Kusaal Grammar
Agolle Dialect

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i

Contents

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, helped by intelligent and patient informants, and with much exposure to the language at 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 now changed greatly, with the work of Urs Niggli and Hasiyatu Abubakari on Toende Kusaal, and the 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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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
ger	gerund	H	high
imp	imperative	ipfv	imperfective
L	low	lf	long form
M	mid	NP	noun phrase
pfv	perfective	pl	plural
sf	short form	sg	singular
tp	tone pattern	V	vowel (VV = long vowel)
VP	verb phrase	1sg 2pl ...	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc
1vb	one-aspect verb	2vb	two-aspect verb

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	demonstrative
DP	discontinuous past	FOC	focus particle
IDEO	ideophone	IMP	imperative
IN	inanimate	INDF	indefinite
IPFV	imperfective	IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative	ND	independent
NEG	negative	NUM	number
NZ	nominaliser	PERS	personifier
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 yɛla*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.
KSS *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima.* Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.
KKY *Kusaas Kuob nɛ 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.

Huddleston and Pullum 2002 is abbreviated CGEL.

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 <u>Macab5387</u>:
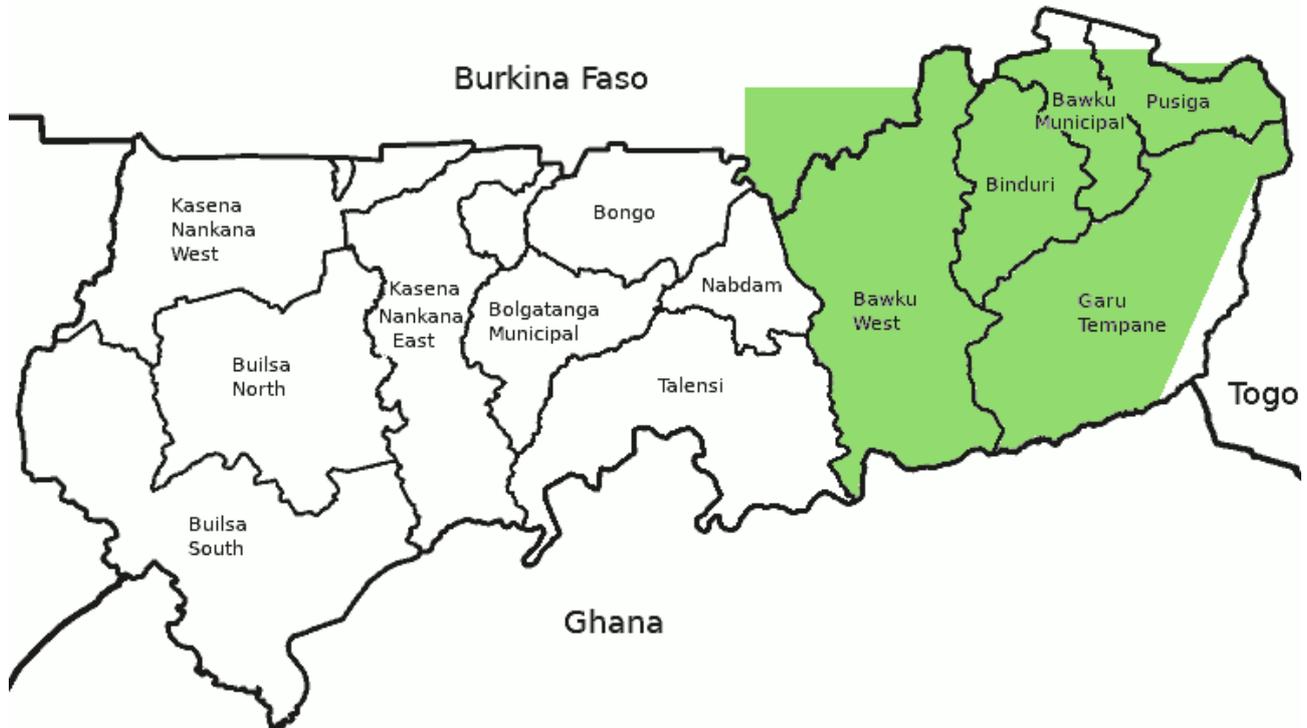
      Kusaal is the language of the Kusaasi, the majority ethnic group of the far northeast of Ghana, east of the Red Volta and north of the Gambaga Escarpment; the local major town is Bawku. There are also many Kusaasi settlements in the neighbouring part of Burkina Faso south of Zabré, and a few in Togo. The White Volta separates this territory into *Toende*, Kusaal Tùən "West" (Bawku West and the adjacent area of Burkina Faso above), and *Agolle*, Kusaal Àgɔl "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 sāˈab, called "TZ" /tiˈzɛd/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zaafii*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional beer, dāam, called "pito" (Hausa *fitoo*) in English.

The Kusaasi are divided into many patrilineal exogamous clans (dɔ̀ɔd "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 pɔ̄ɔr "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 political role; the Kusaasi originally had no chiefs. In religious matters the local leading man is the tɛ̀ŋ-dāan "earth-priest", taken as 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 Gbɛwaa* 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 bānāa smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (fūug "clothing.")

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

    Dìm   nɛ̄   Wīn,   dā   tô'as nɛ̄   Wīnnɛ́=ø.
    Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG=NEG.
    "Eat with God, don't talk with God."

    Wīn   ŋyɛ́ kà sīn.   "God sees and is silent."
    God:SG see and be.silent.

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

A human being is understood as having four components: nìn-gbīŋ "body"; ņyɔ̀-vōr "life", possessed by all living animals; wīn (in this sense) "spirit, genius, one's own spiritual self"; and kìkīrīs, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three kìkīrīs, women a fourth, because of the dangers of childbirth. (Throughout the cultural zone, three is the man's number, and four the woman's.) There are wild kìkīrīs in the bush which are hostile and try to lead travellers astray. Sīʋg "life force", used for "spirit" in Christian materials, is in traditional belief identified with a person's tutelary kìkīrīs. Sɔ̄ɔ̰b "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-tɔ̂ɔg, literally "bitterness of wīn" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular sīgīr "guardian spirit" which is often the wīn of an ancestor; the word būgūr may also mean "a wīn inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's sīgīr.

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:

Volta-Congo

Gur ⋯ ?? ⋯ Adamawa   (New) Kwa   Volta-Niger   Benue-Congo

Oti-Volta   Gurunsi
              Kasem

Potou-Tano
Twi/Fante
Gonja

Gbe
Ewe

Bantu

Buli/   Western Oti-Volta   Yom/Nawdm   Gurma   Eastern Oti-Volta
Konni   Gulmancéma   Ditammari
                                            Konkomba   Nateni
                                            Moba   Byali
                                                            Waama

Boulba

Northern   Southern
Dagaare
Farefare
Mooré

Talni   Dagbani
Nabit   Mampruli
Kusaal
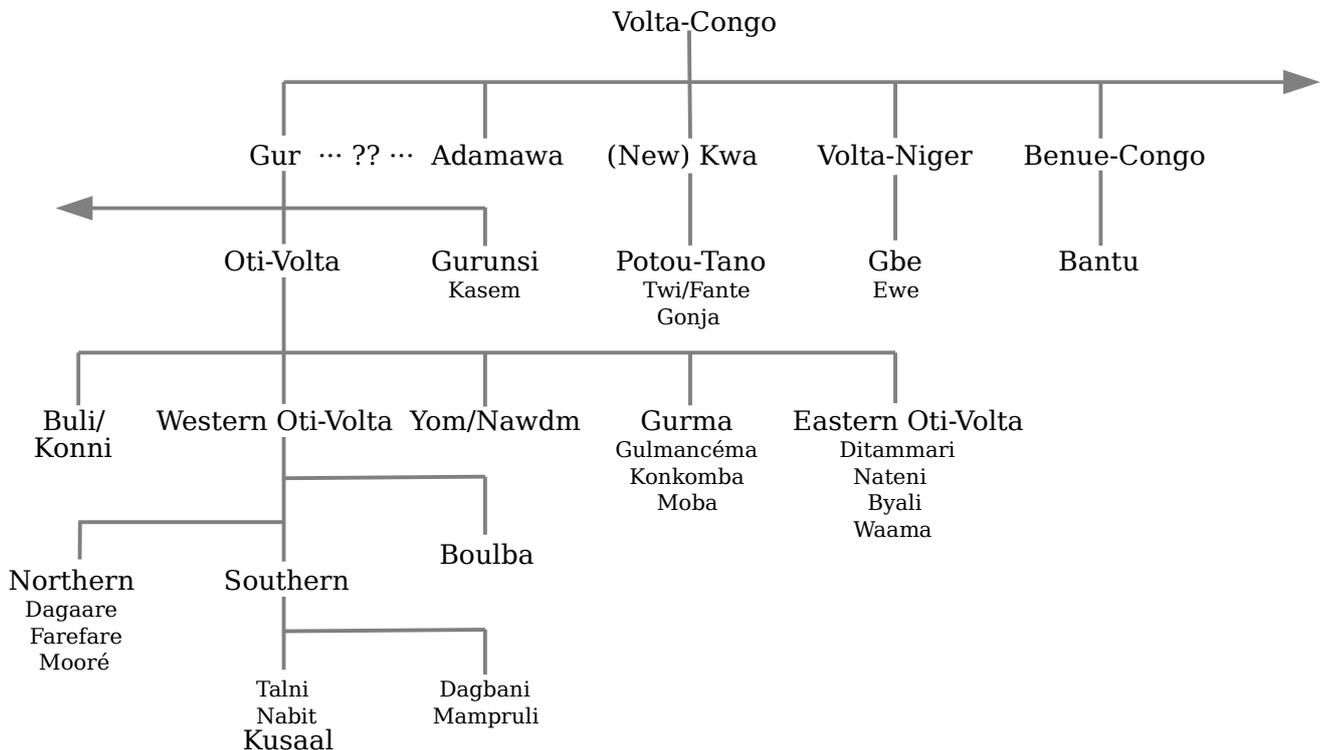
The relationship between Oti-Volta, Gurunsi and Adamawa is unclear.

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**, a group about as diverse as Romance. It shows much distinctive vocabulary, e.g. Kusaal kù'əm "water", Boulba *kuam*, vs Moba *ɲúm̀* etc. Boulba is an outlier, sharing areal consonant changes with Eastern Oti-Volta and preserving noun classes lost elsewhere, cf *tiebo* "tree" vs Kusaal tìʊg, Mooré *tìɪgá*. Elsewhere, Proto-Oti-Volta **c → s*, **ɟ → z*; most verbs use the stem for pfv aspect, suffixing *-da* for ipfv. A distinctive feature of the Southern subgroup is the imperative flexion *-ma*. Mampruli, Dagbani and several smaller neighbours show many common innovations, including new palatal stops and great simplification of the vowel system; Kusaal and its western neighbours Nabit and Talni share an active process which deletes most word-final short vowels.

The Oti-Volta languages (after <u>Davius</u>):
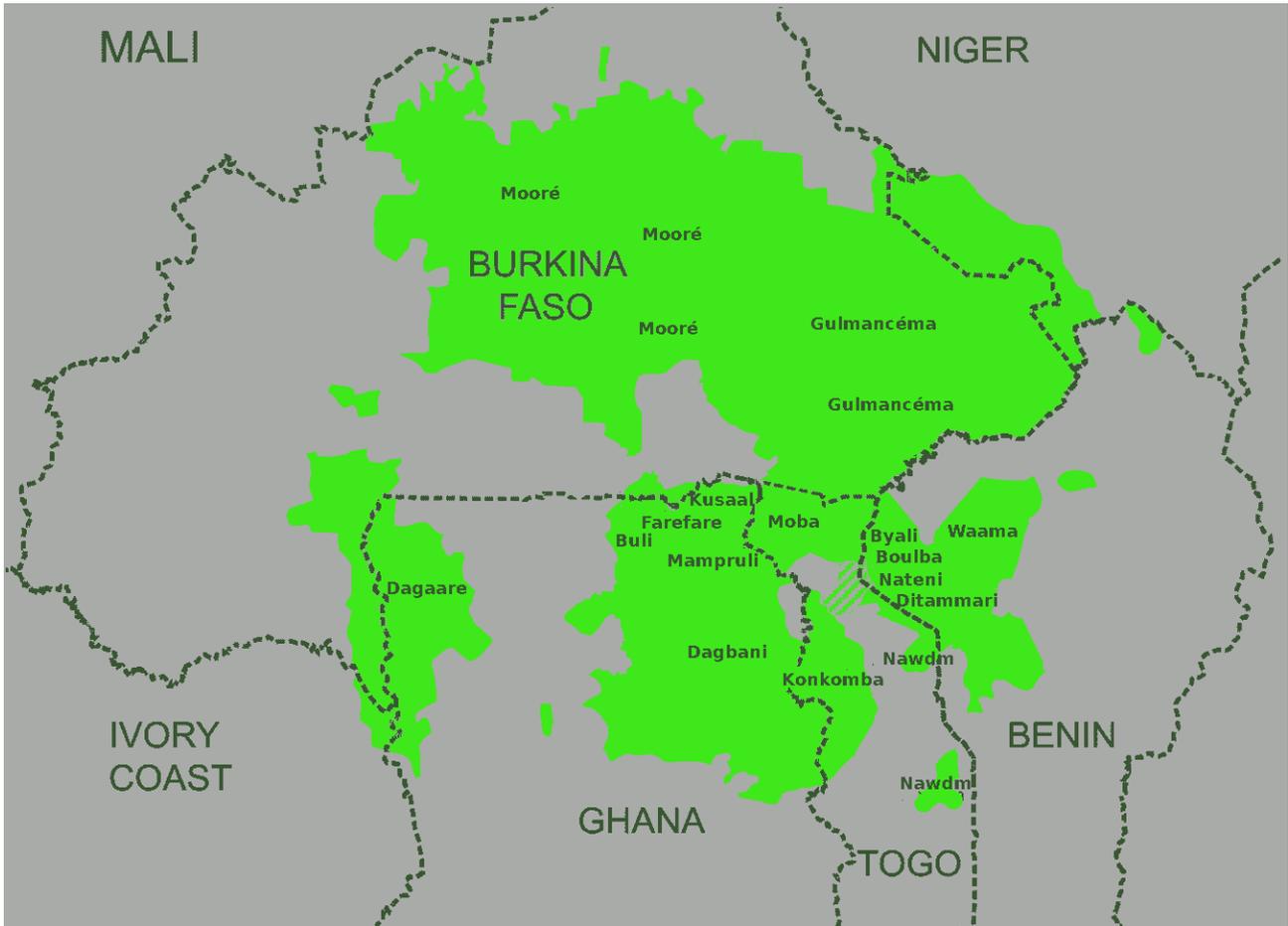
 Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta lexically.

 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 has *ɦ* where Western Oti-Volta shows vowel glottalisation, e.g. *béɦgú* "bad", Kusaal bē'og, Farefare *bé'egó*; *daɦ-* "buy", Kusaal dà'.

 The Gurma languages are more distant. They mark aspect by unpredictable tone changes and/or several different pfv/ipfv suffixes. Their tone systems differ from Western Oti-Volta §3.4, Buli and Nawdm, with initial L corresponding to tp H, M to tp L, and H (in sg/pl and cb) to tp A:

		Kusaal	Buli	Nawdm	Moba	
tp H		wáaf	*wáab*	*wáàg̈b*	*wààùg*	"snake"
tp L		tì̩g	*tìib*	*tììb̀*	*tīīg̀*	"tree"
tp A	sg	pu̩ā'	*pōk*	*fɔ́gá*	*póò*	"wife"
	cb	pu̩à'-	*pòk-*	*fɔ̀g-*	*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 tp 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 ι both represent [ɪ], o ʋ both [ʊ], n̪ marks nasalisation and ' glottalisation of adjacent vowels, and y kp gb stand for [j] [k͡p] [g͡b].

The full range of vowels occurs only in roots: elsewhere there is only a three-way contrast a/ι/ʋ (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. dìndɛ̄og "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 ι or ʋ.

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 nɛ̄ gbīgīm.   "It's a lion."
3IN be FOC lion:SG.

Lì kā'   gbīgīmnɛ̄=ø.   "It's not a lion."
3IN NEG.be lion:SG=NEG.

Lì à nɛ̄ gbígìmnɛ̀ɛ=ø?   "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 ι ʋ to become ɛ 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:

   Ṁ pū dɔ̄llá=ø.   "I don't go along (dɔ̄l)."
   1SG NEG go.with=NEG.

   Ṁ dɔ́llī=bá.   "I go with them."
   1SG go.with=3PL.

   Ṁ pū zábɛ̄=ø.   "I haven't fought (zàb)."
   1SG NEG fight=NEG.

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

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

   Ṁ pū dɔ̄llí=fɔ̄=ø.   "I don't go with you."
   1SG NEG go.with=2SG=NEG.

   Ṁ dɔ́llī=f.   "I go with you."
   1SG go.with=2SG.

   Lì kā'   dūkɔ́=ø.   "It's not a pot (dūk)."
   3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

   Lì kā'   dūkí=nɛ̄=ø.   "It's not in a pot."
   3IN NEG.exist pot:SG=LOC=NEG.

   Lì bɛ̀   nɛ̄ dūkí=n.   "It's in a pot."
   3IN exist FOC pot:SG=LOC.

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 [ʊ].

    Ṁ pū dɔ̄lló=o=ø.   "I don't go with him/her."
    1SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.   lf o of the pronoun "him/her"

    Ṁ dɔ́llō=ø.   "I go with him/her."
    1SG go.with=3AN.   sf ø of the pronoun "him/her"

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

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

m̀	zūgʋ́=ø	zàbɩ̀d	lā	zúg	"because my head hurts"
1SG	head:SG=NZ	fight:IPFV	ART	on	(nominaliser =ǹ)

M̀	zūgʋ̄‿	ø	zábɩ̀d.	"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 vīugʋ́ "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 vīidɩ́. Similarly, āaṉdīgā "black plum tree" has the default epenthetic vowel ɩ, and appears as āaṉdīg after apocope, whereas gàadʋ̀gʋ̀ "passing" has rounding before the flexion -gʋ, and after apocope this becomes contrastive in the sf gàadʋ̀g. Further diphthongs result from deletion of intervocalic g.

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

sg	pl		sg	pl	
būʋg	būʋs	"goat"	sàbùa	sàbùəs	"lover"
nūa	nɔ̄ɔs	"hen"	kūk	kūgūs	"chair"
zàk	zà'as	"compound"	dà'a	dà'as	"market"

Noun flexion marks sg/pl by matched pairs of suffixes, producing seven noun classes; deviant matches are usually explicable phonologically. Classes partly correlate with meaning. The stem is itself a key part of the paradigm, as adjectives and dependent pronouns regularly form compounds with preceding head nouns:

kūk	"chair"	+ pɩ̀əlɩ̀g	"white"	→ kùg-pɩ̀əlɩ̀g	"white chair"
būʋg	"goat"	+ pɩ̀əlɩ̀g	"white"	→ bʋ̀-pɩ̀əlɩ̀g	"white goat"
būʋg	"goat"	+ sɩ̄'a	"another"	→ bʋ̀-sɩ̄'a	"another goat"

Head-final compounds like bʋ̀-kūʋd "goat-killer" are also freely created.

Kusaal has abandoned grammatical gender 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	
kʋ̄	kʋ̄ʋd	"kill"	ŋyɛ̄	ŋyɛ̄t	"see"
vʋ̄l	vʋ̄n	"swallow"	wɔ̀m	wɔ̀m	"hear"

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

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

The article lā follows its noun.

Possessors precede heads: m̀ bīig "my child", dāu̯ lā bîig "the man's child."

There are two prepositions, nɛ̄ "with" and wɔ̄ʋ "like" (nɛ̄ 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. tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l lā zúg "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   búŋ   lā.   "We gave you the donkey yesterday."
1PL TNS give=2SG donkey:SG ART.

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

Ò   à   nɛ̄ bīig.   "He's a child."
3AN be FOC child:SG.

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

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

Nīdīb   kpîid   nɛ̄.   "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Main and content clauses show independency marking of the first VP, with tone overlay and altered subject pronoun tone sandhi. Overlay does not appear in the negative or irrealis, or if there is a preverbal particle with M toneme. Marking is also absent after the linker kà in *coordination*. Kusaal narrative links clause after clause with kà, also omitting *tense* marking so long as the action is preceding in sequence:

Ò dà gɔ̀s dʊ́'atà.   "He looked at the doctor."
3AN TNS look doctor:SG.

Kà ò gɔ̄s dʊ́'atà.   "And he looked at the doctor."
And 3AN look doctor:SG.

When the verb itself has the tone overlay, clause-final perfectives are followed by the particle yā, and imperatives of inflecting verbs take the flexion -ma:

Gɔ̀sìm   dʊ́'atà!   "Look at the doctor!"
Look:IMP doctor:SG!

Main clauses frequently have time/circumstance adjuncts preceding the subject; protases with yà' "if" after their own subjects appear in this position:

Fʊ̀ yá' bɔ̀ɔd, m̀ ná tīsī=f   bʊ́ŋ.   "If you want, I'll give you a donkey."
2SG if want, 1SG IRR give=2SG donkey:SG.

Clause catenation with n creates structures resembling serial verbs, but with greater flexibility. A different subject can be introduced by using kà instead of n:

M̀ kûəs bʊ̀ŋʊ̀‿   ø   tísì=f.   "I've sold a donkey to you."
1SG sell donkey:SG CAT give=2SG.

Lì à nɛ̄ gbīgīm lá kà m̀ n̠yɛ̄t.   "It's the lion that I see."
3IN be FOC lion:SG ART and 1SG see:IPFV.

Catenation underlies clefting. Clefting with ellipse of the main clause leaves n focusing subjects and kà foregrounding other elements. Interrogative pronouns may be preposed using kà; as subjects they *must* be focused with n:

Bɔ́   kà fʊ̀ ŋyɛ̄tá=ø?   "What can you see?"
What and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

Ànɔ́'ɔn�̀‿ø   ŋyɛ́ɛ=bá=ø?   "Who has seen them?"
Who   CAT see=3PL=CQ?

Insertion of =ǹ (often ø segmentally) after the subject nominalises clauses:

gbɪ̄gɪ̄m lá=ø   ŋyɛ̄ búŋ   lā   "the lion having seen the donkey"
lion:SG ART=NZ see donkey:SG ART

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

fʊ́n   gbāṉ'e zīŋ-sí'a   yīigá lā   "the first fish that you catch"
2SG:NZ catch   fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

pṵà'-kànì=ø   bīigí=ø   vṵe̱ lā   "the woman whose child was alive"
woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG=NZ live ART

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

Ò yɛ̀l yɛ̄ ɔ̄n   gɔ́s dʊ́'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:

M̀ ná tɪ̄=f   tɪ̄ʊm   yɛ́ fʊ̀ nɪ̄f   dā   zábɛ̄=ø.
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 [k͡p] [g͡b]) 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 *geminates*, 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: tɔ́klàe "torch(light)", sɔ́gi̯à "soldier." They are labialised before rounded vowels, where they could be considered allophones of kp gb: cf kūm "death", kpì "die"; kɔ̄ŋbīr "bone", Moba *kpábì*; kpàkūr "tortoise", Dagbani *kpakpili*; kp gb themselves occur only before unrounded root vowels and in reduplication-prefixes (kpʊ̀kpàrìg "palm tree"), and represent labialised velars in loans (bákpàe̯ "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 *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*.

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

nɔ̄-dâʊg	"cock"	nā'-dâʊg	"ox"
tīrâan	"neighbour"	àràzàk	"riches"

d and r contrast elsewhere:

ɛ̰ŋdìg	"unplug"	ɛ̄ŋrīg	"shift along"
mɔ̄d	"swell"	mɔ̄r	"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; *dy* then became *rr*. Kusaal r from *rr* usually still behaves as a geminate tonally. Kpàr "lock" has r by analogy with a lost 1vb kpàr "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 nasal vowels, and are then written n̥y n̥w with no nasalisation marking on the vowel:

| n̥yɛ̄ | "see" | n̥wādīg | "moon" |

n̥y n̥w reflect older nasal occlusives.

2.2 Vowels

Symbols have IPA values by default, but ι ʋ 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	i̯a	i	ι	ɔ	u̯a	u	ʋ
aa	ɛɛ	iə	ii	ιι	ɔɔ	uə	uu	ʋʋ

i̯a u̯a iə uə are phonemic *monophthongs*. Initial ya has a tenser and shorter onset than i̯a: cf yā "houses" vs i̯ā "seek." Word-internal i̯ay u̯ay (e.g. bi̯āyá "elder same-sex siblings", su̯āyá "roads") are realised [i̯ɪj] [u̯ɪj]. The second mora of uə is slightly rounded. The vowels iə uə diphthongise to ia ua before prosodic clitics.

Apocope shortens final iə uə to i̯a u̯a: ki̯à "cut", ku̯ā "hoe." All other i̯a u̯a represent ɛ ɔ before k or underlying g: ti̯àk "change", bu̯àk "split"; all surface ɛk ɔk result via u̯akʋ → ɔkʋ (bɔ̀k "pit") or shortening of CV/CVV roots (tɛ̄k/tɛ̄ɛg "pull.")

ι ʊ u are somewhat more fronted after alveolars and y.

ι ʊ do not appear after m or n in roots or prefixes. Distinctions of *short* i/ι and u/ʊ have a very low functional load. The allophony [ɪ]~[i] and [ʊ]~[u] in epenthetic and prefix vowels is ignored, with ι ʊ written throughout.

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

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

gàad	"pass" pfv	gàt		"pass" ipfv
tɛ̄ɛg	"pull"	tɛ̄k		"pull"
tɔ̄ɔg	"bitter"	tɔ̄e̯	*tɔɔya	"be bitter"

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

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols except i̯a u̯a iə uə represent phonemic **diphthongs**. Non-initial [ɪ] is written e except after ɛ, [ʊ] as o except after a, [i̯] as e̯ except after ɛ u.

Primary diphthongs comprise

		i̯a'a	ia		ʊ'a	ua	
ae̯	ɛi̯			ɔe̯	ʊe̯		ui̯
ae			ie	ɔ'e	ʊ'e	ue	ui
au̯	ɛu̯	i̯au̯		ιu̯			
aʊ	ɛo		io	iu			

All also occur nasal, and if long, glottalised; i̯a'a ʊ'a ɔ'e ʊ'e only occur so. Overlong iaa uaa aee iee uee appear for ia ua ae ie ue before prosodic clitics §4.3. The only length contrasts in identical environments are aʊŋ/au̯ŋ and ae/ae̯.

Secondary diphthongs are created by *replacement* of the final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] before the liaison enclitic §4.4 2pl subject "you", or by [ʊ] (always written o) before the enclitic "him/her." Any vowel mora may precede:

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

Nasalisation is automatic after m n, as in e.g. mɛ̀ɛd "build" ipfv. Elsewhere it is marked by a following n̯; however, n̯ *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.

tɛ̄ɛŋ̊s	"lands"	áŋ̊sɪ̀b	"mother's brother"
gɛ̄ŋ̊	"get tired"	gɛ̄ŋ̊'	"get angry"
gɛ̄ŋ̊'ɛd	"get angry" ipfv	ŋ̊wā̄m	"calabash"
bi̯ā̄ṳŋ̊k	"shoulder"	ā̄ŋ̊o	"be him/her"

Except after ŋ̊w ŋ̊y, all short nasal vowels have become oral before m n ŋ.

Except in sū̄ŋ̊f "heart" (KB *sʋnf*) all iŋ̊ uŋ̊ arise by apocope of iiŋ̊ uuŋ̊. There are no short ɪŋ̊ ʋŋ̊.

Glottalisation may be realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first mora. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel mora:

dà'a	"market"	dà'	"buy"
kpì'a	"neighbour"	kpi̯à'	"carve"
pʋ̄'ab	"women"	pṳā̄'	"woman"

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

Except in questions, word-final short vowels/diphthongs are glottalised before pause: thus dā̄ṳ "man" is glottalised, and gɛ̄ŋ̊ "tire" falls together with gɛ̄ŋ̊' "anger."

All glottalised short vowels which are not the result of apocope precede m or ŋ in closed syllables: nī̄'m "meat", lā̄'ŋ "set alight", kɔ̄'m "hunger", sʋ̀'ŋā̄ "well", sʋ̀'m "goodness" (but always sʋ̀ŋ "good.") Only some informants have glottalised vowels in such cases, and the cognates in Toende Kusaal and Farefare lack glottalisation.

Yā̄m "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárⁿ*) and yā̄'am "gall bladder" (Farefare *yá'ám*, Buli *yáam*, Nawdm *ráɦⁿ*) have fallen together as yā̄m/yā̄'am.

2.3 Syllables and tonemes

Syllables have the form (C)V(V)(C); except after prefixes, word-internal k t p ŋ represent CC. A (C)VVC syllable is *superheavy*. A word-internal non-root CV syllable is *superlight* if preceded by a CV syllable which is *not* superlight, working left to right: dī̄'əsí**dɪ**bà "receivers", si̯ākī**dɪ**bā "believers", sī̄**gɪ**sí**dɪ**bà "lowerers", mɔ̀**lɪ**fʋ̀ "gazelle." (C)VVV sequences are disyllabic, dividing after the first mora: nū̄-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: dìtʋ́ŋ "right hand" (dì "eat") also appears as dàtɪ̀ṳŋ, and bū̄tī̄ŋ "cup" (bʋ̀d "sow") has pl bū̄tɪ̄s, as if formed with a prefix bū̄.

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 gέl "egg", kūk "chair", kὺk "ghost", nû'ug "hand." 3-mora vowel sequences carry two tonemes: nūáa "hen." Only superheavy syllables may carry X, which is elsewhere replaced by: nû'ug "hand", long form nú'ugὺ.

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

Bà kā' dī'əsí**dɩ**bā.	"They are not receivers."
Lì kā' mɔ́**lɩ**fɔ̄.	"It's not a gazelle."

vs	Ò pū zá**bì**=fɔ̄.	"He hasn't fought you."
	Kà yà pū sḭ́á**kì**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 mān sâam "*my* father", mān sáam "*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

Downstep between H and H/X:

M̀ gɔ́s !náaf lā bɛ̄ogū̄=n.	"I looked at the cow in the morning."
Kà m̀ gɔ̄s náaf lā bɛ̄ogū̄=n.	"And I looked at the cow ..."

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

MH → M!H before a superheavy syllable:

Lì à nɛ̄ !pú**kɔ̀ɔ̠n̠r** lā.	"It's the widow."
Lì kā' pú**kɔ̀ɔ̠n̠**rɛ̄.	"It's not a widow."

Mān !bú-**bɛ̄'og** kā'e.	"My bad goat isn't there."
Mān !bú-**pìəl** kā'e.	"My white goat isn't there."
Mān bú-**wɔ̄k** kā'e.	"My tall goat isn't there."
Mān bú-**sʊ̀ŋ** kā'e.	"My good goat isn't there."

Bīig lā !sá **mɛ̀ɛd** yīr lā.	"The child was building the house."
Bīig lā sá **mɛ̀** yīr lā.	"The child built the house."

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

Kà m̀ gɔ̄s !náaf **lā**.	"And I looked at the cow."
Kà m̀ gɔ̄s náaf **lā** bɛ̄ogʊ̄=n.	"And I looked ..."

Yʊ̄!gúm **kā'e**.	"There's no camel."
Yʊ̄gúm **lā** kā'e.	"The camel's not there."

Bà kā' !mɔ́**līɪ**.	"They aren't gazelles."
Lì kā' mɔ́**lɪf**ɔ̄.	"It's not a gazelle."
Bà à nɛ̄ mɔ́**lì**.	"They are gazelles."

Lì kā' bī-**!**pú**ŋā**.	"It's not a girl."
Lì kā' bī-pú**ŋàa**?	"Isn't it a girl?"

Ò pʊ̄ yādɪ!gí**dā**.	"He isn't scattering."
Ànɔ́'ɔnì yādɪgí**dà**?	"Who is scattering?"

Lì à nɛ̄ dɔ̂ɔg **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 ŋg ŋk. Writing of final m n ŋ of right-bound words often shows their assimilation to following consonants: *bʋmbʋʋdif* būn-búʋdìf "seed."

Final -ιya in loanwords is written *-ia*: *dunia* dūnιyā "world."

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

KB has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ ken* "go" for yɛ̄ tɛ̄ŋ kɛ̄ŋ kɛ̄n, and *on oŋa* for ɔ̄n/ɔ́n/ɔ̀n ɔ̀ŋā, reflecting differing dialect developments of ĩ õ. Word-final ι after m n is usually written ɛ in KB: so always in *onɛ kanɛ linɛ banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

KB sometimes writes *e* for the vowel of superlight syllables: *bɛdegʋ* bὲdʋgū̄ "a lot", *sanrega* sārιgá "prison."

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

KB has *-uoe -ʋoe* for -ue -ʋe: *duoe* dūe "raise, rise", *sʋ'oe* sū̄'e "own."

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

e i u are used for e̠ i̠ u̠. The contrast ae/ae̠ is expressed by writing *aae/aaɛ* for ae: *paae* pāe "reach." Both aʋ and au̠ are written *au/av*. Glottalisation marking distinguishes e.g. *kpia'* kpi̠à' "carve" from *kpi'a* kpì'a "neighbour", but u̠a'/ʋ'a are both written *o'a* before 2016, *u'a* in KB: *pu'a* pu̠ā' "woman", *pu'ab* pū̄'ab "women." Final ʋ'a in long forms is written *u'aa*, reflecting its realisation [u̠a:].

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

KB has *iey uoy* for i̠ay u̠ay: *bieya* bi̠āyá "elder same-sex siblings", *suoya* su̠āyá "roads." Older texts use *uey*: *sueya*.

Except with *an* àn̠ "be", word-final monophthongisation sandhi is often ignored: *faaɛn ti* fāan̠=tí "saved us"; hypercorrections like *faaenm* fàan̠m "save!" also appear.

n is used for n̠: *tɛɛns* tɛ̄ɛn̠s "lands." Formerly, *nn* was used for n̠ when word-final without even a following glottalisation mark, but KB uses an ambiguous single *n*: *gaan* gāan̠ "jackalberry", *daan* dāan̠ "owner." Before 2016, àn̠ "be" was written *a*. N̠yāe "brightly" is written *nyain*.

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

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. tɔ́lʊ̀lì, intensifier for "tall", sāpī "straight", n̠yāe "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-kàŋā "this tree." There are no diagnostic phonological differences between cbs and free words, and compounds may include unbound words: [ānzúrɪfà nɛ̄ sālɪmā 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 §4.4 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 §4.3. 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 ø in glossing. Cbs are hyphenated to the following word: thus zīm-gbân̠'ad "fisherman", bʊ̀-pìəlìg "white goat", bʊ̀-kàŋā "this goat", bʊ̀-pìəl-kàŋā "this white goat."

Standard orthography writes compounds solid unless the cb is segmentally identical to the sg: *bʊkaŋa* bʊ̀-kàŋā "this goat" but *dau kaŋa* dàu̠-kàŋā "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*:

Fʊ dɔlli ti.   "You come with us."
Fʊ̀ dɔ́llī=tí.
2SG go.with=1PL.

Fu dolli m.   KB dɔllim   "You come with me."
Fʋ̀ dɔ́llī=m.
2SG go.with=1SG.

M dol uf.   KB dɔllif   "I go with you."
M̀   dɔ́llī=f.
1SG go.with=2SG.

M gban'e uf.   KB gban'af   "I've seized you."
M̀   gbân̪'a=f.
1SG seize=2SG.

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

Fʋ dɔl o.   [dɔl:ʊ]   "You go with her."
Fʋ̀ dɔ́llō=ø.
2SG go.with=3AN.

Fʋ pʋ dɔl oo.   "You don't go with her."
Fʋ̀ pʋ̄ dɔ̄lló=o=ø.
2SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.

Fʋ nyɛ o.   "You've seen her."
Fʋ̀ n̪yɛ́o=ø.
2SG see=3AN.

Fʋ pʋ nyɛ oo.   "You've not seen her."
Fʋ̀ pʋ̄ n̪yɛ̄ó=o=ø.
2SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.

The three other liaison enclitics, locative =nι, discontinuous-past =nι and postposed 2pl subject =ya, are traditionally written solid with the preceding word whether reduced to C or zero, as in *ku'omin* kù'əmī=n "in water", or preserving their vowels before prosodic clitics, as in *ku'ominɛ* kù'əmī=nɛ́.

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

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

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

Ba nwɛnɛ bɔ?   "What are they like?" (Lk 7:31)
Bà wɛ̀n   nɛ̄   bɔ́=ø?
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 ND.

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 nɛ dunia gaadʊg pʊ tɔi yaa.
Àràzánà nɛ̄   dūnɪyā gáadʊ̀g pʊ̄ tɔ̄yá=ø.
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 n̠yɛ̄ bīig.   "She saw a child."
3AN TNS see child:SG.

bīig   lā nû'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 pʊ̄ ŋyɛ̄ bīigā=ø.   "He/she did not see a child."
3AN TNS NEG see child:SG=NEG.

Ànɔ́'ɔnì‿ø dāa ŋyɛ̄ bíigà=ø?   "Who saw a child?"
Who   CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?

 M̀ bīigā=ø!   "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   → i̯a   ua   → u̯a   i̯a'a → i̯a'   ʊ'a   → u̯a' |
| ae   → ae̯   aʊ   → au̯   ui   → ui̯ |
| Vaa   → Va   Vee   → Ve   Vʊʊ   → Vʊ |
| Nasal 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 zero after ʋ/e/i and e̯/i̯ otherwise |
+---+

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 nɛ̄ dʊ̄k.   "It's a cooking pot."
3IN be FOC pot:SG.

Dʊ̄k lā bɔ́dìg yā.   "The pot has got lost."
Pot:SG ART get.lost ND.

Lì kā'   dʊ̄kɔ́=ø.   "It's not a pot."
3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

Lì à nɛ̄ dʊ̄kɔ́ɔ=ø?   "Is it a pot?"
3IN be FOC pot:SG=PQ?

Lì à nē̄ kṑk.	"It's a chair."
Lì kā' kṑkā.	"It's not a chair."
Lì à nē̄ kúkàa?	"Is it a chair?"
Lì à nē̄ gbīgīm.	"It's a lion."
Lì kā' gbīgīmnɛ̄.	"It's not a lion."
Lì à nē̄ yáarìm.	"It's salt."
Lì kā' yáarīmm.	"It's not salt."
Lì à nē̄ dāu̯.	"It's a man."
Lì kā' dāʋ.	"It's not a man."
Bà à nē̄ gbīgɩmā.	"They're lions."
Bà kā' gbīgɩmāa.	"They're not lions."

Kà ò si̯ák.	"And he agreed."
And 3AN agree.	

Ò pṑ si̯ákɛ̄=ø.	"He hasn't agreed."
3AN NEG agree=NEG.	

Kà ò dīgī.	"And she's lying down."
Ò pṑ dīgɩyá.	"She isn't lying down."
Kà ò vō̄e̯.	"And she's alive."
Ò pṑ vō̄yá.	"She's not alive."
Kà ò ki̯á.	"And she cut (it)."
Ò pṑ kía.	"She hasn't cut (it)."
Kà ò pāe.	"And he arrived."
Ò pṑ pāée.	"He hasn't arrived."

The appearance of clause-final lfs is triggered by following **prosodic clitics**, which have no segmental form themselves §4.3. Lfs also appear before **liaison words** §4.4, 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; note that this form lacks the changes of ɩ ʋ to ɛ ɔ and mɩ to mm seen before prosodic clitics in the examples 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 ɩ or ʋ. 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 ɩ. Before prosodic clitics mɩ appears as mm, with ɩ otherwise appearing as ɛ. Thus e.g.

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

Lì pū nār yέ fὺ dí   fὺ bā'-bîig   pṳá' Herodiasε=ø.

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 i̯a' ṳa' have lfs in i̯a'a ʋ'a by default.

However, vowel-final sfs correspond to lfs in -ya in the nouns sɔ̰ḛn̰ "witch", sā̰ḛn̰ "blacksmith", and in 1vbs (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 or leaves a long monophthong unchanged, no subscript is used:

gbīgɪmā	"lions"	lf	gbīgɪmāa
dāṳ	"man"		dāʋ
pāe´	"reach"		pāée
kṳā	"hoe"		kūa
di̯ā'	"get dirty"		di̯ā'a
pṳā'	"woman"		pū'a
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:

bīig$_a$	"child"	lf	bīigā
dūk$_ʋ$´	"pot"		dūkʋ́
dīgī$_{ya}$´	"be lying down"		dīgɪyá
si̯àk	"agree"		si̯àkì
yàarìm	"salt"		yàarìmì
gbīgīm$_n$	"lion"		gbīgīmnī

Words with lfs in -ya where sf-final y becomes ḛ are written with $_{ya}$:

vūḛ$_{ya}$´	"live"	lf	vūyá
sā̰ḛn̰$_{ya}$	"smith"		sān̰ā

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: kpi̯à' lf kpì'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.

kʊ̄k̯a	"chair"	lf	kʊ̄kā
sīa	"waist"		sīāa
dāʊ̯	"man"		dāʊ

but	dʊ̄k̯ʊ´	"pot"	lf	dʊ̄kʊ́
	vīid´	"owls"		vīidí
	nūa´	"hen"		nūáa
	tāʊ̯n̯´	"opposite-sex sib"		táʊn̯

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'ug̯ʊ	"hand"	lf	nú'ugʊ̀
nɔ́bɪ̀r	"foot"		nɔ́bɪrɪ̀
wābʊ̄g̯ʊ´	"elephant"		wābʊgʊ́
dìgìr	"dwarf"		dìgɪrɪ̀

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 pfvs and cbs. Short final ɪ ʊ do not become ɛ ɔ. Secondary lfs are created by prolonging short final vowels and adding -nɪ otherwise.

būudī	"tribe"	lf	būudīɪ
bɛ̀dʊgʊ̄´	"a lot"		bɛ̀dʊgʊ́ʊ
yā´	"houses"		yáa
pāmm	"a lot"		pāmní
mà'àa	"only"		mà'anì
gʊ̀llīmm	"only"		gʊ̀llìmnì
n̯yāe	"brightly"		n̯yāení
kɔ̀tàa	"at all"		kɔ̀tàanì

3.3 Segmental structure

Open-class words are based on (C)V(V)(C) roots; V(V) may be any monophthong, but a final C must be b d g l m n s or r. Stems are formed by adding zero to three derivational suffixes b d g l m n or s; only d l m may follow another suffix. Nominal stems may have a prefix (C)V(N) CVsN or CVlN, where N is a homorganic nasal. Full words end in either a flexion (C)V(V) or in a **dummy suffix**: ι after C, zero after V. Surface forms result via consonant deletion and assimilation, vowel epenthesis, and vowel quality changes, all prior to apocope.

Prefixes and flexional suffixes show only the **affix vowels** a ι ʋ aa ιι ʋʋ. Prefix ι ʋ are realised [i] [u] after m n or if the root first vowel symbol is i or u, as in kìkīrīg "fairy", sìsì'əm "wind", sīlīnsîuṉg "spider", dòndùug "cobra", vòlìnvùuṉl "mason wasp." Before prosodic clitics final mι becomes mm and short final ι ʋ become ɛ ɔ.

Word-initially, no consonant clusters appear; finally, mm only. Apart from -NC- after prefixes, the only permitted word-internal clusters are nn mm ll mn and the geminates k t p ŋ. Every other CC must either assimilate to a permitted cluster or single consonant, or insert an **epenthetic vowel**: ι by default, ʋ before -gʋ/ŋʋ. Apocope renders this ι/ʋ distinction contrastive. Non-contrastive rounding of epenthetic ι to ʋ takes place after a short rounded root vowel + g: gbīgīm$_n$ "lion", yōgúm$_n$ "camel." Written ι ʋ are realised [i] [u] after short root i or u with any single consonant intervening: sīgīd "lowers" [sigid], kūgōr "stone" [kuguɾ].

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 i̯ag u̯ag often also show analogical forms with d.

gāṉr´	"jackalberry fruit"	pl	gāṉyá
bàlàar	"stick, club"		bàlàyà
kùkɔ̄r´	"voice"		kùkɔ̄yá
nɔ̄ɔr´	"mouth"		nɔ̄yá
zʋ̄ʋr	"tail"		zʋ̄yā
bīər´	"elder same-sex sib"		bi̯āyá
zūər	"hill"		zu̯āyā
tītā'ar	"big"		tītādā
pɔ̀ṉ'ɔr	"cripple"		pɔ̀ṉdà
yʋ̄'ʋr´	"name"		yʋ̄dá
yū'ər	"penis"		yu̯ādā
mʋ̀'ar	"reservoir, dam"		mʋ̀'a(dà)

3.3.1 Root allomorphy

Some roots alternate CV/CVV. All those with glottalised vowels are underlyingly CVg §3.3.2. The remainder were historically CVy or CVw or simply CV; they show long vowels in flexion before -ga -sı -gʊ -bʊ and with the dummy suffix, but short elsewhere, with following d → t and b → p (but not m → mm or l → ll):

bīig_a	"child" pl bīis	cf bīl_a	"little"
dāʊg_ʊ	"male"	cf dāp_a	"men"
dɔ̀ɔg_ʊ	"hut"	pl dɔ̀t	
dīɩb_ʊ	"food"	cf dìt_a	"eat" ipfv
kɛ̄	"allow"	ipfv kɛ̄t_a´	imp kɛ̀l_a
lù/lì	"fall"	ipfv lùt_a/lìt_a	imp lùm_a/lìm_a

CVV is regular before -rı: pʊ̀kɔ̀ɔn̪r "widow", vs *pʊkɔntim* "widowhood", Toende *pɔkṍp* "widows." CV does occur, often in roots which were formerly CVy: nā'-lɔ́r "place for tying up cows" WK (Mooré *lóe* "tie"), kʊ̀kɔ̄r´ "voice" (Mooré *kóɛɛgà*.) Monophthongisation of Vy underlies correspondences like lù/lì "fall" and Farefare *dèegò*, Kusaal dɔ̀ɔg_ʊ "hut."

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

CVV before -gʊ is often introduced into the pl: dɔ̀ɔd "huts"; always dāad "male."

Before derivational suffixes, CVV is usual:

dì	"eat"	dìɩs	"feed"
dāp_a	"men"	dàalìm	"masculinity"

Exceptions are yīs/yīis´ "make emerge" (yī "emerge", ipfv yīt_a´); gɔ̄s "look", ipfv gɔ̄t_a´/gɔ̄sīd_a´, imp gɔ̀(sì)m_a; tìs "give" ipfv tìt_a/tìsìd_a; and with g → k after CV:

wìk	"draw water"	ipfv wìid_a	
tɛ̄k´/tɛ̄ɛg´	"pull"	ipfv tɛ̄ɛd_a´/tɛ̄kíd_a	

Rounded vowels become glottalised before derivational g s:

vūr´	"alive"	vū'ʊg´	"revive"
kɔ̀	"break"	kɔ̀'ɔg	"break"
kɔ̀ɔlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"broken"	kɔ̀'ɔs	"break several times"
pɔ̀ɔd_a	"be few"	pɔ̀'ɔg	"diminish"
tɔ̀n̪	"shoot"	tɔ̀n̪'ɔs	"hunt"

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

tʊ̄ʊmā	"work" (noun)	tùm	"work" (verb)
kāal´	"count"	kāl₁´	"number"
tʊ̄ʊlúgʊ	"hot"	tʊ̄l₁ₐ´	"be hot"
màal	"sacrifice" (verb)	mālʊ̄ŋʊ	"sacrifice" (noun)
pìəlìgₐ	"white"	pɛ̀lìg	"whiten"
kpī'oŋʊ	"strong"	kpɛ̀'ŋ	"strengthen"
lìəb	"become"	lɛ̀bìg	"turn over"
tʊ̄ʊlúgʊ	"hot"	tʊ̄līg´	"heat"
dɛ̄ɛŋₐ	"first"	dèŋ	"go first"
pìəb	"blow" (flute)	pɛ̀bìs	"blow" (wind)
yùul	"swing" (intransitive)	yùlìg	"swing" (transitive)

Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns:

zíiŋₐ	"fish"	pl zīmí
pīim´	"arrow"	pl pīmá
yʊ̀ʊmₙ	"year"	pl yʊ̀mà
náafʊ	"cow"	cb nā'-
wáafʊ	"snake"	cb wā'-

3.3.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion

Except before ʊ, g is deleted after aa iə uə. Glottalised and/or nasal vowels behave identically. When an affix vowel follows, fusion creates overlong diphthongs.

| aaga → aaa | iəga → iaa | uəga → uaa |
| aagɪ → aee | iəgɪ → iee | uəgɪ → uee |

bāa	*baaga	"dog"	pl bāas	
sīa	*siəga	"waist"	pl sīəs	
sàbùa	*sabuəga	"lover"	pl sàbùəs	
pāe´	*paagɪ	"reach"	ger páar	*paagrɪ
kpì'e	*kpi'əgɪ	"approach"	ger kpì'ər	*kpi'əgrɪ
dūe´	*duəgɪ	"raise, rise"	ger dúər	*duəgrɪ

Single g is deleted after a i̯a u̯a, producing a'a i̯a'a ʋ'a; any following affix vowel is deleted. Nasal vowels behave identically.

pu̯ā'	*pu̯aga	"woman"	pl pū̄'abₐ	*pu̯agba
zàkₐ	*zagga	"compound"	pl zà'as	*zagsɪ
lāu̯kʋ	*laggʋ	"item of goods"	pl lā'ad	*lagdɪ
pi̯àu̯n̠kʋ	*pi̯ãggʋ	"word"	pl pi̯àn̠'ad	*pi̯ãgdɪ
pu̯ākₐ	*pu̯agga	"female"	pl pū̄'as	*pu̯agsɪ
bɔ̀kʋ	*bu̯aggʋ	"pit"	pl bù'ad	*bu̯agdɪ

Set 2: ĩə̃ ũə̃ → ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃

zὲn̠'ɛs	pl "red"	sg zìn̠'a	
dɔ̀ɔn̠s	"dawadawas"	sg dùan̠	
Mɔ̀ɔgʋ	"Mossi land"	cf Mùa	"Mossi person"
sɔ̄n̠'ɔdₐ´	"outdoer"	cf sūn̠'e´	"improve"
sɔ̄n̠	"rub"	cf sūen̠´	"anoint"

However, the ipfvs and gerunds of fusion verbs preserve ĩə̃ ũə̃ by analogy with verbs with oral vowels: nìe "appear" ger nìər; pūn̠'e´"rot" ger pún̠'ər.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis

Except after prefixes, CC within a word assimilates to k p t ŋ mm nn ll mn r s f or inserts epenthetic ɪ. This table shows the outcomes; blanks represent epenthesis, and dashes mark unattested pairs.

	-g	-d	-b	-m	-n	-r	-s	-l	-f	-y
g-	k								-	
d-		t			-			-	-	r
b-			p	mm					-	
m-	ŋ	mn	mm	mm	-	mn		nn	-	mm
n-	ŋ	nn	mm		-	nn	:n̠s	nn	n̠f	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g. gg → k   gìk$_a$ "dumb" sg   gìgìs pl

      mg → ŋ   bòŋ$_a$ "donkey" sg   bòmìs pl

              cf kɔ̄līg$_a$ "river" sg   kɔ̄līs pl

      dd → t   bòt$_a$ "plant" ipfv   bòd pfv

      ld → nn   kūn$_{na}$´   "go home" ipfv   kūl pfv

              cf dūgūd$_a$´   "cook" ipfv   dūg pfv

      bb → p   sɔ̄p$_ʋ$´   "writing" ger   sɔ̄b pfv

      mb → mm   kīm$_{mʋ}$ "shepherding" ger kìm pfv

              cf pūdīb$_ʋ$ "name" ger   pòd pfv

      mr → mn   dūm$_n$ "knee" sg   dūmā pl

      nr → nn   tān$_n$ "earth" sg   tānā pl

      lr → ll   gέl$_l$ "egg" sg   gɛ̄lá pl

              cf dìgìr   "dwarf" sg   dìgà pl

      rl → t   Bāt´   "Bisa language"   Bārīs´   "Bisa people"

              cf Kūsâal   "Kusaal"   Kūsâas   "Kusaasi"

ns → s with nasalisation of a preceding root vowel, and lengthening of a preceding short root vowel; nf → f with nasalisation but not lengthening:

sg   tɛ̄ŋ$_a$ pl   tɛ̄ɛ̠ŋs   *tɛnsɪ   "land"

     kʋlìŋ$_a$ kʋlìs   *kʋlɪnsɪ   "door"

     nīf$_ʋ$´   nīní   "eye"

     píɪ̠nf$_ʋ$ píɪní   "genet"

ms often becomes ns in flexion, and is then subject to assimilation. Most root-stems block this change for clarity, but otherwise free variation is usual.

mn has usually now become mm. In verb flexion just a few ipfvs in *mn* remain in NT1/2, e.g. *wum na* (Mt 13:15 NT2) wòmnā "hear" lf, *daamne ba* (Lk 6:18 NT1) dàamnī=bá "trouble them." Some informants preserve mn in noun lfs: gbīgīmnī SB "lion", gbīgīmmī WK. Word-internal mnɪ appears only in agent nouns: tòm-tūmnīb "servants", but būn-túmmìr "useful thing" pl tūmnā SB.

In certain contexts expected assimilations do not take place.

bm → mm after short root vowels only.

In ipfvs and gerunds of 3-mora stems, md → mm and mg → ŋ are *optional*:

ipfv   wòm$_{ma}$ ger   wōm$_{mʋ}$ "hear (wòm)"

       tɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$/tɔɔmíd$_a$ tɔ́ɔŋ$_ʋ$/tɔɔmúg$_ʋ$ "depart (tɔ̄ɔm´)"

       kàrìm$_{ma}$/kàrɪmìd$_a$ kàrʋ̀ŋ$_ʋ$/kàrɪmʋ̀g$_ʋ$ "read (kàrìm)"

WK DK avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfvs only as lfs or before focus-nɛ́. KB sometimes even has ipfvs like wòmìd_a for clarity (Phil 1:30.)

In ipfvs, nd → nn only after short root vowels; in gerunds, nC never assimilates.

ipfv	bùn_na	ger	būnīb_ʊ	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgɪnìd_a		dìgɪnʊ̀g_ʊ	"lie down (dìgìn)"
	gɔ̀'ɔnìd_a		gɔ̀'ɔnʊ̀g_ʊ	"extend neck (gɔ̀'ɔn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate further only with mmm → mm and llr → ll: thus dàm "shake", imperative dàm_ma, but ipfv dàmmìd_a ipfv, gerund dàmmʊ̀g_ʊ; kʊ̀g-dɛ̄l_l´ "chair for leaning on", pl kʊ̀g-dɛ̄llá; contrast kɔ̄t´ "slaughter", ipfv kɔ̄tíd_a.

Derivational n represents earlier nn: pībīn_n pl pībɪnā "covering", Mooré *pìbíndgà* "lid"; vàbìn "lie prone", Mooré *vábende*.

Set 4: vowel changes before y kʊ ŋʊ gʊ

Unglottalised long vowels shorten before word-internal y, but glottalised long vowels front any back second morae, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

tɔ̄e̱_ya´	"be bitter"		tɔ̄ɔg_ʊ	"bitter"
sɔ̄n̠'e_ya´	"be better than"		sɔ̄n̠'ɔd_a´	"outdoer"

A historical shortening before w underlies dāṷ "man", tāṷn̠´ "opposite-sex sib."

Short unrounded root vowels become Vṷ before kʊ/ŋʊ; i̠a becomes i̠aṷ, but ṷa becomes ɔ: ṷakʊ → ɔkʊ:

gbàṷŋ_ʊ	"book"	pl	gbànà
yīṷŋ_ʊ´	"single"		yīná
lāṷk_ʊ	"goods item"		lā'ad
bi̠āṷn̠k_ʊ	"shoulder"		bi̠ān̠'ad
bɔ̀k_ʊ	"pit"		bʊ̀'ad

Short i does not diphthongise: nìn-gbīŋ_ʊ´ "body."

Unrounded second morae of long vowels are rounded before gʊ/ŋʊ, with lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense becoming [u]; epenthetic ɪ likewise becomes ʊ. i̠əgʊ → ɛʊgʊ and ṷəgʊ → ɔɔgʊ, but here the pl vowels are remodelled on the sg.

dàʊg_ʊ	"log"	pl	dàad
fɛ̄n̠'og_ʊ´	"ulcer"		fɛ̄n̠'ɛd´
kpī'oŋ_ʊ	"strong"		kpī'əmā
vīug_ʊ´	"owl"		vīid´

wābūgᴜ´	"elephant"		wābīd´
mālūŋᴜ	"sacrifice"		mālɪmā
bɛ̄'ogᴜ	"bad"		bɛ̄'ɛd (but bī'a "bad", pl bī'əs)
lām-fɔ̄ɔgᴜ	"toothless"		lām-fɔ̄ɔd (but fùe "extract")

The sole pl in -uəd is zùəd "friendship" (pl only.) Dàbīogᴜ pl dàbīəd "coward" may have been influenced by an obsolete *dàbīəm "coward" (Mooré *ràbɛ́ɛmà*.)

3.4 Tone patterns

The tonemes of an open-class word, prior to external tone sandhi or overlay, are specified by a tone pattern (tp), a suprasegmental stem feature which allocates tonemes to the syllables of each complete word belonging to the flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes. Analogous tps occur throughout Western Oti-Volta.

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

tp H	initial H or MH	
tp L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer m-stems)	
tp A	(for "alternating")	
	nominals: all-M in sg/pl	all-L in cb
	verbs: all-M after nà/kʊ̀	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. Final L likewise becomes M in apocope-blocked sfs, changing to H in the lfs.

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:

wābūgᴜ´	"elephant"	lf wābʊgú	sf wābūg
dìgìr	"dwarf"	lf dìgɪrì	sf dìgìr
nɔ́bìr	"foot"	lf nɔ́bɪrì	sf nɔ́bìr

For the tonemes of bound liaison words see §4.4. 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 ŋ treated like *single* m or n.

Prefixes are L or M. Stems after prefixes have normal tps, except that cbs have X/H on the root after M prefixes. CV-stem cbs sometimes behave like prefixes:

zūg-kōgōr	zūg-kōgā	zūg-kúg-	"pillow"
kā-wɛ̄nnīr	kā-wɛ̄nnā	kā-wɛ́n-	"corn"

Tp H displays H on the first syllable if it is superheavy in the lf, but otherwise has the initial tonemes MH; the H falls on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight in the lf. Any tonemes after H are L. Monosyllabic lfs carry H.

vūr´ (lf vūrɪ́)	vūyá	vūr-	"alive"
yīr´	yā´ (lf yáa)	yī-	"house"
fūugᵤ´	fūud´	fū-	"shirt"
dōkᵤ´	dōgōd´	dōg-	"cooking pot"
nūa´ (lf nūáa)	nɔ̄ɔs´	nɔ̄-	"hen"
nīdₐ´	nīdɪbₐ´	nīn-	"person"
kūgōr´	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
gɔ̄tₐ´	gɔ̄tíbₐ	gɔ̄t-	"seer"
sābɪlígₐ	sābɪlís	sābīl- (sābɪlí)	"black"
yūgúmₙ	yūgʊmá	yūgūm- (yūgʊmɪ́)	"camel"
dī'əsₐ´	dī'əsídìbₐ	dī'əs-	"receiver"
sūgʊrídₐ	sūgʊrídìbₐ	sūgʊríd-	"forgiver"
kū'alíŋₐ	kū'alís	kū'alíŋ-	traditional smock
sú'əŋₐ	sū'əmís	sū'əŋ- (sū'əmɪ́)	"hare"
sāanₐ´	sáamₘₐ	sāan-	"stranger"
sáannìm			"strangerhood"

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	*niinsɪ	(also nīimɪ́s)	"birds"
píɩɲfᵤ	*pɩɩnfʊ	(pl pīɩnɪ́)	"genet"
wáafᵤ	*waagfʊ	(pl wīigɪ́)	"snake"
yáabₐ	*yaagba		"grandparent"

So with all tp H fusion verb gerunds: náar *naagrɪ "finishing", dí'ər *di'əgrɪ "getting", púṇ'ər *pɔ'ɔ́grɪ "rotting."

Except in 2vbs and loans, r behaves as rr after a short root vowel:

ŋyīríf_ʊ	ŋyīrí	"egusi seed"

A few root-stems share the tonal irregularity that before consonant-initial class suffixes they show X on superheavy sf monosyllables and initial H otherwise:

nû'ug_ʊ	nû'us	nū'-	"hand, arm"
à-gâʊ̱ŋ_ʊ	à-gâa̱ṉd	à-gā̱ŋ-	"pied crow"
nɔ́bìr	nɔ̄bá	nɔ̄b-	"foot, leg"
gɛ́l_l	gɛ̄lá	gɛ̄l-	"egg"

So too áṉsìb_a "mother's brother", gbɛ̂ɛṉm "sleep", kísʊ̀g_ʊ "hateful", and the gerunds sɔ́ṉsìg_a "talking", gɔ́sìg_a "looking", kìkírʊ̀g_ʊ "hurrying."

Tp H with prefixes:

dàyūug_ʊ´	dàyūud´	dàyū-	"rat"
Bùsáŋ_a	Bùsâa̱ṉs	Bùsā̱ŋ-	"Bisa person"
zīnzāṵŋ_ʊ´	zīnzāná	zīnzáṵŋ-	"bat"
gūmpūzɛ̄r´	gūmpūzɛ̄yá	gūmpūzɛ́r-	"duck"
pīpīrīg_a´	pīpīrīs´	pīpír-	"desert"
tīntɔ̄ṉríg_a	tīntɔ̄ṉrís	tīntɔ́ṉr-	"mole"

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

sʊ̀'ʊg_a	sʊ̀'ʊs	sʊ̀'-	"knife"
zàk_a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mɔ̀lìf_ʊ	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
pʊ̀gʊdìb_a	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-nàm_a	pʊ̀gʊ̀d-	"father's sister"
sàal_a	sàalìb_a	sàal-	"human"
mɛ̀ɛŋ_a	mɛ̀ɛmìs	mɛ̀ɛŋ-	"turtle"
àṉrʊ̀ŋ_ʊ	àṉrɪmà	àṉrʊ̀ŋ-	"boat"
zìlìm_n	zìlɪmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nɔ̀ŋìd_a			"lover"
sìilíŋ_a	sìilí(mì)s	sìilíŋ-	"proverb"
zàaṉsúŋ_ʊ	zàaṉsímà	zàaṉsúŋ-	"dream"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
nɔ̀ŋìlím		nɔ̀ŋìlím-	"love"

Note bùgúm bùgúm-/bùgōm- "fire", tàdɩmís "weakness", bùdɩmís "confusion."
Tp L with prefixes:

kùkpàrìg_a	kùkpàrìs	kùkpàr-	"palm tree"
sāmán_n	sāmánà	sāmán-	"courtyard"

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

būʋg_a	būʋs	bù-	"goat"
tān_n	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd_a	sīdīb_a	sìd-	"husband"
pu̯ā'	pū'ab_a	pu̯à'-	"woman"
gbīgɩm_n	gbīgɩmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
ŋwāaŋ_a	ŋwāamīs	ŋwàaŋ-	"monkey"
mɛ̄ɛd_a	mɛ̄ɛdīb_a	mɛ̀ɛd-	"builder"
si̯ākīd_a	si̯ākīdīb_a	si̯àkìd-	"believer"
mɛ̄ɛdīŋ_a	mɛ̄ɛdīs	mɛ̀ɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

Agent nouns from tp A verbs which drop d in the sg/cb have tp L sgs:

pʊ̀'ʋs_a	pū'ʋsīdīb_a	pʊ̀'ʋs-	"worshipper"

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 yūgʋdīrɛ́	pl yūgʋdāa		"hedgehog"
ŋwāaŋā	ŋwāamīsɛ́		"monkey"
bāŋīdā	bāŋīdɩbá		"wise man"
kpārɩdīŋā	kpārɩdīsɛ́		"thing for locking"
gbīgɩmmɛ́	gbīgɩmāa		"lion"
zɔ̄ɔmmɛ́	zɔ̄ɔmāa		"fugitive"
tādímm	tādɩmīsɛ́		"weak person"

WK (but not DK) permits this before interrogative clitics as an alternative:

Lì à nɛ̄ gbīgɩmmɛ́ɛ/gbígìmmɛ̀ɛ?   "Is it a lion?"

Tp A with prefixes:

dàkīig_a	dàkīis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm_n	fūfūmā	fūfúm-	"envy; stye"

3.4.2 Verbs

2vb pfv and ipfv forms with be cited in order; the ᴍ-imperative is always subject to tone overlay. 1vbs have only one finite form.

Tp H 2-mora-stem pfvs are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative clitics. They show final H only before liaison-word pronouns:

Ò pū dūgɛ̄.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pū dúgɛ̀ɛ?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dūgɪ́=līī.	"And she cooked it."

Tp H is otherwise as in nominals, but fusion-verb ipfvs (and agent nouns) have initial M, not H, and r never behaves as rr in 2vb stems.

n̠yɛ̄	n̠yɛ̄t_a´	"see"
kū̠	kū̠ʋd_a´	"kill"
dūg	dūgū̠d_a´	"cook"
kūl	kūn_{na}´	"go home"
yādɪ̄g´	yādɪgɪ́d_a	"scatter"
mɔ̄ɔl´	mɔ́ɔn_{na}	"proclaim"
tɔ̄ɔm´	tɔ́ɔm_{ma}	"disappear"
dɪ̄gɪ̄l´	dɪ̄gɪ́n_{na}	"lay down"
nɔ̄k´	nɔ̄kɪ́d_a	"take"
lā̠ŋɪ́m	lā̠ŋɪ́m_{ma}	"wander searching"
pāe´	pāad_a´	"reach"
	dɪ̄gɪ̄_{ya}´	"lie down"

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

bʋ̀d	bʋ̀t_a	"plant"
mɛ̀	mɛ̀ɛd_a	"build"
zàb	zàbɪ̀d_a	"fight, hurt"
bʋ̀əl	bʋ̀ən_{na}	"call"
bɔ̀dɪ̀g	bɔ̀dɪgɪ̀d_a	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋɪ̀d_a	"do"
zàa̠sɪ̀m	zàa̠sɪ̀m_{ma}	"dream"
	tàbɪ̀_{ya}	"be stuck to"

Ò nà bɔ̄dɪ̄g.	"She'll get lost."
Ò kʋ̀ bɔ̄dɪgɪ̄dā.	"She won't be getting lost."

3.4.3 Derivation

Root tps can be deduced from the tps of words with stems lacking derivational suffixes, and by comparing tps in derived stems.

Tp H words have tp H roots, and words derived from H roots are tp H, with the sole exception of verbs derived with n, which are all tp A. Irregular tp H roots correspond to regular H elsewhere: áṇsìb$_a$ "maternal uncle", āṇsíŋ$_a$ "sister's child"; kísòg$_ʊ$ "hateful", kīs$_a$´ "hate"; gɔ́sìg$_a$ ger of gɔ̄s "look."

Tp L/A roots have L/A derivatives. Nominal tp 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"	bìilím	"childhood"

Regular deverbal nominal tps are predictable from those of the verb. All from tp H verbs are tp H; thus dūg "cook", gerund dūgūb$_ʊ$´, agent noun dūgūd$_a$´, instrument noun dūgʊdíŋ$_a$.

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

mɛ̄ɛb$_ʊ$	"building"	sòŋìr	"help"
kùəsòg$_ʊ$	"selling"	zàaṇsúŋ$_ʊ$	"dream"
bɔ̀ɔdìm	"will"	mɛ̀ɛdím-tāa	"fellow-builder"

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

sūŋīd$_a$	"helper"	kpìilúŋ$_ʊ$	"dead"
bɔ̄ɔdīr	"desirable"		

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

kùəs$_a$	"seller"	kūəsīdīb$_a$	"sellers"

Instrument nouns from tp A verbs are all tp A:

mɛ̄ɛdīŋ$_a$	"building tool"	kūəsīŋ$_a$	"salesperson"

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

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:

kɛ̄ nā	"come hither" (kɛ̄n̠ "come")
sàn̠-kàŋā	"this blacksmith" (sāe̯n̠ lā "the blacksmith")
Ò sù'ʋ lɔ́r.	"She owns (sū̄'e) a lorry."
Dúə wɛ̄lá?	"[You] arose (dūe) how?" (greeting)
Ɛ̀n̠rɪgìm pāa dú'atà.	"Shift along up to (pāe) the doctor."

Mānī̄‿ø án̠ dú'atà   kà   fūn   mɛ́n áe̯n̠.
1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also be.
"I'm a doctor and you are too." WK

M̀   á   nɛ̄ dú'atà.   "I'm a doctor."
1SG be FOC doctor:SG.

Ti ya'a vʋe, ti vʋnɛ tis Zugsɔb la.
Tì   yá' vū̄e̯, tì   vú   nɛ̄‿ø   tís   Zūg-sɔ́b lā.
1PL if   live, 1PL live FOC CAT give Lord   ART.
"If we live, we live to the Lord." (Rom 14:8)

Other contact changes are not marked in the orthography of this grammar.

The initial C of dependent n̠wà "this" assimilates to any preceding final C; of lā´ "the" to preceding r; of focus-nɛ̄´ to d t n r l m. Only [l:] [m:] [n:] remain geminated.

Zɔ̄n n̠wá!	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]
yīr lā	"the house"	[jira]
Bà kpìid nɛ̄.	"They're dying."	[k͡pi:dɛ]
M̀ zɔ́t nɛ̄.	"I'm afraid."	[zɔtɛ]
Lì kpàr nɛ̄.	"It's locked."	[k͡parɛ]
Lì pè'ɛl nɛ̄.	"It's full."	[pɛ̀:l:ɛ]
Lì sàn̠'am nɛ̄.	"It's spoilt."	[sã̀:m:ɛ]

Final n m ŋ of right-bound words adopt the place of articulation of following consonants, as does syllabic ǹ (but *not* m̀):

nīn-bámmā	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
nàm zī'	"still not know"	[nanzɪ̯]
Ǹ-Bīl	Mbillah (personal name)	[m̩bil]

Across liaison, informants usually contract á à to á and í à to á or í:

| Ò nìŋí àlá. | "She did thus." | [niŋ:ala]/[niŋ:ɪla] |
| Pɛ̀ɛdá àlá? | "How many baskets?" | [pɛ:dala] |

WK and DK round lf-final ι before ò "his/her" to [ʊ]:

| Bà gɔ̀sí ò bīig. | "They've looked at her child." | [gɔsʊ] |

4.2 Word-initial toneme changes

M spreading follows most words: a following initial L toneme changes to X on superheavy syllables and H on others, unless either the L is "fixed" (below) or a pause intervenes. In the absence of independency marking §11.4, M spreading follows all

subject pronouns
words ending in M toneme
words not bound to the right *except* perfectives ending in L or H
                                       plurals ending in -á or -í
                                       some forms with M dropping (below)

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

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā búŋ.   "They've given the chief a donkey."
3PL give chief:SG ART donkey:SG.   (bʊ̀ŋₐ "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 m̀ gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā. | "And I've looked at the chief." |
| but | Kà m̀ záb nà'ab lā. | "And I've fought the chief." |

       M̀ dìgà bɔ́dìg yā.   "My dwarfs have got lost."
but   M̀ yūgʊmá bɔ̀dìg yā.   "My camels have got lost."

The pronouns m̀ fʊ̀ ò l̀ı tì yà bà, personifier à-, all words with prefix à-, all number prefixes, linker kà and all forms of nominaliser =ǹ 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.
    wʊ̄ʊ **sáa**=ø   nāanī i̠án̠k yà n̠yá'aŋ n tí   páe‿ yà tùənà 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; nɛ́ tì "with us", but

    Amaa o pʊ lal nɛ tii.   "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)
    Àmáa ò pū lāl   nɛ́   tīι=ø.
    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 Spratt's 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 zu̠à "friend", dú'atà "doctor", show M spreading after sg but not cb, with those like lànnìg "squirrel" showing tone sandhi unaffected even by the analogical *addition* of segments in the cb.

    M dropping takes place exclusively within NPs. It occurs after all unbound predependents except personal pronouns, and also after all cbs ending in M toneme, whether dependents or heads. 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 toneme 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: dāu̠ lā pɔ́ɔgū̄=n "in the man's field (pɔ̄ɔgʊ̀´)."

Examples after cbs:

bʊ̀-pìəlìg$_a$	"white goat"	bʊ̀-pāalíg$_a$	"new goat"
bī-púŋ-pìəlìg$_a$	"white girl"	bī-púŋ-pāalíg$_a$	"new girl"
nɔ̄-píəlìg$_a$	"white hen"	nɔ̄-páalìg$_a$	"new hen"
dī'əs$_a$´	"receiver"	dī'əsídìb$_a$	pl
nɔ̄-dî'əs$_a$	"chief's interpreter"	nɔ̄-dí'əsìdìb$_a$	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:

m̀ bīig	"my child"	m̀ tìɩg	"my tree"
mān bīig	"my child"	mān tîɩg	"my tree"
mān yʊ̄gʊ́m	"my camel"	mān gbīgīm	"my lion"

dāu̯ bîig	"a man's child"	nà'ab bîig	"a chief's child"
dāu̯ lā yúgʊ̀m	"the man's camel"	dāu̯ lā gbígìm	"the man's lion"
mɔ̄ɔgʊ̄=n yúgʊ̀m	"a wild camel"		

m̀ bi̯āyá yʊ̀gʊ̀m	"my elder same-sex siblings' camel"
m̀ bi̯āyá gbìgìm	"my elder same-sex siblings' lion"

WK optionally applies M dropping to words with initial H on a long vowel, like
náaf$_ʊ$ "cow": dāu̯ lā nâaf "the man's cow."

Unlike M spreading, M dropping occurs only within NPs:

Bà tìs   nâ'ab   lā   bîig.   "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"	kūgʊ̄r yīnní	"one stone"
wābʊ̄g 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 (bɔ̀dìg yā)":

wābūgᵥ´	"elephant"	Dāy̱ lā wábʊ̀g bɔ̀dìg yā.	
pɔ̄ɔgᵥ´	"field"	Dāy̱ lā pɔ̂ɔg bɔ̀dìg yā.	
bāŋₐ	"ring"	Dāy̱ lā báŋ bɔ̀dìg yā.	
pūʊgₐ	"inside"	Dāy̱ lā pʊ̂ʊg bɔ̀dìg yā.	

but	yūgʊdīr	"hedgehog"	Dāy̱ lā yúgʊdìr bɔ́dìg yā.	three syllables
	dɔ̀ɔgᵥ	"hut"	Dāy̱ lā dɔ̂ɔg bɔ́dìg yā.	no M dropping
	à-gâʊŋgᵥ	"pied crow"	Dāy̱ lā gâʊŋg bɔ́dìg yā.	no M dropping
	wābūgᵥ´	"elephant"	Ḿ bi̱āyá wàbʊ̀g bɔ́dìg yā.	no M spreading
	bāŋₐ	"ring"	Ḿ bi̱āyá bàŋ bɔ́dìg yā.	no M spreading

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

bʊ̀-wɔ̄k dîʊb	"tall goat's food (dīʊbᵥ)"	nɔ̄-wɔ́k dîʊb	"tall hen's food"
bʊ̀-wɔ̄k-píəlìg	"tall white goat"	nɔ̄-wɔ́k-pìəlìg	"tall white hen"
bʊ̀-wɔ̄k-páalìg	"tall new goat"	nɔ̄-wɔ́k-pāalíg	"tall new hen"

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

dāy̱ lā [nɔ́-páalìg]   "the man's new hen" (nɔ̄-páalìg "new hen")

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

[fūug dɔ̂ɔg]   "tent" (fūugᵥ´ "cloth", dɔ̀ɔgᵥ "hut")
pʊ̀'ʊsʊ̀g [fûug dɔ̂ɔg]   "tabernacle" (pʊ̀'ʊsʊ̀gᵥ "worship")

[[[dāy̱ lā bîig] bìər] nâaf] zʊ̀ʊr   "the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's
                                      cow's tail" WK (bīigₐ, bīər´, náafᵥ, zūʊr)

4.3 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 see Spencer and Luís pp132ff.)

Before prosodic clitics mɪ → mm (prior to mnɪ → mmɪ.) Other short ɪ ʊ → ɛ ɔ (here realised [e] [o]); iə uə → ia ua. Final ʊˈa is realised [u̯a̰ː]. 3-mora monophthongs reduce to two, producing words with segmentally identical sf and lf. Tp H lfs rendered monosyllabic before prosodic clitics carry H.

kʊ́o [kʊː]	"kill her"	lf	kʊ́o	*kʊo=o
gāa̱ń	"jackalberry"		gáa̱n	*gã́ãga
vʊ̄mˊ	"life"		vʊ́mm	
dāamˊ	"beer"		dáamm	

The **negative** clitic appears at the end of a clause containing a negated or negative verb (Mooré uses segmental *yé* in the same way.) Short final ɪ ʊ become ɛ ɔ; long ɪɪ ʊʊ are not affected. Lf-final L syllables are changed to M.

Lì   kā'   dʊ̄kɔ́=ø.   "It's not a pot (dʊ̄kʊ̱ˊ)."
3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

Lì   kā'   nɔ́bɪrɛ̄=ø.   "It's not a leg (nɔ́bìr)."
3IN NEG.be leg:SG=NEG.

Bà   kā'   mɔ́līɪ=ø.   "They are not gazelles (mɔ̀lì)."
3PL NEG.be gazelle:PL=NEG.

Lì   kā'   yàarīmm=ø.   "It's not salt (yàarìm)."
3IN NEG.be salt=NEG.

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

Lì ká' ò tīɪmm.	"It's not her medicine (tìɪm)."
Lì kā' tîɪmm.	"It's not medicine."
Lì ká' bà dā'a.	"It's not their market (dà'a)."
Lì kā' dá'a.	"It's not a market."

Similar lfs, consistently written with final ɛ ɔ in KB, appear in some clause adjuncts, like bɔ́ zúgɔ̄ "because", dāa-sí'ərɛ̄ "perhaps" and sometimes yà'-clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor **buude**, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.
Kìkīrīg yá' mɔ̄r būʊdɛ̄,   fūn   tísò=ø   kà ò lɛ̀bìg ò mɔ̄ɔgū̄=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: gɔ̀sɪmā! "look!", gɔ̀sɪmī=yá! "look (pl)!" So too does the greeting formula Nɛ̄ sɔ́n̠sɪgā! "(Blessing) on your conversation."

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

M̀ pu̠ā'   nɛ́ m̀ bīisɛ̄=ø!   "My wife and my children!"
1SG wife:SG with 1SG child:PL=VOC!

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

Ànɔ́'ɔnì‿ø n̠yɛ̄ nɔ́bɪrɛ̀=ø?   "Who's seen a leg (nɔ́bìr)?"
Who   CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yɛ̄ kúkà?   "Who's seen a chair (kūk$_a$)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yɛ̄ dūkɔ́?   "Who's seen a pot (dūk$_ʊ$´)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yɛ̄ mɔ̀lì?   "Who's seen gazelles (mɔ̀lì)?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yɛ̄ bédʊgú?   "Who's seen a lot (bɛ̀dʊgū́´)?"

Lì à nɛ̄ nɔ́bɪrɛ̀ɛ=ø?   "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.

Ànɔ́'ɔnì‿ø n̠yɛ́ bà bìigà=ø?   "Who has seen their child (bīig$_a$)?"
Who   CAT see 3PL child:SG=CQ?

Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yē̄ bíigà?	"Who's seen a child?" tonally identical to
Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yē̄ sú'ʊgà?	"Who's seen a knife (sʊ̀'ʊgₐ)?"
Fʊ̀ bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́?	"What (bɔ̄) do you want?"
Ànɔ́'ɔnì n̠yē̄ zu̠áyà?	"Who's seen hills (zu̠āyā)?"
M̀ ná bɔ̄dīg.	"I will get lost."
M̀ ná bɔ̀dɪgὲɛ?	"Will I get lost?"
Ò pʊ̄ dūgɛ̄.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pʊ̄ dúgὲɛ?	"Hasn't she cooked?"

4.4 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. Before non-clitics or =m, final mɪ may become m, with 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 =mₐ 1sg, =fᵥ 2sg, ₌o 3sg animate, =lɪ 3sg inanimate, =tɪ 1pl, =ya 2pl, =ba 3pl attach to verbs or after =n or ₌ya. Nominaliser =ǹ follows NPs.

kūkₐ	"chair"	=n	→	kūkī=n´
dūkᵥ´	"pot"	=n	→	dūkí=n
pɔ̄ɔgᵥ´	"field"	=n	→	pɔ̄ɔgʊ́=n
yàʊgᵥ	"grave"	=n	→	yàʊgū=n´
dà'a	"market"	=n	→	dā'a=n´
n̠yē̄	"see"	=mₐ	→	n̠yέɛ=mₐ
ki̠à	"cut"	=lɪ	→	kìə=lī´
gbān̠'e´	"seize"	=tɪ	→	gbán̠'a=tī´
pīe´	"wash"	=tɪ	→	píə=tī´
dūe´	"raise"	=tɪ	→	dúə=tī´
sū'eyₐ´	"own"	=lɪ	→	sú'ʊ=lī´
vūe̠yₐ´	"live"	=n	→	vūʊ=n´
kù'əm	"water"	=n	→	kù'əmī=n´

Gɔ̀sɪmī=m!	Gɔ̀sīm=m!	"Look at me!"
Gɔ̀sɪmí fʊ̀ nû'ug!	Gɔ̀sím fʊ̀ nû'ug!	"Look at your hand!"

Before 2pl object =ya, any back second morae of long vowels are fronted, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

Kà bà kíe=yā.	"And they cut (ki̯à) you."
Kà bà gbáṉ'e=yā.	"And they seized (gbāṉ'e´) you."
Kà bà kúe=yā.	"And they killed (kū) you."
Kà bà zúi=yā.	"And they stole (zū) 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]:

bɔ̀ɔd̪a	"want"	=o	→	bɔ̀ɔdō=o´	
tʊ̀m	"send"	=o	→	tʊ̀mò=o	
ṉyɛ̄	"see"	=o	→	ṉyɛ́o	lf ṉyɛ́ó=o
zū	"steal"	=o	→	zúo	lf zūó=o
dì	"eat"	=o	→	dìo=o	
ki̯à	"cut"	=o	→	kìo=o	
pāe´	"reach"	=o	→	páo	lf pāó=o
pīe´	"wash"	=o	→	pío	lf pīó=o
dūe´	"raise"	=o	→	dúo	lf dūó=o
àe̯ṉya	"be"	=o	→	āṉo=o´	
zū	"steal"	=ya	→	zūe=ya´	
bɛ̀	"be"	=ya	→	bɛ̄ɩ=ya´	

=ya itself becomes =ní before liaison. (Historically, *ɲa became *ɲɩ.)

Dā dɔ̄llī=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.	

Biisɛ, siakimini ya du'adib nɔya.
Bīisɛ̄=ø,   si̯àkìmī=ní‿ yà dū'adīb nɔ́yà.
Child:PL=VOC, agree:IMP=2PLS 2PL parent:PL mouth:PL.
"Children, obey your parents." (Eph 6:1)

Nominaliser =ǹ fuses with preceding pronoun subjects §10.2.1; 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:

dāu̯   **lá**=ø zàb nà'ab lā   "the man having fought the chief"
man:SG ART=NZ fight chief:SG ART

ya zuobid wʊsa kalli an si'em   "the number of all your hairs" (Lk 12:7)
yà zūəbíd wʊ̄sā kāllí=ø   àn̯ sī'əm
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 kîə=m.   "And they cut me." (X toneme, not H)

Locative =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.

pɔ̄ɔgʊ´	"field"	=n	→	pɔ̄ɔgú=n	
bīigₐ	"child"	=n	→	bīigī=n´	WK
yàad	"graves"	=n	→	yàadī=n´	WK
kūʊdíbₐ	"killers"	=n	→	kūʊdíbī=n´	WK

Ò ká' bà dā'a=nɛ́.   "She is not at their market (dà'a)."
Ò kā' dá'a=nɛ́.   "She is not 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:

dūg	"cook"	=n	→	dūgū=n´
mɛ̀	"build"	=n	→	mɛ̄ɛ=n´
bɔ̀dìg	"lose"	=n	→	bɔ̀dɩgī=n´
yādīg´	"scatter"	=n	→	yādɩgī=n´
kūʊdₐ´	"kill" ipfv	=n	→	kūʊdī=n´
dɔ̄lₗₐ´	"go with"	=ya	→	dɔ̄llī=ya´

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

bɔ̀dɪg	"lose"	=mₐ	→	bɔ̀dɪgì=mₐ
dì	"eat"	=lɪ	→	dìɪ=līˊ
yādīgˊ	"scatter"	=mₐ	→	yādɪgí=mₐ
dūg	"cook"	=lɪ	→	dūgí=līˊ
gɔ̄s	"look"	=o	→	gɔ̄só=o
kū	"kill"	=mₐ	→	kʊ́ʊ=mₐ
pāeˊ	"reach"	=ba	→	páa=bāˊ

Final ò=o becomes ō=o before the negative clitic, and final overlong
diphthongs behave tonally like -VCVV:

Kà bà zábò.	"And they fought him."
Kà bà pū zábō=o.	"And they didn't fight him."
Kà bà ŋyɛ́o.	"And they saw her."
Kà bà pū ŋyɛ̄ó=o.	"And they didn't see her."

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

Kà m̀ zábì=bā.	"And I fought them."
Kà m̀ pū zábì=báa.	"And I didn't fight them."
Kà m̀ kʊ́ʊ=bā.	"And I killed them."
Ànɔ́'ɔnì kʊ́ʊ=bá?	"Who's killed them?"

Bound object pronouns following =n and =yₐ 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/kʊ̀:

kūʊdₐˊ	"kill"	=mₐ	→	kūʊdí=mₐ
kūʊdₐˊ	"kill"	=o	→	kūʊdó=o
zàbìdₐ	"fight"	=mₐ	→	zàbɪdī=mₐˊ
zàbìdₐ	"fight"	=o	→	zàbɪdō=oˊ
yādɪgídₐ	"scatter"	=ba	→	yādɪgídī=bá
yādɪgídₐ	"scatter"	=o	→	yādɪgídō=oˊ
nɔ̀ŋ	"love"	=ba	→	nɔ̀ŋī=bá

Ò nà bɔ̄dɪgī=m.   "He will lose me."
Ò kʊ̀ bɔ̄dɪgīdī=bá.   "He won't be losing them."
Ò kʊ̀ zābó=o.   "He won't fight him."

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

Ò bɔ̀dɪgī=m.   "He's lost me."
Ò bɔ̀dɪgō.   "He's lost her."
Ò yàdɪgī=bá.   "He's scattered them."
Ò kʊ̄ʊ=bá.   "She has killed them."
Dāʊ̱ lā kʊ́ʊ=bá.   "The man has killed them."

Non-enclitic liaison words comprise the pronouns m̀ fʊ̀ ò lì tì yà bà, personifier à, catenating n, and all words with prefixed à. Liaison is only seen consistently before n, before the number-prefix à, and within VPs:

Tì gɔ́sí‿bà bīis.   "We've looked at their children."
1PL look 3PL child:PL.

Number-prefix à- changes preceding lf-final short vowels to -a, but in all other cases lfs before à- are just the same as lfs before consonant-initial liaison words:

M̀ mɔ́r nɛ̄ bīisá‿ àtán̠'.   "I have three children."
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.

Pɛ̀ɛdá‿ àlá=ø?   "How many baskets?"
basket:PL NUM:how.many=CQ?

but   Ò nìŋí‿àlá.   "She has done thus."
      3AN do   thus.

Fʊ̀ áan̠‿ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀=ø?   "Who are you?"
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
lɔ́ɔ‿À-Bāa   zʊ̂ʊr
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.

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

Kà ò zɔ́ɔ‿ø kɛ̄ŋ nā.   "And he came running"
And 3AN run CAT come hither.

tʋʋm kanɛ ka m tʋmmi tisid Wina'am la.
tʋ̀ʋm-kànì=ø kà m̀ túmmì‿ø tísìd 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 tʋm tisi ba
àmáa ò kɛ̄ nā yɛ́ ò túm‿ø tìsì=bā
but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give=3PL
"but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M̀ nɔ́k sʋ́'ʋgʋ̀‿ø ki̤á 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 dìtɨ́‿ bà dī̄ɩb.   "And they were eating their food."
And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food.   (dìtī=bá "were eating them")

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
bànì=ø nà yēl Zūg-sɔ́bɨ́‿bà tūʋmá=ø àn̠ sī'əm 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 Flexion

5.1 Nouns

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem itself appears as a combining form (cb) in composition with a following nominal. Cbs show apocope, but the dummy suffix was formerly only deleted after vowels and nasals; occasional archaisms appear, like *nwadibil* for ņwād-bíl$_a$ "star."

Forms will be cited in the order sg, pl, cb.

Each class suffix has a basic sg, pl or mass sense. Five regular pairings of sg/pl suffixes account for most count nouns, producing a|ba, ga|sɪ, gʊ|dɪ, rɪ|aa and fʊ|ɩ noun classes. Two unpaired suffixes form bʊ| and mɪ| classes, mostly containing mass nouns. The classes were once grammatical genders, with pronoun, adjective and numeral agreement, but Kusaal now has a natural animate/inanimate gender system, with the 3rd person pronouns continuing those for the a|ba and rɪ|aa classes.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class to avoid ambiguity. This has become regular with gʊ|dɪ stems ending in m n following a short vowel, which always use plural -aa instead of -dɪ, as do all gerunds in gʊ.

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 lɪ.

The classes are thus as follows:

a	ba	sīd$_a$	sīdīb$_a$	sìd-	"husband"
ba		nà'ab$_a$	nà'-nàm$_a$	nà'-	"chief"
ga	sɪ	būʊg$_a$	būʊs	bò-	"goat"
gʊ	dɪ	dɔ̀ɔg$_ʊ$	dɔ̀ɔd	dɔ̀-	"hut"
gʊ	aa	bū'əsúg$_ʊ$	bū'əsá	bū'əs-	"question"
rɪ	aa	nɔ̄ɔr´	nɔ̄yá	nɔ̄-	"mouth"
lɪ		Kūsâal			"Kusaal"
fʊ	ɩ	mɔ̀lìf$_ʊ$	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
bʊ		sā'ab$_ʊ$		sà'-	"porridge"
mɪ		tìɩm		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 -gʊ, as in nû'ug$_ʊ$ pl nû'us "hand", and a|ba stems in l n r may show lfs -lɪ -nnɪ -rɪ, as if the suffix were rɪ, e.g Bɩ̀n$_n$ "Moba person."

M-stems in the a|ba class avoid pl ba; some human-reference ga|sɪ nouns have alternative plurals with ba; countable mɪ| nouns use pl -aa or -sɪ or nàm_a; the small fʋ|ʊ class has members with fʋ|ʊ suffixes in only one number. A few other cases of irregular pairing mostly involve replacement of pl -dɪ by other suffixes.

An alternative pl formation uses **nàm_a** after count noun cbs or mass sgs: kpɛ̀ɛ̠m-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

mà	mà nám_a *sic*	mà-	"mother"
bā'ˊ	bā'-nám_a	bā'-	"father"
zṵà	zṵà-nàm_a	zṵà-	"friend"

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

wɔ̄kʋˊ	wā'adˊ	wā'-/wɔ̄k-	"long, tall" (adjective)
tā̠pʋ		tà̠p-	"war"
	kīˊ	kī-/kā-	"millet"
lā'afʋ	līgɪdī	là'-/lìg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
zūgʋˊ	zūtˊ	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-sʋ̀ŋ "Holy Spirit."

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

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

zīnzā̠ʋŋʋˊ	zīnzāná	zīnzáʋ̠ŋ-	"bat"
gbɛ̄rˊ	gbɛ̄yá	gbɛ̄r-	"thigh"
kʋ̀kɔ̄rˊ	kʋ̀kɔ̄yá	kʋ̀kɔ̄(r)-	"voice"

Disambiguation is clearly involved in e.g.

| kɔ̀lʋ̀g-kàŋā | "this bag" | cf cb kɔ̀l- from | kɔ̄līg_a "river" |
| lànnìg-pìəlìg | "white squirrel" | cf cb làn- from | lān_n "testicle" |

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cbs as heads: dàṵ-sʋ̀ŋ "good man", dàp-sʋ̀mà "good men":

dāu̯	dāpₐ	dàu̯- sg dàp- pl	"man"
tāu̯n´	tān̯pₐ´	tāu̯n- sg tān̯p- pl	"opposite-sex sib"

Many manner nouns §11.6.3 show apocope-blocking. A few others do too: nà'asì "honour"; kābɩrí "permission to enter"; būudī cb bùud- "tribe", Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*; sūgʋrú "forbearance", Mooré *súgrì*. They are probably loans from related languages without apocope, as with kīibú "soap", from Mampruli *kyiibu*.

There are partial correlations between class and meaning.

a|ba has exclusively human-reference membership.

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

gʋ|dɩ and rɩ|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 gʋ|dɩ are pejorative: dàbīogʋ "coward", zɔ̄lūgʋ´ "fool." Stems referring to groups of people may use gʋ for the place where they live. Most human-reference nouns in rɩ|aa originated in a|ba and were transferred for phonological reasons. The lɩ| subclass includes all names of languages.

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

bʋ| has only three members that are not gerunds: sā'abʋ "millet porridge", tān̯pʋ "war" and kī'ɩbʋ´ "soap."

mɩ| 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 fitted into noun classes by analogy or use nàmₐ:

ga|sɩ	àràzàkₐ	àràzà'as	àràzà'-	"riches"
	màlḭākₐ´	màlḭā'as´	màlḭā'-	"angel" DK
gʋ|dɩ	gādūgʋ´	gāt´	gād-	"bed"
	lɔ̀mbɔ̀n̯'ɔgʋ	lɔ̀mbɔ̀n̯'ɔd	lɔ̀mbɔ̀n̯'-	"garden"
rɩ|aa	lɔ́r	lɔ́yà/lɔ́ɔmₐ	lɔ́r-	"car, lorry" (cf Mɔ̄r´)
	àlɔ́pìr	àlɔ́pìyà		"aeroplane" SB
		wādá	wād-	"law"
nàmₐ	Nàsāarā	Nàsàa(r)-nàmₐ	Nàsàa(r)-	"European"

Loans ending in L or H show M spreading after sg, but not cb: dú'atà nâ'ab "a doctor's chief", but dú'atà-nà'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: dūnɩyā "world", dūnɩyá-kàŋā "this world."

5.1.1 Paradigms

By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel. Complications arise from consonant assimilation, rounding before -gʊ -kʊ -ŋʊ, deletion of g after aa iə uə aan̪ ɛɛn̪ ɔɔn̪, and with CVV-stems before a, ʊ 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:

sīdₐ	sīdībₐ	sìd-	"husband"
nīdₐ´	nīdībₐ´	nīn- *sic*	"person"
sàalₐ	sàalìbₐ	sàal-	"human being"
kūʊdₐ´	kūʊdíbₐ	kūʊd-	"killer"
sāanₐ´	sáamₘₐ	sāan-	"guest, stranger"
yūʊm-yûʻʊmₙₐ	-yûʻʊmnìbₐ	-yûʻʊm-	"singer"
pu̪à'-sān̪'amₘₐ	-sān̪'amīdībₐ *sic*	-sàn̪'am-	"adulterer"
bì-pītₐ´	-pītíbₐ	-pīt-	"younger child"

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in s regularly drop the d formant in sg and cb, as do those from a few other verbs. Many have nàmₐ pls as well or instead.

kùəsₐ	kūəsīdībₐ	kùəs-	"seller"
sīgīsₐ´	sīgɪsídìbₐ	sīgīs-	"lowerer"
dìɪsₐ	dìɪs-nàmₐ	dìɪs-	"glutton"
sɔ̀sₐ	sɔ̄sɪdībₐ	sɔ̀s-	"beggar"
tìsₐ	tīsɪdībₐ	tìs-	"giver" WK
kīs(īd)ₐ´	kīsɪdíbₐ	kīsīd-	"hater"
zàb-zàbₐ	-zābɪdībₐ	-zàb-	"warrior"
gbān-zábₐ	-záb-nàmₐ	-záb-	"leatherbeater"
n̪wī-tɛ́kₐ	-tɛ́kìdìbₐ		"rope-puller"

Stems in single m have sg -mm and pl in -sɪ or nàmₐ:

kpī'ɪm	kpī'ɪmīs	kpì'ɪm-	"dead person"
zū'əm´	zū'əmís	zū'əm-	"blind person"
tādīm	tādɪmīs	tàdìm-	"weak person"
	tàdìm-nàmₐ		
kpɛ̄ɛn̪m	kpɛ̀ɛn̪m-nàmₐ	kpɛ̀ɛn̪m-	"elder"
bī'əm	bì'əm-nàmₐ	bì'əm-	"enemy"

Kpɛ́ɛ̱ɲm bī'əm also have pls kpɛ́ɛ̱ɲmmā bī'əmmā, used only as lfs (WK.)
CVn-stems show sg lf -nnɩ, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg rɩ.

Dàgbān$_n$´	Dàgbām$_{ma}$´	Dàgbān-	"Dagomba person"
Bìn$_n$	Bìm$_{ma}$	Bìn-	"Moba person"
Kùtān$_n$´	Kùtām$_{ma}$´	Kùtān-	member of WK's clan

CVmm-stems have only nàm$_a$ pls: dàm-dàm$_{ma}$ "shaker." CVll- CVnn- and CVr-
stems take a|ba suffixes, but WK has variant rɩ|aa forms for CVll- and CVr-stems.

ŋyà'an-dɔ̀l$_{la}$	-dɔ̀llìb$_a$	-dɔ̀l-	"disciple"
bù-zā̱ŋl$_{la}$´	-zā̱ŋllíb$_a$	-zā̱ŋl-	"goat-carrier" WK
gbàn-zā̱ŋl$_{la}$´	-zā̱ŋllíb$_a$	-zā̱ŋl-	"book-carrier" KT WK
pā'an$_{na}$	pā'annīb$_a$	pà'an-	"teacher"
bù-mɔ̄r$_a$´	-mɔ̄ríb$_a$	-mɔ̄r-	"goat-owner" WK
gbàn-tār$_a$´	-tāríb$_a$	-tār-	"book-owner" DK
zà'-nɔ̄-gúr$_a$	-gúrìb$_a$	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"
ŋyā'an-dɔ́l$_l$	-dɔ́llà	-dɔ́l-	"disciple" WK
bù-mɔ̄r´	-mɔ̄rá	-mɔ̄r-	"goat-owner" WK
bù-zā̱ŋl$_l$´	-zā̱ŋllá	-zā̱ŋl-	"goat-carrier" WK

There is no single rule for the sg form with stems ending in vowels.
Seven nouns end in vowels in the sg sf:

pu̱ā'	pū'ab$_a$	pu̱à'-	"woman"
bā'a	bā'ab$_a$	bà'-	"diviner"
sāe̱n/sāe̱n$_{ya}$	sāanb$_a$	sàn-	"blacksmith"
sɔ̄e̱n/sɔ̄e̱n$_{ya}$	sɔ̄ɔ̱nb$_a$	sɔ̀n-	"witch"
dāu̱	dāp$_a$	dàu̱-, dàp-	"man"
tāu̱n´	tā̱np$_a$´	tāu̱n-, tā̱np-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pītú	pītíb$_a$	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds -pīt$_a$´ replaces pītú.
Some CVV stems introduce d in the sg and either the pl or cb:

wìɩd$_a$	wìɩb$_a$	wìɩd-	"hunter"
sɔ̄ŋ'ɔd$_a$´	sɔ̄ŋ'ɔb$_a$´	sɔ̄ŋ'ɔd-	"someone better"
pūkpāad$_a$´	pūkpāadíb$_a$	pūkpá-	"farmer"

Others have become rɩ|aa: pʊ̀kɔ̀ɔn̯r "widow", dàkɔ̀ɔn̯r "bachelor", bīәr´ "elder same-sex sibling", pɔ̀n̯'ɔr "cripple", ŋyɛ̄'ɛr´ "next-younger sibling." Related languages keep pl -ba, e.g. Toende Kusaal *pɔ́kőőt* pl *pɔkõp* "widow", *dákőot* 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"
yáab_a *yaagba	yāa-nám_a	yāa-	"grandparent"
pʊ̀gʊdìb_a	pʊ̀gʊd-nàm_a	pʊ̀gʊd-	"father's sister"
án̯sìb_a	ān̯s-nám_a	ān̯s-	"mother's brother"
sàam_ma	sàam-nàm_a	sàam-	"father"
dìәm_ma	dìәm-nàm_a	dìәm-	"man's parent-in-law"
dàyáam_ma	dàyāam-nám_a	dàyāam-	"woman's parent-in-law"

ga|sɩ

bʊ̄ʊg_a	bʊ̄ʊs	bʊ̀-	"goat"
zɔ̄ɔg_a	zɔ̄ɔs		"run, race"
n̯wādīg_a´	n̯wādīs´	n̯wād-	"moon, month"
bʊ̀-dìbìg_a	-dìbìs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kɔ̄līg_a	kɔ̄līs	kɔ̀l-	"river"
kpʊ̀kpàrìg_a	kpʊ̀kpàrìs	kpʊ̀kpàr-	"palm tree"
pūsīg_a´	pūsīs´	pūs-	"tamarind"

Stems ending in aa iә uә delete the g of the sg ga with vowel fusion; sg ian̯ uan̯ correspond to pl ɛɛn̯s ɔɔn̯s:

bāa	bāas	bà-	"dog"
sīa	sīәs	si̯à-	"waist"
sàbùa	sàbùәs	sàbu̯à-	"lover, girlfriend"
nū'-ín̯'a	-ɛ̂n̯'ɛs	-ɛ́n̯'-	"fingernail"
nūa´	nɔ̄ɔs´	nɔ̄-	"hen"

gg → k; g is deleted after a i̯a u̯a:

gìk_a	gìgìs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk_a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"

M- and n-stems fall together: mg/ng → ŋ; pl ms → ns, always or optionally, except in a few root-stems; subsequently Vns → V:n̯s.

tɛ̄ŋₐ	tɛ̄ɛ̱ns	tɛ̀ŋ-	"land"
pàŋₐ	pàa̱ns	pàŋ-	"power"
bʊ̀ŋₐ	bʊ̀mɩ̀s	bʊ̀ŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋₐ	nāmɩ̄s	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋₐ	sū'əmɩ́s	sū'əŋ-	"hare"
níiŋₐ	níis/nīimɩ́s	nīiŋ-	"bird"
kʊ̀lɩ̀ŋₐ	kʊ̀l(ɩm)ɩ̀s	kʊ̀lɩ̀ŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋₐ	pīəsí(mì)s	pīəsíŋ-	"washing sponge"
mɛ̄ɛdīŋₐ	mɛ̄ɛdī(mī)s	mɛ̀ɛdɩ̀ŋ-	"building tool"

Various irregularities are seen in

bɛ̀rɩ̀ŋₐ	bɛ̀rɩgɩ̀s		"kenaf"
bīigₐ	bīis	bī-/bì-	"child"
bʊ̄tīŋₐ	bʊ̄tɩ̀ɩs	bʊ̀tɩ̀ŋ-	"cup"
dàsāŋₐ	dàsāmₘₐ/dàsāa̱ns	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùa	-dàbùəbₐ/-dàbùəs		clan name
sāŋá	sānsá /ns/	sān-	"time"
tàmpūa	tàmpɔ̄ɔs	tàmpɔ̀-	"housefly"
yáaŋₐ	yáas *yaagsɩ	yāaŋ-	"grandchild"
Yàaŋₐ	Yàamₘₐ	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàamɩ̀s/Yàaa̱ns		

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

kūugₐ/ᵥ´	kūus´	kū-	"mouse"
sʊ̀'ʊgₐ/ᵥ	sʊ̀'ʊs	sʊ̀'-	"knife"
nû'ugᵥ	nû'us	nū'-	"hand"
zʊ̀nzɔ̀ŋₐ/ᵥ	zʊ̀nzɔ̀ɔ̱ns	zʊ̀nzɔ̀ŋ-	"blind person"
tɛ̀ŋ-zʊ̀ŋᵥ	-zʊ̀ʊ̱ns		"foreign land"
yʊ́'ʊŋᵥ	yʊ̄'ʊmɩ́s	yʊ̄'ʊŋ-	"night"
zùuŋ̱gᵥ	zùuṉs/zùuṉd	zùṉ-	"vulture"

Some original gʊ|dɩ nouns have substituted pl -sɩ for -dɩ instead of -aa:

yàmmʊ̀gₐ/ᵥ	yàmmɩ̀s	yàm-	"slave"
à-dàalúŋᵥ	à-dàalí(mì)s	à-dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'uŋᵥ	sī'imɩ́s	sī'uŋ-	kind of big dish
dɩ̀ɩsúŋᵥ	dɩ̀ɩsís/dɩ̀ɩsímà	dɩ̀ɩsúŋ-	"spoon"
wīlɩsúŋᵥ	wīlɩmɩ́s *sic*	wīlɩsúŋ-	kind of snail
yālɩsúŋᵥ	yālɩmɩ́s *sic*	yālɩsúŋ-	"quail"

gʊ|dɪ

Before -gʊ -kʊ -ŋʊ stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic ɪ to ʊ and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

dàʊgʊ	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fɛ̄n̠'ogʊ´	fɛ̄n̠'ɛd´	fɛ̄n̠'-	"ulcer"
gbɛ̀'ogʊ	gbɛ̀'ɛd/gbɛ̀dà	gbɛ̀'-	"forehead"
dàbīogʊ	dàbīəd	dàbi̠à-	"coward"
vīugʊ´	vīid´	vī-	"owl"
mɔ̄ɔgʊ	mɔ̄ɔd	mɔ̀-	"grass, bush"
dʊ̀ndʊ̀ugʊ	dʊ̀ndʊ̀ud	dʊ̀ndʊ̀-	"cobra"
wābūgʊ´	wābīd´	wāb-	"elephant"
bālɛ̄rʊ̄gʊ´	bālɛ̄rīd´/bālɛ̄rīs´	bālɛ́r-	"ugly person
bɛ̄sʊ̄gʊ	bɛ̄sīd	bɛ̀s-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dɔ̀ɔgʊ	dɔ̀ɔd/dɔ̀t	dɔ̀-	"hut"

So too pɔ̄ɔgʊ´ "farm, field", fūugʊ´ "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

zūgʊ´	zūt´	zū(g)-	"head"

gg → k and u̠akʊ → ɔkʊ; g is deleted after a i̠a u̠a:

dūkʊ´	dūgūd´	dūg-	"cooking pot"
lāu̠kʊ	lā'ad	là'-	"(item of) goods"
bi̠āu̠n̠kʊ	bi̠ān̠'ad WK	bi̠àn̠'-	"shoulder"
	bi̠ān̠'adā SB		
lɔ̀kʊ	lʊ̀'ad	lu̠à'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

dd → t; ld → nn:

ùdʊ̀gʊ	ùt	ùd-	"(piece of) chaff"
zɔ̄lʊ̄gʊ´	zɔ̄nn´	zɔ̄l-	"fool"
sìlʊ̀gʊ	sìnn/sìlìs	sìl-	"hawk"

mg/ng → ŋ, with remodelled cbs; m and n-stems use aa instead of dɪ, except for *yammid* "slavery" and CVVC root-stems:

gbàu̯ŋʊ	gbànà	gbàn-/gbàu̯ŋ-	"book"
zīnzāu̯ŋʊ´	zīnzāná	zīnzáu̯ŋ-	"bat"
àn̠rʊ̀ŋʊ	àn̠rɩmà	àn̠rʊ̀ŋ-	"boat"
nìn-gbīŋʊ´	-gbīná	-gbīŋ-	"body"
làŋgáʊŋʊ	làŋgāamá	làŋgāʊŋ-	"crab"
	or làŋgáamn̩		

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate ng → ŋ, and m-stems optionally resist mg → ŋ: thus dìgɩnʊ̀gʊ "lying down", sùnnʊ̀gʊ "bowing the head", sàn̠'ʊŋʊ/sàn̠'amʊ̀gʊ "destroying", kàrʊ̀ŋʊ/kàrɩmʊ̀gʊ "reading." All pls take -aa:

bū'əsʊ́gʊ	bū'əsá	bū'əs-	"question"
zàan̠sʊ́ŋʊ	zàan̠símà	zàan̠sʊ́ŋ-	"dream"

The place name Dὲnʊ̀gʊ "Denugu" also fails to assimilate ng.
An irregular sɩ pl appears in

pɛ̄'ogʊ´	pɛ̄'ɛs´	pɛ̄'-	"sheep"

rɩ|aa

kūgʊ̄r´	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
yūgʊdīr	yūgʊdā	yùgʊ̀d-	"hedgehog"
nɔ́bɩ̀r	nɔ̄bá	nɔ̄b-	"leg"
bìn̠'isɩ̀r	bìn̠'isà	bìn̠'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlàn̠ìr	bàlàŋà	bàlàŋ-	"hat"
sāŋgúnnìr	sāŋgúnnà	sāŋgún-	"millipede"
sūmmɩ̄r	sūmmā	sùm-	"groundnut"

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

bīər´	bi̯āyá	bi̯ā-	"elder same-sex sib"
zūər	zu̯āyā	zu̯à-	"hill"
nɔ̄ɔr´	nɔ̄yá	nɔ̄-	"mouth"
zʊ̄ʊr	zʊ̄yā	zʊ̀-	"tail"

n̠yɛ̄'ɛr´	n̠yɛ̄dá	n̠yɛ̄'-	"next-younger sibling"
pɔ̀n̠'ɔr	pɔ̀n̠dà	pɔ̀n̠'-	"cripple"
yʊ̄'ʊr´	yʊ̄dá	yʊ̄'-	"name"
yū'ər	yu̯ādā	yù'ər- *sic*	"penis"

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare *bàgrɛ̀*)
si̯à'ar	si̯à'a	si̯à'-	"forest"
bi̯ā̠n'ar´	bi̯án'a	bi̯ā̠n'-	"wet mud, riverbed"
mʋ̀'ar	mʋ̀'a(dà)	mu̯à'-	"reservoir, dam"
zàŋkʋ̀'ar	zàŋkʋ̀'a(dà)	zàŋku̯à'-	"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 gbá̠n'ar from gbā̠n'e´ "grab", and also

vúər	vūáa	vūə-	"fruit of red kapok"

Stems with a short root vowel before rɩ have remodelled cbs in CVr-:

gbɛ̄r´	gbɛ̄yá	gbɛ̄r-	"thigh"

Stems in m n l r assimilate the r of sg rɩ:

dūm$_n$	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yʋ̀ʋm$_n$	yʋ̀mà	yʋ̀ʋm-	"year" (CVVC/CVC)
kpān$_n$	kpānā	kpàn-	"spear"
gɛ́l$_l$	gɛ̄lá	gɛ̄l-	"egg"
kʋ̀kpàr	kʋ̀kpàrà	kʋ̀kpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli *zari*)	zā´	zā-	"millet"
yīr´	yā´	yī-	"house"
Mɔ̄r´	Mɔ́ɔm$_{ma}$	Mɔ̄r-	"Muslim"

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

Kūsâal	Kusaal	Kūsâas	Kusaasi
Bāt´	Bisa language	Bārīs´	Bisa people

fʋ|ɪ

mɔ̀lɪ̀fʋ	mɔ̀lì	mɔ̀l-	"gazelle"
ŋyīrífʋ	ŋyīrí	ŋyīr-	"egusi"
būn-búʋdɪ̀fʋ			"seed"
(Mooré *muiifu*)	mùi̯	mùi̯-	"rice"

ɪ causes umlaut of the stem vowels aa iə to ii:

náafʋ *naagfʋ	nīigí	nā'-	*nag-	"cow"
wáafʋ *waagfʋ	wīigí	wā'-	*wag-	"snake"
(Mampruli *kaafu*)	kī´	kī-/kā-		"millet"

nf → f with nasalisation of the preceding vowel:

nīfʋ´	nīní	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
píɪ̯nfʋ	pīɪní	pīɪn-	"genet"
kíi̯nfʋ	kīiní		"millet seed"

Two words drop stem d in the sg:

wìəfʋ	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
lā'afʋ	līgɪdī	là'-/lìg-	"cowrie" pl "money"

Some words have fʋ|ɪ suffixes in only one number:

zíiŋa	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wālīga	wālīs/wālí *sic*	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sībīga´	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīi̯nfʋ´/sīi̯ŋa´	sīi̯ns´	sīn̯-	"bee"
sūn̯fʋ´/sūuun̯r´	sūn̯yá	sūn̯-	"heart"
kpá'ʋŋʋ	kpī'iní	kpā'- *sic*	"guinea fowl"

bʋ|

sā'abʋ	sà'-	"millet porridge"
kī'ɪbʋ´		"soap"
dūgūbʋ´		ger "cook (dūg)"
kādɪbʋ		ger "drive off (kàd)"
pīlɪbʋ		ger "cover (pìl)"
kpārɪbʋ		ger "lock (kpàr)"
bāsɪbʋ		ger "go/send off (bàs)"

bb → p:

sɔ̄pʊ´		ger "write (sɔ̄b)"
tā̠npʊ	tà̠np-	"war"

Cf Mooré *tă̆po* pl *tă̆bdo* "bow, war."
mb → mm, but nb does not assimilate:

wʊ̄mmʊ		ger "hear (wʊ̀m)"
būnībʊ		ger "reap (bùn)"

Yīis´ "make go/come out" has ger yīisíbʊ, the only 3-mora stem in bʊ|.

Pīinī "gift" is a remnant of an old bʊ|nʊ class, with aa umlauted to ii: cf Moba *pāāb̀* "gift", pl *pāānîi*. It is used as sg, with cb pìin-.

mɩ|

dāam´	dā-	"millet beer"
mèlɩgìm		"dew"
dū'uním	dū'un-	"urine"
dàalìm		"masculinity"
yàarìm	yàar-	"salt"
zāa̠sím	zāa̠s-	"soup"

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

zɔ̄m´		zɔ̄m-	"flour"
pūum´		pūum-	"flowers"
bì̠n'isím			"milk"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
pīim´	pīmá	pīm-	"arrow" (CVVC/CVC)

Pīim´ is a remnant of an old "long, thin things" ʊ|ɩ class: cf Nawdm *fíímú* "arrow", plural *fíímí*.

5.2 Adjectives

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	bʋ̀-pìəlìgₐ	bʋ̀-pìəlìs	bʋ̀-pìəl-	"white goat (būʋgₐ)"
rɪ|aa	bʋ̀-pìəl|	bʋ̀-pìəlà	bʋ̀-pìəl-	"white goat"

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

Traces of agreement account for all adjectives with mɪ §10.7.1. For human reference ga\|sɪ suffixes tend to be favoured, e.g. nīn-sábɪlìs "Africans" is commoner than nīn-sábɪlà and the adjective in Zu̯à-wìis "Red Zoose" does not normally use sɪ.

The suffixes a ba fʋ ɪ appear only in set expressions; bʋ 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 gʋ\|dɪ:

zìn̯'a/zèn̯'ogʋ	zèn̯'ɛs/zèn̯'ɛd	zi̯àn̯'-/zèn̯'-	"red"
	or zèn̯dà		
bī'a/bɛ̄'ogʋ	bī'əs/bɛ̄'ɛd	bi̯à'-/bɛ̀'-	"bad"

Bɛ̄'ɛd is also frequently used as sg, with pl bɛ̀'ɛd-nàmₐ.
Other adjectives are *either* ga- or gʋ-type, along with rɪ\|aa suffixes.
Ga-type adjectives include:

wàbìgₐ/wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìgₐ/vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	"beautiful"
sābɪlígₐ/sābíl|	sābɪlís/sābɪlá	sābɪl-	"black"

Like sābɪlígₐ are pāalígₐ "new", bàan̯lìgₐ "slim", pìəlìgₐ "white." Vèn̯llìgₐ "beautiful" does not use sg rɪ; wɛ̄nnīr "resembling", záal\| "empty" do not use sg ga.

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

dɛ̄ɛn̯ₐ	dɛ̄ɛn̯s/dɛ̄ɛmīs	dèɛn̯-	"first"
	or dɛ̄ɛnā		
gīn̯ₐ	gīmā	gìn̯-	"short"

Pl sɪ is not used with stems in s d:

| būgʊsíg_a/būgʊsír | būgʊsá | būgūs- | "soft" |
| pɔ̀ɔdìg_a/pɔ̀ɔdìr | pɔ̀ɔdà | pɔ̀ɔd- | "few, small" |

Similarly mā'asír "cold, wet", mālɪsír "sweet", tɛ̄bɪsír "heavy", lābɪsír "wide."
Gʊ-type adjectives show pl dɪ only in some 2-mora stems without assimilation:

nɛ̀og_ʊ/nɛ̀ɛr	nɛ̀ɛd/nɛ̀yà	nɛ̀-	"empty"
wìug_ʊ/wìir	wìid/wìyà	wì-	"red"
wɔ̄k_ʊ´/wā'ar´	wā'ad´/wá'a	wā'-/wɔ̄k-	"long, tall"
kūdūg_ʊ/kūdīr	kūt/kūdā	kùd-	"old"

| but | bɛ̀dùg_ʊ/bɛ̀dìr | bɛ̀dà | bɛ̀d- | "great" |
| | tītā'ʊg_ʊ/tītā'ar | tītādā | tītá'- | "big" |

Gʊ-type stems in l m n r s simply have sg gʊ pl aa:

sʊ̀ŋ_ʊ	sʊ̀mà	sʊ̀ŋ-	"good"
kísʊ̀g_ʊ	kīsá	kīs-	"hateful"
wàu̠ŋ_ʊ	wànà	wàu̠ŋ-	"wasted, thin"
kpī'oŋ_ʊ	kpī'əmā	kpì'oŋ-	"hard, strong"
zùlʊ̀ŋ_ʊ	zùlɪmà	zùlʊ̀ŋ-	"deep"

Similarly pɔ́n̠rʊ̀g_ʊ "near", mì'isʊ̀g_ʊ "sour", zɛ̄mmúg_ʊ "equal", tūʊlúg_ʊ "hot", lāllúg_ʊ "distant", yàlʊ̀ŋ_ʊ "wide", n̠yālúŋ_ʊ "wonderful", nārúŋ_ʊ "necessary", and all perfective deverbal adjectives in lm. KT (not WK) has alternative pfv adjective forms without m:

kpìilúŋ_ʊ/kpìilʊ̀g_ʊ	kpìilímà	kpìilúŋ-	"dead"
gɛ̄ɛn̠lúŋ_ʊ/gɛ̄ɛn̠lúg_ʊ	gɛ̄ɛn̠límà	gɛ̄ɛn̠lúŋ-	"tired"
pɛ̀'ɛlúŋ_ʊ	pɛ̀'ɛl(ím)à	pɛ̀'ɛlúŋ-	"full"

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

	kūʊdír	kūʊdá	kūʊd-	"murderous;
or	kūʊdíg_a/kūʊdúg_ʊ			liable to be killed"
	sīnnír/sīnníg_a	sīnná	sīn-	"silent"

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

bōn-túlɪgìr	-túlɪgà		"heating thing"
n̪wī-tɛ́kɩ̀r	-tɛ́kà	-tɛ́k-	"pulling-rope"
bōn-súŋìr	-súŋà		"helpful thing"
tūmmīr	tūmmā/tūmnā	tùm-	"working, helpful"
kùg-dɛ̄l̩´	-dɛ̄llá		"chair for leaning on"

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

nīn-pú'alɩ̀ŋₐ	-pú'alɩ̀mà		"harmful person"
nīn-záa n̪sʊ̀ŋᵥ	-záa n̪sà		"dreamy person"

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

vūr´	vūyá	vūr-	"alive"
dāʊgᵥ	dāad	dà-	"male"
tɔ̄ɔgᵥ	tɔ̄ɔd	tɔ̀-	"bitter"
pu̪ākₐ	pū'as	pu̪à'-	"female" (human)
n̪yá'aŋₐ	n̪yá'as/n̪yā'amís	n̪yā'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
n̪yɛ̀ɛsíŋₐ	n̪yɛ̀ɛnsís	n̪yɛ̀ɛsíŋ-	"confident"

and similarly vèn̪llíŋₐ "beautiful" mālɪsíŋₐ "pleasant" lāllíŋₐ "distant."

bīlₐ	bībīs	bì(l)-	"little"

The pl stem is reduplicated. Sg -la is an old diminutive-class suffix: cf Farefare
níílá "chick", *pɩ̀ɩlà* "lamb", *bùdíblá* "boy", *púglá* "girl", *kíílá* "young guinea fowl",
Mooré *bùllá* "kid."

5.3 Verbs

Though written solid with the verb in standard orthography, discontinuous-past =n and 2pl subject ₌ya 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 (2vbs) form the great majority. They use the stem form for perfective aspect (with the dummy suffix ɩ after consonants) and add -da for imperfective; a suffix -ma marks imperative mood whenever the verb carries independency-marking tone overlay.

Pfv, ipfv and m-imperative are cited in order below.

Straightforward examples include:

gɔ̀n̪	gɔ́ɔ́n̪da	gɔ́ɔ́n̪ma	"hunt"
ki̠à	kìəda	kìəma	"cut"
ku̠ā	kūədá	kùəma	"hoe"
pi̠āṉ'	pi̠āṉ'adá	pi̠àṉ'ama	"speak; praise"
du̠à'	dʊ̀'ada	dʊ̀'ama	"bear, beget"
yādīg´	yādɩgída	yàdɩgìma	"scatter"
nɔ̄k´	nɔ̄kída	nɔ̀kìma	"take"
gāŋ´	gāŋída	gàŋìma	"choose"
kpàr	kpàrìda	kpàrìma	"lock"
sīgɩs´	sīgɩsída	sìgɩsìma	"lower"
kɔ̄t´	kɔ̄tída	kɔ̀tìma	"slaughter"

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

dì	dìta	dìma	"eat"

Likewise n̪yɛ̄ "see", lì/lù "fall", dʊ̄ "go up", yī "go/come out", zɔ̀ "run."

dd → t; ld → nn:

bʊ̀d	bʊ̀ta	bʊ̀dìma	"plant"
gàad	gàta (VVt → Vt)	gàadìma	"(sur)pass"
vʊ̄l	vʊ̄nna´	vʊ̀lìma	"swallow"
màal	màanna	màalìma	"make; sacrifice"
dīgīl´	dīgínna	dìgɩlìma	"lay down"

In KB, d-stems may have variant ipfvs in *-tid*, e.g. *satid* Is 19:14 (*sad* "slip.")

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

lɛ̀b	lɛ̀bìd_a	lɛ̀m_{ma}	"return"
lìəb	lìəbìd_a	lìəbìm_a	"become"

Only 2-mora n-stems show nd → nn:

bùn	bùn_{na}	bùnìm_a	"reap"
gɔ̀'ɔn	gɔ̀'ɔnìd_a	gɔ̀'ɔnìm_a	"extend neck"
dìgìn	dìgɪnìd_a	dìgɪnìm_a	"lie down"

nn-stems show no assimilation:

sùn_n	sùnnìd_a	sùnnìm_a	"bow head"

4-mora m-stems always assimilate md → mm, while 3-mora m-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, though KB sometimes has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity (e.g *tʋmid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm_{ma}	sìilìm_{ma}	"quote proverbs"
lāŋím	lāŋím_{ma}	làŋìm_{ma}	"wander searching"
kàrìm	kàrìm_{ma}/kàrɪmìd_a	kàrìm_{ma}	"read"
tɔ̄ɔm´	tɔ́ɔm_{ma}/tɔ̄ɔmíd_a	tɔ̀ɔm_{ma}	"depart"
tùm	tùm_{ma}	tùm_{ma}	"work"

Like tùm are wòm "hear", kìm "tend a flock or herd", dùm "bite."
mm-stems only assimilate in the imperative:

lɛ̀m	lɛ̀mmìd_a	lɛ̀m_{ma}	"sip, taste"

(cf Mooré *lèmbe.*) Like lɛ̀m are tàm "forget", zàm "cheat, betray", dàm "shake."

Fusion verbs delete g after aa iə uə §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.

fāeṇ´	fāaṇd_a´	fàaṇm_a	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd_a´	dì'əm_a	"get, receive"
dūe´	dūəd_a´	dùəm_a	"rise, raise"
pūṇ'e´	pūṇ'əd_a´	pùṇ'əm_a	"rot" WK

In NT1 pūṉ'e´ forms an ipfv from the root: *pon'od* pɔ̄ṉ'ɔda´. A few other 2vbs likewise drop a derivational suffix in the ipfv, e.g.

wìk §3.3.1	wìida	wìkìma	"fetch water"
i̠ā̠ṉk´	i̠ā̠ṉ'ada´	i̠à̠ṉkìma	"leap, fly"
gīlɪg´	gīnna´	gìlɪgìma	"go around"
kɛ̄ŋ´	kɛ̄nna´	kɛ̀ma *sic*	"go"
yɛ̀l	yɛ̀ta	yɛ̀lìma	"say"
gɔ̄s	gɔ̄sɪda´/gɔ̄ta´	gɔ̀(sì)ma	"look"
tìs (also tì=f etc)	tìsìda/tìta	tìsìma	"give"

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

| kɛ̄ | kɛ̄ta´ | kɛ̀la | "let, allow" |
| kɛ̄ṉ | kɛ̄na´ | kɛ̀ma | "come" |

One-aspect verbs (1vbs) number about sixty. Their sole finite form is an ipfv. Most transitive 1vbs express relationships. "Quality" verbs have predicative adjectival meanings, with the same stem in most cases as the corresponding adjective. Other 1vbs express stances, ongoing bodily activities or positions.

Six 1vbs consist of bare stems:

mī'	"know"	zī'	"not know"
bɛ̀	"exist"	kā'e̠	"not be"
tūṉ'e	"be able"	nɔ̀ŋ	"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 noŋ zaba.
Mìt   kà   Zūg-sɔ́b tóm-tūm á̠ṉ ɔ́nì=ø   nɔ̀ŋ zábāa=ø.
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)

Nɔ̀ŋ is the only 1vb with a m-imperative: nɔ̀ŋìma. The agent noun nɔ̀ŋìda (Mooré *noanga*) has tp L instead of the expected A:

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

Bɔ̀ɔda "want" and zɔ̀ta "fear" arose from 2vb ipfvs (bɔ̀ "seek", zɔ̀ "run.")

Most 1vbs have 2-mora stems with the flexion -ya (= Nawdm -ra.) Unglottalised root vowels become short before ya, and glottalised undergo second-mora fronting; dy → r, ly → ll, my → mm, ny→ nn, sy → s. Assimilations are carried over into deverbal nominals, which then omit derivational d. 3-mora stems simply add -a; WK doubles stem-final m by analogy, without any tonal change: lf kpī'əmmá "be strong."

àe̯n̯ya	"be something"	wà'eya	"travel"
tɔ̄e̯ya´	"be bitter"	sɔ̄n̯'eya´	"be better than"
dīgīₗya´	"lie down"	vābīₗya´	"lie prone"
mɔ̄ra´	"have"	dɛ̄lla´	"lean (person)"
sùmma	"be good"	nɛ̄nna´	"envy"
kīsa´	"hate"		
pɔ̀ɔda	"be few, small"	kpī'əma´	"be strong"
zùlìma	"be deep"	būgūsa´	"be soft"
mā'asa´	"be cool"		

Many 1vbs express stances. Stance verbs with unassimilated y have stem gerunds and regular 2vb derivatives in n and l §7.1; they make agent nouns, verbal adjectives and instrument nouns with d. Some informants inflect these verbs with the suffix -da for *habitual* meaning; others use the derived n-stem inchoative 2vb instead:

	Ò zìn̯'i nɛ̄.	"She's sitting down." WK KT (zìn̯'iya)
	Ò pū zín̯'idā.	"She doesn't sit down" WK
but	Ò pū zín̯'inìdā.	"She doesn't sit down." KT
	Ò vàbì nɛ̄.	"He's lying prone."
	Ò pū vābɪdá.	"He doesn't lie prone." WK
but	Ò pū vábɪnìdā.	"He doesn't lie prone." KT
	Ò dìgì nɛ̄.	"She's lying down."
	Ò pū dīgɪdá.	"She doesn't lie down" WK
	Lì zì'ə nɛ̄.	"It's standing up." (zì'eya)
	Lì pū zí'ədā.	"It (defective tripod) doesn't stand up." WK
	Lì tì'i nɛ̄.	"It's leaning against something." (tī'iya´)
	Lì tì'id.	"It can be leant against something." WK
	Lì pū tī'iyá.	"It's not leaning against anything."
	Lì pū tī'idá.	"It's not for leaning against anything." WK

6 Stem conversion

6.1 Verb to nominal

6.1.1 Gerunds

Almost all verbs except quality verbs form gerunds: abstract nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb.

Gerunds from 2vbs and some 1vbs are formed by adding noun class suffixes to the verb stem. For tps see §3.4.3.

2vbs add the following class suffixes:

2-mora stems	-bʋ but -rɩ as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in g k ŋ ae ie ue	-rɩ
all others	-gʋ

kʋ̄ʋbʋ´	"kill (kʋ̄)"	dʋ̄gʋ̄bʋ´	"cook (dʋ̄g)"
dʋ̄'abʋ	"bear, beget (du̠à')"	kādībʋ	"drive off (kàd)"
pīlībʋ	"cover (pìl)"	kpārībʋ	"lock (kpàr)"
bāsībʋ	"go/send away (bàs)"	sɔ̄pʋ´	"write (sɔ̄b)"
lɔ́pʋ´	"throw stones at (lɔ̄b)"	kīmmʋ	"tend flock/herd (kìm)"
būnībʋ	"reap (bùn)"		
yùugɩr	"delay (yùug)"	nɔ̄kɩ́r	"take (nɔ̄k´)"
nìŋìr	"doing (nìŋ)"	gbáṉ'ar	"grab (gbāṉ'e´)"
dí'ər	"get (dī'e´)"	dúər	"rise (dūe´)"
gàadʋ̀gʋ	"pass (gàad)"	lìəbʋ̀gʋ	"become (lìəb)"
dīgɩlúgʋ	"lay down (dīgɪl´)"	yāarúgʋ	"scatter (yāar´)"
sīgɩsúgʋ	"lower (sīgɪs´)"	dàmmʋ̀gʋ	"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)
dìgɩnʋ̀gʋ	"lie down (dìgɪn)"	zìṉ'inʋ̀gʋ	"sit down (zìṉ'in)"
sàṉ'ʋŋʋ	"destroy (sàṉ'am)"	kàrʋ̀ŋʋ	"read (kàrìm)"
or sàṉ'amʋ̀gʋ		or kàrɪmʋ̀gʋ	

4-mora stems in sm lm use -gʋ, but stems in gm drop m and use -rɩ:

sìilúŋʋ	"cite proverbs (sìilìm)"	zàaṉsúŋʋ	"dream (zàaṉsìm)"
wàŋìr	"waste away (wàŋìm)"	lāŋɪ́r	"wander (lāŋím)"
zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"		

In compounds, 2-mora stems use -rɩ, not -bʋ:

pu̯à'-dīɩr	"marriage"	nīn-kôʋr	"murder"
dā-nûur	"beer-drinking"	mɔ̀-pīl|	"grass roof"

A few gerunds are formally plural:

gɛ̄ɛn̪mís	"go mad (gɛ̄ɛn̪´)"	bùdɩmís	"get confused (bùdɩm)"
tìtʋmīs	"send (tʋ̀m)"	bɛ̄n̪'ɛs	"fall ill (bɛ̀n̪')"
kɛ̄n̪ₙ´	"come (kɛ̄n̪)"	zīid´	"carry on the head (zī)"

Apart from yīisíbʋ "make emerge (yīis´)" irregularities are otherwise rare with 3- or 4-mora stems. Most irregular verbs have regular gerunds, e.g. tɩ̄sībʋ "give (tɩ̀s)", kɛ̄ɛbʋ´ "let (kɛ̄)." However, almost 20% of 2-mora-stem verbs use suffixes other than bʋ, especially b-stems; a few forms are also tonally irregular.

	līigₐ	"fall (lì)"	zūa/zɔ̄ɔgʋ	"run (zɔ̀)"
	vūugʋ´	"make noise (vū)"	pi̯àun̪kʋ	"speak (pi̯ān̪')"
	būdīgₐ	"plant (bʋ̀d)"	kūlīgₐ´	"go home (kūl)"
or	būdūgʋ		or kūlūgʋ´	
	yɛ̀lʋ̀gʋ	"say, tell (yɛ̀l)"	tàn̪sʋ̀gʋ	"shout (tàn̪s)"
	sɔ́n̪sìgₐ	"converse (sɔ̄n̪s)"	gɔ́sìgₐ	"look (gɔ̄s)"
	sɔ̄sīgₐ	"pray, beg (sɔ̀s)"	kìkírʋ̀gʋ	"hurry (kīr)"
			or kīrībʋ´	
	lɛ̄bīgₐ	"return (lɛ̀b)"	tɛ̄bīgₐ	"carry in both hands (tɛ̀b)"
	tɛ̀n̪bʋ̀gʋ	"tremble (tɛ̀n̪b)"	kān̪bīr	"scorch (kàn̪b)"
	ɔ̄n̪bīr	"chew (ɔ̀n̪b)"	lūbīr´	"buck (lūb)"
	zàbìr	"fight (zàb)"		

Stance verbs with unassimilated y form root gerunds, in various noun classes:

zīn̪'igₐ		"sit (zìn̪'i_ya)"
zī'a	zī'əgₐ KT *sic*	"stand (zì'e_ya)"
dīkₐ´ KT	dīgīr´ WK	"lie down (dīgī_ya´)"
īkₐ´ KT	īgīr´ WK	"kneel (īgī_ya´)"
vāpʋ´ KT	vābīr´WK	"lie prone (vābī_ya´)"
tī'ibʋ´		"lean (tī'i_ya´)"

Tɛ̀n̪rₐ "remember", pɔ̀n̪rₐ "be near" have tɛ̄n̪rībʋ pɔ̄n̪rībʋ by analogy with 2vbs. Kīsₐ´ "hate" has the gerund kísʋ̀gʋ.

Other 1vbs have suffix-derived mɩ| gerunds §7.2.4.

6.1.2 Others

Gerunds do not usually acquire concrete meanings (but dīɩbᵾ "food" from dì "eat", zīṉ'igₐ "place" from zìṉ'iᵧₐ "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.

dūg	"cook"	dūkᵾ´	"cooking pot"
dà'	"buy"	dà'a	"market"
kùd	"work iron"	kūt	"iron, nail"
sɔ̄b	"write"	sɔ̄bɩr´	"piece of writing"
sṵā'	"hide"	sṵākₐ´	"hiding place"
ɛ̄ɛṉb´	"lay a foundation"	ɛ̄ɛṉbír	"(physical) foundation"
kùəs	"sell"	kùəsɩm	"merchandise"
pɛ̀bɩs	"blow (wind)"	pɛ̀bɩsɩm	"wind"

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

6.2 Nominal to nominal

Associations of noun class and meaning can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem, e.g. zṵà "friend", zùəd "friendship"; sīɩ̄ṉfᵾ´ "bee", sīɩ̄ṉd´ "honey"; wɛ̀ɛdₐ "hunter", wɛ̀ogᵾ "deep bush."

For ethnic groups, their languages and the places they inhabit see §10.3.

Most tree names are ga|sɩ; their fruits belong to rɩ|aa or gᴜ|dɩ.

Tree	Fruit	
āaṉdīgₐ	āaṉdīr	black plum
dùaṉ	dɔ̀ɔṉgᵾ	dawadawa
gāaṉ´	gāṉr´	jackalberry
gʊ̀ŋₐ	gʊ̀mₙ	kapok
kìkàŋₐ	kìkàmₙ	fig
kpʊ̀kpàrìgₐ	kpʊ̀kpàr	palm
lí'əŋₐ	lí'əmₙ	yellow plum
pūsīgₐ´	pūsīr´	tamarind
sīsíbìgₐ	sīsíbɩr	neem
tá'aŋₐ	tá'amₙ	shea
tɛ̀'ɛgₐ	tɛ̀'ogᵾ	baobab
vúəŋₐ	vúər	red kapok

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in mɩ|, and less often with -gʋ, especially when the adjective sg has -gʋ. Some mɩ| forms are used as manner nouns §11.6.3.

vūmˊ	"life"	sʋ̀m	"goodness"
pɔ̀ɔdɩ̀m	"scarcity"	vɛ̀nnɩ̀m	"beauty"
vɛ̀n̯llɩ̀m	"beauty"	būgʋsím	"softness"
tɛ̄bɩsím	"weight"	mā'asím	"coolness, damp"
bāan̯lím	"quietly"	zāalím	"emptily"
mālɩsím	"sweetness"	lābɩsím	"width"
pìəlɩ̀m	"brightness"	tītā'am	"multitude"
kūdīm	"old times"	pāalím	"recently"
nɛ̀ɛm	"*gratis*" (nɛ̀ɛr "empty")	ŋyɛ̀ɛsɩ̀m	"confidence"
lāllúgʋ	"distance"	zɛ̄mmúgʋ	"equality"
kpī'oŋʋ	"hardness, strength"	yàlʋ̀ŋʋ	"width"
mì'isʋ̀gʋ	"sourness"	tɔ̄ɔgʋ	"bitterness"
zùlʋ̀ŋʋ	"depth"	tʋ̄ʋlúgʋ/tʋ̄llím	"heat"

Noun stems referring to people may also form abstract nouns with -mɩ or -gʋ:

gbáɲyà'a	"lazy person"	gbáɲyà'am	"laziness"
dàmà'a	"liar"	dàmà'am	"lying"
tītā'alɩ	"proud person"	tītā'alīm	"pride"
sāanaˊ	"guest"	sáʋŋʋ	"hospitality"
kpɛ̄ɛn̯m	"elder"	kpɛ̄on̯ŋʋ	"eldership"
sɔ̄ẹn̯ya	"witch"	sɔ́ɔŋgʋ	"witchcraft"

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

sʋ̀ŋāˊ	"well; very much"	mā'asígāˊ	"coolly"
tʋ̄ʋlígāˊ	"hotly"	gīŋā	"shortly"
būgʋsígāˊ	"softly"	sàalíŋāˊ	"smoothly"
ŋyɛ̀ɛsíŋāˊ	"confidently"	yīigá	"firstly"

6.3 Nominal to verb

Quality verbs add -ya or -a to a nominal stem. Nominal tp A is reanalysed as verbal tp H, with lf-final H, not M, and tp L merges with verbal tp A as usual (thus becoming all-M after nà/kʊ̀: Ò nà vɛ̄n "She'll be beautiful.")

H	vʊ̄r´	"alive"	vʊ̄e̤ya´	"live"
	būgʊsír	"soft"	būgūsₐ´	"be soft"
	mā'asír	"cool"	mā'asₐ´	"be cool"
	tɛ̄bɪsír	"heavy"	tɛ̄bɪ̄sₐ´	"be heavy"
	mālɪsír	"sweet"	mālɪ̄sₐ´	"be sweet"
	lābɪsír	"wide"	lābɪ̄sₐ´	"be wide"
	zɛ̄mmúgʊ	"equal"	zɛ̄mₘₐ´	"be equal to"
	lāllúgʊ	"far"	lālₗₐ´	"be far from"

A	tɔ̄ɔgʊ	"bitter"	tɔ̄e̤ya´	"be bitter"
	gīŋₐ	"short"	gīmₘₐ´	"be short"
	kpī'oŋʊ	"strong"	kpī'əmₐ´	"be strong"
	kpɛ̄ɛn̪m	"elder"	kpɛ̄ɛn̪mₐ´	"be older than"
	wɛ̄nnīr	"resembling"	wɛ̄nₙₐ´	"be like"

L	pɔ̀ɔdìgₐ	"small"	pɔ̀ɔdₐ	"be few, small"
	mì'isògʊ	"sour"	mì'isₐ	"be sour"
	sòŋʊ	"good"	sòmₘₐ	"be good"
	yàlòŋʊ	"wide"	yàlìmₐ	"be wide"
	zùlòŋʊ	"deep"	zùlìmₐ	"be deep"
	vɛ̀nnìgₐ	"beautiful"	vɛ̀nₙₐ	"be beautiful"
	vɛ̀n̪llìgₐ	"beautiful"	vɛ̀n̪lₗₐ	"be beautiful"

Stem changes occur in

	wɔ̄kʊ´	"long, tall"	wā'amₐ´	"be long, tall"
	tʊ̄ʊlúgʊ	"hot"	tʊ̄lₗₐ´	"be hot"
	n̪yɛ̀ɛsíŋₐ	"confident"	n̪yɛ̀ɛsₐ	"be confident"

7 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 in nominal stems, and only m in verb stems. Kābīr´ "ask admission" and sūgūr´ "forbear" are back-formations from the apocope-blocked nouns kābɪrí sūgʊrú, and not derived with r. For tps in derivation see §3.4.3.

7.1 Verbs

b rarely derives verbs, **d** possibly not at all: kɔt´ may represent *kɔdl-.

yā'ad	"clay"	yà'ab	"mould clay"
kɔdīg´	"slaughter one animal"	kɔt´	"slaughter several animals"

g most often has inchoative and/or causative senses. (The inchoative meaning underlies the g seen only in the pfv with some irregular verbs.)

būgʊsír	"soft"	būk´	"soften"
dɛ̄ɛŋ$_a$	"first"	dɛ̀ŋ	"precede"
dɔ̄l$_{la}$´	"go with"	dɔ̄līg´	"make accompany"
gīŋ$_a$	"short"	gìŋ	"scrimp"
gɔ̄r$_a$´	"look up" DK	gɔ̄dīg´	"make look up" DK
kpì'a	"neighbour"	kpì'e	"approach"
kpī'oŋ$_ʊ$	"strong"	kpɛ̀'ŋ	"strengthen"
kɔ̀	"break" intransitive	kɔ̀'ɔg	"break" transitive
kūdūg$_ʊ$	"old"	kʊ̀dìg	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
lāllʊ́g$_ʊ$	"far"	lālīg´	"become/make far"
mā'asír	"cool, wet"	mā'e´	"get cool, wet"
màu̯k$_ʊ$	"crumpled up"	màk	"crumple up"
mì'isʊ̀g$_ʊ$	"sour"	mì'ig	"turn sour"
nɛ̀i̯$_{ya}$	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
nīn-múa	"concentration"	mù'e	"redden, become intense"
nū	"drink"	nūlīg´	"make drink"
ṉwīig$_a$´	"rope"	ṉwīig´	"make a rope"
ṉyɔ̄'ɔs´	"smoke"	ṉyū'e´	"set alight"
pìəlìg$_a$	"white"	pɛ̀lìg	"whiten"
pɔ̀ɔdìg$_a$	"few"	pɔ̀'ɔg	"diminish, belittle"
sābɪlíg$_a$	"black"	sɔ̄bīg´	"blacken"
sɔ̄ṉ'e$_{ya}$´	"be better than"	sūṉ'e´	"become better than" WK
sʊ̀ŋ$_ʊ$	"good"	sʊ̀ŋ	"help"
tādīm	"weak person"	tàdìg	"become weak"

tɛ̄bɪsír	"heavy"	tɛ̄bīg´	"get/make heavy"
À-Tūl̩	"Breech-Delivered"	tùlìg	"invert"
tōʊlʊ́g̩	"hot"	tōlīg´	"heat up"
vōr´	"alive"	vō'ʊg´	"make/come alive"
wàʊ̯ŋ̩	"wasted"	wàŋìm	"waste away" (gm)
yùul	"swing" intransitive	yùlìg	"swing" transitive
zūər	"hill"	zùe	"get higher, more"
zùlʊ̀ŋ̩	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"

It is also found in reversive meaning. Within Oti-Volta, reversive g is peculiar to the Western group; *r/d/t* appear elsewhere: cf Moba *lōōń* "close" *lōōd́* "open."

ɛ̩̄d	"block up"	ɛ̩̀dìg	"unblock"
là'as	"gather together"	lāk´	"open" (eye, book); tp H *sic*
lɔ̄	"tie up"	lɔ̄dīg´	"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"
tàb	"get stuck to"	tàbìg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yɛ̀	"dress oneself"	yɛ̀ɛg	"undress oneself"
yɔ̀	"close"	yɔ̀'ɔg	"open"

l derives causatives, mostly from roots expressing states or positions:

bāŋ̩'	"ride"	bāŋ̩'al´	"put on a horse/bicycle etc"
dʊ̯à'	"bear, beget"	dʊ̀'al	"make interest (of a loan)"
gɛ̄og̩	"space between legs"	gɛ̄ɛl´	"put between legs" tp H *sic*
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul´	"set someone on guard"
līk̩	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
mā'e´	"get cool, wet"	mā'al´	"make cool, wet"
nìe	"appear"	nɛ̀ɛl	"reveal"
ŋyá'aŋ̩	"behind"	ŋyā'al´	"leave behind"
pūŋ̩'e´	"rot"	pɔ̄ŋ̩'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wō'ʊg´	"get wet"	wō'ʊl´	"make wet"
yɛ̀	"dress oneself"	yɛ̀ɛl	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìl	"cause to fight"

m is seen in

nɛ̄ɛrˊ	"millstone"	nɛ̄ɛmˊ	"grind with a millstone"

It also derives subverbs:

dɛ̀ŋ	"go first"	dɛ̀ŋɩ̀m	"first"
là'as	"gather together"	là'am	"together"
lɛ̀b	"return"	lɛ̀m	"again"
malig	(Toende) "do again"	màlɩgɩ̀m	"again"

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

būgūd_a	"client of diviner"	bʊ̀gʊlɩ̀m	"cast lots" (also bʊ̀k)
gìk_a	"dumb"	gìgʊlɩ̀m	"become dumb"
gʊ̄'ʊs	"semi-ripe things"	gʊ̀'ʊlɩ̀m	"become semi-ripe"
pu̱ā'	"woman"	pʊ̀'alɩ̀m	"cook"
pɔ̀n̠'ɔr	"cripple"	pɔ̀n̠'ɔlɩ̀m	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbʊlɩ̀m	"make, go lame"

n derives assume-stance 2vbs from stance verbs, with corresponding causatives in **l**. Nawdm has closely parallel formations, e.g. *jeħira* ipfv "stand", *jeħint* pfv "stand up", *jeħlg* pfv, *jeħila* ipfv "make stand." All **n** derivatives are tp A; the **l** causatives have the same tp as the base verb. Some **n/l** pairs lack corresponding 1vbs.

Stance		Assume-stance	Make-assume-stance
zì'e_ya	"stand"	zì'ən	zì'əl
zìn̠'i_ya	"sit"	zìn̠'in	zìn̠'il
tī'i_yaˊ	"lean" (of thing)	tì'in	tī'ilˊ
gɔ̄'e_yaˊ	"look up" WK	gɔ̀'ɔn	
dīgī_yaˊ	"lie down"	dìgìn	dīgīlˊ
īgī_yaˊ	"kneel"	ìgìn	īgīlˊ
làbì_ya	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vābī_yaˊ	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vābīlˊ
sùr_a	"bow head"	sùn_n	sùn_n *sic*
	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	"perch" (bird)	zùən	zùəl
	"perch" (bird)	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2vb for "assume the stance": gʊ̀l_la "hang", gʊ̀l "start hanging/hang up", tàbì_ya "be stuck to" with tàb "get stuck to", beside tàbìl "stick to." Dɛ̄l_laˊ "lean" (person) has the assume-stance derivative dɛ̀lìm.

s is commonly causative:

àeṉ	"get torn"	àaṉs	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìɩs	"feed"
kpèṉ'	"enter"	kpèṉ'ɛs	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lɛ̀b	"return"	lɛ̀bìs	"make return; answer"
mṵà'	"suck" (of a baby)	mʊ̀'as	"give to suck"
nìe	"appear"	nɛ̀ɛs	"reveal"
nū	"drink"	nūlīs´	"make drink"
sīg	"go down"	sīgīs´	"lower"
yī	"go/come out"	yīis´/yīs	"make go/come out"
zɛ̄m_ma´	"be equal"	zɛ̄mīs´	"make equal"
zṵà	"friend"	zùəs	"befriend"

It can also be pluractional:

dī'e´	"receive"	dī'əs´	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us´	"watch out; guard (many)"
i̯āṉk´	"fly, jump"	i̯āṉ'as´	"jump repeatedly"
kɔ̀	"break"	kɔ̀'ɔs	"break several times"
làbì_ya	"crouch in hiding"	làbìs	"walk stealthily"
pìəb	"blow (flute etc)"	pɛ̀bìs	"blow (wind)"
tɔ̀ṉ	"shoot"	tɔ̀ṉ'ɔs	"hunt"
yā'e´	"open mouth"	yā'as´	"open repeatedly" WK

7.2 Nominals

Nominal derivation from verbs is particularly productive.

7.2.1 Agent nouns

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

Agent nouns and ipfv verbal adjectives are derived with the 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 tp §3.4.3.

Most 2vbs have an agent noun with sg segmentally identical to the ipfv; if there are alternate forms, the less regular appears in the agent noun.

mɛ̀	"build"	mɛ̄ɛd$_a$	"builder"
dì	"eat"	dīt$_a$	"eater"
dūg	"cook"	dūgūd$_a$´	"cook"
du̯à'	"bear, beget"	dū'ad$_a$	"relative"
kàd	"drive away"	sàríyà-kāt$_a$	"judge"
gàad	"pass"	tùən-gāt$_a$	"leader"
sɔ̄b	"write"	sɔ̄bīd$_a$´	"writer"
kpàr	"lock"	kpārīd$_a$	"lock-er"
sūgʊ̄r´	"forbear"	sūgʊríd$_a$	"forgiver"
gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsīd$_a$´	"sleeper"
gɔ̄s	"look"	gɔ̄t$_a$´	"seer, prophet"
màal	"sacrifice"	màal-māan$_{na}$	"sacrificer"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an$_{na}$	"teacher"
tùm	"work"	tùm-tūm$_{na}$	"worker"
yʊ̄'ʊm´	"sing"	yʊ̄ʊm-yʊ̂'ʊm$_{na}$	"singer"
sàn̯'am	"spoil"	pu̯à'-sān̯'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; tp H fusion-verb agent nouns show initial M like ipfvs (not gerunds.)

nāe´	"finish"	nāad$_a$´	"someone who doesn't give up easily" WK
n̯wà'e	"cut wood"	n̯wā'ad$_a$	"woodcutter"
dī'e´	"receive"	dī'əd$_a$´	"receiver"
sʊ̀ŋ	"help"	sʊ̄ŋīd$_a$	"helper"
si̯àk	"believe"	si̯ākīd$_a$	"believer"
tɛ̄k´	"pull"	n̯wī-tɛ́k$_a$	"rope-puller"
kɛ̄ŋ´	"go"	kɛ̄n$_{na}$´	"traveller"
yādīg´	"scatter"	yāt$_a$´	participant in a housebuilding ritual
i̯ān̯k´	"jump, fly"	i̯ān̯'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"	nɔ̄-dî'əs$_a$	"chief's spokesman"
tìs	"give"	tìs$_a$	"giver"
sɔ̀s	"beg"	sɔ̀s$_a$	"beggar"
zàb	"fight"	zàb-zàb$_a$	"warrior"

Stems in mm drop d and have only nàm_a pls, but the tonemes of the agent noun from sùn_n (ipfv sùnnìd_a) "bow the head" show assimilation of d:

dàm	"shake"	dàm-dàm_{ma}	"shaker"
sùn_n	"bow head"	sūn_{na}	"deep thinker" WK

For 4-mora stems KT has no agent nouns; WK drops m and proceeds as usual:

pʊ̀'alm̀	"harm"	pʊ̄'an_{na}	"harmer"
sìilm̀	"cite proverbs"	sīin_{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
zàa̱sm̀	"dream"	zàa̱s_a	"dreamer"

1vbs add d, except after ll nn and sometimes r s:

mī'	"know"	mī'id_a´	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ɩd_a´	"ignorant person"
sɔ̄ŋ'e_{ya}´	"be better than"	sɔ̄ŋ'ɔd_a´	"outdoer"
sʊ̄'e_{ya}´	"own"	sʊ̄'ʊd_a´	"owner"
zìn̠'i_{ya}	"sit"	zīn̠'id_a	"sitter"
zì'e_{ya}	"stand"	zī'əd_a	"stander"
àe̱n_{ya}	"be something"	āan̠d_a	"someone who always *is* something" WK
dīgī_{ya}´	"lie down"	dīgīd_a´	"lier-down"
īgī_{ya}´	"kneel"	īgīd_a´	"kneeler"
vābī_{ya}´	"lie prone"	vābīd_a´	"lier prone"
làbì_{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	lābīd_a	"croucher in hiding"
nɔ̀ŋ	"love"	nɔ̀ŋìd_a	"lover" (tp L *sic*)
dɛ̄l_{la}´	"lean"	nīn-dɛ́l_{la}	"person prone to lean"
dɔ̄l_{la}´	"go with"	n̠yà'an-dɔ̀l_{la}	"disciple" (tp L *sic*)
zāṉl_{la}´	"hold"	nɔ̄-záṉl_{la}	"holder of hens"
nɛ̄n_{na}´	"envy"	nīn-nɛ́n_{na}	"envious person"
sīn_{na}´	"be silent"	nīn-sín_{na}	"silent person"
mɔ̄r_a´	"have"	bʊ̀-mɔ̄r_a´	"owner of goats"
tār_a´	"have"	bʊ̀-tār_a´	"owner of goats"
gūr_a´	"guard"	gūr(īd)_a´	"guard"
tɛ̀n̠r_a	"remember"	tɛ̄n̠rīd_a	"rememberer"
kīs_a´	"hate"	kīs(īd)_a´	"hater"

7.2.2 Verbal 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-dúgʋdà "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziiŋdʋgida* zīiŋ-dúgʋdà "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *ni'im dʋgida* nīm-dúgʋdà "meat for cooking" (1 Sm 2:15.)

Uncompounded forms have the meaning of agent nouns: kūʋdír "killer." After cbs the meanings differ: pu̯à'-kūʋda̯´ "woman-killer" vs pu̯à'-kūʋdír "woman killer."

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

là'	"laugh"	pu̯à'-lā'adīr	"woman prone to laughter/ to be laughed at"
n̯yɛ̄	"see"	būn-n̯yɛ́tìr	"visible object"
ku̯ā	"hoe"	nā'-dá-kūədír	"ox for ploughing"
yɛ̀	"don clothes"	fū-yɛ́ɛdìr -yɛ́ɛdʋ̀gʋ	"shirt for wearing" WK, KT
kū	"kill"	tì-kūʋdím	"poison" ("killing medicine")
du̯à'	"bear/beget"	tɛ̀ŋ-dū'adīga	"native land"
sīg	"descend"	yī-sígɪdìr	"lodging-house"
su̯ā'	"hide"	yɛ̄l-sú'adìr	"confidential matter"
ɔ̀n̯b	"chew"	būn-ɔ́n̯bɪdà	"solid food"
bùn	"reap"	būn-búnnìr	"thing for reaping"
tòm	"work"	būn-túmmìr	"useful thing"
vōl	"swallow"	tì-vōnním	"oral medication"
gbīs	"sleep"	pu̯à'-gbīsɪdír	"woman always sleeping"
kɛ̄ŋ´	"go"	bòŋ-kɛ̄nnír	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
gīlīg´	"go around"	pu̯à'-gīnníga	"prostitute"
sūen̯´	"anoint"	kpā-sɔ́ɔn̯dìm	"anointing oil"
yādīg´	"scatter"	būn-yátìr	"scattering thing"
i̯ān̯k´	"fly, jump"	būn-i̯án̯adìr	"flying creature"
sàn̯'am	"destroy"	bò-sān̯'ammīr	"scapegoat" WK
pɛ̀lìs	"sharpen"	būn-pɛ́lɪsìr	"sharpening thing"
kùəs	"sell"	būn-kúəsìr	"item for sale"
dīgī_ya´	"lie down"	bòŋ-dīgɪdír	"donkey that lies down a lot"
vābī_ya´	"lie prone"	bòŋ-vābɪdír	"donkey always lying prone"
zìn̯'i_ya	"sit"	kūg-zín̯'idìr	"stone for sitting on"
zān̯l_la´	"hold in hands"	nɔ̄-zán̯l̩	"hen for holding"
dɛ̄l_la´	"lean (person)"	nīn-dɛ́l̩	"person you can lean on" WK
		kùg-dɛ̄l̩´	"chair for leaning on"
gùl_la	"hang"	būn-gúl̩	"thing for suspending"

3-mora stems in underlying g drop d:

pɛ̀lɪ̀g	"whiten"	bṑn-pɛ́lɪgɪ̀r	"whitening thing, whitener"
tōlīg´	"heat up"	bṑn-túlɪgɪ̀r	"heater, thing for heating"
pàk	"surprise"	yɛ̄l-pákɪ̀r	"disaster"
tɛ̄k´	"pull"	ṇwī-tɛ́kɪ̀r	"rope for pulling with"
sʊ̀ŋ	"help"	bṑn-súŋɪ̀r	"helpful thing"
nɔ̀ŋ	"love"	bì-nɔ̀ŋɪ̀r	"beloved child"

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

pʊ̀'alm̀	"harm"	pʊ̯à'-pʊ̀'alíŋ_a	"harmful woman"
sìilm̀	"cite proverbs"	bṑn-síilʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"thing relating to proverbs"
zàaṇsìm	"dream"	pʊ̯à'-zàaṇsʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"dreamy woman"

Perfective verbal adjectives express resulting states, and are only derived from verbs which can express a change of state in their subjects. The formant lm is added directly to roots; some speakers have forms in l alone.

àeṇ	"tear"	àaṇlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"torn"
gɛ̄ṇ	"get tired"	gɛ̄ɛṇlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"tired"
kɔ̀	"break"	kɔ̀ɔlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"broken"
kp̀ì	"die"	kpìilʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"dead"
pɛ̀'ɛl	"fill"	pɛ̀'ɛlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"full"
pʊ̀'alm̀	"harm"	pʊ̀'alʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"damaged"
yɛ̀	"wear"	yɛ̀ɛlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"worn" (of a shirt)
yɔ̀	"close"	yɔ̀ɔlʊ́ŋ_ʊ	"closed"

7.2.3 Instrument nouns

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

kū	"kill"	kūʊdíŋ_a	"thing for killing with"
lɔ̄	"tie"	sḭà-lɔ̄ɔdíŋ_a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sʊ̀	"bathe"	sūʊdīŋ_a	"sponge"
dūg	"cook"	dūgʊdíŋ_a	"cooking utensil"
sɔ̄b	"write"	sɔ̄bɪdíŋ_a	"writing implement"
bʊ̀d	"plant"	būtīŋ_a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārɪdīŋ_a	"thing for locking"

dā'e´	"push"	dā'adíŋₐ	"pusher (person/thing)"
ŋwà'e	"cut wood"	ŋwā'adīŋₐ	"axe"
pīe´	"wash self"	pīədíŋₐ	"thing for washing oneself"
gɔ̄s	"look"	nīn-gɔ́tìŋₐ	"mirror"; nīn-gɔ́tìs "glasses"
kùəs	"sell"	kūəsīŋₐ	"salesperson"
pīəs´	"clean"	pīəsíŋₐ	"cleaning implement"
zìn̠'iya	"sit"	zīn̠'idīŋₐ	"thing for sitting on"

7.2.4 Gerunds

Some stance verbs make stem gerunds §6.1.1, but most 1vb gerunds are formed with lm after root vowels, m otherwise, and belong to mɩ|.

mī'ilím	"know (mī')"	zī'ɩlím	"not know (zī')"
àan̠lím	"be (àe̠n̠ya)"	bèllím *sic*	"exist (bɛ̀)"
kā'alím	"not be (kā'e̠)"	sū̄'ʋlím	"own (sū̄'eya´)"
nɛ̄nním	"envy (nɛ̄nna´)"	sīnním	"be silent (sīnna´)"
wɛ̄nním *sic*	"be like (wɛ̄nna´)"	dɛ̄llím	"lean (dɛ̄lla´)"; also dɛ̄llúgʋ
dɔ̄llím	"go with (dɔ̄lla´)"	zān̠llím	"hold in hand (zān̠lla´)"
gūrím	"guard (gūra´)"	mɔ̄rím	"have (mɔ̄ra´)"
nārím	"be necessary (nāra´)"	tārím	"have (tāra´)"

Note cb *sʋ'ʋlim kanɛ* in Mt 12:25.

Some mɩ| abstract nouns are formed from 2vb ipfvs. Derivatives from s-stems drop d. Such abstracts are not m-stems, and show no stem-final H in tp L.

bɔ̀ɔdìm	"will (bɔ̀ɔdₐ)"	gɔ̀ɔn̠dìm	"wandering (gɔ̀ɔn̠dₐ)"
zɔ̀tìm	"fear (zɔ̀tₐ)"	yɔ̄lɩsím	"freedom (yɔ̄līs´)"
nīn-kúʋsìm	"murder (kū̄)"	pʋ̀'ʋsìm	"worship (pʋ̀'ʋs)"

Wʋ̀m "hear" has a gerund wʋ̀mmʋ̀gʋ *wʋmdʋgʋ beside regular wʋ̄mmʋ.

Most agentive verbs have a m-stem gerund used as predependent of tāa "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-tāa	"messmate"
fān̠	"snatch"	fāan̠dím-	"co-robber"
kpὲn̠'	"enter"	kpὲn̠'ɛdím-	"co-resident"
mὲ	"build"	mὲɛdím-	"co-builder"
pū̄	"share"	pū̄ʋdím-	"co-sharer"
zàb	"fight"	zàbɩdím-	"opponent"

dūg	"cook"	dūgʊdím-	"co-cook"
tòm	"work"	tòmmím-	"co-worker"
dì̙s	"feed"	dì̙sím-	"co-feeder"
pò'ʋs	"worship"	pò'ʋsím-	"co-worshipper"
sòŋ	"help"	sòŋ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
si̙àk	"agree"	si̙àkím-	"fellow in agreement"
bɛ̀	"exist"	bɛ̀llím-	"partner in existence" WK
mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ɪlím-	"partner in ignorance"
zì'e̙ya	"stand"	zì'əlím-	"co-stander" (zì'ədím- WK)
zìṉ'i̙ya	"sit"	zìṉ'ilím-	"co-sitter" (zìṉ'idím- WK)
vābī̙ya´	"lie prone"	vābɪlím-	"co-lier" (vābɪdím- WK)
làbì̙ya	"crouch hiding"	làbɪlím-	"fellow croucher in hiding"
īgī̙ya´	"kneel"	īgɪlím-	"co-kneeler (īgɪdím- WK)
dīgī̙ya´	"lie down"	dīgɪlím-	"co-lier" (dìgɪním- WK)
dɔ̄lla´	"go with"	dɔ̄llím-	"fellow-companion"
nɔ̀ŋ	"love"	nɔ̀ŋìlím-	"fellow liker" WK
		nɔ̀ŋìdím-	"fellow lover" WK

7.2.5 Others

s and **l** form adjectives:

būk´	"weaken"	būgʊsír	"soft"
mā'e´	"cool down"	mā'asír	"cold, wet"
mì'ig	"get sour"	mì'isògʋ	"sour"
sɔ̄b	"get dark"	sābɪlíga	"black"

Deverbal nouns with s are

| dīgī̙ya´ | "lie down" | dīgɪsúgʋ | "bed" |
| dū̙ | "go up" | dū̙ʋsír | "step" |

d is seen in yūgʊdīr "hedgehog", lā'afʋ "cowrie" pl līgɪdī "money", pògʊdìba "father's sister." It can form abstracts from human-reference nouns: *ba'abiidʊg* "brotherhood", *dataadim/dataadʊg* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bʊnkʊttim* "old age", *gɛtim* "folly" (*gɛdʊg* "fool"), *pʊkɔntim* "widowhood" (Naden.) It has an instrument-noun sense in

| tu̙à | "grind in a mortar" | tū̙ədīr | "mortar" |

Single **n** derives from **nd** (perhaps ultimately **ld**) in

màal	"sacrifice"	māanₙ	"sacrifice"
pìbʊ̀l	"cover"	pībīnₙ	"covering"
zàn̪bʊ̀l	"tattoo"	zān̪bīnₙ	"tattoo"

m is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. yūgúmₙ "camel" (ultimately Berber), gbīgīmₙ "lion", zìlìmₙ "tongue, àn̪rʊ̀ŋᵥ "boat", zùlʊ̀ŋᵥ "deep", ŋyālúŋᵥ "wonderful", yàlʊ̀ŋᵥ "wide." It can derive both animate and mass nouns:

án̪sìbₐ	"mother's brother"	ān̪síŋₐ	"sister's child"
bī'a	"bad"	bī'əm	"enemy"
zɔ̀	"run"	zɔ̄ɔmₙ	"refugee"
kpì	"die"	kpī'ɩm	"corpse"
tàdìg	"become weak"	tādīm	"weak person"
vúər	"red kapok fruit"	vúəŋₐ	"red kapok"
yáabₐ	"grandparent"	yáaŋₐ	"grandchild"
bìn̪'isìr	"breast"	bìn̪'isím	"milk"
nà'abₐ	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy"
zɔ̄lūgᵥ´	"fool"	zɔ̄lɩmís	"foolishness"

Added to adjectival stems, m produces no change of meaning: thus with pfv verbal adjective stems in l or lm; vèn̪llìgₐ or vèn̪llíŋₐ "beautiful"; mālɩsígₐ or mālɩsíŋₐ "pleasant"; lāllúgᵥ or lāllíŋₐ "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding 1vb:

nāraₐ´	"be necessary"	nārúŋᵥ	"necessary"
ŋyɛ̀ɛsₐ	"be confident"	ŋyɛ̀ɛsíŋₐ	"confident"
wɔ̄kᵥ´	"long, tall"	wā'amₐ´	"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 5-mora stems. The stems of these abstract nouns are not themselves used as adjectives.

bīigₐ	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"
dāu̪	"man"	dàalìm	"masculinity"
pu̪ā'	"woman"	pʊ̀'alìm	"femininity"
sāanₐ´	"guest, stranger"	sáannìm	"strangerhood"
tīrâanₐ	"neighbour"	tīrâannìm	"neighbourliness"
wɔ̄kᵥ´	"long, tall"	wā'alím	"tallness"

8 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 CVlɪN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial C, and V is a/ɪ/ʋ; after p b m f v kp gb, ɪ occurs only before root i/ɪ/ɛ, where ʋ 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)/Cʋ(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/CVlɪN prefixes copy the root initial.

kìkàŋₐ	"fig tree"	kʋ̀kɔ̄r´	"voice"
k(p)ʋ̀kpàrìgₐ	"palm tree"	kpīkpīnₙₐ´	"merchant"
tītā'ar	"big"	pīpīrīgₐ´	"desert"
sìsì'əm	"wind"	fʋ̄fʋ̄mₙ	"envy; stye"
lìlāalíŋₐ	"swallow"	mìmīilím	"sweetness"
kìŋkàŋₐ	"fig"	tīntɔ̠̄rígₐ	"mole"
sīnsáa̠	kind of tiny ant	nɔ̄b-púmpàu̠ŋʋ	"foot"
kpìsìŋkpìlₗ	"fist"	sīlīnsîuŋʋ	"spider"
nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄ogʋ´	"envious person" (for *nī-)		

dìndɛ̄ogʋ´	"chameleon"	dʋ̀ndùugʋ	"cobra"
bìmbìmₙ	"altar"	bʋ̀mbàrìgₐ	"ant"
gʋ̀ŋgʋ̄mₙ	"kapok material"	zīnzāu̠ŋʋ´	"bat"
zʋ̀nzɔ̀ŋₐ	"blind"	vʋ̀lìnvùu̠nₗ	"mason wasp"
zīlīnzîogʋ	"unknown"		

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

tà(sìn)tàlₗ	"palm of hand"	kpàkʋ̄r´	"tortoise"
wàsìnwàlₗ	"gall" (on trees)		

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

dàyūug$_\upsilon$´	"rat"	dàwān$_n$´	"pigeon"
dàtìu̯ŋ$_\upsilon$	"right hand"	dàgɔ̀bìg$_a$	"left hand"
dàmà'a	"liar"	dàkīig$_a$	"wife's sibling"
dārúk$_\upsilon$	kind of large pot	dàŋkɔ̀ŋ$_\upsilon$	"measles"
bālɛ̄rʊ̄g$_\upsilon$´	"ugly"	bānāa	traditional smock
sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"	sākárʊ̀g$_\upsilon$	"fox"
sāmán$_n$	"courtyard"	sāŋúnnìr	"millipede"
zàŋkò'ar	"hyena"	zàŋgùəm$_n$	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in màŋgáʊŋ$_\upsilon$/làŋgáʊŋ$_\upsilon$ "crab" and nàyīig$_a$ "thief" (*sic*, despite KB *na'ayiig*), an a|ba g-stem; cf nàyīigīm "theft", Farefare *nàyìgà* pl *nayigba/nayigsi*, Dagbani *nayiɣa/tayiɣa* pl *nayiɣsi*. A few have H toneme: gbán̯yà'a "lazy person." A few words have two prefixes. Anomalous prefixes appear in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: Ŋwāmpūrīs´ "Mamprussi."

Some prefixes are connected with the negative particles pū kʊ̀: kʊ̀ndʊ̀'ar "barren woman" (du̯à' "bear"); nīn-pū-nān$_{na}$´ "disrespectful person" (nān "respect"); tʊ̀b-pū-wúmnìb$_a$ "deaf people" (tʊ̀bʊ̀r "ear", wʊ̀m "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: kʊ̀ndʊ̀ŋ$_a$ "hyena", gūmpūzɛ̄r´ "duck", dāmpūsāar "stick", bān-kúsɛ́l$_l$ "lizard."

Other prefixes derive from cbs. Dà- "man" has been replaced as regular cb by dàu̯-/dàp-, but dà- is seen in dàpāal$_a$´ "son, boy" (pāalíg "new") and dàkɔ̀ɔn̯r "son, bachelor." Pʊ̀- "woman" appears in pʊ̀kɔ̀ɔn̯r "widow"; cf Mooré *pʊ̀gkõoré* "widow", *pʊ̀gsádà* "young woman" = Kusaal pu̯à'-sādīr´ with the cb pu̯à'- "woman." Pū- "farm" (cf Mooré *púʊgò* = Kusaal pɔɔg$_\upsilon$´ "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'-zɔ̀m$_n$ "locust", nà'-dàwān$_n$´ "pigeon" (also dàwān$_n$´) and WK's nà'-nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄og$_\upsilon$´ "centipede"; others use nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄og$_\upsilon$´, which for WK is "envious person."

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

Number-prefixes are fossilised flexions §10.5.1.
The personifier à- is a bound word, not a prefix.

9 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*; bʋg "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*. Function words include àsɛ́ɛ "except", Hausa *sai*; kʋ̄ʋ "or", Hausa *koo*; báa "not a...", Hausa *bâa*. Hausa is itself a great borrower: làbì_ya and Hausa *labèe* "crouch in hiding", for example, are probably both independently derived from Songhay. Other Songhay loans in Kusaal are bùrɩkìn_a "honest person", and the word bàu̯ŋʋ̀ in kpɛ̀n̯' bàu̯ŋʋ̀ "get circumcised." Hālí "even", like Hausa *har*, is ultimately from Berber.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual peculiarities in Kusaal to Mooré influence. Mɔ̄r´ "Muslim" may owe its exceptional pl Mɔ́ɔm_ma to borrowing of Mooré *Mórè* "Muslim" along with pl *Moeemba* (cf Bambara *móri* "marabout.")

Most Arabic loanwords have reached Kusaal via Hausa: thus láafɩyà, Hausa *laafɩyàa*, "health", Arabic *al-ʿāfiyah* "the health"; àràzánà "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannàa*, Arabic *al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"; yàddā´ "assent", Hausa *yàrda* "give consent", Arabic *yarḍá* "he is satisfied"; Tàláatà, Hausa *Tàlaatàa*, Arabic *al-thalāthāʾ* "Tuesday"; but cf also màli̯āk_a´, Mooré *màlɛ́kà*, Arabic *mal'ak*, "angel" (Hausa *màlaa'ikàa*, from Arabic pl *malā'ikah*); Sūtáanà, Mooré *Sʋtãana* "Satan" (Hausa *shàiɗân*, a learned borrowing of Arabic *shayṭān*.)

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. Wínà'am "God" reflects Toende *Wínā'am*; fāan̯gíd_a "saviour" borrows Toende *fãagɩt* (contrast WK's fāan̯d_a´ "saver", homophonous with "robber.") NT1/2 write the Toende forms *aaruŋ malek* for àn̯rùŋʋ "boat", màli̯āk_a´ "angel."

Instead of kī'ɩb_ʋ´ "soap" WK uses kīibú, from Mampruli *kyiibu*. Other words with singulars in -ɩ or -ʋ are also probably loans from Mampruli or Mooré.

Loans from Twi/Fante, the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include kɔ̄dú "banana", Twi *kwadu*; sāafɩ̄ "lock, key", Twi *safẽ* "key" (from Portuguese *chave*); būrɩyá "Christmas", Twi *bronya*.

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

French loans include làmpɔ̄ "tax" from *l'impôt*; kàsɛ̄t_a´ "witness, testimony" from *cachet* "seal of authenticity" or *cacheté* "sealed" via Mooré *kàsétò* "evidence."

10 Noun phrases

10.1 Structure and categories

A noun phrase (NP) may be headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; for nominalised clauses see §12.3.

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.

dāu̯ lā bútìŋ	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
sālɩmā bútìŋ	"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. Compounds fall into two basic types, depending on whether the initial combining form is head or dependent. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

bʊ̄ʊɡ	"goat"	bʊ̀-pìəlìɡ	"white goat"
bʊ̀-kàŋā	"this goat"	bʊ̀-pìəl-kàŋā	"this white goat"

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

	nà'ab lā wíd-zʊ̄ʊr	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs	nà'ab lā wîəf zûʊr	"the chief's horse's tail"

Regardless of which element precedes, the last component carries the noun class suffixes which mark number for the head. 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:

[bʊ̀-pìəl-]kàŋā	"this [white goat]"
[nīn-wɔ́k-]pìəlìɡ	"white [tall person]"
[zà'-nɔ̄-]píəlìɡ	"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'-nɔ̄-]gúr	"gatekeeper"
[[zà'-nɔ̄-]gúr-]kàŋā	"this [gatekeeper]"
kùg-[nɔ̄b-wɔ́k]	"[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:

zūgʋ́=n [níf-gbáy̱ŋ]	"upper eyelid" ("upper [eye-skin]")
sālɪmā [zá'-nɔ̄ɔr]	"golden gate" ("golden [compound-mouth]")
[sālɪmā bútìŋ-]kàŋā	"this [gold cup]"
[sālɪmā lá'-]māan	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
[[sālɪmā lá'-]màan-]kàŋā	"this [[gold item]-maker]"
ò [[sālɪmā lá'-]māan]	"her [[gold item]-maker]"
[ānzúrɪfà nɛ̄ sālɪmā lá'-]māan	"[silver and gold item]-maker" (see below)

For **coordination**, "and" in NPs is nɛ̄, identical to the preposition "with." Nɛ̄ 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 nɛ́ À-Būgūr nɛ́ À-Nà'ab	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dʋ́'atà nɛ̄ nâ'ab	"a doctor and a chief" (*two* people)

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

bīig   lā kōʋ dāy̱   lā kʋ́ʋ bà wūsā
child:SG ART or   man:SG ART or   3PL all
"the child, or the man, or both" WK

Cbs cannot be coordinated. *Saŋbauŋ nɛ teŋgbauŋ paal* "a new heaven and earth" (Rv 21:1) is exceptional; the normal pattern appears in *arezana paal nɛ 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)
pū'ab   nɛ̄   bīis   lā
woman:PL with child:PL ART

Midian teŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis
Midian téŋ   dìm lā pû'ab   nɛ̄   bīis
Midian land:SG ø.PL ART woman:PL with child:PL
"the Midianites women and [the Midianites] children" (Nm 31:9)

Kūsâal sɔ́lɩmà   nɛ̄   síilímà   "Kusaal [stories and proverbs]"
Kusaal story:PL with proverb:PL

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

sālɩmā bútìɩs nɛ̄   díɩsímà   "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 sālɩmā lâ'ad nɛ̄ būtīɩs, "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 sālɩmā lâ'ad nɛ́ **ò** būtīɩs (with ò for lì, as often in unselfconscious speech.)

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

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

ānzúrɩfà nɛ̄ sālɩmā 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.

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: zɔ̄ɔgʋ "race", būˈəsʋ́gʋ "question", zàaṉsʋ́ŋʋ "dream." The count/mass distinction affects quantifier choice, the form of nàmₐ plurals, and the meaning of predependent NPs. Typical underived mass nouns belong to bʋ| or mɪ|; gerunds of 3-mora-stem verbs use sg rɪ or gʋ. However, the distinction is ultimately semantic: "mass" nouns may appear in count senses and *vice versa*: dāam nám "beers", fūug dɔ̂ɔg "tent" (fūug "clothing item"), dàad bʋ́n-nám "wooden things" (dàad "pieces of wood.")

Some words for abstracts or uncountables are formally plural, e.g. bāṉˈas "disease", ṉyɔ̄ˈɔsˊ "smoke", mɛ̄tˊ "pus", kūt "iron" (also "nail", pl kùt-nàmₐ), sālɪmā "gold", sìdà "truth", tàdɪmís "weakness", zɔ̄lɪmís "foolishness", zùəd "friendship", bʋ̄ʋd "innocence", sīiṉdˊ "honey", nīn-pʋ̂ʋd "pus", wāadˊ "cold weather", sūṉ-pɛ̂ɛnₙ "anger", kṵàˈ-nūudˊ "thirst", vūudˊ "noise", and a few gerunds §6.1.1.

A single entity may be referred to by the pl of its components: dà-pūudā "cross", ("cross-pieces"), pl dà-pūudā námₐ; dìˈəmà "festival" ("diversions"); tɛ̄ṉˈɛsá "thought" ("thinkings"): *tɛnˈɛsa yinne* "one thought" Acts 4:32. Some pls happen to correspond to English mass nouns, as with lāˈad "(items of) goods"; līgɪdī "money" ("cowries"); pi̶àṉˈad "speech" ("words"); tʋ̄ʋmā "work" ("deeds.")

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 zulʋŋ na paae **o** salibir.
Kà   wìəf   yá' sīgí̱_   lì nī, lì zùlʋ̀ŋ ná páe   ò   sàlɪbìr.
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.
Tìɪg   wɛ́là   bìgɪsìd   ɔ́n   àṉ sī'əm.
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

Nɔbir ya'a yɛlin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋgbiŋ la nii," lin kʊ nyaŋi kɛ
  ka **o** ka' niŋgbiŋ la nii.

Nɔ̄b�`ɪr	yá'	yɛ̀lī=n	yɛ̄,	Mán	kā'	nû'ug	lā	zúg,	m̀	kā'	nín-gbīŋ	lā
Leg:SG	if	say=DP	that	1SG:NZ	NEG.be	hand:SG	ART	on,	1SG	NEG.exist	body:SG	ART

níɩ=ø,	līn	kú	ŋyāŋī_ø	kɛ́	kà	ò	kā'	nín-gbīŋ	lā	níɩ=ø.
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	nɛ̄	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-káŋā,	ɔn	sâṉ'am	nɛ̄.	"This eye, it's spoilt." KT (overheard)
Eye-DEM.SG,	3AN.CN	spoil	FOC.	

M̀	pʊ̄	ŋyɛ̄ó=o=ø.		"I can't find it [stethoscope]" (overheard)
1SG	NEG	see=3AN=NEG.		

sālɩmā	lâ'ad	nɛ́	ò	būtīɩs	"gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK
gold	item:PL	with	3AN	cup:PL	

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

O anɛ m pu'a.		"She is my wife." (Gn 26:7)
Ò à nɛ́ m̀ pṵā'.		
3AN be FOC 1SG woman:SG.		

but	Li anɛ Zugsɔb la.	"It is the Lord." (Jn 21:7)
	Lì à nɛ̄ Zūg-sɔ́b lā.	
	3IN be FOC Lord ART.	

10.2 Pronouns

10.2.1 Personal

		Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+=ǹ §12.3
Sg	1st	m̀	=m$_a$	mān lf mánì	mán
	2nd	fʊ̀	=f$_ʊ$	fʊ̄n lf fʊ́nì	fʊ́n
	3rd an	ò	=$_o$	ɔ̄n	ɔ́n
	3rd inan	lì or dì	=lɪ	līn or dīn	lín or dín
Pl	1st	tì	=tɪ	tīnám$_a$	tīnámì
	2nd	yà	=ya	yānám$_a$	yānámì
	3rd	bà	=ba	bān	bán

Mām occurs for 1sg in any role. 2pl =ya is used as subject after imperatives. There are no special honorific usages.

The bound forms are all liaison words. The enclitics are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. Personal pronouns are never dependent: in e.g. m̀ bīig "my child", m̀ is the head of its own NP, and it is this entire NP which is the predependent, just as with nà'ab lā bîig "the chief's child."

The free forms are *contrastive*, except in isolation, coordination, or before dependents, where bound forms cannot occur. In reported speech the 3rd persons may be logophoric. There is no free/bound distinction before nominaliser =ǹ.

Mánɛ̀?   "Me?"   mān Paul   "I, Paul"

tīnám nɛ̄ fʊ̄n   "us and you"

Fʊn kanɛ buoli fʊ mɛŋ ...   "You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
Fʊ̄n-kánì=ø   bùəlì_fʊ̀ mɛ̄ŋ ...
2SG-DEM.SG=NZ call   2SG self ...

Focused pronouns must be contrastive, and contrastive pronouns are normally focused if syntactically permissible:

Manɛ an kɔnbkem sʊŋ la.   "I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)
Mānɪ̄_ø   án kɔ́n̯b-kìm-sʊ̀ŋ   lā.
1SG.CN CAT be shepherd-good:SG ART.

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

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.
Bʋ̀ŋ   yá' bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́ ò lūbí=f,   fʋ̀ pū ŋyɛ̄tí‿ ò tʋ̀bāa=ø.
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:

Bà yɔ̀ɔdī=f   súŋáa=ø?   "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 wʋsa nari ba di.   "All foods may be eaten." (Rom 14:20)
Dīɪb wūsā nárì‿ø bà dí.
Food all   must CAT 3PL eat.

10.2.2 Demonstrative

		Animate		Inanimate sg	Plural
Head	Long	ɔ̀ŋā´	far	lìnā´	bàmmā´
			near	nɛ̄'ɛŋā	
	Short	ɔ̀n	far	lìn	bàn
			near	nɛ̄'	
Dependent	Long	kàŋā´		kàŋā´	bàmmā´
	Short	kàn		kàn	bàn

		Time	Manner	Place
	far	sān-kán	àlá	kpɛ̄
	near	nānná(-nā´)	àn̠wá(-nā´)	kpɛ̄lá or àní(-nā´)

Nɛ̄'ɛŋā nɛ̄' can form the specifically inanimate plurals nɛ̄'ɛŋā-námₐ nɛ̀'-nàmₐ.
Note the tone difference between ɔ̀n lìn bàn and free 3rd person pronouns.
    "Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative
"which?", and in heads of relative clauses §12.3.2:

Fʋnɛ an dau kan la!   "*You* are that man!" (2 Sm 12:7)
Fūnī‿ø án̠ dáу̠-kàn   lā!   (i.e. in the story just related.)
2SG.CN CAT be man-DEM.SG ART!

Lìnɛ̀?   "Which one?"
Nīf-kánɛ̀?   "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: kpɛ̄ "here", kpɛ̄lá "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with lā´ and "this" by a following ŋwà.

nɔ̄-pîəl-kàŋā   "this/that white hen"
dʊ́'atà lā lɔ́r-kàŋā   "this/that car of the doctor's"
dàu̯-kàŋā sâam   "this/that man's father"
dàu̯-kàŋā lā sâam   "that man's father"
dàu̯-kàŋā ŋwá sâam   "this man's father"

10.2.3 Indefinite

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
sɔ̄'	sī'əl$_a$	sīəbā (*unglottalised* vowel)
sī'a	sī'a	

Time	Manner	Place
sān-sí'a	sī'əm	zìn̯'-sī'a

Sɔ̄' sī'əl$_a$ 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'əl$_a$ as a dependent. WK feels sī'a for people is pejorative. For indefinites in relative clauses see §12.3.2.

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

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

Mɛɛri onɛ an Magdalen nɛ Mɛɛri sɔ'
Mɛɛri ɔ́nì=ø   àn̯ Magdalen nɛ̄   Mɛɛri-sɔ̄'
Mary DEM.AN=NZ be Magdalen with Mary-INDF.AN
"Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

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

Dàu̯-sɔ̄'   dāa bɛ́   "There was a certain/another man"
Man-INDF.AN TNS exist

O niŋid si'el mɛkama sʊ'ʊŋa.   "He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)
Ò   nìŋìd   sī'əl   mɛ́-kàmà sʊ́'ŋā.
3AN do:IPFV INDF.IN whatever well.

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

Sɔ̄'   kā'e=ø.   "There's nobody there."
INDF.AN NEG.exist=NEG.

M̀   pū   yɛ́l sī'əlā=ø.   "I haven't said anything."
1SG NEG say INDF.IN=NEG.

10.2.4 Interrogative

Animate   Inanimate
ànɔ̂'ɔn   "who?"   bɔ̄   "what?"

Plurals with nàm_a may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

Time   Manner   Place
sān-kán   wɛ̄lá   yáa   "whither/whence?"
                                      yáa ní   "where?"

Àlá "how much/many?" has the number prefix à-, preceded by -a in liaison.
Note also bɔ̀-wìn_n "what time of day?" būn-dâar "which day?"
Bɔ̄ can be used after a cb as a dependent interrogative "what?":

nā'-bɔ́?   "what cow?" WK DK
                                      (náaf bɔ́ "What, of a cow's?" WK)
bʊ̀-bɔ̀?   "what goat?"
dā-bɔ́?   "what beer?"

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

nā'-bɔ́-bùudì?   "what kind of cow?"
dā-bɔ́-bùudì?   "what kind of beer?"

| | Fʊ̀ á nɛ̃ bɔ́-bùudì=ø? | "What ethnic group do you belong to?" |
| | 2SG be FOC what-sort=CQ? | (idiom) |

Bɔ̀- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of?"

| | Fʊ̀ túm bɔ́-tʊ̀ʊmà=ø? | "What kind of work do you do?" SB |
| | 2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ? | |

Bɔ sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?
Bɔ̀-sɔ́sìg   kà yà sɔ̄sīd   nɛ̃ táabà=ø?
What-conversation:SG and 2PL converse:IPFV with each.other=CQ?
"What are you talking about to each other?" (Lk 24:17)

The ideophone kímm "firmly, fast" appears after interrogative pronouns in the sense "exactly": bɔ̄ kímm "what exactly?"; bɔ̄ zúg kímm "why exactly?"

10.2.5 Personifier

Except for those based on adjectives, Kusaasi personal names are preceded by à-, e.g. À-Wīn "Awini." Some animal and bird names incorporate à-, with no implication of personification, e.g. à-dàalʊ́ŋʊ "stork", à-mús "cat", à-kɔ̄rā-dîəm_ma "praying mantis." In any case, à- is omitted after any predependent: thus tì Wīn "our Awini", and e.g.

	Lì à nɛ̃ à-dàalʊ́ŋ.	"It's a stork."
but	m̀ dàalʊ́ŋ	"my stork"
	dāu̯ lā dáalʊ́ŋ	"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 nàm_a.

| | À-dāa yɛ́l kā' tîɪmm=ø. | "Did-say has no remedy." |
| | PERS-TNS say NEG.have medicine=NEG. | (No use crying over spilt milk.) |

	À-ŋyɛ̄ nɛ̃ nīf sɔ́n̯'ɔ̲‿ À-wʊ̀m tʊ̀bà.	
	PERS-see with eye:SG surpass PERS-hear ear:PL	
	"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)	

| | À-Kīdɪgī̲‿ ø Bū'əs | "Crossed over and asked" |
| | PERS-cross CAT ask | (name of the constellation Orion) |

Apozotyel   "Doesn't-fear-trouble"
À-Pʊ̄-zɔ́t-yɛ̄l   character in KSS, p35
PERS-NEG-run:IPFV-thing:SG

À-zī'‿   ø kpí nàm kpîid   nɛ́ kà tɛ́n̯b̀d.
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 ND death

Ba wa'ene anakoom yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.
Bà wà'a nɛ́ À-nà   kúʊ‿m̀ nūa   yír,   kà bà pʊ̄ wá'a
3PL go   FOC PERS-IRR kill   1SG chicken:SG house:SG and 3PL NEG go
À-nɔ̄ɔs   bɛ́   yírɛ̄=ø.
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

10.2.6 Others

Tāabā "one another" appears as tāab clause-medially for some speakers. After a cb it means "fellow-": ò tùm-tùm-tāabā "his fellow-workers."

Sʊ̀ŋɩmī=ø   tāabā.   "Help one another."
Help:IMP=2PLS each.other.

Tì yûug nɛ̄ tāabā.   "It's been a long time." KT
1PL delay with each.other.

Bà dɔ̀l   nɛ̄ tāabā.   "They go together." (dɔ̄l_la´ "go with")
3PL go.with with each.other.

Mɛŋa´ "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl:

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

Bà n̯ɥέɛ‿bà mɛ̄ŋ.   "They've seen for themselves."
3PL see   3PL self.

Fʋ̀ mɛ̄ŋ kʋ̄ʋ bí-lìàa=ø?   "Yourself or the baby?" ("Which of you
2SG self or   baby:SG=CQ?   needs the doctor?"; overheard)

"Self" forms are obligatory for complements referring to clause subjects:

M̀   n̯wɛ́'ɛ‿m̀ mɛ̄ŋ.   "I hit myself."
1SG hit   1SG self.

Kusaal uses pronoun possessors with body parts acted on by their owners; here
mɛ̄ŋ implies contrast:

Ba pʋ piesidi ba nu'us wʋʋ lin nar si'em la ka ditta.
Bà pʋ̄ pīəsídí‿ bà nû'us   wʋ̄ʋ lín nār   sī'əm lá kà dítā=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)

M̀   píə‿ m̀ mɛ̄ŋ nû'us.   "I've washed my own hands."
1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

Sɔ̄b$_a$ is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and
gender but is otherwise semantically empty.

Animate   sg   sɔ̄b$_a$ pl dìm$_a$
Inanimate sg/pl   dìn$_n$

Ò sɔ̄b$_a$/ɔn sɔ̄b$_a$ mean "the last person mentioned."
Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings:

mān dín$_n$ "my one, mine"
À-Wīn dím$_a$ "Awini's family"
pʋ̀-pìəlìm sɔ́b$_a$ (pl pʋ̀-pìəlìm dím$_a$)   "holy person" (pʋ̀-pìəlìm "holiness")
dūnɪyā ní dìn$_n$ "earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)
Bɔ̀k dím$_a$ "Bawku people"
yīigá sɔ̄b$_a$ "first (person)" beside yīig-sɔ́b$_a$

Fʋ̄n   pi̯ân̯'ad   nɛ̄ tīnám dín.   "You're speaking ours [language]."
2SG.CN speak:IPFV FOC 1PL.CN ø.IN.

Cb predependents occur in set expressions:

yī-sɔ́b$_a$	pl yī-sɔ́b-nàm$_a$	"householder"	(yīr´ "house")
yī-dím$_a$		"members of the household"	
nīf-sɔ́b$_a$		"miser"	(nīf$_ʊ$´ "eye")
tàn̠p-sɔ̄b$_a$		"warrior"	(tān̠p$_ʊ$ "war")
zūg-sɔ́b$_a$	pl zūg-sɔ́b-nàm$_a$	"boss"; KB "Lord"	(zūg$_ʊ$´ "head")

10.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: À-Wīn$_n$´ from Wìdì-n̠yá'aŋ$_a$ will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kūsâas, "Bawku" for Bɔ̀k$_ʊ$ 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 *Gambaɣa*) 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-Dūk$_ʊ$´, 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 Ǹ-: Ǹ-Dāʊg$_ʊ$ "Ndago" ("male"), Ǹ-Pu̠āk$_a$ "Mpoaka" ("female"), Ǹ-Bīl$_a$ "Mbillah" ("little.") They do not take adjectives or articles, but occur with other determiners, and may pluralise with nàm$_a$; 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-káŋā	"this Awini"	À-Wīn nám	"Awinis"
Ǹ-Dāʊg$_ʊ$	"Ndago"	tì Ǹ-Dāʊg	"our Ndago"

The Bible uses foreign names without À-, but it is usual in speech: À-Mūusā "Moses", À-Yīisā "Jesus", À-Sīimɔ̂ɔn "Simon." In stories with talking animals, animal names take À-: À-Bāa "Mr Dog." KB has *Asan'auŋ* À-Sàn̠'ʊŋ "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-Mɔ̄r yām	"Amɔryam"	"has intelligence" (a girl, KYY p6)
À-Tɩ̀ʊm bɔ́dɩ̀g 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 (wīnₙ´) of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree:

À-Wīnₙ´	Awini	person with a sīgīr´ from father's family
À-Būgʊ̄r	Abugri	person with a sīgīr´ from mother's family
À-Tɩ̀ɩgₐ	Atiga	"tree" as sīgīr´
À-Kūdʊ̄gʊ	Akudugu	"piece of iron", marking a tree-sīgīr´

A younger sibling of À-Wīnₙ´ with the same sīgīr´ may be called À-Wīn-bílₐ "Awimbillah", of À-Kūdʊ̄gʊ, À-Kùd-bīlₐ "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern À-Wīn-pu̯ákₐ "Awimpoaka." Other names refer to birth circumstances:

À-Nà'abₐ	Anaba	"afterbirth" [a chief leaves the house after his retainers]: sole surviving twin
À-Fūugʊ´	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
À-Tūlɪ	Atuli	"breech-delivered" (tùlɪ̀g "invert")

Girls, especially, may be named for the day of the week they were born on, e.g. À-Tínì "Monday", À-Tàláatà "Tuesday", Àrzúmà "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-Tàmpʊ̄ʊr	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
À-Dʊ̄kʊ´	Aruk	"pot"

Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

À-Sāanₐ´	Asana	"guest, stranger"
À-Sāan-dʊ́	Sandow	"guest" + dāu̯ "man"
À-Zàŋbɛ̀ogʊ	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
À-Nàsà-pu̯ākₐ	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|sɪ. The place inhabited by the group adds sg gʋ to the stem; **language** names add lɪ.

Ethnic group sg/pl		Language	Place	
Bārīgₐ´	Bārīs´	Bāt´	Bārʋ̄gʋ´	Bisa
Bìnₙ	Bìmₘₐ	Bìnₙ	Bìu̯ŋʋ	Moba
Bùlìgₐ	Bùlìs	Bùlᵢ		Bulsa
Bùsáɲₐ	Bùsâa̯s	Bùsâa̯l		Bisa
Dàgâadₐ	Dàgáadìbₐ			Dagaaba
Dàgbānₙ´	Dàgbāmₘₐ´	Dàgbānₙ´	Dàgbāu̯ŋʋ´	Dagomba
Gūríɲₐ	Gūrís	Gūrínₙ		Farefare
Kàmbùɲₐ	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr		Ashanti
Kūsáa	Kūsâas	Kūsâal	Kūsâʋgʋ	Kusaasi
Mùa	Mɔ̀ɔs	Mɔ̀ɔl	Mɔ̀ɔgʋ	Mossi
Nàbìdₐ	Nàbɪdìbₐ	Nàbìr	Nàbɪdùgʋ	Nabdema
N̯wāmpūrīgₐ´	N̯wāmpūrīs´	N̯wāmpūrīl´	N̯wāmpūrʋ̄gʋ´	Mamprussi
Sìmīigₐ	Sìmīis	Sìmīil	Sìmīugʋ	Fulani
Tàlìɲₐ	Tàlìs	Tàlìnₙ		Tallensi
Yàaɲₐ	Yàa̯s/Yàamìs	Yàanₙ		Yansi
	or Yàamₘₐ			
Yārīgₐ´	Yārīs´	Yāt´		Yarsi
Zàŋgbèogʋ	Zàŋgbɛ̀ɛd	Zàŋgbɛ̀ɛl		Hausa

Bārīs´ means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bìmₘₐ "Moba", not just Bemba (WK.)

Note also Mɔ̄r´ pl Mɔ́ɔmₘₐ "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsàa(r)-nàmₐ "European", Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārá* "Christians"); Tùənₙ "Toende", Tùənnìr "Toende dialect", Àgɔ̀lᵢ "Agolle", Àgɔ̀lᵢ "Agolle dialect": Ò pi̯àa̯n'ad Àgɔ̀l. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl		Place	
Gɔ̀ɔgₐ	Gɔ̀ɔs	Gɔ̀ɔgʋ	
	Gùm-dìmₐ	Gùmₙ	
Kùtānₙ	Kùtāmₘₐ´	Kùtāu̯ŋʋ´	(WK's clan)
Nàbìdₐ	Nàbɪdìbₐ	Nàbɪdùgʋ	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùəs -dàbùəbₐ	Sà'-dàbɔ̀ɔgʋ	
	Nà'-dàmₘₐ	Nà'-dàu̯ŋʋ	
Wìidₐ	Wìid-nàmₐ	Wìidùgʋ	
Zùa	Zùəs		Zoose

Subclans: Zu̯à-sābɪlís "Black Zoose", Zu̯à-wìibₐ/-wìis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbɪdìbₐ is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema." There are many other clans beside these.

Kusaal **place names** are distinctive in being intrinsically locative §11.6.3.
Many have transparent meanings (see further John Turl's <u>Ghana Place Names</u>.)

Àgɔ̀lɪ	Agolle	cf àgɔ́lɪ "upwards"
Bàs-yɔ̄n_n´	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? reason for name
Bì-nà'ab_a	Binaba	"prince"
Bɔ̀k_ʊ	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
Būgūr	Bugri	būgūr, object housing a wīn_n´
Dɛ̀nʊ̀g_ʊ	Denugu	origin unknown
Gàarʊ̀	Garu	Hausa *gàaruu* "town/compound wall"
Kɔ̀l-tā'amɪ́s	Kultamse	"dog almonds, *Andira inermis*"
Kūgūr´	Kugri	"stone"
Kʊ̄k_a´	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkpàrìg_a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùlʊgúŋ_ʊ	Kulungungu	Bisa *Kuurgongu* "Crooked Sheanut"
Mì'isìg_a	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission"; cf also mì'isʊ̀g_ʊ "baptism"
Mu̠à'-nɔ̄ɔr´	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlɩmà Kû'əm	Pulimakom	"water by pùlɩmà grass"
Pūsīg_a´	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sā-bíl_a	Zebilla	from *sāa´, cf Farefare *sáagá* "kind of grass used for brooms"
Sā-píəlìg_a	Sapeliga	"*Isoberlinia doka*"
Tɛ̀mpáan_n	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
Tīlɪ´	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùən_n	Toende	cf tùən_n "in front", "West"
Wìdāan_a	Widana	for Wìd-dāan_a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's nɔ̄-dî'əs_a "linguist."
Wìdì-n̠yá'aŋ_a	Woriyanga	archaic for wìd-n̠yá'aŋ_a "mare"
Wìid-nà'ab_a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wìid_a"

WK:	Bārʊ̄g_ʊ´	North	"Bisa country"
	N̠yá'aŋ_a	East	"behind"
	Zu̠āyā	South	"hills", i.e. Gambaga Escarpment
	Tùən_n	West	"in front"

KB has *ya-dagɔbʊg* "south" ("your left"), *ya-datiuŋ* "north" ("your right"), *ya-nya'aŋ* "east", *ya-tuona* "west."

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Sāŋkâan̠s "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Aŋkara* is usual.

The White Volta is simply kɔ̄līg_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", Àtàláatà "Tuesday", Àlárıbà "Wednesday", Àlàmíisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbıtì "Saturday." Older speakers count in days, not weeks, using a traditional three-day market cycle differing between villages.

10.4 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. (m = male, f = female.)

bīər´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pītú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
tāu̱n̲´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam$_{ma}$ (less formally bā'´)	father
sàam-kpɛ̄ɛn̲m	father's elder brother
sàam-pīt$_a$´	father's younger brother
pògʊdìb$_a$	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám$_a$ mother's co-wives)
mà-kpɛ̄ɛn̲m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bīl$_a$ or mà-pīt$_a$´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
án̲sìb$_a$	mother's brother
bīig$_a$ (m dàkɔ̀ɔn̲r, f pu̱à'-yùa)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
ān̲síŋ$_a$	sister's child
yáab$_a$ (m yāa-dáu̱, f -pu̱á')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ$_a$	grandchild/descendant
pu̱à'-ɛ̄líŋ$_a$	fiancée
yī-pu̱á' or pu̱ā'	wife; brother's wife
dìəm$_{ma}$ (m dìəm-dāu̱, f -pu̱āk$_a$)	wife's parent
dàkīig$_a$ (m dàkì-dāu̱, f -pu̱āk$_a$)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùa	wife's sister's husband
sīd$_a$	husband
dàyáam$_{ma}$ (m dàyāam-dáu̱, f -pu̱ák$_a$)	husband's parent
sìd-kpɛ̄ɛn̲m	husband's elder brother
sìd-bīl$_a$	husband's younger brother
sìd-pu̱āk$_a$	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-tɔ̄ɔŋr, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

10.5 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 bɛ́dʊɡʊ̄ or nīdīb bábɪɡā "a lot of/many people"; kù'əm bɛ́dʊɡʊ̄ "a lot of water"; but not *kù'əm bábɪɡā.

Mass quantifiers include

bɛ̀dʊɡʊ̄´	"a lot"	pāmm lf pāmní	"a lot"
fīiŋ	"a little (liquid)"	bī'əlá	"a little"
wʊ̄ʊ	"all"	wʊ̄sā	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers include

bàbɪɡā´	"many"	kàlɪɡā´	"few"
fāaŋ	"every"	zāŋ'a	"every"
kàm_a	"every"	kàm zāŋ'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 nàm_a. They may be followed by dependent pronouns.

Bɛ̀dʊɡʊ̄/pāmm kɛ́ nā.	"Many came."
Bɛ̀dʊɡʊ̄ lā kɛ́ nā.	"The crowd came."
Àyí' kɛ́ nā.	"Two came."
Àyí' lā kɛ́ nā.	"The two came."
nīdīb lá àyí'	"two of the people"
màli̯āk-nám túsà pīigā nám	"tens of thousands of angels"

nidib bedego bama nwa	"this crowd of people" (Mt 15:33 NT2)
nīdīb bɛ́dʊɡʊ̄ bámmā ŋwá	
person:PL many DEM.PL this=CQ?	

10.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	yīnní	10	pīigā	100	kɔ̀bɪgā (lf identical)
2	àyí'	20	pīsí [pisi]	200	kɔ̀bɪsí [kɔbɪsi]
3	àtáṉ'	30	pīs táṉ'	300	kɔ̀bɪ̀s táṉ'
4	ànāasí	40	pīs nāasí	400	kɔ̀bɪ̀s nāasí
5	ànū	50	pīs nū	500	kɔ̀bɪ̀s nū
6	àyúəbʊ̀	60	pīs yúəbʊ̀	600	kɔ̀bɪ̀s yúəbʊ̀
7	àyɔ́pɔ̀ẹ	70	pīs yɔ́pɔ̀ẹ	700	kɔ̀bɪ̀s yɔ́pɔ̀ẹ
8	àníi	80	pīs níi	800	kɔ̀bɪ̀s níi
9	àwāẹ	90	pīs wāẹ	900	kɔ̀bɪ̀s wāẹ

The quantified noun is normally plural (and not a cb) except with yīnní, but may be singular with units of measure: yɔ̄lʊgá àtáṉ' "600 cedis."

"Thousand" is a regular rɪ|aa noun, tūsīrˊ: tūsá àtáṉ' "3000." "Half" is pʊ̄-súkₐ pl pʊ̄-súgʊ̀s. Other numbers are formed with nɛ̄ "with, and": kɔ̀bɪ̀s táṉ' nɛ̄ pīs yúəbʊ̀ nɛ̄ nū "three hundred and sixty-five." 11 to 19 have the special contracted forms pīi nɛ̄ yīnní, pīi nɛ̄ yí', pīi nɛ̄ táṉ' ... pīi nɛ̄ wāẹ (or pīi nā yīnní, pīi nā yí' ...)

> o nya'andɔlib pii nɛ yi   "his twelve disciples" (Mt 26:20)
> ò   ṉyà'an-dɔ̀llìb pīi nɛ̄   yí'
> 3AN disciple:PL   ten with two

The prefix à- is omitted after nɛ̄ "with", and sometimes also after focus-nɛ̄ˊ:

Lì à nɛ̄ nāasí./Lì à nɛ́ ànāasí.   "They're four."

The forms àyíŋāˊ àtáŋāˊ mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

> M̀ mɔ́r bīisá‿ àtáṉ'.   "I have three children."
> 1SG have child:PL NUM:three.   is true, though misleading

but   M̀ mɔ́r bīisá àtáŋā.   "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after nɛ̄ "and", as in pīi nɛ̄ yíŋā "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with nɛ̄ˊ §13.1.

Yīnní can be construed with a preceding cb: kūg-yínnì "one stone" vs kūgʊ̄r yīnní "one stone." Pīigā pīi "ten", pīsí pīs "twenty" can be preceded by the cb dà- "day" (written *dab* in KB): *dabpii nɛ ayɔpɔi daar* "on the seventeenth day" (Gn 7:11.)

Number-prefix à- is the old agreement flexion for rɩ|aa pl. Animate-gender bà-
has been supplanted by à- after nouns, but remains regular after personal pronouns:
tɩ̀ bàtáṉ' "we three", yà bàyɔ́pɔ̀e̞ "you seven", bà bàyí' "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and
using the number prefix ǹ- instead of à-. This is the old agreement prefix for mɩ|:
cf the Nawdm counting numbers *mtáɦ* "three", *mnàà* "four", *mnù* "five" etc.

1	yɛ́oŋ or àràkɔ́ṉ'	6	ǹyûəb
2	ǹyí'	7	ǹpɔ̀e̞ *sic*
3	ǹtáṉ'	8	ǹníi
4	ǹnāas	9	ǹwāe̞
5	ǹnū		continuing pīigā, pīi nɛ̄ yí' as with quantifiers

Àràkɔ́ṉ' can also be used as a quantifier: búʊg àràkɔ́ṉ' "one goat."
In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí'   námá_àyí'   á nɛ̄ nāasí.   "Two twos are four."
NUM:two PL   NUM:two be FOC four.

The only ordinal adjective is dɛ̄ɛŋₐ "first": *sob deeŋ* "first census" (Lk 2:2 NT1.)
"First" can also be expressed by yīigá "firstly" as a predependent:

linɛ da an yiiga dabisir   "That was the first day." (Gn 1:5)
līnī̠_ø   dá àṉ yīigá dàbɩsìr.
3IN.CN CAT TNS be firstly day:SG.

Ordinal expressions may use NPs with numbers as predependents before dāanₐ
"owner of": àyí' dāan lā "the second one", bɨ̄ʊgá àtáṉ' dāan lā "the third goat." Yīigá
dāan may be used for "first." "Third, fourth, fifth ..." in counting appear without
apocope-blocking on 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 pɛ̀'ɛs "add up to":

dàṵ-kànì=ø   pɛ̀'ɛsà_ àyí'   lā   "the second man"
man-DEM.SG=NZ come.to NUM:two ART

lìnì=ø   pàasà_ àtáṉ'   lā   "the third one"
DEM.IN=NZ come.to NUM:three ART

Multiplicatives answer àbòlá? "how many-fold?" They are yīmmú "straight away, at once", àbòyí' "twice", àbòtáṉ' "three times", àbònāasí "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to bòpīigā "ten times." The prefix bò- is an old bʋ or mm agreement; à- is the *manner-noun* formant, preceded by lf-final -ι, so its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably analogical.

Answers to nɔɔrá àlá "how many times?" are of the pattern nɔɔr yīnní "once", nɔɔrá àtáṉ' or nɔɔrím bòtáṉ' "three times" etc. This nɔɔr is not "mouth" (Mooré *nóorè*), but corresponds to Mooré *náooré*, Toende *nɔ́'ɔt* "leg": Toende *nɔba ayi/nɔ'ɔt ayi* "twice."

Distributives "two by two" etc are (as sfs):

1	yīn yīn	10	pīi pîig	100	kɔ̀bìg kɔ́bìg
2	àyí' yí'	20	pīsí pīsí	200	kɔ̀bɪsí kɔ́bɪsí or kɔ̀bìs yí' yí'
3	àtáṉ' táṉ'	30	pīs táṉ' táṉ'	300	kɔ̀bìs táṉ' táṉ'
4	ànāas nāas	40	pīs nāas nāas		*etc*
5	ànū nū	50	pīs nū nū	1000	tūsīr túsìr
6	àyûəb yûəb	60	pīs yûəb yûəb		
7	àyɔ́pɔ̀e̥ pɔ́e̥	70	pīs yɔ́pɔ̀e̥ pɔ́e̥		
8	àníi níi	80	pīs níi níi		
9	àwāe̥ wāe̥	90	pīs wāe̥ wāe̥		

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

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": ṉyàṳkʋ pl ṉyà'ad is only used for eyes, while yīṳŋʋ´ pl yīná is used for other normally paired body parts: nɔb-yíṳŋ "one leg", nū'-yíṳŋ "one hand", nīf-ṉyáṳk "one eye", tòb-yīṳŋ "one ear."

The adjective yīmmír pl yīmmá cb yīm- means "solitary, unique."

10.6 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:

Wínà'am [pʋ́'ʋsòg [fûug dɔ̂ɔg]]   "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

For the rules regarding M dropping after predependents see §4.2.

10.6.1 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", nīdɩbá àyí' (lā) "(the) two people", but

yà sɔ̄'	"some one among you"
nīdīb lā síəbà	"certain of the people"
nīdīb lá àyí'	"two of the people"

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fʊn gaŋ sɔ'.
Pà'alìmī=tí   nīdɩbá‿ àyí'   ŋwá fún   gāŋ   sɔ̄'.
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 gíɡɩs 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:

nā'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
pʊ̀'ʊsʊ̀g dɔ̂ɔg	"temple" ("worship house")
tūlɩɡír bún	"heater" ("heating thing", also būn-túlɩgìr)
dūgūb dút	"cooking pots"
līɡɩdī túʊmà	"expensive work" (līɡɩdī "money")

There can be alternate forms with cbs:

tàŋp-sɔ̄b	"warrior"	(tāŋpʊ "war")
pʊ̀-pìəl-sɔ̄b/pʊ̀-pìəlìm sɔ́b	"holy person"	(Jb 9:2; Jb 23:7)
pʊ̀-pìəl-tūʊmā/pʊ̀-pìəlìm túʊmà	"holy actions"	(Prv 11:30; Prv 21:21)

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

Nàsāal búgúm	"electricity" ("European fire")

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

sālɩmā bʊ́tìŋ	"golden cup"
sālɩmā nɛ̄ ānzúrɩfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fūug dɔ̂ɔg	"tent" (cloth hut)
dàad bʊ́n-nám	"wooden things" (dàʊgʊ "piece of wood")
sālɩmā lâ'ad nɛ́ ò būtīɩs	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK

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

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

m̀ bīig	"my child"
dāu̱ lā bîig	"the man's child"
dāu̱ lā bîər bìig nâaf zʊ̀ʊr	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
Kūsâas wádà	"laws of the Kusaasi"

Nimbɛ'og yir na san'am.
Nīn-bɛ̂'og   yír   nà sāṉ'am.
Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.
"The house of a wicked person will be destroyed." (Prv 14:11)

nà'ab lā wîəf zʊ̀ʊr	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)
nà'ab lā wíd-zūʊr	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)

Dāanₐ "owner (of)" (nàmₐ pl) always has a predependent; NPs represent concrete possessions or qualities: būʊg dâan "goat owner"; dāam dâan "beer owner"; tìəŋ dâan "bearded man"; pɔ̄ɔg lā dâan "the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40); pʊ̀-pìəlìm dâan "holy person"; būgʊsígā dâan "softly-softly sort of person" WK; and

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.
Zʊ̀-wɔ̄k   dâan   pʊ̄ gáŋìd   búgúmm=ø.
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 in a few set expressions like yī-dâan/yī-sɔ́b "householder", tɛ̀ŋ-dāan "traditional earth-priest."

Numbers precede dāan_a for ordinal expressions: àtáṉ' dāan lā "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.

Dāṵ   lā   kúlʊ̀g   dāa mālɪsí=m.
Man:SG ART homecoming:SG TNS be.sweet=1SG.
"The man's return home pleased me."

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
yà àntṵà'-mɔ̄rím kɔ́tʊ̀   ní nɛ̄ tāabā   lā
2PL case-having   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.
Nīdīb   lā dāa gūr Zakaria   yîib   nā.
Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emergence hither.
"The people were watching for Zechariah to come out." (Lk 1:21)

The manner noun yīigá "firstly" appears as a predependent "first." Place NPs and phrases with the postposition yɛ̄lá "about" occur as predependents, and manner NPs may also occur before the specialised head dāan_a.

dūnɪyā ní nìn-gbīŋ	"earthly body"
kɔ̄lɪgī=n nɔ́-dàʊg	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
Bɔ̀k dím	"Bawku people"
dàgɔ̀bìg níf	"left eye"
zūgʊ́=n níf-gbáṵŋ	"upper eyelid"
tɛ̄ŋī=n níf-gbáṵŋ	"lower eyelid"
Kūsâas kûəb nɛ̄ yīr yɛ́là gbàṵŋ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàṵ-kàŋā lā yɛ́là gbàṵŋ	"a book about that man" WK

Ba da mɔr mɔɔgin bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi, yin bʊnkɔnbid nɛ ba buudi
Bà dà mɔ̀r mɔ̄ɔgū=n   bún-kɔ́ṉbìd nɛ́ bà būudī, yín   bún-kɔ́ṉbìd
3PL TNS have bush:SG=LOC animal:PL   and 3PL kind, house:SG:LOC animal:PL
nɛ́ bà būudī
and 3PL kind
"They took wild animals with their kind, tame with their kind" (Gn 7:14)

10.6.1.1 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 nī´ after pronouns, loanwords and words ending in short vowels in sf, otherwise =n. Quantifiers and lā´ may precede or follow the particle.

m̀ nī	"in me"		mān nī	"in me"
yūdá nì	"among names"		mʊ̀'ar lā ní	"in the lake"
mʊ̀'arī=n	"in a lake"		mʊ̀'arī=n lā	"in the lake"

la'asʊg dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni
là'asʊ̀g   dɔ́ɔdī=n   nɛ̄   su̱āyá nì
assembly:SG house:PL=LOC with road:PL LOC
"in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

m kɔnba ni wʊsa   "in all my bones" (Jer 20:9)
m̀   kɔ̄ṉbā ní wūsā
1SG bone:PL LOC all

Yīr´ "house" has the exceptional locatives yín_n pl yáa=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 Pailet lɛn yi nidibin la na ya'asi yɛli ba ...
Kà   Pailet lɛ́m   yī   nīdɪbí=n   lā nā   yá'asì_ø yélì=bā ...
And Pilate again emerge person:PL=LOC ART hither again CAT say=3PL ...
"Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." (Jn 19:4)

Ò bɛ̀ dâ'a=n.	"He's at market."
Ò bɛ̀ yín.	"He's at home."
Ò bɛ̀ kɔ̄lɪgī=n	"He's at the stream."
Ò bɛ̀ tʊ̄ʊmmī=n.	"He's at work."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: bɛ̄og_ʊ "tomorrow", bɛ̄ogū=n´ "morning", yīigí=n "at first" sān-sí'ə=n lā "at one time, once."

Other postpositions include:
Bābá "beside" (pl of bābīr´ "sphere of activity"): m̀ nɔ̄bá bàbà "beside my feet."
Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (gbìn_n "buttock"): zūər lā gbín "below the mountain."
Kɔ̄ṉ'/kɔ̄ṉ'ɔkɔ̄ (àràkɔ́ṉ' "one"): m̀ kɔ̄ṉ' "by myself."

N̥yá'aŋ_a "behind, after" (n̥yá'aŋ_a "back"): l̀ì n̥yá'aŋ, nɛ̄'ɛŋā n̥yâ'aŋ "afterward."
Pʋ̄ʋgʋ̄=n´ "inside" (pʋ̄ʋg_a "belly"): yʋ̂ʋm lā púʋgʋ̄=n "[months] in the year";

> Dāu̯   lā bɛ́ nɛ̄ dɔ́-kàŋā   lā púʋgʋ̄=n.
> Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEM.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";

> Fʋ̀ ná dī'e   tî̱ɩm   pu̯á'-bàmmā lā sâ'an.
> 2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEM.PL ART among.
> "You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

Sìsʋ̀ʋgʋ̄=n´ "between" (KB *sʋʋgin*): tīnám nɛ̄ fʋ̄n súʋgʋ̄=n "between us and you."
Tɛ̄ŋír "under": gɔ̀sìm tɛ̄ŋír! "look down!"; tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l lā tɛ́ŋìr "under the table."
Tùən_n "in front of": gɔ̀sìm tûən! "look to the front!"; dāká lā tûən "before the box."
Yɛ̄lá "about, concerning" (pl of yɛ̄l_ı´ "matter, affair"):

> Bà yɛ̀lō=ø mān yɛ̄lá wūsā.   "They told him all about me."
> 3PL say=3AN 1SG.CN about all.

Zūg_ʋ´ "onto" (zūg_ʋ´ "head"); very often used metaphorically, "on account of", as in bɔ́-zúgɔ̀? "why?" ("on account of what?")

> Ò dìgìl gbáu̯ŋ lā tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l lā zúg.   "She's put the book on the table."
> 3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.

> Faanmim fʋ noŋilim la zug.   "Save me because of your love." (Ps 6:4)
> Fàan̯mí=m fʋ̀ nɔ̀ŋìlím lā zúg.
> Save:IMP=1SG 2SG love   ART on.

Sāa zúg_ʋ is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

> Ka kʋkɔr yi saazug na   "And a voice came from heaven"
> Kà kʋ̀kɔ̄r yī   sāa   zúg nā   (Jn 12:28)
> And voice:SG emerge rain:SG on hither

Zūgʋ́=n "on": tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l lā zúgʋ̄=n "on the table"

10.6.2 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"   gɛ̄l-kûəs_a   "egg-seller"

Free NPs cannot be used as generic argument predependents, so it is not possible to say *[bɛ̄n̩íd nɛ̄ kī] kûəs "seller of beanleaf-and-millet." However, noun-adjective compounds as generic arguments always adopt sg/pl forms:

fū-zɛ́n̩dà kùəs   "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-kûʋd_a	"murderer"	bʋ̀-kūʋd_a´	"goat-killer"
nɔ̄-kûʋd_a	"hen-killer"	pu̯à'-kūʋd_a´	"woman-killer"
nɔ̄-zán̩_l	"holder of hens"	wìd-kùəs_a	"horse-seller"
bʋ̀-kùəs_a	"goat-seller"	sàlìm-kùəs_a	"gold-seller"
dā-nûud_a	"beer-drinker"	dà-kīəd_a	"wood-cutter"
zīm-gbân̩'ad_a	"fisherman"	kɔ̀n̩b-kīm_{na}	"herdsman"
làmpɔ̄-dî'əs_a	"tax collector"	tàn-mɛ̄ɛd_a	"builder"
bʋ̀l-sīgīd_a´	"well-diver"	zà'-nɔ̄-gúr_a	"gatekeeper"

nɔ̄-dî'əs_a   "chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")
gbàu̯ŋ-mī'id_a´   "scribe" ("book-knower")
pu̯à'-sān̩'am_{ma}   "adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")
tùən-gāt_a   "leader" (Ò gàad tûən "He's gone ahead")
n̩yà'an-dɔ̀l_{la}   "disciple" (n̩yá'aŋ_a "behind", dɔ̄l_{la}´ "go with")
pu̯à'-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 bāŋīd$_a$ "wise man", si̠ākīd$_a$ "believer", sūŋīd$_a$ "helper", fāa̠nd$_a$´ "robber." However, a preceding cb is usual. It may be just a reduplication of the noun stem:

màal-māan$_{na}$	"sacrificer"	zī-zîid$_a$	"carrier-on-head"
tʊ̀'as-tʊ̀'as$_a$	"talker"	zàb-zàb$_a$	"warrior"
zɔ̀t-zɔ̄t$_a$	"racer, athlete"	tʊ̀m-tʊ̄m$_{na}$	"worker"

Cbs occur before deverbal instrument nouns in object or adjunct senses:

si̠à-lɔ̄ɔdíŋ$_a$	"belt" ("waist-tier")
nīn-gɔ́tìs	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

Cbs before gerunds can represent subjects so long as the verb can be used intransitively; otherwise, they are complements or adjuncts:

nɔ̄b-kɔ̂ɔr	"breaking a leg"	nū'-mɔ́dìr	"swelling of the hand"
nīn-kʊ̂ʊr	"murder"	dā-nûur	"beer-drinking"

wìn-līir	"sunset" (Wìnnìg lí yā "The sun has fallen")
sūn̠-sân̠'ʊŋ$_ʊ$	"sorrow" (M̀ sūn̠f sân̠'am nɛ̄ "My heart is spoilt")
sūn̠-pɛ̂ɛn$_n$	"anger" (M̀ sūn̠f pɛ́lìg nɛ̄ "My heart is white")
nɔ̄-lɔ̂ɔr	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
fū-yêɛr	"shirt-wearing" (nonce-form created by WK)
pu̠à'-dīr	"marriage" (Ò dì pu̠ā' "He's married a wife")
Sāmán-píər	traditional New Year ("Courtyard-cleaning")
Bùgúm-tɔ̄ɔn̠r	Fire Festival ("Fire-throwing")
nīn-bâal-zɔ̄r	"pity" (Ò zɔ̀tō nīn-báalìg "He has pity on him")
mɔ̀-pīl$_l$	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
kùm-vʊ'ʊgír	"resurrection" (Ò vʊ̀'ʊg 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:

pʊ̀-pìəlìm	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
sūn̠-kpî'oŋ$_ʊ$	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
sūn̠-má'asìm	"joy" ("heart-coolness")
nìn-tōllím	"fever" ("body-heat")
wīn-tɔ̂ɔg$_ʊ$	"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-fū̄ugʋ´	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
wìd-zʋ̄ʋr	"horsetail"
wāb-mɔ́ɔgū̄=n´	"in elephant-bush, where there are elephants" WK
zà'-nɔ̄ɔr´	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīigₐ	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bîigₐ	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
tɛ̀ŋ-bīigₐ	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlʋ̀gʋ	"aeroplane" ("European-hawk")

WK has náaf-bìṉ'isím "cow's milk", bū̄ʋg-bíṉ'isím "goat's milk", where the dependent has singular form and tone, but the tone sandhi is that of a compound.

10.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or ṉwà "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 §10.6.1, but other cases of VP adjuncts as NP postdependents are doubtful. I did not record the full context for ṉwādīs yôʋm lā pʋ́ʋgū̄=n "months in the year" (SB) or wābū̄g mɔ́ɔgū̄=n lā "elephant in the bush" (WK), and what I recorded as Ɔ̄n sɔ̄b á nɛ̄ dʋ́'atà àmɛ̄ŋá lā "That one's the real doctor" may have been an error for lá àmɛ̄ŋá, with àmɛ̄ŋá as a VP adjunct to àe̲ṉya, as in *Manɛ an vain tiig la amɛŋa* "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:

bīigₐ	"child"	bì-kàŋā´	"this child"
bì-sɔ̄'	"a certain child"	bì-sʋ̀ŋ-kàŋā´	"this good child"
bì-kànɛ̀?	"which child?"	bì-bɔ́?	"what child?"

yɛ̄l-tɔ̀ɔd àtáṉ' bámmā	"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 onɛ ka Wina'am Siig bɛɛ 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.

Ɛ̄ɛ̠n, ò zu̠à   À-Sībɩgī˖   n kābɩríd.

Yes, 3AN friend:SG PERS-termite:SG CAT ask.admission:IPFV.

"Yes, it was his friend Termite asking for admission." KSS p12

10.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives follow head cbs. Adjectives lacking corresponding 1vbs may be used as heads of predicative complements §11.6.2, but generally compounds with nīn- "person" or būn- "thing" are used: nīn-súŋʊ "good person", būn-vúr "living thing" etc. Būn_n´ has pl būná or būn-nám_a; it also occurs with abstract *pre*dependents: tʊ̄lɩgír bún_n "heating thing, heater", kù'əmī=n bún_n "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-kʊ́ʊdìr "thing to do with killing" versus kʊ̄ʊdír "killer."

Note būn-gíŋ_a "short chap" (humorous), būn-kʊ́dʊ̀g_ʊ "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:

nūa´	"hen"	nɔ̄ɔs´	"hens"
nɔ̄-píəlìg_a	"white hen"	nɔ̄-píəlìs	"white hens"
nɔ̄-súŋ_ʊ	"good hen"	nɔ̄-súmà	"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: nɔ̄-pîəl-kàŋā´ "this white hen", nīn-wɔ́k-pìəlìg_a "white tall person" but fū-zɛ́n̠dà kùəs_a "dyed-cloth seller" (not *fū-zɛ́n̠'-kùəs_a.)

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. nū'-bíl_a "finger" ("small hand"); tì-sābɩlím a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); gɔ̀n̠'-sābɩlíg_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'-bīəlífʊ   "small coin" NT1 (lāʾafʊ "cowrie", bīʾəlá "a little")
dà-sī'ər   "some day, perhaps" (dāar "day", sīʾa "some")
dàbìs-sī'ər   "some day" (dàbɪsìr "day")
yɛ̄l-súmₙ   "blessing" (yɛ̄lᵢ´ "matter", sʊ̀ŋʊ "good")
pṳà'-pāalₐ´   "bride" (pṳā' "wife", pāalígₐ "new")

In WK's speech (not DK's) and many written sources, mɪ| nouns require adjectives in -mɪ, as does būn "thing" in abstract but not concrete senses:

dā-páalìm   "new beer"; WK rejected *dā-pâal *dā-páalìg.
tì-sābɪlím   "black medicine", a specific traditional remedy
tì-vūnním   "oral medication" ("swallowing medicine")
tì-kūʊdím   "poison" ("killing medicine")
kpāṉ-sɔ́ɔṉdìm   "anointing oil" (kpāaṉm´ "oil, grease")
būn-ṉyɛ́tìm   "the visible world" (būn-ṉyɛ́tìr "a visible object")
būn-bɔ́ɔdìm   "desirable thing" (in 1 Cor 14:1, of nɔ̀ŋɪlím "love")

Adjective sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner (all KT):

Lì à nɛ̄ fū-píəlìgā.   "It's a whitish shirt."
Lì à nɛ̄ fū-píəlìgā lā.   "It's the whitish shirt."
Lì à nɛ̄ wîug.   "It's red."
Lì à nɛ̄ wíugū.   "It's reddish."
fū-wíugū lā   "the reddish shirt"
Lì à nɛ̄ tītā'arī.   "It's biggish."

Adjectives and their derived 1vbs may be immediately followed by intensifier ideophones, specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding verbs.

Lì à nɛ̄ píəlìg fáss fáss.   "It's very white."
Lì à nɛ̄ sābɪlíg zím zím.   "It's deep black."
Lì à nɛ̄ zíṉ'a wím wím.   "It's deep red."
Lì à nɛ̄ fū-zíṉ'a wím wím.   "It's a deep red shirt."   WK
M̀ ṉyɛ́ fū-zíṉ'a wím wím.   "I've seen a deep red shirt."   WK
Fū-zíṉ'a wím wím bɛ́.   "There's a deep red shirt."   WK
M̀ bɔ̂ɔd fū-zíṉ'a wím wím lā. "I want the deep red shirt."   WK
Ò à nɛ̄ wɔ̄k tɔ́lɪlìlì.   "She's very tall."
Ò à nɛ̄ gīŋ tírɪgà.   "She's very short."
Ò wà'am tɔ́lɪlìlì.   "She's very tall."
Ò gìm nɛ̄ tírɪgà.   "She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; WK could supply none for e.g. sɔ̀ŋʊ "good", bɛ̄'ɛd "bad", zùlòŋʊ "deep", mā'asíga "damp."

Noun + adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à nɛ̄ nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"It's a dead hand."
Bīig lā á nɛ̄ nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à nɛ̄ bí-nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùg-nɔ̄b-wɔ́kʊ	"long-legged stool"
Kùg-kàŋā á nɛ̄ nɔ̄b-wɔ́k.	"This stool is long-legged." WK
zūg-máṵkʊ pl zūg-mâ'ad	"crushed-headed"
zʊ̀-wɔ̄kʊ´	"long-tailed"
nɔ̄b-gíŋa	"short-legged"
zū-pɛ́ɛlʊ̀gʊ pl zū-pɛ́ɛlà	"bald"
lām-fɔ̄ɔgʊ pl lām-fɔ̄ɔd	"toothless" (fùe "draw out")

"One of a pair" adjectives are often so used: nīf-ŋyáṵkʊ "one eye", bà-nīf-ŋyáṵkʊ "one-eyed dog"; tòb-yĩṵŋʊ´ "one ear" bì-tòb-yīná "one-eared children."

The adjective is not modified by the cb: the adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg, as with bì-tòb-kpīdā "deaf child" (pl bì-tòb-kpīdā náma or bì-tòb-kpīdīs) and bì-tòb-līɩd "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns appear as adjectives after human-reference heads:

bì-sāana´/-sáaŋa	"stranger-child"	bʊ̀-sáaŋa	"strange goat"
bì-kpī'ɩm/-kpìilúŋʊ	"dead child"	bʊ̀-kpìilúŋʊ	"dead goat"
bì-dāṵ/-dāʊgʊ	"male child"	bʊ̀-dāʊgʊ	"male goat"

and similarly bì-pṵā'/-pṵāka "female child"; bì-zū'əm´/-zʊ̀nzɔ̀ŋa "blind child"; bì-gìka "dumb child"; bì-wàbìr "lame child"; bì-bālɛ̄rʊ̀gʊ "ugly child"; bì-pɔ̀ŋ'ɔr "crippled child"; nà'-bīiga/bì-nà'aba "prince"; dàṵ-bīiga/bì-dāṵ "male child"; nàsàa-bīiga "European child", bī-púŋ-yàmmʊ̀ga "slave girl", yàmmʊ̀g-bī-púŋa/yàm-bī-púŋa "girl slave" (yàmmʊ̀g bí-púŋa "slave's girl.")

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

bì-sīnna´/-sīnníga	"silent child";	bʊ̀-sīnníga	"silent goat"
pṵà'-zàaṉsa	"dreamy woman" KT		
pṵà'-kʊ̄ʊdíga	"murderous woman, murderess" WK		
pṵà'-lā'adīga	"woman given to laughing" WK		
but pṵà'-kʊ̄ʊda´	only "killer of women" WK		
pṵà'-lā'ada	only "laugher at women" WK		

10.7.2 Lā and ŋ̱wà

Lā´ and ŋ̱wà 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 lā´ §11.7.

Unlike lā´, ŋ̱wà can stand alone as a NP:

Ŋ̱wà á nē̄ bīig.   "This is a child." WK; tones *sic*.
This be FOC child:SG.

Lā´ remains deictic after demonstratives and in identificational clauses §12.1.4, 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.

Wìnnìg lí yā.   "The sun has set."
Sun:SG fall ND.

Nɔŋilim pʋ naada.   "Love does not come to an end."
Nɔ̀ŋ̱ìlím pʋ̄ nāadá=ø.   (1 Cor 13:8)
Love   NEG finish:IPFV=NEG.

There is no indefinite article: a NP without lā´ is indefinite if it could have taken lā´ as an article. The sense may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of àe̱ŋ̱ya "be something" used ascriptively:

M̀ bīig   kā'e=ø.   "I've no child" WK
1SG child:SG NEG.exist=NEG.

Ò à nē̄ bīig.   "She is a child."
3AN be FOC child:SG.

Specific senses appear in presentational statements; elsewhere, indefinite NPs are usually generic; unlike "the", lā´ is not used generically.

Dau da be mori o biribing
Dāu̱   dá bɛ̀_ø mɔ̄rí_ò bī-díbìŋ
Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN boy:SG
"Once there was a man who had a son" KSS p35

Tʊmtʊm pʊ gat o zugdaana.
Tùm-tūm pū gát   ò zūg-dáanā=ø.
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 ɔ́ŋbìd   nē mɔ́ɔd.   "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 bîig "the chief's
child", but nà'ab lā bí-sɔ̄' "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**
Dāu̯   dá bɛ̀‿ ø mɔ̄rí‿ò bī-díbìŋ
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 yʊma ayɔpɔi ka **o sid la** kpi.
Ɔ́n   dāa án pu̯á'-sādīr lá kà ò kūl   sīdī‿   ø pāe
3AN:NZ TNS be girl:SG   ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach
yʊ́mà àyɔ́pɔ̰ɛ kà ò sīd   lā kpí.
year:PL NUM:seven and 3AN husband:SG ART die.
"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her
husband died." (Lk 2:36)

  cf Ṁ bīig   bɛ́.   "I have a child." WK
      1SG child:SG exist.

      Ṁ bīig   kā'e=ø.   "I've no child" WK
      1SG child:SG NEG.exist=NEG.

  but Ṁ bīig   lā kā'e=ø.   "My child's not there" WK
      1SG child:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

11 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 2vb imperative flexion -mₐ appear only when the tone overlay is present.

Tense is marked by preverbal particles, aspect by verb flexion and postverbal nɛ̄́. As is common cross-linguistically, future reference is marked by *mood*. Negative markers vary with mood. Mood itself is marked primarily by such preverbal particles, but the flexion -mₐ of 2vbs 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 ₌ya.

Bound words occur in a fixed order around the verb:

Tense	Mood	Subverb		E1	E2	
dàa	ø ~ pō	pòn	VERB	=n	=mₐ	nɛ̄́
sàa	ø ~ dā	lɛ̀m		₌ya	=fʊ	
ø	nà ~ kʊ̀	tì			=o	
pà'		kpɛ̀lìm			=lɪ	
sà		là'am			=tɪ	
dāa		dɛ̀ŋìm			=ya	
dà		...			=ba	

ø 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 ₌ya; E2 for enclitic personal pronouns as direct or indirect objects, which unlike all other complements *precede* aspect-marking nɛ̄́. Only one bound object pronoun may occur.

11.1 Aspect

The basic aspect distinction is perfective versus imperfective. 2vbs 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 the independency-marking tone overlay. 1vbs have a single form, which is always imperfective.

The focus particle **nɛ́** §13.1 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 relationship or quality verbs. With pfvs expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and aspectual focus is not possible. However, pfvs which can express a change of state in the subject can also express the resulting state itself; as this state follows after the action, the time referred to and the time of the situation *never* coincide. Accordingly, aspectual nɛ́ after a pfv marks it as stative; and conversely, if a pfv cannot express a change of state in the subject, a following nɛ́ cannot be aspectual.

Nɛ́ 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. Nɛ́ 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 nɛ̄.	"She's selling them."
	3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.	
	Ò kùəsìd nɛ̄ sūmmā lā.	"She is selling the groundnuts."
	3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.	
but	Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nɛ̄.	"She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
	3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC.	(VP focused: "They're not free.")
	Ò zàbìd.	"He fights."
	Ò zàbìd nɛ̄.	"He's fighting."
but	Ò pū zábɪdā.	"He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."

Nɛ́ is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: Gɔ̀sɪ̀m!   "Look!"   B: M̀ gɔ́sɩ̀d!   "I'm looking!"
A: Fʊ̀ gɔ́sɪ̀d nɛ́ɛ?   "Are you looking?"   B: M̀ gɔ́sɩ̀d!   "I'm looking!"

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. It is compatible with a present-tense interpretation, often corresponding to the English "simple present." It is the usual aspect found with the irrealis to express future events, and in protases of conditional clauses. Nevertheless, pfv implies completion when contrasted with the ipfv.

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 ND.   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   yɛ̀l yɛ̄ ...   "He says that ..."
3AN say that ...   (translating for the foreign doctor)

M̀   pû'ʊs yā.   "I thank you."
1SG greet ND.

M̀   si̠ák yā.   "I agree."
1SG agree ND.

Verbs of cognition and perception frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

M̀ ŋyɛ́ nū'-bíbɩsá_àtán̠'.   "I can see three fingers."
1SG see finger:PL   NUM:three.

M̀ tên̠'ɛs kà ...   "I think that ..."
1SG think and ...

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject may use the pfv to express the resulting state; nɛ́ must then follow if syntactically permissible. Most such verbs are intransitive, but verbs of dressing also imply a change of state in the subject:

Lì bɔ̀dìg yā . 3IN lose ND.	"It's got lost."

but	Lì bɔ̀dìg nɛ̄ . 3IN lose FOC.	"It's lost."

Ò kpì nɛ̄.	"He's dead."
Ḿ gé̠n̠ nɛ̄.	"I'm tired."
Bà kὺdὺg nɛ̄.	"They're old."
Lì pὲ'ɛl nɛ̄.	"It's full."
Lì yɔ̀ nɛ̄.	"It's closed."
Ḿ búg nɛ̄.	"I'm drunk."
Ò lὲr nɛ̄.	"He's ugly." WK
Lì sɔ̀bìg nɛ̄.	"It's black." WK

Ḿ yɛ́ fūug. 1SG don shirt:SG.	"I've put a shirt on."

Ḿ yɛ́ nɛ̄ fūug. 1SG don FOC shirt:SG.	"I'm wearing a shirt."

In catenation §12.2 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' yε fupiela zi'e ba san'an.
Kà dāpá‿ àyí'   yɛ́   fū-píəlà‿   ø   zì'e bà sā'an.
And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.
"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

An imperfective may be followed by a perfective:

N̠wādɪsá‿àtán̠'   kà fὺ ná mɔ̄r bīig   lā n kɛ̄   nā.
Month   NUM:three and 2SG IRR have child:SG ART CAT come hither.
"Bring the child here in three months."

   With absolute clauses §12.3.1 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.
   Kùkɔ̀mà dá zàb tāabá   à-sɔ̄ṇ'e   bī'əlá   yɛ̀là.
   Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PERS-surpass slightly about.
   "Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KSS p40

   Imperfective without aspectual focus may express multiple events, a propensity
of the subject to the action expressed by the verb, a quality, or a relationship:

   M̀ zíṇ'i.   "I sit."
   1SG sit.

   Nīigí   ɔ̀ṇbìd   mɔ̄ɔd.   "Cows eat grass."
   Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

   Ò gìm.   "She's short."
   3AN be.short.

   M̀ mɔ́r pṵā'.   "I have a wife."
   1SG have wife:SG.

   Aspectual focus with ipfvs may have progressive meaning if the subject is an
agent, or moving without external agency, or changing state:

   Nā'-síəbà ɔ́ṇbìd   nɛ̄ mɔ̄ɔd.   "Some cows are eating grass."
   Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

   M̀ zíṇ'i nɛ̄.   "I'm sitting."
   1SG sit FOC.   (Stance verb subjects are agents)

   Lì lìt   nɛ̄.   "It is falling."
   3IN fall:IPFV FOC.

   M̀ yɔ̂ɔd   nɛ̄ kʋ́lìŋ lā.   "I'm closing the door."
   1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

Kùlìŋ   lā yɔ̂ɔd   nɛ̄.   "The door is closing."
Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

The sense may instead be of multiple events over a restricted time interval:

Nīdīb   kpîid nɛ̄.   "People are dying."
Person:PL die:IPFV FOC.

Aspectual focus with ipfvs is otherwise only felicitous if the clause contains an explicit time reference (even just a non-zero tense marker); it then implies a temporary state of affairs, contrasting the time referred to with other times. This meaning is forced, even in the absence of a time reference, if nɛ̄´ precedes constituents which do not allow informational focus §13.1.

Thus with relationship or quality verbs:

Lì vɛ̀n   nɛ̄.   "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)
3IN be.beautiful FOC.

but   Nānnánā, lì vɛ̀n   nɛ̄.   "Just now, it's beautiful."
      Now,   3IN be.beautiful FOC.

Lì dāa vɛ́n   nɛ̄.   "It *was* beautiful." WK: "I gave you a
3IN TNS be.beautiful FOC.   cup, and it was OK then, but now you've
                                          spoiled it."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm   nɛ̄.   "The lake *was* deep."
Lake:SG ART TNS be.deep FOC.   ("Now it's shallow." WK)

Lì dāa án̯ súŋā.   "It was good." WK
3IN TNS be well.

Lì dāa á nɛ̄ súŋā.   "At the time, it was good." WK
3IN TNS be FOC well.

Lì à nɛ̄ súŋā.   "It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)
3IN be FOC well.

M̀ mɔ́r nɛ̄ bīisá‿ àtáŋā.   "I've got exactly three children just now."
1SG have FOC child:PL NUM:three.exactly. DK: "On a school trip, talking about how
                                          many children everyone has brought."

11.2 Tense

Tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP. They are mutually exclusive.

dàa	day after tomorrow
sàa	tomorrow
ø	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:

Fừ sá gbìs wēlá=ø?   "How did you sleep last night?"
2SG TNS sleep how=CQ?

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.   "Let him fight the chief tomorrow."
3AN TNS fight chief:SG ART.

11.2.1 Discontinuous past

The discontinuous-past enclitic =n makes an earlier-today past:

M̀ ɔ́nbɪdī=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; =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 §12.1.3.

11.2.2 Periphrastic futures

Kusaal does not use indicative ipfvs as futures. Note the *pfv* with instantaneous-present sense in

> M̀ kúl   yā.   "I'm going home (now.)"
> 1SG go.home ND.

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to": bɔ̀ɔdₐ "want" + gerund, and subject + yɛ̄-purpose clause (animate subjects only):

> Tìʊg   lā bɔ̂ɔd līig.   "The tree is about to fall."
> Tree:SG ART want fall:SG.

> Yʊ'ʊŋ bɔɔd gaadʊg, ka bɛog bɔɔd nier.
> Yʊ́'ʊŋ bɔ̂ɔd gáadʊ̀g   kà bɛ̄og   bɔ̂ɔd nîǝr.
> Night want passing:SG and morning want appearance:SG.
> "The night is about to pass and tomorrow is about to appear." (Rom 13:12)

> M̀ yɛ́   m̀ kʊ̪ā sūmmā.   "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."
> 1SG that 1SG hoe groundnut:PL.

11.2.3 Implicit tense and narrative

Tense markers are frequently absent, but the occurrence of tense markers is not arbitrary, and constrasts with ø 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 kpîid.   "People die."
> Ò mɔ̀r pʊ̪ā'.   "He has a wife."
> Ò kpì yā.   "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:

> Fʊ̀ ná kūl.   "You will go home."
> 2SG IRR go.home.

> Fʊ̀ sáa nà kūl.   "You'll go home tomorrow."
> 2SG TNS IRR go.home.

Fʋ̀ [sáa] nà kūl   bɛ̄og.   "You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG TNS   IRR go.home tomorrow.

 M̀ [pá'] ɔ̀n̠bɪdī=n   sūmmā.   "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
1SG TNS   chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

m̀ [sá] zàb nâ'ab   lā sû'əs.   "I fought the chief yesterday."
1SG TNS fight chief:SG ART 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 kpɛ̄ "here" and kàŋā "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.

Ka Yesu **daa** an yʋma pii nɛ ayi' la, ka ba keŋ malʋŋ la wʋʋ ban ɛɛnti niŋid
si'em la. Ka malʋŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpɛlim
Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' nɛ o ma pʋ baŋ ye o kpɛlim yaa. Ba **daa** tɛn'ɛs ye o
dɔlnɛ ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...
Kà Yesu=ø dāa áŋ yúmà pīi nɛ́   àyí'   lā, kà bà kɛ̄ŋ málʋ̀ŋ
And Jesus=NZ TNS be year:PL ten with NUM:two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG
lā wūʋ bán ɛɛn̠ tí   nìŋìd sī'əm lā. Kà màlʋ̀ŋ   lā dábɪsà=ø
ART like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV how ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ
nāe lā, kà bà lɛ́bɪdì̠   ø kūn.   Kà Yesu kpɛ́lìm Jerusalem
finish ART, and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem
tɛ́ŋī=n   kà ò bā'   nɛ́   ò mà   pū bán yɛ́ ò kpɛ̀lìm
land:SG=LOC and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG realise that 3AN remain
yāa=ø. Bà dāa tɛ̄ŋ'ɛs yɛ́   ò dɔ̀l   nɛ́ bà tɛ̀n-dìm   lā, kà kɛ̄ŋ ...
ND=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)

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 ...

À-Pū-zɔ́t-yēl   dá à nɛ́ ò sàam   bîig   mà'àa.
PERS-NEG-fear:IPFV-thing:SG TNS be FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only.

Kà dāar yīnní kà bīig   lā nɛ́ ò sàam   zín'i‿ø sɔ̄n̩sīd.
And day:SG one and child:SG ART with 3AN father:SG sit   CAT converse:IPFV.

Kà bīig   lā tí   yɛ̀l ò sàam ...
And child:SG ART once say 3AN father:SG ...

"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

Among dozens of clauses kà X du̩á' 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 du̩á' Solomon. Ò mà   dá à nɛ̄ Uria pu̩á'.
And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG TNS be FOC Uriah wife:SG.

Kà Solomon du̩á' 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 anɛ 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 nɛ̄´ to be interpreted as
informational focus, never aspectual; tense marking permitted aspectual focus.

Lì bɔ̀dìg nɛ̄.   "It's lost."
3IN get.lost FOC.

Kà lì bɔ́dìg nɛ̄.   Rejected by WK; accepted after some
And 3IN get.lost FOC.   thought by DK, explained as denying
                               "someone hid it"; contrastive focus

Bà kùdìg nɛ̄.   "They're old."
3PL get.old FOC.

Kà bà kúdìg nɛ̄.   "And they're old." Rejected by WK;
And 3PL get.old FOC.   accepted by DK with the gloss "You're
                                        saying they're old when he promised to
                                        give you new ones"; contrastive focus

but   Kà lì dāa bɔ́dìg nɛ̄.   "And it was lost."
      And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

Kà bà sá kʋ̀dìg nɛ̄.
Kà bà dāa kúdìg nɛ̄.   etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked 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 ɔ́n   kpɛ̀n̠' lā, ò yɛ́lì=bā yɛ̄ [...] Kà bà lá'adō=ø.
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 yɛ̄:

Amaa ba **da** zɔt o nɛ dabiem, ban da pʋ niŋ o yadda ye o sid anɛ nya'andɔl la
 zug. **Amaa ka** Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mɔr o keŋ ...
Àmáa bà dà zɔ̀tō=ø   nɛ̄ dábīəm, bán dà pʋ̄ níŋò=ø yáddā yɛ́ ò sìd
But   3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear,   3PL:NZ TNS NEG do=3AN faith that 3AN truly
à nɛ̄ n̠yâ'an-dɔ̀l lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas zán Saul n   mɔ̄ró=ø‿ ø kɛ̄ŋ ...
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)

Interruptions in the narrative may contain clauses coordinated with kà; the
tense marker of the first clause is not repeated, but as the following clauses are not
carrying on the narrative, they can have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet **da** ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa
 me kudig**ne**.
Bà dà pʋ̄ mɔ̄r bīigā=ø,   bɔ̄zúgɔ̄ Elizabet dá à nɛ̄
3PL TNS NEG have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS be FOC
kúndʋ̀'ar   kà bà bàyí' lā wʋ̄sā mɛ́ kʋ̀dìg nɛ̄.
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 yʊ'ʋn tiɛn Yesu n sa yɛl si'el la
Kà   Pita   yʊ̄'ʋn tíeṉ   Yesu=n   sà   yɛ̀l   sī'əl   lā
And Peter then remember Jesus=NZ TNS say INDF.IN ART
"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 §13.4, whether or not kà also precedes, or the absolute clause is tense-marked (132/136 in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14 NT1.) With absolute clause adjuncts *after* kà, marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual rules for narrative (69/78.)

11.2.4 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" §12.3.1 always precedes tense markers. Yʊ̄'ʋn "then, next", sìd "truly, thus" and lɛ̀ɛ "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 yʊ'ʋn da kʋdigya.   "Then Joshua grew old." (Jo 13:1)
Josua   yʊ̄'ʋn dá kʋ̀dìg   yā.
Joshua then TNS grow.old ND.

O sid kpiya.   "He's really died." (Mk 15:44)
Ò   sìd   kpì yā.
3AN truly die ND.

Ò   sìd   dāa á nɛ̄ nâ'ab.   "Truly, he was a chief." WK
3AN truly TNS be FOC chief:SG.

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.
Kà   mān   pi̠âṉ'ad lā lɛ́ɛ kʋ̀   gāadɛ̄=ø.
And 1SG.CN speech ART but NEG.IRR pass=NEG.
"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35 NT2)

amaa lɛɛ pʊ'ʋsimi Wina'am bareka
àmáa lɛ̀ɛ   pʋ̀'ʋsìmī=ø   Wínà'am bárɪkà
but   but greet:IMP=2PLS God   blessing
"but thank God" (Eph 5:4)

For WK, lὲɛ carries the independency tone overlay; he corrected Lὲɛ gɔ̀sìm nâ'ab lā! to Lὲɛ gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā! "But look at the chief!"

Nàm "still" (with a negative, "yet"), ŋyɛ̄ɛ (tí) (KT ɛ̄ɛn̠ tí, NT *nyii ti*, KB *ɛɛnti*) "habitually" and kūlīm/kūdīm "always" follow any tense particles.

Tʋʋma la da nam pʋ pin'il la   "before the work began" (Zec 8:10)
Tūʋmā lá=ø   dà nàm pū pīn̠'il   lā
work:SG ART=NZ TNS still NEG begin   ART

Tὺm   lā nám bὲɛ=ø?   "Is there any medicine left?"
Medicine ART still exist=PQ?

Hor dim la mɛ da ɛɛnti bɛ Seir.   "The Horites too used to live in Seir."
Hor dím lā mɛ́   dà ɛ̄ɛn̠ tí bὲ   Seir.   (Dt 2:12)
Hor ø.PL ART also TNS habit exist Seir.

On nɛ o pu'a Prisila daa kʋdim nan yinɛ Room
Ɔn   nɛ́   ò   pu̠ā'   Prisila   dāa kūdīm nám yī   nɛ̄ 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)

Ŋyāan/nāan "next, afterwards", nāan §12.1.3 "in that case" and pà' tì "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. Ŋyāan usually appears in kà-clauses in narrative.

Ka Zugsɔb sʋnf nyaan yʋ'ʋn ma'ae.
Kà   Zūg-sɔ́b sún̠f   ŋyāan yū'ʋn mā'e.
And Lord   heart:SG next   then cool.
"Then the Lord's anger subsided." (Jo 7:26)

Onɛ pa'ati an Kristo la bɛɛ?
Ɔnī̠‿   ø   pá' tì   àn̠ Kristo lā bɛ́ɛ=ø?
3AN.CN CAT perhaps be Christ ART or=PQ?
"Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)

11.3 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 §4.3.

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 nâ'ab   lā.   "He's fought the chief."
    3AN fight chief:SG ART.

    Ò   pū záb nà'ab láa=ø.   "He hasn't fought the chief."
    3AN NEG fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

    Ò   vùl   tĩ̀m   kà ò nɔ́bìr pū zábɛ̄=ø.
    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. 2vbs with independency-marking tone overlay take the inflection -m$_a$, with pfv sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked by flexion as usual. Any type of verb may be used in a direct command: cf *Vʋe!* Vʋ̀e̞! "Live!" (Ez 16:6.) See §12.1.2 on 2pl subject =ya.

    Zàm   nâ'ab   lā!   "Fight the chief!"
    Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!

    Dā   záb nà'ab láa=ø!   "Don't fight the chief!"
    NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!

    Ò   vùl   tĩ̀m   kà ò nɔ́bìr dā   zábɛ̄=ø.
    3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.
    "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

    Kɛ̀m   nā   n gɔ̄s!   "Come and look!"
    Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Kɔ̰n̰sìm!   "Cough!"

Dā   kɔ́n̰sɛ̰=ø!   "Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did,
NEG.IMP cough=NEG!   during an eye operation)

Dā   kɔ́n̰sɪdā=ø!   "Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand
NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG!   what to avoid throughout)

Dɔ̀llī=nɪ́=m!   "Come (pl) with me!"
Go.with=2PLS=1SG!

Mɔ̀r nīn-báalìg!   "Have pity!"

Bɛ́ɛ ànínā!   "Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB

Āa=nɪ́‿àlá bāan̰lím!   "Be (pl) quiet!"
Be=2PLS thus quietness!

Aspectual nɛ̄´ cannot appear, but àlá "thus" has a progressive sense after
commands:

Dìmí àlá!   "Carry on eating!"

Dìgī=nɪ́‿àlá!   "Keep (pl) on lying down."
Lie=2PLS thus!

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers nà
(positive), kʊ̀ (negative), after which a directly following tp A subverb or verb changes
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 nâ'ab lā.   "He'll fight the chief."
3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò kʊ̀   zāb nâ'ab láa=ø.   "He won't fight the chief."
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò dāa ná zāb nâ'ab lā.   "He would have fought the chief."
3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.   (but did not) WK

Negative verbs replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.

Kā'e̩ is indicative negative to àe̩n̩ya "be something", bɛ̀ "exist", mɔ̄ra´ "have."
*Pū bɛ́ does not occur, but pū mɔ̄r is common; pū áe̩n̩ is found in contrasts. Kā'e̩ has a
clause-final variant kà'asìg.

    Ò kā'   bīigā=ø.   "She hasn't got a child."
    3AN ART NEG.have child:SG=NEG.   or "She isn't a child."

    Pu̩ā'   lā mɔ́r bīig,   àmáa dāu̩   lā kā'e=ø.
    Woman:SG ART have child:SG but   man:SG ART NEG.have=NEG.
    "The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

    Dāu̩   lā kā'e=ø.   "The man isn't there."
    Man:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

    Dāu̩   kā'e̩   dɔ́ɔgū̩=n   láa=ø.   "There's no man in the room."
    Man:SG NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

    Dāu̩   lā kā'   dɔ́ɔgū̩=n   láa=ø.
    Man:SG ART NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.
    "The man is not in the room."

    Ò   bīig ká'asìgɛ̄=ø.   "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.)

    Bù̩ŋ-bāu̩n̩'ad   zī'   yɛ̄ tɛ̄ŋ   túllā=ø.
    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   ka pʊ mi' wʊʊ lin nar si'em.
     kà pū mī'   wū̩ʊ lín   nār   sī'əmm=ø.
     and NEG know how 3IN:NZ be.proper how=NEG.
     "and does not know how it should be." (1 Chr 22:5)

Mì̩t is imperative; in the sense "let not" §12.2.2 2pl ₌ya is not used. KB writes
mid, omitting the negative clitic. Mì̩t + NP (no negative clitic) means "beware of."

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.
Mìt   kà yà mâal yà tʊ̀ʊm-sʊ̀mà   nīdīb   tûən yɛ́   bà gɔ̄sɛ̄=ø.
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)

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.
Mìtī=ø   zīrí nɔ̀-dí'əsìdìb bánì=ø kɛ̄nnı́‿   yà sā'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)

Only VPs can be negated. **Constituent negation** requires subordinate clauses:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.
Sɔ́gi̯à-sɔ́'   kā'e‿   n túm   kà yɔ́ɔd   ò mɛ̄ŋá=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)

Di lɛn ka' fʊn yɛl si'el la zug, ka ti niŋ o yadda.
Lì lɛ̀m kā'   fún   yɛ̀l sī'əl lā zúg kà tì níŋò=ø yáddáa=ø.
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 sʊŋir.
kà zâṇ'as bánì=ø   kā'   Kristo nídìb   lā súŋìr.
and refuse DEM.PL=NZ NEG.be Christ person:PL ART help:SG.
"and refused the help of non-Christians." (3 Jn 1:7)

Negative clitics induced by main-clause VPs follow any subordinate clauses;
the construction is thus revealed to be narrative *coordination* in e.g.

Ka li pʊ yuugɛ ka o pu'a mɛ kena.
Kà lì pʊ̄ yúugɛ̄=ø, kà ò pu̯ā'   mɛ́ kɛ̄ nā.
And 3IN NEG delay=NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.
"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7)

A negative clitic belonging to a clause nominalised with =ǹ or the personifier à
(but *not* yà' "if/when") is lost unless the clause has no article and is itself clause-final:

Nīn-bánì=ø   pʊ̄ dít   ná kpī.   "People who don't eat will die." WK
Person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV IRR die.

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

À-Pū-zɔ́t-yēl   dá à nɛ́ ò sàam bîig   mà'àa.
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

vs   Ḿ ŋyɛ́ nīn-bánì=ø   pū dítā=ø.
      1SG see person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV=NEG.

      "I've seen some people who don't eat." WK

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 pū nār yɛ́ fù dí   fù bā'-bîig   pṵá' Herodiasɛ=ø.
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 pʋ bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pū bɔ̂ɔd yɛ̄ dáṵ-kàŋā áan̠_tì nà'abā=ø.
1PL NEG want that man-DEM.SG be   1PL king:SG=NEG.

"We don't want this man to be our king." (Lk 19:14)

Mam pʋ tɛn'ɛs ye o na kɛligi m pian'adɛ.

Mām pū tɛ̄n̠'ɛs yɛ́ ò nà kɛ̄lɪgí_m̀ pi̠àn̠'adɛ̄=ø.
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 pʋ yi Wina'am san'an naa.

      Lìn-zúg kà   tì báŋ yɛ́ ò pū yī   Wínà'am sâ'an náa=ø.
      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 pʋ baŋ ye li anɛ onɛ.

      kà ò lɛ́ɛ pū báŋ   yɛ́ lì à nɛ̄ ɔnɛ̄=ø.
      And 3AN but NEG realise that 3IN be FOC 3AN.CN=NEG.

      "but she didn't realise it was him." (Jn 20:14)

11.4 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.

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. Affected words, regardless of their intrinsic tones, are always followed by M spreading, and show M toneme (or H before fixed-L tonemes) on the final syllable before liaison.

Tone overlay in main clauses (with M spreading after m̀):

M̀ záb nâ'ab lā.	"I've fought (zàb) the chief (nà'ab$_a$)."
M̀ gɔ́s nâ'ab lā.	"I've looked at (gɔ̄s) the chief."
M̀ sá zàb nâ'ab lā.	"I fought the chief yesterday."
M̀ sá gɔ̀s nâ'ab lā.	"I looked at the chief yesterday."

but	m̀ yá' zàb nà'ab lā	"if I fight the chief"
	m̀ yá' gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā	"if I look at the chief"
	mán zàb nà'ab lā	"I having fought the chief"
	mán gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā	"I having looked at the chief"
	Kà m̀ záb nà'ab lā.	"And I've fought the chief."
	Kà m̀ gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā.	"And I've looked at the chief."
	M̀ pū záb nà'ab láa.	"I haven't fought the chief."
	M̀ pū gɔ̄s nâ'ab láa.	"I haven't looked at the chief."
	M̀ dāa záb nà'ab lā.	"I didn't fight the chief."
	M̀ dāa gɔ̄s nâ'ab lā.	"I didn't look at the chief."

Tones before liaison (bɔ̀dìg "lose", yādīg´ "scatter", =m$_a$ "me", =ba "them"):

Intrinsic tones:	bɔ̀dɪgì=m$_a$	bɔ̀dɪgìdī=m$_a$´ ipfv	bɔ̀dɪgì=bā´
	yādɪgí=m$_a$	yādɪgídī=m$_a$´ ipfv	yādɪgí=bā´
With overlay:	bɔ̀dɪgī=m$_a$´	bɔ̀dɪgìdī=m$_a$´	bɔ̀dɪgī=bá
	yàdɪgī=m$_a$´	yàdɪgìdī=m$_a$´	yàgɪdī=bá

M̀ kúʊdī=bá.	"I kill them."
1SG kill:IPFV=3PL.	

M̀ kúʊdí‿bà būʊs.	"I kill their goats."
1SG kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL.	M → H before fixed-L toneme

M spreading after 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 m̀ záb nà'ab lā.	"And I've fought the chief."
Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.	"And he's fought the chief."
M̀ záb nâ'ab lā.	"I've fought the chief."

but   Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.   "He's fought the chief."

Ò tèṉ'ɛs kà ò   zàb nâ'ab   lā.   "He thinks he's fought the chief." WK
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

Ò yèl yɛ́   ò zàb nâ'ab   lā.   "He says he's fought the chief."
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.

First and second persons are followed by M spreading unless the VP has independency marking *and* they are immediately preceded by yɛ̄ "that":

Ò tèṉ'ɛs kà m̀ záb nâ'ab   lā.   "He thinks I've fought the chief."
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

but   Ò yèl yɛ́   m̀ zàb nâ'ab   lā.   "He says I've fought the chief."
3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.

The distribution of M spreading after bound subject pronouns is not dependent on whether tone overlay is present:

Ò kù   zāb nâ'ab   láa=ø.   "He will not fight the chief." (irrealis)
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò yèl yɛ́   m̀ nà zāb nâ'ab   lā.   "He says I'll fight the chief." (irrealis)
3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.

Ò lɛ̀ɛ dāa záb nà'ab   lā.   "But he did fight the chief." (M particle)
3AN but TNS fight chief:SG ART.

Two **segmental** markers occur if the verb itself has tone overlay (including tp A verbs, which otherwise appear unaltered apart from the following M spreading.)

The flexion -m_a marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gɔ̀sìm!   "Look!"

Gɔ̀sɩmī=nɪ́=bā!   "Look (pl) at them!"
Look:IMP=2PLS=3PL!

but   Dā   gɔ̄sɛ̄=ø!   "Don't look!"
       NEG.IMP look=NEG!

       Kɛ̀l   kà   ò   gɔ̄s!   "Let her look!"
       Let:IMP and 3AN look!

       Dɔ̀llī=nɪ́=bā!   "Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)
       Go.with=2PLS=3PL!

The particle yā follows any VP-final pfv carrying the tone overlay:

       Ò   sà   gɔ̀s yā.   "She looked."
       3AN TNS look ND.

       M̀ tɛ̂ṉ'ɛs kà ò   gɔ̀s yā.   "I think she's looked."
       1SG think and 3AN look ND.

but   Ò pū gɔ̄sɛ̄.   "He's not looked."
       Ò nà gɔ̄s.   "She'll look."
       Ò dāa gɔ̄s.   "He looked."
       Kà ò gɔ̄s.   "And he looked."

       Ò gɔ̀sī=m.   "He's looked at me." (not VP-final)
       Ò gìm.   "She's short." (ipfv)
       Ò nɔ̀ŋ.   "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 bɔ̀dìg nɛ́ɛ?   "Is it lost?" (focus-nɛ̄´)
       Lì bɔ̀dìg yàa?   "Has it got lost?"

11.5 Subverbs

Subverbs follow all other preverbal particles. They behave as tp 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.

Pʋ̀n "previously, already":

Ò   pʋ̀n   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.

Lɛ̀m "again"; pʋ̄ lɛ́m + ipfv "no longer":

M̀ nīf   lɛ́m   zábìd   nē̄.   "My eye is hurting again."
1SG eye:SG again fight:IPFV FOC.

M̀ nīf   pʋ̄ lɛ́m zàbìdā=ø .   "My eye is not hurting any more."
1SG eye:SG NEG again fight:IPFV=NEG.

Ò   nà lɛ̄m   záb nà'ab   lā.   "He'll fight the chief again."
3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Là'am "together" (as main verb "associate with"):

ka nidib wʋsa da la'am kpi nɛ o.
kà   nīdīb   wʋ̄sā dá là'am   kpì nó=ø.
and person:PL all   TNS together die with=3AN.
"so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

Kpɛ̀lìm + pfv "immediately afterwards"; + ipfv "still." As main verb, "remain." KB has the reduced form kpɛ̀n.

Ka o kpelim zu'om.   "Immediately he went blind."
Kà   ò   kpɛ́lìm   zū'əm.   (Acts 13:11 NT2: KB *Ka o kpɛn zu'om*.)
And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpɛn vʋe.   "My child Joseph is still alive." (Gn 45:28)
m̀ bīig   Josef nám kpɛ̀n vʋ̄e̞.
1SG child:SG Joseph still still   live.

Dὲŋɩm "beforehand":

Pin'ilʋgʋn sa ka Pian'ad la da pʋn dɛŋim bɛ.
Pīn̠'ilúgū=n   sá   kà   Pi̠àn̠'ad lā dá pòn   dὲŋɩm bὲ.
Beginning:SG=LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already before exist.
"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

Màlɩgìm "again":

Amaa man pian'ad la kʋ maligim gaadɛ.
Àmáa mān pi̠ân̠'ad lā   kú   mālɩgīm gáadɛ̄=ø.
But   1SG.CN speech ART NEG.IRR again   pass=NEG.
"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

Tɩ "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   kpì.
until and Herod once die.

Kὲm‿ø   tí   n̠yɛ̄ dú'atà.   "Go to see the doctor." SB
Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Bɛogʋ ti nied la ka ba gaad!
Bɛ̄ogú=ø   tì   nìəd   lá kà bà gâad!
Morning=NZ once appear:IPFV ART and 3PL pass.
"Before morning appears they have passed!" (Is 17:14)

11.6 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 díɩsò=ø sā'ab   dɔ́-kàŋā lā púʋgū=n.
1SG TNS feed=3AN porridge hut-DEM.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
"I fed her porridge in that hut."

11.6.1 Objects

Some transitive verbs, including all transitive 1vbs, *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 kʋ nid.   "Do not kill." (Ex 20:13)
Mìt   kà yà kū nīd.
NEG.IMP.let and 2PL kill person:SG.

In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

Q.   Fʋ̀ mɔ́r gbāụ̄ŋ láa=ø?   "Do you have the letter?"
      2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?

A.   Ɛ̄ɛṉ, m̀ mɔ́r.   "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):

kɛl ka ba nu ku'om   "let them drink water" (Gn 29:7)
kɛ̀l   kà bà nū   kû'əm
let:IMP and 3PL drink water

Kɛlli ka ti di ka nu   "Let us eat and drink" (1 Cor 15:32)
Kɛ̀lí=ø   kà tì dí kà nū
Let:IMP=2PLS and 1PL eat and drink

Transitive 2vbs 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 ND.

M̀ náa tʋ̄ʋmā lā.   "I've finished the work."
1SG finish work ART.

Tʋ̄ʋmā lā náa nɛ̄.   "The work is finished."
Work ART finish FOC.

Gbàųŋ   lā sɔ́b nɛ̄.   "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Ipfv aspect is made more felicitous by adjuncts of time or manner:

Gbànà   sɔ́bìd   zīná.   "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàųŋ   lā sɔ́bìd   súŋā.   "The letter is writing easily." WK
Letter:SG ART write:IPFV well.

The subject is not an agent or moving without external agency, so unless it is
changing state, ipfv with aspect focus normally requires an explicit time reference.
Hence e.g. Dāam lā nûud nɛ̄ is contrastive: "The beer is for *drinking*."
    When parts of the subject's own body appear as objects, intransitive verbs are
often preferred to transitive:

Ka o nie o mɛŋ Jemes san'an   "And he revealed himself to James"
Kà   ò   níe   ò   mɛ̄ŋ Jemes sâ'an   (1 Cor 15:7)
And 3AN appear 3AN self James among

Dìgɪním_fʊ̀ nû'ug.   "Put your hand down."
Lie:IMP   2SG hand:SG.

Lìgɪním_ fʊ̀ nīf   nɛ́   fʊ̀ 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. zàaņsɪ̀m záaņsímà "dream dreams" (Acts 2:17) or

Fʊ̀ túm   bɔ́-tʊ̀ʊmà=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   níŋì_àláa=ø!   "Don't do that!"
NEG.IMP do   thus=NEG.

Fʋ wʋm ban yɛt si'em laa?   "Do you hear what they are saying?"
Fʋ̀ wʋ́m   bán yɛ̀t   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 dʋ̀gū̄=m.   "He cooked (for) me."
3AN cook=1SG.

Lì màlɪsī̄=m.   "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
3IN be.sweet=1SG.

Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́ɛ=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 dʋ̀ɪs "feed", nūlūs´ "give to drink."

M̀ tís nâ'ab lā dāká.   "I've given the chief a box."
1SG give chief:SG ART box:SG.

M̀ tís nâ'ab lā.   "I've given it to the chief."
1SG give chief:SG ART.

Dā   tísò=ø sī'əlā=ø.   "Don't give him anything!"
NEG.IMP give=3AN INDF.IN=NEG.   (not *Dā tís sī'əlā.)

Dā   tísɛ̄=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", mɔ̄r X nīn-báalìg or zɔ̀ X nīn-báalìg "have pity on X", nìŋ X
yàddā "believe X, believe in X", zɔ̀ X dàbīəm "fear X"; similarly, nû'ugʋ "hand" is used
generically in ŋwɛ̀' X nû'ug "plead with X."

m na kɛ ka fʋ dataas la nwɛ'ɛf nu'ug.
m̀ ná kɛ́ kà fʋ̀ dàtāas lā ŋwɛ̂'ɛ=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)

11.6.2 Predicatives

Several verbs take predicative complements, notably àe̱n̠ya "be something" and
its negative kā'e̱. Àe̱n̠ and kā'e̱ become àn̠ and kā' except when VP-final. In *ascriptive*
uses focus-nɛ́ follows when syntactically permitted §13.1, and àn̠ becomes à.

Omission of a predicative complement implies anaphora:

Mānī̠‿ø án̠ dʊ́'atà   kà fōn   mɛ́n áe̱n̠.
1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG and 2SG.CN also be.
"I'm a doctor and you are too."

Adjectives lacking cognate 1vbs may appear as predicative NP heads:

Bà à nɛ̄ píəlà.   "They're white."

Mam anɛ pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asɛɛ ka m lɛb zin'a.
Mām á nɛ̄ píəlʊ̀g   àmáa m̀ yá' pāe   búgúmī=n, àsɛ́ɛ   kà m̀ lɛ́b zìn̠'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)

Compounds with nīn- "person" or būn- "thing" + adjective are commoner. They
are required with adjectives preceding dependent pronouns:

Lì à nɛ̄ būn-pîəl-kàŋā.   "It is this white one."

 Àe̱n̠ya uses derived manner nouns instead, where they exist:

Lì à nɛ̄ būgʊsígā.   "It's soft."
Lì à nɛ̄ zāalím.   "It's empty."
Lì àn̠ súŋā.   "It's good."

Pʊ̀d "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head yʊ̄'ʊr´ "name", and the name
itself as predicative complement, optionally introduced by yɛ̄.

Ka fʊ na pʊd o yʊ'ʊr ye Yesu.   "And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)
Kà fʊ̀ ná pʊ́d ò yʊ̄'ʊr   yɛ̄ Yesu.
And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

Ka o pʊd biig la yʊ'ʊr Yesu.   "And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)
Kà   ò pʊ́d bīig   lā yʊ̂'ʊr   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 yɛ̄, or with yū'ʋr´ "name" as the subject:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la   "who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)
ɔ̀n   kà bà bûən   yɛ̄ Pita lā
DEM.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

dau sɔ' ka o yʋ'ʋr buon Joon.
dàu̯-sɔ́'   kà   ò yū'ʋr   bûən 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 meŋ nintita'ar.   "He made himself out to be a great man."
Kà   ò   mâal ò   mɛ̄ŋ 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. sāpī$_n$´ "straight", ŋyāe$_n$´ "brightly, clearly", nà'anā´ "easily":

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la
màalìm su̯ā-dâʋg   sāpī mɔ̄ɔgū̄=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 áŋ sʋ́'m   ŋyāe.
God   be goodness brightly.

kɛ ka ti lieb nyain.   "make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)
kɛ́ kà tì lîəb   ŋyāe.
let and 1PL become brightly.

Lì   à nɛ̄ ná'anā.   "It's easy."
3IN be FOC easily.

11.6.3 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 àe̯nya "be", as objects, and in appropriate circumstances even as subjects:

Zīná   à   nē dá'a.   "Today is market."
Today be FOC market:SG.

Kristo da kpii ti yɛla la kɛ ka ti baŋ noŋilim an si'em.
Kristo=ø dà kpìi̯_tì yēlá   lā kɛ́ kà   tì báŋ   nɔ̀ŋìlím=ø àn̯ 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)

Yiŋ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.
Yìŋ   vɛ́n̯l   kà pūʋgū=n   kā'   sʊ́'mm=ø.
Outside be.beautiful and inside:SG=LOC NEG.be goodness=NEG.
"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3 NT2)

man tɛn'ɛs si'em la kʋ viigɛ.
mán   tɛ̄n̯'ɛs sī'əm lā kʋ́   vīigɛ́=ø.
1SG:NZ think how ART NEG.IRR postpone=NEG.
"What [how] I have planned will not be postponed." (Is 14:24)

Sʋ̀ŋā bɛ́.   "OK it is." (WK)
Well exist.

Some **time** NPs are single words which cannot take dependents: besides pronouns like nānná(-nā´) "now", these include zīná "today", sù'əsₐ "yesterday", bɛ̄ogʋ "tomorrow", dūnná "this year", dāar "two days ago/two days hence" (distinct from dāar "day", see below), bɛ̄og sá/bɛ̄og dāar "in future", bɛ̄ogū=n´ "morning", bɛ̀kɛ̀kɛ̀oŋ̯gʋ "very early morning", àsùbá "dawn." (Cf CGEL p429.)

Other time adjuncts are simply NPs, e.g. zàam "evening", yʋ́'ʋŋ̯ʋ "night", wìn-līir/wìn-kɔ̀ɔn̯r "sunset", nīntāŋₐ´ "heat of the day", dābá àyɔ́pɔ̀e̯ or bákpàe̯ "week", n̯wādīgₐ´ "moon, month", sɛ̄oŋ̯gʋ "rainy season", úʋnₙ "dry season", sāpál_l "Harmattan", dàwàlìgₐ "hot humid time before the rains", yʋ̀ʋmₙ "year", n̯wād-kánì gàad lā "last month", n̯wād-kánì kɛn nā lā "next month." N̯wà "this" is common in such NPs: zàam n̯wá "this evening", yʋ́'ʋŋ n̯wá "tonight."

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: kárɪfà àtáṉ' "three o'clock", *karfèe ukù.*
"Time" in general is sāŋá pl sānsá cb sān-:

sān-kánὲ?	"when?"	sān-kán lā	"at that time"
sāŋá kám	"all the time"	sāŋá bὲdʊgū	"a long time"
sānsá bὲdʊgū	"many times"	sāŋá bī'əlá	"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/wūʊ, dāar mɛ́-kàmà "every day."

A common idiom appears in *yʊʊm 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: Àláasìd dâar "Sunday."
The presence of dāar may distinguish a point in time from a span of time:

Dābá àyɔ́pɔ̀ɛ dâar kà fʊ̀ ná lɛ̄b nā.	"You'll come back in a week."
Tì kpɛ́lìm ànínā dábɪsà bī'əlá.	"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 pīigā pīi "ten", pīsí pīs "twenty."
The pl of dàbɪsìr "twenty-four hour period" is also possible here, but less common.

NPs used as **manner** adjuncts again include pronouns like wɛ̄lá "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. Tɔ̀'ɔtɔ̄́ "straight away" is a reduplicated root. Ya̋'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 zɔ̀t nɛ̄ tɔ́lìb tɔ́lìb.	"It [hare] is running lollop-lollop." WK

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: zīṉ'ig zīṉ'ig
"place by place", dàbɪsìr dábɪsìr "day by day", ànāas nāas "four by four."
Reduplication of manner nouns is intensifying: àsídà sídà or àmɛ̄ŋá mɛ̄ŋá "very truly."

M̀ wʊ́m Kūsâal bī'əlá.	"I know Kusaal a little."
1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.	

M̀ wʊ́m bī'əl bī'əl.	"I understand it a very little."
1SG hear:IPFV little little.	

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

 M̀ kɛ́ŋ nɔ̄bá.   "I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this
1SG go leg:PL.   to m̀ kɛ́ŋ nɛ̄ nɔ̄bá (nɛ̄ "with")

À-ŋyɛ̄   nɛ̄   nīf   sɔ́ŋ'ɔ̱‿ À-wòm   tùbà.
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" §10.5.1. Some other
quantifiers are frequently used as manner adjuncts.

Ò tùm bɛ́dʊgʊ̄/pāmm.   "She's worked a lot."
Bà gɔ̀sī=tí bɛ́dʊgʊ̄.   "They've looked at us a lot." WK
Bà gɔ̀sí tì bɛ̀dʊgʊ̄.   "They've looked at a lot of us." WK
Bà gɔ̀sī=tí bábɪgā.   "They've looked at us many times." WK
Bà gɔ̀sí tì bàbɪgā.   "They've looked at many of us." WK

Others may float from verb object to VP adjunct position:

Bà gɔ̀sī=tí wūsā.   "They've looked at us all/all of us." WK
3PL look=1PL all.   (for Bà gɔ̀sí tì wūsā.)

NPs used as **place** adjuncts consist of pronouns like kpɛ̄ "here", specialised
words like yìŋₐ "outside", dàtìu̱ŋʊ/dìtúŋʊ "right", dàgɔ̀bìgₐ "left", àgɔ́lɪ/àgɔ̄lá
"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 bɛ̀ Bɔ́k.   "He's in Bawku."
m̀ ná kɛ̄ŋ Bɔ́k.   "I'm going to Bawku."
Fù yûug Bɔ́k kpɛ̄láa?   "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"
Fù yûug Bɔ́kàa? SB   (rejected by WK as "Mooré")

My informants treat foreign places names similarly, but KB often uses nī´ or
paraphrases like Jerusalem tɛ́ŋī=n "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.
    Place NPs after verbs are adjuncts rather than complements:

Ò dìgìl gbáu̱ŋ lā tɛ́ɛbʊ̀l lā zúg.   "She's put the book on the table."
3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.

Ò dìgìl gbáu̯ŋ lā.   "She's put the book down."
3AN lay   book:SG ART.

Ka o paae zin'igin la.   "And he reached the place." (Lk 22:40)
Kà ò pāe zīn̯'igī=n   lā.
And 3AN reach place:SG=LOC ART.

li sanga sid paae ya.   "Its time has surely arrived." (Ps 102:13)
lì sāŋá   sìd   pàe   yā.
3IN time:SG truly arrive ND.

Dāu̯   lā bɛ́ nɛ̄ dɔ́-kàŋā lā púʋgū=n.
Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEM.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
"The man is inside that hut."

Dàu̯-sɔ̄'   bɛ́   kpɛ̄lá.   "There's a man here."
Man-INDF.AN exist here.

11.6.4 Prepositional phrases

There are two prepositions: nɛ̄ "with" (accompanying and instrumental) and
wōʋ "like." They precede NPs, including nominalised clauses. Neither prepositions
nor their complements can be coordinated.

Forms with personal pronoun complements (WK, SB):

ní=m_a   ní=f_ʋ   nó=_o   ní=līˊ/nɛ́ lì
ní=tīˊ/nɛ́ tì   ní=yāˊ/nɛ́ yà   ní=bāˊ/nɛ́ bà

wōʋ mān   wōʋ fūn   wōʋ ɔ̄n   wúʋ lì
wúʋ tì   wúʋ yà   wúʋ bà

Written *ne o* is usually read [nõ] in the NT2 audio.

Complements of wōʋ without the article lāˊ are followed by an empty nɛ̄, unless
they are numbers (meaning "about") or interrogative pronouns.

wōʋ mān nɛ̄   "like me"   wōʋ búŋ nɛ̄   "like a donkey"
wōʋ tūsá àyí'   "about 2000"   wōʋ bɔ́?   "like what?"

Prepositional phrases most often appear as VP adjuncts:

Lìgɩním‿fʋ̀   nīf   nɛ́   fʋ̀ nû'ug.   "Cover your eye with your hand."
Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

Bà kɛ̀ŋ nɛ̄   nɔ̄bá.   "They've gone on foot." WK
3PL go with leg:PL.

Dìm   nɛ̄   Wīn,   dā   tû'as nɛ̄   Wīnnɛ́=ø.
Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG=NEG.
"Eat with God, don't talk with God."

Kulim nɛ sumbʋgʋsʋm.   "Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)
Kùlìm   nɛ̄   sūṉ-búgʋsìm.
Go.home:IMP with peace.

M̀   gɛ́ṉ'   nɛ́   fʋ̀.   "I'm angry with you." SB
1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

Alazugɔ mɔri ya'am wʋʋ wiigi nɛ
Àlá zùgɔ̄, mɔ̀rī=ø   yā'am wōʋ wīigí   nɛ̄
Therefore, have=2PLS sense like snake:PL like
"Therefore, be wise as serpents" (Mt 10:16)

WK permits adjuncts introduced by wōʋ, but not nɛ̄, to be preposed with kà:

Wōʋ búŋ   nɛ́   kà   ò zɔ́t.   "Like a donkey, he runs."
Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

Là'am nɛ̄ "together with" before an absolute clause means "although."
Relative clauses with sī'əm "how" are common as complements of wōʋ:

Ò   zɔ̀t   wōʋ búŋì=ø   zɔ̀t   sī'əm lā.
3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG=NZ run:IPFV how   ART.
"He runs like a donkey runs."

Wōʋ may also take a content-clause complement:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wʋʋ ya a**nɛ** m biis nɛ.
M̀ pi̤áṉ'adī‿ø tísɩdī=yá   wōʋ yà á nɛ́ m̀ bīis   nɛ̄.
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.

Wɛn_{na}´ "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with nɛ̄ or wʋ̄ʋ; in either case the complement is followed by empty nɛ̄ in the same circumstance as wʋ̄ʋ:

M nwɛnɛ danuud nɛ.   "I am like a beer-drinker." (Jer 23:9)
M̀ wɛ́n   nɛ̄   dā-nûud   nɛ̄.
1SG be.like with beer-drinker:SG like.

Lāl_{la}´ "be far" usually takes a phrase introduced by nɛ̄:

Amaa o pʋ lal nɛ tii.   "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)
Àmáa ò pū lāl   nɛ́   tīɩ=ø.
But 3SG NEG be.far with 1PL=NEG.

Dɔl_{la}´ "go with" with the preposition nɛ̄ means "be in accordance with":

Li dɔlnɛ lin sɔb Wina'am gbauŋʋn si'em la
Lì dɔ̀l   nɛ̄   lín   sɔ̄b Wínà'am gbáu̯ŋū=n sī'əm lā
3IN go.with with 3IN:NZ write God   book:SG=LOC how ART
"This is in accordance with what is written in God's book" (1 Cor 2:16)

Nɛ̄ following a verb is usually focus-nɛ̄´ rather than the preposition. Thus M̀ yí nɛ̄ Bɔ́k "I come from Bawku" SB but *Meeri one yi Magdala* "Mary who came from Magdala" (Mk 16:9 NT2), because focus-nɛ̄´ cannot be used in nominalised clauses.

11.6.5 Clauses

Relative clauses can take all kinds of NP role; absolute clauses appear as complements but most often as adjuncts. Kɛ̄ "let" and mìt "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." Àe̱ŋ_{ya} "be" may take a content-clause as a predicative complement:

M diib anɛ ye m tʋm onɛ tʋmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.
M̀ dīɪb á nɛ̄ yɛ́ m̀ túm ɔ̀nì=ø   tʋ̀mì=m lā nā   bɔ́ɔdìm‿ø   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)

11.7 Final particles

Nā´ "hither" and sà "hence" (of time, "since") follow all complement and adjunct NPs, but precede non-nominalised subordinate clauses:

 M̀   mɔ́r   kû'əm náa=ø?   "Shall I bring water?" SB
1SG have water hither=PQ?

Bùgúm lā   yít   yáa   ní ná=ø?
Fire   ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
"Where is the light coming from?" SB

O tʋmnɛ bɛogʋn sa.   "She's been working since morning."
Ò   tùm   nɛ̄ bɛ̄ogū̄=n sá.   (Ru 2:7)
3AN work:IPFV FOC morning hence.

but   Kɛ̀m   nā   n gɔ̄s!   "Come and look!" SB
Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
Kà   zùuṉd   dá sīg   nā   yɛ́   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)

Kɛ̄ṉ "come" is always used with nā´; the identical m-imperatives of kɛ̄ṉ "come" and kɛ̄ŋ´ "go" are distinguished by nā´/sà: Kɛ̀m nā! "Come here!", Kɛ̀m 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 kanɛ ken la na   "the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)
dūnɪyá-kànì=ø   kɛ̄n   lā nā
world-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV ART hither

ṉwādīg-kánì=ø kɛ̄n   nā   lā   "next month" SB
month-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV hither ART

Ninsaal Biig la lɛbʋg la na
Nīn-sâal   Bîig   lā lɛ́bʋ̀g   lā nā
Human:SG child:SG ART return:SG ART hither
"the return of the Son of Man" (Mt 24:27)

12 Clauses

Typical clauses show a subject NP followed by a VP. Kusaal is SVO; deviations imply preposing or dislocation. Any nominaliser particles (=ǹ or yà') immediately follow subjects; the clause-linkers kà "and", yɛ̄ "that" and catenating n precede the subject, which is always ellipted after n and may be ellipted after kà. Yɛ̄ 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 pʋ nar ka ba buolim ye Tʋmtʋmma.
kà **pʋ̄** nár kà bà búəlì=m yɛ̄ Túm-tūmmā=ø.
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 §11.4 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	yɛ̄/kà content	yɛ̄/kà purpose
catenated		n/kà catenation
nominalised		=ǹ 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 yɛ̄ "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' nɛ o ma pʋ baŋ **ye** o kpɛlim yaa.
Kà ò bā'   nɛ́ ò mà   pʋ̄ báŋ   yɛ́ ò kpɛ̀lìm yāa=ø.
and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG realise that 3AN remain ND=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 ellipt 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 =ǹ or yà' after the subject are nominalised. They have their own tense-marking. Being nominalised, they are coordinated with nɛ̄, not kà:

On ka' sida sɔba, **nɛ** on tʋm tʋʋmbɛ'ɛd sieba la zug, o na kpi.

Ɔ́n   kā'   sídà sɔ́bā,   nɛ̄   ɔ́n   tʋ̀m tʋ̀ʋm-bɛ̀'ɛd-sīəbā lā zúg,

3AN:NZ NEG.be truth ø.AN=NEG, with 3AN:NZ work work-bad-INDF.PL   ART on,

ò   nà kpī.

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 kpinɛ la]] zug

bán   mī'   yɛ̄   bīig   lā kpí nɛ̄ 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 pʋ bɔɔd [ye fʋ ti yɛl bɛog daar [ye fʋnɛ kɛ [ka mam Abram lieb bʋmmɔra.]]]

 M̀   pū bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́   fʋ̀ tí   yɛ̀l bɛ̄og   dāar   yɛ̄

1SG NEG want that 2SG once say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that

fūnī‿ ø   kɛ́ kà mām Abram lîəb   būn-mɔ́rā=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   tʋ̀l.   "It [weather] is hot."

3IN be.hot.

Lì   àn̪ sʋ́ŋā.   "Things are good."

3IN be well.

Lì   nàr   kà   fʋ̀ kūl.   "It's necessary for you to go home."

3IN must and 2SG go.home.

Lì may be omitted in yà'-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan kʊ yεlinε ya
Yà' kā'a=nĺ_àláa=ø,   m̀ nāan kʊ́   yēlī=nĺ=yā
If   NEG.be=DP thus=NEG, 1SG then NEG.IRR say=DP=2PL
"If it were not so, I would not have told you" (Jn 14:2)

Zi'isigε "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
yέl ... kà ò yέl ..., 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:

Pu̱ā'   lā dá' dāká   kà kēŋ Bɔ́k.
Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.
"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

but   Pu̱ā'   lā dá' dāká   kà   **ò** kēŋ Bɔ́k.
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 wʊm nε'εŋa la ka sin.
Bán wòm nē'εŋā lá kà   sīn.
3PL:NZ hear DEM.IN ART and be.silent.
"After they heard this they fell silent." (Acts 11:18)

See §12.1.2 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=ø?   "[Have you] finished?"
Finish ND=PQ?

12.1 Main

Main clauses show structural possibilities shared only with content clauses. They show independency marking unless they are introduced by kà. They may be declarative (the unmarked default), interrogative or imperative; some types lack VPs. They are coordinated with kà "and", kʊ̄ʋ "or", bɛ̄ɛ "or"; here kʊ̄ʋ and bɛ̄ɛ are synonymous. With lɛ̀ɛ "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 wʊ̄ʋ "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 §13.2. The position of the negative clitic shows that the clause after àsɛ́ɛ is not subordinate in

M kʋ basif ka fʋ keŋɛ asɛɛ ka fʋ niŋi m zug bareka.
 M̀ kú bāsí=f kà fʋ̀ kɛ̄ŋɛ́=ø àsɛ́ɛ kà fʋ̀ níŋì_m̀ zūg bárɩkà.
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

kʊ̄ʋ	"or"	bɛ̄ɛ	"or"
dìn/lìn zúgɔ̄	"therefore"	àlá zùgɔ̄	"thus"
bɔ̄ zúgɔ̄	"because"		

Bɔ̄ zúgɔ̄ may also appear *after* an absolute clause, like zūgʋ´ alone. Prelinker adjuncts precede any linkers.

àmáa	"but"	àsɛ́ɛ	"unless"
àlá zùg	"thus"		

Wina'am daa pʋ gaŋi ti ye ti tʋm dian'ad tʋʋma, **amaa ye** ti bɛ nyain.
Wínà'am dāa pʋ̄ gāŋí=tī yɛ́ tì túm di̱ā'ad túʋmāa=ø,
God   TNS NEG choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt   work=NEG,
àmáa yɛ́ tì bɛ́   n̠yāe.
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 yɛl …
Kà sīəbā lá'o=ø.   Àmáa kà sīəbā yɛ́l …
And INDF.PL laugh=3AN. But   and INDF.PL say …
"Some laughed at him, but others said …" (Acts 17:32)

By ellipsis of shared clause elements, àsɛ́ɛ is found before NPs as "except":

Sɔ' kae an sʊ'ʋm asɛɛ Wina'am gʊllim.
Sɔ̄'   kā'e‿   ø   án̄ sú'm=ø   àsɛ́ɛ   Wínà'am gúllīmm.
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 lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
Àmáa ɔ́n   sādɪgím kpí lā, bɔ́   kà   m̀ lɛ́m lɔ̄ɔd nɔ̄ɔr   yá'asɛ̀=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 ..."
 §12.1.3, sādɪgím-clauses §12.3.1, bɛ̄ogɔ́ "tomorrow" and dāa-sí'ərɛ̄ "perhaps." Yà'-clauses only appear after main clauses by dislocation. Any time, circumstance, or reason NP *may* appear as a postlinker adjunct, including dìn/lìn zúg "therefore", lì ŋyá'aŋ "afterward", lín à sī'əm lā "as things stand", àsīdā "truly" and absolute clauses.
    Any adjunct may be placed before the subject by preposing §13.4, 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: *Mɔ̄ɔgú=n mām bɛ́ was corrected by WK to

Mɔ̄ɔgú=n   kà mām bɛ́.   "I'm in the bush."
Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG.CN exist.

In KB dìn/lìn zúg "therefore" is a preposed VP adjunct in 177/371 cases. Constructions without kà probably arose by dìn/lìn zúg encroaching on the role of dìn/lìn zúgɔ̄, because kà dìn/lìn zúg is usually *followed* by kà.
    Bɔ̄ zúg without -ɔ appears in KB only as preposed bɔ̄ zúg kà ...? "why?":

Bɔzug ka li aan ala?   "Why is it so?" (Hg 1:9)
Bɔ̄ zúg   kà   lì áaṉ_àlá=ø?
What on and 3IN be   thus=CQ?

12.1.1 Interrogative

Content questions (except those with lìa §12.1.4) 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 §4.3. Focus-nɛ̄´ cannot appear.

There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be n-focused §13.1, and non-subjects are very often preposed §13.4. Preposing is obligatory for bɔ̄ zúg, "why?" and for bɔ̄ when used for "why?"

Fʋ̀ bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́=ø?   "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?

Fʋ̀ bɔ̂ɔd lɪ́nɛ̀=ø?   "Which do you want?"
2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?

Dāu̯   lā n̄yɛ́ ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀=ø?   "Whom did the man see?"
Man:SG ART see who=CQ?

Bɔɔ maalɛ?   "What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)
Bɔ̄ɔ‿ ø máalɛ̀=ø?
What CAT make=CQ?

Ànɔ́'ɔnì‿ø n̄yɛ̄ bíigà=ø?   "Who has seen a child?"
Who   CAT see child:SG=CQ?

Ànɔ̂'ɔn bíigì‿ ø n̄wà=ø?   "Whose child is this?"
Who   child:SG CAT this=CQ?

Ànɔ̂'ɔn kà dāu̯   lā n̄yɛ́ɛ=ø?   "Whom did the man see?"
Who   and man:SG ART see=CQ?

Bɔ́   kà   fʋ̀ kúmmà=ø?   "Why are you crying?"
What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?

Polar questions are of two types. One is exactly like a statement but ending in a lf showing final vowel lengthening and tone changes imposed by the polar-question clitic. Nɛ̄´ appears as in statements. Questions of this type expect agreement.

Dāu̯   lā n̄yɛ́ bíigàa=ø?   "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?

Ḿ   á nɛ̄ dáʊ̀ʊ=ø?   "Am I a man?"
1SG be FOC man:SG=PQ?

Bà kʊ̀ʊd nɛ̄ búʊsɛ̀ɛ=ø?   "Are they killing goats?"
3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?

Fʊ̀ pʊ̄ wúmmàa=ø=ø?   "Don't you understand?"
2SG NEG hear:IPFV=NEG=PQ?   (expects ɛ̄ɛṉ, here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either bɛ́ɛ "or"
(expecting disagreement) or kúʊ "or" (expecting agreement; rare in KB):

Dāṵ   lā ṉyɛ́ bīig   kúʊ=ø?   "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?   (I expect so.)

Dāṵ   lā ṉyɛ́ bīig   bɛ́ɛ=ø?   "Has the man seen a child?"
Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?   (I expect not.)

12.1.2 Imperative

For indirect commands, see §12.4. 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

Fʊ̀ gɔ́s bīig   lā.   "You (sg) have looked at the child."
2SG look child:SG ART.

Yà gɔ́s bīig   lā.   "You (pl) have looked at the child."
2PL look child:SG ART.

but Gɔ̀sɪ̀m   bīig   lā!   "Look (sg) at the child!"
     Look:IMP child:SG ART!

Gɔ̀sɪmī=ø   bīig   lā!   "Look (pl) at the child!"
Look:IMP=2PLS child:SG ART!

Dā   gɔ̄s bīig   láa=ø!   "Don't (sg) look at the child!"
NEG.IMP look child:SG ART=NEG!

Dā   gɔ̄sī=ø   bīig   láa=ø!   "Don't (pl) look down!"
NEG.IMP look=2PLS child:SG ART=NEG!

Dā   gɔ̄sɛ̄=ø!   "Don't (sg) look."
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Dā   gɔ̄sī=yá=ø!   "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:

Fʊ ya'a mɔr pu'a, fʊn da mɔɔd ye fʊ bas oo.
Fʊ̀ yá' mɔ̄r pʊ̰ā',   fūn   dā   mɔ̄ɔd   yɛ́ fʊ̀ básō=o=ø.
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   sḭák yɛ́ fʊ̀ tìkìm   nû'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 yɛ́ bà gɔ̀sʊmī=ø   tɛ̰̄ŋī=n.   "He said to them: Look down!"
3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PLS down

Kɛ̀mī=ø   nā   n gɔ̄sī=ø!   "Come (pl) and look!"
Come:IMP=2PLS hither CAT look=2PLS!   (WK Kɛ̀mī nā n gɔ̄s!)

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:

Gɔ̀sʊmī=yá!   "Look (pl)!"

12.1.3 Conditional

Conditional clauses have a yà'-clause protasis as postlinker adjunct, after any other adjuncts. The main clause can a statement, command or question.

Fʊ̀ yá' gɔ̄s kpɛ̄lá, bɔ́   kà fʊ̀ ŋyɛ̄tá=ø?
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 pɔ'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà līgɪdī lā yá' pɔ̀'ɔg,   m̀ yá' tì   lèb   nā,   m̀ ná yɔ́ɔ=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 requiring a free form):

Fʋ ya'a mɔr pu'a, fʋn da mɔɔd ye fʋ bas oo.
Fʋ̀ yá' mɔ̄r pu̯ā',   fʋ̄n   dā   mɔ̄ɔd   yɛ́ fʋ̀ básō=o=ø.
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:

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaŋaa.
Dìn-zúg lì nāan áṇ sʋ́'m   bà yá' pʋ̄ dʋ̀'a=n dáṳ-kàŋáa=ø.
So   3IN then be goodness 3PL if NEG bear=DP man-DEM.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:

Fʋ ya'a na dɔllimi keŋ, m na keŋ.
Fʋ̀ yá' nà dɔ̄llí=mī‿   ø kɛ̄ŋ, m̀ ná kɛ̄ŋ.
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 pʋ keŋɛ, Sʋŋid la kʋ kɛɛn ya ni naa.
M̀ yá' pʋ̄ kɛ̄ŋɛ́=ø, sʋ̄ŋīd   lā kʋ́   kɛ́ɛ̱ṉ‿yà nī náa=ø.
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** §11.2.1 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 tʋʋliga.
Mān   bɔ́ɔdī=n nɛ̄ yānámì nāan âa=n mā'asígā bɛ̄ɛ
1SG.CN want=DP that 2PL:NZ   then be=DP coldly   or
yānámì nāan âa=n tʋ̄ʋlígā.
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 ŋyāan
"next, then" (from ŋyá'aŋₐ "behind"), but before 2016 ŋyāan often appears as nāan:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan KB] kaas noor ayi.
Fʋ̀ ná kī'ɩs mān nɔ́ɔr àtáṉ'   kà nɔ̄-dâʋg ŋyāan kāas nɔ́ɔr 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 *naanɛ* before liaison words and *naan* elsewhere.
KB usually has nà for NT1/2 nāan in subordinate clauses; modal nāan is mostly
seen in conditionals; after kà elsewhere, nāan without =n often represents ŋyāan.
Nāan without =n is often effectively equivalent to yà' "if/when."

Li an sʋm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yɛla gaad ...
Lì àṉ súm yɛ̄ dāʋ̯   yīnní nāan kpí njdīb   lā yɛ́là̯ 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.
Nɔ̀ŋìr lɛ́m kā'e̯   ø gâad nīdí=ø   nāan kpí ò zu̯à-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 sʋ̀'m   kà fʋ̀ dāa nāan záŋí=n̯ m̀ līgɪdī n sʋ̄'a=n báŋkì 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)

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 §12.3.1.

Fʋ̀ yá' sì̱ak,   tì ná dīgɩlí=f.   "If you agree, we'll put you to bed."
2SG if agree, 1PL IRR lay=2SG.   (i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pʋ vʋ'ʋg kuminɛ, alaa ti labasʋŋ la mɔɔlʋg la anɛ zaalim.
Kà Kristo yá' dà pū vū'ʋg   kūmī=nέ=ø,   àláa̱ tì làbà-sòŋ
And Christ if TNS NEG come.alive death=LOC=NEG, thus 1PL news-good:SG
lā mɔ́ɔlʋ̀g   lā á nɛ̄ 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 tʋm tʋʋma, o di'ed yɔɔd.
Nīd   yá' tʋ̀m   tūʋmā, ò dì'əd   yɔ̄ɔd.
Person:SG if work:IPFV work,   3AN receive:IPFV pay.
"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

Bɛog ya'a nie fʋ na wʋm o pian'ad.
Bɛ̄og   yá' nìe,   fʋ̀ ná wʋ́m ò pì̱a̱n'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.
Wìəf   yá' sīgí=n   lì nī, lì zùlòŋ ná páa=n   ò sàlɩbìr.
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 zulʋŋ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niŋgbiŋ nii, lin ku nyaŋin
 keen ka o ka' niŋgbiŋ nii.
Nɔ́bìr yá' yɛ̀lī=n yɛ̄, ɔ́n   pū á̱n nû'ug   lā zúg,
Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG be hand:SG ART on,
ò kā'   nín-gbīŋ níɩ=ø,   līn   kú   ŋyāŋī=n‿   ø
3AN NEG.exist body:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT
kέɛ=n kà ò kā'   nín-gbīŋ níɩ=ø.
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 pʊ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan kʊ mɔrin taalɛ.
Mān   yá' pʊ̄ kɛ̄ɛ=n   nā_   ø tú'asī=ní=bā, bà nāan kʊ́
1SG.CN if NEG come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL,   3PL then NEG.IRR
mɔ̄rī=n tâallɛ̄=ø.
have=DP fault:SG=NEG.
"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." (Jn 15:22)

M ya'a mɔrin sʊ'ʊgʊ m nu'ugin m naan kʊʊnif nannanna.
M̀   yá' mɔ̄rī=n sʊ́'ʊgʊ̀_m̀ nú'ugī=n,   m̀ nāan kʊ̄ʊ=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:

Bɔzugɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vʊ'ʊsʊm zin'ig, Wina'am da kʊ lɛm pian'
 dabis-si'a yɛla ya'asɛ.
Bɔ̄ zúgɔ̄ Josua   yá' dà tìsī=ní=bā vʊ̄'ʊsím zîn̯'ig,   Wínà'am dá kʊ̀
Because Joshua if TNS give=DP=3PL resting place:SG, God   TNS NEG.IRR
lɛ̄m   pi̯ā̯n' dábìs-sī'a yɛ́là   yà'asɛ̄=ø.
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)

Yà' nāan means "if only"; yà' pʊ̀n is "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la bɛ Samaria la!
M̀   zūg-dâan lā yá' nāan si̯ákì_ø   kɛ̄ŋ_ø   n̯yɛ̄ɛ=n
1SG master:SG ART if   then agree CAT go   CAT see=DP
nɔ́-dî'əs   lá=ø   bɛ̀   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)

Li ya'a pʊn du'a, saam na dii li.
Lì   yá' pʊ̀n   du̯à', sáam   ná dīɩ=lí.
3IN if already bear, stranger:PL IRR eat=3IN.
"Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." (Hos 8:7)

12.1.4 Verbless

Identificational clauses have the form NP + catenating n + deictic particle or wà nā "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

Kʋ̀lìŋì‿ ø   lā.   "That is a door."
Door:SG CAT that.

Kʋ̀lìŋì‿ ø   wá nā.   "This here is a door."
Door:SG CAT this hither.

Bɔ̄ɔ‿ ø   lá=ø?   "What's that?"
What CAT that=CQ?

N̄wāamīs‿ø   n̄wá!   "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 tʋʋmbɛ'ɛdi basida?
Ànɔ̂'ɔn‿ø n̄wáa‿ø yīsīd   nīdīb   tûʋm-bɛ̄'ɛdī‿ø básɪdà=ø?
Who   CAT this   CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?
"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Yɛl bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am kɛ ka li paae ti?
Yɛ̄l-bɔ́ɔ‿   ø n̄wá kà Wínà'am kɛ́ 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)

They can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bɔɔ nwa?   "What is this you are doing?" (Neh 2:19)
Yà níŋìd bɔ́ɔ‿ø n̄wá=ø?
2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?

Fʋ maal bɔɔ la tis mam?
Fʋ̀ mâal bɔ́ɔ‿ 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)

Lìa clauses have the form X + lìa, meaning "where is X?" I often heard lìa in spontaneous conversation in the 1990's, but no examples appear in NT2/KB.

Fʊ̀   mà   lā lía=ø?   "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   àwāe̱   lā lía=ø?
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 §4.3:

M̀   dìəmmā=ø,   bɔ́   kà fʊ̀ kúəsìdà=ø?
1SG parent.in.law:SG=VOC, what and 2SG sell:IPFV=CQ?
"Madam, what are you selling?"

Lɛm na, fʊn kanɛ an Sulam teŋ nida!
Lɛ̀m   nā,   fūn-kánì=ø   àṉ Sulam tɛ́ŋ   nìdā=ø!
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 ṉwà "this":

Pu̱ā' ṉwá!   "Woman!"
Zɔ̄n ṉwá   "Fools!"

Some **particles** constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like báp "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like tɔ̀ "OK", ǹfá "well done!"
      "Yes" is ɛ̄ɛṉ; "No" is áyʊ̀. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

Lì pʊ̄ nāée=ø=ø?   "Isn't it finished?"
3IN NEG finish=NEG=PQ?

Ɛ̄ɛṉ.   "No."
Áyʊ̀.   "Yes."

12.2 Catenated

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by catenating n §4.4. 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:

M̀ dāa kûəs bὺŋὺ̱_   ø   tís dú'atà.
1SG TNS sell   donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
"I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? M̀ dāa kûəs bὺŋ 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 dàu̱-sɔ̄'   dūe n zí'e lá'asὺg   lā nīdīb   sísὺυgū̄=n, n áŋ
And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among=LOC, CAT be
Farisee níd   kà ò yū̄'υr   bûən Gamaliel, n áŋ ɔ́nὶ=ø
Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT be DEM.AN=NZ
pà'an   Wínà'am wádà lā yέlà,   kà lέm àŋ yū̄'υr   dâan
teach:IPFV God   law   ART about, and again be name:SG owner:SG
nīdīb   sâ'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)

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tὺυmbɛ'ɛdi basida?
Ànɔ̂'ɔn_ø ŋwáa_ø yīsīd   nīdīb   tûυm-bɛ̄'ɛdī_ø básιdà=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 ellipted subject, identical to that of the preceding clause; this analysis is supported by the existence of clearly parallel catenation constructions using kà in place of 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 pfvs must mirror event order.

12.2.1 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-sâal Bîig   kē̄n   nā̲_ ø dít   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' yɛ fupiela zi'e ba san'an.
Kà dāpá̲_àyí'   yέ   fū-píəlà̲_   ø zì'e bà sā'an.
And man:PL NUM:two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.
"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

(c) main VP + pfv VP in irrealis or imperative mood, expressing purpose.

Amaa m pʋ mɔr antu'a zugʋ o yɛla na sɔbi tis na'atita'ar laa.
Àmáa m̀ pū̄ mɔ̄r ántù'a zúgʋ́_ò yēlá̲_ ø nà sɔ̄bī̲_ ø tís
But   1SG NEG have case:SG on   3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give
ná'-tītā'ar   láa=ø.
king-great:SG ART=NEG.
"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kɛ̀m‿ ø   tí   n̪yɛ̄ dʊ́'atà.   "Go and see the doctor."
Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pʊ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba
Mān   yá' pʊ̄ kɛ̄ɛ=n   nā‿   ø   tʊ́'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   kɛ̄ŋ ... n i̯ān̪'asíd kà pi̯ān̪'ad   n dū'əsíd   Wínà'am yô'ʊr   sʊ́'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.
Sɔ́gi̯à-sɔ̄'   kā'e   n tʊ́m   kà yɔ̄ɔd   ò mɛ̄ŋá=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. 2vbs agree in aspect with the main VP verb.

The following *precede* the semantically main VP:
À̪ẹn̪ya "be something" precedes a n-catenation in clefting §13.3.
Bɛ̀ "exist" + ànínā "there" + ipfv "be in the process of":

Ò   bɛ̀   ànínā n n̪wê'ɛd   bīig   lā.
3AN exist there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.
"He's currently beating the child."

Dɛ̀ŋ "go/do first" (m̀ dɛ́ŋī=f "I've got there before you") is used for "previously."
Dɔ̄lla´ "go with":

Bà dɔ̀llō=ø‿   ø   kɛ̄ŋ Bɔ́k.   "They've gone to Bawku with him."
3PL go.with=3AN CAT go Bawku.

Kɛ̄n̪ "come" and kɛ̄ŋ´ "go" are used as initiators:

M̀ kɛ́ŋì‿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 banɛ buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba mɛn.
> Mākír-bànì=ø   būudī pāadí=yā   lā nám mī'‿ ø   pāe sīəbā mɛ́n.
> 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)

> M̀   nám zī'‿   ø   n̯yɛ̄ gbīgīmnɛ̄=ø.
> 1SG still NEG.know CAT see lion:SG=NEG.
> "I've never seen a lion." SB

Mɔ̄r_a´ "have" means "bring" before motion verbs:

> Dābá‿àyɔ́pɔ̀e̯   kà fʋ̀ mɔ̄ró=ø‿ø kɛ̄   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 naanɛ o bʋŋ la zugʋ sig la
> Kà   pu̯ā'   lá=ø dà nāaní‿ ò bʋ̀ŋ   lā zúgʋ̀‿ø 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)

Nìŋ wālá "do how?" with n-catenation is "how can?":

> Ninsaal biig na niŋ wala pʋ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?
> Nīn-sâal bîig   nà nīŋ wālá‿ø pū mɔ̄r tâal   Wínà'am tûənnɛ̀=ø?
> 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.)

N̯yāŋ´ "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

> M̀   pū n̯yāŋī‿ø   záb nà'ab láa=ø.
> 1SG NEG prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.
> "I wasn't able to fight the chief."

As n̯yāŋ´ expresses events, not states, the irrealis mood is used to express present ability or inability; main and auxiliary verbs agree in aspect.

 M̀   kú   ŋyāŋī̠_ø   záb   nà'ab   láa=ø.
1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.
"I can't fight the chief."

wada linɛ nyaŋidi kɛt ka nidib vʋe
wādá lìnì=ø   ŋyāŋídì̠_ ø   kɛ́t   kà nīdīb   vū̠e̠
law   DEM.IN=NZ prevail:IPFV CAT let:IPFV and person:PL live
"a law which can make people live" (Gal 3:21)

Su̠ā' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baŋidib la
Kà   Nà'ab   Herod su̠ā'_ø   bû̠əl bāŋīdīb   lā
And king:SG Herod hide CAT call understander:PL ART
"Herod secretly called for the wise men" (Mt 2:7)

Tū̠n'e "be able" can be used as an auxiliary in either indicative or irrealis mood to
express present ability or inability.

ba daa tis ka li zemisi ba paŋi na tun'e si'em
bà dāa tís   kà lì zēmísì̠_   bà pàŋì=ø   nà tū̠n'ə sī'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 kʋ tun'e su'a.   "which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)
kà   lì kú   tū̠n'ə̠_ ø   sū̠'a=ø.
and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide=NEG.

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la nɛ ti.
Yà ná tū̠n'ə̠_ ø   zín'i tɛ̄ŋī=n   lā nɛ́   tì.
2PL IRR be.able CAT sit   land:SG=LOC ART with 1PL.
"You can dwell in the land with us." (Gn 34:10)

Fʋ tun'e nyɛt si'ela?   "Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)
Fʋ̀ túṉ'ə̠_ ø   ŋyɛ̄t   sí'əlàa=ø?
2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.IN=PQ?

O pʋ tun'e pian'ada.   "He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)
Ò   pū̄ tū̠n'ə̠_ ø   pi̠āṉ'adá=ø.
3AN NEG be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaŋe ba meŋa.
bɔ̄ zúgɔ̄ bà kʊ̀   tūṉ'ə‿ ø ŋyāŋí‿ 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 nɔ̄k´ "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

 M̀ nɔ́k sʊ́'ʊgʊ̀‿ ø ki̯á nīm   lā.   "I've cut the meat with a knife."
1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

M̀ záŋí‿m̀ nú'ugʊ̀‿ø   sī'ιs 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 dɛ́ŋì‿ ø tísò=ø lɔ́r.   "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   pīṉ'il‿ø pá'alì=bā
And Peter begin CAT teach=3PL

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en la'asʊg la sʊʊgin
Kà dàu̯-sɔ̄'   dūe‿ø zî'ən   là'asʊ̀g   lā sʊ́ʊgʊ̄=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:

Fʊ sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?
Fʊ̀ síd nɔ̀ŋ mām‿ ø gát   bámmáa=ø?
2SG truly love 1SG   CAT pass:IPFV DEM.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

Gàlɪ̀s "get to be too much" (Sāa gálɪ̀s yā "There's been too much rain"):

> Dā   kárɪ̀m   gbánà‿ø   gálɪsɪ̀dā=ø.
> NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV=NEG.
> "Don't read books too much."

Tɪ̀s "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

> M̀ dāa kûəs bʊ̀ŋʊ̀‿   ø tɪ́s dʊ́'atà.
> 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
> "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

Wɛ̄n_{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 niŋid si'em la.
> Dā   lɔ́ yà nīn-dáasɛ̄=ø, wɛ̄n   nɛ̄ fɔɔsʊ́g dím lá=ø nìŋìd sī'əm lā.
> NEG.IMP tie 2PL face:PL=NEG,   be.like with puff:SG ø.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 dìɪ‿ø nāe.   "He's finished eating."
> 3AN eat CAT finish.

> Ò dìɪ‿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-bɛ̂'ɛd-nàm n yīisíd   nīdīb.
> 3AN drive:IPFV fairy-bad-PL   CAT expel:IPFV person:PL.
> "He drives evil spirits out of people."

> N tɪ̀ pāe + NP is "until, up to": hālí n tɪ̀ pāa zīná "right up until today."

12.2.2 With kà

Certain constructions with clauses introduced by kà clearly parallel catenation using n. Alternate forms with yɛ̄ 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-nɛ̄´.

Kɛ̄ "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 *kɛl ka fʋ mɛŋ an zanbinnɛ tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them" *fʋ* is a predependent.) The mood of the catenation matches the main clause, but imperative often replaces irrealis. After kɛ́ɛ=n, the kà-clause usually had =n in NT1, but this is no longer invariable.

Ka li anɛ wada la kɛt ka tʋʋmbɛ'ɛd nyɛt paŋ.
Kà   lì   à   nɛ́ wādá lā_ø   kɛ́t   kà tʋ̀ʋm-bɛ̄'ɛd ŋyɛ̄t   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 kɛ ka ba **pʋ** nyaŋi kʋʋ o.
Lì   dà   kɛ̀   kà   bà   pū   ŋyāŋī_ ø   kúo=ø=ø.
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 kɛ ka ba **da** nyɛ Kristo kum dapuudir namisʋg laa.
yɛ́   lì   kɛ́   kà   bà   dā   ŋyɛ̄ Kristo kúm dá-pūudīr námɪsʋ̀g láa=ø.
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)

dinɛ **na** kɛ ka ba **da** kpi'ilim.
Dīnī_ ø ná   kɛ́   kà   bà   dā   kpī'ɪlímm=ø.
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 kɛlₐ + kà-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

Kɛ̀l   kà   ò   gɔ̄s tɛ̄ŋī=n.   "Let him look down."
Let:IMP and 3AN look down

Dā   kɛ́   kà   dàbīəm bɛ́ɛ=ø!   "Don't be afraid."
NEG.IMP let and fear   exist=NEG.

Kɛ̀lí=ø   kà tì pʊ̀'ʊs Wínà'am.   "Let us praise God." (or Kɛ̀l kà ...)
Let:IMP=2PLS and 1PL greet God.

Kɛ̀l kà is often ellipted informally; absent independency marking is then the
only sign that the clause is a command:

M̀ gɔ̄s nīf   lā.   "Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in
1SG look eye:SG ART.   clinic; no tone overlay on gɔ̄s)

M̀ dígɪnɛ̀ɛ=ø?   "Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic;
1SG lie=PQ?   no independency imperative -mₐ)

Ò záb nà'ab lā.   "He should fight the chief."
3AN fight chief:SG ART.   (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 tʋʋm sʋma nidib tuon ye ba gɔs.
Mìt   kà yà máalì‿yà tʋ̀ʋm-sʋ̀mà nīdīb   tûən yɛ́ bà gɔ̄s.
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 nìŋ wɛ̄lá n ...? "how can X ...?" has an impersonal variant using a dummy
subject in the main clause and the effective subject in kà-catenation.

Li niŋ wala ka o an David yaaŋa?
Lì nìŋ wɛ̄lá kà ò áṉ David yâaŋà=ø?
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 niŋ wala ka nyɛ faangirɛ?
M̀ ná nīŋ wɛ̄lá kà ṉyɛ̄ fāaṉgírɛ̀=ø?
1SG IRR do how and find salvation=CQ?
"How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)

Kà usually replaces n when there is a change of polarity in catenation:

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà   dāu̯   dāa zín'i Listra   ní   kà   pū tūn̯'ə̯   ø   kɛ̄nná=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 bɛ kpɛla kʊ kpii
        Yà sīəbā bɛ́ kpɛ̄lá_ø   kú   kpīi=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 nyɛ dau ka o yʊ'ʊr buon Aneas.
Àníná kà   ò   ŋyɛ̄ dáu̯   kà   ò   yū'ʊr   bûən   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 anɛ ya taaba banɛ pʊ'ʊsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.
Lì   à   nɛ́ yà tāabā bánì=ø   pʊ̀'ʊsìd   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:

Yɛl bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am kɛ ka li paae ti?
Yɛ̄l-bɔ́ɔ_   ø   ŋwá kà Wínà'am kɛ́ 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 ŋyɛ̄ the construction means "see *as*":

ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.
kà   lâ'am   màan   gígìs   kà   bà wúm   kà   pi̯ān̯'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)

 M̀ dāa n̪yɛ̄ dāṵ   lá kà ò án̪ nâ'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"

M̀ dāa pū n̪yɛ̄ dāṵ   lá kà ò án̪ ná'abā=ø.
1SG TNS NEG see man:SG ART and 3AN be chief:SG=NEG.
"I didn't see the man as a chief." KT

12.3 Nominalised with =ǹ

Clauses can be nominalised by =ǹ §4.4 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 their own tense marking (relative to the narrative timeline within narrative.) Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

Yanamɛ na mɔr sam si'a anɛ ye ya nɔŋ taaba.
Yānámì nà mɔ̄r sām-sí'a   á nɛ̄ yɛ́   yà nɔ́ŋ 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 =ǹ then appears after the subject.

These clauses may take no dependents except predependent NPs or articles. Absolute clauses normally have lā´. After relative clauses lā´ has its usual function:

Onɛ du'a nɛ Siig mɛ anɛ ala.
Ɔ̀nì=ø   dṵà' nɛ̄ Sīıg   mɛ́ á nɛ́ 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'enɛ onɛ tʋmi m la na
àmáa ò dìə   nɛ̄ ɔ́nì=ø   tʋ̀mì=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 lā´. VP-final nā´ "hither", sà "hence" may *follow* lā´ attached to a nominalised clause they appear in. Final negative clitics are dropped unless the clause lacks lā´ and is itself clause-final.

12.3.1 Absolute

Clauses nominalised with =ǹ without pronouns marking them as relative
clauses are absolute clauses, typically used as adjuncts of time or circumstance.

> Dāu̯   lā záb nâ'ab   lā.   "The man has fought the chief."
> Man:SG ART fight chief:SG ART.

> dāu̯   lá=ø 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.

> Ɔ̄n   dāa n̯yɛ̄t   súŋā, ɔ́n   dāa án̯ bí-līa láa=ø?
> 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 yɛli ba ...
> Kà   bán dìt   lā, Yesu yɛ́lì=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 meŋ
> Kà   bán yī   lā, kà Zūg-sɔ́b máli̯ak níe   ò mɛ̄ŋ
> 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 kɛ ka m a saalbiis zua la anɛ
> mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka mɛ pu diti ba ki la.
> Dìnì=ø   kɛ́ kà m̀ án̯ sâal-bīis zu̯á   lā á nɛ̄ mán
> DEM.SG=NZ let and 1SG be human:PL friend:SG ART be FOC 1SG:NZ
> pū̄ sán̯'amìdí‿bà lá'ad   kà mɛ́ pū dítí‿ bà kī   láa=ø.
> 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 nyɛ fʋn digi fʋ ziimin la bilim.
Kà m̀ gát   kà ŋyɛ̄ fún dīgí‿fʋ̀ zīʋmí=n lā‿ ø bílìm.
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 nɛ̄ "although", and before zūgʋ´, bɔ̄ zúgɔ̄ "because of":

La'am nɛ on da zan'as la   "Although he refused" (Gn 39:10)
Là'am   nɛ̄ ɔ́n   dà zàn̯'as lā
Together with 3AN:NZ TNS refuse ART

Ban mɔr dɛŋ la zug, ba kʋ di'e baa.
Bán   mɔ̄r dɛ̄ŋ   lā zúg, bà kʋ̀   dí'ə=báa=ø.
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 yɛ̄lá "about" in section headings:

Ban meed yir   "A house being built"
Bán mɛ̀ɛd   yīr
3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

Joram n di Israel na'am la yɛla   "Joram becomes king of Israel" (2Kgs 3)
Joram=m̀ dì Israel nâ'am   lā yɛ́là
Joram=NZ eat Israel kingship ART about

For absolute clauses with the tense-slot adjunct nāan see §12.1.3. Tense-slot
adjunct sādɪgím "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' sādɪgím áŋ Naazir níd,   ɔ̄n   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, bɔ ka m lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
Àmáa ɔ́n   sādɪgím kpí lā, bɔ́ kà m̀ lɛ́m lɔ̄ɔd   nɔ̄ɔr   yá'asɛ̀=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)

12.3.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with =ǹ 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 §13.4. Clauses with preposing show no =ǹ 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 =ǹ if they are relative clause subjects, but in KB =ǹ is introduced after *all* head-marking demonstratives, including subject predependents and preposed heads:

fʊ bikanɛ san'ami fʊ la'ad nɛ pu'agɔɔnda la
fʊ̀ bì-kànì=ø   sàn̯'amì_fʊ̀ lā'ad   nɛ̄   pʊ̯á'-gɔ̄ɔn̯dā 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 vʊe la
pʊ̯à'-kànì=ø   bīigí=ø   vʊ̄e̯ 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 vʊ'ʊg nin**kan** kumin la zug
ɔ́n   vʊ̄'ʊg nīn-kán   kūmī=n   lā zúg
3AN:NZ revive person-DEM.SG death=LOC ART on
"because he has raised that person from death" (Acts 17:31)

o na tʊm tʊʊmnyalima gaad dau **kaŋa** tʊm si'el laa?
ò   nà tūm tûʊm-n̯yālımá_ø gàad dàṳ-kàŋá=ø   tʊ̀m sī'əl láa=ø?
3AN IRR work work-grand:PL CAT pass man-DEM.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** wʊsa la
Wínà'am ɔ́nì=ø   gàad sī'əl wʊ̄sā lā
God   DEM.AN=NZ pass INDF.IN all   ART
"God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wʋʋ baŋi gban'ad **si'el** si'em la
wōʋ bāŋí=ø   gbān̠'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:

fʋn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la   "the first fish you catch" (Mt 17:27)
fún   gbān̠'e zīŋ-sí'a   yīigá lā
2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

but   Paul n sob gbauŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.
       Paul=ǹ sɔb gbáʋ̠ŋ yīigá dàan   n tìs Korint dím lā_ø n̠wá.
       Paul=NZ write letter:SG firstly owner:SG CAT give Corinth ø.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

Gbauŋ kanɛ ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.
Gbàʋ̠ŋ-kànì=ø   kà bà dá sɔ̄bī̠_ ø   tísì=bā lā_ø n̠wá.
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)

yɛltɔɔd ayɔpɔi banɛ ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la
yɛ̄l-tɔ̂ɔd   àyɔ́pɔ̀ẹ̄ bánì=ø   kà màli̠āk-námá_àyɔ́pɔ̀ẹ̄ mɔ̄r 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=ø   kà bà gbán̠'o=ø 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=ø kà bà mɔ̄r nā   (Acts 25:11)
1SG case-DEM.IN=NZ and 3PL have hither

pu'a kanɛ biig ka Elasia da ʋʋ'ʋg o kumin la
pu̯à'-kànì=ø   bíig   kà Elasia dá vʋ̄'ʋg 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)

bikanɛ [NT2 biig kan] pʋʋg ka o mɔr la
bì-kànì=ø   pʋ̂ʋg   kà   ò mɔ̄r 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)

linɛ [NT2 lin] ka Kristo bɔɔd ye ti pian' la
lìnì=ø   kà   Kristo bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́   tì pi̯ā̠n̠' lā
DEM.IN=NZ and Christ want that 1PL speak ART
"what Christ wishes us to say" (2 Cor 12:19)

onɛ ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe   "one they have given much to" (Lk 12:48)
ɔnì=ø   kà bà tísò=ø   kà lì zú'e
DEM.AN=NZ and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN abound

Bʋ̄rá-sɔ̄' dāa bɛ́   ànínā, ɔn   kà mān nɛ̄   ɔn   dāa túm   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." (Spratt)

Non-specific complement NPs often remain *in situ*:

Ka ban tʋm sɔ' la kʋ gaad onɛ tʋm o la.
Kà bán tʋm sɔ̄' lā kʋ́ gāad ɔ́nì=ø   tʋ̀mò=ø láa=ø.
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 fʋn bɔɔd si'el wʋsa.   "I will give you anything you want."
M̀ ná tīsī=f   fún   bɔ̀ɔd sī'əl wʋ̄sā. (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 sɔ̄' in NT2; 75/130 of sī'əl_a in NT2 Gospels, versus 33 abstract, 22 locative.)

David da tʊm sɔ' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sɔ'.

David dá tùm sɔ̄'   yɛ́   ò   bū'əsī‿ø   báŋ   pu̠ā'   lá=ø   àn̠ sɔ̄'.

David TNS send INDF.AN that 3AN ask   CAT discover woman:SG ART=NZ be INDF.AN.

"David sent someone to ask and find out who the woman was." (2 Sm 11:3)

Gɔsim ye fʊ na baŋ la'abama an sɔ' bʊnnɛɛ?

Gɔ̀sìm   yɛ́ fʊ̀ ná bāŋ   lá'-bàmmá=ø àn̠ sɔ̄'   búnnɛ̀ɛ=ø?

Look:IMP that 2SG IRR understand item-DEM.PL=NZ be INDF.AN 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 báŋ   mán nìŋ sī'əl lā gbínnɛ̀ɛ=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)

Ɔn   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.

Tìg   wɛ́là‿ ø bìgɪsìd lín àn̠ 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 tʊmi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yɛla la tisi ya

M̀ ná tūmí‿m̀ Bá'=ø   zì'əl nɔ̄ɔr   sɔ̄'   yɛ́là‿ ø tísì=yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG=NZ stand mouth:SG INDF.AN 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 nīŋ sī'əm.   "I know what to do."

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

M̀ mí'   mán   nà nīŋ 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 yɛ̄lī=f   fún   nà nīŋ sī'əm.   "They'll tell you what to do."
3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do how.

Bà yɛ̀lō=∅   bán   nìŋ sī'əm lā.   "They told him what they'd done."
3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do how ART.

ɔ́n   bɔ̀ɔd sī'əm   "as he may wish"
3AN:NZ want how

lín   àṉ 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 tʊm bɛdegʊ gaad ban tʊm si'em la.
Mām   túm   bédʊgū̱_∅   gâad bán   tòm   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   nìŋ sī'əm.   "They told him what they'd done."
3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do   how.

Gbāṉ'e´ "catch" with a sī'əm clause means "decide":

M̀ gbáṉ'e mán   nà nīŋ sī'əm.   "I've decided what to do."
1SG seize   1SG:NZ IRR do how.

Sī'əm clauses occur often as objects of wōʊ "like", wɛnna´ "be like":

ka ya na kɛ ka nidib dɔl man wʊʊ ziiŋgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.
kà   yà   ná kɛ́ kà   nīdīb   dɔ̄l   mān wōʊ zīm-gbáṉ'adìbì=∅
and 2PL IRR let and person:PL go.with 1SG:CN like fisherman:PL=NZ
gbāṉ'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 nɛ̄ or hālí nɛ̄ 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
Fʊ́n   bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́ fʊ̀ kʊ̄ dáu̯-sɔ̄'   lā yá' kpì
2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDF.AN ART if die
"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" (2 Sm 17:3)

Kem tʊ'ʊs Samaria na'abi tʊm ninsieba la na
Kɛ̀m̯ ø tʊ̄'ʊs Samaria ná'abí=ø tʊ̀m 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, yanamɛ daa sɔb gbauŋ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.
Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sɔ̄b gbáu̯ŋ-sī'a lá kà m̀ sɔ̄bɪdī̯ ø lɛ́bɪsìdī=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'əl~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 bɛ́ 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   mɔ̄rí=fʊ̯̀ ø kɛ̄ŋ zíṉ'-kànì=ø   kà fʊ̀ pʊ̄ bɔ́ɔdā=ø.
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=ø yīt   sī'əl hālí̯ø tì pāe ɔ́n 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 Zugsɔba, ti zi' fʊn ken zin'isi'a la.
M̀ Zūg-sɔ́bā=ø, tì zī'   fún kɛ̄n zíṉ'-sī'a   láa=ø.
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   ɔ́n   bɛ̀ dɔ́-sī'a   lā ní.
And fire   appear 3SG:NZ exist room-INDF.IN ART LOC.
"And fire illuminated the room where he was." (Acts 12:7 NT2)

Abraham da nan kae saŋsi'a la, ka man pʋn bɛ.
Abraham=ø dà nàm kā'e̱   sān-sí'a   lā kà mān   pún   bɛ̀.
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 uncompounded
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   ɔ́nì=ø   dà bɛ̀ nó=ø   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
Wínà'am níd   ɔ̀nì=ø   kī'ɪs Zūg-sɔ́b pi̱ân'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)

nimbanɛ yʋda sɔb Pɛbil la gbauŋʋn linɛ an nyɔvʋpaal dim gbauŋ la
nīn-bánì=ø   yūdá=ø   sɔ̄b Pɛ̄'-bíl   lā gbáu̱ŋū=n línì=ø
person-DEM.PL=NZ name:PL=NZ write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC DEM.IN=NZ
àn̯ n̯yɔ́-vū-pâal dím gbáu̱ŋ lā
be life-new:SG   ø.PL book:SG ART
"those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of those with new life"
(Rv 21:27)

12.4 Complementised

Complementised clauses are introduced by yē (from *ɲɪ, 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 anɛ ye fʋ kʋ maali ti bɛ'ɛdɛ [...], ka ye fʋ yim nɛ sumbʋgʋsʋm la.
kà   līn   á nɛ̄ yɛ́ fʋ̀ kʋ̀   māalī=tí bɛ̄'ɛdī=ø [...],
and 3IN.CN be FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make=1PL bad   NEG
kà yɛ́ fʋ̀ yím   nɛ̄ sūn̠-búgʋsìm 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)

M̀ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ̄ dāu̠   lā kɛ̄ŋ dâ'a=n,   kà pu̠ā'   lā dūg dīɪb.
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

12.4.1 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 kʋ̀ can generally be taken as content clauses (but cf *O niŋ nɛ'ɛŋa ye nid kʋ nyaŋi dʋ'ʋs o mɛŋ Wina'am tuonnɛ* "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"), mɔ̄r sūər "be allowed to", lì à [nɛ̄] tīlás "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like bɔ̀ɔd$_a$ "want", gūr$_a$´ "watch for."

Lì nàr yɛ́/kà   fʋ̀ kūl.   "You must go home."
3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

Fʋ̀ pū̄ nār yɛ́ fʋ̀ kūlɛ̄=ø.   "You're not allowed to go home."
2SG NEG must that 2SG go.home=NEG.   (negative raising)

babayi' la nar ye ba kʋʋ ba   "both of them must be killed" (Lv 20:12)
bà bàyí'   lā nár yɛ́ bà kúʋ=bā
3PL NUM:two ART must that 3PL kill=3PL

Yà mɔ́r sūər   yɛ́   yà kūl.   "You may go home."
2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

Sūər   bɛ́   yɛ́/kà   tì kūl.   "We may go home."
Way:SG exist that/and 1PL go.home.

Lì à nɛ̄ tīlás   yɛ́   m̀ kūl.   "I must go home."
3IN be FOC necessity that 1SG go.home.

M̀ pū bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́   ò   kūlɛ̄=ø.   "I don't want her to go home."
1SG NEG want that 3AN go.home=NEG.

gur ye pu'a la du'a   "waiting for the woman to give birth"
gūr   yɛ̄   pu̱ā'   lā du̱á'   (Rv 12:4)
watch that woman:SG ART bear

Purpose-clause adjuncts:

M maal nwa' nɛ ye m pa'ali ya   "I have done this to teach you" (Jn 13:15)
M̀ mâal n̪wá nɛ̄ yɛ́   m̀ pá'alì=yā
1SG make this FOC that 1SG teach=2PL

Ò vùl   tîιm   kà ò nɔ́bìr dā   zábɛ̄=ø.
3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.
"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

Nɛ'ɛŋa niŋnɛ ye ti da ti'e ti mɛŋ panga.
Nɛ̄'ɛŋā níŋ nɛ̄ yɛ́   tì dā   tí'e tì mɛ̄ŋ páŋā=ø.
DEM.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)

12.4.2 Content

Content clauses are complementised clauses with independency marking. They appear as complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication, like wòm "hear", ŋyɛ̄ "see", tēn̪'ɛs´ "think", mī' "know", pà'al "teach", si̱àk "agree", tìs nɔ̄ɔr "command", sɔ̀s "request", and in reported speech. Verbs vary in preference for yɛ̄ or kà: KB has 31 cases of *tɛn'ɛs ka* to 219 of *tɛn'ɛs ye*, but 162 *wʊm ka* to 105 of *wʊm ye* "hear that", and 386 *nyɛ ka* to none of *nyɛ 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.

 M̀ têṉ'ɛs kà m̀ lú yā.   "I think I've fallen." WK
1SG think and 1SG fall ND.

Fʋnɛ siak ye fʋ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fʋ na'am gbauŋ la zugɔɔ?
Fūnī͜ ø sí̠ák yɛ́ fʋ̀ yá' tì   kā'e̠,   ò nà zīṉ'iní͜ fʋ̀ nā'am
2SG.CN CAT agree that 2SG if once NEG.exist, 3AN IRR sit   2SG chieftaincy
gbáu̠ŋ lā zúgɔ́ɔ=ø?
skin:SG ART on=PQ?
"Did *you* agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?"
(1 Kgs 1:24)

Ya tɛn'ɛs ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?   "Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25);
Yà têṉ'ɛs kà m̀ áaṉ͜ ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀=ø?
2PL think and 1SG be   who=CQ?

M pʋ yɛl ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yɛlaa.
M̀ pū yɛ́l yɛ́ yà sɔ̀sìm Wínà'am dīn   yɛ̄láa=ø.
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 nɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.
kà David tís nɔ̄ɔr   yɛ́ bà ŋyù'əm bádà lā nɛ̄   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 kʋ yɛl nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.
Wādá lā kú   yɛ̄l nīd   yɛ́   ò dā   níŋ bàmmáa=ø.
Law   ART NEG.IRR say person:SG that 3AN NEG.IMP do DEM.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:

[M̀ yɛ́l yɛ́] ò gɔ̀sìm tɛ̄ŋī=n.   "[I said] she should look down."
[M̀ têṉ'ɛs kà] tì pú'ʋsìm Wínà'am.   "[I think] we should praise God."

Zàn̯'as "refuse" is followed by a content clause with negative polarity:

ka o zan'as ye ba kʋ keŋɛ.   "and he refused to let them go." (Ex 9:7)
kà   ò   zân̯'as yɛ́   bà kú   kɛ̄ŋɛ́=ø.
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.
Dāu̯   dá bɛ̀‿ ø mɔ̄rí‿ò pu̯à'-yīmmír, kà pu̯ā'   lā yɛ̄
Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that
ɔ̄n   pū lɛ́m bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́   ò sīd   lā dí   pu̯ā' yá'asɛ̄=ø.
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 tán̯s Paul yɛ́   ò   gɛ̀ɛn̯m nɛ̄ ... kà Paul lɛ́bìs
and Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply
yɛ̄   ɔ̄n   pū géɛn̯mm=ø.
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 yɛ̄ in roughly every third clause, after any prelinker adjuncts but
before clause-linker kà; yɛ̄ 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.
Yɛ́   kà Paul yɛ́l yɛ́   ò bɔ̀ɔd yɛ́   ò kpɛ́lìm sārɪgá   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 ...
Àmáa yɛ́   kà   ɔ̄n   yɛ́lì=bā ...
But   that and 3AN.CN say=3PL ...
"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   yɛ́   ò   nìŋī=bá Wínà'am nɛ́   ò   pʊ̀-pìəlìm
And now-hither that 3AN do=3PL   God   with 3AN holiness
pi̯ân̯'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   m̀   wúm Wínà'am kúkɔ́r   kà   lì   yī   áràzánà ní   nā   yɛ̄,
And 1SG hear God   voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that
ò   nīdɪbá=ø,   yɛ́ bà yìmī=ø   tɛ̄ŋ   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 yɛ̀l is frequently ellipted before yɛ̄:

Ka Zugsɔb la ye ...   "And the Lord said: ..." (Gn 18:28)
Kà   Zūg-sɔ́b lā   yɛ̄ ...
And Lord   ART that ...

13 Information packaging

13.1 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 its own tense marking. The construction presumably arose by ellipsis from n-clefting, but the meaning is *focus* rather than foregrounding:

Wáafʊ̀‿	ø	dúmō=ø.	"A snake has bitten him." WK
Snake:SG	CAT	bite=3AN.	("What's happened?")

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always n-focused:

Ànɔ́'ɔnì‿ø	kābɪrídà=ø?		"Who is asking permission to enter?"
Who	CAT	ask.entry:IPFV=CQ?	

As clauses containing interrogative pronouns cannot contain focus-nɛ̄́, 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 **nɛ̄́** 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. Nɛ̄́ occurs at most once in a clause. Nɛ̄ "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 §11.1; 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.

Nɛ̄́ 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.

Fʋ̀ pū má' n   tìs   nīn-sáalā=ø,   àmáa fʋ̀ má'

2SG NEG lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but   2SG lie

n   tís   nɛ̄ 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)

Nɛ̄´ is excluded in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, and content questions.

	Ànɔ́'ɔnì_ø dít sá'abɔ̀=ø?	"Who eats/is eating porridge?"
	Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?	

	M̀ zūg lā pú'alìm nɛ̄.	"My head is hurting."
	1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC.	("What's the matter with you?")

but	M̀ zūgʋ̄_ø zábìd.	"My head is hurting/hurts."
	1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.	("Where is the pain?")

	M̀ á nɛ̄ bīig.	"I am a child."
	1SG be FOC child:SG.	

but	mán àn̯ bīig lā zúg	"because I'm a child"
	1SG:NZ be child:SG ART on	

	M̀ yí nɛ̄ Bɔ́k.	"I come from Bawku." SB
	1SG emerge FOC Bawku.	

but	Meeri one yi Magdala	"Mary who came from Magdala"
	Meeri ɔ́nì=ø yī Magdala	(Mk 16:9 NT2)
	Mary DEM.AN=NZ emerge Magdala	

	Bɔ́ kà fʋ̀ kúmmà=ø?	"Why are you crying/do you cry?
	What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?	

	Fʋ̀ nín̯ìd bɔ́=ø?	"What are you doing/do you do?"
	2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?	

	Fʋ̀ wá'e yáa=ø?	"Where are you going/do you go?"
	2SG go where=CQ?	

Bùgúm lā yít   yáa   ní   ná=ø?
Fire   ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
"Where is the light coming from?" SB

Mām áṉ bɔ́=ø?   "What am I?"
1SG.CN be what=CQ?

Fʊ̀ áaṉ_ànɔ́'ɔnɛ̀=ø?   "Who are you?"
2SG be   who=CQ?

Fʊ̀ bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́=ø?   "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?

cf   Fʊ̀ bɔ̂ɔd nɛ̄   bɔ́=ø?   "What do you want it with?"
      2SG want with what=CQ?   (nɛ̄ *must* be interpreted as "with", WK)

Nɛ̄´ is permitted in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m bɔɔd ye fʊ nyɛnɛ bʊʊd.
Pi̯àṉ'am   kà   m̀ bɔ̂ɔd yɛ́ fʊ̀   ṉyɛ̄ nɛ̄ būʊd.
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-nɛ̄´ from being used in the clause, but
cannot themselves be focused: sʊ̀ŋā´ "good", sʊ̀m "good", bɛ̄'ɛd "bad", sìdà "truth" as
manner adjuncts, and the "two, three exactly" quantifiers àyíŋā´ àtáŋā´. NPs with
these words as constituents share the same property. Nɛ̄´ before such constituents
must be interpreted aspectually, and even relationship or quality verbs with no time
marker in the clause are constrained to a temporary-state meaning.

Lì   àṉ súŋā.   "It's good."
3IN be well.

Lì   àṉ bɛ̄'ɛd.   "It's bad."
3IN be badness.

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.
ò   sàríyà-kādīb áṉ súm   nɛ̄   sídà.
3AN law-driving be goodness with truth.
"His judgment is good and true. (Rv 19:2 NT1)

An informational-focus interpretation of nɛ́ 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 nɛ́:

Gɔ̀sɪ̀m   nɛ̄.   "Look!" ("Don't touch!" WK)
Look:IMP FOC.

Ò kùəsɪ̀d sūmmā   lā nɛ̄.   "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 nɛ́, unless explicitly marked as specific with indefinite pronouns:

Nīigí   ɔ̀n̯bɪ̀d   nɛ̄ mɔ́ɔd.   Bà nùud   nɛ̄ kû'əm.
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.
"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat and drink?")

Only pfvs able to express a subject state change can be used as statives; thus

Ǹ dá' búŋ.   "I've bought a donkey."
1SG buy donkey:SG.   ("What have you done?")

Ǹ dá' nɛ̄ búŋ.   "I've bought a *donkey*."
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG.   ("What have you bought?")

Ò dìgìl nɛ̄.   "He's *laid it down*."
3AN lay FOC.   ("I thought he'd pick it up.")

As stances are not states in Kusaal, pfvs of assume-stance verbs cannot accept a stative reading:

Ò dìgìn nɛ̄.   "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   zì'ən nɛ̄.   "She's pregnant." Not "She has stood
3AN stand FOC.   still": an idiom.

On pfvs in narrative see §11.2.3.

Ipfv with aspectual focus usually requires either a subject which is an agent, moving without external agency, or changing state, or an explicit indication of time such as a tense particle; nɛ́ is therefore taken as informational in

Ò gìm nɛ̄.	"He's *short*."
3AN be.short FOC.	("I was expecting someone taller.")
Ṁ bɔ́ɔdī=f nɛ̄.	"I really *love* you." WK
1SG want=2SG FOC.	
Ṁ mɔ́r nɛ̄ pu̠ā'.	"I have a woman."
1SG have FOC woman:SG.	(implies an irregular liaison, WK)
Dāam lā nûud.	"The beer gets drunk." WK
Beer ART drink:IPFV.	

but

Dāam lā nûud nɛ̄.	"The beer is for *drinking*."
Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC.	("not pouring away"); not possible as
	"The beer is being drunk." WK
Dāká lā zá̠l nɛ̄.	"The box gets carried *in the hands*."
Box:SG ART hand.carry FOC.	("Not on your head.")
Dāká lā zîid nɛ̄.	"The box is for carrying *on the head*."
Box:SG ART head.carry:IPFV FOC.	("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 nɛ́ before definite arguments is usually aspectual:

Nīigí ɔ̠bìd nɛ̄ mɔ̄ɔd.	"Cows eat *grass*."
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.	("What do cows eat?")
Nā'-síəbà ɔ̠́bìd nɛ̄ mɔ̄ɔd lā.	"Some cows are eating the grass."
Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.	

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‿   ø   tísìd   bádà lā, bà màannī‿
DEM.IN and idol-maker:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV

ø   tísìd   nɛ̄ kíkīrīs kà pū mâannì‿   ø   tísìd   nɛ̄ Wínā'amm=ø.
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 yʋ'ʋr na anɛ Joon.   "His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)
Ò   yū'ʋr   ná ā nɛ̄ 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 nɛ dua gbinin. Ba zamisid nɛ bula wa'ab. Ba a**nɛ** Apam biis.
Bīis   lā dí'əmìd nɛ̄ dúaṉ   gbínnī=n.   Bà zàmɪsìd nɛ̄
Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC

būlā   wâ'ab. Bà à nɛ́ À-Pām   bîis.
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 bʋmbʋʋda banɛ lu gɔn'ɔs sʋʋgin la a**nɛ** banɛ wʋm pian'ad la
Kà   būn-búʋdà bànì=ø   lù gɔ̀ṉ'ɔs súʋgū=n   lā á nɛ̄
And seed:PL   DEM.PL=NZ fall thorn:PL among=LOC ART be FOC

bánì=ø   wʋ̀m pi̯àṉ'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   nɛ̄ Bɔ́k.   "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

    Yadda niŋir yitnɛ labaar la wʊmmʊg ni.
    Yàddā-níŋìr   yít   nɛ̄ lábāar lā wúmmòg 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, bὲ "exist" (negative kā'e̱/kā')
corresponds to "be somewhere":

    Wínà'am bɛ́.   "God exists." (Calque of Ghanaian Pidgin
    God   exist.   *Gɔd de*, implying "It'll all work out.")

    Wāad   bɛ́.   "It's cold."
    Cold.weather exist.

    Àláafʊ̀ bɛ́o=ø.   "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")
    Health exist=3AN.   Indirect object, no complement.

    Dàu̱-sɔ̄'   bɛ́   kpɛ̄lá.   "There's a man here."
    Man-INDF.AN exist here.

    Dàu̱-sɔ̄'   bɛ́   dɔ́-kàŋā   lā púʊgū̄=n.
    Man-INDF.AN exist hut-DEM.SG ART inside:SG=LOC.
    "There is a certain man in that hut."

but   Dāu̱   lā bɛ́   nɛ̄ dɔ́-kàŋā   lā púʊgū̄=n.
    Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEM.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 bɛ́   nɛ̄ mɔ̄ɔgū̄=n.   (cf *Moogin ka mam bɛ*. 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   nɛ̄ zâam.   "We eat porridge *in the evening*."
    1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.   ("When do you eat porridge?")

    The complement of àe̱n̯ya "be something" in ascriptive sense is prototypically
addressee-new, and is preceded by nɛ̄´ whenever syntactically permitted:

Dīʊb   á nɛ̄ būn-súŋ.   "Food is a good thing."
Food be FOC thing-good:SG.

Ò   à nɛ̄ bāa̠lím.   "She is quiet."
3AN be FOC quietness.

Lì à nɛ̄ būgʊsígā.   "It's soft."
3IN be FOC softly.

Ṁ   á nɛ̄ dʊ́'atà.   "I'm a doctor." ("What do you do?")
1SG be FOC doctor:SG.

In specifying constructions the subject usually has n-focus:

Mānī̄‿ø án̠ dʊ́'atà   lā.   "I'm the doctor."
1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG ART.   ("Which one is the doctor?")

Mānī̄‿ø án̠ dʊ́'atà   àmáa fūn   pū án̠yā=ø.
1SG.CN CAT be doctor:SG but   2SG.CN NEG be=NEG.
"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nɔbibisi a mam disuŋ.   "*Chicks* are my favourite food." BN p13
Nɔ́-bíbɪsì‿   ø án̠ mām dí-sòŋ.
Hen-small:PL CAT be 1SG.CN food-good:SG.

Focus on indefinite arguments under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

Ṁ   pū dá' bʊ̀ŋā=ø.   "I haven't bought a donkey."
1SG NEG buy donkey:SG=NEG.

Ṁ   pū dá' nɛ̄ búŋā=ø.   "I haven't bought a *donkey.*"
1SG NEG buy FOC donkey:SG=NEG.   ("I bought something else.")

Ṁ   kā'   dʊ́'atāa=ø.   "I'm not a doctor."
1SG NEG.be doctor:SG=NEG.

Ṁ   kā'   nɛ̄ dʊ́'atāa=ø.   "I'm not a *doctor.*" ("I'm a nurse.")
1SG NEG.be FOC doctor:SG=NEG.

13.2 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.)

mὲ, WK mὲn; clause finally mὲn "also, too." It may follow an ellipted subject pronoun.

O pu'a mɛ kena.   "His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)
Ò pṵā' mɛ́ kὲ nā.
3AN wife:SG also come hither.

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fʋ biig mɛn.   "Because he is your child too." (Gn 21:13)
bɔ̄ zúgɔ́ ò à nɛ́ fʋ̀ bīig mɛ́n.
Because 3AN be FOC 2SG child:SG also.

Wina'am tisid ... ka mɛ tisid ...   "God gives ... and also gives ..."
Wínà'am tísìd ... kà mɛ́ tìsìd ...   (1 Cor 15:38)
God   give:IPVF ... and also give:IPFV ...

nɔ̄ɔ "just, exactly": e.g. dàa-kàn lā nɔ̄ɔ "that very day", and

Fʋ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fʋn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.
Fʋ̀ yá' mɔ̄r yā'am, fʋ̄n nɔ̄ɔ ná díɩ‿lì mālɩsím.
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'àa (lf mà'anì) "only":

Asɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ɛd ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.
Àsɛ́ɛ línì=ø àn̪ bɛ̄'ɛd má'àa kà m̀ ná tūn̪'ə‿ ø 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)

gʋllīmm (lf gʋllìmnì) "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gʋllim nɛ?
Lì kā' nɛ̄ Wínà'am gúllìmnὲɛ=ø=ø?
3IN NEG.be FOC God only=NEG=PQ?
"Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kɔ̀tàaₙ "at all" appears in Áyʋ̀ kɔ̀tàa. "Not at all."

báa (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct báa bī'əlá
"(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent báa yīnní "(not) even one":

    Da tʋmi si'el baa bi'elaa.
    Dā   túmī=ø   sī'əl báa bī'əláa=ø.
    NEG.IMP work=2PLS INDF.IN even slightly=NEG.
    "Do no work at all." (Lv 23:31)

    Fʋ du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yʋ'ʋr buon alaa.
    Fʋ̀ dū'adīb   báa yīnní ká'e   kà ò yū'ʋr   bûən   àláa=ø.
    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)

hālí (nɛ̄) "even, as far as" precedes the element over which it takes scope, which may
be a NP, or a non-nominalised clause. Hālí nɛ̄ is used before time/circumstance NPs.
    Before a manner noun hālí means "very"; the noun itself may be ellipted. This
is the single commonest function of hālí in KB, with ellipsis usual.

    Lì tɔ̀e̱   hālí [bɛ́dʋgū].   "It's very difficult."
    3IN be.bitter until much.

    Before place or time NPs hālí is "until, as far as"; so too before
n-catenations or narrative kà-clauses, the VPs of which often show the subverb tì.

    hālí nɛ̄ zīná   "up until today"

    O daa pʋn anɛ ninkʋʋd hali pin'ilʋgʋn sa.
    Ò dāa pún   à nɛ̄ nīn-kûʋd   hālí pīṉ'ilúgū=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."
    Tì ṉwá'a=lī hālí_ø   pāe Nofa.   (Nm 21:30)
    1PL strike=3IN until CAT reach Nophah.

    Zugsɔb la da kɛ ka kʋkɔm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.
    Zūg-sɔ́b lā dá kɛ̀ kà kʋ̀kɔ̀m bâṉ'as gbāṉ'e Nâ'ab lā, hālí kà ò tí kpì.
    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 nɛ̄ (or hālí là'am nɛ̄) means "even":

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pʋ sɔbi li ...
hālí   nɛ̄   mán dāa sɔ̄bī̱ ø tísì=yā sī'əm lā m̀ dāa pʋ̄ sɔ̄bí=lī̄ ...
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 nɛ on daa an yɛlsʋm wʋsa daan la, o da lieb nɔŋdaan
Hālí là'am   nɛ̄   ɔ́n   dāa áṉ yɛ̄l-súm   wūsā dâan   lā,
Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS be matter-goodness all   owner:SG ART,
ò dà lìəb   nɔ̄ŋ-dâan
3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG
"Even though he had every blessing, he became poor" (2 Cor 8:9)

Zugsɔb yɛl ye, Hali nɛ man vʋe nwa ...
Zūg-sɔ́b yɛ́l yɛ̄, Hālí nɛ̄   mán vūe̱ ṉwá ...
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 tʋʋmbɛ'ɛd dim niŋid ala.   "Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)
Hālí   tʋ̀ʋm-bɛ̄'ɛd dím níŋìd àlá.
Even deed-bad:PL ø.PL do:IPFV thus.

Hali baa lampɔdi'esidib mɛ niŋid ala.
Hālí báa làmpɔ̄-dí'əsìdìb mɛ́ nìŋìd   àlá.
Even   tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV thus.
"Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tʋ'ʋsif.
Hālí ò bɛ̀   sūəṟ ø kɛ̄n   nā yɛ́ ò tʋ̄'ʋsí=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 wʋsa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man kʋ basi fɔ.
Hālí báa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zɔ́ kà básì=f, mān kʋ́   bāsī=fɔ́=ø.
Even   DEM.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)

13.3 Clefting

Clefting uses an identificational clause or a clause like Lì à nɛ̄ "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 tʋʋmbɛ'ɛdi basida?
Ànɔ̂'ɔn‿ø ɲwáa‿ø yīsīd   nīdīb   tûʋm-bɛ̄'ɛdī‿ø básɪdà=ø?
Who   CAT this   CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?
"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Li anɛ o pu'a sʋ'oe li.   "It is his wife who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)
Lì á nɛ́ ò pṵā'‿ø sʋ́'ʋ=lī.
3IN be FOC 3AN wife CAT own=3IN.

Bɔ̄ɔ‿ø lá   kà m̀ ɲɛ̄tá=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 anɛ ya taaba banɛ pʋ'ʋsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.
Lì à nɛ́ yà tāabā bánɪ=ø pʋ̀'ʋsìd   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)

13.4 Preposing and dislocation

A preposed clause element is followed by a kà-catenation with its own tense marking. Unlike the formally similar n-focus, the default meaning is *foregrounding*, not focus, and the construction is compatible both with focus-nɛ̄´ and with n-focus:

Asɛɛ linɛ an bɛ'ɛd ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.
Àsɛ́ɛ línɪ=ø àn̯ bɛ̄'ɛd má'àa kà m̀ ná tūn̯'ə‿ ø 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)

Bīꞌəl bíꞌəl kà kɔ̄lɪ̄g pɛ̂ꞌɛl nɛ̄.   "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 kaꞌ Jew
 dim la yela.
Dìn-zúg kà māam Paul n bɛ́   sārɪgá   nì Yesu Kiristo zúg yānám
So   and 1SG.CN Paul CAT exist prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ on   2PL.CN
bûud-bànì=ø   kā̄ꞌ Jew dím lā̄ yɛ́là.
tribe-DEM.PL=NZ NEG.be Jew ø.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 bɔ̂ɔd bɔ́=ø?   "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?

but   Bɔ ka ti na niŋɛ?   "What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)
Bɔ́   kà tì ná nìŋɛ̀=ø?
What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

Nū̄ꞌ-bíbɪsá_àlá   kà fù n̪yɛ̄tá=ø?
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-bɔ́-būudí kà bà ná tī   mɔ̄rá=ø?
Body-what-sort   and 3PL IRR once have=CQ?
"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

Ka anɔꞌɔnam ka Winaꞌam sʋnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yʋma piisnaasi la?
Kà   ànɔ̂ꞌɔn-nàm kà Wínàꞌam súṉf   dá pèlìg   nɛ́ bà yʋ̀mà pīs nāasí lá=ø?
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 bɔ́ in its very frequent use as meaning "why?":

Bɔ́ kà fù kúmmà?   "Why are you crying?"
*Fù kúm bɔ́?   *"What are you crying?"

Predicative complements probably cannot be preposed.

Mām áṉ bɔ́=ø?   "What am I?"
1SG.CN be what=CQ?

Kà fʊ̀ áaṉ_ànɔ́'ɔnὲ=ø?   "Then who are you?"
And 2SG be   who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

N̰wādɪsá_àtáṉ'   kà fʊ̀ ná lɛ̄b   nā.
Month:PL NUM:three and 2SG IRR return hither.
"You're to come back in three months."

Prepositional phrases with wōʊ "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 ṉwὲ' dāʊ̰   lā zúg kà pɔ̄līs gbáṉ'a=m.
1SG:NZ hit   man:SG ART on and police seize=1SG.
"The police arrested me because I hit the man." (Spratt)

Dislocation of "heavy" complements to clause-initial position occurs without
kà; a resumptive pronoun must then appear:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.
Wìl-kànì=ø   bὲε_ m̀ nɪ́   kà pū wɛ́nnā=ø,
Branch-DEM.SG=NZ exist 1SG LOC and NEG bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.
m̀ Bā'   ṉwá'adī=lí n básìd.
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)

Yà'-clauses may be right-dislocated due to weight §12.1.3. Right-dislocation of
other elements is recognisable when they follow VP-final particles like pfv yā. With
objects, the sense is "contrary to expectation."

Ò dà' yā múḭ.   "She's bought rice." ("Of all things!")
vs Ò dà' nɛ̄ múḭ.   "She's bought rice."
                                        ("What did she buy?")

Pronoun objects cannot be dislocated.
Dislocated manner adjuncts are intensified:

 M̀ pû'ʋs yā bɛ́dʋgῡ.   "Thank you very much."

No dislocation is involved when a catenation follows yā:

Dinzug ka m kɛya ka saa pʋ lɛn niida.
Dìn-zúg kà m̀ kɛ́ yá kà sāa pū lɛ́m nìidā=ø.
So   and 1SG let ND and rain NEG again rain:IPFV=NEG.
"So I have made it no longer rain." (Jer 3:3)

13.5 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." KSS p16
Dāpá‿àtáṉ'   n dá bɛ̀.
Man:PL NUM:three CAT TNS exist.

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dāu̯   dāa zíṉ'i Listra ní kà pū tūṉ'ə‿ ø kɛ̄nná=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)

Pu'a sɔ' da bɛ mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.
Pṵà'-sɔ̄'   dá bɛ̀‿ ø mɔ́r ò bī-púŋ kà kìkīrīg dɔ̄lló=ø.
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 yʋ'ʋr buon Aneas.
Àníná kà ò ŋyɛ̄ dáu̯   kà ò yū'ʋr   bûən   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)

14 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

	Gbís wɛ̄lá?	"How did you sleep?"
or	Dúə wɛ̄lá?	"How did you get up?" (first morning greetings)
	Nīntāŋ án̠ wɛ̄lá?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
	Yú'ʋŋ án̠ wɛ̄lá?	"How is the evening?"
	Fʋ̀ yī-dímàa?	"[How are] your household?"
	Nìn-gbīnáa?	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
	Pu̠ā' nɛ̄ bíisɛ̀ɛ?	"[How are your] wife and children?"

and so on, often at great length. Replies may be

Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́.	"There is health." (Also used as a greeting.)
Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́o.	... for him/her.
Àláafʋ̀ bɛ́ɛ=bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern Bárɪkà nɛ́ fʋ̀/yà ... "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted. The reply to all these is Náa.

Kɛ̄n kɛ̄n.	"Welcome!"
Nɛ̄ zâam zâam.	"Good evening."
Tʋ̄ʋmā! or Tʋ̄ʋmā tʋ̄ʋmā!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nɛ̄ sɔ́n̠sɪgā.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own wīn_n´.)
Nɛ́ fʋ̀ būrɪyá-sʋ̀ŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Nɛ́ fʋ̀ yʋ̀ʋm-pāalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands, replied to with Tɔ̀ "OK", or as appropriate:

Bɛ̄ogū lā.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtínì dáarì lā.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm súŋā.	"Sleep well."
Kpɛ̀lɪmī súm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pʋ̀'ʋsìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply Tɔ̀, or Bà nà wūm "They will hear."

Prayers, requiring the reply Àmí "Amen":

Wīn ná lɛ́bɪsī̄=f nɛ̄ láafɪ̀yà.   "Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wīn ná tā'así=f.   "Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wīn ná sūŋī̄=f.   "God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

M̀ pû'ʊs yā [bɛ́dʊgū̄].   "Thankyou [very much]." Reply Tɔ̀, or Pʊ̀'ʊsʊ̀g
                                      kā'e. "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.   "Sorry"; in apology, or just as sympathy.
Kābī̄r kābɪrí!   Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is
                                      for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
Dɪ̀m sūgʊrú.   "Please forgive me."
M̀ bɛ́lɪ̀m nɛ̄.   "I beg you."
X lábāar áṉ wɛ̄lá?   "What is the news of X?" A common initial reply
                                      is Dɪ̄ɪb má'àa. "Only food." i.e. "good."
M̀ mɔ̄r kû'əm náa?   "Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to
                                      guest. "No, thank you" is Kù'əm á sʊ́m.
                                      ("Water is good.")
Wīn yɛ́l sídà.   "Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth"; WK
                                      explained: "If you sneeze, it means someone
                                      elsewhere is praising you."

15 Texts

1. Balaam's Donkey
(Numbers 22:21-35, KB)

Balaam da duoe bɛogʋn lɔɔ o bʋŋʋ dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keŋ. Amaa Wina'am sʋnf da duoe nɛ on keŋ la, ka Zugsɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geŋ o. Balaam da ban'adnɛ o bʋŋ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Bʋŋ la da nyɛ Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe sʋ'ʋgʋ zanl o nu'ugin, ka o buŋi kpɛn' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bʋ'ʋd bʋŋ la ye o lɛb suor pʋʋg.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lɔmbɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zaŋguoma ayi' bɛŋ, ka suobaanlig bɛɛ li teŋsʋk la. Bʋŋ la n da nyɛ Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zaŋguom la urig Balaam nɔbir. Ka o lɛm bʋ' o ya'as.

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikanɛ ka sɔ' kʋ nyaŋi fɛndig datiuŋ bɛɛ dagɔbʋga. Bʋŋ la da lɛn nyɛ Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin nɛ Balaam wʋsa teŋin, ka Balaam sʋnf duoe hali ka o vɔb bʋŋ la nɛ o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb kɛ ka bʋŋ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li kɛ ka fʋ bʋ'ʋm nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da lɛbis o ye, "Fʋ mɔrim nɛ maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin sʋ'ʋgʋ m nu'ugin m naan kʋʋnif nannanna." Bʋŋ la da lɛbis Balaam ye, "Man ka'anɛ fʋ mɛŋ bʋŋ onɛ ka fʋ ban'ad saŋa wʋsa ti paae zinaa? Fʋ nam mi' nyɛ ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?" Ka o lɛbis ye, "Ayei!"

Ka Zugsɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nyɛ maliak la zi'e suor la teŋsʋk ka fuoe sʋ'ʋgʋ zanl. Ka o igin ka vanbin teŋin. Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fʋ bʋ' bʋŋ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giŋif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' sʋ'ʋm m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka bʋŋ la nyɛɛm ka yuk. Bʋŋ la ya'a pʋ yukinɛ, anwaa m kʋʋnif ka basin bʋŋ la." Balaam da lɛbisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tʋm taal, m pa'a pʋ baŋ ye fʋ zi'enɛ suorin la ye fʋ geŋi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pʋ malisi fɔ m na lɛbi kul." Ka maliak la lɛbisi yɛl Balaam ye, "Dɔl nidib la keŋ, amaa yɛlim nɛ man ye fʋ yɛl si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keŋ.

Balaam dá dùe bɛ̄ogū=n‿ø lɔ́ɔ‿ò bʋ̀ŋʋ̀‿ ø dɔ̄l   Moab
Balaam TNS rise morning   CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT go.with Moab
ná'-yī-kpɛ́m   lā‿ø kɛ́ŋ.
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 súṉf   dà dùe nɛ̄   ɔ́n   kɛ̄ŋ lā, kà Zūg-sɔ́b máli̠āk
But   God   heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Lord   angel:SG
kīdɪgī̠_ø zî'ən sūər   lā zúg yɛ́   ò   gīŋó=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 bàṉ'ad nɛ́ ò   bòŋ,   kà ò   yàmmìs àyí'   dɔ̄lló=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."

Bòŋ   lā dá ṉyɛ̀ Zūg-sɔ́b máli̠āk 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 sʊ̀'ʊgʊ̀_ø záṉl   ò   nú'ugī=n, kà ò   búŋì̠_   ø kpèṉ'
and draw knife:SG CAT have.in.hand 3AN hand:SG=LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter
mɔ̄ɔgī̠_   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 pīṉ'ilī̠_ø bū'ʊd   búŋ   lā yɛ́ ò   lɛ́b sūər   pôʊg.
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-sɔ́b máli̠āk   lā dá tɔ̀lɪsì̠_ ø zî'ən lɔ̀mbɔ̀ṉ'ɔd àyí'   bánì=ø kà bà mɛ́
Lord   angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL NUM:two DEM.PL=NZ and 3PL build
zàngùəmà àyí'_   ø bɛ̄ŋ,   kà su̠ā-báaṉlìg bɛ́ɛ_ lì tèŋ-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."

Bòŋ   lá=ǹ dà ṉyɛ̄ Zūg-sɔ́b máli̠āk lā, ò dà mìe_   ø làbìn
Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS see Lord   angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind
zàngùəm lā_ø ūrīg   Balaam nɔ́bìr. Kà ò   lɛ́m 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-sɔ́b máli̯āk lā dá lɛ̀m vūrɪgī̠‿ ø tɔ̄līs‿ ø zî'ən tùən
Lord   angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand front
zíṉ'-kànì=ø   kà sɔ̄'   kú   ŋyāŋī̠‿ø fɛ̄ṉdīg dátì̯ṵ bɛ̄ɛ dágɔ̀bɪgā=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."

Bùŋ   lá=ø dà lɛ̀m ṉyɛ̄ Zūg-sɔ́b máli̯āk lā, ò dà dìgìn nɛ̄
Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS again see Lord   angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie   with
Balaam wōsā tɛ̄ŋī=n, kà Balaam súṉf   dūe hālí kà ò vɔ̄b
Balaam all   down,   and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike
búŋ   lā nɛ́ 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-sɔ́b kɛ́ kà bùŋ   lā yá'e ò nɔ̄ɔrī̠‿ ø pi̯āṉ' Balaam yɛ̄,
And Lord   let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
Bɔ̄ kímm kà m̀ máalì=f   kà lì kɛ́ kà fù bú'ʋ=m nɔ̄ɔr átáṉ'   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 lɛ̀bɪsō=ø yɛ̄, Fù mɔ́rī=m nɛ̄‿ø mâan‿ ø gálìm!   M̀ yá'
Balaam TNS reply=3AN that, 2SG have=1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if
mɔ̄rī=n sú'ʋgʋ̀‿m̀ nú'ugī=n,   m̀ nāan kūʋ=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.'"

Bùŋ   lā dá lɛ̀bìs Balaam yɛ̄, Mān kā' nɛ́ fù mɛ̄ŋ búŋ   ɔ́nì=ø kà
Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG.CN NEG.be FOC 2SG self donkey:SG DEM.AN=NZ and
fù bāṉ'ad sāṉá wōsā‿ø tí pāe zīnáa=ø=ø? Fù nám   mī'‿ ø ṉyɛ́ kà
2SG ride:IPFV time all   CAT once reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and
m̀ mâal àṉwá‿ø tísì=fɔ̀=ø? Kà ò lɛ́bìs yɛ̄, Áyìι!
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-sɔ́b yɔ̂'ɔg Balaam nínì kà ò ŋyɛ̄ máli̠āk lā_ø zí'e sūər
And Lord open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT stand road:SG
lā tɛ́ŋ-sūk, kà fúe sù'ʋgù_ø zāni̠l. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tɛ̄ŋī=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-sɔ́b máli̠āk lā dá bù'əsō=ø yɛ̄, Bɔ́ kà fù bū' búŋ lā
Lord angel:SG ART TNS ask=3AN that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART
nɔ̄ɔr átáni̠' sá=ø? M̀ kɛ́ nā yɛ́ m̀ gīŋí=f bɔ zúgɔ kɛn lā
time:SG NUM:three hence=CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct=2SG because going ART
kā' súm m̀ nīní nīı=ø. Nɔ̄ɔr átáni̠' kà bùŋ lā ŋyɛ́ɛ=m
NEG.be goodness 1SG eye:PL LOC=NEG. Time:SG NUM:three and donkey:SG ART see=1SG
kà yūk. Bùŋ lā yá' pū yūkī=ní_ àni̠wáa=ø m̀ kūʋ=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 lὲbısì_ø yɛ́l Zūg-sɔ́b máli̠āk lā yɛ̄, M̀ túm tâal, m̀ pá'
Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS
pū báŋ yɛ́ fù zí'e nɛ̄ sūərí=n lā yɛ́ fù gīŋí=mā=ø.
NEG realise that 2SG stand FOC road:SG=LOC ART that 2SG obstruct=1SG=NEG.
Nānná-nā, lì yá' pū mālısí=fɔ=ø, m̀ ná lɛ̄bī_ 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 màli̠āk lā lɛ́bısì_ø yὲl Balaam yɛ̄, Dɔ̀l nīdīb lā_ø kɛ̄ŋ,
And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,
àmáa yὲlìm nɛ̄ mán yɛ́ fù yɛ́l sī'əl má'àa.
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 dɔ̄l Balak ná'-yī-kpέm lā_ø kέŋ.
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-kúʋdìbá‿   àtáṉ'.   "Three murderers."
Person-killer:PL NUM:three.

Dāpá‿ àtáṉ'   n dá bɛ̀.   Bà dà à nɛ̄ dáp-kāṉdā   sú'ŋā.
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'asɩ̀‿ø̠ zíṉ'inì‿ø̠ gbāṉ'e yɛ́ bà dûəm‿ø̠ i̠ā búdàalìm
And day:SG one   and 3PL gather CAT   sit   CAT grab that 3PL rise:IMP CAT seek courage
lâ'ad   n gīnnī‿   ø kū nīdīb   má'àa kà dā   lɛ́m   tòm 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 i̠ā   sû'ʊs nɛ̄ záṉ'anà   nɛ̄ tí-dāad nɛ̄ pīmá   nɛ̄
3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with
lû'ad,   nɛ̄ kpānā nɛ̄ málì sú'ŋā n pīṉ'ilī‿ø gīnnī‿   ø īəd
quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV
nīdīb   yɛ́ bà yá' ṉyɛ̄ sɔ̄'   bān kū.
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 gìlɩgí‿   àlá nɛ̄   ṉwādɩsá‿àtáṉ'   nɛ̄ dábɩsà‿àtáṉ'.   Bà pū ṉyɛ̄
3PL go.round thus with month:PL NUM:three with day:PL   NUM:three. 3PL NEG find
nīd‿   ø ná kūʊ=ø. Kà kpɛ́lìm mɔ̄r kɛ̄n nɛ̄ kɛ̄n nɛ̄ kɛ̄n.
person:SG CAT IRR kill=NEG. And remain have going with going with going.
"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   dâar bà ṉyɛ̄ nɛ̄ lāllí sà   kà sī'əl zí'e sābíllì‿ ø
Day:PL NUM:five day:SG 3PL find with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT
wūʊ nīd   nɛ̄, kà bà kpɛ̄ɛṉm lā yɛ́ bà kɛ́m‿ø kúo=ø, yɛ́ ò sɔ̄b
like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill=3AN, that 3AN ø.AN
yá' pòn   túṉ'e kà mɔ̄r nɛ̄ láṵk-sī'a wūsā, bà nà ṉyāṉī‿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 ɔ̀ŋā   gīŋīd   kpɛ̄, kà ɔ̀ŋā   gīŋīd   kpɛ̄, bà tì kɛ̄ŋ‿ø
And DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, and DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL once go   CAT
pāa‿ ø ṉyɛ́ kà lì kā'   nīdá=ø,   kà á nɛ̄ bɔ̄tú kà līgɩdī pê'ɛl
reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.be person:SG=NEG, and be FOC sack:SG and money fill
mà'àa má'àa 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 yɛ̄, Àtɔ̀,   kà nānná-nā n̪wá, tì yɛ́   tì   nīŋ līgɩdī n̪wá wālá=ø?
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 yɛ̄, bà nà pūdīg nɛ̄. Àmáa bà yɛ́   lì nár kà bà yīs   līgɩdī lā n
And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But   3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
kɛ̄ŋ‿ø dá' dāam‿ø   ná nū   yīigá kà   n̪yāan pūdīg līgɩdī 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   līgɩdī lā bī'əlá yɛ̄ bīig   lā kɛ́m‿ø dá' yʊʋr 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=ø kɛ̄n   lā, ò tèn̪'ɛsìd nɛ̄ ɔ́n   nà nīŋ sī'əm‿ø kū bánì=ø
Child:SG ART=NZ go:IPFV ART, 3AN think:IPFV FOC 3AN:NZ IRR do how   CAT kill DEM.PL=NZ
kpɛ̀lìm àní nā lā, kà váe   līgɩdī lā wōsā wōsā n sū'e, ò yèlí‿ò mɛ̄ŋ yɛ̄,
remain there ART, and gather money ART all   all CAT own, 3AN say 3AN self that,
ò   nà dā' nɛ̄ dāam, kà bɔ́ tì-kūʋdím   n lɔ́s   dāamí=n lā
3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer=LOC ART
n pāa‿ø tíɩ=bá kà bà nūu‿ø kpí kà ò sū'e līgɩdī lā wōsā.
CAT reach CAT give=3PL and 3PL drink CAT die and 3AN own money ART all.
"As the youngest was travelling, he was thinking how he might kill those who stayed
in that place and take absolutely all of the money as his own; he said to himself that
he would buy the beer, and look for a poison to put into the beer and go and give it to
them to drink and die so he'd possess all of the money."

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bɔ́ tì-kūʋdím   n lɔ́s.
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'ɩsígɛ̄=ø,   kà bà bàyí' lá=ø kpɛ̀lìm lā mɛ́ gbān̪'e nɛ̄ yɛ́   bà kū
NEG.know=NEG, and 3PL NUM:two ART=NZ remain ART also grab   FOC that 3PL kill
bīig   lá=ø kɛ̄ŋ dāam lā dâ'ab lā, kà mɛ́ sū'e līgɩdī lā.
child:SG ART=NZ go beer ART buying 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=ǹ   mɔ̄r dāam lā‿ø   pāa nā   lā, kà ɔ̀ŋā ki̯á kpē,
Child:SG ART=NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEM.AN cut here,

kà ɔ̄n   ki̯á kpē, n kío=ø ø kū, kà yū'ʋn záŋ dāam lā‿ø
and 3AN.CN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT

nū   wán wán, lì pū yúugē=ø, kà bà wūsā wūsā mɛ́ kpɛ́lìm   kpì
drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG delay=NEG and 3PL all   all   also immediately die

zìn̯-kàn   lā nɔ́ɔ kà bà sɔ̄' sɔ̄' pū ŋyāŋī‿ø pâam lā'af   lā
place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDF.AN INDF.AN NEG prevail CAT receive cowry:SG ART

báa yīnní‿ø mɔ̄rī‿ø kūlí‿   bà yáa=nɛ̄=ø.
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 Kūsâas   yɛ́ fù yá' tɛ̄n̯'ɛs bɛ̄ɛ túm bɛ̄'ɛd yɛ́ fù tísì‿ fù tīrâan,
3IN.CN and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give 2SG neighbour:SG,

fù mâanní‿ fù mɛ̄ŋ yâ'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‿ ø lɛ́bìs nɛ́ m̀ gɛ̄ogū=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 zɔ́t   nɛ̄ bi̯āŋ̯'ar   zúg.
Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG on.
"Water runs on mud." (You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.
Kūgá   là'asìd   nɛ̄ 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-wi̯āk sɛ̄oṉg zī' sínnɛ̄=ø.

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.

Pū ṉyɛ̄ sāa kʊ́ʊbɔ̄=ø, kà ṉyɛ̄ sāa nîib.

NEG see rain threat=NEG, and see rain raining.

"Didn't see the rain coming, but did see the rain." (Wise after the event.)

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà pū nɔ̄kíd nā'-bínnì‿ ø lɔ̄bɩgíd náafɔ̄=ø.

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'yɛ́ ò nà lɔ̄bīg, bàṉìm kà ò nɔ̀ nɛ̄ 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.

Bālɛ̄rʊgū‿ø zī' yɛ́ ò àṉ bālɛ̄rʊgɔ́=ø, kà tādīm mī' yɛ́ ò àṉ 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.

Fʊ̀ yá' bɔ̄ɔd támpìiṉg sîiṉd, fʊ̀ pū lɛ́m zɔ̀t líəŋ dâʊg ṉyɔ̄ɔgɔ̄=ø.

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.

Mɔ̄ɔdī‿ ø pílìg kà yū'adā bɛ́.

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.

Bʊ̀-dìbìg kúnní‿ ò bā' yír nɛ̄ nɔ̄b-kɔ̂ɔg dâar.

Goat-young.male:SG go.home:IPFV 3AN father:SG house:SG with leg-break:SG 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   būʊd   pū zíṉ'i ná'-yīrɛ́=ø.
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 yɛ̄   bālɛ̄rūg, kà fʊ̀ yɛ̄   zūg-máu̯k.
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.
Bʊ̀ŋ-dāʊg   pū kāasídí‿ ò   tīrâan   téŋī=nɛ́=ø.
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.
Kpɛ̄ɛṉm á nɛ̄ tê'ɛg,   ò   tìgìd   nɛ̄ 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 pɔɔg.
Bāas   ká'e   kà ṉwāamīs dī'e   pɔ̄ɔg.
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 nɛ̄ yī-dâan   áṉsìb.
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.)

16 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' and the distinctions n/n̠, e/ɛ/e̠/ə, i/ɪ/i̠, o/ɔ, u/ʊ/u̠; 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 §10.3 for proper names, and §10.5.1 for number words with the prefixes à- bà- ǹ- (à)bʊ̀-.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa.

A

à- *personifier pron*

à (before nɛ̄) see àe̠nya

āa̠ndīga āa̠ndīs àa̠nd- black plum, *Vitex doniana*

āa̠ndīr āa̠ndā black plum fruit

àa̠ns *v* tear

àbʊ̀lá *q* how many-fold?

à-dàalúŋʊ -dàalí(mì)s -dàalúŋ- stork

àe̠nya ger àa̠nlím *1v* be something

àe̠n *v* get torn

à-gâʊ̠ŋʊ -gâa̠nd -gāa̠n- pied crow

àgɔ́l| àgɔ̄lá upwards

à-kɔ̄rā-dîəmma -dîəm-nàma mantis

àlá *pron* thus

àlá *q* so many; how many?

àláafʊ̀ health (in greetings); cf láafɩyà

àlɔ́pìr àlɔ́pìyà aeroplane (En)

àmáa *cl ajn* but (Ha from Ar)

àmɛ̄ŋá really, truly

àmí *ptc* amen (Ar āmīn)

à-mús -mús-nàma cat (Ha *mussàa*)

àní(-nā´) *pron* there

àníŋā promptly

ànɔ̂'ɔn *pron* who?

àn̠rʊ̀ŋʊ àn̠rɩmà àn̠rʊ̀ŋ- boat

ān̠s *v* pluck leaves

án̠sìba ān̠s-náma ān̠s- mother's brother

ān̠sīg´ *v* break at an angle

ān̠sín̠a ān̠sís ān̠sīn̠- man's sister's child

àntù'a àntù'əs àntu̠à'- lawsuit

àn̠wá(-nā´) *pron* like this

ānzúrɩfà silver (Ha *azùrfaa*)

àràzàka àràzà'as àràzà'- (generally pl) wealth, riches (Ar pl *al-arzāq*)

àràzánà heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)

àsɛ́ɛ *cl ajn* except (Ha *sai*)

àsīdā truly

àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)

àtɛ̀u̠kʊ sea (Ha *tèeku*)

áyɩ̀ *ptc* no; to negative question: yes

B

bà *pron* they, their; =ba them

bā'´ bā'-náma bā'- father

bāa bāas bà- dog

báa *fm* not even (Ha *bâa* "not be")

bā'a bā'aba bà'- diviner; bà'-kɔ̀lʊ̀gʊ diviner's bag

bā'a bā'as bà'- peg for hanging

bà'an̠ bà'anà bà'an- (penal) stocks

bàa̠nlìga bàa̠nlìs *adj* narrow, slender

bāa̠nlíga *adj* quiet; bāa̠nlím quietly

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

bābá *postp* beside

bàbɩgā´ *q* many

bákpàe̱ week (Ha *bakwài* "seven")

bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club

bàlàŋìr bàlàŋà bàlàŋ- hat

bālɛ̄rūg̱ʊˊ bālɛ̄rīdˊ/bālɛ̄rīsˊ bālɛ́r-
  ugly person (cf lɛ̄r)

bàmmāˊ *pron* these

bàn *pron* these

bán *pron* they + =ǹ; bān they,
  them (contrastive)

bāṉ' *v* ride

bānāa bānāas bànà- *sic* "fugu" smock

bàṉ'aḏa bàṉ'ad-nàm̱a ill person

bāṉ'aḻˊ *v* make to ride (horse, bicycle)

bāṉ'as bàṉ'- disease

bàn-dāʊg̱ʊ -dāad -dà- crocodile

bān-kúsɛ́ḻǀ -kúsɛ̄lá -kúsɛ̄l- lizard

bāŋa bāaŋs bàŋ- ring, chain, fetter

bàŋa agama lizard

bàŋ *v* come to know

bárɩkà blessing (Ar *barakah*)

bàs *v* go away; abandon; throw out

bàu̱ŋʊ̀ only as in Ò kpɛ̀ṉ' báu̱ŋʊ̀ He was
  circumcised (Songhay)

bàyɛ̄og̱ʊˊ betrayer of secrets (cf yɛ̄ɛsˊ)

bɛ̀ ger bɛ̀llím *1v* exist; be in a place

bɛ̄dīgˊ *v* go rotten

bɛ̀dʊ̀g̱ʊ/bɛ̀dìr bɛ̀dà bɛ̀d- *adj* great

bɛ̀dʊgū̄ˊ *q* much, a lot

bɛ̄ɛ *cl ajn* or; ends questions
  expecting disagreement

bè(kè)kèoṉg̱ʊ very early morning

bɛ̀lìm *v* beg

bɛ̀lìs *v* comfort

bɛ̄ṉn bɛ̄nā bɛ̀n- end

bɛ̀ṉ' ger bɛ̄ṉ'ɛs *v* fall ill

bɛ̀ṉsìg *v* serve soup

bɛ̀ŋ *v* mark out a boundary

bɛ̄ŋíd bɛ̄ŋ- bean leaves, *Vigna
  unguiculata*; bɛ̄ŋíd nɛ̄ kīˊ beanleaf-
  and-millet (traditional snack)

bɛ̄ŋír bɛ̄ŋá bɛ̄ŋ- brown bean

bɛ̄ogʊ tomorrow; Kà bɛ̄og níe kà ... Next
  day ...; bɛ̄og sá/bɛ̄og dāar in future

bɛ̄'og̱ʊ/bī'a bɛ̄'ɛd/bī'əs bɛ̀'-/bi̱à'- *adj* bad

bɛ̄ogɔ́ *cl ajn* tomorrow

bɛ̄ogū̱=ṉˊ morning

bɛ̀rìṉa bɛ̀rɩgìs *sic* kenaf, *Hibiscus
  cannabinus*; bɛ̄rɩgā bɛ̀rìg- kenaf leaves

bɛ̄sūg̱ʊ bɛ̄sīd bɛ̀s- kind of wide-
  mouthed pot

bi̱ā̱ṉ'arˊ bi̱ā̱ṉ'adá/bi̱á̱ṉ'a bi̱ā̱ṉ'- wet/black
  mud, riverbed

bi̱ā̱u̱ṉkʊ bi̱ā̱ṉ'ad bi̱à̱ṉ'- shoulder

bíəḻǀ bīəlá *adj* naked

bìəl *v* accompany

bī'əlá *q* a little; bī'əl bī'əl *q* a very
  little, little by little

bī'əm bì'əm-nàm̱a bī'əmmā lf bì'əm-
  enemy

bīəṉn bīənā bìən- shin

bīərˊ bi̱āyá bi̱ā- elder same-sex sibling

bì'əs *v* doubt

bìgìs *v* show, teach

bīiga bīis bì-/bī- child; bì-līa baby; bī-díbìṉa
  boy; bī-púṉa girl; bì-pīṯaˊ -pītíba -pīt-
  father's younger brother; bì-nà'aba
  prince

bì'ig *v* ripen, become pregnant

bīilíf̱ʊ bīilí bīil- seed

bìilím childhood

bīimˊ bī- soup, stew

bīla bībīs bìl-/bì- *adj* little, small

bìlìg *v* roll (transitive)

bìlìm *v* roll (intransitive)

bìmbìm̱n bìmbìmà bìmbìm- mound,
  pillar of earth; KB altar

bīṉn excrement

bìṉ'isím milk (human or animal)

bìṉ'isìr bìṉ'isà bìṉ'is- woman's breast

bɔ̀ *v* seek; bɔ̀ɔḏa ipfv want, ger bɔ̀ɔdìm

bɔ́ bɔ̀- *pron* what? why? bɔ̀-būudī
what sort of ..? bɔ́-zúgɔ̄ *cl ajn* because;
bɔ́-zúgʊ why? bɔ̀-wìnn what time of day?
bɔ́ kímm exactly what?

bɔ̀bìg *v* wrap round, tie round

bɔ̀dìg *v* lose, become lost

bɔ̀dɔ̀bɔ̀dɔ̀ bread

bɔ̀kʊ bʊ̀'ad bu̯à'- pit

bɔ̀n̠'ɔgʊ swamp; ricefield

bɔ̄sīr bɔ̄sā bɔ̀s- puff adder

bɔ̄tʊ̄ sack

bū' *v* beat

bu̯àk *v* split

bʊ̀'ar bʊ̀'a bu̯à'- hole

bū'ar´ bú'a bu̯ā'- skin bottle

bʊ̀d ger būdīgₐ/būdūgʊ *v* sow seeds

bʊ̀dàalìm manhood, courage

bùdìm ger bùdımís *v* get confused

bù'e *v* pour out

bùəl *v* call, summon

bùər bu̯èyà bu̯à- grain store

bū'əs *v* ask; ger bū'əsúgʊ question

bòg *v* get drunk (Ha *bùgu*)

būgūdₐ client of a bā'a diviner

bùgʊlìm *v* cast lots

būgʊ̄r būgā bʊ̀g- abode of a wīnn´;
wīnn´ from mother's kin as a sīgīr´

bùgúm bùgūm-/bùgúm- fire;
Bùgúm-tɔ̄ɔn̠r Fire Festival

būgʊ̄sₐ´ *1v* be soft

būgʊsígₐ/būgʊsír būgʊsá būgʊ̄s-
adj soft, weak; būgʊsígā´ softly;
būgʊsím softness, weakness

būk´ *v* weaken

bòk *v* cast lots

bùl *v* germinate, ooze

būlǀ būlā shoot, sprout

bùl *v* astonish

bùlìgₐ bùlìs bùl- well, pond

bùmbàrìgₐ bùmbàrìs bùmbàr- ant

bùn *v* reap, harvest

būnn´ būn-námₐ/būná būn- thing;
būn-búʊdìfʊ seed; būn-gíŋₐ short chap
(informal); būn-kɔ́n̠bògʊ -kɔ́n̠bìd kòn̠b-
cb *sic* animal; būn-kúdògʊ -kút old man

būn-dâar *pron* which day?

bòŋₐ bùmìs bùŋ- donkey

bòŋ *v* take a short cut

būráa man (Spratt, but Toende dialect)

bùrɪkìnₐ bùrɪkìn-nàmₐ bùrɪkìn- free,
honourable person (Songhay)

būrɪyá Christmas (Twi *bronya*)

būtīŋₐ būtīɪs bùtìŋ- cup ("seed-planter")

būʊd innocence

būudī bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group

būʊgₐ būʊs bʊ̀- goat; bʊ̀-dìbìgₐ 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

dàalìm masculinity

dàalím dàalímìs male organs

dāam´ dā- millet beer, "pito"; dā-bínn
beer residue; yeast

dàam *v* disturb, trouble (Ha *dàamaa*)

dāanₐ dàan-nàmₐ dàan- owner of ...

dāar dābā dà- day, date

dāa-sí'ərɛ̄ *cl ajn* perhaps

dàbīəm fear

dàbīogʊ dàbīəd dàbi̯à- coward

dàbɪsìr dàbɪsà dàbìs- 24-hour period

dā'e´ *v* push; blow (of wind)

dàgɔ̀bìgₐ left; KB south

dāká dāká-nàmₐ dāká- box (Ha *àdakàa*)

dàkīigₐ dàkīɪs dàkì- wife's sibling/
sister's husband; dàkì-tùa wife's sister's
husband

dàkɔ̀ɔ̯r dàkɔ̀ɲyà dàkɔ̀ŋ- unmarried son

dàm ipfv dàmmìd$_a$ *v* shake

dàmà'a liar cf mà'

dàmà'am dàmà'ar untruth

dāmpūsāar/dànsàar staff, club

dàŋkɔ̀ŋ$_ʊ$ measles

dàpāal$_a$´ young man, son

dārúk$_ʊ$ kind of large pot

dà-sāŋ$_a$ -sāa̯s/-sām$_{ma}$ -sàŋ- young man

dàtāa dàtāas dàtà- enemy

dàtìy̯ŋ$_ʊ$ right-hand; KB north

dāy̯ dāp$_a$ dày̯-/dàp- man

dàʊg$_ʊ$ 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

dāʊg$_ʊ$ dāad dà- *adj* male

dàwàlìg$_a$ hot humid season before rains

dàwān$_n$´ dàwāná dàwān- pigeon

dàyáam$_{ma}$ dàyāam-nám$_a$ dàyāam-
　husband's parent

dàyūug$_ʊ$´ dàyūud´ dàyū- rat

dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed

dɛ̀ɛg$_a$ dɛ̀ɛs warthog

dɛ̄ɛŋ$_a$ dɛ̄ɛn̯s/dɛ̄ɛmīs/dɛ̄ɛnā dèɛŋ- *q* first

dɛ̄l$_{la}$´ ger dɛ̄llúg$_ʊ$/dɛ̄llím *1v* lean on
　something (of a person)

dèlìm *v* begin to lean (of a person)

dɛ̄ŋ$_a$ dɛ̄mīs dèŋ- accidental bruise; defect

dèŋ *v* go, do first

dèŋìm *subverb* beforehand

dì *pron* it, its (see lì)

dì ipfv dìt$_a$ imp dìm$_a$ *v* eat, get; ger dīib$_ʊ$
　food; Ò dì py̯ā'. He's married a wife.
　Ò dì n̯yán. She's ashamed.

di̯ā' *v* get dirty

di̯ā'ad´ dirt

dī'e´ *v* receive, get

dì'əm *v* play; ger dì'əmà festival

dìəm$_{ma}$ dìəm-nàm$_a$ dìəm- wife's parent;
　polite address by a person of either sex
　to an unrelated person of opposite sex
　and similar or greater age

dī'əs´ *v* receive (many things)

dīgī$_{ya}$´ ger dīk$_a$´/dīgīr´ *1v* lie down

dīgīl´ *v* lay down

dìgìn *v* lie down

dìgìr dìgà dìg- dwarf

dīgɪsúg$_ʊ$ bed; (pl) lair

dìɪs *v* feed; *ag* dìɪs$_a$ glutton

dìɪsúŋ$_ʊ$ dìɪsímà/dìɪsís dìɪsúŋ- spoon

dìm$_a$ dìn$_n$ inan *dummy head pron*

dín *pron* it + =ǹ

dīn *pron* it (contrastive), see līn

dìndɛ̄og$_ʊ$´ dìndɛ̄ɛd´ dìndɛ̄- chameleon

dìndìɪs$_a$ glutton

dìtúŋ$_ʊ$ right-hand

dì-zɔ̄rūg$_ʊ$´ -zɔ̄rá -zɔ̄r- crumb

dɔ̄l$_{la}$´ ger dɔ̄llím *1v* go/come with

dɔ̄līg´ *v* make accompany, send with

dɔ̄līs´ *v* investigate, trace

dɔ̄n̯līg´ *v* stretch oneself

dɔ̀n̯'ɔs *v* water plants

dɔ̀ɔg$_ʊ$ dɔ̀ɔd/dɔ̀t dɔ̀- house, hut; clan;
　dɔ̀ɔg bîig$_a$ housecat

dɔ̀ɔŋg$_ʊ$ dɔ̀ɔn̯d dɔ̀n̯- dawadawa fruit

dū ipfv dūt$_a$´ imp dùm$_a$ *v* go up

dy̯à' *v* bear/beget; *ag* dū'ad$_a$ relative

dù'al *v* make interest (of a loan)

dū'am birth

dùan̯ dɔ̀ɔn̯s dɔ̀n̯- dawadawa,
　Parkia clappertoniana

dú'atà doctor (En)

dūe´ *v* raise, rise

dūər´ dy̯āyá dy̯ā- stick

dū'əs´ *v* lift up, honour

dōg *v* cook

dūk$_ʊ$´ dūgūd´ dūg- cooking pot;
　dūgūb dút cooking pots

dùm *v* bite

dūm_n dūmā dùm- knee

dòndùug_ʊ dòndùud dòndù- cobra

dūnɩyā dūnɩyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)

dūnná this year

dūŋ_a dūmīs dùŋ- mosquito

dùr_a *1v* be many

dū'un´ *v* pass water

dū'uním dū'un- urine

dʊ̄ʊsír step

E

ɛ̄ɛṉ *ptc* yes; to negative question: no

ɛ̄ɛṉ (tí) *tense-slot ajn* habitually

ɛ̄ɛṉb´ *v* lay a foundation

ɛ̄ɛṉbír foundation

èṉbìs *v* scratch

èṉd *v* block up, plug up

èṉdìg *v* unblock, unplug

ɛ̄ṉrīg´ *v* shift along on buttocks

F

=f_ʊ *pron* you sg

fāaṉ *q* every

fāeṉ´ *v* save; fāaṉgíd_a saviour, fāaṉgír
   salvation (from Toende)

fāṉ *v* grab, rob

fáss *ideo* for pìəlìg_a white

fɛ̄ɛg´ *v* (of food) get old, cold

fɛ̄ṉdīg´ *v* turn round

fɛ̄ṉ'og_ʊ´ fɛ̄ṉ'ɛd´ fɛ̄ṉ'- ulcer

fɪəb *v* beat

fɪ'ig *v* cut off

fīiṉ *q* a little (liquid)

fɪtlá lamp (Ha *fitilàa*); KB *fitir* pl *fita*

fɔ̄ɔs´ *v* puff (wind)

fʊ̀ *pron* you, your sg

fʊ̀e *v* draw out

fūfūm_n fūfūmā fūfúm- envy; stye

fún *pron* you sg + =ǹ;
   fʊ̄n lf fúnì you sg (contrastive)

fūug_ʊ´ 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

gāaṉ´ gāaṉs´ gāṉ- jackalberry,
   Diospyros mespilliformis

gàas *v* pass by

gādʊ̄/gādʊ̄g_ʊ´ gādʊ̄-nám_a/gāt´ gādʊ̄-/gād-
   bed (Ha *gadoo*)

gàlìm *v* joke

gàlìs *v* exceed, get to be too much

gāṉr´ gāṉyá gāṉr- jackalberry fruit

gàŋ *v* step over

gāŋ´ *v* choose

gbāṉ'e´ *v* catch

gbáṉyà'a idle person; gbáṉyà'am laziness

gbāṉ_ʊ´ gbāná gbān-/gbāṉ- animal skin;
   book (WK gbàṉ_ʊ); gbàṉ-mī'id_a´ scribe

gbɛ̂ɛṉm gbēṉ- sleep

gbɛ̀'og_ʊ gbɛ̀'ɛd/gbɛ̀dà gbɛ̀'- forehead;
   lakeshore

gbɛ̄r´ gbɛ̄yá gbɛ̄r- thigh

gbīgīm_n gbīgɩmā gbìgìm- lion

gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; base (e.g. of a
   hill); *postp* below; gbìn-vɔ̀ɔṉr anus

gbīs *v* sleep

gɛ̄ɛl´ *v* place between legs (tp H)

gɛ̄ɛṉm´ ger gɛ̄ɛṉmís *v* go/send mad

géɛṉŋ_a gɛ̄ɛṉmís madman

gél_l gɛ̄lá gɛl- egg

gēṉ *v* get tired

gɛ̄ṉ' *v* get angry

gɛ̄og_ʊ place between legs (tp A)

gīiṉlím shortness (cf Dagbani *jia* "short")

gìk_a gìgìs gìg- dumb person

gìgɩlìm *v* become dumb

gīlīg´ ipfv gīn_{na}´ *v* go around

gīm_{ma}´ *1v* be short

gīŋ_a gīmā gìŋ- *adj* short

gìŋ *v* scrimp

gīŋ´ *v* surround, intercept, obstruct

gīŋā shortly

gīŋīlím shortness (? for gīŋgīlím; cf
  Farefare *gílgá* "short")

gɔ̄dīg´ *v* look up

gɔ̄'e~ya~´ WK gɔ̄l~la~´ KT *1v* be looking up

gɔ̀ṉ *v* hunt; ipfv gɔ̀ɔṉd~a~ wander,
  ger gɔ̀ɔṉdìm

gɔ̀'ɔn *v* look up

gɔ̄r~a~´ DK *1v* be looking up

gɔ̄s ipfv gɔ̄sīd~a~´/gɔ̄t~a~´ imp gɔ̀(sì)m~a~
  ger gɔ́sìg~a~ *v* look; *ag* gɔ̄t~a~´ seer

gū' *v* guard, protect

gʊ̀l *v* hang; gʊ̀l~la~ *1v* hang

gʊ̀llīmm lf gʊ̀llìmnì *fm* only

gʊ̀m~n~ gʊ̀mà kapok fruit; thread WK

gūmpūzɛ̄r´ gūmpūzɛ̄yá gūmpūzɛ́r- duck

gʊ̀ṉ'a gɔ̀ṉ'ɔs gɔ̀ṉ'- thorn; acacia;
  gɔ̀ṉ'-sābɪlíg~a~ *Acacia hockii*

gʊ̀ŋ~a~ gʊ̀mìs gʊ̀ŋ- kapok tree,
  Ceiba pentandra

gʊ̀ŋgūm~n~ kapok material

gūr~a~´ ger gūrím *1v* guard, watch for

gū'ul´ *v* put on guard

gʊ̀'ʊlìm *v* become half-ripe

gʊ̀ʊr gʊ̀yà gʊ̀- upland; riverbank

gūʊr gūyā gʊ̀- ridge of back

gū'us´ *v* take care, watch out

gū'ʊs half-ripe fruits

H

hālí *fm* even, until (Berber)

I

i̯ā *v* seek

i̯āṉ'as´ *v* leap

i̯āṉk´ ipfv/*ag* i̯āṉ'ad~a~´ *v* leap, fly

īgī~ya~´ ger īk~a~´/īgīr´ *1v* kneel

īgīl´ *v* make kneel

ìgìn *v* kneel down

íʊl~l~ īʊlá īʊl- horn

īsīr īsā ìs- scar

ìsìg *v* get up early

K

kà *cl linker* and, that

kā *v* bail water

kā' (before complements) see kā'e̯

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 kābɪrí *v* call for admission

kàd *v* drive away; kàd sàríyà *v* judge

kā'e̯ ger kā'alím *1v* not exist/be/have

kāl~l~´ kālá kāl- number

kàlɪgā´ *q* few

kàm~a~ *q* every

kàn *pron* this, that

kàṉb ger kāṉbīr *v* scorch

kāṉdūg~ʊ~ *adj* fat, tough (person)

kàŋā´ *pron* this, that

kàr~a~ *1v* be few

kárɪfà KB *kɛrefa* (Ha *k̯arfèe*) in telling
  time: kárɪfà àtáṉ' three o'clock

kàrìm *v* read

kàsɛ̄t~a~´ witness; testimony (French via
  Mooré); kàsɛ̄tíb~a~ witnesses

kɛ̄ ipfv kɛ̄t~a~´ imp kɛ̀l~a~ *v* let, cause to

kɛ̀ɛkɛ̀ kɛ̀ɛkɛ̀-nàm~a~ kɛ̀ɛkɛ̀- bicycle (Ha)

kɛ̀ɛs *v* say farewell to

kɛ̀lìg/kɛ̀lìs *v* listen

kɛ̄ṉ ipfv kɛ̄n~a~´ imp kɛ̀m~a~ ger kɛ̄n~n~´ *v*
  come (with nā); kɛ̄n kɛ̄n welcome!

kɛ̄ŋ´ ipfv kɛ̄n~na~´ imp kɛ̀m~a~ (with sà) *v*
  go; walk; *ag* kɛ̄n~na~´ traveller

kī´ kī-/kā- millet; kì-dà'ar -dà'adà bought
  millet; kā-wɛ̄nnīr -wɛ̄nnā -wɛ́n- corn

ki̯à *v* cut

kīdīg´ *v* cross over, meet;
  À-Kīdɪgī Bū'əs Orion

kī'ɪbʋ´ soap; WK kīibú kīib- (Mampruli)

kíinf̣ʋ kīiní millet seed

kìɪs *v* listen

kī'ɪs´ *v* deny

kìkàmₙ kìkàmà fig

kì(ŋ)kàŋₐ kìkàmìs kìkàŋ- fig tree,
  Ficus capensis

kìkīrīgₐ´ 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-bɛ̂'ɛd NT kìkīrīgₐ´ KB demon

kīlīm´ *v* become, change into

kìm *v* tend flock/herd

kímm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly

kīr ger kìkírʋgʋ/kīrībʋ *v* hurry, tremble

kīsₐ´ ger kísʋgʋ *ag* kīs(īd)ₐ´ *1v* hate

kísʋgʋ *adj* hateful, tabu

kɔ̀ *v* get broken, break (intransitive);

kɔ̀bɪgā (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred;
  kɔ̀bɪsí two hundred

kɔ̄dīg´ *v* cut throat (of one animal)

kɔ̄dú banana (Twi *kwadu*)

kɔ̀l *v* put something around the neck

kɔ̀lɪbìr kɔ̀lɪbà bottle

kɔ̄līgₐ kɔ̄līs kɔ̀l- river;
  kɔ̄lɪgī=n nɔ́-dâʋgʋ crayfish

kɔ̀lʋ̀gʋ kɔ̀nₙ kɔ̀lʋ̀g- sack, bag

kɔ̄'m´ kɔ̄m- hunger

kɔ̄ṇ'/kɔ̄ṇ'ɔkɔ̄ *postp* by oneself

kɔ̄ṇbīr kɔ̄ṇbā kɔ̀ṇb- bone

kɔ̄ṇbūgʋ kɔ̄ṇbīd kɔ̀ṇb- animal hair;
  human body hair, cf zūəbúgʋ; kɔ̀ṇb-
  kīmₙₐ -kīmmībₐ shepherd/herdsman

kɔ̀ṇs/kɔ̀ṇsìm *v* cough

kɔ̀'ɔg *v* break

kɔ̀'ɔs *v* break several times

kɔ̄t´ *v* cut throats (of several animals)

kɔ̀tàaₙ *fm* at all

kɔ́tɔ̀ lawcourt (En)

kpà' *v* nail, fasten

kpà'a kpà'a-nàmₐ rich person

kpāadₐ´ kpāadíbₐ kpāad- farmer

kpà'am riches

kpāaṇm´ kpāṇ- grease, ointment

kpàkūr´ kpàkūyá kpàkūr- tortoise

kpāṇₙ kpānā kpàn- spear

kpàṇdìr kpàṇdà kpàṇd- baboon

kpàr *v* lock

kpār-kêoṇgʋ -kêɛṇd -kɛ́ṇ- rag

kpá'ʋŋʋ kpī'iní kpā'- guinea fowl

kpɛ̄ *pron* here

kpɛ̄ɛṇm kpɛ̀ɛṇm-nàmₐ kpɛ̀ɛṇm- elder

kpɛ̄ɛṇmₐ´ *1v* be older than

kpɛ̄lá *pron* here

kpɛ̀lìm *subverb* still; immediately after

kpɛ̀lìm *v* remain

kpɛn *subverb* = kpɛ̀lìm

kpɛ̀n' *v* enter

kpɛ̄ṇdīr´ kpɛ̄ṇdá kpɛ̄ṇd- cheek

kpɛ̀ṇ'ɛs *v* make enter

kpɛ̀'ŋ *v* strengthen

kpɛ̄oṇŋʋ seniority

kpì *v* die

kpì'a kpì'əs kpi̦à'- neighbour

kpi̦à' *lf* kpì'a *v* shape wood with axe

kpì'e *v* approach

kpī'əmₐ´ *1v* be strong, hard

kpìɪbìgₐ kpìɪbìs kpìɪb- orphan

kpìig *v* go out (fire)

kpī'ɪlím *v* finish, come to an end

kpī'ɪm kpī'ɪmīs kpì'ɪm- corpse

kpìis *v* quench

kpīkpīnₙₐ´ kpīkpīnníbₐ kpīkpín- merchant

kpī'oṇʋ kpī'əmā kpì'oṇ- *adj* strong, hard

kpìsìŋkpìl₁ kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;
  also kpìsʋ̀kpìl₁

kpʋ̀kpàr kpʋ̀kpàrà palm tree fruit

kpʋ̀kpàrìgₐ kpʋ̀kpàrìs kpʋ̀kpàr- palm tree,
  Borassus akeassii

kpʊ̀kpàu̯ŋʊ kpʊ̀kpàmà kpʊ̀kpàu̯ŋ- arm,
   wing

kʊ̀ *mood/polarity ptc* not (irrealis)

kʊ̄ *v* kill (Mooré *kʊ́*)

kʊ̄ *v* threaten (of rain): Sāa kú yā.
   It looks like rain (Mooré *kʊ́ɪ*)

ku̯ā *v* hoe, farm

kʊ̄'alíŋa kʊ̄'alí(mì)s kʊ̄'alíŋ-
   sleeveless traditional smock

kùd *v* work iron

kʊ̀dìg *v* shrivel up, dry out, age

kʊ̄dīm the olden days; also for kʊ̄līm *qv*

kʊ̄dʊ̄gʊ/kʊ̄dīr kʊ̄dā/kʊ̄t kʊ̀d- *adj* old

kʊ̄dʊ̄gʊ kʊ̄t kùt- (pl used as sg) iron, nail;
   sg only found in personal names

kù'əm ku̯à'- water; ku̯à'-nūud´ thirst;
   ku̯à'-n̯wīiga´ current

kùəs *v* sell

kūgʊ̄r´ kūgá kūg- stone

kʊ̄ka kʊ̄gʊ̄s kòg- chair

kʊ̀ka ghost

kʊ̄ka´ mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*

kʊ̀kɔ̀mn kʊ̀kɔ̀mà kʊ̀kɔ̀m- leper

kʊ̀kɔ̄r´ kʊ̀kɔ̄yá kʊ̀kɔ̄(r)- voice

kʊ̀kpàrìga see kpʊ̀kpàrìga

kʊ̀kʊ̄r´ kʊ̀kʊ̄yá kʊ̀kʊ̄r- pig

kūl ger kūlīga´ *v* return home; marry
   (woman as subject)

kūlīm *tense-slot ajn* always

kʊ̀lìŋa kʊ̀l(ɪm)ìs kʊ̀lìŋ- door

kòm *v* weep

kūm kùm- death; kùm-vʊ̄'ʊgír
   resurrection KB

kʊ̀ndʊ̀'ar kʊ̀ndʊ̀'adà kʊ̀ndu̯à'-
   barren woman

kʊ̀ndʊ̀ŋa kʊ̀ndʊ̀mìs/kʊ̀ndʊ̀nà hyena

kʊ̄ʊ *cl ajn* or; ends questions
   expecting agreement (Ha *koo*)

kūuga/ʊ´ kūus´ kū- mouse

kʊ̀ʊl *v* get drunk

kʊ̄ʊs´ *v* settle (legal judgment)

L

lā´ *article* the

là' *v* laugh

lā'afʊ līgɪdī lìg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;
   là'-bīəlífʊ small coin

láafɪyà/láafì health (Ar *al-ʿāfiyah*)

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*)

làbìya *1v* crouch behind something

làbìl *v* make crouch behind something

làbìn *v* crouch behind something

làbìs *v* walk stealthily

lābīsa´ *1v* be wide

lābɪsíga/lābɪsír lābɪsá lābīs- *adj* wide;
   lābɪsím width

lāk´ *v* open (eye, book)

lālla´ *1v* be distant

lālīg´ *v* get to be far, make far

lāllí far off

lāllíŋa lāllís lāllíŋ- *adj* distant

lāllúgʊ lāllá lāl- *adj* distant

lāmn´ lāmá lām- gum of tooth;
   lām-fɔ̂ɔgʊ -fɔ̂ɔd *adj* toothless

làmpɔ̄-dî'əsa tax collector
   (French *l'impôt*)

lānn lānā làn- testicle

lànnìga lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

lā'ŋ´ *v* set alight

làŋgáʊŋʊ làŋgáamn/làŋgāamá làŋgāʊŋ-
   crab

lāŋím *v* wander around searching

lāu̯kʊ lā'ad là'- item of goods

là'ʊŋʊ là'amà fishing net

lèb ger lēbīga *v* return (intransitive)

lèbìg *v* turn over; return

lèbìs *v* answer; send back; divorce (wife)

lèɛ *tense-slot ajn* but

lèm *subverb* again

lèm ipfv lèmmìda *v* sip, taste

lɛ̄r *v* get ugly

lɩ̀ *pron* it, its; =lɩ it

lɩ̀ ipfv lɩ̀t_a imp lɩ̀m_a ger līig_a *v* fall

lɩ̄ *v* block up

lɩ̀a *as in* X lɩ̀a? where is X?

lìdìg *v* turn a shirt WK

lìdìg *v* astonish, be amazed

lìəb *v* become

lì'əl *v* approach

lí'əm_n līّ'əmá fruit of yellow plum tree

líəŋ_a līəmís līəŋ- axe

lí'əŋ_a lī'əmís yellow plum tree,
  Ximenia americana

lìg *v* patch

lìgìl *v* cover

lìgìn *v* cover oneself

lɩ̄ɩbɩ̄r līɩbā lɩ̀ɩb- twin

līk_a līgīs darkness

lìlāalíŋ_a lìlāalí(mì)s lìlāalíŋ- swallow

lín *pron* it + =ǹ; līn it (contrastive)

lìn *pron* that; lìná *pron* that

lɔ̄ *v* tie

lɔ̄b/lɔ̄bīg´ *v* throw stones at

lɔ̄bɩdíg_a lɔ̄bɩdís water-drawing vessel

lɔ̄dīg_a´ lɔ̄dīs´ lɔ̄d- corner;
  lɔ̄dɩgí=n kúgɔ̀r cornerstone KB

lɔ̄dīg´ *v* untie

lɔ̄k_ʋ lʋ̀'ad lʋ̠à'- quiver for arrows

lɔ̀mbɔ̠̀ŋ'ɔg_ʋ lɔ̀mbɔ̠̀ŋ'ɔd lɔ̀mbɔ̠̀ŋ'- garden
  (Ha *làmbuu*)

lɔ̄ŋ_a lɔ̄mīs lɔ̀ŋ- kind of frog

lɔ̄'ŋ´ *v* go across river, road

lɔ̄r lɔ́yà/lɔ́ɔm_{ma} lɔ́r- car, lorry

lɔ̀s *v* dip, immerse in liquid

lù ipfv lùt_a imp lùm_a *v* fall

lūb ger lūbīr´ *v* buck, kick, struggle,
  throw off rider

lūg *v* swim

lūgʋ̄r organ, member

M

m̀ *pron* I, my; =m_a me

mà mà- mother; pl mà nám_a *sic*
  mother's sisters/co-wives; mà-bīig_a
  sibling with same mother; mà-bīl_a
  mother's younger sister/junior co-
  wife; mà-kpɛ̄ɛ̠ŋm mother's elder
  sister/senior co-wife; mà-pīt_a´
  mother's younger sister

mà' *v* lie, deceive

mà'àa lf mà'anì *fm* only

màal *v* make, sacrifice; màal-māan_{na}
  priest NT; traditionally, servant
  who conducts slaying for the tɛ̀ŋ-dāan_a

mā'al´ *v* make cool, wet

māan_n māanā màan- sacrifice

má'an_n mā'aná mā'an- okra

mā'as_a´ *1v* be cool, wet

mā'asíg_a/mā'asír mā'asá mā'as- *adj*
  cool, wet; mā'asígā´ coolly; mā'asím
  coolness, wetness

mādīg´ *v* overflow, abound

mā'e´ *v* cool down

màk *v* crumple up

māk´ *v* measure, judge

màlɩ̠āk_a´ màlɩ̠āk-nám_a/màlɩ̠ā'as´ màlɩ̠ā'-
  angel (Ar *mal'ak*)

màlɩf_ʋ màlɩ̀ gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)

màlɩgìm *subverb* again

mālīs_a´ *1v* be sweet, pleasant

mālɩsíg_a/mālɩsír/mālɩsíŋ_a mālɩsá/mālɩsís
  mālīs- *adj* sweet, pleasant; mālɩsím
  sweetness

mālʋ̄ŋ_ʋ mālɩmā màlʋ̀ŋ- custom; sacrifice

mām *pron* I, me

mán *pron* I + =ǹ; mān lf mánì I, me
  (contrastive)

màngáʋŋ_ʋ màngáam_n/màngāamá
  màngāʋŋ- crab

màʋ̠k_ʋ mà'ad *adj* crumpled up

mɛ̀ *v* build

mɛ̀ mɛ̀n *fm* too, also; mɛ̀-kàmà -soever

mɛ̄d *v* mash up

mɛ̀ɛŋ~a~ mɛ̀ɛmìs mɛ̀ɛŋ- turtle

mɛ̀lɪgìm dew

mɛ̄ŋ~a~´ *pron* self

mɛ̄ŋír *adj* genuine

mɛ̄t´ mɛ̄t- pus

mī' ger mī'ilím *1v* know

mìe *v* squeeze (?)

míif~ʊ~ mīiní okra seed

mì'ig *v* become sour

mì'is~a~ *1v* be sour

mì'isʊ̀g~ʊ~ mì'isà mì'is- *adj* sour

mīlīg´ *v* get dirty

mìmīilím/mìmīilúg~ʊ~ sweetness

mìt *defective negative imp v* do not let

mɔ̄ *v* strive, struggle

mɔ̄d *v* swell

mɔ̄dīg´ *v* be patient, endure

mɔ̀lìf~ʊ~ mɔ̀lì mɔ̀l- gazelle

mɔ̄n *v* grind millet to make sā'ab~ʊ~

mɔ̄ŋ´ *v* refuse to lend

mɔ̄ɔg~ʊ~ mɔ̄ɔd mɔ̀- grass; back-country, "bush"; mɔ̀-pīl~l~ grass thatch

mɔ̄ɔl´ *v* proclaim; *ag* mɔ̄ɔl-mɔ̂ɔn~na~

mɔ̄r~a~´ ger mɔ̄rím *1v* have; mɔ̄r nā bring

mu̱à' *v* suck (of a baby)

mu̱àk~a~ mʊ̀'as mu̱à'- maggot

mʊ̀'ar mʊ̀'a(dà) mu̱à'- dam; lake

mʊ̀'as *v* give (to baby) to suck

mù'e *v* redden; ignite; become intense

mùi̱ mùi̱- rice

mùl *v* itch

mùm *v* bury

N

n *cl* catenater

=ǹ *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'-nàm~a~ nà'- chief, king; nà'-bīig~a~ prince/princess; nà'-yīr´ palace; nà'-yī-kpɛ́m~ma~ courtiers

náaf~ʊ~ nīigí nā'- cow; nā'-dâʊg~ʊ~ ox; nā'-lɔ́r place to tie cows up

nàam *v* happen

nā'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom

nāan next, afterwards (see ŋyāan)

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'-dàwān~n~´ pigeon

nāe´ *v* finish

nàm *tense-slot ajn* still, yet

nàm~a~ *pluraliser*

nāmīs´ *v* persecute, suffer

nān *v* love, respect, appreciate

nà'-nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄og~ʊ~´ centipede WK

nānná(-nā´) *pron* now

nànzʊ̀'ʊs´ pepper (? tones)

nāŋ~a~ nāmīs nàŋ- scorpion

nār~a~´ ger nārím *1v* need to; be necessary

nārúŋ~ʊ~ nārɪmá nārʊ̄ŋ- *adj* necessary

nàyīig~a~ nàyìig-nàm~a~/nàyīis thief; nàyīigīm thievery

nà'-zɔ̀m~n~ locust

nɛ̄ *preposition* with; linking NPs: and

nɛ̄´ *focus ptc*

nɛ̄´ *ptc* after complements of wōʊ/wɛ̄n~na~´ lacking lā´

nɛ̄' *pron* this

nɛ̀ɛl *v* reveal

nɛ̀ɛm for free

nɛ̄ɛm´ *v* grind with a millstone

nɛ̄ɛr´ millstone

nɛ̀ɛs *v* reveal; nɛ̀ɛsìm light

nɛ̀i̱ya *1v* be awake

nɛ̄m-nɛ̂ɛr -néyà grinder

nɛ̄n_na´ ger nɛ̄nním *1v* envy; *ag* nīn-nɛ́n_na

nɛ̄'ɛŋā *pron* this

nèog_ʋ/nèɛr nɛ̀ɛd/nɛ̀yà nɛ̀- *adj* empty

nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄og_ʋ´ nɛ̄sīnnɛ̄ɛd´ nɛ̄sīnné-
envious person WK; others: centipede

ǹfá! Well done!

nī´ locative *ptc*: see =n

nì *v* rain

nīd_a´ nīdīb_a´ nīn- person; nīn-sâal_a
human; nīnpūnān_na´ nīnpūnānníb_a
nīnpūnán- disrespectful person

nìe *v* appear, reveal; waken

nīf_ʋ´ nīní nīn-/nīf- eye; nīf-gbáʋŋ_ʋ eyelid;
nīf-sɔ́b_a miser; nīn-dáa -dâas -dá- face;
nīn-gɔ́tìŋ_a mirror; nīn-gɔ́tìs spectacles;
nīn-kúgʋdìg_a -kúgʋdìs eyebrow; nīn-
tâ'am tear(s); nīn-múa concentration;
M̀ nīní mù'e nɛ̄ ... I'm intent on ...;
nīn-báalìg_a pity; nīn-bâal-zɔ́ɔr pity;
Ò zɔ̀tō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.

níiŋ_a nīimís/níis nīiŋ- bird

nī'm_n´ nīmá nīm- meat

nīn-pûʋd pus

nīntāŋ_a´ nīntāaŋs´ nīntáŋ- heat of the day

nīŋ_a nīis nìŋ- body; nìn-tūllím fever;
nìn-tāa -tāas -tà- co-wife; husband's
brother's wife; nìn-gbīŋ_ʋ´ -gbīná -gbīŋ
body (pl often as sg); nìn-gɔ̀ɔr neck

nìŋ *v* do

n lā *as in* X n lā that is X

n ŋwà *as in* X n ŋwà (nā) this is X

nɔ̄ *v* tread

nɔb *v* get fat

nɔbīg´ *v* grow (e.g. child, plant)

nɔ́bìr nɔ̄bá nɔ̄b- leg, foot; nɔ̄b-bíl_a toe;
nɔ̄b-íŋ'a toenail; nɔ̄b-púmpàʋŋ_ʋ foot

nɔk´ *v* pick up, take up

nɔ̀ŋ imp nɔ̀ŋìm_a *ag* nɔ̀ŋìd_a *sic 1v* love

nɔ̄ŋ_ʋ´ nɔ̄ŋ- poverty; nɔ̄ŋ-dâan_a pauper

nɔ̀ŋìlím love

nɔ̄ɔ *fm* exactly, just

nɔ̄ɔr´ nɔ̄yá nɔ̄- mouth; command; nɔ̄-
dî'əs_a chief's spokesman ("linguist"),
Twi *okyeame*; Wínà'am nɔ́-dî'əs_a
prophet KB; nɔ̄-lɔ̂ɔr fasting; nɔ̄-nâar
covenant; nɔ̄-pɔ̂ɔr oath; nɔ̄-gbáʋŋ_ʋ lip

nɔ̄ɔr´/nɔ̄ɔrím times (after numbers)

nū *v* drink

nūa´ nɔ̄ɔs´ nɔ̄- hen; nɔ̄-dâʋg_ʋ cock;
nɔ̄-ŋyâ'aŋ_a hen; Nɔ̄-ŋyâ'aŋ-né-ò-Bīis
Pleiades

nūlīg´/nūlīs´ *v* make drink

nû'ug_ʋ nû'us nū'- hand, arm; nū'-bíl_a
finger; nū'-dâʋg_ʋ thumb; nū'-íŋ'a -ɛ̂ŋ'ɛs-
-ɛ́ŋ'- fingernail; nū'-wêŋ'ɛd_a mediator

ŋwà *deictic* this

ŋwā' *v* smash, break up

ŋwāaŋ_a ŋwāamís ŋwàaŋ- monkey

ŋwādīg_a´ ŋwādīs´ ŋwād- moon, month;
ŋwād-bíl_a star; Ŋwād-dár Venus

ŋwà'e *v* cut wood

ŋwā'e´ *v* strike, break

ŋwām_n/ŋwān_n ŋwāmā/ŋwānā
ŋwàm-/ŋwàn- calabash

ŋwɛ̀' *v* beat; ŋwɛ̀' X nû'ug plead with X;
ŋwɛ̀' ŋyɔ̄'ɔg boast

ŋwīig_a´ ŋwīis´ ŋwī- rope

ŋwīig´ *v* make a rope

ŋyā'al´ *v* leave behind

ŋyāan *tense-slot ajn* next

ŋyá'aŋ_a ŋyá'as/ŋyā'amís ŋyā'aŋ- *adj*
female (animal)

ŋyá'aŋ_a *postp* behind; east;
ŋyà'an-dɔ̀l_la/-dɔ̀l_l -dɔ̀llà/-dɔ̀llìb_a -dɔ̀l-
disciple KB (tones *sic*)

ŋyā'ar ŋyā'a ŋyà'- root

ŋyāe_n´ *ideo* brightly, clearly

ŋyālúŋ_ʋ ŋyālɪmá ŋyālūŋ- *adj* wonderful

ŋyàn_n shame

ŋyāŋ´ *v* overcome; succeed in

ŋyàʋk_ʋ ŋyà'ad *adj* single (eye)

n̠yɛ̄ ipfv n̠yɛ̄tₐ´ imp n̠yɛ̀mₐ v see, find;
  n̠yɛ̄ láafɪ̀yà get well

n̠yɛ̄ɛ, n̠yɛ̄ɛ tí *tense-slot ajn* habitually

n̠yɛ̄'ɛr´ n̠yɛ̄dá n̠yɛ̄'- next-younger sibling

n̠yɛ̀ɛsₐ *1v* be confident; n̠yɛ̀ɛs�̀m
  confidence

n̠yɛ̀ɛsín̠ₐ n̠yɛ̀ɛsís n̠yɛ̀ɛsín̠- *adj* confident;
  n̠yɛ̀ɛsín̠ā´ confidently

n̠yīn̠ₙ´ n̠yīná n̠yīn̠- tooth

n̠yīríf̠ᵥ n̠yīrí egusi, seed of
  Colocynthis citrullus

n̠yɔ̄ɔd intestines

n̠yɔ̄'ɔg̠ᵥ´ chest

n̠yɔ̄ɔg̠ᵥ sympathy: Ò zɔ̀tō n̠yɔ̄ɔg.
  She sympathises with him.

n̠yɔ̄ɔr n̠yɔ̄yā n̠yɔ̀- nose, breath;
  n̠yɔ̀-vōr´ -vōyá -vōr- life

n̠yɔ̄'ɔs´ smoke

n̠yū'e´ v set alight

n̠yūur´ n̠yūyá n̠yū- yam

O

ò *pron* he, she, his, her; ₌o him, her

ɔ́n *pron* he, she + ₌n̠;
  ɔ̄n he, she (contrastive)

ɔ̀n *pron* this, that (animate sg)

ɔ̀n̠b ger ɔ̄n̠bīr *v* chew

ɔ̀n̠ā´ *pron* this, that (animate sg)

P

pà' *tense ptc* earlier today

pà'al *v* teach, inform; pā'an̠ₙₐ pā'annību̠ₐ
  pà'an̠- teacher

pà'al *v* put on top of

pāalígₐ/páalₗ pāalís/pāalá pāal-
  adj new

pāalím recently

pāalú open space

pàan̠lún̠ᵥ pàan̠límɪ̀s 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 on top of

pāmm lf pāmní *q* much, a lot

pàn̠'alɪ̀m *v* dedicate

pàn̠sìg *v* lack

pàn̠ₐ pàan̠s pàn̠- power

pà' tì *tense-slot ajn* perhaps

pɛ̀bɪs *v* blow (wind); pɛ̀bɪsɪ̀m/pɛ̀bɪsɔ̀g̠ᵥ
  wind

pɛ̀'ɛl *v* fill

pɛɛlʊg̠ᵥ bald (only with zū- "head")

pɛ̀'ɛs *v* add up to, amount to

pɛ̀lìg *v* whiten, go white

pɛ̀lìs *v* sharpen

pɛ̀n̠ₙ vagina

pɛ̄'n̠´ *v* borrow; knock over WK

pɛ̀og̠ᵥ pɛ̀ɛd pɛ̀- basket

pɛ̄'og̠ᵥ´ pɛ̄'ɛs´ pɛ̄'- sheep; pɛ̄'-sá'a ewe
  lamb

pɛ̄sīg´ *v* sacrifice

pi̠ā *v* dig up

pi̠ān̠' *v* speak, praise; ger pi̠àu̠n̠kᵥ pi̠àn̠'ad
  pi̠àn̠'- word, (pl) language; pi̠àn̠'-zʋ̀nà
  foreign language

pìbìg *v* uncover

pìbìl *v* cover up

pībīn̠ₙ pībɪnā pìbìn̠- 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)

pìəlìgₐ/pìəlₗ pìəlà/pìəlìs pìəl- *adj* white
  (cf zìn̠'a); pìəlìm whiteness

pìəs *v* fool someone

pīəs´ *v* wash

pīigā *q* ten

pīim´ pīmá pīm- arrow

píʋɲfʋ pīʋní pīʋn- genet

pīinī pìin- gift

pìl *v* cover

pìlìg *v* uncover

pīn̪'il´ *v* begin

pīpīrīga´ pīpīrīs´ pīpír- desert

pīsí *q* twenty

pītú pītíba pīt- younger same-sex sibling

pɔ̄ *v* swear

pɔ̀n̪d *v* crouch down

pɔ̄n̪'ɔl´ *v* cause to rot

pɔ̀n̪'ɔlìm *v* cripple, get crippled

pɔ̀n̪'ɔr pɔ̀n̪dà pɔ̀n̪'- cripple

pɔ̀n̪ra ger pɔ̄n̪rūbʋ *1v* be near

pɔ̀n̪rʋ̀gʋ pɔ̀n̪rà *adj* near

pɔ̀ɔda *1v* be few, small

pɔ̀ɔdìga/pɔ̀ɔdìr pɔ̀ɔdà pɔ̀ɔd- *adj* few, small; pɔ̀ɔdìm fewness

pɔ̄ɔgʋ´ pɔ̄ɔd´/pɔ̄t´ pɔ̄- field, farm

pɔ̀'ɔg *v* diminish, belittle

pɔ̄ɔr´ clan "slogan", part of its genealogy WK; from pɔ̄, cf Farefare *pɔrɛ* "family name, name one swears by")

pū *mood/polarity ptc* not (indicative)

pū *v* divide

pʋ̪ā' pū'aba pʋ̪à'- woman, wife; pʋ̪à'-ɛ̄lín̪a fiancée; pʋ̪à'-gīnníga/-gɔ̄ɔn̪dīr prostitute; pʋ̪à'-n̪yá'an̪a -n̪yá'as old woman; pʋ̪à'-pāala´ bride; pʋ̪à'-sādīr´ nulliparous young woman; pʋ̪à'-sān̪'amna adulterer; pʋ̪à'-yùa daughter

pʋ̪āka pū'as *adj* female (human)

pʋ̀'alìm *v* cook

pʋ̀'alìm *v* harm, damage

pʋ̀'alìm femininity

pʋ̀'alím pʋ̀'alímìs pʋ̀'alím- female organs

pʋ̀d *v* name

pūdīg´ *v* divide, share out

pʋ̀gʋdìba pʋ̀gʋ̀d-nàma pʋ̀gʋ̀d- father's sister

pʋ̀kɔɔn̪r pʋ̀kɔ̀n̪yà pʋ̀kɔ̀n̪- widow

pūkpāada´ pūkpāadíba pūkpá- *sic* farmer

pùlɩmà a grass, *Imperata cylindrica*

pòmpɔ̄ɔgʋ housefly

pòn *subverb* previously, already

pūn̪'e´ *v* rot

pūsīga´ pūsīs´ pūs- tamarind

pūsīr´ pūsá tamarind fruit

pū-súka pū-súgʋ̀s half

pūt´ contents of stomach

pūum´ pūum- flowers

pūʋga pʋ̀- belly; Ò mɔ̀r pūʋg She is pregnant; pūʋgū=n´ *postp* inside; pʋ̀-pìəlìm holiness; pʋ̀-tɛ̀n̪'ɛr -tɛ̀n̪dà -tɛ̀n̪'- mind

pūʋr´ stomach

pʋ̀'ʋs *v* greet, worship, thank; ger pʋ̀'ʋsìm worship; ger pʋ̀'ʋsʋ̀gʋ thanks; pʋ̀'ʋsìm dɔ̂ɔgʋ KB temple

S

sà *tense ptc* yesterday

sà *VP-final ptc* hence, ago

sā' *v* be in distress

sàa *tense ptc* tomorrow

sāa sāas sà- rain, sky; as subject of i̯ān̪k´: lightning; sāa díndɛ̄ogʋ´ rainbow; sāa zúgʋ sky

sā'abʋ sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"

sāafī lock, key (Twi *safẽ*)

sàala sàalìba sàal- human; sàal-bīiga human being

sàalín̪ā´ smoothly

sàamma sàam-nàma sàam- father; sàam-kpɛ̄ɛn̪m father's elder brother; sàam-pīta´ -pītíba -pīt- father's younger brother

sāam´ *v* mash, crumble

sā'an´ *postp* in the presence/opinion of

sāana´ sáamma sāan- guest, stranger

sáannìm strangerhood

sàbɛ̄ogʋ sàbɛ̄ɛd sàbɛ̀- wind, storm

sābʊlíg_a/sābíl_l sābʊlís/sābʊlá sābīl- *adj*
   black (cf zìṉ'a)
sàbùa sàbùəs sàbu̯à- lover, girlfriend
sādɩgím *tense-slot ajn* since, because
sāe̯ṉ/sāe̯ṉ_{ya} sāaṉb_a sàṉ- blacksmith
sākáròg_ʊ sākárìd sākár- fox
sàlɩbìr bridle
sàlɩmā sàlìm- gold
sām_n´ sāmá sām- debt; sām-kpâ'as_a
   household servant
sāmán_n sāmánà sāmán- open space in
   front of a zàk_a; Sāmán-píər traditional
   New Year ceremony
sàṉ'am *v* get/make spoiled, broken
sāŋá sānsá sān- time; sān-kán *pron* then;
   when? sān-sî'ə=n lā *cl ajn* at one time
sàŋ-gbàṷŋ_ʊ sky
sāŋgúnnìr sāŋgúnnà sāŋgún- millipede
sāpál_l Harmattan part of ừʊn_n
sāpī lf sāpīʊ/sāpīní *ideo* straight
sārɩgá prison (Ha *sarkàa* "chain")
sàríyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàríyà-kāt_a judge
sāʊg_ʊ´ sāad´ sā- broom, brush
sàʊk_ʊ sà'ad dust mote
sáʊŋ_ʊ hospitality
sὲ ipfv sὲεd_a *v* transplant
sὲoṉg_ʊ rainy season
sì *v* skin, flay
sī'a *pron* sg some, any
sīa sīəs si̯à- waist; si̯à-lɔɔdíŋ_a belt;
   si̯à-nīf_ʊ´ kidney
si̯ā'al´ *v* get to be enough
si̯à'ar si̯à'a si̯à'- forest WK; wilderness
si̯āk *v* agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*); Ò
   pʊ si̯ákì fò nɔɔrέ. He hasn't obeyed you.
si̯āk´ *v* suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)
sībīg_a´ sībí sīb- kind of termite
sīd_a sīdīb_a sìd- husband; sìd-bīl_a
   husband's younger brother;
   sìd-kpὲεṉm husband's elder brother;
   sìd-pu̯āk_a husband's sister

sìd *tense-slot ajn* truly
sìdà sìd- truth
sīe´ *v* descend, be humbled
sīəbā *pron* some, any; sī'əl_a something,
   anything; sī'əm somehow, anyhow
sīg *v* descend
sīgīr´ guardian spirit
sīgīs´ *v* lower
sīgɩsír sīgɩsá stopping-place
sīlg_a sīʊs sì- vital energy, a person's
   kìkīrīs´; spirit KB; Sì-sòŋ_ʊ Holy Spirit
   (Buli *chíik*)
sīlg_a sīʊs African birch, *Anogeissus*
   leiocarpa (Buli *sīik*)
sìilìm *v* cite proverbs
sìilíṉ_a/sìilúṉ_ʊ sìilí(mì)s/sìilímà sìilíṉ-
   proverb
sīiṉd´ honey
sīiṉf_ʊ´/sīiṉg_a´ sīiṉs´ sīṉ- bee
sī'ɩs´ *v* touch
sīlīnsîug_ʊ sīlīnsîis ghost
sīlīnsîuŋg_ʊ sīlīnsîiṉd spider
sìlòg_ʊ sìn_n/sìlìs sìl- hawk
sìm *v* sink in a liquid
sīn_{na}´ ger sīnním *1v* be silent
sīnsáaṉ kind of tiny ant
sīŋ_a sīʊŋs sìŋ- kind of very big pot
sī'ŋ´ *v* begin
sīsíbìg_a sīsíbìs sīsíb- neem tree,
   Azadirachta indica
sīsíbìr sīsíbà fruit of neem tree
sìsì'əm wind, storm
sìsòʊgū=n´ *postp* between; KB *sʊʊgin*
sí'uŋ_ʊ sī'imís sī'uŋ- kind of big dish
sɔ' *pron* some(one), any(one), animate sg
sɔb_a *pron* (animate dummy head sg)
sɔb *v* darken; write
sɔbīg´ *v* blacken
sɔbīr´ sɔb- piece of writing
sɔe̯ṉ/sɔe̯ṉ_{ya} sɔɔṉb_a sòṉ- witch
sógi̯à_a soldier (En)

sɔ̄lʊ̄ŋʋ´ sɔ̄lɪmá story

sɔ̄n̪ v rub

sɔ̄n̪'e_ya´ 1v be better than; ag sɔ̄n̪'ɔd_a´
  sɔ̄n̪'ɔ̄c_a´ sɔ̄n̪'ɔd-

sɔ̄nnīr sɔ̄nnā sɔ̀n- yard-dividing wall

sɔ̄n̪s ger sɔ́n̪sìg_a v converse, talk with

sɔ̄ɔŋʋ witchcraft

sɔ̄ɔn̪r sɔ̄n̪yā sɔ̀n̪- liver

sɔ̀s ger sɔ̄sīg_a v ask; ag sɔ̀s_a beggar

sʋ̀ v take a bath

su̪ā' v do secretly, hide

su̪āk_a´ hiding place

sʋ̄'e_ya´ 1v own; ger sʋ̄'ʋlím property,
  realm

sūen̪´ v anoint

sú'ən̪_a sū'əmís sū'ən̪- hare

sūər´ su̪āyá su̪ā- road; permission

sʋ̀'əs_a yesterday

sʋ̀'əs v trick

sūgʋ̄r´ ger sūgʋrú v show forbearance

sʋ̀'m goodness; well

sʋ̀m_ma 1v be good

sūmmīr sūmmā sùm- groundnut

sùn_n ger sùnnìr/sùnnʋ̀gʋ v bow one's
  head; ag sūn_na close observer WK

sūn̪'e´ v become better than

sūn̪f_ʋ´/sūuɔn̪r´ sūn̪yá sūn̪- heart; sūn̪-
  búgʋsìm peace; sūn̪-kpî'oŋʋ boldness;
  sūn̪-málɪsìm/-má'asìm -málìs- joy;
  m̀ sūn̪f má'e yā I'm joyful; sūn̪-pêɛn_n
  anger; m̀ sūn̪f pélìg nɛ̄ I'm angry;
  sūn̪-sân̪'ʋŋʋ sorrow; m̀ sūn̪f sân̪'am nɛ̄
  I'm sad.

sʋ̀ŋ v help

sʋ̀ŋʋ sʋ̀mà sʋ̀ŋ- adj good; sʋ̀'ŋā´ well

sʋ̀r_a 1v have one's head bowed

sʋ̀sɔ̀m_n grasshopper

Sūtáanà Satan

sūʋg´ v wither (leaves) WK

sʋ̀'ʋg_a/ʋ sʋ̀'ʋs sʋ̀'- knife

T

-tāa -tāas *after deverbal noun* fellow-

tāabā tāab *pron* each other

tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal

tàal| tàalà tàal- fault, sin

tá'am_n tā'amá shea nut

tá'aŋ_a tā'amís tā'aŋ- 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

tādīm tàdìm-nàm_a tàdìm- weakling

tàdɪmís weakness

tàm ipfv tàmmìd_a v forget

tàmpìiŋ_a rock

tàmpūa tàmpɔ̄ɔs tàmpɔ̀- housefly

tàmpʋ̄ʋr tàmpʋ̀- ashpit, rubbish tip

tān_n tānā tàn- earth; tàn-mɛ̄ɛd_a builder

tān̪pʋ war; tàn̪p-sɔ̄b_a warrior

tàn̪s ger tàn̪sʋ̀gʋ v shout;
  Wìnnìg tán̪sìd nɛ̄. The sun is shining.

tār_a´ ger tārím 1v have

tàsìntàl|/tàtàl| palm of hand

tāu̪n̪´ tān̪p_a´ tāu̪n̪-/tān̪p- opposite-sex sib

tɛ̀b ger tɛ̄bīg_a v carry in both hands

tɛ̄bīg´ v get heavy

tɛ̄bīs_a´ 1v be heavy

tɛ̄bɪsíg_a/tɛ̄bɪsír tɛ̄bɪsá tɛ̄bīs- *adj* heavy;
  tɛ̄bɪsím heaviness

tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l tɛ́ɛbʋ̀l-nàm_a table (En)

tɛ̄ɛg´ ipfv tɛ̄ɛd_a´ v drag, pull;
  tɛ̄ɛg X tùbʋ̀r punish X

tɛ̀'ɛg_a tɛ̀'ɛs tɛ̀'- baobab, *Adansonia
  digitata*

tɛ̄k´ v pull

tɛ̀n̪b ger tɛ̀n̪bʋ̀gʋ v tremble, struggle

tɛ̀n̪'ɛs v remind

tɛ̄n̪'ɛs´ v think; ger tɛ̄n̪'ɛsá thought

tèn̩rₐ ger tēn̩rībᵥ *1v* remember

tɛ̄ŋₐ tɛ̄ɛn̩s tɛ̀ŋ- land; tɛ̀ŋ-bīigₐ native;
  tɛ̀ŋ-dāanₐ earth-priest; tɛ̀ŋ-dūʼadīgₐ
  native land; tɛ̀ŋ-gbàu̩ŋᵥ land; tɛ̀ŋ-
  pūʋgᵥˊ -pūʋdˊ -pū- village; tɛ̀ŋ-zʋ̀ŋᵥ
  -zʋ̀u̩s foreign land; tɛ̀ŋ-sūkₐ centre;
  tɛ̄ŋī=nˊ down

tɛ̄ŋír down; *postp* under

tèogᵥ tɛ̀ɛd nest

tèʼogᵥ tɛ̀ʼɛd baobab fruit

tì *pron* we, our; =tɪ us

tì *subverb* once

ti̩àʼal *v* come next

ti̩àk *v* change

tìʼe *v* rely on

tìʼəb *v* get ready; (Ar *ṭibb* "medical art")
  heal; tīʼəbₐ healer

tìen̩ *v* remember; WK inform

tìen̩ *v* stretch out

tìən̩ₐ tìəmìs tìən̩- beard; tìən̩-gūʋr chin

tīg *v* have too much/many; ger tīgīrˊ glut

tīʼiₐˊ ger tīʼibᵥˊ *1v* lean (thing)

tìɪgₐ tìɪs tì- tree; tì-dāʋgᵥ -dāad -dà-
  bow for arrows

tīʼilˊ *v* lean something

tìɪm tì- medicine; tì-kʋʋdím poison;
  tì-sābɪlím a traditional remedy

tìʼin *v* begin to lean

tīkˊ *v* press; tīk nûʼug sign

tīlás necessity (Ha *tiilàs*)

tìlìg *v* survive, be saved

tīnámₐ *pron* we, us (contrastive);
  tīnámì we + =n̆

tīntɔ̄n̩rígₐ tīntɔ̄n̩rís tīntɔ́n̩r- mole

tìpₐ tìp-nàmₐ tìp- healer

tīrâanₐ tīrâan-nàmₐ tīrâan- neighbour,
  peer; tīrâannìm neighbourliness

tírɪgà *ideo* for gīŋₐ short

tìs/tì= ipfv tìsìdₐ/tìtₐ *ag* tìsₐ *v* give

tītāʼal| proud person; tītāʼalīm pride

tītāʼam multitude

tītāʼʋgᵥ/tītāʼar tītādā tītáʼ- *adj* big

tɔ̀ OK (Ha *tôo*)

tɔ̀d *v* give to the poor, share

tɔ̄e̩yaˊ *1v* be bitter, difficult

tɔ́klàe torch (En "torchlight")

tɔ́lìb *ideo*

tɔ̄līsˊ *v* do next, advance, carry on

tɔ́lɪlìlì *ideo* for wɔ̄kᵥˊ tall

tɔ̀n̩ *v* shoot

tɔ̀n̩ʼɔs *v* hunt

tɔ̄ɔgᵥ tɔ̄ɔd tɔ̀- *adj* bitter, difficult

tɔ̄ɔmˊ *v* depart, disappear

tɔ̀ʼɔtɔ̄ˊ straight away

tu̩à *v* grind in a mortar; tu̩à-bīlₐ pestle

tu̩àʼ *v* speak, plead in court

tʋ̀ʼal *v* condemn in court

tʋ̀ʼas *v* talk; *ag* tʋ̀ʼas-tʋ̀ʼasₐ

tʋ̀bʋ̀r tʋ̀bà tʋ̀b- ear; tʋ̀b-kpìr half of jaw

tūədīr tūədā tùəd- mortar

tùən̩ *postp* in front; KB *tuona* west;
  tùən-gātₐ leader

tūl|aˊ *1v* be hot

tùlìg *v* invert

tūlīgˊ *v* heat up

tòm *v* work; ger tūʋm̩n tūʋmā tùʋm-
  deed, (pl) work; *ag* tòm-tūm̩na

tòm ger tìtōmīs *v* send

tūn̩ʼe *1v* control; be able

tūsīrˊ thousand

tʋ̀tūl| upside-down thing

tūʋlígāˊ hotly

tūʋlúgᵥ tūʋlá tūʋl- *adj* hot

tūʼʋsˊ *v* meet

U

ùdʋ̀gᵥ ùt ùd- piece of chaff

ūgūsˊ *v* bring up a child

ɔ̀k *v* lift up; vomit

ūk *v* bloat

ɔ̀m *v* close eyes

ūrīgˊ *v* scrape

úʋnₙ dry season

ūʋsˊ *v* get warm (of a person)

V

vābī_ya´ ger vāpᵥ´/vābīr´ *1v* lie prone

vābīl´ *v* make lie prone

vàbìn *v* lie prone

vàe *v* gather up

vāʋn̪gᵥ´ vāan̪d´ vān̪- leaf

vɛ̄' *v* lead

vɛ̄'ɛg´ *v* drag

vèn_na vèn̪l_la *1v* be beautiful

vèn̪llìg_a/vèn̪llín̪_a/vènnìg_a /vènnìr
   vèn̪llìs/vèn̪llís/vèn̪llà/vènnìs/vènnà
   vèn̪l-/vèn- *adj* beautiful; vènnìm beauty

vī' *v* uproot

vīig´ *v* postpone, reschedule

vīk´ *v* uproot

vīugᵥ´ vīid´ vī- owl

vɔ̄b´ *v* thrash

vū ger vūugᵥ´ *v* make noise; vūud´ noise

vū̪e_ya´ *1v* be alive

vúən_a vūəmís red kapok,
   Bombax buonopozense

vúər vūáa vūə- fruit of red kapok

vūl *v* swallow

vòlìnvùun̪l_l mason wasp

vūm´ vūm- life

vūr´ vūyá vūr- *adj* alive

vūrīg´ *v* move over

vū'ʋg´ *v* come, make alive

vū'ʋs´ ger vū'ʋsím *v* breathe, rest

W

wā' *v* dance

wāad´ cold weather

wáafᵥ wīigí wā'- snake

wāal´ *v* sow seed

wā'alím length

wā'am_a´ *1v* be long, tall

wàbìg_a/wàbìr wàbìs/wàbà wàb-
   lame person

wàbɩlìm *v* make, go lame

wābūgᵥ´ wābīd´ wāb- elephant

wādá wād- (En "order") law

wà'e_ya *1v* be travelling

wālīg_a wālīs/wālí *sic* wàl- kind of
   gazelle

wàn̪ìm *v* waste away

wàsìnwàl_l a parasitic gall on trees:
   local En "mistletoe"

wàu̪n̪ᵥ wànà wàu̪n̪- *adj* wasted, thin

wɛ̄ɛl´ *v* be left unsold

wɛ̄l *v* bear fruit

wɛ̄l_l´ wɛ̄lá wɛ̄l- fruit

wɛ̄lá/wālá *pron* how?
   nìn wɛ̄lá n/kà how can ...?

wɛ̄n_na´ ger wɛ̄nním *1v* be like

wɛ̄nnīr *adj* resembling (tp A, WK)

wèogᵥ deep bush

wɛ̄ogᵥ´ wɛ̄ɛd´ cheap thing sold in
   abundance WK

wi̪āk´ *v* hatch

wìdìg *v* scatter

wìəfᵥ wìdì wìd- horse; wìd-lɔ̄r´ place to
   tie horses up; wìd-dāʋgᵥ stallion; wìd-
   n̪yá'an_a mare

wìɩd_a/wèɛd_a wìɩb_a wìɩd- hunter

wīig_a´ whistle

wìɩm disease ("worse than bān̪'as" WK)

wìk ipfv wìɩd_a *v* fetch water

wìl_l wìlà wìl- branch

wīlɩsún̪ᵥ wīlɩmís wīlɩsún̪- kind of snail

wím *ideo* for zìn̪'a red

wīn_n´ wīná wīn- spiritual essence; god;
   God; fate; wīn-tɔ̂ɔgᵥ misfortune

Wínà'am God (WK Wínnà'am)

wìnnìg_a wìn- sun; wìn-līir/-kɔ̀ɔn̪r sunset

wìugᵥ/wìir wìyà/wìid wì- *adj* red (cf zìn̪'a)

wɔ̄kᵥ´/wā'ar´ wá'a/wā'ad´ wɔ̄k-/wā'-
   adj long, tall

wὺm ger wūm$_{mʋ}$/wὺmmὺg$_ʋ$ *v* hear;
  smell; understand; Fὺ wúm Kūsáalὲε?
  Do you understand Kusaal?
  Áyìι, m̀ pū wúmmā. No, I don't.

wūsā/wūʋ *q* all

wūʋ *preposition* like, resembling

wū'ʋg´ *v* get wet

wū'ʋl´ *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' pὸn even if

yáa *pron* whither? yáa ní where?

yáab$_a$ yāa-nám$_a$ yāa- grandparent,
  ancestor

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

yàarìm yàar- salt

yà'as$_a$/yà'as again

yā'as´ *v* open repeatedly

yàd(d)ā faith, trust (Ha *yàrda*);
  yàddā-níŋìr belief

yādīg´ *v* scatter; yāt$_a$´ participant
  in a housebuilding ritual

yā'e´ *v* widen, open (mouth)

yàk *v* unhang, unhook

yàlìm$_a$ *1v* be wide

yālīm´ yālīm-nám$_a$ worthless person

yālɪsúŋ$_ʋ$ yālɪmís yālɪsúŋ- quail

yàlὺŋ$_ʋ$ yàlɪmà yàlὺŋ- *adj* wide

yām$_n$ yāmā yàm- hay

yām´/yā'am´ WK yām- gall (bladder);
  common sense

yàmmὺg$_{a/ʋ}$ yàmmìs yàm- slave

yānám$_a$ *pron* you pl (contrastive);
  yānámì you pl + =ǹ

yàʋg$_ʋ$ yàad grave, tomb

yē *cl linker* that

yὲ *v* dress oneself

yὲεg *v* undress oneself

yὲεl *v* dress someone

yēεs´ *v* betray a secret

yὲl ipfv yὲt$_a$ ger yὲlὺg$_ʋ$ *v* say, tell

yēl$_ǀ$´ yēlá yēl- (pl as *postp*: about)
  matter, affair; yēl-méŋìr truth;
  yēl-nárὺŋ$_ʋ$ necessity; yēl-pákìr
  disaster; yēl-súm$_n$ blessing

yēŋím *v* oscillate (like waves)

yὲog$_ʋ$ yὲεd bird's crop

yὲog$_ʋ$ yὲεd weed, straggler,
  person displaced from family

yέoŋ *q* one (in counting)

yī ipfv yīt$_a$´ imp yìm$_a$ *v* go, come out

yìdìg *v* go astray

yīdīg´ *v* untie

yìər jaw

yīigá *q* firstly; yīig-sɔ́b$_a$ first person

yīis´ ger yīisíb$_ʋ$ *v* make go/come out

yīmmír yīmmá yīm- *adj* unique, sole

yīmmú *q* straight away, at once

yīnní *q* one

yìŋ$_a$ outside

yīr´ yā´ yī- house; yī-dâan$_a$
  householder; yī-sɔ́b$_a$ yī-sɔ́b-nàm$_a$
  householder; yī-dím$_a$ members of the
  household; yī-sígιdìr lodging-house;
  yín$_n$ at home pl yáa=n

yīs *v* make go/come out

yīʋŋ$_ʋ$´ yīná *adj* single (of a pair)

yɔ̀ *v* close

yɔ̄ *v* pay; ger yɔ̄ɔd´ pay

yɔ̄līs´ *v* untie

yɔ̄lɪsím freedom

yɔ̄lūg$_ʋ$´ yɔ̄n$_n$´ yɔ̄l- sack; £100, 200 cedis

yɔ̀'ɔg *v* open

yɔ̀ɔr yɔ̀yà yɔ̀- soldier ant

yųà *v* bleed; fornicate WK

yō'adīr yō'adā rafter

yùbìg_a yùbìs yùb- small bottle-like pot

yū̄'ər yųādā yù'ər- penis

yūgʊdīr yūgʊdā yùgʊd- hedgehog

yōgúm_n yōgʊmá yōgūm- camel

yùlìg *v* swing (transitive)

yùug *v* get to be a long time, delay

yùul *v* swing (intransitive)

yō'ʊm´ *v* sing; *ag* yōʊm-yô'ʊm_{na}

yú'ʊm_n yō'ʊmá yō'ʊm-/yōʊm- song

yʊ̀ʊm_n yʊ̀mà yʊ̀ʊm- year

yō'ʊn *tense-slot ajn* then, next

yú'ʊŋ_ʊ yō'ʊmís yō'ʊŋ- night

yō'ʊr´ yōdá yō'- name

yōʊr yōyā yʊ̀- water pot

Z

zā´ zā- millet

zāalíg_a/záal_l zāalís/zāalá zāal- *adj* empty; zāalím emptily

zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsɔ̄bīr´ evening

zàn̯'an_n zàn̯'anà hammer, bludgeon

zàan̯sìm *v* dream; ger zàan̯súŋ_ʊ zàan̯símà zàan̯sún- dream

zāan̯sím zāan̯s- soup

zàb ger zàbìr *v* fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a warrior; gbān-záb_a leather-worker

zàbìl *v* cause to fight

zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nɔɔr´ gate

zàkìm *v* itch

zàlìŋ_a zàlʊmìs zàlìŋ- electric eel

zàm ipfv zàmmìd_a *v* cheat; *ag* zàm-zām_{na}

zàmìs *v* learn, teach

zān̯'a *q* every

zàn̯'as *v* refuse

zàn̯bìl *v* tattoo, mark skin

zān̯bīn_n zān̯bʊnā zàn̯bìn- tattoo; KB sign

zān̯l_{la}´ ger zān̯llím *1v* have in hands

zàn̯l_l umbilicus

zàŋ *v* pick up

zàŋgùəm_n zàŋgùəmà zàŋgùəm- wall

zàŋkʊ̀'ar zàŋkʊ̀'a(dà) zàŋkų̀a'- hyena

zɛ̄m_{ma}´ ger zɛ̄mmúg_ʊ *1v* be equal

zɛ̄mīs´ *v* make equal

zɛ̄mmúg_ʊ zɛ̄mmá zɛ̄m- *adj* equal

zī ger zīid´ *v* carry on head; *ag* zī-zîid_a

zī' ger zī'ɩlím *1v* not know

zì'e_{ya} ger zī'a/zī'əg_a *1v* stand

zì'əl *v* make stand; zì'əl nɔɔr´ promise

zì'ən *v* stand; Ò zì'ən nɛ̄. She's pregnant.

zīɩm´ zī- blood

zíiŋ_a zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbân̯'ad_a fisherman

zìlìm_n zìlɩmà zìlìm- tongue

zīlīnzîog_ʊ *adj* unknown

zím *ideo* for sābɩlíg_a black

zīná today

zìn̯'a/zèn̯'ʊg_ʊ zèn̯'ɛd/zèn̯'ɛs/zèn̯dà zèn̯'- *adj* red; Kusaal has a three-colour system: zèn̯'og_ʊ (or wìug_ʊ) "red", for all reddish shades, sābɩlíg_a "black", for all darker shades, and pìəlìg_a "white" for all lighter shades. Any colour can be allocated to one of these three, but many other standard terms exist, e.g. wōʊ támpōʊr nɛ̄ "like ash" i.e "grey"

zìn̯'i_{ya} *1v* sit; ger zīn̯'ig_a zīn̯'is zìn̯- place

zìn̯'il *v* make sit, seat

zìn̯'in *v* sit down

zīnzāųŋ_ʊ´ zīnzāná zīnzáųŋ- bat

zīrí untruth

zɔ̀ ipfv zɔ̀t_a imp zɔ̀m_a *v* run; fear; ger zūa/zɔ̄ɔg_ʊ run; ger zɔ̀tìm fear; Ò zɔ̀tō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.

zɔ̄l *v* castrate

zɔ̄lɩmís foolishness

zɔ̄lūg_ʊ´ zɔ̄n_n´ zɔ̄l- fool

zɔ̄m´ zɔ̄m- flour

zɔ̀ɔm_n zɔ̀ɔmā zɔ̀ɔm- refugee, fugitive

zɔ̄rīg_a´ small child WK

zɔ̄rʊ̄gᵾ´ zɔ̄rá piece

zū *v* steal

zu̯à zu̯à-nàmₐ zu̯à- friend

zù'e *v* get higher, more

zùe *v* perch, get on top

zūəbʊ́gᵾ zūəbíd 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

zùən *v* begin to perch

zūər zu̯āyā zu̯à- hill

zùəs *v* befriend

zūgᵾ´ zūt´ zū(g)- head; *postp* onto,
   due to; zūgʊ́=n *postp* on; zūg-dâanₐ
   master; zūg-kʊ̄gʊ̄r -kʊ̄gā -kʊ́g- pillow;
   zūg-sɔ́bₐ master (KB only "the Lord");
   zū-pɛ́ɛlʊ̀gᵾ -pɛ́ɛlà *adj* bald; zū-píbìgₐ hat

zùlìg *v* deepen

zùlìmₐ *1v* be deep

zùlʊ̀ŋᵾ zùlɪmà zùlʊ̀ŋ- *adj* deep

zùlʊ̀ŋᵾ depth

zùnzɔ̀ŋₐ/ᵾ zùnzɔ̀ɔn̯s zùnzɔ̀ŋ-
   blind person

zūrífᵾ zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed

zʊ́'ʋn̯fᵾ zʊ̄'ʋní dawadawa seed

zùuŋ̯ᵾ zùuṉs/zùuṉd zùṉ- vulture

zʊ̄ʋr zʊ̄ʋyā zʊ̀- tail