

# *Kusaal Grammar*

Agolle Dialect

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## Contents

Preface.....	iv
Abbreviations.....	v
Sources.....	vi
Bibliography.....	vii
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi.....	1
1.2 Related languages.....	4
1.3 Grammatical sketch.....	6
2 Sound system.....	12
2.1 Consonants.....	12
2.2 Vowels.....	13
2.3 Syllables and tonemes.....	15
2.4 Orthography.....	17
3 Word structure.....	18
3.1 Word boundaries.....	18
3.2 Apocope.....	20
3.3 Segmental structure.....	25
3.3.1 Root allomorphy.....	26
3.3.2 Morphophonemic rules.....	27
3.4 Tone patterns.....	31
3.4.1 Nouns and adjectives.....	32
3.4.2 Verbs.....	35
3.4.3 Derivation.....	36
4 External sandhi.....	37
4.1 Segmental contact.....	37
4.2 Word-initial toneme changes.....	38
4.3 Prosodic clitics.....	42
4.4 Liaison.....	44
5 Flexion.....	50
5.1 Nouns.....	50
5.1.1 Paradigms.....	53
5.2 Adjectives.....	62
5.3 Verbs.....	65

6	Stem conversion.....	69
6.1	Verb to nominal.....	69
6.1.1	Gerunds.....	69
6.1.2	Others.....	70
6.2	Nominal to nominal.....	71
6.3	Nominal to verb.....	72
7	Derivation by suffixes.....	73
7.1	Verbs.....	73
7.2	Nominals.....	76
7.2.1	Agent nouns.....	76
7.2.2	Verbal adjectives.....	79
7.2.3	Instrument nouns.....	80
7.2.4	Gerunds.....	81
7.2.5	Others.....	82
8	Prefixes.....	84
9	Loanwords.....	86
10	Noun phrases.....	87
10.1	Structure and categories.....	87
10.2	Pronouns.....	92
10.3	Proper names.....	99
10.4	Kinship terms.....	103
10.5	Quantifiers.....	104
10.5.1	Numbers.....	105
10.6	Predependents.....	107
10.7	Postdependents.....	112
10.7.1	Adjectives.....	113
10.7.2	Lā and ɲwà.....	116
11	Verb phrases.....	118
11.1	Aspect.....	119
11.2	Tense.....	124
11.2.1	Discontinuous past.....	124
11.2.2	Periphrastic futures.....	125
11.2.3	Implicit tense and narrative.....	125
11.2.4	Tense-slot adjuncts.....	129
11.3	Mood and negation.....	131
11.4	Independency.....	136
11.5	Subverbs.....	139
11.6	Complements and adjuncts.....	140
11.6.1	Objects.....	141
11.6.2	Predicatives.....	144
11.6.3	Adjunct noun phrases.....	146
11.6.4	Prepositional phrases.....	151
11.6.5	Clauses.....	153
11.7	Final particles.....	153

12	Clauses.....	155
12.1	Main.....	158
12.1.1	Interrogative.....	160
12.1.2	Imperative.....	161
12.1.3	Conditional.....	162
12.1.4	Verbless.....	167
12.2	Catenated.....	169
12.2.1	With n.....	170
12.2.2	With kà.....	176
12.3	Nominalised with =ñ.....	179
12.3.1	Absolute.....	179
12.3.2	Relative.....	181
12.4	Complementised.....	188
12.4.1	Purpose.....	188
12.4.2	Content.....	190
13	Information packaging.....	193
13.1	Focus.....	193
13.2	Focusing modifiers.....	200
13.3	Clefting.....	203
13.4	Preposing and dislocation.....	204
13.5	Presentation.....	207
14	Formulae.....	208
15	Texts.....	210
16	Vocabulary.....	220

## **Preface**

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. Although I had the benefit of some coaching in the language by SB (see Sources), no instructional or descriptive materials were available; however, with 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.

This work would not have been possible without four intelligent and very patient informants. With great reluctance, I have not named them below, as I cannot now confirm that they would wish to be identified. I am most grateful to all four.

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	cif	compound-initial 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

Abbreviations for sources/informants are given on page vi.

Abbreviations in interlinear glossing:

AN	animate	ART	article
CAT	catenater	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
NZ	nominaliser	PL	plural
PQ	polar question	PZ	personaliser
SG	singular	TNS	tense
VOC	vocative	1SG/PL	1st person sg/pl
2SG/PL	2nd person sg/pl	3AN/IN	3rd sg animate/inanimate
3PL	3rd person pl		

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

Mass nouns are not marked for number, and one-aspect verbs are not marked 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 Tempene, DK from Kukpariga, and SB from Bawku. 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](http://www.bible.is)  
 KB *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. Kusaal Bible, 2016. GILLBT.  
     Android application available via [www.kusaal-bf.com](http://www.kusaal-bf.com)
- BN *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yɛla*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.  
 KS *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.  
 KK *Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yɛla 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 in its standard orthography, but with double letters for long vowels and grave accents marking low tones.

Arabic is given in ALA-LC romanisation, using classical forms.

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

Upper East Region of Ghana, after [Macab5387](#):



Kusaal is the language of the Kusaasi, the majority ethnic group of the far northeast of Ghana, east of the Red Volta and north of the Gambaga Escarpment; the local major town is Bawku. There are also many Kusaasi settlements in the neighbouring part of Burkina Faso south of Zabré, and a few in Togo. The White Volta separates this territory into *Toende*, Kusaal *Tùen* "West" (Bawku West and the adjacent area of Burkina Faso above), and *Agolle*, Kusaal *Àgòl* "Upper."

The land is mostly open savanna with scattered trees. Much former woodland has been turned over to cultivation; tracts survive especially along the White Volta where settlements are few because of the river blindness (onchocerciasis) endemic there until recent times.

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

The Kusaasi are divided into many patrilineal exogamous clans (**dòod** "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 **p̄ɔr** "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 **t̄ɛ̄-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 Gbewaa* in Mampruli, ruled from Pusiga; he is said to have been swallowed by the earth there. In his sons' time the capital was relocated south to the Mamprussi lands. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this Mamprussi state. Unlike their neighbours, the Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku.

Ethnic group membership is patrilineal, and many Mamprussi in the Bawku area are in fact Kusaal-speaking. It was one of my Mamprussi colleagues who first gave me a Kusaal New Testament; he himself could not speak Mampruli.

The Kusaasi are part of a widespread culture encompassing neighbouring peoples like the Mossi, Farefare, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Balsa. 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, **W̄n** "God", is invoked in proverbs and greetings but is remote from everyday life, and not approached in prayer or worship. Proverbs say

**D̄im n̄e W̄n, dā t̄'as n̄e W̄nné=∅.**

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

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

**W̄n n̄yé kà s̄n.**

"God sees and is silent."

God:SG see and be.silent.

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

A human being is understood as having four components: *nìn-gbīn* "body"; *nyè-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. *Sīg* "life force", used for "spirit" in Christian materials, is in traditional belief identified with a person's tutelary *kìkīrīs*. *Sōnɔb* "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-tōɔg*, literally "bitterness of *wīn*" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular *sīgīr* "guardian spirit" which is often the *wīn* of an ancestor; the word *bōgōr* may also mean "a *wīn* inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's *sīgīr*.

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.

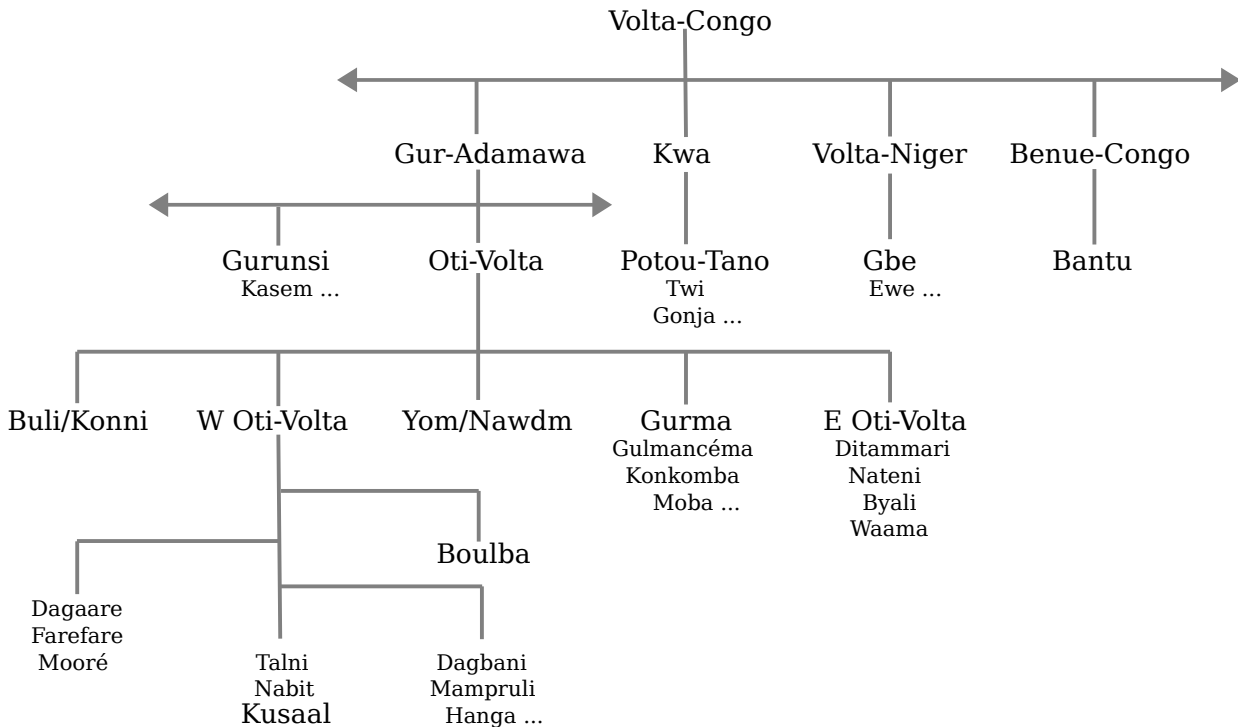
There is a major dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably attributable to the depopulation near the White Volta caused by the river blindness prevalent until recent times. My informants reported little difficulty understanding Toende speakers, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; 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 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 Western group of the Oti-Volta subfamily of Volta-Congo. This tree shows some commonly accepted relationships:



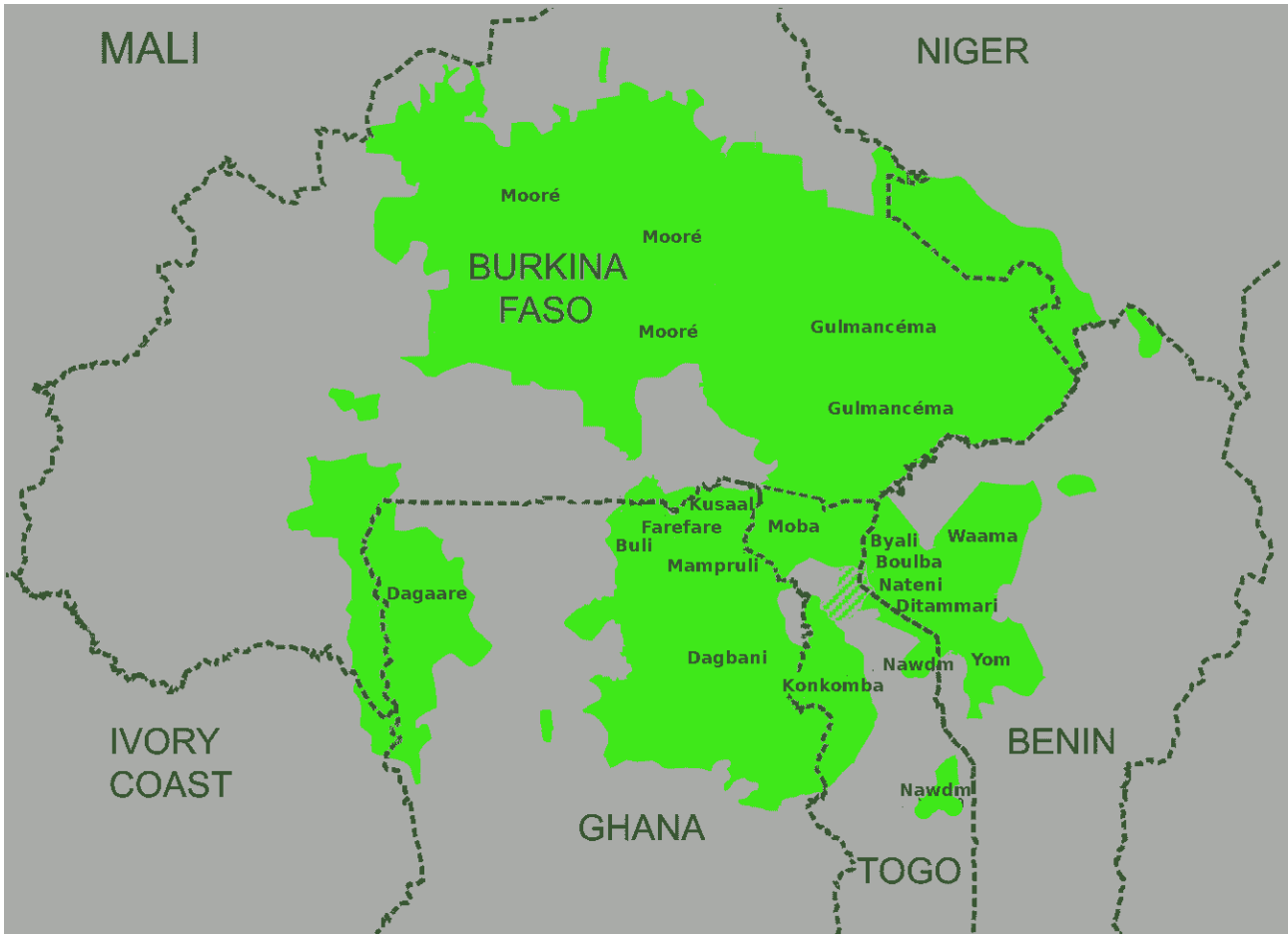
Western Oti-Volta is a close-knit group somewhat less diverse than Romance. Dagaare, Farefare and Mooré should perhaps be represented as individual branches; Boulba shares several areal features with Eastern Oti-Volta. These four languages have lost the inherited imperative flexion *-ma*. Throughout the group, most verbs use the stem as pfv and add *-da* for ipfv; there is also a small conjugation of ipfv-only verbs in *-(y)a* expressing stances, relationships and adjectival senses. Most languages have lost the Oti-Volta noun-class-based gender agreement system.

Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta in lexicon, Konni somewhat less so. Buli verbs are uninflected, and the number of noun classes has been significantly reduced.

Nawdm *-Vh-* corresponds to Western Oti-Volta glottal vowels (*béñgú* "bad", Kusaal *bē'og*); this feature has been lost everywhere else in Oti-Volta.

Yom/Nawdm verb morphology is complex, but has parallels to Western Oti-Volta. One Yom conjugation forms its imperative in *-ma*. Nawdm has many ipfv-only verbs in *-ra*, cognate with the Kusaal ipfv-only *-ya*, and a "permansive" derivative in *-da* with meanings comparable to the default habitual sense of Western Oti-Volta *-da*.

The Oti-Volta languages:



Gurma is more distantly related. Gurma verb flexion is particularly complex, marking aspect with tone changes and with several sets of pfv and ipfv suffixes in numerous different combinations.

Eastern Oti-Volta is equally distant. It is very diverse: Ditamari and Nateni form a subgroup, with which Byali may be more loosely associated, but Waama is probably a distinct branch. Areal effects significantly complicate the picture.

### 1.3 Grammatical sketch

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$\dot{M}$ p̄ dōllá=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=NEG.	"I don't go along (dōl)."
$\dot{M}$ dōllī=bá. 1SG go.with=3PL.	"I go with them."
$\dot{M}$ p̄ zábē=∅. 1SG NEG fight=NEG.	"I haven't fought (zàb)."
$\dot{M}$ zábī=bá. 1SG fight=3PL.	"I've fought them."

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

$\dot{M}$ p̄ dōllí=fō=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=2SG=NEG.	"I don't go with you."
$\dot{M}$ dōllī=f. 1SG go.with=2SG.	"I go with you."
Lì k̄ā' dōkó=∅. 3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.	"It's not a pot (dōk)."
Lì k̄ā' dōkí=nē=∅. 3IN NEG.exist pot:SG=LOC=NEG.	"It's not in a pot."
Lì b̄è n̄ē dōkí=n. 3IN exist FOC pot:SG=LOC.	"It's in a pot."

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

$\dot{M}$ p̄ dōlló=o=∅. 1SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.	"I don't go with him/her." If o of the pronoun "him/her"
$\dot{M}$ dōllō=∅. 1SG go.with=3AN.	"I go with him/her." sf ∅ of the pronoun "him/her"

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

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

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

**M̄ zūgū ∅ zàbìd.** "My head hurts."  
 1SG head:SG CAT fight:IPFV. (catenating **n**)

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

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

sg	pl		sg	pl	
<b>būvg</b>	<b>būs</b>	"goat"	<b>sàbùa</b>	<b>sàbùəs</b>	"lover"
<b>nūa</b>	<b>nōs</b>	"hen"	<b>kūk</b>	<b>kūgūs</b>	"chair"
<b>zàk</b>	<b>zà'as</b>	"compound"	<b>dà'a</b>	<b>dà'as</b>	"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:

<b>kūk</b>	"chair"	+ <b>piəlìg</b>	"white"	→ <b>kùg-piəlìg</b>	"white chair"
<b>būvg</b>	"goat"	+ <b>piəlìg</b>	"white"	→ <b>bù-piəlìg</b>	"white goat"
<b>būvg</b>	"goat"	+ <b>sī'a</b>	"another"	→ <b>bù-sī'a</b>	"another goat"

Head-final compounds like **bù-kūvd** "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	
kū	kūbd	"kill"	nyē	nyēt	"see"
vūl	vūn	"swallow"	wòm	wòm	"hear"

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

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

The article *lā* follows its noun.

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

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

The liaison word =*n* is a very general locative postposition. Certain nouns often appear as postpositions, e.g. *téebùl lā zúg* "onto the table" (*zúg* "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 búj lā. "We gave you the donkey yesterday."  
1PL TNS give=2SG donkey:SG ART.

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

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

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

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

Nīdīb kpīid nē. "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 gòs dú'atà. "He looked at the doctor."  
 3AN TNS look doctor:SG.

Kà ò gòs dú'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*:

Gòsìim dú'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:

Fù yá' bòod, m ná tīsī=f búŋ. "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*:

M kùəs bùŋù\_ ø tīsī=f. "I've sold a donkey to you."  
 1SG sell donkey:SG CAT give=2SG.

Lì à nē gbīgīm lá kà m ñyēt. "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*:

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

Ànó'òní\_ø ñyέε=bá=ø? "Who has seen them?"  
 Who CAT see=3PL=CQ?

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

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

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

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

puà'-kàní=ø bīgí=ø vūḡ lā "the woman whose child was alive"  
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG=NZ live ART

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

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

Purpose clauses lack independency marking, and have imperative mood:

M ná tī=f tūm yé fù nīf dā zábē=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 [k̠p̠] [g̠b̠]) except as noted below. The consonant inventory comprises

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

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.

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

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

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

**s** is often realised [h] word-internally, and may represent *h* in loanwords: **Àláasìd** "Sunday", Hausa **Lahàdì**; **Dàsmáanì** for the personal name 'Abd al-Rahmān.

**r** may be realised as a voiced alveolar or retroflex flap or approximant; after epenthetic vowels it may be retroflex lateral. It does not contrast with **d** word- or root-initially: **d** is the default, but is replaced by **r** after vowel-final prefixes, and initial **d** may be realised like **r** phrase-internally after vowels, as in **nā'-dâug** "ox" (KB **na'araug**.) Elsewhere **d** and **r** contrast:

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

After short root vowels **r** either derives from *\*dy* or results from borrowing or analogy: 2vbs like *kpàr* "lock" have **r** by analogy with lost 1vbs ("be locked" etc.)

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

**y** is [j]. Before nasal vowels **y w** are nasalised, and written *ny nw* with no nasalisation marking on the vowel; here they reflect older nasal occlusives.

*nyē*

"see"

*nwādīg*

"moon"

## 2.2 Vowels

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

<b>a</b>	<b>ɛ</b>	<b>ɪa</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>ɪ</b>	<b>ɔ</b>	<b>ɥa</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>ʊ</b>
<b>aa</b>	<b>ɛɛ</b>	<b>ɪə</b>	<b>ii</b>	<b>ɪɪ</b>	<b>ɔɔ</b>	<b>uə</b>	<b>uu</b>	<b>ʊʊ</b>

**ɪa ɥa ɪə uə** are phonemic *monophthongs*. Initial **ya** has a tenser and shorter onset than **ɪa**: cf *yā* "houses" vs *ɪā* "seek." Word-internal **ɪay ɥay** (e.g. *bɪāyá* "elder same-sex siblings", *sɥāyá* "roads") are realised [ɪj] [ɥj]. The second mora of **uə** is slightly rounded. The vowels **ɪə uə** diphthongise to **ia ua** before prosodic clitics.

Apocope shortens final **ɪə uə** to **ɪa ɥa**: *kɪà* "cut", *kɥā* "hoe." All other **ɪa ɥa** represent **ɛ ɔ** before **k** or underlying **g**: *tɪàk* "change", *bɥàk* "split"; all surface **ɛk ɔk** result via **ɥaku → ɔku** (*bòk* "pit") or shortening of **CV/CVV** roots (*tēk/tēɛg* "pull.")

**ɪ ʊ u** are somewhat more fronted after alveolars and **y**.

Distinctions of short **i/ɪ** and **u/ʊ** have a very low functional load. Except in roots, [i] [u] appear only as allophones of **ɪ ʊ**, and will be written **ɪ ʊ**.

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

Modal (non-glottal) long vowels shorten word-internally before **k t p** and **y**:

<i>gàad</i>	"pass" pfv	<i>gàt</i>	"pass" ipfv
<i>tēɛg</i>	"pull"	<i>tēk</i>	"pull"
<i>tōɔg</i>	"bitter"	<i>tōɛ</i> * <i>tōɔya</i>	"be bitter"

The process also applies in loanwords: *àtèɥk* "sea", Hausa *tèeku*.

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols except  $\underset{\cdot}{i}a \underset{\cdot}{u}a \underset{\cdot}{i}\underset{\cdot}{e} \underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{e}$  represent phonemic **diphthongs**. Non-initial [ɪ] is written **e** except after  $\varepsilon$ , [ʊ] as **o** except after **a**, [i̠] as **ɛ** except after  $\varepsilon \ u$ .

*Primary* diphthongs comprise

		$\underset{\cdot}{i}a'a$	$ia$		$\underset{\cdot}{u}'a$	$ua$	
$a\underset{\cdot}{e}$	$\varepsilon\underset{\cdot}{i}$				$\underset{\cdot}{o}\underset{\cdot}{e}$	$\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{e}$	$u\underset{\cdot}{i}$
$ae$			$ie$		$\underset{\cdot}{o}'e$	$\underset{\cdot}{u}'e$	$ue$
$a\underset{\cdot}{u}$	$\varepsilon\underset{\cdot}{u}$	$\underset{\cdot}{i}a\underset{\cdot}{u}$		$u\underset{\cdot}{u}$			
$av$	$\varepsilon o$		$io$	$iu$			

All also occur nasal, and if long, glottal;  $\underset{\cdot}{i}a'a \underset{\cdot}{u}'a \underset{\cdot}{o}'e \underset{\cdot}{u}'e$  only occur as glottal. 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  $av\eta/a\underset{\cdot}{u}\eta$  and  $ae/a\underset{\cdot}{e}$ .

*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:

$b\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{i}$	"be (pl)!"	$b\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{i}=y\acute{a}$	long form
$z\acute{u}o$	"steal him"	$z\acute{u}o=o$	long form

**Nasalisation** is automatic after **m n**, as in e.g.  $m\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{e}d$  "build" ipfv. Elsewhere it is marked by a following  $\underset{\cdot}{n}$ ; however,  $\underset{\cdot}{n}$  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.

$g\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{n}$	"get tired"	$t\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{e}\underset{\cdot}{n}s$	"lands"
$b\underset{\cdot}{i}\bar{a}\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{n}k$	"shoulder"	$g\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{n}'$	"get angry"
$g\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{n}'\underset{\cdot}{e}d$	"get angry" ipfv	$\underset{\cdot}{n}y\bar{i}\underset{\cdot}{n}$	"tooth"
$\bar{a}\underset{\cdot}{n}o$	"be him/her"		

Except after  $\underset{\cdot}{n}w \underset{\cdot}{n}y$ , all short nasal vowels have become oral before **m n η**.

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

$d\bar{a}'a$	"market"	$d\bar{a}'$	"buy"
$k\underset{\cdot}{p}\bar{i}'a$	"neighbour"	$k\underset{\cdot}{p}\bar{i}\bar{a}'$	"carve"
$p\bar{o}'ab$	"women"	$p\bar{u}\bar{a}'$	"woman"

$M\bar{a}'\bar{a}a$  "only" has a unique overlong monophthong.

Except in questions, all word-final short vowels and short diphthongs are glottalised before pause: e.g. *gēŋ* "tire" falls together with *gēŋ'* "anger."

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

*Yām* "sense" (Buli *yám*, Nawdm *rárm*) and *yā'am* "gall bladder" (Farefare *yá'am*, Buli *yám*, Nawdm *ráhm*) have fallen together as *yām/yā'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: *dī'əsídubà* "receivers", *sjàkìdubā* "believers", *sīgusídubà* "lowerers", *mòlufò* "gazelle." (C)VVV sequences are disyllabic, dividing after the first mora: *nū-áa* "hen."

Stress falls on the first/only vowel mora of the roots of unbound words (note that *i/ɥ* are not moraic.) Within phrases, stress is lost on the first of two or second of three adjacent stressed syllables.

Tone is both lexically and syntactically contrastive. Taking the syllable as tone-bearing unit, there are four tonemes: high (H), mid (M), low (L) and circumflex (X), written respectively as in *gél* "egg", *kōk* "chair", *kòk* "ghost", *nū'ug* "hand." 3-mora vowel sequences carry two tonemes: *nūáa* "hen." Only superheavy syllables may carry X, which is elsewhere replaced by: *nū'ug* "hand", long form *nú'ugò*.

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

<i>Bà kâ' dī'əsídubā.</i>	"They are not receivers."
<i>Lì kâ' mólufò.</i>	"It's not a gazelle."
vs <i>Ò pū zábì=fò.</i>	"He hasn't fought you."
<i>Kà yà pū sjákìdā.</i>	"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 sām* "my father", *mān sām* "my guests."

In certain contexts H and X are realised with a preceding downstep, lowering the initial pitch to the level of M. Without an intervening pause,

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

Downstep between H and H/X:

	M̃ gós !náaf lā kpēlá.	"I looked at the cow there."
	M̃ gós !nú'ug lā kpēlá.	"I looked at the hand there."
but	Kà m̃ gós náaf lā kpēlá.	"And I looked at the cow there."
	Kà m̃ gós nú'ug lā kpēlá.	"And I looked at the hand there."

MH → M!H when the next syllable is superheavy:

	Lì à nē !púkòŋr lā.	"It's the widow."
	Mān !bú-bē'og kâ'e.	"My bad goat isn't there."
	Mān !bú-piəl kâ'e.	"My white goat isn't there."
	Biig lā !sá mēɛd yīr lā.	"The child was building the house."
but	Lì kâ' púkòŋrē.	"It's not a widow."
	Mān bú-wōk kâ'e.	"My tall goat isn't there."
	Mān bú-sùŋ kâ'e.	"My good goat isn't there."
	Biig lā sá mē yīr lā.	"The child built the house."

MH → M!H when the next syllable is prepausal and does not carry L:

	Kà m̃ gós !náaf lā.	"And I looked at the cow."
	Yū!gúm kâ'e.	"There's no camel."
	Bà kâ' !mólū.	"They aren't gazelles."
	Lì kâ' bī-!púnā.	"It's not a girl."
	Ò pō yādı!gídā.	"He isn't scattering."
but	Kà m̃ gós náaf lā kpēlá.	"And I looked at the cow there."
	Yūgúm lā kâ'e.	"The camel's not there."
	Lì kâ' mólufō.	"It's not a gazelle."
	Bà à nē mólū.	"They are gazelles."
	Lì kâ' bī-púnāa?	"Isn't it a girl?"
	Àń'òní yādıgídā?	"Who is scattering?"
and	Lì à nē dōog lā.	"It's the hut." (MX, not MH)



## 2.4 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. KS uses *ng ng nk* for **ŋ ɲg ɲk**. Writing of final **m n ŋ** of right-bound words often shows their assimilation to following consonants: *bvmbvvdif bōn-bóvdìf* "seed."

Final **-ɪya** in loanwords is written *-ia*: *dunia dūnɪyā* "world."

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

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

KB sometimes writes *e* for the vowel of superlight syllables: *bedegv bèdugv̄* "a lot", *sanrega sārɪgá* "prison."

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

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

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

*e i u* are used for **ɛ ɪ ʊ**. The contrast **ae/aɛ** is expressed by writing *aae/aaɛ* for **ae**: *paae pāe* "reach." Both **av** and **au** are written *au/av*. Glottalisation marking distinguishes e.g. *kpi'a' kpɪà'* "carve" from *kpi'a' kpì'a'* "neighbour", but **ua'/ʊ'a'** are both written *o'a* before 2016, *u'a* in KB: *pu'a puā'* "woman", *pu'ab pū'ab* "women." Final **ʊ'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 tōyá* "be bitter."

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

Except with *an àŋ* "be" and *ka' kā'* "not be", verb-final monophthongisation is usually ignored: *faaen ti fāan=tí* "saved us."

*n* is used for **ŋ**: *tɛens tēɛŋs* "lands." Formerly, *nn* was used for **ŋ** when word-final without even a following glottalisation mark, but KB uses an ambiguous single *n*: *gaan gāan* "jackalberry", *daan dāan* "owner." Before 2016, **àŋ** "be" was written *a*. *Nyāe* "brightly" is written *nyain*.

All glottal vowels are written long word-internally and in bound words: *pa'a pà'* "earlier today", *kpɛ'ɛŋ kpè'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. *tólùlù*, intensifier for "tall", *sāpī* "straight", *nyāe* "brightly", *fáss*, intensifier for "white." All other words are *particles*.

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

#### 3.1 Word boundaries

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. Compound-initial forms (cifs) often appear as NP heads before adjectives or demonstratives: *tì-kàṅā* "this tree." Cifs have no diagnostic phonological characteristics, and compounds may include unbound words: [*ānzúrɪfà nē sālímā 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 distinguishes bound words from free. However, left-bound liaison words §4.4 are distinct segmentally and tonally from other left-bound words and from free words; the term **clitic** will be reserved for these and for "prosodic" clitics §4.3. Boundness differs from dependency: cifs may be dependents or heads, and personal pronouns always head their own NPs.

The symbol = is used before enclitics with a segmental form, and also before  $\emptyset$  in glossing. Cifs are hyphenated to the following word: thus *zīm-gbâṅ'ad* "fisherman", *bù-pièlḡ* "white goat", *bù-kàṅā* "this goat", *bù-pièl-kàṅā* "this white goat."

Standard orthography writes compounds solid unless the cif is segmentally identical to the sg: *bvkaṅa bù-kàṅā* "this goat" but *dau kaṅa dàṅ-kàṅā* "this man." It writes pronouns separately if they have vowels of their own. Enclitic pronouns reduced to single consonants by apocope §3.2 are written solid with the preceding word in KB; previously, =*m* "me" was written as a separate word, while the mora before =*f* "you" was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

Fù dólì ti.

"You come with us."

Fù dólì=í.

2SG go.with=1PL.

Fu dolli m. F̀̀ d̀̀́ll̄=m. 2SG go.with=1SG.	KB d̀̀llim	"You come with me."
M dol uf. M̀̀ d̀̀́ll̄=f. 1SG go.with=2SG.	KB d̀̀llif	"I go with you."
M gban'e uf. M̀̀ gb̄̀n̄'a=f. 1SG seize=2SG.	KB gban'af	"I've seized you."

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

Fu dɔl o. F̀̀ d̀̀́ll̄=ø. 2SG go.with=3AN.	[dɔl:ɔ]	"You go with her."
Fu pɔ dɔl oo. F̀̀ p̄̀ d̄̀́ll̄=ɔ=ø. 2SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.		"You don't go with her."
Fu nyɛ o. F̀̀ n̄̀ȳ́ɔ=ø. 2SG see=3AN.		"You've seen her."
Fu pɔ nyɛ oo. F̀̀ p̄̀ n̄̀ȳ́ɔ=ɔ=ø. 2SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.		"You've not seen her."

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

The personaliser pronoun 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-*nē* solid after à "be", and usually after other verbs; *nē* "with" is written solid after *wēn* "be like", producing *nwɛnɛ* in KB.

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

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

Independent-perfective *yā* is written solid with the preceding verb:

Nannanna o gaadya. "Now he has gone." (2 Sm 3:24)  
 Nānná-nā, ò gāad 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 gaadɔg pɔ tɔi yaa.  
 Àràzánà nē dūnyā gāadòg pō tōyá=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 nyē bīig. "She saw a child."  
 3AN TNS see child:SG.

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

Among other cases described below, lfs end clauses with negative VPs, questions (content and polar), and vocatives.

Lf *bīigā* thus appears in

Ò dāa pū nyē biigā=∅. "He/she did not see a child."  
 3AN TNS NEG see child:SG=NEG.

Ànó'ónì\_∅ dāa nyē biigā=∅? "Who saw a child?"  
 Who CAT TNS see child:SG=CQ?

Ì biigā=∅! "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	→ īa	ua	→ ūa	īa'a	→ īa'	v'a	→ v̄a'
ae	→ āe	av	→ āv	ui	→ ūi		
Vaa	→ V̄a	Vee	→ V̄e	Vuu	→ V̄u		
Nasal and/or glottal 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 ɪ/e/i and ē/ī 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 cifs (*ya'ab* "mould pots" vs *ya'ap* "potter.")

Examples:

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

Dūk lā bódìg yā. "The pot has got lost."  
 Pot:SG ART get.lost ND.

Lì k̄a' dūkó=∅. "It's not a pot."  
 3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

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

Lì à nē kūk.	"It's a chair."
Lì kā' kūkā.	"It's not a chair."
Lì à nē kúkàa?	"Is it a chair?"
Lì à nē gbīgīm.	"It's a lion."
Lì kā' gbīgīmnē.	"It's not a lion."
Lì à nē yáarìm.	"It's salt."
Lì kā' yáarīmm.	"It's not salt."
Lì à nē dāy.	"It's a man."
Lì kā' dāv.	"It's not a man."
Bà à nē gbīgīmā.	"They're lions."
Bà kā' gbīgīmāa.	"They're not lions."
Kà ò sjàk.	"And he agreed."
And 3AN agree.	
Ò pū sjàkē=∅.	"He hasn't agreed."
3AN NEG agree=NEG.	
Kà ò dīgī.	"And she's lying down."
Ò pū dīgīyá.	"She isn't lying down."
Kà ò vūḡ.	"And she's alive."
Ò pū vūyá.	"She's not alive."
Kà ò kjà.	"And she cut (it)."
Ò pū kía.	"She hasn't cut (it)."
Kà ò pāe.	"And he arrived."
Ò pū 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  $\text{ɪ } \text{ʊ}$  to  $\text{ɛ } \text{ɔ}$  and  $\text{mɪ}$  to  $\text{mm}$  seen before prosodic clitics in the examples above.

Lfs are best regarded as synchronically primary. Sf-final  $\text{m n l}$  may or may not be geminated in the lf, or  $\text{m}$  may become  $\text{mn}$ , and the lf final vowel may be  $\text{a } \text{ɪ}$  or  $\text{ʊ}$ . Nevertheless, most lfs can be predicted from sfs on phonological or morphological grounds, and in some lfs have in fact been analogically remodelled.

The default lf ending corresponding to sfs ending in a consonant is  $\text{ɪ}$ . Before prosodic clitics  $\text{mɪ}$  appears as  $\text{mm}$ , with  $\text{ɪ}$  otherwise appearing as  $\text{ɛ}$ . Thus e.g.

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

Lì p̄ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bîig p̄á' Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias=NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4 NT2)

Sfs ending in long monophthongs have segmentally identical lfs. Otherwise, sfs ending in vowels have lfs obtainable by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong; sfs ending in glottal *ja'* *ua'* have lfs in *ja'a* *u'a* by default.

However, all but five 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in *-ya*, and for DK (not WK) so do *sōɛŋ* "witch" and *sāɛŋ* "blacksmith."

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:

gbīgūmā	"lions"	lf	gbīgūmāa
dāu	"man"		dāu
pāe'	"reach"		pāée
kūā	"hoe"		kūa
dīā'	"get dirty"		dīā'a
pūā'	"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:

bīg <sub>a</sub>	"child"	lf	bīgā
dūk <sub>v</sub> '	"pot"		dūkú
dīg <sub>ya</sub> '	"be lying down"		dīg <sub>yá</sub>
sjàk	"agree"		sjàkì
yàar <sub>im</sub>	"salt"		yàar <sub>mì</sub>
gbīg <sub>m</sub>	"lion"		gbīg <sub>m</sub> nī

Words with lfs in *-ya* where sf-final *y* becomes *ɛ* are written with *ya*:

vū <sub>ɛya</sub> '	"live"	lf	vūyá
sā <sub>ɛya</sub>	"smith"		sānyā

A few cases must be written out separately, as with *pāmm* lf *pāmní* "a lot", and the very few words with lfs in glottal *i'a* *u'a*: *kpià'* lf *kpi'a* "shape wood."

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

	kōk <sub>a</sub>	"chair"	lf	kōkā
	sīa	"waist"		sīāa
	dāu	"man"		dāu
but	dōk <sub>v</sub> ´	"pot"	lf	dōkú
	vīid´	"owls"		vīidí
	nūa´	"hen"		nūáa
	tāuŋ´	"opposite-sex sib"		tāuŋ

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:

nū'ug <sub>v</sub>	"hand"	lf	nú'ugù
nóbìr	"foot"		nóburì
wābōg <sub>v</sub> ´	"elephant"		wābɔgú
dìgìr	"dwarf"		dìgurì

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

būdī	"tribe"	lf	būdī
bèdɔgō´	"a lot"		bèdɔgú
yā´	"houses"		yāa
pāmm	"a lot"		pāmní
mà'aa	"only"		mà'anì
gùllīmm	"only"		gùllīmnì
nyāe	"brightly"		nyāení
kòtāa	"at all"		kòtāanì



### 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 CVIN, where N is a homorganic nasal. Full words end in either a flexion (C)V(V) or in a **dummy suffix**: **ɪ** 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 ɪ ʊ aa ɪ ʊʊ**. Prefix **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] if the first root vowel mora is **i** or **u**, as in **k̀̀k̀̀r̄g** "fairy", **s̀̀s̀̀'əm** "wind", **s̄̀l̄̀ns̄̀f̄ung** "spider", **d̀̀nd̀̀ug** "cobra", **v̀̀l̄̀nv̀̀ūn̄l** "mason wasp." Before prosodic clitics final **mɪ** becomes **mm** and short final **ɪ ʊ** 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**: **ɪ** by default, **ʊ** before **-gʊ/ŋʊ**. Apocope renders this **ɪ/ʊ** distinction contrastive. Non-contrastive rounding of epenthetic **ɪ** to **ʊ** takes place after a short rounded root vowel + **g**: **gb̄ḡm** "lion", **ȳḡm** "camel." Written **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] after short root **i** or **u** with any single consonant intervening, as in **s̄ḡd** "lowers", **k̄ḡr** "stone."

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

<b>ḡānr'</b>	"jackalberry fruit"	pl	<b>ḡānyá</b>
<b>bàl̄aar</b>	"stick, club"		<b>bàl̄àyà</b>
<b>k̀̀k̀̀r̄'</b>	"voice"		<b>k̀̀k̀̀yá</b>
<b>n̄ōr'</b>	"mouth"		<b>n̄ōyá</b>
<b>z̄ōʊr</b>	"tail"		<b>z̄ōyā</b>
<b>b̄īər'</b>	"elder same-sex sib"		<b>b̄īāyá</b>
<b>z̄ūər</b>	"hill"		<b>z̄ūāyā</b>
<b>t̄ītā'ar</b>	"big"		<b>t̄ītādā</b>
<b>p̀̀n̄'ər</b>	"cripple"		<b>p̀̀ndà</b>
<b>ȳū'ər'</b>	"name"		<b>ȳūdá</b>
<b>ȳū'ər</b>	"penis"		<b>ȳūādā</b>
<b>m̀̀'ar</b>	"reservoir, dam"		<b>m̀̀'a(dà)</b>

### 3.3.1 Root allomorphy

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

<i>dāp<sub>a</sub></i>	"men"	<i>dāvg<sub>v</sub></i>	"male"
<i>dòt</i>	"huts"	<i>dòvg<sub>v</sub></i>	"hut"
<i>dìt<sub>a</sub></i>	"eat" ipfv	<i>dì</i>	pfv
<i>dìm<sub>a</sub></i>	"eat" imp	<i>dīvb<sub>v</sub></i>	"food"
<i>kèl<sub>a</sub></i>	"let" imp	<i>kē</i>	pfv
<i>bīl<sub>a</sub></i>	"little"	<i>bīig<sub>a</sub> pl bīs</i>	"child"

*CV* in sg *zūgv´* "head" (pl *zūt´*) is exceptional (cf Farefare *zúugó* pl *zútó*.)

Pls often show *CVV* by analogy with sgs, e.g. *dòod* "huts"; so always with *dāad* "male."

Before *-ri*, *CVV* is regular (*pùkòònr* "widow" vs *pukòntim* "widowhood", Toende *pòkòp* "widows") but *CV* does occur (*nā'-lór* "place for tying up cows", *kùkòr´* "voice.")

Before derivational suffixes, *CVV* is usual:

<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dìs</i>	"feed"
<i>dāp<sub>a</sub></i>	"men"	<i>dāalim</i>	"masculinity"

Exceptions are *yīs/yīs´* "make emerge" (*yī* "emerge", ipfv *yīt<sub>a</sub>´*); *gòs* "look", ipfv *gòt<sub>a</sub>´/gòsīd<sub>a</sub>´*, imp *gò(sì)m<sub>a</sub>*; *tìs* "give" ipfv *tìt<sub>a</sub>/tìsīd<sub>a</sub>*; and with *g* → *k* after *CV*:

<i>wìk</i>	"draw water"	<i>wīid<sub>a</sub></i>	ipfv
<i>tēk´/tēeg´</i>	"pull"	<i>tēed<sub>a</sub>´/tēkīd<sub>a</sub></i>	ipfv

Rounded root-final vowels become glottal before derivational *g* s:

<i>vōr´</i>	"alive"	<i>vō'vg´</i>	"revive"
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yò'vg</i>	"open"
<i>tòṅ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòṅ'os</i>	"hunt"

Historical *CVy* roots have become *CVd* before derivational *g*:

<i>lō</i>	"tie"	<i>lōdīg´</i>	"untie"
<i>pō</i>	"divide"	<i>pōdīg´</i>	"share out"

Cf Mooré *lòe* "tie", *púi* "share."

Some roots alternate *CVC/CVVC*. Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns. In derivation, only *CVC* may appear before suffixes other than noun-deriving *l*.

<i>zíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"fish"	<i>zīmí</i>	"fishes"
<i>pīim´</i>	"arrow"	<i>pīmá</i>	"arrows"
<i>yùum<sub>n</sub></i>	"year"	<i>yùmà</i>	"years"
<i>náaf<sub>v</sub></i>	"cow"	<i>nā´-</i>	cif
<i>wáaf<sub>v</sub></i>	"snake"	<i>wā´-</i>	cif
<i>tūmā</i>	"work" (noun)	<i>tùm</i>	"work" (verb)
<i>kāal´</i>	"count"	<i>kāl<sub>l</sub>´</i>	"number"
<i>tūlúg<sub>v</sub></i>	"hot"	<i>tūl<sub>l</sub>a´</i>	"be hot"
<i>māal</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālōŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìə̀lìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"white"	<i>pè̀lìg</i>	"whiten"
<i>kpī'əŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'əŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>lìəb</i>	"become"	<i>lè̀bìg</i>	"turn"
<i>tūlúg<sub>v</sub></i>	"hot"	<i>tūlìg´</i>	"heat"
<i>dēəŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i>	"go first"
<i>pìəb</i>	"blow" (flute)	<i>pè̀bìs</i>	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul</i>	"swing" (intransitive)	<i>yùlìg</i>	"swing" (transitive)

### 3.3.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

**Set 1:** consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

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

<i>aaga</i> → <i>aaa</i>	<i>iəga</i> → <i>iaa</i>	<i>uəga</i> → <i>uaa</i>	
<i>aagv</i> → <i>aee</i>	<i>iəgv</i> → <i>iee</i>	<i>uəgv</i> → <i>uee</i>	
<i>bāa</i>	* <i>baaga</i>	"dog"	pl <i>bāas</i>
<i>sīa</i>	* <i>siəga</i>	"waist"	pl <i>sīəs</i>
<i>sàbùa</i>	* <i>sabuəga</i>	"lover"	pl <i>sàbùəs</i>
<i>pāe´</i>	* <i>paagv</i>	"reach"	ger <i>páar</i> * <i>paagv</i>
<i>kpì'e</i>	* <i>kpì'əgv</i>	"approach"	ger <i>kpì'ər</i> * <i>kpì'əgv</i>
<i>dūe´</i>	* <i>duəgv</i>	"raise, rise"	ger <i>dúer</i> * <i>duəgv</i>

Single *g* is deleted after *a ja ua*, producing *a'a ja'a u'a*; any following affix vowel is deleted. Nasal vowels behave identically.

<i>pṽā'</i>	* <i>pṽaga</i>	"woman"	pl <i>pṽ'ab<sub>a</sub></i>	* <i>pṽagba</i>
<i>zàk<sub>a</sub></i>	* <i>zagga</i>	"compound"	pl <i>zà'as</i>	* <i>zagsɪ</i>
<i>lāṽk<sub>v</sub></i>	* <i>laggv</i>	"item of goods"	pl <i>lā'ad</i>	* <i>lagdɪ</i>
<i>piàṽnk<sub>v</sub></i>	* <i>piãggv</i>	"word"	pl <i>piàn'ad</i>	* <i>piãgdɪ</i>
<i>pṽāk<sub>a</sub></i>	* <i>pṽagga</i>	"female"	pl <i>pṽ'as</i>	* <i>pṽagsɪ</i>
<i>bòk<sub>v</sub></i>	* <i>bṽaggv</i>	"pit"	pl <i>bṽ'ad</i>	* <i>bṽagdɪ</i>

**Set 2:** *ĩə ũə* → *ɛɛ ɔɔ* (and likewise with glottal vowels.)

<i>zèṽ'ɛs</i>	pl "red"	sg <i>zìṽ'a</i>	
<i>dòṽṽs</i>	"dawadawas"	sg <i>dùṽṽ</i>	
<i>Mòṽl</i>	"Mooré"	cf <i>Mùṽ</i>	"Mossi person"
<i>sṽṽ'òd<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"outdoer"	cf <i>sṽṽ'e'</i>	"improve"
<i>sṽṽ</i>	"rub"	cf <i>sṽṽ'e'</i>	"anoint"

However, the ipfvs and gerunds of fusion verbs preserve *ĩə ũə* by analogy with verbs with oral vowels: *nìṽ* "appear" ger *nìṽər*; *pṽṽ'e'* "rot" ger *pṽṽ'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	:ṽs	nn	ṽf	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g.	gg → k	g̀̀k <sub>a</sub>	"dumb" sg	g̀̀g̀̀s pl	
	mg → ŋ	b̀̀ŋ <sub>a</sub>	"donkey" sg	b̀̀m̀̀s pl	
		cf k̀̀l̄g <sub>a</sub>	"river" sg	k̀̀l̄s pl	
	dd → t	b̀̀t <sub>a</sub>	"plant" ipfv	b̀̀d pfv	
	ld → nn	k̀̀n <sub>na</sub> '	"go home" ipfv	k̀̀l pfv	
		cf d̀̀g̀̀d <sub>a</sub> '	"cook" ipfv	d̀̀g pfv	
	bb → p	s̀̀p <sub>v</sub> '	"writing" ger	s̀̀b pfv	
	mb → mm	k̀̀m <sub>mv</sub>	"shepherding" ger	k̀̀m pfv	
		cf p̀̀d̄b <sub>v</sub>	"name" ger	p̀̀d pfv	
	mr → mn	d̀̀m <sub>n</sub>	"knee" sg	d̀̀m̄ pl	
	nr → nn	t̄n <sub>n</sub>	"earth" sg	t̄n̄ pl	
	lr → ll	g̀̀l̄	"egg" sg	g̀̀l̄á pl	
		cf d̀̀g̀̀r	"dwarf" sg	d̀̀g̀̀à pl	
	rl → t	B̄t'	"Bisa language"	B̄r̄s'	"Bisa people"
		cf K̄s̄aal	"Kusaal"	K̄s̄aas	"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	t̄ŋ <sub>a</sub>	pl	t̄ɛŋs	*t̄ɛnsɪ	"land"
	k̀̀l̄ŋ <sub>a</sub>		k̀̀l̄̀s	*k̀̀l̄̀nsɪ	"door"
	n̄f <sub>v</sub> '		n̄n̄í		"eye"
	p̄ɪŋf <sub>v</sub>		p̄ɪn̄í		"genet"

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

**mn** has now mostly become **mm**. A few ipfvs in *mn* remain in NT, e.g. *daamne ba* (Lk 6:18 NT1) *d̀̀aam̄n̄=b̄á* "trouble them", *wum na* (Mt 13:15 NT2) *ẁ̀m̄n̄ā* "hear." Some informants preserve **mn** in noun lfs: *gb̄iḡim̄n̄* SB "lion", *gb̄iḡimm̄* WK. Word-internal **mn̄** appears only in agent nouns: *t̀̀m̄-t̀̀m̄n̄b̄<sub>a</sub>* "servants", but *b̀̀n̄-t̀̀m̄m̄r̄* "useful thing" pl *t̀̀m̄n̄* 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	ẁ̀m <sub>ma</sub>	ger	ẁ̀m <sub>mv</sub>	"hear (ẁ̀m)"
	t̀̀ɔ̄m <sub>ma</sub> /t̀̀ɔ̄m̄í <sub>a</sub>		t̀̀ɔ̄ŋ <sub>v</sub> /t̀̀ɔ̄m̄ú <sub>v</sub>	"depart (t̀̀ɔ̄m̄)'"
	k̀̀àr̄im <sub>ma</sub> /k̀̀àr̄im̄í <sub>a</sub>		k̀̀àr̀̀ŋ <sub>v</sub> /k̀̀àr̄im̄ù <sub>v</sub>	"read (k̀̀àr̄im)"

WK DK avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfvs only as lfs or before focus-*nē'*. KB sometimes even has ipfvs like *wòmìd<sub>a</sub>* for clarity (Phil 1:30.)

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

ipfv	<i>bùn<sub>na</sub></i>	ger	<i>būnīb<sub>v</sub></i>	"reap ( <i>bùn</i> )"
	<i>dìgùnìd<sub>a</sub></i>		<i>dìgùnùg<sub>v</sub></i>	"lie down ( <i>dìgìn</i> )"
	<i>gò'ònìd<sub>a</sub></i>		<i>gò'ònùg<sub>v</sub></i>	"extend neck ( <i>gò'òn</i> )"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate further only with *mmm* → *mm* and *llr* → *ll*: thus *dàm* "shake", imperative *dàm<sub>ma</sub>*, but ipfv *dàmmìd<sub>a</sub>* ipfv, gerund *dàmmùg<sub>v</sub>*; *kùg-dēlì'* "chair for leaning on", pl *kùg-dēllá*; contrast *kōt'* "slaughter", ipfv *kōtìd<sub>a</sub>*.

Derivational *n* represents earlier *nn*: *pībūn<sub>n</sub>* pl *pībūnā* "covering", Mooré *pìbìndgà* "lid"; *vàbìn* "lie prone", Mooré *vábende*.

**Set 4:** regressive vowel assimilation.

Long modal vowels shorten before word-internal *y*, but glottal vowels change back second morae to front, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

<i>tōēya'</i>	"be bitter"	<i>tōog<sub>v</sub></i>	"bitter"
<i>sōñ'e<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"be better than"	<i>sōñ'òd<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"outdoer"

A historical shortening before *w* underlies *dāu* "man", *tāu<sub>n</sub>'* "opposite-sex sib."

Short unrounded root vowels become *Vu* before *ku/ηv*; *ja* becomes *ia<sub>u</sub>*, but *ua* becomes *ɔ*: *uakv* → *ɔkv*:

<i>gbà<sub>u</sub>η<sub>v</sub></i>	"book"	pl	<i>gbànà</i>
<i>yī<sub>u</sub>η<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"single"		<i>yīnà</i>
<i>lā<sub>u</sub>k<sub>v</sub></i>	"goods item"		<i>lā'ad</i>
<i>bjā<sub>u</sub>η<sub>k</sub><sub>v</sub></i>	"shoulder"		<i>bjā<sub>n</sub>'ad</i>
<i>bò<sub>k</sub><sub>v</sub></i>	"pit"		<i>bù'ad</i>

Short *i* does not diphthongise: *nìn-gbī<sub>η</sub><sub>v</sub>'* "body."

Unrounded second morae of long vowels are rounded before *gu/ηv*, with lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense becoming [u]; epenthetic *ɪ* likewise becomes *u*. *iəgv* → *ɛu<sub>g</sub>v* and *uəgv* → *ɔɔ<sub>g</sub>v*, but here the pl vowels are remodelled on the sg.

<i>dà<sub>u</sub>g<sub>v</sub></i>	"log"	pl	<i>dàad</i>
<i>fē<sub>η</sub>'og<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"ulcer"		<i>fē<sub>η</sub>'ed'</i>
<i>kpī'ò<sub>η</sub><sub>v</sub></i>	"strong"		<i>kpī'əmā</i>
<i>vī<sub>u</sub>g<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"owl"		<i>vīid'</i>

wābūg <sub>v</sub> '	"elephant"	wābīd'
mālūŋ <sub>v</sub>	"sacrifice"	mālīmā
bē'og <sub>v</sub>	"bad"	bē'əd (but bī'a "bad", pl bī'əs)
lām-fōog <sub>v</sub>	"toothless"	lām-fōəd (but fùe "extract")

The sole pl in -uəd is zùəd "friendship" (pl only.) Dàbīog<sub>v</sub> pl dābīəd "coward" may have been influenced by an obsolete \*dābīəm "coward" (Mooré *ràbéémà*.)

### 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 cif
	verbs:	all-M after nà/kù    all-L otherwise

Any tonemes after H are L. L flexional suffixes other than the dummy suffix carried M historically; the original toneme appears before locative =n and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M spreading seen after the corresponding sfs. Final L likewise becomes M in apocope-blocked sfs, changing to H in the lfs.

Superlight syllables are toneless. A toneless lf syllable which becomes word-final by apocope is assigned M toneme after a preceding M syllable, and L otherwise:

wābūg <sub>v</sub> '	"elephant"	lf	wābugú	sf	wābūg
dìgìr	"dwarf"		dìgìrì		dìgìr
nóbìr	"foot"		nóbìrì		nóbìr

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, cif §5.1. Cifs are allocated tonemes as stem+V prior to apocope, with cif-final  $\eta$  treated like *single m* or *n*.

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

$z\bar{u}g-k\bar{o}g\bar{o}r$	$z\bar{u}g-k\bar{o}g\bar{a}$	$z\bar{u}g-k\bar{o}g-$	"pillow"
$k\bar{a}-w\bar{e}n\bar{n}\bar{r}$	$k\bar{a}-w\bar{e}n\bar{n}\bar{a}$	$k\bar{a}-w\bar{e}n-$	"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.

$v\bar{o}r'$ (lf $v\bar{o}r\acute{i}$ )	$v\bar{o}y\acute{a}$	$v\bar{o}r-$	"alive"
$y\bar{i}r'$	$y\bar{a}'$ (lf $y\acute{a}a$ )	$y\bar{i}-$	"house"
$d\bar{o}k_b'$	$d\bar{o}g\bar{o}d'$ (lf $d\bar{o}g\bar{o}d\acute{i}$ )	$d\bar{o}g-$	"pot"
$n\bar{u}a'$ (lf $n\bar{u}a\acute{a}$ )	$n\bar{o}\bar{o}s'$	$n\bar{o}-$	"hen"
$f\bar{u}ug_b'$	$f\bar{u}ud'$	$f\bar{u}-$	"shirt"
$n\bar{i}d_a'$	$n\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a'$	$n\bar{i}n-$	"person"
$k\bar{u}g\bar{o}r'$	$k\bar{u}g\acute{a}$	$k\bar{u}g-$	"stone"
$g\bar{o}t_a'$	$g\bar{o}t\bar{i}b_a$	$g\bar{o}t-$	"seer"
$s\bar{a}b\bar{i}l\acute{g}_a$	$s\bar{a}b\bar{i}l\acute{s}$	$s\bar{a}b\bar{i}l-$ ( $s\bar{a}b\bar{i}l\acute{i}$ )	"black"
$y\bar{o}g\bar{u}m_n$	$y\bar{o}g\bar{u}m\acute{a}$	$y\bar{o}g\bar{u}m-$ ( $y\bar{o}g\bar{u}m\acute{i}$ )	"camel"
$d\bar{i}'\acute{e}s_a'$	$d\bar{i}'\acute{e}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$d\bar{i}'\acute{e}s-$	"receiver"
$s\bar{u}g\bar{o}r\bar{i}d_a$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{o}r\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$s\bar{u}g\bar{o}r\bar{i}d-$	"forgiver"
$k\bar{o}'al\bar{i}\eta_a$	$k\bar{o}'al\bar{i}s$	$k\bar{o}'al\bar{i}\eta-$	traditional smock
$s\bar{u}'\acute{e}\eta_a$	$s\bar{u}'\acute{e}m\bar{i}s$	$s\bar{u}'\acute{e}\eta-$ ( $s\bar{u}'\acute{e}m\bar{i}$ )	"hare"
$s\bar{a}an_a'$	$s\acute{a}am_{ma}$	$s\bar{a}an-$	"stranger"
$s\acute{a}ann\grave{m}$			"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.

$n\bar{i}s$	$*niins\bar{i}$	(also $n\bar{i}m\bar{i}s$ )	"birds"
$p\bar{i}\eta f_b$	$*p\bar{i}unf_b$	(pl $p\bar{i}un\acute{i}$ )	"genet"
$w\acute{a}af_b$	$*waagf_b$	(pl $w\bar{i}ig\acute{i}$ )	"snake"
$y\acute{a}ab_a$	$*yaagba$		"grandparent"

So with all tp H fusion verb gerunds:  $n\acute{a}ar$   $*naagr\bar{i}$  "finishing",  $d\bar{i}'\acute{e}r$   $*di'\acute{e}gr\bar{i}$  "getting",  $p\bar{u}\eta'\acute{e}r$   $*p\bar{u}'\acute{e}gr\bar{i}$  "rotting."



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

<i>nyīrí<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>nyīrí</i>	"egusi seed"
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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:

<i>nû'ug<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>nû'us</i>	<i>nū'-</i>	"hand, arm"
<i>nóbìr</i>	<i>nōbá</i>	<i>nōb-</i>	"foot, leg"
<i>gélì</i>	<i>gēlá</i>	<i>gēl-</i>	"egg"

So too *à-gâvng<sub>v</sub>* "pied crow", *gbêenm* "sleep", *ánsìb<sub>a</sub>* "mother's brother", *kísòg<sub>v</sub>* "hateful", and the gerunds *sónsìg<sub>a</sub>* "talking", *gósìg<sub>a</sub>* "looking", *kìkíròg<sub>v</sub>* "hurrying."

Tp H with prefixes:

<i>dàyūug<sub>v</sub>'</i>	<i>dàyūud'</i>	<i>dàyū-</i>	"rat"
<i>Bùsáŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>Bùsâaŋs</i>	<i>Bùsâŋ-</i>	"Bisa person"
<i>zīnzāuŋ<sub>v</sub>'</i>	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzāuŋ-</i>	"bat"
<i>gūmpūzēr'</i>	<i>gūmpūzēyá</i>	<i>gūmpūzēr-</i>	"duck"
<i>pīpīrīg<sub>a</sub>'</i>	<i>pīpīrīs'</i>	<i>pīpīr-</i>	"desert"
<i>tīntōŋrīg<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>tīntōŋrís</i>	<i>tīntōŋr-</i>	"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.

<i>sù'ug<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sù'us</i>	<i>sù'-</i>	"knife"
<i>zàk<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>zà'as</i>	<i>zà'-</i>	"compound"
<i>mòlìf<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>pùgudìb<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>pùgùd-nàm<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>pùgùd-</i>	"father's sister"
<i>sàal<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sàalìb<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sàal-</i>	"human"
<i>mèeŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>mèemìs</i>	<i>mèeŋ-</i>	"turtle"
<i>àŋròŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>àŋrìmà</i>	<i>àŋròŋ-</i>	"boat"
<i>zìlìm<sub>n</sub></i>	<i>zìlìmà</i>	<i>zìlìm-</i>	"tongue"
<i>nòŋìd<sub>a</sub></i>			"lover"
<i>sìilìŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sìilì(mì)s</i>	<i>sìilìŋ-</i>	"proverb"
<i>zàaŋsùŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>zàaŋsìmà</i>	<i>zàaŋsùŋ-</i>	"dream"
<i>dàalìm</i>	<i>dàalìmìs</i>	<i>dàalìm-</i>	"male sex organs"
<i>nòŋìlìm</i>		<i>nòŋìlìm-</i>	"love"

Note *bùgúm* *bùgúm*-/*bùgūm*- "fire", *tàdùmìs* "weakness", *bùdùmìs* "confusion."

Tp L with prefixes:

kùkpàrìg <sub>a</sub>	kùkpàrìs	kùkpàr-	"palm tree"
sāmán <sub>n</sub>	sāmánà	sāmán-	"courtyard"

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

būvg <sub>a</sub>	būs	bù-	"goat"
tān <sub>n</sub>	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd <sub>a</sub>	sīdīb <sub>a</sub>	sìd-	"husband"
pūā'	pū'ab <sub>a</sub>	pūà'-	"woman"
gbīgīm <sub>n</sub>	gbīgīmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
ṅwāaṅ <sub>a</sub>	ṅwāamīs	ṅwàaṅ-	"monkey"
mēed <sub>a</sub>	mēedīb <sub>a</sub>	mèed-	"builder"
sīākīd <sub>a</sub>	sīākīdīb <sub>a</sub>	sīàkìd-	"believer"
mēedīṅ <sub>a</sub>	mēedīs	mèedìṅ-	"building tool"

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

pù'us <sub>a</sub>	pū'usīdīb <sub>a</sub>	pù'us-	"worshipper"
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Before negative prosodic clitics, WK and DK have final *H* when a nominal lf ends in a long or epenthetic vowel followed by *CVCV*, *mCV* or *mm*:

sg	yūgudīré	pl	yūgudāa	"hedgehog"
	ṅwāaṅā		ṅwāamīsé	"monkey"
	bāṅīdā		bāṅīdībá	"wise man"
	kpārīdīṅā		kpārīdīsé	"thing for locking"
	gbīgīmmé		gbīgīmāa	"lion"
	zōommé		zōomāa	"fugitive"
	tādīmm		tādīmīsé	"weak person"

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

Lì à nē gbīgīmméε/gbìgìmmèε? "Is it a lion?"

Tp A with prefixes:

dàkīig <sub>a</sub>	dàkīs	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm <sub>n</sub>	fūfūmā	fūfúm-	"envy; stye"

### 3.4.2 Verbs

2vb pfv and ipfv forms with *be* cited in order; the *m*-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 p̄ d̄ōgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò p̄ d̄ógèè?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò d̄ōgí=lī.	"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.

nyē	nyēt <sub>a</sub> '	"see"
k̄	k̄v̄d <sub>a</sub> '	"kill"
d̄ōg	d̄ōḡv̄d <sub>a</sub> '	"cook"
k̄l	k̄n <sub>na</sub> '	"go home"
yādīg'	yādīgíd <sub>a</sub>	"scatter"
m̄ōl'	m̄óōn <sub>na</sub>	"proclaim"
t̄ōm'	t̄óōm <sub>ma</sub>	"disappear"
d̄īgīl'	d̄īgín <sub>na</sub>	"lay down"
n̄ōk'	n̄ōkíd <sub>a</sub>	"take"
lāñīm	lāñīm <sub>ma</sub>	"wander searching"
p̄āe'	p̄āad <sub>a</sub> '	"reach"
	d̄īgīya'	"lie down"

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

b̄v̄d	b̄v̄t <sub>a</sub>	"plant"
m̄è	m̄èèd <sub>a</sub>	"build"
z̄àb	z̄àbìd <sub>a</sub>	"fight, hurt"
b̄v̄l	b̄v̄n <sub>na</sub>	"call"
b̄v̄dìg	b̄v̄dìgìd <sub>a</sub>	"get lost, lose"
n̄ìg	n̄ìgìd <sub>a</sub>	"do"
z̄àaṅsìm	z̄àaṅsìm <sub>ma</sub>	"dream"
	t̄àbìya	"be stuck to"

Ò nà b̄v̄dìg.	"She'll get lost."
Ò kù b̄v̄dìgìdā.	"She won't be getting lost."

### 3.4.3 Derivation

Tps of roots can be seen from the tps of root-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: **áṅsìb<sub>a</sub>** "maternal uncle", **āṅsírḡ<sub>a</sub>** "sister's child"; **gósìg<sub>a</sub>** ger of **gōs** "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:

	<b>nà'ab<sub>a</sub></b>	"chief"		<b>nā'am</b>	"chieftaincy" (m-stem)
but	<b>bīig<sub>a</sub></b>	"child"		<b>bīilím</b>	"childhood"

Regular deverbal nominal tps are predictable from those of the verb. All from tp H verbs are tp H; thus **dōg** "cook", gerund **dōgōb<sub>v</sub>'**, agent noun **dōgōd<sub>a</sub>'**, instrument noun **dōgudírḡ<sub>a</sub>**.

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

<b>mēeb<sub>v</sub></b>	"building"	<b>sòṅìr</b>	"help"
<b>kùəsòg<sub>v</sub></b>	"selling"	<b>zàaṅsúrḡ<sub>v</sub></b>	"dream"
<b>bòodìm</b>	"will"	<b>mèedím-tāa</b>	"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:

<b>sōṅīd<sub>a</sub></b>	"helper"	<b>kṙīilúrḡ<sub>v</sub></b>	"dead"
<b>bòodīr</b>	"desirable"		

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

<b>kùəs<sub>a</sub></b>	"seller"	<b>kūəsīdīb<sub>a</sub></b>	"sellers"
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Instrument nouns from tp A verbs are all tp A:

<b>mēedīṅ<sub>a</sub></b>	"building tool"	<b>kūəsīṅ<sub>a</sub></b>	"salesperson"
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## 4 External sandhi

Sandhi includes segmental contact, tone sandhi, and suppression of apocope. Apocope and tone overlay precede all tone sandhi; M dropping and changes before interrogative clitics precede M spreading, which precedes all other tone sandhi.

### 4.1 Segmental contact

Word-final short vowels denasalise before words with initial nasals:

*kē nā* "come (*kēŋ*) hither"

In non-VP-final verbs, final diphthongs are monophthongised unless *y* follows:

*Ò sò'v lór.* "She owns (*sō'e*) a lorry."

*Dúə wēlá?* "(You) arose (*dūe*) how?" (a greeting)

*Ènrìgìm pāa d'atà.* "Shift along up to (*pāe*) the doctor."

*Ti ya'a vɔe, ti vɔɛ tis Zugsɔb la.*

*Tì yá' vōɛ, tì vó nē\_∅ tís Zūg-sób lā.*

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

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

*Mānī\_∅ áŋ d'atà kà fōn mén áŋ.*

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

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

*M á nē d'atà.* "I'm a doctor." (with denasalisation also)

1SG be FOC doctor:SG.

Other contact changes will not be marked orthographically.

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

<i>Zōn nwá!</i>	"Fools!"	[zɔn:a]
<i>yīr lā</i>	"the house"	[jira]
<i>Bà kpìid nē.</i>	"They're dying."	[kpi:dɛ]
<i>M zót nē.</i>	"I'm afraid."	[zotɛ]
<i>Lì kpàr nē.</i>	"It's locked."	[kparɛ]
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	"It's full."	[pɛ:l:ɛ]
<i>Lì sàŋ'am nē.</i>	"It's spoilt."	[sã:m:ɛ]

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

nīn-bámmā	"these people"	[nimbam:a]
nàm zī'	"still not know"	[nanzɪ]
Ñ-Bīl	Mbillah (personal name)	[ɱbil]

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

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

Informants round lf-final **ɪ** before **ò** "his/her" to [ʊ]:

Bà gòsì ò bīg.	"They've looked at her child."	[gɔsʊ]
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#### 4.2 Word-initial toneme changes

After most word types, **M spreading** changes a following word-initial L to X on superheavy syllables and H otherwise, unless the L is "fixed" (see 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.	(bùŋ <sub>a</sub> "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 m̩ gōs nâ'ab lā.	"And I've looked at the chief."
but Kà m̩ záb nâ'ab lā.	"And I've fought the chief."

M̀ dìgà bódìg yā. "My dwarfs have got lost."  
 but M̀ yōgumá bòdìg yā. "My camels have got lost."

The pronouns *m̀ fù ò lì tì yà bà 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.  
 wūu **sáa=∅** nāanī íáŋk yà nyá'aŋ n tí páe\_ yà tūə̀nà lā  
 like rain:SG=NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT once reach 2PL front ART  
 "like when lightning leaps from East to West" (Mt 24:27 NT2)

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

Amaa o pu lal ne tii. "But he is not far from us." (Acts 17:27)  
 Àmáa ò pū lāl né tī=∅.  
 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 cif, like *zùà* "friend", *dú'atà* "doctor", show M spreading after sg but not cif, with those like *lànng̀* "squirrel" showing tone sandhi unaffected even by the analogical *addition* of segments in the cif.

**M dropping** takes place exclusively within NPs. It occurs after all unbound predependents except personal pronouns, and also after all cifs ending in M toneme, whether dependents or heads. Historically, it may have arisen by dissimilation of adjacent M tonemes to ML (see on M spreading above.)

M dropping affects only the one following word (which may be a cif.)  
 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: *dāu lā pócōgū=n* "in the man's field (*pōcōgū́*)."





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

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

	<i>wābōg<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wábùg bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>pōōg<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"field"	<i>Dāy lā pōōg bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>bāŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>pōōg<sub>a</sub></i>	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā pōōg bòdìg yā.</i>	
but	<i>yūgudīr</i>	"hedgehog"	<i>Dāy lā yūgudīr bódìg yā.</i>	three syllables
	<i>dōōg<sub>v</sub></i>	"hut"	<i>Dāy lā dōōg bódìg yā.</i>	no M dropping
	<i>à-gāuŋg<sub>v</sub></i>	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gāuŋg bódìg yā.</i>	no M dropping
	<i>wābōg<sub>v</sub>'</i>	"elephant"	<i>M̄ bīāyá wàbùg bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"ring"	<i>M̄ bīāyá bàŋ bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading

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

<i>bù-wōk dīub</i>	"tall goat's food ( <i>dīub<sub>v</sub></i> )"	<i>nō-wók dīub</i>	"tall hen's food"
<i>bù-wōk-pìəlìg</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>nō-wók-pìəlìg</i>	"tall white hen"
<i>bù-wōk-pāalìg</i>	"tall new goat"	<i>nō-wók-pāalìg</i>	"tall new hen"

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

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

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

[*fūug dōōg*] "tent" (*fūug<sub>v</sub>'* "cloth", *dōōg<sub>v</sub>* "hut")  
*pò'usùg* [*fūug dōōg*] "tabernacle" (*pò'usùg<sub>v</sub>* "worship")

[[*dāy lā bīig*] *bīər*] *nāaf*] *zūr* "the man's child's elder-same-sex-sibling's cow's tail" WK (*bīig<sub>a</sub>*, *bīər'*, *nāaf<sub>v</sub>*, *zūr*)

### 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  $m\iota \rightarrow mm$  (prior to  $mn\iota \rightarrow mm\iota$ .) Other short  $\iota \upsilon \rightarrow \varepsilon \omega$  (here realised [e] [o]);  $i\alpha u\alpha \rightarrow ia ua$ . Final  $v'a$  is realised [ʋɑ:]. 3-mora monophthongs reduce to two, producing words with segmentally identical sf and lf. Tp H lfs rendered monosyllabic before prosodic clitics carry H.

kúo [kʊ:]	"kill her"	lf	kúo	*kʊo=ø
gāaŋ´	"jackalberry"		gáaŋ	*gāaga
vūm´	"life"		vúmm	
dāam´	"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  $\iota \upsilon$  become  $\varepsilon \omega$ ; long  $\iota \upsilon \upsilon$  are not affected. Lf-final L syllables are changed to M.

Lì k̄a' dōkó=ø. "It's not a pot (dōkó´)."  
3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄a' nóbirē=ø. "It's not a leg (nóbìr)."  
3IN NEG.be leg:SG=NEG.

Bà k̄a' mólī=ø. "They are not gazelles (mòlì)."  
3PL NEG.be gazelle:PL=NEG.

Lì k̄a' yàarīm=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 k̄a' ò tīmm. "It's not her medicine (tìim)."  
Lì k̄a' tīmm. "It's not medicine."  
Lì k̄a' bà dā'a. "It's not their market (dā'a)."  
Lì k̄a' dá'a. "It's not a market."

Similar lfs, consistently written with final  $\varepsilon \circ$  in KB, appear in some clause adjuncts, like  $b\bar{o} z\bar{u}g\bar{o}$  "because",  $d\bar{a}a-s\bar{i}'\bar{e}r\bar{e}$  "perhaps" and sometimes  $y\bar{a}'$ -clauses:

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

$K\bar{i}k\bar{i}r\bar{i}g\ y\bar{a}'\ m\bar{o}r\ b\bar{o}u\bar{d}\bar{e},\ f\bar{u}n\ t\bar{i}s\bar{o}=\emptyset\ k\bar{a}\ \bar{o}\ l\bar{e}b\bar{i}g\ \bar{o}\ m\bar{o}g\bar{u}=n.$

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

"When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." KS 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:  $g\bar{o}s\bar{u}m\bar{a}!$  "look!",  $g\bar{o}s\bar{u}m\bar{i}=y\bar{a}!$  "look (pl)!" So too does the greeting formula  $N\bar{e}\ s\bar{o}n\bar{s}i\bar{g}\bar{a}!$  "(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.

$\bar{M}\ p\bar{u}\bar{a}'\ n\bar{e}\ \bar{m}\ b\bar{i}s\bar{e}=\emptyset!$

"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.

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ \bar{o}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ n\bar{o}b\bar{i}r\bar{e}=\emptyset?$

"Who's seen a leg ( $n\bar{o}b\bar{i}r$ )?"

Who CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ k\bar{u}k\bar{a}?$

"Who's seen a chair ( $k\bar{u}k_a$ )?"

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ d\bar{u}k\bar{o}?$

"Who's seen a pot ( $d\bar{u}k_p$ )?"

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ m\bar{o}l\bar{i}?$

"Who's seen gazelles ( $m\bar{o}l\bar{i}$ )?"

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ b\bar{e}d\bar{u}g\bar{u}?$

"Who's seen a lot ( $b\bar{e}d\bar{u}g\bar{u}'$ )?"

$L\bar{i}\ \bar{a}\ n\bar{e}\ n\bar{o}b\bar{i}r\bar{e}=\emptyset?$

"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.

$\bar{A}n\bar{o}'\bar{o}n\bar{i}\ \bar{o}\ n\bar{y}\bar{e}\ b\bar{a}\ b\bar{i}g\bar{a}=\emptyset?$

"Who has seen their child ( $b\bar{i}g_a$ )?"

Who CAT see 3PL child:SG=CQ?

Ànó'ònì ñyē bígà?	"Who's seen a child?" tonally identical to
Ànó'ònì ñyē sù'ugà?	"Who's seen a knife (sù'ug <sub>a</sub> )?"
Fù bôɔd bó?	"What (bō) do you want?"
Ànó'ònì ñyē zūáyà?	"Who's seen hills (zūāyā)?"
M ná bōdīg.	"I will get lost."
M ná bōdīgèè?	"Will I get lost?"
Ò pō dōgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pō dúgèè?	"Hasn't she cooked?"

#### 4.4 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final *l* if 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 *=m<sub>a</sub>* 1sg, *=f<sub>v</sub>* 2sg, *=o* 3sg animate, *=l<sub>1</sub>* 3sg inanimate, *=t<sub>1</sub>* 1pl, *=ya* 2pl, *=ba* 3pl attach to verbs or after *=n* or *=ya*. Nominaliser *=ñ* follows NPs.

kōk <sub>a</sub>	"chair"	=n	→	kōkī=n´
dōk <sub>v</sub> ´	"pot"	=n	→	dōkí=n
pōɔg <sub>v</sub> ´	"field"	=n	→	pōɔgú=n
yàug <sub>v</sub>	"grave"	=n	→	yàugū=n´
dà'a	"market"	=n	→	dā'a=n´
ñyē	"see"	=m <sub>a</sub>	→	ñyéε=m <sub>a</sub>
kjà	"cut"	=l <sub>1</sub>	→	kìə=lī´
gbāñ'e´	"seize"	=t <sub>1</sub>	→	gbāñ'a=tī´
pīe´	"wash"	=t <sub>1</sub>	→	píə=tī´
dūe´	"raise"	=t <sub>1</sub>	→	dúə=tī´
sū'e <sub>ya</sub> ´	"own"	=l <sub>1</sub>	→	sú'v=lī´
vūe <sub>ya</sub> ´	"live"	=n	→	vūv=n´
kù'əm	"water"	=n	→	kù'əmī=n´

Gòsɪmī=m!	Gòsīm=m!	"Look at me!"
Gòsɪmí fù nū'ug!	Gòsím fù nū'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 k <sup>̄</sup> íe=yā.	"And they cut (k <sup>̄</sup> ìà) you."
Kà bà gbān'e=yā.	"And they seized (gbān'e´) you."
Kà bà k <sup>̄</sup> úe=yā.	"And they killed (k <sup>̄</sup> ū) you."
Kà bà z <sup>̄</sup> úi=yā.	"And they stole (z <sup>̄</sup> ū) 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 [ɔ], fusing with the pronoun if as o=o [ɔ:], and the mora before =ya becomes [ɪ]:

bòɔd <sub>a</sub>	"want"	=o	→	bòɔdō=ó´	
tùm	"send"	=o	→	tùmò=ó	
dì	"eat"	=o	→	dìo=ó	
k <sup>̄</sup> ìà	"cut"	=o	→	kìo=ó	
z <sup>̄</sup> ū	"steal"	=o	→	zúo	If z <sup>̄</sup> úo=ó
àɛn <sub>ya</sub>	"be"	=o	→	āno=ó´	
pāe´	"reach"	=o	→	páo	If pāo=ó
pīe´	"wash"	=o	→	pío	If pīo=ó
dūe´	"raise"	=o	→	dúo	If dūo=ó
z <sup>̄</sup> ū	"steal"	=ya	→	z <sup>̄</sup> ūe=yá´	
bè	"be"	=ya	→	bēɪ=yá´	

Dā dōllī=yá=ø! "Don't come along (pl)!"  
NEG.IMP go.with=2PL=NEG!

=ya itself becomes =ní before liaison (historically, \*ɲa became \*ɲɪ.)

Dì'əmī=ø! "Receive (pl)!"  
Receive:IMP=2PL!

Dì'əmī=ní=bā! "Receive (pl) them!"  
Receive:IMP=2PL=3PL!

Dì'əmī=nó=ø! "Receive (pl) her!"  
Receive:IMP=2PL=3AN!

nəŋimini ya pu'ab "love (pl) your wives" (Col 3:19)  
 nəŋimī=ní\_yà pū'ab  
 love:IMP=2PL 2PL woman:PL

Nominaliser =n fuses with preceding pronoun subjects §10.2; elsewhere, the effects of its fixed L toneme are the only sign of its presence for my informants, but texts may show *n* (especially after proper names) and/or liaison:

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

ya zuobid wōsa kalli an si'em "the number of all your hairs" (Lk 12:7)  
 yà zūəbíd wōsā kállí=∅ àn 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 kīə=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.

pōɔg <sub>v</sub> '	"field"	=n	→	pōɔgú=n	
bīig <sub>a</sub>	"child"	=n	→	bīigī=n'	WK
yàad	"graves"	=n	→	yàadī=n'	WK
kūvdí <sub>b<sub>a</sub></sub>	"killers"	=n	→	kūvdībī=n'	WK

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

dōg	"cook"	=n	→	dōgū=n'
mè	"build"	=n	→	mēɛ=n'
bòdìg	"lose"	=n	→	bòdìgī=n'
yādīg'	"scatter"	=n	→	yādìgī=n'
kūvd <sub>a</sub> '	"kill" ipfv	=n	→	kūvdī=n'
dōl <sub>l<sub>a</sub></sub> '	"go with"	=ya	→	dōllī=ya'

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

<i>bòdìg</i>	"lose"	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	→	<i>bòdìgì=m<sub>a</sub></i>
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	= <i>l</i>	→	<i>dìl=lī´</i>
<i>yādīg´</i>	"scatter"	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	→	<i>yādìgí=m<sub>a</sub></i>
<i>dōg</i>	"cook"	= <i>l</i>	→	<i>dōgí=lī´</i>
<i>gōs</i>	"look"	= <i>o</i>	→	<i>gōsó=o</i>
<i>kū</i>	"kill"	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	→	<i>kúv=m<sub>a</sub></i>
<i>pāe´</i>	"reach"	= <i>ba</i>	→	<i>páa=bā´</i>

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

<i>Kà bà zábò.</i>	"And they fought him."
<i>Kà bà pū zábō=o.</i>	"And they didn't fight him."
<i>Kà bà nyéó.</i>	"And they saw her."
<i>Kà bà pū nyēó=o.</i>	"And they didn't see her."

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

<i>Kà m zábì=bā.</i>	"And I fought them."
<i>Kà m pū zábì=báa.</i>	"And I didn't fight them."
<i>Kà m kúv=bā.</i>	"And I killed them."
<i>Ànó'òní kúv=bá?</i>	"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/kù*:

<i>kūvd<sub>a</sub>´</i>	"kill"	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	→	<i>kūvdí=m<sub>a</sub></i>
<i>kūvd<sub>a</sub>´</i>	"kill"	= <i>o</i>	→	<i>kūvdó=o</i>
<i>zàbìd<sub>a</sub></i>	"fight"	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	→	<i>zàbìdī=m<sub>a</sub>´</i>
<i>zàbìd<sub>a</sub></i>	"fight"	= <i>o</i>	→	<i>zàbìdō=o´</i>
<i>yādìgíd<sub>a</sub></i>	"scatter"	= <i>ba</i>	→	<i>yādìgídī=bá</i>
<i>yādìgíd<sub>a</sub></i>	"scatter"	= <i>o</i>	→	<i>yādìgídō=o´</i>
<i>nòŋ</i>	"love"	= <i>ba</i>	→	<i>nòŋī=bá</i>

<i>Ò nà bōdìgī=m.</i>	"He will lose me."
<i>Ò kù bōdìgídī=bá.</i>	"He won't be losing them."
<i>Ò kù zābó=o.</i>	"He won't fight him."





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

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

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

tuum kanε ka m tūmmi tisid Wina'am la.  
tuum-kànì=ø kà m tūmmì\_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 tum tisi ba  
àmáa ò kē nā yé ò tūm\_ø tìsì=bā  
but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give=3PL  
"but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M̀ nók sù'ugò\_ø kjà nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."  
1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

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

Kà bà dìtí\_ø bà dīub. "And they were eating their food."  
And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food. (dītī=bá "were eating them")

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la  
bànì=ø nà yēl Zūg-sóbí\_ø bà tūmá=ø àŋ sī'ēm 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 compound-initial form (cif) in composition with a following nominal. Cifs show apocope, but the dummy suffix was formerly only deleted after vowels and nasals; texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for *nwād-bíl<sub>a</sub>* "star."

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

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*, *ɔv|dɪ*, *rɪ|aa* and *fɔ|ɪ* noun classes. Two unpaired suffixes form *bɔ|* 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 *ɔv|dɪ* stems ending in *m n* following a short vowel, which always use plural *-aa* instead of *-dɪ*, as do all gerunds in *ɔv*.

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

The classes are thus as follows:

<i>a ba</i> <i>ba </i>	<i>sīd<sub>a</sub></i> <i>nà'ab<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sīdīb<sub>a</sub></i> <i>nà'-nàm<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>sìd-</i> <i>nà'-</i>	"husband" "chief"
<i>ga sɪ</i>	<i>būɔg<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>būɔs</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>ɔv dɪ</i> <i>ɔv aa</i>	<i>dòɔg<sub>v</sub></i> <i>bū'əsúg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>dòɔd</i> <i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>dò-</i> <i>bū'əs-</i>	"hut" "question"
<i>rɪ aa</i> <i>lɪ </i>	<i>nōɔr'</i> <i>Kūsâal</i>	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth" "Kusaal"
<i>fɔ ɪ</i>	<i>mòlɪf<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bɔ </i>	<i>sā'ab<sub>v</sub></i>		<i>sà'-</i>	"porridge"
<i>mɪ </i>	<i>tìɪm</i>		<i>tì-</i>	"medicine"

In two contexts, the sg lf adopts the form proper to a different class suffix that would have produced the same sf: rounded vowels before *-ga* may result in lfs in *-ɔv*, as in *nû'ug<sub>v</sub>* pl *nû'us* "hand", and *a|ba* stems in *l n r* may show lfs *-llɪ -nnɪ -rɪ*, as if the suffix were *rɪ*, e.g *Bìn<sub>n</sub>* "Moba person."

M-stems in the a|ba class avoid pl ba; some human-reference ga|su nouns have alternative plurals with ba; countable m| nouns use pl -aa or -su or nàm<sub>a</sub>; the small f|u class has members with f|u suffixes in only one number. A few other cases of irregular pairing mostly involve replacement of pl -d| by other suffixes.

An alternative pl formation uses nàm<sub>a</sub> after count noun cifs or mass sgs: kpèɛɲm-nàm<sub>a</sub> "elders", sã'ab nám<sub>a</sub> "portions of porridge." Nàm<sub>a</sub> pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pls with sg meaning, mass nouns with count meaning, and forms with personaliser à-. It is used to avoid ambiguous regular plurals, and with

mà	mà nám <sub>a</sub> sic	mà-	"mother"
bā'	bā'-nám <sub>a</sub>	bā'-	"father"
zɔ̀à	zɔ̀à-nàm <sub>a</sub>	zɔ̀à-	"friend"

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

wōk <sub>v</sub> '	wā'ad'	wā'-/wōk-	"long, tall" (adjective)
tānp <sub>v</sub>		tānp-	"war"
	kī'	kī-/kā-	"millet"
lā'af <sub>v</sub>	līg dī	là'-/lìg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
zūg <sub>v</sub> '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"

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

Cifs as dependents are less prone to levelling: nīf-kájā "this eye", but nīn-tám "tears", nīn-gótìs "glasses"; gbāyŋ-kájā "this skin" but gbān-záb<sub>a</sub> "leatherbeater."

Remodelled cifs are regular with m and n stems, and with CV-stems in r|aa:

zīnzāyŋ <sub>v</sub> '	zīnzāná	zīnzāyŋ-	"bat"
gbēr'	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
kòkōr'	kòkōyá	kòkō(r)-	"voice"

Disambiguation is clearly involved in e.g.

kòlòg-kàŋā	"this bag"	cf cif kòl- from	kōlīg <sub>a</sub> "river"
lànŋòg-pìèlìg	"white squirrel"	cf cif làn- from	lān <sub>n</sub> "testicle"

Two words have distinct sg- and pl-reference cifs as heads: dày-sùŋ "good man", dàp-sùmà "good men":

dāu	dāp <sub>a</sub>	dàu-	sg	dàp-	pl	"man"
tāuŋ´	tānp <sub>a</sub> ´	tāuŋ-	sg	tānp-	pl	"opposite-sex sib"

Many manner nouns §11.6.3 show apocope-blocking. A few others do too: *nà'asì* "honour"; *kābirí* "permission to enter"; *būudī* cif *būud-* "tribe", Mooré *búudu* "family, kind" sg *búugu*; *sūgvrú* "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|sɪ* has general membership but includes most tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Most nouns referring to people belong to *a|ba* or *ga|sɪ*.

*gv|dɪ* and *rɪ|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 *gv|dɪ* are pejorative: *dàbīog<sub>v</sub>* "coward", *zōlōg<sub>v</sub>´* "fool." Stems referring to groups of people may use *gv* for the place where they live. Most human-reference nouns in *rɪ|aa* have been transferred from *a|ba* for phonological reasons. The *lɪ|* subclass includes all names of languages.

*fv|ɪ* comprises two groups: non-human animals, and small round things, including all seeds.

*bv|* has only three members that are not gerunds: *sā'ab<sub>v</sub>* "millet porridge", *tānp<sub>v</sub>* "war" and *kī'ɪb<sub>v</sub>´* "soap."

*mɪ|* 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 *nām<sub>a</sub>*:

<i>ga sɪ</i>	<i>àràzàk<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>àràzà'as</i>	<i>àràzà'-</i>	"riches"
	<i>màlǐāk<sub>a</sub>´</i>	<i>màlǐā'as´</i>	<i>màlǐā'-</i>	"angel" DK
<i>gv dɪ</i>	<i>gādōg<sub>v</sub>´</i>	<i>gāt´</i>	<i>gād-</i>	"bed"
	<i>lòmbòŋ'og<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>lòmbòŋ'od</i>	<i>lòmbòŋ'-</i>	"garden"
<i>rɪ aa</i>	<i>lór</i>	<i>láyà/lóom<sub>ma</sub></i>	<i>lór-</i>	"car, lorry" (cf <i>Mōr´</i> )
	<i>àlópìr</i>	<i>àlópìyà</i>		"aeroplane" SB
		<i>wādá</i>	<i>wād-</i>	"law"
<i>nām<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>Nàsāarā</i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-nām<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-</i>	"European"

Loans ending in L or H show M spreading after sg, but not cif: *dú'atà nâ'ab* "a doctor's chief", but *dú'atà-nâ'ab* "a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief."

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cif on the analogy of nouns with M prefixes: *dūŋyā* "world", *dūŋyá-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 **-gv -kv -ŋv**, deletion of **g** after **aa iə uə aaŋ eŋ ɔŋ**, and with **CVV**-stems before **a, u** and **aa**.

#### a|ba

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

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

sīd <sub>a</sub>	sīdīb <sub>a</sub>	sīd-	"husband"
nīd <sub>a</sub> '	nīdīb <sub>a</sub> '	nīn- <i>sic</i>	"person"
sàal <sub>a</sub>	sàalīb <sub>a</sub>	sàal-	"human being"
kōvd <sub>a</sub> '	kōvdīb <sub>a</sub>	kōvd-	"killer"
sāan <sub>a</sub> '	sāam <sub>ma</sub>	sāan-	"guest, stranger"
yōvm-yō'vm <sub>na</sub>	-yō'vmnīb <sub>a</sub>	-yō'vm-	"singer"
pʌà'-sāŋ'am <sub>ma</sub>	-sāŋ'amīdīb <sub>a</sub> <i>sic</i>	-sāŋ'am-	"adulterer"
bì-pīt <sub>a</sub> '	-pītīb <sub>a</sub>	-pīt-	"younger child"

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in **s** regularly drop the **d** formant in sg and cif, as do those from a few other verbs. Many have **nām<sub>a</sub>** pls as well or instead.

kùəs <sub>a</sub>	kùəsīdīb <sub>a</sub>	kùəs-	"seller"
sīgīs <sub>a</sub> '	sīgīsīdīb <sub>a</sub>	sīgīs-	"lowerer"
dīs <sub>a</sub>	dīs-nām <sub>a</sub>	dīs-	"glutton"
sòs <sub>a</sub>	sòsīdīb <sub>a</sub>	sòs-	"beggar"
tīs <sub>a</sub>	tīsīdīb <sub>a</sub>	tīs-	"giver" WK
kīs(īd) <sub>a</sub> '	kīsīdīb <sub>a</sub>	kīsīd-	"hater"
zàb-zàb <sub>a</sub>	-zàbīdīb <sub>a</sub>	-zàb-	"warrior"
gbān-záb <sub>a</sub>	-záb-nām <sub>a</sub>	-záb-	"leatherbeater"
ŋwī-ték <sub>a</sub>	-tékīdīb <sub>a</sub>		"rope-puller"

Stems in single **m** have sg **-mm** and pl in **-sɪ** or **nām<sub>a</sub>**:

kpī'ım	kpī'ımīs	kpī'ım-	"dead person"
zū'əm'	zū'əmīs	zū'əm-	"blind person"
tādīm	tādımīs	tādīm-	"weak person"
	tādīm-nām <sub>a</sub>		
kpēɛŋm	kpēɛŋm-nām <sub>a</sub>	kpēɛŋm-	"elder"
bī'əm	bī'əm-nām <sub>a</sub>	bī'əm-	"enemy"

Kpēɛŋm bī'əm also have pls kpēɛŋmmā bī'əmmā, used only as lfs (WK.)  
CVn-stems show sg lf -nnɪ, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg rɪ.

Dàgbān <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgbām <sub>ma</sub> '	Dàgbān-	"Dagomba person"
Bìn <sub>n</sub>	Bìm <sub>ma</sub>	Bìn-	"Moba person"
Kùtān <sub>n</sub> '	Kùtām <sub>ma</sub> '	Kùtān-	member of WK's clan

CVmm-stems have only nām<sub>a</sub> pls: dām-dām<sub>ma</sub> "shaker." CVll- CVnn- and CVr- stems take a|ba suffixes, but WK has variant r|aa forms for CVll- and CVr-stems.

nyà'an-dòl <sub>la</sub>	-dòllìb <sub>a</sub>	-dòl-	"disciple"
bù-zāŋl <sub>la</sub> '	-zāŋllìb <sub>a</sub>	-zāŋl-	"goat-carrier" WK
gbàn-zāŋl <sub>la</sub> '	-zāŋllìb <sub>a</sub>	-zāŋl-	"book-carrier" KT WK
pā'an <sub>na</sub>	pā'annìb <sub>a</sub>	pà'an-	"teacher"
bù-mōr <sub>a</sub> '	-mōrìb <sub>a</sub>	-mōr-	"goat-owner" WK
gbàn-tār <sub>a</sub> '	-tārìb <sub>a</sub>	-tār-	"book-owner" DK
zà'-nō-gúr <sub>a</sub>	-gúrìb <sub>a</sub>	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"
nyā'an-dól <sub>l</sub>	-dóllà	-dól-	"disciple" WK
bù-mōr'	-mōrá	-mōr-	"goat-owner" WK
bù-zāŋl <sub>l</sub> '	-zāŋllá	-zāŋl-	"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:

pūā'	pū'ab <sub>a</sub>	pūà'-	"woman"
bā'a	bā'ab <sub>a</sub>	bà'a-	"diviner"
sāɛŋ <sub>(ya)</sub>	sāaŋb <sub>a</sub>	sàŋ-	"blacksmith"
sōɛŋ <sub>(ya)</sub>	sōoŋb <sub>a</sub>	sòŋ-	"witch"
dāu	dāp <sub>a</sub>	dàu-, dāp-	"man"
tāuŋ'	tāŋp <sub>a</sub> '	tāuŋ-, tāŋp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pītú	pītìb <sub>a</sub>	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds -pīt<sub>a</sub>' replaces pītú.

Some CVV stems introduce d in the sg and either the pl or cif:

wìd <sub>a</sub>	wìb <sub>a</sub>	wìd-	"hunter"
sōŋ'òd <sub>a</sub> '	sōŋ'òb <sub>a</sub> '	sōŋ'òd-	"someone better"
pūkpaad <sub>a</sub> '	pūkpaadíb <sub>a</sub>	pūkpa-	"farmer"

Others have become  $r|aa$ :  $pùkòòr$  "widow",  $dàkòòr$  "bachelor",  $bīēr'$  "elder same-sex sibling",  $pòñ'or$  "cripple",  $nyē'er'$  "next-younger sibling." Related languages keep pl  $-ba$ , e.g. Toende Kusaal  $pókóót$  pl  $pòkòp$  "widow",  $dákóót$  pl  $dakòp$  "bachelor."

A subclass referring to older/important people has  $-ba$  for sg, with pl  $nàm_a$ :

$nà'ab_a$	$nà'-nàm_a$	$nà'-$	"chief"
$yāab_a$ * $yaagba$	$yāa-nám_a$	$yāa-$	"grandparent"
$pùgudìb_a$	$pùgùd-nàm_a$	$pùgùd-$	"father's sister"
$āñsib_a$	$āñs-nám_a$	$āñs-$	"mother's brother"
$sàam_{ma}$	$sàam-nàm_a$	$sàam-$	"father"
$dìem_{ma}$	$dìem-nàm_a$	$dìem-$	"man's parent-in-law"
$dàyáam_{ma}$	$dàyāam-nám_a$	$dàyāam-$	"woman's parent-in-law"

### ga|si

$būug_a$	$būs$	$bù-$	"goat"
$zōog_a$	$zōos$		"run, race"
$ñwādīg_a'$	$ñwādīs'$	$ñwād-$	"moon, month"
$bù-dìbìg_a$	$-dìbìs$	$-dìb-$	"male kid"
$kōlīg_a$	$kōlīs$	$kòl-$	"river"
$kpòkparìg_a$	$kpòkparìs$	$kpòkpar-$	"palm tree"
$pūsīg_a'$	$pūsīs'$	$pūs-$	"tamarind"

Stems ending in  $aa$   $iə$   $uə$  delete the  $g$  of the sg  $ga$  with vowel fusion; sg  $ian$   $uan$  correspond to pl  $εεñs$   $oñs$ :

$bāa$	$bāas$	$bà-$	"dog"
$sīa$	$sīəs$	$sjà-$	"waist"
$sàbùa$	$sàbùəs$	$sàbùà-$	"lover, girlfriend"
$nū'-ín'a$	$-éñ'es$	$-éñ'-$	"fingernail"
$nūa'$	$nōos'$	$nō-$	"hen"

$gg \rightarrow k$ ;  $g$  is deleted after  $a$   $ia$   $ua$ :

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

$M-$  and  $n-$ stems fall together:  $mg/ng \rightarrow \eta$ ; pl  $ms \rightarrow ns$ , always or optionally, except in a few root-stems; subsequently  $Vns \rightarrow V:\eta s$ .

tēŋ <sub>a</sub>	tēŋs	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ <sub>a</sub>	pàaŋs	pàŋ-	"power"
bùŋ <sub>a</sub>	bùmìs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋ <sub>a</sub>	nāmìs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋ <sub>a</sub>	sū'əmìs	sū'əŋ-	"hare"
nīŋ <sub>a</sub>	nīis/nīimìs	nīŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ <sub>a</sub>	kùlì(mì)s	kùlìŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋ <sub>a</sub>	pīəsí(mì)s	pīəsíŋ-	"washing sponge"
mēədīŋ <sub>a</sub>	mēədī(mì)s	mēədīŋ-	"building tool"

Various irregularities are seen in

bèrìŋ <sub>a</sub>	bèrìŋs		"kenaf"
bīŋ <sub>a</sub>	bīis	bī-/bì-	"child"
būtīŋ <sub>a</sub>	būtīis	būtīŋ-	"cup"
dàsāŋ <sub>a</sub>	dàsā <sub>ma</sub> /dàsāaŋs	dàsāŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùà	-dàbùəb <sub>a</sub> /-dàbùəs		clan name
sāŋá	sānsá /ns/	sān-	"time"
tàmpūa	tàmpōos	tàmpō-	"housefly"
yáaŋ <sub>a</sub>	yáas *yaagsɿ	yāaŋ-	"grandchild"
Yàaŋ <sub>a</sub>	Yàam <sub>ma</sub>	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"

or Yàamìs/Yàaŋs

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

kūŋ <sub>a/v</sub> '	kūs'	kū-	"mouse"
sù'ɠ <sub>a/v</sub>	sù'ʊs	sù'-	"knife"
nū'ɠ <sub>v</sub>	nū'us	nū'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ <sub>a/v</sub>	zùnzòŋs	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
tèŋ-zùŋ <sub>v</sub>	-zùŋs		"foreign land"
yū'ɠ <sub>v</sub>	yū'ʊmìs	yū'ɠŋ-	"night"
zùŋ <sub>v</sub>	zùŋs/zùŋd	zùŋ-	"vulture"

Some original **ɠv|dɿ** nouns have substituted pl **-sɿ** for **-dɿ** instead of **-aa**:

yàmmòŋ <sub>a/v</sub>	yàmmìs	yàm-	"slave"
à-dàalíŋ <sub>v</sub>	à-dàalí(mì)s	à-dàalíŋ-	"stork"
sí'ɠ <sub>v</sub>	sī'imìs	sī'ɠŋ-	kind of big dish
dìsúŋ <sub>v</sub>	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúŋ-	"spoon"
wīlìsúŋ <sub>v</sub>	wīlìmìs <i>sic</i>	wīlìsúŋ-	kind of snail
yālìsúŋ <sub>v</sub>	yālìmìs <i>sic</i>	yālìsúŋ-	"quail"



**gu|di**

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

dàug <sub>ʊ</sub>	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fēŋ'og <sub>ʊ</sub> '	fēŋ'ed'	fēŋ'-	"ulcer"
gbè'og <sub>ʊ</sub>	gbè'ed/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbīog <sub>ʊ</sub>	dàbīəd	dàbɪà-	"coward"
vīug <sub>ʊ</sub> '	vīid'	vī-	"owl"
mōog <sub>ʊ</sub>	mōod	mò-	"grass, bush"
dùndùug <sub>ʊ</sub>	dùndùud	dùndù-	"cobra"
wābūg <sub>ʊ</sub> '	wābīd'	wāb-	"elephant"
bālērūg <sub>ʊ</sub> '	bālērīd'/bālērīs'	bālēr-	"ugly person"
bēsūg <sub>ʊ</sub>	bēsīd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl **CVt**:

dòog <sub>ʊ</sub>	dòod/dòt	dò-	"hut"
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So too **pōog<sub>ʊ</sub>'** "farm, field", **fūug<sub>ʊ</sub>'** "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

zūg <sub>ʊ</sub> '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"
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**gg** → **k** and **ɤak<sub>ʊ</sub>** → **ɔk<sub>ʊ</sub>**; **g** is deleted after **a ɪa ɤa**:

dōk <sub>ʊ</sub> '	dōgōd'	dōg-	"cooking pot"
lāɤk <sub>ʊ</sub>	lā'ad	là'-	"(item of) goods"
bɪāɤk <sub>ʊ</sub>	bɪāŋ'ad WK bɪāŋ'adā SB	bɪāŋ'-	"shoulder"
lòk <sub>ʊ</sub>	lò'ad	lɤà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

**dd** → **t**; **ld** → **nn**:

ùdòg <sub>ʊ</sub>	ùt	ùd-	"(piece of) chaff"
zōlōg <sub>ʊ</sub> '	zōn <sub>n</sub> '	zōl-	"fool"
sìlòg <sub>ʊ</sub>	sìn <sub>n</sub> /sìlìs	sìl-	"hawk"

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

gbàṁṁṁ	gbàṁṁ	gbàṁ-/gbàṁṁ-	"book"
zīnzāṁṁ	zīnzāṁ	zīnzāṁ-	"bat"
àṁṁṁ	àṁṁṁ	àṁṁṁ-	"boat"
nìn-gbīṁṁ	-gbīṁ	-gbīṁ-	"body"
làṁṁṁ	làṁṁṁ	làṁṁṁ-	"crab"
	or làṁṁṁ		

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate *ng* → *ṁ*, and m-stems optionally resist *mg* → *ṁ*: thus *dìṁṁṁ* "lying down", *sùṁṁṁ* "bowing the head", *sàṁ'ṁṁ/sàṁ'amṁṁ* "destroying", *kàṁṁṁ/kàṁṁṁ* "reading." All pls take -aa:

bū'əsṁṁ	bū'əsá	bū'əs-	"question"
zàṁṁṁ	zàṁṁṁ	zàṁṁṁ-	"dream"

The place name *Dèṁṁṁ* "Denugu" also fails to assimilate *ng*.  
An irregular *s* pl appears in

pē'ogṁ	pē'əs	pē'-	"sheep"
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### ṁ|aa

kūṁṁ	kūṁ	kūṁ-	"stone"
yūṁṁṁ	yūṁṁṁ	yūṁṁṁ-	"hedgehog"
nōṁṁ	nōṁ	nōṁ-	"leg"
bìṁ'isṁṁ	bìṁ'isà	bìṁ'is-	"woman's breast"
bàṁṁṁ	bàṁṁṁ	bàṁṁṁ-	"hat"
sāṁṁṁṁṁ	sāṁṁṁṁṁ	sāṁṁṁṁ-	"millipede"
sūṁṁṁ	sūṁṁṁ	sūṁṁ-	"groundnut"

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

bī'ər	bī'áyá	bī'-	"elder same-sex sib"
zū'ər	zū'áyá	zū'-	"hill"
nō'ər	nō'yá	nō-	"mouth"
zū'ər	zū'yá	zū-	"tail"
ṁyē'er	ṁyē'dá	ṁyē'-	"next-younger sibling"
pòṁ'ər	pòṁ'dà	pòṁ'-	"cripple"
yū'ər	yū'dá	yū'-	"name"
yū'ər	yū'ādá	yū'ər- <i>sic</i>	"penis"

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i> )
sjà'ar	sjà'a	sjà'-	"forest"
bjàṅ'ar'	bjàṅ'a	bjàṅ'-	"wet mud, riverbed"
mù'ar	mù'a(dà)	mùà'-	"reservoir, dam"
zàṅkù'ar	zàṅkù'a(dà)	zàṅkùà'-	"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 *gbáṅ'ar* from *gbāṅ'e'* "grab", and also

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

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

dūm <sub>n</sub>	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yùm <sub>n</sub>	yùmà	yùm-	"year" (CVVC/CVC)
kpān <sub>n</sub>	kpānā	kpàn-	"spear"
gél <sub>l</sub>	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli <i>zari</i> )	zā'	zā-	"millet"
yīr'	yā'	yī-	"house"
Mōr'	Móom <sub>ma</sub>	Mōr-	"Muslim"

**Language** names use the suffix *-l*. All forms are as with *-r*, except for stems in final vowels and in *r* (where *rl* → *t*):

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

**fu|u**

mòlìf <sub>v</sub>	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyīríf <sub>v</sub>	nyīrí	nyīr-	"egusi"
būn-búvdìf <sub>v</sub>			"seed"
(Mooré <i>muiifu</i> )	mùj̄	mùj̄-	"rice"

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

náaf <sub>v</sub> *naagfu	nīigí	nā'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf <sub>v</sub> *waagfu	wīigí	wā'- *wag-	"snake"
(Mampruli <i>kaafu</i> )	kī́	kī-/kā-	"millet"

nf → f with nasalisation of the preceding vowel:

nīf <sub>v</sub> ´	nīnì	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
píɲf <sub>v</sub>	pīɲì	pīɲ-	"genet"
kíɲf <sub>v</sub>	kīɲì		"millet seed"

Two words drop stem d in the sg:

wìəf <sub>v</sub>	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
lā'af <sub>v</sub>	līgɔ̄dī	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"

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

zíɲ <sub>a</sub>	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wālīg <sub>a</sub>	wālīs/wālí <i>sic</i>	wāl-	kind of gazelle
sībīg <sub>a</sub> ´	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīɲf <sub>v</sub> ´/sīɲg <sub>a</sub> ´	sīɲs´	sīɲ-	"bee"
sūɲf <sub>v</sub> ´/sūɲr´	sūɲyá	sūɲ-	"heart"
kpá'ɔɲ <sub>v</sub>	kpī'iní	kpā'- <i>sic</i>	"guinea fowl"

**bu|**

sā'ab <sub>v</sub>	sà'-	"millet porridge"
kī'ib <sub>v</sub> ´		"soap"
dōgōb <sub>v</sub> ´		ger "cook (dōg)"
kādīb <sub>v</sub>		ger "drive off (kàd)"
pīlīb <sub>v</sub>		ger "cover (pìl)"
kpārīb <sub>v</sub>		ger "lock (kpàr)"
bāsīb <sub>v</sub>		ger "go/send off (bàs)"

bb → p:

sōp <sub>v</sub> '		ger "write (sōb)"
tānp <sub>v</sub>	tānp-	"war"

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

mb → mm, but nb does not assimilate:

wūm <sub>mv</sub>		ger "hear (wòm)"
būnīb <sub>v</sub>		ger "reap (bùn)"

Yīs' "make go/come out" has ger *yīsíb<sub>v</sub>*, the only 3-mora stem in *bu|*.

Piinī "gift" is a remnant of an old *bu|nu* class, with *aa* umlauted to *ii*: cf Moba *pāāb* "gift", pl *pāānî*. It is used as sg, with cif *pīin-*.

**mu|**

dāam'	dā-	"millet beer"
mèlɪgìm		"dew"
dū'uním	dū'un-	"urine"
dàalím		"masculinity"
yàarím	yàar-	"salt"
zāaṅsím	zāaṅs-	"soup"

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

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

Piim' is a remnant of an old *u|ɪ* class: cf Nawdm *fíimú* "arrow", plural *fíimí*.

## 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. Like most Western Oti-Volta languages, Kusaal has lost the agreement system, but most adjectives still show suffixes from more than one class, usually in free variation. Thus

ga sɪ	bù-piəlìg <sub>a</sub>	bù-piəlìs	bù-piəl-	"white goat (būvg <sub>a</sub> )"
rɪ aa	bù-piəlì	bù-piələ	bù-piəl-	"white goat"

WK claims a difference in gradable adjectives with the sg suffixes *ga rɪ gu*, consistently ranking them in decreasing order of intensity, so that *fū-piəlìg* "white shirt" is whiter than *fū-piəl*. 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-sābulìs* "Africans" is commoner than *nīn-sābulà* and the adjective in *Zuà-wiis* "Red Zoose" does not normally use *sɪ*.

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

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

zìŋ'a/zèŋ'og <sub>v</sub>	zèŋ'ɛs/zèŋ'ɛd or zèŋdà	ziàŋ'-/zèŋ'-	"red"
bī'a/bē'og <sub>v</sub>	bī'əs/bē'ɛd	bià'-/bè'-	"bad"

*Bē'ɛd* is also frequently used as sg, with pl *bè'ɛd-nām<sub>a</sub>*.

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

*Ga*-type adjectives include:

wàbìg <sub>a</sub> /wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìg <sub>a</sub> /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	"beautiful"
sābulìg <sub>a</sub> /sābílì	sābulìs/sābulá	sābìl-	"black"

Like *sābulìg<sub>a</sub>* are *pāalìg<sub>a</sub>* "new", *bàaŋlìg<sub>a</sub>* "slim", *piəlìg<sub>a</sub>* "white." *Vèŋllìg<sub>a</sub>* "beautiful" does not use sg *rɪ*; *wènnìr* "resembling", *záalì* "empty" do not use sg *ga*.

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

dēɛŋ <sub>a</sub>	dēɛŋs/dēɛmīs or dēɛnā	dēɛŋ-	"first"
gīŋ <sub>a</sub>	gīmā	gīŋ-	"short"

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

<i>būgusíga/būgusír</i>	<i>būgusá</i>	<i>būgūs-</i>	"soft"
<i>pòɔdìga/pòɔdìr</i>	<i>pòɔdà</i>	<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"

Similarly *mā'asír* "cold, wet", *mālsír* "sweet", *tēbúsír* "heavy", *lābúsír* "wide."  
G<sub>v</sub>-type adjectives show pl *di* only in some 2-mora stems without assimilation:

<i>nèog<sub>v</sub>/nèer</i>	<i>nèed/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìug<sub>v</sub>/wìir</i>	<i>wìid/wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wōk<sub>v</sub>´/wā'ar´</i>	<i>wā'ad´/wá'a</i>	<i>wā'-/wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kōdōg<sub>v</sub>/kōdīr</i>	<i>kōt/kōdā</i>	<i>kōd-</i>	"old"
but <i>bèdòg<sub>v</sub>/bèdīr</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>tītā'ug<sub>v</sub>/tītā'ar</i>	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītā'-</i>	"big"

G<sub>v</sub>-type stems in *l m n r s* simply have sg *gv* pl *aa*:

<i>sùŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>kísòg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàuŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàuŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpī'òŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>kpī'əmā</i>	<i>kpī'òŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlòŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>zùlɪmà</i>	<i>zùlòŋ-</i>	"deep"

Similarly *pòŋròg<sub>v</sub>* "near", *mì'isòg<sub>v</sub>* "sour", *zēm̀m̀úg<sub>v</sub>* "equal", *t̀b̀l̀úg<sub>v</sub>* "hot", *l̀all̀úg<sub>v</sub>* "distant", *ỳal̀òŋ<sub>v</sub>* "wide", *nỳal̀úŋ<sub>v</sub>* "wonderful", *ǹar̀úŋ<sub>v</sub>* "necessary", and all perfective deverbal adjectives in *lm*. KT (not WK) has alternative pfv adjective forms without *m*:

<i>kp̀il̀úŋ<sub>v</sub>/kp̀il̀òg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>kp̀il̀ímà</i>	<i>kp̀il̀úŋ-</i>	"dead"
<i>g̀ḕŋ̀l̀úŋ<sub>v</sub>/g̀ḕŋ̀l̀úg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>g̀ḕŋ̀l̀ímà</i>	<i>g̀ḕŋ̀l̀úŋ-</i>	"tired"
<i>p̀è'el̀úŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>p̀è'el̀(í)m̀à</i>	<i>p̀è'el̀úŋ-</i>	"full"

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

<i>k̀ṑd̀ír</i>	<i>k̀ṑd̀á</i>	<i>k̀ṑd̀-</i>	"murderous;
or <i>k̀ṑd̀íg<sub>a</sub>/k̀ṑd̀úg<sub>v</sub></i>			liable to be killed"
<i>s̀inǹír/s̀inǹíg<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>s̀inǹá</i>	<i>s̀in-</i>	"silent"

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

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

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

<i>nīn-pú'alìŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>-pú'alìmà</i>	"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záaŋsùŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>-záaŋsà</i>	"dreamy person"

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

<i>vōr´</i>	<i>vōyá</i>	<i>vōr-</i>	"alive"
<i>dāvg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>dāad</i>	<i>dà-</i>	"male"
<i>tōvg<sub>v</sub></i>	<i>tōod</i>	<i>tò-</i>	"bitter"
<i>pṽāk<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>pṽ'as</i>	<i>pṽà'-</i>	"female" (human)
<i>ŋyá'aŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>ŋyá'as/ŋyā'amís</i>	<i>ŋyā'aŋ-</i>	"female" (animal)
<i>ŋyèesíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>ŋyèensís</i>	<i>ŋyèesíŋ-</i>	"confident"

and similarly *vèŋllíŋ<sub>a</sub>* "beautiful" *mālsíŋ<sub>a</sub>* "pleasant" *lāllíŋ<sub>a</sub>* "distant."

<i>bīl<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>bībīs</i>	<i>bì(l)-</i>	"little"
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The pl stem is reduplicated. Sg *-la* is an old diminutive class suffix: cf Farefare *pìlà* "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 *ɪ* 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:

gòŋ	gòŋda	gòŋma	"hunt"
kɪà	kìəda	kìəma	"cut"
kɪā	kūəda'	kùəma	"hoe"
pɪāŋ'	pɪāŋ'ada'	pɪāŋ'am <sub>a</sub>	"speak; praise"
dɪà'	dù'ada	dù'am <sub>a</sub>	"bear, beget"
yādīg'	yādīgída	yādīgìma	"scatter"
nōk'	nōkída	nòkìma	"take"
gāŋ'	gāŋída	gàŋìma	"choose"
kpàr	kpàrída	kpàrìma	"lock"
sīgɪs'	sīgɪsída	sìgɪsìma	"lower"
kōt'	kōtída	kòtìma	"slaughter"

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

dì	dìt <sub>a</sub>	dìm <sub>a</sub>	"eat"
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Likewise *nyē* "see", *lì/lù* "fall", *dū* "go up", *yī* "go/come out", *zò* "run."  
dd → t; ld → nn:

bùd	bùt <sub>a</sub>	bùdìm <sub>a</sub>	"plant"
gàad	gàt <sub>a</sub> (VVt → Vt)	gàadìm <sub>a</sub>	"(sur)pass"
vūl	vūn <sub>na</sub> '	vùlìm <sub>a</sub>	"swallow"
màal	màan <sub>na</sub>	màalìm <sub>a</sub>	"make; sacrifice"
dīgīl'	dīgīn <sub>na</sub>	dìgūlìm <sub>a</sub>	"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**:

lèb	lèbìd <sub>a</sub>	lèm <sub>ma</sub>	"return"
liəb	liəbìd <sub>a</sub>	liəbìm <sub>a</sub>	"become"

Only 2-mora **n**-stems show **nd** → **nn**:

bùn	bùn <sub>na</sub>	bùnìm <sub>a</sub>	"reap"
gò'ɔn	gò'ɔnìd <sub>a</sub>	gò'ɔnìm <sub>a</sub>	"extend neck"
dìgìn	dìgìnìd <sub>a</sub>	dìgìnìm <sub>a</sub>	"lie down"

**nn**-stems show no assimilation:

sùn <sub>n</sub>	sùnnìd <sub>a</sub>	sùnnìm <sub>a</sub>	"bow head"
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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 *tvmid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm <sub>ma</sub>	sìilìm <sub>ma</sub>	"cite proverbs"
lāŋím	lāŋím <sub>ma</sub>	lāŋìm <sub>ma</sub>	"wander searching"
kàrìm	kàrìm <sub>ma</sub> /kàrìmìd <sub>a</sub>	kàrìm <sub>ma</sub>	"read"
tɔ̀ɔm´	tɔ̀ɔm <sub>ma</sub> /tɔ̀ɔmìd <sub>a</sub>	tɔ̀ɔm <sub>ma</sub>	"depart"
tùm	tùm <sub>ma</sub>	tùm <sub>ma</sub>	"work"

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

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

lèm	lèmmìd <sub>a</sub>	lèm <sub>ma</sub>	"sip, taste"
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(cf Mooré *lèmbè*.) Like **lèm** 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.

fāeŋ´	fāaŋd <sub>a</sub> ´	fāaŋm <sub>a</sub>	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd <sub>a</sub> ´	dī'əm <sub>a</sub>	"get, receive"
dūe´	dūəd <sub>a</sub> ´	dūəm <sub>a</sub>	"rise, raise"
pūŋ'e´	pūŋ'əd <sub>a</sub> ´	pūŋ'əm <sub>a</sub>	"rot" WK



Most 1vbs have 2-mora stems with the flexion *-ya* (= Nawdm *-ra*.) Modal root vowels become short before *ya*, while glottal vowels 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: If *kpī'əmmá* "be strong."

<i>àɛŋ<sub>ya</sub></i>	"be something"	<i>wà'e<sub>ya</sub></i>	"travel"
<i>tōɛ<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"be bitter"	<i>sōŋ'e<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"be better than"
<i>dīgī<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"lie down"	<i>vābī<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"lie prone"
<i>mōr<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"have"	<i>dēl<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"lean (person)"
<i>sùm<sub>ma</sub></i>	"be good"	<i>nēn<sub>na</sub>'</i>	"envy"
<i>kīs<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"hate"		
<i>pòɔd<sub>a</sub></i>	"be few, small"	<i>kpī'əm<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"be strong"
<i>zùlì<sub>ma</sub></i>	"be deep"	<i>bōgōs<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"be soft"
<i>mā'as<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"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 inchoative 2vb instead:

<i>Ò zìŋ'i nē.</i>	"She's sitting down." ( <i>zìŋ'i<sub>ya</sub></i> )
<i>Ò pō zìŋ'idā/zìŋ'inìdā.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" WK/KT
<i>Ò vābì nē.</i>	"He's lying prone."
<i>Ò pō vābìdā/vābìnìdā.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." WK/KT
<i>Ò dīgì nē.</i>	"She's lying down."
<i>Ò pō dīgìdā.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" WK
<i>Lì zì'ə nē.</i>	"It's standing up." ( <i>zì'e<sub>ya</sub></i> )
<i>Lì pō zì'ədā.</i>	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." WK
<i>Lì tì'i nē.</i>	"It's leaning." ( <i>tì'i<sub>ya</sub>'</i> )
<i>Lì tì'id.</i>	"It can be leant." WK
<i>Lì pō tì'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning."
<i>Lì pō tì'idá.</i>	"It's not for leaning." 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		-bu	but	-ri	as final part of a compound
3-mora stems in g k ŋ ae ie ue		-ri			
all others		-gu			
kōvb <sub>v</sub> '	"kill (kō)"	dōgōvb <sub>v</sub> '		"cook (dōg)"	
dō'ab <sub>v</sub>	"bear, beget (dūà)"	kādīb <sub>v</sub>		"drive off (kàd)"	
pīlīb <sub>v</sub>	"cover (pīl)"	kpārīb <sub>v</sub>		"lock (kpàr)"	
bāsīb <sub>v</sub>	"go/send away (bàs)"	lōp <sub>v</sub> '		"throw stones at (lōb)"	
kīm <sub>mv</sub>	"tend flock/herd (kīm)"	būnīb <sub>v</sub>		"reap (bùn)"	
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nōkír		"take (nōk')"	
nìṅìr	"doing (nìṅ)"	gbāṅ'ar		"grab (gbāṅ'e')"	
dí'ər	"get (dī'e')"	dúər		"rise (dūe')"	
gàadùg <sub>v</sub>	"pass (gàad)"	liəbùg <sub>v</sub>		"become (liəb)"	
dīgɪlùg <sub>v</sub>	"lay down (dīgɪl')"	yāarùg <sub>v</sub>		"scatter (yāar')"	
sīgɪsùg <sub>v</sub>	"lower (sīgɪs')"	dàmmùg <sub>v</sub>		"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)	
dìgɪnùg <sub>v</sub>	"lie down (dìgɪn)"	zìṅ'inùg <sub>v</sub>		"sit down (zìṅ'in)"	
sàṅ'uh <sub>v</sub>	"destroy (sàṅ'am)"	kàrùṅ <sub>v</sub>		"read (kàrìm)"	
or sàṅ'amùg <sub>v</sub>		or kàrɪmùg <sub>v</sub>			

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

sìilùṅ <sub>v</sub>	"cite proverbs (sìilim)"	zàaṅsùṅ <sub>v</sub>	"dream (zàaṅsìm)"
wàṅìr	"waste away (wàṅìm)"	zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use -ri, not -bu:

pùà'-dīur	"marriage"	nīn-kōur	"murder"
dā-nūur	"beer-drinking"	mò-pīl <sub>l</sub>	"grass roof"

A few gerunds are formally plural:

$g\bar{e}\bar{e}\eta m\acute{is}$	"go mad ( $g\bar{e}\bar{e}\eta m\acute{}$ )"	$b\grave{u}d\acute{im}\acute{is}$	"get confused ( $b\grave{u}d\acute{im}$ )"
$t\grave{it}\bar{u}m\acute{is}$	"send ( $t\grave{u}m$ )"	$b\bar{e}\eta'es$	"fall ill ( $b\bar{e}\eta'$ )"
$k\bar{e}\eta_n\acute{}$	"come ( $k\bar{e}\eta$ )"	$z\bar{i}id\acute{}$	"carry on the head ( $z\bar{i}$ )"

With 3- or 4-mora stems, irregularities are few, and even irregular verbs like  $t\grave{is}$  "give" and  $k\bar{e}$  "let" have regular **-bu** gerunds. However, almost 20% of 2-mora stems (especially **b**-stems) use suffixes other than **bu**; a few forms are also tonally irregular.

$l\bar{i}g_a$	"fall ( $l\grave{i}$ )"	$z\bar{u}a/z\bar{o}og_b$	"run ( $z\grave{o}$ )"
$v\bar{u}ug_b\acute{}$	"make noise ( $v\bar{u}$ )"	$p\grave{i}\grave{a}u\eta k_b$	"speak ( $p\grave{i}\bar{a}\eta'$ )"
$b\bar{u}d\bar{i}g_a$	"plant ( $b\grave{u}d$ )"	$k\bar{u}l\bar{i}g_a\acute{}$	"go home ( $k\bar{u}l$ )"
or $b\bar{u}d\bar{u}g_b$		or $k\bar{u}l\bar{u}g_b\acute{}$	
$y\grave{e}l\bar{u}g_b$	"say, tell ( $y\grave{e}l$ )"	$t\grave{a}\eta s\bar{u}g_b$	"shout ( $t\grave{a}\eta s$ )"
$s\acute{o}\eta s\grave{i}g_a$	"converse ( $s\bar{o}\eta s$ )"	$g\acute{o}s\grave{i}g_a$	"look ( $g\bar{o}s$ )"
$s\bar{o}s\bar{i}g_a$	"pray, beg ( $s\grave{o}s$ )"	$k\grave{i}k\bar{i}r\bar{u}g_b$	"hurry ( $k\bar{i}r$ )" (also regular)
$l\bar{e}b\bar{i}g_a$	"return ( $l\grave{e}b$ )"	$t\bar{e}b\bar{i}g_a$	"carry in both hands ( $t\grave{e}b$ )"
$t\grave{e}\eta b\bar{u}g_b$	"tremble ( $t\grave{e}\eta b$ )"	$k\bar{a}\eta b\bar{i}r$	"scorch ( $k\grave{a}\eta b$ )"
$\bar{o}\eta b\bar{i}r$	"chew ( $\bar{o}\eta b$ )"	$l\bar{u}b\bar{i}r\acute{}$	"buck ( $l\bar{u}b$ )"
$z\grave{a}b\bar{i}r$	"fight ( $z\grave{a}b$ )"		

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

$z\bar{i}\eta'ig_a$	"sit ( $z\grave{i}\eta'iy_a$ )"	$t\bar{i}'ib_b\acute{}$	"lean ( $t\bar{i}'iy_a\acute{}$ )"
$z\bar{i}'a$	"stand ( $z\grave{i}'e_ya$ )"	$d\bar{i}k_a\acute{}/d\bar{i}g\bar{i}r\acute{}$	"lie down ( $d\bar{i}g\bar{i}y_a\acute{}$ )" KT/WK
$\bar{i}k_a\acute{}/ig\bar{i}r\acute{}$	"kneel ( $ig\bar{i}y_a\acute{}$ )" KT/WK	$v\bar{a}p_b\acute{}/v\bar{a}b\bar{i}r\acute{}$	"lie prone ( $v\bar{a}b\bar{i}y_a\acute{}$ )" KT/WK

KT has the phonologically exceptional  $z\bar{i}'eg_a$  "standing."

$T\grave{e}\eta r_a$  "remember",  $p\grave{o}\eta r_a$  "be near" have  $t\bar{e}\eta r\bar{i}b_b$   $p\bar{o}\eta r\bar{i}b_b$  by analogy with 2vbs.  $K\bar{i}s_a\acute{}$  "hate" forms  $k\bar{i}s\bar{u}g_b$ . For other 1vb gerunds see §7.2.4.

### 6.1.2 Others

Although gerunds do not usually acquire concrete senses, exceptions include  $d\bar{i}ub_b$  "food",  $z\bar{i}\eta'ig_a$  "place"; and for KT, WK's gerund forms  $v\bar{a}b\bar{i}r\acute{}$   $l\bar{a}b\bar{i}r\acute{}$   $d\bar{i}g\bar{i}r\acute{}$   $ig\bar{i}r\acute{}$  mean "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds  $v\bar{a}p_b\acute{}$  etc. Similarly, other verb stems with different class suffixes from gerunds may refer to products of actions, instruments, or places where actions occur.

dōg	"cook"	dōk <sub>v</sub> '	"cooking pot"
dà'	"buy"	dà'a	"market"
kùd	"work iron"	kūt	"iron, nail"
sōb	"write"	sōbīr'	"piece of writing"
sūā'	"hide"	sūāk <sub>a</sub> '	"hiding place"
ēεηb'	"lay a foundation"	ēεηbír	"(physical) foundation"
kùəs	"sell"	kùəsìm	"merchandise"
pèbıs	"blow (wind)"	pèbısìm	"wind"

## 6.2 Nominal to nominal

Associations of noun class and meaning can be exploited to change the meaning of a stem, e.g. zùà "friend", zùəd "friendship"; sīñf<sub>v</sub>' "bee", sīñd' "honey"; wèəd<sub>a</sub> "hunter", wèog<sub>v</sub> "deep bush."

Most tree names are ga|sı, and their fruits rı|aa or gv|dı, e.g. āāñdīg<sub>a</sub> "black plum tree", āāñdīr "black plum"; gāāñ' "jackalberry tree", gāñr' "jackalberry"; dùāñ "dawadawa", dōōñg<sub>v</sub> "dawadawa fruit"; tē'εg<sub>a</sub> "baobab", tē'og<sub>v</sub> "baobab fruit."

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

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in mı|, less often with -gv (especially when the adjective sg has -gv); human-reference nouns may form abstract nouns similarly:

vōm'	"life"	sùm	"goodness"
pòcdìm	"scarcity"	vènnìm/vèñllìm	"beauty"
bōgusím	"softness"	tēbısím	"weight"
mā'asím	"coolness, damp"	māłsím	"sweetness"
lābısím	"width"	pìə̀lìm	"brightness"
tītā'am	"multitude"	ñyèsìm	"confidence"
lāllóg <sub>v</sub>	"distance"	zēmmóg <sub>v</sub>	"equality"
kpī'ə̀ñ <sub>v</sub>	"hardness"	yàlòñ <sub>v</sub>	"width"
mì'isòg <sub>v</sub>	"sourness"	tōog <sub>v</sub>	"bitterness"
zùlòñ <sub>v</sub>	"depth"	tōslóg <sub>v</sub> /tōllím	"heat"
gbányà'am	"laziness"	from gbányà'a	"lazy person"
dàmà'am	"deception"	dàmà'a	"liar"
tītā'alīm	"pride"	tītā'alı	"proud person"
sáəñ <sub>v</sub>	"hospitality"	from sāan <sub>a</sub> '	"guest"
kpēəñ <sub>v</sub>	"eldership"	kpēəñm	"elder"
sōəñg <sub>v</sub>	"witchcraft"	sōəñ(ya)	"witch"

Adjective stems form manner nouns §11.6.3 with **-m** or apocope-blocked **-ga**:

bāaṅlím	"quietly"	zāalím	"in vain"
kūdīm	"of old"	pāalím	"recently"
nèem	"for nothing, free"		
sùṅā´	"well"	mā'asígā´	"coolly"
tūlígā´	"hotly"	gīṅā	"shortly"
būḡusígā´	"softly"	sàalígā´	"smoothly"
ṅyèesígā´	"confidently"		

### 6.3 Nominal to verb

Quality verbs add **-ya** or **-a** to an adjective or human-reference noun stem. Nominal tp A is reanalysed as verbal tp H, with lf-final H, not M; tp L merges with verbal tp A as usual, and is thus all-M after **nà/kù**: **Ò nà vēn** "She'll be beautiful."

H	vūr´	"alive"	vūḡya´	"live"
	mā'asír	"cool"	mā'asa´	"be cool"
	būḡusír	"soft"	būḡusa´	"be soft"
	zēmmúḡ <sub>v</sub>	"equal"	zēm <sub>ma</sub> ´	"be equal to"
	lāllúḡ <sub>v</sub>	"far"	lāl <sub>la</sub> ´	"be far from"
A	tōḡ <sub>v</sub>	"bitter"	tōḡya´	"be bitter"
	gīṅ <sub>a</sub>	"short"	gīm <sub>ma</sub> ´	"be short"
	kṗí'ou <sub>v</sub>	"strong"	kṗí'əma´	"be strong"
	kṗēḡm	"elder"	kṗēḡma´	"be older than"
	wēnnīr	"resembling"	wēn <sub>na</sub> ´	"be like"
L	pòḡd <sub>a</sub>	"small"	pòḡd <sub>a</sub>	"be few, small"
	mì'is <sub>v</sub>	"sour"	mì'is <sub>a</sub>	"be sour"
	sùṅ <sub>v</sub>	"good"	sùm <sub>ma</sub>	"be good"
	zùlòṅ <sub>v</sub>	"deep"	zùlì <sub>ma</sub>	"be deep"
	vènnìḡ <sub>a</sub>	"beautiful"	vèn <sub>na</sub>	"be beautiful"

With stem changes:

wōk <sub>v</sub> ´	"long, tall"	wā'am <sub>a</sub> ´	"be long, tall"
tūlúḡ <sub>v</sub>	"hot"	tūl <sub>la</sub> ´	"be hot"
ṅyèesíg <sub>a</sub>	"confident"	ṅyèes <sub>a</sub>	"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 *kābūrī sūgūrú*, 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: *kōt'* may represent \**kodl-*.

<i>yā'ad</i>	"clay"	<i>yà'ab</i>	"mould clay"
<i>kōdīg'</i>	"slaughter one animal"	<i>kōt'</i>	"slaughter several animals"

**g** most often derives inchoatives/factitives, with some causatives:

<i>bōgusír</i>	"soft"	<i>būk'</i>	"soften"
<i>dēɛŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"first"	<i>dɛŋ</i>	"precede"
<i>dōl<sub>l</sub>a'</i>	"go with"	<i>dōlīg'</i>	"make accompany"
<i>gīŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"short"	<i>gìŋ</i>	"scrimp"
<i>gōr<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"look up" DK	<i>gōdīg'</i>	"make look up" DK
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>kpì'oŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>kò</i>	"break" intransitive	<i>kò'og</i>	"break" transitive
<i>kūdōg<sub>v</sub></i>	"old"	<i>kùdìg</i>	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
<i>lāllóg<sub>v</sub></i>	"far"	<i>lālīg'</i>	"become/make far"
<i>mā'asír</i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>màṽk<sub>v</sub></i>	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i>	"crumple up"
<i>mì'isòg<sub>v</sub></i>	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i>	"turn sour"
<i>nèìya</i>	"be awake"	<i>nìe</i>	"waken"
<i>nīn-múa</i>	"concentration"	<i>mù'e</i>	"redden, become intense"
<i>nū</i>	"drink"	<i>nūlīg'</i>	"make drink"
<i>ŋwīig<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"rope"	<i>ŋwīig'</i>	"make a rope"
<i>ŋyō'os'</i>	"smoke"	<i>ŋyū'e'</i>	"set alight"
<i>pìəlìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"white"	<i>pèlìg</i>	"whiten"
<i>pòdìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"few"	<i>pò'og</i>	"diminish, belittle"
<i>sābílìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"black"	<i>sōbīg'</i>	"blacken"
<i>sōŋ'e<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"be better than"	<i>sūŋ'e'</i>	"become better than" WK
<i>sùŋ<sub>v</sub></i>	"good"	<i>sùŋ</i>	"help"
<i>tādīm</i>	"weak person"	<i>tādìg</i>	"become weak"
<i>tēbúsír</i>	"heavy"	<i>tēbīg'</i>	"get/make heavy"

À-Tùl <sub>l</sub>	"Breech-Delivered"	tùlìg	"invert"
tùlùg <sub>o</sub>	"hot"	tùlìg'	"heat up"
vōr'	"alive"	vō'ug'	"make/come alive"
wàuŋ <sub>o</sub>	"wasted"	wàŋim	"waste away" (gm)
yùul	"swing" intransitive	yùlìg	"swing" transitive
zūər	"hill"	zù'e	"get higher, more"
zùlòŋ <sub>o</sub>	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"

It is also found in reversive meaning. Reversive *g* is peculiar to the Western group within Oti-Volta; only *r/d/t* appear elsewhere.

ènd	"block up"	èndìg	"unblock"
là'as	"gather together"	lāk'	"open" (eye, book); tp H sic
lō	"tie up"	lōdìg'	"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"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèeg	"undress oneself"
yò	"close"	yò'og	"open"

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

bāŋ'	"ride"	bāŋ'al'	"put on a horse/bicycle"
gēog <sub>o</sub>	"space between legs"	gēel'	"put between legs" tp H sic
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul'	"set someone on guard"
līk <sub>a</sub>	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
mā'e'	"get cool, wet"	mā'al'	"make cool, wet"
nìe	"appear"	nèel	"reveal"
ŋyá'aŋ <sub>a</sub>	"behind"	ŋyā'al'	"leave behind"
pūŋ'e'	"rot"	pōŋ'ol'	"cause to rot"
wō'ug'	"get wet"	wō'ul'	"make wet"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèel	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìl	"cause to fight"

*m* is seen in

nēer'	"millstone"	nēm'	"grind with a millstone"
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It also derives subverbs:

dèŋ	"go first"	dèŋìm	"first"
là'as	"gather together"	là'am	"together"
lèb	"return"	lèm	"again"
<i>maliḡ</i>	(Toende) "do again"	màlìḡìm	"again"

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

būḡūd <sub>a</sub>	"client of diviner"	bùḡulìm	"cast lots" (also <i>bùk</i> )
ḡìk <sub>a</sub>	"dumb"	ḡìḡulìm	"become dumb"
ḡū'us	"semi-ripe things"	ḡù'ulìm	"become semi-ripe"
puā'	"woman"	pu'aliḡm	"cook"
puḡ'or	"cripple"	puḡ'olìm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbulìm	"make, go lame"

*n* derives inchoative 2vbs from stance verbs, with corresponding causatives in *l*.

Nawdm has closely parallel formations, e.g. *jeḡra* ipfv "stand", *jeḡnt* pfv "stand up", *jeḡlḡ* pfv, *jeḡla* ipfv "make stand." All these inchoatives are tp A, but the causatives have the same tp as the base verb. Some *n/l* pairs lack corresponding 1vbs.

		Inchoative	Causative
zì'e <sub>ya</sub>	"stand"	zì'ən	zì'əl
zìḡ'i <sub>ya</sub>	"sit"	zìḡ'in	zìḡ'il
tī'i <sub>ya</sub> '	"lean" (of thing)	tì'in	tī'il'
ḡō'e <sub>ya</sub> '	"look up" WK	ḡò'ən	
dīḡi <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie down"	dìḡìn	dīḡìl'
īḡi <sub>ya</sub> '	"kneel"	ìḡìn	īḡìl'
làb'i <sub>ya</sub>	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vāb'i <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vābìl'
sùr <sub>a</sub>	"bow head"	sùn <sub>n</sub>	sùn <sub>n</sub> sic
	"cover oneself"	lìḡìn	lìḡìl
	"perch" (bird)	zù'ən	zù'əl
	"perch" (bird)	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2vb as inchoative: *ḡùl<sub>la</sub>* "hang", *ḡùl* "start hanging/hang up", *tàb'i<sub>ya</sub>* "be stuck to" with *tàb* "get stuck to", beside *tàbìl* "stick to." *Dēl<sub>la</sub>'* "lean" (person) has the inchoative derivative *dēlìm*.

s is either causative or pluractional:

àeṅ	"get torn"	àaṅs	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
kpèṅ'	"enter"	kpèṅ'es	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbìs	"make return; answer"
mụà'	"suck" (of a baby)	mù'as	"give to suck"
nìe	"appear"	nèes	"reveal"
nū	"drink"	nūlīs´	"make drink"
sīg	"go down"	sīgīs´	"lower"
yī	"go/come out"	yīis´/yīs	"make go/come out"
zēm <sub>ma</sub> ´	"be equal"	zēmīs´	"make equal"
zụà	"friend"	zùəs	"befriend"
dī'e´	"receive"	dī'əs´	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us´	"watch out; guard (many)"
jàṅk´	"fly, jump"	jàṅ'as´	"jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'əs	"break several times"
làb̀̀ya	"crouch in hiding"	làb̀̀s	"walk stealthily"
pìəb	"blow (flute etc)"	pè̀̀b̀̀s	"blow (wind)"
tòṅ	"shoot"	tòṅ'əs	"hunt"
yā'e´	"open mouth"	yā'as´	"open repeatedly" WK

## 7.2 Nominals

Nominal derivation from verbs is very productive and comparatively regular.

### 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 r|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.

mè	"build"	mēɛd <sub>a</sub>	"builder"
dì	"eat"	dīt <sub>a</sub>	"eater"
dōg	"cook"	dōgōd <sub>a</sub> '	"cook"
duà'	"bear, beget"	dū'ad <sub>a</sub>	"relative"
kàd	"drive away"	sàríyà-kāt <sub>a</sub>	"judge"
gàad	"pass"	tùən-gāt <sub>a</sub>	"leader"
sōb	"write"	sōbīd <sub>a</sub> '	"writer"
kpàr	"lock"	kpārīd <sub>a</sub>	"lock-er"
sūgūr'	"forbear"	sūgūrīd <sub>a</sub>	"forgiver"
gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsīd <sub>a</sub> '	"sleeper"
gōs	"look"	gōt <sub>a</sub> '	"seer, prophet"
màal	"sacrifice"	màal-māan <sub>na</sub>	"sacrificer"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an <sub>na</sub>	"teacher"
tòm	"work"	tòm-tōm <sub>na</sub>	"worker"
yū'um'	"sing"	yūum-yū'um <sub>na</sub>	"singer"
sàṅ'am	"spoil"	pūà'-sāṅ'am <sub>na</sub>	"adulterer"
bùn	"reap"	būn <sub>na</sub>	"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 <sub>a</sub> '	"persister" WK
ṅwà'e	"cut wood"	ṅwā'ad <sub>a</sub>	"woodcutter"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'ed <sub>a</sub> '	"receiver"
sùṅ	"help"	sūṅīd <sub>a</sub>	"helper"
sjàk	"believe"	sjàkīd <sub>a</sub>	"believer"
tēk'	"pull"	ṅwī-ték <sub>a</sub>	"rope-puller"
kēṅ'	"go"	kēn <sub>na</sub> '	"traveller"
ṅāṅk'	"jump, fly"	ṅāṅ'ad <sub>a</sub> '	"flier"
yādīg'	"scatter"	yāt <sub>a</sub> '	participant in a housebuilding ritual

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

dī'əs'	"receive"	nō-dī'əs <sub>a</sub>	"chief's spokesman"
tìs	"give"	tìs <sub>a</sub>	"giver"
sòs	"beg"	sòs <sub>a</sub>	"beggar"
zàb	"fight"	zàb-zàb <sub>a</sub>	"warrior"

Stems in **mm** drop **d** and have only **nàm<sub>a</sub>** pls, but the tonemes of the agent noun from **sùn<sub>n</sub>** (ipfv **sùnnìd<sub>a</sub>**) "bow the head" show assimilation of **d**:

dàm	"shake"	dàm-dàm <sub>ma</sub>	"shaker"
sùn <sub>n</sub>	"bow head"	sùn <sub>na</sub>	"deep thinker" WK

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

pù'alìm	"harm"	pū'an <sub>na</sub>	"harmer"
sùlìm	"cite proverbs"	sūn <sub>na</sub>	"speaker of proverbs"
zàaṅsìm	"dream"	zàaṅs <sub>a</sub>	"dreamer"

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

mī'	"know"	mī'id <sub>a</sub> '	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'id <sub>a</sub> '	"ignorant person"
sōṅ'e <sub>ya</sub> '	"be better than"	sōṅ'òd <sub>a</sub> '	"outdoer"
sū'e <sub>ya</sub> '	"own"	sū'òd <sub>a</sub> '	"owner"
zìṅ'i <sub>ya</sub>	"sit"	zìṅ'id <sub>a</sub>	"sitter"
zì'e <sub>ya</sub>	"stand"	zì'òd <sub>a</sub>	"stander"
àḡṅ <sub>ya</sub>	"be something"	āaṅd <sub>a</sub>	"someone who always is something" WK
dīgī <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie down"	dīgīd <sub>a</sub> '	"lier-down"
īgī <sub>ya</sub> '	"kneel"	īgīd <sub>a</sub> '	"kneeler"
vābī <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie prone"	vābīd <sub>a</sub> '	"lier prone"
làbì <sub>ya</sub>	"crouch in hiding"	làbīd <sub>a</sub>	"croucher in hiding"
nòṅ	"love"	nòṅìd <sub>a</sub>	"lover" (tp L sic)
dēl <sub>la</sub> '	"lean"	nīn-dēl <sub>la</sub>	"person prone to lean"
dōl <sub>la</sub> '	"go with"	ṅyà'an-dōl <sub>la</sub>	"disciple" (tp L sic)
zāṅl <sub>la</sub> '	"hold"	nō-zāṅl <sub>la</sub>	"holder of hens"
nēn <sub>na</sub> '	"envy"	nīn-nēn <sub>na</sub>	"envious person"
sīn <sub>na</sub> '	"be silent"	nīn-sīn <sub>na</sub>	"silent person"
mōr <sub>a</sub> '	"have"	bù-mōr <sub>a</sub> '	"goat-owner"
tār <sub>a</sub> '	"have"	bù-tār <sub>a</sub> '	"goat-owner"
gūr <sub>a</sub> '	"guard"	gūr(īd) <sub>a</sub> '	"guard"
tēṅr <sub>a</sub>	"remember"	tēṅrīd <sub>a</sub>	"rememberer"
kīs <sub>a</sub> '	"hate"	kīs(īd) <sub>a</sub> '	"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-dúgvà* "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziṅdvǵida zīṅ-dúgvà* "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *ni'im dvǵida nīm-dúgvà* "meat for cooking" (1 Sm 2:15.)

Uncompounded forms have the meaning of agent nouns: *kūvdír* "killer." After cifs the meanings differ: *puà'-kūvd<sub>a</sub>'* "woman-killer" vs *puà'-kūvdír* "woman killer."

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

<i>là'</i>	"laugh"	<i>puà'-lā'adír</i>	"laughing/laughable woman"
<i>nyē</i>	"see"	<i>būn-nyétír</i>	"visible object"
<i>kūā</i>	"hoe"	<i>nā'-dá-kūədír</i>	"ox for ploughing"
<i>yē</i>	"don clothes"	<i>fū-yéedír/-yéedùg<sub>v</sub></i>	"shirt for wearing" WK, KT
<i>kū</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kūvdím</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>duà'</i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tēṅ-dū'adīg<sub>a</sub></i>	"native land"
<i>sīg</i>	"descend"	<i>yī-sígdír</i>	"lodging-house"
<i>sūā'</i>	"hide"	<i>yēl-sú'adír</i>	"confidential matter"
<i>òṅb</i>	"chew"	<i>būn-óṅbídà</i>	"solid food"
<i>bùn</i>	"reap"	<i>būn-búnnír</i>	"thing for reaping"
<i>tùm</i>	"work"	<i>būn-túmmír</i>	"useful thing"
<i>vūl</i>	"swallow"	<i>tì-vūnním</i>	"oral medication"
<i>gbīs</i>	"sleep"	<i>puà'-gbīsídír</i>	"woman always sleeping"
<i>kēṅ'</i>	"go"	<i>bùṅ-kēnnír</i>	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
<i>gīlīg'</i>	"go around"	<i>puà'-gīnníg<sub>a</sub></i>	"prostitute"
<i>sūeṅ'</i>	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóṅṅdím</i>	"anointing oil"
<i>yādīg'</i>	"scatter"	<i>būn-yátír</i>	"scattering thing"
<i>ṅāṅk'</i>	"fly, jump"	<i>būn-ṅāṅ'adír</i>	"flying creature"
<i>sàṅ'am</i>	"destroy"	<i>bù-sāṅ'ammír</i>	"scapegoat" WK
<i>pèlìs</i>	"sharpen"	<i>būn-pélìsír</i>	"sharpening thing"
<i>kùəs</i>	"sell"	<i>būn-kúəsír</i>	"item for sale"
<i>dīgī<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"lie down"	<i>bùṅ-dīgīdír</i>	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābī<sub>ya</sub>'</i>	"lie prone"	<i>bùṅ-vābīdír</i>	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>zìṅ'iyā</i>	"sit"	<i>kūg-zìṅ'idír</i>	"stone for sitting on"
<i>zāṅlī<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"hold in hands"	<i>nō-zāṅlī</i>	"hen for holding"
<i>dēlī<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"lean (person)"	<i>nīn-dēlī</i>	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kùg-dēlī'</i>	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gùlī<sub>a</sub></i>	"hang"	<i>būn-gùlī</i>	"thing for suspending"

3-mora stems in *g k ŋ* drop *d*:

pèlìg	"whiten"	bōn-péligìr	"whitening thing, whitener"
tōlīg´	"heat up"	bōn-túlīgìr	"heater, thing for heating"
pàk	"surprise"	yēl-pákìr	"disaster"
tēk´	"pull"	ŋwī-tékìr	"pulling-rope"
sùŋ	"help"	bōn-súŋìr	"helpful thing"
nòŋ	"love"	bì-nòŋìr	"beloved child"

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

pù'alìm	"harm"	puà'-pù'alíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"harmful woman"
sìilìm	"cite proverbs"	bōn-sìilúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"thing relating to proverbs"
zàaŋsìm	"dream"	puà'-zàaŋsúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"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.

àeŋ	"tear"	àaŋlúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"torn"
gēŋ	"get tired"	gēeŋlúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"tired"
kò	"break"	kòɔlúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"broken"
kpi	"die"	kpiilúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"dead"
pè'el	"fill"	pè'elúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"full"
pù'alìm	"harm"	pù'alúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"damaged"
yè	"wear"	yèelúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"worn" (of a shirt)
yò	"close"	yòɔlúŋ <sub>o</sub>	"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|su*. The meanings may overlap with those of agent nouns.

kō	"kill"	kōbdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"thing for killing with"
lō	"tie"	sìà-lōɔdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sù	"bathe"	sūbdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"sponge"
dōg	"cook"	dōgɔdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"cooking utensil"
sōb	"write"	sōbdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"writing implement"
bòd	"plant"	bōtíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārɔdíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"thing for locking"
dā'e´	"push"	dā'adíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"pusher (person/thing)"



ɲwà'e	"cut wood"	ɲwā'adīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"axe"
pīe'	"wash self"	pīədīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"thing for washing oneself"
gōs	"look"	nīn-gótīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"mirror"; nīn-gótìs "glasses"
kùəs	"sell"	kūəsīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"salesperson"
pīəs'	"clean"	pīəsīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"cleaning implement"
zīŋ'iya	"sit"	zīŋ'idīŋ <sub>a</sub>	"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 **m|**.

mī'ilím	"know (mī')"	zī'ulím	"not know (zī')"
àaŋlím	"be (àeŋya)"	bèllím <i>sic</i>	"exist (bè)"
kā'alím	"not be (kā'e)"	sū'ulím	"own (sū'e <sub>ya</sub> ')"
nēnním	"envy (nēn <sub>na</sub> ')"	sīnním	"be silent (sīn <sub>na</sub> ')"
wēnním <i>sic</i>	"be like (wēn <sub>na</sub> ')"	dēllím	"lean (dēl <sub>la</sub> ')"; also dēllóg <sub>v</sub>
dōllím	"go with (dōl <sub>la</sub> ')"	zāŋllím	"hold in hand (zāŋl <sub>la</sub> ')"
gūrím	"guard (gūr <sub>a</sub> ')"	mōrím	"have (mōr <sub>a</sub> ')"
nārím	"be necessary (nār <sub>a</sub> ')"	tārím	"have (tār <sub>a</sub> ')"

Note *cif sv'vlim kanε* in Mt 12:25.

Some **m|** 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.

bòɔdìm	"will (bòɔd <sub>a</sub> )"	gòɔɔdìm	"wandering (gòɔɔd <sub>a</sub> )"
zòtìm	"fear (zòt <sub>a</sub> )"	yōlìsìm	"freedom (yōlìs')"
nīn-kúusìm	"murder (kū)"	pù'usìm	"worship (pù'us)"

Wòm "hear" has a gerund wòm<sub>mm</sub>òg<sub>v</sub> \*wòm<sub>md</sub>òg<sub>v</sub> beside regular wòm<sub>mv</sub>.

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"
fāŋ	"snatch"	fāaŋdím-	"co-robber"
kpèŋ'	"enter"	kpèŋ'edím-	"co-resident"
mè	"build"	mèedím-	"co-builder"
pū	"share"	pūvdím-	"co-sharer"
zàb	"fight"	zàbídím-	"opponent"
dūg	"cook"	dūgvdím-	"co-cook"

tòm	"work"	tòmmím-	"co-worker"
dìs	"feed"	dìsím-	"co-feeder"
pù'us	"worship"	pù'usím-	"co-worshipper"
sùŋ	"help"	sùŋ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
sjàk	"agree"	sjàkím-	"fellow in agreement"
bè	"exist"	bèllím-	"partner in existence" WK
mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ulím-	"partner in ignorance"
zì'e <sub>ya</sub>	"stand"	zì'əlím-	"co-stander" (zì'ədím- WK)
zìŋ'i <sub>ya</sub>	"sit"	zìŋ'ilím-	"co-sitter" (zìŋ'idím- WK)
vābī <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie prone"	vābulím-	"co-lier" (vābudím- WK)
làbì <sub>ya</sub>	"crouch hiding"	làbulím-	"fellow croucher in hiding"
īgī <sub>ya</sub> '	"kneel"	īgulím-	"co-kneeler" (īgudím- WK)
dīgī <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie down"	dīgulím-	"co-lier" (dìgūnám- WK)
dōl <sub>a</sub> '	"go with"	dōllím-	"fellow-companion"
nòŋ	"love"	nòŋilím-	"fellow liker" WK
		nòŋìdím-	"fellow lover" WK

### 7.2.5 Others

s and l form adjectives:

bōk'	"weaken"	bōgusír	"soft"
mā'e'	"cool down"	mā'asír	"cold, wet"
mì'ig	"get sour"	mì'isòg <sub>v</sub>	"sour"
sōb	"get dark"	sābulíg <sub>a</sub>	"black"

Deverbal nouns with s are

dīgī <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie down"	dīgusúg <sub>v</sub>	"bed"
dū	"go up"	dūsúsír	"step"

d is seen in yūgvdīr "hedgehog", lā'af<sub>v</sub> "cowrie" pl līgudī "money", pùgvdìb<sub>a</sub> "father's sister." It can form abstracts from human-reference nouns: ba'abiidvg "brotherhood", dataadim/dataadvg "enmity", pu'asatim "girlhood", bunkvottim "old age", getim "folly" (gedvg "fool"), pvkəntim "widowhood" (Naden.) It has an instrument-noun sense in

tụà	"grind in a mortar"	tūədīr	"mortar"
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Single n derives from nd (perhaps ultimately ld) in

màal	"sacrifice"	māan <sub>n</sub>	"sacrifice"
pìbìl	"cover"	pìbìn <sub>n</sub>	"covering"
zàṅbìl	"tattoo"	zàṅbìn <sub>n</sub>	"tattoo"

**m** is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. *yōgóm<sub>n</sub>* "camel" (ultimately Berber), *gbīgīm<sub>n</sub>* "lion", *zìlīm<sub>n</sub>* "tongue", *àṅròṅ<sub>v</sub>* "boat", *zùlòṅ<sub>v</sub>* "deep", *nyālòṅ<sub>v</sub>* "wonderful", *yàlòṅ<sub>v</sub>* "wide." It can derive both animate and mass nouns:

áṅsìb <sub>a</sub>	"mother's brother"	āṅsíṅ <sub>a</sub>	"sister's child"
bī'a	"bad"	bī'əm	"enemy"
zò	"run"	zōm <sub>n</sub>	"refugee"
kpì	"die"	kpī'ım	"corpse"
tàdìḡ	"weaken"	tādīm	"weak person"
vúə	"red kapok fruit"	vúəṅ <sub>a</sub>	"red kapok"
yáab <sub>a</sub>	"grandparent"	yáaṅ <sub>a</sub>	"grandchild"
bìṅ'isìr	"breast"	bìṅ'isím	"milk"
nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy"
zōlōḡ <sub>v</sub>	"fool"	zōlómís	"foolishness"

Added to adjectival stems, **m** produces no change of meaning: thus with pfv verbal adjective stems in **l** or **lm**; *vèṅllìḡ<sub>a</sub>* or *vèṅllíṅ<sub>a</sub>* "beautiful"; *mālisìḡ<sub>a</sub>* or *mālisíṅ<sub>a</sub>* "pleasant"; *lāllòḡ<sub>v</sub>* or *lāllíṅ<sub>a</sub>* "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding 1vb:

nār <sub>a</sub> '	"be necessary"	nāróṅ <sub>v</sub>	"necessary"
nyèes <sub>a</sub>	"be confident"	nyèesíṅ <sub>a</sub>	"confident"
wōk <sub>v</sub> '	"long, tall"	wā'am <sub>a</sub> '	"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.

bīḡ <sub>a</sub>	"child"	bīilím	"childhood"
dāu	"man"	dàalím	"masculinity"
pūā'	"woman"	pù'alím	"femininity"
sāan <sub>a</sub> '	"guest, stranger"	sáannìm	"strangerhood"
tīrāan <sub>a</sub>	"neighbour"	tīrāannìm	"neighbourliness"
wōk <sub>v</sub> '	"long, tall"	wā'alím	"tallness"

## 8 Prefixes

Prefixes appear before the roots of many nouns and a few adjectives. They usually have no identifiable meaning, though they are especially common in particular semantic fields, such as small animals and insects. They take the form  $CV(N)$   $CVs_1N$  or  $CVl_1N$ , where  $N$  is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial  $C$ , and  $V$  is  $a/i/v$ ; after  $p$   $b$   $m$   $f$   $v$   $kp$   $gb$ ,  $ɪ$  occurs only before root  $i/i/\epsilon$ , where  $v$  is not permitted. Prefixes have M or L tonemes throughout, and differ from cifs in their tonal effects on following elements §3.4.1. Most prefixed stems lack derivational suffixes.

$C_1(N)/C_v(N)$  prefixes usually copy the initial root consonant; if this is a voiced stop or voiced fricative, the prefix must end in a nasal. All  $CVs_1N/CVl_1N$  prefixes copy the root initial.

$kìkàŋ_a$	"fig tree"	$kùkòr'$	"voice"
$k(p)ùkpàrìg_a$	"palm tree"	$kpìkpìn_{na}'$	"merchant"
$tītā'ar$	"big"	$pìpìrìg_a'$	"desert"
$sìsì'əm$	"wind"	$fùfùm_n$	"envy; stye"
$lìlāalìŋ_a$	"swallow"	$mìmīlím$	"sweetness"
$kìŋkàŋ_a$	"fig"	$tìntòŋrìg_a$	"mole"
$sìnsáaŋ$	kind of tiny ant	$nòb-pùmpàŋ_v$	"foot"
$kpìsìŋkpìlì$	"fist"	$sìlìnsìuŋg_v$	"spider"
$nēsìnnēog_v'$	"envious person" (for * $nì-$ )		
$dìndēog_v'$	"chameleon"	$dùndùug_v$	"cobra"
$bìmbìm_n$	"altar"	$bùmbàrìg_a$	"ant"
$gùŋgùm_n$	"kapok material"	$zìnzāŋ_v'$	"bat"
$zùnzòŋ_a$	"blind"	$vùlìnvùuŋlì$	"mason wasp"
$zìlìnzìog_v$	"unknown"		

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

$tà(sìn)tàlì$	"palm of hand"	$kpàkòr'$	"tortoise"
$wàsìnwàlì$	"gall" (on trees)		

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

dākīig <sub>a</sub>	"wife's sibling"	dàyūug <sub>v</sub> '	"rat"
dàgòbìg <sub>a</sub>	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dārúk <sub>v</sub>	kind of large pot	dàṅkòṅ <sub>v</sub>	"measles"
bālērōg <sub>v</sub> '	"ugly"	bānāa	traditional smock
sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"	sākáròg <sub>v</sub>	"fox"
sāmán <sub>n</sub>	"courtyard"	sāṅgúnnìr	"millipede"
zàṅkù'ar	"hyena"	zàṅgùəm <sub>n</sub>	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in làṅgáṅ<sub>v</sub>/màṅgáṅ<sub>v</sub> "crab" and nàyīig<sub>a</sub> "thief" (*sic*, despite KB *na'ayiig*), an a|ba g-stem; cf nàyīigīm "theft", Farefare nàyìgà pl *nayigba/nayigsi*, Dagbani *nayixa/tayixa* pl *nayixsi*. A few have H toneme: gbányà'a "lazy person." A few words have two prefixes. Anomalous prefixes appear in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: Nwāmpūrīs' "Mamprussi."

Some prefixes are connected with the negative particles p̄ kù: kùndù'ar "barren woman" (dùà' "bear"); nīn-p̄nān<sub>na</sub>' "disrespectful person" (nān "respect"); t̄b-p̄wóm̄nìb<sub>a</sub> "deaf people" (t̄b̄r "ear", wòm "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: kùndùṅ<sub>a</sub> "hyena", ḡmp̄zēr' "duck", dāmp̄sāar "stick", bān-kúsél̄ "lizard."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. Dà- "man" has been replaced as regular cif by dàu-/dàp-, but dà- is seen in dàpāal<sub>a</sub>' "son, boy" (pāalíg "new") and dākòṅr "son, bachelor." P̄- "woman" appears in p̄kòṅr "widow"; cf Mooré *p̄gkōré* "widow", *p̄gsádà* "young woman" = Kusaal p̄à'-sādīr' with the cif p̄à'- "woman." P̄- "farm" (cf Mooré *p̄vgò* = Kusaal p̄ōg<sub>v</sub>' "farm") appears in p̄kpāad<sub>a</sub>' "farmer"; tonally, it behaves as a M prefix.

The initial nà'- of some nouns for animals and insects may be the cif of an unattested cognate of Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness": nà'-zòm<sub>n</sub> "locust", nà'-dàwān<sub>n</sub>' "pigeon" (also dàwān<sub>n</sub>') and WK's nà'-nēsīnnēog<sub>v</sub>' "centipede"; others use nēsīnnēog<sub>v</sub>', which for WK is "envious person."

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

Number-prefixes are fossilised flexions §10.5.1.

The personaliser 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. Beside many nouns, there are a few verbs, like **dàam** "disturb", Hausa *dàamaa*; **bùg** "get drunk", Hausa *bùgu*. Function words include **àsésé** "except", Hausa *sai*; **kūv** "or", Hausa *koo*; **báa** "not a...", Hausa *bâa*. **Hālí** "even", like Hausa *har*, is ultimately from Berber.

Songhay loans include **bùrikìn<sub>a</sub>** "honest person" and the word **bàunù** in **kpèn'** **bàunù** "get circumcised."

Most Arabic loans have reached Kusaal via Hausa: thus **láafiyà**, Hausa *laafiyàa*, "health", Arabic *al-‘āfiyah* "the health"; **àràzàná** "heaven, sky", Hausa *àljannàa*, Arabic *al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"; **yàddā'** "trust", Hausa *yàrda* "give consent", Arabic *yardá* "he is satisfied"; **Tàláatà**, Hausa *Tàlaatàa*, Arabic *al-thalāthā'* "Tuesday."

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual peculiarities in Kusaal to Mooré influence. Arabic loans borrowed via Mooré include **màljāk<sub>a</sub>'**, Mooré *màlékà*, Arabic *mal'ak*, "angel"; **Sūtáaná**, Mooré *Svtāana* "Satan." **Mōr'** "Muslim" may owe its exceptional pl **Móom<sub>ma</sub>** to borrowing of Mooré *Mórè* "Muslim" alongside pl *Moeemba*.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. **Wínà'am** "God" reflects Toende *Wínā'am*; **fāangíd<sub>a</sub>** "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagit* (contrast WK's **fāand<sub>a</sub>'** "saver", homophonous with "robber.") NT writes the Toende forms *aaruŋ malek* for **ànròŋ<sub>v</sub>** "boat", **màljāk<sub>a</sub>'** "angel."

Instead of **kī'tb<sub>v</sub>'** "soap" WK uses **kīibú** from Mampruli *kyiibu*. Other words with singulars in **-ɪ** or **-v** are also probably loans from Mampruli or Mooré.

Loans from Twi, the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include **kōdú** "banana", Twi *kwadu*; **sāafí** "lock, key", Twi *safẽ* "key" (Portuguese *chave*); **būrɪyá** "Christmas", Twi *bronya*.

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

French loans include **làmpō'** "tax" from *l'impôt*; **kàsēt<sub>a</sub>'** "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.

dāy lā bútìŋ	"the man's cup" ("cup of the man")
sālmā 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 cif is head or dependent. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

būyɔ	"goat"	bù-pìəlìŋ	"white goat"
bù-kàŋā	"this goat"	bù-pìəl-kàŋā	"this white goat"

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

nà'ab lā wíd-zūv	"the chief's horse-tail"
vs nà'ab lā wíəf zūv	"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 cif is head or dependent.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound, where the binding of the new element is weaker than that within the existing compound:

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

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

[zà'-nō-]gúr	"gatekeeper"
[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàṅā	"this [gatekeeper]"
kùg-[nōb-wók]	"[long-legged] stool"

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

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

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

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

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

bīig	lā	kūv	dāy	lā	kúv	bà	wōsā
child:SG	ART	OR	man:SG	ART	OR	3PL	all
"the child, or the man, or both" WK							

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



Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Number words as dependents are coordinated to express teens etc.

**Number** is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. In a compound of a noun cif 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. Mass nouns typically refer to liquids, substances, or abstractions other than events; they do not distinguish sg/pl, but take sg agreement, e.g. *sàlìm-kàṅā* "this gold." This count/mass distinction affects quantifier choice, the form of *nàm<sub>a</sub>* pls, and uses as predependents. Typical mass nouns belong to *bv|* or *m|*, or are gerunds in *gv* or *rv*; however, the distinction is fundamentally semantic: "mass" nouns may appear in count senses and *vice versa*, cf *dāam nám* "beers", *dàad bún* "wooden thing" (*dàad* "logs.")

Some pl forms have sg meaning: cf *tēṅ'ésá yīnní* "one thought" (Acts 4:32), *dì'əm-kàṅā* "this festival (*dì'əmà*)" (Jn 7:8.) More often, pl forms appear in mass senses, as with some gerunds §6.1.1 and e.g. *bāṅ'as* "disease", *nyō'os'* "smoke", *mēt'* "pus", *kūt* "iron" (as a count sg, "nail", pl *kūt-nàm<sub>a</sub>*), *sālmā* "gold", *sìdà* "truth", *tàdīmís* "weakness", *zōlīmís* "foolishness", *zùəd* "friendship", *bōvd* "innocence", *nīn-pōvd* "pus", *sīṅd'* "honey", *wāad'* "cold weather", *sūṅ-pêen<sub>n</sub>* "anger", *kyà'-nūud'* "thirst", *vūud'* "noise"; some also have count pl senses and corresponding sgs, as with *lā'ad* "(items of) goods", *līgīdī* "money, cowries", *pjàṅ'ad* "speech, words", *tōvmā* "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 zulḅṅ na paae **o** salibir.

*Kà wìəf yá' sigí\_ lì nī, lì zùlḅṅ ná páe ò sàlìbìr.*

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.

*Tìṅ wélà bìḡisìd ón àṅ 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

Nɔ̀bir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niṅgbij la nii," lin ku nyanji ke  
ka ɔ ka' niṅgbij la nii.

Nó̀bìr yá' yèlī=n yē, Mán kā' nū'ug lā zúg, m̄ kā' nín-gbīṅ lā  
Leg:SG if say=DP that 1SG:NZ NEG.be hand:SG ART ON, 1SG NEG.exist body:SG ART  
ní=∅, līn kú nyāṅī\_∅ ké kà ò kā' nín-gbīṅ lā ní=∅.

LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR prevail CAT let and 3AN NEG.exist body:SG ART LOC=NEG.

"If a leg said, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not in the body', that could not  
cause it not to be in the body." (1 Cor 12:15)

There is no gender distinction in the plural:

Bà à nē kūgá.

"They are stones."

3PL be FOC stone:PL.

In older sources inanimate pronoun heads can be used indifferently for sg or  
pl, but with dependent pronouns even NT1 always uses *bàmmā' bàn sīēbā* 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-káṅā, ɔn s̄an'am nē.

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

Eye-DEM.SG, 3AN spoil FOC.

M̄ p̄ n̄yēó=∅=∅.

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

1SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.

sālmā lâ'ad né ò b̄ūt̄is

"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 anε m pu'a.

"She is my wife." (Gn 26:7)

Ò à né m̄ puā'.

3AN be FOC 1SG woman:SG.

but Li anε Zugsɔb la.

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

Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.

3IN be FOC Lord ART.

## 10.2 Pronouns

**Personal** pronouns:

		Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+= <i>n̄</i> §12.3
Sg	1st	<i>m̄</i>	= <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>mān</i> lf <i>mánì</i>	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>fù</i>	= <i>f<sub>o</sub></i>	<i>fōn</i> lf <i>fónì</i>	<i>fún</i>
	3rd an	<i>ò</i>	= <i>o</i>	<i>ōn</i>	<i>ón</i>
	3rd inan	<i>lì/dì</i>	= <i>l<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>līn/dīn</i>	<i>lín/dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>tì</i>	= <i>t<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>tīnám<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>tīnámì</i>
	2nd	<i>yà</i>	= <i>ya</i>	<i>yānám<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>yānámì</i>
	3rd	<i>bà</i>	= <i>ba</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>bán</i>

*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. *m̄ bīg* "my child", *m̄* is the head of its own NP, and it is this entire NP which is the predependent, just as with *nà'ab lā bīg* "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 =*n̄*.

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

<i>Fōn kanε buoli fō mēŋ ...</i>	"You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)
<i>Fōn-kánì=∅ bùəlì fù mēŋ ...</i>	
2SG-DEM.SG=NZ call 2SG self ...	

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

<i>Manε an kōnbkem sūŋ la.</i>	"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)
<i>Mānī_∅ áŋ kōŋb-kīm-sùŋ lā.</i>	
1SG CAT be shepherd-good:SG ART.	

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



Lìnè?	"Which one?"
Nīf-kánè?	"Which eye?"
fōn-kánì bùèl ...	"you who call ..."

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

<i>nō-píèl-kàṅā</i>	"this/that white hen"
<i>dú'atà lā lór-kàṅā</i>	"this/that car of the doctor's"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā sâam</i>	"this/that man's father"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā lā sâam</i>	"that man's father"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā ṇwá sâam</i>	"this man's father"

### Indefinite pronouns:

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

*Sō' sī'əla sīəbā* may be heads or dependents, and may follow cifs. *Sī'a* is only dependent; for WK (but not KT) it is much commoner than *sī'əla* as a dependent. WK feels *sī'a* for people is pejorative.

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

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

Mɛeri one an Magdalen nɛ Mɛeri sɔ'  
 Mɛeri ónì=ø àṅ Magdalen nē Mɛeri-sō'  
 Mary DEM.AN=NZ be Magdalen with Mary-INDF.AN  
 "Mary who was Magdalen and another Mary" (Mt 28:1)

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

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

O niṅid si'el məkama sɔ'ɔŋa. "He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)  
 Ò niṅid sī'əl mé-kàmà s'ŋā.  
 3AN do:IPFV INDF.IN whatever well.

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

Sō' kā'e=∅. "There's nobody there."  
 INDF.AN NEG.exist=NEG.

Ṁ pō yél sī'əlā=∅. "I haven't said anything."  
 1SG NEG say INDF.IN=NEG.

**Interrogative** pronouns:

Animate		Inanimate	
ànô'ɔn	"who?"	bō	"what?"

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

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

Àlá "how much/many?" has the number prefix à-, preceded by -a in liaison.

Note also *bò-wìn<sub>n</sub>* "what time of day?" *bōn-dâar* "which day?"

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

nā'-bó?	"what cow?" WK DK (náaf bó "What, of a cow's?" WK)
bù-bò?	"what goat?"
dā-bó?	"what beer?"

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

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





Apozotyel "Doesn't-fear-trouble"  
 À-Pṵ-zót-yēl character in KS, p35  
 PZ-NEG-run:IPFV-thing:SG

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpīid né kà ténbìd.  
 PZ-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  
 PZ-day:SG arrive ND death

Ba wa'ene anakoom yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.  
 Bà wà'a né À-nà kúv\_m nūa yír, kà bà pū wá'a  
 3PL go FOC PZ-IRR kill 1SG chicken:SG house:SG and 3PL NEG go  
 À-nōos bé yírē=∅.  
 PZ-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.) KS p38

The **reciprocal** pronoun is *tāabā* "one another" (clause-medially *tāab* for some speakers.) After a *cif* it means "fellow-": *ò tùm-tùm-tāabā* "his fellow-workers."

Sòḡimī=∅ tāabā. "Help one another."  
 Help:IMP=2PL each.other.

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

Bà dòl nē tāabā. "They go together." (dòl<sub>la</sub>' "go with")  
 3PL go.with with each.other.

The **reflexive** pronoun *mēḡa*' "self" always has a predependent. It is used indifferently for sg/pl:

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

Bà nyéε\_bà mēḡ. "They've seen for themselves."  
 3PL see 3PL self.



Cif predependents occur in set expressions:

$y\bar{i}$ -sób <sub>a</sub>	pl $y\bar{i}$ -sób-nàm <sub>a</sub>	"householder"	( $y\bar{i}r'$ "house")
$y\bar{i}$ -dí <sub>m</sub> <sub>a</sub>		"members of the household"	
nīf-sób <sub>a</sub>		"miser"	(nīf <sub>v</sub> ' "eye")
tānp-sōb <sub>a</sub>		"warrior"	(tānp <sub>v</sub> "war")
zūg-sób <sub>a</sub>	pl zūg-sób-nàm <sub>a</sub>	"boss"; KB "Lord"	(zūg <sub>v</sub> ' "head")

### 10.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope:  $\dot{A}$ -Wīn<sub>n</sub>' from Wīdì-nyá'aṅ<sub>a</sub> will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kūsâas, "Bawku" for Bòk<sub>v</sub> etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the *Mampruli* cif *wuri-* for "horse": the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. A parallel development had taken place in the Mamprussi area when the British arrived with Dagomba guides: thus "Gambaga" (Dagbani *Gambaya*) for the Mampruli place name *Gambaa* (Naden.) The pattern has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology, morphology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name  $\dot{A}$ -Dūk<sub>v</sub>', and "Kusaal" Kūsâal itself.

Kusaasi **personal** names are preceded by the personaliser pronoun  $\dot{A}$ , except for a few based on adjectives, which are preceded by fixed-L Ñ-: Ñ-Dāv<sub>v</sub> "Ndago" ("male"), Ñ-Puāk<sub>a</sub> "Mpoaka" ("female"), Ñ-Bīl<sub>a</sub> "Mbillah" ("little.") They do not take adjectives or articles, but occur with other determiners, and may pluralise with  $n\grave{a}m_a$ ;  $\dot{A}$ -Wīn  $n\grave{a}m$  can mean "more than one person called Awini" or "Awini and his people."

$\dot{A}$ -Wīn <sub>n</sub> '	"Awini"	tì Wīn	"our Awini"
$\dot{A}$ -Wīn-káṅā	"this Awini"	$\dot{A}$ -Wīn $n\grave{a}m$	"Awinis"
Ñ-Dāv <sub>v</sub>	"Ndago"	tì Ñ-Dāv <sub>v</sub>	"our Ndago"

The Bible uses foreign names without  $\dot{A}$ -, but it is usual in speech:  $\dot{A}$ -Mūsā "Moses",  $\dot{A}$ -Yīsā "Jesus",  $\dot{A}$ -Sīmōn "Simon." In stories with talking animals, animal names take  $\dot{A}$ -:  $\dot{A}$ -Bāa "Mr Dog." KB has *Asan'auṅ*  $\dot{A}$ -Sàṅ'ṅṅ "Abaddon."

The Kusaasi did not use surnames traditionally. When speaking English or French, they use baptismal names (or formal Arabic names, in the case of Muslims), with Kusaal personal names treated as surnames.

Most Kusaasi names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs or clauses:

À-Mōr yām	Amoryam	"has intelligence" (a girl, KYY p6)
À-Tùm bódìg yā		"the medicine has got lost" (a man)

Many names allude to a guardian spirit (*sīgīr'*) assigned to a newborn child through the father's consultation with a diviner (*bā'a*); this may be the spiritual individuality (*wīn<sub>n</sub>'*) of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree:

À-Wīn <sub>n</sub> '	Awini	person with a <i>sīgīr'</i> from father's family
À-Bōgūr	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgīr'</i> from mother's family
À-Tūg <sub>a</sub>	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgīr'</i>
À-Kūdōg <sub>v</sub>	Akudugu	"piece of iron", marking a tree- <i>sīgīr'</i>

A younger sibling of À-Wīn<sub>n</sub>' with the same *sīgīr'* may be called À-Wīn-bīl<sub>a</sub> "Awimbillah", of À-Kūdōg<sub>v</sub>, À-Kūd-bīl<sub>a</sub> "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern À-Wīn-puāk<sub>a</sub> "Awimpoaka." Other names refer to birth circumstances:

À-Nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	Anaba	"afterbirth" (a chief leaves the house after his retainers): sole surviving twin
À-Fūug <sub>v</sub> '	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
À-Tūl <sub>l</sub>	Atuli	"breech-delivered" ( <i>tùlìg</i> "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-Tàmpōv <sub>r</sub>	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
À-Dōk <sub>v</sub> '	Aruk	"pot"

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

À-Sāan <sub>a</sub> '	Asana	"guest, stranger"
À-Sāan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāu</i> "man"
À-Zàngbèog <sub>v</sub>	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
À-Nàsà-puāk <sub>a</sub>	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|sɩ. The place inhabited by the group adds sg **gv** to the stem; **language** names add **li**.

Ethnic group sg/pl	Language	Place	
Bārīg <sub>a</sub> '	Bārīs'	Bāt'	Bārōg <sub>v</sub> '
Bìn <sub>n</sub>	Bìm <sub>ma</sub>	Bìn <sub>n</sub>	Bìɣɛ <sub>v</sub>
Bùlìg <sub>a</sub>	Bùlìs	Bùlì	Bulsa
Bùsáŋ <sub>a</sub>	Bùsâaŋs	Bùsâaŋl	Bisa
Dàgâad <sub>a</sub>	Dàgâadìb <sub>a</sub>		Dagaaba
Dàgbān <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgbām <sub>ma</sub> '	Dàgbān <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgbāɣ <sub>v</sub> '
Gūrīg <sub>a</sub>	Gūrìs	Gūrìn <sub>n</sub>	Farefare
Kàmbùŋ <sub>a</sub>	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr	Ashanti
Kūsáa	Kūsâas	Kūsâal	Kūsâvg <sub>v</sub>
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mòog <sub>v</sub>
Nàbìd <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdìb <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùg <sub>v</sub>
Nwāmpūrīg <sub>a</sub> '	Nwāmpūrìs'	Nwāmpūrìl'	Nwāmpūrōg <sub>v</sub> '
Sìmiīg <sub>a</sub>	Sìmiìs	Sìmiìl	Sìmiug <sub>v</sub>
Tàlìŋ <sub>a</sub>	Tàlìs	Tàlìn <sub>n</sub>	Tallensi
Yàaŋ <sub>a</sub>	Yàaŋs/Yàamìs or Yàam <sub>ma</sub>	Yàan <sub>n</sub>	Yansi
Yārīg <sub>a</sub> '	Yārìs'	Yāt'	Yarsi
Zàŋgbèog <sub>v</sub>	Zàŋgbèed	Zàŋgbèel	Hausa

Bārìs' means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bìm<sub>ma</sub> "Moba", not just Bemba (WK.)

Note also Mōr' pl Móom<sub>ma</sub> "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsāa(r)-nām<sub>a</sub> "European", Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tùəŋ<sub>n</sub> "Toende", Tùənnìr "Toende dialect", Àgòlì "Agolle", Àgòlì "Agolle dialect": Ò pìàŋ'ad Àgòlì. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gòog <sub>a</sub>	Gòos	Gòog <sub>v</sub>
	Gùm-dìm <sub>a</sub>	Gùm <sub>n</sub>
Kùtān <sub>n</sub>	Kùtām <sub>ma</sub> '	Kùtāɣ <sub>v</sub> '
Nàbìd <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdìb <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdùg <sub>v</sub>
Sà'-dàbùà	Sà'-dàbùəs -dàbùəb <sub>a</sub>	Sà'-dàbòog <sub>v</sub>
	Nà'-dām <sub>ma</sub>	Nà'-dàɣ <sub>v</sub>
Wiid <sub>a</sub>	Wiid-nām <sub>a</sub>	Wiidùg <sub>v</sub>
Zùà	Zùəs	Zoose

Subclans: Zùà-sābìlìs "Black Zoose", Zùà-wiib<sub>a</sub>/-wiis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbìdìb<sub>a</sub> is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema." There are many other clans beside these.

Kusaal **place** names are intrinsically locative.

Most have transparent meanings (see further John Turl's Ghana Place Names.)

Àgòl <sub>l</sub>	Agolle	cf àgól <sub>l</sub> "upwards"
Bàs-yōn <sub>n</sub> '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? reason for name
Bì-nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk <sub>v</sub>	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
Bōgūr	Bugri	bōgūr, object housing a wīn <sub>n</sub> '
Dènùg <sub>v</sub>	Denugu	origin unknown
Gàarù	Garu	Hausa <i>gàaruu</i> "town/compound wall"
Kòl-tā'amís	Kultamse	"dog almonds, <i>Andira inermis</i> "
Kūgūr'	Kugri	"stone"
Kōk <sub>a</sub> '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkparìg <sub>a</sub>	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùlvgúg <sub>v</sub>	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>Kuurgongu</i> "Crooked Sheanut"
Mì'isìg <sub>a</sub>	Missiga	Explained locally as "mission"; cf also mì'isùg <sub>v</sub> "baptism"
Mùà'-nōōr'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlùmà Kù'əm	Pulimakom	"water by pùlùmà grass"
Pūsìg <sub>a</sub> '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sā-bíl <sub>a</sub>	Zebilla	from *sāa', cf Farefare <i>sáagá</i> "kind of grass used for brooms"
Sā-píèlìg <sub>a</sub>	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan <sub>n</sub>	Tempane	perhaps "new villages"
Tīl <sub>l</sub> '	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùən <sub>n</sub>	Toende	cf tùən <sub>n</sub> "in front", "West"
Wìdāan <sub>a</sub>	Widana	for Wìd-dāan <sub>a</sub> "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's nō-dí'əs <sub>a</sub> "linguist."
Wìdì-nyá'aŋ <sub>a</sub>	Woriyanga	archaic for wìd-nyá'aŋ <sub>a</sub> "mare"
Wiid-nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wiid <sub>a</sub> "
WK: Bārōg <sub>v</sub> '	North	"Bisa country"
Nyá'aŋ <sub>a</sub>	East	"behind"
Zūāyā	South	"hills", i.e. Gambaga Escarpment
Tùən <sub>n</sub>	West	"in front"

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

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but *Sāŋkâaŋs* "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) For "Accra" the Twi-derived *Aŋkara* is usual. The White Volta is simply *kōlīg<sub>a</sub>* "river."

Proper names of **times** include names of festivals like *Sāmán-píer* (traditional "New Year" and of weekdays, found always as predeterminers of *dāar* "day": *Àláasìd* Sunday", *Àtínì* "Monday", *Àtáláatà* "Tuesday", *Àlárìbà* "Wednesday", *Àlámíisì* "Thursday", *À(r)zúmà* "Friday", *Àsíbtì* "Saturday." The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

#### 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.

<i>bīer'</i>	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
<i>pītú</i>	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
<i>tāuŋ'</i>	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
<i>sàam<sub>ma</sub></i> (less formally <i>bā'</i> )	father
<i>sàam-kpēɛŋm</i>	father's elder brother
<i>sàam-pīt<sub>a</sub>'</i>	father's younger brother
<i>pùgudìb<sub>a</sub></i>	father's sister
<i>mà</i>	mother ( <i>mà nám<sub>a</sub></i> mother's co-wives)
<i>mà-kpēɛŋm</i>	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
<i>mà-bīl<sub>a</sub></i> or <i>mà-pīt<sub>a</sub>'</i>	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
<i>áŋsìb<sub>a</sub></i>	mother's brother
<i>bīig<sub>a</sub></i> (♂ <i>dàkòŋr</i> , ♀ <i>pɔà'-yùà</i> )	child; brother's child; child's spouse
<i>āŋsíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	sister's child
<i>yáab<sub>a</sub></i> (♂ <i>yāa-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔá'</i> )	grandparent/ancestor
<i>yáaŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	grandchild/descendant
<i>pɔà'-ēlíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	fiancée
<i>yī-pɔá'</i> or <i>pɔā'</i>	wife; brother's wife
<i>dìem<sub>ma</sub></i> (♂ <i>dìem-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔāk<sub>a</sub></i> )	wife's parent
<i>dàkīig<sub>a</sub></i> (♂ <i>dàkì-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔāk<sub>a</sub></i> )	wife's sibling/sister's husband
<i>dàkì-tùà</i>	wife's sister's husband
<i>sīd<sub>a</sub></i>	husband
<i>dàyáam<sub>ma</sub></i> (♂ <i>dàyāam-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔák<sub>a</sub></i> )	husband's parent
<i>sìd-kpēɛŋm</i>	husband's elder brother
<i>sìd-bīl<sub>a</sub></i>	husband's younger brother
<i>sìd-pɔāk<sub>a</sub></i>	husband's sister
<i>nìn-tāa</i>	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

**Dìəm<sub>ma</sub>** 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-tōṅr**, 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 bédugū** or **nīdīb bábīgā** "a lot of/many people"; **kù'əm bédugū** "a lot of water"; but not \***kù'əm bábīgā**.

Mass quantifiers include

<b>bédugū'</b>	"a lot"	<b>pāmm lf pāmní</b>	"a lot"
<b>fīṅ</b>	"a little (liquid)"	<b>bī'ələ́</b>	"a little"
<b>wūṣ</b>	"all"	<b>wōsā</b>	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers include

<b>bábīgā'</b>	"many"	<b>kàḷgā'</b>	"few"
<b>fāaṅ</b>	"every"	<b>zāṅ'a</b>	"every"
<b>kām<sub>a</sub></b>	"every"	<b>kām zāṅ'a</b>	"every"

Quantifiers are typically determiners after NP heads, but may occur as heads. After a dependent NP, a quantifier head has a partitive sense. Quantifiers pluralise with **nām<sub>a</sub>**. They may be followed by dependent pronouns.

<b>Bédugū/pāmm ké nā.</b>	"Many came."
<b>Bédugū lā ké nā.</b>	"The crowd came."
<b>Àyí' ké nā.</b>	"Two came."
<b>Àyí' lā ké nā.</b>	"The two came."
<b>nīdīb lá àyí'</b>	"two of the people"
<b>màljàk-nám túsà pīgā nám</b>	"tens of thousands of angels"
<b>nidib bedego bama nwa</b>	"this crowd of people" (Mt 15:33 NT2)
<b>nīdīb bédugū bámmā ṅwá</b>	
person:PL many DEM.PL this	



### 10.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	yīnní	10	pīigā	100	kòbugā (lf identical)
2	àyí'	20	pīsí	200	kòbusí
3	àtán'	30	pīs tán'	300	kòbìs tán'
4	ànāasí	40	pīs nāasí	400	kòbìs nāasí
5	ànū	50	pīs nū	500	kòbìs nū
6	àyúəbù	60	pīs yúəbù	600	kòbìs yúəbù
7	àyópðə	70	pīs yópðə	700	kòbìs yópðə
8	àníi	80	pīs níi	800	kòbìs níi
9	àwāə	90	pīs wāə	900	kòbìs wāə

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before yīnní, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: yōlbugá àtán' "600 cedis."

"Thousand" is a regular r|aa noun, tūsīr': tūsá àtán' "3000." "Half" is pū-súka pl pū-súgùs. Other numbers are formed with nē "with": kòbìs tán' nē pīs yúəbù nē nū "three hundred and sixty-five." 11 to 19 have the special contracted forms pīi nē yīnní, pīi nē yí', pīi nē tán' ... pīi nē wāə (or pīi nā yīnní, pīi nā yí' ...)

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

The prefix à- is omitted after nē "with", and sometimes also after focus-nē':

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

The forms àyíṅā' àtāṅā' mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children

M̄ mór bīisá\_ àtán'. "I have three children."  
 1SG have child:PL three. is true, though misleading

but M̄ mór bīisá àtāṅā. "I have exactly three children." is false.

These forms can also be used after nē: pīi nē yíṅā "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with nē' §13.1.

Yīnní can be construed with a preceding cif: kūg-yīnnì "one stone" vs kūgūr yīnní "one stone." Pīigā pīi "ten", pīsí pīs "twenty" can be preceded by the cif dà- "day" (written dab in KB): dabpii ne ayopoi daar "on the seventeenth day" (Gn 7:11.)

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

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

1	<i>yéon</i> or <i>àràkón'</i>	6	<i>nyûəb</i>
2	<i>nyí'</i>	7	<i>h̀pòè sic</i>
3	<i>h̀tán'</i>	8	<i>h̀nii</i>
4	<i>h̀nāas</i>	9	<i>h̀wāè</i>
5	<i>h̀nū</i>		continuing <i>pīigā</i> , <i>pīi nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

*Àràkón'* can also be used as a quantifier: *búug àràkón'* "one goat."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

*Àyí' námá\_ àyí' á nē nāasí.* "Two twos are four."  
Two PL two be FOC four.

The only ordinal adjective is *dēen<sub>a</sub>* "first": *sob deen* "first census" (Lk 2:2 NT1.) "First" can also be expressed by *yīigá* "firstly" as a predependent:

*line da an yiiga dabisir* "That was the first day." (Gn 1:5)  
*līnī\_ø dá àn yīigá dábısìr.*  
3IN CAT TNS be firstly day:SG.

Numbers as predependents of *dāan<sub>a</sub>* "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí' dāan lā* "the second one", *būugá àtán' dāan lā* "the third goat"; "first" is *yīigá dāan*. "Third, fourth, fifth ..." in counting appear without apocope-blocking on KS 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 possibility is the use of relative clauses with *pàas/pè'es* "amount to":

*dàu-kànì=ø pè'esà\_ àyí' lā* "the second man"  
man-DEM.SG=NZ come.to two ART

*lìnì=ø pàasà\_ àtán' lā* "the third one"  
DEM.IN=NZ come.to three ART

Multiplicatives answer *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yímmú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí'* "twice", *àbùtán'* "three times", *àbùnāasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīgā* "ten times." The prefix *bù-* is an old *bu* or *mm* agreement; *à-* is the *manner-noun* formant, preceded by lf-final *-i*, so its attachment only to 2-9 is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nōorá àlá* "how many times?" may be e.g. *nōor yínní* "once", *nōorá àtán'* or *nōorím bùtán'* "three times" etc. This *nōor* is not "mouth" (Mooré *nóorè*), but corresponds to Mooré *náooré*, Toende *nó'ot* "leg": Toende *nōba ayi/nó'ot ayi* "twice."

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

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīig</i>	100	<i>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbìsì kóbìsì</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtán' tán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán' tán'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tán' tán'</i>
4	<i>ànāas nāas</i>	40	<i>pīs nāas nāas</i>		<i>etc</i>
5	<i>ànū nū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū nū</i>	1000	<i>tūsīr túsīr</i>
6	<i>àyûəb yûəb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûəb yûəb</i>		
7	<i>àyópðə pópə</i>	70	<i>pīs yópðə pópə</i>		
8	<i>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pīs níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwāə wāə</i>	90	<i>pīs wāə wāə</i>		

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

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": *nyàuk*, pl *nyà'ad* is only used for eyes, while *yīny*, pl *yīnā* is used for other normally paired body parts: *nōb-yīny* "one leg", *nū'-yīny* "one hand", *nīf-nyáuk* "one eye", *tùb-yīny* "one ear."

The adjective *yímmír* pl *yímmá* cif *yīm-* means "solitary, unique."

## 10.6 Predependents

The head of a NP may be preceded by a dependent NP; further predependents may be added recursively. For M dropping after predependents see §4.2.

Predependents resemble English genitives and complements with "of" (CGEL pp467ff, 441), with a similarly wide range of meanings dependent on the nature of both head and dependent. Cif predependents are always non-referential, and function either as modifiers or as generic arguments of deverbal nouns. Uncompounded indefinite mass predependents function as modifiers, other uncompounded NPs as determiners. Determiners precede modifiers, with cifs last:

*Wínà'am* [pú'usùg [fūug dôog]]

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

Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions.

Postpositions §11.6.3 are heads typically used in VP adjuncts.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier, or a relative clause, the predependent construction is partitive. Thus *nīn-síəbà* "certain people", *nīdɪbá àyí' (lā)* "(the) two people", but

<i>yà sō'</i>	"some one among you"
<i>nīdīb lā síəbà</i>	"certain of the people"
<i>nīdīb lá àyí'</i>	"two of the people"

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fun gan so'.

*Pà'alīmī=tí nīdɪbá àyí' n̄wá fún gāṅ sō'.*

Teach:IMP=1PL person:PL two this 2SG:NZ choose INDEF.AN

"Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" (Acts 1:24)

Partitive senses are not possible with other head types: e.g. *nīdīb lā gígìs* must mean "the dumb ones *belonging* to the people", not "among the people" (WK.)

*Dāan<sub>a</sub>* "owner" (*nām<sub>a</sub>* pl) always has a predependent representing a concrete possession or a quality: *būṅg dāan* "goat owner", *dāam dāan* "beer owner", *tìəṅ dāan* "bearded man", *pōṅg lā dāan* "the owner of the field" (Mt 21:40), *pù-pìèlīm dāan* "holy person", *būṅgúsīgā dāan* "softly-softly sort of person" WK, and

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

*Zù-wōk dāan pō gāṅìd búgúmm=∅.*

Tail-long:SG owner:SG NEG step.OVER:IPFV fire=NEG.

Proverb: "One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire."

(If you have family commitments you shouldn't take risks.) KS p38

*Dāan<sub>a</sub>* has a cif predependent in a few set expressions like *yī-dāan/yī-sób* "householder", *tèṅ-dāan* "traditional earth-priest."

Numbers precede *dāan<sub>a</sub>* for ordinal expressions: *àtán' dāan lā* "the third one."

Before gerunds, uncompounded dependents refer to subjects, producing a form of clause nominalisation; generic-argument cifs may precede the head, and VP adjuncts and final particles may follow:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la

*yà àntuà'-mōrím kótò ní nē 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 yīib nā.

Person:PL ART TNS watch Zechariah emergence hither.

"The people were watching for Zechariah to come out." (Lk 1:21)

Deverbal-noun heads may be preceded by cifs representing generic arguments or adjuncts, e.g. *gēl-kûəs<sub>a</sub>* "egg-seller." Noun-adjective compounds as generic arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. *fū-zēṇdà kûəs* "dyed-cloth seller"; otherwise, such arguments must be cifs: it is not possible to say e.g. \*[*bēṇíd nē kī*] *kûəs* "seller of beanleaf-and-millet."

With agent nouns the cif usually represents an object if the verb is transitive, but other complement types and adjuncts also appear. Such compounds are freely coined and are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions.

<i>nīn-kûud<sub>a</sub></i>	"murderer"	<i>bù-kûud<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"goat-killer"
<i>nō-kûud<sub>a</sub></i>	"hen-killer"	<i>puà'-kûud<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"woman-killer"
<i>nō-zāṇl<sub>l</sub></i>	"holder of hens"	<i>wìd-kûəs<sub>a</sub></i>	"horse-seller"
<i>bù-kûəs<sub>a</sub></i>	"goat-seller"	<i>sàlìm-kûəs<sub>a</sub></i>	"gold-seller"
<i>dā-nûud<sub>a</sub></i>	"beer-drinker"	<i>dà-kīəd<sub>a</sub></i>	"wood-cutter"
<i>zīm-gbâṇ'ad<sub>a</sub></i>	"fisherman"	<i>kòṇb-kīm<sub>na</sub></i>	"herdsman"
<i>làmpō-dí'əs<sub>a</sub></i>	"tax collector"	<i>tàn-mēəd<sub>a</sub></i>	"builder"
<i>bùl-sīgīd<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"well-diver"	<i>zà'-nō-gúr<sub>a</sub></i>	"gatekeeper"
<i>nō-dí'əs<sub>a</sub></i>	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
<i>gbàṇṇ-mī'id<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"scribe" ("book-knower")		
<i>puà'-sāṇ'am<sub>ma</sub></i>	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")		
<i>tùən-gāt<sub>a</sub></i>	"leader" ( <i>Ò gàad tûən</i> "He's gone ahead")		
<i>nyà'an-dòl<sub>la</sub></i>	"disciple" ( <i>nyá'aṇ<sub>a</sub></i> "behind", <i>dòl<sub>la</sub>'</i> "go with")		
<i>puà'-lā'ad<sub>a</sub></i>	"laugher at women" WK ( <i>Ò là'ad pū'ab</i> "He laughs at women")		

Informants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; KB too has *bāṇīd<sub>a</sub>* "wise man", *sīākīd<sub>a</sub>* "believer", *sūṇīd<sub>a</sub>* "helper", *fāaṇd<sub>a</sub>'* "robber." However, a preceding cif is usual; it may be just a reduplication of the noun stem:

<i>màal-māan<sub>na</sub></i>	"sacrificer"	<i>zī-zīid<sub>a</sub></i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as<sub>a</sub></i>	"talker"	<i>zàb-zàb<sub>a</sub></i>	"warrior"
<i>zòt-zòt<sub>a</sub></i>	"racer, athlete"	<i>tùm-tùm<sub>na</sub></i>	"worker"

Cifs occur before deverbal instrument nouns in object or adjunct senses:

sjà-lōd́íŋ <sub>a</sub>	"belt" ("waist-tier")
nīn-gótìs	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

Cifs before gerunds may represent subjects if the verb can be intransitive; otherwise, they are complements or adjuncts:

nōb-kōw	"breaking a leg"	nū'-módìr	"swelling of the hand"
nīn-kōw	"murder"	dā-nūur	"beer-drinking"
wìn-līir	"sunset" (Winnìg lí yā "The sun has fallen")		
sūŋ-sāŋ'ɔŋ <sub>v</sub>	"sorrow" (M̄ sūŋf sāŋ'am nē "My heart is spoilt")		
sūŋ-pēɛn <sub>n</sub>	"anger" (M̄ sūŋf pélìg nē "My heart is white")		
nō-lōw	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")		
fū-yêɛr	"shirt-wearing" (WK, nonce form)		
pɔ̀à'-dūr	"marriage" (Ò dī pɔ̀ā' "He's married a wife")		
Sāmán-píər	traditional New Year ("Courtyard-cleaning")		
Bùgúm-tōwŋ	Fire Festival ("Fire-throwing")		
nīn-baal-zōw	"pity" (Ò zòtō nīn-baalìg "He has pity on him")		
mò-pīl <sub>l</sub>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")		
kùm-vū'ɔgír	"resurrection" (Ò vò'ɔg kūmī=n "He revived from death")		

Dependent cifs before deadjectival abstract nouns represent a generic entity characterised by the adjective:

pò-pièlìm	"holiness" ("inside-whiteness")
sūŋ-kpí'ɔŋ <sub>v</sub>	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
sūŋ-má'asìm	"joy" ("heart-coolness")
nìn-tōllím	"fever" ("body-heat")
wīn-tōwɔ <sub>v</sub>	"ill fortune" ("fate-bitterness")

Constructions with non-specialised heads and uncompounded definite and/or count predependents may express kinship, body part membership, or ownership:

m̄ bīig	"my child"
dāw lā bīig	"the man's child"
dāw lā bīər bìig nāaf zòw	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.

Nīn-bê'og yír nà sāŋ'am.

Person-bad:SG house:SG IRR spoil.

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

nà'ab lā wīəf zōʊr "the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)

Cif predependents are non-referential:

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

With non-specialised heads they have very general quasi-adjectival senses; idiosyncratic meanings often develop:

bì-fūg <sub>v</sub> '	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
wāb-móʊgū=n'	"in bush where there are elephants" WK
zà'-nōʊr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig <sub>a</sub>	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bīig <sub>a</sub>	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
təŋ-bīig <sub>a</sub>	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlòg <sub>v</sub>	"aeroplane" ("European-hawk")

Náaf-bìŋ'isím "cow's milk" and bōʊg-bìŋ'isím "goat's milk" (both WK) show dependents of sg form followed by compound tone sandhi.

Uncompounded indefinite *abstract* mass predependents ascribe a quality to the head; there may be alternate forms with cifs:

nā'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
pù'ʊsùg dōʊg	"temple" ("worship house")
tōlɪgír bún	"heater" ("heating thing", also bōn-túlɪgír)
dōʊgūb dút	"cooking pots"
līgɪdī túmà	"expensive work" (līgɪdī "money")
tāŋp-sōb	"warrior" (tāŋp <sub>v</sub> "war")
pù-piəl-sōb/pù-piəlìm sób	"holy person" (Jb 9:2; Jb 23:7)
pù-piəl-tūmā/pù-piəlìm túmà	"holy actions" (Prv 11:30; Prv 21:21)

Language names as predependents express ethnicity:

Nàsāal búgúm "electricity" ("European fire")

Uncompounded indefinite *concrete* mass predependents (including count nouns in mass senses) express the material of which the head consists. Unlike dependent cifs, these can be pronoun antecedents (CGEL pp400ff p1458.)

sālmā bútiŋ	"golden cup"
sālmā nē ānzúrfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fūug dōog	"tent" (cloth hut)
dàad bún-nám	"wooden things" (dàug, "piece of wood")
sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭtŭs	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK

The construction is limited to this specific sense: thus *kuà'-nwīig* "current" ("aquatic rope"), not \**kù'əm nwīig* "rope made of water."

Manner nouns, locatives and NPs with *yēlá* "about" may be predependents:

yīigá dábtìr	"first day"
dūniyā ní nìn-gbīŋ	"earthly body"
kōlŋī=n nó-dāug	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
Bòk díim	"Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf	"left eye"
zūgú=n níf-gbáŋŋ	"upper eyelid"
tēŋī=n níf-gbáŋŋ	"lower eyelid"
Kūsāas kùəb nē yīr yélà gbàŋŋ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàŋ-kàŋā lā yélà gbàŋŋ	"a book about that man" WK
mōogŭ=n/yín bún-kōŋbìd	"wild/tame animals"

Buligin zīŋ zi koligin yelaa.

Bùlŋī=n zīŋ zī' kōlŋī=n yēlāa=∅.

Pool:SG=LOC fish:SG NEG.know river:SG=LOC about=NEG.

"A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river." (Proverb)

## 10.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or *nwà* "this." Before adjectives and dependent pronouns a head is reduced to a *cif*, with the dependent inflecting to show its number; the *cif* 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, but other cases of VP adjuncts as NP postdependents are doubtful. I did not record the full context for *nwādīs yōm lā pūogŭ=n* "months in the year" (SB) or *wābōg mōogŭ=n lā* "elephant in the bush" (WK), and what I recorded as *Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēŋá lā* "That one's the real doctor" may have been an error for *lā àmēŋá*, with *àmēŋá* as a VP adjunct to *àŋya*, as in *Mane an vain tiig la amēŋa* "I am the true vine" (Jn 15:1.)



Except for *yīgá* "firstly", **quantifiers** as determiners follow the head. Cif 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 cif, or after a quantifier:

<i>bīg<sub>a</sub></i>	"child"	<i>bì-kàṅā´</i>	"this child"
<i>bì-sō´</i>	"a certain child"	<i>bì-sùṅ-kàṅā´</i>	"this good child"
<i>bì-kàṅè?</i>	"which child?"	<i>bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

*yēl-tôod àtán' bammā* "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 cifs, and *may* do so after those that could; appositive relative clauses, unlike others, need not be interpreted as restrictive. Appositives follow dependent pronouns: *dau kaṅa one ka Wina'am Siig bæe o ni* "this man in whom God's Spirit is" (Gn 41:38.)

Appositive personal names retain the particle *À-*:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.

*Ēēṅ, ò zua À-Sībīgī n kābiríd.*

Yes, 3AN friend:SG PZ-termite:SG CAT ask.admission:IPFV.

"Yes, it was his friend Termite asking for admission." KS p12

### 10.7.1 Adjectives

An adjective follows a cif head, and inflects as sg/pl/cif on behalf of the head:

<i>nūa´</i>	"hen"	<i>nōos´</i>	"hens"
<i>nō-píəlìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-píəlìs</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súṅ<sub>v</sub></i>	"good hen"	<i>nō-súmà</i>	"good hens"
<i>nō-píəl-kàṅā´</i>	"this white hen"	<i>nō-súṅ-kàṅā´</i>	"this good hen"

Adjectives lacking corresponding 1vbs may head predicative complements §11.6.2, but compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *būn-* "thing" generally appear instead: *nīn-súṅ<sub>v</sub>* "good person", *būn-vúr* "living thing" etc. *Būn<sub>n</sub>´* (pl *būná/būn-nám<sub>a</sub>*) also occurs with uncompounded predependents: *tūlígír bún<sub>n</sub>* "heating thing, heater", *kù'əmī=n bún<sub>n</sub>* "water creature."

Ipfv verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are synonymous with agent nouns, so the presence of *būn-* distinguishes e.g. *būn-kúvdír* "thing to do with killing" from *kúvdír* "killer."

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. *nū'*-bíl<sub>a</sub> "finger" ("small hand"); *tì-sābílím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gòṅ'*-sābílíg<sub>a</sub> "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); *būn-gíṅ<sub>a</sub>* "short chap" (humorous); *būn-kúdùg<sub>v</sub>* "old man" (the standard expression.)

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

<i>là'-bīəlíf<sub>v</sub></i>	"small coin" NT1 ( <i>lā'af<sub>v</sub></i> "cowrie", <i>bī'elá</i> "a little")
<i>dàbìs-sī'ər</i>	"some day" ( <i>dàbìsìr</i> "day")
<i>yēl-súm<sub>n</sub></i>	"blessing" ( <i>yēlì'</i> "matter", <i>sùṅ<sub>v</sub></i> "good")
<i>pṛà'-pāalá'</i>	"bride" ( <i>pṛā'</i> "wife", <i>pāalíg<sub>a</sub></i> "new")

For WK (not DK) and in many texts, *mɪ* nouns must take adjectives in *-mɪ*:

<i>dā-pāalím</i>	"new beer"	<i>tì-sābílím</i>	"black medicine"
<i>tì-vūnním</i>	"oral medication"	<i>kpā-sóṅḍìm</i>	"anointing oil"

So too *būn<sub>n</sub>* as "*abstract* thing", e.g. *būn-nyétìm* "visible world" versus *būn-nyétìr* "visible object"; *būn-bóṅḍìm* "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of *nòṅlím* "love.")

Adjective sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner (all KT):

<i>Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā.</i>	"It's a whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā lā.</i>	"It's the whitish shirt."
<i>Lì à nē wíug.</i>	"It's red."
<i>Lì à nē wíugō.</i>	"It's reddish."
<i>fū-wíugō lā</i>	"the reddish shirt"
<i>Lì à nē tītā'arī.</i>	"It's biggish."

Adjectives and their derived 1vbs may be immediately followed by intensifier ideophones, specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding verbs (all WK):

<i>Lì à nē píəlìg fáss fáss.</i>	"It's very white."
<i>Lì à nē sābílìg zím zím.</i>	"It's deep black."
<i>Lì à nē zín'a wím wím.</i>	"It's deep red."
<i>M̄ nyé fū-zín'a wím wím.</i>	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
<i>Fū-zín'a wím wím bé.</i>	"There's a deep red shirt."
<i>M̄ bôḍ fū-zín'a wím wím lā.</i>	"I want the deep red shirt."
<i>Ò wà'am tólìlì.</i>	"She's very tall."
<i>Ò gìm nē tírìgà.</i>	"She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; WK could supply none for e.g. *sùŋ*<sub>v</sub> "good", *bē'ed* "bad", *zùlòŋ*<sub>v</sub> "deep", *mā'asíg*<sub>a</sub> "damp."

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

<i>Lì à nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.</i>	"It's a dead hand."
<i>Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.</i>	"The child is dead-handed."
<i>Ò à nē bí-nū'-kpíilúŋ.</i>	"He's a dead-handed child."
<i>kùg-nōb-wók</i> <sub>v</sub>	"long-legged stool"
<i>Kùg-kàŋā á nē nōb-wók.</i>	"This stool is long-legged." WK
<i>nōb-gíŋ</i> <sub>a</sub>	"short-legged"
<i>zūg-máuk</i> <sub>v</sub>	"crushed-headed"
<i>zù-wók</i> <sub>v</sub> '	"long-tailed"
<i>zū-péelòg</i> <sub>v</sub>	"bald"

"One of a pair" adjectives are often so used: *nīf-nyáuk*<sub>v</sub> "one eye", *bà-nīf-nyáuk*<sub>v</sub> "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuk*<sub>v</sub>' "one ear" *bì-tùb-yīná* "one-eared children."

The adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg: *bì-tùb-kpīdā* "deaf child" (pl *bì-tùb-kpīdā nám*<sub>a</sub>/*bì-tùb-kpīdīs*); *bì-tùb-līud* "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns appear as adjectives after human-reference heads:

<i>bì-sāan</i> <sub>a</sub> '/ <i>-sāan</i> <sub>a</sub>	"strange child"	<i>bù-sāan</i> <sub>a</sub>	"strange goat"
<i>bì-kpī'um/-kpīilúŋ</i> <sub>v</sub>	"dead child"	<i>bù-kpīilúŋ</i> <sub>v</sub>	"dead goat"
<i>bì-dāu/-dāug</i> <sub>v</sub>	"male child"	<i>bù-dāug</i> <sub>v</sub>	"male goat"
<i>bì-sīn</i> <sub>na</sub> '/ <i>-sīnníg</i> <sub>a</sub>	"silent child"	<i>bù-sīnníg</i> <sub>a</sub>	"silent goat"

Similarly *bì-puā*'/*-puāk*<sub>a</sub> "female child"; *bì-zū'əm*'/*-zùnzòŋ*<sub>a</sub> "blind child"; *bì-gìk*<sub>a</sub> "dumb child"; *bì-wàbìr* "lame child"; *bì-bālērōg*<sub>v</sub>' "ugly child"; *bì-pòŋ'or* "crippled child"; *nà'-bīig*<sub>a</sub>/*bì-nà'ab*<sub>a</sub> "prince"; *dāu-bīig*<sub>a</sub>/*bì-dāu* "male child"; *nàsàa-bīig*<sub>a</sub> "European child", *bī-púŋ-yàmmòg*<sub>a</sub> "slave girl", *yàm(mòg)-bī-púŋ*<sub>a</sub> "girl slave."

Agent nouns can only be adjectival after cifs which could not be complements; thus *puà'-zàaŋs*<sub>a</sub> "woman prone to dreaming" KT, but only (WK)

<i>puà'-kūud</i> <sub>a</sub> '	"killer of women"
<i>puà'-lā'ad</i> <sub>a</sub>	"laugher at women"
cf <i>puà'-kūudíg</i> <sub>a</sub>	"murderous woman"
<i>puà'-lā'adīg</i> <sub>a</sub>	"woman given to laughing"

### 10.7.2 Lā́ and n̄wà

Lā́ and n̄wà are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." They stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for VP-final particles in nominalised clauses, which may follow attached lā́ §11.7.

Unlike lā́, n̄wà can stand alone as a NP:

N̄wà á nē bīig.

"This is a child." WK; tones *sic*.

This be FOC child:SG.

Lā́ remains deictic after demonstratives and in identificational clauses, but elsewhere is the definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. Articles are not used with "familiar background", proper names, abstract mass nouns or vocatives, which are intrinsically definite, nor with pronouns, which are either intrinsically definite/indefinite or match their antecedents in definiteness.

Winnìg lí yā.

"The sun has set."

Sun:SG fall ND.

N̄n̄ilim p̄v naada.

"Love does not come to an end."

N̄n̄ìlím p̄v n̄āadá=∅.

(1 Cor 13:8)

Love NEG finish:IPFV=NEG.

There is no indefinite article: a NP without lā́ is indefinite if it could have taken lā́ as an article. The sense may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of à̄n̄ya "be something" used ascriptively:

M̄ bīig k̄ā'e=∅.

"I've no child" WK

1SG child:SG NEG.EXIST=NEG.

Ò à nē bīig.

"She is a child."

3AN be FOC child:SG.

Specific senses appear in presentational statements; elsewhere, indefinite NPs are usually generic; unlike "the", lā́ is not used generically.

Dau da be mori o biribing

Dāu dá b̄è\_∅ m̄ōrì\_ò bī-díb̄ìṅ

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son" KS p35

T̀umt̀um p̀u gat o zugdaana.

T̀um-t̀um p̀u gát ò z̀ug-dáanā=∅.

Worker:SG NEG pass:IPFV 3AN master:SG=NEG.

"The servant does not surpass his master." (Jn 15:20)

Indefinite pronouns mark unambiguously specific "some/another":

Nā'-síəbà ó̀ṅ̀b̀ìd nē mṑod. "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 bìig* "the chief's child", but *nà'ab lā bí-sō'* "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**

Dā̀u dá b̀è\_ ∅ mṑrí\_ò b̀i-dí̀b̀ìṅ

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN boy:SG

"Once there was a man who had a son" KS p35

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul **sidi** paae yuma ayɔpɔi ka **o sid la** kpi.

Ó̀n dā̀a á̀ṅ̀ p̀uá'-sādī̀r lá kà ò k̀ul sī̀dī\_ ∅ pā̀e

3AN:NZ TNS be girl:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

ỳúmà à̀ỳó̀p̀ò̀ḡ kà ò sī̀d lā k̀pí.

year:PL 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 *M̀ bìig b́é.* "I have a child." WK  
1SG child:SG exist.

*M̀ bìig kā'e=∅.* "I've no child" WK  
1SG child:SG NEG.exist=NEG.

but *M̀ bìig lā kā'e=∅.* "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, along with bound particles which together with verb flexion, mark tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Some verb complements are liaison enclitics; any other complements, adjuncts and VP-final particles follow, in that order.

The VP is subject to a tone overlay which marks independency. There are associated segmental features: the particle *yā* after phrase-final perfectives and the 2vb imperative flexion *-m<sub>a</sub>* appear only when the tone overlay is present.

Tense is marked by preverbal particles, aspect by verb flexion and postverbal *nē'*. Future reference is signified by an irrealis *mood*. Preverbal particles mark mood and polarity; these are the primary mood markers, but the flexion *-m<sub>a</sub>* 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	∅ ~ pū	pòn	VERB	=n	=m <sub>a</sub>	nē'
sàa	∅ ~ dā	lèm		=ya	=f <sub>b</sub>	
∅	nà ~ kù	tì			=o	
pà'		kpèlìm			=l	
sà		là'am			=t	
dāa		dèṅìm			=ya	
dà		...			=ba	

∅ 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 tense particles.

The particles in the "mood" column 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 *nē'*. 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 *nḗ* §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 *nḗ* after a pfv marks it as stative; and conversely, if a pfv cannot express a change of state in the subject, a following *nḗ* cannot be aspectual.

*Nḗ* can only be interpreted aspectually if no free words intervene between the particle and the verb, and the VP has positive polarity and indicative mood. *Nḗ* cannot be used at all in certain syntactic contexts, and cannot appear a second time aspectually if it is already present for informational focus. Any aspectual senses permitted by the verb itself are then still present but are formally unmarked:

Ò kùəsìdī=bá nḗ.

3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.

"She's selling them."

Ò kùəsìd nḗ sūmmā lā.

3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

"She is selling the groundnuts."

but Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nḗ.

3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC.

"She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."  
(VP focused: "They're not free.")

Ò zàbìd.

"He fights."

Ò zàbìd nḗ.

"He's fighting."

but Ò p̄ zàbìdā.

"He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."

*NĒ'* is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: <i>Gòsìm!</i>	"Look!"	B: <i>M̀ gòsìd!</i>	"I'm looking!"
A: <i>F̀ò gòsìd nĕé?</i>	"Are you looking?"	B: <i>M̀ gòsìd!</i>	"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"):

<i>Sāa dāa ní.</i>	"It rained."
Rain TNS rain.	

but <i>Sāa ní yā.</i>	"It has rained." WK: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert."
Rain rain ND.	

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.

<i>F̀ò wóm yā kúv?</i>	"Do you understand?"
2SG hear ND OR=PQ?	

<i>M̀ pú'us yā.</i>	"I thank you."
1SG greet ND.	

<i>M̀ sjàk yā.</i>	"I agree."
1SG agree ND.	

Verbs of cognition and perception frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

<i>M̀ nyé nū'-bíbısá_àtán'.</i>	"I can see three fingers."
1SG see finger:PL three.	

<i>M̀ tĕŋ'es kà ...</i>	"I think that ..."
1SG think and ...	



Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject may use the pfv to express the resulting state; *nē'* 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 bòdìg yā. 3IN lose ND.	"It's got lost."
but	Lì bòdìg nē. 3IN lose FOC.	"It's lost."
	Ò kpì nē.	"He's dead."
	M̃ gɛ̃n nē.	"I'm tired."
	Bà kòdòg nē.	"They're old."
	Lì pè'el nē.	"It's full."
	Lì yò nē.	"It's closed."
	M̃ búg nē.	"I'm drunk."
	Ò lèr nē.	"He's ugly." WK
	Lì sòbìg nē.	"It's black." WK
	M̃ yé fūug. 1SG don shirt:SG.	"I've put a shirt on."
	M̃ yé nē 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' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.  
 Kà dāpá\_àyí' yé fū-píelà\_ ø zì'e bà sā'an.  
 And man:PL 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:

Nwādisá\_àtán' kà fù ná mōr bīig lā n kē nā.  
 Month 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.

Kùkòmà dá zàb tāabá à-sōṅ'e bī'elá yèlà.

Leper:PL TNS fight each.other PZ-surpass slightly about.

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." KS 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:

M̄ zín'i.

1SG sit.

"I sit."

Nīigí òṅbìd mōod.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV grass:PL.

"Cows eat grass."

Ò gìm.

3AN be.short.

"She's short."

M̄ mór puā'.

1SG have wife:SG.

"I have a wife."

Aspectual focus with ipfvs may have progressive meaning if the subject is an agent, or moving without external agency, or changing state:

Nā'-síəbà óṅbìd nē mōod.

Cow-INDEF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

"Some cows are eating grass."

M̄ zín'i nē.

1SG sit FOC.

"I'm sitting."

(Stance verb subjects are agents)

Lì līt nē.

3IN fall:IPFV FOC.

"It is falling."

M̄ yōod nē kúlìṅ lā.

1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

"I'm closing the door."

Kòlìṅ lā yôod nē. "The door is closing."  
 Door:SG ART close:IPFV FOC.

The sense may instead be of multiple events over a restricted time interval:

Nīdīb kpīid nē. "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 *nē'* precedes constituents which do not allow informational focus §13.1.

Thus with relationship or quality verbs:

Lì vèn nē. "It's *beautiful*." (Focus on the verb.)  
 3IN be.beautiful FOC.

but Nānnánā, lì vèn nē. "Just now, it's beautiful."  
 Now, 3IN be.beautiful FOC.

Lì dāa vén nē. "It *was* beautiful." WK: "I gave you a  
 3IN TNS be.beautiful FOC. cup, and it was OK then, but now you've spoiled it."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē. "The lake *was* deep."  
 Lake:SG ART TNS be.deep FOC. ("Now it's shallow." WK)

Lì dāa áṅ súnā. "It was good." WK  
 3IN TNS be well.

Lì dāa á nē súnā. "At the time, it was good." WK  
 3IN TNS be FOC well.

Lì à nē súnā. "It's good." ("Now; it wasn't before." WK)  
 3IN be FOC well.

M̀ mór nē bīisá\_àtánā. "I've got exactly three children just now."  
 1SG have FOC child:PL 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
∅	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:

F̀v̀ sá gb̀is wēlá=∅?	"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 ellipited 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 óṅb̀dī=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

M̄ kúl yā. "I'm going home (now.)"  
1SG go.home ND.

There are two periphrastic indicative constructions for "to be about to": *bòod<sub>a</sub>* "want" + gerund, and subject + *yē*-purpose clause (animate subjects only):

T̄ug lā bōod liig. "The tree is about to fall."  
Tree:SG ART want fall:SG.

Yu'bu bōod gaadug, ka beog bōod nier.

Yú'bu bōod gáadùg kà bēog bōod níər.

Night want passing:SG and morning want appearance:SG.

"The night is about to pass and tomorrow is about to appear." (Rom 13:12)

M̄ yé ò kṽā 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 contrasts with  $\emptyset$  may occur. By default, if there is no other time-referring element in the clause, the absence of any tense particle expresses present tense, regardless of aspect; in isolation, past interpretation is not possible:

Nīdīb kp̄iid. "People die."  
Ò m̄òr pṽā'. "He has a wife."  
Ò kp̄ì 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:

F̄ò ná k̄ul. "You will go home."  
2SG IRR go.home.

F̄ò sáa nà k̄ul. "You'll go home tomorrow."  
2SG TNS IRR go.home.

F̀̀ [sáa] nà kũl bēog. "You'll go home tomorrow."  
2SG TNS IRR go.home tomorrow.

Ṁ [pá'] òṅbĩdĩ=n sũmmā. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."  
1SG TNS chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

Ṁ [sá] zàb nā'ab lā sũ'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 *kpē* "here" and *kàṅā* "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 yoma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keṅ malɔŋ la wɔɔ ban ɛenti niŋid si'em la. Ka malɔŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba **daa** teŋ'es ye o dɔlne ba teŋ dim la, ka keṅ ...

Kà Yesu=∅ dāa áṅ yómà pīi né àyí lā, kà bà kēṅ málòŋ lā  
And Jesus=NZ TNS be year:PL ten with two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG ART  
wɔɔ bán ɛɛŋ tí niŋid sī'em lā. Kà málòŋ lā dábɪsà=∅ nāe lā,  
like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV how ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ finish ART,  
kà bà lɛbɪdɪ ∅ kũn. Kà Yesu kpɛlɪm Jerusalem tɛŋɪ=n  
and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem land:SG=LOC  
kà ò bā' né ò mà pũ báj yé ò kpɛlɪm yāa=∅.  
and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG realise that 3AN remain ND=NEG.

Bà dāa tɛŋ'es yé ò dɔl né bà tɛŋ-dɪm lā, kà kēṅ ...  
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-Pṽ-zót-yēl                      dá à né ò sàam      bīig      mà'aa.

PZ-NEG-fear:IPFV-thing:SG TNS be FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only.

Kà dāar yīnní kà bīig      lā né ò sàam      zín'i\_ø sōnsīd.

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

Kà bīig      lā tí yèl 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 ..." KS p35

Among dozens of clauses *kà X dṽá' 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 dṽá' Solomon. Ò mà              dá à nē Uria      pṽá'.

And David beget Solomon. 3AN mother:SG TNS be FOC Uriah wife:SG.

Kà Solomon dṽá' 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* "X's father was Y."

Long series of coordinated "asides" may drop tense marking; in KB the genealogy in Luke shows *ka X saam da ane Y* at the beginning of paragraphs in the text, but *ka X saam an Y* otherwise.

The distinctiveness of *kà*-clauses with pfv aspect and no tense marking was confirmed by presenting them in isolation to informants; they were always interpreted as expressing events, requiring the particle *nē'* to be interpreted as informational focus, never aspectual; tense marking permitted aspectual focus.

Lì bòdìg nē.

3IN get.lost FOC.

"It's lost."

Kà lì bódìg nē.

And 3IN get.lost FOC.

Rejected by WK; accepted after some thought by DK, explained as denying "someone hid it"; contrastive focus

Bà kùdìg nē.

3PL get.old FOC.

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nē.  
And 3PL get.old FOC.

"And they're old." Rejected by WK;  
accepted by DK with the gloss "You're  
saying they're old when he promised to  
give you new ones"; contrastive focus

but Kà lì dāa bódìg nē.  
And 3IN TNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.  
Kà bà dāa kúdìg nē.

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 kpèn' la, o yèli ba ye [...] Ka ba **la'ad** o.

Kà ón kpèṅ' lā, ò yéì=bā yē [...] Kà bà lá'adō=∅.

And 3AN:NZ enter ART, 3AN say=3PL that [...] And 3PL laugh:IPFV=3AN.

"After he came in, he said to them [...] But they laughed at him." (Mk 5:39-40)

Tense marking is unaffected by non-temporal adjuncts or resumptive *yē*:

Amaa ba **da** zot o ne dabiem, ban da pu niṅ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andol la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaṅ Saul n mōr o keṅ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō=∅ nē dábīēm, bán dà pū níṅò=∅ yáddā yé ò s̀ìd

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear, 3PL:NZ TNS NEG do=3AN trust that 3AN truly

à nē nyâ'an-dòl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas zàṅ Saul n mōró=∅\_∅ kēṅ ...

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 kudigne.

Bà dà pū mōr bīigā=∅, bōzúgō Elizabet dá à nē

3PL TNS NEG have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS be FOC

kúndù'ar kà bà bàyí' lā wōsā mé kùdìg nē.

barren.woman:SG and 3PL two ART all also get.old FOC.

"They had no child, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old." (Lk 1:7 NT2)



Nominalised clauses mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

Ka Pita yu'ʊn tien Yesu n sa yel si'el la

Kà Pita yū'ʊn tíen Yesu=n sà yèl sī'el lā

And Peter then remember Jesus=3M 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.

*Sādiɣim* "since" §12.3.1 always precedes tense markers. *Yū'ʊn* "then, next", *sìd* "truly, thus" and *lèe* "but" precede tense markers much more often than they follow (in KB, 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lee da* to 1 of *da lee*.)

Josua yu'ʊn da kʊdigya.

"Then Joshua grew old." (Jo 13:1)

Josua yū'ʊn dá kùdìg 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 nē nā'ab.

"Truly, he was a chief." WK

3AN truly TNS be FOC chief:SG.

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

Kà mān piāṇ'ad lā léε kù gāadē=∅.

And 1SG speech ART but NEG.IRR PASS=NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35 NT2)

amaa lee pu'ʊsimi Wina'am bareka

àmáa lèε pù'ʊsimī=∅ Wínà'am bárikà

but but greet:IMP=2PL God blessing

"but thank God" (Eph 5:4)

For WK, *lèε* carries the independency tone overlay; he corrected *Lèε gòsìm nâ'ab lâ!* to *Lèε gòs nâ'ab lâ!* "But look at the chief!"

*Nàm* "still" (with a negative, "yet"), *nyēε (tí)* (KT *ēεη tí*, NT *nyii ti*, KB *εenti*) "habitually" and *kōlīm/kōdīm* "always" follow any tense particles.

Ṭuuma la da nam pu pin'il la "before the work began" (Zec 8:10)  
 Ṭuumā lá=∅ dà nàm p̄ p̄īη'il lā  
 work:SG ART=NZ TNS still NEG begin ART

Ṭiim lā nám b̄εε=∅? "Is there any medicine left?"  
 Medicine ART still exist=PQ?

Hor dim la με da εenti be Seir. "The Horites too used to live in Seir."  
 Hor díim lā mé dà ēεη tí b̄ε Seir. (Dt 2:12)  
 Hor ∅.PL ART also TNS habit exist Seir.

On ne o pu'a Prisila daa kudim nan yine Room  
 Ōn né ò puā' Prisila dāa kōdīm nám yī nē Room  
 3AN with 3AN wife:SG Priscilla TNS ever still emerge FOC Rome  
 "He and his wife Priscilla had just arrived from Rome" (Acts 18:2)

*Nyāan/nāan* "next, afterwards", *nāan* §12.1.3 "in that case" and *pà' tì* "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. *Nyāan* usually appears in *kà*-clauses in narrative.

Ka Zugsób sunf nyaan yv'v̄n ma'ae.  
 Kà Zūg-sób súnf nyāan yv'v̄n mā'e.  
 And Lord heart:SG next then cool.  
 "Then the Lord's anger subsided." (Jo 7:26)

One pa'ati an Kristo la b̄εε? "Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)  
 Ōnī\_∅ pá' tì àη Kristo lā b̄εε=∅?  
 3AN CAT perhaps be Christ ART OR=PQ?

### 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 *p̄* (for some speakers *b̄*, 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 p̄ záb nà'ab láa=∅. "He hasn't fought the chief."  
 3AN NEG fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò vùl t̄im kà ò nóbìr p̄ zábē=∅.  
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG fight=NEG.  
 "She took medicine and her leg didn't hurt." WK

Imperative mood is negated by *dā*. It is used in commands, prohibitions and purpose clauses, and after imperatives in catenation. 2vbs with independency-marking tone overlay take the inflection *-m<sub>a</sub>*, 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 *Vbe!* *Vùè!* "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=∅! "Don't fight the chief!"  
 NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!

Ò vùl t̄im kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.  
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.  
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

Kèm nā n gōs! "Come and look!"  
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!

<b>Kòṅsìm!</b>	"Cough!"
<b>Dā kóṅsē=∅!</b> NEG.IMP cough=NEG!	"Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did, during an eye operation)
<b>Dā kóṅsɪdā=∅!</b> NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG!	"Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)
<b>Dòllī=ní=m!</b> Go.with=2PL=1SG!	"Come (pl) with me!"
<b>Mòr nīn-báalìg!</b>	"Have pity!"
<b>Bée ànínā!</b>	"Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB
<b>Āa=ní_àlá bāanlím!</b> Be=2PL thus quietness!	"Be (pl) quiet!"

Aspectual **nē´** cannot appear, but **àlá** "thus" has a progressive sense after commands:

<b>Dìmí àlá!</b>	"Carry on eating!"
<b>Dìgī=ní_àlá!</b> Lie=2PL thus!	"Keep on (pl) lying down."

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers **nà** (positive), **kù** (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.

<b>Ò nà zāb nâ'ab lā.</b> 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.	"He'll fight the chief."
<b>Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅.</b> 3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.	"He won't fight the chief."
<b>Ò dāa ná zāb nâ'ab lā.</b> 3AN TNS IRR fight chief:SG ART.	"He would have fought the chief." (but did not, WK)

**Negative verbs** replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.

$Kā'e$  is indicative negative to  $à\eta_{ya}$  "be something",  $bè$  "exist",  $mōr_a'$  "have."

\* $Pū bē$  does not occur, but  $pū mōr$  is common;  $pū á\eta$  is found in contrasts.  $Kā'e$  has a clause-final variant  $kà'asìg$ .

$Ò kā' bīgā=∅.$  "She hasn't got a child."  
3AN NEG.have child:SG=NEG. or "She isn't a child."

$Pūā' lā mór bīg, àmáa dāy lā kā'e=∅.$   
Woman:SG ART have child:SG but man:SG ART NEG.have=NEG.  
 "The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

$Dāy lā kā'e=∅.$  "The man isn't there."  
Man:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

$Dāy kā'e dóogū=n lāa=∅.$  "There's no man in the room."  
Man:SG NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

$Dāy lā kā' dóogū=n lāa=∅.$   
Man:SG ART NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.  
 "The man is not in the room."

$Ò bīg ká'asìgē=∅.$  "She has no child."  
3AN child NEG.exist=NEG.

$Zī$  "not know" usually replaces indicative  $pū mī'$ . A clause-final  $zī'isig$  also appears in texts (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

$Bù\eta-bā\eta'ad zī' yē tē\eta túllā=∅.$   
Donkey-rider:SG NEG.know that ground:SG be.hot=NEG.  
 "He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot." (Proverb)

but  $ka pū mi' wūb lin nar si'em.$   
 $kà pū mī' wūb lín nār sī'əmm=∅.$   
and NEG know how 3IN:NZ need how=NEG.  
 "and does not know how it should be." (1 Chr 22:5)

$Mīt$  is imperative; in the sense "let not" §12.2.2 2pl  $=ya$  is not used. KB writes *mid*, omitting the negative clitic.  $Mīt$  + NP (no negative clitic) means "beware of."

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mìt kà yà m̄aal yà t̄ùm-s̄ùmà n̄id̄ib t̄uən yé bà ḡōsē=∅.

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.

M̄it̄i=∅ z̄írí n̄ò-d̄í'ēs̄id̄ib b̄an̄i=∅ k̄ēnn̄í yà s̄ā'an n̄ā l̄ā.

Beware=2PL 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 meṇa.

S̄ógià-s̄ō' k̄ā'e n t̄úm kà ȳood ò m̄ēṇá=∅.

Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.exist CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.

"No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7 NT1)

Di len ka' fon yel si'el la zug, ka ti niṇ o yadda.

L̄ì l̄èm k̄ā' f̄ún ȳèl s̄ī'el l̄ā z̄úg kà t̄ì n̄iṇò=∅ ȳáddáa=∅.

3IN again NEG.be 2SG:NZ say INDF.IN ART on and 1PL do=3AN trust=NEG.

"It is no longer because of what you said that we believe in him." (Jn 4:42)

ka zan'as banε ka' Kristo nidib la suṇir.

kà z̄āṇ'as b̄an̄i=∅ k̄ā' Kristo n̄id̄ib l̄ā s̄úṇir.

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 pu yuuge ka o pu'a me kena.

Kà l̄ì p̄ū ȳúugē=∅, kà ò p̄ūā' mé k̄ē n̄ā.

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 =*n̄* or the personaliser pronoun *à* is lost unless the clause has no article and is itself clause-final:

N̄in-b̄an̄i=∅ p̄ū d̄ít ná kp̄ī. "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-Pṵ-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa.

PZ-NEG-run:IPFV-thing:SG TNS be FOC 3AN father:SG child:SG only.

"Fears-nothing was his father's only child." KS p35

vs M̄ nyé nīn-bánì=∅ pṵ dītā=∅.

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 pṵ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pṵá' Herodiasε=∅.

3IN NEG must that 2SG take 2SG father-child:SG wife:SG Herodias=NEG.

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." (Mt 14:4 NT2)

Ti pu bōod ye dau kaṇa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pṵ bōod yē dáu-kàṇā áan\_tì nà'abā=∅.

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 pu tēn'es ye o na kēligi m pian'ade.

Mām pṵ tēn'es yé ò nà kēligí\_m pīàn'adē=∅.

1SG NEG think that 3AN IRR listen 1SG word:PL=NEG.

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." (Jb 9:16)

vs linzug ka ti baṇ ye o pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

Lìn-zúg kà tì bāṇ yé ò pṵ yī Wínà'am sâ'an náa=∅.

So and 1PL realise that 3AN NEG emerge God with hither=NEG.

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." (Jn 9:16)

ka o lēε pu baṇ ye li anε onε.

kà ò léε pṵ bāṇ yé lì à nē ònē=∅.

And 3AN but NEG realise that 3IN be FOC 3AN=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 marking is primarily tonal, with some associated segmental features.

**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*):

	M̂ záb nâ'ab lā.	"I've fought ( <i>zàb</i> ) the chief ( <i>nà'ab<sub>a</sub></i> )."
	M̂ gōs nâ'ab lā.	"I've looked at ( <i>gōs</i> ) the chief."
	M̂ sá zàb nâ'ab lā.	"I fought the chief yesterday."
	M̂ sá gōs nâ'ab lā.	"I looked at the chief yesterday."
but	m̀ yá' zàb nâ'ab lā	"if I fight the chief"
	m̀ yá' gōs nâ'ab lā	"if I look at the chief"
	mán zàb nâ'ab lā	"I having fought the chief"
	mán gōs nâ'ab lā	"I having looked at the chief"
	Kà m̀ záb nâ'ab lā.	"And I fought the chief."
	Kà m̀ gōs nâ'ab lā.	"And I looked at the chief."
	M̂ p̄ záb nâ'ab lāa.	"I haven't fought the chief."
	M̂ p̄ gōs nâ'ab lāa.	"I haven't looked at the chief."
	M̂ dāa záb nâ'ab lā.	"I didn't fight the chief."
	M̂ dāa gōs nâ'ab lā.	"I didn't look at the chief."

Tones before liaison (*b̀d̀t̀g`* "lose", *yā̀d̄g`* "scatter", =*m<sub>a</sub>* "me", =*ba* "them"):

Intrinsic tones:	<i>b̀d̀t̀g̀</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>b̀d̀t̀g̀d̄</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´ ipfv	<i>b̀d̀t̀g̀</i> = <i>bā</i> ´
	<i>yā̀d̄g̀</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>yā̀d̄g̀d̄</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´ ipfv	<i>yā̀d̄g̀</i> = <i>bā</i> ´
With overlay:	<i>b̀d̀t̀ḡ</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´	<i>b̀d̀t̀g̀d̄</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´	<i>b̀d̀t̀ḡ</i> = <i>bá</i>
	<i>yā̀d̄ḡ</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´	<i>yā̀d̄g̀d̄</i> = <i>m<sub>a</sub></i> ´	<i>yā̀d̄ḡ</i> = <i>bá</i>

M̂ kúvd̄=*bá*. "I kill them."  
1SG kill:IPFV=3PL.

M̂ kúvd̄ ̀*bà* b̄vs. "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, M spreading is absent after the third persons *ò lì bà* when the following VP has independency marking. Thus

<i>Kà m̄ záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"And I fought the chief."
<i>Kà ò záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"And he fought the chief."
<i>M̄ záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"I've fought the chief."

but <i>Ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He's fought the chief."
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<i>Ò tɛ̀ŋ'ɛs kà ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He thinks he's fought the chief." WK
3AN think and 3AN fight chief:SG ART.	

<i>Ò yèl yé ò zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He says he's fought the chief."
3AN say that 3AN fight chief:SG ART.	

M spreading is only absent after first/second person *m̄ fù tì yà* if the VP has independency marking *and* *yē* "that" directly precedes the pronoun:

<i>Ò tɛ̀ŋ'ɛs kà m̄ záb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He thinks I've fought the chief."
3AN think and 1SG fight chief:SG ART.	

but <i>Ò yèl yé m̄ zàb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He says I've fought the chief."
3AN say that 1SG fight chief:SG ART.	

The distribution of M spreading after pronouns is not dependent on whether tone overlay is present:

<i>Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅.</i>	"He will not fight the chief." (irrealis)
3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.	

<i>Ò yèl yé m̄ nà zāb nâ'ab lā.</i>	"He says I'll fight the chief." (irrealis)
3AN say that 1SG IRR fight chief:SG ART.	

<i>Ò lɛɛ dāa záb nà'ab lā.</i>	"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<sub>a</sub>** marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gòsìm!

"Look!"

Gòsım̄=ní=bā!

"Look (pl) at them!"

Look:IMP=2PL=3PL!

but Dā gōsē=ø!

"Don't look!"

NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Kèl kà ò gōs!

"Let her look!"

Let:IMP and 3AN look!

Dòllī=ní=bā!

"Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)

Go.with=2PL=3PL!

The particle **yā** follows any VP-final pfv carrying the tone overlay:

Ò sà gòs yā.

"She looked."

3AN TNS look ND.

Ì tēṅ'es kà ò gòs yā.

"I think she's looked."

1SG think and 3AN look ND.

but Ò pū gōsē.

"He's not looked."

Ò nà gōs.

"She'll look."

Ò dāa gōs.

"He looked."

Kà ò gōs.

"And he looked."

Ò gòsī=m.

"He's looked at me." (not VP-final)

Ò gìm.

"She's short." (ipfv)

Ò nòṅ.

"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 perhaps reflects an origin as a flexion.

Lì bòdìg néε?

"Is it lost?" (focus-nē')

Lì bòdìg 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.

*Pùn* "previously, already":

Ò pùn 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.

*Lèm* "again"; *pū lém* + ipfv "no longer":

Ì nīf lém zàbìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."  
 1SG eye:SG again fight:IPFV FOC.

Ì nīf pū lém zàbìdā=∅. "My eye is not hurting any more."  
 1SG eye:SG NEG again fight:IPFV=NEG.

Ò nà lēm záb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."  
 3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

*Là'am* "together" (as main verb "associate with"):

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.  
 kà nīdīb wūsā dá là'am kpì nó=∅.  
 and person:PL all TNS together die with=3AN.  
 "so all people died together with him." (2 Cor 5:14)

*Kpèlìm* + pfv "immediately afterwards"; + ipfv "still." As main verb, "remain."  
 KB has the reduced form *kpèn*.

Ka o kpelim zu'om. "Immediately he went blind."  
 Kà ò kpélìm zū'əm. (Acts 13:11 NT2: KB *Ka o kpen zu'om.*)  
 And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpen vœ. "My child Joseph is still alive." (Gn 45:28)  
 m̄ bīig Josef nám kpèn vœ̄.  
 1SG child:SG Joseph still still live.

Dèṅìṃ "beforehand":

Pin'ilugɔn sa ka Pian'ad la da pɔn dɛṅim bɛ.

Pīṅ'ilúgɔ̄=n sá kà Pìàṅ'ad lā dá pòn dèṅìṃ bɛ.

Beginning:SG=LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already before exist.

"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

Màlìgìṃ "again":

Amaa man pian'ad la kɔ maligim gaadɛ.

Àmáa mán pìàṅ'ad lā kú mālìgìṃ gáadɛ=∅.

But 1SG speech ART NEG.IRR again pass=NEG.

"But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35)

Tì "once, until"; "before" when the next VP is perfective.

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"until Herod had died." (Mt 2:15)

hālí kà Herod tí kpì.

until and Herod once die.

Kèṃ\_∅ tí nyē dú'atà.

"Go to see the doctor." SB

Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Bɛogɔ ti nied la ka ba gaad!

BĒogú=∅ tì niəd lā 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.

M̄ dāa dísò=∅ sā'ab dó-kàṅā lā púgɔ̄=n.

1SG TNS feed=3AN porridge hut-DEM.SG ART inside.

"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 ku nid. "Do not kill." (Ex 20:13)  
 Mìt kà yà kō nīd.  
 NEG.IMP.let and 2PL kill person:SG.

In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

- Q. Fù mór gbāȳj lāa=ø? "Do you have the letter?"  
 2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?
- A. Ēēj, m̄ mór. "Yes, I have it."  
 Yes, 1SG have.

Other verbs appear with and without objects, with no change in the role of the subject, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent. Such objects are not adjuncts, because they can be transferred to subject position (see below):

kēl ka ba nu ku'om "let them drink water" (Gn 29:7)  
 kēl kà bà nū kû'om  
 let:IMP and 3PL drink water

Kēllī ka ti di ka nu "Let us eat and drink" (1 Cor 15:32)  
 Kēllī=ø kà tì dí kà nū  
 Let:IMP=2PL and 1PL eat and drink

Transitive 2vbs can be used intransitively with the object transferred to subject position and agent unmentioned.

Dāam lā nū yā. "The beer has got drunk."  
 Beer ART drink ND.

M̄ nāa tūmā lā. "I've finished the work."  
 1SG finish work ART.

Tūmā lā nāa nē. "The work is finished."  
 Work ART finish FOC.

Gbàṣṣṣ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."  
 Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Ipfv aspect is made more felicitous by adjuncts of time or manner:

Gbàṣṣ sóbìd zīnā. "Letters get written today." WK  
 Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàṣṣ lā sóbìd súṣā. "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 nūud nē* is contrastive: "The beer is for *drinking*."

With parts of the subject's own body as objects, intransitive verbs are often preferred to transitive:

Ka o nie o mēṣ Jemes san'an "And he revealed himself to James"  
 Kà ò níe ò mēṣ Jemes sâ'an (1 Cor 15:7)  
 And 3AN appear 3AN self James among

Dìḡnīm fù nū'ug. "Put your hand down."  
 Lie:IMP 2SG hand:SG.

Lìḡnīm fù nīf né fù nū'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. *zàansìm zàansímà* "dream dreams" (Acts 2:17) or

Fù tùm bó-tùvmà=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:

man ten'es si'em la kù viigε.  
 mán tēṣ'es sī'ēm lā kú viigé=ø.  
 1SG:NZ think how ART NEG.IRR postpone=NEG.  
 "What I have planned will not be postponed." (Is 14:24)

Dā níjì\_àláa=ø! "Don't do that!"  
 NEG.IMP do thus=NEG.

Almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc:

Ò d̀̀g̀̀=m. "He cooked (for) me."  
 3AN COOK=1SG.

Lì màl̄s̄=m. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")  
 3IN be.sweet=1SG.

Àláaf̀̀ b̀̀é=ø. "She's well." ("Health exists for her.")  
 Health exist=3AN.

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; *t̀̀s* "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like *d̀̀s* "feed", *ǹ̀l̄s'* "make drink."

M̄ t̀̀s n̄'ab l̄a b̀̀ig. "I've given the chief a child."  
 1SG give chief:SG ART child:SG.

M̄ t̀̀s b̀̀ig l̄a. "I've given it to the child."  
 1SG give child:SG ART.  
 (Not "given him the child")

M̄ t̀̀s ȳa. "I've given it to him."  
 1SG give ND.

Many idioms employ a fixed generic direct object after an indirect object, e.g. *k̀̀d* X *s̀̀r̄iỳ̀* "judge X", *m̄r* X *n̄n-b̀̀al̀̀g* or *z̀̀* X *n̄n-b̀̀al̀̀g* "have pity on X", *ǹ̀j* X *ỳ̀dd̄a* "believe X, believe in X", *z̀̀* X *d̀̀b̄īem* "fear X"; similarly, *ǹ̀u'ug* "hand" is used generically in *n̄ẁ̀e' X ǹ̀u'ug* "plead with X."

m na k̄e ka f̀̀v dataas la n̄w̄e'ef nu'ug.

m̄ n̄a k̄e k̀̀a f̀̀v d̀̀at̄aas l̄a n̄w̄e'ε=f ǹ̀u'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 *àḗḡ<sub>ya</sub>* "be something" and its negative *kā'ḗ*. *Àḗḡ* and *kā'ḗ* become *àḡ* and *kā'* except when VP-final. In *ascriptive* uses focus-*nē'* follows when syntactically permitted §13.1, and *àḡ* becomes *à*.

Omission of a predicative complement implies anaphora:

*Mānī* ∅ *áḡ* *dú'atà* *kà* *fōn* *mén* *áḗḡ*.

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

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

Adjectives lacking cognate 1vbs may appear as predicative NP heads:

*Bà* *à* *nē* *píə̀là*.

"They're white."

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asεε ka m leb zin'a.

*Mām* *á* *nē* *píə̀lùḡ* *ámáa* *m̄* *yá'* *pāe* *búḡúmī*=n, *àsée* *kà* *m̄* *léb* *zìḡ'a*.

1SG be FOC white:SG but 1SG if reach fire=LOC, except and 1SG turn red:SG.

"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [crayfish] (BN p16)

Compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *bōn-* "thing" + adjective are commoner. They are required with adjectives preceding dependent pronouns:

*Lì* *à* *nē* *bōn-píə̀l-kàḡā*.

"It is this white one."

*Àḗḡ<sub>ya</sub>* uses derived manner nouns instead, where they exist:

*Lì* *à* *nē* *bōḡusígā*.

"It's soft."

*Lì* *à* *nē* *zāalím*.

"It's empty."

*Lì* *àḡ* *súḡā*.

"It's good."

*Pùd* "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head *yū'ur'* "name", and the name itself as predicative complement, optionally introduced by *yē*.

*Ka* *fū* *na* *pùd* *o* *yū'ur* *ye* *Yesu*.

"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

*Kà* *fù* *ná* *púd* *ò* *yū'ur* *yē* *Yesu*.

And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

*Ka* *o* *pùd* *biig* *la* *yū'ur* *Yesu*.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

*Kà* *ò* *púd* *bīig* *lā* *yū'ur* *Yesu*.

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.



**Bùel** "call" can be used in the ipfv with a person as object and name as complement, optionally introduced by **yē**, or with **yū'br'** "name" as the subject:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la "who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)  
**òn** **kà** **bà** **bûen** **yē** **Pita** **lā**  
 DEM.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

dau sɔ' ka o yū'br' buon Joon.  
**dàu-só'** **kà** **ò** **yū'br'** **bûen** **Joon**.  
 man-INDF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.  
 "a man called John." (Jn 1:6)

**Màal** "make" is used with object and a predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meṅ nintita'ar. "He made himself out to be a great man."  
**Kà** **ò** **māal** **ò** **mēṅ** **nīn-títā'ar**. (Acts 8:9 NT1)  
 And 3AN make 3AN self person-big:SG.

Certain ideophones are characteristically used as predicative complements, e.g. **sāpī<sub>n</sub>'** "straight", **nyāe<sub>n</sub>'** "brightly, clearly", **nà'anā'** "easily":

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la  
**màalim** **sṷā-dāuḡ** **sāpī** **mɔɔḡṷ=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** **án** **sú'm** **nyāe**.  
 God be goodness brightly.

ke ka ti lieb nyain. "make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)  
**ké** **kà** **tì** **liəb** **nyāe**.  
 let and 1PL become brightly.

**Lì** **à** **nē** **ná'anā**. "It's easy."  
 3IN be FOC easily.

### 11.6.3 Adjunct noun phrases

VP adjuncts may be NPs (including nominalised clauses, and postpositions with predependents), prepositional phrases, or purpose clauses. Single-word adjuncts typically belong to specialised subtypes; some are pronouns, some have distinctive structures unlike normal nouns, and some cannot occur with any dependents. NPs typically used as adjunct "adverbial" phrases also occur as NP predependents, as complements of àɛ̃ya "be", as objects, and even as subjects:

Sùṅā bé. "OK it is." (WK)  
Well exist.

Zíná à nē dá'a. "Today is market."  
Today be FOC market:sg.

Yiṅ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.  
Yiṅ véṅl kà p̄uṅō=n kā' sù'mm=∅.  
Outside be.beautiful and inside NEG.be goodness=NEG.  
"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3 NT2)

NPs used as **manner** adjuncts include pronouns like wēlá "how?" along with **manner nouns**, which cannot take dependents, and may show apocope-blocking and/or prefixed à-; some derive from adjective stems with suffixed m or ga. Tò'otō' "straight away" is a reduplicated root. Yà'as/yà'as<sub>a</sub> "again" arose from n-catenation (cf Gal 1:9 NT2: *ka m lem yeti ya'as* "and I say again") but is now simply an adjunct: *Ya'as ka m gos* "Again I looked" (Rv 5:11 NT1.)

"Expressive" ideophones behave as manner adjuncts:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb. "It [hare] is running lollop-lollop." WK

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: zīṅ'ig zīṅ'ig "place by place", dàbɪsìr dáɪbɪsìr "day by day", ànāas nāas "four by four." Reduplication of manner nouns is intensifying: àsídà sídà or àmēṅá mēṅá "very truly."

M wúm Kūsáal bī'elá. "I know Kusaal a little."  
1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

M wúm bī'el bī'el. "I understand it a very little."  
1SG hear:IPFV little little.

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

Ì kẹ̀ṅ nṓbá.  
1SG go leg:PL.

"I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to Ì kẹ̀ṅ nē nṓbá (nē "with")

À-nyē nē nīf sṓṅ'ṓ À-wòm t̀bà.  
PZ-see with eye:SG surpass PZ-hear ear:PL.

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" §10.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adjuncts:

Ò t̀m bédug̃/pāmm.  
Bà g̀sī=tí bábıgā.  
cf Bà g̀sı tı bábıgā.

"She's worked a lot."

"They've looked at us many times." WK

"They've looked at many of us." WK

Mass quantifiers may float from within a VP complement or locative adjunct to a separate later adjunct position:

Bà g̀sī=tí w̃sā.  
3PL look=1PL all.

"They've looked at us all/all of us." WK  
(for Bà g̀sı tı w̃sā.)

ka bæ m kɔ̃ba ni w̃sa  
kà bée m̃ kṓṅbā ní w̃sā  
and exist 1SG bone:PL LOC all

"and is in all my bones" (Jer 20:9)

A postpositional phrase (see below) used as a manner adjunct is kṓṅ'(ṓkṓ) (àràkṓṅ' "one"): m̃ kṓṅ' "by myself."

Some **time** NPs are single words which cannot take dependents: besides pronouns like nānná(-nā́) "now", these include zíná "today", sù'əs̃a "yesterday", bēog̃ "tomorrow", dūnná "this year", dāar "two days ago/two days hence" (distinct from dāar "day", see below), bēog̃ sá/bēog̃ dāar "in future", bēog̃=n' "morning", bèkèkèṅg̃ "very early morning", àsùbá "dawn." (Cf CGEL p429.)

Other time adjuncts are just NPs expressing times, e.g. zàam "evening", yú'ṅ "night", wìn-līir "sunset", nīntāṅa' "heat of the day", dābá àyópḍè/bákpàè "week", ṅwādīḡa' "moon/month" (ṅwād-kánì g̀aad lā "last month", ṅwād-kánì kēn nā lā "next month"), sēṅg̃ "rainy season", úṅn "dry season", sāpálı "Harmattan", ỳum<sub>n</sub> "year." Many contain ṅwà "this": zàam ṅwá "this evening", yú'ṅ ṅwá "tonight."

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: kárıfà àtāṅ' "three o'clock", karfèe ukù.

"Time" in general is *sāṅá* pl *sānsá* cif *sān*-:

<i>sān-kánè?</i>	"when?"	<i>sān-kán lā</i>	"at that time"
<i>sāṅá kám</i>	"all the time"	<i>sāṅá bèdɔgū</i>	"a long time"
<i>sānsá bèdɔgū</i>	"many times"	<i>sāṅá bī'ələ́</i>	"for/in a short time"

The nouns *dāar* "day" and *wìn<sub>n</sub>* "time of day" always have either a preceding determiner or a following quantifier, demonstrative, or adnominal *kà*-catenation. Note *dāar wūsā/wū*, *dāar mé-kàmà* "every day."

A common idiom appears in *yvum 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 dāar* "Sunday." The presence of *dāar* may distinguish a point in time from a span of time:

<i>Dābá àyópòḡ dāar kà fù ná lēb nā.</i>	"You'll come back in a week."
<i>Tì kpélìm ànínā dábìsà bī'ələ́.</i>	"We stayed there a few days."

The irregular pl *dābā* is used exclusively before numbers with the prefix *à-* and *àlá* "how many?", with cif *dà-* (KB *dab*) before *pīigā pīi* "ten", *pīsí pīs* "twenty." The pl of *dábìsìr* "twenty-four hour period" is also possible here, but less common.

**Place** NPs may be pronouns like *kpē* "here", specialised words like *yìṅ<sub>a</sub>* "outside", *dàgòbìg<sub>a</sub>* "left", *àgólí/àgólá* "upwards", *lāllí* "far off", Kusaasi place names, or NPs with postpositions. No verbs require place NPs as complements:

<i>Ka o paae zin'igin la.</i>	"And he reached the place." (Lk 22:40)
<i>Kà ò pāe zīṅ'igī=n lā.</i>	
And 3AN reach place:SG=LOC ART.	

<i>li saṅa sid paae ya.</i>	"Its time has surely arrived." (Ps 102:13)
<i>lì sāṅá sìd pàe yā.</i>	
3IN time:SG truly arrive ND.	

<i>Dàṅ-sō' bé kpēlá.</i>	"There's a man here."
Man-INDF.AN exist here.	

<i>Àláafù bé.</i>	"There is health."
Health exist.	(reply to enquiries after health)

The core **locative particle** is **nī́** after pronouns, loanwords and words ending in short vowels in sf, and otherwise **=n**. It may precede or follow **lā́**.

m̄ nī	"in me"	mān nī	"in me"
mù'arī= <b>n</b> lā	"in the lake"	mù'ar lā nī	"in the lake"

la'asɔg dɔɔdin ne suoya ni  
 là'asɔg dɔɔdī=**n** nē sɔyá nì  
 assembly:SG house:PL=LOC with road:PL LOC  
 "in the synagogues and in the streets" (Mt 6:2)

Yīr' "house" has the exceptional locatives **yín<sub>n</sub>** 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 Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ...  
 Kà Paillet lém yī nīdībī=**n** lā nā yá'asì\_∅ yéì=**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 bè dá'a= <b>n</b> .	"He's at market."
Ò bè yín.	"He's at home."
Ò bè kōlīgī= <b>n</b>	"He's at the stream."
Ò bè tūummī= <b>n</b> .	"He's at work."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: **bēog<sub>v</sub>** "tomorrow", **bēogū=**n**'** "morning", **yīgí=**n**** "at first" **sān-sí'ə=**n** lā** "at one time, once."

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take **nī́ ~=**n****, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók.	"He's in Bawku."
M̄ ná kēŋ Bók.	"I'm going to Bawku."
Fù yūug Bók kpēlāa?	"Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Informants treat foreign places names similarly, but KB often uses **nī́** or paraphrases like **Jerusalem tēŋī=**n**** "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

**Postpositions** are nouns with predependent NPs, typically used as VP adjuncts of place or time. A number are followed by the locative particle. They include:

**Bābá** "beside" (pl of **bābīr'** "sphere of activity"): **m̄ nōbá bábà** "beside my feet."  
**Gbìn<sub>n</sub>** "at the bottom of" (**gbìn<sub>n</sub>** "buttock"): **zūēr lā gbín** "below the mountain."  
**Nyá'aṅ<sub>a</sub>** "behind, after" (**nyá'aṅ<sub>a</sub>** "back"): **lì nyá'aṅ, nē'eṅā nyá'aṅ** "afterward."  
**Pūṣgū=n'** "inside" (**pūṣg<sub>a</sub>** "belly"):

**yūm lā pūṣgū=n** "[months] in the year"  
**dó-kàṅā lā pūṣgū=n** "inside that hut"

**Sā'an'** "in the presence/opinion of": **Wínà'am sâ'an** "in the sight of God";

**Fò ná dī'e tūm puá'-bàmmā lā sâ'an.**  
 2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEM.PL ART among.  
 "You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

**Sìsùṣgū=n'** "between" (KB *svugin*):

**tīnám nē fūn sūṣgū=n** "between us and you"

**Tēṅír** "under": **gòsìm tēṅír!** "look down!"; **téebùl lā tēṅír** "under the table."  
**Tùen<sub>n</sub>** "in front of": **gòsìm tūen!** "look forward!"; **dāká lā tūen** "before the box."  
**Zūg<sub>v</sub>'** "onto" (**zūg<sub>v</sub>'** "head"):

**Ò dīgùl gbáṅṅ lā téebùl lā zúg.** "She's put the book on the table."  
 3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.

**Sāa zúg<sub>v</sub>** is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

**Ka kùkòr yi saazug na** "And a voice came from heaven"  
**Kà kùkòr yī sāa zúg nā** (Jn 12:28)  
 And voice:SG emerge rain:SG on hither

**Zūgú=n** "on": **téebùl lā zūgū=n** "on the table."

**Zūg<sub>v</sub>'** is often used metaphorically as "on account of": **bō-zúgò?** "why?";

**Faanmim fū nōṅilim la zug.** "Save me because of your love." (Ps 6:4)  
**Fàaṅmí=m fū nòṅilím lā zúg.**  
 Save:IMP=1SG 2SG love ART on.

**Yēlá** "matters, affairs" forms complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication in the sense "about":

Bà yèlō=∅ m̄n yēlá w̄sā. "They told him all about me."  
 3PL say=3AN 1SG about all.

#### 11.6.4 Prepositional phrases

The two prepositions, **nē** "with" (accompanying and instrumental) and **w̄u** "like", precede NPs (including nominalised clauses.) Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated.

The forms with personal pronoun complements are

ní=m <sub>a</sub>	ní=f <sub>o</sub>	nó=o (KB nε o)	ní=lī'/né lī
ní=tī'/né tì	ní=yā'/né yà	ní=bā'/né bà	
w̄u m̄n	w̄u f̄n	w̄u ōn	w̄u lī
w̄u tì	w̄u yà	w̄u bà	

Complements of **w̄u** without the article **lā'** are followed by an empty **nē**, unless they are numbers (meaning "about") or interrogative pronouns.

w̄u m̄n nē	"like me"	w̄u búŋ nē	"like a donkey"
w̄u tūsá àyí'	"about 2000"	w̄u bó?	"like what?"

**W̄u** often takes relative clauses with **sī'əm** "how" as complements:

Ò zòt w̄u búŋì=∅ zòt sī'əm lā.  
 3AN run:IPFV like donkey:SG=NZ run:IPFV how ART.  
 "He runs like a donkey runs."

It may also take content clauses as complements:

M pian'adi tisidi ya w̄u ya anε m biis nε.  
 M̄ pián'adī\_∅ tísídī=yá w̄u yà á né m̄ biis nē.  
 1SG speak:IPFV CAT give:IPFV=2PL like 2PL be FOC 1SG child:PL like.  
 "I talk to you as if you were my children." (2 Cor 6:13)

Several verbs take prepositional phrases as complements, e.g. *lāl<sub>la</sub>'* "be far from"; *dōl<sub>la</sub>'* "go with" in the sense "accord with"; *nār<sub>a</sub>'* "need" in the sense "deserve."

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

Li dōlnē lin sōb Wina'am gbauḡon si'em la  
*Lì dōl nē lín sōb Wínà'am gbáḡḡō=n sī'əm lā*  
 3IN go.with with 3IN:NZ write God book:SG=LOC how ART  
 "This accords with what is written in God's book" (1 Cor 2:16)

Fū nar nē fūn na kpi. "You deserve to die." (Jgs 2:26)  
*Fù nár nē fún nà kpī.*  
 2SG need with 2SG:NZ IRR die.

*Là'am nē* "together with" before an absolute clause means "although."  
*Wēn<sub>na</sub>'* "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with *nē* or *wōu*; in either case the complement is followed by empty *nē* in the same circumstance as *wōu*:

M nwene danuud nē. "I am like a beer-drinker." (Jer 23:9)  
*M wén nē dā-nūud nē.*  
 1SG be.like with beer-drinker:SG like.

Most often, prepositional phrases are VP adjuncts:

Lìḡiním fū nīf nē fū nū'ug. "Cover your eye with your hand."  
 Cover:IMP 2SG eye:SG with 2SG hand:SG.

Bà kēḡ nē nōbá. "They've gone on foot." WK  
 3PL go with leg:PL.

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tū'as nē Wīnné=∅.  
 Eat:IMP with God:SG, NEG.IMP talk with God:SG=NEG.  
 "Eat with God, don't talk with God."

Kulim nē sumbuḡusum. "Go home in peace." (Mk 5:34)  
*Kùlìm nē sūḡ-búḡusìm.*  
 Go.home:IMP with peace.



Ḥ gēḡ'            né fù.            "I'm angry with you." SB  
 1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

mōri ya'am wūw wiigi nē            "be wise as serpents" (Mt 10:16)  
 mōrī=∅ yā'am wūw wīigí    nē  
 have=2PL sense like    snake:PL like

WK permits adjuncts introduced by wūw, but not nē, to be preposed with kà:

Wūw búḡ            né kà ò zót.            "Like a donkey, he runs."  
 Like donkey:SG like and 3AN run:IPFV.

### 11.6.5 Clauses

Relative clauses can take all kinds of NP role; absolute clauses appear as complements but most often as adjuncts. Kē "let" and mīt "let not" take kà-catenation complements; kà-catenations also appear as predicative complements. Verbs expressing necessity, permission, intent or expectation take purpose-clause complements; in other cases, purpose clauses appear as adjuncts. Verbs of cognition, perception and communication may take as complements content clauses, relative clauses with sī'əm, absolute clauses, or postpositional constructions with yēlá.

Àḡya "be" may take a content clause as complement:

M diib ane ye m tūm onē tūmi m la na bōodim naae.  
 Ḥ dīib á nē yé m tūm ònì=∅    tūmì=m lā nā    bōodim\_∅ 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:

Ḥ mór kû'əm náa=∅?            "Shall I bring water?" SB  
 1SG have water hither=PQ?

Bùgúm lā yít            yáa ní ná=∅?  
 Fire    ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?  
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

O tũmne beogũn sa. "She's been working since morning."  
 Ò tũm nē bēogũ=n sá. (Ru 2:7)  
 3AN work:IPFV FOC morning hence.

Kēm nā n gōs! "Come and look!" SB  
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.  
 Kà zũũnd dá sīg nā yé bà dí nī'm lā.  
 And vulture:PL TNS descend hither that 3PL eat meat:SG ART.  
 "Vultures came down to eat the meat." (Gn 15:11)

**Kēŋ** "come" is always used with **nā'**; the identical **m**-imperatives of **kēŋ** "come" and **kēŋ'** "go" are distinguished by **nā'/sà**: **Kēm nā!** "Come here!", **Kēm 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:

amaa o di'ene one tũmi m la na  
 àmáa ò diè nē ónì=∅ tũmì=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)

dunia kanε ken la na "the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)  
 dũniyá-kànì=∅ kēn lā nā  
 world-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV ART hither

ŋwādīg-kánì=∅ kēn nā lā "next month" SB  
 month-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV hither ART

Ninsaal Biig la lēbug la na  
 Nīn-saal Bīig lā lēbũg 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 ( $=\grave{n}$  or  $y\grave{a}'$ ) immediately follow subjects; the clause-linkers  $k\grave{a}$  "and",  $y\grave{e}$  "that" and catenating  $n$  precede the subject, which is always ellipted after  $n$  and may be ellipted after  $k\grave{a}$ .  $Y\grave{e}$  and  $n$  are always subordinating, but  $k\grave{a}$  may be coordinating or subordinating, with a great variety of meanings. Clause adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position in main/content clauses.

A clause is clearly subordinate if it separates main clause constituents:

ka p̄ nar ka ba buolim ye T̄omt̄omma.

$k\grave{a}$   $p\bar{u}$   $n\grave{a}r$   $k\grave{a}$   $b\grave{a}$   $b\grave{u}\acute{o}l\grave{i}=m$   $y\grave{e}$   $T\acute{u}m-t\bar{u}mm\grave{a}=\emptyset$ .

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*  $k\grave{a}$  "and" lack independency marking.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main	without $k\grave{a}$	with $k\grave{a}$
complementised	$y\grave{e}/k\grave{a}$ content	$y\grave{e}/k\grave{a}$ purpose
catenated		$n/k\grave{a}$ catenation
nominalised		$=\grave{n}$ absolute/relative $y\grave{a}'$ 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  $y\grave{e}$  "that", less often  $k\grave{a}$ . Purpose clauses lack independency marking, have imperative VPs, and show tense marking only if the main clause is ellipted; content clauses are downranked main clauses, with independency marking and the full range of main clause structures.

Ka o ba' ne o ma p̄ baŋ ye o kpelim yaa.

$K\grave{a}$   $\acute{o}$   $b\grave{a}'$   $n\acute{e}$   $\acute{o}$   $m\grave{a}$   $p\bar{u}$   $b\grave{a}\eta$   $y\acute{e}$   $\acute{o}$   $k\grave{p}\grave{e}l\grave{i}m$   $y\grave{a}a=\emptyset$ .

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 ellipit their subjects. They lack independency and tense marking, and are part of their main clauses for focus. The main clause may be semantically subordinate.

Clauses with **=n̄** or **yà'** after the subject are nominalised. They have their own tense-marking. Being nominalised, they are coordinated with **nē**, not **kà**:

On ka' sida sɔba, **nɛ** on tɔm tɔmbɛ'ed sieba la zug, o na kpi.

Ón k̄ā' sídà sɔb̄ā, n̄ē ón tòm tòm-bè'ed-sīb̄ā lā zúg,

3AN:NZ NEG.be truth Ø.AN=NEG, with 3AN:NZ work work-bad-INDF.PL ART ON,

ò n̄à 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; non-nominalised subordinate clauses are always subordinate to the immediately preceding clause.

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug

bán mī' yē biig lā kpí nē lā zúg

3PL:NZ know that child:SG ART die FOC ART ON

"because they knew the child was dead" (Lk 8:53)

M p̄v b̄ɔɔd [ye f̄v ti yel b̄ɛɔg daar [ye f̄vɛ k̄e [ka mam Abram lieb b̄vmm̄ɔra.]]]

M̄ p̄v b̄ɔɔd yé f̄v tí yèl b̄ɛɔg dāar yē

1SG NEG want that 2SG once say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that

f̄vñ̄\_ø k̄é k̄à mām Abram līəb b̄vñ-mórā=ø.

2SG 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)

A clause normally requires a subject NP. Impersonal constructions use **lì**:

Lì t̄òl.

3IN be.hot.

"It [weather] is hot."

Lì à̄n s̄úḡā.

3IN be well.

"Things are good."

Lì n̄àr k̄à f̄v k̄ūl.

3IN must and 2SG go.home.

"It's necessary for you to go home."

Lì may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'ane alaa, m naan ku yeline ya  
*Yà' k̄ā'a=ní\_àláa=∅, m̄ nāan kú yēlī=ní=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'isige* "not know" appears without a subject in the meaning "unbeknownst."

Subject pronouns are always ellipted after catenating *n*. Except in content clauses, they are regularly ellipted after *kà* when coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause; M spreading then follows *kà*. Conversations may be reported *Kà ò yél ... kà ò yél ...*, each *ò* marking a switch of speaker. The implication of subject change can override gender agreement (which is no longer robust) even in the face of semantic inappropriateness:

*Pṽā' lā dá' dāká kà kēṅ Bók.*  
 Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and go Bawku.  
 "The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." WK

but *Pṽā' lā dá' dāká kà ò kēṅ Bók.*  
 Woman:SG ART buy box:SG and 3AN go Bawku.  
 "The woman bought a box and **it** went to Bawku." WK

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wòm nē'εṅa la ka sin.  
*Bán wòm nē'εṅā 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=∅?* "[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", *kūv* "or", *bēε* "or"; here *kūv* and *bēε* are synonymous. With *lèε* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English *zero*.

**Clause adjuncts** precede the subject position. They appear only in main and content clauses, although the preposition *wōv* "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 *àsée* is not subordinate in

M kv basif ka fv keŋε aσεε ka fv niŋi m zug bareka.

Ḿ kú bāsí=f kà fù kēŋé=∅ àsée kà fù níŋì\_ḿ zūg bār̀kà.

1SG NEG.IRR leave=2SG and 2SG go=NEG unless and 2SG do 1SG head:SG blessing.

"I will not let you go unless you bless me." (Gn 32:26)

Linker adjuncts do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>kūv</i>	"or"	<i>bēε</i>	"or"
<i>dìn/lìn zúgō</i>	"therefore"	<i>àlá zùgō</i>	"thus"
<i>bō zúgō</i>	"because"		

*Bō zúgō* may also appear *after* an absolute clause, like *zūgō* ' alone.

Prelinker adjuncts precede any linkers.

<i>àmáa</i>	"but"	<i>àsée</i>	"unless"
<i>àlá zùg</i>	"thus"		

Wina'am daa pu gaŋi ti ye ti tòm dian'ad tōuma, amaa **ye** ti be nyain.

Wínà'am dāa pū gāŋí=tī yé tì tòm dīā'ad tōumāa=∅,

God TNS NEG choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

*àmáa yé tì bé nyāe.*

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 yeł ...

*Kà sīebā lá'o=∅. Àmáa kà sīebā yél ...*

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, àséε is found before NPs as "except":

Sɔ' kae an sɔ'ʊm aσεε Wina'am gullim.

Sɔ' k̄ā'e\_ ∅ áη s'ú'm=∅ àséε Wínà'am gúllimm.

INDF.AN NEG.EXIST CAT be goodness=NEG unless God only.

"No-one is good except God alone." (Mk 10:18)

Postlinker adjuncts follow any clause-linker particle or other clause adjunct but precede all other clause constituents, including preposed elements:

Amaa **on sadigim kpi la**, bɔ ka m lem lood nɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ón sādīgīm kpí lā, bó kà m̀ lém lōɔd nōɔr yá'asè=∅?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Sm 12:23)

Some constituents always occur as postlinker adjuncts: *yà'*-clauses "if/when ..."  
 §12.1.3, *sādīgīm*-clauses §12.3.1, *bēogó* "tomorrow" and *dāa-sí'ərē* "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 nyá'aη* "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: \**Mōɔgú=n mām bé* was corrected by WK to

Mōɔgú=n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."

Grass:SG=LOC and 1SG 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 zúgɔ*, because *kà dìn/lìn zúg* is usually *followed* by *kà*.

*Bō zúg* without *-ɔ* appears in KB only as preposed *bō zúg kà ..?* "why?":

Bɔzug ka li aan ala? "Why is it so?" (Hg 1:9)

Bō zúg kà lì áaη\_àlá=∅?

What on and 3IN be thus=CQ?

### 12.1.1 Interrogative

Content questions (except those with *lia* §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-*nĒ'* 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 *bō zúg*, "why?" and for *bō* when used for "why?"

F̀̀ b̀̀od b̀̀=ø? 2SG want what=CQ?	"What do you want?"
F̀̀ b̀̀od línè=ø? 2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?	"Which do you want?"
Dā̀y lā̀ n̄́yè àn'̀onè=ø? Man:SG ART see who=CQ?	"Whom has the man seen?"
B̀̀o maale? B̀̀o ø máalè=ø? What CAT make=CQ?	"What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)
Àn'̀onì̀ø n̄́yè bíigà=ø? Who CAT see child:SG=CQ?	"Who has seen a child?"
Àn'̀on bíigì̀ø n̄́wà=ø? Who child:SG CAT this=CQ?	"Whose child is this?"
Àn'̀on kà dā̀y lā̀ n̄́yéε=ø? Who and man:SG ART see=CQ?	"Whom has the man seen?"
B̀̀ kà f̀̀ kúmmà=ø? What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?	"Why are you crying?"

Polar questions are of two types. One is exactly like a statement but ending in a lf showing final vowel lengthening and tone changes imposed by the polar-question clitic. *NĒ'* appears as in statements. Questions of this type expect agreement.

Dā̀y lā̀ n̄́yè bíigàa=ø? Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?	"Has the man seen a child?"
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<p>Ṃ á nē dáùv=ø? 1SG be FOC man:SG=PQ?</p>	"Am I a man?"
<p>Bà kùd nē búvèè=ø? 3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?</p>	"Are they killing goats?"
<p>Fù pū wúmmàa=ø=ø? 2SG NEG hear:IPFV=NEG=PQ?</p>	"Don't you understand?" (expects <i>ēē</i> , here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either *béè* "or" (expecting disagreement) or *kúv* "or" (expecting agreement):

<p>Dāu lā nyé bīg kúv=ø? Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?</p>	"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)
<p>Dāu lā nyé bīg béè=ø? Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?</p>	"Has the man seen a child?" (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

	<p>Fù gós bīg lā. 2SG look child:SG ART.</p>	"You (sg) have looked at the child."
	<p>Yà gós bīg lā. 2PL look child:SG ART.</p>	"You (pl) have looked at the child."
but	<p>Gòsìm bīg lā! Look:IMP child:SG ART!</p>	"Look (sg) at the child!"
	<p>Gòsìmī=ø bīg lā! Look:IMP=2PL child:SG ART!</p>	"Look (pl) at the child!"
	<p>Dā gōs bīg lāa=ø! NEG.IMP look child:SG ART=NEG!</p>	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
	<p>Dā gōsī=ø bīg lāa=ø! NEG.IMP look=2PL child:SG ART=NEG!</p>	"Don't (pl) look down!"

Dā gōsē=∅! "Don't (sg) look."  
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Dā gōsī=yá=∅! "Don't (pl) look."  
NEG.IMP look=2PL=NEG!

2sg/2pl subject pronouns are not changed after postlinker adjuncts, or in direct commands within content clauses:

Fù ya'a mōr pu'a, fūn da mōd ye fū bas oo.  
Fù yá' mōr pūā', fūn dā mōd yé fù básō=o=∅.  
2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=NEG.  
"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

kà sīák yé fù tìkìm nū'ug "and agreed that you sign" (Dn 6:7)  
and agree that 2SG press:IMP hand:SG

Some speakers use =ya after *all* imperatives with pl subjects:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsīmī=∅ tēḡī=n. "He said to them: Look down!"  
3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PL down.

Kēmī=∅ nā n gōsī=∅! "Come (pl) and look!"  
Come:IMP=2PL hither CAT look=2PL!  
(WK Kēmī nā n gōs!)

Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed subject pronoun occasionally end in a *lf* like that preceding a negative clitic:

Gòsīmī=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.

Fù yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà fù nyētá=∅?  
2SG if look here, what and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?  
"If you look here, what do you see?" SB

*Yà'*-clauses cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause:

Ka ligidi la ya'a pò'og, m ya'a ti leb na, m na yooƿ.

Kà ligidī lā yá' pò'og, m̄ yá' tì lèb nā, m̄ ná yóo=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):

Fu ya'a m̄r pu'a, f̄n da m̄od ye fu bas oo.

Fù yá' m̄r p̄ā', f̄n dā m̄od yé fù básō=o=ø.

2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=NEG.

"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

Yà'-clauses can appear clause-finally because of dislocation due to weight:

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaŋaa.

Dìn-zúg lì nāan áŋ s̄'m b̄a yá' p̄ d̄'a=n d̄áŋ-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:

Fu ya'a na d̄ollimi keŋ, m na keŋ.

Fù yá' n̄a d̄ollí=m̄\_ ø kēŋ, m̄ ná kēŋ.

2SG if IRR go.with=1SG CAT go, 1SG IRR go.

"If you will go with me, I will go." (Jgs 4:8)

M ya'a p̄v keŋε, S̄ŋid la k̄v k̄εn ya ni naa.

M̄ yá' p̄v k̄εŋé=ø, s̄ŋīd lā k̄v k̄εŋ\_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* (see below) the sense is contrary-to-fact. It can attach to any verb form except imperatives. The =n in a first VP is usually repeated in following catenated clauses. Most often, =n appears in *yà'*-clauses, but it can occur elsewhere:

Man bɔɔdin nɛ yanamɛ naan aan ma'asiga bɛɛ yanamɛ naan aan tɔɔliga.

Mān bɔɔdī=*n* yē yānāmì nāan âa=*n* mā'asígā bɛɛ

1SG want=DP that 2PL:NZ then be=DP coldly or

yānāmì nāan âa=*n* tɔɔlígā.

2PL:NZ then be=DP hotly.

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." (Rv 3:15)

The tense-slot adjunct *nāan* "in that case, it being so" is distinct from *nyāan* "next, then" (from *nyá'aŋa* "behind"), but before 2016 *nyāan* often appears as *nāan*:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan KB] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'is mán nóɔr àtán' kà nō-dâɔg nyāan kās nóɔr àyí'.

2SG IRR deny 1SG time:SG three and cock:SG next cry time:SG 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 NT *nāan* in subordinate clauses; modal *nāan* is mostly seen in conditionals; after *kà* elsewhere, *nāan* without *=n* often represents *nyāan*.

*Nāan* without *=n* is often effectively equivalent to *yà'* "if/when."

Li an sɔm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yɛla gaad ...

Lì àŋ sóm yē dāy yīnní nāan kpí njdīb lā yéla\_ø gàad ...

3IN be good that man:SG one then die person:PL ART about CAT pass ...

"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." (Jn 11:50)

Noŋir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòŋìr lém ká'e\_ø gáad nídí=ø nāan kpí ò zùà-nàm zúgō=ø.

Love again NEG.exist CAT pass person:SG=NZ then die 3AN friend-PL on=NEG.

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." (Jn 15:13 NT2)

*Nāan* with *=n* has a contrary-to-fact sense, as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaŋin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan záŋí=*n*\_m̀ ligídí n sū'a=*n* bánkì 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.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgúlí=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 pu vu'ug kumine, alaa ti labasun la moolug la ane zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà p̄v̄'ug k̄mī=né=∅, àláa\_tì làbà-sùn  
 And Christ if TNS NEG come.alive death=LOC=NEG, thus 1PL news-good:SG  
 lā moolug lā á nē zāalím.

ART proclamation ART be FOC emptiness.

"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." (1 Cor 15:14)

Nid ya'a tum tuma, o di'ed yod.

Nīd yá' t̄m̄ t̄m̄ā, ò dì'əd yōd.

Person:SG if work:IPFV work, 3AN receive:IPFV pay.

"If a person works, he gets pay." (Rom 4:4)

Bēog ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.

Bēog yá' n̄e, fù ná w̄m̄ ò p̄àn'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 zuluḡ na paaen o salabir.

Wīef yá' sīgí=n l̄i n̄i, l̄i z̄ul̄uḡ ná p̄aa=n ò s̄al̄ab̄ir.

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 zuluḡ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niḡbiḡ nii, lin ku nyaḡin

keen ka o ka' niḡbiḡ nii.

Nób̄ir yá' ȳèl̄i=n ȳē, ón p̄v̄ áḡ n̄u'ug lā z̄ug,

Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG be hand:SG ART on,

ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄iḡ n̄í=∅, l̄ín k̄ú n̄ȳāḡī=n ∅

3AN NEG.exist body:SG LOC=NEG, DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT

k̄éé=n k̄ā' ò k̄ā' n̄ín-gb̄iḡ n̄í=∅.

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 pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mɔrin taale.

Mān yá' pɔ kɛɛ=n nā\_ ∅ tú'así=ní=bā, bà nāan kú

1SG if NEG come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL, 3PL then NEG.IRR

mōrī=n tâallē=∅.

have=DP fault:SG=NEG.

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." (Jn 15:22)

M ya'a mɔrin sɔ'ɔgɔ m nu'ugin m naan kɔɔnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōrī=n sɔ'ɔgò\_ m̄ nú'ugī=n, m̄ nāan kɔɔ=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 vɔ'ɔsɔm zin'ig, Wina'am da ku lɛm pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'asɛ.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tìsī=ní=bā vɔ'ɔsím zīn'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give=DP=3PL resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm pīān' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē=∅.

again speak day-INDF.IN about again=NEG.

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of another day." (Heb 4:8)

Yà' nāan means "if only"; yà' pòn is "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keɲ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sīákì\_ ∅ kēɲ\_ ∅ nyēɛ=n

1SG master:SG ART if then agree CAT go CAT see=DP

nó-dī'əs lá=∅ bè Samaria lā!

linguist:SG ART=NZ exist Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kgs 5:3)

Li ya'a pɔn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pòn duà', sáam ná dī=lí.

3IN if already bear, stranger:PL IRR eat=3IN.

"Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." (Hos 8:7)

### 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.

Kùlìṅì\_ø lā. "That is a door."  
Door:SG CAT that.

Kùlìṅì\_ø wá nā. "This here is a door."  
Door:SG CAT this hither.

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

Ṽwāamīs\_ø ṅwá! "Monkeys!" (a passenger in my car,  
Monkey:PL CAT this! suddenly catching sight of some)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Anṵ'ṵn nwaa yisid nidib tṵṵmbe'edi basida?  
Ànṵ'ṵn\_ø ṅwáa\_ø yīsīd nīdīb tṵṵm-bē'edī\_ø básīdà=ø?  
Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?  
"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Yel bṵṵ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?  
Yēl-bṵṵ\_ø ṅwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa=tì=ø?  
Matter-what CAT this and God let and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?  
"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Gn 42:28)

They can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bṵṵ nwa? "What is this you are doing?" (Neh 2:19)  
Yà níṅìd bṵṵ\_ø ṅwá=ø?  
2PL do:IPFV what CAT this=CQ?

Fṵ maal bṵṵ la tis mam?  
Fṵ māl bṵṵ\_ø lā\_ø tīs mām=ø?  
2SG make what CAT that CAT give 1SG=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.

Fù 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 àwāḡ lā lía=ø?  
And 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:

M̄ diəmmā=ø,      bó kà fù kúə̀sìdà=ø?  
1SG parent.in.law:SG=VOC, what and 2SG sell:IPFV=CQ?  
"Madam, what are you selling?"

Ləm na, fən kanə an Sulam teḡ nida!  
Ləm nā, fōn-kánì=ø àḡ Sulam téḡ 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 **ḡwà** "this":

Pḡā' ḡwá!      "Woman!"  
Zōn ḡwá      "Fools!"

Some **particles** constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like **báp** "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like **tò** "OK", **ḡfá** "well done!" "Yes" is **ēḡḡ**; "No" is **áyì**. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question, so that if the question is negative, the usage differs from English:

Lì p̄ nā́é=ø=ø?      "Isn't it finished?"  
3IN NEG finish=NEG=PQ?

ēḡḡ.      "No."  
áyì.      "Yes."





Catenating *n* thus attaches a VP to the preceding *clause*. The catenated VP is itself a clause with an ellipited 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; Mooré *n*+verb constructions are also used in citation, as standalone answers, and as verb complements.

Mood and aspect are usually determined by the first VP, which carries the tense and polarity particles for all, but usually each VP repeats discontinuous-past =*n*, and while initial irrealis marking applies to the whole chain, a VP following an indicative may be marked as irrealis. Catenation behaves as a single unit for focus. It can be the *first* component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have "auxiliary" roles in catenation, preceding or following according to their own semantics. Furthermore, the order of pfv's must mirror event order.

### 12.2.1 With *n*

N-catenation may involve verbs with no specialised catenation roles. In such cases, main VP *n* ipfv VP expresses accompanying events:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud

Kà Nīn-sāal Bīig lā kēn nā\_ ø dīt kà nūud

And human:SG child:SG ART come:IPFV hither CAT eat:IPFV and drink:IPFV

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking" (Mt 11:19)

With pfv VP *n* main VP, the first VP expresses a prior event:

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá\_àyí' yé fū-píelà\_ ø zì'e bà sā'an.

And man:PL two dress shirt-white:PL CAT stand 3PL among.

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." (Acts 1:10)

Main VP *n* pfv irrealis/imperative VP may express purpose:

Amaa m p̄ m̄or antu'a zuḡu o yela na s̄obi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m̄ p̄ m̄or ántù'a zúgú\_ò yēlá\_ ø nà s̄obī\_ ø tís

But 1SG NEG have case:SG ON 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give

ná'-tītā'ar lāa=ø.

king-great:SG ART=NEG.

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kèm\_ø tí nyē dú'atà. "Go and see the doctor."  
Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pṽ kēen na tu'asini ba  
Mān yá' pṽ kēε=n nā\_ø tú'asī=ní=bā  
1SG 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*:

ka keṅ ... n ian'asid ka pian'ad n du'osid Wina'am yu'ur su'uṅa.  
kà kēṅ ... n iān'asíd kà piān'ad n dū'əsíd Wínà'am yô'ur sú'ṅā.  
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 meṅa.  
Sógià-sō' kā'e n tùm kà yōod ò mēṅá=ø.  
Soldier-INDFAN 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:

*Àṅya* "be something" precedes a *n*-catenation in clefting §13.3.

*Bè* "exist" + *ànínā* "there" + ipfv "be in the process of":

Ò bè ànínā n ṅwê'ed bīig lā.  
3AN exist there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.  
"He's currently beating the child."

*Dèṅ* "go/do first" (*m̀ dèṅī=f* "I've got there before you") is used for "previously."

*Dōlḡa'* "go with":

Bà dōllō=ø\_ø kēṅ Bók. "They've gone to Bawku with him."  
3PL go.with=3AN CAT go Bawku.

*Kēṅ* "come" and *kēṅ'* "go" are used as initiators:

M̀ kēṅì\_ø pīə nū'us. "I've gone and washed my hands."  
1SG GO CAT wash hand:PL.

Mī' "know": *nàm mī' n* + pfv "always have X-ed", *nàm zī' n* + pfv "never have X-ed":

Makir banε buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

*Mākír-bànì=∅ būudī pāadí=yā lā nám mī' ∅ pāe sīēbā mén.*

Testing-DEM.PL=NZ sort reach:IPFV=2PL ART still know CAT reach INDF.PL also.

"The kind of trials coming to you have ever come to others too." (1 Cor 10:13)

*Ṁ nám zī' ∅ nyē gbīgīmnē=∅.*

1SG still NEG.know CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

Mōr<sub>a</sub>' "have" means "bring" before motion verbs:

*Dābá\_àyópòḡ kà fù mōró=∅\_∅ kē nā.*

Day:PL seven and 2SG have=3AN CAT come hither.

"Bring her here in a week." WK

Nāan' "starting from ... do" takes a locative NP followed by a n-catenation:

Ka pu'a la da naane o buḡ la zugv sig la

*Kà puā' lá=∅ dà nāaní\_ò bùḡ lā zúgù\_∅ sīg lā*

And woman:SG ART=NZ TNS start.at 3AN donkey:SG ART on CAT descend ART

"When the woman had got off her donkey" (Jo 15:18)

Niḡ wēlá "do how?" with n-catenation is "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niḡ wala pṽ mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?

*Nīn-sāal biig nà niḡ wēlá\_∅ pṽ mōr taal Wínà'am tūēnnè=∅?*

Human:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG have fault:SG God before=CQ?

"How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" (Jb 25:4)

There is an impersonal variant with *kà*-catenation (see next section.)

Nyāḡ' "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

*Ṁ pṽ nyāḡī\_∅ záb nà'ab lāa=∅.*

1SG NEG prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

"I wasn't able to fight the chief."

As *nyāḡ*' expresses events, not states, the irrealis mood is used to express present ability or inability; main and auxiliary verbs agree in aspect.

M kú nyāñī\_ø záb nà'ab láa=ø.  
 1SG NEG.IRR prevail CAT fight chief:SG ART=NEG.  
 "I can't fight the chief."

wada line nyanjidi ket ka nidib vø  
 wādá lìnì=ø nyāñídì\_ø kèt kà nīdīb vø  
 law DEM.IN=NZ prevail:IPFV CAT let:IPFV and person:PL live  
 "a law which can make people live" (Gal 3:21)

Suā' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol bañidib la  
 Kà Nà'ab Herod suā'\_ø bùəl bāñīdīb lā  
 And king:SG Herod hide CAT call understander:PL ART  
 "Herod secretly called for the wise men" (Mt 2:7)

Tūñ'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 pañi na tun'e si'em  
 bà dāa tís kà lì zēmísì\_ø bà pāñì=ø nà tūñ'ə sī'em  
 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 kú tun'e su'a. "which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)  
 kà lì kú tūñ'ə\_ø sū'a=ø.  
 and 3IN NEG.IRR be.able CAT hide=NEG.

Ya na tun'e zin' teñin la ne ti.  
 Yà ná tūñ'ə\_ø zín'i tēñī=n lā né tì.  
 2PL IRR be.able CAT sit land:SG=LOC ART with 1PL.  
 "You can dwell in the land with us." (Gn 34:10)

Fù tun'e nyet si'ela? "Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)  
 Fù tūñ'ə\_ø nyēt sí'elàa=ø?  
 2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDF.IN=PQ?

O pū tun'e pian'ada. "He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)  
 Ò pū tūñ'ə\_ø piāñ'adá=ø.  
 3AN NEG be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaje ba meja.

bō zúgō bà kù tūṅ'ə\_ ø nyāṅí\_ bà mēṅá=ø.

because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT CONTROL 3PL self=NEG.

"because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5 NT2)

Zàṅ and nōk' "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M̄ nók sù'ugò\_ ø kjà nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."

1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

M̄ zāṅí\_ m̄ nú'ugò\_ ø sī'is dāká lā.

1SG take 1SG hand:SG CAT touch box:SG ART.

"I've touched the box with my hand."

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

Tì déṅì\_ ø tísò=ø lór.

1PL precede CAT give=3AN car.

"We've previously given him a car."

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba

"Peter began to tell them" (Acts 11:4)

Kà Pita pīṅ'il\_ ø pá'alì=bā

And Peter begin CAT teach=3PL

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en la'asug la sɔugin

Kà dàṽ-sō' dūe\_ ø zī'ən là'asòg lā sùgū=n

And man-INDF.AN rise CAT stand.up assembly:SG ART among

"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:

Fṽ sid nɔṅ mam gat bamaa?

Fṽ síd nòṅ 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.

Awini be.short CAT PASS:IPFV Abugri.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." SB



### 12.2.2 With *kà*

Certain subordinate *kà*-clauses clearly parallel *n*-catenation. They normally differ in subject or polarity from the preceding clause, while aspect and mood usually agree. Alternate forms with *yē* never occur.

*Kē* "let, leave off" with a *kà*-catenation means "let, cause that." The catenation subject cannot be the same as in the main clause (in Ti 2:7 *kēl ka fū mēŋ an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them" *fū* is a predependent.) The mood of the catenation matches the main clause, but imperative often replaces irrealis. After *kéε=n*, the *kà*-clause usually had =*n* in NT1, but this is no longer invariable.

Ka li anε wada la ket ka tũmbε'ed nyet paŋ.

*Kà* lì à né wādá lā\_ø kēt kà tũm-bē'ed nyēt páŋ.

And 3IN be FOC law ART CAT let:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which lets sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

Li da kε ka ba **pu** nyaŋi kuv o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pũ nyāŋī\_ø kúo=ø=ø.

3IN TNS let and 3PL NEG prevail CAT kill=3AN=NEG.

"This prevented him from being killed." (2 Kgs 11:2)

ye li kε ka ba **da** nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisũg laa.

yé lì ké kà bà dā nyē Kristo kúm dá-pũudīr námisũg 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)

dine **na** kε ka ba **da** kpi'ilim.

Dīnī\_ø ná ké kà bà dā kpī'ulímm=ø.

3IN CAT IRR let and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"which will stop them dying out." (Gn 6:20)

Imperative *kèl<sub>a</sub>* + *kà*-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

*Kèl* kà ò gōs tēŋī=*n*.

"Let him look down."

Let:IMP and 3AN look down.

*Dā* ké kà dàbīəm béε=ø!

"Don't be afraid."

NEG.IMP let and fear exist=NEG.

*Kèl*í=ø kà tì pũ'us Wínà'am.

"Let us praise God." (or *Kèl* kà ...)

Let:IMP=2PL and 1PL greet God.



*Kèl kà* is often ellipted informally; absent independency marking is then the only sign that the clause is a command:

*M̄ gōs nīf lā.*  
1SG look eye:SG ART.

"Let me look at the eye." (Overheard in clinic; no tone overlay on *gōs*)

*M̄ díḡunèè=∅?*  
1SG lie=PQ?

"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic; no independency imperative *-m<sub>a</sub>*)

*Mit* 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 tɔum sɔma nidib tuon ye ba gōs.

*Mit kà yà máalì yà tɔum-sùmà nīdīb tūən yé bà gōs.*  
NEG.IMP.let and 2PL make 2PL deed-good:PL person:PL front that 3PL look.

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they'll look." (Mt 6:1)

*X niḡ wēlá n ..?* "how can X ..?" has an impersonal variant using a dummy subject in the main clause and the effective subject in *kà*-catenation.

Li niḡ wala ka o an David yaaḡa?

*Lì niḡ wēlá kà ò áḡ David yāaḡà=∅?*

3IN do how and 3AN be David descendant:SG=CQ?

"How can he be David's descendant?" (Mt 22:45)

Where there is no change of subject, *n*-catenation is overwhelmingly more common, but a few cases of the personal type do appear with *kà*:

*M na niḡ wala ka nyē faangirè?*

"How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)

*M̄ ná niḡ wēlá kà nyē fāaḡírè=∅?*

1SG IRR do how and find salvation=CQ?

*Kà* usually replaces *n* when there is a change of polarity in catenation (but cf *Ya sieba be kpela kv kpil* "There are some of you here who will not die" Lk 9:27.)

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

*Kà dāy dāa zín'i Lystra ní kà pō tūḡ'ə ∅ kēnná=∅.*

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)

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 nyē dau ka o yū'ūr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyē dāu kà ò yū'ūr būen 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 anē ya taaba banē pū'ūsíd Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bánì=∅ pū'ūsíd Wínà'am

3IN be FOC 2PL fellow DEM.PL=NZ greet:IPFV God

kà lì nár kà yà kád sàriyà.

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:

Yēl bōō nwa ka Wina'am kē ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bōō ∅ n̄wá kà Wínà'am kē kà lì páa=tí=∅?

Matter-what CAT this and God let and 3IN arrive=1PL=CQ?

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" (Gn 42:28)

An adnominal *kà*-clause whose *subject* is the anchor is a predicative complement; after *nyē* the construction means "see as":

ka la'am maan gígìs ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

kà lâ'am mään gígìs kà bà wúm kà piān'ad.

and together make:IPFV dumb:PL and 3PL hear:IPFV and speak:IPFV.

"and even makes the dumb hear and speak." (Mk 7:37 NT1)

M̄ dāa nyē dāu lá kà ò án nā'ab.

1SG TNS see man:SG ART and 3AN be chief:SG.

"I saw the man as a chief." KT: not possible as "who was a chief"

M̄ dāa p̄ nyē dāu lá kà ò án ná'abā=∅.

1SG TNS NEG see man:SG ART and 3AN be chief:SG=NEG.

"I didn't see the man as a chief." KT

### 12.3 Nominalised with =̀̀

Clauses can be nominalised by =̀̀ §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, creating *relative* clauses.

Tense marking is independent, but relative to any narrative timeline. Irrealis mood replaces imperative:

Yaname na m̄r sam si'a ane ye ya n̄ŋ taaba.

Yānámì nà m̄r sām-sí'a á nē yé yà n̄ŋ tāabā.

2PL:NZ IRR have debt-INDF.IN be FOC that 2PL love each.other.

"The debt which you are to have is to love each other." (Rom 13:8)

Nominalised clauses cannot contain focus particles, but relative clause heads are often preposed with *kà*; no =̀̀ then appears after the subject.

These clauses take no postdependents except *lā'*, which is omitted after another *lā'*. Final negative clitics are dropped unless the clause lacks *lā'* and is itself clause-final. Clause-internal *nā'* "hither", *sà* "hence" may precede or follow the *lā'*.

#### 12.3.1 Absolute

Clauses nominalised with =̀̀ without pronouns marking them as relative clauses are absolute clauses, typically used as adjuncts of time or circumstance. They take *lā'* when they have past reference.

Ńn dāa n̄yēt súŋā, ́n dāa áŋ bí-līa lāa=ø?

3AN TNS see:IPFV well, 3AN:NZ TNS be baby:SG ART=PQ?

"Did she see well when she was a baby?"

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 match the main clause, but main clause markers may be omitted when the absolute clause precedes. Pfv in the absolute clause implies a prior event, ipfv simultaneous:

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeŋi ba ...

"As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."

Kà bán dìt lā, Yesu yéŋì=bā ... (Mt 26:21)

And 3PL:NZ eat:IPFV ART, JESUS say=3PL ...

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ

Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máŋāk níe ò mēŋ

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 subjects, or predicative or information-expressing complements:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti ȳɛla la k̄ɛ ka ti baŋ n̄ɔŋilim an si'em.

Kristo=∅ dà kp̄ii\_tì ȳɛlá lā k̄ɛ kà tì báŋ n̄ɔŋìlím=∅ àŋ 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)

Dine k̄ɛ ka m a saalbiis zua la anɛ

mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka mɛ pu diti ba ki la.

Dìnì=∅ k̄ɛ kà m àŋ s̄aal-b̄iis zuá lā á n̄ɛ mán

DEM.SG=NZ let and 1SG be human:PL friend:SG ART be FOC 1SG:NZ

p̄w s̄aŋ'amìdí\_bà lá'ad kà m̄ɛ p̄w dítí\_bà kī lāa=∅.

NEG spoil:IPFV 3PL goods:PL and also NEG eat:IPFV 3PL millet ART=NEG.

"What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property or eating their millet." BN p20

Ka m gat ka nye f̄un digi f̄u ziimin la bilim.

Kà m̄ gát kà nȳɛ f̄ún d̄ígí\_f̄ù z̄iimí=n lā\_∅ bílím.

And 1SG pass:IPFV and see 2SG:NZ lie 2SG blood=LOC ART CAT roll.

"I was passing and saw you(r) rolling in your blood." (Ez 16:6)

They occur before z̄ūḡo /b̄ō z̄úḡō "because of", and after là'am n̄ɛ "although":

Ban m̄ɔr d̄ɛŋ la zug, ba k̄u di'e baa.

Bán m̄ɔr d̄ɛŋ lā z̄úg, bà k̄ù dí'ə=b̄áa=∅.

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)

La'am n̄ɛ on da zan'as la

"Although he refused" (Gn 39:10)

Là'am n̄ɛ ón dà z̄àŋ'as lā

Together with 3AN:NZ TNS refuse ART

They appear as picture captions, and before ȳɛlá "about" in section headings:

Ban meed ȳir

"A house being built"

Bán m̄èed ȳir

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

Joram n di Israel na'am la yela "Joram becomes king of Israel" (2Kgs 3)  
 Joram=**̀̀** d̀ Israel n̄a'am l̄a yélà  
 Joram=NZ eat Israel kingship ART about

For absolute clauses with the tense-slot adjunct **nāan** see §12.1.3. Tense-slot adjunct **sāduḡim** "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' sādḡim aṅ Naazir níd, ɔ̄n míd kà ò dí ...  
 3AN if since be Nazirite person:SG, 3AN 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 lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?  
 Àmáa ɔ̄n sādḡim kpí lā, bó kà m̄ lém lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asè=ɔ̄?  
 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 **=̀̀** and internally headed by a pronoun or by a cif 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 **=̀̀** 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 in many texts, head-marking pronouns are only followed by **=̀̀** if they are relative clause subjects, but in KB **=̀̀** is introduced after *all* head-marking demonstratives, including subject predependents and preposed heads:

fɔ bikanɛ san'ami fɔ la'ad nɛ pu'agɔɔnda la  
 f̀̀ b̀̀-k̀̀ǹ̀=ɔ̄ s̄aṅ'am̀̀ f̀̀ l̄a'ad n̄ɛ p̄uá'-ḡɔɔṅd̄a l̄a  
 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 vɔɛ la "the woman whose child was alive"  
 p̄uá'-k̀̀ǹ̀=ɔ̄ b̄iigí=ɔ̄ v̄ɔɛ l̄a (1 Kgs 3:26)  
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG=NZ live ART

Demonstratives are relatives only if short and part of the initial constituent; non-relative indefinites may appear in demonstrative-headed relative clauses, or precede relative indefinites. Bolded pronouns are thus not relatives in

on vɔ'ʊg ninkan kumin la zug

ón vɔ'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 tɔm tɔmnyalima gaad dau kaŋa tɔm si'el laa?

ò nà tɔm tɔm-nyālímá\_ ø gàad dàu-kàŋá=ø tɔm sī'el lāa=ø?

3AN IRR work work-marvellous: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 onε gaad si'el wɔsa la

Wínà'am ónì=ø gàad sī'el wɔsā lā

God DEM.AN=NZ pass INDF.IN all ART

"God who surpasses everything." (Lk 1:35)

wɔɔ baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la

wɔɔ bāŋí=ø gbāŋ'ad sī'el 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:

fɔn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la

"the first fish you catch" (Mt 17:27)

fún gbāŋ'e zīŋ-sí'a yīigá lā

2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

but Paul n sob gbaun yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul=n sōb gbáun yīigá dàan n tìs Korint díim lā\_ø n̄wá.

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.

Gbaun kane ka ba da sobi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàun-kàni=ø kà bà dá sōbī\_ø tìsì=bā lā\_ø n̄wá.

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)

bàn kà nà'ab lā záb lā "those whom the chief fought" WK  
 DEM.PL and chief:SG ART fight ART

yēltōd ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la  
 yēl-tōd àyópòε bání=∅ kà màlīāk-námá\_ àyópòε mōr lā  
 matter-bitter:PL seven DEM.PL=NZ and angel-PL seven have ART  
 "the seven plagues which the seven angels have" (Rv 15:8)

niṅkanε [NT2 niṅkan] ka ba gban'e o la  
 nīn-kání=∅ kà bà gbán'o=∅ lā  
 person-DEM.SG=NZ and 3PL seize=3AN ART  
 "a person whom they have seized" (Acts 25:16)

m antu'a line ka ba mōr na "the charge they bring against me"  
 m̄ àntù'a-lìní=∅ kà bà mōr nā (Acts 25:11)  
 1SG case-DEM.IN=NZ and 3PL have hither

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vū'vug o kumin la  
 pūà'-kání=∅ bíig kà Elasia dá vū'vug kūmī=n lā  
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG and Elisha TNS revive death=LOC ART  
 "the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" (2 Kgs 8:5)

bikanε [NT2 biig kan] pūvug ka o mōr la  
 bì-kání=∅ pūvug kà ò mōr lā  
 child-DEM.SG=NZ belly:SG and 3AN have ART  
 "the child which she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

line [NT2 lin] ka Kristo bōd ye ti pian' la  
 lìnì=∅ kà Kristo bōd yé tì pīān' lā  
 DEM.IN=NZ and Christ want that 1PL speak ART  
 "what Christ wishes us to say" (2 Cor 12:19)

one ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe "one they have given much to" (Lk 12:48)  
 òní=∅ kà bà tísò=∅ kà lì zú'e  
 DEM.AN=NZ and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN abound

Bōrā-sō' dāa bé ànínā, òn kà mān nē òn dāa túm lā.  
 Man-INDF.AN TNS exist there, DEM.AN and 1SG with 3AN 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 tum so' la ku gaad one tum o la.

Kà b́án tùm s̄o' lā kú gāad ónì=∅ tùmò=∅ lāa=∅.

And 3PL:NZ send INDF.AN ART NEG.IRR pass DEM.AN=NZ send=3AN ART=NEG.

"One who was sent does not surpass the one who sent him." (Jn 13:16)

M na tisif fun bood si'el wusa.

"I will give you anything you want."

M̄ ná t̄is̄ī=f fún b̀òòd s̄ī'èl w̄s̄ā. (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 *s̄o'* in NT2; 75/130 of *s̄ī'èl<sub>a</sub>* in NT2 Gospels, versus 33 abstract, 22 locative.)

David da tum so' ye o bu'osi ban pu'a la an so'.

David dá tùm s̄o' yé ò b̄ū'əs̄ī\_∅ b́án p̄ū́ā' lá=∅ àṅ s̄o'.

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)

Gosim ye fu na ban la'abama an so' bunnεε?

Gòsìṃ yé fù ná b́án lá'-b̀àmmá=∅ àṅ s̄o' búnnèε=∅?

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 gan sieba la.

"I know those whom I have chosen."

M̄ mí' mán ǵán s̄īəbā lā.

(Jn 13:18)

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

Ya ban man niṅ si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà b́án mán nìṅ s̄ī'èl lā gb́innèε=∅?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.IN ART meaning:SG=CQ?

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" (Jn 13:12)

Ón yèl s̄ī'èl lā k̄ā' sídāa=∅.

"What he says is not true" SB

3AN:NZ say INDF.IN ART NEG.be truth=NEG.

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

T̄iig wélà\_∅ b̀ìḡis̄ìd lín àṅ tí-s̄ī'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 tūmi m Ba' zi'el nōor sō' yela la tisi ya.

Ḿ ná tūmí\_ḿ Bá'=∅ zì'əl nōor sō' yélà\_∅ tísì=yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG=NZ stand mouth:SG INDFAN about CAT give=2PL.

"I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you." (Lk 24:49)

The manner-pronoun *sī'əm* "somehow" commonly heads relative clauses, often representing abstract "what." After such clauses *lā'* marks old information as usual:

Ḿ mí' mán nà nīḡ sī'əm.

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

"I know what to do."

Ḿ mí' mán nà nīḡ sī'əm lā.

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how ART.

"I know what I'm to do." (WK: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yēlī=f fún nà nīḡ sī'əm.

3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do how.

"They'll tell you what to do."

Bà yèlō=∅ bán nīḡ sī'əm lā.

3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do how ART.

"They told him what they'd done."

ón bōòd sī'əm

3AN:NZ want how

"as he may wish"

lín àḡ sī'əm lā

3IN:NZ be how ART

"as things are"

*Gàad* "pass, surpass" is used with a *sī'əm* clause for comparing actions:

Mam tūm bēdegv gaad ban tūm si'em la.

Mām tūm bēdegv\_∅ gāad bán tūm sī'əm lā.

1SG work much CAT pass 3PL:NZ work how ART.

"I've worked much harder than they have." (2 Cor 11:23)

*Pà'al* "teach, inform" takes a *sī'əm*-clause object *without lā*:

Bà pà'alō=∅ bán nīḡ sī'əm.

3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do how.

"They told him what they'd done."

*Gbāḡ'e'* "catch" with a *sī'əm* clause means "decide":

Ì gbáñ'e mán nà nīṅ sī'əm. "I've decided what to do."  
 1SG seize 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

Sī'əm clauses occur often as objects of wū "like", wēn<sub>na</sub>' "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wū zīngba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.  
 kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mán wū zīm-gbāñ'adìbì=∅  
 and 2PL IRR let and person:PL go.with 1SG like fisherman:PL=NZ  
 gbāñ'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.  
 catch:IPFV fish:PL how ART.  
 "you will make people follow me like fishermen catch fish." (Mt 4:19)

Là'am nē or hālí nē with a sī'əm clause means "although."

Specific complement NPs otherwise rarely remain *in situ*, but examples occur:

Fūn bōd ye fu ku dau sō' la ya'a kpi  
 Fún bòd yé fù kù dáu-sō' lā yá' kpi  
 2SG:NZ want that 2SG kill man-INDEF.AN ART if die  
 "If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" (2 Sm 17:3)

Kem tū'us Samaria na'abi tūm ninsieba la na  
 Kēm ∅ tū'us Samaria ná'abí=∅ tūm nīn-síəbà lā nā  
 Go:IMP CAT meet Samaria king:SG=NZ send person-INDEF.PL ART hither  
 "Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria" (2 Kgs 1:3)

Nannanna, yaname daa sōb gbauṅ si'a la ka m sōbidi lēbisidi ya.  
 Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sōb gbáũṅ-sī'a lá kà m sōbìdì ∅ lēbìsìdì=yá.  
 Now, 2PL:NZ TNS write letter-INDEF.IN ART and 1SG write:IPFV CAT reply:IPFV=2PL.  
 "Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." (1 Cor 7:1)

Adjuncts containing/comprising the head usually remain *in situ*; preposing is commonest with locatives. Sī'əla is often "where." Most cifs before indefinite relatives express time or place (42/56 of those with sī'a in NT2.) Locative =n/nī' does not follow relative heads, but may follow whole clauses expressing rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la "the house where I, Paul, am"  
 yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā (Rom 16:23 NT1)  
 house-DEM.SG and 1SG Paul exist ART

ka mōri fū keŋ zin'ikane ka fū pū bōoda.

kà mōrí=fù\_ø kēŋ zín'-kànì=ø kà fù pū bōódā=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'el hālì\_ø tì pāe ón lùt sī'el 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 Zugsoba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.

Ì Zūg-sóbā=ø, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-sī'a lāa=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 ón bè dó-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 pūn bē.

Abraham=ø dà nàm kā'ẹ sān-sī'a lā kà mǎn pún bè.

Abraham=NZ TNS still NEG.exist time-INDF.IN ART and 1SG already exist.

"Before Abraham existed, I already existed." (Jn 8:58)

Relative clauses are restrictive. However, relative clauses with uncompounded demonstratives as heads are frequently used as **appositives**, and the construction may then be interpreted as non-restrictive:

o sid one da be ne o la

ò sīd ónì=ø dà bè 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 cifs at all:

Wina'am nid one ki'is Zugsob pian'ad la

Wínà'am níd ònì=ø kī'is Zūg-sób piàn'ad lā

God person:SG DEM.AN=NZ deny Lord word ART

"the man of God who refused the Lord's word" (1 Kgs 13:26)

nimbane yuda sōb Pēbil la gbaun̄un line an nyōvupaal dim gbaun̄ la  
 n̄in-bánì=∅ yūdá=∅ sōb Pē'-bíl lā gbáun̄ū=n línì=∅  
 person-DEM.PL=NZ name:PL=NZ write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC DEM.IN=NZ  
 àn̄ nyó-v̄-pâal díim gbáun̄ lā  
 be life-new:SG ∅.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 \**ni*, 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 ane ye fu ku maali ti be'ede [...], ka ye fu yim ne sumbugusum la.  
 kà l̄in á nē yé fù kù māalī=tí bē'edī\_∅ [...],  
 and 3IN be FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make=1PL bad CAT  
 kà yé fù yím nē sūn̄-búgusim̄ 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)

Ṁ bōod yē dāu lā kēn̄ dā'a=n, kà puā' lā dōg dīub.  
 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 *kù* can generally be taken as content clauses (but cf *O niη ne'εηa ye nid kv nyaηi dv'vs o meη Wina'am tuonne* "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.) The sense may be attenuated to a mere "until." *Kà* is uncommon as linker: KB has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 *nar ka*.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like *nār<sub>a</sub>'* "be needful" (personally "have to"), *mōr sūer* "be allowed to", *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like *bōod<sub>a</sub>* "want", *gūr<sub>a</sub>'* "watch for."

- Lì nàr yé/kà fù kùl. "You must go home."  
 3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.
- Fù pū nār yé fù kùlē=∅. "You're not allowed to go home."  
 2SG NEG must that 2SG go.home=NEG. (negative raising)
- babayi' la nar ye ba kuvu ba "both of them must be killed" (Lv 20:12)  
 bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv= bā  
 3PL two ART must that 3PL kill=3PL
- Yà mór sūer yé yà kùl. "You may go home."  
 2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.
- Sūer bé yé/kà tì kùl. "We may go home."  
 Way:SG exist that/and 1PL go.home.
- Lì à nē tīlās yé m kùl. "I must go home."  
 3IN be FOC necessity that 1SG go.home.
- M̄ pū bōod yé ò kùlē=∅. "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 yē puā' lā duá' (Rv 12:4)  
 watch that woman:SG ART bear
- Purpose-clause adjuncts:
- Ò vòl tūm kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.  
 3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.  
 "She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK
- M maal nwa' nē ye m pa'ali ya "I have done this to teach you" (Jn 13:15)  
 M̄ māl nwá nē yé m pá'alì=yā  
 1SG make this FOC that 1SG teach=2PL
- Nē'ēḡa niḡne ye ti da ti'e ti meḡ panga.  
 Nē'ēḡā níḡ nē yé tì dā tí'e tì mēḡ páḡā=∅.  
 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)



Wada la kv yel nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wādá lā kú yēl nīd yé ò dā níŋ bàmmáa=∅.

Law ART NEG.IRR say person:SG that 3AN NEG.IMP do 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:

[M yél yé] ò gòsìm tēŋī=n. " [I said] she should look down."

[M tēŋ'es kà] tì pú'usìm Wínà'am. " [I think] we should praise God."

Zàŋ'as "refuse" is followed by a content clause with negative polarity:

ka o zan'as ye ba kv keŋe. "and he refused to let them go." (Ex 9:7)

kà ò zāŋ'as yé bà kú kēŋé=∅.

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. If contrastive 3rd person pronouns appear, they are consistently logophoric; in subject roles, they are often used even where ambiguity is unlikely:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir, ka po'a la ye **on** pu lem bood ye o sid la di po'a ya'ase.

Dāu dá bè ∅ mōrī ò pūà'-yīmmír, kà pūā' lā yē

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG and wife:SG ART that

ōn pū lém bōōd yé ò sīd lā dí pūā' yá'asē=∅.

3AN NEG again want that 3AN husband:SG ART take wife:SG again=NEG.

"There was a man who had one wife. The wife said that she did not want her husband to take another wife." KS p26

ka Festus tans Paul ye **o** geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye **on** pu geem.

kà Festus táŋs Paul yé ò gēēŋm nē ... kà Paul lēbìs

and Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē ōn pū gēēŋmm=∅.

that 3AN NEG go.mad=NEG.

"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." (Acts 26:24-25 NT1)

However, in later Bible versions reported speech consistently uses the personal pronouns of the original utterance, as in direct speech.

Regardless of the pronoun strategy used, longer passages of reported speech insert a resumptive *yē* in roughly every third clause, after any prelinker adjuncts but before clause-linker *kà*; *yē* may also be placed between a postlinker adjunct or a vocative and the subject.

**Ye** ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

*Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòòd yé ò kpélìm sārīgá nì.*

That and Paul say that 3AN want that 3AN remain prison:SG LOC.

"But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison." (Acts 25:21 NT1)

Amaa **ye** ka on yeli ba ...

"But he had said to them ..."

*Àmáa yé kà òn yéì=bā ...*

(Acts 25:16 NT1)

But that and 3AN say=3PL ...

Ka nanana **ye** o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin

*Kà nānná-nā yé ò niŋī=bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pìèlìm piān'ad lā nú'usī=n*

And now that 3AN do=3PL God with 3AN holiness 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 m wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yī áràzána ní nā yē,*

And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that

*ò nīdìbá=∅, yé bà yìmī=∅ tēŋ lā ní nā.*

3AN person:PL=VOC, that 3PL emerge:IMP=2PL 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 *yèl* is frequently ellipted before *yē*:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

*Bà yē bālērūg, kà fù yē zūg-máuk.*

3PL that ugly:SG, and 2SG that head-crumpled:SG.

"They say 'ugly' and you say 'squashedhead.'"

(Six of one, half a dozen of the other.) KS p43



## 13 Information packaging

### 13.1 Focus

Focus marks addressee-new information (CGEL p1370), contrast, or both; the prototypical example of new information is that given in response to a content 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:

Wáafù̀ ∅ dúmō=∅.  
Snake:SG CAT bite=3AN.

"A snake has bitten him." WK  
("What's happened?")

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always *n*-focused:

Ànó'òní̀ ∅ káburídà=∅?  
Who CAT ask.entry:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is asking permission to enter?"

As clauses containing interrogative pronouns cannot contain focus-*nĒ'*, this is most readily explained by taking interrogative pronouns as intrinsically focused, though this is only syntactically manifested when they are subjects.

In VP focusing the particle *nĒ'* either precedes focused VP constituents, or follows entire focused VPs. Focus on whole VPs is necessarily contrastive, because non-contrastive focus on the VP is the default. *NĒ'* occurs at most once in a clause. It is distinguishable from *nĒ* "with" in being limited to particular clause types, never being followed by bound pronouns, and potentially occurring without a following NP.

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.

*NĒ'* cannot appear in *kà*-catenated clauses, but is permitted after catenating *n*:

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis **ne** Wina'am Siig Suŋ.

Fù p̄ má' n t̄is n̄in-sáalā=∅, à máa fù má'

2SG NEG lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie

n t̄is n̄ē Wínà'am Sí-sùŋ.

CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have not lied to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." (Acts 5:4 NT2)

NĒ' is excluded in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, and content questions.

Ànó'òní\_∅ dít sá'abò=∅?

Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

Ì zūg lā pú'al̄im n̄ē.

1SG head ART damage:IPFV FOC.

"My head is hurting."

("What's the matter with you?")

but Ì zūgū\_∅ zábìd.

1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.

"My head is hurting/hurts."

("Where is the pain?")

Ì á n̄ē b̄iig.

1SG be FOC child:SG.

"I am a child."

but mán àŋ b̄iig lā zúg

1SG:NZ be child:SG ART on

"because I'm a child"

Ì yí n̄ē Bók.

1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

"I come from Bawku." SB

but Meeri one yi Magdala

Meeri óní=∅ yī Magdala

Mary DEM.AN=NZ emerge Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"

(Mk 16:9 NT2)

Bó kà fù kúmmà=∅?

What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?

"Why are you crying/do you cry?"

Fù níŋìd b́ó=∅?

2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?

"What are you doing/do you do?"

Fù wá'e yáa=∅?

2SG go where=CQ?

"Where are you going/do you go?"

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?  
 Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?  
 "Where is the light coming from?" SB

Mām áṅ b́=ø? "What am I?"  
 1SG be what=CQ?

Fù áṅ ànó'ónè=ø? "Who are you?"  
 2SG be who=CQ?

Fù b́òd b́=ø? "What do you want?"  
 2SG want what=CQ?

cf Fù b́òd nē b́=ø? "What do you want it with?"  
 2SG want with what=CQ? (nē must be interpreted as "with", WK)

Nē' is permitted in complementised clauses, including purpose clauses:

Pian'am ka m b́òd ye fù nyɛɛ b́òd.  
 Pìàṅ'am kà m̀ b́òd yé fù nyē nē b́òd.  
 Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.  
 "Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Jb 33:32)

Certain words do not prevent focus-*nē'* from being used in the clause, but cannot themselves be focused: *sùṅā'* "good", *sùm* "good", *bē'ed* "bad", *sìdà* "truth" as manner adjuncts, and the "two, three exactly" quantifiers *àyíṅā' àtájā'*. NPs with these words as constituents share the same property. *Nē'* 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 àṅ sùṅā. "It's good."  
 3IN be well.

Lì àṅ bē'ed. "It's bad."  
 3IN be badness.

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.  
 ò sàríyà-kādīb áṅ sùm nē sídà.  
 3AN law-driving be goodness with truth.  
 "His judgment is good and true. (Rv 19:2 NT1)

Interpretation of focus as informational requires aspectual focus to be infelicitous or impossible.

Aspectual interpretation is possible only if the VP is positive and indicative, and no unbound words intervene before *nē'*; thus

Gòsìm nē.  
Look:IMP FOC.

"Look!" ("Don't touch!" WK)

Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nē.  
3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC.

"She sells/is selling the groundnuts."  
("They're not free.")

Tì dí t sā'ab nē zāam.  
1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC evening.

"We eat porridge *in the evening*."  
("When do you eat porridge?")

Indefinite subjects (and pronouns referring to them) are usually incompatible with aspectual *nē'*, unless explicitly marked as specific with indefinite pronouns:

Nīigí òṅbìd nē mōod. Bà nùud nē kù'əm.  
Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. 3PL drink:IPFV FOC water.

"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." ("What do cows eat and drink?")

Only pfvs able to express a subject state change can be used as statives; thus

Ì dá' búṅ.  
1SG buy donkey:SG.

"I've bought a donkey."  
("What have you done?")

Ì dá' nē búṅ.  
1SG buy FOC donkey:SG.

"I've bought a *donkey*."  
("What have you bought?")

Ò dìgìl nē.  
3AN lay FOC.

"He's *laid it down*."  
("I thought he'd pick it up.")

Pfvs of inchoatives derived from stance verbs cannot accept a stative reading:

Ò dìgìn nē.  
3AN lie FOC.

"He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at your house and gets no answer; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."  
WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ən nē. "She's pregnant."  
 3AN stand FOC. (idiomatic) informational focus

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; *nē'* is therefore taken as informational in

Ò gìm nē. "He's *short*."  
 3AN be.short FOC. ("I was expecting someone taller.")

Ì bódī=f nē. "I really love you." WK  
 1SG want=2SG FOC.

Ì mór nē pūā'. "I have a woman."  
 1SG have FOC woman:SG. (implies an irregular liaison, WK)

Dāam lā nūud. "The beer gets drunk." WK  
 Beer ART drink:IPFV.

but Dāam lā nūud nē. "The beer is for *drinking*."  
 Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC. ("not pouring away"); not possible as  
 "The beer is being drunk." WK

Dāká lā zánl nē. "The box gets carried *in the hands*."  
 Box:SG ART hand.carry FOC. ("Not on your head.")

Dāká lā zīid nē. "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 *nē'* before definite arguments is usually aspectual:

Nīigí òṅbìd nē mōod. "Cows eat *grass*."  
 Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL. ("What do cows eat?")

Nā'-síébà óṅbìd nē mōod 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 ∅ tísìd bádà lā, bà màannī  
DEM.IN and idol-maker:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV  
∅ tísìd nē kíkírīs kà pō mâannì ∅ tísìd nē Wínā'amm=∅.  
CAT give:IPFV FOC fairy:PL and NEG sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV FOC God=NEG.

"That which idolaters sacrifice to an idol, they sacrifice to demons, they don't sacrifice to God." (1 Cor 10:20 NT2)

Proper names can be new information when not referring:

O yu'ur na anε Joon. "His name will be John." (Lk 1:60)  
Ò yū'ur ná ā nē Joon.  
3AN name:SG IRR be FOC John.

Furthermore, both indefinite and definite NPs may have *internal* structure encoding addressee-new information:

Biis la diemid ne dua gbinin. Ba zamisid ne bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.

Biis lā dí'əmìd nē dúan gbínnī=n. Bà zàmìsìd nē  
Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC  
būlā wā'ab. Bà à né À-Pām bīis.

shoot:PL dance:SG. 3PL be FOC 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 [already mentioned]." KK p6

Ka bumbuda banε lu gon'os sugin la anε banε wum pian'ad la

Kà bŭn-búúdà bànì=∅ lù gòŋ'òs súgŭ=n lā á nē  
And seed:PL DEM.PL=NZ fall thorn:PL among ART be FOC  
bánì=∅ wùm pjàŋ'ad lā

DEM.PL=NZ hear speech ART

"The seeds which fell among thorns are those who heard the word" (Lk 8:14)

Association with an established location or origin may be new information:

M yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB  
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.



In specifying constructions the subject usually has *n*-focus:

Mānī\_ø áṅ dú'atà lā. "I'm the doctor."  
 1SG CAT be doctor:SG ART. ("Which one is the doctor?")

Mānī\_ø áṅ dú'atà àmáa fūn pō áṅyā=ø.  
 1SG CAT be doctor:SG but 2SG NEG be=NEG.  
 "I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nōbibisi a mam disuṅ. "Chicks are my favourite food." BN p13  
 Nō-bíbisi\_ø áṅ mām dí-sùṅ.  
 Hen-small:PL CAT be 1SG food-good:SG.

Focus on indefinite arguments under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̄ pō dá' bùṅā=ø. "I haven't bought a donkey."  
 1SG NEG buy donkey:SG=NEG.

M̄ pō dá' nē búṅā=ø. "I haven't bought a *donkey*."  
 1SG NEG buy FOC donkey:SG=NEG. ("I bought something else.")

M̄ kā' dú'atāa=ø. "I'm not a doctor."  
 1SG NEG.be doctor:SG=NEG.

M̄ kā' nē dú'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.)

*mè*, WK *mèn*; clause finally *mèn* "also, too." It may follow an ellipited subject pronoun.

O pu'a mē kena. "His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)  
 Ò pūā' mé kè nā.  
 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

bōzugō o anē fū biig mēn. "Because he is your child too." (Gn 21:13)  
 bō zúgō ò à né fū biig mén.  
 Because 3AN be FOC 2SG child:SG also.



Wina'am tìsid ... ka me tìsid ... "God gives ... and also gives ..."  
 Wínà'am tìsìd ... kà mé tìsìd ... (1 Cor 15:38)  
 God give:IPVF ... and also give:IPFV ...

nōo "just, exactly": e.g. *dàa-kàn lā nōo* "that very day", and

Fu ya'a mōr ya'am, fūn nōo na dii li malisim.  
 Fù yá' mōr yā'am, fūn nōo ná dí\_lì mā́sím.  
 2SG if have sense, 2SG exactly IRR eat 3IN joy.  
 "If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." (Prv 9:12)

mà'aa (lf mà'anì) "only":

Asee line an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niŋ.  
 Àséé línì=∅ àŋ bē'ed má'aa kà m ná tūŋ'ə\_∅ níŋ.  
 Only DEM.IN=NZ be bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.  
 "It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

gùllimm (lf gùllimnì) "only":

Li ka'ane Wina'am gullim ne?  
 Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllimnè=∅=∅?  
 3IN NEG.be FOC God only=NEG=PQ?  
 "Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)

kòtāa<sub>n</sub> "at all" appears in *Áyì kòtāa*. "Not at all."

*báa* (Hausa *bāa* "not exist") with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct *báa bī'elá* "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent *báa yīnní* "(not) even one":

Da tūmi si'el baa bi'elaa.  
 Dā tūmī=∅ sī'el báa bī'eláa=∅.  
 NEG.IMP work=2PL INDF.IN even slightly=NEG.  
 "Do no work at all." (Lv 23:31)

Fu du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.  
 Fù dū'adīb báa yīnní ká'e kà ò yū'ur bûen àláa=∅.  
 2SG relative:PL even one NEG.exist and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV thus=NEG.  
 "Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)

**hālí** (**nē**) "even, as far as" precedes the element over which it takes scope, which may be a NP, or a non-nominalised clause. **Hālí nē** is used before time/circumstance NPs.

Before a manner noun **hālí** means "very"; the noun itself may be ellipited. This is the single commonest function of **hālí** in KB, with ellipsis usual.

Lì tòḡ      **hālí** [bédugō].      "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 nē zīnā**      "up until today"

O daa p̄n̄ anε nink̄v̄d hali pin'iluḡv̄n sa.

Ò dāa p̄n̄      à nē n̄n-k̄v̄d      **hālí** p̄n̄'ilúḡv̄=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 n̄wá'a=lī **hālí** ∅ p̄ae Nofa.      (Nm 21:30)

1PL strike=3IN until CAT reach Nophah.

Zugs̄v̄b la da kε ka k̄v̄k̄m̄ ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.

Zūg-s̄v̄b lā dá kè kà k̄v̄k̄m̄ b̄n̄'as gb̄n̄'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 made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life." (2Kgs 15:5)

Elsewhere **hālí nē** (or **hālí là'am nē**) means "even":

Hali là'am nε on daa an yels̄m̄ w̄sa daan la, o da lieb n̄v̄ndaan

**Hālí** là'am nē ón dāa áv̄ yēl-s̄m̄ w̄sā dāan lā,

Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS be blessing all owner:SG ART,

ò dà liēb n̄v̄-dāan

3AN TNS become poverty-owner:SG

"Even though he had every blessing, he became poor" (2 Cor 8:9)

hali nε man daa s̄v̄bi tisi ya si'em la, m daa p̄v̄ s̄v̄bi li ...

**hālí** nē mán dāa s̄v̄bī ∅ t̄s̄ì=yā s̄i'əm lā m̄ dāa p̄v̄ s̄v̄bī=lī ...

even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give=2PL how ART 1SG TNS NEG write=3IN ...

"Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

Zugsɔb yel ye, Hali ne man vɔe nwa ...  
 Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālí nē mán vōɛ n̄wá ...  
 Lord say that even with 1SG:NZ live this ...  
 "The Lord says: Even as I live ..." (Rom 14:11)

With *hālí* (or *hālí baa*) before main clauses without *kà* the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a presubject adjunct like a *yà'*-clause.

Hali tɔʊmbɛ'ed dim niŋid ala. "Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)  
 Hālí tòʊm-bē'ed díŋ níŋìd àlá.  
 Even deed-bad:PL Ø.PL do:IPFV thus.

Hali baa lampɔdi'esidib me niŋid ala.  
 Hālí baa làmpɔ-dí'əsìdìb mé niŋìd àlá.  
 Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV thus.  
 "Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali o be suori kenna ye o tɔ'ʊsif.  
 Hālí ò bè sūər\_ø kēn nā yé ò tɔ'ʊsí=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 wɔsa ya'a na zɔ ka basif, man kɔ basi fo.  
 Hālí baa bàmmā wōsā yá' nà zó kà básì=f, mán kú bāsì=fó=ø.  
 Even DEM.PL all if IRR run and leave=2SG, 1SG 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 nē* "It is ...", followed by a *n*-catenation when it is the subject of the catenated clause which appears in the main clause, adnominal *kà*-catenation otherwise. The sense resembles English "it-clefting", *foregrounding* the clefted element and backgrounding the rest, and implying exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Anɔ'on nwaa yisid nidib tɔʊmbɛ'edi basida?  
 Ànô'on\_ø n̄wáa\_ø yīsìd nīdìb tòʊm-bē'edī\_ø básìdà=ø?  
 Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?  
 "Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Li ane o pu'a sv'oe li. "It is his wife who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)  
 Lì á né ò puā'∅ s'v=lī.  
 3IN be FOC 3AN wife CAT own=3IN.

Bō∅ lá kà m̄ nyētá=∅? "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 ane ya taaba banε pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.  
 Lì à né yà tāabā bánì=∅ p'ù'sid Wínà'am kà lì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.  
 3IN be FOC 2PL fellow DEM.PL=NZ greet:IPFV God 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-*nē'* and with *n*-focus:

Aσεε line an be'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.  
 Àséé línì=∅ àη bē'ed má'aa kà m̄ ná tūη'∅ ∅ níη.  
 Only DEM.IN=NZ be bad only and 1SG IRR be.able CAT do.  
 "It's only that which is bad that I can do." (Rom 7:21)

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew dim la yela.  
 Dìn-zúg kà mām Paul n bé sārīgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg yānám  
 So and 1SG Paul CAT exist prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ on 2PL  
 būud-bànì=∅ kā' Jew díμ lā yélà.  
 tribe-DEM.PL=NZ NEG.be Jew ∅.PL ART about.  
 "Thus, I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ on account of you gentiles."  
 (Eph 3:1 NT2)

Bī'el bí'el kà kōlīg pē'el nē. "Little by little, a river is full." (Proverb)  
 Little little and river:SG fill FOC.

Objects containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed, with resumptive pronouns needed if they are extracted from prepositional phrases.

F̀̀ b̀̀od b̀̀=∅? "What do you want?"  
2SG want what=CQ?

but B̀̀ ka ti na niŋɛ? "What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)  
B̀̀ k̀̀ t̀̀ ǹ̀ ná niŋ̀̀=∅?  
What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

Nũ'-bíbusá\_àlá k̀̀ f̀̀ nyētá=∅?  
Finger:PL how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?  
"How many fingers can you see?" SB

Niŋgbiŋ b̀̀ buudi ka ba na ti m̀̀ra?  
Ǹ̀n-gb̀̀iŋ-b̀̀-b̀̀udí k̀̀ b̀̀ ná t̀̀ m̀̀rá=∅?  
Body-what-sort and 3PL IRR once have=CQ?  
"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

Ka aǹ̀'onam ka Wina'am s̀̀nf da p̀̀lig nɛ ba ỳ̀ma piisnaasi la?  
K̀̀ àǹ̀'on-ǹ̀m k̀̀ Wína'am s̀̀nf d̀̀ p̀̀lìg nɛ b̀̀ ỳ̀m̀̀ p̀̀s ǹ̀así lá=∅?  
And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL year:PL forty ART=CQ?  
"And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

Preposing is *required* for **b̀̀** in its very frequent use as meaning "why?":

B̀̀ k̀̀ f̀̀ k̀̀mm̀̀? "Why are you crying?"  
\*F̀̀ k̀̀m b̀̀? \*"What are you crying?"

Predicative complements probably cannot be preposed.

M̀̀m áŋ b̀̀=∅? "What am I?"  
1SG be what=CQ?

K̀̀ f̀̀ áaŋ\_ànó'oǹ̀=∅? "Then who are you?"  
And 2SG be who=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

Ǹ̀ẁ̀d̀̀sá\_àt̀̀áŋ' k̀̀ f̀̀ ná l̀̀b ǹ̀. Month:PL three and 2SG IRR return hither.  
"You're to come back in three months."

Prepositional phrases with **ẁ̀b** "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 ɲwè' dāu lā zúg kà pōlīs gbáŋ'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=∅ bèὲ m ní kà p̄ wénnā=∅,

Branch-DEM.SG=NZ exist 1SG LOC and NEG bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.

m Bā' ɲwá'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 múj̄.

"She's bought rice." ("Of all things!")

vs Ò dà' nē múj̄.

"She's bought rice."

("What did she buy?")

Pronoun objects cannot be dislocated.

Dislocated manner adjuncts are intensified:

M̄ p̄'ʊs yā bédʊḡ.

"Thank you very much."

No dislocation is involved when a catenation follows *yā*:

Dinzug ka m keya ka saa pu len niida.

Dìn-zúg kà m k̄é yá kà s̄ā p̄ lém n̄idā=∅.

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." KS p16

*Dāpá\_àtán' n dá bè.*

Man:PL three CAT TNS exist.

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

*Kà dāu dāa zín'i Lystra ní kà pū tūn'ə\_ø kēnná=ø.*

And man:SG TNS sit Lystra LOC and NEG be.able CAT go:IPFV=NEG.

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." (Acts 14:8 NT2)

Pu'a sō' da be mōr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dōl o.

*Puà'-sō' dá bè\_ø mór ò bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló=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 nyē dau ka o yū'ur buon Aneas.

*Àníná kà ò nyē dāu kà ò yū'ur būøn Aneas.*

There and 3AN see man:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Aeneas.

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." (Acts 9:33)

## 14 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wēlá?	"How did you sleep?"
or Dúə wēlá?	"How did you get up?" (first morning greetings)
Nīntāŋ áŋ wēlá?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'uhj áŋ wēlá?	"How is the evening?"
Fù yī-dímàa?	"[How are] your household?"
Nìn-gbīnàa?	"[How is your] body?" i.e. "How are you?"
Pṣā' nē bíisèè?	"[How are your] wife and children?"

and so on, often at great length. Replies:

Àláafù bé.	"There is health." (Also used as a greeting.)
Àláafù béo.	... for him/her.
Àláafù béè=bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern *Báríkà né fù/yà ...* "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted. The reply to all these is *Náa*.

Kēn kēn.	"Welcome!"
Nē zāam zāam.	"Good evening."
Tūmā! or Tūmā tūmā!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nē sŋsŋgā.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own <i>wīn<sub>n</sub>'</i> .)
Né fù bŋryá-sùŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù yùum-pāalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands, replied to with *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate:

Bēogū lā.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtìní dáarì lā.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm sŋgā.	"Sleep well."
Kpèlumī sŋm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pù'usìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Bà nà wŋm</i> "They will hear."



Prayers, requiring the reply **Àmí** "Amen":

Wīn ná lēbī= f nē láafiyà.

"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")

Wīn ná tā'así= f.

"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

Wīn ná sūhī= f.

"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

Ì pù'us yā [béduḡō].

"Thank you [very much]." Reply **Tò**, or **Pù'usòḡ kā'e**. "No thanks [needed]."

Gáafàrà.

"Sorry"; in apology, or just as sympathy.

Kābīr kābírí!

Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)

Dìm sūḡurú.

"Forgive me."

Ì bélim nē.

"I beg you."

X lābāar áṅ wēlá?

"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is **Dīb má'aa**. "Only food." i.e. "good."

Ì mōr kù'əm náa?

"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is **Kù'əm á súm**.

("Water is good.")

Wīn yél sídà.

"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth":

("If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you." WK)



Àmáa Wínà'am súnf dà dùè nē ón kēη lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk  
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Lord angel:SG  
 kīdugī\_ø zī'ən sūer lā zúg yé ò gīηó=ø.

meet CAT stand road:SG ART on that 3AN obstruct=3AN.

"But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him."

Balaam dá bàη'ad né ò bòn, kà ò yàmmìs àyí' dōlló=ø.

Balaam TNS ride:IPFV FOC 3AN donkey:SG, and 3AN slave:PL two go.with=3AN.

"Balaam was riding his donkey, and his two slaves accompanied him."

Bòn lā dá nyè Zūg-sób máliāk lá kà ò zī'e sūer lā zúg kà fúe  
 Donkey:SG ART TNS see Lord angel:SG ART and 3AN stand road:SG ART on and draw  
 sù'ugù\_ø zánl ò nú'ugī=n, kà ò búηì\_ø ø kpèη' mōogī\_ø gâad.

knife:SG CAT hold 3AN hand:SG=LOC, and 3AN cut.across CAT enter grass:SG CAT pass.

"The donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and cut across into the grass and went on."

Kà Balaam pīη'ilī\_ø bŭ'vd búη lā yé ò léb sūer pŭvg.

And Balaam begin CAT beat:IPFV donkey:SG ART that 3AN return road:SG inside.

"Balaam started beating the donkey to make it return to the road."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá tōl̄sì\_ø zī'ən lōmbòn'od àyí' bánì=ø kà bà mé  
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL two DEM.PL=NZ and 3PL build  
 zàngùemà àyí'\_ø bēη, kà sŭā-báanlìg béε\_ lì tēη-sŭk lā.

wall:PL two CAT demarcate, and road-narrow:SG exist 3IN middle:SG ART.

"The angel of the Lord then stood where dividing walls had been built between two orchards and there was a narrow path between them."

Bòn lá=n dà nyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà miè\_ø làbìn

Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS squeeze CAT hide.behind

zàngùem lā\_ø ūrīg Balaam nóbìr. Kà ò léμ bú'o=ø yâ'as.

wall:SG ART CAT scrape Balaam leg:SG. And 3AN again beat=3AN again.

"When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it squeezed against the wall and scraped Balaam's leg. And he beat it again."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá lèm vūriḡi ∅ tōlīs ∅ zī'en tūen  
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand front  
 zín'-kànì=∅ kà sō' kú nyāḡi ∅ fēndīḡ dátìḡḡ bēe dágòbīḡā=∅.  
 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."

Bùḡ lā=∅ dà lèm nyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà òḡìḡn nē  
 Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS again see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie with  
 Balaam wōsā tēḡi=n, kà Balaam súḡf dūe hālī kà ò vōb  
 Balaam all down, and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike  
 búḡ lā né ò dànsàar.  
 donkey:SG ART with 3AN staff:SG.

"When the donkey again saw the angel of the Lord, it lay down along with Balaam too, and Balaam was so angry he beat the donkey with his staff."

Kà Zūg-sób ké kà bùḡ lā yá'e ò nōorī ∅ piāḡ' Balaam yē,  
 And Lord let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that  
 Bō kimm kà m̀ máalì=f kà lì ké kà fù bú'ḡ=ḡ nōor átán' sá=∅?  
 what IDEO and 1SG make=2SG and 3IN let and 2SG beat=1SG time:SG three hence=CQ?  
 "Then the Lord made the donkey open its mouth to speak to Balaam: 'Just what have I done to you to make you beat me these three times?'"

Balaam dá lèbīsō=∅ yē, Fù mórī=ḡ nē ∅ mâan ∅ gálìḡ! M̀ yá'  
 Balaam TNS reply=3AN that, 2SG have=1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if  
 mōrī=n sù'ḡḡò m̀ nú'ḡḡi=n, m̀ nāan kōḡ=ní=f nānná-nā.  
 have=DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG=LOC, 1SG then kill=DP=2SG now.

"Balaam replied: 'You are holding me in contempt! If I'd had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you right now.'"

Bùḡ lā dá lèbìs Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fù mēḡ búḡ ónì=∅ kà  
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG NEG.be FOC 2SG self donkey:SG DEM.AN=NZ and  
 fù bāḡ'ad sāḡá wōsā ∅ tí pāe zīnāa=∅=∅? Fù nám mī' ∅ nyé kà  
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT once reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and  
 m̀ mâal àḡwá ∅ tísi=fò=∅? Kà ò lèbìs yē, Áyì!  
 1SG make thus CAT give=2SG=CQ? And 3AN reply that No.

"The donkey replied to Balaam: 'Am I not your own donkey that you have always been riding up until today? Have you ever known me to behave like this to you?' He replied, 'No.'"

Kà Zūg-sób yô'og Balaam nínì kà ò nyē máliāk lā\_ø zí'e sūer  
 And Lord open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT stand road:SG  
 lā téŋ-sūk, kà fúe sù'ugù\_ø zāŋl. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēŋī=n.  
 ART centre:SG and draw knife:SG CAT hold. And 3AN kneel and lie.prone down.  
 "Then the Lord opened Balaam's eyes so he could see the angel standing in the  
 middle of the road with a drawn sword in his hand, and he knelt and lay face down."

Zūg-sób máliāk lā dá bù'əsō=ø yē, Bó kà fù bŭ' búŋ lā  
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS ask=3AN that, What and 2SG beat donkey:SG ART  
 nōor átán' sá=ø? M ké nā yé m gīŋí=f bō zúgō kēn lā  
 time:SG three hence=CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct=2SG because going ART  
 kâ' sŭm m nīnī nī=ø. Nōor átán' kà bùŋ lā nyéε=m  
 NEG.be goodness 1SG eye:PL LOC=NEG. Time:SG three and donkey:SG ART see=1SG  
 kà yŭk. Bùŋ lā yá' pŭ yŭkī=ní\_ àŋwáa=ø m kŭv=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 lèbùsì\_ø yél Zūg-sób máliāk lā yē, M tŭm tâal, m pá'  
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS  
 pŭ báŋ yé fù zí'e nē sūerí=n lā yé fù gīŋí=mā=ø.  
 NEG realise that 2SG stand FOC road:SG=LOC ART that 2SG obstruct=1SG=NEG.  
 Nānná-nā, lī yá' pŭ mālsí=fō=ø, m ná lēbī\_ø kŭl.  
 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 màliāk lā lébùsì\_ø yèl Balaam yē, Dòl nīdīb lā\_ø kēŋ,  
 And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,  
 àmáa yèlīm nē mán yé fù yél sī'əl má'aa.  
 but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say INDF.IN only.

"But the angel replied to Balaam: 'Go with the people, but say only what I tell you.'"

Kà Balaam dōl Balak ná'-yī-kpém lā\_ø kēŋ.  
 And Balaam go.with Balak chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.  
 "So Balaam went with Balak's courtiers."

## 2. The Three Murderers

KS p16.

This fable, found throughout Africa and Eurasia, originated as a Buddhist *Jātaka* tale (Mary Hamel and Charles Merrill, "The Analogues of the 'Pardoner's Tale' and a New African Version", *The Chaucer Review*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1991.)

The style is much less formal than in the passage from KB above.

### NING KUUDIBA ATAN'

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nnig [*sic*] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [*sic*] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [*sic*] kpe, ka on kiak [*sic*] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Nīn-kúudìbá àtán'.

"Three murderers."

Person-killer:PL three.

Dāpá àtán' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāndā s'ú'ṅā.

Man:PL three CAT TNS exist. 3PL TNS be FOC man-tough:PL well.

"There were once three men. They were really tough men."

Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asì\_ø zín'inì\_ø gbān'e yé bà dūem\_ø jā búdàalim  
 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'aa kà dā lém tùm sī'elā=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 sīd dūe\_ø jā s'us nē zān'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē  
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with  
 lū'ad, nē kpānā nē mālì s'ŋā n pīn'ilī\_ø gīnnī\_ø iēd  
 quiver:PL with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV  
 nīdīb yé bà yá' nyē sō' bān kū.  
 person:PL that 3PL if find INDF.AN 3PL 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 they could kill."

Bà gīlgi\_ø alá nē n̄wādisá\_àtān' nē dābisa\_àtān'. Bà pū nyē  
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL three with day:PL three. 3PL NEG find  
 nīd\_ø ná kū=ø. Kà kpélīm mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn.  
 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 dāar bà nyē nē lāllí sà kà sī'el zí'e sābílì\_ø  
 Day:PL five day:SG 3PL see with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT  
 wūb nīd nē, kà bà kpēɛŋm lā yé bà kēm\_ø kúo=ø, yé ò sōb  
 like person:SG like, and 3PL elder:SG ART that 3PL go:IMP CAT kill=3AN, that 3AN ø.AN  
 yá' pòn túŋ'e kà mōr nē lāuk-sī'a wūsā, bà nà nyāŋī\_ø kúo=ø.  
 if already be.able and have FOC item-INDF.IN all, 3PL IRR prevail CAT kill=3AN.  
 "On the fifth day they saw something standing in the distance, black like a human  
 being, and the eldest of them said that they should go and kill him; even if he was  
 capable (?) and had every piece of equipment, they would be able to kill him."

Kà òŋā gīŋīd kpē, kà òŋā gīŋīd kpē, bà tì kēŋ\_ø  
 And DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, and DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL once go CAT  
 pāa\_ø nyé kà lì kā' nīdá=ø, kà á nē bōtú kà līgīdī pē'el  
 reach CAT see and 3IN NEG.be person:SG=NEG, and be FOC sack:SG and money fill  
 mà'aa má'aa má.  
 only only IDEO.

"And this one blocked this way, and that one blocked that way, but once they got  
 there they saw that it wasn't a person but a bag chock full of money."

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā nwá, tì yé tì nīḡ līgīdī nwá 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 yē, bà nà pūdīg nē. Àmáa bà yé lī nár kà bà yīs līgīdī lā n  
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT  
 kēḡ\_ø dá' dāam\_ø ná nū yīigá kà nyāan pūdīg līgīdī lā.  
 go CAT buy beer CAT IRR drink firstly and next share money ART.

"And they said they'd share it. But first they said they should take some money out to buy beer to drink, and then share out the money."

Kà yīs līgīdī lā bī'elá yē bīig lā kēm\_ø dá' yūr ná kà bà nū.  
 And extract money ART little that child:SG ART go:IMP CAT buy jug:SG hither and 3PL drink.  
 "And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Bīig lá=ø kēn lā, ò tēḡ'esìd nē ón nà nīḡ sī'em\_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  
 kpèlīm àní nā lā, kà vāe līgīdī lā wōsā wōsā n sū'e, ò yèlì\_ò mēḡ yē,  
 remain there ART, and gather money ART all all CAT own, 3AN say 3AN self that,  
 ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kūbdím n lós dāamí=n lā  
 3AN IRR buy FOC beer, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse beer=LOC ART  
 n pāa\_ø tí=bá kà bà nū\_ø kpí kà ò sū'e līgīdī lā wōsā.  
 CAT reach CAT give=3PL and 3PL drink CAT die and 3AN own money ART all.

"As the youngest was travelling, he was thinking how he might kill those who stayed in that place and take absolutely all of the money as his own; he said to himself that he would buy the beer, and look for a poison to put into the beer and go and give it to them to drink and die so he'd possess all of the money."

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kūbdím n lós.  
 And truly buy beer ART, and seek medicine-killing CAT immerse.  
 "And indeed he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it."

Zī'isígē=ø, kà bà bàyí' lá=ø kpèlīm lā mé gbāḡ'e nē yé bà kū  
 NEG.know=NEG, and 3PL two ART=NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill  
 bīig lá=ø kēḡ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgīdī 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."



Biig lá=n̄ mōr dāam lā\_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òṅā kǎ́ kpē,  
 Child:SG ART=NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEM.AN cut here,  
 kà ɔ̄n kǎ́ kpē, n kío=∅ ∅ kũ, kà yũ'ɔ̄n záj dāam lā\_∅  
 and 3AN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT  
 nũ wán wán, lì pũ yúugē=∅, kà bà wōsā wōsā mé kpélìm kpi  
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die  
 zìṅ-kàn lā noco kà bà sō' sō' pũ nyāṅī\_∅ pāam lā'af lā  
 place-DEM.SG ART exactly and 3PL INDF.AN INDF.AN NEG prevail CAT receive COWRY:SG ART  
 báa yīnní\_∅ mōrī\_∅ kúlí\_∅ bà yáa=nē=∅.  
 not.one CAT have CAT go.home 3PL HOUSE:PL=LOC=NEG.

"When the youth arrived back with the beer, this one cut him here and that one cut him there, cutting him to death, and they then picked up the beer and drank it in gulps; before long both of them died immediately in the exact same place, and none of them was able to take even a single coin home."

Dìn kà Kūsāas yé fù yá' tēṅ'es bēē tùm bē'ed yé fù tísi\_∅ fù tīrāan,  
 3IN and Kusaasi:PL that 2SG if think or act bad that 2SG give 2SG neighbour:SG,  
 fù mâanní\_∅ fù mēṅ 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

KS pp38ff.

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'əm káadi\_∅ lébìs né m̄ gēogō=n.

Water bail:IPFV CAT return FOC 1SG between.legs:SG=LOC.

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs." (Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'əm zót nē bĵāṅ'ar zúg.

Water run:IPFV FOC riverbed:SG on.

"Water runs on mud." (You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asìd nē zūērī=n.

Stone:PL gather:IPFV FOC hill:SG=LOC.

"Stones build up on a hill." (The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À-wjāk sēong zī' sǐnnē=∅.

PZ-hatch rainy.season NEG.know hawk:PL=NEG.

"One hatched in the rainy season doesn't know about hawks." (Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pō nyē sāa kúbō=∅, kà nyē sāa nīib.

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 nōkíd nā'-bínnì ∅ lōbígíd náafō=∅.

3PL NEG take:IPFV cow-dung:SG CAT throw.at:IPFV COW:SG=NEG.

"They don't take cow dung and throw it at the cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zū'əm yá' yé ò nà lōbūg, bāŋim kà ò nò nē kūgūr.

Blind.person:SG if that 3AN IRR throw.at, realise:IMP and 3AN stand.on FOC stone:SG.

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Bālērogū ∅ zī' yé ò àn bālērogó=∅, kà tādīm mī' yé ò àn tādīm.

Ugly:SG CAT NEG.know that 3AN be ugly:SG=NEG, and weak:SG know that 3AN be weak:SG.

"The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak."

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bōod támpìng sīind, fù pō lém zòt líəŋ dāug nyōogō=∅.

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.

Mōodī ∅ pìlig kà yū'adā bē.

Grass:PL CAT strip.off and rafter:PL exist.

"The thatch has come off but the rafters remain." (Where there's life there's hope.)

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.

Bù-dìbig kúnñí ∅ ò bā' yír nē nōb-kōog dāar.

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 bōvd pō zín'i ná'-yīr'é=∅.

PZ-receive innocence NEG sit chief-house:SG=NEG.

"He who has been declared innocent doesn't hang around the courthouse."

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.

Bòŋ-dāvŋ pō kāasídí\_ ò tīrâan tēŋī=né=∅.

Donkey-male:SG NEG cry.out:IPFV 3AN neighbour:SG land:SG=LOC=NEG.

"The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory."

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

Kpēem á nē tē'eg, ò tìgìd nē bálàyà.

Elder:SG be FOC baobab:SG, 3AN sate:IPFV FOC stick:PL.

"An elder is a baobab - no shortage of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

From Naden's dictionary:

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e pōɔŋ.

Bāas ká'e kà ŋwāamīs dī'e pōɔŋ.

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 ...)

One kunt mi zugub.

Ònì=∅ kùt mī' zūgūb.

DEM.AN=NZ work.iron:IPFV know bellows.blowing.

"The ironworker knows how to work the bellows."

From KT:

Sāan-sún á nē yī-dāan ánsìb.

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/ŋ, e/ε/ε̄/ə, i/ɪ/ĩ, o/ɔ, u/ʊ/ũ*; *ŋ* follows *n*. *adj ag ajn cl fm pn post 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, cif; cifs 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- ñ- (à)bù-*.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa; k/o = kind of.

### A

*à-* personaliser *pn*

*à* (before *nē*) see *àɛŋya*

*āāṅḍīg<sub>a</sub> āāṅḍīs àāṅḍ-* black plum,  
*Vitex doniana*

*āāṅḍīr āāṅḍā* black plum fruit

*àāṅs* *v* tear

*àbùlá* *q* how many-fold?

*à-dàalúŋ<sub>v</sub> -dàalí(mì)s -dàalúŋ-* stork

*àɛŋya* ger *àāṅlím* *1v* be something

*àɛŋ* *v* get torn

*à-gâṅŋg<sub>v</sub> -gâāṅḍ -gāŋ-* pied crow

*àgól<sub>l</sub> àgólá* upwards

*à-kōrā-dīēm<sub>ma</sub> -dīēm-nām<sub>a</sub>* mantis

*àlá* *pn* thus

*àlá* *q* so many; how many?

*àláafù* health (in greetings); cf *láafiyà*

*àlópìr àlópìyà* aeroplane (En)

*àmáa* *cl ajn* but (Ha from Ar)

*àmēŋá* really, truly

*àmí* *ptc* amen (Ar *āmīn*)

*à-mús -mús-nām<sub>a</sub>* cat (Ha *mussàa*)

*àní(-nā´)* *pn* there

*àníŋā* promptly

*ànô'ɔn* *pn* who?

*àṅrùŋ<sub>v</sub> àṅrìṁà àṅrùŋ-* boat

*āṅs* *v* pluck leaves

*āṅsìb<sub>a</sub> āṅs-nám<sub>a</sub> āṅs-* mother's brother

*āṅsīg´* *v* break at an angle

*āṅsìŋ<sub>a</sub> āṅsís āṅsìŋ-* man's sister's child

*àntù'a àntù'əs àntùà'-* lawsuit

*àṅwá(-nā´)* *pn* like this

*ānzúrìfà* silver (Ha *azùrfaa*)

*àràzàk<sub>a</sub> àràzà'as àràzà'-* (generally pl)  
wealth, riches (Ar pl *al-arzāq*)

*àràzàná* heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)

*àséε* *cl ajn* except (Ha *sai*)

*àsīdā* truly

*àsùbá* dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)

*àtèuk<sub>v</sub>* sea (Ha *tèeku*)

*áyì* *ptc* no; to negative question: yes

### B

*bà* *pn* they, their; =*ba* them

*bā´´* *bā'-nám<sub>a</sub> bā'-* father

*bāa bāas* *bà-* dog

*bāa* *fm* not even (Ha *bāa* "not be")

*bā'a bā'ab<sub>a</sub> bà'a-* diviner; *bà'a-kòlùg<sub>v</sub>*  
diviner's bag

*bā'a bā'as bà'-* peg for hanging

*bà'an<sub>n</sub> bà'anà bà'an-* (penal) stocks

*bàāṅlìg<sub>a</sub> bàāṅlìs* *adj* narrow, slender

*bāāṅlìg<sub>a</sub>* *adj* quiet; *bāāṅlìm* quietly

*bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'-* idol

*bābá* *post* beside

*bàbìgā´* *q* many

**bákpàè** week (Ha *bakwàì* "seven")  
**bàlàar** **bàlàyà** **bàlà-** stick, club  
**bàlàṅìr** **bàlàṅà** **bàlàṅ-** hat  
**bālērūg<sub>v</sub>** **bālērīd** / **bālērīs** **bālēr-**  
 ugly person (cf *lēr*)  
**bàmmā** *pn* these  
**bàn** *pn* these  
**bán** *pn* they + =*n*; **bān** they,  
 them (contrastive)  
**bāṅ** *v* ride  
**bānāa** **bānāas** **bànà-** *sic* "fugu" smock  
**bāṅ'ad<sub>a</sub>** **bāṅ'ad-nām<sub>a</sub>** ill person  
**bāṅ'al** *v* make to ride (horse, bicycle)  
**bāṅ'as** **bāṅ'**- disease  
**bàn-dāug<sub>v</sub>** -**dāad** -**dà-** crocodile  
**bān-kúsél<sub>l</sub>** -**kúsēlá** -**kúsēl-** lizard  
**bāṅ<sub>a</sub>** **bāaṅs** **bāṅ-** ring, chain, fetter  
**bāṅ<sub>a</sub>** agama lizard  
**bāṅ** *v* come to know  
**bárkà** blessing (Ar *barakah*)  
**bàs** *v* go away; abandon; throw out  
**bāuṅù** only as in *Ò kpèṅ' báuṅù* He was  
 circumcised (Songhay)  
**bàyéog<sub>v</sub>** *v* betrayer of secrets (cf *yēs*)  
**bè ger** **bèllím** *1v* exist; be in a place  
**bēdīg** *v* go rotten  
**bèdùg<sub>v</sub>** / **bèdìr** **bèdà** **bèd-** *adj* great  
**bèdug<sub>v</sub>** *q* much, a lot  
**bēe** *cl ajn* or; ends questions  
 expecting disagreement  
**bè(kè)kèong<sub>v</sub>** very early morning  
**bèlìm** *v* beg  
**bèlìs** *v* comfort  
**bēn<sub>n</sub>** **bēnā** **bèn-** end  
**bèṅ** *ger* **bēṅ'es** *v* fall ill  
**bèṅsìg** *v* serve soup  
**bèṅ** *v* mark out a boundary  
**bēṅíd** **bēṅ-** bean leaves, *Vigna*  
*unguiculata*; **bēṅíd** **nē kī** *v* beanleaf-  
 and-millet (traditional snack)  
**bēṅír** **bēṅá** **bēṅ-** brown bean

**bēog<sub>v</sub>** tomorrow; *Kà bēog nīe kà ...* Next  
 day ...; **bēog sá** / **bēog dāar** in future  
**bē'og<sub>v</sub>** / **bī'a** **bē'ed** / **bī'ēs** **bè'-** / **bī'à** - *adj* bad  
**bēogó** *cl ajn* tomorrow  
**bēogū** = **n** *v* morning  
**bèrìṅ<sub>a</sub>** **bèrìgìs** *sic* kenaf, *Hibiscus*  
*cannabinus*; **bērìgā** **bèrìg-** kenaf leaves  
**bēsūg<sub>v</sub>** **bēsīd** **bès-** k/o wide-mouthed pot  
**bīāṅ'ar** **bīāṅ'adá** / **bīāṅ'a** **bīāṅ'**- wet/black  
 mud, riverbed  
**bīāuṅk<sub>v</sub>** **bīāṅ'ad** **bīāṅ'**- shoulder  
**bíel<sub>l</sub>** **bīelá** *adj* naked  
**bìel** *v* accompany  
**bī'elá** *q* a little; **bī'el** **bī'el** *q* a very  
 little, little by little  
**bī'ēm** **bì'ēm-nām<sub>a</sub>** **bī'emmā** *lf* **bì'ēm-**  
 enemy  
**bīēn<sub>n</sub>** **bīēnā** **bīēn-** shin  
**bīēr** **bīāyá** **bīā-** elder same-sex sibling  
**bī'ēs** *v* doubt  
**bìgìs** *v* show, teach  
**bīig<sub>a</sub>** **bīis** **bì-** / **bī-** child; **bì-līa** baby; **bī-**  
**dībìṅ<sub>a</sub>** boy; **bī-púṅ<sub>a</sub>** girl; **bì-pīt<sub>a</sub>** **-pīt<sub>b<sub>a</sub></sub>**  
**-pīt-** father's younger brother; **bì-nà'ab<sub>a</sub>**  
 prince  
**bī'ig** *v* ripen, become pregnant  
**bīilíf<sub>v</sub>** **bīilí** **bīil-** seed  
**bīilím** childhood  
**bīum** **bī-** soup, stew  
**bīl<sub>a</sub>** **bībīs** **bìl-** / **bì-** *adj* little, small  
**bìlìg** *v* roll (transitive)  
**bìlìm** *v* roll (intransitive)  
**bìmbìm<sub>n</sub>** **bìmbìmà** **bìmbìm-** mound,  
 pillar of earth; KB altar  
**bīn<sub>n</sub>** excrement  
**bìṅ'isím** milk (human or animal)  
**bìṅ'isìr** **bìṅ'isà** **bìṅ'is-** woman's breast  
**bō** **bò-** *pn* what? why? **bò-būudī**  
 what sort of ..? **bō-zúg<sub>v</sub>** *cl ajn* because;  
**bō-zúg<sub>v</sub>** why? **bò-wìn<sub>n</sub>** what time of day?  
**bō kimm** exactly what?



- dàmà'a liar cf mà'  
dàmà'am dàmà'ar untruth  
dāmpūsāar/dānsāar staff, club  
dāṅkòṅ<sub>v</sub> measles  
dāpāal<sub>a</sub>' young man, son  
dārúk<sub>v</sub> k/o large pot  
dà-sāṅ<sub>a</sub> -sāans/-sām<sub>ma</sub> -sàṅ- young man  
dātāa dātāas dātà- enemy  
dàtìṅ<sub>v</sub> right-hand; KB north  
dāy dāp<sub>a</sub> dāy-/dāp- man  
dāv<sub>v</sub> dàad dà- piece of wood, log;  
pl also: wood (material); dà-kīəd<sub>a</sub>  
wood-cutter; dà-kpī'əd<sub>a</sub> carpenter;  
dà-pūudīr -pūudā cross KB  
dāv<sub>v</sub> dāad dà- *adj* male  
dàwàlìg<sub>a</sub> hot humid season before rains  
dàwān<sub>n</sub>' dāwāná dāwān- pigeon  
dāyāam<sub>ma</sub> dāyāam-nām<sub>a</sub> dāyāam-  
husband's parent  
dāyūug<sub>v</sub>' dāyūud' dāyū- rat  
dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed  
dèeg<sub>a</sub> dèes warthog  
dēēṅ<sub>a</sub> dēēṅs/dēēmīs/dēēnā dēēṅ- *q* first  
dēl<sub>la</sub>' ger dēllóg<sub>v</sub>/dēllím *1v* lean on  
something (of a person)  
dèlìm *v* begin to lean (of a person)  
dēṅ<sub>a</sub> dēmīs dēṅ- accidental bruise; defect  
dēṅ *v* go, do first  
dèṅìm *subverb* beforehand  
dì *pn* = lì  
dì ipfv dīt<sub>a</sub> imp dīm<sub>a</sub> *v* eat, get; ger dīb<sub>v</sub>  
food; Ò dì pūā'. He's married a wife.  
Ò dì nyán. She's ashamed.  
dīā' *v* get dirty  
dīā'ad' dirt  
dī'e' *v* receive, get  
dì'əm *v* play; ger dì'əmà festival  
dìəm<sub>ma</sub> dìəm-nām<sub>a</sub> 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)  
dīgīya' ger dīka'/dīgīr' *1v* lie down  
dīgīl' *v* lay down  
dīgìn *v* lie down  
dīgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf  
dīgusóg<sub>v</sub> bed; (pl) lair  
dìs *v* feed; *ag* dīs<sub>a</sub> glutton  
dìsúṅ<sub>v</sub> dīsímà/dìsís dīsúṅ- spoon  
dīm<sub>a</sub> dìn<sub>n</sub> inan *dummy head pn*  
dín dīn *pn* = lín līn  
dìndēog<sub>v</sub>' dīndēed' dīndē- chameleon  
dīndīs<sub>a</sub> glutton  
dītúṅ<sub>v</sub> right-hand  
dì-zōrōg<sub>v</sub>' -zōrá -zōr- crumb  
dōl<sub>la</sub>' ger dōllím *1v* go/come with  
dōlīg' *v* make accompany, send with  
dōlīs' *v* investigate, trace  
dōṅlīg' *v* stretch oneself  
dòṅ'os *v* water plants  
dòog<sub>v</sub> dòod/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;  
dòog bīg<sub>a</sub> housecat  
dòog<sub>v</sub> dòogd dòṅ- dawadawa fruit  
dū ipfv dūt<sub>a</sub>' imp dùm<sub>a</sub> *v* go up  
dūà' *v* bear/beget; *ag* dū'ad<sub>a</sub> relative  
dū'al *v* make interest (of a loan)  
dū'am birth  
dūaṅ dòoṅs dòṅ- dawadawa,  
*Parkia clappertoniana*  
dū'atà doctor (En)  
dūe' *v* raise, rise  
dūēr' dūāyá dūā- stick  
dū'əs' *v* lift up, honour  
dūg *v* cook  
dūk<sub>v</sub>' dūgōd' dūg- cooking pot;  
dūgōb dūt cooking pots  
dùm *v* bite  
dūm<sub>n</sub> dūmā dùm- knee  
dùndūug<sub>v</sub> dùndūud dùndù- cobra  
dūnyā dūnyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)  
dūnná this year  
dūṅ<sub>a</sub> dūmīs dùṅ- mosquito

dùr<sub>a</sub> 1v be many  
 dū'un' v pass water  
 dū'uním dū'un- urine  
 dūvsír step

**E**

ēɛɲ ptc yes; to negative question: no  
 ēɛɲ (tí) tense-slot ajn habitually  
 ēɛɲb' v lay a foundation  
 ēɛɲbír foundation  
 èɲbìs v scratch  
 èɲd v block up, plug up  
 èɲdìg v unblock, unplug  
 èɲrīg' v shift along on buttocks

**F**

=f<sub>v</sub> pn you sg  
 fāaɲ q every  
 fāaɲ' v save; fāaɲgíd<sub>a</sub> saviour, fāaɲgír  
 salvation (from Toende)  
 fāɲ v grab, rob  
 fáss *ideo for* piə̀lìg<sub>a</sub> white  
 fēɛg' v (of food) get old, cold  
 fēɲdīg' v turn round  
 fēɲ'og<sub>v</sub>' fēɲ'ed' fēɲ'- ulcer  
 fiəb v beat  
 fi'ig v cut off  
 fiɲ q a little (liquid)  
 fitlá lamp (Ha *fitilàa*); KB *fitir* pl *fità*  
 fōos' v puff (wind)  
 fù pn you, your sg  
 fùe v draw out  
 fūfūm<sub>n</sub> fūfūmā fūfūm- envy; stye  
 fún pn you sg + =n;  
 fōn lf fúnì you sg (contrastive)  
 fūug<sub>v</sub>' fūud' /fūt' fū- clothing; cloth

**G**

gàad v pass, surpass  
 gáafàrà sorry! (Ha *gaafaràa*, from Ar)  
 gà'al v button up

gà'am v grind teeth  
 gāaɲ' gāaɲs' gāɲ- jackalberry,  
*Diospyros mespilliformis*  
 gāas v pass by  
 gādū/gādūg<sub>v</sub>' gādū-nám<sub>a</sub>/gāt' gādū-/gād-  
 bed (Ha *gadoo*)  
 gəlìm v joke  
 gəlìs v exceed, get to be too much  
 gāɲr' gāɲyá gāɲr- jackalberry fruit  
 gàɲ v step over  
 gāɲ' v choose  
 gbāɲ'e' v catch  
 gbāɲyà'a idle person; gbāɲyà'am laziness  
 gbāɲ<sub>v</sub>' gbāná gbān-/gbāɲ- animal skin;  
 book (WK tp L); gbāɲ-mī'id<sub>a</sub>' scribe  
 gbēɲm gbēɲ- sleep  
 gbè'og<sub>v</sub> gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead;  
 lakeshore  
 gbēr' gbēyá gbēr- thigh  
 gbīgīm<sub>n</sub> gbīgīmā gbìgìm- lion  
 gbìn<sub>n</sub> gbìnà gbìn- buttock; base (e.g. of a  
 hill); *post* below; gbìn-vòɲr anus  
 gbìs v sleep  
 gēɛl' v place between legs (tp H)  
 gēɲm' ger gēɲmís v go/send mad  
 géɲɲ<sub>a</sub> gēɲmís madman  
 gél<sub>l</sub> gēlá gēl- egg  
 gēɲ v get tired  
 gēɲ' v get angry  
 gēog<sub>v</sub> place between legs (tp A)  
 gīɲlím shortness (cf Dagbani *jia* "short")  
 gìk<sub>a</sub> gìgìs gìg- dumb person  
 gìgìlím v become dumb  
 gīlīg' ipfv gīn<sub>na</sub>' v go around  
 gīm<sub>ma</sub>' 1v be short  
 gīɲ<sub>a</sub> gīmā gìɲ- *adj* short  
 gìɲ v scrimp  
 gīɲ' v surround, intercept, obstruct  
 gīɲā shortly  
 gīɲlím shortness (? for gīɲgīlím; cf  
 Farefare *gìlgá* "short")



gōdīg´ v look up  
 gō'e<sub>ya</sub>´ WK gōl<sub>la</sub>´ KT 1v be looking up  
 gòḥ v hunt; ipfv gòḥ<sub>nd</sub><sub>a</sub> wander,  
 ger gòḥ<sub>nd</sub><sub>im</sub>  
 gò'ɔn v look up  
 gōr<sub>a</sub>´ DK 1v be looking up  
 gōs ipfv gōsīd<sub>a</sub>´/gōt<sub>a</sub>´ imp gò(sì)<sub>m</sub><sub>a</sub>  
 ger gósìg<sub>a</sub> v look; ag gōt<sub>a</sub>´ seer  
 gū´ v guard, protect  
 gùl v hang; gùl<sub>la</sub> 1v hang  
 gùllimm lf gùllimnì fm only  
 gùm<sub>n</sub> gùmà kapok fruit; thread WK  
 gūmpōzēr´ gūmpōzēyá gūmpōzēr- duck  
 gùḥ'a gòḥ'ɔs gòḥ'- thorn; acacia;  
 gòḥ'-sābūlīg<sub>a</sub> *Acacia hockii*  
 gùḥ<sub>a</sub> gùmìs gùḥ- kapok tree,  
*Ceiba pentandra*  
 gùḥgūm<sub>n</sub> kapok material  
 gūr<sub>a</sub>´ ger gūrím 1v guard, watch for  
 gū'ul´ v put on guard  
 gù'ulim v become half-ripe  
 gùur gùyà gù- upland; riverbank  
 gūur gūyā gù- ridge of back  
 gū'us´ v take care, watch out  
 gū'us half-ripe fruits

**H**

hālí fm even, until (Berber)

**I**

iā v seek  
 iāḥ'as´ v leap  
 iāḥk´ ipfv/ag iāḥ'ad<sub>a</sub>´ v leap, fly  
 īgī<sub>ya</sub>´ ger īk<sub>a</sub>´/īgīr´ 1v kneel  
 īgīl´ v make kneel  
 īgìn v kneel down  
 íl<sub>l</sub> íl<sub>l</sub>á íl- horn  
 īsīr īsā is- scar  
 isìg v get up early

**K**

kà cl linker and, that  
 kā v bail water  
 kā´ (before complements) see kā'ḗ  
 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 kābūrí v call for admission  
 kàd v drive away; kàd sàríyà v judge  
 kā'ḗ ger kā'alím 1v not exist/be/have  
 kāl<sub>l</sub>´ kālá kāl- number  
 kàlīgā´ q few  
 kām<sub>a</sub> q every  
 kàn pn this, that  
 kàḥb ger kàḥbīr v scorch  
 kàḥdōg<sub>v</sub> adj fat, tough (person)  
 kàḥā´ pn this, that  
 kàr<sub>a</sub> 1v be few  
 kárifà KB *kerefa* (Ha *karfèe*) in telling  
 time: kárifà àtán' three o'clock  
 kàrìm v read  
 kàsēt<sub>a</sub>´ witness; testimony (French via  
 Mooré); kàsētí<sub>b</sub><sub>a</sub> witnesses  
 kē ipfv kēt<sub>a</sub>´ imp kèl<sub>a</sub> v let, cause to  
 kèkè kèkè-nām<sub>a</sub> kèkè- bicycle (Ha)  
 kès v say farewell to  
 kèlìg/kèlìs v listen  
 kēḥ ipfv kēḥ<sub>a</sub>´ imp kēm<sub>a</sub> ger kēḥ<sub>n</sub>´ v  
 come (with nā); kēḥ kēḥ welcome!  
 kēḥ´ ipfv kēḥ<sub>na</sub>´ imp kēm<sub>a</sub> (with sà) v  
 go; walk; ag kēḥ<sub>na</sub>´ traveller  
 kī´ kī-/kā- millet; kī-dà'ar -dà'adà bought  
 millet; kā-wēnnīr -wēnnā -wén- corn  
 kīà v cut  
 kīdīg´ v cross over, meet;  
 À-Kīdīgī Bū'əs Orion  
 kī'tb<sub>v</sub>´ soap; WK kīibú kīib- (Mampruli)  
 kīḥf<sub>v</sub> kīiní millet seed  
 kīs v listen

- kī'is' v deny  
 kīkām<sub>n</sub> kīkāmà fig  
 kī(η)kàŋ<sub>a</sub> kīkāmīs kīkàŋ- fig tree,  
*Ficus capensis*  
 kīkīrīg<sub>a</sub> kīkīrīs kīkīr- (local En "fairy")  
 protective spirit: men have three,  
 women four, because of the dangers of  
 childbirth; hostile kīkīrīs' live in the  
 bush ("their feet are attached  
 backwards to confuse trackers" WK);  
 demon KB (= NT kīkīr-bê'ed)  
 kīlīm' v become, change into  
 kīm v tend flock/herd  
 kīmm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly  
 kīr ger kīkīrùg<sub>v</sub>/kīrīb<sub>v</sub> v hurry, tremble  
 kīs<sub>a</sub>' ger kīsùg<sub>v</sub> *ag* kīs(īd)<sub>a</sub>' 1v hate  
 kīsùg<sub>v</sub> *adj* hateful, tabu  
 kò v get broken, break (intransitive);  
 kòbīgā (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred;  
 kòbīsí two hundred  
 kòdīg' v cut throat (of one animal)  
 kòdú banana (Twi *kwadu*)  
 kòl v put something around the neck  
 kòlībìr kòlībà bottle  
 kòlīg<sub>a</sub> kòlīs kòl- river;  
 kòlīgī=n nò-dāug<sub>v</sub> crayfish  
 kòlùg<sub>v</sub> kòn<sub>n</sub> kòlùg- sack, bag  
 kò'm' kòm- hunger  
 kòŋ'(ɔkɔ) *post* by oneself  
 kòŋbīr kòŋbā kòŋb- bone  
 kòŋbūg<sub>v</sub> kòŋbīd kòŋb- animal hair;  
 human body hair, cf *zūəbūg<sub>v</sub>*; kòŋb-  
 kīm<sub>na</sub> -kīmmīb<sub>a</sub> shepherd/herdsman  
 kòŋs/kòŋsīm v cough  
 kò'og v break  
 kò'os v break several times  
 kòt' v cut throats (of several animals)  
 kòtā<sub>n</sub> *fm* at all  
 kòtò lawcourt (En)  
 kpà' v nail, fasten  
 kpà'a kpà'a-nām<sub>a</sub> rich person  
 kpāad<sub>a</sub>' kpāadīb<sub>a</sub> kpāad- farmer  
 kpà'am riches  
 kpāam' kpā- grease, ointment  
 kpàkūr' kpàkūyá kpàkūr- tortoise  
 kpān<sub>n</sub> kpānā kpān- spear  
 kpāndīr kpāndà kpānd- baboon  
 kpār v lock  
 kpār-kēoŋg<sub>v</sub> -kēeŋd -kēŋ- rag  
 kpá'ug<sub>v</sub> kpī'iní kpā'- guinea fowl  
 kpē *pn* here  
 kpēeŋm kpēeŋm-nām<sub>a</sub> kpēeŋm- elder  
 kpēeŋm<sub>a</sub>' 1v be older than  
 kpēlá *pn* here  
 kpēlīm *subverb* still; immediately after  
 kpēlīm v remain  
 kpēn *subverb* = kpēlīm  
 kpēŋ' v enter  
 kpēŋdīr' kpēŋdá kpēŋd- cheek  
 kpēŋ'es v make enter  
 kpē'ŋ v strengthen  
 kpēoŋŋ<sub>v</sub> seniority  
 kpì v die  
 kpì'a kpì'əs kpìà'- neighbour  
 kpìà' lf kpì'a v shape wood with axe  
 kpì'e v approach  
 kpī'əma' 1v be strong, hard  
 kpìubìg<sub>a</sub> kpìubìs kpìub- orphan  
 kpìig v go out (fire)  
 kpī'ulīm v finish, come to an end  
 kpī'um kpī'umīs kpī'um- corpse  
 kpìis v quench  
 kpīkpīn<sub>na</sub>' kpīkpīnīb<sub>a</sub> kpīkpīn-  
 merchant  
 kpī'oŋ<sub>v</sub> kpī'əmə kpì'oŋ- *adj* strong, hard  
 kpìsìŋkpìlì kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;  
 also kpìsùkpìlì  
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit  
 kpòkpàrìg<sub>a</sub> kpòkpàrìs kpòkpàr- palm  
 tree, *Borassus akeassii*  
 kpòkpàrūg<sub>v</sub> kpòkpàrà kpòkpàrūg- arm,  
 wing

kù mood/polarity *ptc* not (irrealis)

kū *v* kill (Mooré *kú*)

kū *v* threaten (of rain): *Sāa kú yā*.

It looks like rain (Mooré *kúti*)

kūā *v* hoe, farm

kū'alíŋ<sub>a</sub> kū'alí(mì)s kū'alíŋ-

sleeveless traditional smock

kùd *v* work iron

kùdìg *v* shrivel up, dry out, age

kūdīm the olden days; also for *kūlīm qv*

kūdūg<sub>v</sub>/kūdīr kūdā/kūt kùd- *adj* old

kūdūg<sub>v</sub> kūt kùt- (pl used as sg) iron, nail;

sg only found in personal names

kù'əm kùà'- water; kùà'-nūud' thirst;

kùà'-ŋwīig<sub>a</sub>' current

kùəs *v* sell

kūgūr' kūgá kūg- stone

kūk<sub>a</sub> kūgūs kùg- chair

kùk<sub>a</sub> ghost

kūk<sub>a</sub>' mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*

kùkòm<sub>n</sub> kùkòmà kùkòm- leper

kùkōr' kùkōyá kùkō(r)- voice

kùkpàrìg<sub>a</sub> see *kpùkpàrìg<sub>a</sub>*

kùkūr' kùkōyá kùkūr- pig

kūl ger *kūlīg<sub>a</sub>' v* return home; marry

(woman as subject)

kūlīm *tense-slot ajn* always

kùlìŋ<sub>a</sub> kùlì(mì)s kùlìŋ- door

kùm *v* weep

kūm kùm- death; kùm-v'ūgír

resurrection KB

kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndyà'-

barren woman

kùndùŋ<sub>a</sub> kùndùmìs/kùndùnà hyena

kūb *cl ajn* or; ends questions

expecting agreement (Ha *koo*)

kūug<sub>a/v</sub>' kūus' kū- mouse

kùl *v* get drunk

kūus' *v* settle (legal judgment)

## L

lā' *article* the

là' *v* laugh

lā'af<sub>v</sub> līgīdī līg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;

là'-bīəlíf<sub>v</sub> small coin

lāafiyà/lāafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)

là'am *v* associate with; *subverb* together

là'as *v* gather together (transitive);

Bà là'as tāabā They gathered together.

làbāar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)

làbìya *1v* crouch behind something

làbìl *v* make crouch behind something

làbìn *v* crouch behind something

làbìs *v* walk stealthily

lābīs<sub>a</sub>' *1v* be wide

lābīsīg<sub>a</sub>/lābīsír lābīsá lābīs- *adj* wide;

lābīsím width

lāk' *v* open (eye, book)

lāl<sub>l</sub>a' *1v* be distant

lālīg' *v* get to be far, make far

lālílí far off

lālìŋ<sub>a</sub> lālìs lālìŋ- *adj* distant

lālìŋ<sub>v</sub> lālì lāl- *adj* distant

lām<sub>n</sub>' lāmá lām- gum of tooth;

lām-fōŋg<sub>v</sub> -fōŋd *adj* toothless

làmpō' làmpō- tax (French *l'impôt*)

lān<sub>n</sub> lānā làn- testicle

lànnìg<sub>a</sub> lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

lā'ŋ' *v* set alight

làŋgáŋg<sub>v</sub> làŋgáam<sub>n</sub>/làŋgāamà làŋgāŋg-

crab

lāŋím *v* wander around searching

lāŋk<sub>v</sub> lā'ad là'- item of goods

là'ŋ<sub>v</sub> là'amà fishing net

lèb ger *lèbīg<sub>a</sub> v* return (intransitive)

lèbìg *v* turn over; return

lèbìs *v* answer; send back; divorce (wife)

lèè *tense-slot ajn* but

lèm *subverb* again

lèm ipfv *lèmmìd<sub>a</sub> v* sip, taste

lēr *v* get ugly

lì *pn* it, its; =l<sub>i</sub> it  
 lì ipfv līt<sub>a</sub> imp līm<sub>a</sub> ger liig<sub>a</sub> v fall  
 lī v block up  
 lià *as in X lià?* where is X?  
 līdìg v turn a shirt WK  
 līdìg v astonish, be amazed  
 liəb v become  
 lì'əl v approach  
 lí'əm<sub>n</sub> lí'əmá fruit of yellow plum tree  
 líəŋ<sub>a</sub> líəmís líəŋ- axe  
 lí'əŋ<sub>a</sub> lí'əmís yellow plum tree,  
*Ximenia americana*  
 lìg v patch  
 lìgìl v cover  
 lìgìn v cover oneself  
 lībīr lībā līb- twin  
 līk<sub>a</sub> lìgīs darkness  
 lìlāalīŋ<sub>a</sub> lìlāalí(mì)s lìlāalīŋ- swallow  
 līn *pn* it + =n; līn it (contrastive)  
 līn *pn* that; līná *pn* that  
 lō v tie  
 lōb/lōbīg' v throw stones at  
 lōbudīg<sub>a</sub> lōbudís water-drawing vessel  
 lōdīg<sub>a</sub> lōdīs' lōd- corner;  
 lōdīgí=n kúgòr cornerstone KB  
 lōdīg' v untie  
 lòk<sub>v</sub> lò'ad lù'à'- quiver for arrows  
 lòmbòŋ'og<sub>v</sub> lòmbòŋ'od lòmbòŋ'- garden  
 (Ha làmbuu)  
 lòŋ<sub>a</sub> lòmīs lòŋ- k/o frog  
 lò'ŋ' v go across river, road  
 lór lóyà/lóom<sub>ma</sub> lór- car, lorry  
 lòs v dip, immerse in liquid  
 lù ipfv lūt<sub>a</sub> imp lùm<sub>a</sub> v fall  
 lūb ger lūbīr' v buck, kick, struggle,  
 throw off rider  
 lūg v swim  
 lūgūr organ, member

## M

m̀ *pn* I, my; =m<sub>a</sub> me  
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám<sub>a</sub> *sic*  
 mother's sisters/co-wives; mà-bīig<sub>a</sub>  
 sibling with same mother; mà-bīl<sub>a</sub>  
 mother's younger sister/junior co-  
 wife; mà-kpēɛŋm mother's elder  
 sister/senior co-wife; mà-pīt<sub>a</sub>'  
 mother's younger sister  
 mà' v lie, deceive  
 mà'aa lf mà'anì *fm* only  
 màal v make, sacrifice; màal-māan<sub>na</sub>  
 priest NT; traditionally, servant  
 who conducts slaying for the tēŋ-dāan<sub>a</sub>  
 mā'al' v make cool, wet  
 māan<sub>n</sub> māanā màan- sacrifice  
 má'an<sub>n</sub> mā'aná mā'an- okra  
 mā'as<sub>a</sub>' 1v be cool, wet  
 mā'asíg<sub>a</sub>/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  
 màlīāk<sub>a</sub>' màlīāk-nám<sub>a</sub>/màlīā'as' màlīā'-  
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)  
 màlīf<sub>v</sub> màlì gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)  
 màlīgìm *subverb* again  
 mālīs<sub>a</sub>' 1v be sweet, pleasant  
 mālīsíg<sub>a</sub>/mālīsír/mālīsīŋ<sub>a</sub> mālīsá/mālīsís  
 mālīs- *adj* sweet, pleasant; mālīsím  
 sweetness  
 mālōŋ<sub>v</sub> mālīmā màlòŋ- custom; sacrifice  
 mām *pn* I, me  
 mán *pn* I + =n; mān lf mánì I, me  
 (contrastive)  
 màŋgávŋ<sub>v</sub> = làŋgávŋ<sub>v</sub>  
 màuk<sub>v</sub> mà'ad *adj* crumpled up  
 mē v build  
 mē mèn *fm* too, also; mē-kàmà -soever

mēd v mash up  
 mēɛŋ<sub>a</sub> mēɛmìs mēɛŋ- turtle  
 mēlɪgìm dew  
 mēŋ<sub>a</sub>´ pn self  
 mēŋír adj genuine  
 mēt´ mēt- pus  
 mī´ ger mī´ilím 1v know  
 mīe v squeeze (?)  
 míif<sub>v</sub> mīiní okra seed  
 mī'ig v become sour  
 mī'is<sub>a</sub> 1v be sour  
 mī'isùg<sub>v</sub> mī'isà mī'is- adj sour  
 mīlīg´ v get dirty  
 mīmīilím/mīmīilóg<sub>v</sub> sweetness  
 mīt defective negative imp v do not let  
 mō v strive, struggle  
 mōd v swell  
 mōdīg´ v be patient, endure  
 mōlìf<sub>v</sub> mōlì mōl- gazelle  
 mōn v grind millet to make sà'ab<sub>v</sub>  
 mōŋ´ v refuse to lend  
 mōog<sub>v</sub> mōod mō- grass; back-country,  
 "bush"; mō-pīl grass thatch  
 mōol´ v proclaim; ag mōol-mōon<sub>na</sub>  
 mōr<sub>a</sub>´ ger mōrím 1v have; mōr nā bring  
 mṽà' v suck (of a baby)  
 mṽàk<sub>a</sub> mṽ'as mṽà'- maggot  
 mṽ'ar mṽ'a(dà) mṽà'- dam; lake  
 mṽ'as v give (to baby) to suck  
 mṽ'e v redden; ignite; become intense  
 mùj mùj- rice  
 mùl v itch  
 mùm v bury

## N

n cl catenater  
 =n 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<sub>a</sub> nà'-nām<sub>a</sub> nà'- chief, king;  
 nà'-bīig<sub>a</sub> prince/princess; nà'-yīr´  
 palace; nà'-yī-kpém<sub>ma</sub> courtiers  
 náaf<sub>v</sub> nīigí nā'- cow; nā'-dāug<sub>v</sub> ox;  
 nā'-lór place to tie cows up WK  
 nām v happen  
 nā'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom  
 nāan next, afterwards (see nyāan)  
 nāan(ī) tense-slot ajn in that case  
 nāan´ ... n v starting at ... do  
 nà'anā´ ideo easily  
 nà'as v honour; ger nà'asì honour  
 nà'-dāwān<sub>n</sub>´ pigeon  
 nāe´ v finish  
 nām tense-slot ajn still, yet  
 nām<sub>a</sub> pluraliser  
 nāmīs´ v persecute, suffer  
 nān v love, respect, appreciate  
 nà'-nēsīnnēog<sub>v</sub>´ centipede WK  
 nānná(-nā´) pn now  
 nānzū'us´ pepper (? tones)  
 nāŋ<sub>a</sub> nāmīs nāŋ- scorpion  
 nār<sub>a</sub>´ ger nārím 1v need, deserve  
 nārúg<sub>v</sub> nārú má nārūŋ- adj necessary  
 nāyīig<sub>a</sub> nāyīig-nām<sub>a</sub>/nāyīs thief;  
 nāyīigīm thievery  
 nà'-zòm<sub>n</sub> locust  
 nē preposition with; linking NPs: and  
 nē´ focus ptc  
 nē´ ptc after complements of wōv/wēn<sub>na</sub>´  
 lacking lā´  
 nē' pn this  
 nēel v reveal  
 nēm for free  
 nēm´ v grind with a millstone  
 nēer´ millstone  
 nēs v reveal; nēsìm light  
 nējya 1v be awake  
 nēm-nēer -néyà grinder

nēn<sub>na</sub>´ ger nēnním 1v envy; ag nīn-nén<sub>na</sub>  
nē'ēṅā pn this

nèog<sub>v</sub>/nèer nèed/nèyà nè- adj empty

nēsīnnēog<sub>v</sub>´ nēsīnnēed´ nēsīnné-

envious person WK; others: centipede

ñfá! Well done!

nī´ locative ptc: see =n

nì v rain

nīd<sub>a</sub>´ nīdīb<sub>a</sub>´ nīn- person; nīn-sāal<sub>a</sub>

human; nīn-pūnān<sub>na</sub>´ -pūnānnīb<sub>a</sub>

-pūnān- disrespectful person

nìe v appear, reveal; waken

nīf<sub>v</sub>´ nīnī nīn-/nīf- eye; nīf-gbáṅṅ<sub>v</sub> eyelid;

nīf-sób<sub>a</sub> miser; nīn-dáa -dāas -dá- face;

nīn-gótìṅ<sub>a</sub> mirror; nīn-gótìs spectacles;

nīn-kúgudìg<sub>a</sub> -kúgudìs eyebrow; nīn-

tâ'am tear(s); nīn-múa concentration;

Ì nīnī mù'e nē ... I'm intent on ...;

nīn-báalìg<sub>a</sub> pity; nīn-bâal-zōor pity;

Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.

nīṅ<sub>a</sub> nīimís/nīis nīṅ- bird

nī'm<sub>n</sub>´ nīmá nīm- meat

nīn-pôud pus

nīntāṅ<sub>a</sub>´ nīntāans´ nīntāṅ- heat of the day

nīṅ<sub>a</sub> nīis nīṅ- body; nīn-tōllím fever;

nīn-tāa -tāas -tà- co-wife; husband's

brother's wife; nīn-gbīṅ<sub>v</sub>´ -gbīná -gbīṅ

body (pl often as sg); nīn-gòor neck

nìṅ v do

n lā as in X n lā that is X

n ṅwà as in X n ṅwà (nā) this is X

nō v tread

nōb v get fat

nōbīg´ v grow (e.g. child, plant)

nóbìr nóbá nōb- leg, foot; nōb-bíl<sub>a</sub> toe;

nōb-ín'a toenail; nōb-púmpàṅṅ<sub>v</sub> foot

nōk´ v pick up, take up

nòṅ imp nòṅì<sub>m</sub><sub>a</sub> ag nòṅì<sub>d</sub><sub>a</sub> sic 1v love

nōṅ<sub>v</sub>´ nōṅ- poverty; nōṅ-dāan<sub>a</sub> pauper

nòṅìlím love

nōo fm exactly, just

nōor´ nōyá nō- mouth; command; nō-

dī'ēs<sub>a</sub> chief's spokesman ("linguist"),

Twì okyeame; Wínà'am nō-dī'ēs<sub>a</sub>

prophet KB; nō-lōor fasting; nō-nâar

covenant; nō-pôor oath; nō-gbáṅṅ<sub>v</sub> lip

nōor´/nōorím times (after numbers)

nū v drink

nūa´ nōos´ nō- hen; nō-dâug<sub>v</sub> cock;

nō-nyâ'aṅ<sub>a</sub> hen; Nō-nyâ'aṅ-né-ò-Biis

Pleiades

nūlìg´/nūlīs´ v make drink

nū'ug<sub>v</sub> nū'us nū'- hand, arm; nū'-bíl<sub>a</sub>

finger; nū'-dâug<sub>v</sub> thumb; nū'-ín'a -êṅ'es-

-éṅ'- fingernail; nū'-wêṅ'ed<sub>a</sub> mediator

ṅwà deictic this

ṅwā' v smash, break up

ṅwāaṅ<sub>a</sub> ṅwāamīs ṅwāaṅ- monkey

ṅwādìg<sub>a</sub>´ ṅwādīs´ ṅwād- moon, month;

ṅwād-bíl<sub>a</sub> star; Nwād-dár Venus

ṅwà'e v cut wood

ṅwā'e´ v strike, break

ṅwām<sub>n</sub>/ṅwān<sub>n</sub> ṅwāmā/ṅwānā

ṅwām-/ṅwān- calabash

ṅwè' v beat; ṅwè' X nū'ug plead with X;

ṅwè' nyō'og boast

ṅwīig<sub>a</sub>´ ṅwīis´ ṅwī- rope

ṅwīig´ v make a rope

nyā'al´ v leave behind

nyāan tense-slot ajn next

nyā'aṅ<sub>a</sub> nyā'as/nyā'amīs nyā'aṅ- adj

female (animal)

nyā'aṅ<sub>a</sub> post behind; east;

nyā'an-dòl<sub>la</sub>/-dòl<sub>l</sub> -dòllà/-dòllìb<sub>a</sub> -dòl-

disciple KB (tones sic)

nyā'ar nyā'a nyà'- root

nyāe<sub>n</sub>´ ideo brightly, clearly

nyālúṅ<sub>v</sub> nyālímá nyālōṅ- adj wonderful

nyàn<sub>n</sub> shame

nyāṅ´ v overcome; succeed in

nyàṅ<sub>v</sub> nyà'ad adj single (eye)

nyē ipfv nyēt<sub>a</sub>´ imp nyēm<sub>a</sub> v see, find;

nyē láafiyà get well

nyēε, nyēε tí tense-slot ajn habitually

nyē'ēr´ nyēdá nyē'- next-younger sibling

nyēs<sub>a</sub> 1v be confident; nyēsìm

confidence

nyēsìḡ<sub>a</sub> nyēsìs nyēsìḡ- adj confident;

nyēsìḡā´ confidently

nyīn<sub>n</sub>´ nyīnā nyīn- tooth

nyīríf<sub>v</sub> nyīrì egusi, seed of

*Colocynthis citrullus*

nyōōd intestines

nyō'og<sub>v</sub>´ chest

nyōog<sub>v</sub> sympathy: Ò zòtō nyōog.

She sympathises with him.

nyōōr nyōyā nyò- nose, breath;

nyò-vūr´ -vūyá -vūr- life

nyō'os´ smoke

nyū'e´ v set alight

nyūur´ nyūyá nyū- yam

## O

ò pn he, she, his, her; =<sub>o</sub> him, her

ón pn he, she + =<sub>n</sub>;

ōn he, she (contrastive)

òn pn this, that (animate sg)

òḡb ger òḡbīr v chew

òḡā´ pn this, that (animate sg)

## P

pà' tense ptc earlier today

pà'al v teach, inform; pā'an<sub>na</sub> pā'annīb<sub>a</sub>

pà'an- teacher

pà'al v put on top of

pāalíḡ<sub>a</sub>/pāalḡ pāalís/pāalá pāal-

adj new

pāalím recently

pāalú open space

pāanlúḡ<sub>v</sub> pāanlímìs spiderweb

pāam v receive a gift

pāas 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

pàḡ'alìm v dedicate

pàḡsìḡ v lack

pàḡ<sub>a</sub> pàaḡs pàḡ- power

pà' tì tense-slot ajn perhaps

pèbìs v blow (wind); pèbìsìm/pèbìsùḡ<sub>v</sub>

wind

pè'el v fill

pè'es v add up to, amount to

pèlìḡ v whiten, go white

pèlìs v sharpen

pèn<sub>n</sub> vagina

pē'ḡ´ v borrow; knock over WK

pèog<sub>v</sub> pèed pè- basket

pē'og<sub>v</sub>´ pē'es´ pē'- sheep; pē'-sá'a ewe

lamb

pēsìḡ´ v sacrifice

pīā v dig up

pīāḡ' v speak, praise; ger pīāḡk<sub>v</sub> pīāḡ'ad

pīāḡ'- word, (pl) language; pīāḡ'-zònà

foreign language

pìbìḡ v uncover

pìbìl v cover up

pībīn<sub>n</sub> pībīnā pìbìn- cover, lid

pìd v put on (hat, shoes, rings), with

clothing item as object; with indirect

object, put (hat etc) on someone

pīd v get bloated

pìdìḡ v take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pīe´ v wash (own body)

pìèb v blow (e.g. flute)

pìèlìḡ<sub>a</sub>/pìèlḡ pìèlà/pìèlìs pìèl- adj white

(cf zìḡ'a); pìèlìm whiteness

pìès v fool someone

pīès´ v wash

pīìḡā q ten

pīim´ pīmá pīm- arrow

pīḡf<sub>v</sub> pīḡnì pīḡn- genet

pīinī pīin- gift  
 pìl v cover  
 pìlìg v uncover  
 pīñ'il' v begin  
 pīpīrīg<sub>a</sub> pīpīrīs' pīpír- desert  
 pīsí q twenty  
 pītú pītíb<sub>a</sub> pīt- younger same-sex sibling  
 pō v swear  
 pònd v crouch down  
 pōñ'ol' v cause to rot  
 pòñ'olìm v cripple, get crippled  
 pòñ'or pòndà pòñ'- cripple  
 pònr<sub>a</sub> ger pònrīb<sub>v</sub> 1v be near  
 pònrùg<sub>v</sub> pònrà adj near  
 pòod<sub>a</sub> 1v be few, small  
 pòodìg<sub>a</sub>/pòodìr pòodà pòod- adj few,  
 small; pòodìm fewness  
 pòog<sub>v</sub> pòod'/pòt' pō- field, farm  
 pò'og v diminish, belittle  
 pōor' clan "slogan", part of its genealogy  
 WK; from pō, cf Farefare pɔrɛ  
 "family name, name one swears by")  
 pū mood/polarity ptc not (indicative)  
 pū v divide  
 pūā' pū'ab<sub>a</sub> pūà'- woman, wife; pūà'-ēlìŋ<sub>a</sub>  
 fiancée; pūà'-gīnníg<sub>a</sub>/gōōndīr  
 prostitute; pūà'-nyá'aŋ<sub>a</sub> -nyá'as old  
 woman; pūà'-pāal<sub>a</sub>' bride; pūà'-sādīr'  
 nulliparous young woman; pūà'-  
 sāñ'am<sub>na</sub> adulterer; pūà'-yù<sub>a</sub> daughter  
 pūāk<sub>a</sub> pū'as adj female (human)  
 pù'alìm v cook  
 pù'alìm v harm, damage  
 pù'alìm femininity  
 pù'alím pù'alímìs pù'alím- female organs  
 pùd v name  
 pūdīg' v divide, share out  
 pùgudìb<sub>a</sub> pùgùd-nàm<sub>a</sub> pùgùd- father's  
 sister  
 pùkòōnr pùkòōnyà pùkòñ- widow  
 pùkpāad<sub>a</sub>' pùkpāadíb<sub>a</sub> pùkpá- sic farmer

pùlmà a grass, *Imperata cylindrica*  
 pùmpōog<sub>v</sub> housefly  
 pùn subverb previously, already  
 pūñ'e' v rot  
 pūsīg<sub>a</sub> pūsīs' pūs- tamarind  
 pūsīr' pūsá tamarind fruit  
 pū-súk<sub>a</sub> pū-súgùs half  
 pūt' contents of stomach  
 pūum' pūum- flowers  
 pūug<sub>a</sub> pù- belly; Ò mòr pūug She is  
 pregnant; pūugū=n' post inside;  
 pù-pièlìm holiness; pù-tèñ'er -tèñdà  
 -tèñ'- mind  
 pūr' stomach  
 pù'us v greet, worship, thank; ger  
 pù'usìm worship; ger pù'usùg<sub>v</sub> thanks

## S

sà tense ptc yesterday  
 sà VP-final ptc hence, ago  
 sā' v be in distress  
 sàa tense ptc tomorrow  
 sāa sās sà- rain, sky; as subject of  
 ÿāñk': lightning; sāa díndēog<sub>v</sub>'  
 rainbow; sāa zúg<sub>v</sub> sky  
 sā'ab<sub>v</sub> sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"  
 sāafī lock, key (Twi safē)  
 sàal<sub>a</sub> sàalìb<sub>a</sub> sàal- human; sàal-bīig<sub>a</sub>  
 human being  
 sàalìŋā' smoothly  
 sàam<sub>ma</sub> sàam-nàm<sub>a</sub> sàam- father; sàam-  
 kpēēŋm father's elder brother; sàam-  
 pīt<sub>a</sub>' -pītíb<sub>a</sub> -pīt- father's younger  
 brother  
 sām' v mash, crumble  
 sā'an' post in the presence/opinion of  
 sāan<sub>a</sub>' sām<sub>ma</sub> sāan- guest, stranger  
 sáannìm strangerhood  
 sàbēog<sub>v</sub> sàbēed sàbè- wind, storm  
 sàbílìg<sub>a</sub>/sàbílì sàbílìs/sàbílá sàbíl- adj  
 black (cf zìñ'a)



- sàbùà sàbùès sàbùà- lover, girlfriend  
 sādı́gım tense-slot *ajñ* since, because  
 sāeñ<sub>(ya)</sub> sāaṅb<sub>a</sub> sàñ- blacksmith  
 sākárùg<sub>v</sub> sākárıd sākár- fox  
 sàlɔ̀bır bridle  
 sālımā sàlım- gold  
 sām<sub>n</sub>´ sāmá sām- debt; sām-kpâ'as<sub>a</sub>  
 household servant  
 sāmán<sub>n</sub> sāmánà sāmán- open space in  
 front of a zàk<sub>a</sub>; Sāmán-píør traditional  
 New Year ceremony  
 sàñ'am v get/make spoiled, broken  
 sāñá sānsá sān- time; sān-kán *pn* then;  
 when? sān-sí'ə=n lā *cl ajñ* at one time  
 sàñ-gbàùñ<sub>v</sub> cloud, sky  
 sāñgúnnır sāñgúnnà sāñgún- millipede  
 sāpálı Harmattan part of úun<sub>n</sub>  
 sāpī lf sāpī/sāpīnı́ *ideo* straight  
 sārıgá prison (Ha *sarkàa* "chain")  
 sàríyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàríyà-kāt<sub>a</sub> judge  
 sāvıg<sub>v</sub>´ sād' sā- broom, brush  
 sàvk<sub>v</sub> sà'ad dust mote  
 sávñ<sub>v</sub> hospitality  
 sè ipfv sèed<sub>a</sub> v transplant  
 sēoñg<sub>v</sub> rainy season  
 sì v skin, flay  
 sī'a *pn sg* some, any  
 sīa sīəs sjà- waist; sjà-lōwdı́ñ<sub>a</sub> belt;  
 sjà-nıf<sub>v</sub>´ kidney  
 sjà'al´ v get to be enough  
 sjà'ar sjà'a sjà'- forest WK; wilderness  
 sjàk v agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*); Ò  
 pū sjàkì fù nōwré. He hasn't obeyed you.  
 sjàk´ v suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)  
 sībıg<sub>a</sub>´ sībı sīb- k/o termite  
 sıd<sub>a</sub> sıdıb<sub>a</sub> sıd- husband; sıd-bıl<sub>a</sub>  
 husband's younger brother;  
 sıd-kpēeñm husband's elder brother;  
 sıd-puāk<sub>a</sub> husband's sister  
 sıd tense-slot *ajñ* truly  
 sıdà sıd- truth
- sīe´ v descend, be humbled  
 sīēbā *pn* some, any; sī'el<sub>a</sub> something,  
 anything; sī'əm somehow, anyhow  
 sīg v descend  
 sıgır´ guardian spirit  
 sıgıs´ v lower  
 sıgısır sıgısá stopping-place  
 sıg<sub>a</sub> sııs sı- vital energy, a person's  
 kıkırıs´; spirit KB; Sı-sùñ<sub>v</sub> Holy Spirit  
 (Buli *chıik*)  
 sıg<sub>a</sub> sııs African birch, *Anogeissus*  
*leiocarpa* (Buli *sıik*)  
 sıilım v cite proverbs  
 sıilıñ<sub>a</sub>/sıilıñ<sub>v</sub> sıilı(mı)s/sıilımà sıilıñ-  
 proverb  
 sııñd´ honey  
 sııñf<sub>v</sub>´/sııñg<sub>a</sub>´ sııñs´ sıñ- bee  
 sı'ıs´ v touch  
 sılınsıug<sub>v</sub> sılınsııs ghost  
 sılınsıuñg<sub>v</sub> sılınsııñd spider  
 sılòg<sub>v</sub> sıl<sub>n</sub>/sılıs sıl- hawk  
 sım v sink in a liquid  
 sın<sub>na</sub>´ ger sınım 1v be silent  
 sınsáañ k/o tiny ant  
 sıñ<sub>a</sub> sııñs sıñ- k/o very big pot  
 sı'ñ´ v begin  
 sısıbıg<sub>a</sub> sısıbıs sısıb- neem tree,  
*Azadirachta indica*  
 sısıbır sısıbà fruit of neem tree  
 sısı'əm wind, storm  
 sısùvgū=n´ post between (KB *svugin*)  
 sı'uñ<sub>v</sub> sı'imıs sı'uñ- k/o big dish  
 sō' *pn* some(one), any(one), animate sg  
 sōb<sub>a</sub> *pn* (animate dummy head sg)  
 sōb v darken; write  
 sōbıg´ v blacken  
 sōbır´ sōb- piece of writing  
 sōeñ<sub>(ya)</sub> sōoñb<sub>a</sub> sòñ- witch  
 sógıà<sub>a</sub> soldier (En)  
 sōlñ<sub>v</sub>´ sōlımá story  
 sōñ v rub

sōñ'e<sub>ya</sub>' 1v be better than; *ag* sōñ'od<sub>a</sub>'  
 sōñ'ob<sub>a</sub>' sōñ'od-  
 sōnnīr sōnnā sòn- yard-dividing wall  
 sōñs ger sōñsìg<sub>a</sub> v converse, talk with  
 sōwñg<sub>v</sub> witchcraft  
 sōwñr sōñyā sòn- liver  
 sòs ger sòsìg<sub>a</sub> v ask; *ag* sòs<sub>a</sub> beggar  
 sù v take a bath  
 sūā' v do secretly, hide  
 sūāk<sub>a</sub>' hiding place  
 sū'e<sub>ya</sub>' 1v own; ger sū'ulím property,  
 realm  
 sūen' v anoint  
 sú'əñ<sub>a</sub> sū'əmís sū'əñ- hare  
 sūər' sūāyā sūā- road; permission  
 sù'əs<sub>a</sub> yesterday  
 sù'əs v trick  
 sūgūr' ger sūgurú v show forbearance  
 sù'm goodness; well  
 sùm<sub>ma</sub> 1v be good  
 sūmmīr sūmmā sùm- groundnut  
 sùn<sub>n</sub> ger sùnñìr/sùnñòg<sub>v</sub> v bow one's  
 head; *ag* sūn<sub>na</sub> close observer WK  
 sūñ'e' v become better than  
 sūñf' /sūuñr' sūñyā sūñ- heart; sūñ-  
 búgusìm peace; sūñ-kpí'əñ<sub>v</sub> boldness;  
 sūñ-málsìm/-má'asìm -máls- joy;  
 m sūñf má'e yā I'm joyful; sūñ-pêen<sub>n</sub>  
 anger; m sūñf pèlìg nē I'm angry;  
 sūñ-sân'əñ<sub>v</sub> sorrow; m sūñf sâñ'am nē  
 I'm sad.  
 sùñ v help  
 sùñ<sub>v</sub> sùmà sùñ- *adj* good;  
 sù'ñā' well; very much  
 sùr<sub>a</sub> 1v have one's head bowed  
 sùsòm<sub>n</sub> grasshopper  
 Sūtáanà Satan  
 sūvg' v wither (leaves) WK  
 sù'ug<sub>a/v</sub> sù'us sù'- knife

## T

-tāa -tāas *after deverbial noun* fellow-  
 tāab(ā) *pn* each other  
 tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal  
 tàal<sub>l</sub> tàalà tàal- fault, sin  
 tá'am<sub>n</sub> tā'amá shea nut  
 tá'añ<sub>a</sub> tā'amís tā'añ- shea tree  
*Butyrospermum parkii*  
 tā'as' v help someone to walk  
 tàb v get stuck to  
 tàbì<sub>ya</sub> 1v be stuck to  
 tàbìg v get unstuck from  
 tàbìl v stick to (transitive)  
 tàdìg v weaken  
 tàdīm tàdīm-nàm<sub>a</sub> tàdīm- weakling  
 tàdīmís weakness  
 tàm ipfv tàmmìd<sub>a</sub> v forget  
 tàmpìñg<sub>a</sub> rock  
 tàmpūa tàmpōos tàmpò- housefly  
 tàmpūr tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip  
 tān<sub>n</sub> tānā tàn- earth; tàn-mēed<sub>a</sub> builder  
 tāñ<sub>v</sub> war; tànñp-sōb<sub>a</sub> warrior  
 tànñs ger tànñsòg<sub>v</sub> v shout;  
 Wìnnìg tànñsìd nē. The sun is shining.  
 tār<sub>a</sub>' ger tārím 1v have  
 tàsìntàl/tàtəl<sub>l</sub> palm of hand  
 tāuñ' tāñp<sub>a</sub>' tāuñ-/tāñp- opposite-sex sib  
 tèb ger tèbīg<sub>a</sub> v carry in both hands  
 tèbīg' v get heavy  
 tèbīs<sub>a</sub>' 1v be heavy  
 tèbīsìg<sub>a</sub>/tèbīsír tèbīsá tèbīs- *adj* heavy;  
 tèbīsím heaviness  
 téebùl téebùl-nàm<sub>a</sub> table (En)  
 tēeg' ipfv tēed<sub>a</sub>' v drag, pull;  
 tēeg X tùbùr punish X  
 tè'eg<sub>a</sub> tè'es tè'- baobab, *Adansonia*  
*digitata*  
 tēk' v pull  
 tènñb ger tènñbùg<sub>v</sub> v tremble, struggle  
 tènñ'es v remind  
 tēñ'es' v think; ger tēñ'esá thought

tènr<sub>a</sub> ger tēnrīb<sub>v</sub> 1v remember  
 tēn<sub>a</sub> tēns tēn- land; tēn-bīg<sub>a</sub> native;  
 tēn-dāan<sub>a</sub> earth-priest; tēn-dū'adīg<sub>a</sub>  
 native land; tēn-gbàun<sub>v</sub> land; tēn-  
 pūbg<sub>v</sub> -pūd' -pū- village; tēn-zūn<sub>v</sub>  
 -zūns foreign land; tēn-sūk<sub>a</sub> centre;  
 tēnī=n' down  
 tēnīr down; *post* under  
 tēog<sub>v</sub> tēed nest  
 tē'og<sub>v</sub> tē'ed baobab fruit  
 tì *pn* we, our; =tì us  
 tì *subverb* once  
 tjà'al v come next  
 tjàk v change  
 tì'e v rely on  
 tì'əb v get ready; (Ar *tibb* "medical art")  
 heal; tì'əb<sub>a</sub> healer  
 tiēn v remember; WK inform  
 tiēn v stretch out  
 tiēn<sub>a</sub> tiēmìs tiēn- beard; tiēn-gūr chin  
 tīg v have too much/many; ger tīgīr' glut  
 tī'ya' ger tī'ib<sub>v</sub> 1v lean (thing)  
 tūg<sub>a</sub> tūs tì- tree; tì-dāug<sub>v</sub> -dāad -dà-  
 bow for arrows  
 tī'il' v lean something  
 tūm tì- medicine; tì-kūdīm poison;  
 tì-sābīlīm a traditional remedy  
 tì'in v begin to lean  
 tīk' v press; tīk nū'ug sign  
 tīlās necessity (Ha *tiilàs*)  
 tīlīg v survive, be saved  
 tīnām<sub>a</sub> *pn* we, us (contrastive);  
 tīnāmì we + =n  
 tīntōnrīg<sub>a</sub> tīntōnrīs tīntōnr- mole  
 tīp<sub>a</sub> tīp-nām<sub>a</sub> tīp- healer  
 tīrāan<sub>a</sub> tīrāan-nām<sub>a</sub> tīrāan- neighbour,  
 peer; tīrāannīm neighbourliness  
 tīrīgà *ideo* for gīg<sub>a</sub> short  
 tīs/tì= ipfv tīsìd<sub>a</sub>/tìt<sub>a</sub> *ag* tīs<sub>a</sub> v give  
 tītā'al proud person; tītā'alīm pride  
 tītā'am multitude

tītā'ug<sub>v</sub>/tītā'ar tītādā tītā'- *adj* big  
 tō OK (Ha *tōo*)  
 tōd v give to the poor, share  
 tōya' 1v be bitter, difficult  
 tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")  
 tólīb *ideo*  
 tōlīs' v do next, advance, carry on  
 tólhìlì *ideo* for wōk<sub>v</sub> tall  
 tōn v shoot  
 tōn'os v hunt  
 tōog<sub>v</sub> tōod tō- *adj* bitter, difficult  
 tōom' v depart, disappear  
 tō'otō' straight away  
 tūà v grind in a mortar; tūà-bīl<sub>a</sub> pestle  
 tūà' v speak, plead in court  
 tū'al v condemn in court  
 tū'as v talk; *ag* tū'as-tū'as<sub>a</sub>  
 tūbīr tūbà tūb- ear; tūb-kpīr half of jaw  
 tūədīr tūədā tūəd- mortar  
 tūen<sub>n</sub> *post* in front; KB *tuona* west;  
 tūen-gāt<sub>a</sub> leader  
 tūlīa' 1v be hot  
 tūlīg v invert  
 tūlīg' v heat up  
 tūm v work; ger tūm<sub>n</sub> tūmā tūm-  
 deed, (pl) work; *ag* tūm-tūm<sub>na</sub>  
 tūm ger tūtūmīs v send  
 tūn'e 1v control; be able  
 tūsīr' thousand  
 tūtūl upside-down thing  
 tūlīgā' hotly  
 tūlóg<sub>v</sub> tūlál tūl- *adj* hot  
 tū'us' v meet

## U

ūdòg<sub>v</sub> ùt ùd- piece of chaff  
 ūgōs' v bring up a child  
 ùk v lift up; vomit  
 ūk v bloat  
 ùm v close eyes  
 ūrīg' v scrape

úbn<sub>n</sub> dry season

ūbs' v get warm (of a person)

## V

vābī<sub>ya</sub>' ger vāp<sub>v</sub>'/vābīr' 1v lie prone

vābīl' v make lie prone

vābìn v lie prone

vāe v gather up

vāvūg<sub>v</sub>' vāand' vāñ- leaf

vē' v lead

vē'eg' v drag

vèn<sub>na</sub>/vèñl<sub>la</sub> 1v be beautiful

vèñllìg<sub>a</sub>/vèñllìḡ<sub>a</sub>/vènnìg<sub>a</sub>/vènnìr

vèñllìs/vèñllìs/vèñllà/vènnìs/vènnà

vèñl-/vèn- *adj* beautiful; vènnìm beauty

vī' v uproot

vīig' v postpone, reschedule

vīk' v uproot

vīug<sub>v</sub>' vīid' vī- owl

vōb' v thrash

vū ger vūug<sub>v</sub>' v make noise; vūud' noise

vūe<sub>ya</sub>' 1v be alive

vúəḡ<sub>a</sub> vūəmís red kapok,

*Bombax buonopozense*

vúəḡ vūáa vūə- fruit of red kapok

vōl v swallow

vòltnvùuḡ<sub>l</sub> mason wasp

vōm' vōm- life

vōr' vōyá vōr- *adj* alive

vūrīg' v move over

vō'ug' v come, make alive

vō'us' ger vō'usím v breathe, rest

## W

wā' v dance

wāad' cold weather

wāaf<sub>v</sub> wīigí wā'- snake

wāal' v sow seed

wā'alím length

wā'am<sub>a</sub>' 1v be long, tall

wàbìg<sub>a</sub>/wàbìr wàbìs/wàbà wàb-  
lame person

wàbìlìm v make, go lame

wābūg<sub>v</sub>' wābīd' wāb- elephant

wādá wād- (En "order") law

wà'e<sub>ya</sub> 1v be travelling

wālīg<sub>a</sub> wālīs/wālí *sic* wàl- k/o gazelle

wàḡìm v waste away

wàsìnwàl<sub>l</sub> a parasitic gall on trees:

local En "mistletoe"

wàḡḡ<sub>v</sub> wàná wàḡḡ- *adj* wasted, thin

wēel' v be left unsold

wēl v bear fruit

wēl' wēlá wēl- fruit

wēlá/wālá *pn* how?

nìḡ wēlá n/kà how can ..?

wēn<sub>na</sub>' ger wēnním 1v be like

wēnnìr *adj* resembling (tp A, WK)

wèog<sub>v</sub> deep bush

wēog<sub>v</sub>' wēed' cheap thing sold in

abundance WK

wjāk' v hatch

wìdìḡ v scatter

wìef<sub>v</sub> wìdì wìd- horse; wìd-lōr' place to

tie horses up WK; wìd-dāv<sub>g</sub> stallion;

wìd-ḡyá'aḡ<sub>a</sub> mare

wìd<sub>a</sub>/wèed<sub>a</sub> wìb<sub>a</sub> wìd- hunter

wīig<sub>a</sub>' whistle

wìm disease ("worse than bāḡ'as" WK)

wìk ipfv wìid<sub>a</sub> v fetch water

wìl wìlà wìl- branch

wìlìsúḡ<sub>v</sub> wìlímís wìlìsúḡ- k/o snail

wím *ideo* for zìḡ'a red

wīn<sub>n</sub>' wīná wīn- spiritual essence; god;

God; fate; wīn-tōḡ<sub>v</sub> misfortune

Wínà'am God (WK Wínnà'am)

wìnnìg<sub>a</sub> wìn- sun; wìn-līir/-kōḡḡḡ sunset

wìug<sub>v</sub>/wìir wìyà/wìid wì- *adj* red (cf zìḡ'a)

wōk<sub>v</sub>'/wā'ar' wā'a/wā'ad' wōk-/wā'-

*adj* long, tall

wòm ger wōm<sub>mv</sub>/wòmmòg<sub>v</sub> v hear;  
smell; understand; Fò wóm Kūsáalèè?

Do you understand Kusaal?

Ēεη, m wóm. Yes, I do.

wōsā/wōv q all

wōv *preposition* like, resembling

wō'ug' v get wet

wō'ul' v make wet

## Y

yà *pn* you, your pl; =ya you pl

=ya *pn* you pl (subject after imperative)

yā *independent-pfv ptc*

yà' *post-subject ptc* if, when;

yà' nāan if only; yà' pùn even if

yáa *pn* whither? yáa ní where?

yáab<sub>a</sub> yāa-nám<sub>a</sub> 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)

yáaη<sub>a</sub> yáas yāaη- grandchild, descendant

yāar' v scatter

yàarim yàar- salt

yà'as<sub>a</sub>/yà'as again

yā'as' v open repeatedly

yàd(d)ā trust (Ha yàrda)

yādīg' v scatter; yāt<sub>a</sub>' participant  
in a housebuilding ritual

yā'e' v widen, open (mouth)

yàk v unhang, unhook

yàlīm<sub>a</sub> 1v be wide

yālīm' yālīm-nám<sub>a</sub> worthless person

yālsúη<sub>v</sub> yālmís yālsúη- quail

yàlòη<sub>v</sub> yàlmà yàlòη- *adj* wide

yām<sub>n</sub> yāmā yām- hay

yām'/yā'am' WK yām- gall (bladder);  
common sense

yàmmòg<sub>a/v</sub> yàmmìs yàm- slave

yānám<sub>a</sub> *pn* you pl (contrastive);

yānámì you pl + =n

yàug<sub>v</sub> yàad grave, tomb

yē *cl linker* that

yè v dress oneself

yèεg v undress oneself

yèel v dress someone

yēεs' v betray a secret

yèl ipfv yèt<sub>a</sub> ger yèlòg<sub>v</sub> v say, tell

yēl' yēlá yēl- (pl as *post*: about)

matter, affair; yēl-méηìr truth;

yēl-náròη<sub>v</sub> necessity; yēl-pákìr

disaster; yēl-súm<sub>n</sub> blessing

yēηím v oscillate (like waves)

yèog<sub>v</sub> yèed bird's crop

yèog<sub>v</sub> yèed weed, straggler,

person displaced from family

yéoη q one (in counting)

yī ipfv yīt<sub>a</sub>' imp yīm<sub>a</sub> v go, come out

yìdìg v go astray

yīdīg' v untie

yìer jaw

yīigá q firstly; yīig-sób<sub>a</sub> first person

yīs' ger yīsíb<sub>v</sub> v make go/come out

yīmmír yīmmá yīm- *adj* unique, sole

yīmmú q straight away, at once

yīnní q one

yìη<sub>a</sub> outside

yīr' yā' yī- house; yī-dāan<sub>a</sub>

householder; yī-sób<sub>a</sub> yī-sób-nām<sub>a</sub>

householder; yī-dím<sub>a</sub> members of the

household; yī-sígìdìr lodging-house;

yín<sub>n</sub> at home pl yáa=n

yīs v make go/come out

yīη<sub>v</sub>' yīná *adj* single (of a pair)

yò v close

yō v pay; ger yōod' pay

yōlīs' v untie

yōlīsím freedom

yōlōg<sub>v</sub>' yōn<sub>n</sub>' yōl- sack; £100, 200 cedis

yò'og v open

yòor yòyà yò- soldier ant  
 yuà v bleed; fornicate WK  
 yū'adīr yū'adā rafter  
 yùbìg<sub>a</sub> yùbìs yùb- small bottle-like pot  
 yū'ər yuādā yù'ər- penis  
 yūgudīr yūgudā yùgùd- hedgehog  
 yōgóm<sub>n</sub> yōgómá yōgōm- camel  
 yùlìg v swing (transitive)  
 yùug v get to be a long time, delay  
 yùul v swing (intransitive)  
 yū'um' v sing; *ag* yōum-yū'um<sub>na</sub>  
 yū'um<sub>n</sub> yū'umá yū'um-/yōum- song  
 yòum<sub>n</sub> yòmà yòum- year  
 yū'bn *tense-slot ajn* then, next  
 yú'bn<sub>v</sub> yū'umís yū'bn- night  
 yū'ur' yūdā yū'- name  
 yōur yōyā yù- water pot

## Z

zā' zā- millet  
 zāalìg<sub>a</sub>/zāalì zāalís/zāalá zāal- *adj* empty;  
 zāalím emptily  
 zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsōbīr' evening  
 zàṅ'an<sub>n</sub> zàṅ'anà hammer, bludgeon  
 zàaṅsìm v dream; ger zàaṅsú<sub>v</sub>  
 zàaṅsímà zàaṅsú<sub>v</sub>- dream  
 zāaṅsím zāaṅs- soup  
 zàb ger zàbīr v fight; hurt; zàb-zàb<sub>a</sub>  
 warrior; gbān-záb<sub>a</sub> leather-worker  
 zàbìl v cause to fight  
 zàk<sub>a</sub> zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nōor' gate  
 zàkìm v itch  
 zàlìṅ<sub>a</sub> zàlìmìs zàlìṅ- electric eel  
 zàm ipfv zàmìd<sub>a</sub> v cheat; *ag* zàm-zām<sub>na</sub>  
 zàmìs v learn, teach  
 zāṅ'a q every  
 zàṅ'as v refuse  
 zàṅbìl v tattoo, mark skin  
 zāṅbīn<sub>n</sub> zāṅbīnā zàṅbìn- tattoo; KB sign  
 zāṅlì<sub>a</sub>' ger zāṅllím 1v have in hands  
 zàṅlì umbilicus

zàṅ v pick up  
 zàṅgùem<sub>n</sub> zàṅgùemà zàṅgùem- wall  
 zàṅkù'ar zàṅkù'a(dà) zàṅkùà'- hyena  
 zēm<sub>ma</sub>' ger zēmmú<sub>v</sub> 1v be equal  
 zēmīs' v make equal  
 zēmmú<sub>v</sub> zēmmá zēm- *adj* equal  
 zī ger zīid' v carry on head; *ag* zī-zīid<sub>a</sub>  
 zī' ger zī'ílím 1v not know  
 zì'e<sub>ya</sub> ger zī'a/zī'əg<sub>a</sub> 1v stand  
 zì'əl v make stand; zì'əl nōor' promise  
 zì'ən v stand; Ò zì'ən nē. She's pregnant.  
 zīum' zī- blood  
 zīiṅ<sub>a</sub> zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbāṅ'ad<sub>a</sub>  
 fisherman  
 zìlìm<sub>n</sub> zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue  
 zīlīnzìog<sub>v</sub> *adj* unknown  
 zīm *ideo* for sābílìg<sub>a</sub> black  
 zīnā today  
 zìṅ'a/zèṅ'ug<sub>v</sub> zèṅ'ed/zèṅ'es/zèṅdà zèṅ'-  
*adj* red. Kusaal has a three-colour  
 system: zèṅ'og<sub>v</sub>/wìug<sub>v</sub> all reddish  
 shades; sābílìg<sub>a</sub> all darker shades;  
 pìəlìg<sub>a</sub> all lighter shades. Any colour  
 can be allocated to one of these, but  
 many other standard terms exist, e.g.  
 wōv támpōur nē "grey" ("like ash")  
 zìṅ'i<sub>ya</sub> 1v sit; ger zīṅ'ig<sub>a</sub> zīṅ'is zìṅ- place  
 zìṅ'il v make sit, seat  
 zìṅ'in v sit down  
 zīnzāuṅ<sub>v</sub>' zīnzānā zīnzáuṅ- bat  
 zīrí untruth  
 zò ipfv zòt<sub>a</sub> imp zòm<sub>a</sub> v run; fear; ger  
 zūa/zōog<sub>v</sub> run; ger zòtìm fear; Ò zòtō  
 nīn-baalìg. He has pity on him.  
 zōl v castrate  
 zōlìmís foolishness  
 zōlōg<sub>v</sub>' zōn<sub>n</sub>' zōl- fool  
 zōm' zōm- flour  
 zōom<sub>n</sub> zōomā zòom- refugee, fugitive  
 zōrìg<sub>a</sub>' small child WK  
 zōrōg<sub>v</sub>' zōrá piece

zū v steal

zṽà zṽà-nàm<sub>a</sub> zṽà- friend

zù'e v get higher, more

zùe v perch, get on top

zūəbúg<sub>v</sub> zūəbíđ zūəb- (human head) hair

zùəd friendship

zùəl v make to perch

zū'əm' zū'əmís zū'əm- blind person

zū'əm' v go/make blind

zùən v begin to perch

zūər zṽāyā zṽà- hill

zùəs v befriend

zūg<sub>v</sub>' zūt' zū(g)- head; *post* onto,

due to; zūgú=n *post* on; zūg-dâan<sub>a</sub>

master; zūg-kūgūr -kūgā -kúg- pillow;

zūg-sób<sub>a</sub> master (KB only "the Lord");

zū-péelòg<sub>v</sub> -péelà *adj* bald; zū-píbìg<sub>a</sub> hat

zùg v work bellows

zùlìg v deepen

zùlìm<sub>a</sub> 1 v be deep

zùlòḡ<sub>v</sub> zùlìmà zùlòḡ- *adj* deep

zùlòḡ<sub>v</sub> depth

zùnzòḡ<sub>a/v</sub> zùnzòḡḡs zùnzòḡ-

blind person

zūríf<sub>v</sub> zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed

zú'uhf<sub>v</sub> zū'uhí dawadawa seed

zùuḡ<sub>v</sub> zùuḡs/zùuḡđ zùḡ- vulture

zūr zūyā zù- tail