

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

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2021



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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. Although I had the benefit of some coaching in the language by SB (see Sources), no instructional or descriptive materials were available; however, with 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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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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Swansea, May 2021
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Abbreviations

C	consonant	cif	compound-initial form
ger	gerund	H	high
imp	imperative	intr	intransitive
ipfv	imperfective	L	low
lf	long form	M	mid
NP	noun phrase	pfv	perfective
pl	plural	sf	short form
sg	singular	tp	tone pattern
tr	transitive	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):

KB Kusaal Bible

B1 *Wina'am Gboŋ*. 1976. World Home Bible League.

B2 *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. 1996. The Bible League/GILLBT.
Text and audio via www.bible.is

B3 *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. 2016. GILLBT.
Android application via www.kusaal-bf.com

BN *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.

KS *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.

KK *Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ*. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah. 1988.

These sources are cited as written, with a transliteration. Tone was checked against the B2 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 B3 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.

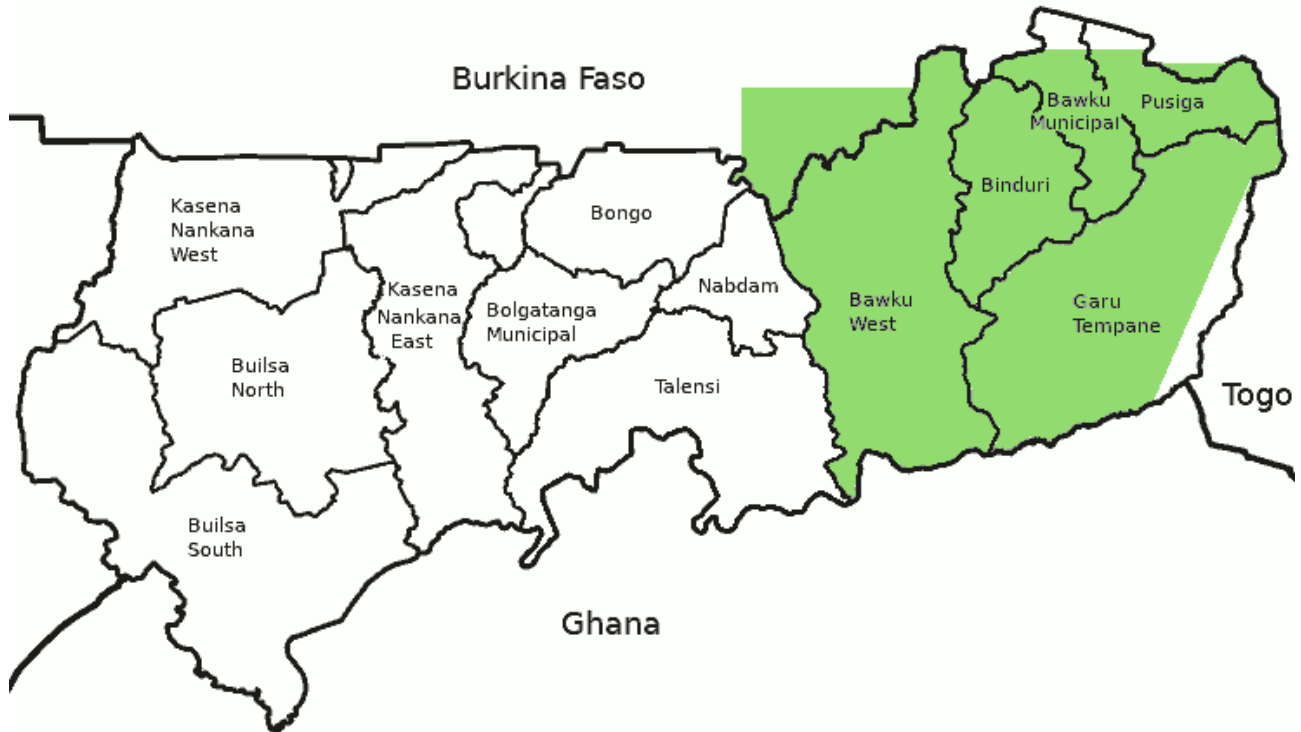
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1 Introduction

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, *W̄ɪn* "God", is invoked in proverbs and greetings but is remote from everyday life, and not approached in prayer or worship. Proverbs say

D̄ɪm n̄ɛ W̄ɪn, d̄ā t̄u'as n̄ɛ W̄ɪnné=∅.

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

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

W̄ɪn n̄ȳé k̄à s̄ɪn.

"God sees and is silent."

God:SG see and be.silent.

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

A human being is understood as having four components: *nìn-gbīn* "body"; *nyò-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*. *Sōṅb* "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-tōṅ*, 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.

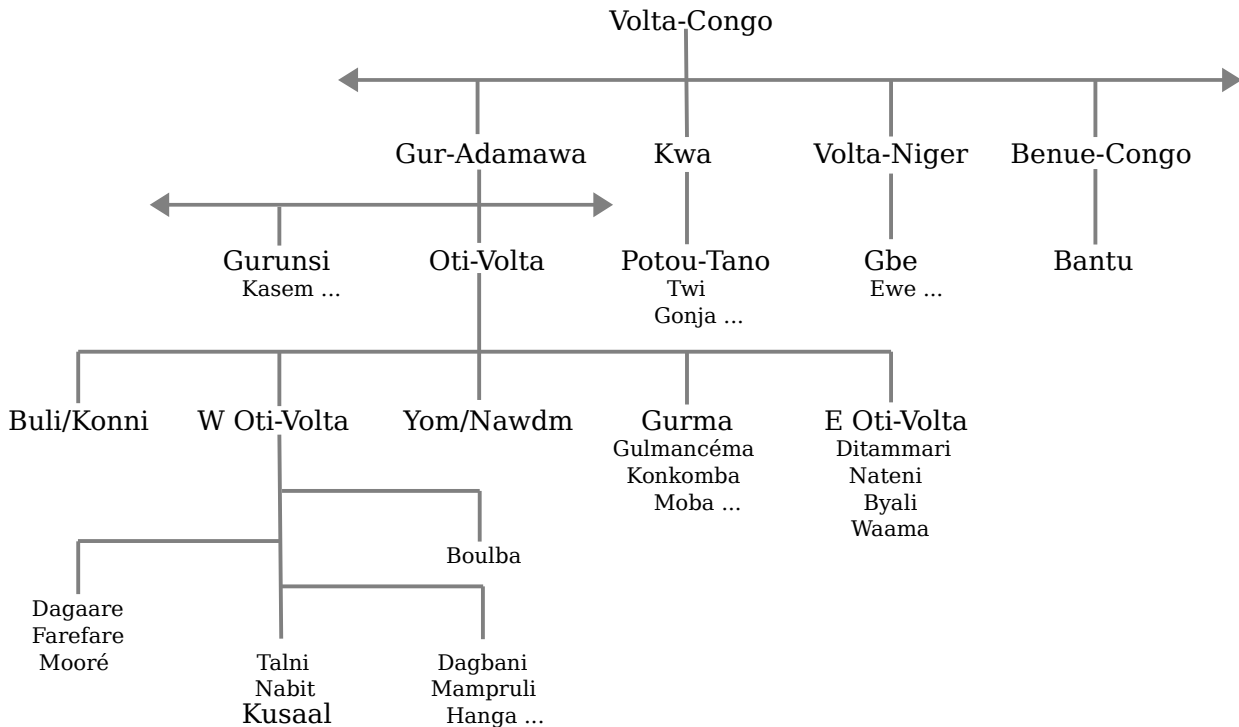
There is a major dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably attributable to the depopulation near the White Volta caused by the river blindness prevalent until recent times. My informants reported little difficulty understanding Toende speakers, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; 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 about as diverse as Romance.

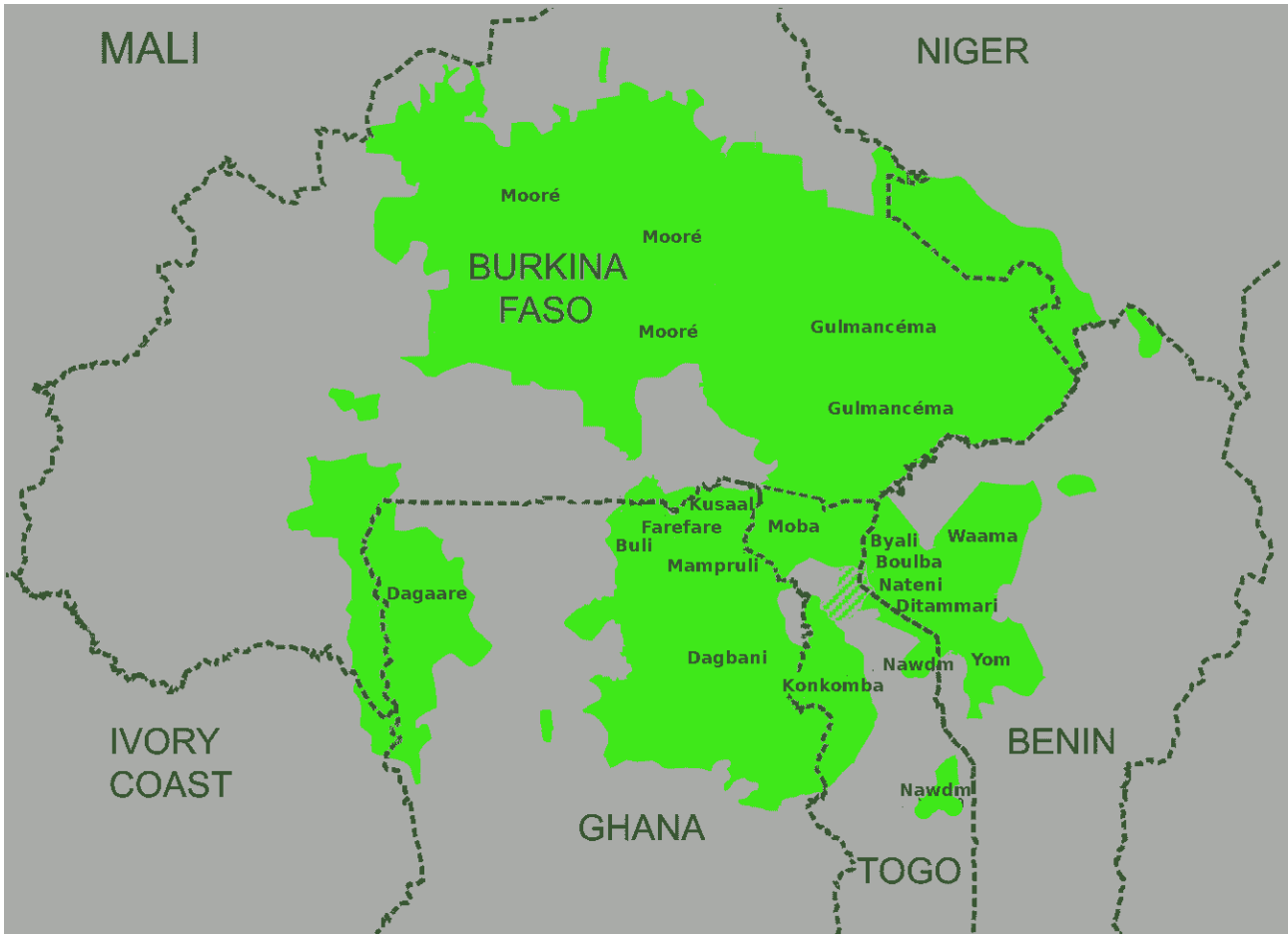
Dagaare, Farefare and Mooré should perhaps be represented as individual branches; Boulba shares several areal features with Eastern Oti-Volta. These four languages have lost the inherited imperative flexion *-ma*. Throughout the group, most verbs use the stem as pfv and add *-da* for ipfv; there is also a small conjugation of ipfv-only verbs in *-(y)a* expressing stances, relationships and qualities. Most Western Oti-Volta 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 verbs mark aspect using many different suffixes and stem tone changes, in ways which are often unpredictable.

Eastern Oti-Volta is also quite distant from Western Oti-Volta. It is internally very diverse. Dittammari and Nateni form a subgroup, with Byali more loosely associated, but Waama may be a distinct branch of Oti-Volta: linguistic areal phenomena in northwestern Benin 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], *ŋ* 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 kā' gbīgīm̄nē=∅. "It's not a lion."
3IN NEG.be lion:SG=NEG.

Lì à nē gbígìmn̄èè=∅? "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=f̄=∅. 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: Gòsımī! "Look (pl)!" by apocope from gòsımī=yá.

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

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

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

The phonology of Kusaal is greatly complicated by apocope. For example, apocope deletes segments responsible for rounding and fronting effects on preceding vowels, creating diphthongs and contrasts among epenthetic vowels. Thus the lf **vīugú** "owl" has **iu** for **ii** because of the rounding effect of the suffix vowel; after apocope, the diphthong of **vīug** contrasts with the vowel of **vīid** "owls", shortened from **vīidí**. Similarly, **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	
būvg	būs	"goat"	sàbùa	sàbùəs	"lover"
nūa	nōs	"hen"	kūk	kūgūs	"chair"
zàk	zà'as	"compound"	dà'a	dà'as	"market"

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

kūk	"chair"	+ pièlìg	"white"	→ kùg-pièlìg	"white chair"
būvg	"goat"	+ pièlìg	"white"	→ bù-pièlìg	"white goat"
būvg	"goat"	+ sī'a	"another"	→ bù-sī'a	"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" (*zūg* "head.")

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

Tì sá tìsī=f 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 *àḡn* "be something." *Àḡn* 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*:

Gòsìm 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 kúəs bùŋù_ ø tísì=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 nyéε=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 nyē búŋ 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 zīŋ-sí'a yīgá lā "the first fish that you catch"
 2SG:NZ catch fish-INDF.IN firstly ART

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

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

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

Purpose clauses lack independency marking, and have imperative mood:

M ná tī=f tīm 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" (*na'araug* KB.) Elsewhere **d** and **r** contrast:

èndìg	"unplug"	ēnrīg	"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.

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

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 $\underset{\cdot}{i}a \underset{\cdot}{u}a \underset{\cdot}{i}ə \underset{\cdot}{u}ə$ represent phonemic **diphthongs**. Non-initial [ɪ] is written e except after ε , [ʊ] as o except after a , [i̠] as e except after εu .

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	ui
$a\underset{\cdot}{u}$	$\varepsilon\underset{\cdot}{u}$	$\underset{\cdot}{i}a\underset{\cdot}{u}$					$u\underset{\cdot}{u}$
av	εo		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)!"	$b\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{i}=yá$	long form
$zúo$	"steal him"	$zúó=o$	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"	$t\bar{e}\underset{\cdot}{e}\underset{\cdot}{n}\underset{\cdot}{s}$	"lands"
$b\underset{\cdot}{i}\bar{a}\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{n}\underset{\cdot}{k}$	"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 $m n \eta$.

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

$dà'a$	"market"	$dà'$	"buy"
$k\underset{\cdot}{p}ì'a$	"neighbour"	$k\underset{\cdot}{p}ì'à'$	"carve"
$p\bar{u}'ab$	"women"	$p\bar{u}'ā'$	"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'əsídubā* "receivers", *sǎkǎdubā* "believers", *sǎgǎsídubā* "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/u* 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. In a few words, superlight syllables with initial *r* carry H.

<i>Bà kǎ' dī'əsídubā.</i>	"They are not receivers."
<i>Lì kǎ' mólufò.</i>	"It's not a gazelle."
vs <i>Ò pū zábi=fò.</i>	"He hasn't fought you."
<i>Kà yà pū sǎkǎdā.</i>	"But you did not agree." (Lk 13:34)
<i>Bà kǎ' Gūrísē.</i>	"They are not Farefare people."

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-!púŋā.	"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-púŋàa?	"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 dūɪyā* "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. B3 has the same basic conventions as this grammar, but uses *i* for both **i** and **ɪ**: *biig bīig* "child", *tiig tūig* "tree."

B3 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 B3: so always in *one kanɛ line banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

B3 sometimes writes *e* for the vowel of superlight syllables: *bedegv bèdɔgō* "a lot", *sanrega sārɪgá* "prison."

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

B3 has *-uoe -voe* for **-ue -ve**: *duoe dūe* "raise, rise", *sv'oe sū'e* "own."

io [iʊ] is written *ieu* in B2/3: *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 B3: *pu'a pūā'* "woman", *pu'ab pū'ab* "women." Final **ʊ'a** in long forms is written *u'aa*, reflecting its realisation [u̠ɑː].

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

B3 has *iey uoy* for **ɪay ʊay**: *bieya bīāyá* "elder same-sex siblings", *suoya sūāyá* "roads." Older texts use *uey*: *sueya*.

Except with *an àŋ* "be" and *ka' kā'* "not be", verb-final monophthongisation is usually ignored: *faaen ti fāaŋ=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 B3 uses an ambiguous single *n*: *gaan gāaŋ* "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

The 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. Bound forms need not be syntactically dependent: all personal pronouns head their NPs, and bound compound-initial forms (cifs) are heads before adjectives or demonstratives: *tì-kàṅā* "this tree." Conversely, free forms may appear within compounds: [*ānzúrɔ̀fà nē sālīmā lá'*]-*māan* "[silver and gold goods]-maker." No phonological or structural features consistently distinguish bound words from free; however, left-bound liaison words §4.4 are distinct segmentally and tonally both from other left-bound words and from free words: the term **clitic** will be reserved for these and for "prosodic" clitics §4.3.

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* "fisher", *bù-pièlìg* "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 B3; previously, =m "me" was written as a separate word, while the mora before =f "you" was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

F̀v̀ d̀olli ti.

"You come with us."

F̀v̀ d̀óllī=tí.

2SG go.with=1PL.

Fu dolli m.

B3 d̀ollim

"You come with me."

F̀v̀ d̀óllī=m.

2SG go.with=1SG.

M dol uf. B3 döllif "I go with you."
 M̄ döllī=f.
 1SG go.with=2SG.

M gban'e uf. B3 gban'af "I've seized you."
 M̄ gbân'a=f.
 1SG seize=2SG.

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:

Fv dɔl o. [dɔl:ɔ] "You go with her."
 Fv̄ döllō=ø.
 2SG go.with=3AN.

Fv pɔ dɔl oo. "You don't go with her."
 Fv̄ p̄ dölló=o=ø.
 2SG NEG go.with=3AN=NEG.

Fv nyɛ o. "You've seen her."
 Fv̄ nyéo=ø.
 2SG see=3AN.

Fv pɔ nyɛ oo. "You've not seen her."
 Fv̄ p̄ nyéó=o=ø.
 2SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.

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'əmī=n* "in water", or preserving their vowels before prosodic clitics, as in *ku'ominɛ kù'əmī=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 B3.

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

Ba nwɛnɛ bɔ? "What are they like?" (Lk 7:31)
 Bà wèn nē bó=∅?
 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 gàad yā.
 Now 3AN pass ND.

Older texts write *-eya* after consonants: *gaadeya* etc.

A word-final syllable before a prosodic clitic is often mistaken for a separate particle in older materials, and occasionally even in B3:

Amaa fɔ anɛ ninsaal ka ka' win nɛ.
 Àmáa fù á nē nīn-sāal kà ká' wīnné=∅.
 But 2SG be FOC human:SG and NEG.be god:SG=NEG.
 "But you are a human being, not a god." (Ez 28:2)

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 sf *bīig*, but at the end of clauses with negative VPs, questions (content or polar), or vocatives, it appears as the lf *bīigā*:

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

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

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

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

The sf is derivable from the lf by **apocope**:

A final long vowel is shortened and a final short vowel is deleted							
Final diphthongs shorten by one mora:							
ia	→ ịa	ua	→ ụa	ịa'a	→ ịa'	v'a	→ ṿa'
ae	→ ạe	av	→ ạv	ui	→ ụi		
Vaa	→ Va	Vee	→ Ve	Vuu	→ Vu		
Nasal and/or glottal diphthongs behave in the same way							
Subsequently							
Word-final consonant clusters drop the second consonant (kk tt pp ηη become k t p η but are written single in any case)							
Word-final y becomes zero after ɪ/e/i and e/ɪ otherwise							

Examples:

Lì à nē dōk.

3IN be FOC pot:SG.

"It's a cooking pot."

Dōk lā bódìg yā.

Pot:SG ART get.lost ND.

"The pot has got lost."

Lì k̄a' dōkó=∅.

3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

"It's not a pot."

Lì à nē dōkó=∅?

3IN be FOC pot:SG=PQ?

"Is it a pot?"

Lì à nē kōk.

"It's a chair."

Lì k̄a' kōk̄a.

"It's not a chair."

Lì à nē gbīgīm.

"It's a lion."

Lì k̄a' gbīgīm̄nē.

"It's not a lion."

Lì à nē yáar̄im.

"It's salt."

Lì k̄a' yáar̄imm.

"It's not salt."

Lì à nē dāy.

"It's a man."

Lì k̄a' dāy.

"It's not a man."

Bà à nē gbīgīm̄a.

"They're lions."

Bà k̄a' gbīgīm̄a.

"They're not lions."

Kà ò s̄iák.

And 3AN agree.

"And he agreed."

Ò p̄y s̄iák̄e=∅.

3AN NEG agree=NEG.

"He hasn't agreed."

Kà ò dīgī.	"And she's lying down."	Ò p̄ dīgīyá.	"She isn't lying down."
Kà ò v̄ē.	"And she's alive."	Ò p̄ v̄yá.	"She's not alive."
Kà ò kīá.	"And she cut (it)."	Ò p̄ kía.	"She hasn't cut (it)."
Kà ò p̄āe.	"And he arrived."	Ò p̄ p̄āée.	"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 §3.5. Lfs will be cited in a generalised form lacking the final vowel quality and tone changes specific to each of these three contexts; note in particular that this form lacks the changes of ι υ to ϵ \omicron and $m\iota$ to mm seen before prosodic clitics in the examples above.

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.") Although sfs are here regarded as synchronically derived from lfs, most lfs can be predicted from sfs along with relevant flexional paradigms, and some lfs have been remodelled by analogy.

The default lf ending corresponding to sfs ending in a consonant is ι . Before prosodic clitics $m\iota$ appears as mm , with ι otherwise appearing as ϵ . Thus e.g.

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

Lì p̄ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig 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 B2)

Sfs ending in long monophthongs have segmentally identical lfs. Most other sfs ending in vowels have lfs obtainable by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong; sfs ending in $\dot{\iota}a'$ $\dot{\upsilon}a'$ have lfs in $\dot{\iota}a'a$ $\dot{\upsilon}a'a$ by default. However, all but five 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in $-ya$; for DK (not WK) so do $s\bar{o}\eta$ "witch" and $s\bar{a}\eta$ "blacksmith."

Individual words and hyphenated phrases will be cited henceforward 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
mòlì	"gazelles"		mòlì
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 _a	"child"	lf	bīgā
dōk _v '	"pot"		dōkú
dīgī _{ya} '	"be lying down"		dīgīyá
sjàk	"agree"		sjàkì
yàarìm	"salt"		yàarìmì
gbīgīm _n	"lion"		gbīgīm _n ì

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

vōɛ _{ya} '	"live"	lf	vōyá
sāɛ _n _{ya}	"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: kpjà' lf kpì'a "shape wood."

Lf-final syllables carry L, unless the last sf toneme is M, in which case the last lf syllable carries either M or H. M is taken as the default, with a following ´ mark signifying that H is to be imposed instead:

	kōk _a	"chair"	lf	kōkā
	sīa	"waist"		sīāa
	dāu	"man"		dāu
but	dōk _v '	"pot"		dōkú
	vīid'	"owls"		vīidí
	nūa'	"hen"		nūāa
	tāu _n '	"opposite-sex sib"		tāu _n

X becomes H on syllables which are open in the lf:

nû'ug _v	"hand"	lf	nú'ugò
--------------------	--------	----	--------

Lf superlight syllables are toneless unless the corresponding sf syllable has H:

	nóbìr	"foot"	lf	nóbìrì
	wābōg _v '	"elephant"		wābugú
	dīgī _{ya} '	"be lying down"		dīgīyá
	dìgìr	"dwarf"		dìgìrì
but	Gōrís	"Farefare people"		Gōrísì

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 ʊ**. Prefix **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] if the first root vowel mora is **i** or **u**, as in **k̀̀k̀̀r̀̀g̀̀a'** "fairy", **s̀̀s̀̀i'ə̀̀m** "wind", **s̀̀l̀̀ǹ̀s̀̀f̀̀ù̀ŋ̀̀g̀̀v** "spider", **d̀̀ǹ̀d̀̀ù̀g̀̀v** "cobra", **v̀̀l̀̀ǹ̀v̀̀ù̀ǹ̀l̀̀** "mason wasp." Before prosodic clitics final **m** 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**: **gb̄ḡm̄n** "lion", **ȳb̄ḡm̄n** "camel." Written **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] after short root **i** or **u** with any single consonant intervening, as in **s̄iḡid̄a'** "lowers", **k̄uḡor'** "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**.

ḡānr'	"jackalberry fruit"	pl	ḡānyá
bàlàar	"stick, club"		bàlàyà
k̀̀k̀̀ōr'	"voice"		k̀̀k̀̀ōyá
n̄ōr'	"mouth"		n̄ōyá
z̄ōv	"tail"		z̄ōyā
b̄iər'	"elder same-sex sib"		b̄iāyá
z̄ūər	"hill"		z̄ūāyā
t̄itā'ar	"big"		t̄itādā
p̀̀ǹ̀'ər	"cripple"		p̀̀ǹ̀dà
ȳ'v'	"name"		ȳdā
ȳ'ər	"penis"		ȳādā
m̀̀'ar	"reservoir, dam"		m̀̀'a(dà)

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 -sɪ -gʊ -bʊ* and with the dummy suffix, but short elsewhere, with following *b* → *p* and *d* → *t* (but not *m* → *mm* or *l* → *ll*):

<i>dāp_a</i>	"men"	<i>dāʊg_v</i>	"male"
<i>dòt</i>	"huts"	<i>dòʊg_v</i>	"hut"
<i>dìt_a</i>	"eat" ipfv	<i>dì</i>	pfv
<i>dìm_a</i>	"eat" imp	<i>dīʊb_v</i>	"food"
<i>kèl_a</i>	"let" imp	<i>kē</i>	pfv
<i>bīl_a</i>	"little"	<i>bīig_a pl bīs</i>	"child"

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

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

Before *-rɪ*, *CVV* is regular (*pùkòʊnr* "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>dīs</i>	"feed"
<i>dāp_a</i>	"men"	<i>dāalim</i>	"masculinity"

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

<i>wìk</i>	"draw water"	<i>wīid_a</i>	ipfv
<i>tēk'/tēeg'</i>	"pull"	<i>tēed_a'/tēkīd_a</i>	ipfv

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

<i>vōr'</i>	"alive"	<i>vō'ʊg'</i>	"revive"
<i>yò</i>	"close"	<i>yò'ʊg</i>	"open"
<i>tòŋ</i>	"shoot"	<i>tòŋ'ʊs</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 *lóe* "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_a</i>	"fish"	<i>zīmí</i>	"fishes"
<i>pīim´</i>	"arrow"	<i>pīmá</i>	"arrows"
<i>yùum_n</i>	"year"	<i>yùmà</i>	"years"
<i>náaf_v</i>	"cow"	<i>nā´-</i>	cif
<i>wáaf_v</i>	"snake"	<i>wā´-</i>	cif
<i>tūmā</i>	"work" (noun)	<i>tùm</i>	"work" (verb)
<i>kāal´</i>	"count"	<i>kāl_l´</i>	"number"
<i>tūlúg_v</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl_la´</i>	"be hot"
<i>màal</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālōŋ_v</i>	"sacrifice" (noun)
<i>pìə̀lìg_a</i>	"white"	<i>pè̀lìg</i>	"whiten"
<i>kpī'əŋ_v</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'əŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>lìəb</i>	"become"	<i>lè̀bìg</i>	"turn"
<i>tūlúg_v</i>	"hot"	<i>tūlìg´</i>	"heat"
<i>dēəŋ_a</i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i>	"go first"
<i>pìəb</i>	"blow" (flute)	<i>pè̀bìs</i>	"blow" (wind)
<i>yùul</i>	"swing" (intr)	<i>yùlìg</i>	"swing" (tr)

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 ia ua**, producing **a'a ia'a u'a**; any following affix vowel is deleted. Nasal vowels behave identically.

pṽā'	*pṽaga	"woman"	pl pṽ'ab _a	*pṽagba
zàk _a	*zagga	"compound"	pl zà'as	*zagsɪ
lāṽk _v	*laggv	"item of goods"	pl lā'ad	*lagdɪ
pṽàṽk _v	*pṽāggv	"word"	pl pṽàṽ'ad	*pṽāgdɪ
pṽāk _a	*pṽagga	"female"	pl pṽ'as	*pṽagsɪ
bòk _v	*bṽaggv	"pit"	pl bṽ'ad	*bṽagdɪ

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

zèṽ'ɛs	pl "red"	sg zìṽ'a	
dòṽṽs	"dawadawas"	sg dùṽṽ	
Mòṽl	"Mooré"	cf Mùṽ	"Mossi person"
sṽṽ'òd _a '	"outdoer"	cf sṽṽ'e'	"improve"
sṽṽ	"rub"	cf sṽṽe'	"anoint"

However, the ipfvs and gerunds of fusion verbs preserve **ĩə ũə** by analogy with verbs with oral vowels: **nìè** "appear" ger **nìèr**; **pṽṽ'e'** "rot" ger **pṽṽ'èr**.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

Except after prefixes, **CC** within a word assimilates to **k p t ɲ 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-	ɲ	mn	mm	mm	-	mn		nn	-	mm
n-	ɲ	nn	mm		-	nn	:ṽs	nn	ṽf	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g.	gg → k	g̀̀k _a	"dumb" sg	g̀̀g̀̀s pl	
	mg → ŋ	b̀̀ŋ _a	"donkey" sg	b̀̀m̀̀s pl	
		cf k̀̀l̄g̀̀ _a	"river" sg	k̀̀l̄s pl	
	dd → t	b̀̀t _a	"plant" ipfv	b̀̀d pfv	
	ld → nn	k̀̀n _{na} ´	"go home" ipfv	k̀̀l pfv	
		cf d̀̀g̀̀d̄ _a ´	"cook" ipfv	d̀̀g̀̀ pfv	
	bb → p	s̀̀p _v ´	"writing" ger	s̀̀b pfv	
	mb → mm	k̀̀m _{mv}	"shepherding" ger	k̀̀m pfv	
		cf p̀̀d̄b _v	"name" ger	p̀̀d pfv	
	mr → mn	d̀̀m _n	"knee" sg	d̀̀m̄ pl	
	nr → nn	t̄ _n	"earth" sg	t̄ _n pl	
	lr → ll	g̀̀l̄	"egg" sg	g̀̀l̄á pl	
		cf d̀̀g̀̀r	"dwarf" sg	d̀̀g̀̀á pl	
	rl → t	B̄ _t ´	"Bisa language"	B̄ _{r̄} s´	"Bisa people"
		cf K̀̀s̄áal	"Kusaal"	K̀̀s̄áas	"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	t̄ _ŋ _a	pl	t̄ _ɛ ŋ _s	*t̄ _ɛ n _s	"land"
	k̀̀l̄ŋ _a		k̀̀l̄s	*k̀̀l̄n _s	"door"
	n̄ _f ´		n̄ _n ´		"eye"
	p̄ _ɪ n̄ _f _v		p̄ _ɪ n̄ _ɪ		"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 B1/2, e.g. *daamne ba* (Lk 6:18 B1) *d̀̀amn̄*=*b̄á* "trouble them", *wum na* (Mt 13:15 B2) *ẁ̀mn̄* "hear." Some informants preserve **mn** in noun lfs: *gb̄iḡim̄n̄* SB "lion", *gb̄iḡimm̄* WK. Word-internal **mn̄** appears only in agent nouns: *t̀̀m-t̀̀mn̄b̄_a* "servants", but *b̀̀n-t̀̀mm̄r* "useful thing" pl *-t̀̀mn̄* 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 _{ma}	ger	w̄ _m _{mv}	"hear (ẁ̀m)"
	t̀̀om _{ma} /t̀̀om̄ _{id} _a		t̀̀oŋ _v /t̀̀om̄ _{úg} _v	"depart (t̀̀om´)"
	k̀̀à _{r̄} m̄ _{ma} /k̀̀à _{r̄} m̄ _{id} _a		k̀̀à _{r̄} ò _v /k̀̀à _{r̄} m̄ _{òg} _v	"read (k̀̀à _{r̄} m)"

WK DK avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfvs only as lfs or before focus-*n̄*´. B3 sometimes even has ipfvs like *ẁ̀m̄_{id}_a* for clarity (Phil 1:30.)

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

ipfv	bùn _{na}	ger	būnīb _v	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgìnìd _a		dìgìnùg _v	"lie down (dìgìn)"
	gò'ònìd _a		gò'ònùg _v	"extend neck (gò'òn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with **mmm** → **mm** and **llr** → **ll**: **dàm** "shake", imp **dàm_{ma}**, but ipfv **dàmmìd_a** ipfv, ger **dàmmùg_v**; **kùg-dēlì'** "chair for leaning", pl **-dēllá**; but **kōt'** "slaughter", ipfv **kōtìd_a**.

Derivational **n** represents earlier **nn**: **pībīn_n** pl **pībīnā** "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 [i]:

tō _e ya'	"be bitter"	tō _o g _v	"bitter"
sō _ɛ 'e _{ya} '	"be better than"	sō _ɛ 'òd _a '	"outdoer"

Rounding takes place before **gv/kv/ŋv**. Epenthetic **ɪ** becomes **ʊ**.

Most short unrounded root vowels become **V_ɪ**, but **ya** → **ɔ**, and **i** is unaffected. Second morae of unrounded long vowels are rounded, lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense [u]; here **iə** → **ɛ_ʊ** and **uə** → **ɔ_ʊ**, along with remodelling of the pl vowels on the sg.

wābōg _v '	"elephant"	pl	wābīd'
mālōŋ _v	"sacrifice"		mālɪmā
gbà _u ŋ _v	"book"		gbànà
lā _u k _v	"goods item"		lā'ad
bjā _u ŋk _v	"shoulder"		bjāŋ'ad
yī _u ŋ _v '	"single"		yīná
bòk _v	"pit"		bù'ad
nìn-gbīŋ _v '	"body"		nìn-gbīná
dāv _g _v	"log"		dàad
fē _ŋ 'og _v '	"ulcer"		fēŋ'ed'
kpī'ōŋ _v	"strong"		kpī'əmā
vī _u g _v '	"owl"		vīid'
bē'og _v	"bad"		bē'ed (but bī'a "bad", pl bī'əs)
lām-fō _ɔ g _v	"toothless"		lām-fō _ɔ d (but fùe "extract")

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

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.

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 <i>m</i> -stems)				
tp A	(Alternating)	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl	all-L in cif	
		verbs:	all-M after <i>nà/kù</i>	all-L otherwise	

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

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

<i>wābōg</i> _v '	"elephant"	lf	<i>wābugú</i>	sf	<i>wābōg</i>
<i>dìgìr</i>	"dwarf"		<i>dìgìrì</i>		<i>dìgìr</i>
<i>nóbìr</i>	"foot"		<i>nóbìrì</i>		<i>nóbìr</i>

For the tonemes of bound liaison words see §4.4; other particles and pronouns with sf *CV* behave as apocope-blocked forms §3.5.

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 *ŋ* 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:

<i>zūg-kōgōr</i>	<i>zūg-kōgā</i>	<i>zūg-kúg-</i>	"pillow"
<i>kā-wēnnīr</i>	<i>kā-wēnnā</i>	<i>kā-wén-</i>	"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.

vōr' (lf vōrí)	vōyá	vōr-	"alive"
yīr'	yā' (lf yáa)	yī-	"house"
dōk _v '	dōgōd' (lf dōgudí)	dōg-	"pot"
nūa' (lf nūáa)	nōos'	nō-	"hen"
fūug _v '	fūud'	fū-	"shirt"
nīd _a '	nīdīb _a '	nīn-	"person"
kūgōr'	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
gōt _a '	gōtīb _a	gōt-	"seer"
sābílīg _a	sābílís	sābīl- (sābílí)	"black"
yōgóm _n	yōgómá	yōgōm- (yōgómí)	"camel"
dī'əs _a '	dī'əsídīb _a	dī'əs-	"receiver"
sūgōríd _a	sūgōrídīb _a	sūgōríd-	"forgiver"
kō'alíη _a	kō'alís	kō'alíη-	traditional smock
sū'əη _a	sū'əmís	sū'əη- (sū'əmí)	"hare"
sāan _a '	sāam _{ma}	sāan-	"stranger"
sáannìm			"strangerhood"

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

níis	*niinsɪ	(also nīimís)	"birds"
píηf _v	*pɪηfɪ	(pl pīηnί)	"genet"
wáaf _v	*waagfɪ	(pl wīīgí)	"snake"
yáab _a	*yaagba		"grandparent"

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

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

nyīríf _v	nyīrírí	"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:

nû'ug _v	nû'us	nū'-	"hand, arm"
nóbìr	nōbá	nōb-	"foot, leg"
gélì	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"

So too à-gâung_v "pied crow", gbêenm "sleep", ánsìb_a "mother's brother", kísòg_v "hateful", and the gerunds sònsìg_a "talking", gósìg_a "looking", kìkíròg_v "hurrying."

Tp H with prefixes:

dàyūug _v '	dàyūud'	dàyū-	"rat"
Bùsáŋ _a	Bùsâaŋs	Bùsāŋ-	"Bisa person"
zīnzāuŋ _v '	zīnzāná	zīnzāuŋ-	"bat"
gūmpūzēr'	gūmpūzēyá	gūmpūzēr-	"duck"
pīpīrīg _a '	pīpīrīs'	pīpīr-	"desert"
tīntōŋrīg _a	tīntōŋrīs	tīntōŋr-	"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.

sù'ug _a	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mòlìf _v	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal _a	sàalìb _a	sàal-	"human"
mèeŋ _a	mèemìs	mèeŋ-	"turtle"
àŋrùŋ _v	àŋrumà	àŋrùŋ-	"boat"
zìlìm _n	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nòŋìd _a			"lover"
sìilìŋ _a	sìilì(mì)s	sìilìŋ-	"proverb"
zàaŋsúŋ _v	zàaŋsíma	zàaŋsúŋ-	"dream"
dàalìm	dàalìmìs	dàalìm-	"male sex organs"
nòŋìlìm		nòŋìlìm-	"love"

Note bùgúm bùgúm-/bùgūm- "fire", tàdìmìs "weakness", bùdìmìs "confusion."

Tp L with prefixes:

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

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

būug _a	būus	bù-	"goat"
tān _n	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd _a	sīdìb _a	sìd-	"husband"
pūā'	pū'ab _a	pūà'-	"woman"
gbīgìm _n	gbīgìmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
ŋwāaŋ _a	ŋwāamìs	ŋwāaŋ-	"monkey"

mēɛd _a	mēɛdīb _a	mèɛd-	"builder"
sĭākīd _a	sĭākīdīb _a	sĭākīd-	"believer"
mēɛdīŋ _a	mēɛdīs	mèɛdīŋ-	"building tool"

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

pù'ʊs _a	pù'ʊsīdīb _a	pù'ʊs-	"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	yūɔdīré	pl	yūɔdāa	"hedgehog"
	ŋwāaŋā		ŋwāamīsé	"monkey"
	bāŋīdā		bāŋīdībá	"wise man"
	kpārīdīŋā		kpārīdīsé	"thing for locking"
	gbīgīmmé		gbīgīmāa	"lion"
	zōɔmmé		zōɔmāa	"fugitive"
	tādīmm		tādīmīsé	"weak person"

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

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

Tp A with prefixes:

dàkīg _a	dàkīs	dàkī-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm _n	fūfūmā	fūfūm-	"envy; stye"

3.4.2 Verbs

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

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

Ò pū dūgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pū dúgèε?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dūgí=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 _a '	"see"
kū	kūbd _a '	"kill"
dūg	dūgūd _a '	"cook"
kūl	kūn _{na} '	"go home"
yādīg'	yādīgíd _a '	"scatter"
mōól'	móón _{na}	"proclaim"
tōóm'	tóóm _{ma}	"disappear"
dīgīl'	dīgín _{na}	"lay down"
nōk'	nōkíd _a	"take"
lāṅím	lāṅím _{ma}	"wander searching"
pāe'	pāad _a '	"reach"
	dīgīya'	"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.

bùd	bùt _a	"plant"
mè	mèéd _a	"build"
zàb	zàbìd _a	"fight, hurt"
bùəl	bùən _{na}	"call"
bòdìg	bòdìgìd _a	"get lost, lose"
nìṅ	nìṅìd _a	"do"
zàaṅsìm	zàaṅsìm _{ma}	"dream"
	tàbìya	"be stuck to"

Ò nà bōdīg.

"She'll get lost."

Ò kù bōdīgìdā.

"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_a* "maternal uncle", *āṅsíṅ_a* "sister's child"; *gósìg_a* 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:

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

Regular deverbal nominal tps are predictable from those of the verb. All those derived from tp H verbs are tp H; thus **dōg** "cook", ger **dōgōb_v'**, agent noun **dōgōd_a'**, instrument noun **dōgudī_a**.

Tp A verb gerunds are tp A if their stems have two morae, and tp L otherwise:

mēeb_v	"building"	sòḡìr	"help"
kùəsòg_v	"selling"	zàaḡsúḡ_v	"dream"
bòodìm	"will"	mèedím-tāa	"fellow-builder"

Tp A verb agent nouns and deverbal adjectives are tp A if they contain the suffix **d** (even assimilated as **mn** or **nn**), and tp L otherwise; a change of tp appears even within a single noun paradigm when **d** is dropped in the sg.

sōḡīd_a	"helper"	kḡiilúḡ_v	"dead"
bòodīr	"desirable"		
kùəs_a	"seller"	kūəsīdīb_a	"sellers"

All tp A verb instrument nouns are tp A: **mèedīḡ_a** "building tool", **kūəsīḡ_a** "salesperson."

3.5 Apocope-blocking

The citation forms of some words lack apocope. This is a feature of some nouns, of many quantifiers, ideophones and particles, of downtoned adjectives, and of all words with sfs of the form **CV** except pfs and cifs. Lf-final L is changed to M, except on long vowels and monosyllables; short final **ɪ ʊ** do not become **ɛ ɔ**. Blocked forms ending in short vowels create secondary lfs by prolonging the vowel and changing M to H; the remainder add **-nì**, which becomes **ní** after M.

būudī	"tribe"	lf	būudī
bèdɔgō'	"a lot"		bèdɔgú
yā'	"houses"		yáa
pāmm	"a lot"		pāmní
mà'aa	"only"		mà'anì
gùllimm	"only"		gùllimnì
nyāe	"brightly"		nyāení
kòtāa	"at all"		kòtāanì

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 (*sū'e_ya'*) a lorry."

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

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

Ti ya'a vœ, ti vœŋ tis Zugsɔb la.

Tì yá' vœ, tì vó nē_ø 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_ø áŋ dú'atà kà fūn mén áŋ.

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

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

M á nē dú'atà. "I'm a doctor." (with the vowel also denasalised)

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_a	Mbillah (personal name)	[ɱbil]

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

Ò nìjí 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 gòsí 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_a "donkey")

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

Kà 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.
 wūv **sáa=∅** nāanī **jánk** yà **nyá'aŋ** n tí **páe** yà **tùənà** **lā**
 like rain:SG=NZ then jump 2PL behind CAT once reach 2PL front ART
 "like when lightning leaps from East to West" (Mt 24:27 B2)

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 *lànngà* "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: *dāy lā pócōgō=n* "in the man's field (*pōcōgō*)."

Examples after cifs:

b̀̀-̀̀ìèlìg _a	"white goat"	b̀̀-̀̀pāalìg _a	"new goat"
b̀̀-̀̀púŋ-̀̀ìèlìg _a	"white girl"	b̀̀-̀̀púŋ-̀̀pāalìg _a	"new girl"
n̄-̀̀ìèlìg _a	"white hen"	n̄-̀̀pāalìg _a	"new hen"
dī'əs _a '	"receiver"	dī'əsídìb _a	pl
n̄-dī'əs _a	"chief's interpreter"	n̄-dī'əsìdìb _a	pl

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

m̀ b̄ig	"my child"	m̀ t̄ig	"my tree"
mān b̄ig	"my child"	mān t̄ig	"my tree"
mān ȳḡum	"my camel"	mān gb̄iḡim	"my lion"
dāu b̄ig	"a man's child"	nâ'ab b̄ig	"a chief's child"
dāu lā ȳḡum	"the man's camel"	dāu lā gb̄iḡim	"the man's lion"
m̄ōḡō=n ȳḡum	"a wild camel"		
m̀ b̄iāyá ȳḡum	"my elder same-sex siblings' camel"		
m̀ b̄iāyá gb̄iḡim	"my elder same-sex siblings' lion"		

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

Unlike M spreading, M dropping occurs only within NPs:

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

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

M dropping never follows uncompounded heads:

k̄ug-ȳinnì	"one stone"	k̄uḡor ȳinnì	"one stone"
wāb̄og lā	"the elephant"	wāb̄is p̄igā	"ten elephants"

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

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

	<i>wābōg_v'</i>	"elephant"	<i>Dāy lā wábùg bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>pōcōg_v'</i>	"field"	<i>Dāy lā pōcōg bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>bāŋ_a</i>	"ring"	<i>Dāy lā bāŋ bòdìg yā.</i>	
	<i>pōyōg_a</i>	"inside"	<i>Dāy lā pōyōg bòdìg yā.</i>	
but	<i>yūgudīr</i>	"hedgehog"	<i>Dāy lā yūgudīr bódìg yā.</i>	three syllables
	<i>dōcōg_v</i>	"hut"	<i>Dāy lā dōcōg bódìg yā.</i>	no M dropping
	<i>à-gāyōg_v</i>	"pied crow"	<i>Dāy lā gāyōg bódìg yā.</i>	no M dropping
	<i>wābōg_v'</i>	"elephant"	<i>M̄ bīāyá wàbùg bódìg yā.</i>	no M spreading
	<i>bāŋ_a</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 dīb</i>	"tall goat's food (<i>dīb_v</i>)"	<i>nō-wók dīb</i>	"tall hen's food"
<i>bù-wōk-pīəlìg_a</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>nō-wók-pīəlìg_a</i>	"tall white hen"
<i>bù-wōk-pāalìg_a</i>	"tall new goat"	<i>nō-wók-pāalìg_a</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_a* "new hen")

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

[*fūug dōcōg*] "tent" (*fūug_v'* "cloth", *dōcōg_v* "hut")
pò'ysùg [*fūug dōcōg*] "tabernacle" (*pò'ysùg_v* "worship")

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

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 $\upsilon'a$ is realised [ʊa:]. 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' dū́kó=ø. "It's not a pot (dū́kó´)."
3IN NEG.be pot:SG=NEG.

Lì k̄a' nó́bìrē=ø. "It's not a leg (nó́bìr)."
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 (yàarīm)."
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 (tīm)."
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 B3, appear in some clause adjuncts, like $b\bar{o} \ z\acute{u}g\bar{o}$ "because", $d\bar{a}a-s\acute{i}'\acute{e}r\bar{e}$ "perhaps" and sometimes $y\grave{a}'$ -clauses:

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

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

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: $g\grave{o}s\bar{u}m\bar{a}$! "look!", $g\grave{o}s\bar{u}m\bar{i}=y\acute{a}$! "look (pl)!" So too does the greeting formula $N\bar{e} \ s\acute{o}n\bar{s}i\bar{g}\bar{a}$! "(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.

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

"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.

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

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

Who CAT see leg:SG=CQ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"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.

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

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

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 _a)?"
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 p̄ dōgē.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò p̄ 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-enclitics or *=m*, final *m* 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_a* 1sg, *=f_v* 2sg, *=o* 3sg animate, *=l₁* 3sg inanimate, *=t₁* 1pl, *=ya* 2pl, *=ba* 3pl attach to verbs or after *=n* or *=ya*. Nominaliser *=ñ* follows NPs.

kūk _a	"chair"	=n	→	kūkī=n´
dūk _v ´	"pot"	=n	→	dūkí=n
pōɔg _v ´	"field"	=n	→	pōɔgú=n
yàug _v	"grave"	=n	→	yàugū=n´
dà'a	"market"	=n	→	dā'a=n´
ñyē	"see"	=m _a	→	ñyéε=m _a
kjà	"cut"	=l ₁	→	kìə=lī´
gbāñ'e´	"seize"	=t ₁	→	gbán'a=tī´
pīe´	"wash"	=t ₁	→	píə=tī´
dūe´	"raise"	=t ₁	→	dúə=tī´
sū'e _{ya} ´	"own"	=l ₁	→	sú'v=lī´
vūe _{ya} ´	"live"	=n	→	vūv=n´
kù'əm	"water"	=n	→	kù'əmī=n´

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

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

Kà bà k _i é=yā.	"And they cut (k _i à) you."
Kà bà gbān'e=yā.	"And they seized (gbān'e´) you."
Kà bà k _u é=yā.	"And they killed (k _u) you."
Kà bà z _u i=yā.	"And they stole (z _u) 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 lf as o=o [ɔ:], and the mora before =ya becomes [ɪ]:

bòɔd _a	"want"	=o	→	bòɔdō=ó´	
tùm	"send"	=o	→	tùmò=ó	
dì	"eat"	=o	→	dìo=ó	
k _i à	"cut"	=o	→	kìo=ó	
z _u	"steal"	=o	→	zúo	If z _u ó=ó
àɛn _{ya}	"be"	=o	→	ān _o =ó´	
pāe´	"reach"	=o	→	páo	If pāó=ó
pīe´	"wash"	=o	→	pío	If pīó=ó
dūe´	"raise"	=o	→	dúo	If dūó=ó
z _u	"steal"	=ya	→	z _u e=yá´	
bè	"be"	=ya	→	bēɪ=yá´	

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

=ya itself becomes =n(í) before liaison (historically, *ɲa became *ɲi.)

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)
 nəŋìmī=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=ø 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=ø àŋ sī'em
 2PL hair:PL all number:SG=NZ be how

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

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

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 _v '	"field"	=n	→	pōɔgú=n	
bīig _a	"child"	=n	→	bīigī=n'	WK
yàad	"graves"	=n	→	yàadī=n'	WK
kūbdí _{b_a}	"killers"	=n	→	kūbdībī=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/=n 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'
kūbd _a '	"kill" ipfv	=n	→	kūbdī=n'
dōl _{l_a} '	"go with"	=ya	→	dōllī=ya'

After perfectives without independency marking and not preceded by irrealis *nà/kù*, bound object pronouns carry M and change any preceding lf-final M to H.

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

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

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

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

Kà m zábì=bā.	"And I fought them."
Kà m pū zábì=báa.	"And I didn't fight them."
Kà m kúv=bā.	"And I killed them."
Ànó'òní kúv=bá?	"Who's killed them?"

Bound object pronouns following (past or 2pl) =n 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*:

kūvd _a ´	"kill"	=m _a	→	kūvdí=m _a
kūvd _a ´	"kill"	=o	→	kūvdó=o
zàbìd _a	"fight"	=m _a	→	zàbìdī=m _a ´
zàbìd _a	"fight"	=o	→	zàbìdō=o´
yādìgíd _a	"scatter"	=ba	→	yādìgídī=bá
yādìgíd _a	"scatter"	=o	→	yādìgídō=o´
nòŋ	"love"	=ba	→	nòŋī=bá

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

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

Ò b̀òdíḡī=m.	"He's lost me."
Ò b̀òdíḡō.	"He's lost her."
Ò ỳàdíḡī=b́á.	"He's scattered them."
Ò k̀v̄v̄=b́á.	"She has killed them."
Dāṽ lā k̀v̄v̄=b́á.	"The man has killed them."

Non-enclitic liaison words comprise the right-bound pronouns *m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ ỳ* *b̀ à-à-*, catenating *n*, and all words with prefixed *à*. Liaison is only seen consistently before *n*, before the number-prefix *à*, and within VPs:

T̀ì ḡó sí b̀à b́iis.	"We've looked at their children."
1PL look 3PL child:PL.	

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

M̀ mór nē b́iisá àtán'.	"I have three children."
1SG have FOC child:PL three.	

P̀èédá àlá=ø?	"How many baskets?"
basket:PL how.many=CQ?	

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

F̀v̄ aan anó'v̄nɛ?	"Who are you?" (Gn 27:32)
F̀v̄ áan ànó'v̄nɛ=ø?	
2SG be who=CQ?	

yeli Abaa	"said to Dog" (KS p20)
ỳèl̀ì À-Bāa	
say PZ-dog:SG	

loo Abaa zuur	"tie Dog's tail" (KS p20)
ĺóv̄ À-Bāa z̀v̄v̄r	
tie PZ-dog:SG tail:SG	

After pause, and after words unaltered before liaison, catenating *n* appears as a syllabic nasal assimilated to the position of the following consonant. Elsewhere, WK and B3 show liaison alone. Older sources often show *n* with or instead of liaison.

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

Kà ò zóóø 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 tūmmìø 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 tūmø tìsì=bā
but 3AN come hither that 3AN work CAT give=3PL
"but he came to serve them" (Mt 20:28)

M̃ nók sú'vǵùø kǵá 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 dìtí̀ bà dī̀b. "And they were eating their food."
And 3PL eat:IPFV 3PL food. (dītī̀= bá "were eating them")

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
bànì=ø nà yēl Zūg-sóbí̀ bà tūmá=ø àŋ sī'em lā
DEM.PL=NZ IRR say Lord 3PL deed:PL=NZ be how ART
"those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are" (Heb 13:17 B2)

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_a* "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_a</i> <i>nà'ab_a</i>	<i>sīdīb_a</i> <i>nà'-nàm_a</i>	<i>sìd-</i> <i>nà'-</i>	"husband" "chief"
<i>ga sɪ</i>	<i>būɔg_a</i>	<i>būɔs</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>ɔv dɪ</i> <i>ɔv aa</i>	<i>dòɔg_v</i> <i>bū'əsúg_v</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_v</i>	<i>mòlì</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bɔ </i>	<i>sā'ab_v</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_v* 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_n* "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_a**; 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_a** after count noun cifs or mass sgs: **kpèɛɲm-nàm_a** "elders", **sā'ab nám_a** "portions of porridge." **Nàm_a** pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pls with sg meaning, mass nouns with count meaning, and forms with personaliser à-. It is used to avoid ambiguous regular plurals, and with

mà	mà nám _a <i>sic</i>	mà-	"mother"
bā'	bā'-nám _a	bā'-	"father"
zụà	zụà-nàm _a	zụà-	"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 _v '	wā'ad'	wā'-/wōk-	"long, tall" (adjective)
tānp _v		tānp-	"war"
	kī'	kī-/kā-	"millet"
lā'af _v	līg dī	là'-/lìg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
zūg _v '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"

Zug- is often read **zū-** in the B2 audio, and similarly with other cifs written as if remodelled, e.g. *Siig Suŋ*, 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_a** "leatherbeater."

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

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

Disambiguation is clearly involved in e.g.

kòlòg-kàŋā	"this bag"	cf cif kòl- from	kōlīg_a "river"
lànŋòg-pìèlìg	"white squirrel"	cf cif làn- from	lān_n "testicle"

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

dāu	dāp _a	dàu-	sg	dàp-	pl	"man"
tāuŋ´	tānp _a ´	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_v* "coward", *zōlōg_v´* "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_v* "millet porridge", *tānp_v* "war" and *kī'ɪb_v´* "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_a*:

<i>ga sɪ</i>	<i>àràzàk_a</i>	<i>àràzà'as</i>	<i>àràzà'-</i>	"riches"
	<i>màlǐāk_a´</i>	<i>màlǐā'as´</i>	<i>màlǐā'-</i>	"angel" DK
<i>gv dɪ</i>	<i>gādōg_v´</i>	<i>gāt´</i>	<i>gād-</i>	"bed"
	<i>lòmbòŋ'og_v</i>	<i>lòmbòŋ'od</i>	<i>lòmbòŋ'-</i>	"garden"
<i>rɪ aa</i>	<i>lór</i>	<i>lójà/lóom_{ma}</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_a</i>	<i>Nàsāarā</i>	<i>Nàsàa(r)-nām_a</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 _a	sīdīb _a	sīd-	"husband"
nīd _a '	nīdīb _a '	nīn- <i>sic</i>	"person"
sàal _a	sàalīb _a	sàal-	"human being"
kōvd _a '	kōvdīb _a	kōvd-	"killer"
sāan _a '	sāam _{ma}	sāan-	"guest, stranger"
yōvm-yō'vm _{na}	-yō'vmnīb _a	-yō'vm-	"singer"
puà'-sāŋ'am _{ma}	-sāŋ'amīdīb _a <i>sic</i>	-sāŋ'am-	"adulterer"
bì-pīt _a '	-pītīb _a	-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_a** pls as well or instead.

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

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

kpī'ım	kpī'ımīs	kpī'ım-	"dead person"
zū'əm'	zū'əmīs	zū'əm-	"blind person"
tādīm	tādımīs	tādīm-	"weak person"
	tādīm-nām _a		
kpēɛŋm	kpēɛŋm-nām _a	kpēɛŋm-	"elder"
bī'əm	bī'əm-nām _a	bī'əm-	"enemy"

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

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

CVmm-stems have only nām_a pls: dām-dām_{ma} "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 _{la}	-dòllìb _a	-dòl-	"disciple"
bù-zāɲl _{la} '	-zāɲllìb _a	-zāɲl-	"goat-carrier" WK
gbàn-zāɲl _{la} '	-zāɲllìb _a	-zāɲl-	"book-carrier" KT WK
pā'an _{na}	pā'annìb _a	pà'an-	"teacher"
bù-mōr _a '	-mōrìb _a	-mōr-	"goat-owner" WK
gbàn-tār _a '	-tārìb _a	-tār-	"book-owner" DK
zà'-nō-gúr _a	-gúrìb _a	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"
nyā'an-dól _l	-dóllà	-dól-	"disciple" WK
bù-mōr'	-mōrá	-mōr-	"goat-owner" WK
bù-zāɲl _l '	-zāɲllá	-zāɲl-	"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:

pṽā'	pṽ'ab _a	pṽà'-	"woman"
bā'a	bā'ab _a	bà'a-	"diviner"
sāɲ _(ya)	sāɲb _a	sàɲ-	"blacksmith"
sōɲ _(ya)	sōɲb _a	sòɲ-	"witch"
dāṽ	dāp _a	dāṽ-, dàp-	"man"
tāṽ'	tāṽp _a '	tāṽṽ-, tāṽp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pītú	pītìb _a	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds -pīt_a' replaces pītú.

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

wìd _a	wìt _b _a	wìd-	"hunter"
sōɲ'òd _a '	sōɲ'òb _a '	sōɲ'òd-	"someone better"
pūkpaad _a '	pūkpaadíb _a	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 $nám_a$:

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

ga|si

$būṽg_a$	$būṽs$	$bù-$	"goat"
$zōṽg_a$	$zōṽs$		"run, race"
$ṽwādīg_a'$	$ṽwādīs'$	$ṽwād-$	"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"
$nūa'$	$nōṽs'$	$nō-$	"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 _a	tēŋs	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ _a	pàaŋs	pàŋ-	"power"
bùŋ _a	bùmìs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋ _a	nāmìs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋ _a	sū'əmìs	sū'əŋ-	"hare"
nīŋ _a	nīis/nīimìs	nīŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ _a	kùlì(mì)s	kùlìŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋ _a	pīəsí(mì)s	pīəsíŋ-	"washing sponge"
mēədīŋ _a	mēədī(mì)s	mēədīŋ-	"building tool"

Various irregularities are seen in

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

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

kūŋ _{a/v} '	kūus'	kū-	"mouse"
sù'ɠ _{a/v}	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
nū'ɠ _v	nū'us	nū'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ _{a/v}	zùnzòŋs	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
tèŋ-zùŋ _v	-zùŋs		"foreign land"
yū'ɠ _v	yū'umìs	yū'ɠŋ-	"night"
zùŋŋ _v	zùŋs/zùŋd	zùŋ-	"vulture"

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

yàmmòŋ _{a/v}	yàmmìs	yàm-	"slave"
à-dàalíŋ _v	à-dàalí(mì)s	à-dàalíŋ-	"stork"
sí'ɠ _v	sī'imìs	sī'ɠŋ-	kind of big dish
dìisúŋ _v	dìisís/dìisímà	dìisúŋ-	"spoon"
wīlìsúŋ _v	wīlumìs <i>sic</i>	wīlìsúŋ-	kind of snail
yālìsúŋ _v	yālìmìs <i>sic</i>	yālìsúŋ-	"quail"

gv|di

Before **-gv -kv -ŋv** stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic **ɪ** to **ʊ** and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

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

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

dòog _v	dòod/dòt	dò-	"hut"
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So too **pōog_v'** "farm, field", **fūug_v'** "clothing, shirt." The sg has a short vowel in

zūg _v '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"
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gg → **k** and **ɣakv** → **ɔkv**; **g** is deleted after **a ɪa ɥa**:

dōk _v '	dōgōd'	dōg-	"cooking pot"
lāɣk _v	lā'ad	là'-	"(item of) goods"
bɪāɣŋk _v	bɪāŋ'ad WK bɪāŋ'adā SB	bɪāŋ'-	"shoulder"
lòk _v	lò'ad	lɔà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

dd → **t**; **ld** → **nn**:

ùdòg _v	ùt	ùd-	"(piece of) chaff"
zōlōg _v '	zōn _n '	zōl-	"fool"
sìlòg _v	sìn _n /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:

gbàṣṣṣ	gbàṣṣ	gbàṣṣ-/gbàṣṣ-	"book"
zīnzāṣṣ	zīnzāṣṣ	zīnzāṣṣ-	"bat"
àṣṣṣ	àṣṣṣ	àṣṣṣ-	"boat"
nìn-gbīṣṣ	-gbīṣṣ	-gbīṣṣ-	"body"
làṣṣṣ	làṣṣṣ	làṣṣṣ-	"crab"
	or làṣṣṣ		

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate *ng* → *ṣṣ*, and m-stems optionally resist *mg* → *ṣṣ*: thus *dìṣṣṣ* "lying down", *sùnnṣṣ* "bowing the head", *sàṣṣ'ṣṣ/sàṣṣ'amṣṣ* "destroying", *kàṣṣṣ/kàṣṣmṣṣ* "reading." All pls take -aa:

bū'əsṣṣ	bū'əsṣṣ	bū'əs-	"question"
zàṣṣṣṣṣ	zàṣṣṣṣṣ	zàṣṣṣṣṣ-	"dream"

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

pē'ogṣ	pē'ēs	pē'-	"sheep"
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r|aa

kūṣṣ	kūṣṣ	kūṣṣ-	"stone"
yūṣṣṣ	yūṣṣṣ	yūṣṣṣ-	"hedgehog"
nōbṣṣ	nōbṣṣ	nōbṣṣ-	"leg"
bìṣṣ'isṣṣ	bìṣṣ'isṣṣ	bìṣṣ'isṣṣ-	"woman's breast"
bàlṣṣṣ	bàlṣṣṣ	bàlṣṣṣ-	"hat"
sāṣṣṣṣṣ	sāṣṣṣṣṣ	sāṣṣṣṣṣ-	"millipede"
sūmmṣṣ	sūmmṣṣ	sūmmṣṣ-	"groundnut"

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

bīər	bīāyá	bīā-	"elder same-sex sib"
zūər	zūāyā	zūā-	"hill"
nōər	nōyá	nō-	"mouth"
zūər	zūyā	zū-	"tail"
ṣṣyē'er	ṣṣyēdá	ṣṣyē'-	"next-younger sibling"
pòṣṣ'er	pòṣṣdà	pòṣṣ'-	"cripple"
yū'ər	yūdá	yū'-	"name"
yū'ər	yūādā	yū'ər- <i>sic</i>	"penis"

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bàgrè</i>)
sjà'ar	sjà'a	sjà'-	"forest"
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 *gbàṅ'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 _n	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yùm _m	yùmà	yùm-	"year" (<i>CVVC/CVC</i>)
kpān _n	kpānā	kpàn-	"spear"
gél _l	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli <i>zari</i>)	zā'	zā-	"millet"
yīr'	yā'	yī-	"house"
Mōr'	Móom _{ma}	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 _v	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyīríf _v	nyīrí	nyīr-	"egusi"
būn-búudìf _v			"seed"
(Mooré <i>muiifu</i>)	mùj̄	mùj̄-	"rice"

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

náaf _v *naagf _v	nīigí	nā'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf _v *waagf _v	wīigí	wā'- *wag-	"snake"
(Mampruli <i>kaafu</i>)	kī́	kī-/kā-	"millet"

nf → f with nasalisation of the preceding vowel:

nīf _v ´	nīnì	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
píuf _v	pīunì	pīun-	"genet"
kíuf _v	kīinì		"millet seed"

Two words drop stem d in the sg:

wìəf _v	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
lā'af _v	līgādì	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"

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

zíng _a	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wālīg _a	wālīs/wālí <i>sic</i>	wāl-	kind of gazelle
sībīg _a ´	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīuf _v ´/sīing _a ´	sīins´	sīn-	"bee"
sūuf _v ´/sūunr´	sūnyá	sūn-	"heart"
kpá'əŋ _v	kpī'iní	kpā'- <i>sic</i>	"guinea fowl"

bu|

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

bb → p:

sōp _v '		ger "write (sōb)"
tānp _v	tānp-	"war"

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

mb → mm, but nb does not assimilate:

wūm _{mv}		ger "hear (wòm)"
būnīb _v		ger "reap (bùn)"

Yīs' "make go/come out" has ger *yīsíb_v*, 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"
mèlɨgìm		"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|ɨ* 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 _a	bù-piəlìs	bù-piəl-	"white goat (būvg _a)"
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 _v	zèŋ'ɛs/zèŋ'ɛd or zèŋdà	ziàŋ'-/zèŋ'-	"red"
bī'a/bē'og _v	bī'əs/bē'ɛd	bià'-/bè'-	"bad"

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

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

Ga-type adjectives include:

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

Like *sābulìg_a* are *pāalìg_a* "new", *bàaŋlìg_a* "slim", *piəlìg_a* "white." *Vèŋllìg_a* "beautiful" does not use sg *rɪ*; *wènnīr* "resembling", *záalì* "empty" do not use sg *ga*.

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

dēɛŋ _a	dēɛŋs/dēɛmīs or dēɛnā	dēɛŋ-	"first"
gīŋ _a	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", *tēbísír* "heavy", *lābísír* "wide."
G_v-type adjectives show pl *di* only in some 2-mora stems without assimilation:

<i>nèog_v/nèer</i>	<i>nèed/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìug_v/wìir</i>	<i>wìid/wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wōk_v /wā'ar'</i>	<i>wā'ad' /wá'a</i>	<i>wā'-/wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kūdōg_v/kūdīr</i>	<i>kūt/kūdā</i>	<i>kūd-</i>	"old"
but <i>bèdōg_v/bèdīr</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>tītā'ug_v/tītā'ar</i>	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītā'-</i>	"big"

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

<i>sùŋ_v</i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>kísùg_v</i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàuŋ_v</i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàuŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpī'ouŋ_v</i>	<i>kpī'əmā</i>	<i>kpī'ouŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlòŋ_v</i>	<i>zùlɪmà</i>	<i>zùlòŋ-</i>	"deep"

Similarly *póŋròg_v* "near", *mì'isùg_v* "sour", *zēm̄múg_v* "equal", *tūslóg_v* "hot", *lāllóg_v* "distant", *yàlòŋ_v* "wide", *nyālóŋ_v* "wonderful", *nārúŋ_v* "necessary", and all perfective deverbal adjectives in *lm*. KT (not WK) has alternative pfv adjective forms without *m*:

<i>kpīilóŋ_v/kpīilòg_v</i>	<i>kpīilímà</i>	<i>kpīilóŋ-</i>	"dead"
<i>gēɛŋlóŋ_v/gēɛŋlúg_v</i>	<i>gēɛŋlímà</i>	<i>gēɛŋlóŋ-</i>	"tired"
<i>pè'elóŋ_v</i>	<i>pè'el(í)mà</i>	<i>pè'elóŋ-</i>	"full"

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

<i>kūdír</i>	<i>kūdá</i>	<i>kūd-</i>	"murderous;
or <i>kūdíg_a/kūdúg_v</i>			liable to be killed"
<i>sīnnír/sīnníg_a</i>	<i>sīnná</i>	<i>sīn-</i>	"silent"

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

<i>bōn-tólgìr</i>	<i>-tólgà</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_a</i>	<i>-pú'alìmà</i>	"harmful person"
<i>nīn-záaŋsùŋ_v</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_v</i>	<i>dāad</i>	<i>dà-</i>	"male"
<i>tōvg_v</i>	<i>tōod</i>	<i>tò-</i>	"bitter"
<i>pṵāk_a</i>	<i>pṵ'as</i>	<i>pṵà'-</i>	"female" (human)
<i>ŋyá'aŋ_a</i>	<i>ŋyá'as/ŋyā'amís</i>	<i>ŋyā'aŋ-</i>	"female" (animal)
<i>ŋyèesíŋ_a</i>	<i>ŋyèensís</i>	<i>ŋyèesíŋ-</i>	"confident"

and similarly *vèŋllíŋ_a* "beautiful" *mālsíŋ_a* "pleasant" *lāllíŋ_a* "distant."

<i>bīl_a</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/=n 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-imp* are cited in order below.

Straightforward examples include:

<i>gòŋ</i>	<i>gòŋda</i>	<i>gòŋma</i>	"hunt"
<i>kɪà</i>	<i>kìəda</i>	<i>kìəma</i>	"cut"
<i>kɪā</i>	<i>kūəda'</i>	<i>kùəma</i>	"hoe"
<i>pɪāŋ'</i>	<i>pɪāŋ'ada'</i>	<i>pɪāŋ'am_a</i>	"speak; praise"
<i>dɪà'</i>	<i>dù'ada</i>	<i>dù'am_a</i>	"bear, beget"
<i>yādīg'</i>	<i>yādīgída</i>	<i>yādīgìma</i>	"scatter"
<i>nōk'</i>	<i>nōkída</i>	<i>nòkìma</i>	"take"
<i>gāŋ'</i>	<i>gāŋída</i>	<i>gāŋìma</i>	"choose"
<i>kpàr</i>	<i>kpàrída</i>	<i>kpàrìma</i>	"lock"
<i>sīgīs'</i>	<i>sīgīsída</i>	<i>sīgīsìma</i>	"lower"
<i>kōt'</i>	<i>kōtída</i>	<i>kòtìma</i>	"slaughter"

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

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

<i>bùd</i>	<i>bùt_a</i>	<i>bùdìm_a</i>	"plant"
<i>gàad</i>	<i>gàt_a</i> (VVt → Vt)	<i>gàadìm_a</i>	"(sur)pass"
<i>vūl</i>	<i>vūn_{na}'</i>	<i>vùlìm_a</i>	"swallow"
<i>màal</i>	<i>màan_{na}</i>	<i>màalìm_a</i>	"make; sacrifice"
<i>dīgīl'</i>	<i>dīgīn_{na}</i>	<i>dìgūlìm_a</i>	"lay down"

In B3, *d*-stems may have variant ipfv in *-tid*, e.g. *satid* Is 19:14 (*sad* "slip.")

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

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

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

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

nn-stems show no assimilation:

sùn _n	sùnnìd _a	sùnnìm _a	"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 B3 sometimes has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity (e.g *tvmid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm _{ma}	sìilìm _{ma}	"cite proverbs"
lāŋím	lāŋím _{ma}	lāŋìm _{ma}	"wander searching"
kàrìm	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrìmìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	"read"
tɔ̀m´	tɔ̀m _{ma} /tɔ̀mìd _a	tɔ̀m _{ma}	"depart"
tùm	tùm _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	"work"

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

mm-stems only assimilate in the imperative:

lèm	lèmmìd _a	lèm _{ma}	"sip, taste"
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(cf Mooré *lèmbe*.) 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 _a ´	fàaŋm _a	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd _a ´	dì'əm _a	"get, receive"
dūe´	dūəd _a ´	dùəm _a	"rise, raise"
pūŋ'e´	pūŋ'əd _a ´	pùŋ'əm _a	"rot" WK

In B1 $p\bar{u}\bar{n}'e'$ forms an ipfv from the root: $pon'od\ p\bar{o}\bar{n}'\bar{o}d_a'$. A few other 2vbs likewise drop a derivational suffix in the ipfv, e.g.

wìk §3.3.1	wìid _a	wìkìm _a	"fetch water"
ḵāṅk'	ḵāṅ'ad _a '	ḵāṅkìm _a	"leap, fly"
gīlḡ'	gīn _{na} '	gīlḡìm _a	"go around"
kēṅ'	kēn _{na} '	kēm _a sic	"go"
yèl	yèt _a	yèlìm _a	"say"
gōs	gōsìd _a '/gōt _a '	gò(sì)m _a	"look"
tìs/tì=	tìsìd _a /tìt _a	tìsìm _a	"give"

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

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

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

Six 1vbs consist of bare stems:

mī'	"know"	zī'	"not know"
bè	"exist"	kā'ḡ	"not be"
tūṅ'e	"be able"	nòṅ	"love"

These verbs are never followed by the independent-pfv particle $y\bar{a}$, and they behave as ipfv tonally §4.2:

Mit ka Zugsob tumtum a one noṅ zaba.

Mit kà Zūg-sób túm-tūm áṅ ónì=∅ nòṅ zábāa=∅.

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

"Let not a servant of the Lord be someone who loves fights." (2 Tim 2:24 B2)

$Nòṅ$ is the only 1vb with a *m*-imp: $nòṅìm_a$. The agent noun $nòṅìd_a$ (Mooré *noanga*) has tp L instead of the expected A:

Ò nòṅìd kà'e.

"There's nobody who loves him." WK

$Bò\bar{o}d_a$ "want" and $zòt_a$ "fear" arose from 2vb ipfvs ($bò$ "seek", $zò$ "run.")

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>àɛ̃n_{ya}</i>	"be something"	<i>wà'e_{ya}</i>	"travel"
<i>tōɛ̃_{ya}'</i>	"be bitter"	<i>sōŋ'e_{ya}'</i>	"be better than"
<i>dīgī_{ya}'</i>	"lie down"	<i>vābī_{ya}'</i>	"lie prone"
<i>mōr_a'</i>	"have"	<i>dēl_a'</i>	"lean (person)"
<i>sùm_{ma}</i>	"be good"	<i>nēn_{na}'</i>	"envy"
<i>kīs_a'</i>	"hate"		
<i>pòɔd_a</i>	"be few, small"	<i>kpī'əm_a'</i>	"be strong"
<i>zùlì_{m_a}</i>	"be deep"	<i>bōgōs_a'</i>	"be soft"
<i>mā'as_a'</i>	"be cool"		

Naden's *tu'ae* "approach" is probably *tō'e_{ya}'* (**tōgya*); cf Mooré *tóge* "travel."

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_{ya}</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_{ya}</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_{ya}'</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			
kūvb_v'	"kill (kū)"	dūgūvb_v'		"cook (dūg)"	
dū'ab_v	"bear, beget (dūà)"	kādīb_v		"drive off (kàd)"	
pīlīb_v	"cover (pīl)"	kpārīb_v		"lock (kpàr)"	
bāsīb_v	"go/send away (bàs)"	lōp_v'		"throw stones at (lōb)"	
kīm_{mv}	"tend flock/herd (kīm)"	būnīb_v		"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_v	"pass (gàad)"	liəbùg_v		"become (liəb)"	
dīgɪlúg_v	"lay down (dīgɪl')"	yāarúg_v		"scatter (yāar')"	
sīgɪsúg_v	"lower (sīgɪs')"	dàmmùg_v		"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)	
dìgɪnùg_v	"lie down (dìgɪn)"	zìṅ'inùg_v		"sit down (zìṅ'in)"	
sàṅ'uh_v	"destroy (sàṅ'am)"	kàrùṅ_v		"read (kàrìm)"	
or sàṅ'amùg_v		or kàrùmùg_v			

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

sìilúṅ_v	"cite proverbs (sìilim)"	zàaṅsúṅ_v	"dream (zàaṅsìm)"
wàṅìr	"waste away (wàṅìm)"	zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"

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

pɹà'-dūr	"marriage"	nīn-kūr	"murder"
dā-nūr	"beer-drinking"	mò-pīl_l	"grass roof"

A few gerunds are formally plural:

$g\bar{e}e\eta m\acute{is}$	"go mad ($g\bar{e}e\eta m\acute{}$)"	$b\grave{u}d\acute{im}is$	"get confused ($b\grave{u}d\grave{im}$)"
$t\grave{it}\bar{u}m\acute{is}$	"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 ($l\grave{i}$)"	$z\bar{u}a/z\bar{o}o\bar{g}_b$	"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 $z\bar{i}'e\bar{g}_a$ "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 $d\bar{i}u_b$ "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 _v '	"cooking pot"
dà'	"buy"	dà'a	"market"
kùd	"work iron"	kūt	"iron, nail"
sōb	"write"	sōbīr'	"piece of writing"
sūā'	"hide"	sūāk _a '	"hiding place"
ēεηb'	"lay a foundation"	ēεηbír	"(physical) foundation"
kùəs	"sell"	kùəsìm	"merchandise"
pèbìs	"blow (wind)"	pèbìsìm	"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_v' "bee", sīñd' "honey"; wèəd_a "hunter", wèog_v "deep bush."

Most tree names are ga|su, and their fruits r|aa or gu|di, e.g. āāndīg_a "black plum tree", āāndīr "black plum"; gāāñ' "jackalberry tree", gāñr' "jackalberry"; dùāñ "dawadawa", dōōñg_v "dawadawa fruit"; tè'εg_a "baobab", tè'og_v "baobab fruit."

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

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

vōm'	"life"	sùm	"goodness"
pòcdìm	"scarcity"	vènnìm/vèñllìm	"beauty"
bōgusím	"softness"	tēbìsím	"weight"
mā'asím	"coolness, damp"	mālsím	"sweetness"
lābìsím	"width"	pìèlìm	"brightness"
tītā'am	"multitude"	ñyèsìm	"confidence"
lāllóg _v	"distance"	zēmmóg _v	"equality"
kpī'oj _v	"hardness"	yàlòj _v	"width"
mì'isòg _v	"sourness"	tōog _v	"bitterness"
zùlòj _v	"depth"	tōslóg _v /tōllím	"heat"
gbányà'am	"laziness"	from gbányà'a	"lazy person"
dàmà'am	"deception"	dàmà'a	"liar"
tītā'alīm	"pride"	tītā'al _l	"proud person"
sávj _v	"hospitality"	from sāan _a '	"guest"
kpēoj _v	"eldership"	kpēεñm	"elder"
sōoj _v	"witchcraft"	sōεñ(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"
tōulígā´	"hotly"	gīṅā	"shortly"
būgusígā´	"softly"	sàalígā´	"smoothly"
nyèesígā´	"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"	vūṅya´	"live"
	mā'asír	"cool"	mā'asa´	"be cool"
	būgusír	"soft"	būgūsa´	"be soft"
	zēmmúg _v	"equal"	zēm _{ma} ´	"be equal to"
	lāllúg _v	"far"	lāl _{la} ´	"be far from"
A	tōog _v	"bitter"	tōṅya´	"be bitter"
	gīṅ _a	"short"	gīm _{ma} ´	"be short"
	kpī'ou _v	"strong"	kpī'əma´	"be strong"
	kpēḗnm	"elder"	kpēḗnma´	"be older than"
	wēnnīr	"resembling"	wēn _{na} ´	"be like"
L	pòodìg _a	"small"	pòoda	"be few, small"
	mì'isòg _v	"sour"	mì'isa	"be sour"
	sùṅ _v	"good"	sùm _{ma}	"be good"
	zùlòṅ _v	"deep"	zùlì _{ma}	"be deep"
	vènnìg _a	"beautiful"	vèn _{na}	"be beautiful"

With stem changes:

wōk _v ´	"long, tall"	wā'am _a ´	"be long, tall"
tōulúg _v	"hot"	tūl _{la} ´	"be hot"
nyèesíg _a	"confident"	nyèesa	"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_a</i>	"first"	<i>dɛŋ</i>	"precede"
<i>dōl_la'</i>	"go with"	<i>dōlīg'</i>	"make accompany"
<i>gīŋ_a</i>	"short"	<i>gìŋ</i>	"scrimp"
<i>gōr_a'</i>	"look up" DK	<i>gōdīg'</i>	"make look up" DK
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>kpī'ou_v</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>kò</i>	"break" (intr)	<i>kò'og</i>	"break" (tr)
<i>kūdōg_v</i>	"old"	<i>kùdìg</i>	"shrink up, dry out, age"
<i>lāl_lóg_v</i>	"far"	<i>lālīg'</i>	"become/make far"
<i>mā'asír</i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>màuk_v</i>	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i>	"crumple up"
<i>mì'isòg_v</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i>	"turn sour"
<i>nèì_ya</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>ŋwīg_a'</i>	"rope"	<i>ŋwīg'</i>	"make a rope"
<i>ŋyō'os'</i>	"smoke"	<i>ŋyū'e'</i>	"set alight"
<i>piəlìg_a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlìg</i>	"whiten"
<i>pòdìg_a</i>	"few"	<i>pò'og</i>	"diminish, belittle"
<i>sābílìg_a</i>	"black"	<i>sōbīg'</i>	"blacken"
<i>sōŋ'e_ya'</i>	"be better than"	<i>sūŋ'e'</i>	"become better than" WK
<i>sùŋ_v</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 _l	"Breech-Delivered"	tùlìg	"invert"
tùlùg _o	"hot"	tùlìg'	"heat up"
vōr'	"alive"	vō'ug'	"make/come alive"
wàuŋ _o	"wasted"	wàŋim	"waste away" (gm)
yùul	"swing" (intr)	yùlìg	"swing" (tr)
zūər	"hill"	zù'e	"get higher, more"
zùlòŋ _o	"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 _o	"space between legs"	gēel'	"put between legs" tp H sic
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul'	"set someone on guard"
līk _a	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
mā'e'	"get cool, wet"	mā'al'	"make cool, wet"
nìe	"appear"	nèel	"reveal"
ŋyá'aŋ _a	"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>malig</i>	(Toende) "do again"	màlìgìm	"again"

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

būgūd _a	"client of diviner"	bùgùlìm	"cast lots" (also <i>bùk</i>)
gìk _a	"dumb"	gìgùlìm	"become dumb"
gū'us	"semi-ripe things"	gù'ulìm	"become semi-ripe"
puā'	"woman"	pù'alìm	"cook"
pòŋ'or	"cripple"	pòŋ'olìm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbùlìm	"make, go lame"

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

Nawdm has closely parallel formations, e.g. *jeŋra* ipfv "stand", *jeŋnt* pfv "stand up", *jeŋlg* pfv, *jeŋla* 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 _{ya}	"stand"	zì'ən	zì'əl
zìŋ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zìŋ'in	zìŋ'il
tī'i _{ya} '	"lean" (of thing)	tì'in	tī'il'
gō'e _{ya} '	"look up" WK	gò'ɔn	
dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dìgìn	dīgīl'
īgī _{ya} '	"kneel"	ìgìn	īgīl'
làbì _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vābī _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vābīl'
sùr _a	"bow head"	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	"perch" (bird)	zùən	zùəl
	"perch" (bird)	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2vb as inchoative: *gùl_{la}* "hang", *gùl* "start hanging/hang up", *tàbì_{ya}* "be stuck to" with *tàb* "get stuck to", beside *tàbìl* "stick to." *Dēl_{la}'* "lean" (person) has the inchoative derivative *dèlìm*.

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"
mṁà'	"suck" (of a baby)	mṁ'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 _{ma} '	"be equal"	zēmīs'	"make equal"
zṁà	"friend"	zṁəs	"befriend"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əs'	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us'	"watch out; guard (many)"
ḵāṅk'	"fly, jump"	ḵāṅ'as'	"jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'os	"break several times"
làb̀̀ya	"crouch in hiding"	làb̀̀s	"walk stealthily"
pìəb	"blow (flute etc)"	pèb̀̀s	"blow (wind)"
tòṅ	"shoot"	tòṅ'os	"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, properly speaking, an agent: the sense resembles English derivatives in *-er*. 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 _a	"builder"
dì	"eat"	dīt _a	"eater"
dūg	"cook"	dūgūd _a '	"cook"
duà'	"bear, beget"	dū'ad _a	"relative"
kàd	"drive away"	sàríyà-kāt _a	"judge"
gàad	"pass"	tùən-gāt _a	"leader"
sōb	"write"	sōbīd _a '	"writer"
kpàr	"lock"	kpārīd _a	"lock-er"
sūgūr'	"forbear"	sūgūrīd _a	"forgiver"
gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsīd _a '	"sleeper"
gōs	"look"	gōt _a '	"seer, prophet"
màal	"sacrifice"	màal-māan _{na}	"sacrificer"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an _{na}	"teacher"
tùm	"work"	tùm-tūm _{na}	"worker"
yū'um'	"sing"	yūum-yū'um _{na}	"singer"
sàṅ'am	"spoil"	pūà'-sāṅ'am _{na}	"adulterer"
bùn	"reap"	būn _{na}	"reaper"

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

nāe'	"finish"	nāad _a '	"persister" WK
ṅwà'e	"cut wood"	ṅwā'ad _a	"woodcutter"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əd _a '	"receiver"
sùṅ	"help"	sūṅīd _a	"helper"
sjàk	"believe"	sjàkīd _a	"believer"
tēk'	"pull"	ṅwī-ték _a	"rope-puller"
kēṅ'	"go"	kēn _{na} '	"traveller"
ṅāṅk'	"jump, fly"	ṅāṅ'ad _a '	"flier"
yādīg'	"scatter"	yāt _a '	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 _a	"chief's spokesman"
tìs	"give"	tìs _a	"giver"
sòs	"beg"	sòs _a	"beggar"
zàb	"fight"	zàb-zàb _a	"warrior"

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

dàm	"shake"	dàm-dàm _{ma}	"shaker"
sùn _n	"bow head"	sùn _{na}	"deep thinker" WK

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

pù'alìm	"harm"	pū'an _{na}	"harmer"
sùilìm	"cite proverbs"	sīin _{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
zàaṅsìm	"dream"	zàaṅs _a	"dreamer"

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

mī'	"know"	mī'id _a '	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'id _a '	"ignorant person"
sōṅ'e _{ya} '	"be better than"	sōṅ'òd _a '	"outdoer"
sū'e _{ya} '	"own"	sū'òd _a '	"owner"
zìṅ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zìṅ'id _a	"sitter"
zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'òd _a	"stander"
àḡṅ _{ya}	"be something"	āaṅd _a	"someone who always is something" WK
dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgīd _a '	"lier-down"
īgī _{ya} '	"kneel"	īgīd _a '	"kneeler"
vābī _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vābīd _a '	"lier prone"
làbì _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbīd _a	"croucher in hiding"
nòṅ	"love"	nòṅìd _a	"lover" (tp L <i>sic</i>)
dēl _{la} '	"lean"	nīn-dēl _{la}	"person prone to lean"
dōl _{la} '	"go with"	ṅyà'an-dōl _{la}	"disciple" (tp L <i>sic</i>)
zāṅl _{la} '	"hold"	nō-zāṅl _{la}	"holder of hens"
nēn _{na} '	"envy"	nīn-nēn _{na}	"envious person"
sīn _{na} '	"be silent"	nīn-sīn _{na}	"silent person"
mōr _a '	"have"	bù-mōr _a '	"goat-owner"
tār _a '	"have"	bù-tār _a '	"goat-owner"
gūr _a '	"guard"	gūr(īd) _a '	"guard"
tēṅr _a	"remember"	tēṅrīd _a	"rememberer"
kīs _a '	"hate"	kīs(īd) _a '	"hater"

7.2.2 Verbal adjectives

Imperfective verbal adjectives in principle have the same stem as the agent noun, but drop the **d** formant more readily. The sense may be active or passive, essentially "habitually connected with the verbal action", like an English gerund as a premodifier. Past passive senses are unusual, though examples occur: *sūm-dúgvà* "cooked groundnuts" WK, *ziḡdvḡida zīḡ-dúgvà* "cooked fish" (Lk 24:42), beside the more usual sense in *ni'im dvḡida 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_a'* "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_v</i>	"shirt for wearing" WK, KT
<i>kū</i>	"kill"	<i>tì-kūvdím</i>	"poison" ("killing medicine")
<i>duà'</i>	"bear/beget"	<i>tēḡ-dū'adīg_a</i>	"native land"
<i>sīg</i>	"descend"	<i>yī-sígdír</i>	"lodging-house"
<i>sūā'</i>	"hide"	<i>yēl-sū'adír</i>	"confidential matter"
<i>òḡb</i>	"chew"	<i>būn-óḡb_{idà}</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>kēḡ'</i>	"go"	<i>bùḡ-kēnnír</i>	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
<i>gīlḡ'</i>	"go around"	<i>puà'-gīnníg_a</i>	"prostitute"
<i>sūeḡ'</i>	"anoint"	<i>kpā-sóḡḡdīm</i>	"anointing oil"
<i>yādḡ'</i>	"scatter"	<i>būn-yátír</i>	"scattering thing"
<i>ḡāḡk'</i>	"fly, jump"	<i>būn-ḡāḡ'adír</i>	"flying creature"
<i>sàḡ'am</i>	"destroy"	<i>bù-sāḡ'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_{ya}'</i>	"lie down"	<i>bùḡ-dīgídír</i>	"donkey that lies down a lot"
<i>vābī_{ya}'</i>	"lie prone"	<i>bùḡ-vābídír</i>	"donkey always lying prone"
<i>zìḡ'iy_a</i>	"sit"	<i>kūḡ-zìḡ'idír</i>	"stone for sitting on"
<i>zāḡl_a'</i>	"hold in hands"	<i>nō-zāḡl_l</i>	"hen for holding"
<i>dēl_a'</i>	"lean (person)"	<i>nīn-dēl_l</i>	"person you can lean on" WK
		<i>kùḡ-dēl_l'</i>	"chair for leaning on"
<i>gùl_a</i>	"hang"	<i>būn-gùl_l</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 _a	"harmful woman"
sìilìm	"cite proverbs"	bōn-síilúŋ _v	"thing relating to proverbs"
zàaŋsìm	"dream"	puà'-zàaŋsúŋ _v	"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 _v	"torn"
gēŋ	"get tired"	gēeŋlúŋ _v	"tired"
kò	"break"	kòɔlúŋ _v	"broken"
kpi	"die"	kpiilúŋ _v	"dead"
pè'el	"fill"	pè'elúŋ _v	"full"
pù'alìm	"harm"	pù'alúŋ _v	"damaged"
yè	"wear"	yèelúŋ _v	"worn" (of a shirt)
yò	"close"	yòɔlúŋ _v	"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 _a	"thing for killing with"
lō	"tie"	sìà-lōɔdíŋ _a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sù	"bathe"	sūbdíŋ _a	"sponge"
dōg	"cook"	dōgɔdíŋ _a	"cooking utensil"
sōb	"write"	sōbdíŋ _a	"writing implement"
bòd	"plant"	bōtíŋ _a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārɔdíŋ _a	"thing for locking"
dā'e´	"push"	dā'adíŋ _a	"pusher (person/thing)"

ɲwà'e	"cut wood"	ɲwā'adīŋ _a	"axe"
pīe'	"wash self"	pīədīŋ _a	"thing for washing oneself"
gōs	"look"	nīn-gótīŋ _a	"mirror"; nīn-gótìs "glasses"
kùəs	"sell"	kūəsīŋ _a	"salesperson"
pīəs'	"clean"	pīəsīŋ _a	"cleaning implement"
zīŋ'iya	"sit"	zīŋ'idīŋ _a	"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'vlím	"own (sū'e _{ya} ')"
nēnním	"envy (nēn _{na} ')"	sīnním	"be silent (sīn _{na} ')"
wēnním <i>sic</i>	"be like (wēn _{na} ')"	dēllím	"lean (dēl _{la} ')"; also dēllóg _v
dōllím	"go with (dōl _{la} ')"	zāŋllím	"hold in hand (zāŋl _{la} ')"
gūrím	"guard (gūr _a ')"	mōrím	"have (mōr _a ')"
nārím	"be necessary (nār _a ')"	tārím	"have (tār _a ')"

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 _a)"	gòɔɔdìm	"wandering (gòɔɔd _a)"
zòtìm	"fear (zòt _a)"	yōlìsìm	"freedom (yōlìs')"
nīn-kúúsìm	"murder (kū)"	pù'vsìm	"worship (pù'vs)"

Wòm "hear" has a gerund wòm_{mm}òg_v *wòm_{md}òg_v beside regular wòm_{mv}.

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"	dūgɔdím-	"co-cook"

tòm	"work"	tòmím-	"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"	bèlím-	"partner in existence" WK
mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ulím-	"partner in ignorance"
zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'əlím-	"co-stander" (zì'ədím- WK)
zìŋ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zìŋ'ilím-	"co-sitter" (zìŋ'idím- WK)
vābī _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vābulím-	"co-lier" (vābudím- WK)
làbì _{ya}	"crouch hiding"	làbulím-	"fellow croucher in hiding"
īgī _{ya} '	"kneel"	īgulím-	"co-kneeler" (īgudím- WK)
dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgulím-	"co-lier" (dīgulím- WK)
dōl _a '	"go with"	dōllím-	"fellow-companion"
nòŋ	"love"	nòŋilím-	"fellow liker" WK
		nòŋidím-	"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 _v	"sour"
sōb	"get dark"	sābulíg _a	"black"

Deverbal nouns with s are

dīgī _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgusúg _v	"bed"
dū	"go up"	dūsúsír	"step"

d is seen in *yūgvdīr* "hedgehog", *lā'af_v* "cowrie" pl *līgudī* "money", *pùgvdìb_a* "father's sister." It can form abstracts from human-reference nouns: *ba'abiidvg* "brotherhood", *dataadim/dataadvg* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bvŋkòttim* "old age", *gètìim* "folly" (*gèdv_g* "fool"), *pvkòntim* "widowhood" (Naden.) It has an instrument-noun sense in

t _u à	"grind in a mortar"	t _u ədīr	"mortar"
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Single n derives from nd (perhaps ultimately ld) in

màal	"sacrifice"	māan _n	"sacrifice"
pìbìl	"cover"	pìbīn _n	"covering"
zàṅbìl	"tattoo"	zàṅbīn _n	"tattoo"

m is seen in several unanalysable 3-mora stems, e.g. *yōgóm_n* "camel" (ultimately Berber), *gbīgīm_n* "lion", *zìlīm_n* "tongue", *àṅròṅ_v* "boat", *zùlòṅ_v* "deep", *nyālòṅ_v* "wonderful", *yàlòṅ_v* "wide." It can derive both animate and mass nouns:

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

Added to adjectival stems, *m* produces no change of meaning: thus with pfv verbal adjective stems in *l* or *lm*; *vèṅllìḡ_a* or *vèṅllíḡ_a* "beautiful"; *mālisìḡ_a* or *mālisíḡ_a* "pleasant"; *lāllòḡ_v* or *lāllíḡ_a* "distant." It may appear only in the adjective or only in the corresponding 1vb:

nār _a '	"be necessary"	nāróṅ _v	"necessary"
nyèes _a	"be confident"	nyèesíḡ _a	"confident"
wōk _v '	"long, tall"	wā'am _a '	"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 _a	"child"	bīilím	"childhood"
dāu	"man"	dàalím	"masculinity"
pūā'	"woman"	pù'alím	"femininity"
sāan _a '	"guest, stranger"	sáannìm	"strangerhood"
tīrāan _a	"neighbour"	tīrāannìm	"neighbourliness"
wōk _v '	"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"	$tītōŋrìg_a$	"mole"
$sīnsáaŋ$	kind of tiny ant	$nōb-púmpàŋ_v$	"foot"
$kpìsìŋkpìlì$	"fist"	$sīlīnsīŋg_v$	"spider"
$nēsīnnēog_v'$	"envious person" (for * $nī-$)		
$dìndēog_v'$	"chameleon"	$dùndùug_v$	"cobra"
$bìmbìm_n$	"altar"	$bùmbàrìg_a$	"ant"
$gùŋgūm_n$	"kapok material"	$zīnzāŋ_v'$	"bat"
$zùnzòŋ_a$	"blind"	$vùlìnvùuŋ_lì$	"mason wasp"
$zīlīnzìog_v$	"unknown"		

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

$tà(sìŋ)tà_lì$	"palm of hand"	$kpàkòr'$	"tortoise"
$wàsìnwà_lì$	"gall" (on trees)		

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

dākīg _a	"wife's sibling"	dàyūug _v '	"rat"
dàgòbìg _a	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dārúk _v	kind of large pot	dàṅkòṅ _v	"measles"
bālērōg _v '	"ugly"	bānāa	traditional smock
sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"	sākáròg _v	"fox"
sāmán _n	"courtyard"	sāṅgúnnìr	"millipede"
zàṅkù'ar	"hyena"	zàṅgùəm _n	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in làṅgávṅ_v/màṅgávṅ_v "crab" and nàyīg_a "thief" (*sic*, despite KB *na'ayiig*), an a|ba g-stem; cf nàyīgīm "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_{na}' "disrespectful person" (nān "respect"); t̄b-p̄wóm̄nìb_a "deaf people" (t̄b̄r "ear", wòm "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: kùndùṅ_a "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_a' "son, boy" (pāalíg "new") and dākòṅr "son, bachelor." P̄- "woman" appears in p̄kòṅr "widow"; cf Mooré *p̄gk̄oré* "widow", *p̄gsádà* "young woman" = Kusaal p̄à'-sādīr' with the cif p̄à'- "woman." P̄- "farm" (cf Mooré *p̄vgò* = Kusaal p̄ōg_v' "farm") appears in p̄kpāad_a' "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_n "locust", nà'-dàwān_n' "pigeon" (also dàwān_n') and WK's nà'-nēsīnnēog_v' "centipede"; others use nēsīnnēog_v', which for WK is "envious person."

Some manner nouns show the prefix à followed by M spreading: àmēṅá "truly", àsīdā "truly", àníṅā "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_a** "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 *yarḍá* "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_a'**, Mooré *màlékà*, Arabic *mal'ak*, "angel"; **Sūtáaná**, Mooré *Svtāana* "Satan." **Mōr'** "Muslim" may owe its exceptional pl **Móom_{ma}** 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 *Wīnā'am*; **fāangíd_a** "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagit* (contrast WK's **fāand_a'** "saver", homophonous with "robber.") B1/2 writes the Toende forms *aaruṅ malek* for **ànròṅ_v** "boat", **màljāk_a'** "angel."

Instead of **kī'tb_v'** "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*; **sāafi** "lock, key", Twi *safẽ* "key" (Portuguese *chave*); **būrɪyá** "Christmas", Twi *bronya*.

English loanwords have often undergone considerable changes: **àlópìr** "aeroplane"; **dú'atà** "doctor"; **tóklàe** "torch" ("torchlight"); *pɔɔtim* (Jer 20:10) "complain about officially" ("report.") Some were probably transmitted via Hausa: **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_a'** "witness, testimony" from *cachet* "seal of authenticity" or *cacheté* "sealed" via Mooré *kàsétò* "evidence."

10 Noun phrases

10.1 Structure and categories

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

Unbound dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as NP heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed in English by genitives or NP complements with "of", e.g.

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:

būy _a	"goat"	bù-pìèlìg _a	"white goat"
bù-kàŋā´	"this goat"	bù-pìèl-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-pìèl-]kàŋā´	"this [white goat]"
[nīn-wók-]pìèlìg _a	"white [tall person]"
[zà'-nō-]píèlìg _a	"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 _a	"gatekeeper"
[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàṅā´	"this [gatekeeper]"
kùg-[nōb-wók _v]	"[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]"
[ānzúrífà nē sālmā lá'-]māan	"[silver and gold item]-maker" (see below)

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

À-Wīn né À-Bōgūr né 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. *Sangbauṅ nē tengbauṅ paal* "a new heaven and earth" (Rv 21:1) is exceptional; the normal pattern appears in *arezana paal nē dunia paal* "a new heaven and a new earth" (Is 65:17.) However, any unbound NP as a NP constituent may itself have a coordinate structure, except for postpositions.

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

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

Midian tɛŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis
 Midian tɛŋ ðim lā p̄'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 b̄ūt̄iis nē d̄iisímà "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 lì, as often in unselfconscious speech.)

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

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

ānzúrɪfà nē sālmā 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-kàṅā́* "this gold." This count/mass distinction affects quantifier choice, the form of *nàm_a* 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'esá yīnní* "one thought" (Acts 4:32), *dì'əm-kàṅā́* "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_a*), *sālmā* "gold", *sìdà* "truth", *tàdımís* "weakness", *zōlımís* "foolishness", *zùəd* "friendship", *bōvd* "innocence", *nīn-pōvd* "pus", *sīṅd'* "honey", *wāad'* "cold weather", *sūṅ-pêen_n* "anger", *kyà'-nūud'* "thirst", *vūud'* "noise"; some also have count pl senses and corresponding sgs, as with *lā'ad* "(items of) goods", *līgıdī* "money, cowries", *pıàṅ'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 zuluṅ na paae **o** salibir.

Kà wìəf yá' sigí_ lì nī, lì zùlùṅ ná páe ò sàlɪbìr.

And horse:SG if descend 3IN LOC, 3IN depth IRR reach 3AN bridle:SG.

"If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." (Rv 14:20)

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

Tìṅ wélà bìgısid ón àṅ sī'em.

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

"The fruit of a tree shows what it is." (Mt 12:33 B1)

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 kv nyaṅi ke
ka ɔ ka' niṅgbij la nii.

Nó̀bìr yá' yèlì=n yē, Mán kā' nù'ug lā zúg, m 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 B1 always uses *bàmmā' bān sīabā* 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.

Níf-káṅā, ɔn sâṅ'am nē.

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

Eye-DEM.SG, 3AN spoil FOC.

M̄ p̄ ɔ nyēó=o=∅.

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

1SG NEG see=3AN=NEG.

sālmā lâ'ad né ò bōtīs

"gold stuff and (gold) cups" WK

gold item:PL with 3AN cup:PL

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

O anɛ m pu'a.

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

Ò à né m̄ p̄ā'.

3AN be FOC 1SG woman:SG.

but Li anɛ 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_a</i>	<i>mān</i> lf <i>mánì</i>	<i>mán</i>
	2nd	<i>fù</i>	= <i>f_o</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_i</i>	<i>līn/dīn</i>	<i>lín/dín</i>
Pl	1st	<i>tì</i>	= <i>t_i</i>	<i>tīnám_a</i>	<i>tīnámì</i>
	2nd	<i>yà</i>	= <i>ya</i>	<i>yānám_a</i>	<i>yānámì</i>
	3rd	<i>bà</i>	= <i>ba</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>bán</i>

Mām occurs for 1sg in any role. 2pl =*ya*/*=n* is used as subject after imperatives.

The bound forms are all liaison words. The enclitics are used for VP objects, right-bound for all other roles. There are no dependent forms: in e.g. *m̄ bīig* "my child", *m̄* heads a predependent NP, exactly as in [*nà'ab lā*] *bīig* "the chief's child."

There is no free/bound distinction before nominaliser =*n̄*. In isolation, in coordination, before dependents, or when focused, only free forms can occur:

Mánè?

"Me?"

tīnám nē fōn

"us and you"

mān Paul

"I, Paul"

Fōn kanε buoli fō mēŋ ...

"You who call yourself ... (Rom 2:17)

Fōn-kánì=∅ bùə̀lì fō mēŋ ...

2SG-DEM.SG=NZ call 2SG self ...

Manε an kōnbkem sūŋ la.

"I am the good shepherd." (Jn 10:11)

Mānī_∅ áŋ kōŋb-kìim-sùŋ lā.

1SG CAT be shepherd-good:SG ART.

In positions where bound forms are possible, free forms express *contrast*; a special case of this is the logophoric use of the 3rd person forms in reported speech.

There are no special honorific usages of pronouns.

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

Lìnè?	"Which one?"
Nīf-kánè?	"Which eye?"
fōn-kànì 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 *ṽwà*.

<i>nō-píèl-kàṅā́</i>	"this/that white hen"
<i>dú'atà lā́ lór-kàṅā</i>	"this/that car of the doctor's"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā sām</i>	"this/that man's father"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā lā́ sām</i>	"that man's father"
<i>dàṽ-kàṅā ṽwá sām</i>	"this man's father"

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Plural
<i>sṓ</i>	<i>sī'èl_a</i>	<i>sīèbā</i> (modal vowel)
<i>sī'a</i>	<i>sī'a</i>	
Time	Manner	Place
<i>sān-sí'a</i>	<i>sī'əm</i>	<i>zìṽ'-sī'a</i>

Sṓ sī'èl_a sīèbā 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'èl_a* 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-sṓ</i>	"a certain child of yours"
2PL child-INDEF.AN	

Mɛɛri onɛ an Magdalen nɛ Mɛɛri sɔ́'
 Mɛɛri ónì=∅ àṽ Magdalen nḗ Mɛɛri-sṓ'
 Mary DEM.AN=NZ be Magdalen with Mary-INDEF.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-INDEF.IN.	

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

O niṅid si'el məkama sò'ṽṽa. "He does everything well." (Mk 7:37)
 Ò niṅid sī'el mé-kàmà sù'ṽṽā.
 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.

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

Interrogative pronouns:

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

Plurals with *nām_a* 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_n* "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?"

F̀̀ á nē b́-b̀̀ud̀̀ì=ø?
2SG be FOC what-sort=CQ?

"What ethnic group do you belong to?"

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

F̀̀ t́m b́-t̀̀um̀̀à=ø?
2SG work:IPFV what-work=CQ?

"What kind of work do you do?" SB

B̀̀ s̀̀nsig ka ya s̀̀nsid nē taaba?

B̀̀- s̀̀s̀ìg kà yà s̀̀s̀ìd nē táab̀̀à=ø?

What-conversation:SG and 2PL converse:IPFV with each.other=CQ?

"What are you talking about to each other?" (Lk 24:17)

The ideophone *kímm* "firmly, fast" appears after interrogative pronouns in the sense "exactly": *b́ ḱmm* "what exactly?"; *b́ źg ḱmm* "why exactly?"

The **personaliser** pronoun *à-* precedes all Kusaasi personal names except for those based on adjectives, e.g. *À-Ẃn* "Awini." Some animal and bird names incorporate *à-*, with no implication of personification, e.g. *à-d̀̀aaĺ́g* "stork", *à-ḿs* "cat", *à-ḱr̀̀ā-d́̀̀ēm_{ma}* "praying mantis." In any case, *à-* is omitted after any predependent: thus *t̀̀ Ẃn* "our Awini", and e.g.

	<i>L̀̀ à nē à-d̀̀aaĺ́g.</i>	"It's a stork."
but	<i>m̀̀ d̀̀aaĺ́g</i>	"my stork"
	<i>d̀̀āy l̀̀ā d̀̀aaĺ́g</i>	"the man's stork"

VPs may be *nominalised* by *à-*, which then behaves as a subject pronoun "someone who ..."; as predependent of a clause subject *à-* means "someone whose ...". These nominalisations pluralise with *ǹ̀am_a*.

À-d̀̀āā ýl k̀̀ā' t́mm=ø.
PZ-TNS say NEG.have medicine=NEG.

"Did-say has no remedy."
(No use crying over spilt milk.)

À-nyē nē ńf s̀̀n'̀̀ō À-ẁ̀m̀̀ t̀̀b̀̀à.
PZ-see with eye:SG surpass PZ-hear ear:PL.

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears" (Seeing is believing.)

À-Ḱidíg̀̀ø B́ū'əs
PZ-CROSS CAT ask

"Crossed over and asked"
(name of the constellation Orion)

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

À-zī' ∅ kpí nàm kpîid 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 kúu_m nūa yír, kà bà pṵ 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."
 i.e. 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."

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

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

Bà dōl nē tāabā. "They go together." (dōl_{la}' "go with")
 3PL go.with with each.other.

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

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

Bà nyéε_bà mēṅ. "They've seen for themselves."
 3PL see 3PL self.

F̀ò mēŋ k̄ũ b́-l̀àa=ø?
2SG self or baby:SG=CQ?

"Yourself or the baby?" ("Which of you needs the doctor?"; overheard)

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

M̀ n̄wé'ὲ m̀ mēŋ.
1SG hit 1SG self.

"I hit myself."

Like English (as opposed to e.g. French), Kusaal uses pronoun possessors with body parts acted on by their owners as subjects; *mēŋ* is only used to express contrast:

Ba p̄v piesidi ba nu'us w̄ũ lin nar si'em la ka dit̄a.
B̀à p̄v̄ p̄iēsídí̀ b̀à n̄u'us w̄ũ lín nār s̄i'əm lá kà d̄ít̄a=ø.
3PL NEG clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3IN:NZ need how ART and eat:IPFV=NEG.

"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." (Mt 15:1)

Mam Paul n s̄ob p̄'us kaŋa n̄ε m̄ mēŋ nu'ug.
M̄am Paul n s̄ob p̄'us-kàŋā n̄é m̀ mēŋ n̄u'ug.
1SG Paul CAT write greeting-DEM.SG with 1SG self hand:SG.

"I, Paul, have written this greeting with my own hand." (Col 4:18)

The **empty** pronoun *s̄ob_a* is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and gender but has no other semantic content.

Animate	sg	<i>s̄ob_a</i>	pl	<i>d̄im_a</i>
Inanimate	sg/pl	<i>d̄in_n</i>		

Ò *s̄ob/ōn s̄ob* mean "the last person mentioned."

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings:

<i>m̄an d̄in</i>	"my one, mine"
<i>À-W̄in d̄im</i>	"Awini's family"
<i>p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im s̄ob</i> (pl <i>p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im d̄im</i>)	"holy person" (<i>p̄v̄-p̄iə̀l̄im</i> "holiness")
<i>d̄ũnyā ní d̄in</i>	"earthly one" (1 Cor 15:44)
<i>B̀òk d̄im</i>	"Bawku people"
<i>ȳiigá s̄ob</i>	"first person" beside <i>ȳiig-s̄ob_a</i>

F̀ũn p̄iãŋ'ad n̄ē t̄inám d̄in.
2SG speak:IPFV FOC 1PL ø.IN.

"You're speaking ours [language]."

Cif predependents occur in set expressions:

$y\bar{i}$ -sób _a	pl $y\bar{i}$ -sób-nàm _a	"householder"	($y\bar{i}r'$ "house")
$y\bar{i}$ -dí _m _a		"members of the household"	
nīf-sób _a		"miser"	(nīf _v ' "eye")
tàṅp-sób _a		"warrior"	(tāṅp _v "war")
zūg-sób _a	pl zūg-sób-nàm _a	"boss"; KB "Lord"	(zūg _v ' "head")

10.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: \dot{A} -Wīn_n' from Wīdì-nyá'aṅ_a will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for Kūsâas, "Bawku" for Bòk_v 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 or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name \dot{A} -Dōk_v', 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-Dāvg_v "Ndago" ("male"), Ñ-Pūāk_a "Mpoaka" ("female"), Ñ-Bīl_a "Mbillah" ("little.") They do not take adjectives or articles, but occur with other determiners, and may pluralise with $n\dot{a}m_a$; \dot{A} -Wīn $n\dot{a}m$ can mean "more than one person called Awini" or "Awini and his people."

\dot{A} -Wīn _n '	"Awini"	tì Wīn	"our Awini"
\dot{A} -Wīn-káṅā'	"this Awini"	\dot{A} -Wīn $n\dot{a}m$	"Awinis"
Ñ-Dāvg _v	"Ndago"	tì Ñ-Dāvg	"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} -Sīmōṅ "Simon." In stories with talking animals, animal names take \dot{A} -: \dot{A} -Bāa "Mr Dog." B3 has *Asan'auḡ* \dot{A} -Sàṅ'ṡḡ_v "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-Tūm bódìg yā		"the medicine has got lost" (a man)

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

À-Wīn _n '	Awini	person with a <i>sīgīr'</i> from father's family
À-Būgūr	Abugri	person with a <i>sīgīr'</i> from mother's family
À-Tūg _a	Atiga	"tree" as <i>sīgīr'</i>
À-Kūdōg _v	Akudugu	"piece of iron", marking a tree- <i>sīgīr'</i>

A younger sibling of À-Wīn_n' with the same *sīgīr'* may be called À-Wīn-bīl_a "Awimbillah", of À-Kūdōg_v, À-Kūd-bīl_a "Akudibillah" etc. Names for girls may follow the pattern À-Wīn-puāk_a "Awimpoaka." Other names refer to birth circumstances:

À-Nà'ab _a	Anaba	"afterbirth" (a chief leaves the house after his retainers): sole surviving twin
À-Fūug _v '	Afugu	"clothing": child born with a caul
À-Tūl _l	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 _r	Tampuri	"ashpit, rubbish tip"
À-Dōk _v '	Aruk	"pot"

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

À-Sāan _a '	Asana	"guest, stranger"
À-Sāan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāu</i> "man"
À-Zàngbèog _v	Azangbego	"Hausa person"
À-Nàsà-puāk _a	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi naming practices.

The great majority of **ethnic group** and **clan** names are a|ba or ga|su. The place inhabited by the group adds sg **gv** to the stem; **language** names add **li**.

Ethnic group sg/pl	Language	Place	
Bārīg _a '	Bārīs'	Bāt'	Bārōg _v '
Bìn _n	Bīm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìṽṽ _v
Bùlīg _a	Bùlīs	Bùlī	Bulsa
Bùsāṅ _a	Bùsāṅs	Bùsāṅl	Bisa
Dàgāad _a	Dàgāadìb _a		Dagaaba
Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbām _{ma} '	Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbāṽṽ _v '
Gūrīg _a	Gūrīs	Gūrīn _n	Farefare
Kàmbùṅ _a	Kàmbùmìs	Kàmbùnìr	Ashanti
Kūsāa	Kūsāas	Kūsāal	Kūsāv _v
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mòov _v
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùg _v
Nwāmpūrīg _a	Nwāmpūrīs'	Nwāmpūrīl'	Nwāmpūrōg _v '
Sìmiīg _a	Sìmiīs	Sìmiil	Sìmiug _v
Tàlīg _a	Tàlīs	Tàlìn _n	Tallensi
Yàaṅ _a	Yàṅs/Yàamìs or Yàam _{ma}	Yàan _n	Yansi
Yārīg _a '	Yārīs'	Yāt'	Yarsi
Zàṅgbèog _v	Zàṅgbèed	Zàṅgbèel	Hausa

Bārīs' means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bīm_{ma} "Moba", not just Bemba (WK.)

Note also Mōr' pl Móom_{ma} "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsāa(r)-nām_a "European", Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tùəṅ_n "Toende", Tùəṅnìr "Toende dialect", Àgòl "Agolle", Àgòl "Agolle dialect": Ò pìàṅ'ad Àgòl. "She speaks Agolle."

Among the many clan names are

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gòog _a	Gòos	Gòov _v
	Gùm-dìm _a	Gùm _n
Kùtān _n	Kùtām _{ma} '	Kùtāv _v '
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdùg _v
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùəs -dàbùəb _a	Sà'-dàbòog _v
	Nà'-dām _{ma}	Nà'-dāv _v
Wiid _a	Wiid-nām _a	Wiidùg _v
Zùa	Zùəs	Zoose

Subclans: Zùà-sābílís "Black Zoose", Zùà-wiib_a/-wiis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbìdìb_a is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema."

Kusaal **place** names are intrinsically locative.

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

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

B3 has *ya-dagobug* "south" ("your left"), *ya-datiug* "north" ("your right"), *ya-nyá'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_a "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", *Àsíbutì* "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_{ma}</i> (less formally <i>bā'</i>)	father
<i>sàam-kpēɛŋm</i>	father's elder brother
<i>sàam-pīt_a'</i>	father's younger brother
<i>pùgudìb_a</i>	father's sister
<i>mà</i>	mother (<i>mà nám_a</i> mother's co-wives)
<i>mà-kpēɛŋm</i>	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
<i>mà-bīl_a</i> or <i>mà-pīt_a'</i>	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
<i>áŋsìb_a</i>	mother's brother
<i>bīig_a</i> (♂ <i>dàkòŋr</i> , ♀ <i>pɔà'-yùà</i>)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
<i>āŋsíŋ_a</i>	sister's child
<i>yáab_a</i> (♂ <i>yāa-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔá'</i>)	grandparent/ancestor
<i>yáaŋ_a</i>	grandchild/descendant
<i>pɔà'-ēlíŋ_a</i>	fiancée
<i>yī-pɔá'</i> or <i>pɔā'</i>	wife; brother's wife
<i>dìem_{ma}</i> (♂ <i>dìem-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔāk_a</i>)	wife's parent
<i>dàkīig_a</i> (♂ <i>dàkì-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔāk_a</i>)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
<i>dàkì-tùà</i>	wife's sister's husband
<i>sīd_a</i>	husband
<i>dàyáam_{ma}</i> (♂ <i>dàyāam-dāɔ</i> , ♀ <i>-pɔák_a</i>)	husband's parent
<i>sìd-kpēɛŋm</i>	husband's elder brother
<i>sìd-bīl_a</i>	husband's younger brother
<i>sìd-pɔāk_a</i>	husband's sister
<i>nìn-tāa</i>	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

Dìəm_{ma} is used in polite address by a person of either sex to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age.

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at **Bùgúm-tōṅṛ**, 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

bédugū'	"a lot"	pāmm lf pāmní	"a lot"
fīṅ	"a little (liquid)"	bī'ələ́	"a little"
wūṣ	"all"	wūṣā	"all"

Beside number words, count quantifiers include

bábīgā'	"many"	kàḷgā'	"few"
fāaṅ	"every"	zāṅ'a	"every"
kām_a	"every"	kām zāṅ'a	"every"

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

Bédugū/pāmm ké nā.	"Many came."
Bédugū lā ké nā.	"The crowd came."
Àyí' ké nā.	"Two came."
Àyí' lā ké nā.	"The two came."
nīdīb lá àyí'	"two of the people"
màljàk-nám túsà pīigā nám	"tens of thousands of angels"
nidib bedego bama nwa	"this crowd of people" (Mt 15:33 B2)
nīdīb bédugū bámmā ṅwá	
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 the regular 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

M mór bīisá_ àtán'. "I have three children."
 1SG have child:PL three. is true, though misleading

but M 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 B3): dabpii ne ayəpəi daar "on the seventeenth day" (Gn 7:11.)

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

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix ò- (the old agreement for m|) instead of à-:

1	<i>yéon</i> or <i>àràkón'</i>	6	<i>nyûəb</i>
2	<i>nyí'</i>	7	<i>npòè sic</i>
3	<i>ntán'</i>	8	<i>nní</i>
4	<i>nnāas</i>	9	<i>nwāe</i>
5	<i>nnū</i>		continuing <i>pīigā, pīi nē yí'</i> as with quantifiers

Àràkón' can also be used as a quantifier: *búog 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_a* "first": *sob deen* "first census" (Lk 2:2 B1.) "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_a* "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí' dāan lā* "the second one", *būogá àtán' dāan lā* "the third goat"; "first" is *yīigá dāan*. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use 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 *àbòlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yīmmú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí'* "twice", *àbòtán'* "three times", *àbònāasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīigā* "ten times." The prefix *bù-* is the old *bu|* agreement; *à-* is the manner-noun formant, preceded by *-r* in liaison, so its attachment to 2-9 alone is presumably analogical.

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

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

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīig</i>	100	<i>k̀b̀ig k̀b̀ig</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>k̀b̀ś k̀b̀ś or k̀b̀ś yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtán' tán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán' tán'</i>	300	<i>k̀b̀ś 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 tūsīr</i>
6	<i>àyûəb yûəb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûəb yûəb</i>		
7	<i>àyóp̀ə p̀ə</i>	70	<i>pīs yóp̀ə p̀ə</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 àyóp̀ə p̀ə* "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

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

The adjective *yīmmír* pl *yīmmá* 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 [p̀'us̀g [f̀ug d̀og]] "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>nīdɪb lā síəbà</i>	"certain of the people"
<i>nīdɪb lá àyí'</i>	"two of the people"

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

Pà'alìmī=ṭí nīdɪbá_ àyí' nṵwá fún gāṅ sō'.

Teach:IMP=1PL person:PL two this 2SG:NZ choose INDF.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. *nīdɪb lā gígìs* must mean "the dumb ones *belonging* to the people", not "among the people" (WK.)

Dāan_a "owner" (*nām_a* 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-pìə̀lìm dāan* "holy person", *būṅgúsíḡā dāan* "softly-softly sort of person" WK, and

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wōk dāan pū gáṅìd búgúmm=∅.

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

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

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

Dāan_a has a cif predependent a few set expressions, e.g. *yī-dāan_a/yī-sób_a* "householder" and *tèṅ-dāan_a* "traditional earth-priest"; cf also e.g. *(a)naas-daan* "owner of four [horns]", *poi-daan* "owner of seven [horns]" (KS p35), where the first element has the form of a number used in counting, with or without a prefixed *a-*.

Quantifier forms of the numbers precede *dāan_a* to make ordinal expressions: *àtáṅ' 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 kótù 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 B1)

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_a* "egg-seller." Noun-adjective compounds as generic arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. *fū-zēṅdà kûəs* "dyed-cloth seller"; otherwise, such arguments must be cifs: it is not possible to say e.g. *[bēṅíd 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_a</i>	"murderer"	<i>bù-kûud_a'</i>	"goat-killer"
<i>nō-kûud_a</i>	"hen-killer"	<i>puà'-kûud_a'</i>	"woman-killer"
<i>nō-zāṅl_l</i>	"holder of hens"	<i>wìd-kûəs_a</i>	"horse-seller"
<i>bù-kûəs_a</i>	"goat-seller"	<i>sàlìm-kûəs_a</i>	"gold-seller"
<i>dā-nûud_a</i>	"beer-drinker"	<i>dà-kīəd_a</i>	"wood-cutter"
<i>zīm-gbâṅ'ad_a</i>	"fisher"	<i>kòṅb-kīm_{na}</i>	"herder, shepherd"
<i>làmpō-dí'əs_a</i>	"tax collector"	<i>tàn-mēəd_a</i>	"builder"
<i>bùl-sīgīd_a'</i>	"well-diver"	<i>zà'-nō-gúr_a</i>	"gatekeeper"
<i>nō-dí'əs_a</i>	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
<i>gbàṅṅ-mī'id_a'</i>	"scribe" ("book-knower")		
<i>puà'-sāṅ'am_{ma}</i>	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")		
<i>tùən-gāt_a</i>	"leader" (Ò gād tūən "He's gone ahead")		
<i>nyà'an-dòl_{la}</i>	"disciple" (nyá'aṅ _a "behind", dōl _{la} ' "go with")		
<i>puà'-lā'ad_a</i>	"laugher at women" WK (Ò là'ad pū'ab "He laughs at women")		

Informants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; KB too has *bāṅīd_a* "wise man", *sīākīd_a* "believer", *sūṅīd_a* "helper", *fāaṅd_a'* "robber." However, a preceding cif is usual; it may be just a reduplication of the noun stem:

<i>màal-māan_{na}</i>	"sacrificer"	<i>zī-zīid_a</i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as_a</i>	"talker"	<i>zàb-zàb_a</i>	"warrior"
<i>zòt-zòt_a</i>	"racer, athlete"	<i>tùm-tùm_{na}</i>	"worker"

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

sjà-lōd́íŋ _a	"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 _v	"sorrow" (M̄ sūŋf sāŋ'am nē "My heart is spoilt")		
sūŋ-pēen _n	"anger" (M̄ sūŋf pélìg nē "My heart is white")		
nō-lōw	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")		
fū-yēer	"shirt-wearing" (WK, nonce form)		
pūà'-dūr	"marriage" (Ò dī pūā' "He's married a wife")		
Sāmán-pīer	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	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")		
kùm-vū'ugír	"resurrection" (Ò vò'ug 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'og _v	"boldness" ("heart-strength")
sūŋ-má'asìm	"joy" ("heart-coolness")
nìn-tōllím	"fever" ("body-heat")
wīn-tōw _v	"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 bīer 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 _v '	"children's shirt" (i.e. suitable for children)
wāb-móʊgṽ=n'	"in bush where there are elephants" WK
zà'-nōʊr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig _a	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bīig _a	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
təŋ-bīig _a	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlòg _v	"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")
tōlīgír bún	"heater" ("heating thing", also bōn-túlīgír)
dōʊgṽb dút	"cooking pots"
līgɪdī túmà	"expensive work" (līgɪdī "money")
tāŋp-sōb _a	"warrior" (tāŋp _v "war")
pù-piəl-sōb _a /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 _b "piece of wood")
sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭtīs	"gold goods and [gold] cups" WK

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

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

yīgá dábı̀sìr	"first day"
dūnyā 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-kòŋbìd	"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 púogŭ=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_a</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.

Ēen, ò zùà 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_a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-píəlìs</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súṅ_v</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_v* "good person", *būn-vúr* "living thing" etc. *Būn_n´* (pl *būná/būn-nám_a*) also occurs with uncompounded predependents: *tūlígír bún* "heating thing, heater", *kù'əmī=n bún* "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_a "finger" ("small hand"); *tì-sābílím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gòṅ'*-sābílíg_a "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); *būn-gíṅ_a* "short chap" (humorous); *būn-kúdùg_v* "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_v</i>	"small coin" B1 (<i>lā'af_v</i> "cowrie", <i>bī'ələ́</i> "a little")
<i>dàbìs-sī'ər</i>	"some day" (<i>dàbìsìr</i> "day")
<i>yēl-súm_n</i>	"blessing" (<i>yēlì´</i> "matter", <i>sùṅ_v</i> "good")
<i>pṛà'-pāal_a'</i>	"bride" (<i>pṛā'</i> "wife", <i>pāalíg_a</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_n* 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 wíugṵ.</i>	"It's reddish."
<i>fū-wíugṵ 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>M̃ 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>M̃ 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*_v "good", *bē'ed* "bad", *zùlòŋ*_v "deep", *mā'asíg*_a "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> _v	"long-legged stool"
<i>Kùg-kàŋā á nē nōb-wók.</i>	"This stool is long-legged." WK
<i>nōb-gíŋ</i> _a	"short-legged"
<i>zūg-máuk</i> _v	"crushed-headed"
<i>zò-wók</i> _v '	"long-tailed"
<i>zū-péelòg</i> _v	"bald"

"One of a pair" adjectives are often so used: *nīf-nyáuk*_v "one eye", *bà-nīf-nyáuk*_v "one-eyed dog"; *tùb-yīuk*_v' "one ear" *bì-tùb-yīnā* "one-eared children."

The adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg: *bì-tùb-kpīdā* "deaf child" (pl *bì-tùb-kpīdā nám*_a/*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> _a '/ <i>-sāan</i> _a	"strange child"	<i>bù-sāan</i> _a	"strange goat"
<i>bì-kpī'um/-kpīilúŋ</i> _v	"dead child"	<i>bù-kpīilúŋ</i> _v	"dead goat"
<i>bì-dāu/-dāug</i> _v	"male child"	<i>bù-dāug</i> _v	"male goat"
<i>bì-sīn</i> _{na} '/ <i>-sīnníg</i> _a	"silent child"	<i>bù-sīnníg</i> _a	"silent goat"

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

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

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

10.7.2 Lā́ and nwà

Lā́ and nwà 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, nwà can stand alone as a NP:

Nwà 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.

Nɔ̀ɲilim pɔ̀ naada.

"Love does not come to an end."

Nòɲìlím pɔ̀ nāadá=∅.

(1 Cor 13:8)

Love NEG finish:IPFV=NEG.

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

M̂ bīig k̂á'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 bē_ ∅ mōrí_ò bī-dí̀bì̀ɲ

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

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

T̀m̀t̀m̀ p̀v̀ gat o zugdaana.

T̀m̀-t̀m̀ p̀v̀ gát ò z̀g̀-̀d̀áanā=ø.

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

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

Indefinite pronouns mark unambiguously specific "some/another":

Nā'-síə̀bà ó̀ṅ̀b̀ìd nē m̀ṑd.

"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 bìg* "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 b̀è̀ ø m̀ṑr̀ì̀ ò b̀ì̀-d̀í̀b̀ì̀ṅ

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 d̀ā̀a á̀ṅ̀ p̀ùá'-s̀ā̀d̀ī̀r lá kà ò k̀ū̀l s̀ī̀d̀ī̀ ø p̀ā̀e

3AN:NZ TNS be girl:SG ART and 3AN marry husband:SG CAT reach

ỳú̀m̀à à̀ỳó̀p̀ò̀ḡ kà ò s̀ī̀d lā k̀p̀í.

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 b̀ī̀g b̀é.*

1SG child:SG exist.

"I have a child." WK

M̀ b̀ī̀g k̀ā'e=ø.

1SG child:SG NEG.exist=NEG.

"I've no child" WK

but *M̀ b̀ī̀g lā k̀ā'e=ø.*

1SG child:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

"My child's not there" WK

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_a* 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_a* 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/=n*.

Bound words occur in a fixed order around the verb:

Tense	Mood	Subverb		E1	E2	
dàa	∅ ~ pū	pòn	VERB	=n	=m _a	nē'
sàa	∅ ~ dā	lèm		=ya/=n	=f _o	
∅	nà ~ kù	tì			=o	
pà'		kpèlìm			=l _t	
sà		là'am			=t _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/=n*; 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 kùəs̀ìdī=bá nḗ.
3AN sell:IPFV=3PL FOC.

"She's selling them."

Ò kùəs̀ìd nḗ sūmmā lā.
3AN sell:IPFV FOC groundnut:PL ART.

"She is selling the groundnuts."

but Ò kùəs̀ìd sūmmā lā nḗ.
3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC.

"She *sells/is selling* the groundnuts."
(VP focused: "They're not free.")

Ò zàb̀ìd.

"He fights."

Ò zàb̀ìd nḗ.

"He's fighting."

but Ò p̄ zàb̀ìdā.

"He's not fighting/He doesn't fight."

$N\bar{E}'$ is omitted in replying to questions or commands by repeating the verb:

A: $G\bar{o}s\bar{i}m!$	"Look!"	B: $\bar{M} g\bar{o}s\bar{i}d!$	"I'm looking!"
A: $F\bar{u} g\bar{o}s\bar{i}d n\bar{e}e?$	"Are you looking?"	B: $\bar{M} g\bar{o}s\bar{i}d!$	"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"):

$S\bar{a}a d\bar{a}a n\bar{i}.$	"It rained."
Rain TNS rain.	

but $S\bar{a}a n\bar{i} y\bar{a}.$	"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.

$F\bar{u} w\bar{o}m y\bar{a} k\bar{u}v?$	"Do you understand?"
2SG hear ND or=PQ?	

$\bar{M} p\bar{u}'\bar{u}s y\bar{a}.$	"I thank you."
1SG greet ND.	

$\bar{M} s\bar{i}ak y\bar{a}.$	"I agree."
1SG agree ND.	

Verbs of cognition and perception frequently appear as present perfectives, once again corresponding to English simple present:

$\bar{M} n\bar{y}\bar{e} n\bar{u}'-b\bar{i}b\bar{u}s\bar{a}'\bar{a}t\bar{a}n'.$	"I can see three fingers."
1SG see finger:PL three.	

$\bar{M} t\bar{e}n'es k\bar{a} \dots$	"I think that ..."
1SG think and ...	

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject may use the pfv to express the resulting state; *nḗ* 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 b̀d̀d̀ìg yā. 3IN lose ND.	"It's got lost."
but	Lì b̀d̀d̀ìg nē. 3IN lose FOC.	"It's lost."
	Ò kpì nē. M̃ g̃é̃n nē. Bà k̀d̀d̀òg nē. Lì p̀è'el nē. Lì ỳò nē. M̃ búg nē. Ò l̀èr nē. Lì s̀òb̀ìg nē.	"He's dead." "I'm tired." "They're old." "It's full." "It's closed." "I'm drunk." "He's ugly." WK "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_à̀yí' yé fū-píelà_ ∅ 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:

Nwā́dɪ́sá_à̀tán' kà f̀ò ná m̃r b̃ìg 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.

"Leperers 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 pṣā'.

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-INDF.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 lit nē.

3IN fall:IPFV FOC.

"It is falling."

M̄ yôod nē kúlìṅ lā.

1SG close:IPFV FOC door:SG ART.

"I'm closing the door."

Kòlìṅ lā yòod 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 kpîid 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.

M̀mór 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:

F̀ò 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 ó̀nb̀idī=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_a* "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'ɔŋ bōod gaadɔg, ka beog bōod nier.

Yú'ɔŋ bōod gáadòg 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 kɔā 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 pɔā'. "He has a wife."
Ò kp̄i 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:

Fò ná k̄ul. "You will go home."
2SG IRR go.home.

Fò sáa nà k̄ul. "You'll go home tomorrow."
2SG TNS IRR go.home.

F̀̀ [sáa] nà k̀̀l b̀̀eog. "You'll go home tomorrow."
 2SG [TNS] IRR go.home tomorrow.

M̀̀ [pá'] ò̀n̄b̀̀d̄=n s̄ummā. "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."
 1SG [TNS] chew:IPFV=DP groundnut:PL.

M̀̀ [sá] zàb nà'ab lā s̀̀'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 narrative, main clauses not introduced by *kà* and not containing a time adjunct are normally tense-marked (> 80% in Acts 1-12 B2.) 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 kej malon la wou ban enti nijid si'em la. Ka malon la dabisa naae la, ka ba lebidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem tejin ka o ba' ne o ma pu ban ye o kpelim yaa. Ba **daa** ten'es ye o dolne ba tejin dim la, ka kej ...

Kà Yesu=Ø dāa áṅ yómà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēṅ málòṅ lā
 And Jesus=NZ TNS be year:PL ten with two ART, and 3PL go sacrifice:SG ART
 w̄ou bán ēṅ tí ñìṅd sī'əm lā. Kà màlòṅ lā dábısà=Ø nāe lā,
 like 3PL:NZ usually do:IPFV how ART. And sacrifice:SG ART day:PL=NZ finish ART,
 kà bà léb̄d̄̄ ò k̄n. Kà Yesu kpél̄m Jerusalem tēṅ̄=n
 and 3PL return:IPFV CAT go.home:IPFV. And Jesus remain Jerusalem land:SG=LOC
 kà ò bā' né ò mà p̄u bāṅ yé ò kp̄l̄m yāa=Ø.
 and 3AN father:SG with 3AN mother:SG NEG realise that 3AN remain ND=NEG.
 Bà dāa tēṅ'es yé ò d̄l né bà tēṅ-d̄m 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 sōṅsīd.

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 B2:

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 B2 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 B3 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 kùdìg nē.
And 3PL get.old FOC.

"And they're old." Rejected by WK;
accepted by DK with the gloss "You're
saying they're old when he promised to
give you new ones"; contrastive focus

but Kà lì dāa bódìg nē.
And 3INTNS get.lost FOC.

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.
Kà bà dāa kùdìg nē.

etc all acceptable as "and they were old."

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 kpèn' 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 niŋ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andol la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mōr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō=∅ nē dábīem, bán dà pū níŋò=∅ yáddā yé ò s̀ìd

But 3PL TNS fear:IPFV=3AN FOC fear, 3PL:NZTNS NEG do=3AN trust that 3AN truly

à nē nyâ'an-dòl lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas záŋ Saul n mōró=∅_∅ kēŋ ...

be FOC disciple:SG ART on. But and Barnabas take Saul CAT have=3AN CAT go ...

"But they were afraid of him, because they did not believe that he was really a disciple. But Barnabas brought Saul ..." (Acts 9:26-27)

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 biigā=∅, bōzúgō Elizabet dá à nē

3PL TNS NEG have child:SG=NEG, because Elizabeth TNS be FOC

kúndù'ar kà bà bàyí' lā wōsā mé kùdìg nē.

barren.woman:SG and 3PL two ART all also get.old FOC.

"They had no child, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old." (Lk 1:7 B2)

Nominalised clauses mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la
 kà dāu tám̄mì_ò pūā' lá=∅ sà yèlò=∅ sī'el lā
 and man:SG forget 3AN wife:SG ART=NZ TNS say=3AN INDF.IN ART
 "but the man forgot what his wife had told him the previous day" (KS p26)

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 B1.) 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.

Sādīgim "since" §12.3.1 always precedes tense markers. *Yū'un* "then, next", *sìd* "truly, thus" and *lèè* "but" precede tense markers much more often than they follow (in B3, 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lèè da* to 1 of *da lèè*.)

Josua yū'un da kùdigya. "Then Joshua grew old." (Jo 13:1)
 Josua yū'un 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 pīān'ad lā léè kù gāadē=∅.
 And 1SG speech ART but NEG.IRR PASS=NEG.
 "But my words will not pass away. (Mt 24:35 B2)

amaa lèè pu'usimi Wina'am bareka
 àmáa lèè pù'usimī=∅ Wínà'am bárukà
 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*, B1/2 *nyii ti*, B3 *εenti*) "habitually" and *kōlīm/kōdīm* "always" follow any tense particles.

ba nam pu kuu fo, "they haven't killed you yet" (KS p28)
bà nàm pū kúυ=fō=∅,
 3PL still NEG kill=2SG=NEG,

Tìum lā nám bèε=∅? "Is there any medicine left?"
 Medicine ART still exist=PQ?

Hor dim la με da εenti βε Seir. "The Horites too used to live in Seir."
Hor díμ lā mé dà ēεη tí bè 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 yū'bn ma'ae.
Kà Zūg-sób súnf nyāan yū'bn mā'e.
 And Lord heart:sg next then cool.
 "Then the Lord's anger subsided." (Jo 7:26)

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la βεε? "Perhaps he is the Christ?" (Jn 4:29)
Ōnī_∅ pá' tì àη Kristo lā béε=∅?
 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 lāa=∅. "He hasn't fought the chief."
 3AN NEG fight chief:SG ART=NEG.

Ò vùl t̄um 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_a*, with pfv sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked by flexion as usual. Any type of verb may be used in a direct command: cf *Vbe!* *Vùḡ!* "Live!" (Ez 16:6.) See §12.1.2 on 2pl subject *=ya/=n*.

Zàm nâ'ab lā! "Fight the chief!"
 Fight:IMP chief:SG ART!

Dā záb nà'ab lāa=∅! "Don't fight the chief!"
 NEG.IMP fight chief:SG ART=NEG!

Ò vùl t̄um 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!

Kòṅsìm!	"Cough!"
Dā kóṅsē=∅! NEG.IMP cough=NEG!	"Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did, during an eye operation)
Dā kóṅsūdā=∅! NEG.IMP cough:IPFV=NEG!	"Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)
Dòllī=ní=m! Go.with=2PL=1SG!	"Come (pl) with me!"
Mòr nīn-báalìg!	"Have pity!"
Béé ànínā!	"Be (i.e. stay) there!" SB
Āa=ní_àlá bāaṅlím! Be=2PL thus quietness!	"Be (pl) quiet!"

Aspectual $nē'$ cannot appear, but $àlá$ "thus" has a progressive sense after commands:

Dìmí àlá!	"Carry on eating!"
Dìgī=ní_àlá! 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.

Ò nà zāb nâ'ab lā. 3AN IRR fight chief:SG ART.	"He'll fight the chief."
Ò kù zāb nâ'ab lāa=∅. 3AN NEG.IRR fight chief:SG ART=NEG.	"He won't fight the chief."
Ò dāa ná zāb nâ'ab lā. 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 $kà'asìg$.

$Ò k\bar{a}' b\bar{i}ig\bar{a}=\emptyset$.
3AN NEG.have child:SG=NEG.

"She hasn't got a child."
or "She isn't a child."

$P\bar{u}\bar{a}' l\bar{a} m\bar{o}r b\bar{i}ig, \bar{a}m\bar{a}a d\bar{a}u l\bar{a} k\bar{a}'e=\emptyset$.
Woman:SG ART have child:SG but man:SG ART NEG.have=NEG.
"The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

$D\bar{a}u l\bar{a} k\bar{a}'e=\emptyset$.
Man:SG ART NEG.exist=NEG.

"The man isn't there."

$D\bar{a}u k\bar{a}'e d\bar{o}c\bar{g}\bar{u}=n l\bar{a}a=\emptyset$.
Man:SG NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

"There's no man in the room."

$D\bar{a}u l\bar{a} k\bar{a}' d\bar{o}c\bar{g}\bar{u}=n l\bar{a}a=\emptyset$.
Man:SG ART NEG.exist room:SG=LOC ART=NEG.

"The man is not in the room."

$Ò b\bar{i}ig k\bar{a}'as\bar{i}g\bar{e}=\emptyset$.
3AN child NEG.exist=NEG.

"She has no child."

$Z\bar{i}'$ "not know" usually replaces indicative $p\bar{u} m\bar{i}'$. A clause-final $z\bar{i}'isig$ also appears in texts (e.g. Lk 12:40.)

$B\bar{u}\eta-b\bar{a}\eta'ad z\bar{i}' y\bar{e} t\bar{e}\eta t\bar{u}ll\bar{a}=\emptyset$.
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 o sid la pu mii.

"But her husband did not know." (KS p26)

$K\bar{a} \bar{o} s\bar{i}d l\bar{a} p\bar{u} m\bar{i}'i=\emptyset$.
And 3AN husband:SG ART NEG KNOW=NEG.

$M\bar{i}t$ "beware" is a defective 1vb used only in the imperative:

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

$M\bar{i}t\bar{i}=\emptyset z\bar{i}r\bar{i} n\bar{o}-d\bar{i}'\bar{e}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b b\bar{a}n\bar{i}=\emptyset k\bar{e}n\bar{n}\bar{i}' y\bar{a} s\bar{a}'an n\bar{a} l\bar{a}$.
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 B2)

With a following *kà*-clause, *mìt* (B3 *mid*) is used as a negative imperative "do not let" §12.2.2; here postposed 2pl *=ya/=n* is not used, but subject pronouns precede as usual after *yà'*-clauses or in reported speech. B3 omits the negative clitic.

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mìt kà yà mâal yà tùm-sùmà nīdīb tūən yé bà gōsē=∅.

Beware 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 B2)

B3: *Mid ka ya maali ya tuum suma nidib tuon ye ba gos.*

Li ya'a niṅ ala, yanam mid ka ya pu'usi ba bada la.

Lì yá' niṅ àlá, yānám mīd kà yà pú'usì bà bàdà lā.

3IN if do thus, 2PL beware and 2PL greet 3PL idol:PL ART.

"As this has happened, do not you worship their idols." (Ex 23:24.)

Only VPs can be negated. **Constituent negation** requires subordinate clauses:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meṅa.

Sógià-sō' kǎ'e n tùm kà yóod ò mēṅá=∅.

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 B1)

Di len ka' fon yel si'el la zug, ka ti niṅ o yadda.

Lì lèṁ kǎ' fún yèl sī'èl lā zúg kà tì níṅò=∅ yáddáa=∅.

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 sṅir.

kà zāṅ'as bánì=∅ kǎ' Kristo nīdīb lā sṅìr.

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 lì pū yúuge=∅, kà ò pūā' mé kē nā.

And 3IN NEG delay=NEG, and 3AN wife:SG also come hither.

"Not much later, his wife came too." (Acts 5:7)

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:

Apozotyel da ane o saam biig ma'aa.

À-Pṽ-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)

Nīn-bánì=∅ pṽ dít ná kpī.

"People who don't eat will die." WK

Person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV IRR die.

vs M̄ nyé nīn-bánì=∅ pṽ dītā=∅.

"I've seen people who don't eat." WK

1SG see person-DEM.PL=NZ NEG eat:IPFV=NEG.

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 pṽ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig pṽá' 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 B2)

Ti pu bōod ye dau kaṅa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pṽ bōod yē dáy-kàṅā 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 keligi m pian'ade.

Mām pṽ tēn'es yé ò nà kēlígí m̄ 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 baṅ ye o pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

Lìn-zúg kà tì bāṅ yé ò pṽ 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 baṅ ye li anε onε.

kà ò léε pṽ bāṅ yé l̄ à nē ōnē=∅.

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*):

	M zàb nâ'ab lā.	"I've fought (zàb) the chief (nâ'ab _a)."
	M gōs nâ'ab lā.	"I've looked at (gōs) the chief."
	M sá zàb nâ'ab lā.	"I fought the chief yesterday."
	M 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 zàb nâ'ab lā.	"And I fought the chief."
	Kà m̀ gōs nâ'ab lā.	"And I looked at the chief."
	M̀ pū zàb nâ'ab lāa.	"I haven't fought the chief."
	M̀ pū gōs nâ'ab lāa.	"I haven't looked at the chief."
	M̀ dāa zàb nâ'ab lā.	"I didn't fight the chief."
	M̀ dāa gōs nâ'ab lā.	"I didn't look at the chief."

Tones before liaison (bòdìg "lose", yādīg' "scatter", =m_a "me", =ba "them"):

Intrinsic tones:	bòdìgì=m _a	bòdìgìdī=m _a ' ipfv	bòdìgì=bā'
	yādìgí=m _a	yādìgídī=m _a ' ipfv	yādìgí=bā'
With overlay:	bòdìgī=m _a '	bòdìgìdī=m _a '	bòdìgī=bá
	yādìgī=m _a '	yādìgídī=m _a '	yādìgī=bá

M̀ kúvdī=bá.
1SG kill:IPFV=3PL. "I kill them."

M̀ kúvdí_bà būs.
1SG kill:IPFV 3PL goat:PL. "I kill their goats."
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 tèn̄'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'a 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 tèn̄'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 lèè 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_a** marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gòsìm!

"Look!"

Gòsım̄=ní=bā!

"Look (pl) at them!"

Look:IMP=2PL=3PL!

but Dā gōsē=∅!

"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.

M̄ tēn'ēs 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 nòḡ.

"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"; *pō lém* + ipfv "no longer":

Ì nīf lém zàbìd nē. "My eye is hurting again."
 1SG eye:SG again fight:IPFV FOC.

Ì nīf pō lém zàbìdā=∅. "My eye is not hurting any more."
 1SG eye:SG NEG again fight:IPFV=NEG.

Ò nà lēm záb nà'ab lā. "He'll fight the chief again."
 3AN IRR again fight chief:SG ART.

Là'am "together" (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."
 B3 has the reduced form *kpèn*.

Ka o kpelim zu'om. "Immediately he went blind."
Kà ò kpélìm zū'əm. (Acts 13:11 B2; *Ka o kpen zu'om* B3)
 And 3AN immediately go.blind.

m biig Josef nan kpen vœ. "My child Joseph is still alive." (Gn 45:28)
ì bìig Josef nám kpèn vœ.
 1SG child:SG Joseph still still live.

Dèṅìṃ "beforehand":

Pin'ilugɔn sa ka Pian'ad la da pɔn dɛṅim bɛ.

Pīṅ'ilúgō=n sá kà Pìàṅ'ad lā dá pòn dèṅim bè.

Beginning:SG=LOC hence and word:SG ART TNS already before exist.

"In the beginning, the Word already existed beforehand." (Jn 1:1)

Màlìgìṃ "again":

Amaa man pian'ad la kɔ maligim gaadɛ.

Àmáa mán pìàṅ'ad lā kú mālìgīm gáadē=∅.

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.

Kèm_∅ tí nyē dú'atà.

"Go to see the doctor." SB

Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Bɛogɔ ti nied la ka ba gaad!

Bĕogó=∅ tì nìəd 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 díusò=∅ sā'ab dó-kàṅā lā púɔgō=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.
 Beware and 2PL kill person:SG.

In conversation, the antecedent may be in the previous speaker's words:

- Q. Fù mór gbāṽṽ lāa=ø? "Do you have the letter?"
 2SG have letter:SG ART=PQ?
- A. Ēḗ, ò 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'əm
 let:IMP and 3PL drink water

Kēlli ka ti di ka nu "Let us eat and drink" (1 Cor 15:32)
 Kēlì=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.

Ḥ nāa tōmā lā. "I've finished the work."
 1SG finish work ART.

Tōmā lā nāa nē. "The work is finished."
 Work ART finish FOC.

Gbàùṅ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
Letter:SG ART write FOC.

Ipfv aspect is made more felicitous by adjuncts of time or manner:

Gbàṅà sóbìd zīnà. "Letters get written today." WK
Letter:PL write:IPFV today.

Gbàùṅ lā sóbìd súṅā. "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 mēṅ Jemes san'an "And he revealed himself to James"
Kà ò níe ò mēṅ 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 záansímà* "dream dreams" (Acts 2:17) or

Fù túm bó-tùùmà=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 tēn'es si'em la kù viigē.
mán tēṅ'es sī'em 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 níḡì_àlāa=ø! "Don't do that!"
 NEG.IMP do thus=NEG.

Almost any verb can take an indirect object expressing benefit, interest etc:

Ò dḡḡ=ḡ. "He cooked (for) me."
 3AN COOK=1SG.

Lì ḡàlḡ=ḡ. "I like it." ("It's sweet for me.")
 3IN be.sweet=1SG.

Àlāafḡ bḡo=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; ḡḡ "give" is the prototypical example, along with causatives like dḡḡ "feed", nḡḡ' "make drink."

ḡ ḡḡ nā'ab lā bḡḡ. "I've given the chief a child."
 1SG give chief:SG ART child:SG.

ḡ ḡḡ bḡḡ lā. "I've given it to the child."
 1SG give child:SG ART.
 (Not "given him the child")

ḡ ḡḡ yā. "I've given it to him."
 1SG give ND.

Many idioms employ a fixed generic direct object after an indirect object, e.g. kàd X sàḡyà "judge X", ḡḡ X nḡn-báalḡ or zḡ X nḡn-báalḡ "have pity on X", nḡḡ X yàddā "believe X, believe in X", zḡ X dābḡḡ "fear X"; similarly, nḡ'ugḡ "hand" is used generically in ḡwḡ' X nḡ'ug "plead with X."

m na kε ka fḡ dataas la nwe'εf nu'ug.
 ḡ nā kḡ kà fḡ dātāas lā ḡwḡ'ε=f nḡ'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 *àɛ̃n_{ya}* "be something" and its negative *kā'ɛ̃*. *Àɛ̃n* and *kā'ɛ̃* become *àɛ̃* and *kā'* except when VP-final. In *ascriptive* uses focus-*nē'* follows when syntactically permitted §13.1, and *àɛ̃* becomes *à*.

Omission of a predicative complement implies anaphora:

Mānī ∅ *áɛ̃* *dú'atà* *kà* *fōn* *mén* *áɛ̃n*.

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 *anɛ* *pielug* *amaa* *m* *ya'a* *paae* *bugumin* *asɛɛ* *ka* *m* *lɛb* *zin'a*.

Mām *á* *nē* *píə̀lùg* *àmáa* *m̀* *yá'* *pāe* *búgúmī*=*n*, *àsɛɛ* *kà* *m̀* *lɛb* *zìŋ'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-kàŋā*.

"It is this white one."

Àɛ̃n_{ya} uses derived manner nouns instead, where they exist:

Lì *à* *nē* *bōgusígā*.

"It's soft."

Lì *à* *nē* *zāalím*.

"It's empty."

Lì *à* *ɛ̃* *súŋā*.

"It's good."

Pùd "name, dub" takes a NP object with the head *yō'ur'* "name", and the name itself as predicative complement, optionally introduced by *yē*.

Ka *fū* *na* *pūd* *o* *yū'ur* *ye* *Yesu*.

"And you will call him Jesus." (Mt 1:21)

Kà *fù* *ná* *púd* *ò* *yō'ur* *yē* *Yesu*.

And 2SG IRR dub 3AN name:SG that Jesus.

Ka *o* *pūd* *biig* *la* *yū'ur* *Yesu*.

"And he called the child Jesus." (Mt 1:25)

Kà *ò* *púd* *biig* *lā* *yō'ur* *Yesu*.

And 3AN dub child:SG ART name:SG Jesus.

Bùəl "call" can be used in the ipfv with a person as object and name as complement, optionally introduced by **yē**, or with **yū'br'** "name" as the subject:

on ka ba buon ye Pita la "who was called Peter" (Mt 10:2)
òn kà bà bùən yē Pita lā
 DEM.AN and 3PL call:IPFV that Peter ART

dau sɔ' ka o yu'br buon Joon.
dàu-só' kà ò yū'br bùən Joon.
 man-INDEF.AN and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV John.
 "a man called John." (Jn 1:6)

Màal "make" is used with object and a predicative complement in

Ka o maal o meṅ nintita'ar. "He made himself out to be a great man."
Kà ò màal ò mēṅ nīn-títā'ar. (Acts 8:9 B1)
 And 3AN make 3AN self person-big:SG.

Certain ideophones are characteristically used as predicative complements, e.g. **sāpī_n'** "straight", **nyāe_n'** "brightly, clearly", **nà'anā'** "easily":

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la
màalim suā-dâug sāpī mɔɔgō=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 B2)
Wínà'am áṅ sù'm nyāe.
 God be goodness brightly.

ke ka ti lieb nyain. "make us light." (1 Jn 1:7)
ké kà tì līəb 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 pōogō=n kā' sù'mm=∅.
Outside be.beautiful and inside NEG.be goodness=NEG.
"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." (Acts 23:3 B2)

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_a "again" arose from n-catenation (cf Gal 1:9 B2: *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 B1.)

"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", dàbìsìr dábìsìr "day by day", ànāas nāas "four by four." Reduplication of manner nouns is intensifying: àsídà sídà or àmēṅá mēṅá "very truly."

M wóm Kūsāal bī'elá. "I know Kusaal a little."
1SG hear:IPFV Kusaal slightly.

M wóm 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 kẹ̀y nōbá.
1SG go leg:PL.

"I went on foot." SB; WK corrected this to Ì kẹ̀y nē nōbá (nē "with")

À-nyē nē nīf sọ̀n'ọ̀ À-wòm túbà.
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 tùm bédugū/pāmm.
Bà gòsī=tí bábugā.
cf Bà gòsí tì bàbugā.

"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 gòsī=tí wōsā.
3PL look=1PL all.

"They've looked at us all/all of us." WK
(for Bà gòsí tì wōsā.)

ka bæ m kɔ̀nba ni wɔ̀sa
kà béè m kɔ̀nbā ní wōsā
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 kɔ̀n'(ɔ̀kɔ̀) (àràkón' "one"): m kɔ̀n' "by myself."

Some **time** NPs are single words which cannot take dependents: besides pronouns like nānná(-nā́) "now", these include zíná "today", sù'əsá "yesterday", bēog_v "tomorrow", dūnná "this year", dāar "two days ago/two days hence" (distinct from dāar "day", see below), bēog sá/bēog dāar "in future", bēogū=n' "morning", bèkèkèong_v "very early morning", àsùbá "dawn." (Cf CGEL p429.)

Other time adjuncts are just NPs expressing times, e.g. zàam "evening", yú'uy_v "night", wìn-līir "sunset", nīntān_a' "heat of the day", dābá àyópòḡ/bákpàḡ "week", n̄wādīg_a' "moon/month" (n̄wād-kánì gàad lā "last month", n̄wād-kánì kēn nā lā "next month"), sēong_v "rainy season", úun_n "dry season", sāpálì "Harmattan", yùum_n "year." Many contain n̄wà "this": zàam n̄wá "this evening", yú'uy n̄wá "tonight."

Clock times are calqued from Hausa: kárifà àtán' "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_n* "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-* (B3 *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_a* "outside", *dàgòbìg_a* "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 s̀ìd pàe yā.</i>	
3IN time:SG truly arrive ND.	

<i>Dàṽ-sō' bé kpēlá.</i>	"There's a man here."
Man-INDFAN exist here.	

<i>Àláafù bé.</i>	"There is health." (greeting)
Health exist.	

The core **locative particle** is **nī´** after pronouns, loanwords and words ending in short vowels in sf, and otherwise **=n**. It may precede or follow **lā´**.

m̄ nī	"in me"	mān nī	"in me"
mù'arī= n lā	"in the lake"	mù'ar lā ní	"in the lake"

la'asug dɔɔdin ne suoya ni
 là'asug dɔɔdī=**n** nē sūāyá 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_n** pl **yáa=**n**** "at home."

The locative particle follows all nouns used as heads of locative NPs other than proper names of places and some postpositions.

Ka Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ...
 Kà Paillet lém yī nīdībī=**n** lā nā yá'asì_∅ yélì=**bā** ...
 And Pilate again emerge person:PL=LOCART hither again CAT say=3PL ...
 "Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." (Jn 19:4)

Ò bè dá'a= n .	"He's at market."
Ò bè yín.	"He's at home."
Ò bè kōlīgī= n	"He's at the stream."
Ò bè tūummī= n .	"He's at work."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: **bēog_v** "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 **nī´ ~=**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 **nī´** 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_n "at the bottom of" (*gbìn_n* "buttock"): *zūər lā gbín* "below the mountain."
 Nyá'aṅ_a "behind, after" (*nyá'aṅ_a* "back"): *lì nyá'aṅ, nē'eṅā nyá'aṅ* "afterward."
 Pūṅgū=n' "inside" (*pūṅg_a* "belly"):

yùum lā pūṅgū=n "[months] in the year"
dò-kàṅā lā pūṅgū=n "inside that hut"

Sā'an' "in the presence/opinion of": *Wínà'am sâ'an* "in the sight of God";

Fò ná dī'e t̄um puá'-bammā lā sâ'an.
 2SG IRR receive medicine woman-DEM.PL ART among.
 "You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

Sìsùṅgū=n' "between" (B3 *svugin*):

t̄nám nē f̄n sùṅgū=n "between us and you"

Tēṅír "under": *Gòsìm tēṅír!* "Look down!"; *téebùl lā tēṅír* "under the table."
 Tùəṅ_n "in front of": *Gòsìm t̄uəṅ!* "Look forward!"; *dāká lā t̄uəṅ* "before the box."
 Zūg_v' "onto" (*zūg_v'* "head"):

Ò d̄iḡìl gbáṃṃ lā téebùl lā zúg. "She's put the book on the table."
 3AN lay book:SG ART table:SG ART on.

Sāa zúg_v is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka k̄k̄ər yi saazug na "And a voice came from heaven"
Kà k̄k̄ər yī s̄aa zúg n̄a (Jn 12:28)
 And voice:SG emerge rain:SG on hither

Zūg_v=n "on": *téebùl lā zūg_v=n* "on the table."

Zūg_v' is often used metaphorically as "on account of": *bō-zúgò?* "why?";

Faanmim f̄v n̄əṅilim la zug. "Save me because of your love." (Ps 6:4)
F̄aanm̄í=m f̄v n̄əṅìlím 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=∅ m̄ān yēlá w̄ōsā. "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 **wōv** "like", precede NPs (including nominalised clauses.) Neither prepositions nor their complements can be coordinated.

The forms with personal pronoun complements are

ní=m _a	ní=f _v	nó=∅ (B3 nε o)	ní=lī' /né lī
ní=tī' /né tī	ní=yā' /né yà	ní=bā' /né bà	
wōv m̄ān	wōv fōn	wōv ōn	wóv lī
wóv tī	wóv yà	wóv bà	

Complements of **wōv** without the article **lā'** are followed by an empty **nē**, unless they are numbers (meaning "about") or interrogative pronouns.

wōv m̄ān nē	"like me"	wōv búŋ nē	"like a donkey"
wōv tūsá àyí'	"about 2000"	wōv bó?	"like what?"

Wōv often takes relative clauses with **sī'əm** "how" as complements:

Ò zòt wōv 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 wōv ya anε m biis nε.
 M̄ p̄ián'adī_∅ t̄isidī=yá wōv yà á né m̄ b̄iis 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_{la}'* "be far from"; *dōl_{la}'* "go with" in the sense "accord with"; *nār_a'* "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'em 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_{na}' "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)
Ì wén nē dā-nūud nē.
 1SG be.like with beer-drinker:SG like.

Most often, prepositional phrases are VP adjuncts:

Lì ḡiním 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.

M̄ gɛ́n' nɛ́ fò. "I'm angry with you." SB
 1SG get.angry:PRV with 2SG.

mɔri ya'am wɔw wiigi nɛ "be wise as serpents" (Mt 10:16)
 m̀òrĩ=∅ yā'am wōw wīigí nē
 have=2PL sense like snake:PL like

WK permits adjuncts introduced by wōw, but not nē, to be preposed with kà:

Wōw búŋ nɛ́ 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 m̀t "do not let" 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.

Àɛŋya "be" may take a content clause as complement:

M diib anɛ ye m tɔm onɛ tɔmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.
 M̄ dīb á nē yé m̀ tɔm ònì=∅ tòmì=m lā nā bɔɔdìm_∅ nāe.
 1SG food be FOC that 1SG work DEM.AN=NZ send=1SG ART hither will CAT finish.
 "My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." (Jn 4:34)

11.7 Final particles

Nā' "hither" and sà "hence" (of time, "since") follow all complement and adjunct NPs, but precede non-nominalised subordinate clauses:

M̄ mór kũ'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 b̄eogũn sa. "She's been working since morning."
 Ò tòm n̄ē b̄ēogũ=n s̄á. (Ru 2:7)
 3AN work:IPFV FOC morning hence.

K̄ēm n̄ā n ḡōs! "Come and look!" SB
 Come:IMP hither CAT look!

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
 K̄à zùuñd dá s̄īg n̄ā yé bà dí n̄ī'm l̄ā.
 And vulture:PL TNS descend hither that 3PL eat meat:SG ART.
 "Vultures came down to eat the meat." (Gn 15:11)

K̄ēñ "come" is always used with n̄ā́; the identical m-imps of k̄ēñ "come" and k̄ēñ́ "go" are distinguished by n̄ā́/s̄à: K̄ēm n̄ā! "Come here!", K̄ēm s̄á! "Go away!"

N̄ā́ and s̄à may follow or precede l̄ā́ 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
 àm̄áà ò dìē n̄ē ón̄ì=∅ tòm̄ì=m l̄ā n̄ā
 but 3AN receive FOC DEM.AN=NZ send=1SG ART hither
 "but he receives him who sent me hither." (Mk 9:37)

dunia kan̄e ken la na "the world which is coming" (Lk 20:35)
 dũn̄iyá-kàn̄ì=∅ k̄ēn l̄ā n̄ā
 world-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV ART hither

ñw̄ād̄īg-kán̄ì=∅ k̄ēn n̄ā l̄ā "next month" SB
 month-DEM.SG=NZ come:IPFV hither ART

Ninsaal Biig la l̄ebũg la na
 N̄īn-s̄aal B̄iīg l̄ā l̄ébũg l̄ā n̄ā
 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 (=̀̀̀ or yà') immediately follow subjects; the clause-linkers kà "and", yē "that" and catenating n precede the subject, which is always ellipted after n and may be ellipted after kà. Yē and n are always subordinating, but kà may be coordinating or subordinating, with a great variety of meanings. Clause adjuncts may precede, follow, or occupy the clause-linker position in main/content clauses.

A clause is clearly subordinate if it separates main clause constituents:

ka pɔ nar ka ba buolim ye Tɔmtɔmma.

kà pɔ́ nár kà bà búəlì=m yē Túm-tūmmā=∅.

and NEG must and 3PL call=1SG that worker:SG=NEG.

"and I ought not to be called an apostle" (1 Cor 15:9)

Other criteria for subordination do not always neatly align. In principle, independency marking §11.4 marks clauses as non-subordinate; however, main clauses retain the marking when downranked to content clause status, while main clauses preceded by *coordinating* kà "and" lack independency marking.

	independency-marked	not independency-marked
main	without kà	with kà
complementised	yē/kà content	yē/kà purpose
catenated		n/kà catenation
nominalised		=̀̀̀ absolute/relative yà' conditional protasis

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands. They have structural possibilities not possible for other clause types, including lacking VPs.

Complementised clauses are introduced by yē "that", less often kà. Purpose clauses lack independency marking, have imperative VPs, and show tense marking only if the main clause is ellipted; content clauses are downranked main clauses, with independency marking and the full range of main clause structures.

Ka o ba' ne o ma pɔ baŋ ye o kpelim yaa.

Kà ò bā' né ò mà pɔ́ báŋ yé ò kpèlìm yāa=∅.

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 tɔumbɛ'ed sieba la zug, o na kpi.

Ón ká' sídà sóbā, nē ón tòm tòm-bè'ed-sīebā lā zúg, ò nà kpī.

3AN:NZ NEG.be truth ∅.AN=NEG, with 3AN:NZ work work-bad-INDE.PL ART on, 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 bīig 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 pɔ bɔɔd [ye fɔ ti yɛl bɛog daar [ye fɔnɛ kɛ [ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.]]]

M̄ p̄ɔ b̄ɔɔd yé fù tí yèl bēog dāar yē

1SG NEG want that 2SG once say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow that

f̄ɔn̄_∅ ké kà mām Abram líeb b̄ɔn-mórā=∅.

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 tɔl.

3IN be.hot.

"It [weather] is hot."

Lì àn súnā.

3IN be well.

"Things are good."

Lì nàr kà fò kùl.

3IN must and 2SG go.home.

"It's necessary for you to go home."

Lì may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

Ya'a ka'anε alaa, m naan ku yeline ya

Yà' kà'a=ní_àláa=∅, m 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)

Alone without a subject, *zī'* (or *zi'isige*) "not know" means "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 kēṽ 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 kēṽ 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 wṽm nε'εṽa la ka sin.

Bán wṽm nē'εṽā 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=∅?

Finish ND=PQ?

"[Have you] finished?"

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 statements (the unmarked default), questions or commands; 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 *àsέε* is not subordinate in

M kv basif ka fv keŋε aσεε ka fv niŋi m zug bareka.

Ḿ kú bāsí=f kà fù kēŋé=∅ àsέε kà fù níŋì_̀m zūg bárúkà.

1SG NEG.IRR leave=2SG and 2SG go=NEG unless and 2SG do 1SG head:SG blessing.

"I will not let you go unless you bless me." (Gn 32:26)

Linker adjuncts do not occur along with linker particles at all. They include

<i>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>àsέε</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 tóm dīā'ad tóumāa=∅,

God TNS NEG choose=1PL that 1PL work dirt work=NEG,

àmáa yé tì bé ŋyāe.

but that 1PL exist brightly.

"God did not choose us to act impurely, but to live purely." (1 Thes 4:7)

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa **ka** sieba yel ...

Kà sīēbā lá'o=∅. Àmáa kà sīēbā 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' kã'e_ ø áŋ sù'm=ø àséε Wínà'am gúllimm.

INDEF.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 loɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?

Àmáa ón sādīgīm kpí lā, bó kà m̀ lém lōɔd nōɔr yá'asè=ø?

But 3AN:NZ since die ART, what and 1SG again tie:IPFV mouth:SG again=CQ?

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" (2 Sm 12:23)

Some constituents always occur as postlinker adjuncts: *yà'*-clauses "if/when ..." §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'aŋ* "afterward", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as things stand", *àsīdā* "truly" and absolute clauses.

Any adjunct may be placed before the subject by preposing §13.4, so time, circumstance or reason NPs may occur before the subject alone, preceded by *kà*, followed by *kà*, or both preceded *and* followed by *kà*; however, manner or place adjuncts can *only* precede by preposing: **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 B3 *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 B3 only as preposed *bō zúg kà ..?* "why?":

Bɔzug ka li aan ala?

"Why is it so?" (Hg 1:9)

Bō zúg kà lì áaŋ_àlá=ø?

What on and 3IN be thus=CQ?

12.1.1 Questions

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?"

Fù bôod bó=ø?
2SG want what=CQ?

"What do you want?"

Fù bôod línè=ø?
2SG want DEM.IN=CQ?

"Which do you want?"

Dāu lā nyé ànó'ónè=ø?
Man:SG ART see who=CQ?

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bōo maale?
Bōo ø máalè=ø?
What CAT make=CQ?

"What has been done?" (Lk 24:19)

Ànó'ónì ø nyé bíigà=ø?
Who CAT see child:SG=CQ?

"Who has seen a child?"

Fù áan ànô'ón bíigà=ø?
2SG be who child:SG=CQ?

"Whose child are you?"

Ànô'ón kà dāu lā nyéε=ø?
Who and man:SG ART see=CQ?

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bó kà fù kúmmà=ø?
What and 2SG weep:IPFV=CQ?

"Why are you crying?"

Polar questions are of two types. One is exactly like a statement but ending in a *lf* showing final vowel lengthening and tone changes imposed by the polar-question clitic. *NĒ'* appears as in statements. Questions of this type expect agreement.

Dāu lā nyé bíigàa=ø?
Man:SG ART see child:SG=PQ?

"Has the man seen a child?"

$\dot{M} \acute{a} n\bar{e} \acute{d}\acute{a}\acute{v}\acute{v}=\emptyset?$ 1SG be FOC man:SG=PQ?	"Am I a man?"
$B\grave{a} k\grave{u}\acute{v}d n\bar{e} b\acute{u}s\acute{e}\acute{e}=\emptyset?$ 3PL kill:IPFV FOC goat:PL=PQ?	"Are they killing goats?"
$F\grave{v}\acute{p}\bar{v} w\acute{u}mm\grave{a}a=\emptyset=\emptyset?$ 2SG NEG hear:IPFV=NEG=PQ?	"Don't you understand?" (expects $\bar{e}\acute{e}\eta$, here "no")

The second type follows the ordinary statement form with either $b\acute{e}\acute{e}$ "or" (expecting disagreement) or $k\acute{u}\acute{v}$ "or" (expecting agreement):

$D\bar{a}\acute{u} l\bar{a} n\bar{y}\acute{e} b\bar{i}ig k\acute{u}\acute{v}=\emptyset?$ Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?	"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect so.)
$D\bar{a}\acute{u} l\bar{a} n\bar{y}\acute{e} b\bar{i}ig b\acute{e}\acute{e}=\emptyset?$ Man:SG ART see child:SG or=PQ?	"Has the man seen a child?" (I expect not.)

12.1.2 Commands

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 $=y\acute{a}/=n$. Thus

$F\grave{v}\acute{g}\acute{o}s b\bar{i}ig l\bar{a}.$ 2SG look child:SG ART.	"You (sg) have looked at the child."
$Y\grave{a} \acute{g}\acute{o}s b\bar{i}ig l\bar{a}.$ 2PL look child:SG ART.	"You (pl) have looked at the child."
but $G\grave{o}s\grave{i}m b\bar{i}ig l\bar{a}!$ Look:IMP child:SG ART!	"Look (sg) at the child!"
$G\grave{o}s\grave{i}m\bar{i}=\emptyset b\bar{i}ig l\bar{a}!$ Look:IMP=2PL child:SG ART!	"Look (pl) at the child!"
$D\bar{a} \acute{g}\acute{o}s b\bar{i}ig l\acute{a}a=\emptyset!$ NEG.IMP look child:SG ART=NEG!	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
$D\bar{a} \acute{g}\acute{o}s\bar{i}=\emptyset b\bar{i}ig l\acute{a}a=\emptyset!$ NEG.IMP look=2PL child:SG ART=NEG!	"Don't (pl) look at the child!"

Dā gōsē=ø! "Don't (sg) look."
NEG.IMP look=NEG!

Dā gōsī=yá=ø! "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 puā', fūn dā mōd 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)

ka siak ye fū tikim nu'ug "and agreed that you sign" (Dn 6:7)
kà sīák yé fù tìkìm nū'ug
and agree that 2SG press:IMP hand:SG

Some speakers use =ya/=n after *all* imperatives with pl subjects:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsīmī=ø tēḡī=n. "He said to them: Look down!"
3AN say that 3PL look:IMP=2PL down.

Kēmī=ø nā n gōsī=ø! "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 Conditionals

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=ø?
2SG if look here, what and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?
"If you look here, what do you see?" SB

Yà'-clauses cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause:

Ka ligidi la ya'a pò'og, m ya'a ti lèb na, m na yóof.

Kà ligidī lā yá' pò'og, m yá' tì lèb nā, m ná yóof=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):

Fv ya'a mōr pu'a, fvn da mōod ye fv bas oo.

Fv yá' mōr pūā', fvn dā mōod yé fv básō=o=∅.

2SG if have wife:SG, 2SG NEG.IMP struggle:IPFV that 2SG abandon=3AN=NEG.

"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." (1 Cor 7:27)

Yà'-clauses can appear clause-finally because of dislocation due to weight:

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaḡaa.

Dìn-zúg lì nāan áḡ sú'm bà yá' pū dū'a=n dáḡ-kàḡáa=∅.

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 B2)

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

Fv ya'a na dōllimi keḡ, m na keḡ.

Fv yá' nà dōllí=mī ∅ kēḡ, m ná kēḡ.

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 pv keḡε, Svḡid la kv kεεn ya ni naa.

M yá' pū kēḡé=∅, svḡid lā kú kēḡ yà nī náa=∅.

1SG if NEG go=NEG, helper:SG ART NEG.IRR come 2PL LOC hither=NEG.

"If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." (Jn 16:7)

The discontinuous-past enclitic =n §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 boodin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bee yaname naan aan tɔvliga.

Mān bóodī=*n* yē yānámì nāan āa=*n* mā'asígā bēe yānámì nāan āa=*n* tɔvligā.

1SG want=DP that 2PL:NZ then be=DP coldly or 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'aŋ* "behind"), but before 2016 *nyāan* often appears as *nāan*:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan B3] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'is mǎn nóor àtǎn' kà nō-dâvɔ nyāan kǎas nóor 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 B2)

In B3 *nāan* is usually written *naane* before liaison words and *naan* elsewhere. B3 usually has *nà* for B1/2 *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 yela gaad ...

Lì ǎŋ sóm yē dāy yīnní nāan kǐ ní dīb lā yélà_ø gǎad ...

3IN be good that man:SG one then die person:PL ART about CAT pass ...

"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." (Jn 11:50)

Noŋir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòŋìr lém kǎ'e_ø gǎad ní dī=ø nāan kǐ ò zǔà-nám 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 B2)

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 kǎ fù dǎa nāan zǎŋí=*n*_m līgídī n sū'a=*n* bǎŋkì ní.

3IN be.good and 2SG TNS then take=DP 1SG money CAT hide=DP bank:SG LOC.

"You should have put my money in the bank." (Mt 25:27 B1)

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 dīgílí=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 p̄ v̄'ug k̄mī=né=∅, àlāa_tì làbà-sùn
 And Christ if TNS NEG come.alive death=LOC=NEG, thus 1PL news-good:SG
 lā moolug lā á nē zāalim.
 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 yood.
 Nīd yá' t̄m t̄mā, ò dì'əd yōod.
 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' niē, fù ná wóm ò p̄iàn'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 B1 the main clause also has =n. B3 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 l̄ nī, l̄ zùlùḡ ná páa=n ò sàlɪb̄ir.
 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 B1)
 B3: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulvḡ 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' yèl̄i=n yē, ón p̄ áḡ n̄u'ug lā zúḡ, ò kā' nín-gb̄iḡ ní=∅,
 Leg:SG if say=DP that 3AN:NZ NEG be hand:SG ART on, 3AN NEG.exist body:SG LOC=NEG,
 l̄n kú ḡyāḡí=n ∅ k̄éε=n k̄à ò kā' nín-gb̄iḡ ní=∅.
 DEM.IN NEG.IRR accomplish=DP CAT 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 B1)

If the main clause has *nāan* the sense is contrary-to-fact; both clauses have =n:

Man ya'a pu keen na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mōrin taale.

Mān yá' pū kēε=n nā ∅ tú'asī=ní=bā, bà nāan kú mōrī=n tâallē=∅.

1SG if NEG come=DP hither CAT talk=DP=3PL, 3PL then NEG.IRR have=DP fault:SG=NEG.

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." (Jn 15:22)

M ya'a mōrin su'ugv m nu'ugin m naan kuvnif nannanna.

M yá' mōrī=n s'ú'ugv ñ nú'ugī=n, ñ nāan kūv=ní=f nānná-nā.

1SG if have=DP knife:SG 1SG hand:SG=LOC, 1SG then kill=DP=2SG now.

"If I'd had a sword in my hand, I'd have killed you right now." (Nm 22:29)

Past contrary-to-fact main clauses may use past tense irrealis mood instead:

Bōzugō Josua ya'a da tisini ba vū'usum zin'ig, Wina'am da ku lem pian' dabis-si'a yela ya'ase.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tīsī=ní=bā vū'usím zīn'ig, Wínà'am dá kù

Because Joshua if TNS give=DP=3PL resting place:SG, God TNS NEG.IRR

lēm piān' dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē=∅.

again speak day-INDEF.IN about again=NEG.

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of another day." (Heb 4:8)

Yà' nāan means "if only"; *yà' pòn* is "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keḡ nyēen nōdi'es la be Samaria la!

M zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sīákì ∅ kēḡ ∅ nyēε=n

1SG master:SG ART if then agree CAT GO CAT see=DP

nó-dī'əs lā=∅ bè Samaria lā!

linguist:SG ART=NZ exist Samaria ART!

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" (2 Kgs 5:3)

Li ya'a pòn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pòn dūà', sáam ná dīi=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.

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

Ṃwāamīs_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 tṵmbe'edi basida?
Ànṵ'ṵn_ø ṅwáa_ø yīsīd nīdīb tṵm-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)

Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul.
Zi', kà dāu lā sígì_ø lá kà ò gbāṅ'a_ø mōrī_ø kūl.
NEG.know, and man:SG ART spirit:SG CAT that and 3AN grab CAT have CAT go.home.
"Unbeknownst, it was the man's spirit that he seized and took home." (KS p26)

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 B2/3.

Fù mà lā lía=ø?
2SG mother:SG ART be.where=CQ? "Where is your mother?"
(WK to a child in the outpatient clinic.)

Ka awai la dia [*sic*]? "But where are the nine?" (Lk 17:17 B1)
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?
3IN NEG finish=NEG=PQ? "Isn't it finished?"

ēḡḡ. "No."
áyì. "Yes."

12.2 Catenated

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by catenating *n* §4.4. Toende Kusaal has *zero* throughout corresponding to this *n*, but most other Western Oti-Volta languages show *n*, at least in slow speech. In languages with the zero realisation, these structures have usually been regarded as serial verb constructions, and many uses of catenation are indeed closely parallel. For example, substitution of *kà* for *n* usually makes it impossible to interpret "auxiliary" verbs in the specialised senses associated with catenation:

Ì dāa kûəs b̄̀n̄̀ ̄̀ ø tís d̄̀'atà.
 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
 "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

?? Ì dāa kûəs b̄̀n̄̀ kà tís d̄̀'atà.
 "I sold a donkey and gave it to the doctor."

However, *n*-catenation shows much greater flexibility than typical serial verb constructions: complements, VP adjuncts, and even subordinate clauses introduced by *kà* may be incorporated within chains of catenated VPs, and even verbless clauses may be followed by catenated VPs:

Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Farisee nid ka o yu'ur buon Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela, ka lem a yu'ur daan nidib sa'an.
 Kà d̄̀au-s̄̀' d̄̀ue n z̄̀'è l̄̀á'as̄̀ug l̄̀ā n̄̀īd̄̀īb s̄̀ís̄̀ù̄̀ḡ̀ū̄̀=̄̀n, n ā̄̀n̄̀
 And man-INDEF.AN rise CAT stand assembly:SG ART person:PL among, CAT be
 Farisee n̄̀īd̄̀ kà ò ȳ̀'ur b̄̀uən Gamaliel, n ā̄̀n̄̀ ó̄̀n̄̀ì=ø p̄̀à'an
 Pharisee person:SG and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV Gamaliel, CAT be DEM.AN=NZ teach:IPFV
 W̄̀in̄̀à'am w̄̀ád̄̀à l̄̀ā ȳ̀l̄̀à, kà l̄̀ém à̄̀n̄̀ ȳ̀'ur d̄̀āan n̄̀īd̄̀īb s̄̀ā'an.
 God law ART about, and again be name:SG owner:SG person:PL among.
 "A man stood up **in the assembly**, a Pharisee **called Gamaliel**, a teacher of God's law and reputable among the people." (Acts 5:34 B2)

An̄̀'ò̄̀n̄̀ nwaa ȳ̀is̄̀īd̄̀ n̄̀īd̄̀īb t̄̀ū̀m̄̀b̄̀e'edi basida?
 Ā̄̀n̄̀'ò̄̀n̄̀ ø n̄̀w̄̀ā̄̀ ø ȳ̀īs̄̀īd̄̀ n̄̀īd̄̀īb t̄̀ū̄̀m̄̀-b̄̀ē'ed̄̀ī ø b̄̀ás̄̀īd̄̀à=ø?
 Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?
 "Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Catenating *n* thus attaches a VP to the preceding *clause*. The catenated VP is itself a clause with an ellipped 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_ ∅ 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-píə̀lā_ ∅ 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 pū mōr antu'a zugu o yela na sōbi tis na'atita'ar laa.
 Àmáa m̄ pū mōr ántù'a zúgú_ò yēlá_∅ nà sōbī_∅ tís
 But 1SG NEG have case:SG on 3AN about CAT IRR write CAT give
 ná'-tītā'ar lāa=∅.
 king-great:SG ART=NEG.
 "But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." (Acts 25:26)

Kèm_ø tí nyē dú'atà. "Go and see the doctor."
 Go:IMP CAT once see doctor:SG.

Man ya'a pū kēen na tu'asini ba
 Mān yá' pū 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 keŋ ... n ian'asid ka pian'ad n du'osid Wina'am yu'ur su'uŋa.
 kà kēŋ ... n iān'asíd kà piān'ad n dū'əsíd Wínà'am yû'ur sù'ŋā.
 and go ... CAT leap:IPFV and praise:IPFV CAT elevate:IPFV God name:SG well.
 "and went ... leaping and praising the name of God greatly." (Acts 3:8 B2)

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.
 Sógià-sō' kā'e n tóm kà yōod ò mēŋá=ø.
 Soldier-INDF.AN NEG.exist CAT work:IPFV and pay:IPFV 3AN self=NEG.
 "No soldier works and pays for himself." (1 Cor 9:7 B1)

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:

Àeŋya "be something" precedes a *n*-catenation in clefting §13.3.

Bè "exist" + *ànínā* "there" + ipfv "be in the process of":

Ò bè ànínā n ŋwê'ed bīig lā.
 3AN exist there CAT beat:IPFV child:SG ART.
 "He's currently beating the child."

Dèŋ "go/do first" (*m̀ déŋī=f* "I've got there before you") is used for "previously."

Dōlḡa' "go with":

Bà dōllō=ø_ø kēŋ Bók. "They've gone to Bawku with him."
 3PL go.with=3AN CAT go Bawku.

Kēŋ "come" and *kēŋ'* "go" are used as initiators:

M̀ kēŋì_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 mεn.

Mākír-bànì=∅ būudī pāadí=yā lā nám mī' ∅ pāe sīəbā mén.

Testing-DEM.PL=NZ sort reach:IPFV=2PL ART still know CAT reach INDF.PL also.

"The kind of trials coming to you have ever come to others too." (1 Cor 10:13)

M nám zī' ∅ nyē gbīgīmnē=∅.

1SG still NEG.know CAT see lion:SG=NEG.

"I've never seen a lion." SB

Mōr_a' "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 naanε o buḡ la zugṽ sig la

Kà puā' lā=∅ dà nāaní_ò bùḡ lā zúḡò_∅ 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)

Nīḡ wēlá "do how?" with *n*-catenation is "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niḡ wala pu mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Nīn-sāal biig nà nīḡ wēlá_∅ pū mōr taal Wínà'am tūənnè=∅?

Human:SG child:SG IRR do how CAT NEG have fault:SG God before=CQ?

"How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" (Jb 25:4)

There is an impersonal variant with *kà*-catenation (see next section.)

Nyāḡ' "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

M pū nyāḡ_∅ 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 vøe

wādá lìnì=ø nyāñídì_ø kèt kà nīdīb vōē

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 pañì=ø nà tūñ'è 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 kv tun'e su'a.

"which cannot be hidden" (Mt 5:14)

kà lì kú tūñ'è_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'è_ø zín'i tēñī=n lā né tì.

2PL IRR be.able CAT sit land:SG=LOCART with 1PL.

"You can dwell in the land with us." (Gn 34:10)

Fv tun'e nyet si'ela?

"Can you see anything?" (Mk 8:23)

Fv tūñ'è_ø nyēt sí'èlàa=ø?

2SG be.able CAT see:IPFV INDE.IN=PQ?

O pv tun'e pian'ada.

"He could not speak." (Lk 1:22)

Ò pū tūñ'è_ø piāñ'adá=ø.

3AN NEG be.able CAT speak:IPFV=NEG.

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaje ba meja.

bō zúgō bà kù tūñ'ə_ø nyāñí_bà mēñá=ø.

because 3PL NEG.IRR be.able CAT control 3PL self=NEG.

"because they cannot control themselves." (1 Cor 7:5 B2)

Zàñ and nōk' "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M̄ nók sù'ugò_ø kjà nīm lā.

1SG take knife:SG CAT cut meat:SG ART.

"I've cut the meat with a knife."

M̄ zāñí_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 déñì_ø tísò=ø lór.

1PL precede CAT give=3AN car.

"We've previously given him a car."

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba

Kà Pita pīñ'il_ø pá'alì=bā

And Peter begin CAT teach=3PL

"Peter began to tell them" (Acts 11:4)

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en la'asug la sɔugin

Kà dàu-sɔ' dūe_ø zī'en là'asùg lā sùugū=n

And man-INDEFAN 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:

Fù sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?

Fù síd nòŋ 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

Gàlìs "get to be too much" (Sāa gálìs yā "There's been too much rain"):

Dā kárìm gbánà_ø gálìsìdā=ø.
 NEG.IMP read:IPFV book:PL CAT exceed:IPFV=NEG.
 "Don't read books too much."

Tìs "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

M̄ dāa kûæs bùṅù_ø tís d'atà.
 1SG TNS sell donkey:SG CAT give doctor:SG.
 "I sold a donkey to the doctor."

Wēn_{na} ' "be like" is often found in n-catenations; the n is usually realised as zero, and the catenation can be treated like a prepositional phrase, and even proposed with kà or dislocated.

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niṅid si'em la.
 Dā ló yà nīn-dáasē=ø, wēn nē fōsúg dīm lá=ø niṅid sī'em lā.
 NEG.IMP tie 2PL face:PL=NEG, be.like with puff:SG ø.PL ART=NZ do:IPFV how ART.
 "Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." (Mt 6:16 B1)

"Ending" verbs naturally follow the main VP:

Ò dū_ø nāe. "He's finished eating."
 3AN eat CAT finish.

Ò dū_ø tīg. "She's eaten to satiety."
 3AN eat CAT get.sated.

Verbs of motion occur in n-catenation with meanings like adverbs or prepositions:

M na kad kikirisi yis nidibin
 M̄ ná kād kíkīrsī_ø yīs nīdībí=n
 1SG IRR drive fairy:PL CAT expel person:PL=LOC
 "I will drive demons out of people" (Lk 13:32)

N tì pāe + NP is "until, up to": hālí n tì pāa zīnā "right up until today."

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 B1, but this is no longer invariable.

Ka li anε wada la ket ka tɔumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lì à né wādá lā_ø kēt *kà* tùm-bē'ed nyēt páŋ.

And 3IN be FOC law ART CAT let:IPFV and deed-bad see:IPFV power:SG.

"It is the law which lets sin find power." (1 Cor 15:56)

Li da ke ka ba **pu** nyaŋi kuv o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pū 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 ke ka ba **da** nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisug laa.

yé lì ké kà bà dā nyē Kristo kúm dá-pūudīr námisùg 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** ke ka ba **da** kpi'ilim.

Dīnī_ø ná ké kà bà dā kpī'ílīm=ø.

3IN CAT IRR let and 3PL NEG.IMP finish=NEG.

"which will stop them dying out." (Gn 6:20)

Imperative *kèl_a* + *kà*-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

Kèl *kà* ò gōs tēŋī=n.

"Let him look down."

Let:IMP and 3AN look down.

Dā *ké* *kà* dàbīəm bée=ø!

"Don't be afraid."

NEG.IMP let and fear exist=NEG.

*Kèl*í=ø *kà* tì p'ús 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 díḡunèε=ø?
1SG lie=PQ?

"Am I to lie down?" (Overheard in clinic; no independency *m-imp*)

The defective imperative-only 1vb *mīt* (B3 *mid*) means "do not let" with a *kà*-catenation. 2pl *=ya/=n* is always omitted. B3 lacks the final negative clitic:

Mid ka ya zu.
Mīt kà yà zū.
Beware and 2PL steal.

"Do not steal." (Ex 20:15)

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 yaḡḡa?
Lì niḡ wēlá kà ò áḡ David yāḡḡà=ø?
3IN do how and 3AN be David descendant:SG=CQ?
"How can he be David's descendant?" (Mt 22:45)

Where there is no change of subject, *n*-catenation is overwhelmingly more common, but a few cases of the personal type do appear with *kà*:

M na niḡ wala ka nyē faangirē? "How can I find salvation?" (Acts 16:30)
M̄ ná niḡ wēlá kà nyē fāḡḡírè=ø?
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 Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dāu dāa zīḡ'i Listra ní kà pū tūḡ'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 B2)

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'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyē dāu kà ò yū'ur 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 anε ya taaba banε pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì=∅ pū'usid 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)

The anchor may be the NP of a identificational clause:

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

YĒl-bóɔ ∅ n̄wá kà Wínà'am ké 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 gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

kà lâ'am m̄aan gígìs kà bà wóm kà p̄iān'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 B1)

Ì dāa nyē dāu lá kà ò áṅ 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"

Ì dāa p̄ nyē dāu lá kà ò áṅ 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 m̄or sam si'a ane ye ya n̄oŋ taaba.

Yānámì nà m̄or sām-sí'a á nē yé yà n̄oŋ 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.

Ōn dāa n̄yēt súŋā, ón 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 máŋiāk 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 B2)

Absolute clauses may be subjects, or predicative or information-expressing complements:

Kristo da kp̄ii ti ȳela la k̄e ka ti baŋ n̄ɔŋilim an si'em.

Kristo=∅ dà kp̄ii_tì ȳelá lā k̄é kà tì bāŋ n̄ɔŋílím=∅ 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 k̄e ka m a saalbiis zua la an̄e

mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad ka m̄e pu diti ba ki la.

Dìnì=∅ k̄é kà m̄ áŋ s̄aal-b̄iis zuá lā á n̄ē mán

DEM.SG=NZ let and 1SG be human:PL friend:SG ART be FOC 1SG:NZ

p̄w s̄áŋ'amìdí_bà lá'ad kà m̄é 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 nyē f̄ún dīgí_f̄u 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 n̄ē "although":

Ban m̄or d̄eŋ la zug, ba k̄u di'e baa.

Bán m̄ōr d̄ēŋ 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 n̄e on da zan'as la

"Although he refused" (Gn 39:10)

Là'am n̄ē ón dà z̄àŋ'as lā

Together with 3AN:NZ TNS refuse ART

They appear as picture captions, and before ȳelá "about" in section headings:

Ban meed yir

"A house being built"

Bán m̄èed yīr

3PL:NZ build:IPFV house:SG

Joram n di Israel na'am la yela "Joram becomes king of Israel" (2Kgs 3)
 Joram=**n̄** dī Israel nâ'am lā yéla
 Joram=NZ eat Israel kingship ART about

For absolute clauses with the tense-slot adjunct **nāan** see §12.1.3. Tense-slot adjunct **sādīgím** "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' sādīgím áṅ Naazir níd, ǝn míd kà ò dí ...
 3AN if since be Nazirite person:SG, 3AN beware and 3AN eat ...
 "Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." (Nm 6:4)

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem loɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
 Àmáa ǝn sādīgím kǝí lā, bó kà ìn lém lōɔd nōɔr yá'asɛ=ɔ?
 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 **=n̄** 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 **=n̄** after their subjects.

Heads forming all or part of the subject or of a preposed element are marked with short demonstratives; all others are marked with indefinite pronouns.

For WK, and in many texts, head-marking pronouns are only followed by **=n̄** if they are relative clause subjects, but in B3 **=n̄** is introduced after *all* head-marking demonstratives, including subject predependents and preposed heads:

fɔ bikanɛ san'ami fɔ la'ad nɛ pu'agɔɔnda la
 fò bì-kànì=ɔ sǝn'amì fò lā'ad nɛ pǝá'-gɔɔndā lā
 2SG child-DEM.SG=NZ spoil 2SG goods:PL with prostitute:PL ART
 "your child who has wasted your goods on prostitutes" (Lk 15:30)

pu'a kanɛ biigi vɔɛ la "the woman whose child was alive"
 pǝá'-kànì=ɔ biigí=ɔ vōɛ lā (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 tòm tòm-nyālímá_ ø gàad dàù-kàŋá=ø tòm sī'əl 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'əl 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'əl sī'əm lā

like trap:SG=NZ seize:IPFV INDF.IN how ART

"like a trap seizes something" (Lk 21:35)

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

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 gbauŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul=n sɔb gbáũŋ yīigá dàan n tìs Korint díim lā_ø n wá.

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." (B2 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.

Gbauŋ kanε ka ba da sɔbi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbáũŋ-kànì=ø kà bà dá sɔbī_ø tísì=bā lā_ø n wá.

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

yeltōod ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la
 yēl-tōod àyópòε bánì=∅ 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 [B2 niṅkan] ka ba gban'e o la
 nīn-kánì=∅ kà bà gbán'o=∅ lā
 person-DEM.SG=NZ and 3PL seize=3AN ART
 "a person whom they have seized" (Acts 25:16)

m antu'a line ka ba mōr na "the charge they bring against me"
 m̀ àntù'a-lìnì=∅ kà bà mōr nā (Acts 25:11)
 1SG case-DEM.IN=NZ and 3PL have hither

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vū'ug o kumin la
 puà'-kànì=∅ bíig kà Elasia dá vū'ug kūmī=n lā
 woman-DEM.SG=NZ child:SG and Elisha TNS revive death=LOC ART
 "the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" (2 Kgs 8:5)

bikanε [B2 biig kan] puug ka o mōr la
 bì-kànì=∅ pūug kà ò mōr lā
 child-DEM.SG=NZ belly:SG and 3AN have ART
 "the child which she is pregnant with [whose belly she has]" (Mt 1:20)

line [B2 lin] ka Kristo bōod ye ti pian' la
 lìnì=∅ kà Kristo bōod yé tì piān' 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)
 ònì=∅ kà bà tísò=∅ kà lì zú'e
 DEM.AN=NZ and 3PL give=3AN and 3IN abound

Būrā-sō' dāa bé ànínā, òn kà mān nē òn dāa tóm 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 bán tùm sō' lā kú gāad ónì=∅ tùmò=∅ láa=∅.

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 wosa.

"I will give you anything you want."

M ná tīsī=f fún bōod sī'el wōsā. (Mk 6:23)

1SG IRR give=2SG 2SG:NZ want INDF.IN all.

Complements of verbs of cognition, perception or communication representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070) often remain *in situ* (comprising 20/33 of relative sō' in B2; 75/130 of sī'el_a in the B2 Gospels, versus 33 abstract, 22 locative.)

David da tum so' ye o bu'osi ban pu'a la an so'.

David dá tùm sō' yé ò bŭ'osi_∅ bán pu'á lá=∅ àn sō'.

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?

Gòsìm yé fù ná bān lá'-bàmmá=∅ àn sō' búnnεε=∅?

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."

M mí' mán gān sī'ebā lā. (Jn 13:18)

1SG know 1SG:NZ choose INDF.PL ART.

Ya ban man niη si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà bán mán niη sī'el lā gbínnεε=∅?

2PL understand 1SG:NZ do INDF.IN ART meaning:SG=CQ?

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" (Jn 13:12)

Ón yèl sī'el lā kā' 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.

Tìg wélà_∅ bìgìsìd lín àn tí-sī'a.

Tree:SG fruit:PL CAT show:IMPF 3IN:NZ be tree-INDF.IN.

"It is the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." (Mt 12:33)

M na t̄omi m Ba' zi'el n̄oɔr s̄o' yela la tisi ya.

M̄ ná t̄omí_̀m Bá'=ø zì'əl n̄oɔr s̄o' yélà_̀ø tísì=yā.

1SG IRR send 1SG father:SG=NZ stand mouth:SG INDEF.AN about CAT give=2PL.

"I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you." (Lk 24:49)

The manner-pronoun *sī'əm* "somehow" commonly heads relative clauses, often representing abstract "what." After such clauses *lā* marks old information as usual:

M̄ mí' mán nà n̄iŋ sī'əm.

1SG know 1SG:NZ IRR do how.

"I know what to do."

M̄ mí' mán nà n̄iŋ 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 n̄iŋ sī'əm.

3PL IRR tell=2SG 2SG:NZ IRR do how.

"They'll tell you what to do."

Bà yèlō=ø bán n̄iŋ sī'əm lā.

3PL say=3AN 3PL:NZ do how ART.

"They told him what they'd done."

ón b̄òod sī'əm

3AN:NZ want how

"as he may wish"

lín àn 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 t̄om b̄edegv̄ gaad ban t̄om si'em la.

Mām t̄óm b̄édugv̄_̀ø ḡaad bán t̄òm 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 p̄à'alō=ø bán n̄iŋ sī'əm.

3PL inform=3AN 3PL:NZ do how.

"They told him what they'd done."

Gbāṅ'e "catch" with a *sī'əm* clause means "decide":

Ì gbáṅ'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 wōu "like", wēn_{na}' "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wōu zīngba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.
 kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mán wōu zīm-gbāṅ'adìbì=∅
 and 2PL IRR let and person:PL go.with 1SG like fisher:PL=NZ
 gbāṅ'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.
 catch:IPFV fish:PL how ART.
 "you will make people follow me like fishers 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:

Fún bōod ye fu ku dau sō' la ya'a kpi
 Fún bōod 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-síebà 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 gbáṅṅ-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 B2.) 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 B1)
 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 bóodā=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)

winnìgi 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.
 M̄ 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 B2)

Abraham da nan kae saŋsi'a la, ka man pūn bε.
 Abraham=ø dà nàm kā'ε sān-sī'a lā kà mān 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 pīân'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=∅ yōdá=∅ sōb Pē'-bíl lā gbáun̄ō=n línì=∅
 person-DEM.PL=NZ name:PL=NZ write sheep-small:SG ART book:SG=LOC DEM.IN=NZ
 àn̄ nyó-vō-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 **ɲi*, 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 m̄aalī=tí bē'edī_∅ [...],

and 3IN be FOC that 2SG NEG.IRR make=1PL bad CAT

kà yé fù yím nē sūn̄-búgus̄im 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)

Ì bōod yē dāy lā kēn̄ dā'a=n, kà puā' lā dūg dīb.

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 niŋ ne'εŋa ye nid kv nyaŋi dv'vs o meŋ 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: B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 *nar ka*.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like *nār_a'* "be needful" (personally "have to"), *mōr sūer* "be allowed to", *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like *bōod_a* "want", *gūr_a'* "watch for."

Lì nàr yé/kà fù kùl.
3IN must that/and 2SG go.home.

"You must go home."

Fù pō nār yé fù kùlē=∅.
2SG NEG must that 2SG go.home=NEG.

"You're not allowed to go home."
(negative raising)

babayi' la nar ye ba kuvu ba
bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv=bā
3PL two ART must that 3PL kill=3PL

"both of them must be killed" (Lv 20:12)

Yà mór sūer yé yà kùl.
2PL have way:SG that 2PL go.home.

"You may go home."

Sūer bé yé/kà tì kùl.
Way:SG exist that/and 1PL go.home.

"We may go home."

Lì à nē tīlās yé m kùl.
3IN be FOC necessity that 1SG go.home.

"I must go home."

M pō bōod yé ò kùlē=∅.
1SG NEG want that 3AN go.home=NEG.

"I don't want her to go home."

gur ye pu'a la du'a
gūr yē puā' lā duá'
watch that woman:SG ART bear

"waiting for the woman to give birth"
(Rv 12:4)

Purpose-clause adjuncts:

Ò vòl tīum kà ò nóbìr dā zábē=∅.
3AN swallow medicine and 3AN leg:SG NEG.IMP fight=NEG.

"She took medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." WK

M maal nwa' nē ye m pa'ali ya
M̄ m̄aal ṅwá nē yé m̄ pá'alì=yā
1SG make this FOC that 1SG teach=2PL

"I have done this to teach you" (Jn 13:15)

Nē'ēṅa niṅne ye ti da ti'e ti meṅ panga.
NĒ'ēṅā níṅ nē yé tì dā tí'e tì mēṅ páṅā=∅.
DEM.IN do FOC that 1PL NEG.IMP rely 1PL self power:SG=NEG.

"This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength." (2 Cor 1:9)

12.4.2 Content

Content clauses are complementised clauses with independency marking. They appear as complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication, like *wòm* "hear", *nyē* "see", *tēŋ'es'* "think", *mī* "know", *pà'al* "teach", *sjàk* "agree", *tìs nōɔr* "command", *sòs* "request", and in reported speech. Linker preferences vary markedly after different verbs: in B3 the ratio of *yē* to *kà* is 219/31 after *tēŋ'es'*, 105/162 after *wòm*, and 0/386 after *nyē*.

Content clauses show the same range of structures as main clauses. Tense and mood are marked relative to the main clause. Except in reported speech, personal pronouns within content clauses reflect the context of the *main* clause; commands may thus appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and even 2sg/pl pronouns remain unaltered before the verb. Subject pronouns are never ellipped after *kà*.

M tēŋ'es kà m lú yā.

"I think I've fallen." WK

1SG think and 1SG fall ND.

F̀ɔnɛ siak ye fu ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fu na'am gbaun la zugoo?

F̀ɔnɛ̀_ø sjàk yé f̀ù yá' tì ká'ɛ, ò nà zīŋ'iní_ f̀ò nā'am

2SG CAT agree that 2SG if once NEG.exist, 3AN IRR sit 2SG chieftaincy

gbáun lā zúgúú=ø?

skin:SG ART on=PQ?

"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?"

(1 Kgs 1:24)

Ya tēŋ'es ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?

"Who do you think I am?" (Acts 13:25)

Yà tēŋ'es kà m áan_ ànɔ'ɔnɛ=ø?

2PL think and 1SG be who=CQ?

M p̄u yel ye ya s̄osim Wina'am din yelaa.

M̄ p̄u yél yé yà s̄òsìm Wínà'am dīn yēláa=ø.

1SG NEG say that 2PL beg:IMP God 3IN about=NEG.

"I don't say that you should pray to God about that." (1 Jn 5:16)

ka David t̄is nōɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.

kà David t̄is nōɔr yé bà nyù'em bádà lā nē búgúm.

and David give mouth:SG that 3PL burn:IMP idol:PLART with fire.

"And David ordered them to burn the idols with fire." (1 Chr 14:12)

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:

[M̄ yél yé] ò gòsìm tēŋī=n. "[I said] she should look down."

[M̄ 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 B1 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 ∅ mōrí 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 gèeŋm nē ... kà Paul lébìs

and Festus shout Paul that 3AN go.mad FOC ... and Paul reply

yē ōn pū gèeŋmm=∅.

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 B1)

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 B1)

Amaa **ye** ka on yeli ba ...

"But he had said to them ..."

Àmáa yé kà òn yélì=bā ...

(Acts 25:16 B1)

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 piāṅ'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 B1)

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 áràzàná ní nā yē,

And 1SG hear God voice:SG and 3IN emerge heaven LOC hither that

ò nīdìbá=ø, yé bà yìmī=ø 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 B1)

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.'"

i.e. 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, which is effected by clefting.

In **subject focusing**, catenating **n** follows the subject. The clause lacks independency marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafù̀ \emptyset dúmō=ø.
Snake:SG CAT bite=3AN.

"A snake has bitten him." WK
(What's happened?)

Interrogative pronouns as subjects are always **n**-focused:

Ànó'ònì̀ \emptyset kábúridà=ø?
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 **nē'** see §11.1; if an aspectual interpretation is possible it prevails over other focus uses. When **nē'** is either excluded by formal constraints, or separated from the verb by free words, these aspect distinctions are unmarked.

Whether aspectual or not, **nē'** is excluded in clauses with subject focus, in nominalised clauses, and in content questions:

Ànó'ònì̀ \emptyset dít sá'abò=ø?
Who CAT eat:IPFV porridge=CQ?

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

M̄ zūg lā zábìd nē.
1SG head ART fight:IPFV FOC.

"My head is hurting."
(What's the matter with you?)

- but **M̄ zūgō_ø zábìd.** "My head is hurting/hurts."
1SG head CAT fight:IPFV.
(Where is the pain?)
- M̄ á nē bīig.** "I am a child."
1SG be FOC child:SG.
- but **mán àṅ bīig lā zúg** "because I'm a child"
1SG:NZ be child:SG ART on
- M̄ yí nē Bók.** "I come from Bawku." SB
1SG emerge FOC Bawku.
- but **Meeri one yi Magdala** "Mary who came from Magdala"
Meeri ónì=ø yī Magdala (Mk 16:9 B2)
Mary DEM.AN=NZ emerge Magdala
- F̀ àṅ_à'ónè=ø?** "Who are you?"
2SG be who=CQ?
- Bó kà f̀ kúmmà=ø?** "Why are you crying/do you cry?"
What and 2SG cry:IPFV=CQ?
- F̀ níṅ̀d b́=ø?** "What are you doing/do you do?"
2SG do:IPFV what=CQ?
- Mām áṅ b́=ø?** "What am I?"
1SG be what=CQ?
- F̀ b̀òd b́=ø?** "What do you want?"
2SG want what=CQ?
- cf **F̀ b̀òd nē b́=ø?** "What do you want it with?"
2SG want with what=CQ?
(**nē** must be "with", WK)
- F̀ wá'e yáa=ø?** "Where are you going/do you go?"
2SG go where=CQ?
- Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná=ø?**
Fire ART emerge:IPFV where LOC hither=CQ?
"Where is the light coming from?" SB

$n\bar{e}'$ is permitted in both content and purpose clauses; it is also permitted after catenating n (but not catenating $k\grave{a}$):

Pian'am ka m bōod ye fū nyεnε bōod.

Piàn'am kà m bōod yé fū nyē nē bōod.

Speak:IMP and 1SG want that 2SG see FOC innocence.

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." (Jb 33:32)

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis **ne** Wina'am Siig Suḡ.

Fù pū má' n tìs nīn-sáalā=∅, àmáa fù má' n tís nē Wínà'am Sí-sùḡ.

2SG NEG lie CAT give human:SG=NEG but 2SG lie CAT give FOC God Spirit-good:SG.

"You have lied not to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." (Acts 5:4 B2)

Certain forms do not prevent $n\bar{e}'$ from appearing, but cannot themselves be focused: $sùḡ\bar{a}'$ "well"; $sùm$ "good", $b\bar{e}'\epsilon d$ "bad", $sìd\grave{a}$ "truth" as manner adjuncts; the "two, three exactly" quantifiers $\grave{a}y\bar{i}\bar{ḡ}\bar{a}'$ $\grave{a}t\bar{a}\bar{ḡ}\bar{a}'$; and NPs containing these words. Any preceding $n\bar{e}'$ 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 àḡ sùḡ\bar{a}.

3IN be well.

"It's good."

Lì àḡ b\bar{e}'\epsilon d.

3IN be badness.

"It's bad."

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.

ò sàríyà-kādīb áḡ sóm nē síd\grave{a}.

3AN law-driving be goodness with truth.

"His judgment is good and true. (Rv 19:2 B1)

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 $n\bar{e}'$; thus

Gòsìm nē.

Look:IMP FOC.

"Look!" (Don't touch! WK)

Ò kù\grave{e}sìd sūmmā lā nē.

3AN sell:IPFV groundnut:PL ART FOC.

"She sells/is selling the groundnuts."
(They're not free.)

Tì dít sà'ab nē zâam. "We eat porridge *in the evening*."
 1PL eat:IPFV porridge FOC 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:

Niigí 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

M dá' búṅ. "I've bought a donkey."
 1SG buy donkey:SG. (What have you done?)

M dá' nē búṅ. "I've bought a *donkey*."
 1SG buy FOC donkey:SG. (What have you bought?)

Ò dìgìl nē. "He's *laid it down*."
 3AN lay FOC. (I thought he'd pick it up.)

Pfvs of inchoatives derived from stance verbs cannot accept a stative reading:

Ò dìgìn nē. "He's *lain down*." DK: "Someone calls at
 3AN lie FOC. your house and gets no answer; he
 thinks you're out but I'm explaining that
 you've gone to bed."
 WK: "You've said: the child looks filthy.
 I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ən nē. "She's pregnant."
 3AN stand FOC. (idiomatic informational focus)

On pfvs with *nē'* 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.)

Ṁ bódī=f nē.

1SG want=2SG FOC.

"I really love you." WK

Ṁ mór nē pūā'.

1SG have FOC woman:SG.

"I have a woman."

(implies an irregular liaison, WK)

Dāam lā nūud.

Beer ART drink:IPFV.

"The beer gets drunk." WK

but Dāam lā nūud nē.

Beer ART drink:IPFV FOC.

"The beer is for *drinking*."

(Not pouring away; not possible for
"The beer is being drunk" WK)

Dāká lā zánl nē.

Box:SG ART hand.carry FOC.

"The box gets carried *in the hands*."

(Not on your head.)

Dāká lā zīid nē.

Box:SG ART head.carry:IPFV FOC.

"The box is for carrying *on the head*."

(Not 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 mōṓd.

Cow:PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL.

"Cows eat *grass*."

(What do cows eat?)

Nā'-síbà óṅbìd nē mōṓd lā.

Cow-INDF.PL chew:IPFV FOC grass:PL ART.

"Some cows are eating the grass."

Contrastive focus, however, may involve old or new information:

Lin ka ba'amaanib maani tisid bada la, ba maani tisidne kikiris, ka pu maani tisidne Wina'am.

Lìn kà bà'-māannīb mâannì ∅ tísìd bádà lā, bà màannī ∅ tísìd nē kíkīrīs kà pū mâannì ∅ tísìd nē Wínā'amm=∅.

DEM.IN and idol-maker:PL sacrifice:IPFV CAT give:IPFV idol:PL ART 3PL sacrifice:IPFV 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 B2)

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.

Addressee-new information may be encoded in the *internal* structure of a NP:

Biis la diemid ne dua gbinin. Ba zamisid ne bula wa'ab. Ba anε Apam biis.
 Bīis lā dí'əmìd nē dúan gbínnī=n. Bà zàmìsìd nē bŭlā wâ'ab.
 Child:PL ART play:IPFV FOC dawadawa:SG base:SG=LOC. 3PL learn:IPFV FOC shoot:PL dance:SG.
 Bà à né À-Pām bīis.
 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 bane lu gon'os sugin la anε bane wum pian'ad la
 Kà bŭn-bŭdà bànì=∅ lù gòṅ'òs súgŭ=n lā á nē bánì=∅ wòm pìàṅ'ad lā
 And seed:PL DEM.PL=NZ fall thorn:PL among ART be FOC 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:

M̄ yí nē Bók. "I come from Bawku." SB
 1SG emerge FOC Bawku.

Bè "exist/be somewhere" often occurs with a focused locative adjunct:

Wínà'am bé. "God is there." (i.e. "It'll all work out.")
 God exist.

Wāad bé. "It's cold."
 Cold.weather exist.

Dàṅ-sō' bé dó-kàṅā lā púsgŭ=n.
 Man-INDFAN exist hut-DEM.SG ART inside.
 "There is a certain man in that hut."

but Dāy lā bé nē dó-kàṅā lā púsgŭ=n.
 Man:SG ART exist FOC hut-DEM.SG ART inside.
 "The man is inside that hut." (Where is that man?)

Mam bene moogin. "I'm in the bush." (BN p8)
 Mām bé nē mōɔgō=n. (cf *Moogin ka mam be*, BN p10)
 1SG exist FOC grass:SG=LOC.

The complement of àɛŋya "be something" in ascriptive sense is prototypically addressee-new, and preceded by nē' whenever syntactically permitted:

Dīb á nē bōn-súŋ. "Food is a good thing."
 Food be FOC thing-good:sg.

Ò à nē bāanlím. "She is quiet."
 3AN be FOC quietness.

Lì à nē bōgusígā. "It's soft."
 3IN be FOC softly.

M̃ á nē dú'atà. "I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)
 1SG be FOC doctor:sg.

In specifying constructions the subject usually has n-focus:

Mānī_ø áŋ dú'atà lā. "I'm the doctor."
 1SG CAT be doctor:SG ART. (Which one is the doctor?)

Mānī_ø áŋ dú'atà àmáa fōn pō ányā=ø.
 1SG CAT be doctor:SG but 2SG NEG be=NEG.
 "I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nōbibisi a mam disuŋ. "Chicks are my favourite food." (BN p13)
 Nō-bíbìsì_ø áŋ mām dí-sùŋ.
 Hen-small:PL CAT be 1SG food-good:sg.

Focus on indefinite arguments under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̃ k̃ā' dú'atāa=ø. "I'm not a doctor."
 1SG NEG.be doctor:SG=NEG.

M̃ k̃ā' nē dú'atāa=ø. "I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)
 1SG NEG.be FOC doctor:SG=NEG.

Ì p̄ dá' b̀̀n̄ā=∅.

1SG NEG buy donkey:SG=NEG.

"I haven't bought a donkey."

Ì p̄ dá' n̄ē b̀̀n̄ā=∅.

1SG NEG buy FOC donkey:SG=NEG.

"I haven't bought a donkey."

(I bought something else.)

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.)

m̄ē, WK *m̄ēn*; clause finally *m̄ēn* "also, too." It may follow an ellipted subject pronoun.

O pu'a m̄ē kena.

"His wife also came." (Acts 5:7)

Ò p̄ā' m̄é ké n̄ā.

3AN wife:SG also come hither.

b̄zuḡo o an̄ē f̄u biig m̄ēn.

"Because he is your child too." (Gn 21:13)

b̄ z̄uḡó ò à né f̄u biig m̄ēn.

Because 3AN be FOC 2SG child:SG also.

Man̄ē maal Israel, ka m̄ē aan ya na'ab.

M̄ān̄ī∅ m̄āal Israel, k̄ā m̄é áan̄ ȳā n̄ā'ab.

1SG CAT make Israel, and also be 2PL king:SG.

"I created Israel, and am also your king." (Is 43:15)

n̄ō "just, exactly": e.g. *d̄āa-k̄ān l̄ā n̄ō* "that very day", and

F̄u ya'a m̄ōr ya'am, f̄un n̄ō na dii li malisim.

F̄u ȳá' m̄ōr ȳā'am, f̄un n̄ō ná dí∅l̄ì m̄ālsím.

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)

m̄à'aa (lf *m̄à'an̄ì*) "only":

As̄ēē lin̄ē an b̄ē'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niṅ.

Às̄ēē línì=∅ àn̄ b̄ē'ed má'aa k̄ā m̄ ná t̄ūṅ'ə∅ níṅ.

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 **gùllìmnì**) "only":

Li ka'anε Wina'am gullim nε? "Is it not God alone?" (Lk 5:21)
 Lì **kā' nē Wínà'am gùllìmnèε=ø=ø?**
 3IN NEG.be FOC God only=NEG=PQ?

kòtāa_n "at all" appears in **Áyù kòtāa**. "Not at all."

báa (Hausa *bâa* "not exist") with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct **báa bī'elá** "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent **báa yīnní** "(not) even one":

Da tumi si'el baa bi'elaa. "Do no work at all." (Lv 23:31)
 Dā **túmī=ø sī'el báa bī'eláa=ø.**
 NEG.IMP work=2PL INDF.IN even slightly=NEG.

Fù du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.
 Fù **dū'adīb báa yīnní ká'e kà ò yū'ur bûen àláa=ø.**
 2SG relative:PL even one NEG.exist and 3AN name:SG call:IPFV thus=NEG.
 "Not one of your relatives is named thus." (Lk 1:61)

hālí (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 ellipsed. This is the single commonest function of **hālí** in KB, with ellipsis usual.

Lì **tòę hālí [béduḡō].** "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 zīnà "up until today"

O daa pùn anε ninkùd hali pin'ilugun sa.
 Ò **dāa pún à nē nīn-kôud hālí pīṅ'ilúḡō=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 **ṅwá'a=lī hālí_ø pāe Nofa.** (Nm 21:30)
 1PL strike=3IN until CAT reach Nophah.

Zugsɔb la da kɛ ka kʊkɔm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.
 Zūg-sób lā dá kè kà kùkòm bân'as gbāñ'e Nâ'ab lā, hālí kà ò tí kpi.
 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 nɛ on daa an yɛlsʊm wɔsa daan la, o da liɛb nɔŋdaan
 Hālí là'am nē ón dāa áñ yēl-súm wósā dāan lā,
 Even together with 3AN:NZ TNS be blessing all owner:SG ART,
 ò dà liɛb nɔŋ-dāan
 3AN TNS become pauper:SG
 "Even though he had every blessing, he became poor" (2 Cor 8:9)

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li ...
 hālí nē mán dāa sɔbī_ø tísì=yā sī'em lā, m dāa pɔ sɔbì=lī ...
 even with 1SG:NZ TNS write CAT give=2PL how ART 1SG TNS NEG write=3IN ...
 "Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." (2 Cor 7:12)

Zugsɔb yɛl ye, Hali nɛ man vɔe nwa ...
 Zūg-sób yél yē, Hālí nē mán vɔē ñwá ...
 Lord say that even with 1SG:NZ live this ...
 "The Lord says: Even as I live ..." (Rom 14:11)

With *hālí* (or *hālí báa*) before main clauses without *kà* the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a presubject adjunct like a *yà'*-clause.

Hali tʊʊmbɛ'ed dim niŋid ala. "Even sinners do that." (Lk 6:33)
 Hālí tʊʊm-bē'ed díɱ níŋìd àlá.
 Even deed-bad:PL Ø.PL do:IPFV thus.

Hali baa lampɔdi'esidib mɛ niŋid ala.
 Hālí báa làmpɔ-dí'əsìdìb mé níŋìd àlá.
 Even tax-receiver:PL also do:IPFV thus.
 "Even tax-collectors do that." (Mt 5:46)

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tʊ'ʊsif.
 Hālí ò bē sūr_ø kēn nā yé ò tʊ'ʊsí=f.
 Even 3AN exist road:SG CAT come:IPFV hither that 3AN meet=2SG.
 "He's even now on the way coming here to meet you." (Ex 4:14)

Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zo ka basif, man ku basi fo.

Hālī bāa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zó kà básì=f, mān kú bāsī=fó=∅.

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

In clefting, either an identificational clause or *Lì à nē* NP "It is ..." is followed by a *n*-catenation when the catenated clause subject is the same, and otherwise by an adnominal *kà*-catenation. The subject of the first clause is both foregrounded and focused; in statements, there is an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Ano'on nwaa yisid nidib tɔɔmbɛ'edi basida?

Ànô'on_∅ n̄wāa_∅ yīsīd nīdīb t̄ɔɔm-bē'edī_∅ básīdà=∅?

Who CAT this CAT expel:IPFV person:PL deed-bad:PL CAT throw.out:IPFV=CQ?

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" (Lk 7:49)

Li anε o pu'a su'oe li.

"It is his wife who owns it." (1 Cor 7:4)

Lì á né ò p̄uā'_∅ s̄u'ɔ=lī.

3IN be FOC3AN wife CAT own=3IN.

Bōo_∅ lá kà m̄ n̄yētá=∅?

"What is that that I can see?"

What CAT that and 1SG see:IPFV=CQ?

With *kà*, the foregrounded element may be extracted from a subordinate clause or prepositional phrase; direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap:

Li anε ya taaba banε pu'usid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì=∅ p̄u'usīd Wīnà'am kà lī nár kà yà kád sàriyà.

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 parallel *n*-focus, the construction expresses foregrounding, and it is compatible with *nē'* or *n*-focus:

Aseε line an bε'ed ma'aa ka m na tun'e niη.

Àséε línì=∅ àη bē'ed má'aa kà m̄ ná t̄uη'ə_∅ 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

So and 1SG Paul CAT exist prison:SG LOC Jesus Christ on

yānám būud-bàni=∅ ká' Jew dím lā yéla.

2PL 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 B2)

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.

Fù bōod bó=∅?

"What do you want?"

2SG want what=CQ?

but Bō ka ti na niŋε?

"What are we going to do?" (Acts 21:22)

Bó kà tì ná niŋè=∅?

What and 1PL IRR do=CQ?

Nū'-bíbusá_àlá kà fù nyētá=∅?

Finger:PL how.many and 2SG see:IPFV=CQ?

"How many fingers can you see?" SB

Niŋbīŋ bō buudi ka ba na ti mōra?

Nìn-gbīŋ-bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mōrá=∅?

Body-what-sort and 3PL IRR once have=CQ?

"What kind of body will they have?" (1 Cor 15:35)

Ka anō'onam ka Wina'am sūnf da pēlig nε ba yōma piisnaasi la?

Kà ànō'on-nàm kà Wínà'am sūnf dá pèlīg né bà yòmà pīs nāasí lá=∅?

And who-PL and God heart:SG TNS whiten with 3PL year:PL forty ART=CQ?

"And who was God angry with for forty years?" (Heb 3:17)

Preposing is required when *bō* is used for "why?":

Bó kà fù kúmmà?

"Why are you crying?"

Predicative complements are not preposed:

Mam a bo? "What am I?" (BN p4)
 Mām áṅ b́ó=∅?
 1SG be what=CQ?

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

Ṓwāḍı́sá_àtáṅ' kà fù ná lēb nā.
 Month:PL three and 2SG IRR return hither.
 "You're to come back in three months."

Prepositional phrases with wōv "like" can be preposed.

Preposing has no implication of foregrounding within relative clauses, with manner, place and reason adjuncts, or when absolute clauses in adjuncts precede the main clause because of the requirement for constituent order to parallel event order.

Mán ṅwè' dāy lā zúg kà pōlīs gbáṅ'a=m.
 1SG:NZ hit man:SGART 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.
 Wíl-kàṅì=∅ bèε_ṁ ní kà pō wénnā=∅,
 Branch-DEM.SG=NZ exist 1SG LOC and NEG bear.fruit:IPVF=NEG.
 ṁ Bā' ṅwá'adī=lí n básìd.
 1SG father:SG cut:IPVF=3IN CAT throw.out:IPFV.
 "A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts out." (Jn 15:2 B2)

Yà'-clauses may be right-dislocated due to weight §12.1.3. Pronouns cannot be dislocated. 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 múj. "She's bought rice." (Of all things!)
 vs Ò dà' nē múj. "She's bought rice." (What did she buy?)

Manner adjuncts are intensified by dislocation:

Ṃ pū'us yā bédugō. "Thank you very much."

Catenations may follow *yā*:

Dinzug ka m keya ka saa pu len niida.

Dìn-zúg kà m kẹ́ yá kà s̄aa p̄ lém niidā=∅.

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:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir.

Dāu dá bẹ̀ ∅ mōrí ∅ p̄à'-yīmmír.

Man:SG TNS exist CAT have 3AN wife-single:SG.

"There was a man who had one wife." (KS p26)

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men." (KS p16)

Dāpá àtán' n dá bẹ̀.

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 p̄ tūṅ'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 B2)

Pu'a sɔ' da be mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.

P̄à'-sō' dá bẹ̀ ∅ mór ∅ bī-púŋ kà kīkīrīg dōlló=∅.

Woman-INDF.AN TNS exist CAT have 3AN girl:SG and fairy:SG go.with=3AN.

"There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." (Mk 7:25)

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ∅ nyē dāu kà ∅ yū'ur 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)

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'ŋ 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_n'</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 lēbīsī=f nē láafiyà.	"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wīn ná tā'así=f.	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wīn ná sūḡī=f.	"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

Ì pù'us yā [bédugū].	"Thank you [very much]." Reply Tò , or Pù'usòg kā'e . "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.	"Sorry"; in apology, or just as sympathy.
Kābīr kāburí!	Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
Dìm sūḡurú.	"Forgive me."
Ì bélìm nē.	"I beg you."
X lābāar áṅ wēlá?	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is Dīub má'aa . "Only food." i.e. "good."
Ì mōr kù'em náa?	"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is Kù'em 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)

15 Texts

1. Balaam's Donkey

Numbers 22:21-35.

Balaam da duoe beogɔn lɔɔ o buŋɔ dɔl Moab na'ayikpɛm la keŋ. Amaa Wina'am sɔnf da duoe ne on keŋ la, ka Zugsɔb maliak kidigi zi'en suor la zug ye o geŋ o. Balaam da ban'adne o buŋ, ka o yammis ayi' dɔl o. Buŋ la da nye Zugsɔb maliak la ka o zi'e suor la zug ka fuoe sɔ'ugɔ zanl o nu'ugin, ka o buŋi kpɛn' mɔɔgi gaad. Ka Balaam pin'ili bu'ɔd buŋ la ye o leb suor pɔɔg.

Zugsɔb maliak la da tɔlisi zi'en lombɔn'ɔd ayi' banɛ ka ba mɛ' zaŋguoma ayi' beŋ, ka suobaanlig beɛ li teŋsɔk la. Buŋ la n da nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da miee labin zaŋguom la urig Balaam nɔbir. Ka o lɛm bu' o ya'as.

Zugsɔb maliak la da lɛn vurigi tɔlis zi'en tuon zin'ikane ka sɔ' kɔ nyaŋi fɛndig datiuŋ beɛ dagɔbɔga. Buŋ la da lɛn nye Zugsɔb maliak la, o da digin ne Balaam wɔsa teŋin, ka Balaam sɔnf duoe hali ka o vɔb buŋ la ne o dansaar. Ka Zugsɔb ke ka buŋ la ya'ae o nɔɔri pian' Balaam ye, "Bɔ kimm ka m maalif ka li ke ka fu bu'ɔm nɔɔr atan' sa?" Balaam da lebisi o ye, "Fu mɔrim ne maan galim! M ya'a mɔrin sɔ'ugɔ m nu'ugin m naan kɔunif nannanna." Buŋ la da lebisi Balaam ye, "Man ka'ane fu meŋ buŋ one ka fu ban'ad saŋa wɔsa ti paae zinaa? Fu nam mi' nye ka m maal anwa tisi fɔɔ?" Ka o lebisi ye, "Ayei!"

Ka Zugsɔb yɔ'ɔg Balaam nini ka o nye maliak la zi'e suor la teŋsɔk ka fuoe sɔ'ugɔ zanl. Ka o igin ka vanbin teŋin. Zugsɔb maliak la da bu'os o ye, "Bɔ ka fu bu' buŋ la nɔɔr atan' sa? M kena ye m giŋif bɔzugɔ ken la ka' sɔ'ɔm m nini nii. Nɔɔr atan' ka buŋ la nyɛɛm ka yuk. Buŋ la ya'a pɔ yukine, anwaa m kɔunif ka basin buŋ la." Balaam da lebisi yɛl Zugsɔb maliak la ye, "M tɔm taal, m pa'a pɔ baŋ ye fu zi'ene suorin la ye fu geŋi ma. Nannanna li ya'a pɔ malisi fɔ m na lebisi kul." Ka maliak la lebisi yɛl Balaam ye, "Dɔl nidib la keŋ, amaa yɛlim ne man ye fu yɛl si'el ma'aa." Ka Balaam dɔl Balak na'ayikpɛm la keŋ.

Balaam dá dùe bēogɔ=na_ø lɔɔ_ò bònù_ ø dɔl Moab

Balaam TNS rise morning CAT tie 3AN donkey:SG CAT go.with Moab

ná'-yī-kpém lā_ø kéŋ.

chief-house-elder:PL ART CAT go.

"Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey and went with the courtiers of the king of Moab."

Àmáa Wínà'am súnf dà dùè nē ón kēŋ lā, kà Zūg-sób máliāk
 But God heart:SG TNS rise with 3AN:NZ go ART, and Lord angel:SG
 kīdugī_ø zī'en sūer lā zúg yé ò gīŋó=ø.
 meet CAT stand road:SG ART on that 3AN obstruct=3AN.

"But God was angry that he went, and an angel of the Lord met him and stood in the road to obstruct him."

Balaam dá bàŋ'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 zí'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 búŋì_ø ø kpèŋ' mōogī_ø gāad.
 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 pīŋ'ilī_ø bŋ'vd búŋ lā yé ò léb sūer pŋug.
 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 tōlŋsì_ø zī'en lōmbòn'od àyí' bānì=ø kà bà mé
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS do.next CAT stand orchard:PL two DEM.PL=NZ and 3PL build
 zànguè mà àyí'_ø bēŋ, kà sŋā-bāanlìg béε_è tēŋ-sŋk 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 nyè 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
 zànguè m lā_ø ūrīg Balaam nóbìr. Kà ò lé m 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 vūrgī_ ø tōlīs_ ø zī'ən tūen
 Lord angel:SG ART TNS again shift.along CAT do.next CAT stand front
 zín'-kànì=ø kà sō' kú nyāñī_ø fēñdīg dátìyη bēε dágòbīgā=ø.
 place-DEM.SG=NZ and INDF.AN NEG.IRR prevail CAT turn right or left=NEG.

"Then the angel of the Lord moved along to stand in front of a place where nobody could turn to the right or the left."

Bùη lā=ø dà lèm nyē Zūg-sób máliāk lā, ò dà dìgìn nē Balaam wōsā tēñī=n,
 Donkey:SG ART=NZ TNS again see Lord angel:SG ART, 3AN TNS lie with Balaam all down,
 kà Balaam súñf dūe hālí kà ò vōb búη lā né ò dànsàar.
 and Balaam heart:SG rise so.far and 3AN strike 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 bùη lā yá'e ò nōorī_ø pīāñ' Balaam yē,
 And Lord let and donkey:SG ART open 3AN mouth:SG CAT speak Balaam that
 Bō kimm kà m máalì=f kà lì ké kà fù bú'v=m nōor átāñ' sá=ø?
 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 lèbìsō=ø yē, Fù mórī=m nē_ø mâan_ø gálìm! M yá' mōrī=n
 Balaam TNS reply=3AN that, 2SG have=1SG FOC CAT make:IPFV CAT joke:IPFV! 1SG if have=DP
 sú'vù_ò nù'ugī=n, m nāan kōv=ní=f nānná-nā.
 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.'"

Bùη lā dá lèbìs Balaam yē, Mān kā' né fù mēη búη ónì=ø kà
 Donkey:SG ART TNS reply Balaam that, 1SG NEG.be FOC 2SG self donkey:SG DEM.AN=NZ and
 fù bāñ'ad sājá wōsā_ø tí pāe zīnāa=ø=ø? Fù nám mī'_ø nyé kà
 2SG ride:IPFV time all CAT once reach today=NEG=PQ? 2SG already know CAT see and
 m māl àñwá_ø tísì=fò=ø? 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 lā tēḡ-sūk,
 And Lord open Balaam eye:PL and 3AN see angel:SG ART CAT stand road:SG ART centre:SG
 kà fúe sù'ugò_ø zāḡl. Kà ò ígìn kà vábìn tēḡī=n.
 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' búḡ 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 gīḡí=f bō zúḡō kēn lā
 time:SG three hence=CQ? 1SG come hither that 1SG obstruct=2SG because going ART
 kā' sŭm m nīnī nī=ø. Nōor átán' kà bùḡ lā nyéε=m kà yūk.
 NEG.be goodness 1SG eye:PL LOC=NEG. Time:SG three and donkey:SG ART see=1SG and deviate.
 Bùḡ lā yá' pŭ yūkī=ní_àḡwáa=ø m kŭv=ní=f kà básī=n búḡ lā.
 Donkey:SG ART if NEG deviate=DP thus=NEG 1SG kill=DP=2SG and 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 lèb̀s̀ì_ø yél Zūg-sób máliāk lā yē, M túm tâal, m pá' pŭ bán
 Balaam TNS reply CAT say Lord angel:SG ART that, 1SG work fault:SG, 1SG TNS NEG realise
 yé fù zí'e nē sūerí=n lā yé fù gīḡí=mā=ø.
 that 2SG stand FOC road:SG=LOCART that 2SG obstruct=1SG=NEG.

Nānná-nā, lì yá' pŭ mā̀s̀í=fō=ø, m ná lēb̀ī_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 léb̀s̀ì_ø yèl Balaam yē, Dòl nīdīb lā_ø kēḡ,
 And angel:SG ART reply CAT say Balaam that, Accompany person:PL ART CAT go,
 àmáa yèlìm nē mán yé fù yél sī'əl má'aa.
 but say:IMP FOC 1SG:NZ that 2SG say 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 kēḡ.
 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-kúvdìbá àtán'.

"Three murderers."

Person-killer:PL three.

Dāpá àtán' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāṅdā sú'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 dùem_ø iā búdaalim
 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 dùe_ø iā sū'us nē zān'anā nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē lū'ad
 3PL truly rise CAT seek knife:PL with bludgeon:PL with bow:PL with arrow:PL with quiver:PL
 nē kpānā nē málì sū'ηā n pīn'ilī_ø gīnnī_ø iād nīdīb
 with spear:PL with gun:PL well CAT begin CAT wander:IPFV CAT seek:IPFV person:PL
 yé bà yá' nyē sō' bān kū.
 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 gīlígí_àlá nē n̄wādisá_àtān' nē dábı̀sà_àtān'. Bà pū nyē
 3PL go.round thus with month:PL three with day:PL three. 3PL NEG find
 nīd_ø ná kūs=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 zı́'e sābı̀llı̀_ø
 Day:PL five day:SG 3PL see with far hence and INDF.IN stand black:SG CAT
 wūv nīd nē, kà bà kpēɛɛm 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 láuk-sı́'a wūsā, bà nà nyāŋı̀_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 gīŋı̀d kpē, kà òŋā gīŋı̀d kpē, bà tı̀ kēŋ_ø pāa_ø
 And DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, and DEM.AN intercept:IPFV there, 3PL once go CAT reach CAT
 nyé kà lı̀ kā' nı́dá=ø, kà á nē bōtú kà lı̀gı̀dı̀ pē'el mà'aa má'aa má.
 see and 3IN NEG.be person:SG=NEG, and be FOC sack:SG and money fill 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 nothing but a bag full of money."

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā n̄wá, tì yé tì nīṅ līgudī n̄wá 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 līgudī lā n
 And 3PL say, 3PL IRR share FOC. But 3PL that 3IN must and 3PL extract money ART CAT
 kēṅ_ø dá' dāam_ø ná nū yīigá kà nyāan pūdīg līgudī 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 līgudī 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 tēṅ'esìd nē ón nà nīṅ 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 līgudī lā wōsā wōsā n sū'e, ò yèlì_ò mēṅ 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-kūvdím 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 līgudī 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-kūvdím 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 gbāṅ'e nē yé bà kū
 NEG.know=NEG, and 3PL two ART=NZ remain ART also grab FOC that 3PL kill
 bīig lá=ø kēṅ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgudī 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=̀n mōr dāam lā_∅ pāa nā lā, kà òṅā kḗá kpē,
 Child:SG ART=NZ have beer ART CAT reach hither ART, and DEM.AN cut here,
 kà ɔn kḗá kpē, n kío=∅_∅ kō, kà yū'bn zánj dāam lā_∅
 and 3AN cut here, CAT cut=3AN CAT kill, and then take beer ART CAT
 nū wán wán, li pō yúugē=∅, kà bà wōsā wōsā mé kpélìm kpì
 drink IDEO IDEO, 3IN NEG delay=NEG and 3PL all all also immediately die
 zìṅ-kàn lā nóc kà bà sō' sō' pō 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 bēe tóm bē'ed yé fù tísì_∅ 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 bḗāṅ'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-wiāk sēong zī' sínnē=∅.

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 kúubō=∅, kà nyē sāa niib.

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 pō 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'om yá' yé ò nà lōbūg, bàŋìm kà ò nò nē kūgūr.

Blind.person:SG if that 3AN IRR throw.at, realise:IMP and 3AN stand.on FOC stone:SG.

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Bālērūgū ∅ zī' yé ò àŋ bālērūgō=∅, kà tādīm mī' yé ò àŋ 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 támpiing sīind, fù pō lém zòt líeŋ 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 ∅ pílig kà yū'adā bé.

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 kúnñì ∅ ò bā' yír nē nōb-kōog dāar.

Kid:SG go.home:IPFV 3AN father:SG house:SG FOC 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 bōud pō zín'i ná'-yīré=ø.

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 tégī=né=ø.

Donkey-male:SG NEG cry.out:IPFV 3AN neighbour:SG land:SG=LOC=NEG.

"The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory."

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

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 pōog.

Bāas ká'e kà nwāamīs dī'e pōog.

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=ø 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/ṅ, e/ε/ē/ə, i/ɪ/ĩ, o/ɔ, u/ʊ/ũ*; *ṅ* 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 *àḗṅ_{ya}*

āāṅḍīg_a āāṅḍīs àāṅḍ- black plum,
Vitex doniana

āāṅḍīr āāṅḍā black plum fruit

àāṅs *v* tear

àbùlá *q* how many-fold?

à-dàalúṅ_v -dàalí(mì)s -dàalúṅ- stork

àḗṅ_{ya} ger àāṅlím *1v* be something

àḗṅ *v* get torn

à-gâṅṅ_v -gâāṅḍ -gāṅ- pied crow

àgólḗ àgólá upwards

à-kōrā-dīēm_{ma} -dīēm-nām_a 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)

àmēṅá really, truly

àmí *ptc* amen (Ar *āmīn*)

à-mús -mús-nām_a cat (Ha *mussàa*)

àní(-nā´) *pn* there

àníṅā promptly

ànô'ɔn *pn* who?

àṅrùṅ_v àṅrìṁà àṅrùṅ- boat

āṅs *v* pluck leaves

āṅsìb_a āṅs-nám_a āṅs- mother's brother

āṅsīg´ *v* break at an angle

āṅsīṅ_a āṅsís āṅsīṅ- man's sister's child

àntù'a àntù'əs àntùà'- lawsuit

àṅwá(-nā´) *pn* like this

ānzúrìfà silver (Ha *azùrfaa*)

àràzàk_a àràzà'as àràzà'- (generally pl)
wealth, riches (Ar pl *al-arzāq*)

àràzàṅà heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)

àsée *cl ajn* except (Ha *sai*)

àsīdā truly

àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)

àtèṅ_v sea (Ha *tèeku*)

áyì *ptc* no; to negative question: yes

B

bà *pn* they, their; =*ba* them

bā´´ bā'-nám_a bā'- father

bāa bāas bà- dog

bāa fm not even (Ha *bāa* "not be")

bā'a bā'ab_a bà'a- diviner; *bà'a-kòlùg_v*
diviner's bag

bā'a bā'as bà'- peg for hanging

bà'an_n bà'anà bà'an- (penal) stocks

bàāṅlìg_a bàāṅlìs *adj* narrow, slender

bāāṅlìg_a *adj* quiet; *bāāṅlím* quietly

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

bābá *post* beside

bàbìgā´ *q* many

- bákpàɛ** week (Ha *bakwàì* "seven")
bàlàar **bàlàyà** **bàlà-** stick, club
bàlàṅìr **bàlàṅà** **bàlàṅ-** hat
bālērūg_v **bālērīd** / **bālērīs** **bālēr-**
 ugly person (cf *lēr*)
bàmmā **pn** these
bàn **pn** these
bán **pn** they + =**ṅ**; **bān** they, them (free)
bāṅ **v** ride
bānāa **bānāas** **bànà-** *sic* "fugu" smock
bāṅ'ad_a **bāṅ'ad-nām_a** ill person
bāṅ'al **v** make to ride (horse, bicycle)
bāṅ'as **bāṅ'**- disease
bàn-dāug_v **-dāad** **-dà-** crocodile
bān-kúsélì **-kúsēlá** **-kúsēl-** lizard
bāṅ_a **bāaṅs** **bāṅ-** ring, chain, fetter
bāṅ_a agama lizard
bāṅ **v** come to know
bárkà blessing (Ar *barakah*)
bàs **v** go away; abandon; throw out
bāuṅù only as in **Ò kpèṅ'** **bāuṅù** He was
 circumcised (Songhay)
bàyēog_v **v** betrayer of secrets (cf *yēs*)
bè ger **bèllím** **1v** exist; be in a place
bēdīg **v** go rotten
bèdùg_v / **bèdìr** **bèdà** **bèd-** *adj* great
bèdug_v **q** much, a lot
bēɛ *cl ajn* or; ends questions
 expecting disagreement
bè(kè)kèong_v very early morning
bèlìm **v** beg
bèlìs **v** comfort
bēn_n **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*
unquiculata; **bēṅíd** **nē** **kī** **v** beanleaf-
 and-millet (traditional snack)
bēṅír **bēṅá** **bēṅ-** brown bean
bēog_v tomorrow; **Kà bēog** **níe** **kà** ... Next
 day ...; **bēog** **sá** / **bēog** **dāar** in future
bē'og_v / **bī'a** **bē'ed** / **bī'əs** **bè'-** / **bī'à-** *adj* bad
bēogó *cl ajn* tomorrow
bēogū = **n** **v** morning
bèrìṅ_a **bèrìgìs** *sic* kenaf, *Hibiscus*
cannabinus; **bērìgā** **bèrìg-** kenaf leaves
bēsūg_v **bēsīd** **bès-** k/o wide-mouthed pot
bīāṅ'ar **v** **bīāṅ'adá** / **bīāṅ'a** **bīāṅ'**- wet/black
 mud, riverbed
bīāuṅk_v **bīāṅ'ad** **bīāṅ'**- shoulder
bíelì **bīelá** *adj* naked
bìel **v** accompany
bī'elá **q** a little; **bī'el** **bī'el** **q** a very
 little, little by little
bī'əm **bì'əm-nām_a** **bī'əmmā** lf **bì'əm-**
 enemy
bīēn_n **bīēnā** **bīēn-** shin
bīēr **v** **bīāyá** **bīā-** elder same-sex sibling
bī'əs **v** doubt
bìgìs **v** show, teach
bīig_a **bīis** **bì-** / **bī-** child; **bì-līa** baby; **bī-**
dībìṅ_a boy; **bī-pún_a** girl; **bì-pīt_a** **v** **-pītí_b**
-pīt- father's younger brother; **bì-nà'ab_a**
 prince
bì'ig **v** ripen, become pregnant
bīilíf_v **bīilí** **bīil-** seed
bīilím childhood
būm **v** **bī-** soup, stew
bīl_a **bībīs** **bìl-** / **bì-** *adj* little, small
bìlìg **v** roll (tr)
bìlìm **v** roll (intr)
bìmbì_n **bìmbì_{mà}** **bìmbì_m**- mound,
 pillar of earth; KB altar
bīn_n 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_v** *cl ajn* because;
bō-zúg_v why? **bò-wìn_n** what time of day?
bō **kímm** exactly what?

bò v seek; **bòòd_a** ipfv want, ger **bòòdìm**
bòbìg v wrap round, tie round
bòdìg v lose, become lost
bòdòbòdò bread
bòk_v, **bò'ad buà'**- pit
bòn'og_v swamp; ricefield
bòsìr bòsà bòs- puff adder
bòtò sack
bò' v beat
buàk v split
bù'ar bù'a buà'- hole
bù'ar' bú'a buà'- skin bottle
bùd ger **bùdìg_a/bùdòg_v** v sow seeds
bùdàalìm manhood, courage
bùdìm ger **bùdìmìs** v get confused
bù'e v pour out
bùèl v call, summon
bùèr buèyà buà- grain store
bù'ès v ask; ger **bù'èsúg_v** question
bùg v get drunk (Ha *bùgu*)
bùgùd_a client of a **bā'a** diviner
bùgulìm v cast lots
bùgūr bùgā bùg- abode of a **wīn_n'**;
wīn_n' from mother's kin as a **sīgīr'**
bùgúm bùgūm-/bùgúm- fire;
Bùgúm-tòŋr Fire Festival
bùgūs_a' 1 v be soft
bùgusìg_a/bùgusír **bùgusá** **bùgūs-**
adj soft, weak; **bùgusìgā'** softly;
bùgusím softness, weakness
būk' v weaken
bùk v cast lots
bùl v germinate, ooze
bùlì **bùlā** shoot, sprout
bùl v astonish
bùlìg_a **bùlìs** **bùl-** well, pond
bùmbàrìg_a **bùmbàrìs** **bùmbàr-** ant
būn_n' **būn-nám_a/būnā** **būn-** thing;
būn-bùvdìf_v seed; **būn-gíŋ_a** short chap
(informal); **būn-kónbòg_v** -**kónbìd** **kónb-**
cif sic animal; **būn-kúdòg_v** -**kút** old man

bùn v reap, harvest
būn-dāar pn which day?
bùŋ_a **bùmìs** **bùŋ-** donkey
bùŋ v take a short cut
būrāa man (Spratt, but Toende dialect)
bùrìkìn_a **bùrìkìn-nàm_a** **bùrìkìn-** free,
honourable person (Songhay)
būriyá Christmas (Twi *bronya*)
būtìŋ_a **būtìs** **bùtìŋ-** cup ("seed-planter")
būvd innocence
būudī **būud-** kind, sort, ethnic group
būvg_a **būs** **bù-** goat; **bù-dìbìg_a** male kid

D

dà *tense ptc* before two days ago
dā *mood/polarity ptc* not (imp)
dàa *tense ptc* day after tomorrow
dāa *tense ptc* before yesterday
dà' v buy
dà'a **dà'as** **dà'-** market
dà'abìr slave
dàalìm masculinity
dàalím **dàalímìs** male organs
dāam' **dā-** millet beer, "pito"; **dā-bín_n**
beer residue; yeast
dāam v disturb, trouble (Ha *dāamaa*)
dāan_a **dāan-nàm_a** **dāan-** owner of ...
dāar **dābā** **dà-** day, date
dāar two days ago/two days hence
dāa-sí'èrē *cl ajn* perhaps
dàbīəm fear
dàbīog_v **dàbīəd** **dàbìà-** coward
dàbìsìr **dàbìsà** **dàbìs-** 24-hour period
dā'e' v push; blow (of wind)
dàgòbìg_a left; KB south
dāká **dāká-nàm_a** **dāká-** box (Ha *àdakàa*)
dàkīig_a **dàkīis** **dàkì-** wife's sibling/
sister's husband; **dàkì-tùa** wife's sister's
husband
dàkòŋr **dàkònyà** **dàkòŋ-** unmarried son
dàm ipfv **dàmmìd_a** v shake

- dàmà'a liar cf mà'
dàmà'am dàmà'ar untruth
dāmpūsāar/dānsāar staff, club
dāṅkòṅ_v measles
dāpāal_a' young man, son
dārúk_v k/o large pot
dà-sāṅ_a -sāans/-sām_{ma} -sàṅ- young man
dātāa dātāas dātà- enemy
dàtìṅ_v right-hand; KB north
dāy dāp_a dāy-/dāp- man
dāv_v dàad dà- piece of wood, log;
pl also: wood (material); dà-kīəd_a
wood-cutter; dà-kpī'əd_a carpenter;
dà-pūudīr -pūudā cross KB
dāv_v dāad dà- *adj* male
dàwàlìg_a hot humid season before rains
dàwān_n' dāwānā dāwān- pigeon
dāyāam_{ma} dāyāam-nām_a dāyāam-
husband's parent
dāyūug_v' dāyūud' dāyū- rat
dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
dèeg_a dèes warthog
dēēṅ_a dēēṅs/dēēmīs/dēēnā dēēṅ- *q* first
dēl_{la}' ger dēllóg_v/dēllím *1v* lean on
something (of a person)
dèlím *v* begin to lean (of a person)
dēṅ_a dēmīs dēṅ- accidental bruise; defect
dēṅ *v* go, do first
dèṅìm *subverb* beforehand
dì *pn* = lì
dì ipfv dīt_a imp dīm_a *v* eat, get; ger dīb_v
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_{ma} dìəm-nām_a dìəm- wife's parent;
polite address by a person of either sex
to an unrelated person of opposite sex
and similar or greater age
- dī'əs' *v* receive (many things)
dīgīya' ger dīka'/dīgīr' *1v* lie down
dīgīl' *v* lay down
dìgìn *v* lie down
dìgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf
dīgusóg_v bed; (pl) lair
dìs *v* feed; *ag* dīs_a glutton
dìsúṅ_v dīsímà/dìsís dīsúṅ- spoon
dīm_a dìn_n *dummy head pn*
dín dīn *pn* = lín līn
dìndēog_v' dīndēed' dīndē- chameleon
dīndīs_a glutton
dītúṅ_v right-hand
dì-zōrōg_v' -zōrá -zōr- crumb
dōl_{la}' ger dōllím *1v* go/come with
dōlīg' *v* make accompany, send with
dōlīs' *v* investigate, trace
dōṅlīg' *v* stretch oneself
dòṅ'os *v* water plants
dòog_v dòod/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;
dòog bīg_a housecat
dòog_v dòogd dòṅ- dawadawa fruit
dū ipfv dūt_a' imp dùm_a *v* go up
dūà' *v* bear/beget; *ag* dū'ad_a 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_v' dūgūd' dūg- cooking pot;
dūgūb dūt cooking pots
dùm *v* bite
dūm_n dūmā dùm- knee
dùndūug_v dùndūud dùndù- cobra
dūnyā dūnyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)
dūnná this year
dūṅ_a dūmīs dùṅ- mosquito

dùr_a 1v be many
 dū'un' v pass water
 dū'uním dū'un- urine
 dūvsír step

E

ēεη ptc yes; to negative question: no
 ēεη (tí) tense-slot ajn habitually
 ēεηb' v lay a foundation
 ēεηbír foundation
 èηbìs v scratch
 èηd v block up, plug up
 èηdìg v unblock, unplug
 èηrìg' v shift along on buttocks

F

=f_v pn you sg
 fāaη q every
 fāaη' v save; fāaηgíd_a saviour, fāaηgír
 salvation (from Toende)
 fāη v grab, rob
 fáss *ideo for* piə̀lìg_a white
 fēεg' v (of food) get old, cold
 fēηdìg' v turn round
 fēη'og_v' fēη'ed' fēη'- ulcer
 fiəb v beat
 fi'ig v cut off
 fiη q a little (liquid)
 fitlá lamp (Ha *fitilàa*); B3 *fitir* pl *fità*
 fōos' v puff (wind)
 fù pn you, your sg
 fùe v draw out
 fūfūm_n fūfūmā fūfūm- envy; stye
 fún pn you sg + =n;
 fūn lf fúnì you sg (free)
 fūug_v' 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
 gāaη' gāaηs' gāη- jackalberry,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gāas v pass by
 gādū/gādūg_v' gādū-nám_a/gāt' gādū-/gād-
 bed (Ha *gadoo*)
 gəlìm v joke
 gəlìs v exceed, get to be too much
 gānr' gānyá gānr- jackalberry fruit
 gāη v step over
 gāη' v choose
 gbāη'e' v catch, grab; decide
 gbānyà'a idle person; gbānyà'am laziness
 gbāuη_v' gbāná gbān-/gbāuη- animal skin;
 book (WK tp L); gbāuη-mī'id_a' scribe
 gbēεηm gbēη- sleep
 gbè'og_v gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead;
 lakeshore
 gbēr' gbēyá gbēr- thigh
 gbīgīm_n gbīgimā gbìgìm- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; base (e.g. of a
 hill); *post* below; gbìn-vòcηr anus
 gbìs v sleep
 gēēl' v place between legs (tp H)
 gēεηm' ger gēεηmís v go/send mad
 géεηη_a gēεηmís madman
 gélì gēlá gēl- egg
 gēη v get tired
 gēη' v get angry
 gēog_v place between legs (tp A)
 gīηlím shortness (cf Dagbani *jia* "short")
 gìk_a gìgìs gìg- dumb person
 gìgìlím v become dumb
 gīlìg' ipfv gīn_{na}' v go around
 gīm_{ma}' 1v be short
 gīη_a gīmā gìη- *adj* short
 gìη v scrimp
 gīη' v surround, intercept, obstruct
 gīηā shortly
 gīηìlím shortness (? for gīηgìlím; cf
 Farefare *gìlgá* "short")

gōdīg´ v look up
 gō'e_{ya}´ WK gōl_{la}´ KT 1v be looking up
 gòṅ v hunt; ipfv gòṅd_a wander,
 ger gòṅdīm
 gò'on v look up
 gōr_a´ DK 1v be looking up
 gōs ipfv gōsīd_a´/gōt_a´ imp gò(sì)m_a
 ger gósìg_a v look; ag gōt_a´ seer
 gū v guard, protect
 gùl v hang; gùl_{la} 1v hang
 gùllīm lf gùllīm̀̀ fm only
 gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread WK
 gūmpōzēr´ gūmpōzēyá gūmpōzēr- duck
 gùṅ'a gòṅ'os gòṅ'- thorn; acacia;
 gòṅ'-sābílìg_a *Acacia hockii*
 gùṅ_a gùmìs gùṅ- kapok tree,
Ceiba pentandra
 gùṅgūm_n kapok material
 gūr_a´ ger gūrím 1v guard, watch for
 gū'ul´ v put on guard
 gù'ulìm 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

hālì fm even, until (Berber)

I

ìā v seek
 ìāṅ'as´ v leap
 ìāṅk´ ipfv/ag ìāṅ'ad_a´ v leap, fly
 ìgī_{ya}´ ger ìk_a´/ìgīr´ 1v kneel
 ìgīl´ v make kneel
 ìgìn v kneel down
 ìlì ìlìlá ìlì- horn
 ìsīr ìsā ìs- scar
 ìsìg v get up early

K

kà *cl linker* and, that
 kā v bail water
 kā´ (before complements) see kā'ē
 kāab´ v offer, invite
 kāal´ v count
 kāas´ v cry out, weep; (cock) crow
 kà'asìg 1v not exist (*cl-final* only)
 kābīg´ v ladle out (liquid)
 kābīr´ ger kābūrì v call for admission
 kàd v drive away; kàd sàríyà v judge
 kā'ē ger kā'alím 1v not exist/be/have
 kālì´ kālá kāl- number
 kàlìgā´ q few
 kām_a q every
 kàn *pn* this, that
 kàṅb ger kàṅbīr v scorch
 kàṅdōg_v *adj* fat, tough (person)
 kàṅā´ *pn* this, that
 kàr_a 1v be few
 kárìfà B3 *kerefa* (Ha *karfèe*) in telling
 time: kárìfà àtán' three o'clock
 kàrìm v read
 kàsēt_a´ witness; testimony (French via
 Mooré); kàsētìb_a witnesses
 kē ipfv kēt_a´ imp kèl_a v let, cause to
 kèkè kèkè-nàm_a kèkè- bicycle (Ha)
 kèes v say farewell to
 kèlìg/kèlìs v listen
 kēṅ ipfv kēn_a´ imp kēm_a ger kēn_n´ v
 come; kēn kēn welcome!
 kēṅ´ ipfv kēn_{na}´ imp kēm_a v go; walk;
 ag kēn_{na}´ 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-Kīdìgī Bū'əs Orion
 kī'tb_v´ soap; WK kīibú kīib- (Mampruli)
 kīṅf_v kīinì millet seed
 kìs v listen

- kī'is' v deny
 kīkām_n kīkāmà fig
 kī(η)kàŋ_a kīkāmīs kīkàŋ- fig tree,
Ficus capensis
 kīkīrīg_a 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 B3 (B1/2 kīkīr-bê'ed)
 kīlīm' v become, change into
 kīm v tend flock/herd
 kīmm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly
 kīr ger kīkīrùg_v/kīrīb_v v hurry, tremble
 kīs_a' ger kīsùg_v *ag* kīs(īd)_a' 1v hate
 kīsùg_v *adj* hateful, tabu
 kò v get broken, break (intr)
 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_a kòlīs kòl- river;
 kòlīgī=n nò-dāug_v crayfish
 kòlùg_v kòn_n kòlùg- sack, bag
 kò'm' kòm- hunger
 kòŋ'(ɔkɔ) *post* by oneself
 kòŋbīr kòŋbā kòŋb- bone
 kòŋbūg_v kòŋbīd kòŋb- animal hair;
 human body hair, cf *zūəbūg_v*; kòŋb-
 kīm_{na} -kīmmīb_a shepherd/herder
 kòŋs/kòŋsīm v cough
 kò'og v break
 kò'os v break several times
 kòt' v cut throats (of several animals)
 kòtā_n *fm* at all
 kòtò lawcourt (En)
 kpà' v nail, fasten
 kpà'a kpà'a-nām_a rich person
 kpāad_a' kpāadīb_a kpāad- farmer
 kpà'am riches
 kpāam' kpā- grease, ointment
 kpàkūr' kpàkūyá kpàkūr- tortoise
 kpān_n kpānā kpān- spear
 kpāndīr kpāndà kpānd- baboon
 kpār v lock
 kpār-kēoŋg_v -kēeŋd -kēŋ- rag
 kpá'uŋ_v kpī'iní kpā'- guinea fowl
 kpē *pn* here
 kpēeŋm kpēeŋm-nām_a kpēeŋm- elder
 kpēeŋm_a' 1v be older than
 kpēlá *pn* here
 kpēlīm *subverb* still; immediately after
 kpēlīm v remain
 kpēn *subverb* = kpēlīm
 kpēŋ' v enter
 kpēndīr' kpēndá kpēnd- cheek
 kpēŋ'es v make enter
 kpē'ŋ v strengthen
 kpēoŋŋ_v seniority
 kpì v die
 kpì'a kpì'əs kpìà'- neighbour
 kpìà' lf kpì'a v shape wood with axe
 kpì'e v approach
 kpī'əm_a' 1v be strong, hard
 kpìubìg_a 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_{na}' kpīkpīnīb_a kpīkpīn-
 merchant
 kpī'oŋ_v kpī'əmā kpì'oŋ- *adj* strong, hard
 kpìsìŋkpìlì kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlì
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpòkpàrìg_a kpòkpàrìs kpòkpàr- palm
 tree, *Borassus akeassii*
 kpòkpàrūŋ_v kpòkpàmà kpòkpàrūŋ- 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_a 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 kōlīm *qv*

kūdūg_v/kūdīr kūdā/kūt kùd- *adj* old

kūdūg_v kūt kūt- (pl used as sg) iron, nail;

sg only found in personal names

kù'əm kùà'- water; kùà'-nūud' thirst;

kùà'-ŋwīig_a' current

kùəs *v* sell

kūgūr' kūgá kūg- stone

kūk_a kūgūs kùg- chair

kùk_a ghost

kūk_a' mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*

kùkòm_n kùkòmà kùkòm- leper

kùkōr' kùkōyá kùkō(r)- voice

kùkparìg_a see kpurìg_a

kùkūr' kùkōyá kùkūr- pig

kūl ger kūlīg_a' *v* return home; marry

(woman as subject)

kōlīm *tense-slot ajn* always

kùlìŋ_a kùlì(mì)s kùlìŋ- door

kùm *v* weep

kūm kùm- death; kùm-v'ūgír

resurrection KB

kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndyà'-

barren woman

kùndùŋ_a kùndùmìs/kùndùnà hyena

kūb *cl ajn* or; ends questions

expecting agreement (Ha *koo*)

kūug_{a/v}' kūus' kū- mouse

kùl *v* get drunk

kūbs' *v* settle (legal judgment)

L

lā' *article* the

là' *v* laugh

lā'af_v līgīdī līg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;

là'-bīəlíf_v small coin

lāafiyà/lāafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)

là'am *v* associate with; *subverb* together

là'as *v* gather together (tr);

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_a' *1v* be wide

lābīsīg_a/lābīsír lābīsá lābīs- *adj* wide;

lābīsím width

lāk' *v* open (eye, book)

lālī_a' *1v* be distant

lālīg' *v* get to be far, make far

lālílí far off

lālīŋ_a lālís lālīŋ- *adj* distant

lālīg_v lālálá lāl- *adj* distant

lām_n' lāmá lām- gum of tooth;

lām-fōog_v -fōod *adj* toothless

làmpō' làmpō- tax (French *l'impôt*)

lān_n lānā làn- testicle

lànnìg_a lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

lā'ŋ' *v* set alight

làŋgáŋ_v làŋgáam_n/làŋgāamà làŋgāŋ-

crab

lāŋím *v* wander around searching

lāuk_v lā'ad là'- item of goods

là'ŋ_v là'amà fishing net

lèb ger lēbīg_a *v* return (intr)

lèbìg *v* turn over; return

lèbìs *v* answer; send back; divorce (wife)

lèε *tense-slot ajn* but

lèm *subverb* again

lèm ipfv lèmmìd_a *v* sip, taste

lēr *v* get ugly

lì *pn* it, its; =l_i it
 lì ipfv līt_a imp līm_a ger liig_a v fall
 lī v block up
 liā *as in* X liā? where is X?
 līdìg v turn a shirt WK
 līdìg v astonish, be amazed
 liəb v become
 lì'əl v approach
 lí'əm_n lí'əmá fruit of yellow plum tree
 líəŋ_a líəmís líəŋ- axe
 lí'əŋ_a lí'əmís yellow plum tree,
Ximenia americana
 lìg v patch
 lìgìl v cover
 lìgìn v cover oneself
 lībīr lībā līb- twin
 līk_a lìgīs darkness
 lìlāalīŋ_a lìlāalí(mì)s lìlāalīŋ- swallow
 lín *pn* it + =n; līn it (free)
 lìn *pn* that; líná *pn* that
 lō v tie
 lōb/lōbīg' v throw stones at
 lōbudīg_a lōbudís water-drawing vessel
 lōdīg_a lōdīs' lōd- corner;
 lōdīgí=n kúgòr cornerstone
 lōdīg' v untie
 lòk_v lò'ad lụà'- quiver for arrows
 lòmbòŋ'og_v lòmbòŋ'od lòmbòŋ'- garden
 (Ha làmbuu)
 lòŋ_a lòmīs lòŋ- k/o frog
 lò'ŋ' v go across river, road
 lór lóyà/lóom_{ma} lór- car, lorry
 lòs v dip, immerse in liquid
 lù ipfv lūt_a imp lùm_a v fall
 lūb ger lūbīr' v buck, kick, struggle,
 throw off rider
 lūg v swim
 lūgūr organ, member

M

m̀ *pn* I, my; =m_a me
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám_a *sic*
 mother's sisters/co-wives; mà-bīig_a
 sibling with same mother; mà-bīl_a
 mother's younger sister/junior co-
 wife; mà-kpēɛŋm mother's elder
 sister/senior co-wife; mà-pīt_a'
 mother's younger sister
 mà' v lie, deceive
 mà'aa lf mà'anì *fm* only
 màal v make, sacrifice; màal-māan_{na}
 servant who conducts the slaying for a
 t̀əŋ-dāan_a; priest B1/2 (B3 *maanmaan*)
 mā'al' v make cool, wet
 māan_n māanā màan- sacrifice
 má'an_n mā'aná mā'an- okra
 mā'as_a' 1v be cool, wet
 mā'asíg_a/mā'asír mā'asá mā'as- *adj*
 cool, wet; mā'asígā' coolly; mā'asím
 coolness, wetness
 mādīg' v overflow, abound
 mā'e' v cool down
 màk v crumple up
 māk' v measure, judge
 màlīāk_a' màlīāk-nám_a/màlīā'as' màlīā'-
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)
 màlīf_v màlì gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)
 màlīgìm *subverb* again
 mālīs_a' 1v be sweet, pleasant
 mālīsíg_a/mālīsír/mālīsīŋ_a mālīsá/mālīsís
 mālīs- *adj* sweet, pleasant; mālīsím
 sweetness
 mālōŋ_v mālīmā màlòŋ- custom; sacrifice
 mām *pn* I, me
 mán *pn* I + =n; mān lf mánì I, me (free)
 màŋgávŋ_v = làŋgávŋ_v
 màuk_v mà'ad *adj* crumpled up
 mè v build
 mè mèn *fm* too, also; mè-kàmà -soever
 mēd v mash up

mèɛŋ_a mèɛmìs mèɛŋ- turtle
 mèlɪgìm dew
 mēŋ_a´ *pn* self
 mēŋír *adj* genuine
 mēt´ mēt- pus
 mī´ ger mī´ilím *1v* know
 mīe *v* squeeze (?)
 míif_v mīiní okra seed
 mī'ig *v* become sour
 mī'is_a *1v* be sour
 mī'isùg_v mī'isà mī'is- *adj* sour
 mīlīg´ *v* get dirty
 mīmīilím/mīmīilóg_v sweetness
 mīt *1v imp-only*: beware; do not let
 mō *v* strive, struggle
 mōd *v* swell
 mōdīg´ *v* be patient, endure
 mòlìf_v mòlì mòl- gazelle
 mōn *v* grind millet to make sà'ab_v
 mōŋ´ *v* refuse to lend
 mōog_v mōod mò- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; mò-pīlḡ grass thatch
 mōol´ *v* proclaim; *ag* mōol-mōon_{na}
 mōr_a´ ger mōrím *1v* have; mōr nā bring
 mṽà' *v* suck (of a baby)
 mṽàk_a 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
 mùḡ mùḡ- rice
 mùl *v* itch
 mùm *v* bury

N

n cl catenater
 =n *cl* nominaliser
 =n *discontinuous-past ptc*
 =n *pn* you pl: see =ya
 =n/nī´ *locative ptc*
 nà *mood/polarity ptc* (irrealis)
 nā´ *VP-final ptc* hither

nā *v* join
 náa *ptc* reply to blessings
 nà'ab_a nà'-nām_a nà'- chief, king;
 nà'-bīig_a prince/princess; nà'-yīr´
 palace; nà'-yī-kpém_{ma} courtiers
 náaf_v nīigí nā'- cow; nā'-dāug_v ox;
 nā'-lór place to tie cows up WK
 nām *v* happen
 nā'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom
 nāan next, afterwards (see nṽāan)
 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_n´ pigeon
 nāe´ *v* finish
 nām *tense-slot ajn* still, yet
 nām_a *pluraliser*
 nāmīs´ *v* persecute, suffer
 nān *v* love, respect, appreciate
 nà'-nēsīnnēog_v´ centipede WK
 nānná(-nā´) *pn* now
 nānzō'us´ pepper (? tones)
 nāŋ_a nāmīs nāŋ- scorpion
 nār_a´ ger nārím *1v* need, deserve
 nārúg_v nārú má nārōŋ- *adj* necessary
 nāyīig_a nāyīig-nām_a/nāyīs thief;
 nāyīigīm thievery
 nà'-zòm_n locust
 nē *preposition* with; linking NPs: and
 nē´ *focus ptc*
 nē´ *ptc* after complements of wōv/wēn_{na}´
 lacking lā´
 nē' *pn* this
 nēel *v* reveal
 nēem for free
 nēem´ *v* grind with a millstone
 nēer´ millstone
 nēes *v* reveal; nēesim light
 nēiya *1v* be awake
 nēm-nēer -néyà grinder

nēn_{na}´ ger nēnním 1v envy; ag nīn-nén_{na}
nē'ēṅā pn this

nèog_v/nèer nèed/nèyà nè- adj empty

nēsīnnēog_v´ nēsīnnēed´ nēsīnné-

envious person WK; others: centipede

ñfá! Well done!

nī´ locative ptc: see =n

nì v rain

nīd_a´ nīdīb_a´ nīn- person; nīn-sāal_a

human; nīn-pūnān_{na}´ -pūnānnīb_a

-pūnān- disrespectful person

nìe v appear, reveal; waken

nīf_v´ nīnī nīn-/nīf- eye; nīf-gbáṅṅ_v eyelid;

nīf-sób_a miser; nīn-dáa -dáas -dá- face;

nīn-gótìṅ_a mirror; nīn-gótìs spectacles;

nīn-kúgudìg_a -kúgudìs eyebrow; nīn-

tâ'am tear(s); nīn-múa concentration;

Ì nīnī mù'e nē ... I'm intent on ...;

nīn-báalìg_a pity; nīn-bâal-zōor pity;

Ò zòtō nīn-báalìg. He has pity on him.

nīṅ_a nīimís/nīis nīṅ- bird

nī'm_n´ nīmá nīm- meat

nīn-pôud pus

nīntāṅ_a´ nīntāans´ nīntāṅ- heat of the day

nīṅ_a nīis nīṅ- body; nīn-tōllím fever;

nīn-tāa -tāas -tà- co-wife; husband's

brother's wife; nīn-gbīṅ_v´ -gbīná -gbīṅ

body (pl often as sg); nīn-gòor neck

nīṅ v do

n lā as in X n lā that is X

n ṅwà as in X n ṅwà (nā) this is X

nō v tread

nōb v get fat

nōbīg´ v grow (e.g. child, plant)

nóbìr nóbá nōb- leg, foot; nōb-bíl_a toe;

nōb-ín'a toenail; nōb-púmpàṅṅ_v foot

nōk´ v pick up, take up

nòṅ imp nòṅìm_a ag nòṅìd_a sic 1v love

nōṅ_v´ nōṅ- poverty; nōṅ-dâan_a pauper

nòṅìlím love

nōo fm exactly, just

nōor´ nōyá nō- mouth; command; nō-

dî'ēs_a chief's spokesman ("linguist"),

Twì okyeame; Wínà'am nō-dî'ēs_a

prophet KB; nō-lōor fasting; nō-nâar

covenant; nō-pôor oath; nō-gbáṅṅ_v lip

nōor´/nōorím times (after numbers)

nū v drink

nūa´ nōos´ nō- hen; nō-dâug_v cock;

nō-nyâ'aṅ_a hen; Nō-nyâ'aṅ-né-ò-Bīis

Pleiades

nūlīg´/nūlīs´ v make drink

nū'ug_v nū'us nū'- hand, arm; nū'-bíl_a

finger; nū'-dâug_v thumb; nū'-ín'a -êṅ'es-

-éṅ'- fingernail; nū'-wêṅ'ed_a mediator

ṅwà deictic this

ṅwā' v smash, break up

ṅwāaṅ_a ṅwāamīs ṅwāaṅ- monkey

ṅwādìg_a´ ṅwādīs´ ṅwād- moon, month;

ṅwād-bíl_a star; ṅwād-dár Venus

ṅwà'e v cut wood

ṅwā'e´ v strike, break

ṅwām_n/ṅwān_n ṅwāmā/ṅwānā

ṅwām-/ṅwān- calabash

ṅwè' v beat; ṅwè' X nū'ug plead with X;

ṅwè' nyō'og boast

ṅwīig_a´ ṅwīis´ ṅwī- rope

ṅwīig´ v make a rope

nyā'al´ v leave behind

nyāan tense-slot ajn next

nyā'aṅ_a nyā'as/nyā'amīs nyā'aṅ- adj

female (animal)

nyā'aṅ_a post behind; east;

nyā'an-dòl_{la}/-dòl_l -dòllà/-dòllìb_a -dòl-

disciple KB (tones sic)

nyā'ar nyā'a nyà'- root

nyāe_n´ ideo brightly, clearly

nyālúṅ_v nyālímá nyālōṅ- adj wonderful

nyàn_n shame

nyāṅ´ v overcome; succeed in

nyàṅ_v nyà'ad adj single (eye)

nyē ipfv nyēt_a´ imp nyēm_a v see, find;
 nyē láafiyà get well
 nyēε, nyēε tí tense-slot ajn habitually
 nyē'ēr´ nyēdá nyē'- next-younger sibling
 nyēs_a 1v be confident; nyēsìm
 confidence
 nyēsíη_a nyēsís nyēsíη- adj confident;
 nyēsíηā´ confidently
 nyīn_n´ nyīná nyīn- tooth
 nyīríf_v nyīrí egusi, seed of
Colocynthis citrullus
 nyōod intestines
 nyō'og_v´ chest
 nyōog_v sympathy: Ò zòtō nyōog.
 She sympathises with him.
 nyōor nyōyā nyō- nose, breath;
 nyō-vūr´ -vōyá -vūr- life
 nyō'os´ smoke
 nyū'e´ v set alight
 nyūur´ nyūyá nyū- yam

O

ò pn he, she, his, her; =_o him, her
 ón pn he, she + =_n; òn he, she (free)
 òn pn this, that (animate sg)
 òηb ger òηbīr v chew
 òηā´ pn this, that (animate sg)

P

pà' tense ptc earlier today
 pà'al v teach, inform; ag pā'an_{na}
 pā'annīb_a pà'an- teacher
 pà'al v put on top of
 pāalíg_a/pāal_l pāalís/pāalá pāal-
 adj new
 pāalím recently
 pāalú open space
 pāanlún_v pāanlímìs spiderweb
 pàam v receive a gift
 pàas v add up to, amount to
 pāe´ v arrive; reach

pàk v surprise
 pàk v take off from on top of
 pāmm lf pāmní q much, a lot
 pàη'alìm v dedicate
 pàηsìg v lack
 pàη_a pàaηs pàη- power
 pà' tí tense-slot ajn perhaps
 pèbìs v blow (wind); pèbìsìm/pèbìsòg_v
 wind
 pè'el v fill
 pè'es v add up to, amount to
 pèlìg v whiten, go white
 pèlìs v sharpen
 pèn_n vagina
 pē'η´ v borrow; knock over WK
 pèog_v pèed pè- basket
 pē'og_v´ pē'es´ pē'- sheep; pē'-sá'a ewe
 lamb
 pēsīg´ v sacrifice
 pīā v dig up
 pīāη' v speak, praise; ger pīāηk_v pīāη'ad
 pīāη'- word, (pl) language; pīāη'-zònà
 foreign language
 pìbìg v uncover
 pìbìl v cover up
 pībīn_n pībīnā pìbìn- cover, lid
 pìd v put on (hat, shoes, rings), with
 clothing item as object; with indirect
 object, put (hat etc) on someone
 pīd v get bloated
 pìdìg v take off (hat, shoes, rings)
 pīe´ v wash (own body)
 pìəb v blow (e.g. flute)
 pìèlìg_a/pìèl_l pìèlà/pìèlìs pìèl- adj white
 (cf zìη'a); pìèlìm whiteness
 pìəs v fool someone
 pīəs´ v wash
 pīigā q ten
 pīim´ pīmá pīm- arrow
 pīūf_v pīūn_l pīūn- genet
 pīinī pīin- gift

pìl *v* cover
 pìlìg *v* uncover
 pīñ'il' *v* begin
 pīpīrīg_a pīpīrīs' pīpír- desert
 pīsí *q* twenty
 pītú pītíb_a 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_a ger pònrīb_v 1 *v* be near
 pònrùg_v pònrà *adj* near
 pòod_a 1 *v* be few, small
 pòodìg_a/pòodìr pòodà pòod- *adj* few,
 small; pòodìm fewness
 pōōg_v pōōd'/pōt' pō- field, farm
 pò'og *v* diminish, belittle
 pōōr' clan "slogan", part of its genealogy
 WK; from pō, cf Farefare *pōre*
 "family name, name one swears by")
 pū *mood/polarity ptc* not (indicative)
 pū *v* divide
 pūā' pū'ab_a pūà'- woman, wife; pūà'-ēlìñ_a
 fiancée; pūà'-gīnnìg_a/gōōndìr
 prostitute; pūà'-nyá'añ_a -nyá'as old
 woman; pūà'-pāal_a' bride; pūà'-sādīr'
 nulliparous young woman; pūà'-
 sāñ'am_{na} adulterer; pūà'-yua daughter
 pūāk_a 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_a pùgùd-nàm_a pùgùd- father's
 sister
 pùkòōnr pùkònyà pùkòñ- widow
 pùkpāad_a' pùkpāadíb_a pùkpá- *sic* farmer
 pùlumà a grass, *Imperata cylindrica*

pùmpōōg_v housefly
 pùn *subverb* previously, already
 pūñ'e' *v* rot
 pūsīg_a' pūsīs' pūs- tamarind
 pūsīr' pūsá tamarind fruit
 pū-súk_a pū-súgùs half
 pūt' contents of stomach
 pūum' pūum- flowers
 pūōg_a pù- belly; Ò mòr pūōg She is
 pregnant; pūōgū=n' *post* inside;
 pù-pièlìm holiness; pù-tèñ'er -tèñdà
 -tèñ'- mind
 pūōr' stomach
 pù'us *v* greet, worship, thank; ger
 pù'usìm worship; ger pù'usùg_v thanks

S

sà *tense ptc* yesterday
 sà *VP-final ptc* hence, ago
 sā' *v* be in distress
 sàa *tense ptc* tomorrow
 sāa sāas sà- rain, sky; as subject of
 ÿāñk': lightning; sāa díndēog_v'
 rainbow; sāa zúg_v sky
 sā'ab_v sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 sāafī lock, key (Twi *safē*)
 sàal_a sàalìb_a sàal- human; sàal-bīig_a
 human being
 sàalìñā' smoothly
 sàam_{ma} sàam-nàm_a sàam- father; sàam-
 kpēēñm father's elder brother; sàam-
 pīt_a' -pītíb_a -pīt- father's younger
 brother
 sām' *v* mash, crumble
 sā'an' *post* in the presence/opinion of
 sāan_a' sām_{ma} sāan- guest, stranger
 sáannìm strangerhood
 sàbēog_v sàbēed sàbè- wind, storm
 sābulìg_a/sābílì sābulís/sābílá sābīl- *adj*
 black (cf zìñ'a)
 sàbùà sàbùəs sàbùà- lover, girlfriend

- sādīgīm *tense-slot ajn* since, because
 sāḡḡ(ya) sāḡḡ_a sàḡ- blacksmith
 sākáròḡ_v sākárìd sākár- fox
 sàlìbìr bridle
 sālímā sàlìm- gold
 sām_n´ sāmá sām- debt; sām-kpâ'as_a
 household servant
 sāmán_n sāmánà sāmán- open space in
 front of a zāk_a; Sāmán-píór traditional
 New Year ceremony
 sàḡ'am v get/make spoiled, broken
 sāḡá sānsá sān- time; sān-kán pn then;
 when? sān-sí'ə=n lā *cl ajn* at one time
 sàḡ-gbàḡḡ_v cloud, sky
 sāḡḡóḡḡḡ sāḡḡóḡḡḡ sāḡḡóḡ- millipede
 sāpálì Harmattan part of úḡḡ_n
 sāpī If sāpī/sāpīnì *ideo* straight
 sārḡá prison (Ha *sarkàa* "chain")
 sàrìyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàrìyà-kāt_a judge
 sāvḡ_v´ sād´ sā- broom, brush
 sàḡk_v sà'ad dust mote
 sávḡ_v hospitality
 sè ipfv sèḡḡ_a v transplant
 sēḡḡ_v rainy season
 sè v skin, flay
 sī'a pn sg some, any
 sīa sīəs sīà- waist; sīà-lōḡḡḡ_a belt;
 sīà-nīf_v´ kidney
 sīā'al´ v get to be enough
 sīà'ar sīà'a sīà'- forest WK; wilderness
 sīāk v agree (Mooré *sàke*, Buli *siagi*); Ò
 pū sīákì fù nōḡḡ. He hasn't obeyed you.
 sīāk´ v suffice (Mooré *sékè*, Buli *chagi*)
 sībḡ_a´ sībí sīb- k/o termite
 sīd_a sīdīb_a sīd- husband; sīd-bīl_a
 husband's younger brother;
 sīd-kpēḡḡḡḡḡ husband's elder brother;
 sīd-puāk_a husband's sister
 sīd *tense-slot ajn* truly
 sīdà sīd- truth
 sīe´ v descend, be humbled
 sīēbā pn some, any; sī'əl_a something,
 anything; sī'əm somehow, anyhow
 sīg v descend
 sīgīr´ guardian spirit
 sīgīs´ v lower
 sīgīsír sīgīsá stopping-place
 sīḡ_a sīs sī- vital energy, a person's
 kīkīrīs´; spirit KB; Sī-sùḡ_v Holy Spirit
 (Buli *chíik*)
 sīḡ_a sīs African birch, *Anogeissus*
leiocarpa (Buli *sīik*)
 sīlìḡḡ v cite proverbs
 sīlìḡḡ_a/sīlìḡḡ_v sīlì(m)ḡ/sīlìḡḡ_a sīlìḡ-
 proverb
 sīḡḡ´ honey
 sīḡḡ_v´/sīḡḡ_a´ sīḡḡs´ sīḡ- bee
 sī'is´ v touch
 sīlīnsīḡ_v sīlīnsīis ghost
 sīlīnsīḡḡ_v sīlīnsīḡḡ spider
 sīlòḡ_v sīn_n/sīlìs sīl- hawk
 sīm v sink in a liquid
 sīn_{na}´ ger sīnīm 1 v be silent
 sīnsáḡ k/o tiny ant
 sīḡ_a sīḡs sīḡ- k/o very big pot
 sī'ḡ´ v begin
 sīsībìḡ_a sīsībìs sīsīb- neem tree,
Azadirachta indica
 sīsībìr sīsībà fruit of neem tree
 sīsì'əm wind, storm
 sīsùḡḡ=n´ *post* between (B3 *svugin*)
 sī'ḡḡ sī'imís sī'ḡḡ- k/o big dish
 sō' pn some(one), any(one)
 sōb_a dummy head pn
 sōb v darken; write
 sōbḡ´ v blacken
 sōbīr´ sōb- piece of writing
 sōḡḡ(ya) sōḡḡ_a sōḡ- witch
 sōḡḡ_a soldier (En)
 sōlḡ_v´ sōlímá story
 sōḡ v rub

sōñ'e_{ya}' 1v be better than; *ag* sōñ'od_a'
 sōñ'ob_a' sōñ'od-
 sōnnīr sōnnā sòn- yard-dividing wall
 sōñs ger sōñsìg_a v converse, talk with
 sōwōg_v witchcraft
 sōwōr sōnyā sòn- liver
 sòs ger sòsìg_a v ask; *ag* sòs_a beggar
 sù v take a bath
 sūā' v do secretly, hide
 sūāk_a' hiding place
 sū'e_{ya}' 1v own; ger sū'ulím property,
 realm
 sūen' v anoint
 sū'əñ_a sū'əmís sū'əñ- hare
 sūər' sūāyá sūā- road; permission
 sū'əs_a yesterday
 sū'əs v trick
 sūgūr' ger sūgurú v show forbearance
 sù'm goodness; well
 sùm_{ma} 1v be good
 sūmmīr sūmmā sùm- groundnut
 sùn_n ger sùnnìr/sùnnòg_v v bow one's
 head; *ag* sūn_{na} close observer WK
 sūñ'e' v become better than
 sūñf_v'/sūuñr' sūnyá sūñ- heart; sūñ-
 búgusìm peace; sūñ-kpí'òñ_v boldness;
 sūñ-málsìm/-má'asìm -máls- joy;
 m sūñf má'e yā I'm joyful; sūñ-pêen_n
 anger; m sūñf pèlìg nē I'm angry;
 sūñ-sân'òñ_v sorrow; m sūñf sâñ'am nē
 I'm sad.
 sùñ v help
 sùñ_v sùmà sùñ- *adj* good; sù'ñā' well;
 very much
 sùr_a 1v have one's head bowed
 sùsòm_n grasshopper
 Sūtáanà Satan
 sūvg' v wither (leaves) WK
 sù'ug_{a/v} sù'us sù'- knife

T

-tāa -tāas *after deverbial noun* fellow-
 tāab(ā) *pn* each other
 tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal
 tàal_l tàalà tàal- fault, sin
 tá'am_n tā'amá shea nut
 tá'añ_a tā'amís tā'añ- shea tree
Butyrospermum parkii
 tā'as' v help someone to walk
 tàb v get stuck to
 tàbì_{ya} 1v be stuck to
 tàbìg v get unstuck from
 tàbìl v stick to (tr)
 tàdìg v weaken
 tàdīm tàdīm-nàm_a tàdīm- weakling
 tàdīmís weakness
 tàm ipfv tàmmìd_a v forget
 tàmpìñg_a rock
 tàmpūa tàmpōos tàmpò- housefly
 tàmpūr tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip
 tān_n tānā tàn- earth; tàn-mēed_a builder
 tāñ_v war; tànñ-sōb_a warrior
 tànñs ger tànñsòg_v v shout;
 Wìnnìg tànñsìd nē. The sun is shining.
 tār_a' ger tārím 1v have
 tàsìntàl/tàtāl_l palm of hand
 tāñ' tāñp_a' tāñ-/tāñp- opposite-sex sib
 tèb ger tèbìg_a v carry in both hands
 tèbìg' v get heavy
 tèbìs_a' 1v be heavy
 tèbìsìg_a/tèbìsír tèbìsá tèbìs- *adj* heavy;
 tèbìsím heaviness
 téebùl téebùl-nàm_a table (En)
 tēeg' ipfv tēed_a' v drag, pull;
 tēeg X túbìr punish X
 tè'eg_a tè'es tè'- baobab, *Adansonia*
digitata
 tēk' v pull
 tèn_b ger tèn_bòg_v v tremble, struggle
 tèn'es v remind
 tēñ'es' v think; ger tēñ'esá thought

tènr_a ger tēnrīb_v 1v remember
 tēn_a tēns tēn- land; tēn-bīg_a native;
 tēn-dāan_a earth-priest; tēn-dū'adīg_a
 native land; tēn-gbàun_v land; tēn-
 pūbg_v -pūbd' -pū- village; tēn-zūn_v
 -zūns foreign land; tēn-sūk_a centre;
 tēnī=n' down; tēnír down; *post* under
 tēog_v tēed nest
 tē'og_v tē'ed baobab fruit
 tì *pn* we, our; =tì us
 tì *subverb* once
 tìà'al v come next
 tìàk v change
 tì'e v rely on
 tì'əb v get ready; (Ar *tībb* "medical art")
 heal; tī'əb_a healer
 tìen v remember; WK inform
 tìen v stretch out
 tìən_a tìəmìs tìən- beard; tìən-gūv chin
 tīg v have too much/many; ger tīgīr' glut
 tī'ya' ger tī'ib_v 1v lean (thing)
 tìg_a tìs tì- tree; tì-dāv_v -dāad -dà-
 bow for arrows
 tī'il' v lean something
 tìm tì- medicine; tì-kūbdīm poison;
 tì-sābīlīm a traditional remedy
 tì'in v begin to lean
 tīk' v press; tīk nū'ug sign
 tīlās necessity (Ha *tiilàs*)
 tìlīg v survive, be saved
 tīnām_a *pn* we, us (free); tīnāmì we + =n
 tīntōnrīg_a tīntōnrís tīntōnr- mole
 tìp_a tìp-nām_a tìp- healer
 tīrāan_a tīrāan-nām_a tīrāan- neighbour,
 peer; tīrāannīm neighbourliness
 tīrīgà *ideo* for gīg_a short
 tìs/tì= ipfv tìsìd_a/tìt_a *ag* tìs_a v give
 tītā'al_l proud person; tītā'alīm pride
 tītā'am multitude
 tītā'vg_v/tītā'ar tītādā tītā'- *adj* big
 tò OK (Ha *tôo*)

tòd v give to the poor, share
 tōya' 1v be bitter, difficult
 tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")
 tólìb *ideo*
 tōlīs' v do next, advance, carry on
 tólhìlì *ideo* for wōk_v' tall
 tòn v shoot
 tòn'os v hunt
 tōog_v tōod tō- *adj* bitter, difficult
 tōom' v depart, disappear
 tō'otō' straight away
 tūà v grind in a mortar; tūà-bīl_a pestle
 tūà' v speak, plead in court
 tū'al v condemn in court
 tū'as v talk; *ag* tū'as-tū'as_a
 tūbìr tūbà tūb- ear; tūb-kpìr half of jaw
 tūədìr tūədā tūəd- mortar
 tūen_n *post* in front; B3 *tuona* west;
 tūen-gāt_a leader
 tūl_a' 1v be hot
 tūlìg v invert
 tūlīg' v heat up
 tūm v work; ger tūm_n tūmā tūm-
 deed, (pl) work; *ag* tūm-tūm_{na}
 tūm ger tītūmīs v send
 tūn'e 1v control; be able
 tūsīr' thousand
 tūtūl_l upside-down thing
 tūvígā' hotly
 tūvúg_v tūvúá tūv- *adj* hot
 tū'vs' v meet

U

ùdòg_v ùt ùd- piece of chaff
 ùgōs' v bring up a child
 ùk v lift up; vomit
 ūk v bloat
 ùm v close eyes
 ūrīg' v scrape
 úun_n dry season
 ūvs' v get warm (of a person)

V

vābī_{ya}´ ger vāp_v´/vābīr´ 1v lie prone
 vābīl´ v make lie prone
 vābìn v lie prone
 vāe v gather up
 vāvng_v´ vāand´ vān- leaf
 vē´ v lead
 vē'eg´ v drag
 vēn_{na}/vēn_{la} 1v be beautiful
 vēnllīg_a/vēnllīg_a/vēnnīg_a/vēnnīr
 vēnllīs/vēnllīs/vēnllà/vēnnīs/vēnnà
 vēnl-/vēn- adj beautiful; vēnnīm beauty
 vī´ v uproot
 vīig´ v postpone, reschedule
 vīk´ v uproot
 vīug_v´ vīid´ vī- owl
 vōb´ v thrash
 vū ger vūug_v´ v make noise; vūud´ noise
 vūg_{ya}´ 1v be alive
 vūg_a vūəmīs red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vūer vūáa vūe- fruit of red kapok
 vūl v swallow
 vūlīnvūu_{nl} mason wasp
 vūm´ vūm- life
 vūr´ vūyá vūr- adj alive
 vūrīg´ v move over
 vū'ug´ v come, make alive
 vū'us´ ger vū'usīm v breathe, rest

W

wā´ v dance
 wāad´ cold weather
 wāaf_v wīgí wā'- snake
 wāal´ v sow seed
 wā'alīm length
 wā'am_a´ 1v be long, tall
 wābīg_a/wābīr wābīs/wābà wāb-
 lame person
 wābulīm v make, go lame
 wābūg_v´ wābīd´ wāb- elephant

wādá wād- (En "order") law
 wā'e_{ya} 1v be travelling
 wālig_a wāīs/wālí sic wāl- k/o gazelle
 wāngīm v waste away
 wāsīnwāl a parasitic gall on trees:
 local En "mistletoe"
 wāug_v wānà wāug- adj wasted, thin
 wēel´ v be left unsold
 wēl v bear fruit
 wēlī´ wēlá wēl- fruit
 wēlá/wālá pn how?
 nīg wēlá n/kà how can ..?
 wēn_{na}´ ger wēnnīm 1v be like
 wēnnīr adj resembling (tp A, WK)
 wēog_v deep bush
 wēog_v´ wēed´ cheap thing sold in
 abundance WK
 wjāk´ v hatch
 wīdīg v scatter
 wīef_v wīdī wīd- horse; wīd-lōr´ place to
 tie horses up WK; wīd-dāvog_v stallion;
 wīd-nyá'a_g mare
 wīd_a/wēed_a wīb_a wīd- hunter
 wīg_a´ whistle
 wīm disease ("worse than bān'as" WK)
 wīk ipfv wīid_a v fetch water
 wīl wīlà wīl- branch
 wīlīsūg_v wīlmīs wīlīsūg- k/o snail
 wīm *ideo* for zīn'a red
 wīn_n´ wīná wīn- spiritual essence; god;
 God; fate; wīn-tōog_v misfortune
 Wīnà'am God (WK Wīnnà'am)
 wīnnīg_a wīn- sun; wīn-līr/-kōng_r sunset
 wīug_v/wīir wīyà/wīid wī- adj red (cf zīn'a)
 wōk_v´/wā'ar´ wā'a/wā'ad´ wōk-/wā'-
 adj long, tall
 wōm ger wōm_m/wōmmōg_v v hear;
 smell; understand; Fū wóm Kūsáalē?
 Do you understand Kusaal?
 Ēēn, m wóm. Yes, I do.
 wōsā/wōv q all

wōv *preposition* like, resembling

wō'vǵ' v get wet

wō'vl' 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

yāa *pn* whither? yāa ní where?

yāab_a yāa-nām_a yāa- grandparent,
ancestor

yà'ab v mould clay

yā'ad yà'- clay

yà'al v hang up; make perch (bird)

yà'an v perch (bird)

yāa_a yāas yāa_a- grandchild, descendant

yāar' v scatter

yāarim yāar- salt

yà'as_a/yà'as again

yā'as' v open repeatedly

yà(d)ā trust (Ha yārda)

yādīg' v scatter; yāt_a' participant
in a housebuilding ritual

yā'e' v widen, open (mouth)

yāk v unhang, unhook

yālīm_a 1v be wide

yālīm' yālīm-nām_a worthless person

yālsú_v yālmís yālsú_v- quail

yàlò_v yàlmà yàlò_v- *adj* wide

yām_n yāmā yàm- hay

yām'/yā'am' WK yām- gall (bladder);
common sense

yāmmù_g_{a/v} yāmmìs yàm- slave

yānām_a *pn* you pl (free);

yānāmì you pl + =n

yāv_g_v yàad grave, tomb

yē *cl linker* that

yè v dress oneself

yèeg v undress oneself

yèel v dress someone

yēes' v betray a secret

yèl ipfv yèt_a ger yèlò_g_v v say, tell

yēl' yēlá yēl- (pl as *post*: about)

matter, affair; yēl-mé_v truth;

yēl-nárò_v necessity; yēl-pákìr

disaster; yēl-sóm_n blessing

yē_vím v oscillate (like waves)

yèog_v yèed bird's crop

yèog_v yèed weed, straggler,

person displaced from family

yéog q one (in counting)

yī ipfv yīt_a' imp yīm_a v go, come out

yìdìg v go astray

yīdīg' v untie

yìer jaw

yīgá q firstly; yīg-sób_a first person

yīs' ger yīsíb_v v make go/come out

yīmmír yīmmá yīm- *adj* unique, sole

yīmmú q straight away, at once

yīnní q one

yì_a outside

yīr' yā' yī- house; yī-dāan_a

householder; yī-sób_a yī-sób-nām_a

householder; yī-dím_a members of the

household; yī-sígìdìr lodging-house;

yín_n at home pl yāa=n

yīs v make go/come out

yī_vη_v' yīná *adj* single (of a pair)

yò v close

yō v pay; ger yōod' pay

yōlīs' v untie

yōlísím freedom

yōlō_v' yōn_n' yōl- sack; £100, 200 cedis

yò'og v open

yòor yòyà yò- soldier ant

yūà v bleed; fornicate WK

yū'adīr yū'adā rafter

yùbì_g_a yùbìs yùb- small bottle-like pot

yū'ər yūādā yù'ər- penis

yūgòdīr yūgòdā yùgòd- hedgehog

yōgúm_n yōgumá yōgūm- camel
 yùlìg v swing (tr)
 yùug v get to be a long time, delay
 yùul v swing (intr)
 yū'um' v sing; *ag* yūum-yū'um_{na}
 yú'um_n yū'umá yū'um-/yūum- song
 yūum_n yùmà yūum- year
 yū'un tense-slot *aj*n then, next
 yū'uh_v yū'umís yū'uh- night
 yū'ur' yūdà yū'- name
 yūur yūyā yū- water pot

Z

zā' zā- millet
 zāalíg_a/záal_l zāalís/zāalá zāal- *adj* empty;
 zāalím emptily
 zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsōbīr' evening
 zàṅ'an_n zàṅ'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zàaṅsìm v dream; ger zàaṅsú_v
 zàaṅsímà zàaṅsúṅ- dream
 zāaṅsím zāaṅs- soup
 zàb ger zàbīr v fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
 warrior; gbān-záb_a leather-worker
 zàbīl v cause to fight
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nōor' gate
 zàkìm v itch
 zàlìṅ_a zàlùmìs zàlìṅ- electric eel
 zàm ipfv zàmmìd_a v cheat; *ag* zàm-zām_{na}
 zàmìs v learn, teach
 zāṅ'a q every
 zàṅ'as v refuse
 zàṅbīl v tattoo, mark skin
 zāṅbīn_n zāṅbīnā zàṅbīn- tattoo; KB sign
 zāṅl_la' ger zāṅllím 1v have in hands
 zàṅl_l umbilicus
 zàṅ v pick up
 zàṅgùem_n zàṅgùemà zàṅgùem- wall
 zàṅkù'ar zàṅkù'a(dà) zàṅkùà'- hyena
 zēm_{ma}' ger zēmmú_v 1v be equal
 zēmīs' v make equal
 zēmmú_v zēmmá zēm- *adj* equal

zī ger zīid' v carry on head; *ag* zī-zīid_a
 zī' ger zī'ílím 1v not know
 zì'e_{ya} ger zī'a/zī'ēg_a 1v stand
 zì'el v make stand; zì'el nōor' promise
 zì'en v stand; Ò zì'en nē. She's pregnant.
 zīum' zī- blood
 zīṅ_a zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbāṅ'ad_a fisher
 zìlìm_n zìlùmà zìlìm- tongue
 zīlīnzīog_v *adj* unknown
 zīm *ideo* for sābílíg_a black
 zīnà today
 zìṅ'a/zèṅ'ug_v zèṅ'ed/zèṅ'es/zèṅdà zèṅ'-
adj red. Zèṅ'og_v/wìug_v cover all reddish
 shades, sābílíg_a all darker shades, and
 pìèlìg_a all lighter shades; but there are
 also standardised colour expressions
 like wōv támpōur nē "grey" ("like ash")
 zìṅ'iya 1v sit; ger zīṅ'ig_a zīṅ'is zìṅ- place
 zìṅ'il v make sit, seat
 zìṅ'in v sit down
 zīnzāy_v' zīnzānā zīnzáy_v- bat
 zīrī untruth
 zò ipfv zòt_a imp zòm_a v run; fear; ger
 zūa/zōog_v run; ger zòtìm fear; Ò zòtō
 nīn-baalìg. He has pity on him.
 zōl v castrate
 zōlímís foolishness
 zōlìg_v' zōn_n' zōl- fool
 zōm' zōm- flour
 zōom_n zōomā zòom- refugee, fugitive
 zōrīg_a' small child WK
 zōrīg_v' zōrá piece
 zū v steal
 zṅà zṅà-nàm_a zṅà- friend
 zù'e v get higher, more
 zùe v perch, get on top
 zūəbóg_v zūəbíd zūəb- (human head) hair
 zùəd friendship
 zùəl v make to perch
 zū'əm' zū'əmís zū'əm- blind person
 zū'əm' v go/make blind

zùə̀n v begin to perch

zūə̀r zṽāyā zṽà- hill

zùə̀s v befriend

zūg_v´ zūt´ zū(g)- head; *post* onto,

due to; zūgú=n *post* on; zūg-dâan_a

master; zūg-kūgūr -kūgā -kúg- pillow;

zūg-sób_a master (in B3 only "the Lord");

zū-péelòg_v -péelà *adj* bald; zū-píbìg_a hat

zùg v work bellows

zùlìg v deepen

zùlìm_a 1v be deep

zùlòg_v zùlìmà zùlòg- *adj* deep

zùlòg_v depth

zùnzòg_{a/v} zùnzòg_{ns} zùnzòg-

blind person

zūríf_v zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed

zó'uhf_v zó'uhí dawadawa seed

zùuṅg_v zùuṅs/zùuṅd zùṅ- vulture

zōvr zōyā zò- tail