

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. No instructional or descriptive materials were available, but with the benefit of some coaching from S (see page v), and with much exposure to the language at work, I eventually learnt to cope in the stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I discovered order and beauty underlying a surface which had once seemed chaotic; I hope to convey a little of that beauty below.

When I lived in Ghana, little linguistic work on Kusaal had yet been published. Happily, the situation has now changed greatly, with the work of Urs Niggli and Hasiyatu Abubakari on Toende Kusaal, and the appearance of a full grammar of Agolle Kusaal by Anthony Agoswin Musah.

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

I am grateful to Dr Tony Naden, who showed me hospitality worthy of Africa when I turned up out of the blue at his home in northern Ghana, and also gave me a number of helpful pointers. I was much helped by the staff of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

I am particularly grateful to Brian McLemore, Executive Director of Global Translation Services at Bible League International, and to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation for permission to cite the Kusaal Bible versions.

More generally, I am grateful to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, an organisation working in often difficult circumstances with tenacity and wisdom, and to the excellent Christoffelblindenmission, by whom I was seconded to Ghana. They did not mean to sponsor the writing of a grammar, but I am sure they will not mind that they did so as a side-effect.

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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
Ø	dummy head pronoun	+	catenator

DEM IDF Ø add lowercase a/i/p to mark animate/inanimate/plural: DEMa IDFP etc. Only 1s 2s are labelled as sg: other (pro)nominals are sg unless marked as pl or compound-initial. Some compounds and set phrases are glossed like single words. Perfective and indicative are unlabelled, and 1vbs are not marked for aspect. The symbol · (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 Tempene, 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
- 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 *pɔɔr* "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.) **Sug** "life force" is associated with a person's tutelary **kìkiris**; witches cause harm by stealing it. Most people have a **sugr** "guardian spirit", which is often the **wɪn** of an ancestor; **bɔgɔr** may also mean "a **sugr** inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's **sugr**.

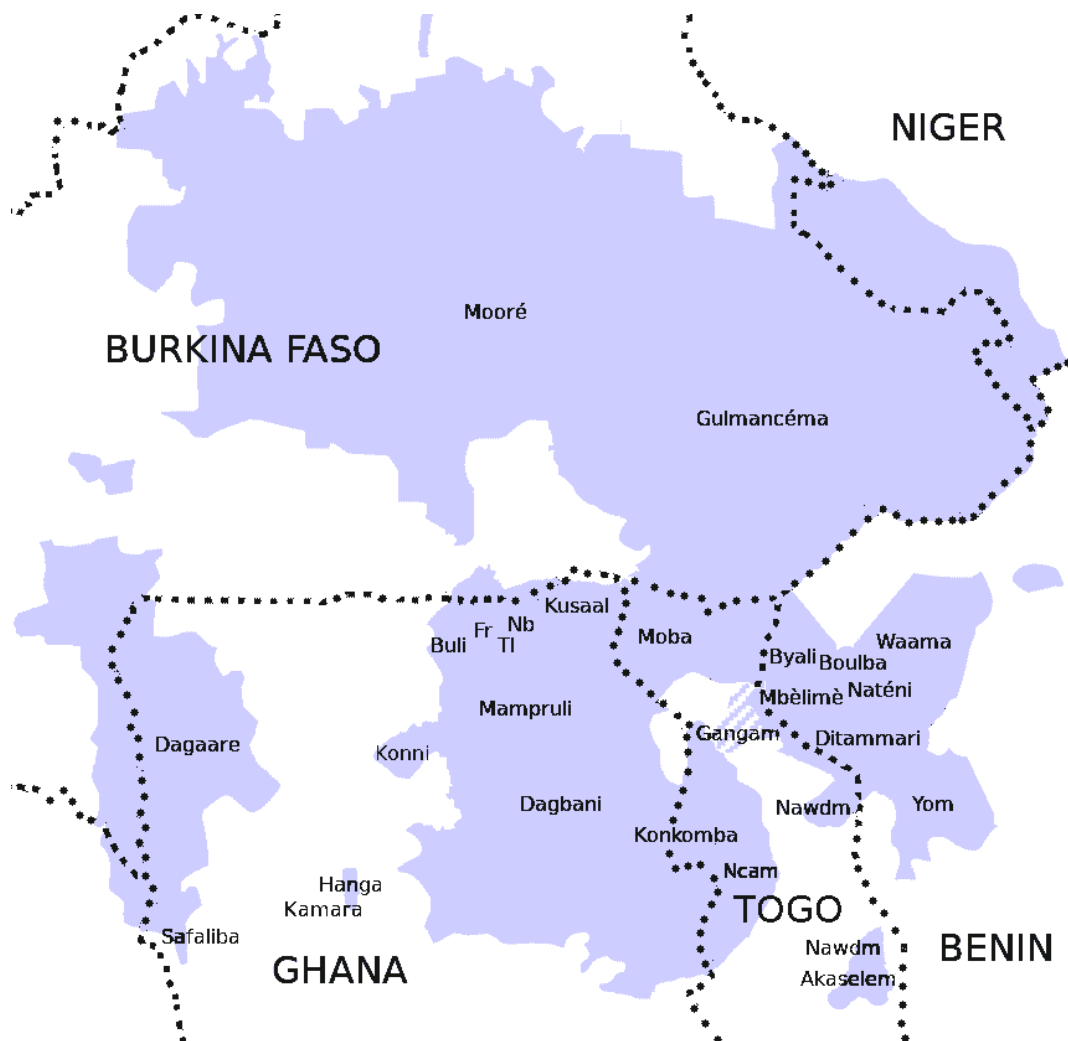
In the 1990's most patients attending our clinics in Bawku spoke Kusaal; about equal in second place were Hausa, the most widespread lingua franca regionally, and Mooré, the major indigenous language of eastern Burkina Faso. Few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. There were then about 250,000 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; ⁿ marks nasalisation, ' glottalisation; **e ɪ** both represent [ɪ], **o ʊ** [ʊ].

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:

M̃ pɪ dʊgɛ.

1s NG cook·NG

"I haven't cooked."

M̃ dúgɪ·bá.

1s cook·3p

"I've cooked them."

M̃ pɪ dɔllá·.

1s NG follow·NG

"I don't go along."

M̃ dɔllɪ·bá.

1s follow·3p

"I go with them."

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

M̃ pɪ dɔllí·fɔ.

1s NG follow·2s·NG

"I don't go with you."

Ṁ dólh·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:

Ṁ pṽ dóllo·o·.

1s NG follow·3a·NG

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

Ṁ dóllo·.

1s follow·3a

"I go with him/her."

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

ṁ zugú· zàbìd la zúg

1s head·NZ fight.IPF the on

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

Ṁ zugṽ· zábìd.

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 **bṽṽg** "goat", pl **bṽṽs**; **kṽk** "chair", pl **kṽṽs**; but **nṽṽr** "mouth", pl **nṽyá**; **nóbìr** "leg", pl **nṽbá**) 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: **bṽṽg** "goat", **bṽ-pièlìg** "white goat"; **kṽk** "chair", **kṽg-pièlìg** "white chair." Head-final compounds like **bṽ-kṽṽd** "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 **kṽṽd**, but **vu** "swallow", ipf **vṽn**. "One-aspect" verbs only have an ipf; they typically express stances (**dìg** "lie"), relationships (**mṽr** "have") or predicative adjectival senses (**gim** "be short.")

Gerunds and agent nouns can be regularly derived from almost all verbs: **kṽṽb** "killing", **kṽṽd** "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: *m̃ bɔɔg* "my goat", *daɣ la bɔɔg* "the man's goat." Prepositions include *nɛ* "with", *wɔɔ* "like"; *nɛ* links NPs as "and." Liaison-enclitic *n* is the most general locative postposition: *bɔɔsi·n la* "to the goats." Certain nouns function as postpositions: *tɛɛbɔ̀l la zúg* "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 bɔɔg la.

1p TNS give·2s goat the

"We gave you the goat yesterday."

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 bɔɔg.

3i be FOC goat

"It's a 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.

3a look.IPF FOC

"He is looking."

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 bɔɔg la.

3a TNS look goat the

"He looked at the goat."

Kà ò gòs bɔɔg la.

and 3a look goat the

"And he looked at the goat."

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 bɔɔg la!

look.IMP goat the

"Look at the goat!"

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 tɪsɪ·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 kùos buug· tísì·f. "I've sold a goat to you."
 1s sell goat·+ give·2s

Lì à nɛ buug lá kà m ʔyɛt. "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· ʔyéɛ·bá·? "Who has seen them?"
 who·+ see·3p·CQ

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

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

Relative clauses are headed internally by demonstrative or indefinite pronouns:

dàù·kàn búugù· bòdìg la "the man whose goat got lost"
 man·DEM goat·NZ get.lost the

fún ʔyɛ bú·sì'a yiigá la "the first goat that you see"
 2s·NZ see goat·IDF firstly the

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

Ò yèl yɛ ɔn 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
		ⁿ y	y			
p	b	m			f	v
kp	gb	ⁿ 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]; **ⁿw ⁿy** are nasalised.

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

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

The primary diphthongs are

					ɪ̯a	ʊ̯a		
					ia	ua	ɪ̯a'a	ʊ̯a'a
					iaa	uaa		
aɛ	ɛ̯ɪ		ɔɛ	uɪ	ʊɛ	ie	ue	
ae			ɔe	ui	ve	ie	ue	ʊ̯a'e
aee						iee	uee	
aʊ	ɛʊ			ʊʊ		ɪ̯aʊ	ʊ̯o	
av	ɛo	iu				io	uo	

Word- and phrase-internally before consonants other than **y**, **ie** **uo** are [iə] [uə] and **ʊ̯a'a** becomes **ʊ'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: **ɖʊà'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 ⁿ, preceding ' but following all other vowel symbols: **gɛⁿ'** pf **gɛⁿ'ɛd** ipf "get angry"; **gɛⁿ** "get tired"; **tɛɛⁿs** "lands"; **bɪ̯aʊⁿk** "shoulder."

Glottalisation is realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first/only mora. It is marked with ' after that mora: **pʊ'ab** "women", **pʊa'** "woman." **Mà'aa** "only" has a unique overlong monophthong. Except in questions, word-final short root vowels glottalise before pause: **gɛⁿ** "tire" falls together with **gɛⁿ'** "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", **kʊk** "chair" (unmarked), **kùk** "ghost", **nû'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)VVC, 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 pù básì·fò·.

"He hasn't left you." (word-final)

Lì ka' dágòbìga·.

"It's not left." (root vowel)

Bà pù 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:

M̃ gós 'náaf la kpelá.

"I looked at the cow there."

M̃ 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^r la.

"It's the widow."

Man 'bú-bɛ'og ka'e·.

"My bad goat isn't there."

Biig la 'sá mɛɛd yir la.

"The child was building the house."

Kà m̃ gɔs 'náaf la.

"And I looked at the cow."

Yù'gúm ka'e·.

"There's no camel."

Bà ka' 'mólìi·.

"They aren't gazelles."

Lì ka' bi-'pún̩a·.

"It's not a girl."

Ò pù yadì'gída·.

"He isn't scattering."

vs Lì ka' púkòò^{rɛ}·.

"It's not a widow."

Man bú-wɔk ka'e·.

"My tall goat isn't there."

Biig la sá mɛ yir la.

"The child built the house."

Kà m̃ gɔs náaf la kpelá.

"And I looked at the cow there."

Yùgúm 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'òní 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'-dâuv* "ox." Final *ya* in loans is written *ia*: *dunia duniya* "world."

Before B3, *e o i u* represent *ɛ ɔ ɪ/ɨ 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 bārìkà* "blessing", *bēdegv bēdùgv* "much." B3 uses *e o* for *ɛ ɔ* in *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ/ken* "go", and the pronouns *on oŋa*.

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

n is written *n*: *gɔn gòn* "wander", *tɛns tɛɛns* "lands", *tɛn'ɛs tɛn'ɛs* "think", *nyin nyin* "tooth." Before B3, *nn* was used word-finally (*gonn*), though *àn* "be" was simply *a*. *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: *bummər 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: *bukaŋa bù-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>Fù dólɫ·m.</i>	"You follow me." (<i>dollim</i> B3)
<i>M dol uf.</i>	<i>M̃ dólɫ·f.</i>	"I follow you." (<i>dollif</i> B3)
<i>M gban'e uf.</i>	<i>M̃ gbân'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 ʸyé·o.</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 **kɛⁿ** "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 ^{nyε}biig.

3a TNS see child

"She saw a child."

^{biig}la nû'ug

child the hand

"the child's hand"

Ò daa pɔ ^{nyε}biiga.

3a TNS NG see child.NG

"He/she did not see a child."

Ànó'ónì· daa ^{nyε}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 ^ɪ/e/i and ^ɛ/i otherwise

Final long vowels drop the last mora; special cases are

^{ae} -> ^{aɛ}

^{ia} -> ^{ja}

^{av} -> ^{aɔ}

^{ua} -> ^{ɔa}

^{ui} -> ^{uɪ}

Examples:

Lì à nè duk.

3i be FOC pot

"It's a cooking pot."

Duk la bódìg ya.

pot the get.lost m/c

"The pot has got lost."

Lì ka' dukó.

3i NG.be pot·NG

"It's not a pot."

Lì à nè dukóó?

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 gbìgim.

"It's a lion."

Lì ka' gbìgimne.

"It's not a lion."

Lì à nè yáarim.

"It's salt."

Lì ka' yáarimm.

"It's not salt."

Lì à nè day.

"It's a man."

Lì ka' dau.

"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 pù sjàké.

3a NG agree·NG

"He hasn't agreed."

Kà ò dīgì.

"And she's lying down."

Ò pù dīgìyá.

"She isn't lying down."

Kà ò vùg.

"And she's alive."

Ò pù vùyá.

"She's not alive."

Kà ò pae.

"And he arrived."

Ò pù 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 *mɛ* -> *mm*.

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

so' kae gat Joon nè

so' ka'ɛ· gát Joone·

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 **sɔɛ̃ⁿ** "witch" and **saɛ̃ⁿ** "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 _̃ from it, or by leaving a long monophthong unaltered:

gbɪɣɪma	lf	gbɪɣɪmaa	"lions"
mòlì		mòlì	"gazelles"
pae´		paée	"reach"
ḍịa'		ḍịa'a	"get dirty"
p̣ụa'		p̣ụa'a	"woman"
dau		dau	"man"
dà'a		dà'a	"market"

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

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

biiga_a	lf	biiga	"child"
ḍɔ̣ḳɔ̣´		ḍɔ̣ḳɔ̣	"pot"
ḍɪ̣ɣ̣ịya´		ḍɪ̣ɣ̣ịyá	"be lying down"
ṣịàḳ		ṣịàḳè	"agree"
yàaṛim		yàaṛimè	"salt"
gbɪɣɪm_n		gbɪɣɪm_{nɛ}	"lion"

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

ṿṿɛ̃_{ya}´	lf	ṿṿyá	"live"
saɛ̃ⁿ_{ya}		saⁿya	"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 _a	lf	kʊka	"chair"
sia		siaa	"waist"
daɣ		dav	"man"
dʊk _ɔ ´		dʊkó	"pot"
viid´		viidé	"owls"
nua´		nuáa	"hen"
taɣ ⁿ ´		táuv ⁿ	"opposite-sex sibling"

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

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

Apocope-blocking is a feature of downtoned adjectives, a few nouns, and many quantifiers, ideophones and particles. The sfs do not show apocope. Final $\varepsilon \text{ } \text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{ɪ } \text{ʊ}$ (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: $b\grave{e}d\grave{u}g\text{v}´$ "a lot", $buudi$ "tribe." Other lfs add $-n\grave{e}$ ($n\acute{e}$ after M) and are specified separately:

pamm	lf	pamn\acute{e}	"a lot"
mà'aa		mà'an\grave{e}	"only"
gòllımm		gòllımn\grave{e}	"only"
ˀyae		ˀyaen\acute{e}	"brightly"
kòt\grave{a}a		kòt\grave{a}an\grave{e}	"at all"

4 Word structure

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

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

4.1 Bound and free words

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. Bound words need not be dependent: personal pronouns always head NPs, and compound-initial forms (cifs) are heads before adjectives and demonstratives §9.1. In this grammar, cifs are hyphenated to the next word: *bù-kàṇa'* "this goat", *zim-gbân'ad_a* "fishcatcher."

The only bound forms which differ systematically from both free words and affixes phonologically are prosodic enclitics §5.3 and liaison enclitics §5.4; the term "clitic" will be reserved for these alone. The symbol · is used to join hosts to enclitics; when this is followed by a space or punctuation mark, it means that the enclitic lacks any segmental form, as with all prosodic enclitics and the sfs of some liaison enclitics (e.g. "her" in *fù "yéó·* "you've seen her.")

4.2 Segmental structure

Open-class words have (C)V(V)(C) roots; V(V) is a monophthong, *ie* or *uo*, possibly glottalised and/or nasalised, and any final C must be *b d g l m n s* or *r*. Stems add up to three of the derivational suffixes *b d g l m n* or *s*; only *d l m* may follow other suffixes. Full words end with a flexion (C)V(V); C is *b d g l m n s r y* or *f* and V(V) is *a ɛ ɔ aa* or *ii*. All flexions of the form V are dropped after root vowels. In nominal stems the root may be prefixed by (C)V(N) CV*s*N or CV*l*N, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root initial.

Morphophonemic rules, followed by apocope, alter vowel qualities and leave the only word-internal CC clusters as *nn mm ll mn* and geminate *k t p ŋ*, along with NC after prefixes. All others insert epenthetic *ɪ i ʊ* or *u*.

4.2.1 Root allomorphy

A few words have CV roots, e.g. **zug** 'pl **zut** "head", **yir** "house", **vor** "alive", **bil** "little."

Root diphthongs other than **ie uo** appear in **soe** "witch", **sae** "blacksmith", **ka'e** "not be", **dav** "man", **tav** "opposite-sex sibling"; before consonants, these become long monophthongs: **soo** "witchcraft." Historically, they derive from **Vy/Vw**. Prior to monophthongisation, **wb** -> **p**: thus **dap** ***dawba** "men." Many roots were originally CV, monophthongising similarly before consonants, and also in 2vb pfs. Prior to monophthongisation, **ɟd** -> **t**, **ɟr** -> **r**: thus

dòog	"hut"	dòt	"huts"
liiga	"fall" ger	lità	"fall" ipf
gaaⁿs	"ebony trees"	gaⁿr	"ebony fruit"

In nouns, analogical pls like **dòod** "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 **wid-lor** "place to tie horses", **na'-lor** "place to tie cows." CV -> CVd before derivational **g**: **lo** "tie", **lodig** "untie"; **pu** "divide", **puDIG** "share out."

ɔ/v become glottalised before derivational **g/s**: **yòolúg** "closed", **yè'og** "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 CVV -> CVd:

tita'ar	"big"	titada
pòⁿ'or	"cripple"	pòⁿdà
yu'or	"name"	yudá
yu'or	"penis"	yudoda

Underlying CVg stems may show **d** by analogy: **mù'ar** "lake" pl **myà'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", **kal** "number"; **tuum** "deed", **tùm** "work" (2vb); **tuvúg** "hot", **tuja** "be hot." CVC must appear before all derivational suffixes except noun-deriving **l**, e.g. **màal** "sacrifice" 2vb, **maluma** "sacrifices" pl; **dæna** "first" pl, **dèn** "precede"; **tuvúg** "hot", **tuig** "heat." CieC -> CεC: **kpi'ema** "strong" pl, **kpè'η** "strengthen"; **lieb** "become", **lèbìg** "turn."

In a few cases CVV + derivational C -> CVC: **yiis/yis** "extract." CVVg -> CVk: **wìk** "draw water" (ipf **wiid_a**); **tæg/tek** "pull" shows **ε** for the expected **ja** before **k**.

4.2.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

eg ɔg -> ɿag ʊag.

Single g is then deleted after a ɿa ʊa, producing a'a ɿa'a ʊa'a; any following vowel is absorbed. Nasal vowels behave identically.

zà'as	*zagse	"compounds"	zàk _a sg	*zagga
pɿà ⁿ 'ad	*pɛ ⁿ gde	"words"	pɿà ⁿ ʊ ⁿ k _ɔ sg	*pɛ ⁿ ggɔ
pu'as	*pɔgse	"female" pl	puak _a sg	*pɔgga
pɿa ⁿ '	*pɛ ⁿ ge	"speak"		
tʊa'e _{ya} '	*tɔgya	"be near" (see Set 4)		

g is deleted after aa ie uo unless it precedes ɔ. Glottal and/or nasal vowels behave identically. Here, when a vowel follows, fusion creates overlong vowels:

aaga -> aaa		iega -> iaa		uoga -> uaa
aage -> aee		iege -> iee		uoge -> uee
baa	*baaga	"dog"		baas pl
sia	*siega	"waist"		sies pl
sàbùà	*sabuoga	"lover"		sàbùos pl
pae´	*paage	"reach"		páar ger *paagre
kpi'e	*kpi'egε	"approach"		kpi'er ger *kpi'egre
due´	*duoge	"raise, rise"		dúor ger *duogre

Set 2: ieⁿ uoⁿ -> εεⁿ ɔɔⁿ before C (glottal likewise):

zè ⁿ 'εs		"red" pl	zì ⁿ 'a	"red" sg
nè _ɿ ya	*nεɛya	"be awake" (see Set 4)	nìe	"appear"
Mòɔl		"Mooré"	Mùà	"Mossi person"
ɔɔ ⁿ 'ɔd _a '		"outdoer"	su ⁿ 'e'	"improve"

This rule is usually blocked in fusion-verb flexion and gerund formation:
 nìe "appear" ger nìer; puⁿ'e' "rot" ger púⁿ'or.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

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

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

e.g.	gìk _a	*gìgga	"dumb"	gìgìs pl
	bùt _a	*bùdda	"plant" ipf	bùd pf
	sɔpɔ́	*sɔbbɔ	"writing" ger	sɔb pf
	dum _n	*dumrɛ	"knee"	duma pl
	tan _n	*tanrɛ	"earth"	tana pl
	gél _l	*gélrɛ	"egg"	gélá pl
	kun _{na} ́	*kulda	"go home" ipf	kul pf
	zɔn _n ́	*zɔldɛ	"fools"	zɔlvɔɔ́ sg
	Bat́	*Barlɛ	"Bisa language"	Barɪś "Bisa people"
	wìefɔ	*wiedfɔ	"horse"	wìdì pl
	píufɔ	*pɪunfɔ	"genet"	piiní pl
	bùŋ _a	*bùmga	"donkey"	bùmìs pl
	kɪm _{mɔ}	*kɪmbɔ	"shepherding" ger	kìm pf

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

sg	tɛŋ _a	pl	tɛɛ ⁿ s *tɛnsɛ	"land"
	kùlìŋ _a		kùlìs *kùlìnsɛ	"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 *wùmna* "hear." Some speakers keep **mn** in noun lfs (*gbìgumne* S "lion", *gbìgumme* W) but word-internal **mn** appears only in agent nouns: *tùm-tùmnib_a* "servants", but *bùn-tùmmìr* "useful thing" pl *-tùmn_a* S.

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

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

ipf	wùm _{ma}	ger	wùm _{mo}	"hear (wùm)"
	tóom _{ma} /tóomìd _a		tóoŋ _o /tóomúg _o	"depart (tóom ')"
	kàrì _{ma} /kàrì _{mìd} _a		kàrùŋ _o /kàrì _{mùg} _o	"read (kàrì _m)"

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 _{na}	ger	bunib _o	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgì _{nìd} _a		dìgì _{nùg} _o	"lie down (dìgì _n)"
	gò'ò _{nìd} _a		gò'ò _{nùg} _o	"extend neck (gò'ò _n)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with **mmm** -> **mm** and **llr** -> **ll**: *dàm* "shake", ipf *dàmmìd_a*, imp *dàm_{ma}*; *kùg-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 ⁿ 'e _{ya}	*sɔ ⁿ 'ɔ _{ya}	"outdo"	sɔ ⁿ 'ɔd _a ' "outdoer"
tɹa'e _{ya} '	*tɔg _{ya}	"be near" (see Set 1)	
nèi _{ya}	*nɛɛ _{ya}	"be awake" (see Set 2)	
nɔyá		"mouths"	nɔɔr' sg
zueya		"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"		$f\varepsilon^n'\varepsilon d'$
$kpi'o\eta_\omega$	"strong"		$kpi'ema$
$viug_\omega'$	"owl"		$viid'$

The epenthetic vowel is ι by default, but υ 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):

$k\dot{\iota}\grave{a}'$ lf $k\dot{\iota}'a$	"cut"	ipf	$k\dot{\iota}'ed_a$
$k\dot{\upsilon}a$ lf 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 $n\grave{a}/k\dot{\upsilon}$ all-L otherwise

Any tones after H are L. All L flexional suffixes other than pf/cif ε 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 *ε*. 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-kʊgʊr	zug-kʊga	zug-kúg-	"pillow"
ka-wənnʊr	ka-wənnə	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 ŋ* represent CC):

sú'ŋa (sú'ŋà)	su'omís	su'ŋ- (su'omé)	"hare"
saan _a ' (saaná)	sáam _{ma}	saan-	"stranger"
got _a '	gotí _b	got-	"seer"
sabíl _l (sabíllè)	sabílá	sabíl- (sabílé)	"black"
sabílíg _a	sabílís		"black"
ɖɔk _ɔ '	ɖɔgɔɖ' (ɖɔgɔɖé)	ɖɔg-	"pot"
kugur' (kuguré)	kugá	kug-	"stone"
di'es _a '	di'esídì _b	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 _a	níis	*niinse	niin-	"bird"
píuf _ɔ	*piunfo	piiní	piun-	"genet"
wáaf _ɔ	*waagfo	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 _o	nû'us	nu'-	"hand, arm"
nóbìr	nóbá	nób-	"foot, leg"
gélì	gélá	gél-	"egg"

So too à gâvⁿg_o "pied crow", gbêⁿm "sleep", áⁿsìb_a "mother's brother", kísùg_o "hateful", and the gerunds sósìg_a "talking", gósìg_a "looking", kíkírùg_o "hurrying."

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

nyiríf _o	nyirí		"egusi seed"
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With prefixes:

dàyuug _o '	dàyuud'	dàyu-	"rat"
Bùsán _a	Bùsâ ⁿ s	Bùsán-	"Bisa person"
zúnzav _o '	zúnzaná	zúnáv _o -	"bat"
gumpvzer'	gumpvzeyá	gumpvzér-	"duck"
pipirig _a '	pipiris'	pipír-	"desert"
túntó ⁿ ríg _a	túntó ⁿ rís	túntó ⁿ r-	"mole"

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

sù'ug _a	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mòlìf _o	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
pùgùdìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal _a	sàalìb _a	sàal-	"human"
mèεη _a	mèεmìs	mèεη-	"turtle"
à ⁿ rùη _o	à ⁿ rìmà	à ⁿ rùη-	"boat"
zìlìm _n	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nòηìd _a			"lover"
sìilìη _a	sìilì(mì)s	sìilìη-	"proverb"
zàa ⁿ súη _o	zàa ⁿ símà	zàa ⁿ súη-	"dream"
dàalím	dàalímìs	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
nòηìlím		nòηìlím-	"love"

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

With prefixes:

kùkpàrìg _a	kùkpàrìs	kùkpàr-	"palm tree"
samán _n	samánà	samán-	"courtyard"

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

bùug _a	bùus	bù-	"goat"
tan _n	tana	tàn-	"earth"
sìd _a	sìdìb _a	sìd-	"husband"
pɔ̀a'	pɔ̀'ab _a	pɔ̀à'-	"woman"
gbìgìm _n	gbìgìma	gbìgìm-	"lion"
mɛɛd _a	mɛɛdìb _a	mɛɛd-	"builder"
sìakìd _a	sìakìdìb _a	sìakìd-	"believer"
mɛɛdìŋ _a	mɛɛdìs	mɛɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

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

pù'us_a "worshipper" pl pù'usìdìb_a.

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, **m**CV or **mm**:

sg yugudìré	pl yugudaa	"hedgehog"
"waan _a	"waamìsé	"monkey"
baŋìda	baŋìdìbá	"wise man"
kparìdìŋa	kparìdìsé	"thing for locking"
gbìgìmmé	gbìgìmaa	"lion"
zɔɔmmé	zɔɔmaa	"fugitive"
tadìmm	tadìmìsé	"weak person"

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

Lì à nɛ gbìgìmméɛ/gbìgìmmèɛ? "Is it a lion?"

With prefixes:

dàkiig _a	dàkiis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fufum _n	fufuma	fufóm-	"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 dʊgíːlɪ.	"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.

ˈyɛ	ˈyɛt _a ˈ	"see"
dʊg	dʊgʊd _a ˈ	"cook"
kul	kun _{na} ˈ	"go home"
yadɪgˈ	yadɪgíd _a	"scatter"
mɔɔlˈ	mɔɔn _{na}	"proclaim"
dɪgɪlˈ	dɪgín _{na}	"lay down"
nɔkˈ	nɔkíd _a	"take"
laŋím	laŋím _{ma}	"wander searching"
paeˈ	paad _a ˈ	"reach"
	dɪgɪy _a ˈ	"lie down"

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

mè	mèɛd _a	"build"
bùd	bùt _a	"plant"
zàb	zàbíd _a	"fight, hurt"
bùol	bùon _{na}	"call"
bòdìg	bòdìgíd _a	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋíd _a	"do"
zàaˈsìm	zàaˈsìm _{ma}	"dream"
	vèn _{na}	"be beautiful"

Ò nà bɔdɪg.	"She'll get lost."
Ò kù bɔdɪgíd _a .	"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: áⁿsìb_a "maternal uncle", aⁿsíŋ_a "sister's child"; gósìg_a 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 _a	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"
nà'ab _a	"chief"	na'am	"chieftaincy" (m-stem)

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

mɛɛb _ɔ	"building"	sùŋìr	"help"
kùosùg _ɔ	"selling"	zàa ⁿ súŋ _ɔ	"dream"
bòodìm	"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.

suŋid _a	"helper"	kpiilúŋ _ɔ	"dead"
bòodír	"desirable"		
kùos _a	"seller"	kuosidib _a	"sellers"

Tp A verb instrument nouns are tp A: mɛédŋ_a "building tool", kuosŋ_a "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, **Ve** -> V, unless **y** follows; this is only noted orthographically with **àḗⁿ** "be" and **ka'ḗ** "not be":

Dúe wɛlá·?

"(You) arose [duə] how?" (greeting)

Ò pàe na.

"She has arrived [pa:]."

Mam· áⁿ dú'atà kà fən mén áḗⁿ.

"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 **àⁿ** "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 **ⁿwà** "this" after any C, with [n l m] geminated:

yir la

[jira]

"the house"

yòɔd nɛ

[jɔ:dɛ]

"is closing"

dìt nɛ

[dɪtɛ]

"is eating"

pòⁿr nɛ

[põrɛ]

"is near"

dɔl nɛ

[dɔl:ɛ]

"is following"

zàm nɛ

[zam:ɛ]

"is cheating"

zɔn ⁿwá·!

[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_a "donkey")

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

Kà m̃ ɣɔs búŋ la.

but Kà m̃ ʷé' bùŋ la.

M̃ d̃ìgà bódiŋ ya.

but M̃ yuɣumá 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 m̃ 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· ɣɔs 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: lànɲìg-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: *daɣ la náaf* "the man's cow (*náaf*)."
M-drop precedes tone changes due to liaison: *daɣ la pɔɔgɔ·n* "in the man's field (*pɔɔgɔ*)."

Examples:

<i>bù-paalíga</i>	"new goat"	<i>nɔ-páalíga</i>	"new hen"
<i>bù-kɔɔda'</i>	"goat-killer"	<i>nɔ-kúɔda</i>	"hen-killer"
<i>nà'-biigá</i>	"prince/princess"	<i>nà'ab biig</i>	"a king's child"
<i>man yugúm</i>	"my camel"	<i>man gbígum</i>	"my lion"
<i>daɣ la yúgùm</i>	"the man's camel"	<i>daɣ la gbígùm</i>	"the man's lion"
<i>m̃ biɛyá yùgùm</i>	"my sibs' camel"	<i>m̃ biɛyá gbìgùm</i>	"my sibs' lion"
<i>mɔɔgɔ·n yúgùm</i>	"a wild camel"		

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

	<i>Bà tìs nà'ab la biig.</i>	"They've given it to the chief's child."
but	<i>Bà tìs nà'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>Daɣ la bán bòdìg ya.</i>	"The man's ring (<i>ban</i>) has got lost."
	man the ring get.lost m/c	
	<i>Daɣ la yúgùm bòdìg ya.</i>	"The man's camel (<i>yugúm</i>) has got lost."
but	<i>M̃ biɛyá bàn bódiḡ ya.</i>	"My sibs' ring ..." (no M-spread)
	<i>M̃ biɛyá yùgùm bódiḡ ya.</i>	"My sibs' camel ..." (no M-spread)
	<i>Daɣ la sù'ug bódiḡ ya.</i>	"The man's knife (<i>sù'ug</i>) ..." (no M-drop)
	<i>Daɣ la yúgùdìr bódiḡ ya.</i>	"The man's hedgehog (<i>yugudìr</i>) ..." (three syllables)

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

<i>bù-wək dîb</i>	"tall goat's food"	<i>nɔ-wók dîb</i>	"tall hen's food"
<i>bù-wək-piɛlìg_a</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>nɔ-wók-piɛlìg_a</i>	"tall white hen"
<i>bù-wək-páalìg_a</i>	"tall new goat"	<i>nɔ-wók-paalìg_a</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>ɗay la nó-páalìg</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>nɔ-páalìg_a</i>)"
<i>fuug dɔɔg</i>	"tent" (<i>fuug_o</i> "cloth", <i>dɔɔg_o</i> "hut")
<i>pù'usùg fûug dɔɔg</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>pù'usùg_o</i> "worship")
<i>ɗay la bìig bìer nâaf zùvɔr</i>	"the man's child's sib's cow's tail" W (<i>bìig_a</i> , <i>bier'</i> , <i>nâaf_o</i> , <i>zuvɔr</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 *mɛ* -> *mmɛ*] and three-mora monophthongs reduce to two. Any resulting monosyllabic tp H lfs carry H:

<i>vum'</i>	"life"	lf	<i>vúmm</i>
<i>tɔɔm'</i>	"disappear"		<i>tóɔmm</i>
<i>kúo</i> [kʊ:]	"kill her"		<i>kúo</i> * <i>kʊo·o</i>
<i>gaaⁿ'</i>	"ebony"		<i>gáaⁿ</i> * <i>gaaⁿga</i>

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_o</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 tɔmm.</i>	"It's not her medicine (<i>tìum</i>)."
<i>Lì ká' bà da'a.</i>	"It's not their market (<i>dà'a</i>)."
but <i>Lì ka' tɔmm.</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' mór 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!", *gòsìmi·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.

M pua' né m̃ 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'ònì· ʔye nóbìrè·?

"Who's seen a leg?"

who·+ see leg·CQ

Ànó'ònì· ʔye sú'vgà·?

"Who's seen a knife (*sù'vgà*)?"

Ànó'ònì· ʔye dukó·?

"Who's seen a pot (*dukó*)?"

Ànó'ònì· ʔye mólì·?

"Who's seen gazelles?"

Ànó'ònì· ʔyé·?

"Who has seen?"

Ànó'ònì· ʔye bédùgú·?

"Who's seen a lot (*bédùgú*)?"

Ànó'ònì· wóm·?

"Who has heard (*wòm*)?"

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

Ànó'ònì· ʸyé bà biigà·?	"Who has seen their child (biig _a)?"
Ànó'ònì· ʸyé bíigà·?	"Who's seen a child?"
Ànó'ònì· ʸyé zùéyà·?	"Who's seen hills (zùeya)?"
Fù bôòd bó·?	"What (bô) do you want?"
Ò pù dúgèè·?	"Hasn't she cooked (dug)?"
M ná bôdìgèè·?	"Will I get lost?"
	(M ná bôdìg "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_a f_o o l_i t_i ya ba**; they are always preceded by liaison. Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns **m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ 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**:

kuk _a	"chair"	+ n "at" ->	kukɪ·n
dʊk _o ´	"pot"		dʊkí·n
pɔɔg _o ´	"field"		pɔɔgú·n
gbàʊŋ _o	"book"		gbàʊŋʊ·n
dà'a	"market"		dà'a·n
kù'om	"water"		kù'omɪ·n
ʸyé	"see"	+ n past ->	ʸyéɛ·n
jà lf ia	"seek"		ie·n
gba ⁿ 'e´	"seize"		gba ⁿ 'a·n
pie´	"wash"		pie·n
due´	"raise"		duo·n
sʊ'e _{ya} ´	"own"		sʊ'ʊ·n
vʊe _{ya} ´	"live"		vʊʊ·n

Tì gósí bà biis.	"We've looked at their children."
1p look 3p child.PL	

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

Gòsì mí fù nù'ug!	Gòsím fù nù'ug!	"Look at your hand!"
Gòsì m·m!	Gòsím·m!	"Look at me!"

Nominaliser **̀n** fuses with preceding subject pronouns §9.2; the change M -> H before its fixed L tone is the only sign of its presence elsewhere for my consultants:

nà'ab lá· gɔs búŋ la	"the chief having looked at the donkey"
chief the·NZ look.at donkey the	

Texts may show *n*, especially after proper names, and/or liaison:

ya zuobid wɔsa kalli an si'em	"the number of all your hairs" Lk 12:7
yà zuobíd wɔsa kallí· à ⁿ si'em	
2p hair.PL all number·NZ be how	

Linker **n** appears as **n** after pause, and zero or **n** after proper nouns. Elsewhere it is realised as zero with preceding liaison; lfs ending in **m n ŋ** followed by non-root short V drop V, and lf-final VV is often shortened. Older texts often show *n* here too.

Wáafù· dúmo·.	"A snake has bitten him." W
snake·+ bite·3a	

Kà ò zóó· kɛŋ na.	"And he came running"
and 3a run·+ come hither	

Mam tɔmmi tisid anɔ'ɔnɛ?	"Who am I working for?" Eccl 4:8
Mam tómmì· tísìd ànó'ɔnɛ·?	
1s work.IPF·+ give.IPF who·CQ	

Some liaison words induce further quality changes in lf-final vowels.

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

Kà bà gbán'e·ya.	"And they seized (gbá ⁿ 'e´) you."
Kà bà kúe·ya.	"And they killed (kú) you."
Kà bà zúi·ya.	"And they stole (zu) you."

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_a</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>àɛⁿya</i>	"be"		<i>aoⁿ·</i>	lf <i>àóⁿ·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>bɛɪ·</i>	lf <i>bɛɪ·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:

M̌ mór nɛ biisá àtáⁿ· "I have three children."
1s have FOC child.PL three

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

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

Fù ááⁿ 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:

pɔɔgɔ́	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pɔɔgɔ́·n
biig _a	"child"		biigɪ·n
yàad	"graves"		yàadɪ·n
kɔɔdɪb _a	"killers"		kɔɔdɪbɪ·n

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

dɔg	"cook"	+ n past ->	dɔgɔ·n
mè	"build"		mɛɛ·n
bòdìg	"lose"		bòdìgɪ·n
yadɪǵ	"scatter"		yadɪgɪ·n
kɔɔd _a ́	"kill" ipf		kɔɔdɪ·n
dɔl _{la} ́	"go with"	+ ya 2pS ->	dɔllɪ· lf dɔllɪ·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"		dìɪ·ba
yadɪǵ	"scatter"		yadɪgí·ba
dɔg	"cook"		dɔgí·ba
kɔ	"kill"		kúv·ba
paé	"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:

$k\upsilon d_a'$	"kill"	+ m_a 1s ->	$k\upsilon d\acute{\iota}\cdot m$
$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}_a$	"leave"		$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}\acute{\iota}\cdot m$
$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}_a$	"scatter"		$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}\acute{\iota}\cdot m$
$n\grave{o}\eta$	"love"		$n\grave{o}\eta\acute{\iota}\cdot m$
$k\upsilon d_a'$	"kill"	+ o 3a ->	$k\upsilon d\acute{o}\cdot$
$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}_a$	"leave"		$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}o\cdot$
$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}_a$	"scatter"		$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}o\cdot$

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

$\grave{O} b\grave{o}d\grave{u}g\acute{\iota}\cdot m.$	"He's lost me."
$\grave{O} b\grave{o}d\grave{u}go\cdot$	"He's lost her."
$\grave{O} y\grave{a}d\grave{u}g\acute{\iota}\cdot b\acute{a}.$	"He's scattered them."
$\grave{O} k\upsilon\upsilon\cdot b\acute{a}.$	"She has killed them."

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

$p\upsilon\upsilon g_\circ'$	"field"	+ n "at" ->	$p\upsilon\upsilon g\acute{u}\cdot n$	If $p\upsilon\upsilon g\acute{u}\cdot n\epsilon$
$y\grave{a}ad$	"graves"		$y\grave{a}ad\acute{\iota}\cdot n$	If $y\grave{a}ad\acute{\iota}\cdot n\acute{\epsilon}$
$k\upsilon d_a'$	"kill"	+ m_a 1s ->	$k\upsilon d\acute{\iota}\cdot m$	If $k\upsilon d\acute{\iota}\cdot m\acute{a}$
$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}_a$	"leave"		$b\grave{a}s\grave{d}\acute{\iota}\cdot m$	If $b\grave{a}s\grave{d}\acute{\iota}\cdot m\acute{a}$
$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}_a$	"scatter"	+ ba 3p ->	$yad\grave{u}g\acute{d}\acute{\iota}\cdot b\acute{a}$	

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:

$\grave{O} k\acute{a}' b\grave{a} da'a\cdot n\acute{\epsilon}\cdot$	"She is not at their market ($d\grave{a}'a$)."
$\grave{O} ka' d\acute{a}'a\cdot n\acute{\epsilon}\cdot$	"She is not at market."

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

$K\grave{a} m\acute{b}\acute{a}s\grave{\iota}\cdot ba.$	"And I left them."
$K\grave{a} m\acute{p}\upsilon b\acute{a}s\grave{\iota}\cdot b\acute{a}a\cdot$	"And I didn't leave them."
$K\grave{a} m\acute{k}\acute{u}\upsilon\cdot ba.$	"And I killed them."
$\grave{A}n\acute{o}'\acute{o}n\acute{\iota} k\acute{u}\upsilon\cdot b\acute{a}\cdot?$	"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.

bàsìd _a	"leave"	+ o 3a ->	bàsìdo·	lf bàsìdó·o
yadìgíd _a	"scatter"		yadìgído·	lf yadìgídó·o
bòòd _a	"want"		bòòdo·	lf bòòdó·o
ⁿ yε	"see"		ⁿ yéo·	lf ⁿ yεó·o

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 kε na yé ò tóm· tìsì·ba
 but 3a come hither that 3a work·+ give·3p

Ṁ nók sú'ugò· kǎ' 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 **ṇ** 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 dɪb.

"And they were eating their food."

and 3p eat.IPF 3p food

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la

bànì· nà yel Zug-sóbí bà tuumá· àⁿ 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 *ε* as a compound-initial form (cif) before other nominals §9.1. Cifs undergo apocope, but after non-nasal consonants, *ε* was formerly retained as *ɪ*; older texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for **wad-bíl_a* "star."

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

The sg|pl suffix pairs *a|ba ga|se go|de re|aa fo|ii* form five classes accounting for most count nouns; unpaired *bo| me|* form two more classes, mostly of mass nouns:

<i>a ba</i>	<i>sɪd_a</i>	<i>sɪdɪb_a</i>	<i>sɪd-</i>	"husband"
<i>ga se</i>	<i>bʊʊg_a</i>	<i>bʊʊs</i>	<i>bù-</i>	"goat"
<i>go de</i>	<i>viug_ɔ'</i>	<i>viid'</i>	<i>vi-</i>	"owl"
<i>re aa</i>	<i>nɔɔr'</i>	<i>nɔyá</i>	<i>nɔ-</i>	"mouth"
<i>fo ii</i>	<i>mòlɪf_ɔ</i>	<i>mòlɪ</i>	<i>mòl-</i>	"gazelle"
<i>bo </i>	<i>sa'ab_ɔ</i>		<i>sà'-</i>	"porridge"
<i>me </i>	<i>daam'</i>		<i>da-</i>	"beer"

Seven nouns referring to older/important people use *ba* as sg: *nà'ab_a* "chief", pl *nà'-nám_a*. Language names use *le* instead of sg *re*: *Mòɔl* "Mooré."

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

Sg *go* often replaces *ga* after rounded vowels (*nû'ug_ɔ* pl *nû'us* "hand"), and sg *re* often replaces *a* after stems in short V + *l n r* (*Bìn_n* pl *Bìm_{ma}* "Moba person.")

a|ba m-stems take pl *se* or use *nám_a*; some human-reference *ga|se* nouns also take pl *ba*; countable *me|* nouns use pl *aa* or *se* or use *nám_a*; the small *fo|ii* class includes words with *fo|ii* suffixes in only one number; a few remaining irregular pairings mostly involve replacement of pl *de* by other suffixes.

The word *nám_a* follows count cifs/mass sgs to make pls: *kpèɛ'm-nám_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

<i>mà</i>	<i>mà nám_a sic</i>	<i>mà-</i>	"mother"
<i>ba'</i>	<i>ba'-nám_a</i>	<i>ba'-</i>	"father"
<i>zʊà lf zʊà</i>	<i>zʊà-nám_a</i>	<i>zʊà-</i>	"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 _o '	zut'	zug-	"head"
kùkòr'	kùkòyá	kùkòr-	"voice"
ta ⁿ p _o		tà ⁿ p-	"war"
gbav _o '	gbaná	gbav _o -	"animal skin"

Remodelling is not invariable (*kùkòtita'ar* "great voice" Jn 7:28), particularly with cifs as dependents: **gban-záb_a** "leatherworker."

Remodelled cifs are also used to avoid ambiguity, e.g. **kòlùg_o** "sack", cif **kòlùg-** (**kòl_{ig_a}** "river", cif **kòl-**); **lànnìg_a** "squirrel", cif **lànnìg-** (**lan_n** "testicle", cif **lànn-**.)

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

dav	dap _a	dàv-	sg	dàp-	pl	"man"
ta ⁿ '	ta ⁿ p _a '	ta ⁿ -	sg	ta ⁿ p-	pl	"opposite-sex sib"

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

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

màliak _a '	màli'a's'	màli'a'-	"angel": Arabic <i>mal'ak</i>
gadug _o '	gat'	gad-	"bed": Hausa <i>gado</i>
lór	lòyà/lóom _{ma}	lór-	"lorry"
màlìf _o	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-kàṇa** "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 **re** 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", **taⁿpɔ** "war" and **ki'ibɔ** "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**:

sɪd_a	sɪdɪb_a	sɪd-	"husband"
nɪd_a'	nɪdɪb_a'	nɪn- sic	"person"
kʊd_a'	kʊdɪb_a	kʊd-	"killer"
sàal_a	sàalɪb_a	sàal-	"human being"
saan_a'	sáam_{ma}	saan-	"guest, stranger"
yʊm-yû'ʊm_{na}	-yû'ʊmnɪb_a	-yû'ʊm-	"singer"
pɹà'-saⁿ'am_{ma}	-saⁿ'amɪdɪb_a sic	-sàⁿ'am-	"adulterer"
pà'an_{na}	pà'annɪb_a	pà'an-	"teacher"
gbàn-zaⁿl_{la}'	-zaⁿlɪb_a	-zaⁿl-	"book-carrier" K W
gbàn-tar_a'	-tarɪb_a	-tar-	"book-owner" D
zà'-nɔ-gúr_a	-gúrɪb_a	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"

Agent nouns from **mm**-stem 2vbs like **dàm** "shake" only have **nàm_a** 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_a** pls. A few **d**-stems drop **d** in pl or cif only.

kùos _a	kuosɪdɪb _a	kùos-	"seller"
sigis _a ´	sigisídɪb _a	sigis-	"lowerer"
dìs _a	dìs-nàm _a	dìs-	"glutton"
sòs _a	sòsɪdɪb _a	sòs-	"beggar"
tìs _a	tìsɪdɪb _a	tìs-	"giver" W
kis(id) _a ´	kisidɪb _a	kisid-	"hater"
zàb-zàb _a	-zabɪdɪb _a	-zàb-	"warrior"
gban-záb _a	-záb-nàm _a	-záb-	"leatherbeater"
ˢwi-ték _a	-tékìdɪb _a		"rope-puller"
wùd _a	wùb _a	wùd-	"hunter"
sɔˢˢd _a ´	sɔˢˢɔb _a ´	sɔˢˢɔd-	"someone better"
pukpaad _a ´	pukpaadɪb _a	pukpá-	"farmer"

Stems in single **m** have sg **-mɛ** and pls with **sɛ** or **nàm_a**:

zu'om´	zu'omís	zu'om-	"blind person"
kpɛɛˢm	kpɛɛˢm-nàm _a	kpɛɛˢm-	"elder"
bi'em	bì'em-nàm _a	bì'em-	"enemy"

For **kpɛɛˢm bi'em**, W also has the lf-only pls **kpɛɛˢmma bi'emma**.

CV**n**-stems show sg lf **-nnɛ**, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg **rɛ**.

Dàgban _n ´	Dàgbam _{ma} ´	Dàgban-	"Dagomba person"
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Cf agent nouns in **rɛ|aa** from 1vb **ll/r**-stems §7.2.2. Some former CVV-stems have become **rɛ|aa**, e.g. **pùkòòˢr** "widow"; cognates in related languages retain pl **ba**.

Seven nouns end in a vowel in the sg sf:

pɹa'	pɹ'ab _a	pɹà'-	"woman"
ba'a	ba'ab _a	bà'a-	"diviner"
saaˢ(ya)	saaˢb _a	sàˢ- <i>sic</i>	"blacksmith"
sɔɛˢ(ya)	sɔɔˢb _a	sòˢ- <i>sic</i>	"witch"
dav	dap _a	dàv-, dàp-	"man"
taɹˢ´	taˢp _a ´	taɹˢ-, taˢp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pitú	pití _a	pit-	"junior same-sex sib"

In compounds, **-pit_a´** replaces **pitú**: **bì-pit_a´** "younger child."

Seven nouns have **ba** in the sg, with **nà_m_a** pls:

nà'ab _a	nà'-nà _m _a	nà'-	"chief"
yáab _a *yaag-	yaa-nám _a	yaa-	"grandparent"
pùgùdìb _a	pùgùd-nà _m _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
á"sìb _a	a"s-nám _a	a"s-	"mother's brother"
sàam _{ma}	sàam-nà _m _a	sàam-	"father"
dìem _{ma}	dìem-nà _m _a	dìem-	"parent-in-law of man"
dàyaam _{ma}	dàyaam-nám _a	dàyaam-	"... of woman"

ga|sɛ

dèɛg _a	dèɛs	dè-	"warthog"
"wadìg _a '	"wadìs'	"wad-	"moon, month"
bù-dìbìg _a	-dìbìs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kòlìg _a	kòlìs	kòl-	"river"
kpùkparìg _a	kpùkparìs	kpùkpar-	"palm tree"
pusìg _a '	pusìs'	pus-	"tamarind"

After **aa ie uo**, **g** is deleted, with V fusion; sg **iaⁿ uaⁿ** correspond to pl **ɛɛⁿs ɔɔⁿs**:

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

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

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

gìk _a	gìgìs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
bèrìŋ _a	bèrìgìs		"kenaf"
yáaŋ _a	yáas *yaagse	yaan-	"grandchild"

Cf *kariŋ* pl *karigis* "head louse."

Vúoŋ_a "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 _a	bùmìs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
naŋ _a	namìs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'oŋ _a	su'omís	su'oŋ-	"hare"
tɛŋ _a	tɛɛ ⁿ s	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ _a	pàa ⁿ s	pàŋ-	"power"
níŋ _a	níis/niimís	niŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ _a	kùlì(mì)s	kùlìŋ-	"door"
piesíŋ _a	piesí(mì)s	piesíŋ-	"sponge"
mɛɛdìŋ _a	mɛɛdì(mì)s	mèɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

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

kuug _{a/ɔ} '	kuus'	ku-	"mouse"
sù'ug _{a/ɔ}	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
nû'ug _ɔ	nû'us	nu'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ _{a/ɔ}	zùnzò ⁿ s	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
yù'ug _ɔ	yù'umís	yù'ug-	"night"
zùu ⁿ g _ɔ	zùu ⁿ s/zùu ⁿ d	zù ⁿ -	"vulture"

For unclear reasons, so does pɛ'og_ɔ' "sheep", pl pɛ'ɛs', cif pɛ'-.

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

yàmmùg _{a/ɔ}	yàmmìs	yàm-	"slave"
à dàalúŋ _ɔ	à dàalí(mì)s	à dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'ug _ɔ	si'imís	si'ug-	kind of big dish
dìsúŋ _ɔ	dìsís/dìsímà	dìsúŋ-	"spoon"

Some human-reference nouns have alternative pls with ba:

dàsaŋ _a	dàsam _{ma} /dàsa ⁿ s	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà'-dàbùa	-dàbùob _a /-dàbùos		clan name
Yàaŋ _a	Yàam _{ma}	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàamìs/Yàa ⁿ s		

Irregular in various ways are:

biig _a	biis	bi-/bì-	"child"
bɔtɪŋ _a	bɔtɪs	bòtìŋ-	"cup"
saŋá	sansá	san-	"time"
wɪlɪsúŋ _ɔ	wɪlɪmís	wɪlɪsúŋ-	kind of snail
yalɪsúŋ _ɔ	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 _ɔ	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fɛ ^{n'} og _ɔ ´	fɛ ^{n'} ɛd´	fɛ ^{n'} -	"ulcer"
gbè'og _ɔ	gbè'ɛd/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbiog _ɔ	dàbied	dàbɪà-	"coward"
viug _ɔ ´	viid´	vi-	"owl"
mɔɔg _ɔ	mɔɔd	mò-	"grass, bush"
wabug _ɔ ´	wabɪd´	wab-	"elephant"
balɛrɔg _ɔ ´	balɛrɪd´/balɛrɪs´	balér-	"ugly person"
bɛsɔg _ɔ	bɛsɪd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl CVt:

dòɔg _ɔ	dòɔd/dòt	dò-	"hut"
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So too **pɔɔg_ɔ´** "farm, field", **fuug_ɔ´** "clothing, shirt." Exceptionally, the sg has a short vowel in **zug_ɔ´** "head", pl **zut´**, cf **zu(g)-**.

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

dɔk _ɔ ´	dɔgɔd´	dɔg-	"cooking pot"
laɤk _ɔ	la'ad	là'-	"item of goods"
bɪaɤ ^{n'} k _ɔ	bɪa ^{n'} ad(a)	bɪà ^{n'} -	"shoulder"
lòk _ɔ	lù'ad	lɤà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

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

ùdug _ɔ	ùt	ùd-	"piece of chaff"
zɔlɔg _ɔ ´	zɔn _n ´	zɔl-	"fool"
sìlòg _ɔ	sìn _n /sìlìs	sìl-	"hawk"

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

gbàṣṣ	gbàná	gbàṣṣ-/gbàn-	"book"
zúnzaṣṣ'	zúnzaná	zúnzáṣṣ-	"bat"
à ⁿ rùṣṣ	à ⁿ rìmà	à ⁿ rùṣṣ-	"boat"
nìn-gbìṣṣ'	-gbiná	-gbìṣṣ-	"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 *dìgìnùḡ* "lying down", *sùnnùḡ* "bowing the head", *sàⁿ'ṣṣ/sàⁿ'amùḡ* "destroying", *kàrùṣṣ/kàrìmùḡ* "reading."

All pls take aa:

bu'osúḡ	bu'osá	bu'os-	"question"
zàa ⁿ súḡ	zàa ⁿ símà	zàa ⁿ súḡ-	"dream"

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

re|aa

kugur'	kugá	kug-	"stone"
yugudır	yuguda	yùgùd-	"hedgehog"
nóbìr	nóbá	nób-	"leg"
bì ⁿ 'isìr	bì ⁿ 'isà	bì ⁿ 'is-	"woman's breast"
bàlàṅìr	bàlàṅà	bàlàṅ-	"hat"
saṅgún ⁿ ìr	saṅgún ⁿ à	saṅgún-	"millipede"
summır	summa	sùm-	"groundnut"

CV(V)-stems make pl CV_{ya} if the vowel is modal, CV_{da} if glottal §4.2.1:

gber'	gbeyá	gber-	"thigh"
bier'	bıeyá	bıa-	"elder same-sex sib"
zuor	zıeyá	zıà-	"hill"
nɔɔr'	nɔyá	nɔ-	"mouth"
zuvr	zıyá	zı-	"tail"
ⁿ yɛ'er'	ⁿ yedá	ⁿ yɛ'-	"next-younger sibling"
pò ⁿ 'ɔr	pò ⁿ 'dà	pò ⁿ '-	"cripple"
yv'vr'	yvdá	yv'-	"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'ⁿar from gba'ⁿe' "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 _n	duma	dùm-	"knee"
yùum _n	yùmà	yùum-	"year" §4.2.1
kpan _n	kpana	kpàn-	"spear"
gél _l	gelá	gel-	"egg"
kùkpàr	kùkpàrà	kùkpàr-	"palm fruit"
bò-za' ⁿ l _l	-za' ⁿ llá	-za' ⁿ l-	"goat-carrier" W

Irregular nouns:

daar	daba	dà-	"day"
(Mampruli <i>zari</i>)	za'	za-	"millet"
yir'	ya'	yi-	"house"
Mɔr'	Móom _{ma}	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*):

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

df/nf -> f:

wìef _ɔ	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
la'af _ɔ	ligidi	là'-/lig-	"cowrie" pl "money"
nif _ɔ ´	niní	nin-/nif-	"eye"
píuf _ɔ	piiní	pún-	"genet"

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

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

zíiŋ _a	zimí	zim-	"fish"
walɪŋ _a	walɪs/walí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sibig _a ´	sibí	sib-	kind of termite
siiⁿf _ɔ ´/siiⁿg _a ´	siiⁿs´	siⁿ-	"bee"
suⁿf _ɔ ´/suuⁿr´	suⁿyá	suⁿ-	"heart"
kpáⁿ'ɔŋ _ɔ	kpiⁿ'iní	kpaⁿ'- <i>sic</i>	"guineafowl"

bɔ|

sa'ab _ɔ	sà'-	"millet porridge"
kɪ'ɪb _ɔ ´		"soap"
taⁿp _ɔ	tàⁿp-	"war"

All regular 2-mora-stem 2vb gerunds belong here §7.2.1; **bb** -> **p**, **mb** -> **mm**, but **nb** does not assimilate: **sɔp_ɔ´** "writing", **wum_{mɔ}** "hearing", **bunib_ɔ** "reaping."

The only 3-mora stem is **yiisíb_ɔ**, the gerund of **yiis´** "make emerge."

mɛ|

daam'	da-	"millet beer"
mèlìgìm		"dew"
du'uním	du'un-	"urine"
dàalìm		"masculinity"
yàarìm	yàar-	"salt"
zaa ⁿ sím	zaa ⁿ 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_a** or **fu-píelì**. For W, gradable adjectives with sg **ga rɛ gɔ** successively imply less intensity, so that **fu-píelìg_a** 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 ⁿ 'a/zè ⁿ 'og _ɔ	zè ⁿ 'ɛs/zè ⁿ 'ɛd or zè ⁿ dà	zià ⁿ '-/zè ⁿ '-	"red"
bi'a/be'og _ɔ or be'ɛd	bi'es/be'ɛd or bè'ɛd-nàm _a	bià ⁿ '-/bè ⁿ '-	"bad"

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

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

Like *sabúlg_a* are *paalíg_a* "new", *bàanlìg_a* "slim", *pìelìg_a* "white." *Vèⁿllìg_a* "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_a</i>	<i>dɛɛⁿs/dɛɛmɪs</i> or <i>dɛɛna</i>	<i>dɛɛŋ-</i>	"first"
<i>gìŋ_a</i>	<i>gima</i>	<i>gìŋ-</i>	"short"
<i>bʊgʊsíg_a/bʊgʊsír</i>	<i>bʊgʊsá</i>	<i>bʊgʊs-</i>	"soft"
<i>pòɔdìg_a/pòɔdír</i>	<i>pòɔdà</i>	<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"
<i>ⁿyɛɛsíg_a</i>	<i>ⁿyɛɛnsís</i>	<i>ⁿyɛɛsíg-</i>	"bold"

Like *bʊgʊsír* are *ma'asír* "cool", *malɪsír* "sweet", *tɛbɪsír* "heavy", *labɪsír* "wide"; like *ⁿyɛɛsíg_a* are *vèⁿllìŋ_a* "beautiful", *malɪsíg_a* "pleasant", *lallìŋ_a* "distant."

Zùŋ_ɔ pl *zùvⁿs/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_ɔ/nèɛr</i>	<i>nèɛd/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìug_ɔ/wìir</i>	<i>wìid/wìyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wɔk_ɔ /wa'ar'</i>	<i>wa'ad' /wá'a</i>	<i>wa'-/wɔk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kʊdʊg_ɔ/kʊdír</i>	<i>kʊt/kʊda</i>	<i>kʊd-</i>	"old"
but <i>bèdùg_ɔ/bèdír</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>tɪta'ʊg_ɔ/tɪta'ar</i>	<i>tɪtada</i>	<i>tɪtá'-</i>	"big"

Vur' "alive" pl *vuyá* cif *vur-* has pl *vut'* in predicative uses. *Zyà-wiis* "Red Zoose clan" shows an exceptional pl *sɛ*.

Stems in *l m n r s* do not use *rɛ*:

<i>sùŋ_ɔ</i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>yɪŋ_ɔ '</i>	<i>yɪná</i>		"single (of pair)"
<i>kísùg_ɔ</i>	<i>kisá</i>	<i>kis-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàŋ_ɔ</i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpi'ŋ_ɔ</i>	<i>kpi'ema</i>	<i>kpi'ŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlùŋ_ɔ</i>	<i>zùlìmà</i>	<i>zùlùŋ-</i>	"deep"

So too *pòⁿrùg_ɔ* "near", *mì'isùg_ɔ* "sour", *zemmúg_ɔ* "equal", *tuulúg_ɔ* "hot", *lallúg_ɔ* "far", *yàlùŋ_ɔ* "wide", *ⁿyalúŋ_ɔ* "wonderful", *narúŋ_ɔ* "necessary", *zu-péelùg_ɔ* "bald" and all pf deverbal adjectives in *lm*.

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

kpiilúŋ _o /kpiilùg _o	kpiilímà	kpiilúŋ-	"dead"
geɛ ⁿ lúŋ _o /geɛ ⁿ lúg _o	geɛ ⁿ límà	geɛ ⁿ lúŋ-	"tired"
pè ⁿ élúŋ _o	pè ⁿ él(í)mà	pè ⁿ élúŋ-	"full"

Ipf 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**.

kɔɔdíŋ	kɔɔdá	kɔɔd-	"murderous;
or kɔɔdíga/kɔɔdúg _o			liable to be killed"
sinnír/sinníg _a	sinná	sin-	"silent"
bɔn-túlìgìŋ	-túlìgà		"heating thing"
ⁿ wi-tékìŋ	-téká	-ték-	"pulling-rope"
bɔn-súŋìŋ	-súŋà		"helpful thing"
tɔmmír	tɔmma/tɔmna	tòm-	"working, helpful"
kòg-délí'	-dellá		"chair for leaning on"

Ipf 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_a** pl **nin-pú'alímà** "harmful person"; **nin-záaⁿsùŋ_o** pl **nin-záaⁿsà** "dreamy person."

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

pɔak _a	pɔ'as	pɔà'-	"female" (human)
ⁿ yá'aŋ _a	ⁿ yá'as/ ⁿ ya'amís	ⁿ ya'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
daug _o	daad	dà-	"male"
tɔɔg _o	tɔɔd	tò-	"bitter"
lam-fôɔg _o	lam-fôɔd		"toothless"
màɔk _o	mà'ad		"crumpled up"
ⁿ yàɔk _o	ⁿ yà'ad		"single (of eyes)"
bíelí	bielá		"naked"
yɔmmír	yɔmmá	yɔm-	"unique, sole"

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

bil _a	bibis	bì(l)-	"little"
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6.3 Verbs

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

Straightforward examples are

<i>gòⁿ</i>	<i>gòwⁿda</i>	<i>gòwⁿma</i>	"hunt"
<i>kjà' lf kà'a</i>	<i>kà'eda</i>	<i>kà'em_a</i>	"cut"
<i>pjaⁿ</i>	<i>pjaⁿ'ada'</i>	<i>pjaⁿ'am_a</i>	"speak; praise"
<i>yadıg'</i>	<i>yadıgída</i>	<i>yàdìgim_a</i>	"scatter"
<i>nək'</i>	<i>nəkída</i>	<i>nòkìm_a</i>	"take"
<i>gaŋ'</i>	<i>gaŋída</i>	<i>gàŋim_a</i>	"choose"
<i>kpàr</i>	<i>kpàrída</i>	<i>kpàrìm_a</i>	"lock"
<i>sigis'</i>	<i>sigisída</i>	<i>sìgìsìm_a</i>	"lower"

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

<i>dì</i>	<i>dìt_a</i>	<i>dìm_a</i>	"eat"
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Likewise *yε* "see", *lì/lù* "fall", *du* "go up", *yi* "go/come out", *zò* "run."
dd -> *t*; *ld* -> *nn*:

<i>bùd</i>	<i>bùt_a</i>	<i>bùdìm_a</i>	"plant"
<i>gàad</i>	<i>gàt_a sic</i>	<i>gàadìm_a</i>	"pass"
<i>vul</i>	<i>vun_{na}'</i>	<i>vùlìm_a</i>	"swallow"
<i>dıgıl'</i>	<i>dıgín_{na}</i>	<i>dìgìlìm_a</i>	"lay down"

B3 has some variant ipfs like *satid* from *sad* "slip." A new pf *kɔt* has been extracted from *kɔtid* "slaughter."

bm -> *mm* with 2-mora stems only:

<i>lèb</i>	<i>lèbìd_a</i>	<i>lèm_{ma}</i>	"return"
<i>lièb</i>	<i>lièbìd_a</i>	<i>lièbìm_a</i>	"become"

nd -> *nn* with 2-mora stems only:

<i>bùn</i>	<i>bùn_{na}</i>	<i>bùnìm_a</i>	"reap"
<i>gò'ɔn</i>	<i>gò'ɔnìd_a</i>	<i>gò'ɔnìm_a</i>	"extend neck"
<i>dìgìn</i>	<i>dìgìnìd_a</i>	<i>dìgìnìm_a</i>	"lie down"
<i>sùn_n</i>	<i>sùnnìd_a</i>	<i>sùnnìm_a</i>	"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 _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	"work"
kàrìm	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrìmìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	"read"
tòom'	tòom _{ma} /tòomìd _a	tòom _{ma}	"depart"
lèm	lèmmìd _a	lèm _{ma}	"sip, taste"
sìlìm	sìlìm _{ma}	sìlìm _{ma}	"cite proverbs"

Like **tùm** are **wùm** "hear", **kùm** "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 **ieⁿ uoⁿ -> εεⁿ ɔɔⁿ** before C is usually blocked.

fae ⁿ '	faa ⁿ d _a '	fàa ⁿ m _a	"save"
di'e'	di'ed _a '	dì'em _a	"get, receive"
sue ⁿ '	suo ⁿ d _a '/sɔɔ ⁿ d _a '	sùo ⁿ m _a	"anoint"

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

wìk	wiìd _a	wìkì _{ma}	"fetch water" §4.2.1
jà ⁿ k'	jà ⁿ 'ad _a '	jà ⁿ kì _{ma}	"leap, fly"
gìlig'	gin _{na} '	gìligì _{ma}	"go around"
kεŋ'	kεn _{na} '	kè _{ma} <i>sic</i>	"go"

Other stem-final consonants drop in the ipf in

yèl	yèt _a	yèlì _{ma}	"say"
gɔs	gɔsìd _a '/gɔt _a '	gò(sì) _{ma}	"look"
tìs/tì·	tìsìd _a /tìt _a	tìsì _{ma}	"give"

Only two 2vbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

kε	kεt _a '	kèl _a	"let, allow"
kε ⁿ	kεn _a '	kè _{ma}	"come"

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

Six 1vbs have the flexion *ε*: *mi'* "know", *zi'* "not know", *bè* "exist", *ka'ε* "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. *àεⁿya* "be something", *təεya'* "be bitter", *dɪgɪya'* "lie down", *vabɪya'* "lie prone." Long vowels undergo second-mora fronting before *ya*, e.g. *wà'e_{ya}* "travel", *sɔⁿe_{ya}'* "be better than." There is assimilation of *dy* -> *r*, *ly* -> *ll*, *my* -> *mm*, *ny* -> *nn*, *sy* -> *s*, e.g. *mɔr_a'* "have", *dɛl_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_{ma}* "be deep", *ma'as_a'* "be cool." W doubles stem-final *m* by analogy, with no tone change: lf *kpi'emmá* "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:

<i>Ò zì'n'i nε.</i>	"She's sitting down." (<i>zì'n'i_{ya}</i>)
<i>Ò pɔ zì'n'ida/zì'n'inìda.</i>	"She doesn't sit down" W/K
<i>Ò vàbì nε.</i>	"He's lying prone."
<i>Ò pɔ vabìdá/vábìnìda.</i>	"He doesn't lie prone." W/K
<i>Ò dīgì nε.</i>	"She's lying down."
<i>Ò pɔ dīgìdá.</i>	"She doesn't lie down" W
<i>Lì zì'e nε.</i>	"It's standing up." (<i>zì'e_{ya}</i>)
<i>Lì pɔ zì'eda.</i>	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." W
<i>Lì tì'i nε.</i>	"It's leaning." (<i>tì'i_{ya}'</i>)
<i>Lì tì'id.</i>	"It can be leant." W
<i>Lì pɔ tì'iyá.</i>	"It's not leaning."
<i>Lì pɔ tì'idá.</i>	"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**. *Kabír'* "ask entry", *sugur'* "forbear" are back-formations from *kabírí 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. *siiⁿf_o* "bee", *siiⁿd'* "honey"; *wèéd_a* "hunter", *wèog_o* "deep bush." Most tree names are *ga|sɛ*, their fruits *rɛ|aa* or *gɔ|dɛ*, e.g. *aaⁿdíg_a* "black plum tree", *aaⁿdír* "black plum"; *gaaⁿ'* "ebony", *gaⁿr'* "ebony fruit"; *tè'ég_a* "baobab", *tè'og_o* "baobab fruit." Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §9.3.

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in *mɛ|* or (especially if the adjective uses sg *gɔ*) with sg *gɔ*, e.g. *vum'* "life" (*vur'* "live"), *pielim* "brightness" (*pielíg_a* "white"), *malísím* "sweetness", *títa'am* "multitude" (*títa'ar* "great"); *lallúg_o* "far/distance", *kpi'on_o* "hard/hardness", *yàlùñ_o* "wide/width", *mì'isùg_o* "sour/sourness", *tcɔg_o* "bitter/bitterness." Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts: *gbá'yà'am* "laziness" (*gbá'yà'a* "lazy person"), *dàmà'am* "deceit" (*dàmà'a* "liar"), *títa'alim* "pride" (*títa'alí* "proud person"); *sáuv_o* "hospitality" (*saan_a'* "guest"), *kpeon_o* "eldership" (*kpeem* "elder"), *sɔɔⁿg_o* "witchcraft" (*sɔɛⁿya* "witch.")

Adjective stems form manner nouns in *mɛ|* or with apocope-blocked sg *ga*, e.g. *zaalím* "in vain", *kɔdím* "of old", *paalím* "recently", *nèem* "for free" (*nèer* "empty"); *sùñ_a'* "well", *ma'asíga'* "coolly", *tuulíga'* "hotly", *giñ_a* "shortly", *bugusíga'* "softly", *sàalíñ_a'* "smoothly", *nyèesíñ_a'* "boldly."

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

d is unanalysable in *yugudír* "hedgehog", *ligidi* "money", *pùgùdìb_a* "father's sister." It can derive abstract from human-reference nouns, e.g. *dataadim/dataadv_g* "enmity", *pu'asatim* "girlhood", *bvñkùttim* "old age"; *pukòntim* "widowhood" is analogical.

m is unanalysable in *yugúm_n* "camel", *gbígúm_n* "lion", *zìlím_n* "tongue", *àⁿrùñ_o* "boat", *zùlùñ_o* "deep", *yàlùñ_o* "wide." It is identifiably derivational in *bi'em* "foe" (*bi'a* "bad"), *aⁿsíñ_a* "sister's child" (*áⁿsìb_a* "mother's brother"), *bìⁿ'isím* "milk" (*bìⁿ'isìr* "breast"), *na'am* "chieftaincy" (*nà'ab_a* "chief"), *zolumís* "foolishness" (*zolv_g'* "fool.")

It is often added to existing adjective stems, e.g. *malísíg_a/malísíñ_a* "sweet", *kpiilùg_o/kpiilúñ_o* "dead", *narúñ_o* "necessary" (*nar_a'* "be needed"), *nyèesíñ_a* "bold" (*nyèes_a* "be bold"), *wa'am_a'* "be long" (*wòk_o'* "long"), *giñ_a* "short" (*giñ'ílm* "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_a** "child"), **dàalím** "masculinity" (**day** "man"), **pù'alím** "femininity" (**pua'** "woman"), **sáannìm** "strangerhood" (**saan_a'** "stranger"), **turâannìm** "companionship" (**turâan_a** "peer"), **wa'alím** "tallness" (**wok_o'** "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**:

kubb_o'	"kill (ku)"	ɖugub_o'	"cook (ɖug)"
ɖu'ab_o	"bear, beget (ɖuà')"	kadib_o	"drive off (kàd)"
pilib_o	"cover (pìl)"	kparib_o	"lock (kpàr)"
basib_o	"go/send away (bàs)"	lop_o'	"throw stones at (lob)"
kɪm_mo	"herd animals (kì)"	bunib_o	"reap (bùn)"
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nokír	"take (nok')"
nìṅìr	"doing (nìṅ)"	gbá'n'ar	"grab (gba'n'e')"
dí'er	"get (dí'e')"	dúor	"rise (due')"
gàadùg_o	"pass (gàad)"	liébùg_o	"become (liéb)"
dìgílùg_o	"lay down (dìgíl')"	yaarúg_o	"scatter (yaar')"
sigisúg_o	"lower (sigis')"	dàmmùg_o	"shake (dàm)" (mm -stem)
dìgìnùg_o	"lie down (dìgìn)"	zì'n'inùg_o	"sit down (zì'n'in)"
tóɔṅ_o	"depart (tóom')"	kàrùg_o	"read (kàrìm)"

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

siilùṅ_o	"cite proverbs (siilím)"	zàa"súṅ_o	"dream (zàa"sìm)"
wàṅìr	"waste away (wàṅìm)"	zàkìr	"itch (zàkìm)"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use sg **re**, e.g. **pua'-dɪr** "marriage", **nin-kôur** "murder", **da-nûur** "beer-drinking", **mò-pil** "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 (**li**)", **tèⁿbùg_o** "tremble (**tèⁿb**)", **ɔⁿbɪr** "chew (**ɔⁿb**)"; a few are also tonally irregular, e.g. **tàⁿsùg_o** "shout (**tàⁿs**)", **sóⁿsìg_a** "converse (**sɔⁿs**.)" A few 2vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **tìtùmɪs** "send (**tùm**)", **bɛⁿ'ɛs** "fall ill (**bɛⁿ'**)", **kɛn_n'** "come (**kɛⁿ**)", **ziid'** "carry on the head (**zi**).". Irregular gerunds are noted in §15.

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

ziⁿ'ig_a	"sit (ziⁿ'i_{ya})"	ti'ib_o'	"lean (ti'iy_a')"
zi'eg_a/zi'a	"stand (zi'e_{ya})" K/W	dɪk_a'/dɪgɪr'	"lie down (dɪgɪ_{ya}')" K/W
ik_a'/igir'	"kneel (igi_{ya}')" K/W	vap_o'/vabɪr'	"lie prone (vabɪ_{ya}')" K/W

Zi'eg_a is phonologically aberrant §4.2.2. The 1vbs **tèⁿr_a** "remember", **pòⁿr_a** "be near" have **tɛⁿrɪb_o** **pɔⁿrɪb_o** by analogy with 2vbs; **kis_a'** "hate" forms **kísùg_o**.

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

àaⁿlím	"be (àɛⁿ_{ya})"	bèlím	"exist (bè)"
ka'alím	"not be (ka'e)"	nòḡlím	"love (nòḡ)"
mi'ilím	"know (mi')"	sv'ulím	"own (sv'e_{ya}')"
zɪ'ulím	"not know (zɪ')"	dellím	"lean (dɛl_{la}')"; also dellùg_o
dollím	"go with (dol_{la}')"	tullím	"be hot (tul_{la}')"
nenním	"envy (nɛn_{na}')"	sinním	"be silent (sin_{na}')"
wenním sic	"be like (wɛn_{na}')"	zanlím	"hold in hand (zan_{la}')"
gurím	"guard (gur_a')"	mɔrím	"have (mɔr_a')"
tarím	"have (tar_a')"	narím	"be necessary (nar_a')"

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

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

dì	"eat"	dìtím-taa	"messmate"
kpèⁿ'	"enter"	kpèⁿ'ɛdím-	"co-resident"
zàb	"fight"	zàbìdím-	"opponent"
tùm	"work"	tùmmím-	"co-worker"
pù'us	"worship"	pù'usím-	"co-worshipper"
sùḡ	"help"	sùḡ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
sjàk	"agree"	sjàkím-	"partner in agreement"

Similarly **mèɛdím-** (**mè** "build"), **pɔvɔdím-** (**pɔ** "share"), **faaⁿdím-** (**faⁿ** "rob"), **dɔvɔdím-** (**dɔv** "cook"), **dùisím-** (**dùis** "feed.")

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

bè	"exist"	bèlím-taa	"partner in existence" W
mi'	"know"	mi'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"

Similarly **zì'ílím-taa** "partner in ignorance", **dòllím-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_{ya}**; similarly **zì'ilím-/zì'idím-** (**zì'i_{ya}** "sit"), **vabílím-/vabídím-** (**vabí_{ya}** "lie prone"), **igilím-/igidím-** (**igi_{ya}** "kneel"), though only **làbílím-** (**làbì_{ya}** "crouch in hiding.") For **dìgí_{ya}** "lie down", W has **dìgúlím-** 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", **yòhsím** "freedom", **nin-kúòsìm** "murder", **pè'òsìm** "worship", **wòmmògò** "hearing."

Gerunds are abstract, but derived concrete senses appear in **dùbò** "food", **zì'ig_a** "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. **dùkò'** "pot" (**dùg** "cook"), **dà'a** "market" (**dà'** "buy"), **kut** "iron, nail" (**kùd** "work iron"), **sòbír'** "piece of writing" (**sòb** "write"), **sùak_a'** "hiding place" (**sua'** "hide"), **ɛɛ'bír** "(physical) foundation" (**ɛɛ'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_n** "refugee", **kpí'um** "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:

mɛɛd_a	"builder (mè)"	dùt_a	"eater (dì)"
dùgvd_a'	"cook (dùg)"	dù'ad_a	"relative" (dùà' "bear/beget")
tùon-gat_a	"leader" (gàad "pass")	sòbùd_a'	"writer (sòb)"
kparìd_a	"lock-er (kpàr)"	suguríd_a	"forgiver (sugur')"

<i>gbisid_a'</i>	"sleeper (<i>gbis</i>)"	<i>gɔt_a'</i>	"seer, prophet" (<i>gɔs</i> "look")
<i>pa'an_{na}</i>	"teacher (<i>pà'al</i>)"	<i>tùm-tùm_{na}</i>	"worker (<i>tùm</i>)"
<i>yɔɔm-yû'm_{na}</i>	"singer (<i>yɔ'um'</i>)"	<i>bun_{na}</i>	"reaper (<i>bùn</i>)"

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.)

<i>"wa'ad_a</i>	"woodcutter (<i>"wà'e</i>)"	<i>naad_a'</i>	"persister" W (<i>nae'</i> "finish")
<i>di'ed_a'</i>	"receiver (<i>di'e'</i>)"	<i>sɔŋɪd_a</i>	"helper (<i>sùŋ</i>)"
<i>sɪakɪd_a</i>	"believer (<i>sɪàk</i>)"	<i>"wi-ték_a</i>	"rope-puller (<i>ték'</i>)"
<i>kɛn_{na}'</i>	"traveller (<i>kɛŋ'</i>)"	<i>ɪaⁿ'ad_a'</i>	"flier (<i>ɪaⁿk'</i>)"
<i>yat_a'</i>	"scatterer (<i>yadɪg'</i>)": 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:

<i>kùos_a</i>	"seller (<i>kùos</i>)"	<i>tìs_a</i>	"giver (<i>tìs</i>)"
<i>sòs_a</i>	"beggar (<i>sòs</i>)"	<i>zàb-zàb_a</i>	"fighter (<i>zàb</i>)"

Stems in *mm* drop *d* and have only *nàm_a* pls (*dàm-dàm_{ma}* "shaker"), but the tp of *sun_{na}* "deep thinker" W from *sùn_n* "bow the head" shows *nd* -> *nn*.

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

<i>pɔ'an_{na}</i>	"harmer (<i>pò'alìm</i>)"	<i>siin_{na}</i>	"proverb-citer (<i>siilìm</i>)"
<i>zàaⁿs_a</i>	"dreamer (<i>zàaⁿsìm</i>)"		

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

<i>mi'id_a'</i>	"knower (<i>mi'</i>)"	<i>zɪ'ɪd_a'</i>	"ignorant person (<i>zɪ'</i>)"
<i>sɔⁿ'ɔd_a'</i>	"outdoer (<i>sɔⁿ'e_{ya}'</i>)"	<i>su'ɔd_a'</i>	"owner (<i>su'e_{ya}'</i>)"
<i>ziⁿ'id_a</i>	"sitter (<i>zìⁿ'i_{ya}</i>)"	<i>zi'ed_a</i>	"stander (<i>zì'e_{ya}</i>)"
<i>dɪgɪd_a'</i>	"lier-down (<i>dɪgɪ_{ya}'</i>)"	<i>igid_a'</i>	"kneeler (<i>igi_{ya}'</i>)"
<i>vabɪd_a'</i>	"lier prone (<i>vabɪ_{ya}'</i>)"	<i>labɪd_a</i>	"croucher in hiding (<i>làbɪ_{ya}</i>)"
<i>nòŋɪd_a</i>	"lover (<i>nòŋ</i>)" tp <i>sic</i>	<i>nin-dél_{la}</i>	"one prone to lean (<i>dél_{la}'</i>)"
<i>"ya'an-dól_{la}</i>	"disciple (<i>dól_{la}'</i>)"	<i>bù-zanⁿ_{la}'</i>	"goat-holder (<i>zanⁿ_{la}'</i>)"
<i>nin-nén_{na}</i>	"envier (<i>nɛn_{na}'</i>)"	<i>nin-sín_{na}</i>	"silent person (<i>sin_{na}'</i>)"
<i>bù-mɔr_a'</i>	"goat-owner (<i>mɔr_a'</i>)" W	<i>gur(id)_a'</i>	"guard (<i>gur_a'</i>)"
<i>tɛⁿrɪd_a</i>	"rememberer (<i>tɛⁿr_a</i>)"	<i>kis(id)_a'</i>	"hater (<i>kis_a'</i>)"
<i>aaⁿd_a</i>	"one who is something (<i>àɛⁿ_{ya}</i>)" W		

Stems in *ll/r* have variant forms in *rɛ|aa*, e.g. *bù-zanⁿ_l* pl *bù-zanⁿllá*.

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:

pṵà'-la'adír	"laughing/laughable woman (là')"
bun-ⁿyétír	"visible object (ⁿyε)"
na'-dá-kuodír	"ox for ploughing (kṵa lf kua)"
fu-yéédír/-yéédùg_o	"shirt for wearing (yè)" W/K
tì-kuvdí^m	"poison" (kv "kill")
tèṅ-du'adíg_a	"native land" (dṵà' "bear/beget")
yì-sígìdír	"lodging-house" (sig "descend")
yel-sú'adír	"confidential matter" (sṵa' "hide")
bun-óⁿbìdà	"solid food" (òⁿb "chew")
bun-búnnír	"thing for reaping (bùn)"
bun-túmmír	"useful thing" (tùm "work")
tì-vúnním	"oral medication" (vul "swallow")
pṵà'-gbisidír	"woman always sleeping (gbis)"
bùṅ-kennír	"donkey that doesn't sit still" (kεṅ ' "go")
pṵà'-ginníg_a	"prostitute" (gilig ' "go round")
kpa-sóⁿdím	"anointing oil (sueⁿ ')"
bun-yátír	"scattering thing (yadíg ')"
bun-íáⁿ'adír	"flying creature (íáⁿk ')"
bù-saⁿ'ammír	"scapegoat" W (sàⁿ'am "destroy")
bun-pélìsír	"sharpening thing (pèlìs)"
bun-kúosír	"item for sale (kùos)"
bùṅ-dígídír	"donkey that lies down a lot (dígí_{ya} ')"
bùṅ-vabídír	"donkey that always lies prone (vabí_{ya} ')"
kug-zíⁿ'idír	"stone for sitting on (zìⁿ'í_{ya})"
nɔ-záⁿl	"hen for holding in hands (zaⁿl_a ')"
kùg-dél '	"chair for leaning on (dél_a ')"
bun-gúl	"thing for suspending (gùl_a)"

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

bun-pélìgìr	"thing for whitening (pèlìg)"
bun-túlìgìr	"thing for heating (tulìg ´)"
yel-pákìr	"disaster" (pàk "surprise")
"wi-tékìr	"pulling-rope (tek ´)"
bun-sùŋìr	"helpful thing (sùŋ)"
bì-nòŋìr	"beloved child (nòŋ)"
pɔ̀à'-pù'alíŋa	"harmful woman (pù'alìm)"
bun-sìilúŋɔ	"thing relating to citing proverbs (sìilìm)"
pɔ̀à'-zàa"sùŋɔ	"dreamy woman (zàa"sìm)"

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.

àa"lúŋɔ	"torn (àe "")	gɛɛ"lúŋɔ	"tired (gɛ "")
kòòlúŋɔ	"broken (kò)"	kpiìlúŋɔ	"dead (kpi)"
pè'elúŋɔ	"full (pè'el)"	pù'alúŋɔ	"damaged (pù'alìm)"
yèelúŋɔ	"worn [shirt] (yè)"	yòòlúŋɔ	"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.

sɔ̀à-lòòdíŋa	"belt" (lò "tie")
sɔ̀òdɔŋa	"sponge" (sò "bathe")
da'adíŋa	"pusher (da'e ´)" (person or thing)
"wa'adíŋa	"axe" ("wà'e "cut wood")
sòòbídíŋa	"writing implement (sòb)"
bɔ̀tɔŋa	"cup" (bòd "plant": originally "seed cup")
kparíɔŋa	"thing for locking (kpàr)"
piedíŋa	"thing for washing oneself (pie ´)"
nin-gótìŋa	"mirror" (gɔs "look"); nin-gótìs "glasses"
kuosɔŋa	"salesperson (kùos)"
piesíŋa	"cleaning implement (pies ´)"
zì"íɔŋa	"thing for sitting on (zì"íya)"

A few show **s** or **d** alone: **dígɔsúgɔ** "bed" (**dígɔya**´ "lie"), **ɔ̀òòsír** "step" (**ɔ̀ò** "rise"), **tuòdɔr** "mortar" (**tuà** lf **tùà** "grind.") Here **ld** becomes single **n**: **pibin_n** "covering (**pìbìl**)" (Mooré *pibindga*), **maan_n** "sacrifice (**màal**)", **zanbìn_n** "tattoo (**zànbiìl**)."

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	vvr´	"alive"	vυεya´	"live"
	bυgυsír	"soft"	bυgυsa´	"be soft"
	zemmύgɔ	"equal"	zemma´	"be equal to"
	lallύgɔ	"far"	lalja´	"be far from"
	wɔkɔ´	"long, tall"	wa'am_a´	"be long, tall"
	tυulύgɔ	"hot"	tulja´	"be hot"
tp A	tɔɔgɔ	"bitter"	tɔεya´	"be bitter"
	giηa	"short"	gimma´	"be short"
	kpi'oηɔ	"strong"	kpi'em_a´	"be strong"
	kpeε ⁿ m	"elder"	kpeε ⁿ ma´	"be older than"
	wennir	"resembling"	wenna´	"be like"
tp L	pòɔdìg_a	"small"	pòɔda	"be few, small"
	mì'isògɔ	"sour"	mì'isa	"be sour"
	sùηɔ	"good"	sùmma	"be good"
	zùlùηɔ	"deep"	zùlim_a	"be deep"
	vènnìg_a	"beautiful"	vèn _{na}	"be beautiful"
	ⁿ yèεsíη_a	"bold"	ⁿ yèεsa	"be bold"

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

bυgυsír	"soft"	bυk´	"soften"
dεεηa	"first"	dèη	"precede"
kpi'a	"neighbour"	kpi'e	"approach"
kpi'oηɔ	"strong"	kpe'η	"strengthen"
kυdυgɔ	"old"	kòdìg	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
lallύgɔ	"far"	lalγ´	"become/make far"
ma'asír	"cool, wet"	ma'e´	"get cool, wet"
màυkɔ	"crumpled up"	màk	"crumple up"
mì'isògɔ	"sour"	mì'ig	"turn sour"
ⁿ yɔ'ɔs´	"smoke"	ⁿ yu'e´	"set alight"
pielìg_a	"white"	pèlìg	"whiten"
pòɔdìg_a	"few"	pò'ɔg	"diminish, belittle"
tadim	"weak person"	tàdìg	"become weak"

təbɪsír	"heavy"	təbɪg´	"get/make heavy"
tùtulɪ	"upside-down thing"	tùlìg	"invert"
tɒlúgɔ	"hot"	tɒlɪg´	"heat up"
vɒr´	"alive"	vɒ'ʊg´	"make/come alive"
wàʊŋɔ	"wasted"	wàŋìm	"waste away" (gm)
ˈwiigá´	"rope"	ˈwiig´	"make a rope"
zùlùŋɔ	"deep"	zùlìg	"deepen"
gìkà	"dumb"	gìgùlìm	"become dumb"
gɒ'ʊs	"semi-ripe things"	gù'ʊlìm	"become semi-ripe"
pɔ̀n'ɔr	"cripple"	pɔ̀n'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
likà	"darkness"	lìgìl	"cover up"
ma'e´	"get cool, wet"	ma'al´	"make cool, wet"
ˈyá'aŋà	"behind"	ˈya'al´	"leave behind"
puˈn'e´	"rot"	pɔ̀n'ɔl´	"cause to rot"
wɒ'ʊg´	"get wet"	wɒ'ʊl´	"make wet"

Other suffixes appear in yà'ab "mould clay" (ya'ad "clay"), zùos "befriend" (zɹà lf zùà "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 reversible; 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 _{ya}	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
sɔ ⁿ 'e _{ya} ´	"be better than"	su ⁿ 'e´	"become better than" W
dɔl _{la} ´	"go with"	dɔlɪg´	"make accompany"
gɔr _a ´	"look up" D	gɔdɪg´	"make look up" D
kò	"break" intr	kò'ɔg	"break" tr
nu	"drink"	nulɪg´	"make drink"
yùul	"swing" intr	yùlɪg	"swing" tr

l is causative:

ba ⁿ '	"ride"	ba ⁿ '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 _{ya}	"stand"	zì'en	zì'el
zì ⁿ 'i _{ya}	"sit"	zì ⁿ 'in	zì ⁿ 'il
tì'i _{ya} ´	"(thing) lean"	tì'in	tì'il´
gɔ'e _{ya} ´	"look up" W	gò'ɔn	
dɪg _{ya} ´	"lie down"	dìgìn	dɪgɪl´
igì _{ya} ´	"kneel"	ìgìn	igil´
làbì _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbìn	làbìl
vabì _{ya} ´	"lie prone"	vàbìn	vabɪl´
sùr _a	"bow head"	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	"cover oneself"	lìgìn	lìgìl
	"perch"	zùon	zùol
	"perch"	yà'an	yà'al

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

s is causative or pluractional:

àe ⁿ	"get torn"	àa ⁿ s	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìıs	"feed"
kpè ⁿ '	"enter"	kpè ⁿ 'əs	"make enter"
kpiig	"go out (fire)"	kpiis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbıs	"send back; answer"
mɥà'	"suckle"	mù'as	"give suck to"
nìe	"appear"	nèəs	"reveal"
nu	"drink"	nulis'	"make drink"
sig	"go down"	sigis'	"lower"
yi	"go/come out"	yiis'/yis	"make go/come out"
zɛm _{ma} '	"be equal"	zɛmıs'	"make equal"
di'e'	"receive"	di'es'	"receive (many things)"
ja ⁿ k'	"fly, jump"	ja ⁿ '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) CVsN or CVlN, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial, with an epenthetic vowel after s/l. No prefix begins with y or ⁿy. For tones see §4.3.1.

CVsN/CVlN prefixes copy root-initial CV (one mora, without glottalisation or contrastive nasalisation):

silinsîu ⁿ g _ɔ	"spider"	vùlînvùu ⁿ l _ɪ	"mason wasp"
zılînzîog _ɔ	"unknown"	tàsîntàl _ɪ	"palm of hand"
wàsînwàl _ɪ	"tree gall"	nəsînnɛog _ɔ '	"centipede"

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

kìkàŋ _a	"fig tree"	kùkòr'	"voice"
kpùkparìg _a	"palm tree"	kpikpin _{na} '	"merchant"
tìta'ar	"big"	pipirig _a '	"desert"
sìsì'em	"wind"	fufum _n	"envy; stye"
lìlaalíŋ _a	"swallow"	mìmiilím	"sweetness"

kìŋkàŋ _a	"fig"	tùntò ⁿ ríg _a	"mole"
sùnsáa ⁿ	kind of tiny ant	dìndεog _o '	"chameleon"
dùndùug _o	"cobra"	bìmbìm _n	"altar"
bùmbàrìg _a	"ant"	gùŋgum _n	"kapok material"
zùnzavug _o '	"bat"	zùnzòŋ _a	"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 _a	"wife's sibling"	dàyuug _o '	"rat"
dàgòbìg _a	"left hand"	dàmà'a	"liar"
dadúk _o	kind of large pot	dàŋkòŋ _o	"measles"
balervug _o '	"ugly"	sàbùà	"lover, girlfriend"
samán _n	"courtyard"	saŋgúnnìr	"millipede"
zàŋkù'ar	"hyena"	zàŋgùom _n	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in e.g. *làŋgávug_o/màŋgávug_o* "crab", *nàyiig_a* "thief", *gbáⁿyà'a* "lazy person" (with a H prefix), and especially in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: *Wampurìs'* "Mamprussi." Some stems have two prefixes.

Some **pu/kù**(N) prefixes derive from negative VP particles, as in *kùndù'ar* "barren woman" (*dùà'* "bear"); *nin-pùnan_{na}'* "disrespectful person" (*nan* "respect"); *tùb-puvúmnìb_a* "deaf people" (*wùm* "hear"), but most have no evident meaning: *gumpuzér'* "duck", *ban-kúsélì* "lizard", *kùndùŋ_a* "hyena."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. *Dà* "man" appears in *dàpaal_a'* "young man" and *dàkòòⁿr* "bachelor." *Pù* "woman" is seen in *pùkòòⁿr* "widow" (Mooré *pvγκōore*, with the cif *pvğ-* of *paga* "woman.") *Pu* in *pukpaad_a'* "farmer" is related to *pɔɔg_o'* "farm"; it behaves as a prefix tonally.

Some manner nouns show the prefix *à* followed by M-spread: *àmɛŋá* "truly", *àsɪda* "truly", *ànínja* "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*; *bùg* "get drunk", Hausa *bugu*; *kov* "or", Hausa *ko*; *báa* "not even", Hausa *ba*. Many are ultimately from Arabic, e.g. *àràzàná* "heaven" (*al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"), *yàdda'* "trust" (*yārḍá* "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 *màlìjaká'* "angel", *sàlìbìr* "bridle", *Sutáanà* "Satan." *Mor'* "Muslim", pl *Móom_{ma}*, 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 *aaruṇ malek* for *ànrùṇ* "boat", *màlìjaká'* "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"); *pootim* "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 *loryà*.

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

Bùrìkìná "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. *daɣ la bútiŋ* "the man's cup", *salɪma 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: *buvɣ_a* "goat", *bù-pièlìg_a* "white goat", *bù-kàŋa'* "this goat." Compounds with non-referential cifs as dependents are also common: *bù-zuvr* "goat-tail", *bù-kuvd_a'* "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-wók_ɔ'* "long white goat" *zà'-nɔ-pièlìg_a* "white gate (compound-mouth)"; compounds may be generic arguments before deverbal nouns: *zà'-nɔ-gúr_a* "gatekeeper"; noun-adjective compounds can be used as adjectives: *bù-nɔb-wók_ɔ* "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>salɪma zá'-nɔɔr</i>	"golden gate"
but	<i>salɪma bútiŋ-kàŋa</i>	"this gold cup"
	<i>salɪma lá'-maan</i>	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
	<i>salɪma lá'-màan-kàŋa</i>	"this goldsmith"
	<i>ò salɪma lá'-maan</i>	"her goldsmith"
	<i>anzúrìfà nɛ salɪma lá'-maan</i>	"[[silver and gold] item]-maker"

Coordination of NPs (including nominalised clauses) uses *nɛ* "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 Buvɣr né à Nà'ab</i>	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
<i>dú'atà nɛ nâ'ab</i>	"a doctor and a chief" (two people)
<i>À Wɪn kúv à Buvɣr kúv bà wusa</i>	"Awini or Abugri or both of them"

Cifs cannot be coordinated. *Sangbaun ne tengbaun 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 ne biis la "the women and children" Gn 33:5
 pu'ab ne biis la
 woman.PL with child.PL the

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

salma búttis ne dísimà "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 ne búttis*, "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 búttis* (for the gender of ò, see below.)

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

dú'atà ne 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 ne 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_a* 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", *ten'esá yunní* "one thought." Except in names §9.3, *kut* "iron" has displaced sg *kudug_o* "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_n* "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 zuluṅ na paae o salibir.

Kà wíef yá' sigí lì nì, lì zùlùṅ 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."

Tìṅ wélà bigìsìd 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

Nóbir ya'a yelin ye [...], lin ku nyaṅi ké ka o ka' ningbiṅ la nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlì·n yé [...], lìn kú "yaṅi· ké kà ò ka' nín-gbìṅ 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-káṅa, on sâ' am ne.

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

eye-DEM 3a spoil FOC

M̃ 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 m̃ pua'.

3a be FOC 1s woman

but Li ane Zugsób 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	m _a	man	mán
2s	f̀	f _o	fún	fún
3a	ò	o	on	ón
3i	l̀/d̀	l	lín/dín	lín/dín
1p	t̀	t _i	túnám _a	túnámì
2p	yà	ya	yanám _a	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·?

túnám ne fún

man Paul

"Me?"

"us and you"

"I, Paul"

Fún kanε buoli f̀ mεη ...

Fún-kànì· bùolì f̀ mεη ...

2s-DEM·NZ call 2s self

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

Manε an kɔnbkem s̀η la.

Manì· áⁿ kóⁿb-kìm-s̀η la.

1s·+ be shepherd-good the

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

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 p̀v ̀nyetí ò tùbaa·.

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 wṓsa nari ba di.

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

Dub wṓsa ná·rì· bà dí.

food all must·+ 3p eat

Demonstrative pronouns:

Head	Long	Animate	far	Inanimate sg	Pl
				near	
		òḡa´		lìna´	bàmma´
	Short	òn	far	lìn	bàn
			near	nɛ´	
Dependent	Long	kàḡa´		kàḡa´	bàmma´
	Short	kàn		kàn	bàn
Adverbial		Time		Manner	Place
	far	san-kán		àlá	kpe
	near	nannánna´		ànwá(-na´)	kpe·lá or àní(-na´)

Nɛ'ḡa nɛ' can form the specifically inanimate pls nɛ'ḡa-nám_a nè'-nám_a.

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

"Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative

"which?", and in heads of relative clauses:

Fṓnɛ an dau kan la!

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

Fṓnì· áⁿ dáṽ-kàn la!

(in the story just related.)

2s·+ be man-DEM the

Lìnè·?

"Which one?"

Nif-kánè·?

"Which eye?"

fṓn-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", kpe·lá "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with la´ and "this" by a following nwá: dàṽ-kàḡa la "that man", dàṽ-kàḡa nwá "this man."

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg

Inanimate sg

Pl

sɔ'

si'el_a

sieba (modal vowel)

si'a

si'a

Time

Manner

Place

san-sí'a

si'em

zì^{n'}-si'a

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

Except in relative clause heads, under a negation, or before mè-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' lɛm 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 nɪjɪd si'el mɛkama sɔ'ʊŋa.

"He does everything well." Mk 7:37

Ò nɪjɪd si'el mé-kàmà sɔ'ŋa.

3a do.IPF IDFi whatever well

Sɔ' ka'e·.

"There's nobody there."

IDFa NG.exist·NG

M pɔ yél si'ela·.

"I haven't said anything."

1s NG say IDFi·NG

Interrogative pronouns:

Animate

àñ'ɔn

"who?"

Inanimate

bo

"what?"

Pls with **nàm_a** 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_n** "what time of day?" **bùn-dâar** "which day?"

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

Bo 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

Bo sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?

Bò-só'sìg kà yà sɔ'sid 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 **bo kímm** "what exactly?", **bo zúg kímm** "why exactly?"

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

Sù̀nìmi· taaba.

help.IMP·2pS each.other

"Help one another."

Tì yûug nɛ taaba.

1p delay with each.other

"It's been a long time." K

Bà dòl nɛ taaba.

3p follow with each.other

"They go together."

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

nà'ab la mɛŋ

chief the self

"the chief himself"

Bà ʔyéɛ bà mɛŋ.

3p see 3p self

"They've seen for themselves."

Fù mɛŋ kuu bí-làa·?

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:

M̃ ʔwé'ɛ m̃ 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 pɔ piesidi ba nu'us wɔɔ lin nar si'em la ka ditta.

Bà pɔ 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 pɔ'ʊs kàŋa nɛ m mɛŋ nu'ug.

Mam Paul n sɔb pû'ʊs-kàŋa né m̃ 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	<i>sɔb_a</i>	pl	<i>dím_a</i>
Inanimate	sg/pl	<i>dìn_n</i>		

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

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings, e.g. *man dín* "my one, mine", *à Wín dím* "Awini's family", *pù-pièlím sɔb* "upright person" (*pù-pièlím* "virtue"), *duniya ní dìn* "earthly one [body]" 1 Cor 15:44, *Bòk dím* "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-dím_a* "household members"; *nif-sɔb_a* "miser" (*nif_ɔ'* "eye"); *tàⁿp-sɔb_a* "warrior" (*taⁿp_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 Wín* from *Wídì-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 Duk*, 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 Simôon* "Simon", but *Wínà'am* "God" (W *Wínnà'am*) and *Sutáanà* "Satan" do not. Animal names take *à* in fables: *à Baa* "Mr Dog"; cf *Asan'auŋ à Sàⁿ'uŋ* "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 Wín-káŋa* "this Awini", *tì Wín* "our Awini"; *tì n Davg* "our Ndago." They pluralise with *nàm_a*; *à Wín-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 Mɔr yam	Amɔryam	"has intelligence" (girl, G3 p6)
à Tɔm bódiŋ ya		"the medicine has got lost" (man)

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

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

A younger sibling of à Wɔn with the same *sɔrɔ* may be called à Wɔn-bil "Awimbillah" (*bil* "little"), of à Kudug, à Kùd-bil "Akudibillah" etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à Wɔn-pɔák "Awimpoaka" (*pɔák* "female.")

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

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

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à Tíni "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 Tàmpuɔr "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" + dɔ "man"
à Zàngbèog	Azangbego	"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	
Barıg _a '	Barıs'	Bat'	Barıg _o '	Bisa
Bın _n	Bım _{ma}	Bın _n	Bıııg _o	Moba
Bùlig _a	Bùlis	Bùl _l		Bulsa
Bùsáıg _a	Bùsâa ⁿ s	Bùsâa ⁿ l		Bisa
Dàgâad _a	Dàgâadıb _a			Dagaaba
Dàgbán _n '	Dàgbam _{ma} '	Dàgbán _n '	Dàgbáııg _o '	Dagomba
Gurıg _a	Gurıs	Gurın _n		Farefare
Kàmbùıg _a	Kàmbùmıs	Kàmbùnıı		Ashanti
Kusâa	Kusâas	Kusâal	Kusâıg _o	Kusaasi
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mòog _o	Mossi
Nàbıd _a	Nàbıdıb _a	Nàbıı	Nàbıdùg _o	Nabdema
ⁿ Wampurıg _a '	ⁿ Wampurıs'	ⁿ Wampurıl'	ⁿ Wampurıg _o '	Mamprussi
Sımiıg _a	Sımiıs	Sımiıl	Sımiıg _o	Fulani
Tàlııg _a	Tàlis	Tàlın _n		Tallensi
Yàaıg _a	Yàa ⁿ s/Yàamıs	Yàan _n		Yansi
	or Yàam _{ma}			
Yarıg _a '	Yarıs'	Yat'		Yarsi
Zàıgbèog _o	Zàıgbèed	Zàıgbèel		Hausa

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

Note also Mor' pl Móom_{ma} "Muslim"; Nàsaara pl Nàsàa(r)-nàm_a "European", Nàsaal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tùon_n "Toende", Tùonnıı "Toende dialect", Àgòl_l "Agolle"/"Agolle dialect": Ò pıàⁿ'ad Àgòl. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan sg/pl		Place	
Gòog _a	Gòos	Gòog _o	
	Gùm-dım _a	Gùm _n	
Kùtan _n	Kùtam _{ma} '	Kùtaııg _o '	W's clan
Nàbıd _a	Nàbıdıb _a	Nàbıdùg _o	
Sà'-dàbùa	Sà'-dàbùos -dàbùob _a	Sà'-dàbòog _o	
	Nà'-dàm _{ma}	Nà'-dàııg _o	
Wııd _a	Wııd-nàm _a	Wııdùg _o	
Zùa	Zùos		Zoose

Subclans: Zùà-sabilıs "Black Zoose", Zùà-wııb_a/-wııs "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbıdıb_a is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema."

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

Àgòl _l	Agolle	cf àgól _l "upwards"
Bàs-yon _n '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? rationale
Bì-nà'ab _a	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk _o	Bawku	"pit, depression"
Bugur	Bugri	"home of a wun _n '"
Dènùg _o	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 _a '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkpàrìg _a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùlùgúg _o	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>kuurgongu</i> "crooked shea"
Mì'isìg _a	Missiga	English "mission"
Mùà'-nòor'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùlimà Kù'om	Pulimakom	"cogongrass water"
Pusig _a '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sa-bíl _a	Zebilla	cf Farefare <i>saaga</i> (kind of grass)
Sa-pièlìg _a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan _n	Tempane	"new villages"
Til _l '	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùon _n	Toende	"West"
Wìdaan _a	Widana	wìd-daan _a "horse-owner" (title of a chief's "linguist")
Wìdì-'yá'aṅ _a	Woriyanga	wìd-'yá'aṅ _a "mare"
Wiid-nà'ab _a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wiid _a "

For "north, east, south, west", W has respectively Barvg_o' "Bisa country", "Yá'aṅ_a "behind", Zueya "hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùon_n "in front"; B3 has *ya-datiuṅ* "your right", *ya-nya'aṅ*, *ya-dagobvg* "your left", *ya-tuona*.

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

The White Volta is simply kol_lg_a "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", Àtínì "Monday", Àtáláatà "Tuesday", Àlárìbà "Wednesday", Àlámíisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbìtì "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
pitú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
taɣ ⁿ '	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam _{ma} (less formally, ba'')	father
sàam-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	father's elder brother
sàam-pit _a '	father's younger brother
pùgùdìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bil _a or mà-pit _a '	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
á ⁿ sìb _a	mother's brother
biig _a (m dàkòɔ ⁿ r, f pɹà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
a ⁿ síŋ _a	man's sister's child
yáab _a (m yaa-dáɣ, f -pɹá')	grandparent/ancestor
yáan _a	grandchild/descendant
pɹà'-elíŋ _a	fiancée
yi-pɹá' or pɹa'	wife; brother's wife
dìem _{ma} (m dìem-dáɣ, f -pɹak _a)	wife's parent
dàkiig _a (m dàkì-dáɣ, f -pɹak _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sìd _a	husband
dàyaam _{ma} (m dàyaam-dáɣ, f -pɹák _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpɛɛ ⁿ m	husband's elder brother
sìd-bil _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-pɹak _a	husband's sister
nìn-taa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

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

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at Bùgúm-tɔɔⁿr, 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* 'a lot', *pamné* 'a lot', *fii* 'a little (liquid)', *bi'elá* 'a little', *wuu* 'all', *wusa* 'all'; count quantifiers include *bàbìga* 'many', *kàlìga* 'few', *faa* 'every', *za* 'every', *kàm_a* 'every', *kàm za* '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_a* 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>	30	<i>pis tá'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tá'</i>
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>àwà</i>	90	<i>pis wà</i>		

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before *yunní*, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: *yòlógá àtá'* "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 ayòpòì daar* "on the 17th day" Gn 7:11.

"Thousand" is **tusir'**: **tusá àtá'** "3000." "Half" is **pu-súka** pl **pu-súgùs**. Intermediate numerals use **ne** "with", e.g. **kòbìs tá' ne pis yúobò ne nu** "365." 11 to 19 have the contracted forms **pìi ne yunní**, **pìi ne yí'**, **pìi ne tá'** ... **pìi ne waḡ** or **pìi na yunní**, **pìi na yí'** ..., e.g.

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

Àyíṅá', àtáṅá' mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children, it is true (if misleading) to say **M mór biisá àtán'** "I have three children", but not true to say **M mór biisá àtáṅá**. These forms also appear after **nɛ**: **píi nɛ yíṅá** "twelve exactly." They do not permit focus with **nɛ'** §12.1.

The prefix **à** is omitted after **ne** "with", and sometimes also after focus-**ne**:

Lì à ne naasí./Lì à né ànaasí. "They're four."

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

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and using the numeral prefix *n* (the old agreement for *mε*l) instead of *à*:

1	yéŋ or àdàkó ^{n'}	6	nyûob
2	nyí'	7	npòɛ sic
3	ntá ^{n'}	8	nníi
4	naas	9	nwaɛ
5	nnu		continuing piiga, pii ne yí' as with quantifiers

Àdàkóⁿ can also be used as a quantifier: búúg àdàkóⁿ "one goat."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' námá àyí' á ne naasí. "Two twos are four."
two PL two be FOC four

The only ordinal adjective is $\delta\epsilon\eta_a$ "first."

"First" can also be expressed by **yiigá** "firstly" as a predependent:

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

Numerals as predependents of *daana* "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí dâan la* "the second one", *buvúgá àtá' 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' 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'* "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 alá* "how many times?" may be e.g. *nóor yunní* "once", *nóorá àtá'* or *nóorím bùtá'* "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' tá'</i>	30	<i>pis tá' tá'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tá' tá'</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>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pis níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwae wae</i>	90	<i>pis wae wae</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": *nyàv̥k̥* pl *nyà'ad* is only used for eyes, while *yuv̥ɔ́* pl *yúná* is used for other paired body parts: *nif-nyáv̥k̥* "one eye", *nɔb-yív̥ɔ́* "one leg", *nu'-yív̥ɔ́* "one hand", *tùb-yuv̥ɔ́* "one ear."

The adjective *yummír* pl *yummá* cif *yum-* 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-siebà* "certain people", *nidibá àyí' (la)* "(the) two people", but

yà so'

"some one among you"

nidib la siebà

"certain of the people"

nidib lá àyí'

"two of the people"

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

Pà'alim·tí nidibá àyí' "wá fún gan so'.

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_a "owner" (pl *dàan-nàm_a*) always follows a NP representing a possession or a quality:

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wòk dân pù 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 dân* "beer owner", *tien dân* "bearded man", *poo la dân* "the owner of the field" Mt 21:40, *pù-pièlìm dân* "upright person"; here even manner nouns can be predeterminers: *bugusíga dân* "softly-softly sort of person" W.

Daan_a follows a cif in a few set expressions, e.g. **yi-dâan_a/yi-sób_a** "householder" and **tèŋ-daana_a** "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_a** 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'-mōrīm kótù 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-zéⁿdà 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.

nin-kôud_a

"murderer"

bù-kvud_a'

"goat-killer"

bù-zaⁿl_i'

"goat-holder"

bù-kùos_a

"goat-seller"

sàlìm-kùos_a

"gold-seller"

da-nûud_a

"beer-drinker"

zim-gbâⁿ'ad_a

"fisher"

tàn-mɛɛd_a

"builder"

làmpɔ-dî'es_a

"tax collector"

kòⁿb-kɪm_{na}

"herder, shepherd"

zàⁿ-nɔ-gúr_a

"gatekeeper"

bùl-sigid_a'

"well-diver"

nɔ-dî'es_a

"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")

pɔàⁿ-saⁿ'am_{ma}

"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")

"ya'an-dól_{la}

"disciple" ("after-follower")

tùon-gat_a

"leader" ("in-front-passer")

pɔàⁿ-la'ad_a

"laugher at women" (**ò làⁿ'ad pɔⁿ'ab** "he laughs at women" W)

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

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

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

<i>sjà-lòodíŋ_a</i>	"belt" ("waist-tier")
<i>nin-gótis</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>suⁿ-sâⁿ'ɔŋ_ɔ</i>	"sorrow" (<i>mè suⁿf sâⁿ'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>pɔà'-dùr</i>	"marriage" (<i>ò dì pɔa'</i> "he's married a wife")
<i>nin-bâaⁿl-zɔɔr</i>	"pity" (<i>ò zòto· nin-bâaⁿlìg</i> "she has pity on him")
<i>mò-pilɪ</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")
<i>kùm-vu'ɔgír</i>	"resurrection" (<i>ò vò'ɔg kumɪ·n</i> "he revived from death")

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

<i>pò-pièlɪm</i>	"virtue" (<i>pò-pièlɪ</i> "upright person")
<i>suⁿ-kpî'ɔŋ_ɔ</i>	"boldness" ("strong-heartedness")
<i>wɪn-tôɔg_ɔ</i>	"ill fortune" ("bitter-fatedness")

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

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

m̀ biig	"my child"
daɣ la b̃iig	"the man's child"
daɣ la b̃iɛr biig ñaaf z̃uɔr	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
daɣ la w̃iɛf z̃uɔr	"the man's horse's tail"
dú'atà la lór-kàŋa	"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 w̃iɛd-z̃uɔr	"the man's horse-tail" (he may have no horse)
b̃i-fuugɔ́	"children's shirt" (suitable for children)
wab-móogṽn	"in bush where there are elephants" W
zà'-nɔɔr'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-biig _a	"sibling" ("mother-child")
ba'-b̃iig _a	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
t̃ɛŋ-biig _a	"native" ("country-child")
nàsàa-sìlùgɔ	"aeroplane" ("European hawk")
nàsàar-bùgúm	"electricity" ("European fire")

Note W's exceptional *ñaaf-b̃i'isím* "cow's milk", *b̃uug-b̃i'isím* "goat's milk."

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

na'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
p̃u'usùg d̃ôg	"temple" ("worship house")
tuɣír bún	"heater" ("heating thing")
duɣub dút	"cooking pots"
ligidi túmà	"expensive work" (<i>ligidi</i> "money")

So do predependents expressing materials:

saluma bútiŋ	"golden cup"
saluma ñe anzúrìfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fuug d̃ôg	"tent" ("cloth hut")
dàad bún-nám	"wooden things" (<i>dàad</i> "pieces of wood")

Unlike cifs or abstracts, materials as predependents can be antecedents of pronouns: *saluma lâ'ad ñé ò butus* "gold goods and [gold] cups" W. The construction is limited to this sense: *kùà'-ñwiig_a* "current", not **kù'om ñw̃iig* "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"
kɔlɪgɪ·n nɔ́-dâug	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
kù'omɪ·n bún	"water creature"
zugú·n/teṅɪ·n níf-gbáyṅ	"upper/lower eyelid"
mɔɔgu·n/yín bún-kó ⁿ bìd	"wild/tame animals"
Bòk díṃ	"Bawku people"
dàgòbèṅ níf	"left eye"

Buligin zìṅ zì' kɔlɪgin yɛlaa.

Bùlɪgɪ·n zìṅ zì' kɔlɪgɪ·n yɛlaa·.

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 yɛlá "about":

Kusaas kùob nɛ yir yɛlá gbàṅṅ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàṅ-kàṅa la yɛlá 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 nɛ dú'atà àmɛṅá la* "That one's the real doctor" W contrasts with *Manɛ an vain tiig la amɛṅa* "I am the true vine" Jn 15:1 (*amɛṅa* as VP adverbial); "wadɪs yôum la púugɪ·n" "months in the year" S and *wabug mɔɔgu·n la* "elephant in the bush" W may not have been single constituent NPs in their original contexts.

Except for *yigá* "firstly", quantifiers as determiners follow the head. Cif heads appear only before *yinní* "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 _a	"child"	bì-kàṅa´	"this child"
bì-so'	"a certain child"	bì-sòṅ-kàṅa´	"this good child"
Bì-kànè·?	"Which child?"	Bì-bó·?	"What child?"

yɛl-tôod àtáⁿ 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 bæ 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."

Ɛɛⁿ, 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* "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*. Ipfc verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are equivalent to agent nouns: *bun-kúvdír* "thing to do with killing" but *kúvdír* "killer."

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. *nu'-bíl_a* "finger" ("small hand"); *tì-sabilím* a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); *gò'-sabilíg_a* "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); *bun-gíŋ_a* "short fellow" (jocular); *bun-kúvdòŋ* "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_n* "blessing" ("good matter"), *puà'-paal_a'* "bride" ("new wife") do not usually occur with these class suffixes.

For W (not D) and in many texts, *mɛ* nouns require adjectives in *-mɛ*: *da-paalím* "new beer", *tì-vunním* "oral medication"; so too *bun_n* when it means "abstract thing", e.g. *bun-nyétím* "visible world" versus *bun-nyétír* "visible object"; *bun-bóòdìm* "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of *nòŋìlím* "love.")

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

Lì à nɛ wíug.

"It's red."

Lì à nɛ wíugu.

"It's reddish."

fu-wíugu la

"the reddish shirt"

Lì à nɛ fu-píèlìga.

"It's a whitish shirt."

Lì à nɛ fu-píèlìga la.

"It's the whitish shirt."

Lì à nɛ tita'arɪ.

"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 ne píelìg fáss fáss.	"It's very white."
Lì à ne sabílìg zím zím.	"It's deep black."
Lì à ne zín'a wím wím.	"It's deep red."
M̃ nyé fu-zín'a wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
Fu-zín'a wím wím bé.	"There's a deep red shirt."
M̃ bôod fu-zín'a wím wím la.	"I want the deep red shirt."
Ò wà'am tólìlìlì.	"She's very tall."
Ò gìm ne tírigà.	"She's very short."

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

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à ne nu'-kpíilúṅ.	"It's a dead hand."
Biig la á ne nu'-kpíilúṅ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à ne bí-nu'-kpíilúṅ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùg-nòb-wók _ṅ	"long-legged stool"
Kùg-kàṅa á ne nòb-wók.	"This stool is long-legged." W

Similarly nòb-gín_a "short-legged", zug-mávk_ṅ "crushed-headed", zù-wók_ṅ "long-tailed", zu-péelòg_ṅ "bald", pù-pìelì "righteous" etc, and with "one of a pair" adjectives, as in bà-nifⁿ-yávk_ṅ "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_a/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_a /bì-sáan_a "strange child", but only bù-sáan_a "strange goat." Similarly bì-day "male child", bì-pua' "female child", bì-kpí'ím "dead child", bì-zu'om' "blind child", bì-gìk_a "dumb child", bì-wàbìr "lame child", bì-balervg_ṅ "ugly child", bì-pò'n'or "crippled child", bì-nà'ab_a or nà'-biig_a "prince", dàv-biig_a "male child", nàsàa-biig_a "European child", bi-pún-yàmmùg_a "slave girl", yàm-bi-pún_a "girl slave." Agent nouns cannot be used like this after cifs which could be taken as complements: bì-sin_{na} "silent child", pùà'-zàaⁿs_a "woman prone to dreaming" K, but pùà'-kvud_a can only mean "killer of women", pùà'-la'ad_a 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."

Nəŋilim pɔ naada.

^Nəŋìlím 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 àⁿya "be something" used ascriptively:

Ò nòŋìd 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.

Ònì· 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 óⁿbìd nɛ mɔɔd.

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

"Some cows are eating grass."

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-so'* "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.

1s child exist

"I have a child." W

M bìig ka'e.

1s child NG.exist·NG

"I've no child" W

M bìig la ka'e.

1s child the NG.exist·NG

"My child's not there" W

Dau da be mori o biribing

Day dá bè· mɔrí ò bi-díbiŋ

man TNS exist·+ have 3a boy

"Once there was a man who had a son"

G2 p35

On daa an pu'asadir la ka o kul sidi paae yuma ayɔpɔi ka o sid la kpi.

Ón daa áⁿ pɔá'-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:

Fò wúm ya kúv?

2s hear m/c or·PQ

"Do you understand?"

M̃ sjàk ya.

1s agree m/c

"I agree."

M̃ nyé nu'-bíbisá àtán'.

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' géⁿ 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 sɔⁿ'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 òⁿbìd mɔɔd.

cow.PL chew.IPF grass.PL

"Cows eat grass."

Na'-síebà óⁿbìd ne mɔɔd.

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

"Some cows are eating grass."

M' zíⁿ'i.

M' zíⁿ'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."

With quality or relationship verbs, and in ipf middle constructions §10.6.1, temporal focus implies a temporary state or propensity, and is only felicitous if the clause contains a time adverbial, or at least a past tense marker:

Mù'ar la zúlim.

lake the be.deep

"The lake is deep."

Mù'ar la daa zúlim nɛ.

lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep." (Now it's shallow.)

10.2 Tense

Mutually exclusive tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP.

dàa day after tomorrow

Ø present/implicit

pà' earlier today

daa before yesterday

sàa tomorrow

sà yesterday

dà before the time of daa

In addition, the discontinuous-past enclitic **n** can mark an earlier-today past:

M ɔ̀n bɪdɪ·n summa.

1s chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

"I was eating groundnuts." W

This implies "but now I'm not." Such "discontinuous" pasts often acquire a hypothetical or counterfactual sense (Plungian/van der Auwera), which is much the commonest use of the Kusaal form §11.2.3.

The day begins at sunrise:

Fù sá gbìs wɛlá·?

2s TNS sleep how·CQ

"How did you sleep last night?"

Dà denotes time prior to daa:

Ka Yesu daa keɲ Nazaret ban da ugus o teɲ si'a la.

Kà Yesu daa keɲ Nazaret bán dà ugusó· tɛɲ-si'a la.

and Jesus TNS go Nazareth 3p.NZ TNS raise·3a land-IDF the

"Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised." Lk 4:16 B2

However, *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.

1s go.home m/c

"I'm going home (now.)"

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

Yù'ùŋ bòod gaadùg

Yù'ùŋ bôod gáadùg

night want.IPF passing

"Night is about to pass" Rom 13:12

M yé ò kua summa.

1s that 1s hoe groundnut.PL

"I'm going to hoe groundnuts."

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.

Ò mòr pua'.

Ò kpì ya.

"People die."

"He has a wife."

"She's died." ("present perfect")

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

Fù [sáa] nà kul.

2s TNS IR go.home

"You'll go home (tomorrow.)"

M [pá'] òⁿbìdì·n summa.

1s TNS chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

"I was eating groundnuts earlier today."

M [sá] ⁿwè' búŋ la sù'os.

1s TNS hit donkey the yesterday

"I hit the donkey 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 dabiēm nε ban na dōlli anina gat. Ka ba tans ye,

Kà bà pae mû'ar gbêog lìnì· àⁿ Gadara díṃ tẹ̀jìn 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 tọẹ halí 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 dábiēm nε bán nà dōllí ànína· gát. Kà bà táⁿs yε,

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 dabiēm, ban da pū niŋ o yadda ye o sid anε nya'andōl la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mōr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòto· nε dábiēm, bán dà pū 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 *dúá'* Y "X begat Y" in Mt 1.1ff B2:

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

Kà David dúá' Solomon. Ò mà dá à nε Uria púá'. Kà Solomon dúá' ...

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 anε* 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-*nɛ* taken as constituent focus, never temporal §12.1; tense marking enabled temporal interpretations:

Lì bòdìg nɛ.

3i get.lost FOC

"It's lost."

Kà lì bódìg nɛ.

and 3i get.lost FOC

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

Bà kùdìg nɛ.

3p get.old FOC

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nɛ.

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 nɛ.*

and 3i TNS get.lost FOC

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kùdìg nɛ.

Kà bà daa kúdìg nɛ.

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 mɔr biiga, bɔ zúgɔ Elizabet dá à nɛ kúndù'ar

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

kà bà bàyí' la wusa mé kúdìg nɛ.

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

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!"

Kòⁿsìm!

"Cough!"

Da kóⁿsɛ·!

NG.IMP cough·NG

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

Da kóⁿsìda·!

NG.IMP cough.IPF·NG

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

Dòllì·ní·m!

"Come (pl) with me!"

Bée ànína!

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

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

Dìmí àlá!

"Carry on eating!"

Dìgì·ní àlá!

"Keep on (pl) lying down."

Aa·ní àlá baaⁿlím!

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 ⁿwɛ' búŋ la.

3a IR hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey."

Ò kù ⁿwɛ' búŋ láa·.

3a NG.IR hit donkey the·NG

"He won't hit the donkey."

Ò daa ná ⁿwɛ' 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 tì 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 **àgⁿya** "be something" except in contrasts, and often also of **mòr_a'** "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

Zì' (clause-final variant **zì'ísìg**) "not know" usually replaces indicative **pò mì'**:

Bòṅ-baⁿ'ad zì' 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 pò mì'i·.

and 3a husband the NG know·NG

Mìt is a defective imperative-only 1vb. With a catenative complement it means "let not ..." §11.3; with a NP it means "beware", and is not a negative verb:

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

Mìt· zírí nò-dí'esìdìb bání· kènní 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:

sadìgím "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)

ⁿyaan/naan "next, afterwards"

pà' tì "perhaps"

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

Following tense markers but preceding mood:

nàm "still" (with negatives, "yet")

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

kulim/kudim "always"

Following all tense/mood markers:

pùn "previously, already"

lèm "again" (*pù lém*+ipf "no more")

dèngìm "beforehand"

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

tì "next, then"

là'am "together"

màlìgìm "again"

Examples:

Josua *yv'vñ da kùdigya*.

Josua *yv'vñ dá kùdìg ya*.

Joshua then TNS grow.old m/c

"Then Joshua grew old." Jo 13:1

Ò *sìd daa á nè nâ'ab*.

3a truly TNS be FOC chief

"Truly, he was a chief." W

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade.

Kà man *pîâⁿ'ad la lée kù gaadè*.

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

"But my words will not pass away."

Mt 24:35 B2

amaa *lèè pù'vñimi Wina'am bareka*

àmáa *lèè pù'vñimí Wínà'am bārìkà*

but but greet.IMP-2pS God blessing

"but thank God" Eph 5:4

Ka Zugsoḅ *sunf nyaan yv'vñ ma'ae*.

Kà Zug-sóḅ *súⁿf ⁿyaan yv'vñ ma'e*.

and Lord heart next then cool

"Then the Lord's anger subsided."

Jo 7:26

One pa'ati an Kristo la bæε?

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

Oni· pá' tì àⁿ Kristo la bæε·?

3a·+ perhaps be Christ the or·PQ

ba nam pu kuu fo

"they haven't killed you yet" G2 p28

bà nàm pu kúv·fɔ·

3p still NG kill·2s·NG

Tìum la nám bèε·?

"Is there any medicine left?"

medicine the still exist·PQ

Hor dim la me da εenti bæ Seir.

"The Horites too used to live in Seir."

Hor díum la mé dá εεⁿ tí bè Seir.

Dt 2:12

Hor Øp the also TNS habit exist Seir

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

On né ò pua' Prisila daa kudum 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.

"He's already hit the donkey."

3a already hit donkey the

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

"until Herod had died." Mt 2:15

halí kà Herod tí kpì.

until and Herod next die

Beogv ti nied la ka ba gaad!

"Before morning comes they have gone!"

Beogú· tì nìed lá kà bà gâad!

Is 17:14

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

Kèm· tí "ye dú'atà.

"Go and see Doctor." S

go.IMP·+ next see doctor

M̃ nif lém zàbìd ne.

"My eye is hurting again."

1s eye again fight.IPF FOC

M̃ nif pu lém zàbìda·.

"My eye is not hurting any more."

1s eye NG again fight.IPF·NG

Ò nà lɛm ʷwé' 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'ilugvɔn sa ka Pian'ad la da pɔn dɛŋim bɛ.

Piⁿ'ilúgv·n sá kà Pì^a'ad la dá pòn dɛ̀ŋim 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 kɔ maligim gaadɛ.

Àmáa man pì^a'ad la kú malıgım 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 vɔe.

m̃ biig Josef nám kpèn vɔ̃ɛ.

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 *lɛɛ* "but" (*Lɛɛ gɔs 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 ˈwɛ́' búŋ la.

"I've hit (*ˈwɛ́'*) the donkey (*bùŋ_a*)."

M̀ ɡɔ́s búŋ la.

"I've looked at (*ɡɔ́s*) the donkey."

M̀ sá ˈwɛ́' búŋ la.

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

M̀ sá ɡɔ́s búŋ la.

"I looked at the donkey yesterday."

but *mán ˈwɛ́' bùŋ la*

"I having hit the donkey"

mán ɡɔ́s búŋ la

"I having looked at the donkey"

Kà m̀ ɡɔ́s búŋ la.

"And I looked at the donkey."

M̀ pɔ ɡɔ́s búŋ láa.

"I haven't looked at the donkey."

M̀ daa ɡɔ́s búŋ la.

"I looked at the donkey."

asee o paae man

"unless he comes to (*pae'*) me"

àséé ò pae man

Jn 14:6 B2

unless 3a reach 1s

Overlay before liaison (*b̀d̀ìg* "lose", *yad̀ìg'* "scatter", *m_a* "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.

"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·nɪ·ba!

"Look (pl) at them!"

look.IMP·2pS·3p

but *Da ɡɔ́sɛ·!*

"Don't look!"

NG.IMP look·NG

K̀èl k̀à ò ɡɔ́s!

"Let her look!"

let.IMP and 3a look

D̀òllɪ·nɪ·ba!

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

follow·2pS·3p

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

M tɛn'ɛs kà ò gòs ya.

1s think and 3a look m/c

"I think she's looked."

but *Ò pɔ gɔsɛː.*

Ò nà gɔs.

Ò daa gɔs.

Kà ò gɔs.

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 ʷɛ́' bòn la.

"And he hit the donkey."

wuu ba ane Kiristo ne

wúu 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 fù tì 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 gɔs.

"He'll look."

but *M ná gɔs.*

"I'll look."

Ò tɛn'ɛs yé ò nà gɔs.

"He thinks he'll look."

Ò tɛn'ɛs kà ò nà gɔs.

"He thinks he'll look."

Ò tɛn'ɛs yé m̀ nà gɔs.

"He thinks I'll look."

but *Ò tɛn'ɛs kà m̀ ná gɔs.*

"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. | <i>Fù mór gbaʏŋ láa·?</i> | "Do you have the letter?" |
| A. | <i>Èè, m̀ mór.</i> | "Yes, I have it." |

Mid ka ya ku nid. <i>Mìt kà yà ku nid.</i> beware and 2p kill person	"Do not kill." Ex 20:13
--	-------------------------

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:

<i>kel ka ba nu ku'om</i> <i>kèl kà bà nu kù'om</i> let.IMP and 3p drink water	"let them drink water" Gn 29:7
--	--------------------------------

<i>Kelli ka ti di ka nu</i> <i>Kèlí· kà tì dí kà nu</i> let.IMP·2pS and 1p eat and drink	"Let us eat and drink" 1 Cor 15:32
--	------------------------------------

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."

Gbàṽṽ la sób nɛ.

letter the write FOC

"The letter is written."

Gbàṽṽ la sóbìd sùṅa.

letter the write.IPF well

"The letter writes easily." W

Gbàṽṽ sóbìd ziná.

letter.PL write.IPF today

"Letters are written today." W

Daam la nūud 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 nū'ug.

lie.IPF 2s hand

"Put your hand down."

Lìgìním fù nif né fù nū'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. *zàaⁿsìm zàaⁿsímà* "dream dreams" Acts 2:17 or

Fù tùm bó-tòumà?

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 tɛⁿ'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 níṅì 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 màlìsì·m.

3i be.sweet·1s

"I like it."

Àláafù béo·.

health exist·3a

"She's well."

line maal dap ayi' banε ka kikiris dōlli ba la

lìnì· màal dapá àyí' bání· kà kikiris 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: *onε 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 nùlìsì·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 *nû'ug* "beg X", *zò* X *nin-báaⁿlìg* "pity X", *zò* X *dàbiem* "fear X":

Adonija zotif dabiem.

Adonija zótì·f dábiem.

Adonijah run.IPF·2s fear

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

Da zot dabiem.

Da zót dábiemm·.

NG.IMP run.IPF fear·NG

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

Some verbs require predicative complements, notably àɛⁿya "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· áⁿ dú'atà kà fùn mén áɛⁿ. "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 anɛ pielug amaa m ya'a paaɛ bugumin asɛɛ ka m lɛb zin'a.

Mam á ne píelòg àmáa n̄ yá' pae búgúm̄·n, àsɛɛ kà n̄ lɛb 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, àɛⁿya prefers derived manner nouns or compounds with nin- "person" or bun- "thing" as complements:

Lì à ne bugusíga. "It's soft."
 Lì à ne zaalím. "It's empty."
 Lì àⁿ súga. "It's good."
 Dúb á ne bun-súg. "Food is a good thing." W

Quality verbs are often used instead: lì màlìs "it's sweet." Sùm_{ma} "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 meɲ nintita'ar. "He made himself out to be a great man."
 Kà ò m̄aal ò meɲ 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 yu'ur' "name" with the named entity as possessor; here bùol also appears in middle constructions.

Ka fù na pùd o yu'ur ye Yesu. "And you will call him Jesus." Mt 1:21
 Kà fù ná pùd ò yu'ur 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'ʊr buon Joon.

"a man called John." Jn 1:6

dàʉ-só' kà ò yu'ʊr bûon Joon.

man-IDFa and 3a name call.IPF John

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

maalim suoraug sappi mɔɔgin la

"make the highway straight in the bush"

màalim sɔa-dâʉg sapɪ mɔɔgɔ-n la

Is 40:3

make.IMP road-male straight grass-at the

ke ka ti lieb nyain.

"make us light." 1 Jn 1:7

ké kà tì lîeb 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 áⁿ 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 nɛ dá'a.

today be FOC market

"Today is market."

Yiŋ venl

Yiŋ véⁿl

outside be.beautiful

"Outside is beautiful" Acts 23:3 B2

o pu'alɔŋ la zugu kɛ ka ti paam laafi

ò pù'alóŋ 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 nɛ tólìb tólìb.

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

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numerals creates distributives: *ziⁿ'ig ziⁿ'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:

Ì kẹ́y nọ́bá.

1s go leg.PL

"I went on foot." S; W *nẹ nọ́bá* (*nẹ* "with")

À ʔye nẹ nif só'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 bédùgù/pamm.

Bà gòsɪ-tí bábiga.

cf Bà gòsɪ tì bàbiga.

"She's worked a lot."

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

"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 wusa.

3p look-1p all

"They've looked at us all." W

ka bæ m kɔ́nba ni wusa

kà bæ m kɔ́ba ní wusa

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_a* "yesterday", *bεog_ɔ* "tomorrow", *dunná* "this year", *daar* (distinct from "day") "two days off/ago", *yà'as_(a)* "again"; *tò'oto'* "straight away" may precede an intensifying ideophone *yim*. Some are fixed expressions like *bεog sá* or *bεog daar* "in future", *bεog_u-n* "morning", *bè-kìkèoⁿg_ɔ* "very early morning." Most are simply NPs expressing times, e.g. *zàam ʔwá* "this evening", *yú'ɔŋ ʔwá* "tonight", *ʔwad-kánì· gàad la* "last month", *ʔwad-kánì· kɛn na la* "next month." With *saɲá* "time" (in general) are formed e.g. *san-kánè·?* "when?", *san-kán la* "at that time", *san-sí'e-n la* "at one time", *saɲá kám* "at all times", *saɲá bèdùgù* "a long time", *sansá bèdùgù* "many times", *saɲá bi'elá* "for/in a short time."

Daar "day/date" and **wìn_n** "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 kpélìṃ ànína dabá àyópòḡ. "We stayed there a week."

Set phrases include **daar wusa/wuṣṣ/mé-kàmà** "every day"; **yùṣṣm àⁿwá(-na) wín** "this time next year", **dáar àⁿwá(-na) wín** "this time the day after tomorrow." Proper names of days always take **daar**: **Àláasìd dâar** "Sunday." The pl **daba** appears only before prefix **à**, with the cif **dà-** before **pii(ga)/pis(i)** "ten(s)." **Dábìsìr** "24-hour period" is also used with numerals.

Kàrìfà "o'clock" precedes numerals: **kàrìfà àtáⁿ** "three o'clock."

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

Dàṽ-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.")
Àláafù bé. "There is health." (greeting)

Ka o paae zin'igin la. "And he reached the place." Lk 22:40
Kà ò pae ziⁿ'igu·n la.
 and 3a reach place-at the

but **li saṅa sìd paae ya.** "Its time has surely arrived." Ps 102:13
lì saṅá sìd 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'asug dɔɔdin ne suoya ni "in synagogues and in streets" Mt 6:2
là'asùg dóɔdɪ·n ne sɔ̃eyá nì
 gathering house.PL-at with road.PL at

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

Ò bè dâ'a·n. "He's at market."
 Ò bè kəlɪgɪ·n. "He's at the stream."
 Ò bè tɔvmmɪ·n. "He's at work."

Yir' "house" has the exceptional locatives yín_n pl yáa·n "at home."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: bεogɔ "tomorrow", bεogɔ·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 nɪ' ~ n, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók. "He's in Bawku."
 M ná kɛɲ Bók. "I'm going to Bawku."
 Fò yûug Bók kpɛlâa? "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Speakers treat foreign places names similarly, but B often uses nɪ' or paraphrases like Jerusalem tɛɲɪ·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 babɪr' "sphere of activity"): m nɔbá bàbà "beside my feet."
 Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (gbìn_n "buttock"): zuor la gbín "below the mountain."
 Kɔn' (ɔkɔ) "by ... self" (àdàkɔ' "one"): m kɔn' "by myself."
 "Yá'aɲa "behind, after" ("yá'aɲa "back"): lì "yá'aɲ, nɛ'ɛɲa "yâ'aɲ "afterward."
 Pɔvɔgɔ·n "inside" (pɔvɔgɔ "belly"): yòvɔm la púvɔgɔ·n "[months] in the year",
 dò-kàɲa la púvɔgɔ·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 tîm púá'-bàmma la sâ'an.

2s IR get medicine woman-DEMP the among

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

(Sì)sùvɔgɔ·n "between": tɪnám nɛ fɔn sùvɔgɔ·n "between us and you."

Tɛɲír "under": Gòsìm tɛɲír! "Look down!"; tɛɛbòl la tɛɲír "under the table."

Tùon_n "in front of": Gòsìm tûon! "Look forward!"; daká la tûon "before the box."
Zug_o ' "onto" (zug_o ' "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_o "sky" is intrinsically locative:

Ka kùkər yi saazug na "And a voice came from the sky"
Kà kùkər yi saa zúg na Jn 12:28
and voice exit rain on hither

Zug_u-n "on": téebùl la zúg_u-n "on the table."
Zug_o ' is often used metaphorically as "on account of": bə zúgò? "why?";

Faanmim fù nògìlim la zug. "Save me because of your love." Ps 6:4
Fàa^{mí·m} fù nògìlím 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 yèlo· man yelá wusa. "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", *wuv* "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: *wuv fun ne* or *wúb 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·tí ní·ya ní·ba*.

Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Complements of *wuv* without the article *la* ' are followed by an empty *ne*, unless they are numerals (where the meaning is "about") or interrogative pronouns: *wuv man ne* "like me", *wuv búg ne* "like a donkey", but *wuv tusá àyí* "about two thousand", *wuv bó·?* "like what?"

Several verbs take prepositional-phrase complements, e.g. **dɔ́l_{la}'** "go with" in the sense "accord with"; **la_{la}'** "be far from"; **na_a'** "need" in the sense "deserve":

Li dɔ́lne lin sɔ́b Wina'am gbaugɔn si'em la
Lì dól nè lín sɔ́b Wínà'am gbáugɔ·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 tíí.

but 3a NG be.far with 1p·NG

Fu nar nè fun na kpi.

"You deserve to die." Jgs 2:26

Fù nár nè fún nà kpi.

2s need with 2s.NZ IR die

Wen_{na}' "be like" takes a prepositional phrase with **nè** or **wɔ́ɔ**, with the complement followed by **nè** in the same circumstances as after **wɔ́ɔ**:

M nwene danuud nè.

"I am like a beer-drinker." Jer 23:9

M wén nè da-nûud nè.

1s be.like with beer-drinker like

Prepositional phrases often appear as postverbal adjuncts:

Lìgìním fù nif né fù nû'ug.

"Cover your eye with your hand."

cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

Bà kèŋ nè nɔ́bá.

"They've gone on foot." W

3p go with leg.PL

Dìim nè Wɪn, da tɔ́'as nè Wɪnné.

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

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

Kulim nè sumbugɔsum.

"Go home in peace." Mk 5:34

Kùlim nè suⁿ-búgùsìm.

go.home.IMP with peace

M géⁿ' nè fù.

"I'm angry with you." S

1s get.angry with 2s

La'am nɛ on da zan'as la "Although he refused" Gn 39:10
 Là'am nɛ ón dà zà'n'as la
 together with 3a.NZ TNS refuse the

mɔri ya'am wuu wiigi nɛ "be wise as serpents" Mt 10:16
 mòrɪ· ya'am wuu wiigí nɛ
 have·2pS sense like snake.PL like

Ò zòt wuu búgì· zòt si'em la. "He runs like a donkey runs."
 3a run.IPF like donkey·NZ run.IPF how the

O daa pɔn anɛ ninkɔɔd hali pin'ilɔgɔn sa.
 Ò daa pún à nɛ nin-kôɔd halí pi'n'ilógɔ·n sá.
 3a TNS previously be FOC person-killer even beginning-at since
 "He was a murderer from the beginning." Jn 8:44

asɛɛ yanamɛ na dɔlli ya pitɔ la na "unless you bring your brother here"
 àsɛɛ yanámì nà dɔllí yà pitú la na Gn 43:5
 unless 2p.NZ IR follow 2p sib the hither

W permits adjuncts introduced by wuu (not nɛ) to be preposed with kà:

Wuu búg nɛ 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:

M 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 tumnɛ beogɔn sa. "She's been working since morning."
 Ò tùm nɛ beogɔ·n sá. Ru 2:7
 3a work.IPF FOC morning hence

The negative enclitic follows all subordinate clauses except those introduced by àséé "unless" §11.7 and catenative clauses outside the scope of the negation:

M daa pu ʔye day lá kà ò áⁿ 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 pua' 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:

Fu keya ka Ammon dim ku o. "You have made the Ammonites kill him."
Fò ké yá kà Ammon díim kúo. 2 Sm 12:9
2s let m/c and Ammon Øp kill·3a

Kèm na n gos! "Come and look!" S
come·IMP hither + look

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.
Kà zùu^d 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

ʔwadig-kànì· ken na la "next month" S
month-DEM·NZ come·IPF hither the

Ninsaal Biig la lεbug la na "the return of the Son of Man" Mt 24:27
Nin-saal Bîig la lébùg la na
human child the returning the hither

Keⁿ "come" is always used with na'; the identical m/c-imps of keⁿ "come" and keɲ' "go" are distinguished by na' /sà: Kèm na! "Come here!", Kèm sá! "Go away!"

11 Clauses

11.1 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 *̀̀*:

Lì tòl.

3i be.hot

"It [weather] is hot."

Lì àⁿ súga.

3i be well

"Things are good."

Lì nàr kà fù kul.

3i must and 2s go.home

"You must go home."

Lì may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

Yà'a ka'anɛ alaa

Yà' ka'a·ní àláa·

if NG.be-DP thus-NG

"If it had not been so" Jn 14:2

Without a subject, *zɪ'/zɪ'ɪsíg* "not know" means "unknownst."

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:

Pɔa' la dá' daká kà kɛɲ Bók.

woman the buy box and go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." W

but *Pɔa' 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.

Bán wòm nɛ'ɛŋa lá kà sin.

3p.NZ hear DEMi the and be.silent

"After they heard this they fell silent."

Acts 11:18

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·?

finish m/c-PQ

"[Have you] finished?"

Prepositions §10.6.3 may precede non-nominalised clauses, before any linkers:

yɛli ya zanbina bæ ye o na pa'al tɔʊmnyalima

yèlì·ya zaⁿbɪna bæ yé ò nà pa'al tɔʊm-ⁿyalɪmá

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/bæ "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 kpí 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 (méne) "truly" àlá mène "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.

grass-at and 1s exist

"I'm in the bush."

(W's correction of *Mɔɔgú·n mam bé)

Some clause adverbials do not occur as VP adverbials, like *daa-sî'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. *bɛogo* "tomorrow", *àlá mènɛ* "likewise." Lfs never appear before *kà*, and in B they only follow *kà* in *kà bɛogo* "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.

Àséé "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 ellipted after *n*.

Clauses nominalised with post-subject *yà'* are conditional protases. Those nominalised with post-subject *ñ* are absolute or relative clauses. Like all NPs, they are coordinated with *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

bán mi' yɛ biig la kpí nɛ la zúg

3p.NZ know that child the die FOC the on

"because they knew the child was dead"

Lk 8:53

Content and purpose clauses follow *yɛ* "that", much less often *kà*. (Most subordinate *kà*-clauses are catenative; necessarily so, if *yɛ* 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 pɔ bɔɔd ye fɔ ti yɛl bɛog daar ye fɔnɛ kɛ ka mam Abram lieb bummɔra.

M pɔ bɔɔd yɛ fɔ tí yɛl bɛog daar yɛ 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 anɛ ye fɔ kɔ maali ti bɛ'ɛdɛ [...], ka ye fɔ yim nɛ sumbuɔsum la.

kà lɪn á nɛ yé fù kò maali·tí bɛ'ɛdɪ· [...], kà yé fù yím nɛ suⁿ-búgòsìm 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

M bôɔd ye daɣ la kɛŋ dâ'a·n, kà pɔa' la dɔɣ 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", *kuv/bɛɛ* "or"; with *lɛɛ* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English zero.

11.2.1 Questions

Content questions (except *lɪa* clauses §11.2.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §5.3. Focus-*nɛ* 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 *bɔ* and *bɔ zúɣ* as "why?"

Fù bôɔd bó·?

2s want.IPF what·CQ

"What do you want?"

Fù bôɔd línɛ·?

2s want.IPF DEMi·CQ

"Which do you want?"

Daɣ la nyé ànô'ɔnɛ·?

man the see who·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bɔɔ maalɛ?

Bɔɔ· máalɛ·?

what·+ make·CQ

"What has happened?" Lk 24:19

Fù áaⁿ ànô'ɔn bíɣà·?

2s be who child·CQ

"Whose child are you?"

Ànô'ɔnɛ nyɛ?

Ànô'ɔnì· nyé·?

who·+ see·CQ

"Who has seen?" Is 29:15

Ànô'òn kà dāy la nyé·?

who and man the see·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bó kà fù kúmmà·?

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):

Dāy la nyé 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 kùvud ne búvùsèé·?

3p kill·IPF FOC goat·PL·PQ

"Are they killing goats?"

Fù pū wúmmàa··?

2s NG hear·IPF·NG·PQ

"Don't you understand?"
(expects *ééⁿ*, here "no")

Dāy la nyé biig kúv·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"
(I expect so.)

Dāy la nyé 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	Gòsìm biig la! look.IMP child the	"Look (sg) at the child!"
	Gòsìm· biig la! look.IMP·2pS child the	"Look (pl) at the child!"
	Da gɔs biig láa·! NG.IMP look child the·NG	"Don't (sg) look at the child!"
	Da gɔs· biig láa·! NG.IMP look·2pS child the·NG	"Don't (pl) look at the child!"
	Da gɔsɛ·! NG.IMP look·NG	"Don't (sg) look."
	Da gɔs·yá·! 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 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

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 be 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 ʔyɛ́tá? "If you look here, what do you see?" S
2s if look here what and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Ka ligidi la ya'a pɔ'ɔg, m ya'a ti lɛb na, m na yɔɔf.
Kà ligidi la yá' pɔ'ɔg, m yá' tì lèb na, m ná yóɔ·f.
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 kaŋaa.
Dìn zúg lì naan áⁿ sù'm bà yá' pɔ dɔ̃'a·n dáɥ-kàŋáa·.
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 dollimi keŋ, m na keŋ. "If you will go with me, I will go." Jgs 4:8
Fù yá' nà dollí·mí· keŋ, m ná keŋ.
2s if IR follow·1s+ go 1s IR go

M ya'a pɔ keŋɛ, Sɔŋid la kɔ kɛɛn ya ni naa.
M yá' pɔ keŋɛ·, sɔŋid la kú kɛɛⁿ yà nɪ 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 pɹa'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 dīgíí·f.

2s if agree 1p IR lay-2s

"If you agree, we'll put you to bed."
(i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'ug kumí·né, alaa ti labasug la moolug la ane zaalim.

Kà Kristo yá' dà pu vu'ug kumí·né, àlāa 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 tòm tũma, o di'ed yood.

Nid yá' tòm tũma, ò di'ed yood. Rom 4:4

person if work.IPF work 3a receive.IPF pay

"If a person works, he gets pay."

Beog ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.

Beog 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 nyanin keen ka o ka' ningbiñ nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlì·n yē, ón pu áⁿ 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

lìn kú "yañi·n kée·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 nì, 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 mɔrí·n tâallɛ·.

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.

M yá' mɔrí·n sɔ'ɔgò m nú'ugi·n, m 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 lɛm pian' dabis-si'a yɛla ya'asɛ.

Bɔ zúgɔ Josua yá' dà tìsì·ní·ba vu'ɔsím zî'n'ig, Wínà'am dá kò lɛm pjà'n'

because Joshua if TNS give-DP·3p resting place God TNS NG.IR again speak

dábìs-si'a yélà yà'asɛ·.

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 nodi'es la be Samaria la!

M zug-dâan la yá' naan sɛ́ákì· keŋ· nyɛɛ·n nó-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 dùà', sáam ná dì-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 **yaan** "next, then" in clauses after coordinating **kà**:

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

Fù ná kɪ'is man nóor àtán' kà nɔ-dâug ˈnyaan kaas nóor àyí'.

2s IR deny 1s time three and cock next cry time two

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." Mk 14:30 B2

Bòodɪ·n appears in main clauses as "might wish":

Man bɔɔdin nɛ yanamɛ naan aan ma'asiga bɛɛ yanamɛ naan aan tɔɔliga.

Man bóodɪ·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 yɛla gaad ...

Lì àⁿ súm yɛ daʊ yɪnní naan kpí 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 kpí ò zɔà-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 zángí·n m̀ ligidi n su'a·n b́áŋkì 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 bò-X n la/ⁿwá** means "what kind of X is that/this?", and **bò n la/ⁿwá** can be embedded as a verb complement, meaning "what is that/this which ... ?":

Kòlìṅì· la.

door·+ that

"That is a door."

Kòlìṅì· wá na.

door·+ this hither

"This here is a door."

Bò· lá·?

what·+ that·CQ

"What's that?"

Abò pa'alugù nwa?

À bò-pà'alùgù· ⁿwá·?

PZ what-teaching·+ this·CQ

"What kind of teaching is this?" Lk 4:36

Fù maal bò la tis mam?

Fù mâal bó· la· tís mà·?

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?":

Fù 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, fùn kanε an Sulam teṅ nida!

Lèm na, fùn-kánì· àⁿ Sulam téṅ nida·!

return.IMP hither 2s-DEM·NZ be Shulam land person·VOC

"Return, O Shulammite!" Sg 6:13

Ṁ 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": **zon 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 **εεⁿ**; "no" is **áyù**. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus the reply to **lì pù naée·?** "isn't it finished?" may be **εεⁿ** "no" or **áyù** "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

M daa kùos bùñù· tís dú'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 dàù-so' due n zí'e lá'asùg la nidib sísùògù·n, n áⁿ Farisee níd
and man-IDFa rise + stand gathering the person.PL among + be Pharisee person
kà ò yu'ur bùon Gamaliel, n áⁿ 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

Anò'on nwaa yisid nidib tùmbe'edi basida?
Ànô'on· wáa· yisid nidib tùm-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 **àḡⁿya** "be" can also be predicatives:

kà ò ya'am tjàkì· àⁿ sù'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 puà'-sɔ' daa bæ ànína· bɛn'ɛd Mt 9:20
 and woman-IDFa TNS exist there·+ get.sick.IPF

but Ka dau daa zin'i Lистра ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
Kà dau daa zí'n'i Lистра ní kà pu tu'n'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

Occasional exceptions occur, e.g. *Ya sieba be 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 dau 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 dau la sígì· lá kà ò gba'n'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 pu nyɛ dau lá kà ò á 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 pɪa'n'ad.
 and together make.IPF dumb.PL and 3p hear.IPF and speak.IPF
 "and also makes the dumb hear and speak." Mk 7:37 B1

Before non-specific subject *bà* "they", *n* may occur instead of *kà* §9.2.
 Catenatives are coordinated with *kà*:

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógjà-sò' ka'ɛ n túm kà yood ò meŋá.

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:

So' da kae paŋi na nyaŋ oo.

"None had the power to overcome him."

So' dá ka' páŋì ná "yaŋó-o.

Mk 5:4

IDFa TNS NG.have power.+ IR prevail.3a-NG

Kèm· tí "ye dú'atà.

"Go and see Doctor."

go.IMP.+ next 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

"I will drive demons out of people"

M ná kad kíkirisì yis nidibí·n

Lk 13:32

1s IR drive fairy.PL.+ expel person.PL.at

halí n tò pae ziná

"right up until today"

until + then reach today

Ò dìi· tɪg.

"She's eaten to satiety."

3a eat.+ get.sated

Similarly **gàlìs** "exceed"/"too much" and **nae'** "finish"/"completely."

Gàad "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

À Wɪn gím· gát à Bɔgʊr.

"Awini is shorter than Abugri." S

PZ Awini be.short.+ pass.IPF PZ Abugri

Fɔ sid nɔŋ mam gat bamaa?

"Do you really love me more than these?"

Fò síd nònŋ mam· gát bámmáa·?

Jn 21:15

2s truly love 1s.+ pass.IPF DEMp·PQ

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_{na} ' "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 fòsúg díṁ lá· niṅìd 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· díṭ 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 fupielà 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_a ' "accompany", mɔr_a ' "have" before motion verbs mean "go with", "bring":

Bà dòllo· kɛṅ Bók. "They've gone to Bawku with her."
3p follow·3a·+ go Bawku

Dabá àyópòḡ kà fù mɔró· kɛ na. "Bring her here in a week." W
day.PL seven and 2s have·3a·+ come hither

Mi "know": **nám mi'/zɪ'** before pf catenatives mean "have always/have never":

M nám zɪ' ɲɛ gbɪgɪmnɛ. "I've never seen a lion." S

1s still NG.know.+ see lion·NG

Makir banɛ buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paaɛ sieba mɛn.

Makír-bànì· buudi paadí·ya la nám mi' pae sieba mén.

Testing-DEMP·NZ sort reach.IPF·2p the still know.+ reach IDPp 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 pua' 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

Niɲ welá "do how?" here means "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niɲ wala pɔ mɔr taal Wina'am tuonnɛ?

Nin-sâal biig nà niɲ welá· 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 yaanɔ? "How can he be David's descendant?"

Lì niɲ welá kà ò áⁿ David yâanà·? Mt 22:45

3i do how and 3a be David descendant·CQ

M na niɲ wala ka nyɛ faangirɛ? "How can I find salvation?" Acts 16:30

M ná niɲ welá kà ɲɛ faaⁿgírè·?

1s IR do how and find salvation·CQ

ɲaɲ' "overcome" here means "prevail in." Main and catenative clauses agree in aspect. Present ability is usually expressed with the irrealis:

M pɔ ɲaɲɪ· ɲwé' bùɲ láa·. "I wasn't able to hit the donkey."

1s NG prevail.+ hit donkey the·NG

M̃ kú ˈnyaŋɪ ˈwé' bùŋ láa. "I can't hit the donkey."
 1s NG.IR prevail.+ hit donkey the-NG

wada line nyanidi ket ka nidib vœ
 wadá lìnì ˈnyaŋíðì kèt kà nidib vœ
 law DEMi·NZ prevail.IPF.+ let.IPF and person.PL live
 "a law which can make people live" Gal 3:21

Sua' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol banidib la
 Kà Nà'ab Herod sua' bùol baníðib la
 and king Herod hide.+ call understander.PL the
 "Herod secretly called for the wise men" Mt 2:7

Tuⁿ'e "avail" (e.g. *ba paŋi na tun'e si'em* "as much as their strength allows" 2 Cor 8:3) is used in the indicative or irrealis to express present ability:

ka li kɔ tun'e su'a. "which cannot be hidden" Mt 5:14
 kà lì kú tuⁿ'e sua'a.
 and 3i NG.IR be.able.+ hide-NG

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la nɛ ti. "You can dwell in the land with us."
 Yà ná tuⁿ'e zín'i teŋɪ·n la né tì. Gn 34:10
 2p IR be.able.+ sit land-at the with 1p

O pɔ tun'e pian'ada. "He could not speak." Lk 1:22
 Ò pɔ tuⁿ'e pɿán'adá.
 3a NG be.able.+ speak.IPF·NG

Zàŋ and nɔk' "pick up, take" here mean "using" (a literal instrument):

M̃ nók sú'ugù· kɿá' nim la. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
 1s take knife.+ cut meat the

"Beginning" verbs often precede semantically-main catenatives:

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba "Peter began to tell them" Acts 11:4
 Kà Pita pì'n'ìlì pá'alì·ba
 and Peter begin.+ teach·3p

Tì déŋì· tísò· lór.

1p precede·+ give·3a car

"We've previously given him a car."

Ka dau sò' duoe zi'en

Kà dàv-sò' due· zî'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: *zí' kà* "unbeknownst."

Ka sò' ya'a zi' ka tùm ...

Kà sò' yá' zì' kà tùm ...

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*.

Kε "let, leave" is "let, cause" before catenatives, always different-subject (in *kεl ka fɔ mεŋ an* "let you yourself be" Ti 2:7, *fɔ* is formally predependent.) Imperative may replace irrealis in the catenative.

Ka li anε wada la kεt ka tɔumbε'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lì à né wadá la· kέt kà tɔum-bε'ed nyet páŋ.

and 3i be FOC law the·+ let.IPF and deed-bad see.IPF power

"It is the law which lets sin find power." 1 Cor 15:56

Li da kε ka ba pɔ nyaŋi kɔɔ o.

Lì dà kέ kà bà pɔ nyáŋi· kúo·.

3i TNS let and 3p NG prevail·+ kill·3a·NG

"This prevented him from being killed."

2 Kgs 11:2

dine na kε ka ba da kpi'ilim.

Dini· ná kέ kà bà da kpi'ílímm·.

3i·+ IR let and 3p NG.IMP finish·NG

"which will stop them dying out." Gn 6:20

Imperative *kèl_a* can be used for first/third person commands:

Kèlí· kà tì pò'vs Wínà'am.

let.IMP·2pS and 1p greet God

"Let us praise God." (or *Kèl kà* ...)

Da kέ kà dàbiem béε·!

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:

M̃ 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 **kɛ**:

Ka bɔzugɔ kɛ ka fɔ tɔmim na?

"Why have you sent me here?" Ex 5:22

Kà bɔ zúgò· ké kà fù tùmì·m ná·?

and why·+ let and 2s send·1s hither·CQ

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 bɛɛ tiaki li

"He may not take it back or change it."

Ò míd kà ò lɛbìs bɛɛ tjàkì·lì

Lv 27:10

3a beware and 3a return or change·3i

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

Mìt kà yà m̃aal yà tùm-sùmà nidib t̃uon 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 dinɛ 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 *ñ* §5.4 after the subject, creating absolute or relative clauses. (See §9.2 for nominalisations with the personaliser *à*.)

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-bànì· pù dít ná kpi. "People who don't eat will die." W
 person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF IR die

vs M̃ nyé nin-bànì· pù dítà·. "I've seen people who don't eat." W
 1s see person-DEMp·NZ NG eat.IPF·NG

11.4.1 Absolute

Clauses with *ñ* 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 meṅ
 Kà bán yi la, kà Zug-sób máliak níe ò meṅ
 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 súṅa, ón daa áⁿ 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 dít la, Yesu yeli ba ... "As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."
 Kà bán dít la, Yesu yéli·ba ... Mt 26:21
 and 3p.NZ eat.IPF the Jesus say·3p

Absolute clauses may also be verb subjects or complements:

Kristo da kpíi ti yela la ké ka ti ban ṇṇilim an si'em.
 Kristo· dà kpíi tì yelá la ké kà tì bán ṇòṇlím· àⁿ 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 zua 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

ⁿYε "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· bílím.

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 dí'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 *ñ*:

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, bo 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 bikanɛ da paas ayi' la	"His second child" 2 Sm 3:3
Ò bì-kà̀nì· dà pàas àyí' la	
2s child-DEM·NZ TNS total two the	

pu'a kanɛ biigi vœ la	"the woman whose child was alive"
pɹà'-kà̀nì· 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 vu'ug ninkan kumin la zug	
ón vu'ug nin-kán kumí·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 onɛ 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	

wuu baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la	"like a trap seizes something"
wuu baŋí· gba ⁿ '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:

fɹn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la	"the first fish you catch" Mt 17:27
fún gba ⁿ 'e ziŋ-sí'a yiigá la	
2s.NZ catch fish-IDF firstly the	

but Paul n sob gbaun yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul·n sob gbáun yiigá dàan n tìs Korint díim 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:

Gbaun kanε ka ba da sobi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàun·kànì· kà bà dá sobì· tísì·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

niŋkanε 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 bood ye ti pian' la

lìnì· kà Kristo bôod yé tì pìan' 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

pùà'-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 mör la

"the child which she is pregnant with"

bì-kànì· pûug kà ò mör 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 kù dau sò' la ya'a kpi

Fún bòod yé fù kù dáy-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 tó'us Samaria na'abi tòm ninsieba la na

Kèm· tó'us Samaria ná'abì· tòòm 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 sob gbauŋ si'a la ka m sobidi lebisidi ya.

Nannánna, yanámì daa sob gbáũŋ-si'a lá kà m sobìdì· lébìsìdì·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 tòm sò' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sò'.

David dá tòòm sò' yé ò bu'osì· báŋ pua' lá· àⁿ 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· àⁿ 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 gbinneε?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ si'el la gbínnèε?

2p understand 1s.NZ do IDFi the meaning-CQ

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" Jn 13:12

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tìig wélà· bìgìsìd lín àⁿ 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' yela la tisi ya.

M̃ ná tumí m̃ 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· dɔ̀à' 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.

M̃ ná tɪsɪ·f fún bòòd 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_a 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

yì-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'ikanε ka fu pɔ bɔɔda.

kà mɔrí·fù· keŋ zín'-kànì· kà fù pɔ bóòda·.

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 Zugsõba, 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 dó-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 sãsi'a la, ka man p̃on 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 nĩ si'em.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I know what to do."

M̃ mí' mán nà nĩ si'em la.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how the
 "I know what I'm to do." (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yel·f fún nà nĩ si'em.
 3p IR tell·2s 2s.NZ IR do how
 "They'll tell you what to do."

Bà yèlo· bán nĩ si'em la.
 3p say·3a 3p.NZ do how the
 "They told him what they'd done."

M̃ gbá'n'e mán nà nĩ si'em.
 1s seize 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I've decided what to do."

So too **ón b̃òod si'em** "as he may wish" versus **lín àⁿ 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 bēdùgv· gāad 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 wvuv "like", wɛn_{na} ' "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dɔl man wvuv ziingba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

kà yà ná ké kà nidib dɔl man wvuv zim-gbá'n'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 uncompounded heads are often used as appositives §9.7. This is the only possible construction after heads that cannot form cifs, and is also common when the head has a predependent other than a personal pronoun:

o da be ne mɔɔgin line kpi'e Sinai zuor la

ò dà bè ne mɔɔgv·n línì· 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-tɔɔd àyópòè bánì· kà màlìak-námá àyópòè 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 Zugsɔb pian'ad la

Wínà'am níd ònì· kú'is Zug-sób piân'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 dáy-kàŋa áaⁿ 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 niŋɛ ye ti da ti'e ti mɛŋ panga.

Nɛ'ɛŋa níŋ nɛ yé tì da tí'e tì mɛŋ 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 kɔ nyɛŋi dɔ'vɔs o mɛŋ Wina'am tuonne*
 "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like **nar_a'** "be necessary" (in personal constructions, "need to"), **mɔr suor** "be allowed to", **lì à nɛ tilás** "it is necessary", verbs of intent like **bòɔd_a** ipf "want", and verbs of expectation, like **gur_a'** "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 kɔv 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 pua' la duá'

watch that woman the bear

"waiting for the woman to give birth"
Rv 12:4

Main clause and *ye* may be ellipted:

Ṁ dígìnèè?

1s lie-PQ

"Am I to lie down?" (overheard)

Ò sáa "wè' bùṅ 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 mɔr o na, ka asɛɛ o kpi!

Nannánna, tùm kà bà mɔró· na, kà àsée ò kpí!

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 asɛɛ ka o keṅ Jerusalem

kà ò gbaⁿ'e yé àsée kà ò keṅ Jerusalem

and 3a seize that unless and 3a go Jerusalem

"and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem." Lk 9:51

Asɛɛ ka fù kpi.

Àsée kà fù kpí.

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 áaⁿ ànó'ɔnè·?

2p think and 1s be who·CQ

"Who do you think I am?" Acts 13:25

Fɔnɛ siak ye fɔ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fɔ na'am gbaun la zugɔɔ?

Fɔnɪ· sɪák yé fò yá' tì ka'e·, ò nà zi'n'íní fò na'am gbáun la zúgóɔ·?

2s·+ agree that 2s if next NG.exist·NG 3a IR sit 2s kingship skin the on·PQ

"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?" 1 Kgs 1:24

Constructions of direct physical perception take catenatives instead §11.3.

Content clauses may also follow àɛⁿya "be":

M diib anɛ ye m tɔm onɛ tɔmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̐ dɪɪb á nɛ yé m̐ tóm ònì· tòmì·m la na bóɔdìm· nae.

1s food be FOC that 1s work DEMa·NZ send·1s the hither will·+ finish

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." Jn 4:34

Negative raising takes place after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Mam pɔ tɛn'es ye o na kɛligi m pian'ade.

Mam pɔ tɛⁿ'es yé ò nà kɛlígí m̐ piàⁿ'ade·.

1s NG think that 3a IR listen 1s word.PL·NG

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." Jb 9:16

but linzug ka ti ban ye o pɔ yi Wina'am san'an naa.

lìn zúg kà tì bán yé ò pɔ yi Wínà'am sâ'an náa·.

therefore and 1p realise that 3a NG exit God with hither·NG

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." Jn 9:16

ka o lɛɛ pɔ ban ye li anɛ onɛ.

"but she didn't realise it was him."

kà ò lée pɔ bán yé lì à nɛ ɔnɛ·.

Jn 20:14

and 3a but NG realise that 3i be FOC 3a·NG

Verbs of refusal/denial take a negative clause with a positive sense:

ka o zan'as ye ba kɔ kɛɛ.

"and he refused to let them go." Ex 9:7

kà ò zâⁿ'as yé bà kú kɛɛ́·.

and 3a refuse that 3p NG.IR go·NG

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's Paul yé ò gèɛ^m nɛ ... kà Paul lébìs yɛ ɔn pɔ gée^{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 pɔ la'aa

"and she denied that she had laughed"

kà ò kɪ'ɪs yɛ ɔn pɔ 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 pɔ yɛl ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yɛlaa.

Ì pɔ yél yé yà sòsìm Wínà'am dìn yɛláa·.

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 nɔɔr ye ba nyu'om bada la nɛ bugum.

kà David tís nɔɔr yé bà nyù'om báda la nɛ 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 kɔ yɛl nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wadá la kú yɛl nid yé ò da níŋ bàmmáa·.

law the NG.IR say person that 3a NG.IMP do DEMp·NG

"The law will not tell a person not to do these things." Gal 5:23

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[Ì yél yé] ò gòsìm tɛŋɪ·n.

"[I said] she should look down."

[Ì tɛⁿ'ɛs kà] tì pú'ɔsìm 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 *yε* 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 sarı́gá 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 ɔn yélì·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 pù-pìelìm pîâ'ad la nú'usì·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 áràzàná ní na yε,

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 *yε* followed by direct quotation, though resumptive *yε* may still be inserted.

Yèl "say" is frequently ellipted before *yε*:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

"They say 'ugly', you say 'squashhead.'"

Bà yε balerug, kà fù yε 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 **kuv/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

Wuv "like" does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wuv ya anɛ m biis nɛ.
Ṁ piá'n'adi· tísìdì·yá wúv yà á né m 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

Àséɛ appears alone or before **kà** in the meaning "unless":

Ti kv zin'inɛ asɛɛ o ti paaɛ na. "We will not stop until he arrives."
Tì kú zi'iné· àséɛ ò tí pae na. 1 Sm 16:11
 1p NG.IR sit·NG unless 3a then arrive hither

M kv basif ka fù kɛɛ asɛɛ ka fù níɲi m zug bareka.
Ṁ kú basí·f kà fù kɛɛ· àséɛ kà fù níɲì m zug báɾìkà.
 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 paaɛ Nofa. "We struck it as far as Nophah."
Tì n'wá'a·lì halí· pae 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 bâ'n'as gba'n'e Nâ'ab la, halí kà ò tí kpì.
 Lord the TNS let and leper disease seize king the until and 3a next die
 "The Lord made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life." 2Kgs 15:5

Before a clause without linkers, **halí** is a focusing modifier §12.2.

12 Information packaging

12.1 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· dúmò·.

snake·+ bite·3a

"A snake has bitten him." W
(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always **n**-focused:

Ànó'ònì· kaburídà·?

who·+ ask.entry.IPF·CQ

"Who is asking permission to enter?"

Anó'òn yaangi aan o?

Ànô'òn yâanì· àóⁿ·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'ònì· díť sá'abò·?

who·+ eat.IPF porridge·CQ

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

Ì zug la zábìd ne.

1s head the fight.IPF FOC

"My head is hurting."
(What's the matter with you?)

but Ì zugù· zábìd.

1s head·+ fight.IPF

"My head is hurting/hurts."
(Where is the pain?)

M á ne biig.

1s be FOC child

"I am a child."

but M áaⁿ ànó'ónè?

1s be who-CQ

"Who am I?"

mán àⁿ biig la zúg

1s.NZ be child the on

"because I'm a child"

M 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.

Pià'am kà m bôod yé fù nyene ne buud.

speak.IPF 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. M 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 pù 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

M 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.)

M mór nɛ pua'.

1s have FOC woman

"I have a woman."

(implies an irregular liaison, W)

Daká la záⁿl 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 súga.
3i TNS be FOC well

"At the time, it was good." W
(*Lì daa áⁿ súga.* "It was good." W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

Na'-síebà óⁿbìd ne mɔɔd la.
cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL the

"Some cows are eating the grass."

but *Niigí óⁿbìd 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 *sùga'/sùm* "well", *be'ed* "bad" or *sìdà* "truth" as manner nouns, or the "two, three exactly" quantifiers *àyíga' àtága'*, 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 àⁿ súga/be'ed.
3i be well badness

"It's good/bad."

o sariakadib a sum ne sida.
ò sàríyà-kadıb áⁿ sùm ne sídà.
3a law-driving be good with truth

"His judgment is good and true."
Rv 19:2 B1

but *Lì à ne súga.*
3i be FOC well

"It's good." (Now; it wasn't before. W)

M mór ne biisá àtága.
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 Suŋ.

Fù pù má' n tís nin-sáala, àmáa fù má' n tís nɛ Wínà'am Sí-sùŋ.

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 anɛ Joon.

"His name will be John." Lk 1:60

Ò yu'ur ná a nɛ Joon.

3a name IR be FOC John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba anɛ 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:

M̃ yí nɛ Bók.

"I come from Bawku." S

1s exit FOC Bawku

Bè "exist" with a focused place adverbial means "be somewhere":

Dàv-so' bé dɔ-kàŋa la púvɔv-n.

"There is a man in that hut."

man-IDFa exist hut-DEM the inside

but Ò bè nɛ dɔ-kàŋa la púvɔv-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 nɛ mɔɔvɔv-n.

(= *Moogin ka mam bɛ* G1 p10)

1s exist FOC grass-at

The complement of àɛⁿya "be something" in ascriptive sense is typically new information and preceded by nɛ' when syntactically permitted; in the specifying sense, the subject usually has n-focus instead:

Ò à nɛ baaⁿlím.

3a be FOC quietness

"She is quiet."

Lì à nɛ bugu^{sí}ga.

3i be FOC softly

"It's soft."

M á nɛ dú'atà.

1s be FOC doctor

"I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)

Mani· áⁿ dú'atà la.

1s·+ be doctor the

"I'm the doctor." (Which is the doctor?)

Mani· áⁿ dú'atà àmáa fun pu áⁿya.

1s·+ be doctor but 2s NG be·NG

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nɔbibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nɔ-bí^{bí}sì· áⁿ 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:

M ka' dú'ataa.

1s NG.be doctor·NG

"I'm not a doctor."

M ka' nɛ dú'ataa.

1s NG.be FOC doctor·NG

"I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)

M pu dá' nɛ 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 mɛ kena.

Ò pu'a 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 zúgó ò à né fò biig mén.

because 3a be FOC 2s child also

Manɛ maal Israel, ka mɛ aan ya na'ab.

Manɪ· maał Israel, kà mé áaⁿ yà nà'ab.

1s·+ make Israel and also be 2p king

"I created Israel, and am also your king." Is 43:15

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 dí lí 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'aa If mà'anɛ "only":

Zina ma'aa ka m wum.

"Only today have I heard it." Gn 21:26

Ziná má'aa kà m wúm.

today only and 1s hear

gùllimm If gùllimnɛ "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?

"Is it not God alone?" Lk 5:21

Lì ka' nɛ Wínà'am gùllimnɛɛ·?

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 ellip

Lì tòḡ halí [béḋùḡv]. "It's very difficult."
3i be.bitter until much

Halí (là'am) nɛ means "even" before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am ne on zi' la "even though he does not know" Lv 5:3
 halí là'am ne ón zì' la
 even together with 3a.NZ NG.know the

hali ne man daa sobi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pu sobi li ...
 halí ne mán daa sobí· tísì·ya si'em la, m̀ daa pu sobí·lì ...
 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 ne man vbe nwa ... "Even as I live ..." Rom 14:11
Halí ne mán vbe ⁿwá ...
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 tũmbɛ'ed dim niɲid ala. "Even sinners do that." Lk 6:33
Halí tũm-be'ed díɱ níɲìd àlá.
even deed-bad.PL Øp do.IPF thus

Hali o bɛ suori kenna ye o tu'usif.
Halí ò bɛ suori· kɛn na yé ò tu'usí·f.
even 3a exist road.+ come.IPF hither that 3a meet-2s
"He's even now on the way coming here to meet you." Ex 4:14

Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zo ka basif, man ku basi fo.
Halí báa bàmma wusa yá' nà zó kà básì·f, man kú basì·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 bɛog ka o di. "Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow."

Mìt kà sɔ' dɪgɪl ye béog kà ò dí. Ex 16:19

beware and IDFa lay that tomorrow and 3a eat

Bi'el bí'el kà kɔlɪg 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 sarɪgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg

therefore and 1s Paul + exist prison at Jesus Christ on

yanám būud-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 *àɛⁿya* "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 bóɔdà·?

what and 2s want.IPF·CQ

Nu'-bíbìsá alá kà fù ⁿyɛtá·? "How many fingers can you see?" S

finger.PL how.many and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Nɪŋgbɪŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra? "What kind of body will they have?"

Nìn-gbɪŋ-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 súⁿf 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?

"Why are you crying?"

what and 2s weep.IPF·CQ

Preposing without foregrounding is seen in relative clauses §11.4.2, and with absolute clauses preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán ⁿwè' day la zúg kà pòlɪs gbáⁿ'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 tɔɔmbɛ'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn· ⁿwáa· yisid nidib tɔɔm-bɛ'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 m̃ ⁿyɛtá?

"What is that that I can see?"

what·+ that and 1s see.IPF·CQ

Li anɛ o pu'a sɔ'oe li.

"It is his wife who owns it." 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á né ò pɔa'· sɔ'v·l̃.

3i be FOC 3a wife·+ own·3i

Li anɛ ya taaba banɛ pɔ'ɔsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà taaba bání· 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-kàní· bèɛ m̃ ní kà pɔ wénna·, m̃ Ba' ⁿwá'ad̃·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:

M pû'us ya bédògu.

"Thank you very much."

Ò dà' ya múj.

"She's bought rice." (Of all things!)

cf Ò dà' ne múj.

"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."

Dau dá bè· mórí ò pùà'-yimmír.

G2 p26

man TNS exist.+ have 3a wife-single

Dapa atan' n da be.

"There were once three men." G2 p16

Dapá àtán' n dá bè.

man.PL three + TNS exist

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dau daa zín'i Listra ní kà pu tun'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 sò' da be mór o bipuŋ ka kikirig dól o.

Pùà'-sò' dá bè· mór ò bi-púŋ kà kikirig dóló·.

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 dáu 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.)
Nintaŋ á ⁿ wẹlá·?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'ũŋ á ⁿ wẹlá·?	"How is the evening?"
Fò yi-dímà·?	"... your household?"
Nìn-gbiná·?	"... body?" (i.e. "How are you?")
Pụa' nẹ 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 béε·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!"
Nε zâam zâam.	"Good evening."
Tuuma! or Tuuma tuuma!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nε sósìga.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own wun_n' .)
Né fù buríyá-sùŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù yòum-paalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands; reply **Tò** "OK", or a similar agreement.

Bεogu· la.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtínì dáarì· la.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm súga.	"Sleep well."
Kpèlìm· sùm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pò'usìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply Tò , or Bà nà wum "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:

M̐ 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 kabírí!

Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)

Dìm sugurú.

"Forgive me."

M̐ bɛ̀lɪm nɛ.

"I beg you."

X lábaár áⁿ wɛ́lá·?

"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is **Dub má'aa**. "Only food." i.e. "good."

M̐ mɔr kù'om náa·?

"Shall I bring water?" First words to a guest.

Wɪn yél sídà.

"No, thanks" is **Kù'om áⁿ sùm**. ("Water is good.")

"Bless you!" ("God speaks truth": sneezing

means someone elsewhere is praising you. W)

Fù wúm Kɔsáalɛɛ·?

"Do you understand Kusaal?"

ɛɛⁿ, m̐ 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 àtán' n dá bè. Bà dà à nè dáp-kaⁿda sú'ŋa. Kà daar yinní kà bà lá'asì· zín'inì·

man.PL three + TNS exist 3p TNS be FOC man-tough.PL well and day one and 3p gather·+ sit·+

gban'e yé bà dûom· ò ò búdàalìm lâ'ad n ginni kúud 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 sìd dùè· ò sù'us nè záⁿ'anà nè tí-daad nè pimá nè lú'ad

again work IDFi·NG 3p truly rise·+ seek knife.PL with bludgeon.PL with bow.PL with arrow.PL with quiver.PL

nè kpana nè málì sú'ŋa n pín'ilì· ginni· 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 nɛ ʷadɪsá àtáʰ nɛ dábɪsà àtáʰ. Bà pʊ ʷye nidɪ ná kʊʊ. Kà kpɛ̀lɪm
 3p go.round thus with month.PL three with day.PL three 3p NG find person.+ IR kill-NG and remain
 mɔr kɛn nɛ kɛn nɛ kɛn. Dabá ànu dâar bà ʷye nɛ 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.+
 wʊʊ nid nɛ, kà bà kpɛɛᵐ la yé bà kém· kúo·, yé ò sob yá' pùn túʰ'e kà mɔr nɛ
 like person like and 3p elder the that 3p go.IMP.+ kill-3a that 3a Øa if already be.able and have FOC
 láʊk-si'a wʊsa, bà nà ʷyanɪ· kúo·. Kà òɲa giɲɪd kɛ, kà òɲa giɲɪd kɛ,
 item-IDF all 3p IR prevail.+ kill-3a and DEMa intercept.IPF there and DEMa intercept.IPF there
 bà tì kɛɲ· pae· ʷyé kà lì ka' nidá·, kà á nɛ botú kà ligidi pɛ'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 ʷwá, tì yé tì niɲ ligidi ʷwá walá? Kà bà ye, bà nà pʊdɪg nɛ.
 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 kɛɲ· dá' daam· ná nu yiigá kà ʷyaan pʊdɪg
 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' yʊʊr 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· kɛn la, ò tɛʰ'esɪd nɛ ɔn nà niɲ si'em· kʊ bánì· kpɛ̀lɪm 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 wʊsa wʊsa n su'e, ò yèlí ò mɛɲ ye, ò nà da' nɛ daam, kà bó tì-kʊʊdɪm
 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 wʊsa.
 + 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-kʊʊdɪm 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'isige, kà bà bàyí' lá· kpèlìm la mé gbaⁿ'e ne yé bà kú biig lá· kɛŋ
 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 kɛ́á' kɛ, kà ɔn kɛ́á' kɛ, n kí'o· kú, 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 pɔ yúuge, kà bà wusa wusa mé kpèlìm kpì zìⁿ'-kàn la nɔ́ kà bà sɔ' sɔ'
 3i NG delay-NG and 3p all all also immediately die place-DEM the exactly and 3p IDFa IDFa
 pɔ ⁿyaŋi· pãam la'af la báa yunní· mɔrɔ· kulí bà yáa·ne·.

NG prevail·+ receive cownry 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 fù yá' teⁿ'es bæe túm bæ'ed yé fù tísì fù tɔ̀rãan,

3i and Kusaasi.PL that 2s if think or act bad that 2s give 2s peer

fù mãanní fù mɛŋ 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 bɛ́aⁿ'ar zúg.

water run.IPF FOC riverbed on

"Water runs on mud."

(You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kugá là'asíd ne zuorí·n.

stone.PL gather.IPF FOC hill-at

"Stones build up on a hill."

(The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiaak seung zi' senne.

À wɪ́ak sɛoⁿg zɪ' sínne·.

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 nîib. (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.
 Bà pɔ nókíd na'-bínɲì· lobɪgíd nááfo.
 3p NG take.IPF cow-dung+ throw.at.IPF cow·NG
 "They don't throw dung at a cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.
 Kpɛɛ^m á nɛ tɛ'ɛg, ò tìgìd nɛ bálàyà.
 elder be FOC baobab 3a sate.IPF FOC stick.PL
 "An elder is a baobab - plenty of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.
 Zu'om yá'yé ò nà lobug, bàɲìm kà ò nò nɛ kugur.
 blind.person if that 3a IR throw.at realise.IMP and 3a stand.on FOC stone
 "If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.
 Balɛrɪgɔ· zɪ' yé ò àⁿ balɛrɪgɔ, kà tadɪm mɪ' yé ò àⁿ tadɪm.
 ugly+ NG.know that 3a be ugly·NG and weak know that 3a be weak
 "The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak."

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.
 Fù yá' bood támpììng sîìnd, fù pɔ lém zòt líɛŋ dâug ɲyɔɔgɔ.
 2s if want.IPF rock honey 2s NG again run.IPF axe wood sympathy·NG
 "If you want honey out of a stone, you no longer pity the axeshaft."

Legion (Mk 5:1-15)

Ka Yesu ne o nya'andolib kena paae Gerasene tejin, Galile mu'ar nya'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'ũŋ wusa o goondne yaadin ne zuoya la ni ka mor kuga nwaad o meŋ ka maan tukpiidug.

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 suugine? Wina'am su'um zug, m belimne, da namisi ma." Bozug 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, bozug, 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 wuu 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 tempuugin ne temkpemisin 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· pae Gerasene téŋi·n, Galile mû'ar "yà'aŋ.

and Jesus with 3a disciple.PL come hither·+ reach Gerasene land·at Galilee lake east

Kà Yesu yi á"rũn 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 "yaŋi· 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 eē tí nok ne bana· lóo ò nobá né ò nû'us. Kà ò ké"s nû'us bánà la, kà ké"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"s nobá bánà la. So' dá ka' páŋì· ná "yaŋó·o·. Nintaŋ ne yú'ũŋ wusa, ò gòo"nd

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 "ye Yesu kà ò bé lallí la, kà ò zóó· keŋ· ígìn ò tòn kà tá's ye,

3a.NZ TNS see Jesus and 3a exist far the and 3a run·+ go·+ kneel 3a before and shout that

"Yesu, Wínà'am ónì· ka' tırâan la Bíga, bɔ· bé man né fù sùugv·né·?

Jesus God DEMa·NZ NG.have peer the child·VOC what·+ exist 1s with 2s between·CQ

Wínà'am sù'm zùg, m̀ bélìm ne, da namısı·ma·." Bɔ zúgɔ Yesu pún yélò· ye,

God goodness on 1s beg FOC NG.IMP persecute·1s·NG because Jesu already say·3a that

"Kikirigá, yim dáy·kàŋa sâ'an na." Ne'ɛŋa ké kà ò yélì àlá. Kà Yesu bu'osó· ye,

fairy·VOC exit·IMP man-DEM among hither DEMi let and 3a do thus and Jesus ask·3a that

"Fù yu'uré·?" Kà day la lébìs ye, "M̀ yu'urì· bûon Bábìga, bɔ zúgɔ, tì gálìs ne."

2s name·CQ and man the reply that 1s name·+ call·IPF many because 1p exceed FOC

Kà ò bélìm Yesu ne nin-múa yé ò da kád kíkiris la· yis tén·kàn la ní·.

and 3a beg Jesus with earnestness that 3a NG.IMP drive fairy.PL the·+ expel land-DEM the at·NG

"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."

Kùkvr-nám bédògv dá bè zuor la bábàa· dít kà bà kal áⁿ wuv tusá àyí'. Kà

pig-PL much TNS exist hill the beside·+ eat·IPF and 3p number be like thousand.PL two and

kíkiris la bélìmò· ye, "Kèl kà tì keŋ· kpén' kùkvr-nám la ní." Kà ò sják kà kíkiris la

fairy.PL the beg·3a that let·IMP and 1p go·+ enter pig-PL the at and 3a agree and fairy.PL the

yi day la ní· kpén' kùkvr-nám·n la. Kà bà wusa zóó· sig beoŋí·n kà kù'om dí·ba.

exit man the at·+ enter pig-PL·at the and 3p all run·+ descend lake·at and water eat·3p

"There were many pigs grazing beside the hill, about two thousand in number. And the demons begged him: 'Let us go into the pigs.' He agreed for the demons to leave the man and enter the pigs. And they all ran down into the lake and were drowned."

Dàp·bànì· dà gur kùkvr-nám la dá zòó· keŋ tén·puugv·n ne tén·kpemı·n· tó'as

man-DEMp·NZ TNS watch pig-PL the TNS run·+ go town·at with village.PL·at·+ talk

línì· màal la wusa. Kà nidib yii· keŋ yé bà gos línì· màal. Bán dà pae

DEMi·NZ make the all and person.PL exit·+ go that 3p look DEMi·NZ make 3p.NZ TNS reach

Yesu sâ'an la, bà "yé kà dáy·kànì· kà kíkiris daa dóllo· la zín'i àní-na, kà yé fuud,

Jesus among the 3p see and man-DEM·NZ and fairy.PL TNS follow·3a the be.sitting there and don cloth.PL

kà ò ya'am tjàkì· àⁿ sù'm. Kà dàbiem kpén'·e·ba.

and 3a sense change·+ be goodness and fear enter·3p

"The men who had been guarding the pigs ran to the town and villages to tell all about what had happened, and people came out to see what had happened. When they came to where Jesus was, they saw the man who had been afflicted by demons sitting there, clothed and with his mind put right, and they were afraid."

15 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' n and the distinctions ε/e/ē ɪ/i/î ɔ/o ʊ/ʉ/u; ŋ 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 ñ (à)bù.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa; k/o = kind of.

-A-

à *pn* (personaliser); found only after à:

dàalúŋ, dàalí(mì)s dàalúŋ- stork;

gâvⁿg, gâaⁿd gaⁿ- pied crow;

kɔra-dîem_{ma} -dîem-nàm_a mantis;

mús mús-nàm_a cat (Ha *mussa*)

à nɛ see àɛⁿya

aaⁿdɪg, aaⁿdɪs àaⁿd- black plum tree,

Vitex doniana

aaⁿdɪr aaⁿda black plum

àaⁿs 2vb tear

àbùlá *q* how many-fold?

àɛⁿya 1vb be something

àeⁿ 2vb get torn

àgól/àgólá upwards

àlá *pn* thus; *q* so many; how many?

àláafù (in greetings) health (cf láaⁿfiyà)

àlópìr àlópìyà aeroplane (En)

àmáa *pt* but §11.1 (Ha *amma*)

àmɛɲá really, truly

àmí *pt* amen (Ar *āmīn*)

àní(-na´) *pn* there

àníŋa promptly

ànô'on *pn* who?

àntù'a àntuà'- lawsuit

anzúrìfà silver (Ha *azurfā*)

àràzàk_a àràzà'as àràzà'- (usually pl)

riches (Ar pl *arzāq*)

àràzàná heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)

àⁿrùŋ, àⁿrìmà àⁿrùŋ- boat

aⁿs 2vb pluck leaves

àsɛɛ *pt* except for §10.6.3

áⁿsìb_a aⁿs-nám_a aⁿs- mother's brother

àsɪda truly

aⁿsɪg´ 2vb break at an angle

aⁿsɪŋ_a aⁿsís aⁿsɪŋ- man's sister's child

àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)

àtèy_k sea (Ha *teku*)

àⁿwá(-na´) *pn* like this

áyì *pt* no §11.2.4

-B-

bà/ba *pn* 3p

ba´´ ba'-nám_a ba'- father

baⁿ 2vb ride

baa baas bà- dog

báa *pt* not even §12.2 (Ha *ba* "not be")

ba'a ba'ab_a bà'a- diviner; bà'a-kòlùg_o

diviner's bag

ba'a ba'as bà'- peg for hanging up

bàⁿ'ad_a bàⁿ'ad-nàm_a ill person

baⁿ'al´ 2vb make ride (horse, bicycle)

bàaⁿlìg_a *adj* thin

baaⁿlím quietly

bà'ar bàdà/bà'a bà'- idol

baⁿ'as bàⁿ'- disease

babá beside

bàbìgá´ *q* many

bákpàɛ week (Ha *bakwai* "seven")

bàⁿl_{la} ?1vb (lf uncertain) be thin
 bàlàar bàlàyà bàlà- stick, club
 bàlàṅir bàlàṅà bàlàṅ- hat
 balerug_o balerid /baleris / balér-
 ugly person (cf lér)
 bàmma' pn these
 bàn pn these
 bán pn 3p+ṅ; ban 3p
 ban_n bana bàn- fetter
 banaa banaas bàna- sic "fugu" smock
 bàn-daug_o -daad -dà- crocodile
 ban-kúsél_l -kúsélá -kúsél- lizard
 baṅ_a baaⁿs bàṅ- ring, chain, fetter
 bàṅ_a agama lizard
 bàṅ 2vb come to know
 bárikà blessing (Ar barakah)
 bàs 2vb go away; abandon; throw out
 (kpèⁿ) bàṅṅò get circumcised (Songhay)
 bàyeg_o betrayer of secrets (cf yees')
 bè 1vb exist; be somewhere
 bèⁿ ger beⁿ'es 2vb fall ill
 bedig' 2vb rot
 bèdùg_o adj great; bèdùgu' q much, a lot
 bee pt or; in questions §11.2.1
 bèlìm 2vb beg
 bèlìs 2vb comfort
 ben_n bēna bēn- end
 bèṅ 2vb mark out boundary
 beṅíd beṅ- cowpea leaves; beṅíd ne ki'
 leaf-and-millet (traditional snack)
 beṅír beṅá beṅ- cowpea
 be'og_o adj bad
 beog_o tomorrow; bè-(kì)kèⁿg_o dawn;
 beog_on morning; beog sá/beog daar
 in future; beog níe kà next day ...
 beoṅ_o beēna bèoṅ- pool, lake
 bèrìṅ_a bèrìgìs kenaf
 beriga bèrìg- kenaf leaves
 bèⁿsìg 2vb serve soup
 besug_o besid bès- k/o wide-mouthed pot
 bi'a see be'og_o

biāⁿ'ar' biāⁿ'a biāⁿ'- wet mud, riverbed
 biāⁿuk_o biāⁿ'ad biāⁿ'- shoulder
 biél_l adj naked
 biél 2vb accompany
 bi'elá q a little; bi'el bi'el q a very little;
 little by little
 bielí_o biilí biel-/biil- seed
 bi'em bi'em-nām_a bi'em- enemy
 bien_n biena bien- shin
 bier' biēyá biā- elder same-sex sibling
 bi'es 2vb doubt
 biḡis 2vb show, teach
 biig_a biis bi-/bi- child; bi-díbiṅ_a boy;
 bi-púṅ_a girl; bi-lia baby; bi-nà'ab_a
 prince(ss); bi-pit_a' younger child
 bi'ig 2vb ripen, get pregnant
 biilím childhood
 bu^m' b_l- soup, stew
 biⁿ'isím milk
 biⁿ'isìr biⁿ'isà biⁿ'is- woman's breast
 bil_a adj little
 bìlig 2vb roll tr; bìlìm 2vb roll intr
 bimbì_m_n bimbì_mmà bimbì_m- mound,
 pillar of earth; altar B
 bin_n excrement
 bo bò- pn what? why? §9.2; bo zúg_o why;
 because §11.1
 bò 2vb seek, ipf want; bòòdìm will
 bòbìg 2vb wrap round, tie round
 bòdìg 2vb lose, get lost
 bòdòbòdò bread
 bòk_o bù'ad b_uà'- pit
 bòⁿ'og_o swamp; ricefield
 bōsɪr bōsa bōs- puff adder
 bōt_o sack
 bu' 2vb beat
 buàk 2vb split
 bù'ar buà'a buà'- hole
 bu'ar' buà'a buà'- skin bottle
 bùd ger budig_a/budug_o 2vb sow seeds
 bùdaa man; bùdàalìm manhood, courage

bùdìm ger *bùdìmis* 2vb get confused
 bù'e 2vb pour out
 bùg 2vb get drunk (Ha *bugu*)
 bugud_a client of diviner
 bùgùlìm 2vb cast lots
 bugur buga bùg- abode of a *wun_n'*;
 wun_n' from mother's kin as *sigr_r'*
 bùgúm bùgum-/bùgúm- fire;
 Bùgúm-tɔɔ^r Fire Festival
 bugus_a' 1vb be soft
 bugusíga *adj* soft, weak;
 bugusíga' softly; bugusím softness
 buk' 2vb weaken
 bùk 2vb cast lots
 bùl 2vb germinate, ooze
 bul_l bula sprout
 bùl 2vb astonish
 bùlig_a bùlis bùl- well, pond
 bùmbàrìg_a bùmbàrìs bùmbàr- ant
 bun_n' bun-nám_a/buná bun- thing;
 bun-gíng_a short fellow (informal);
 bun-kóⁿbùg_o -kóⁿbìd kòⁿb- sic animal;
 bun-kúdùg_o -kút old man;
 bun-mór rich person
 bùn 2vb reap, harvest
 bun-dâar *pn* which day?
 bùng_a bùmìs bùng- donkey
 bùol 2vb call, summon
 bùor buèyà buà- grain store
 bu'os 2vb ask; ger bu'osúg_o question
 bùrìkìn_a bùrìkìn-nàm_a bùrìkìn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
 buríyá Christmas (Twi)
 butɪŋ_a butus bùtìŋ- cup
 buud innocence
 buudi bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group
 buug_a buus bù- goat; bù-dìbìg_a 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_n
 beer residue; yeast B
 dàam 2vb disturb, trouble (Ha *dama*)
 daan_a dàan-nàm_a dàan- owner of ...
 daar daba dà- day, date
 daar two days ago/hence
 daa-sí'er perhaps §11.1
 dàbiem fear
 dàbiog_o dàbied dàbìà- coward
 dàbìsìr dàbìsà dàbìs- 24-hour period
 dadúk_o k/o large pot
 da'e' 2vb push; (wind) blow
 dàgòbìg_a left; south B
 daká daká-nàm_a daká- box (Ha *adaka*)
 dàkiig_a dàkiis dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
 husband §9.4
 dàkòɔ^r dàkòⁿyà dàkòⁿ- unmarried son
 dàmm (-mm-) 2vb shake
 dàmə'a liar; dàmə'am/dàmə'ar lie
 dampusaar/dànsàar staff, club
 dàŋkòŋ_o measles
 dàpaal_a' young man, son
 dàsaŋ_a dàsaaⁿs/dàsamma dàsàŋ-
 young man
 dàtaa dàtaas dàtà- enemy
 dàtìvɪŋ_o right-hand; north B
 day dap_a dàv-/dàp- man
 davg_o *adj* male
 dàvg_o dàad dà- piece of wood, log;
 dà-kpì'ed_a carpenter;
 dà-puudìr -puuda cross B

- dàwàlìg_a hot humid season before rains
 dàwan_n´ dàwaná dàwan- pigeon
 dàyáam_{ma} dàyaam-nám_a dàyaam-
 husband's parent §9.4
 dàyuug_o´ dàyuud´ dàyu- rat
 dèbìr dèbà mat, pallet, bed
 dèeg_a dèes dè- warthog
 dèen_a dèen^s/dèem_{is}/dèena dèen_g- q first
 dèl_{la}´ 1vb (person) lean
 dèlìm 2vb (person) start leaning
 dèn_a dèm_{is} dèn_g- accidental bruise; defect
 dèn 2vb go/do first
 dènìm *pt* beforehand §10.4
 dì *pn* 3i
 dì ipf dīt_a imp dīm_a 2vb eat, get; ger
 dīb_o food; ò dì pūa' he's taken a wife;
 ò dì "yán she's ashamed
 dīa' 2vb get dirty
 dīa'ad´ dirt
 dī'e´ 2vb receive, get
 dī'em 2vb play; ger dī'emà festival
 diem_{ma} diem-nàm_a diem- wife's parent
 §9.4
 dī'es´ 2vb receive (many things)
 dīg_{ya}´ 1vb lie down
 dīgìl´ 2vb lay down
 dīgìn 2vb lie down
 dīgìr dīgà dīg- dwarf
 dīg_súg_o bed; (pl) lair
 dīs 2vb feed; dīs_a glutton
 dīsúg_o dīsímà/dīsís dīsúg_g- spoon
 dīm_a dìn_n *pn* (dummy head)
 dín dìn see lín lìn
 dīndēog_o´ dīndēed´ dīndē- chameleon
 dīndīs_a glutton
 dītúg_o right-hand
 dī-zōrūg_o´ -zōrá -zōr- crumb
 dōl_{la}´ 1vb go/come with
 dōlīg´ 2vb make accompany, send with
 dōⁿlīg´ 2vb stretch oneself
 dōlīs´ 2vb investigate, trace
 dōōg_o dōōd/dōt dō- house, hut; clan;
 dōōg bīīg_a housecat
 dōōⁿg_o dōōnd dōⁿ- dawadawa fruit
 dōⁿ'ōs 2vb water plants
 dū ipf dūt_a´ imp dūm_a 2vb go up
 dūà´ 2vb bear/beget; dū'ad_a relative
 dūaⁿ dōō^{ns} dōⁿ- dawadawa tree
 dū'al 2vb (loan) make interest
 dū'am birth
 dū'atà doctor (En)
 due´ 2vb raise, rise
 dūg 2vb cook
 dūk_o´ dūgūd´ dūg- cooking pot;
 dūgūb dūt cooking pots
 dūm 2vb bite
 dum_n duma dūm- knee
 dūndūug_o dūndūud dūndū- cobra
 duniya duniyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)
 dunná this year
 dūn_a dumis dūn_g- mosquito
 duor´ dūeyá dūa- stick
 du'os´ 2vb lift up, honour
 dūr_a 1vb be many
 du'un´ 2vb pass water
 du'uním du'un- urine
 dūb_sír step
 -E-
 èⁿbìs 2vb scratch
 èⁿd 2vb block up, plug up
 èⁿdīg 2vb unblock, unplug
 èèⁿ *pt* yes §11.2.4
 èèⁿ (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4
 èèⁿb´ 2vb lay foundation
 èèⁿbír foundation
 èⁿrīg´ 2vb shift along on buttocks
 -F-
 f_o *pn* 2s
 faⁿ/faeⁿ´ 2vb grab, rob; save
 faaⁿ q every
 faaⁿgíd_a saviour (Toende)
 faaⁿgír salvation (Toende)

fáss *ideo* for **pièlìg_a** white
 fɛⁿdɪg' 2vb turn round
 fɛɛg' 2vb (food) get old, cold
 fɛⁿ'ogɔ' fɛⁿ'ɛd' fɛⁿ'- ulcer
 fieb 2vb beat
 fiɪⁿ q a little (liquid)
 fi'ig 2vb cut off
 fɪtlá lamp (Ha *fitila*); *fitir* pl *fitá* B3
 fɔɔs' 2vb (wind) puff
 fù pn 2s
 fùe 2vb draw out
 fufum_n fufuma fufúm- envy; stye
 fún pn 2s+ɲ; fɔn 2s
 fuugɔ' fuud'/fut' fu- clothing; cloth
 -G-
 gaaⁿ' gaaⁿs' gaⁿ- (African) ebony
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gàad ipf gàt_a 2vb (sur)pass
 gáafàrà sorry! (Ha *gafara*, from Ar)
 gà'al 2vb button up
 gà'am 2vb grind teeth
 gàas 2vb pass by
 gaduɔ' gat' gad- bed (Ha *gado*);
 also gadu gadu-nám_a gadu-
 gálìs 2vb become excessive
 gàn 2vb step over
 gan' 2vb choose
 gaⁿr' gaⁿyá gaⁿr- ebony fruit
 gbaⁿ'e' 2vb catch, grab; decide, plan
 gbáⁿyà'a idle person; gbáⁿyà'am laziness
 gbaɣɔ' gbaná gban-/gbaɣɣ- animal skin;
 book (tp L, W); gbàɣɣ-mi'id_a' B scribe
 gbêɛⁿm gbɛⁿ- sleep
 gbè'ogɔ' gbè'ɛd/gbèdà gbè'- forehead
 gbèogɔ' lakeshore
 gber' gbeyá gber- thigh
 gbɪgum_n gbɪguma gbɪgim- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; (hill) foot;
 meaning; below; gbìn-vòɔⁿr anus
 gbiis 2vb sleep
 gɛⁿ 2vb get tired

gɛⁿ' 2vb get angry
 gɛɛl' 2vb place between legs (tp H)
 gɛɛⁿm' ger gɛɛⁿmís 2vb go/send mad
 gɛɛⁿɲ_a gɛɛⁿmís madman
 gél_l gélá gél- egg
 gɛogɔ' place between legs (tp A)
 gígìlìm 2vb go dumb
 giɪⁿlím shortness
 gìk_a gígìs gíg- dumb person
 gilig' ipf gin_{na}' 2vb go around
 gim_{ma}' 1vb be short
 gɪɲ 2vb scrimp
 gɪɲ' 2vb surround, intercept, obstruct
 gɪɲ_a *adj* short; gɪɲ_a shortly
 gòⁿ 2vb hunt; ipf gòɔⁿd_a wander,
 ger gòɔⁿdìm
 gòdɪg' 2vb look up
 gò'e_{ya}' W gòl_a' K 1vb be looking up
 gò'ɔn 2vb look up
 gòr_a' D 1vb be looking up
 gɔs ipf gɔsɪd_a'/got_a' imp gò(sì)m_a
 ger gòsìg_a 2vb look; got_a' seer
 gu' 2vb guard, protect
 gùⁿ'a gòⁿ'ɔs gòⁿ'- thorn; acacia;
 gòⁿ'-sabulíg_a *Acacia hockii*
 gùl 2vb hang; gùl_l_a 1vb hang
 gùllimm lf gùllìmnè *pt* only §12.2
 gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread W
 gumpuzer' gumpuzeyá gumpuzér- duck
 gùɲ_a gùmìs gùɲ- kapok tree,
Ceiba pentandra
 gùɲgum_n kapok material
 gur_a' 1vb guard, watch for
 gu'ul' 2vb set on guard
 gù'ulìm 2vb get half-ripe
 gùɔr gùyà gù- upland; riverbank
 guɔr guya gù- ridge of back
 gu'us' 2vb take care, watch out
 gu'us half-ripe fruits

-H-

halí *pt* even, until §10.6.3

-I-

ia *lf* ia 2vb seek

iaⁿas' 2vb leap

iaⁿk' ipf iaⁿad_a' 2vb leap, fly

igi_{ya}' 1vb kneel

igil' 2vb make kneel

ìgìn 2vb kneel down

íulí 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'ɛ

kaab' 2vb offer, invite

kaal' 2vb count

kaas' 2vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)

kà'asìg 1vb not exist (clause-final only)

kàⁿb ger kaⁿbır 2vb scorch

kabıg' 2vb ladle out

kabır' ger kabırí 2vb call for admission

kàd 2vb drive away; kàd sàríyà 2vb judge

kaⁿdu_g adj (person) fat, tough

ka'ɛ 1vb not exist/be/have

kalı' kalá kal- number

kàlìga' *q* few

kàma *q* every

kàn *pn* this/that

kàŋa' *pn* this/that

kàr_a 1vb be few

kàrífà/kérifà o'clock §10.6.2 (Ha *karfe*)

kàrìm 2vb read

kàset_a' witness; testimony (? French *cacheté* "sealed"); kàsetíb_a witnesses

ke ipf ket_a' imp kèl_a 2vb let, cause

keⁿ ipf ken_a' imp kèma ger ken_n' 2vb come; ken ken welcome!

kèèkè kèèkè-nàma kèèkè- bicycle (Ha)

kèes 2vb bid farewell to

kèlìg/kèlìs 2vb listen

keŋ' ipf ken_{na}' imp kèma 2vb go, walk;

ken_{na}' traveller

kèⁿs 2vb break

kjà' *lf* kà'a 2vb cut

kidig' 2vb cross over, meet;

à Kidigı· bu'os Orion

kief_o' ki' ki-/ka- millet;

ka-wennır -wenna -wén- corn

kı'tb_o' soap; W kiibú kiib- (Mampruli)

kıts 2vb listen

kı'ıs' 2vb deny

kìkàm_n kíkàmà fig

kì(ŋ)kàŋ_a kíkàmìs kíkàŋ- (Cape) fig tree

kìkirig_a' kíkiris' kikir- (local En "fairy")

protective spirit; hostile bush spirit;

demon B2/3 (kikir-bê'ed B1)

kilim' 2vb become, change into

kìm 2vb herd animals

kímm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly §9.2

kir ger kíkírùg_o/kirib_o 2vb hurry, tremble

kis_a' 1vb hate; kis(id)_a' hater

kisùg_o *adj* hateful, tabu

kò 2vb break intr

kòⁿ(ɔkɔ) by oneself

kòbìga (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred §9.5.1

kòⁿbır kòⁿba kòⁿb- bone

kòⁿbùg_o kòⁿbıd kòⁿb- animal hair;

human body hair (cf zuobúg_o);

kòⁿb-kım_{na} -kımmıb_a animal herder

kòdıg' 2vb cut throat

kòdú banana (Twi)

kòl 2vb put around someone's neck

kòlìbır kòlìbà bottle (Ha kwalaba)

kòlìga kòlıs kòl- river;

kòlìgı·n nó-dâug_o crayfish

kòlùg_o kònn kòlùg- sack, bag

kò'm' kòm- hunger

kò'ɔg 2vb break

kò'os 2vb break several times

kòⁿs(ım) 2vb cough

kòtāa lf kòtāanè *pt* at all (Twi)
 kótù lawcourt (En)
 kpà' 2vb nail, fasten
 kpà'a kpà'a-nà_m rich person
 kpaad_a´ kpaadí_b kpaad- farmer
 kpà'am riches
 kpaam´ kpa- grease, ointment
 kpàndìr kpàndà kpànd- baboon
 kpàkvr´ kpàkvyá kpàkvr- tortoise
 kpan_n kpana kpàn- spear
 kpàr 2vb lock
 kpar-kêo_ng_o -kêe_nd -ké_n- rag
 kpá'v_o kpí'íní kpa'- guineafowl
 kpe *pn* here
 kpèⁿ 2vb enter
 kpèndír´ kpèndá kpènd- cheek
 kpèe^m kpèe^m-nà_m kpèe^m- elder
 kpèe^ma´ 1vb be older than
 kpèⁿes 2vb make enter
 kpelá *pn* here
 kpèlì_m 2vb remain
 kpèlì_m *pt* still; immediately after §10.4
 kpèn *pt* = kpèlì_m
 kpè'v 2vb strengthen
 kpeoⁿv_o seniority
 kpì 2vb die
 kpì'a kpì'es kpìà'- neighbour
 kpìà' lf kpì'a 2vb whittle
 kpì'e 2vb approach
 kpì'em_a´ 1vb be strong, hard
 kpìvbì_g kpìvbìs kpìvb- orphan
 kpìig 2vb (fire) go out
 kpì'ílì_m 2vb come to an end
 kpì'im kpì'imìs kpì'im- corpse
 kpìis 2vb quench
 kpikpin_{na}´ kpikpinní_b kpikpín-
 merchant
 kpì'o_v *adj* strong, hard
 kpìsìṅkpìlì kpìsìṅkpìlà kpìsìṅkpìl- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlì
 kpùkpàr kpùkpàrà palm tree fruit

kpùkpàrì_g kpùkpàrìs kpùkpàr-
 (Palmyra) palm
 kpùkpàv_o kpùkpàmà kpùkpàv_o- arm,
 wing
 kù *pt* not (irrealis) §10.3
 kv 2vb kill (Mooré *kv*); (rain) threaten
 (Mooré *kv*): saa kú ya it looks like rain
 kva lf kua 2vb hoe, farm
 ku'alí_a ku'alí(mì)s ku'alí_v- k/o smock
 kùd 2vb work iron
 kùdìg 2vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kuvì_m the old days; also for kuvì_m
 kuvv_o *adj* old
 kudug_o kut kùt- (pl as sg) iron, nail
 kugur´ kugá kug- stone
 kuv_a kuvv_s kùg- chair
 kùk_a ghost
 kuv_a´ (African) mahogany
 kùkò_m kùkò_m kùkò_m- leper
 kùkòr´ kùkòyá kùkò(r)- voice
 kùkpàrì_g see kpùkpàrì_g
 kùkvr´ kùkvyá kùkvr- pig
 kul ger kulig_a´ 2vb return home;
 take as husband
 kuvì_m *pt* always §10.4
 kùlì_g kùlì(mì)s kùlì_v- door
 kù_m 2vb weep
 kum kù_m- death
 kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùndùà'-
 barren woman
 kùndù_g kùndù_mìs/kùndù_nà hyena
 kù'om kuvà'- water; kuvà'-nuud´ thirst;
 kuvà'-ⁿwiig_a´ current
 kùos 2vb sell
 kuv *pt* or; in questions §11.2.1 (Ha *ko*)
 kuug_{a/o}´ kuus´ ku- mouse
 kùvì 2vb get drunk
 kuvv_s´ 2vb settle (legal judgment)

-L-

- la' *pt* the §9.7.2
 là' 2vb laugh
 la'af_o ligidi lig-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;
 là'-bielíf_o 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*)
 làb_{ya} 1vb crouch behind something
 làbìl 2vb make crouch
 làbìn 2vb start crouching
 làbìs 2vb walk stealthily
 lab_{sa}' 1vb be wide
 lab_{is}í_a *adj* wide; lab_{is}ím width
 lak' 2vb open (eye, book)
 la_{la}' 1vb be distant
 la_lig' 2vb get to be far, make far
 lallí far off
 lallí_a/lallú_o *adj* distant
 lam_n' lamá lam- (tooth) gum;
 lam-fô_o *adj* toothless
 làmpo' làmpo- tax (French *l'impôt*)
 lan_n lana làn- testicle
 lànnì_a lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel
 la'η' 2vb set alight
 làngá_uη_o làngáam_n/làngaamá làngá_uη-
 crab
 la_ŋím 2vb wander round searching
 la_ŋk_o la'ad là'- goods item
 là'v_ηo là'amà fishing net
 lèb ger lèb_{ig}_a 2vb return intr
 lèbìg 2vb turn over; return
 lèbìs 2vb answer; return; divorce (wife)
 lèè *pt* but §10.4
 lè_m *pt* again §10.4
 lè_m (-mm-) 2vb sip, taste
 lèr 2vb get ugly
 lì/l_i *pn* 3i
 lì ipf lèt_a imp lìm_a ger liig_a 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_n lì'emá fruit of yellow plum tree
 liè_η_a liemís liè_η- axe
 lì'è_η_a lì'emís yellow plum tree,
 Ximenia americana
 lig 2vb patch
 ligìl 2vb cover; ligìn 2vb cover oneself
 lùb_r lùb_a lùb- twin
 lik_a ligis darkness
 lilaalí_a lilaalí(mì)s lilaalí_η- swallow
 lín *pn* 3i+ñ; l_n 3i
 lìn *pn* that; lìná *pn* that
 lo 2vb tie
 lob/lob_{ig}' 2vb throw stones at
 lob_{id}í_a lob_{id}ís water-drawing vessel
 lod_{ig}_a' lod_{is}' lod- corner
 lod_{ig}' 2vb untie
 lòk_o lù'ad lùà'- (arrow) quiver
 lòm_bò_n'_og_o lòm_bò_n'_{od} lòm_bò_n'- garden
 (Ha *lambu*)
 lo_η_a lòm_{is} lò_η- k/o frog
 lo'η' 2vb go across river, road
 lór lóyà/ló_{om}_{ma} lór- car, lorry
 lòs 2vb dip, immerse in liquid
 lù ipf lùt_a imp lùm_a 2vb fall
 lub ger lubir' 2vb buck, throw off rider
 lug 2vb swim
 lùgur organ, member

-M-

- m̃/m_a *pn* 1s
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám_a *sic* §9.4
 mà' 2vb lie, deceive
 mà'àa lf mà'anè *pt* only §12.2
 màal 2vb make, sacrifice; màal-maan_{na}
 servant who conducts slayings for a
 tè_η-daan_a; priest B1/2 (*maanmaan* B3)
 ma'al' 2vb make cool, wet

maan_n maana màan- sacrifice
 má'an_n ma'aná ma'an- okra
 ma'as_a' 1vb be cool, wet
 ma'asíg_a cool, wet; ma'asíg_a' coolly;
 ma'asím coolness
 madıg' 2vb overflow, abound
 ma'e' 2vb cool down
 màk 2vb crumple up
 mak' 2vb measure, judge
 màlġak_a' màlġak-nám_a/màlġa'as' màlġa'-
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)
 màlġf₃ màlġ gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)
 màlġim *pt* again §10.4
 malıs_a' 1vb be sweet, pleasant
 malısíg_a/malısıġ_a *adj* sweet, pleasant;
 malısım sweetness
 malıġ₃ malıma màlġ- custom; sacrifice
 mam *pn* 1s
 mán *pn* 1s+*n*; man 1s
 màġgáıġ₃ = làġgáıġ₃
 màv_k *adj* crumpled up
 mè 2vb build
 mè(n) *pt* also §12.2; mè-kàmà -soever
 med 2vb mash up
 mēēġ_a mēēmīs mēēġ- turtle
 mēlġim dew
 meġ_a' *pn* self; meġır *adj* genuine
 met' met- pus
 mi' 1vb know
 mīif₃ miiní okra seed
 mì'ig 2vb get sour
 mì'is_a 1vb be sour; mì'isùġ₃ *adj* sour
 milıg' 2vb get dirty
 mimiilım/mimiilıġ₃ sweetness
 mīt 1vb imp-only: beware; do not let
 mō 2vb strive, struggle
 mōd 2vb swell
 mōdıg' 2vb be patient, endure
 mòlġf₃ mòlġ mòl- gazelle
 mōn 2vb grind millet to make sa'ab₃
 mōġ' 2vb refuse to lend

mōġ₃ mōōd mò- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; mò-pilġ grass thatch
 mōōl' 2vb proclaim;
 mōōl-mōōn_{na} proclaimer
 mōr_a' 1vb have; mōr na bring
 mūà' 2vb suckle
 mūàk_a mò'as mūà'- maggot
 mò'ar mūà'a mūà'- lake, reservoir
 mò'as 2vb give suck to
 mù'e 2vb redden; ignite; intensify
 mùġ mùġ- 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/nı' *pt* (locative) §10.6.2
n 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_n' pigeon
 nà'-nesınnεog₃' centipede W
 nà'-zòm_n locust
náa pt (reply to blessings) §13
nà'ab_a *nà'-nàm_a* *nà'-* chief, king;
 nà'-biıġ_a prince(ss); nà'-yir' court
náaf₃ niıġí *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'ası* 2vb honour
nae' 2vb finish
nàm pt still, yet §10.4
nàm_a (pluraliser) §6.1
namıs' 2vb persecute, suffer

nan 2vb love, respect
 nannánna' *pn* now
 nànzv'vs' pepper (? tones)
 naŋ_a namus nàŋ- scorpion
 nar_a' 1vb need, deserve
 narúŋ_o *adj* necessary
 nàyiig_a nàyiig-nàm_a/nàyiis thief
 (na'ayiiig B); nàyiigum thievery
 ne *pt* with §10.6.3; linking NPs: and
 ne' *pt* (focus) §12.1
 ne' *pn* this
 nèel 2vb reveal
 nèem for free
 neem' 2vb grind with millstone
 neer' millstone
 nèes 2vb reveal; nèesim light
 nèi_{ya} 1vb be awake
 nem-nêer -nèyà grinder
 nen_{na}' 1vb envy; nin-nén_{na} envier
 ne'eqa *pn* this
 nèer *adj* empty
 nesinnēog_o' nesinnēed' nesinné-
 centipede; envious person W
 ñfá! *pt* well done! §11.2.4
 n' *pt* (locative) §10.6.2
 nì 2vb rain
 nid_a' nidib_a' nin- person; nin-punan_{na}'
 -punannib_a -punán- disrespectful
 person; nin-sâal_a human being
 nìe 2vb appear, reveal; waken
 nif_o' niní nif/nin- eye; nif-gbáŋ_o eyelid;
 nif-sób_a miser; nin-báaⁿlìg_a pity;
 nin-dáa -dâas -dá- face; nin-gótìŋ_a
 mirror; nin-gótìs spectacles;
 nin-kúgùdìg_a -kúgùdìs eyebrow;
 nin-múa concentration; m̃ niní mù'e ne
 I'm intent; nin-tâ'm tears
 níŋ_a niimís/níis niŋ- bird
 ni'm_n' nimá nim- meat
 nin-pôud pus
 nintaŋ_a' nintaas' nintáŋ- heat of the day

niŋ_a niis niŋ- body; nìn-gbiŋ_o' -gbiná
 -gbiŋ- body (pl as sg); nìn-gòor neck;
 nìn-taa -taas -tà- co-wife §9.4;
 nìn-tullim fever
 niŋ 2vb do
 no 2vb tread
 nob 2vb get fat
 nobig' 2vb (child, plant) grow
 nóbir nobá nob- leg, foot; nob-bíl_a toe;
 nob-íⁿa toenail; nob-púmpàŋ_o foot
 nok' 2vb pick up, take up
 nòŋ imp nòŋim_a 1vb love; nòŋid_a sic lover
 noŋ_o' noŋ- poverty; noŋ-dâan_a pauper
 noo *pt* exactly, just §12.2
 noor' noyá no- mouth; command;
 no-dí'es_a chief's spokesman ("linguist");
 prophet B; no-gbáŋ_o lip; no-lôor
 fasting; no-nâar promise; no-pôor oath
 noor'/noorim times §9.5.1
 nu 2vb drink
 nua' noos' no- hen; no-dâug_o cock;
 No-ⁿyâ'aŋ-né-ò-biis Pleiades
 nulig'/nulis' 2vb make drink
 nû'ug_o nû'us nu'- hand, arm; nu'-bíl_a
 finger; nu'-dâug_o thumb; nu'-íⁿa -êⁿes-
 -éⁿ- fingernail; nu'-wêⁿed_a mediator
 -O-

ò/o *pn* 3a
 òⁿb ger ɔⁿbir 2vb chew
 ón *pn* 3a+ñ; on 3a
 òn *pn* this/that
 òŋa' *pn* this/that
 -P-

pà' *pt* earlier today §10.2
 pà'al 2vb teach, inform; pa'an_{na} teacher
 pà'al 2vb put on top
 paalíg_a *adj* new; paalim recently
 pàⁿalim 2vb dedicate
 paalú open space
 pàaⁿlúŋ_o pàaⁿlímìs 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_a **pàaⁿs** **pàŋ**- power
 pàⁿsìg 2vb lack
 pà' tì *pt* perhaps §10.4
 pèbìs 2vb blow; **pèbìsìm/pèbìsùg**_o wind
 pè'el 2vb fill
 pè'es 2vb add up to, amount to
 pèlìg 2vb whiten, go white
 pèlìs 2vb sharpen
 pèn_n vagina
 pɛ'ŋ' 2vb borrow; knock over W
 pèog_o **pèed** **pè**- basket
 pɛ'og_o **pɛ'es'** **pɛ'**- sheep; **pɛ'-sá'a** ewe
 lamb
 pɛsɪg' 2vb sacrifice
 pja lf **pia** 2vb dig up
 pjaⁿ 2vb speak, praise; ger **pjàvⁿk_o**
pjàⁿad **pjàⁿ'**- word, (pl) language
 pibìg 2vb uncover
 pibìl 2vb cover up
 pibin_n **pibina** **pibìn**- 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_a *adj* white (cf **zìⁿ'a**);
pìelìm whiteness
 pìes 2vb fool someone
 pies' 2vb wash
 pí^f_o **piiní** **pùn**- genet
 piiga *q* ten
 piⁿ'il' 2vb begin
 piim' **pimá** **pim**- arrow
 piini **pìn**- gift
 pìl 2vb cover
 pìlìg 2vb uncover
 pipiriga' **pipiris'** **pipír**- desert
 pisí *q* twenty
 pitú **pití_ba** **pit**- younger same-sex sibling
 (sg **-pit_a'** after cifs)
 pɔ 2vb swear
 pòⁿd 2vb crouch down
 pò^od_a 1vb be few, small
 pò^odìg_a *adj* few, small; **pò^odìm** fewness
 pɔɔg_o **pɔɔd'**/**pɔt'** **pɔ**- field, farm
 pò'ɔg 2vb diminish, belittle
 pɔⁿ'ɔl' 2vb make rot
 pòⁿ'ɔlìm 2vb cripple, get crippled
 pòⁿ'ɔr **pòⁿdà** **pòⁿ'**- cripple
 pɔɔr' "slogan", part of clan genealogy W
 pòⁿr_a 1vb be near
 pòⁿrùg_o *adj* near
 pɔ *pt* not (indicative) §10.3
 pɔ 2vb divide
 pɔa' **pɔ'ab_a** **pɔà'**- woman, wife; **pɔà'**-**elíŋ_a**
 fiancée; **pɔà'**-**ginníg_a/gɔɔⁿdɪr**
 prostitute; **pɔà'**-**paalá'** bride;
pɔà'-**sadır'** nulliparous young woman;
pɔà'-**saⁿ'am_{na}** adulterer; **pɔà'**-**nyá'aŋ_a**
 -**nyá'as** old woman; **pɔà'**-**yù_a** daughter
 pɔak_a *adj* (human) female
 pò'alìm 2vb harm, damage
 pò'alìm femininity
 pò'alím **pò'alímìs** **pò'alím**- female organs
 pòd 2vb name
 pɔdɪg' 2vb divide, share out
 puⁿ'e' 2vb rot
 pògùdì_b_a **pògùd-nà_ma** **pògùd**- father's
 sister
 pòkòⁿr **pòkòⁿyà** **pòkòⁿ'**- widow
 pukpaad_a' **pukpaadì_ba** **pukpá**- sic farmer
 pùlìmà cogongrass
 pòm^pɔɔg_o housefly
 pòn *pt* previously, already §10.4
 pusig_a' **pusis'** **pus**- tamarind
 pusir' **pusá** tamarind fruit
 pɔ-súk_a -**súgùs** half

pvt' stomach contents
 puum' puum- flowers
 puv_a pè- belly; pè-pièl_l upright person;
 pè-pièl_m virtue; pè-tèⁿ'er -tèⁿdà -tèⁿ'-
 mind; puv_g·n inside; ò mòr puv_g
 she is pregnant
 puvr' stomach
 pè'us 2vb greet, worship, thank; ger
 pè'us_m worship; ger pè'us_g 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 iàⁿk')
 lightning; saa díndεog rainbow;
 saa zúg sky
 sa'ab_g sà'- millet porridge ("TZ")
 saafi lock, key (Twi)
 sàal_a sàalìb_a sàal- human; sàal-biig_a
 human being
 sàalíŋa' smoothly
 sàam_{ma} sàam-nàm_a sàam- father §9.4
 sàⁿ'am 2vb spoil, break
 saam' 2vb mash, crumble
 sa'an' in the presence/opinion of
 saan_a sáam_{ma} saan- guest, stranger
 sáannìm strangerhood
 sáaŋ_a adj strange
 sabilíŋ_a adj black (cf zìⁿ'a)
 sàbùà sàbùos sàbùà- lover, girlfriend
 sadígím pt since, because §10.4 §11.4.1
 saēⁿ(_{ya}) saaⁿb_a sàⁿ- blacksmith
 sakárùg_g sakárìd sakár- jackal (? French)
 sàlìbìr bridle (Ar *salabah*)
 sah_{ma} sàlìm- gold
 sam_n' samá sam- debt; sam-kpâ'as_a
 household servant
 samán_n samánà samán- yard before zàk_a;
 Samán-píer traditional New Year
 sajá sansá san- time §10.6.2

sàŋ-gbàŋ_g cloud, sky
 saŋgún_n saŋgúnà saŋgún- millipede
 sapál_l Harmattan part of úb_n
 sap_l lf sap_l/sap_lé ideo straight
 saríŋá prison (Ar *sāriqah* "fetter")
 sàríyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàríyà-kat_a judge
 savg_g saad' sa- broom, brush
 sàvk_g sà'ad dust mote
 sávŋ_g hospitality
 sè 2vb transplant
 sebi_{ya}' 1vb squat
 seoⁿg_g rainy season
 sè 2vb skin, flay
 si'a pn sg some, any
 sia sies sjà- waist; sjà-lóodíŋ_a belt;
 sjà-nif_g' kidney
 sjà'al' 2vb get to be enough
 sjà'ar sjà'a(dà) sjà'- forest W; wilderness
 sjàk 2vb agree; ò pv sjàkì fù ncoRé·
 he hasn't obeyed you
 sjàk' 2vb suffice
 sibig_a' sibí sib- k/o termite
 sɪd_a sɪdɪb_a sɪd- husband §9.4
 sɪd pt truly §10.4
 sɪdà sɪd- truth
 sie' 2vb descend, be humbled
 sieba pn some, any; si'el_a something,
 anything; si'em somehow, anyhow
 sig 2vb descend
 sigr' guardian spirit
 sigis' 2vb lower
 sigisír sigisá lodging-place
 siiⁿd' honey
 siiⁿf_g'/siiⁿg_a' siiⁿs' siⁿ- bee
 sug_a sus sɪ- vital energy, spirit B;
 African birch
 siilìm 2vb cite proverbs; siilíŋ_a/siilúŋ_g
 siilí(mì)s/siilímà siilíŋ- proverb
 sɪ'ɪs' 2vb touch
 silinsíug_g silinsîis ghost
 silinsîuⁿg_g silinsîiⁿd spider

sìlòg_o sìn_n/sìlìs sìl- hawk
 sìm 2vb sink in liquid
 sin_{na}´ 1vb be silent
 sìnsáaⁿ k/o tiny ant
 sìŋa sìⁿs sìŋ- k/o very big pot
 sì'ŋ´ 2vb begin
 sisíbìg_a sisíbìs sisíb- neem
 sisíbìr sisíbà neem fruit
 sìsì'em wind, storm
 sìsòm_n grasshopper
 (sì)sòbgu·n between
 sí'ũg_o sì'imís sì'ũŋ- k/o big dish
 sò' pn some(one), any(one)
 sòⁿ 2vb rub
 sòb_a pn (dummy head)
 sòb 2vb darken; write
 sòbìg´ 2vb blacken
 sòbìr´ sòb- piece of writing
 sògⁿ(ya) sòwⁿb_a sòⁿ- witch
 sòⁿ'e_{ya}´ 1vb be better than; sòⁿ'òd_a´
 sòⁿ'òb_a´ sòⁿ'òd- surpasser
 sògìà_a soldier (En)
 sòlũg_o´ sòlímá story
 sònnìr sònna sòn- yard-dividing wall
 sòwⁿg_o witchcraft
 sòwⁿr sòⁿya sòⁿ- liver; cane rat
 sòs ger sòsìg_a 2vb ask; sòs_a beggar
 sòⁿs ger sòⁿsìg_a 2vb converse, talk with
 sù 2vb take bath
 sù^a 2vb hide; sùak_a´ hiding place
 sù'e_{ya}´ 1vb own; sù'ulím property, realm
 sueⁿ´ 2vb anoint
 suⁿ'e´ 2vb become better than
 suⁿf_o/suuⁿr´ suⁿyá suⁿ- heart; suⁿ-
 búgòsìm peace; suⁿ-kpî'ũg_o boldness;
 suⁿ-málìsìm/-má'asìm -málìs- joy;
 m̀ suⁿf má'e ya I'm joyful; suⁿ-pêen_n
 anger; m̀ suⁿf pèlìg nê I'm angry;
 suⁿ-sâⁿ'ũg_o sorrow
 sugur´ ger sugurú 2vb show forbearance
 sù'm goodness; well

sù^mma 1vb be good
 summìr summa sù^m- groundnut
 sùn_n ger sùnnìr/sùnnòg_o 2vb bow head;
 sun_{na} close observer W
 sùŋ 2vb help
 sùŋ_o adj good; sù'ŋa´ well; very much
 sú'ũg_a su'omís su'ũŋ- hare
 suor´ sùeyá sù^a- road; permission
 sù'os_a yesterday
 sù'os 2vb trick
 sù_a 1vb have head bowed
 sùug´ 2vb (leaves) wither W
 sù'ũg_{a/o} sù'us sù'- 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_n ta'amá shea nut
 tá'aŋ_a ta'amís ta'aŋ- shea tree
 ta'as´ 2vb help to walk
 tàb 2vb get stuck to; tàbì_{ya} 1vb be stuck
 tàbìg 2vb get unstuck from
 tàbìl 2vb stick to tr
 tàdìg 2vb weaken
 tadìm tàdìm-nàm_a tàdìm- weakling
 tàdìmís weakness
 tà^m (-mm-) vb forget
 tàmpììng_a rock
 tàmpuor tàmpù- ashpit, rubbish tip
 tan_n tana tàn- earth; tàn-mèed_a builder
 taⁿp_o war; tànⁿp-sòb_a warrior
 tar_a´ 1vb have
 tàn^s ger tàn^sòg_o 2vb shout; (sun) shine
 tàn^sintàlì/tàtálì palm of hand
 taŋⁿ´ taⁿp_a´ taŋⁿ-/taⁿp- opposite-sex sib
 tèb ger tèbìg_a 2vb carry in both hands
 tèⁿb ger tèⁿbùg_o 2vb struggle
 tèbìg´ 2vb get heavy
 tèbìs_a´ 1vb be heavy
 tèbìsìg_a adj heavy; tèbìsím weight

- téɛbùl téɛbùl-nàma table (En)
 tɛɛg'/tɛk' 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 tɛɛ's tɛŋ- land; tɛŋ-biiga native;
 tɛŋ-daan_a earth-priest; tɛŋ-dv'adiga
 native land; tɛŋ-gbàvɔ land; tɛŋ-
 kpɛŋa -kpɛmɪs -kpɛŋ- village; tɛŋ-
 puvɔɔ' -puvd' -pu- village; tɛŋ-suk_a
 centre; tɛŋi·n/tɛŋír down; under
 tèogɔ tèed nest
 tè'ogɔ tè'ed baobab fruit
 tè'r_a 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
 tìⁿ 2vb remember; W inform; stretch
 tì'eb 2vb get ready; (Ar *tibb* "medical
 art") heal; tì'eb_a healer
 tìɛŋa tìemìs tìɛŋ- beard; tìɛŋ-gvur chin
 tɪg 2vb have in excess; ger tɪgír' glut
 tì'ia' 1vb (thing) lean
 tìga tìs tì- tree; tì-davɔ -daad -dà- bow
 tì'il' 2vb lean (thing)
 tùm tì- medicine; tì-kvudím poison;
 tì-sabulím 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
 tɪnám_a pn 1p; tɪnámì 1p+n
 tɪntɔ'n'íg_a tɪntɔ'n'ís tɪntɔ'n'r- mole
 tìp_a tìp-nám_a tìp- healer
 tɪrâan_a tɪrâan-nám_a tɪrâan- peer;
 tɪrâannìm companionship
 tìrìgà *ideo* for gɪŋ_a short
 tìs/tì· ipf tìsìd_a/tìt_a 2vb give; tìs_a giver
 tɪta'alɪ proud person; tɪta'alɪm pride
 tɪta'am multitude
 tɪta'ar *adj* big
 tò pt OK §11.2.4 (Ha *to*)
 tòⁿ 2vb shoot
 tòd 2vb give to the poor, share
 tɔɛya' 1vb be bitter, difficult
 tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")
 tólìb *ideo*
 tólìlìlì *ideo* for wɔkɔ' tall
 tɔɔgɔ *adj* bitter, difficult
 tɔɔm' 2vb depart, disappear
 tò'n'ɔs 2vb hunt
 tò'oto' straight away
 tɔà lf tɔà 2vb grind in a mortar;
 tɔà-bil_a pestle
 tɔà' 2vb plead in court
 tɔa'e_{ya}' 1vb be near
 tò'al 2vb condemn in court
 tò'as 2vb talk; tò'as-tò'as_a talker
 túbìr túbà túb- ear; túb-kpìr half of jaw
 tu'n'e 1vb control; be able
 tòkpɔdɔgɔ tumult, shouting
 tɔl_a' 1vb be hot
 tɔlìg' 2vb heat up
 tɔlìg 2vb invert
 tò^m 2vb work; ger tɔum_n tɔuma tò^m-
 deed, (pl) work; tò^m-tɔum_{na} worker
 tò^m ger tìtɔmɪs 2vb send
 tuodɪr tuoda tòod- mortar
 tòon_n in front; west; tòon-gat_a leader
 tusir' thousand
 tɔtulɪ upside-down thing
 tɔulíga' hotly; tɔulúgɔ *adj* hot
 tɔ'vs' 2vb meet

-U-

ùdùg_o ùt ùd- piece of chaff

ugus' 2vb bring up child

ùk 2vb lift up; vomit

uk 2vb bloat

ùm 2vb close eyes

úv_n dry season

úv_s' 2vb (person) get warm

-V-

vab_{ya}' 1vb lie prone

vab_l' 2vb make lie prone

vàb_n 2vb lie prone

vàe 2vb gather up

vav_g' vaaⁿd' vaⁿ- leaf

vε' 2vb lead

vε'εg' 2vb drag

vèⁿl_a 1vb be beautiful; vèⁿllìg_a/vèⁿllí_a

adj beautiful; vèⁿllì_m beauty;

also vèⁿna etc

vi'/vik' 2vb uproot

viig' 2vb postpone, reschedule

viug_o' viid' vi- owl

vu ger vuug_o' 2vb make noise;

vuud' noise

vvε_{ya}' 1vb be alive

vvl 2vb swallow

vùlìnvùuⁿl_i mason wasp

vum' vum- life

vúo_a vuomís red kapok,

Bombax buonopozense

vúor vuáa vuo- fruit of red kapok

vvr' adj alive

vv'ug' 2vb come/make alive

vv'v_s' ger vv'v_sím 2vb breathe, rest

-W-

wa' 2vb dance

ⁿwà pt this §9.7.2

ⁿwa' 2vb smash up

waad' cold weather

wáaf_o wiigí wa'- snake

waal' 2vb sow

wa'alím length

wa'am_a' 1vb be long, tall

ⁿwaan_a ⁿwaamís ⁿwàan- monkey

wàbìg_a adj lame

wàbìlì_m 2vb make, go lame

wabug_o' wabud' wab- elephant

wadá wad- (En "order") law

ⁿwadìg_a' ⁿwadís' ⁿwad- moon, month;

ⁿwad-bíl_a star; ⁿWad-dár Venus

wà'e_{ya} 1vb be travelling

ⁿwà'e 2vb cut wood

ⁿwa'e' 2vb strike, break

walìg_a walís/walí sic wàl- k/o gazelle

ⁿwam_n ⁿwama ⁿwàm- calabash;

also ⁿwan_n etc

wà_nì_m 2vb waste away

wàsìnwàl_i k/o gall (local En "mistletoe")

wà_ug_o adj wasted, thin

ⁿwè' 2vb beat; ⁿwè' X nù'ug plead with X;

ⁿwè' ⁿyò'og boast

wεel' 2vb be left unsold

wel 2vb bear fruit

wel_i' welá wel- fruit

welá/walá pn how? nì_g welá n/kà §11.3

wεn_{na}' 1vb be like §10.6.3

wennir adj resembling (tp A, W)

wèog_o deep bush

wεog_o' wεed' cheap thing sold in

abundance W

wjak' 2vb hatch

widìg 2vb scatter

wìef_o wìdì wìd- horse

wìd_a/wèed_a wìb_a wìd- hunter

wiig_a' whistle

ⁿwiig_a' ⁿwiis' ⁿwi- rope

ⁿwiig' 2vb make rope

wì_m disease ("worse than baⁿ'as" W)

wìk ipf wìid_a 2vb fetch water

wìl_i wìlà wìl- branch

wìl_sú_g wìl_mís wìl_sú_g- k/o snail

wím *ideo* for zìⁿ'a red

wɪn_n´ wɪná wɪn- spiritual essence; god;

God; wɪn-tôɔg_ɔ misfortune

wɪnnìg_a wɪn- sun; wɪn-liir/-kòò^r sunset

wiug_ɔ *adj* red (synonymous with zìⁿ´a)

wòk_ɔ´ *adj* long, tall

wòm ger wòm_{mɔ}/wòm_mòg_ɔ 2vb hear;
smell; understand

wusa/wusu *q* all

wusu *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_a yaa-nám_a yaa- grandparent §9.4

yà'ab 2vb mould clay; ya'ad yà'- clay

yà'al 2vb hang up; make perch

ⁿya'al´ 2vb leave behind

yà'an 2vb perch

ⁿyaan *pt* next §10.4

yáaṅ_a yáas yaaṅ- grandchild, descendant

ⁿyá'aṅ_a *adj* (animal) female

ⁿyá'aṅ_a behind; east; ⁿya'an-dól_{la}/-dól_l
-dóllà/-dóllìb_a -dól- disciple

yaar´ 2vb scatter

ⁿya'ar ⁿya'a ⁿyà'- root

yàarìm yàar- salt

yà'as_(a) again

ya'as´ 2vb open repeatedly

yàd(d)a trust (Ha yarda)

yadig´ 2vb scatter; yat_a´ participant
in a housebuilding ritual

ya'e´ 2vb widen, (mouth) open

ⁿyae If ⁿyaené *ideo* brightly, clearly

yàk 2vb unhang, unhook

yàlìg 2vb widen

yàlìm_a 1vb be wide

yalim´ yalim-nám_a worthless person

yalısúṅ_ɔ yalımıs yalısúṅ- quail

yàlòṅ_ɔ *adj* wide

ⁿyalúṅ_ɔ *adj* wonderful

yam_n yama yàm- hay

yam´/ya'am´ W yam- gall (bladder); sense

yàmmòg_{a/ɔ} yàmmıs yàm- slave

ⁿyàn_n shame

yanám_a *pn* 2p; yanámì 2p+ṇ

ⁿyaṅ´ 2vb overcome; succeed in

yàug_ɔ yàad grave, tomb

ⁿyàuk_ɔ *adj* single (of eyes)

yε *pt* that §11.1

yè 2vb dress oneself

ⁿyε ipf ⁿyεt_a´ imp ⁿyèm_a 2vb see, find;

ⁿyε láafiyà get well

ⁿyεε (tí) *pt* habitually §10.4

yèεg 2vb undress oneself

yèel 2vb dress someone

ⁿyε'er´ ⁿyédá ⁿyε'- next-younger sibling

yεεs´ 2vb betray secret

ⁿyèεs_a 1vb be bold; ⁿyèεsìm boldness

ⁿyèεsíṅ_a *adj* bold; ⁿyèεsíṅ_a´ boldly

yelí´ yelá yel- matter, affair; (pl) about;

yel-méṅìr truth; yel-pákìr disaster;

yel-súm_n blessing

yèl ipf yèt_a ger yèlòg_ɔ 2vb say, tell

yεṅím 2vb undulate

yèog_ɔ yèed bird's crop; weed, straggler,
person displaced from family

yéon *q* one (in counting)

yì ipf yit_a´ imp yìm_a 2vb go/come out

yèdìg 2vb go astray

yidig´ 2vb untie

yìer jaw

yìigá *q* firstly; yìig-sób_a first person

yìis´ ger yìisíb_ɔ 2vb make go/come out

yımmír *adj* unique, sole

yımmú *q* straight away, at once

ⁿyin_n´ ⁿyíná ⁿyin- tooth

yınní *q* one

yìŋ_a outside

yir' ya' yi- house; yi-dâan_a/-sób_a -sób-
nàm_a householder; yi-dím_a household
members; yín_n at home pl yáa·n

"yiríf_o "yirí egusi seed

yis 2vb make go/come out

yũŋ_o' adj single (of pair)

yò 2vb close

yɔ 2vb pay; ger yɔɔɔ' pay

yɔlɪs' 2vb untie

yɔlɪsím freedom

yɔlɔgɔ' yɔn_n' yɔl- sack; £100, 200 cedis

"yɔɔɔ intestines

yò'ɔg 2vb open

"yɔ'ɔgɔ' chest

"yɔɔgɔ 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

yɔà lf yɔà 2vb bleed; fornicate W

yɔ'adɪr yɔ'ada rafter

yùbìg_a yùbìs yùb- k/o small bottle-like pot

"yu'e' 2vb set alight

yugudɪr yuguda yùgùd- hedgehog

yɔgúm_n yɔgúmá yɔgúm- 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_{na} singer

yù'um_n yù'umá yù'um-/yɔum- song

yùum_n yùmà yùum- year

yɔ'ɔn pt then, next §10.4

yù'ɔŋɔ yɔ'umís yù'ɔŋ- night

yɔ'ɔr' yɔdá yɔ'- name

yɔɔr yɔya yò- water pot

"yuur' "yuyá "yu- yam

-Z-

za' za- millet

zaⁿ'a q every

záal_l adj empty; zaalím emptily

zàam zà- evening; zà-sìsɔbɪr' evening

zàⁿ'an_n zàⁿ'anà hammer, bludgeon

zàⁿ'as 2vb refuse

zàaⁿsìm 2vb dream; ger zàaⁿsúŋɔ

zàaⁿsímà zàaⁿsúŋ- dream

zaaⁿsím zaaⁿs- soup

zàb ger zàbɪr 2vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
warrior; gban-záb_a leather-worker

zàbɪl 2vb cause to fight

zàⁿbɪl 2vb tattoo skin

zaⁿbɪn_n zaⁿbɪna zàⁿbɪn- tattoo; sign B

zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nɔɔr' gate

zàkìm 2vb itch

zaⁿl_{la}' 1vb have in the hand

zàⁿl_l umbilicus

zàlìŋ_a zàlìmìs zàlìŋ- electric eel

zàm (-mm-) 2vb cheat;

zàm-zam_{na} cheater

zàmìs 2vb learn, teach

zàŋ 2vb pick up

zàŋgùom_n zàŋgùomà zàŋgùom- wall

zàŋkù'ar zàŋkùà'a zàŋkùà'- hyena

zəm_{ma}' 1vb be equal

zəmɪs' 2vb make equal

zəmmúgɔ adj equal

zèⁿ'ogɔ see zìⁿ'a

zi ger ziid' 2vb carry on head;

zi-zîid_a carrier on head

zɪ' 1vb not know

zìⁿ'a adj red: zìⁿ'a and wìugɔ cover all
reddish shades, sabulìg_a all darker, and
pielìg_a all lighter; other colour terms
are of the type wɔɔ támpɔɔr nɛ "grey"

zì'e_{ya} 1vb stand

zì'el 2vb make stand; zì'el nɔɔr' promise

zì'en 2vb stand; ò zì'en nɛ she's pregnant

zìⁿ'i_{ya} 1vb sit; zìⁿ'ig_a zìⁿ'is zìⁿ'- place

- zìⁿil 2vb make sit
 zúm' zì- blood
 zìⁿin 2vb sit down
 zíŋ_a zimí zim- fish; zim-gbâⁿad_a fisher
 zì'síg 1vb not know (clause-final only)
 zìlím_n zìlímà zìlím- tongue
 zìlínzîog_o *adj* unknown
 zím *ideo* for sabúlg_a black
 ziná today
 zínzavŋ_o' zínzaná zínzávŋ- bat
 zírí untruth
 zè ipf zòt_a imp zòm_a 2vb run; fear;
 experience emotion; ger zua/zóog_o pl
 zóos run; ger zòtìm fear
 zól 2vb castrate
 zólímís foolishness
 zólvg_o' zón_n' zól- fool
 zóm' zóm- flour
 zóom_n zóoma zòom- refugee, fugitive
 zóríg_a' small child W
 zórvg_o' zórá piece
 zu 2vb steal
 zùà lf zùà zùà-nàm_a zùà- friend
 zù'e 2vb get higher, more
 zùe 2vb perch, get on top
 zug_o' zut' zu(g)- head; onto, due to;
 zug-dâan_a master; zug-kvgur -kuga
 -kúg- pillow; zug-sób_a master (always
 "the Lord" in B3); zu-péelòg_o *adj* bald;
 zu-píbìg_a hat; zugó·n on
 zùg 2vb work bellows
 zùlìg 2vb deepen
 zùlím_a 1vb be deep
 zùlùŋ_o *adj* deep; zùlùŋ_o depth
 zùn_n civet
 zùnzòŋ_{a/o} zùnzòòⁿs zùnzòŋ- blind person
 zùŋ_o *adj* foreign
 zuóbúg_o zuóbíd 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 zueya zùà- hill
 zùos 2vb befriend
 zuríf_o zurí zur- dawadawa seed
 zù'vⁿf_o zù'vⁿí dawadawa seed
 zùuⁿg_o zùuⁿs/zùuⁿd zùⁿ- vulture
 zùur zuya zè- tail