

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

David Eddyshaw



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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. No instructional or descriptive materials were available, but with the benefit of some coaching from S (see page v), and with much exposure to the language at work, I eventually learnt to cope in the stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I discovered order and beauty underlying a surface which had 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 patient language consultants. With great reluctance, I have not named them, 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the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.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.

David Eddyshaw
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david.eddyshaw@btinternet.com

Abbreviations

C	consonant	cif	compound-initial form
ger	gerund	H	high tone
imp	imperative	intr	intransitive
ipf	imperfective	L	low tone
lf	long form	M	mid tone
m/c	main/content	NP	noun phrase
pf	perfective	pl	plural
sf	short form	sg	singular
tp	tone pattern	tr	transitive
V	vowel (VV = long vowel)	VP	verb phrase
X	circumflex tone	1s 2p ...	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc
1vb	one-aspect verb	2pS	2p subject after verb
2vb	two-aspect verb	3a 3i	3rd sg animate, inanimate

IMP IPF PL are capitalised in interlinear glosses.

Abbreviations only used in glossing are

CQ	content question	DEM	demonstrative
DP	discontinuous past	FOC	focus
IDF	indefinite	IR	irrealis
NG	negative	NZ	nominaliser
PQ	polar question	PZ	personaliser
TNS	tense	VOC	vocative
Ø	dummy head pronoun	+	catenator

DEM IDF Ø add lowercase a/i/p to mark animate/inanimate/plural: DEMa IDFP etc. Only 1s 2s are labelled as sg: other (pro)nominals are sg unless marked as pl or compound-initial. Some compounds and set phrases are glossed like single words. Perfective and indicative are unlabelled, and 1vbs are not marked for aspect. The symbol · follows long forms §4.1; whenever it is immediately followed by punctuation or a space, the next word is segmentally zero, but it is glossed below. This same symbol · (not =) is used to join enclitics to hosts.

The subscripts after citation forms are explained in §3.

Abbreviations for sources and language consultants are given on page v.

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: W from Koka, K from Tempane, D from Kukpariga, and S 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):

B 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.

- G1 *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.
- G2 *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.
- G3 *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.

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

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1 Introduction

1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

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 main local 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 the western **Tùɛn** "Toende" part of this region from eastern **Àgòl** "Agolle."

The land is mostly open savanna with scattered trees. Much former woodland is now turned over to farming; tracts survive especially along the White Volta, where settlements are few because of the river blindness 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:'zɛd/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zafi*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional beer, **dāam**, called "pito" (Hausa *fito*) in English.

Kusaasi belong to exogamous patrilineal clans (**dòɔd** "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 **pōɔr** "slogan" (part of its lineage), but clan names are not used as surnames. Clans have their own distinctive customs, such as prohibitions against eating particular animals. The Kusaasi originally had no chiefs; in religious matters the local leading man is the **tɛŋ-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. The 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, **Wīn** "God", is invoked in proverbs and greetings but is remote from everyday life. Proverbs say

Dīm nē Wīn, dā tō'as nē Wīnné. "Eat with God, don't talk with God."

eat.IMP with God NG.IMP talk with God·NG

Wīn nyé kà sīn.

"God sees and is silent."

God see and be.silent

Everyday religious practice is concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called **wīn**. A **wīn** resides in a **būgūr**, an object such as a stone or horn. A central figure is the **bā'a** "diviner", who seeks guidance for a client by casting lots.

A human being consists of **nìn-gbīŋ** "body", **nyò-vūr** "life", **wīn** (here "spiritual individuality") and **kìkīrīs**, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three **kìkīrīs**, women four, because of the dangers of childbirth (throughout the cultural zone, three is the man's number, four the woman's.) There are wild **kìkīrīs** in the bush which try to lead travellers astray; their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers (W.) **Sīug** "life force" is identified with a person's tutelary **kìkīrīs**; **sōōb** "witches" cause harm by stealing it.

The key term **wīn** has yet further senses, overlapping with the European concept of destiny: **wīn-tōog**, literally "having bitter **wīn**" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular **sīgīr** "guardian spirit" which is often the **wīn** of an ancestor; the word **būgūr** may also mean "a **sīgīr** inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's **sīgīr**.

In 1995 there were about 250,000 Kusaal speakers; the number has since increased substantially. Kusaal is used for all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and also serves as an areal lingua franca for the many local Bisa people.

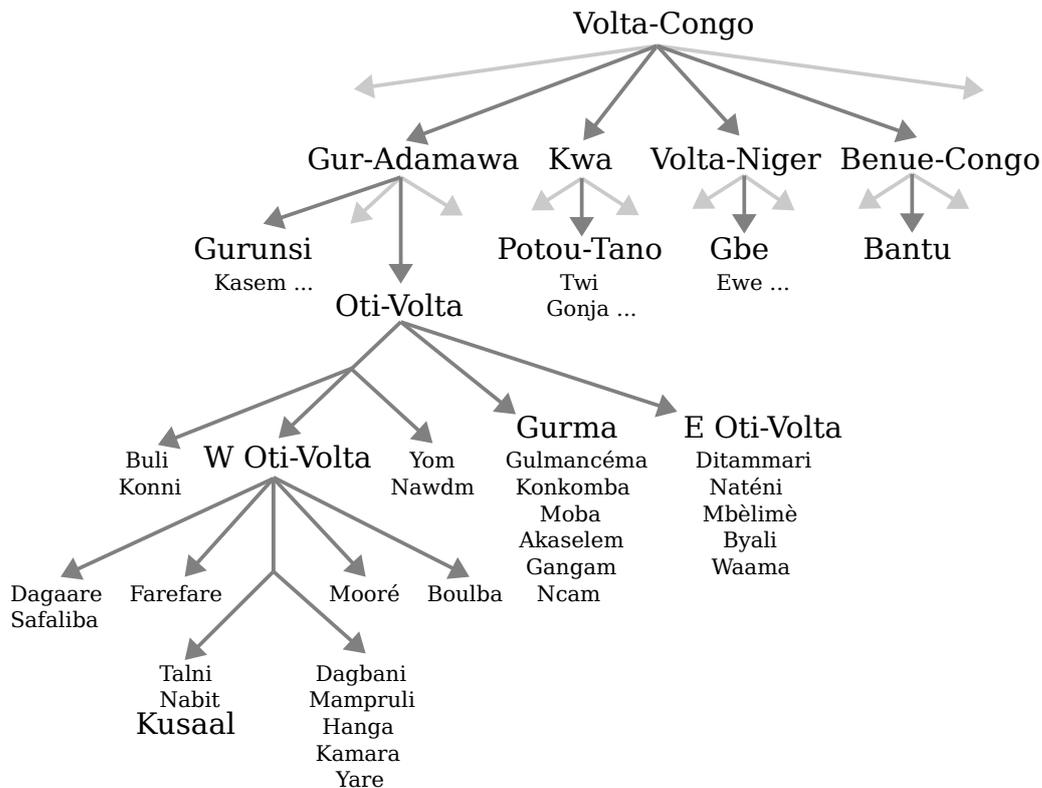
There is a sharp dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably due to depopulation near the White Volta from river blindness. My consultants understood Toende speakers quite well, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; moreover, Agolle speakers may find Toende Kusaal easier than *vice versa*. Berthelette reports that Ghanaian Toende speakers understand Agolle Kusaal significantly better than Burkina Faso Toende speakers do, presumably reflecting greater exposure. He gives the proportion of apparent lexical cognates between the dialects as 84%.

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 loanwords in Kusaal. In the 1990's few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. About 10% of patients then attending our clinics in Bawku could speak English well enough for 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 branch of the Oti-Volta language family.

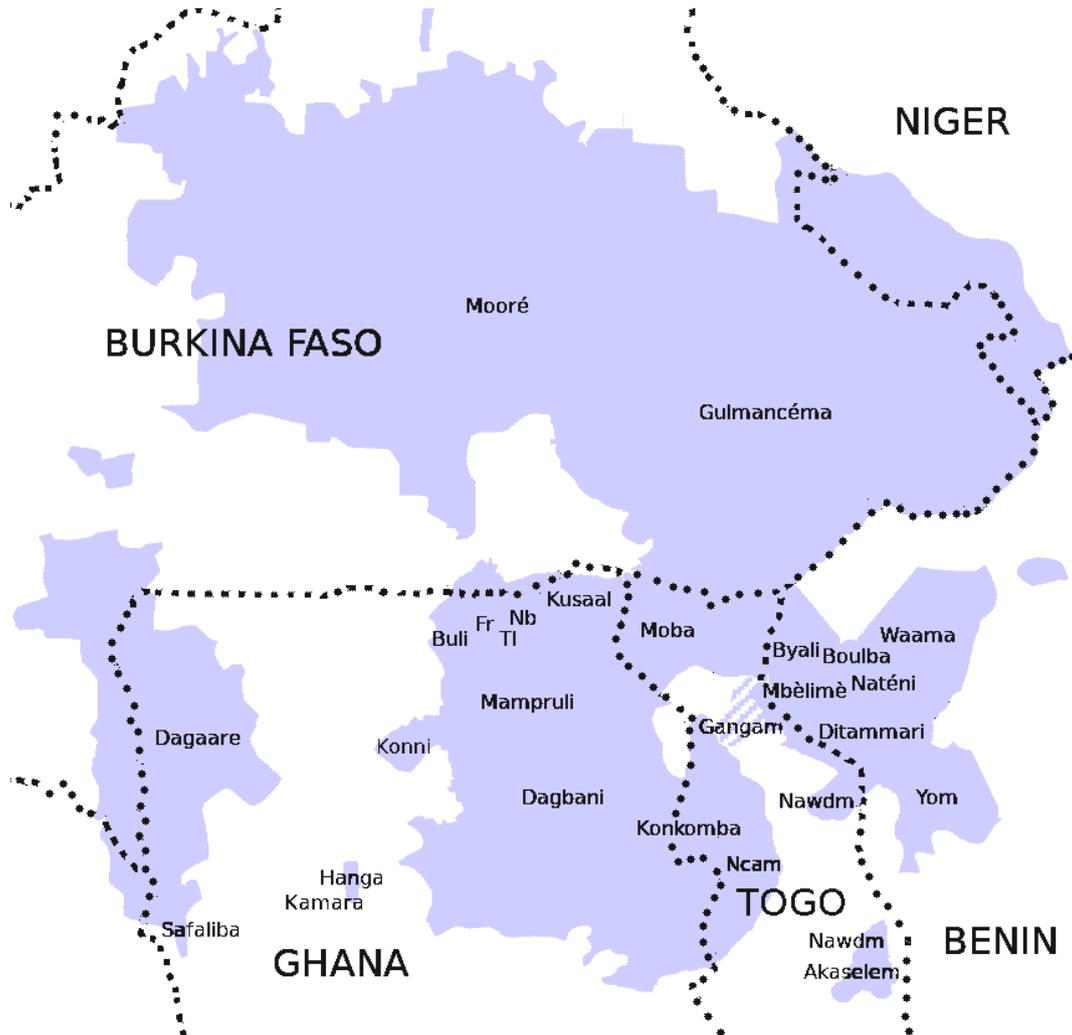


Western Oti-Volta is about as diverse as Romance. Most languages have lost noun-class-based grammatical gender. Verbs inflect with *-e* for pf, *-da/de* for ipf; some languages preserve an imperative *-ma*. There is a small conjugation of ipf-only verbs in *-ya*, expressing stances, relationships and qualities.

Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta lexically. Buli verbs are uninflected, and several noun classes have merged. Yom is also fairly close lexically. Yom/Nawdm verb flexion has parallels with Western Oti-Volta: Yom root-stem verbs form imperatives in *-ma*, and Nawdm has stative forms in *-da* and *-ra* related to the Western Oti-Volta ipfs in *-da* and *-ya*. Nawdm also has traces of the ipf *-u* seen in Eastern Oti-Volta.

Gurma and Eastern Oti-Volta are more distantly related. Gurma verb flexion involves many different suffixes and tone changes, which are only partly predictable. Eastern Oti-Volta is very diverse; Waama may be a separate branch of Oti-Volta.

The Oti-Volta languages



Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni

Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

1.3 Grammatical sketch

Symbols have IPA values, but double letters are used for long vowels, *e* *ɪ* both represent [ɪ], *o* *ɔ* both [ɔ], ⁿ 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/ɔ* (*a/ɛ/ɔ* before prosodic enclitics, see below.) No consonant clusters occur word-initially or finally except final *mm*. Nominal prefixes often end in nasals, e.g. *dìndēog* "chameleon"; the only other word-internal clusters are *kk tt pp ŋj* (written *k t p ŋ*) *nn mm ll mn*, with all other CC inserting epenthetic *ɪ* or *ɔ*.

The tone system derives from a two-tone terracing type: original H has become mid (M), with a new H arising from HL on a single mora, and a circumflex (X) tone from HLL on a single syllable. Tone sandhi often changes word-initial L to H.

Apocope §3 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.

3i be FOC lion

"It's a lion."

Lì kā' gbīgīmñē.

3i NG.be lion·NG

"It's not a lion."

The appearance of lfs is here triggered by "prosodic enclitics", which lack any segmental form, but show their presence by this effect on preceding words. The symbol · is written after lfs (separated from the lf, unless the next word is an enclitic.) Whenever · is followed by a space or punctuation mark, this shows that the word which induced the preceding lf has no segmental form of its own, as above.

"Liaison words" also cause a preceding word to appear as a lf, but modified by the loss of all original vowel quality contrasts in final non-root vowels. Not all liaison words are enclitic. The group includes all bound personal pronouns:

Ì p̄ dūgē·.

1s NG cook·NG

"I haven't cooked."

Ì dúgī·bá.

1s cook·3p

"I've cooked them."

Ì p̄ dōllá·.

1s NG follow·NG

"I don't go along."

Ì dōllī·bá.

1s follow·3p

"I go with them."

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

Ì p̄ dōllí·f̄.

1s NG follow·2s·NG

"I don't go with you."

Ì dōllī·f.

1s follow·2s

"I go with you."

Before the liaison word **o** "him/her", any lf-final vowel mora becomes **o** [ʊ]; the sf of **o** itself is segmental *zero*, but the vowel change persists:

Ṁ p̄ dōlló·o·

1s NG follow·3a·NG

"I don't go with him/her."

Ṁ dōllō·

1s follow·3a

"I go with him/her."

2p-subject **ya** after imperatives has a zero sf preceded by **ɪ**: **Gòsumī!** "Look ye!"
Two liaison words of the underlying form **n** also often surface as zero:

ṁ zūgū· zàbìd lā zúg

1s head·NZ fight.IPF the on

"because my head hurts" (nominaliser **ṁ**)

Ṁ zūgū· zàbìd.

1s head + fight.IPF

"My head hurts." (linker **n**)

By deleting segments causing rounding/fronting effects on preceding vowels, apocope creates diphthongs and epenthetic-vowel contrasts. Thus lf **vīugó** "owl" has **iu** for **ii** because of the suffix vowel; after apocope, the diphthong of **vīug** contrasts with the vowel of **vīid** "owls." Deletion of intervocalic **g** produces further diphthongs.

All flexion and productive derivation is by suffixing. Flexion is basically fairly simple, but with morphophonemic complications.

Noun flexion involves five different sg/pl suffix pairs (e.g **bōug** "goat", pl **bōus**; **kōk** "chair", pl **kōgūs**; but **nōor** "mouth", pl **nōyá**; **nóbìr** "leg", pl **nōbá**) and two unpaired non-count suffixes. Most unexpected sg/pl pairings can be explained phonologically. The stem is itself a key part of the paradigm, because adjectives and demonstratives regularly compound with preceding head nouns:

kōk	"chair"	+	pìèlìg	"white"	->	kòg-pìèlìg	"white chair"
bōug	"goat"	+	pìèlìg	"white"	->	bò-pìèlìg	"white goat"

Head-final compounds like **bò-kòud** "goat-killer" are also freely created.

Two-aspect verbs use the stem for perfective aspect, adding the suffixes **-da** for imperfective, **-ma** for imperative. Morphophonemic complications appear, e.g. **kō** "kill", ipf **kòud** but **vōl** "swallow", ipf **vōn**. One-aspect verbs only have an ipf; 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: **kōub** "killing", **kòud** "killer"; there are many other common derivational processes.

Noun-class-based gender has been replaced by an animate/inanimate system. The article *lā* follows its noun; possessors precede: *m̄ bōvg* "my goat", *dāy lā bōvg* "the man's goat." Prepositions include *nē* "with", *wōv* "like"; *nē* links NPs as "and." Liaison-enclitic *n* is the most general locative postposition: *bōvsī·n lā* "to the goats." Certain nouns function as postpositions: *téeb̀l 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 bōvg lā. "We gave you the goat yesterday."
1p TNS give·2s goat the

There are two "be" verbs: *bè* "exist" and *àḗ* "be something"; the negative of both is *kā'(e)*. *Àḗ* is usually followed by the focus particle *nē*, and then becomes *à*:

Lì à nē bōvg. "It's a goat."
3i be FOC goat

If the verb meaning permits and no free words intervene, *nē* after a verb has a *temporal* sense, limiting the reference to "at the particular time in question":

Nīdīb kpīid nē. "People are dying."
person.PL die.IPF FOC

Main and content clauses show a VP tone overlay and altered subject-pronoun tone sandhi. Overlay is absent in the negative or irrealis, after the tense marker *dāa*, and in clauses following *coordinating kà*. Narrative joins clause after clause with *kà*, omitting tense marking as well so long as the action is proceeding in sequence:

Ò dà gòs dú'atà. "He looked at the doctor."
3a TNS look doctor

Kà ò gōs dú'atà. "And he looked at the doctor."
and 3a look doctor

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

Gòsìim dú'atà! "Look at the doctor!"
look.IPF doctor

2 Sound system

2.1 Segments

See §4.2 for the many distributional constraints on consonants and vowels.

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

Vowel-initial root syllables are optionally realised with an initial glottal stop.

h as a distinct phoneme only appears syllable-initially in loanwords.

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

k g are backed before back vowels, particularly **ɔ**. They are palatalised before front vowels, for some speakers even becoming palatal stops or affricates, and may represent palatal stops/affricates in loans: **tóklàe** "torch(light)", **sógjà** "soldier."

Before rounded vowels they are labialised, and here do not contrast with **kp gb**, which appear only before unrounded root vowels and in reduplication-prefixes;

kp gb represent labialised velars in loanwords, e.g. **bákpàe** "week", Hausa *bakwai*.

t d n s z l r are usually alveolars, but **s z** may be dental or interdental; **l** is never velarised. Word-internal **s** is often realised [h], and it may represent **h** in loans: **Àláasìd** "Sunday", Hausa *Lahadi*. Before **u**, **z** is often noticeably retracted.

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, replaced by **r** after vowel-final prefixes. Initial **d** may be realised like **r** phrase-internally after vowels, as in **nā'-dâvɔg** "ox" (*na'araug* B.) In Agolle Kusaal, unlike Toende, **r** contrasts with **d** in all other positions.

m n are syllabic when standing alone as non-enclitic words.

y is [j]. Before nasal vowels **y w** are nasalised, and written ⁿy ⁿw with no ⁿ after the vowel: ⁿyē "see", ⁿwādīg "moon."

Vowel symbols have IPA values by default, but **ɪ ʊ** stand for IPA **ɪ ʊ**, and double symbols for long vowels. The full range of vowel contrasts appears only within roots. There are nine basic monophthongs, each occurring short and long:

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

ɪ̄a ɥa iē uē are phonemic monophthongs. Initial **ɪ̄** is laxer and longer than **y**: **ɪ̄ā** "seek" contrasts with **yā** "houses." The second mora of **uē** is slightly rounded. Word-internal **ɪ̄ay ɥay** (**bɪ̄āyá** "elder same-sex siblings", **sɥāyá** "roads") are [ɪ̄ɪj] [ɥɪj].

ɪ̄a ɥa arise only from apocope of final **iē uē** (**kɪ̄à** "cut", **kɥā** "hoe"), shortening of **iē uē** before pl **-ya**, or from **ɛ ɔ** before **k** or underlying **g** (**tɪ̄àk** "change", **bɥàk** "split"); surface **ɛk ɔk** reflect CV/CVV root allomorphy (**tēk** "pull") or **ɥakv -> ɔkv** (**bòk** "pit.")

ɪ ʊ u are slightly fronted after alveolars and **y**.

i u are found only in roots, but **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] word-internally after open root syllables with short **i u**, and in prefixes before root first-mora **i u** (**sìsì'əm** "storm", **sīlīnsīu** "spider", **dòndòug** "cobra", **vòlīnvùu** "mason wasp.")

[ʊ] is written **o** in the 3a pronoun **ò** and before the 3a enclitic: **kīsó·** "hate him."

Before prosodic enclitics **iē uē -> ia ua**, and non-root final **ɛ ɔ** represent [e] [o].

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols except **ɪ̄a ɥa iē uē** represent phonemic diphthongs. Non-initial [ɪ] is written **e** except after **ɛ**, [ʊ] as **o** except after **a**, [ɪ̄] as **ɛ̄** except after **ɛ u**. The primary diphthongs are

		ɪ̄a'a	ia		v'a	ua
aɛ̄	ɛ̄ɪ̄			ɔɛ̄	ʊɛ̄	uɪ̄
ae			ie	ɔe	ɥa'e	ue
aɥ̄	ɛɥ̄	ɪ̄aɥ̄				
av	ɛo		io			iu

All also occur nasal, and if long, glottal; **ɪ̄a'a v'a ɥa'e** only occur glottal.

Structurally, **v'a** represents **ɥa'a**, but it is only actually realised [ɥ̄a:] word-finally.

Overlong **iaa uaa aee iee uee** appear for **ia ua ae ie ue** before prosodic enclitics §5.3.

The only length contrasts in identical environments are **av̄ŋ/av̄ŋ** and word-final **ae/aē**.

Secondary diphthongs are created by replacement of the final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] before the enclitic §5.4 2pS "you", or by [ʊ] (always written **o**) before the enclitic "him/her." Any vowel mora may precede:

bēi·	"be (pl)!"	bēi·yá	long form
zúo·	"steal him"	zūó·o	long form

Nasalisation is automatic after **m n**, as in e.g. **mèɛd** "build" ipf. Elsewhere it is normally marked by a following ⁿ, but the ⁿ *precedes* glottalisation marks, **y w** followed by nasal vowels, and the **o·** rounded by a following 3a pronoun:

gēⁿ	"get tired"	tēɛⁿs	"lands"
bjāyⁿk	"shoulder"	gēⁿ'	"get angry"
gēⁿ'ɛd	"get angry" ipf	ⁿyīn	"tooth"
àⁿo·	"be him/her"		

Except after ⁿw ⁿy, all short nasal vowels have become oral before **m n ŋ**.

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

dà'a	"market"	dà'	"buy"
kpì'a	"neighbour"	kpjà'	"whittle"
pū'ab	"women"	pūā'	"woman"

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

Except in questions, all word-final short vowels and short diphthongs are glottalised before pause: e.g. **gēⁿ** "tire" falls together with **gēⁿ'** "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 speakers have glottal vowels here, and the cognates in Toende Kusaal and Farefare lack glottalisation.

Yām "sense" (Farefare *yɛm*, Nawdm *rarm*) and **yā'am** "gall bladder" (Farefare *ya'am*, Nawdm *raɦm*) have fallen together as **yām/yā'am**.

2.2 Syllables and tones

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'əsíḁbà** "receivers", **sĭākīḁbā** "believers", **sĭgĭsíḁbà** "lowerers", **mòḁfù** "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 free words (**i/u** are not moraic.) Within phrases, any syllable which is not superheavy loses stress before an immediately following stressed syllable, working right to left.

With the syllable as tone-bearing unit, there are four tones (strictly, tonemes): high (H), mid (M), low (L) and circumflex (X), as in **gél** "egg", **kōk** "chair", **kùk** "ghost", **nū'ug** "hand" respectively. 3-mora vowel sequences carry two tones: **nūáa** "hen." Only superheavy syllables may carry X, which must elsewhere be replaced by H: short form **nū'ug** "hand", long form **nú'ugù**. Enclitics reduced to a single consonant close the preceding syllable: **kà bà kĭə·m** "and they cut me."

Superlight syllables and linker **n** are toneless; the tone of the preceding syllable extends over them. In a few words, superlight syllables with initial **r** carry H.

	Bà kā' dī'əsíḁbā·	"They are not receivers."
	Lì kā' móḁfō·	"It's not a gazelle."
vs	Ò pō básì·fō·	"He hasn't left you."
	Kà yà pō sĭákìḁdā·	"But you did not agree." Lk 13:34
	Bà kā' Gŭrĭsē·	"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	always	
HX	-> H!X	always	
MH	-> M!H	if the next syllable is	superheavy
		or	precedes pause and is not L

Downstep between H and H/X:

M̄ gós !náaf lā kpēlá.

"I looked at the cow there."

M̄ gós !nú'ug lā kpēlá.

"I looked at the hand there."

but Kà m̄ gós náaf lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the cow there."

Kà m̄ gós nú'ug lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the hand there."

MH -> M!H when the next syllable is superheavy:

Lì à nē !púkòò^r lā.

"It's the widow."

Mān !bú-bē'og k̄ā'e.

"My bad goat isn't there."

Mān !bú-pìə̀l k̄ā'e.

"My white goat isn't there."

Bīig lā !sá mèəd yīr lā.

"The child was building the house."

but Lì k̄ā' púkòò^r rē.

"It's not a widow."

Mān bú-wòk k̄ā'e.

"My tall goat isn't there."

Mān bú-sùṅ k̄ā'e.

"My good goat isn't there."

Bīig lā sá mè yīr lā.

"The child built the house."

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

Kà m̄ gós !náaf lā.

"And I looked at the cow."

Yū!gúm kā'e.

"There's no camel."

Bà k̄ā' !mólī.

"They aren't gazelles."

Lì k̄ā' bī-!púnā.

"It's not a girl."

Ò p̄ yādı!gídā.

"He isn't scattering."

but Kà m̄ gós náaf lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the cow there."

Yūgúm lā k̄ā'e.

"The camel's not there."

Lì k̄ā' mólīfō.

"It's not a gazelle."

Bà à nē mólì.

"They are gazelles."

Lì k̄ā' bī-púnāa?

"Isn't it a girl?"

Às'òní yādıgídā?

"Who is scattering?"

and Lì à nē dōog lā.

"It's the hut." (MX, not MH)

2.3 Orthography

The orthography of texts differs somewhat from that used in this grammar. Tone is unmarked.

Intervocalic *k t p* are sometimes doubled; older texts often write *ll mm nn* single. G2 uses *ng ng nk* for **ŋ ɲg ɲk**. Writing of final nasals in right-bound words often shows assimilation to following consonants: *bvmmɔr bōn-mór* "rich person."

Final *-ya* in loanwords is written *-ia*: *dunia dūnyā* "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 ***ɨ *ũ**. Word-final **ɪ** after **m n** is usually written **ɛ** in B3: so always in *onɛ kanɛ linɛ banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

B3 sometimes has *e* for superlight-syllable vowels: *bɛdegv bèdugv* "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 marked by using *aae/aaɛ* for **ae**, as in *paae pāe* "reach", but **av** and **au** alike are written *au/av*. Glottalisation marking distinguishes e.g. *kpi'a kpià'* "whittle" from *kpi'a kpi'a* "neighbour", but **ua/v'a** are both written *o'a* before 2016, *u'a* in B3: *pu'a puā'* "woman", *pu'ab pū'ab* "women." Word-final **v'a** is written *u'aa*, reflecting its realisation as [ʊɑː].

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

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

Except with *an àn* "be" and *ka' kā'* "not be", verb-final monophthongisation §5.1 is usually ignored: *faaen ti fāaⁿ.tí* "saved us."

The nasalisation mark ⁿ is written *n*: *tɛɛns tēɛⁿs* "lands", *tien tìeⁿ* "remember." Before 2016, *nn* was substituted word-finally to avoid confusion with **n** (thus *tienn*), though **àn** "be" was written *a*. The ideophone **nyāe** "brightly" is written *nyain*.

All glottal vowels are written long word-internally and in right-bound words: *pa'a pà'* "earlier today", *kpe'ɛŋ kpè'ŋ* "strengthen."

Many bound words §4.1 are written as part of adjacent words.

Cifs §6.1 are written solid with following words, unless they happen to resemble sgs: *bvkaŋa* *bù-kàŋā'* "this goat" but *dau kaŋa* *dàù-kàŋā'* "this man." B2 often writes sg forms for cifs, e.g. *Siig Suŋ* "Holy Spirit" for the audio *Sì-sùŋ*.

B3 orthography writes pronouns separately when they have their own vowels, as with *fv dɔlli ti* *fù dól̄lī-tí* "you come with us", but pronouns of the form C are joined to the preceding word. Previously, *m* "me" was written separately, and the mora before *f* "you" was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

<i>Fu dɔlli m.</i>	<i>Fù dól̄lī·m.</i>	"You come with me." (<i>dɔllim</i> B3)
<i>M dol uf.</i>	<i>M̄ dól̄lī·f.</i>	"I go with you." (<i>dɔllif</i> B3)
<i>M gban'e uf.</i>	<i>M̄ gbâⁿ'a·f.</i>	"I've seized you." (<i>gban'af</i> B3)

Apocope §3 deletes *o* "him/her" after the preceding word-final vowel mora is changed to *o* [ʊ] §5.4; this *o* is taken for the pronoun itself and written separately:

<i>Fv dɔl o.</i>	<i>Fù dól̄lō·.</i>	"You go with her."
<i>Fv pv dɔl oo.</i>	<i>Fù p̄ dól̄lō·o·.</i>	"You don't go with her."
<i>Fv nyε o.</i>	<i>Fù ^{ny}é·o·.</i>	"You've seen her."
<i>Fv pv nyε oo.</i>	<i>Fù p̄ ^{ny}é·o·.</i>	"You've not seen her."

Locative *n*, discontinuous-past *n* and the 2pS pronoun are always written solid with the preceding word e.g. *ku'omin* *kù'əmī·n* "in water", *ku'ominε* *kù'əmī·né·*.

Standard orthography writes focus-*nē* solid after *à* "be", and usually after other verbs; *nē* "with" is written solid after *wēn* "be like" (as *nwεε* in B3.)

<i>Ba anε zɔn.</i>	<i>Bà à nē zōn.</i>	"They are fools." Jer 5:4
<i>Ba nwεε bɔ?</i>	<i>Bà wèn nē bó·?</i>	"What are they like?" Lk 7:31

M/c-pf *yā* is written solid with the preceding verb:

<i>o gaadya.</i>	<i>ò gàad yā.</i>	"he has gone." 2 Sm 3:24
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Older texts write *-eya* after consonants: *gaadeya* etc.

Personaliser *à* §9.2 is written solid with the following word.

A word-final syllable before a prosodic enclitic §5.3 is often mistaken for a separate particle in older materials, and occasionally even in B3:

<i>Amaa fv anε ninsaal ka ka' win nε</i>	"But you are a human being, not a god."
<i>Àmáa fù á nē nīn-sâal kà kâ' wīnné·</i>	Ez 28:2

but 2s be FOC human and NG.be god·NG

3 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can 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.

3a TNS see child

"She saw a child."

bīig lā nū'ug

child the hand

"the child's hand"

Ò dāa p̄ ^{nyē} bīigā.

3a TNS NG see child.NG

"He/she did not see a child."

Ànó'onì · dāa ^{nyē} bīigà?

who + TNS see child·CQ

"Who saw a child?"

Ì bīigā!

1s child·VOC

"My child!"

Sfs will be regarded as derived synchronically from lfs by apocope, though most lfs are predictable given the sfs and flexional behaviour of lexemes, and some have been remodelled by analogy. Apocope reflects several distinct historical processes; in Toende Kusaal, pfs only undergo apocope after the devoicing of final stops: *ya'ap* "potter" but *ya'ab* "mould pots."

The rule for apocope is:

Final long vowels are shortened and final short vowels are deleted

Final diphthongs shorten by one mora:

ia -> ja ua -> ɥa ja'a -> ja' v'a -> ɥa'

ae -> aɛ av -> aɥ ui -> uɨ

Vaa -> Va Vee -> Ve Vɔv -> Vɔ

Nasal and/or glottal diphthongs behave in the same way

Then: final consonant clusters drop the second consonant

(kk tt pp ŋŋ become k t p ŋ but are written single in any case)

final y becomes zero after v/e/i and ɛ/ɨ otherwise

Examples:

Lì à nē dūk.

3i be FOC pot

"It's a cooking pot."

Dūk lā bódìg yā.

pot the get.lost m/c

"The pot has got lost."

Lì kā' dūkó·.

3i NG.be pot·NG

"It's not a pot."

Lì à nē dūkóó·?

3i be FOC pot·PQ

"Is it a pot?"

Lì à nē kōk.

"It's a chair."

Lì kā' kōkā·.

"It's not a chair."

Lì à nē gbīgīm.

"It's a lion."

Lì kā' gbīgīmnē·.

"It's not a lion."

Lì à nē yáarìm.

"It's salt."

Lì kā' yáarīmm·.

"It's not salt."

Lì à nē dāu.

"It's a man."

Lì kā' dāu·.

"It's not a man."

Bà à nē gbīgīmā.

"They're lions."

Bà kā' gbīgīmāa·.

"They're not lions."

Kà ò sjàk.

and 3a agree

"And he agreed."

Ò p̄ sjàkē·.

3a NG agree·NG

"He hasn't agreed."

Kà ò dīgī.

"And she's lying down."

Ò p̄ dīgīyá·.

"She isn't lying down."

Kà ò vōḡ.

"And she's alive."

Ò p̄ vōyá·.

"She's not alive."

Kà ò kjà.

"And she cut."

Ò p̄ kía·.

"She hasn't cut."

Kà ò pāe.

"And he arrived."

Ò p̄ pāée·.

"He hasn't arrived."

The appearance of clause-final lfs is triggered by following prosodic enclitics §5.3, which lack segmental form themselves; somewhat modified, lfs also appear before liaison words §5.4. Citation forms will reflect lfs as seen before prosodic enclitics, but without certain tonal alterations and the change of final *mɛ* -> *mm*.

The default lf ending corresponding to sfs ending in consonants is *ɛ*; cf

sə' kae gat Joon nɛ

sō' kā'e · gát Joonɛ·

IDFa NG.exist + pass.IPF John·NG

"There is none greater than John."

Lk 7:28

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 in final *ja' ua'* have lfs in *ja'a u'a* by default. However, most 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in *-ya*; for D (not W) so do *sōɛⁿ* "witch" and *sāɛⁿ* "blacksmith."

All right-bound words (including cifs §6.1) are regarded as sfs. Except where sfs and lfs are listed separately, all other single words or compounds will be cited henceforward as sfs (with minor differences in tone marking) followed by subscripts (and a possible tone mark) showing how to arrive at the corresponding lfs.

When the lf simply prolongs a sf final vowel sequence or leaves a long monophthong unchanged, no subscript is used:

<i>gbīgumā</i>	lf	<i>gbīgumāa</i>	"lions"
<i>mòlì</i>		<i>mòlìu</i>	"gazelles"
<i>dāu</i>		<i>dāu</i>	"man"
<i>pāe'</i>		<i>pāée</i>	"reach"
<i>kuā</i>		<i>kūa</i>	"hoe"
<i>djā'</i>		<i>djā'a</i>	"get dirty"
<i>puā'</i>		<i>pū'a</i>	"woman"
<i>dà'a</i>		<i>dà'a</i>	"market"

Otherwise, the material deleted by apocope is written as a subscript, but with lf-final *-ɛ* implied as the default:

<i>bīg_a</i>	lf	<i>bīgā</i>	"child"
<i>dōk_ɔ'</i>		<i>dōkó</i>	"pot"
<i>dīg_{ya}'</i>		<i>dīg_{yá}</i>	"be lying down"
<i>sjàk</i>		<i>sjàkè</i>	"agree"
<i>yàarìm</i>		<i>yàarìmè</i>	"salt"
<i>gbīgīm_n</i>		<i>gbīgīm_{nē}</i>	"lion"

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

<i>vōɛ_{ya}'</i>	lf	<i>vōyá</i>	"live"
<i>sāⁿɛ_{ya}</i>		<i>sāⁿyā</i>	"smith"

A few cases must be written out separately, as with *pāmm* lf *pāmné* "a lot", and the very few words with lfs in glottal *i'a u'a*: *kpjà'* lf *kpì'a* "whittle."

Lf-final syllables carry L, unless the last sf tone 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	lf	kōkā	"chair"
	sīa		sīāa	"waist"
	dāu		dāv	"man"
but	dōk _o ´		dōkó	"pot"
	vīid´		vīidé	"owls"
	nūa´		nūāa	"hen"
	tāu ⁿ ´		tāv ⁿ	"opposite-sex sibling"

The sf tone is written when X becomes H on a syllable which is open in the lf:

nū'ug _o	lf	nú'ugò	sf	nū'ug	"hand"
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However, tone marks are omitted on final syllables corresponding to toneless superlight syllables in the lf; the sf tones are M after M tone, L after L/H:

dīg _{ya} ´	lf	dīg _{ya}	sf	dīgī	"be lying down"
kūg _{ur} ´		kūg _{ur}		kūgūr	"stone"
dìg _{ir}		dìg _{ir} è		dìgìr	"dwarf"
nób _{ir}		nób _{ir} è		nóbìr	"foot"

Apocope-blocking 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. The sf of apocope-blocked words does not undergo apocope. Final L is changed to M, except on long vowels and monosyllables; final ε o become ι υ, but final mε becomes mm. Forms ending in short vowels create lfs by prolonging the vowel, changing M to H except in tp A words; the remainder add -nè (né after M.)

būdī	lf	būdīι	"tribe"
bèd _o gū´		bèd _o gúυ	"a lot"
yā´		yāa	"houses"
pāmm		pāmné	"a lot"
mà'àa		mà'anè	"only"
gòllīmm		gòllīmnè	"only"
"yāe		"yāené	"brightly"
kòtàa		kòtàanè	"at all"

4 Word structure

The open word classes are verbs, nouns and adjectives; closed classes are pronouns, quantifiers, ideophones and particles. Nouns and adjectives are grouped together as nominals. Particular noun and pronoun subtypes are used adverbially. Ideophones may be adjective intensifiers, expressive adjuncts, or predicatives.

Many quantifiers and particles resemble nominals in form, often with apocope-blocking. Bound pronouns and many particles resemble full-word affixes segmentally. Ideophones often deviate from normal word structure and may even violate the usual phonological constraints, e.g. *tólùlù*, intensifier for "tall", *fáss*, intensifier for "white."

4.1 Bound and free words

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. Bound words need not be dependent: personal pronouns always head NPs, and compound-initial forms (cifs) are heads before adjectives and demonstratives: *t̀̀-kàṅā́* "this tree." (Conversely, free forms may appear within compounds §9.1.) In this grammar, cifs are hyphenated to the next word: thus *z̀̀m-gbấ* "fisher", *b̀̀-̀̀p̀̀l-kàṅā́* "this white goat."

The term "clitic" will be limited to the only two groups of bound words which are phonologically distinctive: prosodic enclitics §5.3 and liaison enclitics §5.4. All fixed-L morphemes §5.2 are right-bound, but these may be words or prefixes.

In phrases and sentences, the symbol · will be written at the beginning of any word which has caused the preceding word to appear as a lf. If this is an enclitic, it is written solid with the preceding word, joined by the · mark; otherwise, a space precedes the · symbol. When · is *followed* by a space or punctuation mark, it signifies that the next word lacks any segmental form: it is either a prosodic enclitic or a liaison word with a segmentally-zero sf, such as *o* "her" in *f̀̀ ̀̀yéo·* "you've seen her."

4.2 Segmental structure

Open-class words are based on (C)V(V)(C) roots, where initial C may not be *ṅ r* or *h*, V(V) is any monophthong, and any final C must be *b d g l m n s* or *r*. Stems add up to three derivational suffixes *b d g l m n* or *s*; only *d l m* may follow other suffixes. All full words end with a flexion (C)V(V), where C is *b d g l m n s r y* or *f* and V(V) is *a ε ɔ aa u* or *vv*. Nominal stems may have a prefix (C)V(N) CV_sN or CV_lN, where C may not be *ṅ r h* or *y*, V is *a u* or *v*, and N is a nasal homorganic with the following root-initial C.

Morphophonemic rules, followed by apocope, create diphthongs and leave the only word-internal CC clusters as *nn mm ll mn* and geminate *k t p ṅ*, along with NC after prefixes. All others insert an epenthetic vowel: *ɪ* by default, but *v* before *gɔ/ṅɔ* or after a short rounded root V + *g* (e.g. *ỳ̀g̀̀m̀̀* "camel.")

4.2.1 Root allomorphy

Some roots alternate CV/CVV. Those with glottal vowels are underlyingly CVg §4.2.2; the rest were historically CV or CVy. After CV allomorphs, **g d b -> k t p**.

CV appears before flexions beginning with consonants other than **g**:

dāp _a	"men"	dāv _g	"male"
dòt	"huts"	dò _g	"hut"
lìt _a	"fall" ipf	liig _a	"fall" ger
bīl _a	"little"	bīig _a	"child"
līm _a	"fall" imp		
°Wād-dár	"Venus" ("male star")		
tō _g ya	"be bitter"	tō _g	"bitter"

CVV is often carried over from sg to pl: always **bīis** "children", **dāad** "male" pl, sometimes **dò_{od}** "huts." Most original CV(y)-stem 2vbs have been regularised.

Exceptional forms are **zūg_o'** "head" (Farefare *zuugo*), and **pùkò_or** "widow", **dàkò_or** "bachelor", which were originally a|ba class (cf Toende *pəkōp* "widows.")

Original CVy roots show CVV before -bV:

sō _g ya	"witch"	sō _o b _a	"witches"
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Gerunds in **bo** always show CVV, but a few examples of CV occur with gerunds in **re**, e.g. **wìd-lōr'** "place to tie up horses", **nā'-lōr** "place to tie up cows" W.

CV appears before derivational suffixes only in **yīs/yīis'** "make exit" (**yī** "exit") and a few verbs which drop **g** or **s** in the ipf: **wìk** "draw water" (ipf **wìid_a**); **tēk'/tēeg'** "pull" (ipf **tēed_a'/tēkíd_a**); **gōs** "look" (ipf **gōt_a'**); **tìs** "give" (ipf **tìt_a**.)

Some original CVy roots become CVd before derivational **g**; otherwise, root-final **o v** become glottal before derivational **g s**:

lō	"tie" (Mooré <i>loe</i>)	lōdīg'	"untie"
pō	"divide" (Mooré <i>pvi</i>)	pōdīg'	"share out"
kò	"break"	kò'os	"break several times"
kò _o lú _g	"broken"	kò'og	"break" tr
pò _o d _a	"be small"	pò'og	"diminish"
vōr'	"alive"	vō'ug'	"revive"

Before the pl suffix *aa*, CV(V)-stems with modal vowels become CVy, those with glottal vowels, CVd; stems in *ag iag uag* often show analogical forms with *d*.

<i>gāⁿr´</i>	"ebony fruit"	pl <i>gāⁿyá</i>
<i>bàlàar</i>	"stick, club"	<i>bàlàyà</i>
<i>kùkōr´</i>	"voice"	<i>kùkōyá</i>
<i>nōor´</i>	"mouth"	<i>nōyá</i>
<i>bīer´</i>	"elder same-sex sib"	<i>bīāyá</i>
<i>zūer</i>	"hill"	<i>zūāyā</i>
<i>tītā'ar</i>	"big"	<i>tītādā</i>
<i>pòⁿ'or</i>	"cripple"	<i>pòⁿ'dà</i>
<i>yū'ur´</i>	"name"	<i>yūdā</i>
<i>yū'er</i>	"penis"	<i>yūādā</i>
<i>mù'ar</i>	"lake"	<i>mù'a(dà)</i>

Some roots alternate CVC/CVVC. Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns. CVC is required before all derivational suffixes except noun-deriving *l*.

<i>náaf_o</i>	"cow"	<i>nā'-</i>	<i>cif</i>
<i>wìəf_o</i>	"horse"	<i>wìdì</i>	pl
<i>zíŋ_a</i>	"fish"	<i>zīmí</i>	pl
<i>yùum_n</i>	"year"	<i>yùmà</i>	pl
<i>kāal´</i>	"count"	<i>kāl´</i>	"number"
<i>tūmā</i>	"work" (noun)	<i>tùm</i>	"work" (verb)
<i>tūlúg_o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl_{la}´</i>	"be hot"
<i>màal</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālumā</i>	"sacrifices" (noun)
<i>lìəb</i>	"become"	<i>lèbɨg</i>	"turn"
<i>kpī'or_o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>dēēŋ_a</i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i>	"go first"
<i>tūlúg_o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl_g´</i>	"heat"
<i>yùul</i>	"swing" intr	<i>yùlɨg</i>	"swing" tr

4.2.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

Flexions of the form V are completely assimilated to preceding root vowels, creating 2-mora long vowels: *kpi* "die" (lf *kpi*) **kpiε*.

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

<i>zà'as</i>	* <i>zagε</i>	"compounds"	<i>zàk_a sg</i>	* <i>zagga</i>
<i>bjā'n'ad</i>	* <i>bjāgde</i>	"shoulders"	<i>bjāuⁿk_ɔ sg</i>	* <i>bjāggɔ</i>
<i>pū'as</i>	* <i>pūagε</i>	"females"	<i>pūāk_a sg</i>	* <i>pūagga</i>
<i>pūā'</i>	* <i>pūaga</i>	"woman"		

Except before *ɔ*, *g* is deleted after *aa iə uə*. Glottal and/or nasal vowels behave identically. Here, when a 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>aagε</i> -> <i>aee</i>	<i>iəgε</i> -> <i>iee</i>	<i>uəgε</i> -> <i>uee</i>	
<i>bāa</i>	* <i>baaga</i>	"dog"	<i>bāas</i> pl
<i>sīa</i>	* <i>siəga</i>	"waist"	<i>sīəs</i> pl
<i>sàbùa</i>	* <i>sabuəga</i>	"lover"	<i>sàbùəs</i> pl
<i>pāe'</i>	* <i>paagε</i>	"reach"	<i>páar</i> ger * <i>paagε</i>
<i>kpi'e</i>	* <i>kpi'əgε</i>	"approach"	<i>kpi'ər</i> ger * <i>kpi'əgε</i>
<i>dūe'</i>	* <i>duəgε</i>	"raise, rise"	<i>dúər</i> ger * <i>duəgε</i>

Set 2: *ĩə ũə* -> *ẽε ãɔ* (and likewise with glottal vowels.)

<i>zè'n'εs</i>	"red" pl	<i>zì'n'a</i> sg
<i>dòɔ'n's</i>	"dawadawas"	<i>dùa'n</i> sg
<i>Mòɔl</i>	"Mooré"	<i>Mùa</i> "Mossi person"
<i>sō'n'ɔd_a'</i>	"outdoer"	<i>sū'n'e'</i> "improve"
<i>sō'n</i>	"rub"	<i>sūe'n'</i> "anoint"

Fusion-verb ipfs and gerunds preserve *ĩə ũə* by analogy with verbs with oral vowels: *nìe* "appear" ger *nìər*; *pū'n'e'* "rot" ger *pú'n'ər*.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

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

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

e.g.	gg -> k	g̀ik _a	"dumb"	g̀igɪs pl	
	mg -> ŋ	b̀uŋ _a	"donkey"	b̀umɪs pl	
		cf k̀olɪg _a	"river"	k̀olɪs pl	
	dd -> t	b̀t _a	"plant" ipf	b̀d pf	
	ld -> nn	k̀un _{na} '	"go home" ipf	k̀ul pf	
		cf d̀ogvud _a '	"cook" ipf	d̀og pf	
	bb -> p	s̀op _o '	"writing" ger	s̀ob pf	
	mb -> mm	k̀im _{mo}	"shepherding" ger	k̀im pf	
		cf p̀udɪb _o	"name" ger	p̀ud pf	
	mr -> mn	d̀um _n	"knee"	d̀umā pl	
	nr -> nn	tān _n	"earth"	tānā pl	
	lr -> ll	g̀él _l	"egg"	g̀elá pl	
		cf d̀igr	"dwarf"	d̀igà pl	
	rl -> t	Bāt'	"Bisa language"	Bāris'	"Bisa people"
		cf K̀osāal	"Kusaal"	K̀osāas	"Kusaasi"
	df -> f	ẁiəf _o	"horse"	ẁidɪ pl	
	nf -> f	p̀íuf _o	"genet"	p̀uiní pl	
		cf m̀òlif _o	"gazelle"	m̀òlì pl	

ns -> **s** with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

sg	tēŋ _a	pl	tēɛ ⁿ s	*tɛnsɛ	"land"
	kùlìŋ _a		kùlɪs	*kulɪnsɛ	"door"

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 largely become **mm**. B1/2 has a few ipfs in *mn*: *daamne ba* Lk 6:18 B1 *dàamni·bá* "trouble them", *wum na* Mt 13:15 B2 *wòmnnā* "hear." Some speakers keep **mn** in noun lfs (*gbīgīmnē* S "lion", *gbīgīmmē* W) but word-internal **mn** appears only in agent nouns: *tùm-tūmnīb_a* "servants", but *būn-tūmmìr* "useful thing" pl *-tūmnā* S.

bm -> **mm** after short root vowels only.

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

ipf	wòm _{ma}	ger	wōm _{mɔ}	"hear (wòm)"
	tóom _{ma} /tōomíd _a		tóoŋ _ɔ /tōomúg _ɔ	"depart (tōom´)"
	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrìmíd _a		kàròŋ _ɔ /kàrìmùg _ɔ	"read (kàrìm)"

W and D avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfs only as lfs or before focus-*nē´*. B3 sometimes even has ipfs like *wumid* Phil 1:30 for clarity.

In ipfs, **nd** -> **nn** only after short root vowels; in gerunds, **nC** never assimilates.

ipf	bùn _{na}	ger	būnb _ɔ	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgùnìd _a		dìgùnùg _ɔ	"lie down (dìgùn)"
	gò'ònìd _a		gò'ònùg _ɔ	"extend neck (gò'òn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with **mmm** -> **mm** and **llr** -> **ll**: *dàm* "shake", ipf *dàmmìd_a*, imp *dàm_{ma}*; *kùg-dēllá* "chairs for leaning", sg *kùg-dēlì´*.

Derivational **n** represents earlier **nn**: *vàbun* "lie prone", Mooré *vabende*; *pībūn_n* pl *pībunā* "covering", Mooré *pibindga* "lid."

Set 4: regressive vowel assimilation.

Before word-internal **y**, long vowels change second-mora **u** to **i**, and all other back second morae to **e** [ɪ]:

sō ⁿ 'e _{ya} ´	"be better than"	sō ⁿ 'od _a ´	"outdoer"
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u'ay -> ɥa'ey: cf *tṷā'e_{ya}´* *tṷagya "be near."

Rounding takes place before **gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ**. Epenthetic **ɪ** becomes **ʊ**.

Most short unrounded root vowels become **Vɪ**, but **ʊa** -> **ɔ**, and **i** is unaffected.

Second morae of unrounded long vowels are rounded, lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense [u]; **iəgɔ** -> **ɛʊgɔ** and **uəgɔ** -> **ɔɔgɔ**, with remodelling of the pl vowels on the sg.

wābugɔ́	"elephant"	pl	wābɪd́
mālōŋɔ	"sacrifice"		mālɪmā
gbàʊŋɔ	"book"		gbàná
lāʊkɔ	"goods item"		lā'ad
bjāʊⁿkɔ	"shoulder"		bjāⁿ'ad
yīʊŋɔ́	"single"		yīná
bòkɔ	"pit"		bù'ad
nìn-gbīŋɔ́	"body"		nìn-gbīná
dàʊgɔ	"log"		dàad
fēⁿ'ogɔ́	"ulcer"		fēⁿ'ed́
kpī'ogɔ	"strong"		kpī'əmā
vīugɔ́	"owl"		vīid́
bē'ogɔ	"bad"		bē'ed (but bī'a "bad", pl bī'əs)
lām-fôogɔ	"toothless"		lām-fôod (but fùe "extract")

-uəd appears only in pl-form mass nouns like **zùəd** "friendship."

Dàbīogɔ pl **dàbīəd** "coward" has probably been influenced by **dàbīəm** "fear."

4.3 Tone patterns

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

Any tones after H are L. All L flexional suffixes other than pf/cif **ɛ** carried M historically; the original tone appears before locative **n** and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M-spread seen after the corresponding sfs.

Toneless superlight §2.2 syllables made word-final by apocope acquire M tone after M syllables, L after L/H:

kūgʊr´	lf	kūgʊré	sf	kūgʊr	"stone"
dìgʊr		dìgʊrè		dìgʊr	"dwarf"
nóbʊr		nóbʊrè		nóbʊr	"foot"

For the tones of bound liaison words see §5.4; other particles and pronouns with sf CV behave as apocope-blocked forms §3.

4.3.1 Nominals

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cif §6.1. Cifs are allocated tones prior to apocope of the final *ɛ*, after which any toneless final syllables acquire M tone after M, L after L/H. Many cifs are remodelled after sgs, but the cif tones remain unchanged.

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:

zūg-kōgʊr	zūg-kōgā	zūg-kóg-	"pillow"
kā-wēnnīr	kā-wēnnā	kā-wén-	"corn"

Tp H shows H on the first syllable if it is superheavy §2.2 in the lf, but the lf otherwise begins MH, with the H on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight; any tones after H are L.

Examples (bracketed forms are lfs; word-internal *k t p ŋ* represent CC):

sú'əŋ _a (sú'əŋà)	sū'əmís	sū'əŋ- (sū'əmé)	"hare"
sāan _a ´ (sāaná)	sáam _{ma}	sāan-	"stranger"
gōt _a ´	gōtí _b _a	gōt-	"seer"
sābíl _l (sābílè)	sābílá	sābíl- (sābílé)	"black"
sābílí _g _a	sābílís		"black"
dōk _ɔ ´	dōgʊd´ (dōgʊdé)	dōg-	"pot"
kūgʊr´ (kūgʊré)	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
dī'əs _a ´	dī'əsídí _b _a	dī'əs-	"receiver"

Monosyllabic lfs carry H, with sf M: *yā´* "houses", lf *yáa*; see also §5.3.

Lfs ending in overlong diphthongs carry MH, with sf M: *nūa´* "hen", lf *nūáa*.

Some 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.

níiŋ _a	níis	*niinse	nīiŋ-	"bird"
píif _ɔ	*pūinfɔ	pīuní	pīun-	"genet"
wáaf _ɔ	*waagfɔ	wīigí	wā'-	"snake"
yáab _a	*yaagba		yāa-	"grandparent"

So with all tp H fusion-verb gerunds: *náar* *naagrɛ "finishing", *dí'ər* *di'əgrɛ "getting", *pú'n'ər* *pū'əgrɛ "rotting."

Except in loans and 2vb derivatives, *r* behaves as CC after short root vowels:

"yíríf _ɔ	"yírí	"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 _ɔ	nû'us	nū'-	"hand, arm"
nóbɪr	nōbá	nōb-	"foot, leg"
gélɪ	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"

So too *à gâvⁿg_ɔ* "pied crow", *gbêɛⁿm* "sleep", *áⁿsɪb_a* "mother's brother", *kísug_ɔ* "hateful", and the gerunds *sóⁿsɪg_a* "talking", *gósɪg_a* "looking", *kìkírɪv_ɔ* "hurrying."

Tp H with prefixes:

dàyūug _ɔ '	dàyūud'	dàyū-	"rat"
Bùsán _a	Bùsâa ⁿ s	Bùsāŋ-	"Bisa person"
zīnzāuŋ _ɔ '	zīnzāná	zīnzáuŋ-	"bat"
gūmpūzēr'	gūmpūzēyá	gūmpūzér-	"duck"
pīpīrɪg _a '	pīpīrɪs'	pīpír-	"desert"
tīntō ⁿ rɪg _a	tīntō ⁿ rís	tīntó ⁿ r-	"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"
mòlɪf _ɔ	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal _a	sàalìb _a	sàal-	"human"

mèɛŋ _a	mèɛmìs	mèɛŋ-	"turtle"
à ⁿ rùŋ _o	à ⁿ rimà	à ⁿ rùŋ-	"boat"
zìlìm _n	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nòŋìd _a			"lover"
sìilíŋ _a	sìilí(m)s	sìilíŋ-	"proverb"
zàa ⁿ súŋ _o	zàa ⁿ símà	zàa ⁿ súŋ-	"dream"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
nòŋìlím		nòŋìlím-	"love"

Note **bùgúm** **bùgúm-/bùgūm-** "fire", **tàdúmìs** "weakness", **bùdúmìs** "confusion."
Tp L with prefixes:

kùkparìŋ _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.

būʊŋ _a	būʊs	bù-	"goat"
tān _n	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd _a	sīdìb _a	sìd-	"husband"
pɔ̀ā'	pɔ̀'ab _a	pɔ̀'à'-	"woman"
gbīgīm _n	gbīgīmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
mēɛd _a	mēɛdìb _a	mèɛd-	"builder"
sjàkìd _a	sjàkìdìb _a	sjàkìd-	"believer"
mēɛdìŋ _a	mēɛdìs	mèɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

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

pù'ʊs _a	pù'ʊsīdìb _a	pù'ʊs-	"worshipper"
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Before the negative enclitic, W and D have final H (not M) when a nominal lf ends in a long or epenthetic vowel followed by CVCV, mCV or mm:

sg	yūgɔ̀dīré	pl	yūgɔ̀dāa	"hedgehog"
	ˀwāaŋā		ˀwāamīsé	"monkey"
	bāŋīdā		bāŋīdìbá	"wise man"
	kparìdīŋā		kparìdīsé	"thing for locking"
	gbīgīmmé		gbīgīmāa	"lion"
	zōommé		zōomāa	"fugitive"
	tādīmm		tādīmīsé	"weak person"

W (not D) permits this before interrogative enclitics as an alternative:

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

Tp A with prefixes:

dàkīg _a	dàkīis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm _n	fūfūmā	fūfóm-	"envy; stye"

4.3.2 Verbs

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

Tp H 2-mora-stem pfs are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative enclitics. 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 ipfs (and agent nouns) have initial M, not H, and r never behaves as rr in 2vb stems.

"yē	"yēt _a '	"see"
dūg	dūgud _a '	"cook"
kūl	kūn _{na} '	"go home"
yādıg'	yādıgíd _a	"scatter"
mōɔl'	móɔn _{na}	"proclaim"
dīgıł'	dīgın _{na}	"lay down"
nōk'	nōkíd _a	"take"
lāŋım	lāŋım _{ma}	"wander searching"
pāe'	pāad _a '	"reach"
	dīgıya'	"lie down"

Tp A has all tones M if directly preceded by the irrealis markers *nà/kù*, and all L everywhere else.

mè	mèεd _a	"build"
bùd	bùt _a	"plant"
zàb	zàbıd _a	"fight, hurt"

bùəl	bùə _n _{na}	"call"
bòdɪg	bòdɪgì _d _a	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋì _d _a	"do"
zàa ⁿ sìm	zàa ⁿ sìm _{ma}	"dream"
	tàbɪ _{ya}	"be stuck to"
Ò nà bōdīg.		"She'll get lost."
Ò kù bōdīgìdā.		"She won't be getting lost."

4.3.3 Derivation

Root-stem words reveal the tps of the roots themselves.

Tp H roots have H derivatives, with the sole exception of verbs derived with **n**, which are all tp A §7.4. Thus with all deverbal nominals: **dōg** "cook", ger **dōgub_o'**, agent noun **dōgud_a'**, instrument **dōgudīŋ_a**. Irregular tp H corresponds to regular tp H elsewhere: **áⁿsɪb_a** "maternal uncle", **āⁿsīŋ_a** "sister's child"; **gósɪg_a** ger of **gōs** "look."

Tp L/A roots have L/A derivatives. Nominal tp A stems which are not deverbal must be either root-stems, or derived with **d** or **m** alone; thus

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

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

mēɛb _o	"building"	sùŋìr	"help"
kùəsùg _o	"selling"	zàa ⁿ súŋ _o	"dream"
bòcòdìm	"will"	mèédím-tāa	"fellow-builder"

Tp A verb agent nouns and deverbal adjectives are tp A if they contain the suffix **d** (even assimilated, as in **mn** or **nn**), and tp L otherwise; the tp changes even between sg and pl if **d** is dropped in the sg alone.

sōŋì _d _a	"helper"	kpiilúŋ _o	"dead"
bōcòdīr	"desirable"	kūəsīdɪb _a	"sellers"
kùəs _a	"seller"		

Tp A verb instrument nouns are all tp A: **mèédīŋ_a** "building tool", **kūəsīŋ_a** "salesperson."

5 External sandhi

Sandhi includes segmental contact, tone sandhi, and suppression of apocope. Apocope and tone overlay precede all tone sandhi; M-drop and changes before interrogative enclitics precede M-spread, which precedes all other tone sandhi.

5.1 Segmental contact

In non-VP-final verbs, final diphthongs are monophthongised unless *y* follows, and final short vowels denasalise before word-initial nasals:

Ò sù'v lór.	"She owns (sū'e _{ya} ´) a car."
Dúe wēlá'?	"(You) arose (dūe´) how?" (greeting)
È ⁿ rigìm · pāa dú'atà.	"Shift along up to (pāe´) the doctor."
Ò kè nā.	"She came (kē ⁿ) hither."
ti vone tis Zugsob la.	"we live (vūe _{ya} ´) to the Lord." Rom 14:8
tì vó nē · tís Zūg-sób lā.	
1p live FOC + give Lord the	
Mānī · á ⁿ dú'atà kà fōn mén áe ⁿ .	"I'm a doctor and you are too." W
1s + be doctor and 2s also be	
M á nē dú'atà.	"I'm a doctor."
1s be FOC doctor	

No other contact changes are marked in the orthography.

Across liaison, *a · a* is usually rendered [a], *ɿ · a* [a] or [ɿ], and *ɿ · o* [ʊ:]:

nìḡ · àlá	[niḡ:ala]/[niḡ:ɿla]	"did thus"
pèédá · ànū	[pɛ:danu]	"five baskets"
gōsí · ò bīig	[gɔsɔ:bi:g]	"looked at her child"

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

nīn-bán	[nimban]	"these people"
nàm zī'	[nanzɿ]	"still not know"
ḡ Bīl _a	[ḡbil]	"Mbillah" (personal name)

Within phrases, initial C is lost in *lā'* "the" after *r*, in focus-*nē'* after *d t n r l m*, and in *ʷà* "this" after any C; nasalisation is lost and preceding [n l m] geminated:

<i>yīr lā</i>	[jira]	"the house"
<i>Lì yòod nē.</i>	[jɔ:dɛ]	"It's closing."
<i>Ò dīt nē.</i>	[dɪtɛ]	"He's eating."
<i>Lì pòʳ nē.</i>	[põrɛ]	"It's near."
<i>Lì pè'el nē.</i>	[pɛ:l:ɛ]	"It's full."
<i>Ò kàrìm nē.</i>	[karim:ɛ]	"She's reading."
<i>Zōn ʷá!</i>	[zɔn:a]	"Fools!"

5.2 Word-initial tone changes

After most word types, M-spread changes a following word-initial L to X on superheavy syllables, H otherwise, unless the L is "fixed" (see below.) It follows all

subject pronouns

words ending in M tone

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

pls ending in -á or -í

some forms with M-drop (below)

M/c marking §10.6 affects M-spread.

M-spread does not occur across pause. It does not follow clause adjuncts, but otherwise crosses phrase boundaries:

Bà tìs nâ'ab lā bój.

3p give chief the donkey

"They've given the chief a donkey."

(*bòŋ_a* "donkey")

M-spread is absent after pfs without m/c tone overlay which do not end in M, and after nominal pls in -á or -í:

Kà m̄ gōs bój lā.

but *Kà m̄ ʷé' bòŋ lā.*

M̄ dīgà bódìg yā.

but *M̄ yūgumā bòdìg yā.*

"And I've looked at the donkey."

"And I've hit the donkey."

"My dwarfs have got lost."

"My camels have got lost."

The pronouns *m̄ fò ò l̄ t̄ yà bà à*, linker *kà*, all forms of nominaliser *ñ* (including segmental zero), all prefixes *à-* and all number prefixes have a fixed L tone not subject to M-spread. With no intervening pause, M before fixed L must become H:

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'aŋ n ti paae ya tuona la.

wūu sáa· nāanī · ǰáⁿk yà ʔyá'aŋ n tí páe ·yà tùə̀nà lā

like rain·NZ start.at + jump 2p behind + next reach 2p front the

"like when lightning leaps from East to West" Mt 24:27 B2

As H derives from ML/MML on one syllable, X from MLL, M-spread after word-final M looks phonologically transparent. Bound pronouns followed by M-spread formerly carried M (Spratt), and H/L-final sfs followed by M-spread had lf-final M, delinked by apocope. However, M-spread has now been grammaticalised: nouns with identical H/L-final sg and cif show M-spread after sg but not cif, even if the cif has added segments by analogy, as with *lànɲìg_a* "squirrel" cif *lànɲìg-*.

M-drop applies to words with initial M tone within NPs.

After all free predependents except personal pronouns, and after all cifs ending in M tone, whether dependents or heads:

unprefixed words with initial M change all tones to L;

M prefixes change to L, but the rest of the stem is unaffected.

M-drop affects only the one following word (which may be a cif.)

M-drop applies before M-spread; as the preceding word usually also induces M-spread, the new initial L becomes X/H; initial H on long vowels may become X by analogy: *dāu lā nāaf* "the man's cow (*nāaf_ɔ*)."
M-drop precedes tone changes due to liaison: *dāu lā pɔ́ɔgɔ̄·n* "in the man's field (*pɔ́ɔgɔ̄*')." "

Examples:

<i>bù-pāalìg_a</i>	"new goat"	<i>nō-pāalìg_a</i>	"new hen"
<i>bù-kūvd_a'</i>	"goat-killer"	<i>nō-kūvd_a</i>	"hen-killer"
<i>nà'-bīig_a</i>	"prince/princess"	<i>nà'ab bīig</i>	"a king's child"
<i>mān yōgúm</i>	"my camel"	<i>mān gbīgīm</i>	"my lion"
<i>dāu lā yógùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>dāu lā gbígìm</i>	"the man's lion"
<i>m̀ bīāyá yògùm</i>	"my sibs' camel"	<i>m̀ bīāyá gbìgìm</i>	"my sibs' lion"
<i>mɔ́ɔgɔ̄·n yógùm</i>	"a wild camel"		

M-drop never follows free heads: *kūg-yínnì* "one stone", but *kūgɔ̄r yínní* "one stone", *kūgɔ̄r lā* "the stone", *kūgá pīigā* "ten stones." It occurs only within NPs:

Bà tìs nā'ab lā bīig. "They've given it to the chief's child."
but *Bà tìs nā'ab lā bīig.* "They've given the chief a child."

Mono- and disyllabic words affected by both M-drop and M-spread after a free predependent are not followed by M-spread:

Dāu lā bán b̀òdìg yā.

man the ring get.lost m/c

"The man's ring (**bāŋ_a**) has got lost."

Dāu lā yúgùm b̀òdìg yā.

Dāu lā b̄iig b̀òdìg yā.

"The man's camel (**yūgúm_n**) has got lost."

"The man's child (**b̄iig_a**) has got lost."

but M̄ b̄iāyá bán b̀òdìg yā.

M̄ b̄iāyá yùgùm b̀òdìg yā.

Dāu lā sù'ʊg b̀òdìg yā.

Dāu lā yúgv̀d̄ir b̀òdìg yā.

"My sibs' ring ..." (no M-spread)

"My sibs' camel ..." (no M-spread)

"The man's knife (**sù'ʊg_a**) ..." (no M-drop)

"The man's hedgehog (**yūgv̀d̄ir**) ..." (three syllables)

M-spread/M-drop after compounds follow the ordinary rules (with **d̄iub_ɔ** "food"):

b̀ò-wōk d̄iub

"tall goat's food"

n̄ō-wók d̄iub

"tall hen's food"

b̀ò-wōk-p̄iəlìg_a

"tall white goat"

n̄ō-wók-p̄iəlìg_a

"tall white hen"

b̀ò-wōk-p̄aalìg_a

"tall new goat"

n̄ō-wók-p̄aalìg_a

"tall new hen"

M-drop applies sequentially. Words already affected by M-drop do not alter, and the occurrence of M-spread reflects the sequence of applications:

dāu lā [n̄ó-p̄aalìg]

[f̄uug d̄ôɔg]

p̀ò'ʊsùg [f̄uug d̄ôɔg]

[[[dāu lā b̄iig] b̄iər] n̄aaf] z̀òv̄r

"the man's new hen (**n̄ō-p̄aalìg_a**)"

"tent" (**f̄uug_ɔ** ' "cloth", **d̄ôɔg_ɔ** "hut")

"tabernacle" (**p̀ò'ʊsùg_ɔ** "worship")

"the man's child's sib's cow's tail" W

(**b̄iig_a**, **b̄iər** ' , **n̄aaf_ɔ**, **z̀òv̄r**)

5.3 Prosodic enclitics

Prosodic enclitics lack segmental form (cf Spencer and Luís pp132ff on such clitics elsewhere.) They cause preceding words to appear as lfs: final *iə uə* -> *ia ua*; final *mɛ* -> *mm* [*prior* to *mɛɛ* -> *mmɛ*] and final 3-mora monophthongs -> 2-mora, so that sf and lf coincide segmentally. Any tp H lfs which become monosyllabic carry H.

<i>vōm´</i>	"life"	lf	<i>vómm</i>	
<i>dāam´</i>	"beer"		<i>dáamm</i>	
<i>tōom´</i>	"disappear"		<i>tóomm</i>	
<i>kúo</i> [kʊ:]	"kill her"		<i>kúo</i>	*kʊo·o
<i>gāaⁿ´</i>	"ebony"		<i>gáaⁿ</i>	*gãaga

The negative enclitic ends VPs containing a negated/negative verb §10.4 §10.8. It changes lf-final L syllables to M.

Lì kā' dōkó·. "It's not a pot (*dōk_o´*)."
3i NG.be pot·NG

Lì kā' nóburē·. "It's not a leg (*nóbur*)."
Bà kā' mólī·. "They are not gazelles (*mòlì*)."
Lì kā' yàarimm·. "It's not salt (*yàarim*)."

This rule applies *after* M-spread; thus

Lì ká' ò tīmm·. "It's not her medicine (*tìum*)."
Lì ká' bà dā'a·. "It's not their market (*dà'a*)."
but *Lì kā' tīmm·.* "It's not medicine."
Lì kā' dá'a·. "It's not a market."

Similar lfs, written with final *ɛ ɔ* in B3, appear in clause adjuncts like *bō zúgō* "because", *dāa-sí'ərē* "perhaps", and sometimes at the end of *yà'*-clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor buude, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.
Kìkìrīg yá' mōr bōdē, fūn tísò· kà ò lèbìg ò mōogō·n.
fairy if have innocence 2s give·3a and 3a return 3a grass-at

"When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." G2 p38

Commands consisting of a verb alone or verb + 2pS sometimes end in lfs of this kind: *gòsimā!* "look!", *gòsimī·yá!* "look (pl)!"; so too the greeting *nē só'sigā!* §13.

The vocative enclitic ends vocative clauses. It changes lf-final L to M. It sometimes imposes a falling intonation on final M.

Ì puā' né m̄ bīisē! "My wife and my children!"
1s wife with 1s child.PL·VOC

The two interrogative enclitics end questions. Before the polar-question enclitic, lf-final short vowels are lengthened.

Bà à nē mólì·? "Are they gazelles (mòlì)?"
3p be FOC gazelle.PL·PQ

Lì à nē nóbūrè·? "Is it a leg (nóbūr)?"

Before the content-question enclitic, lfs that do not end in a short vowel (including those in -mm) adopt the segmental form of the *sf*:

Ànó'ònì · nyē nóbūrè·? "Who's seen a leg?"
who + see leg·CQ

Ànó'ònì · nyē sù'ugà·? "Who's seen a knife (sù'ugà)?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē dūkó·? "Who's seen a pot (dūkó)?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē mólì·? "Who's seen gazelles?"

Ànó'ònì · nyé·? "Who has seen?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē nīn-dáa·? "Who's seen a face (nīn-dáa)?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē bédugú·? "Who's seen a lot (bédugú)?"

Ànó'ònì · wóm·? "Who has heard (wòm)?"

All questions have final *falling* intonation and end with a L or H tone. If all tones of the lf before an interrogative enclitic are M, all of them become L. This rule applies before M-spread, to which the new L tones are now subject.

Ànó'ònì · nyé bà bìigà·? "Who has seen their child (bìigà)?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē bíigà·? "Who's seen a child?"

Ànó'ònì · nyē zuáyà·? "Who's seen hills (zuáyà)?"

Fò bôod bó·? "What (bô) do you want?"

Ò p̄ dúgèè·? "Hasn't she cooked (dūg)?"

Ì ná bòdìgèè·? "Will I get lost?"

(Ì ná bōdīg "I will get lost.")

5.4 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final lf vowel, but with loss of its quality and length contrasts.

Left-bound liaison words will be called liaison enclitics. They comprise: locative **n** (after nominals), nominaliser **̀n** (after NPs), discontinuous-past **n** and 2pS **ya**, and the object personal pronouns **m_a f_o o l t u ya ba** (after verbs, past **n** or 2pS **ya**.)

Liaison enclitics are always preceded by liaison.

Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns **m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ ỳ à b̀ à à**, linker **n**, and all words with prefixed **à**. Liaison is usual before **n** and number-prefix **à**, but is otherwise only common after verbs and after 2pS **ya**.

Before liaison lf-final short vowels become **ɪ**, rounded to **ʊ** after **f** or rounded vowels + **g/ŋ** by many speakers. Final diphthongs become 2-mora monophthongs. Final **-ya** is dropped, and preceding vowels again become 2-mora monophthongs. Final non-root vowels are usually lengthened, but may remain unchanged.

kū_k_a	"chair"	+ n "at" ->	kū_k_ī·n
dū_k_o´	"pot"		dū_k_í·n
pō_og_o´	"field"		pō_og_o´·n
gbà_uŋ_o	"book"		gbà_uŋ_o·n
dà'a	"market"		dā'a·n
kù'əm	"water"		kù'əmī·n

nyē	"see"	+ ba 3p ->	nyéε·bā
kjà	"cut"		kìə·bā
gbāⁿ'e´	"seize"		gbáⁿ'a·bā
pīe´	"wash"		píə·bā
dūe´	"raise"		dúə·bā
sū'e_{ya}´	"own"		sú'v·bā

vū_eya´	"live"	+ n past ->	vūv·n
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T̀ì g̀ó_sí ·b̀à b̀īis.

1p look 3p child.PL

"We've looked at their (**b̀à**) children."

Before non-enclitics or enclitic **m**, final **mɪ** may become **m**, with its tone shifted to the preceding syllable:

G̀òs_umí ·f̀ù n̄ú'ug!	G̀òs_umí ·f̀ù n̄ú'ug!	"Look at your hand!"
G̀òs_umī·m!	G̀òs_umī·m!	"Look at me!"

The mora before *o* becomes *o* [ɔ] (fusing with the lf of the pronoun as *o·o* [ɔ:]), while the mora before *ya* becomes [i]:

<i>bòɔd_a</i>	"want"	+ <i>o</i> 3a ->	<i>bòɔdō·</i>	lf <i>bòɔdó·o</i>
<i>tùm</i>	"send"		<i>tùmò·</i>	lf <i>tùmò·o</i>
<i>dì</i>	"eat"		<i>dìo·</i>	lf <i>dìò·o</i>
<i>kjà</i>	"cut"		<i>kìo·</i>	lf <i>kìò·o</i>
<i>zū</i>	"steal"		<i>zúo·</i>	lf <i>zūó·o</i>
<i>àɛⁿya</i>	"be"		<i>àⁿo·</i>	lf <i>àⁿó·o</i>
<i>pāe´</i>	"reach"		<i>páo·</i>	lf <i>pāó·o</i>
<i>pīe´</i>	"wash"		<i>pío·</i>	lf <i>pīó·o</i>
<i>dūe´</i>	"raise"		<i>dúo·</i>	lf <i>dūó·o</i>
<i>zū</i>	"steal"	+ <i>ya</i> 2pS ->	<i>zūe·</i>	lf <i>zūe·yá</i>
<i>bè</i>	"be"		<i>bēi·</i>	lf <i>bēi·yá</i>

ya itself becomes *ní* before liaison (historically, **ya* -> **ɲi*.)

Dì'əmī·! "Receive (pl)!"
receive.IMP·2pS

Dì'əmī·ní·bā! "Receive (pl) them!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3p

Dì'əmī·nó! "Receive (pl) her!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3a

nɔŋimini ya pu'ab "love (pl) your wives" Col 3:19
nòŋìmī·ní·yà pū'ab
love.IMP·2pS 2p woman.PL

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

Ṁ mór nē bīisá ·àtáⁿ! "I have three children."
1s have FOC child.PL three

Pèédá ·àlá·? "How many baskets?"
basket.PL how.many-CQ

but Ò nìṅí ·àlá. "She has done thus."
3a do thus

Fù áaⁿ ·ànó'ónè? "Who are you?"
2s be who·CQ

yeli Abaa "said to Dog" G2 p20
yèlì ·à Bāa
say PZ dog

Tone changes induced by liaison words apply after M-spread.
Locative **n** changes any preceding lf-final L to M:

pōṅṅó'	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pōṅṅó·n
bīig _a	"child"		bīigī·n
yàad	"graves"		yàadī·n
kūbdí _a	"killers"		kūbdíbī·n

Past **n** and 2pS *ya/n* change any preceding lf-final L or *non-root* H to M:

dōg	"cook"	+ n past ->	dōgō·n	
mè	"build"		mēε·n	
bòdɪg	"lose"		bòdɪgī·n	
yādɪg'	"scatter"		yādɪgī·n	
kūbdá'	"kill" ipf		kūbdī·n	
dōl _l a'	"go with"	+ ya 2pS ->	dōllī·	If dōllī·yá

After pfs without m/c marking and not preceded by irrealis *nà/kù*, bound object pronouns change any preceding lf-final M to H:

bòdɪg	"lose"	+ ba 3p ->	bòdɪgì·bā
dì	"eat"		dì·bā
yādɪg'	"scatter"		yādɪgí·bā
dōg	"cook"		dōgí·bā
kū	"kill"		kúv·bā
pāe'	"reach"		pāa·bā
bàs	"abandon"	+ o 3a ->	bàsò·
gōs	"look"		gōsò·

In all other cases, bound object pronouns change any preceding lf-final L to M. Thus with ipfs:

kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ m _a 1s ->	kūvdí·m
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdī·m
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"		yādıgıdī·m
nòŋ	"love"		nòŋī·m

kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ o 3a ->	kūvdó·
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdō·
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"		yādıgıdō·

After m/c marking (which first changes all tones to L §10.6):

Ò bòdıgī·m.	"He's lost me."
Ò bòdıgō·	"He's lost her."
Ò yàdıgī·bá.	"He's scattered them."
Ò kūv·bá.	"She has killed them."

Lfs of liaison enclitics (other than o "him/her") bear M after L/H and H after M:

pōog _o '	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pōogú·n	If pōogú·nē
yàad	"graves"		yàadī·n	If yàadī·né
kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ m _a 1s ->	kūvdí·m	If kūvdí·mā
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdī·m	If bàsıdī·má
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"	+ ba 3p ->	yādıgıdī·bá	

However, they carry H, not M, after a L root vowel which would have changed to M before the enclitic if it had not already been changed to H by M-spread:

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

Enclitic pronouns with M on the sf change to H before all prosodic enclitics:

Kà m̀ básı·bā.	"And I left them."
Kà m̀ pū básı·báa·.	"And I didn't leave them."
Kà m̀ kúv·bā.	"And I killed them."
Àn'ónì kúv·bá·?	"Who's killed them?"

Lf **o** "him/her" is tonally null, but **-ò·o** becomes **-ō·o** before the negative enclitic by the usual rule, while **-ō·o** becomes **-ó·o** before all prosodic enclitics; final overlong diphthongs behave tonally as if they were -VCVV:

bàsɪd _a	"leave"	+ o 3a ->	bàsɪdō·	lf bàsɪdó·o
yādɪgíd _a	"scatter"		yādɪgídō·	lf yādɪgídó·o
bòɔd _a	"want"		bòɔdō·	lf bòɔdó·o
nyē	"see"		nyéo·	lf nyēó·o

Ò nà bāsō·.

"He will leave her."

Ò kù bāsó·o·.

"He won't leave her."

Linker **n** is toneless. A preceding lf-final tone is M after M, L otherwise. M-spread follows **n** whenever the sf of the preceding word would induce it:

amaa o kena ye o tum tisi ba "but he came to serve them" Mt 20:28
 àmáa ò kē nā yé ò túm · tìsì·bā
 but 3a come hither that 3a work + give·3p

M nók sú'ugù · kǐá nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
 1s take knife + cut meat the

All other liaison words begin with a fixed L tone, before which M becomes H. Before nominaliser **̀n** no other tone change occurs; before the non-enclitics, final tones are as before enclitic object pronouns or the locative particle, but with H for M:

Kà bà dìtí ·bà dīub. "And they were eating their food."
 and 3p eat.IPF 3p food

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la
 bànì· nà yēl Zūg-sóbí ·bà tūmá· àⁿ sī'em lā
 DEMp·NZ IR say Lord 3p deed.PL·NZ be how the
 "those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are" Heb 13:17 B2

6 Flexion

6.1 Nouns

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem appears with the suffix ε as a compound-initial form (cif) before other nominals §9.1. Cifs undergo apocope, but after non-nasal consonants, ε was formerly retained as ι ; older texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for "wād-bíl_a" "star."

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

The five sg|pl suffix pairs $a|ba$, $ga|se$, $gɔ|de$, $re|aa$ and $fɔ|\iota$ account for most count nouns; two unpaired suffixes form $bɔ|$ and $me|$ classes, mostly of mass nouns. Pronouns, adjectives and numerals once agreed by class, but gender is now natural, animate/inanimate; the 3rd person pronouns are those originally for $a|ba$ and $re|aa$.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class to avoid ambiguity. This has become regular with $gɔ|de$ stems ending in m n , which use pl aa instead of de ; so too do all gerunds in $gɔ$.

A subclass of $a|ba$ referring to older/important people uses ba as a sg suffix, and language names belong to a subclass of $re|aa$ with the sg suffix le .

The classes are thus as follows:

$a ba$ $ba $	$sīd_a$ $nà'ab_a$	$sīd\iota b_a$ $nà'-nà_m_a$	$sìd-$ $nà'-$	"husband" "chief"
$ga se$	$bū\upsilon g_a$	$bū\upsilon s$	$bù-$	"goat"
$gɔ de$ $gɔ aa$	$vīug_ɔ'$ $bū'əsúg_ɔ$	$vīid'$ $bū'əsá$	$vī-$ $bū'əs-$	"owl" "question"
$re aa$ $le $	$nōɔr'$ $Kūsáal$	$nōyá$	$nō-$	"mouth" "Kusaal"
$fɔ \iota$	$mò\iota f_ɔ$	$mò\iota$	$mò\iota-$	"gazelle"
$bɔ $	$sā'ab_ɔ$		$sà'-$	"porridge"
$me $	$tì\iota m$		$tì-$	"medicine"

In two contexts, sg lfs show a different class suffix that would give the same sf: lf $-ga$ may become $-gɔ$ after rounded vowels, e.g. $nū'ug_ɔ$ pl $nū'us$ "hand", and $a|ba$ stems in l n r may show lf $-lle$ $-nne$ $-re$, as if with the suffix re , e.g. $Bìn_n$ "Moba person."

$a|ba$ m -stems avoid pl ba ; some human-reference $ga|se$ nouns use pl ba beside se ; countable $me|$ nouns use pl aa or se or use $nà_m_a$; the small $fɔ|\iota$ class includes words with $fɔ|\iota$ suffixes in only one number; the few other irregular pairings mostly involve replacement of pl de by other suffixes.

The word **nàm_a** follows count-noun cifs or mass sgs to make pls: **kpèεⁿm-nàm_a** "elders", **sā'ab nám_a** "portions of porridge." It pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pl forms used as sg, mass nouns in count sense, and forms with personaliser à. It is used to avoid ambiguous regular pls, and to form the pls of

mà	mà nám _a sic	mà-	"mother"
bā'	bā'-nám _a	bā'-	"father"
zùà	zùà-nàm _a	zùà-	"friend"

Apocope-blocking is seen in many manner nouns §10.7.2. A few other apocope-blocked nouns may be loans from related languages without apocope §8.

Stems ending in a short root vowel in the sg §4.2.1 and stems ending in **m/n** regularly show cifs segmentally (not tonally) remodelled on the sg:

zūg _o '	zūt'	zūg-	"head"
kùkōr'	kùkōyá	kùkōr-	"voice"
tā ⁿ p _o		tā ⁿ p-	"war"
zīnzāyū _o '	zīnzāná	zīnzáyū-	"bat"

Remodelled cifs are sometimes used to avoid ambiguity:

kòl _o g _o	kòn _n	kòlùg-	"sack"
lànnìg _a	lànnìs	lànnìg-	"squirrel"

Cf **kòl_og_a** "river", cif **kòl-**; **lān_n** "testicle", cif **làn-**.

Cifs as dependents are often not remodelled: **nīf-kán** "this eye", **gbāyū-kán** "this skin", but **nīn-tā'm** "tears", **gbān-záb_a** "leatherbeater." Older sources often show unremodelled cifs, e.g. *kukortita'ar* B2, *kvkōtita'ar* B3 "great voice" Jn 7:28.

Two nouns distinguish sg and pl cifs as heads:

dāy	dāp _a	dāy-	sg dāp-	pl	"man"
tāy ⁿ '	tā ⁿ p _a '	tāy ⁿ -	sg tā ⁿ p-	pl	"opposite-sex sib"

Thus e.g. **dāy-sù_ŋ** "good man", **dāp-sùmà** "good men."

The cif of **lā'af_o** "cowry", pl **līgudī** "money" may be **là'-** or **lìg-**.

There are partial correlations between class and meaning.

a|ba has exclusively human-reference membership.

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

gɔ|dɛ and **rɛ|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 **gɔ|dɛ** nouns are pejorative: **dàbīog** "coward", **zōlvog** "fool." Stems referring to people may use sg **gɔ** for the place where they live. Most human-reference **rɛ|aa** nouns have been transferred from **a|ba** for phonological reasons. All language names belong to **lɛ|**.

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

bɔ| has only three members that are not gerunds: **sā'ab** "millet porridge", **tāⁿp** "war" and **kī'ib** "soap."

mɛ| contains nouns referring to liquids, substances and abstractions, and a few inanimate count nouns.

Regular deverbal nouns have predictable class membership.

The sg sf is usually enough to identify the noun class, given whether the word has human reference. Loanwords may pluralise with **nàm_a**, but are often fitted into noun classes by analogy instead:

màlǎk_a'	màlǎ'as'	màlǎ'-	"angel": Arabic <i>mal'ak</i>
gādvg_ɔ'	gāt'	gād-	"bed": Hausa <i>gado</i>
lór	láyà/lóom_{ma}	lór-	"lorry"
àlópìr	àlópìyà		"aeroplane"
màlf_ɔ	màlì		"gun": Arabic <i>midfa'</i>

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

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

Paradigms

Stems form cifs with the suffix ε . By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel; complications arise from root allomorphy, deletion of g , vowel and consonant assimilation, and rounding §4.2.

a|ba

Stem-final m n assimilate before pl ba : $mb/nb \rightarrow mm$.

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

$s\bar{i}d_a$	$s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$s\bar{i}d-$	"husband"
$n\bar{i}d_a'$	$n\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a'$	$n\bar{i}n-$ <i>sic</i>	"person"
$s\bar{a}al_a$	$s\bar{a}al\bar{i}b_a$	$s\bar{a}al-$	"human being"
$k\bar{o}v\bar{d}_a'$	$k\bar{o}v\bar{d}\bar{i}b_a$	$k\bar{o}v\bar{d}-$	"killer"
$s\bar{a}an_a'$	$s\bar{a}am_{ma}$	$s\bar{a}an-$	"guest, stranger"
$y\bar{o}v\bar{m}-y\bar{o}'v\bar{m}_{na}$	$-y\bar{o}'v\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{i}b_a$	$-y\bar{o}'v\bar{m}-$	"singer"
$p\bar{u}\bar{x}'-s\bar{a}n'am_{ma}$	$-s\bar{a}n'am\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$ <i>sic</i>	$-s\bar{a}n'am-$	"adulterer"
$p\bar{a}'an_{na}$	$p\bar{a}'ann\bar{i}b_a$	$p\bar{a}'an-$	"teacher"

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 $n\bar{a}m_a$ pls as well or instead.

$k\bar{u}\bar{e}s_a$	$k\bar{u}\bar{e}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$k\bar{u}\bar{e}s-$	"seller"
$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s_a'$	$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$s\bar{i}g\bar{i}s-$	"lowerer"
$d\bar{i}r_s_a$	$d\bar{i}r_s-n\bar{a}m_a$	$d\bar{i}r_s-$	"glutton"
$s\bar{o}s_a$	$s\bar{o}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$s\bar{o}s-$	"beggar"
$t\bar{i}s_a$	$t\bar{i}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$t\bar{i}s-$	"giver" W
$k\bar{i}s(\bar{i}d)_a'$	$k\bar{i}s\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$k\bar{i}s\bar{i}d-$	"hater"
$z\bar{a}b-z\bar{a}b_a$	$-z\bar{a}b\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$	$-z\bar{a}b-$	"warrior"
$g\bar{b}\bar{a}n-z\bar{a}b_a$	$-z\bar{a}b-n\bar{a}m_a$	$-z\bar{a}b-$	"leatherbeater"
${}^n\bar{w}\bar{i}-t\bar{e}k_a$	$-t\bar{e}k\bar{i}d\bar{i}b_a$		"rope-puller"

Stems in single m have sg $-m\varepsilon$ and pls with $s\varepsilon$ or $n\bar{a}m_a$:

$kp\bar{i}'\bar{i}m$	$kp\bar{i}'\bar{i}m\bar{i}s$	$kp\bar{i}'\bar{i}m-$	"dead person"
$z\bar{u}'\bar{e}m'$	$z\bar{u}'\bar{e}m\bar{i}s$	$z\bar{u}'\bar{e}m-$	"blind person"
$t\bar{a}d\bar{i}m$	$t\bar{a}d\bar{i}m\bar{i}s$	$t\bar{a}d\bar{i}m-$	"weak person"
	$t\bar{a}d\bar{i}m-n\bar{a}m_a$		
$kp\bar{e}\bar{e}^n\bar{m}$	$kp\bar{e}\bar{e}^n\bar{m}-n\bar{a}m_a$	$kp\bar{e}\bar{e}^n\bar{m}-$	"elder"
$b\bar{i}'\bar{e}m$	$b\bar{i}'\bar{e}m-n\bar{a}m_a$	$b\bar{i}'\bar{e}m-$	"enemy"

For $kp\bar{e}\bar{e}^n\bar{m}$ $b\bar{i}'\bar{e}m$, W also has the lf-only pls $kp\bar{e}\bar{e}^n\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ $b\bar{i}'\bar{e}m\bar{m}\bar{a}$.

CVn-stems show sg lf -nne, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg re.

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

CVmm-stems have only nām_a pls: dām-dām_{ma} "shaker."

CVll- and CVr-stems take a|ba suffixes, but W has variant re|aa forms.

gbàn-zā ⁿ l _{la} '	-zā ⁿ l _{ba}	-zā ⁿ l-	"book-carrier" K W
bù-mōr _a '	-mōr _{ba}	-mōr-	"goat-owner" W
gbàn-tār _a '	-tār _{ba}	-tār-	"book-owner" D
zà'-nō-gúr _a	-gúr _{ba}	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"
bù-zā ⁿ l _l '	-zā ⁿ llá	-zā ⁿ l-	"goat-carrier" W
ⁿ yā'an-dól _l	-dól _{llà}	-dól-	"disciple" W
bù-mōr'	-mōrá	-mōr-	"goat-owner" W

Seven nouns end in vowels in the sg sf:

pūā'	pū'ab _a	pūà'-	"woman"
bā'a	bā'ab _a	bà'a-	"diviner"
sā ⁿ ē _(ya)	sā ⁿ ab _a	sā ⁿ -	"blacksmith"
sō ⁿ ē _(ya)	sō ⁿ ab _a	sō ⁿ -	"witch"
dāū	dāp _a	dāū-, dāp-	"man"
tāū ⁿ '	tā ⁿ p _a '	tāū ⁿ -, tā ⁿ p-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pītú	pīt _{ba}	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

The forms in -ū -v reflect an old sg -wa. In compounds, -pīt_a' replaces pītú:
bì-pīt_a' "younger child."

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

wìd _a	wìb _a	wìd-	"hunter"
sō ⁿ 'ōd _a '	sō ⁿ 'ōb _a '	sō ⁿ 'ōd-	"someone better"
pūk _{pā} ad _a '	pūk _{pā} ad _{ba} '	pūk _{pā} -	"farmer"

Others have become re|aa: pùkòòⁿr "widow", dàkòòⁿr "bachelor", bīēr' "elder same-sex sibling", pòⁿ'ōr "cripple", ⁿyē'er' "next-younger sibling." Related languages keep pl ba, e.g. Toende Kusaal pòkōot pl pòkōp "widow."

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

nà'ab _a	nà'-nàm _a	nà'-	"chief"
yáab _a *yaagba	yāa-nám _a	yāa-	"grandparent"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
á"sìb _a	ā"s-nám _a	ā"s-	"mother's brother"
sàam _{ma}	sàam-nàm _a	sàam-	"father"
dìem _{ma}	dìem-nàm _a	dìem-	"man's parent-in-law"
dàyáam _{ma}	dàyāam-nám _a	dàyāam-	"woman's <i>id</i> "

ga|sɛ

dèɛg _a	dèɛs	dè-	"warthog"
"wādɪg _a '	"wādɪs'	"wād-	"moon, month"
bù-dìbɪg _a	-dìbɪs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kōlɪg _a	kōlɪs	kòl-	"river"
kpòkparɪg _a	kpòkparɪs	kpòkpar-	"palm tree"
pūsɪg _a '	pūsɪs'	pūs-	"tamarind"

After **aa iə uə**, **g** is deleted, with vowel fusion; sg **ĩa ãa** correspond to pl **ěɛs ǔɔs**.

bāa	bāas	bà-	"dog"
sīa	sīəs	sjà-	"waist"
sàbùa	sàbùəs	sàbɹà-	"lover, girlfriend"
nū'-í'n'a	-é'n'ɛs	-é'n'-	"fingernail"
nūa'	nōɔs'	nō-	"hen"

After **a ɪa ɹa**, **g** is deleted and the vowel is glottalised.

After short root vowels **gg** -> **k**; elsewhere, **gg** is replaced by **ŋ**:

gìk _a	gìgɪs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
bèrìŋ _a	bèrìgɪs		"kenaf"
yáaŋ _a	yáas *yaagɛ	yāaŋ-	"grandchild"

Naden has *kariŋ* pl *kariŋis* "nit, head louse." **Vúəŋ_a** "red kapok" has acquired the pl **vūəmís** by analogy; cf **vúəɹ** ***vuəgrɛ** "red kapok fruit."

mg/ng -> **ŋ**; except in a few root-stems, **ms** -> **ns** optionally or always, followed by **ns** -> **s** with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

bùŋ _a	bòm _{is}	bùŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋ _a	nām _{is}	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋ _a	sū'əm _{is}	sū'əŋ-	"hare"
tēŋ _a	tēɛ ⁿ _s	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ _a	pàa ⁿ _s	pàŋ-	"power"
nīŋ _a	nīs/nīim _{is}	nīŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ _a	kùlì(m) _s	kùlìŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋ _a	pīəsí(m) _s	pīəsíŋ-	"sponge"
mēədīŋ _a	mēədī(m) _s	mēədīŋ-	"building tool"

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

kūug _{a/ɔ} '	kūs'	kū-	"mouse"
sù'ug _{a/ɔ}	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
nû'ug _ɔ	nû'us	nû'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ _{a/ɔ}	zùnzò ⁿ _s	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
yù'ug _ɔ	yù'um _{is}	yù'ug-	"night"
zùu ⁿ _{gɔ}	zùu ⁿ _s /zùu ⁿ _d	zù ⁿ -	"vulture"

For unclear reasons, so does **pē'ogɔ'** "sheep", pl **pē'es'**, cif **pē'**.

Some original **gɔ|de** m-stems show **se** rather than **aa** in place of pl **de**:

yàmmùg _{a/ɔ}	yàmm _{is}	yàm-	"slave"
à dàalúŋ _ɔ	à dàalí(m) _s	à dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'ug _ɔ	sī'im _{is}	sī'ug-	kind of big dish
dìsúŋ _ɔ	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúŋ-	"spoon"
wīl _s úŋ _ɔ	wīlum _{is} <i>sic</i>	wīl _s úŋ-	kind of snail
yāl _s úŋ _ɔ	yālum _{is} <i>sic</i>	yāl _s úŋ-	"quail"

Some human-reference nouns have alternative pls with **ba**:

dàsāŋ _a	dàsām _{ma} /dàsāa ⁿ _s	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà-dàbùà	-dàbùəb _a /-dàbùəs		clan name
Yàaŋ _a	Yàam _{ma}	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàam _{is} /Yàa ⁿ _s		

Irregular nouns:

bīig _a	bīis	bī-/bì-	"child"
būtīŋ _a	būtīis	bùtīŋ-	"cup"
sāŋá	sānsá [sansa]	sān-	"time"

gɔ|dɛ

Before gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic ɪ to ʊ and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

dàʊg _ɔ	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fē ⁿ 'og _ɔ '	fē ⁿ 'ed'	fē ⁿ '-	"ulcer"
gbè'og _ɔ	gbè'ed/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbīog _ɔ	dàbīəd	dàbɪà-	"coward"
vīug _ɔ '	vīid'	vī-	"owl"
mōog _ɔ	mōod	mò-	"grass, bush"
wābug _ɔ '	wābʊd'	wāb-	"elephant"
bālērʊg _ɔ '	bālērɪd'/bālērɪs'	bālér-	"ugly person"
bēsʊg _ɔ	bēsɪd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dòog _ɔ	dòod/dət	dò-	"hut"
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So too pōog_ɔ' "farm, field", fūug_ɔ' "clothing, shirt." Exceptionally, the sg has a short vowel in zūg_ɔ' "head", pl zūt', cif zū(g)-.

gg -> k and ɤakɔ -> okɔ; g is deleted after a ɤa ɤa:

dūk _ɔ '	dūgʊd'	dūg-	"cooking pot"
lāɤk _ɔ	lā'ad	là'-	"(item of) goods"
bɪāɤ ⁿ k _ɔ	bɪā ⁿ 'ad W bɪā ⁿ 'adā S	bɪā ⁿ '-	"shoulder"
lòk _ɔ	lò'ad	lɤà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

dd -> t; ld -> nn:

ùdʊg _ɔ	ùt	ùd-	"(piece of) chaff"
zōlʊg _ɔ '	zōn _n '	zōl-	"fool"
sìlʊg _ɔ	sìn _n /sìlts	sìl-	"hawk"

mg/ng -> ŋ; m/n-stems use aa instead of de, except in *yammid* "slavery" and *làṅgáṅṅ* (or *màṅgáṅṅ*) "crab", pl *làṅgāamá* or *làṅgáam_n*.

gbàṅṅ	gbàná	gbàṅṅ-/gbàn-	"book"
zīnzāṅṅ'	zīnzāná	zīnzāṅṅ-	"bat"
à ⁿ rùṅṅ	à ⁿ rímà	à ⁿ rùṅṅ-	"boat"
nìn-gbīṅṅ'	-gbīná	-gbīṅṅ-	"body"

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate ng -> ŋ, and m-stems optionally resist mg -> ŋ: thus *dìḡṅṅ* "lying down", *sùnnòḡ* "bowing the head", *sàⁿ'ṅṅ/sàⁿ'amòḡ* "destroying", *kà^ròḡ/kà^rímòḡ* "reading."

All pls take aa:

bū'əsúḡ	bū'əsá	bū'əs-	"question"
zàa ⁿ 'súḡ	zàa ⁿ 'símà	zàa ⁿ 'súḡ-	"dream"

The place name *Dèṅṅ* "Denugu" also fails to assimilate ng.

re|aa

kūḡr'	kūḡá	kūḡ-	"stone"
yūḡdīr	yūḡdā	yūḡd-	"hedgehog"
nóbīr	nóbá	nób-	"leg"
bì ⁿ 'isìr	bì ⁿ 'isà	bì ⁿ 'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlàṅṅìr	bàlàṅṅà	bàlàṅṅ-	"hat"
sāṅḡónnìr	sāṅḡónnà	sāṅḡón-	"millipede"
sūmmīr	sūmmā	sùm-	"groundnut"

CV(V)-stems make pl CVya if the vowel is modal, CVda if glottal §4.2.1:

gbēr'	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
bīēr'	bīāyá	bīā-	"elder same-sex sib"
zūēr	zūāyā	zūā-	"hill"
nōōr'	nōyá	nō-	"mouth"
zōōr	zōyā	zō-	"tail"
ⁿ yē'ēr'	ⁿ yēdá	ⁿ yē'-	"next-younger sibling"
pò ⁿ 'ōr	pò ⁿ 'dà	pò ⁿ '-	"cripple"
yō'ōr'	yōdá	yō'-	"name"
yū'ēr	yūādā	yū'ēr- sic	"penis"

Stems in *ag jag uag* may make analogical forms in *-d-*:

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bagrɛ</i>)
sjà'ar	sjà'a	sjà'-	"forest"
bjà ⁿ 'ar'	bjà ⁿ 'a	bjà ⁿ '-	"wet mud, riverbed"
mù'ar	mù'a(dà)	mùà'-	"lake"
zàŋkù'ar	zàŋkù'a(dà)	zàŋkùà'-	"hyena"

Kī-dâ'ar "bought millet" has pl *kī-dá'adà* W despite having no underlying *g*.

Stems with deleted *g* after a long vowel include fusion-verb gerunds like *gbáⁿ'ar* from *gbāⁿ'e'* "grab", and also

vúər	vūáa	vūə-	"fruit of red kapok"
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Stems in *m n l r* assimilate the *r* of sg *rɛ*:

dūm _n	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yòum _n	yòmà §4.2.1	yòm-	"year"
kpān _n	kpānā	kpàn-	"spear"
gél _l	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kòkpàr	kòkpàrà	kòkpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
(Toende <i>zat</i>)	zā'	zā-	"millet"
yīr'	yā'	yī-	"house"
Mōr'	Móom _{ma}	Mōr-	"Muslim"

Language names use the suffix *le*. All forms are just the same as with sg *rɛ*, except for stems in final vowels and in *r* (where *rl* -> *t*):

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

fɔ|u

Before pl u unrounded stem vowels become i(i).

Several nouns show CVVC/CVC root alternations §4.2.1.

kīəf _ɔ '	kī'	kī-/kā-	"millet"
(Mooré <i>muiifu</i>)	mùì	mùì-	"rice"
náaf _ɔ *naagfɔ	nīigí	nā'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf _ɔ *waagfɔ	wīigí	wā'- *wag-	"snake"
bīəlíf _ɔ	bīilí	bīəl-/bīil-	"seed"
mòlɪf _ɔ	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyīríf _ɔ	nyīrí	nyīr-	"egusi"

df/nf -> f:

wìəf _ɔ	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
lā'af _ɔ	līgɪdī	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
nīf _ɔ '	nīnì	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
píuf _ɔ	pīinì	pīun-	"genet"

Pīinī "gift" is used as a sg, with cif pīin-.

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

zīiŋ _a	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wālɪg _a	wāɪs/wālí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sībɪg _a '	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīi ⁿ f _ɔ '/sīi ⁿ g _a '	sīi ⁿ s'	sīi ⁿ -	"bee"
sū ⁿ f _ɔ '/sū ⁿ r'	sū ⁿ yá	sū ⁿ -	"heart"
kpá'ɪŋ _ɔ	kpī'iní	kpā'- <i>sic</i>	"guinea fowl"

bɔ|

sā'ab _ɔ	sà'-	"millet porridge"
kī'ɪb _ɔ '		"soap"
tā ⁿ p _ɔ	tā ⁿ p-	"war"

All regular gerunds of 2-mora-stem 2vbs belong to bɔ|, like dūgub_ɔ' "cooking", kādɪb_ɔ "driving off", pīɪb_ɔ "covering", kpārɪb_ɔ "locking", bāsɪb_ɔ "sending off", sōp_ɔ' "writing" (bb -> p), wūm_{mɔ} "hearing" (mb -> mm); nb does not assimilate: būnɪb_ɔ "reaping." Yīs' "make emerge" has ger yīisɪb_ɔ, the only 3-mora stem in bɔ|.

mɛ|

dāam´	dā-	"millet beer"
mèlɪgìm		"dew"
dū'uním	dū'un-	"urine"
dàalìm		"masculinity"
yàarìm	yàar-	"salt"
zāa ⁿ sím	zāa ⁿ s-	"soup"

CV-stems like *vōm´* cf *vōm-* "life" are indistinguishable from *m*-stems. Otherwise, *m*-stems are identifiable from their flexion or their 4-mora-stem tones:

pūum´		pūum-	"flowers"
dàalím	dàalímɪs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
pīim´	pīimá	pīim-	"arrow" §4.2.1

Pīim´ is a remnant of an old *ɔ|ɛ* class: cf Nawdm *fimu* "arrow", pl *fimi*.

6.2 Adjectives

Historically, adjectives took the class suffix of the head noun, which preceded in stem form. Though agreement is now lost, many adjectives still show suffixes from different classes, with no difference of meaning: "white shirt" may be *fū-píə̀lìg_a* or *fū-píə̀lì*. For W, gradable adjectives with sg *ga rɛ gɔ* successively imply less intensity, so that *fū-píə̀lìg_a* is "whiter" than *fū-píə̀lì*, but D specifically denied any difference.

a|ba appear with adjectives only in set expressions, *fɔ|ɪ* and *bɔ|* never; all cases of *mɛ|* are relics of agreement §9.7.1. Other suffixes are avoided with stems where unclear or ambiguous sfs would result, often leading to single-class adjectives.

Only two underived multi-class adjectives show both *ga|sɛ* and *gɔ|dɛ* suffixes:

zì ⁿ 'a/zè ⁿ 'og _ɔ	zè ⁿ 'ɛs/zè ⁿ 'ɛd or zè ⁿ dà	zià ⁿ '-/zè ⁿ '-	"red"
bī ⁿ 'a/bē ⁿ 'og _ɔ or bē ⁿ 'ɛd	bī ⁿ 'əs/bē ⁿ 'ɛd or bē ⁿ 'ɛd-nàm _a	bià ⁿ '-/bè ⁿ '-	"bad"

Other multi-class adjectives take *rɛ|aa* and *either ga|sɛ* or *gɔ|dɛ*.

Ga-type adjectives include:

wàbɪg _a /wàbɪr	wàbɪs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìg _a /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vènn-	"beautiful"
sābɪlìg _a /sābɪlì	sābɪlìs/sābɪlá	sābɪl-	"black"

Like *sābulíga* are *pāalíga* "new", *bàanlìga* "slim", *pìèlìga* "white." *Vèⁿlìga* "beautiful" does not use sg *re*; *wènnīr* "resembling", *záalì* "empty" do not use sg *ga*. Stems in *m n* do not use sg *re*, and stems in *s d* do not use pl *se*:

<i>dēēŋ_a</i>	<i>dēēⁿs/dēēmīs</i> or <i>dēēnā</i>	<i>dēēŋ-</i>	"first"
<i>gīŋ_a</i>	<i>gīmā</i>	<i>gīŋ-</i>	"short"
<i>bōgusíga/bōgusír</i>	<i>bōgusá</i>	<i>bōgūs-</i>	"soft"
<i>pòodìga/pòodìr</i>	<i>pòodà</i>	<i>pòod-</i>	"few, small"

Like *bōgusír* are *mā'asír* "cool", *mālsír* "sweet", *tēbusír* "heavy", *lābusír* "wide." *Zùŋ_o* pl *zùⁿs/zùnà* "foreign" has sg *g_o* for *ga* due to its rounded root vowel. Adjectives favour *ga|se* for human reference; thus *nīn-sábulīs* is commoner than *nīn-sábulà* for "Africans", and *Zuà-wiis* "Red Zoose clan" has an exceptional pl *se*.

G_o-type adjectives have only the pl *aa*, except for a few 2-mora stems:

	<i>nèog_o/nèer</i>	<i>nèed/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
	<i>wìug_o/wìir</i>	<i>wìid/wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
	<i>wōk_o´/wā'ar´</i>	<i>wā'ad´/wá'a</i>	<i>wā'-/wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
	<i>kūdug_o/kūdìr</i>	<i>kūt/kūdā</i>	<i>kūd-</i>	"old"
but	<i>bèdug_o/bèdìr</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
	<i>tītā'ug_o/tītā'ar</i>	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītā'-</i>	"big"

Vūr´ "alive" pl *vōyá* cif *vūr-* has pl *vūt´* when heading predicative NPs.

Stems in *l m n r s* do not use *re*, behaving just like *g_o|de* nouns with pl *aa*:

<i>sùŋ_o</i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>yīuŋ_o´</i>	<i>yīnā</i>		"single (of pair)"
<i>kísug_o</i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàuŋ_o</i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàuŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpì'ouŋ_o</i>	<i>kpì'əmā</i>	<i>kpì'ouŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlùŋ_o</i>	<i>zùlìmà</i>	<i>zùlùŋ-</i>	"deep"

Similarly *pòⁿrug_o* "near", *mì'isùg_o* "sour", *zēmmúg_o* "equal", *tūsulúg_o* "hot", *lāllúg_o* "distant", *yàlùŋ_o* "wide", *yālúŋ_o* "wonderful", *nārúŋ_o* "necessary", and all pf deverbals in *lm*. K (not W) has alternative pf adjective forms without *m*:

<i>kpiilúŋ_o/kpiilùg_o</i>	<i>kpiilìmà</i>	<i>kpiilúŋ-</i>	"dead"
<i>gēēⁿlúŋ_o/gēēⁿlúg_o</i>	<i>gēēⁿlìmà</i>	<i>gēēⁿlúŋ-</i>	"tired"
<i>pè'elúŋ_o</i>	<i>pè'el(ím)à</i>	<i>pè'elúŋ-</i>	"full"

Ipf deverbals are **ga**-type for W, **gɔ**-type for K; pl is always **aa**. Stems in **g k ŋ ll mm r** are simply **re|aa**.

	kūbdír	kūbdá	kūbd-	"murderous; liable to be killed"
or	kūbdíg _a /kūbdúg _ɔ			
	sīnnír/sīnníg _a	sīnná	sīn-	"silent"
	bōn-túlīg̀r	-túlīg̀à		"heating thing"
	ˀwī-ték̀r	-ték̀à	-ték̀-	"pulling-rope"
	bōn-súg̀r	-súg̀à		"helpful thing"
	tūmmír	tūmmā/tūmnā	tūm-	"working, helpful"
	kùg-dēĺ̩	-dēllá		"chair for leaning on"

Ipf adjectives from 4-mora **m**-stems take sg **ga** or **gɔ** (never **re**), pl **aa**; they may drop **m** in the pl: **nīn-pú'al̀ŋ_a** pl **nīn-pú'al̀mà** "harmful person"; **nīn-záaˀs̀ùg_ɔ** pl **nīn-záaˀs̀à** "dreamy person."

Several adjectives are single-class without any phonological explanation (some reflecting the class of typical heads, or the pejorative sense of **gɔ|dɛ**):

ga se	pūāk _a	pū'as	pūà'-	"female" (human)
	ˀyá'aŋ _a	ˀyá'as/ˀyā'amís	ˀyā'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
	ˀyèesíŋ _a	ˀyèensís	ˀyèesíŋ-	"bold"
gɔ dɛ	dāug _ɔ	dāad	dà-	"male"
	tōog _ɔ	tōod	tò-	"bitter"
	lām-fōog _ɔ	lām-fōod		"toothless"
	màuk _ɔ	mà'ad		"crumpled up"
	ˀyàuk _ɔ	ˀyà'ad		"single (of eyes)"
	mì'isùg _ɔ	mì'isà	mì'is-	"sour"
	zū-péelùg _ɔ	zū-péelà		"bald"
re aa	bíəĺ̩	bīelá		"naked"
	yīmmír	yīmmá	yīm-	"unique, sole"

Like ˀyèesíŋ_a are **vèˀllíŋ_a** "beautiful", **mālisíŋ_a** "pleasant", **lāllíŋ_a** "distant."

bīl _a	bīb _{ɩs}	bì(l)-	"little"
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la is an old diminutive-class sg suffix: cf Mooré *bi-pugla* "girl", *bullā* "kid."

6.3 Verbs

[Discontinuous-past **n** and 2pS **ya/n** are not flexions but enclitics §5.4.]

Two-aspect verbs (2vbs) are the great majority; the flexions are pf **ε**, ipf **da**.

2vbs carrying the m/c tone overlay show the flexion **ma** in the imperative §10.6.

Pf, ipf, m/c-imp will be cited in order. Straightforward examples are

gò ⁿ	gò ⁿ da	gò ⁿ ma	"hunt"
kjà	kjàda	kjàma	"cut"
pjà ^{n'}	pjà ^{n'} ada'	pjà ^{n'} ama	"speak; praise"
yādıg'	yādıgıda	yādıgıma	"scatter"
nōk'	nōkıda	nōkima	"take"
gāŋ'	gāŋıda	gāŋıma	"choose"
kpàr	kpàrıda	kpàrıma	"lock"
sīgıı'	sīgıııda	sīgıııma	"lower"

Some stems ending in root vowels show CV allomorphs in ipf/imp, with **t** for **d**:

dì	dìta	dìma	"eat"
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Likewise ⁿyē "see", lì/lù "fall", dō "go up", yī "go/come out", zò "run."

dd -> t; ld -> nn:

bùd	bùt _a	bùdıma	"plant"
gàad	gàt _a sic	gàadıma	"pass"
vōl	vōn _{na} '	vòlıma	"swallow"
màal	màan _{na}	màalıma	"make"
dīgıı'	dīgıın _{na}	dīgıııma	"lay down"

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

A new pf *kət* "slaughter" has been extracted from *kətıd* (cf Mampruli pf *kəri*, ipf *kotti*.)

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

lèb	lèbıda	lèmma	"return"
liəb	liəbıda	liəbıma	"become"

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

bùn	bùn _{na}	bùnıma	"reap"
gò'ɔn	gò'ɔnıda	gò'ɔnıma	"extend neck"

dìgún	dìgúnìd _a	dìgúnìm _a	"lie down"
sùn _n	sùnnìd _a	sùnnìm _a	"bow head"

4-mora **m**-stems always assimilate **md** -> **mm**, while 3-mora **m**-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, though B3 sometimes has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity (e.g. *tumid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm _{ma}	sìilìm _{ma}	"cite proverbs"
lāṅím	lāṅím _{ma}	lāṅìm _{ma}	"wander searching"
kàrım	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrımìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	"read"
tōom´	tōom _{ma} /tōomìd _a	tōom _{ma}	"depart"
tùm	tùm _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	"work"

Like **tùm** are **wòm** "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 *lembe*.] Like **lèm** are **tàm** "forget", **zàm** "cheat, betray", **dàm** "shake."

Fusion verbs delete **g** after **aa iə uə** §4.2.2. The tonal effect of this **g** is seen in gerunds §4.3.1, but not in ipfs, agent nouns, or pfs before liaison.

fāe ⁿ ´	fāa ⁿ d _a ´	fāa ⁿ m _a	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd _a ´	dī'əm _a	"get, receive"
pū ⁿ 'e´	pū ⁿ 'əd _a ´	pū ⁿ 'əm _a	"rot" W

In B1 **pūⁿ'e´** forms an ipf from the root: *pon'od* **pōⁿ'od_a´**. A few other 2vbs likewise drop a derivational suffix in the ipf, e.g.

wìk §4.2.1	wìid _a	wìkìm _a	"fetch water"
īā ⁿ k´	īā ⁿ 'ad _a ´	īā ⁿ kìm _a	"leap, fly"
gīlɨg´	gīn _{na} ´	gìlɨgìm _a	"go around"
kēṅ´	kēn _{na} ´	kēm _a <i>sic</i>	"go"
yèl	yèt _a	yèlım _a	"say"
gōs	gōsıd _a ´/gōt _a ´	gò(sı)m _a	"look"
tıs/tì·	tısıd _a /tìt _a	tısım _a	"give"

Only two 2vbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

kē	kēt _a ´	kèl _a	"let, allow"
kē ⁿ	kēn _a ´	kēm _a	"come"

One-aspect verbs (1vbs) have a single finite form, which is ipf. Most transitive 1vbs express relationships. Quality verbs have predicative adjectival meanings; most are deadjectival §7.3. Other 1vbs express stances or bodily activities.

Six 1vbs have the flexion ε : $m\bar{i}$ "know", $z\bar{i}$ "not know", $b\bar{e}$ "exist", $k\bar{a}'\bar{e}$ "not be", $t\bar{u}'e$ "be able", $n\bar{o}\eta$ "love." M/c-pf $y\bar{a}$ never follows. The tone sandhi is ipf type §5.2:

Ka dau daa be yaadin	"There was a man among the graves"
Kà dāy dāa bé yáadī·n	Mk 5:2 B2
and man TNS exist grave.PL·at	

$N\bar{o}\eta$ is the only 1vb with a m/c-imp: $n\bar{o}\eta\bar{i}m_a$. The agent noun $n\bar{o}\eta\bar{i}d_a$ is tp L, despite being formed with **d** (but cf Mooré *noanga*.)

$B\bar{o}o_d_a$ "want", $z\bar{o}t_a$ "fear" come from the ipfs of the 2vbs $b\bar{o}$ "seek", $z\bar{o}$ "run."

Most 1vbs have the flexion ya , e.g. $\bar{a}e^ny_a$ "be something", $t\bar{5}e^ya'$ "be bitter", $d\bar{i}g\bar{i}y_a'$ "lie down", $v\bar{a}b\bar{i}y_a'$ "lie prone." Long vowels undergo second-mora fronting before ya , e.g. $w\bar{a}'e_ya$ "travel", $s\bar{o}n'e_ya'$ "be better than." There is assimilation of $dy \rightarrow r$, $ly \rightarrow ll$, $my \rightarrow mm$, $ny \rightarrow nn$, $sy \rightarrow s$, e.g. $m\bar{o}r_a'$ "have", $d\bar{e}l\bar{i}a'$ "(person) lean", $s\bar{o}m_{ma}$ "be good", $n\bar{e}n_{na}'$ "envy", $k\bar{i}s_a'$ "hate." Any consonant assimilations are carried over into deverbal nominals, and derivational **d** is dropped. 3-mora stems take **a**, e.g. $p\bar{o}o_d_a$ "be few", $k\bar{p}\bar{i}'\bar{e}m_a'$ "be strong", $z\bar{u}l\bar{i}m_a$ "be deep", $m\bar{a}'as_a'$ "be cool." W doubles stem-final **m** by analogy, with no tone change: lf $k\bar{p}\bar{i}'\bar{e}mm\bar{a}$ "be strong."

"Stance" 1vbs with unassimilated y have stem gerunds and deverbal nominals with **d** like 2vbs. Some speakers inflect these verbs with the suffix **-da** for the "propensity" ipf sense, while others use the derived inchoative 2vbs in **n** §7.4:

$\bar{O} z\bar{i}n'i n\bar{e}.$	"She's sitting down." ($z\bar{i}n'i_ya$)
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} z\bar{i}'id\bar{a}/z\bar{i}'in\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"She doesn't sit down" W/K
$\bar{O} v\bar{a}b\bar{i} n\bar{e}.$	"He's lying prone."
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} v\bar{a}b\bar{i}d\bar{a}/v\bar{a}b\bar{i}n\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"He doesn't lie prone." W/K
$\bar{O} d\bar{i}g\bar{i} n\bar{e}.$	"She's lying down."
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} d\bar{i}g\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"She doesn't lie down" W
$L\bar{i} z\bar{i}'\bar{e} n\bar{e}.$	"It's standing up." ($z\bar{i}'e_ya$)
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} z\bar{i}'\bar{e}d\bar{a}.$	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." W
$L\bar{i} t\bar{i}'i n\bar{e}.$	"It's leaning." ($t\bar{i}'i_ya'$)
$L\bar{i} t\bar{i}'id.$	"It can be leant." W
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} t\bar{i}'iy\bar{a}.$	"It's not leaning."
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} t\bar{i}'id\bar{a}.$	"It's not for leaning." W

7 Derivation

Derivation may be by stem conversion or by the addition of a derivational suffix **b d g l m n** or **s**. Nominal stems may add a further **d** or **m** or the combination **lm**; verb stems, only a further **m**. *Kābur'* "ask entry", *sūgur'* "forbear" are back-formations from *kāburí sūguró*, rather than derived with **r**. For tps in derivation see §4.3.3.

7.1 Nominals from nominals

Associations of noun class and meaning can be exploited by inflecting stems in different classes, e.g. *zùà* "friend", *zùəd* "friendship"; *sīnf_o'* "bee", *sīnd'* "honey"; *wèɛd_a* "hunter", *wèog_o* "deep bush." Most tree names are *ga|sɛ*, and their fruits *rɛ|aa* or *gɔ|dɛ*, e.g. *āaⁿdīg_a* "black plum tree", *āaⁿdīr* "black plum"; *gāaⁿ'* "ebony", *gāⁿr'* "ebony fruit"; *tè'ɛg_a* "baobab", *tè'og_o* "baobab fruit." Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §9.3.

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in *mɛ|* or (especially if the adjective uses sg *gɔ*) with sg *gɔ*, e.g. *vōm'* "life" (*vōr'* "live"), *piəlīm* "brightness" (*piəlīg_a* "white"), *mālsím* "sweetness", *tītā'am* "multitude" (*tītā'ar* "great"); *lāllóg_o* "far/distance", *kpī'og_o* "hard/hardness", *yàlòg_o* "wide/width", *mì'isùg_o* "sour/sourness", *tōg_o* "bitter/bitterness." Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts: *gbáⁿyà'am* "laziness" (*gbáⁿyà'a* "lazy person"), *dàmà'am* "deceit" (*dàmà'a* "liar"), *tītā'alīm* "pride" (*tītā'al_i* "proud person"); *sávog_o* "hospitality" (*sāana'* "guest"), *kpēoⁿog_o* "eldership" (*kpēεⁿm* "elder"), *sōg_o* "witchcraft" (*sōεⁿy_a* "witch.")

Adjective stems form manner nouns in *mɛ|* or with apocope-blocked sg *ga*, e.g. *zāalīm* "in vain", *kōdīm* "of old", *pāalīm* "recently", *nèɛm* "for free" (*nèɛr* "empty"); *sògā'* "well", *mā'asígā'* "coolly", *tōulígā'* "hotly", *gīgā* "shortly", *bōgvsígā'* "softly", *sàalígā'* "smoothly", *yèɛsígā'* "boldly."

Nominals may be derived from nominals with derivational **d m s** or **l(m)**. **d** is unanalysable in *yūgvdīr* "hedgehog", *līgīdī* "money", *pògvdìb_a* "father's sister"; it derives abstracts from human-reference nouns in *ba'abiidvɔ* "brotherhood", *dataadim/dataadvɔ* "enmity", *pvkɔntim* "widowhood", *getim* "folly" (*gedvɔ* "fool"), *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bvnkvttim* "old age" (Naden.)

m is unanalysable in *yōgúm_n* "camel" (of Berber origin), *gbīgīm_n* "lion", *zìlīm_n* "tongue", *àⁿrùg_o* "boat." It is often added to stems of adjectives/quality verbs with no change in sense, as with e.g. *mālsíg_a/mālsíg_a* "sweet", *kpīlòg_o/kpīlóg_o* "dead" K, *nāróg_o* "necessary" (*nāra'* "be needed"), *yèɛsíg_a* "bold" (*yèɛs_a* "be bold"), *wā'am_a'* "be long" (*wōk_o'* "long.") It is identifiable as a derivational suffix in

á ⁿ sub _a	"mother's brother"	ā ⁿ síŋ _a	"sister's child"
bī'a	"bad"	bī'əm	"enemy"
bì ⁿ 'isìr	"breast"	bì ⁿ 'isím	"milk"
nà'ab _a	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy"
zōlvog _o '	"fool"	zōlímís	"foolishness"

Several basic adjective stems show the suffixes **m** or **s**, e.g. zùlòŋ_o "deep", yàlòŋ_o "wide", bōgvósír "soft", mā'asír "cool", mì'isòg_o "sour"; there are 2vbs derived directly from their roots, but the roots are themselves adjectival.

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives; **lm** is unique in not forcing preceding CVVC roots to become CVC. These stems are not used as adjectives.

bīig _a	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"
dāu	"man"	dàalím	"masculinity"
puā'	"woman"	pù'alím	"femininity"
sāan _a '	"guest, stranger"	sáanním	"strangerhood"
tīrāan _a	"peer"	tīrāanním	"companionship"
wōk _o '	"long, tall"	wā'alím	"tallness"

7.2 Nominals from verbs

7.2.1 Gerunds

Gerunds exist for almost all verbs: abstract nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. 2vb gerunds are formed by adding the following sg noun class suffixes to the verb stem:

2-mora stems		b _o (rɛ as final part of a compound)	
3-mora stems in g k ŋ ae ie ue		rɛ	
all others		g _o	
kōvb _o '	"kill (kō)"	dōgvob _o '	"cook (dōg)"
dō'ab _o	"bear, beget (dūà)"	kādıb _o	"drive off (kàd)"
pīıb _o	"cover (pìl)"	kpārıb _o	"lock (kpàr)"
bāsıb _o	"go/send away (bàs)"	lōp _o '	"throw stones at (lōb)"
kīm _{m_o}	"tend flock/herd (kìm)"	būıb _o	"reap (bùn)"
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nōkír	"take (nōk')"
nìŋìr	"doing (nìŋ)"	gbá ⁿ 'ar	"grab (gbā ⁿ 'e')"
dí'ər	"get (dī'e')"	dúər	"rise (dūe')"

gàadùg_o	"pass (gàad)"	liəbùg_o	"become (liəb)"
dīgulúg_o	"lay down (dīgul)"	yāarúg_o	"scatter (yāar)"
sīgusúg_o	"lower (sīgus)"	dàmmùg_o	"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)
dìginùg_o	"lie down (dìgin)"	zìⁿ'inùg_o	"sit down (zìⁿ'in)"
sàⁿ'uŋ_o	"destroy (sàⁿ'am)"	kàrùŋ_o	"read (kàrim)"
or sàⁿ'amùg_o		or kàrimùg_o	

4-mora stems in **sm lm** use sg **g_o**, but stems in **gm km ŋm** drop **m** and use sg **re**:

siilúŋ_o	"cite proverbs (siilim)"	zàaⁿ'súŋ_o	"dream (zàaⁿ'sìm)"
wàŋìr	"waste away (wàŋìm)"	zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use sg **re**, e.g. **puà'-dīur** "marriage", **nīn-kōur** "murder", **dā-nūur** "beer-drinking", **mò-pīl_i** "grass roof."

Almost all irregularities in 2vb gerund formation involve 2-mora stems using suffixes other than sg **bo**; a few are also tonally irregular.

liiga	"fall (li)"	zūa/zōog_o	"run (zò)"
vūug_o'	"make noise (vū)"	pjāuⁿk_o	"speak (pjāⁿ')"
bōdiga	"plant (bòd)"	kūliga'	"go home (kūl)"
or bōdug_o		or kūlug_o'	
yèlug_o	"say, tell (yèl)"	tàⁿsu_g_o	"shout (tàⁿs)"
sóⁿsu_g_a	"converse (sōⁿs)"	gósu_g_a	"look (gōs)"
sōsu_g_a	"pray, beg (sòs)"	kìkírug_o	"hurry (kīr)" (also regular)
lēbig_a	"return (lèb)"	tēbig_a	"carry in both hands (tèb)"
tèⁿbug_o	"tremble (tèⁿb)"	kāⁿb_{ur}	"scorch (kàⁿb)"
ōⁿb_{ur}	"chew (ōⁿb)"	lūb_{ur}'	"buck (lūb)"
zàb_{ur}	"fight (zàb)"		

A few 2vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **gēεⁿmís** "go mad (**gēεⁿm'**)", **bùdumís** "get confused (**bùdum**)", **tìtōm_{is}** "send (**tòm**)", **bēⁿ'εs** "fall ill (**bèⁿ'**)", **kē_n'** "come (**kēⁿ'**)", **zīid'** "carry on the head (**zī**)."

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

zīⁿ'iga	"sit (zìⁿ'iya)"	tī'ib_o'	"lean (tī'iya')"
zī'εga/zī'a	"stand (zì'e_{ya})" K/W	dīka'/dīg_{ur}'	"lie down (dīg_{u_{ya}}')" K/W
īka'/ig_{ur}'	"kneel (ig_{u_{ya}}')" K/W	vāp_o'/vāb_{ur}'	"lie prone (vāb_{u_{ya}}')" K/W

Zī'εga is phonologically aberrant §4.2.2. The 1vbs **tèⁿra** "remember", **pòⁿra** "be near" have **tēⁿrub_o** **pōⁿrub_o** by analogy with 2vbs; **kīs_a'** "hate" forms **kīsug_o**.

Other 1vbs suffix **lm** (m after **ll nn r**) to form **m-stem gerunds** in **mɛ|**:

àaⁿlím	"be (àɛⁿya)"	bèlím sic	"exist (bè)"
kā'alím	"not be (kā'ɛ)"	nòŋlím	"love (nòŋ)"
mī'ilím	"know (mī')"	sū'vlím	"own (sū'e_{ya}')"
zī'vlím	"not know (zī')"	dèllím	"lean (dèl_{la}')"; also dèllóǝ
dōllím	"go with (dōl_{la}')"	tōllím	"be hot (tōl_{la}')"
nēnním	"envy (nēn_{na}')"	sīnním	"be silent (sīn_{na}')"
wēnním sic	"be like (wēn_{na}')"	zā'llím	"hold in hand (zā'n_{la}')"
gūrím	"guard (gūr_a')"	mōrím	"have (mōr_a')"
tārím	"have (tār_a')"	nārím	"be necessary (nār_a')"

-tāa "companion in ..." follows a **m-stem gerund** cif.

2vbs here add **m** to the ipf verbal adjective stem, but with gerund tones:

dì	"eat"	dìtím-tāa	"messmate"
kpèⁿ	"enter"	kpèⁿ'edím-	"co-resident"
zàb	"fight"	zàbdím-	"opponent"
tòm	"work"	tòmím-	"co-worker"
pè'ʊs	"worship"	pè'ʊsím-	"co-worshipper"
sùŋ	"help"	sùŋ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
sjàk	"agree"	sjàkím-	"partner in agreement"

Similarly **mèedím-** (**mè** "build"), **pōvdím-** (**pō** "share"), **fāaⁿdím-** (**fāⁿ** "rob"), **dōǝvdím-** (**dōǝ** "cook"), **dìsím-** (**dìs** "feed.")

1vbs with **m-stem gerunds** use them here:

bè	"exist"	bèlím-tāa	"partner in existence" W
mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"

Similarly **zī'vlím-tāa** "partner in ignorance", **dōllím-tāa** "fellow-companion."

For stance verbs, W has forms in both **-dm-** and **-lm-**:

zì'e_{ya}	"stand"	zì'əlím-tāa	"co-stander"
		zì'ədím-	

Similarly **zìⁿ'ilím-/zìⁿ'idím-** (**zìⁿ'i_{ya}** "sit"), **vābvlím-/vābdím-** (**vāb_{ya}'** "lie prone"), **īǝlím-/īǝvdím-** (**īǝ_{ya}'** "kneel"), but only **lābvlím-** (**lāb_{ya}** "crouch in hiding.")

For **dīǝ_{ya}'** "lie down", W has **dīǝvlím-**, and also **dīǝvím-**, presumably from **dīǝv.**

W contrasts **nòŋlím-tāa** "fellow liker", **nòŋdím-tāa** "fellow lover" (**nòŋ** "love.")

gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsɪd _a '	"sleeper"
gōs	"look"	gōt _a '	"seer, prophet"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an _{na}	"teacher"
tùm	"work"	tùm-tūm _{na}	"worker"
sà'n'am	"spoil"	pɹà'-sā'n'am _{ma}	"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 ipfs (not gerunds.)

nāe'	"finish"	nāad _a '	"persister" W
ⁿwà'e	"cut wood"	ⁿwā'ad _a	"woodcutter"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əd _a '	"receiver"
sùŋ	"help"	sūŋɪd _a	"helper"
sìāk	"believe"	sìākɪd _a	"believer"
tēk'	"pull"	ⁿwī-ték _a	"rope-puller"
kēŋ'	"go"	kēn _{na} '	"traveller"
jàⁿk'	"jump, fly"	jàⁿ'ad _a '	"flier"
yādɪg'	"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 tones of the agent noun from **sùn_n** (ipf **sùnɪd_a**) "bow the head" show assimilation of **d**:

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

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

pù'alìm	"harm"	pū'an _{na}	"harmer"
sìilìm	"cite proverbs"	sīin _{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
zàaⁿsìm	"dream"	zàaⁿs _a	"dreamer"

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

mī'	"know"	mī'id _a '	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'īd _a '	"ignorant person"
sō ⁿ 'e _{ya} '	"be better than"	sō ⁿ 'ōd _a '	"outdoer"
sū ⁿ 'e _{ya} '	"own"	sū ⁿ 'ūd _a '	"owner"
zī ⁿ 'i _{ya}	"sit"	zī ⁿ 'īd _a	"sitter"
zī'e _{ya}	"stand"	zī'ēd _a	"stander"
àē ⁿ ' _{ya}	"be something"	āa ⁿ 'd _a	"someone who always is something" W
dīg _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgīd _a '	"lier-down"
īg _{ya} '	"kneel"	īgīd _a '	"kneeler"
vāb _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vābīd _a '	"lier prone"
lāb _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	lābīd _a	"croucher in hiding"
nòŋ	"love"	nòŋīd _a	"lover" (tp <i>sic</i>)
dēl _{la} '	"lean"	nīn-dēl _{la}	"person prone to lean"
dōl _{la} '	"go with"	ⁿ yā'an-dól _{la}	"disciple"
zā ⁿ 'l _{la} '	"hold"	nō-zā ⁿ 'l _{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"
tē ⁿ 'r _a	"remember"	tē ⁿ 'rīd _a	"rememberer"
kīs _a '	"hate"	kīs(īd) _a '	"hater"

The suffix **m** produces a few deverbal forms resembling agent nouns:

zò	"run"	zōom _n	"refugee"
kpì	"die"	kpī'īm	"corpse"

7.2.3 Verbal adjectives

Imperfective verbal adjectives have the same stem as the agent noun, but drop the **d** formant more readily. The sense is "habitually connected with the verbal action, actively or passively." Past senses are unusual, though examples occur: **sūm-dúgvà** "cooked groundnuts" W, **ziñdvgida zīñ-dúgvà** "cooked fish" Lk 24:42, beside the more usual *ni'im dvgida nīm-dúgvà* "meat for cooking" 1 Sm 2:15.

Uncompounded forms have the meaning of agent nouns: **kōvdír** "killer." After cifs the meanings differ: **puà'-kōvd_a'** "woman-killer" vs **puà'-kōvdír** "woman killer."

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

là'	"laugh"	puà'-lā'adīr	"laughing/laughable woman"
nyē	"see"	bōn-nyétìr	"visible object"
kūā	"hoe"	nā'-dá-kūədír	"ox for ploughing"
yè	"don clothes"	fū-yéədìr/-yéədùg _o	"shirt for wearing" W/K
kū	"kill"	tì-kūbdím	"poison" ("killing medicine")
duà'	"bear/beget"	tèŋ-dō'adīg _a	"native land"
sīg	"descend"	yī-sígdìr	"lodging-house"
sūā'	"hide"	yēl-sú'adìr	"confidential matter"
ò ⁿ b	"chew"	bōn-ó ⁿ budà	"solid food"
bùn	"reap"	bōn-búnnìr	"thing for reaping"
tòm	"work"	bōn-túmmìr	"useful thing"
vōl	"swallow"	tì-vōnním	"oral medication"
gbīs	"sleep"	puà'-gbīsídír	"woman always sleeping"
kēŋ´	"go"	bòŋ-kēnnír	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
gīlŋ´	"go around"	puà'-gīnníg _a	"prostitute"
sūe ⁿ ´	"anoint"	kpā-só ⁿ dím	"anointing oil"
yādŋ´	"scatter"	bōn-yátìr	"scattering thing"
īā ⁿ k´	"fly, jump"	bōn-īā ⁿ 'adìr	"flying creature"
sà ⁿ 'am	"destroy"	bò-sā ⁿ 'ammīr	"scapegoat" W
pèlŋs	"sharpen"	bōn-pélŋsìr	"sharpening thing"
kùəs	"sell"	bōn-kúəsìr	"item for sale"
dīg _{ya} ´	"lie down"	bòŋ-dīgdír	"donkey that lies down a lot"
vāb _{ya} ´	"lie prone"	bòŋ-vābdír	"donkey always lying prone"
zì ⁿ 'īya	"sit"	kūg-zì ⁿ 'idìr	"stone for sitting on"
zā ⁿ 'lā´	"hold in hands"	nō-zá ⁿ lī	"hen for holding"
dēl _{lā} ´	"(person) lean"	kùg-dēl _{lā} ´	"chair for leaning on"
gù _{lā}	"hang"	bōn-gù _{lā}	"thing for suspending"

3-mora stems in **g k ŋ** and all 4-mora stems drop **d**:

pèlŋ	"whiten"	bōn-pélŋgìr	"whitening thing, whitener"
tūlŋ´	"heat up"	bōn-túlŋgìr	"heater, thing for heating"
pàk	"surprise"	yēl-pákìr	"disaster"
tēk´	"pull"	ⁿ wī-tékìr	"pulling-rope"
sùŋ	"help"	bōn-súŋìr	"helpful thing"
nòŋ	"love"	bì-nòŋìr	"beloved child"
pù ⁿ 'alìm	"harm"	puà'-pù ⁿ 'alíŋ _a	"harmful woman"
sìlìm	"cite proverbs"	bōn-sìlìŋ _o	"thing relating to proverbs"
zà ⁿ 'sìm	"dream"	puà'-zà ⁿ 'súŋ _o	"dreamy woman"

Perfective verbal adjectives are stative, and are formed only from verbs with stative pfs. The formant **lm** is added to roots; some speakers have forms in **l** alone.

àe ⁿ	"tear"	àa ⁿ lúŋ _o	"torn"
gē ⁿ	"get tired"	gēε ⁿ lúŋ _o	"tired"
kò	"break"	kòɔlúŋ _o	"broken"
kpì	"die"	kpìilúŋ _o	"dead"
pè'el	"fill"	pè'elúŋ _o	"full"
pù'alim	"harm"	pù'alúŋ _o	"damaged"
yè	"wear"	yèelúŋ _o	"worn" (of shirt)
yò	"close"	yòɔlúŋ _o	"closed"

Cf also **sābúlg_a** "black" (**sōb** "darken.")

7.2.4 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding **m** to ipf verbal adjective stems in **d t** or **s**; all are **ga|sε**. Some can have agent-noun meanings.

lō	"tie"	sjà-lōɔdīŋ _a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sù	"bathe"	sūɔdīŋ _a	"sponge"
dōg	"cook"	dōgɔdīŋ _a	"cooking utensil"
sōb	"write"	sōbɔdīŋ _a	"writing implement"
bùd	"plant"	būtīŋ _a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārɔdīŋ _a	"thing for locking"
dā'e´	"push"	dā'adīŋ _a	"pusher (person/thing)"
ˀwà'e	"cut wood"	ˀwā'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"
zì ⁿ 'i _{ya}	"sit"	zī ⁿ 'idīŋ _a	"thing for sitting on"

A few instrument nouns show derivational **s** or **d** alone; here **ld** -> single **n**:

dīg _{ya} ´	"lie down"	dīg _s úg _o	"bed"
dū	"go up"	dūɔsír	"step"
tɔ̀à	"grind in mortar"	tūədīr	"mortar"
màal	"sacrifice"	māan _n	"sacrifice"
pìb _l	"cover"	pībīn _n	"covering"
zà ⁿ 'b _l	"tattoo"	zā ⁿ 'bīn _n	"tattoo"

7.3 Verbs from nominals

Quality verbs are formed by adding the flexion (y)a to adjectival or human-reference stems. Nominal tp A is reanalysed as verbal tp H, with lf-final H, not M; tp L is mapped to verbal tp A (hence all-M after *nà/kù*: *Ò nà vèn* "She'll be beautiful.") A few pairs also show segmental stem changes.

tp H	<i>vōr'</i>	"alive"	<i>vōɛya'</i>	"live"
	<i>bōɣʊsír</i>	"soft"	<i>bōɣʊs_a'</i>	"be soft"
	<i>zēm̄múɔ</i>	"equal"	<i>zēm̄ma'</i>	"be equal to"
	<i>lāl̄lúɔ</i>	"far"	<i>lāl̄l_a'</i>	"be far from"
	<i>wōk_ó'</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am_a'</i>	"be long, tall"
	<i>tūl̄lúɔ</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl̄l_a'</i>	"be hot"
tp A	<i>tōɔɔ</i>	"bitter"	<i>tōɛya'</i>	"be bitter"
	<i>gīŋ_a</i>	"short"	<i>gīm̄ma'</i>	"be short"
	<i>kpī'ouɔ</i>	"strong"	<i>kpī'əma'</i>	"be strong"
	<i>kpēɛ^m</i>	"elder"	<i>kpēɛ^m_a'</i>	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnīr</i>	"resembling"	<i>wēnna'</i>	"be like"
tp L	<i>pòɔdìg_a</i>	"small"	<i>pòɔd_a</i>	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isùɔ</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'is_a</i>	"be sour"
	<i>sùŋ_ɔ</i>	"good"	<i>sùm̄ma</i>	"be good"
	<i>zùl̄lùɔ</i>	"deep"	<i>zùl̄l_m_a</i>	"be deep"
	<i>vènnìg_a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vènna</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>^yèɛsíŋ_a</i>	"bold"	<i>^yèɛs_a</i>	"be bold"

2vbs may be derived from nominal roots with the derivational suffixes *g l* or *lm*. *g* and *lm* derive inchoative patientive ambitransitives:

<i>bōɣʊsír</i>	"soft"	<i>bōk'</i>	"soften"
<i>dēɛŋ_a</i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i>	"precede"
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>kpī'ouɔ</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>kūdʊɔ</i>	"old"	<i>kùdìg</i>	"shrink up, dry out, age"
<i>lāl̄lúɔ</i>	"far"	<i>lāl̄l_g'</i>	"become/make far"
<i>mā'asír</i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>màʊk_ɔ</i>	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i>	"crumple up"
<i>mì'isùɔ</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i>	"turn sour"
<i>^yō'ɔs'</i>	"smoke"	<i>^yū'e'</i>	"set alight"
<i>pièlìg_a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlìg</i>	"whiten"

pòɔdìg _a	"few"	pò'ɔg	"diminish, belittle"
sābílíg _a	"black"	sōbɪg´	"blacken"
tādɪm	"weak person"	tàdɪg	"become weak"
tēbɪsír	"heavy"	tēbɪg´	"get/make heavy"
tùtūlɪ	"upside-down thing"	tùlɪg	"invert"
tūɔlúg _ɔ	"hot"	tūlɪg´	"heat up"
vōr´	"alive"	vō'ɔg´	"make/come alive"
wàɯŋ _ɔ	"wasted"	wàŋìm	"waste away" (gm)
yàlòŋ _ɔ	"wide"	yàlɪg	"widen"
zùlòŋ _ɔ	"deep"	zùlɪg	"deepen"
gìk _a	"dumb"	gìgùlɪm	"become dumb"
gū'ɔs	"semi-ripe things"	gù'ɔlɪm	"become semi-ripe"
pò'n'ɔr	"cripple"	pò'n'ɔlɪm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbɪr	"lame"	wàbɪlɪm	"make, go lame"

Cf also *wīig_a*´ "rope", *wīig*´ "make a rope"; *bōgud_a* "client of a diviner", *bògùlɪm/bùk* "cast lots."

l derives transitive inchoatives:

gēog _ɔ	"space between legs"	gēɛl´	"put between legs" tp H sic
līk _a	"darkness"	lìgɪl	"cover up"
mā'e´	"get cool, wet"	mā'al´	"make cool, wet"
nyá'aŋ _a	"behind"	nyā'al´	"leave behind"
pū'n'e´	"rot"	pō'n'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wō'ɔg´	"get wet"	wō'ɔl´	"make wet"

Various other suffixes appear in

yā'ad	"clay"	yà'ab	"mould clay"
zɹà	"friend"	zùəs	"befriend"
nēɛr´	"millstone"	nēɛm´	"grind with a millstone"

7.4 Verbs from verbs

Verbs may be derived from verbal roots with the derivational suffixes *g l n s*. *g* with 2vb roots expressing the achievement of temporary states is reversive; with 1vb roots expressing states it is inchoative; elsewhere, it is causative:

è ⁿ d	"block up"	è ⁿ dɪg	"unblock"
là'as	"gather together"	lāk´	"open" (eye, book); tp H sic
lō	"tie up"	lōdɪg´	"untie"
pà'al	"put on top"	pàk	"take off top"
pìbɪl	"cover up"	pìbɪg	"uncover"
pìd	"put (hat etc) on"	pìdɪg	"take (hat etc) off"
pìl	"cover"	pìlɪg	"uncover"
tàb	"get stuck to"	tàbɪg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèɛg	"undress oneself"
yò	"close"	yò'ɔg	"open"
nèjya	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
sō ⁿ 'eya´	"be better than"	sū ⁿ 'e´	"become better than" W
dōl _l a´	"go with"	dōlɪg´	"make accompany"
gōr _a ´	"look up" D	gōdɪg´	"make look up" D
kò	"break" intr	kò'ɔg	"break" tr
nū	"drink"	nūlɪg´	"make drink"
yùul	"swing" intr	yùlɪg	"swing" tr

l derives causatives:

bā ⁿ '	"ride"	bā ⁿ 'al´	"put on a horse/bicycle"
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul´	"set someone on guard"
nìe	"appear"	nèl	"reveal"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèl	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbɪl	"cause to fight"

n derives inchoative 2vbs from stance verbs, with causatives in **l**. All the inchoatives are tp A, but the causatives have the same tp as the 1vb. Some **n/l** pairs lack 1vbs.

		Inchoative	Causative
zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'ən	zì'əl
zì ⁿ 'i _{ya}	"sit"	zì ⁿ 'in	zì ⁿ 'il
tī'i _{ya} '	"(thing) lean"	tì'in	tī'il'
gō'e _{ya} '	"look up" W	gò'ɔn	
dīg _{ya} '	"lie down"	dìgɪn	dīgɪl'
īg _{ya} '	"kneel"	ìgɪn	īgɪl'
làb _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbɪn	làbɪl
vāb _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vàbɪn	vābɪl'
sù _a	"bow head"	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	"cover oneself"	lìgɪn	lìgɪl
	"perch"	zùən	zùəl
	"perch"	yà'an	yà'al

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

s is causative or pluractional:

àe ⁿ	"get torn"	àa ⁿ s	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
kpè ⁿ '	"enter"	kpè ⁿ 'ɛs	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbɪs	"make return; answer"
mùà'	"suckle"	mù'as	"give suck to"
nìe	"appear"	nèɛs	"reveal"
nū	"drink"	nūlɪs'	"make drink"
sīg	"go down"	sīgɪs'	"lower"
yī	"go/come out"	yīis'/yīs	"make go/come out"
zēm _{ma} '	"be equal"	zēmɪs'	"make equal"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əs'	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us'	"watch out; guard (many)"
īā ⁿ k'	"fly, jump"	īā ⁿ 'as'	"jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'ɔs	"break several times"
tò ⁿ	"shoot"	tò ⁿ 'ɔs	"hunt"
yā'e'	"open mouth"	yā'as'	"open repeatedly" W

7.5 Prefixes

Prefixes precede the roots of many nominal stems. Most have no identifiable meaning, though prefixes are commoner in certain semantic fields (e.g. insects.) Most are CV(n) CVs₁n or CVl₁n, where V is a/i; n adopts the position of root-initial C. C₁ -> C₂ before rounded root vowels unless C is t/s, and before all back root vowels when C is p b m f v kp or gb. Tonally, these prefixes are all-M or all-L; they differ from cifs in tone sandhi §4.3.1. Most prefixed stems lack derivational suffixes.

CVs₁n/CVl₁n prefixes copy root-initial C:

sīlīnsīu ^g _o	"spider"	vòlīnvùu ⁿ _l	"mason wasp"
zīlīnzīog _o	"unknown"	tàsìntàl _l	"palm of hand"
wàsìnwàl _l	"gall" (on trees)	kpìsìṅkpìl _l	"fist"
nēsīnnēog _o ´ (*n ₁ -)	"centipede"		

C₁(n) copies root-initial C; with voiced obstruents, only C₁n occurs:

kìkàṅ _a	"fig tree"	kùkòr´	"voice"
k(p)ùkparìg _a	"palm tree"	kpìkpìna [´]	"merchant"
tītā'ar	"big"	pìpìrg _a ´	"desert"
sìsì'em	"wind"	fìfòm _n	"envy; stye"
lìlāalìṅ _a	"swallow"	mìmīlím	"sweetness"
kìṅkàṅ _a	"fig"	tìntò ⁿ rìg _a	"mole"
sīnsáa ⁿ	kind of tiny ant	nòb-pùmpàṅ _o	"foot"
dìndēog _o ´	"chameleon"	dùndùug _o	"cobra"
bìmbìm _n	"altar"	bùmbàrg _a	"ant"
gùṅgùm _n	"kapok material"	zīnzāṅ _o ´	"bat"
zònzòṅ _a	"blind"		

In a few words Ca copies root-initial C, e.g. tàtāl_l "palm of hand", kpàkòr´ "tortoise", but most Ca(n) prefixes are da(n) ba(n) sa(n) or za(n):

dàkīg _a	"wife's sibling"	dàyūg _o ´	"rat"
dàgòbìg _a	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dārúk _o	kind of large pot	dàṅkòṅ _o	"measles"
bālērvg _o ´	"ugly"	bānāa	traditional smock
sàbùa	"lover, girlfriend"	sāmán _n	"courtyard"
sāṅgùnnìr	"millipede"	zàṅkò'ar	"hyena"
zàṅgù'em _n	"wall"		

Uncommon prefixes appear in *làṅgáṽṽ*/*màṅgáṽṽ* "crab" and *nàyiiga* "thief" (*sic*, despite *na'ayig* B; cf Farefare *nayiga* pl *nayigba*.) Anomalous prefixes appear in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: "Wāmpūris´" Mamprussi"; H tone appears in *gbá"yà'a* "lazy person."

Some prefixes are connected with the negative particles *pū kù*: *kùndù'ar* "barren woman" (*dùà'* "bear"); *nīn-pōnān_{na}'* "disrespectful person" (*nān* "respect"); *tùb-pōwómni_{ba}* "deaf people" (*tùbur* "ear", *wòm* "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: *kùndùṅ_a* "hyena", *gōmpōzēr´* "duck", *dāmpōsāar* "stick", *bān-kúsél_l* "lizard."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. *Dà-* "man", displaced by *dàṽ-/dàp-*, still appears in *dàpāal_a'* "son, boy" (*pāalíg* "new") and *dàkòò^r* "son, bachelor." *Pù-* "woman" is seen in *pùkòò^r* "widow" (cf Mooré *pvgkōore* "widow", *pvg sada* "young woman", = Kusaal *pùà'-sādir´*.) *Pū-* "farm" (Mooré *pυgo*, Kusaal *pōṽg_o'* "farm") appears in *pūkpāad_a'* "farmer"; tonally, it behaves as a prefix. The *nà'-* of some words for animals and insects may be the cif of a lost cognate of Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness": *nà'-zòm_n* "locust", *nà'-dàwān_n'* "pigeon" (also *dàwān_n'*) and *nà'-nēsīnnēog_o'* "centipede" W (others use *nēsīnnēog_o'*, for W "envious person.")

Some manner nouns show the prefix *à* followed by M-spread: *àmēṅá* "truly", *àsīdā* "truly", *àníṅā* "promptly."

Number-prefixes are fossilised flexions §9.5.1.

The personaliser *à* is a bound word, not a prefix.

8 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; some, like *hālí* "even" and *àsée* "except", are widespread throughout the region. *Bùrìkìn_a* "noble" and *bàùṅù* "circumcision" originate from Songhay.

Most loanwords come from Hausa. Beside many nouns, there are a few verbs, like *dàam* "disturb", Hausa *dama*; *bùḡ* "get drunk", Hausa *bugu*. Function words include *kūu* "or", Hausa *ko*; *báa* "not a...", Hausa *ba*. Many Hausa loans are ultimately from Arabic, like *láafiyà* "health", Arabic *al-‘āfiyah* "the health"; *àràzàná* "heaven, sky", Arabic *al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"; *yàddā́* "trust", Arabic *yaḍḍá* "he is satisfied"; *Tàláatà*, Arabic *al-thalāthā́* "Tuesday" and many others.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence. Arabic words have often reached Mooré via Dyula; Arabic loans via Mooré include *màlìjāk_á* "angel", *sàlìbìr* "bridle", and *Sūtáaná* "Satan." *Mōr´* "Muslim" owes its pl *Móom_{ma}* to borrowing of the Mooré pl *Moeemba* alongside sg *More*.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. *Wínà'am* "God" reflects Toende *Wina'am*; *fāaḡíd_a* "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagít* (*fāaḡíd_á* "saver" is homophonous with "robber.") B1/2 write Toende *aaruṅ malek* for *àⁿrùṅ_o* "boat", *màlìjāk_á* "angel."

Instead of *kī'ìb_ó* "soap", W uses *kīibú* from Mampruli *kyiibu*. Other apocope-blocked nouns may be Mampruli or Mooré loans, e.g. *kāburí* "permission to enter", Mooré *kabre* "excuse"; *būudī* cif *būud-* "tribe", Mooré *buudu* "family, kind" sg *buugu*; *sūḡurú* "forbearance", Mooré *sugri*.

Loans from Twi include *kōdú* "banana", Twi *kwadu*; *sāafī* "lock, key", Twi *safē* "key" (Portuguese *chave*); *būrìyá* "Christmas", Twi *buro-onyã*.

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 transmitted via Hausa: *kótù* "court", Hausa *kotu*; *wādá* "law" ("order"), Hausa *oda*. H tone representing English stress may remain fixed throughout the paradigm: *lór* "car, lorry", pl *lòyà*.

French loans include *làmpṓ* "tax" from *l'impôt*, and *kàsēt_á* "witness, testimony" from *cacheté* "sealed" via Mooré *kaseto* "evidence."

9 Noun phrases

9.1 Structure and categories

A noun phrase (NP) may be headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; for nominalised clauses see §11.4. Free 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. *dāu lā bótìŋ* "the man's cup", *sālmā bótìŋ* "a gold cup" ("cup of gold.") Predependents with specific or countable reference are determiners (answering "which?"), others modifiers ("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.

Particular NP subtypes (including pronouns) fulfil adverbial roles §10.7.2.

Compounding is pervasive in NP structure where most languages use uncompounded constructions. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

<i>būŋ_a</i>	"goat"	<i>bù-pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"white goat"
<i>bù-kàŋā´</i>	"this goat"	<i>bù-pìèl-kàŋā´</i>	"this white goat"

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

<i>bù-zōŋ</i>	"goat-tail"	<i>bù-kōŋd_a´</i>	"goat-killer"
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Whether the cif is head or dependent, the final noun class suffix marks the number of the head; tone sandhi is the same for both kinds of compound.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound:

<i>[bù-pìèl-]kàŋā´</i>	"this [white goat]"
<i>[nīn-wók-]pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"white [tall person]"
<i>[zà'-nō-]pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"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:

<i>[zà'-nō-]gúr_a</i>	"gatekeeper"
<i>[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàŋā´</i>	"this [gatekeeper]"
<i>kùŋ-[nōb-wók_o]</i>	"[long-legged] stool"

Modifiers, including *free* modifiers, bind tighter to their heads than deverbal nouns to generic arguments; determiners bind looser than either. This means that compounds may contain free constituents, even coordinated constituents:

	sālmā [zá'-nōɔr]	"golden gate"
but	[sālmā bótɪŋ-]kàŋā	"this [gold cup]"
	[sālmā lá'-]māan	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
	[[sālmā lá'-]màan-]kàŋā	"this goldsmith"
	ò [[sālmā lá'-]māan]	"her goldsmith"
	[[ānzúrɪfà nē sālmā] lá'-]māan	"[[silver and gold] item]-maker"

Coordination of NPs (including nominalised clauses) uses **nē** "with" for "and." **Nē** cannot be omitted in lists, and does not join two words with the same referent:

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

"Or" is **bēɛ** or **kūv**. By default the meaning is exclusive, but the inclusive interpretation "or both" is possible:

bīig lā kūv dāy lā kúv bà wōsā	"the child, or the man, or both" W
child the or man the or 3p all	

Cifs cannot be coordinated. *Saŋgbauŋ nɛ tɛŋgbauŋ paal* "a new heaven and earth" Rv 21:1 probably reflects a confusion between homophonous cifs and sgs; contrast *arezana paal nɛ dunia paal* "a new heaven and a new earth" Is 65:17.

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

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

Midian tɛŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis	"the Midianites' [women and children]"
Midian tɛŋ ðim lā pū'ab nē bīis	Nm 31:9
Midian land Øp the woman.PL with child.PL	

sālmā bótɪs nē dúsímà	"gold [cups and spoons]"
gold cup.PL with spoon.PL	("all of them gold", K)

However, if the components are not parallel, the dependent is taken with the nearest alone. Thus in *sālmā lâ'ad nē bōtīs*, "cups" is a subtype of "goods"; K and W agreed that it must mean "[gold goods] and cups." For "gold [goods and cups]", W offered *sālmā lâ'ad né ò bōtīs* (for the gender of ò, see below.)

Coordinated dependents are often interpreted as if the head was repeated:

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

ānzúrfà nē sālīmā lá'-māan "maker of silver goods and gold goods"
 silver with gold item-maker (but possibly items made of both)

For coordination of number words see §9.5.1.

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. *sàlīm-kàṅā'* "this gold." This count/mass distinction affects quantifier choice, the form of *nām_a* pls, and uses as predependents. Typical mass nouns belong to *bɔ|* or *mɛ|* or are gerunds, but the distinction is fundamentally semantic: "mass" nouns may appear in count senses and *vice versa*: *dāam nám* "beers", *dàad bún* "wooden thing" (*dàad* "logs.")

Some pl forms have sg meaning: cf *tēⁿ'esá yīnní* "one thought" Acts 4:32, *dì'əm-kàṅā'* "this festival (*dì'əmà*)" Jn 7:8. More often, pl forms appear in mass senses, as with some gerunds §7.2.1 and e.g. *bāⁿ'as* "disease", *nyō'os'* "smoke", *mēt'* "pus", *kūt* "iron" (as count sg, "nail", pl *kūt-nām_a*), *sālmā* "gold", *sìdà* "truth", *tàdımís* "weakness", *zōlumís* "foolishness", *zùəd* "friendship", *bōvd* "innocence", *nīn-pōvd* "pus", *sīiⁿd'* "honey", *wāad'* "cold weather", *sūⁿ-pêen_n* "anger", *kyà'-nūud'* "thirst", *vūud'* "noise"; some also have count pl senses and corresponding sgs, as with *lā'ad* "goods", *līgudī* "money, cowries", *piàⁿ'ad* "speech, words", *tūmā* "work, deeds."

Gender is marked only in pronouns. Thinking/speaking entities, human beings, higher animals, and (traditionally) trees are animate, the rest inanimate:

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulɔŋ na paae o salibir.
Kà wìəf yá' sīgí ·lì nī, lì zùlòŋ ná páe ò sàlɔbìr.

and horse if descend 3i at 3i depth IR reach 3a bridle

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

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em. "The fruit of a tree shows what it is."
 T̩ug wɛ̀lɑ̀ b̩g̩s̩ɪd ɔ́n àⁿ s̩ɪ'ɛm. Mt 12:33 B1
 tree fruit.PL show.IPF 3a.NZ be how

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔ̀bir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niŋgb̩ɪŋ la nii," lin kv nyaŋi ke
 ka ɔ̩ ka' niŋgb̩ɪŋ la nii.

Nó̀b̩r̩ yá' yèl̩-n̩ yē, Mán k̩á' n̩ú'ug l̩á zúg, m̩ k̩á' n̩ín-gb̩ɪŋ l̩á ní'.

leg if say-DP that 1s.NZ NG.be hand the on 1s NG.exist body the at-NG

l̩n̩ kú "yāŋ̩ · ké k̩à ò k̩á' n̩ín-gb̩ɪŋ l̩á ní'.

DEMi NG.IR prevail + let and 3a NG.exist body the at-NG

"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."
 In older sources inanimate pronoun heads can be indifferently sg or pl, but with
 dependent pronouns even B1 always uses **bàmmā' bàn s̩ə̀b̩ā** for inanimate pl.

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

N̩íf-k̩áŋ̩ā, ɔ́n s̩áⁿ'am nē. "This eye, it's spoilt." K (overheard)
 eye-DEM 3a spoil FOC

M̩ p̩w̩ "yēó·o̩. "I can't find it [stethoscope]" (overheard)
 1s NG see·3a·NG

s̩ālm̩ā l̩á'ad né ò b̩ŭt̩ɪs "gold stuff and (gold) cups" W
 gold item.PL with 3a cup.PL

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

O anɛ m pu'a. "She is my wife." Gn 26:7
 Ò à né m̩ p̩w̩ā'.
 3a be FOC 1s woman

but Li anɛ Zugsɔb la. "It is the Lord." Jn 21:7
 L̩ à nē Z̩ūg-s̩ób̩ l̩ā.
 3i be FOC Lord the

9.2 PronounsPersonal pronouns:

	Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ <i>n</i> §11.4
1s	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m_a</i>	<i>mān</i> lf <i>mánè</i>	<i>mán</i>
2s	<i>fù</i>	<i>f_o</i>	<i>fōn</i> lf <i>fónè</i>	<i>fún</i>
3a	<i>ò</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ōn</i>	<i>ón</i>
3i	<i>lì/dì</i>	<i>l_i</i>	<i>līn/dīn</i>	<i>lín/dín</i>
1p	<i>tì</i>	<i>t_i</i>	<i>tīnám_a</i>	<i>tīnámì</i>
2p	<i>yà</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yānám_a</i>	<i>yānámì</i>
3p	<i>bà</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>bán</i>

Mām is an alternative free 1s. 2pS *ya/n* is used as subject after imperatives.

Bound or free, personal pronouns always head their own NPs. All bound forms are liaison words. The enclitics appear as verb complements, right-bound elsewhere.

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 mεη ...

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

Fōn-kánì· bùèlì ·fò mēη ...

2s-DEM·NZ call 2s self

Manε an kōnbkem sūη la.

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

Mānī · áⁿ kóⁿb-kìm-sùη lā.

1s + be shepherd-good the

In positions where bound forms are possible, free forms express contrast; a special case is their logophoric use in reported speech §11.6.

There are no honorific pronoun usages.

2s is used for a generic "one":

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

Bòη yá' bòòd yé ò lūbí·f, fò pō ⁿyētí ·ò túbāa.

donkey if want that 3a throw.off·2s 2s NG see.IPF 3a ear.PL·NG

"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." G2 p44

(Where there's a will, there's a way.)

3p is used as a non-specific "they" for turning passive constructions actively:

Bà yòodī·f súnáa·?

"Are you well paid?" S

3p pay.IPF·2s well·PQ

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

Diib wōsa nari ba di.

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

Dīb wōsā nárì · bà dí.

food all must + 3p eat

Demonstrative pronouns:

		Animate	Inanimate sg	Pl
Head	Long	far òṅā´	far lìnā´	bàmmā´
		near nē'εṅā	near nē'εṅā	
	Short	far òn	far lìn	bàn
		near nē'	near nē'	
Dependent	Long	kàṅā´	kàṅā´	bàmmā´
	Short	kàn	kàn	bàn
Adverbial		Time	Manner	Place
		far sān-kán	àlá	kpē
	near nānná(-nā´)	à ⁿ wá(-nā´)	kpēlá or àní(-nā´)	

Nē'εṅā nē' can form the specifically inanimate pls nē'εṅā-nám_a nē'-nám_a.

Note the tone difference between òn lìn bàn and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative "which?", and in heads of relative clauses:

Fūne an dau kan la!

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

Fūnī · áⁿ dáṅ-kàn lā!

(in the story just related.)

2s + be man-DEM the

Lìnè·?

"Which one?"

Nīf-kánè·?

"Which eye?"

fūn-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 *wà*.

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

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Pl
<i>sṓ</i>	<i>sī'əl_a</i>	<i>sīəbā</i> (modal vowel)
<i>sī'a</i>	<i>sī'a</i>	
Time	Manner	Place
<i>sān-sí'a</i>	<i>sī'əm</i>	<i>zìⁿ-sī'a</i>

Sṓ sī'əl_a sīəbā may be head or dependent, *sī'a* dependent only; for W (not K) it is much commoner than *sī'əl_a* as dependent. For W, using *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> 2p child-IDFa	"a certain child of yours"
<i>Dàṽ-sṓ dāa bé</i> man-IDFa TNS exist	"There was a certain/another man"
<i>na'asɔ́ ləm bé</i> <i>nà'-sṓ lém bé</i> king-IDFa again exist	"there is another king" Acts 17:7
<i>M ná tī·f tí-sī'a.</i> 1s IR give·2s medicine-IDF	"I'll give you a different medicine." W
<i>O niṅid si'el məkama sɔ́'ɔṅa.</i> <i>Ò niṅid sī'əl mé-kàmà sɔ́'ṅā.</i> 3a do.IPF IDFi whatever well	"He does everything well." Mk 7:37

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

Sō' kā'e· "There's nobody there."

IDFa NG.exist·NG

Ṁ pō yél sī'elā· "I haven't said anything."

1s NG say IDFi·NG

Interrogative pronouns:

Animate

ànô'ɔn

"who?"

Inanimate

bō

"what?"

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

Time

sān-kán

Manner

wēlá

Place

yáa

"whither/whence?"

yáa ní

"where?"

Note also *bò-wìn_n* "what time of day?" *bōn-dâar* "which day?"

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

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

Nā'-bó·?

"what cow?" W D

(*Náaf bó·?* "What, of a cow's?" W)

Bò-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?"

Fù á nē bó-būudì·?

"What ethnic group do you belong to?"

2s be FOC what-sort·CQ

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

Fù tùm bó-tùumà·?

"What kind of work do you do?" S

2s work.IPF what-work·CQ

Bɔ sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?

Bò-sòsìg kà yà sòsìd nē táabà·?

what-conversation and 2p converse.IPF 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": *bō kímm* "what exactly?"; *bō zúg kímm* "why exactly?"

The personaliser pronoun *à* precedes all Kusaasi personal names, with the allomorph *̀n* before adjectives §9.3. Some animal and bird names always follow *à*, with no implication of personification, e.g. *à dàalúḡ* "stork", *à mús* "cat." Except when it takes the form *̀n*, the pronoun is always omitted after predependents:

	<i>Lì à né à dàalúḡ.</i>	"It's a stork."
but	<i>̀m̀ dàalúḡ</i>	"my stork"
	<i>dāy lā dáalúḡ</i>	"the man's stork"

VPs may be *nominalised* by *à*, which then behaves as a subject pronoun "someone who ..."; as predependent to a clause subject *à* means "someone whose ...". These nominalisations pluralise with *nám_a*; as with nominalisations with *̀n* §11.4, negative enclitics are dropped unless the nominalisation is itself clause-final.

<i>À dāa yél kā' t̩mm̩.</i>	"Did-say has no remedy."
PZ TNS say NG.have medicine·NG	(No use crying over spilt milk.)

<i>À nyē nē nīf sɔ́n'ɔ ·à wòm túbà.</i>	"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears"
PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear ear.PL	(Seeing is believing.)

<i>à Kīdɨgī · bū'əs</i>	"Crossed over and asked"
PZ cross + ask	(name of the constellation Orion)

a-daar-paaeya kum	"a natural death" Nm 16:29
<i>à dāar páe yā kúm</i>	
PZ day arrive m/c death	

<i>À zī' · kpí nàm kp̩id né kà ténbìd.</i>	
PZ NG.know + die PL die.IPF FOC and tremble.IPF	
"Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Storm in a teacup.)	

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.

Bà wà'a né à nà kúv ·m̄ nūa yír, kà bà p̄ wá'a à nōos bé yírē·.

3p go FOC PZ IR kill 1s hen house and 3p NG go PZ hen.PL exist house-NG

"They go to Will-kill-my-hen's house, not to Has-hens' house." G2 p38

(The rich are not always hospitable.)

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

Sùṅimī· tāabā.

"Help one another."

help.IMP·2pS each.other

Tì yūug nē tāabā.

"It's been a long time." K

1p delay with each.other

Bà d̀l nē tāabā.

"They go together."

3p follow with each.other

The reflexive pronoun **mēṅ_a** "self" (sg and pl) always has a predependent:

nà'ab lā mēṅ

"the chief himself"

chief the self

Bà ᵑyé·bà mēṅ.

"They've seen for themselves."

3p see 3p self

F̀ mēṅ k̄v b́-l̀àa·?

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

2s self or baby-CQ

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

M̄ ᵑwé'ε·m̄ mēṅ.

"I hit myself."

1s hit 1s self

Kusaal regularly uses pronoun possessors with body parts acted on by their owners as subjects, with **mēṅ** to express contrast:

Ba p̄ piesidi ba nu'us w̄v lin nar si'em la ka ditta.

Bà p̄ p̄iēsídí·bà nú'us w̄v lín nār sī'em lá kà dítā·.

3p NG clean.IPF 3p hand.PL like 3i.NZ need how the and eat.IPF·NG

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

Mam Paul n sōb pū'ʊs kàŋa nɛ m mɛŋ nu'ug.

Mām Paul n sōb pū'ʊs-kàŋā né m mɛŋ nū'ug.

1s Paul + write greeting-DEM with 1s self hand

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

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

Animate	sg	sōb_a	pl	dīm_a
Inanimate	sg/pl	dīn_n		

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

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings, e.g. **mān dīn** "my one, mine", **à Wīn dīm** "Awini's family", **pù-piəlīm sōb** "upright person" (**pù-piəlīm** "virtue"), **dūnyā ní dīn** "earthly one [body]" 1 Cor 15:44, **Bòk dīm** "Bawku people", **yīigá sōb** "first person" (also **yīig-sōb_a**.) Cif predependents occur in set expressions: **yī-sōb_a** pl **yī-sōb-nām_a** "householder" (**yīr'** "house"); **yī-dīm_a** "household members"; **nīf-sōb_a** "miser" (**nīf_o'** "eye"); **tāⁿp-sōb_a** "warrior" (**tāⁿp_o** "war"); **zūg-sōb_a** pl **zūg-sōb-nām_a** "boss", "Lord" B (**zūg_o'** "head.")

9.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: **à Wīn** from **Wīdì-nyá'aŋ_a** will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for **Kūsâas**, "Bawku" for **Bòk_o** etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the *Mampruli* cif *wuri*- "horse": the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. 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 **à Dōk**, and "Kusaal" **Kūsâal** itself.

Kusaasi personal names are NPs beginning with the personaliser pronoun **à**. Foreign names also take **à** (though not in B): **à Mūsā** "Moses", **à Yīsā** "Jesus", **à Sīmōn** "Simon", but **Wīnà'am** "God" (W **Wīnnà'am**) and **Sūtāanà** "Satan" do not. Animal names take **à** in fables: **à Bāa** "Mr Dog"; cf *Asan'auŋ* **à Sà'ʊŋ** "Abaddon" B. Before adjectives, **à** becomes fixed-L **ñ**: **ñ Dāvɔ** "Ndago" ("male"), **ñ Pūāk** "Mpoaka" ("female"), **ñ Bīl** "Mbillah" ("little.")

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners: **à Wīn-kàŋā** "this Awini", **tì Wīn** "our Awini"; **tì ñ Dāvɔ** "our Ndago." They pluralise with **nām_a**; **à Wīn-nām** can mean "more than one Awini" or "Awini and his people."

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" (girl, G3 p6)
à Tūm bódìg yā		"the medicine has got lost" (man)

Many names allude to a *sīgr'*, a spiritual guardian assigned to a newborn after the father's consultation with a diviner; this may be the *wīn'* "spiritual individuality" of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree (which may then be marked with an iron spike):

à Wīn	Awini	person with a <i>sīgr'</i> from father's side
à Bōgōr	Abugri	<i>bōgōr</i> "a <i>sīgr'</i> from mother's side"
à Tūg	Atiga	<i>tūg</i> "tree"
à Kūdōg	Akudugu	<i>kūdōg</i> "iron"

A younger sibling of à *Wīn* with the same *sīgr'* may be called à *Wīn-bīl* "Awimbillah" (*bīl* "little"), of à *Kūdōg*, à *Kūd-bīl* "Akudibillah" etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à *Wīn-pūāk* "Awimpoaka" (*pūāk* "female.")

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

à Nà'ab	Anaba	<i>nà'ab</i> "afterbirth" (chiefs leave after their retainers): sole survivor of twins
à Fūug	Afugu	"clothing": born with a caul
à Tūl	Atuli	<i>tūl</i> "inversion": breech-delivered child
à Nàsà-pūāk	Anasapoaka	girl delivered by a European midwife

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à *Tínì* "Monday", à *Tàláatà* "Tuesday", à *Àrzúmà sic* "Friday", à *Síbì* "Saturday."

Other names relate to apotropaic practices meant to break a cycle of stillbirths, such as discarding a dead child or burying it in a pot; the next surviving child may then be called e.g. à *Tàmpōvr* "Tampuri" ("ashpit") or à *Dōk* "Aruk" ("pot.") Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

à Sāan	Asana	"guest"
à Sāan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāu</i> "man"
à Zàngbèog	Azangbegog	"Hausa"

The Kusaasi did not use surnames traditionally. Speaking English or French, they use European or Muslim names and treat Kusaal personal names as surnames. 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|se. The place inhabited by the group adds sg go to the stem; language names add le.

Such names include

Ethnic group sg/pl	Language	Place	
Bārīg _a '	Bāris'	Bāt'	Bārōg _o '
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bìḡg _o
Bùlīg _a	Bùlīs	Bùlī	Bulsa
Bùsāḡ _a	Bùsā ⁿ s	Bùsā ⁿ l	Bisa
Dàgāad _a	Dàgāadìb _a		Dagaaba
Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbām _{ma} '	Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbāḡg _o '
Gūrīg _a	Gūrīs	Gūrīn _n	Farefare
Kàmbòḡ _a	Kàmbòmīs	Kàmbònr	Ashanti
Kūsāa	Kūsāas	Kūsāal	Kūsāōg _o
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mòōg _o
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìr	Nàbìdòg _o
ⁿ Wāmpūrīg _a '	ⁿ Wāmpūrīs'	ⁿ Wāmpūrìl'	ⁿ Wāmpūrōg _o '
Sìmīg _a	Sìmīs	Sìmīl	Sìmīg _o
Tàlīg _a	Tàlīs	Tàlìn _n	Tallensi
Yàaḡ _a	Yàa ⁿ s/Yàamìs or Yàam _{ma}	Yàan _n	Yansi
Yārīg _a '	Yāris'	Yāt'	Yarsi
Zàḡgbèōg _o	Zàḡgbèed	Zàḡgbèel	Hausa

Bāris' means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bìm_{ma} "Moba", not just Bemba (W.)

Note also Mōr' pl Móom_{ma} "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsàa(r)-nām_a "European", Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tùēn_n "Toende", Tùēnnìr "Toende dialect", Àgòlī "Agolle"/"Agolle dialect": Ò pìàⁿ'ad Àgòl. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gòōg _a	Gòōs	Gòōg _o
	Gòm-dìm _a	Gòm _n
Kùtān _n	Kùtām _{ma} '	Kùtāḡg _o '
Nàbìd _a	Nàbìdìb _a	Nàbìdòg _o
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùēs -dàbùēb _a	Sà'-dàbòōg _o
	Nà'-dām _{ma}	Nà'-dāḡg _o
Wiid _a	Wiid-nām _a	Wiidòg _o
Zùa	Zùēs	Zoose

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

Place names are intrinsically locative. Most have transparent meanings, e.g.

Àgòl _l	Agolle	cf àgól _l "upwards"
Bàs-yōn _n '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? rationale
Bì-nà'ab _a	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk _o	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
Bōg _{ur}	Bugri	bōg _{ur} , object housing a wīn _n '
Dènug _o	Denugu	cf Mooré <i>reongo</i> "cattle enclosure"
Gàarù	Garu	Hausa <i>garu</i> "town/compound wall"
Kòl-tā'amís	Kultamse	" <i>Andira inermis</i> trees"
Kūg _{ur} '	Kugri	"stone"
Kōk _a '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kòkpàr _{ig} _a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùl _{ug} ú _o	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>Kuurgongu</i> "crooked shea"
Mì'isì _g _a	Missiga	English "mission"
M _u à'-nō _o r'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùl _m à Kù'əm	Pulimakom	"cogongrass water"
Pūs _{ig} _a '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sā-bìl _a	Zebilla	cf Farefare <i>saaga</i> (kind of grass)
Sā-píèlì _g _a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia doka</i> tree"
Tèmpáan _n	Tempane	"new villages"
Tīl _l '	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùèn _n	Toende	"West"
Wìdāan _a	Widana	wìd-dāan _a "horse-owner" (title of a chief's "linguist")
Wìdì-'yá'a _ṅ _a	Woriyanga	wìd-'yá'a _ṅ _a "mare"
Wiid-nà'ab _a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wiid _a "

For "north, east, south, west", W has respectively Bār_{ug}_o' "Bisa country", 'Yá'a_ṅ_a "behind", Zūāyā "hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùèn_n "in front"; B3 has *ya-datiuṅ* "your right", *ya-nya'aṅ*, *ya-dagɔbɔg* "your left", *ya-tuona*.

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Sāṅkâa's "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) "Accra" is *Aṅkara*, from Twi.

The White Volta is simply kōl_{ig}_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": Áláasìd Sunday", Àtínì "Monday", Àtáláatà "Tuesday", Àlárìbà "Wednesday", Àlámíisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbùtì "Saturday." The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

9.4 Kinship terms

Kinship terms usually occur with predeterminers, but this is not obligatory: *o da ka' saam bæε maa* Est 2:7 "she had no father or mother." Several basic terms do not distinguish sex. Terms for same-sex siblings, but not opposite-sex, mark seniority. Among cousins, seniority follows parents' seniority; among wives, marriage order.

bīēr´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pītú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
tāṽ´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam _{ma} (less formally, bā´)	father
sàam-kpēε ⁿ m	father's elder brother
sàam-pīt _a ´	father's younger brother
pùgvdìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpēε ⁿ m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bīl _a or mà-pīt _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
á ⁿ sìb _a	mother's brother
bīig _a (m dākò ⁿ r, f puà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
ā ⁿ síη _a	sister's child
yáab _a (m yāa-dáṽ, f -puá')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaη _a	grandchild/descendant
puà'-ēlíη _a	fiancée
yī-puá' or puā'	wife; brother's wife
dìem _{ma} (m dìem-dāṽ, f -puāk _a)	wife's parent
dàkīig _a (m dākì-dāṽ, f -puāk _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sīd _a	husband
dàyáam _{ma} (m dāyāam-dáṽ, f -puāk _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpēε ⁿ m	husband's elder brother
sìd-bīl _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-puāk _a	husband's sister
nìn-tāa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

Dìem_{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 *Bùgóm-tōⁿr*, the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

9.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are either mass or count: mass quantifiers include *bèdɔgɔ́* "a lot", *pāmm* If *pāmné* "a lot", *fīi*ⁿ "a little (liquid)", *bī'ələ́* "a little", *wɔ* "all", *wɔsā* "all"; count quantifiers include *bàbɔgā́* "many", *kàlɔgā́* "few", *fāa*ⁿ "every", *zā*ⁿ'a "every", *kām_a* "every", *kām zā*ⁿ'a "every" and the number words. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: *nīdīb bédɔgɔ́* or *nīdīb bábɔgā* "a lot of/many people"; *kù'əm bédɔgɔ́* "a lot of water"; but not **kù'əm bábɔgā*.

Quantifiers are typically postdependents, but may be heads (with *nām_a* pls.) After dependent NPs, they are partitive. Dependent pronouns may follow quantifiers.

Bèdɔgɔ́/pāmm ké nā.

"Many came."

Bèdɔgɔ́ lā ké nā.

"The crowd came."

Àyí' ké nā.

"Two came."

Àyí' lā ké nā.

"The two came."

nīdīb lā àyí'

"two of the people"

màlĵāk-nām túsà pīigā nám

"tens of thousands of angels"

nīdīb bédɔgɔ́ bāmā wá

"this crowd of people" Mt 15:33 B2

nīdīb bédɔgɔ́ bāmā wá

person.PL much DEMp this

9.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i>	10	<i>pīigā</i>	100	<i>kòbɔgā</i> (If identical)
2	<i>àyí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbɔsí</i>
3	<i>àtáⁿ'</i>	30	<i>pīs táⁿ'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs táⁿ'</i>
4	<i>ànāasí</i>	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i>	400	<i>kòbìs nāasí</i>
5	<i>ànū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū</i>		<i>etc</i>
6	<i>àyúəbù</i>	60	<i>pīs yúəbù</i>		
7	<i>àyópèḡ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópèḡ</i>		
8	<i>àní</i>	80	<i>pīs ní</i>		
9	<i>àwāḡ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāḡ</i>		

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before *yīnní*, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: *yòlɔgá ·àtáⁿ'* "600 cedis." *Yīnní* can also be construed with a preceding cif: *kūg-yīnní* "one stone" vs *kūgɔr yīnní* "one stone." *Pīi(gā)* and *pīs(i)* may follow cif *dā-* "day" (written *dab* in B3): *dabpii nɛ ayɔpɔi daar* "on the seventeenth day" Gn 7:11.

"Thousand" is **tūstr'**: **tūsá àtá'** "3000." "Half" is **p̄-súk_a** pl **p̄-súgv̄s**. Intermediate numbers use **nē** "with", e.g. **kòbìs tá' nē p̄s yúəbò nē nū** "365." 11 to 19 have the contracted forms **p̄i nē ȳnní**, **p̄i nē yí'**, **p̄i nē tá'** ... **p̄i nē wāḡ** or **p̄i nā ȳnní**, **p̄i nā yí'** ..., e.g.

o nya'andolib pii ne yi "his twelve disciples" Mt 26:20
 ò 'nyā'an-dóllìb p̄i nē yí'
 3a disciple.PL ten with two

Àyínā', **àtánā'** mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children, it is true (if misleading) to say **Ì mór b̄isá ·àtá'** "I have three children", but not true to say **Ì mór b̄isá ·àtánā'**. These forms also appear after **nē**: **p̄i nē yínā** "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with **nē'** §12.1.

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."

This **à-** is the original agreement flexion for **re|aa** pl. Animate-gender **bà-** is preserved after personal pronouns: **tì bàtá'** "we three", **yà bàyópòḡ** "you seven", **bà bàyí'** "they two."

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

1	yéonḡ or àràkó'	6	nyûəb
2	nyí'	7	h̄pòḡ sic
3	h̄tá'	8	h̄nní
4	h̄nāas	9	h̄nwāḡ
5	h̄nū		continuing p̄iigā , p̄i nē yí' as with quantifiers

Àràkó' can also be used as a quantifier: **búvg àràkó'** "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 **dēenḡ_a** "first": **sob deenḡ** "first census" Lk 2:2 B1. "First" can also be expressed by **ȳiigá** "firstly" as a predependent:

line da an yiiga dabisir "That was the first day." Gn 1:5
l̄nī · dá àⁿ ȳiigá dábı̀sı̀r.
 3i + TNS be firstly day

Numbers as predependents of *dāana* "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí' dāan lā* "the second one", *bōvgá ·àtá' dāan lā* "the third goat"; "first" is *yīgá dāan*. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use relative clauses with *pàas/pè'εs* "amount to":

dàù-kànì · pè'εsà · àyí' lā "the second man"
man-DEM·NZ come.to two the

lìnì · pàasà · àtá' lā "the third one"
DEMi·NZ come.to three the

Multiplicatives answer *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yímmú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí'* "twice", *àbùtá'* "three times", *àbùnāasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīgā* "ten times." The prefix *bù-* is the old *bo|* agreement; *à-* is the manner-noun formant, preceded by *-i* in liaison, so its attachment to 2-9 alone is analogical.

Answers to *nōrá ·àlá* "how many times?" may be e.g. *nōr yīnní* "once", *nōrá ·àtá'* or *nōrím bùtá'* "three times" etc. This *nōr* is not "mouth" (Mooré *noore*), but corresponds to Mooré *naoore*, Toende *nɔ'ot* "leg": Toende *nɔba ayi/nɔ'ot ayi* "twice."

Distributives ("two by two" etc) are NPs formed by reduplication:

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīg</i>	100	<i>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbusí kòbusí</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtá' tá'</i>	30	<i>pīs tá' tá'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tá' tá'</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>àyópðə pə</i>	70	<i>pīs yópðə pə</i>		
8	<i>àní ní</i>	80	<i>pīs ní ní</i>		
9	<i>àwāə wāə</i>	90	<i>pīs wāə wāə</i>		

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

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

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

9.6 Predependents

NPs may be preceded, recursively, by dependent NPs; on tone sandhi, see §5.2. Predependents resemble English genitives and complements with "of", with a similar wide range of meanings, dependent on the nature of both head and dependent. Cif predependents are non-referential, functioning as modifiers or as generic arguments to deverbal nouns; free indefinite mass predependents are modifiers; other free NPs are determiners. Determiners precede modifiers, with cifs last:

Wínà'am [pú'ʊsùg [fûug dôog]] "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions. For postpositions see §10.7.2.

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", **nīdībá ·à'yí' (lā)** "(the) two people", but

yà sō'	"some one among you"
nīdīb lā síəbà	"certain of the people"
nīdīb lá à'yí'	"two of the people"

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

Pà'alīmī-tí nīdībá ·à'yí' n'wá fún gān sō'.

teach.IMP·1p person.PL two this 2s.NZ choose IDFa

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

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

Dāan_a "owner" (pl **dāan-nām_a**) always follows a NP (which may be of almost any type) representing a possession or quality:

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wōk dāan pō gānìd búgúmm·.

tail-long owner NG step.over.IPF fire·NG

"One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire." G2 p38

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

So too e.g. **dāam dāan** "beer owner", **tìəŋ dāan** "bearded man", **pōog lā dāan** "the owner of the field" Mt 21:40, **pù-piəlìm dāan** "upright person"; here even manner nouns can be predeterminers: **būgusígā dāan** "softly-softly sort of person" W.

Dāan_a follows a cif in a few set expressions, e.g. **yī-dāan_a/yī-sób_a** "householder" and **tèŋ-dāan_a** "traditional earth-priest"; cf also (*a*)**naas-daan** "owner of four [horns]", **poi-daan** "owner of seven [horns]" G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a number used in counting, with or without a prefixed **a-**.

Quantifier-form numbers precede **dāan_a** to make ordinals §9.5.1.

Before gerunds, free dependents represent subjects; generic-argument cifs may precede the head, and VP adjuncts and final particles may follow:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
yà àntuà'-mōrím kótò ní nē tāabā lā

2p case-having court at with each.other the

"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 the TNS watch Zechariah exit hither

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

Deverbal nouns may follow cifs representing generic arguments or adjuncts. Noun-adjective compounds as arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. **fū-zéⁿdà kùəs** "dyed-cloth seller."

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.

nīn-kōūd_a	"murderer"	bù-kōūd_a'	"goat-killer"
bù-zāⁿl₁	"goat-holder"	wìd-kùəs_a	"horse-seller"
bù-kùəs_a	"goat-seller"	sàlìm-kùəs_a	"gold-seller"
dā-nūud_a	"beer-drinker"	dà-kīəd_a	"wood-cutter"
zīm-gbâⁿ'ad_a	"fisher"	kòⁿb-kīm_{na}	"herder, shepherd"
làmpō-dí'əs_a	"tax collector"	tàn-mēəd_a	"builder"
bùl-sīgıd_a'	"well-diver"	zà'-nō-gúr_a	"gatekeeper"
nō-dí'əs_a	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
gbàuy-mī'id_a'	"scribe" ("book-knower")		
pụà'-sāⁿ'am_{ma}	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")		
nyā'an-dól_{1a}	"disciple" ("after-follower")		
tùən-gāt_a	"leader" (Ò gàad tūən "He's gone ahead")		
pụà'-lā'ad_a	"laugher at women" (Ò là'ad pū'ab "He laughs at women" W)		

Consultants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; B has, among others, *bāŋīd_a* "wise man", *fāaⁿd_a'* "robber", *pā'an_{na}* "teacher." However, a preceding cif is usual; it may be just a corresponding gerund:

<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>tòm-tòm_{na}</i>	"worker"

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

<i>sjà-lōdíd_a</i>	"belt" ("waist-tier")
<i>nīn-gótis</i>	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

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

<i>nōb-kōɔr</i>	"breaking a leg"	<i>nū'-módir</i>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>nīn-kōɔr</i>	"murder"	<i>dā-nūur</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>nō-lōɔr</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")		
<i>fū-yêɛr</i>	"shirt-wearing" (W, nonce-form)		
<i>mò-pīl_l</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")		
<i>wìn-līir</i>	"sunset" (<i>Winnìg lí yā</i> "The sun has fallen")		
<i>sūⁿ-sâⁿ'ɔŋ_ɔ</i>	"sorrow" (<i>Ì sūⁿf sâⁿ'am nē</i> "My heart is spoilt")		
<i>sūⁿ-pêɛn_n</i>	"anger" (<i>Ì sūⁿf pélìg nē</i> "My heart is white")		
<i>pṽà'-dīr</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ò dī pṽā'</i> "He's married a wife")		
<i>nīn-bāal-zōɔr</i>	"pity" (<i>Ò zòtō· nīn-bāalìg</i> "He has pity on him")		
<i>kùm-vṽ'ɔgír</i>	"resurrection" (<i>Ò vṽ'ɔg kùmī·n</i> "He revived from death")		

Deadjectival abstracts after cifs behave as if derived from bahuvrihis §9.7.1:

<i>pṽ-pièlìm</i>	"virtue" (<i>pṽ-pièl_l</i> "upright person")
<i>sūⁿ-kpí'ɔŋ_ɔ</i>	"boldness" ("strong-heartedness")
<i>wīn-tōɔg_ɔ</i>	"ill fortune" ("bitter-fatedness")

With unspecialised heads, free definite and/or count predependents express kinship, body part membership, or ownership:

Nimbe'og yir na san'am.	"The house of the wicked will be destroyed."
<i>Nīn-bê'og yír nà sâⁿ'am.</i>	Prv 14:11
person-bad house IR spoil	

m̀ bīig	"my child"
dāy lā bīig	"the man's child"
dāy lā bīər bīig nāaf z̀ur	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
dāy lā wīəf z̀ur	"the man's horse's tail"

Cif predependents are non-referential. With unspecialised heads, they have very general quasi-adjectival senses; idiosyncratic meanings often develop.

dāy lā wīd-z̀ur	"the man's horse-tail" (he may have no horse)
b̀i-fūg _o '	"children's shirt" (suitable for children)
wāb-m̀oogō·n	"in bush where there are elephants" W
zà'-nōr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig _a	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bīig _a	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
təŋ-bīig _a	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-s̀lvg _o	"aeroplane" ("European hawk")

Note W's exceptional *nāaf-b̀i'isím* "cow's milk", *b̀vug-b̀i'isím* "goat's milk."

Except with *dāan_a* (above) and *sōb_a* §9.2, *abstract* predependents appear as indefinite free forms:

nā'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
p̀v̀s̀ug d̀oog	"temple" ("worship house")
t̀v̀gír b̀un	"heater" ("heating thing", also <i>b̀vn-t̀v̀gír</i>)
d̀vgōb dút	"cooking pots"
līgīdī t̀v̀mà	"expensive work" (<i>līgīdī</i> "money")
Nàsāal b̀vgóm	"electricity" ("European-language fire")

So do predependents expressing materials:

sālmā b̀t̀v̀ŋ	"golden cup"
sālmā nē ānzúr̀fà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fūug d̀oog	"tent" ("cloth hut")
dàad b̀vn-nám	"wooden things" (<i>d̀vug_o</i> "piece of wood")

Unlike cifs or abstracts, materials as predependents can be antecedents of pronouns: *sālmā lâ'ad né ò b̀t̀v̀is* "gold goods and [gold] cups" W. The construction is limited to this sense: *k̀v̀à'-ǹwīig_a'* "current", not **k̀v̀ə'm ǹwīig* "rope *made of* water."

For *yīigá* "firstly" as a predependent see §9.5.1.

Place NPs may be predependents:

dūniyā ní nìn-gbīn	"earthly body"
kōlīgī·n nọ-dāug	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
kù'əmī·n bún	"water creature"
zūgú·n/tēnī·n níf-gbáun	"upper/lower eyelid"
mōogū·n/yín bún-kó ⁿ bìd	"wild/tame animals"
Bòk dím	"Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf	"left eye"

Buligin zīn zī' kōlīgin yēlaa.

Bùlīgī·n zīn zī' kōlīgī·n yēlāa·.

pool·at fish NG.know river·at about·NG

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

So may NPs with yēlá "about":

Kūsāas kùeb nē yīr yēlà gbàun	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàù-kànā lā yēlà gbàun	"a book about that man" W

9.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or "wà "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 predependent subjects (above) may be followed by any VP complements or adjuncts. VP adjuncts as NP postdependents are otherwise doubtful. Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēnā lā "That one's the real doctor" W contrasts with *Mane an vain tiig la amēna* "I am the true vine" Jn 15:1, where *amēna* is a VP adjunct; "wādīs yōum lā pūogū·n "months in the year" S and wābūg mōogū·n lā "elephant in the bush" W may not have been single constituent NPs in their original contexts.

Except for yīigá "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:

bīig _a	"child"	bì-kànā´	"this child"
bì-sō'	"a certain child"	bì-sòn-kànā´	"this good child"
Bì-kànè·?	"Which child?"	Bì-bó·?	"What child?"

yēl-tōod àtáⁿ bāmmā

"these three plagues" Rev 9:18

Appositive postdependents 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 kaŋa one ka Wina'am Siig bæe o ni* "this man in whom God's Spirit is" Gn 41:38.

Appositive personal names retain the pronoun *à*:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.	"Yes, it's his friend Termite asking entry."
Ēɛⁿ, ò zuà à Sībīgī ·n kābíríd.	G2 p12
yes 3a friend PZ termite + ask.entry.IPF	

9.7.1 Adjectives

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

nūa´	"hen"	nōs´	"hens"
nō-súŋ	"good hen"	nō-súmà	"good hens"
nō-súŋ-kàŋā´	"this good hen"		

Adjectives may only be heads in predicatives §10.7.1; even there, *nīn*- "person" or *būn*- "thing" are usually supplied as heads. Adjective cifs can never be heads: "this good one" must be *būn-súŋ-kàŋā*.

Ipf verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are equivalent to agent nouns, so *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-sābulím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gò*'-sābulíg_a "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); *būn-gíŋ_a* "short fellow" (humorous); *būn-kúdvug* "old man" (the standard expression.)

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system: the dependents in *dàbìs-sī'ər* "some day", *yēl-súm_n* "blessing" ("good matter"), *puà*'-pāal_a´ "bride" ("new wife") do not usually occur with these class suffixes.

For W (not D) and in many texts, *mɛ*| nouns must take adjectives in *-mɛ*: *dā-paal_{im}* "new beer", *tì-sābulím* "black medicine", *tì-vōnním* "oral medication"; so too *būn_n* as "abstract thing", e.g. *būn*'-yétì_m "visible world" versus *būn*'-yétì_r "visible object"; *būn*'-bócdì_m "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of *nòŋìlím* "love.")

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

Lì à nē wīug.	"It's red."
Lì à nē wīugō.	"It's reddish."
fū-wīugō lā	"the reddish shirt"

Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā.	"It's a whitish shirt."
Lì à nē fū-píə̀lìgā lā.	"It's the whitish shirt."
Lì à nē tītā'arī.	"It's biggish."

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

Lì à nē píə̀lìg fáss fáss.	"It's very white."
Lì à nē sā̀bílìg zím zím.	"It's deep black."
Lì à nē zín'a wím wím.	"It's deep red."
M̄nyé fū-zín'a wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
Fū-zín'a wím wím bé.	"There's a deep red shirt."
M̄bôod fū-zín'a wím wím lā.	"I want the deep red shirt."
Ò wà'am tólìlì.	"She's very tall."
Ò gìm nē tírgà.	"She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. sùŋɔ "good", bē'ed "bad", zùlòŋɔ "deep", mā'asíg_a "damp."

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"It's a dead hand."
Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à nē bí-nū'-kpíilúŋ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùg-nōb-wók _ɔ	"long-legged stool"
Kùg-kàŋā á nē nōb-wók.	"This stool is long-legged." W

Similarly nōb-gíŋ_a "short-legged", zūg-máuk_ɔ "crushed-headed", zù-wōk_ɔ "long-tailed", zū-péelòg_ɔ "bald", pù-pìə̀lì "righteous" etc, and with "one of a pair" adjectives, as in bà-nīf-'yáuk_ɔ "one-eyed dog", 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-kpīdɪs); bì-tùb-līud "child/children with blocked ears."

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

bì-sāan _a '/-sāan _a	"strange child"	bù-sāan _a	"strange goat"
bì-kpī'um/-kpīilúŋ _ɔ	"dead child"	bù-kpīilúŋ _ɔ	"dead goat"
bì-dāy/-dāy _ɔ	"male child"	bù-dāy _ɔ	"male goat"
bì-sīn _{na} '/-sīnníg _a	"silent child"	bù-sīnníg _a	"silent goat"

Similarly *bì-puā́/-puāk_a* "female child"; *bì-zū'əḿ /-zùnzòŋ_a* "blind child"; *bì-gìk_a* "dumb child"; *bì-wàbɪr* "lame child"; *bì-bālērɔgɔ́* "ugly child"; *bì-pò'ɔr* "crippled child"; *nà'-bīg_a/bì-nà'ab_a* "prince"; *dàɥ-bīg_a/bì-dāɥ* "male child"; *nàsàa-bīg_a* "European child", *bī-púŋ-yàmmùg_a* "slave girl", *yàm(mùg)-bī-púŋ_a* "girl slave."

Agent nouns can only be adjectival after cifs which could not be complements; thus *puà'-zàa's_a* "woman prone to dreaming" K, but only *puà'-kūvd_á* "killer of women" W, *puà'-lā'ad_a* "laugher at women" W; contrast *puà'-kūvdíg_a* "murderous woman", *puà'-lā'adīg_a* "woman given to laughing."

9.7.2 *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* §10.8.

Unlike *lā́*, *ⁿwà* can stand alone as a NP:

ⁿWà á nē bīg.
this be FOC child

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

Lā́ remains deictic in identificational clauses, but elsewhere it is usually a definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. It is not used with "familiar background", proper names, abstract mass nouns, vocatives, NPs introduced by the personaliser *à*, or pronouns:

Winnìg lí yā.
sun fall m/c

"The sun has set."

Nòŋilim pɔ naada.
Nòŋìlím pɔ nāadá.
love NG finish.IPF·NG

"Love does not come to an end."
1 Cor 13:8

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

Ò nòŋìd kā'e.
3a lover NG.exist·NG

"Nobody loves him." W

Ò à nē bīg.
3a be FOC child

"She is a child."

Specific senses of indefinite NPs appear in presentational statements §12.5; elsewhere, they are normally generic. Unlike "the", *lā'* is not used generically:

One kunt mi zugub.

Ònì· kùt mī' zūgōb.

DEMa·NZ work.iron.IPF know bellows.working

Proverb: "The ironworker knows how to work the bellows." (Naden)

Indefinite pronouns mark an unambiguously specific "some/another":

Nā'-síbà ó^abìd nē mōɔd.

"Some cows are eating grass."

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

Demonstrative pronouns make a preceding head definite, and any following *lā'* is deictic §9.2.

After a predependent NP with *lā'*, a head is definite, with no article; if *lā'* follows, it is deictic. A dependent indefinite pronoun is needed to make such a head indefinite: *nà'ab lā bìig* "the chief's child", but *nà'ab lā bí-sō'* "a child of the chief's."

Predependent personal pronouns and proper names do *not* make a following head definite; *lā'* is needed as usual to mark referents as already established:

M bìig bé.

"I have a child." W

1s child exist

M bìig kã'e·.

"I've no child" W

1s child NG.exist·NG

M bìig lā kã'e·.

"My child's not there" W

1s child the NG.exist·NG

Dau da be mori o biribing

"Once there was a man who had a son"

Dāy dá bè · mōrí ·ò bī-dìbìṅ

G2 p35

man TNS exist + have 3a boy

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sidi paae yuma ayɔpɔi ka o sid la kpi.

Ón dāa á^a puá'-sādīr lá kà ò kūl sīdī · pāe yúmà àyópòè

3a.NZ TNS be girl the and 3a marry husband + reach year.PL seven

kà ò sīd lā kpi.

and 3a husband the die

"She had married a husband when she was a girl, and after seven years her husband died." Lk 2:36

10 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) consists of a verb with its right-bound particles and enclitics, followed in order by any free complements, adjuncts, or final particles. The focus particle *nē'* may be inserted at various points after the verb and enclitics §12.1.

Bound words occur in fixed order around the verb:

Tense	Mood	Subverb		E1	E2
dàa	∅~p̄	pùn	VERB	n	m _a
sàa	∅~d̄	tì		ya/n	f _o
∅	nà~kù	lèm			o
pà'		kpèlìm			l _i
sà		là'am			t _i
d̄aa		dèṅìm			ya
dà					ba

∅ marks positions where absence is itself meaningful. Tense is marked by preverbal particles; a small set of adjunct particles may appear in the tense slot alongside tense particles. Mood particles also mark polarity: positive~negative. Future reference is signified by an irrealis *mood*. Aspect is marked by verb flexion. E1 is the slot for the discontinuous-past enclitic *n* or 2pS *ya/n*; E2 for (at most one) enclitic direct/indirect object pronoun. The VP shows no agreement: apparent number agreement in imperatives is due to 2pS *ya/n*.

The VP of main and content clauses carries m/c marking. This is primarily tonal, with associated segmental features: the particle *yā* after phrase-final pfs and the 2vb imperative flexion *ma* appear only when tone overlay is present on the verb.

10.1 Aspect

2vbs inflect for aspect, suffixing *ε* for perfective and *da* for imperfective (for the suffix *ma* see §10.6); 1vbs are ipf. The focus particle *nē'* has temporal uses which interact with aspect, in effect marking pfs as stative and ipfs as progressive §12.1.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, pf implies priority to the main clause, ipf simultaneity with it §11.4.1; in catenation, pfs must follow event order §11.3; and narrative uses series of tense-unmarked pfs in event order. However, pf is also the usual aspect in protases of conditional clauses, and (in irrealis mood) for future events. It is compatible with present tense, with no overt or implicit tense marking. With most verbs this expresses a completed event or process with time unspecified, implying current relevance (a "present perfect"):

Sāa dāa ní.

rain TNS rain

"It rained."

but Sāa ní yā.

rain rain m/c

"It has rained." W: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert."

With events and processes conceptualised as being coextensive with the moment of utterance, pf often corresponds to an English simple present; performatives fall into this category, along with verbs of cognition and perception:

Fù wóm yā kúv·?

2s hear m/c or·PQ

"Do you understand?"

M̄ pú'us yā.

1s greet m/c

"I thank you."

M̄ sjàk yā.

1s agree m/c

"I agree."

M̄ nyé nū'-bíbusá ·àtáⁿ.

1s see finger.PL three

"I can see three fingers."

M̄ tēⁿ·es kà ...

1s think and

"I think that ..."

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject can use pf to express the resulting state; temporal-focus **nē'** follows if syntactically permitted. Most such verbs are intransitive, but verbs of dressing (for example) also imply a subject state change:

Lì bòdìg nē.

3i lose FOC

"It's lost."

(Lì bòdìg yā "It's got lost.")

M̄ yé nē fūug.

1s don FOC shirt

"I'm wearing a shirt."

(M̄ yé fūug "I've put a shirt on.")

Similarly ò kpì nē "he's dead"; m̄ géⁿ nē "I'm tired"; bà kùdùg nē "they're old"; l̄ pè'el nē "it's full"; l̄ yò nē "it's closed"; m̄ búg nē "I'm drunk"; ò lèr nē "he's ugly" W; l̄ sòbìg nē "it's black" W, and likewise with many other verbs.

Pfs appear in proverbs expressed as mini-anecdotes:

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.

Kùkòmà dá zàb tāabá à sōⁿ'e bī'elá yèlà.

leper.PL TNS fight each.other PZ surpass slightly about

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." G2 p40

Imperfective may express a propensity, multiple events, a quality, or a relationship; with temporal focus §12.1 it may have a progressive sense, or express a propensity or multiple events over a limited time:

Nīigí òⁿbìd mōòd.

cow.PL chew.IPF grass.PL

"Cows eat grass."

Nā'-síòbà óⁿbìd nē mōòd.

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

"Some cows are eating grass."

M̂ zíⁿ'i.

M̂ zíⁿ'i nē.

Kùlìṅ lā yôòd.

Kùlìṅ lā yôòd nē.

Nīdīb kpîid.

Nīdīb kpîid nē.

"I sit."

"I'm sitting."

"The door closes." (i.e. can be closed)

"The door is closing."

"People die."

"People are dying."

M̂ mór pṙā'.

1s have wife

"I have a wife."

With quality or relationship verbs, and in ipf middle constructions §10.7.1, temporal focus implies a temporary state or propensity, and is only felicitous if the clause contains a time adjunct, or at least a past tense marker:

Mù'ar lā zúlìm.

lake the be.deep

"The lake is deep."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē.

lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep." (Now it's shallow.)

10.2 Tense

Mutually exclusive tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP.

dàa	day after tomorrow	sàa	tomorrow
∅	present/implicit		
pà'	earlier today	sà	yesterday
dāa	before yesterday	dà	before the time of dāa

In addition, the discontinuous-past enclitic **n** can mark an earlier-today past:

M̄ ʒⁿbɪdī·n sūmmā.

1s chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

"I was eating groundnuts." W

This implies "but now I'm not." In many languages such "discontinuous" pasts (Plungian/van der Auwera) acquire hypothetical/counterfactual senses: this is much the commonest role of **n** in Kusaal §11.2.3. The cognate Farefare enclitic *ni* behaves in the same way (Niggli 2007 p111.)

The day begins at sunrise:

F̀ò sá gb̀is wēlá·?

2s TNS sleep how·CQ

"How did you sleep last night?"

Future tense markers normally require irrealis mood, but imperative is possible when the main clause has been ellipted before a purpose clause:

Ò sáa ⁿwè' b̀òŋ lā.

3a TNS hit donkey the

"Let him hit the donkey tomorrow."

Indicative ipf is not used as a future. Note the performative *pf* in

M̄ kúl yā.

1s go.home m/c

"I'm going home (now.)"

However, there are two periphrastic future constructions for "to be about to": **b̀òòda** "want" + gerund, and subject (always animate) + **yē**-purpose clause:

Ỳu'̀uŋ b̀òòd gaad̀uŋ

Ỳú'̀uŋ b̀òòd gáad̀òŋ

night want passing

"Night is about to pass" Rom 13:12

Ṁ yé ìn kuā sūmmā.

1s that 1s hoe groundnut.PL

"I'm going to hoe groundnuts."

Dà denotes time prior to dāa:

Ka Yesu daa keṅ Nazaret ban da ugus o teṅ si'a la.

Kà Yesu dāa kēṅ Nazaret bán dà ūgusó· téṅ-sī'a lā.

and Jesus TNS go Nazareth 3p.NZ TNS raise-3a land-IDF the

"Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised." Lk 4:16 B2

However, dāa can be used for even remote past. Parallel B passages may use either dāa or dà, e.g. *O da bodigne, O daa bodigne* Lk 15:24, 32 B2 "He was lost." In B1/2, daa is the usual past marker in narrative, with da mostly for "pluperfects", parentheses, background remarks, and quoted parables or historical accounts (e.g. Acts 7:1-53 B2), but in B3 and G2 da is the default past marker.

Tense markers are often absent, but their omission is not arbitrary. Outside of already-established past contexts, indicative-mood clauses containing neither time adverbials nor tense particles must be interpreted as present, regardless of aspect:

Nīdīb kpīid.

"People die."

Ò m̀òr p̄uā'.

"He has a wife."

Ò kpì yā.

"She's died." ("present perfect")

Tense markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with today-past n, or with time adjuncts in the clause:

F̀ò ná k̄l̄.

2s IR go.home

"You will go home."

F̀ò sáa nà k̄l̄.

2s TNS IR go.home

"You'll go home tomorrow."

F̀ò [sáa] nà k̄l̄ b̄ēog.

2s TNS IR go.home tomorrow

"You'll go home tomorrow."

Ṁ [pá'] òⁿbīdī·n sūmmā.

1s TNS chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

"I was eating groundnuts earlier today."

Ṁ [sá] ⁿwè' búṅ lā sū'əs.

1s TNS hit donkey the yesterday

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

Narrative involves systematic meaningful omission of past tense markers.

In B 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 (e.g. "Three Brigands" in §14) lack tense-marking in clauses without *kà* more often: this is analogous to the "historic present" of English informal narration (CGEL p130.)

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 pf aspect and no tense marking, with *kà* corresponding to zero in English.

Apuzotyel *da* ane o saam biig ma'aa. Ka daar yinni ka biig la ne o saam zin'i sonsid. Ka biig la ti yel o saam ...

À Pw-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa. Kà dāar yīnní kà bìig lā

PZ NG-fear.IPF-matter TNS be FOC 3a father child only and day one and child the
né ò sàam zín'i · sōnsīd. Kà bìig lā tí yèl ò sàam ...

with 3a father sit + converse.IPF and child the next say 3a father

"Fears-nothing was his father's only son. One day the son and father were sitting talking. The son said to his father ..." G2 p35

Ka Yesu *daa* an yoma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keŋ malɔŋ la wɔɔ ban ɛnti niŋid si'em la. Ka malɔŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpɛlim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpɛlim yaa. Ba *daa* ten'es ye o dɔlnɛ ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...

Kà Yesu· dāa áⁿ yómà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēŋ málòŋ lā wɔɔ bán ɛɛⁿ tí

and Jesus·NZ TNS be year.PL ten with two the and 3p go sacrifice the like 3p.NZ usually
niŋìd sī'əm lā. Kà màlòŋ lā dábɔsà· nāe lā, kà bà lébɪdì · kūn.

do.IPF how the and sacrifice the day.PL·NZ finish the and 3p return.IPF + go.home.IPF

Kà Yesu kpɛ̀lìm Jerusalem tɛ̀ŋī·n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū bāŋ yé

and Jesus remain Jerusalem land-at and 3a father with 3a mother NG realise that

ò kpɛ̀lìm yāa·. Bà dāa tɛ̀n'es yé ò dòl né bà tɛ̀ŋ-dìm lā, kà kēŋ ...

3a remain m/c-NG 3p TNS think that 3a accompany FOC 3p land-person.PL the and go

"When Jesus was twelve years old, they went to the sacrifice as they usually did. When the days of the 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

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 moŋ o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō· nē dábīēm, bán dà pō niŋò· yáddā yé ò sùd

but 3p TNS fear.IPF·3a FOC fear 3p.NZ TNS NG do·3a trust that 3a truly

à nē nyā'an-dól lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas záŋ Saul n mōró· · kēŋ ...

be FOC disciple the on but and Barnabas take Saul + have·3a + 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

Among dozens of clauses *kà X dɔ́á' 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 dɔ́á' Solomon. Ò mà dá à nē Uria pɔ́á'.

and David beget Solomon 3a mother TNS be FOC Uria wife

Kà Solomon dɔ́á' Rehoboam.

and Solomon beget Rehoboam

"David begat Solomon. His mother was Uria'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; B3 here shows *ka X saam da ane Y* at the beginning of paragraphs in the text, but *ka X saam an Y* otherwise.

Isolated *kà*-clauses with pf aspect and no tense marking were always interpreted as expressing events by consultants, with focus-*nē'* taken as constituent focus, never temporal; tense marking enabled temporal interpretations:

Lì bòdìg nē.

3i get.lost FOC

"It's lost."

Kà lì bódìg nē.

and 3i get.lost FOC

Rejected by W; accepted after some thought by D, explained as denying "someone hid it": constituent focus

Bà kòdìg nē.

3p get.old FOC

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nē.

and 3p get.old FOC

"And they're old." Rejected by W; accepted by D with the gloss "You're saying they're old when he promised to give you new ones": constituent focus

but **Kà l̀ dāa bódìg nē.** "And it was lost."
 and 3i TNS get.lost FOC

Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.
Kà bà dāa kúdíg nē. both acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked ipfs can appear (without temporal focus) in narrative to express several instances of an event:

Ka on kpɛn' la, o yɛli ba ye [...] Ka ba la'ad o.
Kà ón kpèⁿ lā, ò yéì·bā yē [...] Kà bà lá'adō.
 and 3a.NZ enter the 3a say·3p that and 3p laugh.IPF·3a
 "After he came in, he said to them [...] But they laughed at him." Mk 5:39-40

Interruptions in the narrative may contain clauses coordinated with **kà**; tense marking is not repeated after the first, but such clauses can have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet da ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa me kudigne.
Bà dà pū mōr bīigā·, bō zúgō Elizabet dá à nē kúndù'ar
 3p TNS NG have child·NG because Elizabeth TNS be FOC barren.woman
kà bà bàyí' lā wūsā mé kùdíg nē.
 and 3p two the 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 támmì ·ò pūā' lá· sà yèlò· sī'əl lā
 and man forget 3a wife the·NZ TNS say·3a IDFi the
 "but the man forgot what his wife had told him the previous day" G2 p26

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with **kà** §12.4, whether or not **kà** also precedes, or the absolute clause is tense-marked (97% 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 (88%.)

10.3 Tense-slot adjuncts

Tense-slot adjuncts precede any mood/polarity markers.

Sādígím "since" §11.4.1 also precedes any tense markers; **yū'bn** "then, next", **sìd** "truly" and **lèε** "but" usually do so too (B3 has 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lèε da* to 1 of *da lèε*.)

Josua yū'bn da kùdigya.

"Then Joshua grew old." Jo 13:1

Josua yū'bn dá kùdìg yā.

Joshua then TNS grow.old m/c

O sid kpiya.

"He's really died." Mk 15:44

Ò sìd kpì yā.

3a truly die m/c

Ò sìd dāa á nē nā'ab.

"Truly, he was a chief." W

3a truly TNS be FOC chief

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

"But my words will not pass away."

Kà mān pīāⁿ'ad lā léε kù gāadē.

Mt 24:35 B2

and 1s speech the but NG.IR pass-NG

amaa lèε pu'usimi Wina'am bareka

"but thank God" Eph 5:4

àmáa lèε pù'usimī· Wínà'am báriká

but but greet.IMP·2pS God blessing

For W, **lèε** carries any m/c tone overlay §10.6; he corrected **Lèε gòsìm nā'ab lā!** to **Lèε gōs nā'ab lā!** "But look at the chief!"

Nām "still" (with negatives, "yet"), **nyēε (tí)** (**ēεⁿ tí** K, *nyii ti* B1/2, *εenti* B3) "habitually" and **kūlīm/kūdīm** "always" follow any tense particles.

ba nam pu kuu fo

"they haven't killed you yet" G2 p28

bà nām pū kúv·fō.

3p still NG kill·2s-NG

Tìum lā nám bèε?

"Is there any medicine left?"

medicine the still exist-PQ

Hor dim la mε da εenti bε Seir.

"The Horites too used to live in Seir."

Hor díum lā mé dà ēεⁿ tí bè Seir.

Dt 2:12

Hor Øp the also TNS habit exist Seir

On ne o pu'a Prisila daa kɔdim nan yine Room

Ōn né ò pɔā' Prisila dāa kɔdīm nám yī nē Room

3a with 3a wife Priscilla TNS ever still exit FOC Rome

"He and his wife Priscilla had just arrived from Rome" Acts 18:2

Yāan/nāan "next, afterwards", **nāan** §11.2.3 "in that case" and **pà' tì** "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. **Yāan** usually appears in **kà**-clauses in narrative.

Ka Zugsɔb sɔnf nyaan yɔ'ɔn ma'ae. "Then the Lord's anger subsided."

Kà Zūg-sɔb sú^{nf} yāan yɔ'ɔn mā'e. Jo 7:26

and Lord heart next then cool

Onɛ pa'ati an Kristo la bæɛ?

"Perhaps he is the Christ?" Jn 4:29

Ōnī · pá' tì àⁿ Kristo lā bæɛ?

3a + perhaps be Christ the or-PQ

10.4 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 m/c. When the polarity is negative, a VP-final negative enclitic §5.3 is also present §10.8.

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 present, past and timeless events and states, and immediate future in periphrastic constructions §10.2.

Ò "wè' búŋ lā.

"He's hit the donkey."

3a hit donkey the

Ò p̄ "wé' b̄ŋ lāa.

"He hasn't hit the donkey."

3a NG hit donkey the·NG

Imperative mood is negated by **dā**. It is used in commands, prohibitions and purpose clauses, and after imperatives in catenation. 2vbs with m/c tone overlay take the flexion **-ma**, with pf sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked as usual. Even 1vbs appear in direct commands: **Vbe!** **Vb̄e!** "Live!" Ez 16:6. See §11.2.2 on 2pS **ya/n**.

"Wè'em búŋ lā!

"Hit the donkey!"

hit.IMP donkey the

Dā ˈwɛ́' bɔ̀ŋ lǎa·!

NG.IMP hit donkey the·NG

"Don't hit the donkey!"

Ò vùl t̄im kà ò nóbìr dā zábē·.

3a swallow medicine and 3a leg NG.IMP fight·NG

"She's taken medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." W

Kèm nā n gōs!

come.IMP hither + look

"Come and look!"

Kòˈsìm!

"Cough!"

Dā kóˈsē·!

NG.IMP cough·NG

"Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did cough, during an eye operation)

Dā kóˈsɪdā·!

NG.IMP cough.IPF·NG

"Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)

Dòllī·ní·m!

"Come (pl) with me!"

Mòr nīn·báalìg!

"Have pity!"

Béε ·ànínā!

"Be (i.e. stay) there!" S

Temporal *nḗ* cannot appear, but *àlá* "thus" here conveys a continuous sense:

Dìmí ·àlá!

"Carry on eating!"

Dìgī·ní ·àlá!

"Keep on (pl) lying down."

lie·2pS thus

Āa·ní ·àlá bāaˈlím!

"Be (pl) quiet!"

be·2pS thus quietness

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 tones to M. Aspect is marked by verb flexion, but ipf is uncommon. Irrealis with past tense markers may be contrary-to-fact or future-in-the-past.

Ò nà ˈwɛ́' búŋ lǎ.

3a IR hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey."

Ò kù "wē' búj láa.
3a NG.IR hit donkey the-NG

"He won't hit the donkey."

Ò dāa ná "wē' búj lā.
3a TNS IR hit donkey the

"He would have hit the donkey."
(but didn't, W)

one da na ti zam o
òni· dà nà tī zammò.
DEMa·NZ TNS IR next betray·3a

"who was going to betray him" Jn 6:71

Negative verbs replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.

Kā'ẹ (clause-final variant **kà'asìg**) replaces the indicative negative of **bè** "exist" always, of **àẹⁿya** "be something" except in contrasts, and often also of **mōr_a'** "have."

Ò kā' bīigā.
3a NG.have child·NG

"She hasn't got/Isn't a child."

Ò mōr bīig, àmáa dāy lā kā'e.
3a have child but man the NG.have·NG

"She has a child but the man hasn't."

Dāy lā kā'e.
man the NG.exist·NG

"The man isn't there."

Dāy kā'ẹ dógū·n láa.
man NG.exist room·at the-NG

"There's no man in the room."

Dāy lā kā' dógū·n láa.
man the NG.exist room·at the-NG

"The man is not in the room."

Ò bīig ká'asìgē.
3a child NG.exist·NG

"She has no child."

Zī' (clause-final variant **zī'isìg**) "not know" usually replaces indicative **pō mī'**:

Bùṅ-bāⁿ'ad zī' yē tēṅ túllā.
donkey-rider NG.know that ground be.hot·NG

Proverb: "He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot."

but Ka o sid la pu mii.
Kà ò sīd lā pō mī'i.
and 3a husband the NG know·NG

"But her husband did not know." G2 p26

Mìt is a defective imperative-only 1vb. With a catenative complement it means "let not ..." §11.3; with a NP it means "beware", and is not a negative verb:

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

Mìtì· zírí nò-dí'èsìdìb bání· kēnní ·yà sà'an nā lā.

beware·2pS lie linguist.PL DEMp·NZ come.IPF 2p among hither the

"Beware of false prophets who come among you." Mt 7:15 B2

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

So' len kae n paas o zugó.

"There is none beside him." Dt 4:35

Sò' lém ká'e ·n páas ò zūgó·.

IDFa again NG.exist + add 3a on·NG

ka zan'as banε ka' Kristo nidib la sɔŋir.

kà zâⁿ'as bání· ká' Kristo nídìb lā sɔŋìr.

and refuse DEMp·NZ NG.be Christ person.PL the helping

"and refused the help of non-Christians." 3 Jn 1:7

10.5 Subverbs

Subverbs immediately precede the verb. Tonally, they behave as tp A verbs; they bear any m/c overlay or irrealis tone shift, and the verb keeps its intrinsic tones.

Pòn "previously, already" and **tì** "next, then" are root-stem subverbs:

Ò pòn ⁿwé' bòn lā.

"He's already hit the donkey."

3a already hit donkey the

Kà ò pún ⁿwè' bòn lā.

"And he's already hit the donkey."

and 3a already hit donkey the

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"until Herod had died." Mt 2:15

hālí kà Herod tí kpi.

until and Herod next die

Beogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

"Before morning comes they have gone!"

Bēogú· tì niəd lā kà bà gāad! Is 17:14

morning·NZ next appear.IPF the and 3p pass

Kèm · tí nyē dú'atà.

"Go to see the doctor." S

go.IMP + next see doctor

The rest are derived with **m**: **lèm** "again", **pō lém** + ipf "no more" (**lèb** "return"); **là'am** "together" (**là'am**, "associate with"); **dèṅìṃ** "beforehand" (**dèṅ** "go first"); **màlìgìṃ** "again" (Toende *malig* "do again"); **kpèlìṃ** + pf "immediately", + ipf "still" (**kpèlìṃ**, "remain.") B3 uses **kpèn** for **kpèlìṃ**.

M̄ nīf lém zàbìd nē.

"My eye is hurting again."

1s eye again fight.IPF FOC

M̄ nīf pō lém zàbìdā.

"My eye is not hurting any more."

1s eye NG again fight.IPF·NG

Ò nà lēm ʷwé' b̀̀ṅ lā.

"He'll hit the donkey again."

3a IR again hit donkey the

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.

"so all people died together with him."

kà nīdīb wūsā dá là'am kpì nó.

2 Cor 5:14

and person.PL all TNS together die with·3a

Pin'ilug̃on sa ka Pian'ad la da p̃on d̃eṅim b̃e.

Pī'n̄'ilúg̃ō·n sá kà Pj̄à'n̄'ad lā dá p̃òn d̃èṅìṃ b̃è.

beginning·at hence and word the TNS already before exist

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

Amaa man pian'ad la k̃u maligim gaad̃e.

Àmáa m̄an p̄j̄à'n̄'ad lā kú m̄ālìg̃ìṃ ḡáad̃ē.

but 1s speech the NG.IR again pass·NG

"But my words will not pass away." Mt 24:35

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

"Immediately he went blind."

Kà ò kpélìṃ zū'om.

Acts 13:11 B2

and 3a immediately go.blind

m biig Josef nan kp̃en ṽue.

"My child Joseph is still alive." Gn 45:28

m̄ biig Josef n̄am kp̃èn ṽūē.

1s child Joseph still still live

10.6 Main/content marking

The VP of a main or content clause has m/c marking. Marking is absent in all non-content subordinate clauses, and also in *main* clauses introduced by *kà*.

This marking is primarily by tone overlay and by subject-pronoun tone sandhi changes; the tone overlay is in some cases accompanied by segmental markers.

Tone overlay does not appear in negative polarity or irrealis mood, or after the tense marker *dāa*; subverbs carry the overlay instead of the following verbs.

The overlay changes all tones in the affected word to L. Affected words, regardless of their intrinsic tones, are always followed by M-spread, and show M tone (or H before fixed L tones) on the final syllable before liaison.

Tone overlay in main clauses (with M-spread after *m̃*):

M̃ ⁿwé' búŋ lā.

"I've hit (ⁿwè') the donkey (bùŋ_a)."

M̃ gōs búŋ lā.

"I've looked at (gōs) the donkey."

M̃ sá ⁿwè' búŋ lā.

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

M̃ sá gōs búŋ lā.

"I looked at the donkey yesterday."

but *m̃* yá' ⁿwè' bùŋ lā

"if I hit the donkey"

m̃ yá' gōs búŋ lā

"if I look at the donkey"

mán ⁿwè' bùŋ lā

"I having hit the donkey"

mán gōs búŋ lā

"I having looked at the donkey"

Kà m̃ ⁿwé' bùŋ lā.

"And I hit the donkey."

Kà m̃ gōs búŋ lā.

"And I looked at the donkey."

M̃ p̄ ⁿwé' bùŋ lāa.

"I haven't hit the donkey."

M̃ p̄ gōs búŋ lāa.

"I haven't looked at the donkey."

M̃ dāa ⁿwé' bùŋ lā.

"I hit the donkey."

M̃ dāa gōs búŋ lā.

"I looked at the donkey."

Intrinsic tones before liaison with *m_a* "me", *ba* "them":

bòdɪgì·m

bòdɪgì·bā

bòdɪgìdī·m ipf

"lose"

yādɪgí·m

yādɪgí·bā

yādɪgídī·m ipf

"scatter"

With tone overlay:

bòdɪgī·m

bòdɪgī·bá

bòdɪgìdī·m ipf

yādɪgī·m

yādɪgī·bá

yādɪgídī·m ipf

Two segmental markers appear after verbs with tone overlay (including tp A verbs, which otherwise appear unaltered apart from the M-spread following them.)

The flexion *ma* marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gòsìm!

"Look!"

Gòsım̄·nı̄·bā!

"Look (pl) at them!"

look.IMP·2pS·3p

but Dā gōsē!

"Don't look!"

NG.IMP look·NG

Kèl kà ò gōs!

"Let her look!"

let.IMP and 3a look

Dòllı̄·nı̄·bā!

"Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)

follow·2pS·3p

The particle *yā* follows any VP-final pf carrying the tone overlay:

Ò sà gòs yā.

"She looked."

3a TNS look m/c

M̄ tēⁿ'es kà ò gòs yā.

"I think she's looked."

1s think and 3a look m/c

but Ò p̄ gōsē.

"He's not looked."

Ò nà gōs.

"She'll look."

Ò dāa gōs.

"He looked."

Kà ò gōs.

"And he looked."

Ò gòsı̄·m.

"He's looked at me." (not final)

Ò gım̄.

"She's short." (ipf)

Ò nòŋ.

"She loves [him.]" W (ipf)

Yā remains M before the negative enclitic, and becomes L (not H) before the interrogative enclitics; this unique behaviour reflects its origin as a flexion.

Lì bòdìg néε·?

"Is it lost?" (nē´)

Lì bòdìg yàa·?

"Has it got lost?"

10.7 Complements and adjuncts

The order of arguments after the verb is indirect object, direct object, other complement(s), other adjunct(s). Any clause-level adjuncts precede the subject.

Clauses as VP arguments are discussed in §11. Relative clauses §11.4.2 can appear in any NP role; catenative clauses §11.3 as objects of *kē* "let", *mìt* "beware", *yē* "see", or as predicative adjuncts; purpose clauses §11.5 after verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or as adjuncts; content clauses §11.6, relative clauses with *sī'əm* and absolute clauses §11.4.1 as objects of verbs of cognition and communication (alongside adverbials with *yēlá* §10.7.2.)

10.7.1 Objects and predicatives

Strictly transitive verbs (including causatives, and all transitive 1vbs) require a direct object: if none appears, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied, and an explicit generic object needs to be supplied to avoid this:

- Q. *Fù mór gbāuy láa·?* "Do you have the letter?"
 A. *Ēē, m mór.* "Yes, I have it."

Mid ka ya ku nīd. "Do not kill." Ex 20:13
Mìt kà yà kō nīd.
 beware and 2p kill person

Many verbs are ambitransitive. With patientive ambitransitives, like *nāe'* "finish", *bòdug* "lose/get lost", transitive objects correspond to intransitive subjects. Most such verbs express state changes, and many are derived with *-g*. Agentive ambitransitives appear with and without objects, with no change in the subject role, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

kəl ka ba nu ku'om "let them drink water" Gn 29:7
kèl kà bà nū kû'əm
 let.IMP and 3p drink water

Kelli ka ti di ka nu "Let us eat and drink" 1 Cor 15:32
Kèlì· kà tì dí kà nū
 let.IMP·2pS and 1p eat and drink

Agentive ambitransitives also appear in middle constructions, with the direct object transferred to subject position and the agent suppressed; unlike intransitive patientive ambitransitives, these constructions cannot form progressive ipfs §12.1:

Dāam lā nú yā.

beer the drink m/c

"The beer has got drunk."

Gbàuy lā sób nē.

letter the write FOC

"The letter is written."

Gbàuy lā sóbìd sùḡā.

letter the write.IPF well

"The letter writes easily." W

Gbàà sóbìd zīnā.

letter.PL write.IPF today

"Letters are written today." W

Dāam lā nūud nē

beer the drink.IPF FOC

"The beer is *for drinking*."

(not "The beer is being drunk." W)

Some intransitive verbs may appear with parts of the subject's body as objects:

Dìḡnīm ·fù nū'ug.

lie.IMP 2s hand

"Put your hand down."

Lìḡnīm ·fù nīf né fù nū'ug.

cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

"Cover your eye with your hand."

Some verbs only take direct objects of very limited types, often nouns from the same stem, e.g. zàaⁿsìm zàaⁿsímà "dream dreams" Acts 2:17 or

Fù túm bó-tùumà·?

2s work.IPF what-work·CQ

"What work do you do?" S

Manner-pronoun objects often replace pronouns with abstract reference:

man ten'es si'em la kù viigē.

mán tēⁿ'es sī'em lā kú vīigé.

1s.NZ think how the NG.IR put.off·NG

"What I plan will not be put off."

Is 14:24

Dā níḡì ·àlāa·!

NG.IMP do thus·NG

"Don't do that!"

An indirect object expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò d̀òg̀·m.

3a cook·1s

"He cooked (for) me." W

L̀ì m̀àl̀s̀·m.

3i be.sweet·1s

"I like it."

Àláaf̀ò b́éo·.

health exist·3a

"She's well."

line maal dap ayi' banε ka kikiris d̀olli ba la

l̀ǹì· m̀àal d̀āp̀á ·à̀ỳí' b̀áǹì· k̀à k̀ìk̀ìr̀is d̀òll̀í·b̀ā l̀ā

DEMi·NZ make man.PL two DEMp·NZ and fairy.PL follow·3p the

"what happened to the two men who had been afflicted by demons" Mt 8:33

Omission of indirect objects does not imply anaphora, even with verbs which characteristically take an indirect object, such as **t̀is** "give":

M̀ t̀is ǹā'ab l̀ā p̀īǹī.

1s give chief the gift

"I've given the chief a gift."

onε t̀isid p̀īǹī

̀ǹì· t̀is̀id p̀īǹī

DEMa·NZ give.IPF gift

"one who gives gifts" Prv 19:6

Whenever two objects appear, the first is indirect; "causatives" from transitive verbs are actually applicative: **d̀is** X Y "give X Y to eat", not "make X eat Y."

In many idioms the "logical" object appears as an indirect object before a fixed direct object, e.g. **k̀àd** X **s̀àr̀íyà** "judge X", **m̀ōr/z̀ò** X **ǹīn-b̀áal̀ìg** "pity X", **ǹìŋ** X **ỳàdd̀ā** "trust X", **ẁè'** X **ǹū'ug** "entreat X", **z̀ò** X **d̀àb̀īem** "fear X":

Adonija z̀otif dabiem.

Adonija z̀ót·f d̀áb̀īem.

Adonijah run.IPF·2s fear

"Adonijah is afraid of you." 1 Kgs 1:51

Da z̀ot dabiem.

D̀ā z̀ót d̀áb̀īem·.

NG.IMP run.IPF fear·NG

"Don't be afraid." Gn 15:1

Some verbs require predicative complements, notably àḗⁿya "be something" and its negative kā'ḗ (on the form of these verbs see §5.1; on focus-nḗ' see §12.1.) Omission of such complements implies anaphora:

Mānī · áⁿ dú'atà kà fōn mén áḗⁿ. "I'm a doctor and you are too."
 1s + be doctor and 2s also be

Adjectives appear as heads only in predicatives:

Bà à nḗ píólà. "They're white." W

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin aseε ka m leb zin'a.

Mām á nḗ píólòḡ àmáa m yá' pāe búgómī·n, àséε kà m léb zì'a.

1s be FOC white but 1s if reach fire-at except and 1s turn red

"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] G1 p16

However, àḗⁿya prefers derived manner nouns or compounds with nīn- "person" or bōn- "thing" as complements:

Lì à nḗ bōḡsígā. "It's soft."

Lì à nḗ zāalím. "It's empty."

Lì àⁿ sūḡā. "It's good."

Quality verbs are often used instead: lì màlìs "it's sweet." Sòm_{ma} "be good" only appears in B before subordinate clauses, "be good that ..."; this is probably connected with the fact that sòm/sòḡā' "well" is intrinsically focused §12.1, preventing focus on the following clause.

In some constructions predicative complements follow objects, e.g.

Ka o maal o meḡ nintita'ar.

"He made himself out to be a great man."

Kà ò māl ò mēḡ nīn-títā'ar.

Acts 8:9 B1

and 3a make 3a self person-big

"Naming" constructions with pùd "dub" or bùel "call" take the name, often preceded by yē, as complement, and as object the named entity, or yō'ur' "name" with the named entity as possessor; here bùel also appears in middle constructions.

Ka fū na pūd o yō'ur ye Yesu.

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

Kà fū ná pūd ò yō'ur yē Yesu.

and 2s IR dub 3a name that Jesus

on ka ba buon ye Pita la "who was called Peter" Mt 10:2
 òn kà bà bùen yē Pita lā
 DEMa and 3p call.IPF that Peter the

dau sɔ' ka o yɔ'ɔr buon Joon. "a man called John." Jn 1:6
 dàu-só' kà ò yɔ'ɔr bùen Joon.
 man-IDFa and 3a name call.IPF John

Predicative ideophones include *sāpī_n* 'straight', *nyāe_n* 'brightly, clearly', *nà'anā* 'easily':

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la "make the highway straight in the bush"
 màalim sūā-dâug sâpī mɔɔgɔ·n lā Is 40:3
 make.IPF road-male straight grass-at the

ke ka ti lieb nyain. "make us light." 1 Jn 1:7
 ké kà tì liəb nyāe.
 let and 1p become brightly

Lì à nē ná'anā. "It's easy."
 3i be FOC easily

Predicative NPs also appear as adjuncts:

ba daa naan vɔlini ti vɔt "they would have swallowed us alive"
 bà dāa nāan vōlī·ní·tī vɔt Ps 124:3
 3p TNS then swallow·DP·1p alive.PL

Wina'am a su'um nyain. "God is light." 1 Jn 1:5 B2
 Wínà'am áⁿ s'um nyāe.
 God be goodness brightly

10.7.2 Adverbials

Adverbials are nouns or NPs typically used as VP adjuncts of manner, time, circumstance, reason or place. Subtypes include specialised pronouns, pronoun-like nouns which cannot take dependents (cf CGEL p429), postpositions with predeterminers, and relative clauses §11.4.2 with adverbial heads.

Adverbials are not confined to adjunct roles, but occur as NP predependents, objects, predicatives and even subjects:

Sùṅā bé. "OK it is." W
Well exist.

Zíná à nē dá'a. "Today is market."
today be FOC market

Yiṅ venl "Outside is beautiful" Acts 23:3 B2
Yiṅ véⁿl
outside be.beautiful

o pu'alvṅ la zugu ke ka ti paam laafi
ò pù'alvṅ lā zúgù · ké kà tì pāam láafi
3a damage the on + let and 1p receive health
"because of his damage we have gained health" Is 53:5

Manner adverbials include pronouns like *wēlá* "how?" and manner nouns, which cannot take dependents. Some 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_(a)* "again" originated as a 1vb in catenation (cf Gal 1:9 B2: *ka m lem yeti ya'as* "and I say again") but is now simply an adverbial: *Ya'as ka m gos* "Again I looked" Rv 5:11 B1.

Expressive ideophones are manner adverbials:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb. "It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop." W

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: *zīⁿig zīⁿig* "place by place", *dàbùsìr dàbùsìr* "day by day", *ànāas nāas* "four by four." Reduplication of manner nouns or mass quantifiers is intensifying: *àsídà sídà* or *àmēṅá mēṅá* "very truly"; *bī'əl bī'əl* "very little."

Dāar "day, date" and **wìn_n** "time of day" must have a preceding or following determiner: *nobkoog daar nōb-kōog dāar* "the day a leg gets broken" G2 p42; set expressions include *dāar wōsā/wōv*, *dāar mé-kàmà* "every day"; *yòum àⁿwá(-nā) wín* "this time next year", *dāar àⁿwá(-nā) wín* "this time the day after tomorrow." Their use may distinguish points in time from spans of time:

Dābá àyópòḡ dāar kà fù ná lēb nā. "You'll come back in a week."
Tì kpélìm ànínā dábı̀sà bī'ələ́. "We stayed there a few days."

Dāar is required after weekday names: *Áláasìd dāar* "Sunday." The pl **dābā** is only used before numbers with **à-** and **àlá** "how many?", with cif **dà-** (*dab* B3) before **pīi(gā)** "ten", **pīs(í)** "tens." **Dábı̀sà** "twenty-four hour periods" is also possible here.

Place adverbials may be pronouns like **kpē** "here", specialised words like **yìḡ_a** "outside", **dàgòbı̀g_a** "left", **àgólı̀/àgōlá** "upwards", **lālílí** "far off", Kusaal place names, or NPs headed by postpositions. No verb requires a place adverbial as a complement:

Dàù-sō' bé kpēlá. "There's a man here."
 man-IDFa exist here

but *Wínà'am bé.* "God is there." (i.e. "It'll all work out.")
Wāad bé. "It's cold." ("Cold exists.")
Áláafù bé. "There is health." (greeting)

Ka o paae zin'igin la. "And he reached the place." Lk 22:40
Kà ò pāe zīⁿ'igī·n lā.
 and 3a reach place-at the

but *li saḡa sid paae ya.* "Its time has surely arrived." Ps 102:13
lì sāḡá sīd pāe yā.
 3i time truly arrive m/c

The core locative postposition has the form **nī́** after pronouns (**m̄ nī́/mān nī́** "in me"), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in sf, but enclitic **n** elsewhere:

la'asug dōdin ne suoya ni "in synagogues and in streets" Mt 6:2
là'asùg dōdī·n nē sūāyá nì
 gathering house.PL-at with road.PL at

It may precede or follow **lā́**: *mù'arī·n lā* or *mù'ar lā ní* "in the lake."

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

Ka Paillet len yi nidibin la na "Pilate came out to the people again"
 Kà Paillet lém yī nīdibí·n lā nā Jn 19:4
 and Pilate again exit person.PL·at the hither

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

Yīr' "house" has the exceptional locatives *yín_n* pl *yáa·n* "at home."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: *bēog_o* "tomorrow", *bēogō·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."
 M ná kēη Bók. "I'm going to Bawku."
 Fò yūug Bók kpēlāa·? "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Speakers treat foreign places names similarly, but B often uses *nī'* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tējī·n* "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

All other postpositions are nouns used with predependents as VP adjuncts; several are themselves followed by locative *n*. They include:

Bābá "beside" (pl of *bābir'* "sphere of activity"): *m nōbá bàbà* "beside my feet."
Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (*gbìn_n* "buttock"): *zūer lā gbín* "below the mountain."
Kōⁿ (okō) "by ... self" (*àràkóⁿ* "one"): *m kōⁿ* "by myself."
Yá'aη_a "behind, after" (*nyá'aη_a* "back"): *lì nyá'aη, nē'ējā nyâ'aη* "afterward."
Pūvgō·n "inside" (*pūvg_a* "belly"): *yòum lā pūvgō·n* "[months] in the year",
dò-kàjā lā pūvgō·n "inside that hut."
Sā'an' "in the presence/opinion of": *Wínà'am sâ'an* "in the sight of God", and

Fò ná dī'e tūm puá'-bàmmā lā sâ'an.

2s IR get medicine woman-DEMp the among

"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

(Sì)sùvgō·n "between": *tīnám nē fūn súvgō·n* "between us and you."

Tējír "under": *Gòsìm tējír!* "Look down!"; *téebòl lā tējír* "under the table."

Tùen_n "in front of": Gòsìm tûen! "Look forward!"; dāká lā tûen "before the box."
Zūg_o´ "onto" (zūg_o´ "head"):

Ò dìgìl gbáuy lā téebùl lā zúg. "She's put the book on the table."
3a lay book the table the on

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

Ka kùkòr yi saazug na "And a voice came from heaven"
Kà kùkòr yī sāa zúg nā Jn 12:28
and voice exit rain on hither

Zūg_o·n "on": téebùl lā zúg_o·n "on the table."
Zūg_o´ is often used metaphorically as "on account of": bō zúgò? "why?";

Faanmim fu nòṅilim la zug. "Save me because of your love." Ps 6:4
Fàa"mí·m fù nòṅìlím lā zúg.
save.IMP·1s 2s love the on

Yēlá "matters, affairs" forms complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication in the sense "about":

Bà yèlò· mǎn yēlá wōsā. "They told him all about me."
3p say·3a 1s about all

10.7.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositions precede NP complements, including nominalised clauses. Except for *nē* "with" (accompanying/instrumental), they may also introduce non-nominalised clauses §11.7; *àmáa* "but" is only found in that role. Other prepositions are *kūb/bēē* "or", *wōv* "like", *àséé* "except", *hālí* "as far as", *hālí nē* (with time NPs: *hālí nē zíná* "until today") and *là'am nē* "though" (with absolute clauses.) Personal pronouns as complements either take free forms or the usually right-bound forms: *wōv fōn nē* or *wóv fò nē* "like you." *Nē* either takes right-bound forms or uses the form *ní* before enclitics: *ní·m ní·f nó· ní·lī ní·tī ní·yā ní·bā*.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Complements of *wōv* without the article *lā´* are followed by an empty *nē*, unless they are numbers (where the meaning is "about") or interrogative pronouns: *wōv mǎn nē* "like me", *wōv búy nē* "like a donkey", but *wōv tūsá àyí* "about two thousand", *wōv bó·?* "like what?"

Several verbs take prepositional-phrase complements, e.g. **dōl_{la}'** "go with" in the sense "accord with"; **lāl_{la}'** "be far from"; **nār_a'** "need" in the sense "deserve":

Li dōlne lin sōb Wina'am gbaunon si'em la

Lì dōl nē lín sōb Wínà'am gbáunō·n sī'əm lā

3i follow with 3i.NZ write God book·at how the

"This accords with what is written in God's book" 1 Cor 2:16

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.

"But he is not far from us." Acts 17:27

Àmáa ò pū lāl né tīi.

but 3a NG be.far with 1p·NG

Fv nar ne fon na kpi.

"You deserve to die." Jgs 2:26

Fò nár nē fún nà kpī.

2s need with 2s.NZ IR die

Wēn_{na}' "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with **nē** or **wōu**, with the complement followed by **nē** in the same circumstances as after **wōu**:

M nwene danuud ne.

"I am like a beer-drinker." Jer 23:9

M wén nē dā-nūud nē.

1s be.like with beer-drinker like

Prepositional phrases often appear as VP adjuncts; some with time, circumstance or reason meanings may also function as clause adjuncts §11.1.

Lìgíním ·fù nīf né fù nū'ug.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

Bà kèṅ nē nōbá.

"They've gone on foot." W

3p go with leg.PL

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tū'as nē Wīnné.

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

eat.IMP with God NG.IMP talk with God·NG

Kulim ne sumbugusum.

"Go home in peace." Mk 5:34

Kùlìm nē sūⁿ-búgusìm.

go.home.IMP with peace

M géⁿ né fù.

"I'm angry with you." S

1s get.angry with 2s

La'am nε on da zan'as la "Although he refused" Gn 39:10
 Là'am nē ón dà zà'n'as lā
 together with 3a.NZ TNS refuse the

mōri ya'am wōw wiigi nε "be wise as serpents" Mt 10:16
 mōrī· yā'am wōw wīigí nē
 have-2pS sense like snake.PL like

Ò zòt wōw búḡì· zòt sī'əm lā. "He runs like a donkey runs."
 3a run.IPF like donkey·NZ run.IPF how the

O daa pwn anε ninkwɔd hali pin'ilɔgɔn sa.
 Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kōwɔd hālí pī'n'ilógwō-n sá.
 3a TNS previously be FOC person-killer even beginning-at since
 "He was a murderer from the beginning." Jn 8:44

asεε yaname na dōlli ya pitw la na "unless you bring your brother here"
 àséε yānámì nà dōllí ·yà pītú lā nā Gn 43:5
 unless 2p.NZ IR follow 2p sib the hither

W permits adjuncts introduced by wōw (not nē) to be preposed with kà:

Wōw búḡ nē kà ò zót. "Like a donkey, he runs."
 like donkey like and 3a run.IPF

10.8 Final particles

The negative enclitic §5.3 §10.4, m/c-pf yā §10.6, nā' "hither" and sà "hence, since" are the last constituents in VPs, other than certain subordinate clauses:

Ḳ mór kû'əm nāa? "Shall I bring water?" S
 1s have water hither-PQ

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná? "Where is the light coming from?" S
 fire the exit.IPF where at hither-CQ

O tɔmne bεogɔn sa. "She's been working since morning."
 Ò tòm nē bēogwō-n sá. Ru 2:7
 3a work.IPF FOC morning hence

The negative enclitic follows all subordinate clauses except those introduced by àséε "unless" §11.7 and catenative clauses outside the scope of the negation:

M̄ dāa p̄w ʔyē dāw lá kà ò áⁿ ná'abā. "I didn't see the man as a chief." K
1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief·NG

but Ka li p̄w yuugε ka o pu'a mε kena. "Not much later, his wife came too."
Kà lì p̄w yúugē·, kà ò p̄wā' mé kē nā. Acts 5:7
and 3i NG delay·NG and 3a wife also come hither

Yā, nā' and sà precede all subordinate clauses which are not nominalised:

F̄v keya ka Ammon dim kv o. "You have made the Ammonites kill him."
F̄v kē yá kà Ammon dí m kúo·. 2 Sm 12:9
2s let m/c and Ammon Øp kill·3a

Kēm nā n gōs! "Come and look!" S
come·IMP hither + look

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
Kà zùund dá sīg nā yé bà dí nī'm lā.
and vulture·PL TNS descend hither that 3p eat meat the
"Vultures came down to eat the meat." Gn 15:11

In nominalised clauses, nā' and sà precede or follow clause-final lā'; they may also follow gerunds, where they similarly may precede or follow lā':

dunia kanε ken la na "the world which is coming" Lk 20:35
dūnɿyá-kànì· kēn lā nā
world-DEM·NZ come·IPF the hither

ʔwādīg-kánì· kēn nā lā "next month" S
month-DEM·NZ come·IPF hither the

Ninsaal Biig la lεbug la na "the return of the Son of Man" Mt 24:27
Nīn-sâal Bîig lā lēbùg lā nā
human child the returning the hither

Kēⁿ "come" is always used with nā'; the identical m/c-imps of kēⁿ "come" and kēɿ' "go" are distinguished by nā' /sà: Kēm nā! "Come here!", Kēm sá! "Go away!"

11 Clauses11.1 Structure and types

Typical clauses consist of subject NP + VP. Deviations from SVO are preposing or dislocation. The subject position may be preceded, in order, by prepositions, clause linkers (*kà*, *yē* or *n*), adjuncts, and/or preposed elements. Subjects are ellipited after *n*, and sometimes after *kà*. The nominalisers *̀̀* and *yà*' "if" follow the subject.

Most clause types require subjects. Impersonal constructions use *̀̀*:

̀̀ t̀̀l.

3i be.hot

"It [weather] is hot."

̀̀ àⁿ s̀̀gā.

3i be well

"Things are good."

̀̀ nà̀r kà f̀̀ k̀̀l.

3i must and 2s go.home

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

̀̀ may be omitted in *yà*'-clauses:

Yà'a kà'anε alaa

Yà' k̀̀a'a·nı́ ·àláa·

if NG.be·DP thus·NG

"If it had not been so" Jn 14:2

Without a subject, *zı́/zı́'ı́sı́g* "not know" means "unbeknownst."

See §11.2.2 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are ellipited after *n*. Pronouns referring to preceding subjects are ellipited after coordinating (not subordinating) *kà*, with M-spread after *kà*. In a reported dialogue *kà ò yél ... kà ò yél ...* each *ò* thus marks a switch of speaker; this implication of subject change can override gender and semantic appropriateness:

P̀̀ā' lā dá' dāká kà kēη Bók.

woman the buy box and go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." W

but *P̀̀ā' lā dá' dāká kà ò kēη Bók.*

woman the buy box and 3a go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and it went to Bawku." W

The ellipited pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wòm nɛ'ɛŋa la ka sin. "After they heard this they fell silent."
 Bán wòm nɛ'ɛŋā lá kà sīn. Acts 11:18
 3p.NZ hear DEMi the and be.silent

Other subject pronoun ellipsis is informal, and may be "corrected" if speakers' attention is drawn to it; however, it has become standardised in many greetings and proverbs. The meaning is unaffected. M-spread after ellipted pronouns remains:

Náe yàa·? "[Have you] finished?"
 finish m/c-PQ

Prepositions §10.7.3 may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers:

yɛli ya zambina bæɛ ye o na pa'al tɔʊmnyalima
 yéli·yā zāʰbɪnā bæɛ yé ò nà pā'al tɔʊm-nyālmá
 + say-2p sign.PL or that 3a IR show work-wonderful.PL
 "telling you signs, or that he will show wonders" Dt 13:1

Prepositional clauses need not be subordinate: àmáa "but" (which never takes a NP complement) and kɔʊ/bɛɛ "or" may precede main clauses.

Clause adjuncts follow prepositions or linkers but precede all other clause constituents, including preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lɛm lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asɛ?
 Àmáa ón sādɪgím kɪ lā, bó kà m lém lɔɔd nɔɔr yá'asɛ·?
 but 3a.NZ since die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again-CQ
 "But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" 2 Sm 12:23

Almost any time, circumstance or reason adverbial can be a clause adjunct, e.g. absolute clauses §11.4.1, lín à sī'əm lā "as it is", lì nyá'aŋ "afterward", as can àsīdā (ménɛ) "truly" àlá mènɛ "likewise." All these may also be VP adjuncts, and may be preposed with kà §12.4, and may thus end up preceding the subject alone, or with kà preceding, following, or both. Manner and place adverbials cannot be clause adjuncts, and may thus only precede by kà-preposing:

Mɔɔgú·n kà mām bé. "I'm in the bush."
 grass-at and 1s exist (W's correction of *Mɔɔgú·n mām bé)

Some clause adjuncts do not occur as VP adjuncts, like *dāa-sí'ər* "perhaps", which is "some day" as a VP adjunct, and *yà'*- §11.2.3 and *sāduḡim*-clauses §11.4.1, which appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §12.4.

Some clause adjuncts often appear as lfs like those preceding the negative enclitic §5.3, e.g. *bēogō* "tomorrow", *àlá mènē* "likewise." Lfs never appear before *kà*, and in B they only follow *kà* in *kà bēogō* "tomorrow" and *kà dāa-sí'ərē* "perhaps."

Dìn/lìn zúg(ō) "therefore", *àlá zùg(ō)* "thus", *bō zúg(ō)* "because" may only be VP adjuncts if preposed with *kà*; when preposed, *bō zúg* always has the interrogative meaning "why?" *Bō zúgō* (not *bō zúg*) can take a preceding absolute clause §11.4.1. These adjuncts (and *àlá mèn*) may appear as subjects of *ké kà* "cause that" §11.3.

Àséé "unless" appears as a clause adjunct in purpose clauses §11.5.

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands; they may also lack VPs. They show m/c marking §10.6 unless coordinating *kà* precedes.

Catenative clauses somewhat resemble serial-verb constructions. They follow *n*, replaced by *kà* if the subject or polarity changes; subjects are ellipited after *n*.

Clauses nominalised with post-subject *yà'* are conditional protases. Those nominalised with post-subject *ñ* are absolute or relative clauses. Like all NPs, they are coordinated with *nē*; they may themselves contain subordinate clauses:

On ka' sida sōba, nē on tùm tùmbe'ed sieba la zug
Ón ká' sídà sóbā, nē ón tùm tùm-bè'ed-sīebā lā zúg

3a.NZ NG.be truth Øa·NG with 3a.NZ work work-bad-IDFp the on

"Because he is not truthful, and because of the sins he has done." Ez 18:24

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug "because they knew the child was dead"
bán mī' yē biīg lā kpí nē lā zúg Lk 8:53

3p.NZ know that child the die FOC the on

Content and purpose clauses follow *yē* "that", much less often *kà*. (Most subordinate *kà*-clauses are catenative; necessarily so, if *yē* cannot replace *kà*.)

Non-nominalised subordinate clause types vary in whether they precede or follow main VP negative enclitics §10.8. They can be nested or coordinated, or contain coordinated subclauses:

M pū bōod ye fū ti yel bēog daar ye fūne ké ka mam Abram lieb bummōra.
M pū bōod yé fū tí yèl bēog dāar yē fūnī · ké kà mām Abram līeb būn-mórā.

1s NG want that 2s next say in.future that 2s + let and 1s Abram become thing-haver·NG

"I do not want you in future saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich."
 Gn 14:23

ka lin anɛ ye fɔ kɔ maali ti bɛ'ɛdɛ [...], ka ye fɔ yim nɛ sumbɔgusum la.
 kà līn á nē yé fù kù mālī-tí bē'edī · [...], kà yé fù yím nē sūⁿ-búgusim lā.
 and 3i be FOC that 2s NG.IR make·1p bad + and that 2s exit.IMP with peace the
 "Which is that you will not do us harm [...] and will depart in peace." Gn 26:29

M bôod yē dāu lā kēŋ dâ'a-n, kà pɔā' lā dōg dīb.

1s want that man the go market-at and woman the cook food

"I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." W

11.2 Main clauses

Main clauses show m/c marking unless introduced by *kà*. They may be statements (the default), questions or commands; some lack VPs. Coordination is with *kà* "and", *kōv/bēɛ* "or"; with *lèɛ* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English zero.

11.2.1 Questions

Content questions (except *liá* clauses §11.2.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §5.3. Focus-*nē'* cannot appear. There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focused §12.1, and non-subjects are often preposed §12.4. Preposing is obligatory with *bō* and *bō zúg* as "why?"

Fù bôod bó·?

2s want what·CQ

"What do you want?"

Fù bôod línè·?

2s want DEMi·CQ

"Which do you want?"

Dāu lā nyé ànó'onè·?

man the see who·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bōo maale?

Bōo · málè·?

what + make·CQ

"What has happened?" Lk 24:19

Fù áaⁿ · ànô'on bíigà·?

2s be who child·CQ

"Whose child are you?"

Anó'onɛ nyɛ?

Ànó'onì · nyé·?

who + see·CQ

"Who has seen?" Is 29:15

Ànô'ón kà dāy lā nyé·?

who and man the see·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bó kà fù kómmà·?

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

"Why are you crying?"

Polar questions have the form of normal statements (with *nē'* permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by *kúv·?* "or?" (expecting agreement), or by *béé·?* "or?" (expecting disagreement):

Dāy lā nyé bíigàa·?

man the see child·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"

M á nē dáùv·?

1s be FOC man·PQ

"Am I a man?"

Bà kùvd nē búusèé·?

3p kill.IPF FOC goat.PL·PQ

"Are they killing goats?"

Fù pō wúmmàa··?

2s NG hear.IPF·NG·PQ

"Don't you understand?"
(expects *ēéⁿ*, here "no")

Dāy lā nyé bíig kúv·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"
(I expect so.)

Dāy lā nyé bíig béé·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"
(I expect not.)

11.2.2 Commands

For indirect commands, see §11.5 §11.6. In direct commands, 2s pronouns are deleted, and 2p moves to immediately follow the verb as the liaison word *ya/n*:

Fù gós bíig lā.

2s look child the

"You (sg) have looked at the child."

Yà gós bíig lā.

2p look child the

"You (pl) have looked at the child."

but	Gòsìm bìig lā! look.IMP child the	"Look (sg) at the child!"
	Gòsumī· bìig lā! look.IMP·2pS child the	"Look (pl) at the child!"
	Dā gōs bìig lāa·! NG.IMP look child the·NG	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
	Dā gōsī· bìig lāa·! NG.IMP look·2pS child the·NG	"Don't (pl) look at the child!"
	Dā gōsē! NG.IMP look·NG	"Don't (sg) look."
	Dā gōsī·yá·! NG.IMP look·2pS·NG	"Don't (pl) look."

2s/p subjects remain unchanged after clause adjuncts and in 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·.
 2s if have wife 2s NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon·3a·NG
 "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 2s press.IMP hand

Some speakers add *ya/n* redundantly in catenatives and quoted commands:

Kèmi· nā n gōsī·! "Come (pl) and look!"
 come.IMP·2pS hither + look·2pS
 (Kèmi· nā n gōs! W)

Ò yèl yé bà gòsumī· tēṅī·n. "He said to them: Look down!"
 3a say that 3p look.IMP·2pS down

Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed subject pronoun occasionally end in a *lf* like that preceding a negative enclitic:

Gòsumī·yá! "Look (pl)!"

11.2.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause protasis as a clause adjunct. The main clause can a statement, command or question. Protases cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause; they are occasionally dislocated to clause-final position, due to weight §12.4.

Fù yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà fù nyētá? "If you look here, what do you see?" S
2s if look here what and 2s see.IPF-CQ

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.
and money the if get.small 1s if next return hither 1s IR pay·2s
"If the money runs short, after I return I will repay you." Lk 10:35

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaṅaa.
Dìn zúg lì nāan áⁿ sù'm bà yá' pō dū'a·n dáy·kàṅáa·.
so 3i then be goodness 3p if NG bear·DP man-DEM·NG
"So it would have been better for him 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:

Fù ya'a na dōllimi keṅ, m na keṅ. "If you will go with me, I will go." Jgs 4:8
Fù yá' nà dōllí·mī · kēṅ, m ná kēṅ.
2s if IR follow·1s + go 1s IR go

M ya'a pō keṅε, Sūṅid la ku keen ya ni naa.
M yá' pō kēṅé·, sūṅīd lā kú kēεⁿ ·yà nī náa·.
1s if NG go·NG helper the NG.IR come 2p at hither·NG
"If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." Jn 16:7

The main clause must have an unellipted subject. Direct commands keep a subject pronoun in place; some speakers require a free form:

Fù ya'a mōr pu'a, fōn da mōod ye fù bas oo.
Fù yá' mōr puā', fōn dā mōod yé fù básō·o·.
2s if have wife 2s NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon·3a·NG
"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." 1 Cor 7:27

The discontinuous-past enclitic **n** §10.2 can attach to any verb form except imperatives; it is usually repeated in following catenative clauses. Here it expresses modal remoteness (CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; with tense-slot adjunct **nāan** the sense is contrary-to-fact. This **nāan** "in that case" is distinct from **nyāan** "next, then" (though *naan* often appears for **nyāan** in older texts) and from the 2vb **nāan** "starting at ... do" §11.3.

Open conditional clauses contain neither **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 past-reference "when" is expressed with absolute clauses §11.4.1.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgí·f. "If you agree, we'll put you to bed."
2s if agree 1p IR lay-2s (i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'ug kumine, alaa ti labasug la moolug la ane zaalim.
Kà Kristo yá' dà pū vū'ug kūmī·né·, àláa ·tì làbà-sùŋ lā
and Christ if TNS NG revive death·at·NG thus 1p news-good the
móolùg lā á nē zāalím.
proclamation the 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. "If a person works, he gets pay."
Nīd yá' tùm tūmā, ò di'əd yōod. Rom 4:4
person if work.IPF work 3a receive.IPF pay

Beg ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.
Bēog yá' nìe, fù ná wúm ò pìà'n'ad.
tomorrow if appear 2s IR hear 3a speech
"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." Acts 25:22

Hypothetical conditionals use **n** in both clauses, irrealis without **nāan** in the main clause. B2/3 often use open conditionals instead.

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niŋgbīŋ nii, lin ku nyaŋin
keen ka o ka' niŋgbīŋ nii.
Nóbìr yá' yèlī·n yē, ón pū áⁿ nū'ug lā zúg, ò ká' nín-gbīŋ ní·,
leg if say-DP that 3a.NZ NG be hand the on 3a NG.exist body at·NG
līn kú "yāŋī·n ·kéε·n kà ò ká' nín-gbīŋ ní·.
DEMi NG.IR accomplish·DP + let·DP and 3a NG.exist body at·NG
"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

Wief ya'a sigin li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.

Wìef yá' sīgí·n lî nî, lî zùlòŋ ná páa·n ò sàlùbìr.

horse if descend·DP 3i at 3i depth IR reach·DP 3a bridle

"If a horse went down in it, its depth would reach its bridle." Rv 14:20 B1

Contrary-to-fact conditionals use **n** in both clauses, **nāan** in the main clause:

Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mɔrin taale.

Mān yá' pɔ kɛɛ·n nā · tú'asī·ní·bā, bà nāan kú mōrī·n tâallē·.

1s if NG come·DP hither + talk·DP·3p 3p then NG.IR have·DP fault·NG

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

M ya'a mɔrin sɔ'ɔgɔ m nu'ugin m naan kɔɔnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōrī·n sɔ'ɔgò ·m̄ nú'ugī·n, m̄ nāan kɔɔ·ní·f nānná·nā.

1s if have·DP knife 1s hand·at 1s then kill·DP·2s 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 instead use past-tense irrealis:

Bɔzugɔ Josua ya'a da tisini ba vɔ'ɔsɔm zin'ig, Wina'am da ku lem pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'ase.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tìsī·ní·bā vɔ'ɔsím zīn'ig, Wínà'am dá kù lēm piān'

because Joshua if TNS give·DP·3p resting place God TNS NG.IR again speak

dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē·.

day-IDF about again·NG

"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** "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan sɔ́ákì · kēŋ · nyɛɛ·n nó-dí'əs lā· bè Samaria lā!

1s master the if then agree + go + see·DP linguist the·NZ exist Samaria the

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" 2 Kgs 5:3

Li ya'a pɔn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pòn òdù'à, sáam ná dī·lí.

3i if already bear stranger.PL IR eat·3i

"Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." Hos 8.7

Modal **n** and **nāan** also occur outside conditional clauses, though B3 often has **nà** for B1/2 **nāan**, and in older texts **nāan** often represents **nyāan** "next, then" in clauses after coordinating **kà**:

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

Fù ná kī'is mǎn nóor àtá' kà nō-dâug nyāan kās nóor àyí'.

2s IR deny 1s time three and cock next cry time two

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." Mk 14:30 B2

Bòodī·n appears in main clauses as "might wish":

Man bōodin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bēe yaname naan aan tūoliga.

Mǎn bóodī·n yē yānámì nāan āa·n mā'asígā bēe yānámì nāan āa·n tūolígā.

1s want-DP that 2p.NZ then be-DP coldly or 2p.NZ then be-DP hotly

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." Rv 3:15

Nāan may be effectively equivalent to **yà'** "if/when":

Li an sūm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àⁿ sūm yē dāu yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yélà · gǎad ...

3i be good that man one then die person.PL the about + 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 · gǎad nīdí· nāan kpí ò zùà-nàm zúgō·.

love again NG.exist + pass person·NZ then die 3a friend-PL on·NG

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." Jn 15:13 B2

Nāan with **n** has the same contrary-to-fact sense as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaŋin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan záŋí·n ·m̀ līgıdī n sū'a·n bǎŋkì ní.

3i be.good and 2s TNS then take-DP 1s money + hide-DP bank at

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

11.2.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses consist of NP + linker **n** + deictic or **wà nā** "this here"; catenative clauses often follow §11.3. The NP may be an interrogative pronoun; **à bò-X n lā/ⁿwá** means "what kind of X is that/this?", and **bō n lā/ⁿwá** can be embedded as a verb complement, meaning "what is that/this which ... ?":

Kùlìṅì · lā.

door + that

"That is a door."

Kùlìṅì · wá nā.

door + this hither

"This here is a door."

Bō · lá·?

what + that·CQ

"What's that?"

Abɔ pa'alugv nwa?

À bò-pà'alùgù · ⁿwá·?

PZ what-teaching + this·CQ

"What kind of teaching is this?" Lk 4:36

Fv maal bɔɔ la tis mam?

Fv mâal bóɔ · lā · tís màṁ·?

2s make what + that + give 1s·CQ

"What is this that you have done to me?"

Nm 23:11

Lia clauses have the form X + **lia** (*dia* B1), meaning "where is X?":

Fv mà lā líá·?

2s mother the be.where·CQ

"Where is your mother?" W (overheard)

Vocatives consist of NP + vocative enclitic §5.3, alone or beside a main clause:

Lem na, fvn kanɛ an Sulam teṅ nida!

Lèm nā, fvn-kánì· àⁿ Sulam téṅ nìdā·!

return.IMP hither 2s-DEM·NZ be Shulam land person·VOC

"Return, O Shulammite!" Sg 6:13

Ṁ diəmmā·, bó kà fù kúəsìdà·? "Madam, what are you selling?"

1s parent.in.law·VOC what and 2s sell.IPF·CQ

They do not take the article, but often end in **ⁿwà** "this": **zōn ⁿwá·!** "fools!"

Kà replaces **n** if the polarity changes:

Ka pu'a sɔ' daa bæ anina bɛn'ɛd "There was a woman there who was sick"
Kà pɔ̀à'-sɔ' dāa bæe ·ànínā · bɛ́n'ɛd Mt 9:20
 and woman-IDFa TNS exist there + get.sick.IPF

but Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dāu dāa zín'i Listra ní kà pū tū'n'ə · kēnná.
 and man TNS sit Lystra at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG
 "There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." Acts 14:8 B2

Occasional exceptions occur, e.g. *Ya sieba be kpela kv kpil* "There are some of you here who will not die" Lk 9:27.

A catenative clause can also be attached to a main-clause NP other than the subject. It then begins with **kà**, and contains a pronoun referring to its anchor; the pronoun is omitted if it is a VP object. This **kà** is subordinating, not coordinating: see on negative enclitic placement, §10.8.

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ɔr buon Aneas.
Àníná kà ò nyē dāu kà ò yū'ɔr būɔn Aneas.
 there and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas
 "There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." Acts 9:33

Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul.
Zí', kà dāu lā sígì · lá kà ò gbā'n'e · mōrī · kūl.
 NG.know and man the life.force + that and 3a grab + have + go.home
 "Unbeknownst, it was the man's life force he'd seized and taken home." G2 p26

If the referring pronoun is the catenative subject, the meaning is predicative:

M̄ dāa pū nyē dāu lá kà ò áⁿ ná'abā. "I didn't see the man as a chief." K
 1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief·NG

ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.
kà lâ'am mään gígìs kà bà wúm kà pīā'n'ad.
 and together make.IPF dumb.PL and 3p hear.IPF and speak.IPF
 "and also makes the dumb hear and speak." Mk 7:37 B1

Before non-specific subject **bà** "they", **n** may occur instead of **kà** §9.2.
 Catenatives are coordinated with **kà**:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meṅa.

Sógià-sō' kǎ'e n tùm kà yōod ò mēṅá.

soldier-IDFa NG.exist + work.IPF and pay.IPF 3a self-NG

"No soldier works and pays for himself." 1 Cor 9:7 B1

Catenations behave as single units for focus purposes. Aspects usually agree. The main clause carries the tense particles for all, but discontinuous-past **n** is usually repeated. Moods usually agree; initial irrealis marking applies to the whole chain, but after an indicative, an irrealis or imperative (often with **tì** §10.5) can express purpose:

Sɔ' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo.

Sō' dá kǎ' páŋì · ná nyāŋó·o.

IDFa TNS NG.have power + IR prevail·3a-NG

"None had the power to overcome him."

Mk 5:4

Kèm · tí nyē dú'atà.

go.IMP + next see doctor

"Go and see the doctor."

Many verbs have specialised adverb- or preposition-like meanings when they appear in catenative clauses. Thus with verbs of movement or state change:

M na kad kikirisi yis nidibin

M ná kǎd kíkírísì · yīs nìdìbì·n

1s IR drive fairy.PL + expel person.PL.at

"I will drive demons out of people"

Lk 13:32

hālì n tì pāa zíná

until + then reach today

"right up until today"

Ò dū · tīg.

3a eat + get.sated

"She's eaten to satiety."

Similarly **gàls** "exceed"/"too much" and **nāe'** "finish"/"completely."

Gàad "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

À Wīn gím · gát à Būgūr.

PZ Awini be.short + pass.IPF PZ Abugri

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." S

Fv sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?

Fv síd nòŋ mām · gát bámmáa·?

2s truly love 1s + pass.IPF DEMp·PQ

"Do you really love me more than these?"

Jn 21:15

Mī "know": **nàm mī/zī'** before pf catenatives mean "have always/have never":

M nám zī' · **nyē gbīgīmnē**. "I've never seen a lion." S
1s still NG.know + see lion·NG

Makir banε buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

Mākír-bànì · **būudī pāadí·yā lā nám mī'** · **pāe sīēbā mén**.

Testing-DEMP·NZ sort reach.IPF·2p the still know + reach IDFP also.

"The kind of trials coming to you have been familiar to others too." 1 Cor 10:13

Nāan' "starting from ... do" takes a place NP followed by a catenative:

Ka pu'a la da naane o buḡ la zugv sig la

Kà puā' **lá** · **dà nāaní** · **ò bùḡ lā zúgò** · **sīg lā**

and woman the·NZ TNS start.at 3a donkey the on + descend the

"When the woman had got off her donkey" Jo 15:18

Nìḡ wēlá "do how?" here means "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niḡ wala pṽ mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?

Nīn-sāal biig nà nìḡ wēlá · **pṽ mōr taal Wínà'am tūənnè**·?

human child IR do how + NG have fault God before·NG·CQ

"How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" Jb 25:4

An impersonal variant has the logical subject in a catenative clause with **kà**; more rarely, **kà** replaces **n** in the personal construction.

Li niḡ wala ka o an David yaaḡa? "How can he be David's descendant?"

Lì nìḡ wēlá kà **ò áⁿ David yāaḡà**? Mt 22:45

3i do how and 3a be David descendant·CQ

M na niḡ wala ka nye faangire? "How can I find salvation?" Acts 16:30

M ná nìḡ wēlá kà **nyē fāaⁿgírè**·?

1s IR do how and find salvation·CQ

Yāḡ' "overcome" here means "prevail in." Main and catenative clauses agree in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

M pṽ nyāḡī · **wé' bùḡ lāa**. "I wasn't able to hit the donkey."

1s NG prevail + hit donkey the·NG

Ì kú nyāṅī · wé' bòn lāa. "I can't hit the donkey."
1s NG.IR prevail + hit donkey the-NG

wada line nyanidi ket ka nidib vœ
wādá lìnì · nyāṅídì · kèt kà nīdīb vōę
law DEMi·NZ prevail.IPF + let.IPF 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 baṅidib la
Kà Nà'ab Herod suā · bûel bāṅīdīb lā
and king Herod hide + call understander.PL the
"Herod secretly called for the wise men" Mt 2:7

Tūⁿ'e "avail" (e.g. *ba paṅi na tun'e si'em* "as much as their strength allows" 2 Cor 8:3) is used in the indicative or irrealis to express present ability:

ka li kv tun'e su'a. "which cannot be hidden" Mt 5:14
kà lì kú tūⁿ'ə · sō'a.
and 3i NG.IR be.able + hide-NG

Yà na tun'e zin' teṅin la nɛ ti. "You can dwell in the land with us."
Yà ná tūⁿ'ə · zín'i tēṅī·n lā né tì. Gn 34:10
2p IR be.able + sit land-at the with 1p

O p̄v tun'e pian'ada. "He could not speak." Lk 1:22
Ò p̄v tūⁿ'ə · p̄jāⁿ'adá.
3a NG be.able + speak.IPF·NG

Zàṅ and nōk' "pick up, take" here mean "using" (a literal instrument):

Ì nók sú'v̄gè · k̄já nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
1s take knife + cut meat the

"Beginning" verbs often precede semantically-main catenatives:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba "Peter began to tell them" Acts 11:4
Kà Pita p̄īⁿ'ilī · pá'alì·bā
and Peter begin + teach·3p

Tì déṅ̀ì · tísò· lór.

1p precede + give·3a car

"We've previously given him a car."

Ka dau sɔ' duoe zi'en

Kà dàṁ-sɔ' dūe · zī'en

and man-IDFa rise + stand.up

"A man got up and stood" Acts 5:34

Zí' "not know" is "unknowingly" before catenatives (with *kà* due to polarity change.) The construction also occurs without a subject: *zí' kà* "unbeknownst."

Ka sɔ' ya'a zi' ka tum ...

Kà sɔ' yá' zí' kà túm ...

and IDFa if NG.know and work

"If anyone unwittingly does ... "Lv 5:17

Certain verbs take catenative complements. Here there is no NP anchor, and the linker is always *kà*.

KĒ "let, leave" is "let, cause" before catenatives, always different-subject (in *kɛl ka fɔ mɛŋ an* "let you yourself be" Ti 2:7, *fɔ* is formally predependent.) Imperative may replace irrealis in the catenative.

Ka li anɛ wada la kɛt ka tɔumbɛ'ed nyɛt paŋ.

Kà lì à né wādá lā · kɛt kà tɔ̀um-bɛ'ed nyɛt páŋ.

and 3i be FOC law the + let.IPF and deed-bad see.IPF power

"It is the law which lets sin find power." 1 Cor 15:56

Li da kɛ ka ba pɔ nyaŋi kɔɔ o.

Lì dà kɛ kà bà pɔ nyāŋī · kúo·.

3i TNS let and 3p NG prevail + kill·3a·NG

"This prevented him from being killed."

2 Kgs 11:2

dine na kɛ ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dīnī · ná kɛ kà bà dā kpi'ílímm·.

3i + IR let and 3p NG.IMP finish·NG

"which will stop them dying out." Gn 6:20

Imperative *kèl_a* can be used for first/third person commands:

Kèl· kà tì pò'ɔs Wínà'am.

let.IMP·2pS and 1p greet God

"Let us praise God." (or *Kèl kà ...*)

Dā kɛ kà dàbīəm bɛɛ·!

NG.IMP let and fear exist·NG

"Don't be afraid."

Kèl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving lack of m/c marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̄ gōs nīf lā.

1s look eye the

"Let me look at the eye." (overheard)

[No tone overlay]

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §12.1) of **kē**:

Ka bōzugv kē ka fū tūmim na?

Kà bō zūgù · ké kà fù tùmì·m ná·?

and why + let and 2s send·1s hither·CQ

"Why have you sent me here?" Ex 5:22

The imperative-only 1vb **mìt** (*mid* B3) §10.4 means "let not" before catenatives; B3 omits the negative enclitic. 3rd person subjects occur, but 2s/p subjects are dropped, except after clause adjuncts or in content clauses; 2pS **ya/n** is not used.

O mid ka o lēbis bēē tiaki li

Ò míd kà ò lēbìs bēē tjàkì·lī

3a beware and 3a return or change·3i

"He may not take it back or change it."

Lv 27:10

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

Mit kà yà m̄aal yà tūum-sùmà nīdīb tūən yé bà gōsē·

beware and 2p do 2p deed-good.PL person.PL front that 3p look·NG

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they see." Mt 6:1 B2

With **nyē** "see" and **wòm** "hear/smell/feel", direct perception of states of affairs is expressed with a catenative complement:

Ka Noa yis dine ligil anrūŋ la ka nyē ka teŋ la wōsa kūdìg.

Kà Noa yīs dīnì· lìgìl à^arūŋ lá kà nyé kà tēŋ lā wōsā kūdìg.

and Noah extract DEMi·NZ cover boat the and see and land the all dry.up

"Noah uncovered the ark and saw that the ground was dry." Gn 8:13

(not a content clause: no m/c-pf **yā**)

11.4 Nominalised clauses

Clauses can be nominalised with *̀n* §5.4 after the subject, creating absolute or relative clauses. (See §9.2 for nominalisations with the personaliser *̀a*.)

Tense marking is independent, relative to narrative timelines. Focus particles may not be used, but relative clause heads are often preposed. The only possible postdependent is *lā́*, omitted after another *lā́*; VP-final particles may follow it. Negative enclitics are dropped if the clause takes *lā́* or is not itself clause-final:

Nīn-bánì· pū díť ná kpī. "People who don't eat will die." W
 person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF IR die

vs *̀M nyé nīn-bánì· pū díťā.* "I've seen people who don't eat." W
 1s see person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF·NG

11.4.1 Absolute

Clauses with *̀n* with no head-marking pronouns are absolute clauses; they usually take *lā́*, as given/implicit information. They are most often time adjuncts; this the usual construction for past "when." On tense marking see §10.2.

Pf in the absolute clause implies a prior event, ipf simultaneous:

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ
Kà bán yī lā, kà Zūg-sób máljāk níe ò mēŋ
 and 3p.NZ exit the and Lord angel appear 3a self
 "After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself" Mt 2:13 B2

̀Ōn dāa nyēt súŋā, ̀on dāa áⁿ bí-līa lāa?
 3a TNS see.IPF well 3a.NZ TNS be baby the-PQ
 "Did she see well when she was a baby?" W

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeŋi ba ... "As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."
Kà bán dít lā, Yesu yeŋì·bā ... Mt 26:21
 and 3p.NZ eat.IPF the Jesus say·3p

Absolute clauses may also be verb subjects or complements:

Kristo da kpīi ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ nŋilim an si'em.
Kristo· dà kpīi ·tì yēlá lā ké kà tì báj nŋìlím· àⁿ sī'em.
 Christ-NZ TNS die 1p about the let and 1p realise love·NZ be how
 "Christ having died for us makes us understand what love is like." 1 Jn 3:16

Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la anε mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad
ka mε pu diti ba ki la.

Dìni· ké kà m áⁿ sâal-biis zua lā á nē mán pū sáⁿ'amídí ·bà lá'ad

DEM·NZ let and 1s be human.PL friend the be FOC 1s.NZ NG spoil.IPF 3p goods.PL

kà mé pū dítí ·bà kī lāa·.

and also NG eat.IPF 3p millet the·NG

"What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property or eating their millet." G1 p20

"Yē "see" may take an absolute-clause object in the sense of a relative clause headed by the absolute-clause subject; the information in such clauses may be new:

Ka m gat ka nyε fɔn digi fɔ ziimin la bilim.

Kà m gát kà ⁿyē fón dīgí ·fò zīumí·n lā ·bílìm.

and 1s pass.IPF and see 2s.NZ lie 2s blood-at the + roll

"I was passing and saw you rolling in your blood." Ez 16:6

Absolute clauses occur after prepositions §10.7.3 and before *zūg_o'/bō zúgō* "because of":

Ban mōr dεη la zug, ba kɔ di'e baa.

Bán mōr dēη lā zúg, bà kò dí'ə·bāa·.

3p.NZ have wound the on 3p NG.IR receive·3p·NG

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." Lv 22:25

They caption pictures in B, and precede *yēlá* "about" in section headings:

Ban meed yir "A house being built"; *Joram n di Israel na'am la yela* "Joram becomes king of Israel" 2Kgs ("about Joram having become ...)

Tense-slot adjunct *sādúgím* "because, since" appears only after *yà'* "if" or *ñ*:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sādúgím áⁿ Naazir níd, òn míd kà ò dí ...

3a if since be Nazirite person 3a beware and 3a eat

"Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." Nm 6:4

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bɔ ka m lem lɔɔd nɔɔr ya'asε?

Àmáa ón sādúgím kpí lā, bó kà m lém lōɔd nōɔr yá'asè·?

but 3a.NZ since die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again·CQ

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

but Paul n sob gbauṅ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul-ṅ sōb gbáṅṅ yīigá dàan n tìs Korint díṃ lā · ṅwá.

Paul·NZ write letter firstly owner + give Corinth Øp the + this

"This is the first letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (B2 heading)

NPs comprising/containing non-subject heads are often preposed with *kà*; resumptive pronouns appear for indirect objects, occasionally animate direct objects, and heads extracted from NPs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses.

Preposing is usual for specific complements:

Gbauṅ kanε ka ba da sobi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàṅṅ-kàṅṅ· kà bà dá sōbī · tìsì·bā lā · ṅwá.

letter-DEM·NZ and 3p TNS write + give·3p the + this

"This is the letter that they wrote to them." Acts 15:23

bàn kà nà'ab lā ṅwé' lā

"those whom the chief hit" W

DEMp and chief the hit the

niṅkanε ka ba gban'e o la

"a person whom they have seized"

nīn-kánì· kà bà gbáṅṅ'o· lā

Acts 25:16

person-DEM·NZ and 3p seize·3a the

line [lin B2] ka Kristo bōod ye ti pian' la

lìnì· kà Kristo bōod yé tì pīāṅṅ' lā

DEMi·NZ and Christ want that 1p speak the

"what Christ wishes us to say" 2 Cor 12:19

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vū'ug o kumin la

puà'-kàṅṅ· bíig kà Elasia dá vū'ug kūmī·n lā

woman-DEM·NZ child and Elisha TNS revive death-at the

"the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" 2 Kgs 8:5

bikanε puug ka o mōr la

"the child which she is pregnant with"

bì-kàṅṅ· pūug kà ò mōr lā

("whose belly she has") Mt 1:20

child-DEM·NZ belly and 3a have the

one ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe

"one they have given much to" Lk 12:48

òṅṅì· kà bà tìsò· kà lì zú'e

DEMa·NZ and 3p give·3a and 3i abound

Bōrā-sō' dāa bé ànínā, òn kà mān nē òn dāa túm lā.

man-IDFa TNS exist there DEMa and 1s with 3a TNS work.IPF the

"There was a man there whom I used to work with." Spratt

Preposing is not invariable, however:

Fùn bōod ye fù kù dau sō' la ya'a kpi

Fùn bōod yé fù kù dáy-sō' lā yá' kpi

2s.NZ want that 2s kill man-IDFa the if die

"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" 2 Sm 17:3

Kem tǔ'us Samaria na'abi tǔm ninsieba la na

Kèm · tǔ'us Samaria ná'abì· tǔm nīn-síebà lā nā

go.IMP + meet Samaria king-NZ send person-IDFp the hither

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria" 2 Kgs 1:3

Nannanna, yaname daa sōb gbaun si'a la ka m sōbidi lēbisidi ya.

Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sōb gbáun-sī'a lá kà m sōbìdì · lēbisìdì-yá.

Now 2p.NZ TNS write letter-IDF the and 1s write.IPF + reply.IPF·2p

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." 1 Cor 7:1

In particular, complements of verbs of cognition, perception or communication representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070) are not usually preposed:

David da tǔm sō' ye o bu'osi baṅ pu'a la an sō'.

David dá tǔm sō' yé ò bǔ'əsī · bǎṅ puā' lá· àⁿ sō'.

David TNS send IDFa that 3a ask + discover woman the·NZ be IDFa

"David sent someone to ask and find out who the woman was." 2 Sm 11:3

Gōsim ye fù na baṅ la'abama an sō' bunnèè?

Gòsìm yé fù ná bǎṅ lá'-bàmmá· àⁿ sō' búnnèè·?

look.IMP that 2s IR understand item-DEMp·NZ be IDFa thing·PQ

"Can you look and find out whose property these things are?" Gn 38:25

M mi' man gaṅ sieba la.

M mí' mán gǎṅ sīebā lā.

1s know 1s.NZ choose IDFp the

"I know those whom I have chosen."

Jn 13:18

Ón yèl sī'əl lā kā' sídāa·.

3a.NZ say IDFi the NG.be truth·NG

"What he says is not true" S

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ sī'el lā gbínnèε·?

2p understand 1s.NZ do IDFi the meaning-CQ

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" Jn 13:12

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélà · bigisid lín àⁿ tí-sī'a.

tree fruit.PL + show.IPF 3i.NZ be tree-IDF

"It is the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." Mt 12:33

M na tomi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya.

M ná tōmí ·m Bá' zì'el nɔɔr sɔ' yélà · tísi·yā.

1s IR send 1s father·NZ stand mouth IDFa about + give·2p

"I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you." Lk 24:49

Non-specific complements are not preposed:

Pu'abi du'a sieba la wɔsa

Pū'abí· dū'à sīəbā lā wōsā

woman.PL·NZ bear IDFp the all

"all those whom women have borne"

Lk 7:28

M na tisif fɔn bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.

M ná tīsī·f fún bòɔd sī'el wōsā.

1s IR give·2s 2s.NZ want IDFi all

"I will give you anything you want."

Mk 6:23

Adjuncts are not usually preposed; most exceptions involve place NPs.

Sī'el_a is often "where"; in B2, 75% of cifs before **sī'a** express time or place. Locative **n/nī'** does not follow heads, but may follow entire clauses to express rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā

house-DEM and 1s Paul exist the

"the house where I, Paul, am"

Rom 16:23 B1

ka mɔri fu keŋ zin'ikanε ka fu pɔ bɔɔda.

kà mōrí·fù · kēŋ zín'-kànì· kà fù pō bòɔdā·.

and have·2s + go place-DEM·NZ and 2s NG want·NG

"and take you where you do not want." Jn 21:18

winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la
 wìnnìgì· yīt sī'el hālí · tì pāe ón lùt sī'el lā
 sun·NZ exit.IPF IDFi until + next reach 3a.NZ fall.IPF IDFi the
 "where the sun rises to where the sun sets" Ps 65:8

M Zugsoba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.
 M̃ Zūg-sóbā·, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-sī'a lāa·.
 1s Lord·VOC 1p NG.know 2s.NZ go.IPF place-IDF the-NG
 "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 3a.NZ exist room-IDF the at
 "And fire illuminated the room where he was." Acts 12:7 B2

Abraham da nan kae saṅsi'a la, ka man pɔn bɛ.
 Abraham· dà nàm kā'ɛ sān-sī'a lā kà mǎn pún bè.
 Abraham·NZ TNS still NG.exist time-IDF the and 1s already exist
 "Before Abraham existed, I already existed." Jn 8:58

Sī'əm "somehow" (never preposed) is common as "how" or as abstract "what";
 a following **lā'** marks old information, as usual:

M̃ mí' mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I know what to do."

M̃ mí' mán nà nīṅ sī'əm lā.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how the
 "I know what I'm to do." (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yēlī·f fún nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 3p IR tell·2s 2s.NZ IR do how
 "They'll tell you what to do."

Bà yèlō· bán nīṅ sī'əm lā.
 3p say·3a 3p.NZ do how the
 "They told him what they'd done."

M̃ gbá'ne mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 1s seize 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I've decided what to do."

So too **ón bòòd sī'əm** "as he may wish" versus **lín àⁿ sī'əm lā** "as things are."
Là'am nē or **hālí nē** with a **sī'əm** clause means "although" §10.7.3.

Sī'əm clauses may follow **gàad** "surpass" to compare actions:

Mam tùm bēdegv gaad ban tùm si'em la.

Mām tùm bēdegv · gāad bán tùm sī'əm lā.

1s work much + pass 3p.NZ work how the

"I've worked much harder than they have." 2 Cor 11:23

They often occur as objects of **wōv** "like", **wēn_{na}'** "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wōv ziiṅgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mān wōv zīm-gbá'adìbì· gbā'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.

and 2p IR let and person.PL follow 1s like fisher.PL·NZ catch.IPF fish.PL how the

"you will make people follow me like fishers catch fish." Mt 4:19

Relative clauses with uncompounded heads are often used as appositives §9.7. This is the only possible construction after heads that cannot form cifs, and is also common when the head has a predependent other than a personal pronoun:

o da be ne mōogin line kpi'e Sinai zuor la

ò dà bè nē mōogv·n línì· kpì'e Sinai zùer lā

3a TNS exist FOC grass·at DEMi·NZ get.near Sinai hill the

"he was in the desert near Mount Sinai" Acts 7:30

yeltōod ayōpōi banε ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la

yēl-tōod àyōpōε bánì· kà màlīāk-námá ·àyōpōε mōr lā

matter-bitter.PL seven DEMp·NZ and angel-PL seven have the

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

Wina'am nid one ki'is Zugsōb pian'ad la

Wínà'am níd ònì· kī'is Zūg-sób pīâ'ad lā

God person DEMa·NZ deny Lord word the

"the man of God who refused the Lord's word" 1 Kgs 13:26

While non-appositive relative clauses are restrictive, the appositional construction allows non-restrictive meanings:

o sid one da be ne o la

ò sīd ónì· dà bè nó· lā

3a husband DEMa·NZ TNS exist with·3a the

"her husband [the only other human being], who was there with her" Gn 3:6

11.5 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses follow *yē* (from **ɲi*, Mampruli *ni*, Toende *ye/ne*), much less often *kà* (B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 *nar ka*.) They lack tense and m/c marking. The sense is sometimes attenuated to "until." Negative raising appears:

Ti pɔ bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pō bôɔd yē dáu-kàŋā áaⁿ ·tì nà'abā·.

1p NG want that man-DEM be 1p king·NG

"We don't want this man to be our king." Lk 19:14

This prevents mood from being apparent in purpose-clause complements, but adjuncts normally use *dā* as negative; however, *kù* can appear, e.g. *O niŋ nɛ'ɛŋa ye nid kv nyaŋi dv'vs o mɛŋ Wina'am tuonne* "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like *nār_a'* "be needful" (personally "have to"), *mōr sūər* "be allowed to", *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like *bòɔd_a* "want", *gūr_a'* "watch for."

Lì nār yé/kà fù kùl.

3i must that/and 2s go.home

"You must go home."

Fù pō nār yé fù kùlē·.

2s NG must that 2s go.home·NG

"You must not go home."

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba
bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv·bā

3p two the must that 3p kill·3p

"both of them must be killed" Lv 20:12

Yà mór sūər yé yà kùl.

2p have way that 2p go.home

"You may go home."

Sūər bé yé/kà tì kùl.

way exist that/and 1p go.home

"We may go home."

Lì à nē tīlās yé m kùl.

3i be FOC necessity that 1s go.home

"I must go home."

gur ye pu'a la du'a
gūr yē pūā' lā dụá'

watch that woman the bear

"waiting for the woman to give birth"
Rv 12:4

A purpose-clause adjunct:

Νε'εγη νινηε ye ti da ti'e ti μεη panga.

ΝἘ'εγη̄ νίη νἘ γέ τὶ δᾶ τί'ε τὶ μεῆη πάγη̄.

DEMi do FOC that 1p NG.IMP rely 1p self power·NG

"This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength." 2 Cor 1:9

The main clause may be ellipted:

Μ δίγυηε?

"Am I to lie down?" (overheard)

1s lie·PQ

Àσέε "unless" appears as a clause *adjunct* "necessarily" in purpose clauses:

Nannanna tòm ka ba m̄or o na, ka aσεε o kpi!

Nānná-nā, tòm kà bà m̄oró· nā, kà àσέε ò kpi!

now send.IMP and 3p have·3a hither and unless 3a die

"Now get him brought here so that he may certainly die!" 1 Sm 20: 31

ka o gban'e ye aσεε ka o keη Jerusalem

kà ò gbā"e yé àσέε kà ò kēη Jerusalem

and 3a seize that unless and 3a go Jerusalem

"and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem." Lk 9:51

Àσέε kà ... also occurs independently with the sense "It is necessary that ..."

Aσεε ka fù kpi.

"You will surely die." 2 Kgs 1:4

Àσέε kà fù kpi.

unless and 2s die

11.6 Content clauses

Content clauses are introduced by *yē*, much less often *kà* (B3 has 219 examples of *ten'es ye* to 31 of *tenes ka*.) They have m/c marking and show the same range of structures as main clauses; tense and mood are marked, relative to the main clause. Content clauses follow verbs of cognition or communication, like *mī* "know", *tēn'es* "think", *pà'al* "teach", *sjàk* "agree", *tis n̄or* "order", *sòs* "request", *yèl* "say", and *wòm* "hear" in the sense "hear that something is so." Verbs of direct physical perception take catenative clauses instead §11.3.

Content clauses also appear as complements of àḗⁿya "be":

M diib anε ye m tòm onε tòmí m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̄ dīb á nē yé m̄ tòm ònì· tòmì·m lā nā bɔɔdīm · nāe.

1s food be FOC that 1s work DEMa·NZ send·1s the hither will + finish

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." Jn 4:34

Negative raising takes place after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Mam pɔ tɛn'es ye o na kɛligi m pian'adε.

Mām pō tēⁿ'es yé ò nà kēlígí ·m̄ piàⁿ'adē·.

1s NG think that 3a IR listen 1s word.PL·NG

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." Jb 9:16

but linzug ka ti baŋ ye o pɔ yi Wina'am san'an naa.

lìn zúg kà tì bāŋ yé ò pō yī Wínà'am sâ'an náa·.

therefore and 1p realise that 3a NG exit God with hither·NG

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." Jn 9:16

ka o lεε pɔ baŋ ye li anε onε.

"but she didn't realise it was him."

kà ò lée pō bāŋ yé lì à nē ɔnē·.

Jn 20:14

and 3a but NG realise that 3i be FOC 3a·NG

Except in reported speech, personal pronouns reflect the context of the main clause. Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2s/p pronouns remain unaltered before the verb.

Ya tɛn'es ka m aan anɔ'ɔnε?

"Who do you think I am?" Acts 13:25

Yà tēⁿ'es kà m̄ áaⁿ ·ànó'ɔnè·?

2p think and 1s be who·CQ

Fɔnε siak ye fɔ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fɔ na'am gbaun la zugɔɔ?

Fōnī · sɪák yé fò yá' tì kǎ'e·, ò nà zīⁿ'íní ·fò nā'am gbáun lā zúgɔɔ·?

2s + agree that 2s if next NG.exist·NG 3a IR sit 2s kingship skin the on·PQ

"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?" 1 Kgs 1:24

M pɔ yɛl ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yɛlaa.

M̄ pō yél yé yà sòsìm Wínà'am dīn yēláa·.

1s NG say that 2p beg.IMP God 3i about·NG

"I don't say that you should pray to God about that." 1 Jn 5:16

ka David tis nōor ye ba nyu'om bada la ne bugum.

kà David tís nōor yé bà nyù'əm bádà lā nē búgúm.

and David give mouth that 3p burn.IMP idol.PL the 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.

Wádá lā kú yēl nīd yé ò dā níŋ bàmmáa.

law the NG.IR say person that 3a NG.IMP do DEMp·NG

"The law will not tell a person not to do these things." Gal 5:23

ka bu'os o ye, o sid kpine.

kà bŭ'əsó· yē, ò sīd kpì nē.

and ask·3a that 3a truly die FOC

"and asked him if he was really dead."

Mk 15:44 B2

M̄ tēn'əs kà m̄ lú yā.

1s think and 1s fall m/c

"I think I've fallen." W

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[M̄ yél yé] ò gòsìm tēŋī·n.

[M̄ tēn'əs kà] tì pú'vsìm Wínà'am.

"[I said] she should look down."

"[I think] we should praise God."

Zàn'as "refuse" is followed by a content clause with negative polarity:

ka o zan'as ye ba kv keŋε.

kà ò zān'as yé bà kú kēŋé·.

and 3a refuse that 3p NG.IR go·NG

"and he refused to let them go." Ex 9:7

Yèl "say" is frequently ellipted before yē:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

Bà yē bālērōg, kà fù yē zūg-máuk.

3p that ugly and 2s that head-crumpled

"They say 'ugly', you say 'squashhead.'"

G2 p43 (Six of one ...)

In B2/3, reported speech uses the same personal pronouns as direct speech, but in older texts pronouns in reported speech reflect the main clause context, just as in other content clauses. B1 may continue this over many pages, regularly including even embedded vocatives. When contrastive 3rd person pronouns appear, they are logophoric; in subject roles, they are often used even where ambiguity is unlikely:

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.

kà Festus táⁿs Paul yé ò gèè^m nē ... kà Paul lébìs yē òn pō gée^mmm·.

and Festus shout Paul that 3a go.mad FOC and Paul reply that 3a NG go.mad·NG

"Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...

Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." Acts 26:24-25 B1

ka po'a la ye on pu lem bood ye o sid la di po'a ya'ase.

kà pūā' lā yē òn pū lém bòod yé ò sīd lā dí pūā' yá'asē·.

and wife the that 3a NG again want that 3a husband the take wife again·NG

"the wife said that she did not want her husband to marry again." G2 p26

Regardless of the pronoun strategy, longer passages of reported speech insert a resumptive *yē* immediately before clause-linking *kà* or the subject in about every third main clause; tense marking is unaffected.

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòod yé ò kpélìm sārìgá nì.

that and Paul say that 3a want that 3a remain prison at

"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 yéì·bā ...

Acts 25:16 B1

but that and 3a say·3p

Ka nanana ye o niñi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin

Kà nānná-nā yé ò niñi·bá Wínà'am né ò pù-pìèlìm piâⁿ'ad lā nú'usī·n

and now that 3a do·3p God with 3a virtue speech the hand.PL·at

"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 wóm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yī áràzánà ní nā yē,

and 1s hear God voice and 3i exit heaven at hither that

ò nīdibá, yé bà yimī· tēŋ lā ní nā.

3a person.PL·VOC that 3p exit.IMP·2pS land the at hither

"And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying

'My people, come out of the land!'" Rv 18:4 B1

11.7 Prepositional clauses

All prepositions §10.7.3 other than **nē** "with" may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers; **àmáa** "but" is not used before NPs. Only **àmáa** and **kūu/bēε** "or" may precede main clauses:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yel ... "Some mocked him, but others said ..."
Kà sīəbā lá' o. Àmáa kà sīəbā yél ... Acts 17:32
 and IDFP laugh·3a but and IDFP say

Wūu "like" does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wūu ya anε m biis nε.
Ṁ pīáⁿ·adī · tí·sīdī·yá wūu yà á né m bīis nē.
 1s speak.IPF + give.IPF·2p like 2p be FOC 1s child.PL like
 "I talk to you as if you were my children." 2 Cor 6:13

Àséε appears alone or before **kà** in the meaning "unless":

Ti kv zin'inε asεε o ti paae na. "We will not stop until he arrives."
Tì kú zī'iné· àséε ò tí pāa nā. 1 Sm 16:11
 1p NG.IR sit·NG unless 3a then arrive hither

M kv basif ka fū keŋε asεε ka fū niŋi m zug bareka.
Ṁ kú bāsí·f kà fū kēŋé· àséε kà fū níŋì ·m zūg bāríkà.
 1s NG.IR leave·2s and 2s go·NG unless and 2s do 1s head blessing
 "I will not let you go unless you bless me." Gn 32:26

Hālí before **n/kà** means "until, up to":

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa. "We struck it as far as Nophah."
Tì ⁿwá'a·lī hālí · pāe Nofa. Nm 21:30
 1p strike·3i until + reach Nophah

Zugsəb la da kε ka kəkəm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.
Zūg·sób lā dá kè kà kəkòm bāⁿ'as gbāⁿ'e Nā'ab lā, hālí kà ò tí kpì.
 Lord the TNS let and leper disease seize king the until and 3a next die
 "The Lord made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life." 2Kgs 15:5

Before a clause without linkers, **hālí** is a focusing modifier §12.2.

12 Information packaging12.1 Focus

Informational 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. Clause predicates are new information by default, but focus on subjects or VP constituents is specifically marked. Focus is distinct from foregrounding, which is effected by clefting.

Subject focus inserts linker **n** after the subject. The clause lacks m/c marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafù · dúmō·.

snake + bite:3a

"A snake has bitten him." W
(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always **n**-focused:

Ànó'ònì · kābirídà·?

who + ask.entry.IPF·CQ

"Who is asking permission to enter?"

Anó'òn yaangi aan o?

Ànô'òn yâanjì · á'ó·o·?

who grandchild + be:3a·CQ

"Whose descendant is he?" Mt 22:42

VP focus uses the particle **nē'**. When **nē'** follows a verb with no intervening free words, it usually marks *temporal* focus where possible (see below); otherwise, it precedes focused VP constituents, or follows the entire VP to focus the verb.

Nē' cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike **nē** "with", it is limited to particular clause types, never precedes bound pronouns, and need not precede a NP. It cannot appear in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, or content questions:

Ànó'ònì · dít sá'abò·?

who + eat.IPF porridge·CQ

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

Ì zūg lā zábìd nē.

1s head the fight.IPF FOC

"My head is hurting."

(What's the matter with you?)

but Ì zūgō · zábìd.

1s head + fight.IPF

"My head is hurting/hurts."

(Where is the pain?)

Ì á nē bìig.

1s be FOC child

"I am a child."

but Ì ááⁿ ·ànó'ónè·?

1s be who·CQ

"Who am I?"

mán àⁿ bìig lā zúg

1s.NZ be child the on

"because I'm a child"

Ì yí nē Bók.

1s exit FOC Bawku

"I come from Bawku." S

but Meeri one yi Magdala
Meeri ónì· yī Magdala

Mary DEMa·NZ exit Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"
Mk 16:9 B2

Fù bôod nē bó·?

2s want with what·CQ

"What do you want it *with*?" W
(Fù bôod bó·? "What do you want?")

Fù wá'e yáa·?

2s go where·CQ

"Where are you going/do you go?"

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná·?

fire the exit.IPF where at hither·CQ

"Where is the light coming from?" S

Purpose clauses allow **nē'**:

Pian'am ka m bôod ye fu nyene buud.

Pìàⁿ'am kà m bôod yé fù ^{nyē} nē būud.

speak.IMP and 1s want that 2s see FOC innocence

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." Jb 33:32

It may appear once in a series of catenated clauses:

amaa o bas sariakadib la tis ne Biig la

àmáa ò bàs sáryà-kādīb lā · tís nē Biig lā

but 3a leave law-driving the + give FOC child the

"but he has left the judging to the Son" Jn 5:22

Nē' is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. **Ì gósìd!** "I'm looking!" in response to **Fù gósìd nē·?** "Are you looking?" or **Gòsìm!** "Look!"

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, *nē'* by default marks temporal focus, implying "at the time referred to *in particular*." With ipfs, the time referred to is then strictly contained within the time of the situation, as with English progressives (CGEL pp125ff); the construction is similarly not freely used with relationship or quality verbs. With pfs expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and temporal focus is not possible. However, pfs expressing a change of state in the subject may 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, temporal *nē'* after a pf marks it as stative, and if a pf cannot express a subject state change, a following *nē'* cannot be temporal.

If the VP is negative, or if *nē'* is separated from the verb by free words or altogether excluded by the clause type, temporal focus is unmarked:

	Ò zàbìd.	"He fights."
	Ò zàbìd nē.	"He's fighting."
but	Ò p̄ zàbìdā.	"He's not fighting/doesn't fight."
	Ò kùəsìdī·bá nē.	"She's selling them."
	3a sell.IPF·3p FOC	
	Ò kùəsìd nē sūmmā lā.	"She is selling the groundnuts."
	3a sell.IPF FOC groundnut.PL the	
but	Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nē.	"She <i>sells/is selling</i> the groundnuts." (constituent focus: "They're not free.")
	3a sell.IPF groundnut.PL the FOC	
	Bó kà ò kùəsìdà·?	
	what and 3a sell.IPF·CQ	
or	Ò kùəsìd bó·?	"What does she sell/is she selling?"
	3a do.IPF what·CQ	

Potential ambiguity between temporal and constituent focus interpretations of *nē'* is further reduced by the fact that many verb forms do not accept temporal focus.

The VP must be indicative, so e.g. *Gòsìm nē!* "Look!" (i.e. Don't touch! W) necessarily shows constituent focus.

Only pfs able to express a subject state change can be stative, so the focus must be on constituents in

Ṁ dá' nē búŋ.

1s buy FOC donkey

"I've bought a *donkey*."
(What have you bought?)

Ò òìgìl nē.

3a lay FOC

"He's *laid it down*."
(I thought he'd pick it up.)

Stances and body positions are not states in Kusaal; thus

Ò òìgìn nē.

3a lie FOC

"He's *lain down*." D: "Someone calls at your house; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
W: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ə̀n nē.

3a stand FOC

"She's pregnant."
(idiomatic constituent focus)

Tense-unmarked pfs in narrative cannot accept temporal focus §10.2.

Relationship and quality verbs, and ipfs of verbs in the middle construction §10.7.1 do not accept progressive or multiple-event readings; here, temporal focus is only felicitous if the clause contains an explicit time reference (even just a past tense marker), implying a temporary state of affairs and contrasting the time referred to with other times. Focus is thus on constituents in e.g.

Lì vè̀n nē.

3i be.beautiful FOC

"It's *beautiful*." (I did not expect that.)

Ṁ bóòdī·f nē.

1s want·2s FOC

"I really want you." W

Ṁ mór nē puā'.

1s have FOC woman

"I have a woman."
(implies an irregular liaison, W)

Dāká lā záⁿ nē.

box the hand.carry FOC

"The box gets carried *in the hands*."
(Not on your head.)

Dāam lā nūud nē.

beer the drink.IPF FOC

"The beer is *for drinking*." (Not washing; not "is being drunk"; cf [Dāam lā nūud](#) "The beer gets drunk." W)

On the other hand, *nē'* marks a temporary state in

Nānnánā, lè vèn nē.
now 3i be.beautiful FOC

"Just now, it's beautiful."

Lì dāa vén nē.
3i TNS be.beautiful FOC

"It *was* beautiful." W: "I gave you a cup; it was OK then, but now you've spoilt it."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē.
lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep."
(Now it's shallow. W)

Lì dāa á nē súḡā.
3i TNS be FOC well

"At the time, it was good." W
(*Lì dāa áⁿ súḡā.* "It was good." W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

Nā'-síebà óⁿbìd nē mōod lā.
cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL the

"Some cows are eating the grass."

but *Nīigí óⁿbìd nē mōod. Bà nùud nē kù'əm.*
cow.PL chew.IPF FOC grass.PL 3p drink.IPF FOC water

"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." (What do cows eat and drink?)

NPs containing *sùḡā'/sùm* "well", *bē'ed* "bad" or *sìdà* "truth" as manner nouns, or the "two, three exactly" quantifiers *àyíḡā' àtáḡā'*, are not permitted targets of focus with *nē'*; preceding *nē'* *must* be temporal, and even relationship or quality verbs with no clause time marking are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

Lì àⁿ súḡā/bē'ed.
3i be well badness

"It's good/bad."

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.
ò sàríyà-kādīb áⁿ sùm nē sídà.
3a law-driving be good with truth

"His judgment is good and true."
Rv 19:2 B1

but *Lì à nē súḡā.*
3i be FOC well

"It's good." (Now; it wasn't before. W)

M mór nē bīisá ·àtáḡā.
1s have FOC child.PL three.exactly

"I've got exactly three children just now."
D: "On a school trip, talking about how many children everyone has brought."

As old information, definite NPs are usually only focused contrastively, e.g.

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suḡ.

Fù p̄ má' n t̄is n̄in-sáalā·, àmáa fù má' n t̄is n̄ē Wínà'am Sí-sùḡ.

2s NG lie + give human·NG but 2s lie + give FOC God spirit-good

"You have lied not to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." Acts 5:4 B2

However, proper names may be new information when not referring:

O yu'ur na ane Joon.

"His name will be John." Lk 1:60

Ò yū'ur ná ā nē Joon.

3a name IR be FOC John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba ane Apam biis.

"They are Apam's children." G3 p6

Bà à né à Pām b̄iis.

(Apam and the children have been

3p be FOC PZ Apam child.PL

mentioned, but not their relationship)

This is common with nominalised clauses as arguments.

Location at a known place may be new information:

Ì yí nē Bók.

"I come from Bawku." S

1s exit FOC Bawku

Bè "exist" with a focused place adjunct means "be somewhere":

Dàṽ-sō' bé d̄ó-kàṅā lā p̄úḡṽ·n.

"There is a man in that hut."

man-IDFa exist hut-DEM the inside

but Ò b̄è n̄ē d̄ó-kàṅā lā p̄úḡṽ·n.

"He is inside that hut." (Where is he?)

3a exist FOC hut-DEM the inside

Mam bene moogin.

"I'm in the bush." G1 p8

Mām bé n̄ē m̄ōḡṽ·n.

(cf *Moogin ka mam be*, G1 p10)

1s exist FOC grass-at

The complement of àⁿya "be something" in ascriptive sense is typically new information and preceded by nē´ when syntactically permitted; in the specifying sense, the subject usually has n-focus instead:

Dīb á nē bōn-sùŋ.

food be FOC thing-good

"Food is a good thing."

Ò à nē bāaⁿlím.

3a be FOC quietness

"She is quiet."

Lì à nē bōgvsígā.

3i be FOC softly

"It's soft."

M á nē dú'atà.

1s be FOC doctor

"I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)

Mānī · áⁿ dú'atà lā.

1s + be doctor the

"I'm the doctor." (Which is the doctor?)

Mānī · áⁿ dú'atà àmáa fōn pō áⁿyā.

1s + be doctor but 2s NG be-NG

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nōbibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nō-bíbìsì · áⁿ mām dí-sùŋ.

hen-small.PL + be 1s food-good

"Chicks are my favourite food." G1 p13

Focus on an argument under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̄ k̄a' dú'atāa.

1s NG.be doctor·NG

"I'm not a doctor."

M̄ k̄a' nē dú'atāa.

1s NG.be FOC doctor·NG

"I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)

M̄ pō dá' nē búŋā.

1s NG buy FOC donkey·NG

"I haven't bought a *donkey*."
(I bought something else.)

12.2 Focusing modifiers

Focusing modifiers relate constituents to the discourse context. Most follow top-level NPs. ("Focus" here refers to the scope of the modifier, CGEL p589.)

mè, W **mèn**; clause finally **mèn** "also, too." It may focus an *ellipted* subject pronoun.

O pu'a mɛ kena.

"His wife also came." Acts 5:7

Ò pɔ̀ā' mé ké nā.

3a wife also come hither

bɔ̀zugɔ o anɛ fɔ̀ biig mɛn.

"Because he is your child too." Gn 21:13

bɔ̀ zúgɔ̀ ò à né fɔ̀ biig mén.

because 3a be FOC 2s child also

Manɛ maal Israel, ka mɛ aan ya na'ab.

Mānī · māl Israel, kà mé áaⁿ ·yà nà'ab.

1s + make Israel and also be 2p king

"I created Israel, and am also your king." Is 43:15

nɔ̀ "just, exactly": e.g. **dàa-kàn lā nɔ̀** "that very day", and

Fɔ̀ ya'a mɔ̀r ya'am, fɔ̀n nɔ̀ na dii li malisim.

Fɔ̀ yá' mɔ̀r yā'am, fɔ̀n nɔ̀ ná dí ·lì mālísím.

2s if have sense 2s exactly IR eat 3i joy

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." Prv 9:12

kòtāa_n "at all" appears in **Áyì kòtāa**. "Not at all."

mà'aa (lf **mà'anè**) "only":

Zina ma'aa ka m wɔ̀m.

"Only today have I heard it." Gn 21:26

Zíná má'aa kà m wúm.

today only and 1s hear

gùllimm (lf **gùllimnè**) "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?

"Is it not God alone?" Lk 5:21

Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllimnè·?

3i NG.be FOC God only-NG-PQ

báa with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct **báa bī'ələ́** "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent **báa yīnní** "(not) even one":

Da tūmi si'el baa bi'elaa. "Do no work at all." Lv 23:31
Dā tūmī· sī'əl báa bī'ələ́a·.
 NG.IMP work-2pS IDFi even slightly-NG

Fv du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yv'vr buon alaa.
Fv̀ dō'adīb báa yīnní ká'ẹ̀ kà ò yv'vr bûen àláa·.
 2s relative.PL even one NG.exist and 3a name call.IPF thus-NG
 "Not one of your relatives is called that." Lk 1:61

hālí "as far as" §10.7.3 is a focusing modifier before NPs or clauses not expressing time or place. Before manner nouns it means "very"; the noun itself is often ellipted:

Lì tẹ̀ hālí [béduḡō]. "It's very difficult."
 3i be.bitter until much

Hālí (là'am) nē means "even" before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am nɛ on zi' la "even though he does not know" Lv 5:3
hālí là'am nē ón zī' lā
 even together with 3a.NZ NG.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li ...
hālí nē mán dāa sōbī· tísì·yā sī'əm lā, m̀ dāa pō sōbí·lī ...
 even with 1s.NZ TNS write + give-2p how the 1s TNS NG write-3i
 "Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." 2 Cor 7:12

Hali nɛ man vɔe nwa ... "Even as I live ..." Rom 14:11
Hālí nē mán vōẹ "wá ...
 even with 1s.NZ live this

Before a non-nominalised clause with no linker, **hālí (báa)** means "even"; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adjunct like a **yà'**-clause.

Hali tɔvmbɛ'ed dim niḡid ala. "Even sinners do that." Lk 6:33
Hālí tòv̄m-bē'ed díḡm níḡìd àlá.
 even deed-bad.PL Øp do.IPF thus

Hali o be suori kenna ye o tu'ʊsif.

Hālí ò bè sūārī · kēn nā yé ò tū'ʊsí·f.

even 3a exist road + come.IPF hither that 3a meet·2s

"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.

Hālí báa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zó kà básì·f, mán kú bāsī·fó.

even DEMp all if IR run and leave·2s 1s NG.IR leave·2s·NG

"Even if they all run away and leave you, I will not." Mt 26:33

12.3 Clefting

In clefting, either an identificational clause or *Lì à nē* NP "It is ..." is followed by a catenative clause (with *n* or *kà* by the usual rule §11.3.) The complement of the first clause is both foregrounded and focused; in statements, there is an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Ano'on nwaa yisid nidib tɔʊmbe'edi basida?

Ànô'on · wáa · yīsīd nīdīb tɔʊm-bē'edī · básìdà·?

who + this + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL + reject.IPF·CQ

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

Li ane o pu'a su'oe li.

"It is his wife who owns it." 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á né ò pūā' · sù'v·lī.

3i be FOC 3a wife + own·3i

Bōo · lá kà m̀ nyētá·?

"What is that that I can see?"

what + that and 1s see.IPF·CQ

With *kà*, the foregrounded element may be extracted from a subordinate clause or prepositional phrase; direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap:

Li ane ya taaba bane pu'ʊsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bání · pù'ʊsìd Wínà'am kà l̀ nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

3i be FOC 2p fellow DEMp·NZ greet.IPF God and 3i must and 2p drive law

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." 1 Cor 5:12

12.4 Preposing and dislocation

Preposed clause elements precede different-subject catenatives, which may show tense marking, n-focus and focus-nḗ; the effect is foregrounding:

Mid ka sɔ' digil ye beog ka o di. "Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow."
 Mít kà sɔ' dīgīl yē béog kà ò dí. Ex 16:19
 beware and IDFa lay that tomorrow and 3a eat

Bī'əl bí'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē. Proverb: "Little by little, a river is full."
 little little and river fill FOC

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew dim la yela.

Dìn zúg kà mām Paul n bé sārúgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg
 therefore and 1s Paul + exist prison at Jesus Christ on
 yānám būud-bànì· ká' Jew díím lā yélà.
 2p tribe-DEmp·NZ NG.be Jew Øp the about

"Thus I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you gentiles." Eph 3:1 B2

Objects containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed, with resumptive pronouns needed if they are extracted from prepositional phrases.

Bɔ ka ti na niŋɛ? "What are we going to do?" Acts 21:22
 Bó kà tì ná niŋɛ·?
 what and 1p IR do·CQ

Nū'-bíbusá ·àlá kà fò nyētá·? "How many fingers can you see?" S
 finger.PL how.many and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Niŋgbɪŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra? "What kind of body will they have?"
 Nìn-gbīŋ-bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mōrá·? 1 Cor 15:35
 body-what-sort and 3p IR next have·CQ

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sɔnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?
 Kà ànô'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am sùʼf dá pèlìg né bà yòmà pīs nāasí lá·?
 and who-PL and God heart TNS whiten with 3p year.PL forty the·CQ
 "And who was God angry with for forty years?" Heb 3:17

Preposing is required when **bō** is used as "why?":

Bó *kà fò kúmmà·?*

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

"Why are you crying?"

Predicative complements are not preposed:

Mam a bo?

Mām *áⁿ bó·?*

1s be what·CQ

"What am I?" G1 p4

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

Wādɪsá *·àtáⁿ kà fò ná lēb nā.*

month.PL three and 2s IR return hither

"You're to come back in three months."

Preposing has no foregrounding sense within relative clauses, or when absolute clauses are preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán *·wè' dāy lā zúg kà pōlīs gbáⁿ·a·m.*

1s.NZ hit man the on and police seize·1s

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." Spratt

Dislocation of heavy complements to clause-initial position without **kà** requires a resumptive pronoun:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wìl-kàni· *bèè ·m ní kà pō wénnā·, m Bā' ·wá'adī·lí n básìd.*

branch-DEM·NZ exist 1s at and NG fruit.IPF·NG 1s father cut.IPF·3i + reject.IPF

"A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts (it) out." Jn 15:2 B2

Heavy clause adjuncts can be dislocated rightwards §11.2.3. Right-dislocation is also recognisable when constituents follow VP-final particles: manner adjuncts are thereby intensified, while with complements the sense is contrary to expectation:

M̃ *pū'us yā bédogō.*

"Thank you very much."

Ò *dà' nē múj.*

"She's bought rice." (What did she buy?)

Ò *dà' yā múj.*

"She's bought rice." (Of all things!)

Pronouns are never dislocated.

12.5 Presentation

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs, which here have *specific* reference. Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers may be used. New entities may be subjects of location verbs, or objects of verbs of finding etc, often with a following catenative:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir. "There was a man who had one wife."
 Dāṽ dá bè · mōrí ·ò pṽà'-yīmmír. G2 p26
 man TNS exist + have 3a wife-single

Dapa atan' n da be. "There were once three men." G2 p16
 Dāpá ·àtá' n dá bè.
 man.PL three + TNS exist

Ka dau daa zin'i Lистра ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
 Kà dāṽ dāa zí'í Lистра ní kà pṽ tū'ē · kēnná.
 and man TNS sit Lystra at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG
 "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.
 Pṽà'-sō' dá bè · mór ò bī-púŋ kà kìkīrīg dōlló.
 woman-IDFa TNS exist + have 3a girl and fairy follow·3a
 "There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." Mk 7:25

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ɔr buon Aneas.
 Àníná kà ò nyē dáṽ kà ò yū'ɔr būɛn Aneas.
 there and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aneas
 "There he found a man called Aneas." Acts 9:33

13 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 á ⁿ wēlá·?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'uhj á ⁿ wēlá·?	"How is the evening?"
Fò yī-dímà·?	"... your household?"
Nìn-gbīná·?	"... body?" (i.e. "How are you?")
Pṣā' nē bíisè·?	"... 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 béε·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 só ⁿ sigā.	"(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 būrīyá-sùŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù yòum-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 dāarì · lā.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm sùŋā.	"Sleep well."
Kpèlumī· sóm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pò'usìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Bà nà wōm</i> "They will hear."

Prayers, requiring the reply **Àmí** "Amen":

Wīn ná lēbūī·f nē láafiyà.	"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wīn ná tā'así·f.	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wīn ná sūñī·f.	"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

Ì pū'us yā [béduḡū].	"Thank you [very much]." Reply Tò , or Pù'usòḡ kā'e . "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.	"Sorry"; in apology, or just 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 bélim nē.	"I beg you."
X lābāar áⁿ wēlá·?	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is Dīub má'aa . "Only food." i.e. "good."
Ì mōr kù'əm náa·?	"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is Kù'əm á súm . ("Water is good.")
Wīn yél sídà.	"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth": ("If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you." W)
Fò wóm Kūsáalèè·?	"Do you understand Kusaal?"
Ēεⁿ, ñ wóm.	"Yes, I do."

14 TextsThree Brigands (G2 p16)

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 si'em ku bane kpelim anniga 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 kpe, ka on kiak 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.

Dāpá ·àtáⁿ' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāⁿdā sù'ḡā. Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asì · zíⁿ'inì
 man.PL three + TNS exist 3p TNS be FOC man-tough.PL well and day one and 3p gather + sit
 · gbāⁿ'e yé bà dūem · j̄ā búdàalì^m lâ'ad n gīnnī · k̄ōvd nīdīb má'aa kà dā
 + grab that 3p rise.IMP + seek courage goods.PL + roam.IPF + kill.IPF person.PL only and NG.IMP
 lém tùm sī'elā·. Bà s̀d̀ dùè · j̄ā s̀ú'̀s̀ nē zán'anà nē tí-dāad nē pīmá nē l̀'ad
 again work IDFi-NG 3p truly rise + seek knife.PL with bludgeon.PL with bow.PL with arrow.PL with quiver.PL
 nē kpānā nē málì s̀ú'ḡā n pīⁿ'ilī · gīnnī · iəd nīdīb yé bà yá' nyē s̀ō' bān k̄ō.
 with spear.PL with gun.PL well + begin + wander.IPF + seek.IPF person.PL that 3p if find IDFa 3p kill
 "Once there were three men. They were real toughs. One day they met and decided to go and find weapons and go round just killing people so as never to have to work again. So they went looking for lots of swords, bludgeons, bows, arrows, quivers, spears and guns and began searching for people to find someone they could kill."

Bà gílǵí ·àlá nē "wādɪsá ·àtá" nē dábɪsà ·àtá". Bà pū "yē nīdī · ná kū·. Kà kpèlím
 3p go.round thus with month.PL three with day.PL three 3p NG find person + IR kill·NG and remain
 mōr kēn nē kēn nē kēn. Dābá ànū dāar bà "yē nē lālǵí sà kà sī'əl zí'e sābǵlǵí
 have going with going with going day.PL five day 3p see with far hence and IDFi stand black
 · wūb nīd nē, kà bà kpēɛ^m lā yé bà kém · kú·, yé ò sōb yá' pùn tú"e kà mōr nē
 + like person like and 3p elder the that 3p go.IMP + kill·3a that 3a Øa if already be.able and have FOC
 lāuk-sī'a wōsā, bà nà "yāŋī · kú·. Kà òŋā gīŋīd kpē, kà òŋā gīŋīd kpē,
 item-IDF all 3p IR prevail + kill·3a and DEMa intercept.IPF there and DEMa intercept.IPF there
 bà tì kēŋ · pāa · "yé kà lì kā' nīdá·, kà á nē bōtú kà līgǵdī pē'el mà'aa má'aa má.
 3p next go + reach + see and 3i NG.be person·NG and be FOC sack and money fill only only only
 Kà bà yē Àtò, kà nānná-nā "wá, tì yé tì nīŋ līgǵdī "wá wālá? Kà bà yē, bà nà pūdīg nē.
 and 3p say so and now this 1p that 1p do money this how·CQ and 3p say 3p IR share FOC
 Àmáa bà yé lì nár kà bà yīs līgǵdī lā n kēŋ · dá' dāam · ná nū yīgá kà "yāan pūdīg
 but 3p that 3i must and 3p extract money the + go + buy beer + IR drink firstly and next share
 līgǵdī lā. Kà yīs līgǵdī lā bī'elá yē bīg lā kém · dá' yūr ná kà bà nū.
 money the and extract money the little that child the go.IMP + buy jug hither and 3p drink
 "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. 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 fully equipped, they
 would be able to kill him. And one blocked this way, and one blocked that way, but
 once they got there they saw that it wasn't a person but a bag full of money. They
 said: 'Well, now! What are we going to do with this money?' 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. And they took out a little of the money so the youngest
 could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Bīg lā· kēn lā, ò tē"esìd nē ón nà nīŋ sī'əm · kū bánì· kpèlím àní nā lā, kà vác
 child the·NZ go.IPF the 3a think.IPF FOC 3a.NZ IR do how + kill DEMp·NZ remain there the and gather
 līgǵdī lā wōsā wōsā n sū'e, ò yèlǵí ·ò mēŋ yē, ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kūbdím
 money the all all + own 3a say 3a self that 3a IR buy FOC beer and seek medicine-killing
 n lós dāamí·n lā n pāa · tí·bá kà bà nūu · kpí kà ò sū'e līgǵdī lā wōsā.
 + immerse beer-at the + reach + give·3p and 3p drink + die and 3a own money the all
 Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kūbdím n lós.
 and truly buy beer the and seek medicine-killing + immerse

"As the youngest was on his way, 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 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. And so he bought the beer and
 sought poison to put in it."

Zì'ísígē·, kà bà bàyí' lá· kpèlìm lā mé gbāⁿ'e nē yé bà kō bīig lā· kēŋ
 NG.know·NG and 3p two the·NZ remain the also grab FOC that 3p kill child the·NZ go
 dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgīdī lā. Bīig lā·h mōr dāam lā · pāa nā lā,
 beer the buying the and also own money the child the·NZ have beer the + reach hither the
 kà òŋā kǐá kpē, kà ɔn kǐá kpē, n kío· · kō, kà yū'ɔn záj dāam lā · nū wán wán,
 and DEMa cut here and 3a cut here + cut·3a + kill and then take beer the + drink glug glug
 lì pō yúugē·, kà bà wōsā wōsā mé kpélìm kpì zìⁿ'-kàn lā nóc kà bà sō' sō'
 3i NG delay·NG and 3p all all also immediately die place-DEM the exactly and 3p IDFa IDFa
 pō ⁿyāŋī · páam lā'af lā bāa yīnní · mōrī · kūlí ·bà yāa·nē·

NG prevail + receive cowny the not.one + have + go.home 3p house.PL·at·NG

"Unbeknownst, the two who stayed behind had also decided to kill the lad who went to buy the beer and keep the money themselves. When the lad arrived back with the beer, one cut him here and one cut him there, cutting him to death, and then they 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 fò yá' tēⁿ'es bēe túm bē'ed yé fò tísì ·fò tīrāan,

3i and Kusaasi.PL that 2s if think or act bad that 2s give 2s peer

fò mâanní ·fò mēŋ yá'as lā.

2s make.IPF 2s self again the

"That's why the Kusaasi say: if you think or do evil toward your neighbour, you're doing it to yourself in return."

Proverbs (G2 pp38ff)

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'əm káadì · lébìs né m gēogō·n.

water bail.IPF + return FOC 1s between.legs-at

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs."

(Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'əm zót nē bǐāⁿ'ar zúg.

water run.IPF FOC riverbed on

"Water runs on mud."

(You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asìd nē zūērī·n.

stone.PL gather.IPF FOC hill-at

"Stones build up on a hill."

(The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À wǐāk sēoⁿg zī' sínnē·.

PZ hatch rainy.season NG.know hawk.PL·NG

"Hatched-in-the-rains doesn't know hawks."

(Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib. "Didn't see the rain coming, did see the rain."
 Pō nyē sāa kúúbō, kà nyē sāa nīib. (Wise after the event.)
 NG see rain threat-NG and see rain raining

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree. "Declared-innocent doesn't loiter in the court."
 À dī'e bōūd pō zín'i ná'-yīré. (Quit while you're ahead.)
 PZ receive innocence NG sit chief-house-NG

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be. "The thatch is off but the rafters remain."
 Mōōdī · píìg kà yū'adā bé. (Where there's life there's hope.)
 grass.PL + strip.off and rafter.PL exist

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e pōōg. "No dogs, so monkeys got the farm."
 Bāas ká'e · kà nwāamīs dī'e pōōg. (When the cat's away ...)
 dog.PL NG.exist-NG and monkey.PL get farm

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.
 Bà pō nōkíd nā'-bínñì · lōbìgíd nááfō.
 3p NG take.IPF cow-dung + throw.at.IPF cow-NG
 "They don't throw dung at a cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.
 Kpēē^m á nē tē'eg, ò tìgìd nē bálàyà.
 elder be FOC baobab 3a sate.IPF FOC stick.PL
 "An elder is a baobab - plenty of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.
 Zū'əm yá' yé ò nà lōbūg, bàṅìm kà ò nò nē kūgūr.
 blind.person if that 3a IR throw.at realise.IPF and 3a stand.on FOC stone
 "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 àⁿ bālērūgū, kà tādīm mī' yé ò àⁿ tādīm.
 ugly + NG.know that 3a be ugly-NG and weak know that 3a be weak
 "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' bōōd tāmپیng sīī^d, fù pō lém zòt líēṅ dāūg nyōōgō.
 2s if want rock honey 2s NG again run.IPF axe wood sympathy-NG
 "If you want honey out of a stone, you no longer pity the axeshaft."

Legion (Mk 5:1-15)

Ka Yesu ne o nya'andolib kena paae Gerasene tejin, Galile mu'ar nya'aŋ. Ka Yesu yi anrɔŋɔn la, ka dau one ka kikiris dɔl o yi yaadin naa tɔ'us o. Dau kaŋa daa be ne yaadin la, hali ka sɔ' kae na nyaŋi lɔɔ o ne banaa. Ba da ɛenti nɔkne bana lɔɔ o nɔba ne o nu'us. Ka o kens nu'us bana la ka kensi kens nɔba bana la bas. Sɔ' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo. Nintaŋ ne yu'ɔŋ wɔsa o gɔɔndne yaadin ne zuoya la ni ka mɔr kuga nwaad o meŋ ka maan tɔkpiidɔg.

On da nye Yesu ka o be lalli la, ka o zɔɔ keŋ igin o tuon ka tans ye, "Yesu, Wina'am one ka' tiraan la Biiga, bɔ be man ne fu sɔugine? Wina'am sɔ'um zug, m belimne, da namisi ma." Bɔzugɔ Yesu pɔn yel o ye, "Kikiriga yim dau kaŋa san'an na." Ne'ɛŋa ke ka o yeli ala. Ka Yesu bu'os o ye, "Fu yu'ɔre?" Ka dau la lebis ye, "M yu'uri buon Babiga, bɔzugɔ, ti galis ne." Ka o bellim Yesu ne nimmua ye o da kad kikiris la yis teŋ kan la nii.

Kukurnam bedegɔ da be zuor la babaa dit ka ba kal an wɔɔ tusa ayi'. Ka kikiris la bellim o ye, "Kɛl ka ti keŋ kpen' kukurnam la ni." Ka o siak ka kikiris la yi dau la ni kpen' kukurnamin la. Ka ba wɔsa zɔɔ sig beuŋin ka ku'om dii ba.

Dap banɛ da gur kukurnam la da zɔɔ keŋ tempuugin ne temkpemisins tu'as line maal la wɔsa. Ka nidib yii keŋ ye ba gɔs line maal. Ban da paae Yesu san'an la, ba nye ka dau kanɛ ka kikiris daa dɔl o la zin' anina, ka ye fuud ka o ya'am tiaki an sɔ'um. Ka dabiem kpen' ba.

Kà Yesu né ò "yā'an-dóllìb kē nā · pāa Gerasene tējī-n, Galile mû'ar nyà'aŋ.

and Jesus with 3a disciple.PL come hither + reach Gerasene land:at Galilee lake east

Kà Yesu yī ánròŋɔ-n lā, kà dāu ónì · kà kìkírìs dóllō · yī yáadī-n nāa · tū'úsó̄.

and Jesus exit boat:at the and man DEMa·NZ and fairy.PL follow:3a + exit grave.PL:at hither + meet:3a

Dàù-kàŋā dāa bé nē yáadī-n lā, hālì kà sō' kā'e · ná nyāŋī · lóō · nē bānāā.

man-DEM TNS exist FOC grave.PL:at the even and IDFa NG.exist + IR prevail + tie:3a with fetter.PL:NG

Bà dà ɛɛⁿ tí nōk nē bānā · lóō ò nōbá né ò nū'us. Kà ò kēⁿs nū'us bānà lā, kà kēⁿsì ·

3p TNS usually take FOC fetter.PL + tie 3a leg.PL with 3a hand.PL and 3a break hand.PL fetter.PL the and break +

kēⁿs nōbá bānà lā. Sō' dá kā' páŋì · ná nyāŋó·ō. Nīntāŋ nē yú'ɔŋ wōsā, ò gòo^d

break leg.PL fetter.PL the IDFa TNS NG.have power + IR prevail:3a·NG day with night all 3a roam.IPF

nē yáadī-n nē zuāyā lā ní kà mōr kūgá · "wá'ad ò méŋ kà mâan t̀̀kpiid̄g.

FOC grave.PL:at with hill.PL the at and have stone.PL + strike 3a self and make.IPF tumult

"Jesus and his disciples came to the land of the Gerasenes, east of Lake Galilee.

After Jesus left the boat, a man afflicted by demons came from the tombs to meet him. This man had been among the tombs, until nobody was able to shackle him.

They would shackle his feet and hands, but he broke the hand fetters and shattered the leg fetters. Nobody had the strength to overcome him. Day and night he roamed among the tombs and hills cutting himself with stones and making a commotion."

Ón dà ^{nyē} Yesu kà ò bé lāllí lā, kà ò zóo · kēŋ · ígìn ò tūen kà tá^{ns} yē,
 3a.NZ TNS see Jesus and 3a exist near the and 3a run + go + kneel 3a before and shout that
 "Yesu, Wínà'am ónì· kā' tīrāan lā Bíigā, bō · bé mān né fù sùugū·né?
 Jesus God DEMa·NZ NG.have peer the child·VOC what + exist 1s with 2s between·CQ
 Wínà'am sū'm zùg, m̀ b̀l̀m̀ nē, dā nāmı́·mā·." Bō zúgō Yesu pún yélò· yē,
 God goodness on 1s beg FOC NG.IMP persecute·1s·NG because Jesu already say·3a that
 "Kìkírīgá, yim dāu·kàŋā sâ'an nā." Nē'ēŋā ké kà ò yélì ·àlá. Kà Yesu bũ'əsó· yē,
 fairy·VOC exit.IMP man-DEM among hither DEMi let and 3a do thus and Jesus ask·3a that
 "Fù yō'uré·?" Kà dāu lā lébìs yē, "M̀ yō'urī · bũen Bábugā, bō zúgō, tì gálìs nē."
 2s name·CQ and man the reply that 1s name + call.IPF many because 1p exceed FOC
 Kà ò b̀l̀m̀ Yesu nē nīn·múa yé ò dā kád kíkírīs lā · yīs tēŋ·kàn lā ní·.
 and 3a beg Jesus with earnestness that 3a NG.IMP drive fairy.PL the + expel land-DEM the at·NG
 "When he saw that Jesus was near, he ran and knelt before him and shouted:
 'Jesus, Son of God who has no equal, what is there between me and you? By God's
 goodness, I beg you not to torment me.' For Jesus had already said to him: 'Demon,
 come out of that man'; that made him say this. And Jesus asked him: 'What is your
 name?' The man replied, 'My name is Many, because we are a great many.' And he
 begged Jesus earnestly not to drive the demons out of that country."

Kùkūr-nám bédugū dá bè zūer lā bábàa · dīt kà bà kāl áⁿ wōv tūsá àyí'. Kà
 pig-PL much TNS exist hill the beside + eat.IPF and 3p number be like thousand.PL two and
 kíkírīs lā b̀l̀m̀ò· yē, "Kəl kà tì kēŋ · kpéⁿ" kùkūr-nám lā ní." Kà ò s̀j̀ák kà kíkírīs lā
 fairy.PL the beg·3a that let.IMP and 1p go + enter pig-PL the at and 3a agree and fairy.PL the
 yī dāu lā ní · kpéⁿ" kùkūr-námī·n lā. Kà bà wōsā zóo · sīg bēoŋí·n kà kù'əm dí·bā.
 exit man the at + enter pig-PL-at the and 3p all run + descend lake-at and water eat·3p
 "There were many pigs grazing beside the hill, about two thousand in number. And
 the demons begged him: 'Let us go into the pigs.' He agreed for the demons to leave
 the man and enter the pigs. And they all ran down into the lake and were drowned."

Dàp·bànì· dà gūr kúkūr-nám lā dá zòo · kēŋ tēŋ·pūogú·n nē tēŋ·kpēmı́·n · t̀'as
 man-DEMP·NZ TNS watch pig-PL the TNS run + go town-at with village.PL-at + talke
 línì· màal lā wōsā. Kà nīdīb yī · kēŋ yé bà gōs línì· màal. Bán dà pāe
 DEMi·NZ make the all and person.PL exit + go that 3p look DEMi·NZ make 3p.NZ TNS reach
 Yesu sâ'an lā, bà ^{nyé} kà dāu·kànì· kà kíkírīs dāa dōlló· lā zı́'ı̀ ànı́·nā, kà yé fūud,
 Jesus among the 3p see and man-DEM·NZ and fairy.PL TNS follow·3a the be.sitting there and don cloth.PL
 kà ò yā'am t̀j̀ákì · àⁿ sū'm. Kà dàbīem kpéⁿ·ε·bā.
 and 3a sense change + be goodness and fear enter·3p
 "The men who had been guarding the pigs ran to the town and villages to tell all
 about what had happened, and people came out to see what had happened. When
 they came to where Jesus was, they saw the man who had been afflicted by demons
 sitting there, clothed and with his mind put right, and they were afraid."

15 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' n and the distinctions e/ε/ē/ə, i/ι/ī, o/ο, u/υ/ū; η follows n. *adj ideo pn pt q* stand for adjective, ideophone, pronoun, particle, quantifier. Nouns are unlabelled; they are listed as sg (if used), pl and cif (followed by a hyphen.) For adverbial nouns/postpositions see §10.7.2. Adjectives are listed under one sg form only; for their flexion see §6.2. 2vbs are listed by pf. Regular ipfs/imps, regular deverbal nominals, and transparent compounds are not listed. See §9.3 for proper names, and §9.5.1 for numbers with the prefixes à- bà- ò- (à)bù-.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa; k/o = kind of.

-A-

- à *pn* (personaliser); found only after à:
 dàalúŋ_o dàalí(m)s dàalúŋ- stork;
 gâvⁿg_o gâaⁿd gâⁿ- pied crow;
 kōrā-dīēm_{ma} -dīēm-nām_a mantis;
 mús mús-nām_a cat (Ha *mussa*)
 à nē see àēⁿya
 āaⁿdīg_a āaⁿdīs àaⁿd- black plum tree,
Vitex doniana
 āaⁿdīr āaⁿdā black plum
 àaⁿs 2vb tear
 àbùlá *q* how many-fold?
 àēⁿya ger àaⁿlím 1vb be something
 àeⁿ 2vb get torn
 àgól/àgōlá upwards
 àlá *pn* thus; *q* so many; how many?
 àláafù (in greetings) health (cf *láafiyà*)
 àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (En)
 àmáa *pt* but §11.1 (Ha *amma*)
 àmējá really, truly
 àmí *pt* amen (Ar *āmīn*)
 àní(-nā´) *pn* there
 àníŋā promptly
 ànô'on *pn* who?
 àntù'a àntù'es àntù'à'- lawsuit
 ānzúrfà silver (Ha *azurfa*)
 àràzàk_a àràzà'as àràzà'- (usually pl)
 riches (Ar pl *arzāq*)
 àràzàná heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)
- àⁿrùŋ_o àⁿrimà àⁿrùŋ- boat
 āⁿs 2vb pluck leaves
 àséε *pt* except for §10.7.3
 áⁿsíb_a āⁿs-nám_a āⁿs- mother's brother
 àsīdā truly
 āⁿsıg´ 2vb break at an angle
 āⁿsıŋ_a āⁿsıs āⁿsıŋ- man's sister's child
 àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)
 àtèyuk_o sea (Ha *teku*)
 àⁿwá(-nā´) *pn* like this
 áyì *pt* no §11.2.4

-B-

- bà/ba *pn* 3p
 bā´ bā'-nám_a bā'- father
 bāⁿ 2vb ride
 bāa bāas bà- dog
 báa *pt* not even §12.2 (Ha *ba* "not be")
 bā'a bā'ab_a bà'a- diviner; bà'a-kòllog_o
 diviner's bag
 bā'a bā'as bà'- peg for hanging up
 bàⁿ'ad_a bàⁿ'ad-nām_a ill person
 bāⁿ'al´ 2vb make ride (horse, bicycle)
 bàⁿlìg_a *adj* thin
 bāⁿlím quietly
 bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol
 bāⁿ'as bàⁿ'- disease
 bābá beside
 bàbıgā´ *q* many
 bákpaę week (Ha *bakwai* "seven")

- bàⁿl_{1a}** ?1vb (lf uncertain) be thin
bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club
bàlàṅìr bàlàṅà bàlàṅ- hat
bālēr_og' bālēr_d'/bālēr_s' bālēr-
 ugly person (cf **lēr**)
bàmmā' *pn* these
bàn *pn* these
bán *pn* 3p+**ṅ**; **bān** 3p (free)
bān_n bānā bān- fetter
bānāa bānāas bānà- *sic* "fugu" smock
bàn-dāv_og' -dāad -dà- crocodile
bān-kúsél_l -kúsēlá -kúsēl- lizard
bāṅ_a bāaⁿs bàṅ- ring, chain, fetter
bàṅ_a agama lizard
bàṅ 2vb come to know
bár_kà blessing (Ar *barakah*)
bàs 2vb go away; abandon; throw out
(kpèⁿ) bàṅṅò get circumcised (Songhay)
bàyēog_o' betrayer of secrets (cf **yēs'**)
bè ger **bèl_m** 1vb exist; be somewhere
bèⁿ ger **bēⁿ'es** 2vb fall ill
bēd_lg' 2vb rot
bèd_og' *adj* great; **bèd_ogū'** *q* much, a lot
bēe *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1
bèl_m 2vb beg
bèl_s 2vb comfort
bēn_n bēnā bēn- end
bèṅ 2vb mark out boundary
bēṅíd bēṅ- cowpea leaves; **bēṅíd nē kī'**
 leaf-and-millet (traditional snack)
bēṅír bēṅá bēṅ- cowpea
bē'og_o *adj* bad
bēog_o tomorrow; **bè-(kì)kèⁿog_o** dawn;
bēogū·n morning; **bēog sá/bēog dāar**
 in future; **bēog níe kà** next day ...
bēoṅ_o bēēnā bēoṅ- pool, lake
bèr_lṅ_a bèr_lg_s kenaf
bēr_lgā bèr_lg- kenaf leaves
bèⁿs_lg 2vb serve soup
bēs_og' bēs_d bès- k/o wide-mouthed pot
bī'a see **bē'og_o**
- bjāⁿ'ar' bjāⁿ'adá/bjāⁿ'a bjāⁿ'-** wet mud,
 riverbed
bjā_uⁿk_o bjāⁿ'ad bjāⁿ'- shoulder
bíel_l *adj* naked
bìel 2vb accompany
bī'elá *q* a little; **bī'el bī'el** *q* a very little;
 little by little
bīelíf_o bīilí bīel-/bīil- seed
bī'əm bì'əm-nām_a bì'əm- enemy
bīēn_n bīēnā bìēn- shin
bīēr' bjāyá bjā- elder same-sex sibling
bì'əs 2vb doubt
bìg_s 2vb show, teach
bīg_a bīs bī-/bì- child; **bī-dí**b**ṅ_a** boy;
bī-púṅ_a girl; **bì-līa** baby; **bì-nà'ab_a**
 prince(ss); **bì-pīt_a'** younger child
bì'ig 2vb ripen, get pregnant
bīil_m childhood
būm' bī- soup, stew
bìⁿ'is_m milk (human or animal)
bìⁿ'is_r bìⁿ'isà bìⁿ'is- woman's breast
bī_a *adj* little
bìl_g 2vb roll tr; **bìl_m** 2vb roll intr
bìmbìm_n bìmbìmà bìmbìm- mound,
 pillar of earth; altar B
bīn_n excrement
bō bò- *pn* what? why? §9.2; **bō zúg_o** why;
 because §11.1
bò 2vb seek; **bòod_a** ipf want, ger **bòod_m**
bòb_lg 2vb wrap round, tie round
bòd_lg 2vb lose, get lost
bòdòbòdò bread
bòk_o bù'ad b_uà'- pit
bòⁿ'og_o swamp; ricefield
bōs_r bōsā bōs- puff adder
bōtū sack
bū' 2vb beat
b_uàk 2vb split
bù'ar bù'a b_uà'- hole
bū'ar' bú'a b_uā'- skin bottle
bùd ger **būd_lg_a/būd_og_o** 2vb sow seeds

- bùdàalìm manhood, courage
- bùdım ger **bùdımıs** 2vb get confused
- bù'e 2vb pour out
- bùəl 2vb call, summon
- bùər **bùèyà bùà-** grain store
- bū'əs 2vb ask; ger **bū'əsúg** question
- bùg 2vb get drunk (Ha *bugu*)
- bōgud_a client of diviner
- bùgulìm 2vb cast lots
- bōgur **bōgā bùg-** abode of a **wīn_n'**;
wīn_n' from mother's kin as **sīgr'**
- bùgúm **bùgōm-/bùgúm-** fire;
Bùgúm-tōⁿr Fire Festival
- bōgus_a' 1vb be soft
- bōgusíg_a *adj* soft, weak;
bōgusígā' softly; **bōgusím** softness
- būk' 2vb weaken
- bùk 2vb cast lots
- bùl 2vb germinate, ooze
- būl̩ **būlā** sprout
- bùl 2vb astonish
- bùlg_a **bùlıs bùl-** well, pond
- bùmbàrig_a **bùmbàrıs bùmbàr-** ant
- bōn_n' **bōn-nám_a/bōnā bōn-** thing;
bōn-gíng_a short fellow (informal);
bōn-kóⁿbūg -**kóⁿbıd kòⁿb-** *sic* animal;
bōn-kúdug -**kút** old man;
bōn-mór rich person
- bùn 2vb reap, harvest
- bōn-dâar *pn* which day?
- bùŋ_a **bùmıs bùŋ-** donkey
- bōráa man (Toende)
- bùrìkìn_a **bùrìkìn-nám_a bùrìkìn-** free,
honourable person (Songhay)
- bōrɪyá Christmas (Twi)
- būtīŋ_a **būtīs bütīŋ-** cup
- bōvd innocence
- būudī **būud-** kind, sort, ethnic group
- bōvg_a **bōvs bù-** goat; **bù-dībıg_a** male kid
- D-
- dà *pt* before two days ago §10.2
- dā *pt* not (imp) §10.4
- dà' 2vb buy
- dàa *pt* day after tomorrow §10.2
- dāa *pt* before yesterday §10.2
- dà'a **dà'as dà'-** market
- dà'abìr slave
- dàalìm masculinity
- dàalím **dàalímıs** male organs
- dāam' **dā-** millet beer ("pito"); **dā-bín_n**
beer residue; yeast B
- dàam 2vb disturb, trouble (Ha *dama*)
- dāan_a **dāan-nám_a dāan-** owner of ...
- dāar **dābā dà-** day, date
- dāar two days ago/hence
- dāa-sí'ər perhaps §11.1
- dàbīem fear
- dàbīog_o **dàbīəd dàbjà-** coward
- dàbı̀sìr **dàbı̀sà dàbı̀s-** 24-hour period
- dā'e' 2vb push; (wind) blow
- dàgòbıg_a left; south B
- dāká **dāká-nám_a dāká-** box (Ha *adaka*)
- dàkīig_a **dàkīs dākì-** wife's sibling/sister's
husband §9.4
- dàkòⁿr **dàkòⁿyà dākòⁿ-** unmarried son
- dàm (-mm-) 2vb shake
- dàmà'a liar; **dàmà'am/dàmà'ar** lie
- dāmpūsāar/dānsāar staff, club
- dàŋkòŋ_o measles
- dàpāal_a' young man, son
- dārúk_o k/o large pot
- dāsāŋ_a **dāsāⁿs/dāsām_{ma} dāsàŋ-**
young man
- dātāa **dātāas dātà-** enemy
- dàtìuŋ_o right-hand; north B
- dāy **dāp_a dāy-/dāp-** man
- dāv_o *adj* male
- dāv_o **dād dà-** piece of wood, log;
dà-kīəd_a wood-cutter; **dà-kpī'əd_a**
carpenter; **dà-pūudīr -pūudā** cross B

- dàwàl_g_a hot humid season before rains
dàwān_n 'dàwāná dàwān- pigeon
dàyáam_{ma} dáyāam-nám_a dáyāam-
husband's parent §9.4
dàyūug_o 'dàyūud 'dàyū- rat
dèb_{ur} dèbà mat, pallet, bed
dèeg_a dèes dè- warthog
dēē_g_a dēēⁿs/dēēmīs/dēēnā dēē_g- *q* first
dēl_l_a 'ger dēllú_g_o/dēllím 1vb (person) lean
dèl_l_m 2vb (person) start leaning
dē_g_a dēmīs dē_g- accidental bruise; defect
dè_g 2vb go/do first
dè_gím *pt* beforehand §10.5
dì *pn* 3i
dì ipf dīt_a imp dìm_a 2vb eat, get; ger
dīb_o food; ò dì puā' he's taken a wife;
ò dì 'yán she's ashamed
dīā' 2vb get dirty
dīā'ad' dirt
dī'e' 2vb receive, get
dī'əm 2vb play; ger dī'əmà festival
dīəm_{ma} dīəm-nām_a dīəm- wife's parent
§9.4
dī'əs' 2vb receive (many things)
dīg_l_{ya} 'ger dīk_a '/dīg_{ur} ' 1vb lie down
dīg_l ' 2vb lay down
dīg_ln 2vb lie down
dīg_{ur} dīgà dīg- dwarf
dīg_{ur}sú_g_o bed; (pl) lair
dīs 2vb feed; dīs_a glutton
dīsú_g_o dīsímà/dīsís dīsú_g- spoon
dīm_a dīn_n *pn* (dummy head)
dín dīn see lín līn
dìndēog_o 'dìndēed' dīndē- chameleon
dìndīs_a glutton
dītú_g_o right-hand
dì-zōr_{og}_o ' -zōrá -zōr- crumb
dōl_l_a 'ger dōllím 1vb go/come with
dōl_g ' 2vb make accompany, send with
dōⁿl_g ' 2vb stretch oneself
dōl_s ' 2vb investigate, trace
dòog_o dòod/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;
dòog bīig_a housecat
dòⁿg_o dòⁿd dòⁿ- dawadawa fruit
dòⁿ'os 2vb water plants
dū ipf dūt_a ' imp dùm_a 2vb go up
dūà' 2vb bear/beget; dū'ad_a relative
dūaⁿ dòⁿs dòⁿ- dawadawa tree
dù'al 2vb (loan) make interest
dū'am birth
dū'atà doctor (En)
dūe' 2vb raise, rise
dūer' dūāyá dūā- stick
dū'əs' 2vb lift up, honour
dūg 2vb cook
dūk_o ' dūgud' dūg- cooking pot;
dūgōb dūt cooking pots
dùm 2vb bite
dūm_n dūmā dùm- knee
dòndūog_o dòndūud dòndù- cobra
dūnīyā dūnīyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)
dūnná this year
dū_g_a dūmīs dū_g- mosquito
dūr_a 1vb be many
dū'un' 2vb pass water
dū'uním dū'un- urine
dūōsír step
-E-
èⁿbīs 2vb scratch
èⁿd 2vb block up, plug up
èⁿdīg 2vb unblock, unplug
ēⁿ *pt* yes §11.2.4
ēⁿ (tí) *pt* habitually §10.3
ēⁿb' 2vb lay foundation
ēⁿbír foundation
ēⁿrīg' 2vb shift along on buttocks
-F-
f_o *pn* 2s
fāⁿ/fāeⁿ ' 2vb grab, rob; save
fāaⁿ *q* every
fāaⁿgíd_a saviour (Toende)
fāaⁿgír salvation (Toende)

fáss *ideo* for **pìəlìg_a** white
fēⁿdɪg´ 2vb turn round
fēεg´ 2vb (food) get old, cold
fēⁿ'og_o' fēⁿ'ed´ fēⁿ'- ulcer
fiəb 2vb beat
fiiⁿ *q* a little (liquid)
fi'ig 2vb cut off
fiⁿtlá lamp (Ha *fitila*); *fitir* pl *fitá* B3
fōɔs´ 2vb (wind) puff
fù *pn* 2s
fùe 2vb draw out
fūfūm_n fūfūmā fūfūm- envy; stye
fún *pn* 2s+*n*; **fūn** lf **fúnè** 2s (free)
fūug_o' fūud´/fūt´ fū- clothing; cloth
 -G-
gāaⁿ' gāa^s' gāⁿ- (African) ebony
Diospyros mespilliformis
gàad ipf **gà_at** 2vb (sur)pass
gáafàrà sorry! (Ha *gafara*, from Ar)
gà'al 2vb button up
gà'am 2vb grind teeth
gàas 2vb pass by
gādug_o' gāt´ gād- bed (Ha *gado*);
 also **gādū gādū-nám_a gādū-**
gàlɪs 2vb become excessive
gàŋ 2vb step over
gāŋ´ 2vb choose
gāⁿr´ gāⁿyá gāⁿr- ebony fruit
gbāⁿ'e´ 2vb catch, grab; decide, plan
gbáⁿyà'a idle person; **gbáⁿyà'am** laziness
gbāⁿu_o' gbāná gbān-/gbāⁿu- animal skin;
 book (tp L, W); **gbàⁿu_n-mī'id_a'** scribe
gbēⁿm gbēⁿ- sleep
gbèⁿ'og_o gbèⁿ'ed/gbèⁿdà gbèⁿ'- forehead
gbèog_o lakeshore
gbēr´ gbēyá gbēr- thigh
gbīgīm_n gbīgīmā gbīgīm- lion
gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (hill) foot;
 meaning; below; **gbìn-vòⁿr** anus
gbīs 2vb sleep
gēⁿ 2vb get tired

gēⁿ 2vb get angry
gēl´ 2vb place between legs (tp H)
gēⁿm´ ger gēⁿmís 2vb go/send mad
gēⁿŋ_a gēⁿmís madman
gél_l gēlá gēl- egg
gēog_o place between legs (tp A)
gègùlɪm 2vb go dumb
gīⁿlím shortness (cf Mampruli *gyiyya*
 "short")
gèk_a gègɪs gèg- dumb person
gīl_g' ipf gī_{na}' 2vb go around
gīm_{ma}' 1vb be short
gìŋ 2vb scrimp
gīŋ´ 2vb surround, intercept, obstruct
gīŋ_a *adj* short; **gīŋā** shortly
gòⁿ 2vb hunt; ipf **gòⁿd_a** wander,
 ger **gòⁿdì_m**
gòdɪg´ 2vb look up
gò'e_{ya}' W gòl_la´ K 1vb be looking up
gò'ɔn 2vb look up
gòr_a' D 1vb be looking up
gòs ipf **gòsɪd_a'/gòt_a' imp gò(s)ma**
 ger **gòsɪg_a** 2vb look; **gòt_a'** seer
gū' 2vb guard, protect
gùⁿ'a gùⁿ'ɔs gùⁿ'- thorn; acacia;
gùⁿ'-sābulí_g_a *Acacia hockii*
gùl 2vb hang; **gùl_la** 1vb hang
gùllɪmm lf **gùllɪmnè** *pt* only §12.2
gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread W
gūmpūzēr´ gūmpūzēyá gūmpūzēr- duck
gùŋ_a gùmɪs gùŋ- kapok tree,
Ceiba pentandra
gùŋgūm_n kapok material
gūr_a' ger gūrím 1vb guard, watch for
gū'ul´ 2vb set on guard
gù'vlɪm 2vb get half-ripe
gùv_r gùyá gù- upland; riverbank
gūv_r gūyā gù- ridge of back
gū'us´ 2vb take care, watch out
gū'us half-ripe fruits

-H-

hālí *pt* even, until §10.7.3

-I-

īā 2vb seek*īāⁿas'* 2vb leap*īāⁿk'* ipf *īāⁿad_a'* 2vb leap, fly*īg_{ya}'* ger *īk_a'/īgr'* 1vb kneel*īgul'* 2vb make kneel*īgun* 2vb kneel down*īl_l īl_lā īl_l-* horn*īs_r īs_a īs-* scar*īs_g* 2vb get up early

-K-

kà *pt* and, that §11.1*kā* 2vb bail water*kā'* (before complements) see *kā'e**kāab'* 2vb offer, invite*kāal'* 2vb count*kāas'* 2vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)*kà'asìg* 1vb not exist (clause-final only)*kàⁿb* ger *kāⁿb_r* 2vb scorch*kāb_g'* 2vb ladle out*kāb_r'* ger *kāb_rí* 2vb call for admission*kàd* 2vb drive away; *kàd sàrìyà* 2vb judge*kāⁿd_g* *adj* (person) fat, tough*kā'e* ger *kā'alím* 1vb not exist/be/have*kāl_l'* *kāl_lā kāl-* number*kàl_gā'* *q* few*kām_a* *q* every*kàn* *pn* this/that*kàṅā'* *pn* this/that*kà_r* 1vb be few*kárfà/kérifà* o'clock §10.7.2 (Ha *karfe*)*kà_rm* 2vb read*kàsēt_a'* witness; testimony (French viaMooré); *kàsēt_{ib}* witnesses*kē* ipf *kēt_a'* imp *kèl_a* 2vb let, cause*kēⁿ* ipf *kē_n* imp *kēm_a* ger *kē_n'* 2vbcome; *kē_n kē_n* welcome!*kèèkè* *kèèkè-nām_a kèèkè-* bicycle (Ha)*kèès* 2vb bid farewell to*kèl_g/kèl_s* 2vb listen*kēṅ'* ipf *kē_n* imp *kēm_a* 2vb go, walk;*kē_n* traveller*kèⁿs* 2vb break*kjà* 2vb cut*kīd_g'* 2vb cross over, meet;à *Kīd_gī · bū'əs* Orion*kīəf_o'* *kī* *kī/kā-* millet; *kī-dā'ar -dá'adà*bought millet; *kā-wēnnīr -wēnnā -wén-*
corn*kī'ib_o'* soap; W *kīib_u kīib-* (Mampruli)*kī_s* 2vb listen*kī'is'* 2vb deny*kīkām_n kīkāmà* fig*kī(ṅ)kàṅ_a kīkām_s kīkàṅ-* (Cape) fig tree*kīkīr_g_a'* *kīkīr_s'* *kīkīr-* (local En "fairy")

protective spirit; hostile bush spirit;

demon B2/3 (*kīkīr-bê'ed* B1)*kīl_m'* 2vb become, change into*kīm* 2vb tend flock/herd*kīmm* *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly §9.2*kīr* ger *kīkīr_g_o/kīr_{ib}_o* 2vb hurry, tremble*kīs_a'* ger *kīs_g_o* 1vb hate; *kīs(ɪd)_a'* hater*kīs_g_o* *adj* hateful, tabu*kò* 2vb break intr*kōⁿ(əkō)* by oneself*kòb_gā* (*sf/lf* identical) *q* hundred §9.5.1*kōⁿb_r kōⁿb_a kòⁿb-* bone*kōⁿb_g_o kōⁿb_{id} kòⁿb-* animal hair;human body hair (cf *zūəb_g_o*);*kòⁿb-kīm_{na} -kīmmīb_a* animal herder*kōd_g'* 2vb cut throat*kōd_u* banana (Twi)*kòl* 2vb put around someone's neck*kòl_{ib}_r kòl_{ib}_a* bottle (Ha *kwalaba*)*kòl_g_a kòl_s kòl-* river;*kòl_g_ī-n nó-dā_g_o* crayfish*kòl_g_o kòn_n kòl_g-* sack, bag*kōⁿm'* *kōⁿm-* hunger*kò'og* 2vb break*kò'os* 2vb break several times

- kòⁿs/kòⁿsɪm 2vb cough
 kòtāa_n *pt* at all §12.2
 kótò lawcourt (En)
 kpà' 2vb nail, fasten
 kpà'a kpà'a-nà_m_a rich person
 kpāad_a´ kpāadíb_a kpāad- farmer
 kpà'am riches
 kpāam´ kpā- grease, ointment
 kpàⁿdɪr kpàⁿdà kpàⁿd- baboon
 kpàkūr´ kpàkūyá kpàkūr- tortoise
 kpān_n kpānā kpān- spear
 kpàr 2vb lock
 kpār-kêoⁿg_o -kêⁿd -kêⁿ- rag
 kpá'ɔŋ_o kpī'iní kpá'- guinea fowl
 kpē *pn* here
 kpèⁿ' 2vb enter
 kpēⁿdɪr´ kpēⁿdá kpēⁿd- cheek
 kpēⁿm kpēⁿm-nà_m_a kpēⁿm- elder
 kpēⁿm_a´ 1vb be older than
 kpèⁿ'ɛs 2vb make enter
 kpēlá *pn* here
 kpèlɪm 2vb remain
 kpèlɪm *pt* still; immediately after §10.5
 kpèn *pt* = kpèlɪm
 kpè'ŋ 2vb strengthen
 kpēoⁿŋ_o seniority
 kpì 2vb die
 kpì'a kpì'əs kpìà'- neighbour
 kpìà' *lf* kpì'a 2vb whittle
 kpì'e 2vb approach
 kpì'əm_a´ 1vb be strong, hard
 kpìbìg_a kpìbìs kpìb- orphan
 kpìig 2vb (fire) go out
 kpì'ɪlɪm 2vb come to an end
 kpì'ɪm kpì'ɪmɪs kpì'ɪm- corpse
 kpìis 2vb quench
 kpìkpì_n_{na}´ kpìkpìnníb_a kpìkpì_n-
 merchant
 kpì'oŋ_o *adj* strong, hard
 kpìsìŋkpìl kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;
 also kpìsòkpìl
- kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpòkpàrɪg_a kpòkpàrɪs kpòkpàr-
 (Palmyra) palm
 kpòkpà_uŋ_o kpòkpàmà kpòkpà_uŋ- arm,
 wing
 kù *pt* not (irrealis) §10.4
 kù 2vb kill (Mooré *kv*); (rain) threaten
 (Mooré *kv*): s̄āa kù yā it looks like rain
 kṽā 2vb hoe, farm
 kṽ'alíŋ_a kṽ'alí(m)ṽ kṽ'alíŋ- k/o smock
 kùd 2vb work iron
 kùdɪg 2vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kùdɪm the old days; also for kṽlīm
 kùdɔg_o *adj* old
 kṽdɔg_o kṽt kṽt- (pl as sg) iron, nail
 kṽ'əm kṽà'- water; kṽà'-nūud´ thirst;
 kṽà'-ⁿwīig_a´ current
 kṽəs 2vb sell
 kṽgɔr´ kṽgá kṽg- stone
 kṽk_a kṽgɔs kṽg- chair
 kṽk_a ghost
 kṽk_a´ (African) mahogany
 kṽkò_m_n kṽkò_mà kṽkò_m- leper
 kṽkōr´ kṽkōyá kṽkō(r)- voice
 kṽkpàrɪg_a see kpòkpàrɪg_a
 kṽkūr´ kṽkūyá kṽkūr- pig
 kṽl ger kṽl_g_a´ 2vb return home;
 take as husband
 kṽlīm *pt* always §10.3
 kṽlìŋ_a kṽl(m)ṽs kṽlìŋ- door
 kṽm 2vb weep
 kṽm kṽm- death
 kṽndù'ar kṽndù'adà kṽndṽà'-
 barren woman
 kṽndùŋ_a kṽndùmɪs/kṽndù_nà hyena
 kṽɔ *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1 (Ha *ko*)
 kṽug_a/_o´ kṽus´ kṽ- mouse
 kṽɔl 2vb get drunk
 kṽɔs´ 2vb settle (legal judgment)

-L-

- lā'** *pt* the §9.7.2
là' 2vb laugh
lā'af_o **līgudī** **līg-/là'**- cowrie; (pl) money;
là'-bīəlíf_o small coin
lāafiyà/lāafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)
là'am 2vb associate; *pt* together §10.5
là'as 2vb gather together *tr*
làbāar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)
làb_{ya} 1vb crouch behind something
làbul 2vb make crouch
làbun 2vb start crouching
làbus 2vb walk stealthily
làbus_a' 1vb be wide
làbusíg_a *adj* wide; **làbusím** width
lāk' 2vb open (eye, book)
lāl_a' 1vb be distant
lālīg' 2vb get to be far, make far
lāllí far off
lāllí_a/lāllóg_o *adj* distant
lām_n' **lāmá** **lām-** (tooth) gum;
lām-fōog_o *adj* toothless
làmpō' **làmpō-** tax (French *l'impôt*)
lān_n **lānā** **làn-** testicle
lànnìg_a **lànnìs** **lànnìg-** squirrel
lā'ŋ' 2vb set alight
làngáav_o **làngáam_n/làngāamá** **làngāv_o**-
 crab
lāŋím 2vb wander round searching
lāuk_o **lā'ad là'**- goods item
là'v_o **là'amà** fishing net
lèb *ger* **lēb_g_a** 2vb return *intr*
lèb_g 2vb turn over; return
lèbus 2vb answer; return; divorce (wife)
lèε *pt* but §10.3
lèm *pt* again §10.5
lèm (-*mm-*) 2vb sip, taste
lēr 2vb get ugly
lì/lí *pn* 3i
lì *ipf* **lì_t_a** *imp* **lì_m_a** *ger* **liig_a** 2vb fall
lī 2vb block up
lià *pt* where is? §11.2.4
lìd_g 2vb turn (shirt) *W*
lìd_g 2vb astonish, be amazed
liəb 2vb become
lì'əl 2vb approach
lì'əm_n **lì'əmá** fruit of yellow plum tree
liəŋ_a **liəmís** **liəŋ-** axe
lì'əŋ_a **lì'əmís** yellow plum tree,
Ximenia americana
liğ 2vb patch
liğul 2vb cover; **liğun** 2vb cover oneself
liüb_r **liübā** **liüb-** twin
lik_a **liğus** darkness
lìlāalí_g **lìlāalí(m)_s** **lìlāalí_g**- swallow
lín *pn* 3i+*n*; **līn** 3i (free)
lìn *pn* that; **lìná** *pn* that
lō 2vb tie
lōb/lōb_g' 2vb throw stones at
lōbídí_g **lōbídís** water-drawing vessel
lōd_g_a' **lōd_s'** **lōd-** corner;
lōdígí·n **kúg_{èr}** cornerstone
lōd_g' 2vb untie
lòk_o **lù'ad** **l_uà'-** (arrow) quiver
lòmbòⁿ'_og_o **lòmbòⁿ'_od** **lòmbòⁿ'-** garden
 (Ha *lambu*)
lōŋ_a **lōm_s** **lòŋ-** k/o frog
lō'ŋ' 2vb go across river, road
lór **lóyà/lóom_{ma}** **lór-** car, lorry
lòs 2vb dip, immerse in liquid
lù *ipf* **lù_t_a** *imp* **lùm_a** 2vb fall
lūb *ger* **lūb_r'** 2vb buck, throw off rider
lūg 2vb swim
lūgur organ, member

-M-

- m̄/m_a** *pn* 1s
mà **mà-** mother; pl **mà nám_a** *sic* §9.4
mà' 2vb lie, deceive
mà'aa *lf* **mà'anè** *pt* only §12.2
màal 2vb make, sacrifice; **màal-māan_{na}**
 servant who conducts slayings for a
tèŋ-dāan_a; priest B1/2 (*maanmaan* B3)

mā'al' 2vb make cool, wet
māan_n **māanā** **māan-** sacrifice
má'an_n **mā'aná** **mā'an-** okra
mā'as_a' 1vb be cool, wet
mā'asíg_a cool, wet; **mā'asígā'** coolly;
mā'asím coolness
mādıg' 2vb overflow, abound
mā'e' 2vb cool down
màk 2vb crumple up
māk' 2vb measure, judge
màlĵāk_a' **màlĵāk-nám_a/màlĵā'as'** **màlĵā'-**
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)
màlf_o **màlì** gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)
màlĵım *pt* again §10.5
māls_a' 1vb be sweet, pleasant
mālsíg_a/mālsıĵ_a *adj* sweet, pleasant;
mālsım sweetness
mālōĵ_o **mālımā** **mālōĵ-** custom; sacrifice
mām *pn* 1s
mán *pn* 1s+**n**; **mān** *lf* **mánè** 1s (free)
màŋgáıĵ_o = **lànggáıĵ_o**
màık_o *adj* crumpled up
mè 2vb build
mè(n) *pt* also §12.2; **mè-kàmà** -soever
mēd 2vb mash up
mèeĵ_a **mèemıs** **mèeĵ-** turtle
mèlĵım dew
mēĵ_a' *pn* self; **mēĵır** *adj* genuine
mēt' **mēt-** pus
mī' *ger* **mī'ilım** 1vb know
mıif_o **mıinı** okra seed
mı'ıg 2vb get sour
mı'is_a 1vb be sour; **mı'isùg_o** *adj* sour
mılg' 2vb get dirty
mımıilım/mımıilıg_o sweetness
mıt 1vb imp-only: beware; do not let
mō 2vb strive, struggle
mōd 2vb swell
mōdıg' 2vb be patient, endure
mòlf_o **mòlì** **mòl-** gazelle
mōn 2vb grind millet to make **sā'ab_o**

mōĵ' 2vb refuse to lend
mōog_o **mōod** **mò-** grass; back-country,
 "bush"; **mò-pılı** grass thatch
mōol' 2vb proclaim;
mōol-mōon_{na} proclaimer
mōr_a' *ger* **mōrım** 1vb have; **mōr nā** bring
mıà' 2vb suckle
mıàk_a **mı'as** **mıà'-** maggot
mı'ar **mı'a(dà)** **mıà'-** lake, reservoir
mı'as 2vb give suck to
mı'e 2vb redden; ignite; intensify
mıı **mıı-** rice
mıl 2vb itch
mım 2vb bury

-N-

n *pt* (catenator) §11.3 §11.2.4
n *pt* (past) §10.2 §11.2.3
n *pn* 2p: see **ya**
n/nı' *pt* (locative) §10.7.2
n *pt* (nominaliser) §11.4
nà *pt* (irrealis) §10.4
nā' *pt* hither §10.8
nā 2vb join
náa *pt* (reply to blessings) §13
nà'ab_a **nà'-nám_a** **nà'-** chief, king;
nà'-bııg_a prince(ss); **nà'-yır'** court
náaf_o **nııgı** **nā'-** cow
nàam 2vb happen
nā'am **nà'am-** chieftaincy, kingdom
nāan next, afterwards (see **nyāan**)
nāan *pt* in that case §10.3 §11.2.3
nāan' 2vb starting from ... do §11.3
nà'anā' *ideo* easily
nà'as *ger* **nà'ası** 2vb honour
nà'-dàwān_n' pigeon
nāe' 2vb finish
nàm *pt* still, yet §10.3
nám_a (pluraliser) §6.1
nāmıs' 2vb persecute, suffer
nān 2vb love, respect
nà'-nēsınnēog_o' centipede W

- nānná(-nā´)** *pn* now
nànzū'ʋs´ pepper (? tones)
nāŋ_a nām_{us} nàŋ- scorpion
nār_a´ ger **nārím** 1vb need, deserve
nārúŋ_o *adj* necessary
nàyīg_a nàyiig-nàm_a/nàyīis thief;
nàyīgīm thievery
nà'-zòm_n locust
nē *pt* with §10.7.3; linking NPs: and
nē´ *pt* (focus) §12.1 §10.7.3
nē' *pn* this
nèel 2vb reveal
nèem for free
nēm_m´ 2vb grind with millstone
nēer´ millstone
nèes 2vb reveal; **nèesim** light
nèj_{ya} 1vb be awake
nēm-nēer -néyà grinder
nēn_{na}´ ger **nēnním** 1vb envy;
nīn-nén_{na} envier
nē'əŋā *pn* this
nèer *adj* empty
nēsīnnēog_o´ **nēsīnnēed´** **nēsīnné-**
centipede; envious person W
ñfá! *pt* well done! §11.2.4
nī´ *pt* (locative) §10.7.2
nì 2vb rain
nīd_a´ **nīdīb_a´** **nīn-** person; **nīn-pūnān_{na}´**
-pūnānnīb_a -pūnán- disrespectful
person; **nīn-sāal_a** human being
nìe 2vb appear, reveal; waken
nīf_o´ **nīn_i´** **nīf-/nīn-** eye; **nīf-gbáŋŋ_o** eyelid;
nīf-sób_a miser; **nīn-báalìg_a/nīn-bâal-zōor**
pity; **nīn-dáa -dâas -dá-** face; **nīn-gótìŋ_a**
mirror; **nīn-gótìs** spectacles;
nīn-kúgvdìg_a -kúgvdìs eyebrow;
nīn-múa concentration; **m̄ nīn_i´** **mù'e nē**
I'm intent; **nīn-tâ'm** tears
nīŋ_a nīmís/nīs nīŋ- bird
nī'm_n´ **nīmá nīm-** meat
nīn-pôvd pus
nīntāŋ_a´ **nīntāa^s´** **nīntáŋ-** heat of the day
nīŋ_a nīs nīŋ- body; **nīn-gbīŋ_o´** **-gbīnā**
-gbīŋ- body (pl as sg); **nīn-gòor** neck;
nīn-tāa -tāas -tà- co-wife §9.4;
nīn-tōllím fever
nīŋ 2vb do
nō 2vb tread
nōb 2vb get fat
nōbìg´ 2vb (child, plant) grow
nób_{ir} nōbá nōb- leg, foot; **nōb-bíl_a** toe;
nōb-íⁿ'a toenail; **nōb-púmpàŋŋ_o** foot
nōk´ 2vb pick up, take up
nòŋ imp **nòŋìm_a** ger **nòŋìlím** 1vb love;
nòŋìd_a *sic* lover
nōŋ_o´ **nōŋ-** poverty; **nōŋ-dâan_a** pauper
nōo *pt* exactly, just §12.2
nōor´ **nōyá nō-** mouth; command;
nō-dí'əs_a chief's spokesman ("linguist");
prophet B; **nō-gbáŋŋ_o** lip; **nō-lôor**
fasting; **nō-nâar** promise; **nō-pôor** oath
nōor´/nōorím times §9.5.1
nū 2vb drink
nūa´ **nōos´** **nō-** hen; **nō-dâv_o** cock;
Nō-ⁿyâ'aŋ-né-ò-bīs Pleiades
nūlìg´/nūlìs´ 2vb make drink
nū'ug_o **nū'us nū'-** hand, arm; **nū'-bíl_a**
finger; **nū'-dâv_o** thumb; **nū'-íⁿ'a -êⁿ'es-**
-éⁿ'- fingernail; **nū'-wêⁿ'ed_a** mediator
-O-
ò/o *pn* 3a
òⁿb ger **òⁿb_{ir}** 2vb chew
ón *pn* 3a+**n̄**; **ōn** 3a (free)
òn *pn* this/that
òŋā´ *pn* this/that
-P-
pà' *pt* earlier today §10.2
pà'al 2vb teach, inform; **pā'an_{na}** teacher
pà'al 2vb put on top of
pāalìg_a *adj* new; **pāalím** recently
pàⁿ'alim 2vb dedicate
pāalú open space

- pàaⁿlúŋ_o pàaⁿlíms spiderweb
 pàam 2vb receive gift
 pàas 2vb add up to, amount to
 pāe´ 2vb arrive; reach
 pàk 2vb surprise
 pàk 2vb take off from on top of
 pāmm lf pāmné q much, a lot
 pàŋ_a pàaⁿs pàŋ- power
 pàⁿsıg 2vb lack
 pà' tì pt perhaps §10.3
 pèbıs 2vb blow; pèbısim/pèbışög_o wind
 pè'el 2vb fill
 pè'es 2vb add up to, amount to
 pèlŋ 2vb whiten, go white
 pèlıs 2vb sharpen
 pèn_n vagina
 pē'ŋ´ 2vb borrow; knock over W
 pèog_o pèed pè- basket
 pē'og_o pē'es´ pē'- sheep; pē'-sá'a ewe
 lamb
 pēsıg´ 2vb sacrifice
 pıā 2vb dig up
 pıāⁿ 2vb speak, praise; ger pıāⁿk_o
 pıāⁿad pıāⁿ- word, (pl) language
 pıbıg 2vb uncover
 pıbıł 2vb cover up
 pıbın_n pıbınā pıbın- cover, lid
 pıd 2vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on; (with
 indirect object) put hat etc on someone
 pıd 2vb get bloated
 pıdıg 2vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)
 pıe´ 2vb wash (own body)
 pıəb 2vb blow (flute etc)
 pıəlıg_a adj white (cf zıⁿ'a);
 pıəlım whiteness
 pıəs 2vb fool someone
 pıēs´ 2vb wash
 pıf_o pıını pıın- genet
 pııgā q ten
 pııⁿil´ 2vb begin
 pıım´ pıımá pıım- arrow
 pıını pıın- gift
 pııl 2vb cover
 pıılŋ 2vb uncover
 pıpıırg_a´ pıpıırs´ pıpıır- desert
 pısí q twenty
 pıtú pıtıb_a pıt- younger same-sex sibling
 (sg -pıt_a´ after cıfs)
 pıō 2vb swear
 pıōⁿd 2vb crouch down
 pıōd_a 1vb be few, small
 pıōdıg_a adj few, small; pıōdım fewness
 pıōg_o´ pıōd´/pıōt´ pıō- field, farm
 pıō'og 2vb diminish, belittle
 pıōⁿol´ 2vb make rot
 pıōⁿolım 2vb cripple, get crippled
 pıōⁿor pıōⁿdā pıōⁿ- cripple
 pıōr´ "slogan", part of clan genealogy W;
 cf Farefare pıre "name one swears by"
 pıōⁿr_a ger pıōⁿrıb_o 1vb be near
 pıōⁿrıg_o adj near
 pıō pt not (indicative) §10.4
 pıō 2vb divide
 pıā' pıā'ab_a pıā'- woman, wife; pıā'-ēlıŋ_a
 fiancée; pıā'-gınnıg_a/-gıōⁿdır
 prostitute; pıā'-pāal_a´ bride;
 pıā'-sādır´ nulliparous young woman;
 pıā'-sāⁿ'am_{na} adulterer; pıā'-ⁿyá'aŋ_a
 -ⁿyá'as old woman; pıā'-yüa daughter
 pıāk_a adj (human) female
 pıə'alım 2vb harm, damage
 pıə'alım femininity
 pıə'alım pıə'alıms pıə'alım- female organs
 pıd 2vb name
 pıdıg´ 2vb divide, share out
 pıūⁿe´ 2vb rot
 pıögıdıb_a pıögıd-nām_a pıögıd- father's
 sister
 pıökōⁿr pıökōⁿyà pıökōⁿ- widow
 pıōkpāad_a´ pıōkpāadıb_a pıōkpá- sic farmer
 pıılmà cogongrass
 pıömpıōg_o housefly

sìilíŋ_a/sìilúŋ_o sìilí(m)_s/sìilímà sìilíŋ-
proverb

sī'is' 2vb touch

sīlīnsiúŋ_o sīlīnsiis ghost

sīlīnsiúⁿŋ_o sīlīnsiūⁿd spider

sìlvŋ_o sìn_n/sìlvs sìl- hawk

sìm 2vb sink in liquid

sīn_{na}' ger sīnním 1vb be silent

sīnsáaⁿ k/o tiny ant

sīŋ_a sīⁿs sìŋ- k/o very big pot

sī'ŋ' 2vb begin

sīsíbŋ_a sīsíbvs sīsíb- neem

sīsíbŋ_a sīsíbà neem fruit

sìsì'əm wind, storm

(sì)sùvŋŋⁿ between

sí'uŋ_o sī'imís sī'uŋ- k/o big dish

sō' pn some(one), any(one)

sōⁿ 2vb rub

sōb_a pn (dummy head)

sōb 2vb darken; write

sōbŋ' 2vb blacken

sōbŋ' sōb- piece of writing

sōŋⁿ(ya) sōwⁿb_a sōⁿ- witch

sōⁿ'e_{ya}' 1vb be better than; sōⁿ'od_a'

sōⁿ'ob_a' sōⁿ'od- surpasser

sóŋŋ_a soldier (En)

sōlūŋ_o' sōlmá story

sōnnīr sōnnā sōn- yard-dividing wall

sōwⁿŋ_o witchcraft

sōwⁿr sōⁿyā sōⁿ- liver; cane rat

sòs ger sōsŋ_a 2vb ask; sòs_a beggar

sōⁿs ger sósŋ_a 2vb converse, talk with

sò 2vb take bath

sūā' 2vb do secretly, hide

sūāk_a' hiding place

sū'e_{ya}' 1vb own; ger sū'vlím sū'vlím-
property, realm

sūeⁿ' 2vb anoint

sū'e' 2vb become better than

sú'əŋ_a sū'əmís sū'əŋ- hare

sūer' sūāyá sūā- road; permission

sù'əs_a yesterday

sù'əs 2vb trick

sūⁿf_o'/sūuⁿr' sūⁿyá sūⁿ- heart; sūⁿ-

búŋvòsìm peace; sūⁿ-kpî'əŋ_o boldness;

sūⁿ-málvsìm/-má'asìm -málvs- joy;

m̄ sūⁿf má'e yā I'm joyful; sūⁿ-pēēn_n

anger; sūⁿ-sāⁿ'vŋ_o sorrow

sūŋvŋr' ger sūŋvŋrú 2vb show forbearance

sù'm goodness; well

sùmma 1vb be good

sūmmīr sūmmā sūm- groundnut

sùn_n ger sūnnīr/sūnnòŋ_o 2vb bow head;

sūn_{na} close observer W

sùŋ 2vb help

sùŋ_o adj good; sù'ŋā' well; very much

sùr_a 1vb have head bowed

sùsòm_n grasshopper

sūvŋ' 2vb (leaves) wither W

sù'vŋ_{a/o} sù'vs sù'- knife

-T-

-tāa -tāas fellow- §7.2.1

tāab(ā) pn each other

tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal

tàalŋ tàalà tàal- fault, sin

tá'am_n tā'amá shea nut

tá'aŋ_a tā'amís tā'aŋ- shea tree

tā'as' 2vb help to walk

tàb 2vb get stuck to; tàbŋ_{ya} 1vb be stuck

tàbŋ 2vb get unstuck from

tàbŋ 2vb stick to tr

tàdŋ 2vb weaken

tādŋm tàdŋm-nàm_a tàdŋm- weakling

tādŋmís weakness

tàm (-mm-) vb forget

tàmpŋiⁿŋ_a rock

tàmpŋvŋr tàmpŋv- ashpit, rubbish tip

tān_n tānā tàn- earth; tàn-mēēd_a builder

tāⁿp_o war; tànⁿp-sōb_a warrior

tār_a' ger tārím 1vb have

tàn^s ger tànsvŋ_o 2vb shout; (sun) shine

tàsìntàlŋ/tàtálŋ palm of hand

- tāⁿ tãⁿpa' tãⁿ-/tãⁿp- opposite-sex sib
 tɛb ger tɛbɪg_a 2vb carry in both hands
 tɛⁿb ger tɛⁿbuɔ_ɔ 2vb tremble, struggle
 tɛbɪg' 2vb get heavy
 tɛbɪs_a' 1vb be heavy
 tɛbɪsɪg_a *adj* heavy; tɛbɪsɪm weight
 tɛɛbɔl tɛɛbɔl-nãm_a table (En)
 tɛɛg'/tɛk' ipf tɛɛd_a' 2vb drag, pull;
 tɛɛg X tɔbɪr punish X
 tɛ'ɛg_a tɛ'ɛs tɛ'- baobab
 tɛⁿ'ɛs 2vb remind
 tɛⁿ'ɛs' 2vb think; ger tɛⁿ'ɛsá thought
 tɛŋ_a tɛɛⁿs tɛŋ- land; tɛŋ-biig_a native;
 tɛŋ-dãan_a earth-priest; tɛŋ-dɔ'adɪg_a
 native land; tɛŋ-gbãuŋ_ɔ land; tɛŋ-
 kpɛŋ_a -kpɛmɪs -kpɛŋ- village; tɛŋ-
 pɔbɔg_ɔ' -pɔbd' -pɔ- village; tɛŋ-sũk_a
 centre; tɛŋɪ·n/tɛŋɪr down; under
 tɛog_ɔ tɛɛd nest
 tɛ'og_ɔ tɛ'ɛd baobab fruit
 tɛⁿr_a ger tɛⁿrɪb_ɔ 1vb remember
 tɪ/tɪ *pn* 1p
 tɪ *pt* next, then §10.5
 tɪà'al 2vb come next
 tɪàk 2vb change
 tɪ'e 2vb rely on
 tɪⁿ 2vb remember; W inform; stretch
 tɪ'ɔb 2vb get ready; (Ar *tɪbb* "medical
 art") heal; tɪ'ɔb_a healer
 tɪəŋ_a tɪəmɪs tɪəŋ- beard; tɪəŋ-gɔvɪr chin
 tɪg 2vb have in excess; ger tɪgɪr' glut
 tɪ'iya' ger tɪ'ib_ɔ' 1vb (thing) lean
 tɪg_a tɪs tɪ- tree; tɪ-dãuɔ_ɔ -dãad -dã- bow
 tɪ'il' 2vb lean (thing)
 tɪm tɪ- medicine; tɪ-kɔbdɪm poison;
 tɪ-sãbilɪm k/o traditional remedy
 tɪ'in 2vb (thing) start leaning
 tɪk' 2vb press; tɪk nũ'ug sign
 tɪlãs necessity (Ha *tilas*)
 tɪlg 2vb survive, be saved
 tɪnãm_a *pn* 1p (free); tɪnãmɪ 1p+ɪ
 tɪntɔⁿrɪg_a tɪntɔⁿrɪs tɪntɔⁿr- mole
 tɪp_a tɪp-nãm_a tɪp- healer
 tɪrãan_a tɪrãan-nãm_a tɪrãan- peer;
 tɪrãannɪm companionship
 tɪrɪgà *ideo* for gɪŋ_a short
 tɪs/tɪ ipf tɪsɪd_a/tɪt_a 2vb give; tɪs_a giver
 tɪtã'alɪ proud person; tɪtã'alɪm pride
 tɪtã'am multitude
 tɪtã'ar *adj* big
 tɪ *pt* OK §11.2.4 (Ha *to*)
 tɪⁿ 2vb shoot
 tɪd 2vb give to the poor, share
 tɪɛya' 1vb be bitter, difficult
 tɪklãe torch (En "torchlight")
 tɪlɪb *ideo*
 tɪlɪlɪlɪ *ideo* for wɔk_ɔ' tall
 tɪɔg_ɔ *adj* bitter, difficult
 tɪɔm' 2vb depart, disappear
 tɪⁿ'ɔs 2vb hunt
 tɪ'ɔtɔ' straight away
 tɪà 2vb grind in mortar; tɪà-bɪl_a pestle
 tɪà' 2vb plead in court
 tɪã'eya' 1vb be near
 tɪ'al 2vb condemn in court
 tɪ'as 2vb talk; tɪ'as-tɪ'as_a talker
 tɪbɪr tɪbã tɪb- ear; tɪb-kpɪr half of jaw
 tɪⁿ'e 1vb control; be able
 tɪãdɪr tɪãdã tɪãd- mortar
 tɪən_n in front; west; tɪən-gãt_a leader
 tɪkpɪdɔg_ɔ tumult, shouting
 tɪlɪã' 1vb be hot
 tɪlɪg' 2vb heat up
 tɪlɪg 2vb invert
 tɪm 2vb work; ger tɪɔm_n tɪɔmã tɪɔm-
 deed, (pl) work; tɪm-tɪm_{na} worker
 tɪm ger tɪtɔmɪs 2vb send
 tɪsɪr' thousand
 tɪtũlɪ upside-down thing
 tɪɔlɪgã' hotly; tɪɔlɪg_ɔ *adj* hot
 tɪ'ɔs' 2vb meet

-U-

ùdɔg_ɔ ùt ùd- piece of chaff

ūgɔs' 2vb bring up child

ùk 2vb lift up; vomit

ūk 2vb bloat

ùm 2vb close eyes

úbn_n dry season

ūs' 2vb (person) get warm

-V-

vābɪ_{ya}' ger vāp_ɔ'/vābr' 1vb lie prone

vābɪl' 2vb make lie prone

vābɪn 2vb lie prone

vāe 2vb gather up

vāvⁿg_ɔ' vāaⁿd' vāⁿ- leaf

vē' 2vb lead

vē'eg' 2vb drag

vèⁿl_a 1vb be beautiful; vèⁿllìg_a/vèⁿllíj_a

adj beautiful; vèⁿllìm beauty;

also vèn_{na} etc

vī'/vīk' 2vb uproot

vīig' 2vb postpone, reschedule

vīug_ɔ' vīid' vī- owl

vōb' 2vb thrash

vū ger vūug_ɔ' 2vb make noise;

vūud' noise

vūe_{ya}' 1vb be alive

vúəj_a vūəmís red kapok,

Bombax buonopozense

vúər vūáa vūə- fruit of red kapok

vōl 2vb swallow

vòlìnvùuⁿl₁ mason wasp

vōm' vōm- life

vōr' adj alive

vō'ug' 2vb come/make alive

vō'us' ger vō'usím 2vb breathe, rest

-W-

wā' 2vb dance

ⁿwà pt this §9.7.2

ⁿwā' 2vb smash up

wāad' cold weather

wáaf_ɔ wīigí wā'- snake

wāal' 2vb sow

wā'alím length

wā'am_a' 1vb be long, tall

ⁿwāa_{ja} ⁿwāamís ⁿwāa_{ja}- monkey

wàbɪg_a adj lame

wàbɪlìm 2vb make, go lame

wābɔg_ɔ' wābɪd' wāb- elephant

wādá wād- (En "order") law

ⁿwādɪg_a' ⁿwādɪs' ⁿwād- moon, month;

ⁿwād-bíl_a star; ⁿWād-dár Venus

wà'e_{ya} 1vb be travelling

ⁿwà'e 2vb cut wood

ⁿwā'e' 2vb strike, break

wāɪg_a wāɪs/wālí sic wāl- k/o gazelle

ⁿwām_n ⁿwāmā ⁿwām- calabash;

also ⁿwān_n etc

wà_nìm 2vb waste away

wàsìnwàl₁ k/o gall (local En "mistletoe")

wà_nɪj_ɔ adj wasted, thin

ⁿwè' 2vb beat; ⁿwè' X nū'ug plead with X;

ⁿwè' ⁿyō'og boast

wēel' 2vb be left unsold

wēl 2vb bear fruit

wēl₁' wēlá wēl- fruit

wēlá/wālá pn how? nì_n wēlá n/kà §11.3

wēn_{na}' ger wēnním 1vb be like

wēnnīr adj resembling (tp A, W)

wèog_ɔ deep bush

wēog_ɔ' wēed' cheap thing sold in

abundance W

wjāk' 2vb hatch

wìdɪg 2vb scatter

wìəf_ɔ wìdì wìd- horse

wìd_a/wèed_a wìb_a wìd- hunter

wīig_a' whistle

ⁿwīig_a' ⁿwīis' ⁿwī- rope

ⁿwīig' 2vb make rope

wìm disease ("worse than bāⁿ'as" W)

wìk ipf wìid_a 2vb fetch water

wìl₁ wìlà wìl- branch

wìl₁súj_ɔ wìl₁mís wìl₁súj_ɔ- k/o snail

- wím** *ideo* for **zìⁿ'a** red
wīn_n' **wīn_a** **wīn-** spiritual essence; god;
 God; **wīn-tôog_o** misfortune
winnìg_a **wìn-** sun; **wìn-līir/-kòò^r** sunset
wiug_o *adj* red (synonymous with **zìⁿ'a**)
wōk_o' *adj* long, tall
wòm ger **wōm_{m_o}/wòm_{m_o}g_o** 2vb hear;
 smell; understand
wōsā/wōv *q* all
wōv *pt* like, resembling §10.7.3
wō'ug' 2vb get wet
wō'ul' 2vb make wet
 -Y-
yà/ya *pn* 2p
ya *pn* 2pS
yā *pt* (m/c-pf) §10.6
yà' *pt* if, when §11.2.3;
yà' nāan if only; **yà' pùn** even if
yáa *pn* whither? **yáa ní** where?
yáab_a **yāa-nám_a** **yāa-** grandparent §9.4
yà'ab 2vb mould clay; **yā'ad yà'-** clay
yà'al 2vb hang up; make perch
ⁿ**yā'al'** 2vb leave behind
yà'an 2vb perch
ⁿ**yāan** *pt* next §10.3
yáaŋ_a **yáas yāaŋ-** grandchild, descendant
ⁿ**yá'aŋ_a** *adj* (animal) female
ⁿ**yá'aŋ_a** behind; east; ⁿ**yā'an-dól_{l_a}/-dól_l**
-dóllà/-dóllìb_a -dól- disciple
yāar' 2vb scatter
ⁿ**yā'ar** ⁿ**yā'a** ⁿ**yà'-** root
yàarìm yàar- salt
yà'as_(a) again
yā'as' 2vb open repeatedly
yàd(d)ā trust (Ha *yarda*)
yādıg' 2vb scatter; **yāt_a'** participant
 in a housebuilding ritual
yā'e' 2vb widen, (mouth) open
ⁿ**yāe_n'** *ideo* brightly, clearly
yàk 2vb unhang, unhook
yàıg 2vb widen
yàım_a 1vb be wide
yāım' **yālım-nám_a** worthless person
yāıısúŋ_o **yāıımıs** **yāıısúŋ-** quail
yàlıŋ_o *adj* wide
ⁿ**yālıŋ_o** *adj* wonderful
yām_n **yāmā** **yàm-** hay
yām'/yā'am' W **yām-** gall (bladder); sense
yàmmòg_{a/o} **yàmmıs** **yàm-** slave
ⁿ**yàn_n** shame
yānám_a *pn* 2p (free); **yānámı** 2p+ⁿ
ⁿ**yāŋ'** 2vb overcome; succeed in
yàug_o **yàad** grave, tomb
ⁿ**yàık_o** *adj* single (of eyes)
yē *pt* that §11.1
yè 2vb dress oneself
ⁿ**yē** ipf ⁿ**yēt_a'** imp ⁿ**yèm_a** 2vb see, find;
ⁿ**yē láafıyà** get well
ⁿ**yēε (tı)** *pt* habitually §10.3
yèεg 2vb undress oneself
yèel 2vb dress someone
ⁿ**yē'εr'** ⁿ**yēdá** ⁿ**yē'-** next-younger sibling
yēεs' 2vb betray secret
ⁿ**yèεs_a** 1vb be bold; ⁿ**yèεsım** boldness
ⁿ**yèεsıŋ_a** *adj* bold; ⁿ**yèεsıŋā'** boldly
yēıı' **yēııá** **yēıı-** matter, affair; (pl) about;
yēıı-méŋıı truth; **yēıı-pákıı** disaster;
yēıı-súm_n blessing
yèı ipf **yèt_a** ger **yèıg_o** 2vb say, tell
yēŋım 2vb undulate
yèog_o **yèed** bird's crop; weed, straggler,
 person displaced from family
yéoŋ *q* one (in counting)
yı ipf **yıt_a'** imp **yım_a** 2vb go/come out
yıdıg 2vb go astray
yıdıg' 2vb untie
yıer jaw
yııgá *q* firstly; **yııg-sób_a** first person
yııs' ger **yıısıb_o** 2vb make go/come out
yıımmır *adj* unique, sole
yııımmú *q* straight away, at once
ⁿ**yıın_n'** ⁿ**yııná** ⁿ**yıın-** tooth

- yīnní *q* one
 yīŋ_a outside
 yīr' yā' yī- house; yī-dāan_a/-sób_a -sób-
 nàm_a householder; yī-dím_a household
 members; yín_n at home pl yáa·n
 ʸyīríf_ɔ ʸyīrī egusi seed
 yīs 2vb make go/come out
 yīuŋ_ɔ' *adj* single (of pair)
 yò 2vb close
 yō 2vb pay; ger yōod' pay
 yōlɪs' 2vb untie
 yōlɪsím freedom
 yōlɪg_ɔ' yōn_n' yōl- sack; ₦100, 200 cedis
 ʸyōod intestines
 yò'og 2vb open
 ʸyō'og_ɔ' chest
 ʸyōog_ɔ sympathy: ò zòtō· ʸyōog
 she sympathises with him
 yòor yòyà yò- soldier ant
 ʸyōor ʸyōyā ʸyò- nose, breath;
 ʸyò-vōr' -vōyá -vōr- life
 ʸyō'os' smoke
 yuà 2vb bleed; fornicate W
 yō'adīr yō'adā rafter
 yùbɪg_a yùbɪs yùb- k/o small bottle-like pot
 ʸyū'e' 2vb set alight
 yū'ər yuādā yù'ər- penis
 yūgudīr yūgudā yùgùd- hedgehog
 yōgúm_n yōgumá yōgūm- camel
 yùlɪg 2vb swing tr
 yùug 2vb get to be a long time, delay
 yùul 2vb swing intr
 yō'um' 2vb sing; yōum-yō'um_{na} singer
 yó'um_n yō'umá yō'um-/yōum- song
 yòum_n yòmà yòum- year
 yō'ɪn *pt* then, next §10.3
 yó'ɪŋ_ɔ yō'umís yō'ɪŋ- night
 yō'ɪr' yōdá yō'- name
 yōur yōyā yò- water pot
 ʸyūur' ʸyūyá ʸyū- yam
- Z-
- zā' zā- millet
 zāⁿ'a *q* every
 zāalɪ *adj* empty; zāalím emptily
 zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsōbur' evening
 zàⁿ'an_n zàⁿ'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zàⁿ'as 2vb refuse
 zàaⁿsìm 2vb dream; ger zàaⁿsúŋ_ɔ
 zàaⁿsímà zàaⁿsúŋ- dream
 zāaⁿsím zāaⁿs- soup
 zàb ger zàbur 2vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
 warrior; gbān-záb_a leather-worker
 zàbul 2vb cause to fight
 zàⁿbul 2vb tattoo skin
 zāⁿbīn_n zāⁿbīnā zàⁿbīn- tattoo; sign B
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nōor' gate
 zàkìm 2vb itch
 zāⁿl_a' ger zāⁿllím 1vb have in the hand
 zàⁿlɪ umbilicus
 zàlìŋ_a zàlɪmìs zàlìŋ- electric eel
 zàm (-mm-) 2vb cheat;
 zàm-zām_{na} cheater
 zàmɪs 2vb learn, teach
 zàŋ 2vb pick up
 zàŋgùem_n zàŋgùemà zàŋgùem- wall
 zàŋkù'ar zàŋkù'a(dà) zàŋkùà'- hyena
 zēm_{ma}' ger zēmmúg_ɔ 1vb be equal
 zēmɪs' 2vb make equal
 zēmmúg_ɔ *adj* equal
 zèⁿ'og_ɔ see zìⁿ'a
 zī ger zīid' 2vb carry on head;
 zī-zīid_a carrier on head
 zī' ger zī'ɪlím 1vb not know
 zìⁿ'a *adj* red: zìⁿ'a and wìug_ɔ cover all
 reddish shades, sābulíg_a all darker, and
 pìèlìg_a all lighter; however, many other
 standardised colour expressions exist,
 e.g. wōv támpōur nē (like ash) "grey"
 zì'e_{ya} ger zī'a/zī'əg_a 1vb stand
 zì'əl 2vb make stand; zì'əl nōor' promise
 zì'ən 2vb stand; ò zì'ən nē she's pregnant

- zì^{n'}i_{ya} 1vb sit; ger zī^{n'}ig_a zī^{n'}is zì^{n'}- place
 zì^{n'}il 2vb make sit
 zīum' zī- blood
 zì^{n'}in 2vb sit down
 zīiŋ_a zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbâ^{n'}ad_a fisher
 zī'isíŋ 1vb not know (clause-final only)
 zìlìm_n zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue
 zīlīnzìog_o *adj* unknown
 zīm *ideo* for sābulíŋ_a black
 zīnā today
 zīnzāuŋ_o' zīnzānā zīnzāuŋ- bat
 zīrī untruth
 zè ipf zèt_a imp zòm_a 2vb run; fear; ger
 zūa/zōog_o pl zōos run; ger zòtìm fear;
 ò zòtō· nīn-báalig she pities him
 zōl 2vb castrate
 zōlímís foolishness
 zōlɔg_o' zōn_n' zōl- fool
 zōm' zōm- flour
 zōom_n zōomā zòom- refugee, fugitive
 zōrɔg_a' small child W
 zōrɔg_o' zōrá piece
 zū 2vb steal
 zɔà zɔà-nàm_a zɔà- friend
 zù'e 2vb get higher, more
 zùe 2vb perch, get on top
 zūəbúŋ_o zūəbíð zūəb- (human head) hair
 zùəd friendship
 zùəl 2vb make to perch
 zū'əm' zū'əmís zū'əm- blind person
 zū'əm' 2vb go/make blind
 zùən 2vb start perching
 zūər zɔāyā zɔà- hill
 zùəs 2vb befriend
 zūg_o' zūt' zū(g)- head; onto, due to;
 zūg-dāan_a master; zūg-kūgɔr -kūgā
 -kúg- pillow; zūg-sób_a master (always
 "the Lord" in B3); zū-péelòŋ_o *adj* bald;
 zū-píbɔg_a hat; zūgú·n on
 zùg 2vb work bellows
 zùlɔg 2vb deepen
 zùlím_a 1vb be deep
 zùlòŋ_o *adj* deep; zùlòŋ_o depth
 zùn_n civet
 zùnⁿzòŋ_{a/o} zùnⁿzòŋⁿs zùnⁿzòŋ- blind person
 zòŋ_o *adj* foreign
 zūríf_o zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed
 zú'ɔⁿf_o zū'ɔnⁿí dawadawa seed
 zùuⁿg_o zùuⁿs/zùuⁿd zùⁿ- vulture
 zūɔr zūyā zè- tail