre:SG and draw knife:SG CAT hold. And 3AN kneel and lie.prone down.
 "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 máljāk lā dá bù'əsō=ø yē, Bó kà fù bō' búŋ lā
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS ask=3AN that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART
 nōɔr átán' sá=ø? M ké nā yé m̄ gīŋl=f bō zúgō kēn lā
 time:SG NUM:three hence=CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct=2SG because go:GER ART
 ká' sóm m̄ nīnī nī=ø. Nōɔr átán' kà bùŋ lā nyéε=m
 NEG.be goodness 1SG eye:PL LOC=NEG. Time:SG NUM:three and donkey:SG ART see=1SG
 kà yūk. Bùŋ lā yá' pō yūkī=ní_ àŋwáa=ø m̄ kōv=ní=f kà
 and deviate. Donkey:SG ART if NEG 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_ø yél Zūg-sób máljāk lā yē, M tóm tâal, m̄ pá'
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS
 pō bán yé fù zí'e nē sūərí=n lā yé fù gīŋl=mā=ø.
 NEG realise that 2SG stand FOC road:SG=LOC ART that 2SG obstruct=1SG=NEG.
 Nānná-nā, l̄ yá' pō māltsí=fō=ø, m̄ ná lēbī_ø kūl.
 Now, 3IN if NEG 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 màljāk lā lēbìsì_ø yél Balaam yē, Dòl nīdīb lā_ø kēŋ,
 And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,
 àmáa yèl̄m nē mán yé fù yél sī'əl má'aa.
 but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say INDF.IN only.

"But the angel replied to Balaam: 'Go with the people, but say only what I tell you.'"

Kà Balaam dōl Balak ná'-yī-kpém lā_ø kēŋ.
 And Balaam go.with Balak chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.
 "So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers."

2. The Three Murderers

(Kusaal Solima ne Siilima p16)

This fable, found throughout Africa and Eurasia, originated as a Buddhist *Jātaka* tale (Mary Hamel and Charles Merrill, "The Analogues of the 'Pardoner's Tale' and a New African Version", *The Chaucer Review*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1991.)

The style is much less formal than in the passage from KB above.

NING KUUDIBA ATAN'

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [*sic*] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [*sic*] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [*sic*] kpe, ka on kiak [*sic*] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Nīn-kúudìbá_ àtán'.

"Three murderers."

Person-killer:PL NUM:three.

Dāpá_ àtán' n dá bē. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāṅdā sù'ṅā.

Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS exist. 3PL TNS be FOC man-tough:PL well.

"There were once three men. They were really tough men."

Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asì_ø zín'inì_ø gbān'e yé bà dūəm_ø jā búdaalim
 And day:SG one and 3PL gather CAT sit CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT seek courage
 lá'ad n gīnnī_ø kū nīdīb má'aa kà dā lém tùm sī'əlā=ø.
 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 sìd dùe_ø jā sù'us nē zán'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with
 lú'ad, nē kpānā nē mállì sù'ŋā n pīŋ'ilī_ø gīnnī_ø ø iəd
 quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV
 nīdīb yé bà yá' ŋyē 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 gīlǵí_ àlá nē ŋwādisá_àtán' nē dábusà_àtán'. Bà pū ŋyē
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL NUM:three. 3PL NEG find
 nīd_ø ná kōu=ø. Kà kpélìm mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn.
 person:SG CAT IRR kill=NEG. And remain have go:GER with go:GER with go:GER
 "They went round like this for three months and three days and didn't find a person
 to kill. They carried on walking and walking and walking."

Dābá_ànū dāar bà ŋyē nē lāllí sà kà sī'əl zí'e sābúllì_ø
 Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT
 wūu nīd nē, kà bà kpēɛŋm lā yé bà kém_ø kúo=ø, 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 túŋ'e kà mōr nē láuk-sī'a wūsā, bà nà ŋyāŋī_ø kúo=ø.
 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 òŋā gīŋīd kpē, kà òŋā gīŋīd kpē, bà tì kēŋ_ø
 And DEMST.AN intercept:IPFV there, and DEMST.AN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL once go CAT
 pāa_ø ŋyē kà lì kā' nīdá=ø, kà á nē bōtú kà līgīdī pē'el
 reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.be person:SG=NEG, and be 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 ŋwá, tì yé tì nīŋ līgídī ŋwá wálá=∅?
 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 pūdīg nē. Àmáa bà yé ì nár kà bà yīs līgídī lā n
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
 kēŋ_∅ dá' dāam_∅ ná nū yīigá kà ŋyāan pūdīg līgídī 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 līgídī lā bī'elá yē bīig lā kém_∅ dá' yūr ná kà bà nū.
 And extract money ART little that child:SG ART go:IMP CAT buy jug:SG hither and 3PL drink.
 "And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Bīig lá=∅ kēn lā, ò tēŋ'esìd nē ́n nà nīŋ sī'am_∅ kū bání=∅
 Child:SG ART=NZ go:IPFV ART, 3AN think:IPFV FOC 3AN:NZ IRR do how CAT kill DEM.PL=NZ
 kpèlīm àní nā lā, kà vāe līgídī lā wūsā wūsā n sū'e, ò yélí_ò mēŋ yē,
 remain there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT own, 3AN say 3AN self that,
 ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà b́ tì-kūudím n lós dāamí=n lā
 3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer=LOC ART
 n pāa_∅ tíl=bá kà bà nūu_∅ kpí kà ò sū'e līgídī lā wūsā.
 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 b́ tì-kūudím 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'ísígē=∅, kà bà bàyí' lá=∅ kpèlīm lā mé gbāŋ'e nē yé bà kū
 NEG.know=NEG, and 3PL NUM:two ART=NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill
 bīig lá=∅ kēŋ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgídī lā.
 child:SG ART=NZ go beer ART buy:GER ART, and also own money ART.

"Unbeknownst, the two who had stayed behind had also decided to kill the youth who had gone to buy the beer and themselves keep the money."

Bīig lá=̀n m̄r dāam lā_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òḡā k̄jā kpē,
 Child:SG ART=NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEMST.AN cut here,
 kà ɔn k̄jā kpē, n k̄io=∅ ∅ k̄ū, kà yū'ɔn záj dāam lā_∅
 and 3AN.CN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT
 nū wán wán, lì p̄ yúugē=∅, kà bà w̄sā w̄sā mé kpél̄im k̄pì
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die
 zìḡ-kàn lā n̄ɔ́ kà bà s̄s' s̄s' p̄ nyāḡ_∅ pāam lā'af lā
 place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDF.AN INDF.AN NEG prevail CAT receive COWRY:SG ART
 báa ȳinní_∅ m̄r_∅ k̄ulí_∅ bà yáa=nē=∅.
 not.one CAT have CAT go.home 3PL house:PL=LOC=NEG.

"When the youth arrived back with the beer, this one cut him here and that one cut him there, cutting him to death, and they then picked up the beer and drank it in gulps; before long both of them died immediately in the exact same place, and none of them was able to take even a single coin home."

Dìn kà Kūsāas yé f̄ yá' tēḡ'es bēē t̄m bē'ed yé f̄ t̄sì_∅ f̄ t̄rāan,
 3IN.CN and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give 2SG neighbour:SG,
 f̄ m̄āanní_∅ f̄ mēḡ yā'as lā.
 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."

3. Proverbs

(Kusaal Solima ne Siilima pp38ff)

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'əm káadì_∅ l̄ébìs né òn gēogō=n.

Water bail:IPFV CAT return FOC 1SG between.legs:SG=LOC.

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs." (Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'əm zót nē b̄jāḡ'ar zúḡ.

Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG on.

"Water runs on mud." (You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asìd nē zūərī=n.

Stone:PL gather:IPFV FOC hill:SG=LOC.

"Stones build up on a hill." (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À-wjāk sēong zī' sīnnē=∅.

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 nyē sāa kúubō=∅, kà nyē sāa nīib.

NEG 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 pū nōkíd nā'-bínnì ∅ lōbugíd náafō=∅.

3PL NEG 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'əm yá' yé ò nà lōbūg, bāŋìm kà ò nò nē kūgūr.

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.

Bālērūgū ∅ zī' yé ò àŋ bālērūgū=∅, kà tādīm mī' yé ò àŋ tādīm.

Ugly:SG CAT NEG.know that 3AN be ugly:SG=NEG, and poor:SG know that 3AN be 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 tāmپیینگ sīīnd, fù pō lém zòt líəŋ dāug nyōōgō=∅.

2SG if want rock:SG honey, 2SG NEG 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 ∅ pílig 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-dìbig 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 bōud pō zín'i ná'-yīr'é=∅.

PERS-receive innocence NEG sit 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 fù yē zūg-máuk.

3PL that ugly:SG, and 2SG that head-crumpled:SG.

"They say 'ugly' and you say 'squashedhead.'" (Six of one, half a dozen of the other.)

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.

Bùŋ-dāug pō kāasídí ò tīrāan tēŋī=né=∅.

Donkey-male:SG NEG 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.

Kpēēm á nē tē'eg, ò tìgìd nē bálàyà.

Elder:SG be FOC baobab:SG, 3AN sate:IPFV FOC stick:PL.

"An elder is a baobab - no shortage of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

From Naden's dictionary:

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e pōog.

Bāas ká'e kà ŋwāamīs dī'e pōōg.

Dog:PL NEG.exist and monkey:PL receive farm:SG.

"There are no dogs and monkeys have got the farm." (When the cat's away ...)

From KT:

Sāan-súŋ á nē yī-dāan áŋsìb.

Stranger-good:SG be FOC house-owner:SG mother's.brother:SG.

"A good guest is a householder's uncle."

(Entertaining a guest is an opportunity to celebrate.)

18 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' and the distinctions n/ŋ, e/ɛ/ɛ̄/ə, i/ɪ/ì, o/ɔ, u/ʊ/ù; ŋ follows n. *adj ag ajn cl fm pron postp ptc ideo q v 1v* stand respectively for adjective, agent noun, adjunct, clause, focusing modifier, pronoun, postposition, particle, ideophone, quantifier, two-aspect verb, one-aspect verb. Unlabelled entries are nouns (including manner nouns.) Noun forms are listed as sg (if in use), pl, cb; cbs are followed by hyphens. Two-aspect verbs are listed by pfv. Regular inflected verb forms and deverbal nominals are not listed; nor are transparent compounds. See §12.4 for proper names, and §12.6.1 for number words with the prefixes à- bà- ñ- (à)bù-.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa.

A

à- *personifier pron*
 à (before nĒ) see àɛŋ_{ya}
 āaŋdīg_a āaŋdīs àaŋd- black plum,
Vitex doniana
 āaŋdīr āaŋdā black plum fruit
 àaŋs *v* tear
 àbùlā *q* how many-fold?
 à-dàalúŋ_o -dàalí(mì)s -dàalúŋ- stork
 àɛŋ_{ya} ger àaŋlím *1v* be something
 àeŋ *v* get torn
 à-gâbŋŋ_o -gâaŋd -gāŋ- pied crow
 àgólì àgólá upwards
 à-kōrā-dīəŋ_{ma} -dīəŋ-nàm_a mantis
 àlá *pron* thus
 àlá *q* so many; how many?
 àláafù health (in greetings); cf láafiyà
 àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (En)
 àmáa *cl ajn* but (Ha from Ar)
 àmēŋá really, truly
 àmí *ptc* amen (Ar *āmīn*)
 à-mús -mús-nàm_a cat (Ha *mussàa*)
 àní(-nā´) *pron* there
 àníŋà promptly
 àñ'ɔŋ *pron* who?
 àŋrùŋ_o àŋrumà àŋrùŋ- boat
 āŋs *v* pluck leaves
 āŋsìb_a āŋs-nám_a āŋs- mother's brother

āŋsīg´ *v* break at an angle
 āŋsīŋ_a āŋsís āŋsīŋ- man's sister's child
 àntù'a àntù'əs àntù'à'- lawsuit
 àŋwá(-nā´) *pron* like this
 ānzúrɪfà silver (Ha *azùrfaa*)
 àràzàk_a àràzà'as àràzà'- (generally pl)
 wealth, riches (Ar pl *al-arzāq*)
 àràzánà heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)
 àséɛ *cl ajn* except (Ha *sai*)
 àsīdā truly
 àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)
 àtèuk_o sea (Ha *tèeku*)
 áyì *ptc* no; to negative question: yes

B

bà *pron* they, their; =ba them
 bā´ bā'-nám_a bā'- father
 bāa bāas bà- dog
 bāa *fm* not even (Ha *bāa* "not be")
 bā'a bā'ab_a bà'- diviner; bà'-kòlùg_o
 diviner's bag
 bā'a bā'as bà'- peg for hanging
 bà'an_ŋ bà'anà bà'an- (penal) stocks
 bàaŋlìg_a bàaŋlìs *adj* narrow, slender
 bāaŋlìg_a *adj* quiet; bāaŋlím quietly
 bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol
 bābá *postp* beside
 bàbìgā´ *q* many

- bákpàḗ week (Ha *bakwàì* "seven")
 bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club
 bàlàṅìr bàlàṅà bàlàṅ- hat
 bālērūg_v bālērīd'/bālērīs' bālēr-
 ugly person (cf lēr)
 bammā' *pron* these
 bàn *pron* these
 bán *pron* they + =n; bān they,
 them (contrastive)
 bāṅ' *v* ride
 bānāa bānāas bānà- *sic* "fugu" smock
 bāṅ'ad_a bāṅ'ad-nām_a ill person
 bāṅ'al' *v* make to ride (horse, bicycle)
 bāṅ'as bāṅ'- disease
 bān-dāug_v -dāad -dà- crocodile
 bān-kúsélì -kúsēlá -kúsēl- lizard
 bāṅ_a bāaṅs bāṅ- ring, chain, fetter
 bāṅ_a agama lizard
 bāṅ *v* come to know
 bárukà blessing (Ar *barakah*)
 bàs *v* go away; abandon; throw out
 bàṅṅṅ only as in Ò kpèṅ' báṅṅṅ He was
 circumcised (Songhay)
 bàyēog_v betrayer of secrets (cf yēēs')
 bè ger bēlīm *1v* exist; be in a place
 bēdīg' *v* go rotten
 bēdūg_v/bēdūr bēdà bēd- *adj* great
 bēdugū' *q* much, a lot
 bēε *cl ajn* or; ends questions
 expecting disagreement
 bè(kè)kèoṅ_v very early morning
 bēlīm *v* beg
 bēlīs *v* comfort
 bēn_n bēnā bēn- end
 bēṅ' ger bēṅ'es *v* fall ill
 bēṅsìg *v* serve soup
 bēṅ *v* mark out a boundary
 bēṅíd bēṅ- bean leaves, *Vigna*
unguiculata; bēṅíd nē kī' beanleaf-
 and-millet (traditional snack)
 bēṅír bēṅá bēṅ- brown bean
 bēog_v tomorrow; Kà bēog nīe kà ... Next
 day ...; bēog sá/bēog dāar in future
 bē'og_v/bī'a bē'ed/bī'ēs bē'-/bī'à'- *adj* bad
 bēogó *cl ajn* tomorrow
 bēogū=n' morning
 bērìṅ_a bērìṅs *sic* kenaf, *Hibiscus*
cannabinus; bērìṅā bērìṅ- kenaf leaves
 bēsūg_v bēsīd bēs- kind of wide-
 mouthed pot
 bīāṅ'ar' bīāṅ'adā/bīāṅ'a bīāṅ'- wet/black
 mud, riverbed
 bīāṅṅk_v bīāṅ'ad bīāṅ'- shoulder
 bīəlì bīəlá *adj* naked
 bīəl *v* accompany
 bī'elá *q* a little; bī'el bī'el *q* a very
 little, little by little
 bī'əm bī'əm-nām_a bī'əmmā LF bī'əm-
 enemy
 bīən_n bīənā bīən- shin
 bīēr' bīāyá bīā- elder same-sex sibling
 bī'ēs *v* doubt
 bīgìs *v* show, teach
 bīg_a bīs bī-/bī- child; bī-līa baby; bī-dí(bìṅ_a)
 boy; bī-púṅ_a girl; bī-pīt_a' -pītí(b_a) -pīt-
 father's younger brother; bī-nà'ab_a
 prince
 bī'ig *v* ripen, become pregnant
 bīilíf_v bīilí bīil- seed
 bīilím childhood
 bīum' bī- soup, stew
 bīl_a bībīs bīl-/bī- *adj* little, small
 bīlìg *v* roll (transitive)
 bīlīm *v* roll (intransitive)
 bīm̀bīm̀_n bīm̀bīm̀à bīm̀bīm̀- mound,
 pillar of earth; KB altar
 bīn_n excrement
 bīṅ'isím milk (human or animal)
 bīṅ'isìr bīṅ'isà bīṅ'is- woman's breast
 b̀̀ *v* seek; b̀̀̀̀̀d_a ipfv want, ger b̀̀̀̀̀dìm

bō bō- *pron* what? why? bō-būudī
 what sort of ..? bō-zúgō *cl ajn* because;
 bō-zúgō why? bō-wīn_n what time of day?
 bō kimm exactly what?
 bōbīg *v* wrap round, tie round
 bōdīg *v* lose, become lost
 bōdōbōdō bread
 bōkō bō'ad bō'à'- pit
 bōŋ'cōgō swamp; ricefield
 bōsīr bōsā bōs- puff adder
 bōtō sack
 bō' *v* beat
 bō'ak *v* split
 bō'ar bō'a bō'à'- hole
 bō'ar' bō'a bō'ā'- skin bottle
 bōd ger bōdīg_a/bōdōgō *v* sow seeds
 bōdāalīm manhood, courage
 bōdīm ger bōdīmís *v* get confused
 bō'e *v* pour out
 bō'el *v* call, summon; Ò yō'ur bō'æn X.
 She is called X.
 bō'ær bō'yèyà bō'à- grain store
 bō'æs *v* ask; ger bō'æsógō question
 bōg *v* get drunk (Ha *bōgu*)
 bōgōd_a client of a bō'a diviner
 bōgōlīm *v* cast lots
 bōgōr bōgā bōg- abode of a wīn_n';
 wīn_n' from mother's kin as a sīgōr'
 bōgōm bōgōm-/bōgōm- fire;
 Bōgōm-tōŋr Fire Festival
 bōgōs_a' 1 *v* be soft
 bōgōsīg_a/bōgōsír bōgōsá bōgōs-
adj soft, weak; bōgōsīgā' softly;
 bōgōsīm softness, weakness
 bōk' *v* weaken
 bōk *v* cast lots
 bōl *v* germinate, ooze
 bōl_l bōlā shoot, sprout
 bōl *v* astonish
 bōlīg_a bōlīs bōl- well, pond
 bōmbàrīg_a bōmbàrīs bōmbàr- ant

bōn *v* reap, harvest
 bōn_n' bōn-nām_a/bōnā bōn- thing;
 bōn-bōudifō plant; bōn-gīg_a short chap
 (informal); bōn-kōŋbōgō -kōŋbōd kōŋb-
 cb *sic* animal; bōn-kōdōgō -kūt old man
 bōn-dāar *pron* which day?
 bōŋ_a bōmīs bōŋ- donkey
 bōŋ *v* take a short cut
 bōráa man (in ILK, but Toende dialect)
 bōrīkīn_a bōrīkīn-nām_a bōrīkīn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
 bōrīyā Christmas (Twi/Fante *bronya*)
 bōtīg_a bōtīs bōtīg- cup ("seed-planter")
 bōud innocence
 bōudī bōud- kind, sort, ethnic group
 bōug_a bōus bō- goat; bō-dībīg_a male kid

D

dà *tense ptc* before two days ago
 dā *mood/polarity ptc* not (imp)
 dàa *tense ptc* day after tomorrow
 dāa *tense ptc* before yesterday
 dà' *v* buy
 dà'a dà'as dà'- market
 dà'abìr slave
 dàalīm masculinity
 dàalīm dàalīmīs male organs
 dāam' dā- millet beer, "pito"; dā-bín_n
 beer residue; yeast
 dàam *v* disturb, trouble (Ha *dàamaa*)
 dāan_a dàan-nām_a dàan- owner of ...
 dāar dābā dà- day, date
 dāa-sí'ērē *cl ajn* perhaps
 dàbīēm fear
 dàbīogō dàbīēd dàbjà- coward
 dàbīsìr dàbīsà dàbīs- 24-hour period
 dā'e' *v* push; blow (of wind)
 dàgōbīg_a left; KB south
 dākā dākā-nām_a dākā- box (Ha *àdakàa*)

- dàkīig_a dàkīis dàkì- wife's sibling/
sister's husband (m dàkì-dāy, f dàkì-
pūāk_a); dàkì-tùà wife's sister's husband
dàkòṅṅr dàkòṅyà dàkòṅ- unmarried son
dàm ipfv dàm̀m̀id_a v shake
dàmà'a liar cf mà'
dàmà'am dàmà'ar untruth
dāmpūsāar/dānsàar staff, club
dāṅkòṅ_v measles
dàpāal_a' young man, son
dārúk_v kind of large pot
dà-sāṅ_a -sāaṅs/-sām_{ma} -sàṅ- young man
dàtāa dàtāas dàtā- enemy
dàtìyṅ_v right-hand; KB north
dāy dāp_a dày-/dàp- man
dāyṅ_v dàad dà- piece of wood, log;
pl also: wood (material); dà-kīəd_a
wood-cutter; dà-kpī'əd_a carpenter;
dà-pūudīr -pūudā cross KB
dāyṅ_v dāad dà- *adj* male
dàwàlìg_a hot humid season before rains
dàwān_n' dàwānà dàwān- pigeon
dàyāam_{ma} dàyāam-nām_a dàyāam-
husband's parent (m dàyāam-dáy,
f dàyāam-pūāk_a)
dàyūyṅ_v' dàyūud' dàyū- rat
dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
dèeg_a dèes warthog
dēēṅ_a dēēṅs/dēēmīs/dēēnā dēēṅ- *q* first
dēl_{la}' ger dēllúg_v/dēllím *1v* lean on
something (of a person)
dēlím v begin to lean (of a person)
dēṅ_a dēmīs dēṅ- accidental bruise; defect
dēṅ v go, do first
dēṅlím *subverb* beforehand
dì *pron* it, its (see lì)
dì ipfv dīt_a imp dīm_a v eat, get; ger dīt_v
food; Ò dì pūā'. He's married a wife.
Ò dì ṅyán. She's ashamed.
dīā' v get dirty
dīā'ad' dirt
- dī'e' v receive, get
dīēm_{ma} dīēm-nām_a dīēm- wife's parent
(m dīēm-dāy, f dīēm-pūāk_a); polite
address by a person of either sex to an
unrelated person of opposite sex and
similar or greater age;
dī'ēm v play; ger dī'ēmà festival
dī'ēs' v receive (many things)
dīgīyā' ger dīk_a'/dīgīr' *1v* lie down
dīgísá lairs
dīgīl' v lay down
dīgìn v lie down
dīgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf
dīs v feed; *ag* dīs_a glutton
dīsúṅ_v dīsímà/dīsís dīsúṅ- spoon
dīm_a dīn_n inan *dummy head pron*
dín *pron* it + =n
dīn *pron* it (contrastive), see līn
dīndēog_v' dīndēed' dīndē- chameleon
dīndīs_a glutton
dītúṅ_v right-hand
dì-zōrōg_v' -zōrá -zōr- crumb
dōl_{la}' ger dōllím *1v* go/come with; Àn'òṅì
dōllí=fò? Who has come with you?
Bà dōl nē tāabā. They go together.
dōlīg' v make accompany, send with
dōlīs' v investigate, trace
dōṅlīg' v stretch oneself
dòṅ'w s v water plants
dòṅg_v dòṅd/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;
dòṅg bīig_a housecat
dòṅṅg_v dòṅṅd dòṅ- dawadawa fruit
dū ipfv dūt_a' imp dùm_a v go up
dūà' v give birth to/beget; *ag* dū'ad_a
relative
dū'al v make interest (of a loan)
dū'am birth
dūaṅ dòṅṅs dòṅ- dawadawa,
Parkia clappertoniana
dú'atà doctor (En)
dūe' v raise, rise

dūēr' dūāyá dūā- stick
 dū'ēs' v lift up, honour
 dūg v cook
 dūk_v' dūgūd' dūg- cooking pot;
 dūgūb dūt cooking pots
 dūm v bite
 dūm_n dūmā dūm- knee
 dūndūug_v dūndūud dūndū- cobra
 dūniyā dūniyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)
 dūnná this year
 dūη_a dūmīs dūη- mosquito
 dūr_a 1v be many
 dū'un' v pass water
 dū'uním dū'un- urine
 dūsá steps

E

ēεη *ptc* yes; to negative question: no
 ēεη (tí) *tense-slot ajn* habitually
 ēεηb' v lay a foundation
 ēεηbír foundation
 èηbìs v scratch
 èηd v block up, plug up
 èηdìg v unblock, unplug
 èηrìg' v shift along (e.g. a bench)

F

=f_v *pron* you sg
 fāaη *q* every
 fāeη' v save; fāaηgíd_a saviour, fāaηgír
 salvation (from Toende)
 fāη v grab, rob
 fáss *ideo* for pìèlìg_a white
 fēεg' v (of food) get old, cold
 fēηdìg' v turn round
 fēη'og_v' fēη'ed' fēη'- ulcer
 fīəb v beat
 fī'ig v cut off
 fīiη *q* a little (liquid)
 fītlá lamp (Ha *fītilàa*); KB *fitir* pl *fitā*
 fīɔs' v puff (wind)

fù *pron* you, your sg
 fùe v draw out
 fūfūm_n fūfūmā fūfūm- envy; stye
 fún *pron* you sg + =n;
 fūn LF fúnì you sg (contrastive)
 fūug_v' fūud'/fūt' fū- clothing; (pl) cloth

G

gàad v pass, surpass
 gáafàrà sorry! (Ha *gaafaràa*, from Ar)
 gà'al v button up
 gà'am v grind teeth
 gāaη' gāaηs' gāη- Nigerian ebony,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gās v pass by
 gādū/gādūg_v' gādū-nám_a/gāt' gādū-/gād-
 bed (Ha *gadoo*)
 gālìm v joke
 gālìs v exceed, get to be too much
 gāηr' gāηyá gāηr- ebony fruit
 gàη v step over
 gāη' v choose
 gbāη'e' v catch
 gbāηyà'a idle person; gbāηyà'am laziness
 gbāyū_v' gbāná gbān-/gbāyū- animal skin;
 book (WK gbāyū_v); gbāyū-mī'id_a' scribe
 gbēεηm gbēη- sleep
 gbè'og_v gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead;
 lakeshore
 gbēr' gbēyá gbēr- thigh
 gbīgīm_n gbīgīmā gbìgìm- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; base (e.g. of a
 hill); *postp* below; gbìn-vòɔηr anus
 gbīs v sleep
 gēl' v place between legs (tone *sic*)
 gēεηm' ger gēεηmís v go/send mad
 gēεηη_a gēεηmís madman
 gélì gēlá gēl- egg
 gēη v get tired
 gēη' v get angry
 gēog_v place between legs (tone *sic*)

gīñlīm shortness (cf Dagbani *jia* "short")

gìk_a gìgìs gìg- dumb person

gìgulīm v become dumb

gīlīg' ipfv gīn_{na}' v go around

gīm_{ma}' 1v be short

gīη_a gīmā gīη- *adj* short

gīη v scrimp

gīη' v surround, intercept, obstruct

gīηā shortly

gīñlīm shortness (? for gīηgūlīm; cf

Farefare *gílgá* "short")

gōdīg' v look up

gō'e_{ya}' gōl_{la}' 1v be looking up

gòη v hunt; ipfv gòcòη_a wander,

ger gòcòηdīm

gò'còη v look up

gōr_a' 1v be looking up

gōs ipfv gōsīd_a'/gōt_a' imp gò(s)l_m_a

ger gósìg_a v look; *ag* gōt_a' seer

gū' v guard, protect

gùl v hang; gùl_{la} ger gùlīb_o 1v hang

gùllīm LF gùllīm_n *fm* only

gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread WK

gūmpōzēr' gūmpōzēyá gūmpōzér- duck

gùη'a gòη'còs gòη'- thorn; acacia;

gòη'-sābùlìg_a *Acacia hockii*

gùη_a gùmìs gùη- kapok tree,

Ceiba pentandra

gùηgūm_n kapok material

gūr_a' ger gūrím 1v guard, watch for

gū'ul' v put on guard

gù'ulīm v become half-ripe

gùur gùyà gù- upland; riverbank

gūur gūyā gù- ridge of back

gū'us' v take care, watch out

gū'us half-ripe fruits

H

hālí *fm* even, until (ultimately Berber)

I

jà v seek

jàñ'as' v leap

jàñk' ipfv/*ag* jàñ'ad_a' v leap, fly

īgī_{ya}' ger īk_a'/īgīr' 1v kneel

īgīl' v make kneel

īgìn v kneel down

úl_l úlá úl- horn

īsīr isā is- scar

isìg v get up early

K

kà *cl linker* and, that

kā v bail water

kā' (before complements) see kà'ē

kāab' v offer, invite

kāal' v count

kāas' v cry out, weep; (cock) crow

kà'asìg 1v not exist (*cl-final* only)

kābīg' v ladle out (liquid)

kābīr' ger kābírí v call for admission

kàd v drive away; kàd sàríyà v judge

kà'ē ger kà'alím 1v not exist/be/have

kāl_l' kālá kāl- number

kàlìgā' *q* few

kām_a *q* every

kàn *pron* this, that

kàñb ger kàñbīr v scorch

kāñdōg_o *adj* fat, tough (person)

kàñā' *pron* this, that

kàr_a 1v be few

kàrfà KB *kerefa* (Ha *karfèe*) in telling

time: kàrfà àtāñ' three o'clock

kàrīm v read

kàsēt_a' witness; testimony (French via

Mooré); kàsētíb_a witnesses

kē ipfv kēt_a' imp kēl_a v let, cause to ...

kèkè kèkè-nām_a kèkè- bicycle (Ha)

kèes v say farewell to

kèlìg/kèlìs v listen

- kēŋ ipfv kēŋ_a´ imp kēm_a ger kēŋ_n´ v
come (with nā); kēŋ kēŋ welcome!
- kēŋ´ ipfv kēŋ_{na}´ imp kēm_a (with sà) v
go; walk; *ag* kēŋ_{na}´ traveller
- kī´ kī-/kā- millet; kì-dà'ar -dà'adà bought
millet; kā-wēnnīr -wēnnā -wén- corn
- kjà v cut
- kīdīg´ v cross over, meet;
À-Kīdīgī Bū'əs Orion
- kī'tb_o´ soap; WK kīibú kīib- (Mampruli)
- kíŋf_o kīiní millet seed
- kìs v listen
- kī'is´ v deny
- kìkàm_n kìkàmà fig
- kì(ŋ)kàŋ_a kìkàmìs kìkàŋ- fig tree,
Ficus capensis
- kìkīrīg_a´ kìkīrīs´ kìkīr- (local En "fairy")
protective spirit: men have three,
women four, because of the dangers of
childbirth; hostile kìkīrīs´ live in the
bush ("their feet are attached
backwards to confuse trackers" WK);
kìkīr-bê'ed NT kìkīrīg_a´ KB demon
- kīlīm´ v become, change into
- kìm v tend flock/herd
- kímm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly
- kīr ger kìkírùg_o/kīrīb_o v hurry, tremble
- kīs_a´ ger kísùg_o *ag* kīs_a´/kīsīd_a´ 1v hate
- kísùg_o *adj* hateful, tabu
- kò v get broken, break (intransitive);
- kòbīgā (SF/LF identical) *q* hundred;
kòbísí two hundred
- kòdīg´ v slaughter (one animal) by
cutting its throat
- kòdú banana (Twi *kwadu*)
- kòl v put something around the neck
- kòlībìr kòlībà bottle
- kòlīg_a kòlīs kòl- river;
kòlīgī=n nó-dâug_o crayfish
- kòlùg_o kòn_n kòlùg- sack, bag
- kò'm´ kòm- hunger
- kòŋ'/kòŋ'ɔkò *postp* by oneself
- kòŋbīr kòŋbā kòŋb- bone
- kòŋbùg_o kòŋbīd kòŋb- animal hair;
human body hair, cf zūəbùg_o; kòŋb-
kīm_{na} -kīmmīb_a shepherd/herdsman
- kòŋs/kòŋsìm v cough
- kò'ɔg v break
- kò'ɔs v break several times
- kòt´ v slaughter (several animals) by
cutting their throats
- kòtā_n *fm* at all
- kótò lawcourt (En)
- krà' v nail, fasten
- krà'a krà'a-nàm_a rich person
- krāad_a´ krāadīb_a krāad- farmer
- krà'am riches
- krāaŋm´ krāŋ- grease, ointment
- kràkūr´ kràkūyá kràkūr- tortoise
- krān_n krānā krān- spear
- kràŋdìr kràŋdà kràŋd- baboon
- krār v lock
- krār-kéŋg_o -kéŋd -kéŋ- rag
- krá'uh_o krī'iní krā'- guinea fowl
- krē *pron* here
- krēŋm krēŋm-nàm_a krēŋm- elder
- krēŋm_a´ 1v be older than
- krēlá *pron* here
- krèlìm *subverb* still; immediately after
- krèlìm v remain
- krèn *subverb* = krèlìm
- krèŋ' v enter
- krēŋdīr´ krēŋdá krēŋd- cheek
- krèŋ'es v make enter
- krè'ŋ v strengthen
- krēŋŋ_o seniority
- krì v die
- krì'a krì'əs krìà'- neighbour
- krìà' LF krì'a v shape wood with axe
- krì'e v approach
- krī'əma´ 1v be strong, hard
- krìlīg_a krìlìs krìlìb- orphan

kpiig v go out (fire)
 kpī'ulīm v finish, come to an end
 kpī'um kpī'umīs kpī'um- corpse
 kpiis v quench
 kpīkpīn_{na}´ kpīkpīnnīb_a kpīkpīn- merchant
 kpī'oŋ_o kpī'əmā kpī'oŋ- *adj* strong, hard
 kpīsìŋkpìlì kpīsìŋkpìlà kpīsìŋkpìl- fist;
 also kpīsùkpìlì
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpòkpàrìg_a kpòkpàrìs kpòkpàr- palm tree,
Borassus akeassii
 kpòkpàr_u kpòkpàmà kpòkpàr_u- arm,
 wing
 kò *mood/polarity ptc* not (irrealis)
 kō v kill (Mooré *kú*)
 kō v threaten (of rain): Sāa kú yā.
 It looks like rain (Mooré *kúti*)
 k_{yā} v hoe, farm
 kō'alíj_a kō'alí(m)is kō'alíj-
 sleeveless traditional smock
 kùd v work iron
 kùdìg v shrivel up, dry out, age
 kùdīm the olden days; also for kùlīm *qv*
 kùdōg_o/kùdīr kùdā/kùt kùd- *adj* old
 kùdōg_o kùt kùt- (pl used as sg) iron, nail;
 sg only found in personal names
 kù'əm kù'à'- water; kù'à'-nūud´ thirst;
 kù'à'-ŋwīig_a´ current
 kùəs v sell
 kùgūr´ kùgá kùg- stone
 kùk_a kùgōs kùg- chair
 kùk_a ghost
 kùk_a´ mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*
 kùkòm_n kùkòmà kùkòm- leper
 kùkōr´ kùkōyá kùkō(r)- voice
 kùkpàrìg_a see kpòkpàrìg_a
 kùkūr´ kùkōyá kùkūr- pig
 kùl ger kùlīg_a´ v return home; marry
 (woman as subject)
 kùlīm *tense-slot ajn* always
 kùlìj_a kùl(um)is kùlìj- door

kùm v weep
 kūm kùm- death; kùm-vō'ugír
 resurrection KB
 kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndù'à'-
 barren woman
 kùndùj_a kùndùmìs/kùndùnà hyena
 kōu *cl ajn* or; ends questions
 expecting agreement (Ha *koo*)
 kūug_{a/o}´ kūs´ kū- mouse
 kùul v get drunk
 kūs´ v settle (legal judgment)

L

lā´ *article* the
 là' v laugh
 là'af_o līgūđì līg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;
 là'-bīəlíf_o small coin
 láafiyà/láafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)
 là'am v associate with; *subverb* together
 là'as v gather together (transitive);
 Bà là'as tāabā They gathered together.
 làbāar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)
 làbìy_a 1v crouch behind something
 làbìl v make crouch behind something
 làbìn v crouch behind something
 làbìs v walk stealthily
 lābīs_a´ 1v be wide
 lābìsìg_a/lābìsír lābìsá lābīs- *adj* wide;
 lābìsím width
 lāk´ v open (eye, book)
 lāl_la´ 1v be distant
 lālīg´ v get to be far, make far
 lālíl far off
 lālílìj_a lālílìs lālílìj- *adj* distant
 lālílúg_o lālílá lāl- *adj* distant
 lām_n´ lāmá lām- gum of tooth;
 lām-fōcōg_o -fōcōd *adj* toothless
 làmpō-dí'əs_a tax collector
 (French *l'impôt*)
 lān_n lānā lān- testicle
 lànnìg_a lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

lā'η´ v set alight
 lànḡáυηᵇ lànḡáam_n/lànḡāamá lànḡāυη-
 crab
 lāḡím v wander around searching
 lāυkᵇ lā'ad là'- item of goods
 là'υηᵇ là'amà fishing net
 lèb ger lēbīḡ_a v return (intransitive)
 lèbīḡ v turn over; return
 lèbìs v answer; send back; divorce (wife)
 lèε *tense-slot ajn* but
 lèm *subverb* again
 lèm ipfv lèmmìd_a v sip, taste
 lēr v get ugly
 lì *pron* it, its; =l_t it
 lì ipfv lìt_a imp lìm_a ger līḡ_a v fall
 lī v block up
 lìa *as in* X lìa? where is X?
 līdīḡ v turn a shirt WK
 līdīḡ v astonish, be amazed
 līəb v become
 lī'əl v approach
 lī'əm_n lī'əmá fruit of yellow plum tree
 līəḡ_a līəmís līəḡ- axe
 lī'əḡ_a lī'əmís yellow plum tree,
Ximenia americana
 līḡ v patch
 līḡìl v cover
 līḡìn v cover oneself
 lībūr lībā līb- twin
 līk_a līḡīs darkness
 līlāalīḡ_a līlāalí(mì)s līlāalīḡ- swallow
 līn *pron* it + =n; līn it (contrastive)
 līn *pron* that; līná *pron* that
 lō v tie
 lōb/lōbīḡ´ v throw stones at
 lōbīdīḡ_a lōbīdīs water-drawing vessel
 lōdīḡ_a´ lōdīs´ lōd- corner;
 lōdīḡí=n kúḡūr cornerstone KB
 lōdīḡ´ v untie
 lōkᵇ lù'ad lḡà'- quiver for arrows

lōmbòḡ'cḡᵇ lōmbòḡ'cd lōmbòḡ'- garden
 (Ha *lambu*)

lōḡ_a lōmīs lōḡ- kind of frog
 lō'η´ v go across river, road
 lór lóyà/lócm_{ma} lór- car, lorry
 lōs v dip, immerse in liquid
 lù ipfv lùt_a imp lùm_a v fall
 lūb ger lūbūr´ v buck, kick, struggle,
 throw off rider
 lūḡ v swim
 lōḡūr organ, member

M

m̄ *pron* I, my; =m_a me
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám_a *sic*
 mother's sisters/co-wives; mà-bīḡ_a
 sibling with same mother; mà-bīl_a
 mother's younger sister/junior co-
 wife; mà-kpēεḡm mother's elder
 sister/senior co-wife; mà-pīt_a´
 mother's younger sister
 mà' v lie, deceive
 mà'aa LF mà'anì *fm* only
 màal v prepare, sacrifice; màal-
 māan_{na} priest NT; traditionally, servant
 who conducts slaying for the tēḡ-dāan_a
 mā'al´ v make cool, wet
 māan_n māanā màan- sacrifice
 má'an_n mā'aná mā'an- okra
 mā'as_a´ 1 v be cool, wet
 mā'asíḡ_a/mā'asír mā'asá mā'as- *adj*
 cool, wet; mā'asíḡā´ coolly; mā'asím
 coolness, wetness
 mādīḡ´ v overflow, abound
 mā'e´ v cool down
 màk v crumple up
 māk´ v measure, judge
 màlīāk_a´ màlīāk-nám_a/màlīā'as´ màlīā'-
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)
 màlīfᵇ màlī gun, rifle (ultimately Ar)
 màlīḡìm *subverb* again

mālīs_a´ 1*v* be sweet, pleasant
 mālīsíg_a/mālīsír/mālīsíg_a mālīsá/mālīsís
 mālīs- *adj* sweet, pleasant; mālīsím
 sweetness
 mālūŋ_o mālūmā mālūŋ- sacrifice
 mām *pron* I, me
 mán *pron* I + =n̄; mān LF mánì I, me
 (contrastive)
 màŋgáŋ_o màŋgáam_n/màŋgāamá
 màŋgāŋ- crab
 màŋk_o mà'ad *adj* crumpled up
 mē *v* build
 mē mēn *fm* too, also; mē-kāmà -soever
 mēd *v* mash up
 mēēŋ_a mēēmìs mēēŋ- turtle
 mēlīgìm dew
 mēŋ_a´ *pron* self
 mēŋír *adj* genuine
 mēt´ mēt- pus
 mī' ger mī'ilím 1*v* know
 mīe *v* squeeze (?)
 mīíf_o mīiní okra seed
 mī'ig *v* become sour
 mī'is_a 1*v* be sour
 mī'isòg_o mī'isà mī'is- *adj* sour
 mīlīg´ *v* get dirty
 mīmīlím/mīmīlúg_o sweetness
 mīt do not let ...; beware of ...; KB *mid*
 mō *v* strive, struggle
 mōd *v* swell
 mōdīg´ *v* be patient, endure
 mōlíf_o mōlì mōl- gazelle
 mōn *v* grind millet to make sā'ab_o
 mōŋ´ *v* refuse to lend
 mōcōg_o mōcōd mō- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; mō-pīl grass thatch
 mōcōl´ *v* proclaim; *ag* mōcōl-mōcōn_{na}
 mōr_a´ ger mōrím 1*v* have; mōr nā bring
 mūà' *v* suck (of a baby)
 mūàk_a mù'as mūà'- maggot
 mù'ar mù'a(dà) mūà'- dam; lake

mù'as *v* give (to baby) to suck
 mù'e *v* redden; ignite; become intense
 mùj mùj- rice
 mùl *v* itch
 mùm *v* bury

N

n *cl* *catenater*
 =n̄ *cl* *nominaliser*
 =n *discontinuous-past ptc*
 =n/nī´ *locative ptc*
 nà *mood/polarity ptc* (irrealis)
 nā´ *VP-final ptc* hither
 nā *v* join
 náa *ptc* reply to blessings
 nà'ab_a nà'-nām_a nà'- chief, king;
 nà'-bīig_a prince/princess; nà'-yīr´
 palace; nà'-yī-kpém_{ma} courtiers
 náaf_o nīigí nā'- cow; nā'-dāug_o ox;
 nā'-lór place to tie cows up
 nām *v* happen
 nā'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom
 nāan next, afterwards (see nūyāan)
 nāan/nāanī *tense-slot ajn* in that case
 nāan´ ... n *v* starting at ... do
 nà'anā´ *ideo* easily
 nà'as *v* honour; ger nà'asì honour
 nà'-dāwān_n pigeon
 nāe´ *v* finish
 nām *tense-slot ajn* still, yet
 nām_a *pluraliser*
 nāmīs´ *v* persecute, suffer
 nān *v* love, respect, appreciate
 nà'-nēsīnnēog_o´ centipede WK
 nānná(-nā´) *pron* now
 nānzō'us´ pepper (? tones)
 nāŋ_a nāmīs nāŋ- scorpion
 nār_a´ ger nārím 1*v* need to; be necessary
 nārúŋ_o nārímá nārūŋ- *adj* necessary
 nāyīig_a nāyīig-nām_a/nāyīs thief;
 nāyīigīm thievery

- nà'-zòm_n locust
 nē *preposition* with; linking NPs: and
 nē' *focus ptc*
 nē' *ptc* after complements of wūu/wēn_{na}'
 lacking lā'
 nē' *pron* this
 nēel *v* reveal
 nēem for free
 nēm' *v* grind with a millstone
 nēer' millstone
 nēes *v* reveal; nēesim light
 nēm-nēer -néyà grinder
 nēn_{na}' ger nēnním *1v* envy; *ag* nīn-nén_{na}
 nē'ēṅā *pron* this
 nēog_u/nēer nēed/nēyà nē- *adj* empty
 nēsīnnēog_u' nēsīnnēed' nēsīnné-
 envious person WK; others: centipede
 n̄fá! Well done!
 nī' locative *ptc*: see =n
 nì *v* rain
 nīd_a' nīdīb_a' nīn- person; nīn-sāal_a
 human; nīnpūnān_{na}' nīnpūnānnīb_a
 nīnpūnán- disrespectful person
 nìe *v* appear, reveal
 nīf_u' nīnī nīn-/nīf- eye; nīf-gbáṅṅ_u eyelid;
 nīf-sób_a miser; nīn-dáa -dāas -dá- face;
 nīn-gótìṅ_a mirror; nīn-gótìs spectacles;
 nīn-kúgudìṅ_a -kúgudìs eyebrow; nīn-
 tâ'am tear(s); nīn-múa concentration;
 M̄ nīnī mù'e nē ... I'm intent on ...;
 nīn-báalìṅ_a pity; nīn-bāal-zōr pity;
 Ò zòtō nīn-báalìṅ. He has pity on him.
 nīṅ_a nīimís/níis nīṅ- bird
 nī'm_n' nīmá nīm- meat
 nīn-pōud pus
 nīntāṅ_a' nīntāṅs' nīntāṅ- heat of the day
 nīṅ_a nīis nīṅ- body; nīn-tōllím fever;
 nīn-tāa -tāas -tà- co-wife; husband's
 brother's wife; nīn-gbīṅ_u' -gbīnā -gbīṅ
 body (pl often as sg); nīn-gòr neck
 nīṅ *v* do
 n lā *as in* X n lā that is X
 n ṅwà *as in* X n ṅwà (nā) this is X
 nō *v* tread
 nōb *v* get fat
 nōbīṅ' *v* grow (e.g. child, plant)
 nóbìr nōbá nōb- leg, foot; nōb-bíla toe;
 nōb-íṅ'a toenail; nōb-púmpàṅṅ_u foot
 nōk' *v* pick up, take up
 nòṅ imp nòṅim_a *ag* nòṅid_a *sic 1v* love
 nōṅ_u' nōṅ- poverty; nōṅ-dāan_a pauper
 nòṅlím love
 nōw *fm* exactly, just
 nōw' nōyá nō- mouth; command; nō-
 dī'əs_a chief's spokesman ("linguist"),
 Akan *okyeame*; Wínà'am nō-dī'əs_a
 prophet KB; nō-lōr fasting; nō-nāar
 covenant; nō-pōr oath; nō-gbáṅṅ_u lip
 nōw'/nōwím times (after numbers)
 nū *v* drink
 nūa' nōws' nō- hen; nō-dāug_u cock;
 nō-ṅyâ'aṅ_a hen; Nō-ṅyâ'aṅ-né-ò-Bīis
 Pleiades
 nūlìṅ'/nūlīs' *v* make drink
 nū'ug_u nū'us nū'- hand, arm; nū'-bíla
 finger; nū'-dāug_u thumb; nū'-íṅ'a -ēṅ'ēs-
 -éṅ'- fingernail; nū'-wēṅ'ed_a mediator
 ṅwà *deictic* this
 ṅwā' *v* smash, break up
 ṅwāaṅ_a ṅwāamīs ṅwàaṅ- monkey
 ṅwādīṅ_a' ṅwādīs' ṅwād- moon, month;
 ṅwād-bíla star; Nwād-dár Venus
 ṅwà'e *v* cut wood
 ṅwā'e' *v* strike, break
 ṅwām_n/ṅwān_n ṅwāmā/ṅwānā
 ṅwām-/ṅwān- calabash
 ṅwè' *v* beat; ṅwè' X nū'ug plead with X;
 ṅwè' ṅyō'cg boast
 ṅwīṅ_a' ṅwīis' ṅwī- rope
 ṅwīṅ' *v* make a rope
 ṅyā'al' *v* leave behind
 ṅyāan *tense-slot ajn* next, afterwards

ɲyá'aŋ_a ɲyá'as/ɲyā'amís ɲyā'aŋ- *adj*
 female (animal)
 ɲyá'aŋ_a *postp* behind; east;
 ɲyà'an-dòl_{la}/-dòl_l -dòllà/-dòllìb_a -dòl-
 disciple KB (tones *sic*)
 ɲyā'ar ɲyā'a ɲyà'- root
 ɲyāe_n' (texts *nyain*) *ideo* brightly, clearly
 ɲyālúŋ_b ɲyālú_m ɲyālūŋ- *adj* wonderful
 ɲyàn_n shame; Ò dī ɲyán. He's ashamed.
 ɲyāŋ' v overcome; succeed in
 ɲyàuk_b ɲyà'ad *adj* single (eye)
 ɲyē ipfv ɲyēt_a' imp ɲyèm_a v see, find;
 ɲyē láafiyà get well
 ɲyēε, ɲyēε tí *tense-slot ajn* habitually
 ɲyē'εr' ɲyēdá ɲyē'- next-younger sibling
 ɲyèεs_a 1v be confident; ɲyèεsì_m
 confidence
 ɲyèεsíŋ_a ɲyèεsís ɲyèεsíŋ- *adj* confident;
 ɲyèεsíŋā' confidently
 ɲyīn_n' ɲyīná ɲyīn- tooth
 ɲyīríf_b ɲyīríf egusi, seed of
Colocynthis citrullus
 ɲyōɔd intestines
 ɲyō'ɔg_b' chest
 ɲyōɔg_b sympathy: Ò zòtō ɲyōɔg.
 She sympathises with him.
 ɲyōɔr ɲyōyā ɲyō- nose, breath;
 ɲyō-vūr' -vōyā -vūr- life
 ɲyō'ɔs' smoke
 ɲyū'e' v set alight
 ɲyūur' ɲyūyá ɲyū- yam

O

ò *pron* he, she, his, her; =_o him, her
 ón *pron* he, she + =_n;
 ɔ̃n he, she (contrastive)
 òn *pron* this, that (animate sg)
 òŋb ger ɔ̃ŋbīr v chew
 òŋā' *pron* this, that (animate sg)

P

pà' *tense ptc* earlier today
 pà'al v teach, inform; pā'an_{na} pā'annīb_a
 pà'an- teacher
 pà'al v put on top of something
 pāalíg_a/pāal_l pāalís/pāalá pāal-
adj new
 pāalím recently
 pāalú open space
 pàaŋlúŋ_b pàaŋlímìs spiderweb
 pàam v receive a gift
 pàas v add up to, amount to
 pāe' v arrive; reach
 pàk v surprise
 pàk v take off from the top
 pāmm LF pāmní q much, a lot
 pàŋ'alì_m v dedicate
 pàŋsìg v lack
 pàŋ_a pàaŋs pàŋ- power
 pà' tì *tense-slot ajn* perhaps
 pèbìs v blow (wind); pèbìsì_m/pèbìsùg_b
 wind
 pè'el v fill
 pèelug_b bald (only with zū- "head")
 pè'εs v add up to, amount to
 pèlìg v whiten, go white
 pèlìs v sharpen
 pèŋ_n vagina
 pē'ŋ' v borrow; knock over WK
 pèog_b pèed pè- basket
 pē'og_b' pē'εs' pē'- sheep; pē'-sá'a ewe
 lamb
 pēsīg' v sacrifice
 pīā v dig up
 pīāŋ' v speak, praise; ger pīāuŋk_b pīāŋ'ad
 pīāŋ'- word, (pl) language; pīāŋ'-zònà
 foreign language
 pìbìg v uncover
 pìbìl v cover up
 pībīn_n pībīnā pìbìn- cover, lid

pìd v put on (hat, shoes, rings), with clothing item as object; with indirect object, put (hat etc) on someone

pīd v get bloated

pìdìg v take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pīe' v wash (own body)

pìəb v blow (e.g. flute)

pìə̀lìg_a/pìə̀lì pìə̀là/pìə̀lìs pìə̀l- *adj* white;

Kusaal has a three-colour system: zèṅ'og_b (or wìug_b) "red", for all reddish shades, sābulìg_a "black", for all darker shades, and pìə̀lìg_a "white" for all lighter shades. Any colour can be allocated to one of these three, but many other standard terms exist, e.g. wōu támpōur nē "like ash" i.e "grey"; pìə̀lìm whiteness

pìəs v fool someone

pīəs' v wash

pīigā q ten

pīim' pīmá pīm- arrow

píuf_b pīuní pīun- genet

pīinī pīin- gift

pìl v cover

pìlìg v uncover

pīṅ'il' v begin

pīpīrìg_a pīpīrīs' pīpīr- desert

pīsì q twenty

pītú pītìb_a pīt- younger same-sex sibling

pō v swear

pòṅd v crouch down

pōṅ'ɔl' v cause to rot

pòṅ'ɔ̀lìm v cripple, get crippled

pòṅ'ɔ̀r pòṅdà pòṅ'- cripple

pòṅr_a ger pōṅrōb_b 1v be near

pòṅròg_b pòṅrà *adj* near

pò̀ɔ̀d_a 1v be few, small

pò̀ɔ̀dìg_a/pò̀ɔ̀dìr pò̀ɔ̀dà pò̀ɔ̀d- *adj* few, small; pò̀ɔ̀dìm fewness

pṑɔ̀g_b pṑɔ̀ɔ̀d' /pṑɔ̀t' pṑ- field, farm

pò̀'ɔ̀g v diminish, belittle

pṑɔ̀r' clan "slogan", part of its genealogy WK; from pō, cf Farefare pōre "family name, name one swears by")

pō mood/polarity *ptc* not (indicative)

pō v divide

pūā' pū'ab_a pūà'- woman, wife;

ò dī pūā' He's married a wife; pūà'-ēlìṅ_a

fiancée; pūà'-gīnnìg_a/gṑɔ̀ṅdīr

prostitute; pūà'-ṅyá'ṅ_a -ṅyá'as old

woman; pūà'-pāal_a' bride; pūà'-sādīr'

nulliparous young woman; pūà'-

sāṅ'am_{na} adulterer; pūà'-yūa daughter

pūāk_a pū'as *adj* female (human)

pù'alìm v cook

pù'alìm v harm, damage

pù'alìm femininity

pù'alìm pù'alìmìs pù'alìm- female organs

pùd v name

pūdìg' v divide, share out

pùgudìb_a pùgùd-nàm_a pùgùd- father's sister

pùkòṅr pùkòṅyà pùkòṅ- widow

pùkpāad_a' pùkpāadìb_a pùkpá- *sic* farmer

pùlìmà a grass, *Imperata cylindrica*

pùmpṑɔ̀g_b housefly

pùṅ *subverb* previously, already

pūṅ'e' v rot

pūsìg_a' pūsìs' pūs- tamarind

pūsīr' pūsá tamarind fruit

pū-súk_a pū-súgùs half

pūt' contents of stomach

pūum' pūum- flowers

pūug_a pù- belly; Ò mōr pūug She is

pregnant; pūugū=n' *postp* inside;

pù-pìə̀lìm holiness; pù-tèṅ'er -tèṅdà

-tèṅ'- mind

pūr' stomach

pù'us v greet, worship, thank; ger

pù'usìm worship; ger pù'usùg_b

thanks; pù'usìm dṑɔ̀g_b KB temple

S

sà *tense ptc* yesterday
 sà *VP-final ptc* hence, ago
 sã' v be in distress
 sàa *tense ptc* tomorrow
 sãa sãas sà- rain, sky; as subject of
 jãŋk': lightning; sãa díndēog' _v
 rainbow; sãa zúg' _v sky
 sã'ab' _v sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 sãafī lock, key (Twi *safē*)
 sàal_a sàalīb_a sàal- human; sàal-bīig_a
 human being
 sàalīñā' smoothly
 sàam_{ma} sàam-nàm_a sàam- father; sàam-
 kpēɛŋm father's elder brother; sàam-
 pīt_a' -pītīb_a -pīt- father's younger
 brother
 sãam' v mash, crumble
 sã'an' *postp* in the presence/opinion of
 sãan_a' sãam_{ma} sãan- guest, stranger
 sãannīm strangerhood
 sàbēog' _v sàbēed sàbè- wind, storm
 sãbílīg_a/sãbílī sãbulís/sãbulá sãbīl- *adj*
 black [cf pìèlīg_a]
 sàbùa sàbùəs sàbùà- lover, girlfriend
 sãdīgīm *tense-slot ajn* since, because
 sãɛŋ/sãɛŋy_a sãaŋb_a sàŋ- blacksmith
 sãkáròg' _v sãkárīd sãkár- fox
 sàlībīr bridle
 sãlīmā sàlīm- gold
 sãm_n' sãmá sãm- debt; sãm-kpâ'as_a
 household servant
 sãmán_n sãmánà sãmán- open space in
 front of a zàk_a; Sãmán-píər traditional
 New Year ceremony
 sàŋ'am v get/make spoiled, broken
 sãŋá sãnsá sãn- time; sãn-kán *pron* then;
 when? sãn-sí'ə=n lã *cl ajn* at one time
 sàŋ-gbàŋ' _v sky
 sãŋgúnñīr sãŋgúnñà sãŋgún- millipede
 sãpálī Harmattan part of úun_n

sãpī LF sãpī/sãpīnī *ideo* straight
 sãrīgá prison (Ha *sarkàa* "chain")
 sàrìyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàrìyà-kāt_a judge
 sãug' _v sãad' sã- broom, brush
 sàuk' _v sà'ad dust mote
 sãuŋ' _v hospitality
 sè ipfv sèed_a v transplant
 sēoŋg' _v rainy season
 sī v skin, flay
 sī'a *pron* sg some, any
 sīa sīəs sjà- waist; sjà-lōwdíŋ_a belt;
 sjà-nīf' _v kidney
 sjà'al' v get to be enough
 sjà'ar sjà'a sjà'- forest WK; wilderness
 sjàk v agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*); Ó
 pū sjàkì fù nōwéré. He hasn't obeyed you.
 sjàk' v suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)
 sībīg_a' sībí sīb- kind of termite
 sīd *tense-slot ajn* truly
 sīdà sīd- truth
 sīd_a sīdīb_a sīd- husband; sīd-bīl_a
 husband's younger brother;
 sīd-kpēɛŋm husband's elder brother;
 sīd-puāk_a husband's sister
 sīe' v descend, be humbled
 sīēbā *pron* some, any; sī'ə_a something,
 anything; sī'əm somehow, anyhow
 sīg v descend
 sīgīr' guardian spirit
 sīgīs' v lower
 sīgīsír sīgīsá stopping-place
 sīg_a sīs sī- vital energy, *Lebenskraft*
 (Haaf), a person's kīkīrīs'; spirit KB;
 Sī-sùŋ' _v Holy Spirit NT; cf Buli *chúik*
 sīg_a sīs African birch, *Anogeissus*
leiocarpa; cf Buli *sīik*
 sīlīm v cite proverbs
 sīlīg_a/sīlúŋ' _v sīlī(m)is/sīlīmà sīlīg-
 proverb
 sīīnd' honey
 sīīf' _v/sīīŋ_a' sīīŋs' sīŋ- bee

sī'is´ v touch
 sīlīnsīug_o sīlīnsīis ghost
 sīlīnsīuḡ_o sīlīnsīiḡ spider
 sīlòg_o sīn_n/sīlīs sīl- hawk
 sīm v sink in a liquid
 sīn_{na}´ ger sīnnīm 1v be silent
 sīnsáaḡ kind of tiny ant
 sīḡ_a sīḡs sīḡ- kind of very big pot
 sī'ḡ´ v begin
 sīsībìg_a sīsībìs sīsīb- neem tree,
Azadirachta indica
 sīsībìr sīsībà fruit of neem tree
 sīsì'əm wind, storm
 sīsùugū=n´ *postp* between; KB *svugin*
 sī'uh_o sī'imís sī'uh- kind of big dish
 sō´ *pron* some(one), any(one), animate sg
 sōb_a *pron* (animate dummy head sg)
 sōb v darken; write
 sōbìg´ v blacken
 sōbìr´ sōb- piece of writing
 sōḡḡ/sōḡḡ_{ya} sōḡḡ_a sōḡ- witch
 sōḡḡ_a soldier (En)
 sōlōḡ_o´ sōlómá story
 sōḡ v rub
 sōḡ'e_{ya}´ 1v be better than; *ag* sōḡ'cd_a´
 sōḡ'cb_a´ sōḡ'cd-
 sōnnīr sōnnā sōn- yard-dividing wall
 sōḡs ger sōḡsìg_a v converse, talk with
 sōḡḡ_o witchcraft
 sōḡḡr sōḡyā sōḡ- liver
 sōs ger sōsìg_a v ask; *ag* sōs_a beggar
 sù v take a bath
 sūā´ v do secretly, hide
 sūāk_a´ hiding place
 sū'e_{ya}´ 1v own; ger sū'ulīm property,
 realm
 sūeḡ´ v anoint
 sū'əḡ_a sū'əmís sū'əḡ- rabbit
 sūər´ sūāyá sūā- road; permission
 sū'əs_a yesterday
 sū'əs v trick

sūḡōr´ ger sūḡōrú v show forbearance
 sù'm goodness; well
 sùm_{ma} 1v be good
 sūmmīr sūmmā sùm- groundnut
 sùn_n ger sùnnīr/sùnnòg_o v bow one's
 head; *ag* sūn_{na} close observer WK
 sūḡ'e´ v become better than
 sūḡf_o´/sūuḡr´ sūḡyá sūḡ- heart; sūḡ-
 búgusīm peace; sūḡ-kpî'oh_o boldness;
 sūḡ-má'asīm joy; m̄ sūḡf má'e yā I'm
 joyful; sūḡ-málsīm -máls- joy; sūḡ-
 pēen anger; m̄ sūḡf pélìg nē I'm angry;
 sūḡ-sāḡ'uh_o sorrow; m̄ sūḡf sāḡ'am nē
 I'm sad.
 sùḡ v help
 sùḡ_o sùmà sùḡ- *adj* good; sù'ḡā´ well
 sùr_a 1v have one's head bowed
 sùsòḡ_n grasshopper
 Sūtáanà Satan
 sūug´ v wither (leaves) WK
 sù'ug_{a/o} sù'us sù'- knife

T

-tāa -tāas *after deverbial noun* fellow-
 tāabā tāab *pron* each other
 tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal
 tàalḡ tàalà tàal- fault, sin
 tá'am_n tā'amá shea nut
 tá'aḡ_a tā'amís tā'aḡ- shea tree
Butyrospermum parkii
 tā'as´ v help someone to walk
 tàb v get stuck to
 tàbì_{ya} 1v be stuck to
 tàbìg v get unstuck from
 tàbìl v stick to (transitive)
 tàdìg v become weak
 tàdīm tàdīm-nām_a tàdīm- weakling
 tàdīmís weakness
 tàḡ ipfv tàmmìd_a v forget
 tàḡpìḡḡ_a rock
 tàḡpūa tàḡpōs tàḡpò- housefly

tàmpōur tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip
 tãñ tãñā tãñ- earth; tãñ-mēēd_a builder
 tãñp_o war; tãñp-sōb_a warrior
 tãñs ger tãñsùg_o v shout;

Winnìg tãñsìd nē. The sun is shining.

tãr_a´ ger tãrím 1v have
 tã̀sìntàl|/tã̀tál| palm of hand
 tã̀yñ´ tã̀ñp_a´ tã̀yñ-/tã̀ñp- opposite-sex sib
 tēb ger tēbīg_a v carry in both hands
 tēbīg´ v get heavy
 tēbīs_a´ 1v be heavy
 tēbīsíg_a/tēbīsír tēbīsá tēbīs- *adj* heavy;
 tēbīsím heaviness
 téēbùl téēbùl-nàm_a table (En)
 tēēg´ ipfv tēēd_a´ v drag, pull;
 tēēg X tùbùr punish X
 tè'ēg_a tè'ēs tè'- baobab, *Adansonia*
digitata
 tēk´ v pull
 tēñb ger tēñbùg_o v tremble, struggle
 tēñ'ēs v remind
 tēñ'ēs´ v think; ger tēñ'ēsá thought
 tēñ_a ger tēñrīb_o 1v remember
 tēñ_a tēñs tēñ- land; tēñ-bīg_a native;
 tēñ-dāan_a earth-priest; tēñ-dū'adīg_a
 native land; tēñ-gbàyñ_o land; tēñ-
 pōyñ_o´ -pōud´ -pō- village; tēñ-zùñ_o
 -zùñs foreign land; tēñ-sūk_a centre;
 tēñī=n´ down
 tēñír down; *postp* under
 tēog_o tēēd nest
 tè'og_o tè'ēd baobab fruit
 tì *pron* we, our; =tì us
 tì *subverb* once
 tjà'al v come next
 tjàk v change
 tì'e v rely on
 tì'ēb v get ready; (? influenced by Ar
 tìbb "medical art") heal; tì'ēb_a healer
 tiēñ v remember; WK inform
 tiēñ v stretch out

tìēñ_a tìēmìs tìēñ- beard; tìēñ-gōur chin
 tīg v have too much/many; ger tīgír´ glut
 tì'y_a´ ger tì'ib_o´ 1v lean (object)
 tìug_a tìs tì- tree; tì-dāug_o -dāad -dà-
 bow for arrows
 tì'il´ v lean something
 tìum tì- medicine; tì-kōudím poison;
 tì-sābulím a traditional remedy
 tì'in v begin to lean
 tìk´ v press; tìk nú'ug sign
 tìlās necessity (Ha *tiilàs*)
 tìlīg v survive, be saved
 tìnám_a *pron* we, us (contrastive);
 tìnámì we + =n
 tìntōñríg_a tìntōñrís tìntōñr- mole
 tìp_a tìp-nàm_a tìp- healer
 tìrāan_a tìrāan-nàm_a tìrāan- neighbour,
 peer; tìrāannìm neighbourliness
 tìrīgà *ideo* for gīg_a short
 tìs/tì= ipfv tìsìd_a/tìt_a *ag* tìs_a v give
 tìtā'al| proud person; tìtā'alím pride
 tìtā'am multitude
 tìtā'ug_o/tìtā'ar tìtādā tìtá'- *adj* big
 t̀ OK (Ha *t̀o*)
 t̀d v give to the poor, share
 t̀ēy_a´ 1v be bitter, difficult
 t̀óklàe torch (En "torchlight")
 t̀lìb *ideo*
 t̀lìs´ v do next, advance, carry on
 t̀lìlìlì *ideo* for ẁk_o´ tall
 t̀ñ v shoot
 t̀ñ'w̄s v hunt
 t̀ōg_o t̀ōd t̀- *adj* bitter, difficult
 t̀ōm´ v depart, disappear
 t̀'w̄t̄´ straight away
 t̀yà v grind in a mortar; t̀yà-bìl_a pestle
 t̀yà' v speak, plead in court
 t̀'al v condemn in court
 t̀'as v talk
 t̀ùbùr t̀ùbà t̀ùb- ear; t̀ùb-kpìr half of jaw
 t̀ùēdìr t̀ùēdā t̀ùēd- mortar

tùə_n *postp* in front; KB *tuona* west;
 tùə_n-gāt_a leader
 tōl_{la}´ 1*v* be hot
 tūlìg *v* invert
 tūlīg´ *v* heat up
 tùm *v* work; ger tūm_n tūmā tùm-
 deed, (pl) work; *ag* tùm-tūm_{na}
 tùm ger tītōmīs *v* send
 tūñ'e 1*v* control; be able
 tūsīr´ thousand
 tūtūl_l upside-down thing
 tūolígā´ hotly
 tūolúg_o tūolá tūol- *adj* hot
 tū'us´ *v* meet

U

ùdòg_o ùt ùd- piece of chaff
 ūgōs´ *v* bring up a child
 ùk *v* vomit
 ūk *v* bloat
 ùm *v* close eyes
 ūrīg´ *v* scrape
 úon_n dry season
 ūos´ *v* get warm (of a person)

V

vābī_{ya}´ ger vāp_o´/vābīr´ 1*v* lie prone
 vābīl´ *v* make lie prone
 vābìn *v* lie prone
 vāe *v* gather up
 vāuḡ_o´ vāaḡ´ vāñ- leaf
 vē' *v* lead
 vē'eg´ *v* drag
 vèn_{na} vèḡ_{la} 1*v* be beautiful
 vèḡlìg_a/vèḡlìḡ_a/vènnìg_a /vènnìr
 vèḡlìs/vèḡlìs/vèḡlìà/vènnìs/vènnà
 vèḡl-/vèn- *adj* beautiful; vènnìm beauty
 vī´ *v* uproot
 vīg´ *v* postpone, reschedule
 vīk´ *v* uproot
 vīug_o´ vīid´ vī- owl

vōb´ *v* thrash
 vū ger vūug_o´ *v* make noise; vūud´ noise
 vūē_{ya}´ 1*v* be alive
 vúəḡ_a vūəmīs red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vúə_r vūáa vūə- fruit of red kapok
 vōl *v* swallow
 vòlìnvùuḡ_l mason wasp
 vōm´ vōm- life
 vōr´ vōyá vōr- *adj* alive
 vūrīg´ *v* shift along, move over
 vō'ug´ *v* come, make alive
 vō'us´ ger vō'usím *v* breathe, rest

W

wā´ *v* dance
 wāad´ cold weather
 wāaf_o wīgí wā'- snake
 wāal´ *v* sow, scatter seed
 wā'alím length
 wā'am_a´ 1*v* be long, tall
 wàbìg_a/wàbìr wàbìs/wàbà wàb-
 lame person
 wàbùlìm *v* make, go lame
 wābōg_o´ wābīd´ wāb- elephant
 wādá wād- (En "order" via Ha) law;
 wād-tís_a lawgiver NT1
 wà'e_{ya} 1*v* be travelling
 wālìg_a wālìs/wālì *sic* wàl- kind of
 gazelle
 wàḡìm *v* waste away
 wàsìnwàl_l a parasitic gall on trees:
 local En "mistletoe"
 wàḡ_o wànà wàḡ- *adj* wasted, thin
 wēel´ *v* be left unsold
 wēl *v* bear fruit
 wēl_l´ wēlá wēl- fruit
 wēlá/wālá *pron* how?
 nìḡ wēlá n/kà how can ...?
 wēn_{na}´ ger wēnním 1*v* be like
 wēnnìr *adj* resembling (tone *sic* WK)

wèog_o deep bush
 wēog_o wēed' cheap thing sold in abundance WK
 wjāk' v hatch
 wìdìg v scatter
 wìəf_o wìdì wìd- horse; wìd-lōr' place to tie horses up; wìd-dāug_o stallion; wìd-ŋyá'aŋ_a mare
 wìd_a/wēed_a wìb_a wìd- hunter
 wīig_a' whistle
 wùm disease ("worse than bāŋ'as" WK)
 wìk ipfv wìid_a v fetch water
 wìl_l wìlà wìl- branch
 wīltsúŋ_o wīlwmís wīltsúŋ- kind of snail
 wím *ideo* for zìŋ'a red
 wīn_n' wīná wīn- spiritual essence; god; God; fate; wīn-tōog_o misfortune
 Wínà'am God (WK Wínnà'am)
 wìnnìg_a wìn- sun; wìn-līir/-kòogŋr sunset
 wìug_o/wìir wìyà/wìid wì- *adj* red [cf pìə̀lìg_a]
 wōk_o'/wā'ar' wá'a/wā'ad' wōk-/wā'- *adj* long, tall
 wòm ger wòm_m_o/wòm_mog_o v hear; smell; understand; Fù wóm Kūsáalèè?
 Do you understand Kusaal?
 Áyìl, òn pō wóm_mā. No, I don't.
 wōsā/wōv *q* all
 wōv *preposition* like, resembling
 wō'ug' v get wet
 wō'ul' v make wet

Y

yà *pron* you, your pl; =ya you pl
 =ya *pron* you pl (subject after imperative)
 yā *independent-pfv ptc*
 yà' *post-subject ptc* if, when;
 yà' nāan if only; yà' pòn even if
 yáa *pron* whither? yáa ní where?
 yáab_a yāa-nám_a yāa- grandparent, ancestor (m yāa-dáŋ, f yāa-puá')
 yà'ab v mould clay

yā'ad yà'- clay
 yà'al v hang up; make perch (bird)
 yà'an v perch (bird)
 yáaŋ_a yáas yāaŋ- grandchild, descendant
 yāar' v scatter
 yāarìm yāar- salt
 yà'as_a/yà'as again
 yā'as' v open repeatedly
 yàd(d)ā faith, trust (Ha yàrda);
 yàddā-níŋìr belief
 yādìg' v scatter; yāt_a' participant in a housebuilding ritual
 yā'e' v widen, open (mouth)
 yàk v unhang, unhook
 yàlìm_a 1 v be wide
 yālìm' yālìm-nám_a worthless person
 yālsúŋ_o yālwímís yālsúŋ- quail
 yàlòŋ_o yàlwímà yàlòŋ- *adj* wide
 yām_n yāmā yàm- hay
 yām'/yā'am' WK yām- gall (bladder); common sense
 yàmmòg_{a/o} yàmmìs yàm- slave
 yānám_a *pron* you pl (contrastive);
 yānámì you pl + =n
 yàug_o yàad grave, tomb
 yē *cl linker* that
 yè v dress oneself
 yèeg v undress oneself
 yèel v dress someone
 yēes' v betray a secret
 yèl ipfv yèt_a ger yèlòg_o v say, tell
 yēlì' yēlá yēl- (pl as *postp*: about) matter, affair; yēl-méŋìr truth;
 yēl-náròŋ_o necessity; yēl-pákìr disaster; yēl-súm_n blessing
 yēŋím v oscillate (like waves)
 yèog_o yèed bird's crop
 yèog_o yèed weed, straggler, person displaced from family
 yéog *q* one (in counting)
 yī ipfv yīt_a' imp yìm_a v go, come out

yìdìg v go astray
 yīdīg' v untie
 yìar jaw
 yīigá q firstly; yīig-sób_a first person
 yīis' ger yīisib_o v make go/come out
 yīmmír yīmmá yīm- *adj* unique, sole
 yīmmú q straight away, at once
 yīnní q one
 yìḡ_a outside
 yīr' yā' yī- house; yī-dāan_a
 householder; yī-sób_a yī-sób-nà_m_a
 householder; yī-dím_a members of the
 household; yī-sígìdìr lodging-house;
 yín_n at home pl yáa=n
 yīs v make go/come out
 yīḡḡ_o' yīná *adj* single (of a pair)
 yè v close
 yō v pay; ger yōcōd' pay
 yōlīs' v untie
 yōlīsím freedom
 yōlīg_o' yōn_n' yōl- sack; £100, 200 cedis
 yè'cōg v open
 yècōr yèyà yè- soldier ant
 yuà v bleed; fornicate WK
 yō'adīr yō'adā rafter
 yùbìg_a yùbìs yùb- small bottle-like pot
 yū'ar yūādā yū'ar- penis
 yūgudīr yūgudā yūgùd- hedgehog
 yōgúm_n yōgumá yōgūm- camel
 yùlīg v swing (transitive)
 yùug v get to be a long time, delay;
 Tì yūug nē tāabā. "Long time no see."
 yùul v swing (intransitive)
 yō'um' v sing; *ag* yōum-yō'um_{na}
 yó'um_n yō'umá yō'um-/yōum- song
 yòum_n yòmà yòum- year
 yō'un *tense-slot ajn* then, next
 yó'uḡ_o yō'umís yō'uḡ- night
 yō'ur' yōdá yō'- name
 yōur yōyā yù- water pot

Z

zā' zā- millet
 zāalíg_a/záal_l zāalís/zāalá zāal- *adj* empty;
 zāalím emptily
 zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsōbīr' evening
 zàḡ'an_n zàḡ'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zàaḡsìm v dream; ger zàaḡsúḡ_o
 zàaḡsímà zàaḡsúḡ- dream
 zāaḡsím zāaḡs- soup
 zàb ger zàbīr v fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
 warrior; gbān-záb_a leather-worker
 zàbìl v cause to fight
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nōcōr' gate
 zàkìm v itch
 zàlìḡ_a zàlìmìs zàlìḡ- electric eel
 zàm ipfv zàm̀m̀ìd_a v cheat; *ag* zàm-zām_{na}
 zàmìs v learn, teach
 zāḡ'a q every
 zàḡ'as v refuse
 zàḡbìl v tattoo, mark skin
 zāḡbīn_n zāḡbūnā zàḡbìn- tattoo; KB sign
 zāḡlì_a' ger zāḡlìlím 1v have in hands
 zàḡl_l umbilicus
 zàḡ v pick up
 zàḡgùem_n zàḡgùemà zàḡgùem- wall
 zàḡkù'ar zàḡkù'a(dà) zàḡkùà'- hyena
 zēm_{ma}' ger zēm̀m̀úg_o 1v be equal
 zēm̀is' v make equal
 zēm̀m̀úg_o zēm̀m̀á zēm- *adj* equal
 zī ger zīid' v carry on head; *ag* zī-zīid_a
 zī' ger zī'̀lìlím 1v not know
 zì'e_{ya} ger zī'a/zī'eg_a 1v stand
 zì'əl v make stand; zì'əl nōcōr' promise
 zì'ən v stand; Ò zì'ən nē. She's pregnant.
 zīum' zī- blood
 zīíḡ_a zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbān'ad_a
 fisherman
 zìlìm_n zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue
 zīlīnzìog_o *adj* unknown
 zīm *ideo* for sābulíg_a black
 zīná today

zìŋ'a/zèŋ'ug_o zèŋ'ed/zèŋ'es/zèŋdà zèŋ'-
adj red [cf piə̀lìg_a]

zìŋ'iya 1 *v* sit; ger zìŋ'ig_a zìŋ'is zìŋ- place

zìŋ'il *v* make sit, seat

zìŋ'in *v* sit down

zìnzāxŋ_o´ zìnzāná zìnzáxŋ- bat

zìrí untruth

zò ipfv zòt_a imp zòm_a *v* run; fear; ger

zūa/zōcg_o run; ger zòtìm fear; Ò zòtō

nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.

zōl *v* castrate

zōlìmís foolishness

zōlōg_o´ zōn_n´ zōl- fool

zōm´ zōm- flour

zōcm_n zōcmā zōcm- refugee, fugitive

zōrìg_a´ small child WK

zōrōg_o´ zōrá piece

zū *v* steal

zuxà zuxà-nàm_a zuxà- friend

zù'e *v* get higher, more

zùe *v* perch, get on top

zūəbúg_o zūəbíđ zūəb- (human head) hair

zùəd friendship

zùəl *v* make to perch

zū'əm´ zū'əmís zū'əm- blind person

zū'əm´ *v* go/make blind

zùəŋ *v* begin to perch

zūəŋ zuxāyā zuxà- hill

zùəs *v* befriend

zūg_o´ zūt´ zū(g)- head; *postp* onto,

due to; zūgú=n *postp* on; zūg-dāan_a

master; zūg-kōgūr -kōgā -kúg- pillow;

zūg-sób_a master (KB only "the Lord");

zū-péelòg_o -péelà *adj* bald; zū-píblìg_a hat

zùlìg *v* deepen

zùlìm_a 1 *v* be deep

zùlòŋ_o zùlìmà zùlòŋ- *adj* deep

zùlòŋ_o depth

zùnzòŋ_{a/o} zùnzòŋs zùnzòŋ-

blind person

zūríf_o zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed

zú'uhf_o zū'uhí dawadawa seed

zùuhg_o zùuhŋs/zùuhđ zùŋ- vulture

zūur zūyā zù- tail