

# Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

David Eddyshaw



## Contents

Preface.....	iii
Abbreviations.....	iv
Sources.....	v
Bibliography.....	vi
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi.....	1
1.2 Grammatical sketch.....	4
2 Sound system.....	8
2.1 Consonants and vowels.....	8
2.2 Stress and tone.....	9
2.3 Orthography.....	11
3 Apocope.....	13
4 Word structure.....	17
4.1 Bound and free words.....	17
4.2 Segmental structure.....	17
4.2.1 Root allomorphy.....	18
4.2.2 Morphophonemic rules.....	19
4.3 Tone patterns.....	22
4.3.1 Nominals.....	23
4.3.2 Verbs.....	26
4.3.3 Derivation.....	27
5 External sandhi.....	28
5.1 Segmental contact.....	28
5.2 Word-initial tone changes.....	29
5.3 Prosodic enclitics.....	31
5.4 Liaison.....	33
6 Flexion.....	39
6.1 Nouns.....	39
6.2 Adjectives.....	49
6.3 Verbs.....	52
7 Derivation.....	55
7.1 Nominals from nominals.....	55
7.2 Nominals from verbs.....	56
7.2.1 Gerunds.....	56
7.2.2 Agent nouns.....	58
7.2.3 Verbal adjectives.....	60
7.2.4 Instrument nouns.....	61
7.3 Verbs from nominals.....	62
7.4 Verbs from verbs.....	63
7.5 Prefixes.....	65
8 Loanwords.....	67

9	Noun phrases.....	68
9.1	Structure and categories.....	68
9.2	Pronouns.....	71
9.3	Proper names.....	77
9.4	Kinship terms.....	81
9.5	Quantifiers.....	82
9.5.1	Numerals.....	82
9.6	Predependents.....	85
9.7	Postdependents.....	89
9.7.1	Adjectives.....	90
9.7.2	La and <sup>n</sup> wà.....	92
10	Verb phrases.....	94
10.1	Aspect.....	94
10.2	Tense.....	96
10.3	Mood and negation.....	100
10.4	Preverbal adjuncts.....	103
10.5	Main/content marking.....	105
10.6	Complements and postverbal adjuncts.....	108
10.6.1	Objects and predicatives.....	108
10.6.2	Adverbials.....	113
10.6.3	Prepositional phrases.....	117
10.7	Final particles.....	119
11	Clauses.....	121
11.1	Structure and types.....	121
11.2	Main clauses.....	124
11.2.1	Questions.....	124
11.2.2	Commands.....	125
11.2.3	Conditionals.....	127
11.2.4	Verbless clauses.....	131
11.3	Catenation.....	132
11.4	Nominalised clauses.....	140
11.4.1	Absolute.....	140
11.4.2	Relative.....	142
11.5	Purpose clauses.....	148
11.6	Content clauses.....	149
11.7	Prepositional clauses.....	153
12	Information packaging.....	154
12.1	Focus.....	154
12.2	Focusing modifiers.....	160
12.3	Preposing, clefting and dislocation.....	163
12.4	Presentation.....	165
13	Formulae.....	166
14	Texts.....	168
15	Vocabulary.....	174

## 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 mora	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
∅	dummy head pronoun	+	catenator

DEM IDF ∅ 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 · (not =) is used to join enclitics to hosts; when it is followed by a space or by punctuation, the enclitic is segmentally zero, but appears in the glossing.

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     *Wina'am Gbauŋ* (Kusaal Bible.)
- B1    1976. World Home Bible League.
- B2    1996. The Bible League/GILLBT. Text/audio at [www.bible.is](http://www.bible.is)
- B3    2016. GILLBT. Android application.
  
- G1    *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela*. 1989. Abokiba, Matthew M.
- G2    *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. 1981. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah.
- G3    *Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ*. 1988. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah.

These sources are cited as written, with a transliteration.

Bible references use the shorter forms from the Chicago Manual of Style; citations are from B3 by default.

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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 "Toende" part of this region from the eastern "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 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. The single rainy season lasts from about May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with some rice. Millet is used for the staple porridge, "TZ" in local English (Hausa *tuwon zafi*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional beer, "pito" (Hausa *fito*.)

Kusaasi belong to local exogamous patrilineal clans (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 **ƆƆƆ** "slogan" (part of its lineage), but clan names are not used as surnames. Clans have 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-daan** "earth-priest", taken as the heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the Mossi-Dagomba states dominated the region, kingdoms founded around the thirteenth century by invaders said to be from east of Lake Chad, who set up hereditary chiefs among subjects who still provided the earth-priests. Gbewa, the first king, ruled from Pusiga, where he is said to have been swallowed by the earth; in his sons' time the capital was relocated south, to Mamprussi territory. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this Mamprussi state. The Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku.

In other respects, Kusaasi culture shares much with neighbouring peoples. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba, Farefare and Mossi, including the long-sleeved smock called a "fugu shirt" in English.

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional animist outlook. The Creator, **Wɪn** "God", is invoked in greetings and proverbs; but proverbs also say

**Dìm nɛ Wɪn, da tɔ'as nɛ Wɪnné.** "Eat with God, don't talk with God."

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

**Wɪn nyé kà sin.**

"God sees and is silent."

God see and be.silent

Everyday life is instead concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called **wɪn**. A **wɪn** resides in a **bɔgɔr**, an object such as a stone or horn. A central figure is the **ba'a** "diviner", who seeks guidance for a client by casting lots.

A human being consists of a body along with **nyò-vɔr** "life", **wɪn** (here "spiritual individuality") and **kìkiris**, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three **kìkiris**, 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 **kìkiris** in the bush which try to lead travellers astray; their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers (W.) **Sɪg** "life force" is associated with a person's tutelary **kìkiris**; witches cause harm by stealing it. Most people have a **sɪgɔr** "guardian spirit", which is often the **wɪn** of an ancestor; **bɔgɔr** may also mean "a **sɪgɔr** inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's **sɪgɔr**.

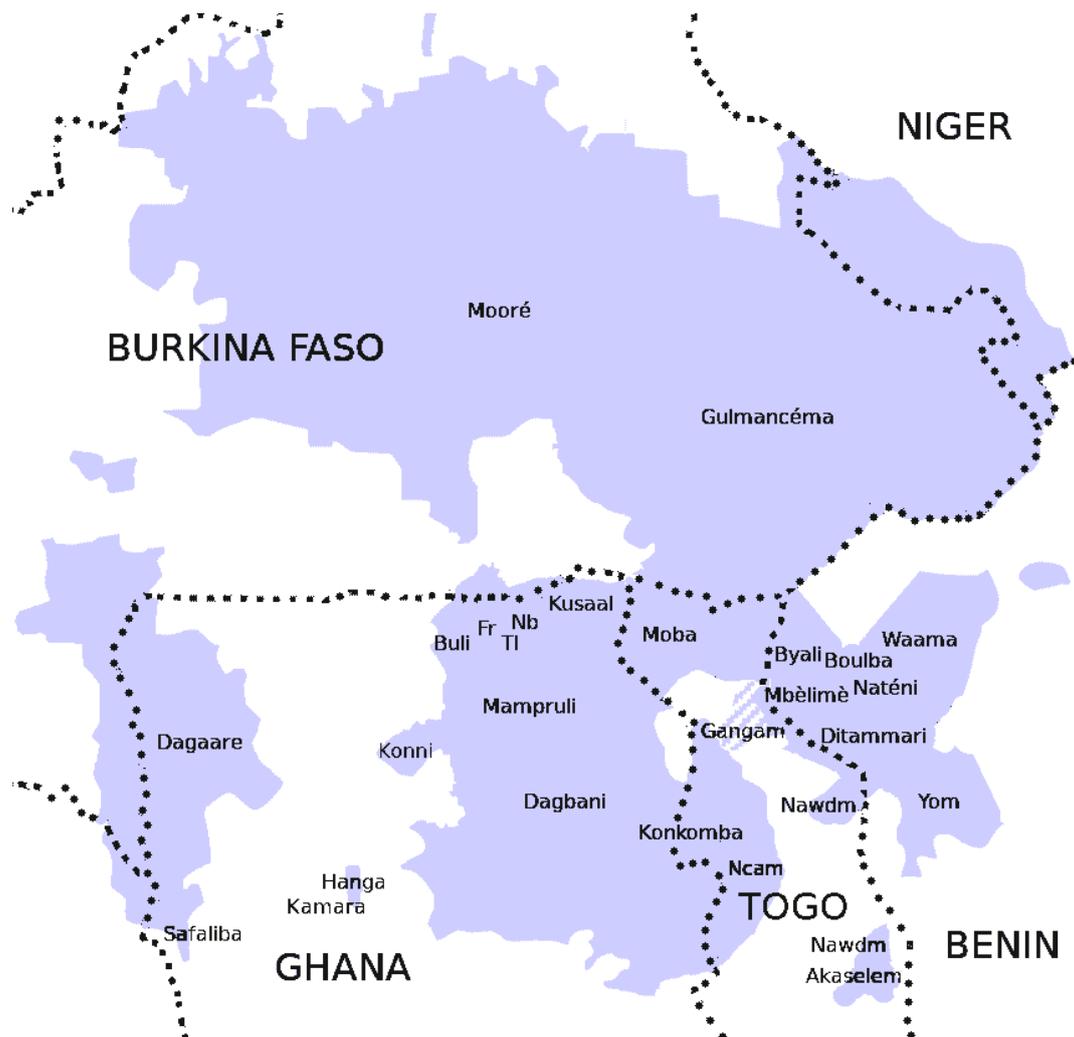
In the 1990's most patients attending our clinics in Bawku spoke Kusaal; about equal in second place were Hausa, the most widespread lingua franca regionally, and Mooré, the major indigenous language of eastern Burkina Faso. Few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. There were then about 250,000 Kusaal speakers; the number has since grown substantially. Kusaal is used for all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and serves as an areal lingua franca for the many local Bisa people. My first Kusaal New Testament was a gift from a local Mamprussi colleague who spoke Kusaal and did not know Mampruli.

Written materials remain few, apart from the Bible translation, which is much the most extensive written work in the language.

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 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%.

Kusaal belongs to the Western subgroup of the Oti-Volta branch of Volta-Congo. Its closest relatives are its western neighbours Nabit and Talni, followed by the close-knit subgroup of Mampruli, Dagbani, Hanga, Kamara and Yare; less close are Mooré, the Farefare and Dagaare dialect continua, Safaliba and Boulba. Western Oti-Volta is about as diverse as Romance; within Oti-Volta, it is relatively close to Buli/Konni and Yom/Nawdm, with shared phonological innovations, parallels in verb morphology, and lexical similarities. More distant are the Gurma languages Gulmancéma, Moba, Konkomba, Akaselem, Gangam and Ncam, and the internally diverse Eastern group of Ditammari, Naténi, Mbèlimè, Byali and Waama.

### The Oti-Volta languages



Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni

Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

## 1.2 Grammatical sketch

Most symbols have IPA values; **y** is [j]; **kp gb** are labial-velars; long vowels are written double; <sup>n</sup> marks nasalisation, ' glottalisation; **e ɪ** both represent [ɪ], **o ɔ** [ɔ].

The full range of vowels occurs only in roots. No CC clusters occur word-initially, and only **mm** finally. Nasal + C clusters appear between prefixes and roots; the only other word-internal clusters are **kk tt pp ŋŋ** (all written single) **nn mm ll mn**. Every syllable carries a high, mid (unmarked), low, or circumflex (high-low) tone.

Apocope §3 usually deletes the final vowel mora of any word not bound to the right (with final CC -> C), producing a "short form" (sf); but the last word heard in a negated clause, question or vocative retains its "long form" (lf):

Lì à nɛ gbɪgɪm.

3i be FOC lion

"It's a lion."

Lì ka' gbɪgɪmnɛ.

3i NG.be lion·NG

"It's not a lion."

Here the appearance of lfs is due to "prosodic enclitics", which lack segmental form, but show their presence in this way. The mark · is used to join hosts to enclitics; when it precedes a space or punctuation, as here, the enclitic is segmentally zero. "Liaison words" (which include all bound pronouns) also cause preceding words to appear as lfs, but with loss of quality contrasts in final non-root vowels:

Ṁ pɔ dɔgɛ.

1s NG cook·NG

"I haven't cooked."

Ṁ dúgɪ·bá.

1s cook·3p

"I've cooked them."

Ṁ pɔ dɔllá.

1s NG follow·NG

"I don't go along."

Ṁ dɔllɪ·bá.

1s follow·3p

"I go with them."

Some liaison words of the underlying form CV become C by apocope:

Ṁ pɔ dɔllí·fɔ.

1s NG follow·2s·NG

"I don't go with you."

Ì dól·f.

1s follow·2s

"I go with you."

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

Ì p̄ dól·o·.

1s NG follow·3a·NG

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

Ì dól·o.

1s follow·3a

"I go with him/her."

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

̀m zugú· zàb̀d la zúg

1s head·NZ fight.IPF the on

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

Ì zugú· zàb̀d.

1s head·+ fight.IPF

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

All flexion and all 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 **buvu** "goat", pl **buvu**; **ku** "chair", pl **kuvu**; but **nu** "mouth", pl **nuvá**; **no** "leg", pl **no**) and two unpaired non-count suffixes. Most unexpected pairings are explicable phonologically. The stem is itself a key part of the paradigm, because adjectives and demonstratives regularly compound with preceding head nouns: **buvu** "goat", **bù-pìelìg** "white goat"; **ku** "chair", **kùg-pìelìg** "white chair." Head-final compounds like **bù-kuvu** "goat-killer" can also be freely created.

"Two-aspect" verbs suffix **-ɛ** for pf aspect, **-da** for ipf, **-ma** for imperative. Morphophonemic complications appear: **ku** "kill", ipf **kuvu**, but **vul** "swallow", ipf **vun**. "One-aspect" verbs only have an ipf; they typically express stances (**di** "lie"), relationships (**mu** "have") or predicative adjectival senses (**gi** "be short.")

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

Noun-class-based gender has been replaced by an animate/inanimate system. The article *la* follows its noun; possessors precede: *m̄ bʊʊg* "my goat", *daʋ la bʊʊg* "the man's goat." Prepositions include *nɛ* "with", *wʊʊ* "like"; *nɛ* links NPs as "and." Liaison-enclitic *n* is the most general locative postposition: *bʊʊsi·n la* "to the goats." Certain nouns function as postpositions: *tɛɛbʊl la zʊg* "onto the table" (*zug* "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 tìsɪ·f bʊʊg la.* "We gave you the goat yesterday."  
1p TNS give·2s goat the

There are two "be" verbs: *bɛ* "exist" and *àɛ* "be something"; the negative of both is *ka'(ɛ)*. *Àɛ* is usually followed by the focus particle *nɛ*, and then becomes *à*:

*Lì à nɛ bʊʊg.* "It's a goat."  
3i be FOC goat

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

*Ò gòsìd nɛ.* "He is looking."  
3a look.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 *daa*, 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 bʊʊg la.* "He looked at the goat."  
3a TNS look goat the

*Kà ò gòs bʊʊg la.* "And he looked at the goat."  
and 3a look goat the

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

*Gòsìm bʊʊg la!* "Look at the goat!"  
look.IMP goat the

Clauses frequently have time/circumstance adverbials preceding the subject; conditional protases (with *yà* "if" after their own subjects) appear in this position:

*Fù yá' bòòd, m ná tisi·f buug.* "If you want, I'll give you a goat."  
 2s if want.IPF 1s IR give·2s goat

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

*M kúos buugv· tísì·f.* "I've sold a goat to you."  
 1s sell goat·+ give·2s

*Lì à nε buug lá kà m ʔyεt.* "It's the goat that I see."  
 3i be FOC goat the and 1s see.IPF

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

*Ànó'òní· ʔyéε·bá·?* "Who has seen them?"  
 who·+ see·3p·CQ

Clauses are nominalised with *ñ* (often zero segmentally) after the subject:

*day lá· ʔye buug la* "the man having seen the goat"  
 man the·NZ see goat the

Relative clauses are headed internally by demonstrative or indefinite pronouns:

*dàv·kàn búvgù· bòdìg la* "the man whose goat got lost"  
 man-DEM goat·NZ get.lost the

*fún ʔye bú·si'a yiigá la* "the first goat that you see"  
 2s.NZ see goat-IDF firstly the

Purpose and content clauses begin with *ye* "that" (less often, *kà*); in content clauses, contrastive personal pronouns are logophoric:

*Ò yèl ye on gós buug la.* "He says he's looked at the goat."  
 3a say that 3a look goat the

## 2 Sound system

### 2.1 Consonants and vowels

For phonotactics see §4.2. Symbols have IPA values except where noted.  
The consonant inventory is

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

Vowel-initial root syllables are optionally realised with an initial glottal stop.  
**h** appears only in loanwords.

**k t p** are aspirated word- or root-initially. Except after prefixes, written word-internal **k t p ŋ** represent geminates, but they are realised single in normal rapid speech; **ŋ** cannot be word-initial. Final **g d b** are partly devoiced, but still contrast with **k t p**. Velar stops are labialised before rounded vowels, backed before back vowels, and fronted before front vowels, for some speakers even to palatal affricates; they may represent palatals in loans: **tóklàe** "torch(light)", **sógià** "soldier."

**kp gb** are labial-velar stops. They do not appear before rounded root vowels. They may represent labialised velars in loans: **bákpàe** "week", Hausa *bakwai*.

**t d n s z l r** are usually alveolar, but **s z** may be dental or interdental; **l** is never velarised. Word-internal **s** is often realised [h], and may represent this sound 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 appear root- or word-initially, but **d** is often realised like **r** after prefixes or right-bound words ending in vowels.

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

**y** is [j]; <sup>n</sup>**w** <sup>n</sup>**y** are nasalised.

The term "vowel" will be used for both monophthongs and diphthongs.

There are seven short monophthongs **a e i ɪ** [ɪ] **ɔ u ʊ** [ʊ], and corresponding long vowels written with double letters. After alveolars and **y**, **ɪ ʊ u** are slightly fronted. Non-root final **e ɔ** represent [e] [o]. In 3a pronouns [ʊ] is written **o**. Diphthongs may be short, long or overlong. Symbols marked <sub>˘</sub> represent vowel sounds which do not constitute morae; word-initial **ĩ ũ** are laxer and longer than **y w**. Non-initial **e e̘ o** in diphthongs represent [ɪ] [i̘] [ʊ].

The primary diphthongs are

					ɪ̣a	ɥa		
					ia	ua	ɪa'a	ɥa'a
					iaa	uaa		
aɛ	ɛ̣ɪ		ɔɛ	uɪ	ɔɛ	uɪ	ɪe	ɥe
ae			ɔe	ui	ɔe	ui	ie	ue
ae								ɥa'e
ae							iee	uee
aɥ	ɛɥ			ɥ			ɪaɥ	ɥo
av	ɛo	iu					io	uo

Word- and phrase-internally before consonants other than **y**, **ie** **uo** are [iə] [uə] and **ɥa'a** becomes **ɔ'a**. Secondary diphthongs occur in liaison §5.4, where all final vowel morae become [ɪ] before the 2pS enclitic and [ʊ] before 3a; this [ʊ] is written **o** both within diphthongs and as a monophthong: **ɔɥà'o** "beget him", **kisó** "hate him."

Root vowels may be contrastively nasalised and/or glottalised.

Nasalisation is automatic after nasal consonants, except on short vowels *before* nasals. Elsewhere, it is marked by <sup>n</sup>, preceding ' but following all other vowel symbols: **gɛ<sup>n</sup>'** pf **gɛ<sup>n</sup>'ɛd** ipf "get angry"; **gɛ<sup>n</sup>** "get tired"; **tɛɛ<sup>n</sup>s** "lands"; **bɪaɥ<sup>n</sup>'k** "shoulder."

Glottalisation is realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first/only mora. It is marked with ' after that mora: **pɔ'ab** "women", **pɥa'** "woman." **Mà'àa** "only" has a unique overlong monophthong. Except in questions, word-final short root vowels glottalise before pause: **gɛ<sup>n</sup>** "tire" falls together with **gɛ<sup>n</sup>'** "anger."

All short glottal vowels not due to apocope precede **ŋ** or **m** in closed syllables: **la'ŋ** "set alight", **sù'ŋa** "well", **ni'm** "meat." Not all speakers have glottalisation here, and it is absent in Toende Kusaal and Farefare cognates. **Yam** "sense" (Farefare **yɛm**) and **ya'am** "gall" (Farefare **ya'am**) have fallen together as **yam/ya'am**.

## 2.2 Stress and tone

Syllables are (C)V(V)(C); except after prefixes, **k t p ŋ** represent CC word-internally. (C)VVV is disyllabic, dividing (C)V-VV. Stress falls on the first/only vowel mora of the roots of free words. Within phrases, any syllable which is not CVVC 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", **kovk** "chair" (unmarked), **kòk** "ghost", **nù'ug** "hand." Only CVVC syllables carry X. Enclitics of the form C close a syllable: **kà bà kî'e·m** "and they cut me." (C)VVV bears two tones: **nuáa** "hen" MH.

M corresponds to the 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, starting at their usual pitch. X falls from H to L pitch over two morae; the fall in prepausal H on CVVC is within the second mora.

HL on (C)VCV, where the second V is not word-final or a root vowel, is realised as H extending over both syllables, as in

Bà ka' di'esídìba·. "They are not receivers."  
Lì ka' mólìfò·. "It's not a gazelle."

vs Ò pɔ básì·fò·. "He hasn't left you." (word-final)  
Lì ka' dágòbìga·. "It's not left." (root vowel)  
Bà pɔ sjákìda·. "They don't agree." (k = CC)

Downstep is predictable, and will accordingly only be marked here. After H, the initial pitch of H and X is downstepped to the level of M:

̀M gós 'náaf la kpelá. "I looked at the cow there."  
̀M gós 'nú'ug la kpelá. "I looked at the hand there."

H (not X) is downstepped after M if the next following syllable is either CVVC, with any tone, or prepausal, with M tone:

Lì à nɛ 'púkòò<sup>r</sup> la. "It's the widow."  
Man 'bú-be'og ka'e·. "My bad goat isn't there."  
Biig la 'sá mèed yir la. "The child was building the house."  
Kà m̀ gɔs 'náaf la. "And I looked at the cow."  
Yɔ'gúm ka'e·. "There's no camel."  
Bà ka' 'mólìi·. "They aren't gazelles."  
Lì ka' bi-'pún̩a·. "It's not a girl."  
Ò pɔ yadì'gída·. "He isn't scattering."

vs Lì ka' púkòò<sup>r</sup>e·. "It's not a widow."  
Man bú-wɔk ka'e·. "My tall goat isn't there."  
Biig la sá mè yir la. "The child built the house."  
Kà m̀ gɔs náaf la kpelá. "And I looked at the cow there."  
Yɔgúm la ka'e·. "The camel's not there."  
Bà à nɛ mólì./Lì ka' mólìfò·. "They are gazelles."/"It's not a gazelle."  
Lì ka' bi-pún̩àa·? "Isn't it a girl?"  
Ànó'onì yadìgída·? "Who is scattering?"

### 2.3 Orthography

The orthography of texts differs somewhat from that used in this grammar. Tone is not marked.

Intervocalic *k t p* may be doubled; *ll mm nn* may be written single. G2 uses *ng ng nk* for *ŋ ŋg ŋk*. After prefixes or cifs ending in vowels, *d* is written *r*: *na'araug na'-dâvɔ* "ox." Final *ɥa* in loans is written *ia*: *dunia duniya* "world."

Before B3, *e o i u* represent *ɛ ɔ ɪ/i ʊ/u*; *e o* are also *e o* in diphthongs, and *oo* may represent *ʊʊ*. B3 has similar conventions to this grammar, but uses *i* for *ɪ* as well as *i*: *tiig tùg* "tree." Final *ɪ* after nasals is often written *ɛ*, epenthetic *ɪ ʊ* sometimes *e*: *bareka bârìkà* "blessing", *bēdegv bēdògv* "much." B3 uses *e o* for *ɛ ɔ* in *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ/ken* "go", and the pronouns *on oŋa*.

The mark *˘* is not used. Long *ae* is written *aae/aaɛ*: *paae pae* "reach." Short *ia'* is distinguished from long *i'a*, but *ɥa'/ʊ'a/u'a* are all written *u'a*; exceptions in B1/2 are *po'a pɥa'* "woman", pl *po'ab pu'ab*, *mo'ar mù'ar* "lake." Both *aɥ* and *av* can be written either *au* or *av*. B3 has *uoe voe uoy ieu ɔi* for *ue ve ɥey io ɔɛ*: *duoe* "raise", *sv'oe* "own", *suoya* "roads", *kpi'euy* "strong", *tɔi* "be bitter." Stems before lf §3 -*ya* are written like sfs: *tɔiya tɔyá* "be bitter."

<sup>n</sup> is written *n*: *gɔn gò<sup>n</sup>* "wander", *tɛɛns tɛɛ<sup>n</sup>s* "lands", *tɛn'ɛs tɛ<sup>n</sup>'ɛs* "think", *nyin nyin* "tooth." Before B3, *nn* was used word-finally (*gonn*), though *à<sup>n</sup>* "be" was simply *a*. <sup>n</sup>*Yae* "brightly" is written *nyain*.

Short glottal vowels are written long unless word-final in verbs: *ya'a yà'* "if" but *da' dà'* "buy." Free CV words may be written CV': *ya' ya* "houses." *Ka'ɛ* "not be" is written *kae* in B3, *kae'* earlier.

Contact changes §5.1 are often shown: *bɔmmɔr bun-mór* "rich person", *paa na pae na* "arrive"; however, diphthong changes in liaison §5.4 are often ignored.

Unless they resemble sgs, cifs §6.1 are joined to following words: *bɔkaŋa bò-kàŋa* "this goat" but *dau kaŋa dàv-kàŋa* "this man"; B2 often writes sgs for cifs.

Except for pronouns, enclitics §4.1 are joined to hosts: *ku'omine* "in water." Pronouns are written separately, except for 2pS and vowelless *m* "me" and *f* "you." Before B3, *m* was also written separately, and the mora before *f* was separated and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

<i>Fu dolli m.</i>	<i>Fò dólly·m.</i>	"You follow me." ( <i>dóllim</i> B3)
<i>M dol uf.</i>	<i>M̂ dólly·f.</i>	"I follow you." ( <i>dóllif</i> B3)
<i>M gban'e uf.</i>	<i>M̂ gbâ<sup>n</sup>'a·f.</i>	"I've seized you." ( <i>gban'af</i> B3)

3a "him/her" has a zero sf §3, but rounds the preceding vowel mora to **o**, which is taken as the pronoun itself and written separately:

<i>Fv dɔl o.</i>	<i>Fù dóllo·.</i>	"You follow her."
<i>Fv pɔ dɔl oo.</i>	<i>Fù pɔ dóllo·o·.</i>	"You don't follow her."
<i>Fv nyɛ o.</i>	<i>Fù nyéo·.</i>	"You've seen her."

Focus-**ne** and m/c-pf **ya** are joined to preceding verbs:

<i>Ba anɛ zɔn.</i>	<i>Bà à nɛ zɔn.</i>	"They are fools."
<i>O gaadya.</i>	<i>Ò gàad ya.</i>	"He's gone."

Here B1/2 write *eya* for *ya* after consonants.

**Nɛ** "with" is joined to preceding **wɛn** "be like" (as *nwɛnɛ* in B3) and **na** "hither" to preceding **kɛ<sup>n</sup>** "come": *kenna kɛn na* ipf.

Personaliser **à** §9.2 is joined to the following word.

**Bɔ zúg(ɔ)** "why/because", **dìn/lìn zúg(ɔ)** "therefore" and **àlá zúg(ɔ)** "thus" are written solid: *bɔzug* etc.

Word-final syllables before prosodic enclitics §5.3 are sometimes mistaken for separate particles, e.g. *win nɛ wunné* "god" Ex 28:2.

### 3 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can stand clause-finally has two surface forms, which differ in nearly all cases, the "short form" (sf) and the "long form" (lf.)

For example, "child" usually appears as sf **biig**, but at the end of clauses with negative VPs, questions (content or polar), or vocatives, it appears as the lf **biiga**:

Ò daa <sup>ny</sup>ye biig.

3a TNS see child

"She saw a child."

biig la nú'ug

child the hand

"the child's hand"

Ò daa pv <sup>ny</sup>ye biiga.

3a TNS NG see child.NG

"He/she did not see a child."

Ànó'onì· daa <sup>ny</sup>ye bíigà·?

who+ TNS see child·CQ

"Who saw a child?"

Ì biiga!

1s child·VOC

"My child!"

Sfs will be regarded as derived synchronically from lfs by apocope, though most lfs can be predicted from the sfs and flexion of lexemes, and some have been remodelled by analogy. Apocope reflects several distinct historical processes.

The rule for apocope is:

Final short vowels are deleted; then

final consonant clusters drop the second consonant

final **y** becomes zero after **ʋ/e/i** and **ɛ/ɪ** otherwise

Final long vowels drop the last mora; special cases are

ae -> aɛ

av -> aʋ

ui -> uɪ

ia -> ɪa

ua -> ʋa

## Examples:

Lì à nè ðuk.

3i be FOC pot

"It's a cooking pot."

Ðuk la bóðìg ya.

pot the get.lost m/c

"The pot has got lost."

Lì ka' ðukó·.

3i NG.be pot-NG

"It's not a pot."

Lì à nè ðukóó·?

3i be FOC pot-PQ

"Is it a pot?"

Lì à nè kuv.

"It's a chair."

Lì ka' kuka·.

"It's not a chair."

Lì à nè gbìgum.

"It's a lion."

Lì ka' gbìgumne·.

"It's not a lion."

Lì à nè yáarim.

"It's salt."

Lì ka' yáarimm·.

"It's not salt."

Lì à nè ðav.

"It's a man."

Lì ka' ðav·.

"It's not a man."

Bà à nè gbìguma.

"They're lions."

Bà ka' gbìgumaa·.

"They're not lions."

Kà ò sjàk.

and 3a agree

"And he agreed."

Ò pv sjáke·.

3a NG agree-NG

"He hasn't agreed."

Kà ò ðigv.

"And she's lying down."

Ò pv ðigváyá·.

"She isn't lying down."

Kà ò vov.

"And she's alive."

Ò pv vováyá·.

"She's not alive."

Kà ò pae.

"And he arrived."

Ò pv paée·.

"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 *mε* -> *mm*.

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

sɔ' kae gat Joon nè

sɔ' ka'ε· gát Joonε·

IDFa NG.exist·+ pass.IPF John-NG

"There is none greater than John."

Lk 7:28

Most sfs ending in vowels have lfs obtainable by prolonging them; long monophthongs do not change. However, most 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in *-ya*; for D (but not W) so do *sɔɛ<sup>n</sup>* "witch" and *saɛ<sup>n</sup>* "blacksmith."

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

No subscript appears for lfs obtainable by repeating the sf-final vowel symbol or removing *ɔ* from it, or by leaving a long monophthong unaltered:

<i>gbɪɔɪma</i>	lf	<i>gbɪɔɪmaa</i>	"lions"
<i>mòli</i>		<i>mòli</i>	"gazelles"
<i>pae´</i>		<i>paée</i>	"reach"
<i>d̩iá'</i>		<i>d̩iá'a</i>	"get dirty"
<i>p̩uá'</i>		<i>p̩uá'a</i>	"woman"
<i>dav̩</i>		<i>dav</i>	"man"
<i>dà'a</i>		<i>dà'a</i>	"market"

Lfs where *ia ua* become sf *ia ua* are specified separately, as the subscript notation would imply lfs in *iaa uaa*: thus *k̩iá'* "cut" lf *k̩i'a*, *z̩uà* "friend" lf *z̩uà*.

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

<i>biiga<sub>a</sub></i>	lf	<i>biiga</i>	"child"
<i>d̩ɔkɔ´</i>		<i>d̩ɔkó</i>	"pot"
<i>d̩ɪɔya´</i>		<i>d̩ɪɔyá</i>	"be lying down"
<i>s̩jàk</i>		<i>s̩jàkè</i>	"agree"
<i>yàar̩m</i>		<i>yàar̩mè</i>	"salt"
<i>gbɪɔɪm<sub>n</sub></i>		<i>gbɪɔɪm<sub>n</sub>ɛ</i>	"lion"

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

<i>v̩vɛya´</i>	lf	<i>v̩vɔyá</i>	"live"
<i>saɛ<sup>n</sup>ya</i>		<i>sa<sup>n</sup>ya</i>	"smith"

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:

kʊk <sub>a</sub>	lf	kʊka	"chair"
sia		siaa	"waist"
daɥ		dau	"man"
dʊk <sub>ɔ</sub> ´		dʊkó	"pot"
viid´		viidé	"owls"
nua´		nuáa	"hen"
taɥ <sup>n</sup> ´		táun	"opposite-sex sibling"

X on a CVVC syllable in the sf becomes H if the syllable is open in the lf:

nû'ug <sub>ɔ</sub>	lf	nú'ugò	"hand"
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Apocope-blocking is a feature of downtoned adjectives, a few nouns, and many quantifiers, ideophones and particles. The sfs do not show apocope. Final  $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ } \text{ɪ } \text{ʊ}$  (i u if the last preceding vowel mora is i/u), but  $m\varepsilon \rightarrow mm$ ; except on long vowels, final L  $\rightarrow$  M. Forms ending in short vowels make lfs by prolonging them, with M  $\rightarrow$  H unless M precedes: *bèdùgv´* "a lot", *buudi* "tribe." Other lfs add *-nè* (*né* after M) and are specified separately:

pamm	lf	pamné	"a lot"
mà'aa		mà'anè	"only"
gòllimm		gòllìmnè	"only"
"yae		"yaené	"brightly"
kòtòa		kòtòaanè	"at all"



4.2.1 Root allomorphy

A few words have CV roots, e.g. **zug** pl **zut** "head", **yir** "house", **vor** "alive", **bil<sub>a</sub>** "little."

Root diphthongs other than **ie uo** appear in **soɛ** "witch", **saɛ** "blacksmith", **ka'ɛ** "not be", **daɪ** "man", **taɪ** "opposite-sex sibling"; before consonants, these become long monophthongs: **soɔ** "witchcraft." Historically, they derive from **Vy/Vw**. Prior to monophthongisation, **wb** -> **p**: thus **dap<sub>a</sub>** \***dawba** "men." Many roots were originally **CVɹ**, monophthongising similarly before consonants, and also in 2vb pfs. Prior to monophthongisation, **ɹd** -> **t**, **ɹr** -> **r**: thus

<b>dòɔg<sub>ɔ</sub></b>	"hut"	<b>dòt</b>	"huts"
<b>liig<sub>a</sub></b>	"fall" ger	<b>lìt<sub>a</sub></b>	"fall" ipf
<b>gaa<sup>n</sup>s'</b>	"ebony trees"	<b>ga<sup>n</sup>r'</b>	"ebony fruit"

In nouns, analogical pls like **dòɔd** "huts" are common. 2vbs carry over the short vowel into the imperative. Most 2vbs formerly of this kind have been regularised. There are no CV-stem gerunds, though W has **wìd-lór** "place to tie horses", **na'-lór** "place to tie cows." **CVɹ** -> **CVd** before derivational **g**: **lo** "tie", **loɔɪg'** "untie"; **pu** "divide", **puɔɪg'** "share out."

**ɔ/v** become glottalised before derivational **g/s**: **yòɔlúɔ** "closed", **yò'ɔg** "open"; **vor** "alive", **vu'ug'** "revive", **vu'us'** "breathe."

Before pl **aa**, root-final modal vowels insert **y**, before which long vowels become short (§4.2.2, Set 4), but glottal **CV'V** -> **CVd**:

<b>tɪta'ar</b>	"big"	<b>tɪtada</b>
<b>pò<sup>n</sup>'ɔr</b>	"cripple"	<b>pò<sup>n</sup>dà</b>
<b>yv'vr'</b>	"name"	<b>yvdá</b>
<b>yu'or</b>	"penis"	<b>yɹoda</b>

Underlying **CVg** stems may show **d** by analogy: **mù'ar** "lake" pl **mùà'a/mù'adà**.

Some roots alternate **CVC/CVVC**. A few alternations appear in flexion, e.g. **piim'** "arrow" pl **pimá**. More appear in derivation, e.g. **kaal'** "count", **kalɪ'** "number"; **tuum<sub>n</sub>** "deed", **tùm** "work" (2vb); **tuvulúɔ** "hot", **tulɪa'** "be hot." **CVC** must appear before all derivational suffixes except noun-deriving **l**, e.g. **màal** "sacrifice" 2vb, **malɪma** "sacrifices" pl; **dɛɛna** "first" pl, **dɛ̀ɲ** "precede"; **tuvulúɔ** "hot", **tulɪg'** "heat." **CieC** -> **CɛC**: **kpi'ema** "strong" pl, **kpɛ'ɲ** "strengthen"; **liɛb** "become", **lèbìg** "turn."

In a few cases **CVV** + derivational **C** -> **CVC**: **yiis'/yis** "extract." **CVVg** -> **CVk**: **wìk** "draw water" (ipf **wìid<sub>a</sub>**); **tɛɛg'/tɛk'** "pull" shows **ɛ** for the expected **ɪa** before **k**.



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	<sup>n</sup> s	nn	f	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g.	gìk <sub>a</sub>	*gìgga	"dumb"	gìgìs pl
	bùt <sub>a</sub>	*bùdda	"plant" ipf	bùd pf
	sɔpɔ́	*sɔbbɔ	"writing" ger	sɔb pf
	dum <sub>n</sub>	*dumrɛ	"knee"	duma pl
	tan <sub>n</sub>	*tanrɛ	"earth"	tana pl
	gél <sub>l</sub>	*gɛlrɛ	"egg"	gélá pl
	kun <sub>na</sub> ́	*kulda	"go home" ipf	kul pf
	zɔn <sub>n</sub> ́	*zɔldɛ	"fools"	zɔlvɔ́ sg
	Bat́	*Barlɛ	"Bisa language"	Barɪś "Bisa people"
	wìefɔ	*wìedfɔ	"horse"	wìdì pl
	píufɔ	*píunfɔ	"genet"	piiní pl
	bùŋ <sub>a</sub>	*bùmga	"donkey"	bùmìs pl
	kìmmɔ	*kìmbɔ	"shepherding" ger	kìm pf

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

sg	tɛŋ <sub>a</sub>	pl	tɛɛ <sup>n</sup> s *tɛnsɛ	"land"
	kùlìŋ <sub>a</sub>		kùlìs *kulìnsɛ	"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 *wòmna* "hear." Some speakers keep **mn** in noun lfs (*gbìgumne* S "lion", *gbìgumme* W) but word-internal **mn** appears only in agent nouns: *tòm-tòmni<sub>a</sub>* "servants", but *bun-tómmìr* "useful thing" pl *-tòmna* 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 <sub>ma</sub>	ger	wòm <sub>mɔ</sub>	"hear (wòm)"
	tóom <sub>ma</sub> /tóomí <sub>a</sub>		tóoŋ <sub>ɔ</sub> /tóomú <sub>ɔ</sub>	"depart (tóom´)"
	kàrì <sub>m</sub> <sub>ma</sub> /kàrì <sub>m</sub> <sub>i</sub> <sub>a</sub>		kàròŋ <sub>ɔ</sub> /kàrì <sub>m</sub> <sub>ɔ</sub>	"read (kàrì <sub>m</sub> )"

W and D avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfs only as lfs or before focus-**ne´**. B3 sometimes uses unassimilated 2-mora-stem ipfs.

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

ipf	bùn <sub>na</sub>	ger	bunib <sub>ɔ</sub>	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgìnì <sub>a</sub>		dìgìnù <sub>ɔ</sub>	"lie down (dìgìn)"
	gò'ònì <sub>a</sub>		gò'ònù <sub>ɔ</sub>	"extend neck (gò'òn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with **mmm** -> **mm** and **llr** -> **ll**: *dàm* "shake", ipf *dàmmì<sub>a</sub>*, imp *dàm<sub>ma</sub>*; *kùg-dellá* "chairs for leaning", sg *kùg-delì´*.

Derivational **n** represents earlier **nn**: *vàbìn* "lie prone", Mooré *vabende*.

Set 4: vowel changes.

Before **y**, glottal-vowel second-mora **a ɔ u** -> **e**, **u** -> **i**, but long modal vowels shorten, with **ie uo** -> **je ue**:

sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'e <sub>ya</sub>	*sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'ɔ <sub>ya</sub>	"outdo"	sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'ɔ <sub>a</sub> ´ "outdoer"
tɔ <sub>a</sub> 'e <sub>ya</sub> ´	*tɔ <sub>g</sub> ya	"be near" (see Set 1)	
nèì <sub>ya</sub>	*nɛɛ <sub>ya</sub>	"be awake" (see Set 2)	
nɔ <sub>y</sub> á		"mouths"	nɔɔr´ sg
zɛ <sub>ye</sub> a		"hills"	zuor sg

Before  $g\omega/k\omega/\eta\omega$ , short root  $a\ i\ \varepsilon\ \iota \rightarrow V\upsilon$ ,  $ua \rightarrow \omega$ ;  $i$  is unaffected. Long vowels change second-mora  $a\ \varepsilon\ e\ \iota$  to  $[\upsilon]$ ,  $i$  to  $u$ .

$b\dot{\iota}a\upsilon^n k\omega$	"shoulder"	pl	$b\dot{\iota}a^n ad$
$y\upsilon\eta\omega'$	"single"		$y\upsilon n\acute{a}$
$b\dot{\omega}k\omega$	"pit"		$b\dot{\omega}'ad$
$d\grave{a}\upsilon g\omega$	"log"		$d\grave{a}ad$
$f\varepsilon^n'og\omega'$	"ulcer"		$f\varepsilon^n'ed'$
$kpi'o\eta\omega$	"strong"		$kpi'ema$
$viug\omega'$	"owl"		$viid'$

The epenthetic vowel is  $\iota$  by default, but  $\upsilon$  before  $g\omega/\eta\omega$ , or after a short rounded root  $V + g$ :  $wab\upsilon g\omega'$  "elephant", pl  $wab\dot{\iota}d'$ ;  $mal\upsilon\eta\omega$  "sacrifice", pl  $mal\upsilon ma$ ;  $y\upsilon g\acute{u}m_n$  "camel", pl  $y\upsilon g\acute{u}m\acute{a}$ . After open root or prefix syllables with short  $i\ u$ , epenthetic  $\iota\ \upsilon$  are replaced by  $i\ u$ :  $nulis'$  "make to drink",  $kugur'$  "stone."

Final  $ie\ uo \rightarrow ia\ ua$  (glottal likewise):

$k\dot{\iota}\grave{a}'\ l\ f\ k\dot{\iota}'a$	"cut"	ipf	$k\dot{\iota}'ed_a$
$k\upsilon a\ l\ f\ kua$	"hoe"		$kuod_a'$

#### 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, MH or MMH		
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 $n\grave{a}/k\grave{u}$ all-L otherwise

Any tones after H are L. All L flexional suffixes other than pf/cif  $\varepsilon$  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.

4.3.1 Nominals

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cif §6.1. Cifs are allocated tones prior to apocope of final  $\epsilon$ . Many cifs are remodelled after sgs, but the tones are unchanged. Prefixes are L(L) or M(M). L prefixes do not alter tps; after M prefixes, root L -> X/H, and in cifs M -> X/H too. In some compounds CV-stem cifs behave like prefixes:

zug-kvǫvǫr	zug-kvǫga	zug-kúg-	"pillow"
ka-wǣnnǫr	ka-wǣnna	ka-wén-	"corn"

Tp H lfs begin with

H if the first syllable is CVVC

MMH if the first two syllables of three or more are (C)VCV

MH otherwise

Any tones after H are L.

Examples (bracketed forms are lfs; word-internal  $k t p \eta$  represent CC):

sú'oŋ <sub>a</sub> (sú'oŋà)	su'omís	su'oŋ- (su'omé)	"hare"
saan <sub>a</sub> ' (saaná)	sáam <sub>ma</sub>	saan-	"stranger"
gǫt <sub>a</sub> '	gǫtí <sub>a</sub>	gǫt-	"seer"
sabíl <sub>l</sub> (sabíllè)	sabílá	sabíl- (sabulé)	"black"
sabílí <sub>a</sub>	sabílís		"black"
dvk <sub>ǫ</sub> '	dvǫvǫd' (dvǫvǫdé)	dvǫ-	"pot"
kugur' (kuguré)	kugá	kug-	"stone"
di'es <sub>a</sub> '	di'esídì <sub>a</sub>	di'es-	"receiver"

Monosyllabic lfs carry H, with sf M:  $ya'$  "houses", lf  $yáa$ ; see also §5.3.

Lfs ending in overlong vowels carry MH, with sf M:  $nua'$  "hen", lf  $nuáa$ .

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 CVVC:

níiŋ <sub>a</sub>	níis	*niinse	niiŋ-	"bird"
píuf <sub>ǫ</sub>	*puiufǫ	piiní	puiŋ-	"genet"
wáaf <sub>ǫ</sub>	*waagfǫ	wiigí	wa'-	"snake"

Likewise all tp H fusion-verb gerunds:  $náar$  \*naagre "finishing",  $dí'er$  \*di'egre "getting",  $pún'or$  \*pu'n'ogre "rotting."

A few root-stems show initial X on CVVC syllables, H otherwise, except with -a pls and cifs:

nû'ug <sub>o</sub>	nû'us	nu'-	"hand, arm"
nóbìr	nóbá	nób-	"foot, leg"
gélì	gélá	gél-	"egg"

So too à gâv<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub> "pied crow", gbêε<sup>n</sup>m "sleep", á<sup>n</sup>sìb<sub>a</sub> "mother's brother", kísùg<sub>o</sub> "hateful", and the gerunds só<sup>n</sup>sìg<sub>a</sub> "talking", gósìg<sub>a</sub> "looking", kìkírùg<sub>o</sub> "hurrying."

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

<sup>n</sup> yiríf <sub>o</sub>	<sup>n</sup> yirí		"egusi seed"
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With prefixes:

dàyuug <sub>o</sub> '	dàyuud'	dàyu-	"rat"
Bùsán <sub>a</sub>	Bùsâ <sup>n</sup> s	Bùsán-	"Bisa person"
zúnzav <sub>o</sub> '	zúnzaná	zúnzáv-	"bat"
gumpvzer'	gumpvzeyá	gumpvzér-	"duck"
pipirig <sub>a</sub> '	pipiris'	pipír-	"desert"
túntó <sup>n</sup> ríg <sub>a</sub>	túntó <sup>n</sup> rís	túntó <sup>n</sup> 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. Any tones after H are L.

sù'ug <sub>a</sub>	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
zàk <sub>a</sub>	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mòlìf <sub>o</sub>	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
pùgùdìb <sub>a</sub>	pùgùd-nàm <sub>a</sub>	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal <sub>a</sub>	sàalìb <sub>a</sub>	sàal-	"human"
mèεη <sub>a</sub>	mèεmìs	mèεη-	"turtle"
à <sup>n</sup> rùη <sub>o</sub>	à <sup>n</sup> rìmà	à <sup>n</sup> rùη-	"boat"
zìlìm <sub>n</sub>	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nòηìd <sub>a</sub>			"lover"
sìilìη <sub>a</sub>	sìilì(mì)s	sìilìη-	"proverb"
zàa <sup>n</sup> sùη <sub>o</sub>	zàa <sup>n</sup> sìmà	zàa <sup>n</sup> sùη-	"dream"
dàalìm	dàalìmìs	dàalìm-	"male sex organs"
nòηìlìm		nòηìlìm-	"love"

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

With prefixes:

kùkpàrìg <sub>a</sub>	kùkpàrìs	kùkpàr-	"palm tree"
samán <sub>n</sub>	samánà	samán-	"courtyard"

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

bùsg <sub>a</sub>	bùs	bù-	"goat"
tan <sub>n</sub>	tana	tàn-	"earth"
sìd <sub>a</sub>	sìdìb <sub>a</sub>	sìd-	"husband"
pɔ̀a'	pɔ̀'ab <sub>a</sub>	pɔ̀à'-	"woman"
gbìgim <sub>n</sub>	gbìgima	gbìgim-	"lion"
mèéd <sub>a</sub>	mèédìb <sub>a</sub>	mèéd-	"builder"
sìàkìd <sub>a</sub>	sìàkìdìb <sub>a</sub>	sìàkìd-	"believer"
mèédìŋ <sub>a</sub>	mèédìs	mèédìŋ-	"building tool"

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

pù'us<sub>a</sub> "worshipper" pl pù'usìdìb<sub>a</sub>.

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 yugudìré	pl yugudaa	"hedgehog"
"waan̩a	"waam̩isé	"monkey"
ban̩da	ban̩dìbá	"wise man"
kparìdìŋa	kparìdìsέ	"thing for locking"
gbìgimmé	gbìgimaa	"lion"
zɔɔmmé	zɔɔmaa	"fugitive"
tadìmm	tadìm̩isé	"weak person"

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

Lì à nε gbìgimméε/gbìgìmmèε? "Is it a lion?"

With prefixes:

dàkiig <sub>a</sub>	dàkiis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fɔfɔm <sub>n</sub>	fɔfɔma	fɔfɔm-	"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 enclitic pronouns:

Ò pɔ dʊgɛː.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pɔ dúgɛː?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dʊgí·lɪ.	"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 CC in 2vb stems.

ːyɛ	ːyɛt <sub>a</sub> ´	"see"
dʊg	dʊgʊd <sub>a</sub> ´	"cook"
kul	kun <sub>na</sub> ´	"go home"
yadɪg´	yadɪgíd <sub>a</sub>	"scatter"
mɔɔl´	mɔɔn <sub>na</sub>	"proclaim"
dɪgɪl´	dɪgín <sub>na</sub>	"lay down"
nɔk´	nɔkíd <sub>a</sub>	"take"
laŋím	laŋím <sub>ma</sub>	"wander searching"
pae´	paad <sub>a</sub> ´	"reach"
	dɪgɪya´	"lie down"

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

mè	mèɛd <sub>a</sub>	"build"
bùd	bùt <sub>a</sub>	"plant"
zàb	zàbìd <sub>a</sub>	"fight, hurt"
bùol	bùon <sub>na</sub>	"call"
bòdìg	bòdìgíd <sub>a</sub>	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋìd <sub>a</sub>	"do"
zàaːsìm	zàaːsìm <sub>ma</sub>	"dream"
	vèn <sub>na</sub>	"be beautiful"

Ò nà bɔdɪg.	"She'll get lost."
Ò kù bɔdɪgídaː.	"She won't be getting lost."
Ò nà vɛn.	"She'll be beautiful."

4.3.3 Derivation

Root-stem words reveal root tps. Irregular tp H corresponds to regular tp H elsewhere: á<sup>n</sup>sìb<sub>a</sub> "maternal uncle", a<sup>n</sup>síŋ<sub>a</sub> "sister's child"; gósìg<sub>a</sub> ger of gɔs "look." Normally, tp H forms have H derivatives and tp L/A forms have L/A derivatives; thus always with deverbal nominals. However, all verbs derived with **n** are tp A §7.4, and tp A nominals give rise to tp H quality verbs §7.3.

Tp A derivatives may be tp L and vice versa:

biig <sub>a</sub>	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"
nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	"chief"	na'am	"chieftaincy" (m-stem)

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

mɛɛb <sub>ɔ</sub>	"building"	sùŋ̀r	"help"
kùosùg <sub>ɔ</sub>	"selling"	zàa <sup>n</sup> súŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	"dream"
bòòd̀m	"will"	mèédím-taa	"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.

sɔŋ̀d <sub>a</sub>	"helper"	kpiilúŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	"dead"
bòòd̀r	"desirable"		
kùos <sub>a</sub>	"seller"	kuostd̀b <sub>a</sub>	"sellers"

Tp A verb instrument nouns are tp A: mɛédŋ<sub>a</sub> "building tool", kuosŋ<sub>a</sub> "seller."

## 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

Within VPs, verb-final **ie ue** are realised [iə] [uə] and other **Ve** -> VV, **V<sub>e</sub>** -> V, unless **y** follows; this is only noted orthographically with **à<sup>n</sup>** "be" and **ka'e** "not be":

**Dúe wɛlá·?** "(You) arose [duə] how?" (greeting)  
**Ò pàe na.** "She has arrived [pa:]."

**Mani· á<sup>n</sup> dú'atà kà fɔn mén á<sup>n</sup>.** "I'm a doctor and you are too." W  
 1s·+ be doctor and 2s also be

Within phrases, final short vowels denasalise before word-initial nasals; this is only noted orthographically with **kè na** "come hither" and **à<sup>n</sup>** "be" before focus-**nɛ́**:

**M á nɛ dú'atà.** "I'm a doctor."  
 1s be FOC doctor

Within phrases, initial C is lost in **lá** "the" after **r**, in focus-**nɛ́** after **d t n r l m**, and in **wà** "this" after any C, with [n l m] geminated:

<b>yir la</b>	[jira]	"the house"
<b>yòɔd nɛ</b>	[jɔ:dɛ]	"is closing"
<b>dìt nɛ</b>	[dɪtɛ]	"is eating"
<b>pò<sup>n</sup>r nɛ</b>	[põrɛ]	"is near"
<b>dɔl nɛ</b>	[dɔl:ɛ]	"is following"
<b>zàm nɛ</b>	[zam:ɛ]	"is cheating"
<b>zɔn wá!</b>	[zɔn:a]	"fools!"

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

Across liaison, **a a** is usually rendered [a], **ɪ a** as [a] or [ɪ], and **ɪ o** as [ʊ:].

## 5.2 Word-initial tone changes

After most word types, M-spread changes a following word-initial L to X on CVVC 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 §10.5 affects M-spread.

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

Bà tìs nâ'ab la búŋ.

3p give chief the donkey

"They've given the chief a donkey."

(bùŋ<sub>a</sub> "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 gɔs búŋ la.

but Kà m̄ "wé' bùŋ la.

M̄ dìgà bódiŋ ya.

but M̄ yugomá bòdiŋ ya.

"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 fù ò lì tì yà bà à*, linker *kà*, all forms of nominaliser *ñ* (including segmental zero), all prefixes *à* and all numeral prefixes have a fixed L tone not subject to M-spread. With no intervening pause, M becomes H before fixed L:

nà'ab lá· gɔs búŋ la

chief the·NZ look.at donkey the

"the chief having looked at the donkey"

All words followed by M-spread once ended in M. (ML -> MH, MX or HL §2.2.) Bound subject pronouns bore M (Spratt); H/L-final sg/pl sfs had a final M delinked by apocope. However, M-spread is now grammaticalised: cifs remodelled on sgs §6.1 are not followed by M-spread if they end in H/L: *lànniŋ-kàn* "that squirrel."

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: *daɥ la nâaf* "the man's cow (*nâaf*)." M-drop precedes tone changes due to liaison: *daɥ la pɔɔɔɔ·n* "in the man's field (*pɔɔɔɔ*')." "

Examples:

<i>bù-paalìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"new goat"	<i>nɔ-páalìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"new hen"
<i>bù-kùud<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"goat-killer"	<i>nɔ-kùud<sub>a</sub></i>	"hen-killer"
<i>nà'-biig<sub>a</sub></i>	"prince/princess"	<i>nà'ab bìig</i>	"a king's child"
<i>man yugùm</i>	"my camel"	<i>man gbìgum</i>	"my lion"
<i>daɥ la yugùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>daɥ la gbìgum</i>	"the man's lion"
<i>m̀ bìeyá yugùm</i>	"my sibs' camel"	<i>m̀ bìeyá gbìgum</i>	"my sibs' lion"
<i>mɔɔɔɔ·n yugùm</i>	"a wild camel"		

M-drop never follows free heads: *kug-yínnì* "one stone", but *kugur yínnì* "one stone", *kugur la* "the stone", *kugá piiga* "ten stones." It occurs only within NPs:

	<i>Bà tìs nâ'ab la bìig.</i>	"They've given it to the chief's child."
but	<i>Bà tìs nâ'ab la biig.</i>	"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:

	<i>Daɥ la bán bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"The man's ring ( <i>ban<sub>a</sub></i> ) has got lost."
	man the ring get.lost m/c	
	<i>Daɥ la yugùm bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"The man's camel ( <i>yugùm<sub>n</sub></i> ) has got lost."
but	<i>M̀ bìeyá bàn bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"My sibs' ring ..." (no M-spread)
	<i>M̀ bìeyá yugùm bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"My sibs' camel ..." (no M-spread)
	<i>Daɥ la sù'ug bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"The man's knife ( <i>sù'ug<sub>a</sub></i> ) ..." (no M-drop)
	<i>Daɥ la yugùdìr bɔ̀dìg ya.</i>	"The man's hedgehog ( <i>yugùdìr</i> ) ..." (three syllables)

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

<i>bù-wək dīb</i>	"tall goat's food"	<i>nɔ-wók dīb</i>	"tall hen's food"
<i>bù-wək-pièlìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"tall white goat"	<i>nɔ-wók-pièlìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"tall white hen"
<i>bù-wək-páalìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"tall new goat"	<i>nɔ-wók-paalìg<sub>a</sub></i>	"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:

<i>day la nó-páalìg</i>	"the man's new hen ( <i>nɔ-páalìg<sub>a</sub></i> )"
<i>fuug dôɔg</i>	"tent" ( <i>fuug<sub>ɔ</sub>'</i> "cloth", <i>dôɔg<sub>ɔ</sub></i> "hut")
<i>pù'usùg fûug dôɔg</i>	"tabernacle" ( <i>pù'usùg<sub>ɔ</sub></i> "worship")
<i>day la bìig bìer nâaf zùvr</i>	"the man's child's sib's cow's tail" W ( <i>biig<sub>a</sub></i> , <i>bier'</i> , <i>nâaf<sub>ɔ</sub></i> , <i>zùvr</i> )

### 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 *mɛ* -> *mm* [prior to *mɛɛ* -> *mmɛ*] and three-mora monophthongs reduce to two. Any resulting monosyllabic tp H lfs carry H:

<i>vom'</i>	"life"	lf	<i>vómm</i>
<i>tɔɔm'</i>	"disappear"		<i>tóɔmm</i>
<i>kúo</i> [kʊ:]	"kill her"		<i>kúo</i> *kʊo
<i>gaa<sup>n</sup>'</i>	"ebony"		<i>gáa<sup>n</sup></i> *gaa <sup>n</sup> ga

The negative enclitic ends VPs containing a negated/negative verb §10.3 §10.7. It changes lf-final L syllables to M; this rule applies after M-spread.

<i>Lì ka' dukó.</i>	"It's not a pot ( <i>duk<sub>ɔ</sub>'</i> )."
3i NG.be pot·NG	
<i>Lì ka' nóbìrɛ.</i>	"It's not a leg ( <i>nóbìr</i> )."
<i>Bà ka' mólìi.</i>	"They are not gazelles ( <i>mòlì</i> )."
<i>Lì ka' yàarimm.</i>	"It's not salt ( <i>yàarim</i> )."
<i>Lì ká' ò tùm.</i>	"It's not her medicine ( <i>tùm</i> )."
<i>Lì ká' bà da'a.</i>	"It's not their market ( <i>dà'a</i> )."
but <i>Lì ka' tùm.</i>	"It's not medicine."
<i>Lì ka' dá'a.</i>	"It's not a market."

Similar lfs appear in clause adverbials like *bo zúgo* "because", *daa-sí'ere* "perhaps", and sometimes at the end of *yà'*-clauses:

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

*Kìkirig yá' mār buude, fun tísò· kà ò lébìg ò mǎogv·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: *gòsìma!* "look!", *gòsìmì·yá!* "look (pl)!"; so too the greeting *ne só'sìga!* §13.

The vocative enclitic ends vocative clauses. It changes lf-final L to M.

It sometimes imposes a falling intonation on final M.

*M̄ pua' né m̄ biise·!*

"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 ne mólìi·?*

"Are they gazelles (*mòlì*)?"

3p be FOC gazelle.PL·PQ

*Lì à ne nóbìrè·?*

"Is it a leg (*nóbìr*)?"

Before the content-question enclitic, lfs ending in long vowels or in *-me* adopt the segmental form of the sf:

*Ànó'òni· ʔye nóbìrè·?*

"Who's seen a leg?"

who·+ see leg·CQ

*Ànó'òni· ʔye sù'vgà·?*

"Who's seen a knife (*sù'vga*)?"

*Ànó'òni· ʔye dukó·?*

"Who's seen a pot (*dukó*)?"

*Ànó'òni· ʔye mólì·?*

"Who's seen gazelles?"

*Ànó'òni· ʔyé·?*

"Who has seen?"

*Ànó'òni· ʔye bédùgú·?*

"Who's seen a lot (*bédùgú*)?"

*Ànó'òni· wòm·?*

"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'òní· ʳyé bà bìigà·?	"Who has seen their child ( <b>biig<sub>a</sub></b> )?"
Ànó'òní· ʳyé bíigà·?	"Who's seen a child?"
Ànó'òní· ʳyé zùéyà·?	"Who's seen hills ( <b>zùeya</b> )?"
Fù bôòd bó·?	"What ( <b>bò</b> ) do you want?"
Ò pù dúgèè·?	"Hasn't she cooked ( <b>dug</b> )?"
M̃ ná bòdìgèè·?	"Will I get lost?"
	(M̃ ná bòdìg "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 are liaison enclitics. They comprise locative **n**, nominaliser **̀n**, discontinuous-past **n**, 2pS **ya** and the object personal pronouns **m<sub>a</sub> f<sub>o</sub> o l<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> y<sub>a</sub> b<sub>a</sub>**; they are always preceded by liaison. Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns **m̃ fù ò l<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> yà bà à** and all words with prefixed **à**; liaison is only consistent after verbs, after 2pS **ya**, and before numeral-prefix **à**. Linker **n** is usually realised as zero with preceding liaison, and is then written as an enclitic.

Before liaison lf-final non-root short vowels become **ɪ**, which many speakers round to **ʊ** after **f** or a rounded vowel + **g/ŋ**. Final **-ya** is dropped; then final **ia** -> **ie**, **ua/ue** -> **uo**, and all other final **Ve/V** -> **VV**:

kʊk <sub>a</sub>	"chair"	+ n "at" ->	kʊkɪ·n
dʊk <sub>o</sub> ´	"pot"		dʊkí·n
pɔɔg <sub>o</sub> ´	"field"		pɔɔgú·n
gbà̀v̄ŋ <sub>o</sub>	"book"		gbà̀v̄ŋʊ·n
dà'a	"market"		dà'a·n
kù'om	"water"		kù'omɪ·n
ʳyé	"see"	+ n past ->	ʳyɛɛ·n
jà lf ia	"seek"		ie·n
gba <sup>n</sup> 'e´	"seize"		gba <sup>n</sup> 'a·n
pie´	"wash"		pie·n
due´	"raise"		duo·n
sʊ'e <sub>ya</sub> ´	"own"		sʊ'ʊ·n
vʊe <sub>ya</sub> ´	"live"		vʊʊ·n

Tì gósí bà biis.

"We've looked at their children."

1p look 3p child.PL



The pronouns *o* "him/her" and 2pS *ya* lose their entire segmental form in their sfs. Both completely override the vowel quality of the pre-liaison mora, creating secondary diphthongs.

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

<i>bòɔd<sub>a</sub></i>	"want"	+ <i>o</i> 3a ->	<i>bòɔdo·</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>jà</i> lf <i>ia</i>	"seek"		<i>í·o·</i>	lf <i>i'ó·o</i>
<i>zu</i>	"steal"		<i>zúo·</i>	lf <i>zuó·o</i>
<i>àɛ<sup>n</sup>ya</i>	"be"		<i>ao<sup>n</sup>·</i>	lf <i>àó<sup>n</sup>·o</i>
<i>pae'</i>	"reach"		<i>páo·</i>	lf <i>paó·o</i>
<i>pie'</i>	"wash"		<i>pío·</i>	lf <i>pió·o</i>
<i>due'</i>	"raise"		<i>dúo·</i>	lf <i>duó·o</i>
<i>zu</i>	"steal"	+ <i>ya</i> 2pS ->	<i>zue·</i>	lf <i>zue·yá</i>
<i>bè</i>	"be"		<i>bɛi·</i>	lf <i>bɛi·yá</i>

*ya* itself becomes *ní* before liaison:

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

*Dì'emɪ·ní·ba!* "Receive (pl) them!"  
receive.IMP·2pS·3p

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

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

Numeral-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:

*M̄ mór nɛ biisá àtá<sup>n</sup>.* "I have three children."  
1s have FOC child.PL three

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

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

Fù áá<sup>n</sup> ànó'ónè? "Who are you?"  
2s be who·CQ

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

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

ṗṗṗṗ <sub>o</sub> '	"field"	+ n "at" ->	ṗṗṗṗ <sub>u</sub> ·n
biig <sub>a</sub>	"child"		biig <sub>u</sub> ·n
yàad	"graves"		yàad <sub>u</sub> ·n
kuvdí <sub>a</sub>	"killers"		kuvdí <sub>u</sub> ·n

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

dṗg	"cook"	+ n past ->	dṗg <sub>u</sub> ·n
mè	"build"		mè <sub>u</sub> ·n
bòdìg	"lose"		bòdìg <sub>u</sub> ·n
yadìg'	"scatter"		yadìg <sub>u</sub> ·n
kuvdí <sub>a</sub> '	"kill" ipf		kuvdí <sub>u</sub> ·n
dól <sub>l</sub> <sub>a</sub> '	"go with"	+ ya 2pS ->	dól <sub>l</sub> ·      lf dól <sub>l</sub> ·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:

bòdìg	"lose"	+ ba 3p ->	bòdìgì·ba
dì	"eat"		dì <sub>u</sub> ·ba
yadìg'	"scatter"		yadìgì·ba
dṗg	"cook"		dṗgì·ba
kv	"kill"		kúv·ba
pae'	"reach"		páa·ba
bàs	"abandon"	+ o 3a ->	bàsò·
gɔs	"look"		gɔsò·

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

kυυd <sub>a</sub> '	"kill"	+ m <sub>a</sub> 1s ->	kυυdí·m
bàsìd <sub>a</sub>	"leave"		bàsìdì·m
yadıgíd <sub>a</sub>	"scatter"		yadıgídì·m
nòŋ	"love"		nòŋì·m
kυυd <sub>a</sub> '	"kill"	+ o 3a ->	kυυdó·
bàsìd <sub>a</sub>	"leave"		bàsìdó·
yadıgíd <sub>a</sub>	"scatter"		yadıgídó·

After m/c marking (which first changes all tones to L §10.5):

Ò bədìgi·m.	"He's lost me."
Ò bədìgo·.	"He's lost her."
Ò yədìgi·bá.	"He's scattered them."
Ò kυυ·bá.	"She has killed them."

Enclitics constituting a syllable carry M after L/H and H after M:

pəɔg <sub>o</sub> '	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pəɔgú·n	If pəɔgú·nɛ
yàad	"graves"		yàadì·n	If yàadì·né
kυυd <sub>a</sub> '	"kill"	+ m <sub>a</sub> 1s ->	kυυdí·m	If kυυdí·má
bàsìd <sub>a</sub>	"leave"		bàsìdì·m	If bəsìdì·má
yadıgíd <sub>a</sub>	"scatter"	+ ba 3p ->	yadıgídì·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 da'a·né·.	"She is not at their market (dà'a)."
Ò ka' dá'a·né·.	"She is not at market."

Enclitics bearing M on the sf change it to H on the lf:

Kà m̀ básì·ba.	"And I left them."
Kà m̀ pυ básì·báa·.	"And I didn't leave them."
Kà m̀ kúv·ba.	"And I killed them."
Ànó'ònì kúv·bá·?	"Who's killed them?"

Lf *o* "him/her" is tonally null, but *-ò· -> -o·o* before the negative enclitic by the usual rule, and *-o· -> -ó·o* before all prosodic enclitics. Final overlong vowels are assigned tones like *-VCVV*, so sf H corresponds to lf MH.

<i>bàsìd<sub>a</sub></i>	"leave"	+ <i>o</i> 3a ->	<i>bàsìdo·</i>	lf <i>bàsìdó·o</i>
<i>yadıgíd<sub>a</sub></i>	"scatter"		<i>yadıgído·</i>	lf <i>yadıgídó·o</i>
<i>bòòd<sub>a</sub></i>	"want"		<i>bòòdo·</i>	lf <i>bòòdó·o</i>
<i>nyε</i>	"see"		<i>nyéo·</i>	lf <i>nyeó·o</i>

*Ò nà baso·.*

"He will leave her."

*Ò kù basó·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 ke na yé ò tóm· tìsì·ba*  
 but 3a come hither that 3a work·+ give·3p

*M nók sú'ugò· kjà' nim la.*

"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 *à* 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 dítí bà dıb.*

"And they were eating their food."

and 3p eat.IPF 3p food

*bane na yel Zugsohi ba tuuma a si'em la*

*bànì· nà yel Zug-sóbí bà tıumá· à<sup>n</sup> si'em la*

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  $\varepsilon$  as a compound-initial form (cif) before other nominals §9.1. Cifs undergo apocope, but after non-nasal consonants,  $\varepsilon$  was formerly retained as  $\upsilon$ ; older texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for  $\text{nwad-bíl}_a$  "star."

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

The sg|pl suffix pairs  $a|ba$   $ga|s\varepsilon$   $gɔ|d\varepsilon$   $r\varepsilon|aa$   $fɔ|ii$  form five classes accounting for most count nouns; unpaired  $bɔ|$   $m\varepsilon|$  form two more classes, mostly of mass nouns:

$a ba$	$sɪd_a$	$sɪdɪb_a$	$sɪd-$	"husband"
$ga s\varepsilon$	$bʊʊg_a$	$bʊʊs$	$bù-$	"goat"
$gɔ d\varepsilon$	$viug_ɔ'$	$viid'$	$vi-$	"owl"
$r\varepsilon aa$	$nɔɔr'$	$nɔyá$	$nɔ-$	"mouth"
$fɔ ii$	$m̀̀lìf_ɔ$	$m̀̀lì$	$m̀̀l-$	"gazelle"
$bɔ $	$sa'ab_ɔ$		$sà'-$	"porridge"
$m\varepsilon $	$daam'$		$da-$	"beer"

Seven nouns referring to older/important people use  $ba$  as sg:  $nà'ab_a$  "chief", pl  $nà'-nàm_a$ . Language names use  $l\varepsilon$  instead of sg  $r\varepsilon$ :  $M̀̀ɔl$  "Mooré."

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class to avoid ambiguity. This has become regular with  $gɔ|d\varepsilon$  stems ending in  $m$   $n$ , which form their pls in  $aa$  ( $gbauɔ_ɔ'$  pl  $gbaná$  "animal skin"), as do all gerunds in  $gɔ$ .

Sg  $gɔ$  often replaces  $ga$  after rounded vowels ( $nû'ug_ɔ$  pl  $nû'us$  "hand"), and sg  $r\varepsilon$  often replaces  $a$  after stems in short V +  $l$   $n$   $r$  ( $B̀̀n_n$  pl  $B̀̀m_ma$  "Moba person.")

$a|ba$   $m$ -stems take pl  $s\varepsilon$  or use  $nàm_a$ ; some human-reference  $ga|s\varepsilon$  nouns also take pl  $ba$ ; countable  $m\varepsilon|$  nouns use pl  $aa$  or  $s\varepsilon$  or use  $nàm_a$ ; the small  $fɔ|ii$  class includes words with  $fɔ|ii$  suffixes in only one number; a few remaining irregular pairings mostly involve replacement of pl  $d\varepsilon$  by other suffixes.

The word  $nàm_a$  follows count cifs/mass sgs to make pls:  $kpè\varepsilon^m-nàm_a$  "elders",  $daam$   $nám_a$  "beers." It pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pls used as sg, mass nouns in count senses, and NPs with  $à$  §9.2; it is used to avoid ambiguous pls, and in

$mà$	$mà$ $nám_a$ <i>sic</i>	$mà-$	"mother"
$ba'$	$ba'-nám_a$	$ba'-$	"father"
$zùà$ $lf$ $zùà$	$zùà-nàm_a$	$zùà-$	"friend"

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:

zug <sub>ɔ</sub> '	zut'	zug-	"head"
kùkɔr'	kùkɔyá	kùkɔr-	"voice"
ta <sup>n</sup> p <sub>ɔ</sub>		tà <sup>n</sup> p-	"war"
gbavɔŋ <sub>ɔ</sub> '	gbaná	gbavɔŋ-	"animal skin"

Remodelling is not invariable (*kùkɔtita'ar* "great voice" Jn 7:28), particularly with cifs as dependents: *gban-záb<sub>a</sub>* "leatherworker."

Remodelled cifs are also used to avoid ambiguity, e.g. *kòlùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "sack", cif *kòlùg-* (*kòlɪg<sub>a</sub>* "river", cif *kòl-*); *lànnìg<sub>a</sub>* "squirrel", cif *lànnìg-* (*lan<sub>n</sub>* "testicle", cif *làn-*.)

Two nouns distinguish sg and pl cifs as heads (e.g. *dàp-sùmà* "good men"):

dav	dap <sub>a</sub>	dàv-	sg	dàp-	pl	"man"
ta <sup>n</sup> '	ta <sup>n</sup> p <sub>a</sub> '	ta <sup>n</sup> -	sg	ta <sup>n</sup> p-	pl	"opposite-sex sib"

The cif of *la'af<sub>ɔ</sub>* "cowry", pl *ligidi* "money" may be *là'-* or *lig-*.

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

màliak <sub>a</sub> '	màli <sub>a</sub> 'as'	màli <sub>a</sub> '-	"angel": Arabic <i>mal'ak</i>
gadɔg <sub>ɔ</sub> '	gat'	gad-	"bed": Hausa <i>gado</i>
lór	lòyà/lóom <sub>ma</sub>	lór-	"lorry"
màlìf <sub>ɔ</sub>	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: *duniya* "world", *duniyá-kàŋa* "this world."

Apocope-blocking is seen in many manner nouns §10.6.2. A few other apocope-blocked nouns may be loans from related languages without apocope §8.

Pronouns, adjectives and numerals once agreed by noun class, but gender is now simply animate or inanimate; the 3rd person pronouns continue the old *a|ba* and sg *rɛ* pronouns.

There is some correlation between class and meaning.

**a|ba** nouns all refer to people.

**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. 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 take sg **lɛ**.

**fɔ|ii** comprises animals along with small round things (including all seeds.)

**bɔ|** has only three members that are not gerunds: **sa'abɔ** "millet porridge", **ta<sup>n</sup>pɔ** "war" and **ki'tbɔ'** "soap."

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

Regular deverbal nouns have predictable class membership.

### Paradigms

Stems form cifs with the suffix **ɛ**. 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** -> **mm**. Most nouns show sg **-a**:

<b>sɪd<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>sɪdɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>sɪd-</b>	"husband"
<b>nɪd<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>nɪdɪb<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>nɪn- sic</b>	"person"
<b>kʊd<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>kʊdɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>kʊd-</b>	"killer"
<b>sàal<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>sàalɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>sàal-</b>	"human being"
<b>saan<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>sáam<sub>ma</sub></b>	<b>saan-</b>	"guest, stranger"
<b>yʊm-yô'ʊm<sub>na</sub></b>	<b>-yô'ʊmnɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>-yô'ʊm-</b>	"singer"
<b>pɹà'-sa<sup>n</sup>'am<sub>ma</sub></b>	<b>-sa<sup>n</sup>'amɪdɪb<sub>a</sub> sic</b>	<b>-sà<sup>n</sup>'am-</b>	"adulterer"
<b>pà'an<sub>na</sub></b>	<b>pà'annɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>pà'an-</b>	"teacher"
<b>gbàn-za<sup>n</sup>l<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>-za<sup>n</sup>llɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>-za<sup>n</sup>l-</b>	"book-carrier" K W
<b>gbàn-tar<sub>a</sub>'</b>	<b>-tarɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>-tar-</b>	"book-owner" D
<b>zà'-nɔ-gúr<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>-gúrɪb<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>-gúr-</b>	"gatekeeper"

Agent nouns from **mm**-stem 2vbs like **dàm** "shake" only have **nàm<sub>a</sub>** pls.

Agent nouns from 3-mora *s*-stems drop *d* in sg and cif, as do those from a few other verbs; many have *nàm<sub>a</sub>* pls. A few *d*-stems drop *d* in pl or cif only.

kùos <sub>a</sub>	kuosídìb <sub>a</sub>	kùos-	"seller"
sigis <sub>a</sub> '	sigisídìb <sub>a</sub>	sigis-	"lowerer"
dìs <sub>a</sub>	dìs-nàm <sub>a</sub>	dìs-	"glutton"
sòs <sub>a</sub>	sòsídìb <sub>a</sub>	sòs-	"beggar"
tìs <sub>a</sub>	tìsídìb <sub>a</sub>	tìs-	"giver" W
kis(id) <sub>a</sub> '	kisidìb <sub>a</sub>	kisid-	"hater"
zàb-zàb <sub>a</sub>	-zabídìb <sub>a</sub>	-zàb-	"warrior"
gban-záb <sub>a</sub>	-záb-nàm <sub>a</sub>	-záb-	"leatherbeater"
"wi-ték <sub>a</sub>	-tékìdìb <sub>a</sub>		"rope-puller"
wìd <sub>a</sub>	wìb <sub>a</sub>	wìd-	"hunter"
sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'ɔd <sub>a</sub> '	sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'ɔb <sub>a</sub> '	sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'ɔd-	"someone better"
ɔkpaad <sub>a</sub> '	ɔkpaadìb <sub>a</sub>	ɔkpa-	"farmer"

Stems in single *m* have sg *-mɛ* and pls with *sɛ* or *nàm<sub>a</sub>*:

zu'om'	zu'omís	zu'om-	"blind person"
kɔɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m	kɔɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m-nàm <sub>a</sub>	kɔɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m-	"elder"
bi'em	bì'em-nàm <sub>a</sub>	bì'em-	"enemy"

For *kɔɛɛ<sup>n</sup>m bi'em*, W also has the lf-only pls *kɔɛɛ<sup>n</sup>mma bi'em*.

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

Dàgban <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgban <sub>ma</sub> '	Dàgban-	"Dagomba person"
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Cf agent nouns in *ɔɛ|aa* from 1vb *ll/r*-stems §7.2.2. Some former CVV-stems have become *ɔɛ|aa*, e.g. *ɔ̀k̀d̀ɔ̀<sup>n</sup>r* "widow"; cognates in related languages retain pl *ba*.

Seven nouns end in a vowel in the sg sf:

ɔ̀a'	ɔ̀'ab <sub>a</sub>	ɔ̀à'-	"woman"
ba'a	ba'ab <sub>a</sub>	bà'a-	"diviner"
saa <sup>n</sup> (ya)	saa <sup>n</sup> b <sub>a</sub>	sà <sup>n</sup> - <i>sic</i>	"blacksmith"
sɔɔ <sup>n</sup> (ya)	sɔɔ <sup>n</sup> b <sub>a</sub>	sò <sup>n</sup> - <i>sic</i>	"witch"
dau	dap <sub>a</sub>	dàɔ-, dàp-	"man"
tau <sup>n</sup> '	ta <sup>n</sup> p <sub>a</sub> '	tau <sup>n</sup> -, ta <sup>n</sup> p-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pitú	pití <sub>a</sub>	pit-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds, *-pit<sub>a</sub>'* replaces *pitú*: *bì-pit<sub>a</sub>'* "younger child."

Seven nouns have **ba** in the sg, with **nám<sub>a</sub>** pls:

nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	nà'-nám <sub>a</sub>	nà'-	"chief"
yáab <sub>a</sub> *yaag-	yaa-nám <sub>a</sub>	yaa-	"grandparent"
pùgùdìb <sub>a</sub>	pùgùd-nám <sub>a</sub>	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
á"sìb <sub>a</sub>	a"s-nám <sub>a</sub>	a"s-	"mother's brother"
sàam <sub>ma</sub>	sàam-nám <sub>a</sub>	sàam-	"father"
dìem <sub>ma</sub>	dìem-nám <sub>a</sub>	dìem-	"parent-in-law of man"
dàyaam <sub>ma</sub>	dàyaam-nám <sub>a</sub>	dàyaam-	"... of woman"

### ga|sɛ

dèɛg <sub>a</sub>	dèɛs	dè-	"warthog"
"wadɪg <sub>a</sub> '	"wadɪs'	"wad-	"moon, month"
bù-dìbìg <sub>a</sub>	-dìbìs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kɔɪg <sub>a</sub>	kɔɪs	kòl-	"river"
kpòkparìg <sub>a</sub>	kpòkparìs	kpòkpar-	"palm tree"
pusig <sub>a</sub> '	pusis'	pus-	"tamarind"

After **aa ie uo**, **g** is deleted, with V fusion; sg **ia<sup>n</sup> ua<sup>n</sup>** correspond to pl **ɛɛ<sup>n</sup>s ɔɔ<sup>n</sup>s**:

baa	baas	bà-	"dog"
sia	sies	sjà-	"waist"
sàbùà	sàbùos	sàbùà-	"lover, girlfriend"
nu'-í <sup>n</sup> 'a	-ê <sup>n</sup> 'ɛs	-é <sup>n</sup> '-	"fingernail"
nua'	nɔɔs'	nɔ-	"hen"

After **a ÿa ɥa**, **g** is deleted and the vowel is glottalised.

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

gìk <sub>a</sub>	gìgìs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk <sub>a</sub>	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
bèrìŋ <sub>a</sub>	bèrìgìs		"kenaf"
yáaŋ <sub>a</sub>	yáas *yaagɛ	yaaŋ-	"grandchild"

Cf *kariŋ* pl *kariŋis* "head louse."

**Vúoŋ<sub>a</sub>** "red kapok" has pl **vuomís** by analogy: cf **vúor \*vuogre** "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 <sub>a</sub>	bùmìs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
naŋ <sub>a</sub>	namìs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'òŋ <sub>a</sub>	su'omís	su'òŋ-	"hare"
tɛŋ <sub>a</sub>	tɛɛ <sup>n</sup> s	tɛŋ-	"land"
pàŋ <sub>a</sub>	pàa <sup>n</sup> s	pàŋ-	"power"
níŋ <sub>a</sub>	níis/niimís	niŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ <sub>a</sub>	kùlì(mì)s	kùlìŋ-	"door"
piesíŋ <sub>a</sub>	piesí(mì)s	piesíŋ-	"sponge"
mɛɛdìŋ <sub>a</sub>	mɛɛdì(mì)s	mɛɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

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

kuug <sub>a/ɔ</sub> '	kuus'	ku-	"mouse"
sù'ɔg <sub>a/ɔ</sub>	sù'ɔs	sù'-	"knife"
nû'ug <sub>ɔ</sub>	nû'us	nu'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ <sub>a/ɔ</sub>	zùnzò <sup>n</sup> s	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
yù'ɔŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	yù'ɔmís	yù'ɔŋ-	"night"
zùu <sup>n</sup> g <sub>ɔ</sub>	zùu <sup>n</sup> s/zùu <sup>n</sup> d	zù <sup>n</sup> -	"vulture"

For unclear reasons, so does **pɛ'og<sub>ɔ</sub>'** "sheep", pl **pɛ'ɛs'**, cif **pɛ'**.

Some original **gɔ|ɛ** m-stems show **sɛ** rather than **aa** in place of pl **ɛɛ**:

yàmmùg <sub>a/ɔ</sub>	yàmmìs	yàm-	"slave"
à dàalúŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	à dàalí(mì)s	à dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'ɔŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	si'imís	si'ɔŋ-	kind of big dish
dìsúŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúŋ-	"spoon"

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

dàsaŋ <sub>a</sub>	dàsam <sub>ma</sub> /dàsa <sup>n</sup> s	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùa	-dàbùob <sub>a</sub> /-dàbùòs		clan name
Yàaŋ <sub>a</sub>	Yàam <sub>ma</sub>	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàamìs/Yàa <sup>n</sup> s		

Irregular in various ways are:

biig <sub>a</sub>	biis	bi-/bì-	"child"
bvtiŋ <sub>a</sub>	bvtis	bùtìŋ-	"cup"
sanjá	sansá	san-	"time"
wlɪsúŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	wlɪmís	wlɪsúŋ-	kind of snail
yalɪsúŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	yalɪmís	yalɪsúŋ-	"quail"

### gɔ|dɛ

Before *gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ* stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic *ɪ* to *ʊ* and rounding final morae of root vowels.

dàʊg <sub>ɔ</sub>	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fɛ <sup>n</sup> 'og <sub>ɔ</sub> '	fɛ <sup>n</sup> 'ɛd'	fɛ <sup>n</sup> '-	"ulcer"
gbè'og <sub>ɔ</sub>	gbè'ɛd/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbiog <sub>ɔ</sub>	dàbied	dàbjà-	"coward"
viug <sub>ɔ</sub> '	viid'	vi-	"owl"
mɔɔg <sub>ɔ</sub>	mɔɔd	mò-	"grass, bush"
wabug <sub>ɔ</sub> '	wabɪd'	wab-	"elephant"
balɛrɔg <sub>ɔ</sub> '	balɛɪd'/balɛɪs'	balér-	"ugly person"
bɛsɔg <sub>ɔ</sub>	bɛsɪd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dòɔg <sub>ɔ</sub>	dòɔd/dòt	dò-	"hut"
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So too *pɔɔg<sub>ɔ</sub>'* "farm, field", *fuug<sub>ɔ</sub>'* "clothing, shirt." Exceptionally, the sg has a short vowel in *zug<sub>ɔ</sub>'* "head", pl *zut'*, cif *zu(g)-*.

*gg* -> *k* and *ɯakɔ* -> *ɔkɔ*; *g* is deleted after *a ja ɯa*:

dɯk <sub>ɔ</sub> '	dɯgɔd'	dɯg-	"cooking pot"
laɯk <sub>ɔ</sub>	la'ad	là'-	"item of goods"
bjàɯ <sup>n</sup> k <sub>ɔ</sub>	bjà <sup>n</sup> 'ad(a)	bjà <sup>n</sup> '-	"shoulder"
lòk <sub>ɔ</sub>	lù'ad	lùà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

*dd* -> *t*; *ld* -> *nn*:

ùdug <sub>ɔ</sub>	ùt	ùd-	"piece of chaff"
zɔɫug <sub>ɔ</sub> '	zɔn <sub>n</sub> '	zɔɫ-	"fool"
sìlùg <sub>ɔ</sub>	sìn <sub>n</sub> /sìlìs	sìl-	"hawk"

mg/ng -> ŋ; m/n-stems use aa instead of de, except in *yammid* "slavery" and *làṅgáṣṅ* (or *màṅgáṣṅ*) "crab", pl *làṅgaamá* or *làṅgáam<sub>n</sub>*.

gbàṣṅ	gbàná	gbàṣṅ-/gbàn-	"book"
zúnzaṣṅ'	zúnzaná	zúnzáṣṅ-	"bat"
à <sup>n</sup> rùṅ	à <sup>n</sup> rìmà	à <sup>n</sup> rùṅ-	"boat"
nìn-gbìṅ'	-gbìná	-gbìṅ-	"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 *dìḡìnùḡ* "lying down", *sùnnùḡ* "bowing the head", *sà<sup>n</sup>'ṣṅ/sà<sup>n</sup>'amùḡ* "destroying", *kà<sup>n</sup>rùḡ/kà<sup>n</sup>rìmùḡ* "reading."

All pls take aa:

bu'osúḡ	bu'osá	bu'os-	"question"
zà <sup>n</sup> 'súḡ	zà <sup>n</sup> 'símà	zà <sup>n</sup> 'súḡ-	"dream"

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

#### re|aa

kugur'	kugá	kug-	"stone"
yugudɪr	yuguda	yùḡùd-	"hedgehog"
nóbìr	nóbá	nɔb-	"leg"
bì <sup>n</sup> 'isìr	bì <sup>n</sup> 'isà	bì <sup>n</sup> 'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlàṅìr	bàlàṅà	bàlàṅ-	"hat"
saṅḡónnìr	saṅḡónnà	saṅḡón-	"millipede"
summɪr	summa	sùm-	"groundnut"

CV(V)-stems make pl CV<sub>ya</sub> if the vowel is modal, CV<sub>da</sub> if glottal §4.2.1:

gber'	gbeyá	gber-	"thigh"
bier'	b̥eyá	b̥a-	"elder same-sex sib"
zuor	z̥eya	z̥à-	"hill"
nɔɔr'	nɔyá	nɔ-	"mouth"
zɔɔr	zɔya	zɔ-	"tail"
<sup>n</sup> yɛ'er'	<sup>n</sup> yedá	<sup>n</sup> yɛ'-	"next-younger sibling"
pò <sup>n</sup> 'ɔr	pò <sup>n</sup> 'dà	pò <sup>n</sup> '-	"cripple"
yɔ'ɔr'	yɔdá	yɔ'-	"name"
yu'or	yɔda	yù'or-	"penis"

Stems in \*ag \*εg \*ɔg may make analogical forms in -d-:

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bagrε</i> )
sjà'ar	sjà'a/sjà'adà	sjà'-	"forest"
mù'ar	mù'à'a/mù'adà	mù'à'-	"lake"

Stems with deleted *g* after a long vowel include fusion-verb gerunds like *gbá<sup>n</sup>'ar* from *gba<sup>n</sup>'e'* "grab", and also

vúor	vuáa	vuo-	"fruit of red kapok"
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Stems in *m n l r* assimilate the *r* of sg *rε*, as do stems in *ll* (unlike *mm nn*):

dum <sub>n</sub>	duma	dùm-	"knee"
yùum <sub>n</sub>	yùmà	yùum-	"year" §4.2.1
kpan <sub>n</sub>	kpana	kpàn-	"spear"
gél <sub>l</sub>	gélá	gél-	"egg"
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	"palm fruit"
bè-za <sup>n</sup> l <sub>l</sub> '	-za <sup>n</sup> llá	-za <sup>n</sup> l-	"goat-carrier" W

Irregular nouns:

daar	daba	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli <i>zari</i> )	za'	za-	"millet"
yir'	ya'	yi-	"house"
Mɔr'	Móom <sub>ma</sub>	Mɔr-	"Muslim"

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

Kvsâal	Kusaal	Kvsâas	Kusaasi
Bat'	Bisa language	Baris'	Bisa people

fɔ|ii

Before pl **ii** unrounded stem vowels become **i(i)**.

Several nouns show CVC/CVVC root alternations §4.2.1.

kief <sub>ɔ</sub> '	ki'	ki-/ka-	"millet"
(Mooré <i>muiifu</i> )	mùì	mùì-	"rice"
náaf <sub>ɔ</sub> *naagfɔ	niigí	na'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf <sub>ɔ</sub> *waagfɔ	wiigí	wa'- *wag-	"snake"
bielíf <sub>ɔ</sub>	biilí	biel-/biil-	"seed"
mòlìf <sub>ɔ</sub>	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyiríf <sub>ɔ</sub>	nyiri	nyir-	"egusi"

df/nf -> f:

wìef <sub>ɔ</sub>	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
la'af <sub>ɔ</sub>	ligidi	là'-/lig-	"cowrie" pl "money"
nif <sub>ɔ</sub> '	niní	nin-/nif-	"eye"
píuf <sub>ɔ</sub>	piiní	pɪn-	"genet"

Piini "gift" is used as a sg, with cif **piin-**.

Some words have **fɔ|ii** suffixes in only one number:

zíŋ <sub>a</sub>	zimí	zim-	"fish"
walŋ <sub>a</sub>	walɪs/walí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sibig <sub>a</sub> '	sibí	sib-	kind of termite
sii <sup>n</sup> f <sub>ɔ</sub> '/sii <sup>n</sup> g <sub>a</sub> '	sii <sup>n</sup> s'	si <sup>n</sup> -	"bee"
su <sup>n</sup> f <sub>ɔ</sub> '/suu <sup>n</sup> r'	su <sup>n</sup> yá	su <sup>n</sup> -	"heart"
kpá <sup>n</sup> 'ɔŋ <sub>ɔ</sub>	kpi <sup>n</sup> 'iní	kpa <sup>n</sup> '- <i>sic</i>	"guineafowl"

bɔ|

sa'ab <sub>ɔ</sub>		sà'-	"millet porridge"
ki'tb <sub>ɔ</sub> '			"soap"
ta <sup>n</sup> p <sub>ɔ</sub>		tà <sup>n</sup> p-	"war"

All regular 2-mora-stem 2vb gerunds belong here §7.2.1; **bb** -> **p**, **mb** -> **mm**, but **nb** does not assimilate: **sɔp<sub>ɔ</sub>'** "writing", **wɔm<sub>mɔ</sub>** "hearing", **bunib<sub>ɔ</sub>** "reaping."

The only 3-mora stem is **yiisí<sub>ɔ</sub>**, the gerund of **yiis'** "make emerge."

mɛ|

daam´	da-	"millet beer"
mèlìgìm		"dew"
du'uním	du'un-	"urine"
dàalìm		"masculinity"
yàarìm	yàar-	"salt"
zaa <sup>n</sup> sím	zaa <sup>n</sup> s-	"soup"

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

puum´		puum-	"flowers"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
piim´	pimá	pim-	"arrow" §4.2.1

**Piim´** is a remnant of an old **ɔ|ɛ** class.

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 **fu-píelìg<sub>a</sub>** or **fu-píelì**. For W, gradable adjectives with sg **ga rɛ gɔ** successively imply less intensity, so that **fu-píelìg<sub>a</sub>** is "whiter" than **fu-píelì**, but D specifically denied any difference.

**fɔ|i** and **bɔ|** never appear with adjectives, and all cases of **a|ba** and **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 adjectives show both **ga|sɛ** and **gɔ|dɛ** suffixes:

zì <sup>n</sup> 'a/zè <sup>n</sup> 'og <sub>ɔ</sub>	zè <sup>n</sup> 'ɛs/zè <sup>n</sup> 'ɛd or zè <sup>n</sup> dà	zià <sup>n</sup> '-/zè <sup>n</sup> '-	"red"
bi'a/be'og <sub>ɔ</sub> or be'ɛd	bi'es/be'ɛd or bè'ɛd-nàm <sub>a</sub>	bjà <sup>n</sup> '-/bè <sup>n</sup> '-	"bad"

Other multi-class adjectives take **rɛ|aa** and either **ga|sɛ** or **gɔ|dɛ** but not both. **Ga**-type adjectives include:

wàbìg <sub>a</sub> /wàbìr	wàbìs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìg <sub>a</sub> /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	"beautiful"
sabílìg <sub>a</sub> /sabílì	sabílìs/sabulá	sabul-	"black"

Like *sabúlg<sub>a</sub>* are *paalíg<sub>a</sub>* "new", *bàanlìg<sub>a</sub>* "slim", *pìelìg<sub>a</sub>* "white." *Vè<sup>n</sup>llìg<sub>a</sub>* "beautiful" does not use sg *rɛ*; *wennur* "resembling", *záalɪ* "empty" do not use *ga*.

Stems in *m n* do not use *rɛ*; stems in *s d* do not use *sɛ*; *sm*-stems do not use *aa*:

<i>dɛɛŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>dɛɛ<sup>n</sup>s/dɛɛmɪs</i> or <i>dɛɛna</i>	<i>dɛɛŋ-</i>	"first"
<i>gìŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i>gima</i>	<i>gìŋ-</i>	"short"
<i>bʊgʊsíg<sub>a</sub>/bʊgʊsír</i>	<i>bʊgʊsá</i>	<i>bʊgʊs-</i>	"soft"
<i>pòɔdìg<sub>a</sub>/pòɔdìr</i>	<i>pòɔdà</i>	<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"
<i><sup>n</sup>yèɛsíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	<i><sup>n</sup>yèɛnsís</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>yèɛsíŋ-</i>	"bold"

Like *bʊgʊsír* are *ma'asír* "cool", *malɪsír* "sweet", *tɛbɪsír* "heavy", *labɪsír* "wide"; like *<sup>n</sup>yèɛsíŋ<sub>a</sub>* are *vè<sup>n</sup>llìŋ<sub>a</sub>* "beautiful", *malɪsíŋ<sub>a</sub>* "pleasant", *lallìŋ<sub>a</sub>* "distant."

*Zùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>* pl *zùv<sup>n</sup>s/zùnà* "foreign" has sg *gɔ* for *ga* due to its rounded root vowel.

Pl *sɛ* is often preferred to *aa* for human reference, e.g. *nin-sábìlìs* "Africans."

*Gɔ*-type adjectives do not use pl *dɛ*, except for a few 2-mora stems:

<i>nèog<sub>ɔ</sub>/nèɛr</i>	<i>nèɛd/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìug<sub>ɔ</sub>/wìir</i>	<i>wìid/wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wɔk<sub>ɔ</sub> /wa'ar'</i>	<i>wa'ad' /wá'a</i>	<i>wa'-/wɔk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kʊdʊg<sub>ɔ</sub>/kʊdɪr</i>	<i>kʊt/kʊda</i>	<i>kʊd-</i>	"old"
but <i>bèdùg<sub>ɔ</sub>/bèdìr</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>tɪta'ʊg<sub>ɔ</sub>/tɪta'ar</i>	<i>tɪtada</i>	<i>tɪtá'-</i>	"big"

*Vur'* "alive" pl *vʊyá* cif *vur-* has pl *vʊt'* in predicative uses. *Zyà-wìis* "Red Zoose clan" shows an exceptional pl *sɛ*.

Stems in *l m n r s* do not use *rɛ*:

<i>sùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub></i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>yɪŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>'</i>	<i>yɪná</i>		"single (of pair)"
<i>kísùg<sub>ɔ</sub></i>	<i>kisá</i>	<i>kis-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàŋ<sub>ɔ</sub></i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàŋŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpi'oŋ<sub>ɔ</sub></i>	<i>kpi'ema</i>	<i>kpi'oŋŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub></i>	<i>zùlìmà</i>	<i>zùlùŋŋ-</i>	"deep"

So too *pò<sup>n</sup>rùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "near", *mì'isùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "sour", *zemmúg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "equal", *tʊsùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "hot", *lallùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "far", *yàlùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>* "wide", *<sup>n</sup>yalùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>* "wonderful", *narùŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>* "necessary", *zu-péelùg<sub>ɔ</sub>* "bald" and all pf deverbal adjectives in *lm*.

Pf deverbal adjectives have variant forms without **m** for K (not W):

kp̄iilúŋ <sub>o</sub> /kp̄iilùg <sub>o</sub>	kp̄iilímà	kp̄iilúŋ-	"dead"
gεε <sup>n</sup> lúŋ <sub>o</sub> /gεε <sup>n</sup> lúg <sub>o</sub>	gεε <sup>n</sup> límà	gεε <sup>n</sup> lúŋ-	"tired"
pè'elúŋ <sub>o</sub>	pè'el(ím)à	pè'elúŋ-	"full"

Ip̄f deverbal adjectives are **ga**-type for W, **go**-type for K; pl is always **aa**. Stems in **g k ŋ ll mm r** are simply **re|aa**.

or	kuvdír	kuvdá	kuvd-	"murderous; liable to be killed"
	kuvdíg <sub>a</sub> /kuvdúg <sub>o</sub>			
	sinnír/sinníg <sub>a</sub>	sinná	sin-	"silent"
	bun-túlìgìr	-túlìgà		"heating thing"
	<sup>n</sup> wi-tékìr	-tékà	-ték-	"pulling-rope"
	bun-súŋìr	-súŋà		"helpful thing"
	tummír	tumma/tumna	tùm-	"working, helpful"
	kòg-delí'	-dellá		"chair for leaning on"

Ip̄f adjectives from 4-mora **m**-stems take sg **ga** or **go** (never **re**), pl **aa**; they may drop **m** in the pl: **nin-pú'alìŋ<sub>a</sub>** pl **nin-pú'alímà** "harmful person"; **nin-záa<sup>n</sup>sùŋ<sub>o</sub>** pl **nin-záa<sup>n</sup>sà** "dreamy person."

A few adjectives are single-class without any morphophonological explanation:

p̄ak <sub>a</sub>	p̄'as	p̄à'-	"female" (human)
<sup>n</sup> yá'aŋ <sub>a</sub>	<sup>n</sup> yá'as/ <sup>n</sup> ya'amís	<sup>n</sup> ya'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
daug <sub>o</sub>	daad	dà-	"male"
tɔɔg <sub>o</sub>	tɔɔd	tò-	"bitter"
lam-fôɔg <sub>o</sub>	lam-fôɔd		"toothless"
màʊk <sub>o</sub>	mà'ad		"crumpled up"
<sup>n</sup> yàʊk <sub>o</sub>	<sup>n</sup> yà'ad		"single (of eyes)"
bíel <sub>l</sub>	bielá		"naked"
yummír	yummá	yum-	"unique, sole"

An old diminutive-class sg **la** appears in

bil <sub>a</sub>	bibis	bì(l)-	"little"
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## 6.3 Verbs

Two-aspect verbs (2vbs) are the great majority. Their flexions are pf  $\epsilon$ , ipf  $da$ , and  $ma$  for imperative with m/c tone overlay §10.5; forms will be cited in that order.

Straightforward examples are

$g\grave{o}^n$	$g\grave{o}^n d_a$	$g\grave{o}^n m_a$	"hunt"
$k\grave{i}\grave{a}' l f k\grave{i}'a$	$k\grave{i}'e d_a$	$k\grave{i}'e m_a$	"cut"
$p\grave{i}\grave{a}^n'$	$p\grave{i}\grave{a}^n' a d_a'$	$p\grave{i}\grave{a}^n' a m_a$	"speak; praise"
$y a d\grave{i}g'$	$y a d\grave{i}g\grave{i} d_a$	$y a d\grave{i}g\grave{i} m_a$	"scatter"
$n\grave{o}k'$	$n\grave{o}k\grave{i} d_a$	$n\grave{o}k\grave{i} m_a$	"take"
$g a \eta'$	$g a \eta\grave{i} d_a$	$g a \eta\grave{i} m_a$	"choose"
$k p \grave{a} r$	$k p \grave{a} r\grave{i} d_a$	$k p \grave{a} r\grave{i} m_a$	"lock"
$s i g i s'$	$s i g i s\grave{i} d_a$	$s i g i s\grave{i} m_a$	"lower"

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

$d\grave{i}$	$d\grave{i} t_a$	$d\grave{i} m_a$	"eat"
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Likewise  $^n y \epsilon$  "see",  $l\grave{i}/l\grave{u}$  "fall",  $d\upsilon$  "go up",  $y\grave{i}$  "go/come out",  $z\grave{o}$  "run."  
 $dd \rightarrow t$ ;  $ld \rightarrow nn$ :

$b\grave{u}d$	$b\grave{u}t_a$	$b\grave{u}d\grave{i} m_a$	"plant"
$g\grave{a}ad$	$g\grave{a}t_a$ <i>sic</i>	$g\grave{a}ad\grave{i} m_a$	"pass"
$v\grave{u}l$	$v\grave{u}n_{na}'$	$v\grave{u}l\grave{i} m_a$	"swallow"
$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}l'$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}n_{na}$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}l\grave{i} m_a$	"lay down"

B3 has some variant ipfs like *satid* from *sad* "slip." A new pf  $k\acute{o}t$  has been extracted from *k\acute{o}tid* "slaughter."

$bm \rightarrow mm$  with 2-mora stems only:

$l\grave{e}b$	$l\grave{e}b\grave{i} d_a$	$l\grave{e}m_{ma}$	"return"
$l\grave{i}e b$	$l\grave{i}e b\grave{i} d_a$	$l\grave{i}e b\grave{i} m_a$	"become"

$nd \rightarrow nn$  with 2-mora stems only:

$b\grave{u}n$	$b\grave{u}n_{na}$	$b\grave{u}n\grave{i} m_a$	"reap"
$g\grave{o}'\acute{o}n$	$g\grave{o}'\acute{o}n\grave{i} d_a$	$g\grave{o}'\acute{o}n\grave{i} m_a$	"extend neck"
$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}n$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}n\grave{i} d_a$	$d\grave{i}g\grave{i}n\grave{i} m_a$	"lie down"
$s\grave{u}n_n$	$s\grave{u}n\grave{i} d_a$	$s\grave{u}n\grave{i} m_a$	"bow head"

**md** -> **mm** is optional with 3-mora stems, and in B3, sometimes 2-mora; it does not occur with **mm**-stems:

tùm	tùm <sub>ma</sub>	tùm <sub>ma</sub>	"work"
kàrìm	kàrìm <sub>ma</sub> /kàrìmìd <sub>a</sub>	kàrìm <sub>ma</sub>	"read"
tɔɔm´	tɔɔm <sub>ma</sub> /tɔɔmìd <sub>a</sub>	tòɔm <sub>ma</sub>	"depart"
lèm	lèmmìd <sub>a</sub>	lèm <sub>ma</sub>	"sip, taste"
sìlìm	sìlìm <sub>ma</sub>	sìlìm <sub>ma</sub>	"cite proverbs"

Like **tùm** are **wòm** "hear", **kìm** "herd animals", **dùm** "bite"; like **lèm** are **tàm** "forget", **zàm** "cheat", **dàm** "shake."

Fusion verbs delete **g** after **aa ie uo** §4.2.2, with tonal effects in gerunds §4.3.1. The change **ie<sup>n</sup> uo<sup>n</sup> -> εε<sup>n</sup> ɔɔ<sup>n</sup>** before C is usually blocked.

fae <sup>n</sup> ´	faa <sup>n</sup> d <sub>a</sub> ´	fàa <sup>n</sup> m <sub>a</sub>	"save"
di'e´	di'ed <sub>a</sub> ´	dì'em <sub>a</sub>	"get, receive"
sue <sup>n</sup> ´	suo <sup>n</sup> d <sub>a</sub> ´/sɔɔ <sup>n</sup> d <sub>a</sub> ´	sùo <sup>n</sup> m <sub>a</sub>	"anoint"

A few 2vbs drop derivational **g** in the ipf:

wìk	wiìd <sub>a</sub>	wìkìm <sub>a</sub>	"fetch water" §4.2.1
jà <sup>n</sup> k´	jà <sup>n</sup> 'ad <sub>a</sub> ´	jà <sup>n</sup> kìm <sub>a</sub>	"leap, fly"
gilig´	gin <sub>na</sub> ´	gìligìm <sub>a</sub>	"go around"
kεŋ´	kεŋ <sub>na</sub> ´	kèmm <sub>a</sub> sic	"go"

Other stem-final consonants drop in the ipf in

yèl	yèt <sub>a</sub>	yèlìm <sub>a</sub>	"say"
gɔs	gɔsìd <sub>a</sub> ´/gɔt <sub>a</sub> ´	gò(sì)m <sub>a</sub>	"look"
tìs/tì·	tìsìd <sub>a</sub> /tìt <sub>a</sub>	tìsìm <sub>a</sub>	"give"

Only two 2vbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

ke	kεt <sub>a</sub> ´	kèl <sub>a</sub>	"let, allow"
ke <sup>n</sup>	kεn <sub>a</sub> ´	kèmm <sub>a</sub>	"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  $\varepsilon$ :  $mi'$  "know",  $zi'$  "not know",  $bè$  "exist",  $ka'è$  "not be",  $tu^n'e$  "be able",  $nòŋ$  "love." M/c-pf  $ya$  never follows, and tone sandhi is as for ipfs §5.2.  $Nòŋ$  is the only 1vb with a m/c-imp,  $nòŋim_a$ ; the agent noun  $nòŋid_a$  is tp L.

Most 1vbs have the flexion  $ya$ , e.g.  $àè^n_ya$  "be something",  $təè_ya'$  "be bitter",  $dɪgɪ_ya'$  "lie down",  $vabɪ_ya'$  "lie prone." Long vowels undergo second-mora fronting before  $ya$ , e.g.  $wà'e_ya$  "travel",  $sɔ^n'e_ya'$  "be better than." There is assimilation of  $dy \rightarrow r$ ,  $ly \rightarrow ll$ ,  $my \rightarrow mm$ ,  $ny \rightarrow nn$ ,  $sy \rightarrow s$ , e.g.  $mɔr_a'$  "have",  $dɛlɪ_a'$  "(person) lean",  $sùm_ma$  "be good",  $nɛn_na'$  "envy",  $kis_a'$  "hate." Any consonant assimilations are carried over into deverbal nominals, and derivational  $d$  is dropped. 3-mora stems take  $a$ , e.g.  $pòɔd_a$  "be few",  $kpi'em_a'$  "be strong",  $zùlì_m_a$  "be deep",  $ma'as_a'$  "be cool." W doubles stem-final  $m$  by analogy, with no tone change: lf  $kpi'em_má$  "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:

$Ò zì^n'i \varepsilon.$	"She's sitting down." ( $zì^n'i_ya$ )
$Ò pɔ zí^n'ida/zí^n'inìda.$	"She doesn't sit down" W/K
$Ò v àbì \varepsilon.$	"He's lying prone."
$Ò pɔ vabɪd á/vábìnìd á.$	"He doesn't lie prone." W/K
$Ò d ò g ò \varepsilon.$	"She's lying down."
$Ò pɔ dɪgɪd á.$	"She doesn't lie down" W
$L ò z ò 'e \varepsilon.$	"It's standing up." ( $zì'e_ya$ )
$L ò pɔ z í 'e d á.$	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." W
$L ò t ò 'i \varepsilon.$	"It's leaning." ( $tì'i_ya'$ )
$L ò t ò 'i d.$	"It can be leant." W
$L ò pɔ t i 'i y á.$	"It's not leaning."
$L ò pɔ t i 'i d á.$	"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**. *Kabur'* "ask entry", *sugur'* "forbear" are back-formations from *kaburí sugurú*, rather than derived with **r**. For tps in derivation see §4.3.3.

### 7.1 Nominals from nominals

Associations of class and meaning can be exploited by using stems in different noun classes, e.g. *sii<sup>n</sup>f<sub>o</sub>'* "bee", *sii<sup>n</sup>d'* "honey"; *wèed<sub>a</sub>* "hunter", *wèog<sub>o</sub>* "deep bush." Most tree names are *ga|sɛ*, their fruits *rɛ|aa* or *gɔ|dɛ*, e.g. *aa<sup>n</sup>dɪg<sub>a</sub>* "black plum tree", *aa<sup>n</sup>dɪr* "black plum"; *gaa<sup>n</sup>'* "ebony", *ga<sup>r</sup>'* "ebony fruit"; *tè'eg<sub>a</sub>* "baobab", *tè'og<sub>o</sub>* "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. *vum'* "life" (*vor'* "live"), *pielum* "brightness" (*piel<sub>g</sub>a* "white"), *malisim* "sweetness", *tita'am* "multitude" (*tita'ar* "great"); *lallug<sub>o</sub>* "far/distance", *kpi'on<sub>o</sub>* "hard/hardness", *yàlù<sub>o</sub>* "wide/width", *mì'isù<sub>o</sub>* "sour/sourness", *toog<sub>o</sub>* "bitter/bitterness." Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts: *gbá'yà'am* "laziness" (*gbá'yà'a* "lazy person"), *dàmà'am* "deceit" (*dàmà'a* "liar"), *tita'alum* "pride" (*tita'al<sub>l</sub>* "proud person"); *sáuv<sub>o</sub>* "hospitality" (*saan<sub>a</sub>'* "guest"), *kpeon<sub>o</sub>* "eldership" (*kpeem* "elder"), *sɔɔ<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub>* "witchcraft" (*sɔɔ<sup>n</sup>ya* "witch.")

Adjective stems form manner nouns in *mɛ|* or with apocope-blocked sg *ga*, e.g. *zaalim* "in vain", *kɔdum* "of old", *paalim* "recently", *nèem* "for free" (*nèer* "empty"); *sù<sub>g</sub>a'* "well", *ma'asíga'* "coolly", *tuulíga'* "hotly", *gi<sub>g</sub>a* "shortly", *bugusíga'* "softly", *sàalí<sub>g</sub>a'* "smoothly", *nyèesí<sub>g</sub>a'* "boldly."

Nominals may be derived from nominals with derivational **d m s** or **l(m)**.

**d** is unanalysable in *yugudɪr* "hedgehog", *ligidi* "money", *pùgùdìb<sub>a</sub>* "father's sister." It can derive abstract from human-reference nouns, e.g. *dataadim/dataadv<sub>g</sub>* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bv<sub>n</sub>kottim* "old age"; *pv<sub>k</sub>ontim* "widowhood" is analogical.

**m** is unanalysable in *yugúm<sub>n</sub>* "camel", *gbigúm<sub>n</sub>* "lion", *zìlúm<sub>n</sub>* "tongue", *à<sup>n</sup>rù<sub>o</sub>* "boat", *zùlù<sub>o</sub>* "deep", *yàlù<sub>o</sub>* "wide." It is identifiably derivational in *bi'em* "foe" (*bi'a* "bad"), *a<sup>n</sup>sí<sub>g</sub>a* "sister's child" (*á<sup>n</sup>sìb<sub>a</sub>* "mother's brother"), *bì<sup>n</sup>'isim* "milk" (*bì<sup>n</sup>'isìr* "breast"), *na'am* "chieftaincy" (*nà'ab<sub>a</sub>* "chief"), *zolumís* "foolishness" (*zolv<sub>o</sub>'* "fool.")

It is often added to existing adjective stems, e.g. *malisí<sub>g</sub>a/malisí<sub>g</sub>a* "sweet", *kpiilù<sub>o</sub>g/kpiilù<sub>o</sub>* "dead", *narú<sub>o</sub>* "necessary" (*nar<sub>a</sub>'* "be needed"), *nyèesí<sub>g</sub>a* "bold" (*nyèes<sub>a</sub>* "be bold"), *wa'am<sub>a</sub>'* "be long" (*wɔk<sub>o</sub>'* "long"), *gi<sub>g</sub>a* "short" (*giilím* "shortness.")

s derives adjectives from several nominal roots underlying inchoatives in g §7.3.

l and lm derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives; lm is unique in permitting preceding CVVC root allomorphs. These stems are not used as adjectives. Examples include *bìilím* "childhood" (*biig<sub>a</sub>* "child"), *dàalìm* "masculinity" (*day* "man"), *pù'alìm* "femininity" (*pua'* "woman"), *sáannìm* "strangerhood" (*saan<sub>a</sub>'* "stranger"), *turâannìm* "companionship" (*turâan<sub>a</sub>* "peer"), *wa'alím* "tallness" (*wok<sub>o</sub>'* "long, tall.")

## 7.2 Nominals from verbs

### 7.2.1 Gerunds

Nearly all verbs form gerunds: nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. 2vbs form gerunds by adding class suffixes to the verb stem: 2-mora stems add *bo*, 3-mora stems in *g k ŋ ae ie ue* (i.e. in \*g) add *re*, all others *go*:

<i>kubb<sub>o</sub>'</i>	"kill ( <i>ku</i> )"	<i>dugub<sub>o</sub>'</i>	"cook ( <i>dug</i> )"
<i>du'ab<sub>o</sub></i>	"bear, beget ( <i>duà</i> )"	<i>kadib<sub>o</sub></i>	"drive off ( <i>kàd</i> )"
<i>pilib<sub>o</sub></i>	"cover ( <i>pìl</i> )"	<i>kparib<sub>o</sub></i>	"lock ( <i>kpàr</i> )"
<i>basib<sub>o</sub></i>	"go/send away ( <i>bàs</i> )"	<i>lop<sub>o</sub>'</i>	"throw stones at ( <i>lob</i> )"
<i>kum<sub>m<sub>o</sub></sub></i>	"herd animals ( <i>kìm</i> )"	<i>bunib<sub>o</sub></i>	"reap ( <i>bùn</i> )"
<i>yùugìr</i>	"delay ( <i>yùug</i> )"	<i>nokír</i>	"take ( <i>nok'</i> )"
<i>nìṅìr</i>	"doing ( <i>nìṅ</i> )"	<i>gbá<sup>n</sup>'ar</i>	"grab ( <i>gba<sup>n</sup>'e'</i> )"
<i>dí'er</i>	"get ( <i>di'e'</i> )"	<i>dúor</i>	"rise ( <i>due'</i> )"
<i>gàadùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"pass ( <i>gàad</i> )"	<i>liebùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"become ( <i>lieb</i> )"
<i>dìgìlùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"lay down ( <i>dìgìl'</i> )"	<i>yaarùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"scatter ( <i>yaar'</i> )"
<i>sigisùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"lower ( <i>sigis'</i> )"	<i>dàmmùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"shake ( <i>dàm</i> )" (mm-stem)
<i>dìgìnùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"lie down ( <i>dìgìn</i> )"	<i>zì<sup>n</sup>'inùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"sit down ( <i>zì<sup>n</sup>'in</i> )"
<i>tóog<sub>o</sub></i>	"depart ( <i>tóom'</i> )"	<i>kàrùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"read ( <i>kàrìm</i> )"

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

<i>siilùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"cite proverbs ( <i>siilìm</i> )"	<i>zàa<sup>n</sup>sùg<sub>o</sub></i>	"dream ( <i>zàa<sup>n</sup>sìm</i> )"
<i>wàṅìr</i>	"waste away ( <i>wàṅìm</i> )"	<i>zàkìr</i>	"itch ( <i>zàkìm</i> )"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use sg *re*, e.g. *puà'-d<sub>ur</sub>* "marriage", *nin-kô<sub>ur</sub>* "murder", *da-nû<sub>ur</sub>* "beer-drinking", *mò-pil<sub>i</sub>* "grass roof."

Few 3- or 4-mora-stems form gerunds irregularly, but over 20% of 2-mora stems use sg **ga go** or **re**, e.g. **liiga** "fall (lì)", **tè<sup>n</sup>bùg<sub>o</sub>** "tremble (tè<sup>n</sup>b)", **ɔ<sup>n</sup>bɪr** "chew (ɔ<sup>n</sup>b)"; a few are also tonally irregular, e.g. **tà<sup>n</sup>sùg<sub>o</sub>** "shout (tà<sup>n</sup>s)", **só<sup>n</sup>sìg<sub>a</sub>** "converse (sɔ<sup>n</sup>s.)" A few 2vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **tìtòmɪs** "send (tùm)", **bɛ<sup>n</sup>'ɛs** "fall ill (bè<sup>n</sup>)", **kɛn<sub>n</sub>'** "come (kɛ<sup>n</sup>)", **ziid'** "carry on the head (zi)." Irregular gerunds are noted in §15.

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

<b>zi<sup>n</sup>'ig<sub>a</sub></b>	"sit (zì <sup>n</sup> 'i <sub>ya</sub> )"	<b>ti'ib<sub>o</sub>'</b>	"lean (ti'i <sub>ya</sub> ')"
<b>zi'eg<sub>a</sub>/zi'a</b>	"stand (zì'e <sub>ya</sub> )" K/W	<b>dɪk<sub>a</sub>'/dɪgɪr'</b>	"lie down (dɪgɪ <sub>ya</sub> ')" K/W
<b>ik<sub>a</sub>'/igir'</b>	"kneel (igi <sub>ya</sub> ')" K/W	<b>vap<sub>o</sub>'/vabɪr'</b>	"lie prone (vabɪ <sub>ya</sub> ')" K/W

**Zi'eg<sub>a</sub>** is phonologically aberrant §4.2.2. The 1vbs **tè<sup>n</sup>r<sub>a</sub>** "remember", **pò<sup>n</sup>r<sub>a</sub>** "be near" have **tɛ<sup>n</sup>rub<sub>o</sub>** **pɔ<sup>n</sup>rub<sub>o</sub>** by analogy with 2vbs; **kis<sub>a</sub>'** "hate" forms **kísùg<sub>o</sub>**.

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

<b>àa<sup>n</sup>lím</b>	"be (àɛ <sup>n</sup> <sub>ya</sub> )"	<b>bèlím</b>	"exist (bè)"
<b>ka'alím</b>	"not be (ka'e)"	<b>nòŋlím</b>	"love (nòŋ)"
<b>mi'ilím</b>	"know (mi')"	<b>sv'vlím</b>	"own (sv'e <sub>ya</sub> ')"
<b>zu'vlím</b>	"not know (zu')"	<b>dellím</b>	"lean (dɛl <sub>la</sub> ')"; also <b>dellùg<sub>o</sub></b>
<b>dollím</b>	"go with (dɔl <sub>la</sub> ')"	<b>tullím</b>	"be hot (tul <sub>la</sub> ')"
<b>nenním</b>	"envy (nɛn <sub>na</sub> ')"	<b>sinním</b>	"be silent (sin <sub>na</sub> ')"
<b>wenním sic</b>	"be like (wɛn <sub>na</sub> ')"	<b>zanlím</b>	"hold in hand (za <sup>n</sup> l <sub>la</sub> ')"
<b>gurím</b>	"guard (gur <sub>a</sub> ')"	<b>mɔrím</b>	"have (mɔr <sub>a</sub> ')"
<b>tarím</b>	"have (tar <sub>a</sub> ')"	<b>narím</b>	"be necessary (nar <sub>a</sub> ')"

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

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

<b>dì</b>	"eat"	<b>dìtím-taa</b>	"messmate"
<b>kpè<sup>n</sup>'</b>	"enter"	<b>kpè<sup>n</sup>'ɛdím-</b>	"co-resident"
<b>zàb</b>	"fight"	<b>zàbìdím-</b>	"opponent"
<b>tùm</b>	"work"	<b>tùmmím-</b>	"co-worker"
<b>pù'ɔs</b>	"worship"	<b>pù'ɔsím-</b>	"co-worshipper"
<b>sùŋ</b>	"help"	<b>sùŋ(ìd)ím-</b>	"co-helper"
<b>sjàk</b>	"agree"	<b>sjàkím-</b>	"partner in agreement"

Similarly **mèɛdím-** (mè "build"), **pɔv<sub>d</sub>ím-** (pɔ "share"), **faa<sup>n</sup>dím-** (fa<sup>n</sup> "rob"), **dɔvg<sub>d</sub>ím-** (dɔg "cook"), **dùsím-** (dùs "feed.")

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

<i>bè</i>	"exist"	<i>bèlím-taa</i>	"partner in existence" W
<i>mi'</i>	"know"	<i>mi'ilím-</i>	"partner in knowledge"

Similarly *zi'ílím-taa* "partner in ignorance", *dóllím-taa* "fellow-companion."

For stance verbs, W has forms in both *-lm-* and *-dm-*: thus both *zì'elím-taa* and *zì'edím-taa* "fellow-stander" from *zì'e<sub>ya</sub>*; similarly *zì'n'ilím-/zì'n'idím-* (*zì'n'i<sub>ya</sub>* "sit"), *vabílím-/vabídím-* (*vabí<sub>ya</sub>'* "lie prone"), *igilím-/igidím-* (*igi<sub>ya</sub>'* "kneel"), though only *làbílím-* (*làbì<sub>ya</sub>* "crouch in hiding.") For *dígí<sub>ya</sub>'* "lie down", W has *dígulím-* and also *dìgíním-*, presumably from *dìgìn*. With *nòṅ* "love", W contrasts *nòṅlím-taa* "fellow-liker" with *nòṅdím-taa* "fellow-lover."

Some abstract nouns are formed from 2vb ipfs; here *s*-stems drop *d*. These are not *m*-stems, and if tp L, they have no stem-final H. Most belong to *mɛ|*. They include *bòòdìm* "will", *gòò'dìm* "wandering", *zòtìm* "fear", *yòlísím* "freedom", *nin-kúòsìm* "murder", *pè'òsìm* "worship", *wòmmògò* "hearing."

Gerunds are abstract, but derived concrete senses appear in *dubò* "food", *zi'n'ig<sub>a</sub>* "place"; for K, *vabír' labír' dígír' igír'* mean "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds *vapò'* etc. Verb stems with different class suffixes from gerunds may refer to products of actions, instruments, or places where actions occur, e.g. *dúkò'* "pot" (*dug* "cook"), *dà'a* "market" (*dà'* "buy"), *kut* "iron, nail" (*kùd* "work iron"), *sòbír'* "piece of writing" (*sòb* "write"), *sùak<sub>a</sub>'* "hiding place" (*sù<sub>a</sub>'* "hide"), *ɛɛ<sup>n</sup>bír* "(physical) foundation" (*ɛɛ<sup>n</sup>b'* "lay a foundation"), *kùòsìm* "merchandise" (*kùòs* "sell"), *pèbìsìm* "wind" (*pèbìs* "blow.")

### 7.2.2 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be made from nearly all verbs (agentive or not) usable in direct commands. They are derived with *d*; a tendency to limit stem length may cause deletion of preceding suffixes or *d* itself (affecting tps §4.3.3.) They belong to *a|ba*. Agent nouns often develop specialised meanings. A few agent-like nouns are formed with *m*, e.g. *zòòm<sub>n</sub>* "refugee", *kpr'ím* "corpse."

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

<i>mɛɛd<sub>a</sub></i>	"builder ( <i>mè</i> )"	<i>dùt<sub>a</sub></i>	"eater ( <i>dì</i> )"
<i>dugvud<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"cook ( <i>dug</i> )"	<i>dù'ad<sub>a</sub></i>	"relative" ( <i>dù<sub>a</sub>'</i> "bear/beget")
<i>tùon-gat<sub>a</sub></i>	"leader" ( <i>gàad</i> "pass")	<i>sòbùd<sub>a</sub>'</i>	"writer ( <i>sòb</i> )"
<i>kparìd<sub>a</sub></i>	"lock-er ( <i>kpàr</i> )"	<i>suguríd<sub>a</sub></i>	"forgiver ( <i>sugur'</i> )"

gbisid <sub>a</sub> '	"sleeper (gbis)"	gɔt <sub>a</sub> '	"seer, prophet" (gɔs "look")
pa'an <sub>na</sub>	"teacher (pà'al)"	tùm-tùm <sub>na</sub>	"worker (tùm)"
yɔɔm-yô'ɔm <sub>na</sub>	"singer (yɔ'ɔm)"	bun <sub>na</sub>	"reaper (bùn)"

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.)

"wa'ad <sub>a</sub>	"woodcutter (wà'e)"	naad <sub>a</sub> '	"persister" W (nae' "finish")
di'ed <sub>a</sub> '	"receiver (di'e)"	suŋɪd <sub>a</sub>	"helper (sùŋ)"
sɪakɪd <sub>a</sub>	"believer (sɪàk)"	"wi-ték <sub>a</sub>	"rope-puller (tɛk)"
kɛn <sub>na</sub> '	"traveller (kɛŋ)"	ɪa'n'ad <sub>a</sub> '	"flier (ɪa'nk)"
yat <sub>a</sub> '	"scatterer (yadɪg)": used of 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:

kùos <sub>a</sub>	"seller (kùos)"	tìs <sub>a</sub>	"giver (tìs)"
sòs <sub>a</sub>	"beggar (sòs)"	zàb-zàb <sub>a</sub>	"fighter (zàb)"

Stems in **mm** drop **d** and have only **nàm<sub>a</sub>** pls (**dàm-dàm<sub>ma</sub>** "shaker"), but the tp of **sun<sub>na</sub>** "deep thinker" W from **sùn<sub>n</sub>** "bow the head" shows **nd -> nn**.

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

pu'an <sub>na</sub>	"harmer (pù'alim)"	siin <sub>na</sub>	"proverb-citer (siilim)"
zàa <sup>n</sup> s <sub>a</sub>	"dreamer (zàa <sup>n</sup> sìm)"		

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

mi'id <sub>a</sub> '	"knower (mi)"	zɪ'ɪd <sub>a</sub> '	"ignorant person (zɪ)"
sɔ'n'ɔd <sub>a</sub> '	"outdoer (sɔ'n'eɣa)"	su'ɔd <sub>a</sub> '	"owner (su'eɣa)"
zi'n'id <sub>a</sub>	"sitter (zì'n'ɪɣa)"	zi'ed <sub>a</sub>	"stander (zì'eɣa)"
dɪɣɪd <sub>a</sub> '	"lier-down (dɪɣɪɣa)"	igid <sub>a</sub> '	"kneeler (igiɣa)"
vabɪd <sub>a</sub> '	"lier prone (vabɪɣa)"	labɪd <sub>a</sub>	"croucher in hiding (làbɪɣa)"
nòŋɪd <sub>a</sub>	"lover (nòŋ)" tp sic	nin-délɪa	"one prone to lean (délɪa)"
"ya'an-dólɪa	"disciple (dólɪa)"	bù-zan'ɪa'	"goat-holder (zan'ɪa)"
nin-nén <sub>na</sub>	"envier (nɛn <sub>na</sub> )"	nin-sín <sub>na</sub>	"silent person (sin <sub>na</sub> )"
bù-mɔr <sub>a</sub> '	"goat-owner (mɔr <sub>a</sub> )" W	gur(id) <sub>a</sub> '	"guard (gur <sub>a</sub> )"
tɛ <sup>n</sup> rɪd <sub>a</sub>	"rememberer (tɛ <sup>n</sup> r <sub>a</sub> )"	kis(id) <sub>a</sub> '	"hater (kis <sub>a</sub> )"
aa <sup>n</sup> d <sub>a</sub>	"one who is something (àɛ <sup>n</sup> ɣa)" W		

Stems in **ll/r** have variant forms in **rɛ|aa**, e.g. **bù-zan'ɪ** pl **bù-zan'ɪlá**.

7.2.3 Verbal adjectives

Imperfective verbal adjectives form their stems like agent nouns, but drop **d** more readily. Uncompounded, they are synonymous with agent nouns: **kuvdír** "killer." As adjectives, they mean "habitually connected with the verbal action, actively or passively"; past passive senses can also occur: **sum-dúgùdà** "cooked groundnuts", **ki-dá'adà** "bought millet" W.

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

<b>pṽà'-la'adír</b>	"laughing/laughable woman ( <b>là'</b> )"
<b>bvn-<sup>n</sup>yétír</b>	"visible object ( <sup>n</sup> <b>yε</b> )"
<b>na'-dá-kuodír</b>	"ox for ploughing ( <b>kṽa</b> lf <b>kua</b> )"
<b>fu-yéédír/-yéédùg<sub>o</sub></b>	"shirt for wearing ( <b>yè</b> )" W/K
<b>tì-kvdím</b>	"poison" ( <b>kv</b> "kill")
<b>tèṅ-dv'adíg<sub>a</sub></b>	"native land" ( <b>dṽà'</b> "bear/beget")
<b>yì-sígìdír</b>	"lodging-house" ( <b>sig</b> "descend")
<b>yel-sú'adír</b>	"confidential matter" ( <b>sṽa'</b> "hide")
<b>bvn-ó<sup>n</sup>bìdà</b>	"solid food" ( <b>ò<sup>n</sup>b</b> "chew")
<b>bvn-búnnír</b>	"thing for reaping ( <b>bùn</b> )"
<b>bvn-tómmír</b>	"useful thing" ( <b>tòm</b> "work")
<b>tì-vvnním</b>	"oral medication" ( <b>vvl</b> "swallow")
<b>pṽà'-gbisidír</b>	"woman always sleeping ( <b>gbis</b> )"
<b>bèṅ-kennír</b>	"donkey that doesn't sit still" ( <b>kεṅ</b> ' "go")
<b>pṽà'-ginníg<sub>a</sub></b>	"prostitute" ( <b>gilig</b> ' "go round")
<b>kpa-só<sup>n</sup>dím</b>	"anointing oil ( <b>sue<sup>n</sup></b> ')"
<b>bvn-yátír</b>	"scattering thing ( <b>yadíg</b> ')"
<b>bvn-íá<sup>n</sup>'adír</b>	"flying creature ( <b>íá<sup>n</sup>k</b> ')"
<b>bè-sa<sup>n</sup>'ammír</b>	"scapegoat" W ( <b>sà<sup>n</sup>'am</b> "destroy")
<b>bvn-pélìsír</b>	"sharpening thing ( <b>pèlìs</b> )"
<b>bvn-kúosír</b>	"item for sale ( <b>kùos</b> )"
<b>bèṅ-dígídír</b>	"donkey that lies down a lot ( <b>dígíya</b> ')"
<b>bèṅ-vabídír</b>	"donkey that always lies prone ( <b>vabíya</b> ')"
<b>kug-zí<sup>n</sup>'idír</b>	"stone for sitting on ( <b>zì<sup>n</sup>'íya</b> )"
<b>nɔ-zá<sup>n</sup>l</b>	"hen for holding in hands ( <b>za<sup>n</sup>l<sub>a</sub></b> ')"
<b>kòg-delí</b>	"chair for leaning on ( <b>dél<sub>a</sub></b> ')"
<b>bvn-gól</b>	"thing for suspending ( <b>gòl<sub>a</sub></b> )"

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

bɔn-pɛ̀lìg̀ɪ̀r	"thing for whitening (pɛ̀lìg)"
bɔn-tólìg̀ɪ̀r	"thing for heating (tɔlìg´)"
yɛl-pákìr	"disaster" (pàk "surprise")
ˀwi-tékìr	"pulling-rope (tɛk´)"
bɔn-sùŋ̀ɪ̀r	"helpful thing (sùŋ)"
bì-nòŋ̀ɪ̀r	"beloved child (nòŋ)"
pɔ̀à'-pù'alíŋ_a	"harmful woman (pù'alìm)"
bɔn-síilúŋ_ɔ	"thing relating to citing proverbs (síilìm)"
pɔ̀à'-zàaˀsùŋ_ɔ	"dreamy woman (zàaˀsìm)"

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.

àaˀlúŋ_ɔ	"torn (àeˀ)"	gɛɛˀlúŋ_ɔ	"tired (gɛˀ)"
kòɔlúŋ_ɔ	"broken (kò)"	kpiilúŋ_ɔ	"dead (kpi)"
pè'elúŋ_ɔ	"full (pè'el)"	pù'alúŋ_ɔ	"damaged (pù'alìm)"
yèelúŋ_ɔ	"worn [shirt] (yè)"	yòɔlúŋ_ɔ	"closed (yò)"

#### 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|sɛ**. Some can have agent-noun meanings.

sɪ̀à-lɔɔdíŋ_a	"belt" (lɔ "tie")
sɔɔɔɔŋ_a	"sponge" (sò "bathe")
da'adíŋ_a	"pusher (da'e´)" (person or thing)
ˀwa'adıŋ_a	"axe" (ˀwà'e "cut wood")
sɔbídíŋ_a	"writing implement (sɔb)"
bɔtɪŋ_a	"cup" (bòd "plant": originally "seed cup")
kparıɔŋ_a	"thing for locking (kpàr)"
piedíŋ_a	"thing for washing oneself (pie´)"
nin-gótìŋ_a	"mirror" (gɔs "look"); nin-gótìs "glasses"
kuosıŋ_a	"salesperson (kùos)"
piesıŋ_a	"cleaning implement (pies´)"
ziˀıdɪŋ_a	"thing for sitting on (zìˀıya)"

A few show **s** or **d** alone: **dıgı́súg\_ɔ** "bed" (dıgı́ya´ "lie"), **ɔvɔsír** "step" (ɔv "rise"), **tuɔɔɪr** "mortar" (tɔ̀à lɪf t̀uà "grind.") Here **ld** becomes single **n**: **pıbın\_n** "covering (pıbıl)" (Mooré *pıbindga*), **maan\_n** "sacrifice (màal)", **zanbın\_n** "tattoo (zànbıl)".

7.3 Verbs from nominals

Quality verbs add the flexion (y)a to adjectival or human-reference stems.

Nominal tp A here becomes verbal tp H. A few cases show segmental stem changes.

tp H	vɔr´	"alive"	vɔɣya´	"live"
	bɔɡʊsír	"soft"	bɔɡʊs_a´	"be soft"
	zemmúɡɔ	"equal"	zɛm_ma´	"be equal to"
	lallúɡɔ	"far"	lal_ɬa´	"be far from"
	wɔkɔ´	"long, tall"	wa'am_a´	"be long, tall"
	tɔulúɡɔ	"hot"	tul_ɬa´	"be hot"
tp A	tɔɔɡɔ	"bitter"	tɔɣya´	"be bitter"
	ɡiŋ_a	"short"	ɡim_ma´	"be short"
	kpi'ɔŋɔ	"strong"	kpi'em_a´	"be strong"
	kpeɛ <sup>m</sup>	"elder"	kpeɛ <sup>m</sup> _ma´	"be older than"
	wɛnnɪr	"resembling"	wɛn_na´	"be like"
tp L	pòɔdìɡ_a	"small"	pòɔd_a	"be few, small"
	mì'isòɡɔ	"sour"	mì'is_a	"be sour"
	sùŋɔ	"good"	sùm_ma	"be good"
	zùlùŋɔ	"deep"	zùlìm_a	"be deep"
	vènnìɡ_a	"beautiful"	vèn_na	"be beautiful"
	ˀyèɛsíŋ_a	"bold"	ˀyèɛs_a	"be bold"

2vbs may be derived from nominal roots with the derivational suffixes **g l** or **lm**.

**g** and **lm** derive inchoative patientive ambitransitives:

bɔɡʊsír	"soft"	bɔk´	"soften"
dɛɛŋ_a	"first"	dɛ̀ŋ	"precede"
kpi'a	"neighbour"	kpi'e	"approach"
kpi'ɔŋɔ	"strong"	kpe'ŋ	"strengthen"
kɔdɔɡɔ	"old"	kòdìɡ	"shrink up, dry out, age"
lallúɡɔ	"far"	lalɡ´	"become/make far"
ma'asír	"cool, wet"	ma'e´	"get cool, wet"
màɣkɔ	"crumpled up"	màk	"crumple up"
mì'isòɡɔ	"sour"	mì'ig	"turn sour"
ˀyɔ'ɔs´	"smoke"	ˀyu'e´	"set alight"
pielìɡ_a	"white"	pèlìɡ	"whiten"
pòɔdìɡ_a	"few"	pò'ɔɡ	"diminish, belittle"
tadɪm	"weak person"	tàdìɡ	"become weak"

təbʊsír	"heavy"	təbɪg´	"get/make heavy"
tùtulɪ	"upside-down thing"	tùlìg	"invert"
tʊsɪlɔ	"hot"	tʊlɪg´	"heat up"
vʊr´	"alive"	vʊ'ʊg´	"make/come alive"
wàʊŋɔ	"wasted"	wàŋìm	"waste away" (gm)
"wiigá´	"rope"	"wiig´	"make a rope"
zùlùŋɔ	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"
gìk <sub>a</sub>	"dumb"	gìgìlìm	"become dumb"
gʊ'ʊs	"semi-ripe things"	gù'ʊlìm	"become semi-ripe"
pò'ɔr	"cripple"	pò'ɔlìm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbìr	"lame"	wàbìlìm	"make, go lame"

l derives transitive inchoatives:

gɛogɔ	"space between legs"	gɛɛl´	"put between legs" tp H sic
lik <sub>a</sub>	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
ma'e´	"get cool, wet"	ma'al´	"make cool, wet"
"yá'aŋ <sub>a</sub>	"behind"	"ya'al´	"leave behind"
pu'n'e´	"rot"	pò'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wʊ'ʊg´	"get wet"	wʊ'ʊl´	"make wet"

Other suffixes appear in yà'ab "mould clay" (ya'ad "clay"), zùos "befriend" (zʊà lf zùa "friend"), nɛɛm´ "grind with a millstone" (nɛɛr´ "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:

ɛ̀nd	"block up"	ɛ̀ndìg	"unblock"
lɔ	"tie up"	lɔdɪg´	"untie"
pà'al	"put on top"	pàk	"take from top"
pìbìl	"cover up"	pìbìg	"uncover"
pìd	"put (hat etc) on"	pìdìg	"take (hat etc) off"
pìl	"cover"	pìlìg	"uncover"
tàb	"get stuck to"	tàbìg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèɛg	"undress oneself"
yò	"close"	yò'ɔg	"open"

nèi <sub>ya</sub>	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
sɔ <sup>n</sup> 'e <sub>ya</sub> '	"be better than"	su <sup>n</sup> 'e'	"become better than" W
dɔl <sub>la</sub> '	"go with"	dɔlɔg'	"make accompany"
gɔr <sub>a</sub> '	"look up" D	gɔdɔg'	"make look up" D
kò	"break" intr	kò'ɔg	"break" tr
nu	"drink"	nulɔg'	"make drink"
yùul	"swing" intr	yùlɔg	"swing" tr

l is causative:

ba <sup>n</sup> '	"ride"	ba <sup>n</sup> 'al'	"put on a horse/bicycle"
gu'	"guard"	gu'ul'	"set someone on guard"
nìe	"appear"	nèel	"reveal"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèel	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìl	"make 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 <sub>ya</sub>	"stand"	zì'en	zì'el
zì <sup>n</sup> 'i <sub>ya</sub>	"sit"	zì <sup>n</sup> 'in	zì <sup>n</sup> 'il
tì'i <sub>ya</sub> '	"(thing) lean"	tì'in	tì'il'
gɔ'e <sub>ya</sub> '	"look up" W	gɔ'ɔn	
dìg <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie down"	dìgìn	dìgɔl'
igì <sub>ya</sub> '	"kneel"	ìgìn	igil'
làb <sub>ya</sub>	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vab <sub>ya</sub> '	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vabɔl'
sù <sub>a</sub>	"bow head"	sùn <sub>n</sub>	sùn <sub>n</sub> sic
	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	"perch"	zùon	zùol
	"perch"	yà'an	yà'al

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

s is causative or pluractional:

àe <sup>n</sup>	"get torn"	àa <sup>n</sup> s	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
kpè <sup>n</sup> '	"enter"	kpè <sup>n</sup> 'es	"make enter"
kpiig	"go out (fire)"	kpiis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbìs	"send back; answer"
mùà'	"suckle"	mù'as	"give suck to"
nìe	"appear"	nèes	"reveal"
nu	"drink"	nulis'	"make drink"
sig	"go down"	sigis'	"lower"
yi	"go/come out"	yiis'/yis	"make go/come out"
zεm <sub>ma</sub> '	"be equal"	zεmìs'	"make equal"
di'e'	"receive"	di'es'	"receive (many things)"
jà <sup>n</sup> k'	"fly, jump"	jà <sup>n</sup> 'as'	"jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'os	"break several times"
ya'e'	"open mouth"	ya'as'	"open repeatedly" W

### 7.5 Prefixes

Prefixes precede many nominal-stem roots. Most have no identifiable meaning, though they are common in certain semantic fields (e.g. insects.) They have the form CV(N) CV<sub>s</sub>N or CVIN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial, with an epenthetic vowel after *s/l*. No prefix begins with *y* or <sup>n</sup>*y*. For tones see §4.3.1.

CV<sub>s</sub>N/CVIN prefixes copy root-initial CV (one mora, without glottalisation or contrastive nasalisation):

silinsîu <sup>n</sup> g <sub>o</sub>	"spider"	vùlìnvùu <sup>n</sup> l <sub>i</sub>	"mason wasp"
zìlnzîog <sub>o</sub>	"unknown"	tàsìntàl <sub>i</sub>	"palm of hand"
wàsìnwàl <sub>i</sub>	"tree gall"	nεsunnεog <sub>o</sub> '	"centipede"

So do CV(N) prefixes with high vowels, but here *a ε* -> *ɪ*, *ɔ* -> *ʊ*. After *t/s*, *ɪ* *i* replace *ʊ* *u*; after labials/labiovelars, *a ε* -> *ʊ*. N is required if C is a voiced obstruent.

kìkàŋ <sub>a</sub>	"fig tree"	kùkòr'	"voice"
kpùkparìg <sub>a</sub>	"palm tree"	kpìkpin <sub>na</sub> '	"merchant"
tìta'ar	"big"	pìpirig <sub>a</sub> '	"desert"
sìsì'em	"wind"	fùfùm <sub>n</sub>	"envy; stye"
lìlaalíŋ <sub>a</sub>	"swallow"	mìmiilím	"sweetness"

kìŋkàŋ <sub>a</sub>	"fig"	tɪntɔ̀ríg <sub>a</sub>	"mole"
sɪnsáa <sup>n</sup>	kind of tiny ant	dìndεogɔ́´	"chameleon"
dùndùugɔ́	"cobra"	bìmbìm <sub>n</sub>	"altar"
bùmbàrìg <sub>a</sub>	"ant"	gùŋgum <sub>n</sub>	"kapok material"
zɪnzavɪgɔ́´	"bat"	zùnzòŋ <sub>a</sub>	"blind"

Unexpected vowels appear in *silinsauk* "sugar ant", *tàtəl* "palm of hand", *kpàkvr´* "tortoise."

Ca(N) prefixes usually begin with **d b s** or **z**:

dàkiig <sub>a</sub>	"wife's sibling"	dàyuugɔ́´	"rat"
dàgòbìg <sub>a</sub>	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dadúkɔ́	kind of large pot	dàŋkòŋɔ́	"measles"
balεrvɔ́´	"ugly"	sàbùà	"lover, girlfriend"
samán <sub>n</sub>	"courtyard"	sanɡúnnìr	"millipede"
zàŋkù'ar	"hyena"	zàŋgùom <sub>n</sub>	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in e.g. *làŋgávŋɔ́/màŋgávŋɔ́* "crab", *nàyiig<sub>a</sub>* "thief", *gbá<sup>n</sup>yà'a* "lazy person" (with a H prefix), and especially in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: *Wampuris´* "Mamprussi." Some stems have two prefixes.

Some *pυ/kù*(N) prefixes derive from negative VP particles, as in *kùndù'ar* "barren woman" (*dɪà* "bear"); *nin-pɔnan<sub>na</sub>´* "disrespectful person" (*nan* "respect"); *tùb-pɔwómni<sub>b</sub>a* "deaf people" (*wòm* "hear"), but most have no evident meaning: *gɔmpɔzer´* "duck", *ban-kúsél* "lizard", *kùndùŋ<sub>a</sub>* "hyena."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. *Dà* "man" appears in *dàpaal<sub>a</sub>´* "young man" and *dàkòɔ<sup>n</sup>r* "bachelor." *Pù* "woman" is seen in *pùkòɔ<sup>n</sup>r* "widow" (Mooré *pυgkõore*, with the cif *pυg-* of *paga* "woman.") *Pυ* in *pυkpaad<sub>a</sub>´* "farmer" is related to *pɔɔgɔ́´* "farm"; it behaves as a prefix tonally.

Some manner nouns show the prefix *à* followed by M-spread: *àmεŋá* "truly", *àsɪda* "truly", *àníŋa* "promptly."

Numeral prefixes are fossilised flexions §9.5.1.

## 8 Loanwords

Most loanwords are nouns; they are often structurally atypical, whereas borrowed verbs obey the usual constraints on verb form. Several particles are regional words of unclear ultimate origin, e.g. **halí** "even", **àsée** "except."

Most loans come from Hausa. These include even verbs and particles, e.g. **dàam** "disturb", Hausa *dama*; **bòg** "get drunk", Hausa *bugu*; **kov** "or", Hausa *ko*; **báa** "not even", Hausa *ba*. Many are ultimately from Arabic, e.g. **àràzánà** "heaven" (*al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"), **yàdda´** "trust" (*yardá* "he is satisfied") and the names of the days of the week §9.3.

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence. Arabic loans via Mooré include **màljak<sub>a</sub>´** "angel", **sàlibìr** "bridle", **Sutáanà** "Satan." **Mor´** "Muslim", pl **Móom<sub>ma</sub>**, borrows Mooré *More*, pl *Moeemba*. Some apocope-blocked nouns may be Mooré or Mampruli loans, e.g. **kabirí** "permission to enter", Mooré *kabre* "excuse"; **buudi** "tribe", Mooré *buudu* (sg *buugu*); **sugurú** "forbearance", Mooré *sugri*. W uses **kiibú** "soap", from Mampruli *kyiibu*.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. **Wínà'am** "God" reflects Toende *Wina'am*; **faangída** "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagít*. B1/2 write Toende *aaruḡ malek* for **ànròḡ** "boat", **màljak<sub>a</sub>´** "angel."

Twi loans include **kodú** "banana", Twi *kwadu*; **saafi** "key", Twi *safě* (Portuguese *chave*); **buríyá** "Christmas", Twi *buro-onyã*; **kòtàa** lf **kòtàanè** "at all", Twi *kora*.

English loanwords can be much altered: **àlópìr** "aeroplane"; **dú'atà** "doctor"; **tóklàe** "torch" ("torchlight"); **pɔɔtim** "complain about officially" ("report.") Some have been transmitted via Hausa, like **wadá** "law" ("order"), Hausa *oda*. H tones standing for English stress may remain fixed throughout: **lór** "car, lorry", pl **láyà**.

French loans include **làmpo´** "tax" from *l'impôt*.

**Bùrikìna** "noble" and **bàṽṽṽ** "circumcision" come from Songhay.

## 9 Noun phrases

### 9.1 Structure and categories

A noun phrase (NP) is headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; see §11.4 for nominalised clauses. Free dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed by English genitives or complements with "of", e.g. *daṽ la bútiŋ* "the man's cup", *salma bútiŋ* "a gold cup" ("cup of gold.") The head may be followed in order by adjectives, quantifiers, dependent pronouns, appositives, and the article.

Particular NP subtypes (including pronouns) fulfil adverbial roles §10.6.2.

Compounding is pervasive. Noun heads regularly compound with following adjectives and dependent pronouns: *buvga* "goat", *bù-pièlìga* "white goat", *bù-kàŋa'* "this goat." Compounds with non-referential cifs as dependents are also common: *bù-zuvr* "goat-tail", *bù-kuvda'* "goat-killer." In either case, the final noun class suffix marks the number of the head, and the tone sandhi is the same.

Compounds may contain compounds. An adjective or dependent pronoun may be added to an existing compound: *bù-pièl-kàŋa'* "this white goat", *bù-pièl-wókɔ'* "long white goat" *zà'-nɔ-pièlìga* "white gate (compound-mouth)"; compounds may be generic arguments before deverbal nouns: *zà'-nɔ-gúra* "gatekeeper"; noun-adjective compounds can be used as adjectives: *bù-nɔb-wókɔ* "long-legged goat." Modifiers, including free NPs as premodifiers, bind tighter than generic arguments bind to deverbal nouns, and determiners bind loosest of all; compounds may thus have free (even coordinated) constituents:

	<i>salma zá'-nɔɔr</i>	"golden gate"
but	<i>salma bútiŋ-kàŋa</i>	"this gold cup"
	<i>salma lá'-maan</i>	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
	<i>salma lá'-màan-kàŋa</i>	"this goldsmith"
	<i>ò salma lá'-maan</i>	"her goldsmith"
	<i>anzurifà ne salma lá'-maan</i>	"[[silver and gold] item]-maker"

Coordination of NPs (including nominalised clauses) uses *ne* "with" for "and"; it cannot be omitted in lists, and does not join two words with the same referent. "Or" is *bɛɛ* or *kuv*; by default the meaning is exclusive, but inclusive is possible.

<i>À Wɪn né à Buvgr né à Nà'ab</i>	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
<i>dú'atà ne nâ'ab</i>	"a doctor and a chief" (two people)
<i>À Wɪn kúv à Buvgr kúv bà wusa</i>	"Awini or Abugri or both of them"

Cifs cannot be coordinated. *Sangbauŋ nɛ tɛŋgbauŋ paal* "a new heaven and earth" Rv 21:1 reflects confusion of homophonous cifs and sgs (contrast 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  
 pu'ab nɛ biis la  
 woman.PL with child.PL the

Midian tɛŋ dim la pu'ab nɛ biis "the Midianites' women and children"  
 Midian tɛŋ dìm la pû'ab nɛ biis Nm 31:9  
 Midian land Øp the woman.PL with child.PL

salma búttɪs nɛ díssimà "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 *salma lâ'ad nɛ búttɪs*, "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 *salma lâ'ad né ò búttɪs* (for the gender of ò, see below.)

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

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

anzúrìfà nɛ salma lá'-maan "maker of silver goods and gold goods"  
 silver with gold item-maker (but possibly items made of both)

For coordination of numerals see §9.5.1.

Number is a category of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers only. The last component of a compound shows the number of the head; number agreement is otherwise confined to pronouns.

Count nouns distinguish sg/pl; mass nouns take sg agreement. Quantifier choice, *nám<sub>a</sub>* pl forms, and predependent uses are affected by this distinction, which is fundamentally semantic: count nouns may appear in mass senses and vice versa, e.g. *ligidi* "cowries/money", *pjàn'ad* "words/speech", *dàad bún* "wooden thing", *daam nám* "beers", *tɛn'ɛsá yunní* "one thought." Except in names §9.3, *kut* "iron" has displaced sg *kudug<sub>ɔ</sub>* "iron nail." Formally, *bɔ* and most *mɛ* nouns are mass; gerunds belong to various classes §7.2.1; many mass nouns have pl class suffixes, e.g. *ban'as* "disease", *waad'* "cold", *siind'* "honey", *sun-pêen<sub>n</sub>* "anger", *salma* "gold."

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 zuluᅇ na paae o salibir.

**Kà wìef yá' sigí lì nì, lì zùlùᅇ ná páe ò sàlìbìr.**

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."

**Tìᅇg wélà bìgìsìd ón à" si'em.**

Mt 12:33 B1

tree fruit.PL show.IPF 3a.NZ be how

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔbir ya'a yelin ye [...], lin ku nyaᅇi ke ka o ka' ningbiᅇ la nii.

**Nóbir yá' yèlì·n yè [...], lìn kú "nyaᅇi· ké kà ò ka' nín-gbiᅇ la ní·.**

leg if say·DP that DEMi NG.IR prevail.+ let and 3a NG.exist body the at·NG

"If a leg said [...] 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 ne kugá** "they are stones."

In older sources inanimate pronoun heads (but not dependents) can be used as pl.

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

**Nif-káᅇa, on sâ"am ne.**

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

eye-DEM 3a spoil FOC

**M̄ pu "yeó·o·.**

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

1s NG see·3a·NG

**salma lâ'ad né ò butus**

"gold stuff and (gold) cups" W

gold item.PL with 3a cup.PL

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

O ane m pu'a.

"She is my wife." Gn 26:7

**Ò à né m̄ pu'a'.**

3a be FOC 1s woman

but Li ane Zugsɔb la.

"It is the Lord." Jn 21:7

**Lì à ne Zug-sób la.**

3i be FOC Lord the

9.2 PronounsPersonal pronouns:

	Bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ <u>n</u> §11.4
1s	m̀	ma	man	mán
2s	f̀	f <sub>o</sub>	fún	fún
3a	ò	o	on	ón
3i	l̀/d̀	l	l <sub>n</sub> /d <sub>n</sub>	l <sub>n</sub> /d <sub>n</sub>
1p	t̀	ti	tunám <sub>a</sub>	tunámì
2p	yà	ya	yanám <sub>a</sub>	yanámì
3p	bà	ba	ban	bán

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

All bound forms are liaison words §5.4. The enclitics appear as complements of verbs or of **ne** "with." In isolation, in coordination, before dependents, or when focused, only free forms can occur:

**Mànè·?**

"Me?"

**tunám ne fún**

"us and you"

**man Paul**

"I, Paul"

Fún kanε buoli f̀ mεη ...

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

**Fún-kánì· bùolì f̀ mεη ...**

2s-DEM·NZ call 2s self

Manε an kɔnbkem s̀η la.

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

**Manì· á<sup>n</sup> kó<sup>n</sup>b-kì<sup>m</sup>-s̀η la.**

1s·+ be shepherd-good the

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

There are no honorific usages.

2s is used for a generic "one":

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

**B̀η yá' bòod yé ò lubí·f, f̀ pu <sup>n</sup>yetí ò t̀baa·.**

donkey if want.IPF 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 yòòdì·f sùḡáá·?

"Are you well paid?" S

3p pay.IPF·2s well·PQ

In catenation the object can even be treated as the grammatical subject:

Diib wɔsa nari ba di.

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

Dub wɔsa nári· bà dí.

food all must·+ 3p eat

### Demonstrative pronouns:

		Animate		Inanimate sg	Pl
Head	Long	far	òḡa´	lìna´	bàmma´
		near		nɛ'ɛḡa	
	Short	far	òn	lìn	bàn
		near		nɛ'	
Dependent	Long		kàḡa´	kàḡa´	bàmma´
	Short		kàn	kàn	bàn
Adverbial		Time		Manner	Place
		far	san-kán	àlá	kpe
		near	nannánna´	à"wá(-na´)	kpelá or àní(-na´)

Nɛ'ɛḡa nɛ' can form the specifically inanimate pls nɛ'ɛḡa-nám<sub>a</sub> nè'-nám<sub>a</sub>.

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:

Fɔnɛ an dau kan la!

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

Fɔnɛ á"n dáḡ-kàn la!

(in the story just related.)

2s·+ be man-DEM the

Lìnè·?

"Which one?"

Nif-kánè·?

"Which eye?"

fɔn-kánì· bùol ...

"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: kpe "here", kpelá "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with la´ and "this" by a following "wà: dàḡ-kàḡa la "that man", dàḡ-kàḡa "wá "this man."

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg	Inanimate sg	Pl
sɔ'	si'el <sub>a</sub>	sieba (modal vowel)
si'a	si'a	
Time	Manner	Place
san-sí'a	si'em	zì <sup>n</sup> -si'a

Sɔ' si'el<sub>a</sub> sieba may be head or dependent, si'a dependent only; for W (not K) it is much commoner than si'el<sub>a</sub> as dependent. For W, using si'a for people is pejorative.

Except in relative clause heads, under a negation, or before mɛ-kàmà "-soever", the sense is specific "(a) certain, (a) different"; with negative VPs, "nobody, nothing":

yà bì-sɔ'	"a certain child of yours"
2p child-IDFa	
Dàv-sɔ' daa bé	"There was a certain/another man"
man-IDFa TNS exist	
na'asɔ' lɛm bɛ	"there is another king" Acts 17:7
nà'-sɔ' lém bé	
king-IDFa again exist	
M ná tɪ·f tí-si'a.	"I'll give you a different medicine." W
1s IR give-2s medicine-IDF	
O niŋid si'el mɛkama sɔ'ʊŋa.	"He does everything well." Mk 7:37
Ò niŋid si'el mɛ-kàmà sɔ'ʊŋa.	
3a do.IPF IDFi whatever well	
Sɔ' ka'e.	"There's nobody there."
IDFa NG.exist·NG	
M pu yél si'ela.	"I haven't said anything."
1s NG say IDFi·NG	

Interrogative pronouns:

Animate

àñ'ɔ̀n

"who?"

Inanimate

bɔ

"what?"

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

Time

san-kán

Manner

wɛlá

Place

yáa

"whither/whence?"

yáa ní

"where?"

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

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

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

Na'-bó·?

"what cow?" W D

(Náaf bó·? "What, of a cow's?" W)

Da-bó·?

"what beer?"

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

Na'-bó-bùudi·?

"what kind of cow?"

Da-bó-bùudi·?

"what kind of beer?"

Fò á nɛ bó-bùudi·?

"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?"

Fò 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-só'sìg kà yà sɔ'nsid nɛ táabà·?

what-conversation and 2p converse.IPF with each.other·CQ

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

An ideophone **kímm** "firmly" appears in **bɔ kímm** "what exactly?", **bɔ zúg kímm** "why exactly?"



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

**Sùḡimí· taaba.**

help.IMP·2pS each.other

"Help one another."

**Tì yúug ne taaba.**

1p delay with each.other

"It's been a long time." K

**Bà dól ne taaba.**

3p follow with each.other

"They go together."

The reflexive pronoun **mɛŋ<sub>a</sub>'** "self" (sg and pl) always has a predependent:

**nà'ab la mɛŋ**

chief the self

"the chief himself"

**Bà ʔyéè bà mɛŋ.**

3p see 3p self

"They've seen for themselves."

**Fù mɛŋ kuv bí-làà·?**

2s self or baby·CQ

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

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

**M ʔwé'è m mɛŋ.**

1s hit 1s self

"I hit myself."

When subjects act on parts of themselves, the objects take pronoun possessors, with the reflexive pronoun expressing contrast:

**Ba pu piesidi ba nu'us wɔɔ lin nar si'em la ka dit̩a.**

**Bà pu piesídí bà nû'us wɔɔ lín nar si'em lá kà díta·.**

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 sɔb pu'us kàŋa ne m mɛŋ nu'ug.**

**Mam Paul n sɔb pû'us-kàŋa né m mɛŋ nû'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  $sɔb_a$  is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and gender but has no other semantic content.

Animate	sg	$sɔb_a$	pl	$dɪm_a$
Inanimate	sg/pl	$dɪn_n$		

Ò  $sɔb/ɔn sɔb$  mean "the last person mentioned."

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings, e.g.  $man dɪn$  "my one, mine",  $à Wɪn dɪm$  "Awini's family",  $pù-pìelɪm sɔb$  "upright person" ( $pù-pìelɪm$  "virtue"),  $duniya ní dɪn$  "earthly one [body]" 1 Cor 15:44,  $Bòk dɪm$  "Bawku people",  $yiigá sɔb$  "first person" (also  $yiig-sɔb_a$ .) Cif predependents occur in set expressions:  $yi-sɔb_a$  pl  $yi-sɔb-nàm_a$  "householder" ( $yir'$  "house");  $yi-dɪm_a$  "household members";  $nif-sɔb_a$  "miser" ( $nif_ɔ'$  "eye");  $tànp-sɔb_a$  "warrior" ( $ta^np_ɔ$  "war");  $zug-sɔb_a$  pl  $zug-sɔb-nàm_a$  "boss", "Lord" B ( $zug_ɔ'$  "head.")

### 9.3 Proper names

Speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope:  $à Wɪn$  from  $Wɪdì-nyá'aŋ_a$  introduces himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for  $Kusâas$ , "Bawku" for  $Bòk_ɔ$  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  $à Dɔk$ , and "Kusaal"  $Kusâal$  itself.

Kusaasi personal names are NPs beginning with the personaliser pronoun  $à$ . Foreign names also take  $à$  (though not in B):  $à Muusa$  "Moses",  $à Yiisa$  "Jesus",  $à Simôɔn$  "Simon", but  $Wɪnà'am$  "God" (W  $Wɪnnà'am$ ) and  $Sutáanà$  "Satan" do not. Animal names take  $à$  in fables:  $à Baa$  "Mr Dog"; cf *Asan'auŋ*  $à Sà'n'ɔŋ$  "Abaddon" B. Before adjectives,  $à$  becomes fixed-L  $̀n$ :  $̀n Davg$  "Ndago" ("male"),  $̀n Pɔak$  "Mpoaka" ("female"),  $̀n Bil$  "Mbillah" ("little.")

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners:  $à Wɪn-káŋ_a$  "this Awini",  $tì Wɪn$  "our Awini";  $tì ̀n Davg$  "our Ndago." They pluralise with  $nàm_a$ ;  $à Wɪn-nám$  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 Mər yam	Aməryam	"has intelligence" (girl, G3 p6)
à T̩um bódìg ya		"the medicine has got lost" (man)

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

à Wɪn	Awini	person with a <i>sigr'</i> from father's side
à Bɔgɔr	Abugri	" <i>sigr'</i> from mother's family"
à T̩ɪg	Atiga	"tree"
à Kudug	Akudugu	"iron nail"

A younger sibling of à Wɪn with the same *sigr'* may be called à Wɪn-bíl "Awimbillah" (*bil*<sub>a</sub> "little"), of à Kudug, à Kùd-bil "Akudibillah" etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à Wɪn-pɔ̀ák "Awimpoaka" (*pɔ̀ak*<sub>a</sub> "female.")

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

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

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à T̩ínì "Monday", à Tàláatà "Tuesday", 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 Tàmpuɔɔr "Tampuri" ("ashpit") or à Dɔk "Aruk" ("pot.") Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

à Saan	Asana	"guest"
à Saan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + <i>day</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	
Barɪg <sub>a</sub> '	Barɪs'	Bat'	Barɪg <sub>o</sub> '
Bìn <sub>n</sub>	Bìm <sub>ma</sub>	Bìn <sub>n</sub>	Bìɲg <sub>o</sub>
Bùlìg <sub>a</sub>	Bùlìs	Bùlì	Bulsa
Bùsáŋ <sub>a</sub>	Bùsâ <sup>n</sup> s	Bùsâ <sup>n</sup> l	Bisa
Dàgáad <sub>a</sub>	Dàgáadìb <sub>a</sub>		Dagaaba
Dàgban <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgbam <sub>ma</sub> '	Dàgban <sub>n</sub> '	Dàgbay <sub>o</sub> '
Gurìŋ <sub>a</sub>	Gurìs	Gurì <sub>n</sub>	Farefare
Kàmbòŋ <sub>a</sub>	Kàmbòmìs	Kàmbònìr	Ashanti
Kusáa	Kusâas	Kusâal	Kusâug <sub>o</sub>
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mòog <sub>o</sub>
Nàbìd <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdìb <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìr	Nàbìdùg <sub>o</sub>
<sup>n</sup> Wampurìg <sub>a</sub> '	<sup>n</sup> Wampurìs'	<sup>n</sup> Wampurìl'	<sup>n</sup> Wampurug <sub>o</sub> '
Sìmiig <sub>a</sub>	Sìmiis	Sìmiil	Sìmiug <sub>o</sub>
Tàlìŋ <sub>a</sub>	Tàlìs	Tàlì <sub>n</sub>	Tallensi
Yàaŋ <sub>a</sub>	Yàa <sup>n</sup> s/Yàamìs or Yàam <sub>ma</sub>	Yàan <sub>n</sub>	Yansi
Yarìg <sub>a</sub> '	Yarìs'	Yat'	Yarsi
Zàŋgbèog <sub>o</sub>	Zàŋgbèed	Zàŋgbèel	Hausa

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

Note also **Mɔr'** pl **Móom<sub>ma</sub>** "Muslim"; **Nàsaara** pl **Nàsàa(r)-nàm<sub>a</sub>** "European", **Nàsaal** "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); **Tùon<sub>n</sub>** "Toende", **Tùonnìr** "Toende dialect", **Àgòlì** "Agolle"/"Agolle dialect": **Ò pjà<sup>n</sup>ad Àgòl**. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gòog <sub>a</sub>	Gòos	Gòog <sub>o</sub>
	Gùm-dìm <sub>a</sub>	Gùm <sub>n</sub>
Kùtan <sub>n</sub>	Kùtam <sub>ma</sub> '	Kùtay <sub>o</sub> '
Nàbìd <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdìb <sub>a</sub>	Nàbìdùg <sub>o</sub>
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob <sub>a</sub>	Sà'-dàbòog <sub>o</sub>
	Nà'-dàm <sub>ma</sub>	Nà'-dàɲg <sub>o</sub>
Wiid <sub>a</sub>	Wiid-nàm <sub>a</sub>	Wiidùg <sub>o</sub>
Zùa	Zùos	Zoose

Subclans: **Zùà-sabilìs** "Black Zoose", **Zùà-wiib<sub>a</sub>/-wiis** "Red Zoose." The clan **Nàbìdìb<sub>a</sub>** is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema."

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

Àgòl <sub>l</sub>	Agolle	cf àgól <sub>l</sub> "upwards"
Bàs-yò <sub>n</sub> '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? rationale
Bì-nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk <sub>o</sub>	Bawku	"pit, depression"
Bugur	Bugri	"home of a wun <sub>n</sub> '"
Dènùg <sub>o</sub>	Denugu	cf Mooré <i>reongo</i> "cattle enclosure"
Gàarù	Garu	Hausa <i>garu</i> "town/compound wall"
Kòl-ta'amís	Kultamse	" <i>Andira inermis</i> " pl
Kugur'	Kugri	"stone"
Kùk <sub>a</sub> '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkpàrìg <sub>a</sub>	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùlùgùg <sub>o</sub>	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>kuurgongu</i> "crooked shea"
Mì'isìg <sub>a</sub>	Missiga	English "mission"
Mùà'-nòor'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlimà Kù'om	Pulimakom	"cogongrass water"
Pusig <sub>a</sub> '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sa-bìl <sub>a</sub>	Zebilla	cf Farefare <i>saaga</i> (kind of grass)
Sa-pièlìg <sub>a</sub>	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan <sub>n</sub>	Tempane	"new villages"
Tilì'	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùon <sub>n</sub>	Toende	"West"
Wìdaan <sub>a</sub>	Widana	wìd-daan <sub>a</sub> "horse-owner" (title of a chief's "linguist")
Wìdì-'yá'aṅ <sub>a</sub>	Woriyanga	wìd-'yá'aṅ <sub>a</sub> "mare"
Wiid-nà'ab <sub>a</sub>	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wiid <sub>a</sub> "

For "north, east, south, west", W has respectively Barug<sub>o</sub>' "Bisa country", "Yá'aṅ<sub>a</sub> "behind", Zueya "hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùon<sub>n</sub> "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 Saṅkâa's "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) "Accra" is *Aṅkara*, from Twi.

The White Volta is simply kolug<sub>a</sub> "river."

Proper names of times include names of festivals like Samán-píer (traditional "New Year" and of weekdays, found always as predeterminers of daar "day": Áláasìd Sunday", Atínì "Monday", Àtáláatà "Tuesday", Àlárìbà "Wednesday", Àlàmiisì "Thursday", À(r)zùmà "Friday", Àsìbìtì "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 bæ 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.

bier´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pitó	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
taɥ´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam <sub>ma</sub> (less formally, ba´´)	father
sàam-kpɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m	father's elder brother
sàam-pit <sub>a</sub> ´	father's younger brother
pùgùdìb <sub>a</sub>	father's sister
mà	mother ( <b>mà nám<sub>a</sub></b> mother's co-wives)
mà-kpɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil <sub>a</sub> or mà-pit <sub>a</sub> ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
á <sup>n</sup> sìb <sub>a</sub>	mother's brother
biig <sub>a</sub> (m dàkòɔ <sup>n</sup> r, f pɥà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
a <sup>n</sup> síŋ <sub>a</sub>	man's sister's child
yáab <sub>a</sub> (m yaa-dáɥ, f -pɥá´)	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ <sub>a</sub>	grandchild/descendant
pɥà'-elíŋ <sub>a</sub>	fiancée
yi-pɥá´ or pɥa´	wife; brother's wife
dìem <sub>ma</sub> (m dìem-dáɥ, f -pɥak <sub>a</sub> )	wife's parent
dàkiig <sub>a</sub> (m dàkì-dáɥ, f -pɥak <sub>a</sub> )	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sìd <sub>a</sub>	husband
dàyaam <sub>ma</sub> (m dàyaam-dáɥ, f -pɥák <sub>a</sub> )	husband's parent
sìd-kpɛɛ <sup>n</sup> m	husband's elder brother
sìd-bil <sub>a</sub>	husband's younger brother
sìd-pɥak <sub>a</sub>	husband's sister
nìn-taa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

**Dìem<sub>ma</sub>** is used in polite address by a person of either sex to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age.

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at **Bùgúm-tɔɔ<sup>n</sup>r**, 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 *bédògú* "a lot", *pamm* If *pamné* "a lot", *fii*<sup>n</sup> "a little (liquid)", *bi'elá* "a little", *wuu* "all", *wusa* "all"; count quantifiers include *bàbìga* "many", *kàlìga* "few", *faa*<sup>n</sup> "every", *za*<sup>n</sup>'a "every", *kàm*<sub>a</sub> "every", *kàm za*<sup>n</sup>'a "every" and numerals. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: *nidib bédògú* or *nidib bábìga* "a lot of/many people"; *kù'om bédògú* "a lot of water"; but not *\*kù'om bábìga*.

Quantifiers are typically postdependents, but may be heads (with *nàm*<sub>a</sub> pls.) After dependent NPs, they are partitive. Dependent pronouns may follow quantifiers.

*Bédògú/pamm ké na.*

"Many came."

*Bédògú la ké na.*

"The crowd came."

*Àyí' ké na.*

"Two came."

*Àyí' la ké na.*

"The two came."

*nidib lá àyí'*

"two of the people"

*màlìak-nám túsà piiga nám*

"tens of thousands of angels"

*nidib bedego bama nwa*

"this crowd of people" Mt 15:33 B2

*nidib bédògú bámma "wá*

person.PL much DEMp this

9.5.1 Numerals

The quantifier numerals are

1	<i>yunní</i>	10	<i>piiga</i>	100	<i>kòbìga</i> (lf identical)
2	<i>àyí'</i>	20	<i>pisí</i>	200	<i>kòbìsì</i>
3	<i>àtá</i> <sup>n</sup> '	30	<i>pis tá</i> <sup>n</sup> '	300	<i>kòbìs tá</i> <sup>n</sup> '
4	<i>ànaasí</i>	40	<i>pis naasí</i>	400	<i>kòbìs naasí</i>
5	<i>ànu</i>	50	<i>pis nu</i>		etc
6	<i>àyúobù</i>	60	<i>pis yúobù</i>		
7	<i>àyópè</i>	70	<i>pis yópè</i>		
8	<i>àní</i>	80	<i>pis ní</i>		
9	<i>àwa</i>	90	<i>pis wa</i>		

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before *yunní*, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: *yolugá àtá*<sup>n</sup>' "600 cedis." *Yunní* can also follow a cif: *kug-yínnì* or *kugur yunní* "one stone." *Pii(ga)/pis(í)* follow cif *dà-* "day" (B3 *dab*): *dabpii ne ayopoi daar* "on the 17th day" Gn 7:11.



Numerals as predependents of *daana* "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí dâan la* "the second one", *buvúgá àtá<sup>n</sup> dâan la* "the third goat"; "first" is *yiigá dâan*. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use relative clauses with *pàas/pè'és* "amount to":

*dàv-kànì· pè'ésà àyí' la* "the second man"  
man-DEM·NZ come.to two the

*lìnì· pàasà àtá<sup>n</sup> la* "the third one"  
DEMi·NZ come.to three the

Multiplicatives answer *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yummú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí* "twice", *àbùtá<sup>n</sup>* "three times", *àbùnaasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpiiga* "ten times." The prefix *bù* is the old *bɔ|* agreement; *à* is the manner-noun prefix, preceded by *ɪ* in liaison, so its attachment to 2-9 alone is analogical.

Answers to *nóorá àlá* "how many times?" may be e.g. *nóor yunní* "once", *nóorá àtá<sup>n</sup>* or *nóorím bùtá<sup>n</sup>* "three times" etc. This *nóor* is not "mouth", but corresponds to Toende *nɔ'ɔt* "leg": *nɔ'ɔt/nɔba ayi* "twice."

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

1	<i>yɪn yɪn</i>	10	<i>pɪi pɪig</i>	100	<i>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pisí pisí</i>	200	<i>kòbìsí kóbìsí</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtá<sup>n</sup> tá<sup>n</sup></i>	30	<i>pis tá<sup>n</sup> tá<sup>n</sup></i>	300	<i>kòbìs tá<sup>n</sup> tá<sup>n</sup></i>
4	<i>ànaas naas</i>	40	<i>pis naas naas</i>		etc
5	<i>ànu nu</i>	50	<i>pis nu nu</i>	1000	<i>tusir tusir</i>
6	<i>àyûob yûob</i>	60	<i>pis yûob yûob</i>		
7	<i>àyópðẹ pọẹ</i>	70	<i>pis yópðẹ pọẹ</i>		
8	<i>àní ní</i>	80	<i>pis ní ní</i>		
9	<i>àwạẹ wạẹ</i>	90	<i>pis wạẹ wạẹ</i>		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern *pis nu nɛ naas naas* "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: *dabá àyópðẹ pọẹ* "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": *nyàv̥k̥ɔ* pl *nyà'ad* is only used for eyes, while *yɪv̥ɔ* pl *yúná* is used for other paired body parts: *nif-nyáv̥k̥* "one eye", *nɔb-yív̥ɔ* "one leg", *nu'-yív̥ɔ* "one hand", *tùb-yɪv̥ɔ* "one ear."

The adjective *yummír* pl *yummá* cif *yɪm-* 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'usùg fûug dôog

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

Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions. For postpositions see §10.6.2.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier, or a relative clause, the predependent construction is partitive. Thus *nin-siébà* "certain people", *nidibá àyí' (la)* "(the) two people", but

*yà sɔ'*

"some one among you"

*nidib la siébà*

"certain of the people"

*nidib lá àyí'*

"two of the people"

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

Pà'alìm·tí nidibá àyí' ʷwá fún gan sɔ'.

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. *nidib la gígìs* must mean "the dumb ones belonging to the people", not "among the people" (W.)

*Daan<sub>a</sub>* "owner" (pl *dàan-nàm<sub>a</sub>*) always follows a NP representing a possession or a quality:

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wɔk dâan pɔ gánìd búgúmm·.

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

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

(Don't run risks if you have family commitments.)

So too e.g. *daam dâan* "beer owner", *tienj dâan* "bearded man", *pɔɔg la dâan* "the owner of the field" Mt 21:40, *pù-pièlìm dâan* "upright person"; here even manner nouns can be predeterminers: *bugusíga dâan* "softly-softly sort of person" W.

**Daan<sub>a</sub>** follows a cif in a few set expressions, e.g. **yi-dâan<sub>a</sub>/yi-sôb<sub>a</sub>** "householder" and **tèŋ-daan<sub>a</sub>** "traditional earth-priest"; cf also *anaas-daan* "owner of four [horns]", *poi-daan* "owner of seven" G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a counting numeral, with or without the prefix **à**.

Numerals precede **daan<sub>a</sub>** as ordinals §9.5.1.

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

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la  
**yà àntuà'-mɔrím kótò ní nɛ taaba la**

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.

**Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yîib na.**

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 adverbials. Noun-adjective compounds as arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. **fu-zé<sup>n</sup>dà kùos** "dyed-cloth seller."

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

<b>nin-kôud<sub>a</sub></b>	"murderer"	<b>bù-kvud<sub>a</sub>'</b>	"goat-killer"
<b>bù-za<sup>n</sup>l'</b>	"goat-holder"	<b>bù-kùos<sub>a</sub></b>	"goat-seller"
<b>sàlìm-kùos<sub>a</sub></b>	"gold-seller"	<b>da-nûud<sub>a</sub></b>	"beer-drinker"
<b>zim-gbâ<sup>n</sup>'ad<sub>a</sub></b>	"fisher"	<b>tàn-mɛɛd<sub>a</sub></b>	"builder"
<b>làmpɔ-dí'es<sub>a</sub></b>	"tax collector"	<b>kò<sup>n</sup>b-kɪm<sub>na</sub></b>	"herder, shepherd"
<b>zà'-nɔ-gúr<sub>a</sub></b>	"gatekeeper"	<b>bùl-sigid<sub>a</sub>'</b>	"well-diver"

**nɔ-dí'es<sub>a</sub>** "chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")

**puà'-sa<sup>n</sup>'am<sub>ma</sub>** "adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")

**"ya'an-dól<sub>la</sub>** "disciple" ("after-follower")

**tùon-gat<sub>a</sub>** "leader" ("in-front-passer")

**puà'-la'ad<sub>a</sub>** "laugher at women" (**ò là'ad pu'ab** "he laughs at women" W)

Consultants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; B has, among others, *baŋɪda* "wise man", *faa<sup>n</sup>da'* "robber", *pa'an<sub>na</sub>* "teacher." However, a preceding cif is usual; it may be just a corresponding gerund:

<i>màal-maan<sub>na</sub></i>	"sacrificer"	<i>zi-zîid<sub>a</sub></i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as<sub>a</sub></i>	"talker"	<i>zàb-zàb<sub>a</sub></i>	"warrior"
<i>zòt-zòt<sub>a</sub></i>	"racer, athlete"	<i>tòm-tòm<sub>na</sub></i>	"worker"

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

<i>sjà-loodíŋ<sub>a</sub></i>	"belt" ("waist-tier")
<i>nin-gótìs</i>	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

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

<i>nu'-módìr</i>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>wìn-liir</i>	"sunset"
<i>su<sup>n</sup>-sâ<sup>n</sup>'ɔŋ<sub>o</sub></i>	"sorrow" ( <i>mè su<sup>n</sup>f sâ<sup>n</sup>'am nɛ</i> "my heart is spoilt")
<i>da-nûur</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>nɔ-lôɔr</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")
<i>fu-yêɛr</i>	"shirt-wearing" (W, nonce-form)
<i>pɔ̀a'-duɾ</i>	"marriage" ( <i>ò dî pɔ̀a'</i> "he's married a wife")
<i>nin-bâa<sup>n</sup>l-zɔɔr</i>	"pity" ( <i>ò zòto· nin-bâa<sup>n</sup>lìg</i> "she has pity on him")
<i>mò-pilɿ</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vu'ɔgír</i>	"resurrection" ( <i>ò vò'ɔg kumɿ·n</i> "he revived from death")

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

<i>pù-pièlìm</i>	"virtue" ( <i>pù-pièlɿ</i> "upright person")
<i>su<sup>n</sup>-kpî'ɔŋ<sub>o</sub></i>	"boldness" ("strong-heartedness")
<i>wɪn-tôɔg<sub>o</sub></i>	"ill fortune" ("bitter-fatedness")

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

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

m̀ biig	"my child"
daɣ la b̄iig	"the man's child"
daɣ la b̄ier b̄iig n̄aaf z̄òur	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
daɣ la w̄ief z̄òur	"the man's horse's tail"
dú'atà la lór-kàja	"this/that car of the doctor's"

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

daɣ la w̄id-z̄òur	"the man's horse-tail" (he may have no horse)
b̄i-fuug <sub>ɔ</sub> '	"children's shirt" (suitable for children)
wab-móogv̄n	"in bush where there are elephants" W
zà'-nɔɔr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-biig <sub>a</sub>	"sibling" ("mother-child")
ba'-b̄iig <sub>a</sub>	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
t̄ɛŋ-biig <sub>a</sub>	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlòg <sub>ɔ</sub>	"aeroplane" ("European hawk")
nàsàar-bùgúm	"electricity" ("European fire")

Note W's exceptional *n̄aaf-b̄i'<sup>n</sup>isím* "cow's milk", *b̄uug-b̄i'<sup>n</sup>isím* "goat's milk."

Except with *daana<sub>a</sub>* (above) and *sob<sub>a</sub>* §9.2, abstract predependents appear as indefinite free forms:

na'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
p̄è'usùg d̄ôog	"temple" ("worship house")
t̄v̄l̄gír b̄ún	"heater" ("heating thing")
ɔv̄gub dút	"cooking pots"
ligidi t̄úmà	"expensive work" ( <i>ligidi</i> "money")

So do predependents expressing materials:

sal̄ma b̄út̄ŋ	"golden cup"
sal̄ma n̄e anz̄urifà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fuug d̄ôog	"tent" ("cloth hut")
dàad b̄ún-nám	"wooden things" ( <i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood")

Unlike cifs or abstracts, materials as predependents can be antecedents of pronouns: *sal̄ma lâ'ad né ò but̄us* "gold goods and [gold] cups" W. The construction is limited to this sense: *k̄uà'-<sup>n</sup>wiig<sub>a</sub>'* "current", not *\*k̄u'om <sup>n</sup>wiig* "rope made of water."

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

Place NPs may be predependents:

duniya ní nìn-gbiṅ	"earthly body"
kòlìgì·n nò-dâṅ	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
kù'omì·n bún	"water creature"
zugú·n/teṅì·n níf-gbáyṅ	"upper/lower eyelid"
mòogù·n/yín bún-kó <sup>n</sup> bìd	"wild/tame animals"
Bòk díṃ	"Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf	"left eye"

Buligin zìṅ zì' kòlìgin yélaa.

Bùlìgì·n zîṅ zì' kòlìgì·n yélaa·.

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 yélá "about":

Kusâas kûob ne yir yélà gbàṅṅ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàṅ-kàṅa la yélà gbàṅṅ	"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 an adjective or dependent pronoun, a nominal is reduced to a cif and its number is marked by the dependent.

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependent subjects (above) may be followed by VP complements or adverbials. Adverbials as NP postdependents are otherwise doubtful. *On sob á ne dú'atà àmɛṅá la* "That one's the real doctor" W contrasts with *Mane an vain tiig la amɛṅa* "I am the true vine" Jn 15:1 (*amɛṅa* as VP adverbial); "wadis yôum la púugù·n" "months in the year" S and *wabug mòogù·n la* "elephant in the bush" W may not have been single constituent NPs in their original contexts.

Except for *yiigá* "firstly", quantifiers as determiners follow the head. Cif heads appear only before *yunní* "one" and with *dà-* "day" before numerals without prefixes.

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns appear as dependent determiners after a noun or noun-adjective compound cif, or after a quantifier:

biig <sub>a</sub>	"child"	bì-kàṅa´	"this child"
bì-so'	"a certain child"	bì-sòṅ-kàṅa´	"this good child"
Bì-kànè·?	"Which child?"	Bì-bó·?	"What child?"

yel-tôod àtá<sup>n</sup> bámma

"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."

Εε<sup>n</sup>, ò zuà à Sibigi n kabiríd.

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, e.g. *nua'* "hen", *noos'* "hen"; *no-súŋ<sub>o</sub>* "good hen", *no-súmà* "good hens"; *no-súŋ-kàŋa'* "this good hen."

Adjectives may only be heads in predicatives §10.6.1; even there, *nin-* "person" or *bun-* "thing" are usually supplied as heads. Adjective cifs can never be heads: "this good one" must be *bun-súŋ-kàŋa*. Ipf verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are equivalent to agent nouns: *bun-kúvdìr* "thing to do with killing" but *kúvdír* "killer."

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. *nu'-bíl<sub>a</sub>* "finger" ("small hand"); *tì-sabilím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gò<sup>n</sup>-sabilíg<sub>a</sub>* "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); *bun-gíŋ<sub>a</sub>* "short fellow" (jocular); *bun-kúddòg<sub>o</sub>* "old man" (standard term.)

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system: the dependents in *dàbìs-si'er* "some day", *yel-súm<sub>n</sub>* "blessing" ("good matter"), *puà'-paal<sub>a</sub>'* "bride" ("new wife") do not usually occur with these class suffixes.

For W (not D) and in many texts, *me|* nouns require adjectives in *-me:* *da-páalim* "new beer", *tì-vunním* "oral medication"; so too *bun<sub>n</sub>* when it means "abstract thing", e.g. *bun-nyétim* "visible world" versus *bun-nyétir* "visible object"; *bun-bóodim* "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of *nòŋilím* "love.")

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

Lì à ne wíug.

"It's red."

Lì à ne wíugu.

"It's reddish."

fu-wíugu la

"the reddish shirt"

Lì à ne fu-píelìga.

"It's a whitish shirt."

Lì à ne fu-píelìga la.

"It's the whitish shirt."

Lì à ne tita'aru.

"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 νε πιέλιγ fáσσ fáσσ.	"It's very white."
Lì à νε σαβιλίγ ζίμ ζίμ.	"It's deep black."
Lì à νε ζί <sup>n</sup> 'a wím wím.	"It's deep red."
Μ̣ nyé fu-zí <sup>n</sup> 'a wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
Fu-zí <sup>n</sup> 'a wím wím bé.	"There's a deep red shirt."
Μ̣ bôod fu-zí <sup>n</sup> 'a wím wím la.	"I want the deep red shirt."
Ò wà'am tólìlìlì.	"She's very tall."
Ò gìm νε τίριγà.	"She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. *sùŋ* "good", *be'ed* "bad", *zùlùŋ* "deep", *ma'asíga* "damp."

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à νε nu'-kpíilúŋ.	"It's a dead hand."
Biig la á νε nu'-kpíilúŋ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à νε bí-nu'-kpíilúŋ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùg-nob-wók <sub>3</sub>	"long-legged stool"
Kùg-kàŋa á νε nob-wók.	"This stool is long-legged." W

Similarly *nob-gíŋa* "short-legged", *zug-mávk<sub>3</sub>* "crushed-headed", *zè-wók<sub>3</sub>'* "long-tailed", *zu-péelòg<sub>3</sub>* "bald", *pù-pìel<sub>1</sub>* "righteous" etc, and with "one of a pair" adjectives, as in *bà-nif<sup>n</sup>yávk<sub>3</sub>* "one-eyed dog", *bì-tùb-yíná* "one-eared children." The adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg: *bì-tùb-kpida* "deaf child" (pl *bì-tùb-kpida nám<sub>a</sub>/bì-tùb-kpidis*); *bì-tùb-lud* "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns may be used as adjectives after human heads, e.g. *bì-saan<sub>a</sub>'/bì-sáan<sub>a</sub>* "strange child", but only *bù-sáan<sub>a</sub>* "strange goat." Similarly *bì-dav* "male child", *bì-pya'* "female child", *bì-kpí'um* "dead child", *bì-zu'om'* "blind child", *bì-gìk<sub>a</sub>* "dumb child", *bì-wàbìr* "lame child", *bì-balervg<sub>3</sub>'* "ugly child", *bì-pò<sup>n</sup>'or* "crippled child", *bì-nà'ab<sub>a</sub>* or *nà'-biig<sub>a</sub>* "prince", *dàv-biig<sub>a</sub>* "male child", *nàsàa-biig<sub>a</sub>* "European child", *bi-púŋ-yàmmùg<sub>a</sub>* "slave girl", *yàm-bi-púŋ<sub>a</sub>* "girl slave." Agent nouns cannot be used like this after cifs which could be taken as complements: *bì-sin<sub>na</sub>'* "silent child", *pùà'-zàa<sup>n</sup>s<sub>a</sub>* "woman prone to dreaming" K, but *pùà'-kuvd<sub>a</sub>'* can only mean "killer of women", *pùà'-la'ad<sub>a</sub>* only "laugher at women" (W.)

9.7.2 La and ⁿwà

La´ 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 la´ §10.7.

Unlike la´, ⁿwà can stand alone as a NP:

ⁿWà á ne biig.

this be FOC child

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

La´ 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 ya.

sun fall m/c

"The sun has set."

Nɔ̀ɲilim pɔ naada.

Nò̀ɲìlím pɔ naadá.

love NG finish.IPF·NG

"Love does not come to an end."

1 Cor 13:8

There is no indefinite article: a NP without la´ is indefinite if it could have taken la´ as an article. Indefinite NPs may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of àeⁿya "be something" used ascriptively:

Ò nò̀ɲìd ka'e.

3a lover NG.exist·NG

"Nobody loves him." W

Ò à ne biig.

3a be FOC child

"She is a child."

Indefinite NPs are specific in presentational statements §12.4; elsewhere, they are normally generic. Unlike "the", la´ is not used generically:

One kunt mi zugub.

Ò̀nì· kùt mi' zugub.

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":

**Na'-síebà ó<sup>n</sup>bìd ne mɔɔd.** "Some cows are eating grass."  
 cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

Demonstrative pronouns make a preceding head definite, and any following **la'** is deictic §9.2.

After a predependent NP with **la'**, a head is definite, with no article; if **la'** follows, it is deictic. A dependent indefinite pronoun is needed to make such a head indefinite: **nà'ab la bìig** "the chief's child", but **nà'ab la bí-sɔ'** "a child of the chief's."

Predependent personal pronouns and proper names do not make a following head definite; **la'** is needed as usual to mark referents as already established:

**M bìig bé.** "I have a child." W  
 1s child exist

**M bìig ka'e.** "I've no child" W  
 1s child NG.exist·NG

**M bìig la ka'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"  
**Day dá bè mɔrí ò bi-díbiŋ** 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 daa á<sup>n</sup> puá'-sadir lá kà ò kul sidi pae yúmà àyópòè kà ò sid la kpi.**  
 3a.NZ TNS be girl the and 3a marry husband·+ reach year.PL seven 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 *nɛ'* may be inserted at various points after the verb and enclitics §12.1.

Tense markers precede mood markers before the verb; mood particles also mark polarity. The future is expressed by an irrealis *mood*. Absence of tense or mood markers is itself meaningful. A small set of "preverbal adjuncts" may appear before the verb in fixed positions among the tense/mood markers. Aspect is marked by verb flexion. The verb may be followed by the discontinuous-past enclitic *n* or 2pS *ya*, which precede any enclitic object pronoun; at most one enclitic object is allowed. There is no agreement: apparent number agreement in imperatives is due to 2pS *ya*.

The VP of main and content clauses carries m/c marking, which is primarily tonal, but also involves the particle *ya* after pfs and the 2vb imperative flexion *ma*.

### 10.1 Aspect

2vbs inflect for aspect, suffixing *ɛ* for perfective and *da* for imperfective (for the suffix *ma* see §10.5); 1vbs are ipf. The focus particle *nɛ'* 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, it implies priority to the main clause §11.4.1; in catenation, pfs must follow event order §11.3; narrative uses pfs in series. However, pf is also the usual aspect for conditional protases and future events, and may be present tense; with most verbs this expresses a completed event or process with time unspecified, implying current relevance (a "present perfect"):

*Saa ní ya.*

rain rain m/c

"It has rained." W: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not a desert." (*Saa daa ní* "It rained.")

It may express events regarded as coextensive with the moment of utterance, as with performatives or with verbs of cognition/perception:

*F̀̀ wóm ya kúv·?*

2s hear m/c or·PQ

"Do you understand?"

*M̀ sják ya.*

1s agree m/c

"I agree."

*M̀ nyé nu'-bíbisá àtá<sup>n</sup>'.*

1s see finger.PL three

"I can see three fingers."

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject can use pf to express the resulting state; temporal-focus *ne'* follows if syntactically permitted. Most such verbs are intransitive, but verbs of dressing (for example) also imply a subject state change:

*Lì bòdìg ne.*

3i lose FOC

"It's lost."

(*Lì bòdìg ya* "It's got lost.")

*M' yé ne fuug.*

1s don FOC shirt

"I'm wearing a shirt."

(*M' yé fuug* "I've put a shirt on.")

Similarly *ò kpì ne* "he's dead"; *m' gé<sup>n</sup> ne* "I'm tired"; *bà kùdùg ne* "they're old"; *lì pè'el ne* "it's full"; *lì yò ne* "it's closed"; *m' búg ne* "I'm drunk"; *ò lèr ne* "he's ugly" W; *lì sòbìg ne* "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 taabá à sɔ<sup>n</sup>'e bi'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:

*Niigí ò<sup>n</sup>bìd mɔɔd.*

cow.PL chew.IPF grass.PL

"Cows eat grass."

*Na'-síebà ó<sup>n</sup>bìd ne mɔɔd.*

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

"Some cows are eating grass."

*M' zí<sup>n</sup>'i.*

*M' zí<sup>n</sup>'i ne.*

*Kùlìg la yôɔd.*

*Kùlìg la yôɔd ne.*

*Nidib kpîid.*

*Nidib kpîid ne.*

"I sit."

"I'm sitting."

"The door closes." (i.e. can be closed)

"The door is closing."

"People die."

"People are dying."

*M' mór pɔa'.*

1s have wife

"I have a wife."



However, *daa* can be used for even remote past. Parallel B passages may show *daa* or *dà*, e.g. *O da/daa bodigne* Lk 15:24/32 B2 "He was lost." B1/2 uses *daa* for the usual past marker in narrative, with *da* mostly for "pluperfects", parentheses, background, and quoted parables or historical accounts (e.g. Acts 7:1-53 B2), but B3 and G2 use *da* as the default past marker.

Future tense markers occur only with the irrealis or in purpose clauses. Indicative ipf is not used as a future. Note the performative pf in

*M kúl ya.* "I'm going home (now.)"  
1s go.home m/c

However, there are two periphrastic future constructions for "to be about to": *bòòda* "want" + gerund, and subject (always animate) + purpose clause:

*Yù'uh bòòd gaadug* "Night is about to pass" Rom 13:12  
*Yù'uh bôòd gáadùg*  
night want.IPF passing

*M yé ìn kya summa.* "I'm going to hoe groundnuts."  
1s that 1s hoe groundnut.PL

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 are interpreted as present, regardless of aspect:

*Nidib kpîid.* "People die."  
*Ò mòr pua'.* "He has a wife."  
*Ò kpì ya.* "She's died." ("present perfect")

Tense markers may be omitted with irrealis mood, past *n*, or time adverbials:

*Fù [sáa] nà kul.* "You'll go home (tomorrow.)"  
2s TNS IR go.home

*M [pá'] ò<sup>n</sup>bìdì·n summa.* "I was eating groundnuts earlier today."  
1s TNS chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

*M [sá] <sup>n</sup>wè' búŋ la sù'os.* "I hit the donkey yesterday."  
1s TNS hit donkey the yesterday

Narrative favours long sequences of clauses coordinated with *kà* and lacking tense marking. In B narrative, main clauses without *kà* or time adverbials are usually tense-marked (> 80% in B2), though informal narrative (e.g. "Three Brigands" §14) lacks tense-marking in non-initial clauses without *kà* more often (cf English informal historic presents, CGEL p130.) On the other hand, clauses with *kà* contain tense markers only for scene-setting or for signalling disruptions in the narrative flow like flashbacks, asides or descriptions. *Àmáa* "but" §11.7 does not affect tense marking.

Ka ba paae mu'ar gbεog line an Gadara dim tejin la, ka dapa ayi' banε ka kikiris dōlli ba yi yaadin naa tu'us o. Ban da tōi hali la zug ka nidib da zōt dabiem nε ban na dōlli anina gat. Ka ba tans ye,

*Kà bà pae mû'ar gbêog lìnì· à<sup>n</sup> Gadara dí<sup>m</sup> tèjì·n la, kà dapá àyí' bánì· kà*

and 3p reach lake shore DEMi·NZ be Gadara Øp land-at the and man.PL two DEMp·NZ and

*kìkiris dōllí·ba· yi yáadì·n naa· tu'úsó·. Bán dà tōg hálí la zúg*

fairy.PL follow·3p·+ exit grave.PL-at hither·+ meet·3a 3p.NZ TNS be.bitter until the on

*kà nidib dá zòt dábiem nε bán nà dōllí ànina· gát. Kà bà tá<sup>n</sup>s ye,*

and person.PL TNS fear.IPF fear with 3p.NZ IR follow there·+ pass.IPF and 3p shout that

"They reached the lakeside at Gadara, and two men afflicted by demons came out from the tombs to meet him. They were so fierce that people feared to go past there. They shouted ..." Mt 8:28-29

Amaa ba da zōt o nε dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid anε nya'andōl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mōr o keŋ ...

*Àmáa bà dà zòtò· nε dábiem, bán dà pu níŋò· yádda yé ò sìd*

but 3p TNS fear.IPF·3a FOC fear 3p.NZ TNS NG do·3a trust that 3a truly

*à nε nya'an-dól la zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas záŋ Saul n mōró· keŋ ...*

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 duá' Y* "X begat Y" in Mt 1.1ff B2:

Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma da ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a ...

*Kà David duá' Solomon. Ò mà dá à nε Uria puá'. Kà Solomon duá' ...*

and David beget Solomon 3a mother TNS be FOC Uriah wife and Solomon beget

"David begat Solomon. His mother was Uriah's wife. Solomon begat ..."

In contrast, the genealogy in Lk 3:23ff B2 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam da ane Y* "X's father was Y." Long series of coordinated "asides" may drop tense marking: in this passage B3 only has tense marking at the beginning of paragraphs.

Isolated *kà*-clauses with pf aspect and no tense marking were always interpreted as expressing events by consultants, with focus-*ne'* taken as constituent focus, never temporal §12.1; tense marking enabled temporal interpretations:

*Lì bòdìg ne.*

3i get.lost FOC

"It's lost."

*Kà lì bódìg ne.*

and 3i get.lost FOC

Rejected by W; explained by D as denying "someone hid it"

*Bà kùdìg ne.*

3p get.old FOC

"They're old."

*Kà bà kúdìg ne.*

and 3p get.old FOC

Rejected by W; D explained "You're saying they're old, when he promised to give you new ones"

but *Kà lì daa bódìg ne.*

and 3i TNS get.lost FOC

"And it was lost."

*Kà bà sá kùdìg ne.*

*Kà bà daa kúdìg ne.*

both acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked ipfs can appear in narrative to express multiple events:

*Ka ba la'ad o.*

*Kà bà lá'ado.*

and 3p laugh.IPF·3a

"But they laughed at him." Mk 5:40

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 pu mōr biiga·, bō zúgō Elizabet dá à ne kúndò'ar*

3p TNS NG have child·NG because Elizabeth TNS be FOC barren.woman

*kà bà bàyí' la wusa mé kúdìg ne.*

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

Subordinate clauses within narrative mark tense relative to the timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la  
**kà dau támmì ò pua' lá· sà yèlò· si'el la**

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

Ban bôod ye ba saa di Kum Maliak Gaadug malug diib la.

**Ban bôod yé bà sáa dì Kum Máliak Gáadùg málùg dìib la.**

3p want.IPF that 3p TNS eat death angel passing custom food the

"They wanted to eat the Passover meal the next day." Jn 18:28

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses preposed with **kà** §12.3, whether or not **kà** also precedes, or the absolute clause is tense-marked (97% in Mk, Lk, and Acts 1-14 B1.) With absolute-clause adverbials *after kà*, marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual rules for narrative (88%.)

### 10.3 Mood and negation

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. Mood-marking particles also express polarity. Imperative marking involves a flexion which also marks m/c. Negative polarity induces a VP-final negative enclitic §5.3 §10.7. Only VPs can be negated; constituent negation requires subordinate clauses, e.g. *banē ka' Kristo nidib la svjir* "the help of non-Christians" 3 Jn 1:7.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It is negated by **pu** (S **bu**, as in Toende.) It is used for statements and questions about present, past and timeless events and states, and immediate future in periphrastic constructions §10.2.

**Ò pu "wé' bùy láa·.**

3a NG hit donkey the·NG

"He hasn't hit the donkey."

Imperative mood is negated by **da**. 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: *Vve! Vùè!* "Live!" Ez 16:6. See §11.2.2 on 2pS **ya**.

**"Wè'em búy la!**

hit.IMP donkey the

"Hit the donkey!"

**Da "wé' bùy láa·!**

NG.IMP hit donkey the·NG

"Don't hit the donkey!"

Yèlìmo· yé ò da gɔsɛ·.

say.IMP·3a that 3a NG.IMP look·NG

"Tell him not to look."

Kèm na n gɔs!

come.IMP hither + look

"Come and look!"

Kò<sup>n</sup>sìm!

"Cough!"

Da kó<sup>n</sup>sɛ!

NG.IMP cough·NG

"Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did cough, during an eye operation)

Da kó<sup>n</sup>sìda!

NG.IMP cough.IPF·NG

"Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)

Dòllì·ní·m!

Bée ànína!

"Come (pl) with me!"

"Be (i.e. stay) there!" S

Temporal *ne'* cannot appear, but *àlá* "thus" here conveys a continuous sense:

Dìmí àlá!

Dìgì·ní àlá!

"Carry on eating!"

"Keep on (pl) lying down."

Aa·ní àlá baa<sup>n</sup>lím!

be·2pS thus quietness

"Be (pl) quiet!"

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers *nà* (positive), *kù* (negative), after which a directly following preverbal adjunct or tp A 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 <sup>n</sup>wɛ' búŋ la.

3a IR hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey."

Ò kù <sup>n</sup>wɛ' búŋ láa·.

3a NG.IR hit donkey the·NG

"He won't hit the donkey."

Ò daa ná <sup>n</sup>wɛ' búŋ la.

3a TNS IR hit donkey the

"He would have hit the donkey."  
(but didn't, W)

one da na ti zam o "who was going to betray him" Jn 6:71  
 ònì· dà nà ti zám mò·  
 DEMa·NZ TNS IR next betray·3a

Negative verbs replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.

**Ka'e** (clause-final variant **kà'asìg**) replaces the indicative negative of **bè** "exist" always, of **àè<sup>n</sup>ya** "be something" except in contrasts, and often also of **mòra'** "have."

Ò mòr biig, àmáa day la ka'e· "She has a child but the man hasn't."  
 3a have child but man the NG.have·NG

Day la ka'e· "The man isn't there."  
 man the NG.exist·NG

Day ka'e dóogv·n láa· "There's no man in the room."  
 man NG.exist room·at the·NG

Day la ka' dóogv·n láa· "The man is not in the room."  
 man the NG.exist room·at the·NG

Ò biig ká'asìg· "She has no child."  
 3a child NG.exist·NG

**Zi'** (clause-final variant **zi'isìg**) "not know" usually replaces indicative **pu mi'**:

Bòṅ-ba<sup>n</sup>'ad zi' ye tɛŋ tólla·  
 donkey-rider NG.know that ground be.hot·NG  
 Proverb: "A donkey-rider doesn't know the ground is hot."

but Ka o sid la pu mii. "But her husband did not know." G2 p26  
 Kà ò sɪd la pu mi'i·  
 and 3a husband the NG know·NG

**Mit** 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· zírì nò-dí'esidìb bání· kenní yà sa'an na la.  
 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

10.4 Preverbal adjuncts

Preceding all tense/mood markers:

**sadígím** "since" §11.4.1

**naan** "in that case" §11.2.3

**sìd** "truly" (51 *sìd da*, 5 *da sìd* B3)

**lèè** "but" (15 *lèè da*, 1 *da lèè* B3)

**naan/naan** "next, afterwards"

**pà' tì** "perhaps"

**yv'v'n** "next" (80 *yv'v'n da*, 4 *da yv'v'n* B3)

Following tense markers but preceding mood:

**nàm** "still" (with negatives, "yet")

**nyè/èè** (tí) "habitually" (*nyii ti* B1/2)

**kolum/kudim** "always"

Following all tense/mood markers:

**pùn** "previously, already"

**lèm** "again" (**pu lém**+ipf "no more")

**dèngim** "beforehand"

**kpèlìm**+pf "immediately", +ipf "still" (B3 **kpèn**)

**tì** "next, then"

**là'am** "together"

**màlìgim** "again"

Examples:

Josua yv'v'n da kùdigya.

**Josua yv'v'n dá kùdìg ya.**

Joshua then TNS grow.old m/c

"Then Joshua grew old." Jo 13:1

**Ò sìd daa á nɛ nâ'ab.**

3a truly TNS be FOC chief

"Truly, he was a chief." W

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

**Kà man pîâ<sup>n</sup>'ad la léè kù gaadɛ.**

and 1s speech the but NG.IR pass-NG

"But my words will not pass away."

Mt 24:35 B2

amaa lɛɛ pu'ʊsimi Wina'am bareka

**àmáa lèè pù'ʊsimi· Wínà'am bárika**

but but greet.IMP·2pS God blessing

"but thank God" Eph 5:4

Ka Zugsoɓ sɔnf nyaan yv'v'n ma'ae.

**Kà Zug-sóɓ sún<sup>f</sup> nyaan yv'v'n ma'e.**

and Lord heart next then cool

"Then the Lord's anger subsided."

Jo 7:26

One pa'ati an Kristo la bæε?

Oni· pá' tì à<sup>n</sup> Kristo la béε·?

3a·+ perhaps be Christ the or·PQ

"Perhaps he is the Christ?" Jn 4:29

ba nam pu kuu fo

bà nàm pu kúv·fɔ·

3p still NG kill·2s·NG

"they haven't killed you yet" G2 p28

Tìum la nám bèε·?

medicine the still exist·PQ

"Is there any medicine left?"

Hor dim la me da εenti be Seir.

Hor díum la mé dá εε<sup>n</sup> tí bè Seir.

Hor Øp the also TNS habit exist Seir

"The Horites too used to live in Seir."

Dt 2:12

On ne o pu'a Prisila daa kodim nan yine Room

On né ò pu'a Prisila daa kodum nám yi ne 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

Ò pòn "wé' bòn la.

3a already hit donkey the

"He's already hit the donkey."

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

halí kà Herod tí kpì.

until and Herod next die

"until Herod had died." Mt 2:15

Beogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

Beogú· tì nied lá kà bà gâad!

morning·NZ next appear.IPF the and 3p pass

"Before morning comes they have gone!"

Is 17:14

Kèm· tí "ye dú'atà.

go.IMP·+ next see doctor

"Go and see Doctor." S

Ì nif lém zàbìd ne.

1s eye again fight.IPF FOC

"My eye is hurting again."

Ì nif pu lém zàbìda·.

1s eye NG again fight.IPF·NG

"My eye is not hurting any more."

Ò nà lɛm <sup>n</sup>wé' bòn la.

3a IR again hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey again."

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi nɛ o.

kà nidib wusa dá là'am kpì nó·.

and person.PL all TNS together die with·3a

"so all people died together with him."

2 Cor 5:14

Pin'ilugun sa ka Pian'ad la da pòn dɛɲim bɛ.

Pi<sup>n</sup>'ilúgu·n sá kà Pjà<sup>n</sup>'ad la dá pòn dɛ̀ɲim bè.

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 kv maligim gaadɛ.

Àmáa man pjà<sup>n</sup>'ad la kú maligim gáadɛ·.

but 1s speech the NG.IR again pass·NG

"But my words will not pass away." Mt 24:35

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

Kà ò kpélìm zu'om.

and 3a immediately go.blind

"Immediately he went blind."

Acts 13:11 B2

m biig Josef nan kpen vɔɛ.

m̄ biig Josef nám kpèn vɔɛ.

1s child Joseph still still live

"My child Joseph is still alive." Gn 45:28

### 10.5 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*.

Marking is by tone overlay on the verb (applying before M-spread), sometimes accompanied by segmental markers, and by subject-pronoun tone sandhi changes.

Tone overlay does not appear in negative polarity or irrealis mood, or after the tense marker *daa*. Preverbal adjuncts which follow mood markers, like *pòn* "already" §10.4, carry the overlay in place of the verb; for W, so does *lèɛ* "but" (*Lèɛ gos nâ'ab la!* "But look at the chief!")

Words with the overlay have all tones L, are followed by M-spread, and show final M before liaison (replaced by H before fixed L.)

Thus (with M-spread after *m̀*):

*M̀ ˀwɛ́' búŋ la.*

"I've hit (*ˀwɛ́'*) the donkey (*bùŋ<sub>a</sub>*)."

*M̀ ɠɔ́s búŋ la.*

"I've looked at (*ɠɔ́s*) the donkey."

*M̀ sá ˀwɛ́' búŋ la.*

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

*M̀ sá ɠɔ́s búŋ la.*

"I looked at the donkey yesterday."

but *mán ˀwɛ́' bùŋ la*

"I having hit the donkey"

*mán ɠɔ́s búŋ la*

"I having looked at the donkey"

*Kà m̀ ɠɔ́s búŋ la.*

"And I looked at the donkey."

*M̀ pɔ ɠɔ́s búŋ láa.*

"I haven't looked at the donkey."

*M̀ daa ɠɔ́s búŋ la.*

"I looked at the donkey."

*asee o paae man*

"unless he comes to (*paaé'*) me"

*àséé ò pae man*

Jn 14:6 B2

unless 3a reach 1s

Overlay before liaison (*b̀d̀ìg* "lose", *yad̀ìg'* "scatter", *m<sub>a</sub>* "me", *ba* "them"):

*b̀d̀ìgɪ·m*

*b̀d̀ìgɪ·bá*

*b̀d̀ìg̀ìdɪ·m* ipf

*yàd̀ìgɪ·m*

*yàd̀ìgɪ·bá*

*yàd̀ìg̀ìdɪ·m* ipf

*M̀ b̀d̀ìgɪ·bá.*

"I've lost them."

*M̀ b̀d̀ìg̀ì b̀d̀ìg̀ì b̀d̀ìg̀ì b̀d̀ìg̀ì.*

"I've lost their goats."

Two segmental markers appear after verbs with tone overlay.

The flexion *ma* marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

*G̀s̀ìm!*

"Look!"

*G̀s̀ìmɪ·nì·ba!*

"Look (pl) at them!"

look.IMP·2pS·3p

but *Da ɠɔ́sɛ!*

"Don't look!"

NG.IMP look·NG

*K̀èl k̀à ò ɠɔ́s!*

"Let her look!"

let.IMP and 3a look

*D̀òllɪ·nì·ba!*

"Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)

follow·2pS·3p

The particle *ya* follows any VP-final pf carrying the tone overlay:

Ì tɛ̀n'ɛs kà ò gòs ya.

1s think and 3a look m/c

"I think she's looked."

but Ò pɔ̀ gɔ̀sɛː.

Ò nà gɔ̀s.

Ò daa gɔ̀s.

Kà ò gɔ̀s.

Ò gòsɪ·m.

Ò gìm.

Ò nòŋ.

"He's not looked."

"She'll look."

"He looked."

"And he looked."

"He's looked at me." (not final)

"She's short." (ipf)

"She loves [him.]" W (ipf)

*Ya* 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 yàa·?

"Has it got lost?"

All bound subject pronouns are normally followed by M-spread:

Kà ò ʷé' bòn la.

"And he hit the donkey."

wuu ba ane Kiristo ne

wóv bà á nɛ Kiristo nɛ

like 3p be FOC Christ like

"as if they were Christ" Eph 6:5 B2

However, in clauses with m/c marking, M-spread is absent after *ò lì bà* always, and absent after *m̀ f̀ t̀ yà* if and only if they are directly preceded by *ye* "that." These tone sandhi changes apply independently of tone overlay, which is absent in these examples with the irrealis mood:

Ò nà gɔ̀s.

"He'll look."

but Ì ná gɔ̀s.

"I'll look."

Ò tɛ̀n'ɛs yé ò nà gɔ̀s.

"He thinks he'll look."

Ò tɛ̀n'ɛs kà ò nà gɔ̀s.

"He thinks he'll look."

Ò tɛ̀n'ɛs yé m̀ nà gɔ̀s.

"He thinks I'll look."

but Ò tɛ̀n'ɛs kà m̀ ná gɔ̀s.

"He thinks I'll look."

### 10.6 Complements and postverbal adjuncts

The order of arguments after the verb is indirect object, direct object, other complement(s), adjunct(s). (Clause-level adverbials 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 *ke* "let", *mìt* "beware", *ye* "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 *si'em* and absolute clauses §11.4.1 as objects of verbs of cognition and communication (alongside adverbials with *yelá* §10.6.2.)

#### 10.6.1 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 gbaṣṣe láa·?* "Do you have the letter?"  
 A. *Èè, m̀ mór.* "Yes, I have it."

*Mid ka ya kv nid.* "Do not kill." Ex 20:13  
*Mìt kà yà kv nid.*  
 beware and 2p kill person

Many verbs are ambitransitive. With patientive ambitransitives, like *nae'* "finish", *bòdìg* "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:

*kel ka ba nu ku'om* "let them drink water" Gn 29:7  
*kèl kà bà nu kù'om*  
 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 nu*  
 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:

Daam la nú ya.

beer the drink m/c

"The beer has got drunk."

Gbà̀ȳ la sób nɛ.

letter the write FOC

"The letter is written."

Gbà̀ȳ la sóbìd súḡa.

letter the write.IPF well

"The letter writes easily." W

Gbà̀nà sóbìd ziná.

letter.PL write.IPF today

"Letters are written today." W

Daam la núud nɛ

beer the drink.IPF FOC

"The beer is for drinking."  
(not "is being drunk." W)

Some intransitive verbs may appear with parts of the subject's body as objects:

Dìgìním fù nú'ug.

lie.IPF 2s hand

"Put your hand down."

Lìgìním fù nif né fù nú'ug.

cover.IPF 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. *zàa<sup>n</sup>sìm zàa<sup>n</sup>símà* "dream dreams" Acts 2:17 or

Fù tùm bó-tùumà·?

2s work.IPF what-work·CQ

"What work do you do?" S

Manner-pronoun objects often replace pronouns with abstract reference:

man tɛn'ɛs si'em la kɔ viigɛ.

mán tɛ<sup>n</sup>'ɛs si'em la kú viigé·.

1s.NZ think how the NG.IR put.off·NG

"What I plan will not be put off."  
Is 14:24

Da níḡì àláa·!

NG.IPF do thus·NG

"Don't do that!"

An indirect object expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò dùgv·m.

3a cook·1s

"He cooked (for) me." W

Lì màlìst·m.

3i be.sweet·1s

"I like it."

Àláafò béo·.

health exist·3a

"She's well."

line maal dap ayi' banε ka kikiris dōlli ba la

lìn· màal dapá àyí' bánì· kà kìkiris dōllí·ba la

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

Ò tìs biig la piini.

3a give child the gift

"She's given the child a gift."

Whenever two objects appear, the first is indirect. Omission of indirect objects does not imply anaphora, even with verbs like *tìs* "give" which characteristically take two objects: *one tìsid piini* "one who gives gifts" Prv 19:6.

Causatives derived from agentive ambitransitives are strictly transitive, with the original agent as indirect object:

Ò dà nùlìst·bá kù'om.

3a TNS make.drink·3p water

"She gave them water to drink."

In many idioms the logical object appears as an indirect object before a fixed direct object, e.g. *kàd X sàríyà* "judge X", *nìj X yàdda* "trust X", *wè' X nù'ug* "beg X", *zò X nin-báa<sup>n</sup>lìg* "pity X", *zò X dàbiem* "fear X":

Adonija zótif dabiem.

Adonija zót·f dábiem.

Adonijah run.IPF·2s fear

"Adonijah is afraid of you." 1 Kgs 1:51

Da zót dabiem.

Da zót dábiemm·.

NG.IMP run.IPF fear·NG

"Don't be afraid." Gn 15:1

Some verbs require predicative complements, notably à<sup>n</sup>ya "be something" and its negative ka'e (on the form of these verbs see §5.1; on focus-**ne'** see §12.1.) Omission of such complements implies anaphora:

Mani· á<sup>n</sup> dú'atà kà fɔn mén á<sup>n</sup>. "I'm a doctor and you are too."  
 1s+ be doctor and 2s also be

Adjectives appear as heads only in predicatives:

Bà à ne píelà. "They're white." W

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin aseε ka m leb zin'a.

Mam á ne píelòg àmáa m yá' pae búgúm·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, à<sup>n</sup>ya prefers derived manner nouns or compounds with nin- "person" or bun- "thing" as complements:

Lì à ne bvgúsíga. "It's soft."  
 Lì à ne zaalím. "It's empty."  
 Lì à<sup>n</sup> súga. "It's good."  
 Dɔb á ne bun-súg. "Food is a good thing." W

Quality verbs are often used instead: lì màlìs "it's sweet." Sùm<sub>ma</sub> "be good" only appears in B before subordinate clauses ("be good that ..."), perhaps because the intrinsic focus of sùm/sùga' "well" §12.1 prevents focus on a following clause.

In some constructions predicative complements follow objects, e.g.

Ka o maal o meŋ nintita'ar. "He made himself out to be a great man."  
 Kà ò mâal ò meŋ nin-títa'ar. Acts 8:9 B1  
 and 3a make 3a self person-big

"Naming" constructions with pùd "dub" or bùol "call" take the name, often preceded by ye, as complement, and as object the named entity, or yv'vr' "name" with the named entity as possessor; here bùol also appears in middle constructions.

Ka fɔ na pɔd o yv'vr ye Yesu. "And you will call him Jesus." Mt 1:21  
 Kà fò ná púd ò yv'vr ye 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 bûon ye Pita la  
 DEMa and 3p call.IPF that Peter the

dau sɔ' ka o yu'ɔr buon Joon. "a man called John." Jn 1:6  
 dàu-só' kà ò yu'ɔr bûon Joon.  
 man-IDFa and 3a name call.IPF John

Predicative ideophones include *sapɪ* "straight", *nyae* if *nyaeɛ́* "brightly, clearly", *nà'ana'* "easily":

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la "make the highway straight in the bush"  
 màalim sɔa-dâug sapɪ mɔɔgɔ-n la 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 lieb nyae.  
 let and 1p become brightly

Lì à nɛ ná'ana. "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 daa naan vɔlɪ-ní-tɪ 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 á<sup>n</sup> sù'm nyae.  
 God be goodness brightly

10.6.2 Adverbials

Adverbials are nouns or NPs typically used as postverbal adjuncts of manner, time, circumstance, reason or place. Subtypes include specialised pronouns, pronoun-like nouns which cannot take dependents (CGEL p429), postpositions with predeterminers, and relative clauses §11.4.2 with adverbial heads.

Adverbials are not confined to postverbal adjunct roles, but occur as NP predependents, objects, predicatives and even subjects:

Sùŋa bé.

Well exist.

"OK it is." W

Ziná à ne dá'a.

today be FOC market

"Today is market."

Yiŋ venl

Yiŋ vé<sup>n</sup>l

outside be.beautiful

"Outside is beautiful" Acts 23:3 B2

o pu'alɔŋ la zugu ke ka ti paam laafi

ò pù'alɔŋ la zúgù· ké kà tì pâam 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 *welá* "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*.

Expressive ideophones are manner adverbials:

Ò zòt ne tólìb tólìb.

"It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop." W

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numerals creates distributives: *zi<sup>n</sup>'ig zi<sup>n</sup>'ig* "place by place", *dàbìsìr dàbìsìr* "day by day", *ànaas naas* "four by four."

Reduplication of manner nouns or mass quantifiers is intensifying: *àsídà sídà* or *àmɛŋá mɛŋá* "very truly"; *bi'el bi'el* "very little."

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

**M kɛŋ nɔ́bá.**

1s go leg.PL

"I went on foot." S; W **ne nɔ́bá** (ne "with")

**À nyɛ ne nif sɔ́'ɔ à wòm túbà.**

PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear ear.PL

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

Numerals have specific forms for "so many times" §9.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adverbials:

**Ò tùm bédùgɔ/pamm.**

"She's worked a lot."

**Bà gòsɪ·tí bábìga.**

"They've looked at us many times." W

cf **Bà gòsɪ tì bàbìga.**

"They've looked at many of us." W

Mass quantifiers may float from within a VP complement or place adverbial to a later postverbal adjunct position:

**Bà gòsɪ·tí wɔ́sa.**

3p look·1p all

"They've looked at us all." W

**ka bæɛ m kɔ́nba ni wɔ́sa**

**kà béɛ m kɔ́'ba ní wɔ́sa**

and exist 1s bone.PL at all

"and is in all my bones" Jer 20:9

Some time adverbials are single words which cannot take dependents; beside pronouns like **nannánna'** "now", these include e.g. **ziná** "today", **sù'os<sub>a</sub>** "yesterday", **bɛog<sub>ɔ</sub>** "tomorrow", **dunná** "this year", **daar** (distinct from "day") "two days off/ago", **yà'as<sub>(a)</sub>** "again"; **tò'ɔtɔ'** "straight away" may precede an intensifying ideophone *yim*. Some are fixed expressions like **bɛog sá** or **bɛog daar** "in future", **bɛogɔ·n** "morning", **bè-kìkèò<sup>g</sup><sub>ɔ</sub>** "very early morning." Most are simply NPs expressing times, e.g. **zàam n'wá** "this evening", **yú'ɔŋ n'wá** "tonight", **n'wad-kánì· gàad la** "last month", **n'wad-kánì· ken na la** "next month." With **sanjá** "time" (in general) are formed e.g. **san-kánè·?** "when?", **san-kán la** "at that time", **san-sí'e·n la** "at one time", **sanjá kám** "at all times", **sanjá bèdùgɔ** "a long time", **sansá bèdùgɔ** "many times", **sanjá bi'elá** "for/in a short time."

**Daar** "day/date" and **wìn<sub>n</sub>** "time of day" always take determiners: *nobkoog daar* "the day a leg is broken" G2 p42. They distinguish points in time from spans of time:

**Dabá àyópòḡ dâar kà fù ná leb na.** "You'll come back in a week."  
**Tì daa kpélìm ànína dabá àyópòḡ.** "We stayed there a week."

Set phrases include **daar wɔsa/wɔw/mé-kàmà** "every day"; **yùòm à<sup>n</sup>wá(-na) wín** "this time next year", **dáar à<sup>n</sup>wá(-na) wín** "this time the day after tomorrow." Proper names of days always take **daar**: **Áláasìd dâar** "Sunday." The pl **daba** appears only before prefix **à**, with the cif **dà-** before **pii(ga)/pis(í)** "ten(s)." **Dábìsìr** "24-hour period" is also used with numerals.

**Kàrìfà** "o'clock" precedes numerals: **kàrìfà àtá<sup>n</sup>** "three o'clock."

Place adverbials may be pronouns like **kpɛ** "here", specialised words like **yìḡ<sub>a</sub>** "outside", **dàgòbìg<sub>a</sub>** "left", **àgól/àgólá** "upwards", **lallí** "far off", Kusaal place names, or NPs headed by postpositions. No verb requires a place adverbial as a complement:

**Dàv-so' bé kpelá.** "There's a man here."  
 man-IDFa exist here

but **Wínà'am bé.** "God is there." (i.e. "It'll all work out.")  
**Waad 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 pae zi<sup>n</sup>'igu·n la.**  
 and 3a reach place-at the

but **li saḡa sid paae ya.** "Its time has surely arrived." Ps 102:13  
**lì saḡá sùd pàe ya.**  
 3i time truly arrive m/c

The core locative postposition has the form **ní** after pronouns (**m̀ ní/man ní** "in me"), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in sf, but enclitic **n** elsewhere:

**la'asvḡ dɔɔdin ne suoya ni** "in synagogues and in streets" Mt 6:2  
**là'asvòḡ dɔɔdì·n ne sɔyeyá nì**  
 gathering house.PL-at with road.PL at

It may precede or follow **la'**: **m̀'ar·n la** or **m̀'ar la 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 lé̄m yi nidibí·n la na Jn 19:4  
 and Pilate again exit person.PL-at the hither

Ò bè dá'a·n. "He's at market."  
 Ò bè kòlɔɔ·n. "He's at the stream."  
 Ò bè tɔmmi·n. "He's at work."

Yir' "house" has the exceptional locatives *yín<sub>n</sub>* pl *yáa·n* "at home."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: *bɛogɔ* "tomorrow", *bɛogɔ·n* "morning", *yiigí·n* "at first" *san-sí'e·n la* "at one time, once."

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take *nu' ~ n*, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók. "He's in Bawku."  
 M̄ ná kɛɛ Bók. "I'm going to Bawku."  
 Fò yúug Bók kpɛláa·? "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Speakers treat foreign places names similarly, but B often uses *nu'* or paraphrases like *Jerusalem tɛɛɛ·n* "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

All other postpositions are nouns used with predependents as adverbials; several are themselves followed by locative *n*. They include:

*Babá* "beside" (pl of *babir'* "sphere of activity"): *m̄ nɔbá bàbà* "beside my feet."  
*Gbìn<sub>n</sub>* "at the bottom of" (*gbìn<sub>n</sub>* "buttock"): *zuor la gbín* "below the mountain."  
*Kɔn'* (ɔkɔ) "by ... self" (*àdàkɔn'* "one"): *m̄ kɔn'* "by myself."  
*nyá'aɲa* "behind, after" (*nyá'aɲa* "back"): *lì nyá'aɲ, nɛ'ɛɲa nyâ'aɲ* "afterward."  
*Pɔɔɔ·n* "inside" (*pɔɔɔ<sub>a</sub>* "belly"): *yòɔm la púɔɔ·n* "[months] in the year",  
*dò-kàɲa la púɔɔ·n* "inside that hut."  
*Sa'an'* "in the presence/opinion of": *Wínà'am sâ'an* "in the sight of God", and

*Fò ná di'e t̄im puá'-bàmma la sâ'an.*

2s IR get medicine woman-DEMP the among

"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

(Sì)sùɔɔ·n "between": *tnám nɛ fun súɔɔ·n* "between us and you."

*Tɛɛɛr* "under": *Gòsìm tɛɛɛr!* "Look down!"; *tɛɛbòl la tɛɛɛr* "under the table."

Tùon<sub>n</sub> "in front of": Gòsìm tûon! "Look forward!"; daká la tûon "before the box."  
Zug<sub>o</sub>' "onto" (zug<sub>o</sub>' "head"):

Ò dìgìl gbáyù la téebùl la zúg. "She's put the book on the table."  
3a lay book the table the on

Saa zúg<sub>o</sub> "sky" is intrinsically locative:

Ka kùkòr yi saazug na "And a voice came from the sky"  
Kà kùkòr yi saa zúg na Jn 12:28  
and voice exit rain on hither

Zug<sub>o</sub>'-n "on": téebùl la zúg<sub>o</sub>'-n "on the table."  
Zug<sub>o</sub>' is often used metaphorically as "on account of": bɔ zúgò? "why?";

Faanmim fu nɔ̀ɔ̀ilim la zug. "Save me because of your love." Ps 6:4  
Fàa"mí·m fù nò̀ɔ̀lím la zúg.  
save.IMP·1s 2s love the on

Yelá "matters, affairs" forms complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication in the sense "about":

Bà yèlò· man yelá wɔ̀sa. "They told him all about me."  
3p say·3a 1s about all

### 10.6.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositions precede NP complements, including nominalised clauses. Except for **ne** "with" (accompanying/instrumental), they may also introduce non-nominalised clauses §11.7; **àmáa** "but" is only found in that role. Other prepositions are **kuv/bɛɛ** "or", **wɔ̀** "like", **àsɛɛ** "except", **halí** "as far as", **halí ne** (with time NPs: **halí ne ziná** "until today") and **là'am ne** "though" (with absolute clauses.) Personal pronouns as complements take either free or non-enclitic bound forms: **wɔ̀ fɔ̀n ne** or **wɔ̀ fù ne** "like you." **Ne** either takes non-enclitic forms or uses the form **ní** before enclitics: **ní·m ní·f nó· ní·h ní·tɪ ní·ya ní·ba**.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Complements of **wɔ̀** without the article **la'** are followed by an empty **ne**, unless they are numerals (where the meaning is "about") or interrogative pronouns: **wɔ̀ man ne** "like me", **wɔ̀ búɔ̀ ne** "like a donkey", but **wɔ̀ tusá àyí'** "about two thousand", **wɔ̀ bó·?** "like what?"

Several verbs take prepositional-phrase complements, e.g. **dɔl<sub>la</sub>'** "go with" in the sense "accord with"; **lal<sub>la</sub>'** "be far from"; **nar<sub>a</sub>'** "need" in the sense "deserve":

Li dɔlne lin sɔb Wina'am gbaunɔn si'em la  
 Lì dɔl nè lín sɔb Wínà'am gbáunɔ·n si'em la

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 nè tii.

"But he is not far from us." Acts 17:27

Àmáa ò pu lal né tíi.

but 3a NG be.far with 1p·NG

Fɔ nar nè fɔn na kpi.

"You deserve to die." Jgs 2:26

Fò nár nè fún nà kpi.

2s need with 2s.NZ IR die

**Wɛn<sub>na</sub>'** "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with **nɛ** or **wɔɔ**, with the complement followed by **nɛ** in the same circumstances as after **wɔɔ**:

M nwɛnɛ danuud nɛ.

"I am like a beer-drinker." Jer 23:9

M wén nɛ da-nûud nɛ.

1s be.like with beer-drinker like

Prepositional phrases often appear as postverbal adjuncts:

Lìgìníím fù nif né fù nû'ug.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

Bà kèŋ nɛ nɔbá.

"They've gone on foot." W

3p go with leg.PL

Dìim nɛ Wɛn, da tɔ'as nɛ Wínné.

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

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

Kulim nɛ sumbugɔsum.

"Go home in peace." Mk 5:34

Kùlim nɛ su<sup>n</sup>-búgùsìm.

go.home.IMP with peace

M gé<sup>n</sup> 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 nε ón dà zà'n'as la  
 together with 3a.NZ TNS refuse the

mɔri ya'am wɔɔ wiigi nε "be wise as serpents" Mt 10:16  
 mòrɔ· ya'am wɔɔ wiigí nε  
 have·2pS sense like snake.PL like

Ò zòt wɔɔ búhì· zòt si'em la. "He runs like a donkey runs."  
 3a run.IPF like donkey·NZ run.IPF how the

O daa pɔn anε ninkɔɔd hali pin'ilugɔn sa.  
 Ò daa pún à nε nin-kòɔd halí pi'ilúgɔ·n sá.  
 3a TNS previously be FOC person-killer even beginning·at since  
 "He was a murderer from the beginning." Jn 8:44

asεε yanamε na ðolli ya pitɔ la na "unless you bring your brother here"  
 àséε yanámì nà ðollí yà pitó la na Gn 43:5  
 unless 2p.NZ IR follow 2p sib the hither

W permits adjuncts introduced by wɔɔ (not nε) to be preposed with kà:

Wɔɔ búg né kà ò zót. "Like a donkey, he runs."  
 like donkey like and 3a run.IPF

### 10.7 Final particles

The negative enclitic §5.3 §10.3, m/c-pf *ya* §10.5, *na'* "hither" and *sà* "hence, since" are the last constituents in VPs, other than certain subordinate clauses:

Ì mór kù'om náa·? "Shall I bring water?" S  
 1s have water hither·PQ

Bùgúm la yít yáa ní ná·? "Where is the light coming from?" S  
 fire the exit.IPF where at hither·CQ

O tumne beogɔn sa. "She's been working since morning."  
 Ò tùm nε beogɔ·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 daa pu ʳye daʋ lá kà ò á<sup>n</sup> ná'aba. "I didn't see the man as a chief." K  
1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief·NG

but Ka li pu yuuge ka o pu'a me kena. "Not much later, his wife came too."  
Kà lì pu yúuge·, kà ò pu'a' mé ke na. Acts 5:7  
and 3i NG delay·NG and 3a wife also come hither

Ya, na´ and sà precede all subordinate clauses which are not nominalised:

Fv keya ka Ammon dim kv o. "You have made the Ammonites kill him."  
Fò ké yá kà Ammon dí m kúo·. 2 Sm 12:9  
2s let m/c and Ammon Øp kill·3a

Kèm na n gɔs! "Come and look!" S  
come·IMP hither + look

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.  
Kà zùu<sup>nd</sup> dá sig na yé bà dí ni'm la.  
and vulture·PL TNS descend hither that 3p eat meat the  
"Vultures came down to eat the meat." Gn 15:11

In nominalised clauses, na´ and sà precede or follow clause-final la´; they may also follow gerunds, where they similarly may precede or follow la´:

dunia kanε ken la na "the world which is coming" Lk 20:35  
duniyá-kànì· ken la na  
world-DEM·NZ come·IPF the hither

ʳwadɪg-kánì· ken na la "next month" S  
month-DEM·NZ come·IPF hither the

Ninsaal Biig la lɛbɔg la na "the return of the Son of Man" Mt 24:27  
Nin-sâal Bîig la lÉbòg la na  
human child the returning the hither

Kε<sup>n</sup> "come" is always used with na´; the identical m/c-imps of ke<sup>n</sup> "come" and keɲ´ "go" are distinguished by na´/sà: Kèm na! "Come here!", Kèm 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*, *yɛ* or *n*), adverbials, and/or preposed elements. Subjects are ellipted 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."

*̀̀ à<sup>n</sup> s̀̀gà.*

3i be well

"Things are good."

*̀̀ nà̀r kà f̀̀ k̀̀l.*

3i must and 2s go.home

"You must go home."

*̀̀* may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

*Yà'a kà'anɛ alaa*

*Yà' kà'a-ní àláa.*

if NG.be-DP thus-NG

"If it had not been so" Jn 14:2

Without a subject, *zɪ'/zɪ'ɪsɪg* "not know" means "unbeknownst."

See §11.2.2 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are ellipted after *n*. Pronouns referring to preceding subjects are ellipted 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:

*P̀̀a' la dá' daká kà kɛɲ Bók.*

woman the buy box and go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." W

but *P̀̀a' la dá' daká kà ò kɛɲ Bók.*

woman the buy box and 3a go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and it went to Bawku." W

The ellipted 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'ɛŋa lá kà sin. 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 §10.6.3 may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers:

yɛli ya zanbina bæɛ ye o na pa'al tɔúmnyalima  
 yèlì·ya za<sup>n</sup>bina bæɛ yé ò nà pa'al tɔúm-<sup>n</sup>yalimá  
 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 kuu/bæɛ "or" may precede main clauses.

Clause adverbials 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 sadígím kpi la, bó kà m lém lɔɔd nɔɔr 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

Almost any time, circumstance or reason adverbial can be a clause adverbial, e.g. absolute clauses §11.4.1, lín à si'em la "as it is", lì nyá'aŋ "afterward", as can àsɪda (ménɛ) "truly" àlá mènɛ "likewise." All these may also be VP adverbials, and may be preposed with kà §12.3, and may thus end up preceding the subject alone, or with kà preceding, following, or both. Manner and place adverbials cannot be clause adverbials, and may thus only precede by kà-preposing:

Mɔɔgú·n kà mam bé. "I'm in the bush."  
 grass-at and 1s exist (W's correction of \*Mɔɔgú·n mam bé)

Some clause adverbials do not occur as VP adverbials, like *daa-sí'er* "perhaps", which is "some day" when postverbal, and *yà'*- §11.2.3 and *sadɔ́ím*-clauses §11.4.1, which appear clause-finally only by dislocation due to weight §12.3.

Some clause adverbials often appear as lfs like those preceding the negative enclitic §5.3, e.g. *beogo* "tomorrow", *àlá mènɛ* "likewise." Lfs never appear before *kà*, and in B they only follow *kà* in *kà beogo* "tomorrow" and *kà daa-sí'ere* "perhaps."

*Dìn/lìn zúg(ɔ)* "therefore", *àlá zúg(ɔ)* "thus", *bɔ zúg(ɔ)* "because" may only be VP adverbials if preposed with *kà*; if preposed, *bɔ zúg* is always interrogative: "why?" *Bɔ zúgɔ* (not *bɔ zúg*) can take a preceding absolute clause §11.4.1. These adverbials (and *àlá mèn*) may appear as subjects of *ké kà* "cause that" §11.3.

*Àséɛ* "unless" appears as a clause adverbial 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 §10.5 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 ellipied after *n*.

Clauses nominalised with post-subject *yà'* are conditional protases. Those nominalised with post-subject *̀n* are absolute or relative clauses. Like all NPs, they are coordinated with *nɛ*; they may themselves contain subordinate clauses:

On ka' sida sɔba, nɛ on tùm tùmbe'ed sieba la zug  
*Ón ka' sídà sɔba, nɛ ón tùm tùm-bè'ed-sieba la 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 mi' ye biig la kpí nɛ la zúg* Lk 8:53

3p.NZ know that child the die FOC the on

Content and purpose clauses follow *ye* "that", much less often *kà*. (Most subordinate *kà*-clauses are catenative; necessarily so, if *ye* cannot replace *kà*.)

Non-nominalised subordinate clause types vary in whether they precede or follow main VP negative enclitics §10.7. They can be nested or coordinated, or contain coordinated subclauses:

M pu bɔɔd ye fù ti yɛl beog daar ye fɔnɛ kɛ ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.  
*M pu bɔɔd yé fù tí yɛl beog daar ye fɔnɛ ké kà mam Abram lieb bɔn-móra.*

1s NG want.IPF 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 anε ye fu ku maali ti be'ede [...], ka ye fu yim ne sumbugusum la.

kà lɪn á nε yé fù kù maali·tí be'edɪ· [...], kà yé fù yím nε su<sup>n</sup>-búgùsìm la.

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

M̀ bôod ye day la keŋ dâ'a·n, kà pɹa' la dug dɪb.

1s want.IPF 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", *kuu/bεε* "or"; with *lèε* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English zero.

### 11.2.1 Questions

Content questions (except *lia* clauses §11.2.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §5.3. Focus-*ne'* 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 §12.3. Preposing is obligatory with *bo* and *bo zúg* as "why?"

Fù bôod bó·?

2s want.IPF what·CQ

"What do you want?"

Fù bôod línè·?

2s want.IPF DEMi·CQ

"Which do you want?"

Day la nyé ànó'ónè·?

man the see who·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Boo maale?

Boo· máalè·?

what·+ make·CQ

"What has happened?" Lk 24:19

Fù áa<sup>n</sup> ànô'ón bíigà·?

2s be who child·CQ

"Whose child are you?"

Anó'one nyε?

Ànó'ónì· nyé·?

who·+ see·CQ

"Who has seen?" Is 29:15

Ànô'òn kà daṽ la ʸyé·?

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 *ne'* permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by *kúv·?* "or?" (expecting agreement), or by *béé·?* "or?" (expecting disagreement):

Daṽ la ʸyé bíigàa·?

man the see child·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"

M á ne dáùv·?

1s be FOC man·PQ

"Am I a man?"

Bà kùvd ne búusèé·?

3p kill.IPF FOC goat.PL·PQ

"Are they killing goats?"

Fù pv wúmmàa··?

2s NG hear.IPF·NG·PQ

"Don't you understand?"  
(expects *εε<sup>n</sup>*, here "no")

Daṽ la ʸyé biig kúv·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"  
(I expect so.)

Daṽ la ʸyé biig 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*:

Fù gós biig la.

2s look child the

"You (sg) have looked at the child."

Yà gós biig la.

2p look child the

"You (pl) have looked at the child."

but	<b>Gòsìm biig la!</b> look.IMP child the	"Look (sg) at the child!"
	<b>Gòsìm· biig la!</b> look.IMP·2pS child the	"Look (pl) at the child!"
	<b>Da gɔs biig láa·!</b> NG.IMP look child the·NG	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
	<b>Da gɔs· biig láa·!</b> NG.IMP look·2pS child the·NG	"Don't (pl) look at the child!"
	<b>Da gɔsɛ·!</b> NG.IMP look·NG	"Don't (sg) look."
	<b>Da gɔs·yá·!</b> NG.IMP look·2pS·NG	"Don't (pl) look."

2s/p subjects remain unchanged after clause adverbials and in content clauses:

Fù ya'a mɔr pu'a, fùn da mɔɔd ye fù bas oo.  
**Fù yá' mɔr pua', fùn da mɔɔd yé fù básò·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 fù tikim nu'ug "and agreed that you sign" Dn 6:7  
**kà sɪák yé fù tìkìm nù'ug**  
 and agree that 2s press.IMP hand

Some speakers add *ya* redundantly in catenatives and quoted commands:

**Kèmi· na n gɔs·!** "Come (pl) and look!"  
 come.IMP·2pS hither + look·2pS  
 (Kèmi· na n gɔs! W)

**Ò yèl yé bà gòsìm· tɛŋɪ·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:

**Gòsìm·yá!** "Look (pl)!"

### 11.2.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause protasis as a clause adverbial. 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 §12.3.

*Fù yá' gɔs kpelá, bó kà fù nyetá?* "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 ligidi la yá' pò'og, m yá' tì lèb na, 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 naan á<sup>n</sup> sù'm bà yá' pɔ dū'a·n dáɥ-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 dɔllimi keɲ, m na keɲ.* "If you will go with me, I will go." Jgs 4:8  
*Fù yá' nà dɔllí·mí· keɲ, m ná keɲ.*  
2s if IR follow-1s+ go 1s IR go

*M ya'a pɔ keɲε, Sɔɲid la kɔ keɲn ya ni naa.*  
*M yá' pɔ keɲé·, sɔɲid la kú ké<sup>n</sup> yà ni 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 mɔr pu'a, fɔn da mɔɔd ye fù bas oo.*  
*Fù yá' mɔr pu'a, fɔn da mɔɔd yé fù báso·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 preverbal **naan** the sense is contrary-to-fact. This **naan** "in that case" is distinct from **nyaan** "next, then" (though *naan* often appears for **nyaan** in older texts) and from the 2vb **naan** "starting at ... do" §11.3.

Open conditional clauses contain neither **n** nor **naan**. 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 dıgılí·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 pu vu'ug kumı·né·, àláa tì làbà-sùg la  
and Christ if TNS NG revive death·at·NG thus 1p news-good the  
móolùg la á ne zaalím.  
proclamation the be FOC emptiness  
"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." 1 Cor 15:14

Nid ya'a tom tuma, o di'ed yood. "If a person works, he gets pay."  
Nid yá' tòm tuma, ò di'ed yood. Rom 4:4  
person if work.IPF work 3a receive.IPF pay

Beg ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.  
Beg yá' nìe, fù ná wúm ò pià'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 **naan** 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' ningbiñ nii, lin ku nyañin  
keen ka o ka' ningbiñ nii.  
Nóbìr yá' yèlın ye, ón pu á<sup>n</sup> nù'ug la zúg, ò ka' nín-gbiñ ní·,  
leg if say·DP that 3a.NZ NG be hand the on 3a NG.exist body at·NG  
lın kú "yañı·n· kéε·n kà ò ka' nín-gbiñ 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.

Wief yá' sigí·n lì ni, lì zùlùŋ ná páa·n ò sàlìbìr.

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, **naan** in the main clause:

Man ya'a pɔ kɛɛn na tu'asini ba, ba naan kɔ mɔrin taale.

Man yá' pɔ kɛɛ·n na· tú'así·ní·ba, bà naan kú mɔrɔ·n tâalle·.

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' mɔrɔ·n sɔ'ɔgò m̄ nú'ugi·n, m̄ naan kɔɔ·ní·f nannánna.

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 vu'ɔsɔm zin'ig, Wina'am da kɔ lem pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'ase.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tìsɔ·ní·ba vu'ɔsím zî'n'ig, Wínà'am dá kò lem pjà'n'

because Joshua if TNS give·DP·3p resting place God TNS NG.IR again speak

dábìs-si'a yélà yà'ase·.

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' naan means "if only", yà' pòn "even if":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keŋ nyɛɛn nɔdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zug-dâan la yá' naan sɔ́ákì· keŋ· nyɛɛ·n nɔ-dî'es lá· bè Samaria la!

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 dɔ̀à', sáam ná dɔ̀-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 **naan** also occur outside conditional clauses, though B3 often has **nà** for B1/2 **naan**, and in older texts **naan** often represents **nyaan** "next, then" in clauses after coordinating **kà**:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan B3] kaas noor ayi.  
**Fù ná kú'ís man nór àtá' kà nɔ-dâug nyaan kaas nór 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

**Bòodɔ·n** appears in main clauses as "might wish":

Man bɔɔdin nɛ yanamɛ naan aan ma'asiga bɛɛ yanamɛ naan aan tɔɔliga.  
**Man bóodɔ·n yɛ yanámì naan âa·n ma'asíga bɛɛ yanámì naan âa·n tɔɔlíga.**

1s want.IPF·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

**Naan** may be effectively equivalent to **yà'** "if/when":

Li an sɔm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...  
**Lì à<sup>n</sup> sóm yɛ dau yinní naan kpi nidib la yéla· gàad ...**

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 ka'ɛ· gâad nidí· naan kpi ò zùà-nàm zúgɔ·.**

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

**Naan** 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 daa naan záŋí·n m̀ ligidi n su'a·n bájìkì 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 na** "this here"; catenative clauses often follow §11.3. The NP may be an interrogative pronoun; **à bɔ̀-X n la/nwá** means "what kind of X is that/this?", and **bɔ̀ n la/nwá** can be embedded as a verb complement, meaning "what is that/this which ... ?":

**Kùlìṅ̀ì· la.**

door·+ that

"That is a door."

**Kùlìṅ̀ì· wá na.**

door·+ this hither

"This here is a door."

**Bɔ̀· lá·?**

what·+ that·CQ

"What's that?"

**Abɔ̀ pa'alugv nwa?**

**À bɔ̀-pà'alùgù· nwá·?**

PZ what-teaching·+ this·CQ

"What kind of teaching is this?" Lk 4:36

**Fv maal bɔ̀ la tis mam?**

**Fv màal bó· la· tís mà·m·?**

2s make what·+ that·+ give 1s·CQ

"What is this that you have done to me?"

Nm 23:11

**Lìa** clauses have the form X + **lìa** (*dia* B1), meaning "where is X?":

**Fv mà la lía·?**

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 kanε an Sulam teṅ nida!**

**Lèm na, fvn-káǹ̀· à<sup>n</sup> Sulam téṅ nida·!**

return.IMP hither 2s-DEM·NZ be Shulam land person·VOC

"Return, O Shulammite!" Sg 6:13

**Ḿ diemma·, bó kà fù kúosìdà·?** "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": **zɔ̀n nwá·!** "fools!"

Some particles constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like **báp** "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like **tò** "OK", **ñfá** "well done!" "Yes" is **εε<sup>n</sup>**; "no" is **áyì**. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus the reply to **lì pu naée·?** "isn't it finished?" may be **εε<sup>n</sup>** "no" or **áyì** "yes."

### 11.3 Catenation

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by **n** §5.4. These structures have usually been taken for serial verb constructions, and there are parallels; for example, substituting **kà** for **n** may block specialised verb uses. Thus

**Ì daa kúos bùyù· tís d'atà.** "I sold a donkey to Doctor."  
1s TNS sell donkey.+ give doctor

with **kà** for **n** could only mean "... and gave it to Doctor." However, not only complements, but adjuncts and even subordinate clauses may be incorporated within such chains, and even verbless clauses may be followed by **n** + VP:

Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Farisee nid ka o yu'ur buon Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela  
**Kà dàṽ-so' due n zí'e lá'asùg la nidib sí'sùṽgṽ·n, n á<sup>n</sup> Farisee níd**  
and man-IDFa rise + stand gathering the person.PL among + be Pharisee person  
**kà ò yu'ur bùon Gamaliel, n á<sup>n</sup> ónì· pà'an Wínà'am wádà la yélà**  
and 3a name call.IPF Gamaliel + be DEMa·NZ teach.IPF God law the about  
"A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee called Gamaliel, a teacher of God's law" Acts 5:34 B2

Anṽ'on nwaa yisid nidib tṽumbe'edi basida?  
**Ànṽ'on· <sup>n</sup>wáa· yisid nidib tṽum-be'edi· 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

It seems preferable to take **n** + VP as a catenative clause (CGEL pp1176ff), with an ellipted subject coreferential with that of the preceding main clause. By default, it functions as an attribute of the main clause subject, like a participle or non-restrictive relative clause. Catenatives with **àḡ<sup>n</sup>ya** "be" can also be predicatives:

**kà ò ya'am tjàkì· à<sup>n</sup> sṽ'm.** "and his mind changed for the better."  
and 3a sense change.+ be goodness Mk 5:15

**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' daa bæ ànína· bɛ̀n'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 daɔ daa zín'i Listra ní kà pɔ tu<sup>n</sup>'e· kɛnná·.**  
 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 bɛ kpɛla kv kpɛi* "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, §10.7.

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ɔr buon Aneas.  
**Àníná kà ò nyɛ dáɔ kà ò yu'ɔr bùon 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.  
**Zi', kà daɔ la sígì· lá kà ò gba<sup>n</sup>'e· mɔrɪ· kul.**  
 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:

**M daa pɔ nyɛ daɔ lá kà ò á<sup>n</sup> ná'aba·.** "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 màan gígìs kà bà wúm kà pɛ̀a<sup>n</sup>'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-sò' ka'ẹ̀ n tùm kà yood ò meṅá·.

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** §10.4) can express purpose:

Sò' da kae paṅi na nyaṅ oo.

Sò' dá ka' páṅì· ná "nyaṅó·o·.

IDFa TNS NG.have power·+ IR prevail·3a-NG

"None had the power to overcome him."

Mk 5:4

Kèm· tí "nye dú'atà.

go.IMP·+ next see doctor

"Go and see 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 kad kíkirisì· yis nidibí·n

1s IR drive fairy.PL·+ expel person.PL.at

"I will drive demons out of people"

Lk 13:32

halí n tì pae ziná

until + then reach today

"right up until today"

Ò dìì· tìg.

3a eat·+ get.sated

"She's eaten to satiety."

Similarly **gàlìs** "exceed"/"too much" and **nae'** "finish"/"completely."

**Gàad** "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

À Wun gím· gát à Bugur.

PZ Awini be.short·+ pass.IPF PZ Abugri

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." S

Fv sid nṅ mam gat bamaa?

Fv síd nṅ mam· gát bámmáa·?

2s truly love 1s·+ pass.IPF DEMp·PQ

"Do you really love me more than these?"

Jn 21:15

Tìs "give" is used here for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

M daa kùos bùṅù· tís dú'atà. "I sold a donkey to Doctor."  
1s TNS sell donkey+ give doctor

Before wen<sub>na</sub>' "be like", n is usually realised as zero, and the catenative can even be preposed with kà or dislocated:

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niṅid si'em la.  
Da ló yà nin-dáase·, wen ne fòosúg díim lá· niṅid si'em la.  
NG.IMP tie 2p face.PL·NG be.like with puffing Øp the·NZ do.IPF how the  
"Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." Mt 6:16 B1

The main clause is often semantically subordinate. This may occur because pfs in catenation imply completion, and their ordering must reflect event order:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud  
Kà Nin-sâal Bîig la ken na· díit kà nuud  
and human child the come.IPF hither+ eat.IPF and drink.IPF  
"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking" Mt 11:19

but Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.  
Kà dapá àyí' yé fu-píelà· zì'e bà sa'an.  
and man.PL two don shirt-white.PL+ stand 3p among  
"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." Acts 1:10

In addition, many verbs have specialised auxiliary senses in main clauses preceding semantically-main catenative clauses. (See also on clefting §12.3.)

Bè ànína "exist there" with an ipf catenative means "be in the process of":

Ò bè ànína n "wê'ed biig la. "He's currently beating the child."  
3a exist there + beat.IPF child the

Dòl<sub>a</sub>' "accompany", mɔr<sub>a</sub>' "have" before motion verbs mean "go with", "bring":

Bà dòllo· keṅ Bók. "They've gone to Bawku with her."  
3p follow·3a+ go Bawku

Dabá àyópòḡ kà fù mɔró· ke na. "Bring her here in a week." W  
day.PL seven and 2s have·3a+ come hither

**Mi** "know": **nám mi'/zì'** before pf catenatives mean "have always/have never":

**M nám zì' ʔye gbɪgɪmnɛ.** "I've never seen a lion." S

1s still NG.know.+ see lion·NG

Makir banɛ buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba mɛn.

**Makír-bànì· buudi paadí·ya la nám mi' pae sieba 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

**Naan'** "starting from ... do" takes a place NP followed by a catenative:

Ka pu'a la da naanɛ o buɲ la zugv sig la

**Kà pu'a lá· dà naaní ò bùɲ la zúgò· sig la**

and woman the·NZ TNS start.at 3a donkey the on.+ descend the

"When the woman had got off her donkey" Jo 15:18

**Nìɲ wɛlá** "do how?" here means "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niɲ wala pɔ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?

**Nin-sâal biig nà niɲ wɛlá· pɔ mɔr tâal Wínà'am tûonnè·?**

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 niɲ wala ka o an David yaaɲa? "How can he be David's descendant?"

**Lì niɲ wɛlá kà ò á<sup>n</sup> David yâaɲà·?** Mt 22:45

3i do how and 3a be David descendant·CQ

M na niɲ wala ka nye faangire? "How can I find salvation?" Acts 16:30

**M ná niɲ wɛlá kà ʔye faa<sup>n</sup>gírè·?**

1s IR do how and find salvation·CQ

**ʔyaɲ'** "overcome" here means "prevail in." Main and catenative clauses agree in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

**M pɔ ʔyaɲi· ʔwé' bùɲ láa·.** "I wasn't able to hit the donkey."

1s NG prevail.+ hit donkey the·NG



Tì déṅì· tíso· lór.

1p precede·+ give·3a car

"We've previously given him a car."

Ka dau sò' duoe zi'en

Kà dàṽ-sò' due· zì'en

and man-IDFa rise·+ stand.up

"A man got up and stood" Acts 5:34

Zì "not know" is "unknowingly" before catenatives (with *kà* due to polarity change.) The construction also occurs without a subject: *zì' kà* "unbeknownst."

Ka sò' ya'a zi' ka tum ...

Kà sò' yá' zì' 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*.

*Ke* "let, leave" is "let, cause" before catenatives, always different-subject (in *kel ka fu meṅ an* "let you yourself be" Ti 2:7, *fu* is formally predependent.) Imperative may replace irrealis in the catenative.

Ka li ane wada la ket ka tumbè'ed nyet paṅ.

Kà lì à né wadá la· kèt kà tùm-be'ed nyet páṅ.

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 ke ka ba pu nyaṅi kuu o.

Lì dà kè kà bà pu nyaṅi· kúo·.

3i TNS let and 3p NG prevail·+ kill·3a·NG

"This prevented him from being killed."

2 Kgs 11:2

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dìni· ná ké kà bà da kpi'ílim·.

3i·+ IR let and 3p NG.IMP finish·NG

"which will stop them dying out." Gn 6:20

Imperative *kèl<sub>a</sub>* can be used for first/third person commands:

Kèlì· kà tì pò'us Wínà'am.

let.IMP·2pS and 1p greet God

"Let us praise God." (or *Kèl kà ...*)

Da ké kà dàbiem béé!

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 gɔs nif la.**

1s look eye the

"Let me look at the eye." (overheard)

Adverbials expressing cause may be subjects (always focused §12.1) of **ke**:

**Ka bɔzugv ke ka fɔ tɔmim na?**

**Kà bɔ zúgù· 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) §10.3 means "let not" before catenatives; B3 omits the negative enclitic. 3rd person subjects occur, but 2s/p subjects are dropped, except after clause adverbials or in content clauses; 2pS **ya** is not used.

**O mid ka o lɛbis bæ tiaki li**

**Ò míd kà ò lɛbìs bæ tjàkì·li**

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 mâal yà tùm-sumà nidib tûon yé bà gɔsɛ·.**

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 **nyɛ** "see" and **wòm** "hear/smell/feel", direct perception of states of affairs is expressed with a catenative complement:

**Ka Noa yis dine ligil anrɔŋ la ka nyɛ ka tɛŋ la wɔsa kɔdig.**

**Kà Noa yis dínì· lìgìl à·ròŋ lá kà nyé kà tɛŋ la wɔsa kúdìg.**

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 **ya**)

### 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 *la´*, omitted after another *la´*; VP-final particles may follow it. Negative enclitics are dropped if the clause takes *la´* or is not itself clause-final:

*Nin-báni· pu dítt ná kpi.* "People who don't eat will die." W  
 person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF IR die

vs *M nyé nin-báni· pu díta·.* "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 are usually given/implicit information, taking *la´*. Most often, they are time adverbials: this the usual construction for past "when." For 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 meḡ*  
*Kà bán yi la, kà Zug-sób máliak níe ò meḡ*  
 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

*On daa nyet súḡa, ón daa á<sup>n</sup> bí-lia láa·?*  
 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 yeḡli ba ...* "As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."  
*Kà bán dít la, Yesu yeḡli·ba ...* Mt 26:21  
 and 3p.NZ eat.IPF the Jesus say·3p

Absolute clauses may also be verb subjects or complements:

*Kristo da kp̄ii ti yela la ké ka ti baḡ nõḡilim an si'em.*  
*Kristo· dà kp̄ii tì yelá la ké kà tì bán nõḡílím· à<sup>n</sup> si'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.

*Dìnì· ké kà m áⁿ sâal-biis zúa la á nε mán pu 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 pu dí tí bà ki láa·.*

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

"Yε "see" may take an absolute-clause object in the sense of a relative clause headed by the absolute-clause subject:

Ka m gat ka nyε fɔn digi fɔ ziimin la bilim.

*Kà m gát kà ⁿyε fón dígí fò zúmín la· bílim.*

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 §10.6.3 and before *zug* / *bo zúgo* "because of":

Ban mɔr dεŋ la zug, ba kɔ di'e baa.

*Bán mɔr dεŋ la zúg, bà kò dí'e·báa·.*

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

In B, they caption pictures and precede *yelá* "about" in section headings:  
*Ban meed yir* "A house being built" B2; *Paul n bε Malta la yela* "Paul on Malta" B3.

Preverbal *sadígím* "because, since" appears only after *yà'* "if" or *òn*:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

*Ò yá' sadígím áⁿ Naazir níd, ɔn 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 lood nɔɔr ya'asε?

*Àmáa ɔn sadígím kpí la, bó kà m lém lood nɔɔr 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

11.4.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with **̀n** and internally headed by a pronoun or by a cif with a dependent pronoun. Any verb argument or NP possessor may be relativised, even from within a subordinate clause. Heads remain in situ, but are often preposed with **kà** §12.3. Clauses with preposing show no **̀n** after their subjects.

Heads forming all or part of the subject or of a preposed element are marked with short demonstratives; all others are marked with indefinite pronouns.

In older sources (and for W), **̀n** only follows clause subjects, but in B3 **̀n** follows all head-marking demonstratives, even in subject predependents and preposed heads:

O bikanε da paas ayi' la	"His second child" 2 Sm 3:3
Ò bì-kànì· dà pàas àyí' la	
2s child-DEM·NZ TNS total two the	

pu'a kanε biigi vœ la	"the woman whose child was alive"
puà'-kànì· biigí· vœ la	1 Kgs 3:26
woman-DEM·NZ child·NZ live the	

Demonstratives are not relatives when not part of the first constituent, and ordinary indefinites may follow demonstrative or precede indefinite heads:

on vœ'ug ninkan kumin la zug	
ón vœ'ug nin-kán kumì·n la zúg	
3a.NZ revive person-DEM death·at the on	
"because he has raised that person from death" Acts 17:31	

Wina'am onε gaad si'el wusa la	"God who surpasses everything."
Wínà'am ónì· gàad si'el wusa la	Lk 1:35
God DEMa·NZ pass IDFi all the	

wœu baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la	"like a trap seizes something"
wœu baŋí· gba <sup>n</sup> 'ad si'el si'em la	Lk 21:35
like trap·NZ seize·IPF IDFi how the	

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fœn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la	"the first fish you catch" Mt 17:27
fún gba <sup>n</sup> 'e ziiŋ-sí'a yiigá la	
2s.NZ catch fish-IDF firstly the	

but Paul n sob gbauṅ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul·n sob gbáṅṅ yiigá dàan n tìs Korint díṃ la· n'wá.

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-kànì· kà bà dá sobì· tìsì·ba la· n'wá.

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 la n'wé' la

"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"

nin-kánì· kà bà gbá'n'o· la

Acts 25:16

person-DEM·NZ and 3p seize·3a the

linε [lin B2] ka Kristo bôod ye ti pian' la

lìnì· kà Kristo bôod yé tì pja'n' la

DEMi·NZ and Christ want.IPF that1p speak the

"what Christ wishes us to say" 2 Cor 12:19

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vu'ug o kumin la

pu'à-kànì· bíig kà Elasia dá vu'ug kumì·n la

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 mɔr la

"the child which she is pregnant with"

bì-kànì· púug kà ò mɔr la

("whose pregnancy she has") Mt 1:20

child-DEM·NZ belly and 3a have the

onε ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe

"one they have given much to" Lk 12:48

ònì· kà bà tísò· kà lì zú'e

DEMa·NZ and 3p give·3a and 3i abound

Bùdà-sò' daa bé ànína, òn kà man ne on daa túm la.

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 bòod ye fù kv dau sò' la ya'a kpi

Fún bòod yé fù kv dáu-sò' la yá' kpi

2s.NZ want.IPF that 2s kill man-IDFa the if die

"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" 2 Sm 17:3

Kem tɔ'ʊs Samaria na'abi tɔm ninsieba la na

Kèm· tɔ'ʊs Samaria ná'abì· tòm nin-síebà la na

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 sɔb gbauŋ si'a la ka m sɔbidi lɛbisidi ya.

Nannánna, yanámì daa sɔb gbáũŋ-si'a lá kà m sɔbìdì· lɛbìsìdì·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 tɔm sò' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sò'.

David dá tòm sò' yé ò bu'osi· báj pu'a lá· à<sup>n</sup> sò'.

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

Gosim ye fù na baŋ la'abama an sò' bunnèè?

Gòsìm yé fù ná baŋ lá'-bàmmá· à<sup>n</sup> sò' 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 gaŋ sieba la.

M̃ mí' mán gaŋ sieba la.

1s know 1s.NZ choose IDFp the

"I know those whom I have chosen."

Jn 13:18

Ón yèl si'el la ka' sídaa·.

3a.NZ say IDFi the NG.be truth·NG

"What he says is not true" S

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnɛɛ?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ si'el la gbínnɛɛ·?

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.

Tìig wélà· bìgìsìd lín à<sup>n</sup> tí-si'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 tumi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yɛla la tisi ya.

M̀ ná tumí m̀ Bá' zì'el nɔɔr sɔ' yélà· tísì·ya.

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

Pu'abí· duà' sieba la wɔsa

woman.PL·NZ bear IDfp the all

"all those whom women have borne"

Lk 7:28

M na tisif fɔn bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.

M̀ ná tsɪ·f fún bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.

1s IR give·2s 2s.NZ want.IPF IDFi all

"I will give you anything you want."

Mk 6:23

Adverbials are not usually preposed; most exceptions involve place NPs.

Si'el<sub>a</sub> is often "where"; in B2, 75% of cifs before si'a express time or place. Locative n/n' does not follow heads, but may follow entire clauses to express rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la

yi-kán kà mam Paul bé la

house-DEM and 1s Paul exist the

"the house where I, Paul, am"

Rom 16:23 B1

ka mɔri fu keŋ zin'ikanɛ ka fu pu bɔɔda.

kà mɔrí·fù· keŋ zín'-kànì· kà fù pu bɔɔda·.

and have·2s.+ go place-DEM·NZ and 2s NG want.IPF·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· yit si'el halí· tì pae ón lùt si'el la  
 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 Zug-sóba·, tì zì' fún ken zín'-si'a láa·.  
 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 dọ-si'a la 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 be.  
 Abraham· dà nàm ka'ẹ san-sí'a la kà man pún bè.  
 Abraham·NZ TNS still NG.exist time-IDF the and 1s already exist  
 "Before Abraham existed, I already existed." Jn 8:58

**Si'em** "somehow" (never preposed) is common as "how" or as abstract "what"; a following **la'** marks old information, as usual:

M̃ mí' mán nà niṅ si'em. "I know what to do."  
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how

M̃ mí' mán nà niṅ si'em la. "I know what I'm to do." (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")  
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how the

Bà nà yel·f fún nà niṅ si'em. "They'll tell you what to do."  
 3p IR tell·2s 2s.NZ IR do how

Bà yèlo· bán niṅ si'em la. "They told him what they'd done."  
 3p say·3a 3p.NZ do how the

M̃ gbá'ne mán nà niṅ si'em. "I've decided what to do."  
 1s seize 1s.NZ IR do how

So too **ón b̀òòd si'em** "as he may wish" versus **lín à<sup>n</sup> si'em la** "as things are."  
**Là'am ne** or **halí ne** with a **si'em** clause means "although" §10.6.3.

Si'em clauses may follow **gàad** "surpass" to compare actions:

Mam tùm bēdegv gaad ban tùm si'em la.

**Mam tùm bédògv· gâad bán tùm si'em la.**

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 **wv̄v̄** "like", **wɛn<sub>na</sub>'** "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dɔl man wv̄v̄ ziɪŋgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

**kà yà ná ké kà nidib dɔl man wv̄v̄ zim-gbá'adìbì· gba'n'ad zimí si'em la.**

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 un-compounded 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 mɔɔgin line kpi'e Sinai zuor la

**ò dà bè ne mɔɔgv·n línè· kpì'e Sinai zûor la**

3a TNS exist FOC grass·at DEMi·NZ get.near Sinai hill the

"he was in the desert near Mount Sinai" Acts 7:30

yeltɔɔd ayɔpɔi bane ka maliaknama ayɔpɔi mɔr la

**yel-tôɔd àyóɔpɔè bánì· kà màlìak-námá àyóɔpɔè mɔr la**

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 Zugsob pian'ad la

**Wínà'am níd ònì· k'is Zug-sób piâ'n'ad la**

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 sɪd ónì· dà bè nó· la**

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 **ye**, much less often **kà** (B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye*, 45 of *nar ka*.) Negative raising prevents mood from being apparent in purpose-clause complements, but adjuncts generally use negative **da**:

Ti pɔ bɔɔd ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì pɔ bɔɔd ye dáɔ-kàŋa áa<sup>n</sup> tì nà'aba.

1p NG want.IPF that man-DEM be 1p king-NG

"We don't want this man to be our king." Lk 19:14

Nɛ'ɛŋa niŋne ye ti da ti'e ti meŋ panga.

Nɛ'ɛŋa níŋ ne yé tì da tí'e tì meŋ páŋa.

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

Irrealis also occurs: *O niŋ nɛ'ɛŋa ye nid kv nyaŋi dv'vs o meŋ Wina'am tuonne*  
 "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like **nar<sub>a</sub>'** "be necessary" (in personal constructions, "need to"), **mɔr suor** "be allowed to", **lì à nɛ tilás** "it is necessary", verbs of intent like **bɔɔd<sub>a</sub>** ipf "want", and verbs of expectation, like **gur<sub>a</sub>'** "watch for", where the meaning may simply be "until":

Lì nàr yé/kà fù kul.

3i must that/and 2s go.home

"You must go home."

Fù pɔ nar yé fù kule.

2s NG must that 2s go.home-NG

"You must not go home."

babayi' la nar ye ba kvɔ ba

bà bàyí' la nár yé bà kúv·ba

3p two the must that 3p kill-3p

"both of them must be killed" Lv 20:12

Yà mór suor yé yà kul.

2p have way that 2p go.home

"You may go home."

Suor bé yé/kà tì kul.

way exist that/and 1p go.home

"We may go home."

gur ye pu'a la du'a  
 gur ye pu'a la du'a'  
 watch that woman the bear

"waiting for the woman to give birth"  
 Rv 12:4

Main clause and *ye* may be ellipted:

Ḿ dígìnèè?  
 1s lie-PQ

"Am I to lie down?" (overheard)

Ò sáa "wè' bùḡ la.  
 3a TNS hit donkey the

"Let him hit the donkey tomorrow."

As a preposed or clause adverbial, *àsée* "unless" means "necessarily":

Nannanna tùm ka ba mər o na, ka asee o kpi!  
 Nannánna, tùm kà bà məró· na, kà àsée 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 asee ka o keḡ Jerusalem  
 kà ò gba<sup>n</sup>'e yé àsée kà ò keḡ Jerusalem  
 and 3a seize that unless and 3a go Jerusalem

"and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem." Lk 9:51

Asee ka fù kpi.  
 Àsée kà fù kpi.  
 unless and 2s die

"You will surely die." 2 Kgs 1:4

### 11.6 Content clauses

Content clauses are introduced by *ye*, much less often *kà* (B3 has 219 examples of *tɛn'es ye*, 31 of *tɛn'es 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. They follow verbs of cognition or communication like *mi* "know", *pà'al* "teach", *tìs nɔɔr* "order", *sòs* "request", *yèl* "say", *wòm* in the sense "hear how something is", *tɛn'es'* "think", *sjàk* "agree":

Ya tɛn'es ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?  
 Yà tɛn'es kà m áa<sup>n</sup> ànɔ'ɔnè?  
 2p think and 1s be who-CQ

"Who do you think I am?" Acts 13:25



Personal pronouns reflect the main clause context. Contrastive 3rd person pronouns are logophoric; particularly in subject roles, they often appear even where ambiguity is unlikely:

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.

kà Festus tá<sup>s</sup> Paul yé ò gè<sup>m</sup> ne ... kà Paul lébìs ye on pu gé<sup>m</sup>mm.

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 o ki'is ye on pu la'aa

"and she denied that she had laughed"

kà ò ki'is ye on pu lá'a·

Gn 18:15

and 3a deny that 3a NG laugh·NG

Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2s/p pronouns remain unaltered before the verb.

M pu yel ye ya s̄osim Wina'am din yelaa.

Ṁ pu yél yé yà s̄òsìṀ Wínà'am dìn yeláa·.

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 n̄oor ye ba nyu'om bada la ne bugum.

kà David tís n̄oor yé bà nyù'om báda la ne 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 niṅ bamaa.

Wadá la kú yel nid yé ò da níṅ 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

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[Ṁ yél yé] ò ḡòsìṀ t̄eṅi·n.

"[I said] she should look down."

[Ṁ t̄ê<sup>n</sup>'es kà] t̄ì p̄ú'v̄sìṀ Wínà'am.

"[I think] we should praise God."

In older texts, speech verbs take content clauses, with pronouns reflecting the main clause context (even within vocatives), logophoric use of contrastive forms, and tense marking relative to the main clause. B1 may continue this over several pages: long passages insert a resumptive *ye* immediately before clause-linking *kà* or the subject in about every third content clause:

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.

Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòòd yé ò kpélìm sarɔ́gá nì.

that and Paul say that 3a want.IPF 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 on yéì·ba ...

Acts 25:16 B1

but that and 3a say·3p

Ka nanana ye o niŋi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin

Kà nannánna yé ò niŋi·bá Wínà'am né ò pò·pièlìm piâ'ad la nú'usu·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 wúm Wínà'am kúkór kà lì yi áràzánà ní na ye,

and 1s hear God voice and 3i exit heaven at hither that

ò nidibá·, yé bà yìmi· tɛŋ la ní na.

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

In B2/3, speech verbs simply take *ye* followed by direct quotation, though resumptive *ye* may still be inserted.

Yèl "say" is frequently ellipted before *ye*:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

"They say 'ugly', you say 'squashhead.'"

Bà ye balerug, kà fù ye zug·máuk.

G2 p43 (Six of one ...)

3p that ugly and 2s that head-crumpled

### 11.7 Prepositional clauses

All prepositions §10.6.3 other than **ne** "with" may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers; **àmáa** "but" is not used before NPs. Only **àmáa** and **kuu/bɛɛ** "or" may precede main clauses:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yel ... "Some mocked him, but others said ..."  
**Kà sieba lá'o. Àmáa kà sieba yél ...** Acts 17:32  
 and IDFP laugh·3a but and IDFP say

**Wuu** "like" does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wuu ya anɛ m biis nɛ.  
**Ì pjàn'adu· tísìdu·yá wúu yà á né m̀ biis nɛ.**  
 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

**Àsɛɛ** appears alone or before **kà** in the meaning "unless":

Ti ku zin'inɛ asɛɛ o ti paae na. "We will not stop until he arrives."  
**Tì kú zi'iné· àsɛɛ ò tí paae na.** 1 Sm 16:11  
 1p NG.IR sit·NG unless 3a then arrive hither

M ku basif ka fu keɲɛ asɛɛ ka fu niɲi m zug bareka.  
**Ì kú basí·f kà fù keɲé· àsɛɛ kà fù níɲì m̀ zug bá·rìkà.**  
 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

**Halí** before **n/kà** means "until, up to":

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa. "We struck it as far as Nophah."  
**Tì n'wá'a·lɪ halí· paae Nofa.** Nm 21:30  
 1p strike·3i until·+ reach Nophah

Zugsɔb la da kɛ ka kùkòm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.  
**Zug-sób la dá kè kà kùkòm bân'as gba'n'e Nâ'ab la, halí kà ò tí kpi.**  
 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, **halí** 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· dúmo·.

snake·+ bite·3a

"A snake has bitten him." W  
(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always **n**-focused:

Ànó'ónì· kaburídà·?

who·+ ask.entry.IPF·CQ

"Who is asking permission to enter?"

Anó'ón yaangi aan o?

Ànô'ón yâaṅì· àó<sup>n</sup>·o·?

who grandchild·+ be·3a·CQ

"Whose descendant is he?" Mt 22:42

VP focus uses the particle **ne'**. When **ne'** 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.

**Ne'** cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike **ne** "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'ónì· díṭ sá'abò·?

who·+ eat.IPF porridge·CQ

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

Ṁ zug la zábìd ne.

1s head the fight.IPF FOC

"My head is hurting."  
(What's the matter with you?)

but Ṁ zugu· zábìd.

1s head·+ fight.IPF

"My head is hurting/hurts."  
(Where is the pain?)

Ì á ne biig.

1s be FOC child

"I am a child."

but Ì áà<sup>n</sup> ànó'ònè·?

1s be who-CQ

"Who am I?"

mán à<sup>n</sup> biig la zúg

1s.NZ be child the on

"because I'm a child"

Ì yí ne Bók.

1s exit FOC Bawku

"I come from Bawku." S

but Meeri one yi Magdala  
Meeri ónì· yi Magdala

Mary DEMa·NZ exit Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"  
Mk 16:9 B2

Bùgúm la yít yáa ní ná·?

fire the exit.IPF where at hither·CQ

"Where is the light coming from?" S

Fù bôod bó·?

2s want.IPF what·CQ

"What do you want?"

Fù bôod ne bó·?

2s want.IPF with what·CQ

"What do you want it with?" W

Purpose clauses allow *ne'*, and it may appear (once) in a catenation:

Pian'am ka m bôod ye fu nyene buud.

Pjà<sup>n</sup>'am kà m bôod yé fù <sup>nye</sup> ne buud.

speak.IMP and 1s want.IPF that 2s see FOC innocence

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." Jb 33:32

amaa o bas sariakadib la tis ne Biig la

àmáa ò bàs sáriyà-kadib la· tís ne Biig la

but 3a leave law-driving the·+ give FOC child the

"but he has left the judging to the Son" Jn 5:22

*Ne'* is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. *Ì gósìd!* "I'm looking!" in response to *Fù gósìd néé·?* "Are you looking?" or *Gòsìm!* "Look!"

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, *ne'* 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 *ne'* after a pf marks it as stative, and if a pf cannot express a subject state change, a following *ne'* cannot be temporal.

If the VP is negative, or if *ne'* 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 ne.	"He's fighting."
but	Ò pɔ zàbìda.	"He's not fighting/doesn't fight."
	Ò kùosìdì·bá ne.	"She's selling them."
	3a sell.IPF·3p FOC	
	Ò kùosìd ne summa la.	"She is selling the groundnuts."
	3a sell.IPF FOC groundnut.PL the	
but	Ò kùosìd summa la ne.	"She <i>sells/is selling</i> the groundnuts." (constituent focus: "They're not free.")
	3a sell.IPF groundnut.PL the FOC	
	Bó kà ò kùosìdà?	
	what and 3a sell.IPF·CQ	
or	Ò kùosìd bó?	"What does she sell/is she selling?"
	3a do.IPF what·CQ	

Potential ambiguity between temporal and constituent focus interpretations of *ne'* is further reduced by the fact that many verb forms do not accept temporal focus.

The VP must be indicative, so e.g. *Gòsìm ne!* "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

Ì dá' nɛ búŋ.

1s buy FOC donkey

"I've bought a *donkey*."

(What have you bought?)

Ò dìgìl nɛ.

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 dìgìn nɛ.

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'en nɛ.

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 §10.6.1 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 vèn nɛ.

3i be.beautiful FOC

"It's *beautiful*." (I did not expect that.)

Ì mór nɛ pua'.

1s have FOC woman

"I have a woman."

(implies an irregular liaison, W)

Daká la zá<sup>n</sup>l nɛ.

box the hand.carry FOC

"The box gets carried in the *hands*."

(Not on the head.)

Daam la nûud nɛ.

beer the drink.IPF FOC

"The beer is for drinking." (Not washing; not "is being drunk"; cf [Daam la nûud](#)

"The beer gets drunk." W)

On the other hand, *ne'* marks a temporary state in

*Nannáanna, lì vèn ne.*  
now 3i be.beautiful FOC

"Just now, it's beautiful."

*Lì daa vén ne.*  
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 la daa zúlim ne.*  
lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep."  
(Now it's shallow. W)

*Lì daa á ne súḡa.*  
3i TNS be FOC well

"At the time, it was good." W  
(*Lì daa á<sup>n</sup> súḡa.* "It was good." W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

*Na'-síebà ó<sup>n</sup>bìd ne mɔɔd la.*  
cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL the

"Some cows are eating the grass."

but *Niigí ò<sup>n</sup>bìd ne mɔɔd. Bà nùud ne kù'om.*  
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 *sùḡa'/sùm* "well", *be'ed* "bad" or *sìdà* "truth" as manner nouns, or the "two, three exactly" quantifiers *àyíḡa' àtáḡa'*, are not permitted targets of focus with *ne'*; a preceding *ne'* must be temporal, and even relationship or quality verbs with no clause time marking are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

*Lì à<sup>n</sup> súḡa/be'ed.*  
3i be well badness

"It's good/bad."

o sariakadib a sum ne sida.  
*ò sàríyà-kadɪb á<sup>n</sup> sùm ne sídà.*  
3a law-driving be good with truth

"His judgment is good and true."  
Rv 19:2 B1

but *Lì à ne súḡa.*  
3i be FOC well

"It's good." (Now; it wasn't before. W)

*M' mór ne biisá àtáḡa.*  
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 Suṅ.

Fù pù má' n tìs nin-sáala·, àmáa fù má' n tìs ne Wínà'am Sí-sùṅ.

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 yu'ur ná a ne 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 Pam bìis.

(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 ne Bók.

"I come from Bawku." S

1s exit FOC Bawku

Bè "exist" with a focused place adverbial means "be somewhere":

Dàv-so' bé dó-kàṅa la púvṅ·n.

"There is a man in that hut."

man-IDFa exist hut-DEM the inside

but Ò bè ne dó-kàṅa la púvṅ·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

Mam bé ne mōogv·n.

(= *Moogin ka mam be* G1 p10)

1s exist FOC grass-at

The complement of àḗ<sup>n</sup>ya "be something" in ascriptive sense is typically new information and preceded by ne' when syntactically permitted; in the specifying sense, the subject usually has n-focus instead:

Ò à nε baa<sup>n</sup>lím.

3a be FOC quietness

"She is quiet."

Lì à nε bugv́sígá.

3i be FOC softly

"It's soft."

Ì á nε dú'atà.

1s be FOC doctor

"I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)

Maní· á<sup>n</sup> dú'atà la.

1s·+ be doctor the

"I'm the doctor." (Which is the doctor?)

Maní· á<sup>n</sup> dú'atà àmáa fvn pv á<sup>n</sup>ya·.

1s·+ be doctor but 2s NG be·NG

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nɔ́bibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nɔ́-bíbisì· á<sup>n</sup> mam 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:

Ì ka' dú'ataa·.

1s NG.be doctor·NG

"I'm not a doctor."

Ì ka' nε dú'ataa·.

1s NG.be FOC doctor·NG

"I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)

Ì pv dá' nε búŋa·.

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 mε kena.

Ò pva' mé ké na.

3a wife also come hither

"His wife also came." Acts 5:7

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn. "Because he is your child too." Gn 21:13  
 bɔ zúgɔ ò à né fò biig mén.  
 because 3a be FOC 2s child also

Manɛ maal Israel, ka mɛ aan ya na'ab.  
 Manɪ· mâal Israel, kà mé áa<sup>n</sup> yà nà'ab.  
 1s·+ make Israel and also be 2p king  
 "I created Israel, and am also your king." Is 43:15

nɔɔ "just, exactly": e.g. dàa-kàn la nɔɔ "that very day", and

Fɔ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.  
 Fò yá' mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ ná díù lè malísím.  
 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

kòtàa If kòtànɛ "at all" precedes the negative enclitic or follows áyì "no."  
 mà'àa If mà'anɛ "only":

Zina ma'aa ka m wum. "Only today have I heard it." Gn 21:26  
 Ziná má'àa kà m wúm.  
 today only and 1s hear

gùllimm If gùllìmnɛ "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ? "Is it not God alone?" Lk 5:21  
 Lì ka' nɛ Wínà'am gùllìmnɛ·?  
 3i NG.be FOC God only·NG-PQ

báa with a negative VP means "even" in the adverbial báa bi'elá "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent báa yinní "(not) even one":

Da tumi si'el baa bi'elaa. "Do no work at all." Lv 23:31  
 Da túmɪ· si'el báa bi'eláa·.  
 NG.IMP work·2pS IDFi even slightly·NG

Fɔ du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yu'ur buon alaa.  
 Fò du'adib báa yinní ká'ɛ kà ò yu'ur bùon 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

**halí** "as far as" §10.6.3 is a focusing modifier before NPs or clauses not expressing time or place. Before manner nouns it means "very"; the noun itself is often ellipited:

Lì tẹ́ **halí** [béḍùḡu]. "It's very difficult."  
 3i be.bitter until much

**Halí (là'am) nɛ** means "even" before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am nɛ on zi' la "even though he does not know" Lv 5:3  
**halí là'am nɛ ón zì' la**  
 even together with 3a.NZ NG.know the

hali nɛ man daa sobi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pu sobi li ...  
**halí nɛ mán daa sobi· tísì·ya si'em la, m daa pu sobi·li ...**  
 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  
**Halí nɛ mán vɔe n'wá ...**  
 even with 1s.NZ live this

Before a non-nominalised clause with no linker, **halí (báa)** means "even"; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adverbial like a **yà'**-clause.

Hali tɔumbe'ed dim niḡid ala. "Even sinners do that." Lk 6:33  
**Halí tòm-be'ed díḡm níḡìd àlá.**  
 even deed-bad.PL Øp do.IPF thus

Hali o be suori kenna ye o tɔ'ɔsif.  
**Halí ò bè suori· ken na yé ò tɔ'ɔsí·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 zɔ ka basif, man kɔ basi fɔ.  
**Halí báa bàmma wusa yá' nà zó kà básì·f, man kó basi·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 Preposing, clefting and dislocation

NPs other than subjects may be foregrounded by preposing them before *kà*. Resumptive pronouns are used only for NPs extracted from prepositional phrases or direct objects from subordinate clauses. Tense marking and focus appear as usual.

Mid ka sɔ' digil ye beog ka o di. "Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow."  
*Mìt kà sɔ' digil ye béog kà ò dí.* Ex 16:19  
 beware and IDFa lay that tomorrow and 3a eat

*Bi'el bí'el kà kolɔg pɛ'el nɛ.* "Little by little, a river is full." (Proverb)  
 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 mam Paul n bé sarɔ́gà nì Yesu Kiristo zúg*  
 therefore and 1s Paul + exist prison at Jesus Christ on  
*yanám búud-bàni· ka' Jew díim la yéla.*  
 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

Complements of *àɛ<sup>n</sup>ya* "be" are not preposed: *Mam a bo?* "What am I?" G1 p4. NPs containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed; this is compulsory when *bo* is used in the meaning "why?"

*Bɔ ka fɔ bɔɔda?* "What do you want?" Est 7:2  
*Bó kà fò bɔɔdà·?*  
 what and 2s want.IPF·CQ

*Nu'-bíbisá àlá kà fò ʔyetá·?* "How many fingers can you see?" S  
 finger.PL how.many and 2s see.IPF·CQ

*Niŋgbiŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra?* "What kind of body will they have?"  
*Nìn-gbiŋ-bó-buudí kà bà ná tɪ mɔrá·?* 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 sù<sup>n</sup>f dá pèlìg né bà yòmà pis naasí 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

Bó kà fù kúmmà?

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

"Why are you crying?"

Preposing without foregrounding is seen in relative clauses §11.4.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán <sup>n</sup>wè' daṽ la zúg kà pòlɪs gbá<sup>n</sup>'a·m.

1s.NZ hit man the on and police seize·1s

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." Spratt

Clefting involves a whole clause, either identificational or *lì à nɛ* NP "it is NP", followed by a catenative clause with *n* or *kà* by the usual rule §11.3. The complement of the first clause is foregrounded and focused, with an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness. Resumptive pronoun usage is as with preposing.

Anɔ'ɔn nwaa yisid nidib tɔɔmbe'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn· <sup>n</sup>wáa· yisid nidib tɔɔm-be'edi· 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

Bɔɔ· lá kà m̄ <sup>n</sup>ystá?

what·+ that and 1s see.IPF·CQ

"What is that that I can see?"

Li anɛ o pu'a sɔ'oe li.

Lì á né ò pɔa'· sɔ'v·lɪ.

3i be FOC 3a wife·+ own·3i

"It is his wife who owns it." 1 Cor 7:4

Li anɛ ya taaba banɛ pɔ'ɔsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà taaba bánì· pɔ'ɔsìd Wínà'am kà lì 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

Dislocation to clause-initial position may occur with heavy complements; unlike preposing, dislocation does not use *kà*, and resumptive pronouns must be used:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wìl-kànì· bèɛ m̄ ní kà pu wénna·, m̄ Ba' <sup>n</sup>wá'adɪ·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 out." Jn 15:2 B2

Heavy clause adverbials may dislocate rightwards §11.2.3. Right-dislocation is also recognisable when constituents (never pronouns) follow VP-final particles. Manner adverbials are intensified; otherwise, the sense is contrary to expectation:

M̄ p̄'ʊs ya bédògv.

"Thank you very much."

Ò dà' ya múj̄.

"She's bought rice." (Of all things!)

cf Ò dà' ne múj̄.

"She's bought rice." (What did she buy?)

#### 12.4 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."

Day dá bè· mórí ò p̄à'-yimmír.

G2 p26

man TNS exist.+ have 3a wife-single

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men." G2 p16

Dapá àtá<sup>n'</sup> n dá bè.

man.PL three + TNS exist

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà day daa zín'i Listra ní kà pu tu<sup>n'</sup>e· kenná·.

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.

P̄à'-sɔ' dá bè· mór ò bi-púŋ kà kikirig dɔlló·.

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'ur buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò "nyɛ dáy kà ò yu'ur bùon Aneas.

there and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas

"There he found a man called Aeneas." Acts 9:33

13 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wẹlá·?	"How did you sleep?" (First morning greeting.)
Dúe wẹlá·?	"How did you get up?" (First morning greeting.)
Nintaṅ á <sup>n</sup> wẹlá·?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'ṳṅ á <sup>n</sup> wẹlá·?	"How is the evening?"
Fò yi-dímà·?	"... your household?"
Nìn-gbiná·?	"... body?" (i.e. "How are you?")
Ṗṳa' ne bíisè·?	"... wife and children?"

and so on, often at length. Replies:

Àláafù bé.	"There is health." (Also used as a greeting.)
Àláafù béo·.	... for him/her.
Àláafù béé·bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern *Bárìkà né fù/yà ...* "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted; reply: *Náa*.

Ken ken.	"Welcome!"
Ne zâam zâam.	"Good evening."
Tuuma! or Tuuma tuuma!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Ne só <sup>n</sup> sìga.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own <i>wun<sub>n</sub>'</i> .)
Né fù buriyá-sùṅ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù yùum-paalíḡ.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands; reply *Tò* "OK", or a similar agreement.

Beogu· la.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtìní dárì· la.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm sùḡa.	"Sleep well."
Kpèlìmì· sùm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pò'usìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Bà nà wum</i> "They will hear."

Prayers; reply **Àmí** "Amen."

**Wɪn ná lɛbɪsɪ·f nɛ láafɪyà.**

"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")

**Wɪn ná ta'así·f.**

"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")

**Wɪn ná sɔŋɪ·f.**

"God will help you." (usually expresses thanks)

Other formulae:

**Ì pù'us ya [bédùgɔ].**

"Thank you [very much]." Reply **Tò**, or

**Pù'usùg ka'e.** "No thanks [needed]."

**Gáafàrà.**

"Sorry"; in apology, or just sympathy.

**Kabɪr kabɪrí!**

Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)

**Dìm sugurú.**

"Forgive me."

**Ì bélim nɛ.**

"I beg you."

**X lábaar á<sup>n</sup> wɛlá·?**

"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is **Dub má'aa.** "Only food." i.e. "good."

**Ì mɔr kù'om náa·?**

"Shall I bring water?" First words to a guest.

**Wɪn yél sídà.**

"No, thanks" is **Kù'om á<sup>n</sup> súm.** ("Water is good.")

"Bless you!" ("God speaks truth": sneezing

means someone elsewhere is praising you. W)

**Fù wúm Kusaalèè·?**

"Do you understand Kusaal?"

**Èè<sup>n</sup>, ì wúm.**

"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.

**Dapá àtá' n dá bè. Bà dà à nɛ dáp-ka'nda sù'ŋa. Kà daar yinní kà bà lá'asì· zí'n'inì·**

man.PL three + TNS exist 3p TNS be FOC man-tough.PL well and day one and 3p gather·+ sit·+

**gban'e yé bà dûom· ò búdàalìm lâ'ad n ginnì kuum nidib má'aa kà da**

grab that 3p rise.IMP·+ seek courage goods.PL + roam.IPF·+ kill.IPF person.PL only and NG.IMP

**lém tùm si'ela·. Bà sùd dùè· ò sù'us nɛ zà'n'anà nɛ tí-daad nɛ píma nɛ lù'ad**

again work IDFi·NG 3p truly rise·+ seek knife.PL with bludgeon.PL with bow.PL with arrow.PL with quiver.PL

**nɛ kpana nɛ máli sù'ŋa n pin'ìl· ginnì· ied nidib yé bà yá' nye so' ban ku.**

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 giligí àlá nè "wadísá àtá" nè dábìsà àtá". Bà pu "ye nidu· ná kuvu·. Kà kpèlìm  
 3p go.round thus with month.PL three with day.PL three 3p NG find person·+ IR kill·NG and remain  
 m̄or ken nè ken nè ken. Dabá ànu d̄aar bà "ye nè lallí sà kà si'el zí'e sabíllì·  
 have going with going with going day.PL five day 3p see with far hence and IDFi stand black·+  
 wuu nid nè, kà bà kpeε<sup>m</sup> la yé bà kém· kúo·, yé ò sob yá' pùn tú<sup>n</sup>'e kà m̄or nè  
 like person like and 3p elder the that 3p go.IMP·+ kill·3a that 3a Øa if already be.able and have FOC  
 láuk-si'a wusa, bà nà "yaŋi· kúo·. Kà òŋa giŋɪd kpe, kà òŋa giŋɪd kpe,  
 item-IDF all 3p IR prevail·+ kill·3a and DEMa intercept.IPF there and DEMa intercept.IPF there  
 bà tì keŋ· pae· "yé kà lì ka' nidá·, kà á nè botú kà ligidi p̄e'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 ye Àtò, kà nannánna "wá, tì yé tì niŋ ligidi "wá walá? Kà bà ye, bà nà pudig nè.  
 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 yis ligidi la n keŋ· dá' daam· ná nu yiigá kà "yaan pudig  
 but 3p that 3i must and 3p extract money the + go·+ buy beer·+ IR drink firstly and next share  
 ligidi la. Kà yis ligidi la bi'elá ye biig la kém· dá' yuor ná kà bà nu.  
 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."

Biig lá· ken la, ò t̄e<sup>n</sup>'esìd nè ón nà niŋ si'em· ku bánì· kpèlìm àní na la, kà vée  
 child the·NZ go.IPF the 3a think.IPF FOC 3a.NZ IR do how·+ kill DEMp·NZ remain there the and gather  
 ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, ò yèlí ò meŋ ye, ò nà da' nè daam, kà bó tì-kvudím  
 money the all all + own 3a say 3a self that 3a IR buy FOC beer and seek medicine-killing  
 n lós daamí·n la n pae· tí·bá kà bà nuu· kpí kà ò su'e ligidi la wusa.  
 + immerse beer-at the + reach·+ give·3p and 3p drink·+ die and 3a own money the all  
 Kà síd dà' daam la, kà bó tì-kvudím 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."

Zi'ʼsige·, kà bà bàyí' lá· kpèlìm la mé gba<sup>n</sup>'e ne yé bà kv biig lá· keŋ  
 NG.know·NG and 3p two the·NZ remain the also grab FOC that 3p kill child the·NZ go  
 daam la dâ'ab la, kà mé su'e ligidi la. Biig lá·n mɔr daam la· pae na la,  
 beer the buying the and also own money the child the·NZ have beer the·+ reach hither the  
 kà òŋa kɔ́á' kpe, kà ɔn kɔ́á' kpe, n kí'o· kv, kà yu'un zán daam la· nu wán wán,  
 and DEMa cut here and 3a cut here + cut:3a·+ kill and then take beer the·+ drink glug glug  
 lì pv yúuge·, kà bà wɔsa wɔsa mé kpélìm kpì zì<sup>n</sup>'-kàn la nɔ́o kà bà sɔ' sɔ'  
 3i NG delay·NG and 3p all all also immediately die place-DEM the exactly and 3p IDFa IDFa  
 pv <sup>n</sup>yaŋi· pãam la'af la báa yunní· mɔri· kulí bà yáa·ne·.

NG prevail·+ receive cowry 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 Kusaas yé fò yá' te<sup>n</sup>'es bæe túm bæ'ed yé fò tísi fò trãan,

3i and Kusaasi.PL that 2s if think or act bad that 2s give 2s peer

fò mâanní fò meŋ yâ'as la.

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'om káadi· lébìs né m̄ geogu·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'om zót ne bɔ̃a<sup>n</sup>'ar zúg.

water run.IPF FOC riverbed on

"Water runs on mud."

(You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kugá là'asìd ne zuori·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 wɔ̃ak se<sup>n</sup>g zì' sínnε·.

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."  
 Pɔ ɲɛ saa kúʊbɔ, kà ɲɛ saa niib. (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 di'e buud pɔ zín'i ná'-yiré. (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."  
 Mɔɔdi· pílig kà yu'ada bé. (Where there's life there's hope.)  
 grass.PL+ strip.off and rafter.PL exist

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo. "They don't throw dung at a cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)  
 Bà pɔ nɔkíd na'-bínnì· lobɪgíd náafɔ.  
 3p NG take.IPF cow-dung+ throw.at.IPF cow·NG

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya. "An elder is a baobab - plenty of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)  
 Kpɛɛ<sup>m</sup> á nɛ tɛ'ɛg, ò tìgìd nɛ bálàyà.  
 elder be FOC baobab 3a sate.IPF FOC stick.PL

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir. "If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."  
 Zu'om yá' yé ò nà lobug, bàṅìṁ kà ò nò nɛ kugur.  
 blind.person if that 3a IR throw.at realise.IMP and 3a stand.on FOC stone

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim. "The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak."  
 Balɛrɪgɔ· zɪ' yé ò à<sup>n</sup> balɛrɪgɔ, kà tadɪm mi' yé ò à<sup>n</sup> tadɪm.  
 ugly+ NG.know that 3a be ugly·NG and weak know that 3a be weak

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo. "If you want honey out of a stone, you no longer pity the axeshaft."  
 Fù yá' bood támpiiṅ sîiṅd, fù pɔ lém zòt líeṅ dâṅg ɲyɔɔgɔ.  
 2s if want.IPF rock honey 2s NG again run.IPF axe wood sympathy·NG

Legion (Mk 5:1-15)

Ka Yesu ne o nya'andolib kena paae Gerasene tejin, Galile mu'ar nya'an. Ka Yesu yi anrũn la, ka dau one ka kikiris dol o yi yaadin naa tu'us o. Dau kana daa be ne yaadin la, hali ka so' kae na nyaŋi loo o ne banaa. Ba da eenti nokne bana loo o noba ne o nu'us. Ka o kens nu'us bana la ka kensi kens noba bana la bas. So' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo. Nintaŋ ne yu'buŋ wusa o goondne yaadin ne zuoya la ni ka mor kuga nwaad o meŋ ka maan tokpiidug.

On da nye Yesu ka o be lalli la, ka o zoo keŋ igin o tuon ka tans ye, "Yesu, Wina'am one ka' tiraan la Biiga, bo be man ne fu suugin? Wina'am su'um zug, m belimne, da namisi ma." Bozugo Yesu pun yel o ye, "Kikiriga yim dau kana san'an na." Ne'ega ke ka o yeli ala. Ka Yesu bu'os o ye, "Fu yu'ure?" Ka dau la lebis ye, "M yu'uri buon Babiga, bozugo, ti galis ne." Ka o bellim Yesu ne nimmua ye o da kad kikiris la yis teŋ kan la nii.

Kukurnam bedegu da be zuor la babaa dit ka ba kal an wub tusa ayi'. Ka kikiris la bellim o ye, "Kel ka ti keŋ kpen' kukurnam la ni." Ka o siak ka kikiris la yi dau la ni kpen' kukurnamin la. Ka ba wusa zoo sig beuŋin ka ku'om dii ba.

Dap bane da gur kukurnam la da zoo keŋ tempugin ne temkpeisin tu'as line maal la wusa. Ka nidib yii keŋ ye ba gos line maal. Ban da paae Yesu san'an la, ba nye ka dau kane ka kikiris daa dol o la zin' anina, ka ye fuud ka o ya'am tiaki an su'um. Ka dabiem kpen' ba.

**Kà Yesu né ò "ya'an-dóllìb kè na· paae Gerasene téŋi·n, Galile mú'ar nya'an.**

and Jesus with 3a disciple.PL come hither:+ reach Gerasene land:at Galilee lake east

**Kà Yesu yi ánrũn·n la, kà dau ónì· kà kikiris dóllo· yi yáadi·n naa· tu'usó·.**

and Jesus exit boat:at the and man DEMa·NZ and fairy.PL follow:3a:+ exit grave.PL:at hither:+ meet:3a

**Dàŋ-kàŋa daa bé ne yáadi·n la, halí kà so' ka'e· ná nyaŋi· lóo· ne banaa·.**

man-DEM TNS exist FOC grave.PL:at the even and IDFa NG.exist:+ IR prevail:+ tie:3a with fetter.PL:NG

**Bà dà eè tí nok ne bana· lóo ò nobá né ò nũ'us. Kà ò kè<sup>n</sup>s nũ'us bánà la, kà kè<sup>n</sup>sì·**

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:+

**kè<sup>n</sup>s nobá bánà la. So' dá ka' páŋì· ná nyaŋó·o·. Nintaŋ ne yú'buŋ wusa, ò gòo<sup>n</sup>d**

break leg.PL fetter.PL the IDFa TNS NG.have power:+ IR prevail:3a:NG day with night all 3a roam.IPF

**ne yáadi·n ne zueya la ní kà mor kugá· "wá'ad ò méŋ kà mâan tòkpiidug.**

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 <sup>3a.NZ TNS see</sup> <sup>Jesus</sup> <sup>and 3a exist far</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>and 3a run.+ go.+ kneel</sup> <sup>3a before and shout that</sup>  
 "Yesu, Wínà'am ónì· ka' turâan la Bíiga, bɔ· bé man né fù sùugv-né?  
<sup>Jesus</sup> <sup>God</sup> <sup>DEMa-NZ NG.have peer</sup> <sup>the child-VOC</sup> <sup>what.+ exist 1s</sup> <sup>with 2s between-CQ</sup>  
 Wínà'am sù'm zùg, m̀ b̀l̀m̀ nɛ, da namɪsí·ma·." Bɔ zùgɔ Yesu pún ỳl̀ò· yɛ,  
<sup>God</sup> <sup>goodness on</sup> <sup>1s beg</sup> <sup>FOC NG.IMP persecute·1s-NG</sup> <sup>because</sup> <sup>Jesu already say·3a that</sup>  
 "Kìkìrigá, yim dáy-kàŋa sâ'an na." Ne'ɛŋa ké kà ò ỳl̀ì àlá. Kà Yesu bu'osó· yɛ,  
<sup>fairy-VOC</sup> <sup>exit.IMP man-DEM</sup> <sup>among hither DEMi</sup> <sup>let and 3a do</sup> <sup>thus and Jesus ask·3a that</sup>  
 "F̀ò yu'uré·?" Kà day la l̀b̀ìs yɛ, "M̀ yu'urɪ· b̀uon Bábìga, bɔ zùgɔ, tì gálìs nɛ."  
<sup>2s name-CQ</sup> <sup>and man the reply that</sup> <sup>1s name.+ call.IPF many</sup> <sup>because</sup> <sup>1p exceed FOC</sup>  
 Kà ò b̀l̀m̀ Yesu nɛ nin-múa yé ò da kád k̀k̀iris la· yis t̀ɛŋ-kàn la ní·.  
<sup>and 3a beg</sup> <sup>Jesus with earnestness that 3a NG.IMP drive fairy.PL</sup> <sup>the.+ expel land-DEM</sup> <sup>the at-NG</sup>  
 "When he saw Jesus far off, 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."

K̀òk̀ur-nám béd̀v̀v̀ dá b̀è zuor la bábàa· d̀ìt kà bà kal á<sup>n</sup> wuv tusá àyì'. Kà  
<sup>pig-PL</sup> <sup>much</sup> <sup>TNS exist hill</sup> <sup>the beside.+ eat.IPF and 3p</sup> <sup>number be like</sup> <sup>thousand.PL two</sup> <sup>and</sup>  
 k̀k̀iris la b̀l̀m̀ò· yɛ, "K̀èl kà tì k̀ɛŋ· k̀p̀é<sup>n</sup>" k̀òk̀ur-nám la ní." Kà ò sják kà k̀k̀iris la  
<sup>fairy.PL</sup> <sup>the beg·3a</sup> <sup>that let.IMP and 1p go.+ enter</sup> <sup>pig-PL</sup> <sup>the at</sup> <sup>and 3a agree and fairy.PL the</sup>  
 yi day la ní· k̀p̀é<sup>n</sup> k̀òk̀ur-nám·n la. Kà bà wusa zò· sig beoŋí·n kà k̀ù'om d̀í·ba.  
<sup>exit man the at.+ enter</sup> <sup>pig-PL·at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>and 3p all</sup> <sup>run.+ descend lake·at</sup> <sup>and water</sup> <sup>eat·3p</sup>  
 "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 gur k̀òk̀ur-nám la dá zò· k̀ɛŋ t̀ɛŋ-puvv̀v̀·n nɛ t̀ɛŋ-k̀p̀emɪsɪ·n· t̀ò'as  
<sup>man-DEMp·NZ TNS watch</sup> <sup>pig-PL</sup> <sup>the TNS run.+ go</sup> <sup>town·at</sup> <sup>with village.PL·at+</sup> <sup>talk</sup>  
 l̀ínì· màal la wusa. Kà nidib yii· k̀ɛŋ yé bà gɔs l̀ínì· màal. Bán dà pae  
<sup>DEMi·NZ make the all</sup> <sup>and person.PL exit.+ go</sup> <sup>that 3p look</sup> <sup>DEMi·NZ make</sup> <sup>3p.NZ TNS reach</sup>  
 Yesu sâ'an la, bà <sup>3p see</sup> <sup>and man-DEM·NZ</sup> <sup>and fairy.PL</sup> <sup>TNS follow·3a</sup> <sup>the be.sitting there</sup> <sup>and don cloth.PL</sup>  
 kà ò ya'am t̀jákì· à<sup>n</sup> sù'm. Kà dàbiem k̀p̀é<sup>n</sup>·ɛ·ba.  
<sup>and 3a sense</sup> <sup>change.+ be goodness</sup> <sup>and fear</sup> <sup>enter·3p</sup>

"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 ε/e/ε̄ ι/i/ĩ ɔ/o υ/ῡ/u; 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 §10.6.2. Adjectives are listed by one sg form only; for their flexion see §6.2. 2vbs are listed by pf, with ipf/imp and deverbal nominals only if irregular; deverbal nominals from 1vbs are given in §7.2. See §9.3 for proper names, and §9.5.1 for numerals 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:  
 dàalùᵝ dàalí(mì)s dàalùᵝ- stork;  
 gâvᵝᵝ gâaᵝd gaᵝ- pied crow;  
 kɔra-dîem<sub>ma</sub> -dîem-nàm<sub>a</sub> mantis;  
 mús mús-nàm<sub>a</sub> cat (Ha *mussa*)  
 à nɛ see àɛᵝ<sub>ya</sub>  
 aaᵝdᵝᵝ aaᵝdᵝs àaᵝd- black plum tree,  
*Vitex doniana*  
 aaᵝdᵝr aaᵝda black plum  
 àaᵝs 2vb tear  
 àbùlá *q* how many-fold?  
 àɛᵝ<sub>ya</sub> 1vb be something  
 àeᵝ 2vb get torn  
 àgól/àgólá upwards  
 àlá *pn* thus; *q* so many; how many?  
 àláafù (in greetings) health (cf láafyà)  
 àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (En)  
 àmáa *pt* but §11.1 (Ha *amma*)  
 àmɛᵝjá really, truly  
 àmí *pt* amen (Ar *āmīn*)  
 àní(-na´) *pn* there  
 àníᵝa promptly  
 ànô´on *pn* who?  
 àntù'a àntuà'- lawsuit  
 anzúrìfà silver (Ha *azurfa*)  
 àràzàk<sub>a</sub> àràzà'as àràzà'- (usually pl)  
 riches (Ar pl *arzāq*)  
 àràzàná heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)
- àᵝrùᵝᵝ àᵝrìmà àᵝrùᵝᵝ- boat  
 aᵝs 2vb pluck leaves  
 àséɛ *pt* except for §10.6.3  
 áᵝsìb<sub>a</sub> aᵝs-nám<sub>a</sub> aᵝs- mother's brother  
 àsɪda truly  
 aᵝsɪᵝ´ 2vb break at an angle  
 aᵝsɪᵝᵝ aᵝsís aᵝsɪᵝᵝ- man's sister's child  
 àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)  
 àtèᵝkᵝᵝ sea (Ha *teku*)  
 àᵝwá(-na´) *pn* like this  
 áyìᵝ *pt* no §11.2.4

## -B-

- bà/ba *pn* 3p  
 ba'´ ba'-nám<sub>a</sub> ba'- father  
 baᵝ 2vb ride  
 baa baas bà- dog  
 báa *pt* not even §12.2 (Ha *ba* "not be")  
 ba'a ba'ab<sub>a</sub> bà'a- diviner; bà'a-kòlùᵝᵝ  
 diviner's bag  
 ba'a ba'as bà'- peg for hanging up  
 bàᵝ'ad<sub>a</sub> bàᵝ'ad-nàm<sub>a</sub> ill person  
 baᵝ'al´ 2vb make ride (horse, bicycle)  
 bàaᵝlìᵝᵝ<sub>a</sub> *adj* thin  
 baaᵝlím quietly  
 bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol  
 baᵝ'as bàᵝ'- disease  
 babá beside  
 bàbìᵝᵝᵝ´ *q* many  
 bákᵝᵝᵝᵝᵝ week (Ha *bakwai* "seven")

- bà<sup>n</sup>l<sub>1a</sub>** ?1vb (lf uncertain) be thin  
**bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà-** stick, club  
**bàlàṅìr bàlàṅà bàlàṅ-** hat  
**balerug<sub>o</sub>´ balerid´/baleris´ balér-**  
 ugly person (cf **lér**)  
**bàmma´** *pn* these  
**bàn** *pn* these  
**bán** *pn* 3p+ṅ; **ban** 3p  
**ban<sub>n</sub>** bana **bàn-** fetter  
**banaa banaas bàrà-** *sic* "fugu" smock  
**bàn-davug<sub>o</sub> -daad -dà-** crocodile  
**ban-kúsél<sub>1</sub> -kúsélá -kúsél-** lizard  
**baṅ<sub>a</sub>** baa<sup>n</sup>s **bàṅ-** ring, chain, fetter  
**bàṅ<sub>a</sub>** agama lizard  
**bàṅ** 2vb come to know  
**bàrikà** blessing (Ar *barakah*)  
**bàs** 2vb go away; abandon; throw out  
**(kpè<sup>n</sup>) bàṅṅò** get circumcised (Songhay)  
**bàyeog<sub>o</sub>´** betrayer of secrets (cf **yees´**)  
**bè** 1vb exist; be somewhere  
**bè<sup>n</sup>** ger **bè<sup>n</sup>es** 2vb fall ill  
**bèd<sub>1g</sub>´** 2vb rot  
**bèdòg<sub>o</sub>** *adj* great; **bèdògv´** *q* much, a lot  
**bèè** *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1  
**bèlìm** 2vb beg  
**bèlìs** 2vb comfort  
**bè<sub>n</sub>** **bèna bèn-** end  
**bèṅ** 2vb mark out boundary  
**bèṅíd bèṅ-** cowpea leaves; **bèṅíd nè ki´**  
 leaf-and-millet (traditional snack)  
**bèṅír bèṅá bèṅ-** cowpea  
**bè'og<sub>o</sub>** *adj* bad  
**bèog<sub>o</sub>** tomorrow; **bè-(kì)kèò<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub>** dawn;  
**bèogv·n** morning; **bèog sá/bèog daar**  
 in future; **bèog níe kà** next day ...  
**bèoṅ<sub>o</sub>** **bèena bèoṅ-** pool, lake  
**bèrìṅ<sub>a</sub>** **bèrìgìs** kenaf  
**bèruga bèrìg-** kenaf leaves  
**bè<sup>n</sup>sìg** 2vb serve soup  
**bèsvog<sub>o</sub>** **bèsvd bès-** k/o wide-mouthed pot  
**bi'a** see **bè'og<sub>o</sub>**
- bià<sup>n</sup>ar´ bià<sup>n</sup>a bià<sup>n</sup>-** wet mud, riverbed  
**biav<sup>n</sup>k<sub>o</sub> bià<sup>n</sup>ad bià<sup>n</sup>-** shoulder  
**biél<sub>1</sub>** *adj* naked  
**bièl** 2vb accompany  
**bi'elá** *q* a little; **bi'el bi'el** *q* a very little;  
 little by little  
**bielíf<sub>o</sub> biilí biel-/biil-** seed  
**bi'em bi'em-nàm<sub>a</sub> bi'em-** enemy  
**bien<sub>n</sub> biena bien-** shin  
**bier´ bièyá bià-** elder same-sex sibling  
**bi'es** 2vb doubt  
**biḡis** 2vb show, teach  
**biig<sub>a</sub> biis bi-/bi-** child; **bi-díbiṅ<sub>a</sub>** boy;  
**bi-púṅ<sub>a</sub>** girl; **bi-lia** baby; **bi-nà'ab<sub>a</sub>**  
 prince(ss); **bi-pit<sub>a</sub>´** younger child  
**bi'ig** 2vb ripen, get pregnant  
**biilím** childhood  
**bu<sup>m</sup>´ bu-** soup, stew  
**bi<sup>n</sup>'isím** milk  
**bi<sup>n</sup>'isìr bi<sup>n</sup>'isà bi<sup>n</sup>'is-** woman's breast  
**bil<sub>a</sub>** *adj* little  
**biḡig** 2vb roll tr; **biḡim** 2vb roll intr  
**biḡim<sub>n</sub> biḡimà biḡim-** mound,  
 pillar of earth; altar B  
**bin<sub>n</sub>** excrement  
**bo bè-** *pn* what? why? §9.2; **bo zúg<sub>o</sub>** why;  
 because §11.1  
**bò** 2vb seek, ipf want; **bòòdì<sup>m</sup>** will  
**bòbìg** 2vb wrap round, tie round  
**bòdìg** 2vb lose, get lost  
**bòdòbòdò** bread  
**bòk<sub>o</sub> bù'ad buà'-** pit  
**bò<sup>n</sup>'og<sub>o</sub>** swamp; ricefield  
**bòsır bòsa bòs-** puff adder  
**bòtv** sack  
**bu'** 2vb beat  
**buàk** 2vb split  
**bù'ar buà'a buà'-** hole  
**bu'ar´ buà'a buà'-** skin bottle  
**bùd** ger **budìg<sub>a</sub>/budvg<sub>o</sub>** 2vb sow seeds  
**bùdaa** man; **bùdàalì<sup>m</sup>** manhood, courage

bùdìm ger bùdímís 2vb get confused  
 bù'e 2vb pour out  
 bùg 2vb get drunk (Ha *bugu*)  
 bugud<sub>a</sub> client of diviner  
 bùgùlìm 2vb cast lots  
 bugur buga bùg- abode of a wun<sub>n</sub>';  
     wun<sub>n</sub>' from mother's kin as sigr'  
 bùgúm bùgum-/bùgúm- fire;  
     Bùgúm-tɔɔ<sup>r</sup> Fire Festival  
 bugus<sub>a</sub>' 1vb be soft  
 bugusíga *adj* soft, weak;  
     bugusíga' softly; bugusím softness  
 buk' 2vb weaken  
 bùk 2vb cast lots  
 bùl 2vb germinate, ooze  
 buḥ bula sprout  
 bùl 2vb astonish  
 bùlig<sub>a</sub> bùlis bùl- well, pond  
 bùmbàrìg<sub>a</sub> bùmbàrìs bùmbàr- ant  
 bun<sub>n</sub>' bun-nám<sub>a</sub>/buná bun- thing;  
     bun-gíḡ<sub>a</sub> short fellow (informal);  
     bun-kó<sup>n</sup>bùg<sub>o</sub> -kó<sup>n</sup>bìd kò<sup>n</sup>b- sic animal;  
     bun-kúdùg<sub>o</sub> -kút old man;  
     bun-mór rich person  
 bùn 2vb reap, harvest  
 bun-dâar *pn* which day?  
 bùḡ<sub>a</sub> bùmìs bùḡ- donkey  
 bùol 2vb call, summon  
 bùor buèyà buà- grain store  
 bu'os 2vb ask; ger bu'osúg<sub>o</sub> question  
 bùrìkìn<sub>a</sub> bùrìkìn-nàm<sub>a</sub> bùrìkìn- free,  
     honourable person (Songhay)  
 buriyá Christmas (Twi)  
 butḡ<sub>a</sub> butus bùtḡ- cup  
 buud innocence  
 buudi bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group  
 buug<sub>a</sub> buus bù- goat; bù-dìbìg<sub>a</sub> male kid

-D-

dà *pt* before two days ago §10.2  
 da *pt* not (imp) §10.3  
 dà' 2vb buy  
 dàa *pt* day after tomorrow §10.2  
 daa *pt* before yesterday §10.2  
 dà'a dà'as dà'- market  
 dà'abìr slave  
 dàalìm masculinity  
 dàalím dàalímìs male organs  
 daam' da- millet beer ("pito"); da-bín<sub>n</sub>  
     beer residue; yeast B  
 dàam 2vb disturb, trouble (Ha *dama*)  
 daan<sub>a</sub> dàan-nàm<sub>a</sub> dàan- owner of ...  
 daar daba dà- day, date  
 daar two days ago/hence  
 daa-sí'er perhaps §11.1  
 dàbiem fear  
 dàbiog<sub>o</sub> dàbied dàbìà- coward  
 dàbìsìr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period  
 dadúk<sub>o</sub> k/o large pot  
 da'e' 2vb push; (wind) blow  
 dàgòbìg<sub>a</sub> left; south B  
 daká daká-nàm<sub>a</sub> daká- box (Ha *adaka*)  
 dàkiig<sub>a</sub> dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's  
     husband §9.4  
 dàkò<sup>r</sup> dàkò<sup>n</sup>yà dàkò<sup>n</sup>- unmarried son  
 dàmm (-mm-) 2vb shake  
 dàrà'a liar; dàrà'am/dàrà'ar lie  
 dampusaar/dànsàar staff, club  
 dàḡkòḡ<sub>o</sub> measles  
 dàpaal<sub>a</sub>' young man, son  
 dàsaḡ<sub>a</sub> dàsaa<sup>n</sup>s/dàsamma dàsàḡ-  
     young man  
 dàtaa dàtaas dàtà- enemy  
 dàtìvḡ<sub>o</sub> right-hand; north B  
 day dap<sub>a</sub> dàv-/dàp- man  
 davg<sub>o</sub> *adj* male  
 dàvg<sub>o</sub> dàad dà- piece of wood, log;  
     dà-kpi'ed<sub>a</sub> carpenter;  
     dà-puudìr -puuda cross B

- dàwàlìg<sub>a</sub> hot humid season before rains  
 dàwan<sub>n</sub> 'dàwaná dàwan- pigeon  
 dàyáam<sub>ma</sub> dàyaam-nám<sub>a</sub> dàyaam-  
 husband's parent §9.4  
 àyuu<sub>g</sub> 'dàyuud 'dàyu- rat  
 dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed  
 dèeg<sub>a</sub> dèes dè- warthog  
 dèeg<sub>a</sub> dèe<sup>n</sup>s/dèem<sub>is</sub>/dèena dèeg- *q* first  
 dèl<sub>la</sub> ' 1vb (person) lean  
 dèlìm 2vb (person) start leaning  
 dèŋ<sub>a</sub> dèm<sub>is</sub> dèŋ- accidental bruise; defect  
 dèŋ 2vb go/do first  
 dèŋìm *pt* beforehand §10.4  
 dè *pn* 3i  
 dè ipf dèt<sub>a</sub> imp dìm<sub>a</sub> 2vb eat, get; ger  
 dūb<sub>o</sub> food; ò dè pua' he's taken a wife;  
 ò dè 'yán she's ashamed  
 dja' 2vb get dirty  
 dja'ad' dirt  
 di'e' 2vb receive, get  
 di'em 2vb play; ger di'emà festival  
 diem<sub>ma</sub> diem-nàm<sub>a</sub> diem- wife's parent  
 §9.4  
 di'es' 2vb receive (many things)  
 dıgıya' 1vb lie down  
 dıgıl' 2vb lay down  
 dıgìn 2vb lie down  
 dıgır dıgà dıg- dwarf  
 dıgısúg<sub>o</sub> bed; (pl) lair  
 dııs 2vb feed; dııs<sub>a</sub> glutton  
 dıısúŋ<sub>o</sub> dıısímà/dıısıs dıısúŋ- spoon  
 dım<sub>a</sub> dın<sub>n</sub> *pn* (dummy head)  
 dín dın see lín lın  
 dındeog<sub>o</sub> 'dındeəd' dınde- chameleon  
 dındııs<sub>a</sub> glutton  
 dıtúŋ<sub>o</sub> right-hand  
 dı-zórvg<sub>o</sub> -zórá -zór- crumb  
 dól<sub>la</sub> ' 1vb go/come with  
 dólŋ' 2vb make accompany, send with  
 dónhŋ' 2vb stretch oneself  
 dólıs' 2vb investigate, trace  
 dòog<sub>o</sub> dòod/dòt dò- house, hut; clan;  
 dòog bııg<sub>a</sub> housecat  
 dòog<sub>o</sub> dòod dòn- dawadawa fruit  
 dò<sup>n</sup>'os 2vb water plants  
 dū ipf dūt<sub>a</sub> ' imp dùm<sub>a</sub> 2vb go up  
 dya' 2vb bear/beget; dū'ad<sub>a</sub> relative  
 dùa<sup>n</sup> dò<sup>n</sup>s dòn- dawadawa tree  
 dù'al 2vb (loan) make interest  
 dū'am birth  
 dū'atà doctor (En)  
 due' 2vb raise, rise  
 dvg 2vb cook  
 dük<sub>o</sub> ' dvgvd' dvg- cooking pot;  
 dvgvb dút cooking pots  
 dùm 2vb bite  
 dum<sub>n</sub> duma dùm- knee  
 dündüug<sub>o</sub> dündüud dündü- cobra  
 duniya duniyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)  
 dunná this year  
 duŋ<sub>a</sub> dumis dùŋ- mosquito  
 duor' dıeyá dya- stick  
 du'os' 2vb lift up, honour  
 dūr<sub>a</sub> 1vb be many  
 du'un' 2vb pass water  
 du'uním du'un- urine  
 dūbısır step  
 -E-  
 è<sup>n</sup>bıs 2vb scratch  
 è<sup>n</sup>d 2vb block up, plug up  
 è<sup>n</sup>dıg 2vb unblock, unplug  
 ee<sup>n</sup> *pt* yes §11.2.4  
 ee<sup>n</sup> (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4  
 ee<sup>n</sup>b' 2vb lay foundation  
 ee<sup>n</sup>bır foundation  
 e<sup>n</sup>rıg' 2vb shift along on buttocks  
 -F-  
 fı<sub>o</sub> *pn* 2s  
 fa<sup>n</sup>/fae<sup>n</sup>' 2vb grab, rob; save  
 faa<sup>n</sup> *q* every  
 faa<sup>n</sup>gíd<sub>a</sub> saviour (Toende)  
 faa<sup>n</sup>gır salvation (Toende)

**fáss** *ideo* for **pièlìg<sub>a</sub>** white  
**fɛ<sup>n</sup>dɪg´** 2vb turn round  
**fɛɛg´** 2vb (food) get old, cold  
**fɛ<sup>n</sup>'og<sub>ɔ</sub>' fɛ<sup>n</sup>'ɛd´ fɛ<sup>n</sup>'-** ulcer  
**fieb** 2vb beat  
**fii<sup>n</sup> q** a little (liquid)  
**fi'ig** 2vb cut off  
**fítlá** lamp (Ha *fitila*); *fitir* pl *fitá* B3  
**fɔɔs´** 2vb (wind) puff  
**fù pn** 2s  
**fùe** 2vb draw out  
**fufum<sub>n</sub> fufuma fufúm-** envy; stye  
**fún pn** 2s+**n**; **fún** 2s  
**fuug<sub>ɔ</sub>' fuud´/fut´ fu-** clothing; cloth  
 -G-  
**gaa<sup>n</sup>´ gaa<sup>n</sup>s´ ga<sup>n</sup>-** (African) ebony  
*Diospyros mespilliformis*  
**gàad** ipf **gàt<sub>a</sub>** 2vb (sur)pass  
**gáafàrà** sorry! (Ha *gafara*, from Ar)  
**gà'al** 2vb button up  
**gà'am** 2vb grind teeth  
**gàas** 2vb pass by  
**gadug<sub>ɔ</sub>' gat´ gad-** bed (Ha *gado*);  
 also **gadu gadu-nám<sub>a</sub> gadu-**  
**gàlìs** 2vb become excessive  
**gàŋ** 2vb step over  
**gaŋ´** 2vb choose  
**ga<sup>n</sup>r´ ga<sup>n</sup>yá ga<sup>n</sup>r-** ebony fruit  
**gba<sup>n</sup>'e´** 2vb catch, grab; decide, plan  
**gbá<sup>n</sup>yà'a** idle person; **gbá<sup>n</sup>yà'am** laziness  
**gbaŋŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>' gbaná gban-/gbaŋŋ-** animal skin;  
 book (tp L, W); **gbàŋŋ-mi'id<sub>a</sub>'** B scribe  
**gbɛɛ<sup>n</sup>m gbɛ<sup>n</sup>-** sleep  
**gbè'og<sub>ɔ</sub> gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'-** forehead  
**gbèog<sub>ɔ</sub>** lakeshore  
**gber´ gbeyá gber-** thigh  
**gbigum<sub>n</sub> gbiguma gbìgìm-** lion  
**gbìn<sub>n</sub> gbìnà gbìn-** buttock; (hill) foot;  
 meaning; below; **gbìn-vòò<sup>n</sup>r** anus  
**gbis** 2vb sleep  
**gɛ<sup>n</sup>** 2vb get tired

**gɛ<sup>n</sup>'** 2vb get angry  
**gɛɛl´** 2vb place between legs (tp H)  
**gɛɛ<sup>n</sup>m´ ger gɛɛ<sup>n</sup>mís** 2vb go/send mad  
**gɛɛ<sup>n</sup>ŋ<sub>a</sub> gɛɛ<sup>n</sup>mís** madman  
**gél<sub>l</sub> gelá gel-** egg  
**gɛog<sub>ɔ</sub>** place between legs (tp A)  
**gìgìlìm** 2vb go dumb  
**gii<sup>n</sup>lím** shortness  
**gìk<sub>a</sub> gìgìs gìg-** dumb person  
**gilig´ ipf gin<sub>na</sub>'** 2vb go around  
**gim<sub>ma</sub>'** 1vb be short  
**gìŋ** 2vb scrimp  
**giŋ´** 2vb surround, intercept, obstruct  
**giŋ<sub>a</sub>** *adj* short; **giŋ<sub>a</sub>** shortly  
**gò<sup>n</sup>** 2vb hunt; ipf **gòò<sup>n</sup>d<sub>a</sub>** wander,  
 ger **gòò<sup>n</sup>dìm**  
**gòdɪg´** 2vb look up  
**gò'e<sub>ya</sub>' W gòl<sub>a</sub>' K** 1vb be looking up  
**gò'òŋ** 2vb look up  
**gòr<sub>a</sub>' D** 1vb be looking up  
**gòs** ipf **gòsɪd<sub>a</sub>'/gòt<sub>a</sub>'** imp **gò(sì)m<sub>a</sub>**  
 ger **gòsìg<sub>a</sub>** 2vb look; **gòt<sub>a</sub>'** seer  
**gu'** 2vb guard, protect  
**gù<sup>n</sup>'a gù<sup>n</sup>'òs gù<sup>n</sup>'-** thorn; acacia;  
**gù<sup>n</sup>'-sabulíg<sub>a</sub>** *Acacia hockii*  
**gùl** 2vb hang; **gùl<sub>l</sub>a** 1vb hang  
**gùllìmm** lf **gùllìmnè** *pt* only §12.2  
**gùm<sub>n</sub> gùmà** kapok fruit; thread W  
**gumpuzér´ gumpuzeyá gumpuzér-** duck  
**gùŋ<sub>a</sub> gùmìs gùŋ-** kapok tree,  
*Ceiba pentandra*  
**gùŋgum<sub>n</sub>** kapok material  
**gur<sub>a</sub>'** 1vb guard, watch for  
**gu'ul´** 2vb set on guard  
**gù'ùlìm** 2vb get half-ripe  
**gùòr gùyà gù-** upland; riverbank  
**gùòr gùyà gù-** ridge of back  
**gu'us´** 2vb take care, watch out  
**gù'ùs** half-ripe fruits

## -H-

halí *pt* even, until §10.6.3

## -I-

ja *lf ia* 2vb seek

ja<sup>n</sup>as´ 2vb leap

ja<sup>n</sup>k´ ipf ja<sup>n</sup>ada´ 2vb leap, fly

igiya´ 1vb kneel

igil´ 2vb make kneel

igìn 2vb kneel down

íṽṽ ulá ul- horn

isir isa is- scar

isìg 2vb get up early

## -K-

kà *pt* and, that §11.1

ka 2vb bail water

ka' (before complements) see ka'ε

kaab´ 2vb offer, invite

kaal´ 2vb count

kaas´ 2vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)

kà'asìg 1vb not exist (clause-final only)

kà<sup>n</sup>b ger ka<sup>n</sup>bır 2vb scorch

kabıg´ 2vb ladle out

kabır´ ger kabırí 2vb call for admission

kàd 2vb drive away; kàd sàríyà 2vb judge

ka<sup>n</sup>duḡḡ *adj* (person) fat, tough

ka'ε 1vb not exist/be/have

kalı´ kalá kal- number

kàlìga´ *q* few

kàm<sub>a</sub> *q* every

kàn *pn* this/that

kàṽa´ *pn* this/that

kàr<sub>a</sub> 1vb be few

kàrífà/kérifà o'clock §10.6.2 (Ha *karfe*)

kàrìm 2vb read

kàset<sub>a</sub>´ witness; testimony (? French *cacheté* "sealed"); kàsetíb<sub>a</sub> witnesses

ke ipf ket<sub>a</sub>´ imp kèl<sub>a</sub> 2vb let, cause

ke<sup>n</sup> ipf ken<sub>a</sub>´ imp kè<sub>m</sub><sub>a</sub> ger ken<sub>n</sub>´ 2vb come; ken ken welcome!

kèèkè kèèkè-nàm<sub>a</sub> kèèkè- bicycle (Ha)

kèès 2vb bid farewell to

kèlìg/kèlìs 2vb listen

keṽ´ ipf ken<sub>na</sub>´ imp kè<sub>m</sub><sub>a</sub> 2vb go, walk;

ken<sub>na</sub>´ traveller

kè<sup>n</sup>s 2vb break

kjà' *lf* kì'a 2vb cut

kidig´ 2vb cross over, meet;

à Kidigı· bu'os Orion

kiefḡ´ kì´ kì-/ka- millet;

ka-wennır -wenna -wén- corn

kı'tbḡ´ soap; W kiibú kiib- (Mampruli)

kıts 2vb listen

kı'ıs´ 2vb deny

kìkàm<sub>n</sub> kìkàmà fig

kì(ṽ)kàṽa kìkàmìs kìkàṽ- (Cape) fig tree

kìkirig<sub>a</sub>´ kìkiris´ kìkir- (local En "fairy")

protective spirit; hostile bush spirit;

demon B2/3 (kìkir-bê'ed B1)

kilim´ 2vb become, change into

kìm 2vb herd animals

kímm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly §9.2

kir ger kìkírùḡḡ/kiribḡ 2vb hurry, tremble

kis<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb hate; kis(id)<sub>a</sub>´ hater

kisùḡḡ *adj* hateful, tabu

kò 2vb break intr

kò<sup>n</sup>(okò) by oneself

kòbìga (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred §9.5.1

kò<sup>n</sup>bır kò<sup>n</sup>ba kò<sup>n</sup>b- bone

kò<sup>n</sup>bḡḡ kò<sup>n</sup>bıd kò<sup>n</sup>b- animal hair;

human body hair (cf *zuobúḡḡ*);

kò<sup>n</sup>b-kım<sub>na</sub> -kımmıb<sub>a</sub> animal herder

kòdıg´ 2vb cut throat

kòdú banana (Twi)

kòl 2vb put around someone's neck

kòlìbır kòlìbà bottle (Ha *kwalaba*)

kòlḡ<sub>a</sub> kòlts kòl- river;

kòlḡı·n nó-dáḡḡḡ crayfish

kòlòḡḡ kò<sub>n</sub> kòlòḡ- sack, bag

kò'm´ kòm- hunger

kò'og 2vb break

kò'os 2vb break several times

kò<sup>n</sup>s(ım) 2vb cough

- kòtàa lf kòtäänè *pt* at all (Twi)  
 kótò lawcourt (En)  
 kpà' 2vb nail, fasten  
 kpà'a kpà'a-nàm<sub>a</sub> rich person  
 kpaad<sub>a</sub>´ kpaadí<sub>b</sub><sub>a</sub> kpaad- farmer  
 kpà'am riches  
 kpaam´ kpa- grease, ointment  
 kpà<sup>n</sup>dìr kpà<sup>n</sup>dà kpà<sup>n</sup>d- baboon  
 kpàkvr´ kpàkvyá kpàkvr- tortoise  
 kpan<sub>n</sub> kpana kpàn- spear  
 kpàr 2vb lock  
 kpar-kêo<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub> -kêe<sup>n</sup>d -ké<sup>n</sup>- rag  
 kpá<sup>n</sup>'uŋ<sub>o</sub> kpi<sup>n</sup>'iní kpa<sup>n</sup>'- guineafowl  
 kpe *pn* here  
 kpè<sup>n</sup>' 2vb enter  
 kpe<sup>n</sup>dír´ kpe<sup>n</sup>dá kpe<sup>n</sup>d- cheek  
 kpe<sup>n</sup>m kpè<sup>n</sup>m-nàm<sub>a</sub> kpè<sup>n</sup>m- elder  
 kpe<sup>n</sup>m<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb be older than  
 kpè<sup>n</sup>'es 2vb make enter  
 kpelá *pn* here  
 kpèlìm 2vb remain  
 kpèlìm *pt* still; immediately after §10.4  
 kpèn *pt* = kpèlìm  
 kpè'ŋ 2vb strengthen  
 kpeo<sup>n</sup>ŋ<sub>o</sub> seniority  
 kpì 2vb die  
 kpì'a kpì'es kpìà'- neighbour  
 kpìà' lf kpì'a 2vb whittle  
 kpì'e 2vb approach  
 kpì'em<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb be strong, hard  
 kpì<sup>b</sup>ìg<sub>a</sub> kpì<sup>b</sup>ìs kpì<sup>b</sup>- orphan  
 kpìig 2vb (fire) go out  
 kpi'ílím 2vb come to an end  
 kpi'ím kpi'ímìs kpì'ím- corpse  
 kpìis 2vb quench  
 kpikpin<sub>na</sub>´ kpikpinní<sub>b</sub><sub>a</sub> kpikpín-  
 merchant  
 kpi'oŋ<sub>o</sub> *adj* strong, hard  
 kpìsìŋkpìlì kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;  
 also kpìsùkpìlì  
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit  
 kpòkpàrìg<sub>a</sub> kpòkpàrìs kpòkpàr-  
 (Palmyra) palm  
 kpòkpà<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sub>o</sub> kpòkpàmà kpòkpà<sup>u</sup>ŋ- arm,  
 wing  
 kù *pt* not (irrealis) §10.3  
 kv 2vb kill (Mooré *kv*); (rain) threaten  
 (Mooré *kv*): saa kú ya it looks like rain  
 kya lf kua 2vb hoe, farm  
 ku'alíŋ<sub>a</sub> ku'alí(mì)s ku'alíŋ- k/o smock  
 kùd 2vb work iron  
 kùdìg 2vb shrivel up, dry out, age  
 kudìm the old days; also for kulìm  
 kudv<sub>o</sub> *adj* old  
 kudug<sub>o</sub> kut kùt- (pl as sg) iron, nail  
 kugur´ kugá kug- stone  
 kuka kugv<sub>s</sub> kùg- chair  
 kùk<sub>a</sub> ghost  
 kuka´ (African) mahogany  
 kùkò<sup>m</sup><sub>n</sub> kùkò<sup>m</sup>à kùkò<sup>m</sup>- leper  
 kùkò<sup>r</sup>´ kùkò<sup>y</sup>á kùkò(r)- voice  
 kùkpàrìg<sub>a</sub> see kpòkpàrìg<sub>a</sub>  
 kùkvr´ kùkvyá kùkvr- pig  
 kul ger kulig<sub>a</sub>´ 2vb return home;  
 take as husband  
 kulìm *pt* always §10.4  
 kùlìŋ<sub>a</sub> kùlì(mì)s kùlìŋ- door  
 kùm 2vb weep  
 kum kùm- death  
 kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndùà'-  
 barren woman  
 kùndùŋ<sub>a</sub> kùndù<sup>m</sup>ìs/kùndù<sup>n</sup>à hyena  
 kù'om kyà'- water; kyà'-nuud´ thirst;  
 kyà'-<sup>n</sup>wiig<sub>a</sub>´ current  
 kùos 2vb sell  
 kuv *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1 (Ha *ko*)  
 kuuga<sub>o</sub>´ kuus´ ku- mouse  
 kùvì 2vb get drunk  
 kuv<sub>s</sub>´ 2vb settle (legal judgment)

## -L-

- la' *pt* the §9.7.2  
 là' 2vb laugh  
 la'af<sub>o</sub> ligidi lig-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;  
   là'-bielíf<sub>o</sub> small coin  
 láafiyà/láafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)  
 là'am 2vb associate; *pt* together §10.4  
 là'as 2vb gather together *tr*  
 làbaar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)  
 làbì<sub>ya</sub> 1vb crouch behind something  
 làbìl 2vb make crouch  
 làbìn 2vb start crouching  
 làbìs 2vb walk stealthily  
 lab<sub>sa</sub>' 1vb be wide  
 lab<sub>si</sub>g<sub>a</sub> *adj* wide; lab<sub>si</sub>m width  
 lak' 2vb open (eye, book)  
 la<sub>la</sub>' 1vb be distant  
 la<sub>li</sub>g' 2vb get to be far, make far  
 lallí far off  
 lallí<sub>a</sub>/lallú<sub>o</sub> *adj* distant  
 lam<sub>n</sub>' lamá lam- (tooth) gum;  
   lam-fô<sub>o</sub>g<sub>o</sub> *adj* toothless  
 làmpo' làmpo- tax (French *l'impôt*)  
 lan<sub>n</sub> lana làn- testicle  
 lànnìg<sub>a</sub> lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel  
 la'η' 2vb set alight  
 làngá<sub>u</sub>η<sub>o</sub> làngáam<sub>n</sub>/làngaamá làngá<sub>u</sub>η-  
   crab  
 la<sub>ni</sub>m 2vb wander round searching  
 la<sub>u</sub>k<sub>o</sub> la'ad là'- goods item  
 là'v<sub>η</sub><sub>o</sub> là'amà fishing net  
 lèb ger le<sub>bu</sub>g<sub>a</sub> 2vb return *intr*  
 lèbìg 2vb turn over; return  
 lèbìs 2vb answer; return; divorce (wife)  
 lèe *pt* but §10.4  
 lèm *pt* again §10.4  
 lèm (-mm-) 2vb sip, taste  
 lèr 2vb get ugly  
 lì/l<sub>i</sub> *pn* 3i  
 lì ipf lèt<sub>a</sub> imp lìm<sub>a</sub> ger liig<sub>a</sub> 2vb fall  
 lì 2vb block up  
 là *pt* where is? §11.2.4  
 lèdìg 2vb turn (shirt) *W*  
 lèdìg 2vb astonish, be amazed  
 lèb 2vb become  
 lì'el 2vb approach  
 lì'em<sub>n</sub> lì'emá fruit of yellow plum tree  
 li<sub>e</sub>η<sub>a</sub> liemís li<sub>e</sub>η- axe  
 lì'e<sub>η</sub><sub>a</sub> lì'emís yellow plum tree,  
   *Ximenia americana*  
 lig 2vb patch  
 ligìl 2vb cover; ligìn 2vb cover oneself  
 l<sub>u</sub>b<sub>r</sub> l<sub>u</sub>b<sub>a</sub> l<sub>u</sub>b- twin  
 lik<sub>a</sub> ligis darkness  
 lilaalí<sub>a</sub> lilaalí(mì)s lilaalí<sub>η</sub>- swallow  
 lín *pn* 3i+ñ; l<sub>u</sub>n 3i  
 lìn *pn* that; lìná *pn* that  
 lo 2vb tie  
 lob/lob<sub>u</sub>g' 2vb throw stones at  
 lob<sub>u</sub>dí<sub>a</sub> lob<sub>u</sub>dís water-drawing vessel  
 lod<sub>u</sub>g<sub>a</sub>' lod<sub>u</sub>s' lod- corner  
 lod<sub>u</sub>g' 2vb untie  
 lòk<sub>o</sub> lù'ad l<sub>u</sub>à'- (arrow) quiver  
 lòm<sub>b</sub>ò<sup>n'</sup>o<sub>g</sub><sub>o</sub> lòm<sub>b</sub>ò<sup>n'</sup>o<sub>d</sub> lòm<sub>b</sub>ò<sup>n'</sup>- garden  
   (Ha *lambu*)  
 lo<sub>η</sub><sub>a</sub> lom<sub>u</sub>s lò<sub>η</sub>- k/o frog  
 lò'η' 2vb go across river, road  
 lór lóyà/ló<sub>o</sub>m<sub>ma</sub> lór- car, lorry  
 lès 2vb dip, immerse in liquid  
 lù ipf lùt<sub>a</sub> imp lùm<sub>a</sub> 2vb fall  
 lub ger lubir' 2vb buck, throw off rider  
 lug 2vb swim  
 l<sub>u</sub>g<sub>u</sub>r organ, member  
   -M-  
 m/m<sub>a</sub> *pn* 1s  
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám<sub>a</sub> *sic* §9.4  
 mà' 2vb lie, deceive  
 mà'àa lf mà'anè *pt* only §12.2  
 màal 2vb make, sacrifice; màal-maan<sub>na</sub>  
   servant who conducts slayings for a  
   tè<sub>η</sub>-daan<sub>a</sub>; priest B1/2 (*maanmaan* B3)  
 ma'al' 2vb make cool, wet

- maan<sub>n</sub>** **maana** **màan-** sacrifice  
**má'an<sub>n</sub>** **ma'aná** **ma'an-** okra  
**ma'as<sub>a</sub>'** 1vb be cool, wet  
**ma'asíg<sub>a</sub>** cool, wet; **ma'asíg<sub>a</sub>'** coolly;  
**ma'asím** coolness  
**madɨg'** 2vb overflow, abound  
**ma'e'** 2vb cool down  
**màk** 2vb crumple up  
**mak'** 2vb measure, judge  
**màliak<sub>a</sub>'** **màliak-nám<sub>a</sub>/màlija'as'** **màlija'-**  
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)  
**màlif<sub>ɔ</sub>** **màli** gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)  
**màlìgìm** *pt* again §10.4  
**malɨs<sub>a</sub>'** 1vb be sweet, pleasant  
**malísíg<sub>a</sub>/malísíŋ<sub>a</sub>** *adj* sweet, pleasant;  
**malísím** sweetness  
**malɨŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>** **malɨma** **màlòŋ-** custom; sacrifice  
**mam** *pn* 1s  
**mán** *pn* 1s+**n**; **man** 1s  
**màŋgáɨŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>** = **làŋgáɨŋ<sub>ɔ</sub>**  
**màɨk<sub>ɔ</sub>** *adj* crumpled up  
**mè** 2vb build  
**mè(n)** *pt* also §12.2; **mè-kàmà** -soever  
**mɛd** 2vb mash up  
**mèɛŋ<sub>a</sub>** **mèɛmìs** **mèɛŋ-** turtle  
**mèlìgìm** dew  
**mɛŋ<sub>a</sub>'** *pn* self; **mɛŋír** *adj* genuine  
**mɛt'** **mɛt-** pus  
**mi'** 1vb know  
**míif<sub>ɔ</sub>** **miiní** okra seed  
**mì'ig** 2vb get sour  
**mì'is<sub>a</sub>** 1vb be sour; **mì'isùg<sub>ɔ</sub>** *adj* sour  
**milig'** 2vb get dirty  
**mìmiilím/mìmiilúg<sub>ɔ</sub>** sweetness  
**mìt** 1vb imp-only: beware; do not let  
**mɔ** 2vb strive, struggle  
**mɔd** 2vb swell  
**mɔdɨg'** 2vb be patient, endure  
**mòlif<sub>ɔ</sub>** **mòli** **mòl-** gazelle  
**mɔn** 2vb grind millet to make **sa'ab<sub>ɔ</sub>**  
**mɔŋ'** 2vb refuse to lend  
**mɔɔg<sub>ɔ</sub>** **mɔɔd** **mò-** grass; back-country,  
 "bush"; **mò-pil** grass thatch  
**mɔɔl'** 2vb proclaim;  
**mɔɔl-mòɔn<sub>na</sub>** proclaimer  
**mɔr<sub>a</sub>'** 1vb have; **mɔr na** bring  
**mɨà'** 2vb suckle  
**mɨàk<sub>a</sub>** **mò'as** **mɨà'-** maggot  
**mò'ar** **mɨà'a** **mɨà'-** lake, reservoir  
**mò'as** 2vb give suck to  
**mù'e** 2vb redden; ignite; intensify  
**mùj** **mùj-** rice  
**mùl** 2vb itch  
**mùm** 2vb bury  
 -N-  
**n** *pt* (catenator) §11.3 §11.2.4  
**n** *pt* (past) §10.2 §11.2.3  
**n** *pn* 2pS: see **ya**  
**n/nɨ'** *pt* (locative) §10.6.2  
**ñ** *pt* (nominaliser) §11.4  
**nà** *pt* (irrealis) §10.3  
**na'** *pt* hither §10.7  
**na** 2vb join  
**nà'-** (cf Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness"):  
**nà'-dàwan<sub>n</sub>'** pigeon  
**nà'-nesɨnnɛog<sub>ɔ</sub>'** centipede W  
**nà'-zòm<sub>n</sub>** locust  
**náa** *pt* (reply to blessings) §13  
**nà'ab<sub>a</sub>** **nà'-nàm<sub>a</sub>** **nà'-** chief, king;  
**nà'-biig<sub>a</sub>** prince(ss); **nà'-yir'** court  
**náaf<sub>ɔ</sub>** **niigí** **na'-** cow  
**nàam** 2vb happen  
**na'am** **nà'am-** chieftaincy, kingdom  
**naan** next, afterwards §10.4  
**naan** *pt* in that case §10.4 §11.2.3  
**naan'** 2vb starting from ... do §11.3  
**nà'ana'** *ideo* easily  
**nà'as** ger **nà'asì** 2vb honour  
**nae'** 2vb finish  
**nàm** *pt* still, yet §10.4  
**nàm<sub>a</sub>** (pluraliser) §6.1  
**namɨs'** 2vb persecute, suffer

- nan** 2vb love, respect  
**nannánna'** *pn* now  
**nànzv'vs'** pepper (? tones)  
**naŋ<sub>a</sub>** **namus** **nàŋ-** scorpion  
**nar<sub>a</sub>'** 1vb need, deserve  
**narúŋ<sub>o</sub>** *adj* necessary  
**nàyiig<sub>a</sub>** **nàyiig-nàm<sub>a</sub>/nàyiis** thief  
*(na'ayiiig B); nàyiigum* thievery  
**nɛ** *pt* with §10.6.3; linking NPs: and  
**nɛ'** *pt* (focus) §12.1  
**nɛ'** *pn* this  
**nèɛl** 2vb reveal  
**nèɛm** for free  
**nɛɛm'** 2vb grind with millstone  
**nɛɛr'** millstone  
**nèɛs** 2vb reveal; **nèɛsìm** light  
**nèj<sub>ya</sub>** 1vb be awake  
**nɛm-nêɛr -nɛyà** grinder  
**nɛn<sub>na</sub>'** 1vb envy; **nin-nén<sub>na</sub>** envier  
**nɛ'ɛŋa** *pn* this  
**nèɛr** *adj* empty  
**nɛsɪnnɛog<sub>o</sub>' nɛsɪnnɛɛd' nɛsɪnnɛ-**  
 centipede; envious person W  
**ñfá!** *pt* well done! §11.2.4  
**n'** *pt* (locative) §10.6.2  
**nì** 2vb rain  
**nid<sub>a</sub>' nidib<sub>a</sub>' nin-** person; **nin-pɔnan<sub>na</sub>'**  
**-pɔnanníb<sub>a</sub> -pɔnán-** disrespectful  
 person; **nin-sâal<sub>a</sub>** human being  
**nìè** 2vb appear, reveal; waken  
**nif<sub>o</sub>' niní** **nif-/nin-** eye; **nif-gbáŋŋ<sub>o</sub>** eyelid;  
**nif-sób<sub>a</sub>** miser; **nin-báa<sup>n</sup>lìg<sub>a</sub>** pity;  
**nin-dáa -dâas -dá-** face; **nin-gótìŋ<sub>a</sub>**  
 mirror; **nin-gótìs** spectacles;  
**nin-kúgùdìg<sub>a</sub> -kúgùdìs** eyebrow;  
**nin-múa** concentration; **m̀ niní mù'e nɛ**  
 I'm intent; **nin-tâ'm** tears  
**níŋ<sub>a</sub>** **niimís/níis** **niŋ-** bird  
**ni'm<sub>n</sub>'** **nimá** **nim-** meat  
**nin-pôud** pus  
**nintaŋ<sub>a</sub>' nintaas' nintáŋ-** heat of the day  
**niŋ<sub>a</sub>** **niis** **nìŋ-** body; **nìn-gbiŋ<sub>o</sub>' -gbiná**  
**-gbiŋ-** body (pl as sg); **nìn-gòɔr** neck;  
**nìn-taa -taas -tà-** co-wife §9.4;  
**nìn-tullím** fever  
**nìŋ** 2vb do  
**nɔ** 2vb tread  
**nɔb** 2vb get fat  
**nɔbɔg'** 2vb (child, plant) grow  
**nóbìr nóbá nɔb-** leg, foot; **nɔb-bíl<sub>a</sub>** toe;  
**nɔb-í<sup>n</sup>'a** toenail; **nɔb-púmpàŋŋ<sub>o</sub>** foot  
**nɔk'** 2vb pick up, take up  
**nòŋ** imp **nòŋìm<sub>a</sub>** 1vb love; **nòŋìd<sub>a</sub>** *sic* lover  
**nɔŋ<sub>o</sub>' nɔŋ-** poverty; **nɔŋ-dâan<sub>a</sub>** pauper  
**nɔɔ** *pt* exactly, just §12.2  
**nɔɔr'** **nɔyá** **nɔ-** mouth; command;  
**nɔ-dí'es<sub>a</sub>** chief's spokesman ("linguist");  
 prophet B; **nɔ-gbáŋŋ<sub>o</sub>** lip; **nɔ-lôɔr**  
 fasting; **nɔ-nâar** promise; **nɔ-pôɔr** oath  
**nɔɔr'/nɔɔrím** times §9.5.1  
**nu** 2vb drink  
**nua'** **nɔɔs'** **nɔ-** hen; **nɔ-dâug<sub>o</sub>** cock;  
**Nɔ-<sup>n</sup>yâ'aŋ-né-ò-biis** Pleiades  
**nulig'/nulis'** 2vb make drink  
**nû'ug<sub>o</sub>** **nû'us** **nu'-** hand, arm; **nu'-bíl<sub>a</sub>**  
 finger; **nu'-dâug<sub>o</sub>** thumb; **nu'-í<sup>n</sup>'a -ê<sup>n</sup>'ɛs-**  
**-é<sup>n</sup>'-** fingernail; **nu'-wê<sup>n</sup>'ɛd<sub>a</sub>** mediator  
 -O-  
**ò/o** *pn* 3a  
**ò<sup>n</sup>b** ger **ɔ<sup>n</sup>bur** 2vb chew  
**ón** *pn* 3a+**ǹ**; **on** 3a  
**òn** *pn* this/that  
**òŋa'** *pn* this/that  
 -P-  
**pà'** *pt* earlier today §10.2  
**pà'al** 2vb teach, inform; **pa'an<sub>na</sub>** teacher  
**pà'al** 2vb put on top  
**paalíg<sub>a</sub>** *adj* new; **paalím** recently  
**pà<sup>n</sup>'alìm** 2vb dedicate  
**paalú** open space  
**pàa<sup>n</sup>lúŋ<sub>o</sub>** **pàa<sup>n</sup>límìs** spiderweb  
**pàam** 2vb receive gift

- pàas** 2vb add up to, amount to  
**pae'** 2vb arrive; reach  
**pàk** 2vb surprise; take from top  
**pamm** lf **pamné** *q* much, a lot  
**pàŋ<sub>a</sub>** **pàa<sup>n</sup>s** **pàŋ-** power  
**pà<sup>n</sup>sìg** 2vb lack  
**pà' tì** *pt* perhaps §10.4  
**pèbìs** 2vb blow; **pèbìsìm/pèbìsùg<sub>o</sub>** wind  
**pè'el** 2vb fill  
**pè'es** 2vb add up to, amount to  
**pèlìg** 2vb whiten, go white  
**pèlìs** 2vb sharpen  
**pèn<sub>n</sub>** vagina  
**pe'ŋ'** 2vb borrow; knock over W  
**pèog<sub>o</sub>** **pèed** **pè-** basket  
**pe'og<sub>o</sub>'** **pe'es'** **pe'-** sheep; **pe'-sá'a** ewe  
 lamb  
**pesìg'** 2vb sacrifice  
**pjà** lf **pia** 2vb dig up  
**pjà<sup>n</sup>** 2vb speak, praise; ger **pjàv<sup>n</sup>k<sub>o</sub>**  
**pjà<sup>n</sup>ad** **pjà<sup>n</sup>-** word, (pl) language  
**pìbìg** 2vb uncover  
**pìbìl** 2vb cover up  
**pìbin<sub>n</sub>** **pìbina** **pìbìn-** cover, lid  
**pìd** 2vb put (hat, shoes, rings) on; (with  
 indirect object) put hat etc on someone  
**pid** 2vb get bloated  
**pìdìg** 2vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)  
**pie'** 2vb wash (own body)  
**pìeb** 2vb blow (flute etc)  
**pìelìg<sub>a</sub>** *adj* white (cf **zì<sup>n</sup>'a**);  
**pìelìm** whiteness  
**pìes** 2vb fool someone  
**pies'** 2vb wash  
**píuf<sub>o</sub>** **piiní** **pìun-** genet  
**piiga** *q* ten  
**pi<sup>n</sup>'il'** 2vb begin  
**piim'** **pimá** **pim-** arrow  
**piini** **pìin-** gift  
**pìl** 2vb cover  
**pìlìg** 2vb uncover  
**pipirig<sub>a</sub>'** **pipiris'** **pipír-** desert  
**pisí** *q* twenty  
**pitú** **pítìb<sub>a</sub>** **pit-** younger same-sex sibling  
 (sg **-pit<sub>a</sub>'** after cifs)  
**pɔ** 2vb swear  
**pò<sup>n</sup>d** 2vb crouch down  
**pòòd<sub>a</sub>** 1vb be few, small  
**pòòdìg<sub>a</sub>** *adj* few, small; **pòòdìm** fewness  
**pòog<sub>o</sub>'** **pòòd'**/**pòt'** **pɔ-** field, farm  
**pò'og** 2vb diminish, belittle  
**pò<sup>n</sup>'ol'** 2vb make rot  
**pò<sup>n</sup>'olìm** 2vb cripple, get crippled  
**pò<sup>n</sup>'or** **pò<sup>n</sup>dà** **pò<sup>n</sup>-** cripple  
**pòor'** "slogan", part of clan genealogy W  
**pò<sup>n</sup>r<sub>a</sub>** 1vb be near  
**pò<sup>n</sup>rùg<sub>o</sub>** *adj* near  
**pɔ** *pt* not (indicative) §10.3  
**pɔ** 2vb divide  
**pɔa'** **pɔ'ab<sub>a</sub>** **pɔà'-** woman, wife; **pɔà'-elìŋ<sub>a</sub>**  
 fiancée; **pɔà'-ginníg<sub>a</sub>/-gòò<sup>n</sup>dur**  
 prostitute; **pɔà'-paal<sub>a</sub>'** bride;  
**pɔà'-sadir'** nulliparous young woman;  
**pɔà'-sa<sup>n</sup>am<sub>na</sub>** adulterer; **pɔà'-<sup>n</sup>yá'aŋ<sub>a</sub>**  
**-<sup>n</sup>yá'as** old woman; **pɔà'-yùà** daughter  
**pɔak<sub>a</sub>** *adj* (human) female  
**pò'alìm** 2vb harm, damage  
**pò'alìm** femininity  
**pò'alím** **pò'alímìs** **pò'alím-** female organs  
**pòd** 2vb name  
**pòdìg'** 2vb divide, share out  
**pu<sup>n</sup>'e'** 2vb rot  
**pògùdìb<sub>a</sub>** **pògùd-nàm<sub>a</sub>** **pògùd-** father's  
 sister  
**pòkòò<sup>n</sup>r** **pòkò<sup>n</sup>yà** **pòkò<sup>n</sup>-** widow  
**pòkpaad<sub>a</sub>'** **pòkpaadìb<sub>a</sub>** **pòkpá-** *sic* farmer  
**pòlìmà** cogongrass  
**pòmpòog<sub>o</sub>** housefly  
**pòn** *pt* previously, already §10.4  
**pusig<sub>a</sub>'** **pusis'** **pus-** tamarind  
**pusir'** **pusá** tamarind fruit  
**pɔ-súk<sub>a</sub>** **-sùgùs** half

- pvt´ stomach contents  
 puum´ puum- flowers  
 puug<sub>a</sub> pè- belly; pè-pièl<sub>l</sub> upright person;  
 pè-pièl<sub>m</sub> virtue; pè-tè<sup>n</sup>'er -tè<sup>n</sup>dà -tè<sup>n</sup>'-  
 mind; puug<sub>v</sub>.n inside; ò mòr puug  
 she is pregnant  
 puur´ stomach  
 pè'us 2vb greet, worship, thank; ger  
 pè'us<sub>m</sub> worship; ger pè'us<sub>g</sub> thanks  
 -S-  
 sà pt yesterday §10.3  
 sà pt hence, ago §10.7  
 sa' 2vb be in distress  
 sàa pt tomorrow §10.3  
 saa saas sà- rain, sky; (subject of ja<sup>n</sup>k´)  
 lightning; saa díndεog rainbow;  
 saa zúg sky  
 sa'ab<sub>g</sub> sà'- millet porridge ("TZ")  
 saaft lock, key (Twi)  
 sàal<sub>a</sub> sàalìb<sub>a</sub> sàal- human; sàal-biig<sub>a</sub>  
 human being  
 sàalíŋa´ smoothly  
 sàam<sub>ma</sub> sàam-nàm<sub>a</sub> sàam- father §9.4  
 sà<sup>n</sup>'am 2vb spoil, break  
 saam´ 2vb mash, crumble  
 sa'an´ in the presence/opinion of  
 saan<sub>a</sub>´ sáam<sub>ma</sub> saan- guest, stranger  
 sáannìm strangerhood  
 sáaŋ<sub>a</sub> adj strange  
 sablíŋ<sub>a</sub> adj black (cf zì<sup>n</sup>'a)  
 sàbùà sàbùos sàbùà- lover, girlfriend  
 sadíŋim pt since, because §10.4 §11.4.1  
 sae<sup>n</sup>(<sub>ya</sub>) saa<sup>n</sup>b<sub>a</sub> sà<sup>n</sup>- blacksmith  
 sakárùg<sub>g</sub> sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)  
 sàlìbìr bridle (Ar *salabah*)  
 sah<sub>ma</sub> sàlìm- gold  
 sam<sub>n</sub>´ samá sam- debt; sam-kpâ'as<sub>a</sub>  
 household servant  
 samán<sub>n</sub> samánà samán- yard before zàk<sub>a</sub>;  
 Samán-píer traditional New Year  
 saŋá sansá san- time §10.6.2  
 sàŋ-ŋbàŋ<sub>g</sub> cloud, sky  
 saŋgúnnìr saŋgúnnà saŋgún- millipede  
 sapál<sub>l</sub> Harmattan part of úbn<sub>n</sub>  
 sapu lf sapu/sapiné *ideo* straight  
 saríŋá prison (Ar *sāriqah* "fetter")  
 sàríyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàríyà-kat<sub>a</sub> judge  
 saug<sub>g</sub>´ saad´ sa- broom, brush  
 sàvk<sub>g</sub> sà'ad dust mote  
 sáŋ<sub>g</sub> hospitality  
 sè 2vb transplant  
 sebi<sub>ya</sub>´ 1vb squat  
 seo<sup>n</sup>g<sub>g</sub> rainy season  
 sè 2vb skin, flay  
 si'a pn sg some, any  
 sia sies sjà- waist; sjà-lòodíŋ<sub>a</sub> belt;  
 sjà-nif<sub>g</sub>´ kidney  
 sjà'al´ 2vb get to be enough  
 sjà'ar sjà'a(dà) sjà'- forest W; wilderness  
 sjàk 2vb agree; ò pu sjàkì fù ncooré.  
 he hasn't obeyed you  
 sjàk´ 2vb suffice  
 sibig<sub>a</sub>´ sibí sib- k/o termite  
 sɪd<sub>a</sub> sɪdɪb<sub>a</sub> sɪd- husband §9.4  
 sɪd pt truly §10.4  
 sɪdà sɪd- truth  
 sie´ 2vb descend, be humbled  
 sieba pn some, any; si'el<sub>a</sub> something,  
 anything; si'em somehow, anyhow  
 sig 2vb descend  
 sigr´ guardian spirit  
 sigis´ 2vb lower  
 sigisír sigisá lodging-place  
 sii<sup>n</sup>d´ honey  
 sii<sup>n</sup>f<sub>g</sub>´/sii<sup>n</sup>g<sub>a</sub>´ sii<sup>n</sup>s´ si<sup>n</sup>- bee  
 sug<sub>a</sub> sus sɪ- vital energy, spirit B;  
 African birch  
 siilìm 2vb cite proverbs; siilíŋ<sub>a</sub>/siilúŋ<sub>g</sub>  
 siilí(m)is/siilímà siilíŋ- proverb  
 sɪ'us´ 2vb touch  
 silinsíug<sub>g</sub> silinsîis ghost  
 silinsîu<sup>n</sup>g<sub>g</sub> silinsîi<sup>n</sup>d spider

- s̀l̀òg<sub>o</sub> s̀n<sub>n</sub>/s̀l̀is s̀l- hawk  
 s̀im 2vb sink in liquid  
 sin<sub>na</sub>´ 1vb be silent  
 s̀nsáá<sup>n</sup> k/o tiny ant  
 s̀ŋ<sub>a</sub> s̀u<sup>ns</sup> s̀ŋ- k/o very big pot  
 s̀'ŋ´ 2vb begin  
 sisíbig<sub>a</sub> sisíbìs sisíb- neem  
 sisíbir sisíbà neem fruit  
 s̀sì'em wind, storm  
 s̀sò<sub>m</sub><sub>n</sub> grasshopper  
 (s̀) s̀òv<sub>o</sub>·n between  
 sí'ŋ<sub>o</sub> si'imís si'ŋ- k/o big dish  
 s̀' pn some(one), any(one)  
 s̀<sup>n</sup> 2vb rub  
 s̀ò<sub>a</sub> pn (dummy head)  
 s̀òb 2vb darken; write  
 s̀òbìg´ 2vb blacken  
 s̀òbìr´ s̀òb- piece of writing  
 s̀òg<sup>n</sup>(ya) s̀ò<sup>n</sup>b<sub>a</sub> s̀ò<sup>n</sup>- witch  
 s̀ò<sup>n</sup>'e<sub>ya</sub>´ 1vb be better than; s̀ò<sup>n</sup>'òd<sub>a</sub>´  
     s̀ò<sup>n</sup>'òb<sub>a</sub>´ s̀ò<sup>n</sup>'òd- surpasser  
 s̀ògìà<sub>a</sub> soldier (En)  
 s̀òl<sub>o</sub>´ s̀òl<sub>má</sub> story  
 s̀ònnìr s̀ònna s̀òn- yard-dividing wall  
 s̀ò<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub> witchcraft  
 s̀ò<sup>r</sup> s̀ò<sup>ya</sup> s̀ò<sup>n</sup>- liver; cane rat  
 s̀òs ger s̀òsìg<sub>a</sub> 2vb ask; s̀òs<sub>a</sub> beggar  
 s̀ò<sup>s</sup> ger s̀ò<sup>s</sup>ìg<sub>a</sub> 2vb converse, talk with  
 s̀ò 2vb take bath  
 s̀ò<sub>a</sub>´ 2vb hide; s̀ò<sub>a</sub>´ hiding place  
 s̀ò'e<sub>ya</sub>´ 1vb own; s̀ò'ulím property, realm  
 s̀òe<sup>n</sup>´ 2vb anoint  
 s̀ò<sup>n</sup>'e´ 2vb become better than  
 s̀ò<sup>f</sup>o´/s̀ò<sup>r</sup>´ s̀ò<sup>yá</sup> s̀ò<sup>n</sup>- heart; s̀ò<sup>n</sup>-  
     búgòsìm peace; s̀ò<sup>n</sup>-kpì'òŋ<sub>o</sub> boldness;  
     s̀ò<sup>n</sup>-málìsìm/-má'asìm -málìs- joy;  
     m̀ s̀ò<sup>f</sup> má'e ya I'm joyful; s̀ò<sup>n</sup>-pêen<sub>n</sub>  
     anger; m̀ s̀ò<sup>f</sup> pélìg nē I'm angry;  
     s̀ò<sup>n</sup>-sâ<sup>n</sup>'òŋ<sub>o</sub> sorrow  
 s̀ògìr´ ger s̀ògìrú 2vb show forbearance  
 s̀ò'm goodness; well
- s̀ò<sub>ma</sub> 1vb be good  
 summìr summa s̀ò<sub>m</sub>- groundnut  
 s̀ò<sub>n</sub> ger s̀ò<sub>n</sub>ìr/s̀ò<sub>n</sub>òg<sub>o</sub> 2vb bow head;  
     s̀ò<sub>na</sub> close observer W  
 s̀òŋ 2vb help  
 s̀òŋ<sub>o</sub> adj good; s̀ò'ŋ<sub>a</sub>´ well; very much  
 s̀ò'òŋ<sub>a</sub> s̀ò'òmís s̀ò'òŋ- hare  
 suor´ s̀òeyá s̀ò<sub>a</sub>- road; permission  
 s̀ò'òs<sub>a</sub> yesterday  
 s̀ò'òs 2vb trick  
 s̀ò<sub>a</sub> 1vb have head bowed  
 s̀òv<sub>g</sub>´ 2vb (leaves) wither W  
 s̀ò'òg<sub>a/o</sub> s̀ò'òs s̀ò'- knife  
     -T-  
 -taa -taas fellow- §7.2.1  
 taab(a) pn each other  
 ta'adìr ta'ada tà'ad- sandal  
 tàalì tàalà tàal- fault, sin  
 tá'am<sub>n</sub> ta'amá shea nut  
 tá'aŋ<sub>a</sub> ta'amís ta'aŋ- shea tree  
 ta'as´ 2vb help to walk  
 tàb 2vb get stuck to; tàbì<sub>ya</sub> 1vb be stuck  
 tàbìg 2vb get unstuck from  
 tàbìl 2vb stick to tr  
 tàdìg 2vb weaken  
 tadìm tàdìm-nàm<sub>a</sub> tàdìm- weakling  
 tàdìmís weakness  
 tà<sub>m</sub> (-mm-) vb forget  
 tàmpìì<sub>g</sub><sub>a</sub> rock  
 tàmpòvur tàmpòv- ashpit, rubbish tip  
 tan<sub>n</sub> tana tàn- earth; tàn-mēed<sub>a</sub> builder  
 ta<sup>n</sup>p<sub>o</sub> war; tà<sup>n</sup>p-sòb<sub>a</sub> warrior  
 tar<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb have  
 tà<sup>s</sup> ger tà<sup>s</sup>òg<sub>o</sub> 2vb shout; (sun) shine  
 tàsìntàlì/tàtálì palm of hand  
 tay<sup>n</sup>´ ta<sup>n</sup>p<sub>a</sub>´ tay<sup>n</sup>-/ta<sup>n</sup>p- opposite-sex sib  
 tèb ger tèbìg<sub>a</sub> 2vb carry in both hands  
 tè<sup>n</sup>b ger tè<sup>n</sup>bùg<sub>o</sub> 2vb struggle  
 tèbìg´ 2vb get heavy  
 tèbìs<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb be heavy  
 tèbìsìg<sub>a</sub> adj heavy; tèbìsìm weight

- téebùl téebùl-nàma table (En)  
 tɛɛg'/tek' 2vb drag, pull;  
 tɛɛg X túbìr punish X  
 tè'ɛga tè'es tè'- baobab  
 tè'n'ɛs 2vb remind  
 tɛ'n'ɛs' 2vb think; ger tɛ'n'ɛsá thought  
 tɛŋa tɛɛns tèŋ- land; tèŋ-biiga native;  
 tèŋ-daan<sub>a</sub> earth-priest; tèŋ-dv'adiga  
 native land; tèŋ-gbàvŋ<sub>o</sub> land; tèŋ-  
 kpɛŋa -kpɛmɪs -kpɛŋ- village; tèŋ-  
 puvŋ<sub>o</sub> -puvd' -pv- village; tèŋ-suka  
 centre; tɛŋi·n/tɛŋír down; under  
 tèog<sub>o</sub> tèed nest  
 tè'og<sub>o</sub> tè'ed baobab fruit  
 tè'r<sub>a</sub> 1vb remember  
 tì/ti pn 1p  
 tì pt next, then §10.4  
 tjà'al 2vb come next  
 tjàk 2vb change  
 tì'e 2vb rely on  
 tì<sup>n</sup> 2vb remember; W inform; stretch  
 tì'eb 2vb get ready; (Ar *tìbb* "medical  
 art") heal; tì'eb<sub>a</sub> healer  
 tìɛŋa tìemìs tìɛŋ- beard; tìɛŋ-gvur chin  
 tɪg 2vb have in excess; ger tɪgr' glut  
 tì'iya' 1vb (thing) lean  
 tìuga tìus tì- tree; tì-davŋ<sub>o</sub> -daad -dà- bow  
 tì'il' 2vb lean (thing)  
 tùm tì- medicine; tì-kvudím poison;  
 tì-sabilím k/o traditional remedy  
 tì'in 2vb (thing) start leaning  
 tik' 2vb press; tik nû'ug sign  
 tilás necessity (Ha *tilas*)  
 tìlìg 2vb survive, be saved  
 tunáma pn 1p; tunámì 1p+n  
 tuntu<sup>n</sup>ríg<sub>a</sub> tuntu<sup>n</sup>rís tuntu<sup>n</sup>r- mole  
 tìp<sub>a</sub> tìp-nàma tìp- healer  
 tɪràana tɪràan-nàma tɪràan- peer;  
 tɪràannìm companionship  
 tìrìgà *ideo* for gɪŋ<sub>a</sub> short  
 tìs/tì· ipf tìsìd<sub>a</sub>/tìt<sub>a</sub> 2vb give; tìs<sub>a</sub> giver  
 tɪta'alɪ proud person; tɪta'alum pride  
 tɪta'am multitude  
 tɪta'ar *adj* big  
 tò pt OK §11.2.4 (Ha *to*)  
 tò<sup>n</sup> 2vb shoot  
 tòd 2vb give to the poor, share  
 tɔɛya' 1vb be bitter, difficult  
 tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")  
 tólìb *ideo*  
 tólìlìlì *ideo* for wɔk<sub>o</sub>' tall  
 tɔɔg<sub>o</sub> *adj* bitter, difficult  
 tɔɔm' 2vb depart, disappear  
 tò'n'ɔs 2vb hunt  
 tò'oto' straight away  
 tɔ̀à lf tɔ̀a 2vb grind in a mortar;  
 tɔ̀à-bil<sub>a</sub> pestle  
 tɔ̀à' 2vb plead in court  
 tɔ̀a'eya' 1vb be near  
 tò'al 2vb condemn in court  
 tò'as 2vb talk; tò'as-tò'as<sub>a</sub> talker  
 tòbìr tòbà tòb- ear; tòb-kpìr half of jaw  
 tu<sup>n</sup>'e 1vb control; be able  
 tòkpuvŋ<sub>o</sub> tumult, shouting  
 tvl<sub>a</sub>' 1vb be hot  
 tvlìg' 2vb heat up  
 tvlìg 2vb invert  
 tòm 2vb work; ger tvum<sub>n</sub> tvuma tòum-  
 deed, (pl) work; tòm-tvum<sub>na</sub> worker  
 tòm ger tìtvumɪs 2vb send  
 tuodɪr tuoda tòod- mortar  
 tòon<sub>n</sub> in front; west; tòon-gat<sub>a</sub> leader  
 tusir' thousand  
 tòtulɪ upside-down thing  
 tvulìgá' hotly; tvulúg<sub>o</sub> *adj* hot  
 tv'vs' 2vb meet

## -U-

ùdùg<sub>o</sub> ùt ùd- piece of chaff

ugus´ 2vb bring up child

ùk 2vb lift up; vomit

uk 2vb bloat

ùm 2vb close eyes

úbn<sub>n</sub> dry season

úbs´ 2vb (person) get warm

## -V-

vab<sub>ya</sub>´ 1vb lie prone

vab<sub>l</sub>´ 2vb make lie prone

vàb<sub>n</sub> 2vb lie prone

vàe 2vb gather up

vav<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub>´ vaa<sup>n</sup>d´ va<sup>n</sup>- leaf

vε´ 2vb lead

vε'εg´ 2vb drag

vè<sup>n</sup>l<sub>a</sub> 1vb be beautiful; vè<sup>n</sup>lìg<sub>a</sub>/vè<sup>n</sup>llíj<sub>a</sub>

*adj* beautiful; vè<sup>n</sup>llìm beauty;

also vèn<sub>na</sub> etc

vi'/vik´ 2vb uproot

viig´ 2vb postpone, reschedule

viug<sub>o</sub>´ viid´ vi- owl

vu ger vuug<sub>o</sub>´ 2vb make noise;

vuud´ noise

vbε<sub>ya</sub>´ 1vb be alive

vbl 2vb swallow

vùl<sub>n</sub>vùu<sup>n</sup>l<sub>l</sub> mason wasp

vom´ vom- life

vúo<sub>a</sub> vuomís red kapok,

*Bombax buonopozense*

vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok

vvr´ *adj* alive

vb'ug´ 2vb come/make alive

vb'us´ ger vb'usím 2vb breathe, rest

## -W-

wa' 2vb dance

<sup>n</sup>wà *pt* this §9.7.2

<sup>n</sup>wa' 2vb smash up

waad´ cold weather

wáaf<sub>o</sub> wiigí wa'- snake

waal´ 2vb sow

wa'alím length

wa'am<sub>a</sub>´ 1vb be long, tall

<sup>n</sup>waan<sub>a</sub> <sup>n</sup>waamis <sup>n</sup>wàan<sub>j</sub>- monkey

wàbìg<sub>a</sub> *adj* lame

wàbìlìm 2vb make, go lame

wabug<sub>o</sub>´ wabud´ wab- elephant

wadá wad- (En "order") law

<sup>n</sup>wadig<sub>a</sub>´ <sup>n</sup>wadis´ <sup>n</sup>wad- moon, month;

<sup>n</sup>wad-bíl<sub>a</sub> star; <sup>n</sup>Wad-dár Venus

wà'e<sub>ya</sub> 1vb be travelling

<sup>n</sup>wà'e 2vb cut wood

<sup>n</sup>wa'e´ 2vb strike, break

walig<sub>a</sub> walis/walí *sic* wàl- k/o gazelle

<sup>n</sup>wam<sub>n</sub> <sup>n</sup>wama <sup>n</sup>wàm- calabash;

also <sup>n</sup>wan<sub>n</sub> etc

wànìm 2vb waste away

wàsìnwàl<sub>l</sub> k/o gall (local En "mistletoe")

wàv<sub>o</sub> *adj* wasted, thin

<sup>n</sup>wè' 2vb beat; <sup>n</sup>wè' X nù'ug plead with X;

<sup>n</sup>wè' <sup>n</sup>yo'og boast

wεel´ 2vb be left unsold

wel 2vb bear fruit

wel<sub>l</sub>´ welá wel- fruit

welá/walá *pn* how? nìj welá n/kà §11.3

wεn<sub>na</sub>´ 1vb be like §10.6.3

wennr *adj* resembling (tp A, W)

wèog<sub>o</sub> deep bush

wεog<sub>o</sub>´ wεed´ cheap thing sold in abundance W

wjak´ 2vb hatch

widìg 2vb scatter

wiéf<sub>o</sub> wìdì wìd- horse

wìd<sub>a</sub>/wèed<sub>a</sub> wìb<sub>a</sub> wìd- hunter

wiig<sub>a</sub>´ whistle

<sup>n</sup>wiig<sub>a</sub>´ <sup>n</sup>wiis´ <sup>n</sup>wi- rope

<sup>n</sup>wiig´ 2vb make rope

wìm disease ("worse than ba<sup>n</sup>'as" W)

wìk ipf wìid<sub>a</sub> 2vb fetch water

wìl<sub>l</sub> wìlà wìl- branch

wìl<sub>s</sub>ú<sub>o</sub> wìlmís wìl<sub>s</sub>ú<sub>j</sub>- k/o snail

wím *ideo* for zì<sup>n</sup>'a red

wɪn<sub>n</sub>' wɪná wɪn- spiritual essence; god;

God; wɪn-tôog<sub>o</sub> misfortune

wìnnìg<sub>a</sub> wìn- sun; wìn-liir/-kòò<sup>r</sup> sunset

wiug<sub>o</sub> *adj* red (synonymous with zì<sup>n</sup>'a)

wòk<sub>o</sub>' *adj* long, tall

wòm ger wòm<sub>m</sub>o/wòm<sub>m</sub>òg<sub>o</sub> 2vb hear;  
smell; understand

wusa/wusu *q* all

wuu *pt* like, resembling §10.6.3

wu'ug' 2vb get wet

wu'ul' 2vb make wet

-Y-

yà/ya *pn* 2p

ya *pn* 2pS

ya *pt* (m/c-pf) §10.5

yà' *pt* if, when §11.2.3;

yà' naan if only; yà' pùn even if

yáa *pn* whither? yáa ní where?

yáab<sub>a</sub> yaa-nám<sub>a</sub> yaa- grandparent §9.4

yà'ab 2vb mould clay; ya'ad yà'- clay

yà'al 2vb hang up; make perch

<sup>n</sup>ya'al' 2vb leave behind

yà'an 2vb perch

<sup>n</sup>yaan *pt* next §10.4

yáaŋ<sub>a</sub> yáas yaaŋ- grandchild, descendant

<sup>n</sup>yá'aŋ<sub>a</sub> *adj* (animal) female

<sup>n</sup>yá'aŋ<sub>a</sub> behind; east; <sup>n</sup>ya'an-dól<sub>1a</sub>/-dól<sub>1</sub>

-dól<sub>1a</sub>/-dól<sub>1b</sub><sub>a</sub> -dól- disciple

yaar' 2vb scatter

<sup>n</sup>ya'ar <sup>n</sup>ya'a <sup>n</sup>yà'- root

yàarìm yàar- salt

yà'as<sub>(a)</sub> again

ya'as' 2vb open repeatedly

yàd(d)a trust (Ha yarda)

yadig' 2vb scatter; yat<sub>a</sub>' participant

in a housebuilding ritual

ya'e' 2vb widen, (mouth) open

<sup>n</sup>ya'e If <sup>n</sup>yaené *ideo* brightly, clearly

yàk 2vb unhang, unhook

yàlìg 2vb widen

yàlìm<sub>a</sub> 1vb be wide

yalim' yalim-nám<sub>a</sub> worthless person

yalisúŋ<sub>o</sub> yalimís yalisúŋ- quail

yàlòŋ<sub>o</sub> *adj* wide

<sup>n</sup>yalúŋ<sub>o</sub> *adj* wonderful

yam<sub>n</sub> yama yàm- hay

yam' /ya'am' W yam- gall (bladder); sense

yàmmòg<sub>a/o</sub> yàmmìs yàm- slave

<sup>n</sup>yàn<sub>n</sub> shame

yanám<sub>a</sub> *pn* 2p; yanámì 2p+ñ

<sup>n</sup>yaŋ' 2vb overcome; succeed in

yàug<sub>o</sub> yàad grave, tomb

<sup>n</sup>yàuk<sub>o</sub> *adj* single (of eyes)

ye *pt* that §11.1

yè 2vb dress oneself

<sup>n</sup>ye ipf <sup>n</sup>yeta' imp <sup>n</sup>yèm<sub>a</sub> 2vb see, find;

<sup>n</sup>ye láafiyà get well

<sup>n</sup>yeε (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4

yèεg 2vb undress oneself

yèεl 2vb dress someone

<sup>n</sup>ye'er' <sup>n</sup>yedá <sup>n</sup>ye'- next-younger sibling

yεεs' 2vb betray secret

<sup>n</sup>yèεs<sub>a</sub> 1vb be bold; <sup>n</sup>yèεsìm boldness

<sup>n</sup>yèεsíŋ<sub>a</sub> *adj* bold; <sup>n</sup>yèεsíŋa' boldly

yelì' yelá yel- matter, affair; (pl) about;

yel-méŋìr truth; yel-pákìr disaster;

yel-súm<sub>n</sub> blessing

yèl ipf yèta' ger yèlòg<sub>o</sub> 2vb say, tell

yeyím 2vb undulate

yèog<sub>o</sub> yèed bird's crop; weed, straggler,

person displaced from family

yéon *q* one (in counting)

yì ipf yit<sub>a</sub>' imp yìm<sub>a</sub> 2vb go/come out

yidìg 2vb go astray

yidig' 2vb untie

yìer jaw

yiigá *q* firstly; yiig-sób<sub>a</sub> first person

yiis' ger yiisíb<sub>o</sub> 2vb make go/come out

yimmír *adj* unique, sole

yimmú *q* straight away, at once

<sup>n</sup>yin<sub>n</sub>' <sup>n</sup>yiná <sup>n</sup>yin- tooth

yinní *q* one

- yìŋ<sub>a</sub> outside
- yir' ya' yi- house; yi-dâan<sub>a</sub>/-sób<sub>a</sub> -sób-nàm<sub>a</sub> householder; yi-dím<sub>a</sub> household members; yín<sub>n</sub> at home pl yáa·n
- "yiríf<sub>o</sub> "yirí egusi seed
- yis 2vb make go/come out
- yũŋ<sub>o</sub>' *adj* single (of pair)
- yò 2vb close
- yɔ 2vb pay; ger yɔɔd' pay
- yɔlɪs' 2vb untie
- yɔlɪsím freedom
- yɔlɔg<sub>o</sub>' yɔn<sub>n</sub>' yɔl- sack; £100, 200 cedis
- "yɔɔd intestines
- yò'og 2vb open
- "yò'og<sub>o</sub>' chest
- "yɔɔg<sub>o</sub> sympathy: ò zòto· "yɔɔg she sympathises with him
- yòɔr yòyà yò- soldier ant
- "yɔɔr "yɔya "yò- nose, breath; "yò-vɔr' -vɔyá -vɔr- life
- "yɔ'ɔs' smoke
- yùà lf yùà 2vb bleed; fornicate W
- yɔ'adɪr yɔ'ada rafter
- yùbìg<sub>a</sub> yùbìs yùb- k/o small bottle-like pot
- "yu'e' 2vb set alight
- yugudɪr yuguda yùgùd- hedgehog
- yɔgúm<sub>n</sub> yɔgumá yɔgum- camel
- yùlìg 2vb swing tr
- yu'or yuoda yù'or- penis
- yùug 2vb get to be a long time, delay
- yùul 2vb swing intr
- yɔ'um' 2vb sing; yɔum-yù'um<sub>na</sub> singer
- yù'um<sub>n</sub> yù'umá yù'um-/yɔum- song
- yùum<sub>n</sub> yùmà yùum- year
- yɔ'un *pt* then, next §10.4
- yù'ɔŋ<sub>o</sub> yù'umís yù'ɔŋ- night
- yɔ'br' yɔdá yɔ'- name
- yɔɔr yɔya yò- water pot
- "yuur' "yuyá "yu- yam
- za' za- millet
- za<sup>n</sup>'a *q* every
- záal<sub>l</sub> *adj* empty; zaalím emptily
- zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsɔbur' evening
- zà<sup>n</sup>'an<sub>n</sub> zà<sup>n</sup>'anà hammer, bludgeon
- zà<sup>n</sup>'as 2vb refuse
- zàa<sup>n</sup>sìm 2vb dream; ger zàa<sup>n</sup>súŋ<sub>o</sub> zàa<sup>n</sup>símà zàa<sup>n</sup>súŋ- dream
- zaa<sup>n</sup>sím zaa<sup>n</sup>s- soup
- zàb ger zàbìr 2vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb<sub>a</sub> warrior; gban-záb<sub>a</sub> leather-worker
- zàbìl 2vb cause to fight
- zà<sup>n</sup>bìl 2vb tattoo skin
- zà<sup>n</sup>bun<sub>n</sub> zà<sup>n</sup>buna zà<sup>n</sup>bìn- tattoo; sign B
- zàk<sub>a</sub> zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nɔɔr' gate
- zàkìm 2vb itch
- zà<sup>n</sup>l<sub>a</sub>' 1vb have in the hand
- zà<sup>n</sup>l<sub>l</sub> umbilicus
- zàlìŋ<sub>a</sub> zàlìmìs zàlìŋ- electric eel
- zàm (-mm-) 2vb cheat; zàm-zam<sub>na</sub> cheater
- zàmìs 2vb learn, teach
- zàŋ 2vb pick up
- zàŋgùom<sub>n</sub> zàŋgùomà zàŋgùom- wall
- zàŋkù'ar zàŋkùà'a zàŋkùà'- hyena
- zəm<sub>ma</sub>' 1vb be equal
- zəmɪs' 2vb make equal
- zəmmúg<sub>o</sub> *adj* equal
- zè<sup>n</sup>'og<sub>o</sub> see zì<sup>n</sup>'a
- zi ger ziid' 2vb carry on head; zi-zîid<sub>a</sub> carrier on head
- zɪ' 1vb not know
- zì<sup>n</sup>'a *adj* red: zì<sup>n</sup>'a and wìug<sub>o</sub> cover all reddish shades, sabulíg<sub>a</sub> all darker, and pielìg<sub>a</sub> all lighter; other colour terms are of the type wɔɔ támpɔɔr nɛ "grey"
- zì'e<sub>ya</sub> 1vb stand
- zì'el 2vb make stand; zì'el nɔɔr' promise
- zì'en 2vb stand; ò zì'en nɛ she's pregnant
- zì<sup>n</sup>'i<sub>ya</sub> 1vb sit; zì<sup>n</sup>'ig<sub>a</sub> zì<sup>n</sup>'is zì<sup>n</sup>'- place

- zì<sup>n</sup>il 2vb make sit  
 zìum' zì- blood  
 zì<sup>n</sup>in 2vb sit down  
 zìiŋ<sub>a</sub> zimí zim- fish; zim-gbâ<sup>n</sup>ad<sub>a</sub> fisher  
 zì'isíg 1vb not know (clause-final only)  
 zìlìm<sub>n</sub> zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue  
 zìlunzîog<sub>o</sub> *adj* unknown  
 zím *ideo* for sabúlg<sub>a</sub> black  
 ziná today  
 zìnzax<sub>o</sub>' zìnzaná zìnzáx<sub>o</sub>- bat  
 zírí untruth  
 zè ipf zòt<sub>a</sub> imp zòm<sub>a</sub> 2vb run; fear;  
   experience emotion; ger zua/zòog<sub>o</sub> pl  
   zòos run; ger zòtìm fear  
 zól 2vb castrate  
 zólímís foolishness  
 zólug<sub>o</sub>' zón<sub>n</sub>' zól- fool  
 zóm' zóm- flour  
 zòom<sub>n</sub> zòoma zòom- refugee, fugitive  
 zòrg<sub>a</sub>' small child W  
 zòrug<sub>o</sub>' zòrá piece  
 zu 2vb steal  
 zùà lf zùà zùà-nàm<sub>a</sub> zùà- friend  
 zù'e 2vb get higher, more  
 zùe 2vb perch, get on top  
 zug<sub>o</sub>' zut' zu(g)- head; onto, due to;  
 zug-dâan<sub>a</sub> master; zug-kugur -kuga  
 -kúg- pillow; zug-sób<sub>a</sub> master (always  
 "the Lord" in B3); zu-péelòg<sub>o</sub> *adj* bald;  
 zu-píbìg<sub>a</sub> hat; zugú·n on  
 zùg 2vb work bellows  
 zùlìg 2vb deepen  
 zùlìm<sub>a</sub> 1vb be deep  
 zùlùŋ<sub>o</sub> *adj* deep; zùlùŋ<sub>o</sub> depth  
 zùn<sub>n</sub> civet  
 zùnzòŋ<sub>a/o</sub> zùnzòw<sup>n</sup>s zùnzòŋ- blind person  
 zùŋ<sub>o</sub> *adj* foreign  
 zuobúg<sub>o</sub> zuobíd zuob- (human head) hair  
 zùod friendship  
 zùol 2vb make to perch  
 zu'om' zu'omís zu'om- blind person  
 zu'om' 2vb go/make blind  
 zùon 2vb start perching  
 zuor zùeya zùà- hill  
 zùos 2vb befriend  
 zuríf<sub>o</sub> zurí zur- dawadawa seed  
 zù'v<sup>n</sup>f<sub>o</sub> zù'v<sup>n</sup>í dawadawa seed  
 zùu<sup>n</sup>g<sub>o</sub> zùu<sup>n</sup>s/zùu<sup>n</sup>d zù<sup>n</sup>- vulture  
 zùur zùya zù- tail