A Discourse-Based Grammar of Baule: The Kode Dialect

Judith E. Timyan

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

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JUDITH TIMYAN
1976
A DISCOURSE-BASED GRAMMAR OF BAULE: THE KODE DIALECT

by

JUDITH TIMYAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1976
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 8, 1976

Chairman of Examining Committee

12/8/76

Executive Officer

D. Terence Langendoen

Edgar Gregersen

Joseph Greenberg

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York
Writing a dissertation is not unlike arriving at a mountain peak after much strenuous effort, only to find that what was imagined to be a single peak was but one of many still to be faced. Nonetheless the respite provided by this first significant conquest causes one to reflect upon those who helped along the way, whether by training, encouragement, material aid, or critical exhortation.

I wish first of all to acknowledge with special appreciation the formative influence of three professors. To Professor Sally McLendon I owe a large debt of gratitude for the special role she has played in my training, and particularly for the engendering in me of the critical standards necessary for linguistic analysis. Both her stress on an anthropological approach to linguistics and her challenge to work with little-known unwritten languages strongly influenced my decision to work on the Baule language and to present a grammar of Baule as my dissertation. Professor D. Terence Langer done stimulated an interest in syntactic and semantic analysis, and has served as an exemplar of the linguist's role. Doctor Robert Longacre nourished a developing interest in discourse analysis.

Two years of fieldwork in Ivory Coast were supported by a training fellowship from the National Institutes of Mental Health whose help is hereby gratefully acknowledged. Research among the Baule was greatly facilitated by the Ivorian Ministry of Scientific Research and by affiliation with the Institutes of Ethno-sociology and Applied Linguistics at the National University of Ivory Coast. I would like to express warm thanks to the people of the village of Bourebo where I worked from December 1972 to October 1973 and to the people of Totokro where I lived and worked from
October 1973 to May 1974 for the hospitality which they extended to an often enigmatic stranger. It is from the people of these two villages that I recorded the texts upon which this dissertation is based. To my assistants, Ago Kouakou Noel and Dello Kouame Theodore, I give special thanks for the long hours they spent in transcribing texts and the invaluable insights they provided into the structure and meaning of their language. The writing of this dissertation was supported financially by a University Fellowship from the Graduate School of the City University of New York. I wish to express thanks to the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Sally McLendon, D. Terence Langendoen and Edgar Gregersen, for their helpful criticism and comments. In addition I thank Professor Joseph Greenberg of Stanford University for his participation as an external examiner. Professor Robert Vago, although not formally on my committee, provided valuable input into the writing of the chapter on phonology.

Finally, I wish to thank family and friends. To my parents I express my gratitude for their nurturing. To Lynn and Meg Gray I give thanks for much encouragement and support. To my husband, Philip Ravenhill, for the countless times and innumerable ways in which he helped me, both during field work and in the writing of this dissertation, I express my deepest appreciation and thanks. And to Colette Amoda I acknowledge thankfully the long hours spent in typing the final version of this dissertation under a tight deadline.
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000. INTRODUCTION

010. THE BAULE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

The Baule peoples, who number about 1,000,000 (Etienne 1972b), live in a V-shaped savannah area of central Ivory Coast (see accompanying map). Although they are often considered a matrilineal people who arrived comparatively recently in Ivory Coast, recent work (Etienne 1971, Chauveau 1975, Weiskel 1974) emphasizes that Baule society tends to be cognatic and that historically the Baule result from a number of waves of migration from the east occurring over centuries, not one massive migration in the mid-18th century. The term Baule, originally used to refer to a geographical area,¹ is now used to refer to the primary ethnic identity of some 25 named sub-groups (see map) who speak varieties of a single language which is also called Baulé. The Kode, whose speech is described in this study, are one of these sub-groups; they inhabit the northwestern corner of the Baule region.

The language spoken by the Baule is related genetically to languages spoken in eastern Ivory Coast (Nzema, Abouré), Ghana (Akan, Ahanta) and northern Togo (Chakosi). The most recent classification (Stewart 1971:207-208) considers the Anyi-Baule language to belong to the Tano sub-group of the Volta-Comoé group of Western Kwa languages:

¹ The earliest published work on the Baule language concerns "les agni du Baoule" ("agni" being the term used for the language and the people who inhabited central and southeastern Ivory Coast) and was the fruit of four years' residence among the agni, 41 months of which was spent in the "different provinces of Baoule" (Delafosse 1900:ii).
Partial map of Ivory Coast showing the Baule and their neighbors

Boundary of Baule territory

WAN Ethnic group
Kode Baule sub-group

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Although most people who call themselves Baule will insist that they are of a different ethnic group from those who call themselves Anyi, it seems that the language spoken by the various sub-groups of the Baule and the Anyi are in fact dialectal variants of a single language.¹

Within the Baule region there is common agreement that the varieties of the language spoken by the sub-groups on the fringe of Baule territory (Kode, Ayaou, Elomoue, Soundo) are the most marked and easily detectable. Those sub-groups who live in central Baule territory (Faafoue, Saa, Ngban, Nzipri, Aitou) speak a similar variety of the language which varies minimally from group to group.

The most striking difference among the varieties of Baule spoken by these different groups is the difference in the tonal systems. (A comparative analysis of tonal systems [Timyan 1975] shows that the tonal system of the Kode dialect is very different from those of other dialects.) Other differences include: differences in lexical items; differences in the shape of some grammatical morphemes (e.g. Kode:

¹A dialect survey currently underway (1976-78) will result in a more complete picture of the dialectal situation in the Baule-Anyi region.
specifier -nT; other dialects: specifier -n); the use of l and w in some words in the central and western dialects where the eastern dialects use d and b; the unique phonemic status of certain sounds (e.g. the occurrence of n as a phoneme in Sondo); the dropping of some syllables in the western dialects.

020. BAULE LANGUAGE STUDIES

The first study of a variety of the Baule language was published in 1900, by Maurice Delafosse, a French colonial administrator. Although his work is entitled Essai de manuel de la langue agni it was intended as a practical introduction to facilitate the learning of the agni language of the two geographical locations of that time, Baoulé and Moronou (see footnote, page 1). A second teaching manual was prepared by G. Effimbra, and published in 1959. Since then, aside from occasional phonological descriptions (Gross, Vogler), the most intensive work has been done by the Reverend Father Carteron, whose mimeographed publications based on the dialect of Baule spoken in the southeast region around Bocanda are intended primarily as language aids for other missionaries. Chaveau (1972) has published an extensive bibliography on Baule society and history.

030. THE CURRENT STUDY

The grammatical description of Kode Baule presented in this dissertation is motivated by the belief that a little-studied language is best investigated in the context of discourse. In attempting to account for all of the linguistic phenomena occurring in spontaneous utterances of a language one is forced to face the whole range of
linguistic facts about that language. Only by analyzing sentences from naturally-occurring discourse can one discover the full inventory of the grammatical morphemes of the language, of the techniques of marking definiteness and anaphora, of the variation in sentence structure, of the ways in which sentences are put together to form larger units of discourse. Recent work done by Keenan (1974), Givon (1974) and others has stressed the importance of considering questions of syntax in the light of units larger than the sentence.

Thus, the task of this dissertation is to describe the phenomena of the Baule language observed within the context of discourse. The statements, for the most part, are not in the form of formal rules, although of course this could have been done (as for instance in tagmemic or structure-function descriptions); instead an attempt has been made to understand and classify the observed language data in as transparent and straightforward a manner as possible, seeking to reveal (in Boas' felicitous term) the unique genius of the Baule language.

The analysis is based on forms drawn from twelve texts which were chosen as representative of as many styles of discourse as possible from a total collection of some two hundred recorded and transcribed texts. Since the majority of examples sentences are taken from these texts, their meaning may appear at times bizarre denied their discourse context. However, they have the advantage of being instances of actual spontaneous Baule speech, uncolored by the subtle constraints of a translation language--and their meaning is not at all deviant in the narrative contexts in which they were collected.
100. **PHONOLOGY**

110. **SYLLABLE STRUCTURE**

In Baule the syllable is definable on the basis of tone: each
syllable has one and only one tone. Most syllables are open, i.e., they
end in a vowel. Only word-medially does a syllable end in a consonant
and it is always a nasal consonant. Syllables may have six shapes:
V, N, CV, CVN, C\_1\_C\_2\_V, C\_1\_C\_2\_VN. These syllables may co-occur freely with
the following exception: a V syllable occurs non-word initially only
if it is preceded by an identical vowel. For instance,

\[ /kaa/ \] 'a little bit'

\[ /aa/ \] 'trap'

- V (a single vowel)

\[ /a/ \] '2nd person singular pronoun'

\[ /e/ \] '3rd person singular pronoun'

\[ /abi/ \] 'kind of monkey'

\[ /aa/ \] 'trap'

\[ /d\text{T}\text{T}/ \] 'calm, quiet'

- N (a syllabic tone-carrying nasal)

Syllabic nasals never occur as peaks of monosyllabic utterances.\(^2\)

Thus the variant /\text{n}/ of the 1st person singular pronoun never occurs by

\(^1\)The symbol / / is used for the surface phonemic representation,
/ / being reserved for the systematic phonemic representation. The
symbols used are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

\(^2\)Except in the case of the exclamation m\!, which roughly means
"Do I know?" or indicates surprise, depending on the intonation.

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itself in utterance. The syllabic nasal is always homorganic with the following consonant and occurs only word-initially.

-\text{CV} (A consonant followed by a vowel)

- \text{C}_1 \text{C}_2 \text{V} (two consonants followed by a vowel, in which C}_2 \text{ is } f1, j or wf)
-CVN, or C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

- CVN, or C₁C₂VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

- CVN, or C₁C₂VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

- CVN, or C₁C₂VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

- CVN, or C₁C₂VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)
120. **THE SURFACE PHONEMES**

The following symbols are needed to represent the surface phonological contrasts in Baule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
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<tr>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ṭp</td>
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<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
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<td>fricatives</td>
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<td>nasals</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>vowels</th>
<th>oral</th>
<th>nasal</th>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>e</td>
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<td>ö</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
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</table>

121. **Vowels**

Vowels occur at the peaks of syllables— one vowel per syllable— and are tone-carrying. They are not noticeably lengthened when occurring with a contour tone. Geminate vowels occur, each with its own tone. For example

\[
\text{شفأ} 'a small bit' contrasts with ئفا 'small'
\]
\[
\text{شفأ 'fetus' contrasts with ئفا 'knife'}
\]

121.1 Vowel harmony

Unlike the closely related languages to the east (Anyi, Nzema, Twi), Baule does not exhibit two sets of vowels distinguished by tongue root position, the co-occurrence of which in successive syllables is controlled by vowel harmony rules. Although the distinction between /ɛ/ and /ɛ/, and /ɔ/ and /ɔ/ may in fact involve a difference in tongue root position, there are no restrictions on the combinations of vowels that may occur in any one word. For example

/kpa'le/ 'nere bean tree'
/kpa'we/ 'kind of basket'
/kpa'ndɔ/ ['kpa'ndo] 'roasted yam or manioc'
/kpa'ci/ 'break'
/kpa'kpa/ 'type of tree'
/kɛndeja/ ['kɛndeja] 'spider'
/klo'be/ 'ivory bracelet'
/klo'gba/ ['klo'gba] 'eggplant'
/klu'we/ 'spindle'
/kokɔte/ ['kokɔte] 'thumb'
/bond⁄e/ ['bond⁄e] 'buttocks'
/alɔklu/ ['alɔklu] 'banana mush'
/kɔmi/ 'neck'
/kɔnɔ/ 'male name'

121.2 The vowel /u/

/uu/ is realized as a labio-velar glide, [w], where it occurs before /l/. The net effect is to create a rounding of the previous consonant. For example
121.3 **Oral and nasal vowels**

Oral and nasal vowels contrast following all consonants in syllables of the shape CV and CCV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral Vowel</th>
<th>Nasal Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/popo/</td>
<td>/pīp/</td>
<td>'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bo/</td>
<td>/bō/</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tā/</td>
<td>/tō/</td>
<td>'raise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dā/</td>
<td>/dō/</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cē/</td>
<td>/cē/</td>
<td>'share'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ju/</td>
<td>/jū/</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kā/</td>
<td>/kā/</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gō/</td>
<td>/gō/</td>
<td>'kind of vine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kpa/</td>
<td>/kpa/</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gbō/</td>
<td>/gābō/</td>
<td>'hearth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fe/</td>
<td>/fē/</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nfo/ [ŋvō]</td>
<td>/ŋfō/</td>
<td>'termite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/saf/</td>
<td>/saf/</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fensu/ [ŋznu]</td>
<td>/fensu/ [ŋzā]</td>
<td>'a bush spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fla/</td>
<td>/flā/</td>
<td>'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tlā/ [t̚̚a]</td>
<td>/tlā/ [t̚̚ā]</td>
<td>'grab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ji/</td>
<td>/ji/</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wuf/</td>
<td>/wūf/</td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Whereas oral and nasal vowels contrast in open syllables, they do not contrast in closed syllables. Preceding a word-medial nasal consonant (i.e. the V position of a C(C)VN syllable) the tendency is for the vowel to be heavily nasalized if the word-final vowel is nasalized (e.g. [kpēŋm̥bɛ] 'elder') and more lightly nasalized if the word-final vowel is non-nasal (e.g. [kp∧nd̥o] 'roasted yam or manioc'). The two vowels /e/ and /o/, not having nasal counterparts, are not nasalized in this position. For example:

[bondrɛ] 'buttocks'
[jemvje] 'ocean'
[bleŋm̥bi] 'rich, important man'

122. Nasals and Nasality

Surface phonemic contrasts necessitate the recognition of five nasal vowels, a homorganic nasal /n/ and a bilabial nasal consonant /m/. These seven nasal segments condition allophony throughout the consonant system. The homorganic nasal conditions the voicing of fricatives; only voiced stops occur following the homorganic nasal. Nasal vowels condition the nasalization of the glides /w/ and /j/ and the lateral /l/. As C₂ of a C₁C₂V syllable these are realized as [w], [j] and [ɾ] or [𝓘] respectively:

/fswɑ/ [swɑ] 'learn'
/fbjɑ/ [bjɑ] 'man'
/fklɯ/ [kɿu] 'belly'
/ftlɑ/ [tɿɑ] 'sit'
As $c_1$ they are realized as $[\tilde{w}]$, $[n]$ and $[n]$ respectively:

- $\tilde{w}u\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{w}u]$ \quad 'husband'
- $\tilde{w}l\tilde{a}\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{w}l\tilde{a}]$ \quad 'wander'
- $\tilde{j}u\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}u]$ \quad 'face, eyes'
- $\tilde{j}l\tilde{u}\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}l\tilde{u}]$ \quad 'face'
- $\tilde{l}u\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}l] \quad 'mother'\n- $\tilde{l}\tilde{a}\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{a}] \quad 'mouth'\n
122.1 Homorganic nasal

$\tilde{n}\tilde{f}$ is a homorganic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant:

- $[m]$, a bilabial nasal, preceding $fb\tilde{f}$ and $fm\tilde{f}$
- $[n]$, a labio-dental nasal, preceding $ff\tilde{f}$
- $[n]$, an alveolar nasal, preceding $fd\tilde{f}$ and $fl\tilde{f}$ and $fs\tilde{f}$
- $[\eta]$, a palatal nasal, preceding $fj\tilde{f}$ and $fj\tilde{f}$
- $[\eta]$, a velar nasal, preceding $fg\tilde{f}$
- $[\eta\tilde{m}]$, a labio-velar nasal, preceding $g\tilde{g}\tilde{f}$

$\tilde{n}\tilde{f}$ occurs a) word-initially, where it is a syllabic nasal and thus has its own tone; and b) word-medially at the end of a syllable.

- $\tilde{n}\tilde{d}\tilde{e}\tilde{nd} \tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{d}\tilde{e}\tilde{n}\tilde{d}] \quad 'fast'\n- $\tilde{n}\tilde{l}\tilde{e}\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{e}] \quad 'animal, meat'\n- $\tilde{n}\tilde{s}\tilde{w}\tilde{r} \tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{z}\tilde{r}\tilde{e}] \quad 'ashes'\n- $\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{s}\tilde{l} \tilde{e}\tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{z}\tilde{r}\tilde{e}] \quad 'an amulet'\n- $\tilde{n}\tilde{f}\tilde{a} \tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}] \quad 'odor'\n- $\tilde{j}\tilde{e}\tilde{n}\tilde{f}\tilde{j} \tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{j}\tilde{e}\tilde{m}\tilde{v}\tilde{j} \tilde{e}] \quad 'ocean'\n- $\tilde{n}\tilde{j} \tilde{a} \tilde{f}$ \quad $[\tilde{n}\tilde{j} \tilde{a}] \quad 'sir'\n
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The syllabic homorganic nasal presents an analytical problem: since it is syllabic it is tone-carrying, a feature otherwise reserved for vowels. Unlike a vowel, however, it does not occur as the peak of a monosyllabic utterance. We will considered it to be a syllabic allophone of /n/, a homorganic nasal.

122.2 /m/

There are three nasal consonants that occur syllable-initially at the phonetic level: [m, n and ñ]. Two of these ([n] the alveolar nasal, and [ñ] the palatal nasal) occur only in a nasal environment and are thus analyzed as allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectively (cf. Sections 123.4 and 123.5) /m/, the bilabial nasal, tends to follow the same restrictions, i.e. occurring either following a homorganic nasal or nasal vowel or preceding a nasal glide or nasal vowel:

/mnme/ [m̥me] 'oil palm'
\sannma/ [s̥amma] 'finger'
/нима/ [i̥ma] 'eye'
/ml̥l̥/ [m̥l̥] 'lose'
There are, however, a few instances of /m/ occurring in a non-nasal environment, where it contrasts with the other labial phonemes. The following are the only exceptions thus far collected:

- /mla/ [mła] 'law'
- /mongblo/ [mɔŋgblo] 'a bush spirit'
- /me/ [me] '3rd person plural pronoun (a variant)'

These contrast with:

- /bla/ 'woman'
- /wlaf/ 'rival'
- /flef/ 'call'
- /gblef/ 'ruse'
- /be/ 'be cooked'
- /wef/ 'chest'
- /fef/ 'sweet'
- /kpef/ 'short'

It would be conceivable to account for the three exceptions above (and any others like them) by hypothesizing as underlying forms a sequence of /m_m_/f, i.e. m preceded L; a homorganic nasal.¹ m then would occur only in a nasal context. Since m nevertheless contrasts with the other oral labial consonants in a nasal environment, its phonemic status must be recognized.

¹In other dialects of Baule the word for "law" is in fact mmla.
16

/mā/  [mā]  'give'
/i'uj/  'give off odor'
/wā/  [wā]  'say'
/fē/  'be white'
/kpā/  'cry'
/mlī/  [mlī]  'lose'
/blī/  [blī]  'quiet'
/wlā/  [wlā]  'travel'

123. Consonants

123.1 Stops

The voiceless stops never occur following a homorganic nasal; only their voiced counterparts occur:

/pjombjo/  [pjombjo]  'sharp and pointed'
/nde/  [nde]  'affair'
/conjo/  [conjo]  'machete'
/ngowit/  [ngowit]  'joking'
/ngbata/  [ngbata]  'pardon'

However voiced and voiceless stops contrast in other environments:

/pepe/  'monkey'
/be/  'be cooked'
/plɔ/  'manioc paste'
/blɔ/  'bush'
/täf/  'flatulate'
/däf/  'big'

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/twɔf/</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dwaʃ/</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cɪʃ/</td>
<td>'unconscious'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃɪʃ/</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cwaʃ/</td>
<td>[cqɑ]</td>
<td>'spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lajwɑʃ/</td>
<td>[lajyuɑ]</td>
<td>'kind of mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kɔʃ/</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡɔʃ/</td>
<td>'trap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/klɔʃ/</td>
<td>'village'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡloglɔʃ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>'kind of insect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kpuʃ/</td>
<td>'launder'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡbuʃ/</td>
<td>'hearth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kplɛʃ/</td>
<td>'stick out'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡblɛʃ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ruse, trick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ʃpʃ/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, bilabial plosive. It occurs infrequently.

/ʃbʃ/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced, bilabial plosive. /ʃpʃ/ and /ʃbʃ/ contrast with /ʃmʃ/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mlaʃ/</td>
<td>'law'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/plɔʃ/</td>
<td>'manioc paste'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/blaʃ/</td>
<td>'pond'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and /ʃʃʃ/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʃʃ/</td>
<td>'stupid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃpʃ/</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃbɔʃ/</td>
<td>'give off odor'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
#'tʃ# is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, alveolar plosive.

#'dʒ# is a lightly aspirated, voiced, alveolar plosive.

#'tʃ# and #'dʒ# contrast with #'sʃ#:

#'tʃiʃ# 'hear'
#'dʒiʃ# 'eat'
#'sʃiʃ# 'know'

and #'ʃʃ#:

#'ʃʃtʃ# 'rat'
#'ʃʃdʒ# 'kind of bird'
#'ʃʃʃʃ# 'carry on back'
#'ʃʃtʃ# 'flatulate'
#'ʃʃdʒ# 'big'
#'ʃʃʃʃ# [nə] 'and'

and #'kʃ# and #'ʃʃ#:

#'kʃʃ# 'hear'
#'ʃʃdʒ# 'eat'
#'kʃʃ# 'avoid'
#'ʃʃʃʃ# 'stand'
#'ʃʃtʃ# 'raise'
#'ʃʃdʒ# 'old form of money'
#'kʃʃ# 'hair around men's nipples'
#'ʃʃʃʃ# 'foot'
\(/\text{cf}\) is a lightly aspirated, voiceless palatal plosive.

\(/\text{ff}\) is a lightly aspirated, voiced palatal plosive.

\(/\text{cf}\) and \(/\text{ff}\) contrast with \(/\text{ff}\):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(/\text{cf}\)} & \quad \text{'bank'} \\
\text{\(/\text{je}\)} & \quad \text{'defecate'} \\
\text{\(/\text{je}\)} & \quad \text{'1st person plural pronoun'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ce}\)} & \quad \text{'day'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ji}\)} & \quad \text{'stand'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ji}\)} & \quad \text{[\text{n\text{T}}} \quad \text{'grow up'}
\end{align*}\]

and \(/\text{kk}\) and \(/\text{gg}\):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(/\text{ce}\)} & \quad \text{'share'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ja}\)} & \quad \text{'foot'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ke}\)} & \quad \text{'as'} \\
\text{\(/\text{gale}\)} & \quad \text{'indigo'} \\
\text{\(/\text{jof}\)} & \quad \text{'cool off'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ko}\)} & \quad \text{'go'} \\
\text{\(/\text{ngo}\)} & \quad \text{[\text{ggo}]} \quad \text{'oil'}
\end{align*}\]

\(/\text{kk}\) is a lightly aspirated, voiceless velar plosive.

\(/\text{gg}\) is a lightly aspirated, voiced velar plosive.

\(/\text{kk}\) and \(/\text{gg}\) contrast with \(/\text{kk}\) and \(/\text{gg}\):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(/\text{kk}\)} & \quad \text{'shade hut'} \\
\text{\(/\text{kbu}\)} & \quad \text{'launder'} \\
\text{\(/\text{g}\text{bu}\)} & \quad \text{'hearth'}
\end{align*}\]
\( {\text{f}}k\acute{a}f \)  'tell'
\( {\text{f}}g\acute{o}f \)  'trap'
\( {\text{f}}k\acute{b}\acute{a}f \)  'cry'
\( {\text{f}}\acute{n}g\acute{b}e\acute{f} \) [\( \tilde{\eta}\tilde{m}\tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{e} \)]  'nothing'

and with \( {\text{fwf}} \):
\( {\text{f}}waf \)  'child'
\( {\text{f}}kaf \)  'bite'
\( {\text{f}}galef \)  'indigo'

\( {\text{f}}k\acute{p} \) is a lightly aspirated, voiceless labio-velar plosive.

\( {\text{f}}g\acute{b} \) is a lightly aspirated, voiced labio-velar plosive.

Further restrictions on the occurrence of the stops:
\( {\text{f}}k \) and \( {\text{f}}g \) do not occur before \( {\text{f}}j \) or \( {\text{f}}i \).
\( {\text{f}}k\acute{p} \) and \( {\text{f}}g\acute{b} \) do not occur before \( {\text{f}}j \) or \( {\text{f}}w \).
\( {\text{f}}c \) and \( {\text{f}}j \) do not occur before \( {\text{f}}j \).

123.2  Fricatives
\( {\text{f}}f\acute{f} \), a voiceless labio-dental fricative, and \( {\text{f}}s\acute{f} \), a voiceless alveolar fricative, are voiced, \([v]\) and \([z]\) respectively, following the homorganic nasal:\(^1\)

\( {\text{f}}n\acute{f}j\acute{f} \) [\( \tilde{\eta}\nu\tilde{j}\tilde{e} \)]  'ribs'
\( {\text{f}}f\acute{c}n\acute{f}\acute{o} \) [\( f\acute{\nu}\nu\nu\acute{o} \)]  'shade'

\(^1\)\([v]\) and \([z]\) occur word-initially in a very few words and names that have been borrowed from Wan, a neighboring language to the Kode dialect of Baule, which has phonemic \( v \) and \( z \).
The three exceptions to this rule are all in the numeral system:

- /nswɛf/ [ŋzɛ] 'ashes'
- /jeŋsu/ [jɛnzu] 'a bush spirit'

Since the voicing of fricatives after the homorganic nasal is a generalization about the phonological system that should not be obscured, we do not recognize the phonemic status of [z]. The three exceptions listed above will be specially marked in the lexicon so that they will not undergo the Voicing of Fricatives rule.

\( /f/ \) contrasts with \( /m/ \):

- /fɛf/ 'be white'
- /mɛf/ 'swallow'

\( /f/ \) contrasts with \( /w/ \):

- /faf/ 'take'
- /waf/ 'child'

\( /s/ \) contrasts with \( /l/ \):

- /laʃ/ 'lie down'
- /saʃ/ 'draw water'
- /lɪf/ [nɪ] 'mother'
- /sɪʃ/ 'fire'
123.3 **Lateral**

/l/ is realized as [l], a voiced lateral, in a non-nasal environment, that is, word-initially preceding oral glides and vowels and word-medially following oral vowels and preceding oral glides and vowels. /l/ contrasts with /d/ in this position:

- /lolo/ 'carry on back'
- /ldodo/ 'a red bird'
- /lwai/ 'plant'
- /ldwa/ 'tail'
- /lje/ 'possessive suffix'
- /dje/ 'canoe'

/l/ is realized as [n], an alveolar nasal stop,

a) word-initially preceding nasal vowels or nasalized glides. (Since nasalized glides are allophones of their non-nasalized counterparts, the rule changing /l/ to [n] must be ordered after the rule nasalizing the glides.)

- /nlä/ [nä] 'and'
- /nlü/ [nü] 'in'
- /nlï/ [nî] 'mother'
- /ljä/ [njä] 'look'
- /lwä/ [nwä] 'mouth'

b) following /n/, homorganic nasal:

- /nlä/ [nänä] 'four'
- /nlë/ [nänë] 'meat, animal'

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A dance
black deer
four-legged animal

As C₂ in a C₁C₂V syllable:

/a/ is realized as [l], a voiced lateral, following /b, p, m, f, k, g, kʰ, ɡʰ, and w/ preceding oral vowels:

/plan/ [plan] 'manioc paste'
/pla/ [pla] 'black'
/mla/ [mla] 'law'
/fle/ [fle] 'call'
/kle/ [kle] 'hat'
/gloglo/ [gloglo] 'kind of insect'
/kplo/ [kplo] 'skin'
/gble/ [gble] 'rule'
/wla/ [wla] 'rival'

/a/ is realized as [ɾ], a voiced flap, following /t, d, s, c, j and j/ preceding oral vowels:

/tle/ [tɾe] 'head'
/jändla/ [jəndɾa] 'proverb'
/sla/ [sɾa] 'moon'
/nsla/ [nəɾa] 'gathering'
/çloclo/ [cɾolo] 'funnel'
/jla/ [jɾa] 'lion'
/jlaf/ [jɾa] 'burn'

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\( /l/ \) is realized as \([\tilde{\text{i}}]\), a nasal lateral, following \(/b, p, m, f, k, g, k\)\(_p\), \(/g\)\(_b\), and \(/w/\) preceding a nasal vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
/lblI/ & \quad [b\tilde{i}] \quad 'quiet' \\
/lml\tilde{a}/ & \quad [m\tilde{\text{i}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'Wednesday'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/ljofl\tilde{e}/ & \quad [n\tilde{o}f\tilde{\text{e}}] \quad 'breast'
/lkl\tilde{e}/ & \quad [k\tilde{\text{e}}] \quad 'drum'
/lNglo\tilde{u}/ & \quad [n\tilde{\text{g}\tilde{\text{o}}\tilde{u}] \quad 'morning'
/lkpl\tilde{a}/ & \quad [kpl\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'plant'
/lNgbl\tilde{a}\tilde{a}/ & \quad [n\tilde{\text{g}}b\tilde{\text{b}}\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'lightning'
/lwl\tilde{a}\tilde{a}/ & \quad [\tilde{\text{w}}l\tilde{\text{a}}l\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'wander'
\end{align*}
\]

\( /f/ \) is realized as \([\tilde{\text{r}}]\), a nasal flap, following \(/t, d, s, c, j/\) preceding nasal vowels:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ltl\tilde{a}/ & \quad [t\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'sit'
/ndl\tilde{a}/ & \quad [n\tilde{\text{d}}\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'slippery'
/lsl\tilde{a}/ & \quad [s\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'person'
/ljl\tilde{a}/ & \quad [j\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{a}}] \quad 'stand'
/ljl\tilde{u}/ & \quad [n\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{u}}] \quad 'face'
\end{align*}
\]

123.4 **Glides**

\( /w/ \) is realized as \([\text{y}]\), a labio-palatal glide, as \(C_2\) of a \(C_1C_2V\) syllable

a) following alveolar consonants preceding \(/i, e/\) and \(e/\):

\[
\begin{align*}
/ltwi/ & \quad [t\text{ui}] \quad 'gun'
/\text{adwi}/ & \quad [\text{a}d\text{ui}] \quad 'an amulet'
/\text{swi}/ & \quad [s\text{ui}] \quad 'elephant'
/\text{liwi}/ & \quad [\text{l}\text{ui}] \quad 'fat'
\end{align*}
\]
(but not preceding /a/, /swa/ 'house,' /twa/ 'penis,' /lwa/ 'plant')

b) following palatal consonants preceding /i, e, a/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m'ucwet/</td>
<td>[m uc'e]</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jwe/</td>
<td>[jye]</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lajwet/</td>
<td>[laj-qa]</td>
<td>'kind of mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jiwi/</td>
<td>[ji-i]</td>
<td>'lower back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jiwet/</td>
<td>[ji-e]</td>
<td>'death'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jiwa/</td>
<td>[ji-a]</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aklijiwet/</td>
<td>[akliji]</td>
<td>'dwarf'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/w/ is realized as [w], a labio-velar glide, in all other non-nasal environments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/twa/</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>[we]</td>
<td>'swim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twet/</td>
<td>[u wa]</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twet/</td>
<td>[u wo]</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonetic distinction between [u wa] 'steal' and [wa] 'child' and between [i je] 'firewood' and [je] '1st person plural pronoun' is slight. It is characterized by a tenser rounding of the lips in producing the sound at the beginning of [u wa] than at the beginning of [wa] and similarly a tenser palatal sound at the beginning of [i je] than at the beginning of [je]. There is, however, an important structural distinction: the fact that the verbs /twet/ [u wa] 'steal' and /jjat/ [i ja] 'meet' pattern tonally with verbs of the shape CCV and not with the verbs of the shape CV.
$\text{wIa}$  $[\text{wIa}]$  'rival'
$\text{wIu}$  $[\text{wIu}]$  'enter'
$\text{Iwa}$  $[\text{Iwa}]$  'plant'
$\text{bwe}$  $[\text{bwe}]$  'half'

$\text{w}$ is realized as $[\text{w}]$, a nasalized labio-palatal glide, as $C_2$ of a $C_1C_2V$ syllable

a) following alveolar stops and fricative preceding $\text{TI}$ and $\text{C}T$:
$\text{bodwI}$  $[\text{bodI}]$  'bark'
$\text{tWI}$  $[\text{tI}]$  'chicken coop'
$\text{NSwe}$  $[\text{nzIe}]$  'ashes'
$\text{fJanswe}$  $[\text{nanzIe}]$  'shame'

b) following palatal consonants preceding $\text{e}$ and $\text{a}$:
$\text{cwI}$  $[\text{cI}]$  'pull'
$\text{cwacwa}$  $[\text{cqacqa}]$  'sweep'

(Examples with $\text{f}j\text{I}$ and $\text{f}j\text{I}$ are not available but informants agree that such sequences are possible.)

$\text{w}$ is realized as $[\text{w}]$, a nasalized labio-velar glide, in all other nasal environments:
$\text{wIu}$  $[\text{wIu}]$  'husband'
$\text{we}$  $[\text{we}]$  'mother's brother'
$\text{wlawIa}$  $[\text{nlawIa}]$  'wander'
$\text{awI}$  $[\text{awI}]$  'heart'

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ʃjʃ is realized as [j], a palatal glide, in all non-nasal environments; that is, preceding oral vowels, [j] and [ɾ], and following (in word-medial position) oral vowels. For example

ʃjʃ /ʃjʃ/ [ji] 'wife'
ʃjeʃ /ʃjeʃ/ [je] '1st person plural pronoun'
ʃtʃaʃ /ʃtʃaʃ/ [tja] 'stop on'
ʃbjeʃ /ʃbjeʃ/ [bje] 'urinate'
ʃjjeʃ /ʃjjeʃ/ [iʃe] 'firewood'
ʃjʃaʃ /ʃjʃaʃ/ [iʃa] 'gather'
ʃʃaʃ /ʃʃaʃ/ [ʃa] 'burn'

ʃʃ is realized as [ʃ], a nasalized palatal glide, as C₂ of a C₁C₂V syllable preceding nasal vowels:

ʃbʃaʃ /ʃbʃaʃ/ [bjə] 'man'
ʃmʃaʃ /ʃmʃaʃ/ [mjə] 'press'
ʃʃəʃjʃ /ʃʃəʃjʃ/ [nənjəʃ] 'sky'
ʃʃʃəʃ /ʃʃʃəʃ/ [ʃʃʃ] 'dirty'
ʃʃʃʃ /ʃʃʃʃ/ [ŋʃʃʃ] 'ribs'

ʃʃ is realized as [n], a palatal nasal stop, syllable-initially preceding or following a nasal segment:

ʃʃʃʃ /ʃʃʃʃ/ [nʃʃʃʃ] 'face, eyes'
ʃʃʃʃ /ʃʃʃʃ/ [nʃʃʃʃ] 'gain'
ʃʃʃʃ /ʃʃʃʃ/ [nʃʃʃʃ] 'roll of cloth'
ʃʃʃʃ /ʃʃʃʃ/ [nʃʃʃʃ] 'kapok tree'

See footnote 1, page 25.
123.5 Limitations of consonant-glide-vowel sequence

Limitations on the sequence of consonant-glide-vowel that may co-occur in a \( C_1C_2V \) syllable are tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( C_1 )</th>
<th>( C_2 )</th>
<th>( V )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t, d, s, l/</td>
<td>/w/: [( y ); [( y )]</td>
<td>/i, e, ( e ); /( e ); [( e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c, j/</td>
<td>[( y ); [( y )]</td>
<td>/e, ( e ); /( e ); [( e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t, d, s, l/</td>
<td>/w/: [( w ); [( w )]</td>
<td>/( a ); /( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p, b, k, g, f, m/</td>
<td>[( w ); [( w )]</td>
<td>/i, # e, ( e ); a; /( e ); /( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p, b, t, d, f, s, m, l/</td>
<td>/j/: [( j ); [( j )]</td>
<td>/e, ( e ); a, o**; /( e ); /( a )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*only 1 example
**only 2 examples

The following generalizations can be made about these restrictions:

a) With two exceptions (/\( pjo\)n\( b\)jo\( f \) /'sharp' and /\( d\)jo \( ūm\)j\( ē\)\( f \) /) only unrounded vowels occur following a consonant-glide sequence.

b) /\( t, d, s, l/\), the alveolar consonants, occur before [\( w \)] only if /\( a \)\( f \) follows.

c) /\( c, j, k, g, kp, gb\)/, the high consonants, do not occur preceding /\( j\)/; in addition, /\( k\)/, /\( g\)/ do not occur preceding /\( w\)/.
130. THE SYSTEMATIC PHONEMES

In this section the segments necessary to distinguish all the morphemes of Baule at the systematic phonemic level are posited and the conditions and rules necessary to predict their phonetic output are presented. These will be in the form of a) morpheme structure conditions and b) phonological rules. The segments posited at the systematic phonemic level are a sub-set of the surface phonemes. Underlying forms are posited and phonological rules given which make it unnecessary to recognize labialized consonants and nasal vowels at the systematic phonemic level. The segments at this level will be described and referred to in terms of features; the set of features used is essentially taken from Chomsky and Halle (1968). The segments needed at the systematic phonemic level to distinguish all the morphemes of Baule are the following:
\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{lcccccccccccccc}
\hline
 & p & t & c & k & kp & b & d & j & g & gb & f & s & m & l & j & w \\
\hline
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
The features [high, grave, round and lateral] are non-distinctive for the consonants but are included since they are used to define classes of sounds in the phonological rules. /N/ is a syllabic nasal, unspecified for other features since phonetically it is homorganic with the following consonant.

The symbols used in this discussion are the following:

/ / Systematic phonemic representation

Systematic phonetic representation, or any representation between the systematic phonemic and systematic phonetic levels (ignoring, in this section, the surface phonemic level).

/ In the environment of

Feature specification for one segment

\[
\begin{align*}
F_1 & \quad F_2 \\
F_2 & \quad \vdots \\
F_n &
\end{align*}
\]

Optional element

Select one of the items within the braces

Variables that stand for either + or -; e.g.

\[
F_1 \rightarrow \alpha F_1 / \ldots \alpha F_2 \text{ means "If } F_2 \text{ is +, then } F_1 \text{ is +; and if } F_2 \text{ is -}, \text{ then } F_1 \text{ is -."}
\]

\[
F_1 \rightarrow \\bar{\alpha} F_1 / \ldots \\bar{\alpha} F_2 \text{ means "If } F_2 \text{ is -}, \text{ then } F_1 \text{ is +; and if } F_2 \text{ is +}, \text{ then } F_1 \text{ is -."}
\]

If item within angled braces is chosen, then the other item within angled braces must be chosen.
131. Morpheme Structure Conditions (MSC)

These rules state phonological redundancies in the shape of the morpheme at the systematic phonemic level.

131.1 Syllable shape

The underlying shape of the syllable in Baule can be represented as (C)(C)V(M), an optional non-syllabic followed optionally by another non-syllabic followed by an obligatory syllabic followed by an optional nasal. There is a condition that the second C must be a liquid or a glide. The structure of the syllable can be stated as a positive condition:

\[
\text{MSC 1} \quad \$([-\text{syllabic}])([-\text{syllabic}])\{[+\text{nasal}]
\]

The above condition states:

a) that there are 6 possible syllable shapes:
that if the second segment is not a vowel it must be a liquid or a glide;

c) that the only segment permitted to follow the vowel is a nasal.
This includes /m/, which will trigger vowel nasalization (Section 132.2) and /n/, the syllabic nasal, which loses its syllabicity (Section 132.1) in this position.

131.2 Syllable-final nasal

A post-vocalic nasal /n/ occurs only word-medially; a post-vocalic nasal /m/ can occur either word-medially or word-finally. Another condition is thus necessary for the syllable-final nasal:

MSC 2 1: [+nasal]#
      T: [+consonantal]

This condition states (in an If-Then construction) that a syllable-final nasal that is also word-final is obligatorily /m/, i.e. the nasal that in syllable-final position triggers the vowel nasalization rule.
MSC 1 above states the condition that the second C of a CCV sentence has to be a liquid or a glide. There are further restrictions on this sequence which are stated below:

MSC 3

1. [+consonantal] [-syllabic] [+syllabic] [-consonantal]  
   T: [-round]

This condition states that if a glide follows a true consonant or a liquid (i.e. excluding the glides and the syllabic nasal), the following vowel is non-round (/i, e, e, a/). For example /bwɪ/ 'bark,' /bwɑ/ 'sheep,' /bje/ 'urinate,' /bja/ 'stool' occur but not */bwu/ or */bwo/, */bju/, or */bjɔ/.

MSC 4

1. [+syllabic] [-syllabic] [-consonantal]  
   T: [+consonantal] [-syllabic, +anterior, -back]

This condition states that if a labio-velar consonant (/k̂p, ɡb/) is followed by a non-syllabic, it is obligatorily /l/. For example, /k̂plo/ 'skin' and /ɡble/ 'ruse' occur but not */k̂pjo/ or */ɡbjo/ or */k̂pw/ or */ɡbw/.

MSC 5

   T: [+anterior, -back]

This condition states that palatal and velar consonants never occur before the glide /j/; only labial, labio-dental and alveolar consonants occur in this position. For example, /bja/ 'stool,' /fje/ 'fields,'
/**step on,' /sje/ 'put,' /ˈnɪmje/ 'urine' occur but not */c\jV/, */jjV/, */kjV/, or */gjV/.

MSC 6
1: [+consonantal] [-syllabic]
   [+sonorant]
   [-nasal]

T: [-consonantal]

This condition states that if the first of a sequence of two consonants is /l/, the second is obligatorily a glide (/w, j/).

MSC 7
1: [+consonantal] [+syllabic]
   [+high]
   [-back]

T: { [+back]
      [-anterior] }
      { [-back] }

This condition states that a single consonant preceding /i/ is never /k/ or /g/.

132. Phonological Rules

132.1 Homorganic nasal

The syllabic nasal (in words like /ˈnda/ ['twin', /ˈnga/ ['ring'] and /ˈnja/ ['sir']) and the syllable-final, word-medial nasal (in words like /ˈkpeŋɡbeŋ/ ['elder' and /ˈamwunfʊ/ ['pity']) are both phonetically homorganic with the following consonant, and never contrast. They are represented at the systematic phonemic level with the same segment: /n/, which has as its features [+syllabic].

The rule producing the syllable-final, word-medial nasal thus changes the syllabic nasal to a non-syllabic nasal. /n/ has to be [+syllabic]
in its underlying form in order to be counted as a syllable when it is word-initial and thus to have its own tone in the lexicon. If the rule were written to assign syllabic ity to the homorganic nasal when it occurs word-initially, there would be no way to predict what tone that syllabic nasal would have.

**HOMORGANIC NASAL RULE**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ [+syllabic] } & \quad \text{ [+nasal]} \\
\text{ [+nasal] } & \quad \begin{cases}
\text{ [+oral]} \\
\text{ [+coronal]} \\
\text{ [+anterior]} \\
\text{ [+back]} \\
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

This rule states that /n/ will take on the features of the following non-syllabic and will additionally be non-syllabic if preceded by a vowel, i.e. word-medially. For example:

- /ngo/ \[\text{[ŋgo]}\] 'oil'
- /ngba/ \[\text{[ŋgba]}\] 'all'
- /nje/ \[\text{[ɲje]}\] 'kapok tree'
- /konfi/ \[\text{[komfi]}\] 'greed'
- /janle/ \[\text{[janle]}\] 'black deer'

132.2 Nasalized vowels

The phonological inventory can be simplified by positing only one set of underlying vowels, namely oral vowels, and deriving the nasal vowels from underlying vowel plus /m/. Since there are already syllables
of the shape C(C)VN (i.e. syllables ending in the homorganic nasal like /manda/ 'banana,' /klôngbo/ 'eggplant'), we are not adding to the inventory of syllable shapes. However, since the syllable-final homorganic nasal occurs only word-medially, we will have to additionally posit C(C)VN syllables word-finally.

A generative phonological analysis of a neighboring language (Schacter and Fromkin, A Phonology of Akan) posits nasal vowels at the systematic phonemic level. In that analysis, all nasal consonants are derived from non-nasal voiced consonants or glides contiguous to nasal vowels. One would anticipate that the systematic phonemic level of Akan and Baule would agree as to the origin of nasal segments, i.e. either underlying nasal vowels or underlying nasal non-vowels. Although nasa consonants in Baule primarily occur in a nasal environment (cf. origin of [n] and [n], Section 132.5 and additionally the discussion of the homorganic nasal, Section 132.1), it is not possible to predict the occurrence of all nasal consonants. /m/ contrasts with oral labials in both nasal and non-nasal environments:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{} & \text{oral} & \text{nasal} \\
\text{\textbf{fmla}} & [\text{mla}] & \text{\textit{law}} \\
\text{\textbf{fbla}} & [\text{bla}] & \text{\textit{woman}} \\
\text{\textbf{fwla}} & [\text{wla}] & \text{\textit{rival}} \\
\text{\textbf{fmē}} & [\text{mē}] & \text{\textit{swallow}} \\
\text{\textbf{fbō}} & [\text{bō}] & \text{\textit{give off odor}} \\
\text{\textbf{fwē}} & [\text{wē}] & \text{\textit{say}} \\
\end{array}
\]

It is possible, however, to predict the occurrence of nasalized vowels if we posit /vowel + m/ at the systematic phonemic level. /m/ is chosen
as the segment to condition nasalization of vowels because a) its pho-
nemic status is established (cf. examples given above), and b) it does
not otherwise occur after a vowel in the same syllable and can thus be
deleted after it nasalizes the vowel. The Vowel Nasalization Rule and
the Regressive Vowel Nasalization Rule account for all occurrences of
nasal vowels.

**VOWEL NASALIZATION RULE**

$$\begin{align*}
\text{[+syllabic]} & \quad \text{[+nasal]} \\
1 & \quad \text{[+consonantal]} \\
2 & \quad \{C\} \\
3 & \quad \{\#\} \\
\end{align*}$$

This rule states that a vowel followed by /m/ followed by a true conso-
nant or a word boundary is nasalized and the /m/ is deleted. For
example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/dam/</th>
<th>VOW NASA</th>
<th>[dä]</th>
<th>'big'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kpamflem/</td>
<td>VOW NASA</td>
<td>[kpäfle]</td>
<td>'young man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rule will not operate if /m/ is followed by a glide or a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/dumam/</th>
<th>VOW NASA</th>
<th>[dumä]</th>
<th>'name'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jamjem/</td>
<td>VOW NASA</td>
<td>[nämjë]</td>
<td>'sky'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above two examples are not yet fully derived, their phonetic forms
being [dümä] and [nämjë]. The Regressive Vowel Nasalization Rule is
needed to account for syllable final nasal vowels before [m].
132.3 **Regressive vowel nasalization**

Vowels that occur before word-medial nasals (i.e. other than syllable-final /m/, which according to the preceding rule gets deleted) are phonetically nasalized, i.e. there is no contrast in that position between oral and nasal vowels (cf. discussion page 12). Vowels are also nasalized when they precede a nasal vowel. The two vowels /e/ and /o/, however, are never nasalized. The rule can thus be stated as follows:

**REGRESSIVE VOWEL NASALIZATION RULE**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{[+syllabic]} \\
&\text{[+nasal]} \quad / \quad \text{[+nasal]}
\end{align*}
\]

This rule states that either a [+high, -low] or a [-high, +low] vowel becomes nasalized before a nasal segment. It is ordered after Vowel Nasalization. For example

- /dii̞m/  
  VOW NASA [di̞], \quad REGRES NAS [di̞]  
  'quiet'

- /klaam/  
  VOW NASA [klaa̞], \quad REGRES NAS [klaa̞]  
  'pretty'

- /jumam/  
  VOW NASA [jūm̩], \quad REGRES NAS [jūm̩]  
  'work'

- /kanga/  
  HOMOR NAS [kanga], \quad REGRES NAS [kanga]  
  'crab'

- /kpeŋgbem/  
  HOMOR NAS [kpeŋgbem], \quad VOW NASA [kpeŋgb̥e], \quad REGRES NAS [kpeŋgb̥e]  
  'elder'

The Regressive Vowel Nasalization Rule has to be conjunctively ordered (i.e. it is applied whenever the output of another rule satisfies the
conditions for its application) so that it will apply after the Sonorant Nasal Rule. For example

/ajimble/

VOW NAS [aTble]
SON NAS [aTble]
REGRES NAS [aTble] 'misfortune'

/awunfo/

HOMOR NAS [awumfo]
REGRES NAS [awumfo]
SON NAS [awumfo]
REGRES NAS [awumfo]
(VOICING [awumvo])*

132.4 Nasalization of sonorants

The sonorants /l/, /j/, and /w/ are nasalized preceding a nasalized vowel.

SONORANT NASALIZATION RULE

\[ [+\text{sonorant}] \rightarrow [+\text{nasal}] / \langle [+\text{syllabic}] \rangle \quad [+\text{nasal}] \]

The rule states that /w/ becomes [ʍ] before all nasal segments and that /l/ and /j/ become [ɭ] and [ɭ] respectively only after a consonant or a glide, i.e. as C₂ of a C₁C₂V syllable. This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization. For example

/klam/

VOW NASA [klȳ]
SON NASA [klȳ] 'belly'

/ljam/

VOW NASA [ljā]
SON NASA [ljā]
(NAS STOPS [njā])* 'look'

/wum/

VOW NASA [wȳ]
SON NASA [wȳ] 'husband'

*presented below

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132.5 Nasal stops

[n] and [ŋ] occur only preceding or following nasality and can be derived from underlying /l/ and /j/ respectively.

NASAL STOP RULE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+sonorant} & \rightarrow \text{+nasal} \\
\{\text{-grave} \} & \rightarrow \{\text{+consonantal} \} \\
\{\text{+-lateral} \}_a, \{\text{+-lateral} \}_b & \rightarrow \# \text{+nasal}
\end{align*}
\]

The rule states that /l/ and /j/ become nasal and additionally that /l/ becomes a [-lateral] nasal, i.e. [n], and that /j/ becomes a nasal consonant, i.e. [ŋ]. These two features ([-lateral] and [+consonantal]) are needed to distinguish [n] and [ŋ] from [i] and [j]. This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization and Sonorant Nasalization. Since /j/ and /l/ do not become nasal stops when they occur as C₂ of a C₁C₂V syllable where the vowel has been nasalized the rule specifies a word boundary before /l/ or /j/. For example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VOW NASA} & \quad [\text{jä}] \\
\text{NAS STOP} & \quad [\text{nä}] & \text{'gain, get'} \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad [\text{nje}] \\
\text{NAS STOP} & \quad [\text{nne}] & \text{'how much'}
\end{align*}
\]
132.6 Voicing of fricatives

[v] and [z] do not occur at the systematic phonemic level but are derived from postnasal /f/ and /s/.

VOICING ASSIMILATION RULE

\[
(+\text{consonantal}) \rightarrow (+\text{voice}) \] / \[+\text{voice}\]\n
This rule states that /f/ and /s/ become voiced following voiced consonants. In fact, [v] and [z] only occur following a homorganic nasal but
The rule as written above states the more general process that is at work, namely assimilation to the feature [voice]. The only other [+consonantal] segment that ever precedes /f/ or /s/ at the underlying level is the syllable-final /m/ which causes nasalization of vowels (e.g. /kpamflem/); but since this /m/ is deleted in a previous rule it will not cause the voicing of the fricatives ([kpâflê]). This rule is thus ordered after the Vowel Nasalization Rule. For example

\[
/\text{nfsu}/ \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} [\text{nfsu}] \\
\text{VOICING} [\text{nzu}] \\
\text{'what'}
\]

\[
/\text{nfsjem}/ \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} [\text{nfsjem}] \\
\text{VOW NASA} [\text{nfsjem}] \\
\text{SON NASA} [\text{nfsjem}] \\
\text{VOICING} [\text{nvsjem}] \\
\text{'ribs'}
\]

\[
/\text{jomsflem}/ \\
\text{VOW NASA} [\text{jomsflem}] \\
\text{SON NASA} [\text{jomsflem}] \\
\text{NAS STOP} [\text{jomsflem}] \\
\text{'breast'}
\]

The three numerals /\text{nsm}/ [\text{nsm}] 'three,' /\text{njsm}/ [\text{njsm}] 'six,' and /\text{nso}/ [\text{nso}] 'seven' are marked in the lexicon [-Voicing Assimilation Rule].

132.7 Labio-palatal glide

[\text{u}] occurs following alveolar and palatal non-syllabics (i.e. true consonants and glides) before certain vowels; [\text{w}] never occurs in these same environments. We therefore derive [\text{u}] from underlying /\text{w}/.
FRONTING RULE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[syllabic]} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{[back]} & \quad / & \quad \text{[syllabic]} \\
\text{[consonantal]} & \quad + \quad \text{[back]} & \quad [ & \quad \text{[grave]} \\
& & \text{\_\text{anteior\textgreater}} &
\end{align*}
\]

This rule states that /w/ becomes \[\text{[q]}\] following alveolar consonants before non-back vowels (/i, e, e/) and following palatal consonants and glide before all vowels. In fact only non-round vowels follow \[\text{[q]}\] but this is a general restriction following all sequences of two non-syllables and has already been stated in MSC 3. For example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad \text{[nswe]} \\
\text{VOICING} & \quad \text{[nzwe]} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[n}z\text{qe]} & \quad \text{'water'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad \text{[nswem]} \\
\text{VOW NASA} & \quad \text{[nsw}e\text{]} \\
\text{SON NASA} & \quad \text{[nsw}e\text{]} \\
\text{VOICING} & \quad \text{[nz}we\text{]} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[n}z\text{qe]} & \quad \text{'ashes'}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that by the application of Sonorant Nasalization before fronting, \[\text{[w]}\] becomes \[\text{[y]}\].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[l}wi\text{]} & \quad \text{'fat'} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[cq}a\text{]} & \quad \text{'spear'} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[aj}we\text{]} & \quad \text{'rice'} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[j}wa\text{]} & \quad \text{'sun'} \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad \text{[akli}j\text{wi]} & \quad \text{'dwarf'}
\end{align*}
\]

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132.8 **Rounding of consonants**

The following rule accounts for the rounding of certain consonants before /l/:

**LABIALIZATION RULE**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
[+\text{consonantal}] & [\text{+syllabic}] & [\text{+lateral}] \\
\text{+high} & \text{+round} \\
\hline
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

The rule states that a high round vowel causes rounding of the previous consonant before /l/ and is deleted.\(^1\) For example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sule/</td>
<td>[swłu]r</td>
<td>'termite hill' (*\text{presented below})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kulam/</td>
<td>[kwłɔ]</td>
<td>'widowhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jula/</td>
<td>[jwyla]</td>
<td>'descend'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

132.9 **The lateral**

[\(\text{\text{
ocircumflex}y}\)] occurs only following alveolar and palatal non-syllabics; [\(\text{l}\)] never occurs in this position. This rule can best be stated using the feature [\(\text{grave}\)].

**LATERAL RULE**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
[+\text{consonantal}] & [-\text{lateral}] & [-\text{syllabic}] \\
\text{+sonorant} & \hline
\text{grave} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^1\)The previously arbitrarily-assigned tone on this vowel is also deleted.
This rule states that /l/ becomes [ɾ] following non-grave true consonants or glide. (The non-occurrence of *[l̥v] is already stated by MSC 6.) For example

/sla/  
LATERAL  [sɾa] 'moon'

/tie/  
LATERAL  [tɾe] 'head'

/jla/  
LATERAL  [jɾa] 'lion'

/jla/  
LATERAL  [jɾa] 'burn'

/l/ becomes [ɾ] upon the application of the Sonorant Nasalization Rule; [ɾ] becomes [ɾ̥] upon application of the Lateral Rule:

/slam/  
VOW NASA  [sl̥a]  
SON NASA  [sl̥a] 'person'

140. **Tone**

There are five contrastive tones in Kode Baule, three level and two contour. The level tones are high (h), mid (m), and low (l); the contour tones are a rising tone (mh) and a falling tone (ml). Phonetically the contour tones modulate over a very narrow interval: the starting point and the ending point of the rising tone both fall somewhere between mid and high; and likewise, for the falling tone, both its starting point and ending point fall between mid and low.

The tones can be represented thus

```
•          •          •          •

•          •

high rising mid falling low
```
The occurrence of these five tones on monosyllabic words divides them into five distinct tone classes.

High (')

' ꞁsآخر 'affair'
' ꞁسكتب 'clay pot'
' ꞁbwأ 'liver'
' ꞁblأ 'well'

Rising (')

' ꞁسأ 'hand'
' ꞁkپأ 'awl'
' ꞁبأ 'water pot'
' ꞁكپأأ 'skin'

Mid (-)

' ꞁدأ 'termite'
' ꞁگأ 'trap'
' ꞁبأأ 'woman'
' ꞁكپأأأ 'village'

Falling (\)

' ꞁسأأ 'funeral'
' ꞁبأأ 'bottom'
' ꞁبأأأ 'flute'
' ꞁكپأأأ 'species'
Low (')

\( f\text{sàf} \) 'ginger'
\( f\text{bàf} \) 'child'
\( f\text{bwàf} \) 'sheep'
\( f\text{kèf} \) 'toad'

(The class of mid tone words is small; the other classes are fairly equally large).

A contour tone syllable is not noticeably longer than a level-tone syllable: the difference in length (if one exists) between \( s\text{ã} \) and \( s\text{ã} ' \) would have to be detected instrumentally. There is, however, a contrast in length between single vowels and geminate vowels and thus a contrast between a contour tone occurring on a single vowel and a sequence of two level tones occurring on geminate vowels. For example

\( f\text{kweၤ} \) 'fetus'
\( f\text{kweၤ 'ronier palm'} \)
\( f\text{Iəၤ} \) 'day'
\( f\text{Iəၤ 'long ago'} \)
\( f\text{ātəၤ} \) 'head'
\( f\text{ātəၤ 'magic'} \)

141. **Tonal Sandhi**

The changes in tone which occur in the context of speech are very complex and as yet incompletely analyzed. The rules that are posited below for non-verb phrases, although they account for a good portion of the tonal changes, do not completely account for the tonal phenomena of
the verb and its affixes. In writing Baule most tones are retrievable from the context; hence tone is not marked in any of the Baule examples in the subsequent text. The sole exceptions are the marking of verbal tone to indicate the difference between the stative and the certaintive modals (cf. Section 238.2), and the marking of high tone on the negative where the negative morpheme is incorporated into the factual past suffix (Section 238.3).

141.1 Downdrift

In fast speech, a phrase in Kode Baule exhibits downdrift, i.e. a lowering in the phonetic pitch associated with successive occurrences of the same contrastive tone. Thus the pitch interval between a given tone and a following higher tone is less than the interval between a given tone and a following lower tone.

141.2 Tone on the non-verb phrase

The rule that accounts for downdrift operates on a more basic set of rules that account for the changes in the tones of two syllables when they co-occur. A set of rules will be presented here which account for the majority of tonal changes in the language, i.e. those of the non-verb phrase.

The following forms illustrate these types of changes. The examples consist of two-word (and two-syllable) noun phrases presenting all the possible combinations of the five tones. The tones in parentheses before the phrase are the tones of the words in isolation.
1. (′′) → sê kpá  'good cooking-pot'
2. (′′) → sê blû  'ten cooking-pots'
3. (′) → kwâ blâ  'widow'
4. (′) → sê kô  'one cooking-pot'
5. (′′) → sê dâ  'big cooking-pot'

6. (′′) → jê kpá  'good tooth'
7. (′′) → jê blû  'ten teeth'
8. (′) → blû kî  'Blu's village'
9. (′′) → jê kô  'one tooth'
10. (′′) → jê dâ  'big tooth'

11. (′′) → gô kpá  'good trap'
12. (′′) → gô blû  'ten traps'
13. (′) → blâ kî  'woman's village'
14. (′′) → gô kô  'one trap'
15. (′′) → gô dâ  'big trap'

16. (′′) → blô kpá  'good flute'
17. (′′) → blô blû  'ten flutes'
18. (′) → bê blô  'search for sticks called be'
19. (′) → blô kô  'one flute'
20. (′) → blô dâ  'big flute'

21. (′′) → bê kpá  'good mat'
22. (′′) → bê blû  'ten mats'

* is a low-mid rising tone, different from a normal rising tone which is mid-high (′).
23. (') → bè bło  'search for leaves called bè'
24. (\textquoteleft) → bè k∫  'one mat'
25. ('') → bè dà  'big mat'

The rules that account for the changes illustrated above operate on five underlying tones which include the two contour tones.\footnote{An alternative analysis of tone in Baule was put forth in a previously written article (Timyan 1975) in which contour tones were considered a series of two level tones occurring on a single syllable at the underlying level. However, the rules had to take into account whether a certain tone was the first or the second tone of a given syllable which is another way of saying that contour tones have to be recognized.}

The features used to refer to these tones are [high], [low], and [contour].

- **High:** [ + high \ [- contour]
  (is redundantly [ - low])

- **Rising:** [ + high \ [+ contour]
  (is redundantly [ - low])

- **Mid:** [ - high \ [ - low]

- **Falling:** [ + low \ [+ contour]
  (is redundantly [ - high])

- **Low:** [ + low \ [- contour]

\begin{align*}
\text{a rising tone from low to mid (\textasciitilde)} \text{ which occurs only phrase-finally after a falling tone (e.g. #17 above).}
\end{align*}

The rules are ordered:

\textbf{TONE RULE 1:} [ + high \ [- low \ [+ contour]] \rightarrow [ - high] / [ - high \ [+ low \ [+ contour]]

This rule states that a rising tone is lowered following a falling tone phrase-finally (,) as in #17 above. Non-phrase-finally #17 would be:
bio b1u wɔ 15 'There are ten flutes there.'

In non-phrase-final position a rising tone following a falling tone (b1u in the above phrase) behaves analogously to a falling tone following a rising tone, e.g. k5 in #9 above. That is, contour tones become level tones assimilated to the "opposite" contour tones preceding them. This rule is written thus:

\[
\text{TONE RULE 2: } \begin{cases} 
\text{[-high & -low & +contour]} \\
\text{[-low & -low & -contour]} \\
\text{[-low & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{[+low & +contour]} \\
\text{[+low & -low & -contour]} \\
\text{[+low & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases}
\]

Since this rule is ordered after TR 1 it will change only those rising tones that are not changed by TR 1, i.e. those that are not phrase-final.

\[
\text{TONE RULE 3: } \begin{cases} 
\text{[-high & -low]} \\
\text{[+low & +contour]} \\
\text{[-high & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{[+low & +contour]} \\
\text{[+low & -low & -contour]} \\
\text{[+low & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases}
\]

This rule states that a mid level tone is lowered following a falling tone, e.g. in #18 above.

\[
\text{TONE RULE 4: } \begin{cases} 
\text{[-high & -low & +contour]} \\
\text{[-low & -low & -contour]} \\
\text{[-low & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{[-high & +low & -low]} \\
\text{[-high & -low & -contour]} \\
\text{[-high & -low & +contour]}
\end{cases}
\]

This rule states that a contour tone becomes a level mid tone preceding any tone of the same height, i.e. either contour or level.

For example

7. je b1u

TR 4 je b1u 'ten teeth'

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The above described tone changes take place within word boundaries also. All disyllabic words fall into nine tone classes, represented by the following words with their phonetic pitches:

I  kléjá  ‘antelope’
II  sómá  ‘fiancé’
III  ágbó  ‘toucan’
IV  tání  ‘cloth’
V  ákó  ‘chicken’
VI  bágbé  ‘sack’
VII  ańgá  ‘parrot’
VIII  ágbó  ‘manioc’
IX  àflé  ‘squash’
The following underlying tones are posited for each class based on the tonal sandhi which takes place in the context of a phrase:

I  kléfá
II  sómà
III  ágbò
IV  tání
V  ṛkó
VI  bájé
VII  akó
VIII  ágbá
IX  àflé

The underlying first syllable contour tones of Classes III-VII are justified in the following manner: the tones of the first syllables of Classes I-IV become low following a falling tone; the tones of the first syllables of Classes V-VIII become high following a rising tone; that is, they follow TONE RULE 2. For example

IV Underlying form: zibó tání
 TR 2: zibó tání
 TR 4: zibó tání  'Zibo's cloth'

V Underlying form: zibó ṛkó
 TR 2: zibó ṛkó
 TR 4: zibó ṛkó  'Zibo's chicken'

VI Underlying form: é bájé
 TR 2: é bájé
 TR 4: é bájé  'his sack'

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VII Underlying form: ē əkò
TR 2: ē əkò
TR 4: ē əkò 'his parrot'

VIII Underlying form: z̀ibò əgbà́
TR 1: z̀ibò əgbà́
TR 4: z̀ibò əgbà́ 'Zibo's manioc'

Admittedly the underlying form of Classes IV and V could also be ākò and ānì respectively, in which case TR 3 would be applied to lower the mid tone following a falling tone (i.e. in place of TR 2 in the examples above). However, the underlying tones chosen for this analysis for Classes IV and V are ākò and ānì so that the following observations on the restrictions of disyllabic tone sequences can be made:

Of a theoretically possible 25 combinations of disyllabic tone sequences, only 9 occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone on the first syllable</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>mh</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Note that a level tone is never followed by a contour tone. More interesting, however, are the restrictions on mid tone:

a) Mid tone never occurs on the first syllable and occurs on the second syllable only following a rising tone.

b) There is complementary distribution of high, mid and low following the contour tones. Falling tone is followed only by low tone; rising tone is followed only by a high or a mid tone, creating a dichotomy between low and non-low.

These two observations on mid tone are interesting in the light of analyses of other western Kwa languages where mid tone is analyzed as a down-stepped high tone with specific restrictions on its occurrence. The mid tone in Baule cannot be analyzed as a down-stepped high tone since there exist contrasts on monosyllables and in phrase-initial position. However, it should be noted that mid tone only occurs on a small class of monosyllables (less than 10 words) and an even smaller class of disyllables (less than 5 words).

141.3 Tone on the verb

Tone has a more important function in the verb than in the substantive phrase. A tonal distinction can mark the difference between two inflections of the verb or can mark the presence or absence of a pronoun object.

Three of the verbal inflections, the tonal modals (Section 238.2), are distinguished only by different tones on the verb root. The tones of the verb root are in turn influenced by the subject and object that
occur before and after the verb. Since the verb root never occurs in isolation (except in the Imperative mode, which has no overt subject), there is no well-justified way to posit a base form (with a basic tone) of the verb. We can, however, posit base forms for each of the three tonal modals. The base tones for each mode are taken to be those that occur on the verb root when the verb is not clause-final, i.e. when an object substantive phrase, a locative phrase or an adverb follows, since it is in this position that the verbal tones adhere to the tonal sandhi rules presented in the previous sections. A special set of rules accounts for the verb root tones when the verb occurs clause-finally.

Verbs fall into three tonal classes which are correlated with syllable structure. Class I verb roots have the shape CV; Class II verbs have the shape C CV; and Class III verbs have two or more syllables. The base tones are identical for Class I and Class II verbs; that is, these two classes are indistinguishable tonally when they occur non-clause-finally. It is only in clause-final position that the three classes have their distinguishing tonal patterns. The base tones for the three tonal modals are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Class I &amp; II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative mode</td>
<td>falling</td>
<td>falling$falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+low]</td>
<td>[+low]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+contour]</td>
<td>[+contour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certaintive mode</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high$falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+high]</td>
<td>[+high]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[-contour]</td>
<td>[-contour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive mode</td>
<td>rising</td>
<td>rising$high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+high]</td>
<td>[+high]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+contour]</td>
<td>[+contour]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The contour tones on the first syllable of Class III verbs are never realized on the surface but are posited as underlying tones on the evidence of their behavior in context. For example

(2) \((\text{ak}o\text{n}d\dot{e}\text{s}e) \rightarrow \text{ak}\text{unde}\text{s}e\) 'You look for pots/a pot.'

- falling → high/rising \((\text{TR 2})\)
- rising → mid/ high \((\text{TR 4})\)

(3) \((\text{n}\text{k}und\dot{e}\text{s}e) \rightarrow \text{n}\text{kunde}\text{s}e\) 'that I look for pots/a pot'

- rising → low/falling \((\text{TR 2})\)
- falling → mid/ low \((\text{TR 4})\)

The surface tones of the verb roots inflected for the three tonal modals in clause-final position are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Certaintive</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>(\text{a dzi}^1)</td>
<td>(\text{ndi}^1)</td>
<td>(\text{n dzi}^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other subjects</td>
<td>(\text{a nj\text{`a}})</td>
<td>(\text{ndi}^2)</td>
<td>(\text{n nj\text{`a}}^2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 \(\text{a}\), the 2nd person singular pronoun, is the only pronoun with a rising tone and is used here to illustrate the effect of rising tone subjects on the tone of the verb.

2 After substantives (excluding pronouns) with \([-\text{high}]\) tone (i.e. mid, falling and low tones), a high tone is inserted between the subject and the verb that can be heard at a deliberate speech rate. All pronouns, however, pattern like \([+\text{high}]\) tone substantives in this case.
The tonal changes that take place in the forms in (4) do not conform to the tonal sandhi rules written for non-verb phrases. For example, in the case of the Class I Stative verb root, the rules do not predict that a falling tone will become low-mid rising when it occurs clause-finally (TR 1). Likewise, there is no rule that changes a high tone (Class I Certaintive verb root) into a rising tone. Even if we ignored the base tones presented in (1), the verbal tones in (4) would not conform to the tonal sandhi rules. Take, for example, the Certain­tive form zi\bophi\'di 'Zibo will eat' (underlying tones of subject: \"zi\boph\") according to the tonal sandhi rules a mid-high rising tone does not occur on the surface after a falling tone; rather it becomes low (TR 2). Another set of rules is therefore needed to account for verb root tones when they occur clause-finally. (These have yet to be worked out.)

In the case that the 3rd person singular pronoun follows as the object of a verb whose final vowel is \_i, \_e, or \_e, the distinction between the presence or absence of a pronoun is signaled only by a difference in tone (see Section 221.4: the 3s pronoun assimilates to the final verbal vowel). For example

\[ \begin{align*}
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{di}} & \quad \text{I eat' } \\
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{di}} & \quad \text{I eat it' } \\
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{le}} & \quad \text{I ask' } \\
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{le}} & \quad \text{I ask for it' } \\
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{kunde}} & \quad \text{I look for' } \\
\overline{\text{n}} \, \overline{\text{kunde}} & \quad \text{I look for it' }
\end{align*} \]
The segmental verbal affixes (the Perfective and Imperfective prefixes and the Factual Past suffix) have their own basic tones which are affixed to either the basic Stative verb root or the basic Certain-tive verb root:

Perfective: $\text{ā} + $Stative (i.e. $\text{dtā} \ njā \ kündē$)  
Imperfective: $\text{sū}^- + $Certain-tive (i.e. $\text{df} \ njā \ kündē$)  
Factual Past: Stative $+ -\text{i}$, $-\text{v}$ (i.e. $\text{dtā} \ njā \ kündē$)

There are not at present sufficient data to establish the basic tones of the Directional Modals. On the basis of the data available the following tones are hypothesized:
mid tone (wá, ká) with the Subjunctive and Certaintive
rising tone (wá', ká') with the Stative, Perfective, Imperfective
and Factual Past.

150. ORTHOGRAPHY USED

The orthography used in writing Baule in the subsequent text is
broadly phonetic: since it has not been established that [n] and [n]
are allophonic variants in all dialects of Baule and since a grammatical
description of one dialect should be maximally comparable to descriptions
of other dialects, the [n] and [n] allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectively
are recognized. Nasal vowels are marked with a tilde (~), reflecting
the surface phonemic contrasts between oral and nasal vowels. The
homorganic nasal is written as ń. Labialized consonants are written
as ãw (for example ãwe 'termite hill'). All grammatical morphemes
will be given in both their systematic phonemic shape and in their
broad phonetic shape. The symbols used are those of the International
Phonetic Alphabet.

Tones are unmarked where they are predictable given the context.
The exceptions to this are:

a) on the verb root inflected for the certaintive mode
(Section 238.2). In this case a high tone (') is placed
on either the verb root or, in the case of Class II verbs
occurring phrase-finally, on the subject substantive.

b) to indicate the negative when the negative morpheme is in-
corporated into the duplicated vowel allomorph of the fac-
tual past suffix (Section 238.2). In this case a high
tone is placed on the duplicated vowel.
The following summary is provided as a framework in which the grammatical categories presented in later chapters can be considered. A systematic analysis of Baule syntax is deferred for a subsequent publication; however, a considerable amount of syntactic information is included in the discussion of the individual morphemes of this study. Since the example sentences are drawn from a sample of Baule discourse, each morpheme discussed is illustrated and examined within its typical syntactic contexts.

-Sentence and clause structure

Sentences are distinguished from clauses to account for the discourse particles (Section 250), the use of which requires recognition of this distinction. Simple sentences are composed of a single clause: complex sentences of more than one clause. The clauses of a multi-clause sentence can be in either a coordinate relationship, a subordinate relationship or a combination of both. Relationships of coordination include overlap, simultaneity, succession, hypotheticality, expectancy reversal, contingency and conjunction (Section 242.12). Subordinate clauses include sentential complements, indirect commands and relative clauses (Section 242.11). Relative clauses are discussed also in Section 222.3, 222.5 and 222.6. A clause, and thus a simple sentence, has the basic structure

substantive phrase (SP) + verb phrase (VP)

which can be considered a topic plus its comment.
-Phrase structure

An SP contains an obligatory substantive (Section 221) followed by optional adjuncts (Section 222). The order of the elements in an SP is: substantive + adjective (Section 222.1) + numeral/quantifier (Section 222.2) + nga, the demonstrative (Section 222.3) + nT, the specifier (Section 222.5). An SP that occurs immediately before a VP is referred to as the subject SP; the SP that occurs immediately after the verb is referred to as the object SP. In some instances two object SP's occur after the verb (Section 236). A VP contains minimally a verb (Section 238), a verbal group (Section 237), a completable verb (Section 233) or a copula (Section 231). It contains maximally either a) a verb (or verbal group) plus one or two SP's plus adjuncts, or b) a copula plus complement (Section 221.7). VP adjuncts include locative phrases (Section 221.7) and adverbs (Section 239).

-Interrogative sentences

Questions are formed in one of two ways. Yes-no questions have a distinctive intonation which consists of a sharply falling intonation on the last syllable of the question. They are otherwise identical to their corresponding declarative statements.

1) a) a su-kɔ.

'You are going.'

b) a su-kɔ?

'Are you going?'

2) a) kɔfi a-fa n tokpo,

'Kofi took my hoe.'

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b) kofi a-fa n tokpo?
'Did Kofi take my hoe?'

3) a) a-sje be alaka nū.
'He put them in the box.'

b) a-sje be alaka nū?
'Did he put them in the box?'

Question-word questions, on the other hand, do not have an interrogative intonation; they have rather the intonation of declarative statements. They are formed with the use of a class of interrogatives (Section 221.9).

Negative sentences

A negative sentence is formed by the addition of one of two negative morphemes. The morpheme mā is added after a verb inflected for all but the subjunctive and imperative modes (see Section 238.2 for examples of this). The morpheme nā is added at the front of the sentence, that is before the subject SP, in the case of the subjunctive and imperative modes and in the case of the copula ɔ (Section 231).

4) a) kpejā ɔ.
'It's a muskrat.'

b) nā kpejā ɔ.
'It isn't a muskrat.'
Focus and topicalization

Focus is indicated primarily by the use of focusing morphemes, topicalization by movement to the front of the sentence. Devices for indicating focus include the use of the emphatic particle bo and boba after a focused substantive (Section 222.7), the use of the associative -llj to focus on possession or on an attribute (Section 222.4). Non-subject SP's are topicalized by being moved to the front of the sentence; verbs are topicalized by the addition of the noun-deriving suffix -le (Section 221.8) and movement to the front of the sentence. Topicalized elements moved to the head of a sentence are obligatorily followed by the copula je (Section 231). When a relative clause is topicalized a noun or a pronoun trace obligatorily remains in the position from which the relative clause was moved (Section 222.3).
220. **The Substantive Phrase**

An SP occurs as the subject of a sentence, as the object of a verb, as the noun complement of a completable verb (Section 233), as the complement of a copula (Section 231) and as part of a Locative Phrase (Section 221.7). It is minimally composed of a substantive and maximally of a substantive plus adjuncts.

221. **Substantives**

Substantives are distinguished as a lexical class from verbs, adverbs and adjectives by their ability to occur with the specifier nT (Section 222.5) and the associative Ije (Section 222.4). Substantives are further subdivided into five sub-classes on the basis of co-occurrence possibilities, the precise semantic value the specifier nT carries when co-occurring with each class and the ability of members of each sub-class to occur with the noun-deriving affixes (Section 221.8). The five sub-classes of substantives are names, place names, pronouns, kin terms and nouns.

221.1 **Names, place names, pronouns and kin terms**

These four sub-classes have in common the fact that they are inherently specific, that is, they refer unambiguously to a specific referent, and therefore the addition of the specifier nT does not indicate specificity but rather focus or emphasis. For example

Name: 1) Kofi bo-o mT.

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Kofi hit FPST ls

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

'Kofi hit me.'
Kofi-nī, e bo-o mī.
1 2 3 4 5 6

Kofi SPEC, 3s hit FPST Is
1 2 3 4 5 6

'That Kofi, he hit me!'

Place 2) Bouakē wo mmwa.
Name: 1 2 3

Bouakē LCOP far
1 2 3

'Bouakē is far away.'

Bouakē-nī, klo nga wo mmua!
1 2 3 4 5 6

Bouakē SPEC, town this/that LCOP far
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Bouakē!, that town is really far away!'

Pro- 3) e jłā lɔ.
noun: 1 2 3

3s stand there
1 2 3

'He stands there.'

e-li jłā lɔ.
1 2 3 4

3s SPEC stand (STA) there
1 2 3 4

'The very he stands there (he, the very one, stands there).'

Kin terms, which obligatorily occur with a name or pronoun, can be considered a compound name without the specifier (e.g. n sì, 'My Father'); the addition of nī turns the compound name into a possessive construction (Section 222.4).
These four sub-classes of the class of substantives do not occur with the noun-deriving affixes (except the agentive suffix fwe which occurs with place names). They occur with the plural individuator mū but with a special meaning: mū suffixed to a name or kin term indicates 'the entourage of' or 'company of.' For example

4) Kofi-mū
   'Kofi and his'

5) n ji-mū
   'my wife and hers'

In the case of kin term + mū there is potential ambiguity: n ji-mū also means 'my wives (individuated)'. Place names occur sometimes with mū to mean 'people from' (e.g. Bouaké-mū 'people from Bouaké') but more often the agentive suffix fwe is added: Bouakéfwe-mū 'people from Bouaké.' mū does not occur with the singular pronouns (unless one wants to consider the second person plural pronoun, ṛmū, to be the second person singular pronoun, a, plus the plural individuator, mū). mū occurs with the third person plural pronoun, be, and less frequently with the first person plural pronoun, je, and never with the second person plural pronoun, ṛmū. For example

6) be-mū wo-o nzwe mū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3p INDIV go FPST water in
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'They (individuated) went to the river.'
7) je-mū nga je tlā klo wa-nī, je lɛ a sika.

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1p INDIV this/that 1p live village here SPEC, 1p PCOP NEG

money

12

'We (individuated) who live here in the village have no money.

Names and kin terms are inherently human, that is, they refer to potential actors. They are used as terms of address. The 2nd person pronouns are also used as address terms in which case they occur with the lī allomorph of the specifier nī. A pronoun is used as an address term to indicate displeasure or anger, or before uttering an insult. For example,

8) a-li a si a ngwlele.

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2s SPEC 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom

You know not wisdom!'

221.2 Names

A class with open membership which includes seven male and seven female day-names (which correspond to the day of the week one is born on), names derived from proverbs, names reflecting the position in the succession of and number of children born in a family, names of spiritual agencies, and, more recently, names borrowed from French. For example,

Kofi 'name of male born on Saturday'

Akisi 'name of female born on Monday'
Ndri 'name of fourth child in a row of the same sex'
Luku 'name of 11th child'
Oka 'name of child named after spirit of the mountain'

221.3 Place names

A class with open membership which is distinguished from the classes of names, kin terms and pronouns in that its members cannot be used as address terms. It includes the names of cities, villages and countries. For example

abijā 'Abidjan, the capital of Ivory Coast'
bwake 'Bouaké, the largest city in Baule territory'
bomī 'Béoumi, the principle town of Kode Baule territory'

221.4 Pronouns

A closed class of substantives which is distinguished from names, place names and kin terms in that the specifier is realized as li rather than nī when it occurs with its members. The six members of this class are further classified according to the categories of person and number. They are

1st person singular (ls)  n, mī (/N/, /mim/)
2nd person singular (2s)  a, wo (/a/, /w/)  
3rd person singular (3s)  e (/e/)  
1st person plural (1p)  je (/je/)  
2nd person plural (2p)  ōmū (/ammum/)  
3rd person plural (3p)  be (/be/)  

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First and Second Person Singular

The 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns each have two phonologically conditioned allomorphs. The forms mT and wo occur in the following four environments:

a) As independent forms, often used for emphasis:

9) mT o.
   'It's me.'

10) mT je n wo-o lo.
    1s COP 1s go FPST there
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    'It's me who went.'

11) m3 mT, m'a-wu lika.
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    self 1s 1s PERF see place
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    'I myself, I can see.'

12) a kungba wo wo lo o?
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    2s only 2s LCOP there QUES
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    'Are you the only one there?'

1In other dialects of Baule the allomorphic variants of the 1st and 2nd person singular pronoun are not entirely phonologically conditioned, but also grammatically conditioned; one set occurs primarily in subject position and the other set occurs primarily in non-subject position. Although Kode forms tend to follow the same restrictions, n and a, the "subject" forms also occur in object position non-phrase finally and thus are considered to be phonologically conditioned.
13) wo, awofwe kō-nī, ko wūst?
   2s stranger one SPEC go (IMP) wash
   'You, Stranger there, go wash!'

b) Clause finally:

14) ć fa-a jwe-nī mā-ā mī.
   3s take FPST fish SPEC give FPST Is
   'He took the fish and gave to me.'

15) n nī a-fle mī.
   Is mother PERF call Is
   'My Mother has called me.'

16) bo be si a mī nī, n su-kō a lo.
   since 3P know (STA) NEG Is DISC, Is IMPRF go NEG there
   'Since they don't know me, I'm not going there.'

17) bla nā n sūmā wo.
   come (IMP) and Is send (SUBJ) 2s
   'Come so I can send you (on an errand).'
18) se je swa wo nī, a yù lo a sè se?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   if lp load 2s SPEC, 2s arrive (CERT) there 2s tell (CERT)
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   what
   11
   'If we load you (i.e. put the load on your head), when you
   get there what will you say?'

c) After the noun phrase conjunction nī:

19) e nī mī je ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s and lp come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He and I came to the village.'

20) mō je nī wo j'a-bo su je wo le.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   since lp and 2s lp PERF hit on and lp LCOP there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   'Since I and you are already in battle, here we are.'
   (i.e. We have now declared war on each other.)

21) e nī wo ōmū ko kā ngwa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s and 2s 2p go play (SUBJ) games
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He and you go play.'

d) Preceding vowel-initial nouns, syllabic nasal initial nouns and the
   Perfect aspect market a- (the only verbal prefix that is a vowel).
   In the latter environment mī and wo are realized as [m] and [w]
respectively (non-syllabic) and are written m' and w' to indicate that they are separate morphemes from the vowel a (Perfect marker) which completes the syllable:

22) m'a-di ike.  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\ 4\]

   1s PERF eat thing  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\ 4\]

   'I have eaten.'

23) m'a-wüi.  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\]

   1s PERF see-3s  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\]

   'I have seen it.'

24) w'a-di ike.  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\ 4\]

   2s PERF eat thing  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\ 4\]

   'You have eaten.'

25) w'a-wüi.  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\]

   2s PERF see-3s  
   \[T\ 2\ 3\]

   'You have seen it.'

Preceding vowel-initial nouns only w' is realized by its short form w':

26) m'i ako  
   'my chicken'

w'i ako  
   'your chicken'
27) mî awlo
   'my home'

w'awlo
   'your home'

Preceding homorganic nasal initial nouns, mî and wo are fully realized:

28) mî nga
   'my ring'

wo nga
   'your ring'

29) mî nzà
   'my wine'

wo nzà
   'your wine'

n and a occur elsewhere; that is,

a) Non clause-finally:

30) n su-kô fje su, n bá.

   Is IMPRF go field on, Is come (CERT)

   'I'm going to the fields, I'll return.'
31) \( \text{n nanti n ja su n ba-li.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\text{is walk (STA) is foot on is come FPST}
\end{array}
\]
'I came on foot.'

32) \( \text{a flé n se?} \)
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{2s call (CERT) is what}
\end{array}
\]
'What will you name me?'

33) \( \text{ako-nT bole jo-o n fe.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\text{chicken SPEC crowing do FPST is sweet}
\end{array}
\]
'The crowing of the cock pleases me.'

34) \( \text{a su-minde a mT?} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\text{2s IMPRF wait NEG is}
\end{array}
\]
'Aren't you going to wait for me?'

35) \( \text{se m'a-ci a le ñ o, waka-nT kpló a le.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{if is PERF tie NEG there DISC, tree SPEC scrape (CERT)}
\end{array}
\]
'If I don't tie there, the three will scrape you there.'
36) a ba nga, n kũ a kpo!

2s child this/that, ls kill (CERT) 2s at-all-costs

'You there child, I will kill you at all costs!'

b) Preceding a consonant-initial noun:

37) n be

'my mat'

a be

'your mat'

37) n kle

'my hat'

a kle

'your hat'

Third Person Singular

The third person singular pronoun has a unique set of semantic and phonological properties.

Semantic properties:

It can either refer to a person or thing which is the subject of discourse or be used as an indefinite pronoun as in

39) e ti a te.

3s ICOP NEG bad

'lt doesn't matter.'
40) ε fata-a ke sīa je kūt ə.

3s be necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill (STA)-3s DISC

'It wasn't possible that a person killed it.'

41) ε ka-a ajika ba-nǐ kūngba.

3s stay FPST orphan child SPEC only

'It left only the orphan child.'

42) a-di cē ba nnō, be nā-a nzwe-nī.

3s-PRF spend day PART two, 3p get FPST-NEG water SPEC

'It was/passed two days, they didn't get the water.'

43) ε jo-o se āmū ba-li ə?

3s do FPST what 2p come FPST QUES

'Why (lit. 'it does what') did you come?'

44) ε jo se ti je swa nga ti sə?

3s do (STA) what cause COP house this/that ICO thus

'Why (lit. 'it is for what cause') is this house like this?

ε is used in the nominalization of adjectives and numerals (often in conjunction with the agentive suffix fwe acting as a dummy substantive to form a substantive phrase.)
Adjectives:

45) kā
'small'

ε kā
'small one/small ones'

46) tendē
'long'

ε tendē
'long one/long ones'

ε tendē-nī
'the long one/the long ones'

47) ie ε wa-nī, ε kaklafeb-nī bā c.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

and 3s child SPEC, 3s big AGT SPEC come (CERT) DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'And her child, the big one, came.'

48) ε bobo-o ako sa nāp, ε bie kō, ε nīmā kō.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s hatch FPST chicken thus two, 3s female one, 3s male one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'It hatched two chicks, one female one, one male one.'

49) n fē ε dā-nī.
1 2 3 4 5

1s take (CERT) 3s big SPEC
1 2 3 4 5

'I'll take the big one/the big ones.'
Numerals:

For numerals over one the addition of the 3s pronoun forms a substantive phrase:

50) nsā
   'three'

ε nsā
   'third (one)'

ε nsāfwe
   'third one'

ε nsā-nī, ε nsāfwe-nī
   'the third one'

51) ε npō su a-nē.
    1 2 3 4 5
    3s two one 3s-PRF get-3s
    1 2 3 4 5
   'On the second one (i.e. try) he got him.'

52) ε ji-nī, ε npōfwe-nī a-wu a ba.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
    3s wife SPEC, 3s two AGT SPEC, 3s-PRF bear NEG child
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   'His wife, the second one, bore no children.'

   (Also translates: 'His second wife bore no children.')</n
The addition of the 3s pronoun to the numeral one, kō, does not mean 'the first.' It means rather 'the one' as in
53)  e kō wā, 'mō n-ljē, a fiē n se?
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10
     3s one say, 'self is POSS, 2s call (CERT) is what
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10
     'The one said, 'Mine, what will you name me?''

54)  e kō T-nī, e ti ba-ljē.
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
     3s one here SPEC, 3s ICOP child POSS
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
     'The one here, it is the child's.'

A substantive phrase corresponding to the numeral one is formed with the adjective klikli 'first.' For example

55)  e klikli su a-nē mē.
     1  2  3  4  5  6
     3s first on 3s-PRF get-3s NEG
     1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
     'On the first one (try) he didn't get it.'

56)  e kliklifwe-nī ti silwa.
     1  2  3  4  5  6
     3s first AGT SPEC ICOP blind
     1  2  3  4  5  6
     'The first one was blind.'

The distinction between the forms illustrated in 52-53 and 54-55 for numerals above the numeral one is made with the use of the plural pronoun:

57)  be nsā
     'they three'
     (vs. e nsā/e nsāfwe 'third one')
be nnā
'they four'
(vs. e nnā/e nnāfwe 'fourth one')

Phonological properties:
The 3s pronoun has zero value preceding the Perfect aspect marker, a-. For example

58) a) Kofi a-di like.
    1 2 3 4

    Kofi PRF eat thing
    1 2 3 4

    'Kofi has eaten.'

b) a-di like.
   1 2 3

   (3s)-PRF eat thing
   1 2 3

   'He has eaten.'

The 3s pronoun is incorporated into the verb root when it follows it as pronoun object. The surface realization of the incorporated pronoun varies according to the last vowel of the verb root; the vowel of the verb root is also affected. That is, in the case of unrounded verbal root vowels, the sequence verb root vowel + e is reduced to a single vowel identical in quality to the verb root vowel, but carrying a different tone. A back unrounded verbal vowel, a, is assimilated in tongue height position to the 3s pronoun. In the case of rounded verbal root vowels, e is assimilated in tongue height and the verbal root vowel becomes semi-vocalic. For example
Final vowel of verb root + 3s Pronoun

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Final vowel of verb root} & + & \text{3s Pronoun} & \text{Translation} \\
i & \varepsilon & \rightarrow i & n \ si^1 & 'I know him' (si 'know') \\
e & \varepsilon & \rightarrow e & n \ se^1 & 'I tell him' (se 'tell') \\
e & \varepsilon & \rightarrow e & n \ m\tilde{e}^1 & 'I swallow it' (m\tilde{e} 'swallow') \\
a & \varepsilon & \rightarrow e & n \ fe^2 & 'I take it' (fa 'take') \\
o & \varepsilon & \rightarrow oe & n \ toe^3 & 'I buy it' (to 'buy') \\
o & \varepsilon & \rightarrow oe & n \ boe & 'I hit him' (bo 'hit') \\
u & \varepsilon & \rightarrow ui & n \ bui^3 & 'I break it' (bu 'break') \\
\end{array}
\]

1) The distinction between the presence and the absence of the pronoun in these forms is carried entirely by a tonal difference. For example

59) \( \overline{n} \varepsilon \overline{\imath} \)

'I know'

\( \overline{n} \overline{s} \overline{i} \)

'I know him'

60) \( \overline{n} \varepsilon \overline{\imath} \)

'I tell'

\( \overline{n} \varepsilon \overline{\imath} \)

'I tell him'

61) \( \overline{n} \varepsilon \overline{\imath} \)

'I swallow'

\( \overline{n} \varepsilon \overline{\imath} \)

'I swallow it'

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2) If both vowels of a di-syllabic verb root are a, both become e when the 3s pronoun follows. For example

62) bole mēmē-ē alakū su, e wlewle-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
goat lift up-3s FPST pants on, 3s put on-3s FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'Goat took up his pants, he put them, i.e. it on.'
   (māmā 'lift up,' wlawla 'put on')

63) e tie-e ba kā-ni jē e lōng-e, klekle-e ku nū o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
3s grab-3s FPST child small SPEC and 3s lay back-3s FPST, beat-3s FPST stomach in DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
'She grabbed her small child and she lay her back, beat her stomach.' (tla 'grab,' langa 'lay back')

64) a kēkē nā a ko-mē.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
2p drive (SUBJ)-3s and 2p DM give(SUBJ)-3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6
'Drive it (i.e. cow) and go give to him.' (kākā 'drive [cows],' mā 'give')

65) be mētē-ē nlēē so.
   1 2 3 4 5
3p heap-3s FPST misery thus
   1 2 3 4 5
'They heaped misery on him like this.' (mātā 'heap')

3) These forms (toe, boe, bui) are realized phonetically as one syllable.
Since the 3s pronoun is incorporated into the verb root where it follows it as pronoun object, it continues to occur next to the root when the root is suffixed. Thus

1) The Factual Past is marked by a suffix, -li, when clause-final and a doubling of the final verb root vowel when clause-medial. This suffix occurs after the pronoun object. For example

66) e boe-li
   'He hit him'

67) e bui-li
   'He broke it'

68) e fe-li
   'He took it' (fa 'take')

69) e wutui-i ni ase lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s turn-3s FPST face earth there
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'He turned his face downwards.' (wutu 'turn,pour')

70) nzwe bo be pe-ey ce nga nu-nil . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   water that 3P get-3s FPST day this/that in SPEC . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   'The water that they got on that day . . . (nā 'get')

71) e wlo-c bo kwatle wu lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s hide-3s FPST buttocks house pole next there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He hid his buttocks next to the house pole.' (wlo 'hide')

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2) The negative occurs after the 3s pronoun attached to the verb. (When the object of the verb is a substantive phrase rather than a pronoun, however, the negative precedes it.) The 3s pronoun changes the negative a or mā (Section 239.3) to e or mē. For example

72) n su-ja a bjā nga.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

Is IMPRF marry NEG man this/that
    1 2 3 4 5 6

'I am not going to marry this man.'

73) be kwla a nde nga kā.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

3p can (STA) NEG affair this/that speak
    1 2 3 4 5 6

'They can not speak of this affair.'

The Plural Pronouns

The plural pronouns all have phonetic variants. The 1st and 3rd person plurals jē and bē are realized as [j] and [b] in fast speech preceding vowel-initial nouns and the Perfect aspect marker, a-. They are written as j' and b' respectively.
The second person plural, āmū, is realized as [ä] in fast speech. Alone among the plural pronouns, it appears to be analyzable. The 2s pronoun, a, and the 2p pronoun, āmū, differ in terms of the presence of the sequence -mū on the plural pronoun. mū is the suffix which marks plural individuation (Section 222.6), and /a/ would be automatically nasalized when followed by /m/.

221.5 Kin terms

A class with closed membership whose members refer to relationships of kinship. They are distinguished from names and pronouns in that they obligatorily occur with either a name or a pronoun.

n nānā 'my grandparent'
n si 'my father'
n nī 'my mother'
n njāābja 'my older brother'
n njāābla 'my older sister'
n sīma 'my younger sibling'
n wa 'my child'
mī ānūmā 'my grandchild'
n ji 'my wife'
n wū 'my husband'
n sja 'my in-laws' (of a man)
n sewi 'my in-laws' (of a woman)
n wē 'my mother's brother'
n biaba 'my sister's child'
[It should be noted that the inventory of kin terms differs slightly from dialect to dialect of Baule.]

This closed set of terms can be used productively to describe relatives of distant relatedness or to specify precisely the relationship of a person who is referred to by classificatory usage. For example, n sì njääbja, e ánumá 'my father's brother's grandchild' would be used to make explicit the relationship to a person who would usually be referred to as n wa 'my child'.

Without the specifier, nī, kin terms are used as terms of address and reference; to refer unambiguously to a specific person.

74) n sì

'Father/My Father'

je wū

'Husband/Our Husband'

kofi wa

'Kofi Child' (composite proper name)

Unlike names and pronouns, however, the addition of the specifier nī changes what was a compound name into a possessive construction which no longer names an individual but specifies. For instance

75) n njääbla

'Sister/My Sister'

n njääbla-nī

'the sister of mine'
76) Kofi wa
   'Kofi Child' (teknonym)

Kofi wa-nī
   'the child of Kofi's'

Names, place names and pronouns occur only as the first component
of a possessive construction (Section 222.4), i.e. as the possessor; they
are not possessed. Kin terms, which are always possessed, can in turn
be the first component of a possessive construction. Thus

77) Kofi swa-nī
   'the house of Kofi's/Kofi's house'

78) Bouaké gwabo
   'Bouaké's market'

79) be klo-nī
   'their village'

80) n si fje-nī
   'the field of my father'

221.6 Nouns

Nouns are inherently non-specific; it is the addition of the specifi­
cier nī which identifies them as having a specific referent. For example

81) nānī
   'cow/cows'

nānī-nī
   'the cow/the cows'
82) waka  
'tree/trees'

waka-nī  
'the tree/the trees'

**Mass nouns vs. count nouns**

Mass nouns can be distinguished from count nouns on the basis of their ability to co-occur with the plural individuator mū. Mass nouns do not occur with the plural individuator mū; count nouns do. For example

**Mass:**  
ajwe  'rice'

ajwe-nī  'the rice'

*ajwe-mū

nzwe  'water'

nzwe-nī  'the water'

*nzwe-mū

ndɛ  'grass'

ndɛ-nī  'the grass'

*ndɛ-mū

**Count:**  
conjo  'machete/machetes'

conjo-nī  'the machete/the machetes'

conjo-mū  'machetes (individuated)'

bla  'woman/women'

bla-nī  'the woman/the women'

bla-mū  'women (individuated)'

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Count nouns may be derived from mass nouns by the addition of *ba*, the particularizer (Section 221.8). These derived count nouns can then occur with the plural individuator, *mū*. For example

83) ajwe  
   'rice'

ajweba  
   'rice kernel'

ajweba-mū  
   'rice kernels (individuated)'

84) nzwe  
   'water'

nzweba  
   'stream'

nzweba-mū  
   'streams (individuated)'

85) sika  
   'money'

sikaba  
   'coin'

sikaba-mū  
   'coins (individuated)'

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Location nouns

Location nouns are a sub-class of nouns which designate locations and differ from other nouns in their ability to occur as the sole component of a locative phrase (Section 221.7).

Potential names

Potential names are a sub-class of count nouns. These include:

- Personal Nouns (names referring to age grades or types of people). e.g. talwa 'maiden,' bjä 'man,' kpëngbë 'old man,' blalêbofwe 'blacksmith,' kônefwe 'hunter.'

- Animal Names. e.g. nänî 'cow,' gboklo 'hyena,' wete 'rat,' gbamlo 'hare.'

- A class of location nouns labeled Personal Location Nouns since they may be used as place names. e.g. klo 'village' meaning 'one's village of birth' when used as a place name; swa, 'house' meaning 'home' when used as a place name; wa 'here' and lo 'there which are used to refer to specific places as place names.

These nouns can, in a given context, function as either names or place names. Thus there are four contexts in which they occur:

1) without the specifier as non-specific nouns

talwa 'maiden/maidens'

gboklo 'hyena/hyenas'

klo 'village/villages'
2) with the specifier to refer to a specific referent of the noun

talwa-nī 'the maiden/the maidens'
gboklo-nī 'the hyena/the hyenas'
klo-nī 'the village/the villages'

3) without the specifier, but with a specific referent, as a name of a person, a personified animal or a location

Talwa 'Maiden'
Gboklo 'Hyena'
Klo 'Village (i.e. one's home village)

4) as names or place names with the specifier used to focus on the named referent

Talwa-nī 'that Maiden!
Gboklo-nī 'that Hyena!
Klo-nī 'Village!

(the exact meaning and use of these forms is difficult to translated into English.)

The following examples illustrate the use of wa 'here' and lọ 'there as place names:

86) be fi wa wo-li.
   1 2 3 4 5

   3p leave here go FPST
   1 2 3 4 5

   'They left here and went.' (here=close to speaker)
wa-nī ti kpa.

1 2 3 4

here SPEC ICOP good

1 2 3 4

'This place is good.' (specific here)

wa ti bète?

1 2 3

here ICOP peaceful

1 2 3

'Is here peaceful?' (a question used in salutation to ask if This Village is calm)

(Analogous to Bouaké ti bète? 'Is Bouaké peaceful?')

87) e fite-e 10.

1 2 3 4

3s exit FPST there

1 2 3 4

'He exited there.' (there=away from speaker)

be fi lo-nī ba-li.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3p leave there SPEC come FPST

1 2 3 4 5 6

'They came from that place there and came.' (specific there)

lo nzā ti kpa.

1 2 3 4

there wine ICOP good

1 2 3 4

'Wine from There (a specific previously names place) is good.'

(Analogous to Bouaké nzā ti kpa 'Bouaké wine is good.')

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When potential names are used as names or place names, they occur with all the co-occurrence restrictions and properties of names outlined above.

Personal nouns used as names are used not only in the vocative as in English (e.g., Young Lady, do you know what you're saying? or Woodsman, spare the tree.) but also as reference terms. For example

88) *talwa ko-ma-a biä like-nT.*

\[ \text{maiden} \quad \text{DM} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{FPST} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{SPEC} \]

'Maiden went to give Man the food.'

89) *gbokolọ ti-i kaa mma e fa sē-ē gbamlo ti afjē.*

\[ \text{hyena} \quad \text{pick} \quad \text{FPST} \quad \text{kaa} \quad \text{fruit} \quad 3s \quad \text{take} \quad \text{sting} \quad \text{FPST} \quad \text{hare} \quad \text{head} \]

'middle

12

'Hyena picked kaa fruit, he took and hit Hare in the middle of the head.'

Personal location nouns are a sub-set of a class of location nouns whose members are distinguished by their occurrence (along with place names) in a locative noun phrase which occurs obligatorily after a small class of verbs that includes the locative copula wo, fi 'leave,' 'come from,' and ka 'stay.' For example

90) *be fi fje.*

\[ \text{'They come from (the) fields.'} \]
91) kofi wo bi₉.  
1 2 3
"kofi is in (the) bush."
1 3 3

92) ba-ni be ka-a awlo.  
1 2 3 4 5
'The children stayed at home.'  
2 1+3 4 5

221.7 Locatives

Locatives are a sub-class of nouns which indicate locations in relation to other nouns. They include:

- **su** (/su/) 'on, surface of'
- **nū** (/lum/) 'in, inside of'
- **bo** (/bo/) 'under, bottom of, at place of'
- **sī** (/sim/) 'behind, back of'
- **nlū** (/ljum/) 'in front, front of'
- **wū** (/wum/) 'near, next to'
- **afjē** (/afjem/) 'amidst, middle of'
- **nwā** (/lwam/) 'edge of, end of'
- **klū** (/klum/) 'interior of'

They are considered nouns for two reasons:

1) They can occur as the possessed noun in a possessive construction (Section 222.4) in which case they may be followed by the specifier -nI.  

93) se-nI e nū-nI ti fjē.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
pot SPEC 3s inside SPEC ICOP dirty  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'The inside of the pot is dirty.'
94) waka-nǐ (e) bo-nǐ ti fiọ̀.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Tree SPEC 3s UNDER SPEC ICOP cool
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The tree's underneath (its shadow) is cool.'

95) wusTi tabli-nǐ (e) su-nǐ.  
1 2 3 4 5 6

Wash (IMP) table SPEC 3s surface SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Wash the surface of the table.'

96) swa sī-nī ti fiēnē.  
1 2 3 4 5

House behind SPEC ICOP clear
1 2 3 4 5

'The back of the house is cleared away.'

As in noun + noun possessive constructions the third person singular pronoun is optionally present between the possessor noun and the possessed noun.

2) Like possessed nouns, possessed locatives can be replaced by the associative -ljè:

97) kpongbo nga-nī, e nū-nī ti fje; nga-ljè-nī ti kpa.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Can this/that SPEC, 3s inside SPEC ICOP dirty; this/that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

ASS SPEC ICOP good
10 11 12 13

'The inside of this can is dirty; this one's (inside) is okay.'
Locatives occur

1) after another noun in a locative construction:
   fje su  'at the fields/garden'
   swa sī  'behind the house'
   kla nū  'in the village'
   se bo   'at the funeral'

and

2) in conjunction with verbs in completable verbs (Section 233):
   to nū   'fall in'
   tu bo   'get moving'
   di plū  'precede'
   sa sī   'return'

Locative phrase

A locative phrase (LocP) consists of 1) a locative construction or
2) a location noun (221.6). A locative phrase is distinguished from a
substantive phrase (SP) in that a locative phrase
1) is obligatory after a small set of verbs that include fi
   'leave, come from,' ka 'stay' and the locative copula wo. For example

98) e wo kla.
   1 2 3

   3s LCOP village
   1 2 3

   'He is at the village.'

99) e fi fje su.
   1 2 3 4

   3s come from field on
   1 2 3 4

   'He's come from the fields.'
2) can occur after one-place verbs (Section 234), where a substantive phrase cannot occur. For example

100) ba-ni su-su awlo lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
child SPEC IMPRF cry house there
   1 2 3 4 5 6
'The child is crying in the house there.'

Kofi a-lafi n be-ni su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
Kofi PRF sleep Is mat SPEC on
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Kofi slept on my mat.'

3) can occur following a substantive phrase after a two- or three-place verb (Sections 235, 236). For example

101) mi aja a-tla kpeja blo lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Is trap PRF trap muskrat bush there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'My trap caught a muskrat in the bush there.'

102) bla-ni a-sje gbolu kpata-ni su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
woman SPEC PRF put okra hangar SPEC on
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'The woman put okra on the drying rack.'

Like substantive phrases, a locative phrase can also occur as the subject of the identifying copula ti:

103) tabli su ti kplekpleke.
   1 2 3 4
'The table surface is smooth.'
The presence of the specifier -nī (Section 222.5) after the non-locative noun of a locative construction contrasts with its absence. When the specifier is present the relationship expressed by the locative is straightforward; that is, a given location in relation to the noun. When the specifier is absent the locative construction often takes on a meaning that is different from the sum of the meanings of its parts.

For example

104) a)  
jaci-i kpongbo nzwe-nī nū.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s leave FPST basin water SPEC in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I left the basin in the water.'

b)  
jaci-i kpongbo nzwe nū.
1 2 3 4 5

'I left the basin at the river.'

1 2 3 4+5

105) a)  
wakawak-nī su.
1 2 3 4 5

3s LCOP tree SPEC on
1 2 3 4 5

'It is on/in the tree.'

b)  
wako waka su.
1 2 3 4 5

3s go FPST tree on
1 2 3 4 5

'He went to defecate.'
106) a) ε ti-nī su
   1 2 3 4
   3s head SPEC on
   1 2 3 4
   'on his head'

   b) ε ti su
   'in his baggage'

107) a) sī-nī nū
   1 2 3
   fire SPEC in
   1 2 3
   'in the fire'

   b) sī nū
   'on the fire' (in the sense of 'on the stove')

108) a) jwa-nī nū
   1 2 3
   sun SPEC in
   1 2 3
   'in the sunlight'

   b) jwa nū
   'in the sun/at noon'

109) a) klo-nī afjē
   1 2 3
   village SPEC middle
   1 2 3
   'middle of the village'
b) *klọ afjẹ*

'village center'

110) a) *gwa-nī bo*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
& 1 & 2 & 3 \\
\text{market} & \text{SPEC} & \text{at place of} & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'place of the market'

b) *gwa bo*

'market/shopping'

111) a) *sa-nī sī*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
& 1 & 2 & 3 \\
\text{hand} & \text{SPEC} & \text{behind} & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

'back of the hand of'

b) *sa sī*

'in possession of'

Seven of the nine locatives listed above are also the names of body parts:

- *bo* 'buttocks'
- *sī* 'back'
- *nlū* 'face'
- *wū* 'body'
- *nwā* 'mouth'
- *afjẹ* 'trunk middle (exterior)'
- *klọ* 'belly (interior)'

1Another word for 'belly' is *ku*. It is interesting to note that
The distinctiveness of the nine locatives is indicated by the fact that the body parts can occur as the non-locative noun in a locative construction. Compare the following minimal pairs:

112) a) e gwa-a nzwe e bo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s pour FPST water 3s under
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'He poured water under him.'

b) e gwa-a nzwe e bo su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s pour FPST water 3s buttocks on
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He poured water on his buttocks.'

113) a) e wo Kofi sî.
   1 2 3 4
   3s LCOP Kofi behind
   1 2 3 4
   'He is behind Kofi.'

b) e wo Kofi sî su.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s LCOP Kofi back on
   1 2 3 4 5
   'He is on Kofi's back.'

ku nū 'in belly' becomes klū and that klū nū does not occur, supposedly because it is redundant. This would suggest that klū is historically a compound locative construction: ku nū, which has become a body part name and in turn a locative which can itself be part of a locative construction: baje klū 'interior of bag,' waka klū 'interior of tree.'
114) a) ḟwe-nī wo e nwā.
   fish SPEC LCOP 3s edge
   'The fish is at its edge (i.e. of the river).'

b) ḟwe-nī wo e nwā nū.
   fish SPEC LCOP 3s mouth in
   'The fish is in his mouth.'

c) e wo e nwā bo.
   3s LCOP 3s mouth under
   'It is under his mouth (i.e. under his lip).'

There is potential ambiguity preceding the identifying copula ti (Section 231):

115) Kofi nū ti fjē.
   Kofi face LCOP dirty
   'Kofi's face is dirty.'

116) swa nū ti fjē.
   house front LCOP dirty
   'The house front (i.e. in front of the house) is dirty.'
221.8 Derivational affixes

Derivational affixes are added to a lexical item to create a new lexical item, changing the class membership of that lexical item.

Three suffixes derive nominals from verbs: \( /le/ \), \( /lwa/ \), and \( /wle/ \).

\( /le/ \) is suffixed to a verb root to form a noun which denotes the action or process of the verb. For example

118) \( ko \) 'go'

\( kle \) 'going'

\( \epsilon \) kle jo n ja.

12345

'His going hurts me (i.e. makes me sad).'

123+4

119) \( swa \) 'learn'

\( swa le \) 'learning'

fluwa swa le ti kekle

1234

'Paper learning is hard.'

1234

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120) bu  'break'  

bule 'breaking'  

veli bule jo a ja.  

1 2 3 4 5  

'Glass breaking doesn't hurt (i.e. it's easy).'  

1 2 3 4 5  

121) sū  'cry'  

sūle 'crying'  

c klo sūle.  

1 2 3  

'She likes crying.'  

1 2 3  

122) blo  'ripen'  

blole 'ripening'  

amāngo-nī wo blole.  

1 2 3 4  

'The mango is at ripening (i.e. is in the process).'</n

In the case of completable verbs (Section 233), when le is suffixed to the verb the complement noun must be placed in front of that verb:  

123) di ngwa  'tell story/stories'  

1 2  

ngwa dile 'story telling'  

c klo ngwa dile  

'He likes story telling'
124) so amwī 'worship spirit/spirits'
amwī sole 'spirit worshiping'
je fi amwī sole.
'We are coming from spirit worshiping.'

125) bo nda 'clap hands'
nda bole 'hand-clapping'
be wo nda bole.
'They are at hand-clapping (i.e. in the process).'

_lwa (/lwa/) is suffixed to a verb root to form a noun which denotes a state. It occurs primarily on verbs that express processes or action-processes, i.e. verbs that result in a changed state of the patient noun. _lwa has been found to occur with three verbs of movement, 'go,' 'come' and 'arrive'; the resultant nouns focus on the state that results from the action.

126) kēngē 'fry'
kēngē_lwa 'fried'
ajwe kēngē_lwa
'fried rice'

127) fwāfwā 'peel'
fwāfwā_lwa 'peeled'
dwo kpando fwāfwā_lwa
1 2 3
'peeled roasted yam'
3 2 1
128) fiti  'pierce'
        fitilwa  'pierced'
        e suwa ti fitilwa
        1 2 3 4
        'Its ears are pierced.'
        1 2 3 4

129) saci  'spoil'
        sacilwa  'spoiled'
        agba-ni ti sacilwa
        'The manioc is spoiled.'

130) ba  'come'
        balwa  'the state of being here as a result of coming'
        balwa m5 a ba-li, w'a-di a sla k5.
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
        presence here which 2s come FPST, 2s PRF spend NEG month one
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
        'Being here since you came, you haven't spent one month.'

131) ju  'arrive'
        julwa  'arrival'
        e julwa nga a-ju t ni, fjc e fle da nü lo o.
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
        3s arrival this/that PRF arrive here DISC, hide (IMP) 3s
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
        stomach big in there EMP
        10 11 12 13 14
        'This its arrival has arrived here (i.e. now that the time
        has come), hide in his big stomach there.'
When 1wa is suffixed to completable verbs the complement noun is placed in front of the verb:

132) to jese 'spin cotton'
    jese tolwa 'spun cotton'

133) wu tānī 'weave cloth'
    tānī wulwa 'woven cloth'

w1ɛ (/w1ɛ/) is suffixed to verbs that express actions to form a noun which denotes the means/manner or place of action. In the case of completable verbs (Section 233) the noun complement occurs before the verb. For example

134) la 'lie down'
    lawlɛ 'sleeping place'

135) tlā 'sit'
    tlāw1ɛ 'sitting/living place'

136) kā ngwa 'play, dance'
    ngwa kāw1ɛ 'dancing place'

137) kɔ 'go'
    kɔw1ɛ 'means/manner of going'

138) bo 'hit'
    bow1ɛ 'means/manner of hitting'

fwe (/fwe/) is suffixed to verbs, adjectives and substantives forming a noun referring to one who performs that action,
has that quality or is associated with that noun. For example

Verbs:

139) ijo 'talk'
    ijo\textsubscript{fwe} 'speaker, spokesman'

140) bo 'hit, beat'
    bo\textsubscript{fwe} 'beater, hitter'

The complement noun of a completable verb occurs before a verb suffixed with \textsubscript{fwe}:

141) bo blale 'hit iron'
    blale bo\textsubscript{fwe} 'ironsmith'

142) di k\textsubscript{omjē} 'divine by trance'
    k\textsubscript{omjē} di\textsubscript{fwe} 'diviner'

143) di fje 'farm'
    fje di\textsubscript{fwe} 'farmer'

Adjectives:

144) koklo 'round'
    \textquoteleft koklo\textsubscript{fwe} \textquoteleft round one'

145) danga 'foolish'
    danga\textsubscript{fwe} 'fool'

146) dā 'big'
    dā\textsubscript{fwe} 'big one'
Nouns:

147) ajwe  'theivery'
    ajweba  'rice kernel'

148) klo  'village'
    kloba  'villager'

149) wā  'name of neighboring tribe, the Wan'
    wāba  'Wan people'

ba (/ba/), the particularizer, occurs on nouns to indicate 'one of' or 'a little one.' It has the allomorphic variants ma and mma and is probably historically related to the morphemes ba 'child' and mmaμ 'children' (mma 'child' + μμ 'plural individuator'). When ba occurs on a mass noun the resultant noun is a count noun. When it occurs on count nouns it indicates a particular part of, a particular instance of, or a smaller variety of the count noun so suffixed. For example

Mass nouns:

150) ajwe  'rice'  (In these instances where ba makes a mass noun countable, it
    ajweba  'rice kernel'  can be thought of as a singularative.)

151) sika  'money'
    sikaba  'coin'

152) dwo  'yam'
    dwo ba  'yam tuber'

153) ngate  'peanuts'
    ngateba  'peanut'

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154) nzwe  'water'
     nzweba  'pond, stream'

Count nouns:
155) swa  'house'
     swaba  'inner room'

156) fetec  'river'
     feteba  'stream'

157) sa  'hand, arm'
     samma  'finger'

158) ja  'leg, foot'
     jamma  'toe'

159) nเทพ  'face'
     nเทพa/เทพ  'eye'

160) a-di ceba นนสำ  Bouaké 10.
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7
     3s-PRF spend day PART two Bouaké there
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'He spent two whole days at Bouaké.'

In cases where the semantic relationship expressed by the particularizer is 'a particular instance of' the particularizer can occur suffixed to the dummy pronoun e (Section 221.4):
161) ē jī npū-ni, ē ba kō a-wu a ba.

3s wife two SPEC, 3s PART one PERF bear NEG child

'(0f) his two wives, not one of them had borne a child.'

162) ē fa-a ē ba kō mā-a bjā-nī.

3s take FPST 3s PART one give FPST man SPEC

'She took one of them and gave it to the man.'

221.9 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a closed class of words which replace substantives in the formation of questions

wā (/wam/) 'who'

nzu (/Nsu/) 'what'

tī, (/lim/) tīfē, (/limfam/) 'where'

lenī (/lelim/) npē (/NJem/) 'how many, how much'

monī (/molim/) 'which'

se (/se/) 'what'

They occur in the position of the substantive they are questioning (i.e. subject position, object position, locative position). For example

163) wā wo le c?

who LCOP there QUES

'Who is there?'

monī combines with ble 'time' or cē 'day' to form the interrogative 'when.'
164) a kündə wā?
   1 2 3

   2s look for (STA) who
   1 2 3

   'Who are you looking for?'

165) e mā-ā wā?
   1 2 3 4

   3s give FPST who
   1 2 3 4

   'To whom did he give (it)?'

166) e jo nzu?
   1 2 3

   3s do what
   1 2 3

   'What is he doing?'

167) nzu wo se nū c?
   1 2 3 4 5

   what LCOP pot in QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What is in the pot?'

168) a sje-e nifā?
   1 2 3 4

   2s put-3s FPST where
   1 2 3 4

   'Where did you put it?'

169) amlā wo nī?
   1 2 3

   amlā LCOP where
   1 2 3

   'Where is Amlan?'
170) \( e \ fa-a \! n\! \text{\text{"n"e}}? \)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s take FPST how many
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
\end{array}
\]

'How many did he take?'

171) slä \( n\! \text{\text{"n"e}} \) wo swa 1c?
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
\end{array}
\]

person how many LCOP house there
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'How many people are in the house?'

172) \( e \ wo-c \! \text{\text{"b"le}} \) monT?
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s go FPST time which
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'When did he go?'

More often, however, the interrogatives are topicalized by being moved to the front of the question. In this case the copula je (Section 231) occurs obligatorily if the interrogative is other than the subject of the sentence. je occurs optionally if the interrogative is the subject. If the topicalized interrogative is the object of the sentence, the third person singular pronoun occurs after the verb.

173) wä je a boeli ə?
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
6 \\
\end{array}
\]

who COP 2s hit-3s FPST QUES
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3 \\
4 \\
5 \\
6 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Who is it you hit?'

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174) \( wā \) \(_2\) je \(_3\) e \(_4\) mē\(_5\)-li \(_6\) c?

who COP 3s give 3s FPST QUES 1 2 3 4 5 6

'Who is it he gave to?'

175) \( wā \) \(_1\) (je) \(_2\) tō\(_3\)-5 alje\(_4\)-nī \(_5\) c?

who COP cook FPST food SPEC QUES 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Who cooked the meal?'

176) nzu \(_1\) (je) wo \(_2\) se \(_3\) nū?

what COP LCOP pot in 1 2 3 4 5

'What is in the pot?'

177) nzu \(_1\) je \(_2\) e \(_3\) bui\(_4\)-li \(_5\) c?

what COP 3s break 3s FPST QUES 1 2 3 4 5 6

'What is it he broke?'

178) nzu \(_1\) (je) boe\(_2\)-li \(_3\) c?

what COP break/hit 3s FPST QUES 1 2 3 4 5

'What hit/broke it?'

179) nzu \(_1\) nū \(_2\) je \(_3\) a sje\(_4\)-li \(_5\) c?

what in COP 3s put 3s FPST QUES 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'In what did you put it?'
180) nīfā je ba-nī wo?

where COP child SPEC LCOP

'Where is the child?'

181) lenī je e su-fja?

where COP 3s IMPRF hide

'Where is he hiding?'

182) npe je a kūl-li ọ?

how many COP 2s kill-3s FPST QUES

'H ow many is it you killed?'

183) cē monī je e wo-li ọ?

day which COP 3s go FPST QUES

'When/What day did he go?'

nzu ti (what reason) 'why' is always topicalized:

184) nzu ti je e boe-li ọ?

what reason COP 3s hit-3s FPST

'Why did he hit him?'

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The question word se occurs by itself only at the end of a question:

185) bla-nT se-e se?
   1 2 3 4 5

woman SPEC say FPST what
   1 2 3 4 5

'What did the woman say?'

186) e jo-o a se?
   1 2 3 4 5

3s do FPST 2s what
   1 2 3 4 5

'What did he do to you?'

187) be soko ngate tlo se?
   1 2 3 4 5

3p prepare peanut sauce how
   1 2 3 4 5

'How does one make peanut sauce?'

188) e bo a se?
   1 2 3 4

3s hit (STA) 2s why
   1 2 3 4

'Why did he hit you?'

189) a wā se?
   1 2 3

2s said what
   1 2 3

'What did you say?'
It is topicalized in the phrase e jo se (It does what) 'why':

190) e jo se je amū ba-li o?

3s do what COP 2s come FPST QUES

'Why did you come?'

222. Adjuncts

222.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are a class of words, which, along with substantives, can occur as the complement of the copula ti (Section 231), but are distinguished from substantives by not being able to occur as the subject of the copula ti. For example

1) waka-nī ti dā.

1 2 3 4

tree SPEC ICOP big

'The tree is big.'

2) swa nga-nī ti ufle.

1 2 3 4 5

house this/that SPEC ICOP new

'This house is new.'

Adjectives are distinguished from substantives by their inability to occur alone with the specifier nī.
When modifying substantives adjectives follow the substantive they modify:

3) swa dä
   1 2

house big
   1 2

'big house'

aofwe kpa
   1 2

stranger good
   1 2

'good stranger'

Kofi Ble
   1 2

Kofi Black
   1 2

'Black Kofi' (a common name)

n wa kā kɔ
   1 2 3 4

Is child small one
   1 2 3 4

'one of my small children'

Kwafo wū daodao
   1 2 3

hyena body spotted
   1 2 3

'Hyena's spotted body'

The following adjectives are reduplicated when they modify a noun having more than one referent or are used to indicate intensity:
4) **kā** 'small'
   ako kā[nɡā] ƞnō 'two small chickens'

dā 'big'
   waka dā[mū] 'big trees'

kpa 'good'
kpa[lē] kpakpa nná 'four good (i.e. strong) young men'

fita 'bright white'
   fluwa fitafita 'very white paper'

Others are not:

5) **kpe** 'short'
   waka kpe nsā 'three short trees'

kekle 'strong'

bja kekle[mū]-nī 'the strong chairs' (individuated)

Some adjectives occur only in a reduplicated form:

6) **wisiwisi** 'dry, in good health'
   tēndē 'long'
   daodao 'spotted'

The reduplicated adjective may be the reduplication of a noun:

7) **waka** 'tree/wood'
   wakawaka 'rigid/hard'

foko 'kapok fluff'
   fokofoko 'fluffy, spongy'

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Nominalization of an adjective is achieved in one of two ways:

a) by the use of the 3s pronoun, ε, as a dummy for the substantive to form a substantive phrase. ε plus adjective has the meaning 'one/ones.' This construction can be followed by the specifier, nī.

For example:

8) ḏā
   ε ḏā
     'big one/big ones'
   ε ḏā-nī
     'the big one/the big ones'

9) oflē
   ε oflē
     'new one/new ones'
   ε oflē-nī
     'the new one/the new ones'

10) fe ε dēnē-nī.
     'Take the long one/long ones.'

11) ε kā-nī wo kpogbo nū.
     'The small one is in the basin.'

12) ε ḏā jo fe.
     'Big one/big ones tastes/taste good.'

The plural individuator -mū (Section 222.6) can also be affixed to this construction, in which case the reduplicated forms of the adjectives occur:
13)  e ofle-mū 'new ones (individuated)'
     e ofle-mū-nī 'the new ones (individuated)'
     e dādā-mū 'big ones (individuated)'
     e dādā-mū-nī 'the big ones (individuated)'
     e kpakpa-mū 'good ones (individuated)'
     e kpakpa-mū-nī 'the good ones (individuated)'

b) by the suffixation of the agentive affix -fwe (Section 221.8); the sense of adjective plus fwe is 'one who is ______.' For example

14) danga 'foolish'
     dangafwe 'fool/idiot'
     tete 'bad'
     tetefwe 'bad one (who brings misfortune)'
     dā 'big'
     dāfwe 'big one'
     fakafaka 'light, fragile'
     fakafakafwe 'fragile one'

When both the 3s pronoun and fwe occur with an adjective, a superlative is formed:

15)  e dangafwe 'more/most foolish one/ones'
     e dangafwe-nī 'the more/most foolish one'
     e dangafwe-mū-nī 'the more/most foolish ones (individuated)'

16)  e dāfwe-nī 'the bigger/biggest one/ones'
17) ṣ kaklafwe-mū-nī 'the most mature ones (individuated)'

Two adjectives, mmwa 'far' and koko 'near' (variant kokooko) are unique in that they also occur after the locative copula wo (Section 231). For example

after ti:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{klo-nī ti mmwa.} & \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
\end{align*}
\]

'The village is far.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{klo-nī ti koko.} & \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
\end{align*}
\]

'The village is near.'

modifying a noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be wo-ō klo mmwa.} & \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5
\end{align*}
\]

'They went to a far village.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be fi klo koko.} & \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
\end{align*}
\]

'They come from a nearby village.'

after wo:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fje-nī wo mmwa.} & \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
\end{align*}
\]

'The fields are far away.'
klo-nī wo koko.
1 2 3 4
'The village is nearby.'
2 1 3 4

222.2 Numerals and quantifiers

The numeral system is a decimal system. The numerals from one to ten are:

kō 'one'
nnō 'two'
nsā 'three'
nnā 'four'
nnū 'five'
nsje 'six'
nsu 'seven'
mūcwē 'eight'
ngwlā 'nine'
blu 'ten'

The numerals eleven through nineteen are formed by combining blu 'ten' with each numeral; the noun phrase conjoiner nī (Section 241) is used:

blu nī kō 'eleven'
blu nī nso 'seventeen'

The numerals twenty through ninety are:

ablāū 'twenty'
ablensā 'thirty'
ablennā 'forty'
They also combine with each of the numerals one through nine:

ablennū nl ko 'fifty-one'
ableūcwe nl ngwlā 'eighty-nine'

The higher numerals are:

ja 'hundred'
ja nsā 'three hundred'
akpi 'thousand'

akpi nso 'seven thousand'

In attributive use numerals, like adjectives, follow the noun:

swa kō 'one house'
boli nnū 'five goats'
kleswa blu nl nsā 'thirteen eggs'

Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers includes

ngba 'all'
kwla (kwjakwla) 'all'
kūngba 'only (one)'
ngumī 'the same'

'only'
18) e  fie-e e wa be ngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s call FPST 3s child 3p all
   'She called all of her children.'

19) kongo kongo kwla nga le-nī, . . . nzwe ji-l be ngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   hole hole all this/that there SPEC, . . . water fill FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   3p all
   10 11
   'All of the holes there, . . . the rain filled them all.'

20) like kwlakwla nga be wo asje wū, be nzwe ti kūngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   thing all all this/that 3p LCOP earth on, 3p water ICOP
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   one only
   11
   'Every (living) thing on earth, their water (source) was
   only one.'

21) a kūngba wo wo le ə?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   2s only 2s LCOP there QUES
   1 2 3 4 6 6
   'Are you the only one there?'

22) e kpuse-e e nwā kūngba jekū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s chew FPST 3s mouth same again
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He chewed his cud the same (way) again.'

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23) a-ka e òma ngūmī.
1 2 3 4 5
3s-PRF remain 3s eye only
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Only his eyes were left.'

24) je e bo ngūmī-nī je e fja-a bleeέέέε.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
and 3s self only SPEC COP 3s hide FPST ideoph: of hiding
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'And she alone it was who hid.'

222.3 nga, (/Nga/), the demonstrative

nga is a demonstrative which is unmarked for the category "proximity to the speaker." For example aklemja a-fu waka nga (squirrel PRF climb tree this/that) means either 'Squirrel has climbed this tree' or 'Squirrel has climbed that tree.' nga can a) modify a noun, b) replace a noun and c) introduce a relative clause.

a) Noun modifier. As a noun modifier nga "points to" the noun;¹ it

¹In rare instances nga modifies an adverb:

a nī wā je ā ko-la-a icraī nga je w'a-na ba nnā s?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
2s and who COP 2p DM sleep FPST right now this/that and
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
2s PRF get child four QUES
12 13 14 15 16 17
'With whom did you go sleep just now and you have gotten four children?'
indicates a definite referent for the noun modified. For example

25) e ako nga lê-nî, nê e kùî mì3mì3mì3.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   3s chicken this/that there SPEC, NEG 3s kill-3s (SUBJ)
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   ever ever
   9

'That his chicken there, he should never never kill it.'

26) n fjè e fle kã nga-nî nũ wa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   1s hide (CERT) 3s stomach small this/that SPEC in here
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'I'll hide in this his small stomach here.'

27) ba nga ti tîwa.
   1 2 3 4

   child this/that ICOP powerful
   1 2 3 4

   'This/That child is powerful.'

28) e jo se ti je swa nga ti so?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   3s do (STA) what cause COP house this/that ICOP thus?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'Why is it that this/that house is like this?'

b) Noun replacer. As a noun replacer nga occurs as the head of a noun phrase. For example
29) nga wa-to ɔ, nga wa-njɛ-ɛ sɛɛ. \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array} \\
this/that DM shoot when, this/that DM look-3s FPST \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array} \\
ideophone: of looking carefully \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{c}
9 \\
\end{array} \\
'When this/that one comes to shoot, this/that one came and looked carefully.'

30) ã kundɛ kpaflɛ kpakpa nnä, ã jliã be nga ɪ wu ð. \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array} \\
2p look for (SUBJ) youth good four, 2p stand (SUBJ) 3p \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array} \\
this/that here next EMP \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccc}
9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array} \\
'Look for four strong young men, put them next to this/that here.'

31) boli, ko-wusí nga le-ní. \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array} \\
goat, DM wash this/that there SPEC \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array} \\
'Goat, go wash with this/that one there.' (i.e., bucket of water)

32) mê nga wo ð nĩs, n kó ngbana nũ wa kã ð. \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array} \\
as this/that LCOP here DISC, 1s go (CERT) Ngbana in here \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array} \\
little EMP \\
\hspace{0.5cm} \begin{array}{cccc}
11 & 12 \\
\end{array} \\
'Since this is here (i.e. now then), I am going to the River here for a while.'
c) Relative clause. *nga* introduces an embedded clause which modifies a noun. The specifier *nī* obligatorily occurs after the relative clause. The noun which is coreferential with the antecedent noun is represented by a pronoun in the relative clause. For example

33) nzwe nga e wo e klu-nī wutu-u cē ba nsā.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{water} & \text{this/that} & 3s & \text{LCOP} & 3s & \text{stomach} & \text{SPEC} & \text{pour} & \text{FPST} & \text{day} \\
\end{array}
\]

The water which was in his stomach poured for three whole days.

34) a wa-kpata bjā laa nga e fle-e klo wa-nī.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{3s-PRF DM appease man former this/that} & \text{3s call} & \text{FPST} & \text{village} \\
\end{array}
\]

She came to ask pardon of the former man who had proposed to her in the village here.

---

1In the case of relative clauses introduced by *bo* or *mē* (Section 242.11), the clause-final specifier often has the shape -nī3. This poses an analytic problem: (1) in no other environment does the specifier -nī have the shape -nī3; (2) the discourse particle nī has the allomorphic variant nī3. It is a question therefore of whether the nī3 at the end of *bo* and *mē* relative clauses is the specifier -nī or the discourse particle nī.
35) e ji jwe nga e ja-a be-nī, e ba kō a-wu a ba.

3s wife some this/that 3s marry FPST 3p SPEC, 3s PART one

PRF bear NEG child

13 14 15 16

'His wife, that he married, not one had borne a child.'

36) e bo wū a like nga e fe-nī kō.

3s self see (STA) NEG thing this/that 3s resemble-3s (STA)

SPEC again

9 10

'She herself didn't know the thing, which he resembled,

(i.e. didn't know who he was).'

The noun phrase, including the relative clause, is often moved to the front of the sentence to topicalize it. In this case a pronoun or a repetition of the noun itself occurs in the position in the sentence from where the noun phrase is moved. For example

37) be gwa bo wa ninge nga be nī (i) fi wa-nī, be a-tōtō be,

3p market here thing this/that 3p and it come from here

SPEC, 3p PRF roast 3p, 3p PRF eat

'Their market things, which they brought from here, they roasted them, they ate.'
38) sla nga e ko-sike be wú le-ní, be ti wëngbifwe jekú.

person this/that 3s DM lodge 3p near there SPEC, 3p ICOP

rich folk also

'The people whom he went to lodge with there, they are also rich.'

39) ba-ní kusu e wá, 'nde nga n ní kă-li kle-e mî je e

wu-li-ní, nde so su je n nánti c.

child SPEC also 3s said, "words this/that Is mother speak

FPST show FPST Is and 3s die FPST SPEC, words thus

on COP Is walk (CERT) EMP

'The child also, he said, "The words which my mother spoke
to me and she died, such words I will follow."'

nga is used in conjunction with the dependent clause marker se
(Section 242.12) to indicate "whoever," "whatever," "whenever," etc.

For example

40) se a káci e nwā nde cē nga-ní, e ti a bo wâjîble.

if 2s change (CERT) 3s mouth words day this/that SPEC, 3s

ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune.

'Whenever (the day that) you change her words (i.e. disobey
her), it will be your own misfortune.'
41) se sla nga su me nũ-nĩ, ngbẽ je e sũĩ o.
   if person this/that cry (CERT) world in SPEC, Ngbẽ COP
   3s cry (CERT)-3s EMP

   'Whoever cries in the world, it is for Ngbẽ that he cries.'
   (ngbẽ = 'nothing': a play on words)

42) se a bo nga a si able jobwe nga su nũ e nzœ bá-nĩ,
   if 2s self this/that 2s dance stone this/that on and 3s
   powder come (CERT) SPEC, 2s ASS COP woman SPEC

   'Whoever dances on the stone and it turns to powder, yours
   is the woman.'

43) se a lika nga kejenĩ, se a dje umjẽ nũ e keje o, se mĩ
   nũ n cf.
   if 2s place this/that move (STA) DISC, if 2s breathe (STA)
   and 3s move DISC tell (IMP) 1s and 1s tie (CERT)

   'Whatever part moves, if you breathe and it moves, tell me
   and I'll tie it.'
222.4 Possession

Possession is principally marked by the juxtaposition of the components: possessor + possessed + specifier, -nī. The possessor must be a substantive that is specific, i.e. either a) an inherently specific substantive: a name, a pronoun, a place name or a name/pronoun plus kin term; or b) a noun plus specifier -nī. The possessed substantive can only be a kin term or a noun. For example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name + Noun:</th>
<th>Kofi swa-nī</th>
<th>'Kofi's house'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun + Noun:</th>
<th>je fje-nī</th>
<th>'our fields'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Name + Noun:</th>
<th>Bouaké gwa bo-nī</th>
<th>'Bouaké's market'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun + Kin Term + Noun:</th>
<th>n si bja-nī</th>
<th>'my father's stool'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name + Kin Term + Noun:</th>
<th>Kofi ji tānī-nī</th>
<th>'Kofi's wife's cloth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + Noun:</th>
<th>bja-nī ja-nī</th>
<th>'the chair's leg'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + Noun:</th>
<th>alwa-nī kplo-nī</th>
<th>'the dog's skin'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name + Kin Term:</th>
<th>Kofi si-nī</th>
<th>'Kofi's father'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun + Kin Term:</th>
<th>je nānā-nī</th>
<th>'our grandparent'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case that the possessor substantive is not a pronoun, a pronoun occurs optionally between the possessor and possessed:
This suggests that the underlying structure of a possessive phrase is

possessor + pronoun co-referential + possessed -ni

substantive with possessor substantive specifier

and that the pronoun is optionally deleted, and that in certain contexts, where the referent of the possessor substantive is known, the possessor substantive is optionally deleted.

The possessive construction contrasts with a construction consisting of the juxtaposition of two substantives not followed by the specifier -ni. These are compound constructions. For example

44) Kofi e ji-ni 'Kofi his wife'
   1 2 3

   n si e bja-ni 'my father his stool'
   1 2 3 4

   bja-ni e ja-ni 'the chair its leg'
   1 2 3 4

   alwa-ni e kplo-ni 'the dog its skin'
   1 2 3 4

   ba nn5-ni be si-ni 'the two children their father'
   1 2 3 4 5 3 2 1 4 5

   kpafle-mu-ni be swa-ni 'the young men their house'
   1 2 3 4 5 3 1-2 4 5

45) suklu swa 'school house'
   1 2

   alwa kplo 'dog skin'
   1 2

   bja ja 'stool leg'
   1 2

   Kofi ji 'Kofi's wife' (used as a Name)
   1 2

   Bouaké gwa bo 'Bouaké market'
   1 2
In the case of nouns (i.e. substantives that are not inherently specific) it is the absence of the specifier on the first noun that makes it a compound construction and not a possessive construction. When the specifier is added to the second noun in a compound construction, it marks a specific referent of that compound noun. For example

\[ \text{46) } \text{suklu swa-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the school house} \]
\[ \text{alwa kplo-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the dog skin} \]
\[ \text{bja ja-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the stool leg} \]

The following pairs illustrate the contrast between noun possessive constructions (a) and noun compound constructions (b).

\[ \text{47) } \begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{doofro-n} \text{i} \text{ swa-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the doctor's house} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 1 \quad 2 \\
\text{b) } & \text{doofro swa-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the hospital} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 1-2 \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{48) } \begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{kpafle-n} \text{i} \text{ } (\varepsilon) \text{ jümä-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the young man's work} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 1 \quad 2 \\
\text{b) } & \text{kpafle } jümä-n\text{i} \quad \text{the work of a young man} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 2 \quad 1 \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{49) } \begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{swa-n} \text{i} \text{ } (\varepsilon) \text{ anwā-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the door of the house} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 2 \quad 1 \\
\text{b) } & \text{swa anwā-n} \text{i} \quad \text{the house door} \\
& 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad 1 \quad 2 \\
\end{align*} \]

The following pairs of sentences illustrate the contrast between inherently specific substantive possessive constructions and compound constructions.
50) a) Bouaké (e) gwa bo-nī ti dā.
   
   'Bouaké's market is big.'
   
   b) Bouaké gwa bo ti dā.
   
   'Bouaké market is big.'

51) a) Aja (e) wa-nī ti kā.
   
   'Aya's child is small.'
   
   b) Aja wa ti kā.
   
   'Aya's children are (habitually) small' or 'an Aya child is small.'

52) a) a si-nī wo nī?
   
   'Where is your father?' (asked of a child whose father you don't know)
   
   b) a si wo nī?
   
   'Where is your father?' ("your father" here used as a name for a known person)
53) a) Kofi (e) swa-nT je.
   1 2 3 4 5

   Kofi's house SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4 5

   'This is Kofi's house.' (of which we have spoken)

b) Kofi swa je.
   1 2 3

   'This is a house of Kofi's.' (you didn't know he had
   3 2 3
   one)

54) a) n ti-nT jo n ja.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   Is head SPEC do (STA) Is hurt
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'My head hurts' (in response to a question, 'Where
does it hurt?')

b) n ti jo n ja.
   1 2 3 4 5

   Is head do (STA) Is hurt
   1 2 3 4 5

   'I have a headache.'

-1je (/1je/), the associative

The suffix -1je occurs with two functions: a) to add focus to a
possessive construction where it is suffixed to the possessed substantive;
and b) to mark focus on substantives not necessarily members of possessive
constructions.

As a focus marker on possessive constructions it is added to the
possessed substantive before the specifier nT and indicates that the

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possessed object is being contrasted to a similar object possessed by another.\(^1\) For example

55) \(\varepsilon\ fe-\varepsilon\ taa-\text{lje-n}\text{T},\ \varepsilon\ ba-li\ \varepsilon.\)
\(\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11
\end{array}\)

3s take FPST 3s bow ASS SPEC, 3s come FPST DISC
\(\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11
\end{array}\)

'He took \underline{his} bow, he came.'

56) bol\i\ kusu a-ji \varepsilon\ tral-e-\text{lje-n}\text{T}.
\(\begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7
\end{array}\)

goat also PRF remove 3s shirt ASS SPEC
\(\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8
\end{array}\)

'Goat also took \underline{off} his shirt.'

57) \(\varepsilon\ \bo\ wa-\text{lje}\ \text{nnu-n}\text{T},\ \varepsilon\ fle-\varepsilon\ \text{be}\ \text{ngba}.\)
\(\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & \underline{4} & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11
\end{array}\)

3s own child ASS five SPEC, 3s call FPST 3p all
\(\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11
\end{array}\)

'Her \underline{own} five children, she called them all.'

58) a \text{dümä-}\text{lje-n}\text{T}, \(n\ \text{fle}\ \text{a ajo kÄ}.\)
\(\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9
\end{array}\)

2s name ASS SPEC, 1s call (CERT) 2s Ajo Small
\(\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9
\end{array}\)

'Your name, I'll call you Ajo Small.'

Compare the use of \(\text{-lje}\) in sentence b) with its absence in sentence a) below:

\(^1\)It is similar to the use of stress in English: 'He then took \underline{his} turn' or 'My dog's bigger than \underline{your} dog.'
59) a) e alwa-ni kū-ū mī ako kō.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3s dog SPEC kill FPST 1s chicken one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'His dog killed one of my chickens.'

b) e alwa-lje-ni kū-ū mī alwa-lje-ni.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
3s dog ASS SPEC kill FPST 1s dog ASS SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'His dog killed my dog.'

In sentence a) -lje could be used after both possessed nouns but usually is not. In sentence b) -lje is again optional but the sentence is more acceptable with -lje after both possessed nouns since 'his dog' is being contrasted to 'my dog.'

The possessed substantive (i.e. the second component of a possessive construction) can be optionally deleted. In this case the suffix -lje obligatorily occurs. The specifier -nī occurs after -lje to mark the possession. For example

60) Nja Kendeja-lje-nī, ke e ti sa, kpeul; bjā-lje-nī, kpa.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
Mister Spider ASS SPEC, like 3s ICOP thus, ideophone: of smallness; Man ASS SPEC, ideophone: of bigness
9 10 11 12 13
'Mr. Spider's (basket), like it was like this: small!;
Man's (i.e. Hyena): Big!'
61) ɛ ji kọ-1je-ni, be ngba be ti kwle.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   3s wife one ASS SPEC, 3p all 3p ICOP stupid
   'One of his wives' (children), they all were stupid.'

62) je swa-ni ti dà tle ɛ-1je-ni.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   1p house SPEC ICOP big surpass 3s ASS SPEC
   'Our house is bigger than his.'

63) ɛ wè, "jo, n di n-1je-ni jwe."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   3s said, "okay, Is eat (CERT) Is ASS SPEC also"'
   'He said, "Okay, I'll eat mine also.'"

In these sentences, -1je is replacing the possessed substantive in a
pronominal function, but the element of focus is also there; the pos­
sessed substantive can only be deleted if its identity is clear from
the context of utterance. Since it has thus already been mentioned or
is in the spatial context, its deletion and the use of -1je suffixed
to the possessor substantive is a way of focusing on it.

A second function of -1je is to mark focus on the topic substan­
tive of a sentence. For example
64) njा, a-lije, bo a ti da le nǐ, fje e fle da nũ lo.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13  14  15

look, 2s ASS, since 2s LCOP big there DISC, hide 3s stomach

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

big in there

   13  14  15

'Look, you (or 'you there'), since you are big there, hide
   in his big stomach there.'

65) swi-lije, e ne icrajī, e-lije, bo e ce-če le.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

Elephant ASS, 3s win (CERT)-3s right away, 3s ASS, since

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8

3s be big FPST there

   9  10  11  12

'Elephant!, he will win her right away, him!, since he is
   big there.'

66) a-lije, a si a ngwelele, a wo lo.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9

2s ASS, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9

'You, you don't know wisdom, you there!' (an insult)

67) kofi-lije, e te ti kāā.

   1  2  3  4  5  6

Kofi ASS, 3s still LCOP small

   1  2  3  4  5  6

'Kofi, he's still too small.'

-lije in the above examples is similar to the use in French of a pronoun
after a name to focus on that person: 'Kofi lui, il est toujours petit'
or 'Mouche tsetse, eux, ils etaient gros.' As in French, another (sub­
ject) pronoun follows the focusing element.
68)  ləa nū, akọjwe-1je be ti dàdà kpa.
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

formely in, tsetse fly ASS, 3p LCOP big very
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Formerly, tsetse fly, they were very big.'

222.5  -nī, (/lim/), the specifier

The role of the specifier is best seen in terms of the deictic
category of specificity. It indicates that the referent of the noun
phrase with which it occurs is a specific person or object in the
spatio-temporal context of the utterance. The specifier is suffixed
to the last word in the noun phrase, i.e. to the last modifier, if such
occurs, otherwise to the noun itself. For example

69)  bla-nī se-e ba-nī ke jo, "kọ-kunde jje."
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

woman SPEC tell FPST child SPEC that, "DM (IMP) search
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

firewood"
  11

'The woman said to the child, "Go look for firewood."'

70)  je be kọ-wo awale-nī ase c.
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p DM prick (CERT) awale SPEC ground DISC
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And they went to carve the awale (game) in the ground.'

71)  će fa-a akọnjà kungba-nī,  će wẹ, "a-1je wo ọc."
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s take FPST rooster only SPEC, he said,"2s ASS LCOP there"
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'He took only the rooster, he said, "yours is there."

nī is interpreted as representing the category "specific" rather
than "definite"; a noun suffixed with nī can be specific yet not definite
(see Appendix, sentence 3).
72) "like dā tutugbe nga-nī, n kā-di mā?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

"thing big fat this/that SPEC, ls DM eat NEG?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

"This big fat thing, aren't I going to eat it?"

73) je e wa-nī, e kaklafwe-nī bā c.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

and 3s child SPEC, 3s big one SPEC come (CERT) DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'And her son, the big one came.'

74) e kliū lo dwi kāngā nga le-nī, a-kō-kpekpe sō sekeseke sekeseke.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

3s stomach there fat small this/that there SPEC, 3s-PRF DM
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

cut thus completely
11 12 13

'The little bit of fat in his stomach there, he went to
cut it like this, completely.'

In noun phrase constructions of the type "part of a whole," the unspecified "part" is outside the scope of the specifier which occurs after the specified "whole." For example

75) a) ako kā kō wu-li
1 2 3 4 5

chicken small one die FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'One small chicken died (unspecific).'

b) ako kā kō-nī wu-li.

'The one small chicken died.'
c) akɔ=kā-nī kō wu-li.
'One of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) akɔ-nī kā kō wu-li.
'One of the small chickens died (of a group of large and small chickens).'

76) a) akɔ kāngā nŋɔ wu-li.
'Two small chickens died (unspecific).'

b) akɔ kāngā nŋɔ-nī wu-li.
'The two small chickens died.'

c) akɔ kāngā-nī nŋɔ wu-li.
'Two of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) akɔ-nī kāngā nŋɔ wu-li.
'Two of the small chickens died (of a group of large and small chickens).'

Note that 75 c) and d) and 76 c) and d) make an overt distinction between two sentences that are ambiguous in English. The 'whole' in 75 c) and 76 c) is 'small chicken' and 'small chickens' respectively, while the 'whole' in 75 d) and 76 d) is 'chickens.'

The occurrence of the specifier contrasts with its non-occurrence in which case the referent of the noun phrase is unspecified. For example
77) a) akɔŋĩmɔ nũ mã klo-ni su.
    1  2  3  4  5  6
rooster LCOP NEG village SPEC on
    1  2  3  4  5  6
'There are no roosters in the village.'

b) akɔŋĩmɔ-nti nũ mã klo-ni su.
'The rooster isn't in the village.' (said of a lost rooster)

78) a) conjo a-fite gwa bo lo.
    1  2  3  4  5  6
machete PRF come out market at there
    1  2  3  4  5  6
'Machetes have come out (are for sale) at market.'

b) fa conjo-ni ble mi.
    1  2  3  4  5
take machete SPEC bring Is
    1  2  3  4  5
'Bring me the machete.'

79) a) alwa a-kε.
    1  2  3
dog PRF bite-3s
    1  2  3
'A dog bit him.'

b) alwa-ni a-kε.
'The dog bit him.'

The specifier is unmarked for number, as are nouns. It occurs with nouns referring to a single item as well as nouns referring to more than one item. For example
80) \( \text{wutu se-nī mā mī}. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
\( \text{empty \text{(IMP)} pot \_SPEC \_give \_1s} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
'Empty \text{the pot/pots for me}.'

81) \( \text{m'a-to be-nī Béoumi lō}. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]
\( \text{1s PRF buy \_mat \_SPEC \_Béoumi \_there} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]
'I bought \text{the mat/mats in Béoumi}.'

When \(-nī\) occurs with names, pronouns, or place names, it indicates not so much specificity (since these sub-classes of substantives are inherently specific) as focus or emphasis. For example

82) "\( \text{ke n wo-o lō nīs, kendeja-nī, e wo alje dile.} \)"
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]
'when \_Is \_go FPST \_there \_DISC, \_Spider \_SPEC, \_3s \_LCOP \_food\_eating''
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]
'"When I went there, \text{that} Spider! he was eating food!"'

83) "\( \text{wo, awofwe-nī, kō-wūsī} \)"
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
'2s, \text{Stranger \_SPEC, \_DM \_wash}''
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
'You, \text{Stranger \_there, \_go \_wash}''

84) \( \text{Bouaké-nī, klo nga ti dā!} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
\( \text{Bouaké \_SPEC, \_village \_this/that \_ICOP \_big} \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
'Bouaké! \text{that town is big}.'
The variant -li of the specifier occurs after pronouns:

85) a-bu ke e-li e si a nzwe-në jo.

3s-PRF think that 3s SPEC 3s know (STA) NEG water SPEC do

'He thought that even he didn't know how to swim.'

86) e-li ti a te.

3s SPEC ICOP NEG bad

'This (the very thing) is not bad.' (i.e. It doesn't matter)

87) bo e-li langa lo, bo e sli hohoho, je m'ä wlui butwä nü.

as 3s SPEC lay back there, as 3s laugh ideophone: of

laughing, then Is PRF enter-3s anus in

'As the very he (he, the very one) lay back there, as he laughed hohoho, then I entered his anus.'

88) "a-li, a si a ngwelô, a wo lo."

2s SPEC, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there

""You there, you don't know wisdom!!"

-në suffixed to a construction that consists of a specific substantive plus another substantive marks a relationship of possession between the two substantives (Section 222.4).
The specifier is obligatory after a relative clause, the relative clause being a modifier which specifies the antecedent noun (Section 222.3). For example

89) nzwe nga e wo mē nū-nī ti bla sa kungba.
   water this/that 3s LCOP world in SPEC ICOP pond thus one
   only
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'(All) the water which was in the world was in one pond.'

90) "bjā nga a wa-je-e le-nī, wonī c.'
   man this/that 2s DM marry-3s FPST there SPEC, python COP
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'''The man who you came and married, he is a python.'''

91) "like nga e kū-ū a nānī-nī, like-nī wo nānī-nī e fle dā nū.'
   thing this/that 3s kill FPST 2s cow SPEC, thing SPEC LCOP
   cow SPEC 3s stomach big in.'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

'''The thing that killed your cow, the thing is in the cow's big stomach.'''

222.6 The marking of number

The third person plural pronoun be occurs after noun phrases to indicate that more than one person or object is being referred to. For example
92) kpokü a-wũ e e wa-nř be kō. 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]
suddenly 3s-PRF see NEG 3s child SPEC 3p again 
\[1 \ 3 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]
'Suddenly she saw her children no more.'

93) klofwe-nř be a-la fi e su. 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]
villager SPEC 3p PRF sleep 3s on 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]
'The villagers had confidence in him.'

94) e si-nř be a-se e kō s. 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]
3s father SPEC 3p PRF tell NEG-3s again DISC 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]
'Her fathers (i.e. family) told her no more (i.e. they
talked no more of the affair).'

95) a siboli be kpālē dile klu kō be joe wa? 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \ 11\]
2s know (STA) goat 3p young man doing kind one 3p do-3s 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \]
here 
\[11\]
'You know how goats have always enjoyed their youth?'

96) nnē be dūmā be ti kpēngbē slā be nlū o. 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10\]
animal 3p first 3p ICOP old person 3p face EMP 
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10\]
'Animals are older than people.'

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In the case of a relative clause that modifies a plural noun, the plural pronoun occurs not after the noun but in the relative clause in place of the deleted co-referential noun. For example

97) bjä nga e wū be le-nī, be ti kānvē kānvē.

man this/that 3s see (STA) 3p there SPEC, 3p ICOP scar scar

'The men whom she saw there, they have scars.'

98) sīa nga e kō-sike be wū le-nī, be ti wlenigwe.

person this/that 3s DM lodge (CERT) 3p near there SPEC,

3p ICOP rich folk

'The people he went and lodged with, they were rich folk.'

99) kleswa nga be wo se nū-nī ti bulwa.

egg this/that 3p LCOP pot in SPEC ICOP broken

'The eggs which are in the pot are broken.'

The category of specificity (Section 222.5) intersects with the category of number as examples 92, 93, 94, 97, 98 and 99 above illustrate. In 92, 93 and 94 the nouns are specific as well as plural and thus both nī and be occur after the noun. The nouns in 97, 98 and 99 are also

1In rapid speech the specifier is not always realized before be. Since the specifier is often realized as a short nasal (not always even syllabic), its effect in rapid speech is to change [be] to [mbe] or [me]. This fact alone cannot, however, be used as proof of the presence or absence of the specifier before be since the variant [me]of the 3p pronoun also occurs utterance-initially: me kwa be wo-li. 3p all 3p go FPST 'They all left.'
specific and plural, the plural pronoun and the specifier occurring in the relative clause. In examples 95 and 96 the nouns are non-specific and plural. Given that the presence of be marks a noun as plural and its absence leaves a noun unmarked for number, and that the presence of ni marks a noun as specific and its absence marks a noun as unspecific, there are four possible constructions:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{ni} & \text{be} \\
\hline
a) & + + & \text{a plural specific noun} \\
b) & + - & \text{a specific noun unmarked for number} \\
c) & - + & \text{a plural non-specific noun} \\
d) & - - & \text{a non-specific noun unmarked for number}
\end{array}
\]

Following are examples of each of these four possible constructions:

a) Plural specific noun: examples 92, 93, 94, 97, 98 and 99 above.

b) Specific noun unmarked for number:

100) \[\text{ako-ni} \text{ ju-u ccle.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\text{chicken SPEC arrive FPST sharing} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{It was time to divide the chicken/chickens.}'

101) \[\text{be b6 be koklo-ni} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\text{3p make (CERT) 3p basket SPEC} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{They made their basket/baskets.}'

1This discussion involves only the noun subclass of substantives, the specifier -ni having a special function when it occurs with other, inherently specific substantives (Section 222.5).
102)  n nānī-nī jële nga.

1s cow SPEC COP this/that.

'This/these is/are my cow/cows.'

103)  bja-nī ti klëneja kpa.

stool SPEC ICOP pretty very

'The stool/stools is/are very pretty.'

c) Plural non-specific noun: examples 95 and 96 and

104)  slā be di a kle.

person 3p eat (STA) NEG toad

'People don't eat toad.'

105)  wonī be ti tēndē.

python 3p ICOP long

'Pythons are long.'

d) Non-specific noun unmarked for number:

106)  c to-o jwe ce-nī su wa titi.

3s throw FPST fish bank SPEC on here always

'He always threw (a)fish/fishes here on the bank.'
The absence of be does not indicate singular but merely that the
category number is not specified. Explicit singularity is marked by
the numeral kɔ 'one' as in

109) slà kɔ ba-li.

1 2 3

'A person came.'

2 1 3

kɔ co-occurs with the specifier nĩ to mean 'a certain':

111) bja kɔ-nĩ, e ji ti sa npɔ.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

man one SPEC, 3s wife LCOP thus two

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'A certain man, he had two wives.'
112) **dwo klu kō-nī, n di mā.**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**yam kind one SPEC, 1s eat (STA) NEG**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I don't eat a certain kind of yam.'

Alternatively the category of number can be marked in a noun phrase by the use of a numeral, a quantifier or a reduplicated adjective. For example

113) **slā nsā ba-li.**

1 2 3 4

'Three people came.'

2 1 3-4

114) **a-wu ba nnō.**

1 2 3 4

'She bore two children.'

1 2 4 3

115) **nnē ngba le ja.**

1 2 3 4

'All animals have legs.'

2 1 3 4

116) **ike kwakwla nō-5 nzwe bla kūngba.**

1 2 3 4 5 6

thing all all drink FPST water pond same

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'All (living) things drank at one pond.'

117) **ako kāngā wu-li.**

1 2 3

'Small chickens died.'

2 1 3
The noun phrases in the above five examples are non-specific. Compare them to the plural specific noun phrases in the following:

113a) slā nsā-nī ba-li.
\[ \begin{array}{ccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \]
'The three people came.'
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
3 & 2 & 1 & 4-5 \\
\end{array} \]

114a) a-bo ba nņ3-nī.
\[ \begin{array}{ccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \]
'She beat the two children.'
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 5 & 4 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

115a) slāngba-nī be la be taaba
\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]
person all SPEC 3p PCOP 3p arrow
\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]
'All the people have their arrows.'

116a) ako kāngē-nī wu-li.
\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]
'The small chickens died.'

The plural pronoun be is optional in the above sentences since the plurality is marked by other means. Thus, 116a could also be:

117a) ako kāngā-nī be wu-li.
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]
'The small chickens died.'
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
3 & 2 & 1-4 & 5-6 \\
\end{array} \]

-mū (/mũ/), the plural individuator

The morpheme -mū is used with a plural noun phrase to indicate individuation of the group. It focuses on the plural persons or objects as individuals and hence it is labeled the plural individuator. It can
occur with a noun phrase which is already marked for plural number or it can occur on a noun phrase unmarked for number, in which case it indicates at the same time plurality and individuation. Its principal function, however, is the latter. The difference between the occurrence of -mū and its absence is not a plural/singular distinction but an individuated/unindividuated distinction. For example

118) a) n fe-e e dā.
   1 2 3 4 5
   ls take FPST 3s big
   1 2 3 4 5
   'I took a big one/big ones.'

   b) n fe-e e da-mū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   ls take FPST 3s big INDIV
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'I took (the) big ones (individuated).'

119) a) jis a waka.
   1 2
   'Gather wood'
   1 2

   b) jis a waka-mū.
   1 2 3
   'Gather (the) sticks (individuated).'
   1 2 3

120) a) sonja ba-li.
   1 2 3
   '(A) soldier/Soldiers came.'
   1 2-3
b) sonja-mũ kwla be lɛ be twi.

soldier INDIV all 3p PCOP 3p gun

'All (the) soldiers have their guns (i.e. each soldier had his gun).'

A plural noun phrase which is marked for individuation is not necessarily specific. In other words the b) sentences above could refer to specific referents or non-specific referents. To mark a plural individuated noun phrase as explicitly specific, -nĩ and -mũ occur together, -nĩ after the noun and -mũ after be, the third person plural pronoun. For example

121) e njɔ̀ c, nʋalɛ-nĩ be-mũ bá T.

3s look (CERT) when, termite SPEC 3p INDIV come (CERT) here

'When he looked, the termites were coming (termites seen as individuals).'

We thus have the following possible constructions:

122) a) ako a-di ajwe ngba.

'A chicken/Chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'

b) ako-nĩ a-di ajwe ngba.

'The chicken/The chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'

c) ako be di ajwe.

'Chickens eat rice.'
d) akɔ-ni be a-di ajwe ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'The chickens have eaten all the rice.'
2 1-3 4 5 7 6

e) akɔ-mũ a-di ajwe ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6
'(The) (individual) chickens have eaten all the rice.'
2 1 3 4 6 5

f) akɔ-nĩ be-mũ a-di ajwe ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'The (individual) chickens have eaten all the rice.'
2 4 1 3 6 8 7

The following examples of -mũ are taken from texts:

123) ă kunde kpăflë kpakpa nnă, ă jlä be nga ă wū o, be nĩ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
kpokpowa kpakpa-mũ o.
15 16 17 18

2p search (SUBJ) youth goodgood four, 2p put (SUBJ) 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
this/that here near EMP, 3p CONJ pestle goodgood
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
INDIV EMP
17 18

'Look for four strong youths [plural non-specific unindividuated], put them next to this here (i.e. Hyena) with strong pestles [plural individuated].'

In this example the pestles are seen as individuated while the youths are not since it is the pestles that will be used to beat Hyena.
124) n kò fje su n bá. nā ba be-mú wo lo, njà be su o.

1s go (CERT) field on 1s come (CERT), and child 3p

INDIV LCOP there, look (IMP) 3p on EMP

'I'm going to the fields, I'll return. Now the children
(seen as individuals) are there, look after them.'

125) je e wa-fiè e bo wa-lje-mú o.

and 3s DM call (CERT) 3s own child ASS INDIV DISC

'And she came and called her own children (one by one).'

126) a-kplākplā nū lo cwa-mū.

3s-PRF plant in there spear INDIV

'He planted spears in there (in a trap that will catch
Hare).'

When -mū is used with kin terms (Section 221.5) and names (Section 221.2), it indicates 'and theirs/and their retinue.' For example

127) kofi-mū be su-ba.

'Kofi and his retinue are coming.'

128) fa nzā-nī ko-mā n ji-mū.

take (IMP) wine SPEC DM give 1s wife INDIV

'Take the wine, go give it to my wife and hers ('her family').'
There is potential ambiguity with a kin term plus -mū. Thus sentence 128 could also mean, 'Take the wine, go give it to my wives.'

-mū is invariably used with a vocative in addressing a group.

For example

129) ba-mū, ā kākā nānī-nī nā ā si ba-nī su.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{child} & \text{INDIV} & 2p & \text{drive (SUBJ)} & \text{cow} & \text{SPEC} & \text{and} & 2p & \text{follow (SUBJ)}
\end{array}
\]

1-2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 
child SPEC on 10 11 12

'Children, drive the cows and follow the boy.'

130) awofwe-mū, ā jako.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{awofwe} & \text{INDIV} & 2p & \text{condolences (SUBJ)}
\end{array}
\]

1-2 4 3

'Strangers, condolences to you.'

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī jē woe fle nū

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 \\
\text{mister} & \text{INDIV} & 2p & \text{look (SUBJ)}, & \text{thing this/that which kill}
\end{array}
\]

1-2 3 4 5 6 7 8 
FPST cow SPEC COP LCOP-3s stomach in there there 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

'Sirs, look, the thing that killed Cow is in his stomach.'

-mū does not occur with mass nouns (Section 221.6). These nouns can occur with the specifier nī but cannot be marked for number in any of the ways discussed above. For example
132) a) n le a sika.
   1 2 3 4
   'I have no money.'
   1 2 3 4

b) n le a sika-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'I don't have the money.'
   1 2 3 2 5 4

c) *n le a sika-mū.
   *'I don't have moneys.'

d) *n le a sika nsā.
   *'I don't have three moneys.'

-mū can only be used with a mass noun if it occurs with the particularizer ba (Section 221.8). For example

133) sikaba-mū wo kpongbo nū.
    1 2 3 4 5
    'The coins are in the can.'
    1-2 3 5 4

134) jisa ajweba-mū kwla.
    1 2 3 4
    'Pick up all the rice kernels.'
    1 4 2-3

135) nzweba-mū kwla a-ji.
    1 2 3 4 5
    'The ponds have all filled.'
    1-2 4 3 5

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222.7 **Emphatic particles**

Two particles, *bo* and *bobo*, occur with names and pronouns for emphasis. With all but the first person singular pronoun the particles occur after the name or pronoun emphasized. With the 1s pronoun *bo* is often *m̃o* and occurs before the pronoun. The particle *bobo* is more emphatic than *bo*. They are translated as 'self.' For example

136) *n bo m̃i je m̃a-wū ase T; a bo tlā T.*

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<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>here;</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>(STA)</td>
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*I myself I can see; you yourself sit there.*

137) *m̃o n ko-fje e dā nū lō nā fje e kā nū wa.*

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<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>(CERT)</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>(IMP)</td>
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*3s small in here*

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*I myself will go hide in the big one there; hide in the small one here.*

138) *n bobo n kwasi n kendeja, m̃i je n ba-a nānā namje kpli e jako-ni-afe jole.*

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<td>Is</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>Kwasi</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>spider,</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>FPST</td>
<td>grandpa</td>
<td>god</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>3s</td>
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*I myself Kwasi Spider, me it is who came to offer condolences to Grandpa God.*

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139) e bo wa-lje ngba wu-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s self child ASS all die FPST
   'All her own children died.'

140) e bobo e joe-li o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s self 3s do-3s FPST EMP
   'He himself he did it.'

141) a bobo a su-ko.
   1 2 3 4 5
   2s self 2s IMPRF go.
   'You yourself you will go.'

142) ko-wusa be bo.
   1 2 3 4
   DM ask (IMP) 3s self
   'Go ask them!'

143) e ti je bobo j'æj'ible.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s LCOP 1p self 1p misfortune
   'It is our own misfortune.'

144) Kofi bo wo awlo lo.
   1 2 3 4 5
   Kofi self LCOP house there
   'Kofi himself is in the house.'
Not unrelated to the above two particles is the particle mō (occasionally realized as bo) which occurs after any noun to underline it or emphasize it. For example

145) e tu-u e alaku mō, kpökū kplokpklo, a-jwe di.

3s remove FPST 3s pants even, suddenly ideoph: of chewing,

3s-PRF finish eat

'He removed even his pants, suddenly munch munch, he had finished eating them.'

146) nzwe mō wū e su so susususu.

water even boil (CERT) 3s on thus ideoph: of bubbling

'Water boiled over him bubble bubble.'

147) woni mō e ti mō kplā nzwe-nī su sa.

python even 3s head even stick up (CERT) water SPEC on thus

'There was a python with his head sticking out of the water!'

148) e wle-e e sa mō alubwe se mō nú.

3s put FPST 3s hand even yam purée pot even in.

'He put his hand in the yam pot!'

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149) je e ko-si măkū nī njī mō.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   and 3s DM pound pepper and salt even
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   'And he went and pounded salt and pepper!' 

150) "wa bo je su-wa-ka o?"
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   here even lp IMPRF DM stay QUES
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'Is it here that we are going to stay?'

151) e ji-nī ba wāndi ba ū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s wife SPEC even run (CERT) come here
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'His wife came running!'

152) n fe mō tlā like kwakwlakwla.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   1s sweet even surpass (CERT) thing all all all
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'My sweetness will surpass all things!!'

153) e kītā mō-nī!
   1 2 3 4
   3s pretty even SPEC
   1 2 3 4
   'It's prettiness!! (i.e. it is very pretty).'
230. THE VERB PHRASE

The discussion of the verb phrase included in this section can be summarized by the following set of rules:

\[ \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{VERB P} \rightarrow \text{(Adjunct)} \]

\[ \text{VERB P} \rightarrow \]
\[ a) \text{Copula} \rightarrow \text{Complement} \]  (Section 231)
\[ b) \text{VERB} \]  (Section 234)
\[ c) \text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{SP} \]  (Section 235)
\[ d) \text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{SP} \rightarrow \text{SP} \]  (Section 236)
\[ e) \text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{Loc P} \]  (Section 235)

\[ \text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{Asp} \rightarrow \text{(DM)} \rightarrow \text{Verb} \]  (Section 238)

\[ \text{Verb} \rightarrow \text{V} \]  (Section 238.1)
\[ \rightarrow \text{V} \rightarrow \text{N Compl} \]  (Section 233)

\[ \text{Adjunct} \rightarrow \text{(LocP)} \rightarrow \text{(Adv)} \]  (Section 239)

The verb phrase (VP) is composed of an obligatory nucleus (VERB P) plus optional adjuncts (Adjunct). The nucleus of a verb phrase can be a) a copula plus a complement, b) a verb, c) a verb plus a substantive phrase (SP), d) a verb plus two substantive phrases, or e) a verb plus a locative phrase (LocP). The verb (VERB) is composed of an obligatory inflection (Asp), an optional directional model (DM) plus the verb root (Verb). A verb root is either a simple verb or a completable verb (V \rightarrow \text{N Compl}). A verb phrase adjunct is either a locative phrase (Section 221.7) or an adverb (Section 239) or both.

231. Copulas

The class of copular verbs is distinguished by the inability of its members to occur with the verbal tense affixes, su-, a-, -li and the
tonal modals (Section 238.2). There are two types of copulas: a) those that link a subject substantive phrase with a complement in the same sentence and b) those that occur with a single substantive phrase, linking it to the context (either previous sentences or the spatio-temporal context of utterance).

231.1 Copulas that link a substantive phrase and a complement

There are three copular verbs that link a subject substantive phrase and a complement: \( \text{t\i} \), the identifying/attributive copula; \( \text{wo} \), the locative copula; and \( \text{le} \), the possessive copula.

\( \text{t\i} \), (/ti/), the identifying/attributive copula

\( \text{t\i} \) links a subject substantive phrase with another substantive phrase, an adjective, or a numeral as complement. For example

1) bjā-nī \( \text{t\i} \) wlēngbifwē.

'**The man is a richman.'**

2) swa-nī \( \text{t\i} \) dā.

'**The house is big.'**

3) ba-nī be \( \text{t\i} \) nsā.

'**The children are three**/there are **three children.'**

There are certain restrictions placed on the subject substantive phrase and the complement substantive phrase that co-occur with \( \text{t\i} \).

a) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Human vs. Non-Human. For example
4) bla-nī ti sëwufwe.

'The woman is a potter.'

5) mākū ti ajre.

'Pepper is medicine.'

but not

6) *bla-nī ti ajre.

'The woman is medicine.'

7) *mākū ti sëwufwe.

'Pepper is a potter.'

b) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Locative vs. Non-Locative. For example

8) wa-nī ti fje.

'The place here is a field.'

9) Béoumi ti klo dā.

'Béoumi is a big village.'

c) A sub-class of Temporal Adverbs function as substantives in ti sentences. This includes anckī 'today,' ānūmā 'yesterday,' cē te 'rest day,' mōnē, kisje . . . 'Sunday, Monday . . .' (i.e. all the names of days of week). Both the subject substantive and the complement substantive must agree as to the semantic features Temporal vs. Non-Temporal. For example

10) anckī ti jole.

'Today is Tuesday.'
11) ṣẹnūmā ti kisje.

'Yesterday was Monday.'

d) The complement substantive phrase occurring with ti is never specific; the subject substantive phrase can be either specific or non-specific.¹ For example

12) kofi ti włęgbifwe.

'Kofi is a rich man.'

13) *kofi ti włęgbifwe-nī

'Kofi is the rich man.'

14) *włęgbifwe-nī ti kofi

'The rich man is Kofi.'

15) *włęgbifwe ti kofi

'A rich man is Kofi.'

16) măkū ti ajre.

'Pepper is medicine.'

17) măkū-nī ti ajre.

'The pepper is medicine.'

18) *măkū ti ajre-nī.

'Pepper is the medicine.'

¹Names, pronouns, kin terms, place names, or nouns followed by the specifier -nī are specific. In the case of the temporal adverbs (Section 239) anckī 'today,' ăjūmă 'tomorrow,' ṣẹnūmă 'yesterday' are specific; cē te 'rest day,' and the names of the days of the week, are non-specific.
19) Wluse ti klo ufle.
   'Wluse is a new village.'

20) *Wluse ti klo ufle-nī.
   'Wluse is the new village.'

21) anekī ti mōnē.
   'Today is a Sunday.'

22) mōnē ti cē te.
   'Sundays are rest days.'

23) *kisje ti ājīmā.
   'Monday is tomorrow.'

These restrictions suggest that the relationship of the subject substantive phrase to the complement substantive phrase is one of "member" to "class." That is, A is included in B. In sentences 12, 17, 19 and 21 the subject substantive phrases are specific "members" of their "class" and the subject substantive phrases of 16 and 22 are non-specific "members." Sentences 13, 14, 15, 18, 20 and 23 are not allowed because the complement substantive phrases of these sentences do not refer to "classes" but, being specific, they refer to "members."

An adjective complement can occur with all substantives:

24) kpāflē-nī ti kekle.
   'The young man is strong.'

25) swi ti dā.
   'Elephants are big.'
26) lo ti kpa?
'Is [there good?] (i.e. where you came from)

A numeral complement must agree in number with the subject substantive phrase; kɔ 'one' occurring with a singular subject and all other numerals occurring with a plural subject. For example

27) bja-ni ti kɔ.
'The stool is one/there is one stool.'

28) e ba-ni ti kʊŋba.
'Her child is only one/She has only one child.'

29) boli-ni be ti nnũ.
'The goats are five/There are five goats.'

30) be ti blu.
'They are ten/There are ten of them.'

wo, (/wo/), the locative copula

wo links a subject substantive phrase to a locative phrase (Section 221.7) or a verbal noun (derived from verb root + -le [Section 221.8]) as complement. A locative phrase is either a location noun (Section 221.6) or a locative construction (Section 221.7).

a) Locative phrase as complement:

31) kofi wo Bouaké
'Kofi is in Bouaké.'

32) kwe dā-ni wo wa.
'The big knife is here.'
33) conjo-nī wo waka wū.

'The machete is next to the tree.'

34) gbekle kō wo swa-nī nū.

'A mouse is in the inside of the house.'

b) Verbal noun as complement:

35) e wū-ū kūmā kō; wonda wo wulūe.

3s see FPST hole one; viper LCOP entering

'She saw a hole; a viper was (in the process of) entering.'

36) e sjabla wo alje wutale.

3s mother-in-law LCOP food peeling

'His mother-in-law was (in the process of) peeling food.'

37) boli wo e nwā kpusale.

goat LCOP 3s mouth chewing

'Goat was (in the process of) chewing his cud.'

The verbal noun can be moved to the front of its subject for the purpose of focusing. For example

38) ba-nī, e wū nāle je e wo.

child SPEC, 3s body getting COP 3s LCOP

'The child, making himself rich it is he is (in the process of).'
wo is also used in such "existential" sentences as:

39) wanžali wo bo-nĩ nũ.
   1 2 3 4 5
   leopard LCOP forest SPEC in
   1 2 3 4 5
   'There are leopards in the forest.'

40) nne wo asje wũ slē be nũlũ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   animal LCOP earth on person 3p front
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'Animals existed/were on earth before men.'

41) nzwe wo kũmā nũ.
   1 2 3 4
   water LCOP hole in
   1 2 3 4
   'There is water in the well.'

This existential use of wo often occurs with le and ū, which translate as 'there' and 'here' respectively but are not adverbs as much as they are existential particles, similar to the use in English of 'there' and 'here' in such sentences as 'Here is a book you should read' or 'There are flowers on the table.' For example

42) bjā kō wo le.
   1 2 3 4
   'There was a certain man.'

Cf. Lyons' suggestion that existential sentences be analyzed as indefinite locatives (1969:388).
43) be wa kā wo lē.
1 2 3 4 5
'Their small child was there/They had a small child.'
1 3 2 4 5

44) je e nī be be wo lē c.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'And he and they were there.'
1 2 3 4-5 6 7

45) n bjā nga n ko-je je wo T.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
ls man this/that ls DM marry (CERT)-3s COP LCOP here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'My man that I will marry is here/Here is my man that I
will marry.'

46) swē kō wo lē, e tla slā su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
termite hill one LCOP there, 3s surpass person on
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'There was a termite hill that was taller than a person.'

47) sla nsā wo T, ako bo a klo-nī su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
month three LCOP here, chicken crow (STAT) NEG village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
SPEC on
9 10
'There is/It's been three months, a cock hasn't crowed in
the village.'

wo has an allomorph that occurs with the negative, the suppletive
form nū. For example
48) akonĩma nũ mā klo-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6
rooster LCOP NEG village SPEC on
1 2 3 4 5 6
'There are no/not any cocks in the village.'

49) nzwe nũ mā le.
1 2 3 4
'Water is not there/There is no water.'
1 2 3 4 2 3 1

50) me kanvwe nũ mē e wū m₁₅m₁₅m₁₅ nĩ, n bjā-nĩ je.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
as scar LCOP NEG 3s body evererever DISC, 1s man SPEC COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
'As scars are not on his body at all, that is my man.'

le, (/le/), the possessive copula

le occurs in two different types of construction:

a) It links a possessor substantive with a possessed substantive. For example

51) n le nānĩ.
1 2 3
'I have cows/a cow.'
1 2 3

52) Kofi le ji.
'Kofi has a wife/wives.'
1 2 3
53) be ngba be 1e be taaba.
1 2 3 4 5 6
'They all had their arrows.' (I.e. 'Each one had an arrow';
1+3 2 4 5 6
not 'Each person had a specific arrow.')

This construction is used when the complement substantive phrase,
the possessed substantive, is non-specific.

b) It links a possessive construction with a possessed pronoun or noun,
which is always specific. For example

54) n wa-mu le amu.
1 2 3 4 5
1s child INDIV PCOP 2p
1 2 3 4 5
'My children are you/You are my children.'

55) n jaafwe da le wo.
1 2 3 4 5
Is friend big PCOP 2s
1 2 3 4 5
'You are my good friend.'

56) e medifwe le boli-mu.
1 2 3 4 5
3s neighbor PCOP goat INDIV
1 2 3 4 5
'His neighbors are the goats.'

57) a-lje le bla-nT.
1 2 3 4 5
2s ASS PCOP woman SPEC
1 2 3 4 5
'Yours is the girl.'
58) e-1je 1e sika tani.
1 2 3 4 5
3s ASS PCOP gold cloth
1 2 3 4 5
'His is the gold cloth.'

Sentences 54-58 are identifying sentences as well as possessive sentences. Corresponding to sentences 54-58 (but not 51-53) are the following synonymous sentences with the identifying/attributive copula ti:

54a) amū ti n wa-mū.
1 2 3 4
'You are my children.'
1 2 3 4

55a) a ti n jaafwe dā.
1 2 3 4 5
'You are my good friend.'
1 2 3 4 5

56a) boli-mū tī e mēdifwe.
1 2 3 4
'The goats are his neighbors.'
1 2 3 4

57a) bla-nī tī a-1je.
1 2 3 4
'The girl is yours.'
2 1 3 4

58a) sika tānī ti e-1je.
1 2 3 4 5
'The gold cloth is his.'
1 2 3 4 5
Sentences 54-58 serve to topicalize the possessive constructions which are in the subject position.

231.2 Copulas that link a substantive phrase with the context

Two copulas, ə, (/ə/), and je, (/je/), occur after a substantive phrase, linking it to previous sentences or to the context of the utterance.

ə occurs after a substantive phrase which identifies a person or object already in the context. For example

59) a ə.
   1 2
   lie COP
   1 2

'It's a lie.'

60) a wè-nə, wonə ə.
   1 2 3 4 5

2s husband SPEC, python COP
1 2 3 4 5

'Your husband, he's a python.'

61) mə ə.
   1 2

ls COP
1 2

'It's me.'

62) je wā ə ti ke klə ngbē. kanzu ajre ə.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

lp say 3s lCOP like torch nothing. however medicine COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'We said it was like ordinary torch. However it's medicine.'

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63) se a njọ e lika kpa, slā ngba-ni e mwaε ọ.
   if 2s look 3s place good, person all SPEC 3s happiness COP
   'If you look after him well, it's everyone's happiness.'

je "points to" a specific person or object; the substantive phrase with
which it occurs is always specific. For example

64) kwe dā-ni je.
   knife big SPEC COP
   'This is/Here is the big knife.'

65) n swa-ni je.
   ls house SPEC COP
   'This is/Here is my house.'

66) e ajre ajakpa-ni je.
   3s medicine payment SPEC COP
   'Here is/This is his medicine payment.'

67) bjā nga n kē e nde-ni je.
   man this/that ls speak 3s words SPEC COP
   'This is/Here is the man of whom I spoke.'
68) sa nga ti je n se-e a ke a ka lo-nT je.

affair this/that reason COP is tell FPST 2s that 2s stay

(SUBJ) there SPEC COP

'This is the reason it is I told you to stay there.'

A substantive phrase "pointed to" with je can also be the subject of a verb:

69) a kla-nT je wo lo.

2s torch SPEC COP LCOP there.

'Your torches it is which are there/Those are your torches there.'

70) ajika-ni je wa-ka-a be wosu nü.

orphan SPEC COP DM stay FPST 3p tracks in

'The orphan it was came to stay in their place.'

71) e fata-a ke sla je kūT o.

3s is necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill-3s DISC

'It wasn't possible that it was a person (who) killed it.'

72) e bo ngumi-nT je fja-a blēēēē.

3s self alone SPEC COP hide FPST carefully

'She herself alone it was hid carefully.'
The subject can be repeated after je in the form of a pronoun. This serves to add focus to the subject substantive phrase. For example

73) je be sīa nni5-ni5 je be kə ə.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   and 3p person two SPEC COP 3p go (CERT) DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'And the two of them it was who went.'

74) m̄i je n ba-a nānā namjë kpli ə jako jole.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   1s COP 1s come FPST grandpa God big 3s condolence doing
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   'Me it is who came to wish Grandpa God condolences.'

75) ə nﬁ ji je be sīa nni5 je be nima ti silwa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eyes 1COP blind
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   'He and his wife it was who the two of them it was whose
   eyes were blind.'

76) je nﬁ nānﬁ je je to awale ə.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   1p and cow COP 1p play (STA) awale DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   'We (i.e. 1) and cow it is who play awale.'

je is added to any substantive phrase which is moved to the front of the sentence for focussing. For example
77) e wla je e fa kle lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   3 co-wife COP 3s take show-3s there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   'Her co-wife it was she showed him there.'

78) n ti kle-nī je n di lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   Is head hat SPEC COP Is eat (STA) there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   'My hat it is I eat there.'

79) n bu ke atī nū je be wo-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   Is think (STA) that path in COP 3p go FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'I think that it is 'in the path' (i.e. to defecate) that they went.'

80) wa je mātā nga tu-u sika.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   here COP child this/that remove FPST gold
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   'Here it is this child took out gold.'

81) swi su je be lafī o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   elephant on COP 3p sleep (STA) DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'It is in Elephant that they have confidence.'
An additional copula, jele, (/jele/), occurs either at the beginning of a substantive phrase, linking it to the context, or functions like ti, wo and le to link two substantive phrases.

a) Before a single substantive phrase, linking it to the previous sentences or to the context of the utterance:

83) jele mī noswa nū ato.

'This is my lie for the evening' (said after telling a story).

84) jele nde nga n si kā-li kle-e mī-nī.

'This is the affair my father told me.'

85) jele bla nī jaswa be aja.

'Thus is women and men's marriage.'
These sentences occur at the end of a story or a recounting of an event.

b) Linking two substantive phrases within a single sentence:

86) slā nga ti je be slē a kō-nī jele gboklo.

\[\text{person this/that fault COP 3p ask NEG again SPEC COP hyena}\]

'The person whose fault it is that they ask no longer is Hyena.'

87) ajre kekle jele nga ñ.

\[\text{medicine strong COP this/that here}\]

'Strong medicine is this here.'

88) klo nga be ko-toe sjē-nī jele gblobo.

\[\text{village this/that 3p DM find (CERT)-3s next SPEC was Gblobo}\]

'The village they went and found next was Gblobo.'

232. States, Processes and Actions

Verbs are of four types: verbs of state, verbs of process, verbs of action, and verbs of action-process (cf. Chafe 1970). A state is a non-event, while a process, an action or an action-process is an event, a "happening." The one noun that occurs with states and processes is called a patient noun. A state indicates the condition its patient noun is in. A process is an event (it answers the question "what happened?") that changes its patient noun from one state to another. An action does not involve a patient but an actor and expresses something the actor does.
If the actor does something to a patient noun we have a verb with two nouns (in the subject and object positions), an action-process where the actor acts and the patient undergoes a change in state.

232.1 Verbs of state

In Baule there is a class of verbs of state. These verbs express states with the stative inflection (Section 238.2). This class includes ṃbɔ 'be smelly,' ṕe 'be white,' ḳo 'be cold,' ḳe 'be hot,' lu 'be dark.'

For example

86) e ṃbɔ.
   'It smells.'

87) e ḳe ṕe.
   'His teeth are white.'

88) e lu.
   'It is dark' (of a room or the bottom of a well).

89) nzwe-nTI ḳo.
   'The water is cold (was never warm).'

90) awje-nTI ḳe.
   'The rice is hot (was never cold).'

The states expressed with the stative inflection (above) are not the end results of processes. When the verbs of state occur with the perfective prefix a- (Section 238.2), they do indicate states that are the end results of processes. When these verbs occur with any other inflection they express processes. For example
91) a-bœ.  
'It is spoiled (i.e. has become smelly).'  
œ bœ-li.  
'It spoiled.'  
œ bœ.  
'It will surely spoil.'

92) tœñ-nœ a-fœ.  
'The cloth is white (after being scrubbed and bleached in the sun).'</sje tœñ-nœ jwa nũ na œ fœ.
  "Put the cloth in the sun, may it whiten.'

93) lika a-lu.  
'It is dark/Night has fallen.'  
lika lu-u je su.  
place darken FPST lp on  
'It got dark on us.'

94) nzwe-nœ a-jo.  
'The water is cold (i.e. has cooled from being warm).'  
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95) ajwe-nī a-je.

'The rice is hot (i.e. left-over rice has heated from being cold).'

232.2 Verbs of process

Verbs of Process express states only with the perfective prefix a-; they do not occur with the stative inflection. This class of verbs includes blo 'ripen,' be 'cook,' fc 'tire,' nī 'mature, become full-grown,' and the verb jo 'do, make, become' plus a limited number of adjectives: koklo 'thin,' nōnī 'heavy,' kpa 'good,' dā 'big.' For example

96) amango a-blo.

1 2

'Mangoes have ripened/are ripe.'

97) alje-nī a-be.

1 2 3

'The food has cooked/is cooked.'

98) alwa-nī a-nī.

1 2 3 4

'The dog has matured/is full-grown.'

99) bla-nī a-jo koklo.

1 2 3 4 5

'The girl has become thin/is thin.'
100) ba-nǐ a-jo nǒnǐ.
   1  2  3  4
'The baby has become heavy/is heavy.'
   2  1  3  4

101) *e blo.
   'It ripens.'

102) *n fe.
   'I tire.'

103) *e jo kpa.
   'He becomes good/successful.'

When the verbs of process occur with the imperfective prefix su-
(Section 238.2), they indicate unachieved states, still in the process of
achieving the state and therefore the imperfective inflection has a
sense of futurity:

104) e su-blo.
   'It will be ripe soon/It is ripening.'

105) e su-fe.
   'He will soon tire/He is suffering.'

106) e su-be.
   'It will be cooked soon/It is achieving doneness.'

107) e su-ni.
   'It will soon be full-grown/It is achieving maturity.'
The factual past inflection on these verbs indicates that the process was completed sometime in the past and what is being focused on is not the state but the finished process. For example

108) talwa-nī nī-li.
   1 2 3
   'The maiden grew up!' (said in surprise since speaker
   2 1 3
   was unaware it had happened).

109) amango-nī blo-li.
   1 2 3
   'The mango ripened (and is probably over-ripe or rotten
   2 1 3
   now).'

110) ba-nī jo-o nōnī.
    1 2 3 4
    'The child got heavy.'

111) bjā-nī jo-o kpa.
    1 2 3 4
    'The man got successful.'

233. Completable Verbs

Completable verbs are a class of verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb. This obligatory second element can be a locative as well as a non-locative noun. In the case of a two- or three-place verb the object noun phrase occurs between the verb root and the noun complement.
Locative complement

Completable verbs that require a locative complement include:

- (tu 'take off')
- tu bo 'move' (in sense of French 'déplacer')
- tu su 'correct or counsel someone'
- tu wū 'be boastful, cocky'
- tu nū 'take out'

- (di 'eat, conquer, have sexual relations, do')
- di ni 'go before, ahead of'
- di si 'follow'
- di su 'accept'
- di wū 'tease, make fun of'

112) a tu e ti kle.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s-PRF take off 3s head hat
   1 2 3 4 5
   'He took off his hat.'

113) nā tu a bo kō, be-mū ko nde nū lo.
   1 4 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   NEG move 2s again, 3p INDIV go reeds in there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   'Don't go any further, there they go into the reeds.'

114) b'ia-tu ba-nī su lelele, a-kwla be.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   3p PRF scold child SPEC long time, 3s-PRF beat 3p
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   'They scolded the child a long time, he got the better of
   them.'
115) Gboklo su-tu ε wū.
   1 2 3 4

   "Hyena is boastful."

116) ε tu-u nū lo doba ngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'He took out of there all the termites.'

117) ba-ni di-i ε nūi, be wo-o fje su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   'The child went ahead of him, they went to the fields.'

118) di n su nā je wo.
   1 2 3 4 5

   'Follow me and let's go.'

119) se nāmjē di su, je su-kplā swa afwe mō bā t-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   'If God accepts (i.e. God willing) we will build a house
    next year.'
Non-locative complement

Completable verbs that require a noun complement other than a locative include:

- (bo 'hit')
- bo blalé 'forge' (blalé 'iron')
- bo klé 'beat a drum' (klé 'drum')
- bo nda 'clap hands' (nda 'twin')
- bo dwo 'plant igname' (dwo 'ignore')
- bo flemá 'whistle' (flemá ?-no meaning in isolation)
- bo tango 'cough' (tango 'cold')
- bo nglo 'make suds' (nglo 'suds')
- bo somá 'be engaged' (somá 'fiancé')
- di jümá 'work' (jümá 'work')
- di ba 'act as a child' (ba 'child')
- di sonja 'be a soldier' (sonja 'soldier')
- di talwa 'be youthful' (talwa 'young woman')
- di nawlé 'tell the truth' (nawlé 'truth')
- di fje 'have fields' (fje 'fields')
- di cě 'celebrate a holiday' (cě 'day')
- di mě 'live as neighbors' (mě 'world')
When the completable verb is a two- or three-place verb the surface ordering of the elements completable verb + object + noun complement is identical to an intransitive verb + locative noun phrase, namely verb + noun phrase + locative. Compare the following:

121) a) talwa to-о nzwe-nї nї.
   maiden fall FPST water SPEC in
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Maiden fell into the water.'

   b) talwa to-о е ni nї.
   maiden hug FPST 3s mother
   1 2 3 4 5
   'Maiden hugged her mother.'

122) a) n  lafi е be su.
   Is sleep 3s mat on
   1 2 3 4 5
   'I sleep on his mat.'

   b) n lafi е si su.
   Is count on 3s father
   1 2 3 4
   'I'm counting on his father.'
Although it is not always clear from the translation of sentences such as those above whether the locative is part of the verb or not, the addition of the nominalizer -le (Section 221.8) to the verb decides the unclear cases. -le is suffixed to the verb and any obligatory element occurs before it. For example

123) nū tole 'hugging'
   plū dile 'going before'
   su sölē 'answering'
   su lafile 'counting on'
   nū tule 'taking out'

234. One-place verbs

Verbs can be classified according to the number of substantive phrases (SP) with which they can occur within the nucleus of the verb phrase. They are thus divided into one-place, two-place and three-place verbs. All three classes of verbs include completable verbs, i.e. verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb (Section 233).

One-place verbs are defined as verbs that always occur with only one SP, this SP obligatorily in the subject position, i.e. before the verb. One-place verbs include:

a) Verbs of state (Section 232) such as

bō 'be smelly'
fe 'be white'
so 'be hard, elastic, solid'
jē 'be hot'
lu  'be dark'
jo  'be cold'

in which the subject substantive expresses the patient role:

124) e je-ni fè.
1 2 3
'His teeth are white.'
1 2 3

125) dwon-nga-nî so.
1 2 3
'This yam is elastic.'
2 1 3

126) n klû jo.
1 2 3
'My stomach is cold (i.e. I am happy).'  
1 2 3

127) kânî nzwe bô.
1 2 3
'Kerosene smells.'
1-2 3

b) Verbs of process (Section 232) such as:
be  'cook'
ñî  'mature'
fè  'tire'
ñã  'sour'
wû  'swell up'
wu  'die, dry'

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which occur with the perfective aspect marker a- (Section 238.2) to express the state which is the end result of the process:

128) ajwe-nī a-be.
   'The rice has/is cooked.'
   
129) alwa-nī a-nī.
   'The dog has/is grown up.'

130) tlo nga a-pā.
   'This sauce has soured/is sour.'

131) m'a-fe.
   'I am tired/have tired.'

132) mākū-nī a-wu sekeseke.
   'The pepper has/is dried completely.'

133) n sa-nī a-wū.
   'My hand has swelled/is swollen.'

The subject substantive occurring with these verbs is a patient undergoing a process.
c) Verbs of action such as

- sli 'laugh'
- lafi 'sleep'
- ko 'go'
- ba 'come'
- to 'fall'
- tu 'boil, fade'

with which the subject substantive has the role of actor:

134) jo se a su-sli yo?
   1 2 3

   'Why are you laughing?'
   1 2

135) be lafi.
   1 2

   'They are sleeping.'
   1 2

136) ba-ni wa-to.
   1 2 3

   'The child will fall.'

137) nzwe-ni su-tu.
   1 2 3

   'The water is boiling.'
   2 1

138) tla-ti nga-ni tuli.
   1 2 3

   'This garment faded.'
   1 2
The verbs to 'fall' and tu 'fade, boil' could be considered process verbs, their subject substantives expressing the patient role rather than actor. However, the process verbs listed above and discussed in Section 232 do not occur with the stative inflection (Section 238.2) and one is tempted to take that as a defining characteristic of process verbs. The verbs to and tu do occur with the stative inflection:

141) nzwe-nī tu.
   1  2  3
   'The water is boiling.'
   2  1  3

142) tlae nga-nī tu.
   1  2  3
   'This garment fades/is fading.'
   2  1  3

143) ba-nī to.
   1  2  3
   'The child falls/is falling.'
   2  1  3

The verbs of movement ko 'go' and ba 'come' often occur with a LocP (locative phrase) but can also occur with only a subject SP and thus
are considered one-place verbs (cf. the class of locative two-place verbs below).

144) c su-kɔ.
'He is going.'

145) Amla a-ba.
'Amla came.'

One-place completable verbs include:

kpe be  'sneeze'
  (kpe 'cut' be  'sneeze')

sa nzwe  'draw water'
  (sa ? nzwe 'water')

wu tānī  'weave'
  (wu 'dry, die' tānī 'cloth')

wu se  'pot (verb)'
  (wu 'dry, die' se  'pot')

to bio  'run away, escape'
  (to 'fall' bio 'bush')

kā ngwa  'dance, play'
  (kā 'touch' ngwa 'game')

kā nzā  'extract wine'
  (kā 'touch' nzā 'wine')

ji slaka  'sacrifice'
  (ji 'take out' slaka 'sacrifice')

ji gbekle  'divine (by mouse oracle)'
  (ji 'take out' gbekle 'mouse')
bo nda 'clap hands'
    (bo 'hit' nda 'twin')

bu nnandra 'tell a proverb'
    (bu 'break' nnandra 'proverb')

Sentences containing a one-place completable verb have the same surface shape as sentences containing a two-place verb. Compare

146) a) ṣu bo nda.
   1 2
      'He is clapping hands.'
   1 2

b) ṣu bo nda
   1 2 3
      'He is striking a twin.'
   1 2 3

147) a) ṣu ji gbekle.
   1 2
      'He is divining by mouse oracle.'
   1 2

b) ṣu ji gbekle.
   1 2 3
      'He is taking out a mouse.'
   1 2 3

The distinction between one-place completable verbs (a above) and two-place verbs (b above) is unambiguously determined by the addition of the derivational affixes -le, -wle or -fwe (Section 221.8). These noun-deriving suffixes are added to the verb and all obligatory elements occur before the verb. For example
Two-Place Verbs

Two-place verbs include

a) verbs that obligatorily occur with a subject and an object substantive, the subject substantive being the actor, the object substantive non-actor (e.g. patient or goal):

149) nā 'gain, get'

m'a-nā sika.
1 2 3 4

'I've gotten money.'
1 2 3 4

150) kū 'kill'

e kū-ū kpejā kā.
1 2 3 4

'He killed one muskrat.'
1 2 4 3

151) tla 'grab, capture'

be tla-a ajwefwe.
1 2 3

'They grabbed a thief.'
1 2 3
152) \textit{ji} 'empty, deliver, give back, take out, take off'

\begin{verbatim}
  a-ji ojwe-n\textsuperscript{\text{"i}}.
  1 \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{4}
\end{verbatim}

'He \underline{took out} the thorn.'

\begin{verbatim}
  \underline{e} su-ji ba.
  1 \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{4}
\end{verbatim}

'She is \underline{taking off} the baby (from her back).'

In the case of completable verbs the object substantive occurs between the verb and its complement noun.

153) \textit{k\text{"a}k\text{"a} n\text{"u}} 'stir'

\begin{verbatim}
  \underline{e} su-k\text{"a}k\text{"a} tlo n\text{"u}.
  1 \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{4}
\end{verbatim}

'She is \underline{stirring} the sauce.'

154) \textit{la ase} 'thank'

\begin{verbatim}
  je la a ase.
  1 \underline{2} \underline{3}
\end{verbatim}

'We \underline{thank you}.'

155) \textit{sw\text{"a} d\text{"u}m\text{"a}} 'name'

\begin{verbatim}
  be sw\text{"a}-\text{"a} e d\text{"u}m\text{"a} Kofi.
  1 \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{4}
\end{verbatim}

'They \underline{named} him Kofi.'
156) bu fo 'condemn'

klo kpëngbé a-bu be fo.

1 2 3 4

'The village chief condemned them.'

1 2 3 4

157) gwa ati 'accompany'

je su-ko gwa be ati.

1 2 3 4

'We're going to accompany them.'

1 2 3 4

158) gwa bo 'conclude, finish'

gwa jwe-ni bo.

1 2 3

'Finish the song.'

1 2 3

159) njá lika 'take care of'

be a-njá ba-ni lika kpa.

1 2 3 4 5

'They took good care of the child.'

1 2 3 4 5

160) njá osu 'visit'

cê kõ n ko-njá a osu.

1 2 3 4 5 6

'One day I'll come visit you.'

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) verbs that obligatorily occur with a subject and an object substantive with the additional criterion that the two SP's be identical in reference:
161) kpε wū 'turn around'

'alwa su-kpε e wū.

'The dog is turning around.'

1 2 3

162) pā ti 'have time, be saved'

m'a-pā n ti.

'I've been saved.'

1 2 3

163) tla awlēba 'persevere, take courage'

a-tla e awlēba.

'He took courage.'

1 2

164) sa sī 'return'

be sa-a be sī.

'They turned around.'

1 2

165) sa nwā 'go back on one's word'

ε su-sa ε nwā.

'He's going to go back on his word.'

1 2 3

166) kē wū 'hasten'

m'a-kē n wū m'a-ba.

'I hastened. I came.'

1 2 3 4
167) bu wū 'consider oneself'

ε buε wū dā.

1 2 3 4 5

'He considers himself big (i.e. is proud).'

c) verbs that require two SP's as coordinate subject substantives: they both express the role of actor and both precede the verb, conjoined with the substantive phrase conjoiner nī (Section 241):

168) la 'sleep with'

ε nī bla-nī be la-li.

1 2 3 4

'He slept with the girl.'

1 4 3 2

a nī wā je āmū la-li?

1 2 3

'Who did you sleep with?'

2 1 3

169) kpe nde 'dispute, argue'

je nī n ji je kpe nde.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1p and 1s wife 1p argue

1 2 3 4 5 6

'I argue with my wife.'

kofi nī be kpe-ε nde.

1 2 3 4 5

kofi and 3p dispute FPST

1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and he argued.'
170) jja 'encounter'
be nîNdri jja-li.
1 2 3 4 5

3p and Ndri encounter FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'They met Ndri.'

d) verbs that most often occur with two SP, the subject substantive being actor, the object substantive non-actor, but that can also occur with just the actor substantive as subject,

171) fa 'take'
a-fa.

'He took.'

a-fa n kle.

'He took my hat.'

172) kā 'touch'
nā kā.

'Don't touch.'

nā kā alwa.

'Don't touch the dog.'

173) ka 'bite'
wwo-nī ka

'The snake bites.'

wwo-nī ka-a mī.

'The snake bit me.'
174) bu angunda 'think'
    ε su-bu angunda
    'He is thinking.'

ε su-bu mi angunda.
    'He is thinking of me.'

175) kpe nzoa 'insult'
    be ti te; be kpe nzoa.
        1 2 3 1 2
    'They are bad; they insult.'
        1 2 3 1 2

n njāābla a-kpe mī nzoa.
        1 2 3 4
    'My sister insulted me.'
        1 2 3 4

176) so su 'respond'
    āmū so su.
    'You (pl) respond.'

āmū so jwe-nī su.
    'You (pl) respond to the song.'

177) kā ajre 'paint'
    be su-kā ayre.
    'They are painting.'

be su-kā swa ayre.
    'They are painting the house.'
e) verbs that occur with either one or two SP. When they occur with one SP the subject substantive is a non-actor:

178) bu 'break'

sc-nī a-bu.

'The pot broke.'

kofi bu-u sc-nī.

'Kofi broke the pot.'

179) gwa 'pour, leak, splash;

nzue-nī gwa.

'The water is leaking.'

swa-nī gwa.

'The house leaks.

e su-gwa nzwe sc-nī nū.

'He is pouring water in the pot.'

180) bu nū 'fold'

kwe nga-nī bu nū.

'This knife folds up.'

a-bu fluwa nu.

'He folded up the paper.'
181) tike 'open'
    anwā tike-li.
    'The door opened.'

    e tike-e anwā.
    'He opened the door.'

236. Three-Place Verbs

A small set of verbs occur with three SP's, although not obliga­torily; one SP occurs as subject substantive in the role of actor, the other two follow the verb as patient and goal or as patient and instrument.

182) mā 'give'

    be a-ko-mē like.
    1 2 3 4 5

    3p PRF DM give-3s thing
    1 2 3 4 5

    'They went to give him food.'

    e mā-ā n dwo nsā.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

    3s give FPST ls yam three
    1 2 3 4 5 6

    'She gave me three yams.'

183) ble 'bring'

    n nī a-ble n tānī.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

    ls mother PRF bring ls cloth
    1 2 3 4 5 6

    'My mother brought me a cloth.'
212

ble mǐ nzwe.
1 2 3

'Bring me water.'
1 2 3

184) sle 'ask'

a-ko-sle bjā-nĩ ako.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s-PRF DM ask man SPEC chicken
1 2 3 4 5 6

'He went to ask the man for a chicken.'

n sle e kpango.
1 2 3 4

ls ask (CERT) 3s bicycle.
1 2 3 4

'I'll ask for his bicycle.'

wo 'prick, sting'

je wa-wo'e taa ba.
1 2 3 4

lp DM sting (CERT)-3s arrow
1 2 3 4

'We will sting him with our arrows.'

237. Verbal Groups

Two or more verbs can occur together in a verbal group to express a single action/process or a series of actions/processes seen as occurring in very close sequence (analogous to what has been called serial verbs in other languages). An object substantive can occur after the first verb only (185 below); after the second verb only (192); or after both verbs (188). For example
185) fa nzwe-ni bla.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{take water SPEC come}

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

'Bring the water.'

186) n si a-fa sika mā mī.

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{Is father PRF take money give Is}

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

'My father gave me money.'

187) bla-nī tō like mā be.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{woman SPEC cook (STA) thing give 3p}

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

'The woman cooks for them.'

188) a-fa kle-nī kplā ə ti.

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{3s-PRF take hat SPEC plant 3s head}

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

'He took his hat and put it on his head.'

189) nzwe-nī su-wu gwa.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{water SPEC IMPRF boil pour}

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

'The water is boiling over.'

190) kā alwa njā.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

\text{touch dog see}

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

'Touch the dog and see.'
191) ε su-bo tlo-ni su njā.
3s IMPRF taste sauce SPEC see
'She is tasting the sauce.'

192) be wu tla be wū.
3p jump surpass (STA) 3p body
'They jump over each other.'

193) ānūmā a-tu stī swa lō.
bird PRF fly pass house there
'The bird flew past the house there.'

194) boli a-tu tla waka-ni.
goat PRF jump surpass tree SPEC
'The goat jumped over the tree.'

195) n wa-kā nde kle wō.
1s DM tell affair show 2s
'I will tell you of an affair.'

When derived with the noun-deriving suffix -lc (Section 221.8),
each verb of the verbal group occurs with -lc:
tu kpē 'jump down'
tule kpēlc 'jumping down'
238. **The Verb**

The verb consists minimally of the verb root with one of four tonal inflections, the Tonal Modals. Two position classes of verbal prefixes may precede the root: the Directional Modals (of which there are two) and the Aspectual Prefixes (of which there are two). One verbal suffix, the Factual Past, may follow the root. The four Tonal Modals, the two Aspectual Prefixes and the Factual Past suffix are mutually exclusive inflections; none of them co-occur. The Directional Modals, however, occur with each of these other inflections. The Negative morpheme occurs after the verb except in the cases of the Subjunctive and the Imperative where it occurs before the subject noun and before the verb respectively. The Negative morpheme does not co-occur with the Directional Modals.

238.1 **The verb root**

The process of reduplication occurs on verb roots to indicate repeated action. For example

- **bla** 'hook onto'
- **blabla** 'twist, wrap around'
- **bli** 'be bent/twisted'
- **blibli** 'writhe'
- **bo** 'hit/beat'
- **bobo** 'hit many times'
- **di** 'eat'
- **dídi** 'graze'
- **fwa** 'touch'
- **fwafwa** 'touch many times'
- **ka** 'bite'
- **kaka** 'munch on'
- **kpé** 'cut'
- **kpékpé** 'cut many things/many times'

---

1The terms used in the following discussion of verbal inflection have been purposefully chosen to be maximally descriptive of the semantic categories unique to the Baule verbal system. This approach avoids the problem of inferring additional, non-existent meaning from terms used traditionally in the analyses of Indo-European languages.
Verb roots fall into three classes on the basis of differences in syllable structure which condition the tone which they carry to mark different verbal inflections. The syllable structure of the three classes is:

Class I - CV e.g. di 'eat,' fa 'take'
Class II - CCV e.g. njā 'look,' tla 'grab'
Class III - two or more syllables e.g. nānti 'walk,' kunde 'search for'

238.2 Verbal inflections

Tonal Modals

Three inflections of the verb root consist only of tonal differences. These three tonal structures inflect the verb for one of three modes: stative, certaintive or subjunctive. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Certaintive</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>ñ di</td>
<td>ñ di</td>
<td>ñ di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I eat'</td>
<td>'I will eat'</td>
<td>'that I eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>ñ njā</td>
<td>ñ njā</td>
<td>ñ njā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I look'</td>
<td>'I will look'</td>
<td>'that I look'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>ñ nāntii</td>
<td>ñ nāntii</td>
<td>ñ nāntii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I walk'</td>
<td>'I will walk'</td>
<td>'that I walk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The tones are: ✓ high, ᵇ mid, ˹low, .Safe mid-high rising, ˎ low-mid rising, ˀ mid-low falling. Cf. Section 140.)
The stative mode is used to make general statements: it indicates that a patient is in a certain state (although some states are expressed with the perfective aspect—Section 232) and that an actor is in the state of being able to do some action or of always doing some action.
There is no indication of time, either present, past or future. It is used to make "timeless" statements (e.g. 'The sun sets in the west') and statements of habitual activity. For example

196) e cē nū boli ti bōfwe.
   3s day in goat understand white-man
   'In those days Goat understood White Man's language.'

197) be la aṭi nū je be to gwa-nī.
   3p sleep path in and 3p arrive market SPEC
   'They sleep on the road and then they reach the market.'

198) nā jobwe-nī su je nzwe-nījo gbudugbudu nīs?
   not stone SPEC on COP water SPEC do ideophone: of
   water-gurgling-over-rock DISC
   'Isn't it on the rock that the water does gbudugbudu?'

199) mō n jo āwünvo nī, je e fa-li cē-c mī c.
   since Is do pity DISC then 3s take FPST give FPST Is DISC
   'Since I cause pity, he took and gave me (his child).'

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200) "ba tetefwe, më n se sa e ti mā nī, je e ta ako je e bo
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13  14  15  16  17
   je slā ti a sa lo."
   18  19  20  21  22  23

child evil when ls talk affair 3s hear NEG DISC and 3s
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12
raise chicken and 3s crow and person hear NEG affair
   13  14  15  16  17  18  19  20  21  22  23

"'This evil child, when I talk to him he doesn't hear and
he raises a chicken and it crows and no one hears
anything there.'"

201) jele aja më e wo e sa su nī, e bo-nī je wo lo.
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13  14  15

COP marriage as 3s go 3s come back DISC 3s meaning SPEC
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13  14  15

COP LCOP there
   13  14  15

'Such is marriage, as it goes and comes back, its meaning
is this.

The certaintive mode indicates that the speaker is certain that
the event or state will occur or take place. When used with the first
person it implies that the speaker is certain something will take place
because he intends to do it. For example

202) n kō fje su n bā.
   1  2  3  4  5  6

ls go (CERT) field on ls come (CERT)
   1  2  3  4  5  6

'I'll go to the fields, I'll return.'
When used with the second and third person, the speaker predicts what will occur because from past experience it has always occurred. For example

> 'If we stick him with arrows, the water will pour, we will get some, we will drink.'
206) se w’a-kaci e e nwā nde nī, a nā je.
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 8\ 9\ 10\ 11\ 12\]

if 2s PRF change NEG 3s mouth words DISC 2s get (CERT)
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 8\ 9\ 10\ 11\]

good
\[12\]

'If you have not changed her words (i.e. disobeyed), you
will be successful.'

207) e sè e sī e wa-bā.
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

3s turn (CERT) 3s back 3s DM come (CERT)
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

'She will turn around, she will come (back).'

The certainative is used to express wishes:

208) n sīle atī nā n kō klo.
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

1s request (CERT) path so-that 1s go (CERT) village
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

'! Ask for the road because I want to go home.'

209) ajicwe kusu wē e tō jwe le.
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

turtle also say 3s shoot (CERT) some at-all-costs
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\]

'Turtle also wanted to shoot some at all costs.'

210) bla-nī wā e nē nzwe.
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\]

woman SPEC say 3s drink (CERT) water
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\]

'The woman wants to drink water/a drink of water.'
211) se a wä a kú mī, kū mī.

if 2s say 2s kill (CERT) 1s kill (IMP) 1s

'If you want to kill me, kill me.'

The certaintive occurs in dependent clauses to indicate an action or a process that was taking place when the event of the independent clause takes place. For example

212) e tükpe i o, e we nòs woe e sit lo ketekete.

3s jump (CERT) land there when, 3s horns two LCOP 3s

behind there small

'When he jumped out there, his two small horns were behind him.'

213) ako-ní to-o kleswa níí; e bòbo ɔ, e bòbo-o ako sa nòs.

chicken SPEC lay FPST egg DISC; 3s hatch (CERT) when,

3s hatch FPST chicken thus two

'The chicken laid eggs; when she hatched, she hatched two chicks.'
214) bo e tóto kla-ní sa níí3, e wüswe-ní gwa-a bla nííma su.

as 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC pour

FPST woman eyes on

'As he swung the torch like this, its smoke poured on the woman's eyes.'

215) e njá boli nlů wa níí3, e su-kpuse e nwá jekú.

3s look (CERT) goat face here DISC, 3s IMPRF chew 3s

mouth again

'When he looked at Goat's face here, he is chewing his cud again.'

216) mā e fá atí nů, e si-i su.

as 3s take (CERT) path in, 3s follow FPST on

'As she took the path, she followed.'

217) be kó nzwe nů o, nzwe nů má le kó.

3p go (CERT) water in when, water LCOP NEG there again.

'When they went to the pond, there was no more water.'
218) ɓe ɓe tu klo lo nīn, nānī a-di lika ngba kpā.

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array} \]

when 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow PRF fill place all completely

10 11 12

'When they arrived at the village, the cows filled the whole place.'

The certaintive is used in narratives to recount events which are not the last one of the scene. That is, the use of the certaintive to recount an event indicates that the next event will be part of the same sequence of events and will probably involve the same characters. This contrasts with the use of the factual past to recount events which close a scene (see below). For example

219) c nī be bā klo. je jwe be ti slā nna, je be bā, be wa-swę

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 \\
\end{array} \]

c. be wo c sī, be a-ba.

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

3s and 3p come (CERT) village. and fish 3p LCOP person

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array} \]

four, and 3p come (CERT), 3p DM load-3s DISC. 3p

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 & 18 & 19 \\
\end{array} \]

LCOP 3s back, 3p PRF come

20 21 22 23 24 25

'She and they came to the village. And there were four fish, and they came, they came to load her. They are behind her, they have come.'
220) je e sî su ɔ. twãaaa. be a-fa ati dá lelelele.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
and 3s follow (CERT) on DISC. ideophone: fast. 3p PRF
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
take path big long time
   9 10 11 12
'And she followed him. Fast! They took the big path a
long time.'

221) je be sîke je be wlû nû ɔ. ba wã 'o! wa je je su-wa-ka
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC. child
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
say o! here COP 1p IMPRF DM stay DISC
   10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
'And they unloaded and they entered in. Child said,
'Oh, is this where we are going to stay?''

222) je e jî e-li je nîs, je e df jekû ɔ. viâviâvlâ. a-mê.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
and 3s remove (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT) again
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
DISC. ideophone: chewing. 3s-PRF swallow-3s.
   11 12 13 14
'And he removed his, and he ate again. Chew, chew. He
has swallowed it.'

223) je e më e jwe su ɔ: [song]
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
and 3s lift (CERT) 3s song on DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'And so she took up her song: [song].'

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The subjunctive mode is used to express wishes or desires on the part of the speaker for another person, commands or instructions. For example

224) nî wā n se amū ke "kpatla wū bwi nga-mū."

mother say Is tell (SUBJ) 2p that carp body scale this/that

'mother says I was to tell you 'Scaly bodies like carp!'''

(225) sīka mē n nī wā n fa n to kla nū-nī, nā n ko-mē.

money which Is mother say Is take (SUBJ) Is buy (SUBJ)

'the money which my mother said I was to take and buy torches with (it), now I will go give to her.'

226) sa nga ti jē n se-e a ke a ka lo-nī jē.

affair this/that reason COP. Is tell-FPST 2s that 2s

'stay (SUBJ) there SPEC COP

'this is the reason for which I told you you were to stay there.'
227) \( \text{wla a sa } \varepsilon \text{ wo ngwangwa sa.} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \)
\( \text{put (IMP) 2s hand 3s go (SUBJ) deepdeep thus} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \)
'Put your hand in, may it go down like this.'

228) \( \text{jaci le nā je wō.} \)
\( \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \)
\( \text{leave (IMP) there and ip go (SUBJ)} \)
\( \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \)
'Leave (what you're doing) and let's go.'

229) \( \text{amū fa ato-nī le.} \)
\( \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \)
\( \text{2p take (SUBJ) lie SPEC there} \)
\( \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array} \)
'(You-pl.) take your lies away!'

230) \( \text{be nīzhē e je waka bo fē e nwā nū.} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array} \)
\( \text{3p look (SUBJ) 3s tooth tree which be white 3s mouth in} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array} \)
'May they look at his teeth which are white in his mouth.'

The imperative is marked by the absence of a subject noun phrase.
The verb root has the same tone as the stative form of the verb root.
It is used to give commands and instructions to a hearer. For example

231) \( \text{fa nzwe blé mi.} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \)
\( \text{take (IMP) water bring 1s} \)
\( \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \)
'Bring me some water.'
232) **wla a sa le.**

1 2 3 4

**Put (IMP) 2s hand there**

1 2 3 4

'**Put your hand in there.'**

233) **ko.**

'**Go.'**

The imperative contrasts with the use of the subjunctive with the second person singular (cf. example 226 above).

**Aspectual Prefixes**

Two prefixes, **a-** and **su-**, occur with the verb root to indicate the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect respectively.

**Perfective: a-, (/a/)**

The perfective indicates that an action or a process has been completed; in the case of stative and process verbs (Section 232) it indicates that a state has been achieved.

234) **"n ti kle-nî jë m'â-tu jë n di lo."**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

is head hat SPEC COP 1s PRF remove and 1s eat (STÄ) there

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

"It's my hat that I have removed and I eat it."

235) **kongo a-kû akonîmâmâ ngba.**

1 2 3 4 5

kongo (a disease) PRF kill rooster all

1 2 3 4 4

'Kongo has killed all the roosters.'
236) e wia-ni a-ji alje sTI nU.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3s co-wife SPEC PRF put food fire in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'Her co-wife has put the food on the fire.'

237) lika ngba a-lu je su lo so.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
place all PRF darken 1p on there thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'It got dark on us there like this.'

238) e awlE kpa a-be e klu sa nI . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3s heart very PRF cook 3s belly thus DISC . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'His very heart is cooked in his belly like this . . .
(i.e. he is angry).'

Imperfective: su- (/su/)¹

The imperfective aspect indicates that an action or a process is on-going, unfinished or about to begin. For example

239) n su-ko gwa bo.
1 2 3 4 5
1s IMPRF go market at
1 2 3 4 5
'I am going to market.' (either on the way or about to go)

240) je su-ká je ba ngwa.
1 2 3 4 5 6
1p IMPRF play 1p child game
1 2 3 4 5 6
'We are playing our child games.'

¹This morpheme is perhaps related to the locative su (221.7) and thus may be similar to constructions in other languages which use location expressions for the progressive.
241) ε su-la kpūngbū nū.
1 2 3 4 5
3s IMPRF sleep room in
1 2 3 4 5
'He is sleeping in the room.'

242) ε su-lafi icrai.
1 2 3 4
3s IMPRF sleep right away
1 2 3 4 5
'He will sleep very soon.' (of a baby)

243) amango su-blo
1 2 3
mango IMPRF ripen
1 2 3
'The mangoes are ripening.'

Factual Past: -li, (/li/)

The suffix -li occurs with the verb root to indicate the factual past; i.e. an action, process or state which has actually occurred and is a fact of the world. There is no indication of when it happened or what state the actor or patient is in at the moment; it only indicates that the event occurred. Since it is a statement of fact, it can not occur with the negative morpheme. -li has an allomorph which consists of a vowel that duplicates the final vowel of the verb. This allomorph occurs when the verb is not clause-final. The third person singular pronoun object is incorporated into the verb root (Section 221.4) and so occurs before the factual past suffix -li. (See the discussion in Section 221.4 of the effect of the 3s pronoun on the verbal vowels.) For example
244) n di-li.
   1 2 3

   ls eat FPST
   1 2 3

   'I ate.'

245) ba-nî to-li.
   1 2 3 4

   child SPEC fall FPST
   1 2 3 4

   'The child fell.'

246) amango-nî blo-li.
   1 2 3 4

   mango SPEC ripen FPST
   1 2 3 4

   'The mango ripened (and is now probably rotten).'

247) je jo-o a se?
   1 2 3 4 5

   3s do FPST 2s what
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What did he do to you?'

248) n nânti-i n ja su n ba-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   ls walk FPST ls leg on ls come FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'I walked on my feet, I came (i.e. I came on foot).'

249) bouaké je n toe-li.
   1 2 3 4 5

   Bouaké COP ls buy-3s FPST
   1 2 3 4 5

   'It is at Bouaké that I bought it.'
The factual past and the perfective are contrasted in the following sentences:

251) kofì a-wọ Bouaké.

kofì PRF go Bouaké

'Kofi has gone to Bouaké (and is still there).'

kofì wo-ọ Bouaké.

kofì go FPST Bouaké

'Kofi went to Bouaké (no indication of where he is now).'

252) se-nT a-bu.

pot SPEC PRF break

'The pot is broken.'

se-nT bu-li.

pot SPEC break FPST

'The pot broke.'
In narratives, the factual past is used in the last clause of a sentence to signal the end of a scene. The event in the following sentence is considered part of another scene, with different characters involved, or if with the same characters, after a gap in time or a change in location. This contrasts with the use of the certaintive in the sentence-final clause which indicates that the following sentence will be part of the same scene. For example

253) je e nǐ akọ wo-li ọ. be a-kọ-toe e akọ-nī.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and 3s with chicken go FPST DISC. 3p PRF DM buy 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

chicken SPEC
13 14

'And he went with his chicken (to market). They went and bought his chicken.'

254) je be fle-e ba kā nīš, je e wo-li ọ. jaswa-nī wā jo,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'n nānī-nī, e twī kō ti ba-lije.'
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

and 3p call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

man SPEC say that, '1s cow SPEC, 3s pen one ICOP
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

child ASS'
24 25

'And they called the small child, and he went. The man said, 'my cows, (that are in) the pen are the boy's.'"
255) \[ \text{je e ko-la-li o. alje-n\={T} e\={T}-li o. e we, "awofwe, \=a se ke e bla."} \]

and 3s DM lie FPST DISC. day SPEC arise FPST DISC.

3s say, "stranger, 2p tell-3s that 3s come (SUBJ)"

'And he went and slept. The day arose. He said,

"Stranger, tell him to come."

256) \[ \text{bla-n\={T} kusu e n\=a-e ti je e wo-li o. kpok\={u} bj\=a-n\={T}. . .} \]

\[ \text{e ba-li n\={T}\={S}; e si be a-se e ko\={S}} \]

woman SPEC also 3s get FPST 3s head and 3s go FPST DISC.

suddenly man SPEC 3s come FPST DISC; 3s father 3p

PRF tell-3s NEG again

'The woman also she was saved and she went. Suddenly

the man . . . he came; her fathers they spoke no

more (of the affair).'

Modal directionals\(^1\)

The class of modal directionals consists of the two morphemes

wa and ko, which are undoubtedly historically related to the verbs ba

\(^1\)These are what have been called "Ingressives" in analyses of other Volta-Comoe languages. I have abandoned the term "Ingressive" because it connotes a single direction and the two morphemes involved, ko and wa, if they imply direction at all, imply two directions: away from and toward the speaker.
'come' and ko 'go.'\(^1\) They occur immediately preceding the verb root with each of the verbal inflections discussed above (the stative, certainive, subjunctive, imperative, perfective, imperfective and the factual past). The exact meaning of these morphemes is difficult to pin down; they indicate movement (toward or away from the speaker) in order to carry out the action of the verb; movement while undergoing a process; intention to act; the inception of an action, process or state; futurity.

The modal directionals are used frequently and, although in most cases they are translated 'go/went/is going to ___' or 'come/came/is coming to ___' ('partir ____,' 'venir ____' in French), it is clear from the context that actual movement is not always involved. For example

Movement toward or away from speaker in order to act:

\[257\] a-wa-kpata bjä nga e fle-e klo wa-nT.

\[1\] \[2\] \[3\] \[4\] \[5\] \[6\] \[7\] \[8\] \[9\] \[10\] \[11\]

3s-PRF DM appease man this/that 3s call FPST village here

\[1\] \[2\] \[3\] \[4\] \[5\] \[6\] \[7\] \[8\] \[9\] \[10\]

SPEC

11

'She came to appease the man who had proposed to her in the village here.'

\(^1\)Unlike the verb ko, the directional modal ko does not have an allomorphic variant. The verbs ko and ba are the only verbs with allomorphic variants. The verb ko has the shape wo when it occurs with the stative, subjunctive, perfect and factual past inflections. The verb ba has the shape bla when it occurs with the imperative and subjunctive modes.
258) ke be a-kọ-mẹ like-ni, be kọ-njẹ.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

when 3p PRF DM give-3s food SPEC, 3p DM look at-3s

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'When they had gone to give him the food, they went to
look at him.'

259) je be kọ-bu-u ngblää nná nị́s, . . .

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p DM break FPST ngblää leaf DISC, . . .

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And they went to break some ngblää leaf, . . .'

260) be cwe-ẹ nánị́ file nị́s, be wa-jị́-i e wú le ọ.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3p DM put FPST 3s next
there DISC

13 14

'They pulled cow's stomach, they came to put it next to
him.'

Movement toward or away from speaker while undergoing process:

261) je a-kondo, a-wa-to wa.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and 3s-PRF roll, 3s-PRF DM fall here

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'And he rolled, he came falling here.'

262) jwe-nị́, be kọ-mńà-5 nzwe nů.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

fish SPEC, 3p DM sink FPST water in

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The fish (pl) went sinking into the water.'
Intention to act (most often with ko):

263) be a-\(\text{ko}\)-toe e a\(\text{ko}\)-n\(\text{i}\).  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
3p PRF DM buy 3s chicken SPEC  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
'They went and bought his chicken.'

264) e \(\text{ko}\)-tu-ui e ti kle, e sje-li.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
3s DM remove FPST 3s head hat, 3s put-aside 3s FPST  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
'He went and took off his hat, he put it aside.'

265) sl\(\text{a}\) nga e \(\text{ko}\)-sike be w\(\text{u}\) 1\(\text{e}\)-n\(\text{i}\), be ti w\(\text{l}\)\(\text{e}\)ngbifwe.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
people this/that 3s DM lodge 3p near there SPEC, 3p ICOP  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
rich folk  
12  
'The people he went and lodged next to, they were rich folk.'

Inception of an action, process or state:

266) be \(\text{ko}\)-ju be plu l\(\text{o}\) n\(\text{i}\)\(\text{s}\), at\(\text{i}\)-n\(\text{i}\) a-\(\text{ko}\)-ka k\(\text{a}\)\(\text{a}\) sa.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14  
3p DM arrive 3p front there DISC, path SPEC PRF DM stay  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
small thus  
13 14  
'They went to arrive in front of them (i.e. as they went further), the path began to get smaller.'
267) bjä fe-e 1o, sasasasa, a-wa-kpē 1e.
    man leave FPST there, ideophone: looking around rapidly
    3s-PRF DM exit there

'The man left there, looking around rapidly, he is about
to exit there.'

268) e wa-ju-u 1e nīō, e jīā-ā ce su wa.
    3s DM arrive FPST there DISC, 3s stand FPST bank on here

'As she was about to reach there, she stopped on the bank here.'

269) kē be wa-to-o klo-nī, boli wā 'n su-ko atī nū.'
    as 3p DM come upon FPST village SPEC, goat say "ls IMPRF
    go path in"

'As they were about to come upon the village, Goat said,
"I'm going to defecate."'

Futurity (the directional modal wa occurs with the imperfective aspect
to indicate the immediate future, "about to"):

270) je su-wa-kū bwa-nī.
    1p IMPRF DM kill sheep SPEC

'We are about to kill the sheep.'
271) **a ba tetefwe mē le-nī, a su-wa wūt.**

```
1 2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10
```

2s child evil one as there SPEC, 2s IMPRF DM see-3s

'You there evil child, you are *about to* find out!'

272) **wa je je su-wa-ka ō?**

```
1 2  3  4  5  6  7
```

d here COP 1p IMPRF DM stay QUES

'Is it here that we *are going* to stay?'

273) **kpace te su-wa-be e klo-nī su.**

```
1 2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9
```

sickness bad IMPRF DM come 3s village SPEC on

'An evil sickness is *about to* come upon his village.'

*wa* occurs with the certaintive inflection to indicate futurity, with no deictic movement:

274) **ā cici e nwa, je wa-jī ngojima.**

```
1 2  3  4  5  6  7  8
```

2p tie up (SUBJ) 3s mouth, 1p DM throw (CERT) divining

'instrument'

'Tie up its mouth, we will divine.'
275) ε ako nga e bo-o le-ní, ε wa-jó n fe kpa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
3s chicken this/that 3s crow FPST there SPEC, 3s DM do
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(CERT) Is sweet very
11 12 13 14

'His cock that crows there, it will please me.'

276) nā wāndi, a wa-tó.
1 2 3 4 5
NEG run (IMP), 2s DM fall (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5

'Don't run, you will fall.'

In the few instances where both directional modals occur before a verb root, wa-kó- indicates future movement away from the speaker in order to act. For example

277) nzwe nga a-ju má; n wa-kó-fá jekú
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
water this/that PRF arrive NEG; 1s DM DM take (CERT) again
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'This water isn't enough; I'll go get some more.'

278) nzu je ε ko-jo ná e njáá be wa-kó-dé níší?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
what COP 3s DM do and 3s relatives 3p DM DM help (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

DISC
13

'What can she go do so that her relatives will go help her?'
A rare use of ko is to mark a **consecutive future**; that is, a verb indicating future action in a clause following a se ('if' or 'when') clause. It is translated 'and then . . .' and it is tonally different from the directional modal ko plus the tonal modals:

- n ko-dí
  'I go to eat' (STATIVE)
- n ko-di
  'I will go to eat' (CERTAINTIVE)
- n ko-dí
  'that I go to eat' (SUBJUNCTIVE)
- n ko-di
  'and then I will go to eat' (CONSECUTIVE FUTURE)

Examples of the use of the consecutive future are difficult to elicit.

The following are from texts:

> If we spend one month then you will go, and I will go accompany you.'

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281) se je di sla kɔ a kɔ-wɔ, nɔn wa-ko-suma wo.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

If I spend (STA) month one 2s CONS FUT go, and 1s DM DM

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

accompany 2s

13 14

If we spend one month then you will go, and I will go

accompany you.'

238.3 Negative

The negative morpheme is mä, (/mam/). It is realized as nä (/lam/) with the subjunctive and the imperative modes in which cases it occurs before the subject noun, or before the verb in the case of the imperative. With other verbal inflections it occurs after the verb where it is realized as mä if it occurs clause-finally, a if it is followed by a noun phrase (or á following a nasal verbal vowel). If a 3s pronoun follows the negative the negative is realized as më, ã or ë. For example

282) njä, a wū ë e zugɔɔ nga e wo le-ni?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

look (IMP), 2s see (STA) NEG 3s ideoph: suspended thing

1 2 3 4 5 6

this/that 3s LCOP there SPEC

7 8 9 10 11

'Look, don't you see his suspended thing that hangs there?'
283) n su-kaci e e nwǎnde.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s IMPRF change NEG 3s mouth affair

'I will not change her words (i.e. disobey her).'

n su-kaci mě.
    1 2 3 4

1s IMPRF change NEG-3s

'I will not change it.'

284) be kwle e kā o.
    1 2 3 4 5

3p can (STA)-3s NEG talk EMP

'They (i.e. one) cannot talk of it.'

285) e wā e su-je mě.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

3s say 3s IMPRF marry-3s NEG

'She said she would not marry him.'

The use of the negative is restricted: it does not co-occur with the factual past verbal suffix -li nor with the directional modals, wa- and ko-. In the case of the certaintive tonal modal, the negative is

In rare cases, to express negative intention, the directional modal ko- occurs with the negative, and only with the first person singular pronoun: n ko-kɔ mā. 1s DM go NEG 'I do not intend to go!'
used only when the subject noun is a first person pronoun. The negative certaintive inflection of a verb indicates negative intention, hence it can only be used by the speaker to refer to himself or himself and others acting with him. It is an emotional statement and is usually used in anger or to impress the hearer with one's strong resolution.

For example

286) nde nga-n₁, n fₐ mₐ.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6\]
affair this/that SPEC, ls take (CERT) NEG
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6\]
'This affair, I'm not accepting it.'

287) n njₐ mₐ.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]
ls look (CERT) NEG
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]
'I will not look!' (at such a despicable thing)

288) je k₃ a λ₃.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
lp go (CERT) NEG there
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
'We certainly are not going there!'

The negative occurs freely with:

-The stative tonal modal:

289) koklo ja s₁ n₁₀₅, c kwla a nₐn₃₃i.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8\]
thin foot behind DISC 3s can (STA) NEG walk
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8\]
'Because of her thinness, she cannot walk.'
290) ajicwle wē e to jwe le. nnē nga be kusu be kplī nī su.

turtle say 3s shoot some at-all-costs. animal this/that

3p also 3p accept (STA) NEG on

'Turtle wanted to shoot some at all costs, The animals,

they also also did not accept that.'

291) se bla-nī jaci be nī, be tu a amwī be kū mē.

if woman SPEC leave 3p DISC 3p take-out (STA) NEG fetish

3p kill (STA) NEG-3s

'If the woman leaves them they do not take out a fetish,

they do not kill her.'

292) jwa-nī su-ko tole lo, e wū ā ba-mū-nī.

sun SPEC IPRF go falling there 3s see (STA) NEG child

INDIV SPEC

'The sun is going to fall there, she does not see her

children.'

- The perfective aspect where it indicates that an action or process did
not take place or a state is not achieved. For example
293) ke be ḫu-ŭ lō nī, be a-ṭo a be sja be lī.
when 3p arrive FPST there DISC, 3p PRF find NEG 3s
in-laws 3p there
'When they arrived there, they did not find their in-laws there.'

294) mō m'a-jo a jumā anckī nī, e ka lī.
since 1s PRF do NEG work today DISC, 3s stay (SUBJ) there
'Since I have not done work today, may it stay there.'

295) m'a-wū mē.
1 2 3 4
1s PRF see NEG-3s
'I have not seen him.'

296) w'a-di a sla kō.
1 2 3 4 5 6
2s PRF spend NEG month one
'You have not spent one month (here).'
nǐ is a negative particle that occurs only in conjunction with the perfective aspect and the negative morpheme mā. It indicates that the action or process has not yet taken place but is expected to; and likewise that a state has not yet been achieved but is expected to. For example

298) kofi nǐ a-ba mā.

Kofi NEG PRF come NEG

1  2  3  4  5

'Kofi has not yet come.'

299) ɛ nǐ a-wu mā.

3s NEG PRF die NEG

1  2  3  4  5

'He has not died yet.'

300) be nǐ a-mlō a nzwe nű.

3p NEG PRF sink NEG water in

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

'They have not yet sunk into the water.'

301) lika nĩ a-lu mā.

place NEG PRF darken NEG

1  2  3  4  5

'It has not yet gotten dark.'

302) tānĩ-nĩ nĩ a-fē mā.

cloth SPEC NEG PRF whiten NEG

1  2  3  4  5  6

'The cloth has not gotten white yet.'
-the imperfective aspect where it indicates that the action or process will not take place. Since such a statement is a prediction of the non-occurrence of an event, it occurs often with the first person pronouns or in indirect quotes ("He said he will not go"). When it is used with the second or third persons referring to humans, it indicates that the speaker is forbidding some action on the part of the hearer or a third party. When used to refer to a non-human noun, it predicts the non-occurrence of an event. For example

303) \( n \, su-\text{ja} \, a \, bj\,\alpha \, nga \, kan\nu\nu\text{e} \, wo \, \epsilon \, w\nu. \)

\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \, 5 \, 6 \, 7 \, 8 \, 9 \, 10 \]

1s IMPRF marry NEG man this/that scar LCOP 3s body

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'I am not marrying a man who has scars on his body.'

304) \( \epsilon \, w\nu \, \epsilon \, su-\text{ja} \, a \, bj\,\alpha. \)

\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \, 5 \, 6 \, 7 \]

3s say 3s IMPRF marry NEG man

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'She said she would not marry.'

305) \( n \, su-\text{ko} \, a \, lo. \)

\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \, 5 \]

1s IMPRF go NEG there

1 2 3 4 5

'I am not going there.'

306) \( a \, se-e \, n \, ke \, a \, su-la\text{fi} \, m\text{\textalpha}. \)

\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \, 5 \, 6 \, 7 \, 8 \, 9 \]

2s tell FPST 1s that 2s IMPRF sleep NEG

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'You told me you would not sleep.'

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307) a su-nō ā nzā.

     1   2   3   4   5

  2s IMPRF drink NEG wine

'You shall not drink wine.'

308) e su-ko mā.

     1   2   3

  3s IMPRF go NEG

'He is not going (I won't permit it).' 

309) nzwe su-to mā.

     1   2   3   4

  water IMPRF fall NEG

'It won't rain.'

310) e su-wu mā.

     1   2   3

  3s IMPRF die NEG

'It won't die.'

-the subjunctive and imperative modes where it is realized as nā and occurs before the subject substantive phrase:

311) nā be kā ngwa swa-nī stū lo.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

  NEG 3p play (SUBJ) games house SPEC behind there

'They are not to play behind the house.'

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312) nā amũ kpuke nũ o.

NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in EMP

'Don't (you-pl) break it open.'

313) e ako nga le-nĩ, nẽ e kūĩ mlōmlōmlō.

3s chicken this/that there SPEC, NEG 3s kill (SUBJ)-3s evereverevereverever

'His chicken there, he is not to kill it ever ever ever ever.'

314) n nĩ wā nā n kaci a nwā nde.

ls mother say NEG ls change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words

'My mother said I was not to change your words.'

315) nā to.

'Do not fall.'

316) nā bo alwa-nĩ.

'Do not hit the dog.'

239. Adverbs and Ideophones

Adverbs are a class of words that include temporal adverbs, manner adverbs and ideophones. These three sub-classes have in common the fact that they are verb phrase adjuncts; that is, they are never obligatory
elements of a sentence. Their removal from a sentence does not affect
the grammaticality of that sentence. This, however, is not a sufficient
definition for adverbs since other elements, a locative phrase for
example, also occur as verb phrase adjuncts. Since, however, it is not
possible to find a morphological environment in which adverbs and only
adverbs occur, the following notional definition can be given: adverbs
are single-word verbal adjuncts which cannot occur independently with
the specifier -nī and which refer to the time or manner in which the
action, process or state of the verb of the sentence occurs. A small
set of what could be analyzed as place adverbs have been assigned to
other words classes: the words mmwa 'far' and koko 'near' have been ana-
lyzed as adjectives (Section 222.1) and nglo 'up,' ngwa 'down,' lo
'there,' and wa 'here' have been analyzed as location nouns (Section
221.6).

239.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs include

afi 'finally'

317) loto a-ba afi,
    1 2 3 4

vehicle PRF come finally
    1 2 3 4

'The car has finally come.'
251
iclaT

'im m ediately,

318)

ju st'

be sT- T wa i c l a T .
1 2
3^
5
3p pass FPST h e r e j u s t now
1 2
3
4
5
' They j u s t passed h e r e . 1

kwlau

'already,

319)

awhile'

m ' a - ba kwl au.
1 2 3
5
1s PRF come a 1 ready
1 2
3
' I ' ve come a l r e a d y

laa

( I ' ve been he re awh i 1e ) . 1

'form erly'

320)

1aa a k o j w e - 1 j e - n T ,
1
2
3 **

be t i
5 6

dada kpa.
7
8

f o r m e r l y t s e t s e f l y ASS SPEC, 3p I COP b ig v e r y
1
2
3
^
5
6
7
8
' F o r m e r l y , t h e t s e t s e f l y was v e r y b i g . '

lala
321)

'u su ally,
a si
12

habitually'

b o l i be k p a f l e d i l e
3
b
5
6

2s know (STA)
1
2

be j o e wa l a l a nT?
7 8 9
10
11

goat 3p you th doing 3p go (STA)~3s h er e
3 ^
5
6
7
8
9

habi t u a l l y

QUES

10

11

'You know how go at s habi t u a l l y a c t

l i k e young men?'

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sjē 'after'

322) like kwla nga e di sjē-nī, a-jo koklo mō sa.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

thing all this/that 3s eat (STA) after SPEC, 3s-PRF do thin

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

   even thus

11  12

'Hereafter everything she ate, she only became thinner.'

titi 'always'

323) be wa-di nānī nnē titi.

   1  2  3  4  5  6

3p DM eat (STA) cow meat always

   1  2  3  4  5  6

'They come to eat beef always.'

jekū 'again'

324) je e wle sī nū jekū c.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7

and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again DISC

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7

'And he put it in the fire again.'

239.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are often reduplicated and thus it isn't always clear from their structure whether to include them in this sub-class or with ideophones. However, if one of the defining characteristics of ideophones is that their meaning depends on the context and that a certain amount of creativity is involved, then the following words are not ideophones. They are used by everyone to mean the same thing and even in isolation their meaning is clear.
The woman quickly put the water on the fire.

Village Chief stood quietly, then suddenly he said, "oh!"

Lift it carefully.

Work has overwhelmed me completely.

Snake killed absolutely all of them.
Ideophones

Ideophones have been described as "a vivid representation of an idea in sound" (Doke 1935:118 as quoted in Voeltz 1968). They are often onomatopoetic; they often involve reduplicated syllables; they often violate segment structure and morpheme structure conditions of the language. They do not conform to form/meaning rules of morphology; a given form may have almost any meaning the user wishes to give it in a given context. And the number of forms allowed to express a given concept are only limited by the user's creativity and imagination.

Ideophones are used to express

**Sound:**

- kplututututu 'sound of an intense blow and its echo'
- wlakūwlakū 'sound of Hyena licking his teeth'
- efo 'sound of pulling out something that has no resistance and comes out easily'
- gaūgaūgaū 'sound of playing xylophone'
- gbō 'sound of shutting door'
- kẹtẹkẹtẹkẹ 'sound of ram walking'
- kẹkwẹkwẹkẹ 'sound of rooster crowing'
- kpatwii 'sound of field mouse'
- kpaklokpaklo 'sound of toad croaking'
- foooooo 'sound of elephant laughing (air out of trunk)'
- dīgānā 'sound of great silence'
- vokuvoku 'sound of breathing'

\[1\] 'Almost' because there are apparently limits of appropriateness to the range of meaning certain ideophones can have.
kli  'sound of large sack falling'
'sound of Hyena swallowing an egg'
'sound of Hare coming upon Hyena'
'sound of Hare falling into Hyena's hands'
klekleklekle  'sound of Hare walking;
'sound of Hyena putting out his claws'
'sound of playing a bean game'

Visual impression:
gudugudu  'of something round and big'
gblägblä  'of long ugly scars'
ketekete  'of tiny animal horns'
paupaupaupau  'of large flat surface of rock'
nnotötötötö  'of a long, large snake'
tengbétengbe  'of someone puny'
gșnșgșș  'stooped, bent over'
fluuuuț  'of someone all dusty and white'
dekledekle  'of a big, round flat eye'
mlâmlâmlâ  'big and fat'
kpokâ  'of head hanging swinging like lizard or snake'
sawlasawla  'of careless walking'
titëtitë  'of someone poised and stiff, ready to strike'

Action:
cucwăcucwă  'of moving around in something tight and confining'
țțțțțțț  'of flying'
puapuapuapua 'of eating'
kpuakapuka 'of goat chewing cud'
kwala kwala 'of rolling down hill'
klekleklekle 'of digging up earth fast and carelessly'
kaclekle 'of moving stealthily from tree to tree'
kàtkàtkàtkàti 'of walking carefully on tiptoes'
fliflifliflifl 'of Hyena hurrying through forest'
fliflifliflifl 'of eagle circling'
bluga 'of large snake falling down dead'
sususususu 'of water bubbling over a rock'
tuatuatuatuau 'of a large fat animal walking'

**Tactile sensation:**

jtlekejtleke 'smooth'
zawli zawli 'fibrous and tough'
okoo 'scaly like a fish or a tree with loose bark'

Morpheme structure conditions which ideophones violate:

[ŋ] does not occur pre-vocically

nàŋnàŋnà 'long and supple like a snake'
gùŋnù 'expresses sudden death'

[ɾ] does not occur syllable initially

kprarara kprarara 'of goat chewing up hat'

[m] does not occur syllable finally

gbloom 'of falling'
Syntactically, ideophones occur

-after a noun phrase within a sentence:

330) mɔ be jù klo 1ɔ n̄ tí, nǎn̄ tí gliggo a-di lika ngba kpâ.

as 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow ideophone: of

lots of cows PRF fill place all ideophone: of

completeness

'As they arrived in the village there, lots of cows filled the entire place.'

331) be sa kúngba lekekeke

3p hand only ideophone: of aloneness

'one single hand'

332) a ti kpokâ!

2s head ideophone: of hanging head

'You have a head that hangs!' (an insult)

333) jae 1e, a-li, a kòmTI kplaka sùmâ like nga.

stand (IMP) up there, 2s SPEC, 2s neck ideophone: bent

as thing this

'Get up there, you, your neck bent like this thing there.'
-introduced by so or sa 'thus':

334) e ba so mwee.

3s come (STA) thus ideophone: of water oozing into a hole

'It comes thus slowly.'

335) nwe m5 wu e su so susususu.

water even boil (CERT) 3s on thus ideophone: of bubbling

'The water boiled over on him bubbling.'

336) be a-jo so m13m13m15.

3p PRF do thus ideophone: big and fat

'They became big and fat.'

337) e toto jwe-ni be wa; a-kaci sa blikaa.

3s throw (CERT) fish SPEC 3p here; 3s-PRF change thus

ideophone: of turning in water

'He threw the fish here; he turned over in the water, splash.'
-at the end of a clause, often introduced by kpokū 'suddenly':

338) boli ciko-o; je e kpusẹ e nwa ọ kpukakpukakpuka

  goat burp FPST; and 3s chew 3s mouth DISC ideophone: of

  chewing cud

'Goat burped; and he chewed with his mouth, chomp chomp.'

339) be ngba wo e dile puapuapuapa.

  3p all LCOP 3s eating ideophone: of eating

'They all were eating it, munch, munch.'

340) e sja bla wo alje wutale nũ fleflelefle.

  3s in-law woman LCOP food peeling in ideophone: of peeling

'Her mother-in-law was peeling yams, flick flick.'

341) e wa-ma-a bla-ni su ọ fuaaa. e kpẹ-ẹ lo cu.

  3s DM lift FPST woman SPEC on DISC ideophone: of taking

  off. 3s descend FPST there ideophone: of landing

'He (Eagle) came to lift the girl up whoosh. He landed

  plop.'
342) ke e no-5 pioo, e mwẹ-ẹ e butwā su pi, e tu-u, kpkū
teeëëe, ko-tla-a waka su mmwa lo, kpkū poo.
when 3s drink FPST ideophone: of drinking, 3s shut FPST
3s anus on ideophone: of shutting, 3s fly FPST,
suddenly ideophone: of flying, DM sit FPST tree on
far there, suddenly ideophone: of sitting
'When he (tsetse fly) has drunk slurp, he shut his anus
tight clink, he took off whoosh, he went and sat on
a tree far away, suddenly plop.'
240. CONNECTIVES

The members of this class have in common the fact that they connect constituents, i.e. substantive phrase to substantive phrase, clause to clause, sentence to sentence.

241. Substantive Phrase Conjoiner

The conjoining particle nŤ (/lim/), not to be confused with the specifier nŤ (Section 222.5) or the discourse particle nŤ (Section 243), conjoins substantive phrases. It has two distinct functions:

a) to conjoin two substantive phrases, the referents of which are acting equally or being acting upon equally. In this function it is translated as "and" and is used in a similar fashion to and in English.

b) to conjoin two substantive phrases, the referents of which have the relationship "A has/carried B; A is in charge of/in possession of B; A is patient, B is instrument or goal." In this function nŤ is usually translated as "with."

The two functions are formally distinguished by the presence or absence of a plural pronoun after the conjoined substantive phrase. A plural pronoun, which combines the referents of the conjoined substantive phrases, occurs with the "and" function but not with the "with" function. Compare the following sets of sentences.

1) a) wūsŤ kpongbo nŤ se be nū.

   wash (IMP) basin and pot 3p in

   'Wash the basins and pots.'
b) wūsī kpongbo nī sāmlā.
   1 2 3 4
   wash (IMP) basin with soap
   1 2 3 4
   'Wash the basin with soap.'

2) a) n njāābla nī bjā-nī be wo-li.
    1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
    Is sister and man SPEC 3p go FPST
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
    'My sister and the man left.'

b) n njāābla nī tānī wo-li.
    1  2  3  4  5  6
    Is sister with cloth go FPST
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    'My sister took the cloth (i.e. went with the cloth).'

nī 'and'

More than two substantive phrases may be conjoined with this function:

3) c nī ji nī wa-mū be a-di so tītī nīsō . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   3s and wife and child INDIV 3p PRF eat thus always DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   'He and his wife and his children ate like this always . . .'

If the substantive before the final plural pronoun (i.e. the last substantive of the conjoined substantive phrase) is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it is not realized in the surface structure (see examples 6 and 8 below).
4) \( n \) \( \text{mi} \) \( je \) \( ba-a \) \( klo. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]
3s and 1s lp come FPST village
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]
'He and I came to the village.'

5) Kwajo \( n \) \( \text{wi} \) \( wo \) \( amu \) \( klo. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
Kwajo and 2s 2p go (SUBJ)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
'Kwajo and you, go.'

6) \( n \) \( \text{be} \) \( be \) \( ba-a \) \( klo. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
3p and-(3s) 3p come FPST village
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
'They and he came to the village.'

7) \( n \) \( \text{be} \) \( be \) \( ba-a \) \( klo. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
3p and 3p 3p come FPST village
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]
'They and they came to the village.' (i.e. two groups of more than one person)

8) \( n \) \( \text{be} \) \( wo \) \( le. \)
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
3s and-(3s) 3p LCOP there
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
'He and he are there.'
9)  \( \text{wie} \text{le} \ n \text{ sabwi n} \text{I} \text{ n} \text{ jabwi be bo.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{put (IMP)-3s ls fingernail and ls toenail 3p under} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Put it under my fingernails and and my toenails.'

The copula \text{je} (Section 231) can be optionally inserted after the
conjoined substantive phrase before the plural pronoun:

10)  \( \text{enI ji je be sl\text{a} nn\text{s} je be n\text{ima ti silwa}.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eye ICOP blind} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

'He and his wife it is, the two of them it is whose eyes
are blind.'

When the referent of the first of the conjoined substantive phrases is
the 1st person singular pronoun, the 1st person plural pronoun is often
used.

11)  \( \text{gbamlo, mo je nI je di m\text{a} nI, je a ko-se ke "gbamlo \circ".} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{hare, as lp and-(3s) lp eat NEG DISC, and 2s DM say (STA)} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

that 'Hare COP''

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
13 & 14 & 15 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Hare, as I and he we don't get along, why do you go and
say "It's Hare!"?'

12)  \( \text{je nI n\text{amj\text{e} kpli n\text{an}I-nI je je to awale \circ}.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{lp and god big cow SPEC COP lp play (CERT) awale DISC} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\]

'It's I and God's cow that were playing awale.'
nT 'with'

No pronoun is repeated after the conjoined substantive phrases when nT has the sense "with." If the second of the two substantive phrases is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it is not realized in the surface structure (see examples 15, 17 and 18 below).

13) e nT nT ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s with 1s come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6

'He brought me to the village.'

14) je nT dwo fi fje.
   1 2 3 4 5
   1p with yam come-from fields
   1 2 3 4 5

'We brought yams from the fields.'

15) e dwi-nT, e da kpa nga amû nT ba-a le sa-nT ...,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
   3s fat SPEC, 3s big very this/that 2p with-(3s) come FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   there thus SPEC
   12 13 14

'It's fat, this large amount that you brought like
   this ...!' (i.e. you with it came)

16) je e nT ako-nT wo-li c.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   and 3s with chicken SPEC go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And he left with the chicken.'

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17) sika-nī nga e ji-i kūmā nū je e nī fite-e wa-nī . . .
   gold SPEC this/that 3s remove FPST hole in and 3s with-(3s)

'The gold which he removed from the hole and brought it out here . . .' (i.e. he with it exited)

18) akojwe wa-jisa-a nzwe ngba je e nī tła 1o.
   tsetse fly DM gather FPST water all and 3s with-(3s)

'Tsetse fly came and gathered all the water and he sits with it there.'

19) n wa-cī wo nī waka.
   Is DM tie (CERT) 2s with tree

'I will tie you with (i.e. to) the tree.'

20) e bo-o be nī kpokpowa.
   3s hit FPST 3p with pestle

'He beat them with a pestle.'

In certain cases there is potential ambiguity between the two functions of the substantive phrase conjoiner nī. Compare the following:
21) a) be nī be ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   3p and-(3s) 3p come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'They and he came to the village.'

b) be nī be ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   3p with 3p come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'They brought them to the village.'

22) a) kendeja nī be wo-li o.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

   spider and-(3s) 3p go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'Spider and he went.'

b) kendeja nī be wo-li o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   spider with 3p go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'Spider left with them (i.e. took them).'

The second of the conjoined substantives in the (a) sentences above is the third person singular pronoun and thus is not realized in the surface structure. The pronoun be (3p) in these sentences is the plural pronoun that includes both the nouns in the conjoined substantive phrase. In the (b) sentences the pronoun be is the second of the two substantives. Cases of ambiguity of this type can be disambiguated by the context in which they occur.
Baule sentences may consist of a number of coordinated and subordinated clauses. These multiple-clause sentences are not uncommon: in narratives (stories, conversational recounts, or the accounts of witnesses in litigation) or in everyday dialogue, long strung-out sentences consisting of many clauses are frequent and a mark of conversational ability or oratorical expertise. In discussing this phenomenon we will want to make a distinction between sentence-internal clauses and the sentence as a whole. We thus will use the term "clause" for any sentence-like structure that occurs within another sentence and "sentence" for the larger structure that may be composed of a number of clauses. This distinction is justified in Baule by the discourse particles which require an overt distinction between sentence-medial clauses and sentence-final clauses, i.e. they relate either to the clause as a whole or to the multiple clause sentence as a whole.

A distinction is made between a dependent clause and an independent clause. A dependent clause may not be the only clause in a sentence; an independent clause may be the only clause in a sentence. A sentence may be composed of an independent clause; a dependent clause followed by an independent clause; a series of independent clauses; or a series of dependent and independent clauses. The dependent clause markers mark dependent clauses and occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause or at both the beginning and the end of a clause. Conjunctions occur at the beginning of independent clauses to connect them to previous clauses or sentences. Discourse particles occur at the end of clauses to indicate whether or not the sentence is finished.
242.1 **Dependent clause markers**

The members of this class have in common the fact that the clauses with which they occur cannot be the only clauses of the sentence. That is, they must occur with independent clauses. Dependent clauses are of two types: 1) those that are subordinate to another clause and 2) those that are coordinate with other clauses in the sentence.

242.12 **Subordinate dependent clause markers**

The four dependent clause markers which introduce subordinate clauses are \( nā \), \( kc \), \( bo \) and \( mē \). Each of these also occurs as coordinate dependent clause markers. The analysis of these four connectives poses certain problems: as coordinating connectives, each has been assigned a meaning in terms of the temporal relationship it expresses between the coordinated clauses. These meanings, however, do not carry over when the connectives are used to introduce subordinated clauses. As subordinating connectives \( nā \) introduces indirect commands; \( kc \) introduces sentential complements or modifying phrases and clauses; and \( bo \) and \( mē \) introduce noun-modifying clauses. This analysis thus presents four subordinating connectives that have the same shape as four coordinating connectives. An alternative analysis would assign a core meaning to each connective that would include both its subordinating and coordinating functions.

\( nā \), (/lam/), introduces an indirect command. For example
23) ă se awofwe nă ē ko-la.
   2p tell (SUBJ) stranger that 3s DM sleep
   'Tell the guest to go to bed.'

24) āmū se nānā nā nānā-nī ē fle dā mē be kpe-li, nā āmū
   kpuke nū o.
   2p tell (SUBJ) grandpa that cow SPEC 3s stomach big which
   3p cut FPST, NEG 2p break (SUBJ)-3s in EMP
   'Tell Grandpa that the big stomach of the cow which they
cut, you are not to break it open.'

25) e wē, 'se nā ē jo n-lje nā n njā.'
   3s said, 'tell (SUBJ)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ) Is ASS and
   1s see (CERT).'
   'He said, 'Tell him that he is to do mine so I can see.'''

26) je be wā, 'ā se nā ē ko-to ē-lje.'
   and 3p said, '2p tell (SUBJ)-3s that 3s DM shoot 3s ASS.'
   'And they said, 'Go tell him to shoot his.'''

ke, (/kɛ/), introduces

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a) sentential complements after a class of verbs that includes ti 'hear,' si 'know,' bu 'think,' se 'tell,' fle 'call, name,' fata 'be necessary.' For example

27) n si a ke e si awale to.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   1s know (STA) NEG that 3s know (STA) awale play
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   'I didn't know that he knows how to play awale.'

28) a-bu ke e-li si a nzwe-ni jo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   3s-PRF think that 3s SPEC know (STA) NEG water SPEC di
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   'He thought that he didn't know how to swim.'

29) n se ke a wü ti woni.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   1s say that 2s husband ICOP python
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'I say that your husband is a python.'

30) be tů kendeja bo ke be bá be klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   3p convince (CERT) spider that 3p come (CERT) 3p village
   1 2 4 3 5 6 7 8 9
   'They convinced Spider that they should go to their village.'

31) e fata a ke slā je kūt č.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   3s is necessary (STA) NEG that person COP kill-3s DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   'It is not possible that it is a person that killed it.'
b) phrases or clauses that modify a substantive or a verb. As a noun modifier these phrases or clauses occur: i) after the identifying copula modifying the subject substantive; ii) at the end of the substantive phrase (i.e. either after single-word modifiers or after a relative clause); iii) at the beginning of the sentence which includes the substantive it is modifying; or iv) after the verb which follows the substantive it is modifying. For example

i) 32) je wā e ti ke kla ngbē o.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   lp said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   'We thought it was like a normal torch.'

ii) 33) nja kendeja-1je-n7 ke ε ti sa kpeu!
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

mister spider ASS SPEC like 3s ICOP thus ideophone: of
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   smallness

   'Mr. Spider's was like this, small!'

34) sa ke nānī-nī ε fìle dā nga le-nī, sa kō n wa-joe ce.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

affair like cow SPEC 3s stomach big this/that there SPEC,
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

affair one 1s DM do (CERT)-3s certainly
    11 12 13 14 15 16

   'The affair like cow's big stomach there, this affair I
   will certainly deal with.'
35) sika kpole m5 e ji-li ke e ti sa.
   gold pile which 3s remove FPST like 3s ICOP thus
   'The gold pile which he removed was like this.'

36) like-nî, e dâ tutugbe ke nga î sa nî5, . . .
   thing SPEC, 3s big ideophone: of hugeness like
   this/that here thus DISC, . . .
   'The big gigantic thing like this here, . . .'

lii) 37) ke e ko-bô nû lo, a-bo nû lo.
   like 3s DM arrive (CERT) in there, 3s-PRF arrive in there
   'There where he went (or meant) to come out, he came out
   there.' (The ke clause modifies lo 'there.')

38) je ke wa nî càjoklo sa î, wete a-di asje-nî bo ngba.
   and like here and càjoklo thus here, Rat PRF eat earth
   SPEC under all
   'And as from here to Tiendokro like this, Rat ate away
   under the earth (i.e. dug a tunnel).'

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iv) 39) nānī dwi jē be a-mā ke nga ɨ sa nī
dow fat COP 3p PRF give like this/that here thus SPEC

'It's cow fat like this here that they've given (me).'

As a verb modifier a ke phrase occurs i) after the object of the
verb; or ii) at the beginning of the sentence. For example

i) 40) e dūmā nū jē n mō m'a-wū lika ke nga ɨ sa.
3s name in COP Is self Is PRF see place like this/that

'lt is because of him that I can see like this.'

41) awe-nī kū be kpa ke nzu sa nīs, ...
hunger SPEC kill (STA) 3p good like what thus DISC, ...

'Hunger kills them like anything! . . .'

ii) 42) ke nga ɨ sa, nzwe a-jē.
like this/that here thus, water PRF heat

'Like this, the water was heated.'

43) ke nga ɨ sa, kendeja dūmā a-fite wa.
like this/that here thus, spider first PRF exit here

'Like this, Spider came out first.'

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bo, (/bo/), and më (/mëm/), introduce noun-modifying clauses (relative clauses). For example

44) swa bo be ko-toe-ni, a-ko-jo do swre.

house which 3p DM find-3s SPEC, 3s-PRF DM do termite hill

'The house which they went and found has become a termite hill.'

45) bjä bo e bo wä e je-e e laa-ni, e ba-li ni, . . .

man who 3s self said 3s marry-3s FPST NEG formerly SPEC,

3s come FPST DISC, . . .

'Man who she herself said she would not marry him formerly, he came, . . .'

46) awofwe më e ba-a le-ni, kla woe ti su.

stranger who 3s come FPST there SPEC, torch LCOP-3s head on

'The stranger who came there, torches were on his head.'

47) like-ni dä më n se-e a ke nä ti-ni, mäze a ti-li?

thing SPEC big which 1s tell FPST 2s that NEG pick (SUBJ)-3s

SPEC, anyway 2s pick FPST

'The big thing that I told you not to pick, did you pick it anyway?'
241.3 Coordinate dependent clause markers

The coordinate dependent clause markers and the conjunctions (see below) semantically as well as grammatically unite the clauses within a sentence; they provide the clues as to how the propositional contents of the clauses are related. There are six coordinate dependent clause markers: bo, mē, ke . . . ṣ̄, se . . . ṣ̄, kanze and nje. bo, mē and ke all indicate a temporal relationship between clauses; that is, they specify relative chronology. The difference between these three connectives can be characterized as overlap (bo), simultaneity (mē) and succession (ke . . . ṣ̄).1

bo, (/bo/), (with its allomorph mē, /mē/), indicates that the action, process or state of the clause it introduces is to be considered a referential framework within which the action, process or state of the independent clause is to occur. It sets up a backdrop, as it were, for the main action. Unlike mē or ke, more than one bo clause can occur

1 I am indebted to Robert Longacre, from whom I took a course in Discourse Analysis at the LSA Linguistic Institute, Buffalo, 1971, for the idea of focusing on temporal relationships between clauses. The terms I have used are taken from his work on Philippine languages, although the use to which I have put them is somewhat different from his.
in succession, each one presenting an action, process or state with which the action, process or state of the independent clause will overlap. For example

49) bo è tóto kla-nī sa nīs, è wūswle-nī gwa-a bla nīma su.

while 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC

pour FPST woman eyes on

'While he was swinging the torch like this, its smoke fell on the woman's eyes.'

50) mō a-fu lelele, mō è ko-ju afjē, je kwakwakwala, a-kondo,

as 3s-PRF climb long time, as 3s DM arrive middle, then

ideophone: of rolling, 3s-PRF roll, 3s-PRF fall

'As he was climbing, as he reached the middle, then he fell back down, rolling.'

51) sange mō è fa' atī nū è si-i su.

but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow FPST on

'But as she took to the path, she followed.'
52) bo e mle wa nT, bo e toe lo nT, një jwe-nT to lo.
   as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s there DISC, then fish SPEC fall (CERT) there

   'As he sunk it (i.e. his head) here, as he swung it there, then fish fell there.'

53) bo e su-wa-wu nT, e se-e e wa kë ke jo, "n wa, n bo mT je n su-wa-wu T."
   as 3s IMPRF DM die DISC, 3s tell FPST 3s child one that, 'Is child, Is self Is COP Is IMPRF DM die here

   'As she was about to die she told her one child, "My child, I myself I am about to die here."

54) e kusu laa mën e wo wa nT, nja kolje e flë laa nT, e kplë a su.
   3s also formerly as 3s LCOP here DISC, mister eagle 3s call (CERT)-3s formerly DISC, 3s accept NEG on

   'She also, when she was here formerly, Mr. Eagle proposed to her formerly, she didn't accept.'

më, (/mëm/), (and its allomorph mëë) introduces a dependent clause, the action, process or state of which is considered to occur or exist
simultaneously with the following clause. Often it is a case of emphasis when bo is used and when mē is used (compare the two in 59 below). The dependent clause marker një optionally occurs to introduce the independent clause which follows a mē clause. For example,

55) mēē e dį like-ni lo sjē, njē n tlä wa.

while 3s eat (CERT) thing SPEC there last, then ls sit (STA)

here

11

'While he ate food there then, I was sitting here.'

56) nā e ti o, nglo, nga wo 7-ljē ni5, mēē e jo-o jaafwe nū

sa ni5, e ti o mā n lawle kā.

and 3s cause COP, friend, this/that LCOP here ASS DISC,

as 3s do FPST friend in thus DISC, 3s cause COP

give (IMP) ls bed small

'And so for this, Friend, for that is here, as we are

friends like this, for this reason give me a bed.'

57) mēē kānvwe nū mēē e wū mIōmIōmIōnī, n bjā-ni7 je.

as scars LCOP NEG 3s body ever ever ever DISC, ls man SPEC

COP

12

'As he has no scars on his body, this is my man.'
58) më kusu e ko-më su lọ nît, një bla-nît kusumă e nît stin ma be wọ kole o.

as also 3s DM lift-3s on there DISC, then woman SPEC

also 3s and young sibling 3p LCOP going DISC

\'At the same time that he was lifting him up there the woman and her sister were leaving.\'

59) kanzu, mọ be kpë nú le, më be sì le nît, gbamọ-łje nga e wa-kpë-e nú-nít, a si i gble-nít?

however, as 3p jump (CERT) in there, when 3p dance (CERT) there DISC, hare ASS this/that 3s DM jump FPST in SPEC, 2s know (STA) 3s ruse SPEC?

\'However, as they jump in there (onto the rock), when they are dancing there, Hare's trick that he came and jumped in with, do you know it?\' (Hare will drop manioc powder and make people think he's turned the rock to powder.)

In this last example the bo (mọ) clause sets the background (people jumping into the dancing circle) and the më clause indicates that Hare's trick takes place while they are all dancing.
ke . . . ɔ, (/ke/ . . . /ɔ/), is a discontinuous morpheme, ke occurring at the beginning of the clause and ɔ at the end (although ke can occur without ɔ and ɔ can occur without ke). This dependent clause marker occurs only on dependent clauses whose verbs express actions or processes, not states (cf. Section 232). It indicates a relation of succession between the action or process in the dependent clause and the following independent clause. The action in clause B occurs after the action in clause A. For example

60) anekf ke n wū-ũ wo 1, kole kpo je n si ɔ.

\[ \text{today when Is see FPST 2s here, going at-all-costs} \]

\[ \text{COP Is know (STA) EMP} \]

\[ \text{10 11 12 13} \]

'Today when I saw you here, I am determined to go!'

61) ke ɛ jaci-i nū pja ɛ ʃi akojwe ku bi kpa nū.

\[ \text{when 3s leave FPST-3s in ideophone: of shooting 3s stay} \]

\[ \text{tsetse fly stomach excrement very in} \]

\[ \text{10 11 12 13} \]

'When he let it (arrow) go it landed in tsetse fly's very intestine.'

When ke occurs without ɔ, the discourse particle nǐ (or its allomorph nǐŋ) may occur at the end of the clause. Although there may be some doubt as to whether or not ke and ɔ are to be considered one morpheme, on two different occasions informants volunteered the fact that when ɔ occurs by itself at the end of a sentence-medial clause, ke is "understood" to be at the beginning of the clause.
62) ke e jo-o sonT, e bo wa-lje ngba wu-1i, 

when 3s do FPST thus DISC, 3s self child ASS all die FPST

'When she did this, all her own children died.'

63) ke e toe-e nglo lo 2, e wa "se ke 'lo dwi.'"

when 3s throw-3s FPST up there, 3s said "say that 'become

(IMP) fat'''

'When he threw him up (in the air) then he said, "Say

'become fat!'''

64) ke jaswa fi-i lo ba-a nɔswa nɪs, kpokụ e wa "n sli' atT."

when man leave FPST there come FPST evening DISC, suddenly

3s said "ls request (CERT) path"

'When the man came back in the evening, suddenly she

said, "I want to leave.''

65) je e njá 2, wete ba 7.

and 3s look (CERT) when, rat come (STA) here

'When he looks, Rat is coming.'
66) ε sło ρ, be so su.

3s sing (CERT) when, 3p answer on

'When she sings they answer.'

67) ε wo-li ρ, wonda kō a-wlu swle kūmā kō nū T.

3s go FPST when, viper one PRF enter termite hill hole one

'in here'

'When she went, a viper entered a hole in a termite hill here.'

The dependent clause marker kẹ can co-occur with either bo or mẹ at the beginning of a dependent clause. The particle which occurs first in the sequence has primacy in terms of the relationship expressed. For example bo kẹ occurs before another bo clause, a position kẹ would not occur in by itself since only the dependent clause marker bo (of these three) occurs on successive clauses. For example

68) le kō bo kẹ bjà-nī jaso-o nglèwụ nū, mọ kọ e konẹ nīs, ε kọ nzwe nū nīs, je e kusu e fe-e sìma kā-nī je be
day one when man SPEC get up FPST morning in, as go (CERT) 3s

hunt DISC, 3s go (CERT) water in DISC, and 3s also
'One day when the man got up in the morning, as he was going hunting, he was going to the river, and she also she took her little sister and they got up (to leave).'

In both these examples the clause introduced by bo ke presents a background (as bo clauses do) but ke adds an indication that the main action is also seen as succeeding the action in the bo ke clause.
In these three examples the primary relationship between the dependent clause and the independent clause is one of succession, action B occurring after action A. The addition of bo adds the indication that action B is somehow contingent on action A; that is, action A does more than just precede action B, it also provides a reference for action B.
ke occurs before me as in

73) ke me be jla-a nzwe nū lo nī, kpōkū a-wū e e wa be kō.

when 3p descend FPST water in there DISC, suddenly

3s-PRF see NEG 3s child 3p again

'After they dove into the water, she saw her children no more.'

74) ke me e slo-o e jwe so lele nīš, je nja kolje ba-li o.

when 3s sing FPST 3s song thus long time DISC, then

Mr. eagle come FPST DISC

'When she sang her song like this a long time then Mr. Eagle came.'

75) ke me e te-e ase glau nī, kpōkū e ka-a le.

when 3s drop FPST-3s ground ideophone: of dropping DISC

suddenly 3s stay FPST there

'When he dropped him to the ground, suddenly he stayed there.'

The relationship of succession is again the primary one in these sentences. However the dependent clause marker me adds a sense of simultaneity, an indication that as soon as A happened, B happened.
se . . . o, (/se/ . . . /o/), and kanze, (/kanse/), are similar in that they both indicate hypotheticality. The difference between them is one of degree; a difference similar to the difference between "if" and "even if" in English. They both occur on the 'if' clause of an 'if . . . then' sentence se . . . o at the beginning and end of the clause and kanze at the beginning. se can occur without o, in which case the discourse particle nT (or nTS) can occur at the end of the clause. o never occurs by itself to indicate hypotheticality.1 For example

76) se a dje umjë nää keje o, se më na n ci.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

if 2s breathe (STA) breath and 3s move (STA), tell (IMP)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\]

1s and 1s tie (CERT)-3s

9 10 11 12

'If you breathe and it moves, tell me and I'll tie it.'

77) se a wä a di më bë o, n fe më tla like kwakwakwla.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 \\
\end{array}
\]

if 2s intend 2s eat (CERT) 1s self, 1s sweet even surpass (STA) thing all all all

11 12 13

'If you mean to eat me, I am sweeter than everything else.'

78) se n nääji wë o, a di më.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 \\
\end{array}
\]

if 1s untie (STA) 2s, 2s eat (CERT) 1s

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]

'If I untie you, you will eat me.'

1However, see the discussion above of ke . . . o for instances of o occurring by itself to indicate succession.
79) *se a jú le nī, a sé se?*

if 2s arrive (CERT) there DISC, 2s tell (CERT) what

'If you get there, what will you say?'

80) *se a käci e nwā nde cē nga nī, e ti a bo w'ajīble.*

if 2s change (CERT) 3s mouth words day this/that DISC,

3s ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune

'If you disobey her on any day, it is your own misfortune.'

81) *se a jo huu! nīō, n slō ngbana bo nū 1o.*

if 2s do (STA) "huu" DISC, 1s answer (CERT) Bandama (river)

even in there

'If you call "huu" I will answer at the river even there.'

When *kanzē* introduces a clause no discourse particle occurs at the end of the clause. For example

82) *a ba nga, kanzē je bó su je bó su ngbē, n kū a kpo!*

2s child this/that, *even if* 1p confront (CERT) on 1p

confront (CERT) on for nothing, 1s kill (CERT) 2s

anyway

'You, child, *even if* we always come out even, I will kill you.'
kanze bo be lafi-i k3 be tinge-li, e suma wo, ko o.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

even if when 3p sleep FPST once 3p wake up FPST 3s send

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(STA) 2s go (IMP) EMP

12 13 14

'Even if she sends you (on an errand) in the middle of
the night, go.'

një, (/ljem/), (with its allomorph ëë), occurs at the beginning of an
independent clause that follows a dependent clause introduced by se,
bo or më. It introduces the 'then' clause of an 'if/then' sequence
(se/një) or the 'then' clause of a 'when/then' or 'as/then' sequence
(bo/një and më/një). Its semantic indication is thus a factor of the
meaning of the dependent clause marker of the preceding clause. For
example

84) se e ti ke e ba-a jwe nde n75, ëë nän7 dwi klu nga be

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

mä-a m7, je n7 je di-li o.

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

If 3s ICOP like 3s come FPST also today DISC, then cow

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

fat sort this/that 3p give FPST 1s, 1p and-(3s) 1p

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

eat FPST DISC

23 24 25

'If he had also come today, then we would eat the cow fat
they have given me.'

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85) se e ti a sa jwe ti sa nT, një m'a-se a jwe nga-mu be

If 3s ICOP NEG affair some cause thus DISC, then 1s PRF
tell NEG fish this/that INDIV 3p PRF load NEG 1s

'If it weren't for some (other) affair, then wouldn't I
tell these fish to help me put my load on my head?'

86) gboklo ti-i kaa mma, m5 e di nT, një e fë mma ble fa

Hyena pick FPST kaa fruit, as 3s eat (STA) DISC, then
3s take (STA)-3s seed black take (STA) sting-3s

'Hyena picked the kaa seed; as he ate then he took
the pit and stung Hare's head with it.'

87) bo e m5ë wa nT, bo e toe lo nT, ëë jwe-nT t'o lo.
as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s
there DISC, then fish SPEC fall (CERT) there

'As he sunk it (i.e. his head) here, as he swung it
there, then the fish fell there.'
In instances where *njè* occurs unaccompanied by a dependent clause marker on the previous clause, a possible explanation is that the dependent clause marker on the first clause has been deleted. For example

89) e suwa nŋɔ-nŋ ɓa nū, *njè* e kplákpla lɔ.

3s ear two SPEC PRF arrive in, then 3s stick out (STA)

'(When) his two ears came out, then they stuck out there.'

90) be woɔ sɪ lɔ klikliklikli!, *njè* be di pwapwapwa

3p go (STA)-3s behind there ideophone: of running, then

3p eat ideophone: of eating

'(When) they went after it, then they ate.'
Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a class of particles which occur at the beginning of independent clauses to connect the clause to the previous clause or, if the clause is the first clause of the sentence, to the previous sentence. There are four conjunctions: sânge, na, je and kanzu.

sânge, (/sange/), introduces a clause or a sentence that expresses the reverse of what is expected as a result of the previous clause or sentence and thus indicates expectancy reversal. For example

91) e t5 alje mä be nT, sânge e nT e wa be jwe be-1je di,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
     ajika ba nã a jwe.
     17 18 19 20 21

3s cook (STA) food give 3p DISC, but 3s and 3s child 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
finish (STA) 3p ASS eat (STA), orphan child get (STA)
13 14 15 16 17 18 19
NEG any
20 21

'He cooks food for them, but when she and her children
finish eating theirs, the orphan child gets none.'

92) ngbë bo le a bla, sânge se a kɔ-wùT klo T, a se ke
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
     prezidã kɔ klo wo T.
     16 17 18 19 20

Ngbë self PCOP NEG woman, but if 2s DM see (CERT)-3s village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
here, 2s tell (CERT) that president one village is here
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

'Ngbë himself didn't have a wife, but if you went to see
his village, you would say it was a president's village.'

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93) *e boe lelele, e kpaloe ji lo. sänge mē e fā atī nū*

3s hit (STA)-3s long time, 3s throw (STA)-3s put (STA)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

there. but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

FPST-3s on
16 17

'She beat her a long time, she threw her down there. But

as she started down the path, she followed her.'

94) *kwajo kā kusu le ē-1je swaba kō nū, sänge be pī ta be jengu.*

hyena little also lay (STA) 3s ASS room one in, but 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

eye fall on (STA) 3p neighbor
12 13 14 15

'Hyena Little also lay in his room; but they could see
each other.'

95) *be wo awūnā dā nū lo sa o. sänge be sī-ī wa iclāT, be wo-o atih nū lo sa fā.*

3p LCOP sand big in there thus EMP. But 3p pass FPST here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

just now, 3p go FPST path in there thus vicinity
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

'They were in the big sand pile over there. But they passed

by here just now, they took the path over there.'
nā, (/la m/), indicates a relationship of causation or contingency. The relationship of causation exists without respect to the order of the constituents (that is, either sentences or clauses) that nā connects. Thus, given A nā B, A may be the cause of B or B may be the cause of A. The context gives the clues as to the direction of the causation. When nā expresses the relationship of contingency, B is contingent on A. That is, A is a necessary prerequisite for B, in terms of a sequence of action. For example

A because B:

96) ąmů nāji mī, nā gbamlo ci-i mī t.
2p untie (SUBJ) Is, because hare tie FPST Is here
'Untie me, because Hare tied me.'

97) n su-dì a wo, nā n jaafwe dā le wo.
Is IMPRF eat NEG 2s, because Is friend big COP 2s
'I won't eat you, because you are my good friend.'

98) se a wā a kū mī ç, kū mī; nā n nī wā nā n kaci a nwā nde.
if 2s intend 2s kill (CERT) Is, kill (IMP) Is; because
Is mother said NEG Is change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words
'If you want to kill me, kill me; because my mother said
I was not to disobey you.'
99) kọ-se ngbè ke e bia so, nà ke nga jwa-nī su-tò i sa nī,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

e ti a kpa.
18 19 20 21

DM tell ngbè that 3s come (SUBJ) thus, because like this/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

that sun SPEC IMPRF fall here thus DISC, 3s ICOP NEG
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

good
21

'Go tell Ngbè to come now because since the sun is falling
here like this it isn't good (that he is still sleeping).'

B because A:

100) je e fe-e ngba n sa nū, nā e ti c, kọ-kūti.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and 3s take-3s FPST all Is hand in, thus 3s cause COP,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

DM kill (IMP)-3s
13 14

'And he took all I had, thus go kill him.'

101) awe a-kū je kpli nā a je kọ-tš alubwe.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

hunger PRF kill lp big so let lp DM cook (SUBJ) purée
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'Hunger has really killed us all so let's go cook purée.'

102) e wē kolje ti a kpa nā e su-je mē.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s said eagle ICOP NEG good so 3s IMPRF marry-3s NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'She said Eagle was not good so she is not going to marry him.'
103) akojwe wa-jisa-a nzwe ngba ná a je wa-wọọ taaba.
   tsetse fly DM drew FPST water all so let lp DM sting (SUBJ)-
   3s arrow
   12
   'Tsetse fly came and drew all the water so let's sting him with arrows.'

104) nja kwasi kendeja dümă nű je ná e kplo-ní jo-li ọ.
   Mr. Kwasi Spider name in COP that 3s skin SPEC do FPST DISC
   'It was because of Mr. Spider that his skin is like this.'

B is contingent upon A:

105) se a dje umjë ná e keje ọ, se mị ná n cí lẹ o.
   if 2s breathe breath so that 3s move (STA), tell ls so that
   1s tie (CERT) there EMP
   'If you breathe so that it moves, tell me so that I can tie it there.'

106) bla je wo ná n kọ-kẹọ wo.
   come (IMP) lp go (SUBJ) so that ls DM show (SUBJ) 2s
   'Come let's go so that I can show you.'
107) fa to kla nū, fa ble mī nā n jwe nā n wū n be sewle.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \quad 9 \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
take & \quad (IMP) \quad buy \quad torch \quad in, \quad take \quad (IMP) \quad bring \quad Is \quad so \quad that \quad Is \quad light-3s \quad so \quad that \quad Is \quad see \quad (SUBJ) \quad Is \quad bed \quad putting \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16
\end{align*}
\]

'Take it and buy torches, bring them to me so that I can light them so that I can see to put down my bed.'

108) n slē ań nā n kō je klo.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \\
& \quad 9 \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16 \quad 17 \quad 18 \quad 19 \quad 20
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16 \quad 17 \quad 18 \quad 19 \quad 20
\end{align*}
\]

'I ask permission to leave in order to go to our village.'

109) se e ko-wūi nīlū lo nā a-klo a lo kō nī, e sē e sī e wa-bā.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \\
& \quad 9 \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16 \quad 17 \quad 18 \quad 19 \quad 20
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \quad 9 \\
& \quad 10 \quad 11 \quad 12 \quad 13 \quad 14 \quad 15 \quad 16 \quad 17 \quad 18 \quad 19 \quad 20
\end{align*}
\]

'If she has her own way there and then she doesn't like it anymore, she will return and come back.'

\textit{je}, (/je/), is the most general conjunction in that it places the least restrictions on the semantic relationships between the sentences or clauses that it connects. It is usually translated as "and" although when it introduces a clause that follows a \textit{bo} or \textit{ke} clause it is translated as "then." Its primary purpose is to conjoin the constituents it
connects. Since it often occurs at the beginning of a sentence to connect it to the previous sentence, combinations of je plus a dependent clause marker may occur, je tying the sentences together and the dependent clause marker tying the first clause in the sentence to the next one. For example

110) je be fle-e ba kā nīs, je e wo-li c.

and 3s call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC

'And they called the small child and he went.'

111) kla nga je wo t, me e be jwe je be wū be bo-nī.

torch this/that COP LCOP here, which 3p light (STA) and

3p see (STA) 3p under SPEC

'There is a torch which they light and they (use to) see around themselves.'

112) je gbamlo wa-tō klo-nī lo je e me e jwe-nī su.

and hare DM find (CERT) village SPEC there and 3s lift (CERT)

3s song SPEC on

'And Hare came upon the village and he took up his song.'

1 It does not, however, conjoin substantive phrases; the substantive phrase conjoined nī is discussed in Section 241.
113) je e jí e-lje nǐs, je e dí jekū ɔ.

and 3s take off (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT)

again DISC

'And he takes off his and eats it also.'

114) be wà "jaci, jaci." je be a-wùsì nja kwasi kendeja ɔ.

3s said "pardon (IMP) pardon (IMP)," and 3p PRF wash

Mr. Kwasi Spider DISC

'They said, "Pardon us." And so they washed Mr. Kwasi Spider.'

115) je ke be jú atí nù ło nì, je ngbè fe-e e tănì.

and when 3p arrive (CERT) path in there DISC, then ngbè

take FPST 3s cloth

'And when they get to the path, then Ngbè takes his cloth.'

116) mò a-ű ło, mò e slí nì, je kendeja a-fa wandile nì,

a-wlui klù ło.

when 3s-PRF fall there, when 3s laugh (CERT) DISC, then

spider PRF take running DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s stomach

there
'When he had fallen there laughing, then Spider ran, he entered his stomach.'

The conjunction kanzu (/kansu/) occurs at the beginning of a sentence to introduce a surprising turn of events: what is expressed in the sentence is contrary to what one would have thought. (N.B. Its use is more limited than the conjunction sange which is used more generally to indicate expectancy reversal.) A sentence with kanzu usually occurs at or near a climax of a story, and the word is pronounced with a dramatic intonation: k'anzu (both syllables stressed with extra-high tone). For example:

117) je wâ e ti ke kla ngbê 3. kanzu ajre 3.

I said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP. However medicine

118) kanzu a-ko-si konde nzwê.

however 3s-PRF DM pound manioc powder

'We thought it was a normal torch. However it's medicine!'

'However he went to pound manioc into powder!' (Hare is going to trick the other animals into thinking he can turn a stone into powder.)
119) kanzu kendeja a-ko-se wete ke ngbẹ, , .. ko-kù mā mī.

however spider PRF DM tell rat that ngbẹ, , .. DM

kill-3s for ls

10 11 12

'However Spider went and told Rat that 'Ngbẹ, , .. go
kill him for me.'

120) kanzu a gboklo a-1jc bo kpa a kwla gbamlo.

however 2s hyena 2s ASS self very 2s beat (STA) hare

10 11 12

'However, you yourself Hyena, you can outdo Hare!'

(Hyena is never able to outdo Hare, but the speaker
is trying to flatter Hyena into falling for Hare's
trap.)

The particle kpōkū indicates a break in a continuing chain of action
and signals the start of a new event (see the discussion of the discourse
particle o below). It thus normally occurs at the beginning of a sen­
tence, and is considered a sentence connective, but it is also occa­
sionally used within a sentence to indicate the suddenness of an action.

For example

121) e nī kpōkū a-to kpacc.

3s mother suddenly PRF fall sick

10 11 12

'His mother suddenly fell sick.'
122) *kpokü e wle-e e tlale-nî, kpokü e fe-e e kle-nî kplë-e e ti.*

suddenly 3s put on FPST 3s shirt SPEC. suddenly 3s take FPST 3s hat SPEC put on FPST 3s head

'Then he grabbed his shirt and put it on. Then he took his hat and jammed it on his head.'

123) *kpokü bla-nî e nîma-nî a-wû lika.*

suddenly woman SPEC 3s eye SPEC PRF see place

'Suddenly the woman could see.'

124) *boli lâ le. kpokü e ti-i gwa-nî e afjë lo.*

Goat lay (CERT) there. suddenly 3s hear FPST court SPEC 3s middle there

'Goat lay there. Suddenly he heard in the middle of the court . . .' 

125) *e wë 'nte, njâ, sa mô a-jo a je. mî alakû-nî n di kpokü!*

3s said 'friend, look (IMP), affair which PRF do NEG good. 1s trousers SPEC 1s eat (STA) suddenly

'He said, 'Friend, look, things haven't turned out well. So now I'm eating my trousers.'
250. **Discourse Particles**

This class of words consists of two particles which occur at the end of clauses (except for the instance discussed below where **nt3** occurs after a noun phrase): **nt** (with its allomorph **nt3**) and **o**. **nt** occurs only on non-sentence final clauses (both dependent and independent) and **o** occurs only on sentence-final clauses (and thus only independent). They are used by the speaker to indicate whether or not the sentence is finished. Thus a sentence in Baule comprised of numerous clauses is punctuated, as it were, by these discourse particles: **nt** indicating that the sentence is to be continued and **o** indicating that the sentence (with all its dependent and independent clauses) is finished. Discourse particles do not necessarily occur with every clause (although in certain positions the particle **nt** is obligatory—see discussion below); the speaker has the option of using the discourse particles to indicate to his listeners whether or not the sentence is completed. For example

1) mɔ a-wɛ-nT kpe nT, je be su-to awale nT3, bo nānā nāmjē
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
   kpli nānī-nT, e nī nja kendeja, be tō awale nT,
   15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
   ke bo a-jaci e wū le klekleklekle, mɔ nānī a-kpe nT,
   26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
   mɔ a-to lo, mɔ e sī f nT, je kendeja a-fa wandile nT,
   39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52
   a-wlui klū lo o.
   53 54 55 56 57

when hunger SPEC exist (CERT) DISC, then 3p IMPRF play
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
awale DISC, while grandpa god big cow SPEC, 3s and
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

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The function of these discourse particles is comparable to a certain use of rising intonation and falling intonation in English speech. For example

2) That boy next door, he got thrown off his bike.

3) She looked in the river and there was a huge snake.

In both sentences the rising contour of the initial phrase or clause indicates that more is to come in a completion of the sentence. In Baule, however, the discourse particles are perhaps more important because of the already noted fact that sentences are often comprised of multiple clauses.

The discourse particles also give clues to the listener as to when to give the appropriate response. This is an essential part of
any form of speech in Baule, whether narrative or conversation. In a formal context, such as litigation, the role of "listener" is an assigned one; in less formal contexts, such as story-telling or group conversation, anyone near to the speaker may be the "listener"; and of course in dialogue the person not speaking is the "listener." The role of the listener is to insert at frequent and appropriate intervals certain types of exclamations which may range from any of numerous non-lexical "sounds" to such phrases as "look at that!" (njaa ke) or "haven't you seen/didn't I tell you?" (awu mfe), or the listener may actually complete the speaker's sentence. In the case of speech taking place in a group, the listener is responding for everyone and essentially is saying "we're listening, continue." The points at which a listener responds coincide with the utterance of the discourse particles— as might be expected since such particles occur at the end of clauses. However, the particles nT and nTö tend to elicit different responses from the sentence-final particle ə. After nT or nTö the response is usually a sound like [rim], whereas after ə the response is [ahaa] or [chee] or a fuller exclamation. Again a parallel can be found in English; for example: "that guy I told you about . . ." "Yeah" (or "uhuh") " . . . well he decided not to do his thesis." Should the listener not respond to the initial utterance with its rising intonation, the speaker may ask "you know?", thereby demanding a response.
250.1 *nī, (/lim/), the sentence-medial discourse particle

The discourse particle *nī* (with its allomorph *nī3*) occurs at the end of sentence-medial clauses (either dependent or independent) and is used by the speaker to indicate that the sentence is not finished. When it occurs after a dependent clause this information is redundant since dependent clauses are obligatorily followed by an independent clause. In other cases, however, *nī* or *nī3* are the sole markers that indicate that the sentence is not yet finished. For instance

4) se bla-*nī* jaci be *nī*, be tu a amwī be kū mē.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
   if woman SPEC leave (STA) 3p DISC, 3p take (STA) NEG
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   fetish 3p kill (STA) NEG-3s
   10 11 12 13
   'If your woman leaves you, you don't take out a fetish
   and kill her.'

5) ke e jo-o so *nī*, e bo wa-1je-*nī* ngba wu-li nī; ajika-*nī*
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
   jē wa-ka-a be osu nū.
   18 19 20 21 22 23 24
   when 3s do FPST thus DISC, 3s self child ASS SPEC all die
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
   FPST DISC; orphan SPEC COP DM stay FPST 3p track in
   14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
   'When she did thus, all of her own children died; the
   orphan came to stay in their place.'
6) ke e kplokploe-e nāṣ fa wo-li ni, je bloe-e e ti afjē okwle.
   when 3s scorch FPST-3s face take go FPST DISC, COP reddens
   FPST-3s 3s head middle red
   'When he scorched his face and took off, that is what left
   a red (spot) in the middle of his head.'

7) bə e tōto kla-nī sa nīō, e wūswle-nī gwa-a bla nīma su nīō,
kpo̱kū bla-nī, e nīma-nī a-wū lika.
   when 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC
   pour FPST woman eye on DISC, suddenly woman SPEC, 3s
   eye SPEC PRF see place
   'When he swings the torch like this, its smoke fell on
   the woman's eyes, suddenly the woman's eyes have
   opened.'

8) be a-wla be sa lē nā be tu sika jwe nī, wwo kū-ū be ngba.
   3p PRF put 3p hand there so that 3p remove (SUBJ) gold
   some DISC, snake kill FPST 3p all
   'They put their hands in there in order to remove some
   gold; the snake killed them all.'
9) gwa cë ju-li nT5, a-wúst kläämä kpa.
market day arrive FPST DISC, 3s-PRF wash pretty very
'Market day arrived, he washed very prettily.'

10) be ko-jú be nli lo nT5, atT-nT a-ko-ka kää sa.
3p DM arrive (CERT) 3p front there DISC, path SPEC PRF
DM stay small thus
'They got further ahead, the path became narrow like this.'

11) bjä ko-fe-e e ngblää nää nT5, je e wë sT nü c.
man DM take FPST 3s ngblää leaf DISC, and 3s put (CERT)-3s
fire in DISC
'The man went and took his ngblää leaf, and he put it in
the fire.'

12) e fe-e e taa-lje nT5, e ba-li c.
3s take FPST 3s bow ASS DISC, 3s come FPST DISC
'He took his bow, he came.'

13) nänjë bo-li mä-ä be nT5, be ngba be nöch tititi.
god dig FPST give FPST 3s DISC, 3p all 3p drink(STA)-3s always
'God dug it for them, and they all drink there always.'
There are two positions where the occurrence of nɨ is obligatory:

a) after a noun phrase that introduces a character into a narrative for the first time or at the beginning of a new scene. When a character is introduced into the scene who has been absent from the previous scene, he is introduced again. The allomorph nɨ is always used in this position. This presentation of the character(s) can be a sentence in itself. For example

14) nja boli nɨ, e nɨ nja kwajo kā nɨ. nja kwajo kā, e
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
kunde bla nvle nū.
14 15 16 17

Mr. Goat DISC, 3s and Mr. Kwajo Little DISC. Mr. Kwajo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
Little, 3s search (STA) woman foreign country in
12 13 14 15 16 17
'Mr. Goat, he and Mr. Hyena Little. Mr. Hyena Little is looking for a wife in a foreign region.'

15) Ngbē nɨ. je wo-ɔ klo kō su lo nā bla nṇo wo 1e.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Ngbē DISC. 2p go FPST village one on there and woman
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
two LC0P there.
12 13 14
'Ngbē. We went to a village there and there were two women.'

1By new scene I mean a break in the chain of events and the beginning of a different event potentially with a different cast of characters.
16) ajika ba ḋa nīṅ, a-ko-sle bja kū akọ klaña kla nú lo.

orphan child little DISC, 3s-PRF DM request man one

chicken raise village in there

'A little orphan child he went and asked a man for a chicken to raise in a village there.'

17) talwa kō sa kpā nīṅ, e nī-T sa nī, slā kwakwakwla

maidens one thus ideophone: of beauty DISC, 3s grew FPST

thus DISC, person all all all DM see-3s DISC, . . .

'A beautiful maiden she grew up like this, everyone who went to see her, . . .'

b) after a clause which adds parenthetical information. For example

18) e wè 'se e ti sakpa ṣ, se nā e jo n-ije nā n njā;

(ε nī ji je be slā nnī je be nīma ti silwa nīṅ);

je e fā kla je e wle sī nū jekū ṣ.

3s said 'if 3s ICOP true, tell (IMP)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ)

ls ASS so that ls see (SUBJ); (3s and-3s wife COP

3p person two COP 3p eye ICOP blind DISC); and 3s

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take (CERT) torch and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again DISC.

'He said "If it is true, tell him to do mine so that I can see; (he and his wife, the two of them it is whose eyes are blind); and he takes the torch and he puts it in the fire again.'

'If it were the case that he had also come today, then cow fat of the sort they have given me--(he put the leaf in the fire [to make a noise of fat burning])--then wouldn't he and I have eaten it?
and woman SPEC 3s go (CERT) path in there DISC. (3s said 3s IMPRF go grass in DISC). 3s go (CERT) when, viper one PRF enter termite hill hole one in here

'And the woman goes on the path (i.e. to defecate). (She said she is going in the grass [i.e. to defecate]).

When she goes, a viper has entered a termite hill hole here.'

This connective is not to be confused with the substantive phrase conjoined nī (Section 241) or the specifier nī (Section 222.5). Since the former never occurs clause-finally there is never a potential confusion between it and the discourse particle nī. The specifier nī, on the other hand, can occur clause finally (in the case that the noun phrase on which it occur is clause-final), and there arise therefore instances where a distributional criterion will not distinguish the specifier nī from the discourse particle nī. In some of these cases the clause-final noun is possessed as in

father said 3s medicine recompense LCOP there
'He came and slept there and administered his medicine, so
our father says this is his reward.'

Since the specifier ni is obligatory after a possessed noun phrase, this
clause-final ni is the specifier. Where the clause-final noun is not
possessed the situation is not so clear, as in

22) a-fle be slā nnā-nī, be wā "je su-di je ba ngwa."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
3s-PRF call 3p person four SPEC, 3p said "1p IMPRF do 1p
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
child game"
   13 14

'She called the four of them, they said "We are playing
our children's game."

or 23) n bá, kpōkū n wa-di like-nī, n kő jekū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
Is come (CERT), suddenly Is DM eat (CERT) food SPEC, Is
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   10 11
go (CERT) again

'I will come, then I will speedily come and eat the food,
I will go again.'

In both these instances, the nouns slā 'person' in 22) and like 'food'
in 23), have just been mentioned in the narrative. There is thus ample
reason for the speaker to use the specifier (although it is not obliga-
tory) and as such we have analyzed it. An alternative analysis would
claim that both the specifier and the discourse particle occur at the
end of the clauses in the above examples, the specifier expressed as
extra length on the n of the discourse particle nT. (In normal speech the specifier is often realized as [n], sometimes syllabic but more often just a lowering of the velum to produce a non-articulated nasal coda.)

250.2 o, (/o/), the sentence-final discourse particle

The second of the two discourse particles occurs at the end of a sentence to indicate that the event of that sentence is finished. The action, process or state of the following sentence is considered to be part of another event. If one sees the particle nT (and nT3) as indicating links in a chain of actions, processes or states that make up an event, then o is the break in that chain. For example

24) ke e wūi-T so nT, je e jaci-i lo e ba-li o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

when 3s see-3s FPST thus DISC, then 3s leave FPST there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s come FPST DISC
12 13 14 15

'When she saw it like this, she left there and came.'

25) mō e ju-u lo nT3, e jī-T like-nT angonda-nT su wa o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

as 3s arrive FPST there DISC, 3s put FPST food SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

crossroad SPEC on here DISC
12 13 14 15 16

'As he got there she put down the food at the crossroads.'
26) be cwê-e nânî fle nîs, be a-jî e wû le ô.

3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3s PRF put 3s near there

'They dragged the cow's stomach they put it next to him.'

27) je be sfîke je be wlu nû ô.

and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC

'And so they unload (their baggage) and they enter.'

28) je be fle-e ba kâ nîs, je e wâli ô.

and 3p call FPST child little DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC

'And so they called the small child and he went.'

29) je e tî-ô lô ô. je kliklikli je be wândî je be wlu lô ô.

and 3s fall FPST there DISC, and ideophone: of running

'And so he fell there. And so they ran and they entered there.'

250.3 Miscellaneous discourse particles

Three additional particles could also be classed as discourse particles in that their function is primarily to make speech flow more smoothly.
o or e is a particle which occurs

a) after imperatives to 'soften' the command

30) bla o, bla jo n je.
    come (IMP) oh, come (IMP) do (IMP) ls help
    'Come, please come help me.'

31) nā amū kpuke nū o.
    NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in oh
    'Don't break it open, hey!' 

32) nā wla a sa-nī ngwangwa lɔ kɔ o.
    NEG put (IMP) 2s hand SPEC down down there again oh.
    'Don't put your hand down there again, hey!' 

33) jaso le e.
    get up (IMP) there oh.
    'Get up from there!' 

b) after greetings

34) mọ aŋi o.
    'Good morning!'

35) ă moni wa o.
    'Good luck here!' 

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c) when crying out something or calling a name:

36) nja o, nja!

'Mister, oh mister!'

37) Kofi e!

'Hey Kofi!'

d) for emphasis when making a statement:

38) se a ko-joe atc ni, sika o sika nga be to nü-ni, fa to ako.

if 2s DM do-3s sell (CERT) DISC, money oh money this/that

3p buy (CERT) in SPEC, take (IMP) buy (IMP) chicken

'When you go sell it, the money that they give you, take
and buy a chicken.'

39) mënë o mënë je je kwla je jja wa.

Sunday oh Sunday COP lp all lp meet (SUBJ) here

'Sunday oh Sunday is the day we are all to meet here.'

40) e kpe mën nzoa, n te a su o.

3s insult (STA) 1s, 1s answer (STA) NEG on oh

'He insults me, I don't answer!'
is a particle which occurs optionally on questions:

41) nzu je a-li a di ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
what COP 2s SPEC 2s eat (STA) QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'What is it that you are eating?'

42) a kungi wo wo le ?
1 2 3 4 5 6
2s only 2s LCOP there QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Are you the only one there?'

43) ce jo se a ko-se so ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3s do (STA) what 2s DM say (STA) thus QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'Why did you go and say that?'

44) nifä je n sjé be ?
1 2 3 4 5 6
where COP Is put (CERT) 3p QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6
'Where shall I put them?'

ao is a particle that occurs

a) at the end of narratives (optionally):

45) je kumä a-ka lo wa ao. jele mï noswa nu ato.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
and goat stay FPST village here___. COP Is evening in lie
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
'And Goat stayed in the village here. This is my lie for
the evening.'
46) ke ex klokplo-e ena fa wo-li ny, je blo-o e ti afje
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
     okwi-e-ny ao.
     17 18 19

     as 3s scorch-3s FPST 3s face take go FPST DISC, COP
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
     redden FPST 3s head middle red SPEC ___.
     12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

     'As it ran down his head scorching it, that's what redden
     the middle of his head.'

b) at the end of a sentence to indicate doubt:

47) se a-wo Kofi lika lo ao.
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7

     if 3s-PRF go Kofi place there __.
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7

     'Maybe he has gone to Kofi's house.'

48) gwa-ny, na ke be wu koko le je be di ao.
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

     market SPEC, NEG like 3p next to near there COP 3s do ___.
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

     'The market, it wasn't very close by.'

49) awofwe kpa sike-e je ao.
     1 2 3 4 5 6

     stranger good lodge FPST 1p ___.
     1 2 3 4 5 6

     'I think a good stranger has lodged with us.'
"Husbands Should Love Both Wives"

Told by Mo Olye at the Village of Totokro on July 3, 1974

1. nā mī ngwa kō wā?
   1 2 3 4 5
   NEG ls story one QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

2. lalafwe nū nīsā,
   1 2 3
   former times in DISC
   1 2 3

3. jaswa-nī ja-a bla-nī sa nīsā.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   man SPEC marry FPST woman SPEC thus two
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

4. e klo a kō.
   1 2 3 4
   3s love NEG one.
   1 2 3 4

5. se e kō-nī se ke
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   if 3s one SPEC say (STA) that
   1 2 3 4 5 6

6. "kō-kpe aje mā mī" nī,
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   "DM cut (IMP) palm grain give me" DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

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7. e nzoe je e kpe o.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s insult COP 3s DISC.

8. je e kɔ-nT, a-flє
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   and 3s one SPEC, 3s-PRF call-3s

9. je be a-ju aile nũ lo,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   and 3p PRF arrive savannah in there,

10. je be su-ijo e kɔ wũ wa tete.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
    and 3p IMPRF talk 3s one body here bad.

11. 'e-li bja nga sa wē n kɔ-kpe aje n mē.'
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
    3s SPEC stool this/that thus said ls DM cut (SUBJ) palm grain ls
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
give (SUBJ)-3s.'
    12

12. je be a-wɔ cē kwakwla kwakwla.
    1 2 3 4 5 7
    and 3p PRF go day every every every every.

13. ke be jœ so.
    1 2 3 4
    like 3p do (STA)-3s thus.
14. je cē kō be wo-li ɕ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and day one 3p go FPST DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. bla-nī nga ē kloē-nū, ē wo-ɕ ē-li ē kpele ɕ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

woman SPEC this/that 3s love (STA)-3s SPEC, 3s go FPST 3s ASS
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

cutting DISC.
12 13

16. aje mō ē koto kpe kāā sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

palm grain even 3s kneel (STA) cut-3s small thus.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. ē fe-ē ē ja-nū te-ē ē wū 5.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s take FPST 3s foot SPEC put FPST 3s on when,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

18. mme-nū a-fu nglo fūū
1 2 3 4 5 6

palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up fūū!
1 2 3 4 5 6

19. ke kpako waka nga sa.
1 2 3 4 5

like coconut tree this/that thus.
1 2 3 4 5

20. je bla-nū jīā ē bo wa ɕ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and woman SPEC stand (CERT) 3s under here DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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21. e wē 'wā ko lelele ke mī wū ja sa?"
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   3s said 'who go (STA) far like Is husband Ya thus?'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

22. e wē 'mī ji, mī ja c.'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s said 'Is wife, Is Ya COP'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. 'a ja bla ja je ngba o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   '2s marry (STA) woman marry (IMP) lp all EMP.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. e ti awlo nde o.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s I COP home affair EMP
   1 2 3 4 5

25. tje alengelenge, tje mī wū e.'
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) Is husband EMP.'
   1 2 3 4 5 6

26. je be a-joe so lelele.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   and 3p PRF do-3s thus until
   1 2 3 4 5 6

27. bjā-nT a-wo lelele,
   1 2 3 4 5
   man SPEC PRF go far
   1 2 3 4 5
28. e su-wa-to pamje-nī 10.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   3s IMPRF DM reach sky SPEC there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29. je bla-nī nga mēē be kloē mē le-nī,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   and woman SPEC this/that who 3p love (STA)-3s NEG there SPEC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

30. je e ko-flē ɔ.
   1 2 3 4 5

   and 3s DM call (CERT)-3s DISC
   1 2 3 4 5

31. 'n wla, je wo-ɔ afle nū 10,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   1s rival, 1p go FPST savannah in there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

32. nā nga nīsā wo-ɔ aje kā kō kpele nīs,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   and Mr. Nīsā go FPST palm grain small one cutting DISC,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

33. mmē-nī a-fu nglonglo 10.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up up there.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

34. nā je bla wo,
   1 2 3 4

   so 1p come (SUBJ) go,
   1 2 3 4
35. nā ko-fle jwe.
   and DM call (IMP)-3s also

36. je bla-nī ba wa-flá e bo wū le c.
   and woman SPEC come (CERT) DM stand (CERT) 3s under near there DISC.

37. e wē 'wā ko lengelenge ke mī wū ja sa e?'
   3s said 'who go (STA) (song word) like 1s husband Ya thus QUES?'

38. e wē 'mī ji, mī ja c."
   3s said '1s wife, 1s Ya COP.'

39. "a ja bla, ja je ngba o. e ti awlo nde c. tje alengelenge, tje mī
   wū,
   2s marry (STA) woman, marry (IMP) lp all EMP. 3s ICOP home affair
   EMP. listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) 1s husband."

40. e bo-nī ti a dēnē o,
   3s self SPEC ICOP NEG long EMP,
41. jele kpe kā ke nga le-nī.
   1  2 3 4 5 6 7
   COP short small like this/that there SPEC.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

42. je e jwla-li e.
   1 2 3 4 5
   and 3s descend FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5

43. e ti je se be ja bla nī,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   3s cause COP if 3p marry (STA) woman DISC,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

44. be klo e ññ̃-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3p love 3s two SPEC
   1 2 3 4 5

45. e bo-nī je wo lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3s sense SPEC COP LCOP there
   1 2 3 4 5 6

46. jele mī nnoswa nū ato.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   COP Is evening in lie
   1 2 3 4 5

Translation

Isn't this one of my stories? The man married the women, two (of them). He didn't love one. If the one said, "Go cut palm grain for me," he insulted her. And the other one, he called her and they went to the savannah and they are speaking bad against her. "That stool there wants
me to go cut palm grain for her!" And they went every every day. That's what they did. And one day they went. The woman who he loved, he went to cut her palm grain. He knelt to cut even a small (clump of) palm grain like this. When he took his foot to put on it the palm tree shot up fūū! like a coconut tree. And the woman stood under it here and she said, "Who goes far far like my husband Ya?" He said "My wife, it's me, Yao." "If you marry women, marry (i.e. love) us all. It is an affair of the home. Listen, listen my husband." And they did like this for a long time. The man went far far, he is about to reach the sky there. And the woman that they don't love, she went to call her. "My rival, we went to the savannah there, so when Mr. Nīsā went to cut a small clump of palm grain, the palm tree shot up up there. So come let's go so that you go call him also." And the woman came, came to stand under it near there. She said "Who goes like my husband Ya?" He said "My wife, it's me, Yao." "If you marry women, marry (love) us all. It's an affair of the home. Listen, listen my husband." Itself (i.e. the tree) is not (no longer) tall, it is short like this one here. And so he got down. This is the reason that if you marry (women), you must love them both. There is it's (the story's) meaning. Thus is my lie for the evening.

Analysis

1. A negative question consisting of
   nā a variant of the negative (Section 238.3).
   mī ngwa kō 'one of my stories,' a SP consisting of
   mī '1s pronoun' (Section 221.4).
   ngwa 'story,' noun (Section 221.6). mī ngwa is a com-
   pound construction (Section 222.4).
2. A simple sentence consisting of a LocP (2) and an independent clause (3).

2. A LocP (Section 221.7) consisting of

lalafwe nu 'in the time of our ancestors':

lalafwe, a noun composed of lala 'former times' plus the agentive suffix fwe (Section 221.8).

nu 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).

nT5 a discourse particle indicating that the sentence is not finished (Section 250.1).

3. An independent clause consisting of

jaswa-nT 'the man,' the subject SP: jaswa 'man,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nT specifier (Section 222.5).

ja-a 'married,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -a, a variant of -li (Section 238.2).

bla-nT sa np5 'two women,' the object SP:

bla-nT 'the woman/women': bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nT specifier (Section 222.5).

sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

np5 'two,' numeral (Section 222.2).

The two SP's of this introductory sentence are specific: 'a certain man married certain women, two (of them).' This is often done

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at the beginning of stories to involve the audience right away. It presupposes the existence and the identity of the protagonists.

4. A simple sentence consisting of
   
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235).
   a negative (Section 238.3).
   kō 'one,' the object SP.

5.-7. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause 5-6 plus the independent coordinate clause 7. 5-6 consists of a main clause 5 plus a subordinate clause 6.

5. A dependent main clause consisting of
   
   se . . . nī 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 241.12) indicating hypotheticality.
   e kō-nī 'the one,' the subject SP:
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
   kō 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2)
   -nī specifier (Section 222.5).
   The pronoun e nominalsizes a numeral (Section 221.4).
   se 'say,' a three-place verb (Section 236) which takes as one of its objects a sentential complement in the form of a direct or indirect quote introduced by
   ke 'that,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).
6. A subordinate clause (Section 242.11) which is the object of the verb se 'say' of clause 5 consisting of
ko-kpe . . . mā 'go cut for,' a three-place verbal group
(Section 237): ko- a directional modal (Section 238.2)
plus kpe 'cut' plus mā 'give' inflected tonally for the
imperative mode (Section 238.2).
aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.
mī is pronoun (Section 221.4), the other object SP.
nī (See se . . . nī in 5 above).

7. An independent clause coordinate with the clause in 5-6, consisting of
e nzoa the topicalized object SP (e 3s pronoun) plus the noun
complement (nzoa) of the completable verb (Section 233)
kpe nzoa.
je copula (Section 231) which is used after a topicalized SP.
e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP.
kpe . . . nzoa 'insult,' a two-place completable verb (Section
233).
 a discourse particle indicating the end of the sentence
(Section 250).

There is a play on the word kpe 'cut': the woman asks the man to
go cut some palm grain for her and he "cuts her insult" in­
stead (kpe nzoa).

8.-10. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent
clauses.
8. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ɛ kō-ni 'the one' (see 5 above), the topicalized object SP.

a-fle 'he called her,' subject SP, the verb, and the object SP:

    a- the perfective prefix (Section 238.2). The 3s pronoun
    has zero value in this position (Section 221.4).

    fle 'call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) plus the
    recapitulating pronoun (ɛ).

    (ɛ) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4)
    coreferential with the topicalized object SP e kō-ni.

9. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

a-ju 'arrived,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for
    the perfective aspect with the prefix a- (Section 238.2).

afle nū lo 'in the savannah there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

    afle 'savannah,' noun (Section 221.6).

    nū 'in,' locative (Section 221.7).

    lo 'there,' location noun (Section 221.6).

10. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP

su-ajo . . . wū 'are talking against,' a two-place completable
    verb (Section 233) inflected for imperfective aspect with
    the prefix su- (Section 238.2).
11. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e-li bja nga sa we along with the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n me.

The main clause consists of

e-li bja nga sa 'that stool there,' the subject SP:

e-li 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) plus the specifier -li
(the variant of -nI that occurs with pronouns--Section 222.5). The use of the specifier with the pronoun adds emphasis to this insult.

bja 'stool,' noun (Section 221.6) used here as a personal noun (Section 221.6), i.e. to refer to a human, as an insult.

nga demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

we 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235). Its object SP is the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n me which consists of

n 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

ko-kpe . . . mä 'go cut for' (see 6 above), inflected tonally for the subjunctive mode (Section 238.2).

aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.

n 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulation of the subject SP.

me (<mä e) contains the other object SP e, 3s pronoun
(Section 221.4)
12. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   a-wo 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234). (wo is a variant
   of ko which occurs with certain inflections [Section
   238.2]), inflected for the perfective aspect by the pre-
   fix a- (Section 238.2).
   cē kwakwakawaka la 'every every day': cē 'day,' noun (Sec-
   tion 221.6), plus the reduplicated quantifier kwla (Sec-
   tion 222.2).

13. A simple sentence consisting of
   ke 'like' (Section 242.12).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   jo 'do,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally
   for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
   -e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
   so 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

14. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).
   cē kō 'one day': cē 'day,' noun (Section 221.6) plus kō 'one,'
   numeral (Section 222.2).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   wo-1i 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the
   factual past with the suffix -1i (Section 238.2).
   o the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is
   finished (Section 250.2).
15. A complex sentence (Section 240) consisting of an independent clause $\text{bla-nT, } \varepsilon \text{ wo-o } \varepsilon-l\text{e kpele}$ plus the subordinate clause $\text{nga } \varepsilon \text{ klo-e-nT}$, a relative clause which modifies the noun $\text{bla-nT}$.

The independent clause consists of

$\text{bla-nT} 'the woman': \text{bla} 'woman,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus $-\text{nT}$, specifier (Section 222.5), a topicalized SP.

$\varepsilon$ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

$\text{wo-o} 'went,'$ a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix $-\text{o}$, variant of $-\text{i}$ (Section 238.2).

$\text{e-lje kpele} 'hers cutting':$

$\varepsilon-l\text{je} 'hers': \varepsilon$ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun $\text{bla-nT}$, plus $-\text{lje}$, the associative (Section 222.4).

$kpele 'cutting,'$ nominal form of verb: $kpe 'cut' plus $\text{le}$ (Section 221.8).

$\circ$ the discourse particle (Section 250.2) that indicates that the sentence is finished.

The relative clause consists of

$\text{nga}$ the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3)

$\varepsilon$ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

$klo 'love,'$ a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
16. A simple sentence consisting of

_ajemā_ 'even palm grain,' a topicalized object SP: _aje_ 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), plus _mā_, emphatic particle (Section 222.7).

_ē_ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

_kotokpe_ 'kneel to cut,' a two-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

(ē) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.

_kāā_ 'small,' adjective (Section 222.1).

_sā_ 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

17.-19. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause 17, the independent coordinate clause 18, and the SP 19 modifying _mmē-nī_.

17. A dependent clause consisting of

_ē_ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

_fe-e . . . te-e_ 'take and put,' a two-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected for the factual past with the suffixes _-e_ and _-ē_ (variant of -_lī_) (Section 238.2).
18. An independent clause consisting of

\(\text{mme-n\text{\textbar}}\) 'the palm tree,' the subject SP; \(\text{mme}\), noun (Section 221.6) plus \(\text{n\textbar}\), specifier (Section 222.5).

\(\text{a-fu}\) 'ascended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix \(\text{a-}\) (Section 238.2).

\(\text{nglo}\) 'up,' location noun (Section 221.6).

\(\text{f\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}}\) an ideophone describing the rapid ascent of the tree (Section 239.3).

19. A SP modifying the noun \(\text{mme-n\text{\textbar}}\) of 18.

\(\text{ke}\) 'like,' a subordinate dependent clause or modifying phrase marker (Section 242.11).

\(\text{kpako}\) 'coconut,' noun (Section 221.6).

\(\text{waka}\) 'tree,' noun (Section 221.6).

\(\text{nga}\) demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

\(\text{sa}\) 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
20. A simple sentence consisting of

je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).

bla-nT 'the woman,' the subject SP: bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nT, specifier (Section 222.5).

jlä 'stand,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode (Section 238.2). (See discussion of the use of the certaintive in narrative—Section 238.2).

bo wa 'under it here,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

bo 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

bo 'under,' locative (Section 221.7).

wa 'here,' location noun (Section 221.6).

the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

21.-25. comprise a song which is sung by the narrator with the audience response tje alengelenge.

21. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e wë plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote 'wä ko lelele ke mï wū ja sa?'

The main clause consists of

e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wë 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235) which takes as object SP a quote.

The subordinate clause consists of

ke 'like,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).
22. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause ɛ wɛ plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote "mī ji, mī ja ɔ" ɛ wɛ (see 21 above).

The subordinate clause consists of

mī ji 'my wife,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):
   mī 1s pronoun (Section 221.3).
   ji 'wife,' kin term (Section 221.5).
   mī 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP of copula ɔ.
   ja 'Ya,' a name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mī 'me.'
   ɔ 'it's,' a copula (Section 231.2).

23. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause (se) a ja bla and the independent coordinate clause ja je ngba ɔ.

The dependent clause consists of

(se) 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12). Since this is part of a song this word is omitted to accommodate the rhythm of the song.

a 2s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
ja 'marry,' a two-place verb (Section 235) tonally inflected for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
bla 'woman,' personal noun (Section 221.6), the object SP.

The independent clause consists of

ja 'marry' (here with the sense of 'love'), a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

je ngba 'us all,' the object SP:

je lp pronoun (Section 221.4).

ngba 'all,' a quantifier (Section 222.2).

o, a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the song line (Section 250.3).

24. A simple sentence consisting of

ε 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

ti the identifying copula (Section 231).

awlo ndɛ 'home affair,' a compound construction, the complement SP:

awlo 'home, a location noun (Section 221.6).

ndɛ 'affair,' a noun (Section 221.6).

o a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the song line (Section 250.3).

25. A complex sentence consisting of two independent clauses.

The first independent clause consists of

tje 'listen,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

alengelenge a song-word, the chorus sung by the audience.
The second independent clause consists of

tje 'listen' (see above).

mi wu 'my husband' (see 21 above).

e a discourse particle, variant of o, that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

26. A simple sentence consisting of

je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

a-jo 'did,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix a- (Section 238.2).

re 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.

so 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

lelele an ideophone indicating long duration of time (Section 239.3).

27.-28. A complex sentence consisting of two coordinate independent clauses (Section 242).

27. An independent clause consisting of

bjä-ni 'the man,' subject SP:

bjä 'man,' a personal noun (Section 221.6).

-ni the specifier (Section 222.5).

a-wo 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect.

lelele an ideophone indicating farness (Section 239.3).
28. An independent clause consisting of
   3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   su-wa-to 'is about to reach,' a one-place verb (Section 234)
   to 'reach' inflected for the imperfective with the prefix
   su- (Section 238.2) plus wa, a direction modal (Section
   238.2).
   nāmjē-nī lo 'the sky there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
   nāmjē 'sky,' a noun (Section 221.6).
   -nī the specifier (Section 222.5).
   lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

29.-30. A complex sentence consisting of a subordinate clause modifying
   a noun (29) plus a main clause (30).

29. The topicalized object SP of the clause in 30 which consists of
   bla-nī plus the relative clause nga mēē be kloē mē le-nī.
   jē 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   bla-nī 'the woman,' the topicalized object SP of the main
   clause in 30: bla 'woman,' a personal noun (Section
   221.6), plus -nī, the specifier (Section 222.5)
   nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).
   mēē 'which, a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section
   242.11).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP of the relative
   clause
   klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally
   for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
-e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nī.

mē the negative (Section 238.3).

le 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

-nī the specifier (Section 222.5).

30. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

le 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

kō-fi le 'went to call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode with kō-, a directional modal (Section 238.2).

(e) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) coreferential with the topicalized object SP bla-nī in 29.

31.-33. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent clauses.

31. An independent clause consisting of

n wla 'my rival,' a compound construction used as a name:

n 1s pronoun (Section 221.4)

wla 'rival,' a kin term (Section 221.5).

je lp pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wo-ō 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -ō, a variant of -ōi (Section 238.2).

afle nu lo 'in the savannah there' (see 9).
32. An independent clause consisting of

nā 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

nja Nīsā 'Mr. Nīsā,' a name (Section 221.2), the subject SP.

wö-öm 'went' (see 31 above).

aje kāa ko kpele 'a small palm grain (clump) cutting':

aje 'palm grain,' a noun (Section 221.6).

kāa 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

kō 'one,' a numeral (Section 222.2).

kpele 'cutting,' the nominal form of the verb: kpe 'cut' plus le (Section 221.8).

nīs a discourse particle indicating the sentence is not finished (Section 250).

33. An independent clause consisting of

mme-nī 'the palm tree,' the subject SP: mme, a noun (Section 221.6), plus -nī, the specifier (Section 222.5).

a-fu 'ascended' (see 18).

nglonglo lo 'up up there,' a LocP (Section 221.7).

nglonglo reduplicated location noun (Section 221.6) 'up up.'

lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

34.-35. A complex sentence consisting of two independent coordinate clauses.

34. An independent clause consisting of

nā 'so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
35. An independent clause consisting of
   nā 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   ko-fle 'go call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected
tonally for the imperative mode.
   (e) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the
   object SP.
   jwe 'also,' an adverb (Section 239).

36. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   bla-nī 'the woman,' the subject SP (see 20).
   ba wa-jlā 'came to stand,' a one-piece verbal group (Section
   237) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode (see the
discussion of the use of the certaintive in narratives—
Section 238.2) plus the directional modal wa (Section
238.2) prefixed to the verb jlā.
   e bo wū le 'under it near there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
   bo 'under,' a locative (Section 221.7).
   wū 'near,' a locative (Section 221.7).
   le 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).
   o the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is
   finished (Section 250.2).
37.-39. The same song as in 21-25.

40.-41. A complex sentence consisting of the independent coordinate clause 40 and the dependent coordinate clause 41.

40. An independent clause consisting of

\( \varepsilon \) \( \text{bo-nī} \) 'itself,' the subject SP:
- \( \varepsilon \) the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
- \( \text{bo} \) 'an emphatic particle' (Section 222.7).
- \( \text{nī} \) the specifier (Section 222.5).
- \( \text{ti} \) the identifying copula (Section 231.1).
- \( \text{a} \) the negative (Section 238.3).
- \( \text{dēnē} \) 'long,' an adjective (Section 222.1), the complement of the copula.
- \( \text{o} \) a discourse particle that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

41. A dependent clause consisting of

\( jēle \) 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the subject SP of the previous clause (\( \varepsilon \text{bo-nī} \)) to the following adjective.
- \( \text{kpe} \) 'short,' an adjective (Section 222.1).
- \( \text{kā} \) 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).
- \( \text{kē nga le-nī} \) 'like the one there':
- \( \text{kē} \) 'like' (Section 242.11).
- \( \text{nga} \) the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).
- \( \text{le} \) 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).
- \( \text{nī} \) the specifier (Section 222.5).
42. A simple sentence consisting of

je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

è 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

†la-li 'descended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).

ø the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

43. -44. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause

è ti je plus the dependent coordinate clause se be ja bla nîl plus the independent coordinate clause 44.

43. è ti je 'for this reason':

è 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.

ti 'reason,' a noun (Section 221.6).

je a copula (Section 231.2).

se be ja bla nîl 'if you marry':

se . . . nî 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP, here used as an impersonal pronoun.

ja bla 'marry,' a one-place completable verb (Section 233) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

44. An independent clause consisting of

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

c npo-nǐ 'the two,' the object SP:

c 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
npō 'two,' a numeral (Section 222.2).
-nǐ the specifier (Section 222.5).
The pronoun c nominalizes a numeral (Section 221.4).

45. A simple sentence consisting of
c bo-nǐ 'its meaning,' a possessive phrase (Section 222.4),
the subject SP:
c 3p pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.
bo 'meaning,' a noun (Section 221.6).
-nǐ the specifier (Section 222.5).
je a copula (Section 231.2).
wo the locative copula (Section 231.1).
lọ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

46. A simple sentence consisting of
jele 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the whole story to the following SP.
mī nnoswa nū ato 'my lie for the evening':
mī 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).
mmnoswa 'evening,' a noun (Section 221.6).
nū 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).
ato 'lie,' a noun (Section 221.6).
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