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 in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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

December 8, 1976  
Chairman of Examining Committee

12/8/76  
Executive Officer

D. Terence Langendoen  
Edgar Gregersen  
Joseph Greenberg  
Supervisory Committee

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

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

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

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

010. THE BAULE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

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

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

The earliest published work on the Baule language concerns "les agni du Baoule" ("agni" being the term used for the language and the people who inhabited central and southeastern Ivory Coast) and was the fruit of four years' residence among the agni, 41 months of which was spent in the "different provinces of Baoule" (Delafosse 1900:ii).
Although most people who call themselves Baule will insist that they are of a different ethnic group from those who call themselves Anyi, it seems that the language spoken by the various sub-groups of the Baule and the Anyi are in fact dialectal variants of a single language.¹

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

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

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

020. BAULE LANGUAGE STUDIES

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

030. THE CURRENT STUDY

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

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

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

110. **SYLLABLE STRUCTURE**

In Baule the syllable is definable on the basis of tone: each syllable has one and only one tone. Most syllables are open, i.e., they end in a vowel. Only word-medially does a syllable end in a consonant and it is always a nasal consonant. Syllables may have six shapes: V, N, CV, CVN, C₁C₂V, C₁C₂VN. 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,

- V (a single vowel)
  - /kāːf/ 'a little bit'
  - /aaʃ/ 'trap'

- N (a syllabic tone-carrying nasal)
  - /aaʃ/ '2nd person singular pronoun'
  - /eʃ/ '3rd person singular pronoun'
  - /əbiʃ/ 'kind of monkey'
  - /aaʃ/ 'trap'
  - /diiʃ/ 'calm, quiet'

Syllabic nasals never occur as peaks of monosyllabic utterances.² Thus the variant /ŋ/ of the 1st person singular pronoun never occurs by

---

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

²Except 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.

- CV (A consonant followed by a vowel)

- $\text{CV}_1 \text{CV}_2$ (two consonants followed by a vowel, in which $\text{CV}_2$ is $\text{f}$, $\text{j}$ or $\text{w}$)
-CVN, or C₁C₂VN (a consonant or two consonants followed by a vowel followed by a nasal)

\[ gwaf \] [f̞w̞a] 'market'

\[ fawaf \] [c̞w̞e] 'chase'

\[ cawaf \] [c̞w̞e] 'pull'

\[ bodwīff \] [bodor̝i] 'bark'

\[ twīff \] [tu̝i] 'gun'

\[ bawsleff \] [banzfe] 'an amulet'

\[ bondleff \] [bondre] 'buttocks'

\[ jawleff \] [janne] 'black deer'

\[ sonjafr \] [sonja] 'soldier'

\[ fangaf \] [f̞anga] 'strength'

\[ blemgbi \] [blemgbi] '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-dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
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<tr>
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<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
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<table>
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</table>

121. **Vowels**

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

\[ ⟨käː̃⟩ 'a small bit' contrasts with ⟨kæː⟩ 'small'\]

\[ ⟨kweː̃⟩ 'fetus' contrasts with ⟨kweː⟩ 'knife'\]

¹homorganic with ff. consonant.
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kpal} & \rightarrow \text{`nere bean tree'} \\
\text{kpa\text{aw}le} & \rightarrow \text{`kind of basket'} \\
\text{k\text{pandro}} & \rightarrow \text{`roasted yam or manioc'} \\
\text{k\text{paci}} & \rightarrow \text{`break'} \\
\text{k\text{pakpa}} & \rightarrow \text{`type of tree'} \\
\text{k\text{nde}ja} & \rightarrow \text{`spider'} \\
\text{k\text{logbe}} & \rightarrow \text{`ivory bracelet'} \\
\text{k\text{logbo}} & \rightarrow \text{`eggplant'} \\
\text{kluwa} & \rightarrow \text{`spindle'} \\
\text{kokotle} & \rightarrow \text{`thumb'} \\
\text{bondle} & \rightarrow \text{`buttocks'} \\
\text{al\text{o}k\text{l\text{u}}} & \rightarrow \text{`banana mush'} \\
\text{k\text{omif}} & \rightarrow \text{`neck'} \\
\text{k\text{onaf}} & \rightarrow \text{`male name'}
\end{align*}
\]

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
121.3 Oral and nasal vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral vowel</th>
<th>Nasal vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/popo/</td>
<td>/pɔpɔ/</td>
<td>'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bo/</td>
<td>/bɔ/</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta/</td>
<td>/tɔ/</td>
<td>'raise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/di/</td>
<td>/di/</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>'share'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ju/</td>
<td>/ju/</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka/</td>
<td>/ka/</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ga/</td>
<td>/ga/</td>
<td>'kind of vine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kpa/</td>
<td>/kɔpɔ/</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gbɔ/</td>
<td>/gɔbɔ/</td>
<td>'hearth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fe/</td>
<td>/fe/</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋo/</td>
<td>/ŋɔ/</td>
<td>'termite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋa/</td>
<td>/ŋa/</td>
<td>'a bush spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/la/</td>
<td>/la/</td>
<td>'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tl/</td>
<td>/tɔl/</td>
<td>'grab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ji/</td>
<td>/ji/</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wu/</td>
<td>/wu/</td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Symbols in brackets indicate nasalization.

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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. [kpɛŋmbɛ] 'elder') and more lightly nasalized if the word-final vowel is non-nasal (e.g. [kpɛndɔ] 'roasted yam or manioc'). The two vowels /e/ and /o/, not having nasal counterparts, are not nasalized in this position. For example

- [bondɛɾ] 'buttocks'
- [jemvje] 'ocean'
- [bɛŋgbi] '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 [l] or [ɾ] respectively:

- /swaː/ [swa] 'learn'
- /bjαː/ [bjɑ] 'man'
- /klúː/ [klů] 'belly'
- /tlāː/ [tľɑ] 'sit'
As \( C_1 \) they are realized as \([\tilde{w}], [n], \) and \([n]\) respectively:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Awúf} & \quad [\tilde{w}u] & \text{'husband'} \\
\text{Awlāf} & \quad [\tilde{w}l\tilde{a}] & \text{'wander'} \\
\text{Ajīf} & \quad [n\tilde{I}] & \text{'face, eyes'} \\
\text{Ajlu} & \quad [n\tilde{r}\tilde{u}] & \text{'face'} \\
\text{Alīf} & \quad [n\tilde{I}] & \text{'mother'} \\
\text{Aliwāf} & \quad [n\tilde{w}\tilde{a}] & \text{'mouth'}
\end{align*}
\]

122.1 Homorganic nasal

\( \text{Anf} \) is a homorganic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant:

- \([m]\), a bilabial nasal, preceding \( fbf \) and \( fmf \)
- \([\tilde{m}]\), a labio-dental nasal, preceding \( fff \)
- \([n]\), an alveolar nasal, preceding \( fdf \) and \( flf \) and \( fsf \)
- \([\tilde{n}]\), a palatal nasal, preceding \( fjf \) and \( fjf \)
- \([\eta]\), a velar nasal, preceding \( fgf \)
- \([\tilde{\eta}m]\), a labio-velar nasal, preceding \( f\tilde{g}f \)

\( \text{Anf} \) 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ndënnde} & \quad [\tilde{n}d\tilde{e}nd\tilde{e}] & \text{'fast'} \\
\text{Nlēf} & \quad [\tilde{n}n\tilde{e}] & \text{'animal, meat'} \\
\text{Nswēf} & \quad [n\tilde{z}\tilde{e}\tilde{e}] & \text{'ashes'} \\
\text{Bansle} & \quad [\tilde{b}\tilde{a}n\tilde{s}\tilde{e}] & \text{'an amulet'} \\
\text{Nfāf} & \quad [\tilde{mu}\tilde{a}] & \text{'odor'} \\
\text{Jenfje} & \quad [\tilde{j}\tilde{e}n\tilde{v}\tilde{j}e] & \text{'ocean'} \\
\text{Nja} & \quad [n\tilde{ja}] & \text{'sir'}
\end{align*}
\]
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 ŋ]. Two of these ([n] the alveolar nasal,
and [ŋ] the palatal nasal) occur only in a nasal environment and are
thus analyzed as allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectively (cf. Sections
123.4 and 123.5) m, the bilabial nasal, tends to follow the same restric­
tions, i.e. occurring either following a homorganic nasal or nasal vowel
or preceding a nasal glide or nasal vowel:

/mme/ [rnm e] 'oil palm'
/fsanm a/ [säm m a] 'finger'
/fima/ [fima] 'eye'
/fmīlīf/ [mīlī] 'lose'
\[ /sõmə/ \quad ['fiancê'] \\
/sõdûmã/ \quad ['name'] \\
/sõmã/ \quad ['give'] \\

There are, however, a few instances of \( /m/ \) occurring in a non-nasal environment, where it contrasts with the other labial phonemes. The following are the only exceptions thus far collected:

\[ /mla/ \quad ['law'] \\
/môngblo/ \quad ['a bush spirit'] \\
/me/ \quad ['3rd person plural pronoun (a variant)']

These contrast with:

\[ /bла/ \quad ['woman'] \\
/wла/ \quad ['rival'] \\
/flа/ \quad ['call'] \\
/gble/ \quad ['ruse'] \\
/be/ \quad ['be cooked'] \\
/we/ \quad ['chest'] \\
/fe/ \quad ['sweet'] \\
/kpe/ \quad ['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 \( /n_\text{m}_m/ \), 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.

\(^1\) In other dialects of Baule the word for "law" is in fact \( mmla \).
123. Consonants

123.1 Stops

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

- /pjombjo/ [pjombo] 'sharp and pointed'
- /nde/ [ndɛ] 'affair'
- /conjo/ [conjo] 'machete'
- /ngowis/ [ŋgoqí] 'joking'
- /Ngbata/ [ŋm 그렇게] 'pardon'

However voiced and voiceless stops contrast in other environments:

- /pepe/ 'monkey'
- /be/ 'be cooked'
- /plɔ/ 'manioc paste'
- /blɔ/ 'bush'
- /tä/ 'flatulate'
- /dä/ 'big'

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\( \text{'penis'} \)
\( \text{'tail'} \)
\( \text{'unconscious'} \)
\( \text{'stand'} \)
\( \text{'spear'} \)
\( \text{'kind of mouse'} \)
\( \text{'one'} \)
\( \text{'trap'} \)
\( \text{'village'} \)
\( \text{'kind of insect'} \)
\( \text{'launder'} \)
\( \text{'hearth'} \)
\( \text{'stick out'} \)
\( \text{'ruse, trick'} \)

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

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

\( /m/ \)
\( \text{'law'} \)
\( \text{'manioc paste'} \)
\( \text{'pond'} \)

and \( /f/ \):

\( /f/ \)
\( \text{'stupid'} \)
\( \text{'hit'} \)
\( \text{'give off odor'} \)
'tʃ' is a lightly aspirated, voiceless, alveolar plosive.

'dʃ' is a lightly aspirated, voiced, alveolar plosive.

'tʃ' and 'dʃ' contrast with 'ʃʃ':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʃtiʃ} & : \text{'hear'} \\
\text{ʃdiʃ} & : \text{'eat'} \\
\text{ʃsiʃ} & : \text{'know'} \\
\text{ʃtoʃ} & : \text{'rat'} \\
\text{ʃdodɔʃ} & : \text{'kind of bird'} \\
\text{ʃloloʃ} & : \text{'carry on back'} \\
\text{ʃtæʃ} & : \text{'flatulate'} \\
\text{ʃdæʃ} & : \text{'big'} \\
\text{ʃlæʃ} & : \text{[nã]} \quad \text{'and'} \\
\text{ʃtʃ} & : \text{'hear'} \\
\text{ʃdiʃ} & : \text{'eat'} \\
\text{ʃciʃ} & : \text{'avoid'} \\
\text{ʃjɪʃ} & : \text{'stand'} \\
\text{ʃtaʃ} & : \text{'raise'} \\
\text{ʃdalaʃ} & : \text{'old form of money'} \\
\text{ʃcacaʃ} & : \text{'hair around men's nipples'} \\
\text{ʃjaʃ} & : \text{'foot'}
\end{align*}
\]
\( /\text{cf} / \) is a lightly aspirated, voiceless palatal plosive.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{cef} / & \quad \text{'bank'} \\
/\text{jef} / & \quad \text{'defecate'} \\
/\text{jef} / & \quad \text{'1st person plural pronoun'} \\
/\text{cēf} / & \quad \text{'day'} \\
/\text{jīf} / & \quad \text{'stand'} \\
/\text{jīT} / & \quad \text{'grow up'}
\end{align*}
\]

and \( /\text{kf} / \) and \( /\text{gf} / \):

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{cef} / & \quad \text{'share'} \\
/\text{jaf} / & \quad \text{'foot'} \\
/\text{kēf} / & \quad \text{'as'} \\
/\text{galef} / & \quad \text{'indigo'} \\
/\text{jof} / & \quad \text{'cool off'} \\
/\text{koʃ} / & \quad \text{'go'} \\
/\text{ngot} / & \quad \text{'oil'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\( /\text{kf} / \) and \( /\text{gf} / \) contrast with \( /\text{kpf} / \) and \( /\text{gbf} / \):

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{kukuf} / & \quad \text{'shade hut'} \\
/\text{kPuf} / & \quad \text{'launder'} \\
/\text{gbuf} / & \quad \text{'hearth'}
\end{align*}
\]
\[ \tilde{k}a\tilde{f} \quad \text{'tell'} \]
\[ \tilde{g}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \quad \text{'trap'} \]
\[ \tilde{k}\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \quad \text{'cry'} \]
\[ \tilde{n}\tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{e}\tilde{f} \quad ['\tilde{\eta}\tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{e}] \quad \text{'nothing'} \]

and with \[\text{twf} \]:
\[ \text{twaf} \quad \text{'child'} \]
\[ \text{tkaf} \quad \text{'bite'} \]
\[ \text{tgaf} \quad \text{'indigo'} \]

\[ \tilde{k}\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \] is a lightly aspirated, voiceless labio-velar plosive.

\[ \tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \] is a lightly aspirated, voiced labio-velar plosive.

Further restrictions on the occurrence of the stops:
\[ \tilde{k}\tilde{f} \text{ and } \tilde{g}\tilde{f} \text{ do not occur before } \tilde{t}\tilde{j} \text{ or } \tilde{t}\tilde{i} \tilde{f}. \]
\[ \tilde{k}\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \text{ and } \tilde{g}\tilde{b}\tilde{a}\tilde{f} \text{ do not occur before } \tilde{t}\tilde{j} \text{ or } \text{twf}. \]
\[ \tilde{c}\tilde{f} \text{ and } \tilde{t}\tilde{j} \text{ do not occur before } \tilde{t}\tilde{j}. \]

123.2 Fricatives
\[ \tilde{f}\tilde{f} \], a voiceless labio-dental fricative, and \[\tilde{f}\tilde{s}\tilde{f} \], a voiceless alveolar fricative, are voiced, \[ [v] \text{ and } [z] \] respectively, following the homorganic nasal:\textsuperscript{1}
\[ \tilde{f}\tilde{n}\tilde{j}\tilde{j}\tilde{e}\tilde{f} \quad ['\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\eta}\tilde{j}\tilde{e}] \quad \text{'ribs'} \]
\[ \tilde{f}\tilde{f}\tilde{f}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{f} \quad ['\tilde{f}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\gamma}] \quad \text{'shade'} \]

\textsuperscript{1}[v] \text{ and } [z] \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 } \nu \text{ and } \gamma.
The three exceptions to this rule are all in the numeral system:

/ñswēf/ [ŋzē] 'ashes'
/jensuʃ/ [jēnu] 'a bush spirit'

NSAf /ŋsã/ 'three'
NSjēf /ŋsjē/ 'six'
NSOf /ŋso/ '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.

/ʃf/ contrasts with /mʃ/:

/ʃfēf/ 'be white'
/mmēf/ 'swallow'

and /ʃwʃ/:

/ʃfaʃ/ 'take'
/wawf/ 'child'

/sʃ/ contrasts with /ʃlʃ/:

/ʃlaʃ/ 'lie down'
/saʃ/ 'draw water'
/nǐf/ [nǐ] 'mother'
/sǐf/ 'fire'

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123.3 **Lateral**

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

- /lołol/ 'carry on back'
- /doloł/ 'a red bird'
- /lwав/ 'plant'
- /dwa/ 'tail'
- /jлɛ/ 'possessive suffix'
- /dje/ 'canoe'

/ɬ/ 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 /ɬ/ to [n] must be ordered after the rule nasali-

- /lă:/ [nă] 'and'
- /łu:/ [nű] 'in'
- /lị:/ [nĩ] 'mother'
- /ljā/ [njā] 'look'
- /lwă:/ [nẅă] 'mouth'

b) following /n/, homorganic nasal:

- /nлă:/ [n̂nă] 'four'
- /nлɛ:/ [n̂nɛ] 'meat, animal'

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‘nlolof [ŋnolo] 'a dance'
‘fjanlef [jänne] 'black deer'
‘afjanlaf [afänna] 'four-legged animal'

As C₂ in a C₁C₂V syllable:

/ɪ/ is realized as [i], a voiced lateral, following /b, p, m, f, k, g, 
k̡, ɐ, and w/ preceding oral vowels:

(pdlo) [plɔ] 'manioc paste'
(plœ) [ble] 'black'
(ple) [mla] 'law'
(fle) [fle] 'call'
(kle) [kle] 'hat'
(glæglæ) [gloglo] 'kind of insect'
(kplæ) [kplo] 'skin'
(gble) [gble] 'ruse'
(wlæ) [wla] 'rival'

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

(tle) [tʃe] 'head'
(jändla) [pændʒa] 'proverb'
(slæ) [sʃa] 'moon'
(nsli) [ŋzʃa] 'gathering'
(cloclø) [ʃlolo] 'funnel'
(jla) [ʃa] 'lion'
(jlæ) [ʃa] 'burn'

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$\bar{i}f$ is realized as $[\ddot{i}]$, a nasal lateral, following $\bar{f}b$, $p$, $m$, $f$, $k$, $g$, $\bar{c}p$, $\bar{g}b$, and $w$ preceding a nasal vowel:

- $\bar{f}bl\bar{i}f$ $[bl\ddot{i}]$ 'quiet'
- $\bar{f}m\ddot{i}a$ $[mi\ddot{a}]$ 'Wednesday'
- $\bar{f}j\ddot{i}f\ddot{i}f$ $[\ddot{n}i\ddot{f}\ddot{i}]$ 'breast'
- $\bar{f}k\dot{e}$ $[k\ddot{e}]$ 'drum'
- $\bar{f}ng\dot{e}w\ddot{u}$ $[\ddot{n}g\ddot{e}w\ddot{u}]$ 'morning'
- $\bar{f}kpl\ddot{a}$ $[kp\ddot{a}]$ 'plant'
- $\bar{f}Ngbl\ddot{a}a$ $[\ddot{n}gbl\ddot{a}a]$ 'lightning'
- $\bar{f}w\ddot{l}aw\ddot{l}a$ $[\ddot{w}l\ddot{a}w\ddot{l}a]$ 'wander'

$\bar{i}f$ is realized as $[\ddot{r}]$, a nasal flap, following $\bar{f}t$, $d$, $s$, $c$, $j$ and $\bar{j}f$ preceding nasal vowels:

- $\bar{f}tl\ddot{a}$ $[t\ddot{r}\ddot{a}]$ 'sit'
- $\bar{f}Nd\ddot{f}5$ $[n\ddot{d}\ddot{f}5]$ 'slippery'
- $\bar{f}sl\ddot{a}$ $[s\ddot{r}\ddot{a}]$ 'person'
- $\bar{f}jl\ddot{a}$ $[j\ddot{r}\ddot{a}]$ 'stand'
- $\bar{f}jl\ddot{u}$ $[n\ddot{r}\ddot{u}]$ 'face'

123.4 Glides.

$\bar{w}f$ is realized as $[\ddot{q}]$, a labio-palatal glide, as $C_2$ of a $C_1C_2V$ syllable

a) following alveolar consonants preceding $\bar{i}$, $e$ and $\bar{e}$:

- $\bar{f}twi\ddot{f}$ $[t\ddot{u}i]$ 'gun'
- $\bar{f}adwi\ddot{f}$ $[a\ddot{d}u\ddot{i}]$ 'an amulet'
- $\bar{f}swi\ddot{f}$ $[s\ddot{u}i]$ 'elephant'
- $\bar{f}lw\ddot{f}$ $[l\ddot{q}i]$ 'fat'
25

/swe/ ['civit' 
/swe/ ['water' 

(but not preceding /af/: /swe/ [swa] 'house,' /twaf [twa] 'penis,' 
/flwa/ [lwa] 'plant')

b) following palatal consonants preceding /i, e, e and a/: 
/flu/ [mye] 'eight' 
/fje/ ['fish' 
/lajwa/ [laqya] 'kind of mouse' 
/ljwa/ [lja] 'lower back' 
/jwa/ ['death' 
/jwa/ [jqa] 'sun' 
/aklijwa/ [akljiqia] 'dwarf'

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

/af/ [wa] 'child' 
/af/ [we] 'swim' 
/af/ [uwa] 'steal' 
/af/ [uwo] 'snake'

The phonetic distinction between [uwa] 'steal' and [wa] 'child' 
and between [lje] 'firewood' and [je] '1st person plural pronoun' is 
slight. It is characterized by a tenser rounding of the lips in pro-
ducing the sound at the beginning of [uwa] than at the beginning of 
[wa] and similarly a tenser palatal sound at the beginning of [lje] than 
at the beginning of [je]. There is, however, an important structural 
distinction: the fact that the verbs /flwa/ [uwa] 'steal' and /flja/ 
lje] 'meet' pattern tonally with verbs of the shape CCV and not with 
the verbs of the shape CV.
\[2laf\] [wla] 'rival'
\[2lul\] [wlu] 'enter'
\[2lwa\] [lwa] 'plant'
\[2bwe\] [bwe] 'half'

\[2w\] is realized as \([\tilde{\eta}]\), a nasalized labio-palatal glide, as \(C_2\) of a \(C_1C_2V\) syllable

a) following alveolar stops and fricative preceding \(\tilde{\eta}\) and \(\tilde{\epsilon}\):
\[\text{\(fbodw\)}\] [bod\(\tilde{\eta}\)] 'bark'
\[\text{\(ftw\)}\] [t\(\tilde{\eta}\)] 'chicken coop'
\[\text{\(f\text{text{nt}}\)}\] [n\(\tilde{\eta}\)] 'ashes'
\[\text{\(f\text{text{ja}}\text{text{nt}}\)}\] [n\(\tilde{\eta}\)] 'shame'

b) following palatal consonants preceding \(\tilde{\epsilon}\) and \(\tilde{a}\):
\[\text{\(fcw\)}\] [c\(\tilde{\eta}\)] 'pull'
\[\text{\(fcw\text{text{a}}\)}\] [c\(\tilde{\eta}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'sweep'

(Examples with \(\text{\(ft\)}\) and \(\text{\(fr\)}\) are not available but informants agree that such sequences are possible.)

\[2w\] is realized as \([\tilde{\nu}]\), a nasalized labio-velar glide, in all other nasal environments:
\[\text{\(fw\)}\] [\(\tilde{\nu}\)] 'husband'
\[\text{\(fw\)}\] [\(\tilde{\nu}\)] 'mother's brother'
\[\text{\(awl\)}\] [\(\tilde{\nu}\)] 'wander'
\[\text{\(awl\)}\] [\(\tilde{\nu}\)] 'heart'

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

- \[\text{ji}\] ['wife']
- \[\text{je}\] ['1st person plural pronoun']
- \[\text{tja}\] ['stop on']
- \[\text{bje}\] ['urinate']
- \[\text{i}\je\] ['firewood']
- \[\text{i}\ja\] ['gather']
- \[\text{j}\la\] ['burn']

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

- \[\text{bj}\a\] ['man']
- \[\text{mj}\a\] ['press']
- \[\text{ŋm}\je\] ['sky']
- \[\text{fj}\e\] ['dirty']
- \[\text{n}\fj\e\] ['ribs']

\[\text{j}\] is realized as \[\text{n}\], a palatal nasal stop, syllable-initially preceding or following a nasal segment:

- \[\text{n}\i\] ['face, eyes']
- \[\text{n}\a\] ['gain']
- \[\text{n}\n\je\] ['roll of cloth']
- \[\text{n}\ne\] ['kapok tree']

---

\(^1\)See footnote 1, page 25.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{\texttt{\textasciicircum n\textcircled{\textasciicircum e}}} \ [\text{\textasciicircum n\textcircled{\textasciicircum e}}] $</td>
<td>'how much?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{\texttt{\textasciicircum s\textasciicircum a\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum j\textasciicircum e\textasciicircum r}} \ [\text{\textasciicircum s\textasciicircum a\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum p\textasciicircum a}] $</td>
<td>'anteater'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{\texttt{\textasciicircum j\textasciicircum o\textasciicircum j\textasciicircum o\textasciicircum j\textasciicircum t\textasciicircum e}} \ [\text{\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum p\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum n\textasciicircum n}] $</td>
<td>'roll up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 123.5 Limitations of consonant-glide-vowel sequence

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

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

*Only 1 example
**Only 2 examples

The following generalizations can be made about these restrictions:

a) With two exceptions (/pjo\textasciicircum nbjo/ 'sharp' and /djo ūm\textasciicircum j\textasciicircum e/) only **unrounded** vowels occur following a consonant-glide sequence.

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

c) /c, j, k, g, kp, gb/, the high consonants, do not occur preceding /j/; in addition, /kf/, /gb/ do not occur preceding /aw/.

---

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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>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kp</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>gb</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllabic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonantal</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>back</td>
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<tr>
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<td>coronal</td>
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<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```
i e ε a ɔ o u N
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ε</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ɔ</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllabic</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consonantal</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>round</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The features [high, grave, round and lateral] are non-distinctive for the consonants but are included since they are used to define classes of sounds in the phonological rules. /n/ is a syllabic nasal, unspecified for other features since phonetically it is homorganic with the following consonant.

The symbols used in this discussion are the following:

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
F_1 \\
F_2 \\
\vdots \\
F_n
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\langle \rangle \quad \text{If item within angled braces is chosen, then the other item within angled braces must be chosen.}
\]
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:

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

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 /ən fo/[əŋvə] 'pity'
CV /bo/[bo] 'forest'
CVN /kɔŋ gɔ/[kɔŋgɔ] 'kind of antelope'
CCV /kla/[kla] 'wrap'
CCVN /kloŋ ɡbɔ/[kloŋɡbɔ] '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 /ŋ/, the syllabic nasal, which loses its syllabicity (Section 132.1) in this position.

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

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

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

MSC 3  
T:  
This condition states that if a glide follows a true consonant or a liquid (i.e. excluding the glides and the syllabic nasal), the following vowel is non-round (/i, e, ɛ, a/). For example /bwi/ 'bark,' /bwa/ 'sheep,' /bje/ 'urinate,' /bja/ 'stool' occur but not */bwu/ or */bwo/, */bju/, or */bjɔ/.

MSC 4  
T:  
This condition states that if a labio-velar consonant (/l̪, ɡb/) is followed by a non-syllabic, it is obligatorily /l/. For example, /lkpl̪o/ 'skin' and /gbl̪e/ 'ruse' occur but not */kpl̪jV/, */gbjV/, */kpwV/ or */gbwV/.

MSC 5  
T:  
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

I: [+consonantal] [+sonorant] [-sonorant] [-nasal] [-nasal] [+]syllabic] [+]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

I: [+consonantal] [+]nasal [+]high [-back] [-sonorant]

T: [+back] [+anterior] [+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/ [jja] 'sir') and the syllable-final, word-medial nasal (in words like /kpέnbεn/ [kpέnbεn] '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, [-nasal].

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 syllabicly to the homorganic nasal when it occurs
word-initially, there would be no way to predict what tone that syllabic
nasal would have.

**HOMORGANIC NASAL RULE**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ngo/</td>
<td>[ŋgo]</td>
<td>'oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ngba/</td>
<td>[ŋgba]</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nje/</td>
<td>[ŋje]</td>
<td>kapok tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/konfi/</td>
<td>[kɔnfi]</td>
<td>'greed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/janle/</td>
<td>[jane]</td>
<td>'black deer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 inven-
tory of syllable shapes. However, since the syllable-final homorganic
nasal occurs only word-medially, we will have to additionally posit
C(C)VN syllables word-finally.

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

/ʃmlaʃ/ [mla] 'law'
/ʃblaʃ/ [bla] 'woman'
/ʃwlaʃ/ [wla] 'rival'
/ʃmẽʃ/ [mẽ] 'swallow'
/ʃbɔʃ/ [bɔ] 'give off odor'
/ʃwẽʃ/ [wẽ] 'say'

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+syllabic]} & \text{[+nasal]} & \{\text{C}\} & \{\text{#}\} \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

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

- /dam/ VOW NASA [dă] 'big'
- /kpamflēm/ VOW NASA [kpaflē] 'young man'

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

- /dumam/ VOW NASA [dumā] 'name'
- /jamjēm/ VOW NASA [namjē] 'sky'

The above two examples are not yet fully derived, their phonetic forms being [dūmā] and [nāmjē]. 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

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

\[ [+\text{high}] \quad [-\text{low}] \]

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

/diɪm/
VOW NASA \([\text{diɪ}]\)
REGRES NAS \([\text{dɪT}]\) 'quiet'

/klaam/
VOW NASA \([\text{klaa}]\)
REGRES NAS \([\text{klaa}]\) 'pretty'

/jumam/
VOW NASA \([\text{jumaa}]\)
REGRES NAS \([\text{jumaa}]\) 'work'

/kanga/
HOMOR NAS \([\text{kanga}]\)
REGRES NAS \([\text{kanga}]\) 'crab'

/kpęŋgęm/
HOMOR NAS \([\text{kpęŋgęm}]\)
VOW NASA \([\text{kpęŋgęm}]\)
REGRES NAS \([\text{kpęŋgęm}]\) '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 [æjɪble]  

/wumfo/
HOMOR NAS [awumfo]  
REGRES NAS [awūmfo]  
SON NAS [awūmfo]  
REGRES NAS [awūmfo]  
(VOICING [awūvmvo]*  

*presented below

132.4 Nasalization of sonorants

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

SONORANT NASALIZATION RULE

\[ [+sonorant] \rightarrow [+nasal] / \langle [-syllabic] \rangle \rightarrow [+nasal] \]

The rule states that /w/ becomes [\~u] before all nasal segments and that /l/ and /j/ become [\~i] and [\~j] respectively only after a consonant or a glide, i.e. as \( C_2 \) of a \( C_1 C_2 V \) syllable. This rule is ordered after Vowel Nasalization. For example

/klum/
VOW NASA [klũ]  
SON NASA [klũ]  

/ljam/
VOW NASA [ljã]  
SON NASA [ljã]  
(NAS STOPS [njã]*)  

/wum/
VOW NASA [wũ]  
SON NASA [wũ]  

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132.5 **Nasal stops**

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

**NASAL STOP RULE**

\[
\begin{align*}
+\text{sonorant} & & -\text{grave} \\
\{\text{<-lateral}\}_a & \Rightarrow \{\text{<-lateral}\}_b \\
\{\text{+lateral}\}_a & \Rightarrow \{\text{+lateral}\}_b
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VOW NASA} & \quad /jæm/ \\
\text{NAS STOP} & \quad [næ] \quad \text{'gain, get'} \\
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad /nje/ \\
\text{NAS STOP} & \quad [næ] \quad \text{'how much'}
\end{align*}
\]


VOW NASA                [jlu]
SON NASA                [jlu]
NASAL STOP              [nlu]
(LATERAL               [nłu])

'face'  *presented below

VOW NASA                [jamje]
REGRES NAS              [jämje]
SON NASA                [jämje]
NAS STOP                [nämje]

'sky'

VOW NASA                [alwā]
SON NASA                [alwā]
NAS STOP                [anwā]
REGRES NAS              [änwā]

'door'

VOW NASA                [łamā]
NAS STOP                [nänā]

'grandparent'

VOW NASA                [alumujā]
REGRES NAS              [alūmujā]
NAS STOP                [anūmujā]
REGRES NAS              [änūmunā]

'famous'

VOW NASA                [nla]
HOMOR NAS               [nla]
NAS STOP                [nñā]

'four'

132.6 Voicing of fricatives

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

**VOICING ASSIMILATION RULE**

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

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

/rls\n
HOMOR NAS [ŋs]\nVOICING [ŋzu] 'what'

/HOMOR NAS [ŋfjɛm]\nVOW NASA [ŋfjɛ]\nSON NASA [ŋfjɛ]\nVOICING [ŋvjɛ] 'ribs'

/The three numerals /nsam/ [ŋsæ] 'three,' /nsjem/ [ŋsje] 'six,' and /nso/ [ŋso] 'seven' are marked in the lexicon [-Voicing Assimilation Rule].

132.7 Labio-palatal glide

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[-syllabic]} & \rightarrow \text{[back]} \\
\text{[-consonantal]} & \rightarrow \text{[back]} \\
\text{[+back]} & \rightarrow \text{[back]} \\
\end{align*}
\]  

This rule states that /w/ becomes [y] 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 [y] but this is a general restriction following all sequences of two non-syllables and has already been stated in MSC 3. For example

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HOMOR NAS} & \quad [\text{nswe}m] \\
\text{VOW NASA} & \quad [\text{nswe}] \\
\text{SON NASA} & \quad [\text{nswe}] \\
\text{VOICING} & \quad [\text{nzwe}] \\
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{nzue}] \\ & \quad \text{'ashes'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{lyi}] \\ & \quad \text{'fat'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{cya}] \\ & \quad \text{'spear'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{ajye}] \\ & \quad \text{'rice'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{ja}\text{ya}] \\ & \quad \text{'sun'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FRONTING} & \quad [\text{aklijw}\text{e}] \\ & \quad \text{'dwarf'}
\end{align*}
\]
132.8 Rounding of consonants

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

LABIALIZATION RULE

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
\text{[+round]} & \emptyset & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

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

LABIALIZA /sule/
(LATERAL [ˈsʊle]) 'termite hill' *presented below

/kulam/
VOW NASA [kʊləm]
SON NASA [kʊlə]
LABIALIZA [kʊlə] 'widowhood'

/labə/ /jula/
LABIALIZA [jʊə] 'descend'

132.9 The lateral

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

LATERAL RULE

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

*The previously arbitrarily-assigned tone on this vowel is also deleted.

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

/sla/
LATERAL [ʃra] 'moon'
/tle/
LATERAL [tʃe] 'head'
/jla/
LATERAL [ʃja] 'lion'
/jla/
LATERAL [ʃja] 'burn'

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

/slam/
VOW NASA [ʃla]
SON NASA [ʃla]
LATERAL [ʃra] 'person'

140. Tone

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

The tones can be represented thus

[--------------------------]
[--------------------------]
[--------------------------]

high rising mid falling low

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

High (')

\( \overline{\text{sa}} \)  'affair'

\( \overline{\text{se}} \)  'clay pot'

\( \overline{\text{bw}} \)  'liver'

\( \overline{\text{bl}} \)  'well'

Rising (-

\( \overline{\text{sa}} \)  'hand'

\( \overline{\text{kpo}} \)  'awl'

\( \overline{\text{bw}} \)  'water pot'

\( \overline{\text{kpl}} \)  'skin'

Mid (-)

\( \overline{\text{d}} \)  'termite'

\( \overline{\text{g}} \)  'trap'

\( \overline{\text{bl}} \)  'woman'

\( \overline{\text{k}} \)  'village'

Falling (\(\overline{\text{\_}}\))

\( \overline{\text{s}} \)  'funeral'

\( \overline{\text{b}} \)  'bottom'

\( \overline{\text{bl}} \)  'flute'

\( \overline{\text{k}} \)  'species'
Low (°)

/sà/ 'ginger'
/sà/ 'child'
/bwà/ 'sheep'
/kle/ 'toad'

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

A contour tone syllable is not noticeably longer than a level-tone syllable: the difference in length (if one exists) between sà and sà 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

/kweY/ 'fetus'
/kweē/ 'ronier palm'

/lay/ 'day'
/lā/ 'long ago'

/atreY/ 'head'
/atreê/ '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. (ʹ) → sé kpá  'good cooking-pot'
2. (ʾ) → sé blū ū  'ten cooking-pots'
3. (ʾ) → kwālā blā  'widow'
4. (ʾ) → sé kō  'one cooking-pot'
5. (ʾ) → sé dā  'big cooking-pot'

6. (ʾ) → jē kpá  'good tooth'
7. (ʾ) → jē blū ū  'ten teeth'
8. (ʾ) → blū klā  'Blu's village'
9. (ʾ) → jē kō  'one tooth'
10. (ʾ) → jē dā  'big tooth'

11. (ʾ) → gō kpá  'good trap'
12. (ʾ) → gō blū ū  'ten traps'
13. (ʾ) → blā klā  'woman's village'
14. (ʾ) → gō kō  'one trap'
15. (ʾ) → gō dā  'big trap'

16. (ʾ) → blō kpá  'good flute'
17. (ʾ) → blō blū ū  'ten flutes'
18. (ʾ) → bē blō  'search for sticks called be'
19. (ʾ) → blō kō  'one flute'
20. (ʾ) → blō dā  'big flute'

21. (ʾ) → bē kpá  'good mat'
22. (ʾ) → bē blū ū  'ten mats'

* ʾ is a low-mid rising tone, different from a normal rising tone which is mid-high (ʾ).
23. (′−) \(\rightarrow\) bè blō \quad \text{'search for leaves called bè'}

24. (′) \(\rightarrow\) bè k\(\text{̄}\) \quad \text{'one mat'}

25. (′′) \(\rightarrow\) bè dā \quad \text{'big mat'}

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

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

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

- **Mid:**
  - [ −high ]
  - [ −low ]

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

- **Low:**
  - [ +low ]
  - [ −contour ]
  - [ −high ]
  - [ −low ]
  (is redundantly [-low])
  (is redundantly [-high])

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

The rules are ordered:

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

This rule states that a rising tone is lowered following a falling tone phrase-finally (\(,\)) as in #17 above. Non-phrase-finally #17 would be:

---

\(^1\)An alternative analysis of tone in Baule was put forth in a previously written article (Timyan 1975) in which contour tones were considered a series of two level tones occurring on a single syllable at the underlying level. However, the rules had to take into account whether a certain tone was the first or the second tone of a given syllable which is another way of saying that contour tones have to be recognized.
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. kō 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:  \[ \begin{align*} &\text{[+low]} \rightarrow \text{[+low]} \quad / \quad \text{[+low]} \quad / \quad \text{[+low]} \\ &\alpha \\text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \\text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \\text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \\text{[high]} \\ &\alpha \text{[low]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[low]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[low]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[low]} \\ &\text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \end{align*} \]

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:  \[ \begin{align*} &\text{[+low]} \rightarrow \text{[+low]} \quad / \quad \text{[+low]} \\ &\alpha \text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[high]} \quad / \quad \alpha \text{[high]} \\ &\text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \quad / \quad \text{[+contour]} \end{align*} \]

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

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

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. jê blù  

TR 4  jê blù  'ten teeth'
The above described tone changes take place within word boundaries also. All disyllabic words fall into nine tone classes, represented by the following words with their phonetic pitches:

I  kléjá  'antelope'
II  sómá  'fiancé'
III  ǎgbọ̀  'toucan'
IV  ńání  'cloth'
V  ǎkọ̀  'chicken'
VI  bẹjẹ̀  'sack'
VII  ǎkọ̀  'parrot'
VIII  ǎgbẹ̀  'manioc'
IX  ǎflé̀  'squash'
The following underlying tones are posited for each class based on the
tonal sandhi which takes place in the context of a phrase:

I  kléfá
II  sómà
III  ágbò
IV  tání
V  áko
VI  bájé
VII  ákò
VIII  ágbá
IX  àfílé

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

V  Underlying form:  zóbò ákò
TR 2:  zóbò ákò
TR 4:  zóbò ákò  'Zibo's chicken'

VI  Underlying form:  ó bájé
TR 2:  ó bájé
TR 4:  ó bájé  'his sack'
VII Underlying form: ɛ əkə  
TR 2: ɛ əkə  
TR 4: ɛ əkə  'his parrot'

VIII Underlying form: zɪbɔ əgbə  
TR 1: zɪbɔ əgbə  
TR 4: zɪbɔ əgbə  'Zibo's manioc'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone on the first syllable</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>mh</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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></th>
<th>Classes I &amp; II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative mode</td>
<td>falling</td>
<td>falling$falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certaintive mode</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high$falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive mode</td>
<td>rising</td>
<td>rising$high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2) \( (\tilde{\alpha} \, \text{kündɛ́} \, s\check{e}) \rightarrow \tilde{\alpha} \, \text{kündɛ́} \, s\check{e} \) 'You look for pots/a pot.'

- falling \( \rightarrow \) high/rising \( \_ \_ \_ \) (TR 2)
- rising \( \rightarrow \) mid/\_ \_ high \( \_ \_ \) (TR 4)

(3) \( (\tilde{\eta} \, \text{kündɛ́} \, s\check{e}) \rightarrow \tilde{n} \, \text{kündɛ́} \, s\check{e} \) '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 subject</td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{\alpha} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- after all other subjects</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certaintive:</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive:</td>
<td>( \tilde{\alpha} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{\alpha} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{\alpha} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- after rising tone subject</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- after all other subjects</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{dí} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{njá} )</td>
<td>( \tilde{n} , \text{kündɛ́} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \tilde{\alpha} \), 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.

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 Certain-tive form Zibo di' 'Zibo will eat' (underlying tones of subject: Zibo): 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 o, 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{n} \text{ di} & \quad 'I eat' \\
\tilde{n} \text{ di} & \quad 'I eat it' \\
\tilde{n} \text{ s\l\'e} & \quad 'I ask' \\
\tilde{n} \text{ s\l\'e} & \quad 'I ask for it' \\
\tilde{n} \text{ k\u\'nde} & \quad 'I look for' \\
\tilde{n} \text{ k\u\'nde} & \quad 'I look for it'
\end{align*}
\]
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: $\bar{a} + \text{Stative}$ (i.e. $\bar{d} \text{nja} \text{kund} \text{e}$)

Imperfective: $\bar{s}u- + \text{Certaintive}$ (i.e. $\bar{d} \text{nja} \text{kund} \text{e}$)

Factual Past: $\text{Stative} + -\bar{i}, \bar{u}$ (i.e. $\text{nja} \text{kund} \text{e}$)

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 (wa̤, kɔ) with the Subjunctive and Certaintive
rising tone (wa̤, kɔ) 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 [ŋ]
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 [ŋ]allophones of /l/ and /j/ respectively
are recognized. Nasal vowels are marked with a tilde (~), reflecting
the surface phonemic contrasts between oral and nasal vowels. The
homorganic nasal is written as n. Labialized consonants are written
as Cw (for example swle 'termite hill'). All grammatical morphemes
will be given in both their systematic phonemic shape and in their
broad phonetic shape. The symbols used are those of the International
Phonetic Alphabet.

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

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

b) to indicate the negative when the negative morpheme is in-
corporated into the duplicated vowel allomorph of the fac-
tual past suffix (Section 238.2 ). In this case a high
tone is placed on the duplicated vowel.
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

substantive phrase (SP) + verb phrase (VP)

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

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

Interrogative sentences

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

1) a) a su-kɔ.
   'You are going.'

    b) a su-kɔ?
   'Are you going?'

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

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

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

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

Negative sentences

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

4) a) kpejā ɔ.
'it's a muskrat.'

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

Focus is indicated primarily by the use of focusing morphemes, topicalization by movement to the front of the sentence. Devices for indicating focus include the use of the emphatic particle bo and bobo after a focused substantive (Section 222.7), the use of the associative -lje 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 $n\bar{t}$ (Section 222.5) and the associative $\grave{\text{le}}$ (Section 222.4). Substantives are further subdivided into five sub-classes on the basis of co-occurrence possibilities, the precise semantic value the specifier $n\bar{t}$ 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 $n\bar{t}$ does not indicate specificity but rather focus or emphasis. For example

**Name:**

1) Kofi bo-o $n\bar{t}$.

2 3 4

Kofi hit FPST Is

1 2 3 4

'Kofi hit me.'
Kofi-ni, e bo-o ni.
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) Bouake wo mmwa.
Name: 1 2 3

Bouake LCOP far
1 2 3

'Bouake is far away.'

Bouake-ni, klo nga wo mmua!
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

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

Pro- 3) e jła lo.
noun: 1 2 3

3s stand there
1 2 3

'He stands there.'

e-li jła 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 n i 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, āe, and never with the second person plural pronoun, āmū. For example

6) be-mū wo-ɔ 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.'
7) je-mū nga je tlā klo wa-nī, je 1e a sika.
   1 2  3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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

   money
   12

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

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

8) a-li a si a ngwelele.
   1 2  3 4 5 6

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

   'You know not wisdom.'

221.2 Names

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

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

221.3 Place names

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

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

221.4 Pronouns

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

They are

1st person singular (1s) n, mī (/N/, /mim/)
2nd person singular (2s) a, wɔ (/a/, /wɔ/)
3rd person singular (3s) e (/e/)
1st person plural (1p) je (/je/)
2nd person plural (2p) ämū (/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 ṃ and wo occur in the following four environments:

a) As independent forms, often used for emphasis:

9) ṃ o.

'it's me.'

10) ṃ je n wo- o lo.

1s COP 1s go FPST there

'it's me who went.'

11) ṃ ṃ , m' a-wu lika.

1 2 3 4 5 6

self 1s 1s PERF see place

'l myself, I can see.'

12) a kungba wo wo le o?

1 2 3 4 5 6

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.

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13) wo, awofwe kō-nī, ko wūsi?

2s stranger one SPEC go (IMP) wash

'You, Stranger there, go wash!'

b) Clause finally:

14) c fa-a jwe-nī mā-ā mī.

3s take FPST fish SPEC give FPST ls

'He took the fish and gave to me.'

15) n nī a-fle mī.

ls mother PERF call ls

'My Mother has called me.'

16) bo be si a mī nī, n su-kō a lo.

since 3P know (STA) NEG ls DISC, ls IMPRF go NEG there

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

17) bla nā n sūmā wo.

come (IMP) and ls send (SUBJ) 2s

'Come so I can send you (on an errand).'
18) se je swa wo nī, a jù lo a sé se?
   if 1p 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) mī je nī wo j'a-bo su je wo le.
   since 1p 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 âmū 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 marker a- (the only verbal prefix that is a vowel).
   In the latter environment mī and wo are realized as [m] and [w]

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respectively (non-syllabic) and are written m' and w' to indicate that they are separate morphemes from the vowel a (Perfect marker) which completes the syllable:

22) m'a-di ike.
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
Is PERF eat thing
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
'I have eaten.'

23) m'a-wüi.
\[\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
Is PERF see-3s
\[\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
'I have seen it.'

24) w'a-di ike.
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
2s PERF eat thing
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
'You have eaten.'

25) w'a-wüi.
\[\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
2s PERF see-3s
\[\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
'You have seen it.'

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

26) m'I ako

'\underline{my} chicken'

w'I ako

'\underline{your} chicken'
27) mĩ awlo
   'my home'

w'awlo
   'your home'

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

28) mĩ nga
   'my ring'

wo nga
   'your ring'

29) mĩ nzā
   'my wine'

wo nzā
   'your wine'

_n_ and _a_ occur elsewhere; that is,

a) Non clause-finally:

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

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

    'I'm going to the fields, I'll return.'
31) n nanti ng a su n ba-li.

\[2 3 4 5 6 7 8\]

Is walk (STA) Is foot on Is come FPST
\[2 3 4 5 6 7 8\]

'I came on foot.'

32) a fi\^e n se?

\[2 3 4\]

2s call (CERT) Is what
\[2 3 4\]

'What will you name me?'

33) ako-n\^i bole jo-o n fe.

\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]

chicken SPEC crowing do FPST Is sweet
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]

'The crowing of the cock pleases me.'

34) a su-minde a m\^i?

\[1 2 3 4 5\]

2s IPRF wait NEG Is
\[1 2 3 4 5\]

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

35) se m'a-ci a le c, waka-n\^i kpi\^o a le.

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

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

\[11 12\]

2s there

'If I don't tie there, the three will scrape you there.'
36) a ba nga, n kū a kpo!
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   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.
   1 2 3 4
   3s ICOP NEG bad
   'It doesn't matter.'

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40) ṇ fata-a ke sīșā je kūt ọ.

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

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

41) ṇ ka-a ajika ba-n7 kūngba.

3s stay FPST orphan child SPEC only

'It left only the orphan child.'

42) ọ-di cē ba nn5, be nā-a nzwe-n7.

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

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

43) ṇ jo-o se āmū ba-li o?

3s do FPST what 2p come FPST QUES

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

44) ṇ jo se ti je swa nga ti so?

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

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

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

45) kā
   'small'
   e kā
   'small one/small ones'

46) tēndē
   'long'
   e tēndē
   'long one/long ones'
   e tēndē-nī
   'the long one/the long ones'

47) je e wa-nī, e kaklafwe-nī bā c.
    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) e bobo-o ako sa nŋō, e bī e kō, e nīmā kō.
    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 e dā-nī.
    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'

nsā
'third (one)'

nsafwe
'third one'

nsā-nī, nsafwe-nī
'the third one'

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

52) ji-nī, np5fwe-nī a-wu a ba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   3s wife SPEC, 3s two AGT SPEC, 3s-PRF bear NEG child
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   'His wife, the second one, bore no children.'
   (Also translates: 'His second wife bore no children. ')

The addition of the 3s pronoun to the numeral one, kō, does not mean 'the first.' It means rather 'the one' as in
53) $\epsilon$ kō wā, 'mō n-1je, a flē n əc?
1 2 3  4  5  6  7 8  9 10
3s one say, 'self ls POSS, 2s call (CERT) ls what
1 2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10
'The one said, 'Mine, what will you name me?''

54) $\epsilon$ kō T-nī, $\epsilon$ 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) $\epsilon$ 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) $\epsilon$ klikli-fwe-nī ti silwa.
1 2  3  4  5  6
3s first AGT SPEC ICOP blind
1 2  3  4  5  6
'The first one was blind.'

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

57) be nsā
'they three'

(vs. $\epsilon$ nsā/ $\epsilon$ nsāfwe 'third one')

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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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i n si¹  'I know him' (si 'know')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e n se¹  'I tell him' (se 'tell')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e n me³  'I swallow it' (me 'swallow')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e n fe²  'I take it' (fe 'take')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o n te³  'I buy it' (te 'buy')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o n boe  'I hit him' (bo 'hit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>u n bui³ 'I break it' (bu '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 ʰi

'I know'

̃n si

'I know him'

60) ̃n ʰe

'I tell'

̃n se

'I tell him'

61) ̃n me

'I swallow'

̃n me

'I swallow it'

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

62) boli mënë-€ alakû su, € wlewle-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   goat lift up-3s FPST pants on, 3s put on-3s FPST
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   'Goat took up his pants, he put them, i.e. it on.'
   (mämä 'lift up,' wlawla 'put on')

63) â te-e ba kã-nê je e leneg-e, këkle-e ku nû-s.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

   3s grab-3s FPST child small SPEC and 3s lay back-3s FPST,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   beat-3s FPST stomach in DISC
   11 12 13 14 15

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

64) â këkë-nä â ko-më.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   2p drive (SUBJ)-3s and 2p DM give(SUBJ)-3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   'Drive it (i.e. cow) and go give to him.' (kääkä 'drive
   [cows],' mä 'give')

65) be mëtë-€ niëë so.
   1 2 3 4 5

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

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

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

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

66) e boe-li
   'He hit him'

67) e bui-li
   'He broke it'

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

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

70) nzwe bo be pew-e ce nga nü-ni . . .
   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 . . . (nü 'get')

71) e wlo-c bo kwati-e wü lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s hide-3s FPST buttocks house pole next there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He hid his buttocks next to the house pole.' (wlo 'hide')
2) The negative occurs after the 3s pronoun attached to the verb. (When the object of the verb is a substantive phrase rather than a pronoun, however, the negative precedes it.) The 3s pronoun changes the negative a or mā (Section 238.3) 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 nde nga kā.
1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'They can not speak of this affair.'

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 jē and be are realized as [j̚] and [b̚] 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, ämű, is realized as [ä] in fast speech. Alone among the plural pronouns, it appears to be analyzable. The 2s pronoun, a, and the 2p pronoun, ämű, differ in terms of the presence of the sequence -mű on the plural pronoun. mű is the suffix which marks plural individuation (Section 222.6), and /a/ would be automatically nasalized when followed by /m/.

221.5 Kin terms

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

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

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

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{n si}
  \textit{'Father/My Father'}
\item je wū
  \textit{'Husband/Our Husband'}
\item kofi wa
  \textit{'Kofi Child' (composite proper name)}
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{n njääbla}
  \textit{'Sister/My Sister'}
\item \textit{n njääbla-nī}
  \textit{'the sister of mine'}
\end{itemize}
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-nī
     'the tree/the trees'

Mass nouns vs. count nouns

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

Mass: ajwe    'rice'
     ajwe-nī    'the rice'
*ajwe-mū

nzwe    'water'
     nzwe-nī    'the water'
*nzwe-mū

ndɛ    'grass'
     ndɛ-nī    'the grass'
*ndɛ-mū

Count: conjo    'machete/machetes'
     conjo-nī    'the machete/the machetes'
     conjo-mū    'machetes (individuated)'
     bla    'woman/women'
     bla-nī    'the woman/the women'
     bla-mū    'women (individuated)'

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

83) ajwe
   'rice'

ajweba
   'rice kernel'

ajweba-mū
   'rice kernels (individuated)'

84) nzwe
   'water'

nzweba
   'stream'

nzweba-mū
   'streams (individuated)'

85) sika
   'money'

sikaba
   'coin'

sikaba-mū
   'coins (individuated)'

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Location nouns

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

Potential names

Potential names are a sub-class of count nouns. These include:
- Personal Nouns (names referring to age grades or types of people). e.g. talwa 'maiden,' bjä 'man,' kpēngbē 'old man,' blalébofwe 'blacksmith,' kọnpfwe 'hunter.'
- Animal Names. e.g. nänī 'cow,' gboklo 'hyena,' wete 'rat,' gbamọ '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 ḳọ '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'
klọ '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-ní ti kpa.
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

here SPEC ICOP good
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

'This place is good.' (specific here)

wa ti bète?
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \]

here ICOP peaceful
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \]

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

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

87) e fite-e lo.
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

3s exit FPST there
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

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

be fí lo-ní 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 nzá ti kpa.
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

there wine ICOP good
\[ 1 \, 2 \, 3 \, 4 \]

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

(Analogous to Bouaké nzá 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-mă-a bjă 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 afjē.
   
   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.'

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91) kofi wo bli.  
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'

nšu (/lum/) 'in front, front of'

wū (/wum/) 'near, next to'

afje (/afjem/) 'amidst, middle of'

nwā (/lwam/) 'edge of, end of'

klū (/klum/) 'interior of'

They are considered nouns for two reasons:

1) They can occur as the possessed noun in a possessive construction (Section 222.4) in which case they may be followed by the specifier -nī.  
93) se-nī e nū-nī ti fje.  
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-nTi (e) bo-nTi ti fioLo.
   tree SPEC 3s under SPEC ICOP cool

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

95) wusTi tabli-nTi (e) su-nTi.
   wash (IMP) table SPEC 3s surface SPEC

'Wash the surface of the table.'

96) swa si-nTi ti flenë.
   house behind SPEC ICOP clear

'The back of the house is cleared away.'

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

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

97) kpongbo nga-nTi, e nü-nTi ti fjë; nga-lje-nTi ti kpa.
   can this/that SPEC, 3s inside SPEC ICOP dirty; this/that

'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 nū '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) ε wo klo.
   1 2 3

3s LCOP village

1 2 3

'He is at the village.'

99) ε fi fje su.
   1 2 3 4

3s come from field on

1 2 3 4

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

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

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

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

101) m3 aja a-tla kpejaj blc lo.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7
ls trap PRF trap muskrat bush there
1  2  3  4  5  6  7
'My trap caught a muskrat in the bush there.'

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

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

103) tabli su ti kpleckplek.
1  2  3  4
'The table surface is smooth.'
The presence of the specifier -nT (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-nT 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.'
   1 2 3 4 5

105) a) e wo waka-nT 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-ɔ waka su.
   1 2 3 4 5

   3s go FPST tree on
   1 2 3 4 5

   'He went to defecate.'

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106) a) ɛ ti-nī su
   1 2 3 4
   'on his head'

     b) ɛ 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 afjë
   'village center'

110) a) gwa-nī bo
      
      market SPEC at place of
      1 2 3 4 5

   'place of the market'

b) gwa bo
   'market/shopping'

111) a) sa-nī sī

      hand SPEC behind
      1 2 3

   'back of the hand of'

b) sa sī
   'in possession of'

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

   bo       'buttocks
   sī       'back'
   ḃiḷū    'face'
   wū       'body'
   nwā      'mouth'
   afjë     'trunk middle (exterior)'
   klū      'belly (interior)'\(^1\)

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

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

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

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

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

ku nū 'in belly' becomes klū and that *klū nū does not occur, supposedly because it is redundant. This would suggest that klū is historically a compound locative construction: ku nū, which has become a body part name and in turn a locative which can itself be part of a locative construction: baje klū 'interior of bag,' waka klū 'interior of tree.'
114) a) ṣwe-ńi wo ẹ nwà.

fish SPEC LCOP 3s edge

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

b) ṣwe-ńi wo ẹ nwà nű.

fish SPEC LCOP 3s mouth in

'The fish is in his mouth.'

c) ẹ wo ẹ nwà 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 niți fje.

Kofi face LCOP dirty

'Kofi's face is dirty.'

116) swa niți fje.

house front LCOP dirty

'The house front (i.e. in front of the house) is dirty.'
117) ɛ plũ ti fjẽ.

3s face/front ICOP dirty

'His face/its front is dirty.'

221.8 **Derivational affixes**

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

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

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

118) ko 'go'

kôle 'going'

ɛ kôle jā n ja.

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

119) swā 'learn'

swäle 'learning'

fluwa swäle ti kekle

'Paper learning is hard.'
120) **bu**  'break'

**bule**  'breaking'

**veli bule jo a ja.**

1 2 3 4 5

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

1 2 3 4 5

121) **sū**  'cry'

**süle**  'crying'

**e klo süle.**

1 2 3

'She likes crying.'

1 2 3

122) **blo**  'ripen'

**blole**  'ripening'

**amāngo-nī wo blole.**

1 2 3 4

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

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) **di ngwa**  'tell story/stories'

**ngwa diле**  'story telling'

**e klo ngwa dile**

'He likes story telling'

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'worship spirit/spirits'

'spirit worshiping'

'We are coming from spirit worshiping.'

'clap hands'

'hand-clapping'

'They are at hand-clapping (i.e. in the process).'

牮i (/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. 牮i 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.

'fry'

'fried'

'fried rice'

'peel'

'peeled'

'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 k6.
    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 1 n1, fje e fle d6 n6 l6 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 to_†lwa_ 'spun cotton'

133) _wu_ _tānī_ 'weave cloth'

   _tānī_ _wu_†lwa_ 'woven cloth'

_†lwa_ (/wlε/) 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'

   _lawlε_ 'sleeping place'

135) _tlā_ 'sit'

   _tlawlε_ 'sitting/living place'

136) _kāngwa_ 'play, dance'

   _ngwa kawlε_ 'dancing place'

137) _ko_ 'go'

   _kowlε_ 'means/manner of going'

138) _bo_ 'hit'

   _bowlε_ 'means/manner of hitting'

_fwlε_ (/fwε/), 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'

ijo fwe 'speaker, spokesman'

140) bo 'hit, beat'

bo fwe 'beater, hitter'

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

141) bo blale 'hit iron'

blale bo fwe 'ironsmith'

142) di komjē 'divine by trance'

komjē difwe 'diviner'

143) di fje 'farm'

fje difwe 'farmer'

Adjectives:

144) koklo 'round'

'koklo fwe 'round one'

145) danga 'foolish'

dangafwe 'fool'

146) dā 'big'

dā fwe 'big one'
Nouns:

147) ajwe 'theivery'
ajweba 'thief'

148) klo 'village'
klofa 'villager'

149) wā 'name of neighboring tribe, the Wan'
wāfa-mū 'Wan people'

ba (/ba/), the particularizer, occurs on nouns to indicate 'one of' or 'a little one.' It has the allomorphic variants ma andmma and is probably historically related to the morphemes ba 'child' and mma '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'
154) nzwe 'water'
nzweba 'pond, stream'

Count nouns:

155) swa 'house'
swaba 'inner room'

156) fetet 'river'
feteba 'stream'

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

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

159) nī 'face'
nīma/īma 'eye'

160) a-di cēba nn3 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) ə ji mpu-ni, ə ba ko a-wu a ba.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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

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

162) ə fa-a ə ba ko mā-ā bjā-nī.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

221.9 **Interrogatives**

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

- wā (/wā/) 'who'
- nzu (/nzu/) 'what'
- nī, (/lim/)
- nīfā, (/limfā/) 'where'
- leṇī (/leṇī/)
- mpu (/mpu/) 'how many, how much'
- monī (/monī/) 'which'
- ə (/ə/) '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 ə?
1 2 3 4

who LCOP there QUES
1 2 3 4

'Who is there?'

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

   2s look for (STA) who
   1 2 3

   'Who are you looking for?'

165) e mā-ā wää?
   1 2 3 4

   3s give FPST who
   1 2 3 4

   'To _whom_ did he give (it)?'

166) e jo buzü?
   1 2 3

   3s do what
   1 2 3

   'What is he doing?'

167) buzü wo se nū c?
   1 2 3 4 5

   what LCOP pot in QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What is in the pot?'

168) a sje-e nǐfā?
   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.
174) \(\text{wā je e mě-li } o?\)
\[\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6
\end{array}\]
who COP 3s give-3s FPST QUES

'Who is it he gave to?'

175) \(\text{wā (je) tǒ-s alje-ni } o?\)
\[\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7
\end{array}\]
who COP cook FPST food SPEC QUES

'Who cooked the meal?'

176) \(\text{nzu (je) wo se nū?}\)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5
\end{array}\]
what COP LCOP pot in

'What is in the pot?'

177) \(\text{nzu je e bui-li } o?\)
\[\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6
\end{array}\]
what COP 3s break-3s FPST QUES

'What is it he broke?'

178) \(\text{nzu (je) boe-li } o?\)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5
\end{array}\]
what COP break/hit-3s FPST QUES

'What hit/broke it?'

179) \(\text{nzu nū je a sje-li } o?\)
\[\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7
\end{array}\]
what in COP 3s put-3s FPST QUES

'In what did you put it?'
180) nīfā je ba-nī wo?
   where COP child SPEC LCOP
   'Where is the child?'

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

182) nnē je a kū-li o?
   how many COP 2s kill-3s FPST QUES
   'How many is it you killed?'

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

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

184) nzu ti je e boe-li o?
   what reason COP 3s hit-3s FPST
   'Why did he hit him?'

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

185) bla-nị ụ bụ ụ bụ?
   1 2 3 4 5

   woman SPEC say FPST what
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What did the woman say?'

186) ụ bụ ọ ụ bụ?
   1 2 3 4 5

   ụ bụ FPST ụ bụ what
   1 2 3 4 5

   'What did he do to you?'

187) be sọkọ nge tlo ụ bụ?
   1 2 3 4 5

   ụ bụ prepare peanut sauce how
   1 2 3 4 5

   'How does one make peanut sauce?'

188) ọ bụ a ụ bụ?
   1 2 3 4

   ụ bụ (STA) ụ bụ why
   1 2 3 4

   'Why did he hit you?'

189) a wà ụ bụ?
   1 2 3

   ụ bụ said what
   1 2 3

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

190) e jo se je amū ba-li σ?

3s do what COP 2s come FPST QUES

'Why did you come?'

222. Adjuncts

222.1 Adjectives

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

1) waka-nī ti dā.

1 2 3 4
tree SPEC ICOP big

'The tree is big.'

2) swa nga-nī ti ufle.

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

'This house is new.'

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

3) swa da
   house big
   'big house'

aofwe kpa
   stranger good
   'good stranger'

Kofi Ble
   Kofi Black
   'Black Kofi' (a common name)

n wa kâ kô
   Is child small one
   'one of my small children'

Kwajo wû daodao
   hyena body spotted
   '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 kāŋgā ŋnā  'two small chickens'

dā  'big'
waka dādā-mū  'big trees'

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

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

Others are not:
5) kpe  'short'
waka kpe nsā  'three short trees'

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

Some adjectives occur only in a reduplicated form:
6) wisiwisi  'dry, in good health' wisi

ṭēndē  'long'  tē

daodao  'spotted'  dao

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, $nI$.

For example

8) $d\ddot{a}$ 'big'

$e\ d\ddot{a}$ 'big one/big ones'
$e\ d\ddot{a}-nI$ 'the big one/the big ones'

9) $ofle$ 'new'

$e\ ofle$ 'new one/new ones'
$e\ ofle-nI$ 'the new one/the new ones'

10) $fe\ e\ d\ddot{e}n\ddot{e}-nI$.

'Take the long one/long ones.'

11) $e\ k\ddot{a}-nI$ wo kpongbo $n\ddot{u}$.

'The small one is in the basin.'

12) $e\ d\ddot{a}$ jo $fe$.

'Big one/big ones tastes/taste good.'

The plural individuator -$m\ddot{u}$ (Section 222.6) can also be affixed to this construction, in which case the reduplicated forms of the adjectives occur:
13) ẹ ofłe-mū 'new ones (individuated)'
    ẹ ofłe-mū-nī 'the new ones (individuated)'

 ẹ dādā-mū 'big ones (individuated)'
 ẹ dādā-mū-nī 'the big ones (individuated)'

 ẹ kpakpa-mū 'good ones (individuated)'
 ẹ kpakpa-mū-nī 'the good ones (individuated)'

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

14) danga 'foolish'
    dangafwe 'fool/idiot'

    tete 'bad'
    tetefwe 'bad one (who brings misfortune)'

    dā 'big'
    dāfwe 'big one'

    fakafaka 'light, fragile'
    fakafakafwe 'fragile one'

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

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

16) ẹ dāfwe-nī 'the bigger/biggest one/ones'
17) ɛ kaklafwe-mũ-nɨ 'the most mature ones (individuated)'

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

after ti:

klo-nɨ ti mmwa.

1 2 3 4

'The village is far.'

klo-nɨ ti koko.

1 2 3 4

'The village is near.'

modifying a noun:

be wo-o klo mmwa.

1 2 3 4 5

'They went to a far village.'

be fi klo koko.

1 2 3 4

'They come from a nearby village.'

after wo:

fje-nɨ wo mmwa.

1 2 3 4

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

'The village is nearby.'

222.2 Numerals and quantifiers

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

kō  'one'
nūn  'two'
nsā  'three'
nnā  'four'
nnū  'five'
nsje  'six'
nsō  'seven'
mucwc  'eight'
ngwc  '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 ni kō  'eleven'
blu ni nsō  'seventeen'

The numerals twenty through ninety are:

ablāū  'twenty'
ablensā  'thirty'
ablennā  'forty'
ablennu 'fifty'
ablensyẹ 'sixty'
ablensyo 'seventy'
ableūcwe 'eighty'
ablengwla 'ninety'

They also combine with each of the numerals one through nine:
ablennu ṇi kõ 'fifty-one'
ableūcwe ṇi ngwla '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 kõ 'one house'
boi nnü 'five goats'
kleswa blu ṇi nsā 'thirteen eggs'

Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers includes
ngba 'all'
kwla (kwla kwa) 'all'
kūngba 'only (one)'
'only (one)'
ngůmī 'only'
'only'
18) e fle-e e wa be ngba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s call FPST 3s child 3p all
   'She called all of her children.'

19) kongo kongo kwla nga le-nî, . . . 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 kúngba.
   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 kúngba wo wo le œ?
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   2s only 2s LCOP there QUES
   1 2 3 4 6 6
   'Are you the only one there?'

22) e kpuse-e e nwā kúngba 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 ngùmë.
    3s-PRF remain 3s eye only
    1 2 3 4 5

'Only his eyes were left.'

24) je e bo ngùmë-ñT je e fja-a bleeeee.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

and 3s self only SPEC COP 3s hide FPST ideoph: of hiding
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'And she alone it was who hid.'

222.3 nga, (/Nga/), the demonstrative

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

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

1In rare instances nga modifies an adverb:

    a ñT wā je ëa ko-la-a icrañ nga je w'a-ña ba nnā ô?
    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-ni, na e kui mi3mi3mi3.
   1 2  3 4  5 6 7 8  9

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

ever ever
   9

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

26) n fjé e fle ká nga-ni nů 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 ti tTiwa.
   1 2  3 4

child this/that ICOP powerful
   1 2  3 4

'This/That child is powerful.'

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

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

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

b) Noun replacer. As a noun replacer nga occurs as the head of a noun phrase. For example
29) nga wa-to ꙁ, nga wa-një-e 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) a kunde kpaflë kpakpa nnā, ā jìa be nga t wū 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-wūsī nga le-nī.

goat, DM wash this/that there SPEC

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

32) mē nga wo t nīsō, n kó ngbana nū wa kā o.

as this/that LCOP here DISC, ls 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

\[\text{33) nzwe nga e wo e klū-nī wutu-u cē ba nsā.}\]

\[\text{water this/that 3s LCOP 3s stomach SPEC pour FPST day}\]

\[\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10
\end{array}\]

\[\text{PART three}\]

\[\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
11 & 12
\end{array}\]

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

\[\text{34) a wa-kpata bjā laa nga e fle-e klo wa-nī.}\]

\[\text{3s-PRF DM appease man former this/that 3s call FPST village}\]

\[\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10
\end{array}\]

\[\text{here SPEC}\]

\[\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
11 & 12
\end{array}\]

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

\[\text{In the case of relative clauses introduced by } bā \text{ or } mē \text{ (Section } 242.11\text{), the clause-final specifier often has the shape } -nīō. \text{ This poses an analytic problem: (1) in no other environment does the specifier } -nī \text{ have the shape } -nīō; \text{ (2) the discourse particle } nī \text{ has the allomorph } nīō. \text{ It is a question therefore of whether the } nīō \text{ at the end of } bā \text{ and } mē \text{ relative clauses is the specifier } -nī \text{ or the discourse particle } nī.\]
35) e ji jwe nga e ja-a be-nī, e ba kō a-wu a ba.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
   3s wife some this/that 3s marry FPST 3p SPEC, 3s PART one
   PRF bear NEG child
   13 14 15 16

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

36) e bo wū a like nga e fe-nī kō.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   3s self see (STA) NEG thing this/that 3s resemble-3s (STA)
   SPEC again
   9 10

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

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

37) be gwa bo wa ninge nga be nī (i) fi wa-nī, be a-tōtō be,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
   be a-di.
   16 17 18

   3p market here thing this/that 3p and it come from here
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   SPEC, 3p PRF roast 3p, 3p PRF eat
   11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

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

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

rich folk also

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

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

wu-li-nī, nde so su je n nānti s.

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

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

on COP 1s walk (CERT) EMP

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

 nga is used in conjunction with the dependent clause marker se

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

For example

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

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

ICOP 2s self 2s misfortune.

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

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41) se slă nga sú mè nù-nù, ngbè je e sùù ɔ.

if person this/that cry (CERT) world in SPEC, Ngbè COP

3s cry (CERT)-3s EMP

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

(ngbè = 'nothing': a play on words)

42) se a bɔ nga a si able jɔbwe nga su nā ɛ nzwè bà-nù,

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 kejenη, se a dje umjè nā ɛ keje ɔ, 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, -nIts (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 -nIts. The possessed substantive can only be a kin term or a noun. For example

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

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 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 ji-nī 'Kofi’s wife'
    1 2 3 1 2 3

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

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

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

ba n=j-nī be si-nī 'the two children their father'
    1 2 3 4 5 3 2 1 4 5

kpäflē-mu-nī be swa-nī 'the young men their house'
    1 2 3 4 5 3 1 2 4 5

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

alwa kplo 'dog skin'
    1 2 1 2

bja ja 'stool leg'
    1 2 1 2

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

Bouaké gwa bo 'Bouaké market'
    1 2 1 2
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 ja-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) doofro-nī swa-nī 'the doctor's house'
    1 2 3 3 1 2
   b) doofro 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 (ε) gwa bo-nī ti dā.
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Bouaké's market is big.'
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

   b) Bouaké gwa bo ti dā.
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Bouaké market is big.'
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

51) a) Aja (ε) wa-nī ti kā.
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Aya's child is small.'
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

   b) Aja wa ti kā.
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Aya's children are (habitually) small' or 'an Aya child is small.'
   \[2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

52) a) a si-nī wo nī?
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Where is your father?' (asked of a child whose father you don't know)
   \[4 \quad 3 \quad 1 \quad 2\]

   b) a si wo nī?
   \[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
   'Where is your father?' ('your father' here used as a name for a known person)
53) a) Kofi (e) swa-nT je.
   1 2 3 4 5
   Kofi 3s house SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4 5
   'This is Kofi's house.' (of which we have spoken)

b) Kofi swa je.
   1 2 3
   'This is a house of Kofi's.' (you didn't know he had one)

54) a) n ti-nT jo n ja.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Is head SPEC do (STA) Is hurt
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'My head hurts' (in response to a question, "Where does it hurt?")

b) n ti jo n ja.
   1 2 3 4 5
   Is head do (STA) Is hurt
   1 2 3 4 5
   'I have a headache.'

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

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

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

55) e fe-e e taa-ije-nT, e ba-li o.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
3s take FPST 3s bow ASS SPEC, 3s come FPST DISC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
'He took his bow, he came.'

56) boli kusu a-ji e trale-ije-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) e bo wa-ije nnu-nT, e 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 dümä-ije-nT, n fle a ajo kä.
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 -ije in sentence b) with its absence in sentence a) below:

'It is similar to the use of stress in English: 'He then took his turn' or 'My dog's bigger than your dog.'
59) a) ε alwa-nī kū-ū mī ako kō.
   3s dog SPEC kill FPST 1s chicken one
   'His dog killed one of my chickens.'

   b) ε alwa-lje-nī kū-ū mī alwa-lje-nī.
   3s dog ASS SPEC kill FPST 1s dog ASS SPEC
   'His dog killed my dog.'

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

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

60) Nja Kendeja-lje-nī, ke ε ti sa, kpeul; bjä-lje-nī, kpa.'
   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) njã, a-ñje, bo a ti dã le nã, fje e fle dã nũ lo.

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

    look, 2s ASS, since 2s LCOP big there DISC, hide 3s stomach
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

    big in there
    13 14 15

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

65) swi-ñje, e pë icrajT, e-ñje, bo e cë-ë le.

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

    Elephant ASS, 3s win (CERT)-3s right away, 3s ASS, since
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

    3s be big FPST there
    9 10 11 12

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

66) a-ñje, a si a ngwlele, a wo lo.

    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

    2s ASS, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

67) kofi-ñje, e te ti kâã.

    1 2 3 4 5 6

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

'Kofi, he's still too small.'

-ñje in the above examples is similar to the use in French of a pronoun
after a name to focus on that person: 'Kofi lui, il est toujours petit'
or 'Mouche tsetse, eux, ils etaient gros.' As in French, another (subject) pronoun follows the focusing element.
68) laa nũ, akøjwe-lje be ti dădă kpa.

formerly in, tsetse fly ASS, 3p LCOP big very

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

222.5  -nĩ, (/lim/), the specifier

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

69) bla-nĩ se-e ba-nĩ 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-wó awale-nĩ ase ɔ.

and 3p DM prick (CERT) awale SPEC ground DISC

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

71) ɛ fa-a akɔŋmã kũngba-nĩ, ɛ wɛ, "a-lje wo 1ɔ."

3s take FPST rooster only SPEC, he said,"2s ASS LCOP there"

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

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

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

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

73) je e wa-ni, e kaklafoe-ni ba o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

   'And her son, the big one came.'

74) e klü lo dwi känga nga le-ni, a-ko-kepke so seke sekeseke.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

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

   cut thus completely
   11 12 13

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

In noun phrase constructions of the type "part of a whole," the
unspecifed "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-ni wu-li.

   'The one small chicken died.'
3) ako kā-nī kā w u-li.
'One of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) ako-nī kā kā w u-li.
'One of the small chickens died (of a group of large and small chickens).'

76) a) ako kāngā nāo w u-li.
'Two small chickens died (unspecific).'

b) ako kāngā nāo-nī w u-li.
'The two small chickens died.'

c) ako kāngā-nī nāo w u-li.
'Two of the small chickens died (of a group of only small chickens).'

d) ako-nī kāngā nāo w u-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) akɔŋĩmã nũ mã klo-nĩ su.
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    rooster LCOP NEG village SPEC on
    1 2 3 4 5 6
    'There are no roosters in the village.'

b) akɔŋĩmã-nĩ nũ mã klo-nĩ 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-nĩ ble mĩ.
    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-nĩ a-kɛ.
    'The dog bit him.'

The specifier is unmarked for number, as are nouns. It occurs with nouns referring to a single item as well as nouns referring to more than one item. For example
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 Bëoum 1c.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   1s PRF buy mat SPEC Bëoumi there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'I bought the mat/mats in Bëoumi.'

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) "kə n wo-o lo nīs, këndeja-nī, ə 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'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   '"When I went there, that Spider! he was eating food!"'

83) "wo, awofwe-nī, kə-wūst!!"
   1 2 3 4 5
   2s, Stranger SPEC, DM wash!!
   1 2 3 4 5
   '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 -$li$ of the specifier occurs after pronouns:

85) $a\text{-}bu ke \epsilon\text{-}li \epsilon si a \text{nzwe-}n\text{-} jo$.

$3s\text{-PRF think that 3s SPEC 3s know (STA) NEG water SPEC do}$

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

86) $\epsilon\text{-}li ti a te$.

$3s \text{ SPEC ICOP NEG bad}$

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

87) $bo \epsilon\text{-}li langa lo, bo \epsilon sli hohoho, je m\text{'}a wlu butw\text{a} n\text{ú}$.

$3s \text{ SPEC lay back there, as 3s laugh ideophone: of laughing, then 1s PRF enter-3s anus in}$

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

88) "$a\text{-}li, a si a ngw\text{le}le, a wo lo$.'

$2s \text{ SPEC, 2s know (STA) NEG wisdom, 2s LCOP there}$

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

-$n\text{I}$ 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 LCOP 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 c.'

   '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) kpokū a-wū ē wa-nī be kūs.  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9\]  
suddenly 3s-PRF see NEG 3s child SPEC 3p again  
\[1 3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9\]  
'Suddenly she saw her children no more.'

93) klofwe-nī be a-laфи ē su.  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]  
villager SPEC 3p PRF sleep 3s on  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]  
'The villagers had confidence in him.'

94) ē si-nī be a-se ē kūs.  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9\]  
3s father SPEC 3p PRF tell NEG-3s again DISC  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9\]  
'Her fathers (i.e. family) told her no more (i.e. they talked no more of the affair).'  

95) a si boli be kpāflē dile klu kūs be joe wa?  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11\]  
2s know (STA) goat 3p young man doing kind one 3p do-3s  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10\]  
here  
\[11\]  
'You know how goats have always enjoyed their youth?'

96) nnē be dūmā be ti kpēngbē slā be nīlū o.  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10\]  
animal 3p first 3p ICOP old person 3p face EMP  
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10\]  
'Animals are older than people.'
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) bja nga e wū be le-nī, be ti kānwe kānwe.

man this/that 3s see (STA) 3p there SPEC, 3p ICOP scar scar

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

98) sla nga e ko-sìke be wū le-nī, be ti wlenigwe.

person this/that 3s DM lodge (CERT) 3p near there SPEC,

3p ICOP rich folk

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

99) kleswa nga be wo se nū-nī ti bulwa.

egg this/that 3p LCOP pot in SPEC ICOP broken

'The eggs which are in the pot are broken.'

The category of specificity (Section 222.5) intersects with the category of number as examples 92, 93, 94, 97, 98 and 99 above illustrate. In 92, 93 and 94 the nouns are specific as well as plural and thus both nī and be occur after the noun. The nouns in 97, 98 and 99 are also

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

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{ni} & \text{be} \\
\hline
a) & + + \quad \text{a plural specific noun} \\
b) & + - \quad \text{a specific noun unmarked for number} \\
c) & - + \quad \text{a plural non-specific noun} \\
d) & - - \quad \text{a non-specific noun unmarked for number}
\end{array}
\]

Following are examples of each of these four possible constructions:

a) Plural specific noun: examples 92, 93, 94, 97, 98 and 99 above.

b) Specific noun unmarked for number:

100) akp-ni ju-u ccle.
1 2 3 4 5

chicken SPEC arrive FPST sharing
1 2 3 4 5

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

101) be bô be koklo-ni.
1 2 3 4 5

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

'They made their basket/baskets.'

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

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

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

103) bja-nī ti klēneja 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) e to-o jwe ce-nī su wa titi.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

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

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107) swi wo bo nga nū 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) ε bo pandla kle mī.
   1 2 3 4 5

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

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

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

109) slā kō ba-li.
   1 2 3

   'A person came.'
   2 1 3

110) fa bja kō błę mī.
   1 2 3 4 5

   take stool one bring 1s
   1 2 3 4 5

   'Bring me a stool.'

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

111) bja kō-nī, ε ji ti sa nnī.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

   'A certain man, he had two wives.'
112) dwo klu kō̃-nī, n di mā.

| yam kind one SPEC, ls 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Three people came.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

114) a-wu ba nnō.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'She bore two children.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

115) nnē ngba le ja.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'All animals have legs.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116) like kwakwla nō̃-s nzwe bla kūngba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thing all all drink FPST water pond same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

117) ako kāngā wu-li.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Small chickens died.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The noun phrases in the above five examples are non-specific. Compare them to the plural specific noun phrases in the following:

113a) slā nsa-nī ba-li.
   1 2 3 4 5

'The three people came.'

1 2 1 4-5

114a) a-bo ba np3-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5

'She beat the two children.'

1 2 5 4 3

115a) slā ngba-nī be le be taaba
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

'All the people have their arrows.'

116a) ako kāngē-nī wu-li.
   1 2 3 4

'The small chickens died.'

The plural pronoun be is optional in the above sentences since the plurality is marked by other means. Thus, 116a could also be:

117a) ako kāngā-nī be wu-li.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

'The small chickens died.'

3 2 1-4 5-6

-mū (/mum/), the plural individuator

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

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

   b) n fe-ɛ e da-mū.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   ls take FPST 3s big INDIV
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'I took (the) big ones (individuated).'

119) a) jīsa waka.
   1 2
   'Gather wood'
   1 2

   b) jīsa waka-mū.
   1 2 3
   'Gather (the) sticks (individuated).'
   1 2 3

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

soldier INDIV all 3p PCOP 3p gun

'All (the) soldiers have their guns (i.e. each soldier had his gun).'

A plural noun phrase which is marked for individuation is not necessarily specific. In other words the b) sentences above could refer to specific referents or non-specific referents. To mark a plural individuated noun phrase as explicitly specific, -ñ and -mū occur together, -ñ after the noun and -mū after be, the third person plural pronoun. For example

121) e njā ̃, nεulε-ñ be-mū bá ̃.

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

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

We thus have the following possible constructions:

122) a)  ako a-di ajwe ngba.

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

b)  ako-ñ a-di ajwe ngba.

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

c)  ako be di ajwe.

'Chickens eat rice.'
d) *akɔ-ni be a-di ajwe ngba.*

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

'The chickens have eaten all the rice.'

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

e) *akɔ-mu a-di ajwe ngba.*

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

'(The) (individual) chickens have eaten all the rice.'

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

f) *akɔ-ni be-mu a-di ajwe ngba.*

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

'The (individual) chickens have eaten all the rice.'

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

The following examples of *-mu* are taken from texts:

123) *a kunde kpafle kpakpa nnā, a jlā be nga tū wū o, be nī kpokpowa kpakpa-mu o.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 \\
\end{array}
\]

2p search (SUBJ) youth goodgood four, 2p put (SUBJ) 3p this/that here near EMP, 3p CONJ pestle goodgood

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 \\
\end{array}
\]

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

In this example the pestles are seen as individuated while the youths are not since it is the pestles that will be used to beat Hyena.
124) n k'fje su n bá. ná ba be-mu wo lo, n'á be su o.

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

1s go (CERT) field on 1s come (CERT). and child 3p

INDIV LCOP there, look (IMP) 3p on EMP

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

125) je e wa-fie e bo wa-lje-mu 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-kplakpla nü lo cwa-mu.

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

127) kofi-mu be su-ba.

1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and his retinue are coming.'

1 2-3 4 5

128) fa nzã-nii ko-mã n ji-mu.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

take (IMP) wine SPEC DM give 1s wife INDIV

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

For example

129) ba-mū, ā kākā nānī-nī nā ā si ba-nī su.
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   child INDIV, 2p drive (SUBJ) cow SPEC and 2p follow (SUBJ)
   \end{verbatim}

129) ba-mū, ā kākā nānī-nī nā ā si ba-nī su.
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   child SPEC on
   \end{verbatim}

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

130) awofwe-mū, ā jako.
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4
   \end{verbatim}

130) awofwe-mū, ā jako.
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 4 3
   \end{verbatim}

'Strangers, condolences to you.'

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
   mister INDIV, 2p look (SUBJ), thing this/that which kill
   \end{verbatim}

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   FPST cow SPEC COP LCOP-3s stomach in there there
   \end{verbatim}

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
   mister INDIV, 2p look (SUBJ), thing this/that which kill
   \end{verbatim}

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   FPST cow SPEC COP LCOP-3s stomach in there there
   \end{verbatim}

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
   mister INDIV, 2p look (SUBJ), thing this/that which kill
   \end{verbatim}

131) n-ja-mū, āmū njā, like nga mē kū-ū nānī-nī je woe fle nū
   \begin{verbatim}
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
   mister INDIV, 2p look (SUBJ), thing this/that which kill
   \end{verbatim}

'\textit{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

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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) ṣn le a sika-mu.
   'I don't have moneys.'

d) ṣn le a sika nsā.
   '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 nū.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'The coins are in the can.'
   1-2 3 5 4

134) jisā ajweba-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 jē mā-wū ase T; *a bo* tlā T.

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)

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

here

13

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

137) *mō n ko-fjē e da nū lo nā fjē 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)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3s small in here

11 12 13 14

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

138) *n bobo n kwasi n kendejā, mī jē n ba-a nānā namjē kplī e jako-nī-afe jōle.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 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-1je 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 joe-li o.
   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 IMPRF 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'zjibile.
   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.'
Not unrelated to the above two particles is the particle mō (occasionally realized as bo) which occurs after any noun to underline it or emphasize it. For example

145) e tu-u e alaku mō, kpokū kplokkploco, a-jwe di.

3s remove FPST 3s pants even, suddenly ideoph: of chewing, 3s-PRF finish eat

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

146) nzwe mō wū e su so susususu.

water even boil (CERT) 3s on thus ideoph: of bubbling

'Water boiled over him bubble bubble.'

147) woni mō e ti mō kplǎ nzwe-nī su sa.

python even 3s head even stick up (CERT) water SPEC on thus

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

148) e wle-e e sa mō alubwe se mō nū.

3s put FPST 3s hand even yam purée pot even in.

'He put his hand in the yam pot!'

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149) \[\text{je } \epsilon \text{ ko-\text{-}si m\text{"}{a}k\text{"}{u} n\text{"}{i} nj\text{"}{i} m\text{"}{o}.}\]
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8\]
and 3s DM pound pepper and salt even
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8\]
'And he went and pounded salt and pepper!'  

150) "\text{wa bo } \text{je su-wa-ka } \text{o}?"
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
here even 1p IMPRF DM stay QUES
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
'"Is it here that we are going to stay?"'  

151) \[\text{\text{"{e} } ji-n\text{"}{i} ba w\text{"}{a}ndi ba } \text{\text{"{i}.}\]
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
3s wife SPEC even run (CERT) come here
\[1 2 3 4 5 6 7\]
'His wife came running!'  

152) \[\text{n fe m\text{"}{o} tl\text{\text{"}{a} like kw\text{\text{"}{a}k\text{\text{"}{a}k\text{\text{"}{a}k\text{\text{"}{a}la.}\]
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]
Is sweet even surpass (CERT) thing all all all
\[1 2 3 4 5 6\]
'My sweetness will surpass all things!!'  

153) \[\text{\text{e } kl\text{\text{"}{i}j\text{\text{"}{a} m\text{"}{o}-n\text{"}{i}!}\]
\[1 2 3 4\]
3s pretty even SPEC
\[1 2 3 4\]
'It's prettiness!! (i.e. it is very pretty).'}
The discussion of the verb phrase included in this section can be summarized by the following set of rules:

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{VERB P }^{(\text{Adjunct})}
\]

\[
\text{VERB P} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{a) Copula Complement} & \text{(Section 231)} \\
\text{b) VERB} & \text{(Section 234)} \\
\text{c) VERB SP} & \text{(Section 235)} \\
\text{d) VERB SP SP} & \text{(Section 236)} \\
\text{e) VERB Loc P} & \text{(Section 235)} 
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{Asp}^{(\text{DM})} \text{Verb} \\
\text{Verb} \rightarrow V \\
\text{Adjunct} \rightarrow (\text{LocP})^{(\text{Adv})}
\]

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-, and 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-nī *ti* wëngbifwe.
   'The man is a richman.'

2) swa-nī *ti* dā.
   'The house is big.'

3) ba-nī be *ti* nsā.
   'The children are three/there are three children.'

There are certain restrictions placed on the subject substantive phrase and the complement substantive phrase that co-occur with *ti*.

a) Both substantives must agree as to the semantic features Human vs. Non-Human. For example
4) bla-nī ti sēwufwe.
   'The woman is a potter.'

5) mākū ti ajre.
   'Pepper is medicine.'

but not

6) *bla-nī ti ajre.
   'The woman is medicine.'

7) *mākū ti sēwufwe.
   'Pepper is a potter.'

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

8) wa-nī ti fje.
   'The place here is a field.'

9) Béoumi ti klo dā.
   'Béoumi is a big village.'

c) A sub-class of Temporal Adverbs function as substantives in ti
   sentences. This includes anekī 'today,' ānumā 'yesterday,' cē te
   'rest day,' mōnē, kisje . . . 'Sunday, Monday . . .' (i.e. all the
   names of days of week). Both the subject substantive and the com­
   plement substantive must agree as to the semantic features Temporal
   vs. Non-Temporal. For example

10) anekī ti jole.
    'Today is Tuesday.'
11) ănŭmă ți kisje.
   'Yesterday was Monday.'

d) The complement substantive phrase occurring with ți is never specific; the subject substantive phrase can be either specific or non-specific. For example

12) kofi ți wlengbifwe.
   'Kofi is a rich man.'

13) *kofi ți wlengbifwe-nū
   'Kofi is the rich man.'

14) *wlengbifwe-nū ți kofi
   'The rich man is Kofi.'

15) *wlengbifwe ți kofi
   'A rich man is Kofi.'

16) măkū ți ajre.
   'Pepper is medicine.'

17) măkū-nū ți ajre.
   'The pepper is medicine.'

18) *măkū ți ajre-nū.
   'Pepper is the medicine.'

---

1Names, pronouns, kin terms, place names, or nouns followed by the specifier -nū are specific. In the case of the temporal adverbs (Section 239) anekī 'today,' ājīmā 'tomorrow,' ănŭmă 'yesterday' are specific; cē tcē 'rest day,' and the names of the days of the week, are non-specific.
19) Wluse ti klo ufile.
   'Wluse is a new village.'

20) *Wluse ti klo ufile-nI.
    'Wluse is the new village.'

21) anekI ti mOnE.
    'Today is a Sunday.'

22) mOnE ti ce tc.
    'Sundays are rest days.'

23) *kisje ti ajiMaa.
    '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) kpafI-nI ti kekle.
    'The young man is strong.'

25) swi ti da.
    '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 sub-
   stantive phrase; kô 'one' occurring with a singular subject and all
   other numerals occurring with a plural subject. For example

   27) bja-nî ti kô.
       'The stool is one/there is one stool.'

   28) e ba-nî ti kûngba.
       'Her child is only one/She has only one child.'

   29) boli-nî be ti nnû.
       '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 dä-nî wo wa.
       'The big knife is here.'
33) conjo-ní wo waka wū.  
'The machete is next to the tree.'

34) gbekle kɔ wo swa-ní nū.  
'A mouse is in the inside of the house.'

b) Verbal noun as complement:

35) e wū-ú kūmā kɔ; wonda wo wiüle.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 8  
3s see FPST hole one; viper LCOP entering  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
'She saw a hole; a viper was (in the process of) entering.'

36) e sjabla wo alje wutale.  
1 2 3 4 5  
3s mother-in-law LCOP food peeling  
1 2 3 4 5  
'His mother-in-law was (in the process of) peeling food.'

37) boli wo 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-nT, e wū nälé je e wo.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
child SPEC, 3s body getting COP 3s LCOP  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
'The child, making himself rich it is he is (in the process of).'
wo is also used in such "existential" sentences as:

39) wanzali wo bo-ni nũ.
   1 2 3 4 5

leopard LCOP forest SPEC in
   1 2 3 4 5

'There are leopards in the forest.'

40) nnẽ 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 kũmũ 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 kũ 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 wā kā wo le.
   1 2 3 4 5

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

44) je e nī be be wo le o.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

45) njā nga n ko-jê je wo T.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Is man this/that Is 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) swie 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) slā nsā wo T, ako bo a klo-nī su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

month three LCOP here, chicken crow (STAT) NEG village
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SPEC on
   9 10

'There is/It's been three months, a cock hasn't crowed in
the village.'

wo has an allomorph that occurs with the negative, the suppletive
form nū. For example
48) akʊnɪmá nʊ mɑ klo-ni 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 nʊ mɑ lɛ.
   1 2 3 4
'Water is not there/There is no water.'

50) mɛ kanvwɛ nʊ mɛ e wɔ m1ɔm1ɔm1ɔ nɪ, n bɪjɛ-ni jɛ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
  as scar LCOP NEG 3s body evereven DISC, 1s man SPEC COP
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
'As scars are not on his body at all, that is my man.'

lɛ, (/lɛ/), the possessive copula

lɛ occurs in two different types of construction:

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

51) n lɛ nannɪ.
   1 2 3
'I have cows/a cow.'

52) Kofi lɛ ji.
   1 2 3
'Kofi has a wife/wives.'

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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-mû le amû.
   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-mû.
   1  2  3  4  5

3s neighbor PCOP goat INDIV
1  2  3  4  5

'His neighbors are the goats.'

57) a-lje le bla-nT.
   1  2  3  4  5

2s ASS PCOP woman SPEC
1  2  3  4  5

'Yours is the girl.'
58) $\varepsilon$-lje lɛ sika tani.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3s ASS PCOP gold cloth
   'His is the gold cloth.'

Sentences 54-58 are identifying sentences as well as possessive sentences. Corresponding to sentences 54-58 (but not 51-53) are the following synonymous sentences with the identifying/attributive copula ti:

54a) amũ ti n wa-mũ.
   1 2 3 4
   'You are my children.'
   1 2 3 4

55a) a ti n jaafwe dã.
   1 2 3 4 5
   'You are my good friend.'
   1 2 3 4 5

56a) boli-mũ ti e mëdifwe.
   1 2 3 4
   'The goats are his neighbors.'
   1 2 3 4

57a) bla-nũ ti a-lje.
   1 2 3 4
   'The girl is yours.'
   2 1 3 4

58a) sika tânũ ti ε-lje.
   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, ɔ (\(\sigma\)) and je (\(\text{je}\)), occur after a substantive phrase, linking it to previous sentences or to the context of the utterance.

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

59) ato ɔ.
1 2
lie COP
1 2
'It's a lie.'

60) a wū-nī, wonī ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5
2s husband SPEC, python COP
1 2 3 4 5
'Your husband, he's a python.'

61) mī ɔ.
1 2
ls COP
1 2
'It's me.'

62) je wā ɛ ti ke kla ngbē. kanzu ajre ɔ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
lp say 3s ICOP like torch nothing. however medicine COP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
'We said it was like ordinary torch. However it's medicine.'
63) se a një e lika kpa, slë ngba-nër e mwaë ɔ.

If 2s look 3s place good, person all SPEC 3s happiness COP

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

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

64) kwe dă-nër je.

knife big SPEC COP

'This is/Here is the big knife.'

65) n swa-nër je.

Is house SPEC COP

'This is/Here is my house.'

66) e ajre ajakpa-nër je.

3s medicine payment SPEC COP

'Here is/This is his medicine payment.'

67) bjā nga n kë e nde-nër je.

man this/that Is speak 3s words SPEC COP

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

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

69) a kla-ni je wo lo.  
2s torch SPEC COP LCOP there.

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

70) ajika-ni je wa-ka-a be wosu nü.  
orphan SPEC COP DM stay FPST 3p tracks in

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

71) e fata-a ke sla je kūi o.  
3s is necessary FPST-NEG that person COP kill-3s DISC

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

72) e bo ngumi-ni je fja-a bleeeee.  
3s self alone SPEC COP hide FPST carefully

'She herself alone it was hid carefully.'
The subject can be repeated after je in the form of a pronoun. This serves to add focus to the subject substantive phrase. For example

73) je be slä ɴnɔ-ŋi 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) mì je n ba-a ɴnå ɬamjé kplî e 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 ɴì ji je be slä ɴnɔ je be ɲi ɬo ti silwa.
   1 2 3  4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eyes I COP 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 ɲi ɲaŋi 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

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

    'My hat it is I eat there.'

79) n bu ke ati nü je be wo-li.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

    1s think (STA) that path in COP 3p go FPST
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

    'I think that it is "in the path" (i.e. to defecate) that they went.'

80) wa je mätä 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.'
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 *Je* to link two substantive phrases.

a) Before a single substantive phrase, linking it to the previous sentences or to the context of the utterance:

83) *jele* mī noswa nū ato.

COP Is evening in lie

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

84) *jele* nde nga n si kā-li kle-e mī-nī.

COP words this/that Is father speak FPST show-3s FPST Is SPEC

'This is the affair my father told me.'

85) *jele* bla nī jaswa be aja.

COP women and man 3p marriage

'Thus is women and men's marriage.'
These sentences occur at the end of a story or a recounting of an event.

b) Linking two substantive phrases within a single sentence:

86) slā nga ti je be slē a kō-nī jelė 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 jelė nga ū.

medicine strong COP this/that here

'Strong medicine is this here.'

88) klo nga be ko-toē sjē-nī jelė 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 bo 'be smelly,' fe 'be white,' jo 'be cold,' je '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-nī jo.
   'The water is cold (was never warm).'

90) awje-nī 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
91) a-bō.
'It is spoiled (i.e. has become smelly).'

ē bō-li.
'It spoiled.'

ē bō.
'It will surely spoil.'

92) tānī-nī a-fē.
'The cloth is white (after being scrubbed and bleached in the sun).'

sje tānī-nī jwa nū nā ē fē.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
put cloth SPEC sun in and 3s whiten (SUBJ)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'Put the cloth in the sun, may it whiten.'

93) lika a-lu.
'It is dark/Night has fallen.'

lika lu-u je su.
1 2 3 4 5
place darken FPST lp on
1 2 3 4 5
'It got dark on us.'

94) nzwe-nī a-jo.
'The water is cold (i.e. has cooled from being warm).'
95) ajwe-nī a-je.

'The rice is hot (i.e. left-over rice has heated from being cold).'

232.2 **Verbs of process**

Verbs of Process express states only with the perfective prefix a-; they do not occur with the stative inflection. This class of verbs includes blo 'ripen,' be 'cook,' fc 'tire,' nī 'mature, become full-grown,' and the verb jo 'do, make, become' plus a limited number of adjectives: koklo 'thin,' nōnī 'heavy,' kpa 'good,' dā 'big.' For example

96) amango a-blo.

1 2

'Mangoes have ripened/are ripe.'

97) alje-nī a-be.

1 2 3

'The food has cooked/is cooked.'

98) alwa-nī a-nī.

1 2 3 4

'The dog has matured/is full-grown.'

99) bla-nī a-jo koklo.

1 2 3 4 5

'The girl has become thin/is thin.'
100) ba-nî a-jo nöññî.
   1 2 3 4
   'The baby has become heavy/is heavy.'
   2 1 3 4

101) *e blo.
   'It ripens.'

102) *n fe.
   'I tire.'

103) *e jo kpa.
   'He becomes good/successful.'

When the verbs of process occur with the imperfective prefix su-
(Section 238.2), they indicate unachieved states, still in the process of
achieving the state and therefore the imperfective inflection has a
sense of futurity:

104) e su-blo.
   'It will be ripe soon/It is ripening.'

105) e su-fe.
   'He will soon tire/He is suffering.'

106) e su-be.
   'It will be cooked soon/It is achieving doneness.'

107) e su-ni.
   'It will soon be full-grown/It is achieving maturity.'
The factual past inflection on these verbs indicates that the process was completed sometime in the past and what is being focused on is not the state but the finished process. For example

108) talwa-nī nī-li.
   1 2  3

'The maiden grew up!' (said in surprise since speaker was unaware it had happened).

109) amango-nī blo-li.
   1 2  3

'The mango ripened (and is probably over-ripe or rotten now).'

110) ba-nī jo-o nōnī.
    1 2  3  4

'The child got heavy.'

111) bjā-nī jo-o kpa.
    1 2  3  4

'The man got successful.'

233. Completable Verbs

Completable verbs are a class of verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb. This obligatory second element can be a locative as well as a non-locative noun. In the case of a two- or three-place verb the object noun phrase occurs between the verb root and the noun complement.
Locative complement

Completable verbs that require a locative complement include:

- 
  (tu)
  'take off')
- tu bo
  'move' (in sense of French 'déplacer')
- tu su
  'correct or counsel someone'
- tu wū
  'be boastful, cocky'
- tu nū
  'take out'

- 
  (di)
  'eat, conquer, have sexual relations, do')
- di nī
  'go before, ahead of'
- di sī
  'follow'
- di su
  'accept'
- di wū
  'tease, make fun of'

112) a tu c 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 ndc nū lā.
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'i-a-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.'

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115) **Gboklo su-tu e wū.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Hyena IPRF is boastful 3s

'Hyena is being boastful.'

116) **ɛ tu-u nů lo doba ngba.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

3s remove FPST there termite all

'He took out of there all the termites.'

117) **ba-nĩ di-i e niũ, be wo-ɔ fje su.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Child SPEC go before FPST 3s, 3p go FPST field on

'The child went ahead of him, they went to the fields.'

118) **dĩ n su nā je wo.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

follow 1s and 1p go (SUBJ)

'Follow me and let's go.'

119) **se ńamjẽ di su, je su-kplā swa afwe mō bā ĩ-nĩ.**

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

If god accept, 1p IPRF build house year which come (CERT)

Here SPEC

'If God accepts (i.e. God willing) we will build a house next year.'
Non-locative complement

Completable verbs that require a noun complement other than a locative include:

- (bo 'hit')
  - bo blale 'forge' (blale 'iron')
  - bo klë 'beat a drum' (klë 'drum')
  - bo nda 'clap hands' (nda 'twin')
  - bo dwo 'plant igname' (dwo 'ignore')
  - bo flemä 'whistle' (flemä ?-no meaning in isolation)
  - bo tango 'cough' (tango 'cold')
  - bo nglo 'make suds' (nglo 'suds')
  - bo somä 'be engaged' (somä 'fiancée')

- di jûmä 'work' (jûmä 'work')
  - di ba 'act as a child' (ba 'child')
  - di sonja 'be a soldier' (sonja 'soldier')
  - di talwa 'be youthful' (talwa 'young woman')
  - di nawle 'tell the truth' (nawle 'truth')
  - di fje 'have fields' (fje 'fields')
  - di cë 'celebrate a holiday' (cë 'day')
  - di më 'live as neighbors' (më 'world')
(to 'buy, throw, find')
to jese 'spin cotton' (jese 'cotton')
to twi 'shoot a gun' (twi 'gun')
to jwe 'sing' (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-ɔ nzwe-ni nũ.
    maiden fall FPST water SPEC in
    1 2 3 4 5 6

    'Maiden fell into the water.'

b) talwa to-ɔ e ni nũ. (to nũ 'hug')
    maiden hug FPST 3s mother
    1 2 3 4 5

    'Maiden hugged her mother.'

122) a) n lafi e be su.
    1 2 3 4 5

    'I sleep on his mat.'

b) n lafi e si su. (lafi su 'count on')
    1 2 3 4

    'I'm counting on his father.'
Although it is not always clear from the translation of sentences such as those above whether the locative is part of the verb or not, the addition of the nominalizer -le (Section 221.8) to the verb decides the unclear cases. -le is suffixed to the verb and any obligatory element occurs before it. For example

123) nü tole 'hugging'
    plū dile 'going before'
    su sölɛ 'answering'
    su lafile 'counting on'
    nü tule 'taking out'

234. One-place verbs

Verbs can be classified according to the number of substantive phrases (SP) with which they can occur within the nucleus of the verb phrase. They are thus divided into one-place, two-place and three-place verbs. All three classes of verbs include completable verbs, i.e. verbs which require a noun complement to complete the meaning of the verb (Section 233).

One-place verbs are defined as verbs that always occur with only one SP, this SP obligatorily in the subject position, i.e. before the verb. One-place verbs include:

a) Verbs of state (Section 232) such as

bō 'be smelly'
fe 'be white'
sō 'be hard, elastic, solid'
jē 'be hot'
lu 'be dark'  
jo 'be cold'

in which the subject substantive expresses the patient role:

124) ɛ je-ni fɛ.  
1 2 3

'His teeth are white.'  
1 2 3

125) dwo-nga-ni so.  
1 2 3

'This yam is elastic.'  
2 1 3

126) n klū jo.  
1 2 3

'My stomach is cold (i.e. I am happy).'  
1 2 3

127) kānī nzwe bō.  
1 2 3

'Kerosene smells.'  
1-2 3

b) Verbs of process (Section 232) such as:

be 'cook'

nī 'mature'

fɛ 'tire'

nā 'sour'

wū 'swell up'

wu 'die, dry'

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which occur with the perfective aspect marker a- (Section 238.2) to express the state which is the end result of the process:

128) ajwe-nT a-be.
    1  2  3
'The rice has/is cooked.'
    2  1  3

129) alwa-nT a-nT.
    1  2  3
'The dog has/is grown up.'
    2  1  3

130) tlo 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-nT 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si} & \quad \text{laugh}\ \text{'} \\
\text{lafi} & \quad \text{sleep}\ \text{'} \\
\text{ko} & \quad \text{go}\ \text{'} \\
\text{ba} & \quad \text{come}\ \text{'} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{fall}\ \text{'} \\
\text{tu} & \quad \text{boil, fade}\ \text{'}
\end{align*}
\]

with which the subject substantive has the role of actor:

134) e jo se a su-sli \_\_\_\_  \\
1 2 3  \\
'Why are you laughing?'

135) be lafi.  \\
1 2  \\
'They are sleeping.'

136) ba-ni wa-to.  \\
1 2 3  \\
'The child will fall.'

137) nzwe-ni su-tu.  \\
1 2 3  \\
'The water is boiling.'

138) tlae nga-ni tuli.  \\
1 2 3  \\
'This garment faded.'
139) je su-kə klo.
    1 2 3
    'We're going to the village.'
    1 2 3

140) be ba-a gwa bo.
    1 2 3
    'They came to the market.'
    1 2 3

The verbs to 'fall' and tu 'fade, boil' could be considered process verbs, their subject substantives expressing the patient role rather than actor. However, the process verbs listed above and discussed in Section 232 do not occur with the stative inflection (Section 238.2) and one is tempted to take that as a defining characteristic of process verbs. The verbs to and tu do occur with the stative inflection:

141) nzwe-nī tu.
    1 2 3
    'The water is boiling.'
    2 1 3

142) tlae nga-nī tu.
    1 2 3
    'This garment fades/is fading.'
    2 1 3

143) ba-nī to.
    1 2 3
    'The child falls/is falling.'
    2 1 3

The verbs of movement ko 'go' and ba 'come' often occur with a LocP (locative phrase) but can also occur with only a subject SP and thus
are considered one-place verbs (cf. the class of locative two-place verbs below).

144) ɛ su-kɔ.

'He is going.'

145) Amlā a-ba.

'Amlā came.'

One-place completable verbs include:

- kpe be 'sneeze'
- sa nzwe 'draw water'
- wu tānī 'weave'
- wu se 'pot (verb)'
- to blo 'run away, escape'
- kā ngwa 'dance, play'
- kā nzā 'extract wine'
- ji slaka 'sacrifice'
- ji gbekle '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) ε su-bo nda.
    1 2

 'He is clapping hands.'
    1 2

b) ε su-bo nda
    1 2 3

 'He is striking a twin.'
    1 2 3

147) a) ε su-ji gbekle.
    1 2

 'He is divining by mouse oracle.'
    1 2

b) ε su-ji gbekle.
    1 2 3

 'He is taking out a mouse.'
    1 2 3

The distinction between one-place completable verbs (a above) and
two-place verbs (b above) is unambiguously determined by the addition
of the derivational affixes -le, -wle or -fwe (Section 221.8). These
noun-derived suffixes are added to the verb and all obligatory elements
occur before the verb. For example
235. 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'

ε kū-ū kpejā kō.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4\]

'He killed one muskrat.'
\[1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 3\]

151) tla 'grab, capture'

be tla-a ajwefwē.
\[1 \ 2 \ 3\]

'They grabbed a thief.'
\[1 \ 2 \ 3\]
152) ji 'empty, deliver, give back, take out, take off'

a-ji ojwe-ni.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

'He took out the thorn.'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

ε su-ji ba.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

'She is taking off the baby (from her back).' 
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

In the case of completable verbs the object substantive occurs between the verb and its complement noun.

153) kākā nū 'stir'

ε su-kākā tlo nū.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

'She is stirring the sauce.'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

154) la ase 'thank'

je la a ase.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

'We thank you.'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

155) swā dūmā 'name'

be swā-ā e dūmā Kofi.
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]

'They named him Kofi.'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4\]
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) kpê wû 'turn around'
    alwa su-kpê wû.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|\hline}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 & 4 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'The dog is turning around.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]

162) nà tì 'have time, be saved'
    m'a-nà n tì.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'I've been saved.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]

163) tìa awléba 'persevere, take courage'
    a-tìa é awléba.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|}
    1 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'He took courage.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|}
    1 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]

164) sa sî 'return'
    be sa-a be sî.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|}
    1 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'They turned around.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|}
    1 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]

165) sa nwá 'go back on one's word'
    e su-sa é nwá.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'He's going to go back on his word.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
    1 & 2 \\
    \hline
    3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]

166) kë wû 'hasten'
    m'a-kë n wû m'a-ba.
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
    1 & 2 & 3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
    'I hastened. I came.'
    \[ \begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
    1 & 2 & 3 \\
    \hline
    \end{array} \]
bu wù 'consider oneself'

'e bu e wù dà.
1 2 3 4 5

'He considers himself big (i.e. is proud).'

c) verbs that require two SP's as coordinate subject substantives: they both express the role of actor and both precede the verb, conjoined with the substantive phrase conjoiner ni (Section 241):

la 'sleep with'

'e nî bla-nî be la-li.
1 2 3 4

'He slept with the girl.'

a nî wā je āmū la-li?
1 2 3

'Who did you sleep with?'

kpe nde 'dispute, argue'

'je nî n ji je kpe nde.
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I argue with my wife.'

kofí nî be kpe-ɛ nde.
1 2 3 4 5

'Kofi and he argued.'
170) jja 'encounter'

be nći Ndri jja-li.
l 2 3 4 5

3p and Ndri encounter FPST
l 2 3 4 5

'They met Ndri.'

d) verbs that most often occur with two SP, the subject substantive being actor, the object substantive non-actor, but that can also occur with just the actor substantive as subject,

171) fa 'take'

a-fa.

'He took.'

a-fa n kle.

'He took my hat.'

172) kā 'touch'

nā kā.

'Don't touch.'

nā kā alwa.

'Don't touch the dog.'

173) ka 'bite'

wwo-nī ka

'The snake bites.'

wwo-nī ka-a mī.

'The snake bit me.'
174) bu angunda 'think'
ε su-bu angunda
'He is thinking.'
ε su-bu mi angunda.
'He is thinking of me.'

175) kpe nzoa 'insult'
be ti te; be kpe nzoa.
1 2 3 1 2
'They are bad; they insult.'

n njääbla a-kpe mi nzoa.
1 2 3 4
'My sister insulted me.'

176) so su 'respond'
āmü so su.
'You (pl) respond.'
āmü so jwe-ni 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-ni a-bu.
    'The pot broke.'
    kofi bu-u se-ni.
    'Kofi broke the pot.'

179) gwa 'pour, leak, splash;
    nzue-ni gwa.
    'The water is leaking.'
    swa-ni gwa.
    'The house leaks.'
    su-gwa nzwe se-ni nü.
    'He is pouring water in the pot.'

180) bu nü 'fold'
    kwe nga-ni bu nü.
    'This knife folds up.'
    a-bu fluwa nü.
    'He folded up the paper.'

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181) tike 'open'
  anwã tike-li.
  'The door opened.'

  ë tike-e anwã.
  'He opened the door.'

236. Three-Place Verbs

A small set of verbs occur with three SP's, although not obligatorily; one SP occurs as subject substantive in the role of actor, the other two follow the verb as patient and goal or as patient and instrument.

182) mã 'give'
  be a-kó-mè like.
  1 2 3 4 5

  3p PRF DM give-3s thing
  1 2 3 4 5

  'They went to give him food.'

  ë mã-ä n dwo nsã.
  1 2 3 4 5 6

  3s give FPST ls yam three
  1 2 3 4 5 6

  'She gave me three yams.'

183) blë 'bring'
  n nï a-blë n tänî.
  1 2 3 4 5 6

  1s mother PRF bring ls cloth
  1 2 3 4 5 6

  'My mother brought me a cloth.'
212

ble mĩ nzwe.
beginning line 2

'Bring me water.'

184) sle 'ask'

a-ko-sle bjā-nī ako.

3s-PRF DM ask man SPEC chicken

'He went to ask the man for a chicken.'

n sile e kpango.

ls ask (CERT) 3s bicycle.

'I'll ask for his bicycle.'

wo 'prick, sting'

je wa-wese taa ba.

1p DM sting (CERT)-3s arrow

'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 kpla ē 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) e su-bo tlo-ni su njä.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s IMPRF taste sauce SPEC see
   'She is tasting the sauce.'

192) be tu kla be wū.
   1 2 3 4 5
   3p jump surpass (STA) 3p body
   'They jump over each other.'

193) ānūmā a-tu sī swa lo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   bird PRF fly pass house there
   '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
   'The goat jumped over the tree.'

195) n wa-kā nde kle wo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   Is DM tell affair show 2s
   'I will tell you of an affair.'

When derived with the noun-deriving suffix -lec (Section 221.8),
each verb of the verbal group occurs with -lec:
   tu kpē 'jump down'
   tule kpēlec 'jumping down'
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'hook onto'</td>
<td>'twist, wrap around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be bent/twisted'</td>
<td>'writhe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hit/beat'</td>
<td>'hit many times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>'graze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'touch'</td>
<td>'touch many times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bite'</td>
<td>'munch on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cut'</td>
<td>'cut many things/many times'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)The terms used in the following discussion of verbal inflection have been purposefully chosen to be maximally descriptive of the semantic categories unique to the Baule verbal system. This approach avoids the problem of inferring additional, non-existent meaning from terms used traditionally in the analyses of Indo-European languages.
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. *njá* 'look,' *tla* 'grab'
- **Class III** - two or more syllables e.g. *nánti* '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><strong>Class I</strong></td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ di</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ di</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I eat'</td>
<td>'I will eat'</td>
<td>'that I eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class II</strong></td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ njá</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ njá</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ njá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I look'</td>
<td>'I will look'</td>
<td>'that I look'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class III</strong></td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ nánti</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ nánti</td>
<td>ᶷ n̕ nánti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I walk'</td>
<td>'I will walk'</td>
<td>'that I walk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The tones are: ˄ high, ˄ 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 bifo we.
   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 atī nū jē be to gwa-nī.
   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-nī su jē nzwe-nī jo gbudugbudu nīš?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   not stone SPEC on COP water SPEC do ideophone: of
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   water-gurgling-over-rock DISC
       9 10
   'Isn't it on the rock that the water does gbudugbudu?'

199) mō n jō āwūnvo nī, jē 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).'
"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."

"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

'I'll go to the fields, I'll return.'
203) n ñi n-jë-ní jwe.
1 2 3 4 5 6

Is eat (CERT) Is POSS SPEC some
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I'll eat mine also.'

204) ndë nga n nï kã-li kle-e mï je e wu-li-nï, ndë so su je
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

n nãnti ñ.
19 20 21

words this/that Is mother speak FPST show FPST Is and 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

die FPST SPEC words thus on COP Is 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 woé taaba nï, nzwe-nï gwë, je ná jwe, je në.
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

got (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 e e nwā nde nī, a nā je.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

if 2s PRF change NEG 3s mouth words DISC 2s get (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

good
12

'If you have not changed her words (i.e. disobeyed), you
will be successful.'

207) e  sē  c  sī  e  wa-bā.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3s turn (CERT) 3s back 3s DM come (CERT)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'She will turn around, she will come (back).'

The certaintive 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 e tō jwe le.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

turtle also say 3s shoot (CERT) some at-all-costs
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Turtle also wanted to shoot some at all costs.'

210) bla-nī wā e nū nzwe.
1 2 3 4 5 6

woman SPEC say 3s drink (CERT) water
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The woman wants to drink water/a drink of water.'
211) see a wā a kū mī, kū mī.
if 2s say 2s kill (CERT) 1s kill (IMP) 1s
'If you want to kill me, kill me.'

The certaintive occurs in dependent clauses to indicate an action or a process that was taking place when the event of the independent clause takes place. For example

212) e tú kpē lo ọ, e we nnō woe e sī lo ketekete.
3s jump (CERT) land there when, 3s horns two LCOP 3s
behind there small
'When he jumped out there, his two small horns were behind him.'

213) akọ-nī to-ọ kleswa nīs; e bòbo ọ, e bòbo-ọ akọ sa nnō.
chicken SPEC lay FPST egg DISC; 3s hatch (CERT) when,
3s hatch FPST chicken thus two
'The chicken laid eggs; when she hatched, she hatched two chicks.'
214) bo e tọto kla-nǐ sa nīọ, e wūswle-nǐ gwa-a bla nīma su.

as 3s swing (CERT) torch SPEC thus DISC, 3s smoke SPEC pour

'Sas he swung the torch like this, its smoke poured on
the woman's eyes.'

215) e njá boli nļů wa nīọ, e su-kpusc e nwā jekū.

3s look (CERT) goat face here DISC, 3s IMPRF chew 3s

'mouth again

'When he looked at Goat's face here, he is chewing his
cud again.'

216) mō e fā atī nū, e si-i su.

as 3s take (CERT) path in, 3s follow FPST on

'As she took the path, she followed.'

217) be kọ nzwe nū ọ, nzwe nū mā le kọ.

3p go (CERT) water in when, water LCOP NEG there again.

'When they went to the pond, there was no more water.'
218) bo be jũ klo ọ ntn, nănã a-đi lika ngba kpá.
when 3p arrive (CERT) village there DISC, cow PRF fill
place all completely

'When they arrived at the village, the cows filled the whole place.'

The certaintive is used in narratives to recount events which are not the last one of the scene. That is, the use of the certaintive to recount an event indicates that the next event will be part of the same sequence of events and will probably involve the same characters. This contrasts with the use of the factual past to recount events which close a scene (see below). For example

219) c nT be bá klo. je jwe be ti slā nna, je be bá, be wa-sweg
3s and 3p come (CERT) village, and fish 3p ICOP person
four, and 3p come (CERT), 3p DM load-3s DISC. 3p
LCOP 3s back, 3p PRF come

'She and they came to the village. And there were four fish, and they came, they came to load her. They are behind her, they have come.'
220) je e sí su ḋ. twáááá. be a-fa atī dā lelelele.

and 3s follow (CERT) on DISC. ideophone: fast. 3p PRF

take path big long time

'And she followed him. Fast! They took the big path a long time.'

221) je be síke je be wá nū ḋ. ba wā 'o! wa je je su-wa-ka

and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC. child

'say o! here COP 1p IMPRF DM stay DISC

'And they unloaded and they entered in. Child said,

'Oh, is this where we are going to stay?''

222) je e jí e-ľje nǐs, je e df jekű ḋ. vía vía vía. a-mē.

and 3s remove (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT) again

DISC. ideophone: chewing. 3s-PRF swallow-3s.

'And he removed his, and he ate again. Chew, chew. He has swallowed it.'

223) je e mé e jwe su ḋ: [song]

and 3s lift (CERT) 3s song on DISC

'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) nǐ wā n se amū ke "kpatla wū bwi nga-mū."

mother say is tell (SUBJ) 2p that carp body scale this/that

'Mother says I was to tell you 'Scaly bodies like carp!''

(an insult)

225) sika mē n nī wā n fa n to kla nū-nī, nā n ko-mē.

money which is mother say is take (SUBJ) 1s buy (SUBJ)
torch in SPEC and 1s DM give (CERT)-3s

'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.

affair this/that reason COP 1s tell-FPST 2s that 2s

stay (SUBJ) there SPEC COP

'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

231) fa nzwe blɛ mĩ.
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

'take (IMP) water bring 1s
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

'Bring me some water.'
232) \(wla\hspace{0.5em}a\hspace{0.5em}s\hspace{0.5em}l\)\(ce\).

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{put} & \text{IMP} & 2s & \text{hand there}
\end{array}
\]

'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) 

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\text{Is head hat SPEC COP Is PRF remove and Is eat (STA) there}
\end{array}
\]

''It's my hat that I have removed and I eat it.''

235) \(kongo\ a\-k\u00f9\ ak\text{on}i\m\text{m}\a\ ngba\).

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
kongo & \text{(a disease) PRF kill rooster all}
\end{array}
\]

'Kongo has killed all the roosters.'
236) e wia-nĩ a-ji alje sĩ nũ.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3s co-wife SPEC PRF put food fire in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Her co-wife has put the food on the fire.'

237) lika ngba a-lu je su lo so.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

place all PRF darken 1p on there thus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'It got dark on us there like this.'

238) e awle kpa a-be e klu sa nũ . . .
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-kā je ba ngwa.
1 2 3 4 5 6

1p IMPRF play 1p child game
1 2 3 4 5 6

'We are playing our child games.'

¹This morpheme is perhaps related to the locative su (221.7) and thus may be similar to constructions in other languages which use location expressions for the progressive.
241) ε su-la kpūngbū nū.
1 2 3 4 5
3s IMPRF sleep room in
1 2 3 4 5
'He is sleeping in the room.'

242) ε su-lafi icrai.
1 2 3 4
3s IMPRF sleep right away
1 2 3 4 5
'He will sleep very soon.' (of a baby)

243) amango su-blo
1 2 3
mango IMPRF ripen
1 2 3
'The mangoes are ripening.'

Factual Past: -li, (/1i/)

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-ni to-li.
1 2 3 4

child SPEC fall FPST
1 2 3 4

'The child fell.'

246) amango-ni 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 nanti-in ja sun 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) bouake 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-nT 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 nî ako wo-li ẹ. be a-kọ-toe ẹ ako-nî.  
and 3s with chicken go FPST DISC. 3p PRF DM buy 3s  

chicken SPEC  

'And he went with his chicken (to market). They went and bought his chicken.'

254) je be fle-e ba ká nîs, je e wo-li ẹ. jaswa-nî wâ jo,  
and 3p call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC.  

'm nânî-nî, ẹ twî kô ti ba-îje.'  

man SPEC say that, '1s cow SPEC, 3s pen one ICOP  

child ASS'  

'And they called the small child, and he went. The man said, 'my cows, (that are in) the pen are the boy's.'"
255) je e ko-la-li o. ajje-ndi e-li o. e we, "awofwe, a se
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 15
   ke e bla."  
   17 18 19

and 3s DM lie FPST DISC. day SPEC arise FPST DISC.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

3s say, "stranger, 2p tell-3s that 3s come (SUBJ)"
   12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

'And he went and slept. The day arose. He said,

"Stranger, tell him to come."

256) bla-ndi kusu e n9-e e ti je e wo-li o. kpok bu bj-a-ndi . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

e ba-li n75; e si be a-se e k9
   17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

woman SPEC also 3s get FPST 3s head and 3s go FPST DISC.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

suddenly man SPEC 3s come FPST DISC; 3s father 3p
   14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

PRF tell-3s NEG again
   24 25 26 27

'The woman also she was saved and she went. Suddenly
the man . . . he came; her fathers they spoke no
more (of the affair).'

Modal directionals

The class of modal directionals consists of the two morphemes
wa and ko, which are undoubtedly historically related to the verbs ba

1These 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.' They occur immediately preceding the verb root with each of the verbal inflections discussed above (the stative, certainative, 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 bjå nga e ñle-e klo wa-nj.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

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

SPEC
11

'She came to appease the man who had proposed to her in the village here.'

1Unlike 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 wο 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-mé like-ndi, be ko-një.
   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 ngblää nña nTó, . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

and 3p DM break FPST ngblää leaf DISC, . . .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'And they went to break some ngblää leaf, . . .'

260) be cwe-e nànní fle nTó, be wa-jí-té wú le ọ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3p DM put FPST 3s next
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   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-tó 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-nT, be ko-mló-5 nzwe nü.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

fish SPEC, 3p DM sink FPST water in
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'the fish (pl) went sinking into the water.'

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Intention to act (most often with ko):

263) be a-ko-toe e ako-nī.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3p PRF DM buy 3s chicken SPEC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'They went and bought his chicken.'

264) e 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) slā nga e ko-sike be wū lē-nī, be ti wlēngbifwe.
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 plu lo nīs, atī-nī a-ko-ka kāa 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) bjā fe-ε 1ɔ, sasasasa, a-wa-ƙpɛ 1ɛ.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

man leave FPST there, ideophone: looking around rapidly

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

3s-PRF DM exit there

| 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

'The man left there, looking around rapidly, he is about to exit there.'

268) e wa-ju-u le nɔ, e jlà-ã ce su wa.

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

3s DM arrive FPST there DISC, 3s stand FPST bank on here

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

'As she was about to reach there, she stopped on the bank here.'

269) ke be wa-to-o klo-n!, bolo wā "n su-kọ atī nū."

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

as 3p DM come upon FPST village SPEC, goat say "1s IMPRF go path in"

| 12 | 13 | 14 |

'As they were about to come upon the village, Goat said, 

"I'm going to defecate."'

Futurity (the directional modal wa occurs with the imperfective aspect to indicate the immediate future, "about to"): 

270) je su-wa-kū bwa-n!. 

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

lp IMPRF DM kill sheep SPEC

| 12 | 13 | 14 |

'We are about to kill the sheep.'
271) a ba tetefwe mè lè-nī, a su-wa wūt.

2s child evil one as there SPEC, 2s IMPRF DM see-3s

'You there evil child, you are about to find out!' 

272) wa je je su-wa-ka ɔ?

here COP 1p IMPRF DM stay QUES

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

273) kpace te su-wa-be e klo-nī su.

sickness bad IMPRF DM come 3s village SPEC on

'An evil sickness is about to come upon his village.' 

wa occurs with the certaintive inflection to indicate futurity, with no deictic movement:

274) ă cici e nwa, je wa-jī ngoyima.

2p tie up (SUBJ) 3s mouth, 1p DM throw (CERT) divining

'instrument

'Tie up its mouth, we will divine.' 

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275) ɛ ako nga ɛ bo-o 1e-nĩ, ɛ wa-jo n fɛ kpa
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

3s chicken this/that 3s crow FPST there SPEC, 3s DM do
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(CERT) ls sweet very
   11 12 13 14

'His cock that crows there, it will please me.'

276) nā wāndi, a wa-tọ.
   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-ko- indicates future movement away from the speaker in
order to act. For example

277) nzwe nga a-ju mā; n wa-ko-fā jekū
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

water this/that PRF arrive NEG; 1s DM DM take (CERT) again
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'This water isn't enough; I'll go get some more.'

278) nzu jɛ e ko-jo nā e njāa be wa-ko-dē nĩ?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

what COP 3s DM do and 3s relatives 3p DM DM help (CERT)
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

DISC
   13

'What can she go do so that her relatives will go help
her?'

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A rare use of ko is to mark a consecutive future; that is, a verb indicating future action in a clause following a se ("if" or 'when') clause. It is translated 'and then . . . ' and it is tonally different from the directional modal ko plus the tonal modals:

- n ko-di 'I go to eat' (STATIVE)
- n ko-di 'I will go to eat' (CERTAINTIVE)
- n ko-di 'that I go to eat' (SUBJUNCTIVE)
- n ko-di 'and then I will go to eat' (CONSECUTIVE FUTURE)

Examples of the use of the consecutive future are difficult to elicit.

The following are from texts:

'I if I go, then I will come and I will take you.'
238.3 Negative

The negative morpheme is mā, (/mam/). It is realized as nā (/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 mā if it occurs clause-finally, a if it is followed by a noun phrase (or following a nasal verbal vowel). If a 3s pronoun follows the negative the negative is realized as mē, ē or ē. For example

282) njā, a wū ē ē zugoo nga ē wo 1e-nī?

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
Is IMPRF change NEG 3s mouth affair
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'I will not change her words (i.e. disobey her).'

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-je mē.
1 2 3 4 5 6
3s say 3s IMPRF marry-3s NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6
'She said she would not marry him.'

The use of the negative is restricted: it does not co-occur with
the factual past verbal suffix -li nor with the directional modals, wa-
and ko-. In the case of the certaintive tonal modal, the negative is

1In 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. Is DM go NEG 'I do not intend to go!'
used only when the subject noun is a first person pronoun. The negative
certaintive inflection of a verb indicates negative intention, hence it
can only be used by the speaker to refer to himself or himself and
others acting with him. It is an emotional statement and is usually
used in anger or to impress the hearer with one's strong resolution.

For example

286) nde nga-nī, n fā mā.
1 2 3 4 5 6

affair this/that SPEC, Is take (CERT) NEG
1 2 3 4 5 6

'This affair, I'm not accepting it.'

287) njā mā.
1 2 3

Is look (CERT) NEG
1 2 3

'I will not look!' (at such a despicable thing)

288) je kō a lo.
1 2 3 4

lp go (CERT) NEG there
1 2 3 4

'We certainly are not going there!'

The negative occurs freely with:

- The stative tonal modal:

289) koklo ja sī nī, e kwla a nānti.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

thin foot behind DISC 3s can (STA) NEG walk
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Because of her thinness, she cannot walk.'
290) ajicwle wē e to jwe le. nnē nga be kusu be kpiT a su.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

turtle say 3s shoot some at-all-costs. animal this/that
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3p also 3p accept (STA) NEG on
   9 10 11 12 13 14

'Turtle wanted to shoot some at all costs. The animals,
   they also did not accept that.'

291) se bla-nī jaci be nī, be tu a amwī be kū mē.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

if woman SPEC leave 3p DISC 3p take-out (STA) NEG fetish
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3p kill (STA) NEG-3s
   11 12 13

'If the woman leaves them they do not take out a fetish,
   they do not kill her.'

292) jwa-nī su-ko tole lo, e wū a ba-mū-nī.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

sun SPEC IMPRF go falling there 3s see (STA) NEG child
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

INDIV SPEC
   11 12

'The sun is going to fall there, she does not see her
   children.'

-The perfective aspect where it indicates that an action or process did
not take place or a state is not achieved. For example
293) ke be ḫu-u 1o nT5, 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, e ka le.
since Is 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.
Is 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.'
nī 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 nī a-ba mā.

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

Kofi NEG PRF come NEG

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

'Kofi has not yet come.'

299) e nī a-wu mā.

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

3s NEG PRF die NEG

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

'He has not died yet.'

300) be nī a-mlo a nzwe nū.

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

3p NEG PRF sink NEG water in

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

'They have not yet sunk into the water.'

301) lika nī a-lu mā.

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

place NEG PRF darken NEG

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

'It has not yet gotten dark.'

302) tānī-nī nī a-fē mā.

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

cloth SPEC NEG PRF whiten NEG

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

'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)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

Is IMPRF marry NEG man this/that scar LCOP 3s body

'I am not marrying a man who has scars on his body.'

304)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s say 3s IMPRF marry NEG man

'She said she would not marry.'

305)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

Is IMPRF go NEG there

'I am not going there.'

306)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

2s tell FPST Is that 2s IMPRF sleep NEG

'You told me you would not sleep.'

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307) a su-nō ā nzā.
   1 2 3 4 5

2s IMPRF drink NEG wine
   1 2 3 4 5

'You shall not drink wine.'

308) e su-kō 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.

\[ \text{NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in EMP} \]

'Don't (you-pl) break it open.'

313) ē ako nga 1e-nī, nē ē kūî mlōmlōmlō.

\[ \text{3s chicken this/that there SPEC, NEG 3s kill (SUBJ)-3s} \]

evereverever

'His chicken there, he is not to kill it ever ever ever.'

314) n nī wā nā n kaci a nwā ndē.

\[ \text{1s mother say NEG 1s change (SUBJ) 2s mouth words} \]

'My mother said I was not to change your words.'

315) nā to.

\[ \text{'Do not fall.'} \]

316) nā bo alwa-nī.

\[ \text{'Do not hit the dog.'} \]

239. **Adverbs and Ideophones**

Adverbs are a class of words that include temporal adverbs, manner adverbs and ideophones. These three sub-classes have in common the fact that they are verb phrase adjuncts; that is, they are never obligatory
elements of a sentence. Their removal from a sentence does not affect the grammaticality of that sentence. This, however, is not a sufficient definition for adverbs since other elements, a locative phrase for example, also occur as verb phrase adjuncts. Since, however, it is not possible to find a morphological environment in which adverbs and only adverbs occur, the following notional definition can be given: adverbs are single-word verbal adjuncts which cannot occur independently with the specifier -nī and which refer to the time or manner in which the action, process or state of the verb of the sentence occurs. A small set of what could be analyzed as place adverbs have been assigned to other words classes: the words mmwa 'far' and koko 'near' have been analyzed 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.'
iclāi 'immediately, just'

318) be sī-ī wa iclāi.
1 2 3 4 
3p pass FPST here just now
1 2 3 4 
'They just passed here.'

kwłāu 'already, awhile'

319) m'a-ba kwłāu.
1 2 3 4 
Is PRF come already
1 2 3 4 
'I've come already (I've been here awhile).'
sjē 'after'

322) like kwla nga e di sjē-nT, a-jo koklo mō sa.

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
\end{verbatim}

thing all this/that 3s eat (STA) after SPEC, 3s-PRF do thin

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
\end{verbatim}
even thus

11 12

'Hereafter everything she ate, she only became thinner.'

titi 'always'

323) be wa-di nānī nnē titi.

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6
\end{verbatim}

3p DM eat (STA) cow meat always

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6
\end{verbatim}

'They come to eat beef always.'

ejekū 'again'

324) je e wī sī nū jekū c.

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
\end{verbatim}

and 3s put (CERT)-3s fire in again DISC

\begin{verbatim}
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
\end{verbatim}

'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.
ndendende 'quickly;'

325) bla-nî jî-î nzwe sî nû ndendende.

woman SPEC put FPST water fire in quickly

'The woman quickly put the water on the fire.'

dîî 'quietly'

326) klo kpëngbë jlà-à dîî, kpokû e wà, "o!"

village elder stop FPST quietly, suddenly 3s said, "o!"

'Village Chief stood quietly, then suddenly he said, "oh!!"'

bleble 'carefully'

327) a mé su bleble.

2p lift (SUBJ)-3s on carefully

'Lift it carefully.'

ml5ml5ml5 'completely'

328) jùmá a-di mî ml5ml5ml5.

work PRF eat ls completely

'Work has overwhelmed me completely.'

sekeseko 'completely'

329) wwo a-kù be ngba sekesekeseke.

snake PRF kill 3p all completely

'Snake killed absolutely all of them.'

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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'
- gaugagaugā 'sound of playing xylophone'
- gbǒ 'sound of shutting door'
- keteketekete 'sound of ram walking'
- kēkwēékē 'sound of rooster crowing'
- kpatwii 'sound of field mouse'
- kpaklokloklo 'sound of toad croaking'
- foooooo 'sound of elephant laughing (air out of trunk)'
- dīglānā 'sound of great silence'
- vokuvoku 'sound of breathing'

1'Almost' because there are apparently limits of appropriateness to the range of meaning certain ideophones can have.
kli  'sound of large sack falling'
   'sound of Hyena swallowing an egg'
   'sound of Hare coming upon Hyena'
   'sound of Hare falling into Hyena's hands'
klekleklekle  'sound of Hare walking;
   'sound of Hyena putting out his claws'
   'sound of playing a bean game'

Visual impression:
gudugudu  'of something round and big'
gblāgblā  'of long ugly scars'
ketekete  'of tiny animal horns'
paupaupaupau  'of large flat surface of rock'
nnotōtōtōtō  'of a long, large snake'
tēngbētēngbē  'of someone puny'
gōnōgōlō  'stooped, bent over'
fluuuuūī  'of someone all dusty and white'
dekledekle  'of a big, round flat eye'
mlāmlāmlā  'big and fat'
kpokā  'of head hanging swinging like lizard or snake'
sawlasawla  'of careless walking'
titētitē  'of someone poised and stiff, ready to strike'

Action:
cucwācucwā  'of moving around in something tight and confining'
tēēēēē  'of flying'
puapuapuapua 'of eating'
kpukakpuka 'of goat chewing cud'
kwlakwlakwla 'of rolling down hill'
klekleklekle 'of digging up earth fast and carelessly'
kleklekle 'of moving stealthily from tree to tree'
kāTkāTkāTkā 'of walking carefully on tiptoes'
flifliflifli '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:
jlekejleke 'smooth'
zawli zawli 'fibrous and tough'
okoo 'scaly like a fish or a tree with loose bark'

Morpheme structure conditions which ideophones violate:

[ŋ] does not occur pre-vocically
nāŋnāŋā 'long and supple like a snake'
gūŋūnū 'expresses sudden death'

[y] does not occur syllable initially
kprarara kprarara 'of goat chewing up hat'

[m] does not occur syllable finally
gbloom 'of falling'
Syntactically, ideophones occur

-after a noun phrase within a sentence:

330) mɔ be jù klo lo ni, nänŋ gliggo a-di lika ngba kpá.
   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 kʊŋba lekekeke
   3p hand only ideophone: of aloneness
   'one single hand'

332) a ti kpoká!
   2s head ideophone: of hanging head
   'You have a head that hangs!'  (an insult)

333) jæ lɛ, a-li, a kōmĩ kplaka sũmã likɛ 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 muççêê.
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 ml3ml3ml3.
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  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  
    goat burp FPST; and 3s chew 3s mouth DISC ideophone: of  
    chewing cud  
    'Goat burped; and he chewed with his mouth, chomp chomp.'

339) be ngba wo e dile puapuapuapua.  
    3p all LCOP 3s eating ideophone: of eating  
    'They all were eating it, munch, munch.'

340) e sja bla wo alje wutale nū fleflefle flef.  
    3s in-law woman LCOP food peeling in ideophone: of peeling  
    'Her mother-in-law was peeling yams, flick flick.'

341) e wa-mā-ā bla-nī su c fuaaa. e kpē-ē lo cu.  
    3s DM lift FPST woman SPEC on DISC ideophone: of taking  
    off. 3s descend FPST there ideophone: of landing  
    'He (Eagle) came to lift the girl up whoosh. He landed plop.'
342) kē e nō-ŋ pīo, e mwē-ē e butwā su pi, e tu-u, kpo kū

tēēēē, ko-tlä-ā waka su mmwā lo, kpo kū pūo.

when 3s drink FPST ideophone: of drinking, 3s shut FPST

3s anus on ideophone: of shutting, 3s fly FPST,
suddenly ideophone: of flying, DM sit FPST tree on

far there, suddenly ideophone: of sitting

'When he (tsetse fly) has drunk slurp, he shut his anus
tight clink, he took off whoosh, he went and sat on
a tree far away, suddenly plop.'
240. **CONNECTIVES**

The members of this class have in common the fact that they connect constituents, i.e. substantive phrase to substantive phrase, clause to clause, sentence to sentence.

241. **Substantive Phrase Conjoiner**

The conjoining particle 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) wūsT kponge nT se be nū.  
   wash (IMP) basin and pot 3p in 
   'Wash the basins and pots.'
b) wūsī kpongbo nī sāmlā.
   1  2  3  4

   wash (IMP) basin with soap
   1  2  3  4

   'Wash the basin with soap.'

2) a) n njāābla nī bjā-nī be wo-li.
    1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8

   Is sister and man SPEC 3p go FPST
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8

   'My sister and the man left.'

b) n njāābla nī tānī wo-li.
    1  2  3  4  5  6

   Is sister with cloth go FPST
   1  2  3  4  5  6

   'My sister took the cloth (i.e. went with the cloth).'

nī 'and'

More than two substantive phrases may be conjoined with this function:

3) e nī ji nī wa-mū be a-di so titi nīō . . .
   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 ní mí je ba-a klo.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s and ls lp come FPST village
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'He and I came to the village.'

5) Kwajo ní wo amū kó.
   1 2 3 4 5
   Kwajo and 2s 2p go (SUBJ)
   1 2 3 4 5
   'Kwajo and you, go.'

6) be ní 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 ní 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 ní 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) wlewe n sabwi nī n jëbwi be bo.
   put (IMP)-3s ls fingernail and ls toenail 3p under
   'Put it under my fingernails and my toenails.'

The copula je (Section 231) can be optionally inserted after the
conjoined substantive phrase before the plural pronoun:

10) e nī ji je be slā nīnī je be nīma ti silwa.
   3s and wife COP 3p person two COP 3p eye IPCOP blind
   '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) gbamlo, mō je nī je di mā nī, je a ko-se ke "gbamlo ो."
   hare, as Ip and-(3s) Ip eat NEG DISC, and 2s DM say (STA)
   that 'Hare COP'
   'Hare, as I and he we don't get along, why do you go and
   say "It's Hare!"?'

12) je nī namjë kpli nānī-nī je je tō awale o.
   Ip and god big cow SPEC COP Ip play (CERT) awale DISC
   'It's I and God's cow that were playing awale.'

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nī 'with'

No pronoun is repeated after the conjoined substantive phrases when nī has the sense "with." If the second of the two substantive phrases is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it is not realized in the surface structure (see examples 15, 17 and 18 below).

13) e nī mī ba-a klo.  
    1 2 3 4 5 6  
    3s with ls come FPST village  
    1 2 3 4 5 6  
    'He brought me to the village.'

14) je nī dwo fi fje.  
    1 2 3 4 5  
    Ip with yam come-from fields  
    1 2 3 4 5  
    'We brought yams from the fields.'

15) e dwi-nī, e dā kpa nga amū nī ba-a le sa-nī ...  
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14  
    3s fat SPEC, 3s big very this/that 2p with-(3s) come FPST  
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
    there thus SPEC  
    12 13 14  
    'It's fat, this large amount that you brought like this ...' (i.e. you with it came)

16) je e nī ako-nī wo-li o.  
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
    and 3s with chicken SPEC go FPST DISC  
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
    'And he left with the chicken.'
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17) sika-nī nga e ji-i kūmā nū je e nī fite-e wa-nī . . .

gold SPEC this/that 3s remove FPST hole in and 3s with-(3s)

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-jīsa-a nzwe ngba je e nī tūlā le.

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.

ls 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:

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21) a) be ñ 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 ñ 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 ñ be wo-li ɔ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   spider and-(3s) 3p go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Spider and he went.'

   b) kendeja ñ be wo-li ɔ.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   spider with 3p go FPST DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Spider left with them (i.e. took them).'

The second of the conjoined substantives in the (a) sentences above is
the third person singular pronoun and thus is not realized in the sur­
face structure. The pronoun be (3p) in these sentences is the plural
pronoun that includes both the nouns in the conjoined substantive phrase.
In the (b) sentences the pronoun be is the second of the two substantives.
Cases of ambiguity of this type can be disambiguated by the context in
which they occur.
Baule sentences may consist of a number of coordinated and subordinated clauses. These multiple-clause sentences are not uncommon: in narratives (stories, conversational recounts, or the accounts of witnesses in litigation) or in everyday dialogue, long strung-out sentences consisting of many clauses are frequent and a mark of conversational ability or oratorical expertise. In discussing this phenomenon we will want to make a distinction between sentence-internal clauses and the sentence as a whole. We thus will use the term "clause" for any sentence-like structure that occurs within another sentence and "sentence" for the larger structure that may be composed of a number of clauses. This distinction is justified in Baule by the discourse particles which require an overt distinction between sentence-medial clauses and sentence-final clauses, i.e. they relate either to the clause as a whole or to the multiple clause sentence as a whole.

A distinction is made between a dependent clause and an independent clause. A dependent clause may not be the only clause in a sentence; an independent clause may be the only clause in a sentence. A sentence may be composed of an independent clause; a dependent clause followed by an independent clause; a series of independent clauses; or a series of dependent and independent clauses. The dependent clause markers mark dependent clauses and occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause or at both the beginning and the end of a clause. Conjunctions occur at the beginning of independent clauses to connect them to previous clauses or sentences. Discourse particles occur at the end of clauses to indicate whether or not the sentence is finished.
242.1 Dependent clause markers

The members of this class have in common the fact that the clauses with which they occur cannot be the only clauses of the sentence. That is, they must occur with independent clauses. Dependent clauses are of two types: 1) those that are subordinate to another clause and 2) those that are coordinate with other clauses in the sentence.

242.12 Subordinate dependent clause markers

The four dependent clause markers which introduce subordinate clauses are na, ke, bo and me. 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 me 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) a se awofwe nã e kọ-la.

2p tell (SUBJ) stranger that 3s DM sleep

'Tell the guest to go to bed.'

24) ãmũ se nãna nãnâ-nĩ e fle da mẽ be kpẹ-li, nã ãmũ kpuke nũ c.

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) ñ'we, 'se nã e jo n-ịje nã n njá.'

3s said, 'tell (SUBJ)-3s that 3s do (SUBJ) ls ASS and ls see (CERT).'

'He said, 'Tell him that he is to do mine so I can see.'''

26) je be wã, 'a se nả e kọ-to e-ịje.'

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
a) sentential complements after a class of verbs that includes *ti* 'hear,' *si* 'know,' *bu* 'think,' *se* 'tell,' *fel* 'call, name,' *fata* 'be necessary.' For example

27) *nis* de *ke* *esi* *awi* *we* to.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(ls 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) *ni* *se* *ke* a wū ti *wom*.
   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 *tū* kendeja bo *ke* be ba 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 *kūn*.
   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 wá e ti ke kla ngbè s.

lp said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP

'We thought it was like a normal torch.'

ii) 33) nga kendeja-lje-n7 ke e ti sa kpeu!

mister spider ASS SPEC like 3s ICOP thus ideophone: of smallness

'Mr. Spider's was like this, small!'

34) sa ke nánI-n7 e fle dā nga le-n7, sa kō n wa-joe ce.

affair like cow SPEC 3s stomach big this/that there SPEC,

affair one 1s DM do (CERT)-3s certainly

'The affair like cow's big stomach there, this affair I will certainly deal with.'

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35) sika kpole mɔɛ ji-li keɛ 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, ɛ dà tutugbe ke nga ɪ sa nĩs, . . .

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) keɛ ko-bɔ nũ lɔ, a-bo nũ lɔ.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

like 3s DM arrive (CERT) in there, 3s-PRF arrive in there
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'There where he went (or meant) to come out, he came out there.' (The ke clause modifies lɔ 'there'.)

38) je keɛ wa ni cajoklo sa ᵁ, wete a-di asje-ni bo ngba.

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

and like here and cajoklo 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 ke nga ɪ sa nī.

\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \ 11 \]

cow fat COP 3p PRF give like this/that here thus SPEC
\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \ 11 \]

'It's cow fat like this here that they've given (me).'

As a verb modifier a ke phrase occurs i) after the object of the verb; or ii) at the beginning of the sentence. For example

i) 40) e dūmā nū jē n mō m'ā-wū like ke nga ɪ sa.

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

3s name in COP 1s self 1s PRF see place like this/that
\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \ 11 \ 12 \ 13 \ 14 \]

here thus
\[ 13 \ 14 \]

'It is because of him that I can see like this.'

41) awe-nī kū be kpa ke nz ʉ sa nīs, . . .

\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \]

hunger SPEC kill (STA) 3p good like what thus DISC, . . .
\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \]

'Hunger kills them like anything! . . .'

ii) 42) ke nga ɪ sa, nzwe a-jē.

\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \]

like this/that here thus, water PRF heat
\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \]

'Like this, the water was heated.'

43) ke nga ɪ sa, kendeja dūmā a-fite wa.

\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \]

like this/that here thus, spider first PRF exit here
\[ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \]

'Like this, Spider came out first.'

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bo, (/bo/), and me (/me/), introduce noun-modifying clauses (relative clauses). For example

44) swa bo be ko-toe-ni5, a-ko-jo do sware.

house which 3p DM find-3s SPEC, 3s-PRF DM do termite hill

'The house which they went and found has become a termite hill.'

45) bjä bo e bo wä e je-e e laa-ni5, e ba-li nTi5, . . .

man who 3s self said 3s marry-3s FPST NEG formerly SPEC,

3s come FPST DISC, . . .

'Man who she herself said she would not marry him formerly,

he came, . . .'

46) awofwe me e ba-a le-ni5, kla woe ti su.

stranger who 3s come FPST there SPEC, torch LCOP-3s head on

'The stranger who came there, torches were on his head.'

47) like-ni dä me n se-e a ke nã ti-ni, mäze a ti-li?

thing SPEC big which 1s tell FPST 2s that NEG pick (SUBJ)-3s

SPEC, anyway 2s pick FPST

'The big thing that I told you not to pick, did you pick it anyway?'
 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, me, ke . . . o, se . . . o, kanze and nje. bo, me 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 (me) and succession (ke . . . o).  

bo, (/bo/), (with its allomorph më, [/mom/], 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 me 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) \( bə \, c^\top o \, k\!a\!-nī \, s\!a \, nīō, \, c^\wūs\text{wle}-nī \, g\!w\!a-a \, b\!l\!a \, nīm\!a \, s\!u. \)

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 \, c^\kō-\text{ju} \, afje, \, jē \, k\!w\!l\!a\!k\!w\!l\!a\!k\!w\!la, \, a-k\!\text{ondo}, 

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) s\!a\!ng\!e \, mō\!c^\f\!ā\!tī \, nū\!e \, s\!i-i \, s\!u.

but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow FPST on

'But as she took to the path, she followed.'
52) ɓo e mlië wa nünchen, ɓo e toë lo nți, njëwe-nți to lo.

as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s there DISC, then fish SPEC fall (CERT) there

'As he sunk it (i.e. his head) here, as he swung it there,' then fish fell there.

53) ɓo e su-wa-wu nți, e se-e e wa ké ké jo, "n wa, n bo mți je n su-wa-wu T."

as 3s IMPRF DM die DISC, 3s tell FPST 3s child one that, "Is child, Is self Is COP Is IMPRF DM die here

'As she was about to die she told her one child, "My child, I myself I am about to die here."

54) e kusu laa mó e wo wa nți, nja kọlje e flé laa nți, e kplième su.

3s also formerly as 3s LCOP here DISC, mister eagle 3s call (CERT)-3s formerly DISC, 3s accept NEG on

'She also, when she was here formerly, Mr. Eagle proposed to her formerly, she didn't accept.'

mě, (/mem/), (and its allomorph měë) introduces a dependent clause, the action, process or state of which is considered to occur or exist.
simultaneously with the following clause. Often it is a case of emphasis when \textit{bo} is used and when \textit{mē} is used (compare the two in 59 below). The dependent clause marker \textit{nje} optionally occurs to introduce the independent clause which follows a \textit{mē} clause. For example,

\begin{verbatim}
55) mēē e dī like-nī lō sjē, nje n tēwā.  
          1234567891011
while 3s eat (CERT) thing SPEC there last, then 1s sit (STA)  
          12345678910
here  
11

'While he ate food there then, I was sitting here.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
56) nā e ti c, nglo, nga wo lje nīs, mē e jo-o jaafwe nū  
          12345678910111213141516
sa nīs, e ti c mā n lawle kā.  
          171819202122232425
and 3s cause COP, friend, this/that LCOP here ASS DISC,  
          12345678910
as 3s do FPST friend in thus DISC, 3s cause COP  
          1112131415161718192021
give (IMP) 1s bed small  
          22232425

'And so for this, Friend, for that is here, as we are  
friends like this, for this reason give me a bed.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
57) mēē kānvē nū mē e wū mlōmlōnī, n bējā-nī je.  
          123456789101112
as scars LCOP NEG 3s body ever ever ever DISC, 1s man SPEC  
          1234567891011
COP  
12

'As he has no scars on his body, this is my man.'
\end{verbatim}
58) mē kusu e ko-mē su lo nī, njē bla-nī kusumā e nī sīma be
wo kole c.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
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, mō be kpē nū le, mē be si le nī, gbamlō-ļje nga
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
ε wa-kpē-ɛ nū-nī, a si i gble-nī?
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 (mō) clause sets the background (people
jumping into the dancing circle) and the mē 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) anek ᵉ ke n wū-ŭ wo ᵉ, 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 ṭ akøjwe 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 allo-morph nĩ3) 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 sΔnT, e bo wa-1je 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 2, e wā 'se ke 'lo dwi.'

when 3s throw-3s FPST up there, 3s said 'say that 'become

(IMP) fat'''

'When he threw him up (in the air) then he said, "Say

'become fat!'"'

64) ke jaswa fi-i lo ba-a nɔswa nīs, kposé ɛ wā "n sì't atī."

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 ɛ njà 2, wete ba 7.

and 3s look (CERT) when, rat come (STA) here

'When he looks, Rat is coming.'
66) ɛ sló ɔ, be so su.
1 2 3 4 5 6

3s sing (CERT) when, 3p answer on
1 2 3 4 5 6

'When she sings they answer.'

67) ɛ wo-li ɔ, wonda kɔ a-wlu swle kũmā kũ nũ T.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

3s go FPST when, viper one PRF enter termite hill hole one
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12

in here
12 13

'When she went, a viper entered a hole in a termite hill here.'

The dependent clause marker ke can co-occur with either bo or me 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 kɔ bo ke bjā-nT jaso-o nglēwũ nũ, mɔ kɔ e kɔnɛ nTŋ, 
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

e kɔ nzwe nũ nTŋ, je e kusu e fe-e sìmə kã-nT je be 
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

jaso-o.
31 32

day one when man SPEC get up FPST morning in, as go (CERT) 3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

hunt DISC, 3s go (CERT) water in DISC, and 3s also
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
'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 me adds a sense of simultaneity, an indication that as soon as A happened, B happened.
se . . . o, (/se/ . . . /o/), and kanze, (/kanse/), are similar in that they both indicate hypotheticality. The difference between them is one of degree; a difference similar to the difference between "if" and "even if" in English. They both occur on the 'if' clause of an 'if . . . then' sentence se . . . o at the beginning and end of the clause and kanze at the beginning. se can occur without o, in which case the discourse particle nT (or nTS) can occur at the end of the clause. o never occurs by itself to indicate hypotheticality.¹ For example

76) se a dje umjë nã e keje o, se mĩ nã n ci.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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 tie (CERT)-3s

9 10 11 12

'If you breathe and it moves, tell me and I'll tie it.'

77) se a wā a dį mĩ bo o, n fē mō tla like kwakkwakwa.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

If 2s intend 2s eat (CERT) 1s self, 1s 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 paji wo o, a dį mĩ.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

If 1s untie (STA) 2s, 2s eat (CERT) 1s

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

'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 jú le nT, a sé sé?
if 2s arrive (CERT) there DISC, 2s tell (CERT) what
'If you get there, what will you say?'

80) se a káci e nwá nde cë nga nT, e ti a bo w'ajíble.
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! nítõ, n sló ngbana bo nû 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 kanzë introduces a clause no discourse particle occurs at the end
of the clause. For example

82) a ba nga, kanzë je bó su je bó su ngbë, n kû a kpô!
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 ko be tinge-li, e sūmā 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 ēē), occurs at the beginning of an independent clause that follows a dependent clause introduced by se, bo or mē. 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 mē/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 nītē, ēē nānī dwi klu nga be

If 3s I COP 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.'
85) se c ti a sa jwe ti sa nT, një m'a-se a jwe nga-më be
a-swa a mT?
19 20 21 22

if 3s ICOP NEG affair some cause thus DISC, then 1s PRF
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

tell NEG fish this/that INDIV 3p PRF load NEG 1s
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

'If it weren't for some (other) affair, then wouldn't I
tell these fish to help me put my load on my head?'

86) gboklo ti-i kaa mma, m5 c di nT, një c fe mma ble fa
se gbamlo ti afje.
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 c m5ë wa nT, bo c toe lo nT, ñë jwe-nT to lo.
as 3s sink (CERT)-3s here DISC, as 3s swing (CERT)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

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) me kusu e ko-mé su lo ní, nje ble-ní kusumá e ní síma

be wo kólč.

when also 3s DM lift-3s on there DISC, then woman SPEC

also 3s and young sibling 3p LCOP going

'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 nno-ní a-bo nū, nje e kplákplá lo.

3s ear two SPEC PRF arrive in, then 3s stick out (STA)

there

'(When) his two ears came out, then they stuck out there.'

90) be woe sī lo klikliklikli!, nje be di pwapwapwapwa

3p go (STA)-3s behind there ideophone: of running, then

3p eat ideophone: of eating

'(When) they went after it, then they ate.'
Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a class of particles which occur at the beginning of independent clauses to connect the clause to the previous clause or, if the clause is the first clause of the sentence, to the previous sentence. There are four conjunctions: sânge, na, je and kanzu.

sânge, (/sânge/), introduces a clause or a sentence that expresses the reverse of what is expected as a result of the previous clause or sentence and thus indicates expentency reversal. For example

91) e tô alje mà be nî, sânge e nî e wa be jwe be-1je di,
   ajika ba nà 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) ngebë bo lè a bla, sânge se a ko-wût klo û, a së ke
   prezidâ kô klo wo T.

Ngebë self PCOP NEG woman, but if 2s DM see (CERT)-3s village
   here, 2s tell (CERT) that president one village is here

'Ngebë himself didn't have a wife, but if you went to see his village, you would say it was a president's village.'

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93) e beole lelele, e kpaloe ji lo. samente maa e faa atii nii
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

si-i su.
15 16 17

3s hit (STA)-3s long time, 3s throw (STA)-3s put (STA)-3s
1 2 3 4 5 6

there. but as 3s take (CERT) path in 3s follow
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

FPST-3s on
16 17

'She beat her a long time, she threw her down there. But
as she started down the path, she followed her.'

94) kwajo ka kusu le e-ije swaba ko nii, samente be piti 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 awunna da nii lo sa o. samente be siti wa iclatii, be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

wo-oo atii nii lo sa fa.
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.'
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) ǎmū nāji mį, nā gbamlo ci-i mį ć.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2p untie (SUBJ) ls, because hare tie FPST ls here
i 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Untie me, because Hare tied me.'

97) n su-dį a wo, nā n jaafwe dā le wo.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ls IMPRF eat NEG 2s, because ls 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) će a wā a kū mį ć, kū mį; nā n nį 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) ls, kill (IMP) ls; because
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
ls mother said NEG ls 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.'
Go tell Ngbë to come now because since the sun is falling here like this it isn't good (that he is still sleeping).'

And he took all I had, thus go kill him.'

'Hunger has really killed us all so let's go cook puree.'

'She said Eagle was not good so she is not going to marry him.'
103) akojwe wa-jisa-a nzwe ngba nā a je wa-wọe taaba.

Tsetse fly D M 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.'

104) nja kwasi kendeja dūmā nū je nā e kplo-nī jo-li o.

Mr. Kwasi Spider name in COP that 3s skin SPEC do FPST DISC

'It was because of Mr. Spider that his skin is like this.'

B is contingent upon A:

105) sē a dje umjē nā e keje o, se mī nā n cī le o.

If 2s breathe breath so that 3s move (STA), tell ls so that

ls tie (CERT) there EMP

If you breathe so that it moves, tell me so that I can tie it there.

106) bla je wo nā n kō-kle wo.

Come (IMP) lp go (SUBJ) so that ls DM show (SUBJ) 2s

'Come let's go so that I can show you.'
107) fa to kla nū, fa ble mī nā n jwe nā n wū n be sewle.
   take (IMP) buy torch in, take (IMP) bring Is so that Is
   light-3s so that Is see (SUBJ) Is bed putting
   '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 sê atī nā n kō je klo.
   Is request (CERT) path so that Is go (CERT) Isp village
   'I ask permission to leave in order to go to our village.'

109) sē e ko-wū nū la nā a-klo a la kō nī, e sē e sī e wa-bā.
   if 3s DM see (CERT)-3s front there and then 3s-PRF like
   NEG there anymore DISC, 3s return (CERT) 3s back 3s
   DM come (CERT)
   '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 trans­
lated 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 \textit{je} plus a dependent clause marker may occur, \textit{je} tying the sentences together and the dependent clause marker tying the first clause in the sentence to the next one. For example

110) \textit{je} be fle-\text{e} ba kā nī, \textit{je} c wo-li c.

\text{and 3s call FPST child small DISC, and 3s go FPST DISC}

\text{'}And they called the small child and he went.'

111) kla nga \textit{je} wo 1, mē be jwe \textit{je} be wū be bo-nī.

\text{torch this/that COP LCOP here, which 3p light (STA) and}

\text{3p see (STA) 3p under SPEC}

\text{'}There is a torch which they light and they (use to) see around themselves.'

112) \textit{je} gbamlo wa-tō klo-nī lo \textit{je} c mē c jwe-nī su.

\text{and hare DM find (CERT) village SPEC there and 3s lift (CERT) 3s song SPEC on}

\text{'}And Hare came upon the village and he took up his song.'

\text{It does not, however, conjoin substantive phrases; the substantive phrase conjoiner nī is discussed in Section 241.}
113) je e jí e-lje nT5, je e di jekú ɔ.
\[\text{and 3s take off (CERT) 3s ASS DISC, and 3s eat (CERT)}\]
\[\text{again DISC}\]
10 11

'And he takes off his and eats it also.'

114) be wā "jaci, jaci." je be a-wūsī nja kwasi kendeja ɔ.
\[\text{3s said "pardon (IMP) pardon (IMP)," and 3p PRF wash}\]
\[\text{Mr. Kwasi Spider DISC}\]
9 10 11 12

'They said, "Pardon us." And so they washed Mr. Kwasi Spider.'

115) je ke be jú atİ nů lɔ nT, je ngbě fe-c e tānT.
\[\text{and when 3p arrive (CERT) path in there DISC, then ngbě}\]
\[\text{take FPST 3s cloth}\]
11 12 13 14

'And when they get to the path, then Ngbe takes his cloth.'

116) mů a-to lɔ, mů e sîf nT, je kendeja a-fa wandile nT,
\[\text{a-wlui klů lɔ.}\]
15 16 17 18

when 3s-PRF fall there, when 3s laugh (CERT) DISC, then
\[\text{spider PRF take running DISC, 3s-PRF enter-3s stomach}\]
\[\text{there}\]
18

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'When he had fallen there laughing, then Spider ran, he entered his stomach.'

The conjunction kanzu (/kansu/) occurs at the beginning of a sentence to introduce a surprising turn of events: what is expressed in the sentence is contrary to what one would have thought. (N.B. Its use is more limited than the conjunction sange which is used more generally to indicate expectancy reversal.) A sentence with kanzu usually occurs at or near a climax of a story, and the word is pronounced with a dramatic intonation: k'anzu (both syllables stressed with extra-high tone). For example:

117) je wā e ti ke kla ngbē 3. kanzu ajre ɔ.  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

lp said 3s ICOP like torch nothing EMP. **However** medicine COP  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'We thought it was a normal torch. **However** it's medicine!'

118) kanzu a-ko-si konde nzwe.  
1 2 3 4 5 6

**However** 3s-PRF DM pound manioc powder  
1 2 3 4 5 6

'**However** he went to pound manioc into powder!' (Hare is going to trick the other animals into thinking he can turn a stone into powder.)
119) kanzu kendeja a-ko-se wete ke ngbè, ... ko-kùt mà mà.

however spider PRF DM tell rat that ngbè, ... DM

kill-3s for ls

'However Spider went and told Rat that "Ngbè, ... go
kill him for me.'

120) kanzu a gboklo a-lje 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 kpōkù indicates a break in a continuing chain of action
and signals the start of a new event (see the discussion of the discourse
particle o below). It thus normally occurs at the beginning of a sen­
tence, and is considered a sentence connective, but it is also occa­
sonally used within a sentence to indicate the suddenness of an action.
For example

121) e nī kpōkù a-to kpacc.

3s mother suddenly PRF fall sick

'His mother suddenly fell sick.'
122) kpokü e wle-e e tlale-ní. kpokü e fe-e e kle-ní kple-e e ti.

suddenly 3s put on FPST 3s shirt SPEC. suddenly 3s take

FPST 3s hat SPEC put on FPST 3s head

'Then he grabbed his shirt and put it on. Then he took
his hat and jammed it on his head.'

123) kpokü bla-ní e níma-ní a-wū lika.

suddenly woman SPEC 3s eye SPEC PRF see place

'Suddenly the woman could see.'

124) boli lá le. kpokü e ti-i gwa-ní e afjë lo . . .

goat lay (CERT) there. suddenly 3s hear FPST court SPEC

'Goat lay there. Suddenly he heard in the middle of the
court . . . .' 

125) e we 'nte, njä, sa mő a-jo a je. mő alakú-ní n di kpokü!

3s said 'friend, look (IMP), affair which PRF do NEG good.

ls trousers SPEC ls eat (STA) suddenly

'He said, 'Friend, look, things haven't turned out well.
So now I'm eating my trousers.'
Discourse Particles

This class of words consists of two particles which occur at the end of clauses (except for the instance discussed below where nī3 occurs after a noun phrase): nī (with its allomorph nī3) and ṙ. nī occurs only on non-sentence final clauses (both dependent and independent) and ṙ 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: nī indicating that the sentence is to be continued and ṙ 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 nī 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) mō awe-nī kpē nī, je be su-to awake nī3, bo nānā nāmjē
   kpē nānī-nī, e nī nja kendeja, be tō awake nī,
   15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
   ke bo a-jaci e wū le klekleklekle, mō nānī a-kpē nī,
   26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
   mō a-to lo, mō e slī nī, je kendeja a-fa wandile nī,
   39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57
   a-wlui klū lo ṙ.

when hunger SPEC exist (CERT) DISC, then 3p IMPRF play
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   awe DISC, while grandpa god big cow SPEC, 3s and
   10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
Mr. spider, 3p play (CERT) awele 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 awele, as
Grandpa God's cow and Mr. Spider were playing awele,
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!" (njà ke) or "haven't you seen/didn't I tell you?" (a wù më), 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 nΤ and nΤΟ tend to elicit different responses from the sentence-final particle o. After nΤ or nΤΟ the response is usually a sound like [mã], whereas after o the response is [ahaa] or [chee] or a fuller exclamation. Again a parallel can be found in English; for example: "that guy I told you about . . ." "Yeah" (or "uhuh") . . . well he decided not to do his thesis." Should the listener not respond to the initial utterance with its rising intonation, the speaker may ask "you know?", thereby demanding a response.
250.1 n̄T, (/lim/), the sentence-medial discourse particle

The discourse particle n̄T (with its allomorph n̄T̄) 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, n̄T or n̄T̄ are the sole markers that indicate that the sentence is not yet finished. For instance

4) se bla-n̄T jaci be n̄T, be tu a amnw̄T 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 n̄T, e bo wa-1je-n̄T ngba wu-li n̄T; ajika-n̄T
   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 nāŋ fa wo-li nī, je bloe-e e ti afjē ɔkwle.
   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 hed.'

7) bɔ e tóto kla-ni sa nīɡ, e wūswe-ni gwa-a bla nīma su nīɡ,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

   kpokū bla-ni, e nīma-ni 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 1e 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.'
9) gwä cē ju-li nįŋ, a-wūsī klāāmā kpa.
   market day arrive FPST DISC, 3s-PRF wash pretty very
   'Market day arrived, he washed very prettily.'

10) be ko-jū be nū lo nįŋ, atī-nī a-ko-ka kāā sa.
    3p DM arrive (CERT) 3p front there DISC, path SPEC PRF
    DM stay small thus
    'They got further ahead, the path became narrow like this.'

11) bjā ko-fe-ē ē ngblāā nāā nįŋ, je ē wîś sī nū ɕ.
    man DM take FPST 3s ngblāā leaf DISC, and 3s put (CERT)-3s
    fire in DISC
    'The man went and took his ngblāā leaf, and he put it in
     the fire.'

12) ē fe-ē ē taa-lje nįŋ, ē ba-li ɕ.
    3s take FPST 3s bow ASS DISC, 3s come FPST DISC
    'He took his bow, he came.'

13) nānjē bo-li mā-ā be nįŋ, be ngba be nōč tititi.
    god dig FPST give FPST 3s DISC, 3p all 3p drink(STA)-3s always
    'God dug it for them, and they all drink there always.'
There are two positions where the occurrence of nTi 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 nTi5 is always used in this position. This presentation of the character(s) can be a sentence in itself. For example

14) nja boli nTi5, e nTi nja kwajo kā nTi5. nja kwajo kā, ε kunde bla nvi le nū.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Mr. Goat DISC, 3s and Mr. Kwajo Little DISC. Mr. Kwajo Little, 3s search (STA) woman foreign country in
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
Looking for a wife in a foreign region.'

15) Ngbé nTi5. je wo-o klo kō su lo nā bla nŋō wo le.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Ngbé DISC. 2p go FPST village one on there and woman
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Two LCOP there.
12 13 14

'Ngbé. 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 nīți, a-kō-sle bjā kō akō kla ki nū 1c.

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 nīți, e nī-ți sa nī, slā kwaklakwkla

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 ɔ, se nā e jo n-lje nā n njā;

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
take \textit{(CERT)} torch and 3s put \textit{(CERT)}-3s fire in again

\textbf{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 nīj, ēe nānī dwi klu nga be

mā-ā mī-(ε jo-o zjazja nī)--ēe nā jẹ njẹ je di-li

i f 3s ICOP like and 3s come FPST also today DISC, then

cow fat sort this/that 3p give FPST ls--(3s do FPST

ideophone: of burning leaf DISC)--then NEG lp and-3s

COP lp eat FPST QUES

"'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-ntε kό atī nũ lo ɔ. (e we e su-ko iʃle nũ nĩ3.)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
ε kό ɔ, wonda kό a-wlu swle kũmã kό nũ 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 nĩ (Section 241) or the specifier nĩ (Section 222.5). Since
the former never occurs clause-finally there is never a potential con­
fusion between it and the discourse particle nĩ. The specifier nĩ, on
the other hand, can occur clause finally (in the case that the noun
phrase on which it occur is clause-final), and there arise therefore
instances where a distributional criterion will not distinguish the
specifier nĩ from the discourse particle nĩ. In some of these cases
the clause-final noun is possessed as in

21) ẽ wa-la-a le ʃoe-e ajre-nĩ, nũ je si wã ẽ ajre 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 lp
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 nī is obligatory after a possessed noun phrase, this clause-final nī is the specifier. Where the clause-final noun is not possessed the situation is not so clear, as in

22) a-fle be sla nnā-nī, be wā "je su-di je ba ngwa."

3s-PRF call 3p person four SPEC, 3p said "Ip IMPRF do lp child game"

'She called the four of them, they said "We are playing our children's game."

or 23) n bá, kpokū n wa-di like-nī, n kó jekū.

Is come (CERT), suddenly Is DM eat (CERT) food SPEC, Is go (CERT) again

'I will come, then I will speedily come and eat the food, I will go again.'

In both these instances, the nouns sla '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 o, (ı/ı), 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 nT5) as
indicating links in a chain of actions, processes or states that make
up an event, then o is the break in that chain. For example

24) ke ɛ wū-i so nT, je ɛ jaci-i lo ɛ ba-li o .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

   when 3s see-3s FPST thus DISC, then 3s leave FPST there
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   3s come FPST DISC
   12 13 14 15

   'When she saw it like this, she left there and came.'

25) mʊ ɛ j̄u-u lo nT5, e j̄i-i like-nT anganda-nT su wa o .
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

   as 3s arrive FPST there DISC, 3s put FPST food SPEC
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

   crossroad SPEC on here DISC
   12 13 14 15 16

   'As he got there she put down the food at the crossroads.'

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26) be ce-e nānī fle nīs, be a-ji ē wū 1ε 2.  
3p pull FPST cow stomach DISC, 3s PRF put 3s near there  
DISC  
'They dragged the cow's stomach they put it next to him.'

27) je be sīke je be wlu nū 2.  
and 3p unload (CERT) and 3p enter (CERT) in DISC  
'And so they unload (their baggage) and they enter.'

28) je be fle-e ba kā nīs, je e wē-li 2.  
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 2. je kliklikli je be wändi je be wlu lo 2.  
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.
_ or _ is a particle which occurs

a) after imperatives to 'soften' the command

30) bla o, bla jo n je.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   come (IMP) oh, come (IMP) do (IMP) ls help
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Come, please come help me.'

31) nā amū kpuke nū o.
   1 2 3 4 5
   NEG 2p break (SUBJ) in oh
   1 2 3 4 5
   'Don't break it open, hey!'

32) nā wla a sa-nī ngwangwa 1c kō 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 le e.
   1 2 3
   get up (IMP) there oh.
   1 2 3
   'Get up from there!'

b) after greetings

34) mo anī o.
   'Good morning!'

35) ā monī 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 atc nï, sika o sika nga be tó nü-nï, 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) mõnë o mõnë je je kwla 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 kpe mî nzoa, n te a su o.

3s insult (STA) 1s, 1s answer (STA) NEG on oh

'He insults me, I don't answer!'
_ is a particle which occurs optionally on questions:

41) nzu je a-likely di _  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   
   what COP 2s SPEC 2s eat (STA) QUES 
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   'What is it that you are eating?'

42) a kungba wo wo le _  
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   
   2s only 2s LCOP there QUES 
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Are you the only one there?'

43) e jo se a ko-se so _  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   
   3s do (STA) what 2s DM say (STA) thus QUES 
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   'Why did you go and say that?'

44) nIfa je n sjé be _  
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   
   where COP 1s put (CERT) 3p QUES 
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   'Where shall I put them?'

_ao is a particle that occurs

a) at the end of narratives (optionally):

45) je kumá a-a klo wa ao. jele mï noswa nü ato.  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   
   and goat stay FPST village here ___. COP 1s evening in lie 
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   'And Goat stayed in the village here. This is my lie for
the evening.'
46) ke e kplokpo-e e n'ao fa wo-li nT, je blo-o e ti afj'e
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
   skwle-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

redden FPST 3s head middle red SPEC __.
   12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

'As it ran down his head scorching it, that's what 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, n' a 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. na mĩ ngwa kũ o?
   1 2 3 4 5
   NEG 1s story one QUES
   1 2 3 4 5

2. laalfwe nũ nĩĩs,
   1 2 3
   former times in DISC
   1 2 3

3. jaswa-nĩ ja-a bla-nĩ sa nũs.
   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 kũ.
   1 2 3 4
   3s love NEG one.
   1 2 3 4

5. se e kũ-nĩ se ke
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   if 3s one SPEC say (STA) that
   1 2 3 4 5 6

6. "kũ-kpe aje mā mĩ" nĩ,
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   "DM cut (IMP) palm grain give me!" DISC
   1 2 3 4 5 6

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7. e nzoa je e kpe so.
   1 2 3 4 5
3s insult COP 3s DISC.

8. je e kó-nî, a-flé
   1 2 3 4 5 6
and 3s one SPEC, 3s-PRF call-3s
   1 2 3 4 5 6

9. je be a-fu ai'le nû lo,
   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 kó 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 wë n kó-kpe aje n më.'
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
3s SPEC stool this/that thus said Is DM cut (SUBJ) palm grain Is
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
   give (SUBJ)-3s.'
   12

12. je be a-wô cê kwakwa kwakwa.
   1 2 3 4 5 7
and 3p PRF go day every every every every.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

13. ke be joe so.
   1 2 3 4
like 3p do (STA)-3s thus.
   1 2 3 4
14. je cē kō be wo-li ə.
   and day one 3p go FPST DISC.

15. bla-nī nga ə kloe-nī, ə wo-ə e-1je kpele ə.
    woman SPEC this/that 3s love (STA)-3s SPEC, 3s go FPST 3s ASS
    cutting DISC.

16. aje mō ə koto kpe kāa sa.
    palm grain even 3s kneel (STA) cut-3s small thus.

17. e fe-e ə ja-nī te-e ə wū 5,
    3s take FPST 3s foot SPEC put FPST 3s on when,

18. mme-nī a-fu nglo fūū
    palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up fūū!

19. ke kpako waka nga sa.
    like coconut tree this/that thus.

20. je bla-nī fīponents wo wa ə.
    and woman SPEC stand (CERT) 3s under here DISC.
21. e we "wã ko lelele ke mĩ wũ ja sa?"
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   3s said "who go (STA) far like Is husband Ya thus?"
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

22. e we "mĩ ji, mĩ ja o."
   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 ICOP home affair EMP
   1 2 3 4 5

25. tje alengelenge, tje mĩ wũ e."
   1 2 3 4 5 6
   listen (IMP) (song filler), listen (IMP) Is husband EMP."n
   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. bjã-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 1c.
   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-fle 1c.
   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 1c,
   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 nja nīsā wo-c aje kāā 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 1c.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

   palm tree SPEC PRF ascend up up there.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

34. nā je bla wo,
   1 2 3 4

   so 1p come (SUBJ) go,
   1 2 3 4
35. nā ko-fle jwe.
   1 2 3 4
   and DM call (IMP)-3s also
   1 2 3 4

36. je bla-nī ba' wa-ľá e bo wǔ le ɕ.
   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 wǔ ja sa ě?"
   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 ɕ."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s said "1s wife, 1s Ya COP."
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

39. "a ja bla, ja je ngba o. e ti awlo nde ɕ. tje alengelenge, tje mī
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
   wǔ,
   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 bo-nī ti a dënē ɕ,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   3s self SPEC ICOP NEG long EMP,
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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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 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).
kõ 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2) modifying the noun ngwa.

ô 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).
   nu 'in,' a locative (Section 221.7).
   n75 a discourse particle indicating that the sentence is not finished (Section 250.1).

3. An independent clause consisting of jaswa-nì 'the man,' the subject SP: jaswa 'man,' personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nì 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-nì sa nños 'two women,' the object SP:
   bla-nì 'the woman/women': bla personal noun (Section 221.6) plus -nì specifier (Section 222.5).
   sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
   nños 'two,' numeral (Section 222.2).

The two SP's of this introductory sentence are specific: 'a certain man married certain women, two (of them). ' This is often done
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
   \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   \( \text{klo} \) 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235).
   \( a \) negative (Section 238.3).
   \( \text{k\~o} \) '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
   \( \text{se} \ldots \text{n\~t} \) 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Section 241.12) indicating hypotheticality.
   \( \text{\e} \text{k\~o-n\~t} \) 'the one,' the subject SP:
   \( \text{\e} \) 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
   \( \text{k\~o} \) 'one,' numeral (Section 222.2)
   \( \text{n\~t} \) specifier (Section 222.5).
   The pronoun \( \text{\e} \) nominalizes a numeral (Section 221.4).
   \( \text{se} \) '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
   \( \text{ke} \) 'that,' a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section 242.11).
6. A subordinate clause (Section 242.11) which is the object of the verb se 'say' of clause 5 consisting of
   ko-kpe . . . mā 'go cut for,' a three-place verbal group
   (Section 237): ko- a directional modal (Section 238.2)
   plus kpe 'cut' plus mā 'give' inflected tonally for the
   imperative mode (Section 238.2).
   aje 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.
   mī is pronoun (Section 221.4), the other object SP.
   nī (See se . . . nī in 5 above).

7. An independent clause coordinate with the clause in 5-6, consisting of
   e nzoa the topicalized object SP (e 3s pronoun) plus the noun
   complement (nzoa) of the completable verb (Section 233)
   kpe nzoa.
   jē copula (Section 231) which is used after a topicalized SP.
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP.
   kpe . . . nzoa 'insult,' a two-place completable verb (Section
   233).
   a discourse particle indicating the end of the sentence
   (Section 250).

There is a play on the word kpe 'cut': the woman asks the man to
go cut some palm grain for her and he "cuts her insult" in­
stead (kpe nzoa).

8.-10. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent
   clauses.
8. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   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 nu lo 'in the savannah there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
   afle 'savannah,' noun (Section 221.6).
   nu '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-ijo . . . wū 'are talking against,' a two-place completable
    verb (Section 233) inflected for imperfective aspect with
    the prefix su- (Section 238.2).

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11. A complex sentence consisting of the main clause e-li bja nga sa we plus the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n me.

The main clause consists of

e-li bja nga sa 'that stool there,' the subject SP:

- **e-li** 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) plus the specifier -li
  (the variant of -nï that occurs with pronouns--Section 222.5). The use of the specifier with the pronoun adds emphasis to this insult.

- **bja** 'stool,' noun (Section 221.6) used here as a personal noun (Section 221.6), i.e. to refer to a human, as an insult.

- **nga** demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

- **sa** 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

- **we** 'said,' an uninflectable two-place verb (Section 235). Its object SP is the subordinate clause n ko-kpe aje n me which consists of

  - **n** 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

  - **ko-kpe** . . . mā 'go cut for' (see 6 above), inflected tonally for the subjunctive mode (Section 238.2).

  - **aje** 'palm grain,' noun (Section 221.6), one of the object SP's.

  - **n** 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulation of the subject SP.

  - **me** (mā e) contains the other object SP e, 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
12. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   a-wo 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234). (wo is a variant
   of ko which occurs with certain inflections [Section
   238.2]), inflected for the perfective aspect by the pre-
   fix a- (Section 238.2).
   cē kwlakwlakwlakwla 'every every day': cē 'day,' noun (Sec-
   tion 221.6), plus the reduplicated quantifier kwla (Sec-
   tion 222.2).

13. A simple sentence consisting of
   ke 'like' (Section 242.12).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   jo 'do,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally
   for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
   -e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
   so 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

14. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' conjunction (Section 242.20).
   cē kō 'one day': cē 'day,' noun (Section 221.6) plus kō 'one,'
   numeral (Section 222.2).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   wo-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-1je 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 -ii (Section 238.2).
e-1je kpele 'hers cutting':
e-1je 'hers': e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nI, plus -1je, the associative (Section 222.4).
kpele 'cutting,' nominal form of verb: kpe 'cut' plus le (Section 221.8).
 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 coreferential 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).

e 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.

kāā '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

e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

fe-e . . . te-e 'take and put,' a two-place verbal group (Section 237) inflected for the factual past with the suffixes -e and -e (variant of -lī) (Section 238.2).
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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)
ø '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).
sa 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).

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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).
ja 'stand,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode (Section 238.2). (See discussion of the use of the certaintive in narrative—Section 238.2).
bo wa 'under it here,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
bo '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 'wa 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).
mǐ wū 'my husband,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):

   mǐ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4).
   wū 'husband,' kin term (Section 221.5).

ja 'Ya,' name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mǐ 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 "mǐ ji, mǐ ja o" e we (see 21 above).

The subordinate clause consists of

   mǐ ji 'my wife,' a compound construction (Section 222.4):

      mǐ 1s pronoun (Section 221.3).
      ji 'wife,' kin term (Section 221.5).

      mǐ 1s pronoun (Section 221.4), subject SP of copula o.
      ja 'Ya,' a name (Section 221.2) in apposition to mǐ '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).

je ngba 'us all,' the object SP:

je 1p pronoun (Section 221.4).

ngba 'all,' a quantifier (Section 222.2).

o, a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the song
line (Section 250.3).

24. A simple sentence consisting of

e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

ti the identifying copula (Section 231).

awlo ndé 'home affair,' a compound construction, the comple­
ment SP:

awlo 'home, a location noun (Section 221.6).

ndé 'affair,' a noun (Section 221.6).

o a discourse particle to add emphasis and finish out the
song line (Section 250.3).

25. A complex sentence consisting of two independent clauses.

The first independent clause consists of

tje 'listen,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected tonally
for the imperative mode (Section 238.2).

alengelenge a song-word, the chorus sung by the audience.
The second independent clause consists of

- **tje** 'listen' (see above).
- **mǐ wū** 'my husband' (see 21 above).
- **e** a discourse particle, variant of **o**, that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

26. A simple sentence consisting of

- **je** 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
- **be** 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
- **a-jo** 'did,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected for the perfective aspect with the prefix **a-** (Section 238.2).
- **e** 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the object SP.
- **so** 'thus,' manner adverb (Section 239.2).
- **lelele** an ideophone indicating long duration of time (Section 239.3).

27.-28. A complex sentence consisting of two coordinate independent clauses (Section 242).

27. An independent clause consisting of

- **bja-nī** 'the man,' subject SP:
  - **bja** 'man,' a personal noun (Section 221.6).
  - **nī** the specifier (Section 222.5).
- **a-wo** 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the perfective aspect.
- **lelele** an ideophone indicating farness (Section 239.3).
28. An independent clause consisting of

- 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

su-wa-to 'is about to reach,' a one-place verb (Section 234)
to 'reach' inflected for the imperfective with the prefix
su- (Section 238.2) plus wa, a direction modal (Section
238.2).

nāmjē-nī lo 'the sky there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):

nāmjē 'sky,' a noun (Section 221.6).

-nī the specifier (Section 222.5).

lo 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

29.-30. A complex sentence consisting of a subordinate clause modifying

a noun (29) plus a main clause (30).

29. The topicalized object SP of the clause in 30 which consists of

bla-nī plus the relative clause nga mēē be kloe mē le-nī:

jē 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

bla-nī 'the woman,' the topicalized object SP of the main
clause in 30: bla 'woman,' a personal noun (Section
221.6), plus -nī, the specifier (Section 222.5)

nga the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

mēē 'which, a subordinate dependent clause marker (Section
242.11).

be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP of the relative
clause

klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally
for the stative mode (Section 238.2).
30. An independent clause (Section 242) consisting of

- e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), a recapitulating pronoun coreferential with the antecedent noun bla-nī.
- nī the negative (Section 238.3).
- le 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).
- nī the specifier (Section 222.5).

ko-fle 'went to call,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the certaintive mode with ko-, a directional modal (Section 238.2).

(e) zero realization of the 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) coreferential with the topicalized object SP bla-nī in 29.

31.-33. A complex sentence consisting of three coordinate independent clauses.

31. An independent clause consisting of

n wla 'my rival,' a compound construction used as a name:

n 1s pronoun (Section 221.4)

wla 'rival,' a kin term (Section 221.5).

je lp pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.

wo-ć 'went,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected for the factual past with the suffix -ć, a variant of -li (Section 238.2).

afle nū 1o 'in the savannah there' (see 9).
32. An independent clause consisting of

nā 'and so,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).

ni ja Ni sā 'Mr. Ni sā,' a name (Section 221.2), the subject SP.

wō-c 'went' (see 31 above).

aje kāā kō kpele 'a small palm grain (clump) cutting':

aje 'palm grain,' a noun (Section 221.6).

kāā '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 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).
kō-fle '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.
ε bo wū le 'under it near there,' a LocP (Section 221.7):
ε 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).
ο 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

*e bo-nī* 'itself,' the subject SP:

*e* 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).

*bo* 'an emphatic particle' (Section 222.7).

*nī* the specifier (Section 222.5).

*ti* the identifying copula (Section 231.1).

*a* the negative (Section 238.3).

*dēnē* 'long,' an adjective (Section 222.1), the complement of the copula

o a discourse particle that adds emphasis (Section 250.3).

41. A dependent clause consisting of

*jēlē* 'this is, a copula (Section 231.2) linking the subject SP of the previous clause (*e bo-nī*) to the following adjective.

*kpe* 'short,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

*kā* 'small,' an adjective (Section 222.1).

*ke nga lē-nī* 'like the one there':

*ke* 'like' (Section 242.11).

*nga* the demonstrative pronoun (Section 222.3).

*lē* 'there,' a location noun (Section 221.6).

*nī* the specifier (Section 222.5).
42. A simple sentence consisting of
   je 'and,' a conjunction (Section 242.20).
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
   ḫla-li 'descended,' a one-place verb (Section 234) inflected
   for the factual past with the suffix -li (Section 238.2).
   n the discourse particle that indicates that the sentence is
   finished (Section 250.2).

43.-44. A complex sentence consisting of the dependent coordinate clause
   e ti je plus the dependent coordinate clause se be ḫa bla nī
   plus the independent coordinate clause 44.

43. e ti je 'for this reason':
   e 3s pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole
   story.
   ti 'reason,' a noun (Section 221.6).
   je a copula (Section 231.2).
   se be ḫa bla nī 'if you marry':
   se . . . nī 'if,' a coordinate dependent clause marker (Sec­
   tion 242.12).
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP, here used as
   an impersonal pronoun.
   ḫa bla 'marry,' a one-place completable verb (Section 233)
   inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

44. An independent clause consisting of
   be 3p pronoun (Section 221.4), the subject SP.
klo 'love,' a two-place verb (Section 235) inflected tonally for the stative mode (Section 238.2).

ε npō-nī 'the two,' the object SP:
  ε 3s pronoun (Section 221.4).
  npō 'two,' a numeral (Section 222.2).
  -nī the specifier (Section 222.5).
The pronoun ε nominalizes a numeral (Section 221.4).

45. A simple sentence consisting of
  ε bo-nī 'its meaning,' a possessive phrase (Section 222.4),
  the subject SP:
    ε 3p pronoun (Section 221.4) having as antecedent the whole story.
    bo 'meaning,' a noun (Section 221.6).
    -nī the specifier (Section 222.5).
  je a copula (Section 231.2).
  wo the locative copula (Section 231.1).
  lō '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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