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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

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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
date

Chairman of Examining Committee

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PREFACE

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 Langendoen 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

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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 Feilowship 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 imput 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 nuturing. 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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ABBREVIATIONS

ASS	Associative	(Section 222.4)
CERT	Certaintive	(Section 238.2)
COP	Copula	(Section 231)
DISC	Discourse Particle	(Section 250)
DM	Directional Modal	(Section 238.2)
EMP	Emphatic Particle	(Section 250)
FPST	Factual Past	(Section 238.2)
ICOP	Identifying Copula	(Section 231)
IMP	Imperative	(Section 238.2)
IMPRF	Imperfective	(Section 238.2)
INDIV	Plural Individuator	(Section 222.6)
LCOP	Locative Copula	(Section 231)
LocP	Locative Phrase	(Section 221.7)
NEG	Negative	(Section 238.3)
1p	1st Person Plural Pronoun	(Section 221.4)
2p	2nd Person Plural Pronoun	(Section 221.4)
3p	3rd Person Plural Pronoun	(Section 221.4)
PART	Particularizer Suffix	(Section 221.8)
PCOP	Possession Copula	(Section 231)
PRF	Perfective	(Section 238.2)
QUES	Question Particle	(Section 250)
1s	1st Person Singular Pronoun	(Section 221.4)
2s	2nd Person Singular Pronoun	(Section 221.4)
3s	3rd Person Singular Pronoun	(Section 221.4)

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SP	Substantive Phrase	(Section 220)
SPEC	Specifier	(Section 222.5)
STA	Stative	(Section 238.2)
SUBJ	Subjunctive	(Section 238.2)
VP	Verb Phrase	(Section 230)

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000. INTRODUCTION

010. THE BAULE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

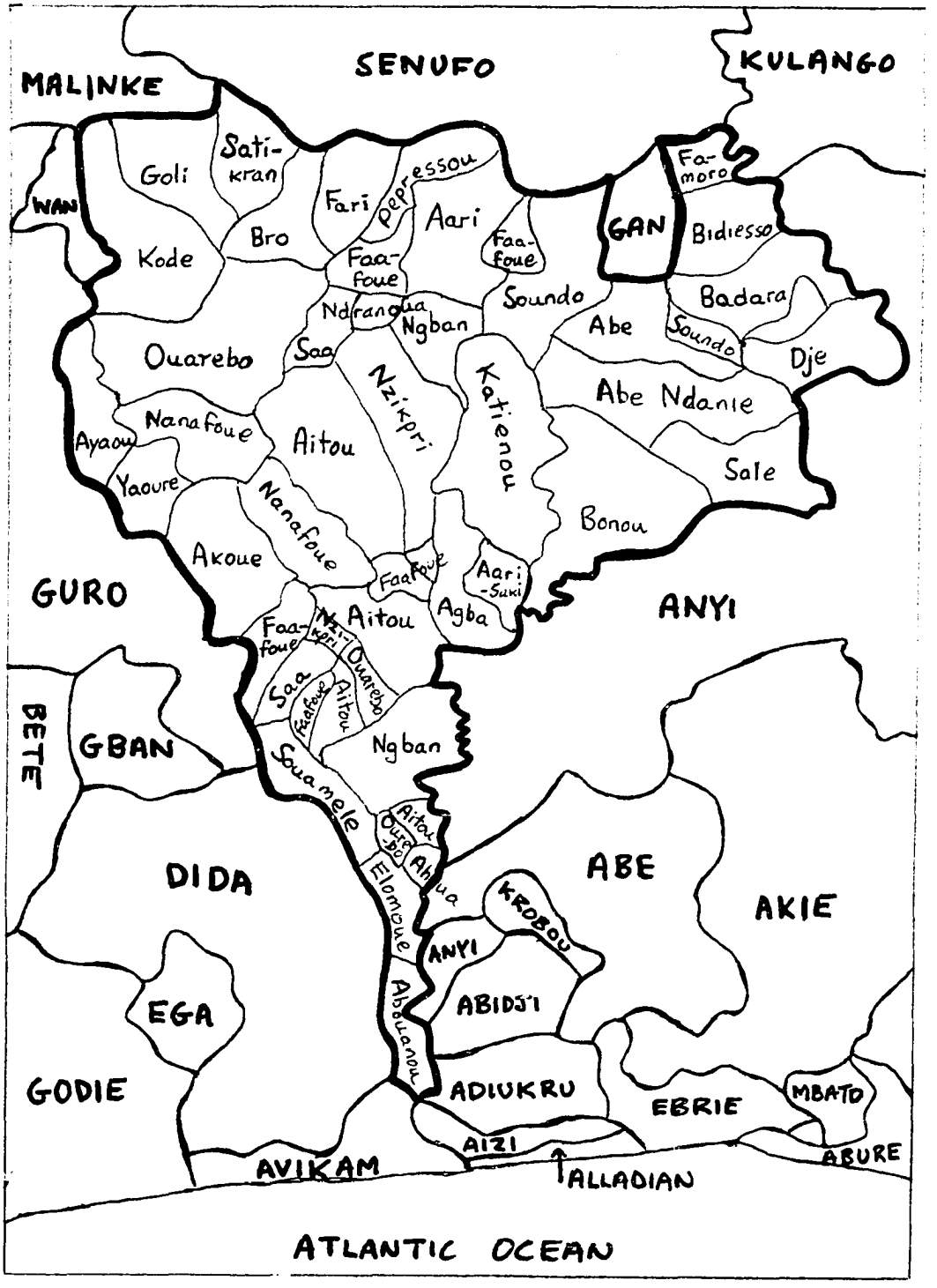
The Baule peoples, who number about 1,000,000 (Etienne 1972b), live in a V-shaped savannah area of central Ivory Coast (see accompanying map). Although they are often considered a matrilineal people who arrived comparatively recently in Ivory Coast, recent work (Etienne 1971, Chauveau 1975, Weiskel 1974) 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-Comoe 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).

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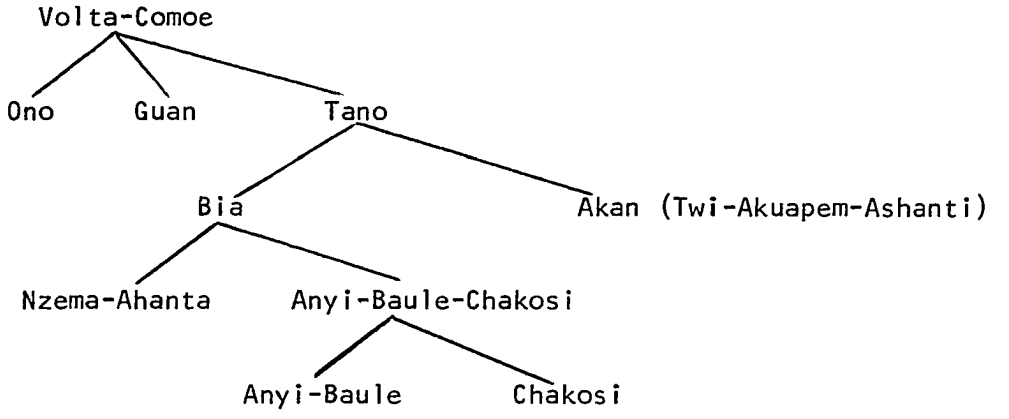
Boundary of Baule territory

WAN Ethnic group

Kode Baule sub-group

Partial map of Ivory Coast showing the Baule and their neighbors

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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 varities 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:

---

[1] A dialect survey currently underway (1976-78) will result in a more complete picture of the dialectal situation in the Baule-Anyi region.

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specifier -nĩ; 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

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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.

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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_1C_2V, C_1C_2VN. 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,

/kãã̃ã/[1]	'a little bit'
/aa/	'trap'

-V (a single vowel)

/a/	'2nd person singular pronoun'
/ɛ/	'3rd person singular pronoun'
/abi/	'kind of monkey'
/aa/	'trap'
/dT̄T̄/	'calm, quiet'

-N̩ (a syllabic tone-carrying nasal)

Syllabic nasals never occur as peaks of monosyllabic utterances.[2] Thus the variant /n̩/ 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.

/Nme/	[m̩me]	'palm'
/Nfã/	[ɱvã]	'smell'
/Nlũ/	[n̩nũ]	'five'
/Njɛ̃/	[ɲn̩ɛ̃]	'kind of tree'
/Ngo/	[ŋgo]	'oil'
/Ngba/	[ŋ̍m͡gb͡a]	'all'

-CV (A consonant followed by a vowel)

/pepe/		'monkey'
/be/		'cook'
/dã/		'big'
/tɔ̃/		'prepare food'
/ɟa/		'foot'
/cɛ/		'share'
/ka/		'bite'

-C_1C_2V (two consonants followed by a vowel, in which C_2 is /l, j or w/)

/blɔ/		'bush'
/klɔ/		'village'
/klu/	[k͡lũ]	'stomach'
/tlo/	[tɾ̌o]	'sauce'
/jla/	[jɾ̌a]	'burn'
/mja/		'press'
/bje/		'urinate'
/bjã/	[bʲ̃ã]	'man'

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/gwa/		'market'
/fwã/	[fw̃ã]	'chase'
/cwɛ̃/	[cɥ̃ɛ̃]	'pull'
/bodwĩ/	[bodɥ̃ĩ]	'bark'
/twi/	[tɥi]	'gun'

-CVN, or C_1C_2VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

/baNslɛ/	[bãnzɛ̌]	'an amulet'
/boNdlɛ/	[bondɛ̌]	'buttocks'
/jaNle/	[jãnne]	'black deer'
/soNja/	[soɲja]	'soldier'
/faNga/	[fãŋga]	'strength'
/bleNgbi/	[bleŋ͡mgbi]	'rich, important man'

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120. THE SURFACE PHONEMES

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

	labial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops vl	p		t	c	k	k͡p
stops vd	b		d	ɟ	g	g͡b
fricatives		f	s			
lateral			l			
glides				j		w
nasals	m					N[1]

vowels	oral		nasal	
	i	u	ĩ	ũ
	e	o		
	ɛ	ɔ	ɛ̃	ɔ̃
	a		ã	

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

/kāà̄/ 'a small bit' contrasts with /kā́/ 'small'

/kwēé/ 'fetus' contrasts with /kwè/ 'knife'

[1]homorganic with ff. consonant.

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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 /e/ and /ɛ/, and /o/ 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

/k͡palɛ/		'nere bean tree'
/k͡pawle/		'kind of basket'
/k͡pʌndo/	[k͡pãndo]	'roasted yam or manioc'
/k͡paci/		'break'
/k͡pakpa/		'type of tree'
/kɛndeja/	[kɛ̃ndeja]	'spider'
/klog͡bɛ/		'ivory bracelet'
/klʌngbɔ/	[klo͡ŋm͡gbɔ]	'eggplant'
/kluwa/		'spindle'
/kokotle/	[kokotɾ̆e]	'thumb'
/bʌndlɛ/	[bondɾ̆ɛ]	'buttocks'
/alɔklũ/	[alɔkl̃ũ]	'banana mush'
/kɔ̃mi/		'neck'
/kɔ̃nã/		'male name'

121.2 The vowel /u/

/u/ 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

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/sule/	[sʷře]	'termite hill'
/kula/	[kʷla]	'all'
/ɴgulã/	[ŋgʷlã]	'nine'
/iɟule/	[iɟʷře]	'louse'

121.3 Oral and nasal vowels

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

/pɔpɔ/		'soft'	/pĩ/		'tap'
/bo/		'hit'	/bɔ̃/		'give off odor'
/ta/		'raise'	/tã/		'flatulate'
/di/		'eat'	/dã/		'big'
/cɛ/		'share'	/cɛ̃/		'day'
/ɟu/		'arrive'	/ɟĩ/		'stand'
/ka/		'stay'	/kã/		'tell'
/ga/		'kind of vine'	/gɔ̃/		'trap'
/k͡pa/		'good'	/k͡pã/		'cry'
/g͡bɔ/		'hearth'	/g͡bamĩ/	[g͡bãmĩ]	'bushfire'
/fɛ/		'sweet'	/fɛ̃/		'be white'
/ɴfɔlɛ/	[ɱvɔlɛ]	'termite'	/ɴfã/	[ɱvã]	'odor'
/sa/		'hand'	/sã/		'sting'
/ɟɛɴsu/	[ɟɛ̃nzu]	'a bush spirit'	/ɴsã/	[n̩zã]	'wine'
/la/		'lie down'	/lã/	[nã]	'and'
/tla/	[tř̃a]	'grab'	/tlã/	[tř̃ã]	'sit'
/ji/		'wife'	/jã/	[ɲã]	'gain'
/wu/		'die'	/wũ/	[w̃ũ]	'husband'

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/cwa/	[cɥa]	'spear'	/cwã/	[cɥ̃ã]	'hawk'
/tja/	[tja]	'step on'	/tjã/	[tj̃ã]	'add'

Whereas oral and nasal vowels contrast in open syllables, they do not contrast in closed syllables. Preceding a word-medial nasal consonant (i.e. in 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. [kpɛ̃ŋ͡mgb̃ɛ̃] 'elder') and more lightly nasazlied if the word-final vowel is non-nasal (e.g. [kpã̲ndɔ] 'roasted yam or manioc'). The two vowels /e/ and /o/, not having nasal counterparts, are not nasalized in this position. For example

[bondrɛ]	'buttocks'
[ɟeŋ̍vje]	'ocean'
[bleŋ̃͡mgbi]	'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 C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable these are realized as [w̃], [j̃] and [l̃] or [r̃] respectively:

/swã/	[sw̃ã]	'learn'
/bjã/	[bj̃ã]	'man'
/klũ/	[kl̃ũ]	'belly
/tlã/	[tr̃ã]	'sit'

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As C_1 they are realized as [w̃], [ɲ] and [n] respectively:

/wũ/	[w̃ũ]	'husband'
/wlã/	[w̃l̃ã]	'wander'
/jĩ/	[ɲĩ]	'face, eyes'
/jlũ/	[ɲr̃ũ]	'face'
/lĩ/	[nĩ]	'mother'
/lwã/	[nw̃ã]	'mouth'

122.1 Homorganic nasal

/N/ is a homorganic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant:

[m], a bilabial nasal, preceding /b/ and /m/

[ɱ], a labio-dental nasal, preceding /f/

[n], an alveolar nasal, preceding /d/ and /l/ and /s/

[ɲ], a palatal nasal, preceding /j/ and /j/

[ŋ], a velar nasal, preceding /g/

[ŋ͡m], a labio-velar nasal, preceding /g͡b/

/N/ 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.

/NdɛNdɛ/	[n̩dɛ̃ndɛ]	'fast'
/Nlɛ̃/	[n̩nɛ̃]	'animal, meat'
/Nswɛ̃/	[n̩zʉ̃ɛ̃]	'ashes'
/baNslɛ/	[bãnzr̃ɛ]	'an amulet'
/Nfã/	[ɱvã]	'odor'
/jɛNfje/	[jɛɱvje]	'ocean'
/Nja/	[n̩ja]	'sir'

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/saNjã/	[sãɲɲã]	'anteater'
/Njõ/	[n̥ɲõ]	'two'
/Ngo/	[ŋgo]	'oil'
/kaNga/	[kãŋga]	'crab'
/Ngbɔ/	[ŋ̍m̥g͡bɔ]	'boiled yam'
/kpaNgbla/	[kpãŋ̍m̥g͡bla]	'sleeping platform'
/Nma/	[m̥ma]	'seed'
/sĩNma/	[sĩmma]	'younger sibling'

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 ɲ]. Two of these ([n] the alveolar nasal, and [ɲ] the palatal nasal) occur only in a nasal environment and are thus analyzed as allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectivesly (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:

/Nme/	[n̥me]	'oil palm'
/saNma/	[sãmma]	'finger'
/ĩma/	[ĩma]	'eye
/mlĩ/	[m̃lĩ]	'lose'

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/somã/	[somã]	'fiancé'
/dũmã/	[dũmã]	'name'
/mã/	[mã]	'give'

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/	[mla]	'law'
/mɔngblo/	[mɔ̃m͡gblo]	'a bush spirit'
/me/	[me]	'3rd person plural pronoun (a variant)'

These contrast with:

/bla/	'woman'
/wla/	'rival'
/flɛ/	'call'
/gble/	'ruse'
/be/	'be cooked'
/we/	'chest'
/fɛ/	'sweet'
/kpe/	'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 /Nm__/, i.e. m preceded by 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.

[1] In other dialects of Baule the word for "law" is in fact m̩mla.

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/mã/	[mã]	'give'
/ɔɔ̃/		'give off odor'
/wã/	[w̃ã]	'say'
/fɛ̃/		'be white'
/kpã/		'cry'
/mlĩ/	[m̃l̃ĩ]	'lose'
/blĩ/	[b̃l̃ĩ]	'quiet'
/wlã/	[w̃l̃ã]	'travel'

123. Consonants

123.1 Stops

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

/pjoNbjo/	[pjombjo]	'sharp and pointed'
/Ndɛ/	[n̪dɛ]	'affair'
/coNjo/	[coɲ̪jo]	'machete'
/ngowi/	[ŋgoɥi]	'joking'
/Ngbata/	[ŋ͡mgb̥ata]	'pardon

However voiced and voiceless stops contrast in other environments:

/pepe/	'monkey'
/be/	'be cooked'
/plɔ/	'manioc paste'
/blɔ/	'bush'
/tã/	'flatulate'
/dã/	'big'

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/twa/		'penis'
/dwa/		'tail'
/cĩ/		'unconscious'
/ɟĩ/		'stand'
/cwa/	[cɥa]	'spear'
/laɟwa/	[laɟɥa]	'kind of mouse'
/kõ/		'one'
/gõ/		'trap'
/klɔ/		'village'
/glɔglɔ/		'kind of insect'
/kpu/		'launder'
/gbu/		'hearth'
/kplɛ/		'stick out'
/gble/		'ruse, trick'

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

/b/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced, bilabial plosive. /p/ and /b/ contrast with /m/:

/mla/	'law'
/plɔ/	'manioc paste'
/bla/	'pond'

and /f/:

/fĩ/	'stupid'
/pĩ/	'hit'
/bõ/	'give off odor'

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/t/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, alveolar plosive.

/d/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced, alveolar plosive.

/t/ and /d/ contrast with /s/:

/ti/		'hear'
/di/		'eat'
/si/		'know'

and /l/:

/toto/		'rat'
/dodo/		'kind of bird'
/lolo/		'carry on back'
/tã/		'flatulate'
/dã/		'big'
/lã/	[nã]	'and'

and /c/ and /ɟ/:

/ti/		'hear'
/di/		'eat'
/ci/		'avoid'
/ɟĩ/		'stand'
/ta/		'raise'
/dala/		'old form of money'
/caca/		'hair around men's nipples'
/ɟa/		'foot'

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/c/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless patatal plosive.

/ɟ/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced palatal plosive.

/c/ and /ɟ/ contrast with /j/:

/ce/		'bank'
/ɟe/		'defecate'
/je/		'lst person plural pronoun'
/cɛ̃/		'day'
/ɟĩ/		'stand'
/jĩ/	[ɲĩ]	'grow up'

and /k/ and /g/:

/cɛ/		'share'
/ɟa/		'foot'
/kɛ/		'as'
/galɛ/		'indigo'
/ɟo/		'cool off'
/kɔ/		'go'
/ɴgo/	[ŋgo]	'oil'

/k/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless velar plosive.

/g/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced velar plosive.

/k/ and /g/ contrast with /k͡p/ and /g͡b/:

/kuku/	'shade hut'
/k͡pu/	'launder'
/g͡bu/	'hearth'

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/kã/		'tell'
/gɔ̃/		'trap'
/k͡pã/		'cry'
/ɴg͡bɛ/	[ŋ̀m̀g͡bɛ̃]	'nothing'

and with /w/:

/wa/		'child'
/ka/		'bite'
/galɛ/		'indigo'

/k͡p/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless labio-velar plosive.

/g͡b/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced labio-velar plosive.

Further restrictions on the occurrence of the stops:

/k/ and /g/ do not occur before /j/ or /i/.

/k͡p/ and /g͡b/ do not occur before /j/ or /w/.

/c/ and /ɟ/ do not occur before /j/.

123.2 Fricatives

/f/, a voiceless labio-dental fricative, and /s/, a voiceless alveolar fricative, are voiced, [v] and [z] respectively, following the homorganic nasal:[1]

/ɴfjɛ̃/	[m̩vj̃ɛ̃]	'ribs'
/fɔɴfɔ/	[fɔ̃m̩vɔ]	'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.

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/ɴswɛ̃/ [n̥zɥ̃ɛ̃] 'ashes'

/jɛɴsu/ [ɟɛ̃nzu] 'a bush spirit'

The three exceptions to this rule are all in the numeral system:

/ɴsa/ [n̥sã] 'three'

/ɴsjɛ̃/ [n̥sʃɛ̃] 'six'

/ɴso/ [n̥so] 'seven'

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 phenemic 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/:

/fɛ̃/ 'be white'

/mɛ̃/ 'swallow'

and /w/:

/fa/ 'take'

/wa/ 'child'

/s/ contrasts with /l/:

/la/ 'lie down'

/sa/ 'draw water'

/lĩ/ [nĩ] 'mother'

/sĩ/ 'fire'

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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'
/dodo/	'a red bird'
/lwa/	'plant'
/dwa/	'tail'
/ljɛ/	'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.)

/lã/	[nã]	'and'
/lũ/	[nũ]	'in'
/lĩ/	[nĩ]	'mother'
/ljã/	[nj̃ã]	'look'
/lwã/	[nw̃ã]	'mouth'

b) following /N/, homorganic nasal:

/Nlã/	[n̥nã]	'four'
/Nlɛ̃/	[n̥nɛ̃]	'meat, animal'

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/ɴlolo/	[n̩nolo]	'a dance'
/jaɴlɛ/	[jãnnɛ]	'black deer'
/ajaɴla/	[ajãnna]	'four-legged animal'

As C_2 in a C_1C_2V syllable:

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

/plɔ/	[plɔ]	'manioc paste'
/ble/	[ble]	'black'
/mla/	[mla]	'law'
/fle/	[fle]	'call'
/kle/	[kle]	'hat'
/glɔglɔ/	[glɔglɔ]	'kind of insect'
/kplo/	[kplo]	'skin'
/gble/	[gble]	'ruse
/wla/	[wla]	'rival

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

/tle/	[tře]	'head'
/jãɴdla/	[n̩ãndřa]	'proverb'
/sla/	[sřa]	'moon'
/ɴsla/	[n̩zřa]	'gathering'
/cloclo/	[cřolo]	'funnel'
/jla/	[jřa]	'lion'
/jla/	[jřa]	'burn'

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/l/ is realized as [l̃], a nasal lateral, following /b, p, m, f, k, g, k͡p, g͡b, and w/ preceding a nasal vowel:

/blĩ/	[bl̃ĩ]	'quiet'
/mlã/	[ml̃ã]	'Wednesday'
/jɔ̃flɛ̃/	[ɲɔ̃fl̃ɛ̃]	'breast'
/klɛ̃/	[kl̃ɛ̃]	'drum'
/ᴺglɛ̃wũ/	[ŋ̩gl̃ɛ̃w̃ũ]	'morning'
/kplã/	[kpl̃ã]	'plant'
/ᴺgblãã/	[ŋ̩m͡gb̃l̃ãã]	'lightning'
/wlãwlã/	[w̃l̃ãw̃l̃ã]	'wander'

/l/ is realized as [r̃̆], a nasal flap, following /t, d, s, c, ɟ and j/ preceding nasal vowels:

/tlã/	[tr̃̆ã]	'sit'
/ᴺdlɔ̃/	[n̩dr̃̆ɔ̃]	'slippery
/slã/	[sr̃̆ã]	'person'
/ɟlã/	[ɟr̃̆ã]	'stand'
/jlũ/	[ɲr̃̆ũ]	'face'

123.4 Glides

/w/ is realized as [ɥ], a labio-palatal glide, as C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable

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

/twi/	[tɥi]	'gun'
/adwi/	[adɥi]	'an amulet'
/swi/	[sɥi]	'elephant'
/lwi/	[lɥi]	'fat'

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/swɛ/ [sɥɛ] 'civit'

/ɴswe/ [ɲzɥe] 'water'

(but not preceding /a/: /swa/ [swa] 'house,' /twa/ [twa] 'penis,' /lwa/ [lwa] 'plant')

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

/mũcwɛ/ [mũcɥɛ] 'eight'

/ǰwe/ [ǰɥe] 'fish'

/laǰwa/ [laǰɥa] 'kind of mouse'

/jwi/ [jɥi] 'lower back'

/jwe/ [jɥe] 'death'

/jwa/ [jɥa] 'sun'

/aklijwi/ [aklijɥi] 'dwarf'

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

/wa/ [wa] 'child'

/wɛ/ [wɛ] 'swim'

/wwa/ [ᵘwa][1] 'steal'

/wwo/ [ᵘwo][1] 'snake'

---

[1]The phonetic distinction between [ᵘwa] 'steal' and [wa] 'child' and between [ⁱje] '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 [ᵘwa] than at the beginning of [wa] and similarly a tenser palatal sound at the beginning of [ⁱje] than at the beginning of [je]. There is, however, an important structural distinction: the fact that the verbs /wwa/ [ᵘwa] 'steal' and /ǰja/ [ⁱja] 'meet' pattern tonally with verbs of the shape CCV and not with the verbs of the shape CV.

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/wlaa/	[wla]	'rival'
/wlu/	[wlu]	'enter'
/lwa/	[lwa]	'plant'
/bwɛ/	[bwɛ]	'half'

/w/ is realized as [ɥ̃], a nasalized labio-palatal glide, as C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable

a) following alveolar stops and fricative preceding /ĩ and ɛ̃/:

/bodwĩ/	[bodɥ̃ĩ]	'bark'
/twĩ/	[tɥ̃ĩ]	'chicken coop'
/ɴswɛ̃/	[n̪zɥ̃ɛ̃]	'ashes'
/jãɴswɛ̃/	[n̪ãnzɥ̃ɛ̃]	'shame'

b) following palatal consonants preceding /ɛ̃ and ã/:

/cwɛ̃/	[cɥ̃ɛ̃]	'pull'
/cwãcwã/	[cɥ̃ãcɥ̃ã]	'sweep'

(Examples with /jɥ/ and /jw/ are not available but informants agree that such sequences are possible.)

/w/ is realized as [w̃], a nasalized labio-velar glide, in all other nasal environments:

/wũ/	[w̃ũ]	'husband'
/wɛ̃/	[w̃ɛ̃]	'mother's brother'
/wlãwlã/	[w̃l̃ãw̃l̃ã]	'wander'
/awlĩ/	[aw̃l̃ĩ]	'heart'

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

/ji/	[ji]	'wife'
/je/	[je]	'lst person plural pronoun'
/tja/	[tja]	'stop on'
/bje/	[bje]	'urinate'
/jje/	[ʲje][1]	'firewood'
/jja/	[ʲja][1]	'gather'
/jla/	[jɾ̆a]	'burn'

/j/ is realized as [j̃], a nasalized palatal glide, as C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable preceding nasal vowels:

/bjã/	[bj̃ã]	'man'
/mjã/	[mj̃ã]	'press'
/jãmjɛ̃/	[ɲãmj̃ɛ̃]	'sky'
/fjɛ̃/	[fj̃ɛ̃]	'dirty'
/ɴfjɛ̃/	[ɱvj̃ɛ̃]	'ribs'

/j/ is realized as [ɲ], a palatal nasal stop, syllable-initially preceding or following a nasal segment:

/jĩ/	[ɲĩ]	'face, eyes'
/jã/	[ɲã]	'gain'
/ãjle/	[ãɲɾ̆e]	'roll of cloth'
/ɴjɛ/	[ɲ̥ɲɛ]	'kapok tree'

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[1]See footnote 1, page 25 .

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/ɴjɛ̃/	[n̥nɛ̃]	'how much?'
/saɴjã/	[sãn̥nã]	'anteater'
/jɔ̃jɔ̃/	[n̥ɔ̃nɔ̃]	'roll up'

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.

C_1	C_2	V
/t, d, s, l/	/w/: [ɥ]; [ɥ̃]	/i, e, ɛ/; /ĩ, ɛ̃/
/c, ɟ/	[ɥ]; [ɥ̃]	/e, ɛ, a/; /ɛ̃, ã/
/t, d, s, l/	/w/: [w]; [w̃]	/a/; /ã/
/p, b, k, g, f, m/	[w]; [w̃]	/i,* e, ɛ, a/; /ɛ̃, ã/
/p, b, t, d, f, s, m, l/	/ /: [j]; [j̃]	/e, ɛ, a, o**/; /ɛ̃, ã/

*only 1 example
**only 2 examples

The following generalizations can be made about these restrictions:

a) With two exceptions (/pjoɴbjo/ 'sharp' and /djo ũmjɛ̃/) only unrounded vowels occur following a consonant-glide sequence.

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

c) /c, ɟ, k, g, kp, gb/, the high consonants, do not occur preceding /j/; in addition, /k͡p, g͡b/ do not occur preceding /w/.

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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:

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	p	t	c	k	kp	b	d	ɟ	g	gb	f	s	m	l	ʃ	w
syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
voice	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
back	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
anterior	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
coronal	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
high	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
grave	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
round	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u	ɴ
syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
consonantal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
high	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	0
low	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	0
back	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	0
round	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	0
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

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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
$\begin{bmatrix} F_1 \\ F_2 \\ \vdots \\ F_n \end{bmatrix}$	Feature specification for one segment
( )	Optional element
$\{\ \}$	Select one of the items within the braces
α, β, γ	Variables that stand for either + or -; e.g. $F_1 \rightarrow \alpha F_1 / __ \alpha F_2$ means "If F_2 is +, then F_1 is +; and if F_2 is -, then F_1 is -." $F_1 \rightarrow -\alpha F_1 / __ \alpha F_2$ means "If F_2 is -, then F_1 is +; and if F_2 is +, then F_1 is -."
$\langle\ \rangle$	If item within angled braces is chosen, then the other item within angled braces must be chosen.

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#	Word boundary
-	Morpheme boundary
$	Syllable boundary
V	A segment which is [+syllabic]
C	A segment which is [-syllabic]
M	A segment which is [+nasal]
L	A segment which is [+consonantal, +sonorant, -nasal]; i.e. a liquid.
G	A segment which is [-syllabic, -consonantal]; i.e. a glide.

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:

MSC 1 $([-syllabic])(\begin{bmatrix}-syllabic\\+sonorant\\-nasal\end{bmatrix})[+syllabic]\ ([+nasal])$

The above condition states:

a) that there are 6 possible syllable shapes:

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V	e.g. /ɛ/[ɛ]	'3rd person singular pronoun'
	/ɴ da/ [n̩da]	'twins'
VN	/aɴ fɔ/ [ãm̩vɔ]	'pity'
CV	/bo/ [bo]	'forest'
CVN	/koɴ go/ [koŋgo]	'kind of antelope'
CCV	/kla/ [kla]	'wrap'
CCVN	/kloɴ g͡bɔ/ [kloŋ͡mg͡bɔ]	'eggplant'

b) 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 /ɴ/, the syllabic nasal, which loses its syllabicity (Section 132.1) in this position.

131.2 Syllable-final nasal

A post-vocalic nasal /ɴ/ 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 I: [+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.

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131.3 C{L/G}V sequence restrictions

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 I: [+consonantal] [-syllabic, -consonantal] [+syllabic] ⇓ 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, ɛ, a/). For example /bwi/ 'bark,' /bwa/ 'sheep,' /bje/ 'urinate,' /bja/ 'stool' occur but not */bwu/ or */bwo/, */bju/, or */bjɔ/.

MSC 4 I: [-syllabic, +anterior, +back] [-syllabic] ⇓ T: [+consonantal]

This condition states that if a labio-velar consonant (/k͡p, g͡b/) is followed by a non-syllabic, it is obligatorily /l/. For example, /k͡plo/ 'skin' and /g͡ble/ 'ruse' occur but not */k͡pjV/, */g͡bjV/, */k͡pwV/ or */g͡bwV/.

MSC 5 I: [+consonantal] ⇓ T: [+anterior, -back] [-syllabic, -consonantal, -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,'

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/tja/ 'step on,' /sje/ 'put,' /ɴmje/ 'urine' occur but not */cjV/, */ɟjV/, */kjV/, or */gjV/.

MSC 6 I: [+consonantal, +sonorant, -nasal] [-syllabic]

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 I: [+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 /ɴda/ [n̩da] 'twin,' /ɴga/ [ŋ̍ga] 'ring' and /ɴɟa/ [ɲ̍ɟa] 'sir') and the syllable-final, word-medial nasal (in words like /kpɛɴgbɛm/ [kpɛ̃ŋ͡mg͡bɛ̃] 'elder' and /amwuɴfɔ/ [ãwũm̩vɔ] 'pity') are both phonetically homorganic with the following consonant, and never contrast. They are represented at the systematic phonemic level with the same segment: /ɴ/, which has as its features [+syllabic, +nasal]. The rule producing the syllable-final, word-medial nasal thus changes the syllabic nasal to a non-syllabic nasal. /ɴ/ has to be [+syllabic]

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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 syllabicity 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

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syllabic}\\+\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix}\alpha\text{back}\\ \beta\text{anterior}\\ \gamma\text{coronal}\\ \langle -\text{syllabic}\rangle\end{bmatrix} \quad / \ \langle +\text{syllabic}\rangle __ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{syllabic}\\ \alpha\text{back}\\ \beta\text{anterior}\\ \gamma\text{coronal}\end{bmatrix}$$

This rule states that /ɴ/ 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

	/ɴgo/	
HOMOR NAS	[ŋgo]	'oil'
	/ɴgba/	
HOMOR NAS	[ŋ͡mg͡ba]	'all'
	/ɴjɛ/	
HOMOR NAS	[n̪jɛ]	
NAS STOP	[n̪n̪ɛ]	'kapok tree'
	/kɔɴfi/	
HOMOR NAS	[kɔmfi]	
VOICING	[kɔmvi]	
REGRES NAS	[kɔ̃mvi]	'greed'
	/ɟaɴle/	
HOMOR NAS	[ɟanle]	
NAS STOP	[ɟanne]	
REGRES NAS	[ɟãnne]	'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

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of the shape C(C)VN (i.e. syllables ending in the homorganic nasal like /maNda/ 'banana,' /kloNgbɔ/ '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 continguous 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 [ɲ] and [n], Section 32.5 and additionally the discussion of the homorganic nasal, Section 32.1), it is not possible to predict the occurrence of all nasal consonants. /m/ contrasts with oral labials in both nasal and non-nasal environments:

/mla/	[mla]	'law'
/bla/	[bla]	'woman'
/wla/	[wla]	'rival'
/mɛ̃/	[mɛ̃]	'swallow'
/bɔ̃/	[bɔ̃]	'give off odor'
/wɛ̃/	[wɛ̃]	'say'

It is possible, however, to predict the occurrence of nasalized vowels if we posit /vowel + m/ at the systematic phonemic level. /m/ is chosen

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as the segment to condition nasalization of vowels because a) its phonemic 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

$$\begin{array}{cccc} [+\text{syllabic}] & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{consonantal} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{Bmatrix} & \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & \Longrightarrow \\ \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} & \emptyset & 3 & \end{array}$$

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

	/dam/	
VOW NASA	[dã]	'big'

	/kpamflɛm/	
VOW NASA	[kpãflɛ̃]	'young man'

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

	/dumam/	
VOW NASA	[dumã]	'name'

	/jamjɛm/	
VOW NASA	[ɲamjɛ̃]	'sky'

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

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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

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ \alpha\text{high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{nasal}] \quad / \quad \underline{\qquad} \; [+\text{nasal}]$$

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

	/diim/	
VOW NASA	[diĩ]	
REGRES NAS	[dĩĩ]	'quiet'
	/klaam/	
VOW NASA	[klaą̃]	
REGRES NAS	[klãã̆]	'pretty'
	/ɟumam/	
VOW NASA	[ɟumã]	
REGRES NAS	[ɟũmã]	'work'
	/kaŋga/	
HOMOR NAS	[kanga]	
REGRES NAS	[kãnga]	'crab'
	/k͡pɛŋg͡bɛm/	
HOMOR NAS	[k͡pɛŋ̊mg͡bɛm]	
VOW NASA	[k͡pɛŋ̊mg͡bɛ̃]	
REGRES NAS	[k͡pɛ̃ŋ̊mg͡bɛ̃]	'elder'

The Regressive Vowel Nasalization Rule has to be conjunctively ordered (i.e. it is applied whenever the output of another rule satisfies the

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conditions for its application) so that it will apply after the Sonorant Nasal Rule. For example

	/ajimble/	
VOW NAS	[ajĩble]	
SON NAS	[ajĩ̃ble]	
REGRES NAS	[ãjĩ̃ble]	'misfortune'
	/awuɴfɔ/	
HOMOR NAS	[awumfɔ]	
REGRES NAS	[awũ̃mfɔ]	
SON NAS	[aw̃ũ̃mfɔ]	
REGRES NAS	[ãw̃ũ̃mfɔ]	
(VOICING	[ãw̃ũ̃mvɔ])*	*presented below

132.4 Nasalization of sonorants

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

SONORANT NASALIZATION RULE

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{nasal}] \; / \; \langle [-\text{syllabic}] \rangle \; ____ \; [+\text{nasal}]$$

The rule states that /w/ becomes [w̃] before all nasal segments and that /l/ and /j/ become [l̃] and [j̃] respectively only after a consonant or a glide, i.e. as C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable. This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization. For example

	/klum/		
VOW NASA	[klũ]		
SON NASA	[kl̃ũ]	'belly'	
	/ljam/		
VOW NASA	[ljã]		
SON NASA	[lj̃ã]		
(NAS STOPS	[nj̃ã])*	'look'	*presented below
	/wum/		
VOW NASA	[wũ]		
SON NASA	[w̃ũ]	'husband'	

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	/wlam/	
VOW NASA	[wlã]	
SON NASA	[wl̃ã]	
SON NASA	[w̃l̃ã]	'travel'

	/umwam/	
VOW NASA	[umwã]	
REGRES NAS	[ũmwã]	
SON NASA	[ũmw̃ã]	'entire'

132.5 Nasal stops

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

NASAL STOP RULE

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{grave} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \langle -\text{lateral} \rangle & a \\ \langle +\text{lateral} \rangle & b \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \langle +\text{consonantal} \rangle & a \\ \langle -\text{lateral} \rangle & b \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{nasal}] ____ \\ \# ____ [+\text{nasal}] \end{Bmatrix}$$

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. [ɲ]. These two features ([-lateral] and [+consonantal]) are needed to distinguish [n] and [ɲ] from [l̃] and [j̃]. This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization and Sonorant Nasalization. Since /j/ and /l/ do not become nasal stops when they occur as C_2 of a C_1C_2V syllable where the vowel has been nasalized the rule specifies a word boundary before /l/ or /j/. For example

	/jam/	
VOW NASA	[jã]	
NAS STOP	[ɲã]	'gain, get'

	/ɴjɛ/	
HOMOR NAS	[n̪jɛ]	
NAS STOP	[n̪n̪ɛ]	'how much'

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	/jlum/		
VOW NASA	[jl̰ũ]		
SON NASA	[j̰l̰ũ]		
NASAL STOP	[ɲl̰ũ]		
(LATERAL	[ɲr̰̃ũ])*	'face'	*presented below
	/jamjɛm/		
VOW NASA	[jamjɛ̃]		
REGRES NAS	[jãmjɛ̃]		
SON NASA	[jãm̃jɛ̃]		
NAS STOP	[ɲãm̃jɛ̃]	'sky'	
	/alwam/		
VOW NASA	[alwã]		
SON NASA	[alw̃ã]		
NAS STOP	[anw̃ã]		
REGRES NAS	[ãnw̃ã]	'door'	
	/lamlam/		
VOW NASA	[lãlã]		
NAS STOP	[nãnã]	'grandparent'	
	/alumujam/		
VOW NASA	[alumujã]		
REGRES NAS	[alũmujã]		
NAS STOP	[anũmuɲã]		
REGRES NAS	[ãnũmũɲã]	'famous'	
	/ɴlam/		
VOW NASA	[ɴlã]		
HOMOR NAS	[n̰lã]		
NAS STOP	[n̰nã]	'four'	

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

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{consonantal}\\+\text{continuant}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{voice}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}+\text{consonantal}\\+\text{voice}\end{bmatrix} ____$$

This rule states that /f/ and /s/ become voiced following voiced consonants. In fact, [v] and [z] only occur following a homorganic nasal but

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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. /kpamflɛm/); but since this /m/ is deleted in a previous rule it will not cause the voicing of the fricatives ([kpãflɛ̃]). This rule is thus ordered after the Vowel Nasalization Rule. For example

	/ɴsu/	
HOMOR NAS	[n̥su]	
VOICING	[n̥zu]	'what'

	/ɴfjɛm/	
HOMOR NAS	[ɱfjɛm]	
VOW NASA	[ɱfjɛ̃]	
SON NASA	[ɱfʃɛ̃]	
VOICING	[ɱvʃɛ̃]	'ribs'

	/jɔmflɛm/	
VOW NASA	[jɔ̃flɛ̃]	
SON NASA	[jɔ̃fl̃ɛ̃]	
NAS STOP	[ɲɔ̃fl̃ɛ̃]	'breast'

The three numerals /ɴsam/ [n̥sã] 'three,' /ɴsjɛm/ [n̥sʃɛ̃] 'six,' and /ɴso/ [n̥so] 'seven' are marked in the lexicon [-Voicing Assimilation Rule].

132.7 Labio-palatal glide

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

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FRONTING RULE

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{-syllabic}\\ \text{-consonantal}\\ \text{+back}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\text{-back}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{-syllabic}\\ \text{-grave}\\ \langle\text{+anterior}\rangle\end{bmatrix} \quad \underline{\quad} \quad \langle\text{-back}\rangle$$

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

	/ɴswe/	
HOMOR NAS	[n̥swe]	
VOICING	[n̥zwe]	
FRONTING	[n̥zɥe]	'water'

	/ɴswɛm/	
HOMOR NAS	[n̥swɛm]	
VOW NASA	[n̥swɛ̃]	
SON NASA	[n̥sw̃ɛ̃]	
VOICING	[n̥zw̃ɛ̃]	
FRONTING	[n̥zɥ̃ɛ̃]	'ashes'

Note that by the application of Sonorant Nasalization before fronting, [w̃] becomes [ɥ̃].

	/lwi/	
FRONTING	[lɥi]	'fat'

	/cwa/	
FRONTING	[cɥa]	'spear'

	/ajwe/	
FRONTING	[ajɥe]	'rice'

	/jwa/	
FRONTING	[jɥa]	'sun'

	/aklijwi/	
FRONTING	[aklijɥi]	'dwarf'

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132.8 Rounding of consonants

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

LABIALIZATION RULE

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} [+\text{consonantal}] & & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} & & [+\text{lateral}] \\ 1 & & 2 & & 3 \\ \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} & & \emptyset & & 3 \end{array} \Longrightarrow$$

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

	/sule/	
LABIALIZA	[sʷle]	
(LATERAL	[sʷře])*	'termite hill' *presented below
	/kulam/	
VOW NASA	[kul̃ã]	
SON NASA	[kul̃ã]	
LABIALIZA	[kʷl̃ã]	'widowhood'
	/jula/	
LABIALIZA	[jʷla]	
LATERAL	[jʷřa]	'descend'

132.9 The lateral

[ř] occurs only following alveolar and palatal non-syllabics; [l] never occurs in this position. This rule can best be stated using the feature [grave].

LATERAL RULE

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{sonorant} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{lateral}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} ____$$

[1]The previously arbitrarily-assigned tone on this vowel is also deleted.

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This rule states that /l/ becomes [ř] following non-grave true consonants or glide. (The non-occurrence of *[lřV] is already stated by MSC 6.) For example

	/sla/	
LATERAL	[sřa]	'moon'
	/tle/	
LATERAL	[tře]	'head'
	/jla/	
LATERAL	[jřa]	'lion'
	/jla/	
LATERAL	[jřa]	'burn'

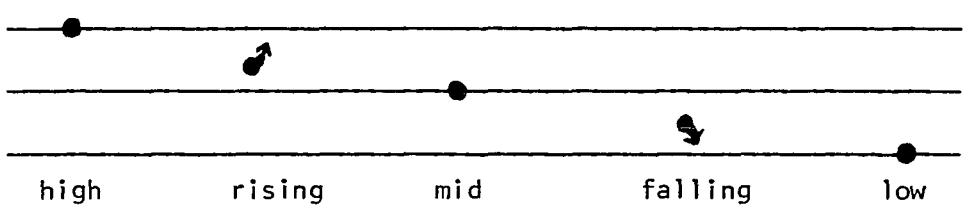
/l/ becomes [l̃] upon the application of the Sonorant Nasalization Rule; [l̃] becomes [ř̃] upon application of the Lateral Rule:

	/slam/	
VOW NASA	[sl̃ã]	
SON NASA	[sl̃ã]	
LATERAL	[sř̃ã]	'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



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The occurrence of these five tones on monosyllabic words divides them into five distinct tone classes.

High (´)

/sá/	'affair'
/sɛ́/	'clay pot'
/bwɛ́/	'liver'
/blá/	'well'

Rising (ˇ)

/sǎ/	'hand'
/kpɔ̌/	'awl'
/bwǎ/	'water pot'
/klǒ/	'skin'

Mid (-)

/dɔ̄/	'termite'
/gɔ̃̄/	'trap'
/blā/	'woman'
/klɔ̄/	'village'

Falling (ˆ)

/sɛ̂/	'funeral'
/bō/	'bottom'
/blō/	'flute'
/klū/	'species'

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Low (`)

/sà/ 'ginger'

/bà/ 'child'

/bwà/ 'sheep

/klɛ̀/ '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 sá and sa̋ 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

/kwɛ̄/ 'fetus'

/kwɛ̄ɛ́/ 'ronier palm'

/lɛ̄/ 'day'

/lāà/ 'long ago'

/ātrɛ̄/ 'head'

/ātrɛ̄ɛ̀/ '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

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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.

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h	1. (′′) → sɛ́ kpá	'good cooking-pot'
	2. (′˗) → sɛ́ blū	'ten cooking-pots'
	3. (′-) → kwlā́ blā	'widow'
	4. (′˥) → sɛ́ kɔ̄˥	'one cooking-pot'
	5. (′˩) → sɛ́ dà	'big cooking-pot'
mh	6. (˗′) → ɟē kpá	'good tooth'
	7. (˗˗) → ɟē blū	'ten teeth'
	8. (˗-) → blū klɔ̄	'Blu's village'
	9. (˗˥) → ɟē kɔ́	'one tooth'
	10. (˗˩) → jē dà	'big tooth'
m	11. (-′) → gɔ̄ kpá	'good trap'
	12. (-˗) → gɔ̄ blū	'ten traps'
	13. (--) → blā klɔ̄	'woman's village'
	14. (-˥) → gɔ̄ kɔ̄˥	'one trap'
	15. (-˩) → gɔ̄ dà	'big trap'
ml	16. (˥′) → blō kpá	'good flute'
	17. (˥˗) → blō blŭ*	'ten flutes'
	18. (˥-) → bē blò	'search for sticks called <u>be</u>'
	19. (˥˥) → blō kɔ̄˥	'one flute'
	20. (˥˩) → blō dà	'big flute'
l	21. (˩′) → bɛ̀ kpá	'good mat'
	22. (˩˗) → bɛ̀ blū	'ten mats'

* ˘ is a low-mid rising tone, different from a normal rising tone which is mid-high (˗).

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23. (˗˗) → bɛ̀ blō 'search for leaves called bɛ'

24. (˗˥) → bɛ̀ kɔ̃̂ 'one mat'

25. (˗˗) → bɛ̀ dã̀ 'big mat'

The rules that account for the changes illustrated above operate on five underlying tones which include the two contour tones.[1] 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]	(is redundantly [-high])
	[-high, -low, +contour]	a rising tone from low to mid (˩˧) which occurs only phrase-finally after a falling tone (e.g. #17 above).

The rules are ordered:

$$\text{TONE RULE 1: } \begin{bmatrix}+\text{high}\\-\text{low}\\+\text{contour}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{high}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}-\text{high}\\+\text{low}\\+\text{contour}\end{bmatrix} ____ ,$$

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:

---

[1] 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.

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blǒ blù wò lō̄ 'There are ten flutes there.'

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

TONE RULE 2: $\begin{bmatrix} -\alpha\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{low} \\ +\text{contour} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \\ -\text{contour} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \\ +\text{contour} \end{bmatrix} ____$

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.

TONE RULE 3: $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{low}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ +\text{contour} \end{bmatrix} ____$

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

TONE RULE 4: $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \\ +\text{contour} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; ____ \; \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$

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. jě blŭ

TR 4 jē blŭ 'ten teeth'

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6. ɟɛ̌ kpá

TR 4 ɟē kpá 'good teeth'

9. ɟɛ̌ kɔ̃̂

TR 2 ɟɛ̌ kɔ̃́

TR 4 ɟē kɔ̃́ 'one tooth'

19. blɔ̄̂ kɔ̃̀

TR 4 blɔ̄ kɔ̃̀ 'one flute'

20. blɔ̄̂ dǎ̀

TR 4 blɔ̄ dǎ̀ 'big flute'

17. blɔ̄̂ blū̌ wò lɔ̄

TR 2 blɔ̄̂ blù wò lɔ̄

TR 4 blɔ̄ blù wò lɔ̄ 'There are ten flutes there.'

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 klé ɟá 'antelope'

II sómǎ̀ 'fiancé'

III ā̌gbō 'toucan'

IV tā̌nī́ 'cloth'

V ā́kɔ̃̌ 'chicken'

VI bāɟɛ̃̂ 'sack'

VII ākò 'parrot'

VIII ā̀gbǎ̌ 'manioc'

IX àflɛ́ 'squash'

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The following underlying tones are posited for each class based on the tonal sandhi which takes place in the context of a phrase:

I klé ɟá

II sómà

III ā gbō

IV tā̃ nḯ

V ā kɔ̄

VI bā ɟɛ̀

VII ākò

VIII āgbā

IX àflɛ́

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

IV Underlying form: zī bɔ̀ tā̃ nḯ

TR 2: zī bɔ̀ tà̃ nḯ

TR 4: zī bɔ̄ tà̃ nḯ 'Zibɔ's cloth'

V Underlying form: zī bɔ̀ ā kɔ̄

TR 2: zī bɔ̄ àkɔ̄

TR 4: zī bɔ̄ àkɔ̄ 'Zibɔ's chicken'

VI Underlying form: ɛ̄ bā ɟɛ̀

TR 2: ɛ̄ bá ɟɛ̀

TR 4: ɛ̄ bá ɟɛ̀ 'his sack'

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VII Underlying form: ɛ̄́ ā̀kò

TR 2: ɛ̄́ ákò

TR 4: ɛ̄ ákò 'his parrot'

VIII Underlying form: zī̀bɔ̀ ā̀gbā́

TR 1: zī̀bɔ̀ āgbǎ

TR 4: zī̀bɔ̄ āgbǎ 'Zibɔ's manioc'

Admittedly the underlying form of Classes IV and V could also be ākɔ́ and tā̃ńī́ 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 ā́kɔ́ and tā̃́ńī̄ 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.

Tone on the first syllable	Tone on the second syllable				
	h	mh	m	m	l
h	X				X
mh	X	X	X		
m					
ml		X		X	X
l	X				

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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

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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 CCV; 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:

(1)

	Classes I & II	Class III
Stative mode	falling [+low +contour]	falling$falling [+low +contour] [+low +contour]
Certaintive mode	high [+high -contour]	high$falling [+high -contour] [+low +contour]
Subjunctive mode	rising [+high +contour]	rising$high [+high +contour] [+high -contour]

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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) (ā kūndɛ̄ sɛ́) → ā kúndɛ̄ sɛ́ 'You look for pots/a pot.'

falling → high/rising ___ (TR 2)

rising → mid/___ high (TR 4)

(3) (n̄ kūndɛ́ sɛ́) → n̄ kùndɛ́ sɛ́ 'that I look for pots/a pot'

rising → low/falling ___ (TR 2)

falling → mid/___ low (TR 4)

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

(4)

	I	II	III
Stative:			
-after rising tone subject	ā dí[1]	ā njà	ā kúndɛ́
-after all other subjects	n̄ dī	n̄ njà	n̄ kūndɛ
Certaintive:	n̄ dī	ń njà[2]	n̄ kúndɛ́
Subjunctive:			
-after rising tone subject	á dí	á njā	á kūndɛ́
-after all other subjects	n̄ dī	n̄ njà	n̄ kùndɛ́

[1] 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 [-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 [+high] tone substantives in this case.

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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 zĩbɔ̃ dĩ́ 'Zibɔ will eat' (underlying tones of subject: zĩbɔ̃̀): 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 ɛ, 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

n̄ dĩ̌	'I eat'
n̄ dĩ̂	'I eat it'
n̄ slɛ̀	'I ask'
n̄ slɛ̄̂	'I ask for it'
n̄ kũ̄ndɛ̌	'I look for'
n̄ kũ̄ndɛ̄̂	'I look for it'

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n̄ dī	'I will eat'
n̄ dí	'I will eat it'
ń slè	'I will ask'
n̄ slé	'I will ask for it'
n̄ kǔndɛ́	'I will look for'
n̄ kǔndɛ̄	'I will look for it'
n̄ dǐ	'that I eat'
n̄ dì	'that I eat it'
n̄ slè	'that I ask'
n̄ slɛ̄	'that I ask for it'
n̄ kǹdɛ́	'that I look for'
n̄ kǹdɛ́	'that I look for it'

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 Certaintive verb root:

Perfective:	a- + Stative	(i.e. dī njā kūndɛ)
Imperfective:	sú- + Certaintive	(i.e. dí njǎ kǔndɛ)
Factual Past:	Stative + -lî, -V	(i.e. dī njā kūndɛ)

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:

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mid tone (wā, kɔ̄) with the Subjunctive and Certaintive

rising tone (wǎ, kɔ̌) 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 [ɲ] 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 [ɲ] 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 n. Labialized consonants are written as Cw (for example swle '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 incorporated into the duplicated vowel allomorph of the factual past suffix (Section 238.2). In this case a high tone is placed on the duplicated vowel.

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200. GRAMMAR

210. GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

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 syntatic 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.

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-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) + nĩ, 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-kɔ̃?
'Are you going?'

2) a) kofi a-fa n tokpo.
'Kofi took my hoe.'

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b) kofi a-fa n tokpõ?

'Did Kofi take my hoe?'

3) a) a-sje be alaka nũ.

'He put them in the box.'

b) a-sje be alaka nũ?

'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 mã is added after a verb inflected for all but the subjunctive and imperative modes (see Section 238.2 for examples of this). The morpheme nã 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) kpejã ɔ.

'It's a muskrat.'

b) nã kpejã ɔ.

'It isn't a muskrat.'

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-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 bɔ and bɔbɔ after a focused substantive (Section 222.7), the use of the associative -ljɛ 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 -lɛ (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 jɛ (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).

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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 nĩ (Section 222.5) and the associative ljɛ (Section 222.4). Substantives are further subdivided into five sub-classes on the basis of co-occurrence possibilities, the precise semantic value the specifier nĩ carries when co-occurring with each class and the ability of members of each subclass 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 nĩ does not indicate specificity but rather focus or emphasis. For example

Name: 1) Kofi bo-o mĩ.
1 2 3 4

Kofi hit FPST 1s
1 2 3 4

'Kofi hit me.'

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Kofi-nĩ, ɛ bo-o mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'That Kofi, he hit me!'

Place 2) Bouaké wo mmwa.
Name: 1 2 3

Bouaké LCOP far
1 2 3

'Bouaké is far away.'

Bouaké-nĩ, klɔ nga wo mmua!
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

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

Pro- 3) ɛ ɟlã lɔ.
noun: 1 2 3

3s stand there
1 2 3

'He stands there.'

ɛ-li ɟlã 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 si, 'My Father'); the addition of nĩ turns the compound name into a possessive construction (Section 222.4).

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These four sub-classes of the class of ubstantives do not occur with the noun-deriving affixes (except the agentive suffix fwɛ which occurs with place names). They occur with the plural individuator mũ but with a special meaning: mũ suffixed to a name or kin term indicates 'the entourage of' or 'company of.' For example

4) Kofi-mũ

'Kofi and his'

5) n ji-mũ

'my wife and hers'

In the case of kin term + mũ there is potential ambiguity: n ji-mũ also means 'my wives (individuated)'. Place names occur sometimes with mũ to mean 'people from' (e.g. Bouaké-mũ 'people from Bouaké') but more often the agentive suffix fwɛ is added: Bouakéfwɛ-mũ 'people from Bouaké.' mũ does not occur with the singular pronouns (unless one wants to consider the second person plural pronoun, ãmũ, to be the second person singular pronoun, a, plus the plural individuator, mũ). mũ 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, ãmũ. For example

6) be-mũ wɔ-ɔ nzwe nũ·
1 2 3 4 5 6

3p INDIV go FPST water in
1 2 3 4 5 6

'They (individuated) went to the river.'

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7) je-mũ nga je tlã klɔ wa-nĩ, je lɛ a sika.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

lp INDIV this/that lp live village here SPEC, lp PCOP NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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 li allomorph of the specifier nĩ. 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 ngwlɛlɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

2s SPEC 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'You! 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'

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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

abiɟã 'Abidjan, the capital of Ivory Coast'

bwake 'Bouaké, the largest city in Baule territory'

bomĩ '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 nĩ 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 (1s)	n̩, mĩ	(/N/, /mim/)
2nd person singular (2s)	a̩, wɔ	(/a/, /wɔ/)
3rd person singular (3s)	ɛ	(/ɛ/)
1st person plural (1p)	je	(/je/)
2nd person plural (2p)	ãmũ	(/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.[1] The forms mĩ and wɔ occur in the following four environments:

a) As independent forms, often used for emphasis:

9) mĩ ɔ.

'It's me.'

10) mĩ jɛ n wɔ-ɔ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s COP 1s go FPST there
1 2 3 4 5 6

'It's me who went.'

11) mɔ̃ mĩ, m'a-wũ 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 kũngba wɔ wo lɛ ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

2s only 2s LCOP there QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Are you the only one there?'

---

[1] In 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.

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13) wɔ, awofwɛ kɔ̃-nĩ, kɔ wũsĩ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

2s stranger one SPEC go (IMP) wash
1 2 3 4 5 6

'You, Stranger there, go wash!'

b) Clause finally:

14) ɛ fa-a ɟwe-nĩ mã-ã mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s take FPST fish SPEC give FPST 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'He took the fish and gave to me.'

15) n nĩ a-flɛ mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

1s mother PERF call 1s
1 2 3 4 5

'My Mother has called me.'

16) bɔ be si a mĩ nĩ, n su-kɔ a lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

since 3P know (STA) NEG 1s DISC, 1s IMPRF go NEG there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'Since they don't know me, I'm not going there.'

17) bla nã n sũmã wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

come (IMP) and 1s send (SUBJ) 2s
1 2 3 4 5

'Come so I can send you (on an errand).'

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18) sɛ je swa wɔ nĩ, a ɟú lɔ a sé sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

if 1p 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 nĩ:

19) ɛ nĩ mĩ je ba-a klɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s and 1s 1p come FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'He and I came to the village.'

20) mɔ̃ je nĩ wɔ j'a-bo su jɛ je wo lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

since 1p and 2s 1p PERF hit on and 1p 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) ɛ nĩ wɔ ãmũ kɔ kã 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 mĩ and wɔ are realized as [m] and [w]

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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 like.
1 2 3 4

1s PERF eat thing
1 2 3 4

'I have eaten.'

23) m'a-wũĩ.
1 2 3

1s PERF see-3s
1 2 3

'I have seen it.'

24) w'a-di like.
1 2 3 4

2s PERF eat thing
1 2 3 4

'You have eaten.'

25) w'a-wũĩ.
1 2 3

2s PERF see-3s
1 2 3

'You have seen it.'

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

26) mĩ akɔ

'my chicken'

w'akɔ

'your chicken'

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27) mĩ awlo

'my home'

w'awlo

'your home'

Preceding homorganic nasal initial nouns, mĩ and wɔ are fully realized:

28) mĩ nga

'my ring'

wɔ nga

'your ring'

29) mĩ nzã

'my wine'

wɔ nzã

'your wine'

n and a occur elsewhere; that is,

a) Non clause-finally:

30) n su-kɔ fje su, n bá.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s IMPRF go field on, 1s come (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I'm going to the fields, I'll return.'

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31) n nanti n ɟa su n ba-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s walk (STA) 1s foot on 1s come FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'I came on foot.'

32) a flɛ́ n sɛ?
1 2 3 4

2s call (CERT) 1s what
1 2 3 4

'What will you name me?'

33) akɔ-nĩ bolɛ ɟo-o n fɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

chicken SPEC crowing do FPST 1s sweet
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The crowing of the cock pleases me.'

34) a su-mindɛ a mĩ?
1 2 3 4 5

2s IMPRF wait NEG 1s
1 2 3 4 5

'Aren't you going to wait for me?'

35) sɛ m'a-ci a lɛ ɔ, waka-nĩ kpló a lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 1s PERF tie NEG there DISC, tree SPEC scrape (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2s there
11 12

'If I don't tie there, the three will scrape you there.'

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36) a ba nga, n kǘ a kpɔ!
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2s child this/that, 1s kill (CERT) 2s at-all-costs
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

b) Preceding a consonant-initial noun:

37) n bɛ

'my mat'

a bɛ

'your mat'

37) n kɪe

'my hat'

a kɪe

'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) ɛ ti a tɛ.
1 2 3 4

3s ICOP NEG bad
1 2 3 4

'It doesn't matter.'

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40) ɛ fata-a kɛ slã̃ jɛ kũĩ̃ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s be necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill (STA)-3s DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

41) ɛ ka-a ajika ba-nĩ̃ kũngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s stay FPST orphan child SPEC only
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'It left only the orphan child.'

42) a-di cɛ̃ ba nɲɔ̃, be ɲã-a nzwe-nĩ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s-PRF spend day PART two, 3p get FPST-NEG water SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

43) ɛ jo-o sɛ ãmũ̃ ba-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s do FPST what 2p come FPST QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

44) ɛ jo sɛ ti jɛ swa nga ti sɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

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

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

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Adjectives:

45) kã

'small'

ɛ kã

'small one/small ones'

46) tɛ̃ndɛ̃

'long'

ɛ tɛ̃ndɛ̃

'long one/long ones'

ɛ tɛ̃ndɛ̃-nĩ

'the long one/the long ones'

47) jɛ ɛ wa-nĩ, ɛ kaklafwɛ-nĩ bá ɔ.
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) ɛ bobo-o akɔ sa nɲɔ̃, ɛ blɛ kɔ̃, ɛ nĩmã kɔ̃.
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 fɛ́ ɛ dã-nĩ.
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.'

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Numerals:

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

50) nsã

'three'

ɛ nsã

'third (one)'

ɛ nsãfwɛ

'third one'

ɛ nsã-nĩ, ɛ nsãfwɛ-nĩ

'the third one'

51) ɛ nɲɔ̃ su a-ɲɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5

3s two on 3s-PRF get-3s
1 2 3 4 5

'On the second one (i.e. try) he got him.'

52) ɛ ji-nĩ, ɛ nɲɔ̃fwɛ-nĩ 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.')

The addition of the 3s pronoun to the numeral one, kɔ̃, does not mean 'the first.' It means rather 'the one' as in

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53) ɛ kɔ̃ wã, 'mɔ̃ n-ljɛ, a flɛ́ n sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s one say, 'self 1s POSS, 2s call (CERT) 1s what
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'The one said, 'Mine, what will you name me?''

54) ɛ kɔ̃ ĩ-nĩ, ɛ ti ba-ljɛ.
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) ɛ klikli su a-ɲɛ̃ mɛ̃.
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) ɛ kliklifwɛ-nĩ 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 nsã

'they three'

(vs. ɛ nsã/ɛ nsãfwɛ 'third one')

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be nnã

'they four'

(vs. ɛ nnã/ɛ nnãfwɛ '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 + ɛ 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, ɛ is assimilated in tongue height and the verbal root vowel becomes semi-vocalic. For example

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Final vowel of verb root	+	3s Pronoun				
i		ɛ	→ i	n si[1]	'I know him'	(si 'know')
e		ɛ	→ e	n se[1]	'I tell him'	(se 'tell')
ɛ		ɛ	→ ɛ	n mɛ̃[1]	'I swallow it'	(mɛ̃ 'swallow')
a		ɛ	→ ɛ	n fɛ[2]	'I take it'	(fa 'take')
ɔ		ɛ	→ ɔɛ	n tɔɛ[3]	'I buy it'	(tɔ 'buy')
o		ɛ	→ oe	n boe	'I hit him'	(bo 'hit')
u		ɛ	→ ui	n bui[3]	'I break it'	(bu 'break')

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) n̄ sǐ

'I know'

n̄ sî

'I know him''

60) n̄ sě

'I tell'

n̄ sê

'I tell him'

61) n̄ mɛ̌̃

'I swallow'

n̄ mɛ̃̂

'I swallow it'

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

62) boli mɛ̃mɛ̃-ɛ̃ alakũ su, ɛ wlɛwlɛ-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.'

(mãmã 'lift up,' wlawla 'put on')

63) ɛ tlɛ-ɛ ba kã-nĩ jɛ ɛ lɛngɛ-ɛ, klɛklɛ-ɛ ku nũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

3s grab-3s FPST child small SPEC and 3s lay back-3s FPST,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

beat-3s FPST stomach in DISC
11 12 13 14 15

'She grabbed her small child and she lay her back, beat her stomach.' (tla 'grab,' langa 'lay back')

64) ã kɛ̃kɛ̃ nã ã kɔ-mɛ̃.
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.' (kãkã 'drive [cows]', mã 'give')

65) be mɛ̃tɛ̃-ɛ̃ ɲlɛ̃ɛ̃ sɔ·
1 2 3 4 5

3p heap-3s FPST misery thus
1 2 3 4 5

'They heaped misery on him like this.' (mãtã 'heap')

3) These forms (tɔɛ, boe, bui) are realized phonetically as one syllable.

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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) ɛ boe-li

'He hit him'

67) ɛ bui-li

'He broke it'

68) ɛ fɛ-li

'He took it' (fa 'take')

69) ɛ wutui-i ɲĩ ase lɔ.
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 bɔ be ɲɛ̃-ɛ̃ cɛ̃ nga nũ-nĩ . . .
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 . . . (ɲã 'get')

71) ɛ wlɔɛ-ɛ bo kwatlɛ̃ wũ lɔ.
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.' (wlɔ '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 mã (Section 23ȣ.3) to ɛ or mɛ̃. For example

72) n su-ja a bjã nga.
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'I am not going to marry this man.'

n su-jɛ mɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

1s IMPRF marry-3s NEG
1 2 3 4

'I am not going to marry him.'

73) be kwla a ndɛ nga kã.
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.'

be kwlɛ ɛ kã.
1 2 3 4

3p can (STA)-3s NEG speak
1 2 3 4

'They can not speak of it.'

The Plural Pronouns

The plural pronouns all have phonetic variants. The 1st and 3rd person plurals je and be 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.

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The second person plural, ãmũ, is realized as [ã] in fast speech. Alone among the plural pronouns, it appears to be analyzable. The 2s pronoun, a, and the 2p pronoun, ãmũ, differ in terms of the presence of the sequence -mũ on the plural pronoun. mũ 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 nãnã	'my grandparent'
n si	'my father'
n nĩ	'my mother'
n njããbjã	'my older brother'
n njããbla	'my older sister'
n sĩma	'my younger sibling'
n wa	'my child'
mĩ ãnũmã	'my grandchild'
n ji	'my wife'
n wũ	'my husband'
n sja	'my in-laws' (of a man)
n sewi	'my in-laws' (of a woman)
n wɛ̃	'my mother's brother'
n blaba	' my sister's child'

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[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 si njããbjã, ɛ ãnũmã '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, nĩ, kin terms are used as terms of address and reference; to refer unambiguously to a specific person.

74) n si

'Father/My Father'

je wũ

'Husband/Our Husband'

kofi wa

'Kofi Child' (composite proper name)

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

75) n njããbla

'Sister/My Sister'

n njããbla-nĩ

'the sister of mine'

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76) Kofi wa

'Kofi Child' (teknonym)

Kofi wa-nĩ

'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-nĩ

'the house of Kofi's/Kofi's house'

78) Bouaké gwabo

'Bouaké's market'

79) be klɔ-nĩ

'their village'

80) n si fjɛ-nĩ

'the field of my father'

221.6 Nouns

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

81) nãnĩ

'cow/cows'

nãnĩ-nĩ

'the cow/the cows'

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82) waka

'tree/trees'

waka-nĩ

'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 mũ. Mass nouns do not occur with the plural individuator mũ; count nouns do. For example

Mass:	ajwe	'rice'
	ajwe-nĩ	'the rice'
	*ajwe-mũ	
	nzwe	'water'
	nzwe-nĩ	'the water'
	*nzwe-mũ	
	ndɛ	'grass'
	ndɛ-nĩ	'the grass'
	*ndɛ-mũ	
Count:	conjo	'machete/machetes'
	conjo-nĩ	'the machete/the machetes'
	conjo-mũ	'machetes (individuated)'
	bla	'woman/women'
	bla-nĩ	'the woman/the women'
	bla-mũ	'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, mũ. For example

83) ajwe

'rice'

ajweba

'rice kernel'

ajweba-mũ

'ricekernels (individuated)'

84) nzwe

'water'

nzweba

'stream'

nzweba-mũ

'streams (individuated)'

85) sika

'money'

sikaba

'coin'

sikaba-mũ

'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,' bjã 'man,' kpɛ̃ngbɛ̃ 'old man,' blalɛbofwɛ 'blacksmith,' kɔŋɛfwɛ 'hunter.'
- Animal Names. e.g. nãnĩ 'cow,' gboklo 'hyena,' wete 'rat,' gbamlɔ 'hare.'
- a class of location nouns labeled Personal Location Nouns since they may be used as place names. e.g. klɔ '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 lɔ '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'
klɔ	'village/villages'

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2) with the specifier to refer to a specific referent of the noun

talwa-nĩ 'the maiden/the maidens'

gboklo-nĩ 'the hyena/the hyenas'

klɔ-nĩ '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'

Klɔ 'Village (i.e. one's home village)

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

Talwa-nĩ 'that Maiden!'

Gboklo-nĩ 'that Hyena!'

Klɔ-nĩ '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 lɔ 'there as place names:

86) be fi wa wɔ-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)

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wa-nĩ ti kpa.
1 2 3 4

here SPEC ICOP good
1 2 3 4

'This place is good.' (specific here)

wa ti bɛtɛ?
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 bɛtɛ? 'Is Bouaké peaceful?')

87) ɛ fite-e lɔ.
1 2 3 4

3s exit FPST there
1 2 3 4

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

be fi lɔ-nĩ 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)

lɔ nzã 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 nzã 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 Woods-man, spare the tree.) but also as reference terms. For example

88) talwa kɔ-mã-ã bjã like-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

maiden DM give FPST man thing SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Maiden went to give Man the food.'

89) gboklo ti-i kaa mma ɛ fa sɛ̃-ɛ̃ gbamlɔ ti afjɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

hyena pick FPST kaa fruit 3s take sting FPST hare head
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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.
1 2 3

'They come from (the) fields.'
1 2 3

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91) kofi wo blɔ.
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'

nũ (/lum/) 'in, inside of'

bo (/bo/) 'under, bottom of, at place of'

sĩ (/sim/) 'behind, back of'

ɲlũ (/jlum/) 'in front, front of'

wũ (/wum/) 'near, next to'

afjɛ̃ (/afjɛm/) 'amidst, middle of'

nwã (/lwam/) 'edge of, end of'

klũ (/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 -nĩ.

93) sɛ-nĩ ɛ nũ-nĩ ti fjɛ̃.
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.'

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94) waka-nĩ (ɛ) bo-nĩ ti flɔlɔ.
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) wũsĩ tabli-nĩ (ɛ) su-nĩ.
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 sĩ-nĩ ti flɛ̃nɛ̃.
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 -ljɛ:

97) kpongbo nga-nĩ, ɛ nũ-nĩ ti fjɛ̃; nga-ljɛ-nĩ 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.'

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Locatives occur

1) after another noun in a locative construction:

fje su 'at the fields/garden'

swa sĩ 'behind the house'

klɔ nũ 'in the village'

se bo 'at the funeral'

and

2) in conjunction with verbs in completable verbs (Section 233):

tɔ nũ 'fall in'

tu bo 'get moving'

di ɲlũ 'precede'

sa sĩ '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) ɛ wo klɔ.
1 2 3

3s LCOP village
1 2 3

'He is at the village.'

99) ɛ fi fje su.
1 2 3 4

3s come from field on
1 2 3 4

'He's come from the fields.'

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2) can occur after one-place verbs (Section 234), where a substantive phrase cannot occur. For example

100) ba-nĩ su-sũ awlo lɔ.
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 bɛ-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Kofi PRF sleep ls 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) mĩ aja a-tla kpejã blɔ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

ls trap PRF trap muskrat bush there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'My trap caught a muskrat in the bush there.'

102) bla-nĩ a-sje gbɔlu kpata-nĩ 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 kplɛkɛkplɛkɛ.
1 2 3 4

'The table surface is smooth.'
1 2 3 4

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The presence of the specifier -nĩ (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) n jaci-i kpongbo nzwe-nĩ nũ.
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) n jaci-i kpongbo nzwe nũ.
1 2 3 4 5

'I left the basin at the river.'
1 2 3 4+5

105) a) ɛ wo waka-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5

3s LCOP tree SPEC on
1 2 3 4 5

'It is on/in the tree.'

b) ɛ wɔ-ɔ waka su.
1 2 3 4 5

3s go FPST tree on
1 2 3 4 5

'He went to defecate.'

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106) a) ɛ ti-nĩ su
1 2 3 4

3s head SPEC on
1 2 3 4

'on his head'

b) ɛ ti su

'in his baggage'

107) a) sĩ-nĩ nũ
1 2 3

fire SPEC in
1 2 3

'in the fire'

b) sĩ nũ

'on the fire' (in the sense of 'on the stove')

108) a) jwa-nĩ nũ
1 2 3

sun SPEC in
1 2 3

'in the sunlight'

b) jwa nũ

'in the sun/at noon'

109) a) klɔ-nĩ afjɛ̃
1 2 3

village SPEC middle
1 2 3

'middle of the village'

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b) klɔ afjɛ̃

'village center'

110) a) gwa-nĩ bo
1 2 3

market SPEC at place of
1 2 3 4 5

'place of the market'

b) gwa bo

'market/shopping'

111) a) sa-nĩ sĩ
1 2 3

hand SPEC behind
1 2 3

'back of the hand of'

b) sa sĩ

'in possession of'

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

bo	'buttocks
sĩ	'back'
ɲlũ	'face'
wũ	'body'
nwã	'mouth'
afjɛ̃	'trunk middle (exterior)'
klũ	'belly (interior)'[1]

[1]Another word for 'belly' is ku. It is interesting to note that

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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) ɛ gwa-a nzwe ɛ 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) ɛ gwa-a nzwe ɛ 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) ɛ wo Kofi sĩ.
1 2 3 4

3s LCOP Kofi behind
1 2 3 4

'He is behind Kofi.'

b) ɛ wo Kofi sĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5

3s LCOP Kofi back on
1 2 3 4 5

'He is on Kofi's back.'

---

ku nũ 'in belly' becomes klũ and that *klũ nũ does not occur, supposedly because it is redundant. This would suggest that klũ is historically a compound locative construction: ku nũ, which has become a body part name and in turn a locative which can itself be part of a locative construction: baɟɛ klũ 'interior of bag,' waka klũ 'interior of tree.'

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114) a) ɟwe-nĩ wo ɛ nwã.
1 2 3 4 5

fish SPEC LCOP 3s edge
1 2 3 4 5

'The fish is at its edge (i.e. of the river).'

b) ɟwe-nĩ wo ɛ nwã nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

fish SPEC LCOP 3s mouth in
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The fish is in his mouth.'

c) ɛ wo ɛ nwã bo.
1 2 3 4 5

3s LCOP 3s mouth under
1 2 3 4 5

'It is under his mouth (i.e. under his lip).'

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

115) Kofi ɲlũ ti fjɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

Kofi face ICOP dirty
1 2 3 4

'Kofi's face is dirty.'

116) swa ɲlũ ti fjɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

house front ICOP dirty
1 2 3 4

'The house front (i.e. in front of the house) is dirty.'

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117) ɛ ɲlũ ti fjɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

3s face/front ICOP dirty
1 2 3 4

'His face/its front 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: lɛ (/lɛ/), lwa (/lwa/), and wlɛ (/wlɛ/).

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

118) kɔ 'go'

kɔlɛ 'going'

ɛ kɔlɛ jo n ja.
1 2 3 4 5

'His going hurts me (i.e. makes me sad).'
1 2 3+5 4

119) swã 'learn'

swãlɛ 'learning'

fluwa swãlɛ ti kekle
1 2 3 4

'Paper learning is hard.'
1 2 3 4

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120) bu 'break'

bulɛ 'breaking'

vɛli bulɛ jo a ja.
1 2 3 4 5

'Glass breaking doesn't hurt (i.e. it's easy).'
1 2 3 4 5

121) sũ 'cry'

sũlɛ 'crying'

ɛ klo sũlɛ.
1 2 3

'She likes crying.'
1 2 3

122) blo 'ripen'

blolɛ 'ripening'

amãngo-nĩ wo blolɛ.
1 2 3 4

'The mango is at ripening (i.e. is in the process).'
2 1 3 4

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

123) di ngwa 'tell story/stories'
1 2 1 2

ngwa dilɛ 'story telling'

ɛ klo ngwa dilɛ

'He likes story telling'

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124) sɔ amwĩ 'worship spirit/spirits'

amwĩ sɔlɛ 'spirit worshiping'

je fi amwĩ sɔlɛ.

'We are coming from spirit worshiping.'

125) bo nda 'clap hands'

nda bolɛ 'hand-clapping'

be wo nda bolɛ.

'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) kɛ̃ngɛ̃ 'fry'

kɛ̃ngɛ̃lwa 'fried'

ajwe kɛ̃ngɛ̃lwa

'fried rice'

127) fwãfwã 'peel'

fwãfwãlwa 'peeled'

dwo kpando fwãfwãlwa
1 2 3

'peeled roasted yam'
3 2 1

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128) fiti 'pierce'

fitilwa 'pierced'

ɛ suwa ti fitilwa
1 2 3 4

'Its ears are pierced.'
1 2 3 4

129) saci 'spoil'

scilwa 'spoiled'

agba-nĩ ti scilwa

'The manioc is spoiled.'

130) ba 'come'

balwa 'the state of being here as a result of coming'

balwa mõ a ba-li, w'a-di a sla kõ.
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'

ɛ julwa nga a-ju ĩ nĩ, fjɛ ɛ fle dã nũ lɔ 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.'

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When lwa 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 tãnĩ 'weave cloth'
tãnĩ wulwa 'woven cloth'

wlɛ (/wlɛ/) 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) tlã 'sit'
tlãwlɛ 'sitting/living place'

136) kã ngwa 'play, dance'
ngwa kãwlɛ 'dancing place'

137 kɔ 'go'
kɔwlɛ 'means/manner of going'

138 bo 'hit'
bowlɛ 'means/manner of hitting'

fwɛ (/fwɛ/), the agentive suffix, is suffixed to verbs, adjectives and substantives forming a noun referring to one who performs that action,

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has that quality or is associated with that noun. For example

Verbs:

139) ijo 'talk'

ijofwɛ 'speaker, spokesman'

140) bo 'hit, beat'

bofwɛ 'beater, hitter'

The complement noun of a completable verb occurs before a verb suffixed with fwɛ:

141) bo blalɛ 'hit iron'

blalɛ bofwɛ 'ironsmith'

142) di kɔmjɛ̃ 'divine by trance'

kɔmjɛ̃ difwɛ 'diviner'

143) di fje 'farm'

fje difwɛ 'farmer

Adjectives:

144) koklo 'round'

'koklofwɛ 'round one'

145) danga 'foolish'

dangafwɛ 'fool'

146) dã 'big'

dãfwɛ 'big one'

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Nouns:

147) ajwe 'theivery'
ajwefwɛ 'thief'

148) klɔ 'village'
klɔfwɛ 'villager'

149) wã 'name of neighboring tribe, the Wan'
wãfwɛ-mũ '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 mmamũ 'children' (mma 'child' + mũ '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'
ajweba 'rice kernel'

151) sika 'money'
sikaba 'coin'

(In these instances where ba makes a mass noun countable, it can be thought of as a singulative.)

152) dwo 'yam'
dwoba 'yam tuber'

153) ngatɛ 'peanuts'
ngatɛba 'peanut'

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154) nzwe 'water'

nzweba 'pond, stream'

Count nouns:

155) swa 'house'

swaba 'inner room'

156) fɛtɛ 'river'

fɛtɛba 'stream'

157) sa 'hand, arm'

samma 'finger'

158) ja 'leg, foot'

jamma 'toe'

159) ɲĩ 'face'

ɲĩma/ĩma 'eye'

160) a-di cɛ̃ba nɲɔ̃ Bouaké lɔ.
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 ɛ (Section 221.4):

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161) ɛ ji nɲɔ̃-ni, ɛ ba kɔ̃ a-wu a ba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s wife two SPEC, 3s PART one PERF bear NEG child
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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

162) ɛ fa-a ɛ ba kɔ̃ mã̀-ã́ bjã̀-nĩ́.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s take FPST 3s PART one give FPST man SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'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

wã̀	(/wam/)	'who'
nzu	(/ɴsu/)	'what'
nĩ́,	(/lim/)	
nĩ́fã̀,	(/limfam/)	'where'
lenĩ́	(/lelim/)	
nɲɛ̃́	(/ɴjɛm/)	'how many, how much'
monĩ́	(/molim/)	'which'[1]
sɛ	(/sɛ/)	'what'

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

163) wã̀ wo lɛ ɔ?
1 2 3 4

who LCOP there QUES
1 2 3 4

'Who is there?'

[1] monĩ́ combines with blɛ 'time' or cɛ̃́ 'day' to form the interrogative 'when.'

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164) a kũndɛ wã?
1 2 3

2s look for (STA) who
1 2 3

'Who are you looking for?'

165) ɛ mã-ã wã?
1 2 3 4

3s give FPST who
1 2 3 4

'To whom did he give (it)?'

166) ɛ jo nzu?
1 2 3

3s do what
1 2 3

'What is he doing?'

167) nzu wo sɛ nũ ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5

what LCOP pot in QUES
1 2 3 4 5

'What is in the pot?'

168) a sje-e nĩfã?
1 2 3 4

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

'Where did you put it?'

169) amlã wo nĩ?
1 2 3

amlã LCOP where
1 2 3

'Where is Amlan?'

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170) ɛ fa-a nɲɛ̃?
1 2 3 4

3s take FPST how many
1 2 3 4

'How many did he take?'

171) slã nɲɛ̃ wo swa lɔ?
1 2 3 4 5

person how many LCOP house there
1 2 3 4 5

'How many people are in the house?'

172) ɛ wɔ-ɔ blɛ monĩ?
1 2 3 4 5

3s go FPST time which
1 2 3 4 5

'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 jɛ (Section 231) occurs obligatorily if the interrogative is other than the subject of the sentence. jɛ 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) wã jɛ a boeli ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

who COP 2s hit-3s FPST QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Who is it you hit?'

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174) wã jɛ ɛ mɛ̃-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'Who is it he gave to?'

175) wã (jɛ) tɔ̃-ɔ̃ aljɛ-nĩ ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

'Who cooked the meal?'

176) nzu (jɛ) wo sɛ nũ?
1 2 3 4 5

what COP LCOP pot in
1 2 3 4 5

'What is in the pot?'

177) nzu jɛ ɛ bui-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'What is it he broke?'

178) nzu (jɛ) boe-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5

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

'What hit/broke it?'

179) nzu nũ jɛ a sje-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

'In what did you put it?'

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180) nĩfã jɛ ba-nĩ wo?
1 2 3 4 5

where COP child SPEC LCOP
1 2 3 4 5

'Where is the child?'

181) lenĩ jɛ ɛ su-fja?
1 2 3 4 5

where COP 3s IMPRF hide
1 2 3 4 5

'Where is he hiding?'

182) nɲɛ̃ jɛ a kũĩ-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

how many COP 2s kill-3s FPST QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6

'How many is it you killed?'

183) cɛ̃ monĩ jɛ ɛ wɔ-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

day which COP 3s go FPST QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'When/What day did he go?'

nzu ti (what reason) 'why' is always topicalized:
1 2 1 2

184) nzu ti jɛ ɛ boe-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

what reason COP 3s hit-3s FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Why did he hit him?'

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

185) bla-nĩ se-e sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5

woman SPEC say FPST what
1 2 3 4 5

'What did the woman say?'

186) ɛ jo-o a sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5

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

'What did he do to you?'

187) be sɔkɔ ngatɛ tlo sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5

3p prepare peanut sauce how
1 2 3 4 5

'How does one make peanut sauce?'

188) ɛ bo a sɛ?
1 2 3 4

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

'Why did he hit you?'

189) a wã sɛ?
1 2 3

2s said what
1 2 3

'What did you say?'

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It is topicalized in the phrase ɛ jo sɛ (It does what) 'why':
1 2 3 1 2 3

190) ɛ jo sɛ jɛ amũ ba-li ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s do what COP 2s come FPST QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'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-nĩ ti dã.
1 2 3 4

tree SPEC ICOP big
1 2 3 4

'The tree is big.'

2) swa nga-nĩ ti uflɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

house this/that SPEC ICOP new
1 2 3 4 5

'This house is new.'

Adjectives are distinguished from substantives by their inability to occur alone with the specifier nĩ.

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When modifying substantives adjectives follow the substantive they modify:

3) swa dã
1 2

house big
1 2

'big house'

aofwɛ kpa
1 2

stranger good
1 2

'good stranger'

Kofi Ble
1 2

Kofi Black
1 2

'Black Kofi' (a common name)

n wa kã kɔ̃
1 2 3 4

ls child small one
1 2 3 4

'one of my small children'

Kwaɟo wũ 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:

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4) kã 'small'

akɔ kãngã nɲɔ̃ 'two small chickens'

dã 'big'

waka dãdã-mũ 'big trees'

kpa 'good'

kpaflɛ̃ kpakpa nnã 'four good (i.e. strong) young men'

fita 'bright white'

fluwa fitafita 'very white paper'

Others are not:

5) kpe 'short'

waka kpe nsã 'three short trees'

kekle 'strong'

bja kekle-mũ-nĩ 'the strong chairs' (individuated)

Some adjectives occur only in a reduplicated form:

6) wisiwisi 'dry, in good health' *wisi

tɛ̃ndɛ̃ 'long' *tɛ̃

daodao 'spotted' *dao

The reduplicated adjective may be the reduplication of a noun:

7) waka 'tree/wood'

wakawaka 'rigid/hard'

fɔkɔ 'kapok fluff'

fɔkɔfɔkɔ 'fluffy, spongy'

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wla	'garbage'
wlawla	'garbage-strewn, dirty'

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

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

8)	dã	'big'
	ɛ dã	'big one/big ones'
	ɛ dã-nĩ	'the big one/the big ones'
9)	ofɪɛ	'new'
	ɛ ofɪɛ	'new one/new ones'
	ɛ ofɪɛ-nĩ	'the new one/the new ones'

10) fɛ ɛ dɛ̃nɛ̃-nĩ.
'Take the long one/long ones.'

11) ɛ kã-nĩ wo kpongbo nũ.
'The small one is in the basin.'

12) ɛ dã jo fɛ.
'Big one/big ones tastes/taste good.'

The plural individuator -mũ (Section 222.6) can also be affixed to this construction, in which case the reduplicated forms of the adjectives occur:

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13) ɛ oflɛ-mũ 'new ones (individuated)'

ɛ oflɛ-mũ-nĩ 'the new ones (individuated)'

ɛ dãdã-mũ 'big ones (individuated)'

ɛ dãdã-mũ-nĩ 'the big ones (individuated)'

ɛ kpakpa-mũ 'good ones (individuated)'

ɛ kpakpa-mũ-nĩ 'the good ones (individuated)'

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

14) danga 'foolish'

dangafwɛ 'fool/idiot'

tete 'bad'

tetefwɛ 'bad one (who brings misfortune)'

dã 'big'

dãfwɛ 'big one'

fakafaka 'light, fragile'

fakafakafwɛ 'fragile one'

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

15) ɛ dangafwɛ 'more/most foolish one/ones'

ɛ dangafwɛ-nĩ 'the more/most foolish one'

ɛ dangafwɛ-mũ-nĩ 'the more/most foolish ones (individuated)'

16) ɛ dãfwɛ-nĩ 'the bigger/biggest one/ones'

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17) ɛ kaklafwɛ-mũ-nĩ '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:

klɔ-nĩ ti mmwa.
1 2 3 4

'The village is far.'
2 1 3 4

klɔ-nĩ ti koko.
1 2 3 4

'The village is near.'
2 1 3 4

modifying a noun:

be wɔ-ɔ klɔ mmwa.
1 2 3 4 5

'They went to a far village.'
1 2-3 5 4

be fi klɔ koko.
1 2 3 4

'They come from a nearby village.'
1 2 4 3

after wo:

fje-nĩ wo mmwa.
1 2 3 4

'The fields are far away.'
2 1 3 4

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klɔ-nĩ 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:

kɔ̃	'one'
nɲɔ̃	'two'
nsã	'three'
nnã	'four'
nnũ	'five'
nsjɛ̃	'six'
nso	'seven'
mũcwɛ	'eight'
ngwlã	'nine'
blu	'ten'

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

blu nĩ kɔ̃	'eleven'
blu nĩ nso	'seventeen'

The numerals twenty through ninety are:

ablãũ	'twenty'
ablensã	'thirty'
ablennã	'forty'

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ablennũ	'fifty'
ablensyɛ̃	'sixty'
ablenso	'seventy'
ableũcwɛ	'eighty'
ablengwlã	'ninety'

They also combine with each of the numerals one through nine:

ablennũ nĩ kɔ̃	'fifty-one'
ableũcwɛ nĩ ngwlã	'eighty-nine'

The higher numerals are:

ja	'hundred'
ja nsã	'three hundred'
akpi	'thousand'
akpi nso	'seven thousand'

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

swa kɔ̃	'one house'
boli nnũ	'five goats'
kleswa blu nĩ nsã	'thirteen eggs'

Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers includes

ngba	'all'
kwla (kwlakwla)	'all'
kũngba	'only (one)' 'the same'
ngũmĩ	'only'

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18) ɛ flɛ-ɛ ɛ wa be ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s call FPST 3s child 3p all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'She called all of her children.'

19) kongo kongo kwla nga lɛ-nĩ, . . . nzwe ji-i 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 asjɛ wũ, be nzwe ti kũngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

thing all all this/that 3p LCOP earth on, 3p water LCOP
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 kũngba wɔ wo lɛ ɔ?
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) ɛ kpusɛ-ɛ ɛ nwã kũngba jekũ.
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 ɛ ĩma ngũmĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s-PRF remain 3s eye only
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Only his eyes were left.'

24) jɛ ɛ bɔ ngũmĩ-nĩ jɛ ɛ fja-a blɛɛɛɛɛ.
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.

1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

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

[1] In rare instances nga modifies an adverb:

a nĩ wã jɛ ã kɔ-la-a icraĩ nga jɛ w'a-ɲa ba nnã ɔ?
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?'

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indicates a definite referent for the noun modified. For example

25) ɛ akɔ nga lɛ-nĩ, nã ɛ kũĩ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃.
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 fjɛ́ ɛ fle kã nga-nĩ 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 tĩlwa.
1 2 3 4

child this/that ICOP powerful
1 2 3 4

'This/That child is powerful.'

28) ɛ jo sɛ ti jɛ swa nga ti sɔ?
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

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29) nga wa-to ɔ, nga wa-njɛ̃-ɛ̃ sɛ̃ɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

this/that DM shoot when, this/that DM look-3s FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ideophone: of looking carefully
9

'When this/that one comes to shoot, this/that one came and looked carefully.'

30) ã kundɛ kpaflɛ̃ kpakpa nnã, ã ɟlã be nga ĩ wũ o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

2p look for (SUBJ) youth good four, 2p stand (SUBJ) 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

this/that here next EMP
9 10 11 12

'Look for four strong young men, put them next to this/that here.'

31) boli, kɔ-wũsĩ nga lɛ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

goat, DM wash this/that there SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Goat, go wash with this/that one there.' (i.e., bucket of water)

32) mɛ̃ nga wo ĩ nĩɔ̃, n kɔ́ ngbana nũ wa kã o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

as this/that LCOP here DISC, 1s go (CERT) Ngbana in here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

little EMP
11 12

'Since this is here (i.e. now then), I am going to the River here for a while.'

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c) Relative clause. nga introduces an embedded clause which modifies a noun. The specifier nĩ obligatorily occurs after the relative clause.[1] The noun which is coreferential with the antecedent noun is represented by a pronoun in the relative clause. For example

33) nzwe nga ɛ wo ɛ klũ-nĩ wutu-u cɛ̃ ba nsã.
1 | 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 8 9 10 11 12

water this/that 3s LCOP 3s stomach SPEC pour FPST day
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

PART three
11 12

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

34) a wa-kpata bjã laa nga ɛ flɛ-ɛ klɔ wa-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 | 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 |

3s-PRF DM appease man former this/that 3s call FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

here SPEC
11 12

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

---

[1] In the case of relative clauses introduced by bɔ or mɛ̃ (Section 242.11), the clause-final specifier often has the shape -nĩ5̃. This poses an analytic problem: (1) in no other environment does the specifier -nĩ have the shape -nĩ5̃; (2) the discourse particle nĩ has the allormorphic variant nĩ5̃. It is a question therefore of whether the nĩ5̃ at the end of bɔ and mɛ̃ relative clauses is the specifier -nĩ or the discourse particle nĩ.

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35) ɛ ji jwe nga ɛ ɟa-a be-nĩ, ɛ ba kɔ̃ a-wu a ba.
1 2 3 | 4 5 6 7 8 9 | 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

3s wife some this/that 3s marry FPST 3p SPEC, 3s PART one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

PRF bear NEG child
13 14 15 16

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

36) ɛ bɔ wũ ã like nga ɛ fɛ-nĩ kɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 | 6 7 8 9 | 10

3s self see (STA) NEG thing this/that 3s resemble-3s (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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 nĩ (i) fi wa-nĩ, be a-tɔ̃tɔ̃ be,
1 2 3 4 | 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 | 12 13 14 15

be a-di.
16 17 18

3p market here thing this/that 3p and it come from here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

SPEC, 3p PRF roast 3p, 3p PRF eat
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'Their market things which they brought from here, they roasted them, they ate.'

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38) slã nga ɛ kɔ-sike be wũ lɛ-nĩ, be ti wlɛngbifwɛ jekũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

person this/that 3s DM lodge 3p near there SPEC, 3p ICOP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

rich folk also
12 13

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

39) ba-nĩ kusu ɛ wã, "ndɛ nga n nĩ kã-li kle-e mĩ jɛ ɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

wu-li-nĩ, ndɛ sɔ su jɛ n nánti ɔ.
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

child SPEC also 3s said, "words this/that 1s mother speak
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

FPST show FPST 1s and 3s die FPST SPEC, words thus
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

on COP 1s walk (CERT) EMP
22 23 24 25 26

'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 sɛ (Section 242.12) to indicate "whoever," "whatever," "whenever," etc. For example

40) sɛ a káci ɛ nwã ndɛ cɛ̃ nga-nĩ, ɛ ti a bɔ w'ãjĩble.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

if 2s change (CERT) 3s mouth words day this/that SPEC, 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune.
11 12 13 14 15

'Whenever (the day that) you change her words (i.e. disobey her), it will be your own misfortune.'

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41) sɛ slã nga sṹ mɛ̃ nũ-nĩ, ngbɛ̃ jɛ ɛ sṹĩ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if person this/that cry (CERT) world in SPEC, Ngbɛ̃ COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s cry (CERT)-3s EMP
10 11 12

'Whoever cries in the world, it is for Ngbɛ̃ that he cries.'

(ngbɛ̃ = 'nothing': a play on words)

42) sɛ a bɔ nga a si able jɔbwɛ nga su nã ɛ nzwɛ̃ bá-nĩ,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

a-ljɛ lɛ bla-nĩ.
16 17 18 19 20

if 2s self this/that 2s dance stone this/that on and 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 12

powder come (CERT) SPEC, 2s ASS COP woman SPEC
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

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

is the woman.'

43) sɛ a lika nga kejenĩ, sɛ a dje umjɛ̃ nã ɛ kejɛ ɔ, se mĩ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

nã n cí.
17 18 19

if 2s place this/that move (STA) DISC, if 2s breathe (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9-10

and 3s move DISC tell (IMP) 1s and 1s tie (CERT)
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

'Whatever part moves, if you breathe and it moves, tell me

and I'll tie it.'

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222.4 Possession

Possession is principally marked by the juxtaposition of the components: possessor + possessed + specifier, -nĩ (Section 222.5). 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 -nĩ. The possessed substantive can only be a kin term or a noun. For example

Name + Noun:	Kofi swa-nĩ 1 2	'Kofi's house' 1 2
Pronoun + Noun:	je fje-nĩ 1 2	'our fields' 1 2
Place Name + Noun:	Bouaké gwa bo-nĩ 1 2	'Bouaké's market' 1 2
Pronoun + Kin Term + Noun:	n si bja-nĩ 1 2 3	'my father's stool' 1 2 3
Name + Kin Term + Noun:	Kofi ji tãnĩ-nĩ 1 2 3	'Kofi's wife's cloth' 1 2 3
Noun + Noun:	bja-nĩ ja-nĩ 1 2	'the chair's leg' 1 2
Noun + Noun:	alwa-nĩ kplo-nĩ 1 2	'the dog's skin' 1 2
Name + Kin Term:	Kofi si-nĩ 1 2	'Kofi's father' 1 2
Pronoun + Kin Term:	je nãnã-nĩ 1 2	'our grandparent' 1 2

In the case that the possessor substantive is not a pronoun, a pronoun occurs optionally between the possessor and possessed:

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44) Kofi ɛ ji-nĩ — 'Kofi his wife'
1 2 3 — 1 2 3

n si ɛ bja-nĩ — 'my father his stool'
1 2 3 4 — 1 2 3 4

bja-nĩ ɛ ja-nĩ — 'the chair its leg'
1 2 3 4 — 1 2 3 4

alwa-nĩ ɛ kplo-nĩ — 'the dog its skin'
1 2 3 4 — 2 1 3 4

ba npɔ̃-nĩ be si-nĩ — 'the two children their father'
1 2 3 4 5 — 3 2 1 4 5

kpãflɛ̃-mũ-nĩ be swa-nĩ — 'the young men their house'
1 2 3 4 5 — 3 1-2 4 5

This suggests that the underlying structure of a possessive phrase is

possessor substantive + pronoun co-referential with possessor + possessed substantive + -nĩ 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 nĩ. These are compound constructions. For example

45) suklu swa — 'school house'
1 2 — 1 2

alwa kplo — 'dog skin'
1 2 — 1 2

bja ja — 'stool leg'
1 2 — 1 2

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

Bouaké gwa bo — 'Bouaké market'
1 2 — 1 2

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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

46) suklu swa-nĭ — 'the school house'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

alwa kplo-nĭ — 'the dog skin'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

bja ɟa-nĭ — 'the stool leg'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

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

47) a) dɔɔtro-nĭ swa-nĭ — 'the doctor's house'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

b) dɔɔtro swa-nĭ — 'the hospital'
1 2 3 — 3 1-2

48) a) kpãflɛ̃-nĭ (ɛ) ɟũmã-nĭ — 'the young man's work'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

b) kpãflɛ̃ ɟũmã-nĭ — 'the work of a young man'
1 2 3 — 3 2 1

49) a) swa-nĭ (ɛ) anwã-nĭ — 'the door of the house'
1 2 3 — 3 2 1

b) swa anwã-nĭ — 'the house door'
1 2 3 — 3 1 2

The following pairs of sentences illustrate the contrast between inherently specific substantive possessive constructions and compound constructions.

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50) a) Bouaké (ɛ) gwa bo-nĩ ti dã.
1 2 3 4

'Bouaké's market is big.'
1 2 3 4

b) Bouaké gwa bo ti dã.
1 2 3 4

'Bouaké market is big.'
1 2 3 4

51) a) Aja (ɛ) wa-nĩ ti kã.
1 2 3 4

'Aya's child is small.'
1 2 3 4

b) Aja wa ti kã.
1 2 3 4

'Aya's children are (habitually) small' or 'an Aya
1

child is small.'
2 3 4

52) a) a si-nĩ wo nĩ?
1 2 3 4

'Where is your father?' (asked of a child whose father
4 3 1 2

you don't know)

b) a si wo nĩ?
1 2 3 4

'Where is your father?' ("your father" here used as a
4 3 1 2

name for a known person)

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53) a) Kofi (ɛ) swa-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

Kofi 3s house SPEC COP
1 2 3 4 5

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

b) Kofi swa jɛ.
1 2 3

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

one)

54) a) n ti-nĩ jo n ja.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s head SPEC do (STA) 1s 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

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

'I have a headache.'

-ljɛ (/ljɛ/), the associative

The suffix -ljɛ 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 nĩ and indicates that the

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possessed object is being contrasted to a similar object possessed by another.[1] For example

55) ɛ fɛ-ɛ ɛ taa-ljɛ-nĩ, ɛ ba-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s take FPST 3s bow ASS SPEC, 3s come FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'He took his bow, he came.'

56) boli kusu a-ji ɛ traɪɛ-ljɛ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

goat also PRF remove 3s shirt ASS SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Goat also took off his shirt.'

57) ɛ bɔ wa-ljɛ nnũ-nĩ, ɛ flɛ-ɛ be ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s own child ASS five SPEC, 3s call FPST 3p all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'Her own five children, she called them all.'

58) a dũmã-ljɛ-nĩ, n flɛ́ a aɟɔ kã.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2s name ASS SPEC, 1s call (CERT) 2s AɟɔSmall
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Your name, I'll call you AɟɔSmall.'

Compare the use of -ljɛ in sentence b) with its absence in sentence a) below:

---

[1]It is similar to the use of stress in English: 'He then took his turn' or 'My dog's bigger than your dog.'

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59) a) ɛ alwa-nĩ kũ-ũ mĩ akɔ kɔ̃.
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) ɛ alwa-ljɛ-nĩ kũ-ũ mĩ alwa-ljɛ-nĩ.
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) -ljɛ could be used after both possessed nouns but usually is not. In sentence b) -ljɛ is again optional but the sentence is more acceptable with -ljɛ 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 -ljɛ obligatorily occurs. The specifier -nĩ occurs after -ljɛ to mark the possession. For example

60) Nja Kɛndeja-ljɛ-nĩ, kɛ ɛ ti sa, kpeu!; bjã-ljɛ-nĩ, kpã.'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Mister Spider ASS SPEC, like 3s ICOP thus, ideophone: of
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

smallness; Man ASS SPEC, ideophone: of bigness
10 11 12 13

'Mr. Spider's (basket), like it was like this: small!;

Man's (i.e. Hyena): Big!'

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61) ɛ ji kɔ̃-ljɛ-nĩ, be ngba be ti kwlɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s wife one ASS SPEC, 3p all 3p ICOP stupid
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'One of his wives' (children), they all were stupid.'

62) je swa-nĩ ti dã tlɛ ɛ-ljɛ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1p house SPEC ICOP big surpass 3s ASS SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Our house is bigger than his.'

63) ɛ wɛ̃, "jo, n dí n-ljɛ-nĩ jwe."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s said, "okay, 1s eat (CERT) 1s ASS SPEC also"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'He said, "Okay, I'll eat mine also."'

In these sentences, -ljɛ is replacing the possessed substantive in a pronominal function, but the element of focus is also there; the possessed 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 -ljɛ suffixed to the possessor substantive is a way of focusing on it.

A second function of -ljɛ is to mark focus on the topic substantive of a sentence. For example

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64) njã, a-ljɛ, bɔ a ti dã lɛ nĩ, fjɛ ɛ fle dã nũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

look, 2s ASS, since 2s ICOP 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-ljɛ, ɛ ɲɛ́ icrajĩ, ɛ-ljɛ, bɔ ɛ cɛ̃-ɛ̃ lɛ.
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-ljɛ, a si a ngwlɛlɛ, a wo lɔ.
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-ljɛ, ɛ tɛ ti kãã.
1 2 3 4 5 6

Kofi ASS, 3s still ICOP small
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Kofi, he's still too small.'

-ljɛ 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 (subject) pronoun follows the focusing element.

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68) laa nũ, akojwe-ljɛ be ti dãdã kpa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

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

222.5 -nĩ, (/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-nĩ se-e ba-nĩ kɛ jo, "kɔ-kundɛ 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) jɛ be kɔ-wɔ́ awale-nĩ ase ɔ.
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) ɛ fa-a akɔɲĩmã kũngba-nĩ, ɛ wɛ̃, "a-ljɛ wo lɔ."
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."'

---

[1] nĩ is interpreted as representing the category "specific" rather than "definite"; a noun suffixed with nĩ can be specific yet not definite (see Appendix, sentence 3).

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72) "like dã̃ tutugbe nga-nĩ̃, n kɔ-di mã̃?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

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

73) jɛ ɛ wa-nĩ̃, ɛ kaklafwɛ-nĩ̃ bá ɔ.
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) ɛ klũ̃ lɔ dwi kãngã̃ nga lɛ-nĩ̃, a-kɔ-kpɛkpɛ sɔ sekesekeseke.
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) akɔ kã̃ kɔ̃ wu-li
1 2 3 4 5

chicken small one die FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'One small chicken died (unspecific).'

b) akɔ kã̃ kɔ̃-nĩ̃ wu-li.

'The one small chicken died.'

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c) akɔ kã-nĩ̃ kɔ̃ wu-li.

'One of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) akɔ-nĩ̃ kã kɔ̃ wu-li.

'One of the small chickens died (of a group of large and small chickens).'

76) a) akɔ kãngã nɲɔ̃ wu-li.

'Two small chickens died (unspecific).'

b) akɔ kãngã nɲɔ-nĩ̃ wu-li.

'The two small chickens died.'

c) akɔ kãngã-nĩ̃ nɲɔ wu-li.

'Two of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) akɔ-nĩ̃ kãngã nɲɔ̃ 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

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77) a) akɔɲĩmã nũ mã klɔ-nĩ 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) akɔɲĩmã-nĩ nũ mã klɔ-nĩ su.

'The rooster isn't in the village.' (said of a lost rooster)

78) a) conjo a-fite gwa bo lɔ.
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-nĩ blɛ mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

take machete SPEC bring ls
1 2 3 4 5

'Bring me the machete.'

79) a) alwa a-kɛ.
1 2 3

dog PRF bite-3s
1 2 3

'A dog bit him.'

b) alwa-nĩ a-kɛ.

'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

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80) wutu sɛ-nĩ mã mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

empty (IMP) pot SPEC give 1s
1 2 3 4 5

'Empty the pot/pots for me.'

81) m'a-to bɛ-nĩ Béoumi lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s PRF buy mat SPEC Béoumi there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I bought the mat/mats in Béoumi.'

When -nĩ 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) "kɛ n wɔ-ɔ lɔ nĩɔ̃, kɛndeja-nĩ, ɛ wo aljɛ dilɛ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'when 1s go FPST there DISC, Spider SPEC, 3s LCOP food
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

eating"
12

'"When I went there, that Spider! he was eating food!"'

83) "wɔ, awofwɛ-nĩ, kɔ-wũsĩ!"
1 2 3 4 5

2s, Stranger SPEC, DM wash!"
1 2 3 4 5

'You, Stranger there, go wash!'

84) Bouaké-nĩ, klɔ nga ti dã!
1 2 3 4 5 6

Bouaké SPEC, village this/that ICOP big
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Bouaké! that town is big!'

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The variant -li of the specifier occurs after pronouns:

85) a-bu kɛ ɛ-li ɛ si a nzwe-nĩ jo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s-PRF think that 3s SPEC 3s know (STA) NEG water SPEC do
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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

86) ɛ-li ti a tɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s SPEC ICOP NEG bad
1 2 3 4 5

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

87) bɔ ɛ-li langa lɔ, bɔ ɛ sli hohoho, jɛ m'a wlui butwã nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

as 3s SPEC lay back there, as 3s laugh ideophone: of
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

laughing, then 1s PRF enter-3s anus in
10 11 12 13 14 15

'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 ngwlɛlɛ, a wo lɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2s SPEC, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there
1 2 3 5 5 6 7 8 9

'"You there, you don't know wisdom!"'

-nĩ 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).

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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 ɛ wo mɛ̃ nũ-nĩ ti bla sa kungba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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) "bjã nga a wa-ɟɛ-ɛ lɛ-nĩ, woŋĩ ɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

"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 ɛ kũ-ũ a nãnĩ-nĩ, like-nĩ wo nãnĩ-nĩ ɛ fle dã nũ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

"thing this/that 3s kill FPST 2s cow SPEC, thing SPEC LCOP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

cow SPEC 3s stomach big in."
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

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92) kpɔkũ a-wũ ɛ̃ ɛ wa-nĩ be kɔ̃.
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) klɔfwɛ-nĩ be a-lafi ɛ 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) ɛ si-nĩ be a-se ɛ kɔ̃ ɔ̃.
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 si boli be kpãflɛ̃ dilɛ klu kɔ̃ 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) nnɛ̃ be dũmã be ti kpɛ̃ngbɛ̃ slã be ɲlũ 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) bjã nga ɛ wũ be lɛ-nĩ, be ti kãnvwɛ̃ kãnvwɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 9 10 11

man this/that 3s see (STA) 3p there SPEC, 3p ICOP scar scar
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'The men whom she saw there, they have scars.'

98) slã nga ɛ kɔ-sĩke be wũ lɛ-nĩ, be ti wlɛngifwɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

person this/that 3s DM lodge (CERT) 3p near there SPEC,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p ICOP rich folk
10 11 12

'The people he went and lodged with, they were rich folk.'

99) kleswa nga be wo sɛ nũ-nĩ ti bulwa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

egg this/that 3p LCOP pot in SPEC ICOP broken
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'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 nĩ and be occur[1] after the noun. The nouns in 97, 98 and 99 are also

[1] In 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 kwla be wɔ-li. 3p all 3p go FPST 'They all left.'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

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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 nĩ marks a noun as specific and its absence marks a noun as unspecific, there are four possible constructions:

	ni	be	
a)	+	+	a plural specific noun[1]
b)	+	-	a specific noun unmarked for number
c)	-	+	a plural non-specific noun
d)	-	-	a non-specific noun unmarked for number

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) akɔ-nĩ ɟu-u cɛlɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

chicken SPEC arrive FPST sharing
1 2 3 4 5

'It was time to divide the chicken/chickens.'

101) be bɔ́ be koklo-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

3p make (CERT) 3p basket SPEC
1 2 3 4 5

'They made their basket/baskets.'

---

[1]This discussion involves only the noun subclass of substantives, the specifier -nĩ having a special function when it occurs with other, inherently specific substantives (Section 222.5).

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102) n nãnĩ-nĩ jɛlɛ nga.
1 2 3 4 5 6

ls cow SPEC COP this/that.
1 2 3 4 5

'This/these is/are my cow/cows.'

103) bja-nĩ ti klɛ̃neja kpa.
1 2 3 4 5

stool SPEC ICOP pretty very
1 2 3 4 5

'The stool/stools is/are very pretty.'

c) Plural non-specific noun: examples 95 and 96 and

104) slã be di a kle.
1 2 3 4 5

person 3p eat (STA) NEG toad
1 2 3 4 5

'People don't eat toad.'

105) woŋi be ti tɛ̃ndɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

python 3p ICOP long
1 2 3 4

'Pythons are long.'

d) Non-specific noun unmarked for number:

106) ɛ to-o ɟwe ce-nĩ su wa titi.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s throw FPST fish bank SPEC on here always
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'He always threw (a)fish/fishes here on the bank.'

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107) swi wo bo nga nũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

elephant LCOP forest this/that in there
1 2 3 4 5 6

'(An) elephant/Elephants is/are in that forest there.'

108) ɛ bo ɲandla kle mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s break (STA) proverb tell (STA) 1s
1 2 3 4 5

'He tells me (a) proverb/proverbs.'

The absence of be does not indicate singular but merely that the category number is not specified. Explicit singularity is marked by the numeral kɔ̃ 'one' as in

109) slã kɔ̃ ba-li.
1 2 3

'A person came.'
2 1 3

110) fa bja kɔ̃ blɛ mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

take stool one bring 1s
1 2 3 4 5

'Bring me a stool.'

kɔ̃ co-occurs with the specifier nĩ to mean 'a certain':

111) bja kɔ̃-nĩ, ɛ ji ti sa nɲɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

man one SPEC, 3s wife ICOP thus two
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'A certain man, he had two wives.'

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112) dwo klu kɔ̃-nĩ, n di mã.
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) slã nsã ba-li.
1 2 3 4

'Three people came.'
2 1 3-4

114) a-wu ba nɲɔ̃.
1 2 3 4

'She bore two children.'
1 2 4 3

115) nnɛ̃ ngba lɛ ja.
1 2 3 4

'All animals have legs.'
2 1 3 4

116) like kwlakwla nɔ̃-ɔ̃ nzwe bla kũngba.
1 2 3 4 5 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) akɔ kãngã wu-li.
1 2 3

'Small chickens died.'
2 1 3

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The noun phrases in the above five examples are non-specific. Compare them to the plural specific noun phrases in the following:

113a) slã nsã-nĩ ba-li.
1 2 3 4 5

'The three people came.'
3 2 1 4-5

114a) a-bo ba nɲɔ̃-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

'She beat the two children.'
1 2 5 4 3

115a) slã ngba-nĩ be lɛ be taaba
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

person all SPEC 3p PCOP 3p arrow
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'All the people have their arrows.'

116a) akɔ kãngɛ̃-nĩ wu-li.
1 2 3 4

'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) akɔ kãngã-nĩ be wu-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The small chickens died.'
3 2 1-4 5-6

-mũ (/mum/), the plural individuator

The morpheme -mũ 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

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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 -mũ and its absence is not a plural/singular distinction but an individuated/unindividuated distinction. For example

118) a) n fɛ-ɛ ɛ dã.
1 2 3 4 5

1s take FPST 3s big
1 2 3 4 5

'I took a big one/big ones.'

b) n fɛ-ɛ ɛ da-mũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s take FPST 3s big INDIV
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I took (the) big ones (individuated).'

119) a) jisa waka.
1 2

'Gather wood'
1 2

b) jisa waka-mũ.
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

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b) sonɟa-mũ kwla be lɛ be twi.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

soldier INDIV all 3p PCOP 3p gun
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'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) ɛ njǎ ɔ, nvɔlɛ-nĩ be-mũ bá ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s look (CERT) when, termite SPEC 3p INDIV come (CERT) here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'When he looked, the termites were coming (termites seen as individuals).'

We thus have the following possible constructions:

122) a) akɔ a-di ajwe ngba.
1 2 3 4 5

'A chicken/Chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'
1 2 3 5 4

b) akɔ-nĩ a-di ajwe ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The chicken/The chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'
2 1 2 1 3 4 6 5

c) akɔ be di ajwe.
1 2 3 4

'Chickens eat rice.'
1-2 3 4

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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) ã kundɛ kpãflɛ̃ kpakpa nnã, ã ɟlã be nga ĩ wũ 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 unindi-

viduated], 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.

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124) n kɔ́ fje su n bá. nã ba be-mũ wo lɔ, njã be su o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

1s go (CERT) field on 1s come (CERT). and child 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

INDIV LCOP there, look (IMP) 3p on EMP
10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'I'm going to the fields, I'll return. Now the children (seen as individuals) are there, look after them.'

125) jɛ ɛ wa-flɛ́ ɛ bɔ wa-ljɛ-mũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

and 3s DM call (CERT) 3s own child ASS INDIV DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'And she came and called her own children (one by one).'

126) a-kplãkplã nũ lɔ cwa-mũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s-PRF plant in there spear INDIV
1 2 3 4 5 6

'He planted spears in there (in a trap that will catch Hare).'

When -mũ is used with kin terms (Section 221.5) and names (Section 221.2), it indicates 'and theirs/and their retinue.' For example

127) kofi-mũ be su-ba.
1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and his retinue are coming.'
1 2-3 4 5

128) fa nzã-nĩ kɔ-mã n ji-mũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

take (IMP) wine SPEC DM give 1s wife INDIV
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Take the wine, go give it to my wife and hers ('her family').'

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There is potential ambiguity with a kin term plus -mũ. Thus sentence 128 could also mean, 'Take the wine, go give it to my wives.'

-mũ is invariably used with a vocative in addressing a group. For example

129) ba-mũ, ã kãkã nãnĩ-nĩ nã ã si ba-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

child INDIV, 2p drive (SUBJ) cow SPEC and 2p follow (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

child SPEC on
10 11 12

'Children, drive the cows and follow the boy.'

130) awofwɛ-mũ, ã jako.
1 2 3 4

'Strangers, condolences to you.'
1-2 4 3

131) n-ja-mũ, ãmũ njã, like nga mɛ̃ kũ-ũ nãnĩ-nĩ jɛ woe fle nũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

lɛ lɔ.
16 17

mister INDIV, 2p look (SUBJ), thing this/that which kill
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.'

-mũ does not occur with mass nouns (Section 221.6). These nouns can occur with the specifier nĩ but cannot be marked for number in any of the ways discussed above. For example

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132) a) n lɛ a sika.
1 2 3 4

'I have no money.'
1 2 3 4

b) n lɛ a sika-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

'I don't have the money.'
1 2 3 2 5 4

c) *n lɛ a sika-mũ.

*'I don't have moneys.'

d) *n lɛ a sika nsã.

*'I don't have three moneys.'

-mũ can only be used with a mass noun if it occurs with the particularizer ba (Section 221.8). For example

133) sikaba-mũ wo kpongbo nũ.
1 2 3 4 5

'The coins are in the can.'
1-2 3 5 4

134) jisa ajweba-mũ kwla.
1 2 3 4

'Pick up all the rice kernels.'
1 4 2-3

135) nzweba-mũ 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, bɔ and bɔbɔ, 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 bɔ is often mɔ̃ and occurs before the pronoun. The particle bɔbɔ is more emphatic than bɔ. They are translated as 'self.' For example

136) n bɔ mĩ jɛ m'ã-wũ ase ĩ; a bɔ tlã ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

1s self 1s COP 1s PRF see ground here; 2s self sit (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

here
13

'I myself I can see; you yourself sit there.'

137) mɔ̃ n kɔ-fjɛ́ ɛ dã nũ lɔ nã fjɛ ɛ kã nũ wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

self 1s DM hide (CERT) 3s big in there and hide (IMP)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s small in here
11 12 13 14

'I myself will go hide in the big one there; hide in the small one here.'

138) n bɔbɔ n kwasi n kɛndeja, mĩ jɛ n ba-a nãnã ɲamjɛ̃ kpli
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

ɛ jako-nĩ-afɛ jolɛ.
15 16 17

1s self 1s Kwasi 1s spider, 1s COP 1s come FPST grandpa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

god big 3s condolences doing
13 14 15 16 17

'I myself Kwasi Spider, me it is who came to offer condolences to Grandpa God.'

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139) ɛ bɔ wa-ljɛ ngba wu-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s self child ASS all die FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'All her own children died.'

140) ɛ bɔbɔ ɛ joe-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s self 3s do-3s FPST EMP
1 2 3 4 5 6

'He himself he did it.'

141) a bɔbɔ a su-kɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

2s self 2s IMPRF go.
1 2 3 4 5

'You yourself you will go.'

142) kɔ-wusa be bɔ.
1 2 3 4

DM ask (IMP) 3s self
1 2 3 4

'Go ask them!'

143) ɛ ti je bɔbɔ j'ãjĩble.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s ICOP 1p self 1p misfortune
1 2 3 4 5 6

'It is our own misfortune.'

144) Kofi bɔ wo awlo lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

Kofi self LCOP house there
1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi himself is in the house.'

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Not unrelated to the above two particles is the particle mɔ̃ (occasionally realized as bɔ) which occurs after any noun to underline it or emphasize it. For example

145) ɛ tu-u ɛ alaku mɔ̃, kpɔkũ kplɔɔkplɔɔ, a-jwe di.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s remove FPST 3s pants even, suddenly ideoph: of chewing,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s-PRF finish eat
9 10 11

'He removed even his pants, suddenly munch munch, he had finished eating them.'

146) nzwe mɔ̃ wú ɛ su sɔ susususu.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

water even boil (CERT) 3s on thus ideoph: of bubbling
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Water boiled over him bubble bubble.'

147) woɲĩ mɔ̃ ɛ ti mɔ̃ kplá nzwe-nĩ su sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

python even 3s head even stick up (CERT) water SPEC on thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'There was a python with his head sticking out of the water!'

148) ɛ wlɛ-ɛ ɛ sa mɔ̃ alubwe sɛ mɔ̃ nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s put FPST 3s hand even yam purée pot even in.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'He put his hand in the yam pot!'

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149) jɛ ɛ kɔ-si mãkũ nĩ nɟĩ mɔ̃.
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 bɔ je su-wa-ka ɔ?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

here even 1p IMPRF DM stay QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'"Is it here that we are going to stay?"'

151) ɛ ji-nĩ bɔ wándi ba ĩ.
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 fɛ mɔ̃ tlá like kwlakwlakwla.
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) ɛ klĩjã mɔ̃-nĩ!
1 2 3 4

3s pretty even SPEC
1 2 3 4

'It's prettiness!! (i.e. it is very pretty).'

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230. THE VERB PHRASE

The discussion of the verb phrase included in this section can be summarized by the following set of rules:

VP → VERB P⁀(Adjunct)

VERB P → a) Copula⁀Complement (Section 231)

→ b) VERB (Section 234)

→ c) VERB⁀SP (Section 235)

→ d) VERB⁀SP⁀SP (Section 236)

→ e) VERB⁀Loc P (Section 235)

VERB → Asp⁀(DM)⁀Verb (Section 238)

Verb → V (Section 238.1)

→ V⁀N Compl (Section 233)

Adjunct → (LocP)⁀(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⁀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

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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 varbs that link a subject substantive phrase and a complement: ti, the identifying/attributive copula; wo, the locative copula; and lɛ, the possessive copula.

ti, (/ti/), the identifying/attributive copula

ti links a subject substantive phrase with another substantive phrase, an adjective, or a numeral as complement. For example

1) bjã-nĩ ti wlɛngbifwɛ.
'The man is a richman.'

2) swa-nĩ ti dã.
'The house is big.'

3) ba-nĩ be ti nsã.
'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 ti.

a) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Human vs. Non-Human. For example

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4) bla-nĩ ti sɛwufwɛ.

'The woman is a potter.'

5) mãkũ ti ajre.

'Pepper is medicine.'

but not

6) *bla-nĩ ti ajre.

'The woman is medicine.'

7) *mãkũ ti sɛwufwɛ.

'Pepper is a potter.'

b) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Locative vs. Non-Locative. For example

8) wa-nĩ ti fje.

'The place here is a field.'

9) Béoumi ti klɔ dã.

'Béoumi is a big village.'

c) A sub-class of Temporal Adverbs function as substantives in ti sentences. This includes anɛkĩ 'today,' ãnũmã 'yesterday,' cɛ̃ tɛ 'rest day,' mɔ̃nɛ̃, 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) anɛkĩ ti jolɛ.

'Today is Tuesday.'

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11) ãnũmã 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 wlɛngbifwɛ.

'Kofi is a rich man.'

13) *kofi ti wlɛngbifwɛ-nĩ

'Kofi is the rich man.'

14) *wlɛngbifwɛ-nĩ ti kofi

'The rich man is Kofi.'

15) *wlɛngbifwɛ ti kofi

'A rich man is Kofi.'

16) mãkũ ti ajre.

'Pepper is medicine.'

17) mãkũ-nĩ ti ajre.

'The pepper is medicine.'

18) *mãkũ ti ajre-nĩ.

'Pepper is the medicine.'

---

[1]Names, pronouns, kin terms, place names, or nouns followed by the specifier -nĩ are specific. In the case of the temporal adverbs (Section 239) anɛkĩ 'today,' ãjĩmã 'tomorrow,' ãnũmã 'yesterday' are specific; cɛ̃ tɛ 'rest day,' and the names of the days of the week, are non-specific.

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19) Wlusɛ ti klɔ uflɛ.

'Wlusɛ is a new village.'

20) *Wlusɛ ti klɔ uflɛ-nĩ.

'Wlusɛ is the new village.'

21) anɛkĩ ti mɔ̃nɛ̃.

'Today is a Sunday.'

22) mɔ̃nɛ̃ ti cɛ̃ tɛ.

'Sundays are rest days.'

23) *kisje ti ãjĩmã.

'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) kpãflɛ̃-nĩ ti kekle.

'The young man is strong.'

25) swi ti dã.

'Elephants are big.'

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26) lɔ ti kpa?

'Is There good?' (i.e. where you came from)

A numeral complement must agree in number with the subject substantive phrase; kɔ̃ 'one' occurring with a singular subject and all other numerals occurring with a plural subject. For example

27) bja-nĩ ti kɔ̃.

'The stool is one/there is one stool.'

28) ɛ ba-ni tĩ kũngba.

'Her child is only one/She has only one child.'

29) boli-nĩ 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 + -lɛ [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 dã-nĩ wo wa.

'The big knife is here.'

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33) conjo-nĩ wo waka wũ.

'The machete is next to the tree.'

34) gbekle kɔ̃ wo swa-nĩ nũ.

'A mouse is in the inside of the house.'

b) Verbal noun as complement:

35) ɛ wũ-ũ kũmã kɔ̃; wonda wo wlulɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 8

3s see FPST hole one; viper LCOP entering
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'She saw a hole; a viper was (in the process of) entering.'

36) ɛ sjabla wo aljɛ wutalɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s mother-in-law LCOP food peeling
1 2 3 4 5

'His mother-in-law was (in the process of) peeling food.'

37) boli wo ɛ nwã kpusalɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

goat LCOP 3s mouth chewing
1 2 3 4 5

'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 focussing. For example

38) ba-nĩ, ɛ wũ ɲalɛ jɛ ɛ wo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

child SPEC, 3s body getting COP 3s LCOP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The child, making himself rich it is he is (in the process of).'

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wo is also used in such "existential" sentences as:[1]

39) wanzali 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) nnɛ̃ wo asje wũ slã be ɲlũ.
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 kũmã 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 lɛ and ĩ, 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) bjã kɔ̃ wo lɛ.
1 2 3 4

'There was a certain man.'
4 3 2 1

---

[1]Cf. Lyons' suggestion that existential sentences be analyzed as indefinite locatives (1969:388).

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43) be wa kã wo lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

'Their small child was there/They had a small child.'
1 3 2 4 5

44) jɛ ɛ nĩ be be wo lɛ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'And he and they were there.'
1 2 3 4-5 6 7

45) n bjã nga n kɔ-ɟé jɛ wo ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s man this/that 1s 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) swɪe kɔ̃ wo lɛ, ɛ tla slã 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 nsã wo ĩ, akɔ bo a klɔ-nĩ 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 nũ. For example

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48) akɔɲĩmã nũ mã klɔ-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 mã lɛ.
1 2 3 4

'Water is not there/There is no water.'
1 2 3 4 4 2 3 1

50) mɛ̃ kanvwɛ̃ nũ mɛ̃ ɛ wũ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃ nĩ, n bjã-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

as scar LCOP NEG 3s body evereverever 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.'

lɛ, (/lɛ/), the possessive copula

lɛ occurs in two different types of construction:

a) It links a possessor substantive with a possessed substantive. For example

51) n lɛ nãnĩ.
1 2 3

'I have cows/a cow.'
1 2 3

52) Kofi lɛ ji.

'Kofi has a wife/wives.'
1 2 3

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53) be ngba be lɛ 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-mũ lɛ amũ.
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 ɟaafwɛ dã lɛ wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

1s friend big PCOP 2s
1 2 3 4 5

'You are my good friend.'

56) ɛ mɛ̃difwɛ lɛ boli-mũ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s neighbor PCOP goat INDIV
1 2 3 4 5

'His neighbors are the goats.'

57) a-ljɛ lɛ bla-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

2s ASS PCOP woman SPEC
1 2 3 4 5

'Yours is the girl.'

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58) ɛ-ljɛ lɛ 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) amũ ti n wa-mũ.
1 2 3 4

'You are my children.'
1 2 3 4

55a) a ti n ɟaafwɛ dã.
1 2 3 4 5

'You are my good friend.'
1 2 3 4 5

56a) boli-mũ ti ɛ mɛ̃difwɛ.
1 2 3 4

'The goats are his neighbors.'
1 2 3 4

57a) bla-nĩ ti a-ljɛ.
1 2 3 4

'The girl is yours.'
2 1 3 4

58a) sika tãnĩ ti ɛ-ljɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

'The gold cloth is his.'
1 2 3 4-5

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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, ɔ, (/ɔ/), and jɛ, (/jɛ/), occur after a substantive phrase, linking it to previous sentences or to the context of the utterance.

ɔ occurs after a substantive phrase which identifies a person or object already in the context. For example

59) ato ɔ.
1 2

lie COP
1 2

'It's a lie.'

60) a wũ-nĩ, woŋĩ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

2s husband SPEC, python COP
1 2 3 4 5

'Your husband, he's a python.'

61) mĩ ɔ.
1 2

1s COP
1 2

'It's me.'

62) je wã ɛ ti kɛ kla ngbɛ̃. kanzu ajre ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1p say 3s ICOP 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) sɛ a njɛ̃ ɛ lika kpa, slã ngba-nĩ ɛ mwae ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 2s look 3s place good, person all SPEC 3s happiness COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'If you look after him well, it's everyone's happiness.'

jɛ "points to" a specific person or object; the substantive phrase with which it occurs is always specific. For example

64) kwe dã-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4

knife big SPEC COP
1 2 3 4

'This is/Here is the big knife.'

65) n swa-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4

1s house SPEC COP
1 2 3 4

'This is/Here is my house.'

66) ɛ ajre aɟakpa-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s medicine payment SPEC COP
1 2 3 4 5

'Here is/This is his medicine payment.'

67) bjã nga n kɛ̃ ɛ ndɛ-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

man this/that 1s speak 3s words SPEC COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'This is/Here is the man of whom I spoke.'

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68) sa nga ti jɛ n se-e a kɛ a ka lɔ-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

affair this/that reason COP 1s tell FPST 2s that 2s stay
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(SUBJ) there SPEC COP
12 13 14

'This is the reason it is I told you to stay there.'

A substantive phrase "pointed to" with jɛ can also be the subject of a verb:

69) a kla-nĩ jɛ wo lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

2s torch SPEC COP LCOP there.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Your torches it is which are there/Those are your torches there.'

70) ajika-ni jɛ wa-ka-a be wosu nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

orphan SPEC COP DM stay FPST 3p tracks in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'The orphan it was came to stay in their place.'

71) ɛ fata-a kɛ slã jɛ kũĩ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s is necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill-3s DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'It wasn't possible that it was a person (who) killed it.'

72) ɛ bɔ ngumi-nĩ jɛ fja-a blɛɛɛɛɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s self alone SPEC COP hide FPST carefully
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'She herself alone it was hid carefully.'

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The subject can be repeated after jɛ in the form of a pronoun. This serves to add focus to the subject substantive phrase. For example

73) jɛ be slã nɲɔ̃-nĩ jɛ be kɔ́ ɔ.
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) mĩ jɛ n ba-a nãnã ɲamjɛ̃ kpli ɛ jako jolɛ.
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) ɛ nĩ ji jɛ be slã nɲɔ̃ jɛ be ɲĩma ti silwa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eyes ICOP 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 nĩ nãnĩ jɛ je to awale ɔ.
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. I) and cow it is who play awale.'

jɛ is added to any substantive phrase which is moved to the front of the sentence for focussing. For example

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77) ɛ wla jɛ ɛ fa kle lɔ.
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-nĩ jɛ n di lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s head hat SPEC COP 1s eat (STA) there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'My hat it is I eat there.'

79) n bu kɛ atĩ nũ jɛ be wɔ-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s 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 jɛ mãtã 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 jɛ be lafi ɔ.
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.'

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82) ɛ dũmã nũ jɛ n mɔ̃ m'a-wũ lika.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s name in COP 1s self 1s PRF see place
1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8 10

'It is because of him that I have seen (i.e. I can see).'

An additional copula, jɛlɛ, (/jɛlɛ/), occurs either at the beginning of a substantive phrase, linking it to the context, or functions like ti, wo and lɛ 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) jɛlɛ mĩ nɔswa nũ ato.
1 2 3 4 5

COP 1s evening in lie
1 2 3 4 5

'This is my lie for the evening' (said after telling a story).

84) jɛlɛ ndɛ nga n si kã-li kle-e mĩ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

COP words this/that 1s father speak FPST show-3s FPST 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

SPEC
11

'This is the affair my father told me.'

85) jɛlɛ bla nĩ jaswa be aja.
1 2 3 4 5 6

COP woman and man 3p marriage
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Thus is women and men's marriage.'

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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) slã nga ti jɛ be slɛ a kɔ̃-nĩ jɛlɛ gboklo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

person this/that fault COP 3p ask NEG again SPEC COP hyena
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'The person whose fault it is that they ask no longer is Hyena.'

87) ajre kekle jɛlɛ nga ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

medicine strong COP this/that here
1 2 3 4 5

'Strong medicine is this here.'

88) klɔ nga be kɔ-tóe sjɛ̃-nĩ jɛlɛ gblobo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

village this/that 3p DM find (CERT)-3s next SPEC was Gblobo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'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.

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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 bɔ̃ 'be smelly,' fɛ̃ 'be white,' jo 'be cold,' jɛ 'be hot,' lu 'be dark.' For example

86) ɛ bɔ̃.
'It smells.'

87) ɛ je fɛ̃.
'His teeth are white.'

88) ɛ lu.
'It is dark' (of a room or the bottom of a well).

89) nzwe-nĩ jo.
'The water is cold (was never warm).'

90) awje-nĩ jɛ.
'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

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91) a-bɔ̃.

'It is spoiled (i.e. has become smelly).'

ɛ bɔ̃-li.

'It spoiled.'

ɛ̄ bɔ́̃.

'It will surely spoil.'

92) tãnĭ-nĭ a-fɛ̃.

'The cloth is white (after being scrubbed and bleached in the sun).'

sje tãnĭ-nĭ jwa nũ nã ɛ fɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

put cloth SPEC sun in and 3s whiten (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Put the cloth in the sun, may it whiten.'

93) lika a-lu.

'It is dark/Night has fallen.'

lika lu-u je su.
1 2 3 4 5

place darken FPST 1p on
1 2 3 4 5

'It got dark on us.'

94) nzwe-nĭ a-jo.

'The water is cold (i.e. has cooled from being warm).'

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95) ajwe-nĩ a-jɛ.

'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,' fɛ 'tire,' nĩ 'mature, become full-grown,' and the verb jo 'do, make, become' plus a limited number of adjectives: koklo 'thin,' nɔ̃nĩ 'heavy,' kpa 'good,' dã̀ 'big.' For example

96) amango a-blo.
1 2

'Mangoes have ripened/are ripe.'
1 2

97) aljɛ-nĩ a-be.
1 2 3

'The food has cooked/is cooked.'
2 1 3

98) alwa-nĩ a-nĩ.
1 2 3 4

'The dog has matured/is full-grown.'
2 1 3

99) bla-nĩ a-jo koklo.
1 2 3 4 5

'The girl has become thin/is thin.'
2 1 3 4 3 4

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100) ba-nĭ a-jo nɔ̃nĭ.
1 2 3 4

'The baby has become heavy/is heavy.'
2 1 3 4 3 4

101) *ɛ blo.

'It ripens.'

102) *n fɛ.

'I tire.'

103) *ɛ 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) ɛ su-blo.

'It will be ripe soon/It is ripening.'

105) ɛ su-fɛ.

'He will soon tire/He is suffering.'

106) ɛ su-be.

'It will be cooked soon/It is achieving doneness.'

107) ɛ su-ɲi.

'It will soon be full-grown/It is achieving maturity.'

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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-nĩ nĩ̃-li.
1 2 3

'The maiden grew up!' (said in surprise since speaker
2 1 3

was unaware it had happened).

109) amango-nĩ blo-li.
1 2 3

'The mango ripened (and is probably over-ripe or rotten
2 1 3

now).'

110) ba-nĩ jo-o nɔ̃nĩ.
1 2 3 4

'The child got heavy.'
2 1 3 4

111) bjã-nĩ jo-o kpa.
1 2 3 4

'The man got successful.'
2 1 3 4

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.

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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 wũ	'be boastful, cocky'
tu nũ	'take out'
(di	'eat, conquer, have sexual relations, do')
di ɲlũ	'go before, ahead of'
di sĩ	'follow'
di su	'accept'
di wũ	'tease, make fun of'

112) a tu ɛ 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) nã tu a bo kɔ̃, be-mũ kɔ ndɛ nũ lɔ.
1 2 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'a-tu ba-nĩ 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.'

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115) Gboklo su-tu ɛ wũ.
1 2 3 4

hyena IMPRF is boastful 3s
1 2 3 4

'Hyena is being boastful.'

116) ɛ tu-u nũ lɔ dɔba ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s remove FPST there termite all
1 2 3 4 5 6

'He took out of there all the termites.'

117) ba-nĩ di-i ɛ ɲlũ, be wɔ-ɔ fje su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

child SPEC go before FPST 3s, 3p go FPST field on
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 nã je wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

follow 1s and 1p go (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5

'Follow me and let's go.'

119) sɛ ɲãmjɛ̃ di su, je su-kplã swa afwe mɔ̃ bá ĩ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if god accept, 1p IMPRF build house year which come (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

here SPEC
11 12

'If God accepts (i.e. God willing) we will build a house

next year.'

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120) gbamlɔ su-di (or su-didi) gboklo wũ.
1 2 3 4

hare IMPRF tease hyena
1 2 3 4

'Hare is teasing Hyena.'

Non-locative complement

Completable verbs that require a noun complement other than a locative include:

(bo	'hit')		
bo blalɛ	'forge'	(blalɛ	'iron')
bo klɛ̃	'beat a drum'	(klɛ̃	'drum')
bo nda	'clap hands'	(nda	'twin')
bo dwo	'plant igname'	(dwo	'igname')
bo flemã	'whistle'	(flemã	?-no meaning in isolation)
bo tango	'cough'	(tango	'cold')
bo nglo	'make suds'	(nglo	'suds)
bo somã	'be engaged'	(somã	'fiancee')
di ɟũmã	'work'	(ɟũmã	'work)
di ba	'act as a child'	(ba	'child')
di sonja	'be a soldier'	(sonja	'soldier')
di talwa	'be youthful'	(talwa	'young woman')
di nawlɛ	'tell the truth'	(nawlɛ	'truth)
di fje	'have fields'	(fje	'fields)
di cɛ̃	'celebrate a holiday'	(cɛ̃	'day')
di mɛ̃	'live as neighbors'	(mɛ̃	'world')

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(to	'buy, throw, find')		
to ɟese	'spin cotton'	(ɟese	'cotton')
to twi	'shoot a gun'	(twi	'gun')
to ɟwe	'sing'	(ɟwe	'song')
to mma	'play seed game'	(mma	'seed')

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 tɔ-ɔ nzwe-nĩ nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

maiden fall FPST water SPEC in
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Maiden fell into the water.'

b) talwa tɔ-ɔ ɛ ni nũ. (tɔ nũ 'hug')
1 2[3 4 5]

maiden hug FPST 3s mother
1 2 3 4 5

'Maiden hugged her mother.'

122) a) n lafi ɛ bɛ su.
1 2 3 4 5

1s sleep 3s mat on
1 2 3 4 5

'I sleep on his mat.'

b) n lafi ɛ si su. (lafi su 'count on')
1 2[3 4]

1s count on 3s father
1 2 3 4

'I'm counting on his father.'

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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 -lɛ (Section 221.8) to the verb decides the unclear cases. -lɛ is suffixed to the verb and any obligatory element occurs before it. For example

123)	nũ tɔlɛ	'hugging'
	ɲlũ dilɛ	'going before'
	su sɔlɛ	'answering'
	su lafilɛ	'counting on'
	nũ tulɛ	'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

bɔ̃	'be smelly'
fɛ̃	'be white'
sɔ	'be hard, elastic, solid'
jɛ	'be hot'

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lu 'be dark'

ɟo 'be cold'

in which the subject substantive expresses the patient role:

124) ɛ ɟe-ni fɛ̃.
1 2 3

'His teeth are white.'
1 2 3

125) dwo-nga-nĩ sɔ.
1 2 3

'This yam is elastic.'
2 1 3

126) n klũ ɟo.
1 2 3

'My stomach is cold (i.e. I am happy).'
1 2 3

127) kãnĩ nzwe bɔ̃.
1 2 3

'Kerosene smells.'
1-2 3

b) Verbs of process (Section 232) such as:

be 'cook'

ɲĩ 'mature'

fɛ 'tire'

ɲã 'sour'

wũ '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-nĭ a-be.
1 2 3

'The rice has/is cooked.'
2 1 3

129) alwa-nĭ a-nĭ.
1 2 3

'The dog has/is grown up.'
2 1 3

130) tlo nga a-nã.
1 2 3

'This sauce has soured/is sour.'
2 1 3

131) m'a-fɛ.
1 2

'I am tired/have tired.'
1 2

132) mãkũ-nĭ a-wu sekeseke.
1 2 3 4

'The pepper has/is dried completely.'
2 1 3 4

133) n sa-nĭ a-wũ.
1 2 3

'my hand has swelled/is swollen.'
1 2 3

The subject substantive occurring with these verbs is a patient undergoing a process.

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c) Verbs of action such as

sli	'laugh'
lafi	'sleep'
kɔ	'go'
ba	'come'
tɔ	'fall'
tu	'boil, fade'

with which the subject substantive has the role of actor:

134) ɛ jo sɛ a su-sli ɔ?
1 2 3

'Why are you laughing?'
1 2 3

135) be lafi.
1 2

'They are sleeping.'
1 2

136) ba-nĩ wa-tɔ.
1 2 3

'The child will fall.'

137) nzwe-nĩ su-tu.
1 2 3

'The water is boiling.'
2 1 3

138) tlalɛ nga-nĩ tuli.
1 2 3

'This garment faded.'
1 2 3

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139) je su-kɔ klɔ.
1 2 3

'We're going to the village.'
1 2 3

140) be ba-a gwa bo.
1 2 3

'They came to the market.'
1 2 3

The verbs tɔ '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 chracteristic of process verbs. The verbs tɔ and tu do occur with the stative inflection:

141) nzwe-nĩ tu.
1 2 3

'The water is boiling.'
2 1 3

142) tlalɛ nga-nĩ tu.
1 2 3

'This garment fades/is fading.'
2 1 3

143) ba-nĩ tɔ.
1 2 3

'The child falls/is falling.'
2 1 3

The verbs of movement kɔ 'go' and ba 'come' often occur with a LocP (locative phrase) but can also occur with only a subject SP and thus

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are considered one-place verbs (cf. the class of locative two-place verbs below).

144) ɛ su-kɔ.
'He is going.'

145) Amlã a-ba.
'Amlã came.'

One-place completable verbs include:

kpɛ bɛ	'sneeze'			
	(kpɛ	'cut'	bɛ	'sneeze')
sa nzwe	'draw water'			
	(sa	?	nzwe	'water')
wu tãnĩ	'weave'			
	(wu	'dry, die'	tãnĩ	'cloth')
wu sɛ	'pot (verb)'			
	(wu	'dry, die'	sɛ	'pot)
tɔ blo	'run away, excape'			
	(tɔ	'fall'	blo	'bush')
kã ngwa	'dance, play'			
	(kã	'touch'	ngwa	'game')
kã nzã	'extract wine'			
	(kã	'touch'	nzã	'wine')
ji slaka	'sacrifice'			
	(ji	'take out'	slaka	'sacrifice')
ji gbekle	'divine (by mouse oracle)'			
	(ji	'take out'	gbekle	'mouse')

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bo nda	'clap hands'	
	(bo 'hit'	nda 'twin')
bu nɲandra	'tell a proverb'	
	(bu 'break'	nɲandra 'proverb')

Sentences containing a one-place completable verb have the same surface shape as sentences containing a two-place verb. Compare

146) a) ɛ su-bo nda.
1 2

'He is clapping hands.'
1 2

b) ɛ su-bo nda
1 2 3

'He is striking a twin.'
1 2 3

147) a) ɛ su-ji gbekle.
1 2

'He is divining by mouse oracle.'
1 2

b) ɛ su-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 -lɛ, -wlɛ or -fwɛ (Section 221.8). These noun-deriving suffixes are added to the verb and all obligatory elements occur before the verb. For example

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148) nda bolɛ 'hand clapping'

gbekle jilɛ 'divining by mouse oracle'

sɛ wufwɛ 'potter'

tãnĩ wufwɛ 'weaver'

ngwa kãwlɛ 'playing, dancing place'

2.5. 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) ɲã 'gain, get'

m'a-ɲã sika.
1 2 3 4

'I've gotten money.'
1 2 3 4

150) kũ 'kill'

ɛ kũ-ũ kpejã kɔ̃.
1 2 3 4

'He killed one muskrat.'
1 2 4 3

151) tla 'grab, capture'

be tla-a ajwefwɛ.
1 2 3

'They grabbed a thief.'
1 2 3

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152) ji 'empty, deliver, give back, take out, take off'

a-ji ojwe-nĩ.
1 2 3 4

'He took out the thorn.'
1 2 3 4

ɛ su-ji ba.
1 2 3 4

'She is taking off the baby (from her back).'
1 2 3 4

In the case of completable verbs the object substantive occurs between the verb and its complement noun.

153) kãkã nũ 'stir'

ɛ su-kãkã tlo nũ.
1 2 3 4

'She is stirring the sauce.'
1 2 3 4

154) la ase 'thank'

je la a ase.
1 2 3

'We thank you.'
1 2 3

155) swã dũmã 'name'

be swã-ã ɛ dũmã Kofi.
1 2 3 4

'They named him Kofi.'
1 2 3 4

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156) bu fɔ 'condemn'

klɔ kpɛ̃ngbɛ̃ a-bu be fɔ.
1 2 3 4

'The village chief condemned them.'
1 2 3 4

157) gwa atĭ 'accompany'

je su-kɔ gwa be atĭ.
1 2 3 4

'We're going to accompany them.'
1 2 3 4

158) gwa bo 'conclude, finish'

gwa jwe-nĭ bo.
1 2 3

'Finish the song.'
1 3 2

159) njã lika 'take care of'

be a-njã ba-nĭ lika kpa.
1 2 3 4 5

'They took good care of the child.'
1 2 5 4 3

160) njã osu 'visit'

cɛ̃ kɔ̃ n kɔ-njã a osu.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'One day I'll come visit you.'
2 1 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:

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161) kpɛ wũ 'turn around'

alwa su-kpɛ̃ ɛ wũ.
1 2 3 4

'The dog is turning around.'
1 2 3

162) ɲã ti 'have time, be saved'

m'a-ɲã n ti.
1 2 3

'I've been saved.'
1 2 3

163) tla awlɛ̃ba 'persevere, take courage'

a-tla ɛ awlɛ̃ba.
1 2

'He took courage.'
1 2

164) sa sĩ 'return'

be sa-a be sĩ.
1 2

'They turned around.'
1 2

165) sa nwã 'go back on one's word'

ɛ su-sa ɛ nwã.
1 2 3

'He's going to go back on his word.'
1 2 3

166) kã wũ 'hasten'

m'a-kã n wũ m'a-ba.
1 2 3 4

'I hastened. I came.'
1 2 3 4

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167) bu wũ 'consider oneself'

ɛ bu ɛ wũ dă.
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 nĩ (Section 241):

168) la 'sleep with'

ɛ nĩ bla-nĩ be la-li.
1 2 3 4

'He slept with the girl.'
1 4 3 2

a nĩ wã jɛ ămũ la-li?
1 2 3

'Who did you sleep with?'
2 1 3

169) kpɛ ndɛ 'dispute, argue'

je nĩ n ji je kpɛ ndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1p and 1s wife 1p argue
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I argue with my wife.'

kofi nĩ be kpɛ-ɛ ndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

kofi and 3p dispute FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and he argued.'

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170) jja 'encounter'

be nĩ Ndri 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) kã 'touch'

nã kã.

'Don't touch.'

nã kã alwa.

'Don't touch the dog.'

173) ka 'bite'

wwo-nĩ ka

'The snake bites.'

wwo-nĩ ka-a mĩ.

'The snake bit me.'

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174) bu angunda 'think'

ɛ su-bu angunda

'He is thinking.'

ɛ su-bu mi angunda.

'He is thinking of me.'

175) kpɛ nzoa 'insult'

be ti tɛ; be kpɛ nzoa.
1 2 3 1 2

'They are bad; they insult.'
1 2 3 1 2

n njããbla a-kpɛ mĩ nzoa.
1 2 3 4

'My sister insulted me.'
1 2 3 4

176) sɔ su 'respond'

ãmũ sɔ su.

'You (pl) respond.'

ãmũ sɔ ɟwe-nĩ su.

'You (pl) respond to the song.'

177) kã ajre 'paint'

be su-kã ayre.

'They are painting.'

be su-kã swa ayre.

'They are painting the house.'

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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'

sɛ-nĩ a-bu.

'The pot broke.'

kofi bu-u sɛ-nĩ.

'Kofi broke the pot.'

179) gwa 'pour, leak, splash;

nzue-nĩ gwa.

'The water is leaking.'

swa-nĩ gwa.

'The house leaks.

ɛ su-gwa nzwe sɛ-nĩ nũ.

'He is pouring water in the pot.'

180) bu nũ 'fold'

kwe nga-nĩ bu nũ.

'This knife folds up.'

a-bu fluwa nu.

'He folded up the paper.'

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181) tike 'open'

anwã tike-li.

'The door opened.'

ɛ tike-e anwã.

'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) mã 'give'

be a-kɔ-mɛ̃ like.
1 2 3 4 5

3p PRF DM give-3s thing
1 2 3 4 5

'They went to give him food.'

ɛ mã-ã n dwo nsã.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s give FPST 1s yam three
1 2 3 4 5 6

'She gave me three yams.'

183) blɛ 'bring'

n nĩ a-blɛ n tãnĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s mother PRF bring 1s cloth
1 2 3 4 5 6

'My mother brought me a cloth.'

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blɛ mĩ nzwe.
1 2 3

'Bring me water.'
1 2 3

184) slɛ 'ask'

a-kɔ-slɛ bjã-nĩ akɔ.
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 slɛ́ ɛ kpangɔ.
1 2 3 4

1s ask (CERT) 3s bicycle.
1 2 3 4

'I'll ask for his bicycle.'

wɔ 'prick, sting'

je wa-wɔ́ɛ taa ba.
1 2 3 4

1p 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

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185) fa nzwe-nĩ bla.
1 2 3 4

take water SPEC come
1 2 3 4

'Bring the water.'

186) n si a-fa sika mã mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s father PRF take money give 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'My father gave me money.'

187) bla-nĩ tɔ̃ like mã be.
1 2 3 4 5 6

woman SPEC cook (STA) thing give 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The woman cooks for them.'

188) a-fa kle-nĩ kplã ɛ ti.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s-PRF take hat SPEC plant 3s head
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'He took his hat and put it on his head.'

189) nzwe-nĩ su-wu gwa.
1 2 3 4 5

water SPEC IMPRF boil pour
1 2 3 4 5

'The water is boiling over.'

190) kã alwa njã.
1 2 3

touch dog see
1 2 3

'Touch the dog and see.'

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191) ɛ su-bo tlo-nĩ su njã.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s IMPRF taste sauce SPEC see
1 2 3-6 4 5 7

'She is tasting the sauce.'

192) be wu tla be wũ.
1 2 3 4 5

3p jump surpass (STA) 3p body
1 2 3 4 5

'They jump over each other.'

193) ãnũmã a-tu sĩ swa lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

bird PRF fly pass house there
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The bird flew past the house there.'

194) boli a-tu tla waka-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

goat PRF jump surpass tree SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The goat jumped over the tree.'

195) n wa-kã nde kle wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s DM tell affair show 2s
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I will tell you of an affair.'

When derived with the noun-deriving suffix -lɛ (Section 221.8), each verb of the verbal group occurs with -lɛ:

tu kpɛ̃ 'jump down'

tulɛ kpɛ̃lɛ 'jumping down'

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238. The Verb[1]

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'	didi	'graze'
fwa	'touch'	fwafwa	'touch many times'
ka	'bite'	kaka	'munch on'
kpɛ	'cut'	kpɛkpɛ	'cut many things/many times'

[1]The 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.

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ci	'tie'	cici	'tie up'
wlu	'enter'	wluwlu	'penetrate'

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. njã 'look,' tla 'grab'

Class III - two or more syllables e.g. nãnti 'walk,' kundɛ '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:

	Stative	Certaintive	Subjunctive
Class I	n̄ di	n̄ di	n̄ di
	'I eat'	'I will eat'	'that I eat'
Class II	n̄ njã	n̄ njã	n̄ njã
	'I look'	'I will look'	'that I look'
Class III	n̄ nãnti	n̄ nãnti	n̄ nãnti
	'I walk'	'I will walk'	'that I walk'

(The tones are: ˊ high, ¯ mid, ˋ low, ˏ mid-high rising, ˬ low-mid rising, ˥˩ mid-low falling. Cf. Section 140.)

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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) ɛ cɛ̃ nũ boli ti blɔfwɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s day in goat understand white-man
1 2 3 4 5 6

'In those days Goat understood White Man's language.'

197) be la atĩ nũ jɛ be to gwa-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p sleep path in and 3p arrive market SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'They sleep on the road and then they reach the market.'

198) nã̃ jobwɛ-nĩ su jɛ nzwe-nĩ jo gbudugbudu nĩ̃ɔ̃?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

not stone SPEC on COP water SPEC do ideophone: of
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

water-gurgling-over-rock DISC
9 10

'Isn't it on the rock that the water does gbudugbudu?'

199) mɔ̃ n jo ãwũ̃nvo nĩ, jɛ ɛ fa-li cɛ-ɛ mĩ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

since 1s do pity DISC then 3s take FPST give FPST 1s DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

'Since I cause pity, he took and gave me (his child).'

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200) "ba tetefwɛ, mɛ̃ n se sa ɛ ti mã nĩ, jɛ ɛ ta akɔ jɛ ɛ bo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

jɛ slã ti a sa lɔ."
18 19 20 21 22 23

child evil when 1s 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

there
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) jɛlɛ aja mɛ̃ ɛ wɔ ɛ sa su nĩ, ɛ bo-nĩ jɛ wo lɔ.
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

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 kɔ́ fje su n bá.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s go (CERT) field on 1s come (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I'll go to the fields, I'll return.'

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203) n dí n-ljɛ-ni jwe.
1 2 3 4 5 6

ls eat (CERT) ls POSS SPEC some
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I'll eat mine also.'

204) ndɛ nga n nĩ kã-li kle-e mĩ jɛ ɛ wu-li-nĩ, ndɛ sɔ su jɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

n nánti ɔ.
19 20 21

words this/that ls mother speak FPST show FPST ls and 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

die FPST SPEC words thus on COP ls walk (CERT) DISC
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

'The words that my mother spoke to me and she died, it

is these words I will follow.'

When used with the second and third person, the speaker predicts what will occur because from past experience it has always occurred. For example

205) sɛ je wɔɛ taaba nĩ, nzwe-nĩ gwá, je ná jwe, je nɔ́.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

if lp stick-3s arrow DISC water SPEC pour (CERT) lp
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

get (CERT) some lp drink (CERT)
10 11 12 13

'If we stick him with arrows, the water will pour, we

will get some, we will drink.'

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206) sɛ w'a-kaci ɛ ɛ nwã ndɛ nĩ, a nâ 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) ɛ sɛ́ ɛ sĩ ɛ wa-bá.
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 certaintive is used to express wishes:

208) n slɛ́ atĩ nã n kɔ́ klɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s request (CERT) path so-that 1s go (CERT) village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I ask for the road because I want to go home.'

209) ajicwle kusu wɛ̃ ɛ tó 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-nĩ wã ɛ nɔ̃́ 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.'

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211) sɛ a wã a kú mĩ, kũ mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

if 2s say 2s kill (CERT) 1s kill (IMP) 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'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) ɛ tú kpɛ̃ lɔ ɔ, ɛ wɛ nɲɔ̃ woe ɛ sĩ lɔ ketekete.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

3s jump (CERT) land there when, 3s horns two LCOP 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

behind there small
11 12 13

'When he jumped out there, his two small horns were behind him.'

213) akɔ-nĩ to-o kleswa nĩɔ̃; ɛ bóbo ɔ, ɛ bobo-o akɔ sa nɲɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

chicken SPEC lay FPST egg DISC; 3s hatch (CERT) when,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s hatch FPST chicken thus two
10 11 12 13 14 15

'The chicken laid eggs; when she hatched, she hatched two chicks.'

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214) bɔ ɛ tóto kla-nĩ sa nĩɔ̃, ɛ wũswle-nĩ gwa-a bla ɲĩma su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

as 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC pour
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

FPST woman eyes on
12 13 14 15

'As he swung the torch like this, its smoke poured on

the woman's eyes.'

215) ɛ njá boli ɲlũ wa nĩɔ̃, ɛ su-kpusɛ ɛ nwã jekũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s look (CERT) goat face here DISC, 3s IMPRF chew 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

mouth again
11 12

'When he looked at Goat's face here, he is chewing his

cud again.'

216) mɔ̃ ɛ fá atĩ nũ, ɛ si-i su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

as 3s take (CERT) path in, 3s follow FPST on
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'As she took the path, she followed.'

217) be kɔ́ nzwe nũ ɔ, nzwe nũ mã lɛ kɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p go (CERT) water in when, water LCOP NEG there again.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'When they went to the pond, there was no more water.'

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218) bɔ be ɟú klɔ lɔ nĩ̃ɔ̃, nãnĩ a-di lika ngba kpã.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

when 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow PRF fill
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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) ɛ nĩ be bá klɔ. jɛ ɟwe be ti slã nna, jɛ be bá, be wa-swɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

ɔ. be wo ɛ sĩ, be a-ba.
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

3s and 3p come (CERT) village. and fish 3p ICOP person
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

four, and 3p come (CERT), 3p DM load-3s DISC. 3p
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

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.'

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220) jɛ ɛ sí su ɔ. twãããã. be a-fa atĩ dã 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) jɛ be síke jɛ be wlú nũ ɔ. ba wã "o! wa jɛ je su-wa-ka
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

ɔ?"
18

and 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) jɛ ɛ jí ɛ-ljɛ nĩ̃ɔ̃, jɛ ɛ dí jekũ ɔ. vlãvlãvlã. a-mɛ̃.
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) jɛ ɛ mɛ́ ɛ 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) nĩ wã n se amũ kɛ "kpatla wũ bwi nga-mũ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

mother say 1s tell (SUBJ) 2p that carp body scale this/that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

INDIV
11

'Mother says I was to tell you "Scaly bodies like carp!"'

(an insult)

225) sika mɛ̃ n nĩ wã n fa n to kla nũ-nĩ, nã n kɔ-mɛ́.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

money which 1s mother say 1s take (SUBJ) 1s buy (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

torch in SPEC and 1s DM give (CERT)-3s
10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'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 jɛ n se-e a kɛ a ka lɔ-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

affair this/that reason COP 1s tell-FPST 2s that 2s
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 8 9 10

stay (SUBJ) there SPEC COP
11 12 13 14

'This is the reason for which I told you you were to stay there.'

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227) wɪa a sa ɛ wɔ ngwangwa sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

put (IMP) 2s hand 3s go (SUBJ) deepdeep thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Put your hand in, may it go down like this.'

228) jaci lɛ nã je wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

leave (IMP) there and lp go (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5

'Leave (what you're doing) and let's go.'

229) amũ fa ato-nĩ lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

2p take (SUBJ) lie SPEC there
1 2 3 4 5

'(You-pl.) take your lies away!'

230) be njɛ̃ ɛ je waka bɔ fɛ̃ ɛ nwã nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p look (SUBJ) 3s tooth tree which be white 3s mouth in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'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) fa nzwe blɛ mĩ.
1 2 3 4

take (IMP) water bring ls
1 2 3 4

'Bring me some water.'

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232) wla a sa lɛ.
1 2 3 4

put (IMP) 2s hand there
1 2 3 4

'Put your hand in there.'

233) kɔ.

'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-nĭ jɛ m'a-tu jɛ n di lɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

1s head hat SPEC COP 1s PRF remove and 1s eat (STA) 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-kũ akɔnĭmã ngba.
1 2 3 4 5

kongo (a disease) PRF kill rooster all
1 2 3 4 4

'Kongo has killed all the roosters.'

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236) ɛ wla-nĩ a-ɟĩ aljɛ sĩ nũ.
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 lɔ sɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

place all PRF darken lp on there thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'It got dark on us there like this.'

238) ɛ awlɛ̃ kpa a-be ɛ klũ sa nĩ . . .
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-kɔ 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-kã 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.'

[1]This 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.

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241) ɛ su-la kpũngbũ nũ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s IMPRF sleep room in
i 2 3 4 5

'He is sleeping in the room.'

242) ɛ 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

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244) n di-li.
1 2 3

1s eat FPST
1 2 3

'I ate.'

245) ba-nĩ tɔ-li.
1 2 3 4

child SPEC fall FPST
1 2 3 4

'The child fell.'

246) amango-nĩ blo-li.
1 2 3 4

mango SPEC ripen FPST
1 2 3 4

'The mango ripened (and is now probably rotten).'

247) ɛ jo-o a sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5

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

'What did he do to you?'

248) n nãnti-i n ja su n ba-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s walk FPST 1s leg on 1s 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 jɛ n toe-li.
1 2 3 4 5

Bouaké COP 1s buy-3s FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'It is at Bouaké that I bought it.'

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250) n wutu-ui ase.
1 2 3 4

1s turn FPST-3s ground
1 2 3 4

'I turned it over.'

The factual past and the perfective are contrasted in the following sentences:

251) kofi a-wɔ Bouaké.
1 2 3 4

kofi PRF go Bouaké
1 2 3 4

'Kofi has gone to Bouaké (and is still there).'

kofi wɔ-ɔ Bouaké.
1 2 3 4

kofi go FPST Bouaké
1 2 3 4

'Kofi went to Bouaké (no indication of where he is now).'

252) sɛ-nĩ a-bu.
1 2 3 4

pot SPEC PRF break
1 2 3 4

'The pot is broken.'

sɛ-nĩ bu-li.
1 2 3 4

pot SPEC break FPST
1 2 3 4

'The pot broke.'

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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) jɛ ɛ nĩ akɔ wɔ-li ɔ. be a-kɔ-toe ɛ akɔ-nĩ.
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) jɛ be flɛ-ɛ ba kã nĩɔ̃, jɛ ɛ wɔ-li ɔ. jaswa-nĩ wã jo,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

"n nãnĩ-nĩ, ɛ twĩ kɔ̃ ti ba-ljɛ."
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, "Is 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."'

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255) jɛ ɛ kɔ-la-li ɔ. aljɛ-nĩ cɛ̃-li ɔ. ɛ wɛ̃, "awofwɛ, ã se
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 15

kɛ ɛ bla."
17 18 19

and 3s DM lie FPST DISC. day SPEC arise FPST DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s say, "stranger, 2p tell-3s that 3s come (SUBJ)"
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

'And he went and slept. The day arose. He said,

"Stranger, tell him to come."'

256) bla-nĩ kusu ɛ ɲɛ̃-ɛ̃ ɛ ti jɛ ɛ wɔ-li ɔ. kpɔkũ bjã-nĩ . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

ɛ ba-li nĩ5; ɛ si be a-se ɛ k5
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

woman SPEC also 3s get FPST 3s head and 3s go FPST DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

suddenly man SPEC 3s come FPST DISC; 3s father 3p
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

PRF tell-3s NEG again
24 25 26 27

'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 kɔ, 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, kɔ and wa, if they imply direction at all, imply two directions: away from and toward the speaker.

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'come' and kɔ 'go.'[1] They occur immediately preceding the verb root with each of the verbal inflections discussed above (the stative, certaintive, 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 bjã nga ɛ flɛ-ɛ klɔ wa-nĩ.
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 kɔ, the directional modal kɔ does not have an allomorphic variant. The verbs kɔ and ba are the only verbs with allomorphic variants. The verb kɔ has the shape wɔ 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.

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258) kɛ be a-kɔ-mɛ̃ like-nĩ, be kɔ-njɛ̃.
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) jɛ be kɔ-bu-u ngblãã nɲã nĩɔ̃, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p DM break FPST ngblãã leaf DISC, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And they went to break some ngblãã leaf, . . .'

260) be cwɛ̃-ɛ̃ nãnĩ fle nĩɔ̃, be wa-ɟĩ-ĩ ɛ wũ lɛ ɔ.
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
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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) jɛ a-kondo, a-wa-tɔ 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) ɟwe-nĩ, be kɔ-mlɔ̃-ɔ̃ nzwe nũ.
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.'

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Intention to act (most often with kɔ):

263) be a-kɔ-toe ɛ akɔ-nĩ.
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) ɛ kɔ-tu-ui ɛ ti kle, ɛ 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) slã nga ɛ kɔ-sike be wũ lɛ-nĩ, be ti wlɛngbifwɛ.
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 kɔ-ju be ɲlũ lɔ nĩɔ̃, atĩ-nĩ a-kɔ-ka kãã 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.'

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267) bjã fɛ-ɛ lɔ, sasasasa, a-wa-kpɛ̃ lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

man leave FPST there, ideophone: looking around rapidly
1 2 3 4 5

3s-PRF DM exit there
6 7 8 9

'The man left there, looking around rapidly, he is about to exit there.'

268) ɛ wa-ɟu-u lɛ nĩɔ̃, ɛ ɟlã-ã ce su wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s DM arrive FPST there DISC, 3s stand FPST bank on here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'As she was about to reach there, she stopped on the bank here.'

269) kɛ be wa-to-o klɔ-nĩ, boli wã "n su-kɔ atĩ nũ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

as 3p DM come upon FPST village SPEC, goat say "1s IMPRF
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

go path in"
12 13 14

'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-kũ bwa-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1p IMPRF DM kill sheep SPEC

'We are about to kill the sheep.'

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271) a ba tetefwɛ mɛ̃ lɛ-nĩ, a su-wa wũĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2s child evil one as there SPEC, 2s IMPRF DM see-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'You there evil child, you are about to find out!'

272) wa jɛ je su-wa-ka ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

here COP 1p IMPRF DM stay QUES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Is it here that we are going to stay?'

273) kpacɛ tɛ su-wa-bɛ ɛ klɔ-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

sickness bad IMPRF DM come 3s village SPEC on
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'An evil sickness is about to come upon his village.'

wa occurs with the certaintive inflection to indicate futurity, with no deictic movement:

274) ã cici ɛ nwa, je wa-jí ngɔjima.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

2p tie up (SUBJ) 3s mouth, 1p DM throw (CERT) divining
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

instrument

'Tie up its mouth, we will divine.'

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275) ɛ akɔ nga ɛ bo-o lɛ-nĭ, ɛ wa-jó n fɛ 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) ls sweet very
11 12 13 14

'His cock that crows there, it will please me.'

276) nã wãndi, a wa-tɔ́.
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-kɔ- indicates future movement away from the speaker in order to act. For example

277) nzwe nga a-ju mã; n wa-kɔ-fá jekũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

water this/that PRF arrive NEG; ls 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 jɛ ɛ kɔ-jo nã ɛ njãã be wa-kɔ-dé nĭɔ̃?
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?'

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279) sɛ je di sla kɔ̃ a kɔ-wɔ nã n wa-kɔ-sumã wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

if 1p spend month one 2s CONS FUT go and 1s DM DM
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

accompany (CERT) 2s
13 14

'If we spend one month then you will go, and I will go accompany you.'

A rare use of kɔ is to mark a consecutive future; that is, a verb indicating future action in a clause following a sɛ ('if' or 'when') clause. It is translated 'and then . . .' and it is tonally different from the directional modal kɔ plus the tonal modals:

n̄ kɔ̄-dī	'I go to eat' (STATIVE)
n̄ kɔ̄-dǐ	'I will go to eat' (CERTAINTIVE)
n̄ kɔ̀-dī	'that I go to eat' (SUBJUNCTIVE)
n̄ kɔ̄-dì	'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:

280) sɛ n wɔ nĩ̃ɔ̃, n kɔ-ba nã n wa-fa wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 1s go (STA) DISC, 1s CONS FUT come and 1s DM take 2s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'If I go, then I will come and I will take you.'

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281) sɛ je di sla kɔ̃ a kɔ-wɔ, nã n wa-kɔ-sumã wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

if 1p 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 mã, (/mam/). It is realized as nã (/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 mã if it occurs clause-finally, a if it is followed by a noun phrase (or ã following a nasal verbal vowel). If a 3s pronoun follows the negative the negative is realized as mɛ̃, ɛ̃ or ɛ. For example

282) njã, a wũ ɛ ɛ zugɔɔ nga ɛ wo lɛ-nĩ?
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?'

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283) n su-kaci ɛ̲ ɛ nwã ndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

ls IMPRF change NEG 3s mouth affair
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I will not change her words (i.e. disobey her).'

n su-kaci mɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

ls IMPRF change NEG-3s
1 2 3 4

'I will not change it.'

284) be kwlɛ ɛ̲ kã o.
1 2 3 4 5

3p can (STA)-3s NEG talk EMP
1 2 3 4 5

'They (i.e. one) cannot talk of it.'

285) ɛ wã ɛ su-ɟɛ mɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s say 3s IMPRF marry-3s NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6

'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 kɔ-.[1] In the case of the certaintive tonal modal, the negative is

[1] In rare cases, to express negative intention, the directional modal kɔ- occurs with the negative, and only with the first person singular pronoun: n kɔ-kɔ mã. ls DM go NEG 'I do not intend to go!'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

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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) ndɛ nga-nĭ, n fá mã̀.
1 2 3 4 5 6

affair this/that SPEC, 1s take (CERT) NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6

'This affair, I'm not accepting it.'

287) n njá mã̀.
1 2 3

1s look (CERT) NEG
1 2 3

'I will not look!' (at such a despicable thing)

288) je kɔ́ a lɔ.
1 2 3 4

1p go (CERT) NEG there
1 2 3 4

'We certainly are not going there!'

The negative occurs freely with:

-The stative tonal modal:

289) koklo ja sĭ nĭɔ̃, ɛ kwla a nãnti.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

thin foot behind DISC 3s can (STA) NEG walk
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Because of her thinness, she cannot walk.'

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290) ajicwle wɛ̃ ɛ to jwe le. nnɛ̃ nga be kusu be kplĩ ã su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

turtle say 3s shoot some at-all-costs. animal this/that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3p also 3p accept (STA) NEG on
9 10 11 12 13 14

'Turtle wanted to shoot some at all costs, The animals,

they also did not accept that.'

291) sɛ bla-nĩ jaci be nĩ, be tu a amwĩ be kũ mɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

if woman SPEC leave 3p DISC 3p take-out (STA) NEG fetish
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p kill (STA) NEG-3s
11 12 13

'If the woman leaves them they do not take out a fetish,

they do not kill her.'

292) jwa-nĩ su-kɔ tɔlɛ lɔ, ɛ wũ ã ba-mũ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

sun SPEC IMPRF go falling there 3s see (STA) NEG child
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

INDIV SPEC
11 12

'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

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293) kɛ be ɟu-u lɔ nĩɔ̃, be a-to a be sja be lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

when 3p arrive FPST there DISC, 3p PRF find NEG 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

in-laws 3p there
12 13 14

'When they arrived there, they did not find their in-laws there.'

294) mɔ̃ m'a-jo a ɟumã anɛkĩ nĩ, ɛ ka lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

since 1s PRF do NEG work today DISC, 3s stay (SUBJ) there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'Since I have not done work today, may it stay there.'

295) m'a-wũ mɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

1s PRF see NEG-3s
1 2 3 4

'I have not seen him.'

296) w'a-di a sla kɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6

2s PRF spend NEG month one
1 2 3 4 5 6

'You have not spent one month (here).'

297) amango a-blo mã.
1 2 3 4

mango PRF ripen NEG
1 2 3 4

'The mango has not ripened/is not ripe.'

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nĩ is a negative particle that occurs only in conjunction with the perfective aspect and the negative morpheme mã. 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 nĩ a-ba mã.
1 2 3 4 5

Kofi NEG PRF come NEG
1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi has not yet come.'

299) ɛ nĩ a-wu mã.
1 2 3 4 5

3s NEG PRF die NEG
1 2 3 4 5

'He has not died yet.'

300) be nĩ a-mlɔ̃ ã nzwe nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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 mã.
1 2 3 4 5

place NEG PRF darken NEG
1 2 3 4 5

'It has not yet gotten dark.'

302) tãnĩ-nĩ nĩ a-fɛ̃ mã.
1 2 3 4 5 6

cloth SPEC NEG PRF whiten NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The cloth has not gotten white yet.'

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-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-ɟa a bjã nga kanvwɛ̃ wo ɛ wũ.
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) ɛ wɛ̃ ɛ su-ɟa a bjã.
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-kɔ a lɔ.
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 kɛ a su-lafi mã.
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-nɔ̃ ã nzã.
1 2 3 4 5

2s IMPRF drink NEG wine
1 2 3 4 5

'You shall not drink wine.'

308) ɛ su-kɔ mã.
1 2 3 4

3s IMPRF go NEG
1 2 3 4

'He is not going (I won't permit it).'

309) nzwe su-tɔ mã.
1 2 3 4

water IMPRF fall NEG
1 2 3 4

'It won't rain.'

310) ɛ su-wu mã.
1 2 3 4

3s IMPRF die NEG
1 2 3 4

'It won't die.

-the subjunctive and imperative modes where it is realized as nã and occurs before the subject substantive phrase:

311) nã be kã ngwa swa-nĩ sĩ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

NEG 3p play (SUBJ) games house SPEC behind there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'They are not to play behind the house.'

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312) nã amũ kpuke nũ o.
1 2 3 4 5

NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in EMP
1 2 3 4 5

'Don't (you-pl) break it open.'

313) ɛ akɔ nga lɛ-nĩ, nɛ̃ ɛ kũĩ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

evereverever
9

'His chicken there, he is not to kill it ever ever ever.'

314) n nĩ wã nã n kaci a nwã ndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s mother say NEG 1s change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'My mother said I was not to change your words.'

315) nã tɔ.
1 2

'Do not fall.'
1 2

316) nã bo alwa-nĩ.
1 2 3 4

'Do not hit the dog.'
1 2 4 3

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

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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 -nĭ 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 analyzed as adjectives (Section 222.1) and nglo 'up,' ngwa 'down,' lɔ '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.'

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iclãĩ 'immediately, just'

318) be sĩ-ĩ wa iclãĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

3p pass FPST here just now
1 2 3 4 5

'They just passed here.'

kwlãũ 'already, awhile'

319) m'a-ba kwlãũ.
1 2 3 4

1s PRF come already
1 2 3 4

'I've come already (I've been here awhile).'

laa 'formerly'

320) laa akojwe-ljɛ-nĩ, be ti dãdã kpa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

formerly tsetse fly ASS SPEC, 3p ICOP big very
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Formerly, the tsetse fly was very big.'

lala 'usually, habitually'

321) a si boli be kpaflɛ̃ dilɛ be joe wa lala nĩ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

2s know (STA) goat 3p youth doing 3p go (STA)-3s here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

habitually QUES
10 11

'You know how goats habitually act like young men?'

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sjɛ̃ 'after'

322) like kwla nga ɛ di sjɛ̃-nĩ, a-jo koklo mɔ̃ 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 nãnĩ nnɛ̃ 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.'

jekũ 'again'

324) jɛ ɛ wlɛ́ sĩ nũ jekũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and ?s 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.

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ndɛndɛ 'quickly;

325) bla-nĩ ɟĩ-ĩ nzwe sĩ nũ ndɛndɛndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

woman SPEC put FPST water fire in quickly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The woman quickly put the water on the fire.'

dĩĩ 'quietly'

326) klɔ kpɛ̃ngbɛ̃ ɟlã-ã dĩĩ, kpɔkũ ɛ wã, "o!"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

village elder stop FPST quietly, suddenly 3s said, "o!"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Village Chief stood quietly, then suddenly he said, "oh!"'

blɛblɛ 'carefully'

327) ã mɛ̃ su blɛblɛ.
1 2 3 4

2p lift (SUBJ)-3s on carefully
1 2 3 4

'Lift it carefully.'

mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃ 'completely'

328) ɟũmã a-di mĩ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5

work PRF eat 1s completely
1 2 3 4 5

'Work has overwhelmed me completely.'

sekeseke 'completely'

329) wwo a-kũ be ngba sekesekeseke.
1 2 3 4 5 6

snake PRF kill 3p all completely
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Snake killed absolutely all of them.'

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239.3 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[1] 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:

kplutututututu	'sound of an intense blow and its echo'
wlakũwlakũ	'sound of Hyena licking his teeth'
ɛfɔ	'sound of pulling out something that has no resistance and comes out easily'
gaũgaũgaũ	'sound of playing xylophone'
gbɔ̃	'sound of shutting door'
kɛtɛkɛtɛkɛtɛ	'sound of ram walking'
kɛ̃kwɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃kɛ̃	'sound of rooster crowing'
kpatwii	'sound of field mouse'
kpaklɔklɔklɔ	'sound of toad croaking'
fooooooo	'sound of elephant laughing (air out of trunk)'
dĩglãŋã	'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.

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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'
klɛklɛklɛklɛ	'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'
gblãgblã	'of long ugly scars'
ketekete	'of tiny animal horns'
paupaupaupau	'of large flat surface of rock'
nnɔtɔ̃tɔ̃tɔ̃tɔ̃	'of a long, large snake'
tɛngbɛtɛngbɛ	'of someone puny'
gɔ̃nɔ̃glɔ̃	'stooped, bent over'
fluuuuĩ	'of someone all dusty and white'
dekledekle	'of a big, round flat eye'
mlãmlãmlã	'big and fat'
kpokã	'of head hanging swinging like lizard or snake'
sawlasawla	'of careless walking'
titɛ̃titɛ̃	'of someone poised and stiff, ready to strike'

Action:

cucwãcucwã	'of moving around in something tight and confining'
tɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃	'of flying'

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puapuapuapua	'of eating'
kpukakpuka	'of goat chewing cud'
kwlakwlakwla	'of rolling down hill'
klɛklɛklɛklɛ	'of digging up earth fast and carelessly'
kɛklɛklɛ	'of moving stealthily from tree to tree'
kãĩkãĩkãĩkãĩ	'of walking carefully on tiptoes'
flikaflikaflika	'of Hyena hurrying through forest'
flifliflifli	'of eagle circling'
bluga	'of large snake falling down dead'
sususususu	'of water bubbling over a rock'
tuãtuãtuãtuã	'of a large fat animal walking'

Tactile sensation:

jlɛkɛjlɛkɛ	'smooth'
zawlizawli	'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-vocalically

nãŋãnãŋã	'long and supple like a snake'
gũŋũnũ	'expresses sudden death'

[ɤ] does not occur syllable initially

kprarara kprarara	'of goat chewing up hat'

[m] does not occur syllable finally

gbloom	'of falling'

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Syntactically, ideophones occur

-after a noun phrase within a sentence:

330) mɔ̃ be ɟú klɔ lɔ nĩɔ̃, nãnĩ gligɔɔ a-di lika ngba kpã.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

as 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow ideophone: of
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

lots of cows PRF fill place all ideophone: of
9 10 11 12 13

completeness

'As they arrived in the village there, lots of cows filled the entire place.'

331) be sa kũngba lekekeke
1 2 3 4

3p hand only ideophone: of aloneness
1 2 3 4

'one single hand'

332) a ti kpokã!
1 2 3

2s head ideophone: of hanging head
1 2 3

'You have a head that hangs!' (an insult)

333) ɟae lɛ, a-li, a kɔ̃mĩ kplakaa sũmã likɛ nga.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

stand (IMP) up there, 2s SPEC, 2s neck ideophone: bent
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

as thing this
8 9 10

'Get up there, you, your neck bent like this thing there.'

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-introduced by sɔ or sa 'thus':

334) ɛ ba sɔ muɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃.
1 2 3 4

3s come (STA) thus ideophone: of water oozing into a hole
1 2 3 4

'It comes thus slowly.'

335) nzwe mɔ̃ wú ɛ su sɔ susususususu.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

water even boil (CERT) 3s on thus ideophone: of bubbling
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The water boiled over on him bubbling.'

336) be a-jo sɔ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5

3p PRF do thus ideophone: big and fat
1 2 3 4 5

'They became big and fat.'

337) ɛ tóto ɟwe-ni be wa; a-kaci sa blikaa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s throw (CERT) fish SPEC 3p here; 3s-PRF change thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8 9

ideophone: of turning in water
10

'He threw the fish here; he turned over in the water,

splash.'

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-at the end of a clause, often introduced by kpɔkũ 'suddenly':

338) boli ciko-o; jɛ ɛ kpusɛ ɛ nwã ɔ kpukakpukakpuka
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

goat burp FPST; and 3s chew 3s mouth DISC ideophone: of
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

chewing cud

'Goat burped; and he chewed with his mouth, chomp chomp.'

339) be ngba wo ɛ dilɛ puapuapuapua.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3p all LCOP 3s eating ideophone: of eating
1 2 3 4 5 6

'They all were eating it, munch, munch.'

340) ɛ sja bla wo aljɛ wutalɛ nũ flɛflɛflɛflɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s in-law woman LCOP food peeling in ideophone: of peeling
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Her mother-in-law was peeling yams, flick flick.'

341) ɛ wa-mã-ã bla-nĩ su ɔ fuaaa. ɛ kpɛ̃-ɛ̃ lɔ cu.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3s DM lift FPST woman SPEC on DISC ideophone: of taking
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

off. 3s descend FPST there ideophone: of landing
10 11 12 13 14

'He (Eagle) came to lift the girl up whoosh. He landed

plop.'

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342) kɛ ɛ nɔ̃-ɔ̃ pioo, ɛ mwɛ̃-ɛ̃ ɛ butwã su pi, ɛ tu-u, kpɔkũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

tɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃, kɔ-tlã-ã waka su mmwã lɔ, kpɔkũ poo.
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

when 3s drink FPST ideophone: of drinking, 3s shut FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s anus on ideophone: of shutting, 3s fly FPST,
9 10 11 12 13 14 15

suddenly ideophone: of flying, DM sit FPST tree on
16 17 18 19 20 21 22

far there, suddenly ideophone: of sitting
23 24 25 26

'When he (tsetse fly) has drunk sluurp, he shut his anus tight clink, he took off whoosh, he went and sat on a tree far away, suddenly plop.'

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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 nĩ (/lim/), not to be confused with the specifier nĩ (Section 222.5) or the discourse particle nĩ (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 nĩ 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) wũsĩ kpongbo nĩ sɛ be nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

wash (IMP) basin and pot 3p in
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Wash the basins and pots.'

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b) wũsĩ kpongbo nĩ sãmlã.
1 2 3 4

wash (IMP) basin with soap
1 2 3 4

'Wash the basin with soap.'

2) a) n njããbla nĩ bjã-nĩ be wɔ-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s sister and man SPEC 3p go FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'My sister and the man left.'

b) n njããbla nĩ tãnĩ wɔ-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s sister with cloth go FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6

'My sister took the cloth (i.e. went with the cloth).'

nĩ 'and'

More than two substantive phrases may be conjoined with this function:

3) ɛ nĩ ji nĩ wa-mũ be a-di sɔ titi nĩɔ̃ . . .
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).

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4) ɛ nĩ mĩ je ba-a klɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s and 1s 1p come FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'He and I came to the village.'

5) Kwaɟo nĩ wɔ amũ kɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

Kwaɟo and 2s 2p go (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5

'Kwaɟo and you, go.'

6) be nĩ be ba-a klɔ.
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.'

7) be nĩ be be ba-a klɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3p and 3p 3p come FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'They and they came to the village.' (i.e. two groups of more than one person)

8) ɛ nĩ be wo lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

3s and-(3s) 3p LCOP there
1 2 3 4 5

'He and he are there.'

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9) wlɛwlɛ n sabwi nĩ n ɟabwi be bo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

put (IMP)-3s ls fingernail and ls toenail 3p under
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Put it under my fingernails and and my toenails.'

The copula jɛ (Section 231) can be optionally inserted after the conjoined substantive phrase before the plural pronoun:

10) ɛ nĩ ji jɛ be slã ɲɲɔ̃ jɛ be ɲĩma ti silwa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eye ICOP blind
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'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) gbamlɔ, mɔ̃ je nĩ je di mã nĩ, jɛ a kɔ-se kɛ "gbamlɔ ɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

hare, as lp and-(3s) lp eat NEG DISC, and 2s DM say (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

that "Hare COP"
13 14 15

'Hare, as I and he we don't get along, why do you go and say "It's Hare!"?'

12) je nĩ ɲamjɛ̃ kpli nãnĩ-nĩ jɛ je tó awale ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

lp and god big cow SPEC COP lp play (CERT) awale DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'It's I and God's cow that were playing awale.'

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nĩ 'with'

No pronoun is repeated after the conjoined substantive phrases when nĩ 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) ɛ nĩ mĩ ba-a klɔ.
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 nĩ 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) ɛ dwi-nĩ, ɛ dã kpa nga amũ nĩ ba-a lɛ sa-nĩ . . .
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) jɛ ɛ nĩ akɔ-nĩ wɔ-li ɔ.
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-nĩ nga ɛ ji-i kũmã nũ jɛ ɛ nĩ fite-e wa-nĩ . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

gold SPEC this/that 3s remove FPST hole in and 3s with-(3s)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

exit FPST here SPEC
12 13 14 15

'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 jɛ ɛ nĩ tlã lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

tsetse fly DM gather FPST water all and 3s with-(3s)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

sit (STA) there
10 11

'Tsetse fly came and gathered all the water and he sits with it there.'

19) n wa-cí wɔ nĩ waka.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1s DM tie (CERT) 2s with tree
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I will tie you with (i.e. to) the tree.'

20) ɛ bo-o be nĩ kpokpowa.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s hit FPST 3p with pestle
1 2 3 4 5 6

'He beat them with a pestle.'

In certain cases there is potential ambiguity between the two functions of the substantive phrase conjoiner nĩ. Compare the following:

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21) a) be nĩ be ba-a klɔ.
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 nĩ be ba-a klɔ.
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) kɛndeja nĩ be wɔ-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

spider and-(3s) 3p go FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Spider and he went.'

b) kɛndeja nĩ be wɔ-li ɔ.
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.

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242. Clause and Sentence Connectives

Baule sentences may consist of a number of coordinated and subordinated clauses. These multiple-clause sentences are not uncommon: in narratives (stories, conversational recountings, 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.

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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 nã, kɛ, bɔ and mɛ̃. 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 nã introduces indirect commands; kɛ introduces sentential complements or modifying phrases and clauses; and bɔ and mɛ̃ 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.

nã, (/lam/), introduces an indirect command. For example

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23) ã se awofwɛ nã ɛ kɔ-la.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2p tell (SUBJ) stranger that 3s DM sleep
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Tell the guest to go to bed.'

24) ãmũ se nãnã nã nãnã-nĩ ɛ fle dã mɛ̃ be kpɛ-li, nã ãmũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

kpuke nũ ɔ.
16 17 18

2p tell (SUBJ) grandpa that cow SPEC 3s stomach big which
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p cut FPST, NEG 2p break (SUBJ)-3s in EMP
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'Tell Grandpa that the big stomach of the cow which they

cut, you are not to break it open.'

25) ɛ wɛ̃, "se nã ɛ jo n-ljɛ nã n njã́."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s said, "tell (SUBJ)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ) 1s ASS and
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s see (CERT)."
10 11

'He said, "Tell him that he is to do mine so I can see."'

26) jɛ be wã, "ã se nã ɛ kɔ-to ɛ-ljɛ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

and 3p said, "2p tell (SUBJ)-3s that 3s DM shoot 3s ASS."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'And they said, "Go tell him to shoot his."'

kɛ, (/kɛ/), introduces

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a) sentential complements after a class of verbs that includes ti 'hear,' si 'know,' bu 'think," se 'tell,' flɛ 'call, name,' fata 'be necessary.' For example

27) n si a kɛ ɛ 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 kɛ ɛ-li si a nzwe-nĩ 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 kɛ a wũ ti woɲĩ.
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 tú kendeja bo kɛ be bá be klɔ.
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) ɛ fata a kɛ slã jɛ kũĩ ɔ.
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.'

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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 ti 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 wã ɛ ti kɛ kla ngbɛ̃ ɔ.
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 kɛndeja-ljɛ-nĩ kɛ ɛ 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 kɛ nãnĩ-nĩ ɛ fle dã nga lɛ-nĩ, sa kɔ̃ n wa-jóe cɛ.
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.'

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35) sika kpɔlɛ mɔ̃ ɛ ji-li kɛ ɛ ti sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

gold pile which 3s remove FPST like 3s ICOP thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'The gold pile which he removed was like this.'

36) like-nĩ, ɛ dã̃ tutugbe kɛ nga ĩ sa nĩɔ̃, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

thing SPEC, 3s big ideophone: of hugeness like
1 2 3 4 5 6

this/that here thus DISC, . . .
7 8 9 10

'The big gigantic thing like this here, . . .'

iii) 37) kɛ ɛ kɔ-bó nũ lɔ, a-bo nũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

like 3s DM arrive (CERT) in there, 3s-PRF arrive in there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'There where he went (or meant) to come out, he came out there.' (The kɛ clause modifies lɔ 'there.')

38) jɛ kɛ wa nĩ cãɟoklɔ sa ĩ, wete a-di asjɛ-nĩ bo ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and like here and cãɟoklɔ thus here, Rat PRF eat earth
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

SPEC under all
12 13 14

'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) nãnĩ dwi jɛ be a-mã kɛ nga ĩ sa nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

cow fat COP 3p PRF give like this/that here thus SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'It's cow fat like this here that they've given (me).'

As a verb modifier a kɛ phrase occurs i) after the object of the verb; or ii) at the beginning of the sentence. For example

i) 40) ɛ dũmã nũ jɛ n mɔ̃ m'a·wũ lika kɛ nga ĩ sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3s name in COP 1s self 1s PRF see place like this/that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

here thus
13 14

'It is because of him that I can see like this.'

41) awe-nĩ kũ be kpa kɛ nzu sa nĩɔ̃, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

hunger SPEC kill (STA) 3p good like what thus DISC, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Hunger kills them like anything! . . .'

ii) 42) kɛ nga ĩ sa, nzwe a-jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

like this/that here thus, water PRF heat
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Like this, the water was heated.'

43) kɛ nga ĩ sa, kɛndeja dũmã a-fite wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

like this/that here thus, spider first PRF exit here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Like this, Spider came out first.'

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bɔ, (/bɔ/), and mɛ̃ (/mɛm/), introduce noun-modifying clauses (relative clauses). For example

44) swa bɔ be kɔ-toe-nĩ̃ɔ̃, a-kɔ-jo dɔ swre.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

house which 3p DM find-3s SPEC, 3s-PRF DM do termite hill
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'The house which they went and found has become a termite hill.'

45) bjã bɔ ɛ bɔ wã ɛ ɟɛ-ɛ ɛ laa-nĩ̃ɔ̃, ɛ ba-li nĩ̃ɔ̃, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

man who 3s self said 3s marry-3s FPST NEG formerly SPEC,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s come FPST DISC, . . .
12 13 14 15

'Man who she herself said she would not marry him formerly, he came, . . .'

46) awofwɛ mɛ̃ ɛ ba-a lɛ-nĩ̃ɔ̃, kla woe ti su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

stranger who 3s come FPST there SPEC, torch LCOP-3s head on
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'The stranger who came there, torches were on his head.'

47) like-nĩ dã mɛ̃ n se-e a kɛ nã ti-nĩ, mãzɛ a ti-li?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

thing SPEC big which 1s tell FPST 2s that NEG pick (SUBJ)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

SPEC, anyway 2s pick FPST
12 13 14 15 16

'The big thing that I told you not to pick, did you pick it anyway?'

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48) klɔ kpɛ̃ngbɛ̃ mɛ̃ wo klɔ sɔ-nĩ su-nĩ ɛ ti ãwũɲãfwɛ·
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

village elder who LCOP village thus SPEC on SPEC 3s ICOP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

rich one
12

'The chief who was in that village was a rich man.'

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: bɔ, mɛ̃, kɛ . . . ɔ, sɛ . . . ɔ, kanzɛ and njɛ. bɔ, mɛ̃ and kɛ all indicate a temporal relationship between clauses; that is, they specify relative chronology. The difference between these three connectives can be characterized as overlap (bɔ), simultaneity (mɛ̃) and succession (kɛ . . . ɔ).[1]

bɔ, (/bɔ/), (with its allomorph mɔ̃, [/mɔm/], 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 mɛ̃ or kɛ, more than one bɔ 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.

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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) bɔ ɛ tóto kla-nĩ sa nĩɔ̃, ɛ wũswle-nĩ gwa-a bla ɲĩma su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

while 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

pour FPST woman eyes on
11 12 13 14 15

'While he was swinging the torch like this, its smoke fell on the woman's eyes.'

50) mɔ̃ a-fu lelele, mɔ̃ ɛ kɔ-ɟu afjɛ̃, jɛ kwlakwlakwla, a-kondo,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

a-tɔ.
14 15

as 3s-PRF climb long time, as 3s DM arrive middle, then
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ideophone: of rolling, 3s-PRF roll, 3s-PRF fall
11 12 13 14 15

'As he was climbing, as he reached the middle, then he fell back down, rolling.'

51) sangɛ mɔ̃ ɛ fá atĩ nũ ɛ si-i su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow FPST on
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'But as she took to the path, she followed.'

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52) bɔ ɛ mlɔ́ɛ̃ wa nĩ, bɔ ɛ tóe lɔ nĩ, njɛ̃ ɟwe-nĩ tɔ́ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

there DISC, then fish SPEC fall (CERT) there
9 10 11 12 13 14 15

'As he sunk it (i.e. his head) here, as he swung it

there,' then fish fell there.'

53) bɔ ɛ su-wa-wu nĩ, ɛ se-e ɛ wa kɔ̃ kɛ jo, "n wa, n bɔ mĩ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

jɛ n su-wa-wu ĩ."
20 21 22 23 24 25

as 3s IMPRF DM die DISC, 3s tell FPST 3s child one that,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13-14

"Is child, Is self Is COP Is IMPRF DM die here
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

'As she was about to die she told her one child, "My

child, I myself I am about to die here."

54) ɛ kusu laa mɔ̃ ɛ wo wa nĩ, nɟa kɔljɛ ɛ flɛ́ laa nĩ, ɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

kplĩ ã su.
16 17 18

3s also formerly as 3s LCOP here DISC, mister eagle 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

call (CERT)-3s formerly DISC, 3s accept NEG on
12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'She also, when she was here formerly, Mr. Eagle proposed

to her formerly, she didn't accept.'

mɛ̃, (/mɛm/), (and its allomorph mɛ̃ɛ̃) introduces a dependent clause, the action, process or state of which is considered to occur or exist

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simultaneously with the following clause. Often it is a case of emphasis when bɔ is used and when mɛ̃ is used (compare the two in 59 below). The dependent clause marker njɛ̃ optionally occurs to introduce the independent clause which follows a mɛ̃ clause. For example,

55) mɛ̃ɛ̃ ɛ dí like-nĩ lɔ sjɛ̃, njɛ̃ n tlã wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

while 3s eat (CERT) thing SPEC there last, then 1s sit (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

here
11

'While he ate food there then, I was sitting here.'

56) nã ɛ ti ɔ, nglɔ, nga wo ĩ-ljɛ nĩɔ̃, mɛ̃ ɛ jo-o ɟaafwɛ nũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

sa nĩɔ̃, ɛ ti ɔ mã n lawlɛ kã.
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

and 3s cause COP, friend, this/that LCOP here ASS DISC,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

as 3s do FPST friend in thus DISC, 3s cause COP
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

give (IMP) 1s bed small
22 23 24 25

'And so for this, Friend, for that is here, as we are friends like this, for this reason give me a bed.'

57) mɛ̃ɛ̃ kãnvwɛ̃ nũ mɛ̃ ɛ wũ mlɔ̃mlɔ̃mlɔ̃ nĩ, n bjã-nĩ jɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

as scars LCOP NEG 3s body ever ever ever DISC, 1s man SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

COP
12

'As he has no scars on his body, this is my man.'

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58) mɛ̃ kusu ɛ kɔ-mɛ̃ su lɔ nĩ, njɛ̃ bla-nĩ kusumã ɛ nĩ sĩma be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

wo kɔlɛ ɔ.
17 18 19

as also 3s DM lift-3s on there DISC, then woman SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

also 3s and young sibling 3p LCOP going DISC
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

'At the same time that he was lifting him up there the woman and her sister were leaving.'

59) kanzu, mɔ̃ be kpɛ́ nũ lɛ, mɛ̃ be sí lɛ nĩ, gbamlɔ-ljɛ nga
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

ɛ wa-kpɛ̃-ɛ̃ nũ-nĩ, a si i gblɛ-nĩ?
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

however, as 3p jump (CERT) in there, when 3p dance (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

there DISC, hare ASS this/that 3s DM jump FPST in
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

SPEC, 2s know (STA) 3s ruse SPEC?
20 21 22 23 24 25

'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 bɔ (mɔ̃) clause sets the background (people jumping into the dancing circle) and the mɛ̃ clause indicates that Hare's trick takes place while they are all dancing.

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kɛ . . . ɔ, (/kɛ/ . . . /ɔ/), is a discontinuous morpheme, kɛ occurring at the beginning of the clause and ɔ at the end (although kɛ can occur without ɔ and ɔ can occur without kɛ).[1] 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) anɛkĩ kɛ n wũ-ũ wɔ ĩ, kɔlɛ kpo jɛ n si ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

today when 1s see FPST 2s here, going at-all-costs
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

COP 1s know (STA) EMP
10 11 12 13

'Today when I saw you here, I am determined to go!'

61) kɛ ɛ jaci-i nũ pja ɛ ɟĩ akojwe ku bi kpa nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

when 3s leave FPST-3s in ideophone: of shooting 3s stay
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

tsetse fly stomach excrement very in
9 10 11 12 13

'When he let it (arrow) go it landed in tsetse fly's very intestine.'

---

[1]When kɛ occurs without ɔ, the discourse particle nĩ (or its allomorph nĩɔ̃) may occur at the end of the clause. Although there may be some doubt as to whether or not kɛ 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, kɛ is "understood" to be at the beginning of the clause.

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62) kɛ ɛ jo-o sɔ nĩ, ɛ bɔ wa-ljɛ ngba wu-li,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

when 3s do FPST thus DISC, 3s self child ASS all die FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

'When she did this, all her own children died.'

63) kɛ ɛ toe-e nglɔ lɔ ɔ, ɛ wã "se kɛ 'lo dwi.'"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

when 3s throw-3s FPST up there, 3s said "say that 'become
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(IMP) fat'"
12

'When he threw him up (in the air) then he said, "Say

'become fat!'"'

64) kɛ jaswa fi-i lɔ ba-a nɔswa nĩɔ̃, kpɔkũ ɛ wã "n slɛ́ atĩ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

when man leave FPST there come FPST evening DISC, suddenly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s said "Is request (CERT) path"
11 12 13 14 15

'When the man came back in the evening, suddenly she

said, "I want to leave."'

65) jɛ ɛ njã́ ɔ, wete ba ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and 3s look (CERT) when, rat come (STA) here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'When he looks, Rat is coming.'

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66) ɛ slɔ́ ɔ, be sɔ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s sing (CERT) when, 3p answer on
1 2 3 4 5 6

'When she sings they answer.'

67) ɛ wɔ-li ɔ, wonda kɔ̃ a-wlu swle kũmã kɔ̃ nũ ɪ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

3s go FPST when, viper one PRF enter termite hill hole one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12

in here
12 13

'When she went, a viper entered a hole in a termite hill here.'

The dependent clause marker kɛ can co-occur with either bɔ or mɛ̃ 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 bɔ kɛ occurs before another bɔ clause, a position kɛ would not occur in by itself since only the dependent clause marker bɔ (of these three) occurs on successive clauses. For example

68) le kɔ̃ bɔ kɛ bjã-nɪ̃ ɟaso-o nglɛwũ nũ, mɔ̃ kɔ́ ɛ kɔɲɛ̃ nɪ̃ɔ̃,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

ɛ kɔ́ nzwe nũ nɪ̃ɔ̃, jɛ ɛ kusu ɛ fɛ-ɛ sɪ̃ma kã-nɪ̃ jɛ be
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

ɟaso-o.
31 32

day one when man SPEC get up FPST morning in, as go (CERT) 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

hunt DISC, 3s go (CERT) water in DISC, and 3s also
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

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3s take-3s FPST young sibling small SPEC and 3p
23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

get up FPST
31 32

'One day <u>when</u> the man got up in the morning, <u>as</u> he was going hunting, he was going to the river, and she also she took her little sister and they got up (to leave).'

69) <u>mɔ̃ kɛ</u> ɛ jo-li cɛ, <u>mɔ̃</u> gbamlɔ ɛ si-li, mɛ̃ ɛ nzwɛ̃ ba-li,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

bla-nĩ ka-a gbamlɔ sa nũ.
16 17 18 19 20 21 22

<u>as</u> 3s do FPST-3s ideophone: of immediacy, <u>as</u> hare 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

dance FPST, when 3s powder come FPST, woman SPEC
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

stay FPST hare hand in
18 19 20 21 22

'<u>As</u> he did it thus just then, <u>as</u> Hare danced, when (the stone turned) to powder, the woman belonged to Hare.'

In both these examples the clause introduced by <u>bɔ kɛ</u> presents a background (as <u>bɔ</u> clauses do) but <u>kɛ</u> adds an indication that the main action is also seen as <u>succeeding</u> the action in the <u>bɔ kɛ</u> clause.

<u>kɛ</u> also occurs before <u>bɔ</u> as in

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70) kɛ mɔ̃ ɛ boe-e sɔ jekɔ̃ nĩɔ̃, aljɛ cɛ̃-li, ɛ sumɛ̃-ɛ̃ jekɑ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

when 3s hit-3s FPST thus again DISC, day arise FPST 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

send-3s FPST again DISC
12 13 14 15

'When she hit her thus again, the next day she sent her again.'

71) kɛ bɔ be a-kɔ-mɛ̃ ɛ like-nĩ, be kɔ-njɛ́̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

when 3s PRF DM give-3s 3s food SPEC, 3p DM watch (CERT)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'When they went to give him the food, they went to watch him.'

72) kɛ bɔ a-jaci ɛ wũ lɛ klɛklɛklɛklɛ jɛ kɛndea a-wlui klũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

when 3s-PRF leave 3s body there ideophone: of playing
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and spider PRF enter-3s belly there
8 9 10 11 12 13

'When he got involved (in playing the game) then Spider entered his belly.'

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 bɔ 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.

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kɛ occurs before mɛ̃ as in

73) kɛ mɛ̃ be ɟla-a nzwe nũ lɔ nĩ, kpɔkũ a-wũ ɛ̃ ɛ wa be kɔ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

when 3p descend FPST water in there DISC, suddenly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s-PRF see NEG 3s child 3p again
10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'After they dove into the water, she saw her children no more.'

74) kɛ mɛ̃ ɛ slo-o ɛ ɟwe sɔ lele nĩɔ̃, jɛ nɟa kɔljɛ ba-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

when 3s sing FPST 3s song thus long time DISC, then
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Mr. eagle come FPST DISC
11 12 13 14 15

'When she sang her song like this a long time then Mr. Eagle came.'

75) kɛ mɛ̃ ɛ tɛ-ɛ ase glau nĩ, kpɔkũ ɛ ka-a lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

when 3s drop FPST-3s ground ideophone: of dropping DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

suddenly 3s stay FPST there
8 9 10 11 12

'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 mɛ̃ adds a sense of simultaneity, an indication that as soon as A happened, B happened.

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sɛ . . . ɔ, (/sɛ/ . . . /ɔ/), and kanzɛ, (/kaNsɛ/), 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 sɛ . . . ɔ at the beginning and end of the clause and kanzɛ at the beginning. sɛ can occur without ɔ, in which case the discourse particle nĩ (or nĩɔ̃) can occur at the end of the clause. ɔ never occurs by itself to indicate hypotheticality.[1] For example

76) sɛ a dje umjɛ̃ nã ɛ keɟe ɔ, se mĩ nã n cí.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 2s breathe (STA) breath and 3s move (STA), tell (IMP)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s and 1s tie (CERT)-3s
9 10 11 12

'If you breathe and it moves, tell me and I'll tie it.'

77) sɛ a wã a dí mĩ bɔ ɔ, n fɛ mɔ̃ tla like kwlakwlakwla.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

if 2s intend 2s eat (CERT) 1s self, 1s sweet even
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

surpass (STA) thing all all all
11 12 13

'If you mean to eat me, I am sweeter than everything else.'

78) sɛ n ɲãɟi wɔ ɔ, a dí mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

if 1s untie (STA) 2s, 2s eat (CERT) 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'If I untie you, you will eat me.'

---

[1]However, see the discussion above of kɛ . . . ɔ for instances of ɔ occurring by itself to indicate succession.

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79) sɛ a ɟú lɛ nĩ, a sé sɛ?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

if 2s arrive (CERT) there DISC, 2s tell (CERT) what
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'If you get there, what will you say?'

80) sɛ a káci ɛ nwã ndɛ cɛ̃ nga nĩ, ɛ ti a bɔ w'ajĩble.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

if 2s change (CERT) 3s mouth words day this/that DISC,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune
10 11 12 13 14 15

'If you disobey her on any day, it is your own misfortune.'

81) sɛ a jo huu! nĩɔ̃, n slɔ́ ngbana bɔ nũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

if 2s do (STA) "huu" DISC, 1s answer (CERT) Bandama (river)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

even in there
9 10 11

'If you call "huu" I will answer at the river even there.'

When kanzɛ introduces a clause no discourse particle occurs at the end of the clause. For example

82) a ba nga, kanzɛ je bó su je bó su ngbɛ̃, n kṹ a kpɔ!
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

2s child this/that, even if 1p confront (CERT) on 1p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

confront (CERT) on for nothing, 1s kill (CERT) 2s
9 10 11 12 13 14

anyway
15

'You, child, even if we always come out even, I will kill you.'

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83) kanzɛ bɔ be lafi-i kɔ̃ be tĩnge-li, ɛ sũmã wɔ, kɔ 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.'

njɛ̃, (/ljɛm/), (with its allomorph ɛ̃ɛ̃), occurs at the beginning of an independent clause that follows a dependent clause introduced by sɛ, bɔ or mɛ̃. It introduces the 'then' clause of an 'if/then' sequence (sɛ/njɛ̃) or the 'then' clause of a 'when/then' or 'as/then' sequence (bɔ/njɛ̃ and mɛ̃/njɛ̃). Its semantic indication is thus a factor of the meaning of the dependent clause marker of the preceding clause. For example

84) sɛ ɛ ti kɛ ɛ ba-a jwe ndɛ nĩɔ̃, ɛ̃ɛ̃ nãnĩ dwi klu nga be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

mã-ã mĩ, je nĩ je di-li ɔ.
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 eat FPST DISC
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 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) sɛ ɛ ti a sa jwe ti sa nĩ, njɛ̃ m'a-se a jwe nga-mũ be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

a-swa a mĩ?
19 20 21 22

if 3s ICOP NEG affair some cause thus DISC, then 1s PRF
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

tell NEG fish this/that INDIV 3p PRF load NEG 1s
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

'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, mɔ̃ ɛ di nĩ, njɛ̃ ɛ fɛ mma ble fa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

sɛ gbamlɔ ti afjɛ̃.
16 17 18 19

hyena pick FPST kaa fruit, as 3s eat (STA) DISC, then
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s take (STA)-3s seed black take (STA) sting-3s
11 12 13 14 15 16

hare head middle
17 18 19

'Hyena picked the kaa seed; as he ate then he took

the pit and stung Hare's head with it.'

87) bɔ ɛ mlɔ̃ɛ̃ wa nĩ, bɔ ɛ tóe lɔ nĩ, ɛ̃ɛ̃ jwe-nĩ tɔ́ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

there DISC, then fish SPEC fall (CERT) there
9 10 11 12 13 14 15

'As he sunk it (i.e. his head) here, as he swung it

there, then the fish fell there.'

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88) mɛ̃ kusu ɛ kɔ-mɛ̃ su lɔ nĩ, njɛ̃ bla-nĩ kusumã ɛ nĩ sĩma
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

be wo kɔlɛ.
16 17 18

when also 3s DM lift-3s on there DISC, then woman SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

also 3s and young sibling 3p LCOP going
12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'When also he goes to lift him up there, then the woman

and her little sister were leaving.'

In instances where njɛ̃ 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) ɛ suwa nɲɔ̃-nĩ a-bo nũ, njɛ̃ ɛ kplãkplã lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s ear two SPEC PRF arrive in, then 3s stick out (STA)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

there
11

'(When) his two ears came out, then they stuck out there.'

90) be wɔɛ sĩ lɔ klikliklikli!, njɛ̃ be di pwapwapwapwa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p go (STA)-3s behind there ideophone: of running, then
1 2 3 4 5 6

3p eat ideophone: of eating
7 8 9

'(When) they went after it, then they ate.'

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242.20 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: sangɛ, na, jɛ and kanzu.

sãngɛ, (/saNgɛ/), 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 expentency reversal. For example

91) ɛ tɔ̃ aljɛ mã be nĩ, sãngɛ ɛ nĩ ɛ wa be jwe be-ljɛ di,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

ajika ba ɲã 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) ngbɛ̃ bɔ lɛ a bla, sãngɛ sɛ a kɔ-wṹĩ klɔ ĩ, a sɛ́ kɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

prezidã kɔ̃ klɔ wo ĩ.
16 17 18 19 20

Ngbɛ̃ 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

'Ngbɛ̃ 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) ɛ boe lelele, ɛ kpaloe ji lɔ. sãngɛ mɔ̃ ɛ fá atĩ nũ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

si-i su.
15 16 17

3s hit (STA)-3s long time, 3s throw (STA)-3s put (STA)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6

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) kwaʄo kã kusu lɛ ɛ-ljɛ swaba kɔ̃ nũ, sãngɛ be ɲĩ ta be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

jengu.
15

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 awũɲã dã nũ lɔ sa o. sãngɛ be sĩ-ĩ wa iclãĩ, be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

wɔ-ɔ atĩ nũ lɔ sa fã.
16 17 18 19 20 21 22

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.'

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nã, (/lam/), 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 nã connects. Thus, given A nã 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 nã 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) ãmũ ɲãɟi mĩ, nã gbamlɔ ci-i mĩ ĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2p untie (SUBJ) 1s, because hare tie FPST 1s here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Untie me, because Hare tied me.'

97) n su-di a wɔ, nã n ɟaafwɛ dã lɛ wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

1s IMPRF eat NEG 2s, because 1s friend big COP 2s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'I won't eat you, because you are my good friend.'

98) sɛ a wã a kṹ mĩ ɔ, kũ mĩ; nã n nĩ wã nã n kaci a nwã ndɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

if 2s intend 2s kill (CERT) 1s, kill (IMP) 1s; because
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1s mother said NEG 1s change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'If you want to kill me, kill me; because my mother said

I was not to disobey you.'

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99) kɔ-se ngbɛ̃ kɛ ɛ bla sɔ, nã̄ kɛ nga jwa-nĩ su-tɔ ĩ sa nĩ,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

ɛ ti a kpa.
18 19 20 21

DM tell ngbɛ̃ 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 Ngbɛ̃ 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) jɛ ɛ fɛ-ɛ ngba n sa nũ, nã̄ ɛ ti ɔ, kɔ-kũĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and 3s take-3s FPST all 1s 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-kũ je kpli nã̄ a je kɔ-tɔ̃ alubwe.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

hunger PRF kill 1p big so let 1p 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) ɛ wɛ̃ kɔljɛ ti a kpa nã̄ ɛ su-ɟɛ mɛ̃.
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.'

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103) akojwe wa-jisa-a nzwe ngba nã a je wa-wɔɛ taaba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

tsetse fly DM drew FPST water all so let 1p DM sting (SUBJ)-
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s arrow
12

'Tsetse fly came and drew all the water so let's sting him with arrows.'

104) nja kwasi kɛndeja dũmã nũ jɛ nã ɛ kplo-nĩ jo-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Mr. Kwasi Spider name in COP that 3s skin SPEC do FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

'It was because of Mr. Spider that his skin is like this.'

B is contingent upon A:

105) sɛ a dje umjɛ̃ nã ɛ keje ɔ, se mĩ nã n cí lɛ o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

if 2s breathe breath so that 3s move (STA), tell 1s so that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1s tie (CERT) there EMP
11 12 13 14

'If you breathe so that it moves, tell me so that I can tie it there.

106) bla je wɔ nã n kɔ-kle wɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

come (IMP) 1p go (SUBJ) so that 1s DM show (SUBJ) 2s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Come let's go so that I can show you.'

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107) fa to kla nũ, fa blɛ mĩ nã n ɟwe nã n wũ n bɛ sɛwlɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

take (IMP) buy torch in, take (IMP) bring 1s so that 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

light-3s so that 1s see (SUBJ) 1s bed putting
10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'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 slɛ́ atĩ nã n kɔ́ je klɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s request (CERT) path so that 1s go (CERT) 1p village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'I ask permission to leave in order to go to our village.'

109) sɛ ɛ kɔ-wṹĩ ɲlũ lɔ nã a-klo a lɔ kɔ̃ nĩ, ɛ sɛ́ ɛ sĩ ɛ wa-bá.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

if 3s DM see (CERT)-3s front there and then 3s-PRF like
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

NEG there anymore DISC, 3s return (CERT) 3s back 3s
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

DM come (CERT)
19 20

'If she has her own way there and then she doesn't like it anymore, she will return and come back.'

jɛ, (/jɛ/), 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 bɔ or kɛ clause it is translated as "then." Its primary purpose is to conjoin the constituents it

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connects.[1] Since it often occurs at the beginning of a sentence to connect it to the previous sentence, combinations of jɛ plus a dependent clause marker may occur, jɛ tying the sentences together and the dependent clause marker tying the first clause in the sentence to the next one. For example

110) jɛ be flɛ-ɛ ba kã nĩɔ̃, jɛ ɛ wɔ-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

and 3s call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'And they called the small child and he went.'

111) kla nga jɛ wo ĩ, mɛ̃ɛ̃ be ɟwe jɛ be wũ be bo-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

torch this/that COP LCOP here, which 3p light (STA) and
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p see (STA) 3p under SPEC
10 11 12 13 14

'There is a torch which they light and they (use to) see around themselves.'

112) jɛ gbamlɔ wa-tó klɔ-nĩ lɔ jɛ ɛ mɛ́ ɛ ɟwe-nĩ su.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and hare DM find (CERT) village SPEC there and 3s lift (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s song SPEC on
11 12 13 14

'And Hare came upon the village and he took up his song.'

---

[1] It does not, however, conjoin substantive phrases; the substantive phrase conjoiner nĩ is discussed in Section 241.

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113) jɛ ɛ jí ɛ-ljɛ nĩɔ̃, jɛ ɛ dí jekũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

and 3s take off (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

again DISC
10 11

'And he takes off his and eats it also.'

114) be wã "jaci, jaci." jɛ be a-wũsĩ nɟa kwasi kɛndeja ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s said "pardon (IMP) pardon (IMP)," and 3p PRF wash
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Mr. Kwasi Spider DISC
9 10 11 12

'They said, "Pardon us." And so they washed Mr. Kwasi

Spider.'

115) jɛ kɛ be ɟú atĩ nũ lɔ nĩ, jɛ ngbɛ̃ fɛ-ɛ ɛ tãnĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and when 3p arrive (CERT) path in there DISC, then ngbɛ̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

take FPST 3s cloth
11 12 13 14

'And when they get to the path, then Ngbɛ̃ takes his cloth.'

116) mɔ̃ a-tɔ lɔ, mɔ̃ ɛ slí nĩ, jɛ kɛndeja a-fa wandilɛ nĩ,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

a-wlui klũ lɔ.
15 16 17 18

when 3s-PRF fall there, when 3s laugh (CERT) DISC, then
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

spider PRF take running DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s stomach
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

there
18

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'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 sangɛ which is used more generally to indcate 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: kánzú (both syllables stressed with extra-high tone). For example:

117) je wã ɛ ti kɛ kla ngbɛ̃ ɔ̃. kanzu ajre ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

1p said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP. However medicine
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

COP
11

'We thought it was a normal torch. However it's medicine!'

118) kanzu a-kɔ-si konde nzwɛ̃.
1 2 3 4 5 6

however 3s-PRF DM pound manioc powder
1 2 3 4 5 6

'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.)

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119) kanzu kɛndeja a-kɔ-se wete kɛ ngbɛ̃, . . . kɔ-kũĩ mã mĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

however spider PRF DM tell rat that ngbɛ̃, . . . DM
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

kill-3s for 1s
10 11 12

'However Spider went and told Rat that "Ngbɛ̃, . . . go kill him for me.'

120) kanzu a gboklo a-ljɛ bɔ kpa a kwla gbamlɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

however 2s hyena 2s ASS self very 2s beat (STA) hare
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'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 kpɔ̃kũ indicates a break in a continuing chain of action and signals the start of a new event (see the discussion of the discourse particle ɔ below). It thus normally occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and is considered a sentence connective, but it is also occasionally used within a sentence to indicate the suddenness of an action. For example

121) ɛ nĩ kpɔ̃kũ a-tɔ kpacɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s mother suddenly PRF fall sick
1 2 3 4 5 6

'His mother suddenly fell sick.'

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122) kpɔkũ ɛ wlɛ-ɛ ɛ tlalɛ-nĩ. kpɔkũ ɛ fɛ-ɛ ɛ klɛ-nĩ kplɛ̃-ɛ̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

ɛ ti.
17 18

suddenly 3s put on FPST 3s shirt SPEC. suddenly 3s take
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

FPST 3s hat SPEC put on FPST 3s head
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

'Then he grabbed his shirt and put it on. Then he took

his hat and jammed it on his head.'

123) kpɔkũ bla-nĩ ɛ ɲĩma-nĩ a-wũ lika.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

suddenly woman SPEC 3s eye SPEC PRF see place
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Suddenly the woman could see.'

124) boli lá lɛ. kpɔkũ ɛ ti-i gwa-nĩ ɛ afjɛ̃ lɔ . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

goat lay (CERT) there. suddenly 3s hear FPST court SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3s middle there
10 11 12

'Goat lay there. Suddenly he heard in the middle of the

court . . .'

125) ɛ wɛ̃ "ntɛ, njã, sa mɔ̃ a-jo a je. mĩ alakũ-nĩ n di kpɔkũ!'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

3s said "friend, look (IMP), affair which PRF do NEG good.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1s trousers SPEC 1s eat (STA) suddenly
11 12 13 14 15 16

'He said, "Friend, look, things haven't turned out well.

So now I'm eating my trousers.'

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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 nĩ̃ occurs after a noun phrase): nĩ (with its allomorph nĩ̃) and ɔ. nĩ occurs only on non-sentence final clauses (both dependent and independent) and ɔ 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: nĩ indicating that the sentence is to be continued and ɔ 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 nĩ 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) mɔ̃ awɛ-nĩ kpɛ́ nĩ, jɛ be su-to awale nĩ̃ɔ̃, bɔ nãnã ɲãmjɛ̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

kpli nãnĩ-nĩ, ɛ nĩ nja kɛndeja, be tó awale nĩ,
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

kɛ bɔ a-jaci ɛ wũ lɛ klɛklɛklɛklɛ, mɔ̃ nãnĩ a-kpɛ nĩ,
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38

mɔ̃ a-tɔ lɔ, mɔ̃ ɛ slí nĩ, jɛ kɛndeja a-fa wandilɛ nĩ,
39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52

a-wlui klũ lɔ ɔ.
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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Mr. spider, 3p play (CERT) awale DISC, when as
20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

3s-PRF leave 3s body there ideophone: of playing,
28 29 30 31 32 33

as cow PRF win DISC, as 3s-PRF fall there, as 3s
34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44

laugh (CERT) DISC, then spider PRF take running
45 46 47 48 49 50 51

DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s belly there DISC
52 53 54 55 56 57

'When there was the famine, they were playing awale, as Grandpa God's cow and Mr. Spider were playing awale, when he (cow) forgot himself in playing, as cow had won, as he fell back there, as he laughed, then Spider ran, he entered his belly there.'

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

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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!" (njã kɛ) or "haven't you seen/didn't I tell you?" (a wũ mɛ̃), 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 nĩ and nĩɔ̃ tend to elicit different responses from the sentence-final particle ɔ. After nĩ or nĩɔ̃ the response is usually a sound like [m̀m̀], whereas after ɔ the response is [ãhãã] or [ɛ̃hɛ̃ɛ̃] 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.

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250.1 nĩ, (/lim/), the sentence-medial discourse particle

The discourse particle nĩ (with its allomorph nĩɔ̃) 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, nĩ or nĩɔ̃ are the sole markers that indicate that the sentence is not yet finished. For instance

4) sɛ bla-nĩ jaci be nĩ, be tu a amwĩ be kũ mɛ̃.
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) kɛ ɛ jo-o sɔ nĩ, ɛ bɔ wa-ljɛ-nĩ ngba wu-li nĩ; ajika-nĩ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

jɛ wa-ka-a be osu nũ.
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.'

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6) kɛ ɛ kplokploe-e ɲãɔ̃ fa wɔ-li nĩ, jɛ bloe-e ɛ ti afjɛ̃ ɔkwlɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

when 3s scorch FPST-3s face take go FPST DISC, COP redden
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

FPST-3s 3s head middle red
12 13 14 15 16

'When he scorched his face and took off, that is what left a red (spot) in the middle of his hed.'

7) bɔ ɛ tóto kla-nĩ sa nĩɔ̃, ɛ wũswle-nĩ gwa-a bla ɲĩma su nĩɔ̃,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

kpɔkũ bla-nĩ, ɛ nĩma-nĩ a-wũ lika.
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

when 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

pour FPST woman eye on DISC, suddenly woman SPEC, 3s
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

eye SPEC PRF see place
21 22 23 24 25

'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 lɛ nã be tu sika jwe nĩ, wwo kũ-ũ be ngba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

3p PRF put 3p hand there so that 3p remove (SUBJ) gold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

some DISC, snake kill FPST 3p all
11 12 13 14 15 16 17

'They put their hands in there in order to remove some gold; the snake killed them all.'

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9) gwa cɛ̃ ɟu-li nĩ̃, a-wũsĩ klããmã kpa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

market day arrive FPST DISC, 3s-PRF wash pretty very
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Market day arrived, he washed very prettily.'

10) be kɔ-ɟú be ɲlũ lɔ nĩ̃, atĩ-nĩ a-kɔ-ka kãã sa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3p DM arrive (CERT) 3p front there DISC, path SPEC PRF
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

DM stay small thus
11 12 13 14

'They got further ahead, the path became narrow like this.'

11) bjã̃ kɔ-fɛ-ɛ ɛ ngblãã ɲãã nĩ̃, jɛ ɛ wlɛ́ sĩ nũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

man DM take FPST 3s ngblãã leaf DISC, and 3s put (CERT)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

fire in DISC
12 13 14

'The man went and took his ngblãã leaf, and he put it in the fire.'

12) ɛ fɛ-ɛ ɛ taa-ljɛ nĩ̃, ɛ ba-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s take FPST 3s bow ASS DISC, 3s come FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

'He took his bow, he came.'

13) ɲãmjɛ̃ bo-li mã-ã be nĩ̃, be ngba be nɔ̃ɛ̃ tititi.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

god dig FPST give FPST 3s DISC, 3p all 3p drink(STA)-3s always
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'God dug it for them, and they all drink there always.'

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There are two positions where the occurrence of nĩ 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.[1] When a character is introduced into the scene who has been absent from the previous scene, he is introduced again. The allomorph nĩ5̃ is always used in this position. This presentation of the character(s) can be a sentence in itself. For example

14) nja boli nĩ5̃, ɛ nĩ nja kwajo kã̃ nĩ5̃. nja kwajo kã̃, ɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

kundɛ bla nvle nũ.
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) Ngbɛ̃ nĩ5̃. je wɔ-ɔ klɔ kɔ̃ su lɔ nã̃ bla nɲɔ̃ wo lɛ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Ngbɛ̃ DISC. 2p go FPST village one on there and woman
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

two LCOP there.
12 13 14

'Ngbɛ̃. We went to a village there and there were two women.'

---

[1]By 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.

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16) ajika ba kã nĩ̃5̃, a-kɔ-slɛ bjã kɔ̃ akɔ klafa klɔ nũ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

orphan child little DISC, 3s-PRF DM request man one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

chicken raise village in there
10 11 12 13 14

'A little orphan child, he went and asked a man for a chicken to raise in a village there.'

17) talwa kɔ̃ sa kpã nĩ̃5̃, ɛ ɲĩ-ĩ sa nĩ, slã kwlakwlakwla
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

kɔ-wũĩ nĩ, . . .
13 14 15

maiden one thus ideophone: of beauty DISC, 3s grew FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

thus DISC, person all all all DM see-3s DISC, . . .
9 10 11 12 13 14 15

'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) ɛ wɛ̃ "sɛ ɛ ti sakpa ɔ, se nã ɛ jo n-ljɛ nã n njã;
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(ɛ nĩ ji jɛ be slã nɲɔ̃ jɛ be ɲĩma ti silwa nĩ̃5̃);
16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

jɛ ɛ fá kla jɛ ɛ wlɛ́ sĩ nũ jekũ ɔ.
29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

3s said "if 3s ICOP true, tell (IMP)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1s ASS so that 1s see (SUBJ); (3s and-3s wife COP
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

3p person two COP 3p eye ICOP blind DISC); and 3s
20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

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take (CERT) torch and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38

DISC.
39

'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.'

19) "sɛ ɛ ti kɛ jɛ ɛ ba-a jwe ndɛ nĩɔ̃, ɛ̃ɛ̃ nãnĩ dwi klu nga be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

mã-ã mĩ--(ɛ jo-o zjazja nĩ)--ɛ̃ɛ̃ nã je nĩ jɛ je di-li
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33

ɔ?"
34

if 3s ICOP like and 3s come FPST also today DISC, then
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

cow fat sort this/that 3p give FPST 1s--(3s do FPST
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

ideophone: of burning leaf DISC)--then NEG 1p and-3s
24 25 26 27 28 29

COP 1p eat FPST QUES
30 31 32 33 34

'"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?

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20) jɛ bla-nĩ ɛ kɔ́ atĩ nũ lɔ ɔ. (ɛ wɛ̃ ɛ su-kɔ iɟle nũ nĩɔ̃.)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

ɛ kɔ́ ɔ, wonda kɔ̃ a-wlu swle kũmã kɔ̃ nũ ĩ.
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

and woman SPEC 3s go (CERT) path in there DISC. (3s said
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s IMPRF go grass in DISC). 3s go (CERT) when, viper
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

one PRF enter termite hill hole one in here
22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

'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 nĩ (Section 241) or the specifier nĩ (Section 222.5). Since the former never occurs clause-finally there is never a potential confusion between it and the discourse particle nĩ. The specifier nĩ, 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 nĩ from the discourse particle nĩ. In some of these cases the clause-final noun is possessed as in

21) ɛ wa-la-a lɛ joe-e ajre-nĩ, nã je si wã ɛ ajre aɟakpa wo lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

3s DM sleep FPST there do-3s FPST medicine SPEC, so 1p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

father said 3s medicine recompense LCOP there
12 13 14 15 16 17 18

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'He came and slept there and administered his medicine, so our father says this is his reward.'

Since the specifier nĩ is obligatory after a possessed noun phrase, this clause-final nĩ is the specifier. Where the clause-final noun is not possessed the situation is not so clear, as in

22) a-flɛ be slã̀ nnã-nĩ, be wã́ "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, kpɔkũ̀ n wa-dí like-nĩ, n kɔ́ jekũ̀.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

1s come (CERT), suddenly 1s DM eat (CERT) food SPEC, 1s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

go (CERT) again
10 11

'I will come, then I will speedily come and eat the food, I will go again.'

In both these instances, the nouns slã̀ '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 obligatory) 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

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extra length on the n of the discourse particle nĩ. (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 ɔ, (/ɔ/), 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 nĩ (and nĩ5̃) as indicating links in a chain of actions, processes or states that make up an event, then ɔ is the break in that chain. For example

24) kɛ ɛ wũĩ-ĩ sɔ nĩ, jɛ ɛ jaci-i lɔ ɛ ba-li ɔ.
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) mɔ̃ ɛ ju-u lɔ nĩɔ̃, ɛ jĩ-ĩ like-nĩ angɔnda-nĩ su wa ɔ.
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.'

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26) be cwɛ̃-ɛ nãnĩ fle nĩɔ̃, be a-ɟĩ ɛ wũ lɛ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3s PRF put 3s near there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

DISC
13

'They dragged the cow's stomach they put it next to him.'

27) jɛ be síke jɛ be wlú nũ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And so they unload (their baggage) and they enter.'

28) jɛ be flɛ-ɛ ba kã nĩɔ̃, jɛ ɛ wɔ-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

and 3p call FPST child little DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'And so they called the small child and he went.'

29) jɛ ɛ tɔ-ɔ lɔ ɔ. jɛ kliklikli jɛ be wándi jɛ be wlú lɔ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

and 3s fall FPST there DISC. and ideophone: of running
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p run (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) there DISC
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

'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.

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o or e is a particle which occurs

a) after imperatives to "soften" the command

30) bla o, bla jo n je.
1 2 3 4 5 6

come (IMP) oh, come (IMP) do (IMP) 1s help
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Come, please come help me.'

31) nã amũ kpuke nũ o.
1 2 3 4 5

NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in oh
1 2 3 4 5

'Don't break it open, hey!'

32) nã wla a sa-nĩ ngwangwa lɔ kɔ̃ o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

NEG put (IMP) 2s hand SPEC down down there again oh.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Don't put your hand down there again, hey!'

33) jaso lɛ e.
1 2 3

get up (IMP) there oh.
1 2 3

'Get up from there!'

b) after greetings

34) mo aɲĩ o.

'Good morning!'

35) ã monĩ 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) sɛ a kɔ-jóe atɛ nĩ, sika o sika nga be tó nũ-nĩ, fa to
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

akɔ.
17

if 2s DM do-3s sell (CERT) DISC, money oh money this/that
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p buy (CERT) in SPEC, take (IMP) buy (IMP) chicken
11 12 13 14 15 16 17

'When you go sell it, the money that they give you, take

and buy a chicken.'

39) mɔ̃nɛ̃ o mɔ̃nɛ̃ jɛ je kwla je jja wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Sunday oh Sunday COP 1p all 1p meet (SUBJ) here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Sunday oh Sunday is the day we are all to meet here.'

40) ɛ kpɛ mĩ nzoa, n tɛ a su o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s insult (STA) 1s, 1s answer (STA) NEG on oh
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'He insults me, I don't answer!'

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ɔ is a particle which occurs optionally on questions:

41) nzu jɛ a-li a di ɔ?
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 kũngba wɔ wo lɛ ɔ?
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) ɛ jo sɛ a kɔ-se sɔ ɔ?
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) nĩfã jɛ n sjé be ɔ?
1 2 3 4 5 6

where COP 1s 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) jɛ kũmã a-a klɔ wa ao. jɛlɛ mĩ nɔswa nũ ato.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

and goat stay FPST village here __. COP 1s 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.'

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46) kɛ ɛ kplokploe-e ɛ ɲão fa wɔ-li nĩ, jɛ blo-o ɛ ti afjɛ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

ɔkwlɛ-nĩ 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 red-

dened the middle of his head.'

b) at the end of a sentence to indicate doubt:

47) sɛ a-wɔ Kofi lika lɔ 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-nĩ, nã̃ kɛ be wũ koko lɛ jɛ 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) awofwɛ 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.'

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300. APPENDIX: TEXT ANALYSIS

"Husbands Should Love Both Wives"

Told by Mo Olye at the Village of Totokro on July 3, 1974

1. nã mĩ ngwa kɔ̃ ɔ?
   1 2 3 4 5

   NEG 1s story one QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

2. lalafwɛ nũ nĩɔ̃,
   1 2 3

   former times in DISC
   1 2 3

3. jaswa-nĩ ɟa-a bla-nĩ sa nɲɔ̃.
   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. ɛ klo a kɔ̃.
   1 2 3 4

   3s love NEG one.
   1 2 3 4

5. sɛ ɛ kɔ̃-nĩ se kɛ
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   if 3s one SPEC say (STA) that
   1 2 3 4 5 6

6. "kɔ-kpɛ aje mã mĩ" nĩ,
   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. ɛ nzoa jɛ ɛ kpɛ ɔ.
   1 2 3 4 5

   3s insult COP 3s DISC.
   1 2 3 4 5

8. jɛ ɛ kɔ̃-nĭ, a-flɛ
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   and 3s one SPEC, 3s-PRF call-3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6

9. jɛ be a-ɟu afle nũ lɔ,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   and 3p PRF arrive savannah in there,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. jɛ be su-iɟɔ ɛ kɔ̃ wũ wa tɛtɛ.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

    and 3p IMPRF talk 3s one body here bad.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. "ɛ-li bja nga sa wɛ̃ n kɔ-kpɛ aje n mɛ̃."
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

    3s SPEC stool this/that thus said 1s DM cut (SUBJ) palm grain 1s
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

    give (SUBJ)-3s."
    12

12. jɛ be a-wɔ cɛ̃ kwlakwla kwlakwla.
    1 2 3 4 5 7

    and 3p PRF go day every every every every.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

13. kɛ be joe sɔ.
    1 2 3 4

    like 3p do (STA)-3s thus.
    1 2 3 4

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14. jɛ cɛ̃ kɔ̃ be wɔ-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and day one 3p go FPST DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. bla-nĩ nga ɛ kloe-nĩ, ɛ wɔ-ɔ ɛ-ljɛ kpɛlɛ ɔ.
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 mɔ̃ ɛ koto kpɛ kãã 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. ɛ fɛ-ɛ ɛ ja-nĩ tɛ-ɛ ɛ wũ ɔ̃,
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-nĩ a-fu nglo fũũ
1 2 3 4 5 6

palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up fũũ!
1 2 3 4 5 6

19. kɛ kpako waka nga sa.
1 2 3 4 5

like coconut tree this/that thus.
1 2 3 4 5

20. jɛ bla-nĩ jlã́ ɛ bo wa ɔ.
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. ɛ wɛ̃ "wã̀ kɔ lelele kɛ mĩ́ wṹ ja sa?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s said "who go (STA) far like 1s husband Ya thus?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

22. ɛ wɛ̃ "mĩ́ ji, mĩ́ ja ɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s said "1s wife, 1s Ya COP"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. "a ɟa bla ɟa je ngba o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

"2s marry (STA) woman marry (IMP) 1p all EMP.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. ɛ ti awlo ndɛ o.
1 2 3 4 5

3s ICOP home affair EMP
1 2 3 4 5

25. tje alengelenge, tje mĩ́ wṹ e."
1 2 3 4 5 6

listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) 1s husband EMP."
1 2 3 4 5 6

26. jɛ be a-joe sɔ lelele.
1 2 3 4 5 6

and 3p PRF do-3s thus until
1 2 3 4 5 6

27. bjã̀-nĩ́ a-wɔ lelele,
1 2 3 4 5

man SPEC PRF go far
1 2 3 4 5

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28. ɛ su-wa-to ɲãmjɛ̃-nĩ lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s IMPRF DM reach sky SPEC there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29. jɛ bla-nĩ nga mɛ̃ɛ̃ be kloe mɛ̃ lɛ-nĩ,
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. jɛ ɛ kɔ-flɛ́ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

and 3s DM call (CERT)-3s DISC
1 2 3 4 5

31. "n wla, je wɔ-ɔ afle nũ lɔ,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ls rival, lp go FPST savannah in there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

32. nã nja ɲĩsã wɔ-ɔ aje kãã kɔ̃ kpɛlɛ nĩɔ̃,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

and Mr. Ɲĩsã go FPST palm grain small one cutting DISC,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

33. mme-nĩ a-fu nglonglo lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up up there.
1 2 3 4 5 6

34. nã je bla wɔ,
1 2 3 4

so lp come (SUBJ) go,
1 2 3 4

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35. nã kɔ-flɛ jwe.
1 2 3 4

and DM call (IMP)-3s also
1 2 3 4

36. jɛ bla-nĩ bá wa-ɟlá ɛ bo wũ lɛ ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

and woman SPEC come (CERT) DM stand (CERT) 3s under near there DISC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

37. ɛ wɛ̃ "wã kɔ lengelenge kɛ mĩ wũ ja sa e?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s said "who go (STA) (song word) like 1s husband Ya thus QUES?"
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

38. ɛ wɛ̃ "mĩ ji, mĩ ja ɔ."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s said "1s wife, 1s Ya COP."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

39. "a ɟa bla, ɟa je ngba o. ɛ ti awlo ndɛ ɔ. tje alengelenge, tje mĩ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

wũ,
17

2s marry (STA) woman, marry (IMP) 1p all EMP. 3s ICOP home affair
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

EMP. listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) 1s husband."
12 13 14 15 16 17

40. ɛ bɔ-nĩ ti a dɛ̃nɛ̃ o,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s self SPEC ICOP NEG long EMP,
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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41. jɛlɛ kpe kã̃ kɛ nga lɛ-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

COP short small like this/that there SPEC.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

42. jɛ ɛ ɟwla-li ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5

and 3s descend FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5

43. ɛ ti jɛ sɛ be ɟa bla nĩ,
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 ɛ nɲɔ̃-nĩ.
1 2 3 4 5

3p love 3s two SPEC
1 2 3 4 5

45. ɛ bo-nĩ jɛ wo lɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s sense SPEC COP LCOP there
1 2 3 4 5 6

46. jɛlɛ mĩ nnɔswa nũ ato.
1 2 3 4 5 6

COP ls 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 loveone. 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

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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 fũũ! 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. ŋĩsã 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

   nã a variant of the negative (Section 238.3),

   mĩ ngwa kɔ̃ 'one of my stories,' a SP consisting of

      mĩ '1s pronoun' (Section 221.4),

      ngwa 'story,' noun (Section 221.6). mĩ ngwa is a compound construction (Section 222.4).

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kɔ̃ 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2) modifying the noun ngwa.

ɔ the question particle (Section 243).

2.-3. A simple sentence consisting of a LocP (2) and an independent clause (3).

2. A LocP (Section 221.7) consisting of

lalafwɛ nũ 'in the time of our ancestors':

lalafwɛ, a noun composed of lala 'former times' plus the agentive suffix fwɛ (Section 221.8).

nũ 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).

nĩɔ̃ a discourse particle indicating that the sentence is not finished (Section 250.1).

3. An independent clause consisting of

jaswa-nĩ 'the man,' the subject SP: jaswa 'man,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nĩ 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-nĩ sa nɲɔ̃ 'two women,' the object SP:

bla-nĩ 'the woman/women': bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nĩ specifier (Section 222.5).

sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

nɲɔ̃ '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

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235).

a negative (Section 238.3).

kɔ̃ '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

sɛ . . . nĩ 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 241.12) indicating hypotheticality.

ɛ kɔ̃-nĩ 'the one,' the subject SP:

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4),

kɔ̃ 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2)

-nĩ specifier (Section 222.5).

The pronoun ɛ nominalizes 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

kɛ 'that,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).

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6. A subordinate clause (Section 242.11) which is the object of the verb se 'say' of clause 5 consisting of

   kɔ-kpɛ . . . mã 'go cut for,' a three-place verbal group (Section 237): kɔ- a directional modal (Section 238.2) plus kpɛ 'cut' plus mã 'give' inflected tonally for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

   aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.

   mĩ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), the other object SP.

   nĩ (See sɛ . . . nĩ in 5 above).

7. An independent clause coordinate with the clause in 5-6, consisting of

   ɛ nzoa the topicalized object SP (ɛ 3s pronoun) plus the noun complement (nzoa) of the completable verb (Section 233) kpɛ nzoa.

   jɛ copula (Section 231) which is used after a topicalized SP.

   ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP.

   kpɛ . . . nzoa 'insult,' a two-place completable verb (Section 233).

   ɔ a discourse particle indicating the end of the sentence (Section 250).

   There is a play on the word kpɛ 'cut': the woman asks the man to go cut some palm grain for her and he "cuts her insult" instead (kpɛ nzoa).

8.-10. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent clauses.

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8. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ɛ kɔ̃-nĭ 'the one' (see 5 above), the topicalized object SP.

a-flɛ '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).

flɛ '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 ɛ kɔ̃-nĭ.

9. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

a-ɟu 'arrived,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix a- (Section 238.2).

afle nũ lɔ 'in the savannah there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

afle 'savannah,' noun (Section 221.6).

nũ 'in,' locative (Section 221.7).

lɔ 'there,' location noun (Section 221.6).

10. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

jɛ 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP

su-iɟɔ . . . wũ 'are talking against,' a two-place completable verb (Section 233) inflected for imperfective aspect with the prefix su- (Section 238.2).

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11. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause ɛ-li bja nga sa wɛ̃ plus the subordinate clause n kɔ-kpɛ aje n mɛ̃.

The main clause consists of

ɛ-li bja nga sa 'that stool there,' the subject SP:

ɛ-li 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) plus the specifier -li (the variant of -nĩ 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).

wɛ̃ 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235). Its object SP is the subordinate clause n kɔ-kpɛ aje n mɛ̃ which consists of

n 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

kɔ-kpɛ . . . mã '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.

mɛ̃ (<mã ɛ) contains the other object SP ɛ, 3s pronoun (Section 221.4)

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12. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

a-wɔ 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234). (wɔ is a variant of kɔ which occurs with certain inflections [Section 238.2]), inflected for the perfective aspect by the prefix a- (Section 238.2).

cɛ̃ kwlakwlakwlakwla 'every every day': cɛ̃ 'day,' noun (Section 221.6), plus the reduplicated quantifier kwla (Section 222.2).

13. A simple sentence consisting of

kɛ '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.

sɔ 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

14. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).

cɛ̃ kɔ̃ 'one day': cɛ̃ 'day,' noun (Section 221.6) plus kɔ̃ 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wɔ-li 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).

ɔ the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

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15. A complex sentence (Section 240) consisting of an independent clause bla-nĩ, ɛ wɔ-ɔ ɛ-ljɛ kpɛlɛ ɔ plus the subordinate clause nga ɛ kloe-nĩ, a relative clause which modifies the noun bla-nĩ.

The independent clause consists of

bla-nĩ 'the woman': bla 'woman,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nĩ, specifier (Section 222.5), a topicalized SP.

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wɔ-ɔ 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -ɔ, variant of -li (Section 238.2).

ɛ-ljɛ kpɛlɛ 'hers cutting':

ɛ-ljɛ 'hers': ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nĩ, plus -ljɛ, the associative (Section 222.4).

kpɛlɛ 'cutting,' nominal form of verb: kpɛ 'cut' plus lɛ (Section 221.8).

ɔ the discourse particle (Section 250.2) that indicates that the sentence is finished.

The relative clause consists of

nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3)

ɛ 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).

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-e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun co-referential with the antecedent noun bla-nĩ.

-nĩ specifier (Section 222.5)

16. A simple sentence consisting of

aje mɔ̃ 'even plam grain,' a topicalized object SP: aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), plus mɔ̃, emphatic particle (Section 222.7).

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

koto kpɛ 'kneel to cut,' a two-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

(ɛ) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.

kãã 'small,' adjective (Section 222.1).

sa '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 mmɛ-nĩ.

17. A dependent clause consisting of

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

fɛ-ɛ . . . tɛ-ɛ 'take and put,' a two-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected for the factual past with the suffixes -ɛ and -ɛ (variant of -li) (Section 238.2).

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ɛ ja-nĩ 'his foot,' a possessive construction (Section 222.4), the object SP; ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), plus ja 'foot,' noun (Section 221.6), plus -nĩ specifier (Section 222.5).

ɛ wũ 'on it,' a LocP (Section 221.7): ɛ 3s pronoun 221.4 plus wũ 'on, near,' locative (Section 221.7)

ɔ 'when,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12).

18. An independent clause consisting of

mme-nĩ 'the palm tree,' the subject SP; mme, noun (Section 221.6) plus -nĩ, specifier (Section 222.5).

a-fu 'ascended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix a- (Section 238.2).

nglo 'up,' location noun (Section 221.6).

fũũ an ideophone describing the rapid ascent of the tree (Section 239.3).

19. A SP modifying the noun mme-nĩ of 18.

kɛ 'like,' a subordinate dependent clause or modifying phrase marker (Section 242.11).

kpako 'coconut,' noun (Section 221.6).

waka 'tree,' noun (Section 221.6).

nga demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

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20. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).

bla-nĭ 'the woman,' the subject SP: bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nĭ, specifier (Section 222.5).

ɟlã '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).

ɛ bo wa 'under it here,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

bo 'under,' locative (Section 221.7).

wa 'here,' location noun (Section 221.6).

ɔ 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 ɛ wɛ̃ plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote "wã kɔ lelele kɛ mĭ wũ ja sa?"

The main clause consists of

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wɛ̃ 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235) which takes as object SP a quote.

The subordinate clause consists of

kɛ 'like,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).

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mĩ wũ 'my husband,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):

mĩ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).

wũ 'husband,' kin term (Section 221.5).

ja 'Ya,' name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mĩ wũ.

sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2)

22. A complex sentence consisting of the main cluase ɛ wɛ̃ plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote "mĩ ji, mĩ ja ɔ" ɛ wɛ̃ (see 21 above).

The subordinate clause consists of

mĩ ji 'my wife,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):

mĩ 1s pronoun (Section 221.3).

ji 'wife,' kin term (Section 221.5).

mĩ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP of copula ɔ.

ja 'Ya,' a name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mĩ 'me.'

ɔ 'it's,' a copula (Section 231.2).

23. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause (sɛ) a ja bla and the independent coordinate clause ja je ngba o.

The dependent clause consists of

(sɛ) '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).

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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 1p 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

ɛ 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.

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The second independent clause consists of

tje 'listen' (see above).

mĭ wũ 'my husband' (see 21 above).

e a discourse particle, variant of o, that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

26. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ '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).

-e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.

sɔ '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

bjã-nĭ 'the man,' subject SP:

bjã 'man,' a personal noun (Section 221.6).

-nĭ the specifier (Section 222.5).

a-wɔ 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect.

lelele an ideophone indicating farness (Section 239.3).

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28. An independent clause consisting of

ɛ 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).

ɲãmjɛ̃-nĩ lɔ 'the sky there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

ɲãmjɛ̃ 'sky,' a noun (Section 221.6).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

lɔ '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-nĩ plus the relative clause nga mɛ̃ɛ̃ be klo mɛ̃ lɛ-nĩ.

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

bla-nĩ 'the woman,' the topicalized object SP of the main clause in 30: bla 'woman,' a personal noun (Section 221.6), plus -nĩ, the specifier (Section 222.5)

nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

mɛ̃ɛ̃ '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).

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-e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nĩ.

mɛ̃ the negative (Section 238.3).

lɛ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

30. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

kɔ-flɛ 'went to call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode with kɔ-, a directional modal (Section 238.2).

(ɛ) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) coreferential with the topicalized object SP bla-nĩ 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 1p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wɔ-ɔ 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -ɔ, a variant of -li (Section 238.2).

afle nũ lɔ 'in the savannah there' (see 9).

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32. An independent clause consisting of

nã̀ 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

nja ŊĨsã̀ 'Mr. ŊĨsã̀,' a name (Section 221.2), the subject SP.

wɔ-ɔ 'went' (see 31 above).

aje kãã̀ kɔ̃ kpɛlɛ 'a small palm grain (clump) cutting':

aje 'palm grain,' a noun (Section 221.6).

kãã̀ 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

kɔ̃ 'one,' a numeral (Section 222.2).

kpɛlɛ 'cutting,' the nominal form of the verb: kpɛ 'cut' plus lɛ (Section 221.8).

nĨɔ̃ a discourse particle indicating the sentence is not finished (Section 250).

33. An independent clause consisting of

mme-nĨ 'the palm tree,' the subject SP: mme, a noun (Section 221.6), plus -nĨ, the specifier (Section 222.5).

a-fu 'ascended' (see 18).

nglonglo lɔ 'up up there,' a LocP (Section 221.7).

nglonglo reduplicated location noun (Section 221.6) 'up up.'

lɔ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

34.-35. A complex sentence consisting of two independent coordinate clauses.

34. An independent clause consisting of

nã̀ 'so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

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je lp pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

bla wɔ 'come go,' a one-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected tonally for the subjunctive mode (Section 238.2).

35. An independent clause consisting of

nã 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

kɔ-flɛ 'go call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the imperative mode.

(ɛ) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.

jwe 'also,' an adverb (Section 239).

36. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

bla-nĩ 'the woman,' the subject SP (see 20).

ba wa-ɟlã '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 ɟlã.

ɛ bo wũ lɛ 'under it near there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

bo 'under,' a locative (Section 221.7).

wũ 'near,' a locative (Section 221.7).

lɛ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

ɔ the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

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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

ɛ bɔ-nĩ 'itself,' the subject SP:

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

bɔ 'an emphatic particle' (Section 222.7).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

ti the identifying copula (Section 231.1).

a the negative (Section 238.3).

dɛ̃nɛ̃ 'long,' an adjective (Section 222.1), the complement of the copula

o a discourse particle that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

41. A dependent clause consisting of

jɛlɛ 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the subject SP of the previous clause (ɛ bɔ-nĩ) to the following adjective.

kpe 'short,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

kã̃ 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

kɛ nga lɛ-nĩ 'like the one there':

kɛ 'like' (Section 242.11).

nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

lɛ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

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42. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛ 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

ɟla-li 'descended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).

ɔ the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

43.-44. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause ɛ ti jɛ plus the dependent coordinate clause sɛ be ɟa bla nĩ plus the independent coordinate clause 44.

43. ɛ ti jɛ 'for this reason':

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.

ti 'reason,' a noun (Section 221.6).

jɛ a copula (Section 231.2).

sɛ be ɟa bla nĩ 'if you marry':

sɛ . . . nĩ 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP, here used as an impersonal pronoun.

ɟa 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.

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klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

ɛ nɲɔ̃-nĩ 'the two,' the object SP:

ɛ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

nɲɔ̃ 'two,' a numeral (Section 222.2).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

The pronoun ɛ nominalizes a numeral (Section 221.4).

45. A simple sentence consisting of

ɛ bo-nĩ 'its meaning,' a possessive phrase (Section 222.4), the subject SP:

ɛ 3p pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.

bo 'meaning,' a noun (Section 221.6).

-nĩ the specifier (Section 222.5).

jɛ a copula (Section 231.2).

wo the locative copula (Section 231.1).

lɔ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

46. A simple sentence consisting of

jɛlɛ 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the whole story to the following SP.

mĩ nnɔswa nũ ato 'my lie for the evening':

mĩ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).

nnɔswa 'evening,' a noun (Section 221.6).

nũ 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).

ato 'lie,' a noun (Section 221.6).

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