A Discourse-Based Grammar of Baule: The Kode Dialect

Judith E. Timyan
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

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A DISCOURSE-BASED GRAMMAR OF BAULE: THE KODE DIALECT

by

JUDITH TIMYAN

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

December 8, 1976

Chairman of Examining Committee

12/8/76

Executive Officer

D. Terence Langendoen

Edgar Gregersen

Joseph Greenberg

Supervisory Committee

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

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

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

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

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,⁴ 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-Comoè group of Western Kwa languages:

⁴The 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).
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 varieties of Baule spoken by these different groups is the difference in the tonal systems. (A comparative analysis of tonal systems [Timyan 1975] shows that the tonal system of the Kode dialect is very different from those of other dialects.) Other differences include: differences in lexical items; differences in the shape of some grammatical morphemes (e.g. Kode:

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

020. BAULE LANGUAGE STUDIES

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

030. THE CURRENT STUDY

The grammatical description of Kode Baule presented in this dissertation is motivated by the belief that a little-studied language is best investigated in the context of discourse. In attempting to account for all of the linguistic phenomena occurring in spontaneous utterances of a language one is forced to face the whole range of
linguistic facts about that language. Only by analyzing sentences from naturally-occurring discourse can one discover the full inventory of the grammatical morphemes of the language, of the techniques of marking definiteness and anaphora, of the variation in sentence structure, of the ways in which sentences are put together to form larger units of discourse. Recent work done by Keenan (197*0), Givon (197**) 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.
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\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}V, C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}VN. These syllables may co-occur freely with the following exception: a V syllable occurs non-word initially only if it is preceded by an identical vowel. For instance,

\[
\text{\textipa{/k\ddot{a}\ddot{a}/}} \quad 'a little bit' \\
\text{\textipa{/a\ddot{a}/}} \quad 'trap'
\]

-\text{\textipa{V}} (a single vowel)

\[
\text{\textipa{/a\ddot{a}/}} \quad '2nd person singular pronoun' \\
\text{\textipa{/c\ddot{a}/}} \quad '3rd person singular pronoun' \\
\text{\textipa{/a\textipa{b}i\textipa{f}}}} \quad 'kind of monkey' \\
\text{\textipa{/a\textipa{a}/}} \quad 'trap' \\
\text{\textipa{/\textipa{d}\textipa{t}i\textipa{f}/}} \quad 'calm, quiet'
\]

-\text{\textipa{N}} (a syllabic tone-carrying nasal)

Syllabic nasals never occur as peaks of monosyllabic utterances.\(^2\) Thus the variant /n/ of the 1st person singular pronoun never occurs by

\(^1\)The symbol /\textipa{f}/ is used for the surface phonemic representation, /\textipa{f}/ 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.
itself in utterance. The syllabic nasal is always homorganic with the
following consonant and occurs only word-initially.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{me}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{mme}] \quad 'palm' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{fa}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{mv\ddot{a}}] \quad 'smell' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{i\ddot{u}}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{\eta\ddot{n}\ddot{u}}] \quad 'five' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{j\ddot{e}}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{\eta\ddot{n}\ddot{e}}] \quad 'kind of tree' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{go}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{\eta\ddot{g}\ddot{o}}] \quad 'oil' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{N}\text{gba}\)} & \quad [\ \mathfrak{\eta\ddot{m}\ddot{g}\ddot{b}\ddot{a}}] \quad 'all'
\end{align*}\]

\(-CV\) (A consonant followed by a vowel)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(\mathfrak{p}\text{pepe}\)} & \quad 'monkey' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{b}\text{be}\)} & \quad 'cook' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{d}\text{d\ddot{a}}\)} & \quad 'big' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{t}\text{\ddot{a}}\)} & \quad 'prepare food' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{j}\text{ja}\)} & \quad 'foot' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{c}\text{ce}\)} & \quad 'share' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{k}\text{af}\)} & \quad 'bite'
\end{align*}\]

\(-C_1C_2V\) (two consonants followed by a vowel, in which \(C_2\) is \(\mathfrak{f}, \mathfrak{j}\) or \(\mathfrak{w}\))

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(\mathfrak{b}\text{l\ddot{o}}\)} & \quad 'bush' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{k}\text{l\ddot{a}}\)} & \quad 'village' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{k}\text{l\ddot{u}}\)} & \quad [\k\ddot{l}\ddot{u}] \quad 'stomach' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{t}\text{lo}\)} & \quad [\mathfrak{t\ddot{c}\ddot{o}}] \quad 'sauce' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{j}\text{l\ddot{a}}\)} & \quad [\mathfrak{j\ddot{\ddot{r}}\ddot{a}}] \quad 'burn' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{m}\text{ja}\)} & \quad 'press' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{b}\text{je}\)} & \quad 'urinate' \\
\text{\(\mathfrak{b}\text{j\ddot{a}}\)} & \quad [\mathfrak{b\ddot{j}\ddot{a}}] \quad 'man'
\end{align*}\]
\#gwaf
'market'

\#fwæf  
[\text{f\textipa{\textae}}]
'chase'

\#cwæf  
[\text{c\textipa{\textae}}]
'pull'

\#bodwëf  
[bod\textipa{\textii}]
'bark'

\#twi\textipa{f}  
[t\textipa{i}]
'gun'

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

\#bansle\textipa{f}  
[b\textipa{n}z\textipa{\textee}]
'an amulet'

\#bondle\textipa{f}  
[b\textipa{\textond}\textipa{\textee}]
'buttocks'

\#janle\textipa{f}  
[j\textipa{\textanne}]
'black deer'

\#sonja\textipa{f}  
[\text{s\textipa{\textone}}]
'soldier'

\#fanga\textipa{f}  
[f\textipa{\textang}]
'strength'

\#blengbi\textipa{f}  
[bl\textipa{\texteng}\textipa{\textbi}]
'rich, important man'
120. **THE SURFACE PHONEMES**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>labio-</th>
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<td>p</td>
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<td>c, j</td>
<td>k, g</td>
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1. homorganic with ff. consonant.

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

* /kāa/ 'a small bit' contrasts with /kā/ 'small'*

* /kweē/ 'fetus' contrasts with /kwe/ 'knife'*

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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 /e/, and /o/ and /o/ 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

/\xpale/ ‘nere bean tree’
/\xpawle/ ‘kind of basket’
/\xpando/ [\xpando] ‘roasted yam or manioc’
/\xpaci/ ‘break’
/\xpakpa/ ‘type of tree’
/\xndeja/ [\xndeja] ‘spider’
/\xlogbe/ ‘ivory bracelet’
/\xlongbo/ [\xlongbo] ‘eggplant’
/\xluwa/ ‘spindle’
/\xokotle/ [\xokotle] ‘thumb’
/\xondle/ [\xondle] ‘buttocks’
/\alklū/ [\alklū] ‘banana mush’
/\xomi/ ‘neck’
/\xonā/ ‘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

/\xluwa/ ‘spindle’
/\xokotle/ [\xokotle] ‘thumb’
/\xondle/ [\xondle] ‘buttocks’
/\alklū/ [\alklū] ‘banana mush’
/\xomi/ ‘neck’
/\xonā/ ‘male name’
121.3 **Oral and nasal vowels**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral Vowel</th>
<th>Nasal Vowel</th>
<th>Example Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/popo/</td>
<td>/pọpọ/</td>
<td>'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bo/</td>
<td>/bọ/</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta/</td>
<td>/tọ/</td>
<td>'raise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/di/</td>
<td>/dọ/</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>/cẹ/</td>
<td>'share'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ju/</td>
<td>/jụ/</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka/</td>
<td>/kẹ/</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ga/</td>
<td>/gẹ/</td>
<td>'kind of vine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kpa/</td>
<td>/kẹpẹ/</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gbo/</td>
<td>/gbẹmẹ/</td>
<td>'hearth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fe/</td>
<td>/fẹ/</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nfọ/ [ŋvọ]</td>
<td>/nọfọ/</td>
<td>'termite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td>/sẹ/</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nfọ/ [ŋvọ]</td>
<td>/nọfọ/</td>
<td>'termite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/la/</td>
<td>/lẹ/</td>
<td>'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tlạ/ [tẹ]</td>
<td>/tẹlẹ/</td>
<td>'grab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ji/</td>
<td>/jẹ/</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twu/</td>
<td>/wụ/</td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[bondre] 'buttocks'
[jemvje] 'ocean'
[bleŋmũbi] 'rich, important man'

122. Nasals and Nasality

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

/fswã/ [swã] 'learn'
/fbjã/ [bjã] 'man'
/fklũ/ [klũ] 'belly'
/ftlã/ [tã] 'sit'
As  they are realized as [\(\ddot{w}\)], [\(\dddot{n}\)] and [\(\ddot{n}\)] respectively:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[\(\ddot{w}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{w}\)]} & 'husband' \\
\text{[\(\dddot{w}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\dddot{w}\)]} & 'wander' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{p}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{p}\)]} & 'face, eyes' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{p}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{p}\)]} & 'face' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'mother' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'mouth'
\end{align*}\]

122.1 Homorganic nasal

\(N\) is a homorganic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant:

- [\(\ddot{m}\)], a bilabial nasal, preceding /b/ and /m/
- [\(\ddot{n}\)], a labio-dental nasal, preceding /f/ and /v/
- [\(\ddot{n}\)], an alveolar nasal, preceding /d/ and /l/ and /s/
- [\(\ddot{p}\)], a palatal nasal, preceding /j/ and /j/
- [\(\ddot{g}\)], a velar nasal, preceding /g/ and /h/
- [\(\ddot{m}\)], a labio-velar nasal, preceding /g/ and /h/

\(N\) 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.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'fast' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'animal, meat' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'ashes' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'an amulet' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'odor' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'ocean' \\
\text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & \quad \text{[\(\ddot{n}\)]} & 'sir'
\end{align*}\]
The syllabic homorganic nasal presents an analytical problem: since it is syllabic it is tone-carrying, a feature otherwise reserved for vowels. Unlike a vowel, however, it does not occur as the peak of a monosyllabic utterance. We will considered it to be a syllabic allophone of /n/, a homorganic nasal.

122.2 /m/

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

/fsanjət/ [sənja] 'anteater'
/fsnjət/ [ŋən] 'two'
/fŋŋoŋ/ [ŋgo] 'oil'
/fkangaf/ [kɑŋɡa] 'crab'
/fŋɡoŋbo/ [ŋɡoŋbo] 'boiled yam'
/fkpaŋɡblaŋ/ [kpaŋɡbla] 'sleeping platform'
/fsนมาf/ [sanna] 'finger'
/fsšnmaŋ/ [ššnma] 'younger sibling'

/fsšnməŋ/ [ššnmə] 'seed'

122.2 /m/

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

/fsšnmeŋ/ [ššnme] 'oil palm'
/fsšnmaŋ/ [ššnma] 'finger'
/fsšmaŋ/ [ššma] 'eye'
/fsšmIŋ/ [ššmI] 'lose'
There are, however, a few instances of /m/ occurring in a non-nasal environment, where it contrasts with the other labial phonemes. The following are the only exceptions thus far collected:

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

These contrast with:

- /bla/ 'woman'
- /wla/ 'rival'
- /fle/ 'call'
- /gble/ 'ruse'
- /be/ 'be cooked'
- /we/ 'chest'
- /fe/ '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 /Nm̩/, i.e. m preceded L; a homorganic nasal.¹ m then would occur only in a nasal context. Since m nevertheless contrasts with the other oral labial consonants in a nasal environment, its phonemic status must be recognized.

¹In other dialects of Baule the word for "law" is in fact ᵐm̩la.
\(f\)mäf \[mä\] 'give'

\(i\)wåf 'give off odor'

\(f\)wåf \[wå\] 'say'

\(f\)fëf 'be white'

\(f\)kpäf 'cry'

\(f\)mïf \[mï\] 'lose'

\(f\)blïf \[blî\] 'quiet'

\(f\)wläf \[wïä\] 'travel'

123. Consonants

123.1 Stops

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

\(f\)pjëmbjo\[pjëmbjo\] 'sharp and pointed'

\(f\)nde\[nde\] 'affair'

\(f\)cëñjo\[cëñjo\] 'machete'

\(f\)ngöwï\[ngöwï\] 'joking'

\(f\)ngbåta\[ngbåta\] 'pardon'

However voiced and voiceless stops contrast in other environments:

\(f\)pepe\ 'monkey'

\(f\)be\ 'be cooked'

\(f\)plo\ 'manioc paste'

\(f\)blo\ 'bush'

\(f\)tä\ 'flatulate'

\(f\)dä\ 'big'
$\text{'twaf}$ 'penis'
$\text{dwa}$ 'tail'
$\text{cǐf}$ 'unconscious'
$\text{ji}$ 'stand'
$\text{cwa}$ $[\text{cu}]$ 'spear'
$\text{la$\text{jwa}$}$ $[\text{lajwa}]$ 'kind of mouse'
$\text{kɔ}$ 'one'
$\text{gɔ}$ 'trap'
$\text{klo}$ 'village'
$\text{glo$\text{glo}$}$ 'kind of insect'
$\text{kpu}$ 'launder'
$\text{gbu}$ 'hearth'
$\text{kpl}$ 'stick out'
$\text{gble}$ 'ruse, trick'

$\text{pf}$ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, bilabial plosive. It occurs infrequently.

$\text{fb}$ is a lightly aspirated, voiced, bilabial plosive. $\text{pf}$ and $\text{fb}$ contrast with $\text{m}$:

$\text{mla}$ 'law'
$\text{plɔ}$ 'manioc paste'
$\text{bla}$ 'pond'

and $\text{ff}$:

$\text{ff}$ 'stupid'
$\text{fp}$ 'hit'
$\text{fbɔ}$ 'give off odor'

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$t^f$ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, alveolar plosive.

$fd^f$ is a lightly aspirated, voiced, alveolar plosive.

$t^f$ and $fd^f$ contrast with $sf^f$:

$st^f$ 'hear'
$sd^f$ 'eat'
$sfs^f$ 'know'

and $fl^f$:

$stoto^f$ 'rat'
$sdodo^f$ 'kind of bird'
$slolo^f$ 'carry on back'
$stâ^f$ 'flatulate'
$sdâ^f$ 'big'
$slâ^f$ [nä] 'and'

and $fc^f$ and $ff^f$:

$t^f$ 'hear'
$df^f$ 'eat'
$cf^f$ 'avoid'
$ffî^f$ 'stand'
$taf$ 'raise'
$dalaf$ 'old form of money'
$cacaf$ 'hair around men's nipples'
$jaf$ 'foot'

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\(/cf/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless palatal plosive.

\(/jj/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced palatal plosive.

\(/cf/ and \(/jj/ contrast with \(/jj/:

\(/cecf/ 'bank'
\(/jeef/ 'defecate'
\(/jeef/ '1st person plural pronoun'
\(/ceef/ 'day'
\(/jiif/ 'stand'
\(/jiif/ \([nÎ] \) 'grow up'

\(/kk/ and \(/gg/:

\(/ceef/ 'share'
\(/jaif/ 'foot'
\(/kkef/ 'as'
\(/galef/ 'indigo'
\(/joef/ 'cool off'
\(/koef/ 'go'
\(/ngoj/ \([ggo] \) 'oil'

\(/kk/ is a lightly aspirated, voiceless velar plosive.

\(/gg/ is a lightly aspirated, voiced velar plosive.

\(/kk/ and \(/gg/ contrast with \(/kk/ and \(/gg/:

\(/kukuf/ 'shade hut'
\(/kbuuf/ 'laundry'
\(/gbuuf/ 'hearth'
\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}k\textael} \quad \text{'tell'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}g\textael} \quad \text{'trap'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}k\textael\textael} \quad \text{'cry'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}Ng\textael\textael} \quad \text{'nothing'} \]

and with \[\text{\textsuperscript{fw}f}\]:

\[\text{\textsuperscript{fw}af} \quad \text{'child'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{fk}af} \quad \text{'bite'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{fg}al\textael} \quad \text{'indigo'} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}k\textael\textael} \] is a lightly aspirated, voiceless labio-velar plosive.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}g\textael\textael} \] is a lightly aspirated, voiced labio-velar plosive.

Further restrictions on the occurrence of the stops:

\[\text{\textsuperscript{fk}f} \] and \[\text{\textsuperscript{fg}f} \] do not occur before \(\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\) or \(\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\).

\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}k\textael\textael} \] and \[\text{\textsuperscript{f}g\textael\textael} \] do not occur before \(\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\) or \(\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\).

\[\text{\textsuperscript{fc}f} \] and \[\text{\textsuperscript{ff}f} \] do not occur before \(\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\).

123.2 Fricatives

\[\text{\textsuperscript{ff}}f\], a voiceless labio-dental fricative, and \[\text{\textsuperscript{fs}}f\], a voiceless alveolar fricative, are voiced, \([v]\) and \([z]\) respectively, following the homorganic nasal:

\[\text{\textsuperscript{fnf}j\textael} \quad \text{[\textsuperscript{f}nj\textael]} \quad \text{'ribs'} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{ff}\textsuperscript{fonf}o} \quad \text{[\textsuperscript{f}\textsuperscript{fonjvo}]} \quad \text{'shade'} \]

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

\[ \text{\textsig{s}a} \] 'three'
\[ \text{\textsig{s}j\textsig{e}} \] 'six'
\[ \text{\textsig{s}o} \] '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 phonemic status of \([z]\). The three exceptions listed above will be specially marked in the lexicon so that they will not undergo the Voicing of Fricatives rule.

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

\( /f\text{\textsig{e}}/ \) 'be white'
\( /m\text{\textsig{e}}/ \) 'swallow'

and \( /w/ \):

\( /f\text{\textsig{a}}/ \) 'take'
\( /w\text{\textsig{a}}/ \) 'child'

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

\( /l\text{\textsig{a}}/ \) 'lie down'
\( /s\text{\textsig{a}}/ \) 'draw water'

\( /\text{\textsig{n}\text{\textsig{i}}}/ \) 'mother'
\( /\text{\textsig{s}\text{\textsig{i}}}/ \) 'fire'
123.3 **Lateral**

/a/ 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. /a/ contrasts with /d/ in this position:

- /lo lo/ 'carry on back'
- /dodo/ 'a red bird'
- /lwa/ 'plant'
- /dwa/ 'tail'
- /lje/ 'possessive suffix'
- /dje/ 'canoe'

/a/ 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 /a/ to [n] must be ordered after the rule nasalizing the glides.)

- /lā/ [nā] 'and'
- /lū/ [nū] 'in'
- /lī/ [nī] 'mother'
- /ljā/ [njā] 'look'
- /lwā/ [nważ] 'mouth'

b) following /n/, homorganic nasal:

- /nlā/ [nnā] 'four'
- /nlē/ [nnē] 'meat, animal'

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/nolo/ [ŋno] 'a dance'
/janle/ [jänne] 'black deer'
/ajanlaf/ [ajanna] 'four-legged animal'

As C₂ in a C₁C₂V syllable:
/lf/ is realized as [l], a voiced lateral, following /b, p, m, f, k, g,
/kp, gb, and w/ preceding oral vowels:

/ploy/ [plo] 'manioc paste'
/bley/ [ble] 'black'
/mlay/ [mla] 'law'
/fley/ [fle] 'call'
/kley/ [kle] 'hat'
/gløy/ [gloy] 'kind of insect'
/kplo/ [kplo] 'skin'
/gbley/ [gble] 'ruse'
/wlay/ [wla] 'rival'

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

/tley/ [tɾe] 'head'
/jändlay/ [nândɾa] 'proverb'
/slay/ [sɾa] 'moon'
/nslay/ [nɾa] 'gathering'
/cloclo/ [cɾolo] 'funnel'
/jla/ [jɾa] 'lion'
/jlaf/ [jɾa] 'burn'
\( \tilde{f} \) is realized as \([\tilde{I}]\), a nasal lateral, following \( b, p, m, f, k, g, \)
\( \tilde{p}, \tilde{g}, \) and \( w \) preceding a nasal vowel:

- \( /bl\tilde{f}/ \) \([bl\tilde{I}]\) 'quiet'
- \( /ml\tilde{f}/ \) \([m\tilde{I}]\) 'Wednesday'
- \( /j\tilde{f}l\tilde{f}/ \) \([n\tilde{f}\tilde{I}e]\) 'breast'
- \( /k\tilde{I}\tilde{e}/ \) \([k\tilde{I}\tilde{e}]\) 'drum'
- \( /Ng\tilde{e}w\tilde{u}/ \) \([\tilde{ng}\tilde{e}\tilde{u}]\) 'morning'
- \( /kp\tilde{I}\tilde{a}/ \) \([kpl\tilde{a}]\) 'plant'
- \( /Ngbl\tilde{a}\tilde{a}/ \) \([\tilde{n}\tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{a}]\) 'lightning'
- \( /w\tilde{l}\tilde{a}w\tilde{I}\tilde{a}/ \) \([\tilde{w}\tilde{l}\tilde{a}\tilde{I}\tilde{a}]\) 'wander'

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

- \( /tl\tilde{a}/ \) \([t\tilde{r}\tilde{a}]\) 'sit'
- \( /Nd\tilde{a}\tilde{a}/ \) \([n\tilde{d}\tilde{r}\tilde{a}]\) 'slippery'
- \( /sl\tilde{a}/ \) \([s\tilde{r}\tilde{a}]\) 'person'
- \( /j\tilde{I}\tilde{a}/ \) \([j\tilde{r}\tilde{a}]\) 'stand'
- \( /jl\tilde{u}/ \) \([n\tilde{r}\tilde{u}]\) 'face'

### 123.4 Glides

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

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

- \( /twI/ \) \([t\tilde{u}I]\) 'gun'
- \( /adwI/ \) \([ad\tilde{u}I]\) 'an amulet'
- \( /swI/ \) \([s\tilde{u}I]\) 'elephant'
- \( /lwI/ \) \([l\tilde{u}I]\) 'fat'

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\[fswef\] [sqe] 'civit'
\[fswəf\] [sqe] 'water'

(but not preceding \(f\): \(fswa\) [swa] 'house,' \(ftwa\) [twa] 'penis,'
\(flwa\) [lwa] 'plant')

b) following palatal consonants preceding \(f\): \(i\), \(e\), \(e\) and \(af\):
\[fmucwef\] [mucqe] 'eight'
\[fjwef\] [jue] 'fish'
\[flajwa\] [lajqa] 'kind of mouse'
\[fjwi\] [jui] 'lower back'
\[fjwef\] [jue] 'death'
\[fjwa\] [jua] 'sun'
\[faklijw\] [aklijqi] 'dwarf'

\(fwa\) is realized as \([w]\), a labio-velar glide, in all other non-nasal environments.

\[fwa\] [wa] 'child'
\[fwef\] [we] 'swim'
\[fwa\] [uwa] 'steal'
\[fwwa\] [uwo] 'snake'

---

1The 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 \(fwwa\) [uwa] 'steal' and \(fjja\) [ija] 'meet' pattern tonally with verbs of the shape CCV and not with the verbs of the shape CV.
The symbol /w/ is realized as [ʁ], a nasalized labio-palatal glide, as $C_2$ of a $C_1C_2V$ syllable.

a) following alveolar stops and fricative preceding $ʃi$ and $ʃʃ$:

- /bdwʃʃ/ [bdʊʔ] 'bark'
- /twiʃʃ/ [tʊʔ] 'chicken coop'
- /nwʃʃʃ/ [ŋzʊʔ] 'ashes'
- /ʃənwʃʃʃ/ [ɔnŋzʊʔ] 'shame'

b) following palatal consonants preceding $ʃe$ and $ŋʃ$:

- /cwɛʃʃ/ [cʊʔ] 'pull'
- /cwæcwɛʃʃ/ [qʊɪqʊʔ] 'sweep'

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

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

- /wʊʃʃ/ [wʊʔ] 'husband'
- /wɛʃʃ/ [wɛʔ] 'mother’s brother'
- /wlaʃʃ/ [nɪwɛʔ] 'wander'
- /awliʃʃ/ [aʊʔ] 'heart'
\( /j/ \) is realized as \([j]\), a palatal glide, in all non-nasal environments; that is, preceding oral vowels, \([j]\) and \([\mathcal{v}]\), and following (in word-medial position) oral vowels. For example

- \( /\text{jì}/ \) \([\text{ji}]\) 'wife'
- \( /\text{jje}/ \) \([\text{je}]\) '1st person plural pronoun'
- \( /\text{tjæ}/ \) \([\text{tja}]\) 'stop on'
- \( /\text{bje}/ \) \([\text{bje}]\) 'urinate'
- \( /\text{ërje}/ \) \([\text{rje}]\) 'firewood'
- \( /\text{ërja}/ \) \([\text{rja}]\) 'gather'
- \( /\text{ërve}/ \) \([\text{rve}]\) 'burn'

\( /j/ \) is realized as \([\mathcal{v}]\), a nasalized palatal glide, as \(C_2\) of a \(C_1C_2V\) syllable preceding nasal vowels:

- \( /\text{bje}/ \) \([\text{bjæ}]\) 'man'
- \( /\text{mje}/ \) \([\text{mjæ}]\) 'press'
- \( /\text{mje}/ \) \([\text{næmjæ}]\) 'sky'
- \( /\text{fje}/ \) \([\text{fje}]\) 'dirty'
- \( /\text{nje}/ \) \([\text{ŋvje}]\) 'ribs'

\( /j/ \) is realized as \([\mathcal{v}]\), a palatal nasal stop, syllable-initially preceding or following a nasal segment:

- \( /\text{jë}/ \) \([\text{ni}]\) 'face, eyes'
- \( /\text{jë}/ \) \([\text{næ}]\) 'gain'
- \( /\text{fëje}/ \) \([\text{ānre}]\) 'roll of cloth'
- \( /\text{nje}/ \) \([\text{ŋne}]\) 'kapok tree'

\(^1\)See footnote 1, page 25.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( C_1 )</th>
<th>( C_2 )</th>
<th>( V )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t, d, s, l )</td>
<td>( \text{various} )</td>
<td>( i, e, e; f )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( c, j )</td>
<td>( [u]; [u] )</td>
<td>( j, e, a; f, )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t, d, s, l )</td>
<td>( [w]; [w] )</td>
<td>( f; f )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k, g, f, m )</td>
<td>( [w]; [w] )</td>
<td>( i, * e, a, f; f, )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( p, b, t, d, f, s, m, l )</td>
<td>( f; [j]; [j] )</td>
<td>( e, a, o; f, )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*only 1 example
**only 2 examples

The following generalizations can be made about these restrictions:

a) With two exceptions (\( \text{pjonbjo} \) 'sharp' and \( \text{djo ûmjë} \))
\[
\text{only unrounded vowels occur following a consonant-glide sequence.}
\]

b) \( t, d, s, l \), the alveolar consonants, occur before \( [w] \)
\[
\text{only if } f; f \text{ follows.}
\]

c) \( c, j, k, g, kp, gb \), the high consonants, do not occur preceding \( f; f \); in addition, \( kp, gb \) do not occur preceding \( f; f \).
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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
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<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The features [high, grave, round and lateral] are non-distinctive for the consonants but are included since they are used to define classes of sounds in the phonological rules. /n/ is a syllabic nasal, unspecified for other features since phonetically it is homorganic with the following consonant.

The symbols used in this discussion are the following:

\[
/ / \text{ Systematic phonemic representation}
\]

\[
[ ] \text{ Systematic phonetic representation, or any representation between the systematic phonemic and systematic phonetic levels (ignoring, in this section, the surface phonemic level).}
\]

\[
/ \text{ In the environment of}
\]

\[
[F_1]
\]

\[
F_2
\]

\[
.
\]

\[
F_n
\]

\[
( ) \text{ Optional element}
\]

\[
\{ \} \text{ Select one of the items within the braces}
\]

\[
\alpha, \beta, \gamma \text{ Variables that stand for either + or -; e.g.}
\]

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

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

\[
\langle \rangle \text{ If item within angled braces is chosen, then the other item within angled braces must be chosen.}
\]
131. Morpheme Structure Conditions (MSC)

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

131.1 Syllable shape

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

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

The above condition states:

a) that there are 6 possible syllable shapes:
V  e.g. /ɛ/[ɛ] '3rd person singular pronoun'
    /N da/[ŋda] 'twins'
VN  /aŋ fo/[ãŋo] 'pity'
CV  /bo/[bo] 'forest'
CVN /kɔŋ go/[kɔŋgo] 'kind of antelope'
CCV /kla/[kla] 'wrap'
CCVN /kloŋ ɔbo/[kloŋɔbo] '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 /n/, the syllabic nasal, which loses its syllabicity (Section 132.1) in this position.

131.2 Syllable-final nasal

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

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

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

MSC 3  

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

MSC 4  

This condition states that if a labio-velar consonant (/k̪p/, /gb/) is followed by a non-syllabic, it is obligatorily /l/. For example, /k̪plo/ 'skin' and /gble/ 'ruse' occur but not */k̪p jV/, */gbjV/, */k̪pwV/ or */g bwV/.

MSC 5  

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

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

T: [-consonantal]

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

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

T: [+high] [+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 /Nda/ [nda] 'twin,' /Nga/ [gga]
'ring' and /Nja/ [ŋja] 'sir') and the syllable-final, word-medial nasal
(in words like /kpeNgbe/: [kpeŋŋbeː] 'elder' and /amwunfo/ [awunjvo]
'pity') are both phonetically homorganic with the following consonant,
and never contrast. They are represented at the systematic phonemic
level with the same segment: /n/, which has as its features [+syllabic].

The rule producing the syllable-final, word-medial nasal thus changes
the syllabic nasal to a non-syllabic nasal. /n/ has to be [+syllabic]
in its underlying form in order to be counted as a syllable when it is
word-initial and thus to have its own tone in the lexicon. If the rule
were written to assign 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**

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

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

- /ngo/  HOMOR NAS [ŋgo] 'oil'
- /ngba/ HOMOR NAS [ŋgba] 'all'
- /nge/  HOMOR NAS [ŋje] 'kapok tree'

### 132.2 Nasalized vowels

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\$mla\$} & \quad [mla] \quad \text{'law'} \\
\text{\$bla\$} & \quad [bla] \quad \text{'woman'} \\
\text{\$wla\$} & \quad [wla] \quad \text{'rival'} \\
\text{\$m\$} & \quad [m\] \quad \text{'swallow'} \\
\text{\$b\$} & \quad [b\] \quad \text{'give off odor'} \\
\text{\$w\$} & \quad [w\] \quad \text{'say'}
\end{align*}
\]

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**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+\text{syllabic}] \quad [+\text{nasal}] \\
[+\text{consonantal}] \quad \{\#\}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+\text{nasal}] \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

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

/\text{dam}/

VOW NASA \([\text{dã}]\) 'big'

/kpamf\text{\textepsilon}m/

VOW NASA \([\text{kp\textepsilonf\textepsilon}]\) 'young man'

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

/\text{dum}\text{\textepsilon}m/

VOW NASA \([\text{dum\textepsilon}]\) 'name'

/\text{jamj}\text{\textepsilon}m/

VOW NASA \([\text{\textepsilonm\textepsilon}]\) 'sky'

The above two examples are not yet fully derived, their phonetic forms being \([\text{dum\textepsilon}]\) and \([\text{\textepsilonm\textepsilon}]\). 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**

\[ [+\text{syllabic}] \rightarrow [+\text{nasal}] / - [+\text{nasal}] \]

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: [diɨ̃]
  - REGRES NAS: [dT̂̃] 'quiet'

- **/klaam/**
  - VOW NASA: [klɑ̃]
  - REGRES NAS: [klä̃] 'pretty'

- **/jumam/**
  - VOW NASA: [jumá̃]
  - REGRES NAS: [jümá̃] 'work'

- **/kansa/**
  - HOMOR NAS: [kanga]
  - REGRES NAS: [kāŋga] 'crab'

- **/kpéngbem/**
  - HOMOR NAS: [kpéŋgbem]
  - VOW NASA: [kpéŋgbė]
  - REGRES NAS: [kpéŋgbė] 'elder'

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

/ajimble/

VOW NAS [ajɪble]
SON NAS [ajɪble]
REGRES NAS [ājɪble] 'misfortune'

/awumfo/

HOMOR NAS [awumfo]
REGRES NAS [awūmfo]
SON NAS [awūmfo]
REGRES NAS [awūmfo] (VOICING [awūmvo])*

132.4 Nasalization of sonorants

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

SONORANT NASALIZATION RULE

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{sonorant} \\
<\text{-grave}>
\end{array} \rightarrow [+\text{nasal}] / \left\langle [-\text{syllabic}] \right\rangle \text{ C } [+\text{nasal}]
\]

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

/klum/

VOW NASA [klũ]
SON NASA [klũ] 'belly'

/ljam/

VOW NASA [ljã]
SON NASA [ljã]
(NAS STOPs [njã])* 'look' *presented below

/wum/

VOW NASA [wũ]
SON NASA [wũ] 'husband'

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132.5 Nasal stops

\[ \text{[n]} \] and \[ \text{[n]} \] occur only preceding or following nasality and can be derived from underlying \(/l/\) and \(/j/\) respectively.

**Nasal Stop Rule**

\[
\begin{align*}
+\text{sonorant} & \rightarrow +\text{nasal} \\
-\text{grave} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{consonantal} \\
-\text{lateral} \end{array} \right\} \\
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
-\text{lateral} \\
+\text{lateral} \end{array} \right\} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
-\text{lateral} \\
+\text{consonantal} \end{array} \right\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The rule states that \(/l/\) and \(/j/\) become nasal and additionally that \(/l/\) becomes a \([-\text{lateral}]\) nasal, i.e. \([n]\), and that \(/j/\) becomes a nasal consonant, i.e. \([n]\). These two features \([-\text{lateral}]\) and \([+\text{consonantal}]\) are needed to distinguish \([n]\) and \([n]\) from \([i]\) and \([j]\).

This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization and Sonorant Nasalization.

Since \(/j/\) and \(/l/\) do not become nasal stops when they occur as \(C_2\) of a \(C_1C_2V\) syllable where the vowel has been nasalized the rule specifies a word boundary before \(/l/\) or \(/j/\). For example

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

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

**VOICING ASSIMILATION RULE**

\[
[+\text{consonantal}] \rightarrow [+\text{voice}] / [+\text{consonantal}] \\
[+\text{continuant}] \\
\]

This rule states that /f/ and /s/ become voiced following voiced consonants. In fact, [v] and [z] only occur following a homorganic nasal but
therule 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. /kpamflæm/); but since this /m/ is deleted in a previous rule it will not cause the voicing of the fricatives ([kpæflæ]). This rule is thus ordered after the Vowel Nasalization Rule. For example

```
/nu/
HOMOR NAS [nsu]
VOICING [nzu] 'what'
```

```
/nfæm/
HOMOR NAS [mfæm]
VOW NASA [mfæ]
SON NASA [mfæ]
VOICING [mvæ] 'ribs'
```

```
/jɔmf签名/
VOW NASA [jɔfnæ]
SON NASA [jɔfnæ]
NAS STOP [pɔfænæ] 'breast'
```

The three numerals /nsam/ [nɔs] 'three,' /nsæm/ [nɔs] 'six,' and /nsom/ [nɔs] 'seven' are marked in the lexicon [-Voicing Assimilation Rule].

132.7 Labio-palatal glide

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{-syllabic} \\
\text{-consonantal} \\
+\text{back}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{-back} \\
\text{-syllabic} \\
-\text{grave} \\
\text{+\text{anterior}}
\end{array} \quad \{\text{-back}\}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{Nswe}/ & \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad [\text{ňswe}] \\
\text{VOICING} & \quad [\text{ňzwe}] \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{ňzɥe}] & \text{'water'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{Nswe}/ & \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad [\text{ňswe]\text{m}] \\
\text{VOW NASA} & \quad [\text{ňswē}] \\
\text{SON NASA} & \quad [\text{ňswē}] \\
\text{VOICING} & \quad [\text{ňzwe}] \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{ňzɥe}] & \text{'ashes'}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that by the application of Sonorant Nasalization before fronting, [w] becomes [ɥ].

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{lwi}/ & \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{lɥi}] & \text{'fat'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{cwa}/ & \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{cuα}] & \text{'spear'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{ajwe}/ & \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{ajɥe}] & \text{'rice'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{jwa}/ & \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{jɥa}] & \text{'sun'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{aklijwi}/ & \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{aklijɥi}] & \text{‘dwarf'}
\end{align*}
\]
132.8 **Rounding of consonants**

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

**LABIALIZATION RULE**

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

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

- `/sule/` \(\rightarrow\) `termite hill`

- `/kulam/` \(\rightarrow\) `widowhood`

- `/jula/` \(\rightarrow\) `descend`

132.9 **The lateral**

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

**LATERAL RULE**

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/'sla/' & \quad \text{LATERAL} \quad [sɾa] \quad \text{'moon'} \\
/'t̪le/' & \quad \text{LATERAL} \quad [tɾe] \quad \text{'head'} \\
/'j̪la/' & \quad \text{LATERAL} \quad [jɾa] \quad \text{'lion'} \\
/'j̪la/' & \quad \text{LATERAL} \quad [jɾa] \quad \text{'burn'}
\end{align*}
\]

/1/ becomes [ɾ] upon the application of the Sonorant Nasalization Rule; [ɾ] becomes [ɾ] upon application of the Lateral Rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
/'sl̪am/' & \quad \text{VOW NASA} \quad [sɭa] \\
/'s̪l̪a/' & \quad \text{SON NASA} \quad [sɭa] \\
/'s̪a/' & \quad \text{LATERAL} \quad [sɾa] \quad \text{'person'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

High (')

\( \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde f} \)  
\( \text{'affair'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde d} \)  
\( \text{'clay pot'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde w\textasciitilde d} \)  
\( \text{'liver'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde a} \)  
\( \text{'well'} \)

Rising (\textasciitilde)

\( \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde r} \)  
\( \text{'hand'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde k\textasciitilde p\textasciitilde o} \)  
\( \text{'awl'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde w\textasciitilde a} \)  
\( \text{'water pot'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde k\textasciitilde p\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde o} \)  
\( \text{'skin'} \)

Mid (\textendash)

\( \text{\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde \phi} \)  
\( \text{'termite'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde g\textasciitilde \phi} \)  
\( \text{'trap'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde \phi} \)  
\( \text{'woman'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde k\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde \phi} \)  
\( \text{'village'} \)

Falling (\textasciitilde)

\( \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde y} \)  
\( \text{'funeral'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde y} \)  
\( \text{'bottom'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde y} \)  
\( \text{'flute'} \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde k\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde y} \)  
\( \text{'species'} \)
The class of mid tone words is small; the other classes are fairly equally large.

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

- $f\acute{kw}e\grave{y}$ 'fetus'
- $f\acute{kw}e\grave{e}\acute{y}$ 'ronier palm'
- $f\acute{l}e\acute{y}$ 'day'
- $f\acute{l}a\grave{a}\acute{y}$ 'long ago'
- $f\acute{a}\acute{t}re\grave{y}$ 'head'
- $f\acute{a}\acute{t}re\grave{e}\acute{y}$ 'magic'

141. Tonal Sandhi

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

141.1 Downdrift

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

141.2 Tone on the non-verb phrase

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

The following forms illustrate these types of changes. The examples consist of two-word (and two-syllable) noun phrases presenting all the possible combinations of the five tones. The tones in parentheses before the phrase are the tones of the words in isolation.
1. (""") → sə́ kpá́  'good cooking-pot'
2. ("'") → sə́ bluí́  'ten cooking-pots'
3. ("-') → kwlíá bláá  'widow'
4. ("") → sə́ kó́  'one cooking-pot'
5. (""') → sə́ dáá  'big cooking-pot'

6. (""") → jë́ kpá́  'good tooth'
7. ("'") → jë́ bluí́  'ten teeth'
8. ("-') → bluí́ klíá  'Blu's village'
9. ("") → jë́ kó́  'one tooth'
10. (""') → jë́ dáá  'big tooth'

11. (""") → gò́ kpá́  'good trap'
12. ("'") → gò́ bluí́  'ten traps'
13. ("-') → bláá klíá  'woman's village'
14. ("") → gò́ kó́  'one trap'
15. (""') → gò́ dáá  'big trap'

16. (""") → bló́ kpá́  'good flute'
17. ("'") → bló́ bluí́  'ten flutes'
18. ("-') → bè́ bló́  'search for sticks called be'
19. ("") → bló́ kó́  'one flute'
20. (""') → bló́ dáá  'big flute'

21. (""") → bè́ kpá́  'good mat'
22. ("'") → bè́ bluí́  'ten mats'

* v is a low-mid rising tone, different from a normal rising tone which is mid-high ("').
23. (´) → bè biʔ 'search for leaves called bè'
24. (\) → bè kɔ 'one mat'
25. ("→ bè dà 'big mat'

The rules that account for the changes illustrated above operate on five underlying tones which include the two contour tones.¹ The features used to refer to these tones are [high], [low], and [contour].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+high, -contour</td>
<td>(is redundantly [-low])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rising</td>
<td>+high, +contour</td>
<td>(is redundantly [-low])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>-high, -low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falling</td>
<td>+low, +contour</td>
<td>(is redundantly [-high])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>+low, -contour</td>
<td>(is redundantly [-high])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A rising tone from low to mid (v) which occurs only phrase-finally after a falling tone (e.g. #17 above).

The rules are ordered:

\[
\text{TONE RULE 1: } +\text{high} \\rightarrow \begin{cases} 
-\text{high} / +\text{low} \\
-\text{low} / +\text{contour}
\end{cases}
\]

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:

¹An 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.
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. kɔ 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: \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{high} \\
&\text{low} \\
&\text{contour}
\end{align*}
\rightarrow
\begin{align*}
&\text{high} \\
&\text{low} \\
&\text{contour}
\end{align*}
\]

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:
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{high} \\
&\text{low}
\end{align*}
\rightarrow
\begin{align*}
&\text{mid level} \\
&\text{contour}
\end{align*}
\]

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

TONE RULE 4:
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{high} \\
&\text{low} \\
&\text{contour}
\end{align*}
\rightarrow
\begin{align*}
&\text{high} \\
&\text{low}
\end{align*}
\]

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. jɛ biù

TR 4 jɛ biù 'ten teeth'
6. je’ kpá
   TR 4 je’ kpá 'good teeth'

9. je’ kɔ̃
   TR 2 je’ kɔ̃
   TR 4 je’ kɔ̃ 'one tooth'

19. biò kɔ̃
   TR 4 biò kɔ̃ 'one flute'

20. biò dà
   TR 4 biò dà 'big flute'

17. biò blù wù lɔ̃
   TR 2 biò blù wù lɔ̃
   TR 4 biò blù wù lɔ̃ '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 kiéjɔ́ 'antelope'
II sómá 'fiancé'
III ɔgbɔ́ 'toucan'
IV tâni 'cloth'
V ɔkɔ́ 'chicken'
VI ðàjɛ́ 'sack'
VII ɔkɔ̀ 'parrot'
VIII ɔgbɔ́ 'manioc'
IX ðɛflɛ́ '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  kléfá
II  sómà
III  agbọ
IV  tání
V  ọkọ
VI  bàjé
VII  ọkọ
VIII  agba
IX  àflé

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:  zTbọ  tání
    TR 2:  zTbọ  tání
    TR 4:  zTbọ  tání  'Zibo's cloth'

V  Underlying form:  zTbọ  ọkọ
    TR 2:  zTbọ  ọkọ
    TR 4:  zTbọ  ọkọ  'Zibo's chicken'

VI  Underlying form:  ẹ  bàjé
    TR 2:  ẹ  bàjé
    TR 4:  ẹ  bàjé  'his sack'

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VII Underlying form: Ē' ākò
TR 2: Ē' ākò
TR 4: Ē ākò 'his parrot'

VIII Underlying form: zTbō āgba'
TR 1: zTbō āgba'
TR 4: zTbō āgba' 'Zibo's manioc'

Admittedly the underlying form of Classes IV and V could also be āko' and tānī 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 āko' and tānī so that the following observations on the restrictions of disyllabic tone sequences can be made:

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

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

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

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

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

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

141.3 Tone on the verb

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

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

Verbs fall into three tonal classes which are correlated with syllable structure. Class I verb roots have the shape CV; Class II verbs have the shape 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stative mode</th>
<th>Certainty mode</th>
<th>Subjunctive mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes I &amp; II</td>
<td>falling [+low] [+contour]</td>
<td>high [+high] [-contour]</td>
<td>rising [+high] [+contour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>falling$ falling [+low] [+contour]</td>
<td>high$ falling [+low] [-contour]</td>
<td>rising$ high [+high] [-contour]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) \((\overline{a\,k\text{"unde}}\,s\ddot{e}) \rightarrow \overline{a\,k\text{"unde}}\,s\ddot{e}\) 'You look for pots/a pot.'

falling \(\rightarrow\) high/rising ___ (TR 2)

rising \(\rightarrow\) mid/___ high (TR 4)

(3) \((\overline{n\,k\text{"unde}}\,s\ddot{e}) \rightarrow \overline{n\,k\text{"unde}}\,s\ddot{e}\) 'that I look for pots/a pot'

rising \(\rightarrow\) low/falling ___ (TR 2)

falling \(\rightarrow\) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-after rising tone</td>
<td>(\overline{a,d\dot{i}})</td>
<td>(\overline{\text{a,nj\ddot{a}}})</td>
<td>(\overline{\text{a,k\text{&quot;unde}}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-after all other</td>
<td>(\overline{n,d\dot{r}})</td>
<td>(\overline{n,nj\ddot{a}})</td>
<td>(\overline{n,k\text{&quot;unde}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certaintive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\overline{n,d\dot{i}})</td>
<td>(\overline{n,nj\ddot{a}})</td>
<td>(\overline{n,k\text{&quot;unde}})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Subjunctive:         |    |    |     |
| -after rising tone   | \(\overline{\text{a\,d\dot{i}}}\) | \(\overline{\text{a\,nj\ddot{a}}}\) | \(\overline{\text{a\,k\text{"unde}}}\) |
| subject              |    |    |     |
| -after all other     | \(\overline{n\,d\dot{r}}\) | \(\overline{n\,nj\ddot{a}}\) | \(\overline{n\,k\text{"unde}}\) |
| subjects             |    |    |     |

\(1_a\), 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.

\(2{\text{After substantives (excluding pronouns) with [-high] tone (i.e. mid, falling and low tones), a high tone is inserted between the subject and the verb that can be heard at a deliberate speech rate. All pronouns, however, pattern like [+high] tone substantives in this case.}}\)
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 \(\text{zib} \text{o d} \text{t} \) 'Zibo will eat' (underlying tones of subject: \(\text{zib} \text{o} \)): according to the tonal sandhi rules a mid-high rising tone does not occur on the surface after a falling tone; rather it becomes low (TR 2). Another set of rules is therefore needed to account for verb root tones when they occur clause-finally. (These have yet to be worked out.)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\bar{n} \text{ di} & \quad 'I eat' \\
\bar{n} \text{ d} \text{t} & \quad 'I eat it' \\
\bar{n} \text{ s} \text{le} & \quad 'I ask' \\
\bar{n} \text{ s} \text{le} & \quad 'I ask for it' \\
\bar{n} \text{ k\u00f6nde} & \quad 'I look for' \\
\bar{n} \text{ k\u00f6nde} & \quad 'I look for it'
\end{align*}
\]
The segmental verbal affixes (the Perfective and Imperfective prefixes and the Factual Past suffix) have their own basic tones which are affixed to either the basic Stative verb root or the basic Certain-tive verb root:

Perfective: \( \ddot{\text{a}} \) + Stative \( \text{(i.e. } \ddot{\text{d}} \text{ } \overset{\text{n}}{\text{j\ddot{e}}} \text{ } \ddot{\text{k\text{\ddot{u}nd\ddot{e}}}} \text{)} \)

Imperfective: \( \ddot{\text{s}}\ddot{\text{u}} \) + Certaintive \( \text{(i.e. } \ddot{\text{d}} \text{ } \overset{\text{n}}{\text{j\ddot{e}}} \text{ } \ddot{\text{k\text{\ddot{u}nd\ddot{e}}}} \text{)} \)

Factual Past: Stative + -\( \dddot{\text{i}} \), -\( \dddot{\text{v}} \) \( \text{(i.e. } \ddot{\text{d}} \text{ } \overset{\text{n}}{\text{j\ddot{e}}} \text{ } \ddot{\text{k\text{\ddot{u}nd\ddot{e}}}} \text{)} \)

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

150. **ORTHOGRAPHY USED**

The orthography used in writing Baule in the subsequent text is broadly phonetic: since it has not been established that \[n\] and \[n\] are allophonic variants in all dialects of Baule and since a grammatical description of one dialect should be maximally comparable to descriptions of other dialects, the \[n\] and \[n\]allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectively are recognized. Nasal vowels are marked with a tilde (\(\sim\)), reflecting the surface phonemic contrasts between oral and nasal vowels. The homorganic nasal is written as \(\text{n}\). Labialized consonants are written as \(\text{cw}\) (for example \text{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.
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 syntactic information is included in the discussion of the individual morphemes of this study. Since the example sentences are drawn from a sample of Baule discourse, each morpheme discussed is illustrated and examined within its typical syntactic contexts.

-Sentence and clause structure

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

\[ \text{substantive phrase (SP) + verb phrase (VP)} \]

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

An SP contains an obligatory substantive (Section 221) followed by optional adjuncts (Section 222). The order of the elements in an SP is: substantive + adjective (Section 222.1) + numeral/quantifier (Section 222.2) + nga, the demonstrative (Section 222.3) + ni, 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-ko.
   'You are going.'
   b) a su-kɔ?
   'Are you going?'

2) a) kofi a-fa n tokpo,
   'Kofi took my hoe.'
b) kofi a-fa n tokpo?
'Did Kofi take my hoe?'

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

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

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

Negative sentences

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

4) a) kpejā c.
'lt's a muskrat.'

b) nā kpejā c.
'lt isn't a muskrat.'
Focus and topicalization

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

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

221. Substantives

Substantives are distinguished as a lexical class from verbs, adverbs and adjectives by their ability to occur with the specifier n7_ (Section 222.5) and the associative ijé (Section 222.4). Substantives are further subdivided into five sub-classes on the basis of co-occurrence possibilities, the precise semantic value the specifier n7_ carries when co-occurring with each class and the ability of members of each sub-class to occur with the noun-deriving affixes (Section 221.8). The five sub-classes of substantives are names, place names, pronouns, kin terms and nouns.

221.1 Names, place names, pronouns and kin terms

These four sub-classes have in common the fact that they are inherently specific, that is, they refer unambiguously to a specific referent, and therefore the addition of the specifier n7_ does not indicate specificity but rather focus or emphasis. For example

Name: 1) Kofi bo-o m7.
     1 2 3 4
     Kofi hit FPST 1s
     1 2 3 4
     'Kofi hit me.'
Kofi-nI, e bo-o mI.
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-nI, klo 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) e jlä lo.
noun:  1  2  3

3s stand there
1  2  3

'He stands there.'

e-li jlä lo.
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 nI turns the compound name into a possessive construction (Section 222.4).
These four sub-classes of the class of substantives do not occur with the noun-deriving affixes (except the agentive suffix fwe which occurs with place names). They occur with the plural individuator mū but with a special meaning: mū suffixed to a name or kin term indicates 'the entourage of' or 'company of.' For example

4) Kofi-mū
   'Kofi and his'

5) nji-mū
   'my wife and hers'

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

6) be-mū wo-o nzwe nū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3p INDIV go FPST water in
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'They (individuated) went to the river.'
Names and kin terms are inherently human, that is, they refer to
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 nī. A pronoun is used as an address
term to indicate displeasure or anger, or before uttering an insult.
For example,

7) je-mū nga je tlā klo wa-nī, je le a sīka.
   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

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

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
tories, and, more recently, names borrowed from French. For example,

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

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

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

221.4 Pronouns
A closed class of substantives which is distinguished from names, place names and kin terms in that the specifier is realized as li rather than ni 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) n, mī (/N/, /mim/)
2nd person singular (2s) a, wo (/a/, /wo/)
3rd person singular (3s) e (/e/)
1st person plural (1p) je (/je/)
2nd person plural (2p) āmū (/ammum/)
3rd person plural (3p) be (/be/)
First and Second Person Singular

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

a) As independent forms, often used for emphasis:

9) mT o.

'It's me.'

10) mT je n wo-o lo.

1s COP 1s go FPST there

'It's me who went.'

11) mɔ mT, m'a-wu lika.

self 1s PERF see place

'I myself, I can see.'

12) a kʊŋba wo wo le o?

2s only 2s LCOP there QUES

'Are you the only one there?'

1In other dialects of Baule the allomorphic variants of the 1st and 2nd person singular pronoun are not entirely phonologically conditioned, but also grammatically conditioned; one set occurs primarily in subject position and the other set occurs primarily in non-subject position. Although Kode forms tend to follow the same restrictions, n and a, the "subject" forms also occur in object position non-phrase finally and thus are considered to be phonologically conditioned.
13) wo, awofwe kō-nī, ko wūṣī?
    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) e fa-a jwe-nī mā-ā mī.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

    'He took the fish and gave to me.'

15) n nī a-fle mī.
    1 2 3 4 5

    1s mother PERF call ls
    1 2 3 4 5

    'My Mother has called me.'

16) bō be si a mī nī, n su-ko a lo.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

    since 3P know (STA) NEG ls DISC, ls 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 nā n sūmā wo.
    1 2 3 4 5

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

    'Come so I can send you (on an errand).'
18) se je swa wo nī, a jū lo a sē se?
    if lp load 2s SPEC, 2s arrive (CERT) there 2s tell (CERT)
    what
    'If we load you (i.e. put the load on your head), when you
    get there what will you say?'

c) After the noun phrase conjunction nī:
19) e nī mī je ba-a klo.
    3s and 1s lp come FPST village
    'He and I came to the village.'
20) mō je nī wo j'a-bo su jć je wo le.
    since lp and 2s lp PERF hit on and 1p LCOP there
    'Since I and you are already in battle, here we are.'
    (i.e. We have now declared war on each other.)
21) e nī wo ṣmū ko kā ngwa.
    3s and 2s 2p go play (SUBJ) games
    'He and you go play.'

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

22) m'a-di I ike.
   \[\text{Is PERF eat thing}\]
   \[1 2 3 4\]
   'I have eaten.'

23) m'a-wũi.
   \[\text{Is PERF see-3s}\]
   \[1 2 3\]
   'I have seen it.'

24) w'a-di I ike.
   \[\text{2s PERF eat thing}\]
   \[1 2 3 4\]
   'You have eaten.'

25) w'a-wũi.
   \[\text{2s PERF see-3s}\]
   \[1 2 3\]
   'You have seen it.'

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

26) mɪ akə
   'my chicken'

w'akə
   'your chicken'
27) mi'awlo
   'my home'

   wo'awlo
   'your home'

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

28) mi nga
   'my ring'

   wo nga
   'your ring'

29) mi nzä
   'my wine'

   wo nzä
   'your wine'

n and a occur elsewhere; that is,

a) Non clause-finally:

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

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

   'I'm going to the fields, I'll return.'
31) n nanti n ja su n ba-li.
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\quad 8\]
   Is walk (STA) Is foot on Is come FPST
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\quad 8\]
   'I came on foot.'

32) a fle n se?
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\]
   2s call (CERT) Is what
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\]
   'What will you name me?'

33) ako-ni bole jo-o n fe.
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\]
   chicken SPEC crowing do FPST Is sweet
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\]
   'The crowing of the cock pleases me.'

34) a su-minde a mTi?
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\]
   2s IMPRF wait NEG Is
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\]
   'Aren't you going to wait for me?'

35) se m'a-ci a le o, waka-ni kpló a le.
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\quad 8\quad 9\quad 10\quad 11\quad 12\]
   if Is PERF tie NEG there DISC, tree SPEC scrape (CERT)
   \[1\quad 2\quad 3\quad 4\quad 5\quad 6\quad 7\quad 8\quad 9\quad 10\]
   2s there
   \[11\quad 12\]
   'If I don't tie there, the three will scrape you there.'

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36) *a bänga, n kū a kpo!*

2s child this/that, 1s kill (CERT) 2s at-all-costs

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

b) Preceding a consonant-initial noun:

37) *n be*

'my mat'

*a be*

'your mat'

37) *n kle*

'my hat'

*a kle*

'your hat'

Third Person Singular

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

Semantic properties:

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

39) *e ti a te.*

3s ICOP NEG bad

'lt doesn't matter.'
40) ể fata-a ke sī a jē kūt ə.
   3s be necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill (STA)-3s DISC
   'It wasn't possible that a person killed it.'

41) ể ka-a ajika ba-nī kūngba.
   3s stay FPST orphan child SPEC only
   'It left only the orphan child.'

42) ă-dī cē ba nnūs, be nā-a nzwe-nī.
   3s-PRF spend day PART two, 3p get FPST-NEG water SPEC
   'It was/passed two days, they didn't get the water.'

43) ể jo-o sē āmū ba-li ə?
   3s do FPST what 2p come FPST QUES
   'Why (lit. 'it does what') did you come?'

44) ể jo sē ti je swa nga ti sə?
   3s do (STA) what cause COP house this/that ICO thus
   'Why (lit. 'it is for what cuase') is this house like this?'

$£$ is used in the nominalization of adjectives and numerals (often in con-
Adjectives:

45) kā
'small'

ē kā
'small one/small ones'

46) tēndē
'long'

ē tēndē
'long one/long ones'

ē tēndē-nī
'the long one/the long ones'

47) jē ē wa-nī, ē kaklafwe-nī bā c.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

48) ē bobo-o ako sa ṇnō, ē bīe kō, ē nīmā kō.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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

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

49) n fē ē dā-nī.
1 2 3 4 5

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

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

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

50) nsā
   'three'

  ē nsā
   'third (one)'

  ē nsāfwe
   'third one'

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

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

52) ē ji-nī, ē npōfwe-nī a-wu a ba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   3s wife SPEC, 3s two AGT SPEC, 3s-PRF bear NEG child
   '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, kō, does not mean 'the first.' It means rather 'the one' as in
53) e kō wā, 'mō n-1je, a fiē n sē?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

54) e kō ū-t-nē, e ti ba-1je.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s one here SPEC, 3s ICOP child POSS
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The one here, it is the child's.'

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

55) e klikli su a-nē mē.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s first on 3s-PRF get-3s NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'On the first one (try) he didn't get it.'

56) e kliklfwe-nē 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 pro-
noun:

57) be nsā

'they three'

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

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

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

   Kofi PRF eat thing
   1 2 3 4

   'Kofi has eaten.'

b) a-di like.
   1 2 3

   (3s)-PRF eat thing
   1 2 3

   'He has eaten.'

The 3s pronoun is incorporated into the verb root when it follows it as pronoun object. The surface realization of the incorporated pronoun varies according to the last vowel of the verb root; the vowel of the verb root is also affected. That is, in the case of unrounded verbal root vowels, the sequence verb root vowel + e is reduced to a single vowel identical in quality to the verb root vowel, but carrying a different tone. A back unrounded verbal vowel, a, is assimilated in tongue height position to the 3s pronoun. In the case of rounded verbal root vowels, e is assimilated in tongue height and the verbal root vowel becomes semi-vocalic. For example
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final vowel of verb root</th>
<th>3s Pronoun</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n si&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I know him' (si 'know')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n se&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I tell him' (se 'tell')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n me&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I swallow it' (me 'swallow')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n fe&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I take it' (fa 'take')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n tæ&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I buy it' (tæ 'buy')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n boe</td>
<td>'I hit him' (bo 'hit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n bui&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>'I break it' (bui 'break')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  n si<sup>•</sup>

'I know'

n si<sup>•</sup>

'I know him'

60)  n se<sup>•</sup>

'I tell'

n se<sup>•</sup>

'I tell him'

61)  n me<sup>•</sup>

'I swallow'

n me<sup>•</sup>

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

62) boli mēmē-£ alakū su, e wēwē-£-li.
   
   goat lift up-3s FPST pants on, 3s put on-3s FPST
   
   'Goat took up his pants, he put them, i.e. it on.'
   (māmā 'lift up,' wlawla 'put on')

63) e tie-£ ba kā-nī je e lēnge-£, kēkle-£ ku nū-£.
   
   3s grab-3s FPST child small SPEC and 3s lay back-3s FPST,
   
   beat-3s FPST stomach in DISC
   
   'She grabbed her small child and she lay her back, beat her stomach.' (tla 'grab,' langa 'lay back')

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

65) be mētē-£ nīēē so.
   
   3p heap-3s FPST misery thus
   
   'They heaped misery on him like this.' (mātā 'heap')

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

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

66) e boe-li
   'He hit him'

67) e bui-li
   'He broke it'

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

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

70) nzwe bo be pèè-è cè nga nù-nì . . .
   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 . . . (nà 'get')

71) e wlo-c-è bo kwatiè wù 1 .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s hide-3s FPST buttocks house pole next there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He hid his buttocks next to the house pole.' (wlo 'hide')
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 ə or mə (Section 239.3) to e or mē. For example

72) n su-ja a bjā 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-je mē.
   1 2 3 4
   1s IMPRF marry-3s NEG
   1 2 3 4

'I am not going to marry him.'

73) be kwla a ndē nga kā.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   3p can (STA) NEG affair this/that speak
   1 2 3 4 5 6

'They can not speak of this affair.'

be kwle e kā.
   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 əje 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.
The second person plural, ṭãmũ, is realized as [ã] in fast speech. Alone among the plural pronouns, it appears to be analyzable. The 2s pronoun, ɑ̄, and the 2p pronoun, ṭãmũ, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n nānā</td>
<td>'my grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n si</td>
<td>'my father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n nī</td>
<td>'my mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n njāābjā</td>
<td>'my older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n njāābla</td>
<td>'my older sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n sîma</td>
<td>'my younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n wa</td>
<td>'my child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mī ānūmā</td>
<td>'my grandchild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n ji</td>
<td>'my wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n wū</td>
<td>'my husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n sja</td>
<td>'my in-laws' (of a man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n sewi</td>
<td>'my in-laws' (of a woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n wē</td>
<td>'my mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n biaba</td>
<td>'my sister's child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[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 njääbja, e anúmá 'my father's brother's grandchild' would be used to make explicit the relationship to a person who would usually be referred to as n wa 'my child.'

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

74) n si
    'Father/My Father'

je wū
    'Husband/Our Husband'

kofi wa
    'Kofi Child' (composite proper name)

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

75) n njääbla
    'Sister/My Sister'

n njääbla-nī
    'the sister of mine'
76) Kofi wa
   'Kofi Child' (teknonym)

   Kofi wa-nī
   'the child of Kofi's'

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

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

78) Bouaké gwabo
   'Bouaké's market'

79) be klo-nī
   'their village'

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

221.6 Nouns

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

81) nānī
   'cow/cows'

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

'tree/trees'

waka-nI

'the tree/the trees'

**Mass nouns vs. count nouns**

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

Mass: ajwe 'rice'

ajwe-nI 'the rice'

*ajwe-mū

nzwe 'water'

nzwe-nI 'the water'

*nzwe-mū

nde 'grass'

nde-nI 'the grass'

*nde-mū

Count: conjo 'machete/machetes'

conjo-nI 'the machete/the machetes'

conjo-mū 'machetes (individuated)'

bla 'woman/women'

bla-nI 'the woman/the women'

bla-mū 'women (individuated)'

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

83) ajwe
   'rice'

   ajweba
   'rice kernel'

   ajweba-ṃū
   'rice kernels (individuated)'

84) nzwe
   'water'

   nzweba
   'stream'

   nzweba-ṃū
   'streams (individuated)'

85) sika
   'money'

   sikaba
   'coin'

   sikaba-ṃū
   '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,' bjā 'man,' kpēngbē 'old man,' blalbolefwe 'blacksmith,' kọpẹfẹ 'hunter.'
- Animal Names. e.g. nānī 'cow,' gboklo 'hyena,' wete 'rat,' gbamlo 'hare.'
- A class of location nouns labeled Personal Location Nouns since they may be used as place names. e.g. klo 'village' meaning 'one's village of birth' when used as a place name; swa, 'house' meaning 'home' when used as a place name; wa 'here' and lo 'there' which are used to refer to specific places as place names.

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

1) without the specifier as non-specific nouns

   talwa       'maiden/maidens'
   gboklo      'hyena/hyenas'
   klo         'village/villages'
2) with the specifier to refer to a specific referent of the noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3p leave here go FPST
1 2 3 4 5

'They left here and went.' (here=close to speaker)
wa-nî ti kpa.
1 2 3 4

here SPEC 1COP good
1 2 3 4

'This place is good.' (specific here)

wa ti bêtè?
1 2 3

here 1COP peaceful
1 2 3

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

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

87) e fite-e lo.
1 2 3 4

3s exit FPST there
1 2 3 4

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

be fi lo-nî ba-li.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3p leave there SPEC come FPST
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

lo nzâ ti kpa.
1 2 3 4

there wine 1COP good
1 2 3 4

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

(Analogous to Bouaké nzâ ti kpa 'Bouaké wine is good.')
When potential names are used as names or place names, they occur with all the co-occurrence restrictions and properties of names outlined above.

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

88) *talwa ko-mā-ā bōjā like-nI.

maiden DM give FPST man thing SPEC

'Maiden went to give Man the food.'

89) *gboklo ti-i kaa mma e fa sē-ē gbamlo ti afje.

hyena pick FPST kaa fruit 3s take sting FPST hare head

middle

'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.

'They come from (the) fields.'
91) kofi wo b10.
1 2 3
"kofi is in (the) bush."
1 3 3

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

221.7 Locatives

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

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

They are considered nouns for two reasons:

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

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

    tree SPEC 3s under SPEC ICOP cool

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

95) wūṣī tabli-nī (e) su-nī.  

    wash (IMP) table SPEC 3s surface SPEC

'Wash the surface of the table.'

96) swa sī-nī ti flennē.  

    house behind SPEC ICOP clear

'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 -ljē:

97) kpongbo nga-nī, e nū-nī ti fjē; nga-ljē-nī ti kpa.  

    can this/that SPEC, 3s inside SPEC ICOP dirty; this/that

    ASS SPEC ICOP good

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

1) after another noun in a locative construction:

- fje su 'at the fields/garden'
- swa sī 'behind the house'
- klo nū 'in the village'
- se bo 'at the funeral'

and

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

- to nū 'fall in'
- tu bo 'get moving'
- di plū 'precede'
- sa sī 'return'

Locative phrase

A locative phrase (LocP) consists of 1) a locative construction or 2) a location noun (221.6). A locative phrase is distinguished from a substantive phrase (SP) in that a locative phrase

1) is obligatory after a small set of verbs that include fi 'leave, come from,' ka 'stay' and the locative copula wo. For example

98) ə wo klo.

3s LCOP village

He is at the village.'

99) ə fi fje su.

3s come from field on

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

100) ba-n\={i} su-s\={u} awlo lo.
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

child SPEC IMPRF cry house there
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

'The child is crying \underline{in the house} there.'

Kofi a-la fi n be-n\={i} su.
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

Kofi PRF sleep \underline{Is mat} SPEC on
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

'\underline{Kofi} slept on my \underline{mat}.'

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

101) m\={i} aja a-tla kpej\={a} blo lo.
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

Is trap PRF trap muskrat \underline{bush} there
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

'\underline{My} trap caught a \underline{muskrat} \underline{in the bush} there.'

102) bla-n\={i} a-sje gbolu kp\={a}ta-n\={i} su.
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{tabular}

woman SPEC PRF put okra \underline{hangar} SPEC on
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{tabular}

'\underline{The} woman put \underline{okra} on \underline{the drying rack}.'

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

103) tabli su ti kpi\={e}\={e}kpi\={e}ke.
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{tabular}

'The \underline{table} \underline{surface} is smooth.'
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{tabular}
The presence of the specifier -nī (Section 222.5) after the non-locative noun of a locative construction contrasts with its absence. When the specifier is present the relationship expressed by the locative is straightforward; that is, a given location in relation to the noun. When the specifier is absent the locative construction often takes on a meaning that is different from the sum of the meanings of its parts.

For example

104) a) *njaci-i kpongbo nzwe-nī nū.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Is leave FPST basin water SPEC in

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I left the basin in the water.'

b) *njaci-i kpongbo nzwe nū.*

1 2 3 4 5

'I left the basin at the river.'

105) a) *e wo waka-nī su.*

1 2 3 4 5

3s LCOP tree SPEC on

1 2 3 4 5

'It is on/in the tree.'

b) *e wo-o waka su.*

1 2 3 4 5

3s go FPST tree on

1 2 3 4 5

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

b)  ε ti su
'in his baggage'

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

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

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

b)  jwa nū
'in the sun/at noon'

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

'village center'

110) a) gwa-ni bo

market SPEC at place of

'place of the market'

b) gwa bo

'market/shopping'

111) a) sa-ni si

hand SPEC behind

'back of the hand of'

b) sa si

'in possession of'

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

bo 'buttocks
si 'back'
ñlu 'face'
wü 'body'
ñwa 'mouth'
afje 'trunk middle (exterior)'
klü 'belly (interior)'

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

112) a) e gwa-a nzwe e bo.

3s pour FPST water 3s under

'He poured water under him.'

b) e gwa-a nzwe e bo su.

3s pour FPST water 3s buttocks on

'He poured water on his buttocks.'

113) a) e wo Kofi si.

3s LCOP Kofi behind

'He is behind Kofi.'

b) e wo Kofi si su.

3s LCOP Kofi back on

'He is on Kofi's back.'

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

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

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

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

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

116) swa nį ti fjē.
    house front LCOP dirty
    'The house front (i.e. in front of the house) is dirty.'
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: \( \text{le} (/\text{le}/) \), \( \text{lwa} (/\text{lwa}/) \), and \( \text{wle} (/\text{wle}/) \).

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

118) \( \text{ko} \)  
   \( \text{ko} \text{le} \)  
   'go'  
   'going'  
   \( \epsilon \text{ ko} \text{le} \text{ jo n ja} \)  
   \( 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \)  
   'His going hurts me (i.e. makes me sad).'
   \( 1 \quad 2 \quad 3+5 \quad 4 \)

119) \( \text{swa} \)  
   \( \text{swale} \)  
   'learn'  
   'learning'  
   \( \text{fluwa} \text{ swale ti kekle} \)  
   \( 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \)  
   'Paper learning is hard.'  
   \( 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \)
120) **bu** 'break'
    **bule** 'breaking'

    *veli bulε jo a ja.*
    1 2 3 4 5

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

121) **sū** 'cry'
    **sūle** 'crying'

    *e klo sūle.*
    1 2 3

    'She likes crying.'
    1 2 3

122) **blo** 'ripen'
    **ble** 'ripening'

    *amāngo-nĩ wo ble.*
    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 **le** is suffixed to the verb the complement noun must be placed in front of that verb:

123) **dιngwa** 'tell story/stories'
    **ngwa dile** 'story telling'

    *ε klo ngwa dile*

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

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

Iwa (/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. Iwa has been found to occur with three verbs of movement, 'go,' 'come' and 'arrive'; the resultant nouns focus on the state that results from the action.

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

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

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

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

131) ju 'arrive'
   julwa 'arrival'
   e julwa nga a-ju t n5, fje e fle d5 a n[u l5 o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
   3s arrival this/that PRF arrive here DISC, hide (IMP) 3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   stomach big in there EMP
   10 11 12 13 14
   'This its arrival has arrived here (i.e. now that the time
   has come), hide in his big stomach there.'
When `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 tānī 'weave cloth'
    tānī 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) tlā 'sit'
    tlāwlɛ 'sitting/living place'

136) kāngwa 'play, dance'
    ngwa kāwlɛ 'dancing place'

137) ko 'go'
    kowlɛ '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,
has that quality or is associated with that noun. For example

Verbs:
139) ijo 'talk'
   ijofwe 'speaker, spokesman'

140) bo 'hit, beat'
   bofwe 'beater, hitter'

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

141) bo blale 'hit iron'
   blale bofwe 'ironsmith'

142) di komje 'divine by trance'
   komje difwe 'diviner'

143) di fje 'farm'
   fje difwe 'farmer'

Adjectives:
144) koklo 'round'
   'koklofwe 'round one'

145) danga 'foolish'
   dangafwe 'fool'

146) dä 'big'
   däfwe 'big one'
Nouns:

147) ajwe   'theivery'
ajweba   'thief'

148) klo   'village'
klofwe   'villager'

149) wā   'name of neighboring tribe, the Wan'
wāfwe-mū   '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 mnamū 'children' (mma 'child' + mū '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'  (In these instances where ba makes a mass noun countable, it can be thought of as a singulative.)

151) sika   'money'
sikaba   'coin'

152) dwo   'yam'
dwoba   'yam tuber'

153) ngate   'peanuts'
ngateba   'peanut'
Count nouns:

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

155) swa 'house'
swaba 'inner room'

156) fete 'river'
feteba 'stream'

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

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

159) nĩ 'face'
nĩma/ĩma 'eye'

160) a-di cēba ŋn³ Bouaké lo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3s-PRF spend day PART two Bouaké there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'He spent two whole days at Bouaké.'

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

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

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

162) ε fa-a ε ba kō mā-a bjā-nī.

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

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

221.9 Interrogatives

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

- wā (/wam/) 'who'
- nzu (/nsu/) 'what'
- nī, (/lim/) 'where'
- nīfā, (/limfam/) 'where'
- lenī (/lelim/) 'how many, how much'
- npē (/njem/) 'which'
- monī (/molim/) 'which'
- se (/se/) 'what'

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

163) wā wo le c?

who LCOP there QUES

'Who is there?'

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

   2s look for (STA) who
   1  2  3

   'Who are you looking for?'

165) e mā-ā wā?
   1  2  3  4

   3s give FPST who
   1  2  3  4

   'To whom did he give (it),'#

166) e jo nzu?
   1  2  3

   3s do what
   1  2  3

   'What is he doing?'

167) nzu wo se nū 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 nīfā?
   1  2  3  4

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

   'Where did you put it?'

169) amlā wo nī?
   1  2  3

   amlā LCOP where
   1  2  3

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

'How many did he take?'

'How many people are in the house?'

'When did he go?'

'Who is it you hit?'

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174) \( \text{wā je e mē-li o?} \)  
\[ \text{who COP 3s give-3s FPST QUES} \]  
'Who is it he gave to?'

175) \( \text{wā (je) tō-3 alje-nī o?} \)  
\[ \text{who COP cook FPST food SPEC QUES} \]  
'Who cooked the meal?'

176) \( \text{nzū (je) wo se nū?} \)  
\[ \text{what COP LCOP pot in} \]  
'What is in the pot?'

177) \( \text{nzū je e bui-li o?} \)  
\[ \text{what COP 3s break-3s FPST QUES} \]  
'What is it he broke?'

178) \( \text{nzū (je) boe-li o?} \)  
\[ \text{what COP break/hit-3s FPST QUES} \]  
'What hit/broke it?'

179) \( \text{nzū nū je a sje-li o?} \)  
\[ \text{what in COP 3s put-3s FPST QUES} \]  
'In what did you put it?'

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180) nîfâ je ba-nî wo?
where COP child SPEC LCOP
'Where is the child?'

181) lenî je e su-fja?
where COP 3s IMPRF hide
'Where is he hiding?'

182) npé je a kūi-li č?
how many COP 2s kill-3s FPST QUES
'How many is it you killed?'

183) cē monî je e wo-li č?
day which COP 3s go FPST QUES
'When/What day did he go?'

184) nzu ti je e boe-li č?
what reason COP 3s hit-3s FPST
'Why did he hit him?'
The question word se occurs by itself only at the end of a question:

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

   woman SPEC say FPST what
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What did the woman say?'

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

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

   'What did he do to you?'

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

   3p prepare peanut sauce how
   1 2 3 4 5

   'How does one make peanut sauce?'

188) e bo a se?
   1 2 3 4

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

   'Why did he hit you?'

189) a wā se?
   1 2 3

   2s said what
   1 2 3

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

\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 1 \ 2 \ 3
\]

190) \( \text{e jo se je amū ba-li o?} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8
\]

\( 3s \text{ do what COP 2s come FPST QUES} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8
\]

'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 \( \text{ti} \) (Section 231), but are distinguished from substantives by not being able to occur as the subject of the copula \( \text{ti} \). For example

1) \( \text{waka-nī ti dā.} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4
\]

\( \text{tree SPEC ICOP big} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4
\]

'The tree is big.'

2) \( \text{swa nga-nī ti ufle.} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5
\]

\( \text{house this/that SPEC ICOP new} \)
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5
\]

'This house is new.'

Adjectives are distinguished from substantives by their inability to occur alone with the specifier \( \text{nī} \).
When modifying substantives, adjectives follow the substantive they modify:

3) *swa dā*

1 2

*house big*

1 2

'big house'

*aofwe kpa*

1 2

*stranger good*

1 2

'good stranger'

*Kofi Ble*

1 2

*Kofi Black*

1 2

'Black Kofi' (a common name)

*n wa kā kɔs*

1 2 3 4

*is child small one*

1 2 3 4

'one of my small children'

*Kwajo wū daodao*

1 2 3

*hyena body spotted*

1 2 3

'Hyena's spotted body'

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

dā 'big'
waka dādā-mū 'big trees'

kpa 'good'
kpafle kpakpa nūnā 'four good (i.e. strong) young men'

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

Others are not:

5) kpe 'short'
waka kpe nūnā 'three short trees'

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

Some adjectives occur only in a reduplicated form:

6) wisiwisi 'dry, in good health' *
wisi
tēnē 'long' *
tē
daodao 'spotted' *
da

The reduplicated adjective may be the reduplication of a noun:

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

foko 'kapok fluff'
fokofoko 'fluffy, spongy'
Nominalization of an adjective is achieved in one of two ways:
a) by the use of the 3s pronoun, _e_, as a dummy for the substantive to
form a substantive phrase. _e_ plus adjective has the meaning 'one/ones.' This construction can be followed by the specifier, _nī_.

For example:

8) dā
   _e_ dā
   'big one/big ones'
   _e_ dā-__nī
   'the big one/the big ones'

9) ofle
   _e_ ofle
   'new one/new ones'
   _e_ ofle-__nī
   'the new one/the new ones'

10) fe _e_ dēnē-__nī.
    'Take the long one/long ones.'

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

12) _e_ dā jo fe.
    'Big one/big ones tastes/taste good.'

The plural individuator -mū (Section 222.6) can also be affixed
to this construction, in which case the reduplicated forms of the
adjectives occur:
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)'
dă 'big'
dafwɛ 'big one'
fakafaka 'light, fragile'
fakafakafwɛ 'fragile one'

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

15) ɛ dangafwɛ 'more/most foolish one/ones'
    ɛ dangafwɛ-nī 'the more/most foolish one'
    ɛ dangafwɛ-mū-nī 'the more/most foolish ones (individuated)'

16) ɛ dafwɛ-nī 'the bigger/biggest one/ones'
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:

klo-ni ti mmwa.
1 2 3 4
'The village is far.'
2 1 3 4

klo-ni ti koko.
1 2 3 4
'The village is near.'
2 1 3 4

modifying a noun:

be wo-o klo mmwa.
1 2 3 4 5
'They went to a far village.'
1 2 3 4 5

be fi klo koko.
1 2 3 4
'They came from a nearby village.'
1 2 3 4 3

after wo:

fje-ni wo mmwa.
1 2 3 4
'The fields are far away.'
2 1 3 4
klo-nā wo koko.
1 2 3 4
'The village is nearby.'
2 1 3 4

222.2 Numerals and quantifiers

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

kō 'one'
nnā 'two'
nsā 'three'
nnā 'four'
nnū 'five'
nsjē 'six'
nsō 'seven'
mūcwe 'eight'
ngwlā 'nine'
blu 'ten'

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

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

The numerals twenty through ninety are:

ablāū 'twenty'
ablensā 'thirty'
ablennā 'forty'
ablennū  'fifty'
ablensyē  'sixty'
ablensyō  'seventy'
ableųcwē  'eighty'
ablengwlā  'ninety'

They also combine with each of the numerals one through nine:
ablennū nī kō  'fifty-one'
ableųcwē nī ngwlā  'eighty-nine'

The higher numerals are:
ja  'hundred'
ja nsā  'three hundred'
akpi  'thousand'
akpi nso  'seven thousand'

In attributive use numerals, like adjectives, follow the noun:
swa kō  'one house'
boli nnū  'five goats'
kleswa blu nī nsā  'thirteen eggs'

Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers includes
ngba  'all'
kwla (kwlakwla)  'all'
kūngba  'only (one)';
      'the same'
ngūmī  'only'

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18) e fie-ç e 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 le-ní, ... 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 asje wū, be nzwe ti kungba.
   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 kungba wo wo le o?
   1 2 3 4 5 6

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

   'Are you the only one there?'

22) e kpuse-ç e nwā kungba jekū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   3s chew FPST 3s mouth same again
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   'He chewed his cud the same (way) again.'
23) a-ka e ëma ngūmī.
    1 2 3 4 5

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

    'Only his eyes were left.'

24) je e bo ngūmī-nī je e fja-a blehee.
    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
    1 2 3 4 5 1 2

climb tree this/that) means either 'Squirrel has climbed this tree' or
    3 4 5

    'Squirrel has climbed that tree.' nga can a) modify a noun, b) replace
a noun and c) introduce a relative clause.

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

¹In rare instances nga modifies an adverb:

    a nī wā je ā ko-la-a icra nga je w'ā-ña ba nnā c?
    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) e ako nga i-e-nī, nā e kūī mīṃīṃīṃ.  
   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 9
ever ever
'That his chicken there, he should never never kill it.'

26) n fje e fle kā nga-nī nū wa.  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   Is 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 tī tīlwa.  
   1 2 3 4
   child this/that ICOP powerful
   1 2 3 4
   'This/That child is powerful.'

28) e jo se ti je swa nga tī so?  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   3s do (STA) what cause COP house this/that ICOP thus?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   'Why is it that this/that house is like this?'

b) Noun replacer. As a noun replacer nga occurs as the head of a noun phrase. For example
29) nga wa-to c, nga wa-një-ë sëë.

this/that DM shoot when, this/that DM look-3s FPST

ideophone: of looking carefully

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

30) ā kunde kpaflë kpakpa nnä, ë jia be nga ñ wû o.

2p look for (SUBJ) youth good four, 2p stand (SUBJ) 3p

this/that here next EMP

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

31) boli, ko-wüsī nga le-nï.

goat, DM wash this/that there SPEC

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

32) më nga wo T nïs, n kó ngbana nû wa kã o.

as this/that LCOP here DISC, 1s go (CERT) Ngbana in here

little EMP

'Since this is here (i.e. now then), I am going to the River here for a while.'
c) Relative clause. *nga* introduces an embedded clause which modifies a noun. The specifier *nī* obligatorily occurs after the relative clause.\(^1\) The noun which is coreferential with the antecedent noun is represented by a pronoun in the relative clause. For example

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

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<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>this/that</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>LCOP</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>pour</td>
<td>FPST</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>PART</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s-PRF</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>appease</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>former</td>
<td>this/that</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>FPST</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 *bō* or *mē* (Section 242.11), the clause-final specifier often has the shape *-nī3*. This poses an analytic problem: (1) in no other environment does the specifier *-nī* have the shape *-nī3*; (2) the discourse particle *nī* has the allomorph *nī3*. It is a question therefore of whether the *nī3* at the end of *bō* and *mē* relative clauses is the specifier *-nī* or the discourse particle *nī*. 

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35) ε ji jwe nga ε ja-a be-nī, ε ba kō a-wu a ba.

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

PRF bear NEG child

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

36) ε bo wū a like nga e fe-nī kō.

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

SPEC again

'She herself didn't know the thing which he resembled,
(i.e. didn't know who he was).'

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

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

be a-di.

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

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

'Their market things which they brought from here, they
roasted them, they ate.'
38) slā nga e ko-sike be wū le-nī, be ti wilengbifwe jekū.

| 123456789 | 10111213 |

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

| 123456789 | 1011 |

rich folk also

| 1213 |

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

39) ba-nī kusu e wā, 'nde nga n nī kā-li kle-e mī je e

| 145678910111213141516 |

wu-li-nī, nde so su je n nānti s.

| 17181920212223242526 |

child SPEC also 3s said, 'words this/that 1s mother speak

| 12345678910 |

FPST show FPST 1s and 3s die FPST SPEC, words thus

| 1112131415161718192021 |

on COP 1s walk (CERT) EMP

| 2223242526 |

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

nga is used in conjunction with the dependent clause marker se

(Section 242.12) to indicate "whoever," "whatever," "whenever," etc.

For example

40) se a kāci e nwā nde cē nga-nī, e ti a bo wājīble.

| 123456789 | 101112131415 |

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

| 123456789 | 10 |

ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune.

| 1112131415 |

'Whenever (the day that) you change her words (i.e. disobey her), it will be your own misfortune.'
41) se slä nga su mē nū-nī, ngbē je e sū ṣ.  
if person this/that cry (CERT) world in SPEC, Ngbē COP  
3s cry (CERT)-3s EMP  
'Whoever cries in the world, it is for Ngbē that he cries.'  
(ngbē = 'nothing': a play on words)

42) se a bo nga a si able jobwe nga su nā e nzwē bá-nī,  
a-lje le bla-nī.  
if 2s self this/that 2s dance stone this/that on and 3s  
powder come (CERT) SPEC, 2s ASS COP woman SPEC  
'Whoever dances on the stone and it turns to powder, yours  
is the woman.'

43) se a lika nga kejenī, se a dje umjē nā e kejē ṣ, se mī  
nā n cf.  
if 2s place this/that move (STA) DISC, if 2s breathe (STA)  
and 3s move DISC tell (IMP) 1s and 1s tie (CERT)  
'Whatever part moves, if you breathe and it moves, tell me  
and I'll tie it.'
222.4 **Possession**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name + Noun:</th>
<th>Kofi swa-nī</th>
<th>'Kofi's house'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun + Noun:</td>
<td>je fje-nī</td>
<td>'our fields'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place Name + Noun:</td>
<td>Bouaké gwa bo-nī</td>
<td>'Bouaké's market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun + Kin Term + Noun:</td>
<td>n si bja-nī</td>
<td>'my father's stool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name + Kin Term + Noun:</td>
<td>Kofi ji tānī-nī</td>
<td>'Kofi's wife's cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun + Noun:</td>
<td>bja-nī ja-nī</td>
<td>'the chair's leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun + Noun:</td>
<td>alwa-nī kplo-nī</td>
<td>'the dog's skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name + Kin Term:</td>
<td>Kofi si-nī</td>
<td>'Kofi's father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun + Kin Term:</td>
<td>je nānā-nī</td>
<td>'our grandparent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case that the possessor substantive is not a pronoun, a pronoun occurs optionally between the possessor and possessed:
This suggests that the underlying structure of a possessive phrase is
possessor + pronoun co-referential + possessed substantive + -nī
 substantive with possessor substantive specifier
and that the pronoun is optionally deleted, and that in certain contexts,
where the referent of the possessor substantive is known, the possessor
substantive is optionally deleted.

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

44) Kofi e ji-nī 'Kofi his wife'
    1  2  3
n si e bja-nī 'my father his stool'
    1  2  3  4
bja-nī e ja-nī 'the chair its leg'
    1  2  3  4
alwa-nī e kplo-nī 'the dog its skin'
    1  2  3  4
ba nna-nī be si-nī 'the two children their father'
    1  2  3  4   5
kpafle-mu-nī be swa-nī 'the young men their house'
    1  2  3  4   5

45) suku swa 'school house'
    1  2
alwa kplo 'dog skin'
    1  2
bja ja 'stool leg'
    1  2
Kofi ji 'Kofi's wife' (used as a Name)
    1  2
Bouaké gwa bo 'Bouaké market'
    1  2
In the case of nouns (i.e. substantives that are not inherently specific) it is the absence of the specifier on the first noun that makes it a compound construction and not a possessive construction. When the specifier is added to the second noun in a compound construction, it marks a specific referent of that compound noun. For example

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

alwa kplo-nī 'the dog skin'
    1 2 3 3 1 2

bja jā-nī '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) doprö-nī swa-nī 'the doctor's house'
    1 2 3 3 1 2

b) doprö swa-nī 'the hospital'
    1 2 3 3 1-2

48) a) kpāflē-nī (e) jūmā-nī 'the young man's work'
    1 2 3 3 1 2

b) kpāflē jūmā-nī 'the work of a young man'
    1 2 3 3 2 1

49) a) swa-nī (e) anwā-nī 'the door of the house'
    1 2 3 3 2 1

b) swa anwā-nī '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.
50) a) Bouaké (e) gwa bo-nī tī dā.  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Bouaké's market is big.'  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]

b) Bouaké gwa bo tī dā.  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Bouaké market is big.'  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]

51) a) Aja (e) wa-nī tī kā.  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Aya's child is small.'  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]

b) Aja wa tī kā.  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Aya's children are (habitually) small' or 'an Aya child is small.'  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]

52) a) a si-nī wo nī?  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Where is your father?' (asked of a child whose father you don't know)  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
4 & 3 & 1 & 2 
\end{array} \]

b) a si wo nī?  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 
\end{array} \]  
'Where is your father?' ('your father' here used as a name for a known person)  
\[ \begin{array}{cccc} 
4 & 3 & 1 & 2 
\end{array} \]
53) a) Kofi (e) swa-nT je.

   1 2 3 4 5

   Kofi's house SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4 5

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

b) Kofi sw a je.

   1 2 3

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

54) a) n ti-nT jo n ja.

   1 2 3 4 5 6

   ls head SPEC do (STA) ls 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

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

   'I have a headache.'

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

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

As a focus marker on possessive constructions it is added to the
possessed substantive before the specifier nT and indicates that the
possessed object is being contrasted to a similar object possessed by another.¹ For example

55) ɛ fe-e ɛ taa-lje-nT, ɛ ba-li ɔ.

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 trale-lje-nT.

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 bo wa-lje nnũ-nT, ɛ fle-e 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 dũmũ-lje-nT, n fle a ajo kā.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2s name ASS SPEC, 1s call (CERT) 2s Ajo Small

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

Compare the use of -lje in sentence b) with its absence in sentence a)

¹It is similar to the use of stress in English: 'He then took his turn' or 'My dog's bigger than your dog.'
59) a) ɛ alwa-nT kʊ-ʊ mTI ako k3.
   3s dog SPEC kill FPST 1s chicken one
   'His dog killed one of my chickens.'

   b) ɛ alwa-lije-nT kʊ-ʊ mTI alwa-lije-nT.
   3s dog ASS SPEC kill FPST 1s dog ASS SPEC
   'His dog killed my dog.'

   In sentence a) -lije could be used after both possessed nouns but usually is not. In sentence b) -lije is again optional but the sentence is more acceptable with -lije 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 -lije obligatorily occurs. The specifier -nT occurs after -lije to mark the possession. For example

   60) N3a Kendeja-lije-nT, ke ɛ ti sa, kpeul; bjɛ-lije-nT, kpɛ.'
   Mister Spider ASS SPEC, like 3s ICOP thus, ideophone: of smallness; Man ASS SPEC, ideophone: of bigness
   'Mr. Spider's (basket), like it was like this: small!; Man's (i.e. Hyena): Big!'
In these sentences, -lje 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 -lje suffixed to the possessor substantive is a way of focusing on it.

A second function of -lje is to mark focus on the topic substantive of a sentence. For example
64) njä, a-1je, bo a tì dà lè nî, fje e fle dâ nû lo.

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

big in there

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

65) swi-1je, e pè icrajî, e-1je, bo e cë-ë lè.

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

3s be big FPST there

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

66) a-1je, a si a ngwêlele, a wo lo.

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

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

67) kofi-1je, e te ti kâa.

Kofi ASS, 3s still LCOP small

'Kofi, he's still too small.'

-1je in the above examples is similar to the use in French of a pronoun
after a name to focus on that person: 'Kofi lui, il est toujours petit'
or 'Mouche tsetse, eux, ils etaient gros.' As in French, another (sub­
ject) pronoun follows the focusing element.
68) laa nū, akojwe-lje be ti dādā kpa.
   formerly in, tsetse fly ASS, 3p LCOP big very
   'Formerly, tsetse fly, they were very big.'

222.5 -nī, (/lim/), the specifier

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

69) bla-nī se-e ba-nī ke jo, "ko-kunde jje."
   woman SPEC tell FPST child SPEC that, 'DM (IMP) search
   firewood"
   'The woman said to the child, "Go look for firewood.'"

70) je be ko-wō awale-nī ase o.
   and 3p DM prick (CERT) awale SPEC ground DISC
   'And they went to carve the awale (game) in the ground.'

71) e fa-a akonīmā kungba-nī, e wē, "a-1je wo lo."
   3s take FPST rooster only SPEC, he said, '2s ASS LCOP there'
   'He took only the rooster, he said, "yours is there."'

-nī is interpreted as representing the category "specific" rather
than "definite"; a noun suffixed with nī can be specific yet not definite
(see Appendix, sentence 3).
In noun phrase constructions of the type "part of a whole," the unspecified "part" is outside the scope of the specifier which occurs after the specified "whole." For example

75) a) ako kā kō wu-li
    1 2 3 4 5

    chicken small one die FPST
    1 2 3 4 5

    'One small chicken died (unspecific).'

b) ako kā kō-nī wu-li.
    'The one small chicken died.'
c) akɔ kà-ni kɔ wu-li.

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

d) akɔ-ni kà kɔ wu-li.

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

76) a) akɔ kàŋgà nnu wu-li.

'Two small chickens died (unspecific).'

b) akɔ kàŋgà nnu-ni wu-li.

'The two small chickens died.'

c) akɔ kàŋgà-ni nnu wu-li.

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

d) akɔ-ni kàŋgà nnu wu-li.

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

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

The occurrence of the specifier contrasts with its non-occurrence in which case the referent of the noun phrase is unspecified. For example
77) a) akɔŋiŋa nù mà klo-nì 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) akɔŋiŋa-nì nù mà klo-nì su.
    'The rooster isn't in the village.' (said of a lost rooster)

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

    b) fa conjo-nì ble mì.
    1  2  3  4  5
    take machete SPEC bring Is
    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-nì 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
80) *wutu se-nī mā mī.*

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 be-nī Béoumi lō.*

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

82) "*ke n wo -c lō nīs, kändeja-nī, e wo alje dile.*"

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

'when 1s go FPST there DISC, Spider SPEC, 3s LCOP food eating''

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

83) "*wo, awofwe- nī, kō -wūsī!*"

1 2 3 4 5

2s, Stranger SPEC, DM wash!'

'You, Stranger there, go wash!'

84) *Bouaké-nī, klo nga ti dā!*

1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'Bouaké! that town is big!'
The variant -\textit{li} of the specifier occurs after pronouns:

85) \textit{a-bu ke \textit{e}-\textit{li} \textit{e} si a nzwe-\textit{n\textsuperscript{t} 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) \textit{\textit{e}-\textit{li} ti a te.}
\[ 1 2 3 4 5 \]
3s SPEC LCOP NEG bad
\[ 1 2 3 4 5 \]
'This (the very thing) is not bad.' (i.e. It doesn't matter)

87) \textit{bo \textit{e}-\textit{li} langa lo, bo \textit{e} sl\textit{i} hohoho, je m'a wlu butw\textit{a} n\textit{u}.}
\[ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 \]
as 3s SPEC lay back there, as 3s laugh ideophone: of
\[ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 \]
laughing, then Is 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) "\textit{a}-\textit{li}, a si a ngwlele, a wo lo."
\[ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 \]
2s SPEC, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there
\[ 1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 \]
"'You there, you don't know wisdom!'"

-\textit{n\textsuperscript{t}} suffixed to a construction that consists of a specific substantive plus another substantive marks a relationship of possession between the two substantives (Section 222.4).
The specifier is obligatory after a relative clause, the relative clause being a modifier which specifies the antecedent noun (Section 222.3). For example

89) nzwe nga e wo mē nū-nī ti bla sa kungba.
   water this/that 3s LCOP world in SPEC ICOP pond thus one
   only

'(All) the water which was in the world was in one pond.'

90) "bjā nga a wa-je-e le-nī, wonī ɔ.'

"man this/that 2s DM marry-3s FPST there SPEC, python COP"

"The man who you came and married, he is a python.'"

91) "like nga e kū-ū a nānī-nī, like-nī wo nānī-nī e fle dā nū.'

"thing this/that 3s kill FPST 2s cow SPEC, thing SPEC LCOP
cow SPEC 3s stomach big in.'

"The thing that killed your cow, the thing is in the cow's big stomach.'"

222.6 The marking of number

The third person plural pronoun be occurs after noun phrases to indicate that more than one person or object is being referred to. For example
92) kpokú a-wū ɛ e wa-nī be kō.

suddenly 3s-PRF see NEG 3s child SPEC 3p again

'Suddenly she saw her children no more.'

93) Klofwe-nī be a-lafi e su.

villager SPEC 3p PRF sleep 3s on

'The villagers had confidence in him.'

94) e si-nī be a-se ɛ kō ọ.

3s father SPEC 3p PRF tell NEG-3s again DISC

'Her fathers (i.e. family) told her no more (i.e. they talked no more of the affair).'

95) a siboli be kpāflē dile klu kō be jōe wa?

2s know (STA) goat 3p young man doing kind one 3p do-3s

'You know how goats have always enjoyed their youth?'

96) nnē be dūmā be ti kpēngbē slā be nīlū o.

animal 3p first 3p ICOP old person 3p face EMP

'Animals are older than people.'
In the case of a relative clause that modifies a plural noun, the plural pronoun occurs not after the noun but in the relative clause in place of the deleted co-referential noun. For example

97) bjä nga e wü be le-nī, be ti kānnwē kānnwē.
    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) sīa nga e kū-sīke be wū le-nī, be ti wlengiwē.
    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 whom he went and lodged with, they were rich folk.'

99) kleswa nga be wo se nū-nī 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 nī and be occur1 after the noun. The nouns in 97, 98 and 99 are also

1In rapid speech the specifier is not always realized before be. Since the specifier is often realized as a short nasal (not always even syllabic), its effect in rapid speech is to change [be] to [mbe] or [me]. This fact alone cannot, however, be used as proof of the presence or absence of the specifier before be since the variant [me] of the 3p pronoun also occurs utterance-initially: me kwla be wo-li. 3p all 3p go FPST 'They all left.'
specific and plural, the plural pronoun and the specifier occurring in the relative clause. In examples 95 and 96 the nouns are non-specific and plural. Given that the presence of be marks a noun as plural and its absence leaves a noun unmarked for number, and that the presence of ni marks a noun as specific and its absence marks a noun as unspecific, there are four possible constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni</th>
<th>be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ako-ni ju-u ccele.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\hline
\text{chicken SPEC} & \text{arrive FPST sharing} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

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

101) be b6 be koklo-ni.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\hline
\text{3p make (CERT) 3p basket SPEC} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

'They made their basket/baskets.'

\[1^\text{This discussion involves only the noun subclass of substantives, the specifier -ni having a special function when it occurs with other, inherently specific substantives (Section 222.5).}\]
102) n nānī-nī jēle nga.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   1s cow SPEC COP this/that.
   1 2 3 4 5

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

103) bja-nī ti klenēja 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) slā 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) wonī be ti tēndē.
   1 2 3 4
   python 3p ICOP long
   1 2 3 4

'Pythons are long.'

d) Non-specific noun unmarked for number:

106) c to-o jwe ce-nī su wa tīti.
   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.'
107) swi wo bo nga nũ lo.

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) e bo nandla kle mĩ.

1 2 3 4 5

3s break (STA) proverb tell (STA) Is

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 kō 'one' as in

109) slā kō ba-li.

1 2 3

'A person came.'

2 1 3

110) fa bja kō bĩe mĩ.

1 2 3 4 5

take stool one bring Is

1 2 3 4 5

'Bring me a stool.'

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

111) bja kō-nĩ, e ji ti sa nnũ.

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.'
112) dwo klu kū-nī, n di mā.
  1  2 3  4  5  6  7

  yam kind one SPEC, Is eat (STA) NEG
  1  2  3  4  5  6  7

'I don't eat a certain kind of yam.'

Alternatively the category of number can be marked in a noun phrase by the use of a numeral, a quantifier or a reduplicated adjective. For example

113) slā nsā ba-li.
  1  2  3  4

'Three people came.'

114) a-wu ba nnō.
  1  2  3  4

'She bore two children.'

115) nnē ngba le ja.
  1  2  3  4

'All animals have legs.'

116) ike kwlakwla nō-s nzwe bla kūngba.
  1  2  3  4  5  6

  thing all all drink FPST water pond same
  1  2  3  4  5  6  7

'All (living) things drank at one pond.'

117) ako kāngā wu-li.
  1  2  3

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

113a) slā nsā-nī ba-li.
   \[ \text{3} \quad 2 \quad 1 \quad 4-5 \]
   'The three people came.'

114a) a-bo ba nnō-nī.
   \[ \text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \]
   'She beat the two children.'

115a) slā ngba-nī be le be taaba
   \[ \text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \]
   person all SPEC 3p PCOP 3p arrow
   \[ \text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \]
   'All the people have their arrows.'

116a) ako kāngē-nī wu-li.
   \[ \text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \]
   '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) ako kāngā-nī be wu-li.
   \[ \text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \]
   'The small chickens died.'

-mū (/mum/), the plural individuator

The morpheme -mū is used with a plural noun phrase to indicate individualization of the group. It focuses on the plural persons or objects as individuals and hence it is labeled the plural individuator. It can
occur with a noun phrase which is already marked for plural number or it can occur on a noun phrase unmarked for number, in which case it indicates at the same time plurality and individuation. Its principal function, however, is the latter. The difference between the occurrence of -mū and its absence is not a plural/singular distinction but an individuated/unindividuated distinction. For example

118) a) n fe-ɛ ɛ dā.  
1  2  3  4  5  
1s take FPST 3s big  
1  2  3  4  5  
'I took a big one/big ones.' 

b) n fe-ɛ ɛ da-mū.  
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) jīs a wākā.  
1  2  
'Gather wood'  
1  2  

b) jīs a wākā-mū.  
1  2  3  
'Gather (the) sticks (individuated).'  
1  2  3

120) a) sōnja ba-li.  
1  2  3  
'(A) soldier/Soldiers came.'  
1  2-3
b) sonja-mū kwla be 1e be twi.

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

soldier INDIV all 3p PCOP 3p gun

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array} \]

'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, -nī and -mū occur together, -nī after the noun and -mū after be, the third person plural pronoun. For example

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array} \]

121) ɛ njā ɔ, nvolɛ-nī be-mū bâ T.

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array} \]

3s look (CERT) when, termite SPEC 3p INDIV come (CERT) here

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array} \]

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

We thus have the following possible constructions:

122) a) ako a-di ajwe ngba.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

'A chicken/Chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

b) ako-nī a-di ajwe ngba.

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array} \]

'The chicken/The chickens has/have eaten all the rice.'

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
2 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

c) ako be di ajwe.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

'Chickens eat rice.'

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1-2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

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d) \textit{akp-n} \textit{ni} be a-di ajwe ngba. \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{tabular} \\
'The chickens have eaten all the rice.' \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
2 & 1 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 7 & 6 \\
\end{tabular}

e) \textit{akp-m} \textit{u} a-di ajwe ngba. \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{tabular} \\
'(The) \textit{(individual)} chickens have eaten all the rice.' \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
2 & 1 & 3 & 4 & 6 & 5 \\
\end{tabular}

f) \textit{akp-n} \textit{ni} be-m\textit{u} a-di ajwe ngba. \\
\begin{tabular}{ccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{tabular} \\
'The \textit{(individual)} chickens have eaten all the rice.' \\
\begin{tabular}{ccccccccc}
2 & 4 & 1 & 3 & 6 & 8 & 7 \\
\end{tabular}

The following examples of \textit{m} \textit{u} are taken from texts:

123) \textit{akunde kpfl} \textit{e kpakpa nn}, \textit{a jla be nga T wu o, be ni} \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccccccccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 \\
\end{tabular} \\
kpokpowa kpakpa-m\textit{u o}. \\
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
15 & 16 & 17 & 18 \\
\end{tabular}

2p search (SUBJ) youth goodgood four, 2p put (SUBJ) 3p \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccccccccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{tabular} \\
this/that here near EMP, 3p CONJ \textit{pestle} goodgood \\
\begin{tabular}{cccccccccccccccccccc}
9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 \\
\end{tabular} \\
INDIV EMP \\
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
17 & 18 \\
\end{tabular}

'Look for four strong youths [plural non-specific unindividuated], put them next to this here (i.e. Hyena) with strong \textit{pestles} [plural individuated].'

In this example the pestles are seen as individuated while the youths are not since it is the pestles that will be used to beat Hyena.
124) n köfje su n bá. ná ba be-mù wo lọ, njá be su o.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

Is go (CERT) field on Is 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) je e wa-fie e bo wa-lje-mù o.

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-kpëkplë nù lo cwa-mù.

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

127) kofi-mù be su-ba.

1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and his retinue are coming.'

1 2 3 4 5

128) fa nzà-ní ko-mà n ji-mù.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

take (IMP) wine SPEC DM give Is wife INDIV

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Take the wine, go give it to my wife and hers ('her family').'
There is potential ambiguity with a kin term plus -mū. Thus sentence 128 could also mean, 'Take the wine, go give it to my wives.'

-mū is invariably used with a vocative in addressing a group.

For example

129) ba-mū, ă kākā nānī-nī nā ă sī ba-nī su.

child INDIV, 2p drive (SUBJ) cow SPEC and 2p follow (SUBJ)

child SPEC on

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

130) awofwe-mū, ă jako.

'Strangers, condolences to you.'

131) n-ja-mū, ămū njā, like nga mê kū-ū nānī-nī jē woe fle nū

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

FPST cow SPEC COP LCOP-3s stomach in there there

'Sirs, look, the thing that killed Cow is in his stomach.'

-mū does not occur with mass nouns (Section 221.6). These nouns can occur with the specifier nī but cannot be marked for number in any of the ways discussed above. For example
132) a) n le a sika.
   1 2 3 4
   'I have no money.'
   1 2 3 4

b) n le a sika-ni.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'I don't have the money.'
   1 2 3 2 5 4

c) *n le a sika-mu.
   *'I don't have moneys.'

d) *n le a sika nsá.
   *'I don't have three moneys.'

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

133) sikaba-mu wo kpongbo nü.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'The coins are in the can.'
   1-2 3 5 4

134) jisa aiweba-mu kwla.
   1 2 3 4
   'Pick up all the rice kernels.'
   1 4 2-3

135) nzweba-mu kwla a-ji.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'The ponds have all filled.'
   1-2 4 3 5
222.7 **Emphatic particles**

Two particles, *bo* and *bobo*, occur with names and pronouns for emphasis. With all but the first person singular pronoun the particles occur after the name or pronoun emphasized. With the 1s pronoun *bo* is often *mō* and occurs before the pronoun. The particle *bobo* is more emphatic than *bo*. They are translated as 'self.' For example

136) n bo mī je m'ā-wū ase I; a bo tlā I.

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

Is self Is COP Is PRF see ground here; 2s self sit (STA)

here

13

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

137) mō n ko-fjē e dā nū ło nū fje e kā nū wa.

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

self Is DM hide (CERT) 3s big in there and hide (IMP)

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 bobo n kwasi n kendeja, mī je n ba-a nānā namjē kplī

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

ē jako-nī-afe jole.

15 16 17

Is self Is Kwasi Is spider, Is COP Is come FPST grandpa

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) e bo wa-lje 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) e bobo e jwife li c.
   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 bobo a su-ko.
   1  2  3  4  5
   2s self 2s IMPF go.
   1  2  3  4  5
   'You yourself you will go.'

142) ko-wusa be bo.
   1  2  3  4
   DM ask (IMP) 3s self
   1  2  3  4
   'Go ask them!'

143) e ti je bobo j'ejible.
   1  2  3  4  5  6
   3s LCOP lp self lp misfortune
   1  2  3  4  5  6
   'It is our own misfortune.'

144) Kofi bo wo awlo lo.
   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 mõ (occasionally realized as bo) which occurs after any noun to underline it or emphasize it. For example

145) e tu-u e alaku mõ, kpökû kplokkploco, 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 mõ wú e su so 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) woni mõ e ti mõ kplâ nzwe-nï 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) e wle-e e sa mõ alubwe se mõ nû.

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) je e kə-si mawku nį njį mȍ.
and 3s DM pound pepper and salt even
'And he went and pounded salt and pepper!'
230. THE VERB PHRASE

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

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{VERB P} \quad \text{(Adjunct)}
\]

\[
\text{VERB P} \rightarrow \begin{align*}
& \text{a) Copula Complement} & \quad \text{(Section 231)} \\
& \text{b) VERB} & \quad \text{(Section 234)} \\
& \text{c) VERB SP} & \quad \text{(Section 235)} \\
& \text{d) VERB SP SP} & \quad \text{(Section 236)} \\
& \text{e) VERB Loc P} & \quad \text{(Section 235)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{Asp (DM) Verb} \quad \text{(Section 238)}
\]

\[
\text{Verb} \rightarrow V \quad \text{(Section 238.1)}
\]

\[
\rightarrow V \quad \text{N Compl} \quad \text{(Section 233)}
\]

\[
\text{Adjunct} \rightarrow \text{(LocP) (Adv)} \quad \text{(Section 239)}
\]

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
tonal modals (Section 238.2). There are two types of copulas: a) those that link a subject substantive phrase with a complement in the same sentence and b) those that occur with a single substantive phrase, linking it to the context (either previous sentences or the spatio-temporal context of utterance).

231.1 Copulas that link a substantive phrase and a complement

There are three copular verbs that link a subject substantive phrase and a complement: ti, the identifying/attributive copula; wo, the locative copula; and le, 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) bjä-ni ti wêngbifwe.
   'The man is a richman.'

2) swa-ni ti dä.
   'The house is big.'

3) ba-ni be ti nsä.
   '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
b) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Locative vs. Non-Locative. For example

8) wa-nī ti fje.
'Vehicle here is a field.'

9) Béoumi ti klo dā.
'Béoumi is a big village.'

c) A sub-class of Temporal Adverbs function as substantives in *ti sentences. This includes anekī 'today,' ānūmā 'yesterday,' cē te 'rest day,' mōnē, kisje . . . 'Sunday, Monday . . .' (i.e. all the names of days of week). Both the subject substantive and the complement substantive must agree as to the semantic features Temporal vs. Non-Temporal. For example

10) anekī ti jole.
'Today is Tuesday.'
11) Ḣnūmā 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. For example

12) kofi ti wlenqbiwfe.
    'Kofi is a rich man.'

13) *kofi ti wlenqbiwfe-nī
    'Kofi is the rich man.'

14) *wlenqbiwfe-nī ti kofi
    'The rich man is Kofi.'

15) *wlenqbiwfe ti kofi
    'A rich man is Kofi.'

16) mākū ti ajre.
    'Pepper is medicine.'

17) mākū-nī ti ajre.
    'The pepper is medicine.'

18) *mākū ti ajre-nī.
    'Pepper is the medicine.'

1Names, pronouns, kin terms, place names, or nouns followed by the specifier -nī are specific. In the case of the temporal adverbs (Section 239) anēkī 'today,' ājīmā 'tomorrow,' Ḣnūmā 'yesterday' are specific; cē tē 'rest day,' and the names of the days of the week, are non-specific.

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19) Wluse ti klo ufle.
   'Wluse is a new village.'

20) *Wluse ti klo ufle-nī.
   'Wluse is the new village.'

21) anekī ti mōnē.
   'Today is a Sunday.'

22) mōnē ti cē te.
   'Sundays are rest days.'

23) *kisje ti ājīmā.
   'Monday is tomorrow.'

These restrictions suggest that the relationship of the subject substantive phrase to the complement substantive phrase is one of "member" to "class." That is, A is included in B. In sentences 12, 17, 19 and 21 the subject substantive phrases are specific "members" of their "class" and the subject substantive phrases of 16 and 22 are non-specific "members." Sentences 13, 14, 15, 18, 20 and 23 are not allowed because the complement substantive phrases of these sentences do not refer to "classes" but, being specific, they refer to "members."

An adjective complement can occur with all substantives:

24) kpāfle-nī ti kekle.
   'The young man is strong.'

25) swi ti dā.
   'Elephants are big.'
26) *lo ti kpa?*
   'Is there good?' (i.e. where you came from)

A numeral complement must agree in number with the subject substantive phrase; *k6* 'one' occurring with a singular subject and all other numerals occurring with a plural subject. For example

27) *bja-ni ti k6.*
   'The stool is one/there is one stool.'

28) *e ba-ni ti kungba.*
   'Her child is only one/She has only one child.'

29) *boli-ni be ti nn6.*
   'The goats are five/There are five goats.'

30) *be ti blu.*
   'They are ten/There are ten of them.'

*wo,* (/wo/), the locative copula

*wo* links a subject substantive phrase to a locative phrase (Section 221.7) or a verbal noun (derived from verb root + -le [Section 221.8]) as complement. A locative phrase is either a location noun (Section 221.6) or a locative construction (Section 221.7).

a) Locative phrase as complement:

31) *kofi wo Bouaké.*
   'Kofi is in Bouaké.'

32) *kwe dâ-ni wo wa.*
   'The big knife is here.'
33) conjo-nī wo waka wū.
'We machete is next to the tree.'

34) gbekle kō wo swa-nī nū.
'A mouse is in the inside of the house.'

b) Verbal noun as complement:

35) e wū-ū kūmā kō; wonda wo wlule.
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) e sjabla wo alje wutale.
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 e nwā kpusale.
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-nī, e wū nale je e wo.
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:

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) nnē wo asje wū slā be nũ.
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 kūmā nũ.
1 2 3 4

water LCOP hole in
1 2 3 4

'There is water in the well.'

This existential use of wo often occurs with le and i, which translate as 'there' and 'here' respectively but are not adverbs as much as they are existential particles, similar to the use in English of 'there' and 'here' in such sentences as 'Here is a book you should read' or 'There are flowers on the table.' For example

42) bjā kĩ wo le.
1 2 3 4

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

---

1Cf. Lyons' suggestion that existential sentences be analyzed as indefinite locatives (1969:388).
43) be wa kä wo 1e.
   1 2 3 4 5
'Their small child was there/They had a small child.'
   1 3 2 4 5

44) je e nē be be wo le c.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'And he and they were there.'
   1 2 3 4-5 6 7

45) n bjā nga n ko-jē je wo I.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
ls man this/that ls DM marry (CERT)-3s COP LCOP here
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'My man that I will marry is here/Here is my man that I
 will marry.'

46) swē kō wo le, e tla slā su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
termite hill one LCOP there, 3s surpass person on
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'There was a termite hill that was taller than a person.'

47) sla nsā wo I, ako bo a klo-nī su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
month three LCOP here, chicken crow (STAT) NEG village
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
SPEC on
   9 10
'There is/It's been three months, a cock hasn't crowed in
the village.'

wo has an allomorph that occurs with the negative, the suppletive
form nū. For example
48) akɔnĩmá nũ mā kl assms su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   rooster LCOP NEG village SPEC on
   1 2 3 4 5 6

'There are no/not any cocks in the village.'

49) nzwe nũ mā le.
   1 2 3 4

'Water is not there/There is no water.'

50) mɛ kanvwe nũ mɛ e wũ mlɔm15mlɔm nĩ, n bjā-nĩ je.
   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.'

le, (/le/), the possessive copula

le occurs in two different types of construction:

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

51) n le nānĩ.
   1 2 3

'I have cows/a cow.'

52) Kofi le ji.

'Kofi has a wife/wives.'

1 2 3
53) be ngba be le 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-mű le amū.
1 2 3 4 5

Is child INDIV PCOP 2p
1 2 3 4 5

'My children are you/You are my children.'

55) n jaafwe dā le wo.
1 2 3 4 5

Is friend big PCOP 2s
1 2 3 4 5

'You are my good friend.'

56) e mēdifwe le boli-mū.
1 2 3 4 5

3s neighbor PCOP goat INDIV
1 2 3 4 5

'His neighbors are the goats.'

57) a-lje le bla-nThursday.
1 2 3 4 5

2s ASS PCOP woman SPEC
1 2 3 4 5

'Yours is the girl.'

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58) ε-ljɛ 1ɛ 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 tì:

54a) amũ tì n wa-mũ.
1 2 3 4

'You are my children.'
1 2 3 4

55a) a tì n jàafwe dà.
1 2 3 4 5

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

56a) boli-mũ tì e mèdifwe.
1 2 3 4

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

57a) bla-nũ tì a-lijɛ.
1 2 3 4

'The girl is yours.'
2 1 3 4

58a) sika tănĩ tì ε-ljɛ.
1 2 3 4 5

'The gold cloth is his.'
1 2 3 4 5
Sentences 54-58 serve to topicalize the possessive constructions which are in the subject position.

231.2 **Copulas that link a substantive phrase with the context**

Two copulas, \( o \), (\(/o/\)), and \( je \), (\(/je/\)), occur after a substantive phrase, linking it to previous sentences or to the context of the utterance.

\( o \) occurs after a substantive phrase which identifies a person or object already in the context. For example

59) \( a o . \)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{lie COP} \\
\end{array} \]

'\( \text{It's a lie.} ' \)

60) \( a wū-nī, \ wōnī \ o . \)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{2s husband SPEC, python COP} \\
\end{array} \]

'Your husband, \( \text{he's a python.} ' \)

61) \( mī \ o . \)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Is COP} \\
\end{array} \]

'It's me.'

62) \( je wā \ e \ ti \ kē \ kla ngbē. \ \text{kanzu ajre} \ o . \)

\[ \begin{array}{ccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{lp say 3s 1COP like torch nothing, however medicine COP} \\
\end{array} \]

'We said it was like ordinary torch. However it's medicine.'
63) sɛ a njɛɛ e lika kpa, sɛ a njɛɛ e mwaɛ ɛ.
   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.'

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

64) kwe dæ-njɛ. 1 2 3 4
   knife big SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4
   'This is/Here is the big knife.'

65) n swa-njɛ. 1 2 3 4
   1s house SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4
   'This is/Here is my house.'

66) e ajre ajakpa-njɛ. 1 2 3 4 5
   3s medicine payment SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4 5
   'Here is/This is his medicine payment.'

67) bjæ nga n kɛɛ e ndɛ-njɛ. 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.'
68) sa nga tî je n se-e a ka ke a ka lo-nî je.
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13  14

   affair this/that reason COP Is 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 je can also be the subject of a
verb:

69) a klâ-nî je wo lo.
   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-nî je wa-kâ-a be wosu nû.
   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) e fata-a ke slâ je kûî o.
   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) e bo ngumi-nî je fja-a bleeeeee.
   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.'
The subject can be repeated after je in the form of a pronoun. This serves to add focus to the subject substantive phrase. For example

73) je be sǐɛ nnɛ-ɲɛ je be kɔ 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) mɿ je n ba-a nɑnɑ ɲɛmɛ ɛ nlɛ jɛ jako jole.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   1s COP 1s come FPST grandpa God big 3s condolence doing
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   'Me it is who came to wish Grandpa God condolences.'

75) e nɪ ji je be sǐɛ nnɛ je be nɪma ti sɛlɛ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eyes 1COP blind
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   'He and his wife it was who the two of them it was whose
eyes were blind.'

76) je nɪ nɑnɪ je 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.'

je is added to any substantive phrase which is moved to the front of the sentence for focussing. For example
77) e wla je e fa kle lo.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]

3 co-wife COP 3s take show-3s there
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]

'Her co-wife it was she showed him there.'

78) n ti kle-ni je n di lo.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8\]

Is head hat SPEC COP Is eat (STA) there
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8\]

'My hat it is I eat there.'

79) n bu ke ati nū je be wo-li.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]

Is think (STA) that path in COP 3p go FPST
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9\]

'I think that it is "in the path" (i.e. to defecate) that they went.'

80) wa je mātā nga tu-u sika.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]

here COP child this/that remove FPST gold
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7\]

'Here it is this child took out gold.'

81) swi su je be lafi o.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6\]

elephant on COP 3p sleep (STA) DISC
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6\]

'It is in Elephant that they have confidence.'
185

82) e dūmā nū je n mō m'a-wū lika.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   3s name in COP ls self ls 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, jele, (/jele/), occurs either at the beginning of 
a substantive phrase, linking it to the context, or functions like ti, 
wo and le to link two substantive phrases.

a) Before a single substantive phrase, linking it to the previous sen-
tences or to the context of the utterance:

83) jele mī noswa nū ato.
   1 2 3 4 5

   COP ls evening in lie
   1 2 3 4 5

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

84) jele nde nga n si kā-li kle-e mī-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   COP words this/that ls father speak FPST show-3s FPST ls
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   SPEC
   11

'This is the affair my father told me.'

85) jele bla nī jaswa be aja.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   COP women and man 3p marriage
   1 2 3 4 5 6

'Thus is women and men's marriage.'
These sentences occur at the end of a story or a recounting of an event.

b) Linking two substantive phrases within a single sentence:

86) slā nga ti jc be slc a kā-nī jele gboklo.

person this/that fault COP 3p ask NEG again SPEC COP hyena

'The person whose fault it is that they ask no longer is Hyena.'

87) ajre kekle jele nga ŭ.

medicine strong COP this/that here

'Strong medicine is this here.'

88) klo nga be kō-toe sjē-nī jele gblobo.

village this/that 3p DM find (CERT)-3s next SPEC was Gblobo

'The village they went and found next was Gblobo.'

232. States, Processes and Actions

Verbs are of four types: verbs of state, verbs of process, verbs of action, and verbs of action-process (cf. Chafe 1970). A state is a non-event, while a process, an action or an action-process is an event, a "happening." The one noun that occurs with states and processes is called a patient noun. A state indicates the condition its patient noun is in. A process is an event (it answers the question "what happened?") that changes its patient noun from one state to another. An action does not involve a patient but an actor and expresses something the actor does.
If the actor does something to a patient noun we have a verb with two nouns (in the subject and object positions), an action-process where the actor acts and the patient undergoes a change in state.

232.1 Verbs of state

In Baule there is a class of verbs of state. These verbs express states with the stative inflection (Section 238.2). This class includes bō 'be smelly,' fe 'be white,' jo 'be cold,' ie 'be hot,' lu 'be dark.' For example

86) ε bō.
   'It smells.'

87) ε je fe.
   'His teeth are white.'

88) ε 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 je.
   '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
188

91)

a-bo.
'It

is s p o i l e d

(i.e.

has become s m e l l y ) . '

e bo- 1 i .
' It

spoiled.'
p

e bo.
' ! t v/i 11 s u r e l y spoi 1. '

92)

tanT-nT a - f e .
'The c l o t h

is w h i t e

( a f t e r being scrubbed and b leached

in t he sun) . '

sje
1

t anT -n T j wa nu na e f e .
2
3
k
5 6 7

put
1

cloth
2

SPECsun in and 3s w h i t e n (SUBJ)
3
4 5
6 7
§

'Put the c lo th

93)

in t he sun, may i t w h?t e n . '

1 i ka a - 1u.
'It

i s d a r k / N i g h t has f a l l e n . '

1i ka 1u - u j e s u .
1
2 3 A 5
p l a c e darken FPST lp on
1
2
3
** 5
' I t g o t dark on u s . '

9*0

nzwe-nT a - j o .
' The w a t e r

is cold

(i.e.

has c o o l ed from b ei n g w a r m ) . '

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95) ajwe-nī a-je.

'The rice is hot (i.e. left-over rice has heated from being cold).'

232.2 Verbs of process

Verbs of Process express states only with the perfective prefix a-; they do not occur with the stative inflection. This class of verbs includes blo 'ripen,' be 'cook,' fe 'tire,' nī 'mature, become full-grown,' and the verb jo 'do, make, become' plus a limited number of adjectives: koklo 'thin,' nōnī 'heavy,' kpa 'good,' dā 'big.' For example

96) amango a-blo.

'Mangoes have ripened/are ripe.'

97) alje-nī a-be.

'The food has cooked/is cooked.'

98) alwa-nī a-nī.

'The dog has matured/is full-grown.'

99) bla-nī a-jo koklo.

'The girl has become thin/is thin.'
100) ba-nī a-jo nōnī.

1 2 3

'\textbf{The baby has become heavy/is heavy.}'

2 1 3 4

101) *ē blo.

'It ripens.'

102) *n fe.

'It tires.'

103) *ē jo kpa.

'\textbf{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) ē su-blo.

'It will be ripe soon/It is ripening.'

105) ē su-fe.

'\textbf{He will soon tire/He is suffering.}'

106) ē su-be.

'It will be cooked soon/\textbf{It is achieving doneness.}'

107) ē su-nī.

'It will soon be full-grown/It is achieving maturity.'
The factual past inflection on these verbs indicates that the process was completed sometime in the past and what is being focused on is not the state but the finished process. For example

108) \textit{talwa-nī nī-li.} \\
\footnotesize{1 \quad 2 \quad 3} \\
'The maiden grew up!' (said in surprise since speaker was unaware it had happened).

109) \textit{amango-nī bō-li.} \\
\footnotesize{1 \quad 2 \quad 3} \\
'The mango ripened (and is probably over-ripe or rotten now).'

110) \textit{ba-nī jō-o nōnī.} \\
\footnotesize{1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4} \\
'The child got heavy.'

111) \textit{bjā-nī jō-o kpa.} \\
\footnotesize{1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4} \\
'The man got successful.'

233. Completable Verbs

Completable verbs are a class of verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb. This obligatory second element can be a locative as well as a non-locative noun. In the case of a two- or three-place verb the object noun phrase occurs between the verb root and the noun complement.
Locative complement

Completable verbs that require a locative complement include:

(tu 'take off')

tu bo 'move' (in sense of French 'déplacer')

tu su 'correct or counsel someone'

tu wū 'be boastful, cocky'

tu nū 'take out'

(di 'eat, conquer, have sexual relations, do')

di plū 'go before, ahead of'

di sī 'follow'

di su 'accept'

di wū 'tease, make fun of'

112) a tu ē ti kle.
1 2 3 4 5

3s-PRF take off 3s head hat
1 2 3 4 5

'He took off his hat.'

113) nā tu a bo kō, be-mū ko nde nū lo.
1 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'ia-tu ba-nī su lelele, a-kwla be.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p PRF scold child SPEC long time, 3s-PRF beat 3p
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'They scolded the child a long time, he got the better of them.'
115) Gboklo su-tu e wū.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

Hyena IPRF is boastful 3s

1 2 3 4

'Hyena is being boastful.'

116) e tu-u nū lo doba ngba.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s remove FPST there termite all

1 2 3 4 5 6

'He took out of there all the termites.'

117) ba-nī di-i e niū, be wo-ō fje su.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

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 nā je wo.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

Follow 1s and 1p go (SUBJ)

1 2 3 4 5

'Follow me and let's go.'

119) se pāmjē di su, je su-kplā swa afwe mō ba t-nī.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

If god accept, 1p IPRF 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.'
120) gbamọ su-di (or su-didi) gbokọ wū.
   hare IMPRF tease hyena
   'Hare is teasing Hyena.'

Non-locative complement

Completable verbs that require a noun complement other than a locative include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo blalɛ</td>
<td>'forge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo klɛ</td>
<td>'beat a drum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo nda</td>
<td>'clap hands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo dwo</td>
<td>'plant igname'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo flemā</td>
<td>'whistle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo tango</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo nglo</td>
<td>'make suds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo somā</td>
<td>'be engaged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di jūmā</td>
<td>'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di ba</td>
<td>'act as a child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di sonja</td>
<td>'be a soldier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di talwa</td>
<td>'be youthful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di nawlɛ</td>
<td>'tell the truth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di fje</td>
<td>'have fields'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di cē</td>
<td>'celebrate a holiday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di mē</td>
<td>'live as neighbors'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(to 'buy, throw, find')
to jese 'spin cotton' (jese 'cotton')
to twi 'shoot a gun' (twi 'gun')
to jwe 'song' (jwe '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 to-o nzwe-ni nu.

maiden fall FPST water SPEC in

'Maiden fell into the water.'

b) talwa to-o e ni nu.

maiden hug FPST 3s mother

'Maiden hugged her mother.'

122) a) n lafi e be su.

Is sleep 3s mat on

'I sleep on his mat.'

b) n lafi e si su.

Is count on 3s father

'I'm counting on his father.'
Although it is not always clear from the translation of sentences such as those above whether the locative is part of the verb or not, the addition of the nominalizer -le (Section 221.8) to the verb decides the unclear cases. -le is suffixed to the verb and any obligatory element occurs before it. For example

123) nū tole 'hugging'
    plū dile 'going before'
    su sole 'answering'
    su lafele 'counting on'
    nū tule 'taking out'

234. One-place verbs

Verbs can be classified according to the number of substantive phrases (SP) with which they can occur within the nucleus of the verb phrase. They are thus divided into one-place, two-place and three-place verbs. All three classes of verbs include completable verbs, i.e. verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb (Section 233).

One-place verbs are defined as verbs that always occur with only one SP, this SP obligatorily in the subject position, i.e. before the verb. One-place verbs include:

a) Verbs of state (Section 232) such as

    bō 'be smelly'
    fē 'be white'
    so 'be hard, elastic, solid'
    jē 'be hot'
lu 'be dark'
jo 'be cold'

in which the subject substantive expresses the patient role:

124) c je-ni fŎ.  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

'His teeth are white.'  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

125) dwo-ngә-nĩ so.  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

'This yam is elastic.'  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
2 & 1 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

126) n klũ jo.  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

'My stomach is cold (i.e. I am happy).'  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

127) kāni nzwe bŏ.  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

'Kerosene smells.'  
  \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
1-2 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

b) Verbs of process (Section 232) such as:

be 'cook'
pi 'mature'
fe 'tire'
na 'sour'
wū 'swell up'
wu 'die, dry'
which occur with the perfective aspect marker a- (Section 238.2) to express the state which is the end result of the process:

128) ajwe-nī a-be.
   1 2 3
   'The rice has/is cooked.'
   2 1 3

129) alwa-nī a-nī.
   1 2 3
   'The dog has/is grown up.'
   2 1 3

130) tło nga a-pā.
   1 2 3
   'This sauce has soured/is sour.'
   2 1 3

131) m'a-fe.
   1 2
   'I am tired/have tired.'
   1 2

132) mākū-nī a-wu sekeseke.
   1 2 3 4
   'The pepper has/is dried completely.'
   2 1 3 4

133) n sa-nī a-wū.
   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.
c) Verbs of action such as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{slī} & \quad \text{laugh'} \\
\text{lafi} & \quad \text{sleep'} \\
\text{ko} & \quad \text{go'} \\
\text{ba} & \quad \text{come'} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{fall'} \\
\text{tu} & \quad \text{boil, fade'}
\end{align*}
\]

with which the subject substantive has the role of actor:

134) e jo sə a su-sli ə?
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}
\]

'Why are you laughing?'

135) be lafi.
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array}
\]

'They are sleeping.'

136) ba-ni wa-to.
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}
\]

'The child will fall.'

137) nzwe-ni su-tu.
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}
\]

'The water is boiling.'

138) tlae nga-ni tuli.
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}
\]

'This garment faded.'
139) je su-ko klo.
1 2 3
'We're going to the village.'
1 2 3

140) be ba-a gw a bo.
1 2 3
'They came to the market.'
1 2 3

The verbs to 'fall' and tu 'fade, boil' could be considered process verbs, their subject substantives expressing the patient role rather than actor. However, the process verbs listed above and discussed in Section 232 do not occur with the stative inflection (Section 238.2) and one is tempted to take that as a defining characteristic of process verbs. The verbs to and tu do occur with the stative inflection:

141) nzwe-nī tu.
1 2 3
'The water is boiling.'
2 1 3

142) tla-le nga-nī tu.
1 2 3
'This garment fades/is fading.'
2 1 3

143) ba-nī to.
1 2 3
'The child falls/is falling.'
2 1 3

The verbs of movement ko 'go' and ba 'come' often occur with a LocP (locative phrase) but can also occur with only a subject SP and thus
are considered one-place verbs (cf. the class of locative two-place verbs below).

144) su-kɔ.

"He is going."

145) Amlɔ a-ba.

"Amlɔ came."

One-place completable verbs include:

- kpɛ bɛ 'sneeze'
- sa nzwe 'draw water'
- wu tɔnɔ 'weave'
- wu sɛ 'pot (verb)'
- to blo 'run away, escape'
- kɔ ngwa 'dance, play'
- kɔ nzɔ 'extract wine'
- ji slaka 'sacrifice'
- ji gɔbekle 'divine (by mouse oracle)'

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bo nda  'clap hands'  
(bo 'hit' nda 'twin')

bu npandra  'tell a proverb'  
(bu 'break' npandra 'proverb')

Sentences containing a one-place completable verb have the same surface shape as sentences containing a two-place verb. Compare

146) a) े su-bo nda.
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array}\]

'He is clapping hands.'
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array}\]

b) े su-bo nda
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}\]

'He is striking a twin.'
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}\]

147) a) े su-ji gbekle.
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array}\]

'He is divining by mouse oracle.'
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array}\]

b) े su-ji gbekle.
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}\]

'He is taking out a mouse.'
\[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2 \\
3
\end{array}\]

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 -1ɛ, -w1ɛ or -f1ɛ (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'
    se wufwe 'potter'
    tänĩ wufwe 'weaver'
    ngwa kāwle 'playing, dancing place'

Two-Place Verbs

Two-place verbs include

a) verbs that obligatorily occur with a subject and an object substantive, the subject substantive being the actor, the object substantive non-actor (e.g. patient or goal):

149) nā 'gain, get'
    m'a-nā sika.
    1 2 3 4
    'I've gotten money.'
    1 2 3 4

150) kū 'kill'
    e kū-ū kpejā kɔ.
    1 2 3 4
    'He killed one muskrat.'
    1 2 4 3

151) tla 'grab, capture'
    be tla-a ajwefwe.
    1 2 3
    'They grabbed a thief.'
    1 2 3
152) ji 'empty, deliver, give back, take out, take off'

\[a-ji \text{ ojwe-ni.}\]

1 2 3 4

'He took out the thorn.'

1 2 3 4

\[e \text{ su-ji ba.}\]

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) kākā nū 'stir'

\[e \text{ su-kākā tlo nū.}\]

1 2 3 4

'She is stirring the sauce.'

1 2 3 4

154) la ase 'thank'

\[je \text{ la a ase.}\]

1 2 3

'We thank you.'

1 2 3

155) swā dūmā 'name'

\[be \text{ swā-ā e dūmā Kofi.}\]

1 2 3 4

'They named him Kofi.'

1 2 3 4
156) bu fo 'condemn'

klo kpëngbé a-bu be fo.

1 2 3 4

'The village chief condemned them.'

1 2 3 4

157) gwa ati 'accompany'

je su-ko gwa be ati.

1 2 3 4

'We're going to accompany them.'

1 2 3 4

158) gwa bo 'conclude, finish'

gwa jwe-ni bo.

1 2 3 4

'Finish the song.'

1 3 2

159) njã lika 'take care of'

be a-njã ba-ni lika kpa.

1 2 3 4 5

'They took good care of the child.'

1 2 5 4 3

160) njã osu 'visit'

cê kõ n ko-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:
161) **kpǝ wǝ** 'turn around'

   alwa su-kpǝ ǝ wǝ.
   1 2 3 4

   'The dog is turning around.'
   1 2 3

162) **pǝ ti** 'have time, be saved'

   m'a-pǝ n ti.
   1 2 3

   'I've been saved.'
   1 2 3

163) **tla awlǝba** 'persevere, take courage'

   a-tla ǝ awlǝba.
   1 2

   'He took courage.'
   1 2

164) **sa sǝ** 'return'

   be sa-a be sǝ.
   1 2

   'They turned around.'
   1 2

165) **sa nwǝ** 'go back on one's word'

   e su-sa ǝ nwǝ.
   1 2 3

   'He's going to go back on his word.'
   1 2 3

166) **kǝ wǝ** 'hasten'

   m'a-kǝ n wǝ m'a-ba.
   1 2 3 4

   'I hastened. I came.'
   1 2 3 4
167) bu wū 'consider oneself'

\[ \text{bu } \text{wū } \text{dā.} \]

'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 ni (Section 241):

168) la 'sleep with'

\[ \text{ni } \text{bla-ni } \text{be la-li.} \]

'He slept with the girl.'

169) kpe nde 'dispute, argue'

\[ \text{je ni n ji je kpe nde.} \]

'I argue with my wife.'

\[ \text{kofī ni be kpe-ŋ nde.} \]

'Kofi and he argued.'
170) jja 'encounter'

be nǐ Ndri jja-li.

3p and Ndri encounter FPST

'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.

'a-fa n kle.

172) kā 'touch'

nā kā.

173) ka 'bite'

wwo-nī ka

wwo-nī ka-a mī.
174) bu angunda 'think'
   e su-bu angunda
   'He is thinking.'

   e su-bu mi angunda.
   'He is thinking of me.'

175) kpe nzoa 'insult'
   be ti te; be kpe nzoa.
   1 2 3 1 2
   'They are bad; they insult.'

   n njääbla a-kpe mĩ nzoa.
   1 2 3 4
   'My sister insulted me.'

176) so su 'respond'
   āmũ so su.
   'You (pl) respond.'

   āmũ so jwe-nĩ su.
   'You (pl) respond to the song.'

177) kā ajre 'paint'
   be su-kā ayre.
   'They are painting.'

   be su-kā swa ayre.
   'They are painting the house.'
e) verbs that occur with either one or two SP. When they occur with one SP the subject substantive is a non-actor:

178) bu 'break'

se-nĪ a-bu.

'The pot broke.'

kofi bu-u se-nĪ.

'Kofi broke the pot.'

179) gwa 'pour, leak, splash; nzue-nĪ gwa.

'The water is leaking.'

swa-nĪ gwa.

'The house leaks.

ε su-gwa nzwe se-nĪ nū.

'He is pouring water in the pot.'

180) bu nū 'fold'

kwe nga-nĪ bu nū.

'This knife folds up.'

a-bu fluwa nu.

'He folded up the paper.'
181) tike 'open'

anwá tike-li.

'The door opened.'

e tike-e anwá.

'He opened the door.'

236. Three-Place Verbs

A small set of verbs occur with three SP's, although not obliga­torily; one SP occurs as subject substantive in the role of actor, the other two follow the verb as patient and goal or as patient and instrument.

182) mā 'give'

be a-kō-mē like.

3p PRF DM give-3s thing

'They went to give him food.'

e mā-ā n dwo nsā.

3s give FPST Is yam three

'She gave me three yams.'

183) ble 'bring'

n nī a-ble n tānī.

ls mother PRF bring ls cloth

'My mother brought me a cloth.'
ble mĩ nzwe.
 1 2 3

'Bring me water.'
 1 2 3

184) sle 'ask'

a-ko-sle bjā-nĩ ako.
 1 2 3 4 5 6

3s-PRF DM ask man SPEC chicken
 1 2 3 4 5 6

'He went to ask the man for a chicken.'

n sle e kpango.
 1 2 3 4

ls ask (CERT) 3s bicycle.
 1 2 3 4

'I'll ask for his bicycle.'

wo 'prick, sting'

je wa-wo’e taa ba.
 1 2 3 4

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
185) fa nzwe-nī bla.
   take water SPEC come
   'Bring the water.'

186) n si a-fa sika mā mī.
   Is father PRF take money give Is
   'My father gave me money.'

187) bla-nī tō like mā be.
   woman SPEC cook (STA) thing give 3p
   'The woman cooks for them.'

188) a-fa kle-nī kplā e ti.
   3s-PRF take hat SPEC plant 3s head
   'He took his hat and put it on his head.'

189) nzwe-nī su-wu gwa.
   water SPEC IMPRF boil pour
   'The water is boiling over.'

190) kā alwa njā.
   touch dog see
   'Touch the dog and see.'
191) ẹ su-bo tlo-ni su njā.
   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 wū.
   1 2 3 4 5
3p jump surpass (STA) 3p body
   1 2 3 4 5
'They jump over each other.'

193) ānūmā a-tu sī swa lō.
   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-ni.
   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-kā nde kle wō.
   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 -le (Section 221.8),
each verb of the verbal group occurs with -le:
tu kpē "jump down"
tule kpēle "jumping down"
238. **The Verb**

The verb consists minimally of the verb root with one of four tonal inflections, the Tonal Modals. Two position classes of verbal prefixes may precede the root: the Directional Modals (of which there are two) and the Aspectual Prefixes (of which there are two). One verbal suffix, the Factual Past, may follow the root. The four Tonal Modals, the two Aspectual Prefixes and the Factual Past suffix are mutually exclusive inflections; none of them co-occur. The Directional Modals, however, occur with each of these other inflections. The Negative morpheme occurs after the verb except in the cases of the Subjunctive and the Imperative where it occurs before the subject noun and before the verb respectively. The Negative morpheme does not co-occur with the Directional Modals.

238.1 **The verb root**

The process of reduplication occurs on verb roots to indicate repeated action. For example

- bla 'hook onto'
- bli 'be bent/twisted'
- bo 'hit/beat'
- di 'eat'
- fwa 'touch'
- ka 'bite'
- kpé 'cut'

- blabla 'twist, wrap around'
- bli bli 'writhe'
- bobo 'hit many times'
- didi 'graze'
- fwafwa 'touch many times'
- kaka 'munch on'
- kpékpé 'cut many things/many times'

*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.*
Verb roots fall into three classes on the basis of differences in syllable structure which condition the tone which they carry to mark different verbal inflections. The syllable structure of the three classes is:

Class I - CV e.g. di 'eat,' fa 'take'
Class II - CCV e.g. njā 'look,' tla 'grab'
Class III - two or more syllables e.g. nānti 'walk,' kunde 'search for'

238.2 Verbal inflections

Tonal Modals

Three inflections of the verb root consist only of tonal differences. These three tonal structures inflect the verb for one of three modes: stative, certaintive or subjunctive. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Certaintive</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>n dī</td>
<td>n dī</td>
<td>n dī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I eat'</td>
<td>'I will eat'</td>
<td>'that I eat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>n njā</td>
<td>n njā</td>
<td>n njā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I look'</td>
<td>'I will look'</td>
<td>'that I look'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>n nānti</td>
<td>n nānti</td>
<td>n nānti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I walk'</td>
<td>'I will walk'</td>
<td>'that I walk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The tones are: / high, − mid, \ low, \−/ mid-high rising, \−/ low-mid rising, −/ mid-low falling. Cf. Section 140.)
The stative mode is used to make general statements: it indicates that a patient is in a certain state (although some states are expressed with the perfective aspect—Section 232) and that an actor is in the state of being able to do some action or of always doing some action. There is no indication of time, either present, past or future. It is used to make "timeless" statements (e.g. 'The sun sets in the west') and statements of habitual activity. For example

196) e cē nū boli ti bọfwẹ.
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 ati nū je be to gwa-ni.
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) nā jobwe-ni su je nzwe-ni jo gbudugbudo nīs?
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 gbudugbudo?'

199) mō n jo āwūnvo nī, je e fa-li ce-ce mī c.
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).'
"ba tetefwe, mē n se sa e ti mā nī, je e ta ako je e bo
je slā ti a sa lo."
child evil when I talk affair 3s hear NEG DISC and 3s
raise chicken and 3s crow and person hear NEG affair
there
"'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.'"

"jele aja mē e wo e sa su nī, e bo-nī je wo lo.
COP marriage as 3s go 3s come back DISC 3s meaning SPEC
COP LCOP there
'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

"n kō fje su n bá.
1s go (CERT) field on 1s come (CERT)
'I'll go to the fields, I'll return.'

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203) n dif n-lje-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) nde nga n nĩ kã-li kle-e mĩ je e wu-li-nĩ, nde so su je
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

n nãnti o.
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 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

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) se je woe taaba nĩ, nzwe-nĩ awa, je nã jwe, je nŋ.
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.'
206) se w'a-kaci ɛ ɛ nwà nde nī, a nā je.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 2s PRF change NEG 3s mouth words DISC 2s get (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

good
12

'If you have not changed her words (i.e. disobeyed), you
will be successful.'

207) ɛ sē ɛ sī ɛ wa-bā.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s turn (CERT) 3s back 3s DM come (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'She will turn around, she will come (back).'

The certainitive is used to express wishes:

208) n sē atī nā n kō klo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s request (CERT) path so-that 1s go (CERT) village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Ask for the road because I want to go home.'

209) ajicwle kusu wē ɛ tō jwe le.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

turtle also say 3s shoot (CERT) some at-all-costs
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Turtle also wanted to shoot some at all costs.'

210) bla-nī wā ɛ nō 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) sce a wā a kū mī, kū mī.
   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) e tú kpē lo o, e we nnō woe e sī lo 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 11 12 13
   behind there small
   11 12 13
   'When he jumped out there, his two small horns were behind him.'

213) ako-nī to-o kleswa nīs; e bōbō o, e bōbō-o ako sa nnō.
   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.'
214) bo e toto kla-nî sa nôs, e wûswle-nî gwa-a bla nîma su.

as 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC pour

FPST woman eyes on

'As he swung the torch like this, its smoke poured on
the woman's eyes.'

215) e njâ boli ñlû wa nôs, e su-kpus e nwà jekû.

3s look (CERT) goat face here DISC, 3s IMPRF chew 3s

mouth again

'When he looked at Goat's face here, he is chewing his
bud again.'

216) mô e fâ atî nû, e si-i su.

as 3s take (CERT) path in, 3s follow FPST on

'As she took the path, she followed.'

217) be kô nzwe nû ɔ, nzwe nû mâ le kô.

3p go (CERT) water in when, water LCOP NEG there again.

'When they went to the pond, there was no more water.'
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

'She and they came to the village. And there were four fish, and they came to load her. They are behind her, they have come.'
220) jë e ñi su ɔ. twààààà. be a-fà atì dà lelelele.
and 3s follow (CERT) on DISC. ideophone: fast. 3p PRF
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

take path big long time
9 10 11 12

'And she followed him. Fast! They took the big path a
long time.'

221) jë be ñike jë be wlu nù ð. ba wà 'o! wa jë je su-wa-ka
and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC. child
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

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) jë ë fí ë-lë nìñ, jë ë df jekû ð. viàviàvià. a-më.
and 3s remove (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT) again
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

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) jë ë më ë jwe su ð: [song]
and 3s lift (CERT) 3s song on DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'And so she took up her song: [song].'
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) nī wā n se amū ke "kpatla wū bwi nga-mū."
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 mē n nī wā n fa n to kla nū-nī, nā n ko-mē.
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 je n se-e a ke a ka lo-nī je.
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.'
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

227) wla a sa ε wo ngwangwa sa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
put (IMP) 2s hand 3s go (SUBJ) deep deep thus
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Put your hand in, may it go down like this.'

228) jaci le nā je wo.
   1 2 3 4 5
leave (IMP) there and 1p go (SUBJ)
   1 2 3 4 5
'Leave (what you're doing) and let's go.'

229) amū fa ato-nī le.
   1 2 3 4 5
2p take (SUBJ) lie SPEC there
   1 2 3 4 5
'(You-pl.) take your lies away!'

230) be njē ε je waka bo fē ε nwā nū.
   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.'

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232) \(\text{wla a sa le.}\)

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{put} & \text{(IMP)} & 2s \text{ hand there} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}\]

'Put your hand in there.'

233) ko.

'Go.'

The imperative contrasts with the use of the subjunctive with the second person singular (cf. example 226 above).

Aspectual Prefixes

Two prefixes, \(a-\) and \(su-\), occur with the verb root to indicate the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect respectively.

Perfective: \(a-\), (/a/)

The perfective indicates that an action or a process has been completed; in the case of stative and process verbs (Section 232) it indicates that a state has been achieved.

234) "n ti kle-ni je m'a-tu je n di lo."

\[\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{Is head hat SPEC COP 1s PRF remove and 1s eat (STÄ) there} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}\]

'"It's my hat that I have removed and I eat it."'

235) kongo a-kū akonĩmā ngba.

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
kongo (a disease) PRF kill rooster all \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}\]

'Kongo has killed all the roosters.'
236) e wla-ní a-ji alje sì nù.
   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 à-lu je su lo só.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
place all PRF darken 1p on there thus
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'It got dark on us there like this.'

238) e awle kpa a-be e klù sa ní . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3s heart very PRF cook 3s belly thus DISC . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'His very heart is cooked in his belly like this . . .
   (i.e. he is angry).'

Imperfective:  su- (/su/)¹

The imperfective aspect indicates that an action or a process is
on-going, unfinished or about to begin. For example

239) n su-ko gwa bo.
   1 2 3 4 5
1s IMPRF go market at
   1 2 3 4 5
'I am going to market.' (either on the way or about to go)

240) je su-ká je ba ngwa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
1p IMPRF play 1p child game
   1 2 3 4 5 6
'We are playing our child games.'

¹This morpheme is perhaps related to the locative su (221.7) and thus
may be similar to constructions in other languages which use location ex-
pressions for the progressive.
241) e su-la kpūngbū nū.
   1 2  3  4  5
   3s IMPRF sleep room in
   1  2  3  4  5
   'He is sleeping in the room.'

242) e su-la-fi icrai.
   1 2  3  4
   3s IMPRF sleep right away
   1  2  3  4  5
   'He will sleep very soon.' (of a baby)

243) amango su-blo
   1  2  3
   mango IMPRF ripen
   1  2  3
   'The mangoes are ripening.'

Factual Past: -li, (/li/)

The suffix -li occurs with the verb root to indicate the factual past; i.e. an action, process or state which has actually occurred and is a fact of the world. There is no indication of when it happened or what state the actor or patient is in at the moment; it only indicates that the event occurred. Since it is a statement of fact, it can not occur with the negative morpheme. -li has an allomorph which consists of a vowel that duplicates the final vowel of the verb. This allomorph occurs when the verb is not clause-final. The third person singular pronoun object is incorporated into the verb root (Section 221.4) and so occurs before the factual past suffix -li. (See the discussion in Section 221.4 of the effect of the 3s pronoun on the verbal vowels.) For example
244)  n di-li.
   1 2 3

  Is eat FPST
   1 2 3

  'I ate.'

245)  ba-nî to-li.
   1 2 3 4

  child SPEC fall FPST
   1 2 3 4

  'The child fell.'

246)  amango-nî blo-li.
   1 2 3 4

  mango SPEC ripen FPST
   1 2 3 4

  'The mango ripened (and is now probably rotten).'

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

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

  'What did he do to you?'

248)  n nânti-i n ja su n ba-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

  Is walk FPST Is leg on Is come FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

  'I walked on my feet, I came (i.e. I came on foot).'

249)  bouaké je n toe-li.
   1 2 3 4 5

  Bouaké COP Is buy-3s FPST
   1 2 3 4 5

  'It is at Bouaké that I bought it.'
The factual past and the perfective are contrasted in the following sentences:

251) kofi a-wɔ Bouaké.
   kofi PRF go Bouaké
   'Kofi has gone to Bouaké (and is still there).'

252) se-nī a-bu.
   pot SPEC PRF break
   'The pot is broken.'
In narratives, the factual past is used in the last clause of a sentence to signal the end of a scene. The event in the following sentence is considered part of another scene, with different characters involved, or if with the same characters, after a gap in time or a change in location. This contrasts with the use of the certaintive in the sentence-final clause which indicates that the following sentence will be part of the same scene. For example

253) je e nT ako wo-li c. be a-ko-toe e ako-nT.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

and 3s with chicken go FPST DISC. 3p PRF DM buy 3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

chicken SPEC
   13 14

'And he went with his chicken (to market). They went and bought his chicken.'

254) je be fle-e ba kā nīs, je e wo-li c. jaswa-nī wā jo,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

"n nānī-nī, e twī kō ti ba-lje."
   17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

and 3p call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

man SPEC say that, "1s cow SPEC, 3s pen one ICOP
   13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

child ASS"
   24 25

'And they called the small child, and he went. The man said, "my cows, (that are in) the pen are the boy's."'
Modal directionals

The class of modal directionals consists of the two morphemes

wa and ko, which are undoubtedly historically related to the verbs ba

These are what have been called "Ingressives" in analyses of other Volta-Comoe languages. I have abandoned the term "Ingressive" because it connotes a single direction and the two morphemes involved, ko and wa, if they imply direction at all, imply two directions: away from and toward the speaker.
'come' and ko 'go.'\textsuperscript{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 bjá nga e fle-e klo wa-nT.

\begin{verbatim}
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
\end{verbatim}

'She came to appease the man who had proposed to her in the village here.'

\textsuperscript{1}Unlike the verb ko, the directional modal ko does not have an allomorphic variant. The verbs ko and ba are the only verbs with allomorphic variants. The verb ko has the shape wo when it occurs with the stative, subjunctive, perfect and factual past inflections. The verb ba has the shape bla when it occurs with the imperative and subjunctive modes.
258) ke be a-ko-mē like-nī, be ko-njē.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

when 3p PRF DM give-3s food SPEC, 3p DM look at-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'When they had gone to give him the food, they went to
look at him.'

259) je be ko-bu-u ngblāā npā nīō, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p DM break FPST ngblāā leaf DISC, . . .
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And they went to break some ngblāā leaf, . . .'

260) be cweē nō nā nīō, be wa-jī-tē wū le s.
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) je a-kondo, a-wa-tō wa.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

and 3s-PRF roll, 3s-PRF DM fall here
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'And he rolled, he came falling here.'

262) jwe-nī, be ko-mīō-ō nzwe nū.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

fish SPEC, 3p DM sink FPST water in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The fish (pl) went sinking into the water.'
Intention to act (most often with ko):

263) be a-ko-toe e akɔ-nI.
   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) ε ko-tu-ui e ti kle, e sje-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   3s DM remove FPST 3s head hat, 3s put-aside-3s FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

   'He went and took off his hat, he put it aside.'

265) slɑ nga e ko-sike be wu 1ε-nI, be ti wlengbifwe.
   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 ko-ju be niu tɔ nI5, atI-nI a-ko-ka kaa sa.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

   3p DM arrive 3p front there DISC, path SPEC PRF DM stay
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

   small thus
   13 14

   'They went to arrive in front of them (i.e. as they went further), the path began to get smaller.'
267) bjä fe-e ḍo, sasasasa, a-wa-kpē 1e.

man leave FPST there, ideophone: looking around rapidly

3s-PRF DM exit there

'The man left there, looking around rapidly, he is about
to exit there.'

268) e wa-ju-u le nīs, e jī-wa ce su wa.

3s DM arrive FPST there DISC, 3s stand FPST bank on here

'As she was about to reach there, she stopped on the bank
here.'

269) ke be wa-to-o klo-nī, boli wā "n su-ko atī nū."

as 3p DM come upon FPST village SPEC, goat say "ls IMPRF

go path in"

'As they were about to come upon the village, Goat said,
"I'm going to defecate."

Futurity (the directional modal wa occurs with the imperfective aspect
to indicate the immediate future, "about to"): 

270) je su-wa-kū bwa-nī.

lp IMPRF DM kill sheep SPEC

'We are about to kill the sheep.'

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271) a ba tetefwe më le-ni, a su-wa wuñ.
 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 je je su-wa-ka ọ?
 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) kpace te su-wa-be e klo-ni 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) à cici e nwa, je wa-jí ngojima.
 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.'
275) ᵖ akọ nga ᵖ bo-o ¹ε-nī, ᵖ wa-jó ᵖ fę 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) nā wändi, a wa-tó.
    1 2 3 4 5

NEG run (IMP), 2s DM fall (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5

'Don't run, you will fall.'

In the few instances where both directional modals occur before a verb root, wa-kọ- indicates future movement away from the speaker in order to act. For example

277) nzwe nga a-ju mā; n wa-kọ-fá jekū
    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 Je ᵖ kọ-jo nā ᵖ njāā be wa-kọ-de nīt3?
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

what COP 3s DM do and 3s relatives 3p DM DM help (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

DISC
13

'What can she go do so that her relatives will go help

her?'
A rare use of ko is to mark a consecutive future; that is, a verb indicating future action in a clause following a se ('if' or 'when') clause. It is translated 'and then . . . ' and it is tonally different from the directional modal ko plus the tonal modals:

- \( \text{ko-dí} \) 'I go to eat' (STATIVE)
- \( \text{ko-dí} \) 'I will go to eat' (CERTAINTIVE)
- \( \text{ko-di} \) 'that I go to eat' (SUBJUNCTIVE)
- \( \text{ko-dí} \) '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:

- \( \text{se n wo níṣ, n ko-ba nā n wa-fa wo.} \)
  - if I go (STA) DISC, I will come and I will take you.

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281) se je di sla kə a kə-wə, nə n wa-kə-sumə wo.

if 1p spend (STA) month one 2s CONS FUT go, and 1s DM DM

accompany 2s

'If we spend one month then you will go, and I will go accompany you.'

238.3 Negative

The negative morpheme is mə, (/mam/). It is realized as nə (/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 mə if it occurs clause-finally, a if it is followed by a noun phrase (or ə following a nasal verbal vowel). If a 3s pronoun follows the negative the negative is realized as mə, ə or ə. For example

282) nəŋə, a wu ə ə zugəc nga ə wo lə-nə?

look (IMP), 2s see (STA) NEG 3s ideoph: suspended thing

this/that 3s LCOP there SPEC

'Look, don't you see his suspended thing that hangs there?'
283) n su-kaci e e nwā nde.
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s IPRF 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 mē.
  1 2 3 4

1s IPRF change NEG 3s
  1 2 3 4

'I will not change it.'

284) be kwle e kā 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) e wā e su-jē mē.
  1 2 3 4 5 6

3s say 3s IPRF 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 ko-. In the case of the certaintive tonal modal, the negative is

In rare cases, to express negative intention, the directional
modal ko- occurs with the negative, and only with the first person
singular pronoun: n ko-ko mā. 1s DM go NEG 'I do not intend to go!'

1

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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) nde nga-nT, n fá mā.
affair this/that SPEC, ls take (CERT) NEG

'This affair, I'm not accepting it.'

287) n njá mā.
ls look (CERT) NEG

'I will not look!' (at such a despicable thing)

288) je ko a 1ō.
lp go (CERT) NEG there

'We certainly are not going there!'

The negative occurs freely with:

-The stative tonal modal:

289) koklo ja sī nīs, e kwla a nānti.
thin foot behind DISC 3s can (STA) NEG walk

'Because of her thinness, she cannot walk.'
290) ajicwle wē ε to jwe le. nnē nga be kusu be kplī añ su.

turtle say 3s shoot some at-all-costs. animal this/that

3p also 3p accept (STA) NEG on

'Turtle wanted to shoot some at all costs, The animals,

they also did not accept that.'

291) se bla-nī jaci be nī, be tu a amwī be kū mē.

if woman SPEC leave 3p DISC 3p take-out (STA) NEG fetish

3p kill (STA) NEG-3s

'If the woman leaves them they do not take out a fetish,

they do not kill her.'

292) jwa-nī su-ko tole le, ε wū ā ba-mū-nī.

sun SPEC IMPRF go falling there 3s see (STA) NEG child

INDIV SPEC

'The sun is going to fall there, she does not see her

children.'

-The perfective aspect where it indicates that an action or process did
not take place or a state is not achieved. For example
293) ke be ju-u lo nīō, be a-to a be sja be le.
when 3p arrive FPST there DISC, 3p PRF find NEG 3s
in-laws 3p there
'When they arrived there, they did not find their in-
laws there.'

294) mō m'a-jo a jumā anckī nī, ḳa le.
since ls PRF do NEG work today DISC, 3s stay (SUBJ) there
'Since I have not done work today, may it stay there.'

295) m'a-wū mē.
ls PRF see NEG-3s
'I have not seen him.'

296) w'a-di a sla kōs.
2s PRF spend NEG month one
'You have not spent one month (here).'

297) amango a-blo mā.
mango PRF ripen NEG
'The mango has not ripened/is not ripe.'
nî is a negative particle that occurs only in conjunction with the perfective aspect and the negative morpheme mā. It indicates that the action or process has not yet taken place but is expected to; and likewise that a state has not yet been achieved but is expected to.

For example

298) kofi nî a-ba mā.
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
Kofi NEG PRF come NEG
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
'Kofi has not yet come.'

299) e nî a-wu mā.
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
3s NEG PRF die NEG
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
'He has not died yet.'

300) be nî a-mlō ā nzwe nū.
   1  2  3  4  5  \underline{6}  \underline{7}  \\
3p NEG PRF sink NEG water in
   1  2  3  4  5  \underline{6}  \underline{7}  \\
'They have not yet sunk into the water.'

301) lika nî a-lu mā.
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
place NEG PRF darken NEG
   1  2  3  4  \underline{5}  \\
'It has not yet gotten dark.'

302) tānī-nî nî a-fē mā.
   1  2  3  4  5  \underline{6}  \\
cloth SPEC NEG PRF whiten NEG
   1  2  3  4  5  \underline{6}  \\
'The cloth has not gotten white yet.'
-the imperfective aspect where it indicates that the action or process will not take place. Since such a statement is a prediction of the non-occurrence of an event, it occurs often with the first person pronouns or in indirect quotes ('He said he will not go'). When it is used with the second or third persons referring to humans, it indicates that the speaker is forbidding some action on the part of the hearer or a third party. When used to refer to a non-human noun, it predicts the non-occurrence of an event. For example

303) n su-ja a bjä nga kanvwê wo e wū.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Is 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) e wē e su-ja a bjä.
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-ko a la.
1 2 3 4 5
Is IMPRF go NEG there
1 2 3 4 5
'I am not going there.'

306) a se-e n ke a su-lafi mā.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2s tell FPST Is that 2s IMPRF sleep NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'You told me you would not sleep.'
307) a su-nō ā nzā.
   1 2 3 4 5
   2s IMPRF drink NEG wine
   1 2 3 4 5
   'You shall not drink wine.'

308) e su-ko mā.
   1 2 3 4
   3s IMPRF go NEG
   1 2 3 4
   'He is not going (I won't permit it).'</n
309) nzwe su-to mā.
   1 2 3 4
   water IMPRF fall NEG
   1 2 3 4
   'It won't rain.'

310) e su-wu mā.
   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 nā and
occurs before the subject substantive phrase:

311) nā be kā ngwa swa-nī sī lo.
   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.'
312) nā amū kpuke nū o.

Neg 2p break (SUBJ) in EMP

'Don't (you-pl) break it open.'

313) e ako nga iē-nī, nē e kūī mlōmlo mlō.

3s chicken this/that there SPEC, Neg 3s kill (SUBJ)-3s evereverever

'His chicken there, he is not to kill it ever ever ever.'

314) nī wā nā n kaci a nwā nde.

1s mother say Neg 1s change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words

'My mother said I was not to change your words.'

315) nā to.

'Do not fall.'

316) nā bo alwa-nī.

'Do not hit the dog.'

239. Adverbs and Ideophones

Adverbs are a class of words that include temporal adverbs, manner adverbs and ideophones. These three sub-classes have in common the fact that they are verb phrase adjuncts; that is, they are never obligatory
elements of a sentence. Their removal from a sentence does not affect
the grammaticality of that sentence. This, however, is not a sufficient
definition for adverbs since other elements, a locative phrase for
example, also occur as verb phrase adjuncts. Since, however, it is not
possible to find a morphological environment in which adverbs and only
adverbs occur, the following notional definition can be given: adverbs
are single-word verbal adjuncts which cannot occur independently with
the specifier -ni and which refer to the time or manner in which the
action, process or state of the verb of the sentence occurs. A small
set of what could be analyzed as place adverbs have been assigned to
other words classes: the words mmwa 'far' and koko 'near' have been ana­
lyzed as adjectives (Section 222.1) and nglo 'up,' ngwa 'down,' lo
'there,' and wa 'here' have been analyzed as location nouns (Section
221.6).

239.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs include

afi 'finally'

317) loto a-ba afi,
   1 2 3 4

vehicle PRF come finally
   1 2 3 4

'The car has finally come.'
iclāī 'immediately, just'

318) be sî-T wa iclāī.
1 2 3 4 5

3p pass FPST here just now
1 2 3 4 5

'They just passed here.'

kwłāū 'already, awhile'

319) m'a-ba kwłāū.
1 2 3 4

Is PRF come already
1 2 3 4

'I've come already (I've been here awhile).'

laa 'formerly'

320) laa akøjwe-lje-nī, be ti dādā 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 kpafī dīlɛ be jœ be laalu nī?
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?'
sjë 'after'

322) like kwla nga c di sjë-nî, a-jo koklo mõ sa.

thing all this/that 3s eat (STA) after SPEC, 3s-PRF do thin
even thus

'Hereafter everything she ate, she only became thinner.'

titi 'always'

323) be wa-di nānî nnē tîtî.

3p DM eat (STA) cow meat always

'They come to eat beef always.'

jekû 'again'

324) jë e wle sî nū jekû c.

and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again DISC

'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.
nɛndɛ 'quickly;

325) bla-nT jĩ-ũ nzwe sĩ nũ ndɛndɛνe.

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.'

d̄T̄ 'quietly'

326) klo kp̄ngbę jlā-á d̄T̄, kp̄kũ e wā, "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!!"'

bleble 'carefully'

327) a mɛ su bleble.

1 2 3 4

2p lift (SUBJ)-3s on carefully

1 2 3 4

'Lift it carefully.'

ml̄m̄m̄l̄ 'completely'

328) jũm̄ a-ði mT ml̄m̄m̄l̄.

1 2 3 4 5

work PRF eat ls 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.'
Ideophones have been described as "a vivid representation of an idea in sound" (Doke 1935:118 as quoted in Voeltz 1968). They are often onomatopoetic; they often involve reduplicated syllables; they often violate segment structure and morpheme structure conditions of the language. They do not conform to form/meaning rules of morphology; a given form may have almost any meaning the user wishes to give it in a given context. And the number of forms allowed to express a given concept are only limited by the user's creativity and imagination.

Ideophones are used to express:

**Sound:**

- kplututututu: 'sound of an intense blow and its echo'
- wlakūwlakū: 'sound of Hyena licking his teeth'
- efo: 'sound of pulling out something that has no resistance and comes out easily'
- gaūgaūgaū: 'sound of playing xylophone'
- gbō: 'sound of shutting door'
- këtekëtekëte: 'sound of ram walking'
- kēkwēkkēkē: 'sound of rooster crowing'
- kpatwii: 'sound of field mouse'
- kpaklokloklo: 'sound of toad croaking'
- foooooo: 'sound of elephant laughing (air out of trunk)'
- dīglâŋā: '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'
klekleklek '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'
gblägbłä 'of long ugly scars'
kettekette 'of tiny animal horns'
pupaupaupau 'of large flat surface of rock'
nnotőtőtőtő 'of a long, large snake'
tęngbętęngbę 'of someone puny'
gōnglō 'stooped, bent over'
fluuui 'of someone all dusty and white'
dekledekle 'of a big, round flat eye'
mlաmlա 'big and fat'
kpokā 'of head hanging swinging like lizard or snake'
sawlasawla 'of careless walking'
titėtitė 'of someone poised and stiff, ready to strike'

**Action:**

cucwącucwā 'of moving around in something tight and confining'
tēēēē 'of flying'
puapuapuapua 'of eating'
kpukakpuka 'of goat chewing cud'
kwalakwalwa 'of rolling down hill'
kleklekleklek 'of digging up earth fast and carelessly'
keklek 'of moving stealthily from tree to tree'
kātkātkātkāti 'of walking carefully on tiptoes'
flifikaflika 'of Hyena hurrying through forest'
flifliflifi 'of eagle circling'
bluga 'of large snake falling down dead'
sususususu 'of water bubbling over a rock'
tuātuātuātuā 'of a large fat animal walking'

**Tactile sensation:**

jlekjlek '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-vocically

nāŋnāŋā 'long and supple like a snake'
gūŋūnū 'expresses sudden death'

[ɾ] does not occur syllable initially

kprarara kprarara 'of goat chewing up hat'

[m] does not occur syllable finally

gbloom 'of falling'
Syntactically, ideophones occur after a noun phrase within a sentence:

330) ɓe jù klo ɗọ nịsị, nọnọ ọzọ ɗa-ɗi lika ngba kpā.

as 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow ideophone: of lots of cows PRF fill place all ideophone: of completeness

'As they arrived in the village there, lots of cows filled the entire place.'

331) be sa kụngba lekekeke

3p hand only ideophone: of aloneness

'one single hand'

332) a ti kpoka!

2s head ideophone: of hanging head

'You have a head that hangs!' (an insult)

333) jae ɗe, a-li, a kpọme ọzọ sụmụ lika nga.

stand (IMP) up there, 2s SPEC, 2s neck ideophone: bent as thing this

'Get up there, you, your neck bent like this thing there.'
-introduced by so or sa 'thus':

334) e ba so muëëë.
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 mõ wû e su so sususususu.
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 so mlõmlõmlõ.
1 2 3 4 5

3p PRF do thus ideophone: big and fat
1 2 3 4 5

'They became big and fat.'

337) e tóto jwe-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 8 9

ideophone: of turning in water
10

'He threw the fish here; he turned over in the water,

splash.'
- at the end of a clause, often introduced by kpokū 'suddenly':

338) boli ciko-o; je e kpuse e nwā c 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 e dile 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) e sja bla wo alje wutale nū flefle flefle.
                      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) e wa-mā-ā bla-nī su c fuaaa. e kpē-ē lo 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) ke e nō-5 pioo, e mwē-e e butwā su pi, e tu-u, kpoκū
tēēēē, ko-tlä-ä waka su mmwā lo, kpoκū poo.
when 3s drink FPST ideophone: of drinking, 3s shut FPST
3s anus on ideophone: of shutting, 3s fly FPST, suddenly ideophone: of flying, DM sit FPST tree on
far there, suddenly ideophone: of sitting

'When he (tsetse fly) has drunk slurp, he shut his anus tight clink, he took off whoosh, he went and sat on
a tree far away, suddenly plop.'
240. **CONNECTIVES**

The members of this class have in common the fact that they connect constituents, i.e. substantive phrase to substantive phrase, clause to clause, sentence to sentence.

241. **Substantive Phrase Conjoinder**

The conjoining particle nT (/lim/), not to be confused with the specifier nT (Section 222.5) or the discourse particle nT (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 nT 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) wūsī kpongbo nT sē bê nū.

   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) wūsī kpongbo nī sāmī.  
1  2  3  4
wash (IMP) basin with soap  
1  2  3  4
'Wash the basin with soap.'

2) a) n njāābla nī bjā- nī be wo- li.  
1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
Is sister and man SPEC 3p go FPST  
1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
'My sister and the man left.'

b) n njāābla nī tānī wo- li.  
1  2  3  4  5  6
Is sister with cloth go FPST  
1  2  3  4  5  6
'My sister took the cloth (i.e. went with the cloth).'  

nī 'and'

More than two substantive phrases may be conjoined with this function:

3) e nī ji nī wa-mū be a-di so titi nīts . . .  
1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12
3s and wife and child INDIV 3p PRF eat thus always DISC  
1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12
'He and his wife and his children ate like this always . . .'

If the substantive before the final plural pronoun (i.e. the last substantive of the conjoined substantive phrase) is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it is not realized in the surface structure (see examples 6 and 8 below).
4) e nî mî je ba-a klo.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3s and 1s lp come FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'He and I came to the village.'

5) Kwajo nî wo amû kô.
1 2 3 4 5
Kwajo and 2s 2p go (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5
'Kwajo and you, go.'

6) be nî be ba-a klo.
1 2 3 4 5 6
3p and-(3s) 3p come FPST village
1 2 3 4 5 6
'They and he came to the village.'

7) be nî be be ba-a klo.
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) e nî be wo le.
1 2 3 4 5
3s and-(3s) 3p LCOP there
1 2 3 4 5
'He and he are there.'
9) \( \text{wle\{w\} n\ s\{a\}w\ i\ n\ j\{a\}b\ i\ n\ j\{a\}b\ i\ \text{be}\ \text{bo}.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{put (IMP)-3s ls fingernail and ls toenail 3p under} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Put it under my fingernails and my toenails.'

The copula \( \text{je} \) (Section 231) can be optionally inserted after the conjoined substantive phrase before the plural pronoun:

10) \( \text{e\ n\{i\} j\ i\ \text{je\ be\ sl\{a\} \{n\\{s\} j\{e\ \text{be\ n\{i\}ma\ ti\ sil\{w\}a.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eye 1COP blind} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

'He and his wife it is, the two of them it is whose eyes are blind.'

When the referent of the first of the conjoined substantive phrases is the 1st person singular pronoun, the 1st person plural pronoun is often used.

11) \( \text{gbamlo, m\{o\} \{j\}e\ n\{i\} j\ i\ \text{di\ m\{a\} n\{i\},\ j\{e\ a\ k\{\o\}-\text{se\ ke\ "gbamlo\ \}c.\} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{hare, as Ip and-(3s) Ip eat NEG DISC, and 2s DM say (STA)} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{that "Hare COP"} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
13 & 14 & 15 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Hare, as I and he we don't get along, why do you go and say "It's Hare"?'

12) \( \text{je n\{i\} n\{a\}m\{j\}e\ kpl\ i\ n\{a\}n\{i\} n\{a\} j\{e\ j\{e\ \text{to\ awale\ c.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{Ip and god big cow SPEC COP 1p play (CERT) awale DISC} \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\]

'It's I and God's cow that were playing awale.'

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'with'

No pronoun is repeated after the conjoined substantive phrases when

\( n^I \) 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 struc­
ture (see examples 15, 17 and 18 below).

13) \( e \ n^I \ m^I \ b-a-a \ klo. \)

\begin{verbatim}
3s with 1s come FPST village
\end{verbatim}

'He brought me to the village.'

14) \( je \ n^I \ dwo \ f\ i \ fje. \)

\begin{verbatim}
lp with yam come-from fields
\end{verbatim}

'We brought yams from the fields.'

15) \( e \ dwi-n^I, e \ d\aa \ kpa \ nga \ amu \ n^I \ b-a-a \ le \ sa-n^I \ . . . \)

\begin{verbatim}
3s fat SPEC, 3s big very this/that 2p with-(3s) come FPST
there thus SPEC
\end{verbatim}

'It's fat, this large amount that you brought like
this . . .' (i.e. you with it came)

16) \( je \ e \ n^I \ ako-n^I \ w\o-li \ \sigma. \)

\begin{verbatim}
and 3s with chicken SPEC go FPST DISC
\end{verbatim}

'And he left with the chicken.'
17) sika-nī nga ɛ ji-i kūmā nū ɛ ɛ nī fite-e wa-nī . . .

    gold SPEC this/that 3s remove FPST hole in and 3s with-(3s)

    exit FPST here SPEC

    '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 Ʌ e nī tlā 10.

    tsetse fly DM gather FPST water all and 3s with-(3s)

    sit (STA) there

    'Tsetse fly came and gathered all the water and he sits with it there.'

19) n wa-cī wo nī waka.

    Is DM tie (CERT) 2s with tree

    'I will tie you with (i.e. to) the tree.'

20) e bo-o be nī kpokpowa.

    3s hit FPST 3p with pestle

    'He beat them with a pestle.'

In certain cases there is potential ambiguity between the two functions of the substantive phrase conjoiner nī. Compare the following:
21) a) be nI be ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   3p and-(3s) 3p come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'They and he came to the village.'

   b) be nI be ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   3p with 3p come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'They brought them to the village.'

22) a) kendeja nI be wo-li ò.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   spider and-(3s) 3p go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'Spider and he went.'

   b) kendeja nI be wo-li ò.
   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).'</p>

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.
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.
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.

Subordinate dependent clause markers

The four dependent clause markers which introduce subordinate clauses are na, ke, bo and mē. Each of these also occurs as coordinate dependent clause markers. The analysis of these four connectives poses certain problems: as coordinating connectives, each has been assigned a meaning in terms of the temporal relationship it expresses between the coordinated clauses. These meanings, however, do not carry over when the connectives are used to introduce subordinated clauses. As subordinating connectives na introduces indirect commands; ke introduces sentential complements or modifying phrases and clauses; and bo and mē introduce noun-modifying clauses. This analysis thus presents four subordinating connectives that have the same shape as four coordinating connectives. An alternative analysis would assign a core meaning to each connective that would include both its subordinating and coordinating functions.

na, (/lam/), introduces an indirect command. For example
23) à se awofwe nã e ko-la.

2p tell (SUBJ) stranger that 3s DM sleep

'Tell the guest to go to bed.'

24) ãmũ se nánã nǎnã-nĩ e fle dã më be kpe-li, nã ãmũ

kpuke nũ s.

2p tell (SUBJ) grandpa that cow SPEC 3s stomach big which

3p cut FPST, NEG 2p break (SUBJ) 3s in EMP

'Tell Grandpa that the big stomach of the cow which they cut, you are not to break it open.'

25) ë wé, 'se nã e jo n-lje nã n njá.'

3s said, 'tell (SUBJ) 3s that 3s do (SUBJ) 1s ASS and

1s see (CERT).'

'He said, 'Tell him that he is to do mine so I can see.''

26) je be wã, 'á se nã e ko-to e-lje.'

and 3p said, '2p tell (SUBJ) 3s that 3s DM shoot 3s ASS.'

'And they said, 'Go tell him to shoot his.''

ke, (/ke/), introduces

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a) sentential complements after a class of verbs that includes *ti* 'hear,' *si* 'know,' *bu* 'think,' *se* 'tell,' *fle* 'call, name,' *fata* 'be necessary.' For example

27) *n si a ke ̣ e si awale to.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1s know (STA) NEG that 3s know (STA) awale play
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'I didn't know that he knows how to play awale.'

28) *a-bu ke ̣ e-li si a nzwe-ni jo.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

29) *n se ke ̣ a wū ti woni.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1s say that 2s husband 1COP python
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I say that your husband is a python.'

30) *be tú kendeja bo ke ̣ be bā be klo.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3p convince (CERT) spider that 3p come (CERT) 3p village
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'They convinced Spider that they should go to their village.'

31) *e fata a ke ̣ slā je kūt ̣ o.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

'It is not possible that it is a person that killed it.'
b) phrases or clauses that modify a substantive or a verb. As a noun modifier these phrases or clauses occur: i) after the identifying copula 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 wā e ti ke kla ngbē o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   1p said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   'We thought it was like a normal torch.'

ii) 33) nja kendeja-ljε-n7 ke e ti sa kpeu!
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   mister spider ASS SPEC like 3s ICOP thus ideophone: of smallness
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   'Mr. Spider's was like this, small!

34) sa ke nānī-nî e fle dā nga le-nī, sa kō n wa-joe ce.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
   affair like cow SPEC 3s stomach big this/that there SPEC,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   affair one 1s DM do (CERT)-3s certainly
   11 12 13 14 15 16
   'The affair like cow's big stomach there, this affair I will certainly deal with.'
35) sika kpole mọ e ji-li ke e 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-ni, e dा tutugbe ke nga i sa nìgí, ...
   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, ...'

37) ke e ko-bó nü lo, a-bo nü lo.
   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 ke clause modifies lo 'there.')

38) je ke wa ní cájoklo sa ì, wete a-di asje-ní bo ngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
   and like here and cájoklo 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).'
iv) 39) nānī dwi jē be a-mā kē nga 1 sa nī.

    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 kē phrase occurs i) after the object of the verb; or ii) at the beginning of the sentence. For example

i) 40) ē dūmā nū jē n mō m'a-wū lika kē nga 1 sa.

    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 13 14

    here thus
    13 14

'It is because of him that I can see like this.'

41) awe-nī kū be kpa kē nzu sa nīs, . . .

    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) kē nga 1 sa, nzwe a-jē.

    like this/that here thus, water PRF heat
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Like this, the water was heated.'

43) kē nga 1 sa, kendeja dūmā a-fite wa.

    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.'
bo, (/bo/), and mē (/mē/) introduce noun-modifying clauses (relative clauses). For example

44) swa bo bo ko-toe-nīš, a-ko-jo do 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) bja bo e bo wā e jē-e e laa-nīš, e ba-li nīš, . . .

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 12 13 14 15

3s come FPST DISC, . . .

'Man who she herself said she would not marry him formerly,
he came, . . .'

46) awofwe mē e ba-a le-nīš, 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-nī dā mē n se-e a ke nā ti-nī, māze 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?'
48) klo kpëngbë më wo klo so-ni su-ni e ti òwù́nà́fwe.

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: bo, më, ke . . . o, se . . . o, kanze and nje. bo, më and ke all indicate a temporal relationship between clauses; that is, they specify relative chronology. The difference between these three connectives can be characterized as overlap (bo), simultaneity (më) and succession (ke . . . o).¹

bo, (/bo/), (with its allomorph m₃, [/mɒm/], 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 më or ke, more than one bo clause can occur

¹I am indebted to Robert Longacre, from whom I took a course in Discourse Analysis at the LSA Linguistic Institute, Buffalo, 1971, for the idea of focusing on temporal relationships between clauses. The terms I have used are taken from his work on Philippine languages, although the use to which I have put them is somewhat different from his.
in succession, each one presenting an action, process or state with which the action, process or state of the independent clause will overlap. For example

49) bọ e tọ to kla-nī sa nīs, e wūswle-nī gwa-a bla nīma su.

while 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC

pour FPST woman eyes on

'While he was swinging the torch like this, its smoke fell on the woman's eyes.'

50) mō a-fu lelele, mō e ko-ju afje, je kwakwakwla, a-kondo, a-to.

as 3s-PRF climb long time, as 3s DM arrive middle, then

ideophone: of rolling, 3s-PRF roll, 3s-PRF fall

'As he was climbing, as he reached the middle, then he fell back down, rolling.'

51) sange mō e fa atī nū e si-i su.

but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow FPST on

'But as she took to the path, she followed.'
52) ɓɓ e mlëwa nɁ, ɓɓ e to'Ɂ la nɁ, një jwe-ɲɁ to 'lo.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 \\
\end{array}
\]

as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s 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) ɓɓ e su-wa-wu nɁ, e se-e e wa kɔ ke jo, "n wa, n bo mɁ je n su-wa-wu T."

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 & 18 & 19 \\
20 & 21 & 22 & 23 & 24 & 25 \\
\end{array}
\]

as 3s IMPRF DM die DISC, 3s tell FPST 3s child one that, '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) e kusu laa mɛ e wo wa nɁ, njà kolje e fi'Ɂ laa nɁ, e

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 \\
16 & 17 & 18 \\
\end{array}
\]

kpli a su.

3s also formerly as 3s LCOP here DISC, mister eagle 3s 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.'

mɛ, (/mɛm/), (and its allomorph mɛɛ) 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 bo is used and when me is used (compare the two in 59 below). The dependent clause marker një optionally occurs to introduce the independent clause which follows a me clause. For example,

55) meë e dį like-nį lo sjē, njē n tlā wa.
   while 3s eat (CERT) thing SPEC there last, then ls sit (STA)
   here

'While he ate food there then, I was sitting here.'

56) nā e ti ɔ, nglo, nga wo 7-1je nįs, me e jo-o jaafwe nũ
   sa nįs, e ti ɔ mā n lawle kã.
   and 3s cause COP, friend, this/that LCOP here ASS DISC,
   as 3s do FPST friend in thus DISC, 3s cause COP
   give (IMP) ls bed small

'And so for this, Friend, for that is here, as we are
  friends like this, for this reason give me a bed.'

57) meë känwē nũ me e wū mlo mlo mlo nĩ, n bjā-nį je.
   as scars LCOP NEG 3s body ever ever ever DISC, ls man SPEC
   COP

'As he has no scars on his body, this is my man.'
58) mɛ kusu e ko-mɛ su lɔ nṪ, njɛ bla-nṪ kusumǝ e nṪ sɪma be
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 8\ 9\ 10\ 11\ 12\ 13\ 14\ 15\ 16\]
wo kǝle ɕ.
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, mǝ be kpo nũ lǝ, mɛ be si lǝ nṪ, gbamlo-1je nga
\[1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 8\ 9\ 10\ 11\ 12\ 13\ 14\]
e wa-kpo-ɛ nũ-nṪ, a si i gble-nṪ?
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 bo (mǝ) clause sets the background (people
jumping into the dancing circle) and the mɛ clause indicates that Hare's
trick takes place while they are all dancing.
ke...ɔ, (/ke/.../ɔ/), is a discontinuous morpheme, ke occurring at the beginning of the clause and ɔ at the end (although ke can occur without ɔ and ɔ can occur without ke).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) anekʻ ke  n wū-ũ wo ɨ, kôle kpo je n si ɔ.

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

today when Is see FPST 2s here, going at-all-costs
         1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

    COP Is know (STA) EMP
         10 11 12 13

'Today when I saw you here, I am determined to go!'

61) ke e jaci-i nū pja e ṣɨ akọjwe ku bi kpa nū.

         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.'

¹When ke occurs without ɔ, the discourse particle nĩ (or its allomorph nĩ̃) may occur at the end of the clause. Although there may be some doubt as to whether or not ke and ɔ are to be considered one morpheme, on two different occasions informants volunteered the fact that when ɔ occurs by itself at the end of a sentence-medial clause, ke is 'understood' to be at the beginning of the clause.
62) ke e jo-o sonT, e bo wa-lje ngba wu-li,

when 3s do FPST thus DISC, 3s self child ASS all die FPST

'When she did this, all her own children died.'

63) ke e toe-e nglo lo o, e wa "se ke 'lo dwi."

when 3s throw-3s FPST up there, 3s said "say that 'become

(IMP) fat'''

'When he threw him up (in the air) then he said, 'Say

'become fat!'''

64) ke jaswa fi-i lo ba-a noswa nTIs, kposkT e wa "'n sIe atT."'

when man leave FPST there come FPST evening DISC, suddenly

3s said "Is request (CERT) path"

'When the man came back in the evening, suddenly she

said, 'I want to leave.'''

65) je e njT o, wete ba 7.

and 3s look (CERT) when, rat come (STA) here

'When he looks, Rat is coming.'
66) e sIÔ c, be sO su.

3s sing (CERT) when, 3p answer on

'When she sings they answer.'

67) e wo-li c, woneda kô a-wlu swle kûmâ kô nû T.

3s go FPST when, viper one PRF enter termite hill hole one

in here

'When she went, a viper entered a hole in a termite hill here.'

The dependent clause marker ke can co-occur with either bo or më at the beginning of a dependent clause. The particle which occurs first in the sequence has primacy in terms of the relationship expressed. For example bo ke occurs before another bo clause, a position ke would not occur in by itself since only the dependent clause marker bo (of these three) occurs on successive clauses. For example

68) le kô bo ke bjä-nî jaso-o ngIewû nû, mô kô e kоnë nîs3,

e kó nzwe nû nîs3, je e kusu e fe-e sîma kä-nî je be

jaso-o.

day one when man SPEC get up FPST morning in, as go (CERT) 3s

hunt DISC, 3s go (CERT) water in DISC, and 3s also

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'One day when the man got up in the morning, as he was going hunting, he was going to the river, and she also she took her little sister and they got up (to leave).'

As he did it thus just then, as Hare danced, when (the stone turned) to powder, the woman belonged to Hare.'

In both these examples the clause introduced by bo ke presents a background (as bo clauses do) but ke adds an indication that the main action is also seen as succeeding the action in the bo ke clause.
In these three examples the primary relationship between the dependent clause and the independent clause is one of succession, action B occurring after action A. The addition of bo adds the indication that action B is somehow contingent on action A; that is, action A does more than just precede action B, it also provides a reference for action B.
The relationship of succession is again the primary one in these sentences. However the dependent clause marker më adds a sense of simultaneity, an indication that as soon as A happened, B happened.
se . . . o, (/se/ . . . /ɔ/), and kanze, (/kanzɛ/), are similar in that they both indicate hypotheticality. The difference between them is one of degree; a difference similar to the difference between "if" and "even if" in English. They both occur on the 'if' clause of an 'if . . . then' sentence se . . . o at the beginning and end of the clause and kanze at the beginning. se can occur without o, in which case the discourse particle nɪ (or nɪs) can occur at the end of the clause. o never occurs by itself to indicate hypotheticality.¹ For example

76) se a dje unjė nā ə keje o, se mī nā n cî.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

If 2s breathe (STA) breath and 3s move (STA), tell (IMP)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

1s and 3s move (CERT)-3s

9 & 10 & 11 & 12

'If you breathe and it moves, tell me and I'll tie it.'

77) se a wā a dī mī bo o, n fē mō tla like kwāk wāk wāk wāk.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

If 2s intend 2s eat (CERT) ls self, ls sweet even surpass (STA) thing all all all

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

'If you mean to eat me, I am sweeter than everything else.'

78) se n nājī wo o, a dī mī.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

If 1s untie (STA) 2s, 2s eat (CERT) ls

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

'If I untie you, you will eat me.'

¹However, see the discussion above of ke . . . o for instances of o occurring by itself to indicate succession.
79) se a ju le nĩ, a sé se?

if 2s arrive (CERT) there DISC, 2s tell (CERT) what

'If you get there, what will you say?'

80) se a kacı e nwã nde cē nga nĩ, e ti a bo w'ajibile.

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

3s ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune

'If you disobey her on any day, it is your own misfortune.'

81) se a jo huu! nĩs, n sloppy bana bo nufs lo.

if 2s do (STA) "huu" DISC, 1s answer (CERT) Bandama (river)

even in there

'If you call "huu" I will answer at the river even there.'

When kanzɛ introduces a clause no discourse particle occurs at the end of the clause. For example

82) a ba nga, kanzɛ je bô su je bô su ngbɛ, n ku a kpo!

2s child this/that, even if 1p confront (CERT) on 1p

confront (CERT) on for nothing, 1s kill (CERT) 2s

anyway

'You, child, even if we always come out even, I will kill you.'
83) *kanze bo be lafi-i kũ be tĩnge-li, e sũmũ wo, ko o.*

`even if' when 3p sleep FPST once 3p wake up FPST 3s send

(STA) 2s go (IMP) EMP

'Even if she sends you (on an errand) in the middle of the night, go.'

një, (/ljem/), (with its allomorph ḋē), occurs at the beginning of an independent clause that follows a dependent clause introduced by *se*, *bo* or *më*. It introduces the 'then' clause of an 'if/then' sequence (*se/një*) or the 'then' clause of a 'when/then' or 'as/then' sequence (*bo/një* and *më/një*). Its semantic indication is thus a factor of the meaning of the dependent clause marker of the preceding clause. For example

84) *se e ti ke e ba-a jwe nde nĩs, ḋē nãnĩ dwi klu nga be mã-ã nĩ, je nĩ je di-li o.*

`If 3s ICOP like 3s come FPST also today DISC, then cow

fat sort this/that 3p give FPST 1s, 1p and-(3s) 1p
eat FPST DISC

'If he had also come today, then we would eat the cow fat they have given me.'

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85) se e ti a sa jwe ti sa nT, një m'a-se a jwe nga-mu be

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

   a-swa a mT?

   19 20 21 22

   if 3s ICOP NEG affair some cause thus DISC, then Is PRF

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

   tell NEG fish this/that INDIV 3p PRF load NEG Is

   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, mO e di nT, një e fe mma ble fa

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

   se gbamlo ti afjë.

   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) bo e mlOe wa nT, bo e toe lo nT, ñë jwe-nT to lo.

   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.'
88) mē kusu ə ko-mē su lo nī, nje ə bla-nī kusumā ə nī sīma
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
   be wo kälč.
   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 nje occurs unaccompanied by a dependent clause marker
on the previous clause, a possible explanation is that the dependent
clause marker on the first clause has been deleted. For example

89) e suwa nŋō-nī a-bo nū, nje e kplākplā lo.
   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 woe sī lo klikliklikli!, nje 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: *sange, na, je* and *kanzu*.

*sānge*, (/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 expectancy reversal. For example

91) e tɔ alje mā be nï, sānge e nï e wa be jwe be-1je di,

ajika ba nā a jwe.

3s cook (STA) food give 3p DISC, but 3s and 3s child 3p finish (STA) 3p ASS eat (STA), orphan child get (STA)

NEG any

'He cooks food for them, but when she and her children finish eating theirs, the orphan child gets none.'

92) ngbɛ bo le a bla, sānge se a ko-wűt klo t, a se ke

prezidā kɔ klo wo T.

Ngbɛ self PCOP NEG woman, but if 2s DM see (CERT)-3s village here, 2s tell (CERT) that president one village is here

'Ngbɛ himself didn't have a wife, but if you went to see his village, you would say it was a president's village.'
93)  ꠌ boe lelele, ꠌ kpaloe ji lo. ꠌ sãng ꠌ mën ꠌ fá aṭi nű
       1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8 9 10 11 12 13 14

       sì-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)  kwajo kā kusu le e-iqe swaba kō nű, sãng ꠌ be ꠌ pī 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 awūnā dā nű lo sa o. ꠌ sãng ꠌ be ꠌ sì-T wa iclaT, be  
       1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

       wo- ꠌ aṭi nű lo sa fā.  
       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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nā, (/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 nā connects. Thus, given A nā B, A may be the cause of B or B may be the cause of A. The context gives the clues as to the direction of the causation. When nā expresses the relationship of contingency, B is contingent on A. That is, A is a necessary prerequisite for B, in terms of a sequence of action. For example

A because B:

96) ṣamụ nājị mị, nā gbamlo ci-i mị T.
   2p untie (SUBJ) Is, because hare tie FPST Is here
   i 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   'Untie me, because Hare tied me.'

97) n su-dì a wo, nā n jaañwe dā le wo.
   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) se a wā a kū mị ọ, kū mị; nā n nị wā nā n kaci a nwā nde.
   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.'
99) ko-se ngbē ke e bla sō, nā ke nga jwa-nī su-tō i sa nī, e ti a kpa.

DM tell ngbē that 3s come (SUBJ) thus, because like this/

that sun SPEC IPRF fall here thus DISC, 3s ICOP NEG

good

'Go tell Ngbē to come now because since the sun is falling
here like this it isn't good (that he is still
sleeping).' 

B because A:

100) je e fe-e ngba n sa nū, nā e ti c, ko-kūn.

and 3s take-3s FPST all 1s hand in, thus 3s cause COP,

DM kill (IMP)-3s

'And he took all I had, thus go kill him.' 

101) awe a-kū je kpli nā a je ko-tō alubwe.

hunger PRF kill lp big so let lp DM cook (SUBJ) purée

'Hunger has really killed us all so let's go cook purée.' 

102) e wē kolje ti a kpa nā e su-ye mē.

3s said eagle ICOP NEG good so 3s IPRF marry-3s NEG

'She said Eagle was not good so she is not going to marry him.'
akojwe wa-jisa-a nzwe ngba nā a je wa-wọe taaba.

Tsetse fly DM drew FPST water all so let lp DM sting (SUBJ)-3s arrow

'Tsetse fly came and drew all the water so let's sting him with arrows.'

Mr. Kwasi Spider name in COP that 3s skin SPEC do FPST DISC

'It was because of Mr. Spider that his skin is like this.'

B is contingent upon A:

If 2s breathe breath so that 3s move (STA), tell ls so that 1s tie (CERT) there EMP

'If you breathe so that it moves, tell me so that I can tie it there.'

Come (IMP) lp go (SUBJ) so that ls DM show (SUBJ) 2s

'Come let's go so that I can show you.'
107) fa to kla nū, fa ble mī nā n jwe nā n wū n be sewle.

```
297
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
```

take (IMP) buy torch in, take (IMP) bring ls so that ls

```
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
```

light-3s so that Is see (SUBJ) ls 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 sē atī nā n kō je klo.

```
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
```

ls request (CERT) path so that ls go (CERT) lp village

```
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
```

'I ask permission to leave in order to go to our village.'

109) sē e kō-wū nū lo nā a-klo a lo kō nī, e sē e sī e wa-bā.

```
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.'

je, (/je/), is the most general conjunction in that it places the least restrictions on the semantic relationships between the sentences or clauses that it connects. It is usually translated as "and" although when it introduces a clause that follows a ba or ke clause it is translated as "then." Its primary purpose is to conjoin the constituents it
connects. Since it often occurs at the beginning of a sentence to connect it to the previous sentence, combinations of je plus a dependent clause marker may occur, je tying the sentences together and the dependent clause marker tying the first clause in the sentence to the next one. For example

110) je be fle-e ba kā nī, je e wo-li ło.

And 3s call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC

'And they called the small child and he went.'

111) kla nga je wo 1, mē be jwe je be wū be bo-nī.

torch this/that COP LCOP here, which 3p light (STA) and

3p see (STA) 3p under SPEC

'There is a torch which they light and they (use to) see around themselves.'

112) je gbamło wa-tō klo-nī ło je e mē e jwe-nī su.

And hare DM find (CERT) village SPEC there and 3s lift (CERT)

3s song SPEC on

'And Hare came upon the village and he took up his song.'

It does not, however, conjoin substantive phrases; the substantive phrase conjoiner nī is discussed in Section 241.
113) je e jí e-jje nịs, je e dí jekụ ọ. 
and 3s take off (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT) 
again DISC 10 11

'And he takes off his and eats it also.'

114) be wà "jaci, jaci." je be a-wụsi nja kwasi kendeja ọ. 
3s said "pardon (IMP) pardon (IMP)," and 3p PRF wash 
Mr. Kwasi Spider DISC 9 10 11 12

'They said, "Pardon us." And so they washed Mr. Kwasi Spider.'

115) je ke be jú atụ nụ lo nị, je ngbę fe-c e tănị. 
and when 3p arrive (CERT) path in there DISC, then ngbę 
take FPST 3s cloth 11 12 13 14

'And when they get to the path, then Ngbę takes his cloth.'

116) mọ a-to lo, mọ e sị nị, je kendeja a-fa wandile nị, 
a-wlí kíụ ọ. 
when 3s-PRF fall there, when 3s laugh (CERT) DISC, then 
spider PRF take running DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s stomach 
there 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

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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 *sange* which is used more generally to indicate expectancy reversal.) A sentence with *kanzu* usually occurs at or near a climax of a story, and the word is pronounced with a dramatic intonation: *kanzu* (both syllables stressed with extra-high tone). For example:

117) je wà e ti ke kla ngbë s. kanzu ajre s.

lp said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP. However medicine

118) kanzu a-ko-si konde nzwë.

however 3s-PRF DM pound manioc powder

'We thought it was a normal torch. However it's medicine!'

'However he went to pound manioc into powder!' (Hare is going to trick the other animals into thinking he can turn a stone into powder.)

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119) **kanzu** kendeja a-ko-se wete ke ngbe, ... ko-kūt mā mī. 

however spider PRF DM tell rat that ngbe, ... DM 

kill-3s for ls 

'However Spider went and told Rat that "Ngbe, ... go kill him for me.'

120) **kanzu** a gboklo a-1je bo kpa a kwla gbamlo. 

however 2s hyena 2s ASS self very 2s beat (STA) hare 

'However, you yourself Hyena, you can outdo Hare!'

(Hyena is never able to outdo Hare, but the speaker is trying to flatter Hyena into falling for Hare's trap.)

The particle **kpōkū** indicates a break in a continuing chain of action and signals the start of a new event (see the discussion of the discourse particle ə 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) ə nī kpōkū a-to kpace. 

3s mother suddenly PRF fall sick 

'His mother suddenly fell sick.'
122) kpokū e wle-e e tlale-nī. kpokū e fe-e e kle-nī kple-e
e 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) kpokū bla-nī e nīma-nī a-wū lika.
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 la le. kpokū e ti-i gwa-nī e afjē lo . . .
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) e wē "nte, njā, sa mō a-jo a je. mē alakū-nī n di kpokū!' 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 11 12 13 14 15 16
ls trousers SPEC ls eat (STA) suddenly
'He said, 'Friend, look, things haven't turned out well.
So now I'm eating my trousers.'
250. Discourse Particles

This class of words consists of two particles which occur at the end of clauses (except for the instance discussed below where nT3 occurs after a noun phrase): nT (with its allomorph nT3) and o. nT occurs only on non-sentence final clauses (both dependent and independent) and o occurs only on sentence-final clauses (and thus only independent). They are used by the speaker to indicate whether or not the sentence is finished. Thus a sentence in Baule comprised of numerous clauses is punctuated, as it were, by these discourse particles: nT indicating that the sentence is to be continued and o indicating that the sentence (with all its dependent and independent clauses) is finished. Discourse particles do not necessarily occur with every clause (although in certain positions the particle nT is obligatory—see discussion below); the speaker has the option of using the discourse particles to indicate to his listeners whether or not the sentence is completed. For example

1) ṃo a-wa nT kpe nT, je be su-to awale nT3, bo näṇa näṇje
kpli näṇi-nT, e nT nja kendeja, be té awale nT,
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
ke bo a-jaci e wüle klekleklekle, ṃo ṇṇi a-kpe nT,
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
ṃo a-to lo, ṃo e slí nT, je kendeja a-fa wandile nT,
39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52
a-wlua klu lo 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
3s-PRF leave 3s body there ideophone: of playing,
as cow PRF win DISC, as 3s-PRF fall there, as 3s
laugh (CERT) DISC, then spider PRF take running
DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s belly there DISC

'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
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!" (nja ke) or "haven't you seen/didn't I tell you?" (a wu mẹ), 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 nTİ and nTİO tend to elicit different responses from the sentence-final particle ọ. After nTİ or nTİO the response is usually a sound like [irim], whereas after ọ the response is [ahaa] or [ehée] 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.
The discourse particle nī (with its allomorph nī3) occurs at the end of sentence-medial clauses (either dependent or independent) and is used by the speaker to indicate that the sentence is not finished. When it occurs after a dependent clause this information is redundant since dependent clauses are obligatorily followed by an independent clause. In other cases, however, nī or nī3 are the sole markers that indicate that the sentence is not yet finished. For instance

4) se bla-nī jaci be nī, be tu a amwī be kū mē.
   if woman SPEC leave (STA) 3p DISC, 3p take (STA) NEG
   fetish 3p kill (STA) NEG-3s
   'If your woman leaves you, you don't take out a fetish
   and kill her.'

5) ke e jo-o so nī, e bo wa-lje-nī ngba wu-li nī; ajika-nī
   je wa-ka-a be osu nū.
   when 3s do FPST thus DISC, 3s self child ASS SPEC all die
   FPST DISC; orphan SPEC COP DM stay FPST 3p track in
   'When she did thus, all of her own children died; the
   orphan came to stay in their place.'
6) ke e kplokploe-e nās fa wo-li nī, je bloe-e e ti afjē okwle.

   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 redder

   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 head.'

7) bo e tōto kla-nī sa nīō, e wūswle-nī gwa-a bla nīma su nīō,

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

   kpokū bla-nī, e nīma-nī a-wū 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 lē nā be tu sika jwe nī, wwo kū-ū 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) gwā cē ju-li nTā, a-wūsī klàāmā 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 ko-jú be nīlū lo nTā, atī-nT a-ko-ka kāā 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) bjā ko-fe-e ē ngbłąā nāā nTā, ē ē wīe st nū ē.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
man DM take FPST 3s ngbłąā 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 ngbłąā leaf, and he put it in the fire.'

12) ē fe-e ē taa-lje nTā, ē ba-li ē.
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) nānjē bo-li mā-ā be nTā, be ngba be nōč 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.'
There are two positions where the occurrence of nTo is obligatory:

a) after a noun phrase that introduces a character into a narrative for the first time or at the beginning of a new scene. When a character is introduced into the scene who has been absent from the previous scene, he is introduced again. The allomorph nTo is always used in this position. This presentation of the character(s) can be a sentence in itself. For example

14) nja boli nTo, e nTo nja kwajo kā nTo. nja kwajo kā, e
   kunde bla nvle nū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Mr. Goat DISC, 3s and Mr. Kwajo Little DISC. Mr. Kwajo Little, 3s search (STA) woman foreign country in
   12 13 14 15 16 17

'Mr. Goat he and Mr. Hyena Little. Mr. Hyena Little is looking for a wife in a foreign region.'

15) Ngbē nTo. je wo-ko klo kō su lo nā bla nŋo wo le.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Ngbē DISC. 2p go FPST village one on there and woman
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

two LCOP there.
   12 13 14

'Ngbē. We went to a village there and there were two women.'

1By new scene I mean a break in the chain of events and the beginning of a different event potentially with a different cast of characters.
16) ajika ba kā nītō, a-kō-sle bja kō akō kōla kō nū ico.

orphan child little DISC, 3s-PRF DM request man one

chicken raise village in there

'A little orphan child, he went and asked a man for a
chicken to raise in a village there.'

17) talwa kō sa kpā nītō, e nī-T sa nī, slā kwakwakwala

maiden one thus ideophone: of beauty DISC, 3s grew FPST

thus DISC, person all all all DM see-3s DISC, . . .

'A beautiful maiden, she grew up like this, everyone who
went to see her, . . .'

b) after a clause which adds parenthetical information. For example

18) e wē 'se e ti sakpa ṣe, se nā e jo n-lje nā n njā;

(je nī ji jie be slā ṇṇs jie be ṇTma ti silwa ṇṭō);

je e fá kla je e wle sī nū jekū ico.

3s said "if 3s ICOP true, tell (IMP)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ)

1s ASS so that 1s see (SUBJ); (3s and-3s wife COP

3p person two COP 3p eye ICOP blind DISC); and 3s

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take (CERT) torch and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again

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) 'se ε ti ke je ε ba-a jwe nde nīš, ē ē nānī dwi klu nga be

mā-ā mī--(e jo-o zjazja nī)--ē ē nā je nī je je di-li

20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33

o?''

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 ls--(3s do FPST

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

ideophone: of burning leaf DISC)--then NEG lp and-3s

24 25 26 27 28 29

COP lp 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?
20) je bla-nī e kò atī nū lo ń. (e ṣe e su-ko ịjile nū nīs.)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

c kò ń, won-da kò a-wlu swle kùmà kò nū T.
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 nī (Section 241) or the specifier nī (Section 222.5). Since
the former never occurs clause-finally there is never a potential con­
fusion between it and the discourse particle nī. The specifier nī, on
the other hand, can occur clause finally (in the case that the noun
phrase on which it occur is clause-final), and there arise therefore
instances where a distributional criterion will not distinguish the
specifier nī from the discourse particle nī. In some of these cases
the clause-final noun is possessed as in

21) e wa-la-a le jœ-e a-jr’e-nī, nà je si wà e ajr’e ajakpa wo lo.
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 ni is obligatory after a possessed noun phrase, this clause-final ni is the specifier. Where the clause-final noun is not possessed the situation is not so clear, as in

22) a-fle be slā nnā-ni, be wā "je su-di je ba ngwa."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 3s-PRF call 3p person four SPEC, 3p said "lp IMPRF do lp child game"
| 13 14 |

'She called the four of them, they said "We are playing our children's game."

or 23) n bá, kpökú n wa-dí like-ni, n kó jekú.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Is come (CERT), suddenly Is DM eat (CERT) food SPEC, Is 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 slā 'person' in 22) and like 'food' in 23), have just been mentioned in the narrative. There is thus ample reason for the speaker to use the specifier (although it is not 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
extra length on the n of the discourse particle nT. (In normal speech the specifier is often realized as [n], sometimes syllabic but more often just a lowering of the velum to produce a non-articulated nasal coda.)

250.2 ə, (/ə/), the sentence-final discourse particle

The second of the two discourse particles occurs at the end of a sentence to indicate that the event of that sentence is finished. The action, process or state of the following sentence is considered to be part of another event. If one sees the particle nT (and nT3) as indicating links in a chain of actions, processes or states that make up an event, then ə is the break in that chain. For example

24) ke ə wūi-T so nT, je ə jaci-i lo ə ba-li ə.

when 3s see-3s FPST thus DISC, then 3s leave FPST there

3s come FPST DISC

'When she saw it like this, she left there and came.'

25) n3 ə jii-u lo nT3, e jii-T like-nT angonda-nT su wa ə.

as 3s arrive FPST there DISC, 3s put FPST food SPEC

crossroad SPEC on here DISC

'As he got there she put down the food at the crossroads.'
26) be cwē-ɛ nānī fle nī3, be a-jī e wū le o.  
3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3s PRF put 3s near there

'They dragged the cow's stomach they put it next to him.'

27) je be sīke je be wlu nu o.  
and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC

'And so they unload (their baggage) and they enter.'

28) je be fle-ɛ ba kā nī3, je e wo-li o.  
and 3p call FPST child little DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC

'And so they called the small child and he went.'

29) je e to-o lo o. je kliklikli je be wāndi je be wlu lo o.  
and 3s fall FPST there DISC. and ideophone: of running
and 3p run (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) there DISC

'And so he fell there. And so they ran and they entered there.'

250.3 **Miscellaneous discourse particles**

Three additional particles could also be classed as discourse particles in that their function is primarily to make speech flow more smoothly.
o or e is a particle which occurs

a) after imperatives to 'soften' the command

30) bla o, bla j o n je.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   come (IMP) oh, come (IMP) do (IMP) l's help
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Come, please come help me.'

31) ña 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) ña wla a sa-nĩ ngwangwa lo kũ 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 1e e.
   1 2 3
   get up (IMP) there oh.
   1 2 3
   'Get up from there!'

b) after greetings

34) mo anĩ o.
   'Good morning!'

35) ã monĩ wa o.
   'Good luck here!'
c) when crying out something or calling a name:

36) nja o, nja!
'Mister, oh mister!'

37) Kofi e!
'Hey Kofi!'

d) for emphasis when making a statement:

38) se a ko-joe ase nĩ, sika o sika nga be to nũ-nĩ, fa to ako.

if 2s DM do-3s sell (CERT) DISC, money oh money this/that

3p buy (CERT) in SPEC, take (IMP) buy (IMP) chicken

'When you go sell it, the money that they give you, take
and buy a chicken.'

39) mọnê o mọnê je je kwia je jja wa.

Sunday oh Sunday COP 1p all 1p meet (SUBJ) here

'Sunday oh Sunday is the day we are all to meet here.'

40) e kpê mĩ nzoa, n te a su o.

3s insult (STA) 1s, 1s answer (STA) NEG on oh

'He insulns me, I don't answer!'
a) at the end of narratives (optionally):

45) je kūmā a-kla wa ao, jele mī noswa nū ato.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

and goat stay FPST village here. COP Is evening in lie
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

'And Goat stayed in the village here. This is my lie for
the evening.'
46) ke e kpleklohe e nāo fa wo-li nT, je blo-o e ti afje
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
okwe-nT 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

reddened 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 reddened the middle of his head.'

b) at the end of a sentence to indicate doubt:

47) se a-wo Kofi lika lo ao.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

if 3s-PRF go Kofi place there __.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Maybe he has gone to Kofi's house.'

48) gwa-nT, nā ke be wū koko le je be di ao.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

market SPEC, NEG like 3p next to near there COP 3s do __
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

'The market, it wasn't very close by.'

49) awofwe kpa sike-e je ao.
1 2 3 4 5 6

stranger good lodge FPST 1p __.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I think a good stranger has lodged with us.'
"Husbands Should Love Both Wives"
Told by Mo Olye at the Village of Totokro on July 3, 1974

1. nā mī ngwa kō o?
   1 2 3 4 5
   NEG Is story one QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

2. lalafwe nū nīs,
   1 2 3
   former times in DISC
   1 2 3

3. jaswa-nī ja-a bla-nī sa nīs.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   man SPEC marry FPST woman SPEC thus two
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

4. e klo a kō.
   1 2 3 4
   3s love NEG one.
   1 2 3 4

5. se e kō-nī se ke
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   if 3s one SPEC say (STA) that
   1 2 3 4 5 6

6. "kə-kpe aje mā mī" nī,
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   "DM cut (IMP) palm grain give me" DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

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7. e nzoa je e kpe c.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s insult COP 3s DISC.
   1 2 3 4 5

8. je e kô-nî, a-fîê
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   and 3s one SPEC, 3s-PRF call-3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6

9. je be a-ju aîle nû lô,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   and 3p PRF arrive savannah in there,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. je be su-ijo e kô wû wa tete.
    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. 'e-li bja nga sa wê n kô-kpe aje n më.'
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
    3s SPEC stool this/that thus said ls DM cut (SUBJ) palm grain ls
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
give (SUBJ)-3s.'
    12

12. je be a-wo cê kwâkwâa kwâkwâa.
    1 2 3 4 5 7
    and 3p PRF go day every every every every ever.
    1 2 3 4 5 6

13. kô be joe so.
    1 2 3 4
    like 3p do (STA)-3s thus.
    1 2 3 4
14. je cé kō be wo-li ɔ.
   and day one 3p go FPST DISC.

15. bla-nī nga e klo-e-nī, e wo-ɔ e-je kpele ɔ.
    woman SPEC this/that 3s love (STA)-3s SPEC, 3s go FPST 3s ASS
cutting DISC.

16. aje mën e koto kpe kāa sa.
    palm grain even 3s kneel (STA) cut-3s small thus.

17. e fe-e e ja-nī te-e e wū 5,
    3s take FPST 3s foot SPEC put FPST 3s on when,
    palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up fūù!

18. mme-nī a-fu nglo fūù
    palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up fūù!

19. ke kpako waka nga sa.
    like coconut tree this/that thus.

20. je bla-nī jā e bo wa ɔ.
    and woman SPEC stand (CERT) 3s under here DISC.
21. e wē 'wā ko lelele ke mǐ wū ḿa sa?''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10\]
3s said 'who go (STA) far like Is husband Ya thus?''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10\]

22. e wē 'mǐ ji, mǐ ja ṭ.''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
3s said 'Is wife, Is Ya COP''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]

23. 'a ja bla ja je ngba o.
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
"2s marry (STA) woman marry (IMP) lp all EMP.
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]

24. e ti awlo nde o.
\[1 2 3 4 5\]
3s lCOP home affair EMP
\[1 2 3 4 5\]

25. tje alengelenge, tje mǐ wū e.''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]
listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) Is husband EMP.''
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]

26. je be a-joe so lelele.
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]
and 3p PRF do-3s thus until
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]

27. bjā-nT a-wo lelele,
\[1 2 3 4 5\]
man SPEC PRF go far
\[1 2 3 4 5\]
28. e su-wa-to nāmjē-nī 10.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3s IMPRF DM reach sky SPEC there

29. je bla-nī nga mēē be kloē mē le-nī,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   and woman SPEC this/that who 3p love (STA)-3s NEG there SPEC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

30. je e ko-flē ę.
   1 2 3 4 5
   and 3s DM call (CERT)-3s DISC
   1 2 3 4 5

31. 'n wla, je wo-c afle nū 10,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   Is rival, 1p go FPST savannah in there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

32. nā nga nīsā wo-c aje kāa kō kpele nīs,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   and Mr. Nīsā go FPST palm grain small one cutting DISC,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

33. mme-nī a-fu nglonglo 10.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up up there.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

34. nā je bla wo,
   1 2 3 4
   so 1p come (SUBJ) go,
   1 2 3 4
35. nā ko-flē jwe.
   1 2 3 4
   and DM call (IMP)-3s also
   1 2 3 4

36. je bla-nī ba’ wa-flē e bo wū le c.
   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. e wē "wā ko lengelenge ke mī wū 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. e wē "mī ji, mī ja c."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s said "1s wife, 1s Ya COP."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

39. "a ḟa bla, ḟa je ngba o. e ti awlo nde c. tje alengelenge, tje mī wū,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
   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. e ba-nī ti a dēnē c,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s self SPEC ICOP NEG long EMP,
Isn't this one of my stories? The man married the women, two (of them). He didn't love one. If the one said, "Go cut palm grain for me," he insulted her. And the other one, he called her and they went to the savannah and they are speaking bad against her. "That stool there wants
me to go cut palm grain for her!" And they went every every day. That's what they did. And one day they went. The woman who he loved, he went to cut her palm grain. He knelt to cut even a small (clump of) palm grain like this. When he took his foot to put on it the palm tree shot up fūū! like a coconut tree. And the woman stood under it here and she said, "Who goes far far like my husband Ya?" He said "My wife, it's me, Yao." "If you marry women, marry (i.e. love) us all. It is an affair of the home. Listen, listen my husband." And they did like this for a long time. The man went far far, he is about to reach the sky there. And the woman that they don't love, she went to call her. "My rival, we went to the savannah there, so when Mr. Nīsā went to cut a small clump of palm grain, the palm tree shot up up there. So come let's go so that you go call him also." And the woman came, came to stand under it near there. She said "Who goes like my husband Ya?" He said "My wife, it's me, Yao." "If you marry women, marry (love) us all. It's an affair of the home. Listen, listen my husband." Itself (i.e. the tree) is not (no longer) tall, it is short like this one here. And so he got down. This is the reason that if you marry (women), you must love them both. There is it's (the story's) meaning. Thus is my lie for the evening.

Analysis

1. A negative question consisting of
   
   nā  a variant of the negative (Section 238.3).
   
   mī ngwa kō  'one of my stories,' a SP consisting of
   
   mī  '1s pronoun' (Section 221.4).
   
   ngwa  'story,' noun (Section 221.6). mī ngwa is a compound construction (Section 222.4).
kū 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2) modifying the noun 
ngwa.

ə 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

lalafwe nu 'in the time of our ancestors':
lalafwe, a noun composed of lala 'former times' plus the 
agentive suffix fwe (Section 221.8).
u 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).
ə a discourse particle indicating that the sentence is not 
finished (Section 250.1).

3. An independent clause consisting of

jaswa-nī 'the man,' the subject SP: jaswa 'man,' personal 
noun (Section 221.6) plus -nī 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-nī sa npō 'two women,' the object SP:
bla-nī 'the woman/women': bla personal noun (Section 
221.6) plus -nī specifier (Section 222.5).
sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
npō 'two,' numeral (Section 222.2).
The two SPs of this introductory sentence are specific: 'a certain 
man married certain women, two (of them).' This is often done
at the beginning of stories to involve the audience right away. It presupposes the existence and the identity of the protagonists.

4. A simple sentence consisting of
   
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235).
   a negative (Section 238.3).
   kō 'one,' the object SP.

5.-7. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause 5-6 plus the independent coordinate clause 7. 5-6 consists of a main clause 5 plus a subordinate clause 6.

5. A dependent main clause consisting of
   
   se . . . nī 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 241.12) indicating hypotheticality.
   e kō-nī 'the one,' the subject SP:
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
   kō 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2)
   -nī specifier (Section 222.5).
   The pronoun e 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
   ke 'that,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).
6. A subordinate clause (Section 242.11) which is the object of the verb *say* of clause 5 consisting of

ko-kpe . . . mā 'go cut for,' a three-place verbal group (Section 237): ko- a directional modal (Section 238.2) plus kpe 'cut' plus mā 'give' inflected tonally for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.

mī Is pronoun (Section 221.4), the other object SP.

mī (See se . . . mī in 5 above).

7. An independent clause coordinate with the clause in 5-6, consisting of

e nzoa the topicalized object SP (ε 3s pronoun) plus the noun complement (nzoa) of the completable verb (Section 233)

kpe nzoa.

je copula (Section 231) which is used after a topicalized SP.

ε 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP.

kpe . . . nzoa 'insult,' a two-place completable verb (Section 233).

o a discourse particle indicating the end of the sentence (Section 250).

There is a play on the word kpe 'cut': the woman asks the man to go cut some palm grain for her and he "cuts her insult" instead (kpe nzoa).

8.-10. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent clauses.
8. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   e kō-nī 'the one' (see 5 above), the topicalized object SP.
   a-fle 'he called her,' subject SP, the verb, and the object
   SP:
   a- the perfective prefix (Section 238.2). The 3s pronoun
   has zero value in this position (Section 221.4).
   fle 'call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) plus the
   recapitulating pronoun (e).
   (e) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4)
   coreferential with the topicalized object SP e kō-nī.

9. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   a-ju 'arrived,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for
   the perfective aspect with the prefix a- (Section 238.2).
   afle nū lo 'in the savannah there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
   afle 'savannah,' noun (Section 221.6).
   nū 'in,' locative (Section 221.7).
   lo 'there,' location noun (Section 221.6).

10. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of
    je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).
    be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP
    su-ajo . . . wū 'are talking against,' a two-place completable
    verb (Section 233) inflected for imperfective aspect with
    the prefix su- (Section 238.2).
11. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e-li bja nga sa wē plus the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n mē.

The main clause consists of

\[ e-li \quad 3s \text{ pronoun (Section 221.4) plus the specifier -li} \]

(the variant of -nī that occurs with pronouns--Section 222.5). The use of the specifier with the pronoun adds emphasis to this insult.

\[ bja \quad 'stool,' \text{ noun (Section 221.6) used here as a personal noun (Section 221.6), i.e. to refer to a human, as an insult.} \]

\[ nga \quad \text{demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).} \]

\[ sa \quad 'thus,' \text{ manner adverb (Section 239.2).} \]

\[ wē \quad 'said,' \text{ an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235). Its object SP is the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n mē which consists of} \]

\[ n \quad 1s \text{ pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.} \]

\[ ko-kpe \quad \ldots \ mā \quad 'go cut for' \text{ (see 6 above), inflected tonally for the subjunctive mode (Section 238.2).} \]

\[ aje \quad 'palm grain,' \text{ noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.} \]

\[ n \quad 1s \text{ pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulation of the subject SP.} \]

\[ mē \quad (mā e) \text{ contains the other object SP e, 3s pronoun (Section 221.4)} \]
12. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   a-wo 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234). (wo is a variant of ko which occurs with certain inflections [Section 238.2]), inflected for the perfective aspect by the prefix a- (Section 238.2).
   cē kw lakwlakwlakwla 'every every day': cē 'day,' noun (Section 221.6), plus the reduplicated quantifier kwla (Section 222.2).

13. A simple sentence consisting of
   ke 'like' (Section 242.12).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   jo 'do,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
   -e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
   so 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

14. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).
   cē kō 'one day': cē 'day,' noun (Section 221.6) plus kō 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   wo-li 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).
   o the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).
15. A complex sentence (Section 240) consisting of an independent clause bla-nI, e wo-o e-lje kpele plus the subordinate clause nga e klo-e-nI, a relative clause which modifies the noun bla-nI.

The independent clause consists of

bla-nI 'the woman': bla 'woman,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nI, specifier (Section 222.5), a topicalized SP. e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP. wo-o 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -o, variant of -1i (Section 238.2). e-lje kpele 'hers cutting':

e-lje 'hers': e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nI, plus -lje, the associative (Section 222.4).

kpele 'cutting,' nominal form of verb: kpe 'cut' plus 1e (Section 221.8).

o 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) e 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).
-e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun co-referential with the antecedent noun bla-nī.
-nī specifier (Section 222.5)

16. A simple sentence consisting of

aje mō 'even palm grain,' a topicalized object SP: aje
'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), plus mō, emphatic
particle (Section 222.7).

c 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
koto kpe 'kneel to cut,' a two-place verbal group (Section
237) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section
238.2).

e zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the
object SP.
kāa '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 mme-nī.

17. A dependent clause consisting of

c 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
fe-e . . . te-e 'take and put,' a two-place verbal group (Sec-
tion 237) inflected for the factual past with the suffixes
-e and -e (variant of -lī) (Section 238.2).
ε ja-nī 'his foot,' a possessive construction (Section 222.4),
the object SP; ε 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), plus ja
'foot,' noun (Section 221.6), plus -nī specifier (Section 222.5).

ε wū 'on it,' a LocP (Section 221.7): ε 3s pronoun 221.4
plus wū 'on, near,' locative (Section 221.7)
oph 'when,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12).

18. An independent clause consisting of
mme-nī 'the palm tree,' the subject SP; mme, noun (Section 221.6) plus -nī, 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).
fūū an ideophone describing the rapid ascent of the tree (Sec­
tion 239.3).

19. A SP modifying the noun mme-nī of 18.
ke '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).
ssa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
20. A simple sentence consisting of

je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).
bla-nI 'the woman,' the subject SP: bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nI, specifier (Section 222.5).
JlA 'stand,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode (Section 238.2). (See discussion of the use of the certaintive in narrative—Section 238.2).
bo wa 'under it here,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
  e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
  bo 'under,' locative (Section 221.7).
  wa 'here,' location noun (Section 221.6).
  the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

21.-25. comprise a song which is sung by the narrator with the audience response tje alengelenge.

21. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e we plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote 'wâ ko lelele ke mI wU ja sa?'

The main clause consists of

  e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
  we 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235) which takes as object SP a quote.

The subordinate clause consists of

  ke 'like,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).
mi wū 'my husband,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):
  mi 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).
  wū 'husband,' kin term (Section 221.5).
ja 'Ya,' name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mi wū.
sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2)

22. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e we plus a subordinate clause in the form of a direct quote "mi ji, mi ja o" e we (see 21 above).

The subordinate clause consists of
  mi ji 'my wife,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):
  mi 1s pronoun (Section 221.3).
  ji 'wife,' kin term (Section 221.5).
mi 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP of copula o.
ja 'Ya,' a name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mi 'me.'
o 'it's,' a copula (Section 231.2).

23. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause
(se) a ja bla and the independent coordinate clause ja je ngba o.

The dependent clause consists of
(se) 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12). Since this is part of a song this word is omitted to accommodate the rhythm of the song.
a 2s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
ja 'marry,' a two-place verb (Section 235) tonally inflected for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
bla 'woman,' personal noun (Section 221.6), the object SP.

The independent clause consists of

ja 'marry' (here with the sense of 'love'), a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

jengba 'us all,' the object SP:

je lp pronoun (Section 221.4).

ngba 'all,' a quantifier (Section 222.2).

ø, a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the song line (Section 250.3).

24. A simple sentence consisting of

e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

ti the identifying copula (Section 231).

awlo nde 'home affair,' a compound construction, the complement SP:

awlo 'home, a location noun (Section 221.6).

nde 'affair,' a noun (Section 221.6).

ø a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the song line (Section 250.3).

25. A complex sentence consisting of two independent clauses.

The first independent clause consists of

tje 'listen,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

alengelenge a song-word, the chorus sung by the audience.
The second independent clause consists of

\textit{tje} 'listen' (see above).
\textit{mĩ wũ} 'my husband' (see 21 above).
\textit{e} a discourse particle, variant of \textit{o}, that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

26. A simple sentence consisting of

\textit{je} 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
\textit{be} 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
\textit{a-jo} 'did,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix \textit{a-} (Section 238.2).
\textit{e} 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
\textit{so} 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
\textit{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

\textit{bja-nĩ} 'the man,' subject SP:
\textit{bja} 'man,' a personal noun (Section 221.6).
\textit{-nĩ} the specifier (Section 222.5).
\textit{a-wo} 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect.
\textit{lelele} an ideophone indicating farness (Section 239.3).
28. An independent clause consisting of

- a 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
- su-wa-to 'is about to reach,' a one-place verb (Section 234)
  - to 'reach' inflected for the imperfective with the prefix
    su- (Section 238.2) plus wa, a direction modal (Section
    238.2).
- nāmjē-nī lo 'the sky there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
  - nāmjē 'sky,' a noun (Section 221.6).
  - nī the specifier (Section 222.5).
  - lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

29.-30. A complex sentence consisting of a subordinate clause modifying
  a noun (29) plus a main clause (30).

29. The topicalized object SP of the clause in 30 which consists of

- bla-nī plus the relative clause nga mēē be kloē me-nti.
- je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
- bla-nī 'the woman,' the topicalized object SP of the main
  clause in 30: bla 'woman,' a personal noun (Section
  221.6), plus -nī, the specifier (Section 222.5)
- nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).
- mēē 'which, a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section
  242.11).
- be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP of the relative
  clause
- klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally
  for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
30. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

- e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

kə-fle 'went to call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode with kə-, a directional modal (Section 238.2).

(e) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) coreferential with the topicalized object SP bla-nī in 29.

31.-33. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent clauses.

31. An independent clause consisting of

wla 'my rival,' a compound construction used as a name:

wla 'rival,' a kin term (Section 221.5).

je lp pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wo-ə 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -ə, a variant of -1i (Section 238.2).

afle nū lo 'in the savannah there' (see 9).
32. An independent clause consisting of

nā 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ŋja Nhāsa 'Mr. Nhāsa,' a name (Section 221.2), the subject SP.

ωως 'went' (see 31 above).

aje kāa kō kpele 'a small palm grain (clump) cutting':

aje 'palm grain,' a noun (Section 221.6).

kāa 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

kō 'one,' a numeral (Section 222.2).

kpele 'cutting,' the nominal form of the verb: kpe 'cut'

plus le (Section 221.8).

nīs a discourse particle indicating the sentence is not finished (Section 250).

33. An independent clause consisting of

mme-nī 'the palm tree,' the subject SP: mme, a noun (Section 221.6), plus -nī, the specifier (Section 222.5).

a-fu 'ascended' (see 18).

nglonglo lo 'up up there,' a LocP (Section 221.7).

nglonglo reduplicated location noun (Section 221.6) 'up up.'

lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

34.-35. A complex sentence consisting of two independent coordinate clauses.

34. An independent clause consisting of

nā 'so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
je 1p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
bla wo 'come go,' a one-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected tonally for the subjunctive mode (Section 238.2).

35. An independent clause consisting of
nā 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
ko-flec 'go call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the imperative mode.
(c) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
jwe 'also,' an adverb (Section 239).

36. A simple sentence consisting of
je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
bla-nī 'the woman,' the subject SP (see 20).
ba wa-jlā 'came to stand,' a one-piece verbal group (Section 237) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode (see the discussion of the use of the certaintive in narratives—Section 238.2) plus the directional modal wa (Section 238.2) prefixed to the verb jlā.
e bo wū le 'under it near there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
  e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
  bo 'under,' a locative (Section 221.7).
  wū 'near,' a locative (Section 221.7).
  le 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).
  o the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).
37.-39. The same song as in 21-25.

40.-41. A complex sentence consisting of the independent coordinate clause 40 and the dependent coordinate clause 41.

40. An independent clause consisting of

- $\text{eo \- nǐ}$ 'itself,' the subject SP:
  - $\text{e}$ 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
  - $\text{bo}$ 'an emphatic particle' (Section 222.7).
  - $\text{-nǐ}$ the specifier (Section 222.5).
- $\text{ti}$ the identifying copula (Section 231.1).
- $\text{a}$ the negative (Section 238.3).
- $\text{dēnē}$ 'long,' an adjective (Section 222.1), the complement of the copula
- $\text{o}$ a discourse particle that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

41. A dependent clause consisting of

- $\text{jēlē}$ 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the subject SP of the previous clause ($\text{eo \- nǐ}$) to the following adjective.
- $\text{kpe}$ 'short,' an adjective (Section 222.1).
- $\text{kā}$ 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).
- $\text{ke \- nga \- nǐ}$ 'like the one there':
  - $\text{ke}$ 'like' (Section 242.11).
  - $\text{nga}$ the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).
  - $\text{lē}$ 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).
  - $\text{-nǐ}$ the specifier (Section 222.5).
42. A simple sentence consisting of

je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

†la-li 'descended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).

the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is finished (Section 250.2).

43.-44. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause

3s pronoun (Section 221.4) plus the dependent coordinate clause 3s be ja bla nī plus the independent coordinate clause 44.

43. 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) 'for this reason':

3s pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.

ti 'reason,' a noun (Section 221.6).

je a copula (Section 231.2).

be ja bla nī 'if you marry':

3s... nī 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.12).

3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP, here used as an impersonal pronoun.

ja bla 'marry,' a one-place completable verb (Section 233) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

44. An independent clause consisting of

3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

c np3-ni 'the two,' the object SP:

c 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
np3 'two,' a numeral (Section 222.2).

-ni the specifier (Section 222.5).
The pronoun c nominalizes a numeral (Section 221.4).

45. A simple sentence consisting of

c bo-ni 'its meaning,' a possessive phrase (Section 222.4),

the subject SP:

c 3p pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.

bo 'meaning,' a noun (Section 221.6).

-ni the specifier (Section 222.5).

c a copula (Section 231.2).

wo the locative copula (Section 231.1).

lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

46. A simple sentence consisting of

jele 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the whole story to the following SP.

mī nnoswa nū ato 'my lie for the evening':

mī 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).

nnoswa 'evening,' a noun (Section 221.6).

nū 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).

ato 'lie,' a noun (Section 221.6).
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